10

10 ORIENTATION--information especially likely to be needed by users of a file as a frame of reference for understanding the materials classified elsewhere; organization of the file, special coding decisions, and evaluation of the file.

GUIDE TO THE EZ6 MALTA FILE

/Malta, or more correctly the Maltese Islands, lies approximately half-way between Gibraltar and Suez, roughly sixty miles south of Sicily and one hundred-eighty miles east of Tunisia in North Africa. The Maltese Islands consist of Malta proper (to which much of the information in the file pertains), Gozo, Comino and several minor islets. This area is one of the most densely populated geographical units in the world with close to 2700 people per square mile. In addition to Italian and English, the Maltese speak their own distinct language which is morphologically related to North African Arabic but with much of its vocabulary, syntax and idiom derived from Sicilian. Most of the data in the file pertain to 20th century Malta and its Mediterranean peasant population, with information prior to 1900 being considered as historical and marked accordingly. The one exception to this is 7: Busuttil "Holiday Customs in Malta and Sports, Usages, Ceremonies, Omens and Superstitions of the Maltese People" in which the data presented apparently still apply.

The historical roots of 20th century Malta extend far back into the past for in addition to archaeological evidence showing extensive Neolithic occupation of Malta (see 3: Buxton and 9: Luke), these islands also were a Phoenician and Carthaginian colony. They were later captured by the Romans in 218 B.C. When the Roman Empire was divided in 395 A.D., they fell to the Byzantine Emperor. The islands were later conquered by the Arabs in 870 A.D. and wrested from them in turn by the Norman Sicilians in 1090 A.D. In 1530 A.D. Emperor Charles V presented the islands to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (later to be known as the Knights of Malta), who turned them into a stronghold, which, because of its strength, was able to resist successfully the Turkish siege in 1565. In later years the islands were held by Napoleon from 1798-1800, then captured by the British in 1800 and retained by them. Malta received dominion status in 1921, but this status reverted to Crown Colony in 1933 after the church-state controversy of 1930-32. In 1964 Malta achieved independence.

There are nine English language sources in this file whose authors display a wide range of professional interests (two sources were written by geographers, one by a traveler, one by an ethnologist, one by a physician/physical anthropologist, one by a psychologist, one by a folklorist, one by an indigene/educator and one by a government official). Sources 1: Bowen-Jones, 3: Buxton, 7: Busuttil and 9: Luke used in conjunction with one another would give a fairly complete general picture of Maltese ethnography. 1: Bowen-Jones is especially to be noted for its very detailed study of human geography (cultural adaptation to physical environment). This source also summarizes in context a number of the publications of the Durham Department of Geography. 2: Boissevain presents an interesting study of the dynamics of social interaction between the State, the church and the political parties, in relationship to the villages. 3: Buxton as noted above provides some summary material on geography, culture history, archaeology and demography, but is especially to be noted for its data on physical anthropology. 4: Cassar provides some information on votive or propitiation offerings made to a church or shrine as the fulfillment of a vow by a patient who has supposedly been cured in a

GUIDE TO THE EZ6 MALTA FILE

miraculous manner of some disease or infirmity. The author discusses the history of these offerings and their function as a form of anxiety reducing mechanism in the society. 5: Cremona is a discussion of Maltese funeary customs, their change with time, class differences in observance, and distribution of these customs in the Mediterranean area. 6: Beeley is a study of the present-day socio-economic situation of the Maltese farmer, which along with 1: Bowen-Jones, provides a well-rounded coverage of agriculture and the status of the farmer in Malta. In addition to its general ethnographic data, 7: Busuttil also contains specific information on religious and secular holidays and omens and superstitions. Most of these data are repeated in 8: Brockman, which adds little to the file except possibly some limited information on cultural change as evidenced through modifications in ancient Maltese customs to fit modern socio-cultural patterns. As noted before 9: Luke provides general ethnographic coverage on Malta as a whole, but in addition presents an excellent account of the post-World War II development in Maltese politics including relationships with Great Britain at this time, and the various intricacies of political behavior leading eventually to the establishment of a formal constitution (April 15, 1959).

Several special marking decisions have been made in compiling this file, notably: relations of church and state--659; government pawnbroking--655; gaugau--774; casals (townships)--632; cofraternities (fratelli)--794; festa partiti (local subdivisions of the community)--621; band clubs--575/621 (for composition); sport clubs--575/526; a political party committee or club--665.

This file may be considered to be adequate for most cross-cultural research, although as seen from above

GUIDE TO THE EZ6 MALTA FILE

it is skewed towards religion, politics, agriculture and social interaction. The file is lacking in data on material culture, and is weak on social structure and especially so on kinship with 2: Boissevain providing most if not all of this limited information./

Processed in 1966-1968

THE ETHNOLOGY OF MALTA AND GOZO.

By L. H. Dudley Buxton.

(Department of Human Anatomy, Oxford.)

000

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II.—Geography 165
III.—History 167
IV.—Demography 172
V.—Material and Methods ... 173
VI.—Physical Anthropology ... 177
VII.—Racial Problems 188
Appendix I.—Literature 194
Appendix II.—Tables 196

[The figures in brackets in the text refer to Appendix I, Literature.]

I.—Introduction.

12 [101] [114] This report refers to a part of the material collected in December, 1920, and January, 1921, by an anthropological expedition from Oxford. The expedition was made possible by the generosity of Sir Alfred Mond and a grant from the Mary Ewart Trust. Most of the measurements on crania, on the women, and on about a hundred men and women at Gozo, were done by Mrs. Jenkinson and Miss Moss working together. Miss Russell measured long bones and about half the children.[1] The remaining measurements were done by the present writer. As far as possible all the skeletal material was examined by the present writer, who is ultimately responsible for the sexing. Mr. Hort was occupied in working at the archæological problems. I am indebted to Mrs. Jenkinson and Miss Moss for working out a number of indices on the living, and to Miss Russell for help in tabulation.

We all wish to express our thanks to the Governor of Malta (Field-Marshal Lord Plumer), who gave us official support, took a great personal interest in our work, and smoothed away many of the difficulties; and to the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Robertson. Dr. Zammit, the Rector of Malta University and Curator of the Museum, set his unrivalled knowledge of the island at our disposal, and gave us every possible help. Our thanks are also due to various members of the Department of Public Health, who sacrificed busy days in order to take us into villages where they happened to be known; to Count Caruana Gatto, for instructing me in the botany of Malta; and to numerous other friends who did everything in their power to enable us to collect data in Malta.

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[1] It is hoped to utilise the material dealing with the long bones and with the children in subsequent papers.

In Oxford, Professor Arthur Thomson has set the resources of his Department, 12
including a calculating machine, at my disposal, and has helped me continually with advice and kindly criticism. My former teachers—Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. Henry Balfour, Mr. E. T. Leeds, and Professor J. L. Myres—have accorded me in many conversations the combined privileges of a colleague and a pupil. I fear that I have, albeit unwittingly, often pirated their ideas. My colleague, Miss Blackwood, has devoted the greater part of a Long Vacation to helping ~~to finish~~ and prepare this paper for the press before my leaving England, and has performed the laborious task of looking over proofs in my absence.

II.—Geography.

The Maltese archipelago consists of the islands of Malta, Gozo, Comino, Comi- 131
netto and Filfola. The two latter are uninhabited, and Comino is practically [10]
untenanted. We are therefore only concerned with the islands of Malta and Gozo.

Malta lies about 60 miles south of Sicily and 180 miles north of the African coast. Its maximum length is 18½ miles, its maximum breadth 8¼ miles, and its area 95 square miles. Gozo is considerably smaller, and has an area of about 20 square miles.

Geologically, the islands are Late Eocene (3). The eastern and most thickly 133
inhabited part of Malta consists of globigerina limestone, which overlies lower coralline limestone; in the western part these beds are covered with beds of greensand and blue clay or marl, over which lies the upper coralline limestone. The rock is everywhere extremely friable, and is perpetually disintegrating under the influence of wind and rain. Except in one or two places the soil is seldom more than a few inches deep.

The surrounding seas are warm and shallow; a rise of 50 fathoms would connect Malta and Sicily, and a rise of 200 fathoms would join North Africa and Europe and include Malta as a craggy bastion. The shallowest sea, however, lies more to the west. Malta should, therefore, be more correctly described as an outlying pier of an old land bridge rather than part of the land bridge itself. It seems probable that slow, tectonic movements are actually in progress to-day, and that the archipelago is sinking; but it is extremely unlikely that any men of whom we possess traces at present, with the doubtful exception of a few fragments from the Weid Dalam, came to Malta when it was still part of the mainland.

The island is tilted from south to north. The cliffs along the southern coast are high and precipitous, and some of the loftiest parts of the island are close to the shore.

The undercliff here forms a pleasant contrast to the less fertile parts of Malta. 137
Carib trees are not uncommon, potatoes are cultivated on terraces, and the tiny 312
fields are irrigated, as elsewhere in Malta, by little runlets conducted along channels

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

PREFACE

(1) TERMS OF REFERENCE

114 121 On October 1st, 1956, the writer became Junior Research Fellow in the Department of Geography in the Durham Division of the University of Durham, an appointment sponsored by the Research Department of the Colonial Office. The terms of the appointment, which was to be tenable for two years, entailed research into the social factors behind the problems of rural Malta and Gozo - especially as these concern the large agricultural element in this population (Project C.D.W. (R) No. 764).

The report here submitted presents the writer's assessment of the position.

114 [101] The sixteen months between January, 1957, and May, 1958, were spent in the Maltese Islands, the remainder of the period being spent in the Department in Durham on the analysis and preparation of material amassed in the field.

(2) ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

122 The writer wishes to record his gratitude for the help and encouragement received within both official and private circles in Malta and Gozo. During the period of work in the Islands, in 1957-58, the Maltese Government provided extensive help both to him and to a colleague, Mr. Peter K. Mitchell. This took the form of:

(a) the use of official transport for research purposes on two or three days each week throughout the period in the Islands,

(b) the provision of an interpreter for a large part of the time during which transport was also available,

(c) permission to use the facilities of certain Government Departments and other premises - on the customary Civil Service oath,

0-00 (d) a grant to cover certain travel expenses.

The Governor of Malta, His Excellency Sir Robert Laycock, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., and the Lieutenant-Governor, His Honour Mr. Trafford Smith, C.M.G., both showed gracious interest in the work in Malta.

General acknowledgement of other assistance given to the writer in Malta must, for reasons of space, be confined here to a few of a very long list of individuals. A very special mention must, however, be made in one case, for the writer wishes to place on record his debt to Mr. and Mrs. P.K. Mitchell for the help and friendship extended to him throughout the stay in Malta.

Profound thanks are due also to the farmers whose patience and generosity made field work among them possible and profitable. As their help and information was given in confidence individual identities have had to be obscured.

the "tempestuous wind called Euroclydon" that still whistles 172
across it during the winter months under its modern name 173
of *gregale*, the "Greek wind," drove S. Paul on to its shores
and brought it about that the "chief man" of the island, [132]
Publius, became its first Bishop. It was a centre of civilization, as well as a centre of the religious life of the Western Mediterranean, very much earlier, for Malta, in the words of the lamented Sir Themistocles Zammit, "was the holy island of neolithic faith, the half-way house of the early mariners, who trusted themselves to their frail wooden craft, full of hope in a protecting power."

Later, when we emerge from prehistory, we find the 175
position reversed: Malta, instead of extending supernatural 648
protection to peoples beyond its shores, comes under the
political protection of others. During the many centuries 197
of its recorded history Malta has had many rulers: the Phœnicians and their offspring, the Carthaginians, then Romans, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Aragonese and Castilians, then for two and a half centuries the international Order of S. John of Jerusalem, and, finally, at the invitation of the Maltese people after a brief French occupation, the British. But despite the impact of such cosmopolitan influences this people has clung tenaciously to its ancient tongue, which is unquestionably of Semitic structure and has claims to descent from the speech of Dido and Hannibal.[1]
It was, in fact, from a bilingual inscription in Phœnician and [172]
Greek found in Malta in 1697, of which more will be said in the following chapter, that the Phœnician alphabet was reconstructed. Of this inscription Dr A. V. Laferla writes in his *Story of Man in Malta*: "The construction and grammar . . . are identical with those of modern Maltese and many of the words (*lil*, *bin*, *tnejn*, *jisma*, *iberikom*) are still in use at the
present day." S. Luke in the Acts describes the Maltese as 101
"barbarians"—that is, as neither Greeks nor Romans—and 175

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[1] The name Hannibal is still met with in Malta as a Christian name. Its Maltese diminutive is Nibblu.

175 we may safely assume that S. Paul's Aramaic was as comprehensible to them as was their related Phœnician to him.

10k There seems to be no evidence that this Semitic speech of 197 the Maltese "barbarians" had been replaced by some other language when the Arabs seized the Maltese islands in 870. 648 Many of the philologists therefore hold that on to this Punic 175 stock the Arabs grafted, during the two hundred and twenty years of their occupation, a vocabulary of contemporary Arabic which did not completely oust words of the older, kindred stratum. These scholars consider that the dialect received, in fact, a second, fresher infusion from the same reservoir and that the resulting blend is the core of the Maltese language of to-day.

197 Inevitably, in the course of ages, this language has borrowed words from the languages and dialects of the other countries with which Malta has been connected—from Sicilian, from Aragonese, from Italian, from French, even from English—but it has always fitted such words into its own Semitic framework, has governed them according to the rules of its own Semitic grammar and mechanics. Thus 067 the Maltese who have emigrated to Syria and to the north coast of Africa have no difficulty in making themselves understood by their Arabic-speaking neighbours, who for their part can make themselves readily understood in Malta. 197 Here is the Lord's Prayer in Maltese, which I quote so that 539 the reader unfamiliar with the language may see for himself what it looks like:

Missierna li inti fis-smewwiet,
Jitqaddes ismek,
Tigi saltnatek,
Ikun li trid Int, kif fis-sema hekda fl-art.

Hobzna ta' kull jum aghtina l-lum,
Ahfrilna dnubietna, bhalma nahfru lil min hu hati ghalina.
U la ddahhalniex fit-tigrib,
Izda ehlisna mid-deni. Hekk ikun.

CHAPTER XVIII

Old Survivals in Modern Malta

MALTA OCCUPIES A PLACE OF ITS OWN IN THE OLD WORLD 101. not only by reason of the length and unusual character of its annals, not only by reason of the tremendous range of its architectural monuments. It does so because it combines with these features the circumstance that it is the home of a separate race, the smallest of European peoples.

There are, it is true, four independent states in Europe of lesser size than Malta, but the inhabitants of these states do not form distinct racial stocks, nor have they their own languages. The Maltese are the smallest nation with the longest history, and their islands are a microcosm, self-contained. Not only has Malta its own tongue. It has its [197] own University—the oldest in the British Commonwealth [873] Overseas and granted the Royal patronage and the prefix "Royal" by King George VI in his coronation year—with seven faculties: Theology, Laws, Medicine and Surgery, Dental Surgery, Engineering and Architecture, Arts, Science. It has, as we have seen, its own Nobility with their Committee [565] of Privileges. It is an ecclesiastical Province whose Archbishop [793] exercises jurisdiction since 1944 over the bishopric of Gozo, previously immediately subject to the Holy See since its formation in 1864. And in the history of this microcosm has been mirrored the life of the great world around it.

Viewed as a part of the British Commonwealth, Malta is 655 unique in two particulars. It is the only British possession 545 whose Government owns an Opera House and in normal times 368 maintains an annual opera season and conducts the pawnbroking of the nation in the manner of certain Continental states.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

361 Corniche from heights as inaccessible as nature and man's
712 ingenuity could make them. When the marauders from
North Africa ceased to be a menace, the citadel was partly
evacuated for the lower town, but happily was never
abandoned completely. Even now it contains the cathedral
of the diocese and the Law Court and Public Registry,
formerly the residence of the Governors of Gozo; and,
although many of its ancient houses are in ruins, a few are
still inhabited.

175 One interesting little lane with façades of the thirteenth
717 and fourteenth centuries was restored by the Government
341 before the outbreak of the Second World War, as has been
654 the handsome Renaissance building facing the entrance to
the citadel latterly known as the Bondi Palace, as related at
the end of Chapter XIII. One of the houses in the lane at
one time belonged, as an inscription testifies, to the soldier
Bernard, "*miles Bernardus*," who was killed at the capture
of the citadel by the Turks under Sinan Pasha in 1551. When
he saw that the fortress could hold out no longer this dauntless
man took the lives of his wife and two daughters with his
own hand to save them from being sold into captivity, and
then fell, fighting to the end. The walls and fortifications
of the citadel are happily well preserved.

● 101 Gozo was Ogygia or Gaulos to the Greeks, *gaulos* (γαῦλος)
being the word the Greeks had for the round merchant-boats
of their rivals, the Phœnicians. From Gaulos it became
Gaulum to the Romans, then appears on Idrisi's map of
1154 as Ghudash, and in modern Maltese is known as
Ghawdex (pronounced Audesh), its Bishop signing as
484 *Episcopus Gaudisiensis*. The shortest ferry-crossing between
505 the two islands is only four miles, yet many Gozitans have
never been to Malta while the overwhelming majority of
Maltese have never been to Gozo.

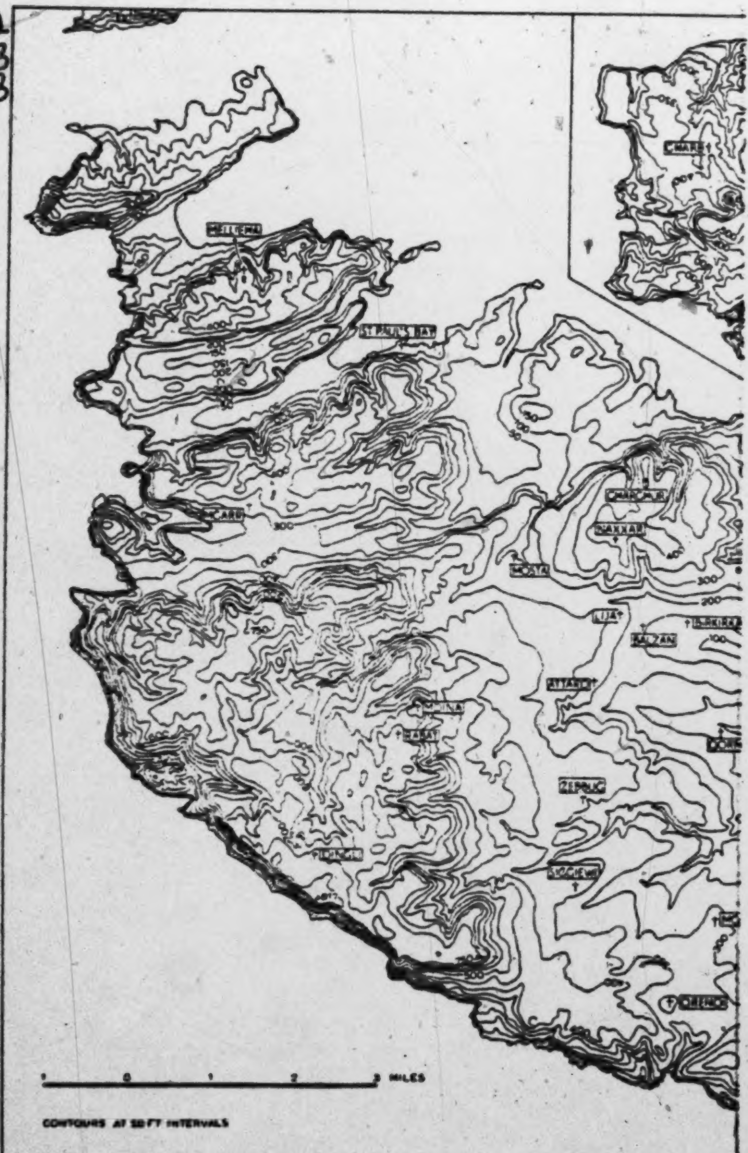
181 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times
186 somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are
regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

[p. 1 is blank]

● 102
103
133


MELLIEHA
ST PAUL'S BAY
MGARR
GHARGHUR
NAXXAR
MOSTA
LIJA
BIRKIRKARA
BALZAN
ATTARD
MDINA
RABAT
ZEBBUG
SIGGIEWI
DINGLI
QRENDI
GHARB
300
200
100
750
1 0 1 2 3 MILES
CONTOURS AT 50 FT INTERVALS

[p. 2-A]

Fig. 1 Relief Map of Malt
and Gozo

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
103
133

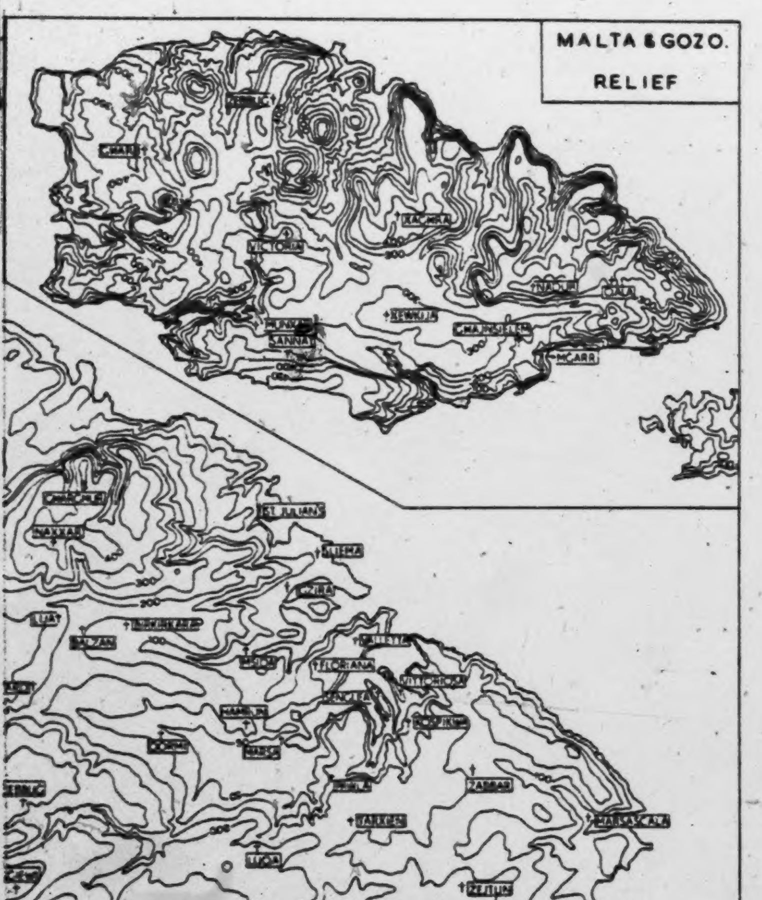

MALTA & GOZO.
RELIEF
ZEBBUG
GHARB
XAGHRA
VICTORIA
NADUR
QALA
XEWKIJA
GHAJNSIELEM
MUNXAR
SANNAT
MGARR
ST JULIANS
SLIEMA
GZIRA
NAXXAR
BALZAN
BIRKIRKARA
VALLETTA
FLORIANA
VITTORIOSA
SENGLEA
COSPICUA
HAMRUN
QORMI
MARSA
PAOLA
ZABBAR
TARXIEN
MARSASCALA
LUQA
ZEJTUN
MQABBA
GUDJA
GHAXAQ
KIRKOP
MARSAXLOKK
QRENDI
SAFI
ZURRIEQ
BIRZEBBUGA
400
300
200
100
JCD

Fig. 1

Relief Map of Malta and Gozo.

[p.2-B]

*311
●102
634

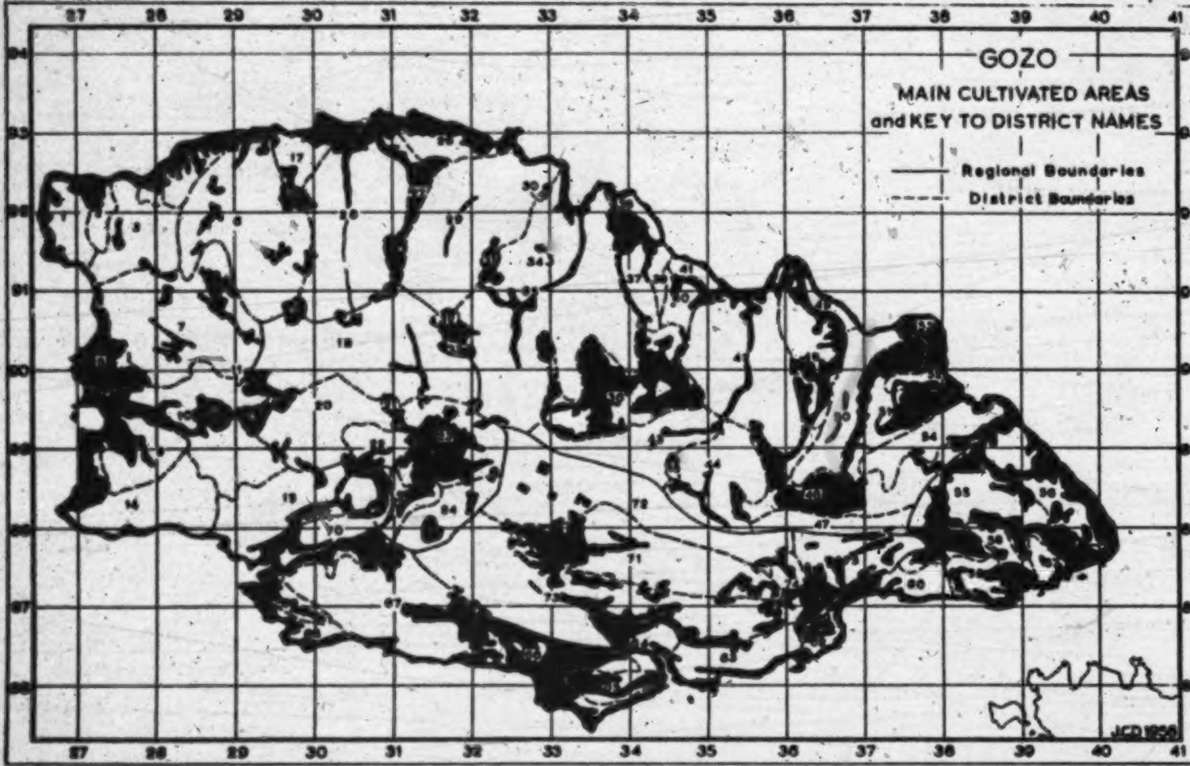

GOZO
MAIN CULTIVATED AREAS
and KEY TO DISTRICT NAMES
Regional Boundaries
District Boundaries
JCD 1958

Fig. 70 Main Cultivated Areas and Key to District Names: Goso.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
133

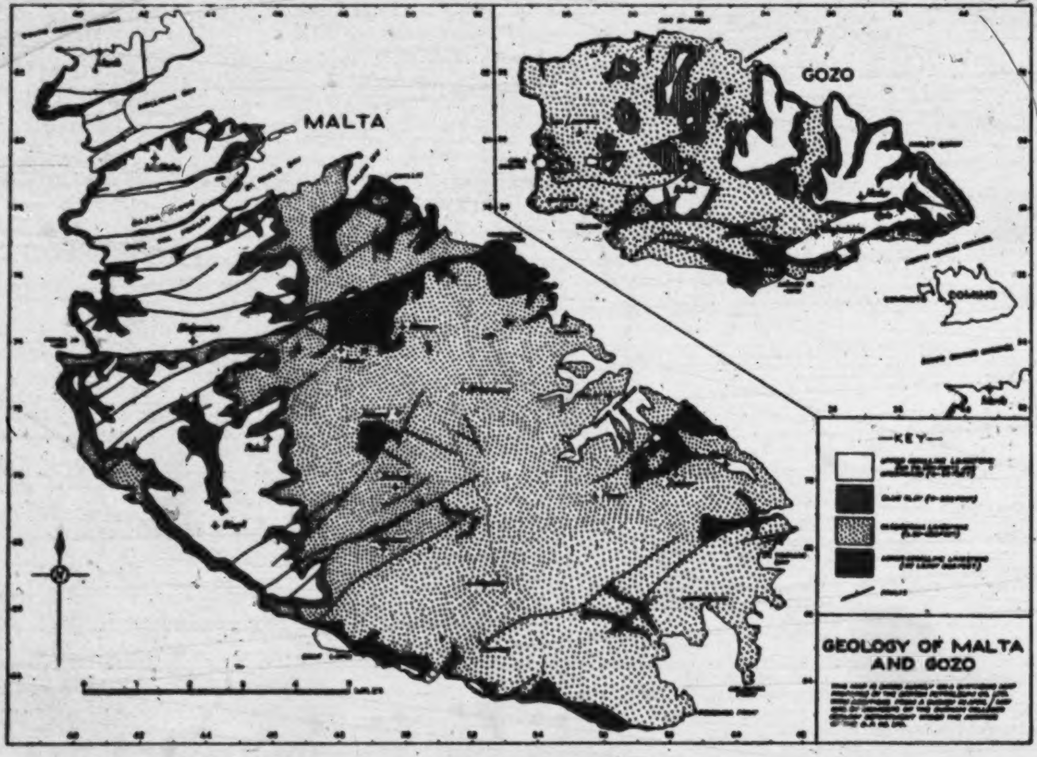
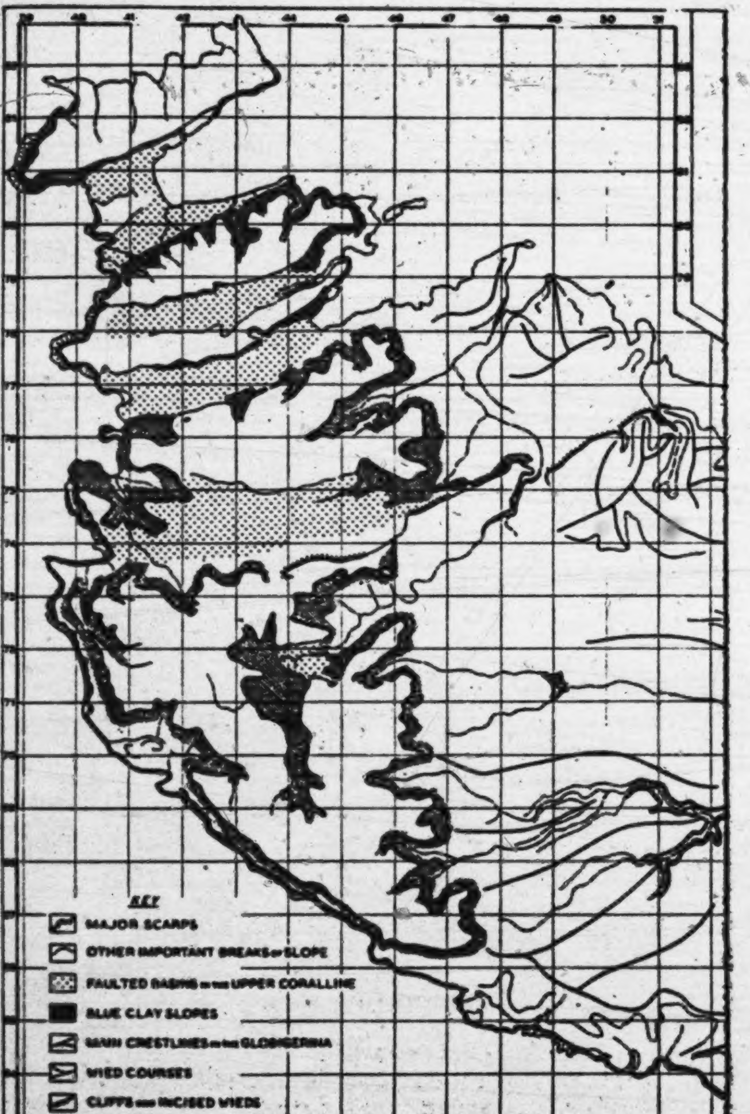

MALTA
GOZO
COMINO
—KEY—
GEOLOGY OF MALTA AND GOZO

Fig. 3 Geology of Malta and Gozo.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
133


39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
KEY
MAJOR SCARPS
OTHER IMPORTANT BREAKS OF SLOPE
FAULTED BASINS IN THE UPPER CORALLINE
BLUE CLAY SLOPES
MAIN CRESTLINES IN THE GLOBIGERINA
WIED COURSES
CLIFFS AND INCISED WIEDS

[p. 35-A]

Fig. 3 Physiography of Malta

102
133

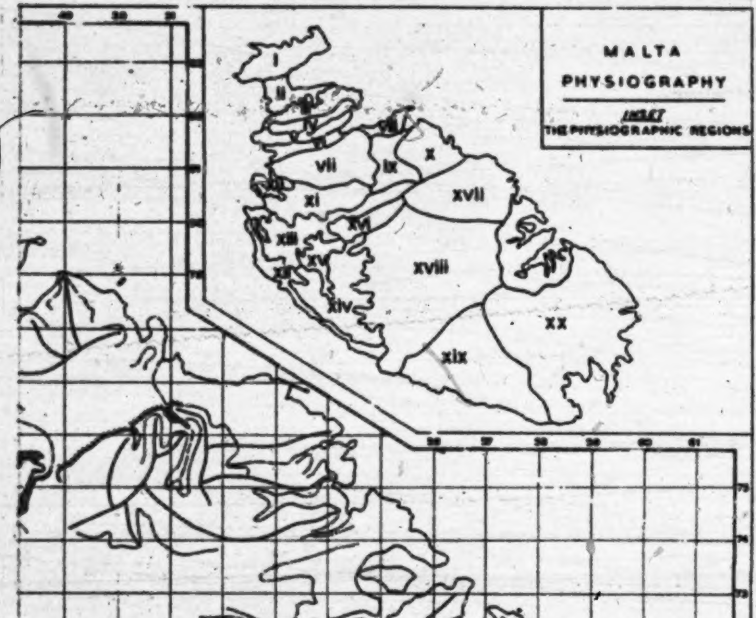

MALTA
PHYSIOGRAPHY
INSET
THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS
i
ii
iv
vii
viii
ix
x
xi
xii
xiii
xiv
xv
xvi
xvii
xviii
xix
xx

Fig. 3

[p. 35-B]

Physiography of Malta.

102
133
1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[p. 39-A]

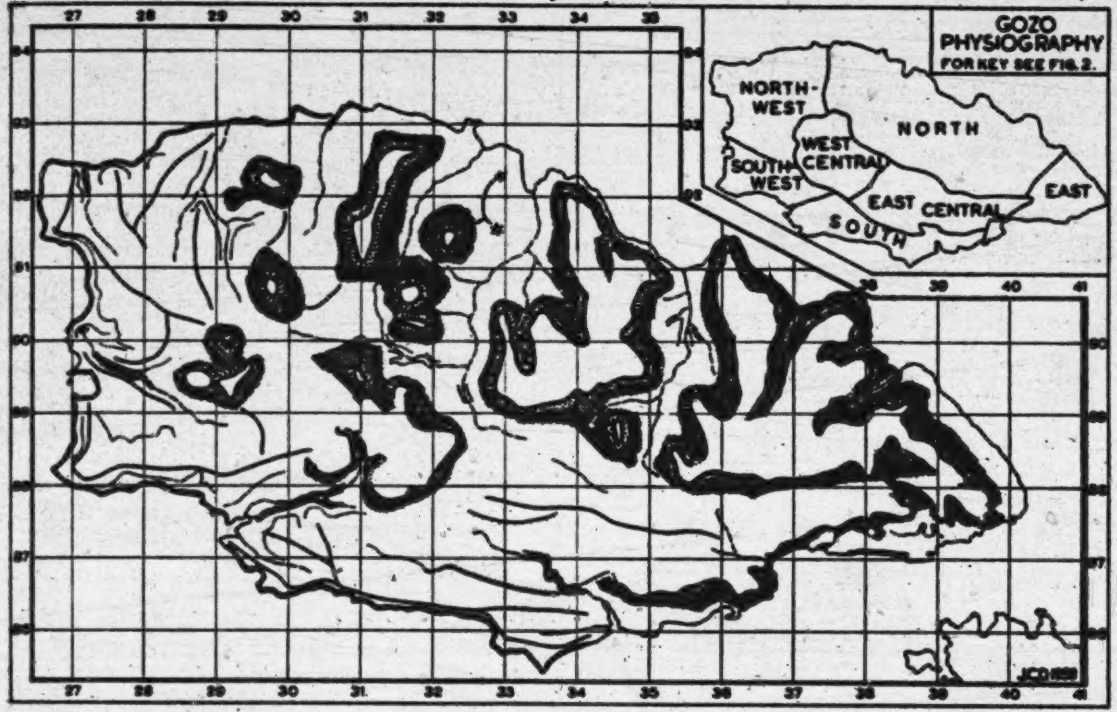

GOZO
PHYSIOGRAPHY
FOR KEY SEE FIG. 2.
NORTH-WEST
NORTH
WEST CENTRAL
SOUTH-WEST
EAST
EAST CENTRAL
SOUTH
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
JCD 1958

Fig. 4 Physiography of Gozo.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

*132
•102
654

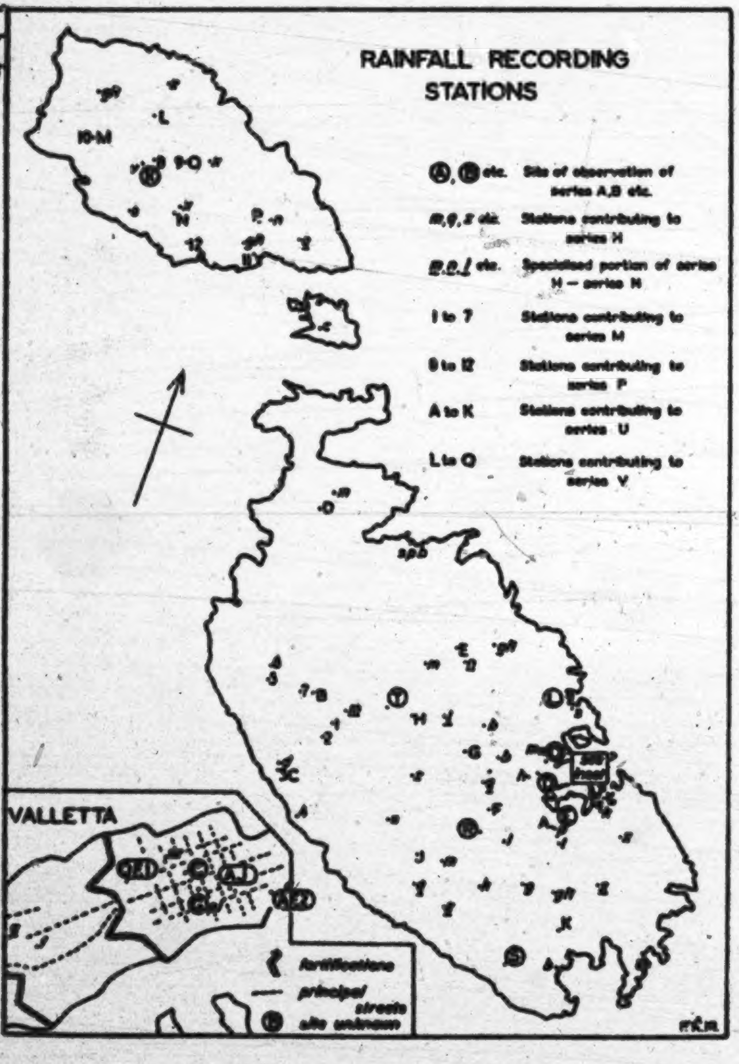

RAINFALL RECORDING STATIONS
Ⓐ, Ⓑ etc. Site of observation of series A,B etc.
m,q,z etc. Stations contributing to series H
m.o.l etc. Specialised portion of series H – series N
1 to 7 Stations contributing to series M
9 to 12 Stations contributing to series P
A to K Stations contributing to series U
L to O Stations contributing to series V
VALLETTA
fortifications
principal streets
site unknown
r.k.m.

Fig. 9 Rainfall Recording Stations.

[p. 57-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

102-134

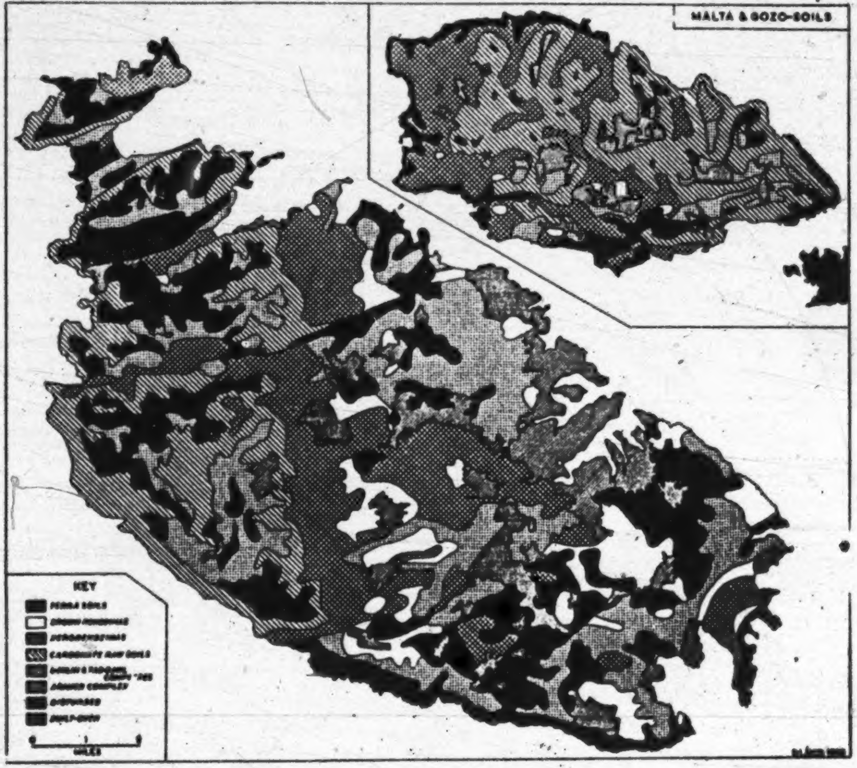
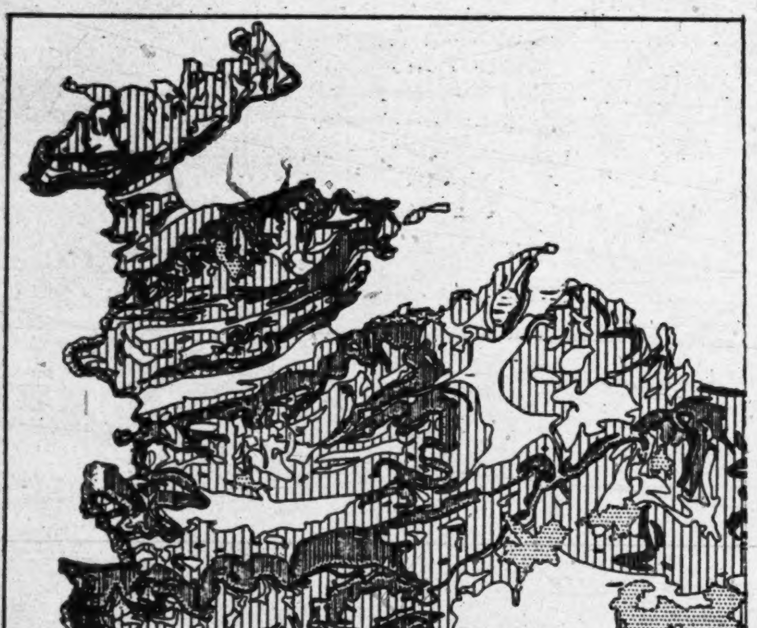

MALTA & GOZO-SOILS
KEY
TERRA SOILS
BROWN RENDZINAS
XERORENDZINAS
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
DISTURBED
BUILT-OVER
0
1
2
MILES

Fig. 27 Soils of Malta and Gozo.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

● 107
133
311



[p. 98-B]

Fig. 28 Steepness of Slope
(Malta).

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

102
133
311

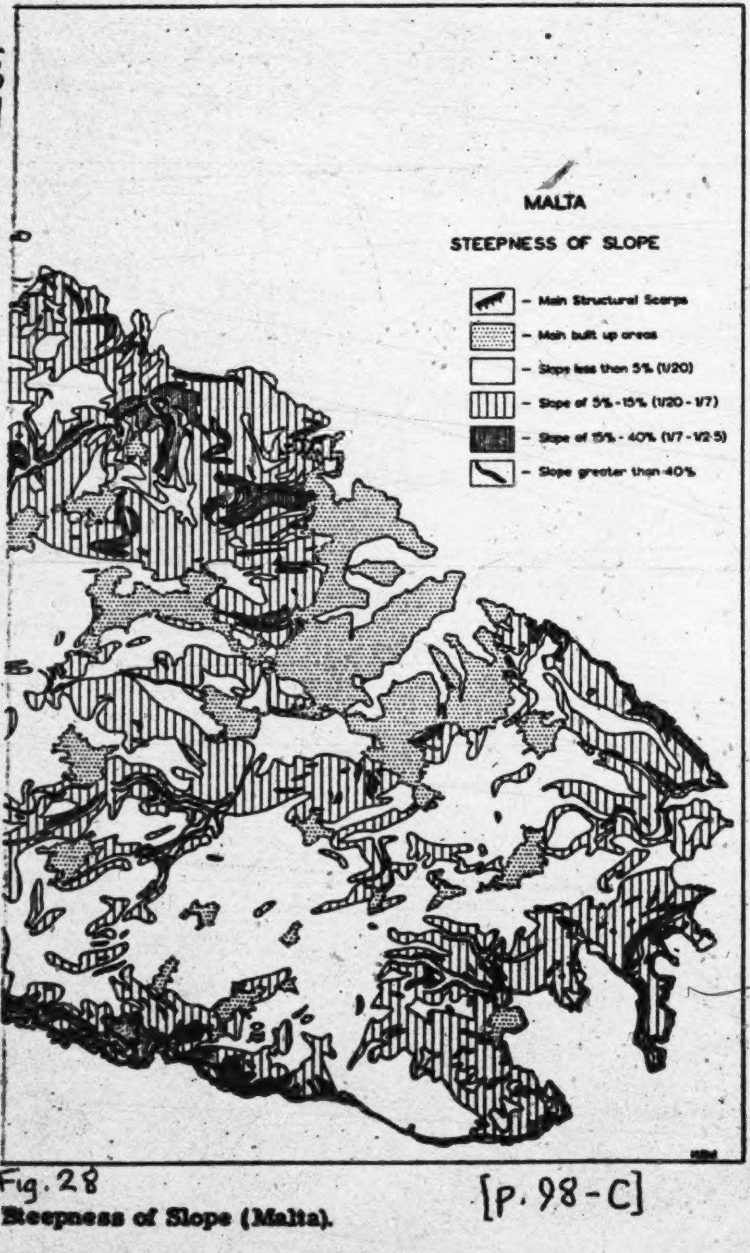

MALTA
STEEPNESS OF SLOPE
– Main Structural Scarps
– Main built up areas
– Slope less than 5% (1/20)
– Slope of 5%-15% (1/20 - 1/7)
– Slope of 15%-40% (1/7 - 1/2·5)
– Slope greater than 40%

Fig. 28

[p. 98-C]

Steepness of Slope (Malta).

102
172

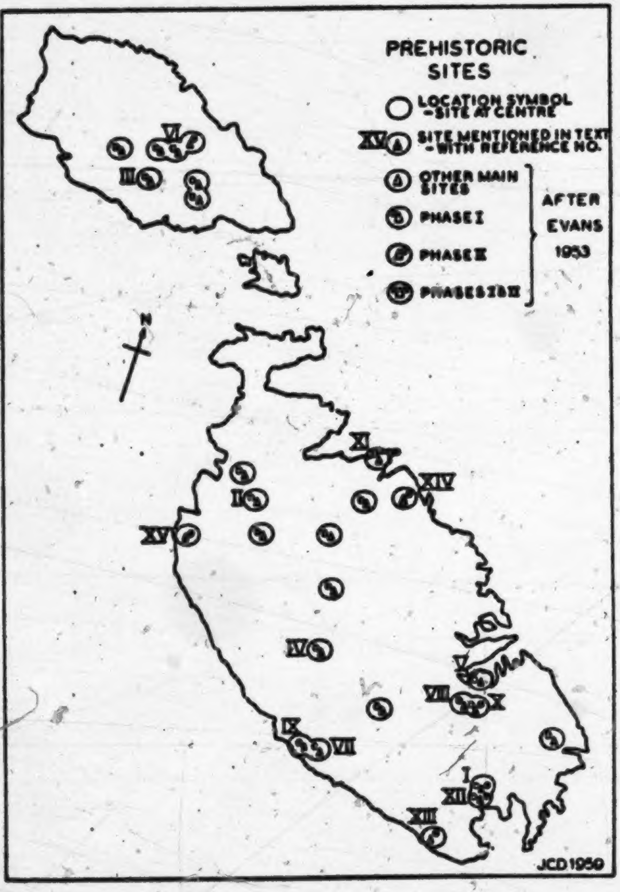

PREHISTORIC SITES
LOCATION SYMBOL -SITE AT CENTRE
XV SITE MENTIONED IN TEXT -WITH REFERENCE NO.
OTHER MAIN SITES
PHASE I
PHASE II
PHASES I & II
AFTER EVANS 1953
N
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
X
XI
XII
XIII
XIV
XV
JCD 1959

Fig. 20 Prehistoric Sites.

192 clover-leaf plan of shrine and forecourts, associated with 'cut-out' styled ware also with *Stentinello* affiliations. By a little after 2000 B.C., a late Mgarr temple type had evolved contemporaneously with pottery of a more individual style as found in the Żebbuġ tombs (IV). In the latter, red ochre and flint have also been found, both imported from the Sicily-Lipari region. At Kordin (V) (Corradino), a more highly developed temple was built with embryonic apses opening off the centre court and in Gozo, at Ġgantija (VI), an early gigantic trefoil was further developed in this form (Plate VIII). At Ġgantija and Hağar Qim (VII) a penultimate stage foreshadowed the later climacteric. The buildings and individual stones became of immense size and, for the first time, the softer

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*175
● 107
361

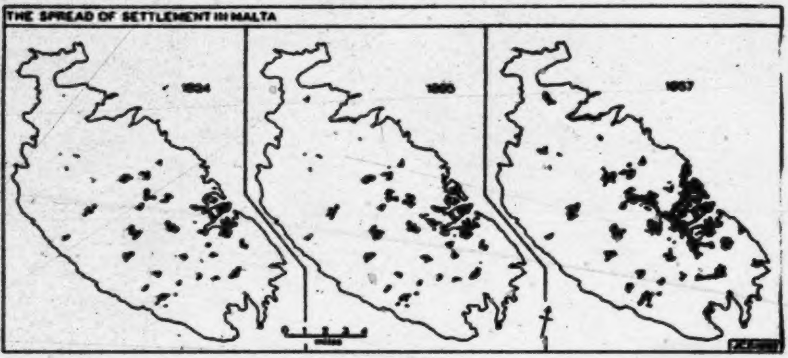

THE SPREAD OF SETTLEMENT IN MALTA
1957
miles

Fig. 32 The Spread of Settlement in Malta.

102
364

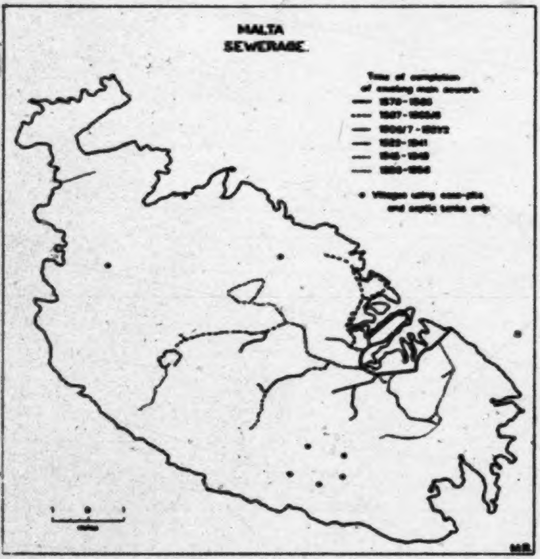
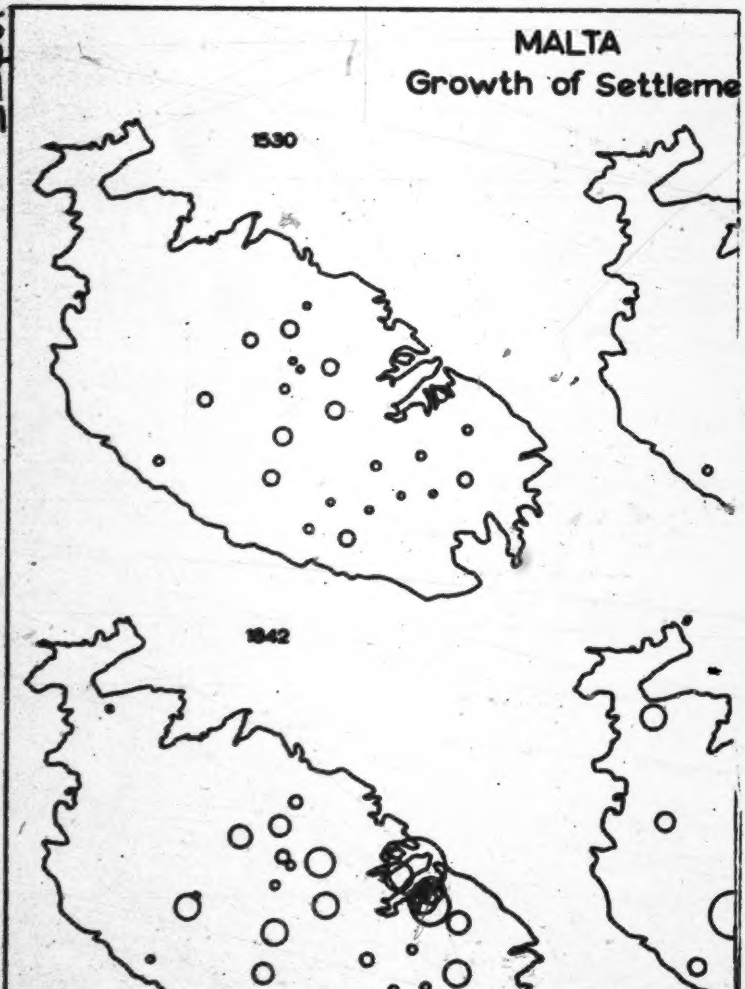

MALTA
SEWERAGE
Time of completion
of existing main sewers.
Villages using cess-pits
and septic tanks only
miles
MR

Fig. 33 Malta: Sewerage.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

#175
● 102
161
361


MALTA
Growth of Settleme
1530
1842
1 0 1 2 3

[p139-A]

Fig. 30 Malta: Growth of Settlements

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

[139-B]

175*
102 ●
161
361

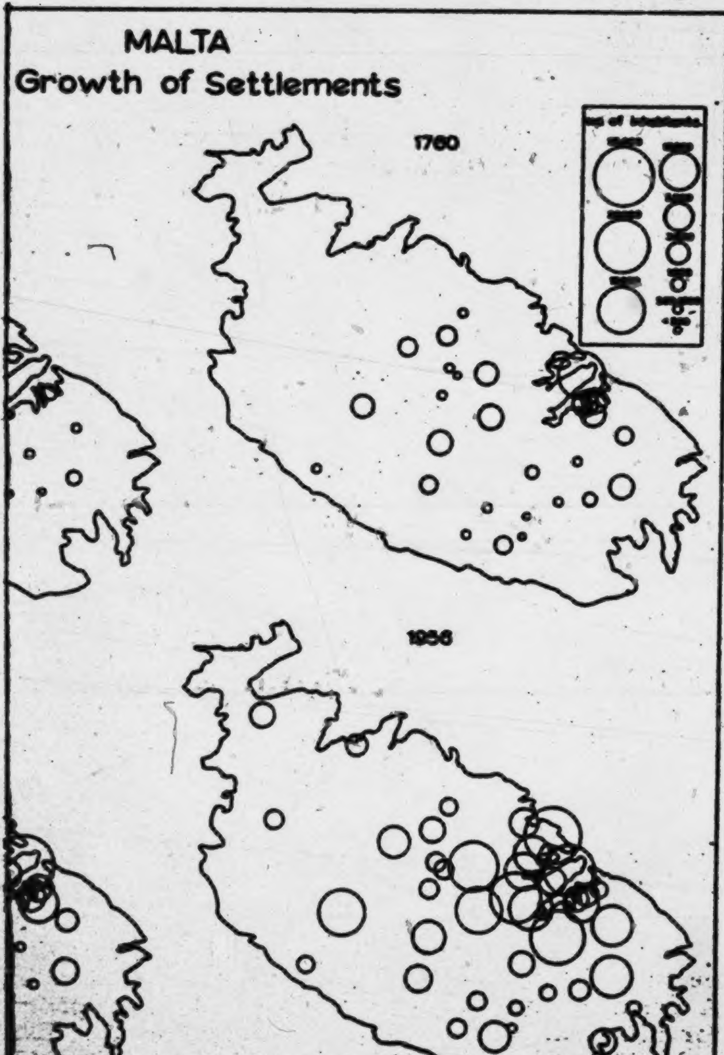

MALTA
Growth of Settlements
1760
1956

Fig. 39

Malta: Growth of Settlements.

[p. 139-B]

*175
● 102
161
361

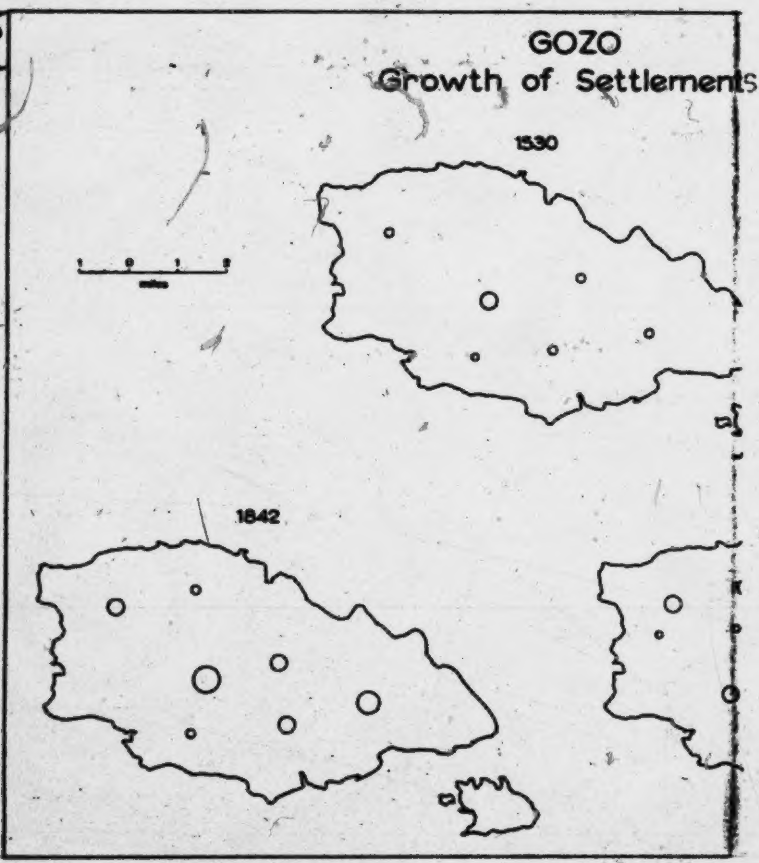

GOZO
Growth of Settlements
1530
1 0 1 2
miles
1842

Fig. 40 Gozo: Growth of Settlements

[p.140-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

175*
161
102 ●
361

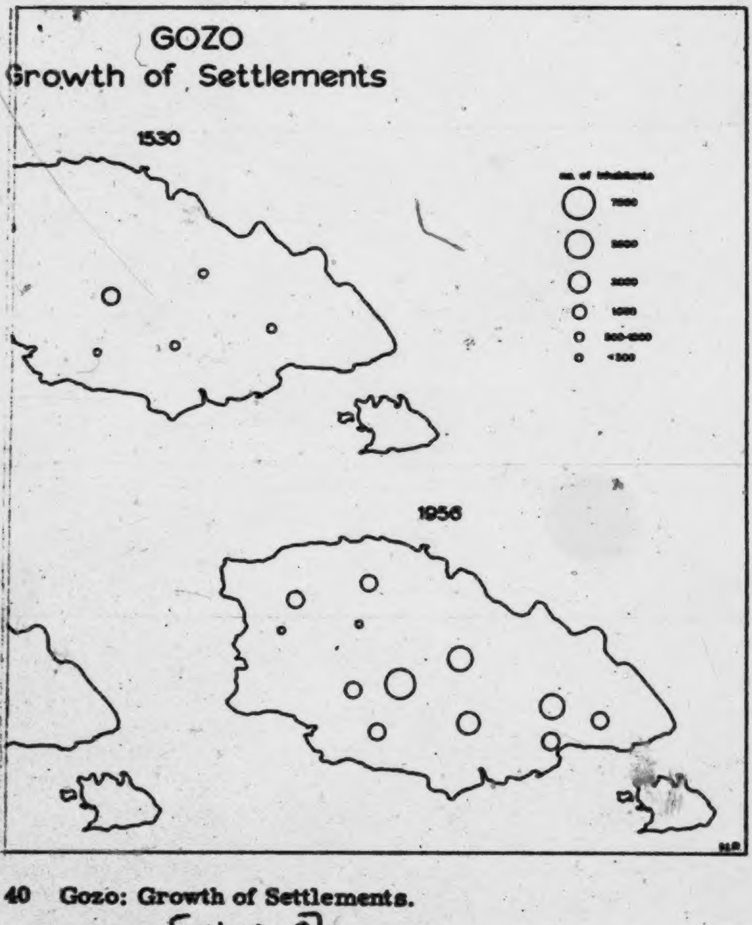

GOZO
Growth of Settlements
1530
1956
no. of inhabitants
7000
1000
300-1000
<300

Fig. 40 Gozo: Growth of Settlements.

[p. 140-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
161

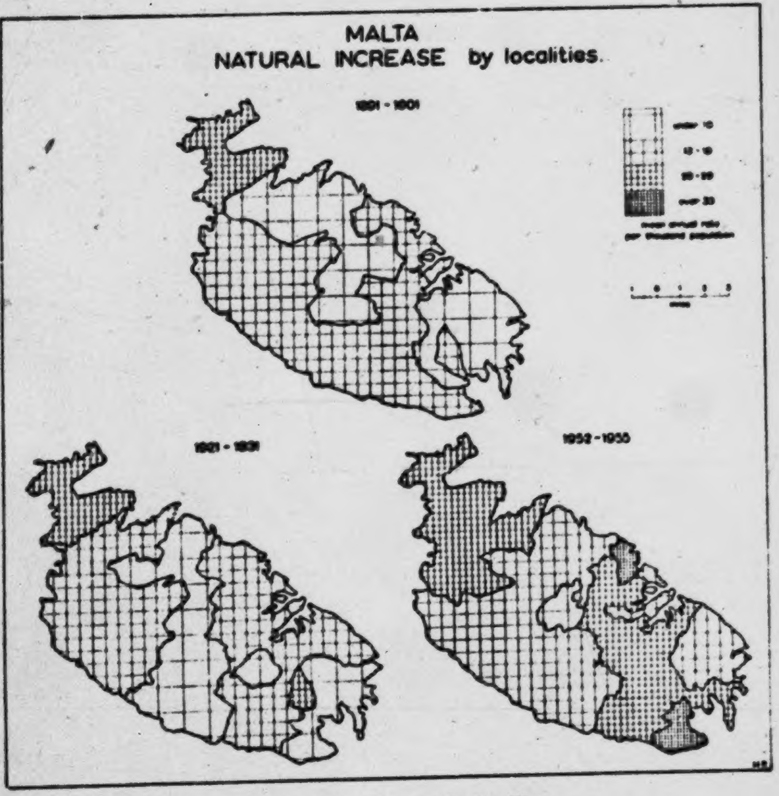

MALTA
NATURAL INCREASE by localities.
1891 - 1901
under 10
10 - 19
20 - 29
over 30
mean annual rate per thousand population
1 0 1 2 3
miles
1921 - 1931
1952 - 1955

Fig. 55 · Natural Increase by locality.

BIRTHS

163 The crude birth rate in the Islands has remained between 30 and 40 per thousand over almost the entire period since 1826. Only in the 1840's did it exceed 40 and since then it has remained well below that figure. In 1917 and again in the Second World War it fell below 30, but a permanent downward trend has only been established during the last decade, bringing the birth rate below 30 since 1952 (Fig. 54).

The overall trend has thus been one of decline. This began after the peak of the 1840's and continued until the 70's. There was a reversion to higher rates during the last two decades of the nineteenth century which was carried on until 1906, but the next four years brought unemployment and depression, foreshadowing the trough of the 1914-18 War. This was followed by a recovery to 38 per thousand, but the rate soon fell again to remain around 33 until the Second World War. A marked decline in the period 1940-43 was followed by a rise in 1944 to levels above anything experienced since the 1850's and these were maintained until 1948. Since then, decline has been rapid and sustained. With the sole

102
167

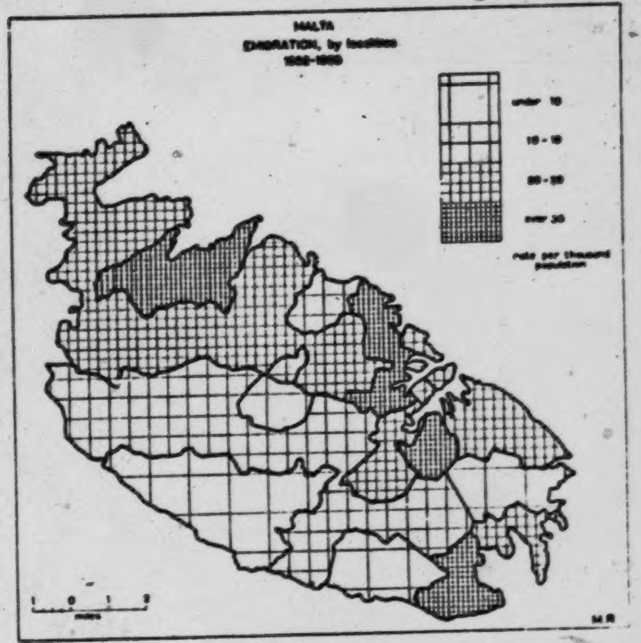


Fig. 63 Emigration by Localities, 1952-55.

161 168 puzzled note made by the Royal Commissioners of 1911 would seem to be applicable to the whole of our period: 'We cannot but conclude that the Maltese people as a whole are by no means a destitute population seeing that they continue to absorb and pay for imports of considerable value over and above those which may be said to be paid for by the exportation of the products of the Islands' (30).

The obvious question of whether this process has now reached its limit is bound up with our analysis of the contemporary situation. For a decade or so, there has been a substantial overspill of population in emigration and the birth rate has declined (p. 153). The present apparent equilibrium is however most unstable. [167] The rate of emigration itself is only to a limited extent controlled by economic forces and is bound to fluctuate. If the 1948-56 rate of natural increase were maintained and emigration discontinued, the total population of the Islands would leap up another 100,000 over the 1947 level to 400,000 by 1968. Moreover and as noted on p. 157 the nuptial fertility rates reveal that the rate of natural increase could rise even higher than at present if the indirect effects of emigration disappeared. To what circumstances can the concept of a population optimum be referred? Quite obviously the term has no relevance either to the known past or hypothetical future in that historical experience has so conditioned Maltese attitudes the even now there seems general confidence that a continued population inflation can be maintained.

168 Demographically considered these are facts of observation; socially and economically they are the factual basis on which future policies must be based.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

•102
464
504

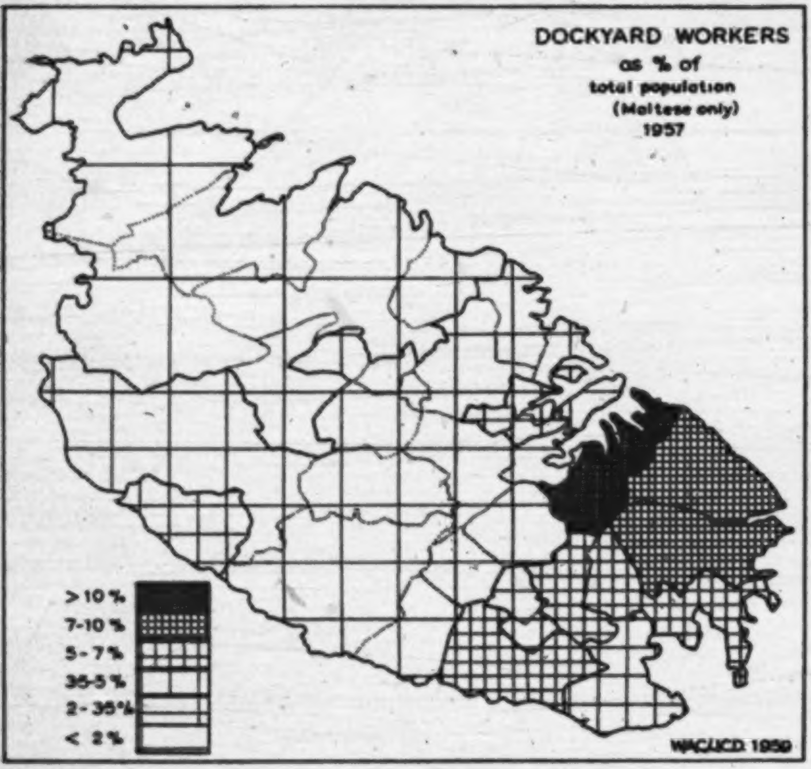

DOCKYARD WORKERS
as % of
total population
(Maltese only)
1957
>10 %
7-10 %
5-7 %
3.5-5 %
2-3.5 %
< 2 %
WAC/JCD 1959

Fig. 64 Dockyard Workers as % age of Total Population.

[p. 172-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

102 464 504 [361] Fig. 64 shows the distribution in Malta of Maltese Dockyard workers by residence as a proportion of the total regional populations. The zones of concentration are centred on the Three Cities, and the great importance of Dockyard employment in the North-East as a whole, a phenomenon more than a century old (19), is clear. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the much smaller association of Dockyard employment with the belt of urban settlement which stretches from Valletta westwards to Lija. Conversely, the northern third of the Island, most recently settled and still relatively sparsely populated, has very little indeed to do with Grand Harbour. Gozo, still more remote, had but 25 Dockyard workers. Some 417 English workers were employed in the Dockyard most of them living in the suburban residential areas west of Valletta, 75 per cent. in contiguous Sliema, St. Julians and Gżira.

Thus we see the one part of the climax of that change in Malta which, commencing in the sixteenth century, swung the economic centre of gravity from the Centre to the North-East. During the last century the new conurbation [894] extended its grip on the rest of the Island. Police Traffic Records (20) show part of this effect; on the 5th February, 1958, a normal day, 28 special buses, in addition to public transport, carried 930 Dockyard employees to work from a zone extending to Birżebbuġa, Żurrieq, Siġġiewi, Dingli, Rabat, Mosta and north-eastwards to St. Julians.

185 504 Here we have reason and space only for the briefest of notes on current economic conditions. For more complete statements the reader is referred to the recent publications of the Maltese Department of Trade and Industry. As a result of Britain's reappraisal of her strategic needs, the old Naval Dockyard was handed over to a civilian firm by April 1959. Some emotional reaction has

[p. 172 -B]

102
499

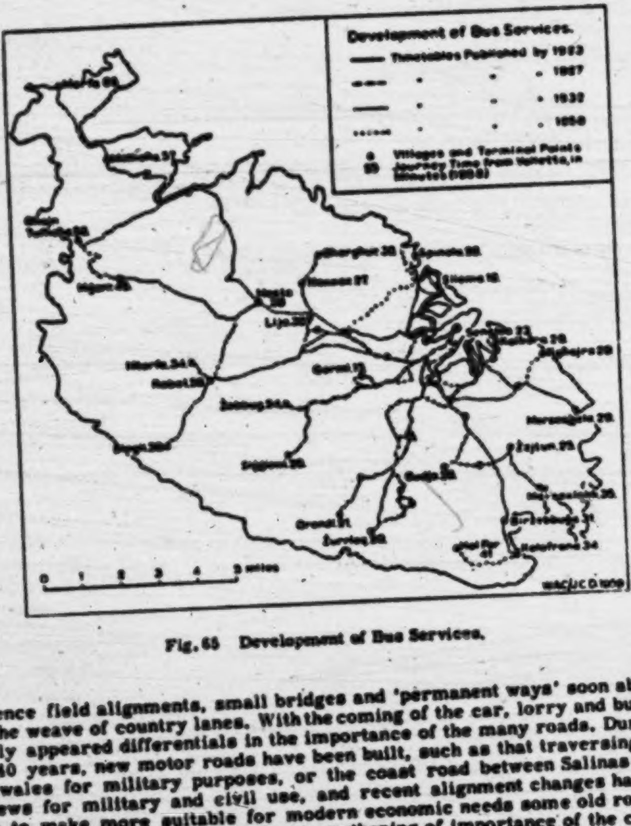

Development of Bus Services.
Timetables Published by 1933
" " " 1937
" " " 1952
" " " 1958
Villages and Terminal Points
Journey Time from Valletta, in Minutes (1958)
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

Fig. 65 Development of Bus Services.

494 existence field alignments, small bridges and 'permanent ways' soon absorbed into the weave of country lanes. With the coming of the car, lorry and bus there rapidly appeared differentials in the importance of the many roads. During the last 40 years, new motor roads have been built, such as that traversing Wied-tal-Pwales for military purposes, or the coast road between Salinas and St. Andrews for military and civil use, and recent alignment changes have been made to make more suitable for modern economic needs some old routes. In Gozo as in Malta this has led to the strengthening of importance of the capitals, and in the latter island to the appearance of true communication centres such as Mosta. At the same time the relative remoteness of those regions off the main highways has been increased.

The duality of the nature of these changes is well exemplified by the development of the public bus services (Fig. 65). In March 1959 there were 20,181 licensed vehicles of which over 13,000 were private cars and taxis, almost 4,000 lorries and vans and some 600 buses. These last play an essential part in Maltese life. In September 1922 (24), the first official recognition of the existence of buses plying for hire took the form of regulating tariffs by mileage. By September 1933 the boom in this new transport sector was such that further regulations had to be introduced. Operating permits were obligatory, certain minimum services required, and the order of departure of the competing buses regulated. At this time the recognised services only extended between Valletta and Sliema, making four stops in all, with a legal maximum of 50 buses a day. Later in 1933 this was extended to St. Julians, and until 1937 there is no mention of service extension outside this suburban zone, although by the latter date the number of buses per day had risen to over 120. In 1937, the first great extension

102
256

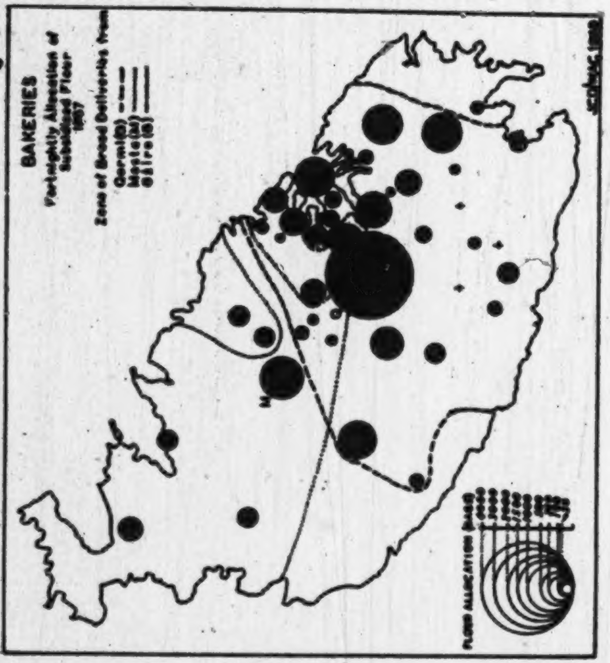

BAKERIES
Fortnightly Allocation of Subsidised Flour 1957
Zone of Bread Deliveries from
Qormi(Q)
Mosta(M)
Gżira(G)
FLOUR ALLOCATION (BAGS)
M
JCD/MAC 1959

Fig. 67 Bakeries.

16A

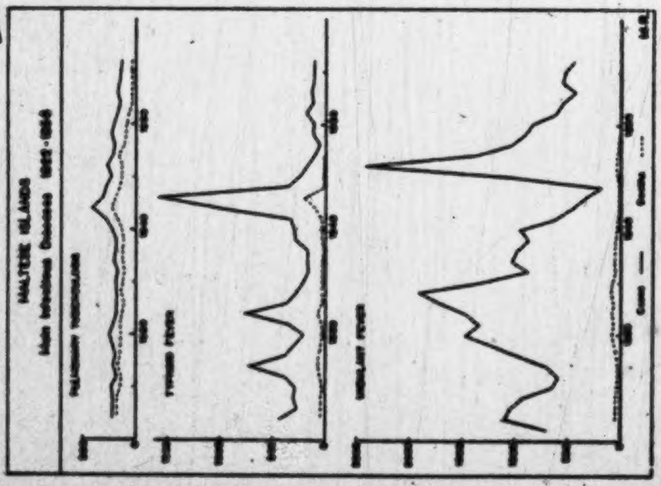


Fig. 68 Maltese Islands: Main Infectious Diseases.

178 tion can read, travel and make contact directly and vicariously with the world
outside. Emigration too has tested the strength of the Faith. In consequence,
79 we can now find in Malta a historical cross-section represented in spatial
distribution. At one extreme one can meet in Sliema agnostic Maltese who never
go near a church; at the other, in rural Gozo, one can find general obedience to
the Bishop's instructions. All societies are heterogeneous in this respect but
in Malta the strain of division within society is particularly great because of
the existence of so many other cleavages. The reaction of the Church to this
new situation has been dual in character. In the first place the Church itself has
taken official action. Reform and correction, the imposition of rigorous film
and book censorship, the series of edicts on dress and on behaviour have
accompanied research, such as that of Abbé Houtart (22), into the needs of the
people. Secondly, there have appeared the lay organisations with the avowed
intent of redressing the balance. M.U.S.E.U.M. and Catholic Action before World
War II, Cana, Legion of Mary, Social Action, the Holy Name Society and many
others of foreign and indigenous origin since 1945 have developed in the conurbation where the challenge to the Church was strongest (23).

Financially the Church is still strong, owning as it does some 19 per cent. of the agricultural land of the Islands and an unverifiable total of urban property (24). Politically, the strength of the Church rests on its hold over the minds and hearts of the people. It is not necessary for the Church to take much overt action to demonstrate its power.

178 As a last vignette of the changing Maltese socio-economic complex we may
consider some aspects of recent research on a useful indicator of social change,
256 the bread baking industry (25).
The purchasing, distribution and processing of wheat and wheat flour,
655 remains as it has been for centuries, Government controlled. When the Knights
established their capital at Valletta and when the suburb-outwork of Floriana
722 was built, great stone-chamber granaries were hewn out of the solid rock,
developed versions of the much older 'bell-pits'. These underground granaries
were stocked by the official organisation, the *Università*, and the grain
periodically distributed at controlled prices. This siege-system, necessitated
by dependence on imports, was abolished in the early nineteenth century, and
the newly established Board of Trade contented itself with licensing importations. As a measure of agricultural protection and for the raising of revenue,
duties were levied on these shipments. During the twentieth century, and
culminating in the emergency measures of the beleaguered Islands during World
War II, controls became tighter and grain prices heavily subsidised.
During the period of urbanisation and more especially during the last siege
178 the general practice of home baking rapidly declined in Malta, although in Gozo
256 it still persists. In the latter island there was in 1957 only one full-time and one
part-time commercial bakery, while in Malta there were 201. All food grains
produced for sale in the Island should legally be sent to licensed flour mills for
blending. Imports, almost entirely of hard Canadian grain, are made by the
Department of Trade and by the Victualling Yard in H.M. Dockyard. Ninety-seven per cent. of all flour issued for ration-bread making is subsidised, but
local estimates suggest that up to 50 per cent. is used for making other products,
this illegally used flour being sold at a discount.
Fig. 67 shows the distribution of bakeries in Malta, their importance and
182 the main distribution areas as they existed in 1957. Only two villages in 1950
178 and one in 1957 - Safi - did not possess their own bakeries. This however is not
indicative of closed fields of distribution but only of the multiplicity and the
256 small-scale of the enterprises. Of the 35 districts, 32 imported bread from and
17 exported bread to other areas. Over half the 15,000 bags of subsidised flour
issued in 1950 eventually found their way as bread outside the receiving
districts. Of this inter-regional trade, Qormi supplied almost 80 per cent. Very
briefly the points of interest are as follows. Qormi, which in 1957 had 48
bakeries, has always been the traditional baking centre, partly because of its
central situation, but mainly as noted in Chapter VIII because of its situation in

[See p. 198 -- Analyst]

a dry-farming cereal region. The other main centres are of more recent growth 102
and reflect a variety of factors, Mosta as a regional centre, Gżira and Msida 108
as suitably placed coastal sites within the conurbation. Secondly, the distribution
of bakeries does not correspond directly with variations in population density 256
but rather reflects those variations in an exaggerated form. If we omit Qormi from consideration, Fig. 67 indicates fairly accurately the strength or weakness of traditional society in inverse ratio to the strength of commercial bakery development. Thirdly, the inter-regional 'trade' in bread, together with evidence we have no space to consider such as the development of travelling shops, etc., shows the importance of the new mobility which is rapidly breaking down old parochialisms. Uniformity, homogeneity, openness to world ideas, these are the social virtues lauded in the twentieth century, which are being inculcated in Malta most effectively by the delivery vans of the new commercialism. The decline of local individualisms is aesthetically sad; it is also dangerous in that the smoother the appearance of the social emulsion the less heed is paid to the degree of real cohesion between its members.

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113

As noted in Chapter V B, a convenient and useful work of general reference is 'Britain in Malta' - Harrison Smith. *op. cit.*

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3. Ibid.
4. For detailed reference consult Maltese newspapers, in particular '*Il-Berqa*' (Maltese), 'The Bulletin' and the 'Times of Malta' (English), and the great number of ephemeral pamphlets published in recent years.
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6. see '*Tajjeb li tkun taf*', No. 9/58. Malta. Depart. of Information and Tourist Services. February 1958.
7. the 'Għaqda tal-Kittieba tal-Malti'.
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17. *Cana*, Nov.-Dec. 1957, p. 10 (Trans. B. W. Beeley). The organisation *CANA* helps to prepare engaged couples for marriage and has a marriage advisory council. It was founded by Father Vella.
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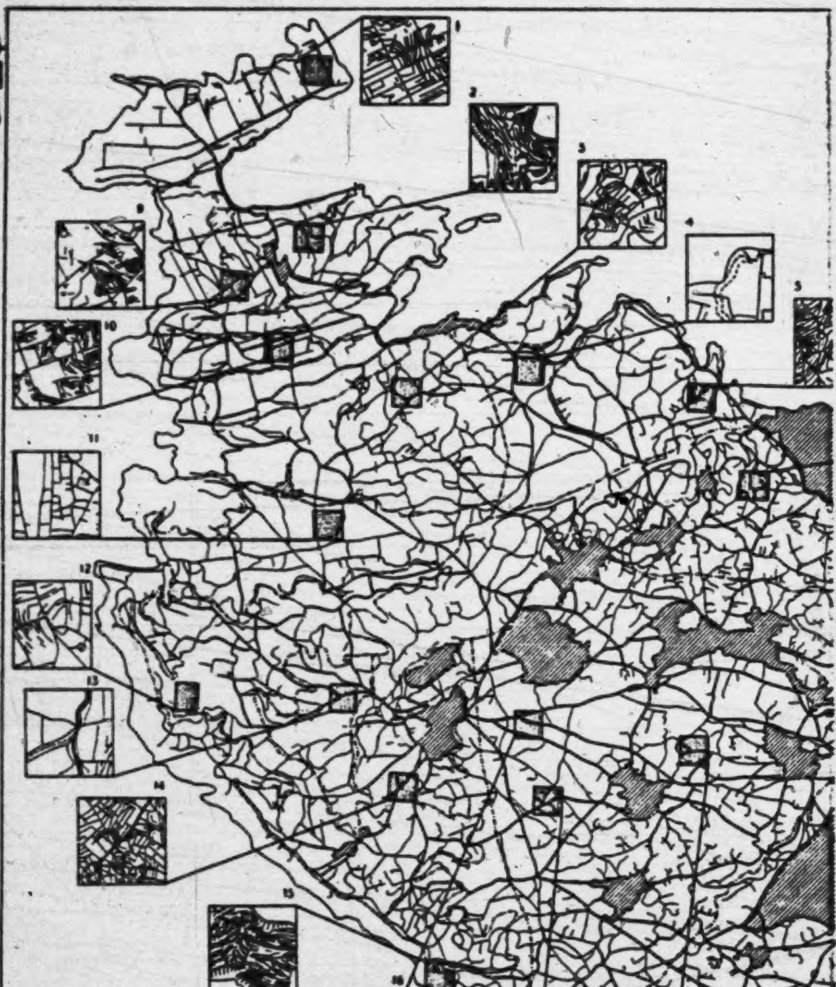
22. HOUTART, ABBÉ: The Socio-Religious Study of Malta and Gozo, *Centre de Recherches Socio-Religieuses*, Report No. 64. Brussels. 1960.
23. Source material concerning these religious activities ranges from the *Annuario della Diocesi di Malta* before 1938; and the Catholic Directory of the Maltese Islands 1959, the Archbishop's Palace; to C.T.S. Publications and reports of Lay Organisations.
24. see Chapter IX.
25. CHARLTON, W. A.: *op. cit.*

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

102
311
491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[p.184-A]

Fig. 68 Communications and Field Patterns

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

107
311
491

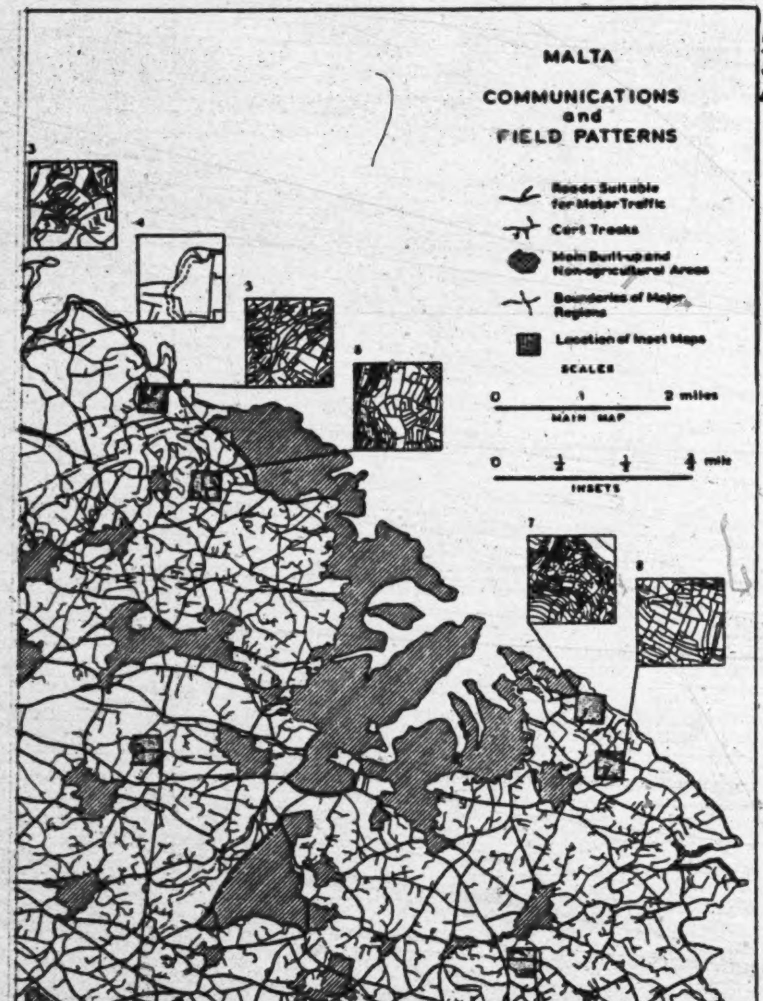

MALTA
COMMUNICATIONS and FIELD PATTERNS
Roads Suitable for Motor Traffic
Cart Tracks
Main Built-up and Non-agricultural Areas
Boundaries of Major Regions
Location of Inset Maps
SCALES
0 1 2 miles
MAIN MAP
0 ¼ ½ ¾ mile
INSETS
3
4
5
6
7
8
18
19
20
21
JCD 1958

Fig. 62
Communications and Field Patterns.

[p. 184-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

D. Note on Fig. 68

COMMUNICATIONS AND FIELD PATTERNS

Roads, tracks, stone walls and buildings are the human imprint on the surface of the land and the first three of these elements are illustrated in Fig. 68. The pattern of communications, while at first appearing quite devoid of plan, nevertheless shows distinct regional characteristics. On the Coralline Uplands, where cultivated land is often scattered among stretches of karst, there are few motorable roads, but numerous tracks appear to wander at will across the surface. In the Marfa, Mellieħa Ridge and Bajda Ridge districts, a grid-iron pattern of roads and tracks reflects mid-nineteenth century plans for the allocation of land. 102 311 491

Basins and lowlands such as Miżieb, Bingemma, Wied tal-Pwales, the Blue Clay Basin and Wied il-Għasel, are characterised by an open network which includes several important roads and a minimum of linking tracks, an arrangement also characteristic of the central plains west of Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi. In these areas, the gentle slopes obviate the necessity for cart access to every field, while the absence of terraces does away with the need for well-defined, walled tracks. 'Service tracks' leading off the main lines, are virtually absent. This is in complete contrast with the state of affairs prevailing throughout the bulk of central, southern and eastern Malta, where roads and connecting tracks form a denser web between the numerous settlements and their lands. Here, 'cul-de-sac' service tracks abound and few fields are more than a quarter of a mile from one of them. There is a marked tendency for the network to become closer in regions where steep slopes are common as in the Naxxur-Għargħur hills and around the Wied il-Kbir complex.

The inset maps, each covering an area of one-ninth square mile, illustrate the great variety of field size, shape and arrangement to be found in Malta. 102 311

1. Marfa. The rectilinear nineteenth-century pattern has been superimposed on older patterns which show a clear relationship to topography.
2. Mellieħa Upland - Wied Għajn Żejtuna. The narrow terraces of the sharply sloping valley sides contrast with the rather larger fields of the valley floor and with the open karst of the upland.
3. Wardija Uplands. An irregular pattern developed on the Coralline plateau summit.
4. Wied il-Għasel. Unusually large, open fields with only occasional walls. The wied channel (shown by broken lines) has been ploughed over.
5. Għallis Hills. Small, irregular enclosures on the hill tops; larger, more regular fields in the small valley seen in the south-east.
6. Naxxar-Għargħur Hills. Large fields on the smooth hill summits; extremely narrow terraces on the sharply incised valley sides.
7. Ricasoli-Zonkor Ridge. Minute enclosures, the smallest in Malta, on the seaward side of the ridge.
8. Larger more regular fields on the southerly, inland slopes of the same ridge.
9. Mellieħa Ridge. Fragments of an old, topographically-determined pattern remain, on which a few lines of more recent origin have been superimposed.
10. Bajda Ridge. A clear example of the superimposition already referred to.
11. Bingemma Basin. Large fields, often with a strip formation, are typical of down-faulted Upper Coralline basins.
12. Santi-Bingemma Uplands. Now almost entirely abandoned: the fragmentary character of the pattern is typical of such areas.
13. Blue Clay Basin, near Fiddien Bridge. Large, open fields.
14. Rabat-Dingli Uplands. A more intensively worked section of the Upper Coralline along the Rabat-Dingli road (shown by a double line). Contrast with number 12.
15. Western Rdum Lands. Part of the Rdum tal-Lunsjata showing the minute subdivision typical of such areas.

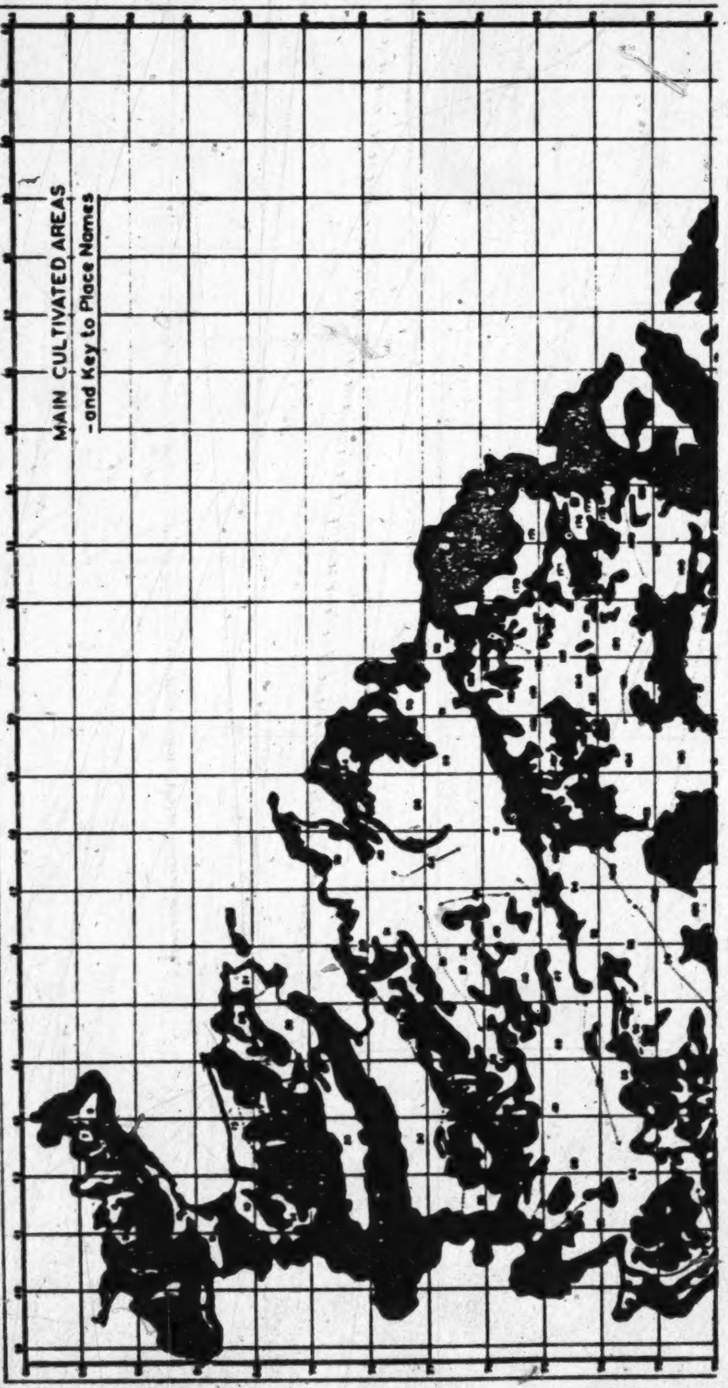
16, 17, 18, illustrate variations within the central part of Malta. In example 16, the fields are particularly large. 17 shows greater subdivision, irregular in the north and approaching the rectilinear in the south. 18 illustrates the effects of steeper slopes, in this case on the southern side of the Wied is-Sewda.

19. A regular pattern on gentle slopes between Qrendi and Mqabba.
20. Minute terraces near the southern coast.
21. The effect of recent road building is illustrated here in the splitting up of no less than 14 fields, along a 600 yard stretch of road. In the process, a number of minute fields of little or no value have been formed.

[p. 186 is blank]

Malta

*311
●102
103


MAIN CULTIVATED AREAS
-and Key to Place Names

[p.192-A]

Fig. 69 Main Cultivated Areas and

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102 ●
103

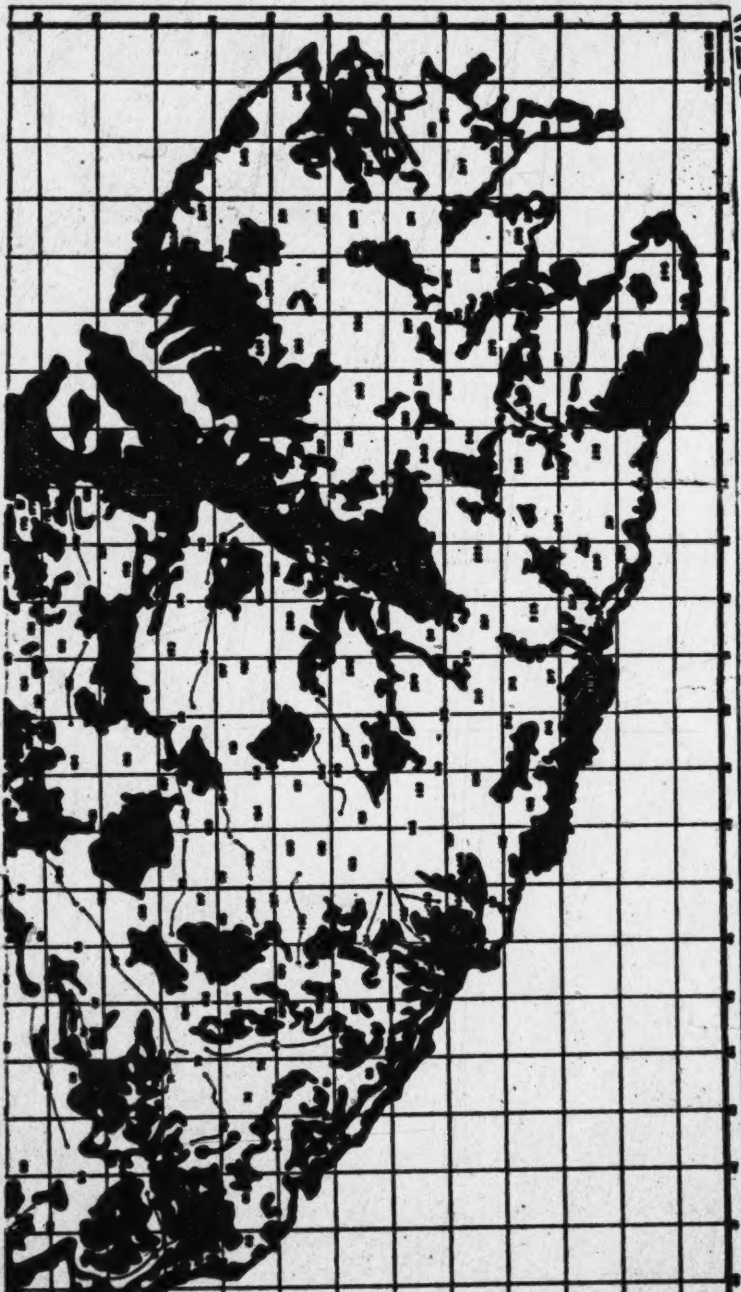


Fig. 69 Main Cultivated
d Areas and Key to Place Names: Malta.

[p.192-B]

islands and could thus provide continuity in the interpretation of the records of 311* the many field workers. 114

The survey parties worked in the Islands during the months of March and April in each of the three years 1955, 1956, and 1957. In March-April and August-September 1958 the authors themselves carried out final checks. During the Spring periods, the use of fairly large teams of observers, between six and eight in number, enabled the work to be concentrated at a critical time when the widest range of crops and of activities are to be seen. Summer vegetables and cotton are the only major crops not then in the fields and this difficulty was overcome by the enlistment of the other Durham research workers permanently residing in the Islands and by a summer visit of one of the authors. Objection might be raised to the spreading of the survey work over more than one season. The difficulty of completing such work on such a scale during one short period of time is not a sufficient answer. The real answer is that the time spread did not matter. The miniscule field pattern and the further subdivision into separate plots, both amply illustrated in the examples shown here, mean that crop changes from year to year merely result in the re-shuffling of tiny pieces of an intricate mosaic. The variety of crops grown and identified (see below), the relative uniformity of crop sequences and the individuality possessed by the various regions, further remove any deficiencies apparently implied by this particular method. The spreading of the fieldwork over a number of years did in fact allow both the checking of methodological validity and the carrying out of subsidiary pieces of work. For example, sample areas were surveyed during each of the four years, thus giving an accurate picture of crop sequence and rotations, as well as a check on short term change.

The following crops were individually identified in the field: sulla, wheat, [241] barley, vines, fruit, olives, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, marrows, other vegetables, broad beans, peas and vetches. In addition, uncropped land was recorded as waste, fallow, rough grazing or tilled. In several cases, e.g. vegetables, fruit and vetches, a note was made of the actual variety of plant being grown, e.g. cauliflowers, artichokes, apples, peaches, lemons, *gilbiena*, 102 *zozfa*, *widna*, etc. Coloured maps on a 6-inch scale, showing the 18 different crops and uses of land have been prepared. Cost of publication prevents their 311* reproduction here, but they have been used in the preparation of this volume, particularly in Chapters VII B and VIII. The Land Use Maps (Figs. 69 to 98) 126 show the distribution of individual crops, though the range distinguished has been somewhat curtailed. Wheat and barley, tomatoes and marrows, the various vegetables, broad beans and peas, and vetches and minor fodders have respectively been combined into single maps although the accompanying text notes regional variations. These 14 distribution maps in black and white have been prepared by reduction from the coloured 6-inch series. They were originally prepared on a 2-inch scale, and were thus directly comparable with the standard 2-inch topographical sheets and with the 2-inch geology and soil maps. The distribution maps, together with the coloured 6-inch are at present stored in the Durham Geography Department and it is hoped that the former at least will eventually be published on a 2-inch scale. The amount of cartographic work involved has been at least as great as that done in the field, and, since it was carried out by the authors alone it has consumed a considerable amount of time. However, it is felt that the labour has been justified in that only by accurate cartographic representation and by deduction from the maps can easy generalities be avoided. The long term character of the project also made easier the establishment of friendly contacts with local individuals, both official and private, whose help is sincerely acknowledged, and at the same time allowed the authors to amass a background knowledge of the Maltese Islands which has been invaluable in their interpretation of the agricultural landscape.

Note. A preliminary report - 'Agriculture in Malta, a survey of land use', was produced 113 by H. Bowen-Jones and J. C. Dewdney, at Durham, in 1955.

*311
●102
243

[p.196-A]

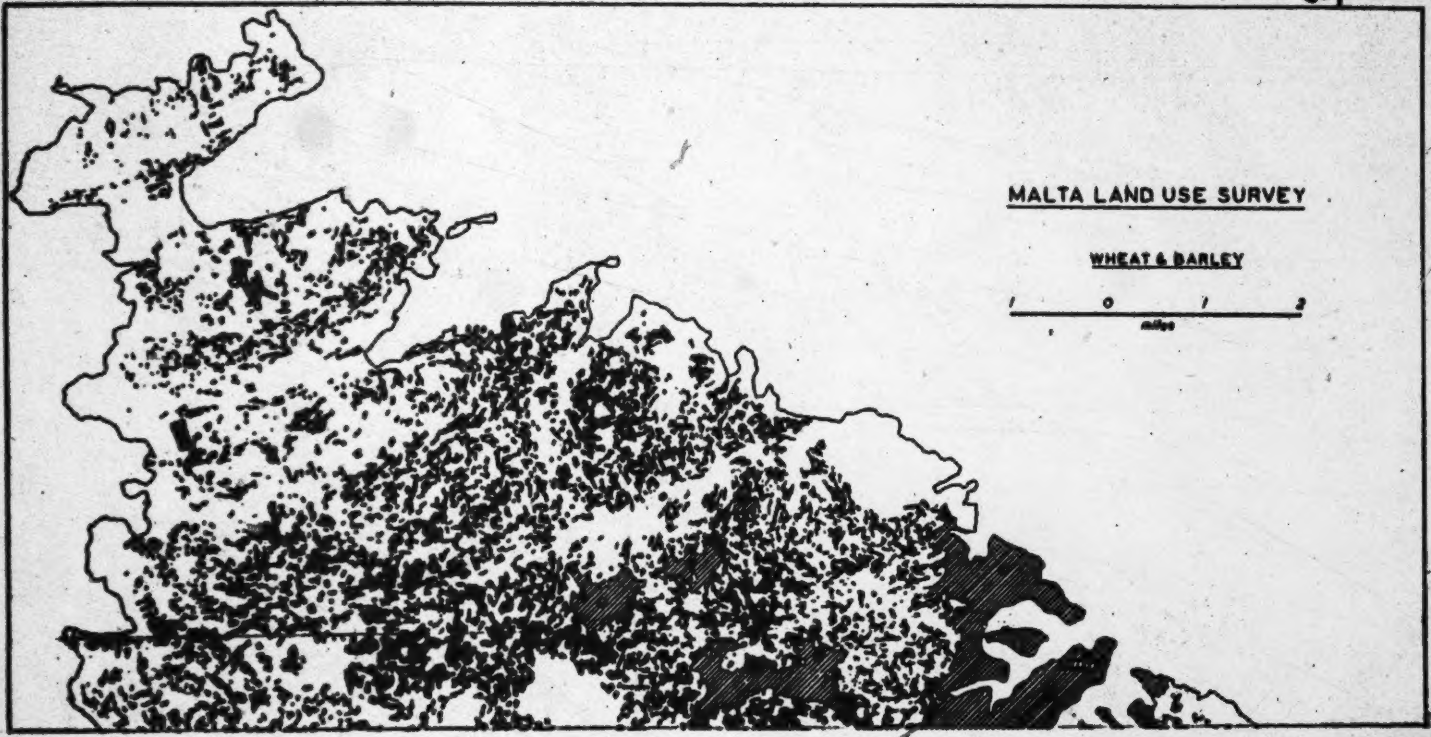

MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
WHEAT & BARLEY
1
0
1
2
miles

Fig. 71 Malta: Land Use Survey.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
●102
243

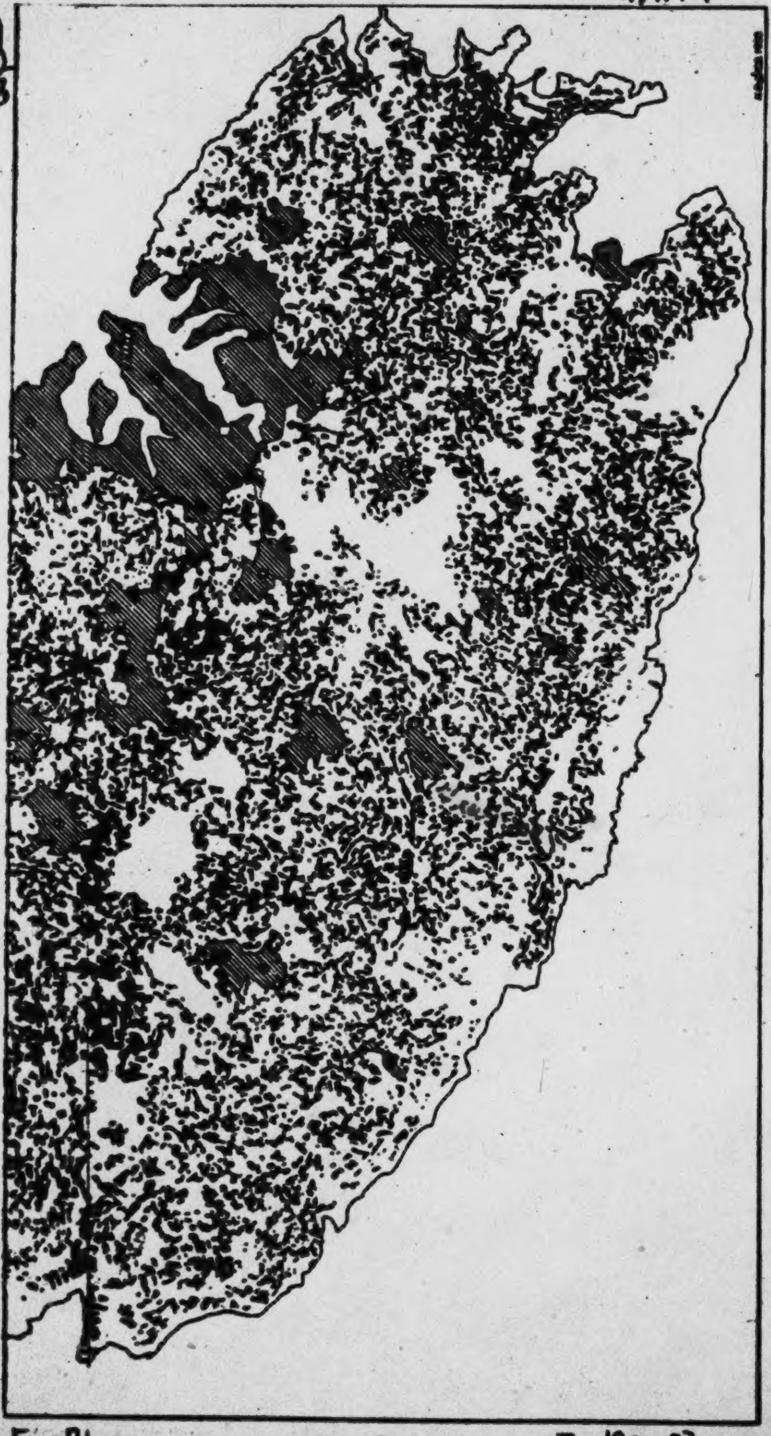


Fig. 71

[p. 196-B]

*311
●107
243

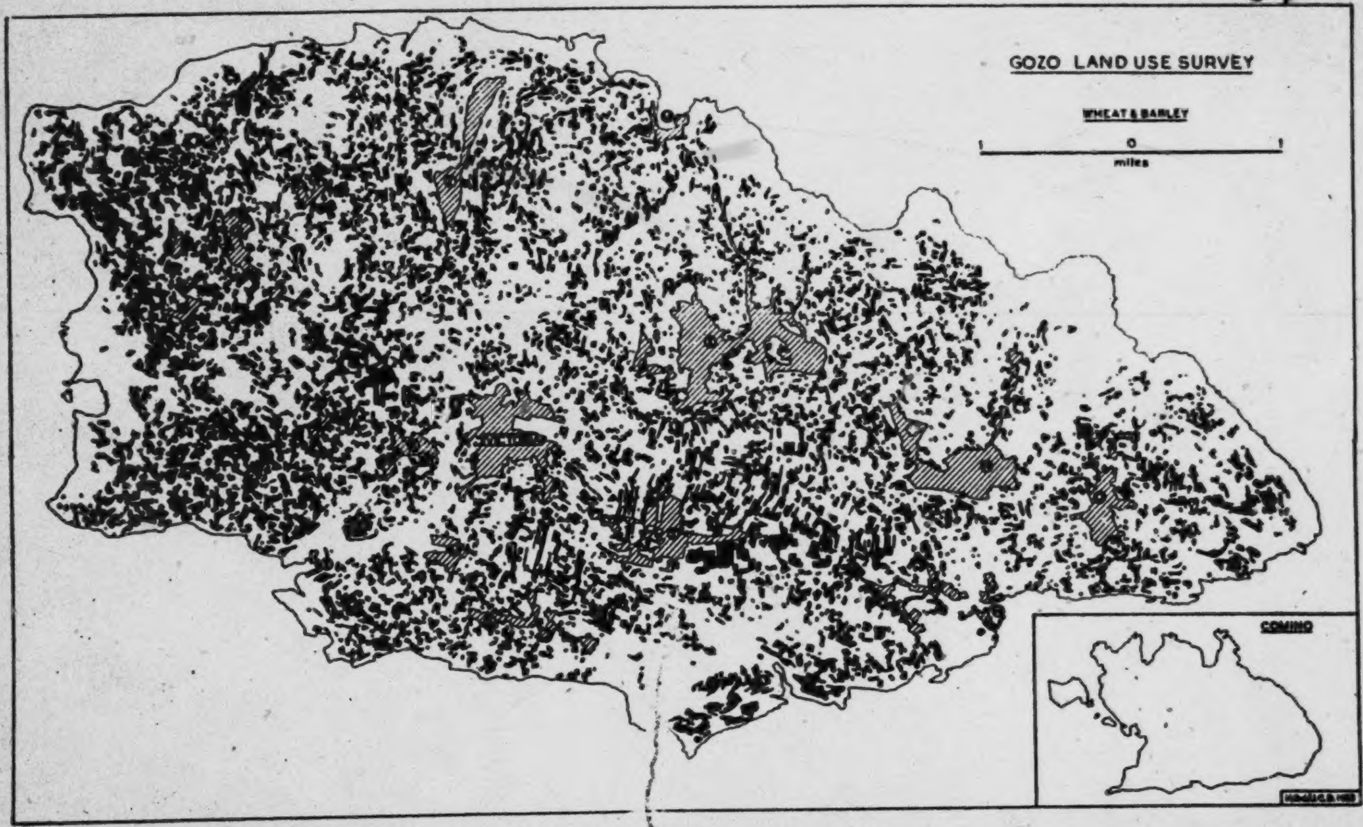
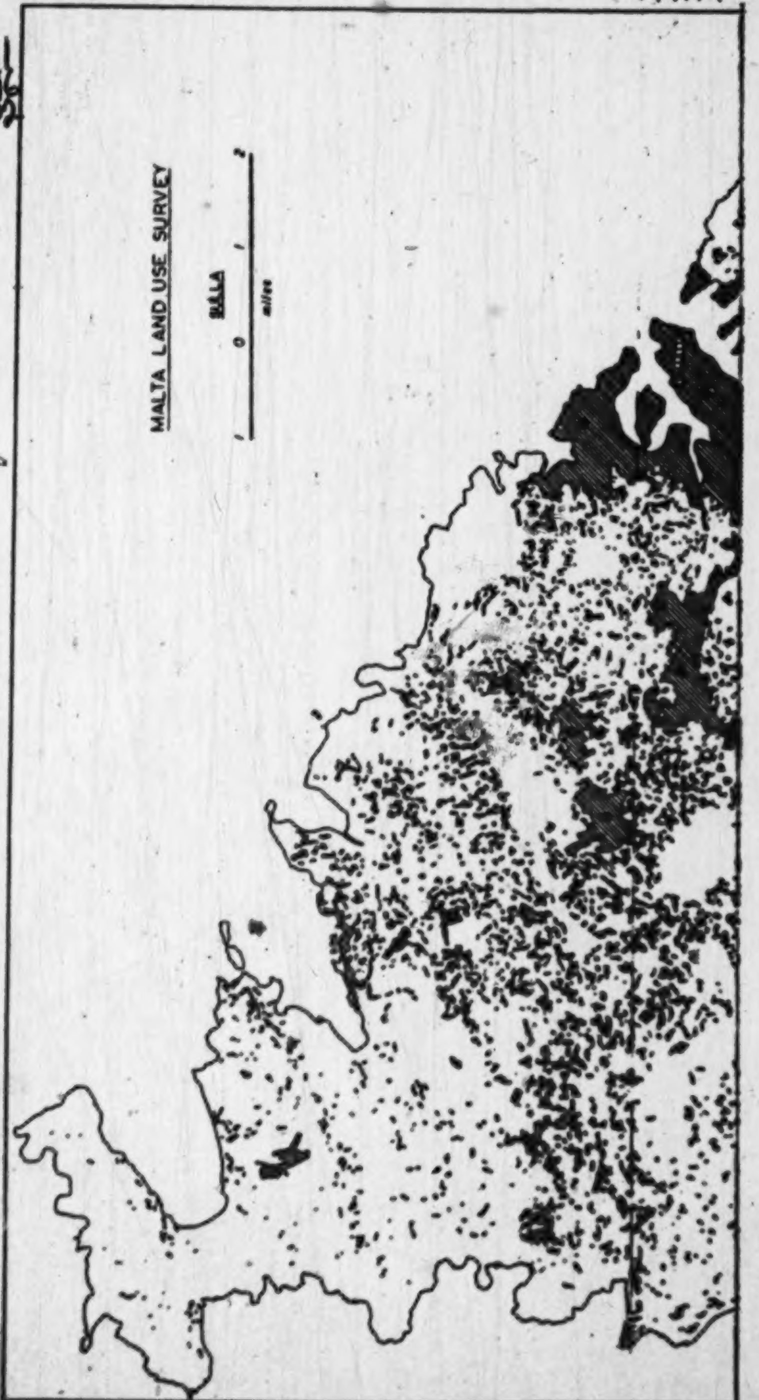

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
WHEAT & BARLEY
1
0
1
miles
COMINO

Fig. 72 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Wheat and Barley.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
346
102


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
SULLA
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 200-A]

Fig. 73 Malta: Land Use Survey: Sulla.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102 ●
246

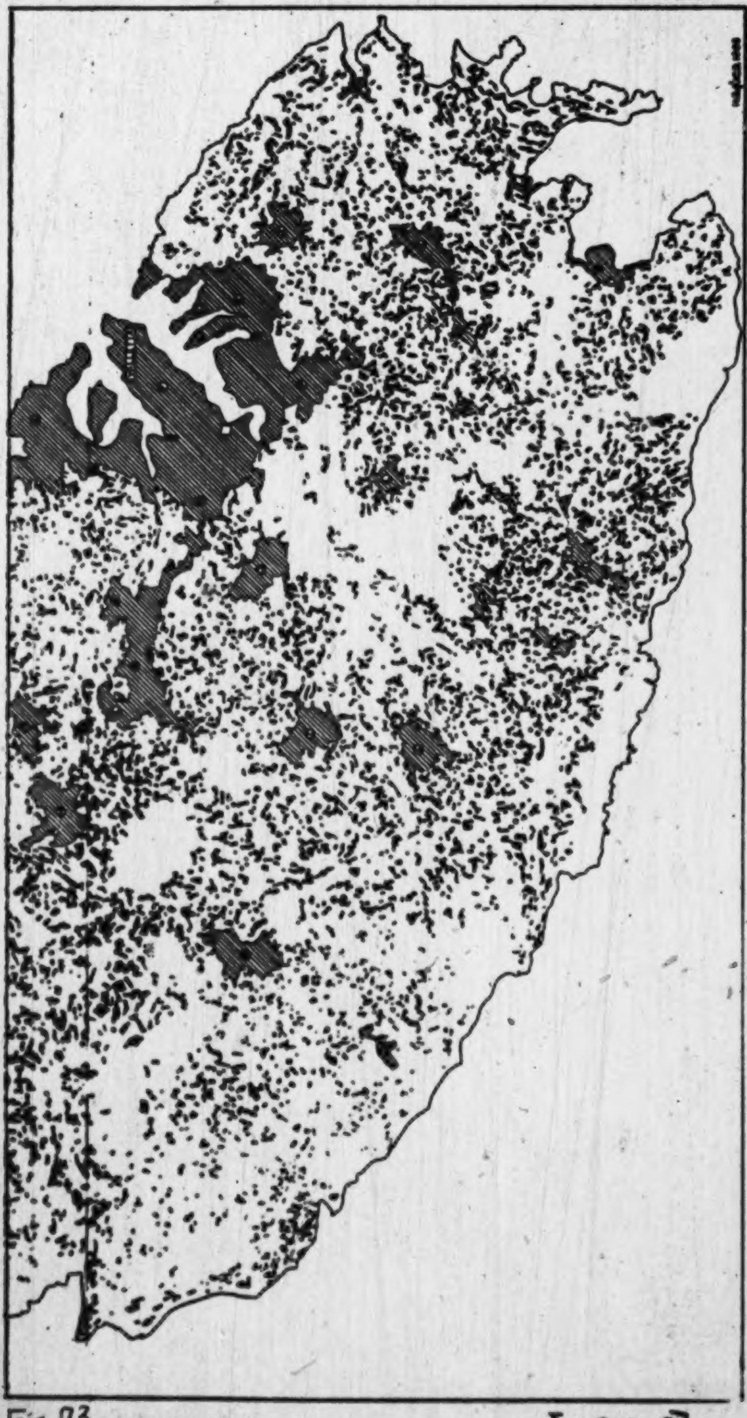


Fig. 73

Malta: Land Use Survey: Sulla.

[p. 200-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

* 311
● 102
246

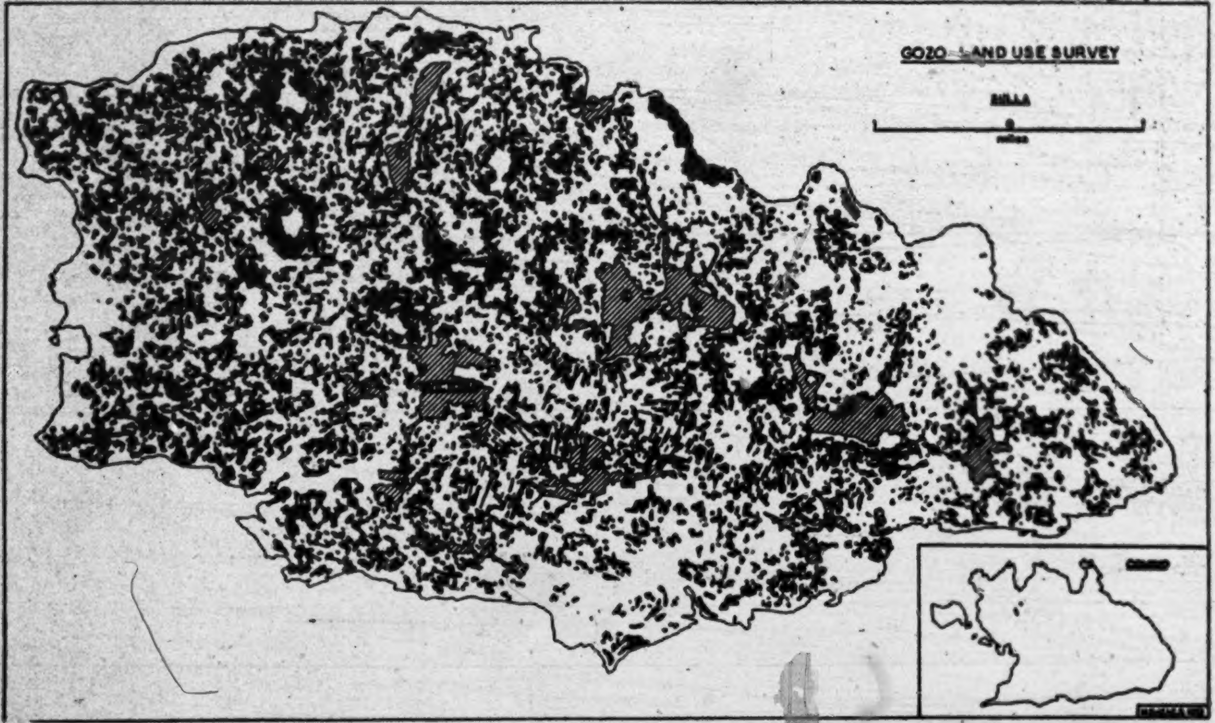
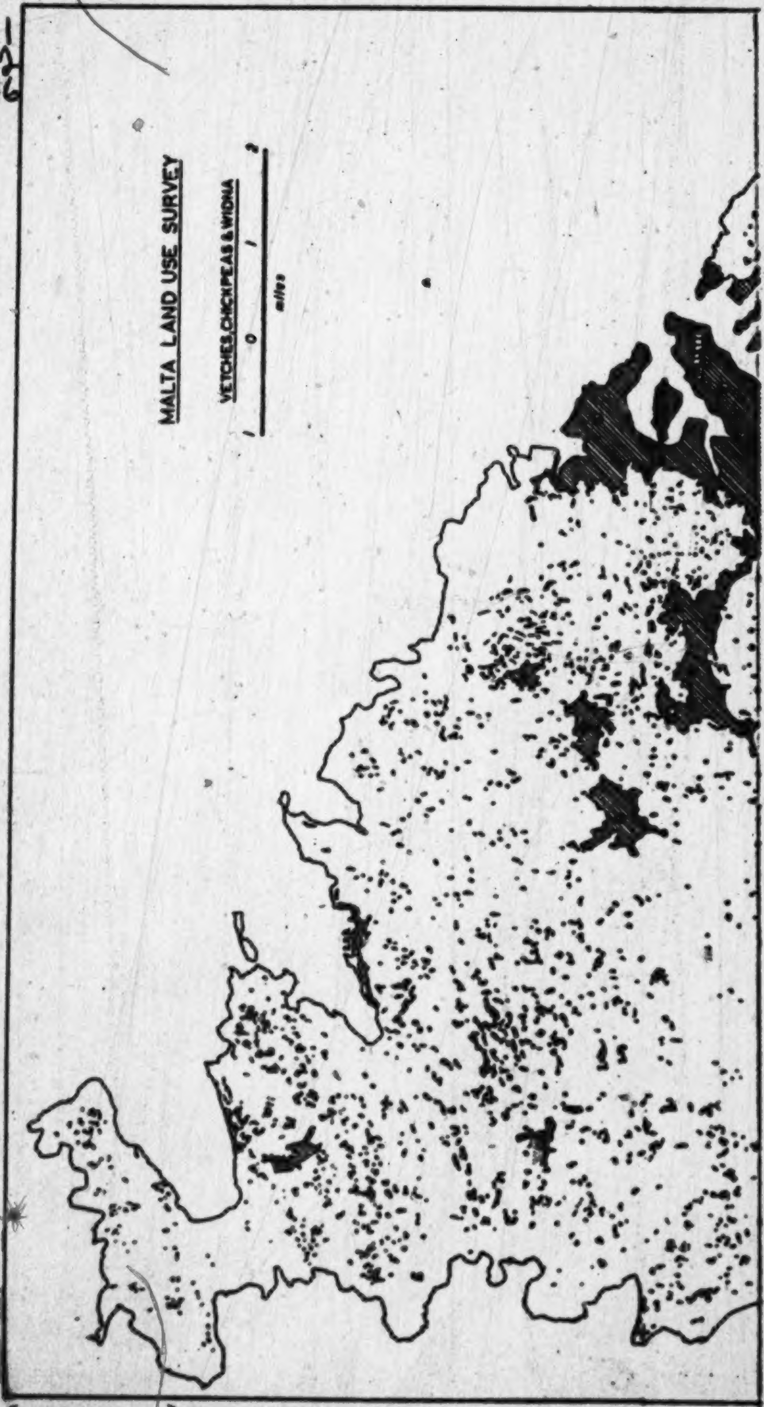

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
SULLA
miles

Fig. 74 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Sulla.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
●246


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
VETCHES,CHICKPEAS & WIDNA
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 202-A]

Fig. 75 Malta: Land Use Survey: 1

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malt9

*311
●102
246

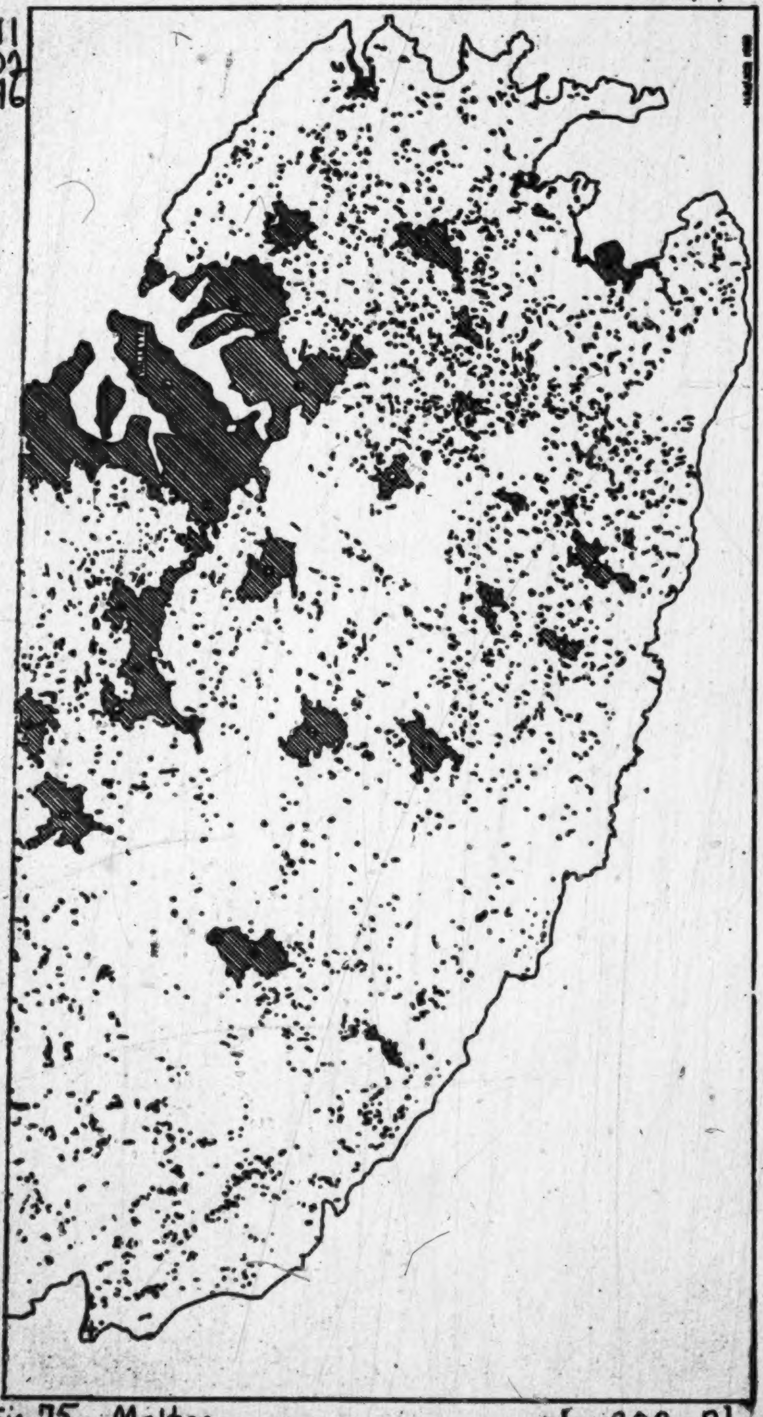


Fig. 75 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Vetches and Chickpeas.

[p. 202-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
102
246

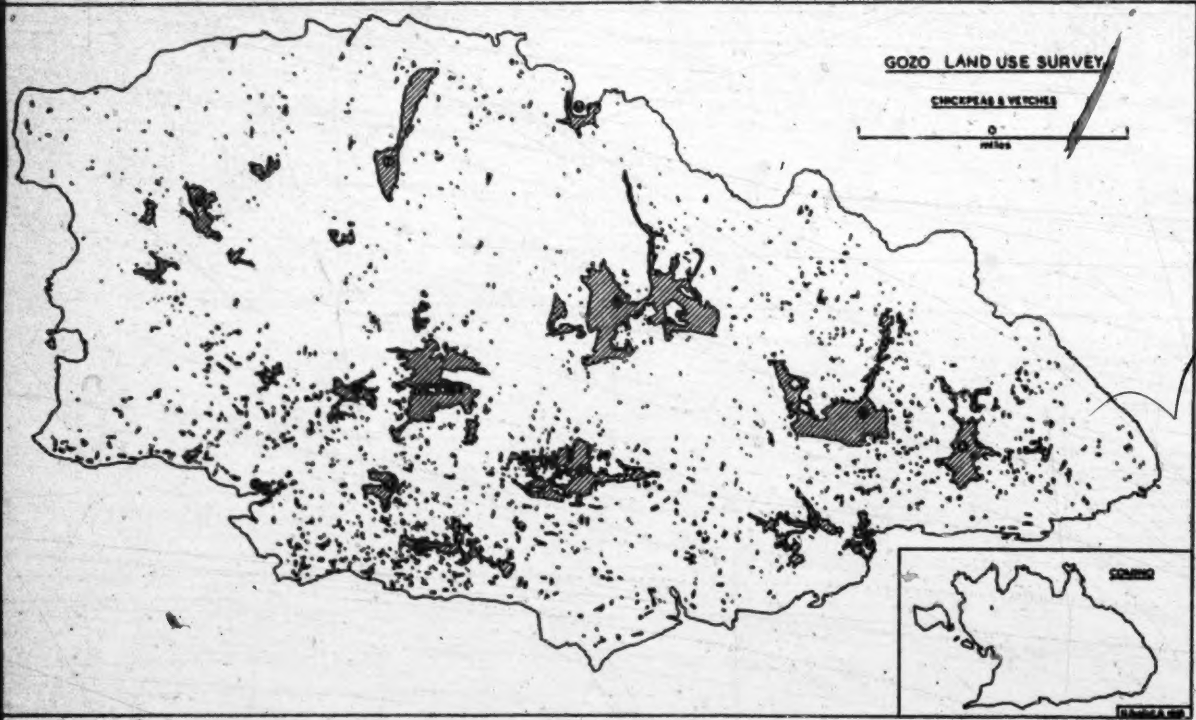

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
CHICKPEAS & VETCHES
0
miles
COMINO

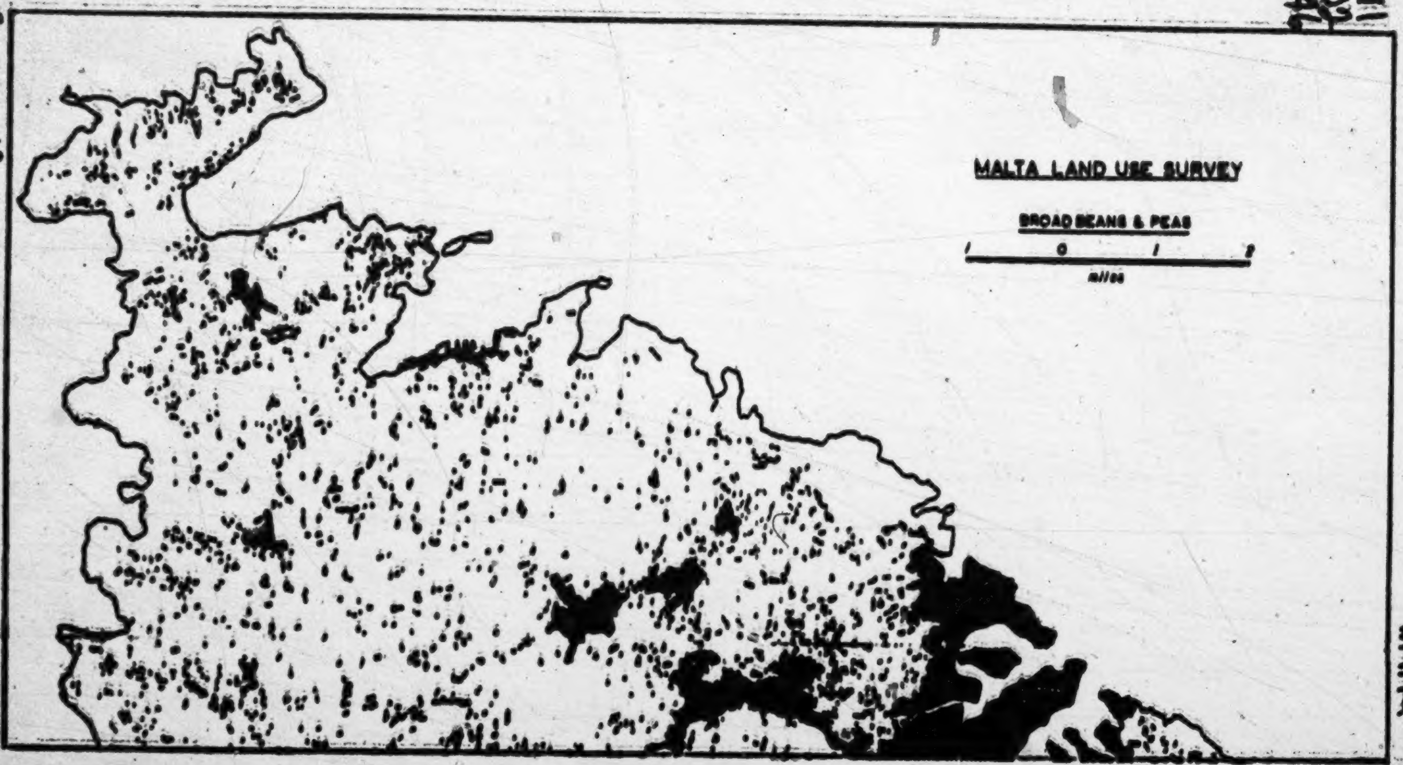
Fig. 76 Gozo; Land Use Survey: Vetches and Chickpeas.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

#3111
●102
346


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
BROAD BEANS & PEAS
1 0 1 2
miles

[p.206-A]

Fig. 77 Malta: Land Use Survey:
[illegible]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102 ●
2A6

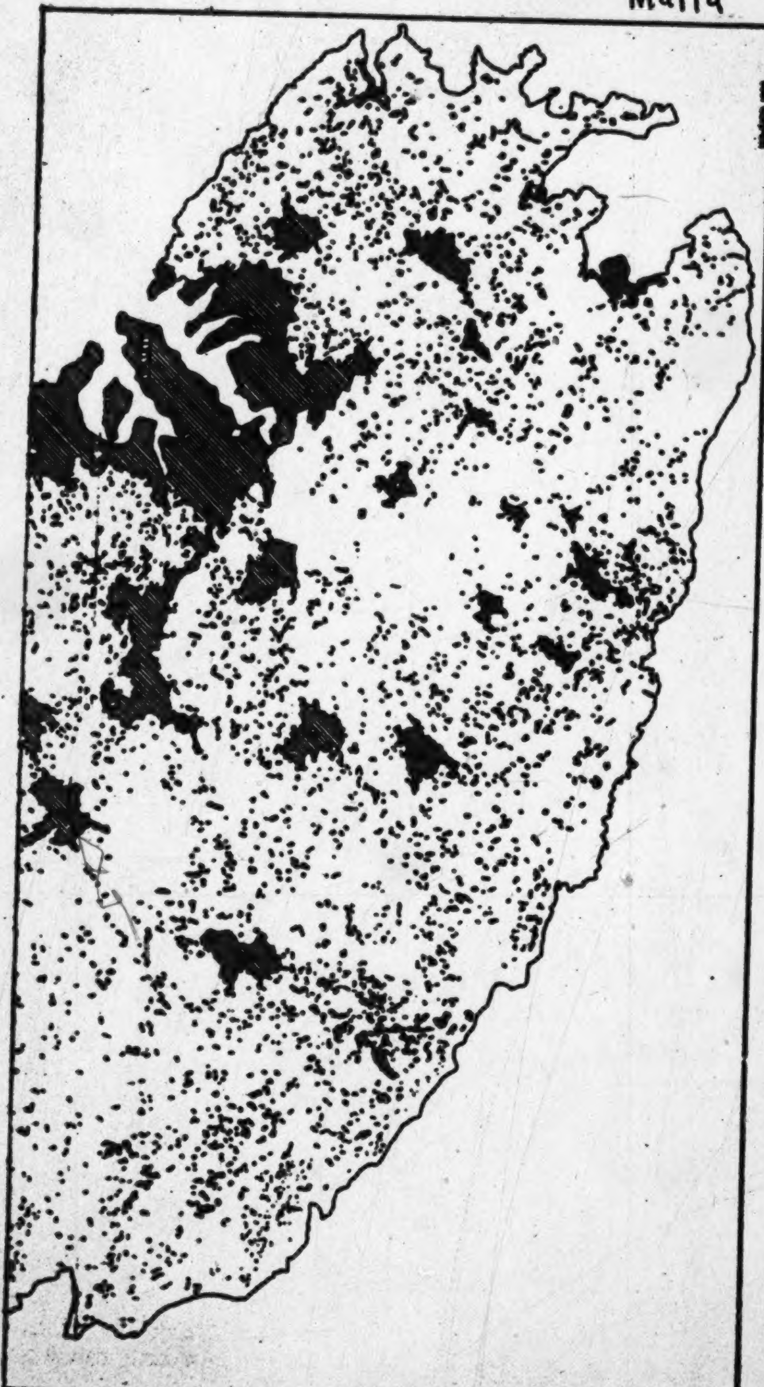


Fig. 71 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Broad Beans and Peas.

[p. 206-B]

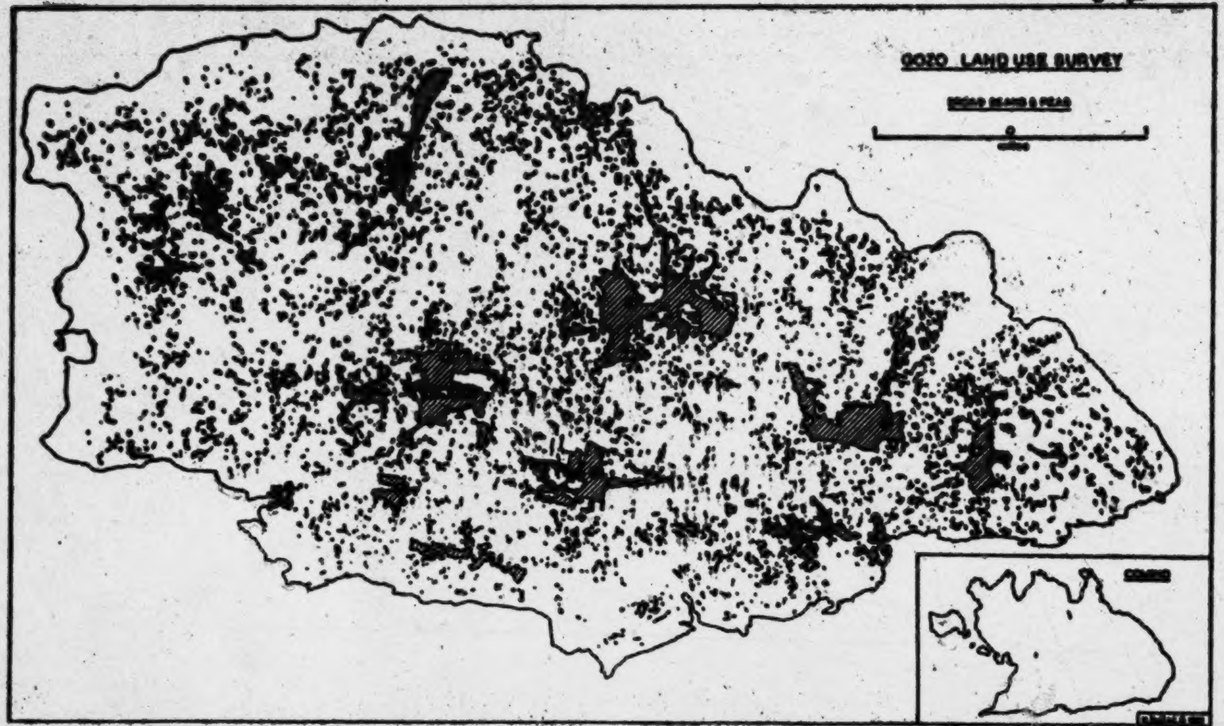

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
BROAD BEANS & PEAS

Fig. 78 Gozo: Land Use Survey; Broad Beans and Peas.

#311
●107
346

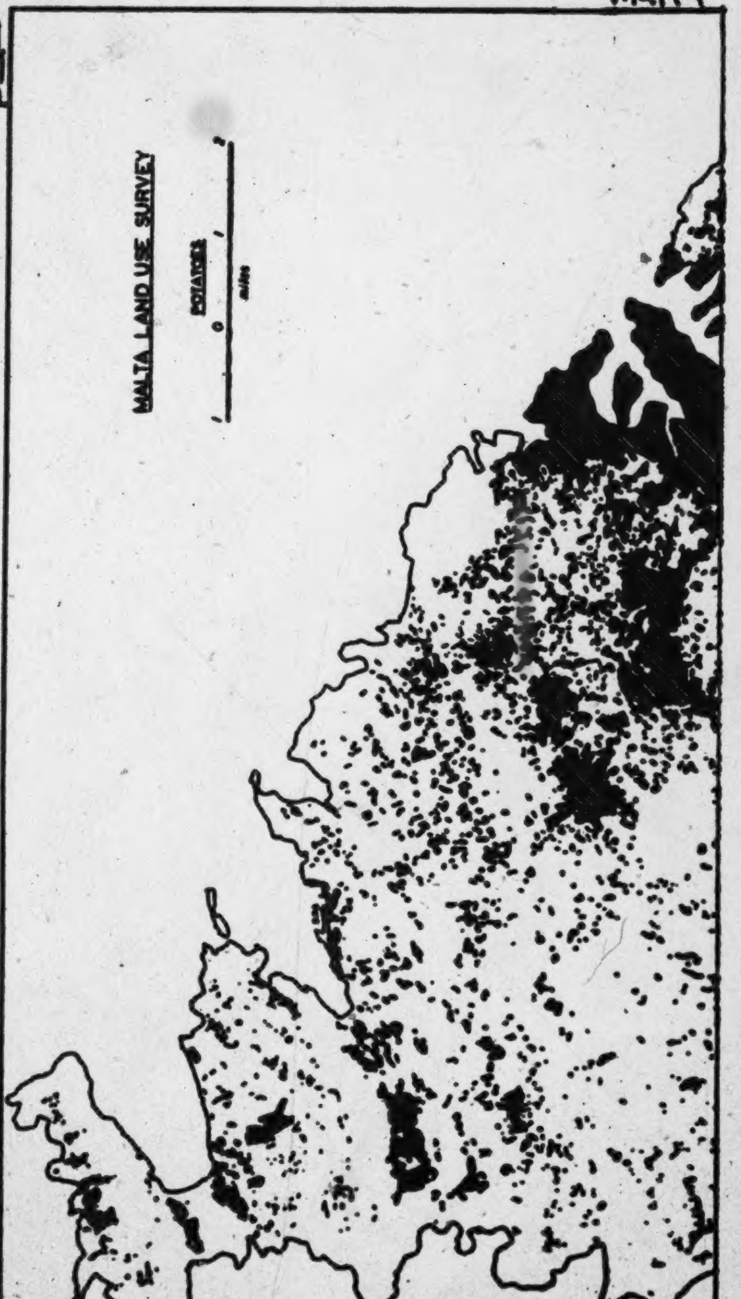
1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*311
299
102
●


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
POTATOES
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 208-A]

Fig. 79 Malta: Land Use Survey: Potatoes.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

311*

102●

244

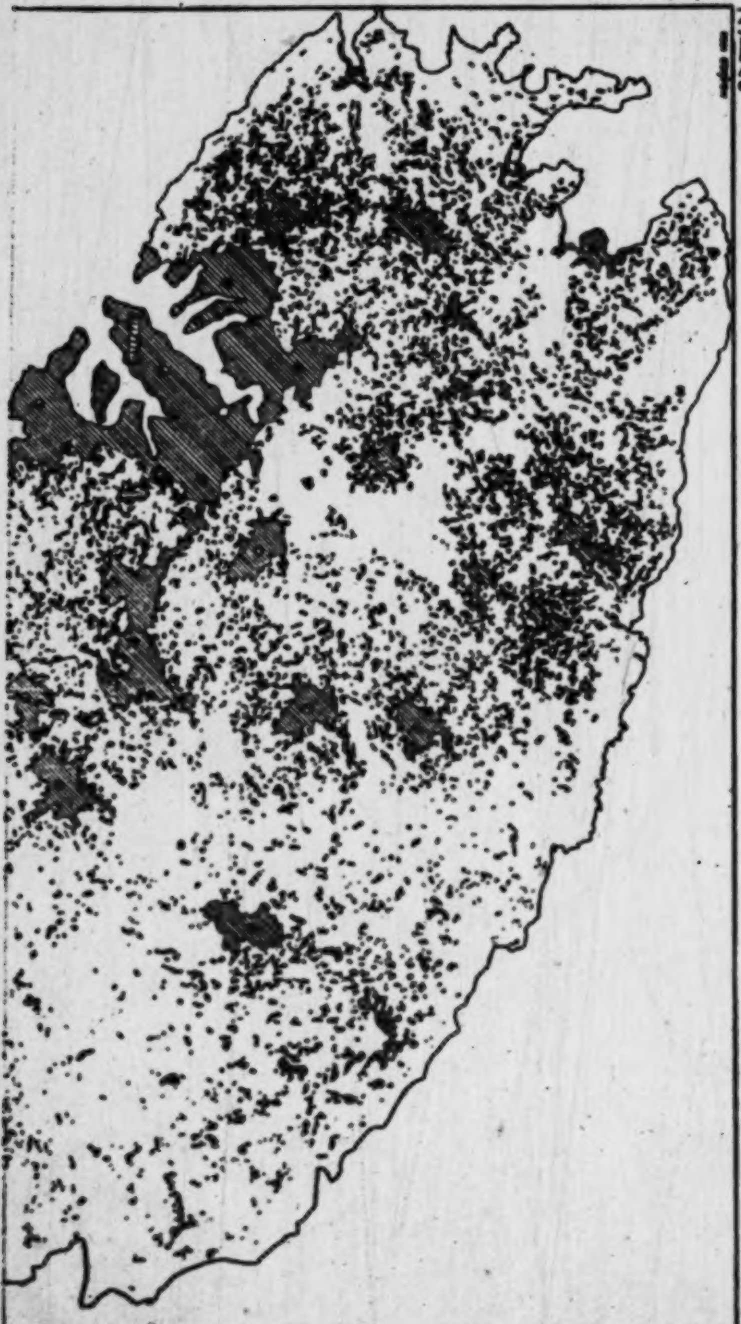


Fig. 79

[illegible]: Land Use Survey: Potatoes.

p. 208-B

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

#311
●102
244

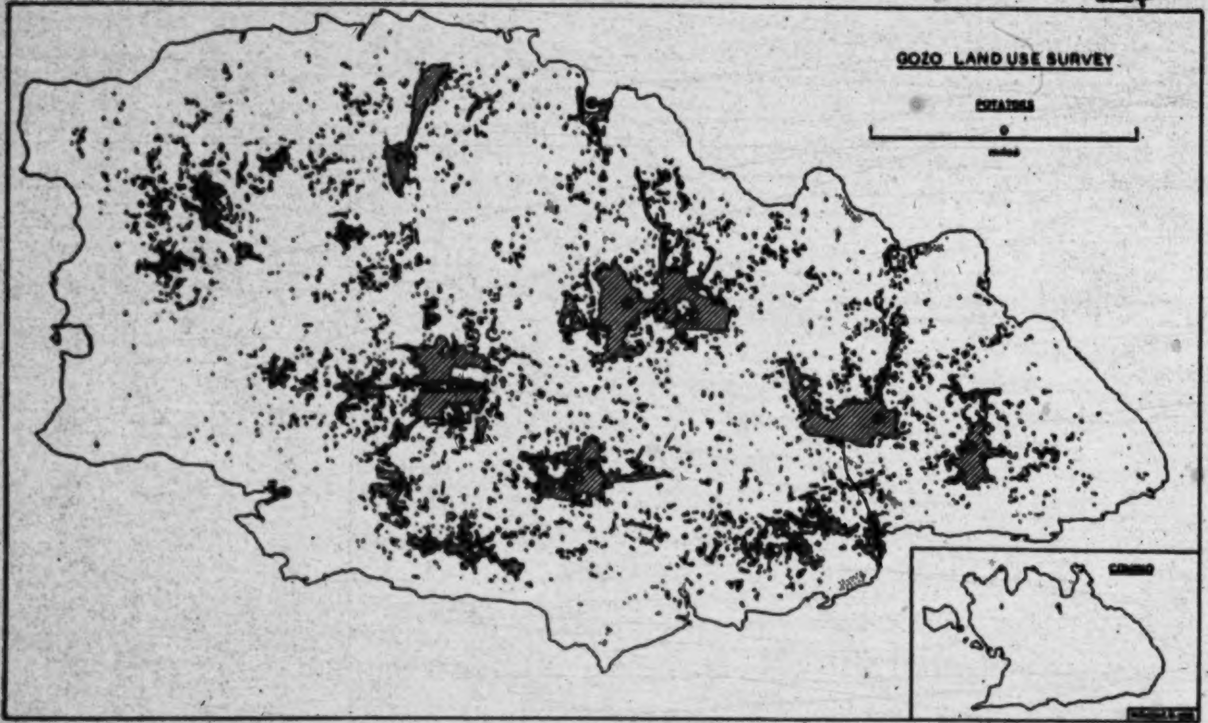

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
POTATOES
0
COMINO

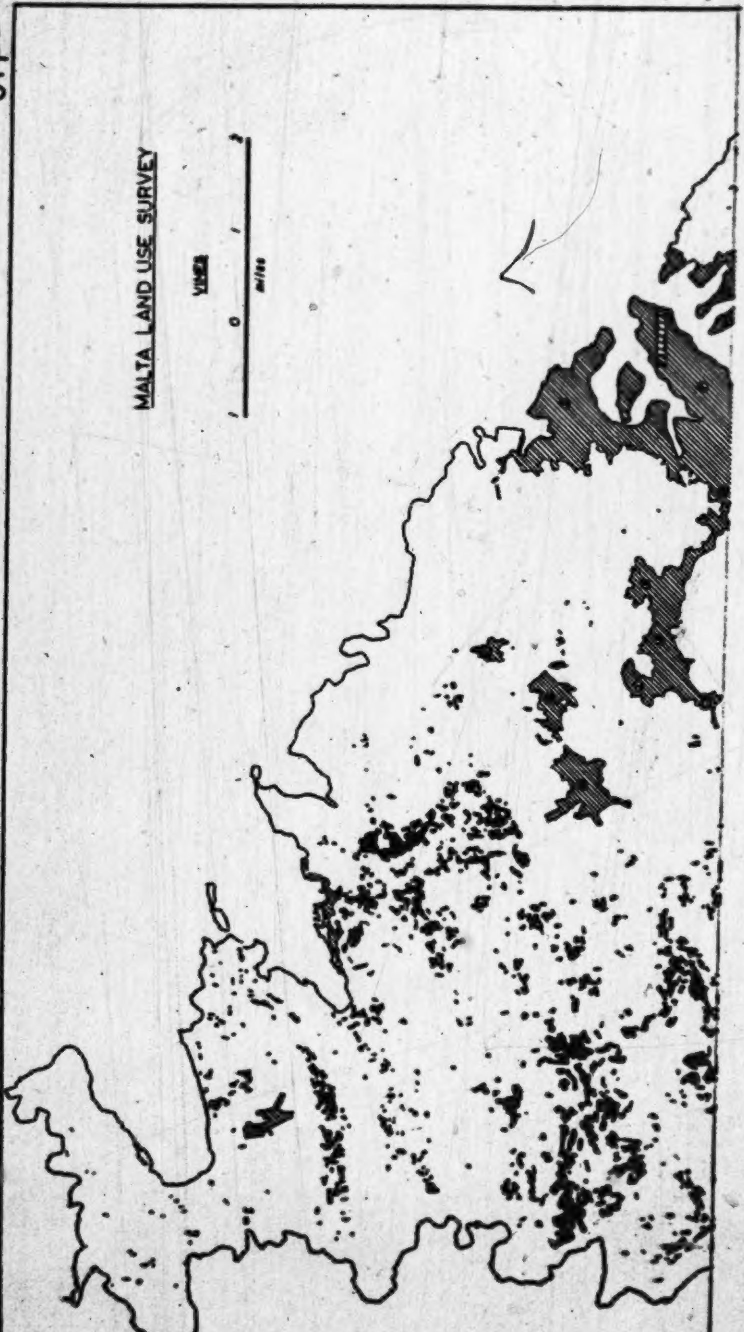
Fig. 80 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Potatoes.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*311
●102
245


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
VINES
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 210-A]

Fig. 81 Malta: Land Use
Survey: Vines

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*311

● 102

245

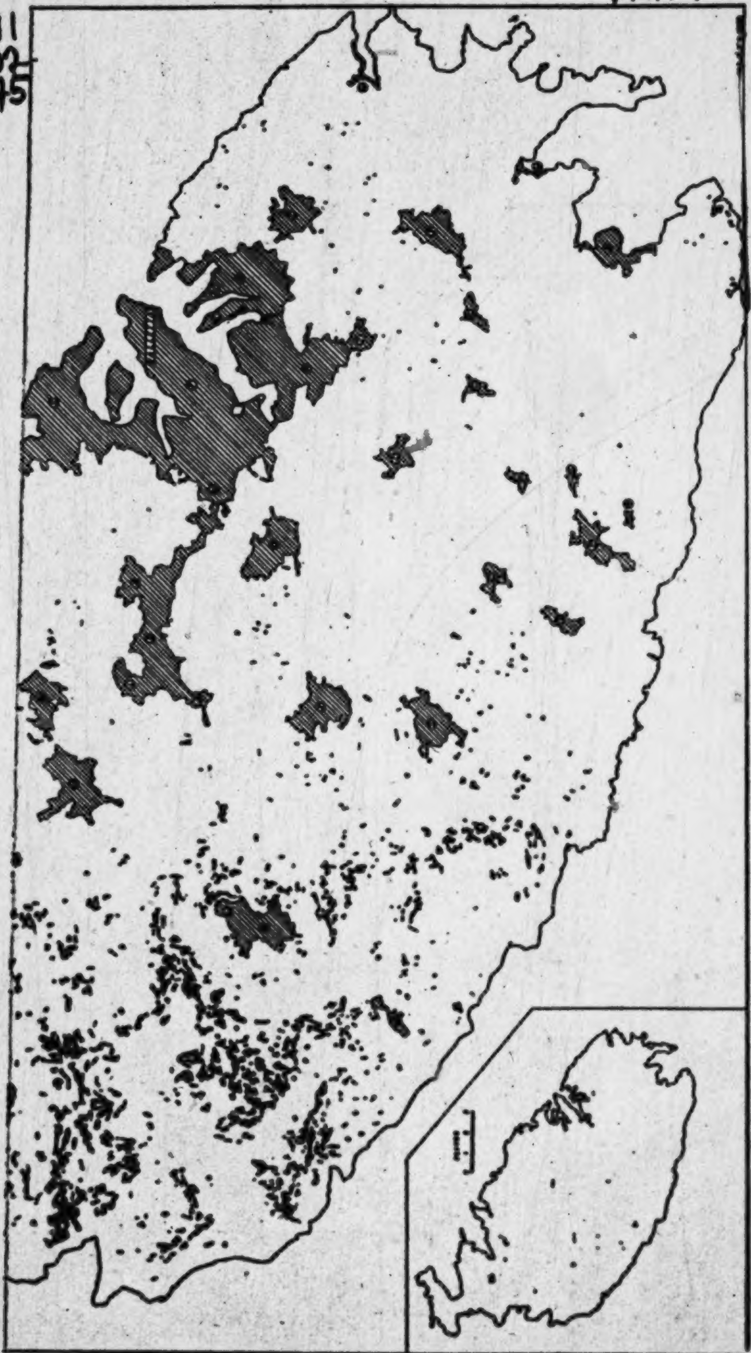


Fig. 81

Malta: Land Use Survey: Vines.

[p. 210-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
●101
245

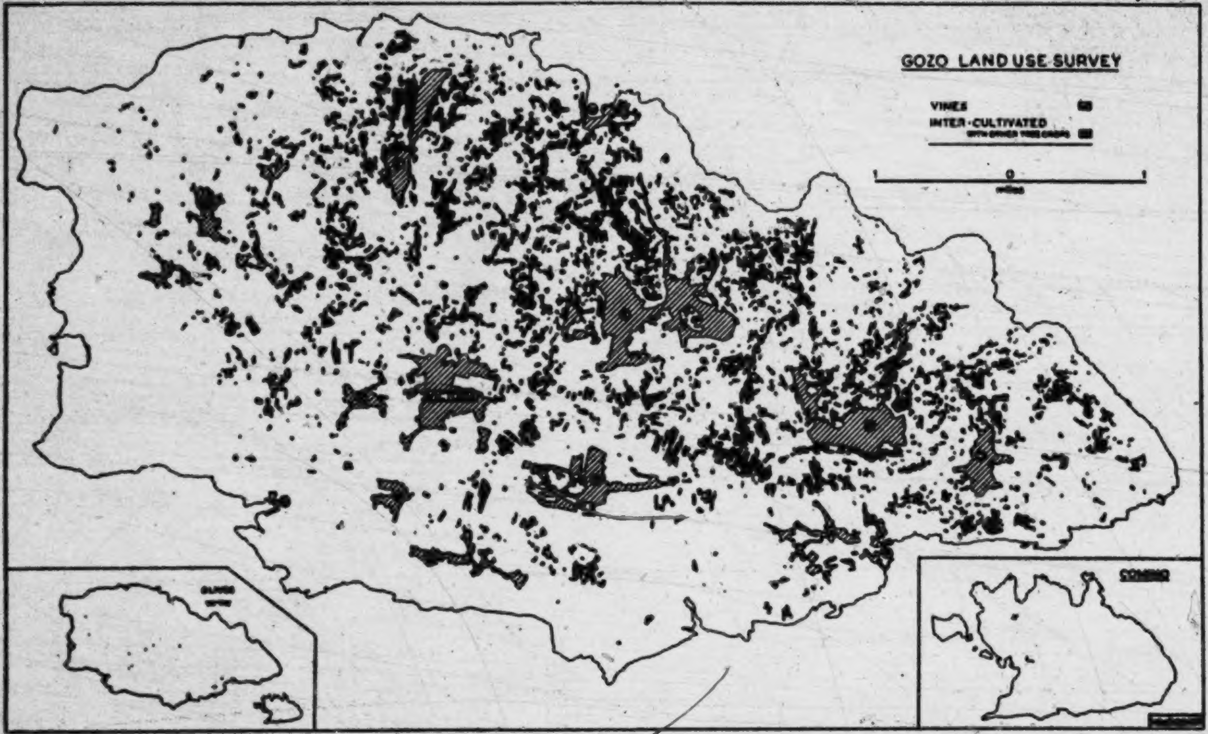

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
VINES
INTER-CULTIVATED WITH OTHER TREE CROPS
1
0
1
miles

Fig. 82 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Vines.

VINES

311* 245 101 Viticulture, has suffered many vicissitudes. Needing irrigation water only for the raising of scions, the vine would seem a crop plant eminently suitable for all but the thinnest dry calcareous soils. No satisfactory reason has yet been adduced for the present absence of 'expertise' in this field, and this unsatisfactory state of affairs is a Mediterranean anachronism. Since Giacinto (3) wondered at Maltese oenological ignorance various improvements havetaken place. Stock is American in origin imported during the Phylloxera epidemic in Europe. Scions are officially imported for grafting and are mainly from France. [435] On the whole, too little specialisation is found, grapes being grown both for table use, fetching prices about £4 per qantar (175 lb. ave.), and for pressing - controlled prices 46s. to 48s. per qantar depending on quality. Commercial success in any other than the home market will depend entirely on whether the viticulturalist can now be weaned from quantity production to quality production. Products at present, while being remarkably good value, are not suitable for profitable export.

In Malta (Fig. 81), there is a striking concentration of viticulture in the western half of the island. In contrast to general Mediterranean practice, vines occupy much of the best watered heavy land of the Blue Clay slopes. Secondly, vines are of importance in the larger depressions with plentiful sub-soil water, for example the Wied il-Ghasel, the Bingemma Basin, and Miżieb. Those culti- vated areas of the north and west which rely on pump irrigation - such as the Wied tal-Pwales, and the Rabat-Dingli upland pockets - have little land under vines. Over the remainder of the island, vines are mainly represented by wall- and house-side plants which, mainly for domestic use, are becoming of less importance as field cultivation is extended. This extension of acreage is taking place almost entirely in the traditional regions of the west.

As shown in Fig. 82, viticulture in Gozo, occurs in a great variety of con- ditions and there is a much greater extent of inter-cultivation with other tree- crops. Such inter-cultivation is particularly found in the *gnien* zones - the spring line belts lying below the Upper Coralline mesa cappings - as around Żebbuġ and Nadur. North of Nadur, it extends into the Wieds San Blas and Daħlet Qorrot. Except in the remote western lands and on the thin soils of the southern hills, vines are found everywhere; in the central mixed-soil lowlands, in the open northern valleys and on the eastern coastal slopes. This reflects the traditional self-sufficiency of the Gozitan farm economy, a point also brought out by the large number of vineries (see p. 213). The vine is also inter-cultivated with sulla which, undersown annually, is a useful soil-renewing and cleaning crop.

OLIVES

[439] Inset maps, Figs. 81 and 82. Malta must be the only Mediterranean land where the tradition of olive cultivation has almost disappeared. Vegetable oil consumption is high and has to be supplied by imports costing on average nearly £300,000 per annum. Olive cultivation has been more extensive in the past as attested by place names such as Żebbuġ - the place of the olive, and Żejtun - olive tree, and is still perfectly feasible over a great deal of under-utilised land. Various reasons for this strange situation have been mooted, ranging from the completely invalid belief that the olive cannot stand sea-air to the inadequate charge that tenurial security is insufficiently great. The matter is still a mystery.

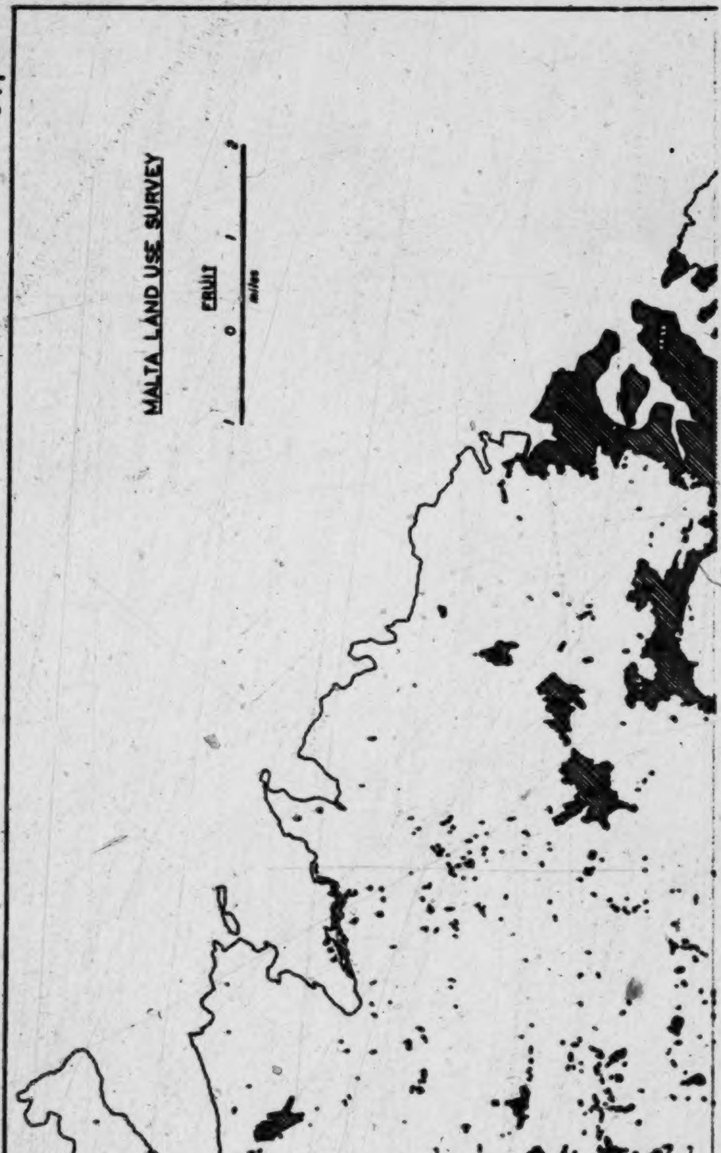
[654] Recent extensions of planting, particularly at Salinas and on Bajda Ridge, have been Government-sponsored, and the latter case is basically a scheme for the afforestation of a water catchment and percolation area.

CITRUS FRUITS

Because of their large water requirements, oranges and lemons are of orchard importance only along the Upper Coralline - Blue Clay springlines in Western Malta and Eastern Gozo. Scattered trees and very small plots are found in many districts, often in the most unlikely places. The Seville orange, once of considerable importance, is now rarely found and most of the old trees have

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 217]

*311
●102
245


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
FRUIT
1
0
1
2
miles

[p.214-A]

Fig. 83 Malta: Land Use Survey; Fruit.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102 ●
245

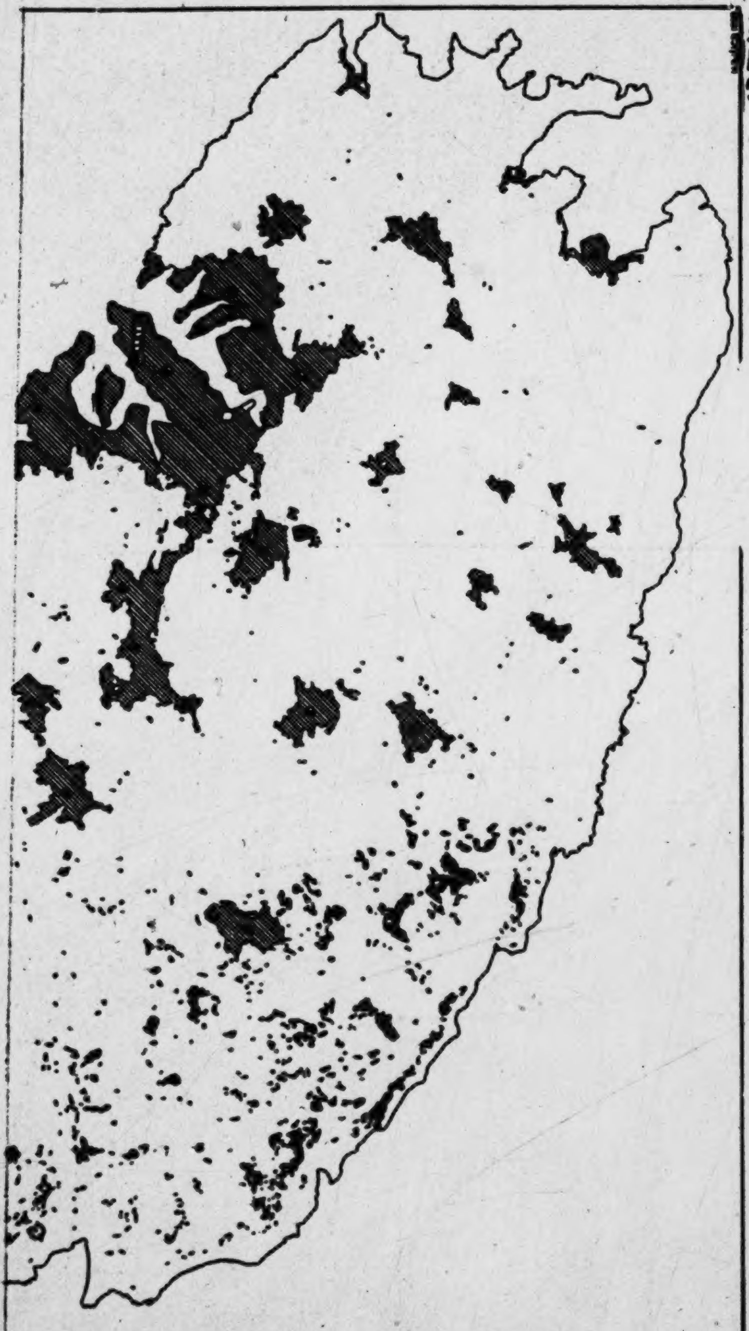


Fig. 83
Malta: Land Use Survey: Fruit.

[p. 214-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
●102
245

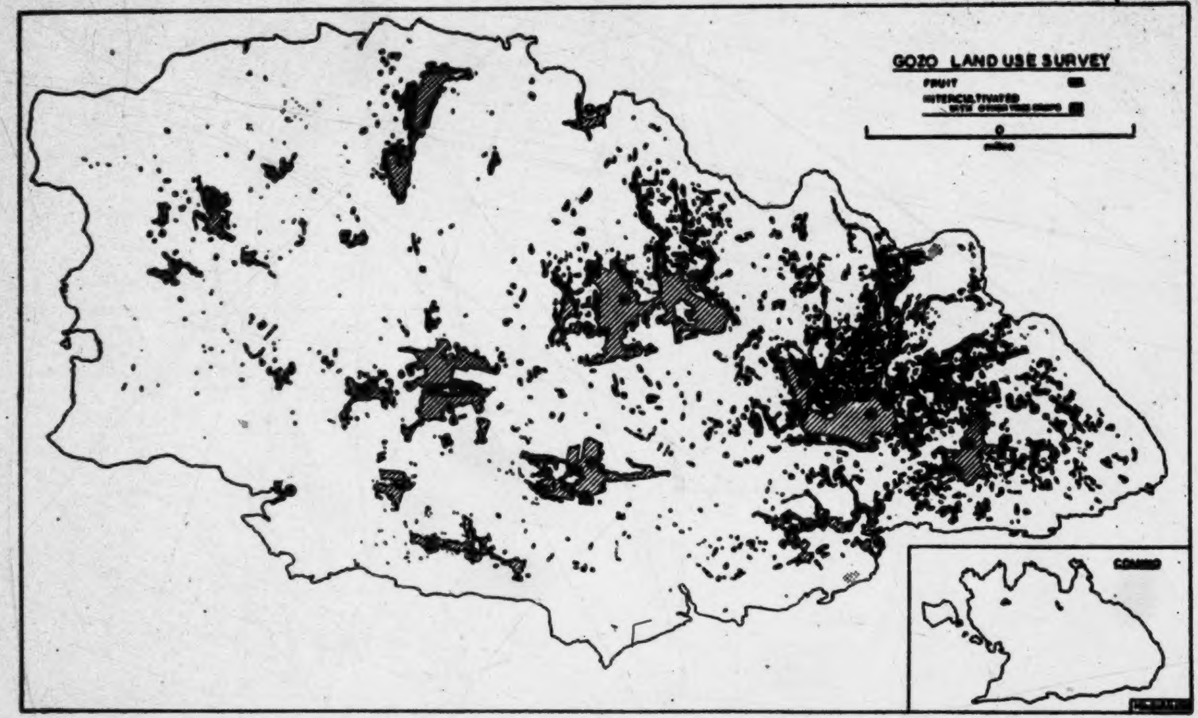
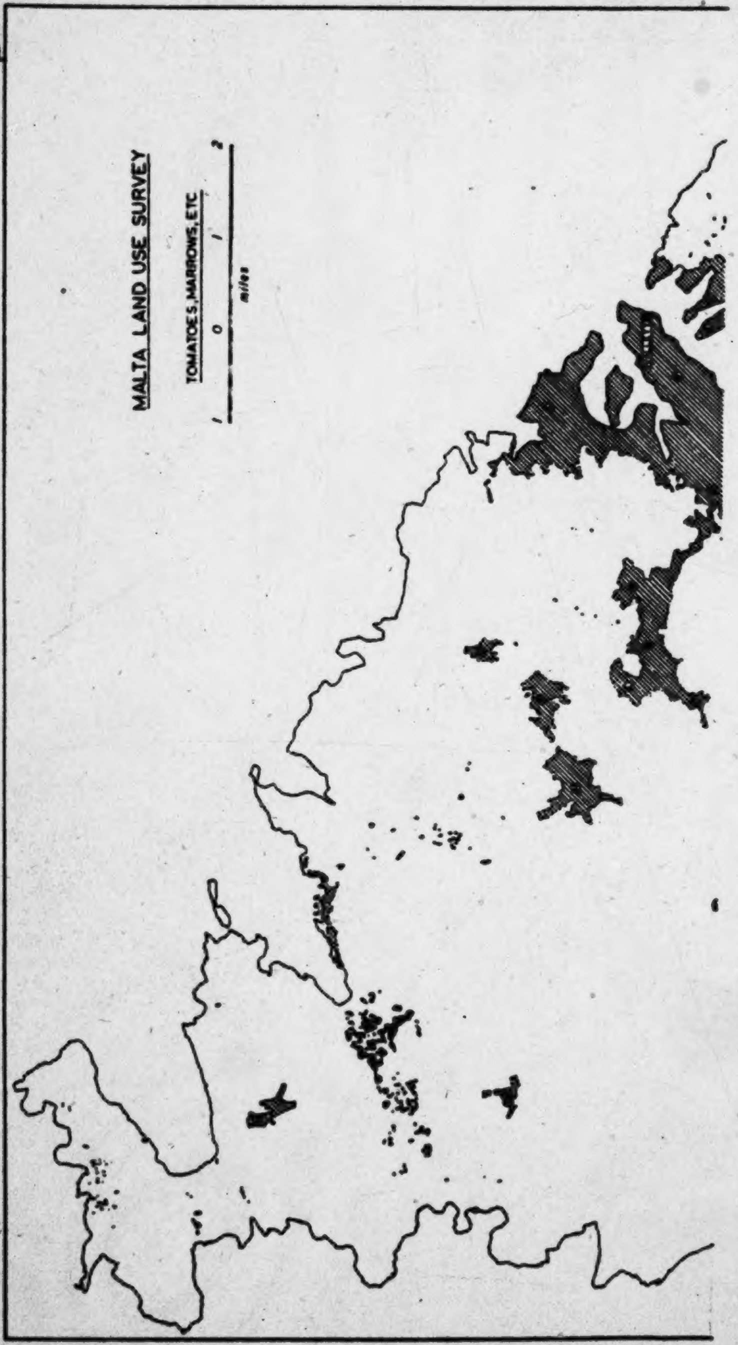

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
FRUIT ▨
INTERCULTIVATED WITH OTHER TREE CROPS ▨
0
miles
COMINO

Fig. 84 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Fruit.

*311
●102
244


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
TOMATOES, MARROWS, ETC
1 0 1 2
miles

[p.216-A]

Fig. 85 Malta: Land Use Survey: Tomatoes, Marrows, etc.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
144

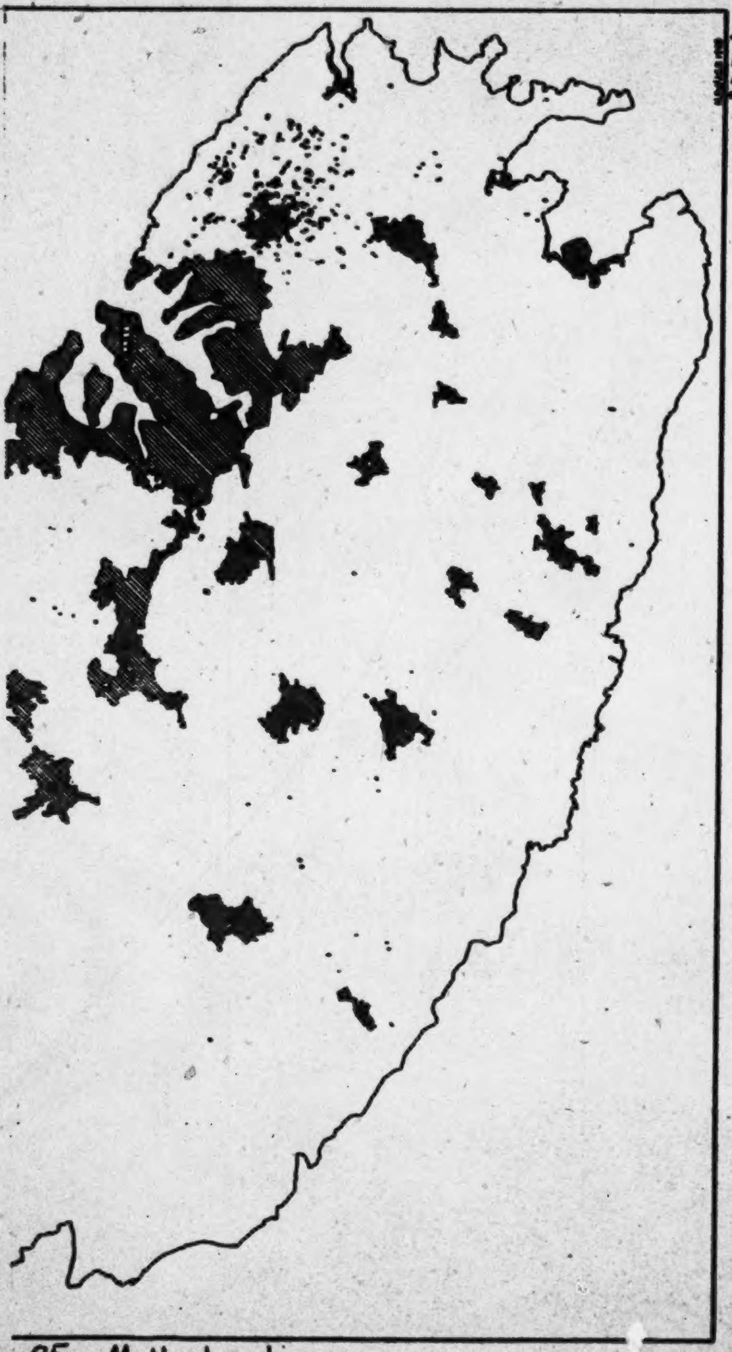


Fig. 85 Malta: Land Use Survey: Tomatoes, Marrows, etc. [p. 216-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

*311
●102
244

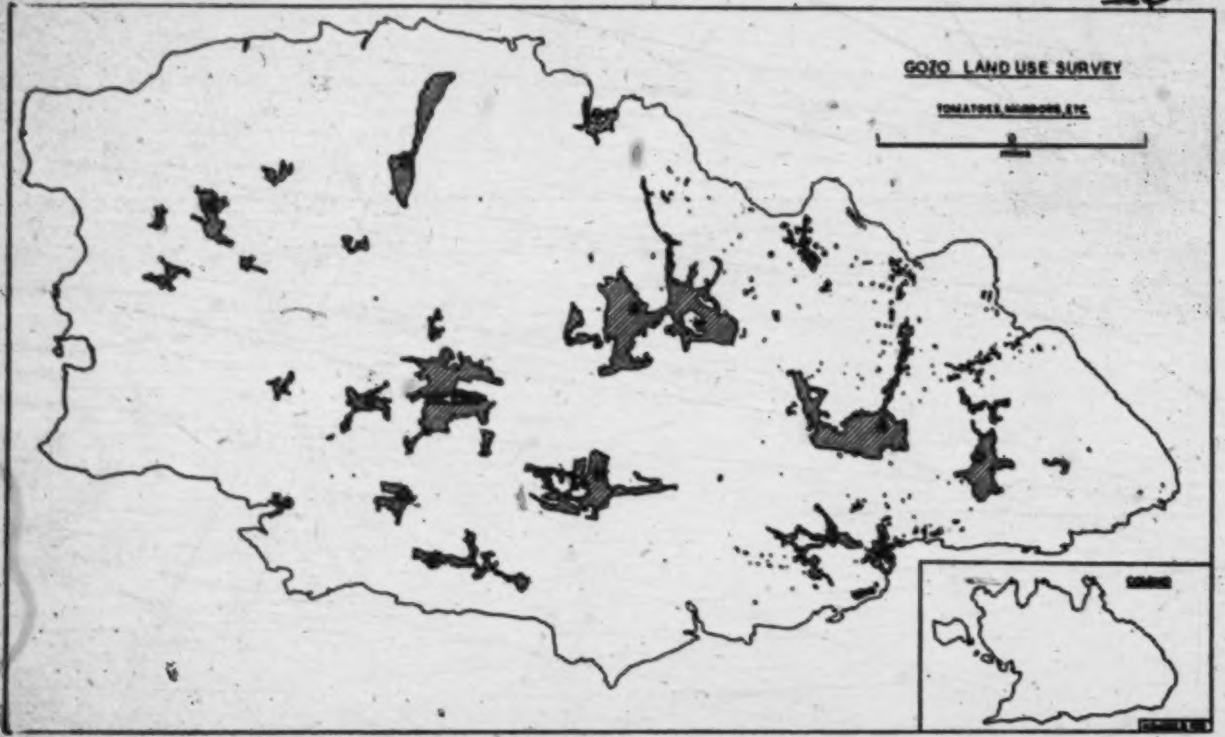
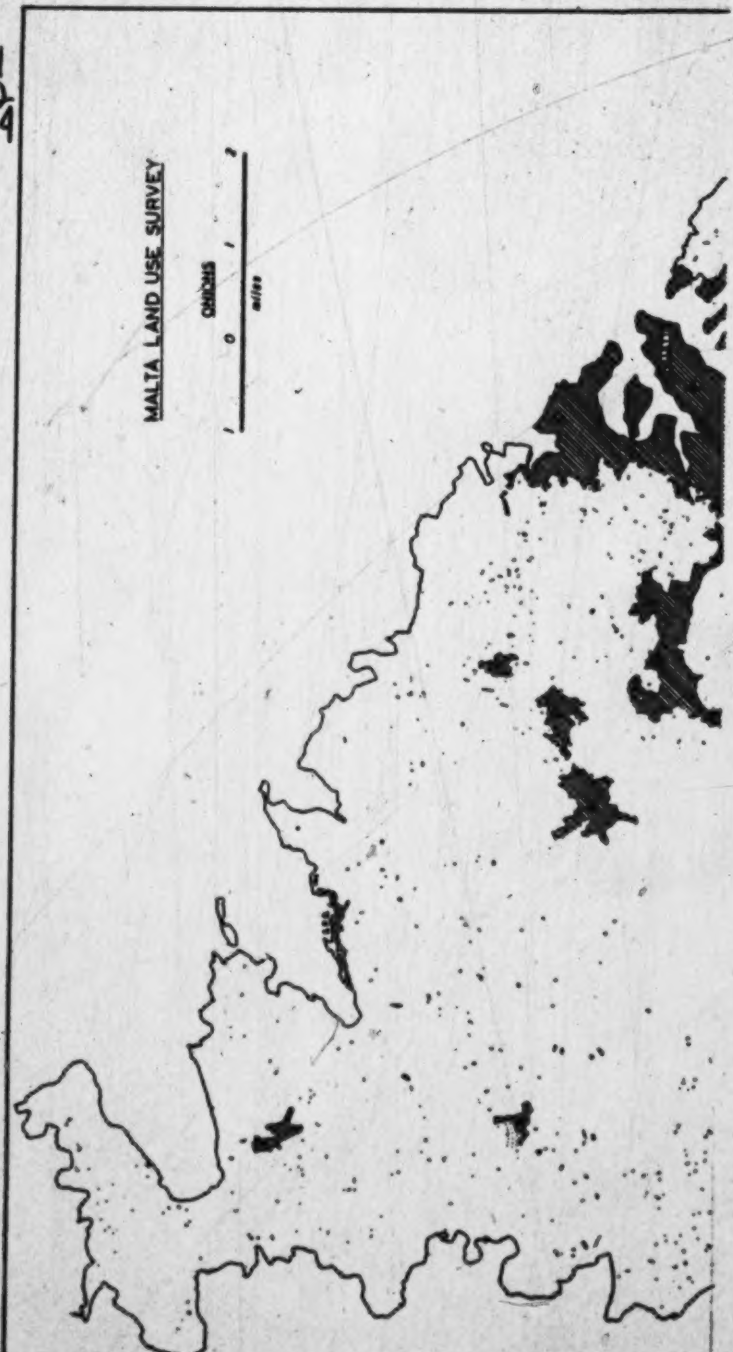

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
TOMATOES, MARROWS, ETC

Fig. 86 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Tomatoes, Marrows, etc.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
●102
244

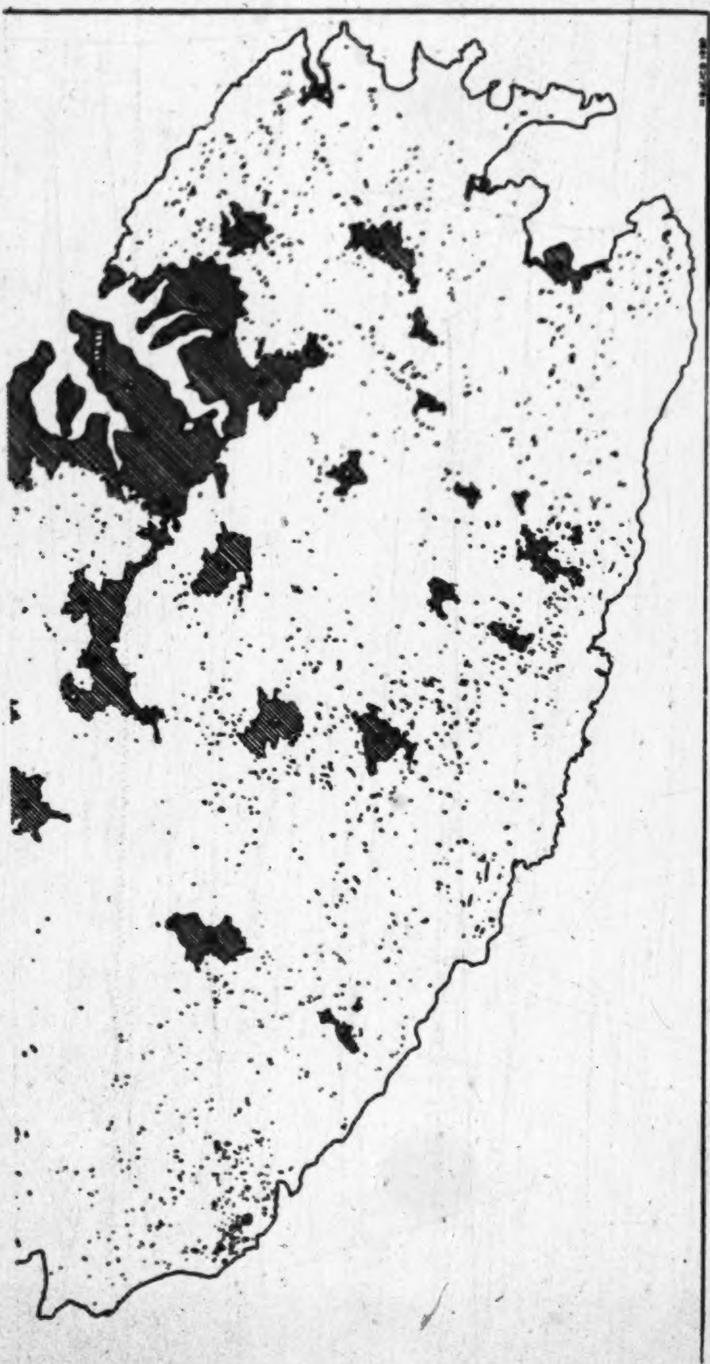

MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
ONIONS
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 220-A]

Fig. 87 Malta: Land Use Survey: Onions.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta



311*
102
244

Fig. 87 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Onions.

[p. 220-B]

*311
●101-
344

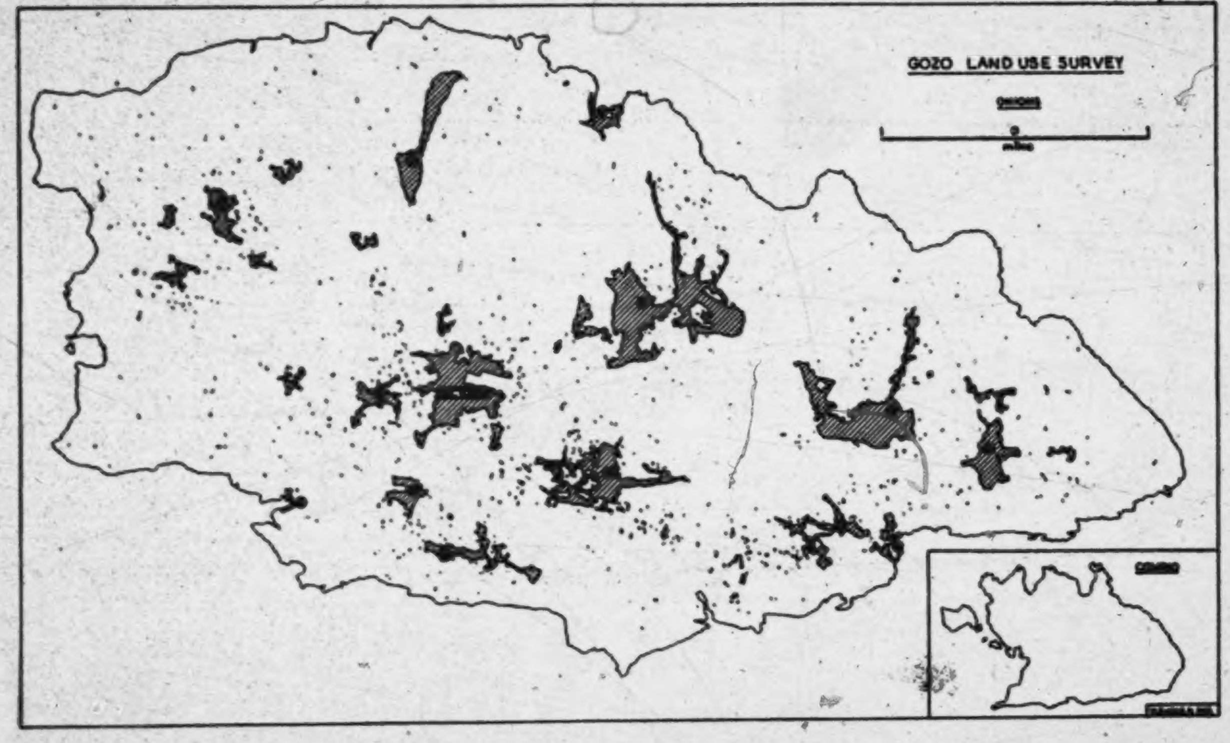

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
ONIONS
0
miles
ONIONS

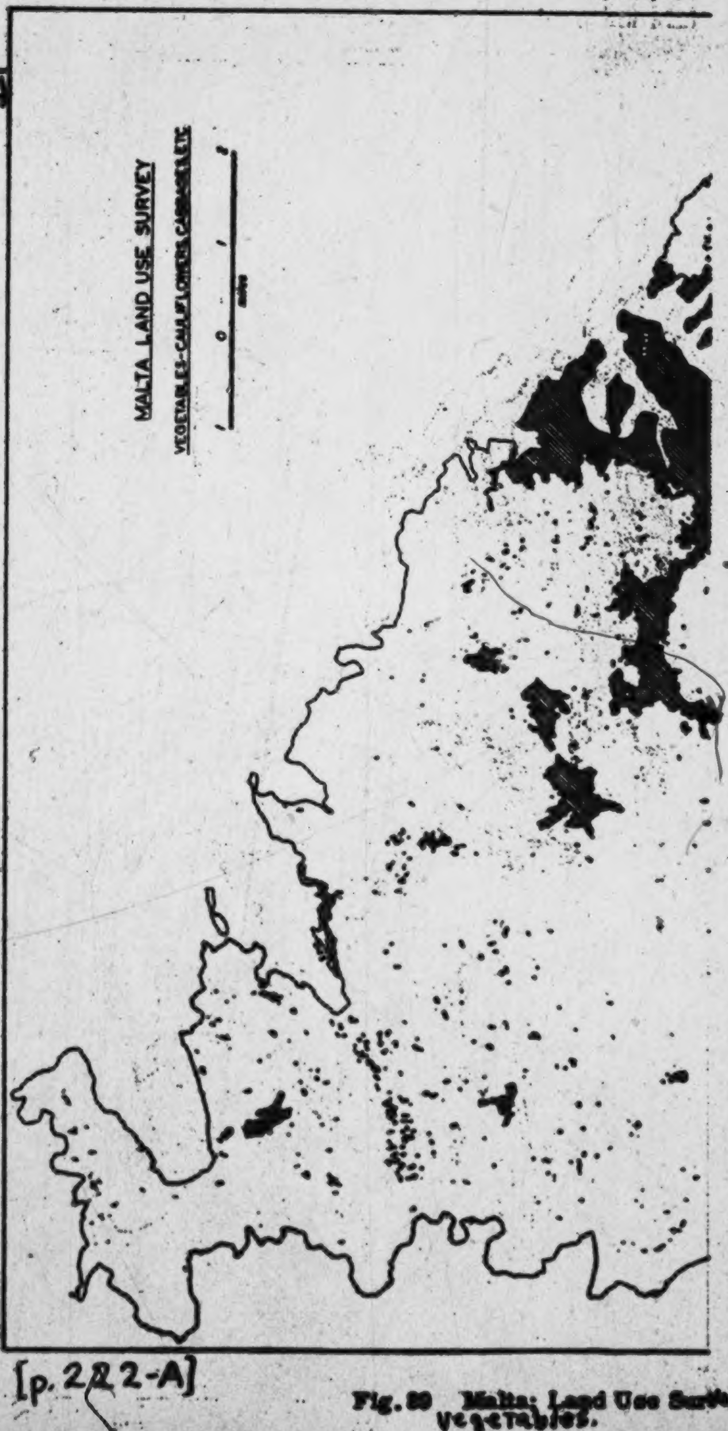
Fig. 88 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Onions.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
● 102
244


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
VEGETABLES-CAULIFLOWERS,CABBAGES,ETC
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 222-A]

Fig. 89 Malta: Land Use Survey; Vegetables.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
101●
249

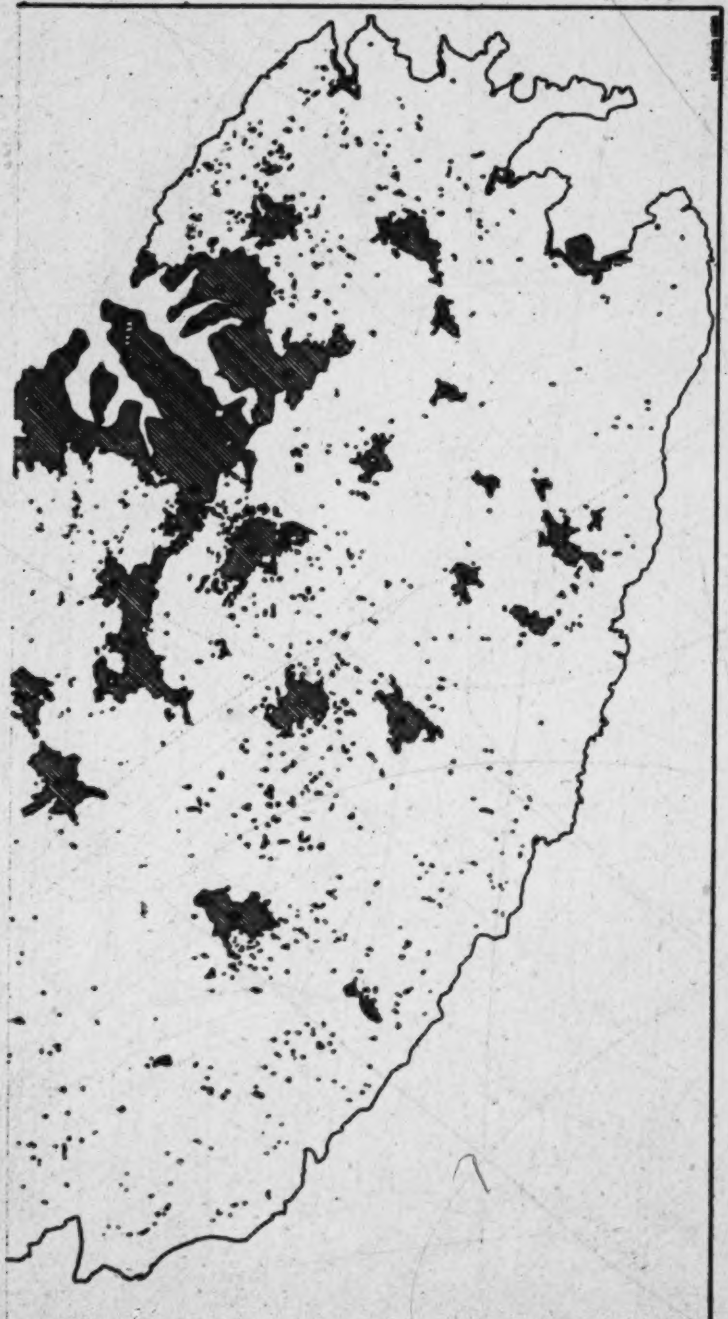


Fig. 89 Malta:
:: Land Use Survey: Vegetables.

[p.222-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
●102
244

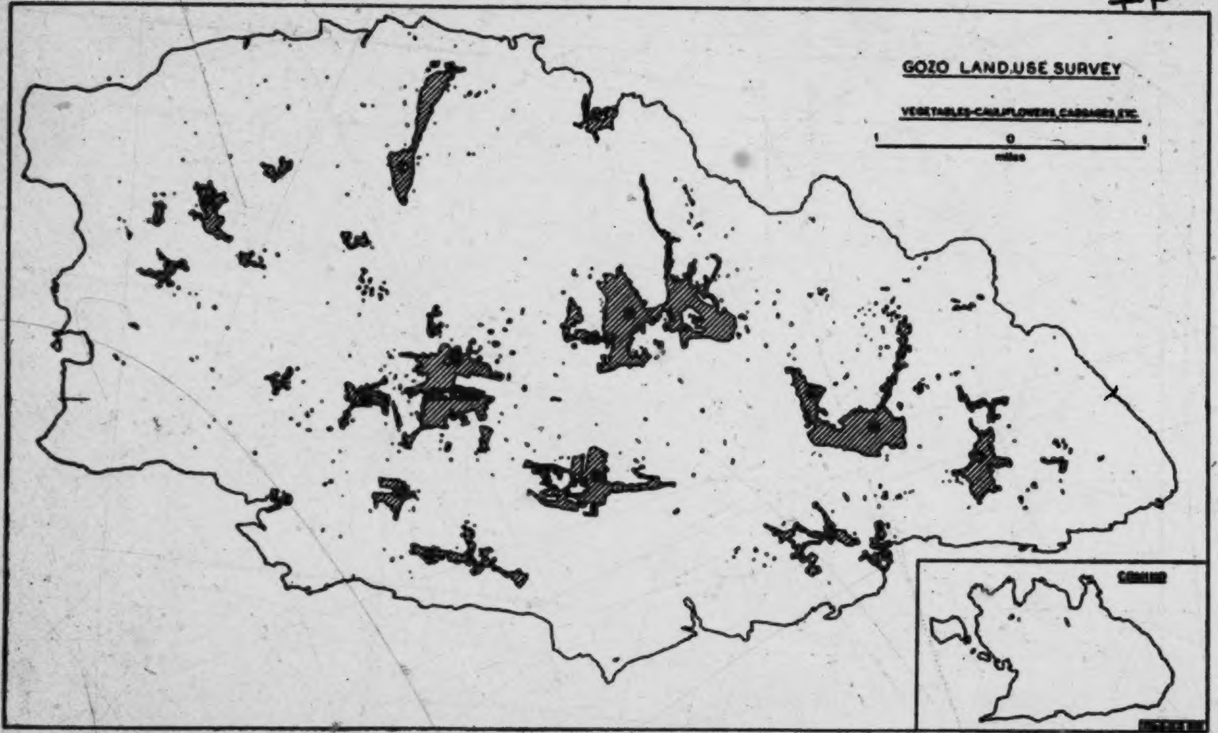
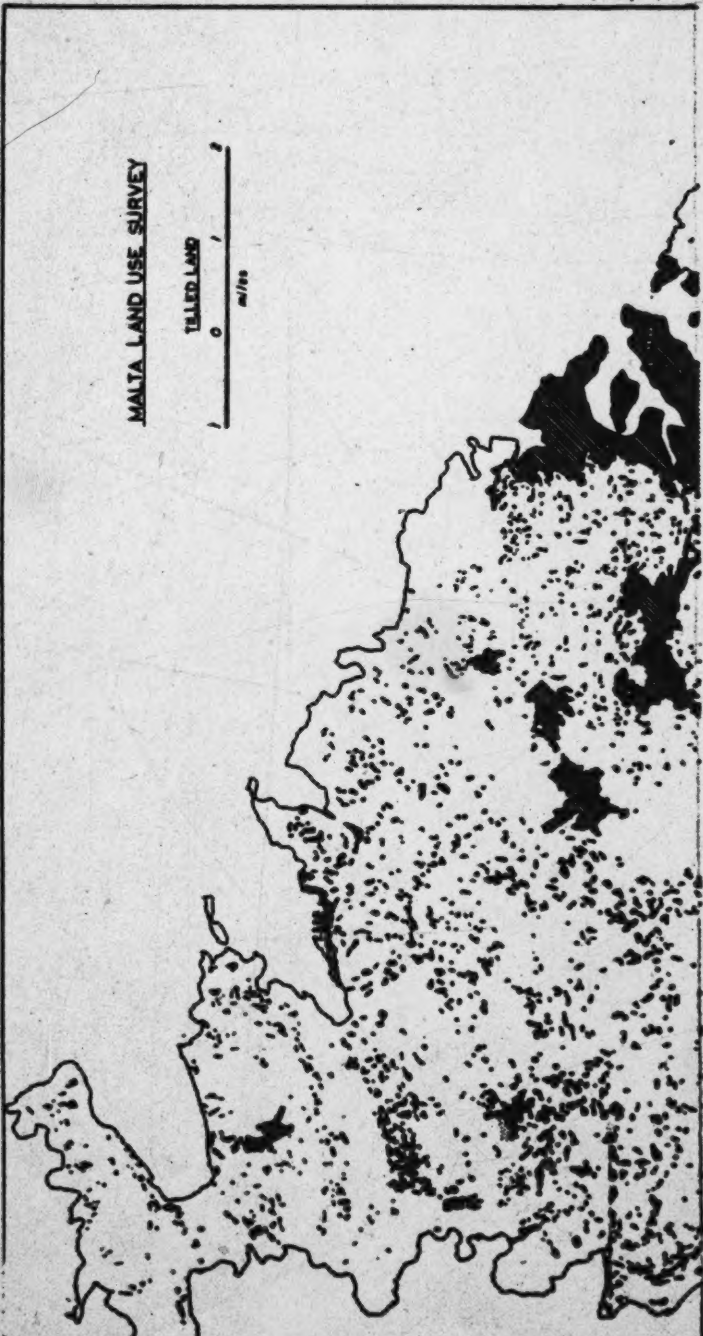

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
VEGETABLES-CAULIFLOWERS, CABBAGES, ETC.
1
0
1
miles

Fig. 90 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Vegetables.

Malta

*311
●102
241


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
TILLED LAND
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 224-A]

Fig. 21 Malta: Land Use Survey: Tilled Land.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311+
102
241

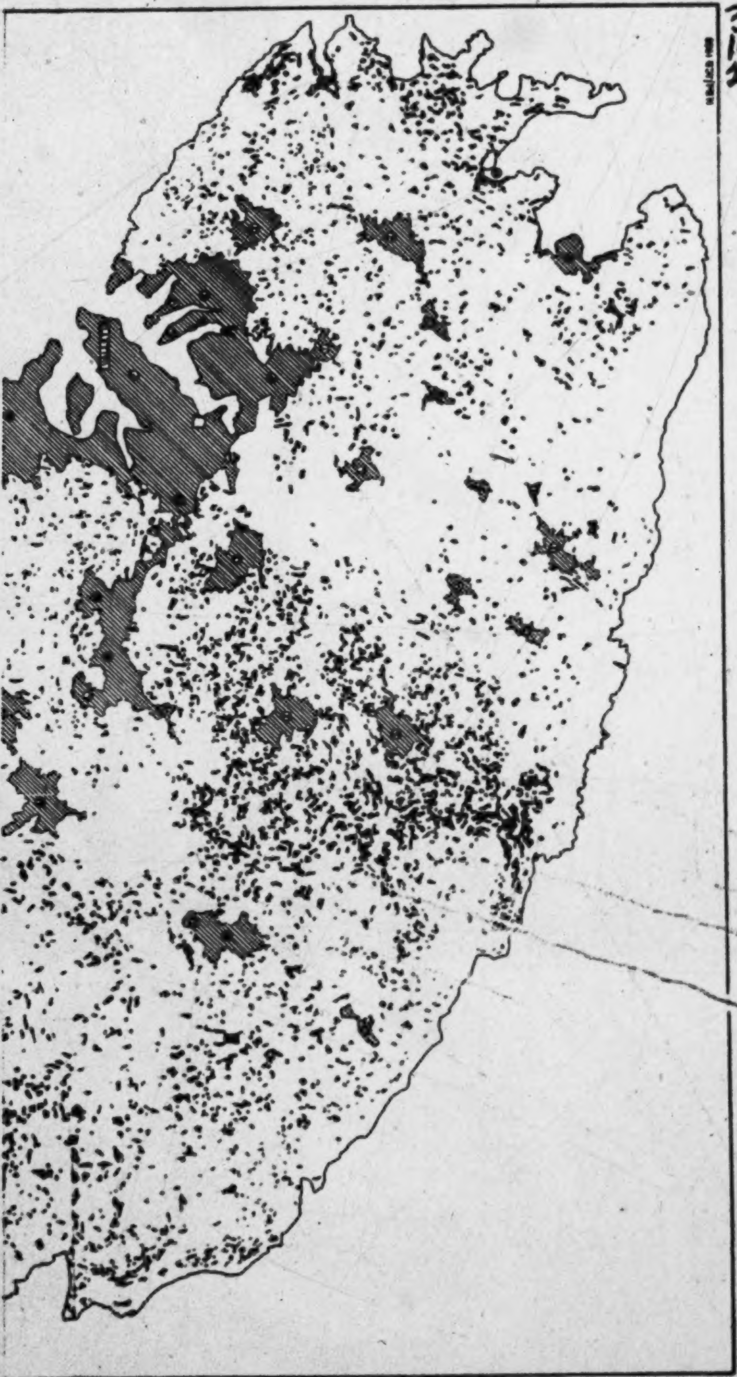


Fig. 91 *Malta*;
Land Use Survey: Tilled Land.

[p. 224-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

*311
●102
241

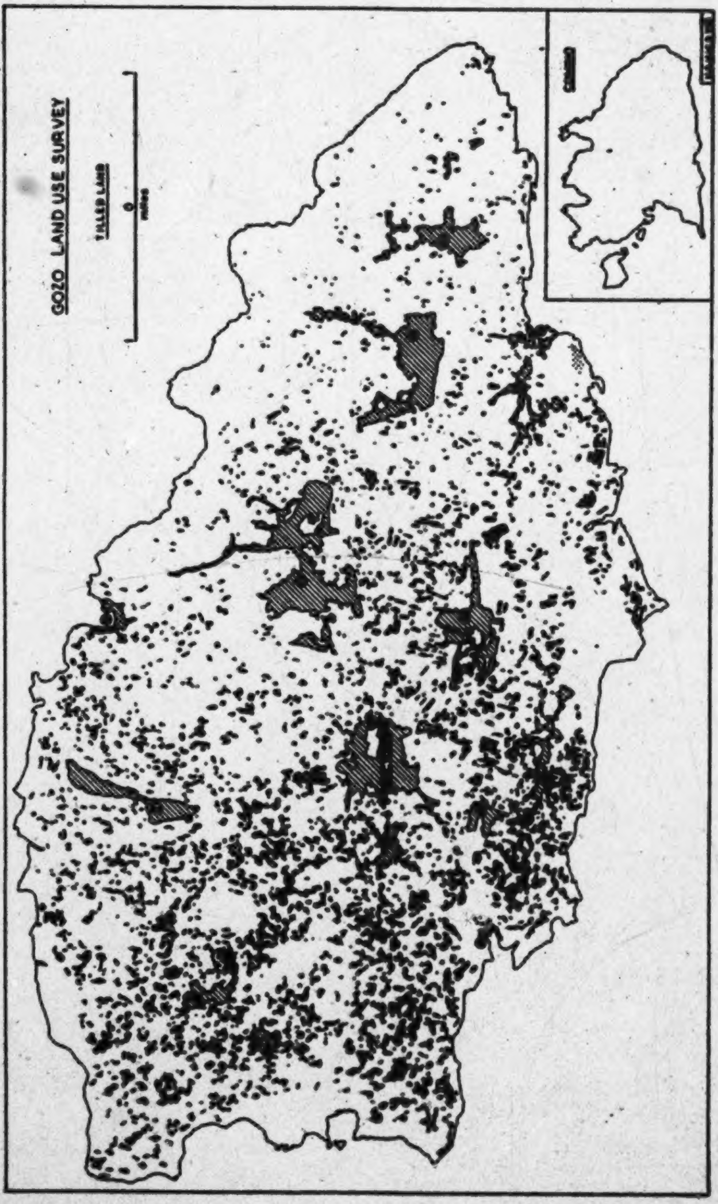
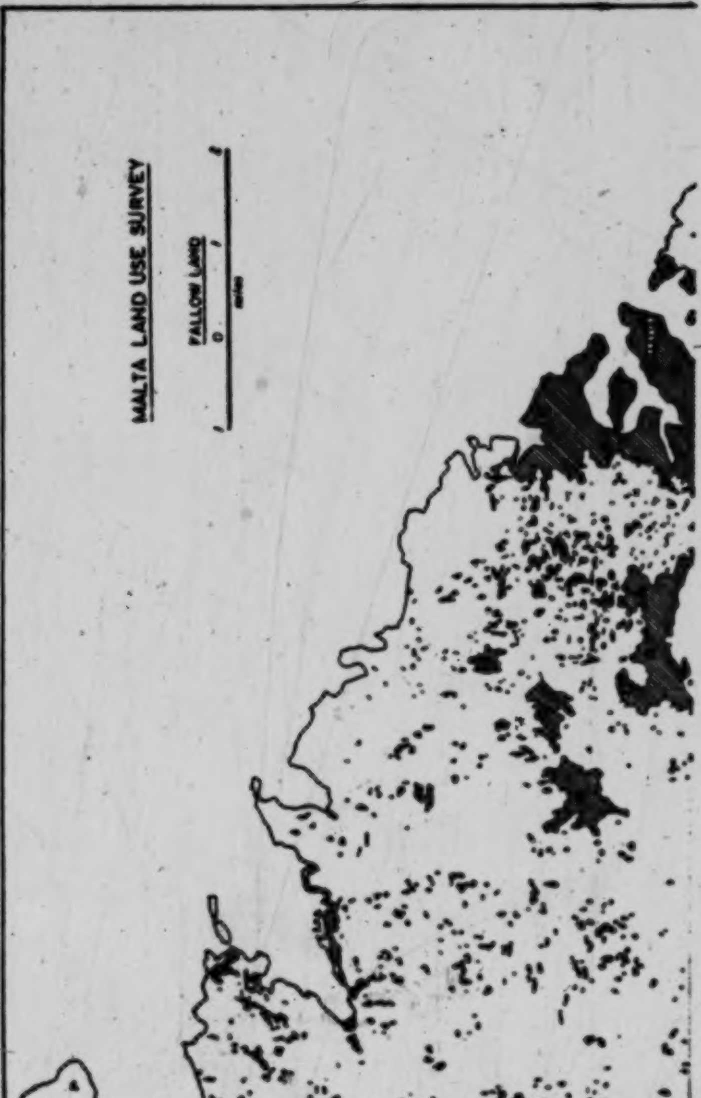

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
TILLED LAND
0
miles

Fig.92 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Tilled Land.

*311
●102
2A1


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
FALLOW LAND
1
0
1
2
miles

[p. 228-A]

Fig. 93 Malta: Land Use Survey: Fallow

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ8 Malta EZ8

Malta

311 #

102 ●

241

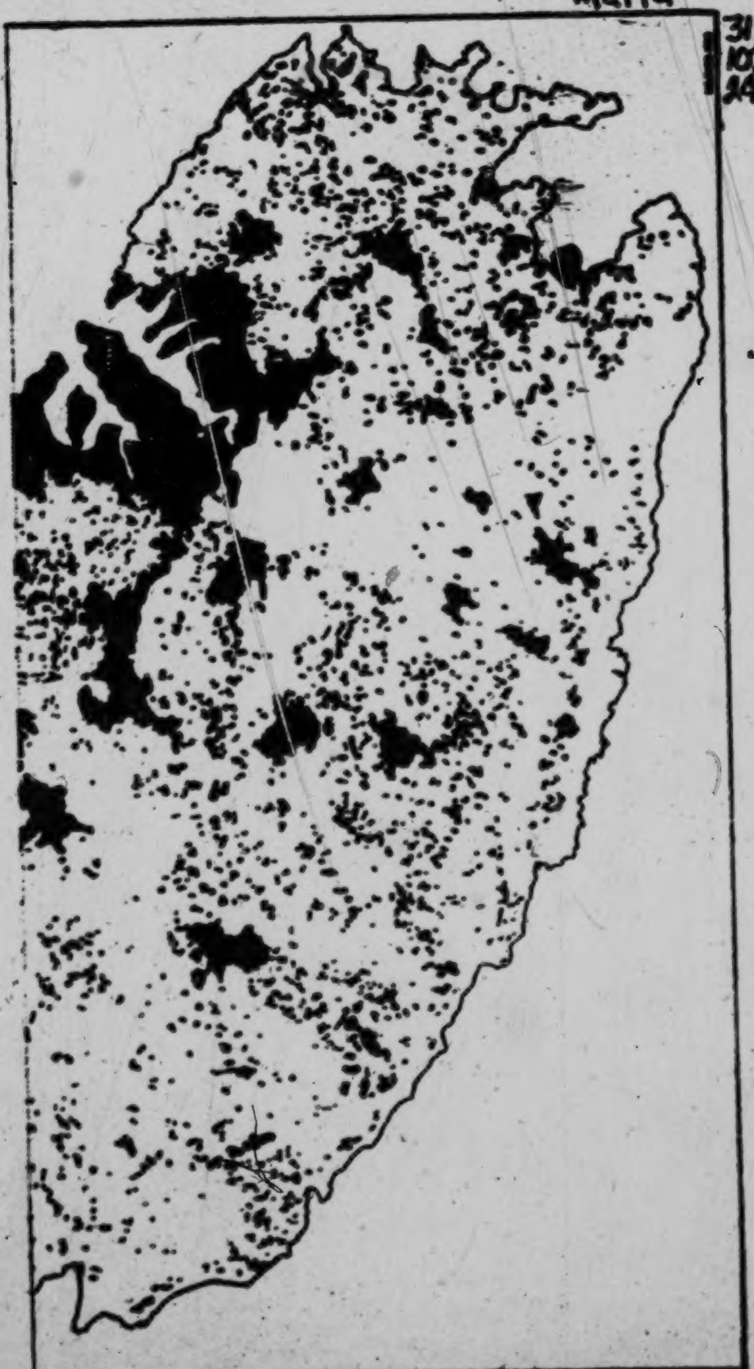


Fig 93 Malta:

Land Use Survey: Fallow.

[p. 228-B]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
●102
233
241

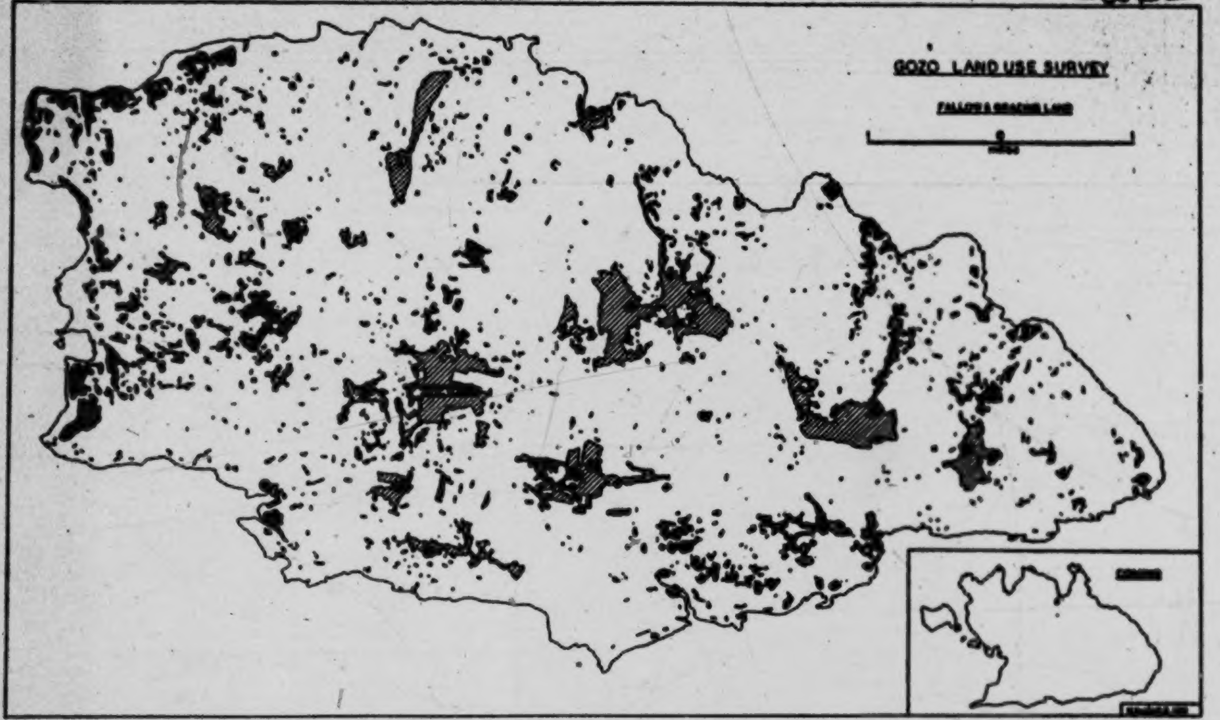
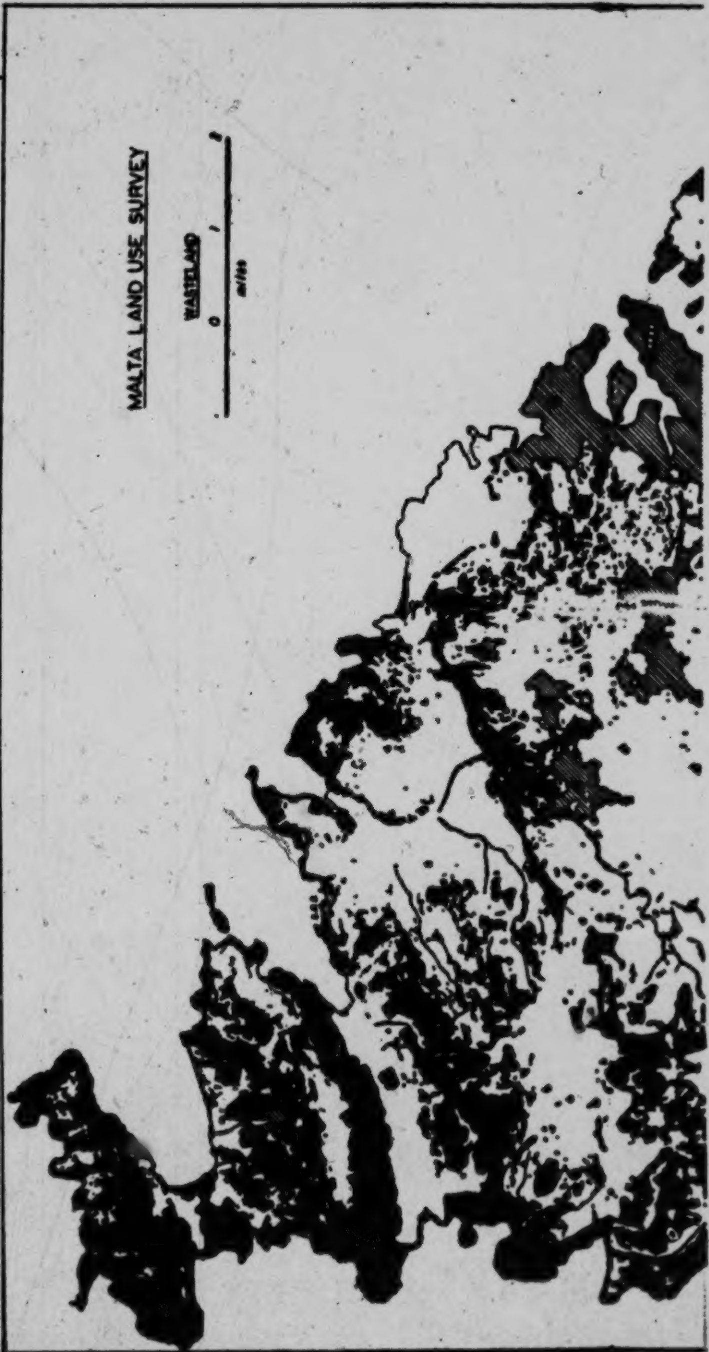

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
FALLOW & GRAZING LAND

Fig. 94 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Fallow and Grazing.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
WASTELAND
0
1
2
miles

[p. 230-A]

Fig. 95 Malta: Land Use Survey; wasteland.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102

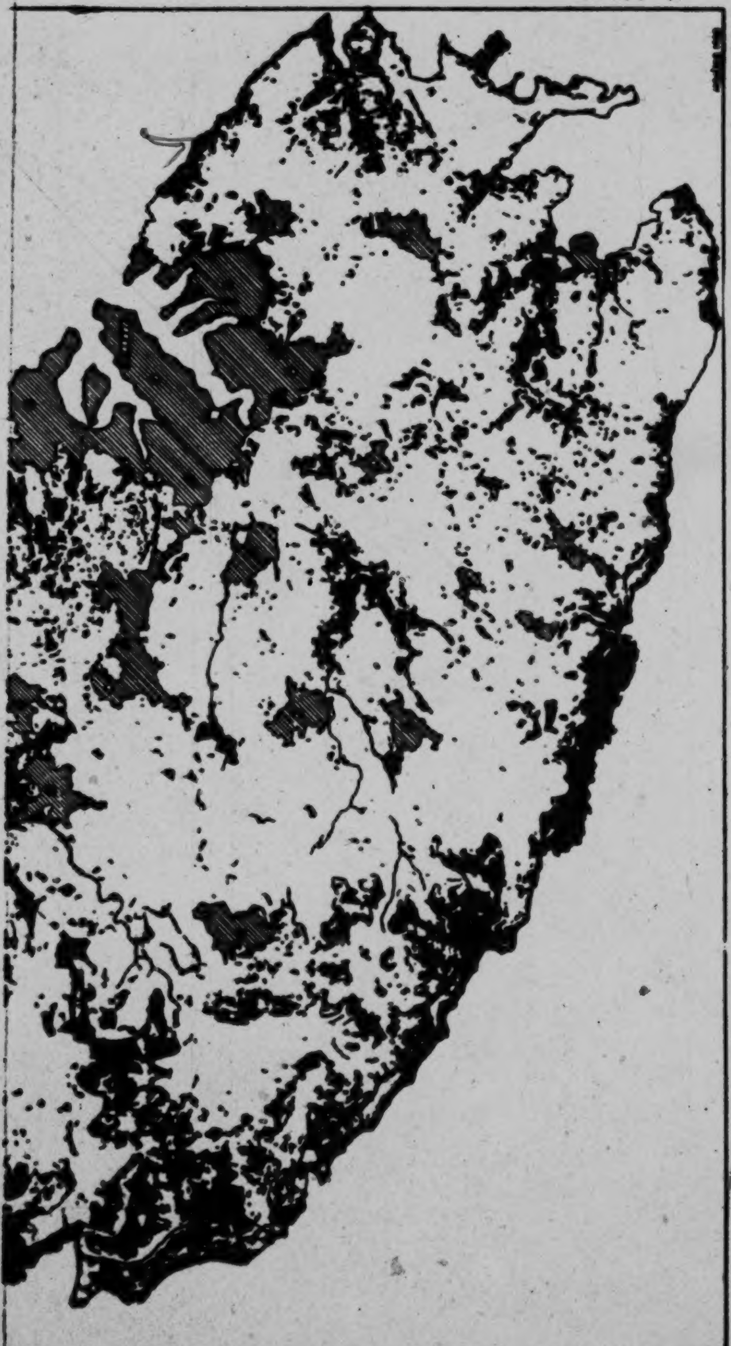


Fig. 95
Malta: Land Use Survey: Wasteland

[p. 230-B]

#311
162

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-3 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

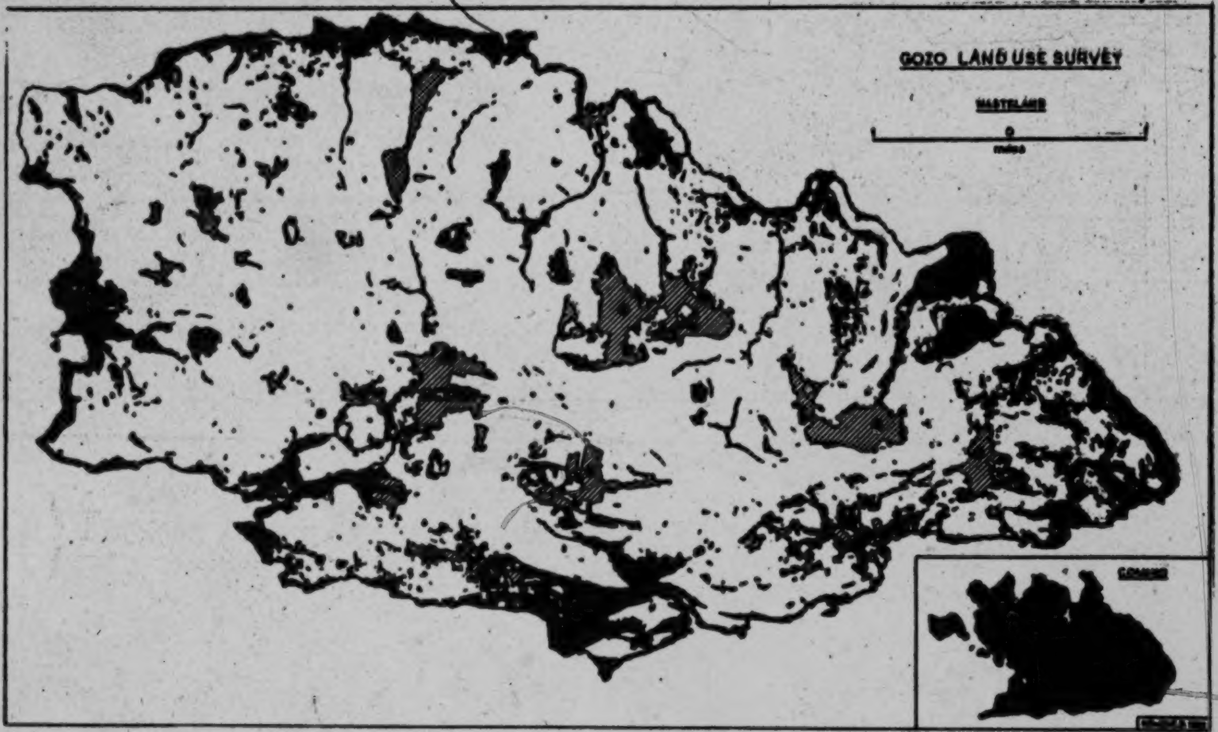
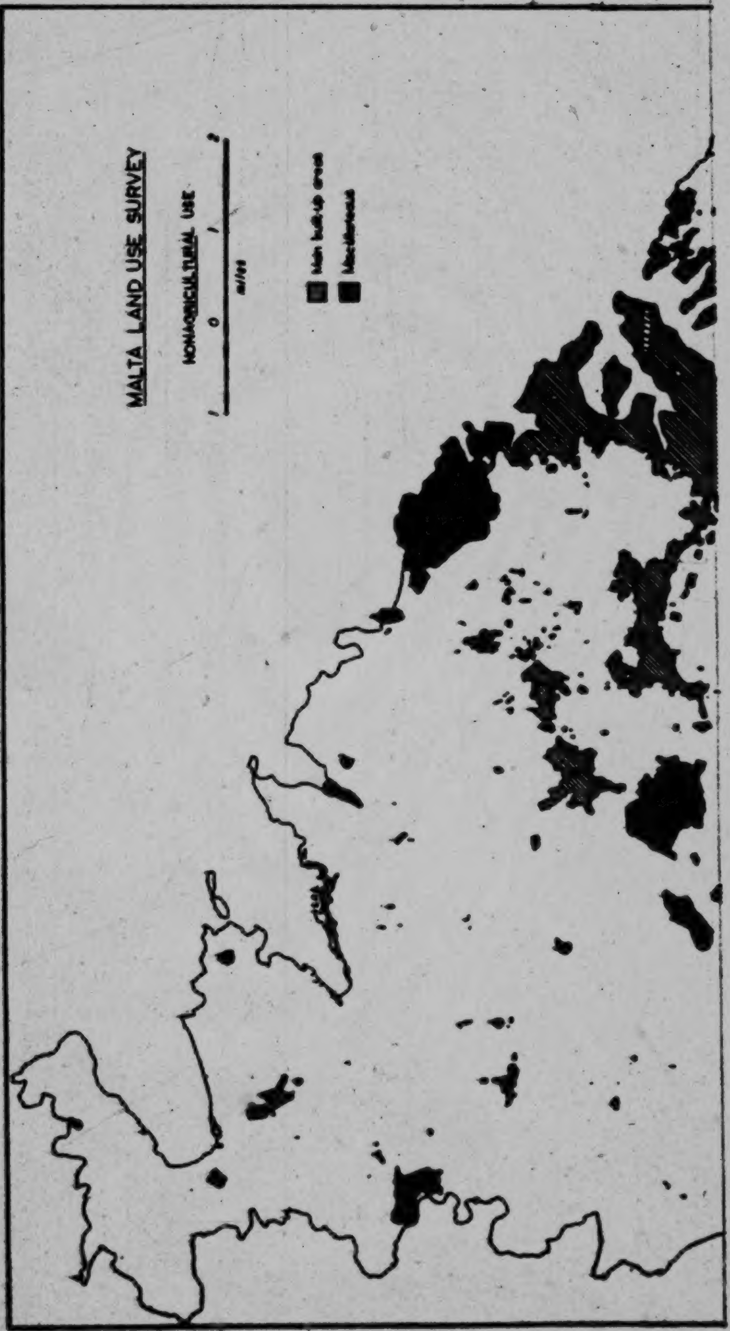

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
WASTELAND
0
miles
COMINO

Fig.96 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Wasteland.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

#311
●102
361


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
NONAGRICULTURAL USE
1 0 1 2
miles
Main built-up areas
Miscellaneous

[p. 232-A]

Fig. 97 Malta: Land Use Survey: Non-agricultural Use.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
MalT9

311*
102●
361

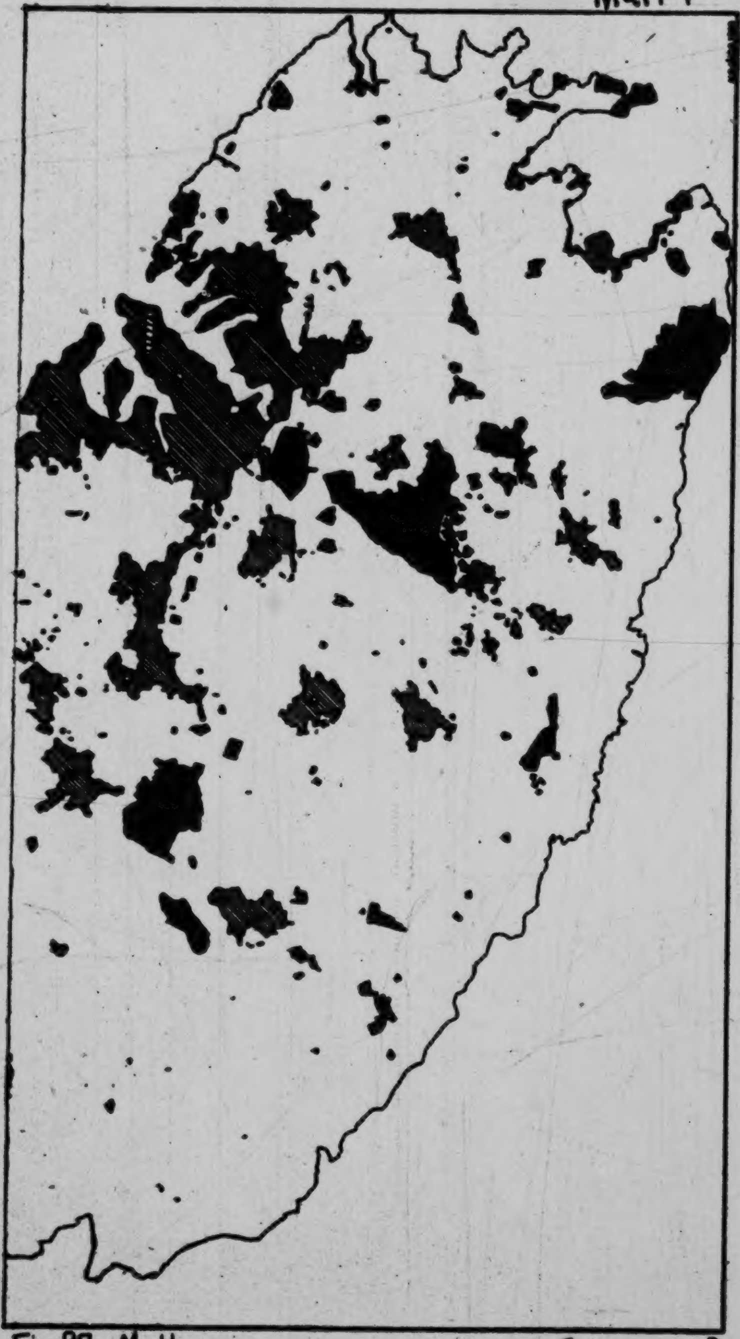


Fig. 97 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Non-agricultural Use.

[p. 232-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

*311
●107
361

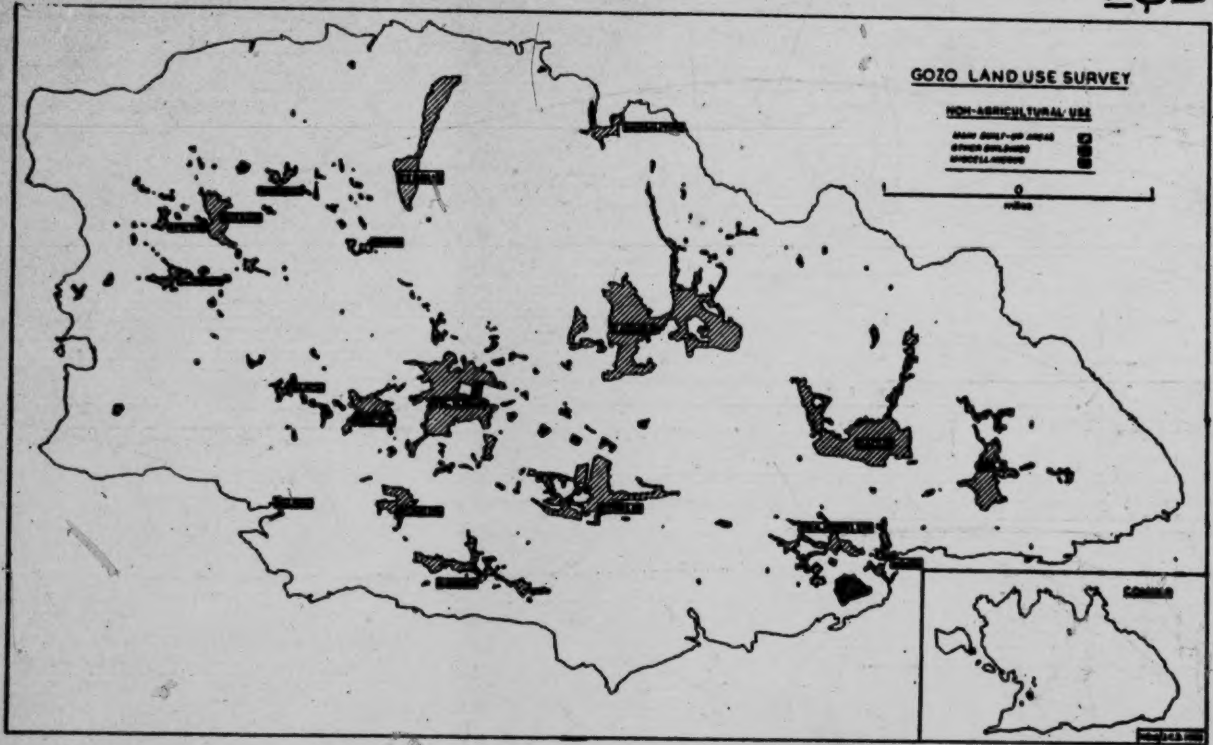

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
NON-AGRICULTURAL USE
MAIN BUILT-UP AREAS
OTHER BUILDINGS
MISCELLANEOUS
0
Miles
COMINO

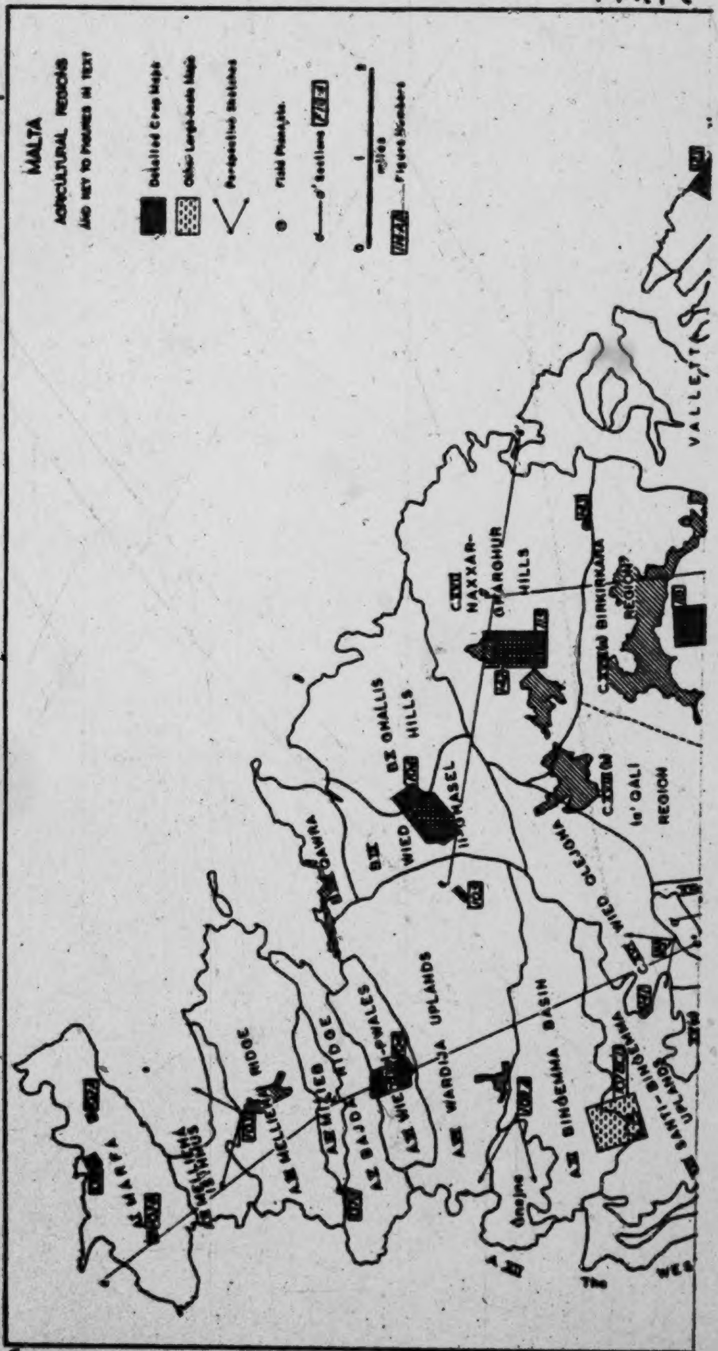
Fig. 98 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Non-agricultural Use.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*241
*311
●102
128


MALTA
AGRICULTURAL REGIONS
AND KEY TO FIGURES IN TEXT
Detailed Crop Maps
Other Large-scale Maps
Perspective Sketches
Field Plans, etc.
Sections
0
1
2
miles
Figure Numbers
MARFA
MELLIEHA ISTHMUS
MELLIEHA RIDGE
MIZIEB
BAJDA RIDGE
WIED-PWALES
WARDIJA UPLANDS
QAWRA
WIED
GHALLIS HILLS
IL-GHASEL
NAXXAR-GHARGHUR HILLS
BINGEMMA BASIN
Gnejna
SANTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS
WIED QLEJGHA
TA' QALI REGION
BIRKIRKARA REGION
VALLETTA
The WES

[p. 236-A]

Fig. 99 Malta: Agricultural Regions

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

241*
311*
102 ●
128

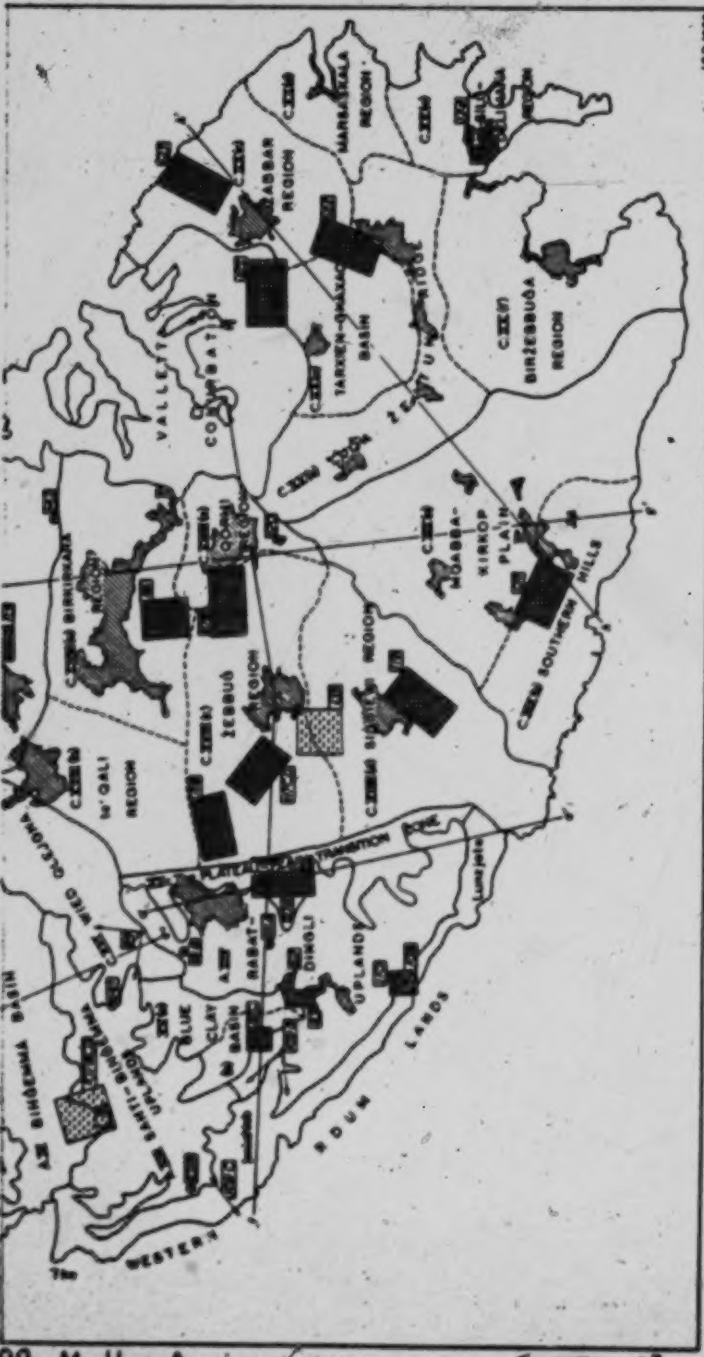

BINĠEMMA BASIN
WIED QLEJGHA
M'QALI REGION
BIRKIRKARA REGION
VALLETTA CONURBATION
SANTI-BINĠEMMA UPLANDS
BLUE CLAY BASIN
RABAT-DINGLI UPLANDS
ŻEBBUĠ REGION
QORMI REGION
ŻABBAR REGION
MARSASKALA REGION
TARXIEN-GHAXAQ BASIN
SIĠĠIEWI REGION
ŻEJTUN RIDGE
MQABBA-KIRKOP PLAIN
SOUTHERN HILLS
BIRŻEBBUĠA REGION
TRANSITION ZONE
WESTERN
RDUM LANDS
Lunzjata

Fig. 99 Malta: Agricultural Regions and Key to Figures in Text. [p. 236-B]

*241
*311
●102
128

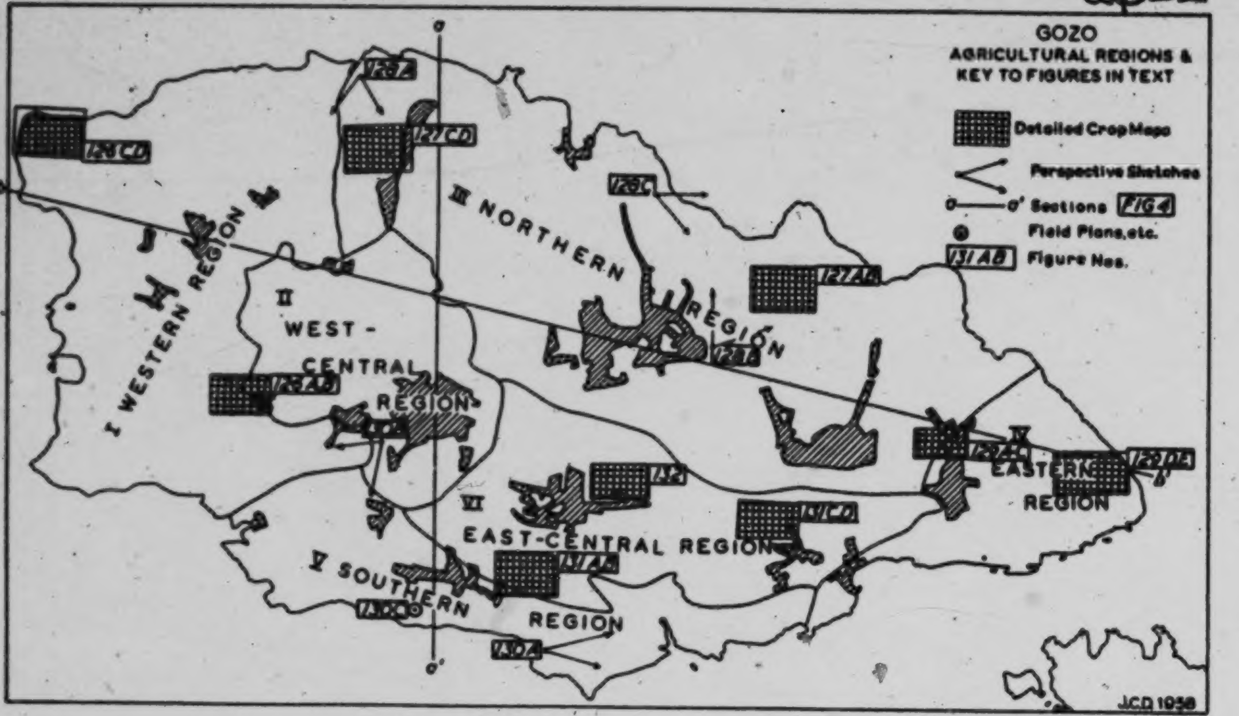

GOZO
AGRICULTURAL REGIONS & KEY TO FIGURES IN TEXT
Detailed Crop Maps
Perspective Sketches
a a' Sections
FIG 4
Field Plans, etc.
131 AB
Figure Nos.
I WESTERN REGION
II WEST-CENTRAL REGION
III NORTHERN REGION
IV EASTERN REGION
V SOUTHERN REGION
VI EAST-CENTRAL REGION
128 A
127 CD
128 CD
126 C
127 AB
128 B
126 AB
132
131 CD
131 AB
130 C
130 A
129 AB
129 CD
a
a'
JCD 1958

Fig. 100 Gozo: Agricultural Regions and Key to Figures in Text.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

*241
*311
[102]

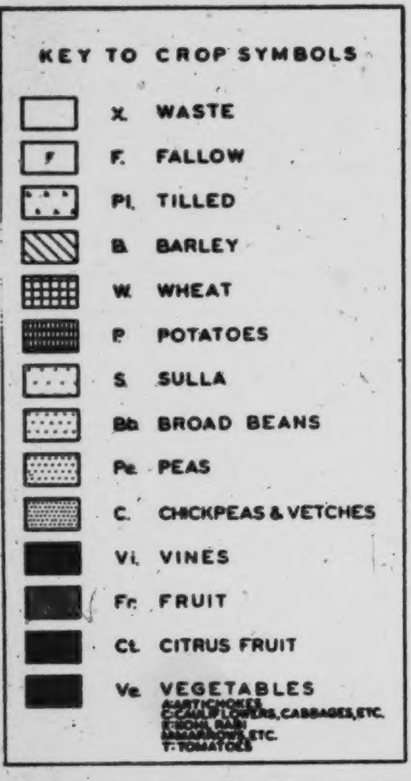

KEY TO CROP SYMBOLS
X. WASTE
F. FALLOW
Pl. TILLED
B. BARLEY
W. WHEAT
P. POTATOES
S. SULLA
Bb. BROAD BEANS
Pe. PEAS
C. CHICKPEAS & VETCHES
Vi. VINES
Fr. FRUIT
Ct. CITRUS FRUIT
Ve. VEGETABLES
A: ARTICHOKES
C: CAULIFLOWERS, CABBAGES, ETC.
K: KOHL RABI
M: MARROWS, ETC.
T: TOMATOES

Fig. 101 Key to Crop Symbols as used in Figs. 102-132 inclusive.

[91] building has been influenced not only by the needs of the farming community but also by military and, more recently, by tourist requirements adds a further element to an already complicated pattern. Isolation is a social and economic matter as well as a physical one. For all these reasons, detailed regional study is necessary before the full range of conditions present in this region can be appreciated.

A point of particular application to the Scarplands is their economically marginal character. It is here that development and neglect, advance and withdrawal of the 'cultivation frontier' have been most effective, reflecting changes in the economic and social position of agriculture and the rural community. Thus published maps of this region show a rectilinear pattern of roads, tracks and field boundaries which takes no account of topography, contrasting with the older field pattern on which it is often superimposed. This palimpsest of economic change appears mainly on land once Government owned and is most extensive in Marfa, the northern flanks of Mellieha Ridge and on Bajda Ridge (Fig. 68).

A.I. MARFA

Much of the peninsula is now *xagħra* land although a larger area has been cultivated in the past. Poor dry farming persists in a few areas such ta'Ramal

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

241*
311*
102●

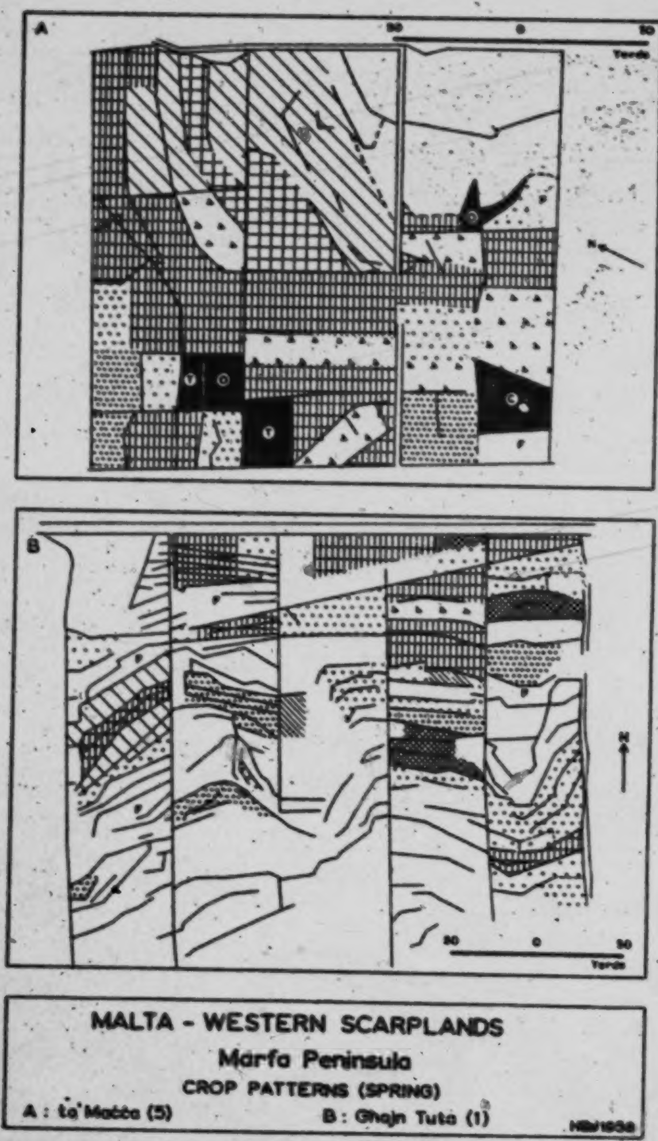

A
30
0
30
Yards
N
B
N
30
0
30
Yards
MALTA - WESTERN SCARPLANDS
Marfa Peninsula
CROP PATTERNS (SPRING)
A : ta' Macca (5)
B : Ghajn Tuta (1)
HBJ1958

Fig. 102 Malta: Western Scarplands: Marfa Peninsula.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta9

*2A

*31

● [102

133]

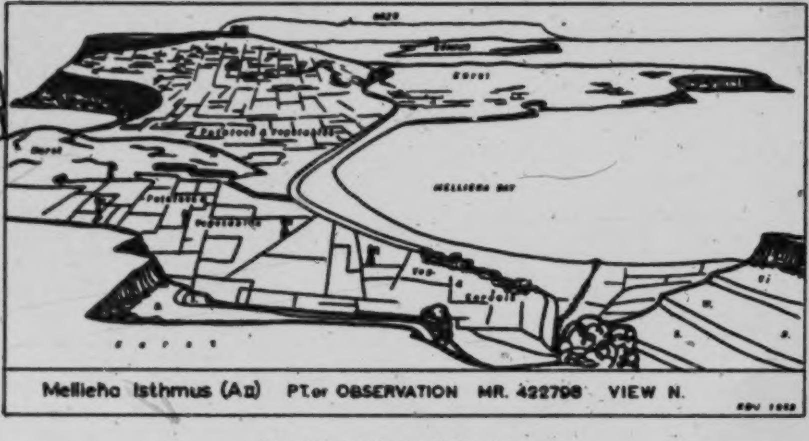


Fig. 103 Malta: Mellieħa Isthmus.

(8)*, id-Dahar (Fig. 102 B) above the Wied Ghajn Tuta (1), and in smaller scattered plots. It also occurs in the undercliff zones of Rdum tal-Qammieh (9)* (significantly, 'Qammieħ' means 'wheat-producing') and Rdum tal-Ahrax (10) where Blue Clay and Globigerina outcrop beneath the Upper Coralline scarp. A few small homesteads are sparsely scattered over these zones. In the small valleys which open to the north, such as Wied Musa (2) and ta'Maċċia (5) (Fig. 102 A), wind-pump irrigation and road development have allowed the introduction of commercial cultivation of potatoes and vegetables. Field boundaries have been recast, new farms built and cultivation extended on to former wasteland. The utilisation of these small oases is essentially precarious as sea-spray salinity on the one hand and ground-water salinity induced by over-pumping on the other set definite limits to productivity. Abandoned wind pumps mark points at which these limits have been over-stepped.

Thus in the region there occur simultaneously both slow abandonment of the harder lands and reclamation of especially favoured pockets.

A.II. MELLIEĦA ISTHMUS (Fig. 103)

There are three separate areas of cultivation. Il-Ghadira (11) and il-Hofra (12), lying on either side of a barren karstic hill, are pump-irrigated for the production of potatoes and some summer vegetables. Good dry farming is represented by the marled slopes between Mellieħa and the sea (13).

A.III. MELLIEĦA RIDGE

Here, as in other, analagous regions, there is a natural association of central summit-lands with fringing valley embayments. In the west, rising in cliffs from the sea and more gently from the head of Miżieb, the ridge is almost entirely waste, although a few small plots of minor fodders and beans have survived abandonment. Near Mellieħa, in contrast, small scale reclamation is extending an area of rather more intensive cultivation. This is associated with the rapid growth of Mellieħa itself. Further to the east, topographic controls become dominant, cultivation, with one exception, being confined to the several depressions. Wied Imġiebah (19) is intensively cultivated in spring-watered high terraces near the cliffed coast. Further inland, where water is less plentiful,

---

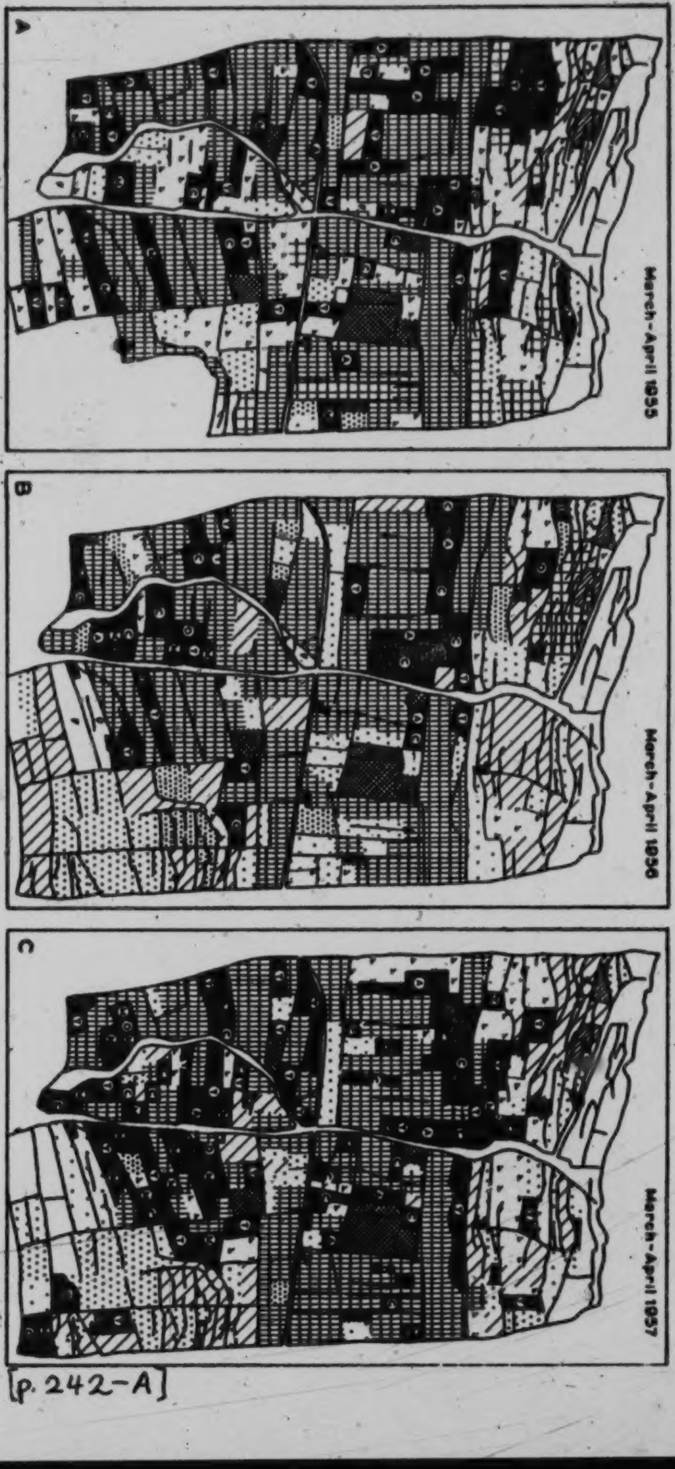
*A number in brackets following a place name refers to Figs. 69 and 70.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

241*
311*
102

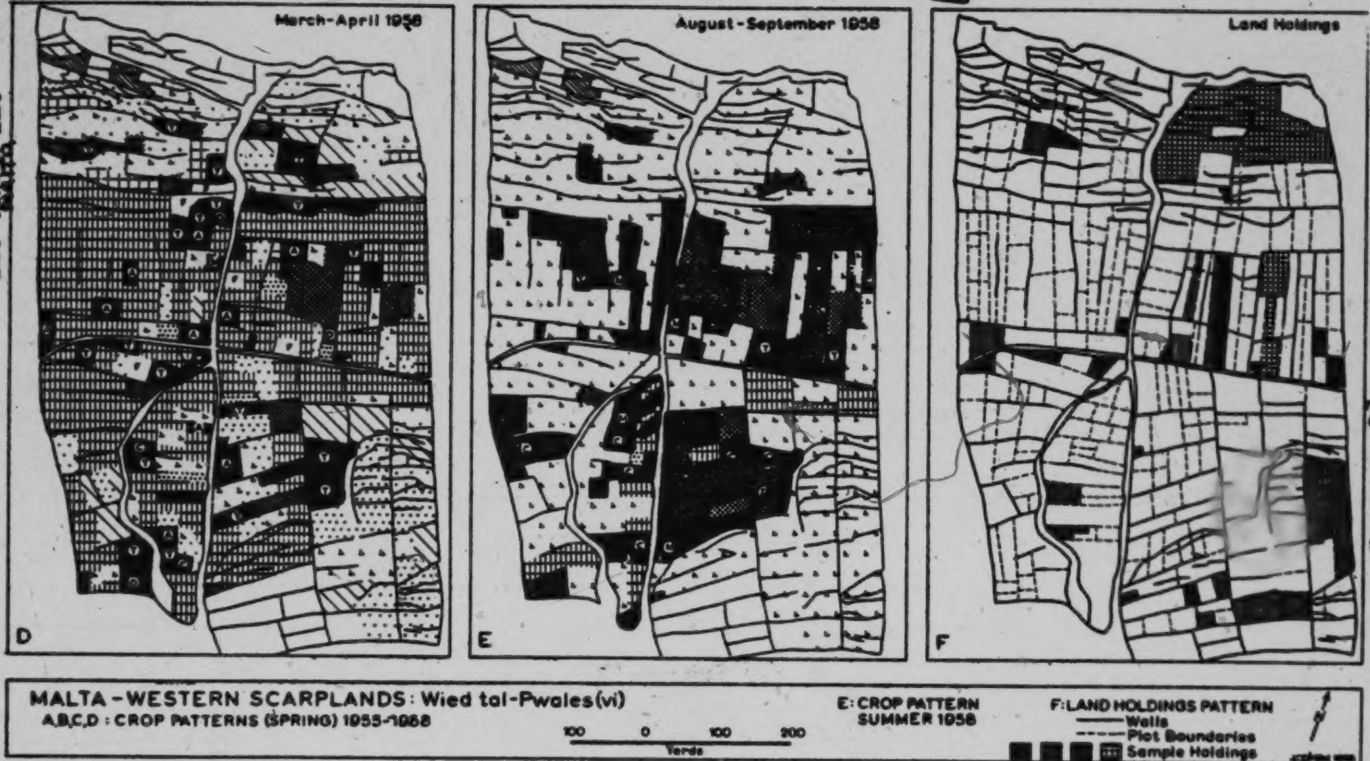

A
March-April 1955
B
March-April 1956
C
March-April 1957

[p. 242-A]

241*
311*
102

[923]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6


March-April 1958
August-September 1958
Land Holdings
D
E
F
MALTA - WESTERN SCARPLANDS: Wied tal-Pwales(vi)
A,B,C,D : CROP PATTERNS (SPRING) 1955-1958
100 0 100 200
Yards
E: CROP PATTERN SUMMER 1958
F: LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Walls
Plot Boundaries
Sample Holdings

[p.242-B]

Fig. 104 Malta: Wied tal-Pwales.

*241
*311
[102]

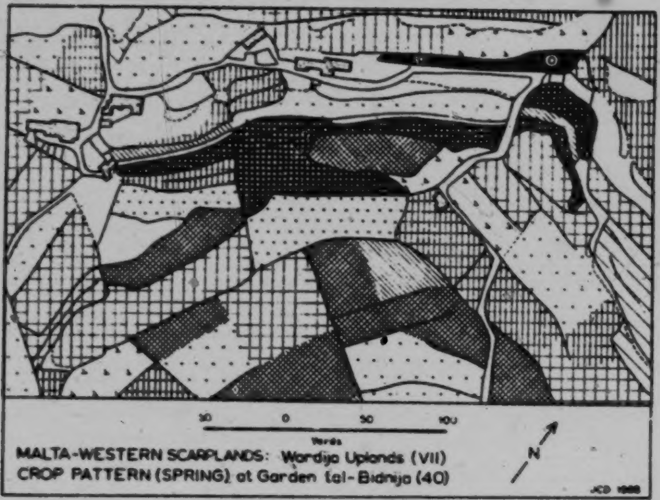

50
0
50
100
Yards
MALTA-WESTERN SCARPLANDS: Wardija Uplands (VII)
CROP PATTERN (SPRING) at Garden tal-Bidnija (40)
N
JCD 1960

Fig. 105 Malta: Wardija Uplands.

tops. Around the many individual and clustered houses lie patches of cultivation in large pockets of Terra Rossa. Potatoes and cereals are dominant as at tal-Milord (39). South of the main ridge fork, this type of saddle topography falls away, between Mġarr and iż-Żebbieħ to the downthrown Binġemma Basin.

East of iż-Żebbieħ the Blue Clay outcrop zone appears, the southern extremity of a belt which overlooks the Wied il-Ghasel and includes Wied Qannotta (33). On these well watered but non-irrigated clay slopes, vines, cereals and sulla are dominant. The grapes of this zone are of some repute and command a higher price than the more watery products of Bur Marrad. Fruit cultivation is carried on on the Ġebel Ghawzara slopes (43), within easy reach of a main road. In the Wied Qannotta (33), a similar type of landscape occupies the depression between the two limbs of the summit ridge. A few *ġnien* pockets, as at the Garden tal-Bidnija ('the garden of the prosperous one') (40) (Fig. 105), lie beneath the Coralline scarp.

B. THE WIED IL-GHASEL DISTRICT

Overlooked by the eastern summits of Wardija Ridge and separated from the rest of the island by the fault-scarp of the Victoria Lines, lies a region which is quite distinct in character. Belonging neither to the Scarplands nor to the Central hill and plain region, the Qawra Peninsula (VIII), Wied il-Ghasel (IX) and the Ghallis Hills (X) merit separate attention.

B.VIII. QAWRA PENINSULA and B.X. GHALLIS HILLS

The physical unity of these two regions is broken only by the presence of Salina Bay which lies between them. Very striking is the way in which the distribution of wasteland corresponds almost exactly with the surface exposure of

[Text continues on p. 247]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

241*
311*
102 ●

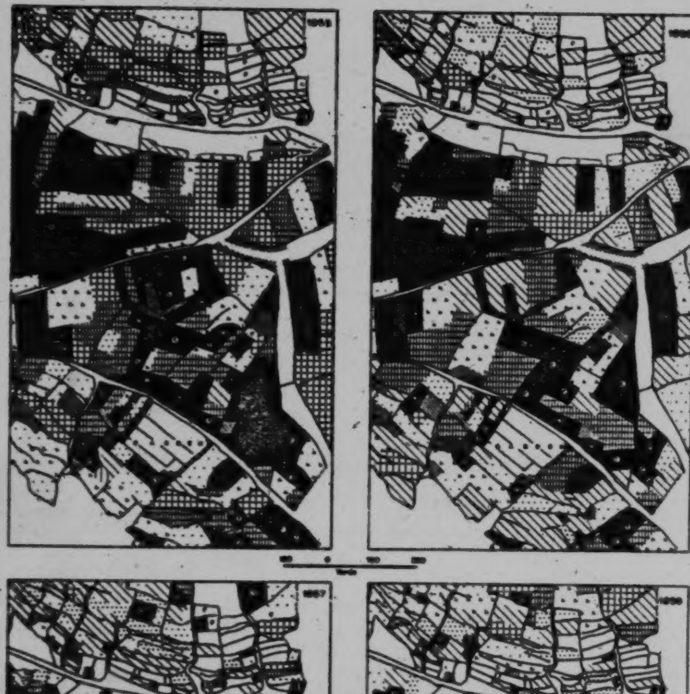


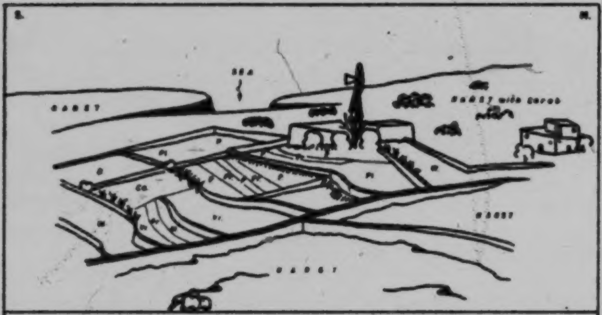
Fig. 106 Malta: Wied il-Ghasel.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

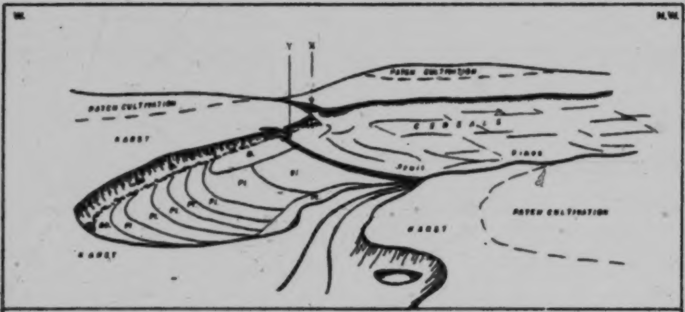
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*241
*311
●102
133


S.
N.
SEA
KARST
KARST with carob
KARST
KARST
Pl
Ca

A: SANTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS (XIII) Cultivated pocket at 650ft, M.R. 412713


W.
N.W.
Y
X
PATCH CULTIVATION
PATCH CULTIVATION
KARST
CEREALS
Vines
Fruit
Pl
PATCH CULTIVATION
KARST
KARST

B: SANTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS (XIII) Santi Gap (57) PT. of OBS. M.R. 423729, 720ft, VIEW W.

[245]
→
[312]
←

C: Detail of part of area shown in B

D: Santi Gap : Distribution of tree-crops

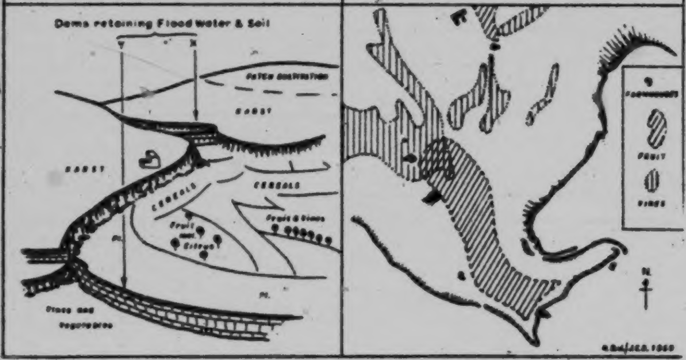

Dams retaining Flood Water & Soil
Y
X
PATCH CULTIVATION
KARST
KARST
CEREALS
CEREALS
Fruit & Vines
Fruit and Citrus
Pl
Pl
Trees and Vegetables
FARMHOUSES
FRUIT
VINES
N.

Fig. 107 Malta: Santi-Bingemma Uplands.

Malta

*241
*311
[102]

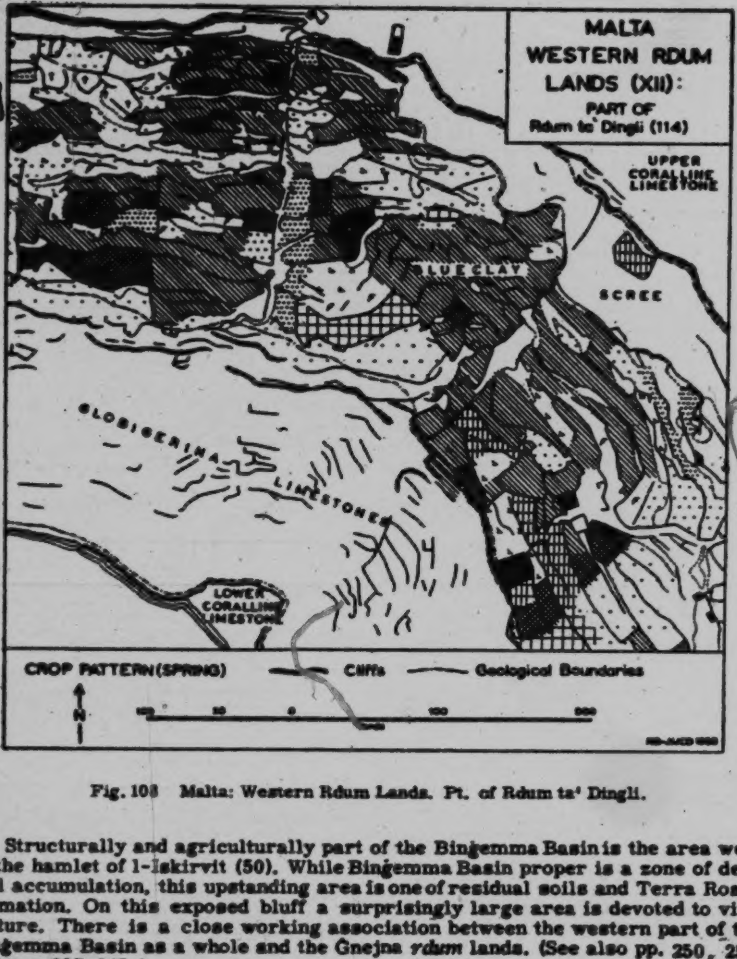

MALTA
WESTERN RDUM
LANDS (XII):
PART OF
Rdum ta' Dingli (114)
UPPER CORALLINE LIMESTONE
BLUE CLAY
SCREE
GLOBIGERINA LIMESTONE
LOWER CORALLINE LIMESTONE
CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
Cliffs
Geological Boundaries
N
100
0
100
200

Fig. 108 Malta: Western Rdum Lands. Pt. of Rdum ta' Dingli.

Structurally and agriculturally part of the Binġemma Basin is the area west of the hamlet of l-Iskirvit (50). While Binġemma Basin proper is a zone of deep soil accumulation, this upstanding area is one of residual soils and Terra Rossa formation. On this exposed bluff a surprisingly large area is devoted to viticulture. There is a close working association between the western part of the Binġemma Basin as a whole and the Ġnejna *rdum* lands. (See also pp. 250, 251 and pp. 307-315.)

Settlement within this region is, with the exception of l-Iskirvit, entirely peripheral. Mġarr, the only centre with any true urban functions, is continuing to spread along the basin edge and roads, iż-Żebbieh showing similar characteristics on a smaller scale. Binġemma, by contrast a truly rural hamlet lying on an outwash fan beneath the southern scarp, has been overshadowed by the two northern settlements. L-Iskirvit, which marks the western edge of the main basin, has similarly stagnated.

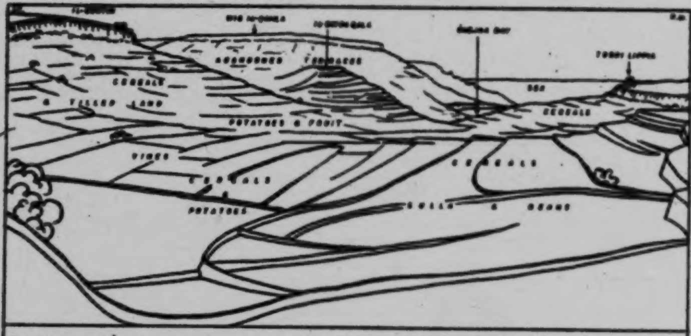
A.XII. THE WESTERN *RDUM* LANDS

From the western edge of the Binġemma Basin southwards along the coast to tal-Bajjada (152), between the sea and the Upper Coralline edge, lies a zone which, in Maltese, bears the name of *Rdum* (=precipice). In parts of this zone,

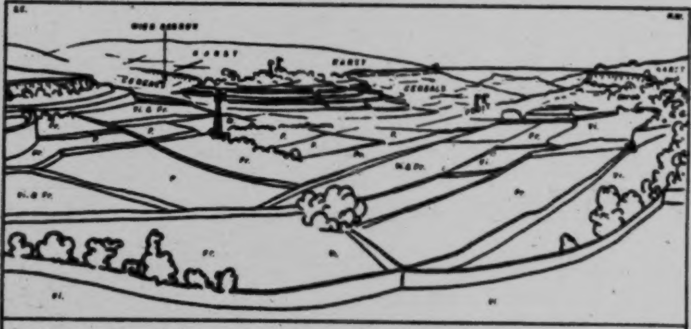
[Text Continues on P.250]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

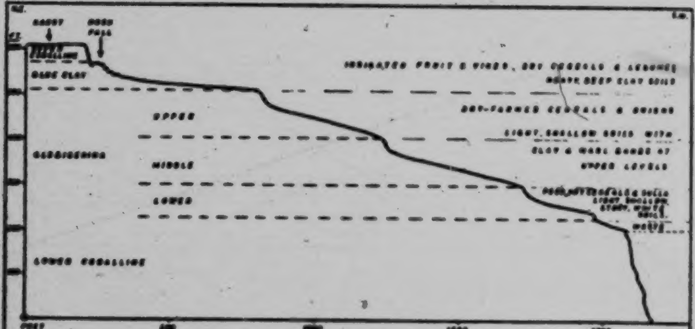
241*
311*
102●
133


TILLED LAND
ABANDONED
TERRACES
CEREALS
& TILLED LAND
SEA
CEREALS
POTATOES & FRUIT
VINES
CEREALS
CEREALS
POTATOES
SULLA & BEANS

A: Wied il-Ġnejna (51) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 423749, HT. 225ft., VIEW W.


KARST
TERRACES
KARST
CEREALS
KARST

B: Wied ir-Rum (64) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 434696, HT. 600ft., VIEW N.W.


KARST
ROAD PASS
BLUE CLAY
UPPER
GLOBIGERINA
MIDDLE
LOWER
LOWER CORALLINE
IRRIGATED FRUIT & VINES, DRY CEREALS & LEGUMES
HEAVY DEEP CLAY SOILS
DRY-FARMED CEREALS & ONIONS
LIGHT, SHALLOW SOILS WITH
CLAY & MARL BANDS AT
UPPER LEVELS
LIGHT, SHALLOW,
STONY, SOILS
SEA
FEET
500
1000
1500
2000

C: Section through Rdum Zone at tal-Merħla (62)

Fig. 109 Malta: Western Rdum Lands.

*241
*311
[102]
[133]

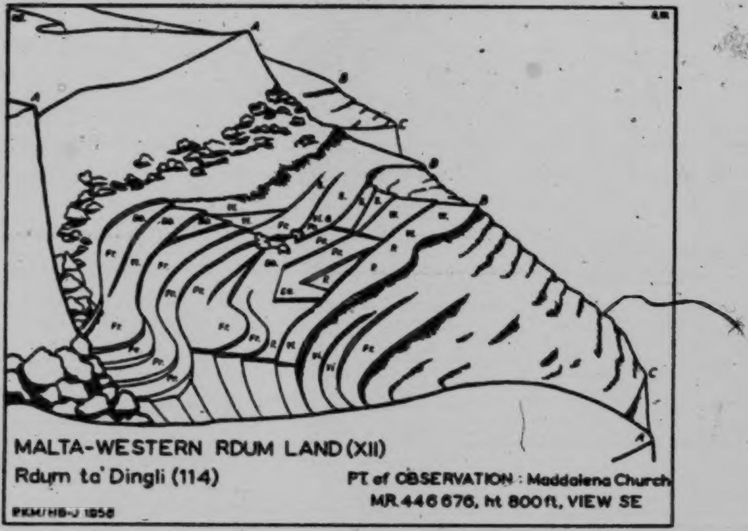

A
B
C
MALTA-WESTERN RDUM LAND (XII)
Rdum ta' Dingli (114)
PT of OBSERVATION : Maddalena Church
MR 446 676, ht 800ft, VIEW SE
PKM/HB-J 1958

Fig. 110 Malta: Western Rdum Lands.

as, for instance, in the Rdum ta'Dingli (114) (Fig. 108), the cultivation of steep, narrow terraces between formidable cliffs represents a desperate clinging to limited resources. In others, great embayments such as Ġnejna (51) (Fig. 109A), l-Imtaħleb (63) and Wied ir-Rum (64) (Fig. 109B) offer greater and more easily realised opportunities for specialised farming. In all cases in the *rdum* zone is found a cross-section of the complete geological sequence found in the Islands and this exerts a close control over topography, hydrology, soil-formation and land use. Ideally, and as may be seen at tal-Merħla (62) (Fig. 109C), belts of cultivation lie between the Upper Coralline scarp-cliff and the sheer sea-cliff of the massive Lower Coralline. Zonal differentiation is otherwise controlled by the incidence of springs from the Upper Coralline cap, by differences in gradient and by minor variations between the different beds within the Greensand, Clay and Globigerina series. Although the aspect of the *rdum* lands suggests exposure to strong westerly and south-westerly winds, in fact they often lie in a pocket of calm air below the main airflow which is deflected up and over the *rdum* belt by the high sea cliffs. As evidenced by terrace walls, cultivation has been more extensive in the past. Abandonment is still proceeding and is most rapid in areas which are either most difficult of physical access, e.g. Rdum tal-Vicarju (61), or most remote from settlement, e.g. tar-Raheb (60) ('the place of the hermit').

The most simple type of *rdum* cultivation is exemplified in the narrow sea-facing zone including the Rdum Dun Nazio (80) and the Rdum ta'Dingli (114). Figs. 109C and 110 show the close inter-relationship between geology, slope and cultivation. Three major breaks of slope result from differential erosion. From the Upper Coralline cliff edge (marked A in Fig. 110) a steep cliff falls to a concave slope of gentler gradient on the Blue Clay and Upper Globigerina. Here, on the spring-watered terrace-retained mixed soils, typical *gnien* crops are found. Below the break of slope B and on the steeper convex slopes of the Middle and Lower Globigerina beds lie a series of abandoned narrower and more inaccessible terraces. Points marked C indicate the line of the upper surface

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*241

*311

● 102

423

[312]

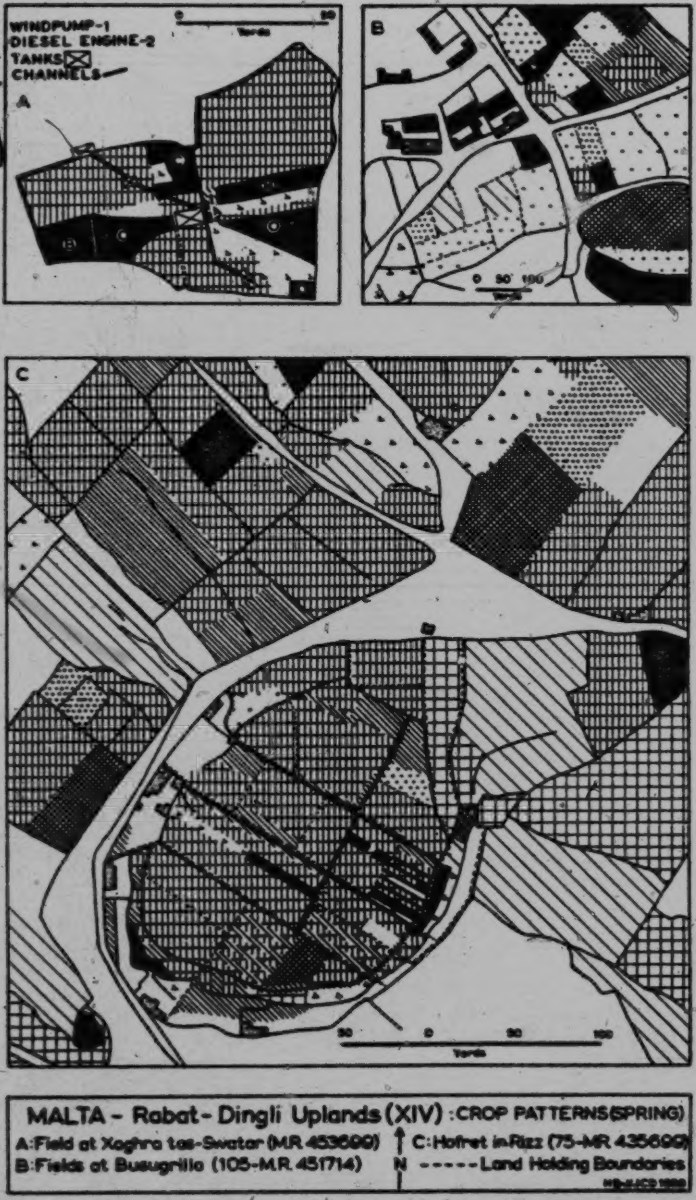

WINDPUMP-1
DIESEL ENGINE-2
TANKS ☒
CHANNELS
A
0
50
Yards
B
0 50 100
Yards
C
50 0 50 100
Yards
MALTA - Rabat - Dingli Uplands (XIV) : CROP PATTERNS (SPRING)
A: Field at Xoghra tas-Swatar (M.R. 453699)
B: Fields at Busugrillo (105-M.R. 451714)
C: Hofret in-Rizz (75-MR 435699)
N
----- Land Holding Boundaries

Fig. 111 Malta: Rabat-Dingli Uplands.

241*
311*
[102]
[133]

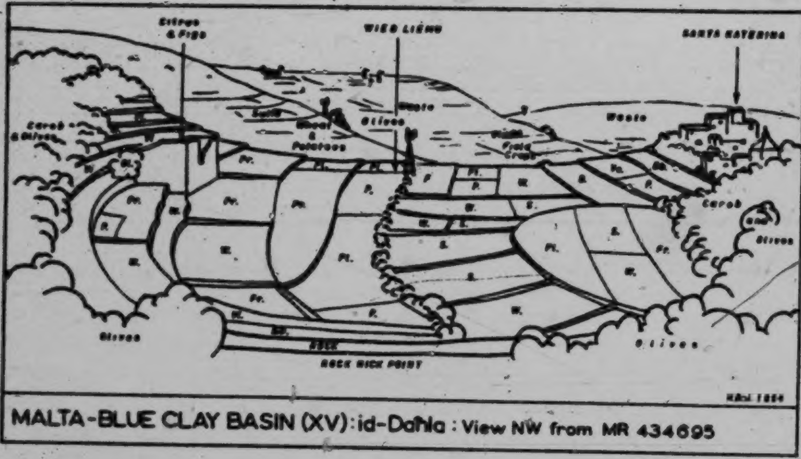


Fig. 112 Malta: Blue Clay Basin: Wied l-Iemu.

has, developed within it, the large solution hollow of Hofřet ir-Rizz (75) (Fig. 111C). Bounded by a low Coralline cliff under which lie five farmhouses, and infilled with deep, red soils, this almost circular depression has often been erroneously identified as a circular fault. It is intensively cultivated for potato, vegetable and fruit crops and sub-division of the wind-pump irrigated land is extreme.

Around Hofret ir-Rizz lie dry-farmed fields of cereals and sulla interspersed with wasteland. The name of neighbouring Misraħ tas-Suffara ('the open place of the whistle' - a possible reference to shepherds' pipes) gives an indication of the character of the open, non-irrigated upland here and over the remainder of the region, where dry-farming and *xagħra*-grazing areas are interspersed. Most of the eastern promontories of Xagħra ta l-Isqof (129) and Ĝebel Ĉiantar are so used. Similarly, behind the Upper Coralline cliff overlooking the sea, extends an area of virgin karst, abandoned land and some small reclaimed plots. [103]

Between these more exposed lands are many small pockets, intensively cultivated under potatoes, legumes and a relatively large number of vegetables. The small, walled fields cluster around groups of wind-pumps and tanks as at ix-Xagħra ta'Swatar (Fig. 111A) on the Rabat Plateau (109). Irrigation water, extracted by wind- and motor-pumps, is available almost everywhere on these uplands. The density of pumps suggests that extraction is dangerously large (see also Chapter I C). Already in 1955 farmers in the tal-Pitkal district (82) were obliged to stagger periods of pumping and a large number of abandoned wind-pumps emphasise the hydrological instability. In 1956 the Maltese Government, in order to avoid such dangers, imposed a general ban on unlicensed well-drilling.

In this region, the urge to cultivate intensively results from the demands of Rabat as a consuming and marketing centre. At Busugrilla (105) (Fig. 111B) this is manifested in very specialised market-gardening around a flourishing hamlet which stands on the Fiddien road. Well linked by roads to the rest of the island, possessing in Mdina-Rabat the old capital which is still of considerable importance, and also carrying much dispersed and hamlet settlement, these uplands stand out from other Upper Coralline regions by reason of their more intensive land use.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*241
*311
●102
423

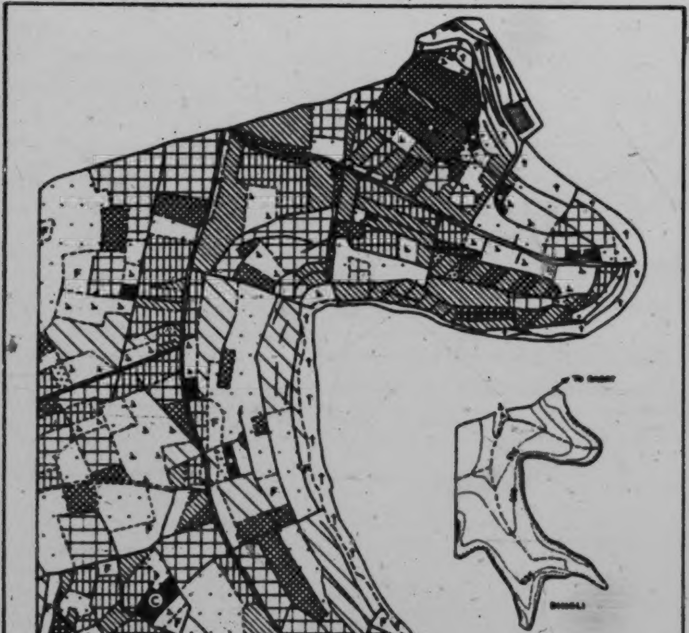
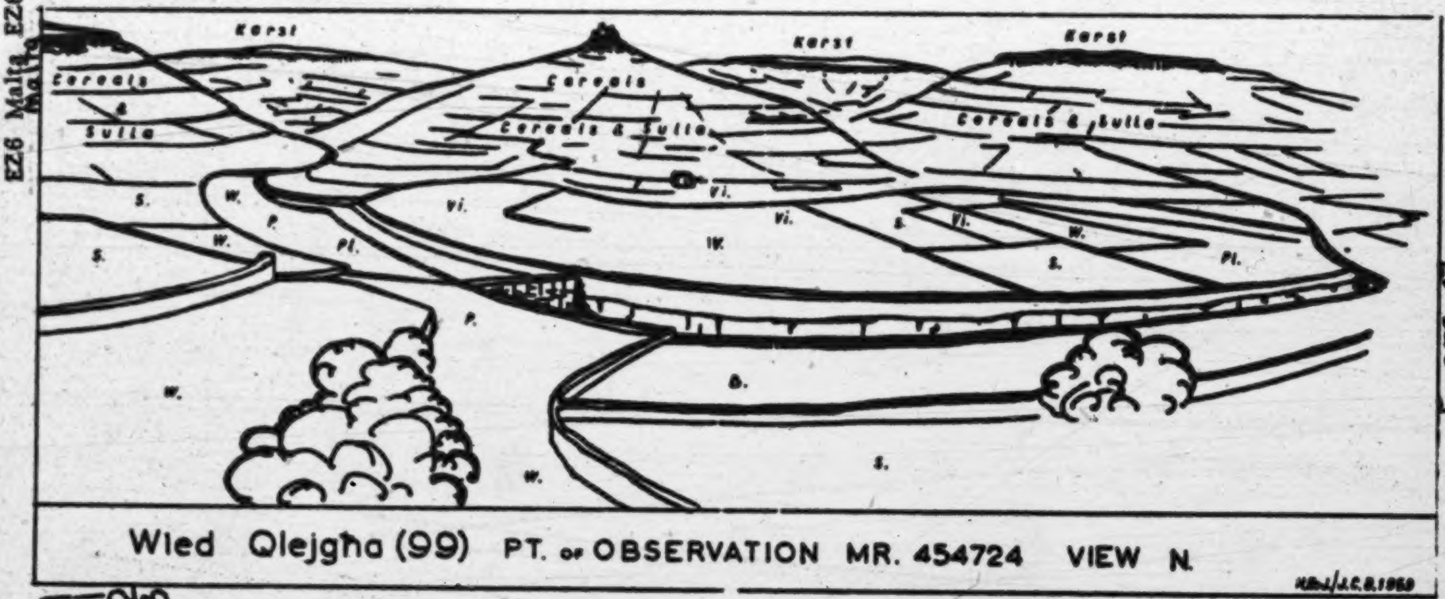

OLIVES
FIGS
CAROBS
C
C
100
0
100
200
Yards
J.C.D.1956
MALTA - BLUE CLAY BASIN (XV) Wied l- Jemu (77)
CROP PATTERNS (SPRING) —— Walls ---- Plot Boundaries

Fig. 113 Malta: Blue Clay Basin: id-Dahla.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6


Karst
Karst
Karst
Cereals
&
Sulla
Cereals
Cereals & Sulla
Cereals & Sulla
S.
W.
P.
Pl.
Vi.
S.
W.
Pl.
Vi.
Vi.
W.
S.
Vi.
W.
S.
Pl.
P.
W.
S.
W.
S.
Wied Qlejgħa (99) PT. of OBSERVATION MR. 454724 VIEW N.
H.B-J./J.C.B.1959

P.258-A

*24
*31
●102
135

Fig. 114 Malta: Wied Qlejgħa.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*241
*311
●102
[134]

[241]
[316]

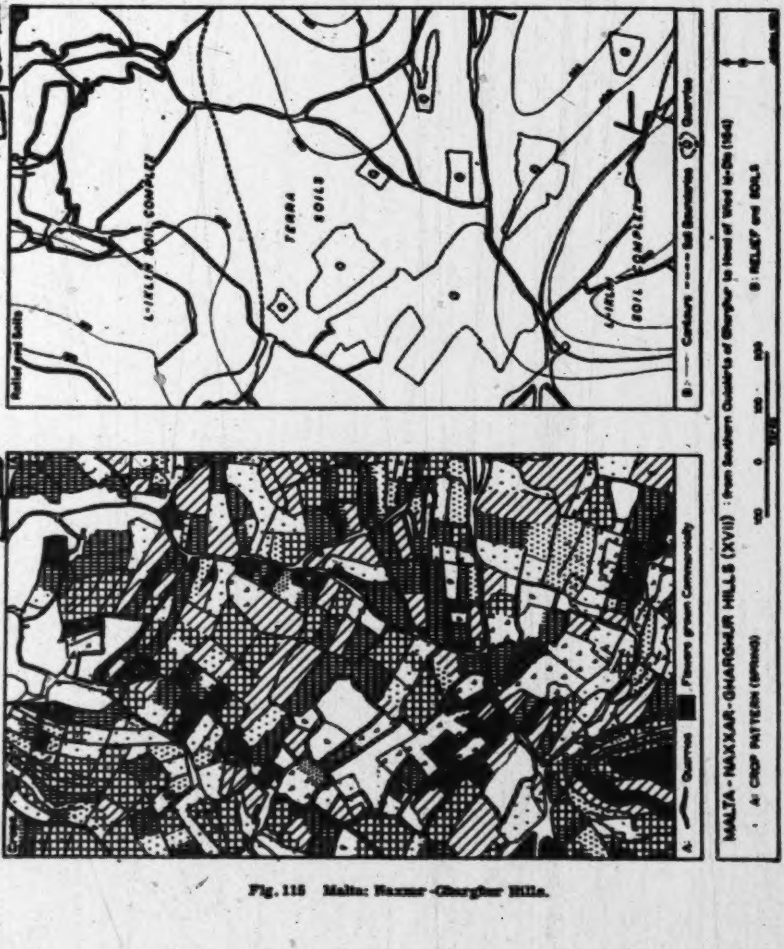

Relief and Soils
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
B: — Contours ---- Soil Boundaries Quarries
Crops
A: Quarries ■ Flowers grown Commercially
MALTA - NAXXAR-GHARGHUR HILLS (XVII) : from Southern Outskirts of Gharghur to Head of Wied is-Dis (164)
A: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
B: RELIEF and SOILS

Fig. 115 Malta: Naxxar-Gharghur Hills.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta.

*241
*311
● 102

[423]
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[134]
[133]
→

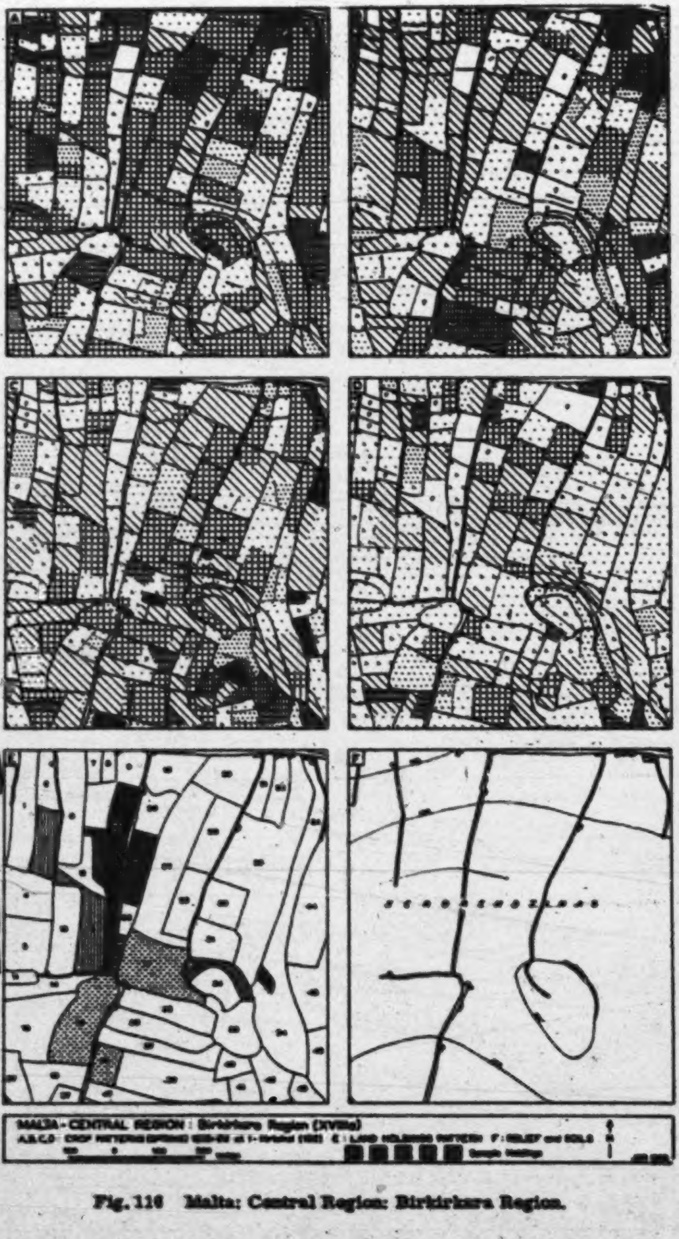

A
C
D
E
F
MALTA - CENTRAL REGION : Birkirkara Region (XVIIIa)
A,B,C,D : CROP PATTERNS
E : LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
F : RELIEF and SOILS

Fig. 116 Malta: Central Region: Birkirkara Region.

1:Bowen-Jones et al K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

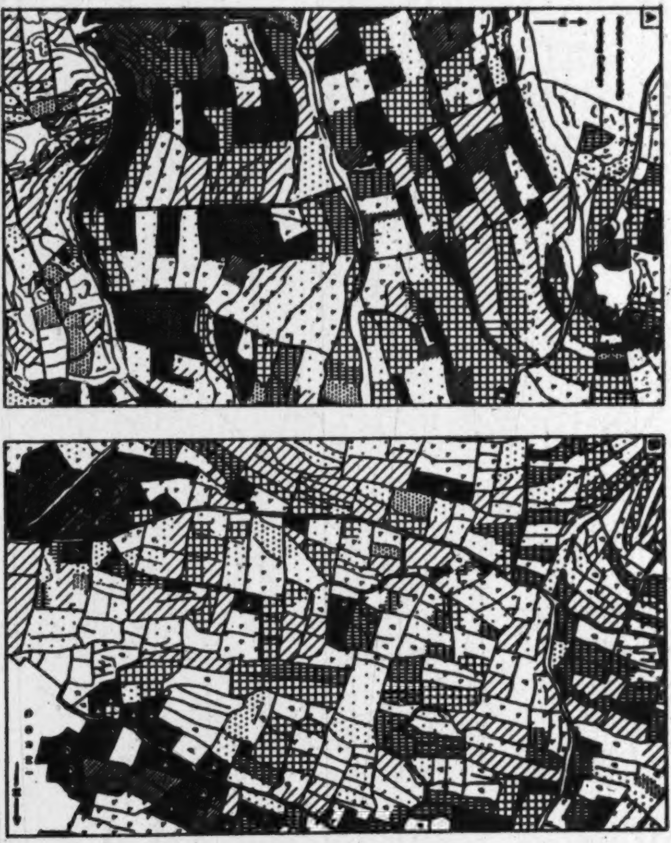
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*291

*311

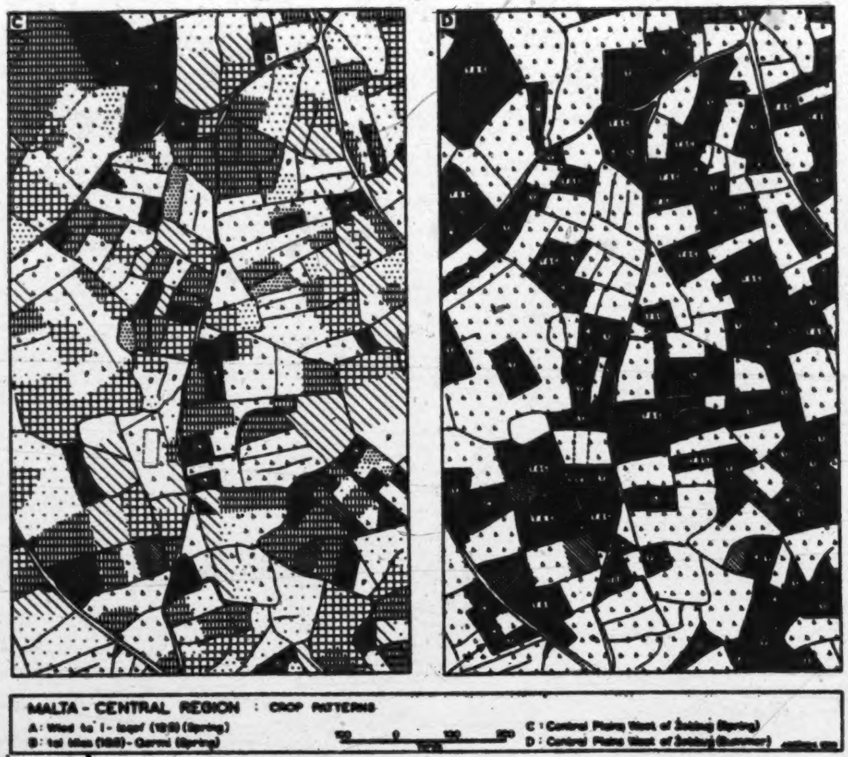
● 102



[p. 262-A]

[See P. 262-B for legend--Analyst]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta


C
D
MALTA - CENTRAL REGION : CROP PATTERNS
C : Central Plains West of Żebbuġ (Spring)
D : Central Plains West of Żebbuġ (Summer)
100 0 100 200

[p.262-B]

*2411
*311
102

Fig. 117 Malta: Central Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

E26 Malta E26

Malta

* 241

* 311

● 102

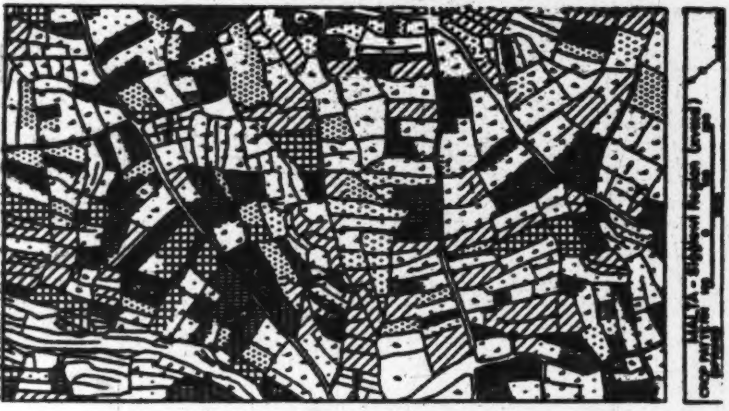

MALTA - Siġġiewi Region (irrigated)
CROP PATTERN (summer)

Fig. 119 Malta: Siġġiewi Region.

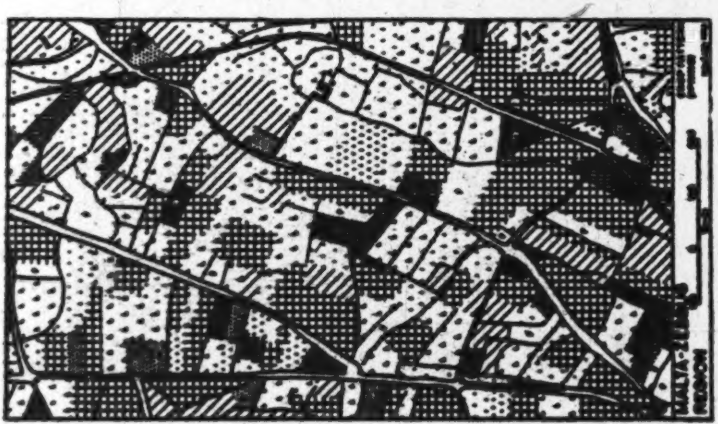

MALTA-ŻEBBUĠ REGION
CROP PATTERN (summer)

Fig. 118 Malta: Żebbuġ Regio .

*241
*311
[244]
[102]

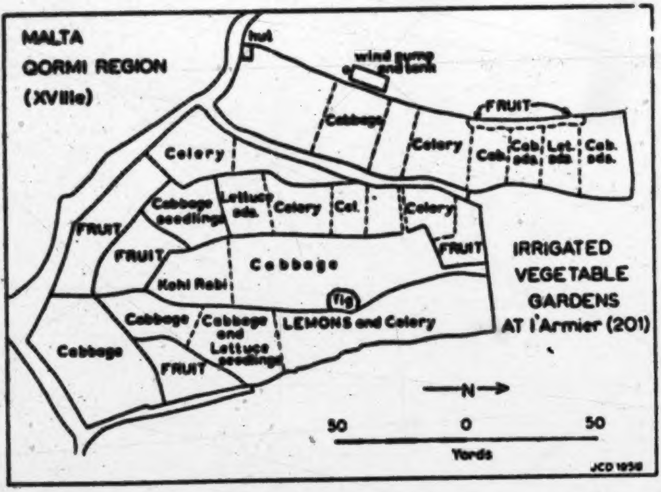

MALTA
QORMI REGION
(XVIIIe)
hut
wind pump and tank
FRUIT
Cabbage
Celery
Cab.
Cab. sds.
Let. sds.
Cab. sds.
Celery
Cabbage seedlings
Lettuce sds.
Celery
Cel.
Celery
FRUIT
FRUIT
FRUIT
Cabbage
Kohl Rabi
fig
FRUIT
Cabbage
Cabbage and Lettuce seedlings
LEMONS and Celery
Cabbage
FRUIT
IRRIGATED VEGETABLE GARDENS AT l'Armier (201)
N
50 0 50
Yards
JCD 1958

Fig. 120 Malta: Qormi Region.

XIX (a). THE MQABBA - KIRKOP PLAIN

Relatively intensive cultivation of a wide range of crops shows few noteworthy special features. An inverse relationship between the amount of land cultivated for cereals and sulla on the one hand and under potatoes on the other is apparent. The unusually massive concentration of sulla and cereal fields between Mqabba and Żurrieq may be compared with an equally marked concentration on potatoes around Kirkop and Safi. There is otherwise an even scatter of the normal dry-farmed subsidiary crops.

As over the Globigerina lands as a whole, dispersed settlement, while by no means absent, is clearly secondary to concentration in casals and villages.

XIX (b). THE SOUTHERN HILLS

The ridge lands are distinguished from the plain by differences in altitude, exposure, gradient, field size and accessibility. Fig. 121 illustrates some of the contrasts. Nevertheless, the crop range is not markedly different from that of the plains, save that the hardier legumes assume a greater importance. Onion growing would seem to be associated with local markets and with the difficulty of raising other vegetables.

[361] The casals of Qrendi and Żurrieq lie at the junction of these hills with the interior plain. Their functions include marketing and contracting for both sub-regions as well as minor fishing activity. Żurrieq, the larger of the two, has become the chief centre of the region, incorporating within its extended built-up area the satellite villages of Nigret and Bubaqra.

C.XX. THE EASTERN REGION

As described in Chapter I B, this region is one of hill ridges and depressions. Although relief is subdued, there is little level land and relatively minor structural and topographic features have a disproportionately large influence on agriculture. The Main Water Table, which rises but slightly above sea level is nearly everywhere far beneath the surface. The need for dry farming restricts the crop range considerably, even vines being virtually absent. Variations in crop assemblage, which result from a variety of physical and human factors, produce six distinct sub-regions.

[Text continues on p. 269]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*241
*311
● 102
[133]
[134]

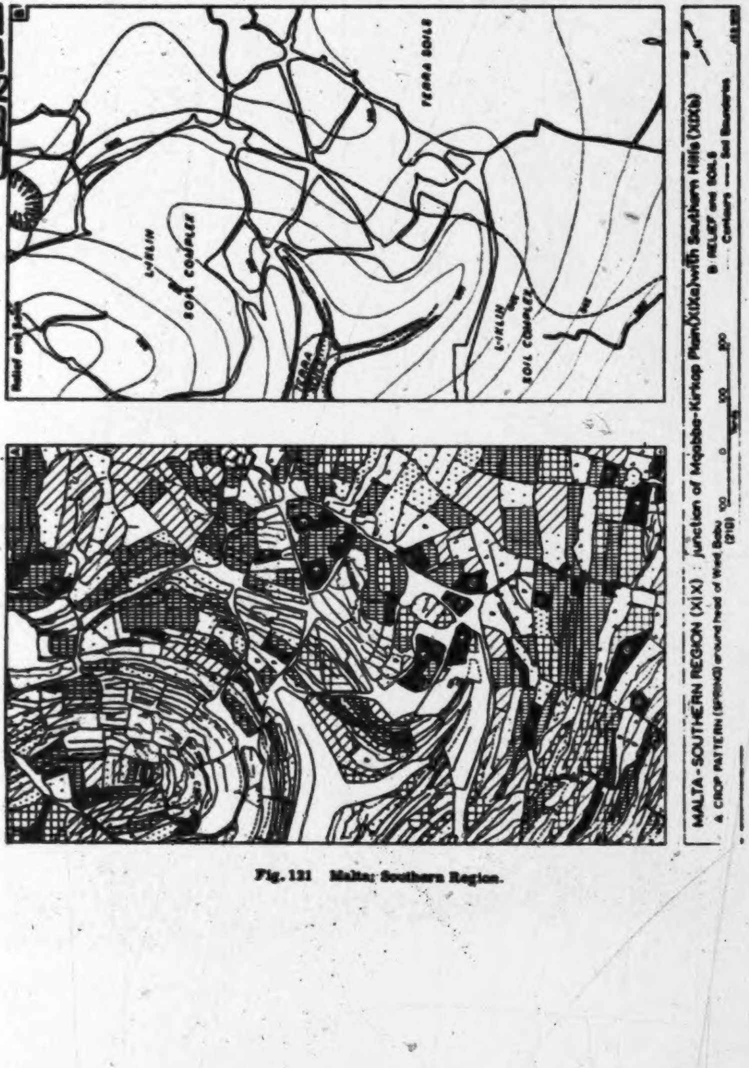

Relief and Soils
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA
MALTA - SOUTHERN REGION (XIX) : junction of Mqabba-Kirkop Plain (XIXa) with Southern Hills (XIXb)
A CROP PATTERN (SPRING) around head of Wied Babu (210)
B RELIEF and SOILS
---- Contours —— Soil Boundaries
100 0 100 200
Yards

Fig. 121 Malta; Southern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*241
*311
●102
[133]
[134]
[423]

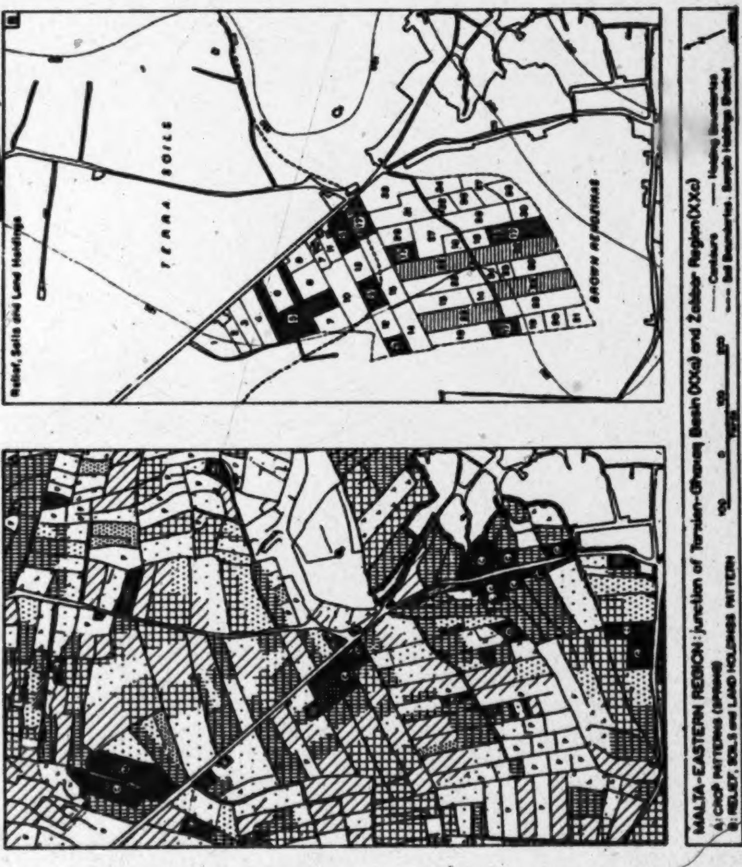

Relief, Soils and Land Holdings
TERRA SOILS
BROWN RENDZINAS
MALTA-EASTERN REGION: junction of Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin (XXa) and Żabbar Region (XXc)
A: CROP PATTERNS (SPRING)
B: RELIEF, SOILS and LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
100 0 100 200
Yards
Contours
Holding Boundaries
Soil Boundaries. Sample Holdings Shaded

Fig. 122 Malta: Eastern Region: Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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*311
●102
[133]
[134]

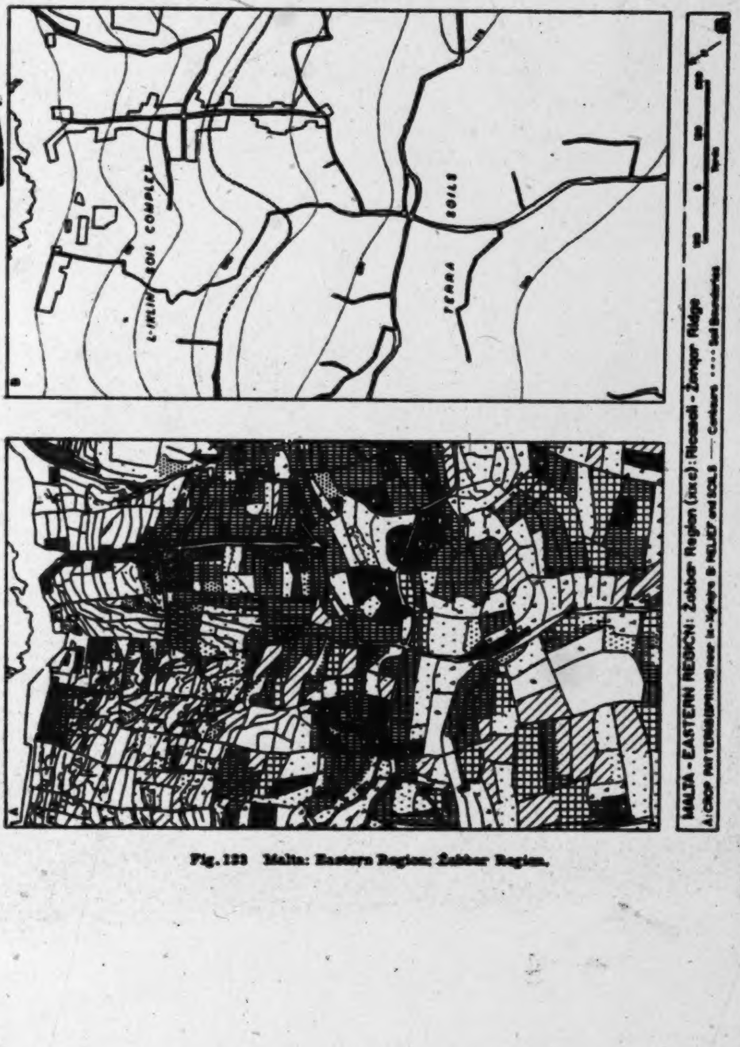
A
B
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
MALTA - EASTERN REGION: Żabbar Region (xxc): Ricasoli - Żonqor Ridge
A: CROP PATTERNS (SPRING) near Ix-Xgħajra B: RELIEF and SOILS —— Contours ---- Soil Boundaries
100 0 100 200
Yards

Fig. 133 Malta: Eastern Region; Żabbar Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

272

*241
*311
102

[423]

[133]
[134]

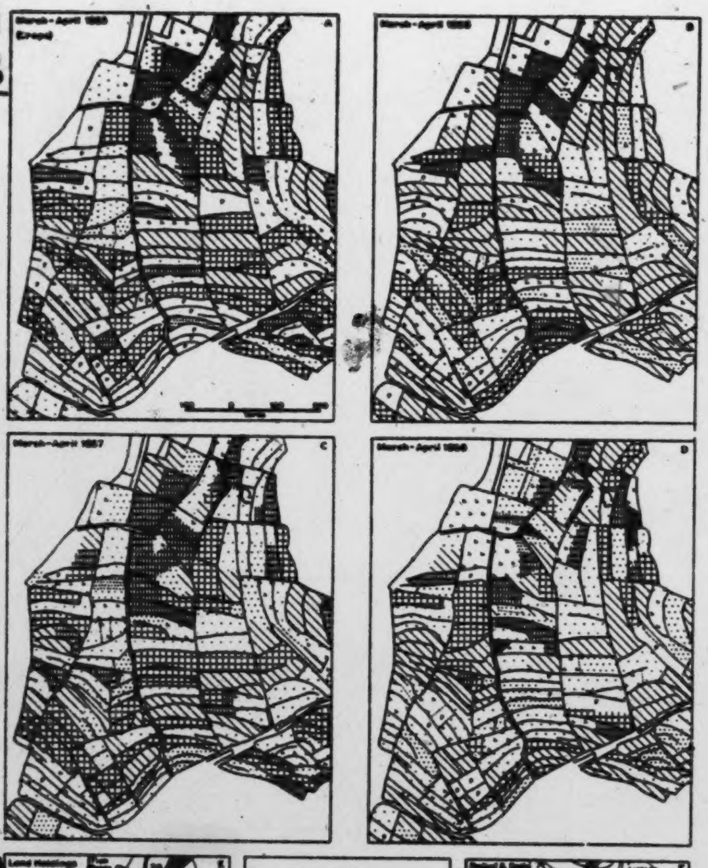
March-April 1955
Crops
A
March-April 1956
B
March-April 1957
C
March-April 1958
D
Land Holdings
E
MALTA
EASTERN REGION (XX)
tas-Silg-Delimara Region (XXb)
A, B, C, D : CROP PATTERNS
SPRING 1955-58
E : LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Sample Holdings
F : LOCATION MAP SHOWING
RELIEF and SOILS
Contours
Soil Boundaries
Relief & Soils
F

Fig. 134 Malta: Eastern Region: tas-Silġ Delimara.

Dalam, a good deal of this better land has been sterilised by the construction of a 241*
large pumping station, but a small pocket of intensive potato-growing occurs
before the sea is reached. In the Wied has-Saptan, the transition is marked by a belt 311*
of marshy land carrying canes, bullrushes and grasses which are tended and 'cropped'. Below this lies a second small alluvial area also largely under potatoes. This district as a whole possesses a greater variety of physical and land-use conditions than any other in Eastern Malta.

From Qala San Ġorġ to Benghisa Point, a narrow coastal lowland has been completely taken out of cultivation by settlement growth and by commercial and military installations. The slopes behind this zone are traversed by a series of shallow wieds in which lie narrow strips of wasteland. All dry-farmed crops are represented in this hilly country, even to a few vines grown near the southern coast in a strangely exposed position.

In this small region is exemplified the major problem which besets the 369
Maltese agricultural community and which complicates the patterns of land-use
and farming practice in the island. New, well-surfaced roads serve Ħal Far 491
and Kalafrana, but between these arteries lies a neglected and relatively remote farming area. Distances involved are small, particularly when the attraction of non-rural life pulls people away from the land. However, as noted elsewhere, the same distances become exaggerated in their effect of isolating the country-dwellers who remain. The dichotomy of town and country is thus perpetuated.

GENERAL

The main facts underlying the regional differentiation of Maltese agriculture 241*
may be summarised as follows. While structure and topography control the
general distribution of these cropping combinations, important regional differ- 311*
ences result from variations in weather and micro-climate. Soil controls, in the main, coincide with those of structure and outcrop, but slope, as affecting removal and accumulation, together with the widespread traditional practice of transporting soil to artificial fields, break up the simple geological pattern.

Farming types in Malta must be identified against a background of socio-economic change. Commercial production is the rule, but considerable variations result from differing degrees of linkage with markets. Socially, this is paralleled by differences in the extent to which rural communities are affected by urban desires and emulations. Proximity to, or remoteness from town life are most important.

Wasteland is spreading most rapidly on the remote and physically hard lands. The flight from the land is slower where it is more productive. General deterioration is most widespread on lands of medium quality where the attraction of town life is strong. On the immediate fringes of the built-up areas, conditions are by no means uniform. While in some cases market gardening provides a particularly intensive form of land use, in others encroachment of roads and buildings produces a jumble of building sites, abandoned fields and a few surviving patches of cultivation. Around the main conurbation as delimited in Fig. 97, lie many pockets of true urban farming. In many of these, as in the case illustrated by Fig. 125, the jostling together of stock-yards and houses and fields, both abandoned and cropped, shows the town triumphant.

Agricultural Regions of Gozo

The physiographic divisions already indicated in Chapter 1 and shown in 241*
Fig. 4[a] are suitable for a regional analysis of agricultural practice in Gozo. 311*
Printed maps of Gozo bear few local place-names and thus it has been necessary 102
to devise the special nomenclature used in the present section and illustrated 104
in Fig. 76.[b]

[a] [See P. 39-A -- Analyst]
[b] [See P. 194 -- Analyst]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*241
*311
●102
[133]
[134]
[923]

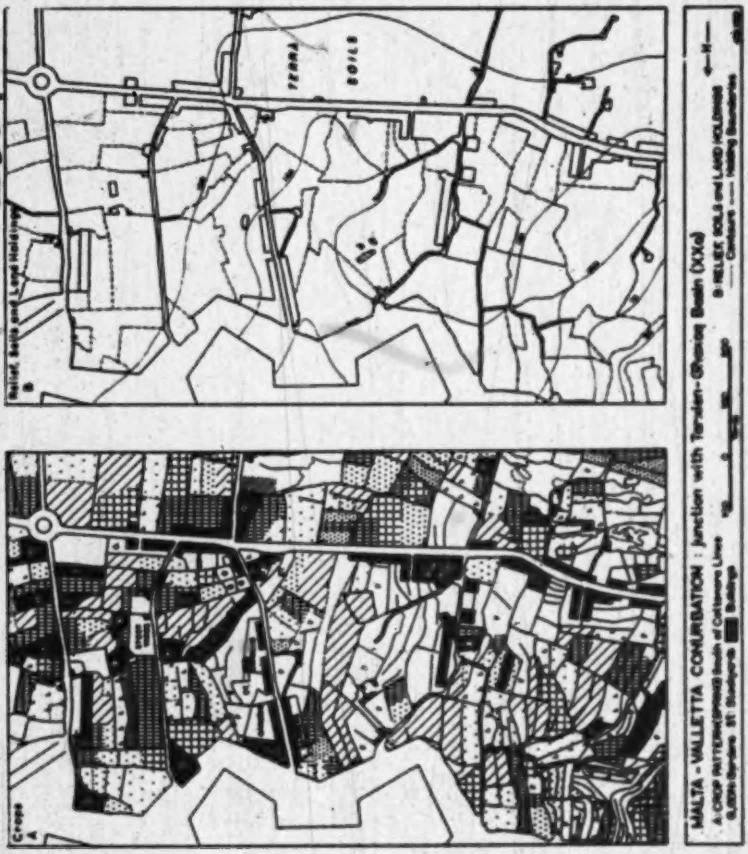
Crops
A
Relief, Soils and Land Holdings
B
TERRA
SOILS
MALTA - VALLETTA CONURBATION : junction with Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin (XXa)
A: CROP PATTERN (SPRING) South of Cottonera Lines
G,GDN Gardens ST: Stockyards ▆ Buildings
B: RELIEF, SOILS and LAND HOLDINGS
—— Contours ---- Holding Boundaries
N

Fig. 125 Malta: Valletta Conurbation.

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5   (1955-1958)   1961

EZ6   Malta EZ6

Gozo

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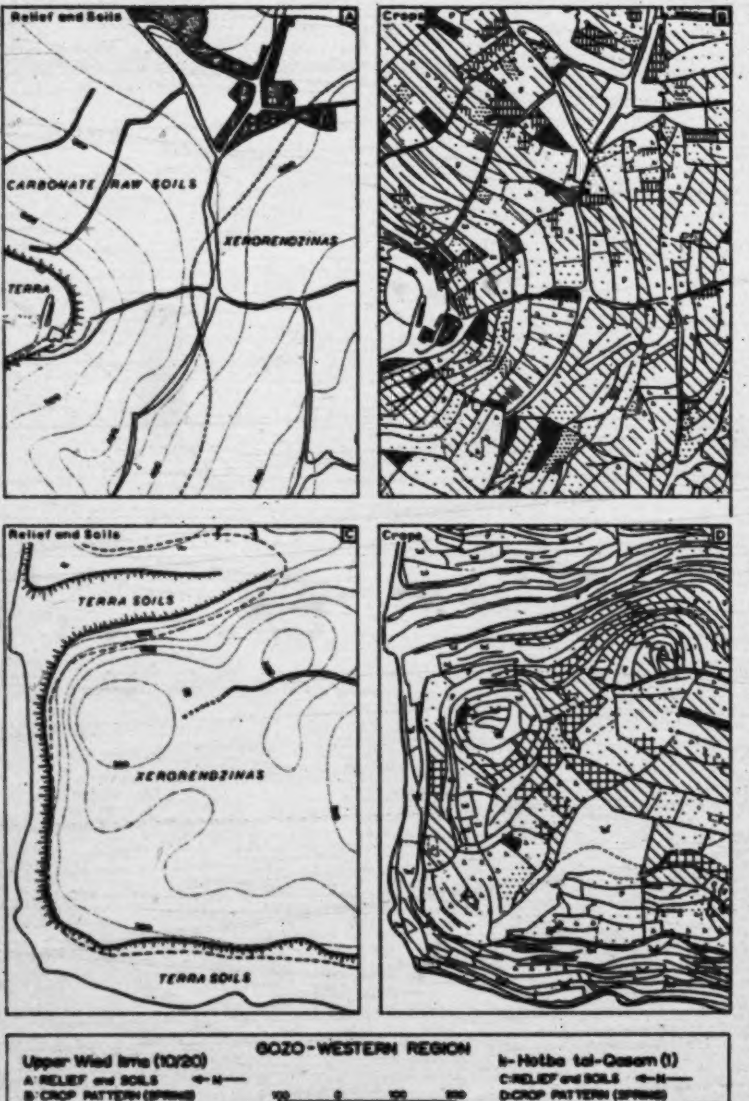
*311
• 102

[133]
[134]
←


Relief and Soils
A
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
TERRA
Crops
B
Relief and Soils
C
TERRA SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
TERRA SOILS
Crops
D
GOZO - WESTERN REGION
Upper Wied Ilma (10/20)
A: RELIEF and SOILS ← N
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Il-Hotba tal-Qasam (1)
C: RELIEF and SOILS ← N
D: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)

[133]
[134]
←

Fig. 126   Gozo: Western Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

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*311

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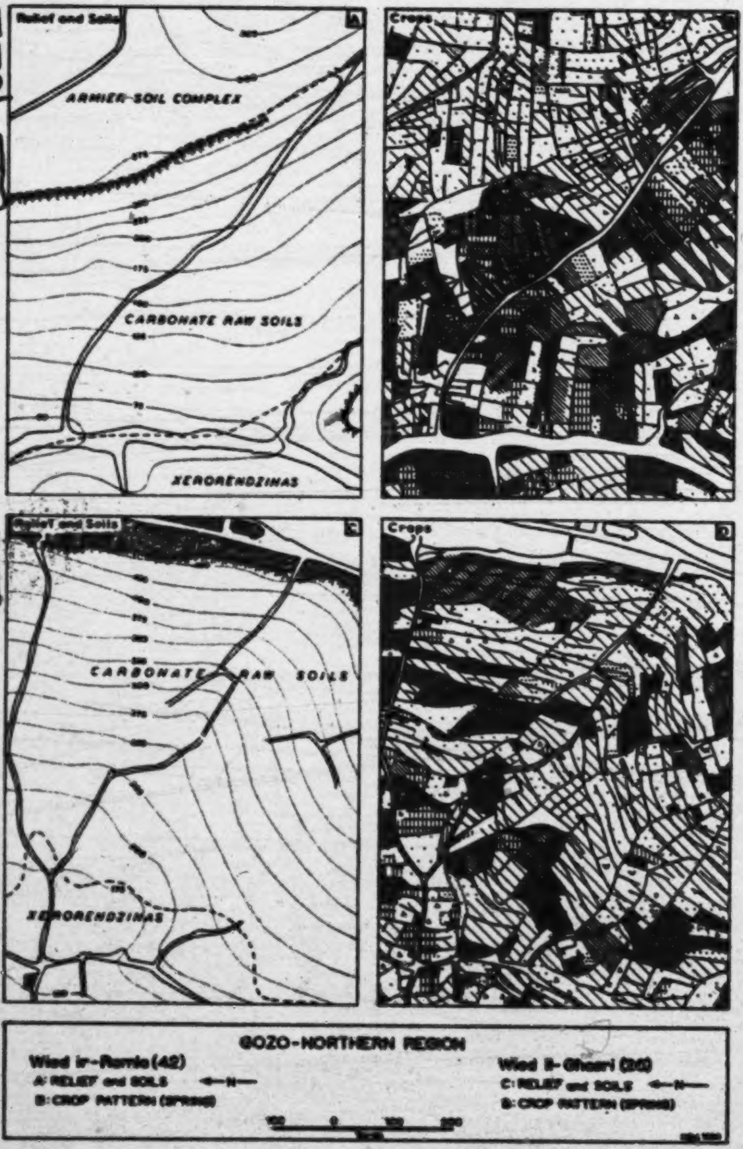
[133]

[134]


Relief and Soils
A
ARMIER-SOIL COMPLEX
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
Crops
Relief and Soils
C
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
Crops
D
GOZO-NORTHERN REGION
Wied ir-Ramla (42)
A: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
Wied il-Ghasri (26)
C: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
D: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200

[133]

[134]

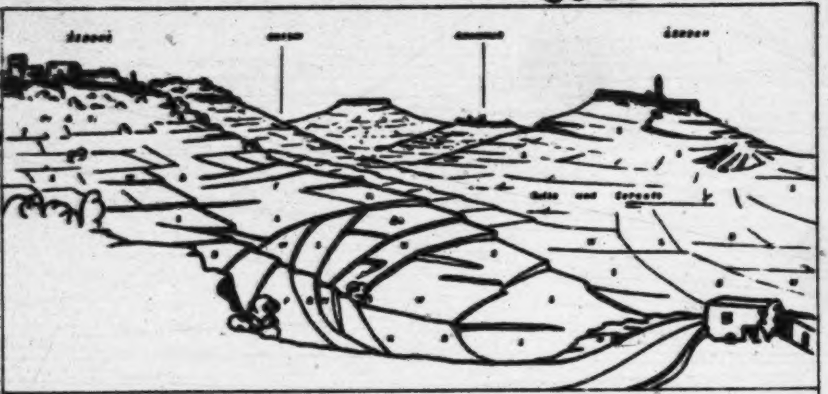
Fig. 127 Gozo: Northern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

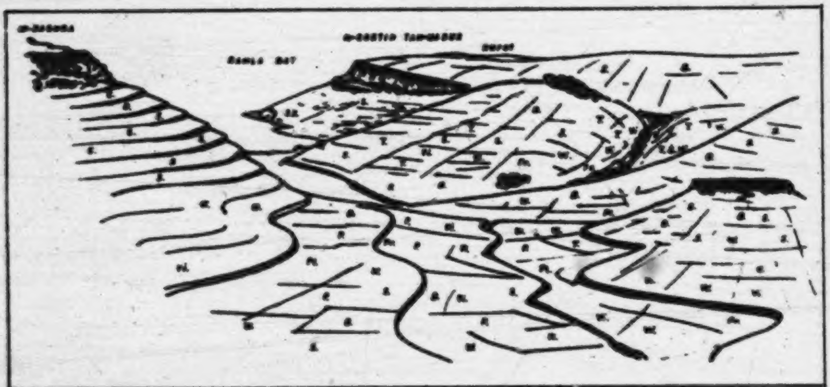
EZ6 Malta EZ6

GOZO

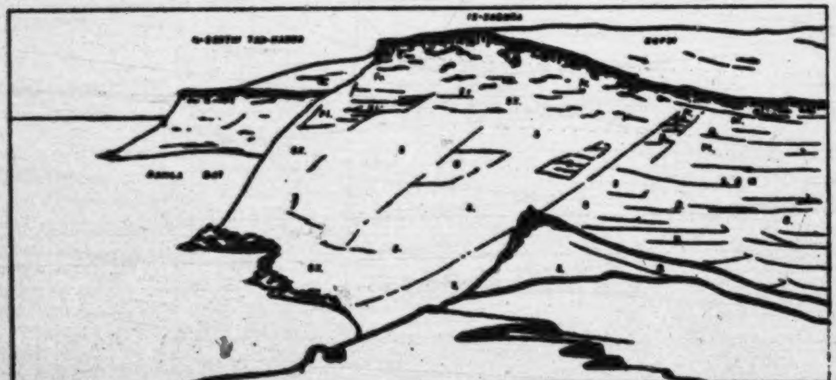
*291
*311
•102
133



A: Wied il-Għasri (26) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 307930 VIEW S.



B: Wied ir-Ramla (42) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 350897 VIEW N.E.



C: Rdum tax-Xagħra (41) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 343915 VIEW S.E.

[p. 280]

Fig. 128 Gozo: Northern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta: EZ6

GOZO

*241

*311

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[133]
[134]
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[423]
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[133]
[134]
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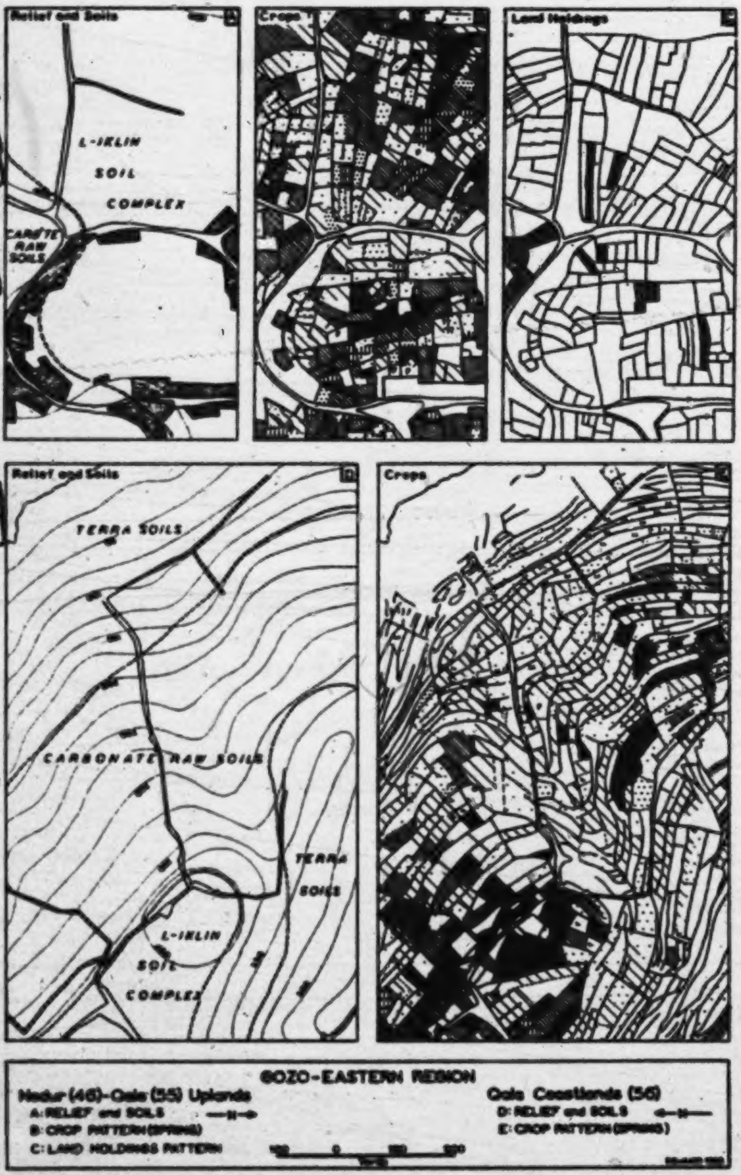
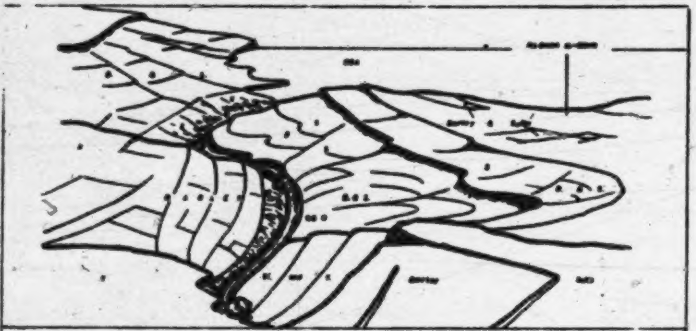

Relief and Soils
Crops
Land Holdings
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
Relief and Soils
TERRA SOILS
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
TERRA SOILS
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
Crops
GOZO-EASTERN REGION
Nadur (46)-Qala (55) Uplands
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
C: LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Qala Coastlands (56)
D: RELIEF and SOILS
E: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
0

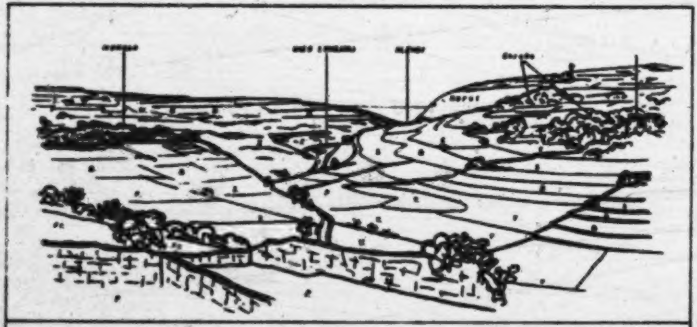
Fig. 129 Gozo: Eastern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

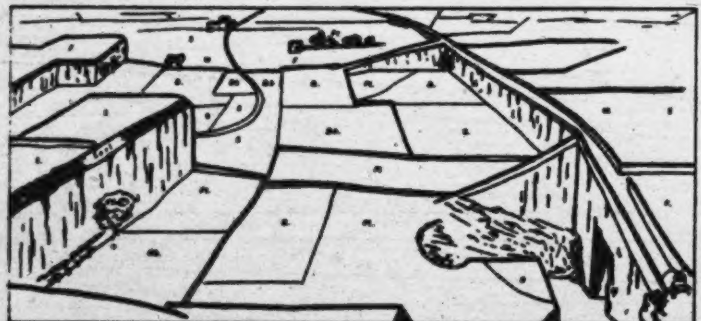
*241
*311
● 102
133



A: Wied is-Sabbar (65) PT. of OBSERVATION MR. 333859 VIEW E.



B: Wied tal-Lunzjata (25) PT. of OBSERVATION MR. 312886 VIEW S.W.



C: Abandoned quarry - Sannat (67)

H.B-J. 1958

Fig. 130 Gozo: Southern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

GOZO

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102 ●

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←

[133]
[134]
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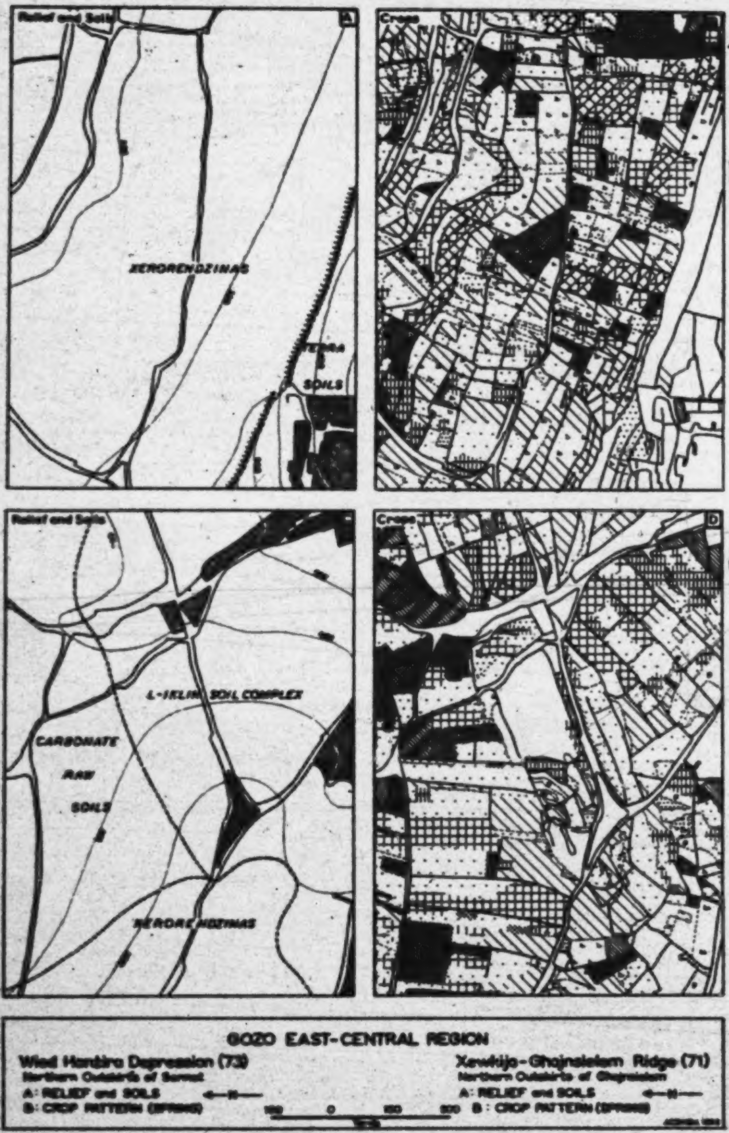
Relief and Soils
A
XERORENDZINAS
TERRA
SOILS
Crops
Relief and Soils
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
CARBONATE
RAW
SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
Crops
D
GOZO EAST-CENTRAL REGION
Wied Hanżira Depression (73)
Northern Outskirts of Sannat
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
Xewkija-Għajnsielem Ridge (71)
Northern Outskirts of Għajnsielem
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100
0
100
200

Fig. 131 Gozo: East-Central Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

*291 *311 [illegible]02 [123]

[133] [134]

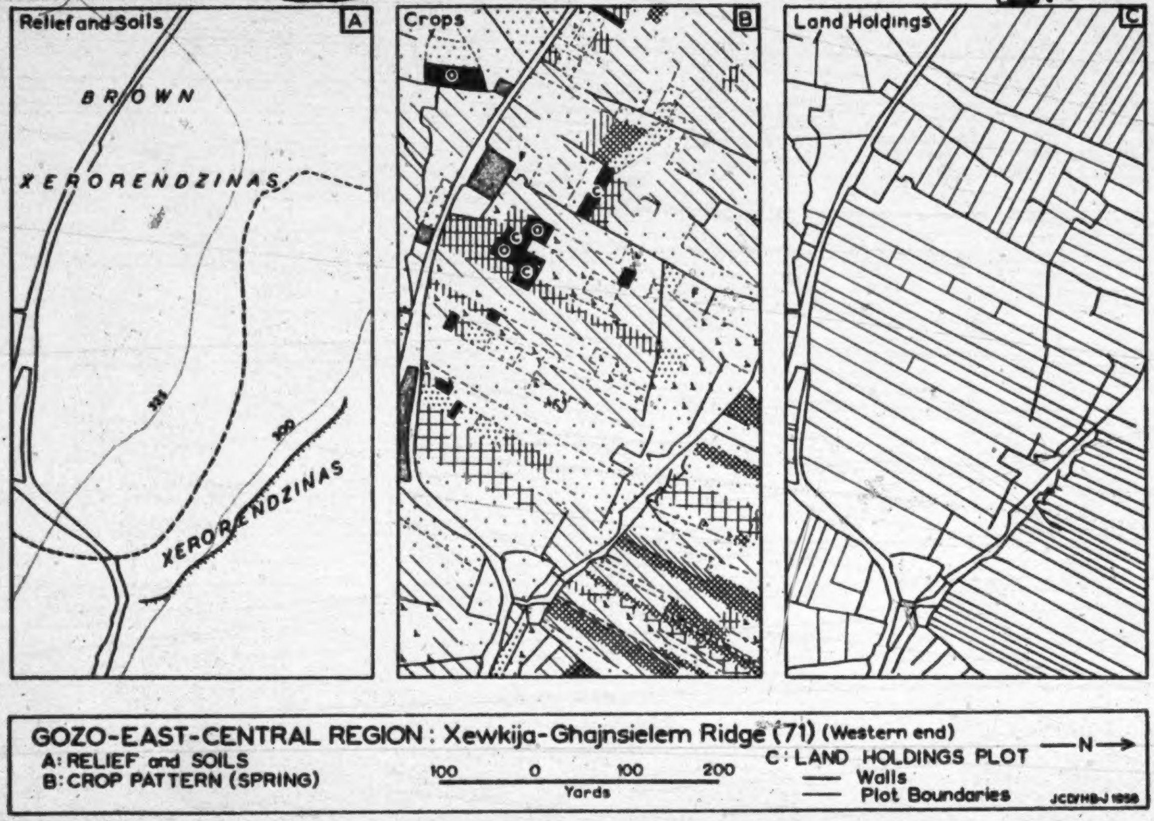
Relief and Soils
A
BROWN
XERORENDZINAS
XERORENDZINAS
100
Crops
B
C
Land Holdings
C
GOZO-EAST-CENTRAL REGION : Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge (71) (Western end)
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards
C: LAND HOLDINGS PLOT
Walls
Plot Boundaries
—N→
JCD/HB-J 1958

Fig. 132 Gozo: East-Central Region: Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

*423
●102
311

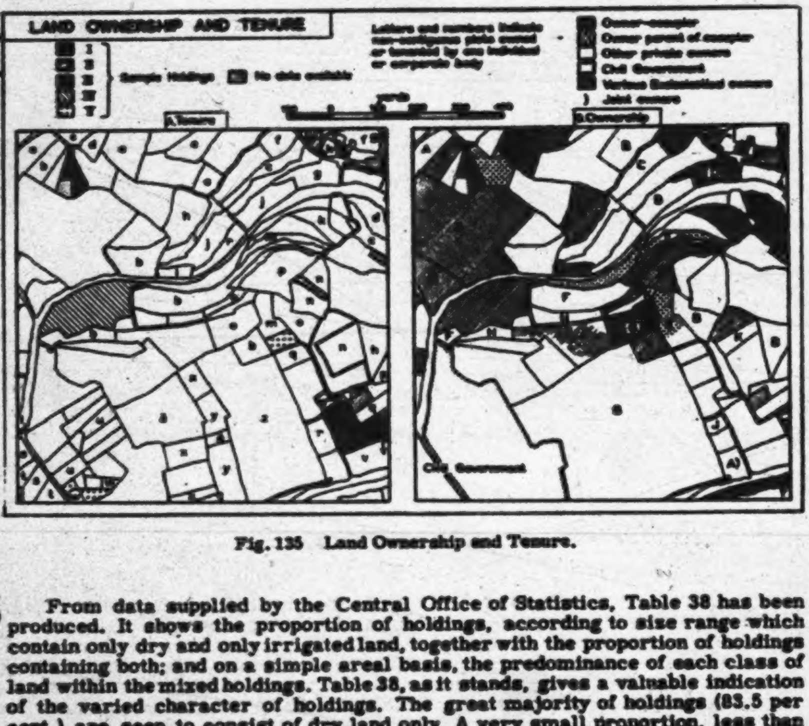

Fig. 135 Land Ownership and Tenure.

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311

From data supplied by the Central Office of Statistics, Table 38 has been produced. It shows the proportion of holdings, according to size range which contain only dry and only irrigated land, together with the proportion of holdings containing both; and on a simple areal basis, the predominance of each class of land within the mixed holdings. Table 38, as it stands, gives a valuable indication of the varied character of holdings. The great majority of holdings (83.5 per cent.) are seen to consist of dry land only. A very small proportion, less than half of 1 per cent., contain irrigated land only. The balance of 16 per cent. of all holdings are 'mixed'. The majority of these mixed holdings contain less than 5 *tmien* of irrigated and less than 20 *tmien* of dry land. It is clear that the additional productivity of the irrigated land will not affect a sufficiently large number of holdings, nor to a degree great enough, to upset the earlier conclusion that Maltese farms are extremely small.

The conclusions thus far drawn may now be summarised. Farm holdings of the Maltese Islands show wide variations in size, and their productivity is also very variable since farms consist of different classes of land held in varying proportions. Gozitan farms are smaller than those of the larger island, but everywhere the numbers of large and medium sized farms have been greatly reduced during the past 70 and probably 100 years; the residual holdings are mainly small. Encroachment on farmland by the expanding urban areas, roads and military installations may have been compensated in some degree over the long period by the development of former wastelands. *Morcellement* has been a characteristic internal process affecting the agricultural sector. It appears to have arisen partly through the sub-division of holdings amongst successive generations, but also through the acquisition of land by former landless families. Increasing, but uncertain urban employment has encouraged the growth of much part-time farming, which practice has in turn, contributed to the overall pattern of small holdings.

*423 102 311 [133] [489] This small agricultural entity, the Maltese Farm, is further split into a number of non-contiguous plots or parcels, each of no great size. In illustration of this and other related points a small area in Malta, square in shape with a side half a mile long, has been examined in some detail (Fig. 135). The area lies in the Central Region, between Siġġiewi and Żebbuġ, and includes in its north-eastern corner, part of the latter settlement. It is dissected by two steep-sided valleys, that of the Wied il-Beqqiegħa crossing from south-west to north-east, and the Wied il-Hesri which appears in the south-east corner. Narrow, terraced fields follow the contours of the valley sides but, on the more rounded relief of the interfluve, the fields, although still terraced, become generally larger and more nearly square in shape. Apart from the valley-floors, used as foot- and cart-ways, with other accommodation roads and paths, non-agricultural lands are limited to a few house-sites in the outskirts of Żebbuġ. A few scattered patches of rock outcrop occur on the steeper slopes, but the only large patch of uncultivated land covers the north-eastern lobe of the large tenancy plot lying south of the area shaded black in map. The remaining land is devoted to dry farming crops characteristic of the region.

LAND TENURE (Fig. 135A)

The underlying topography, clearly influences the shape, and, to a lesser extent the size of the tenurial plots. This is most striking in the north-eastern quadrant, where long, narrow plots reflect the sinuous terraces of the Wied il-Beqqiegħa; on the slopes of the Wied il-Hesri, however, the relationship is scarcely apparent. Shallower gradients are covered by plots of fuller and more varied shape differing greatly in size. In the north-east corner small and oddly shaped tenancy parcels are clearly related to the nearby settlements and are mainly specialised garden plots. An anomalous area of small plots in the opposite corner breaks up the general tendency of increasing size away from the casal.

Tenancy units are small in size, but there is enormous variation. The average of the parcels shown here, including parts of parcels beyond the limits of the area mapped, is slightly less than 5 *tmien*. The smallest garden plot (*b*, north-east corner) contains about one-twentieth of a *tmien* of land, while the large plot of fieldland in the south (*z*) is about 50 *tmien* in extent. There may be a tendency for plots to be larger in areas where soils are thin and poor, but the two distributions can certainly not be equated.

Of the 129 plots, parts of which lie within the half mile square, 57 are held by farmers with no other land in the area. But the remaining 29 holdings each have two or more non-contiguous parcels. This relationship is indicated by the use of distinctive shading in the case of Sample Holdings II and V, and otherwise by the letter *a* to *z* and *d*. Holding *b* (six plots) scattered throughout the northern two-thirds of the area is an extreme example of the typical parcellation.

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LAND OWNERSHIP (Fig. 135B)

In general terms, within the area shown here, the distributions of ownership and of tenure are similar. As shown in Fig. 135B, there are many scattered plots belonging to the same owner, a characteristic which might be termed fragmented ownership. A similar cartographical convention to that used in Fig. 135A is adopted here. Plots owned by the same private owner are indicated by the letters A-J (I is excluded); the numbers 1-4 are used similarly for the various classes of ecclesiastical ownership. All plots, whether duplicated or not, belonging to the latter class, which includes monastic, episcopal, and parish land, as well as land owned by Charitable Institutions (a very small proportion in this area), are distinguished by a special system of shading as also are Civil Government lands. The rather special cases of ownership by the occupier or by his parent are also distinguished from the bulk of the parcels which are owned by other private persons.

Looking at the distribution in its basic form, as a simple pattern of parcels, ignoring the various special relationships, several points emerge. As in the map of tenure, there is a complex network, but the weave is generally coarser,

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102

the plots larger in size. The average ownership/plot is 7.33 *tmien*, and although the smallest is still one-twentieth of a *tomna*, the largest is now over 100 *tmien*. Thus the landscape can be considered as a series of four webs, the mesh of which becomes progressively smaller. The two larger are illustrated here: ownership parcels and tenancy plots. Next in magnitude is the field pattern, shown in detail on the standard 6-inch and 25-inch maps, and finally the crop-stand pattern with its very small units, amply illustrated in other sections of this book. But the alignments of these various sub-divisions are by no means constant from the smaller to the next larger. For example, some of the boundaries of the tenancy plots run across the middle of fields; similarly a parcel held by one tenant may be owned by more than one landlord. Nevertheless, in any given area, as here, the various patterns show clear evidence of their family relationship and the tendency for plots to decrease in size with proximity to the settlement is more clearly defined in the map of land ownership than in that of tenure.

Common ownership of several plots adds complexity. The owner of plots B is clearly the largest landowner although his plots are widely scattered. Next in order of magnitude, if it be considered as one ownership, is Ecclesiastical land. The Church lands are interesting, by virtue of the contrast between the large blocks owned by the monasteries (3 and 4), and the scattered episcopal (2) and parochial (1) lands. Owner-occupied and family-occupied land is concentrated to the north-east, where the relative ease of access from and to Żebbuġ has been a factor in the acquisition of freehold land. This same tendency has been observed during field investigation in many other parts of the islands.

How far does the pattern of ownership influence the detailed structure of farm holdings? The difficulty of answering such a question is illustrated by a comparison of Fig. A with Fig. B. The greatest dissimilarity of the two distributions is occasioned by the division into small tenancy plots of the Government-owned land of the south-west. But, apart from Sample V, it is noteworthy that holders of land in this sector have no other land within the area. The conclusion is that these are portions of an original holding, which has been sub-divided. However, tenancy holdings are by no means limited to one ownership holding. A striking example of such non-conformity is afforded by tenancy holding *b*, consisting of six tenancy plots. These six plots have seven separate owners, including the farmer as owner-occupier of the small garden plot (north-east corner). One plot (that immediately south of sample holding IV, centre-west) is owned by three persons. Is this an indication of an attempt to consolidate a holding? - or has contiguity merely enabled the tenant to know of an ensuing vacancy so that he could speak for the new tenancy in advance of any competitors?

Special attention is given in Fig. 135B to owner-occupiers, and occupiers of land owned by their parent. Tenant *m*'s holdings within the area are limited to land owned by his father's heirs *E*, while a portion of this ownership is occupied by sample holding V. This case comes nearest to contradicting the generalisation that none of those owner-occupiers having more than one plot in the area own land occupied by other farmers; on the other hand each has land leased from another owner, and that those with but a single plot in the area are tenants in other parts of the region.

Close examination of the two maps will reveal further illustrations of these complex inter-relations.

The principal points arising from an examination of this case-study may be listed as follows:-

(1) The tenurial plot is very variable in size, but averages some 5½ *tmien* in area.
(2) The shape, size and distribution of the plots making up the tenurial pattern is influenced by all, but not controlled by any of the following factors: relief, soils, land management, field shape and size and ownership.
(3) Descriptively, farm holdings and land property may both be held to be fragmented.
(4) Tenurial holdings display a complex and extremely varied range of relationships with various estates.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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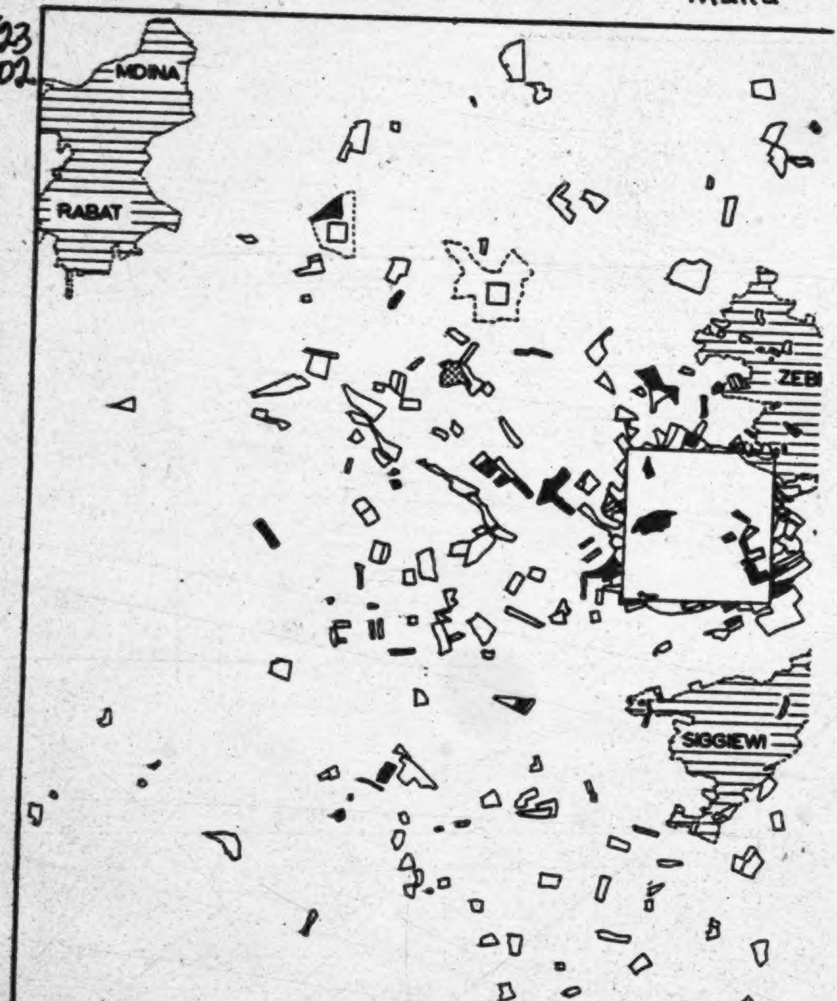
MDINA
RABAT
ZEB
SIGGIEWI
½
0
½
1
miles
Based on

[p. 298-A]

Fig. 136 Fragmented Farm Holdings.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

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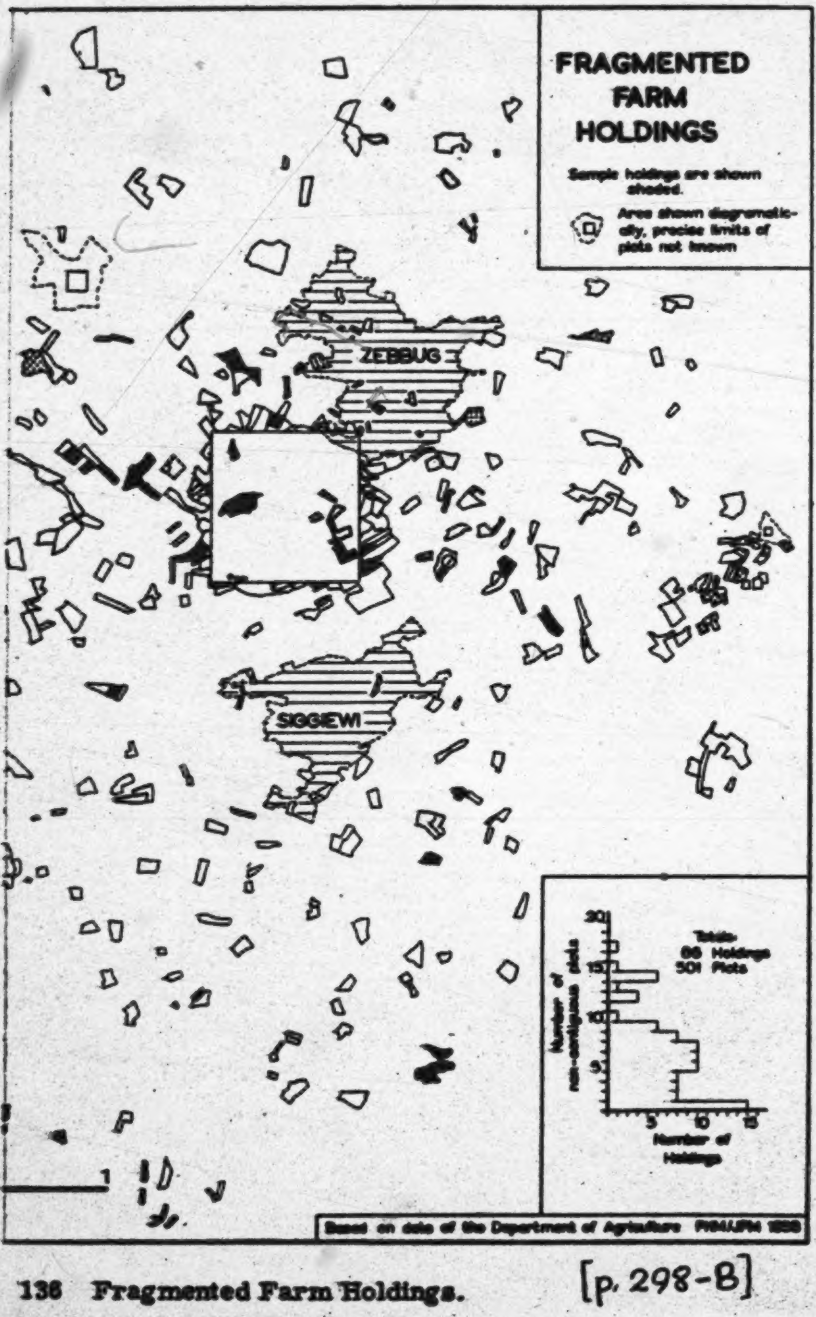
FRAGMENTED
FARM
HOLDINGS
Sample holdings are shown shaded.
Area shown diagramatically, precise limits of plots not known
ZEBBUG
SIGGIEWI
1
20
15
10
5
Number of non-contiguous plots
Totals:
86 Holdings
501 Plots
5
10
15
Number of Holdings
Based on data of the Department of Agriculture PHM/JPM 1958

Fig. 136 Fragmented Farm Holdings.

[p. 298-B]

*423 ●102 (5) So far as existing patterns can be self-explanatory, it would appear that farm holdings are composed of scattered plots by virtue of several processes; the splitting up of single holdings among several tenants, the letting to a single tenant of parts of a fragmented estate and by the collection under an individual's control of a number of entirely separate plots of land.

However, Fig. 135 does not fully explore the degree to which parts of holdings are scattered, since many plots may lie well outside the half mile square. That this is so to a considerable degree is demonstrated by Fig. 136.

In the centre is shown the area represented by Fig. 135. All those farm holdings, having plots or parts of plots within this smaller square are shown in full. Including the 129 plots of Fig. 135, 501 non-contiguous plots farmed by 86 separate agriculturalists are represented. In those cases where the Farm Register Map is incomplete and the sub-divisions of larger tracts are not yet fully known, the outline of these tracts is marked, containing a symbolic plot proportional to the area held within that tract. 501 should therefore be regarded

as a slight under-estimate of the number of plots concerned.

423* 102 Geographically, the holdings spread over a large area, circular in shape, with a diameter of some 4 miles. The half-mile square is excentric to this distribution, whose spread is greatest towards the coast, in a south-westerly direction. However, there is also a considerable thinning out in this direction, and the maximum number of plots cluster about an east-west axis cutting through the square. Within this belt, and to the north, plots tend to be somewhat larger than to the south.

All these plots are farmed by people who live either in Żebbuġ or Siġġiewi; 31 of them in the latter. The built-up areas of these casals and also that of Rabat-Mdina are shown. In the north-west, many of the Żebbuġ-Siġġiewi holdings encroach on the parish territory of Rabat, while a broad belt of inter-mixture of Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi holdings follows the inter-parochial boundary. In terms of farm holdings, parochial limits have only a very general validity, and it seems unlikely that the parishes have possessed any real economic integrity for a considerable period, if ever. The maintenance of parish units during the various agricultural censuses has presented analysts with many problems, but it is extremely difficult to see what other small units could be adopted.

Five of the holdings of Fig. 135 are given distinctive shading, and plots belonging to these are also particularised in Fig. 136, where a key makes identification possible. As it appears, fragmentation is an exceedingly difficult thing to measure with precision, since it is a function of the area of the holding, the number of the constituent parts and their relative isolation. Sample holding V, for example, consists of 17 separate plots and a direct line between the furthest plots is almost 2¼ miles long. That this sample is unexceptional can be judged by the geographical scatter, and from the diagram appended to Fig. 136 which relates the number of holdings to the number of separate plots within each holding. Apart from single-plot holdings, of which the majority are small in size and held by part-time cultivators, more than half consist of six or more plots, and the average for all holdings is between five and six non-contiguous plots.

423* In the course of this examination, an assessment has been made of the extent to which farms may be described as fragmented. It is often suggested that *parcellement*, as a process, is partially responsible for this characteristic. However, in order to assess the degree of importance of the various processes, an historical perspective would be most valuable. It has therefore proved necessary to follow a long trail of field enquiry in order to build up the case-history which closes this chapter.

Before discussing this material, however, it would be advisable to comment briefly on the validity of conclusions based on the above example, upon certain causes which are constantly invoked as full and adequate explanations of the scattered character of holdings, and upon the Laws which lie behind the present Maltese agricultural systems.

423* 127 Within the complex processes of the development of farmholdings, the element of ownership must obviously play an important part. Unfortunately the translation of source-material into statistical and cartographic forms is by no means easy. The Farm Register is the only official source for cartographic representation and, until the proposed Cadastral Survey is complete, will with all its faults remain the main analytical tool. Few areas are completely registered and, even in these, the true ownership of land has not always been ascertained. The area already considered, that lying between Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi, is less affected than most by such deficiencies.

423* Differentiation between the main classes of ownership is of basic importance. Some classes of Church and Government lands have had sufficient historical continuity of ownership to allow one to ignore effects of sub-division by legacy. Owner-occupied farms on the other hand are more prone to such *parcellement*. On the economic plane, differences in the level of rents demanded by various classes of owner can also have a considerable influence on farm morphology.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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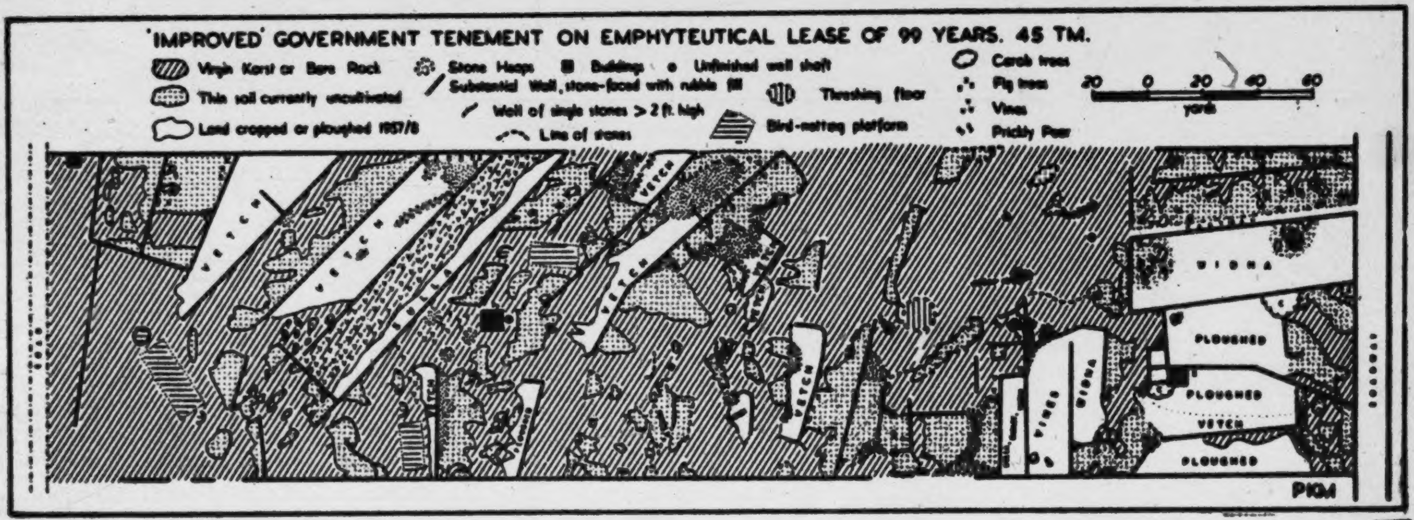
'IMPROVED' GOVERNMENT TENEMENT ON EMPHYTEUTICAL LEASE OF 99 YEARS. 45 TM.
Virgin Karst or Bare Rock
Thin soil currently uncultivated
Land cropped or ploughed 1957/8
Stone Heaps
Buildings
Unfinished well shaft
Substantial Wall, stone-faced with rubble fill
Wall of single stones > 2 ft. high
Line of stones
Threshing floor
Bird-netting platform
Carob trees
Fig trees
Vines
Prickly Pear
20 0 20 40 60
yards
VETCH
SULLA
WIDNA
PLOUGHED
VINES
PIGM

Fig. 137 Improved Government Tenement on Emphyteutical Lease of 99 years.

[p. 302-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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102 ●
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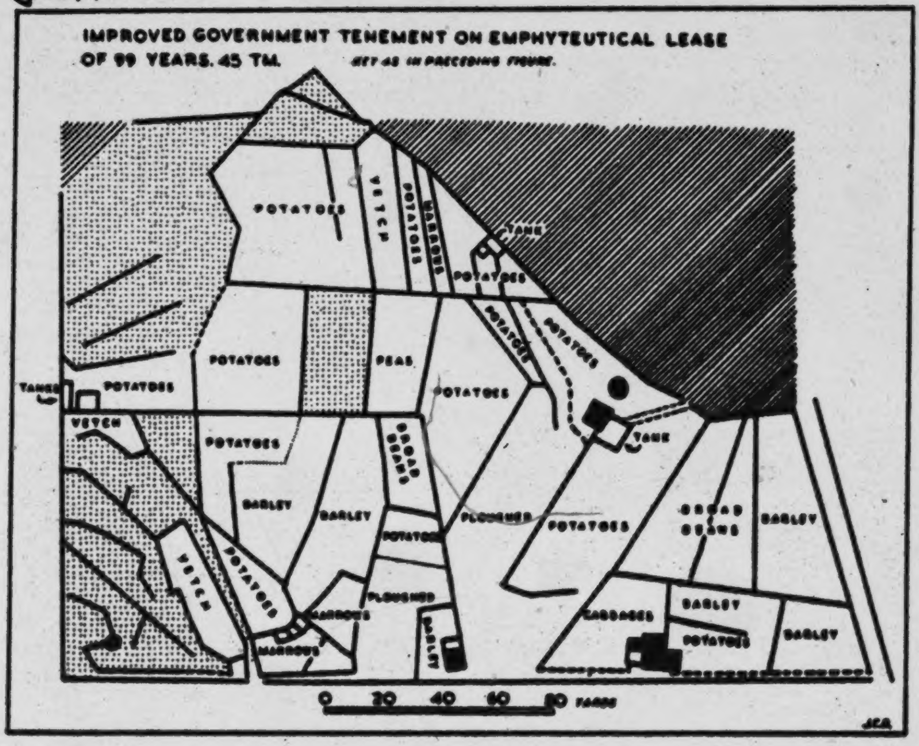
IMPROVED GOVERNMENT TENEMENT ON EMPHYTEUTICAL LEASE
OF 99 YEARS. 45 TM.
KEY AS IN PRECEDING FIGURE.
POTATOES
VETCH
POTATOES
MARROWS
TANK
POTATOES
POTATOES
POTATOES
POTATOES
PEAS
POTATOES
TANK
POTATOES
TANK
VETCH
POTATOES
BROAD BEANS
BARLEY
BARLEY
POTATOES
PLOUGHED
POTATOES
BROAD BEANS
BARLEY
VETCH
POTATOES
MARROWS
MARROWS
PLOUGHED
BARLEY
CABBAGES
BARLEY
POTATOES
BARLEY
0
20
40
60
80 YARDS
JCA

Fig. 138 Improved Government Tenement on Emphyteutical Lease of 99 years (second example).

[p. 302-B]

[For Key see Page 302-A]

423*

Table 41. Estimated percentages of total agricultural land owned by various groups. c. 1950.

	Civil Govt.	War Depts.	Church, etc.	Landlord	Farmer's Family	Farmer	Total
Malta	16	1	22	51	2	8	100
Gozo	23		12	54	2	9	100
Both Islands	19		19	52	2	8	100

be properly worked. This argument as a basis for encouraging owner-occupance must be treated with some suspicion. All the field evidence goes to show that, in recent years, land purchases by working farmers have been mainly of good and, if possible, irrigated land. The Maltese agriculturalist rarely makes a conscious assessment of his returns in terms of productivity of labour or capital but rather the emphasis is placed on gross production. Nevertheless, general productivity, security of harvest and even social status all make him buy the best land, even at inflated prices. Little of such freehold property is difficult to work and little of it therefore lies 'waste'.

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Historically there is further proof that the incentive of ownership is on its own of no great importance in increasing the proportion of worked land in any holding. Early nineteenth century writers both commented on the large areas of rock and other wasteland in the North of Malta, and on the age-old practice of building 'artificial fields' (see p. 324). There was a widespread belief that the whole of the cultivated land had been created in this way and that further extension was mainly a matter of encouraging the farmers to undertake the labour involved. A Commission of the *Società Economico Agraria* considered the question and made in their report of 1848 (3) the following points. First, any increase in agricultural production, particularly of grains, would be welcome. Secondly, there existed a pool of grossly under-employed labour and capital. Thirdly, although the physical extension of the cultivated area would be a slow process, the national advantage would be great. Fourthly, this end could be achieved by the granting of land in perpetual emphyteusis so that capital and labour could be securely applied to reclamation. In 1855 Schembri supported such a policy (4).

From 1850 onwards, much barren Crown land was distributed on this basis, frequently in parcels of 16 *tmiem* and on 99-year emphyteutical leases. Subject to improvement (a clause that does not appear to have been enforced), the tenant had complete security of a tenure which could be renewed by his heirs on a preferential basis at low rents. During the first period rents could be as low as 1½d. per *tomna*.

Although some land was improved, the project as a whole was not a great success. Economic and social changes can be held responsible for some of the lack of response to these offers, for the second half of the nineteenth century was a dynamic period. In spite of much Crown expenditure on the laying out and construction of access roads, and the building of many field and terrace walls, some land was never taken up and more remained economically marginal. Of the leased land, a considerable proportion was later abandoned.

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654

The main factor making for local success or failure of the scheme was the availability or otherwise of water. Two contrasting examples illustrate this point. Fig. 137 shows an area of 16 *tmiem* in the hands of one tenant. Small patches of vetch are the sole evidence of use. Figs and vines planted during early development no longer bear fruit. This long-lease land is virtually waste. The other example, illustrated in Fig. 138, has similar terrain and is more exposed to wind and seaspray. Here the presence of a shallow water-body has provided an incentive for the slow development of a soil cover and enabled intensive cultivation to succeed. Twenty-two heirs of the original lessee have each insisted on their right to work a portion of the holding.

*423
● 102
173
427
596

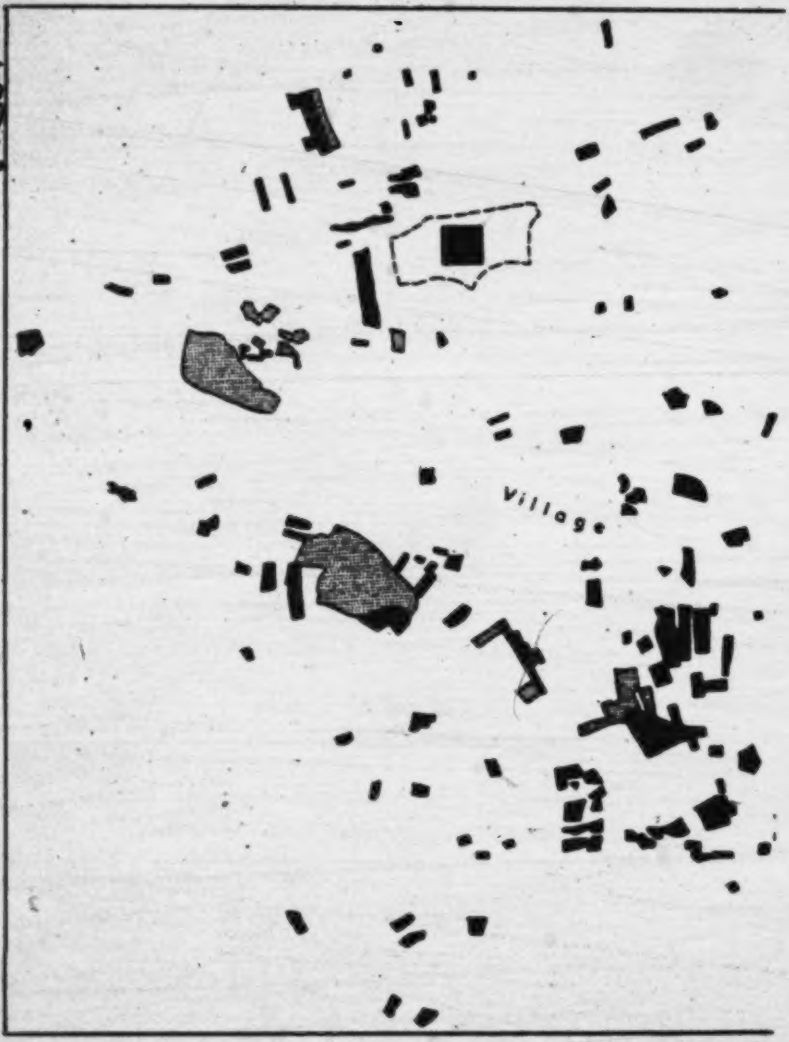

Fig. 139 The Landholdings of a Maltese Family

[p. 308-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

*423
●102
173
429
596

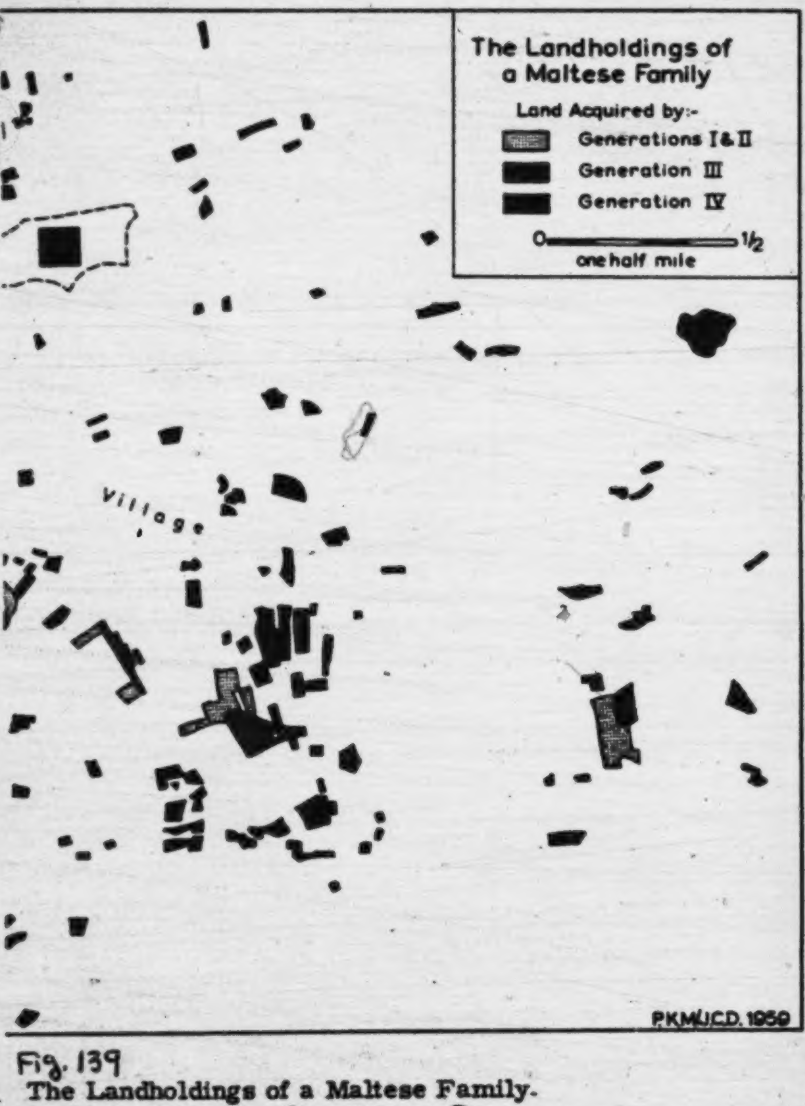
The Landholdings of a Maltese Family
Land Acquired by:-
Generations I & II
Generation III
Generation IV
0
1/2
one half mile
Village
P.K.M./J.C.D. 1959

Fig. 139
The Landholdings of a Maltese Family.

[p. 308-B]

absence of land hunger at this period, 1895 to 1896. Such a situation had probably existed for some years, since there is no information that other land taken over as a new tenancy, again by 5, at the beginning of that decade was 'lying idle', at the expiration of a long lease. The area concerned was again substantial and 5, unable or unwilling to tackle the whole plot, joined with two brothers from a nearby hamlet in making a successful bid for the tenement. The land, and also the rent which they had jointly agreed to pay, was then sub-divided, local conditions of soil and quality being taken into consideration.

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173
427
596

At some time, possibly during this period, the other brothers, 2 and 3, added to the land obtained by marriage at Għajn Tuffieħa (as a new tenancy and with strangers as co-tenants) another 35 *tmien* some two miles to the south-east, close to what is now the parish boundary in that direction. At a later date (c. 1910) 2 and his son, 21, entered on a new tenement of irrigated land in the Wied tal-Pwales to the north of Għajn Tuffieħa. This was immediately divided into two approximately equal portions, of which the father's was eventually shared only amongst his other children.

The land initially acquired by 2 (the founder of group B) from his wife's family was Government land, which was already at that date split into a number of separate plots, but the other lands acquired by this second generation as new tenancies were fairly large blocks of land, averaging 36 *tmien* in area, including the two 4-*tmien* plots of land leased to 5.

It is clear, therefore, that during the 50 years before 1910 quite large blocks of land in northern Malta were coming on to the leasehold market, and that a family without previous rights of any sort in that land could enter on to it, apply sufficient capital and industry to maintain its hold and, within limits, dictate the amount of rent which it was willing to pay for the use of that land. All the land leased for the first time during this period belonged to owners of large private or ecclesiastical estates and some at least had been surrendered on the termination of long leases. There is strong evidence from all branches of the family that all land leased during this period has stayed within the group, though some naturally has passed to daughters on their marriage. The land acquired in the male line by 0 and 2-5 in this early period is mapped at Fig. 139.

This area mapped in Fig. 139 totals 262 *tmien* and was held by the four brothers in the proportions shown in Table 42.

423*
102
173
427
596

Table 42. Maximum holdings of generation II. *Tmien.*

	Sons of Farmer 0				
	Son 2 (B)	Son 3 (C)	Son 4 (D)	Son 5 (E)	Total
Acquired by marriage	12½	7¼	-	-	19¾
New tenancies	21½	42¼	56⅝	121⅞	242¼
Total leasehold	34	49½	56⅝	121⅞	262
Freehold	-	-	-	-	-
Total area	34	49½	56⅝	121⅞	262
No. of non-contiguous plots	?	?	6	8	?

Even at this early stage, there is considerable disparity in the size of holdings, though this would partly disappear if the relative proportions of irrigated and waste land were taken into account. None of the brothers had any significant financial interests outside farming. 2 and 3 seem to have lived at Ġnejn Għajn Tuffieħa but the others remained at Mosta, though many week-nights were spent in rooms which they had in a building at the head of the Ġnejna valley.

Notes on Two Land-Holding Patterns

*423
102

Fig. 104F[1] provides an example of extreme sub-division of the land in an intensely cultivated area, where irrigation water is readily available. The map covers some 324 *tmien* (90 acres) and is divided into no less than 323 plots, separated from each other by stone walls, by tenancy boundaries or by both. The tenancies of 259 of these plots have been identified from the maps of the Land Register and these are worked by 69 individual tenants. Forty-six tenants, working 194 plots, are registered in the parish of St. Paul's Bay, 15, working 46 plots, belong to Mgarr and 8, with 19 plots, to Mellieha. The distribution of plots among the tenants is as follows:-

Number of plots per tenant	Number of tenants	Total number of plots
1	29	29
2	9	18
3	4	12
4	8	32
5	3	15
6	3	18
7	0	0
8	4	32
9	1	9
10	4	40
11	0	0
12	1	12
13	0	0
14	3	42
	69	259

Fig. 116E[2] illustrates a tenancy pattern in complete contrast to that of *Fig. 104F*. In this dry-farmed area, plots are much larger, averaging 3.7 *tmien* (approx. 1 acre), compared with 1 *tomna* in the Wied tal-Pwales sample. Individual tenants generally work a number of adjacent fields and sub-division of fields is extremely rare. The area involved in this case, is approximately 414 *tmien* (115 acres) divided into 112 plots worked by 50 tenants. The land lies wholly in the parishes of Attard and Qormi, the boundary running north-south along the central track, but the farmers are registered in a number of neighbouring parishes:-

Parish	Tenants	Plots
Attard	7	13
Balzan	12	3
Birkirkara	16	35
Hamrun	2	3
Lija	1	1
Naxxar	1	1
Qormi	21	56
	50	112

This distribution indicates the deficiencies involved in statistics collected on a parish basis.

The distribution of plots is as follows:-

Number of plots per tenant	Number of tenants	Total number of plots
1	24	24
2	10	20
3	7	21
4	3	12
5	3	15
6	2	12
7	0	0
8	1	8
	50	112

[1] [See p. 282--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 260--Analyst]

● 102
241

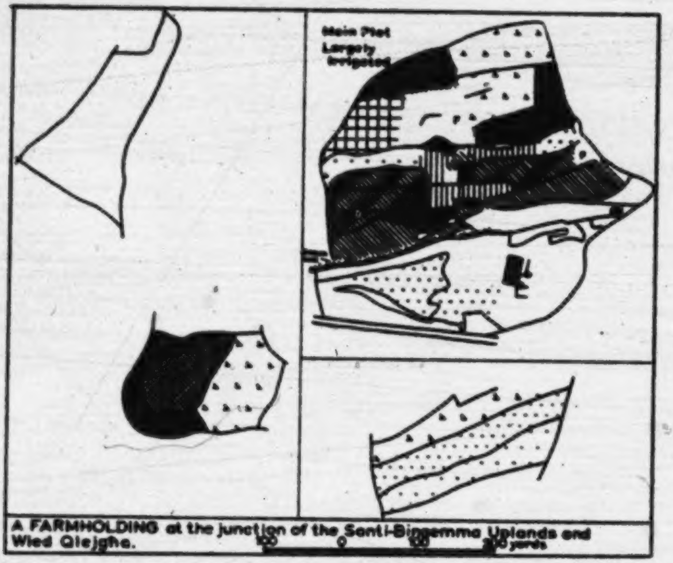

Main Plot
Largely
irrigated
A FARMHOLDING at the junction of the Santi-Binġemma Uplands and Wied Qlejgha.
100
0
100
200 yards

Fig. 141 A farmholding at the junction of the Santi-Binġemma Uplands and Wied Qlejgha.

241
312
Upper Coralline aquifers overlying outcropping Blue Clay. The main supply, from a fissured Coralline cave now piped into a cistern, has only failed once (1950) since 1921. Water needs conserving in summer and is then only applied to special crops. Minor supplies come from 'wet weather' springs on Blue Clay slope.

134
241
Soils - deep, weathered marls with thin clay beds, these latter being used for marling the Upper Coralline lands. In winter, the clay beds are too wet for most crops, e.g. during the 1953-54 season an attempt to grow wheat failed completely and, on 2nd April, 1955, drainage holes were necessary to hasten the percolation of surplus water in some fields. In summer, the clays need careful tilling in order to avoid caking. Produce is mainly for sale in Rabat market.

241 3. THE FULL-TIME DRYLAND ARABLE FARMER

This group is numerically and areally the most important. It also tends to set the general standard of farming.

E - The first example of this group works land in Region CXX, the Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin. A full-time farmer with two dependants with a fairly concentrated holding of 32 *tmien* (8.7 acres), used as follows in spring:-

3.6	*tmien* of Sulla
5	*tmien* of Potatoes
5	*tmien* of Wheat
5	*tmien* of Barley
.5	*tmien* of Broad Beans (vegetable)
19.1	

The remainder is under onions, aniseed, cumin, fallow and forages. The best land has 30 inches of soil and is rented at 26s. per *tomna*. The poorer

102
241

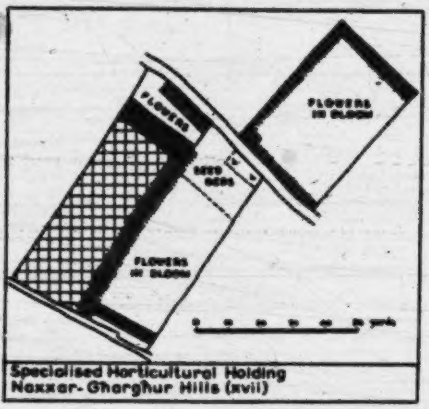

FLOWERS
FLOWERS IN BLOOM
SEED BEDS
FLOWERS IN BLOOM
yards
Specialised Horticultural Holding
Naxxar- Gharghur Hills (xvii)

Fig. 142 Specialised Horticultural Holding in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills.

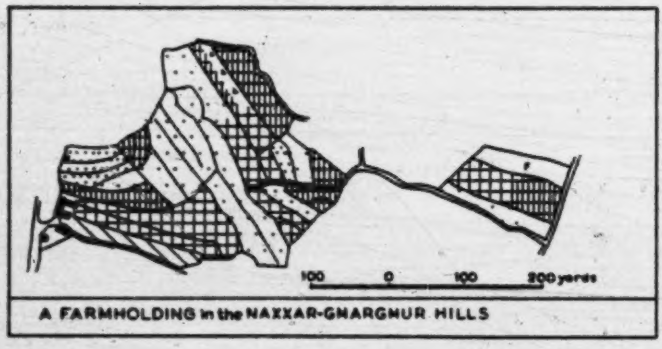

100
0
100
200 yards
A FARMHOLDING in the NAXXAR-GHARGHUR HILLS

Fig. 143 A Farmholding in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills.

241 by the cultivator for his wife who inherited control from her family. The remaining two-thirds of the land is held from several landlords in various customary partnership arrangements. On these field plots, very variable in quality, a typical land use pattern would be as follows:-

1½ plots, c. 3 *tmien*, under vines.
2 plots of six terraces, c. one-half rocky waste, one-quarter vetches and barley, one-quarter wheat and beans.
2 plots, c. 4 *tmien*, under wheat followed by melons.
½ plot intercultivated potatoes and melons.
2 plots, c. 2 tmien, under *gilbiena* (black peas).

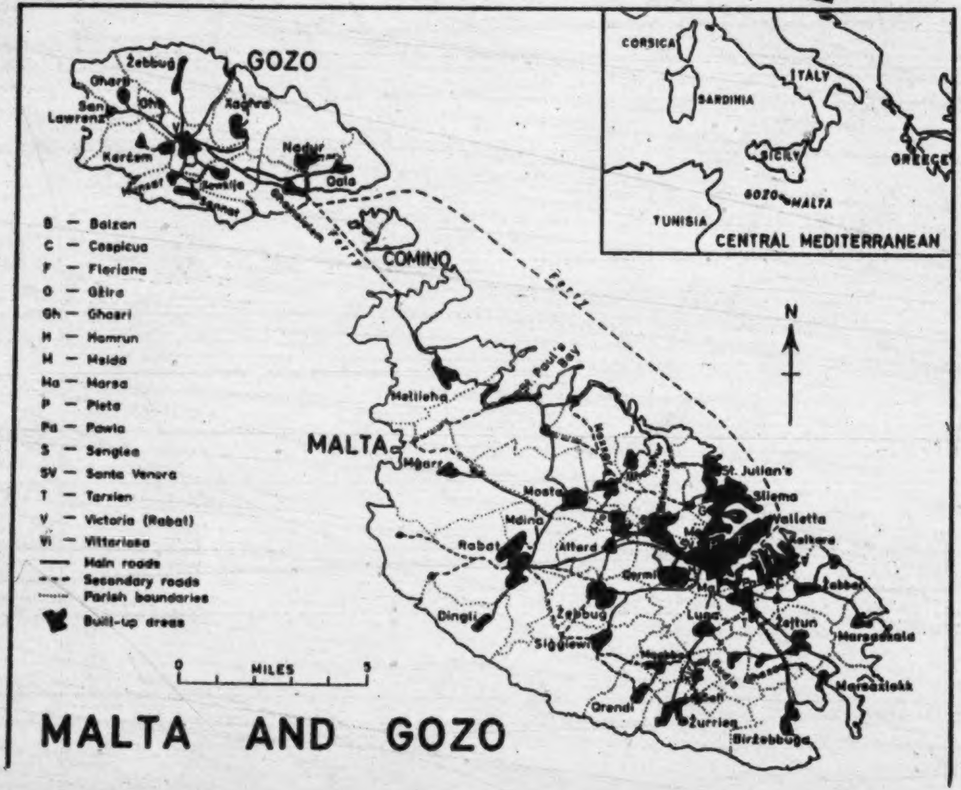
This farmer, like many of his kind, obtains the greatest single return from *gnien* fruit farming and, although with very limited livestock interests, devotes much acreage to leguminous rotational fodder crops to be sold either by the field or by harvested volume. Working livestock is owned by the farmer and about half the land periodically worked by hired machinery. Produce is sold mainly through middlemen - the *pitkali*.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965

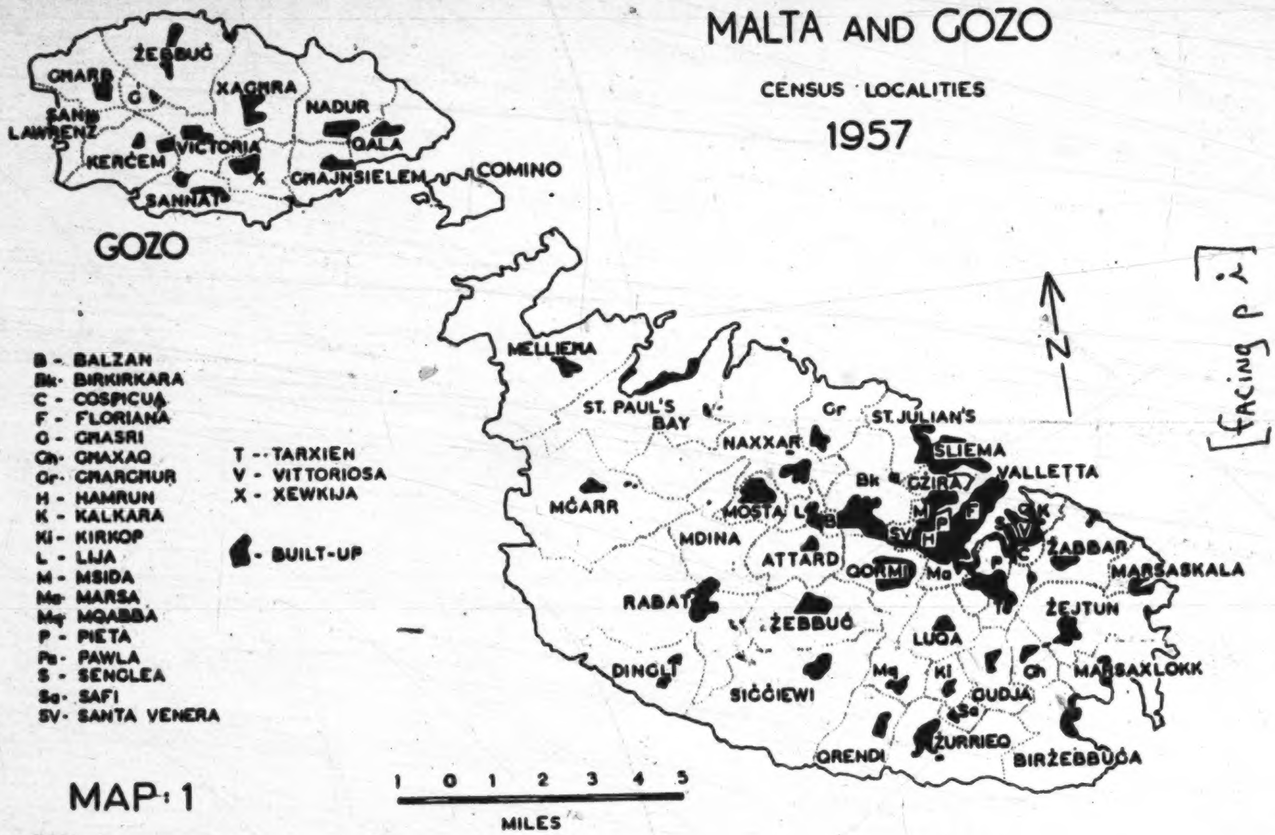
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P.2]

102
103
491
487
131
311


GOZO
Żebbuġ
Għarb
Għ
San Lawrenz
Xagħra
Kerċem
Nadur
Qala
Munxar
Sannat
Xewkija
Għajnsielem
Ferry
COMINO
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ITALY
SICILY
GREECE
TUNISIA
GOZO
MALTA
CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN
N
MALTA
Mellieħa
St. Paul's Bay
Mġarr
Mosta
Mdina
Rabat
Attard
Qormi
Dingli
Żebbuġ
Siġġiewi
Luqa
Żejtun
Marsaskala
Marsaxlokk
Qrendi
Żurrieq
Birżebbuġa
St. Julian's
Sliema
Valletta
Kalkara
Żabbar
B — Balzan
C — Cospicua
F — Floriana
G — Gżira
Gh — Ghasri
H — Hamrun
M — Msida
Ma — Marsa
P — Pieta
Pa — Pawla
S — Senglea
SV — Santa Venera
T — Tarxien
V — Victoria (Rabat)
Vi — Vittoriosa
Main roads
Secondary roads
Parish boundaries
Built-up areas
0
MILES
5
MALTA AND GOZO

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6


MALTA AND GOZO
CENSUS LOCALITIES
1957
GOZO
ŻEBBUĠ
GHARB
G
SAN LAWRENZ
XAGHRA
NADUR
QALA
VICTORIA
KERĊEM
X
GHAJNSIELEM
SANNAT
COMINO
N
MELLIEĦA
ST. PAUL'S BAY
Gr
ST. JULIAN'S
NAXXAR
SLIEMA
VALLETTA
GŻIRA
Bk
MĠARR
MOSTA
L
B
M
P
F
SV
H
S
K
V
C
Pa
MDINA
ATTARD
QORMI
Ma
ŻABBAR
MARSASKALA
RABAT
ŻEBBUĠ
ŻEJTUN
LUQA
DINGLI
SIĠĠIEWI
Mq
Ki
Gh
MARSAXLOKK
GUDJA
Sa
QRENDI
ŻURRIEQ
BIRŻEBBUĠA
B - BALZAN
Bk - BIRKIRKARA
C - COSPICUA
F - FLORIANA
G - GHASRI
Gh - GHAXAQ
Gr - GHARGHUR
H - HAMRUN
K - KALKARA
Ki - KIRKOP
L - LIJA
M - MSIDA
Ma - MARSA
Mq - MQABBA
P - PIETA
Pa - PAWLA
S - SENGLEA
Sa - SAFI
SV - SANTA VENERA
T - TARXIEN
V - VITTORIOSA
X - XEWKIJA
● - BUILT-UP
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MAP: 1

[facing p. i]

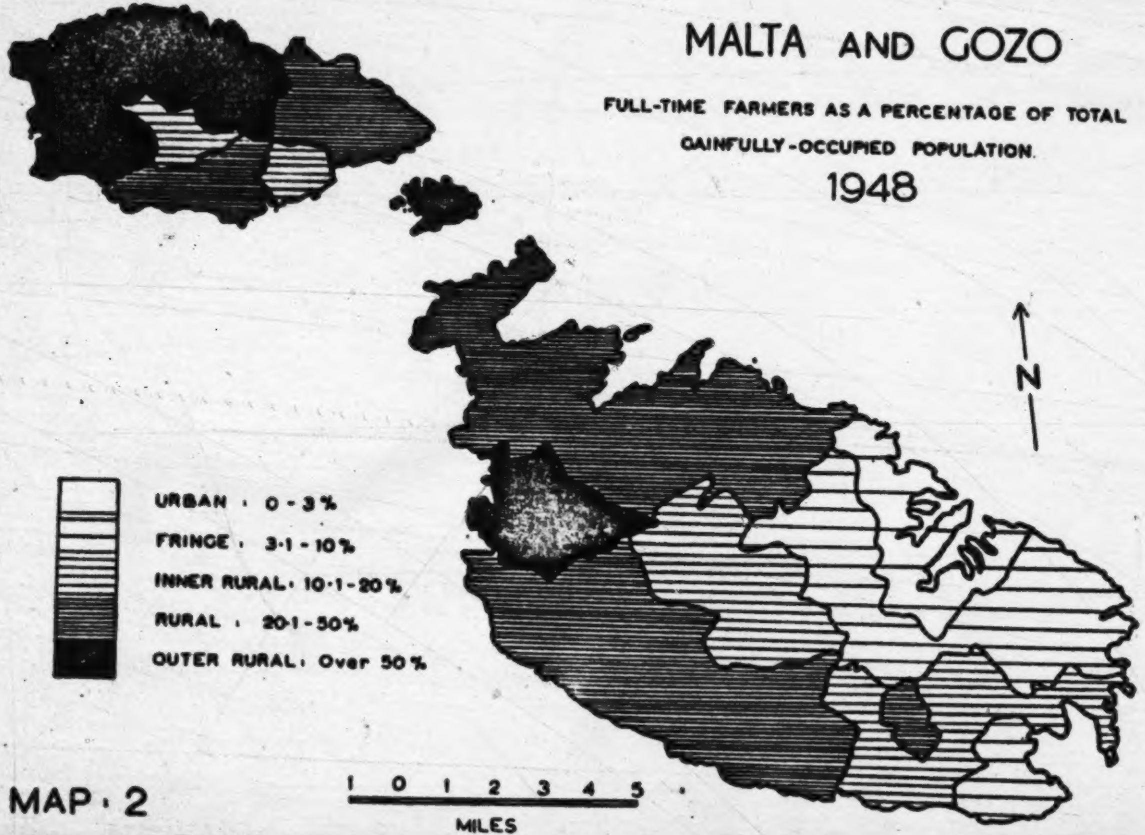
[frontispiece]

102
103

102
463
162

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

[following p. viii]



MALTA AND GOZO

FULL-TIME FARMERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

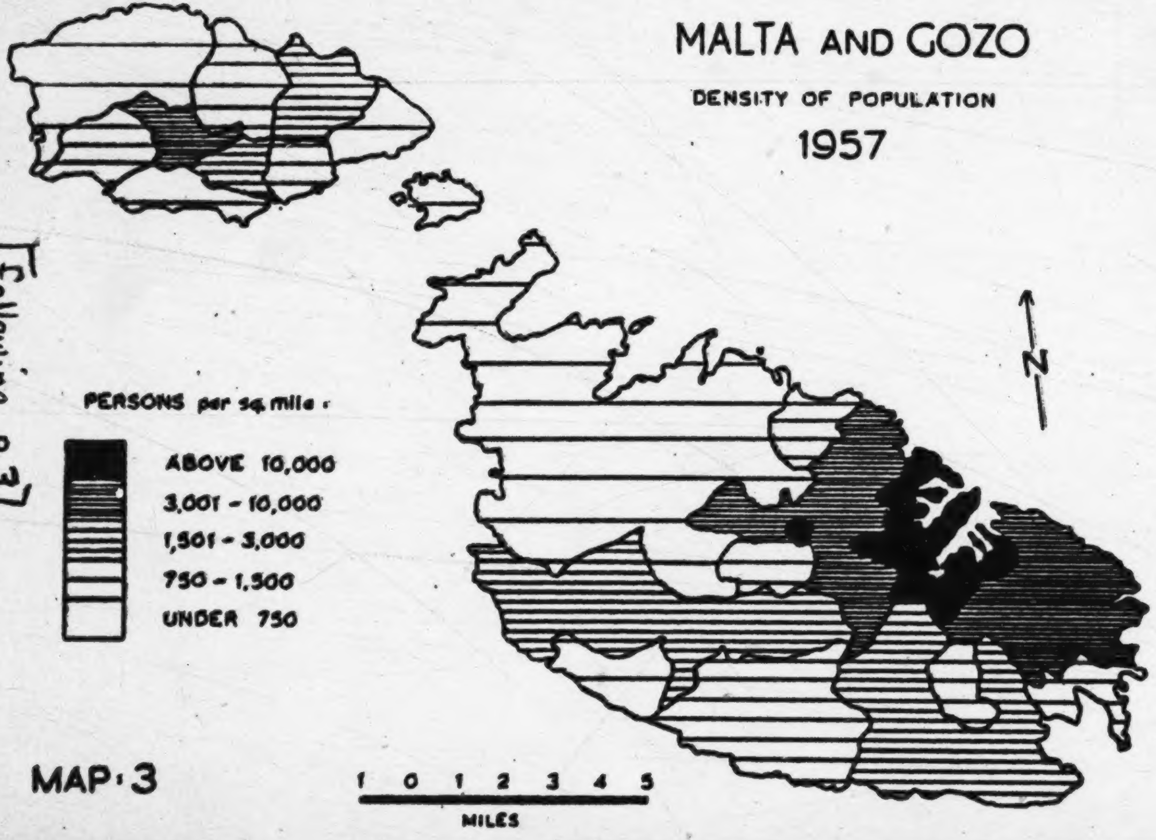
1948

URBAN : 0 - 3 %
FRINGE : 3·1 - 10 %
INNER RURAL : 10·1 - 20 %
RURAL : 20·1 - 50 %
OUTER RURAL : Over 50 %
N
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MAP · 2

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

[following p 3]


PERSONS per sq. mile :
ABOVE 10,000
3,001 - 10,000
1,501 - 3,000
750 - 1,500
UNDER 750
N
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MALTA AND GOZO
DENSITY OF POPULATION
1957

MAP · 3

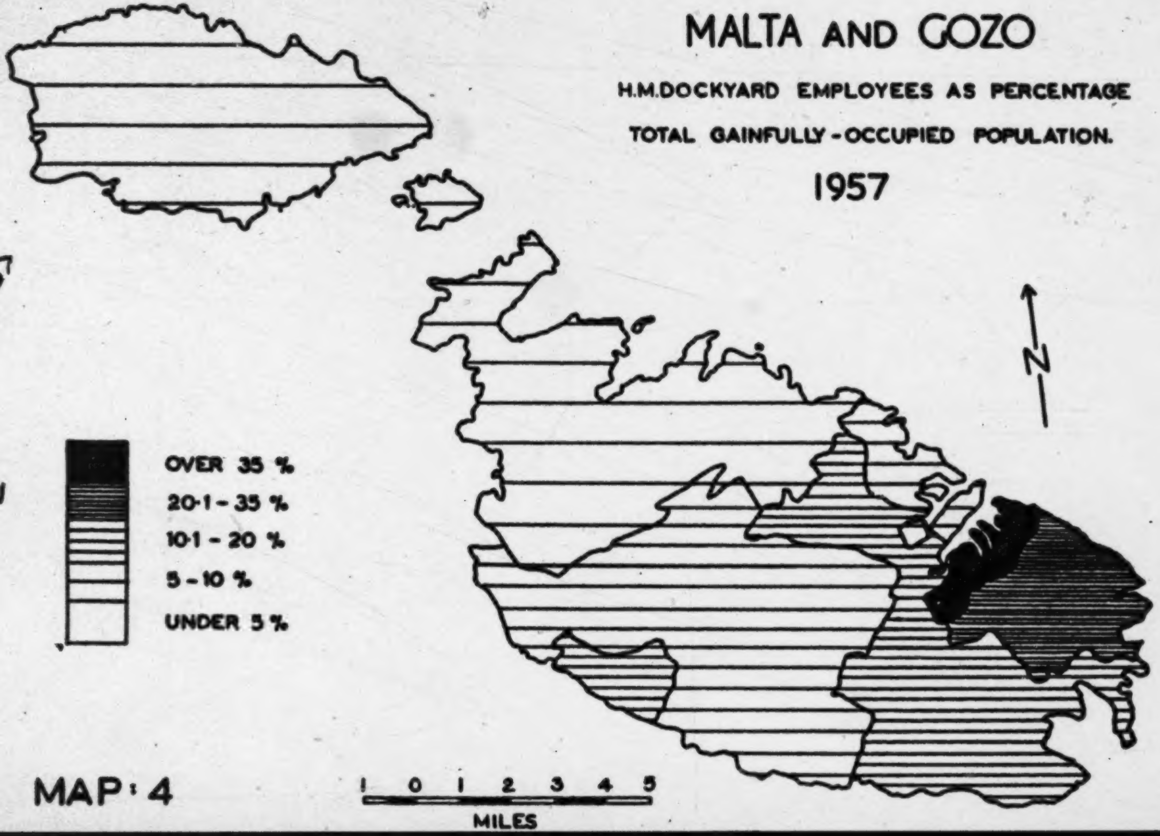
6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
463
162

MALTA AND GOZO

H.M.DOCKYARD EMPLOYEES AS PERCENTAGE TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

1957


N
OVER 35 %
20·1 - 35 %
10·1 - 20 %
5 - 10 %
UNDER 5 %
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MAP : 4

[following p. 5]

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

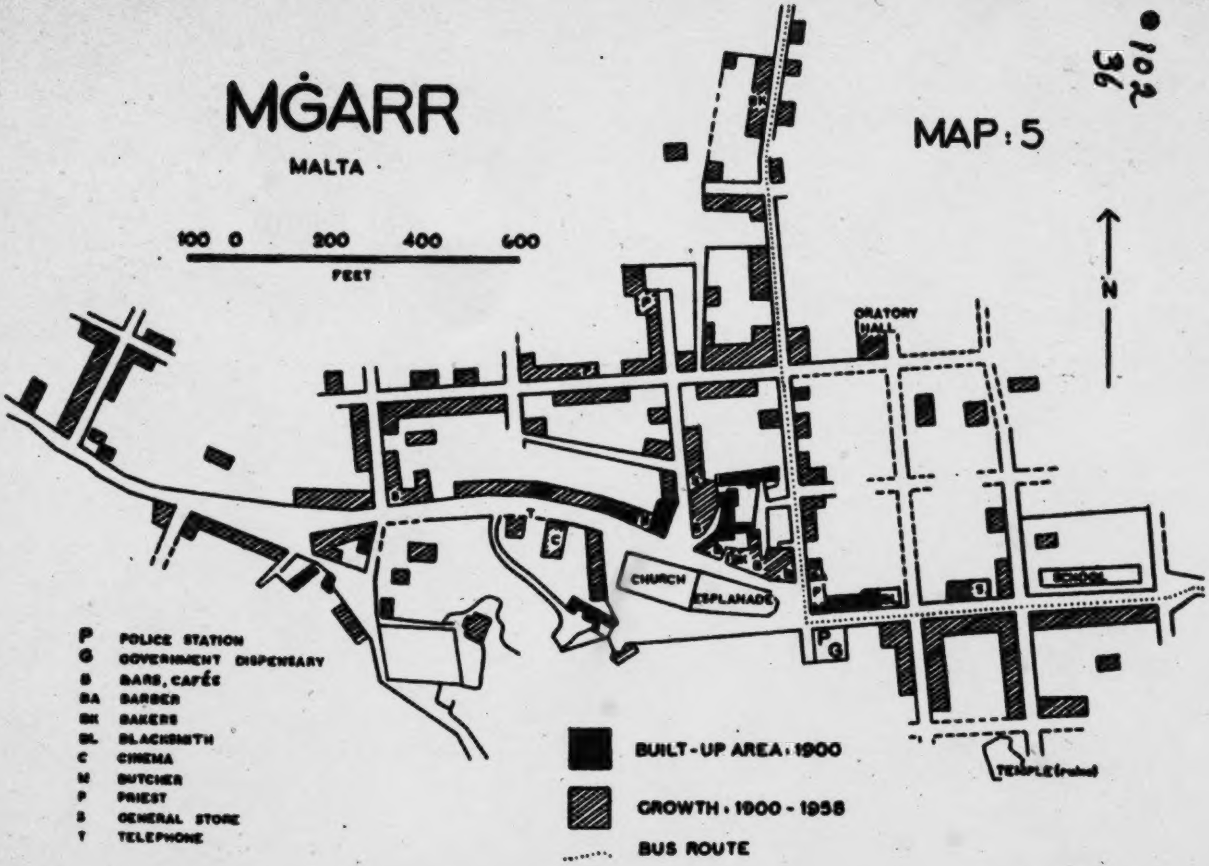
102
36

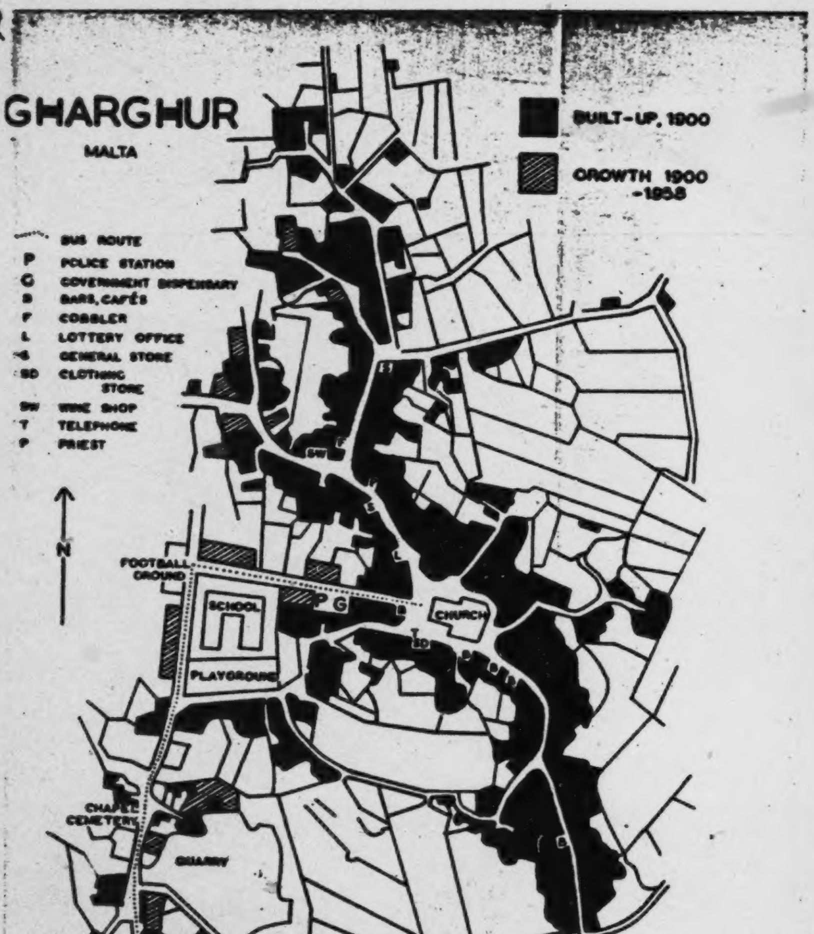
[following p. 7]

MĠARR

MALTA

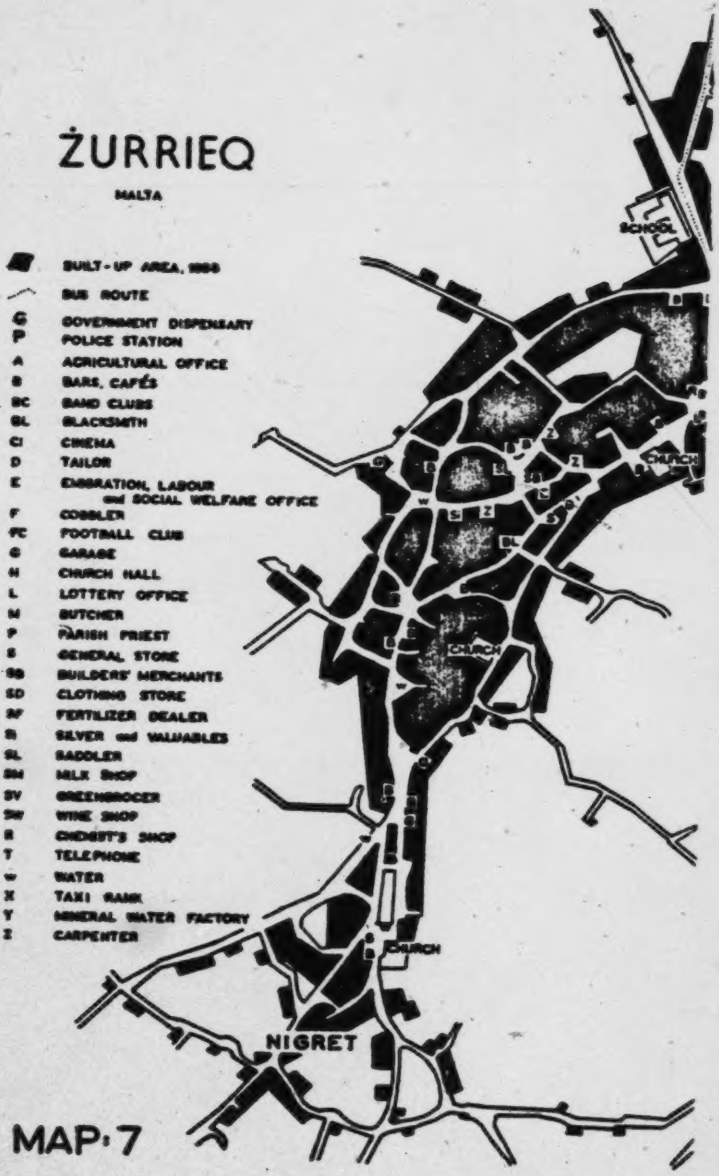
MAP: 5


100 0 200 400 600
FEET
N
ORATORY HALL
CHURCH
ESPLANADE
SCHOOL
TEMPLE (ruins)
P POLICE STATION
G GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY
B BARS, CAFÉS
BA BARBER
BK BAKERS
BL BLACKSMITH
C CINEMA
M BUTCHER
P PRIEST
S GENERAL STORE
T TELEPHONE
BUILT-UP AREA: 1900
GROWTH: 1900 - 1958
BUS ROUTE


GHARGHUR
MALTA
BUILT-UP, 1900
GROWTH 1900 -1958
BUS ROUTE
P POLICE STATION
G GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY
B BARS, CAFÉS
F COBBLER
L LOTTERY OFFICE
G GENERAL STORE
SD CLOTHING STORE
SW WINE SHOP
T TELEPHONE
P PRIEST
N
FOOTBALL GROUND
SCHOOL
PLAYGROUND
P G
CHURCH
T
SD
CHAPEL
CEMETERY
QUARRY
100 0 200 400
FEET
MAP: 6

[following p. 11]

102
36

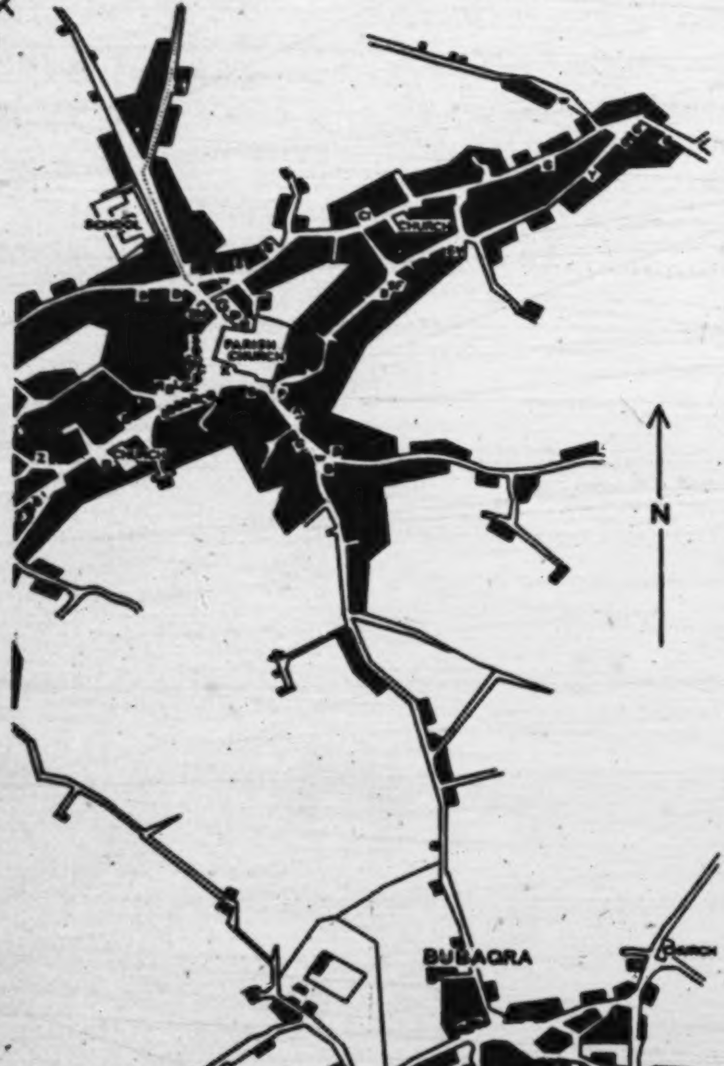

ŻURRIEQ
MALTA
BUILT-UP AREA, 1958
BUS ROUTE
G GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY
P POLICE STATION
A AGRICULTURAL OFFICE
B BARS, CAFÉS
BC BAND CLUBS
BL BLACKSMITH
CI CINEMA
D TAILOR
E EMIGRATION, LABOUR and SOCIAL WELFARE OFFICE
F COBBLER
FC FOOTBALL CLUB
G GARAGE
H CHURCH HALL
L LOTTERY OFFICE
M BUTCHER
P PARISH PRIEST
S GENERAL STORE
SB BUILDERS' MERCHANTS
SD CLOTHING STORE
SF FERTILIZER DEALER
SI SILVER and VALUABLES
SL SADDLER
SM MILK SHOP
SV GREENGROCER
SW WINE SHOP
R CHEMIST'S SHOP
T TELEPHONE
W WATER
X TAXI RANK
Y MINERAL WATER FACTORY
Z CARPENTER
SCHOOL
CHURCH
CHURCH
CHURCH
NIGRET

MAP·7

[following p. 13, A]

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

• 102
36

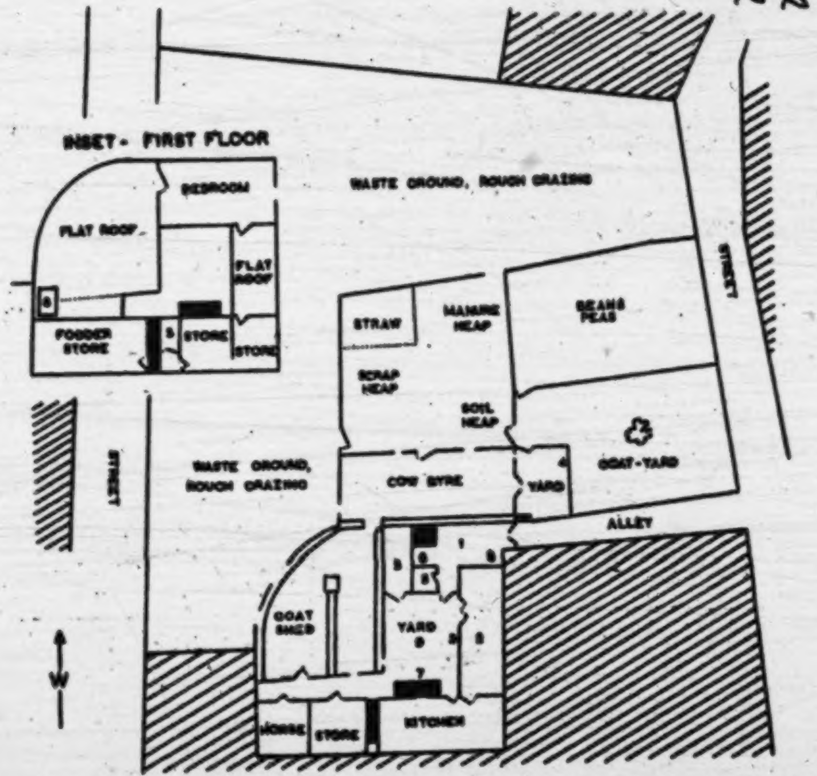

SCHOOL
CHURCH
PARISH CHURCH
CHURCH
N
BUBAQRA
CHURCH
CHAPEL
100 0 200 400 600 800 1000
FEET

[following p. 13, B]

● 102
3#2
351
3/2
231
251
363
34

MAP·8
FARMSTEAD
CASE VI

[following p. 102]

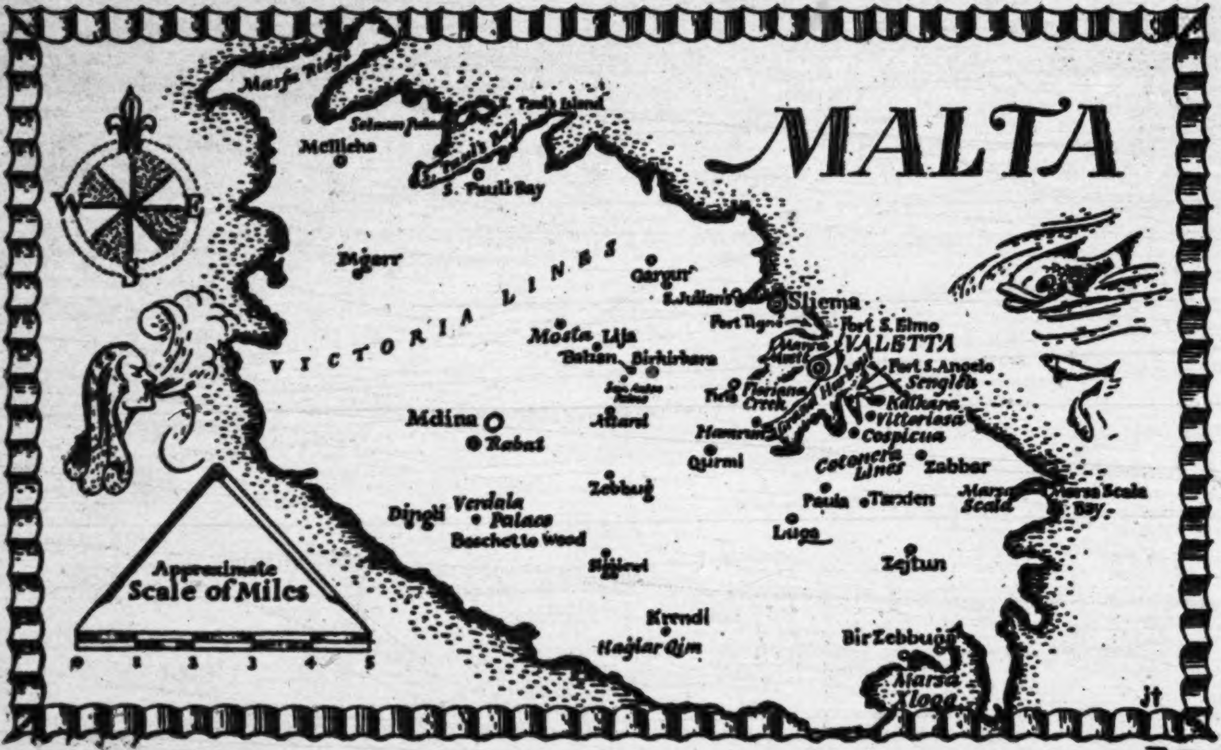


INSET - FIRST FLOOR
BEDROOM
FLAT ROOF
FLAT ROOF
FODDER STORE
STORE
STORE
5
6
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
STRAW
MANURE HEAP
BEANS PEAS
SCRAP HEAP
SOIL HEAP
GOAT-YARD
4
COW BYRE
YARD
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
ALLEY
1
2
3
6
5
8
GOAT SHED
YARD
9
3
2
7
HORSE
STORE
KITCHEN
W

1 MAIN ENTRANCE ROOM
2 LIVING-ROOM/BEDROOM
3 WELL
4 WATER(TAP)
5 POULTRY
6 RABBITS
7 STEPS TO CELLAR USED FOR SHEEP
8 CARTS
9 GENERAL YARD

▨ OTHER BUILDINGS

1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
YARDS


MALTA
Marfa Ridge
S. Paul's Island
Selmun Palace
Mellieha
S. Paul's Bay
S. Paul's Bay
Mgarr
VICTORIA LINES
Gargur
S. Julian's
Sliema
Fort Tigne
Fort S. Elmo
VALETTA
Marsa Muscet
Fort S. Angelo
Senglea
Mosta
Lija
Balzan
Birkirkara
San Anton Palace
Attard
Floriana
Pieta Creek
Grand Harbour
Kalkara
Vittoriosa
Hamrun
Cospicua
Qormi
Cotonera Lines
Zabbar
Mdina
Rabat
Zebbug
Dingli
Verdala Palace
Boschetto Wood
Paula
Tarxien
Marsa Scala
Marsa Scala Bay
Luqa
Zejtun
Siggiewi
Krendi
Hagiar Qim
Bir Zebbugi
Marsa Xlocq
W
E
S
Approximate Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5
Jt

[P.17]

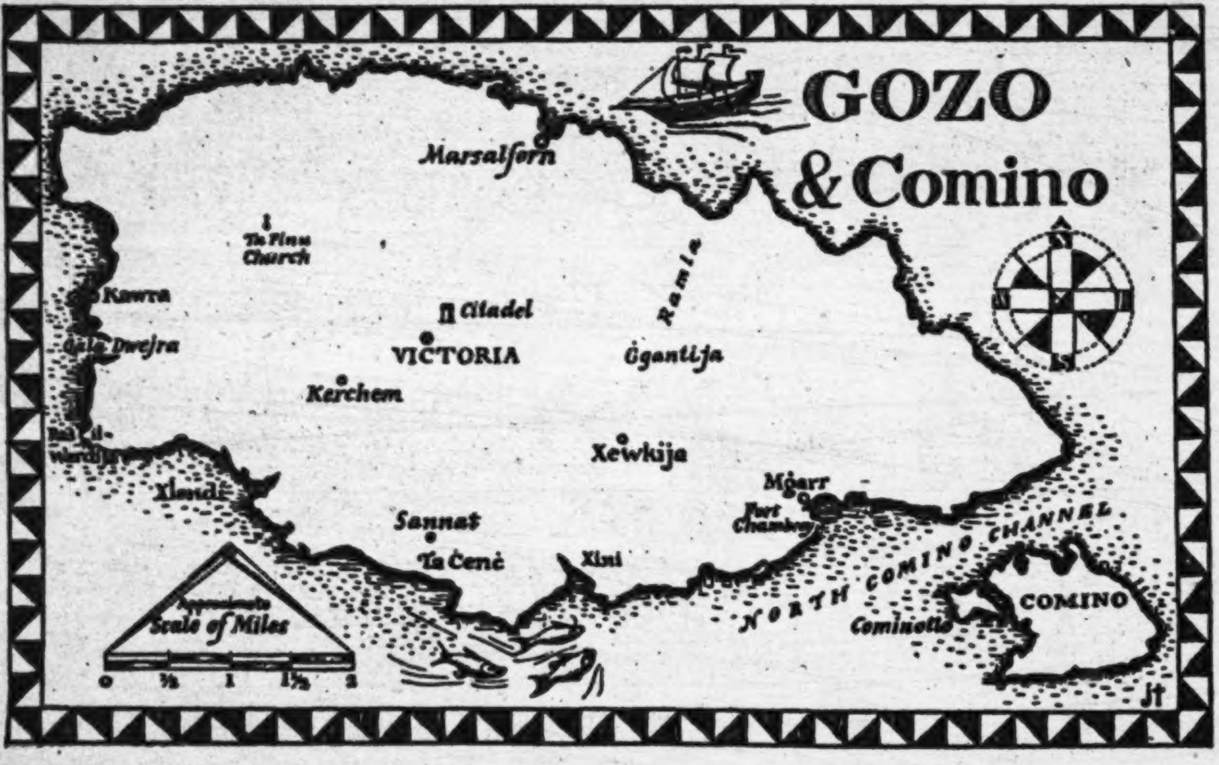
9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960 EZ6 Malta EZ6

102.
103

102
103

[p. 221]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO
COMINO


GOZO
& Comino
Marsalforn
Ta Pinu Church
Kawra
Qala Dwejra
Citadel
VICTORIA
Kerchem
Ramla
Ggantija
Xewkija
Xlendi
Sannat
Ta Ċenċ
Xlendi
Mġarr
Fort Chambray
NORTH COMINO CHANNEL
COMINO
Cominotto
Approximate Scale of Miles
0
½
1
1½
2
N
S
W
E
JT

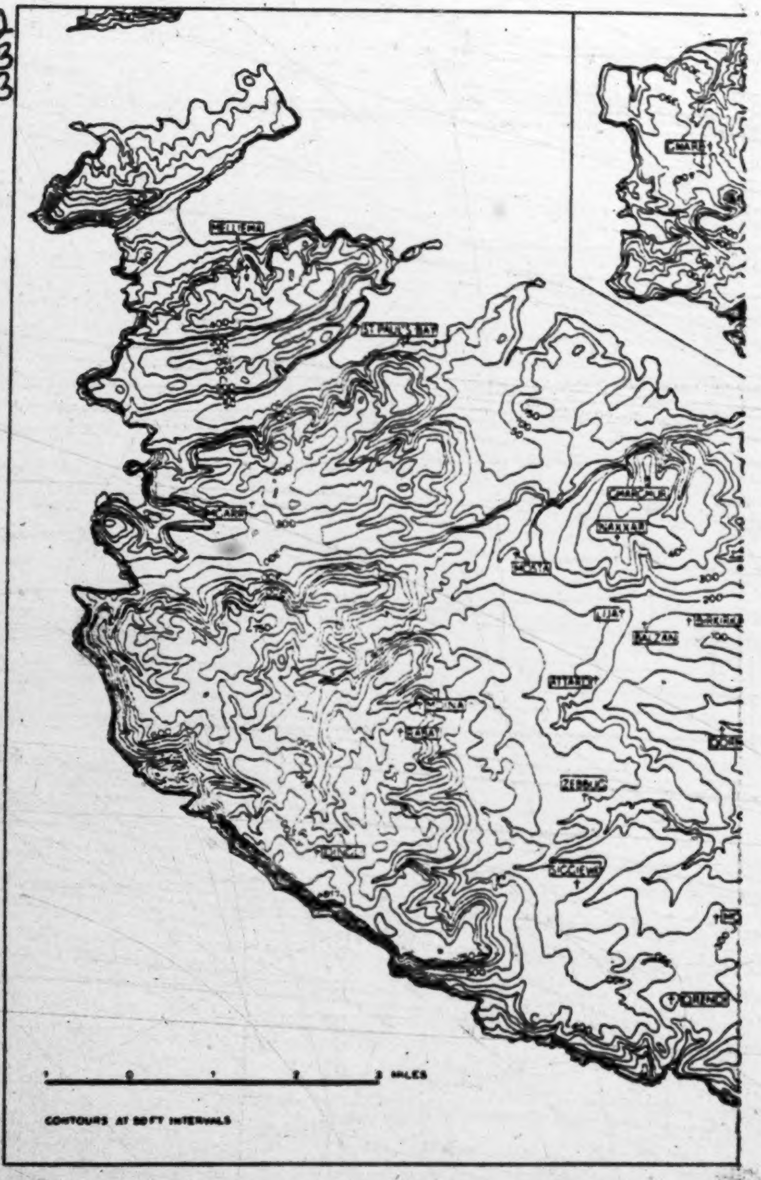
1: Bowen-Jones et al.
EZ6 Malta EZ6

9 103

[The place names for which the numerals on the maps on pages 192-A and 192-B provide a key can be found in scattered references on pages 238 and following.]

[p. 1 is blank]

102
● 103
133


MELLIEHA
ST PAUL'S BAY
MGARR
MOSTA
GHARGHUR
NAXXAR
LIJA
BALZAN
ATTARD
ZEBBUG
SIGGIEWI
300
200
100
0 1 2 3 MILES
CONTOURS AT 50 FT INTERVALS

[p. 2-A]

Fig. 1 Relief Map of Malt
and Gozo.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
●103
133

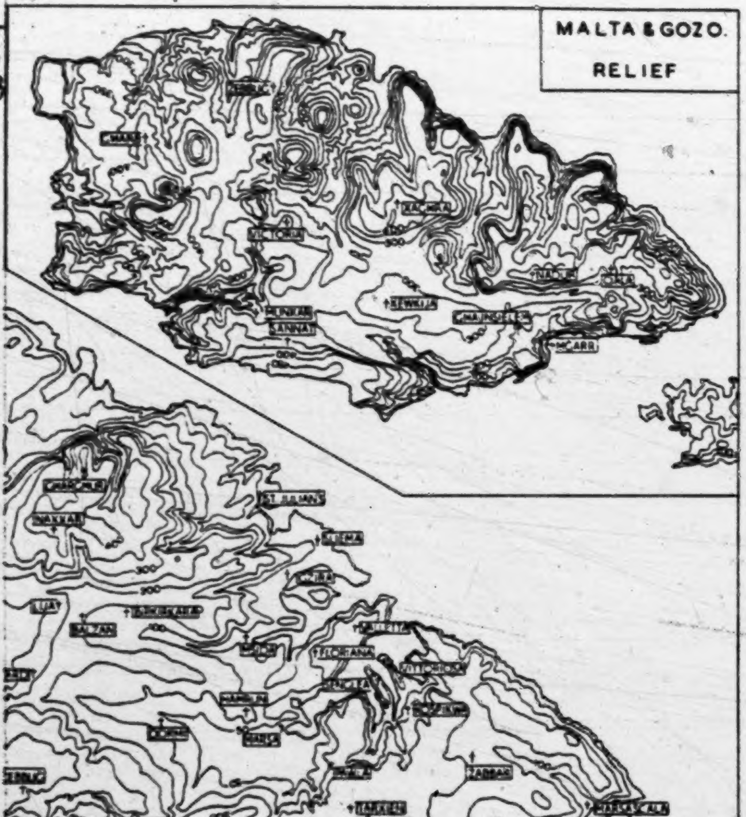

MALTA & GOZO.
RELIEF
ZEBBUG
VICTORIA
XAGHRA
NADUR
QALA
XEWKIJA
GHAJNSIELEM
MGARR
MUNXAR
SANNAT
GHARGHUR
NAXXAR
ST JULIANS
SLIEMA
GZIRA
BIRKIRKARA
BALZAN
VALLETTA
FLORIANA
VITTORIOSA
SENGLEA
HAMRUN
COSPICUA
QORMI
MARSA
PAOLA
ZABBAR
TARXIEN
MARSASCALA
LUQA
ZEITUN
MQABBA
GUDJA
GHAXAQ
KIRKOP
MARSAXLOKK
QRENDI
SAFI
ZURRIEQ
BIRZEBBUGA
300
J.C.D.

Fig. 1

Relief Map of Malta and Gozo.

[p2-B]

104

MALTESE ORTHOGRAPHY, PRONUNCIATION AND PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

The notes which follow are intended to assist the reader in the pronunciation of place names and other Maltese words occurring in the text. Certain letter symbols occur in the Maltese alphabet which are not found in English, while others have pronunciations very different from the English ones.

The special symbols involved are as follows: -

Ħ, ħ. Where this letter occurs alone, it is strongly aspirated. The nearest equivalent in English is the "h" in "house" but in Maltese the aspiration is even stronger. Thus Mellieħa will be pronounced Mellie-ha.

GĦ, għ. This is, in effect, a single letter and represents the Arabic 'ain. It is now almost silent in standard Maltese but is sounded, as in Arabic, in some rural dialects.

Ċ,ċ; Ġ,ġ; Ż,ż. A dot placed over these consonants indicates a softening in pronunciation. Thus "c" occurs in Maltese only in loan words where it retains the pronunciation of the original language, while "ċ" represents "ch" as in English "church". "G" is hard as in English "garden", "ġ" soft as in English "jam". "Z" is pronounced as "ts" in English "its", "ż" as "z" in English "zebra".

Consonants with "non-English" values are: -
J, j pronounced as "y" in English "yet".

Q, q in standard Maltese has assumed a glottal value but is still pronounced "k" (as in Arabic) in some local dialects.

X, x is universally pronounced "sh" as in English "show".

There is some slight variation in the pronunciation of vowels but the following values are predominant: -

A,a as "a" in English "far"
E,e as "e" in English "bet"
I,i as "ee" in English "feel"
O,o as "o" in English "lock"
U,u as "oo" in English "boot"

When followed by j, "e" and "a" have special values: -

-aj - pronounced as "i" in English "ice"
-ej - pronounced as "e" in English "they"
-ie - pronounced as in English "pier"

103 Space does not permit of any but the most cursory mention of the significance of the great range of Maltese place-name elements. As a result of the help received from Professor J. Aquilina of the Royal University of Malta the authors were able to increase their understanding of Maltese life and landscape by using to some extent this and other philological evidence. The reader will similarly gain in understanding by an appreciation of even a few place-name meanings.

COMMON PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

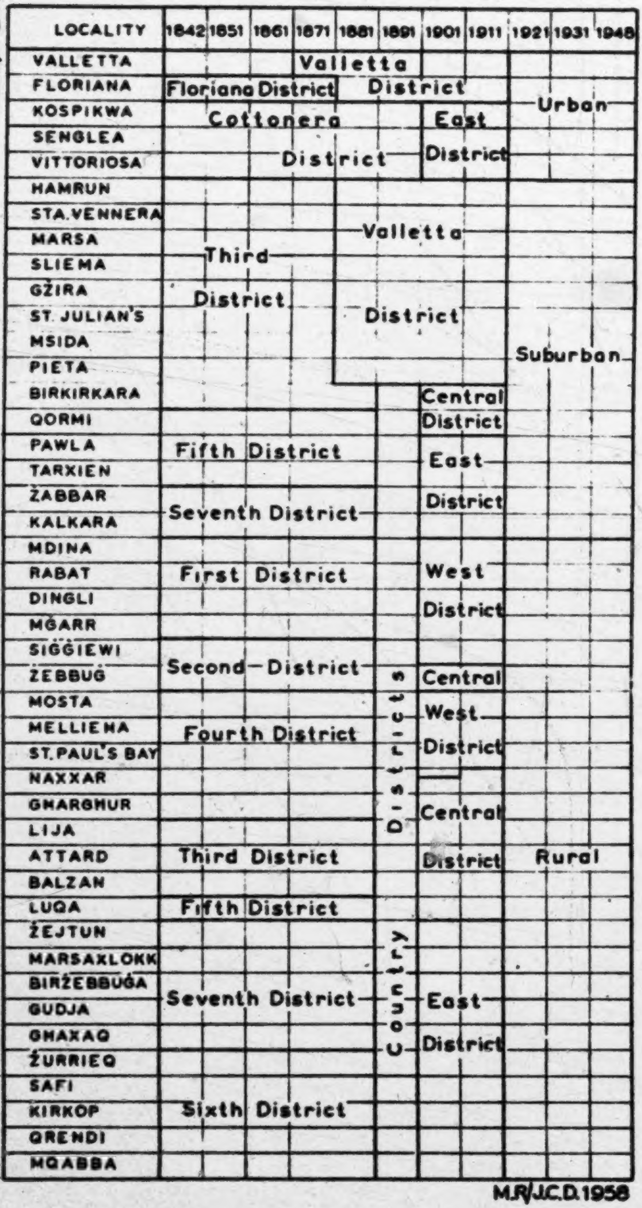
Aħrax	Rugged
Baħar	Sea
Bir	Well; but could also be a phonetic corruption of "Bur" = natural pasture land
Blata	A rock
Casal	Village
Ġebel	Rocky Hill
Għajn	Spring
Għar	Cave
Ġnien	Orchard or garden
Ħal	Village
il-, iċ-, id-, in-, ir-, is-, it-, ix-, iż-	The
Kbir	Large; Great
Marsa	Harbour
Misrah	Wide open space
Nadur	Look-out point
Qala	Bay or inlet
Qortin	A dry, flat-topped promontory or bluff
Ramla	Sandy Bay
Ras	Headland
Rdum	Undercliff
ta'	Of
tal-, taċ-, tad-, tan-, tar-, tas-, tat-, tax-, taż-	Of the
Torri	Tower
Wied	Valley
Xagħra	Wasteland

Several further place-name groups may be distinguished. Some obviously refer to topographic features: Wied il-Għajn; valley of the spring: Wied il-Kbir; the great valley. Others are related to crops: Wied il-Ħemsija; valley of the chickpeas. Another group refer to stock rearing: tal-Merħla (the place) of the flock of sheep; or to cultivation in a general sense; Wied il-Ġnejna; valley of gardens or orchards. In other cases uncultivated vegetation is referred to: Besbesija; the place where fennel grows, or Wied ta, Għajn Riħana; valley of the myrtle spring. Again there is a group of names emphasizing some feature of the landscape in general: il-Wilġa; land overlooking a valley: il-Miżieb;(land with) drains. Many others are derived either from proper names; tal-lombardi, nicknames; Wied Babu; or Saint's names; San Rokku. In the last case, the names are often derived from a local church or chapel and care must be taken to avoid false conclusions. Tas-Silġ; (of ice or snow) refers to the chapel of the Madonna of the snows and not to a meteorological phenomenon.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

*175
● 103
634
659



MALTA – GROUPING of LOCALITIES into CENSUS DISTRICTS

LOCALITY	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1948
VALLETTA	Valletta District								Urban		
FLORIANA	Floriana District										
KOSPIKWA	Cottonera District						East District				
SENGLEA											
VITTORIOSA											
HAMRUN	Third District				Valletta District				Suburban		
STA. VENNERA											
MARSA											
SLIEMA											
GŻIRA											
ST. JULIAN'S											
MSIDA											
PIETA											
BIRKIRKARA						Country Districts	Central District				
QORMI	Fifth District										
PAWLA							East District				
TARXIEN											
ŻABBAR	Seventh District										
KALKARA											
MDINA	First District						West District		Rural		
RABAT											
DINGLI											
MĠARR											
SIĠĠIEWI	Second District										
ŻEBBUĠ							Central West District				
MOSTA	Fourth District										
MELLIEHA											
ST. PAUL'S BAY											
NAXXAR							Central District				
GHARGHUR											
LIJA	Third District										
ATTARD											
BALZAN											
LUQA	Fifth District						East District				
ŻEJTUN	Seventh District										
MARSAXLOKK											
BIRŻEBBUĠA											
GUDJA											
GHAXAQ											
ŻURRIEQ	Sixth District										
SAFI											
KIRKOP											
QRENDI											
MQABBA											

M.R./J.C.D. 1958

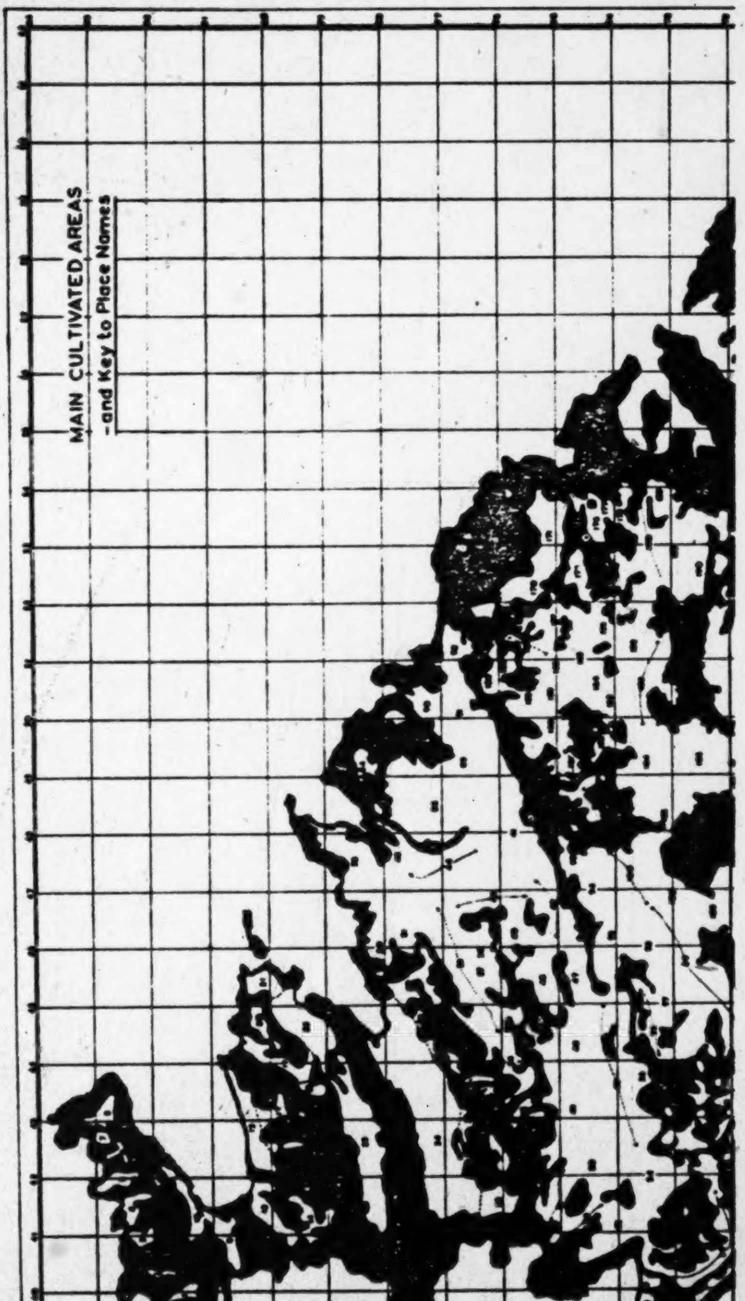
Fig. 36 Malta: Grouping of Localities into Census Districts.

[p. 134-C]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

* 311
102
103
●


MAIN CULTIVATED AREAS
-and Key to Place Names

[p.192-A]

Fig. 69 Main Cultivated Areas and

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
103●

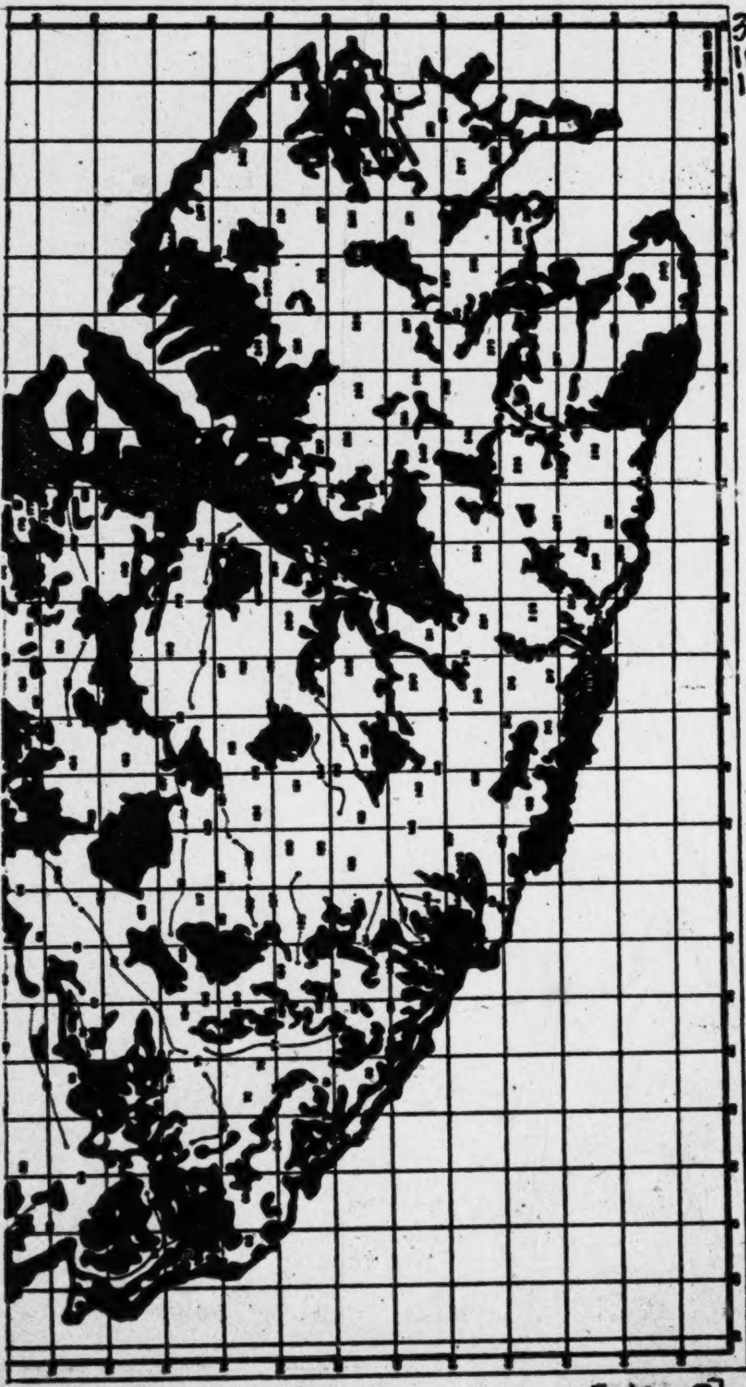


Fig. 69 Main Cultivated
d Areas and Key to Place Names: Malta.

[p.192-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

241*
311*
[102]
[133]

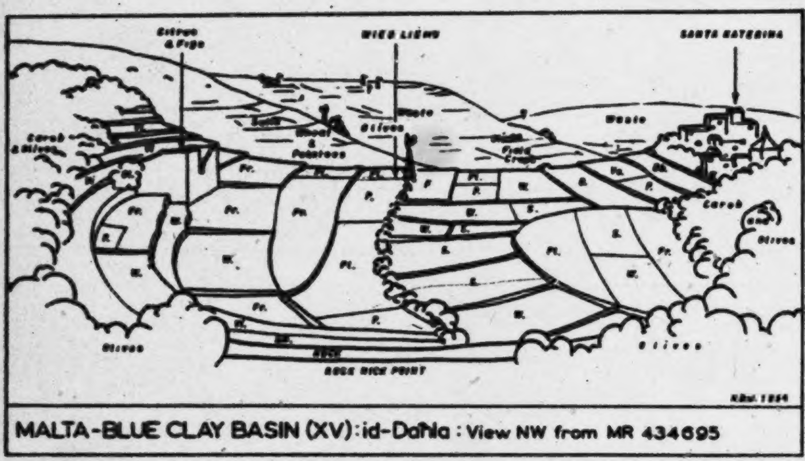


Fig. 112 Malta: Blue Clay Basin: Wied l-Iemu.

has, developed within it, the large solution hollow of Hofret ir-Rizz (75) (Fig. 111C). Bounded by a low Coralline cliff under which lie five farmhouses, and infilled with deep, red soils, this almost circular depression has often been erroneously identified as a circular fault. It is intensively cultivated for potato, vegetable and fruit crops and sub-division of the wind-pump irrigated land is extreme.

Around Hofret ir-Rizz lie dry-farmed fields of cereals and sulla interspersed with wasteland. The name of neighbouring Misraħ tas-Suffara ('the open place of the whistle' - a possible reference to shepherds' pipes) gives an indication of the character of the open, non-irrigated upland here and over the remainder of the region, where dry-farming and *xagħra*-grazing areas are interspersed. Most of the eastern promontories of Xagħra ta l-Iaqof (129) and Ġebel Ċiantar are so used. Similarly, behind the Upper Coralline cliff overlooking the sea, extends an area of virgin karst, abandoned land and some small reclaimed plots. [103]

Between these more exposed lands are many small pockets, intensively cultivated under potatoes, legumes and a relatively large number of vegetables. The small, walled fields cluster around groups of wind-pumps and tanks as at ix-Xagħra ta'Swatar (Fig. 111A) on the Rabat Plateau (109). Irrigation water, extracted by wind- and motor-pumps, is available almost everywhere on these uplands. The density of pumps suggests that extraction is dangerously large (see also Chapter I C). Already in 1955 farmers in the tal-Pitkal district (82) were obliged to stagger periods of pumping and a large number of abandoned wind-pumps emphasise the hydrological instability. In 1956 the Maltese Government, in order to avoid such dangers, imposed a general ban on unlicensed well-drilling.

In this region, the urge to cultivate intensively results from the demands of Rabat as a consuming and marketing centre. At Busugrilla (105) (Fig. 111B) this is manifested in very specialised market-gardening around a flourishing hamlet which stands on the Fiddien road. Well linked by roads to the rest of the island, possessing in Mdina-Rabat the old capital which is still of considerable importance, and also carrying much dispersed and hamlet settlement, these uplands stand out from other Upper Coralline regions by reason of their more intensive land use.

On the spur of Ghar Ram (199) and tal-Handaq (200), the intensity of cultivation 241*
decreases eastward, cereals and sulla becoming dominant. The even slopes
of tal-Hlas (198) drop northward to the more level Ghammieri district of the 311*
Wied is-Sewda. Gradient has little effect on the selection of crops grown in these areas. Cereals and sulla dominant throughout although potatoes assume a greater importance than on the summit. In contrast the southern edge of the ridge is more abrupt, falling sharply to the Wied Qirda. Precipitous terraces, standing above a storm-water channel cut in Lower Coralline rocks are almost completely abandoned. The only pocket of fruit cultivation in this region lies in the Wied Qirda above the main incision and close to Żebbuġ.

Scattered settlement of farmsteads and a few small hamlets is generally [361]
aligned along roads and tracks. The great majority of the land-holders, however, live in the casal of Żebbuġ which combines some urban functions with those of village settlement.

XVIII (d). THE SIĠĠIEWI REGION

In many ways this region is a counterpart of that of Żebbuġ. The high plains west of Siġġiewi sweep south from ta'Brija (133) to tal-Bajjada to merge with the open Rdum tal-Lunzjata. Intensive dry-farming of cereals, sulla and vegetables is characteristic. Onion cultivation is of particular importance here as throughout the region.

From this western platform, the ridges of tal-Bordin (135), tal-Ghaqba (205) and ta'Haxxluq carry relatively high land to the east. Tal-Bordin is noteworthy only for the absence of early potatoes, possibly because of its rather exposed
position. The place-name element *nadur*, meaning a look-out point, is significantly [103]
attached to the fields on this small ridge. The main ridge of tal-Ghaqba, carrying a variety of crops, is generally similar to tal-Handaq on the other side of Wied Qirda. The crop range is similar on ta'Haxxluq ridge, though the fields are generally smaller and the country more broken (see Fig. 119). In these eastern districts, the commercial farming element is most strongly represented by onion growing which is even more extensive here than around Żebbuġ.

Siġġiewi itself was established on the south-western edge of the central 311*
settlement zone of Malta. The casal and outlying farmsteads were to some
extent influenced by the need for protection from corsair raids. Walled 361
enclosures and a few defensive towers indicate past insecurity. Siġġiewi still lies off the busiest lines of communication and the south-western part of the region is one of the least accessible districts of the central lands of Malta. Here, small hamlets cluster around isolated churches as at tal-Providenza (150).

XVIII (e). THE QORMI REGION

The district around Qormi is atypical of the Central Region as a whole. A 241*
considerable number of motor-driven pumps extract water from the fault-
fissured Globigerina beds and irrigable land constitutes a large proportion of 311*
the total area. Vegetable and fruit crops, the latter including citrus and even such exotics as the banana are grown intensively in this sheltered district (Fig. 120). The Qormi basin is a westward continuation of the Marsa lowland, an area of alluvial deposition (see Chapter III). Large farms with irrigated gardens surround the large casal (Fig. 117B).

C.XIX. THE SOUTHERN REGION

A highland ridge with an average altitude of more than 400 feet extends eastwards from the Upper Coralline scarp at Lunzjata along the southern coast as far as Bubeqra. Further east and towards the interior of the island, the land falls away in gentle slopes. Although true wasteland is confined to a coastal belt coinciding with outcrops of Lower and down-faulted Upper Coralline beds,
much land has elsewhere been taken out of cultivation. The airfields of Luqa and [508]
Hal Far, still in use and their as yet un-reclaimed wartime extensions, together
with large-scale quarrying on either side of Mqabba, have sterilised a great [316]
deal of land.

369 formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place
[103] names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements - Żebbuġ, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people. Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship. The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce, the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

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464 Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical revolutions of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available. The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such
[169] as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years, the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

178
182
[464]
[169] A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent. of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture. This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954 totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields, storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieħa, and even this, hidden from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 80 years. Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it commands. Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

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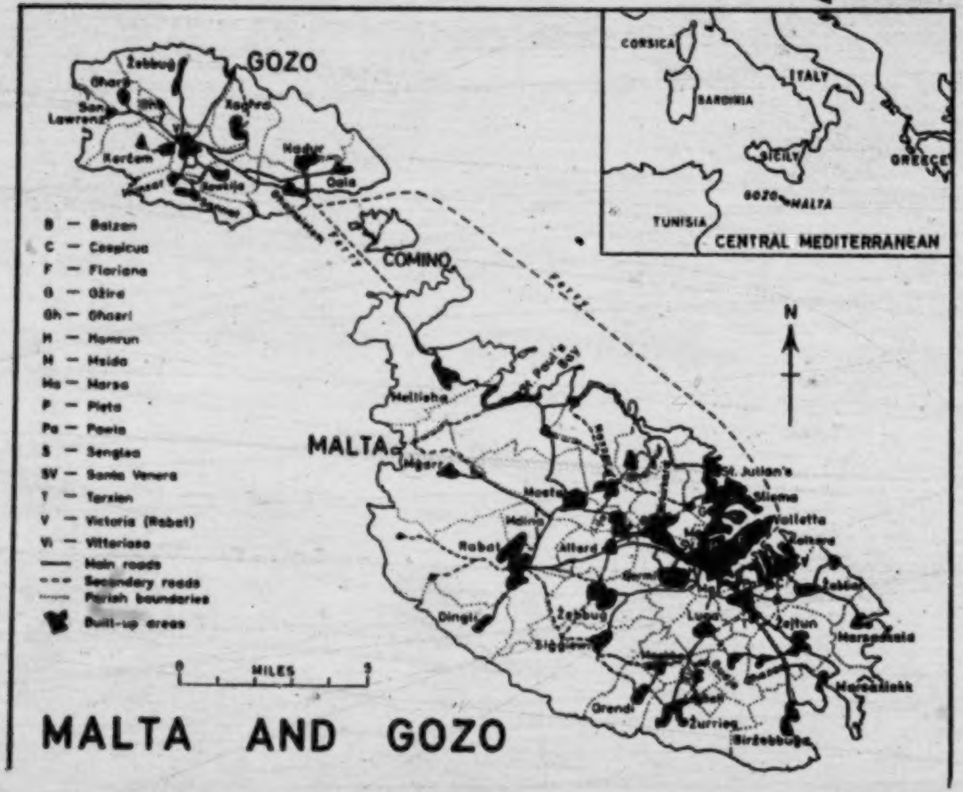
182
454 Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways. Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 25 years ago, who would

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965

EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P.2]

102
103
491
487
131
311


GOZO
Żebbuġ
Għarb
San Lawrenz
Xagħra
Kerċem
Nadur
Xewkija
Qala
COMINO
Ferry
Ferry
MALTA
Mellieħa
St. Paul's Bay
Mġarr
Mosta
Mdina
Attard
Rabat
Dingli
Żebbuġ
Siġġiewi
Qormi
Luqa
Żejtun
Żabbar
St. Julian's
Sliema
Valletta
Kalkara
Marsaskala
Marsaxlokk
Qrendi
Żurrieq
Birżebbuġa
N
0
MILES
5
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ITALY
SICILY
GREECE
TUNISIA
GOZO
MALTA
CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN
B — Balzan
C — Cospicua
F — Floriana
G — Gżira
Gh — Għaari
H — Hamrun
M — Msida
Ma — Marsa
P — Pieta
Pa — Paola
S — Senglea
SV — Santa Venera
T — Tarxien
V — Victoria (Rabat)
Vi — Vittoriosa
Main roads
Secondary roads
Parish boundaries
Built-up areas

MALTA AND GOZO

proportional to the number of outsiders resident in it. Not only 591 does loyalty to friends and relations in a man's village of birth 621 often take precedence over new ties established by his marriage into a strange village, but it is not unusual for a man married into another village to continue to play an active part in the social life of his native village. Conversely, an outsider is seldom called upon or attempts to join the clubs and associations of his wife's village. Thus, only 3 per cent of the committee members of the fifteen band and social clubs in the sample villages I studied were outsiders, although about 18 per cent of the adult male population resident in these villages were born elsewhere. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the committee members were now living outside the villages in which they were born and hold office.

TABLE 2. Adults Born Outside their Place of Residence[1] [162]

Place of Residence	*Percentage born elsewhere*	*Males*	*Females*
Urban/Suburban	66%	45%	55%
Maltese Villages	16	52	48
Gozitan Villages	15	39	61

Because of the many ties which bind people to their villages of birth, an adult who moves into his wife's village remains an outsider for many years. The village will probably not give him a [551] distinctive village nickname, and he will be known simply as the husband of his wife, or perhaps by the name of his native village. Although the village may ignore his outside origin for much of the time, his place of birth is certain to be remembered and held against him by his enemies, should be become involved in a dispute. The children of an outsider, however, become full [851] members of the village by virtue of their birth there, and their connection with the community through the family of their mother (or father). By the time his children begin to grow up and get married, the outsider is usually firmly established as a full member of the community.

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[1] This table was compiled from data made available to me by the Principal Government Electoral Officer. It covers a random sample drawn from a sample of two suburban communities (Sliema and Balzan), seven Maltese villages (Żebbuġ, Gharghur, Gudja, Mosta, Qrendi, Dingli and Żurrieq) and three Gozitan villages (Qala, Xaghra and Gharb). [103] [127]

In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to
103 him,[1] after 1850 (in Naxxar, Gharghur, Kirkop and Xaghra, for
175 example) he was chosen as patron of the new parish churches of
621, Kalkara, Qala and Msida. Moreover, four parishes have secondary
776 feasts dedicated to him (Rabat, Ghaxaq, Kirkop and Żebbuġ).
794 Besides these Gharghur and Siġġiewi had St. Joseph partiti which
796 succumbed to the 1935 Church regulations.

The identification of secondary partiti in general with St.
621 Joseph is also perhaps reflected in the colour most have chosen as
794 their symbol. It is blue, the colour of the banner of the Con-
822 fraternity of St. Joseph. The supporters of many secondary partiti, even if their saint is the Virgin Mary, wave blue scarves about to show their loyalty to it. Their rivals display red scarves, after the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose members support the titular saint.

463 The correlation between partiti and occupational class is also
621 shown in the high proportion of village priests who are sons of
793, families supporting the titular feasts. I once asked the leader of a
794 secondary partit why this was so. He replied that it was only natural since the families of the titular partiti were in much closer contact with the parish priest. Thus their sons, rather than those of rivals, more often became his young helpers and altar boys and received the necessary recommendations to the seminary and other church-run schools. From there, some became priests, and others assumed positions of leadership with the various associations. Other informants suggested it was because the 'best' families support the titular saints, and therefore can afford the additional school fees and loss of earning power that are involved in having their sons become priests.

Of the 41 priests born and now resident in Żurrieq, Kirkop, Qrendi, Mqabba, Luqa, Ghaxaq and Żebbuġ, 33 (80 per cent) are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. This percentage gains added importance by the fact that in each of these villages the secondary partit is either equal to or larger than the titular partit. The exception is Żebbuġ, where the secondary partit is decidedly smaller than the titular one. In Farruġ, though the local priest is from a St. Roque family, all the offices connected with the parish church, and 23 of the 30 key positions with Catholic Action, the Football Club and the Labour Committee, are in the hands of St. Martin supporters. Thus the members of titular partiti are not only closer to established authority, they often become part of it.

[1] [i.e. St. Joseph,—Analyst]

proportion of clerics and nuns in the Sixth Electoral District 463
helps to explain the relatively low Labour poll there. It is also a 665
significant factor in explaining the overwhelming defeat of the 666
MLP in Gozo. These two districts have the highest proportion of clerics in the country. The Fourth District, in contrast, has the lowest.

TABLE 7. 1962 Elections:
Occupational Class and Voting Behaviour[1]

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS[2]	SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (As percentage of total lab. force)			PERCENTAGE LABOUR VOTES
	Professional[3]	*Skilled*	*Agricultural*	
IInd (Senglea, etc.)	4 (3)	45	4	56
IVth (Żurrieq, etc.)	3 (2)	34	11	47
VIth (Birkirkara, etc.)	6 (4)	33	11	24
Xth (Gozo)	7 (6)	16	38	6
All Districts	5 (3)	32	11	34

IV

It will have been observed that there is a certain superficial 621
similarity between the reasons given here for belonging to the 665
MLP and those suggested in the preceding chapter for recruitment into the secondary festa partiti. One might expect therefore that in comparison with titular partiti, secondary partiti would have a higher proportion of Labour supporters among their members. Unfortunately, owing to the disturbed political situation prevailing at the time, I was not able to gather satisfactory systematic
data on this point. Almost all informants with whom I discussed [124]
the matter suggested that secondary partiti did in fact have more pro-Mintoff members than their rivals. But the situation is not quite as straightforward as it might appear. To begin with, the statements of informants varied according to their own political
beliefs and their position in relation to the festa partiti. Rivals [575]
generally tried to place each other in an unfavourable light. Thus [578]
an anti-MLP member of a band club supporting a titular feast

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[1] Source: 1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities, pp. 40–111; and *The Malta Government Gazette* (3 March 1962), pp. 583–94.

[2] *IInd* (Cospicua, Senglea, Vittoriosa, Kalkara, Żabbar, M'skala), *IVth* (Żurrieq, Safi, Qrendi, Mqabba, Kirkop, B'bugia, Żejtun, M'xlokk), *VIth* (Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija, Attard, Naxxar, Gharghur). [103]

[3] Percentage of priests, monks and nuns in parenthesis.

142 colour, without risk of considerable confusion, where work had necessarily to be done, sometimes under ideal conditions, sometimes in glaring sunlight, and sometimes in the not too well-lighted interior of a Maltese house. Both in hair and eye colour e Zurrico stands by itself. In that village one man in three has black hair, and two have brown. In the rest of Malta and Gozo the reverse is true. About 1 per cent. fair-haired people are found alike in Zurrico and elsewhere. In Zurrico two men out of three have brown eyes and there are slight odds in favour of the third man having hazel eyes rather than blue. In Siggewe, where black hair is slightly less common than elsewhere, out of ten men, five tend to have brown eyes, four hazel, and one blue. Elsewhere in Malta blue eyes are about twice as common, that is to say out [103] of ten men five have brown eyes, three hazel, and two blue. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the name Zurrico, connected with the root *azrak*, means blue, and I was told that the village was so called because blue eyes were more common there than elsewhere.

In Gozo, although the hair colour does not differ materially from that of Malta, in round numbers, out of ten men seven have brown eyes, two hazel, and one blue.

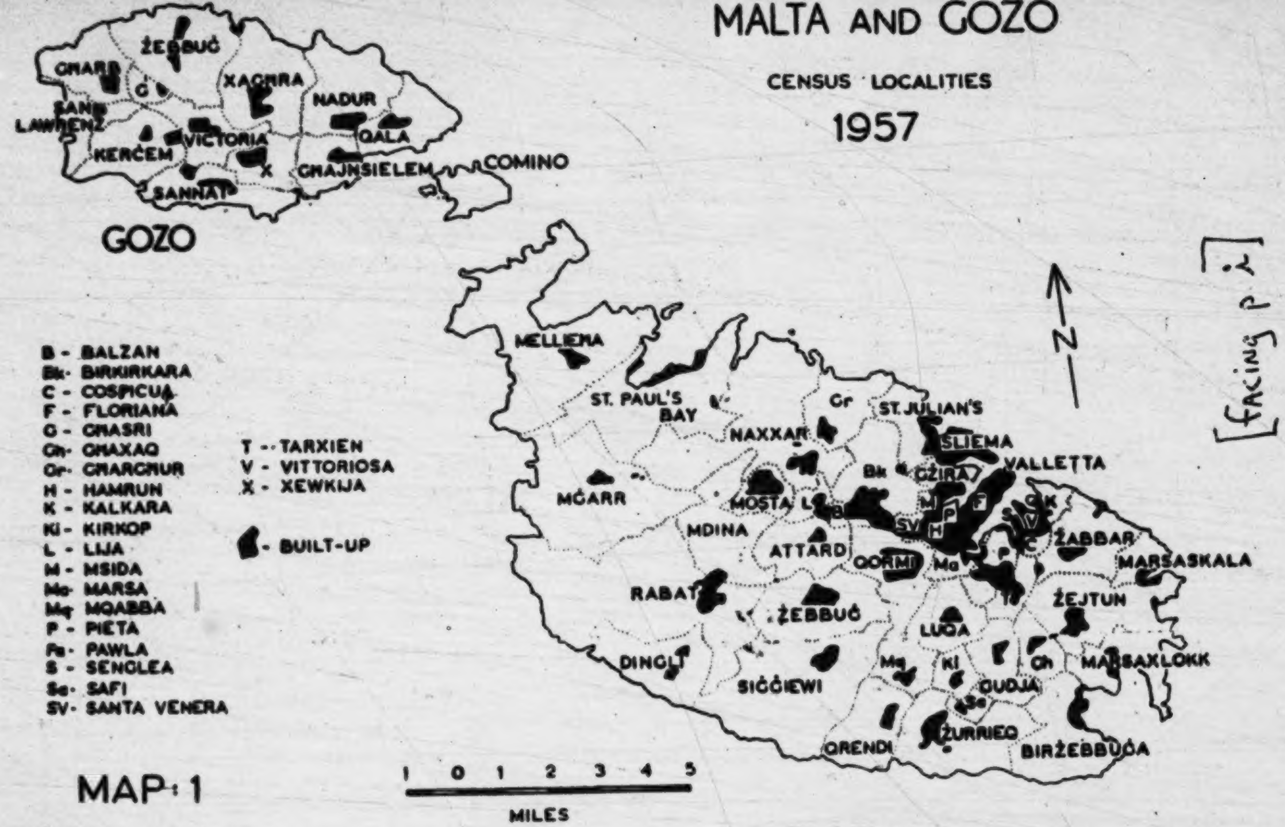
In Malta the hair colour of the women does not differ to any great extent from that of the men, although fair-haired women appear to be slightly more uncommon. Brown eyes, however, seem to be much commoner, and hazel and blue eyes about half as common. With so small a series, however, it is possible that this result is merely illusory.

Comparative material from the Eastern Mediterranean shows very great discrepancy with these data, especially in relation to the number of blue eyes, which are nearly twice as common in Malta as they are in Cyprus, and more than three times as common as they are in Crete. The number of fair-haired persons in Malta is small, smaller even than in Cyprus, whereas generally speaking fair-haired people, though always remarkable and much admired, are not uncommon in Greek lands, not only among gods and goddesses, but even among the ordinary folk.

It would be interesting to correlate these differences in pigmentation with differences in climatic conditions. Up to the present, however, we have not succeeded in finding any generalization which would fit the figures, and the matter must remain *sub judice* until further data is available.

141 142 We have so far been dealing with hair colour and eye colour separately. By the use of Parsons' index (36) it is possible to take both into consideration. Parsons takes the percentage of dark brown and black hair, adds the percentage of dark eyes, and divides the result by two. This final result he terms his colour index. Where the eyes have been graded in three shades, *e.g.* blue, neutral, and brown, or some similar classification, he includes half the neutral group as well as the brown eyes under the heading dark. As our eye colour was graded in this way we have

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6



MALTA AND GOZO

CENSUS LOCALITIES

1957

GOZO
ŻEBBUĠ
GHARB
G
SAN LAWRENZ
XAGHRA
NADUR
QALA
VICTORIA
KERĊEM
X
GHAJNSIELEM
COMINO
SANNAT
MELLIEHA
ST. PAUL'S BAY
Gr
ST. JULIAN'S
NAXXAR
SLIEMA
VALLETTA
Bk
GZIRA
M
P
F
MĠARR
MOSTA
L
B
SV
H
S
V
K
MDINA
ATTARD
QORMI
Ma
P
C
ŻABBAR
MARSASKALA
RABAT
ŻEBBUĠ
T
ŻEJTUN
LUQA
DINGLI
Mq
Ki
Gh
MARSAXLOKK
SIĠĠIEWI
GUDJA
Se
QRENDI
ŻURRIEQ
BIRŻEBBUĠA
N
B - BALZAN
Bk - BIRKIRKARA
C - COSPICUA
F - FLORIANA
G - GHASRI
Gh - GHAXAQ
Gr - GHARGHUR
H - HAMRUN
K - KALKARA
Ki - KIRKOP
L - LIJA
M - MSIDA
Ma - MARSA
Mq - MQABBA
P - PIETA
Pa - PAWLA
S - SENGLEA
Se - SAFI
SV - SANTA VENERA
T - TARXIEN
V - VITTORIOSA
X - XEWKIJA
BUILT-UP
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MAP 1

[facing p. i]

[frontispiece]

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103

36 This type of core area therefore, as defined in these examples is the basic pattern in all villages throughout Malta and Gozo.

103 361 178 In a consideration of the present scene within the Maltese village it is essential to be aware, at all stages of the argument, of the evolution of the settlements concerned. In the Żurrieq case it is clear that the main village block is extending in several directions, notably northward past the school and south-westward towards the small hamlet of Nigret. This latter is already linked by a continuous built-up stretch to the main village and thus contrasts with Bubaqra which remains morphologically

[578] independent. In the case of some of the larger villages, Żebbuġ and Żejtun are two notable examples, the completion of this kind of merging of nuclei accounts for present intra-village sectionalism. Thus Żebbuġ (Malta) is a compound of three ancient village nuclei, Ħal Muxi, Hal Mula and Hal Dwieli. The very title of 'Hal', or 'village', still given to these parts of what is now a single village reflects their original separate independence. They have grown together over the centuries and have been unified by the construction of a Parish Church and the appearance of a new 'township' core in the central area. Similarly Żejtun has three component parts, Ta'Fuq (Upper), Ta'Isfel (Lower), and Ta' Wara l-Knisja (Behind the Church): the present large Parish Church has been built in the space remaining between the merging older nuclei. The distinction here is clearly morphological rather than administrative but is nevertheless not to be ignored in a study of social structure and affiliation in a static and conservative community.

Merging between fully independent villages has also occurred. Balzan-Birkirkara and Pawla-Tarxien are examples, but here the administrative and affiliatory distinctions have been maintained. At a higher level still the merging of the settlements comprising the Urban area, begun in the nineteenth century but more rapid in the twentieth, is the major feature of modern settlement growth in Malta (B/561).

Rabat in Malta, and Rabat (Victoria) in Gozo, illustrate another aspect of settlement evolution where morphological

[712] facts bear on social structure. In both cases the 'suburb of the citadel' ('Ir-Rabat tal-Imdina') grew to large-village size outside the Walls [illegible] the central fortified stronghold of each Island. In Malta, Rabat remained as the main rural centre after the capital had moved to Valletta, with ancient Mdina itself remaining a quiet residential back-water.

000 In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an

712 museum-piece; the latter ruined apart from the Cathedral and the Law Courts.

361/175 (2) Attached to each of the two fortresses there grew up at an early date suburbs which themselves achieved the status of independent settlements. Rabat is still an important locus for the farming community of rural Malta, while the Rabat in Gozo (or Victoria as it is now known) is the largest settlement in that Island and the only one with any urban features.

361/175 ● 103 (3) The medieval town-villages of Malta, other than Rabat, were granted parochial status in 1436. This pattern of large agricultural villages formed the basis of the economic life of the times and even today they retain a strong flavour of the "Old Malta". They were Birkirkara, Qormi (split 1935), Żejtun, Żurrieq, Żebbuġ, Gudja, Naxxar and Siġġiewi. The parallel group of villages in Gozo included Xewkija (1678), Gharb (1679), and Żebbuġ, Xaghra, Nadur and Sannat (all 1688).

(4) Soon after the arrival of the Knights in 1530 building in the Three Cities and on the Xiberras Peninsula began. Thus Senglea (1581) and Cospicua (1584) were given parochial status (Vittoriosa had been one of the two 'parishes' of 1090) and the Valletta parishes of St. Paul and St. Dominic were established on the Peninsula in 1585 and 1587.

(5) Chronologically, the next development was the 'filling-in' of the rural scene with new village centres during the rule of the Knights. In all, thirteen such parishes were established in Malta and ten of these were in what are now the Fringe and Inner Rural areas. They were Tarxien and Kirkop (both 1592), Lija (1594), Gharghur, Safi and Mqabba (all 1598), Mosta (1608), Żabbar (1615), Qrendi (1618), Ghaxaq (1626), Luqa (1634), Balzan (1655), and Dingli (1678).

(6) After this spate of parish-building in the hundred years 1580-1680 there was a gap of a century and a half before any new parishes were created. The list then reflects very closely the growth of the Urban area under British rule after 1800 (v. Appendix 1A, and Map 3). Of the eighteen new parishes in Malta eleven were Urban and three in the Fringe zone. The new Urban settlements were Floriana (1844), Msida & Pieta (1867), Sliema (1878, 1918, and 1940), Hamrun (1881), St. Julian's (1891), Kalkara (1898) Pawla (1910), Marsa and Gżira (both 1913); in the Fringe zone came Birżebbuġa (1913), Santa Venera (1918), and Marsaskala (1949). Other foundations in Malta were Marsaxlokk (1897) and the three new villages in the north -

361 Mellieha (1841), Mġarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
175 In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kerčem (1885),
103 San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911),
Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

17 In the period reviewed the major development has been
361 the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the
Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth
369 and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2 - The Farmer and Farming

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DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525)
241 have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is
423 the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either
individually or as the principal person of an agricultural
[114] enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer.
311 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact
423 that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types
of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fisher-
361 men live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi. Socially this residential distribution is important since only in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[413] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
[512] gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economi-
463 cally lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
162 basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
the present official financial assistance, is producing
178 exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger
generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor the way of life based on it.

APPENDIX 2 A : The Malta Dockyard, Employees by Locality of Residence, March 1957.

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LOCALITY	Maltese Workers	Gainfully-Occupied	%	United Kingdom Workers
Pawla	1,261	3115	38.8	20
Żejtun	995	3506	28.4	1
Żabbar	961	3461	31	1
Cospicua	960	2599	37	6
Hamrun	715	6594	11.25	5
Sliema	573	6660	8.6	232
Senglea	537	1408	38.1	17
Tarxien	467	2184	21.6	-
Vittoriosa	461	1216	38	4
Valletta	444	5927	7.5	2
Birkirkara	441	5128	11.8	5
Qormi	408	4401	9.3	-
Rabat	383	4293	8.7	1
Żurrieq	345	2154	16	-
Marsa	343	3023	11.4	-
Żebbuġ	248	2554	9.7	-
Msida	240	1725	13.9	15
Kalkara	218	616	35.4	3
Birżebbuġa	215	1285	16.7	1
Gżira	214	2214	9.6	26
Luqa	173	1263	13.7	-
Floriana	172	1755	9.75	5
Mosta	169	2412	7	1
St. Julian's	155	2153	7.2	44
Ghaxaq	154	838	18.5	-
Siġġiewi	148	1670	8.85	-
Gudja	104	514	19.9	-
Dingli	94	781	12	-
Marsaxlokk	83	484	17.2	-
Marsaskala	83	v.Żabbar		2
Pieta	79	1062	7.45	3
Balzan	76	761	10	10
Lija	75	685	11	4
Qrendi	73	768	9.5	-
Naxxar	72	1582	4.55	3
Mqabba	68	634	10.7	-
Attard	55	965	5.7	1
Mellieha	50	1279	3.9	-
Kirkop	50	372	13.4	-
Safi	29	257	11.3	-
Gharghur	28	606	4.55	-
St. Paul's Bay	27	1027	2.33	3
GOZO	25	7893	0.32	-
Santa Venera	25	v.Hamrun		1
Mġarr	24	784	3.06	-
Mdina	11	v.Rabat		1
not known	61			-
	12,572			417

Notes - The distribution of Maltese workers as a percentage of total gainfully-occupied population by localities is shown on Map 4.

- Sources; see Note (7). Gainfully-occupied figures from B/168.

APPENDIX 3 : THE BUILT-UP AREA

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"A Township is the definite urban-type built-up nucleus of a census locality" (v. B/166, p.36). On this basis the 'township' area and population within each census locality may be distinguished:

CENSUS LOCALITIES	LOCALITIES		"TOWNSHIPS"	
	LAND AREA. sq. miles A	POPULATION. B	LAND AREA, as % of A.	POPULATION. as % of B.
Valletta	0.281	18,202	100	100
Cospicua	0.241	9,095	100	100
Senglea	0.057	5,085	100	100
Vittoriosa	0.205	4,242	100	100
Gżira	0.411	8,545	38.0	99.3
Sliema	0.485	23,399	100	100
Floriana	0.341	5,811	100	100
Pawla	1.088	11,424	24.8	100
Marsa	0.883	10,672	39.6	100
Hamrun	0.360	16,895	73.1	100
Msida	0.368	6,587	53.3	98.9
Kalkara	0.471	2,101	28.9	92.9
Pieta	0.200	4,078	78.5	100
St. Julians	1,635	8,285	17.9	70.8
Balzan	0.238	2,734	68.6	100
Luqa	1.812	5,362	5.6	91.2
Birkirkara	2.736	16,987	18.2	90.5
Tarxien	0.850	7,708	12.5	86.2
St. Venera	0.415	5,248	34.9	75.1
Qormi	2.412	14,069	9.9	95.6
Birżebbuġa	2.994	5,297	4.7	88.1
Żabbar & M'skala	3.255	11,803	9.5	81.3
Żejtun	3.777	11,885	5.9	87.2
Lija	0.547	2,119	24.1	98.3
Mqabba	1.242	2,086	5	97.5
Marsaxlokk	1.052	1,469	1.9	92.9
Żurrieq	3.536	6,837	4.3	92.8
Ghaxaq	1.121	2,830	6.8	96.5
Attard	2.090	2,603	7.2	97.2
Victoria	1.835	6,357	19.6	97
Mdina	2.473	823	1.1	100
Mosta	1.900	7,377	14	97.9
Żebbuġ	3.167	7,969	10.2	99.7
Ghajnsielem	1.414	1,830	6.9	98
Gudja	1.709	1,712	2.6	97.4
Qrendi	2.587	2,155	2.2	97.7
Kirkop	0.717	1,204	6.3	100
Naxxar	6.538	4,688	2.7	83
Rabat	8.048	12,792	2.9	82
Xewkija	1.288	3,281	12.9	99.9
Gharghur	2.023	1,813	2	87.3
Mellieha	7.808	4,290	0.9	71.9
Siġġiewi	6.230	5,065	2.4	96.4
Sannat & Munxar	2.167	1,658	4.9	99.6
Nadur	2.487	4,136	7.8	98.7
Safi	0.447	709	10.1	97.7
Dingli	3.674	2,041	1.7	68.5
Qala	2.218	1,616	3.6	95.8
St. Paul's Bay	5.820	3,040	2.1	72.5
Kerċem & St.Lucia	2.442	1,272	4	100
Xaghra	4.864	4,056	5.8	87.9
Gharb	2.043	1,269	2.2	67.3
San Lawrenz	1.355	428	3.4	88.3
Żebbuġ	2.775	1,199	4.4	95.1
Mġarr	5.856	2,167	0.8	31.3
Ghasri	1.423	471	3	41.3
Comino	1.075	30	0	0
Maltese Islands	121.850	319,620	7.6	91.1
Malta	98.876	292,019	8	90.9
Gozo	26.974	27,601	5.9	83.6

NB: - Information from B/166. Table P IIIb).

[P.181]

APPENDIX 4 : The LAY APOSTOLATE

794 Of the more than two dozen movements which now form the Lay Apostolate in the Maltese Islands (v.B/91) five of the more prominent organizations are shown in the table by their present distribution and by the date, where known, of their foundation in each parish. Numbers of confraternities and third orders, and numbers of churches in each parish are also included.

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Malta Catholic Action - Young Men.................................. CY
" " " - Young Women.................................. CG
" " " - Men.................................. CM
" " " - Women.................................. CW
Society of Christian Doctrine (M.U.S.E.U.M.) - Men.............. MM
" " " " " - Women.............. MF
Legion of Mary, number of Praesidia in each parish.............. LM
Holy Name Society.................................. AM
Young Christian Workers.................................. YCW
Confraternities and Third Orders.................................. Cs
Churches.................................. CHs
Date of foundation of Parish.................................. Date
Parishes where a movement has no branch.................................. .
" " " " " a branch but date of its appearance in that parish not known.................. @

In CY, CG, CM, CW, MM, MF, AM, YCW, numbers (e.g. 38, 10) indicate date of appearance of branch (i.e. 1938, 1910, etc.)

No information.................................. ?

NB - Information derived in large part from B/91.
- List arranged by increasing size of farming element of the working population (v. Section 1).

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PARISH	Date	CY	CG	CM	CW	MM	MF	LM	AM	YCW	Cs	CHs
Valletta 1	1585	@	25	56	@	10	10	2	55	55	11	8
" 2	1587	@	@	@	@	@	.	10	.	@	6	10
Cospicua	1584	31	48	57	.	08	08	.	.	56	8	5
Senglea	1581	30	.	30	.	16	@	1	.	.	9	4
Vittoriosa	1090	@	@	@	@	@	@	.	@	.	7	5
Gżira	1913	37	39	45	43	33	10	4	40	.	2	3
Sliema 1	1878	32	31	33	55	.	.	9	@	.	4	3
" 2	1918	.	@	58	@	.	.	2	.	.	2	3
" 3	1940	41	55	41	@	@	@	10	.	@	3	5
Floriana	1844	27	@	50	53	07	26	3	36	@	5	4
Pawla	1910	28	@	26	28	10	10	4	46	46	2	4
Marsa	1913	@	@	@	@	09	09	1	.	51	.	3
Hamrun	1881	26	34	42	47	07	12	7	32	40	.	7
Msida, Pieta	1887	31	31	56	.	09	09	2	@	@	4	4
St. Julians	1891	45	44	45	46	?	.	3	.	.	5	2
Balzan	1655	@	56	31	57	@	@	4	@	.	4	?
Luqa	1634	51	51	51	.	@	.	.	.	.	4	?
Birkirkara	1436	32	?	@	57	@	@	8	31	40	6	10
Tarxien	1592	37	@	?	.	09	.	2	.	.	5	4
St. Venera	1918	45	37	45	50	34	34	1	.	.	2	4
Qormi 1	1436	@	@	.	@	?	?	.	.	.	7	8
" 2	1935	35	35	57	.	14	?	?	30	@	3	3
Birżebbuġa	1913	?	?	44	.	37	24	.	31	.	1	7
Żabbar	1615	45	45	46	52	09	.	5	47	.	6	3
Marsaskala	1949	.	.	.	.	46	45	.	40	.	1	1
Żejtun	1436	52	35	@	55	12	@	.	@	55	5	7
Lija	1594	@	50	58	.	52	53	2	29	.	3	5
Mqabba	1598	.	.	.	.	32	33	5	32	.	4	?
Marsaxlokk	1897	.	56	.	.	50	50	.	52	.	2	?
Żurrieq	1436	32	30	47	40	26	28	.	29	54	6	7
Ghaxaq	1626	.	.	.	.	56	07	.	@	@	3	4
Attard	1575	.	.	@	.	21	21	2	.	.	4	7
Mosta	1608	@	@	44	48	@	@	5	.	48	9	7
Żebbuġ(M)	1436	32	33	44	48	11	15	.	28	.	7	10
Ghajnsielem	1855	@	@	.	.	.	@	1	.	.	2	4
Gudja	1436	.	45	.	51	15	15	.	33	.	4	4
Qrendi	1618	@	@	.	.	@	@	.	@	.	5	7
Kirkop	1592	48	46	.	.	52	.	.	44	.	3	?
Naxxar	1436	47	40	@	.	35	31	1	35	40	8	5

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PARISH	DATE	CY	CG	CM	CV	MM	MY	LM	AM	YCW	Cs	CHs
Rabat*	1902	33	33	57	.	33	37	8	28	56	15	17
Xewkija	1678	33	33	.	.	@	@	2	@	.	2	2
Gharghur	1598	@	46	58	57	@	33	.	32	.	6	8
Mellieha	1841	54	46	57	54	.	44	3	@	52	4	3
Siġġiewi	1436	32	@	38	.	26	38	.	@	48	6	.
Sannat	1688	.	32	30	.	50	.	1	.	.	2	1
Nadur	1688	@	@	.	.	@	@	.	@	.	3	3
Safi	1598	7	54	.	56	.	@	.	37	54	3	2
Dingli	1678	48	.	.	.	36	36	.	32	.	2	2
Qala	1872	@	@	.	.	@	@	.	.	.	3	2
St. Paul's Bay	1905	46	.	@	42	.	46	2	.	.	4	7
Kerċem, St.Lucia	1885	@	@	29	@	.	.	1	47	.	2	2
Xagħra	1688	@	@	.	.	.	.	2	@	.	3	4
Gharb	1679	@	@	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
San Lawrenz	1893	@	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Żebbuġ(G)	1688	.	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Mġarr (M)	1898	@	@	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
Ghasri	1921	.	.	40	.	.	.	.	27	.	2	2
Munxar	1957	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	1	1

Mdina (A.D. 60) 1090 - Co-Cathedral of Malta (with St. John's, Valletta).
Cathedral of Gozo (at Victoria).

* - separated from Mdina, 1902.

NOTES

000 [103] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [129] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analyzed by Charlton (B/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Welts, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

[342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

[529] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/266).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

[124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made .1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

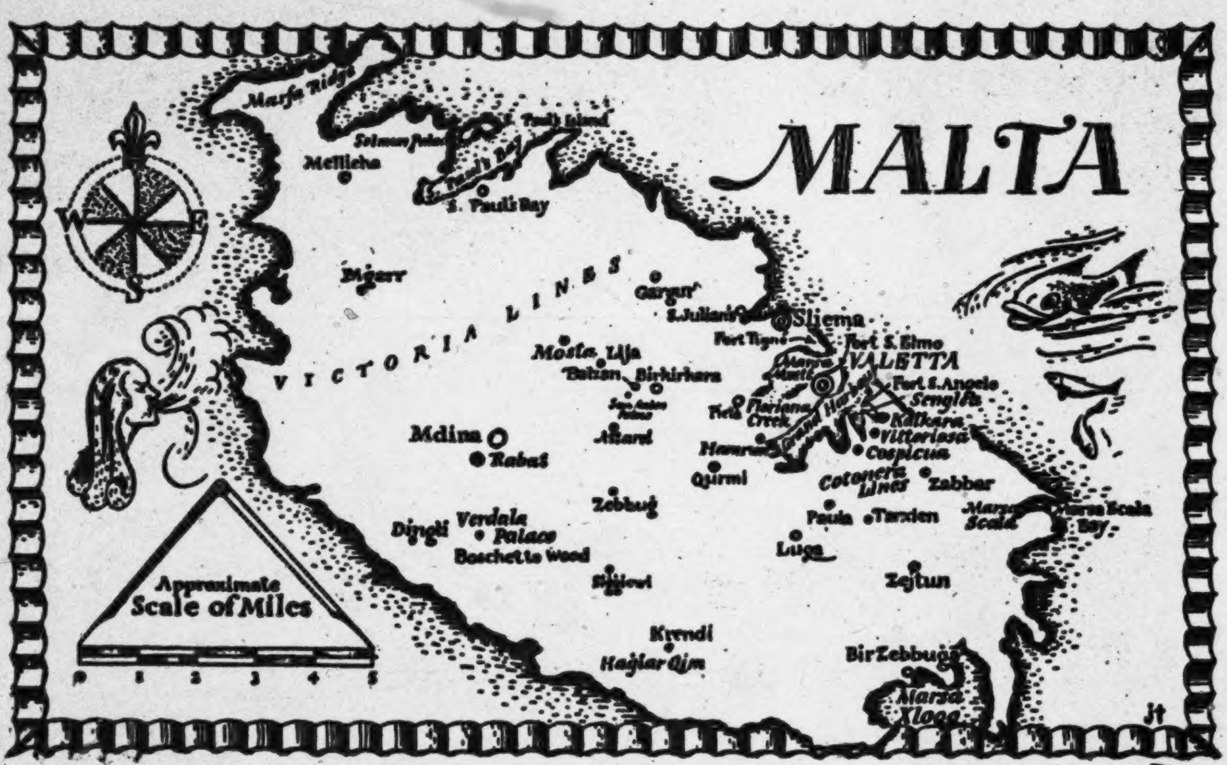
796 [543] [438] [265] tables, piled with the castellated erections of honey and almonds, tempt those crowds of country people to spend what they have purposely put by for this annual holiday.

After three or four hours of high revel the wheeled vehicles return home with their jolly occupants singing all along the road.

Sta. MARIA

796 184 On the 15th of August, the day dedicated to the Assumption of the B. V. Mary (Santa Maria), nearly all the Island of Malta is *en fête*.

[103] Seven of the twentyfour villages, that is:— Casals Musta, Dingli, Attard, Crendi, Micabiba, Asciak and Gudia celebrate on this day their titular feast with the usual illuminations, fireworks and processions.


MALTA
Marfa Ridge
Selmun Palace
Paul's Island
S. Paul's Bay
S. Pauls Bay
Mellieha
Mgarr
Gargur
S. Julians
Sliema
Fort Tignè
Fort S. Elmo
VALETTA
Marsa Muscetto
Fort S. Angelo
Senglea
Kalkara
Vittoriosa
Cospicua
Pieta
Floriana
Creek
Grand Harbour
Hamrun
Qormi
Cotonera Lines
Zabbar
Paula
Tarxien
Marsa Scala
Marsa Scala Bay
Luqa
Zejtun
Bir Zebbuga
Marsa Xlocc
VICTORIA LINES
Mosta
Lija
Balzan
Birkirkara
San Anton Palace
Attard
Mdina
Rabat
Zebbug
Dingli
Verdala Palace
Boschetto Wood
Siggiewi
Krendi
Hagiar Qim
W
E
S
Approximate Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5
Jt

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960

[P.17]

EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
103

CHAPTER XVII

Casals and Countryside

311 OWING TO THE DENSITY AND RAPID GROWTH OF THE
656 population, to the lack of soil and to the abundance of
excellent building-stone, which not only takes on in the
342 course of ages a beautiful patina but is easy to work, the
proportion of Malta's built-up area to the area under cultivation is probably uniquely high. Unique is probably also the "Red Soil Law" whereby anyone about to erect a house is compelled to dig up and hand over to the Government (which removes it for him) any soil there may be on the site of the future structure, so that the precious earth may not be buried and lost for ever to the island's cultivators.

133 So precious is it that the smallest pockets, however in-
311 accessibly they may be situated, are jealously conserved.
Malta is low-lying—in the words of Tasso

giace Malta fra l'onde occulta, e bassa

—and only on the thyme-covered cliffs of the south-western stretch of coast does it rise as high as 800 feet. These cliffs are wild and rugged and sheer, but here and there, as they drop precipitously to the sea, narrow ledges of earth-covered rock cling precariously to their face. But even these *redums*, as
[342] they are termed—the like of which I have seen only on that
hermit-inhabited spur of Mount Athos which is called Kerasia—are brought into use by the indomitable Maltese farmer of the locality, who sometimes lives in the caves beside them with his family and his animals as his Stone Age predecessor lived in them before him.

311 Thus every nook and cranny of these islands is eloquent
34 of their past: towns; casals; little country chapels, farm-
163 houses and isolated gateways, which are often adorned with
243

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

some sculptured escutcheon; the old stone *fougasses*[1] to be 311
encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny 34
Comino, from whose stony fields, where is cultivated the 103
cumin seed from which the island takes its name, there rises
one of the massive square keeps which the Knights scattered 243
throughout their territory.[2]

The casals are, as has been said in an earlier chapter, not 361
villages, but compact stone townships of tall houses and 341
narrow streets, solidly built in good substantial Baroque 351
architecture. Their outskirts, as likely as not, are dignified
with some ancient country-house concealed behind high 346
walls amid charming gardens—the beauty and seclusion of the Maltese gardens are justly proverbial—while the focus of the casal, both literally and metaphorically, is the parish church. This is generally a great Baroque pile of golden sandstone flanked by two massive towers, but an exception is the Parish Church of Mosta, built in the classical style in the middle of the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts, both technical and financial, of the villagers themselves to the design of the ingenious Maltese architect Grognet de Vassé mentioned in Chapter II. It is topped by a dome that claims to be the third largest in the world, being surpassed in size only by those of S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Peter's in Rome, higher internally than the dome of the Roman Pantheon and exceeding by sixteen feet the diameter of that of S. Paul's in London.

---

[1] Patrick Brydone (*cf.* pp. 143–147) gives an interesting account of this little- [712
known form of coastal defence; "For we found, to our no small amazement, that
the rocks were not only cut into fortifications but likewise into artillery to defend 713]
these fortifications: being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air: and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel."

[2] An excellent companion for the exploration of the island is F. Weston's [113]
Walks in Malta, published in Valetta. Later booklets include Showell Styles, *Walks and Climbs in Malta* (Valetta, 2nd edn., 1952), and H. H. Hick, *Walks in Gozo* (Malta, 1953).

186 527 the Grand Master who was their founder or their patron,
gay with the rich heraldry and colouring of the last phase
of the age of chivalry. We have seen in Chapter XII that
643 Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch, inglorious but
186 Maltese-speaking and on excellent terms with the Maltese
527 country-folk, gave one of his names and his special patronage
•103 to no fewer than three of the casals. Zabbar's subsidiary name
was Città Hompesch, that of Siġġiewi Città Ferdinando,
that of Zejtun Città Beland, the maiden name (Bylandt)
of Hompesch's mother. Similarly, Curmi was known
alternatively as Città Pinto, Żebbuġ as Città Rohan. In
the cases of Senglea and Pawla the Grand Masters de la
Sengle and de Paule were actually the founders.

It affords a pleasant and richly coloured glimpse into a romantic past, and happy evidence of the attachment of the Maltese to their unique historical traditions, to see the great square armorial flags of these Grand Masters in their proper tinctures waving on gala days over their casals.

527 July, August and September, the hottest months of the year, are Malta's *festa* season *par excellence*. At that period, and especially in August, there is an absolute orgy of what irreverent young officers are apt to call "festering," and the two islands resound from end to end with the detonations of petards and bombs. At night the parish church of whichever casal is celebrating its patronal feast is prettily illuminated, while elaborate set-pieces are displayed regardless of expense and other fireworks of a less stationary nature accomplish, or fail to accomplish, their destined trajectory. The amount spent annually by the population on fireworks and mere noise-making contrivances is positively staggering.

The first village *festa* I attended—I had arrived in Malta in the month of August—was in one of the smaller, more remote and more rustic casals. The church bells were clanging with no attempt at rhythm; rockets and Roman candles were going off in rapid succession in all directions; Catharine-wheels were rotating around one; the noise was

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

114 Classical authors as well as travellers of the Renaissance and later ages have praised Malta's fertility, the quality of its 137 corn, its fruit, its linen and its cotton,[1] the sweet scent of its roses,[2] the delicate aroma of the wild thyme that flavours its honey. Cicero, in fact, called Malta a land of honey and roses, and it was being described in similar terms nearly two thousand years later. "The fruits are of exquisite flavour," wrote Dr Meryon, Lady Hester Stanhope's sorely tried physician, companion and biographer. "Flowers are very fine, and I could not help fancying the roses more fragrant than in my own country. Malta honey is highly esteemed." [186] Elsewhere the Doctor remarks that "no people are more attached to their country than the Maltese to their barren rock"; and it is natural enough that the Maltese of to-day should like to refer to their island as "the flower of the world."

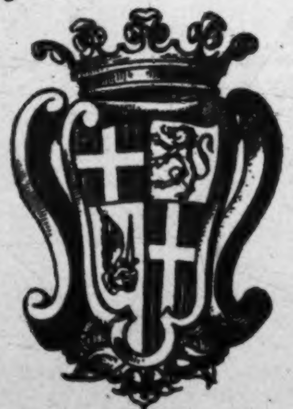
This phrase, if held to refer solely to scenery and vegetation, might appear to some to verge on the excessive. If it be taken to apply to the many-sidelines of Malta's interest and amenities it does not lack justification.

---

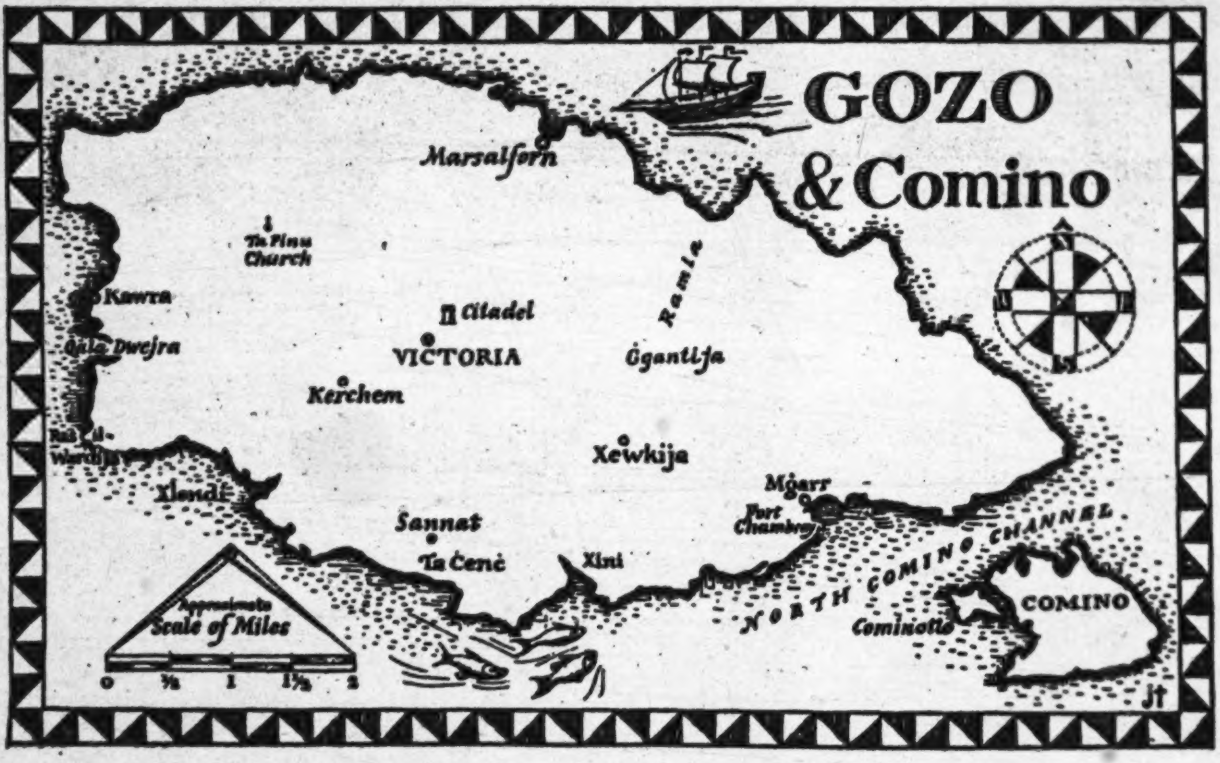
[439] [1] During the era of sailing-ships Malta, and especially the casal of Zebbug, produced a heavy cotton sail-cloth which earned a wide reputation and was exported all over Europe.

● [103] [2] The name Attard, the charming old casal half-way between Hamrum and Mdina, means "the village of roses."

186



Arms of G. M. Manoel de Vilhena


GOZO
& Comino
Marsalforn
Ta Pinu Church
Kawra
Qala Dwejra
Citadel
VICTORIA
Kerchem
Ramla
Ggantija
Ras il-Wardija
Xlendi
Xewkija
Sannat
Ta Ċenċ
Xini
Mġarr
Fort Chambray
NORTH COMINO CHANNEL
Cominotto
COMINO
Approximate Scale of Miles
0
½
1
1½
2
N
S
E
W
JT

•102
•103

[p. 22]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO
COMINO

104

MALTESE ORTHOGRAPHY, PRONUNCIATION AND PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

The notes which follow are intended to assist the reader in the pronunciation of place names and other Maltese words occurring in the text. Certain letter symbols occur in the Maltese alphabet which are not found in English, while others have pronunciations very different from the English ones.

The special symbols involved are as follows:-

Ħ, ħ. Where this letter occurs alone, it is strongly aspirated. The nearest equivalent in English is the "h" in "house" but in Maltese the aspiration is even stronger. Thus Mellieħa will be pronounced Mellie-ha.

GĦ, għ. This is, in effect, a single letter and represents the Arabic 'ain. It is now almost silent in standard Maltese but is sounded, as in Arabic, in some rural dialects.

Ċ,ċ; Ġ,ġ; Ż,ż. A dot placed over these consonants indicates a softening in pronunciation. Thus "c" occurs in Maltese only in loan words where it retains the pronunciation of the original language, while "ċ" represents "ch" as in English "church". "G" is hard as in English "garden", "ġ" soft as in English "jam". "Z" is pronounced as "ts" in English "its", "ż" as "z" in English "zebra".

Consonants with "non-English" values are:-
J, j pronounced as "y" in English "yet".

Q, q in standard Maltese has assumed a glottal value but is still pronounced "k" (as in Arabic) in some local dialects.

X, x is universally pronounced "sh" as in English "show".

There is some slight variation in the pronunciation of vowels but the following values are predominant:-

A,a as "a" in English "far"
E,e as "e" in English "bet"
I,i as "ee" in English "feel"
O,o as "o" in English "lock"
U,u as "oo" in English "boot"

When followed by j, "e" and "a" have special values:-

-aj- pronounced as "i" in English "ice"
-ej- pronounced as "e" in English "they"
-ie- pronounced as in English "pier"

103 Space does not permit of any but the most cursory mention of the significance of the great range of Maltese place-name elements. As a result of the help received from Professor J. Aquilina of the Royal University of Malta the authors were able to increase their understanding of Maltese life and landscape by using to some extent this and other philological evidence. The reader will similarly gain in understanding by an appreciation of even a few place-name meanings.

Dalam, a good deal of this better land has been sterilised by the construction of a large pumping station, but a small pocket of intensive potato-growing occurs before the sea is reached. In the Wied has-Saptan, the transition is marked by a belt of marshy land carrying canes, bullrushes and grasses which are tended and 'cropped'. Below this lies a second small alluvial area also largely under potatoes. This district as a whole possesses a greater variety of physical and land-use conditions than any other in Eastern Malta. 241* 311*

From Qala San Ġorġ to Benghisa Point, a narrow coastal lowland has been completely taken out of cultivation by settlement growth and by commercial and military installations. The slopes behind this zone are traversed by a series of shallow wieds in which lie narrow strips of wasteland. All dry-farmed crops are represented in this hilly country, even to a few vines grown near the southern coast in a strangely exposed position.

In this small region is exemplified the major problem which besets the Maltese agricultural community and which complicates the patterns of land-use and farming practice in the island. New, well-surfaced roads serve Hal Far and Kalafrana, but between these arteries lies a neglected and relatively remote farming area. Distances involved are small, particularly when the attraction of non-rural life pulls people away from the land. However, as noted elsewhere, the same distances become exaggerated in their effect of isolating the country-dwellers who remain. The dichotomy of town and country is thus perpetuated. 369 491

GENERAL

The main facts underlying the regional differentiation of Maltese agriculture may be summarised as follows. While structure and topography control the general distribution of these cropping combinations, important regional differences result from variations in weather and micro-climate. Soil controls, in the main, coincide with those of structure and outcrop, but slope, as affecting removal and accumulation, together with the widespread traditional practice of transporting soil to artificial fields, break up the simple geological pattern. 241* 311*

Farming types in Malta must be identified against a background of socio-economic change. Commercial production is the rule, but considerable variations result from differing degrees of linkage with markets. Socially, this is paralleled by differences in the extent to which rural communities are affected by urban desires and emulations. Proximity to, or remoteness from town life are most important.

Wasteland is spreading most rapidly on the remote and physically hard lands. The flight from the land is slower where it is more productive. General deterioration is most widespread on lands of medium quality where the attraction of town life is strong. On the immediate fringes of the built-up areas, conditions are by no means uniform. While in some cases market gardening provides a particularly intensive form of land use, in others encroachment of roads and buildings produces a jumble of building sites, abandoned fields and a few surviving patches of cultivation. Around the main conurbation as delimited in Fig. 97, lie many pockets of true urban farming. In many of these, as in the case illustrated by Fig. 125, the jostling together of stock-yards and houses and fields, both abandoned and cropped, shows the town triumphant.

Agricultural Regions of Gozo

The physiographic divisions already indicated in Chapter 1 and shown in Fig. 4[1] are suitable for a regional analysis of agricultural practice in Gozo. Printed maps of Gozo bear few local place-names and thus it has been necessary to devise the special nomenclature used in the present section and illustrated in Fig. 16.[2] 241* 311* 102 10.4

[1] [See p. 39-A -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 199 -- Analyst]

[p. x]

An Introductory Note on Maltese

197 Maltese is a distinct language, which is morphologically related to North African Arabic but draws much of its vocabulary, syntax and idiom from Sicilian.[1] This difficult language is spoken by all classes, but it did not become an official language of the law courts until 1934, when it replaced Italian. As it has only been a written language for little more than 100 years, it does not yet have a rich literature.

● 104 In order to help the reader with the Maltese names and words that appear in the text, the following is given as a short guide to their approximate pronunciation.[2] In general, vowels have much the same sound as they do in Italian. The following consonants are pronounced as indicated: *ċ*: *ċ*hair; *ġ*: *g*entle; *g*: *g*ift; *h*: silent; *ħ*: aspirate; *għ*: the *għajn*, is usually silent; *j*: *y*ear; *q*: glottal stop; *x*: *sh*ine; *ż*: *z*ebra; and *z*: boo*ts*.

---

[1] Joseph Aquilina, *Papers in Maltese Linguistics* (Valletta, Royal University of Malta, 1961), p. 180.

[2] For the pronunciation of Maltese consult: Joseph Aquilina, *The Structure of Maltese* (Valletta, Royal University of Malta, 1959), pp. 1–17.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

female children are from Valletta and Sliema Government Elementary Schools, the male from the Government Elementary School and the Lyceum at Valletta, and include some of the students at the University. 141 125

The adult males have been grouped as follows:—(1) Malta, (2) Gozo. The Malta group has then been subdivided into Urban Districts; Rural Districts exclusive of Siggewo and Zurrico; Siggewo; Zurrico; sufficient measurements having been taken at the two latter villages to make statistical treatment of value (Table II). The adult females have been divided into (1) Malta, (2) Gozo. Malta has then been subdivided into Urban and Rural Districts (Table III). Unfortunately, sufficient women were not measured at any one village to make further subdivision practicable.

The individuals measured include among the men representatives of all social classes; among the women the lower social grades are chiefly represented. The men include professional men, gunners, militia, government messengers, men doing short sentences, paupers, and by far the largest class, "men in the street." The women include teachers, pupils at night schools, eighteen prisoners, patients in hospitals, paupers, and, again the largest class, any peasant woman who was not too frightened to be measured. All those who were either born of Maltese parents abroad, or although born in Malta are not of pure Maltese parentage, have been rejected. It is impossible in all cases to be quite certain, especially in the neighbourhood of Valletta. The measurements were taken in accordance with Martin's definitions (33); those on the femur follow Pearson (34). In working out the constants, the [128]. methods discussed in the Anthropology of Cyprus (37) have been followed. The limit of plotting selected has been such that the observations fall in from 15 to 20 groups. In head-lengths, for instance, this condition is fulfilled if the series be divided into 2 mm. groups. In order not to lengthen the report few comparative figures have been given.

For convenience of reference measurements have been referred to by their 141
initial letters, which are given in brackets after each in the following list:— 104 ●
128

A.—*Skulls.*

Ophryo-occipital length (O.O.L.).
Glabello-occipital length (G.O.L.).
Greatest breadth (G.B.).
Minimum frontal diameter (M.F.D.).
Bizygomatic breadth (Biz.B.).
Nasal height (N.H.).
Nasal breadth (N.B.).
Basi-bregmatic height (B.B.H.).
Basi-nasal length (B.N.L.).
Basi-alveolar length (B.A.L.).
Upper facial height (U.F.H.).
Facial breadth (F.B.).
Orbital breadth (left) (O.B.L.).
Orbital breadth (right) (O.B.R.).
Orbital height (left) (O.H.L.).
Orbital height (right) (O.H.R.).
Palatal length (P.L.).
Palatal breadth (P.B.).

B.—*Living.*

141 Glabello-occipital length (G.O.L.).
128 Greatest head breadth (G.B.).
●[104] Minimum frontal diameter (M.F.D.).
Bizygomatic breadth (Biz.B.).
External orbital breadth (E.O.B.).
Bigonial breadth (Big.B.).
Upper facial height (U.F.H.).
Total facial height (T.F.H.).
Nasal height (N.H.).
Nasal breadth (N.B.).
Internal ocular breadth (I.O.B.).

The following indices were calculated on the living :—

Cephalic index (C.I.).
Upper facial index (U.F.I.).
Total facial index (T.F.I.).
Nasal index (N.I.).

On skulls, owing to the fact that it was impossible in the majority of cases to associate cranium and mandible, the total facial index was not calculated. The following additional indices were, however, worked out :—

Vertical index (V.I.).
Mandibular index (M.I.).
Orbital index (left) (O.I.L.).
Orbital index (right) (O.I.R.).

In a number of cases it was found necessary to work out the *significant difference* between two measurements. The method employed was described by the writer in a short paper on Cyprus, where it was shown that stress could be laid on the difference if it was greater than three times its own probable error. In order to avoid an excessive amount of figures, only significant differences have actually been tabulated. The symbols used are as follows: the Greek letter delta, Δ, signifies *difference*; epsilon, with a subscript delta, ϵ_Δ, means *error* of that difference. Measures, places and series are referred to by their initial letters, thus

	Δ C–V	ϵ_Δ
G.O.L.	1·93	±0·63

means that the difference in the glabello-occipital length between the Chapel of Bones and the Valletta crania is 1·93, with a probable error of 0·63. At a glance it is often difficult to tell whether such an error is significant; we have therefore tabulated the difference divided by its probable error, using at the head of the column the $\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$ symbol. In the particular case referred to above $\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$ is 3·06, and the difference is therefore significant. Owing to the necessity of preparing the data for publication in a comparatively short time, it has not been possible to work out as many correlations as might have been advantageous. A small number have, however, been worked out. Wherever it was possible to do so—that is to say, in the case of indices—the *coefficient of variation* method has been used, the formula employed

ooo and the Graph.

NB: Typographical Note.

•104 128 In Maltese orthography the aspirate or hard 'h' is distinguished from the inaspirate or mute 'h' by the addition of a second bar in the capital letter and a bar through the up-stroke of the small letter. For ease of typing the writer has taken the liberty of omitting the second bar in the capital H and of adding a bar through the lower small letter - i.e. 'ħ'. Similarly the letter 'ain is represented 'għ'.

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SECTION 6: CASE STUDIES

*159 This section is divided into three parts:

128 PART 1. Thirteen Case Studies of representative farmers and herdsmen in Malta and Gozo. In each Case a general discussion emphasises important particular features against the total background of farming in the Islands. Each Study [104] concludes with a Summary[47] of the farmer and his farming classified under the following headings: A - Land; B - Utilisation; C - Livestock; D - Capital; E - Labour; F - Production and Sales; G - Husbandry; H - General. The adoption of a standard system facilitates comparisons of any one Study with all the others.

The examples chosen include[48]

CASE I (Pawlu): A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.

CASE II (Ġużepp): A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping.

CASE III (Nardu): A goats' milk producer.

CASE IV (Wistin): A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land.

CASE V (Anġlu): A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.

CASE VI (Gaetu): A milk producer with a considerable land-holding.

CASE VII (Wenzu): A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land-holding.

CASE VIII (Niklaws): A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.

CASE IX (Antnin and Ġakbu): A long-established partnership of two unrelated farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.

CASE X (Ġamri): An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.

CASE XI (Pietru): An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.

CASE XII (Ċenzu): A cows' milk producer and part-time village weighman.

CASE XIII (Toni): A part-time arable farmer and caretaker.

CASE I (herdsman) and CASE X (arable farmer) are given more detailed consideration as examples of the two main branches of agriculture.

PART 2. Cases XIV to XXII comprise studies of farmers and others who operate large tractors and other heavy agricultural machinery. These illustrate the discussion, in Section 2, of the place of such heavy mechanization in Maltese farming. An exhaustive study was made of CASE XIV to which particular attention is drawn as it emphasises a number of points made in the general text of the report - especially those concerning the place of the younger generation of farmers today.

113

Part 5... List of Malta Government Departments and other official sources which have produced annual or other periodical reports during the past twenty-five years (B/99 - 163),

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NOTE: Throughout this volume items to which reference is made are quoted by their number in the bibliography as B/12; or B/357, Vol.I; or B/83 (1957), p.65; etc.

113
104

Other ABBREVIATIONS used include:

C.E.R.C.	H.M. Colonial Economic Research Committee.
Chev...............	Chevalier (a Knight of the Order of St. John).
Cmd................	Command.
C.O................	Colonial Office.
C.O.S.	Central Office of Statistics.
Dept.	Department.
E	English.
Ed	Editor.
esp	especially.
Govt.	Government.
G.P.O.	Government Printing Office (now Printing Section), Malta.
H.M.S.O.	London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
inc.	including.
I.	Italian.
L..................	Latin.
L.P.	Letters Patent.
M.	Maltese.
misc	miscellaneous.
MS, MSS	Manuscript, Manuscripts.
Order	The Order of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.
O.U.P.	Oxford University Press.
pub.	published.
R.A.I.	Royal Anthropological Institute.
R.C.I.	Royal Colonial Institute.
R.I.I.A.	Royal Institute of International Affairs.
S.E.A.	Agrarian Society - Malta (formerly Società Economico-Agraria).
S.G.M.	Scottish Geographical Magazine.
trans.	translated.
v.	see.
var.	various.
Vol.	Volume.
unpub.	unpublished.

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Part 1. List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands.

(1) ARCHIEPISCOPAL CURIA, Malta : Collections of archives, MSS, documents, plans, etc., relating to the Church in Malta. (v. also Cathedral Archives - some 500 items, and the Archives of the Inquisition - some 500 items).

(2) BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, Paris : v. especially material on the Order (classified under French history).

APPENDIX 4 : The LAY APOSTOLATE

794 Of the more than two dozen movements which now form the Lay Apostolate in the Maltese Islands (v.B/91) five of the more prominent organizations are shown in the table by their present distribution and by the date, where known, of their foundation in each parish. Numbers of confraternities and third orders, and numbers of churches in each parish are also included. 794

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Malta Catholic Action - Young Men .... CY
" " " - Young Women .... CG
" " " - Men .... CM
" " " - Women .... CW
Society of Christian Doctrine (M.U.S.E.U.M.) - Men .... MM
" " " " " - Women .... MF
Legion of Mary, number of Praesidia in each parish .... LM
Holy Name Society .... AN
Young Christian Workers .... YCW
Confraternities and Third Orders .... Co
Churches .... CHs
Date of foundation of Parish .... Date
Parishes where a movement has no branch ....
" " " " " a branch but date of its appearance in that parish not known .... ø

In CY, CG, CM, CW, MM, MF, AN, YCW, numbers (e.g. 38, 10) indicate date of appearance of branch (i.e. 1938, 1910, etc.)

No information .... ?

NB - Information derived in large part from B/91.
- List arranged by increasing size of farming element of the working population (v. Section 1).

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PARISH	Date	CY	CG	CM	CW	MM	MF	LM	AN	YCW	Co	CHs
Valletta 1	1585	ø	25	58	ø	10	10	2	55	55	11	8
" 2	1587	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	.	10	.	ø	6	10
Cospicua	1584	31	48	57	.	08	08	.	.	58	8	6
Senglea	1581	30	.	30	.	16	ø	1	.	.	9	4
Vittoriosa	1090	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	.	ø	.	7	6
Gżira	1913	37	39	45	43	33	10	4	40	.	2	3
Sliema 1	1878	32	31	33	58	.	.	9	ø	.	4	3
" 2	1918	.	ø	58	ø	.	.	2	.	.	2	3
" 3	1940	41	55	41	ø	ø	ø	10	.	ø	3	5
Floriana	1844	27	ø	50	53	07	26	3	36	ø	5	4
Pawla	1910	28	ø	28	28	10	10	4	48	48	2	4
Marsa	1913	ø	ø	ø	ø	09	09	1	.	51	.	3
Hamrun	1881	26	34	42	47	07	12	7	32	40	.	7
Msida, Pieta	1887	31	31	56	.	09	09	2	ø	ø	4	4
St. Julians	1891	45	44	45	48	?	.	2	.	.	5	2
Balzan	1655	ø	56	31	57	ø	ø	4	ø	.	4	?
Luqa	1634	51	51	51	.	ø	.	.	.	.	4	?
Birkirkara	1436	32	?	ø	57	ø	ø	8	31	40	6	10
Tarxien	1592	37	ø	?	.	09	.	2	.	.	5	4
St. Venera	1918	45	37	45	50	34	34	1	.	.	2	4
Qormi 1	1436	ø	ø	.	ø	?	?	.	.	.	7	6
" 2	1935	35	35	57	.	14	?	?	30	ø	3	3
Birżebbuġa	1913	?	?	44	.	37	24	.	31	.	1	7
Żabbar	1615	45	45	46	52	09	.	5	47	.	6	3
Marsaskala	1949	.	.	.	.	45	45	.	49	.	1	1
Żejtun	1436	52	35	ø	55	12	ø	.	ø	55	5	7
Lija	1594	ø	50	58	.	52	53	2	29	.	3	6
Mqabba	1598	.	.	.	.	32	33	5	32	.	4	?
Marsaxlokk	1897	.	56	.	.	50	50	.	52	.	3	7
Żurrieq	1436	32	30	47	40	26	28	.	29	54	6	7
Għaxaq	1626	.	.	.	.	56	07	.	ø	ø	3	4
Attard	1575	.	.	ø	.	21	31	2	.	.	4	7
Mosta	1608	ø	ø	46	40	ø	ø	5	.	48	9	7
Żebbuġ(M)	1436	32	33	44	40	11	15	.	28	.	7	10
Għajnsielem	1855	ø	ø	.	.	.	ø	1	.	.	2	4
Gudja	1436	.	45	.	51	15	15	.	33	.	4	4
Qrendi	1618	ø	ø	.	.	ø	ø	.	ø	.	6	7
Kirkop	1592	48	46	.	.	52	.	.	44	.	3	?
Naxxar	1436	47	40	ø	.	36	31	1	36	48	8	6

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

ooo XVII. Casals and Countryside *page* 202
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Note on Maltese Transliteration

The letter *x* in Maltese is pronounced like the English *sh*; *q* is a hard guttural. A dot over *c* and *g* (*ċ* and *ġ*) indicates that those letters are then to be pronounced respectively like *ch* in "chair" and the soft *g* in "giant."

1: Bowen-Jones, H., J.C. Dewdney, and W. B. Fisher. Malta: Background for Development. Durham: Department of Geography, University of Durham, 1961.

Pp. 356; introduction with complete list of contributors; 143 figures, including maps; 47 tables; 20 plates; bibliographies after each chapter; index.

Harvard: Econ 6153.553.

[This source draws from and summarizes the research of a large team whose members are listed after the introduction, on p. 9. As a geographical survey, the work emphasizes the physical environment and its integration with the cultural. This relationship is especially close in Malta, and as a consequence many aspects of the political and social life are reported, although with less detail as the environment is less a factor. Agriculture, land use and tenure, and the economic dependence on the colonial power are thus directly related; while many aspects of family and community life are treated more briefly if at all. The thorough geographic coverage is as complete and probably as reliable as any file could be.

Field date: 1955-1958
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Geographers-5
Processed in 1966

2: Boissevain, Jeremy. Saints and Fireworks: Religion and Politics in Rural Malta. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 30. London: University of London, The Athlone Press: New York: Humanities Press Inc., 1965.

Pp. xii, 156; frontispiece; map; 8 photographs; 8 tables; 2 appendices; bibliography; index.

Personal Copy of T.J. O'Leary. DLC: HN66.05 M3B6 1965. DLC card no.: 65-14845.

/This is a study of Maltese village politics written at a time when antagonisms between the Catholic Church and the Maltese Labor Party were at a peak, and prior to Maltese independence. After a brief background sketch of Malta, the author investigates the dynamics of social interaction between the State, the Church and the political parties in relationship to the villages, including much data on rival groups in the community -- the band clubs whose loyalties center around the cult of saints and who contend bitterly with one another for superior privileges on behalf of their respective saints, and the festa partiti factions who align themselves with the clubs. In the middle of this rivalry is the priest, an outsider, who is quite often used as a pawn by the rival groups to their own advantage. Superimposed on the above rivalries are the conflicting loyalties resulting from the struggle for power between the Church and the national Labor Party, a struggle so fierce that families have been divided over the issues involved. In his discussion of Maltese village politics, the author points out that although there are no administrative links between the local and central governments (e.g., headmen, mayors, councilors), a form of linkage is provided by the Maltese system of patronage-client relationships. The significance and various manifestations of these relationships are presented

2: Boissevain, Jeremy.

in detail in the source. In concluding his work the author indicates that tensions between the various groups mentioned above are kept from erupting into overt violence by the presence of individuals whose loyalties are divided between conflicting sides (e.g., within a family group).

The author carried out his field research for this paper on Malta from July 1960 to September 1961. Much of the data were gathered from two small villages which he has given the fictional names of Farrug and Kortin. In addition to the detailed research in these villages, he made further comparative studies in twelve other communities, with particular attention to general organization of the communities, leadership, and patterns of conflict. The author was accompanied in his field work by his wife. He was further aided in the field by Mr. Edward Micallef, a research assistant./

Field date: 1960-1961
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966-1967

3: Buxton, L. H. Dudley. The Ethnology of Malta and Gozo. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 52, pp. 164-211. London, 1922.

7 tables.

Yale: Nk10 +R81 v. 52.

/The material in this source was gathered by the author and his assistants during a two month's field expedition to Malta from December 1920 to January 1921. As background for his study of the physical anthropology and racial affinities of the Maltese, which are the predominating themes in this source, the author presents some summary data on geography, culture history and archaeology and demography. Buxton then describes the manner in which he and his field staff took measurements of representative portions of the living population of Malta and Gozo, and the sampling they used for the anthropometric investigations of the Maltese skeletal materials (bones from the Hypogaeum at Hal Saflieni -- Malta Local Neolithic; miscellaneous ancient skeletons -- chiefly Romano-Maltese; specimens from the Chapel of Bones -- late medieval; and modern bones from an ossuary). The data gathered from the above studies are presented in Appendix 2 at the end of the source (pp. 197-211) in the form of seven tables. The author summarizes his conclusions drawn from these data regarding racial affinities and cultural sequences on Malta on p. 194 of the text./

Field date: 1920-1921
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Physician, Physical
Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1966-1967

4: Cassar, Paul. Medical Votive Offerings in the Maltese Islands. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 94, pp. 23-29. London, 1964.

2 plates.

HRAF Copy.

/This brief paper presents a very interesting study of the "votive" or propitiatory offerings presented to a church or shrine as the fulfillment of a vow by a patient who has been miraculously cured of some disease or disability by divine intervention (primarily by the Virgin Mary in Catholic Malta today). The author discusses the nature of these "ex-votos" offerings -- usually figurines representing parts of the human anatomy (presumably those parts which have been cured) -- and traces their origin back to the Neolithic period in Malta where clay and limestone female figures have been found which the author believes may have been part of a healing cult. Other offerings of the same functional significance are also discussed by the author, primarily the so-called "medical paintings."

On page 28 of the source a discussion is presented on the function of the "votive offerings" as a form of anxiety-reducing mechanism in the society./

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Psychologist-4, 5
Processed in 1966-1967.

5: Cremona, A. Maltese Death, Mourning, and Funeral Customs. Folk-Lore, Vol. 34, pp. 352-357. London: Published for the Folk-Lore Society by William Glaisher, Ltd., 1923.

Yale: Nkg10 F72 v. 82-83.

/This paper presents a brief account of Maltese funeral and mourning customs as compiled by the author from various sources of information. Cultural modifications in the observance of these practices with time are noted in this source, as well as class differences, and similarities to comparable customs in other Mediterranean countries, primarily Sicily and Italy./

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Folklorist-3, 4
Processed in 1966-1967

6: Beeley, Brian William. The Farmer and Rural Society in Malta: A Report of the Colonial Economic Research Committee Project C.D.W. (R) No. 764. Durham, England: Department of Geography, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, 1959.

Pp. viii, 186; 10 maps (mimeographed).

Cornell University, Albert R. Mann Library: HD2060.4 M3 B41.

[The author gives an account of the present-day socio-economic situation of the Maltese farmer. The farming class is in an economic and social disadvantage to the urban working class. As a result there is a strong tendency to leave farming for the sake of wage-labor. Many case histories, census and statistical materials are provided. Footnotes appearing in the text will be found in category 116, pp. 184-186.]

Field date: 1957-1958
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Geographer-5
Processed in 1967-1968

7: Busuttil, V. Holiday Customs in Malta and Sports, Usages, Ceremonies, Omens & Superstitions of the Maltese People. Malta: Printed by L. Busuttil, 1894.

Pp. viii, 158.

Harvard University: Ital. 5556.5. DLC order no.: HCL 14-2935.

[This source is divided into three sections the first of which presents a summary of the various religious and secular holidays observed by the Maltese throughout the calendar year. The author describes the manner in which the holidays are observed, and comments on their possible origin and distribution in various European countries from the accounts of early writers and historians. The second part of the source provides some ethnographic information on games and athletic events, annual and monthly fairs, funerals, weddings and the sex status of women. The final section of the work deals with various omens and superstitions of the Maltese, with some limited data on magical therapy.

Although the source is limited to the end of the 19th century in coverage, the data presented are apparently still pertinent to the customs in effect to this day on Malta.

The author, a native Maltese, was at the time of the writing head-master of the government school at Vittoriosa.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Indigene, Educator-4,5
Processed in 1966

8: Brockman, Eric. Maltese Memories "Tifkiriet." London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1938.

Pp. 144; frontispiece; 3 plates.

[Yale: Bm99 7. DLC: DG990.B7. DLC card No.: 39-9218.]

Only pp. 101-141 and the accompanying plate have been processed for this file.

/The author attempts to show in this source how many of the ancient Maltese customs which he calls "The Old Things" have been preserved and modified to fit the modern Maltese pattern. This he demonstrates in regard to birth customs, the 'uccija or choosing ceremony for the child, the spirit world and religion in general, literature, adult status in the society, beliefs about nature, marriage, superstitions, religious holidays, and customs associated with death. The source relies heavily on secondary sources of information, especially Busuttil (see 7: Busuttil, this file) and adds little ethnographic information to what is already to be found in the file. The author's interpretations of various cultural phenomena should be read with caution by the researcher, since Brockman, at the time of this writing, had no apparent professional training in anthropology and was visiting Malta as simply an English traveler./

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Traveler-8
Processed in 1966

9: Luke, Harry C. Malta: an Account and an Appreciation. Second edition revised and enlarged. London, Toronto, Sydney, Wellington: George C. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1960.

Pp. 256; 63 photographs; 10 text figures; 2 maps.

Library of Congress: DG990.L84 1960. DLC card no.: 60-51229.

Only the frontispiece, pp. 1-30, 202-227, 234-251 and various miscellaneous plates between pp. 31-201 have been processed for this file.

/This source provides a general coverage of Maltese geography, history and archeology, population, language, religion and religious ceremonials and dress, and is particularly helpful in depicting the various functions of the government in the Maltese economy, including some data on the relationship of the State and the established church of Malta. The concluding section presents an excellent account of the post-World War 2 developments in Maltese politics, including relationships with Great Britain at this time, and the various intricacies of political behavior leading eventually to the establishment of a formal constitution which officially went into effect on April 15, 1959./

Field date: ca. 1920-ca. 1960
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1966-1968

Bowen-Jones, Howard. Agriculture in Malta. A Survey of Land Use 1955. Durham, England: Department of Geography, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, 1955.

Pp. iv, 6, 2, 2, 7, 21, 5, 6, 12, 6, 38, 5, 4, 2; numerous figures, maps and diagrams.

Indiana University Library: S269. M3B78.

[This mimeographed publication is the result of a five-week investigation during March-April 1955 undertaking a survey of agricultural problems in the island of Malta. The publication is divided into twelve parts, each being paginated separately. They are: foreword, introduction statistics, climate and irrigation, soils, crops, crop varieties, livestock, cultivation equipment and techniques, regional studies, husbandry, commercial conditions, and summary and conclusions. Since most of this material has been duplicated by other sources in the Malta file, this source has not been processed.]

Buxton, L. H. Dudley. Malta: An Anthropogeographical Study. The Geographical Review, Vol. 14, pp. 75-87. New York: The American Geographical Society of New York, 1924.

1 table; 1 map.

HRAF copy.

[This source briefly discusses the anthropogeography of Malta, with sections on the physical setting, rock structure, climate, vegetation, history of man on the island, and estimates and censuses of Maltese population. Since the same material is covered in much greater detail in 1: Bowen-Jones et al., this file, this source has not been processed.]

Busuttil, Vincenzo. A Tourist's Guide to the Maltese Islands Including an Historical Summary. Malta: Printed at the "Malta Herald" Printing Office, 1924.

Pp. 148; 1 map; railway time table.

Library of Congress: DG989.B8.

[This guide contains brief descriptions of Malta, its history, geography, politics, points of interest, and other items of interest to the casual tourist. Since most of the information is also found in other sources in this file, this guide has not been processed.]

Laferla, Albert V. The Story of Man in Malta. With an Introduction by His Excellency Sir Harry Luke. 3rd edition. Malta: A. C. Aquilina & Co., 1958.

Pp. viii, 212.

University of Washington: 945.8 L131S3.

[This volume was written primarily as a history of Malta for those attending schools in Malta and Gozo. In numerous short chapters, the author, a former Director of Education in Malta, details the history of the islands from prehistoric times until the year 1800. Since this file is concerned with Malta in the twentieth century, the volume has not been processed.]

Lang, D. M. Soils of Malta and Gozo. Great Britain, Colonial Office, Colonial Research Studies, No. 29. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960.

Pp. iii, 112; 8 photographs; many tables and maps.

Yale: Oyd20 + A14 29.

[This mimeographed report is the outcome of eight months of fieldwork in the Maltese Islands and subsequent analysis of samples at the Macaulay Institute for Soil Research. The seven chapters are: Location and extent, geology, climate, geomorphology; Field methods, description of soil profiles; Carbonate raw soils; The Xerorendzinas; Terrae Calxis; Vegetation and agriculture; and, Discussion on methods and results of chemical analysis. Appendix I gives the profile descriptions and Appendix II contains five tables of analytical data. The data contained in this work form a necessary background to any analysis of Maltese agriculture. However, it contains little cultural data and, therefore, has not been processed for the EZ6 Malta file.]

Malta. Central Office of Statistics. Census 1957, The Maltese Islands, Report on Population and Housing. Valletta (?): Central Office of Statistics, 1959.

Pp. xcix, 276; numerous tables and diagrams; 2 maps.

Library of Congress: HA1117.M3A56 1957a.

[This source is one of a series dealing with data from the Maltese census of 1957. The analysis supported by detailed tabulations, covers such subjects as changes in population of localities, changes in the age and sex structure, marital status and sex-ratio, terminal education age and illiteracy, households and their size, households in shared dwellings, density of occupation, tenure and rent, sanitary arrangements and domestic amenities, special characteristics of common tenement houses, schools, hospitals, religious communities, and other government and private institutions. This is a valuable compilation of data and in other circumstances would have been processed for the Malta file. However, its unwieldy size and the poor quality of the printing have made processing unfeasible at this time.]

Malta. Central Office of Statistics. Census 1957, The Maltese Islands, Report on Economic Activities. Valletta (?): Central Office of Statistics, 1959.

Pp. cviii, 318; numerous tables and diagrams.

Library of Congress: HA1117.M3A56 1957b.

[This source is the fourth of a series dealing with data from the Maltese census of 1957. It describes the gainfully occupied population and their economic activities, and contains a comprehensive and detailed set of tabulations. Data on economically inactive persons, on full or part time occupations, sickness and unemployment and on full time education are also given. This is a valuable compilation of data and in other circumstances would have been processed for the Malta file. However, its unwieldy size and the poor quality of the printing have made processing unfeasible at this time.]

Mitchell, Peter K. Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta. A Report to Her Majesty's Colonial Economic Research Committee. 2 Parts. Durham, England: Department of Geography, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, 1959.

Pp. x, 98; 22 tables; 23 figures; 3 appendices /Part I/; pp. xiii, 99-225; tables 23-40; figures 24-38; 2 appendices /Part II/.

Indiana University Library: S269.M3M68 v.1, v.2.

[These mimeographed volumes contain the results of an investigation by the author into the geography of Malta in 1957 and 1958. The research and the report are divided into two major sections: climatic studies, with special emphasis on the moisture factor in the local climate; and agronomic studies, which were intended to give a clear picture of present practice and recent developments in Maltese agriculture, taking the farm as the basic physical and economic unit. Since most of the information in these volumes is also given in more compact form in 1: Bowen-Jones et al., this file, this source has not been processed. Part II of this source does contain a number of case studies of individual farms which are of some interest.]

Weber, Bernerd C. Some Aspects of Maltese Folklore. Southern Folklore Quarterly, Vol. 24, Pp. 239-241. Gainesville, Florida: The University of Florida in Cooperation with the South Atlantic Modern Language Association, 1960.

Yale: Nkg10 So86 24.

[This brief article comments on a few practices which the author relates to survivals from the various historical invasions of the archipelago. Since the material is so general, it has not been processed.]

Zammit, Themistocles. Malta, The Islands and Their History. Valletta: Printed at "The Malta Herald" Office, 1926.

Pp. viii, 456; 24 appendices; bibliography; endpaper map.

Yale: Bm99.8f.

[The aim of the author in writing this concise account of Malta and its history was to bring together, in the simplest possible form, information which is to be found scattered through many volumes. Zammit was a noted Maltese historian and archeologist. Since much of this information, and of ~~a more~~ recent vintage, is found in other sources in the file, this book has not been processed.]

439 F. TRADE IN SOME AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND FARM MATERIALS 1958[3].

	Imports	Value £000	Exports & Re-Exports
Food grain and manufactured grain	1,862		18
Meat	1,048		23
Animal feeds	2,785		-
Potatoes	132(1957-99)		353(1957-104)
Fruit and vegetables	891		99
Milk	616		1
Butter, butter subs. and cheese	704		-
Edible vegetable oils	287		-
Eggs	263		-
Wines	74		15
Store bulls	528		-
Fertilisers	32		-
Agricultural implements & machinery	103		-

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1. Report of the Central Office of Statistics 1958/59. Malta 1959.
2. Annual Report of the Dept. of Emigration and Labour 1958-59. Malta 1959.
3. The Trade of the Maltese Islands 1958. Malta 1959.
4. Report of the Census of Agriculture 1958. Malta 1960.

133 Valletta which gives way, in the extreme south-east, to southerly dips. The only important dislocation is the Malak Fault at Ghar Lapsi which strikes NW and downthrows south-west at least 800 feet.

The westerly structural low brings the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone less than 100 feet above sea level between Qlejgħa (4072) and Baħrija (4171). But the region is very much complicated by shallow folds and faults. There is a general structural rise to the south-east, however, and this culminates near ta'Zuta (4566) where the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone is over 300 feet above sea level.

The main north-south anticlinal belt through central Malta was first recognised by Sir Edward Bailey. It is not, however, a simple ridge but forms several upwarps. The main domes are around Naxxar (4974), near Żebbug (4970) and north-east of Ghar Lapsi (4865). The first and last of these domes brings the top of the Globigerina Limestone over 400 feet above sea level.

The broad Valletta basin which centres on the Grand Harbour must carry the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone a few hundred feet below sea level. To the north the structures rise to give the outcrops of Lower Coralline Limestone north of Sliema (5574) and to the west they rise towards the central anticlinal belt. To the south-west the rise culminates near Zurrieq (5265) and to the south, after rising to give the Lower Coralline Limestone inliers near Zabbar (5870) and Kospikwa (5771) the strata dip regularly to the south-east. Younger and younger strata are therefore regularly exposed in that direction and the highest beds, the Upper Globigerina Limestone, crop out on the peninsula of Delimara Point (6064).

The Malak Fault at Ghar Lapsi (4864) downthrows the Upper Coralline Limestone at least 800 feet to seaward. The fault strikes NW and forms a conjugate association with the more usual NE or ENE striking faults. The fault plane is well exposed, and dips steeply seaward. The fault between Ta Berwiek (4864) and Deub il-Bagdal (4964) is double, enclosing a thick sliver of Globigerina Limestone.

The Age of the Faulting

The faults of the islands form prominent scarp faces and in many cases the actual fault planes show up as walls marked with original slickensiding. This suggests that the faulting must be quite recent. Indeed, Pleistocene Mollusca have been recorded in a crushed conglomerate caught up in the Malak Fault. [172] The neolithic cart tracks which enter the sea at St. George's Bay, Birżebbuga and other places show that there has been even more recent movement of the islands.

114 This account is based in part upon a field survey of Malta and Gozo carried out at the expense of British Petroleum Company Ltd., in March-April, 1955. The geologists engaged in the work, in addition to the authors, were Dr. M. H. P. Bott and Dr. A. A. Wilson, also of the Durham Colleges' Geology Department. The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to the Directors of the Company for permission to publish this summary. In addition visits were made in 1958 and 1960.

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A further 205 in the Main Sea Level Water Table produced 606,329 gallons, while 312
407 in the depressed parts of the Upper Coralline yielded 409,881 gallons, a total of 1,376,762 gallons from less than 3,000 pumped wells. The problem of salinity in sea-level water tables is illustrated by the Wied tal-I'wales where in 1945 private wells yielded water with a salinity ranging from 22 to 142/100,000 while in 1953 the corresponding figures were 25 and 200/100,000 (10).

Finally, an accurate check has been kept on water obtained from those springs on the Rabat-Dingli Plateau which feed aqueducts for town supply. Over a period of years these have yielded an average of 251 million gallons annually, equivalent to 26.7 per cent. of the supply provided by an average yearly rainfall of 20.51 inches on a catchment area of 3.16 square miles (11).

A survey carried out by J. Baldacchino in 1942-45 provides some data on the amount of water used to irrigate various crops (12). There can be little doubt that much water is wastefully applied. The highest rate of application was that to summer marrows which received 30 waterings, 210,000 gallons per tomna, the equivalent of 33 inches of rain. The most striking fact, however, concerned the spring potato crop which took 15 waterings, 90,000 gallons per tomna, equivalent to 15 inches of rain. This was water applied from January to April, some of the wettest months of the year, and is perhaps an adequate comment on the suitability or otherwise of this crop to Maltese conditions - a question raised elsewhere in the present volume. Careless storage and prodigal application of water under conditions of intense isolation and evaporation indicate an uneconomic use of a limited resource.

Irrigation and the piped supply thus appear to make approximately equal demands on water resources - now, a probable 2,000 million gallons in the case of the former and a more certain 2,415 million gallons in the latter. This total of over 4,400 million gallons consumed annually may be compared with an annual supply from rainfall of 27,550 million gallons (assuming an average precipitation of 20 inches over an area of 95 square miles). What is not known is how much of this latter total percolates to the water tables and how much is lost at various stages of the water cycle by direct run-off, evaporation, transpiration and seepage into the Mediterranean. Some of the answers will be provided by the evapotranspirometer stations recently established in Malta.

Gozo has not thus far been mentioned and relatively little hydrological 184
investigation has been carried out there. The general arrangement of water 312
tables irrigation practice, etc., are little different in principle from those described for Malta. The lower population density, the absence of a large urban element and the generally lower standard of living in the material sense make the problem a good deal less acute. Consumption per head from the public supply is approximately half that of Malta.

There is in the Maltese Islands, and particularly in Malta itself, conflict 312
between urban and rural uses of water just as there is in the use of labour, land 369
and capital. When the resource is already limited as it is in the case of water, the conflict becomes more apparent and its resolution depends on economic as much as on purely physical factors. Water shortage is a background against which all plans for future development, including the industrial, must be viewed.

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[p. 98-A]

175* [554] last remnants of the power of the *Giurati*, the Maltese Civil Magistrates, but at the same time revived the nominal ceremony of receiving the keys of Città Vecchia from the same body. In 1749, the Moslem slaves of the Order made an unsuccessful revolt. De Pinto and his successor, de Rohan (1775-1797) bestowed numerous titles of nobility and of the 26 Maltese title-holders of today 12 derive their status from these two Grand Masters. Ximenes abolished the essential *Consiglio Popolare* (as distinct from the *Università*) in 1775. Diplomacy and court appearances in the capitals of Europe consumed more treasure than the *corsos*, the raids against the Infidel, brought in. Indeed, some of the seafaring exploits were essentially piratical in nature.

Insolvency, dissension and an absence of purpose, together with growing unpopularity in Malta; to these were added the embarrassments of Revolutionary abolition of the Order in France and seizure of the Commanderies in 1792. By 1800, the Malta of the Knights had crumbled under the Napoleonic touch.

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'The language ... is Oriental and the Education is given in English and in Italian.

'... the Boys and Girls attending the Elementary Schools belong generally to the poor Classes. Before these children can acquire a competent knowledge in any of the Languages taught to them, they are generally taken away by their parents in order to be apprenticed to some trade or employed in agricultural labour. Consequently the child ... forgets the Italian and English, foreign to him, owing to want of time and practice in reading and writing, and to his being also obliged to constantly speak and hear nothing but Maltese, the native dialect of kith and kin ...'.

Given this situation, a conflict was bound to rise between the claims of Italian and English, with, as we have seen, all that that implied in religious, constitutional and economic affairs. The measures advocated by Keenan and the policy of Savona, Director of Education at the crucial period, resulted in the consolidation of English as the language of instruction. Consequentially English, and more slowly Maltese, gained in importance as Italian declined. While Italian language and culture became the symbols of opposition to the Government, such opposition became less and less associated with general popular feeling. In 1842 less than 4,000 children attended all schools (13); by 1906 almost 18,000 attended the Government primary schools alone (14). In 1902 parents of school-children were asked which language they wished to have used for instruction; the results were striking (15):

Standards up to III - Questioned on basis of either Italian or English

	Malta	Gozo	Both
English	98.7%	87.5%	97.7%
Italian	1.3%	12.5%	2.3%

Standards V and VI - Questioned on basis of single or combined use of languages.

English only	71.2%
English and Italian	27.8%
Italian only	1.0%

By the end of the period under discussion, the policy of anglicisation was triumphant, misgivings regarding the position of the Church had been allayed, and the Maltese economy was firmly associated with the wealth and needs of the Garrison. The Constitutional impasse had no immediate relevance to the life of the people. That social life was still dichotomous, although on a less insular plane than it had previously been.

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Our consideration must be restricted to the self-imposed terms of reference laid out in the Introduction, an examination of the resources of the Islands and their utilisation, bearing in mind the decreasing likelihood of there occurring more falls of manna. 168

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occurred, linking Zebbuġ, Birkirkara and Kospikwa with Valletta. Even so, and as detailed regulations make it clear, the bus services were still designed for commuters. Significantly enough, each route extension was largely pioneered by newcomers to the business, and to this day, public road transport remains a matter of so regulating traffic that many small independent units can just pay their way. There seems to be no inclination either to develop or to encourage the formation of larger economic units.

In 1930, timetables were published first for services between Valletta and Mellieħa via Mosta and St. Paul's Bay, and later between Kospikwa and Marsaskala. A separate Valletta-Mosta service also began operations. During the two following years, timetable recognition was given to other services which it seems were already operating and by the end of 1932 most of the services now in existence were then operating. Although the issue of timetables does not necessarily accurately date the commencement of services it does denote their firm establishment and as such is of considerable significance. As can be seen from Fig. 65, all routes lead to Valletta (see too p. 185) and Old Malta of the casals has become dominated by the conurbation. Not only are there few services inter-connecting the townships and villages but large areas in the West and North have either no bus service or have very limited services as, for example, Mġarr. The radial nature of the services is an obvious commentary on economy and society in Malta today; more than this it further exaggerates differences in accessibility as between regions and villages. It is no accident that Mġarr is the most agricultural of all settlements.

We can leave this brief selective examination of economic aspects of Maltese life with this last picture of the mechanically varied fleet of buses in their 15 vividly coloured regional liveries. As they pound noisily about the Island, they epitomise the uneasy mobility, the jerky breaking down of old parochialisms that is modern Malta.

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a dry-farming cereal region. The other main centres are of more recent growth and reflect a variety of factors, Mosta as a regional centre, Gżira and Msida as suitably placed coastal sites within the conurbation. Secondly, the distribution of bakeries does not correspond directly with variations in population density but rather reflects those variations in an exaggerated form. If we omit Qormi from consideration, Fig. 67 indicates fairly accurately the strength or weakness of traditional society in inverse ratio to the strength of commercial bakery development. Thirdly, the inter-regional 'trade' in bread, together with evidence we have no space to consider such as the development of travelling shops, etc., shows the importance of the new mobility which is rapidly breaking down old parochialisms. Uniformity, homogeneity, openness to world ideas, these are the social virtues lauded in the twentieth century, which are being inculcated in Malta most effectively by the delivery vans of the new commercialism. The decline of local individualisms is aesthetically sad; it is also dangerous in that the smoother the appearance of the social emulsion the less heed is paid to the degree of real cohesion between its members.

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25. CHARLTON, W. A.: *op. cit.*

per cent. are children under 14 years of age. The number of whole-time 162
farmers, 8,100, is now smaller than the group of part-time agriculturalists - 24
8,946, and in its age-composition differs significantly from the total population
- 46 per cent. are aged 50 years or more (1948 - 33.8 per cent.) as compared
with 31 per cent. for the Islands as a whole.

The relatively small and, until very recently, declining size of the full-time 178
farming population, and its rapid ageing, suggest a decline in the importance 24
and status of agriculture. The implications of these figures are discussed else-
where but it is worth noting that the agricultural areas are still inhabited by [434]
over 126,000 persons most of whom draw some real income from the land in
amounts which may often be small per capita but which observation suggests
are large in total.

The total value of the recorded crop product is estimated at some £2.27 24
millions. From observation in Malta and experience elsewhere one can suggest 43
that is under-estimated by a fraction of the order of 10 per cent. (See p. 10, -
Essential Statistics - for further information.)

The combined value of crop and livestock products is estimated at almost £6,000,000. The income accruing to the cultivators is distributed in such a multiplicity of ways in such varying amounts that no useful estimate of average per capita income can be made. Of the disbursements of some £3 millions, an amount of the order of £2½ millions is expended on imports, notably of fodder and store cattle. Earnings of foreign currency amount to approximately £500,000, almost half of which derived from potato exports. This imbalance between imports and exports in the agricultural sector appears even more striking when one remembers that F.D.T. imports of over £9,000,000 make up 35 per cent. of the total Maltese import bill.

The efforts of the 9 per cent. of the employed population engaged in agri- 121
culture are already considerable but the needs of Malta are great. With no known
physical resources of any size other than the land, it becomes of vital 24
importance that farming productivity should be raised even further and that
special effort is directed towards a legitimate degree of self-sufficiency in
agricultural products. Much of the analysis that follows this introduction must
be considered in the light of present and future needs.

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Islands and could thus provide continuity in the interpretation of the records of 311* the many field workers. 114

The survey parties worked in the Islands during the months of March and April in each of the three years 1955, 1956, and 1957. In March-April and August-September 1958 the authors themselves carried out final checks. During the Spring periods, the use of fairly large teams of observers, between six and eight in number, enabled the work to be concentrated at a critical time when the widest range of crops and of activities are to be seen. Summer vegetables and cotton are the only major crops not then in the fields and this difficulty was overcome by the enlistment of the other Durham research workers permanently residing in the Islands and by a summer visit of one of the authors. Objection might be raised to the spreading of the survey work over more than one season. The difficulty of completing such work on such a scale during one short period of time is not a sufficient answer. The real answer is that the time spread did not matter. The miniscule field pattern and the further subdivision into separate plots, both amply illustrated in the examples shown here, mean that crop changes from year to year merely result in the re-shuffling of tiny pieces of an intricate mosaic. The variety of crops grown and identified (see below), the relative uniformity of crop sequences and the individuality possessed by the various regions, further remove any deficiencies apparently implied by this particular method. The spreading of the fieldwork over a number of years did in fact allow both the checking of methodological validity and the carrying out of subsidiary pieces of work. For example, sample areas were surveyed during each of the four years, thus giving an accurate picture of crop sequence and rotations, as well as a check on short term change.

The following crops were individually identified in the field: sulla, wheat, [241] barley, vines, fruit, olives, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, marrows, other vegetables, broad beans, peas and vetches. In addition, uncropped land was recorded as waste, fallow, rough grazing or tilled. In several cases, e.g. vegetables, fruit and vetches, a note was made of the actual variety of plant being grown, e.g. cauliflowers, artichokes, apples, peaches, lemons, *gilbiena*, 102 *zozfa*, *widna*, etc. Coloured maps on a 6-inch scale, showing the 18 different crops and uses of land have been prepared. Cost of publication prevents their 311* reproduction here, but they have been used in the preparation of this volume, 126 particularly in Chapters VII B and VIII. The Land Use Maps (Figs. 69 to 98) show the distribution of individual crops, though the range distinguished has been somewhat curtailed. Wheat and barley, tomatoes and marrows, the various vegetables, broad beans and peas, and vetches and minor fodders have respectively been combined into single maps although the accompanying text notes regional variations. These 14 distribution maps in black and white have been prepared by reduction from the coloured 6-inch series. They were originally prepared on a 2-inch scale, and were thus directly comparable with the standard 2-inch topographical sheets and with the 2-inch geology and soil maps. The distribution maps, together with the coloured 6-inch are at present stored in the Durham Geography Department and it is hoped that the former at least will eventually be published on a 2-inch scale. The amount of cartographic work involved has been at least as great as that done in the field, and, since it was carried out by the authors alone it has consumed a considerable amount of time. However, it is felt that the labour has been justified in that only by accurate cartographic representation and by deduction from the maps can easy generalities be avoided. The long term character of the project also made easier the establishment of friendly contacts with local individuals, both official and private, whose help is sincerely acknowledged, and at the same time allowed the authors to amass a background knowledge of the Maltese Islands which has been invaluable in their interpretation of the agricultural landscape.

Note. A preliminary report - 'Agriculture in Malta, a survey of land use', was produced 113
by H. Bowen-Jones and J. C. Dewdney, at Durham, in 1955.

slopes. With the exception of ta'Ċenċ, these areas also correspond to the most remote and difficult lands. Lastly, the tops of the smaller mesas, too restricted in area for permanent settlement, form lesser patches of waste. 311*

NON-AGRICULTURAL USE (Figs. 97 and 98) 311* 361

This category covers a variety of uses of land. The major element here is land occupied by settlements. In Malta, this includes true urban development as in the Valletta conurbation, agro-towns (the *casals*) and a small number of village-hamlets such as Mġarr and Bubaqra. Their limits, plotted on a six-inch scale, were drawn to separate true farmland from house-gardens, orchards and stockyards associated with the settlements. As noted previously, this has resulted in some slight exaggeration of the areas defined as 'built-up'.

In Gozo, Victoria is the only true town. Żebbuġ, Xagħra, Nadur and Qala have small urban nuclei but otherwise consist of agglomerated farmsteads as also do the remaining villages. Field-work on a 25-inch scale has allowed a more precise delineation of the built-up areas and of dispersed settlement. The latter, as may be seen from the maps, bears a striking correspondence to the road pattern.

The 'Miscellaneous' category includes land used by the Defence Departments as airfields, barracks and other installations. For security reasons, a more detailed appraisal has not been made. Other types of land-use included here are quarries being worked at the time of the survey, as in the Naxxar-Għargħur and ta'Kandja districts of Malta, sportsgrounds (e.g. Marsa) and reservoirs as at ta'Ċenċ. In Malta, small groups of buildings outside the main settlements also fall within this category, whereas in Gozo only special cases such as that of ta'Pinu shrine and the Fort Chambray asylum are so marked.

The 15 different types of land use portrayed in the distribution maps are a striking illustration of the wide range of conditions, physical, human and economic, to be found within the Maltese Islands. A fuller picture emerges when the regional combinations of these elements are studied in detail and this is done in Chapter VIII, where different crop assemblages are used to define Agricultural Regions. 311* 128

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423* 311 427 what type of lease. However, many of the minor variations in land use which exist as between adjacent fields or parts of fields can be partially explained on the basis of their legal position. Thus the wasteland of Il-Wilġa in the Wied tal-Pwales reflects both physical deterioration and a tenurial conflict. But, as may be observed throughout the regional and distributional studies in this volume, the patterns observable in Maltese farming are resultants of many forces and influences, in which the legal element plays a very minor part.

423* 427 A third type of tenure, that of share-cropping, appears in some rather specialised forms in the Maltese Islands. Between land-owner and occupier, its main incidence seems to be as a working arrangement between aged parents and their children. Between coevals it appears as a temporary form of sub-letting known as *bin nofs.* Some of the factors influencing the first type have already been examined. In the second case, share-cropping arrangements are a consequence of the growing tendency of farmers to leave the land for short trial periods to seek other employment or to emigrate. As a form of insurance, leased or owned land is then often let temporarily to relatives or friends on the understanding that should the farmer return, his land reverts to him or in the case of the time-limit (usually five years) elapsing before his return, the share-cropper takes over full rights. Although this is of doubtful legality in the case of rented land, landlords do not seem to object. In the north and west of Malta, over 6 per cent. of the cultivated area is held in this way, and the proportion is over 3 per cent. in Gozo. In other areas, share-cropping would seem to be of negligible importance. Because this system appears to be based on expediency, the details of owner-cropper relationship are more variable than in areas where *metayage* is more fully developed as an institution. The provision of land, materials and labour and the division of product vary greatly. One case exists of a whole community working the land under a tenant-in-chief who provides land, seed, manure and some machinery and then claims one-fifth of the value of the crops which he buys back in bulk.

423* 427 428 The share-cropping tenures terminate with the death of either party. In all other cases the death of a tenant results in the leasehold becoming part of his divisible estate and liable to fragmentation between the children, all of whom have equal rights of inheritance. The importance of this element in the process of *parcellement* has been regarded as very great, in Malta as elsewhere. Before considering an actual case-study of holding evolution, it is as well to note some of the general points.

First, the family group has strong powers to maintain its hold on land and to exclude others from it. In this they are supported by the action of landlords and by the legal codes as at present framed. On the other hand, little effort is made to prevent sub-division within the family group. Thus no analysis of the process of fragmentation can be made without a full understanding of the nature of the Maltese rural family.

423* [123] In this chapter, the main elements in the physical and legal entity which constitutes the Maltese farm have been considered. As much as is feasible of the legal and customary background to the farm unit has been considered. In illustration of these points and in order to amplify them, a detailed analysis of the lands of one Maltese family follows. It is appropriate here to record the great kindness, forbearance and co-operation shown by the members of that family without whose considerable assistance such an examination could not have been made.

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tal-Halib'. These bodies have introduced some constant elements into an otherwise chaotic situation but this has also implied a certain rigidity. Sonce the costs of milk production are not accurately known and the costs to the National Economy are ignored one now has an artificial market with artificial prices which must be maintained to prevent economic disaster on the farms. (For such information on production and marketing as is available, the reader is further referred to Chapters X D and X E.)

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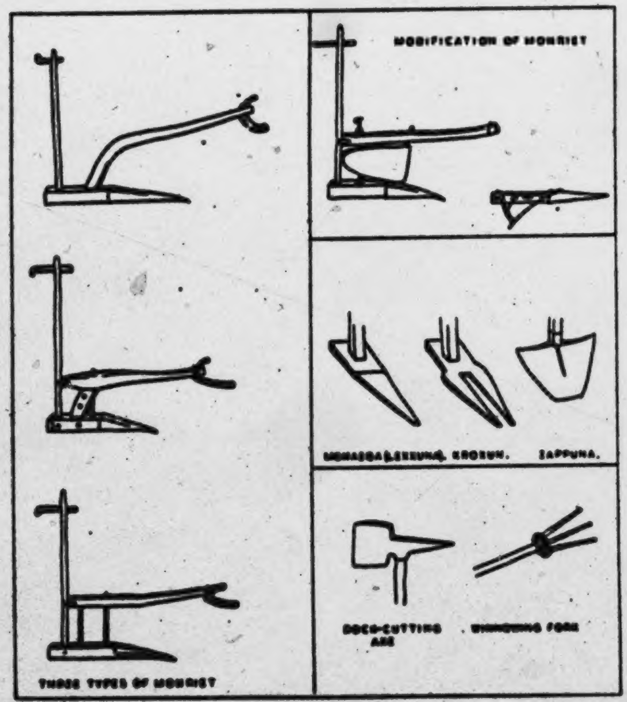

Fig. 149 Cultivation Equipment.

weed greens pulled from wallsides and fallow or abandoned fields. Sulla, green barley and the minor legumes make up the remainder of the bulk feed, except for prickly pear which is used as a summer reserve fodder. Concentrates in the form of cake and beans are invariably fed to cattle but cake is rarely given to goats. There is considerable variation in the feeding of calves and kids. The most characteristic feature of livestock feeding is, however, the complete lack of uniformity and the virtual absence of any rational programme of feeding of cattle. At a relatively low level, most Maltese farmers are better acquainted with goats' needs and of course those needs are fairly elastic. With cattle, as the survey showed, every possible range and combination of diet is to be observed. 'Farmers seem to have little idea about the relative nutritive values of foodstuffs such as cake and beans' (16), so that over-feeding and unbalanced feeding are normal. An extreme example is that of a goatherd, newly possessed of a Friesian heifer in calf, through a Government exchange scheme (p. 310), who stall-fed it 15 lb. of cake, 3.5 lb. of beans, one bundle of green sulla and half a sack of barley straw daily. At the same time there exists a 'pedigree complex' and the possession of an animal with a known lineage and some Friesian blood is a matter of pride.

Animal diseases are prevalent, ranging from endemic infection by *brucellosis melitensis* and pregnancy diseases in goats to contagious abortion and mastitis in cattle. Most of these result from unhygienic and inadequate accommodation. The Maltese livestock farmer, as noted later, operates on a small scale and with little capital. The provision of adequate facilities can only be done with borrowed money. Since 1956, Governmental loans and subsidies have been available for helping with the construction of stock houses, water supply systems, etc., as well as for purchases of machinery. Instruction in animal care and hygiene is also provided. Mental resistance to change is not as great in this sector as in crop-production because losses through disease are more catastrophic in their impact on individual farmers. Nevertheless, even here, the better the traditional practices, the more loth cultivators may be to accept advice. Thus in a case-study of a very efficient fraternal partnership holding some 70 *tumien* and practising mixed farming, a standard reaction was found. This partnership had no shortage of capital, and the production of an average of 50 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is high for Malta. Unfortunately, with livestock as with crops, the high degree of success attributable to their able application of traditional ideas seems to bar the way to future progress - 'A good cowman knows as much as a vet.'. At the other extreme lie the perpetually indebted small producers with insufficient land, money or even traditional expertise, for whom advice must be simple and fundamental. Here again, the Agricultural Advisory Service can only produce slow improvements. [654]

With livestock, as with husbandry, the need for improving standards is obvious. The maximum efficiency in the utilisation of all possible resources is essential to Malta. Work is in hand, limited unfortunately by the perpetual shortage of revenue and trained personnel (a situation which is the result of Malta's peculiar evolution), in a variety of ways, from studies of balanced rations for livestock and improved crop strains even to a pilot survey of the seaweed resources of the Island (17). But, before any recommendations can be implemented, they must be accepted by the farmers of Malta and Gozo.

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241 433 435 development and straining even the existing pattern. In the first place, physical environment so dominates the mind of the Maltese farmer that he categorically asserts the virtues and deficiencies of various regions and does not realise that with the techniques and crop-strains at his disposal he now can negate some of these differentiations. Thus the case-study quoted on p. 329 is atypical rather than normal. The result is that in these Islands, which have a long thermal growing season, there are very marked seasonal fluctuations in production. With cauliflowers, tomatoes, carrots and some other vegetables the produce suddenly appears on the markets, prices soar through the fixed ceilings and then as suddenly slump with glut. For the rest of the year - January to September in the case of cauliflowers, and for all except June to September with tomatoes - good quality produce is not available. Prices to the producer range from very high to zero and such fluctuations, superimposed on those caused by climatic variations, both strain the farming economy and encourage poor production. Thus some winter grown Arran Banner sold for up to 50s. per *qantar* in 1956 but only 8s. 4d. in 1958; in January 1957, unsold cauliflowers could be bought from *pitkali* for fodder at 1s. a sack, while a year later they fetched almost 1s. a *wiżna* ($8\frac{3}{4}$ lb. av.).

241 464 465 Secondly, the concentration in time of the various harvests causes severe fluctuations in the demand for labour. All farmers interviewed regard hired labour as poor in quality and expensive. This is a frequent grumble in many countries but in the Maltese context there are some special implications. The number of agricultural labourers, which declined in the nineteenth century as pressure on land resources diminished holding size and encouraged cultivation by occupiers, further declined as urban employment opportunities increased. That pool which is left to some extent sets its standards of wage demand by urban levels, but more important still is only urgently required at two seasons of the year. During the first of these, March to middle May, it is needed for the harvesting of cereals, sulla, potatoes and other winter crops and for the first of the summer cultivations. The second period, about September, coincides with the grape harvest which lasts but three weeks, and with autumn tillage. The result is to elevate day-wage rates to the point of discouragement for the farmer and to lower seasonal earnings so as to repel possible labourer recruits. Merchants, vintners, fodder and food consumers and producers all suffer, and suffer needlessly when one realises the climatic possibilities for extending production.

241 433 To sum up, one may say that the farmer, although largely producing for the market, is generally unable to cost his efforts, deal on equal terms with traders, or appreciate the needs of the market domestic or foreign. This inability must be corrected because the farmer and his land are potentially capable of supplying more of the Islands' agricultural needs than they do at present, and of making a considerable positive contribution to the balance of trade which at the moment they help to distort.

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efficient as judged by yields. This is the group mainly responsible for the fairly steady progress made during the last 30 years but their productivity is neither high enough for modern needs nor attractive enough to ensure family succession on the land. A typical example is a composite case-study:- 234 241

M - In Region C XVII, the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills, lies a holding of 40 *tmien* (Fig. 143). Two wells supply water except in high summer. The 60-year-old farmer and his wife live in a relatively new farmhouse, an older dwelling with byres now being used to house six Friesian cows, seven goats, a horse and a mule. The grown-up children have either emigrated or work in *'il-Belt'* and have no interest in the land. The farmer built up his herd in the period after World War II and would like to increase its size but realises that he could not handle any more stock. About 5 *tmien* of land is usually under potatoes, small plots carry vegetables for home use, and the remainder grows fodder. This allocation results partly from the swing towards milk production but also from the high cost of hired labour to work the land. Husbandry is fairly good but the farmer confesses his technical ignorance and has no younger generation on the farm to encourage him. He keeps no accounts since 'this is the way he lives'.

Many other examples of sub-types of Maltese farmer could be given, ranging from the highly organised syndicate of five brothers which practises successful mixed farming in Region C XVIII d, Siġġiewi but which, almost as a result, is highly resistant to change; to the fruit and vegetable farmers of Wied San Blas in Gozo (Region III, Northern). Those given represent a fairly comprehensive cross-section of the producers who, within their limitations, make a fairly efficient use of land resources. Unfortunately this is not enough. All but a very few are commercially limited to an appreciation of the local not very exacting markets. In no case have we found any appreciation of costing by profit but only a more or less vague knowledge of gross returns. Everywhere there is suspicion, not vicious or pathological but quietly ingrained. It is assumed that the only way to ensure fair purchase prices is personally to deliver the produce - even to the M.M.U. It is equally natural to be suspicious of bureaucracy - a not abnormal rural phenomenon - and also of the practical knowledge if not the learning of advisers. A great many farmers are also conscious of a helplessness, of being left behind by the cunning of the city. This too is a not abnormal country attitude but, seen in the context of the whole social nexus, it is dangerous. 241 829

Note: For a fuller consideration of some case-studies see P. K. Mitchell: 'Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta', Part II, 'The Maltese Farm', Report to C.E.R.C., Durham, 1960, and B. W. Beeley: 'The Farmer and Rural Society in Malta', Report to C.E.R.C., Durham, 1960. 113

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

178 366 Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops, and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War, the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The *petrolju* van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another 262 797 addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

178 342 351 Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a staircase frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming 178 312 364 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

491 371 206 546 Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people. Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older Band Club buildings.

178 241 The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them, thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee. Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

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Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Besley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1960.

persons with political or economic influence. Once a kin relationship is made known, it establishes a special tie between the two parties, and preferential treatment often follows; for kin are expected to help each other. 602

The ties of kinship can also be extended artificially by asking non-kin to become godparents or marriage witnesses. Although parents normally choose persons to fill these offices from among their parents, uncles and aunts, thus reinforcing already existing kin ties, they quite often ask influential non-kin to perform this function. While the obligations created by godparenthood in Malta, as in Italy, are not as demanding as they are in Spain, and Spanish America,[1] the godparent (*parrinu*) is expected to favour his godchild (*filjozz*), if not the child's father.[2] Thus the institution of godparenthood plays a part in the system of patronage. Influential persons, however, are more often asked to become marriage witnesses. This relationship is not enduring. When influential non-kin are asked to fill this office it is done as much to increase the prestige of the families of the couple getting married as it is to honour a patron. 608 [601] [171] [557]

There is constant informal contact between relatives living in the same village. These informal meetings strengthen kin ties and ensure that people have a wide knowledge of their kin. Thus a friend in Farruġ was able to name 49 households in the village (20 per cent of the total) whose members were descended from his father's six siblings. Although the spread of this old man's family was unusual, no one in the village did not have some relatives living there. The many cross-cutting bonds of kinship thus reinforce the multiplex ties created by neighbourhood, common culture and shared devotion to common symbols, and bind together the inhabitants of a village into the tightly united community which outsiders see. 602 [621]

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[1] See Gallatin Anderson, *A Survey of Italian God-parenthood* (The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 15; Berkeley, 1956), J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954), pp. 107 f.; and Sidney W. Mintz and Eric R. Wolf, 'An Analysis of Ritual Co-parenthood (Compadrazgo),' *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI (1950), 341-68. [113]

[2] The reciprocal term *xbin* is used between a godparent and the father of his godchild. Friends and even strangers often use it to address one another; it is a way of reducing social distance and making possible a more intimate association. Michael Kenny in his book, *A Spanish Tapestry* (London, Cohen and West, 1961), p. 72, notes that this is also an Andalusian custom.

Partly because of the temporary nature of their assignments, but 554
also because they are usually city-bred, they generally keep 754
themselves aloof from the people amongst whom they work.
With but few exceptions, they take little or no part in the social
life of the communities to which they are assigned. But they are
nevertheless respected figures. Where they are tolerant of village
customs, not too mercenary, and take a patronal interest in the
personal problems of their clients, they will have, in addition to
prestige, a large personal following. This has enabled a number of
former District Medical Officers to stand successfully for elected
office.

School teachers are another group of people with high pres- 554
tige. Every village and almost every hamlet in Malta and Gozo
now has a government school. Headmasters usually live outside 875
the villages in which they work. They begin their careers in the
small rural villages and move into the larger and more important
schools as they gain experience and seniority. They are rarely in a 554
village long enough to be asked to take part in its social life. 575
Village-born teachers, on the other hand, normally teach in their 875
home villages, where they often occupy important offices in the
associations. But even where he no longer resides in his place of
birth the teacher or headmaster, as a village son with high pres-
tige, is often asked to take an active part in its social life. The
president of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ, for example, is
headmaster of the primary school in a neighbouring village, where
he has lived since he married there more than forty years ago. He
has been a member of the club's committee for most of that time,
and its president for the last twenty years. Until two years ago he [794]
was also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Roque.

VI

The structure of authority in the villages of Malta and Gozo, 621
because of the importance of offices and associations which are 795
either focused on or articulated with the Church, bears a certain
superficial resemblance to the civil/religious hierarchy which has
been described in Mexican villages.[1] But it differs significantly;
it is neither a hierarchy, nor is it formally related to the structure
of government.

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[1] See, for instance, Fernando Camara, 'Religious and Political Organization', in *Heritage of Conquest*, Sol Tax, ed. (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), *passim*.

[113]

besides the patron saint, parishes celebrate many other saints. The 575
feasts of these secondary saints are normally not as lavish as the 578
annual festa of the patron. But many villages celebrate two large 621
festas: one for the titular saint of the parish, and the other for a 794
secondary saint who has assumed almost equal social importance. 796
Where this occurs, a village is divided into two partiti, each of
which has its own band club and celebrates one of the saints. The
partiti compete over almost every aspect of the festa, including the
decoration of the streets, the adornment of the statue, the number
of guest bands and, above all, the fireworks. Even the exact number of communicants, the size of candles and the quantity of light
bulbs illuminating the façade of the church often become the
subject of dispute. Farruġ is divided by this type of rivalry. One
partit is dedicated to St. Martin, the titular of the parish, the other
to St. Roque.

The origins of these festa partiti, where they can be traced, are 17
very much alike. Most of them came into existence sometime 578
between 1850 and the turn of the century, and most arose out of 621
disputes between persons concerned with the celebration of the 796
titular festa and those interested in the cult of some lesser saint.
The latter were usually members of the confraternity dedicated to [794]
that saint.[1] These factions in time became centred on separate [575]
social clubs, and eventually acquired brass bands. The clubs provided a permanent institutional basis for the rivalry. As time went
on, the partiti became more violent in their disputes and in the
pressure they put upon individuals to support them. Finally in 578
1935, the Church, long alarmed at the extremes to which the 621
devotion to some saints had been carried in certain villages, took
steps to eliminate the competition. It promulgated a series of 79
regulations designed to reduce the scale on which secondary feasts
could be celebrated. These stipulated that for secondary feasts there [575]
was to be no Translation of Holy Relics on the eve of the feast,
that only the church and the area immediately adjacent to it could

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[1] Cf. Rob. Mifsud Bonnici, *Ġrajja Tal-Mużika F'Malta u Għawdex* (Malta, Giov. [113]
Muscat, 1954), pp. 38 f. He suggests that these partiti developed out of a dispute between [114]
persons who wanted to play sacred music by the Maltese composer Vincenzo Bugeja
(1806–60) and those who preferred that of his rival, Paolo Nani (1814–1904). As far as
I could determine, however, the only partiti which arose directly out of this dispute [575]
are those in Żebbuġ. On the other hand, many rival partiti, once established, played the
music of either Bugeja or Nani during their feasts. The former took a star as their symbol,
the latter an eagle. Today partiti in many villages are still nicknamed either *tal-istilla* or
tal-ajkla after this once-important division.

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catho-
787 lic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedi-
795 cated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentle-
621 men'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to dis-
seminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
868

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[1] See Appendix A.

[2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*.
[113] He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

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161 842 231 man, are also unusually fertile, and the females possess remarkably developed udders. Possibly similar causes make both man and the goats fertile. If this is so, emigrants from the island will probably, after a short time, lose their fertility,[1] whilst the only limiting factors on the island itself will be space and the food and water supply.

144 172 174 Summarizing our general conclusions, the race in Malta which is associated with the period of great megalithic buildings—a cultural stage we have termed "Malta Local Neolithic"—appears to be closely akin to the Mediterranean race. This is our "Malta first race." At a later date, possibly towards the end of the Bronze Age, but more probably during the Early Iron Age, Malta was peopled by a race with different characteristics, our "Malta second race." These people are of Armenoid type, but probably have an admixture of Mediterranean blood. Their origin appears to be the Eastern Mediterranean. They may have come to Malta either directly or by way of Carthage. They may have destroyed the previous inhabitants, or they may merely have pursued methods of peaceful penetration. This race has firmly established itself in Malta, and all subsequent introduction of foreign blood has failed to raise the variation. During the course of years certain changes have taken place; there are also certain local variations, but the differences between Malta and Gozo are not greater than the differences between the general population of Malta and at least one, and possibly more, of the more isolated villages.

APPENDIX I.

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[167] [1] Of interest in this connection is the fact that there is at present a Maltese colony in Detroit, U.S.A., and it will be instructive to observe whether, amid alien surroundings, the strain is able to perpetuate itself and to retain its fertility.

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Id-devot ta Maria 1887–99 (periodical) Malta. Dec. 1887, pp. 9–11; Sept. 1888, p. 147; Jan. 1890, p. 19; Feb. 1890, p. 35; May 1890, p. 85; Oct. 1890, p. 162; Jun. 1893, p. 99; Feb. 1894, p. 34; Mar. 1894, p. 49; Apr. 1894, p. 66; Feb. 1895, p. 34; Mar. 1896, p. 50; Oct. 1896, p. 163; Jul. 1899, p. 114.
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Wilkinson, (Sir) J. G. 1837. *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. III. London.
Zammit, T. 1926. *Malta, the Islands and their History.* Malta.
Zammit, T. 1935. *The Neolithic Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni.* Malta.
Zammit, T. & Singer, C. 1924. Neolithic Representations of the Human Form from the Islands of Malta and Gozo. J. R. ANTHROP. INST., 54, pp. 75–6.

CAPTIONS TO PLATES [1]

Plate I

Fig. 1. Silver votive offerings representing various parts of the body. The model between the trunk 532
and the ear is a stylized form of the female breasts. (By courtesy of the Director of the 782
National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 2. This leg of baked clay is from the Roman ruins at Ras-ir-Raheb to the north west of Bahria, Malta. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 3. Bronze dies of liver and lower limb used by Maltese silver smiths for the manufacture of the silver 'ex-votos'. Scale in centimetres and inches. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Plate II

Fig. 1. The picture tells the story so clearly that no inscription is attached to it. Note the Maltese 532
type of windmill and the costumes of the peasants still in use during the last century. Tal 782
Hlas Church, Qormi. (Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 789

Fig. 2. The landscape is not Maltese. Presumably this 'ex-voto' was offered by a foreigner or else [402]
the donor was a Maltese who met with a riding accident abroad. The letters V.F.G.A. stand [291]
for 'Votum Fecit Gratiam Accepit' (A vow was made and a favour received). Tal Mirakli Church, Lija, Malta. (Photograph by Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A.)

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[1] [plate I will be found facing p. 24; plate II faces p. 25.— An.]

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black 764
crape.

(*d*) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(*e*) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and 764
watch the corpse for the whole night. This custom prevails 767
mostly in Gozo. In old days official female mourners, named
neħħieha (from *neħħah*, " to cry ") were employed. The prac- [175]
tice was abolished in Malta during the plague of A.D. 1676.[1] [731]
Sicilians employed mourners called Praeficae or Reputatrices, [171]
a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese female mourners is described by Abela as follows :—

They wore trailing veils (*kurkâr*), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their
mourning. 764

(*f*) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the [354]
Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This [765]
is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is [175]
in this way prevented from haunting the house. In some of [788]
the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth, and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the

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[1] Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 794. [113]

SECTION 7 : Bibliography

113 Published and documentary material relating to the Maltese Islands falls clearly into two categories:

(a) that concerning the Order of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem,
(b) that relating to the Islands themselves and to the Maltese people.

113
175 The two and a half centuries during which the Order had its headquarters in Malta (1530-1798) included the climacteric of its naval power in the Mediterranean struggle with Islam, and the greatest development of its sovereign position among the states of Europe. Historians continue to find, in these years, an apparently limitless field of research and the flow of published results of new or 'second-hand' work shows no signs of abating. This is not to say that the four centuries of the Order before 1530 and the years since 1798 have been overlooked but it underlines the importance of the period of rule in the Maltese Islands, to Europe as well as to the Order itself. The fact that the members of the Order came to be known as 'Knights of Malta' is a further indication of their association with the Islands.

By the good fortune of history many of the archives and original manuscript material of the Order, from its foundation to its expulsion from Malta by the French in 1798, are still preserved in the Royal Malta Library (B/16) or in smaller collections elsewhere. The Royal Malta Library with its large and partly unclassified collection remains a veritable mine of information to students of the Order and of the Islands which they ruled so tightly (B/26).

Since ancient times the Maltese Islands have received attention from foreign writers. In the eighteenth century the volume of this interest increased immensely. Itinerant gentlemen of leisure from Britain and the Continent wrote home their observations and produced 'accounts' and 'descriptions' of the Islands. This recording of "interesting facts" (B/19, p.xv) continued into the nineteenth century but broadened with the appearance of several large-scale works, the results of painstaking investigations (B/326, 455, 516, etc.).

The 159 years of British rule have seen the growth of the local Government Printing Office (now a section of the Department of Information) and the appearance of an increasing number of reports and papers, singly and in series. To these have been added the H.M.S.O. and other official items emanating from the United Kingdom. In recent years these sources have expanded rapidly in scope and volume as the policies and problems of the Islands have called for more observation, documentation and record.

113 175 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the object of both propaganda and admiration.

191 197 177 178 As to language, it is clear the War finally killed the greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confirmed English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It had been a language of government for more than a century but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under the Order and had maintained its position during British nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not replace Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since been a considerable increase in the number of books and periodicals appearing in the language, along with general education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese public. Over the same period the use of Italian has declined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the Church and the professional classes) and the demand for English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of [204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for 1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920, p.333), 1933-34 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 - 1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English...............	1	1	2	2
Italian...............	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese...............	-	-	2	2

197 214 [212] Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly, or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this, it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant section of the population, generally the professional and business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write only one or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language dictionaries and works of a philological or etymological nature are obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistics

197 of Maltese, with its semitic sub-strata and immense Italian
214 and other European accretions, have attracted much attention
among students of comparative linguistics abroad.

The circulation of the Maltese daily "Il-Berqa" (B/55)
reflects the position in the Islands, being limited to the
working and rural classes. Many periodicals of a religious
or occupational nature, or those produced by some towns and
villages, now appear in Maltese; others are bi-lingual.
[191] But a knowledge of English is now so widespread among the
younger generation that one would expect it to consolidate
[198] its growing importance as the language of government, education and culture, with the use of written Maltese declining
relatively - though growing in absolute terms with the
extension of literacy.

197 Maltese language fiction and poetry exists today along
538 with a great deal of religious writing. The present biblio-
113 graphy makes no attempt to cover this field although several
[217] of the Maltese writers concerned do appear in the general
list (Part 8), while the principal store-houses of Maltese
literature, the Royal Malta Library (B/16) and the Royal
University (B/17), and others, are mentioned in Part 1.
Neither is any systematic coverage attempted of the wealth
of material concerning the Knights Hospitallers and their
sojourn in Malta though some of the principal sources are
included in Parts 2 and 8.

113 Maps, plans and charts of the Islands are not included.
Many of the collections listed in Part 1 contain such items
(B/1, 5, 6, 16, etc.), the Naval and Military authorities in
the Islands have made surveys, maps and charts as required,
while many private individuals have added to the list.
Reference to the official 2" to one mile map (Geographical
Section, General Staff, No.3859, War Office, 3rd Edition
- 1953) is recommended at all points in the present volume.
Sheet 1 covers Gozo and Comino and Sheet 2 Malta. For Malta,
more detailed coverage is provided by the 6" (G.S.G.S.,
No.3852) and the 25" to the mile (G.S.G.S., No.3752) maps. A
valuable land-use survey in Malta (1955) and Gozo (1957)
have provided the Islands' first detailed coverage of this
nature (B/5, 336, 337). Also valuable is the indexed and
comprehensive 'Malta Street Guide' (B/489).

The bibliography which follows attempts only a very basic classification into eight sections

Part 1... List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands (B/1 - 17),

Part 2... List of some bibliographies on Maltese subjects (B/18 - 52),

Part 3... Sample list of some newspapers, periodicals and journals (B/53 - 85),

Part 4... Some almanacs, directories and year books (B/86 - 98),

113 Part 5... List of Malta Government Departments and other official sources which have produced annual or other periodical reports during the past twenty-five years (B/99 - 163),

Part 6... List of Censuses and official Statistical Publications of a periodical rather than special nature 1800-1959 (B/164 - 181),

Part 7... List of some of the special reports produced by the United Kingdom and Malta Governments from time to time since 1800, classified into major subject divisions (B/182 - 278),

Part 8... General alphabetical list of books, articles and other items of a non-official nature, but including cross reference to some official reports where identification is thereby facilitated (B/279 - 664).

NOTE: Throughout this volume items to which reference is made are quoted by their number in the bibliography as B/12; or B/357, Vol.I; or B/83 (1957), p.65; etc.

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104

Other ABBREVIATIONS used include:

C.E.R.C.	H.M. Colonial Economic Research Committee.
Chev	Chevalier (a Knight of the Order of St. John).
Cmd.	Command.
C.O.	Colonial Office.
C.O.S.	Central Office of Statistics.
Dept.	Department.
E	English.
Ed	Editor.
esp	especially.
Govt.	Government.
G.P.O.	Government Printing Office (now Printing Section), Malta.
H.M.S.O.	London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
inc.	including.
I.	Italian.
L.	Latin.
L.P.	Letters Patent.
M.	Maltese.
misc	miscellaneous.
MS, MSS	Manuscript, Manuscripts.
Order	The Order of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.
O.U.P.	Oxford University Press.
pub.	published.
R.A.I.	Royal Anthropological Institute.
R.C.I.	Royal Colonial Institute.
R.I.I.A.	Royal Institute of International Affairs.
S.E.A.	Agrarian Society - Malta (formerly Società Economico-Agraria).
S.G.M.	Scottish Geographical Magazine.
trans.	translated.
v.	see.
var.	various.
Vol.	Volume.
unpub.	unpublished.

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Part 1. List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands.

(1) ARCHIEPISCOPAL CURIA, Malta : Collections of archives, MSS, documents, plans, etc., relating to the Church in Malta. (v. also Cathedral Archives - some 500 items, and the Archives of the Inquisition - some 500 items).

(2) BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, Paris : v. especially material on the Order (classified under French history).

113 (3) BODLEIAN LIBRARY, Oxford : v. lists and catalogues, especially of the collection of some 1,500 Maltese works given by Sir Hannibal P. Scicluna.

(4) BRITISH MUSEUM, London : catalogues and collections on the Order and general.

(5) DURHAM COLLEGES (Department of Geography) ; collection of modern material.

(6) GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, Malta : misc. collections, esp. Departmental and other official publications. (v. Medical and Health Dept. Library, Valletta.)

(7) GOVERNOR'S PALACE, Valletta : Government Gazettes, Minutes of the Malta Legislative Assembly and other official material.

(8) GOZO PUBLIC LIBRARY, Victoria : catalogue and collections.

(9) LONDON UNIVERSITY : catalogue & collections.

(10) MALTA GARRISON OFFICERS' LIBRARY, Valletta : collection.

(11) MEDICAL and HEALTH DEPT. LIBRARY, Valletta : MSS, correspondence, reports, etc.

(12) ORDER of ST. JOHN, Rome : collections.

(13) PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, London : catalogues, indexes and collections (Treasury, War Office, Colonial Office, Admiralty, Blue Books, correspondence etc.)

(14) ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY, London : catalogue (Vol. 4) & collections.

(15) ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London : catalogue and collections.

(16) ROYAL MALTA LIBRARY, Valletta : MSS, archives of the Order - contracts, charts, Papal bulls, letters, etc. from 1107 to the 18th century. Also catalogue & collections of general material.

(17) ROYAL UNIVERSITY of MALTA, Valletta : Library catalogue and collections (inc. University thesis material, etc.).

Part 2. List of some bibliographies on Maltese subjects

(Note : v. also Part 1)

(18) AGIUS, J.A: 'Malta and the Second World War - some additions to Dr. Galea's Bibliography'; in B/83, 1956, pp. 14-18.

(19) BOISGELIN, Chev. Louis de: a comprehensive list of authors making reference to Malta (books, maps and plans) before 1805: in B/326, p.xv.

(20) CAMBRIDGE HISTORY of the BRITISH EMPIRE : v. under Malta; in Vol.II.

(21) CASSAR, P. : 'Maltese Medical Journals 1838-1952'; in B/83, 1952, pp. 19-32.

(22) CASSAR PULLICINO, J. : 'Malta in British Periodicals 1915-51', a list of 132 articles, based on the lists in B/40; in B/83, 1953, pp.75-86.

(23) CASSAR PULLICINO, J. : 'Other Bibliographical Notices', a list of 32 misc. articles (1953-56); in B/83, 1956, pp. 59-60.

(24) DONALDSON, G. : 'A Handlist of Manuscripts in the British Isles relating to Malta'; in Bulletin No.7 of The Institute of Historical Research, Malta, 1950.

(25) EVANS, J.D. : a list of some 30 references on the archaeology of the Maltese Islands; in B/434, 1959, pp. 194-6.

[P.148]

• 113

(26) GALEA, J. : 'The Archives of the Hospitallers and the Records of the Commune in the Royal Malta Library'. Gives (a) outline history of the Malta Public Records, (b) description of the 18 classes in the catalogue of B/16, and (c) a note on the records of the Commune; in "The Journal of Documentation", Vol. 5, No.1, pp. 31-37.

(27) GALEA, J. : 'Malta and the Second World War. A Bibliography'. List of 256 books, pamphlets, articles and periodicals; in B/83, 1952, pp. 33-49.

(28) HARRISON SMITH : a list of public documents relating to Malta in the 19th century and some 80 general items; in B/471, 1953, Vol.1, pp. 240-256.

(29) HARRISON SMITH : a list of official documents bearing on the period 1899-1903, plus a general list; in B/471-1953, Vol. II, pp.165-172.

(30) HELLWALD, F.H. von : 'Bibliographie méthodique de l'Ordre Souverain de Saint Jean de Jerusalem'. Rome, 1885.

(31) HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Malta : Card Index, planned 26.4.1950, was to begin with indexing of articles in periodicals v. B/83, 1953, pp.65-6.

(32) HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Malta : National Register of Archives. A survey of MS and archive material other than that preserved in Government repositories. v. B/83, 1952, p.61.

(33) HOUSES of LORDS and COMMONS, London : General Index of Bills, Sessional Papers, Debates, etc.

(34) HYDE, H.P.T. : list of 147 items on geology and related topics in the Maltese Islands; in B/487, 1955, pp.114-124.

(35) INGUANEZ, Dom M : 'Hand-list of the Incunabula in the Royal Malta Library', New York, 1951.

(36) INGUANEZ, Dom M : 'Un rarissimo incunabulo della Royal Malta Library', in B/84, Vol. VII, No.2, Jul-Dec. 1954, Malta.

(37) INGUANEZ, Dom M. : 'The Archives of the Università del Gozo - A Classified List'; in B/83, 1956, pp.44-47.

(38) KING, P.S. . 'Catalogue of Parliamentary Papers 1801-1900'; v. under Malta.

(39) LEE, H. : Bibliography in B/500, London, 1949.

(40) LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, London : v. under Malta in 'Subject Index to Periodicals' - pub. annually since 1915 (except 1923-25). Originally the "Athaeneum", a series of class lists for var. subjects, it is now an alphabetical subject-index to some 374 English-language periodicals.

(41) MACKENZIE-GRIEVE, A. : 'Library of the Knights of St. John - Archives at Malta'; in "Country Life", 20.2.1948, pp.373-4.

(42) MORRIS, T.O. : list of some 80 items on water supply and related topics in the Maltese Islands; in B/241, 1952, pp.122-3.

(43) POOLE, W.F. : 'Index to Periodical Literature', London, 1883. Also supplements (with W.I. Fletcher).

(44) PRICE, C.A. : a comprehensive bibliography on emigration, social and general topics; in B/556, 1954, pp.254-263.

(45) QUENTIN HUGHES, J. : list of some 160 works on the architectural and general history of the Islands; in B/483, 1956, pp.227-234.

(46) ROSSI, E. : 'Aggiunta alla bibliographie méthodique de l'Ordre souverain de St.Jean de Jerusalem', Roma, 1924. (v. B/30).

113 (47) ROSSI, E. : A bibliography of the Order in B/565, Rome, 1926.

(48) SAYDON, P.P. : 'Bibliographical Aids to the Study of Maltese', a hand-list of books on the Maltese language; in "Journal of Near Eastern Studies", 1953, Vol. XII, No.1 (pp. 20-30) and No.2 (pp.124-133). v. also B/585.

(49) SIMPSON, D.H. : 'Malta'. A special subject list (No.15), issued by B/40, London, inc. 77 general and topical entries.

(50) SIMPSON, D.H. : 'A Checklist of British Official Publications relating to Malta 1801-1950', inc. 115 references on 'official' topics, from the indexes to Parliamentary Papers between 1801-1949 (HMSO); in B/83, 1954, pp.150-156.

(51) VALLETTA, A. : 'A Century of Butterfly Hunting in Malta', bibliography traces the subject since 1843; in "The Link", No.10, 1953, pp.4-7.

(52) VALLETTA, A. : 'Bibliography of the Lepidoptera-Heterocera of the Maltese Islands', a list of 46 items - mainly journal articles; in B/83, 1956, pp.42-43.

Part 3. Sample list of some newspapers, periodicals and journals.

(Note: A comprehensive list of 86 periodicals appearing in 1959 is given in B/96, 1958-9, pp.406-7. Certain nineteenth century periodicals are listed in B/556, p.255. A list of nine periodicals appearing during the 1939-45 War is given in B/27, p.49. Year Books and directories are listed in Part 4.)

(53) "GOVERNMENT GAZETTE" (previously "GAZETTA di MALTA"), Valletta : the official bulletin of Government with supplements; E and M, G.P.O.

(54) "TIMES of MALTA", Valletta (Allied Malta Newspapers, Ltd.) : E - daily.

(55) "Il-BERQA", Valletta (Allied Malta Newspapers, Ltd.): M - daily.

(56) "Is-SEBH", Valletta (Union Press): M - daily.

(57) "The BULLETIN", Hamrun (Lux Press) : E - evening.

(58) "SUNDAY TIMES of MALTA", Valletta (Allied Malta Newspapers, Ltd.): E - weekly.

(59) "The REVIEW", Valletta (Dept. of Information): E - official fortnightly (1956-7 - "C.O.I. Review")

(60) "Ir-REVIEW", Valletta (Dept. of Information) : M. version of B/59.

(61) "TAJJEB LI TKUN TAF", Valletta (Dept. of Information) : M - an occasional news-sheet.

(62) "The KNIGHT", Valletta (Labour Party): literary and political; E.

(63) "MALTA TAGHNA", Tarxien : M - political.

(64) "FORWARD-Il-QUDDIEM", Maida (Progressive Constitutional Party) : E and M - political.

(65) "LEHEN is-SEWWA", Valletta (Malta Catholic Action) : M - religious and social, weekly.

(66) "Il-HUĠĠIEĠA" (Malta Catholic Action) : M - religious, monthly.

(67) "KANA", Valletta (CANA Movement) : M - marriage and family, bi-monthly.

(68) "The FAITH", Mdina : E - religious, bi-monthly.

(69) "LIL-HUTNA" (Malta Catholic Action) : M - for migrants.

(70) "The COMMERCIAL COURIER", Valletta : E - organ of the Malta Chamber of Commerce, monthly.

(71) "The TORCH", Sliema : E - trade union.

(72) "The RETAILER", Valletta : E and M - organ of the General Retailers' Union.

(73) "The TEACHER" : E - Malta Union of Teachers.

(74) "Il-BIDWI", Valletta (Dept. of Agriculture) : M - farming, monthly.

(75) "LEHEN il-BDIEWA", Qormi : M - Malta Union of Farmers, monthly.

(76) "ARGUS", Floriana : E - Malta Civil Defence Bulletin.

(77) "YOUTH WORLD", Maida : E - organ of the Malta Youth Consultative Council, monthly.

(78) "COSPICUA", : Educational and non-political. (Note: other 'local' publications including "MARSA", "Ir-RABAT", "LEHEN il-BELT PINTO", "LEHEN il-BELT VICTORIA", "LEHEN BIRKIRKARA PROGRESSIVA", etc.)

(79) "ARCHIVUM MELITENSE", Valletta: scholarly journal, 1910 et seq.

(80) "BULLETIN of the MALTA CULTURAL INSTITUTE", Floriana : E - monthly.

(81) "JOURNAL of the FACULTY of ARTS", Valletta (Royal University) : mainly E - annually, since 1957.

(82) "LEHEN il-MALTI", Floriana : M - organ of the Ghaqda tal-Malti.

(83) "MELITA HISTORICA" (Malta Historical Society): mainly E - annually, since 1952.

(84) "MELITA THEOLOGICA" : E - a scholarly religous review.

(85) "SCIENTIA", Valletta : E - a scientific and cultural review, quarterly.

Part 4. Some Almanacs, Directories and Year Books.

(86) "ALMANACCO di Malta per l'anno 1807", I - Malta, 1807.

(87) "ALMANAKK", Gozo (St. Joseph's Institute) : M - annually, since 1936.

(88) "ALMANAKK Astronomiku u Meteoroloġiku", Malta (Lux Press) : M - annually, since 1928.

(89) "ALMANAKK ta' Malta u Ghawdex", Valletta (G.Muscat) : M - annually.

(90) "ANNUARIO della Diocesi di Malta", Malta (Empire Press) : I, L and M - Anno I (1933), pp. 470; Anno II (1934, supplemento), pp.269.

(91) "The CATHOLIC DIRECTORY of Malta and Gozo", Valletta (Archiepiscopal Curia Press Office) : E - 1959, pp.416.

(92) "DOCUMENTI su Malta e Gozo - raccolta di varie cose", Malta, 1843.

(93) "The GOZO Year Book", Gozo (Social Action Movement) : E and M - local information and interest, 1959 (first issue).

(94) "GUIDE to Malta" (previously "Guida di Malta"), Valletta (G.Muscat): E (previously I) - a general & commercial guide, pub. 1880-1940 (33 issues). (Note: v. also "Il Compagno per Tutti", Valletta (Aquilina), appeared in the 1880s).

(95) "The MALTA Almanac and Directory for 1889", Valletta (Critien, L.).

● 113 (96) "The MALTA Directory and Trade Index", Valletta (Malta Publicity Services) : E - valuable general data and articles, 1956, 1957, 1958-9.

(97) "The MALTA Year Book", St. Julian's (St. Michael's College) : E - current information and valuable special articles, annually, since 1953.

(98) "ROYAL UNIVERSITY - Calendar", Valletta : E (previously I), periodically.

Part 5. List of Malta Government Departments and other official sources which have produced annual or other periodical reports during the past twenty-five years, G.P.O.

(Note esp. the annual volumes containing all such reports available each year. v.B/108)

(99) Reports by the Auditor on the Accounts of Malta
(100) " on the working of the Department of Agriculture
(101) " of the Commissioner for Malta in Australia
(102) " by the Controller of Building Materials
(103) " " " Registrar of Co-Operative Societies
(104) " on the working of H.M. Superior Courts
(105) " " " " " the Courts of Judicial Police
(106) " " " " " " " " Gozo and the Public Registry, Gozo.
(107) " " " " " Customs and Port Department
(108) Departments (Government), Annual Volumes of Reports of,
(109) Reports on the Activities of the Demolition and Clearance Dept.
(110) " " " Department of Education
(111) " " " " " Technical Education (since 1955)
(112) " " " working of the Approved School
(113) " " " Malta General Elections
(114) " " " working of the Electoral Office (for 1946-52 v. B/115)
(115) " " " " " " Electoral Registry
(116) Emigration Reports (early 1920s)
(117) Reports of the Emigration Department (esp. 1926-27)
(118) " by the Director of Emigration (before 1948)
(119) " on the Dept. of Emigration (1948-55)
(120) Report on Emigration from Malta (1951-53)
(121) " " the Dept. of Labour, Emigration and Social Welfare (1956)
(122) Reports of the National Employment Board
(123) " on the working of the Dept. of Fisheries
(108) Government Departments, Annual Volumes of Reports of,
(124) Reports on the working of the Office of the Commissioner for Gozo
(125) " " Housing Activities
(126) " " the working of the Housing Dept.
(127) " of the Collector of Imposts and Lotto
(128) " on the working of the Central Office of Information
(129) " of the Inland Revenue Dept.
(130) " on the Dept. of Labour (except between 1937-48)
(131) " " " " " " and Social Welfare (1937-48, and 1955)
(132) Report on the Dept. of Social Welfare (1949)
(121) " " " " " Labour, Emigration and Social Welfare (1956)
(133) Reports on the working of the Land Valuation Office
(134) " " " " " " Royal Malta Library, the Gozo Public Library and the Circulating Libraries
(135) Annual Reports on the working of the Public Health Dept. (prior to 1925. v. also B/453)
(136) " " on the Health of the Maltese Islands (1926-36)
(137) Reports on the working of the Medical and Health Dept. (after 1936).

● 113 (138) Reports of the Milk Marketing Dept. (predecessor of B/139)
(139) " on the working of the Milk Marketing Undertaking
(140) " " " " " " Museum Dept.
(141) " of the Notary to Government
(142) " on the working of the Police Dept.
(143) " " " Activities of the Post Office
(144) " " " working of the Posts and Telephones Dept.
(145) " " " " " " Government Printing Office
(146) " " " Malta Prison
(147) " " " working of the Public Registry.
(148) " of the Public Relations Office
(149) " " " Director of Public Works (prior to 1950)
(150) " on the working of the Public Works Dept.
(151) " " " " " " Rationing Office
(152) " " " " " " Reconstruction Section of the Public Works Dept.
(153) " of the Superintendent of the Reformatory
(154) " " " Religious Instruction Board
(155) " on the working of the Royal University of Malta
(156) " " " " " " Central Office of Statistics
(157) " " " Telephones Dept.
(158) " " " working of the Tourist Bureau
(159) " " " " " " Dept. of Trade & Industry
(160) " by the Trade Development Officer
(161) " of the Registrar of Trade Unions
(162) " on the working of the War Damage Commission
(163) " " " " " " Water and Electricity Dept.

Part 6. List of Censuses and other official Statistical Publications of a periodical rather than special nature, 1800-1959

(164) Census of AGRICULTURE, Malta, C.O.S: annually since 1955.
(165) BLUE BOOKS of Statistics, G.P.O: annually 1821-1936, 2 sets (incomplete) in B/16 and 1 complete set in B/13
(166) CENSUS of the Maltese Islands, 1842: unpub. v. B/53, 12.3.1842.
(167) CENSUS of the Maltese Islands. G.P.O: 1851(v.B/451), 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1948.
(168) CENSUS of the Maltese Islands, 1957. Report on Population and Housing, G.P.O. 1959.
(169) Population, Housing and Employment CENSUS of the Maltese Islands, 1957 - Preliminary Report, G.P.O. 1958.
(170) CENSUS of the British Empire, 1901, H.M.S.O. 1906 : v. article relating to the Maltese Islands (pp. 76-83).
(171) EDUCATION Statistics, G.P.O., annually.
(172) ESTIMATES, G.P.O., annually.
(173) Census of PRODUCTION for 1955. Final Report, G.P.O., 1958, pp.139.
(174) TAXES, Duties, Fees and other sources of Revenue, G.P.O., annually.
(175) Malta SHIPPING Statistics, G.P.O., annually : v. also B/176.
(176) SHIPPING and AVIATION Statistics, G.P.O., annually : v. B/175.
(177) STATISTICAL ABSTRACTS of the Maltese Islands, G.P.O., 1946, 1947-48, 1949 and thereafter annually.
(178) STATISTICAL Summaries, G.P.O., monthly.
(179) Tables Relating to United Kingdom and Dependencies - 1836, London, H.M.S.O. 1839 : see tables relating to the Maltese Islands. (Note: other H.M.S.O. statistics including Maltese Islands)
(180) The TRADE of the Maltese Islands, G.P.O., quarterly
(181) The TRADE of the Maltese Islands, G.P.O., annually - previously appeared as TRADE STATISTICS.

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Part 7. List of some of the special reports produced by the United Kingdom and Malta Governments from time to time since 1800, classified into major subject divisions. (v. B/50)

(A) ROYAL COMMISSIONS

(182) Royal Commission (1811-12) : C.O. 158/19, 20.
(183) " " on Colonial Revenue (1830), inc. Malta.
(184) " " (1836-38): inc. reports on Charities, Education, Wages, the Poor, etc., by Commissioners J. Austen and J. Lewis, London, 1838.
(185) Royal Commission (1888): concerning electoral districts for the election of a Council of Govt., L.P. 12.12.1887.
(186) Royal Commission on the Finances, Economic Position and Judicial Procedure of Malta, H.M.S.O., Cmd 6090 & 6280, May 1912.
(187) Royal Commission on the Constitution of Malta (1931-32): H.M.S.O. Cmd 3993 and Col. No. 68 (Minutes), 1932.

(B) CONSTITUTION and ADMINISTRATION

(53) "Government Gazette" (previously "Gazetta di Malta"), G.P.O. : the official Govt. record, with supplements, ordinances, acts, lists, etc.
(188) "Hansard", London : v. references to Maltese affairs (debates, Commission and Conference Reports, etc.)
(189) Reports of the Governor of Malta, London, C.O. : from 1846-86 a volume of reports of Colonial Governors was produced but, between 1887-1921, separate Governor's Reports were produced for Malta.
(190) 'Leggi, organizzazione e procedura civile per l'Isola di Malta e sue Dipendenze', Malta, 1855, pp.142.
(191) 'Report......Commercial and Industrial Policy of the British Empire after the War'. (i.e. as affecting Malta), G.P.O., 1919.
(192) Statement on the Policy of the Government....27th December, 1921. G.P.O., 1921, pp.11.
(193) Papers relating to the new constitution of Malta. H.M.S.O., Cmd, 1921.
(194) Correspondence with the Holy See relative to Maltese Affairs. H.M.S.O. Cmd 3588, 1929-30. (Note also Vatican publications at this time, e.g. 'Exposition of the Malta Question with documents', Rome (Vatican Polyglot Press), 1930, pp.159.)
(195) 'Il significato del Trionfo Nazionalista nelle ultime Elezione Generale di Malta e Gozo - 1932', Malta, G.P.O. 1932 (An English version appeared in 1933)
(196) Report on the Electoral Laws. G.P.O., 1946.
(197) Malta - Statement of Policy on Constitutional Reform. H.M.S.O., Cmd 7014, 1947, pp.11. (v. Report of the Commissioner also)
(198) 'The Colonial Empire (1939-47)', H.M.S.O., 1947 : v. section on Malta pp. 47-49.
(199) 'Report on the Malta Police Force' (Muller W.A.), G.P.O., 1955.
(200) Malta Round Table Conference Report 1955. H.M.S.O. Cmd 9657, 1955, pp.37.
(201) Report of the Commission on the Malta Civil Service. G.P.O., 1956, pp.51.
(202) Report of the Commercial Partnerships Law Reform Commission accompanying a Draft Commercial Partnerships Bill. G.P.O., 1956.
(203) 'The Future'. Series of Rediffusion broadcasts 7.8. to 9.9.1958, G.P.O., 1958, pp.64.

(C) ECONOMY and FINANCE

(204) Revenues of Malta, 1801-02 (82)
(205) Report of the Committee to Enquire into Distress, 1824, London, C.O. 158/41.
(183) Reports of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Receipts and Expenditure of the Revenue in the Colonies ..(inc. Malta), 1830-31 (64).

● 113 (206) Receipts and Expenditure of Revenue of the Islands of Malta, 1846. 1847 (567).

(207) Commission to enquire into distress (1867-68): report pub. in "Malta Observer" of 13.2.1868.

(208) Report on the Finances and Taxation of Malta. (Rowsell, F), 1878 (2032).

(209) Malta and its Industries - Colonial Exhibition, London, 1886.

(210) 'The Malta Trade Union Council (Constitution) Act, 1925', G.P.O., 1926, pp.36.

(211) 'Production and Trade of Malta 1932', H.M.S.O. (Empire Marketing Board/T.P.22), 1932, pp.15.

(212) 'Report on Economic Conditions in Cyprus and Malta', London (Overseas Trade Dept.), H.M.S.O., 1935 (615).

(213) 'Report on Cost of Living Conditions in Malta', Malta, G.P.O., 1943.

(214) 'Report on the Cost of Living - Oct. 1943' (McLeod, N.), G.P.O., 1944.

(215) 'A Study of the working of co-operative societies', Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1945, pp.152, (Paric G.)

(216) 'Report on the Finances of the Government of Malta' (Woods, Sir W.), H.M.S.O. Col. No.196, 1946, pp.67.

(217) 'Cost of Living Index', Conference Report, G.P.O., 1946, pp.xi.

(218) 'Interim Report on the Financial and Economic Structure of the Maltese Islands' (Schuster, Sir G.E.), London, Col. 260, 1950.

(219) 'The Economic Problems of Malta. An Interim Report' (Balogh, T. and Seers, D.), G.P.O., 1955, pp.xliv.

(220) 'Price Trends between 1955 and 1957 based on the 1955 Pilot Survey and on a composite index', G.P.O., 1958, pp. 13.

(174) 'Taxes, Duties, Fees and other sources of Revenue', G.P.O. annually.

(172) 'Estimates', G.P.O., annually.

(D) MEDICAL.

(221) 'Report on the Plague in Malta. 1813' (Burill, W.H.), presented to U.K. Parliament, 1854-55.

(222) 'Relazione generale del Comitato di soccorso istituto in ajuto dai sofferenti dal colera' (Sciortino, R.), Malta, 1866.

(223) 'Report on the Sanitary Condition of Malta and Gozo, with reference to the epidemic of cholera in the year 1865' (Sutherland, J.), London, 1867.

(224) 'The Cholera in Malta and Gozo - 1865', G.P.O. 1867.

(225) 'First Annual Report on the Mortality in Malta and Gozo' (Ghio, A.), Malta, 1874; other issues seq. to 1897, after which B/135 appeared.

(226) Report of the Sanitary Commission - 1874, pub. in "Malta Times" of 28.11.1874.

(227) 'Reports on Leprosy in Malta by a 1917 Committee', G.P.O., 1919.

(228) 'Report on the Medical Services of Malta' (Cronin, J.), G.P.O., 1956, pp.22.

(229) 'Report on a Hospital Building Programme for Malta' (Davies, J.O.F.), G.P.O., 1957, pp.25.

(230) 'Report of the Medical Services Commission' (Farrer-Brown, Boldero & Oldham), G.P.O., 1957, pp.100.

(E) AGRICULTURE, FISHING, WATER SUPPLY, etc.

(231) 'Memorandum on the Water Supply in Malta and Gozo' (Dingli, A.), Malta, 1876: an appendix to 'Report on Mortality', 1875.

(232) 'Report on the Water Supply of Malta' (Chadwick, O.), G.P.O. 1884, 1894 and 1896: v. many other items by Chadwick listed in B/42.

(233) 'Report on Agriculture in Malta' (Dawson Shepherd, J.), G.P.O., 1920.

(234) Papers relating to present fishing regulations...., Malta (Ministry of Industry and Commerce 7.8.1922), 1922, pp.40.

113 (235) 'Report on investigation of Brucella Melitensis with reference to possible immunization of goats' (Zammit, Th and Debono, J.): as appendix to B/136 (1929).

(236) 'Report on the advancement of Agriculture and Improvement of Live Stock in Malta and Gozo' (Potts, H.W.), G.P.O., 1930, pp.15.

(237) 'The Fishing Industry in Malta' (Hornell, J.), Malta, 1931.

(238) 'Report on the present condition of Agriculture in the Maltese Islands', G.P.O., 1934. (Stockdale, F.A.).

(215) 'A Study of the working of Co-operative Societies' (Paris, O.), Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1945, pp.152.

(239) 'Memorandum by the Director of Agriculture to Sir George Schuster', Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1950, pp.46.

(240) 'Report on a survey of the need for afforestation and water conservation....' (Hamilton, A.P.F.), G.P.O. 1952, pp.30.

(241) 'The Water Supply Resources of Malta' (Morris, T.O.), Govt. of Malta, 1952, pp. 125.

(242) 'The prospects of increasing supplies of water for agriculture in Malta' (Morris, T.O.), unpub., 1950, pp.15.

(243) 'Report to the Govt. of Malta on the Devt. of Agriculture Resources' (F.A.O.), Rome, 1955.

(244) 'Note by B.G. Surridge to the Hon.Minister J.J.Cole' Malta, 1956, pp.8: on agricultural co-operatives.

(245) 'The Dairy Industry in the Maltese Islands' (Ford, G.W.), London, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1956, pp. 123.

(246) 'Report on the Inspection of Government Abattoirs....' (Gillespie, W.M.), Malta, 1956, pp.19.

(247) 'Report to the Govt. of Malta on the afforestation of waste lands....' (Keith, H.G.), Malta, 1956, pp.32.

(248) 'Report on Plant Protection needs in Malta' (Hopkins, J.C.F.), Malta, 1956, pp.5.

(249) 'Report to the Crown Agents on Sewage Purification Scheme for irrigation purposes in Malta' (Binnie, Deacon and Gourley), London, 1956.

(250) 'A Report on the Fishing Industry of Malta' (Burdon, T.W) G.P.O., 1956, pp.79.

(251) 'A Plant Disease Survey of Malta - interim Report' (Wheeler, B.J.), unpub., 1957, pp.34.

(252) 'Agricultural Advisory Service - Report October 1955-September 1957', (Haesler, A.T.), Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, unpub., 1957.

(253) 'Interim Report to the Govt. of Malta on the Marketing of Fruit and Vegetables' (Hofstede, P.ter), Malta, unpub., 1957, pp.11.

(F) EMIGRATION

(254) 'Papers relative to Emigration', G.P.O., 13.11.1873.

(255) Further papers relative to Emigration, G.P.O., 26.12.1873.

(256) 'Maltese Emigration to Cyprus' (Dingli, A.), G.P.O., 17.10.1878.

(257) "L'Emigrazione Maltese", Malta 1867-78; I - fortnightly.

(258) 'Report on Lands in Cyprus for a Maltese Settlement' (Testaferrata, G.P. dei Marchesi & Galizia, E.L.), Malta, G.P.O., 29.11.1879.

(259) 'Reports upon the Suitability of the British Colonies in Australasia as a field of Maltese Emigration' (Decesare, F.S.), Malta, 1883.

(260) Correspondence with regard to Emigration', Malta, Council Paper No.32/1910-11.

(261) 'Report on the subject of a Maltese Settlement in Cyprus' (Casolani, H.), Malta, G.P.O., 1928. (Note v. under Casolani, H. in Part 8).

(262) Correspondence regarding the recruiting of Maltese by the Office Gratuit du Placement des Francais en Tunisie - 1929. Malta, 1930: in B/119 (1928-29, pp. 25-35).

(263) Ordinance to impose restrictions on immigration by British subjects into Malta, No. L, Malta, 15.3.1848, pp. xxiii.

(264) Ordinance No.11 (1949) on restrictions on the landing of aliens..., G.P.O., 28.6.1949.

(G) EDUCATION

(265) 'Regulations of the Schools constituting the Dept. of Primary Education in the Islands of Malta and Gozo', G.P.O., 1871.

(266) 'Report on the Educational System of Malta' (Keenan, P.), London, C 2685, 1880.

(267) 'Education in Malta' (Manché, L.), Malta: as Suggestions to the select committee of the Council of Govt., 10.1.1897.

(268) 'Report of a Committee appointed to submit recommendations ....a scheme for Compulsory Education', Malta, 1916, pp.16.

(269) 'Statute of the University of Malta, approved 1921', G.P.O., 1921, pp.40, in E and I.

(270) 'Report on the Organization of Education in Malta' (Bruce, W.N.), G.P.O., 1921.

(271) 'The Primary Schools', a report, Malta, G.P.O., 1949, pp.xxix.

(272) 'Report on Education in Malta' (Crichton-Miller, D.), Malta, 1957.

(H) MISCELLANEOUS

(273) 'Report to accompany the Outline Plan for the Region of Valletta and the Three Cities' (Harrison, A.St.B. & Pearce Hubbard, R.), Malta, 1945.

(274) 'Dizzjunarju : Ingliż u Malti' (revised under Mons. C. Psaila, by Govt. authority), Malta, Vol.I (A-G) 1947, Vol.II (H-R) 1951, Vol.III (S-Z) 1955.

(275) 'Report of the Court of Inquiry into the York Crash at Żurrieq, 18.2.1956', G.P.O., 1956, pp.31.

(276) 'Institution of a Land Register and/or Cadastre in Malta', Malta, 1956.

(277) 'Report on the Utilization of Solar Energy' (Heywood, H.), G.P.O., 1957, pp.20.

(278) 'Report on the Manoel Theatre' (Lindsay, V. & Southern, V.), Malta, 1957.

Part 8. General alphabetical list of books, articles and other items of a non-official nature, but including cross reference to some official reports where identification is thereby facilitated.

(279) ABELA, G.F. : 'Della descrittione di Malta', Libri V, Malta, 1647.

(280) ABELA, V.J. : 'Mġarr - Malta', unpub. dissertation (St.Michael's College), Malta, 1956.

(281) ACTS of the Apostles, New Testament : Chapter 28, Verses 1-11; account of St.Paul's Shipwreck in Melita.

(282) ADAMS, A.L. : 'Outline of the Geology of the Maltese Islands', Ann.& Mag.Nat.Hist.,Ser. 3, Vol.XIV, 1864.

(283) " " " : 'Notes of a Naturalist in the Nile Valley and Malta', Edinburgh, 1870.

(284) AGIUS, T. : 'The Climate of Malta', in B/510, 1915.

(285) AGIUS, A.J. : 'A Survey of the economic difficulties facing the Maltese People', dissertation unpub., St. Andrew's Univ., 1951.

(286) Agrarian Society - Malta : v. under Società Economico-Agraria.

(287) ALFRED, Bro. : 'A Summary ... of the History of Malta ...', in B/97 (1953), pp. 168-175.

(288) " : 'The Statue of Malta in Roman Times', in B/97 (1956), pp. 203-210.

(289) " : 'Life in Malta in Roman Times', in B/97 (1957), pp. 189-202.

(290) ANGAS, G.F. : 'A Ramble in Malta and Sicily', London, 1842.

(291) "ANNALIUM SCRIPTOR" : 'Mġarr - Malta, a restrospect from Records', Malta (Empire Press), 1946, pp.29.

(292) annonymous : 'Nouvelle Relation du Voyage et Description exacte de l'Isle de Malte par un Gentilhomme francais', Paris, 1679.

(293) " : 'La Soberana Orden Mil. de S. Juan de Jer. por un Caballero de la Orden', Madrid, 1899.

(294) AQUILINA, J. : 'The Maltese and their Language', in "United Empire", Vol. XXIX, 1938.

(295) " : 'L-Ilsien Malti', Malta (Lux Press), 1945

(296) " : 'Some Historical phonetic changes in Maltese', in "Orbis", Tome IV, No.2, 1955, pp. 514-521, Louvain, 1955.

(297) " : 'Fields of Maltese Linguistic Research', in "Lingua", Vol. VII, 1, Nov. 1957, Amsterdam.

(298) " : 'Maltese as a Mixed Language', in "Journal of Semitic Studies", Vol. 3, No.1, Jan. 1958.

(299) " : 'A Survey of the constituent elements of Maltese', in "Orbis", Tome VII, No.1, 1958, pp.65-78, Louvain.

(300) " : 'A Comparative Study in Mixed Maltese', in B/85, Vol. VIII, pp.133-144 and 174-187.

(301) " & CASSAR PULLICINO, J. : 'Lexical Material in Maltese Folklore', in B/81 (1957).

(90) Archiepiscopal Curia (Malta): 'Annuario della Diocesi di Malta', 1933, pp.470, I, L & M; 1934, supplemento, pp.274, I & L; Malta (Empire Press).

(302) ASHBY, T.H. : 'Roman Malta', in the "Journal of Roman Studies", 1915, pp.28-80.

(303) ATTARD CASSAR, C. : 'Contemporary Maltese Painters', in B/97 (1953), pp.81-88.

(304) " " : 'Contemporary Maltese Sculptors', in B/97 (1953), pp. 106-116.

(305) D'AVEZAC : 'L'Universo Descrizione', v. B/La Croix.

(306) AZZOPARDI, A.G. : 'Scouting in Malta', in B/83 (1958), pp. 283-290.

(307) BADGER, G.P. : 'Description of Malta and Gozo', Malta, 1838 & 1839.

(308) BALLOU, M.M. : 'The Story of Malta', Boston & New York, 1893.

(219) BALOGH, T. & SEERS, D. : v. Part 7.

(309) BARRINGTON, Bro. Leo : 'Malta, Our Island Home', London (Macmillan), 1957, pp.78.

(310) BARTHOLO, J. : 'Gieh lil Qassis Malti', Malta (Lux Press), 1952, pp.75.

(311) BARTLETT, W.H. : 'Gleanings on the Overland Route', London, 1851.

● 113 (312) BARTOLO, A. : 'The Sovereignty of Malta and the Nature of its Title', Valletta, 1909, pp.243.

(313) " : 'Malta - A neglected outpost of Empire', Malta, 1911.

(314) " : 'History of the Maltese Islands', Malta, 1915.

(315) " : 'Malta and Sea Power', an address to R.C.I., 28.9.1920.

(316) " : 'The Present Position of Malta', in the Journal of the R.I.I.A., No.5, Vol.IX, 1930.

(317) BEDFORD, W.K.R. : 'Regulations of the old Hospital of the Knights of St.John of Valletta....', Edinburgh & London, 1882.

(318) " : 'Malta and the Knights Hospitallers', London,, 1894.

(319) " : 'Malta and the Maltese Race', in R.C.I. Journal, No.3, Session 1895-96, pp.176-180.

(320) BEELEY, B.W. : 'Gozo: A Changing Island', in B/93 (1959), pp.5-8.

(321) BELLANTI, P.F. : 'Studies in Maltese History', Valletta, 1924.

(322) BELLANTI, D.G. : 'Why Malta, Why Ghawdex', Malta, 1934 - place-names.

(323) BIASINI, R. : 'Il-Ghala l'Biedja li hekk mehtieġa ghall-Pajjiż', 1945.

(249) BINNIE, DEACON & GOURLEY : v. Part 7.

(324) BLAQUIERE, E. : 'Letters from the Mediterranean', London, 1813.

(325) BLOOD, Sir H : 'The Smaller Territories', London (Conservative Political Centre), 1958.

(326) BOISGELIN, Chev. L. de : 'Ancient and Modern Malta', (2 vols.), London 1805.

(327) BONELLI, L. : 'Saggi del Folklore dell'Isola di Malta', Palermo, 1895.

(328) BONELLO, A. : 'La Migrazione Maltese', Malta, 1874.

(329) BONNICI, Mgr. A. : 'Marija u Malta', Malta, 1949.

(330) " : 'The Church and the Freedom of the Press in Malta', in B/83 (1957), pp.105-121.

(331) BONNICI CALI, R. : 'Gian Francesco Abela...', in B/65, Vol. XIX, No.2, 1953, pp.71-89.

(332) BORCH, Comte de,: 'Lettres sur la Sicile et sur l'Ile de Malte 1777', Turin, 1782.

(333) BORG, G. : 'Coltivazione del Banano in Malta', Malta (S.E.A.), 1920, pp.28.

(334) BOSIO, Giacomo : 'Dell'Istoria della sacra religione ed illustrissima militia di S.Giovanni Gerosolimitano', Rome, 1594 & 1602.

(335) BOWEN-JONES, H. : 'Malta. An Interpretation of the Cultural Landscape', unpub. lecture, 1956.

(336) " & DEWDNEY, J.C. : 'Agriculture in Malta. A Survey of Land Use', Durham Colleges (Dept. of Geography), 1955.

(337) " , DEWDNEY, J.C., & FISHER, W.B. : 'Malta. Background for Development', Durham Colleges (Dept. of Geography), pub. expected 1960.

(338) BOWER, R. : 'The Language Question in Malta', in "National Review", No.590, Vol. XCIX, 1932.

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(339) BRADLEY, R.N. : 'Malta and the Mediterranean Race', London, 1912.

(340) BRAUN, H. : 'Works of Art in Malta: Losses and Survivals in the War', London, H.M.S.O., 1946.

(341) BRES, O. : 'Malta antica illustrata', Rome, 1816.

(342) BRIFFA, J. & BORG, J. : 'Climbing Plants in Malta', Malta, 1919.

(343) BROCKMAN, W.E. : 'Maltese Memories - Tifkiriet', London, 1938.

(270) BRUCE, W.N. : v. Part 7.

(344) BRYDONE, P. : 'A tour through Sicily & Malta, in a series of letters to W.Beckford of Somerly in Suffolk', London (1773, 1774, 1807); Leipzig (1774); Paris & Amsterdam (1775); Perth (1799); Edinburgh (1808 & 1840).

(345) BUONTEMPO, A. : 'Problemi di Diritto Ecclesiastico Maltese', Malta, 1954.

(250) BURDON, T.W. : v. Part 7.

(346) BURGESS, R.J. : 'A Geography of the Maltese Islands', Malta, 1956.

(221) BURRILL, W.H. : v. Part 7.

(347) BUSETT, F. : 'Royal Regiment of Malta', London, 1936.

(348) BUSSUTIL, V. : 'Summary of the History of Malta', Malta, 1890.

(349) " : 'A Tourists's Guide to the Maltese Islands', Malta, 1883, etc.

(350) BUSUTTIL, E.D. : 'Kalepin (Dizjunarju) Malti - Ingliż', Malta (Progress Press), 1949. (v. also E - M Dictionary).

(351) BUTCHER, M. : 'Elements of Maltese. A simple practical Grammar', O.U.P., 1938, pp.200.

(352) BUXTON, L.H.D. : 'The Ethnology of Malta and Gozo', in Journal of the R.A.I., Vol. 52, (1922), p.164.

(353) " : 'Malta - An Anthropological Study', New York, 1924.

(354) CACHIA, E.A. : 'The Infant in the House', in B/581 (1956), Malta.

(355) Calendario dell'Agricoltore; M & I, Malta (S.E.A.), 1849 & 1850.

(356) CALLEJA, G. : 'The works of art in the Churches of Malta and the Governor's Palace, Valletta' (trans. G.N. Godwin), Malta, 1881.

(357) Cambridge Modern History; historical notes on Malta.

(358) CAMILLERI, C.A. : 'Storia ed Educazione delle Api', Malta (S.E.A.), 1848, pp.65.

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6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

SECTION 8 : Appendices

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APPENDIX 1 A : POPULATION

YEAR	All Islands	Malta	Gozo	Urban	Fringe	Inner Rural	Rural	Outer Rural
1957	319,620	292,019	27,601	135,390	83,898	50,002	40,438	10,892
1948	305,991	278,311	27,680	129,153	78,492	46,766	39,405	12,175
1931	241,621	217,784	23,837	114,196	51,367	36,780	29,502	9,776
1921	212,258	189,697	22,561	98,069	44,114	34,166	26,877	9,052
1911	211,564	188,869	22,695	96,147	43,902	36,346	26,696	8,573
1901	184,742	164,952	19,790	84,429	38,111	32,276	22,614	7,312
1891	165,037	146,484	18,553	75,377	33,142	30,012	20,521	5,985
1881	149,782	132,129	17,653	68,476	29,386	27,837	18,162	5,861
1871	140,883	123,492	17,391	61,782	28,567	26,719	18,020	5,796
1861	132,956	117,497	15,459	58,788	27,197	25,289	16,483	5,180
1851	123,496	108,833	14,663	54,885	24,800	24,200	15,880	3,961
1842	113,864	99,522	14,342	51,487	21,923	22,163	14,438	3,853
1828	114,236	98,618	15,618	-	-	-	-	-
1807	93,054	80,225	12,829	-	-	-	-	-
1741	15,032	13,309	1,723	-	-	-	-	-
1632	52,900	49,900	3,000	-	-	-	-	-
1530	29,869	25,000	4,691	-	-	-	-	-

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162
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Sources :
1957 - B/168
1851 to 1948 (inc.) - B/167
1842 - B/166
1828 (estimate) - B/516, Vol.1, p.151
1807 (estimate) - B/86
1741 (estimate) - v.B/167 (1861, p.2)
1632 (estimate) - B/383, Vol.1, Chapter 8
1530 (estimate) - B/516, Vol.1, p.151 (after B/334)

Notes :
(i) 1957 population figures by census localities (B/168) are given in Appendix 3.
(ii) See B/166, 167, and 168, for full statistics since 1842; see also B/561 for detailed analysis of population changes.
(iii) Some of the information in the above table is given in graph form.
(iv) See Map 3 for Population Density by Localities, 1957.

NOTES

000 [103] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [127] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analyzed by Charlton (b/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Welts, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

[342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

[527] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/266).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

[124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made (1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

000 28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

● [113] 30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No.259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

434 32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revized):

747 Family of 3 or 4 persons ....maximum income - £5
648 " " 5 to 7 " .... " " - £5 8s
735 " " 8 " 10 " .... " " - £5 15s
" " 11 " 13 " .... " " - £6 1s
" " 14 " 16 " .... " " - £6 6s
" " 17 or 18 " .... " " - £6 10s

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

[122] 34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Matla at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

000 35. (B/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

113 38. "Labour Government's Progress Report. 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClement in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Għalf Bilanċjat għall-Majjali" by A.T. Hessler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.O. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

000 42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present trading position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but these registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.M.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

[114] 47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

[124] 48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tmien, Sigham and Kejliet : v. Appendix 5.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 hors-d'œuvres" of the rich mass of material available on the subject, which is all that the modest authoress allows herself to claim for her work.

●113 Equally indispensable for the effect on Valetta, and Malta generally, of the Second World War is the admirably produced *Report to accompany the Outline Plan for the Region of Valletta and the Three Cities*, prepared for the Government of Malta by Austen St B. Harrison and R. Pearce Hubbard and published by that Government in 1945. Useful also is Hugh Braun's *Works of Art in Malta: Losses and Survivals in the War*, published by His Majesty's Stationery Office in 1946. The architecture of Malta during the period of the Order is fully dealt with in Dr Quentin Hughes's workmanlike study *The Building of Malta, 1530–1795*, published in 1956 by Tiranti.

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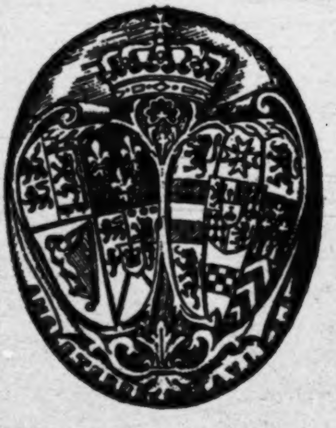

Arms of the Anglo-Bavarian Langue

[pp. 69–109 of text not processed. Plates facing pp. 80, 81, 96, 97, 104 and 105 have been processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

some sculptured escutcheon; the old stone *fougasses*[1] to be 311
encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny 34
Comino, from whose stony fields, where is cultivated the 103
cumin seed from which the island takes its name, there rises
one of the massive square keeps which the Knights scattered 243
throughout their territory.[2]

The casals are, as has been said in an earlier chapter, not 361
villages, but compact stone townships of tall houses and 341
narrow streets, solidly built in good substantial Baroque 351
architecture. Their outskirts, as likely as not, are dignified
with some ancient country-house concealed behind high 346
walls amid charming gardens—the beauty and seclusion of the Maltese gardens are justly proverbial—while the focus of the casal, both literally and metaphorically, is the parish church. This is generally a great Baroque pile of golden sandstone flanked by two massive towers, but an exception is the Parish Church of Mosta, built in the classical style in the middle of the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts, both technical and financial, of the villagers themselves to the design of the ingenious Maltese architect Grognet de Vassé mentioned in Chapter II. It is topped by a dome that claims to be the third largest in the world, being surpassed in size only by those of S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Peter's in Rome, higher internally than the dome of the Roman Pantheon and exceeding by sixteen feet the diameter of that of S. Paul's in London.

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[1] Patrick Brydone (*cf.* pp. 143–147) gives an interesting account of this little- [712]
known form of coastal defence; "For we found, to our no small amazement, that
the rocks were not only cut into fortifications but likewise into artillery to defend [713]
these fortifications: being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air: and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel."

[2] An excellent companion for the exploration of the island is F. Weston's [113]
Walks in Malta, published in Valetta. Later booklets include Showell Styles, *Walks and Climbs in Malta* (Valetta, 2nd edn., 1952), and H. H. Hick, *Walks in Gozo* (Malta, 1953).

the underground granaries, shaped like vast jars, beneath the 251
open space between Valetta and its suburb of Floriana and
beneath a few other places, sealed with round stone lids and 178
still in use for conserving Malta's stocks of imported grain.

There are other links in Malta with the rule of the Order 326
of S. John. There survives, for example, from the days of
the Grand Masters an official known as the Consul for 656
Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, who is the appraiser of the 647
Government and impresses on Maltese silver its own hall- [178]
mark, the Maltese Cross, and on gold the crown or the Maltese shield. The Consul's office is housed on the ground-floor of the Monte di Pietà building in Merchants' Street. Opposite to it is the handsome Public Registry, with a tablet commemorating its reconstruction by Grand Master Zondadari. As if to compensate for the defacement by the French Revolutionaries of the Sienese Grand Master's escutcheon, his inscription was subsequently surmounted by a bust of George III, topped by the Royal Arms of that day.

In connexion with the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silver- 436
smiths it may be mentioned that the coinage of the Order remained legal tender in Malta until 1886, when by a Government Notice there were called in all coins of "the late Government of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem."[1]
The principal denominations of the Maltese coinage were
the scudo, the tari, the carlino and the grano or grain, which [178]
in Maltese were called *skut*, *rbighi*, *karlin* and *habba*; and not only the country people but all Maltese use to this day the old names to denote certain values in our modern coinage. Thus 2½*d.* is described as *tliet karlinijet* (three carlini); half a crown as *tmintax rbighi*, meaning eighteen tari; 1*s.* 3*d.* is invariably *disa' rbghajja*—that is, nine tari.

Malta has no longer a separate coinage of its own, but small bronze coins of one-third of a farthing, still known locally as grains, were struck at the London Mint for use in

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[1] The standard work on this interesting coinage is Canon Calleja Schembri's *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 2nd edn., 1910). [113]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of 1936, which superseded the original self-governing 642
Constitution of 1921. In 1946 Sir Harold MacMichael, a 646
distinguished retired administrator in the Middle East, was invited by the British Government to formulate detailed proposals for constitutional reform after consultation with the National Assembly. His recommendations[1] provided for a Legislative Assembly of forty members elected on a system of proportional representation and led to the re-establishment of self-government in September 1947.[2] But some responsible elements regretted that they made no provision for the Second Chamber or Senate which had existed under the Constitution of 1921.

The elections gave Malta the first Labour Government in 665
its parliamentary history, under Dr (later Sir) Paul Boffa; 642
this made way in 1950 for one formed by the Nationalists, whose earlier dismissal had led to the suspension of the Constitution in 1933.[3] The new Government was headed—for such are the vicissitudes of politics—by the veteran pro-Italian Enrico Mizzi, who had been interned in East Africa during the war and died in December 1950, three months after taking office. In 1951 his successor, the Nationalist Dr G. Borg Olivier, formed a Coalition with Dr Boffa's "Malta Workers' Party"; this Coalition remained in power until defeated in 1955 by the Left-Wing Labour Leader, Mr Dominic Mintoff,[4] a former Rhodes Scholar who had been Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction in the Boffa Ministry but seceded from his former chief in 1950.

Already in the time of Dr Borg Olivier there had been 642
inaugurated a series of talks in London between the Secretary 648
of State for the Colonies and the Maltese Prime Minister 668
and Leader of the Opposition on proposed changes in Malta's

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[1] Published in 1947 as Colonial No. 207 and analysed in the White Paper "Malta; Statement on Constitutional Reform (Comd. 7014) of Jan. 1947." [113] ●

[2] See p. 137.

[3] See pp. 135–137.

[4] Mintoff is a variation of the name usually spelled Mintuf, which is the Maltese word meaning 'plucked.' [557]

INTRODUCTION

114 121 The distinctive qualities of Malta first exerted their attraction on us over fifteen years ago. In 1954 an opportunity for closer study occurred and we developed the idea of undertaking some form of geographical survey.

When the authors made a preliminary survey of documentary source material, their first reaction was one of surprise at the relative paucity of literature available; although since that time there has been an improvement in the quality, extent and accessibility of studies relating to the Islands, this original impression persists. Smallness in overall area and in population numbers might be held responsible for such a limited degree of intellectual interest; and yet the true importance of Malta has been out of all proportion to mere size. The number of references quoted below might seem a rebuttal of these assertions. Indeed in total amount the material extant is superficially impressive. However, with certain significant exceptions, many studies prove to be unreliable either because of their uncritical acceptance of earlier dicta, or because analyses are relatively superficial in that they lack foundation upon direct observation and on the cross-checking given by comparative studies in related fields. These introductory remarks are intended not as complacent and destructive criticism but rather as a partial explanation and justification of the wide but not definitive range of our work. The research on which our book is based commenced as a sample study of land utilization. Because however of the difficulty of accepting other than very few statements as authoritative it became essential to undertake simultaneous inquiries in varied fields.

114 121 182 Equally important as a reason for attempting a relatively comprehensive coverage of affairs Maltese is the fact that in these strange, perhaps unique, islands the interweave of human and non-human elements is so close. Approach to a single isolated problem leads extraordinarily rapidly to all other parts of the complex, more quickly and completely than we have observed elsewhere. Whatever the starting point; micro-climate or semantics, hoe-types or constitutional history, any sustained investigation involves a mass of varied but inter-related problems.

114 The first simple project evolved for these reasons into a complex scheme carried out under the auspices of two Universities, two Governments, and in association with two Civil Services as well as other organizations, British, Maltese and international. We have therefore also experienced the need and received the opportunity of testing and experimenting with various techniques of geographical research. Circumstances allowed the participation of a relatively large number of workers of differing levels in experience. Besides full-time researchers at postgraduate level and a number of university teachers who made Malta a specific interest, there was scope for drawing upon the energy and enthusiasm of undergraduate members of the Department. In this way, the terrain could be fully covered and geography practised through the soles of the feet, with every part surveyed by personal observation on the ground. During the more or less parallel investigations therefore made necessary it has been possible to reconcile the methods of team research without restricting the freedom of the individuals concerned, whilst at the same time the Field Directors have been able to survey the whole of the work and take part in all of its constituent elements. It has been very reassuring to find that the checks provided by consequent overlapping have been consistently favourable.

121 As professional geographers, we welcome an opportunity of stating a belief that has lain in our minds throughout our work in Malta and elsewhere, and that experience has only served to confirm. This is that geography implies first, field observation of conditions relating to the way men live; secondly a willingness to trace a relationship through, and if necessary beyond the formal bounds normally assigned to a particular academic discipline. Thirdly, in order to give the whole process form and meaning, the operation must be rooted in a physical regional framework - this is what makes our approach 'geography' rather

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The Royal University of Malta, through its Rector Magnificus, its Professor of Economics, and Registrar also gave much valued collaboration; and further academic assistance came from Brother Leo Barrington, until recently Principal of St. Michael's Training College for Men, Valletta. A final but none the less sincere expression of appreciation concerns the long-suffering farmers, who submitted with excellent grace to inquisition, disquisition, and even perquisition. To all these individuals we offer thanks, and the hope that their recollection of our presence will be as agreeable as are our memories of their Islands generally.

H. B-J., J. C. D., W. B. F.
Durham, June 1960.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE MALTA PROJECT

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The present volume draws upon and summarizes the findings of research and observation carried out by a relatively large group of individuals. Much has been omitted or greatly abbreviated but it is proper that the names of all participants in the Malta project should be recorded.

There are first the collaborators in the volume, Professor K. C. Dunham, F. R. S., Dr. M. House and Mr. J. C. Wigglesworth of the Department of Geology, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, who are responsible for Chapter 1(A); and Mr. D. Lang of the Soil Survey of Great Britain, who has contributed Chapter 3(A). As well, we acknowledge with deep appreciation the general co-operation of Dr. R. Cirillo, Professor of Economics, and Dr. J. Aquilina, Professor of Maltese Language, both of the Royal University, Valletta.

The others, whose names are given below, are past or present members of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges.

Directors of Fieldwork and Land Use Survey; Research Supervisors.	
H. Bowen-Jones, M. A. Cantab. Senior Lecturer.	Malta 1955, '56, '57, '58.
J. C. Dewdney, M. A. Edin. Lecturer.	

C. E. R. C. Research Fellows in Malta, 1956-'58.
P. K. Mitchell, B. A. Dunelm. (Lecturer at University College of Sierra Leone).
B. W. Beeley, B. A., Ph. D. Dunelm, (Research Fellow in Middle Eastern Studies, Durham Colleges).

Postgraduate Research Workers.	
W. A. Charlton, B. A., Ph. D. Dunelm	Malta 1955, '56, '57.
M. Richardson, B. Sc., Ph. D. Dunelm	
R. W. Hill, B. A. Sheff., Ph. D. Dunelm	Malta 1957

Land Use Survey Parties.	Malta 1955
F. H. Andreason-Aalen, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1956
J. A. Allen, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1957
B. P. Birch, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1956
K. S. MacLachlan, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1955
P. K. Mitchell, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1955, '56
B. E. Roberts, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1957
A. R. Taylor, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1955
S. A. Taylor, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1956
I. B. Thompson, B. A. Dunelm, M. A. Indiana	Malta 1956, '57
K. G. Wardhaugh, B. Sc. Dunelm	Malta 1957
B. F. Wooten, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1956
J. F. Yaxley, B. A. Dunelm	

General Director of the Research Project.
Professor W. B. Fisher, B. A. Manc., Doct. d'Univ. Paris. Malta 1946, '52, '53, '57, '58.

Chapter 1

A. GEOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS

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and J. C. WIGGLESWORTH, B.Sc., F.G.S.

INTRODUCTION

131 The central Mediterranean islands of Malta, Gozo and Comino lie 58 miles due south of Sicily, 220 miles due north of Tripoli and about 180 miles east of Tunis. The Maltese archipelago trends north-west to south-east and is 28 miles in length. Malta, the largest and most southerly island, is 17 miles in length and nine miles wide and has an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is nine miles long, up to four miles wide, and has an area of 26 square miles. The island of Comino, in the Comino Strait separating the two islands, occupies only one square mile. A submarine ridge, averaging 50 fathoms in depth, extends southwards from the Ragusa peninsula of Sicily towards the islands, and it continues on as a 133 broader and deeper shelf to the African coasts of Tunisia and Tripolitania. This submarine ridge, which separates the Mediterranean into two main hydrographic basins, represents a sunken land bridge which connected Africa and Europe during parts of the Pleistocene and later Tertiary.

The islands are entirely composed of Tertiary limestones with subsidiary clays and marls. Superficial deposits, mostly Pleistocene in age, take the form of cliff breccias, cave and valley loams, sands and gravels. The succession of Tertiary rocks on the islands is as follows:-

		Feet
5. Upper Coralline Limestone	at least	530
4. Greensand		0-50
3. Blue Clay		0-230
2. Globigerina Limestone		75-680
1. Lower Coralline Limestone	at least	626

The Lower Coralline Limestone and Lower Globigerina Limestone belong to the Aquitanian stage and the Middle and Upper Globigerina Limestone and Blue Clay to the Burdigalian. The Helvetian is represented by the Greensand and the Tortonian by the Upper Coralline Limestone. All these stages fall within the Miocene period, following Eames' recommendation that the Aquitanian is Miocene rather than Oligocene.

The strata have an undulating regional dip to the south-east and the islands are cut by a system of normal faults, striking ENE, which affects Malta especially and is responsible for cutting that island into a series of horst and rift blocks.

The first description of the geology of these islands was given by Commander 114 T. A. Spratt (1843 and 1852) and later a general account was given by Murray (1890) and his work stimulated others, especially Cooke (1893, 1893a, 1896, 133 1896a), to examine the rocks in more detail. During this century Rizzo (1932), Paver (1943), Sir E. B. Bailey (1943) and Morris (1952) have added detail mainly in connection with an examination of the water resources of the islands. Recently the literature has been reviewed and summarised by Reed (1949) and Hyde (1955). The fossils have been studied especially by Gregory (1891), Stefanini (1908), Roman and Roger (1939) and Eames and Cox (1956). The interesting fauna of the Pleistocene cave deposits have been described by Cooke (1891, 1896b), Cooke and Smith Woodward (1893) and Bate (1935), and Evans (1954, 1959) has described the prehistoric pottery sequence.

Note: Throughout this chapter, *four-figure grid references* have been used to locate the south-western corner of the kilometre grid square containing the feature named. The grid in use is that appearing on the standard two-inch map of Malta and Gozo, G.S.G.S. 3859. Edition 4, 1954, and reproduced on Fig. 3 et seq. The Roman numerals refer to regions marked on the inset map of Fig. 3. [128]

133 Valletta which gives way, in the extreme south-east, to southerly dips. The only important dislocation is the Malak Fault at Għar Lapsi which strikes NW and downthrows south-west at least 800 feet.

The westerly structural low brings the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone less than 100 feet above sea level between Qlejgħa (4072) and Baħrija (4171). But the region is very much complicated by shallow folds and faults. There is a general structural rise to the south-east, however, and this culminates near ta'Żuta (4566) where the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone is over 300 feet above sea level.

The main north-south anticlinal belt through central Malta was first recognised by Sir Edward Bailey. It is not, however, a simple ridge but forms several upwarps. The main domes are around Naxxar (4974), near Żebbuġ (4970) and north-east of Għar Lapsi (4865). The first and last of these domes brings the top of the Globigerina Limestone over 400 feet above sea level.

The broad Valletta basin which centres on the Grand Harbour must carry the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone a few hundred feet below sea level. To the north the structures rise to give the outcrops of Lower Coralline Limestone north of Sliema (5574) and to the west they rise towards the central anticlinal belt. To the south-west the rise culminates near Żurrieq (5265) and to the south, after rising to give the Lower Coralline Limestone inliers near Żabbar (5870) and Kospikwa (5771) the strata dip regularly to the south-east. Younger and younger strata are therefore regularly exposed in that direction and the highest beds, the Upper Globigerina Limestone, crop out on the peninsula of Delimara Point (6064).

The Malak Fault at Għar Lapsi (4864) downthrows the Upper Coralline Limestone at least 800 feet to seaward. The fault strikes NW and forms a conjugate association with the more usual NE or ENE striking faults. The fault plane is well exposed, and dips steeply seaward. The fault between Ta Berwiek (4864) and Deub il-Bagdal (4964) is double, enclosing a thick sliver of Globigerina Limestone.

The Age of the Faulting

The faults of the islands form prominent scarp faces and in many cases the actual fault planes show up as walls marked with original slickensiding. This suggests that the faulting must be quite recent. Indeed, Pleistocene Mollusca have been recorded in a crushed conglomerate caught up in the Malak Fault. [172] The neolithic cart tracks which enter the sea at St. George's Bay, Birżebbuġa and other places show that there has been even more recent movement of the islands.

● 114 This account is based in part upon a field survey of Malta and Gozo carried out at the expense of British Petroleum Company Ltd., in March-April, 1955. The geologists engaged in the work, in addition to the authors, were Dr. M. H. P. Bott and Dr. A. A. Wilson, also of the Durham Colleges' Geology Department. The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to the Directors of the Company for permission to publish this summary. In addition visits were made in 1958 and 1960.

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C. HYDROLOGY AND WATER SUPPLY

An adequate water supply being essential to all forms of economic activity, industrial as well as agricultural, it is not surprising that a great deal of attention has been paid to this topic in Malta where, as in so many regions of Mediterranean climate, a limited and erratic rainfall makes water supply a perennial problem. This has become increasingly serious and difficult of solution during the period of British rule. Rapid growth of population and a rising standard of living have been accompanied by increasing water consumption per head as well as overall. A long series of reports of varying worth and conflicting conclusions has appeared during the last 50 years of which the Morris Report (1) published in 1952, is the most recent and most authoritative. This work is of interest not only for its thorough treatment of modern conditions but also for its critical appraisal of earlier published work. It forms the basis of current policy in the field of water supply development. [114]

Climate in general and precipitation in particular are more fully dealt with elsewhere (Chapter II, p.48). Suffice it to say at this point that the heavy, often very localised downpours accompanied by rapid run-off, in which the bulk of the rainfall occurs, together with summer drought and intensive evaporation, are factors which greatly reduce the value of a by no means abundant precipitation.

Malta is fortunate in its stratigraphy (see Chapter I A, p.25) which provides particularly favourable conditions for the percolation and underground storage of rainwater. The most valuable aquifers are the Upper and Lower Coralline Limestones where, however, the presence of bedding planes, joints and fissures is of far more importance in controlling the underground movement of water than are the porosity and permeability of the rocks themselves. The Globigerina, though it contains important limestones, is composed largely of thick and relatively impervious marly beds, through which percolation is slow and from which run-off is correspondingly rapid.

Two distinct water tables (2) exist, one in the Upper Coralline and the other in the Lower Coralline and Globigerina formations. There is a further subdivision into water tables based on sea level and those developed above impermeable strata. Physical conditions and the history of development of the two sources are so distinct as to warrant their separate treatment at this stage. The Main Sea Level Water Table (or the Lower Water Table) so named to distinguish it from smaller sea level tables occurring in the Upper Coralline, has for the past hundred years been the main source of the public supply in Malta and now accounts for some 90 per cent, or more the water extracted by the Water Department. This water table 'is in bodily continuity with water of Mediterranean salinity marginally and at depth... It is not retained within the island by any impermeable base, but owes its existence to the simple fact that every winter the local rainfall adds more fresh water to the underground store than can be dissipated by (i) the direct discharge of its superficial portion around the coast in response to the head of water inland and (ii) the deterioration of its composition ... as the result of diffusion from the highly saline Mediterranean water around it and beneath it' (3).

The area occupied by this water table is bounded by (a) the coast where the Lower Coralline outcrops and (b) the line along which the junction of the Lower Coralline with the Globigerina lies at sea level (Fig. 8). The area thus defined occupies 37.5 square miles south of the Victoria Lines and 4.3 to the north, the most valuable parts being those where the salinity of the top water does not exceed 15 parts per 100,000. Such conditions are limited to an area of 22.8 square miles. The water body is replenished for the most part through the extremely limited outcrops of Lower Coralline since the Globigerina, especially where it is soil covered, forms a region of very slow percolation. Thus it is of particular importance that the Lower Coralline catchments should be preserved and protected from pollution. Such areas are rarely cultivated but it is unfortunate, though not unnatural, that they are often used for other purposes, in many

*132 September) and only another 1.83 inches fell in the remaining seven months of the climatic year. This prolonged drought, during which rain fell on only 22 days (approximately one in ten) and during which the heaviest fall was 0.28 inches on 22nd May, is by far the most remarkable feature of this year and, indeed, of the whole four-year period. As mentioned elsewhere, the exceptionally dry late winter and spring was a particularly serious matter for the agriculturist. There was little of note concerning the run of temperatures during this dry period and these are clearly illustrated by the graph. However, the generally rather low relative humidity of the summer months with a minimum of 28 per cent. on 14th August is worthy of note.

In 1956-57, a fairly 'normal' autumn and winter, though with a few periods of particularly heavy rain, were followed by a strikingly 'abnormal' spring and summer, the low rainfall of these seasons bringing the annual total well below the mean, and almost to the lower limit of the inter-quartile range.

CLIMATIC YEAR 1957-58: As the diagram shows, the first part of this year was abnormally wet with a particularly large number of days of heavy rain. 18.5 inches fell in the four months September-December inclusive and considerably higher totals were recorded at stations other than Valletta (see below). The period from January to August, however, was one in which monthly rainfall totals were near or rather below average, so that the annual total was not as high as might have been expected. Nevertheless, at 25.48 inches, the latter was 25 per cent. above the mean and lay outside the inter-quartile range. The heavy rainfall of autumn 1957 was as noteworthy as the drought which preceded it and had an adverse effect on farming operations by delaying the planting of many of the winter crops. The only feature of note concerning the temperatures of this year was their 'normal' character, no monthly mean diverging from the average by more than 2°F.

The four years studied in detail thus give a fairly full picture of the range of conditions likely to be experienced in Malta over a much longer period and contain examples of practically all recorded extremes of temperature, rainfall and humidity conditions.

RAINFALL IN THE MALTESE ISLANDS

Under the climatic conditions prevailing in the Islands, rainfall is undoubtedly the most important of the climatic elements and its distribution in space and time are of vital importance to the people of Malta in general and to the agricultural community in particular. Detailed studies, first of the provenance and quality of recorded data, and secondly of periodic rainfall totals have been made by P. K. Mitchell and have appeared in reports submitted to the Colonial Office (2). Here it is necessary to restrict examination to certain aspects of particular value and interest.

Publication of daily rainfall totals, based on measurements in a 'pluviometer' in Valletta, began in 1841. There are now 40 meteorological stations in the Islands. Here we summarise in list form the main developments of the last century and consider qualitatively the information derived from observations made at the stations shown on Fig. 9.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF OBSERVATIONS, MANUSCRIPTS and PUBLISHED DATA (Fig. 10)

A. 1841-42, at Military Hospital, Valletta, and from 1843-55 on the University Roof, also in Valletta. The mss. are lost, but monthly data were published by Delicata, 1856 (3). Used later by Chadwick (4), and in Blue Books 1880 and 1881 (5).

B. 1841-46, at an unknown site in Valletta. The mss. are lost but incomplete publication of daily records appeared in *Portafoglio Maltese*, 1841-47.

C. 1843-47, yet another gauge in Valletta, probably in Strait Street. Mss. lost. Incomplete and inaccurate publication of monthly data in *Societa Medica* (6), n.d.

[Text continues on p. 58]

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D. 1844-49, on a site in the Via San Guiseppe, Hamrun. Mss. are lost. Incomplete publication of monthly data in Delicata, 1846, and also by the *Societa Economico-Agraria*, 1849 and 1850 (7).

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E. 1851-54, probably at the Corradino Prison, Pawla. The mss. are lost but annual totals appear in Zammit, 1855 (8).

F.1. 1852-61, probably at St. John's Cavalier, Valletta, by the Royal Engineers. Recording may not have been continuous during the period, as mss. in the Meteorological Office cover only the following years: 1852-54 and 1857-61. Hann, 1903 (9), published monthly readings for 1853-54 and 1857-60. Bateman, 1867 (printed by Seddal, 1870) (10) gave annual totals for 1852 and 1855, probably from this source. Both years are defective in the mss.

F.2. 1865-86 and 1901-06, by the Statistical Branch of the Army Medical Department, at the Garrison Hospital, Valletta (formerly the Hospital of the Knights of St. John). Mss. at the Meteorological Office begin with January 1866, but 1865 data were published by that Office in 1890. Bateman, 1867, gives the annual total for 1866.

H. 1868-1941 and 1947 to date, at various elementary schools in Malta and Gozo. Mss. giving monthly figures before 1891 and daily data after 1901 are preserved at the Royal University. Between those years the mss. are lost. Occasional publication of monthly data has taken place in contemporary issues of the Government Gazette (11). Those for the years when mss. are missing (1891-96, but not unfortunately 1897-1901) are particularly valuable. A mimeographed summary of the available ms. record giving means for Malta and Gozo up to 1913 was prepared at the University Observatory in 1950 (12). Agius, 1915 (13), gives a table of annual means 1901-11, for some of these stations. From 1916 to date, with a gap for the war years, monthly totals have been issued on duplicated and printed sheets by the University Observatory.

J. 1877-78, and 1900 to date, at the University Observatory where mss. are preserved. Later years, after 1909, issued in Royal University Meteorological Abstracts; daily data superseded monthly summaries in 1920. From 1904 to 1913, University observations formed the basis for the Malta section of 'Summary of the Weather in Egypt, etc.' (14).

K. From 1883-1909, unpublished observations were taken at the Seminary, Victoria, Gozo. The mss. are lost.

L. 1883-1906, at St. Ignatius College, St. Julian's. Again the mss. are lost but data was published in the Stonyhurst College Meteorological Reports up to 1902 (15). There was also occasional publication in Government Gazette of the period. Hann, 1903 (16), used monthly summaries of these data for the years 1885-1901.

M. 1884 to date, at one and later seven sites on the Rabat-Dingli Plateau. Observations were made by the Water Department who hold the mss. for the years after 1888. Earlier observations of this series were published by Chadwick, O., 1885 (17), 1887 (18) and 1888 (19). Monthly figures, the means of all seven stations, are published by Morris, 1952 (20), for the years 1890 to 1944.

N. 1908-10 to date. Summer rainfall readings ensured at five of the School Observation sites (H). Another station, of similar status, was set up at the Argotti Gardens, Floriana. The mss. of these observations are kept at the Royal University. Returns, in varying detail, have been issued with the other Royal University Meteorological Observatory Abstracts (J) (21).

O. 1922-28. A station set up for the Meteorological Office on Guardamangia Hill, Pieta. Ms. records available at the Meteorological Office, Luqa.

P. 1925 to date. Daily ms. records of data from five gauges in Gozo are preserved at the Water Department.

Q. 1928-48. Meteorological Office station at St. John's Cavalier, Valletta. The Office hold ms. records.

R. 1946 to date. Meteorological Office station at Luqa Airport. Mss. at the station with duplicates at the Meteorological Office. Currently published in the Overseas Supplement to the Daily Weather Report.

[Text continues on p. 60]

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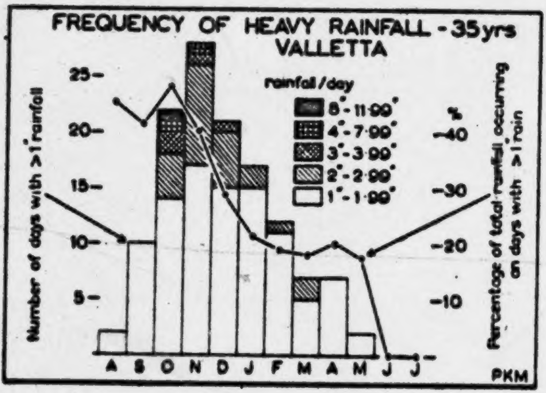

Fig. 11 Frequency of Heavy Rainfall - 35 yrs., Valletta.

*132 S. 1948 to date. Royal Naval Air Station, Hal Far. Ms. records kept at station, for two years, then sent to Director of Naval Weather Service.

114 T. 1956 to 1958. R.A.F. Station, ta'Kali, observations for most days maintained by Meteorological Office. Mss. at Meteorological Office, Luqa.

U. 1956 to date. At nine stations in Malta, autographic recording instruments have been established by the Water Department, who hold the mss.

V. 1957 to date. Autographic records for five Gozo stations. Water Department.

ANALYSES OF MALTESE RAINFALL

*132 DAILY RAINFALL

The number of 'rain-days' within a particular period gives at best a very general idea of the distribution of rainfall within that period, since the amount of rain which falls in one rain-day is an extremely variable quantity. At the same time, figures for daily rainfall inevitably, on many occasions, either divide a period of continuous rain into separate parts or add together separate falls occurring within the same 24-hour period.

These deficiencies in the basic data must be borne in mind in the following examination of daily rainfall which is based on the Valletta rainfall record for the 35 years beginning with August 1901. Table 8 and Fig. 11 show the frequency, within that period, of days with 1.0 inches or more of rain, the occurrences of various totals being distinguished. Thus, for example, in the 35 Decembers from 1901 to 1935 inclusive there were 21 days with more than 1 inch of rain, of which six had more than 2 inches and one had more than 3 inches. The table and figure also indicate the proportion of the total rainfall of each month which occurred on days with 1 inch or more of rain. This is seen to be at its highest in the autumn months, falling off rapidly through the winter with a minor peak in spring. No rain-days with totals in excess of 1 inch were recorded in June or July during the period under review.

Thus heavy rain is most frequent in the earlier part of the rainfall year, though its frequency in August has been exaggerated by the occurrence of two particularly heavy downpours in that month in 1905 and 1920. The peak in October accords with the high variability already remarked upon for that month and is reflected in the wide divergence between mean and median amounts (see Fig. 7).

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likely to result from rapid run-off, are highly desirable for cultivation in most years because of their deeper soils and longer-lasting water tables.

Statistical analysis suggests that storms of the type described must be accepted as recurrent and normal and provision made to counter their effects. Damage to crops and lands might be considered as part of the normal cost of better yields in other years, though this raises questions of profit and loss accounting which have not so far been faced. Similarly, the conflicting interests of agriculture and water supply, referred to elsewhere in this book, must somehow be reconciled. Such problems must be considered against the fullest possible background of factual data.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RAINFALL

Two conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing analysis of storm rainfall, namely that there are marked regional variations in the distribution of rainfall from any one storm and that certain areas are more subject to storms than others. This would suggest that total precipitation might show a distinct regional pattern an idea borne out by analysis of records from a number of stations. Figure 19 is based on the Schools rain gauge records (Series II) and, although these cover a period of only 15 years, they accord well with the results of Agius's calculations based on records for a number of stations from 1901 to 1910.

Most of the Islands' rainfall is brought by north-westerly winds, the convectional effect being strengthened by orographic uplift along the steep north-western coasts of Malta and Gozo. The distributional pattern of Fig. 19 is a product of these factors. Maxima in Gozo of over 24 inches are recorded where the northern plateaux lie directly in the path of prevailing winds. In Comino and the extreme north of Malta there are indications of a slight rain-shadow effect. The upland areas south of Ghajn Tuffieha, together with the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills, give the highest rainfall amounts in Malta. In the lee of these hill masses distinct rain-shadow areas occur, with annual totals below 20 inches.

Valletta, lying in the drier, eastern part of Malta, had a mean annual rainfall of 21.94 inches for the period 1924-39. This is 1.4 inches or 7 per cent. greater than the average obtained from the 116-year record; thus the isohyetal values of Fig. 19 should be reduced by that amount to give a truer picture of long-term means.

DEWFALL

[114]

Dew is the only other form of precipitation to occur in the Maltese Islands but this has not been measured by modern methods. Zammit's figures (25) (Table 14) would appear to be much too high, presumably because his method involved the use of a metal collecting pan (26).

Table 14. Zammit's measurements of Dewfall. Inches.

1854		1854		1854		1855	
April	0.75	July	0.81	October	0.79	January	0.24
May	0.62	August	0.30	November	0.34	February	0.56
June	1.12	September	0.78	December	0.16	March	0.08

Seasonal variations indicated by these figures are, however, reasonably reliable and it is interesting to note that 66 per cent. of Zammit's measured dewfall occurs in the period April-September inclusive, a seasonal rhythm similar to that observed by Duvdevani (27) on the Israeli littoral. The influence of dewfall on the growth of summer plants is obviously considerable and warrants investigation by more up-to-date methods.

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312

Despite the considerable differences in the two totals for the full year 1957-58 which may largely be explained by differences in the exposure of the two instruments, the broad trend of potential evapo-transpiration is clearly evident (Fig. 20). The maximum occurs in August when the rate approaches a quarter-inch per day and falls off rapidly to a minimum of about 0.05 inch in December, thence rising slowly, and somewhat irregularly, to the August peak. Certain of the monthly figures appear inaccurate. May and June 1957 would seem to be too high and too low respectively. Settling of the soil may be responsible for the irregularity of these early values but can hardly explain a similar pattern in 1958. Difficulties experienced in maintaining a vegetation cover may be a further factor in distorting the values for these months. The high November reading at Hal Far is almost certainly due to the 'bushy' vegetation at the time.

Thornethwaite (36), Penman (37) and Crowe (38) have produced formulae for the calculation of P.E. from standard meteorological data. The application of these formulae to mean monthly data for Malta is shown in Table 18. Comparison with the ta'Qali and Hal Far figures is encouraging (Fig. 21). A further comparison is made in Fig. 22 between mean values computed according to Penman's formula for evaporation from an open water surface and the results of observations at the ta'Qali free surface evaporation tank, kindly made available by the Senior Water Engineer. Again, the two curves are tolerably close.

Table 18. Computed mean monthly evapo-transpiration. Inches.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Thornethwaite, P.E.	6.2	4.7	3.4	1.9	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.4	2.1	3.2	4.7	6.4	37.3
Crowe, P.E.	7.1	4.8	2.6	1.7	1.4	1.5	1.4	2.4	3.3	4.4	5.4	7.0	43.0
Penman, Fo.*	8.0	5.9	4.5	2.3	1.0	1.0	1.3	3.1	3.5	5.2	7.6	8.1	51.5

*Evaporation from open water.

[114]

It seems probable that Zammit's figures, appropriately adjusted, would provide reasonably correct results. The University data, however, are excessive owing to deficiencies in the apparatus (the pan was only 2 inches deep and back radiation from its base would have heated the water and speeded up its evaporation). The low August values of these early readings may well be related to this insolation effect, since their rhythm is more closely linked with insolation than with air temperature. It is the latter which normally controls deep water evaporation and potential evaporation, though, as Penman points out (39), atmospheric humidity, wind and insolation are also significant.

Clearly, further work is necessary before any final conclusions can be drawn. Observations made so far must be regarded as preliminary, though the results are sufficiently consistent to justify the following statements on the 'water balance' of the Maltese Islands.

THE WATER BALANCE OF THE MALTESE CLIMATE

The water balance is essentially the relationship between water requirements as expressed by potential evapo-transpiration (P.E.) rates and the availability of water from precipitation. Table 19 gives mean monthly values of P.E., computed according to the methods suggested by Thornethwaite and Crowe (40).

Table 19. Crude water balance - Malta. Inches.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Precipitation	0.2	1.1	3.1	3.6	3.8	3.5	2.3	1.6	0.9	0.4	0.1	0	20.5
Potential evapo-transpiration	6.7	4.8	3.0	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.9	2.7	3.8	5.1	6.7	40.1
Moisture surplus			0.1	1.8	2.4	2.2	1.0						7.5
Moisture deficiency	6.5	3.7						0.3	1.8	3.4	5.0	6.7	19.6

134 water occasionally is a further aid. This is difficult or impossible, however, without drains and irrigation, so that soils with a saline ground water, are probably irremediable, but they may not in any case be worsening very rapidly.

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Chapter IV

MALTA BEFORE A.D. 1800

A. Malta before the Knights

The Maltese Islands were probably first settled towards the end of the third 121 millenium B.C.; certainly there is no evidence of any earlier occupation. From this time onwards, the landscape has had stamped upon it the successive 17 imprints of a series of cultures and culture-contacts. This is not the place to attempt a detailed analytical history, but any study of a region and its people must consider time as well as place. In Malta we have, in the course of our fieldwork, continually felt an extraordinarily strong sense of continuity, an insistence that much which is contemporary can only be understood in terms of the past, and often of the remote past. Conversely, a close examination of the landscape can help to illuminate the past in a strictly historical sense.

The sort of question which arises in an investigation of the rural landscape 172 may be exemplified by the much-debated problem of 'cart-ruts'. On some of the expanses of bare rock which exist in various parts of the island of Malta are deeply incised grooves, in dual and parallel alignment, sometimes in isolation, often in complex 'tramway' patterns (Plate VII). Various attempts have been made to explain them (1) but with little success. We are certain only of their approximate age. To the prehistorian they are of obvious direct interest. To ourselves they are irritatingly fascinating because of the indirect and obscure evidence which they seem to offer of the nature of the processes which have operated on the land of Malta. Were they friction-incised through a soil cover by skid-carts? If this is so, then the soil cover must not only have been more extensive than at present but must also have evolved under different climatic and edaphic conditions from those with which we are now familiar. What can we deduce from the present limited exposure of the ruts and from the fact that often they appear to have been blotted out by cultivation? The traditional answer, as put forward by Zammit (2), is that they carried sledges for the collection [114] and transport of soil so that man could concentrate the soil in field plots. Thus field-making inevitably covered the ruts except on the ridges and bluffs. There are defects in these and other explanations, none of which come near to helping us to estimate the number and kind of people involved.

The settlements, too, present problems. Thus the archaeologist: 'The curious and complete absence of settlement-sites throughout the prehistoric period, which also holds good for the Punic and later periods, seems susceptible of only one explanation. The best sites must have been chosen for settlement very early in the islands' occupation and these have remained centres of habitation until the present day' (3). May we then assume that, with the exception of the 'lost villages' of more recent times, the settlement pattern of today results from continual addition to, and an absence of erasures from the palimpsest? The answer is not only of chronological interest but has an essential place in any analysis of present-day Malta.

For such reasons as these we have attempted in this section to give a time perspective to the Maltese picture in order to help our present understanding.

The first Maltese would seem to have been Neolithic farmers using impressed ceramic ware of a type associated with the *Stentinello* culture of eastern Sicily. The stylistically earliest wares of Ghar Dalam (I) (Fig. 20) are associated with megalithic temples already well enough developed to have lost their original tomb character and to have become cult centres. These and later temples, built during the eight centuries before *c.* 1500 B.C. (Period I), are impressive and surviving contributions to the landscape by the first Neolithic people. Megalithic rock-tombs have been found at Xemxija and probably from this type of structure there evolved five distinct and successive phases of temple architecture. The earliest are those of Mgarr (II) and Xewkija (III) with a simple

*175 catchment area of the port was extended to include most of the east and centre
43 of the island.
The decline in indigenously rooted economic activity is typified by the
[464] fortunes of the cotton industry, which after two millennia of regional fame
finally succumbed to the stresses of the new world into which Malta had been
introduced. Statistical information is limited to brief mention of employment in
the industry in the Census Reports of 1851 and later. General material, often
untrustworthy, may be gleaned from travellers reports. Field work (18) carried
●[114] out during the last four years has given us the evidence of the few surviving
cotton workers who can recall the character of the industry as it was in its
moribund latter days.

*175 In 1861 there still remained almost 9,000 workers occupationally described
as spinners and weavers and some 200 beaters and dyers. Ninety-six per cent.
288 of the total were women, and male labour was generally used only in the final
stages of cloth preparation. The industry included all processes from the
43 growing of indigenous short staple annual cottons to the manufacture of cloth.
The actual operations however were carried out almost entirely by individual
178 workers in their own homes and were linked only by merchants specialising
in this trade. In many cases merchants advanced seed to the farmers on a crop-sharing basis. In all cases they bought the picked lint and then distributed quantities by weight to 'out-work' spinners. These would return the yarn, which had been prepared by primitive traditional teasers and spinning wheels, and were paid by weight and fineness of the yarn. The village merchant would store the yarn until he received an order for cloth and would then make similar contracts with domestic weavers.

That this type of 'out-work', domestic industry survived late into the nineteenth century is a commentary on the social and economic needs of the poorer village and rural classes. Much of the female labour described as occupied in cotton-working was often only seasonally thus employed. The 1861 census taken in the autumn in contrast to the usual spring period clearly illustrates the seasonal change of work between spring harvesting and tillage in the fields, and the home use of the spinning wheel after the autumnal harvest. Tariffs and quotas on trade in lint and yarn were deliberately employed to protect in the domestic market this last employment reserve of the 'lower classes'.

Finally however tradition and protection proved powerless to prevent change. In the harbour area the decline was rapid after 1851, alternative employment and the impact of trade virtually killing the indigenous cotton industry by 1901. Away from the conurbation the same factors operated more slowly but still inexorably. Żebbuġ and Rabat, centres of old Malta, were the last to succumb. The former, a great centre of mercantile and ecclesiastical wealth derived from cotton, remained relatively important for weaving until 1914. In Rabat, the suburb of the old capital, a craft industry still survives. With the coming of new opportunities for wealth gaining, not in trade but in mass employment in the dockyards and towns, the last *raison d'ètre* of the cotton industry disappeared. It survived longest in the cotton growing regions of the west and in the most Maltese of the old villages of the Centre and South. With its disappearance died the last considerable skilled employment of traditional resource wealth.

*175 Changes such as these characterised the Maltese economy during the
nineteenth century. World War I marked the end of an epoch during which the
178 evaluation placed on Malta by Britain was sometimes questioned but never
invalidated. The Maltese economy as it existed in the opening years of the
43 twentieth century had reached the logical culmination of a specialised
development which had been under way for centuries.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P. 133]

Chapter VI

MODERN MALTA

A. Population and Migration

It is common knowledge that the Maltese islands now possess a population which is extremely large relative to the territorial area. Polemical discussion of the implications of the situation has generally been based on two assumptions. The first is that the present size of the population is wholly a consequence of a simple vital revolution which occurred during British rule in the nineteenth century. The second assumption is that this vital-revolution is almost over and that falling birthrates will stabilise the population at a new and higher level. These assumptions are erroneous. The brief study that follows (based on a full-scale investigation of many types of source material by M. Richardson and others), attempts to show the true characteristics of Maltese demography. 175* 161 114

THE POPULATION BEFORE 1842

175* 162

Table 24. Estimates of population A.D. 991 to 1842.

	I. MALTESE		II. NON-MALTESE		III. TOTAL
	Malta	Gozo	The Knights	Other	
(1) 991					21,000
(2) 1240	3,800	1,800			5,600
(3) 1400					10,000
(4) 1528	12,000	5,000			17,000
(5) 1530	15,000	5,000	5,000		25,000
(6) 1565	19,500	2,500	9,000		31,000
	17,500	2,500	3,000		23,000
(7) 1582	20,000				
(8) 1590	28,864		3,426		32,290
(9) 1632	45,450	3,000	4,450		52,900
(10) 1741					110,000
(11) 1760	66,800				
(12) 1798	90,000	24,000			114,000
(13) 1807	80,225	12,829		22,100	115,154
(14) 1813	96,403	14,400			110,803
(15) 1823					112,204
(16) 1828	98,618	15,618		1,700	115,945
(17) 1837	98,958	16,522		4,398	119,878
(18) 1842	97,535	14,330		1,099	112,964

The earliest recorded estimate of the population of the Maltese Islands is one of 21,000, made by the Emir Yusuf al Futah in A.D. 991 (1), but this would appear to be excessive in the light of Abate Giliberto's report (2) of approximately 1,000 families in 1240 and Bosio's suggestion (3) that total numbers in A.D. 1400 did not exceed 10,000. The Commissioners to the Knights (4) estimated a total population of about 17,000 in 1528 to whom were added, shortly afterwards, members of the Order and their followers, some 5,000 in all. That the population of the Islands in 1530 was in the region of 20,000 may be assumed from data given by a number of writers including Fra Joannus Quintinus, Bosio and Boisgelin (5). 175* 161 114

The first half of the sixteenth century appears to have been a period of steady population increase in Malta, but Gozo suffered a severe setback in the Turkish raid of 1551 when large numbers were taken away as slaves. At the time of the Great Siege of 1565, members of the Order numbered 9,000 and the civilian population was in the region of 22,000 (6), a total of 31,000 of whom perhaps 3,000 lived in Gozo. Fatal casualties sustained by the Maltese during the Siege numbered 8,000 according to Zabarella, and Bosio puts the civilian population after the Siege at 20,000. A similar total was reported for the civilian population of Malta alone, excluding the Knights and their followers, by Grand Inquisitor Visconti in 1582 (7). In 1590 an enumeration was made for the Viceroy of Sicily (8). A detailed enumeration was made for Grand Master de Pawla in 1632 and is recorded by Abela (9). The members of the Order numbered 4,450 while the 'native' populations of Malta and Gozo were said to be 45,450 and 3,000 respectively, a grand total of 52,900.

Information is fragmentary for the period 1632-1807, although an estimate of 110,000 was made in 1741 (10) conflicting with Ciantar's figure (11) of 66,800 for Malta only, excluding members of the Order, in the year 1760. The former total is obviously much exaggerated. Boisgelin's total (12) of 114,000 in 1798 is equally unreliable as is shown by its estimate of 24,000 for Gozo, when that Island is known to have had only 14,000 inhabitants in 1842 (18) and there is no evidence of large-scale migration from Gozo in the intervening period.

The first detailed enumeration after the withdrawal of the French was recorded in an almanac of 1807 (13) and was based on Parish registers. This shows a 'native Catholic' population of 93,000 and a total of 22,100 'other inhabitants and domesticated strangers'. The 'census' of 1828 (16) gives a total which differs by a few hundreds only from that of 1807, and although the outbreak of plague in 1813 would in part account for the lack of population growth during the period, there can be little doubt that the 1828 enumeration had considerable deficiencies. That of 1837 (17) had similar defects. Over-estimation seems to have been a common feature of counts made in the early nineteenth century, since the first official census (18) of 1842, recorded a total population of only 113,864.

There is not sufficient material for any valid conclusions to be reached concerning the rate of population growth in the Maltese Islands before 1530, but the various estimates made between 1530 and 1842 permit an assessment of trends over the three centuries preceding the first official census. In Fig. 34 these estimates have been plotted on a semi-logarithmic scale and the trend of early nineteenth century population growth back-projected to 1530. Assuming a steady rate of increase, all the sixteenth century estimates, together with those of the nineteenth century are close to the totals arrived at by interpolation, but, in the intervening period, the figures given by Abela and Boisgelin appear grossly inaccurate. Abela's estimate for 1632 seems likely to have been at least 15,000 too great, his postulated increase of 100 per cent. or more over the figure for 1582 being an obvious impossibility. Boisgelin's total of 114,000 in 1798, includes a definite over-estimate of at least 10,000 in the case of Gozo and a probable exaggeration of 10,000 for Malta. Interpolation suggests a figure of 90,000 for the native population of the Islands in that year.

It is noteworthy that, between 1530 and 1798, the period during which the Knights of St. John were in control of the Maltese Islands, the population of Malta and Gozo together increased by some 260 per cent. from 25,000 to 90,000 while 175* 161

Chapter VII

A. The Land Use Survey of the Maltese Islands

When, in 1954, the decision was made to undertake a programme of geographical research into Maltese agricultural resources and their utilisation, it was also decided to base such a programme on fundamental observational work. The availability of excellent maps on scales of 25 inches, 6 inches and 2 inches to the mile, made it possible to envisage a complete and detailed survey of land use, field by field, plot by plot. Financial exigencies and the need for concentrating work into a short critical period, made it necessary so to plan the first visit as to make the findings representative of the whole range of conditions observable. The work was later extended to cover the full area of the Islands. 311* 121

From the outset, it was realised that work along the lines adopted elsewhere under the World Land Utilisation Survey scheme, while valuable as a first step in regions of considerable extent, would be inadequate under Maltese conditions. Several of the categories suggested by the scheme for use in the Old World (e.g. 6: Unimproved Grazing Land and 7: Woodland) do not exist in Malta while others (e.g. 3: Tree and other Perennial Crops and 4: Crop Land) are too broad to give any indication of regional land use characteristics. The small size of the Maltese Islands has made it possible, despite the minute sub-division of the land to carry out a field-by-field survey of use while at the same time distinguishing all the main crops. It is the combinations of these many different crops which most obviously mark out the different agricultural regions and which make necessary a breakdown of the broader land use categories. It has been appreciated that in many territories suitable conditions do not exist for this 'microscopic' approach, but the authors venture to wonder whether the dangers of more general surveys may not outweigh the value of their findings. These dangers lie not intrinsically in the scale of work but rather in that the findings, if used at all, will generally be used by people who may not appreciate their shortcomings. The problem lies in the gulf between the researcher and those responsible for policies and action.

The survey has been essentially a team effort, directed by the senior authors, the field work being carried out by them with the assistance of the student members of the survey parties (see Introduction, p. 9). It was found that a great deal of useful work could be carried out by the latter, provided that more experienced workers were available to organise and take part in the actual field work and to correlate and interpret the results. The basic method was the plotting of crops actually growing in the fields at the time of the survey (see below) on 6-inch or 25-inch maps. The latter scale was used in parts of Malta where fields are too small to allow the use of the 6-inch scale and throughout Gozo where 6-inch maps are not available. However, the work was not confined to mere crop-plotting, but included the noting of a variety of elements: the quality of the crops, conditions of soil, drainage and water supply, the relationship of crops to rock type, slope, exposure and other physical factors, farming techniques, irrigation methods and the character and extent of rural settlement. A large number of perspective sketches, plots of individual fields, and case studies of farms, a fraction of which are reproduced in the present volume, were made and many photographs taken. Wherever possible, farmers were interviewed and, although this was most easily done when interpreters were available, sufficient farmers with some English were found to extend the scope of this part of the work to cover some 250 individuals. Each day's work was followed by a conference at which points noted by the field workers were discussed and recorded. By these means, sufficient material of all kinds was gathered to permit not only the compilation of an accurate and very detailed record of land use but also a reasoned interpretation of observed fact which could be viewed alongside published official reports and statistical material. The authors so arranged their share of the work that they were able to visit all regions of the 311* 114 [124]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 193]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Islands and could thus provide continuity in the interpretation of the records of 311* the many field workers. 114

The survey parties worked in the Islands during the months of March and April in each of the three years 1955, 1956, and 1957. In March-April and August-September 1958 the authors themselves carried out final checks. During the Spring periods, the use of fairly large teams of observers, between six and eight in number, enabled the work to be concentrated at a critical time when the widest range of crops and of activities are to be seen. Summer vegetables and cotton are the only major crops not then in the fields and this difficulty was overcome by the enlistment of the other Durham research workers permanently residing in the Islands and by a summer visit of one of the authors. Objection might be raised to the spreading of the survey work over more than one season. The difficulty of completing such work on such a scale during one short period of time is not a sufficient answer. The real answer is that the time spread did not matter. The miniscule field pattern and the further subdivision into separate plots, both amply illustrated in the examples shown here, mean that crop changes from year to year merely result in the re-shuffling of tiny pieces of an intricate mosaic. The variety of crops grown and identified (see below), the relative uniformity of crop sequences and the individuality possessed by the various regions, further remove any deficiencies apparently implied by this particular method. The spreading of the fieldwork over a number of years did in fact allow both the checking of methodological validity and the carrying out of subsidiary pieces of work. For example, sample areas were surveyed during each of the four years, thus giving an accurate picture of crop sequence and rotations, as well as a check on short term change.

The following crops were individually identified in the field: sulla, wheat, [241] barley, vines, fruit, olives, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, marrows, other vegetables, broad beans, peas and vetches. In addition, uncropped land was recorded as waste, fallow, rough grazing or tilled. In several cases, e.g. vegetables, fruit and vetches, a note was made of the actual variety of plant being grown, e.g. cauliflowers, artichokes, apples, peaches, lemons, *gilbiena*, 102 *zozfa*, *widna*, etc. Coloured maps on a 6-inch scale, showing the 18 different 311* crops and uses of land have been prepared. Cost of publication prevents their reproduction here, but they have been used in the preparation of this volume, particularly in Chapters VII B and VIII. The Land Use Maps (Figs. 69 to 98) 126 show the distribution of individual crops, though the range distinguished has been somewhat curtailed. Wheat and barley, tomatoes and marrows, the various vegetables, broad beans and peas, and vetches and minor fodders have respectively been combined into single maps although the accompanying text notes regional variations. These 14 distribution maps in black and white have been prepared by reduction from the coloured 6-inch series. They were originally prepared on a 2-inch scale, and were thus directly comparable with the standard 2-inch topographical sheets and with the 2-inch geology and soil maps. The distribution maps, together with the coloured 6-inch are at present stored in the Durham Geography Department and it is hoped that the former at least will eventually be published on a 2-inch scale. The amount of cartographic work involved has been at least as great as that done in the field, and, since it was carried out by the authors alone it has consumed a considerable amount of time. However, it is felt that the labour has been justified in that only by accurate cartographic representation and by deduction from the maps can easy generalities be avoided. The long term character of the project also made easier the establishment of friendly contacts with local individuals, both official and private, whose help is sincerely acknowledged, and at the same time allowed the authors to amass a background knowledge of the Maltese Islands which has been invaluable in their interpretation of the agricultural landscape.

Note. A preliminary report - 'Agriculture in Malta, a survey of land use', was produced 113 by H. Bowen-Jones and J. C. Dewdney, at Durham, in 1958.

121 which divide the villages. I have therefore presented the current political and religious issues in Malta as concisely as possible, and have made no attempt to evaluate or to pass judgement on the policies of State, Church or political party. Consequently, any attempt to put the facts contained herein to polemical use is likely to distort them.

● 114 [122] Though I lived in Malta during 1957 and 1958, this study is based on the research I carried out there from July 1960 to September 1961 under a grant from the Colonial Social Science Research Council, to whom I am most grateful. The terms of reference on which the research was based, and the form this final report has assumed, were dictated solely by my personal interests; my work was neither carried out on behalf of, nor a report to, a government.

114 128 My wife and daughters were with me during the entire period of fieldwork, and their encouragement and interest as well as the many friends they made were a great asset. We spent our first five months in Farruġ and the last eight months in Kortin. These are not the real names of the villages, for the inhabitants of neither [123] seek recognition. Indeed, throughout this study I have been at pains to avoid any indiscretion which would repay most shamefully our special debt of gratitude to friends and neighbours for their hospitality and good humour in the face of our ignorance of their customs. For the same reason, the names of many of the persons and saints who figure in this account have been altered.

124 [578] [162] I chose to work in Farruġ because it is one of the villages divided by competing band clubs, and among other things I was particularly interested in the part this unusual rivalry plays in village politics. With a population of approximately 1,400, it is one of the smaller Maltese villages. We later moved to Kortin, a village of almost 5,000, since its size and the fact that it is not divided by band club rivalry provided an interesting contrast to Farruġ. Available housing determined the choice of these particular two villages from among the many that would have met my requirements. Besides detailed research in these villages, I carried out comparative studies into the general organization, leadership and patterns of conflict of 12 other communities. In this work Mr. Edward Micallef was my very able research assistant for three months. I chose 11 of these villages by stratifying all villages in Malta and Gozo according to population and then drawing out a

I did the fieldwork on which this study is based at this period in 642
Malta's constitutional history. A new constitution was promul- 648
gated late in 1961, and elections took place in February 1962. In [114]
place of dyarchy, it provided for 'concurrent powers' on foreign
affairs and defence to be held by the Malta Government and a
United Kingdom Commissioner.

The first Maltese political parties were born out of the con- 197
troversy over language which followed the publication in 1880 of 665
the Keenan report on education. This recommended that English
should be taught in place of Italian in the primary schools, al- 668
though students might later take Italian as an elective subject. In the Lyceum and the University, except for the Faculty of Theology, all work was to be done in English. These recommendations, which the government tried for many years to implement, weakened the dominant position which Italian had enjoyed in the educational system. As Italian was the language of the law courts, the clergy and the University, it was something of a class symbol. Most of the educated classes, and especially the lawyers and priests, strenuously resisted the move to downgrade it in favour of English. Many of the refugees from the Italian wars, who came to Malta after 1850, gave encouragement to the partisans of Italian. The Italian movement also whipped up considerable support amongst the clergy and their parishioners by declaring that English would certainly bring with it increased Protestant influences.

The dispute thus created interest groups which were to dominate Maltese politics for the next fifty years. On one side was the pro-English, or *riformista*, party led first by Sigismondo Savona,
later the Director of Education, and subsequently by Count (later
Lord) Gerald Strickland. This party, which generally supported [648]
government policy, favoured close cultural and political ties with
Britain. By the 1920's, it became known as the Constitutional Party. Its successor, the Progressive Constitutional Party, is led by Strickland's daughter, Miss Mabel Strickland.

The *anti-riformista* or pro-Italian party was led by Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and later by his son, Dr. Enrico Mizzi. The Nationalist Party eventually emerged out of this group, and today, although the language issue is quite dead, it is still one of the two major political parties. Both parties campaigned for support in the villages and thus, for the first time, forcefully presented national political issues to the masses.

070

level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advancement. 555

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta 212
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had 369
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same
period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to
17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment opportunities 464
during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 178
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 241
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 433
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the 464

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school. [114]

besides the patron saint, parishes celebrate many other saints. The 575
feasts of these secondary saints are normally not as lavish as the 578
annual festa of the patron. But many villages celebrate two large 621
festas: one for the titular saint of the parish, and the other for a 794
secondary saint who has assumed almost equal social importance. 796
Where this occurs, a village is divided into two partiti, each of which has its own band club and celebrates one of the saints. The partiti compete over almost every aspect of the festa, including the decoration of the streets, the adornment of the statue, the number of guest bands and, above all, the fireworks. Even the exact number of communicants, the size of candles and the quantity of light bulbs illuminating the façade of the church often become the subject of dispute. Farruġ is divided by this type of rivalry. One partit is dedicated to St. Martin, the titular of the parish, the other to St. Roque.

The origins of these festa partiti, where they can be traced, are 17
very much alike. Most of them came into existence sometime 578
between 1850 and the turn of the century, and most arose out of 621
disputes between persons concerned with the celebration of the 796
titular festa and those interested in the cult of some lesser saint. [794]
The latter were usually members of the confraternity dedicated to [575]
that saint.[1] These factions in time became centred on separate social clubs, and eventually acquired brass bands. The clubs provided a permanent institutional basis for the rivalry. As time went on, the partiti became more violent in their disputes and in the
pressure they put upon individuals to support them. Finally in 578
1935, the Church, long alarmed at the extremes to which the 621
devotion to some saints had been carried in certain villages, took
steps to eliminate the competition. It promulgated a series of 79
regulations designed to reduce the scale on which secondary feasts
could be celebrated. These stipulated that for secondary feasts there [575]
was to be no Translation of Holy Relics on the eve of the feast, that only the church and the area immediately adjacent to it could

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[1] Cf. Rob. Mifsud Bonnici, *Ġrajja Tal-Mużika F'Malta u Għawdex* (Malta, Giov. [113]
Muscat, 1954), pp. 38 f. He suggests that these partiti developed out of a dispute between [114]
persons who wanted to play sacred music by the Maltese composer Vincenzo Bugeja (1806–60) and those who preferred that of his rival, Paolo Nani (1814–1904). As far as
I could determine, however, the only partiti which arose directly out of this dispute [575]
are those in Żebbuġ. On the other hand, many rival partiti, once established, played the music of either Bugeja or Nani during their feasts. The former took a star as their symbol, the latter an eagle. Today partiti in many villages are still nicknamed either *tal-istilla* or *tal-ajkla* after this once-important division.

578 disappeared when the old Constitutional Party died out in the long
period of Governor's rule and the war that followed. At present,
659 however, the MLP shows no signs of weakening. On the contrary,
665 it is as tightly united and strong today as it has ever been. Thus
795 this conflict will in all probability continue to divide Malta and
Gozo in the foreseeable future, though its intensity may fluctuate.

It is well to remember that this study was carried out at a time
● 114 when the hostility between these two camps was at its peak. Some
578 of the examples that have been given, therefore, are extreme cases
659 which would have been quite inconceivable even ten years ago.
It is also possible that ten years hence they will appear equally
665 strange. But this does not detract from the relevance of the
795 analysis, for if the examples given are ephemeral, the principles
which they illustrate are permanent.

III

578 In many respects the rebellion of a political party against the
659 authority of the Bishop is similar to that of a festa partit against its
parish priest. There is an important difference, however; the festa
665 partit can appeal an unfavourable decision of its parish priest to
795 the Archbishop. If the latter rules against the partit, it can bring
pressure to bear that may result in the transfer of the parish priest.
[626] A political party, on the other hand, cannot appeal the unfavourable decisions of the Bishop to any local authority, for in his diocese his word is law. Though in theory such disputes can be referred to the Holy See, in practice, as in the case of Strickland's conflict with the Church, they fester for so long that by the time Rome is brought in reconciliation is difficult, if not impossible. If in practice a political party cannot appeal to a higher authority, it can even less agitate for the replacement of the Bishop. Thus disputes remain unresolved and the supporters of the political party become progressively more anti-clerical. Finally, their anticlericalism is equated with anti-Catholicism, and their rebellion against authority with revolt against the social order.

But is it in fact a revolution? It is important to draw a clear distinction between rebellion and revolution.[1] In the case of the former, people may turn against a leader personally, and may

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[1] Cf. Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 28.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE ETHNOLOGY OF MALTA AND GOZO.

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[The figures in brackets in the text refer to Appendix I, Literature.]

I.—INTRODUCTION.

12 [101] [114]

THIS report refers to a part of the material collected in December, 1920, and January, 1921, by an anthropological expedition from Oxford. The expedition was made possible by the generosity of Sir Alfred Mond and a grant from the Mary Ewart Trust. Most of the measurements on crania, on the women, and on about a hundred men and women at Gozo, were done by Mrs. Jenkinson and Miss Moss working together. Miss Russell measured long bones and about half the children.[1] The remaining measurements were done by the present writer. As far as possible all the skeletal material was examined by the present writer, who is ultimately responsible for the sexing. Mr. Hort was occupied in working at the archæological problems. I am indebted to Mrs. Jenkinson and Miss Moss for working out a number of indices on the living, and to Miss Russell for help in tabulation.

We all wish to express our thanks to the Governor of Malta (Field-Marshal Lord Plumer), who gave us official support, took a great personal interest in our work, and smoothed away many of the difficulties; and to the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Robertson. Dr. Zammit, the Rector of Malta University and Curator of the Museum, set his unrivalled knowledge of the island at our disposal, and gave us every possible help. Our thanks are also due to various members of the Department of Public Health, who sacrificed busy days in order to take us into villages where they happened to be known; to Count Caruana Gatto, for instructing me in the botany of Malta; and to numerous other friends who did everything in their power to enable us to collect data in Malta.

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[1] It is hoped to utilize the material dealing with the long bones and with the children in subsequent papers.

The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically con- 361
tinuous inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely [161]
overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding
lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the
village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here 114 ●
that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as 245
the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, 366
wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes.

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the 369
whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of 489
the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not 582
seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by the whole population.

III.—History.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further 133
evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, 172
has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of undercutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age. By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus. These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water.

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Nean- 114
dertal man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small 172
fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual characters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

114 172 authenticated material, it is hardly possible to state definitely that Neandertal man was living in Malta at the time when the rivers were large and the pygmy hippopotamus abundant. It is further remarkable that in a deposit which appears to be admirably suited for the preservation of bones, only small fragments of man have been found. In such a dry climate as that of Malta, cracks may have occurred in the floor of a cave, down which tiny fragments of bones may easily have fallen. There are some gravel terraces in the neighbourhood of Zebbug, which should certainly be explored for traces of Palæolithic man in the island.

172 The peculiar form of the Maltese sanctuaries has been discussed with great wealth of detail by Professor Zammit, with special reference to the site at Hal Tarxien. He is inclined to believe that they belong to the Neolithic period. There is certainly an entire absence of metal in the "Neolithic" stratum, and the stone masonry has not been worked with metal tools. The development of pottery, however, suggests a Late Neolithic or even an Eneolithic stage, not improbably of comparatively late date. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the buildings were extremely holy places, and there are numerous parallel examples from other parts of the Mediterranean which indicate that under certain conditions metal, or at a later date iron, was tabu in particular sanctuaries. We know nothing at present about the domestic culture of these megalith builders, and it is unsafe to argue from their sanctuaries that they were unacquainted with the use of bronze. The period may be provisionally termed "Malta Local Neolithic."

Although the majority of the material found at Hal Saflieni[1] is Neolithic, a number of undoubtedly Bronze Age wares of coarse types, and fragments of large vessels similar to the cremation urns of the Hal Tarxien Bronze Age period were found there. In spite of the very large number of bones which I examined, however, I did not find any definite traces of cremation; and with such evidence as I possess at present, I think it is justifiable to conclude that we are dealing with material anterior to the Bronze Age at Hal Tarxien, *i.e.* belonging to the Malta Local Neolithic period. Some bodies were undoubtedly buried *in situ*, but the majority appear to have been brought there, possibly from various parts of the island; probably they were exhumed and stored in the Hypogeum. The fractures on many of the bones and the comparative absence of complete long bones, suggests exhumation, a practice still widely distributed in the Mediterranean.

The very close resemblance between the incised "Neolithic" ware from Hal Tarxien and that from Santa Verna in Gozo, suggests that at this time there must

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[1] The Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni consists of a series of artificial caves hollowed out underground. In addition to numerous small objects, statuettes and sherds, these caves contained a very large number of human bones. The carvings, which are dolmenic in form, and the spirals in red ochre on the roof, have inclined Professor Zammit to believe that this is a sanctuary. Whatever its true purpose, the Hypogeum certainly forms an extensive ossuary of "Malta Local Neolithic" material.

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

PREFACE

(1) TERMS OF REFERENCE

114 /121 On October 1st, 1956, the writer became Junior Research Fellow in the Department of Geography in the Durham Division of the University of Durham, an appointment sponsored by the Research Department of the Colonial Office. The terms of the appointment, which was to be tenable for two years, entailed research into the social factors behind the problems of rural Malta and Gozo - especially as these concern the large agricultural element in this population (Project C.D.W. (R) No. 764).

The report here submitted presents the writer's assessment of the position.

114 [101] The sixteen months between January, 1957, and May, 1958, were spent in the Maltese Islands, the remainder of the period being spent in the Department in Durham on the analysis and preparation of material amassed in the field.

(2) ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

122 The writer wishes to record his gratitude for the help and encouragement received within both official and private circles in Malta and Gozo. During the period of work in the Islands, in 1957-58, the Maltese Government provided extensive help both to him and to a colleague, Mr. Peter K. Mitchell. This took the form of:

(a) the use of official transport for research purposes on two or three days each week throughout the period in the Islands,

(b) the provision of an interpreter for a large part of the time during which transport was also available,

(c) permission to use the facilities of certain Government Departments and other premises - on the customary Civil Service oath,

0-00 (d) a grant to cover certain travel expenses.

The Governor of Malta, His Excellency Sir Robert Laycock, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., and the Lieutenant-Governor, His Honour Mr. Trafford Smith, C.M.G., both showed gracious interest in the work in Malta.

General acknowledgement of other assistance given to the writer in Malta must, for reasons of space, be confined here to a few of a very long list of individuals. A very special mention must, however, be made in one case, for the writer wishes to place on record his debt to Mr. and Mrs. P.K. Mitchell for the help and friendship extended to him throughout the stay in Malta.

Profound thanks are due also to the farmers whose patience and generosity made field work among them possible and profitable. As their help and information was given in confidence individual identities have had to be obscured.

128 lot of the farmer.

In Section 5 an attempt is made to draw together the main socio-economic aspects of the present problem of Maltese agriculture. It is recognized that other aspects of this total problem have been covered elsewhere (e.g. - Mitchell, B/524, 525; Cirillo, B/387; Bowen-Jones and Dewdney, B/336; and in the various official reports which [114] have appeared in recent years, B/Part 7 E). It is felt, however, that in most cases, insufficient emphasis has been put on what is in fact the essence of the problem - namely the retreat of the present younger generation from farming and from rural society for a variety of reasons which are, it emerges, certainly as much sociological as economic.

(iii) Section 6 presents a considerable part of the evidence upon which the assessments in Section 2 to 5 have been based. It contains, as it were, the minutes of evidence for the conclusions reached. Part 1 (Cases I to XIII) presents detailed studies on thirteen farm-units representative of the different branches of the industry. Part 2 (Cases XIV to XXII) illuminates the main features of the current over-emphasis on large tractors and other types of farm machinery, while Part 3 comprises a brief note on the fishing community in the Islands, included because the fortunes of this comparatively small group parallel those of the farmers of the Islands.

[127] In addition to the material set out in Section 6 the writer has made use of a great deal of case study and general material collected during the period of field research in Malta and Gozo. Most of this is now in B/5.

(iv) Section 7 comprises a note on literature and language in Malta and a bibliographical list of published and unpublished material on the Islands. This covers not only the field of research of the present report but attempts to include also details of a cross section of material available on the historical, economic, archaeological, geological, hydrological and other fields of study of Malta and Gozo. Being the first example of an attempt at such a comprehensive coverage it is given with apologies for its deficiencies. Works listed in the bibliography are referred to in the general text of the report by their number in the bibliography preceded by 'B/'.

(v) Section 8 includes five Statistical Appendices. The first of these presents a picture of Maltese agriculture, its nature and weaknesses, together with relevant details of the farming population. Appendix 5 assembles a wider range of information on weights and measures than previously available. The other three Appendices are included as illustrative of points made in Section 1, as are Maps 1 to 7 and The Graph.

361 Mellieħa (1841), Mġarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
175 In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kercem (1885),
103 San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911),
Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

17 In the period reviewed the major development has been
361 the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the
Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth
369 and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2 · The Farmer and Farming

128

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525)
241 have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is
the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either
423 individually or as the principal person of an agricultural
[114] enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer.
311 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact
423 that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types
of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north

*159 571 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 [871] Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14).

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 871 829 [114] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fishermen has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command [illegible].

[P.483]

APPENDIX 5 : WEIGHTS and MEASURES

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UNIT	EQUIVALENTS Maltese	 British	 Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollice)	-	0.859 ins	21.83 mm
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10.312 ins	26.19 cm
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar*	2,292 yds	2,095 m
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	2.252 sq.yds	1.881 sq.m
Kejla	-	22.410 sq.yds	18.735 sq.m
Siegh (mondello)	10 Kejliet*	224.100 sq.yds	187.354 sq.m
Tomna (tummolo)	6 Sieghan*	0.278 acre	0.112 ha.
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	4.444 acres	1,798 ha.
		(1 acre - 3.6 tmien*)	
VOLUME			
Xiber Kubu	-	0.63 cu.ft	
Qasba Kubu	-	12.04 cu.yds	
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0.933 oz	0.026 kg
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1.750 lbs	0.793 kg
Wiżna	5 Rtal*	8.750 lbs	3.968 kg
Qantar	20 Wiżna	175,000 lbs	79,378 kg
		(1 ton - 12.8 qnatar* - 1016,128 kg)	
BUNDLE MEASURE			
Qatta, Xibka, Xkora (sheaf or bundle of sulla, wheat, etc.)			
Hemel (somma)	10 Qattiet* (8 Qattiet in Gozo)		
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna (tummolo)	-	0,0625 qrs	0,1818 hectolitre
Jejba	4 Tmien*	2,0 bushels	0,7272 "
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8,0 "	2.909 "
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Terz	-	0,281 quart	0.32 litres
Nofs	2 Terzi*	0.562 "	0.63 "
Kartočč	2 Nfas*	1,125 "	1.27 "
Kwarta	4 Kratoč*	1,125 gallons	5,11 "
CAPACITY: BEER, WINES & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0.25 pint	0.142 litres
Terz	2 Pinet*	0.50 "	0.284 "
Nofs	2 Terzi*	1.00 "	0.561 "
Kartočč	2 Nfas*	2.00 "	1.136 "
Kwarta	4.75 Kratoč*	1.187 gallons	5.398 "
Garra	2 Kwarti*	2.375 "	10.797 "
Barmil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9.500 "	43.187 "

MONEY

436 Sterling is the official currency in Malta and Gozo but various old units are also retained in popular usage:

'Lira'..........................	£1	'Sitta(6) rbghajja'......	10d
'Nofs Lira'.....................	10s	'Sixpence'..............	6d
'Tmintax(18) rbighi'........	2s 6d	'Tlieta(3) rbghajja'.....	5d
'Skud'..........................	1s 8d	'Sold'.....................	1d
'Xelin'.........................	1s	'Sitt(6) habbiet'........	½d

(A 'habba' - grain - was one twelfth of a penny; twenty 'habbiet' equalled one 'tari' or 'rbighi'.)

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NOTES (1) Plural forms, identified by an asterisk* in the table: Garar (s.Garra); Habbiet (s.Habba); Kratoč (s.Kartočč); Kejliet (s.Kejla); Kwarti (s.Kwarta); Nfos (s.Nofs); Pinet (s.Pinta); Qnatar (s.Qantar); Qattiet (s.Qatta); Rbghajja (s. Rbighi); Rtal (s.Ratal); Sieghan (s.Siegh); Skudi (s.Skud); Terzi (s.Terz); Tmien (s.Tomna); Xbar (s.Xiber); Wiżniet (s.Wiżna).

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d14
(2) The information in the table is based in part on that given in B/94 - 1958-9, p.410, and in part on personal investigation.

NOTES

000 [103] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [127] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analyzed by Charlton (b/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Welts, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

[342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

[529] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/266).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

[124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made .1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

000 28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

[113] 30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No.259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

434 32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revised):

747 Family of 3 or 4 persons ....maximum income - £5
648 " " 5 to 7 " .... " " - £5 8s
735 " " 8 " 10 " .... " " - £5 15s
" " 11 " 13 " .... " " - £6 1s
" " 14 " 16 " .... " " - £6 6s
" " 17 or 18 " .... " " - £6 10s.

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

[122] 34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Matla at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

000 35. (R/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (R/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

113 38. "Labour Government's Progress Report. 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClement in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Għalf Bilanċjat għall-Majjali" by A.T. Hessler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

000 42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present traiing position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but those registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (M.M.M.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

[114] 47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

[124] 48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Zejtun, Siggiewi and Xejliet : v. Appendix 5.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

from the gala coach of the dignitaries of the Island to the peasant's cart. 776 825 175

Very many inquiries have been made into the origin of the blessing of quadrupeds on this festival, none of which, however, has proved satisfactory.

That St. Anthony has been long recognized as the patron and protector of the lower animals, and particularly of pigs, is a well established fact. 776 825

Fuller, in his "Worthies." says: "St. Anthony is universally known as the patron of hogs, having in all pictures a pig for his attendant, though for what reason is unknown, except because being a hermit, and having a cell or hole digged in the earth, and feeding principally on roots, he and the hogs were both alike in their diet and lodgings." 776 825 114

When St. Anthony was living in the 776 173 825

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

In France one thus imposed upon, on the 1st of April, is called "un poisson d'Avril," in England such a person is called an "April fool," in Italy "un pesce d' Aprile" and in Scotland a "Gowk." 527 522 171

It is curious that the Hindoos practice precisely similar tricks on the 31st. of March, when they hold what is called the "Huli Festival."

During the "Huli festival" when mirth and festivity reign among the Hindoos of every class, one subject of diversion is to send people on errands and expeditions that are to end in disappointment and raise a laugh at the expense of the person sent.

The "Huli" is always in March and the last day is the general holiday. [114] Colonel Pearce in his "Asiatic Researches" proves this to have been a cus-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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527 tom, from immemorial time, among the Hindoos. The least inquiry, however, into the ancient customs of Persia, or the minutest acquaintance with the general astronomical mythology of Asia, would have told Colonel Pearce that the boundless hilarity and jocund sports, prevalent during the "Huli Festival" in India, have their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating with festival rites the period of the vernal equinox, or the day when the New Year of Persia anciently began (*)

ASCENSION DAY
527 *Lapsi*

The Maltese celebrate Ascension day by parties and picnics on the water.

(*) Maurice in his "Indian Antiquities."

Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* time which was the beginning of May? —I do not believe that a satisfactory explanation of these circumstances has yet been given by any of the antiquaries. It was perhaps to transfer the practice or custom of lighting these fires from a Pagan to a Christian object. 796 372 171 174 [114]

The Nativity of St. John the Baptist was a great and solemn festival of the Church, like those of the other great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in the early ages, commemorated with appropriated ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these was probably introduced a large and 796 372 [776] [074]

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Dr. Milner is of opinion that the fires lighted up all over the continent, on the eve of the 24th. of June, are not intended as the idolatrous worship of the sun or *Baal*, the Philistine God of fire, but in honour of Christ's precursor, as alluding to his character of bearing witness to the light (John i. 7) and of his being himself a bright and shining light (John V, 35). 796 372 174 114•

In conclusion, it would appear as certain, that the fires of St. John's eve were intended to typify the Saint by an exhibition of light. 796 372

Formerly the feast of St. John (24th. of June) was very popular in Malta. It ranked with that of SS. Peter and Paul, celebrated at Notabile on the 29th of the same month. 796

The number of people that flocked to Valletta from all parts of the Island,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[p.5]

Preface to the Second Edition

SO MUCH HAS HAPPENED IN MALTA SINCE THIS BOOK WAS LAST reprinted that it has seemed desirable to add a new chapter tracing the momentous developments in the Island since the end of the war. This addition apart, I have revised the book throughout in the light of new knowledge now available on subjects dealt with in the earlier parts. I have added a twentieth-century author, D. H. Lawrence, to the writers whose views on Malta are presented in Chapter XIV. A number of admirable photographs newly taken for the Government Tourist Board by Miss Ann Bolt, A.I.B.P., replace, by the kindness of Mr Philip Barker-Benfield, Chairman of the Board, certain illustrations become obsolescent. 128

I have fortunately been able to keep my experience of Malta up to date by almost annual visits in the last decade, including two as the guest of Sir Gerald and Lady Creasy, three more prolonged visits to Major-General Sir Robert and Lady Laycock, and a more recent one to Admiral Sir Guy and Lady Grantham, to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their sustained hospitality, as to Captain and Mrs Olof Gollcher on earlier occasions. 114

In renewing my thanks to those mentioned in the earlier preface, I must also record my gratitude to the late Lieutenant-Governor, Mr Trafford Smith, C.M.G.; Colonel Victor Vella, C.V.O.; Dr the Hon. Lewis Galea, C.B.E.; Dr V. A. Depasquale (the Librarian) and Mr Joseph Galea of the Royal Malta Library, for information on several points. Mr Charles Zammit, now Director of Antiquities, has been most helpful with illustrations of the prehistoric period. I thank Sir Hannibal Scicluna and the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction for the photograph of Caravaggio's *Beheading of S. John the Baptist* after restoration in Italy, the *Times of Malta* for the view of Mdina, Mr Wilfred Flores for taking for me the colour photograph which forms the frontispiece, and, for two photographs, the Result Studio of Sliema. 122

H.C.L.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER I

Introductory

MY EIGHT CROWDED YEARS OF LIVING AND WORKING IN 114
Malta—preceded by two brief halts as a temporary Naval Officer towards the end of the First World War—taught me a little about Maltese affairs and conditions, perhaps as much as a mere sojourner may expect to absorb in less than a decade. And the more I discovered about Malta and the Maltese, the better I grew to like both. What I then acquired, and retain, was an affection neither uncritical nor undiscriminating but based on the beginnings of understanding, I hope, of a small but complex community. I should be glad to think that something of what I have learned about and feel for those two remarkable little islands has found expression in the following pages.

This book is not a guide, it is not a handbook, it is not a 121
history, it is not a collection of personal reminiscences, even 123
if a personal note may be faintly audible here and there. It 66
is above all not a commentary on Malta's politics, although
I had my fill and more of these during my eight years.
Twice during this period was Self-Government suspended [114]
and twice did I assume departmental charge under the Governor of the civil administration (having been concerned during Self-Government only with the Imperial side of the diarchy), a type of experience common enough among politicians returning from the wilderness to office but rare to the verge of uniqueness among Civil Servants. And there were other experiences scarcely less unusual.

Nor were Maltese politics of mere local, parish-pump 121
range. Even in Homeric times Malta was looked upon as 66
"the navel of the inland sea"; and the winds that blow upon it from every quarter, the cross-currents that buffet its rocky

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

121 66 shores, are composed of more than the physical elements of air and water. The implications and repercussions of Maltese politics when I had experience of them were unfortunately often international and sometimes politico-ecclesiastical (these can be very prickly); not infrequently they impinged upon the most fundamental constitutional principles. For the relations between Church and State have given rise to controversies that have troubled Christendom since the Dark Ages; other Maltese problems were equally deeply rooted in a long and complicated past. Their implications and repercussions bore, in fact, a striking resemblance in certain directions to those of politics in the Palestine of the Mandate, where I had previously served. Happily the Maltese scene lacked one factor—the ambiguity of the established policy—which in Palestine made an administrator's life a hell on earth; in other respects politics in Malta could be almost as corrosive, almost as pervasive. But they will not pervade this book, nor even enter it except occasionally for the sole purpose of *constatation*, that untranslatable word.

121 These, then, are the things which this book is not. I find it less easy to state what it is. I have called it an "Account and an Appreciation" because I can think of no better definition of what I have tried to do in the chapters that follow. A reviewer of one of my previous books remarked that Malta was the only part of the Mediterranean about which I had not written. At least I have now repaired that omission, if omission it may claim to have been.

● 114 [128] The book was begun in Malta, continued in Barbados, finished, of all places, in the Straits of Magellan, the eye-witness account of whose discovery, written by Antonio Pigafetta, a Knight of the Order of S. John, was dedicated to Philippe Villiers de L'Isle Adam, the first Grand Master of the Order to reign in Malta. I left Malta in 1938, whisked from the land-locked Mediterranean, where from choice I had served during most of my career, to the greatest of the oceans, the Pacific, at the other side of the globe. Since my

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

return to the Old World I have fortunately been able to revisit Malta a good many times, but in the interval it had suffered the greatest physical damage in its history, had undergone more external change than at any time since the Knights of S. John converted the "barren rock" of their first impressions into one of the most thickly built-up geographical units in the world.

In the circumstances I may well have fallen into errors of commission and omission, for which, if so, I ask the reader's indulgence.

"Even S. Paul," say the Maltese encouragingly—for S. Paul is Malta's most deeply venerated saint—"even S. Paul suffered shipwreck in Malta."

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
• EZ6 Malta EZ6

648 after the next meeting of Parliament; and to declare the isle
175 of Malta to be part of Europe"—

> that the said Island of Malta and dependencies thereof shall be deemed, taken and construed to be part of Europe for all purposes, and as to all matters and things whatever; any law or laws, usage or custom, or act or acts, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

114
175 But this enactment, although it satisfied the administrators, did not wholly silence the men of science, who produced, in addition to Europe and Africa, yet a third continental claimant to the geographical ownership of the Maltese Islands. In the middle of the nineteenth century a Maltese architect and engineer named Grognet de Vassé, best known as the designer of the great Parish Church of Mosta, propounded the theory that the submerged continent of Atlantis lay between Cyrenaica in the east and Tunis in the west, almost filling the indentations in the coast of North Africa which the Romans called Syrtes Major and Syrtes Minor and we know to-day as the Gulfs of Sidra and Gabes. Of this continent, said Grognet, the Maltese archipelago formed the north-western corner; and he published a learned treatise in support of his theory, which he based on ample references to mythology, etymology and classical geography.

It is an ingenious piece of imaginative reasoning whereby the author places the Elysian Fields and the lower world of the ancients in Atlantis, the mouths of the rivers Acheron and Phlegethon in that part of Atlantis which is Malta—namely, in the Grand Harbour and the harbour of Marsa Mxett—and an outlet of the river Styx in one of the springs of the gardens of the Villa Frere, for many years the beautiful residence and garden in Pietà of the distinguished scholar, man of letters, diplomatist and friend of Sir Walter Scott, the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere.

137 Nevertheless the legislators of 1801 were rightly inspired,
132 for in climate and vegetation no less than in the works of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

533 are populous enough to run to two bands these will as likely
665 as not be identified with the opposing political parties.

3

357 No book about Malta, no chapter making mention of the country people, would be complete without reference to a class of Maltese largely drawn from the country-folk. In these days, when domestic service is shunned by potential employees and thought of more as a myth than as something that once existed by would-be employers, it is my pleasant duty to record that Maltese servants can be among the best in the world. Such, at all events, has been my experience and that of many of my friends in Malta. Where employer and employee have been able to establish a relationship of mutual esteem and respect (and few people are more ready to respond in this way than the Maltese domestic), the employer in Malta may confidently count not only upon receiving from members of the household staff faithful, efficient and loyal service but upon retaining, if he or she is only a sojourner in the island, their affectionate regard long after he or she has left its shores.

It is, however, regrettable but necessary to add that since these words were first written domestic servants are tending to become as rare in Malta as they are elsewhere.

● 114
357 Shortly after the First World War a gentleman named Eric Shepherd came to Malta as Professor of English Literature at the University, and remained there for three years. On his experiences during those three years Mr Shepherd subsequently wrote a book called *Malta and Me*,[1] which abounds in puckish humour and flashes of insight and is often extremely entertaining.

But partly because of its puckishness, partly because the author laid what might appear to some to be excessive emphasis on such drawbacks to life as may exist in Malta

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[1] Selwyn and Blount, 1926.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

(and where do they not exist?), his book gave a certain 114 amount of offence in the more sensitive quarters of the 357 island. None the less, it includes a chapter which should have atoned for any "causes of stumbling" created in those quarters. The chapter is entitled "Dolores" and concerns the Shepherds' Maltese maid-of-all-work and their baby's nurse. "Dolores" is not only a telling tribute to some of the salient virtues of the Maltese character; it is one of the most sensitive and moving descriptions of the personal devotion of a servant to her employers and her charge that I have had the good fortune to read.

4

A word has been said earlier in this chapter as to the 137 grandeur of the cliff scenery of Malta. Inland, on the other [133] hand, the countryside can scarcely be called either grand or impressive, and during the dry summer months there is little colour to set against the brown aridity of the fields other than the sage of the olive, the carob and the fig-trees, and the pinks and whites of the oleanders beside the roads. But after [132] the autumn rains have begun to refresh the parched earth the land rapidly assumes a mantle of young green, and the wild flowers appear shyly above ground, beginning with two lovely miniature blooms—the brilliantly blue *Iris minuta* and the even more ethereal, strongly scented "*satarina*" (*N. serotinus*). This, the tiniest of the narcissi, looks as if it had been called into being by a touch of the fairy's wand in Walt Disney's *Fantasia*.

Later, in March and April, Malta and Gozo alike seem to [246] glow with the crimson, deepening into purple, of the *sulla*, the clover or sainfoin with which thousands of acres are sown for fodder. Among the most striking blends of colour are those produced by many varieties of Bougainvillæa (which flourishes exceedingly in Malta) and the purple-and-cream flowers of the wild caper, against the background of the rich gold of the fortifications.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 114 Classical authors as well as travellers of the Renaissance
and later ages have praised Malta's fertility, the quality of its
137 corn, its fruit, its linen and its cotton,[1] the sweet scent of its
roses,[2] the delicate aroma of the wild thyme that flavours its
honey. Cicero, in fact, called Malta a land of honey and
roses, and it was being described in similar terms nearly two
thousand years later. "The fruits are of exquisite flavour,"
wrote Dr Meryon, Lady Hester Stanhope's sorely tried
physician, companion and biographer. "Flowers are very
fine, and I could not help fancying the roses more fragrant
than in my own country. Malta honey is highly esteemed."
[186] Elsewhere the Doctor remarks that "no people are more
attached to their country than the Maltese to their barren
rock"; and it is natural enough that the Maltese of to-day
should like to refer to their island as "the flower of the
world."

This phrase, if held to refer solely to scenery and vegetation, might appear to some to verge on the excessive. If it be taken to apply to the many-sidelines of Malta's interest and amenities it does not lack justification.

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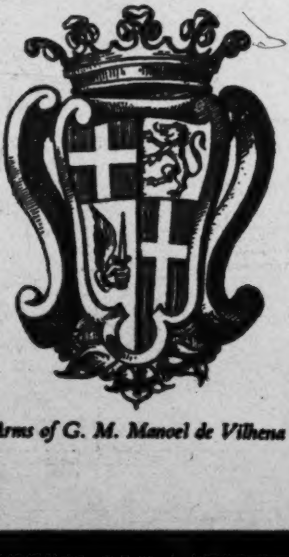
[439] [1] During the era of sailing-ships Malta, and especially the casal of Zebbuġ, produced a heavy cotton sail-cloth which earned a wide reputation and was exported all over Europe.

[103] [2] The name Attard, the charming old casal half-way between Hamrum and Mdina, means "the village of roses."

186



Arms of G. M. Manoel de Vilhena

CHAPTER XIX

Gozo

> All round the cave-mouth there flourished a luxuriant copse of alder trees and black poplars and rich-scented cypresses: therein roosted birds of long wing, owls and hawks and chattering hook-billed crows—birds of the sea whose livelihood was from the waters. A young strong vine loaded with bunches of grapes wreathed the opening of the cave. Four springs quite near together jetted out translucent water in separate rills ingeniously contrived, each to water its own garden-plot. The soft lawns were starred with parsley and violets. Even an immortal coming upon the nook would pause before its beauty and feel his heart made glad. 114 13

IT IS POSSIBLE—INDEED, PROBABLE—THAT THE MODERN visitor would fail to recognize from these words, taken from T. E. Lawrence's translation of the *Odyssey*, the cave of Calypso as it appears to-day, surmounting and overlooking the sandy bay of Ramla on the north coast of Gozo. Still less easily, perhaps, would he recognize it from the passage in *Télémaque* in which Fénelon describes the grotto in language even more exuberant. As Malta is S. Paul's island, so is Gozo Calypso's; and it may be that nothing but an earthly paradise was deemed meet for the entertainment by an immortal of so critical a guest as Odysseus.

True, there are corners of Gozo that fall not far short of the picture imagined by the great Archbishop of Cambrai: I have in mind especially the little Chapel of Lunzjata (the Annunziata) in a grove of ancient almond- and carob-trees between Victoria and the village of Kerchem, facing the munificent Perellos's graceful fountain at the head of the rich little *wied* (valley) that runs down to Xlendi. Whether this glade is seen in the spring, when it is a mass of blossom 346 137 137

578

act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented 665
from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred 794
not to baptize their children. 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have [851]
stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything [608]
that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that [664]
there is nothing incompatible between support of their political
leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the
slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has
become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the [208]
Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it
does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue
to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have
been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized
their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for
personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does
not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This
attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters
who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the
military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist
and a practising Catholic at the same time.

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on
the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this
struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been
unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from
church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a [626]
confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone
to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very
difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to
live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people com-
plained about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour
Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some
extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role
for the non-practising Catholic.

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed 115
up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. 578
We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked 665
him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the
Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Com- 794
munist by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am 795
829

578 young, I cannot even vote in the next election. But I must think
665 of the future. I feel that Mintoff is doing what is right for Malta.
794 He helped the poor people when he made the government. The
Church fights Mintoff because she fears she will lose her privileges
795 and power if he wins, and that he will tax her property. The
829 Church is in favour of keeping people ignorant, and limiting their
● [115] education. Why? Because when people are educated they think for themselves and can judge. They no longer follow blindly. Besides, you should not take too seriously all this talk of Communism – they are products of this fight. In a fight, people use all means available.'

The street sweeper who was with us understood most of the conversation and shook his head in disagreement. His only com-
[539] ment was the proverb, 'A ship with two captains can't sail' (*Il-vapur biż-żewġ kaptani ma jimxiex*). At this every one in the shop nodded in agreement, for both Labour and Church supporters had different captains in mind. Those who support the Archbishop look to him as the leader of the Maltese people. They make little distinction between Church and State. Labour supporters, in contrast, make a clear distinction. Mintoff is their candidate for head of State, and since they see the Archbishop as interfering with their choice, they accuse him of reaching out to control both Church and State.

II

578 At the village level, this conflict has brought about a bitter
665 division. All societies and groups which are not formally identi-
794 fied with one side or the other, have been divided and weakened
by politically based factions. The parish priest is the leader of
[793] those who support the Archbishop. His most enthusiastic followers are the clergy and the members of the lay societies. This group, with the other prominent villagers who make up the parish priest's circle, provide the hard core of the active opposition to the MLP. Considering the offices that they occupy and the societies to which they belong, it could hardly be otherwise. They usually meet in the club houses of the societies, but sometimes the older members meet in a particular café.

The hard core of the Labour group is made up of the officers of the local MLP Committee and the members who openly frequent the club. There is very little contact between the leaders and

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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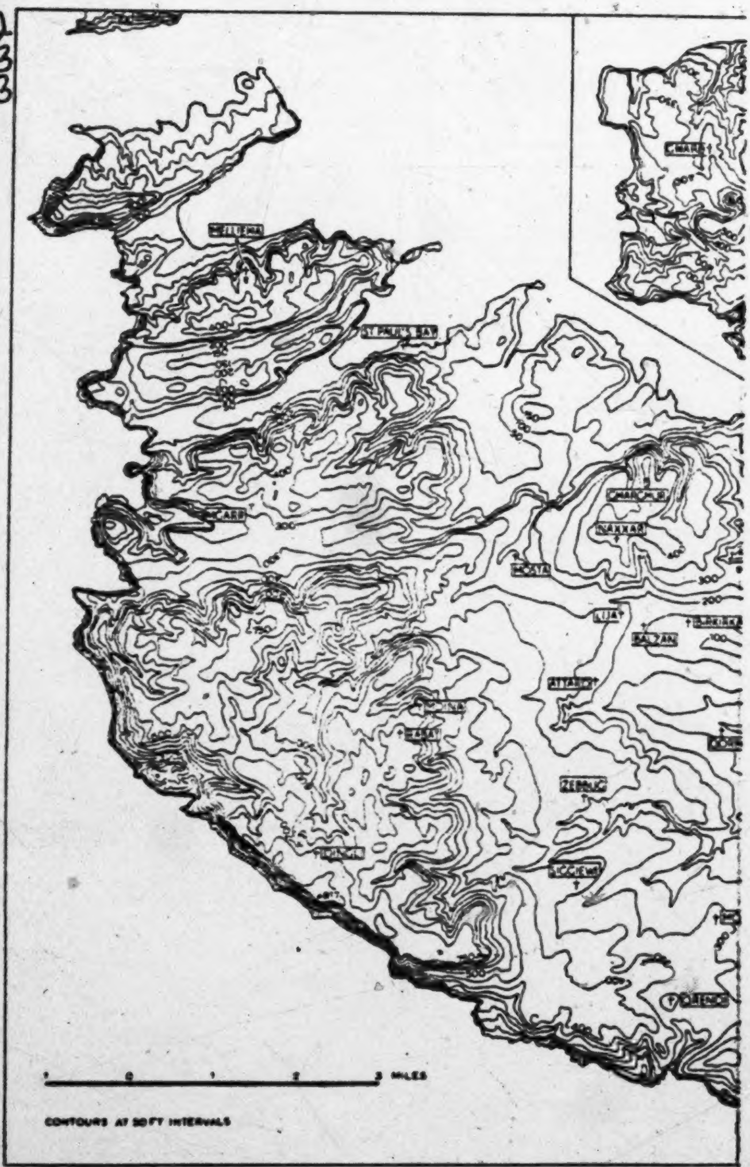

MELLIEHA
ST PAUL'S BAY
GHARB
MGARR
GHARGHUR
NAXXAR
MOSTA
300
200
LIJA
BALZAN
100
ATTARD
MDINA
RABAT
ZEBBUG
SIGGIEWI
DINGLI
QRENDI
1 0 1 2 3 MILES
CONTOURS AT 50 FT INTERVALS

[p. 2-A]

Fig. 1 Relief Map of Malta
and Gozo.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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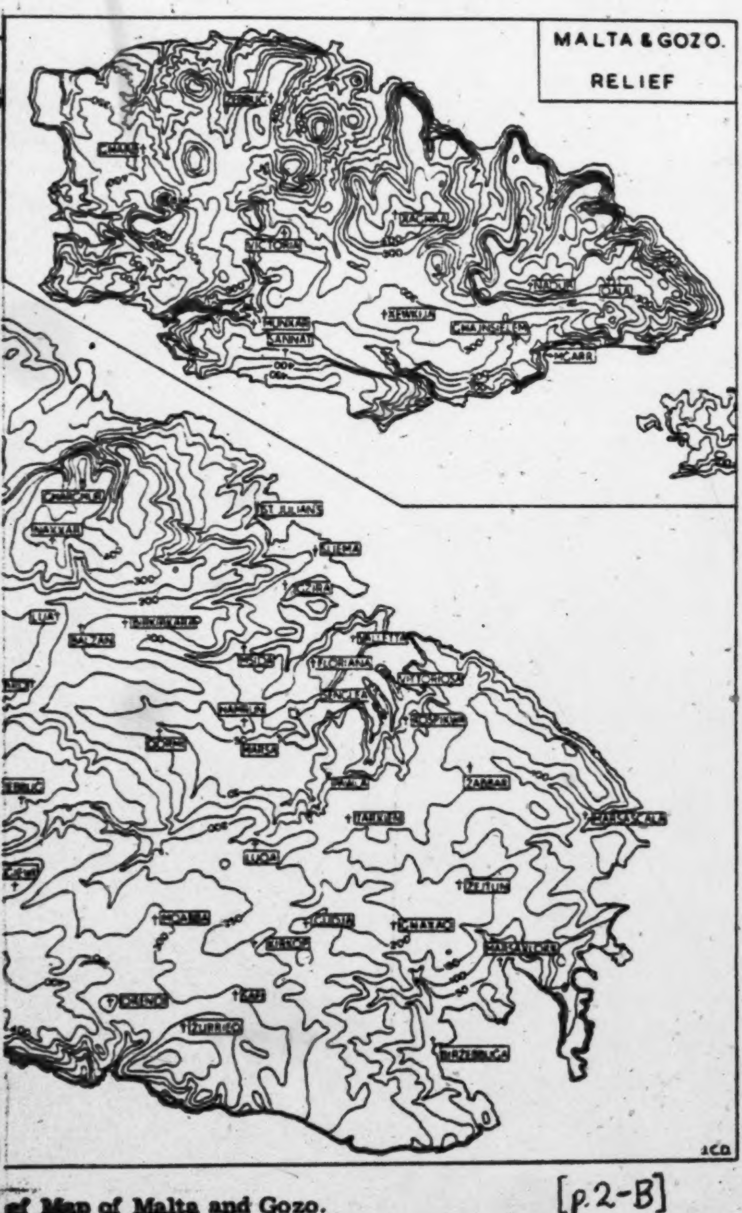
MALTA & GOZO.
RELIEF
ZEBBUG
GHARB
VICTORIA
XAGHRA
NADUR
QALA
XEWKIJA
GHAJNSIELEM
MUNXAR
SANNAT
MGARR
GHARGHUR
NAXXAR
ST JULIANS
SLIEMA
GZIRA
LIJA
BIRKIRKARA
BALZAN
MSIDA
FLORIANA
VALLETTA
VITTORIOSA
SENGLEA
HAMRUN
COSPICUA
QORMI
MARSA
PAOLA
ZABBAR
ZEBBUG
TARXIEN
MARSASCALA
LUQA
ZEJTUN
MQABBA
GUDJA
GHAXAQ
KIRKOP
MARSAXLOKK
QRENDI
SAFI
ZURRIEQ
BIRZEBBUGA
300
200
JCD

Fig. 1

Relief Map of Malta and Gozo.

[p.2-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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MALTA

Background for Development

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Department of Geography Durham Colleges
in the University of Durham

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INTRODUCTION

114 121 The distinctive qualities of Malta first exerted their attraction on us over fifteen years ago. In 1954 an opportunity for closer study occurred and we developed the idea of undertaking some form of geographical survey.

When the authors made a preliminary survey of documentary source material, their first reaction was one of surprise at the relative paucity of literature available: although since that time there has been an improvement in the quality, extent and accessibility of studies relating to the Islands, this original impression persists. Smallness in overall area and in population numbers might be held responsible for such a limited degree of intellectual interest; and yet the true importance of Malta has been out of all proportion to mere size. The number of references quoted below might seem a rebuttal of these assertions. Indeed in total amount the material extant is superficially impressive. However, with certain significant exceptions, many studies prove to be unreliable either because of their uncritical acceptance of earlier dicta, or because analyses are relatively superficial in that they lack foundation upon direct observation and on the cross-checking given by comparative studies in related fields. These introductory remarks are intended not as complacent and destructive criticism but rather as a partial explanation and justification of the wide but not definitive range of our work. The research on which our book is based commenced as a sample study of land utilization. Because however of the difficulty of accepting other than very few statements as authoritative it became essential to undertake simultaneous inquiries in varied fields.

114 121 182 Equally important as a reason for attempting a relatively comprehensive coverage of affairs Maltese is the fact that in these strange, perhaps unique, islands the interweave of human and non-human elements is so close. Approach to a single isolated problem leads extraordinarily rapidly to all other parts of the complex, more quickly and completely than we have observed elsewhere. Whatever the starting point; micro-climate or semantics, hoe-types or constitutional history, any sustained investigation involves a mass of varied but inter-related problems.

114 The first simple project evolved for these reasons into a complex scheme carried out under the auspices of two Universities, two Governments, and in association with two Civil Services as well as other organizations, British, Maltese and international. We have therefore also experienced the need and received the opportunity of testing and experimenting with various techniques of geographical research. Circumstances allowed the participation of a relatively large number of workers of differing levels in experience. Besides full-time researchers at postgraduate level and a number of university teachers who made Malta a specific interest, there was scope for drawing upon the energy and enthusiasm of undergraduate members of the Department. In this way, the terrain could be fully covered and geography practised through the soles of the feet, with every part surveyed by personal observation on the ground. During the more or less parallel investigations therefore made necessary it has been possible to reconcile the methods of team research without restricting the freedom of the individuals concerned, whilst at the same time the Field Directors have been able to survey the whole of the work and take part in all of its constituent elements. It has been very reassuring to find that the checks provided by consequent overlapping have been consistently favourable.

121 As professional geographers, we welcome an opportunity of stating a belief that has lain in our minds throughout our work in Malta and elsewhere, and that experience has only served to confirm. This is that geography implies first, field observation of conditions relating to the way men live; secondly a willingness to trace a relationship through, and if necessary beyond the formal bounds normally assigned to a particular academic discipline. Thirdly, in order to give the whole process form and meaning, the operation must be rooted in a physical regional framework - this is what makes our approach 'geography' rather

[p.7]

121 than sociology. All that we attempt to observe, explain and compare occurs on or near a particular expanse of the earth's surface hereby conferring a unity to the studies we undertake.

The project thus far has been mainly designed to cover the agricultural sector (with all that that implies), but the impossibility of isolating any single segment of Maltese life has provided us with full justification for frequent divergence. Not only is it impossible to consider any element solely from the point of physical production; it becomes necessary to consider the wider and finally often more important factors such as, among others, social status, adaptability to change, and mental as well as physical climate.

We are therefore led to the belief that the facts here presented have an applicability wider than that to Maltese agriculture alone. It is not intended to produce a plan for specific lines of development - we feel strongly that this is not our function. Instead, we hope that our study will provide a background for development, the establishment of a factual corpus of knowledge that will allow development and future policy making by others.

In the case of the Maltese Islands, as in many other regions, such provision is not only necessary but imperative. During this century there has occurred a striking alteration of the status and importance of many dependent territories and newly independent states. Such rather sudden revaluations, inevitably consequent on erratic reactions to changing circumstances, are historically normal. Hitherto, however, resulting changes in sovereignty and economic and cultural ties have taken little account of the desires of the peoples concerned. Today, new ideas of political status are paralleled by ideas of development and 'natural rights' on the economic plane. Much of this, it is true, is a historical difference of degree rather than of kind. Although Malta for 5,000 years has always been part of some larger socio-cultural or political unit, it has always maintained a certain especial status of autonomy. Equally in the economic sector there has always existed some insular and independent activity. Nevertheless, more than ever before, the Maltese are and feel they are themselves now responsible for their socio-economic destinies. With such a responsibility, there arises a need, not always wholly welcome, and at times conceded only with reluctance, firstly for knowledge of basic facts relating to existing institutions, and secondly, for sympathetic understanding and appraisal of these facts. It is our earnest hope that this present work, which amounts to an extensive abstract of investigations and reports which are in themselves too specialized and lengthy for normal publication, will assist toward such an understanding.

128 The arrangement of the subject matter has been chosen in order to suit the attempt at integrating diverse but relevant material. Section One is devoted to studies of the physical environment. To the non-specialist much of it may appear prosaic and 'earthbound' but, as will appear, without such appraisal of limitations and possibilities any socio-economic analysis would remain over-speculative. In Section Two are considered the societies which have both left their impress on the landscape and produced cumulative responses to environment. Section Three contains studies of the contemporary rural scene: many of these directly and indirectly also help an understanding of non-agricultural activities. The concluding Section Four is an attempt to select and inter-relate the ideas and themes which have seemed to us of the greatest importance, and to present them in a single impression of the continuum which is Malta.

122 It remains to particularize, with deep gratitude, the assistance received during our investigations. Original interest, a kind of priming of the pump, came from Sir James Duff, then Warden of the Durham Colleges; and next, the support of the Colonial Economic Research Council, which provided financial backing for a large part of the survey. The Government of Malta also associated itself with the scheme, and provided powerful and indispensable support, financial and technical, especially through the Office of the Prime Minister, and Minister for Agriculture and his officials. As well, contacts with all officials of the Government, Imperial and National, were extremely fruitful, and personally most cordial.

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The Royal University of Malta, through its Rector Magnificus, its Professor of Economics, and Registrar also gave much valued collaboration; and further academic assistance came from Brother Leo Barrington, until recently Principal of St. Michael's Training College for Men, Valletta. A final but none the less sincere expression of appreciation concerns the long-suffering farmers, who submitted with excellent grace to inquisition, disquisition, and even perquisition. To all these individuals we offer thanks, and the hope that their recollection of our presence will be as agreeable as are our memories of their islands generally.

H. B-J., J. C. D., W. B. F.
Durham, June 1960.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE MALTA PROJECT

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The present volume draws upon and summarizes the findings of research and observation carried out by a relatively large group of individuals. Much has been omitted or greatly abbreviated but it is proper that the names of all participants in the Malta project should be recorded.

There are first the collaborators in the volume, Professor K. C. Dunham, F. R. S., Dr. M. House and Mr. J. C. Wigglesworth of the Department of Geology, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, who are responsible for Chapter 1(A); and Mr. D. Lang of the Soil Survey of Great Britain, who has contributed Chapter 3(A). As well, we acknowledge with deep appreciation the general co-operation of Dr. R. Cirillo, Professor of Economics, and Dr. J. Aquilina, Professor of Maltese Language, both of the Royal University, Valletta.

The others, whose names are given below, are past or present members of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges.

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Land Use Survey Parties.

F. H. Andreasson-Aalen, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1955
J. A. Allen, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1956
B. P. Birch, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1957
K. S. MacLachlan, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1956
P. K. Mitchell, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1955
B. E. Roberts, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1955, '56
A. R. Taylor, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1957
S. A. Taylor, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1955
I. B. Thompson, B. A. Dunelm, M. A. Indiana	Malta 1956
K. G. Wardhaugh, B. Sc. Dunelm	Malta 1956, '57
B. F. Wooten, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1957
J. F. Yaxley, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1956

General Director of the Research Project.
Professor W. B. Fisher, B. A. Manc., Doct. d'Univ. Paris.
Malta 1946, '52, '53, '57, '58.

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ESSENTIAL STATISTICS

131 The Maltese Islands - Land Area 121.850 sq. miles. Population 323,667[1].
161 Malta - Land Area 94.876 sq. miles. Population 296,008[1].
Gozo and Comino - Land Area 26.974 sq. miles. Population 27,659[1].

162 A. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION[2]

(i)	Civil Government	17,050
463	Service Departments	22,380
(ii)	Agriculture, Fishing and Quarrying	9,130
	Manufacturing	9,030
	Construction	7,220
(iii)	Wholesale and Retail Trades	10,920
	Transport and Communications	3,850
	Insurance, Banking, etc.	550
	Gas Service	90
(iv)	Recreation and Personal Services	7,250
	Community and Business Services	1,140
	Total	88,710

433 B. PRODUCTION[1]

Gross Domestic Product 1957	£ m.	36.1
Gross Industrial Production 1957	"	10.036
Gross Agricultural Product 1957	"	5.008

439 C. TRADE[3]

(i) Commodities (value in £ m)	Imports	Exports	Re-exports
Food, Drink, Tobacco	9.411	.547	.540
Raw materials and materials mainly unmanufactured	3.227	.312	1.307
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	13.215	.132	.404
Miscellaneous and unspecified	2.862	.005	.339
Bullion and Specie	.104	-	-
	28.820	.995	2.600

(ii) Direction of Trade (%)	Imports	Exports
Sterling Area	49.3	41.1
Dollar Area	7.2	.8
O. E. E. C.	33.5	10.4
Other	10.0	2.1
Ships and Aircraft Stores	-	45.6
	100	100

(iii) Balance of Trade	Imports	Exports & Re-exports	Negative Balance
		Million £	
1949	15.312	1.038	14.274
1954	20.407	2.879	17.528
1958	28.820	3.595	25.225

(Since 1948 the adverse trade balance has increased by an average of 4.7% per annum)

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D. SEABORNE AND AIRBORNE TRAFFIC 1958[3].

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	Total - Calling - British				Passengers (No.)			Freight (Tons)	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	In	Out	Transit	In	Out
Steam Vessels	1,792	2,008,003	458	1,348,925)	9,832	10,745	35,178	548,626	84,927
Sailing Vessels	287	22,836	15	122)					
Aircraft	3,283	91,681	3,116	87,897	29,232	31,501	28,868	388	238

E. AGRICULTURE[4]

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433

		Acreage	Yield-tons
(i)	Total Area cultivated	44,235	
(ii)	Wheat	5,000	3,000
	Barley and Mixta	4,083	2,158
	Forages (inc. sulla, vetches & Ferrana)	1,824	3,855
	Broad Beans	1,250	500
(iii)	Potatoes - Spring crop	4,763* (1957-6,000)	15,420
	- Winter crop	3,228	7,360
	Melons	1,837	1,939
	Onions	1,263	3,389
	Tomatoes	1,912	8,588
	Other vegetables	5,000	16,198
(iv)	Grapes	5,000	6,000**
	Citrus	160	500**
	Other fruit	1,000	8,000**
(v)	Cotton	3 (1956-187)	1
	Cumin Seed	8 (1952-518)	2

* Note. Abnormally low.
** Note. Acreage and yield of treecrops in particular should be treated as indicating only orders of magnitude.

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(vi)	Livestock (Enumeration)	
	Horses, Donkeys and Mules	6,575
	Goats	36,944(1950-50,159)
	Sheep	15,011(1950-20,148)
	Imported Store bulls	3,081
	Milk cows	4,178(1950- 2,861)
	Other cattle	2,486
	Swine	16,362
(vii)	Number of holdings	12,192
	Number of mechanised implements - 2 wheeled	700
	- 3 & 4 wheeled	54
	- tracked	25
	- milking machines	7
	- threshers	22

423
407

439 F. TRADE IN SOME AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND FARM MATERIALS 1958[3].

	Imports	Value £000	Exports & Re-Exports
Food grain and manufactured grain	1,862		18
Meat	1,048		23
Animal feeds	2,785		-
Potatoes	132(1957-99)		353(1957-104)
Fruit and vegetables	891		99
Milk	616		1
Butter, butter subs. and cheese	704		-
Edible vegetable oils	287		-
Eggs	263		-
Wines	74		15
Store bulls	528		-
Fertilisers	32		-
Agricultural implements & machinery	103		-

113
1. Report of the Central Office of Statistics 1958/59. Malta 1959.
2. Annual Report of the Dept. of Emigration and Labour 1958-59. Malta 1959.
3. The Trade of the Maltese Islands 1958. Malta 1959.
4. Report of the Census of Agriculture 1958. Malta 1960.

SOME MALTESE WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

UNIT	EQUIVALENTS		
	Maltese	British	Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollice)	-	0.859 ins.	21.83 mm.
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10.312 ins.	26.19 cm.
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar*	2.292 yds.	2.095 m.
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	5.252 sq.yds.	4.391 sq.m.
Kejla	-	22.410 sq.yds.	18.735 sq.m.
Siegħ (mondello)	10 Kejliet*	224.100 sq.yds.	187.354 sq.m.
Tomna (tummolo)	6 Siegħan*	0.278 acre	0.112 ha.
Modd (salma)	16 Tmien*	4.444 acres (1 acre=3.6 tmien)	1.798 ha.
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0.933 oz.	0.026 kg.
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1.750 lbs.	0.793 kg.
Wiżna	5 Rtal*	8.750 lbs.	3.968 kg.
Qantar	20 Wiżna	175.000 lbs. (1 ton=12.8 Qantar)	79.378 kg. 1016.128 kg.
BUNDLE MEASURE			
Qatta, Xibka, Xkora, (sheaf of sulla, wheat, etc.)		-	-
Hemel (somma)	10 Qattiet* in Malta	-	-
	8 Qattiet in Gozo	-	-
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna (tummolo)		0.0625 qrs.	0.1818 hl.
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8.0 bushels	2.909 hl.
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Terz	-	0.281 quart	0.32 lit.
Nofs	2 Terzi*	0.562 quart	0.63 lit.
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	1.125 quart	1.27 lit.
Kwarta	4 Krateċ*	1.125 galls.	5.11 lit.
CAPACITY: BEER, WINE & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0.25 pint	0.142 lit.
Terz	2 Pinet*	0.50 pint	0.284 lit.
No[illegible]	2 Terzi*	1.00 pint	0.561 lit.
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	2.00 pints	1.136 lit.
Kwarta	4.75 Krateċ*	1.187 galls.	5.398 lit.
Garra	2 Kwarti*	2.375 galls.	10.797 lit.
Barmil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9.500 galls.	43.187 lit.

Note the following plural forms identified by an asterisk * in the table above:- [193]
Garar (s. Garra), Krateċ (s. Kartoċċ), Kejliet (s. Kejla), Kwarti (s. Kwarta) Nfas (s. Nofs), Pinet (s. Pinta), Qattiet (s. Qatta), Rtal (s. Ratal), Siegħan (s. Siegħ), Terzi (s. Terza), Tmien (s. Tomna), Xbar (s. Xiber), Wiżniet (s. Wiżna).

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MALTESE ORTHOGRAPHY, PRONUNCIATION AND PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

The notes which follow are intended to assist the reader in the pronunciation of place names and other Maltese words occurring in the text. Certain letter symbols occur in the Maltese alphabet which are not found in English, while others have pronunciations very different from the English ones.

The special symbols involved are as follows:-

Ħ, ħ. Where this letter occurs alone, it is strongly aspirated. The nearest equivalent in English is the "h" in "house" but in Maltese the aspiration is even stronger. Thus Mellieħa will be pronounced Mellie-ha.

GĦ, għ. This is, in effect, a single letter and represents the Arabic 'ain. It is now almost silent in standard Maltese but is sounded, as in Arabic, in some rural dialects.

Ċ, ċ; Ġ, ġ; Ż, ż. A dot placed over these consonants indicates a softening in pronunciation. Thus "c" occurs in Maltese only in loan words where it retains the pronunciation of the original language, while "ċ" represents "ch" as in English "church". "G" is hard as in English "garden", "ġ" soft as in English "jam". "Z" is pronounced as "ts" in English "its", "ż" as "z" in English "zebra".

Consonants with "non-English" values are:-
J, j pronounced as "y" in English "yet".

Q, q in standard Maltese has assumed a glottal value but is still pronounced "k" (as in Arabic) in some local dialects.

X, x is universally pronounced "sh" as in English "show".

There is some slight variation in the pronunciation of vowels but the following values are predominant:-

A,a as "a" in English "far"
E,e as "e" in English "bet"
I,i as "ee" in English "feel"
O,o as "o" in English "lock"
U,u as "oo" in English "boot"

When followed by j, "e" and "a" have special values:-

-aj- pronounced as "i" in English "ice"
-ej- pronounced as "e" in English "they"
-ie- pronounced as in English "pier"

103 Space does not permit of any but the most cursory mention of the significance of the great range of Maltese place-name elements. As a result of the help received from Professor J. Aquilina of the Royal University of Malta the authors were able to increase their understanding of Maltese life and landscape by using to some extent this and other philological evidence. The reader will similarly gain in understanding by an appreciation of even a few place-name meanings.

COMMON PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

Aħrax	Rugged
Baħar	Sea
Bir	Well; but could also be a phonetic corruption of "Bur" = natural pasture land
Blata	A rock
Casal	Village
Ġebel	Rocky Hill
Għajn	Spring
Għar	Cave
Ġnien	Orchard or garden
Ħal	Village
il-, iċ-, id-, in-, ir-, is-, it-, ix-, iż-	The
Kbir	Large; Great
Marsa	Harbour
Misraħ	Wide open space
Nadur	Look-out point
Qala	Bay or inlet
Qortin	A dry, flat-topped promontory or bluff
Ramla	Sandy Bay
Ras	Headland
Rdum	Undercliff
ta'	Of
tal-, taċ-, tad-, tan-, tar-, tas-, tat-, tax-, taż-	Of the
Torri	Tower
Wied	Valley
Xagħra	Wasteland

Several further place-name groups may be distinguished. Some obviously refer to topographic features: Wied il-Għajn; valley of the spring: Wied il-Kbir; the great valley. Others are related to crops: Wied il-Ħemsija; valley of the chickpeas. Another group refer to stock rearing: tal-Merħla (the place) of the flock of sheep: or to cultivation in a general sense; Wied il-Ġnejna; valley of gardens or orchards. In other cases uncultivated vegetation is referred to: Beżbesija; the place where fennel grows, or Wied ta, Għajn Riħana; valley of the myrtle spring. Again there is a group of names emphasizing some feature of the landscape in general: il-Wilġa; land overlooking a valley: il-Miżieb;(land with) drains. Many others are derived either from proper names: tal-lombardi, nicknames; Wied Babu: or Saint's names; San Rokku. In the last case, the names are often derived from a local church or chapel and care must be taken to avoid false conclusions. Tas-Silġ; (of ice or snow) refers to the chapel of the Madonna of the snows and not to a meteorological phenomenon.

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SECTION 1

THE LAND

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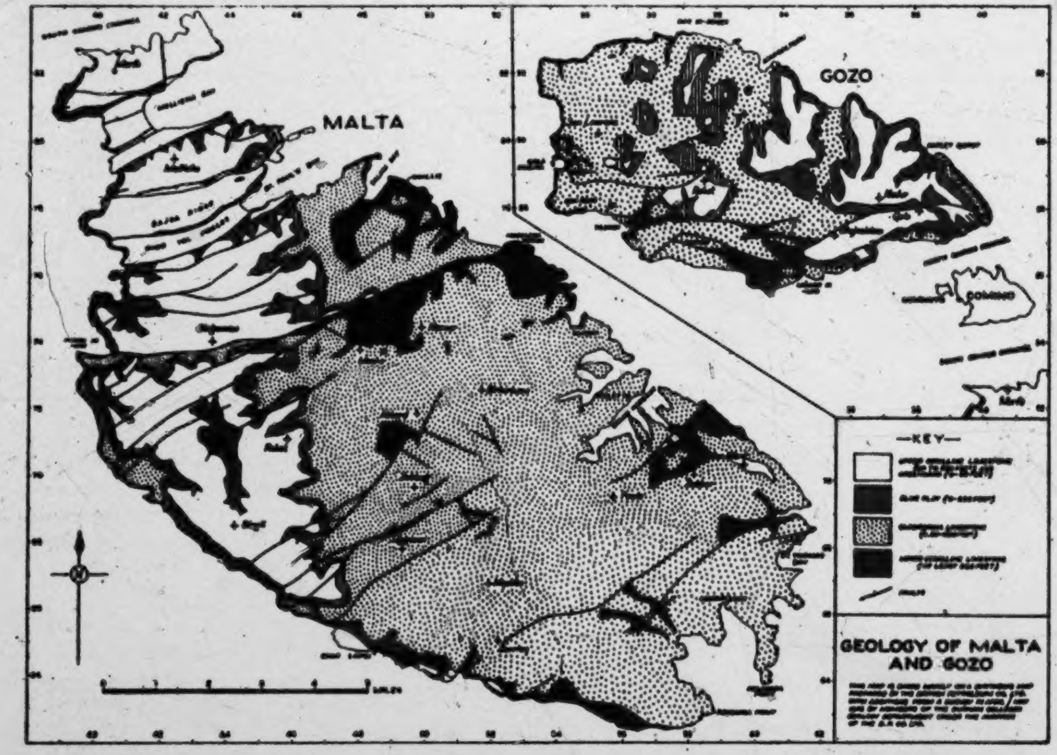
MALTA
GOZO
—KEY—
GEOLOGY OF MALTA AND GOZO

Fig. 3 Geology of Malta and Gozo.

Chapter I

A. GEOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS

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and J. C. WIGGLESWORTH, B.Sc., F.G.S.

INTRODUCTION

The central Mediterranean islands of Malta, Gozo and Comino lie 58 miles 131 due south of Sicily, 220 miles due north of Tripoli and about 180 miles east of Tunis. The Maltese archipelago trends north-west to south-east and is 28 miles in length. Malta, the largest and most southerly island, is 17 miles in length and nine miles wide and has an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is nine miles long, up to four miles wide, and has an area of 26 square miles. The island of Comino, in the Comino Strait separating the two islands, occupies only one square mile. A submarine ridge, averaging 80 fathoms in depth, extends southwards from 133 the Ragusa peninsula of Sicily towards the islands, and it continues on as a broader and deeper shelf to the African coasts of Tunisia and Tripolitania. This submarine ridge, which separates the Mediterranean into two main hydrographic basins, represents a sunken land bridge which connected Africa and Europe during parts of the Pleistocene and later Tertiary.

The islands are entirely composed of Tertiary limestones with subsidiary clays and marls. Superficial deposits, mostly Pleistocene in age, take the form of cliff breccias, cave and valley loams, sands and gravels. The succession of Tertiary rocks on the islands is as follows:-

		Feet
5. Upper Coralline Limestone	at least	530
4. Greensand		0-50
3. Blue Clay		0-230
2. Globigerina Limestone		75-680
1. Lower Coralline Limestone	at least	626

The Lower Coralline Limestone and Lower Globigerina Limestone belong to the Aquitanian stage and the Middle and Upper Globigerina Limestone and Blue Clay to the Burdigalian. The Helvetian is represented by the Greensand and the Tortonian by the Upper Coralline Limestone. All these stages fall within the Miocene period, following Eames' recommendation that the Aquitanian is Miocene rather than Oligocene.

The strata have an undulating regional dip to the south-east and the islands are cut by a system of normal faults, striking ENE., which affects Malta especially and is responsible for cutting that island into a series of horst and rift blocks.

The first description of the geology of these islands was given by Commander 114 T. A. Spratt (1843 and 1852) and later a general account was given by Murray 133 (1890) and his work stimulated others, especially Cooke (1893, 1893a, 1896, 1896a), to examine the rocks in more detail. During this century Rizzo (1932), Paver (1943), Sir E. B. Bailey (1943) and Morris (1952) have added detail mainly in connection with an examination of the water resources of the islands. Recently the literature has been reviewed and summarised by Reed (1949) and Hyde (1955). The fossils have been studied especially by Gregory (1891), Stefanini (1908), Roman and Roger (1939) and Eames and Cox (1956). The interesting fauna of the *Pleistocene* cave deposits have been described by Cooke (1891, 1896b), Cooke and Smith Woodward (1893) and Bate (1935), and Evans (1954, 1959) has described the prehistoric pottery sequence.

Note: Throughout this chapter, four-figure grid references have been used to locate the south-western corner of the kilometre grid square containing the feature named. The grid in use is that appearing on the standard two-inch map of Malta and Gozo, G.S.G.S. 3859. Edition 4, 1954, and reproduced on *Fig. 3 et seq.* The Roman numerals refer to regions marked on the inset map of *Fig. 3.* [128]

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STRATIGRAPHY

The geological formations of the islands are very distinctive lithologically and this is reflected in the characteristic topography and vegetation which they produce. The Lower Coralline Limestone is responsible for forming the magnificent cliffs, some reaching 450 feet in height, which bound the islands especially to the west; but the rock is tough and intractable and inland usually gives rise to a barren grey limestone-pavement topography. The gentler, terraced slopes which succeed the Lower Coralline Limestone around the cliffs witness to the softer Globigerina Limestone which is the most widespread formation on the islands. It produces rather meagre soils, intensively cultivated, and a gentle, rolling landscape. The overlying Blue Clay, aided by the spring seeps above it, forms the most fertile bedrock on the islands. The outcrop is usually narrow and the slopes steep, but they are carefully terraced and tilled, except in the places where rains have produced unstable clay 'slurries'. The Upper Coralline Limestone caps the tabular hills, some of which reach 800 feet in altitude. These hill tops are typically barren and bare limestone plateaus of karstic types with joint cracks, small solution holes and underground caves.

The Tertiary succession bears a strong resemblance to that of south-east Sicily where a limestone-clay-limestone sequence occurs, and to that of North Africa (Macfadyen 1930). It is comparable to that of the Vienna Basin and representatives of the first Mediterranean stage of Suess (1904) are seen in the Lower Coralline Limestone and of the second Mediterranean stage in the Upper Coralline Limestone. The Blue Clay represents the 'schlier' facies, well developed, though probably diachronous, in the peri-Alpine region from Bavaria westwards. The Maltese sequence also bears a resemblance to that of Sardinia and southern Spain and the West Indies with which Haug has postulated a Miocene geosynclinal connection (Cottreau 1914, Stefanini 1924, Blow 1957).

1. Lower Coralline Limestone

This formation forms the characteristic vertical cliffs around most of Malta south of Fomm ir-Rih (4073) and St. Paul's Bay and also in western Gozo. The most magnificent cliffs are those south of Sannat, Gozo (3186), where 450 feet are exposed. A similar thickness is visible in the less spectacular cliffs near Ghar Lapsi, Malta (4864). The formation continues for a good depth underground and a borehole at Maddalena Quarry, Malta, penetrated 626 feet without reaching the base. Inland the Lower Coralline Limestone is brought up in several inliers, frequently associated with faults. The largest inlier, over one mile in width, is north of Mosta (4873) and Naxxar in central Malta and there is another, half a mile across, around the Attard Lunatic Asylum one and a half miles south of Mosta. This formation has been worked in a small way for ornamental stone on both islands under the name 'zonqor'.

The Lower Coralline Limestone is usually a dense, semi-crystalline, massive to moderately bedded limestone, occasionally silicified, ranging in colour from pure white to red and buff. The rock is largely composed of calcareous algae, especially *Lithothamnium* together with mollusc and echinoid fragments and common Foraminifera. A particularly well developed algal horizon occurs around Attard, Malta, where the limestone is silicified.

At the top of this formation is a characteristic band, a few feet thick, with numerous fossil sand-dollars, called the *Scutella* bed (Roman and Roger 1939). In Gozo and in north, east and south Malta it takes the form of a yellow detrital limestone, coarser than the Globigerina Limestone above, with *Scutella*, *Eupatagus*, *Schizaster*, *Echinolampas*, *Cidaris* and other echinoids with occasional nests of *Lepidocyclina* and *Bryozoa*. In some other places, as in central Malta around Attard and Naxxar, the *Scutella* bed cannot be recognised.

2. Globigerina Limestone

This formation outcrops over large areas in western Gozo and central and southern Malta and it provides the beautiful golden brown building stone, the 'franka', used for most of the buildings on the islands. The formation shows marked thickness variations. The greatest thickness now exposed, about 680

feet, is in southern Malta near Marsaxlokk (5965) and the thinnest, about 75 feet, is below Fort Chambray (3686) in southern Gozo. In general it is thinnest along a line passing north-south through the Comino Straits. 133

The Globigerina Limestone is a fine-grained white to buff calcarenite completely composed of calcareous tests of globigerinids, anomalinids, and other small foraminiferans. Within the formation are developed horizons of phosphatic nodules, usually very thin, and two of these extend throughout the islands and enable a subdivision to be made into lower, middle and upper divisions. These horizons are composed of individual nodules ranging from less than pea size to several inches in diameter. They range in colour from black through dark brown to green and are largely composed of collophane with up to 40 per cent. phosphate of lime in the lower beds.

One of the best exposures of the whole succession is seen near Fomm ir-Rih (4073) on the western coast of Malta. There the Middle and Lower Globigerina Limestone is best seen on the upthrown side of the Victoria Lines Fault at Fomm ir-Rih itself whilst the Upper Globigerina Limestone and the junction with the Blue Clay is seen 1,300 yards to the north-west. The succession is as follows:-

	Feet
3. Blue clay -	seen to 178
2. Globigerina Limestone	
(iii) Upper Globigerina Limestone	
Yellow-orange fine-grained and honeycomb-weathering limestone with abundant pteropods and scattered ferruginous nodules -	23
Light-grey/blue argillaceous marl -	25
Yellow, friable and jointed fine-grained limestone with scattered ferruginous nodules -	28
Yellow limestone as above but with several phosphatic seams (one is developed at Fomm ir-Rih and there forms a marked projecting cornice) -	9
(ii) Middle Globigerina Limestone	
Phosphatic nodule bed with limestone pebbles and abundant corals, fish teeth and other fossils, the whole passing irregularly down into the bed below -	3/4
Light grey to intensely white-weathering chalky limestone with khaki-hearted cherts in the middle portion: several thin nodule seams within it, two well marked ones lie 14 feet and 19 feet above the base -	129
(i) Lower Globigerina Limestone	
Phosphatic nodule bed forming a massive ledge with ferruginous and phosphatic nodules and abundant casts of fossils and fish teeth, etc. -	1
Fine grained yellow limestone with abundant *Pecten* spp. and Bryozoa -	3
Bryozoan and foraminiferan rock -	4
1. Lower Coralline Limestone	
Dense crystallised limestone forming sheer cliffs below -	100

The widespread *Scutella* graveyard, which is not well developed at Fomm ir-Rih, suggests that in upper Lower Coralline Limestone times the sea floor was nearly flat. During the deposition of the Lower and Middle Globigerina Limestone a zone of lesser sedimentation stretched through the Comino Straits while greater accumulation took place in a basin near Valletta and in western Gozo.

(i) Lower Globigerina Limestone:- This division is typically a yellow, fine grained, occasionally fucoidal limestone, usually unbedded. It varies from a few feet in thickness, as at Fomm ir-Rih, to more than 300 feet near Valletta. 133
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133 [316] Malta, and over 70 feet in western Malta. It provides the most important building stone on the islands, the 'franka', which is a very easily cut freestone which is worked in large, vertical sided quarries especially around Mqabba, Malta (5267), Sannat, Gozo (3186) and north of San Lawrenz (2891). The franka when used for exterior work weathers well. The stone develops a tough outer layer but in time this often exfoliates and weathers in a curious honeycomb manner. There are abundant fossils in this division the commonest being ***Flabellipecten*, *Schizaster*** and ***Eupatagus***.

A ubiquitous phosphatic nodule bed, varying from a few inches to three feet in thickness, marks the upper limit of the division. Within the limestone there are other seams of phosphatic nodules of only local distribution. There are two such near Naxxar (4974) at 40 feet and 90 feet above the base. The upper phosphatic nodule bed (bed G of Cooke 1896, p. 502) yields abundant fossils including the teeth of a giant shark ***Carcharodon megalodon*** and of the seal ***Phoca rugosidens*** and also ***Stereodon*, *Notidanus*** and ***Odontaspis***. There are also corals, ***Trochocyathus*** spp., pectens and echinoids.

(ii) Middle Globigerina Limestone: The white marly limestones of this division which follow above the nodule bed at the top of the Lower Globigerina Limestone are everywhere readily distinguishable from the beds below in colour and lithology. The division is absent in eastern Gozo but increases to 150 feet near Rabat, Malta, and 390 feet in Marsaxlokk Bay (5965) where the series is very well exposed. Within this rather monotonous series several minor horizons of dispersed phosphatic nodules occur locally in west and central Malta. Also khaki-hearted cherts are developed in the lower portion and these form a prominent feature inland one mile south-west of Siggiewi, Malta (4967). A widespread phosphatic nodule bed marks the upper limit of this division and below this in western Gozo is a coarse yellow limestone unit.

The sparse fauna found within the Middle Globigerina Limestone includes the typical Langhian or Burdigalian nautiloid ***Aturia aturi***. Also there are the echinoids ***Brissopsis*** and ***Schizaster*** and several pectens. Of particular interest are the remains of the turtle ***Tryonx melitensis*** and the crocodile ***Tomistoma***.

(iii) Upper Globigerina Limestone: The upper nodule bed at the top of the Middle Globigerina Limestone is followed by a return to yellow and coarser beds similar in lithology to the Lower Globigerina Limestone. This division does not show the same pattern of thickness variation as the two lower divisions. Typically it is 70-80 feet thick but expands southwards and at Delimara Point in south Malta (6064) there is at least 140 feet.

This division can be farther divided in many places into three parts: a lower, yellow, fine grained limestone, a light blue marly and argillaceous division, and an upper, fine grained yellow limestone with common pteropod casts and honey- 317 comb weathering. When well exposed, the junction with the Bue Clay above is always clearly seen and it is difficult to understand why a contrary view is so widespread in the literature.

3. The Blue Clay

This formation, often called the 'Maltese Clays and Marls' or the 'Clays and Marls', lies conformably upon the Globigerina Limestone. It is a series of blue and yellow clays and marls, yielding selenite, up to 230 feet in thickness but at times thinning out completely. The clay is of considerable importance as a seal to the Upper Coralline Limestone and Greensand aquifer and has been used for pottery.

There has been considerable dispute as to the cause of the thinning of the Blue Clay. Murray and Cooke considered it was due to pressure of the Upper Coralline Limestone above leading to superficial 'bulging'. This is clearly a factor in most places, but in certain regions the Greensand and Upper Coralline Limestone may rest directly on the Middle and Lower Globigerina Limestone on a scale too vast to be interpreted as due either to 'bulging' or to removal by erosion of the intervening clay. In particular around San Anard (5970), two miles south-east of Valletta, the Upper Coralline Limestone transgresses northward over much of the Middle Globigerina Limestone and finally rests on the Lower Globigerina Limestone within half a mile.

Within the clay, rounded grains of quartz, augite, felspars and tourmaline have been recorded (Cooke 1893) and the fossils include pectens and *Aluria aluri*. These are of pelagic habit and similar to those typical of the true 'schlier' facies. 133

4. Greensand

The greensand is a coarse, orange-brown, thick bedded fragmental limestone which usually forms the base to the Upper Coralline Limestone cliffs. In the unweathered state an abundance of glauconite gives the rock a green colour. The thickness reaches a maximum of 50 feet in south-west Malta but it is usually about half this figure. In other places the formation is absent. The boundary with the Blue Clay below is very abrupt and, around the coasts, landslips commonly begin there. The upper boundary is often more difficult to define.

Frequently the rock is full of giant Foraminifera and has been termed a 'Heterostegina Rock' (Murray, 1890). Such developments are common on Gozo and near Dingli, Malta (4468). The formation has yielded a very rich echinoid fauna including *Clypeaster*, *Heteroclypeus* and *Echinolampas* together with shark teeth and the remains of dugongs, manatees, dolphins and whales.

5. Upper Coralline Limestone

This is the youngest Tertiary formation in the islands. Generally it caps the highest hills but, especially in northern Malta, faults bring it down to sea level. On Comino a thickness of some 250 feet is exposed and 530 feet was penetrated in a borehole near the centre of the Binġemma Syncline (4374) without reaching the bottom. Usually only about 100 feet is preserved on the high land. The rock varies considerably. Frequently it is composed of large growths of the coralline alga *Lithothamnium* with marly partings between the growths. In places it is a dense crystalline limestone and elsewhere there are thick marly seams rich in fossils. Compact limestone predominates, however, and it is usually poorly bedded. On Gozo the stone has been quarried as 'Gozo Marble' which is hard, red to yellow in colour and taking a good polish. Petrologically the formation is very similar to the Leithakalke of the Vienna Basin with which it has been correlated (Fuchs 1874). [316]

Fossils other than algae are locally abundant and they include the echinoids *Cidaris*, *Clypeaster*, *Schizaster*, *Echinus*, *Brissus* and *Echinolampas* together with abundant Foraminifera and large mollusca.

PLEISTOCENE AND RECENT DEPOSITS

These deposits may be conveniently divided into first, the valley loams and sands, second, the coastal conglomerates and breccias, third, the bone deposits in caves and fissures and finally the prehistoric remains.

The only widespread areas of valley deposits with stratified sands, loams and gravels of fluviatile origin are in the valley areas behind Mellieħa, St. Paul's, and Salina Bays.

Conglomerates and coastal breccias, often with Pleistocene Mollusca, occur in small patches around the Marfa Ridge, St. Paul's Bay, Mellieħa Bay, Għar Lapsi, Bengħisa Point (5863) and St. Thomas Bay (6067). They usually form a moderately cemented rock composed of local material (Trechman 1938).

The Pleistocene ossiferous deposits, filling caves and fissures in the limestones, have yielded numerous interesting animal remains. The Għar Dalam Cave (5765) is the most celebrated but there are others at Qrendi, Żebbuġ, Melliehe and Malak. The oldest faunas include Pleistocene dwarf hippopotomi, pygmy elephants, dormice and swans and a later deposit has horse and deer.

Stone Age remains include 15 temples, the best of which is perhaps Tarxien, Malta (5669) which has provided vessels and amulets as well as statuettes of grotesquely fat divinities (Zammit 1930), but others are very fine, especially Ħaġar Qim, Malta (4965) and Ġgantija, Gozo (3489). There is also a three-storied Hypogeum at Pawla. The complex system of cart tracks, with cross roads and junctions, are probably also of neolithic age. A detailed cultural sequence based on potsherds has recently been described by Evans (1954, 1959). 172

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STRUCTURE

The Upper Coralline Limestone which crops out in eastern Gozo, Comino and in north and west Malta may be interpreted as marking the site of a much-faulted elongate basin, the axis of which strikes approximately N-S and which centres on Comino and north Malta. About four miles east of this line there is a disturbed anticlinal belt which runs from Salina Bay (4878) due south to Għar Lapsi (4864) which is responsible, in part, for bringing the Lower Coralline Limestone to the surface around Mosta and Attard. Farther east the Globigerina Limestone forms a broad basin around Valletta and east-central Malta. In Gozo the faulted and gently folded strata rise towards the west and south-west.

The rocks on Malta are cut by a series of normal faults which cross the island in ENE to NE directions. Structurally Malta may be divided into two regions by the greatest of these, the Victoria Lines Fault, which downthrows north and passes from the west coast at Fomm ir-Riħ (7340) to the east coast at Madalena Tower (5277). North of this fault are a series of rift and horst blocks which divide northern Malta into a series of valleys and ridges. South of the Victoria Lines Fault, the displacement on the faults is less conspicuous.

REGIONAL STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION

It is convenient to describe the structure of Gozo first, then the northern half of Malta, and finally southern and central Malta.

1. Gozo

The island of Gozo is structurally a block tilted to the north-east so that along the northern coast between Ras ir-Reqqa (3193) and Daħlet Qorrot (3889) the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone is below sea level, whilst in the south-west, at Ben Ġorġ (2788) and ta' Ċenċ (3286) it is around 400 feet above sea level. However, in the south and west this picture is disturbed by normal faults, fault complexes and flexures of some magnitude.

Over the northern half of the island the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone dips gently NE or NNE from about 200 feet above sea level at Rabat (3189) to 50 feet below sea level near Marsalforn (3392).

The southern part of the island, between Qala Dwejra (2789) and the North Comino Channel, shows more complicated structures. Here there are four structural downwarps around Qala Dwejra, Xlendi Bay, Mġarr ix-Xini and Għajnsielem, and complex faulting is associated with these. The Dwejra region (2789) forms a peculiar structural and topographical basin, almost a mile across and opening westward, in the centre of which the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone is brought near to sea level whilst at St. Lawrenz and Ben Ġorġ, one mile to the north-east and south respectively, it is at least 300 feet above sea level. In the centre of the downwarp are several circular or semicircular faults, the fault planes of which are clearly visible as walls around small amphitheatres about 350 yards across. These are probably collapse structures, but their origin is obscure. Through the region pass several east-west faults, one of which, with a downthrow to the north, continues to Rabat.

Around Xlendi Bay (2987) there is another structural downwarp accompanied by complex faulting. The major fault runs north-east up the Wied ix-Xlendi and subsidiary faults join it especially from the north where it is linked with the Qala Dwejra-Rabat Fault. Dips in towards the valley are high, reaching 28°SW. The structural low brings the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone to less than 50 feet above sea level, whereas near Ben Ġorġ to the west (2788), it is at 400 feet and along the cliffs near ta' Ċenċ to the ESE (3286) it reaches over 450 feet above sea level, the highest structural elevation on the Maltese Islands.

The valleys around Mġarr ix-Xini (3486) mark the site of a tectonic depression and fault complex. The two largest faults on Gozo pass out from this centre, one, to the WNW, reaches to Sannat and downthrows over 200 feet north, the other passes north-west to near Għajnsielem and on to Qala. Connected structurally with this complex is a syncline which passes northwards towards Xewkija where it links with the Xlendi Bay complex by the Xlendi Bay-Xewkija Fault. This syncline is cut by several faults downthrowing south.

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The ix-Xini - Għajnsielem - Qala Fault, which reaches a maximum throw of about 400 feet south of Nadur (3688), tectonically separates south-eastern Gozo from the rest of the island. Between Għajnsielem (3587) and Qala (3887) Upper Coralline Limestone on the southern, downthrown side successively abuts beds between the Lower Coralline Limestone and the Blue Clay. Other minor faults, mainly striking NNE, E or SE proceeding westwards, cut the various formations which crop out along the coast.

2. Northern Malta

Northern Malta is dominated structurally by large normal faults striking ENE which divide the region into horst and rift blocks which are reflected topographically in ridges and valleys. The main units from north to south are, the Marfa Ridge, Mellieħa Isthmus, Mellieħa Ridge, Miżieb Valley, Bajda Ridge, Wied tal-Pwales, and the Wardija Ridge which passes south into lower land around Binġemma. The Għallis region (4978) forms a separate shallow dome to the south-east. This area is bounded to the south by the cliff-like face of the important Victoria Lines Fault between Fomm ir-Riħ and Madalena Tower. With the exception of the Għallis region, where Lower Coralline Limestone and Globigerina Limestone have wide outcrops, the Upper Coralline Limestone has the largest outcrop and older formations are seen mainly around the coast.

The Upper Coralline Limestone of the Marfa Ridge dips north and is truncated to the south by a major fault, downthrowing at least 350 feet south, which introduces the Mellieħa rift valley. The southern fault of the Mellieħa Valley must exceed 200 feet in throw. Several other minor faults affect both the valley and the ridge and they strike ESE or ENE. There are also a few minor dip faults.

The Mellieħa Ridge varies in width from one mile in the east to half a mile in the west. A narrow fault belt, about 500 yards in maximum width, forms a southern boundary to the ridge and the downthrown Upper Coralline Limestone to the south underlies the Miżieb valley and gradually rises to the south to form the Bajda Ridge. The southern side of this ridge is limited by an important fault, downthrowing south, which passes from near the Naval Rifle Range (4077) to Rizawn Point (4578).

Wied tal-Pwales is a narrow rift only half a mile in maximum width, the southern boundary of which is marked by steep slopes along the line of a fault downthrowing over 200 feet north which passes NNE from Għajn Tuffieħa Bay (4076).

The country for two miles to the south is cut by several faults, mostly trending ENE, NE or E, but none are of great throw. The Upper Coralline Limestone here is gently folded, especially in the south against the Victoria Lines Fault where, at Binġemma (4374), an asymmetric syncline runs parallel with the fault.

The shallow dome around Għallis to the east shows only minor faulting. Some of the faults strike ENE, others NE.

The Victoria Lines Fault, downthrowing north between 300 and 600 feet gives rise to a fault scarp which is perhaps the most striking single topographic feature of the islands. The fault strikes ENE and in the west it almost brings the Upper Coralline Limestone down to the north against Lower Coralline Limestone. The throw in general decreases to the east and near Madalena Tower (5276) the Lower and Middle Globigerina Limestone is downthrown north against low levels in the Lower Coralline Limestone.

3. Central and Southern Malta

South of the Victoria Lines Fault numerous faults cross the country striking NE, but they do not form a dominant topographical control as they do to the north. Here the most important structures are large-scale gentle folds.

An anticlinal belt consisting of three main upwarps crosses central Malta from north to south between Mosta (4873) and Għar Lapsi (4864). To the west, a broad structural low centres beneath some of the highest ground. To the east, the broad, rolling Globigerina Limestone country forms a wide basin around

133 Valletta which gives way, in the extreme south-east, to southerly dips. The only important dislocation is the Malak Fault at Għar Lapsi which strikes NW and downthrows south-west at least 800 feet.

The westerly structural low brings the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone less than 100 feet above sea level between Qlejgħa (4072) and Baħrija (4171). But the region is very much complicated by shallow folds and faults. There is a general structural rise to the south-east, however, and this culminates near ta'Zuta (4566) where the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone is over 300 feet above sea level.

The main north-south anticlinal belt through central Malta was first recognised by Sir Edward Bailey. It is not, however, a simple ridge but forms several upwarps. The main domes are around Naxxar (4974), near Zebbug (4970) and north-east of Għar Lapsi (4865). The first and last of these domes brings the top of the Globigerina Limestone over 400 feet above sea level.

The broad Valletta basin which centres on the Grand Harbour must carry the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone a few hundred feet below sea level. To the north the structures rise to give the outcrops of Lower Coralline Limestone north of Sliema (5574) and to the west they rise towards the central anticlinal belt. To the south-west the rise culminates near Zurrieq (5265) and to the south, after rising to give the Lower Coralline Limestone inliers near Zabbar (5870) and Kospikwa (5771) the strata dip regularly to the south-east. Younger and younger strata are therefore regularly exposed in that direction and the highest beds, the Upper Globigerina Limestone, crop out on the peninsula of Delimara Point (6064).

The Malak Fault at Għar Lapsi (4864) downthrows the Upper Coralline Limestone at least 800 feet to seaward. The fault strikes NW and forms a conjugate association with the more usual NE or ENE striking faults. The fault plane is well exposed, and dips steeply seaward. The fault between Ta Berwiek (4864) and Deub il-Bagdal (4964) is double, enclosing a thick sliver of Globigerina Limestone.

The Age of the Faulting

The faults of the islands form prominent scarp faces and in many cases the actual fault planes show up as walls marked with original slickensiding. This suggests that the faulting must be quite recent. Indeed, Pleistocene Mollusca have been recorded in a crushed conglomerate caught up in the Malak Fault. [172] The neolithic cart tracks which enter the sea at St. George's Bay, Birzebbuga and other places show that there has been even more recent movement of the islands.

114 This account is based in part upon a field survey of Malta and Gozo carried out at the expense of British Petroleum Company Ltd., in March-April, 1955. The geologists engaged in the work, in addition to the authors, were Dr. M. H. P. Bott and Dr. A. A. Wilson, also of the Durham Colleges' Geology Department. The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to the Directors of the Company for permission to publish this summary. In addition visits were made in 1958 and 1960.

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B. RELIEF AND LANDFORMS

133 The Maltese Islands, though they cover an area of only 120 square miles and reach a maximum height of little more than 800 feet, show great diversity of relief and landform. Thus detailed description and study involve the identification of a large number of regional divisions. The brief account which follows seeks to describe and analyse relief and landforms, and makes no attempt at full explanation of their origin and development since no detailed geomorphological work has yet been carried out in the islands. Furthermore, it has been found necessary to omit all mention of a large number of minor relief features which, though apparently insignificant when seen on the map, have had a decisive effect on the human occupation of the land, as will be shown in the sequel.

Briefly, the physical landscape of the Maltese Islands may be said to be composed of the following major elements:-

1. Coralline Limestone plateaus, which form the highest areas and are bounded by well-marked escarpments. These uplands range in size from the massive triangular plateau of western Malta to the tiny pinnacles of north-western Gozo.
2. Blue Clay slopes which separate the plateau uplands from the surrounding areas and which also occur in valleys cut into the plateau edges.
3. *Rdum* or 'undercliff' areas, occurring where the coralline plateaus meet the sea.
4. Flat-floored basins which in most cases are the result of faulting (e.g. Wied tal-Pwales) or downwarping (e.g. Binġemma Basin) but which are sometimes due to erosion and subsequent alluvial deposition (e.g. Wied il-Għasel).
5. Globigerina hills and plains - large areas of gently sloping land which, in Malta, take the form of a series of low ridges and shallow valleys but which, in Gozo, have a more varied though none-the-less subdued topography.

MALTA (Fig. 3)

The main island falls readily into two parts along the Victoria Lines fault, this major structural feature being marked by a well-defined escarpment which runs along the whole breadth of the island from Ras ir-Raheb (3973) to the coast (5277) north-east of Gharghur. The height of the escarpment decreases towards the east where, however, it becomes more abrupt. The Naxxar-Ghargħur hills (xvii) are separated from the Wied il-Għasel (ix) lowlands by a precipitous drop of 150 feet, while in the west, the slopes down to the Binġemma Basin (xi) are appreciably gentler. The scarp face is broken by a series of deep embayments, of which the Wied tal-Baħria (4073), the Santi (4272) and Binġemma (4372) gaps in the west, the Wied ta'l-Isperanza (4875) in the centre and the Wied Anġlu (5076) and Wied id-Dis (5176) in the east are the most prominent. Only one of these, the Wied ta'l-Isperanza, makes a complete break through the Victoria Lines, and that an extremely narrow one. (Plate I.)

In the area south of the Victoria Lines, the major topographic divisions are clearly marked. To the west, the Coralline Limestone plateaus stand at heights of 600 to 800 feet and give way eastward through an irregular escarpment to the undulating areas developed on the less resistant Globigerina Limestone and lying for the most part below 400 feet. The western plateaus (xiii and xiv) are fretted on all sides by deeply incised valleys which have cut back into the upland to give it an extremely irregular outline. The south-western edge has been least affected by such action, and the regular line of cliffs are broken only in one place, where the wied complex of l-Imtahleb (4270) forms a deep embayment. Beneath the seaward edges of the plateaus lie the *Rdum* lands.

On the east is a series of valleys carved by streams descending to the central plains. From north to south, these are the Wieds il-Hemsija (4571), tal-Merħliet (4670), ta'l-Isqof (4669), il-Luq (4668), ix-Xagħri (4667) and Girgenti (4667). These valleys form deep depressions, their floors lying some 200 feet below the plateau spurs which separate them, spur and valley floor being connected by sweeping slopes developed on the Blue Clay. (Plate II.)

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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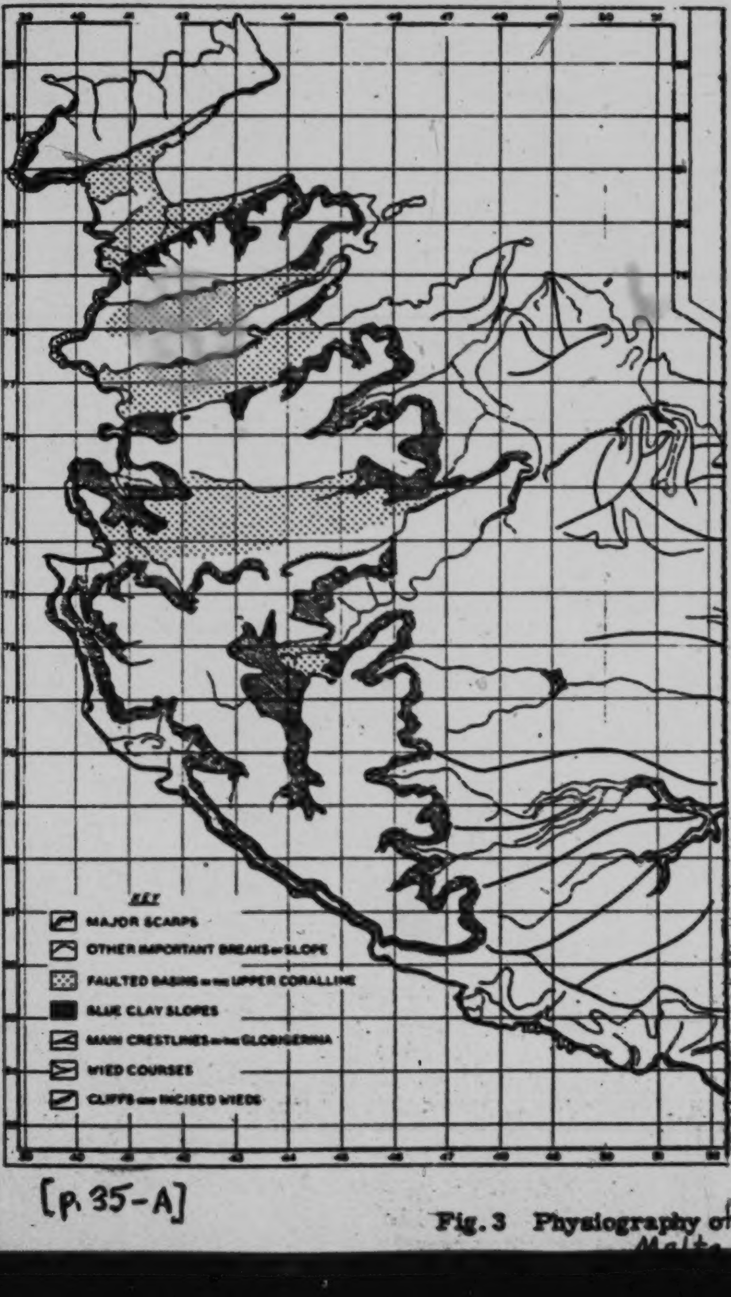
KEY
MAJOR SCARPS
OTHER IMPORTANT BREAKS OF SLOPE
FAULTED BASINS IN THE UPPER CORALLINE
BLUE CLAY SLOPES
MAIN CRESTLINES IN THE GLOBIGERINA
WIED COURSES
CLIFFS AND INCISED WIEDS

[p. 35-A]

Fig. 3 Physiography of Malta

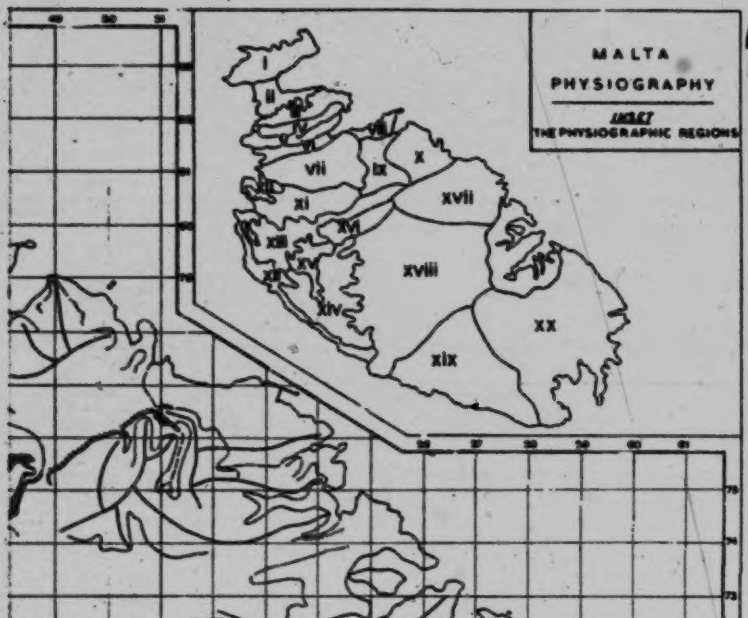
MALTA
PHYSIOGRAPHY
INSET
THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS
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Fig. 3

[p. 35-B]

Physiography of Malta.

133 The plateau itself is divided into two parts, the Santi-Binġemma (xiii) and Rabat-Dingli (xiv) Uplands, by the Blue Clay Basin (xv), an interior depression drained by the upper Wied Qlejgħa and its tributaries Wieds Għomor (4372), Għemieri (4371), il-Busbies (4371) and l-Iemu (4470) which converge towards the narrow outlet north-east of Fiddien Bridge (4471). The undulating, rocky surface of the plateau contrasts vividly with the valley and basin lands which surround and penetrate it, not only in landform, but also in the character of the human imprint.

The Naxxar-Għargħur Hills (xvii), though forming part of the Globigerina Limestone area of Malta, are sufficiently distinctive to warrant their inclusion as a major sub-division of the island. From their smooth and rounded summits at heights of 400 to 450 feet, the land falls away in convex slopes eastwards and southwards to the coast and to the Lija-Msida valley respectively. Several small valleys cut sharply into the surface but these are a good deal narrower than those of the Coralline plateaus described above.

The Central (xviii) Southern (xix) and Eastern (xx) regions are for the most part areas of gentle relief (Plate III), but even here the terrain is by no means featureless, and steep slopes occur in a number of places. West of a line running in the general direction Pawla (5569)-Luqa-Mqabba-Qrendi (5165), a series of ridges and valleys leave the Coralline plateaus of the west and the hill lands of the south to converge towards Marsamxett and Grand Harbour. Thus the Naxxar-Għargħur Hills are succeeded southwards by the Lija-Msida Valley which in turn gives way to the low upswelling of the Attard-Hamrun Ridge. This in turn falls away to the open valley of the Wied is-Sewda, bounded on the south by the Żebbuġ (4969) Ridge. Beyond this are the Wieds il-Beqqiegħa and il-Hesri, the Siġġiewi Ridge and the Wied Silani. In their upper courses, the three last-named valleys form gentle depressions rather than well marked troughs, but where they converge in the Wied il-Kbir complex (5269) they are sharply incised to depths of 100 feet or more below the general level before they open out again in the alluvial Marsa lowland (5470). The southern edge of this region falls to the the sea in a line of cliffs only slightly less impressive than those further west (Plate IV). While the cliffs themselves are rarely more than 100 feet in height they are backed by steep slopes rising to a crest line which runs parallel to and less than a mile from the coast. The height of this crest-line declines eastwards from a maximum of 450 feet to about 150 feet south of Kalafrana.

East of the Pawla-Qrendi line mentioned above, the general relief trend is from east to west. Ridges running from Ricasoli (5772) to Żonqor (6169), from Żabbar (5870) to il-Bidni (6069) and from Żejtun (5868) to il-Gżira (6168) are separated by the Wied il-Għajn and ta'Mazza depressions, these features all converging towards Marsaskala Bay (6169). Further south, the convergence of ridges and valleys is towards Marsaxlokk. This arrangement gives an undulating character to the area, and steep slopes are confined to the coasts of Żonqor and Delimara and the Wieds Ħas-Saptan and Dalam. The latter are both incised into the Lower Coralline Limestone.

Thus the landscape of the Globigerina areas is one of low ridges and valleys, and level land is very limited in extent, occurring only around the head of Marsa Creek and in the ta'Qali and Luqa (5268) airfield districts.

NORTHERN MALTA

The area north of the Victoria Lines fault is the most accidented section of the island, containing both the steepest slopes and largest expanses of flat or near-level land in Malta. Here, a major subdivision occurs along an irregular line running from St. Paul's Bay (4678) to Mosta (4874), which separates a western zone, where the Coralline cap rock has been preserved almost intact, from a smaller eastern area from which it has been entirely removed.

The eastern area falls into two sections of roughly equal size. The low upswellings of the Għallis Hills (x) and the Qawra Peninsula (viii), though their summits stand at less than 200 feet above sea level, are clearly defined topographic features, quite distinct from the broad, flat-floored, alluvial lowland of the Wied il-Għasel and its tributary the Wied ta'Għajn Riħana (ix). The latter

* [see page 46—Analyst]

[Text continues on page 38]

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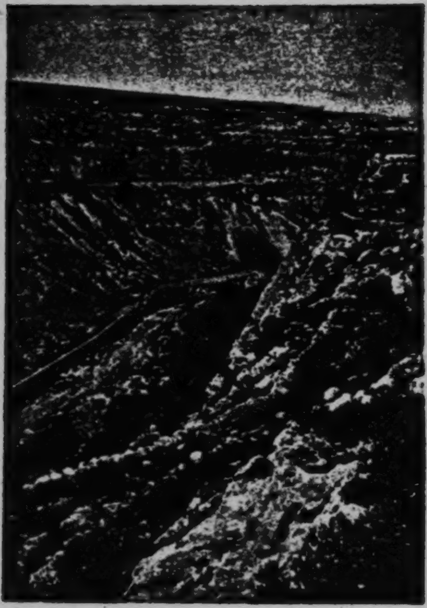

Plate 1. Wied ta l'Isperanza. North of Mosta the valley cuts through the Lower Coralline fault-scarp of the Victoria Lines.

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Plate II. Western edge of Upper Coralline Plateau. Spring.
Foreground: ramped fields on Blue Clay slopes. Middle distance: Girgenti orchards and gardens. Background: Upper Coralline karst.

region stretches nearly two miles inland from Salina Bay (4878) and lies for the most part at heights below 50 feet, being abruptly terminated at its southern end by the escarpment of the Victoria Lines Fault.

The remainder of northern Malta consists of a series of fault-guided blocks and basins which, by comparison with the rest of the island give this region an almost mountainous appearance. From north to south, the major divisions are: the Marfa Peninsula (i), Mellieħa Isthmus (ii), Mellieħa Ridge (iii), Miżieb Depression (iv), Bajda Ridge (v), Wied tal-Pwales (vi), Wardija Upland (vii) and Binġemma Basin (xi) (Plate V). Important local features are, however, ignored in this simple statement.

The Marfa Peninsula (i), which reaches a maximum height of 400 feet in the west, has its steepest slope on the southern side where it overlooks the Mellieħa Isthmus and Mellieħa Bay in an abrupt fault-line scarp, the height of which decreases from 400 feet in the west to a little over 100 at the eastern extremity. The slope northwards to the Comino Channel (il-Fliegu ta'Malta) is a gentle one, diversified by numerous small valleys.

The Mellieħa Isthmus (ii) is a compound feature in which northern and southern alluvial depressions - il-Għadira and il-Ħofra respectively - are separated by a low upswelling of Coralline Limestone which reaches a summit level of 200 feet near Ras in-Niexfa (4070).

The Mellieħa Ridge (iii) has been tilted from north to south so that its major escarpment, in which the Blue Clay outcrops, faces north over the isthmus and is breached by a series of narrow steep-sided valleys (Ġnejn Ingraw (4270), Wied Mellieħa, Wied Għajn Żejtuna (4370)) which form deep embayments in the scarp face. The ridge itself is a limestone plateau with a summit level of 400-450 feet declining eastwards to 300 feet or less in the Selmun - tal-Blata (4580) district.

The southern slope of the Mellieħa Ridge, though less abrupt than that on the north, is still well-marked and there is a drop of 200 feet in less than 300 yards to the Miżieb depression (iv). The latter is a narrow plain some 600 yards across and two and a quarter miles long with its lowest point about 100 feet above sea level. It narrows to the east and gives way to the Wied tal-Mistra (4478) where headward erosion from the Qala Mistra (4579) has exposed the Globigerina and Blue Clay and produced a valley whose floor lies less than 50 feet above the sea over a distance of one and a half miles.

The Miżieb depression is synclinal in structure and the southern limb of the syncline forms the gentler, northern side of the Bajda Ridge (v). The latter is another Coralline Limestone upland, but stands at heights (200-250 feet) a good deal lower than those already described.

A minor escarpment 50 to 100 feet high separates Bajda from the Wied tal-Pwales (vi), a flat-floored depression about half a mile wide which runs right across the island from Għajn Tuffieħa (4076) to St. Paul's Bay (4478). The highest point in this area is only about 75 feet above sea level and the greater part of the region is below 50 feet. With the exception of the Wied il-Għasel, this is the largest area of true lowland in the island. There is a marked contrast in landform between the northern and southern borders of this lowland. While the former is a minor escarpment rising directly to a limestone upland, the slopes of the southern sides are longer and less steep, passing through a zone in which patches of Blue Clay occur before attaining the summit of the Wardija Uplands.

The Wardija Uplands (vii), whose summits lie between 400 and 450 feet above sea level are the largest area of limestone plateau north of the Victoria lines and are more complex in detail than those already described. They are tilted from north to south so that their northern face is fretted by a series of north-flowing valleys but they have also been vigorously dissected along their eastern edge where the Wied Qannotta drainage system extends nearly to the Saliba crossroads (4476) and divides the eastern part of the uplands into northern and southern sections.

The dip slope of the Wardija Uplands leads south to the Binġemma Basin (xi), a flat-floored depression at heights of 250 to 275 feet. This region gives way eastwards through a well-marked break of slope (4575), to the upper Wied

[Text continues on page 39-B]

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1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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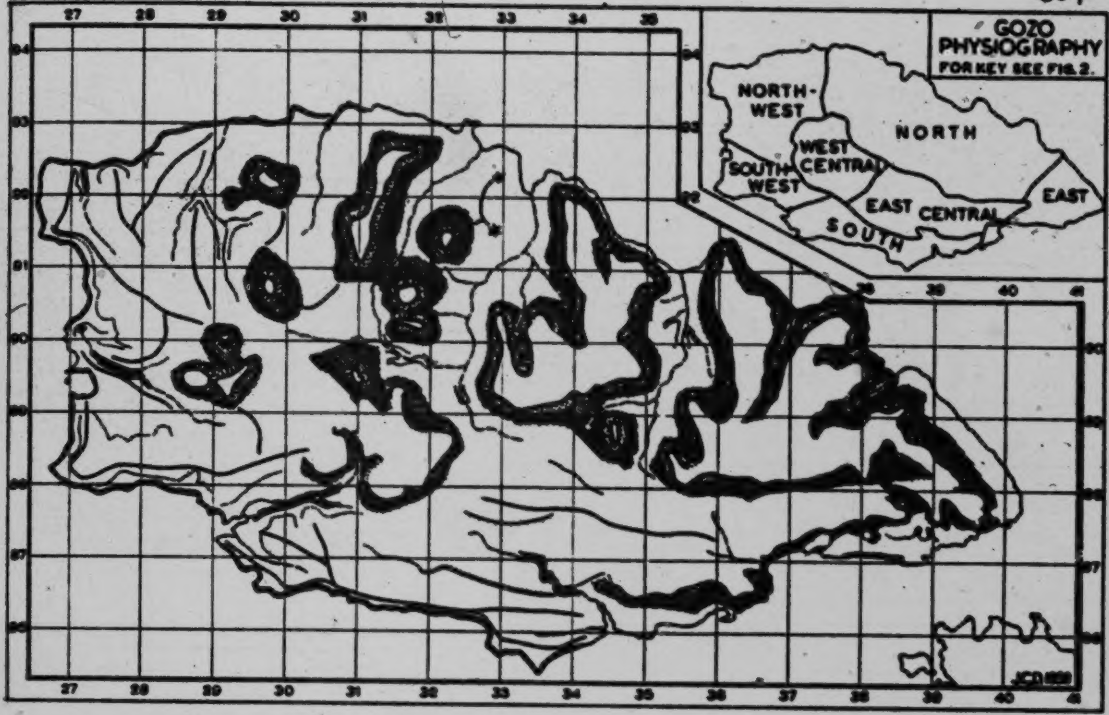
GOZO
PHYSIOGRAPHY
FOR KEY SEE FIG. 2.
NORTH-WEST
NORTH
WEST CENTRAL
SOUTH WEST
EAST
EAST CENTRAL
SOUTH
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JCD 1959

Fig. 4 Physiography of Gozo.

[p. 39-A]

ta'Għajn Riħana which is, in fact, incised into the basin floor. The basin is in turn flanked on its southern side, by the long slopes, developed on Globigerina Limestone and Blue Clay, which lead up, through a vertical distance of some 500 feet, to the Victoria Lines.

The Ġnejna district (4175) requires separate mention since it forms an outlier of the Western *Rdum* ('Undercliff') Lands (xii), the main body of which lies south of the Victoria Lines on the seaward side of the Coralline plateaus. In Ġnejna, vigorous erosion by two streams has exposed the Globigerina and Blue Clay to give a deep embayment in the Coralline edge comparable in landform to the Imtaħleb embayment mentioned above.

GOZO (Fig. 4)

Though covering little more than one-third of the area of the main island, Gozo is topographically more varied than Malta. Two main features dominate the landscape: the fragmented plateau of Upper Coralline Limestone and the more low-lying plains and hills developed on the Globigerina.. Between the two are sweeping slopes which mark the outcrop of the Blue Clay (Plate VI).

In the northern half of the island, erosion has broken the Coralline plateau into a series of disconnected fragments which diminish in size, but increase in height from east to west. The largest of these, the Nadur (3688) and Xaghra (3389) uplands, each cover an area of more than two square miles and rise to heights of 400-450 feet, thus occupying the bulk of the north-eastern part of the island. These uplands, like their counterparts in Malta, are penetrated by numerous sharply-incised valleys whose slopes and floors alike are developed on the Blue Clay. These include the Wieds Daħlet Qorrot (3889), tal-Mistra (3790) and San Blas (3790) and the eastern tributaries of the Wied ir-Ramla in the case of the Nadur plateau, while the Xagħra plateau is cut into by the Wied tal-Pergla and the eastern tributaries of the Wied ta'Marsalforn. Where these two uplands reach the coast, *Rdum* or 'undercliff' areas occur, Blue Clay slopes descending steeply to the sea from beneath the bluffs which mark the edge of the limestone

133 outcrop. In the far north-east, however, between Daħlet Qorrot and Ras il-Qala (4087), the slope down to the sea is a good deal less steep and a rocky platform occurs where the Lower Coralline appears in a narrow belt along the coast.

The Wied ir-Ramla, which separates the Nadur and Xagħra Uplands, is a wide, open valley, whose gently-sloping floor contrasts with the steeper slopes which mark its upper edge and with the narrow enclosed valleys mentioned above. This valley carries northward, albeit at a lower level, the Globigerina plains of central Gozo and the same may be said of the still larger Wied ta'Marsalforn, which separates the part of the island so far described from very different areas to the west.

West of the Wied ta'Marsalforn, small and scattered fragments are all that remain of the Upper Coralline plateau. The north-western part of Gozo is essentially an undulating plain of Globigerina limestone into which the valleys are for the most part not at all sharply cut and above which clay slopes lead up to the numerous mesas. These, though small in surface area, are an impressive feature of the landscape, standing as they do 150 feet or more above the level of the surrounding plains. The largest plateau is that on which Żebbug (3191) stands and this is only about one mile long and 400 yards across at its widest point. The Żebbug upland stands more than 500 feet above sea level and is bounded on the east by the Wied tal-Qlejgħa and on the west by the Wied il-Għasri, the two largest valleys of the north-western region.

A line of hills, culminating in heights of over 500 feet in the Coralline summits of tad-Dabrani (3291), ta'Kuljat (3190) and il-Harrax (3100), separates the Wied Qlejgħa from the Wied ta'Marsalforn. Minor summits in il-Qolla s-Safra (305 feet/3392) and il-Mirżuq (320 feet/3291) represent minute fragments of similar origin.

West and north of a line Żebbuġ-Kerċem (3088) - Ras id-Dwejra (2790), the Globigerina plains rise slowly to heights of 300-375 feet along the western coast where cliffs descend to the sea in a sheer drop of nearly 300 feet. In this region, too, numerous mesas such as Ġordan (2992) and Għar Ilma (2989) occur, all standing more than 500 feet above sea level. The valleys of the Wied il-Għasri (3092), Wied il-Mielaħ (2992) and Wied ir-Raheb (2792) are broad, open and gently-sloping save in their lower courses where, over short distances, they have exposed and cut into the Lower Coralline.

In the Qawra (2790) - id-Dwejra - Wied Ilma (2889) area, complex faulting has led to the formation of a deep trough which separates north-western Gozo from the hill-lands of the south-west. The latter reach a maximum height of 528 feet near Ras il-Wardija (2688) and fall away eastwards to the outskirts of Kerċem where they stand at 350 feet. Markedly assymetrical in form, the Wardija hills slope gently north to the Wied Ilma but are bounded on their southern side by precipitous cliffs which in places are as much as 400 feet in height. Further east, this southern edge turns inland to overlook the narrow, fault-bounded trough of the Wied ix-Xlendi (2987).

The southern coastal area between the last-named valley and the Wied Mġarr ix-Xini (3486) is a second region in which uplands, in this case rising a little above 450 feet, are bounded on the south by a line of cliffs and fall away in gentle slopes northwards to the central plains. East of Sannat (3187), however, the ta'Ċenċ upland (3286) overlooks the central plains in a well-marked fault-line scarp some 50 feet high, along which a narrow outcrop of the Lower Coralline occurs.

East of Mġarr ix-Xini, a change takes place in the character of the southern coast. Inland, faulting has preserved a large area of Upper Coralline from beneath which the Blue Clay outcrops to form the seaward slopes. Thus Rdum it-Tafal (3686), Wied tal-Mġarr (3687) and tas-Żewwieqa (3787) are similar in character to the coastlands of the north-east.

Near and to the east of Qala (3888), a southward extension of the Nadur plateau is flanked on its southern side by a fault-shattered zone in which the detailed arrangement of landforms is extremely complex. Blue Clay valleys, of which the Wied tal-Qala (3887) is the largest, run south to the coast and are separated by promontories and lines of cliffs.

The areas so far described enclose the central region of Gozo. This area, though by no means devoid of variety, is the least accidented part of the island.

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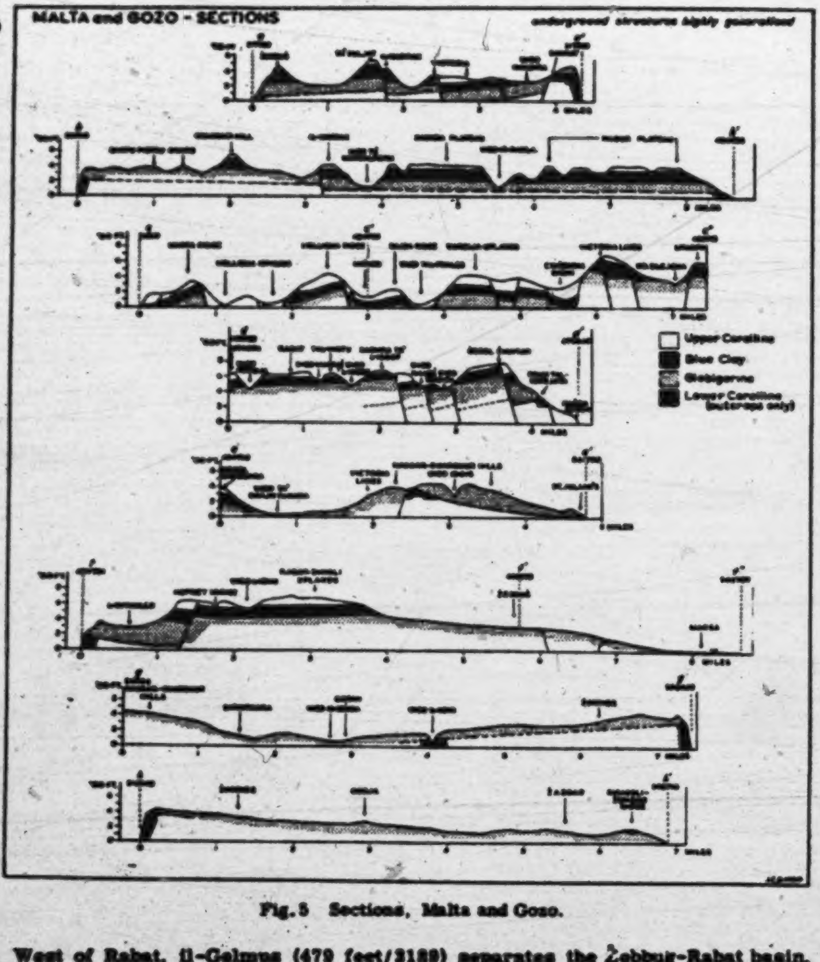
MALTA and GOZO - SECTIONS
underground structure highly generalised
Upper Coralline
Blue Clay
Globigerina
Lower Coralline (outcrops only)
MILES

Fig. 5 Sections, Malta and Gozo.

West of Rabat, il-Gelmus (479 feet/3189) separates the Żebbuġ-Rabat basin, drained by the upper reaches of the Wied ta'Marsalforn, from the San Ġorġ basin (3089), whose outlet is via the Wied tal-Lunzjata (3188), to the Wied ix-Xlendi. These basins, whose lowest points are at 250 and 175 feet respectively, rise gently to low cols on which stand the villages of Għasri (3090) and Santa Luċija (2989). Rabat itself is sited on a low elevation of Upper Coralline, flanked on its eastern side by a minor escarpment beneath which unusually gentle clay slopes occur.

The area between Rabat and Għajnsielem (3687) is an undulating district lying at heights between 375 and 350 feet. The Xewkija (3387)-Għajnsielem Ridge, which is fault-bounded on its southerly, steeper side, is a recognisable topographic feature, though it rises but little above the general level of the area. The ridge is flanked on either side by plains of which the one to the north is the most uniform. To the south, the slight incision of the Wied Hanżira (3387) gives somewhat steeper slopes, though here again relief is very subdued. No topographic break occurs where, to the east, faulting has preserved the Upper Coralline, and the central plains continue unchanged across the structural boundary until they fall away to the Wied Biljan (3787) and the Wied tal-Mġarr which run down to Mġarr Bay.

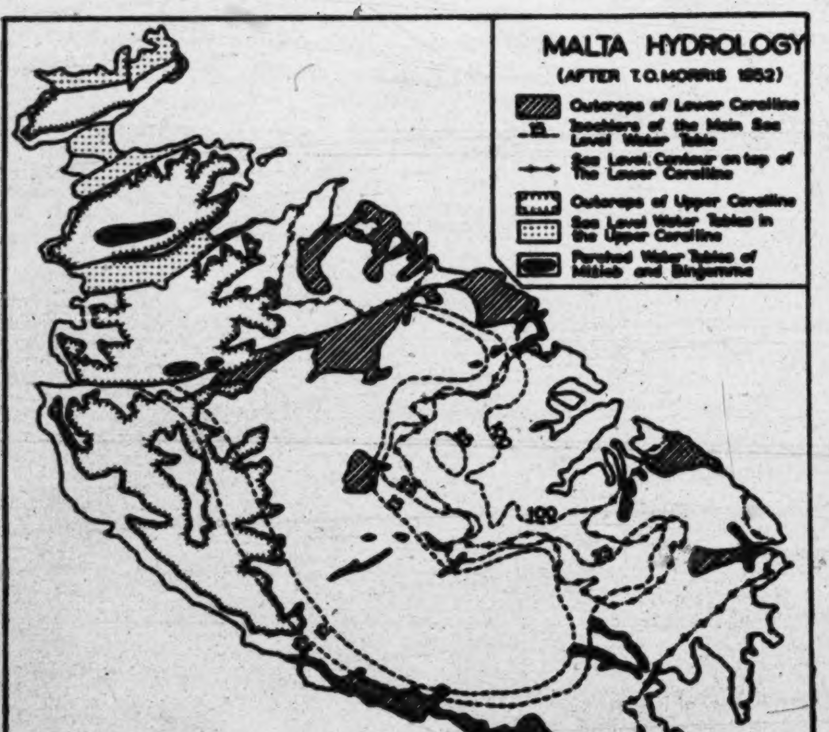
MALTA HYDROLOGY
(AFTER T.O.MORRIS 1952)
Outcrops of Lower Coralline
Isochlors of the Main Sea Level Water Table
Sea Level Contour on top of The Lower Coralline
Outcrops of Upper Coralline
Sea Level Water Tables in the Upper Coralline
Perched Water Tables of
and Bingemma
100
J.C.D. 1958

Fig. 6 Hydrology of Malta.

C. HYDROLOGY AND WATER SUPPLY

An adequate water supply being essential to all forms of economic activity, industrial as well as agricultural, it is not surprising that a great deal of attention has been paid to this topic in Malta where, as in so many regions of Mediterranean climate, a limited and erratic rainfall makes water supply a perennial problem. This has become increasingly serious and difficult of solution during the period of British rule. Rapid growth of population and a rising standard of living have been accompanied by increasing water consumption per head as well as overall. A long series of reports of varying worth and conflicting conclusions has appeared during the last 50 years of which the Morris Report (1) [114] published in 1952, is the most recent and most authoritative. This work is of interest not only for its thorough treatment of modern conditions but also for its critical appraisal of earlier published work. It forms the basis of current policy in the field of water supply development.

Climate in general and precipitation in particular are more fully dealt with elsewhere (Chapter II, p.48). Suffice it to say at this point that the heavy, often very localised downpours accompanied by rapid run-off, in which the bulk of the rainfall occurs, together with summer drought and intensive evaporation, are factors which greatly reduce the value of a by no means abundant precipitation.

Malta is fortunate in its stratigraphy (see Chapter I A, p.25) which provides particularly favourable conditions for the percolation and underground storage of rainwater. The most valuable aquifers are the Upper and Lower Coralline Limestones where, however, the presence of bedding planes, joints and fissures is of far more importance in controlling the underground movement of water than are the porosity and permeability of the rocks themselves. The Globigerina, though it contains important limestones, is composed largely of thick and relatively impervious marly beds, through which percolation is slow and from which run-off is correspondingly rapid.

Two distinct water tables (2) exist, one in the Upper Coralline and the other in the Lower Coralline and Globigerina formations. There is a further subdivision into water tables based on sea level and those developed above impermeable strata. Physical conditions and the history of development of the two sources are so distinct as to warrant their separate treatment at this stage. The Main Sea Level Water Table (or the Lower Water Table) so named to distinguish it from smaller sea level tables occurring in the Upper Coralline, has for the past hundred years been the main source of the public supply in Malta and now accounts for some 90 per cent, or more the water extracted by the Water Department. This water table 'is in bodily continuity with water of Mediterranean salinity marginally and at depth ... It is not retained within the island by any impermeable base, but owes its existence to the simple fact that every winter the local rainfall adds more fresh water to the underground store than can be dissipated by (i) the direct discharge of its superficial portion around the coast in response to the head of water inland and (ii) the deterioration of its composition ... as the result of diffusion from the highly saline Mediterranean water around it and beneath it' (3).

The area occupied by this water table is bounded by (a) the coast where the Lower Coralline outcrops and (b) the line along which the junction of the Lower Coralline with the Globigerina lies at sea level (Fig. 6). The area thus defined occupies 37.5 square miles south of the Victoria Lines and 4.3 to the north, the most valuable parts being those where the salinity of the top water does not exceed 15 parts per 100,000. Such conditions are limited to an area of 22.8 square miles. The water body is replenished for the most part through the extremely limited outcrops of Lower Coralline since the Globigerina, especially where it is soil covered, forms a region of very slow percolation. Thus it is of particular importance that the Lower Coralline catchments should be preserved and protected from pollution. Such areas are rarely cultivated but it is unfortunate, though not unnatural, that they are often used for other purposes, in many

cases being built over (e.g. the Inċita Asylum, the Government Poultry Farm, St. Andrew's Barracks, etc.) and in others being used as refuse dumps (e.g. parts of the Wieda Qirda and Has-Saptan). The small section of the Lower Water Table which lies to the north of the Victoria Lines in the Wied il-Ghasel district is very limited in value. Deep fissures result in the mixing of salt water with fresh and development beyond that already undertaken privately is most unlikely to occur.

The Upper Water Table has been broken into a series of blocks by faulting and the Upper Coralline Limestone aquifers, in which water movement is controlled mainly by fissures, are often thin, so that storage possibilities are limited. However, there is considerable scope for further development. Upper Coralline sea-level water tables occur in Marfa, the Mellieha Isthmus and Wied tal-Pwales, but these are already used to such an extent for agricultural purposes that salinity has become a serious problem (see Chapter VIII, pp. 240 and 243). It is the high-standing water tables, sealed off by the Blue Clay beneath, which are the most important though hitherto largely neglected sources, particularly in the Mizieb and Bingemma Basins, where perched synclines collect water from the neighbouring uplands.

Replenishment of the Upper Water Table, like that of the lower, depends largely on the character of the surface and it is here that a conflict of needs becomes apparent. Expansion of the rural population over the past hundred years has been accompanied in many districts by expansion of both soil cover and building on the Upper Coralline. The former reduces percolation and creates a bigger demand for irrigation water. Several areas in which over-pumping for agricultural purposes occurs have been noted during the present survey, e.g. the Rabat-Dingli Plateau. The growth of settlement inevitably increases both water consumption and pollution. As Morris points out, there is 'a clash of interests between the local agricultural communities and the much more numerous . . . urban section of the population' (4). To suggest, however, that 'any further expansion (of soil cover) over the upland catchment areas should be prohibited' (5) appears unrealistic and favours the urban element at the expense of the cultivator. The towns must first make their contribution by restricting consumption which has recently increased at an unnecessarily rapid rate. Prohibition of building on Upper Coralline areas might, with more justice, be enforced.

PRESENT UTILISATION OF WATER SUPPLIES: That urgent action is required, not only to increase production from the Upper Water Table but also to regulate consumption is readily apparent, for extraction has now risen above the rate of replenishment in the Main Sea Level Table. Morris, writing in 1952, suggested that a total extraction rate per annum of 2,500 million gallons with an average salinity not exceeding 28 parts per 100,000 could be achieved. Of this, however, 1,500 million gallons with a salinity of 12 or less should come from the Upper Coralline, while 1,000 million gallons *only* would come from the Lower Water Table, even if the acceptable limit of salinity was to be set at 50 parts per 100,000. In fact, rapidly increasing consumption has already brought the total of extraction by the Water Department to a level very little below the suggested maximum and over 90 per cent. comes from the Main Sea Level Table. The amount of water drawn from this source has increased from 1,460 million gallons in the year 1945-46 to 2,106 million gallons in 1955-56, that is by over 40 per cent. in ten years. During the same period, the total consumption of piped water has risen by a similar proportion although the population has increased by only 4 per cent. Average salinity of water drawn from the Lower Table has fluctuated considerably during this period with an overall tendency to rise. The maximum recorded was 93.7/100,000 in 1947-48. The scale of longer term change is illustrated by a salinity figure in the region of 20 for the year 1900. Average salinity is in any case a somewhat artificial concept since the chloride content of the water varies both regionally and from one season to another. Regional variations in the average salinity are illustrated in Fig. 6 and are extremely important in their effects on agriculture. Seasonal variations are equally great and indicate the deterioration of the piped water supply. In order to keep up with the demand it has been necessary on occasions to pump water with a salinity as high as 245/100,000 (6).

Attention has been drawn on many occasions to the dangerous combination of increasing consumption and the associated rise in salinity. The point is most strongly made by Morris: 'The Main Sea Level Water Table is being grossly over-pumped. In a few years' time no water fit for human consumption will remain unless the present rate of extraction is reduced drastically' (7). This warning has been reiterated in the annual reports of the Water Department. A good deal is being done to implement suggestions for the development of the Upper Table, particularly at Miżieb, but also in the Binġemma Basin. As yet, however, there has been no reduction whatsoever in the rate of extraction from the Lower and, since Malta will necessarily depend primarily on the latter source for many years to come, rigid control of all uses, domestic, industrial and agricultural, must be maintained. Restrictions on consumption must be applied as a matter of principle and not confined to years of below-average rainfall when the problem is more readily apparent. An unsatisfactory attitude is, for example, illustrated in the Water Board Report for 1953-54 when a winter of plentiful precipitation was followed by a summer which 'went by without the usual economy campaign for saving water and without subjecting the consumer to drastic restrictions'. In fairness to the Board it should be pointed out that the Report made it clear that 'this might be construed to mean that the water situation... is no longer critical. Nothing could be further from the truth. The higher consumption... has had to be painfully met at the cost of higher salinity ... the present rate of over-pumping is suicidal' (8). However, sustained action rather than exhortation is required.

IRRIGATION: The foregoing paragraphs have been confined almost entirely to a consideration of the piped water supplies to towns and villages, a subject on which much information is readily available. Of greater relevance to the present study, however, are the demands of irrigation which, in one form or another, is carried on wherever conditions permit. Though sample studies have been made from time to time, there is as yet no really complete information on the amount of water used in this way but the quantity applied to the land is believed to be little less than that passing into the piped supply.

A few general remarks are appropriate at this stage. In the first place, though published agricultural data give figures for the areas of 'irrigated' and 'dry' land, it is by no means easy to draw a clear dividing line between the two, nor is it certain that the farmers' returns are exact on this point. Water is applied to the land in many ways. At the 'drier end of the scale' are the many areas in which crops are hand watered from cisterns cut into the rock. At least 10,000 of these are erroneously marked as 'wells' on the larger-scale maps and many more have no doubt been omitted. They are largely confined to the Globigerina lands. Secondly, innumerable pumps of various kinds; wind-, motor- and donkey-powered, tap all water tables. In some cases they are used to fill rock-cut or concrete tanks from which water is carried to the fields; in others, the tanks feed into stone channels or temporary earthen ditches. Wind-pumps are particularly important on the Upper Coralline plateaus, in many parts of which they have been sunk in excessive numbers thus lowering the level of water table. They are less numerous, though by no means unimportant in the Sea Level Water Tables whether these be developed in downfaulted Upper Coralline or in Lower Coralline and Globigerina. Here, pumping has often led to rapid increases in salinity and some such cases are commented upon in Chapter 8. Finally, the areas in which water is most plentiful are those fed from spring lines occurring where the Blue Clay outcrops from beneath the Upper Coralline Limestone.

It is believed that at least 2,000 million gallons a year are used for irrigation purposes. Various sample data are available to illustrate the scale of agricultural water consumption. An official survey of private wells in Malta is now under way and by March 1956, 2,912 of these had been recorded (9). 2,200 tapped the Upper Water Table and drew 360,552 gallons in the year 1955-56.

[Text continues on page 47]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Plate III. The Central Plains. Summer.
Foreground: summer vegetable cultivation. Middle distance: carob trees on valley side.
Background: Wied is-Sewda and Qormi village.

Plate IV. Cliffs south of Zurrieq. Spring. Narrow, terraced fields.

A further 285 in the Main Sea Level Water Table produced 606,329 gallons, while 312
407 in the depressed parts of the Upper Coralline yielded 409,881 gallons, a total of 1,376,762 gallons from less than 3,000 pumped wells. The problem of salinity in sea-level water tables is illustrated by the Wied tal-I'waleş where in 1945 private wells yielded water with a salinity ranging from 22 to 142/100,000 while in 1953 the corresponding figures were 25 and 200/100,000 (10).

Finally, an accurate check has been kept on water obtained from those springs on the Rabat-Dingli Plateau which feed aqueducts for town supply. Over a period of years these have yielded an average of 251 million gallons annually, equivalent to 26.7 per cent. of the supply provided by an average yearly rainfall of 20.51 inches on a catchment area of 3.16 square miles (11).

A survey carried out by J. Baldacchino in 1942-45 provides some data on the amount of water used to irrigate various crops (12). There can be little doubt that much water is wastefully applied. The highest rate of application was that to summer marrows which received 30 waterings, 210,000 gallons per tomna, the equivalent of 33 inches of rain. The most striking fact, however, concerned the spring potato crop which took 15 waterings, 90,000 gallons per tomna, equivalent to 15 inches of rain. This was water applied from January to April, some of the wettest months of the year, and is perhaps an adequate comment on the suitability or otherwise of this crop to Maltese conditions - a question raised elsewhere in the present volume. Careless storage and prodigal application of water under conditions of intense isolation and evaporation indicate an uneconomic use of a limited resource.

Irrigation and the piped supply thus appear to make approximately equal demands on water resources - now, a probable 2,000 million gallons in the case of the former and a more certain 2,415 million gallons in the latter. This total of over 4,400 million gallons consumed annually may be compared with an annual supply from rainfall of 27,550 million gallons (assuming an average precipitation of 20 inches over an area of 95 square miles). What is not known is how much of this latter total percolates to the water tables and how much is lost at various stages of the water cycle by direct run-off, evaporation, transpiration and the seepage into the Mediterranean. Some of the answers will be provided by the evapotranspirometer stations recently established in Malta.

Gozo has not thus far been mentioned and relatively little hydrological 184
investigation has been carried out there. The general arrangement of water 312
tables irrigation practice, etc., are little different in principle from those described for Malta. The lower population density, the absence of a large urban element and the generally lower standard of living in the material sense make the problem a good deal less acute. Consumption per head from the public supply is approximately half that of Malta.

There is in the Maltese Islands, and particularly in Malta itself, conflict 312
between urban and rural uses of water just as there is in the use of labour, land and capital. When the resource is already limited as it is in the case of water, 369
the conflict becomes more apparent and its resolution depends on economic as much as on purely physical factors. Water shortage is a background against which all plans for future development, including the industrial, must be viewed.

REFERENCES

113

(1) MORRIS, T. O.: The Water Supply Resources of Malta. Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1952.
(2) By common usage in Malta, the term 'water table' is applied to the whole body of water contained within the aquifer and not, as elsewhere, to its upper surface alone.
(3) MORRIS, op cit., para. 152, p. 62.
(4) ibid., para. 225, p. 109.
(5) ibid.
(6) Report on the Working of the Water and Electricity Department for the Year 1952-53; Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1954. Para. 11.
(7) MORRIS, op cit., footnote to table 15.
(8) Report on the Working of the Water and Electricity Department for the Year 1953-54; Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1955. Para. 2.
(9) Report . . . etc., for the Year 1955-56. Appendix IV.
(10) Report . . . etc., for the Year 1952-53. Appendix IV.
(11) MORRIS, op cit. Table 5.
(12) Ibid. Table 14.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Chapter II

THE MALTESE CLIMATE AND WEATHER

*132 That the climatic regime of the Maltese Islands is of a Mediterranean type is self-evident, but the simple picture of hot, dry summers alternating with mild, wet winters requires a great deal of elaboration before a full idea may be obtained of the range of conditions encountered in the Islands. As in all Mediterranean areas, mean monthly figures for rainfall, temperature and the other climatic elements mask important variations of three kinds: daily fluctuations, contrasts between one year and another, and regional differences, these last being important despite the small surface area involved. Daily, seasonal and annual fluctuations are clearly illustrated by the data for any one station and, in this chapter, the rainfall readings for Valletta from 1841 to 1957, together with Agius's means(1) for other climatic elements measured at Valletta are used. These sources are, as explained below, the fullest records available and cover periods of sufficient length to include all the extremes which are likely to occur. Regional variations are less easy to describe, in that data for stations outside Valletta is fragmentary and in many cases of dubious accuracy. This chapter includes an analysis and bibliography of the available climatic records, particularly in the case of rainfall, and an attempt has been made to assess the range of conditions in space as well as in time.

Table 1. Rainfall. The monthly means for Valletta are as follows:

	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	Yr.
Inches	1.12	3.11	3.56	3.83	3.49	2.16	1.64	0.93	0.42	0.09	0.04	0.17	20.54

The Mediterranean characteristics are clearly seen in these figures with nearly 70 per cent. of the rain falling in the six months October-March inclusive with a particularly well-marked concentration (c. 50 per cent.) in November, December and January. Equally obvious is the extremely dry summer season, June, July and August having only 1.5 per cent. of the total.

The possible range of rainfall conditions is, however, more clearly illustrated by the rainfall frequency diagram (Fig. 7), which shows the extent of variations from the mean during the past century (to conform with common Maltese practice, a rainfall year beginning on 1st September and ending on 31st August has been used in preference to the calendar year). In the case of the annual total, for example, the amount recorded has ranged between a maximum of 39.36 inches, nearly twice the average, in 1858-59, to a minimum of 7.95 inches, only 40 per cent. of the average, in 1845-46. The inter-quartile range, within which 50 per cent. of the readings lie, is from 24.36 inches to 17.21 inches, a relatively small divergence of about 15 per cent. on either side of the mean, but it is the exceptional years of excessive wetness or abnormal drought which most affect such things as water supply and farming, that make dangerous any reliance on average or so-called 'normal' conditions. During the 116 years from 1841-2 to 1956-57, annual amounts have been distributed as follows:-

Total Annual Rainfall	Number of Occurrences
Less than 10 inches	4
10-14 inches	9
15-19 inches	42
20-24 inches	35
25-29 inches	20
30-34 inches	3
35-40 inches	3

[p. 48]

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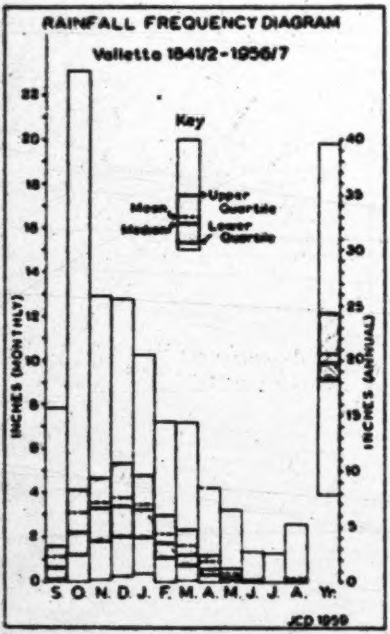

Fig. 7 Rainfall Frequency, Valletta, 1841/2 - 1956/7.

When the individual months are examined, it is seen that only four, November, December, January and March, have not, on at least one occasion, been months of complete drought and even these four have recorded minimum totals of only a fraction of an inch. It will further be observed that variations from the mean are greatest in the wetter, winter months, the period when rainfall amount is of vital importance to all the major cultivated crops. Lack of space prohibits a detailed discussion of each month in turn, but October may be taken as the extreme of variability. The greatest quantity of rain which fell in any October between 1841 and 1956 was the phenomenal total of 23.08 inches recorded in 1951, when nearly 60 per cent. of the total for that climatic year fell in this month alone, and when the October rainfall was actually 12 per cent. greater than the annual average! The smallest amount ever recorded for October was zero in 1843 and again in 1859 giving a total range of 23.08 inches between the highest and lowest figures. In 50 per cent. of the years 1841-1956, rainfall was between 1.17 inches and 4.15 inches, an inter-quartile range of 2.98 inches. While the average or *mean* precipitation for this month was 3.11 inches, the *median* was only 2.21 inches, the former being raised above the latter by a small number of very high readings like that of 1951. The wettest month, on the average, is December, but there have been many occasions on which this has not been the case, as the detailed graphs (Fig. 8) indicate. The driest month is July, where absolute drought has occurred in 97 of the last 116 years. Thus the percentile range is low: nevertheless 1.28 inches fell in July 1873. Finally, the point should be made that 'dry' or 'wet' years are not necessarily years of low or high rainfall throughout every month. Thus 1955-56, with a total of 18.15

[Text continues on page 48]

*132

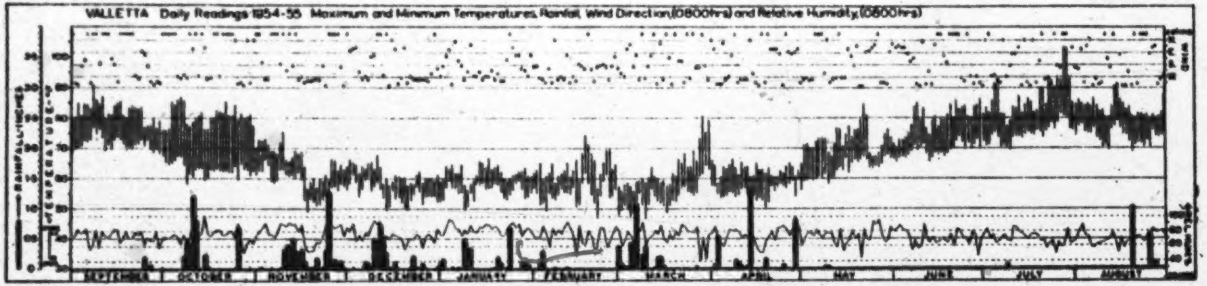

Fig. 8A Valletta, Daily Readings of Temperature, Rainfall, Wind Direction and Relative Humidity, 1954-55.

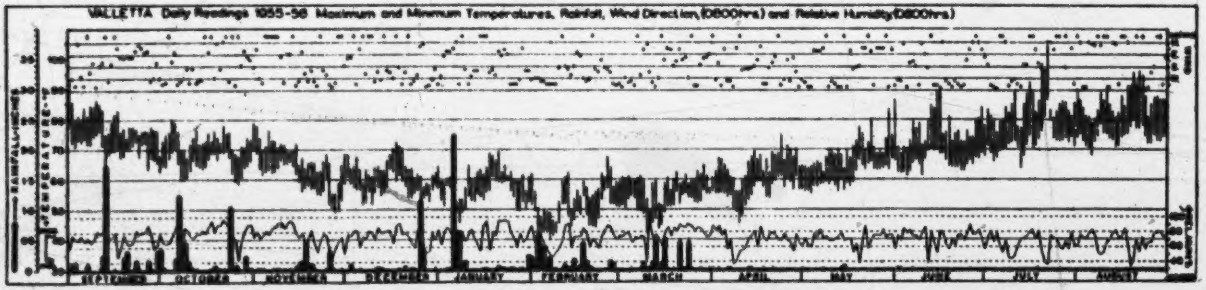

Fig. 8B Valletta, Daily Readings of Temperature, Rainfall, Wind Direction and Relative Humidity, 1955-56.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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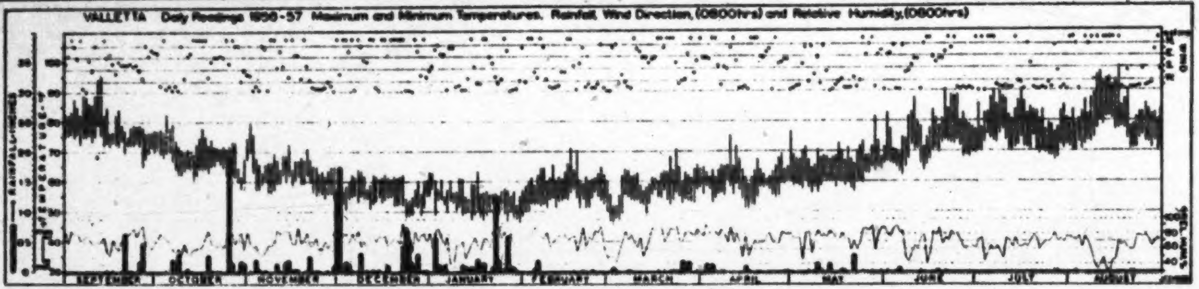

Fig. 8C Valletta, Daily Readings of Temperature, Rainfall, Wind Direction and Relative Humidity, 1956-57.

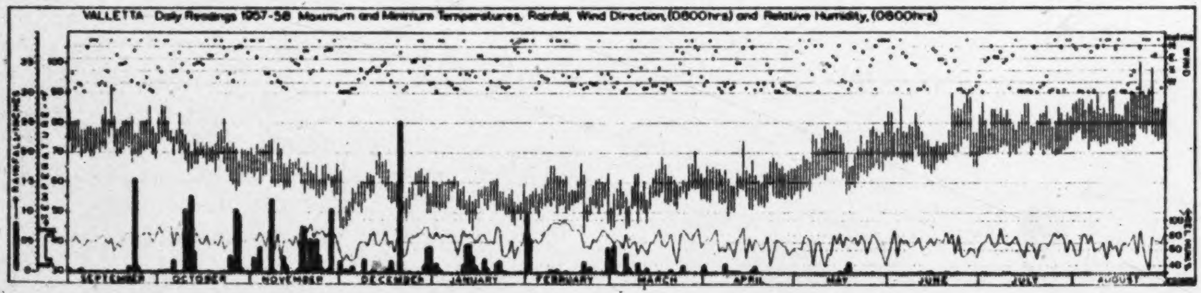

Fig. 8D Valletta, Daily Readings of Temperature, Rainfall, Wind Direction and Relative Humidity, 1957-58.

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inches, contained a September in which rainfall was three times the average for that month (see below). Conversely, in the wettest recorded year, 1858-59 with 39.36 inches, September, October and November all had totals well below their mean amounts. In short, the averages, annual and monthly alike, bear little relation to the conditions which may be experienced in any particular year.

RAIN DAYS: The occasional high intensity of rainfall, torrential storms being accompanied by rapid run-off which reduces the effectiveness of the precipitation, is another important feature of the Maltese climate elaborated below. Daily falls of two or three inches, representing 10 per cent. or more of the annual total, are by no means uncommon and much larger amounts have often been recorded. It is on these occasions of heavy storms that regional variations in rainfall are most marked. Days with rain average 77 or nearly one in five, the monthly distribution being as follows:-

Table 2.	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	Yr.
Rain days	3	7	11	14	13	10	8	5	3	1	0.2	0.7	77

The number of rain days in any particular month varies greatly from year to year and the relationship between the number of days with rain and the total fall is by no means direct. For example:-

TABLE 3. A comparison of rain-days and monthly totals.

	DECEMBER		FEBRUARY		APRIL	
	Rain days	Total fall	Rain days	Total fall	Rain days	Total fall
1954-55	12	2.64"	4	0.38"	10	3.16"
1955-56	8	1.68"	17	3.87"	0	0.0"
1956-57	10	6.14"	4	0.25"	5	0.41"
1957-58	13	4.38"	9	2.28"	6	0.40"
Long-term means	14	3.83"	10	2.16"	5	0.93"

TEMPERATURE: Air temperature conditions are extremely stable with an annual mean of 64°F. and monthly means ranging from 53°F. to 77°F. Variations from these means, though important, are far less striking than those outlined above for rainfall:-

TABLE 4. Temperatures.

°F.	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A
Mean	74	69	62	56	53	53	55	59	64	71	77	77
Mean max.	81	76	68	62	59	60	62	66	71	79	84	85
Mean min.	71	66	59	54	51	51	52	56	61	67	72	73
Absolute max.	100	94	82	75	76	76	83	93	89	99	105	105
Absolute min.	57	45	42	39	39	34	37	44	49	58	62	62

There is no real thermal dormant season, and air temperatures are such as to permit the cultivation of a wide range of crops. Occasionally, however, plant growth is checked by abnormally low winter minima and high spring and summer maxima increase water requirements. Air frost is unknown, but northerly winds

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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in January and February sometimes cause '*glata*', the freezing of dew on plants, while there is some evidence to suggest that true ground frosts occur on a few nights in most years. Despite the small area of the Islands, distance from the sea has some effect: inland stations record maxima some five or six degrees higher and minima a similar amount lower than those of Valletta.

WIND: The Maltese climate is characterised by the strength and frequency of its winds. The percentage of days with calms reaches a minimum of seven in April and a maximum of only 14 in August. Over the year as a whole, only one day in ten records no measurable air movement. By far the most common wind at all seasons is the cool north-westerly *Majjistral* which blows on 20 per cent. of the days of an average year. This is followed in importance by the dry north-easterly *Grigal* (15 per cent.) and the hot, humid *Xlokk* (13 per cent.). Wind direction naturally has a considerable effect on air temperature. The greatest extremes of cold and heat are associated with the northerly *Tramuntana* and the southerly *Nofsinhar* respectively, while the prevailing north-westerlies keep summer maxima down but give unpleasantly bleak conditions in the winter months.

RELATIVE HUMIDITY is consistently high, rarely falling below 40 per cent. and being for the most part in the range 65-80 per cent. Monthly means indicate the relatively small differences between summer and winter conditions in this respect. Recorded extremes range from 99 per cent. (13th February, 1958) to 28 per cent. (14th August, 1957).

TABLE 5.	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	Yr.
Relative humidity %	71	73	75	78	77	77	75	75	73	70	66	68	73

Humidity is generally a good deal higher than in neighbouring Mediterranean coastlands and the combination of high temperatures with high humidity in the summer months is a noteworthy feature of the Maltese climate.

TABLE 6. Temperature and Humidity at Valletta and Syracuse.

			Jan.	July	Year
Mean temperature	Valletta	°F.	53	77	64
"	Syracuse	°F.	51	78	64
Mean relative humidity	Valletta	%	77	66	73
"	Syracuse	%	69	62	68

Combinations of wind, temperature, and humidity conditions often have an adverse effect on plant growth which is not suggested by a consideration of any one of these elements in isolation. The *Xlokk*, *Majjistral* and *Grigal* affect transpiration rates and wilting points to a considerable degree.

1954-58 (TABLE 7): A particularly close study has been made of day-to-day weather conditions during the years in which the authors have been working in the Maltese islands. Monthly means of temperature and rainfall are tabulated below and daily rainfall, maximum and minimum temperatures, wind direction and relative humidity have been graphed in Fig. 8. The latter illustrates the considerable variations experienced even within the short period of four years.

CLIMATIC YEAR 1954-55: In this year, the onset of the autumn rains was late, the first fall occurring on 25th September and the total for that month being well below the mean. The dry spell was accompanied by temperatures above and relative humidity below average. Winds show no dominant direction and this month was characterised by an abnormally large number of calm days (37 per cent.). Similar conditions continued into the first week of October, but were followed by some ten days of heavy rain brought by predominantly westerly

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TABLE 7. Climatic Data for the Years 1954-58.

Valletta, Lat. 35° 54' N., Long. 14° 31' E., Ht. 185 feet.

	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	Yr.
						Rainfall (inches)							
1954-55	0.27	5.80	4.48	2.64	2.40	0.38	3.06	3.16	0.04	-	0.06	1.64	24.03
1955-56	3.96	2.88	1.40	1.68	3.95	3.87	2.35	-	0.06	-	-	-	18.15
1956-57	1.28	3.17	1.20	6.14	3.85	0.25	0.46	0.41	0.64	0.07	-	-	17.47
1957-58	1.77	5.87	6.38	4.38	2.29	2.28	1.48	0.40	0.49	0.04	-	-	25.48
Long-term means	1.12	3.11	3.56	3.83	3.49	2.16	1.64	0.93	0.42	0.09	0.04	0.17	20.54
						Rain Days (number)							
1954-55	4	7	18	12	15	4	14	10	2	-	1	3	90
1955-56	11	15	12	8	13	17	10	-	3	-	-	-	89
1956-57	4	9	15	19	19	4	5	5	6	2	-	-	88
1957-58	5	11	18	13	14	8	10	6	3	1	-	-	90
Long-term means	3	7	11	14	13	10	8	5	3	1	0.2	0.7	77
						Mean Temperatures (°F.)							
1954-55	76.2	66.9	61.8	57.7	58.2	58.7	57.8	58.7	67.6	74.2	79.8	78.4	
1955-56	74.6	67.4	63.1	58.3	56.9	51.9	54.6	60.1	64.9	71.3	78.3	78.3	
1956-57	77.2	68.2	62.5	55.4	54.2	56.8	56.6	60.3	64.4	73.6	77.0	77.0	
1957-58	75.1	70.6	63.4	56.5	53.9	54.9	56.6	59.0	68.1	73.9	76.7	81.2	
Long-term means	74	69	63	56	53	53	55	59	64	71	77	77	
						Mean Maximum Temperatures (°F.)							
1954-55	82.4	71.8	66.0	61.6	61.9	63.0	62.0	62.7	73.1	79.5	87.0	83.2	
1955-56	79.7	73.0	68.0	64.1	61.2	55.6	59.0	65.2	69.5	77.1	84.0	86.5	
1956-57	82.3	73.0	67.4	59.8	57.7	62.3	61.2	64.6	69.7	79.7	83.3	86.3	
1957-58	80.4	75.6	67.7	60.7	58.2	60.0	61.0	64.0	73.1	77.0	82.3	87.0	
Long-term means	81	76	68	62	59	60	62	66	71	79	84	85	
						Mean Minimum Temperatures (°F.)							
1954-55	71.3	62.9	58.0	54.8	55.5	54.6	53.3	55.1	62.6	68.9	73.8	73.6	
1955-56	70.1	64.6	59.5	51.5	53.8	50.8	50.8	55.5	60.3	67.5	72.3	74.0	
1956-57	72.9	64.2	59.1	52.2	53.4	52.9	52.7	56.1	59.7	68.4	71.4	74.2	
1957-58	70.4	66.9	59.9	53.0	50.6	51.0	52.2	54.1	61.3	67.8	71.0	74.8	
Long-term means	71	66	59	54	51	51	52	56	61	67	72	73	
						Absolute Maximum Temperatures (°F.)							
1954-55	91.0	77.1	75.4	67.7	66.8	74.1	80.4	66.3	94.6	86.1	103.2	91.0	
1955-56	91.8	79.9	78.8	72.3	69.4	67.4	64.8	74.9	83.2	89.6	104.6	96.0	
1956-57	95.3	82.7	70.6	64.1	63.4	71.2	70.8	75.2	81.4	90.3	90.6	97.7	
1957-58	92.8	86.0	74.9	70.2	62.6	67.0	70.8	74.0	80.2	90.0	87.1	100.1	
Long-term maximum	100	94	82	76	76	73	83	93	95	98	105	105	
						Absolute Minimum Temperatures (°F.)							
1954-55	67.9	58.0	49.0	49.5	49.5	46.8	46.3	49.9	56.0	65.0	69.2	68.4	
1955-56	62.6	56.4	49.0	51.6	45.4	37.1	42.0	45.0	55.0	61.0	66.0	67.0	
1956-57	65.0	57.5	54.4	45.8	46.1	48.3	45.2	50.3	55.9	62.0	67.0	69.8	
1957-58	66.4	57.0	54.8	44.5	44.0	43.4	44.5	48.8	54.8	63.0	68.7	71.0	
Long-term minimum	57	45	42	39	39	34	37	44	49	58	63	63	

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winds and the month had rainfall markedly above and temperatures well below the means. November, similarly, was a good deal wetter than usual, while the third week was marked by abnormally low temperatures and low humidity accompanying a persistent north-westerly air-stream. December, January and February, particularly the last, provide a contrast with the two preceding months in that their rainfall was considerably below average. Temperatures were remarkably stable during these three months, rarely rising above 65°F. and falling below 50°F. on only six occasions. An abnormally dry, warm February was followed by a period of heavy rain in the first half of March, appreciable falls occurring on 12 of the first 16 days of that month. This wet period was also one of low temperatures, daily maxima being appreciably below those experienced in the preceding three months while the lowest daily minima of the year also occurred in this period. The second half of March, on the other hand, was unusually hot and dry, the last week recording maxima in the range 75-80°F. and relative humidity falling as low as 40 per cent. The absolute maximum of 80.4°F. was one of the highest ever recorded in March. April, by contrast, recorded more than three times the mean rainfall for that month and was, in fact, slightly wetter than March. May, June and July were months of almost complete drought, though a single fall of 0.06 inches on the 9th July raised the total for that month 60 per cent. above the average. Temperatures mounted steadily, reaching their maximum in the third week of July, but late July and early August were marked by a sharp fall in both maxima and minima. A slight recovery in mid-August was followed by a period of rather cool conditions during which rain fell on three days to a total of 1.64 inches, nearly ten times the average for the month.

1954-55 may thus be said to have had a wet, cool autumn, a mild, rather dry winter, an unusually wet spring, and a summer rather cooler and less dry than usual. Total rainfall for the year lay near the upper limit of the inter-quartile range and nearly 20 per cent. above the mean.

CLIMATIC YEAR 1955-56: The damp autumn presaged by the rain of late August was realised in an abnormally wet and stormy September whose rainfall was neary four times the average and whose temperatures were appreciably below 'normal'. A fall of 1.75 inches on the 13th represented more than the mean for the month. October recorded near-average rainfall and temperatures but November and December were unusually dry, mild and calm. Much the same may be said of the greater part of January, but particularly heavy rainfall on the 6th, brought the total close to the monthly mean. February was both cold and wet. With 17 rain-days, a total fall of 3.87 inches and a minimum temperature of 37.1°F., these conditions again being associated with persistent west and north-west winds, February 1956, and particularly its first half, represents the extreme of bleakness, at least during the four years under review. A similar, though slightly less intense bleakness characterised the middle part of March and provides a striking contrast with the same period in the preceding year. From 25th March until the end of the climatic year (31st August), an abnormally long period of drought occurred, broken only by three small falls of rains during May. Temperatures rose to an extreme maximum of 104.6°F. towards the end of July, when a minimum relative humidity of 37 per cent. was also recorded.

The pattern for 1955-56 was thus one in which a cool, wet autumn was followed by a cold, wet winter and early spring and a particularly hot, dry summer.

CLIMATIC YEAR 1956-57: Drought and high temperatures continued until 21st September, but four wet days in the last ten gave a monthly total rainfall rather above the mean. An average October and a rather dry November were followed by a particularly wet December when a total fall of 6.14 inches was one of the highest recorded in the period under review. Temperatures, however, did not fall appreciably below the mean, though a minimum of 45.8°F. was recorded. January was a little wetter but slightly milder than usual, the absolute minimum being 46.1°F. By the end of January, 18.64 inches of rain had fallen (since 1st

*132 September) and only another 1.83 inches fell in the remaining seven months of the climatic year. This prolonged drought, during which rain fell on only 22 days (approximately one in ten) and during which the heaviest fall was 0.28 inches on 22nd May, is by far the most remarkable feature of this year and, indeed, of the whole four-year period. As mentioned elsewhere, the exceptionally dry late winter and spring was a particularly serious matter for the agriculturist. There was little of note concerning the run of temperatures during this dry period and these are clearly illustrated by the graph. However, the generally rather low relative humidity of the summer months with a minimum of 28 per cent. on 14th August is worthy of note.

In 1956-57, a fairly 'normal' autumn and winter, though with a few periods of particularly heavy rain, were followed by a strikingly 'abnormal' spring and summer, the low rainfall of these seasons bringing the annual total well below the mean, and almost to the lower limit of the inter-quartile range.

CLIMATIC YEAR 1957-58: As the diagram shows, the first part of this year was abnormally wet with a particularly large number of days of heavy rain. 18.5 inches fell in the four months September-December inclusive and considerably higher totals were recorded at stations other than Valletta (see below). The period from January to August, however, was one in which monthly rainfall totals were near or rather below average, so that the annual total was not as high as might have been expected. Nevertheless, at 25.48 inches, the latter was 25 per cent. above the mean and lay outside the inter-quartile range. The heavy rainfall of autumn 1957 was as noteworthy as the drought which preceded it and had an adverse effect on farming operations by delaying the planting of many of the winter crops. The only feature of note concerning the temperatures of this year was their 'normal' character, no monthly mean diverging from the average by more than 2°F.

The four years studied in detail thus give a fairly full picture of the range of conditions likely to be experienced in Malta over a much longer period and contain examples of practically all recorded extremes of temperature, rainfall and humidity conditions.

RAINFALL IN THE MALTESE ISLANDS

Under the climatic conditions prevailing in the Islands, rainfall is undoubtedly the most important of the climatic elements and its distribution in space and time are of vital importance to the people of Malta in general and to the agricultural community in particular. Detailed studies, first of the provenance and quality of recorded data, and secondly of periodic rainfall totals have been made by P. K. Mitchell and have appeared in reports submitted to the Colonial Office (2). Here it is necessary to restrict examination to certain aspects of particular value and interest.

Publication of daily rainfall totals, based on measurements in a 'pluviometer' in Valletta, began in 1841. There are now 40 meteorological stations in the Islands. Here we summarise in list form the main developments of the last century and consider qualitatively the information derived from observations made at the stations shown on Fig. 9.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF OBSERVATIONS, MANUSCRIPTS and PUBLISHED DATA (Fig. 10)

A. 1841-42, at Military Hospital, Valletta, and from 1843-55 on the University Roof, also in Valletta. The mss. are lost, but monthly data were published by Delicata, 1856 (3). Used later by Chadwick (4), and in Blue Books 1880 and 1881 (5).

B. 1841-46, at an unknown site in Valletta. The mss. are lost but incomplete publication of daily records appeared in *Portafoglio Maltese*, 1841-47.

C. 1843-47, yet another gauge in Valletta, probably in Strait Street. Mss. lost. Incomplete and inaccurate publication of monthly data in *Societa Medica* (6), n.d.

[Text continues on p. 58]

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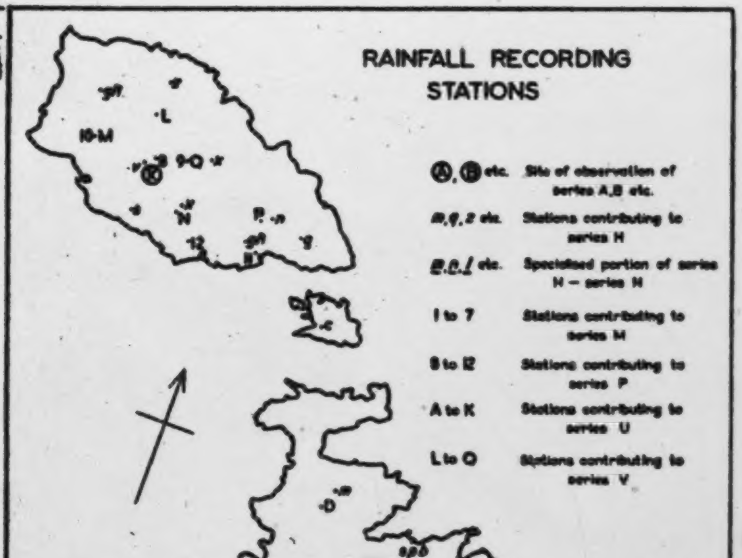
RAINFALL RECORDING STATIONS
Ⓐ, Ⓑ etc. Site of observation of series A,B etc.
m,q,z etc. Stations contributing to series H
m,c,l etc. Specialised portion of series H – series H
1 to 7 Stations contributing to series M
8 to 12 Stations contributing to series P
A to K Stations contributing to series U
L to O Stations contributing to series V
VALLETTA
fortifications
principal streets
site unknown
F.K.M.

Fig. 9 Rainfall Recording Stations.

[p. 57-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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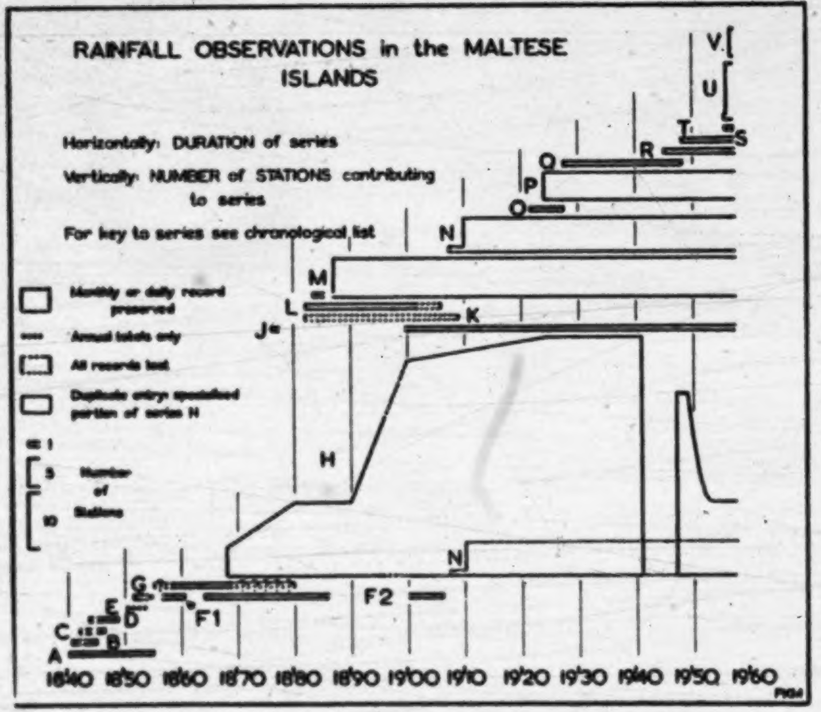

Fig. 10 Rainfall Observations in the Maltese Islands.

[P.57-B]

*132 D. 1844-49, on a site in the Via San Guiseppe, Hamrun. Mss. are lost. Incomplete publication of monthly data in Delicata, 1846, and also by the *Socicla Economico-Agraria*, 1849 and 1850 (7).

114 E. 1851-54, probably at the Corradino Prison, Pawla. The mss. are lost but annual totals appear in Zammit, 1855 (8).

F.1. 1852-61, probably at St. John's Cavalier, Valletta, by the Royal Engineers. Recording may not have been continuous during the period, as mss. in the Meteorological Office cover only the following years: 1852-54 and 1857-61. Hann, 1903 (9), published monthly readings for 1853-54 and 1857-60. Bateman, 1867 (printed by Seddal, 1870) (10) gave annual totals for 1852 and 1855, probably from this source. Both years are defective in the mss.

F.2. 1865-86 and 1901-06, by the Statistical Branch of the Army Medical Department, at the Garrison Hospital, Valletta (formerly the Hospital of the Knights of St. John). Mss. at the Meteorological Office begin with January 1866, but 1865 data were published by that Office in 1890. Bateman, 1867, gives the annual total for 1866.

H. 1868-1941 and 1947 to date, at various elementary schools in Malta and Gozo. Mss. giving monthly figures before 1891 and daily data after 1901 are preserved at the Royal University. Between those years the mss. are lost. Occasional publication of monthly data has taken place in contemporary issues of the Government Gazette (11). Those for the years when mss. are missing (1891-96, but not unfortunately 1897-1901) are particularly valuable. A mimeographed summary of the available ms. record giving means for Malta and Gozo up to 1913 was prepared at the University Observatory in 1950 (12). Agius, 1915 (13), gives a table of annual means 1901-11, for some of these stations. From 1916 to date, with a gap for the war years, monthly totals have been issued on duplicated and printed sheets by the University Observatory.

J. 1877-78, and 1900 to date, at the University Observatory where mss. are preserved. Later years, after 1909, issued in Royal University Meteorological Abstracts; daily data superseded monthly summaries in 1920. From 1904 to 1913, University observations formed the basis for the Malta section of 'Summary of the Weather in Egypt, etc.' (14).

K. From 1883-1909, unpublished observations were taken at the Seminary, Victoria, Gozo. The mss. are lost.

L. 1883-1906, at St. Ignatius College, St. Julian's. Again the mss. are lost but data was published in the Stonyhurst College Meteorological Reports up to 1902 (15). There was also occasional publication in Government Gazette of the period. Hann, 1903 (16), used monthly summaries of these data for the years 1885-1901.

M. 1884 to date, at one and later seven sites on the Rabat-Dingli Plateau. Observations were made by the Water Department who hold the mss. for the years after 1888. Earlier observations of this series were published by Chadwick, O., 1885 (17), 1887 (18) and 1888 (19). Monthly figures, the means of all seven stations, are published by Morris, 1952 (20), for the years 1890 to 1944.

N. 1908-10 to date. Summer rainfall readings ensured at five of the School Observation sites (H). Another station, of similar status, was set up at the Argotti Gardens, Floriana. The mss. of these observations are kept at the Royal University. Returns, in varying detail, have been issued with the other Royal University Meteorological Observatory Abstracts (J) (21).

O. 1922-28. A station set up for the Meteorological Office on Guardamangia Hill, Pieta. Ms. records available at the Meteorological Office, Luqa.

P. 1925 to date. Daily ms. records of data from five gauges in Gozo are preserved at the Water Department.

Q. 1928-48. Meteorological Office station at St. John's Cavalier, Valletta. The Office hold ms. records.

R. 1946 to date. Meteorological Office station at Luqa Airport. Mss. at the station with duplicates at the Meteorological Office. Currently published in the Overseas Supplement to the Daily Weather Report.

[Text continues on p. 60]

Table 8. Absolute frequency of rain-days yielding specific amounts of rain. 35-year period 1901-02 to 1935-36. Valletta.

	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July
Rainless days	1,058	923	817	644	633	668	602	809	892	1,004	1,008	1,078
Days with 0-0.99"	25	117	246	378	431	400	375	272	152	79	42	8
1-1.99"	2	10	14	17	15	15	11	4	6	2	-	-
2-2.99"	-	-	4	9	5	2	1	2	-	-	-	-
3-3.99"	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-5.99"	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7-7.99"	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11-11.99"	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Days	1,085	1,050	1,085	1,055	1,085	1,085	989	1,085	1,050	1,085	1,050	1,085
Total rain-days	27	127	268	406	452	417	387	278	158	81	42	8
Total rain-days >1"	2	10	22	28	21	17	12	6	6	2	-	-
Total rain on days with >1"	2.28"	12.64"	53.61"	54.73"	35.24"	25.12"	17.17"	10.56"	8.55"	2.46"	-	-
% of Total rain occurring on days with >1"	22.5%	21%	24.5%	20%	14.5%	10.7%	9.5%	9.0%	10.0%	8.8%	0%	0%

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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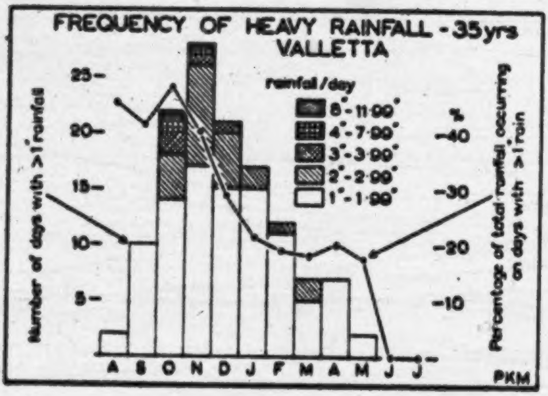

Fig. 11 Frequency of Heavy Rainfall - 35 yrs., Valletta.

*132 S. 1948 to date. Royal Naval Air Station, Hal Far. Ms. records kept at station, for two years, then sent to Director of Naval Weather Service.

114 T. 1956 to 1958. R.A.F. Station, ta'Kali, observations for most days maintained by Meteorological Office. Mss. at Meteorological Office, Luqa.

U. 1956 to date. At nine stations in Malta, autographic recording instruments have been established by the Water Department, who hold the mss.

V. 1957 to date. Autographic records for five Gozo stations. Water Department.

ANALYSES OF MALTESE RAINFALL

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DAILY RAINFALL.

The number of 'rain-days' within a particular period gives at best a very general idea of the distribution of rainfall within that period, since the amount of rain which falls in one rain-day is an extremely variable quantity. At the same time, figures for daily rainfall inevitably, on many occasions, either divide a period of continuous rain into separate parts or add together separate falls occurring within the same 24-hour period.

These deficiencies in the basic data must be borne in mind in the following examination of daily rainfall which is based on the Valletta rainfall record for the 35 years beginning with August 1901. Table 8 and Fig. 11 show the frequency, within that period, of days with 1.0 inches or more of rain, the occurrences of various totals being distinguished. Thus, for example, in the 35 Decembers from 1901 to 1935 inclusive there were 21 days with more than 1 inch of rain, of which six had more than 2 inches and one had more than 3 inches. The table and figure also indicate the proportion of the total rainfall of each month which occurred on days with 1 inch or more of rain. This is seen to be at its highest in the autumn months, falling off rapidly through the winter with a minor peak in spring. No rain-days with totals in excess of 1 inch were recorded in June or July during the period under review.

Thus heavy rain is most frequent in the earlier part of the rainfall year, though its frequency in August has been exaggerated by the occurrence of two particularly heavy downpours in that month in 1905 and 1929. The peak in October accords with the high variability already remarked upon for that month and is reflected in the wide divergence between mean and median amounts (see Fig. 7).

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The above data refer to Valletta, which lies in the drier, eastern part of the Island; the more rainy parts of the archipelago may be expected to show a higher frequency of heavy rain. This is confirmed by a comparison of data from seven stations in Malta (Table 9). Any given day's rainfall has been classified according to the maximum reading at any one of the seven stations. Even with this refinement, certain maxima have been missed including that of 16th October, 1913 (Fig. 12) when more than 15 inches fell at Vittoriosa while the reading for Valletta was only 11.57 inches.

Table 9. Frequency of maximum readings at selected stations on heavy rain days. 1910-1940.

	Floriana	Lija	Valletta	Żurrieq	Żejtun	Mdina	Naxxar	Total
Frequency	11	15	19	26	27½	51	62½	212
Per Cent.	5.2	7.1	9.0	12.3	13.0	24.0	29.4	100

During a 30-year period (1910-40) there were 212 days on which rainfall totalled 1 inch or more at one of the seven stations, an average of 7.1 per annum compared with only 2.7 for Valletta alone (1901-35). Only on 49 occasions, however, did rainfall exceed 1 inch at all seven stations, an average of 1.6 days per annum. Such data serve to illustrate the considerable regional variations which occur in the distribution of heavy rain in Malta, this phenomenon being, for example, much more common in the Naxxar and Mdina areas than in the eastern part of the Island. The distribution of heavy rainfall throughout the year differs little whether one examines the single station or seven station series (Table 10) but here again October stands out.

Table 10. Percentage frequency of heavy rain days.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Valletta 1901-02 to 1935-36	1.6	7.9	17.5	22.2	16.7	13.5	9.5	4.7	4.8	0.6	-	-	100
Seven Stations 1910 to 1940	0.9	8.0	10.8	23.1	18.9	13.7	10.8	7.1	4.2	1.4	0.5	0.5	100

An examination of daily rainfall records shows that mid-July is the driest period and is followed by a period of isolated but occasionally heavy showers which increase in intensity and frequency throughout the autumn months. Very heavy rainfall appears to be less common in January and February but there is a secondary maximum around the spring equinox followed by a decline during April, May and June. The most striking feature is undoubtedly the very great differences between individual years. Nevertheless, this, as all other evidence, picks out July as the truly dry month and for this reason the arbitrary break between years has, in the detailed analyses which follow, been imposed at the end of that month. The choice of August as the first month of the rain-year accords well with the traditional tenurial year, itself no doubt reflecting the passage of the seasons.

THE STRUCTURE OF INDIVIDUAL ANNUAL TOTALS

Variations in annual and monthly rainfall amounts are paralleled by great diversity in the composition of annual totals. The distribution of rainfall within any particular year, rather than the actual amount of rainfall, determines whether a year should be classified as 'dry' or 'wet'.

To illustrate this point, 12 years have been selected and their monthly totals

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

132 compared with the mean values The years chosen include four in which the annual total was exceptionally low, four in which it was extremely high and four in which it was close to the average amount.

Table 11. Percentage deviation from monthly means: dry years.

	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Year	Total Ins.
1845	-100	-86	-78	-70	-93	-4	-72	-36	-56	-90	+165	-100	-61	7.95
1855	-100	-100	-94	-35	-71	-52	-81	+102	-92	-100	-100	-100	-56	8.99
1866	-47	-91	+0.3	-29	-84	-83	-89	-55	-65	-100	-89	-100	-60	8.16
1947	-18	-90	-45	-76	-41	-69	-70	-49	+4	-79	+87	-100	-57	8.86
Mean Ins.	0.17	1.12	3.11	3.56	3.83	3.49	2.16	1.64	0.93	0.42	0.09	0.04	20.54	

Table 11 shows the percentage monthly deviation from the mean for the years 1845, 1855, 1866 and 1947. It will be observed that, in each case, there was a marked rainfall deficiency in November, December and January, normally the three wettest months of the year. Above-average falls in other months (e.g. March 1855, June 1845 and 1947) were not sufficient to bring the annual total back to a point near the mean. In the 116 years of the Valletta rainfall record there have been 15 cases in which the rainfall for November, December or January was 1 inch or less and in all but two of these years the annual amount was well below average. The exceptions were 1915, when December had only 0.75 inch but November and February recorded 7.61 inches and 6.85 inches respectively, and 1949, with 7.14 inches in October and 2.97 inches in February.

Table 12. Percentage deviation from monthly means: wet years.

	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Year	Total Ins.
1858	+53	-34	-31	+43	+228	+194	+80	+34	-33	+31	-100	+2,900	+92	39.36
1873	-100	-30	-25	+36	+234	+64	-34	+340	-76	-7	-100	+3,100	+79	36.93
1927	-100	-66	-89	-7	+75	+104	+134	+182	+205	-100	-100	-100	+48	30.37
1951	+194	+468	+643	-46	-47	-20	-35	-122	-67	-71	-100	-100	+87	38.46

Four exceptionally wet years are illustrated in Table 12. Here again it is the November-January rainfall which has the greatest effect on the annual totals, though 1951, with below-average amounts in these months and extremely high totals in September and October, provides an exception - the large deviations from the mean in July 1858 and 1873 represent actual falls of only 1.2 inches and 1.28 inches respectively and thus have little influence on the totals for those years.

Table 13. Percentage deviation from monthly means: average years.

	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Year	Total Ins.
1888	-100	-27	+33	-86	-65	+114	+9	+68	-52	-40	-100	-100	+2	20.84
1931	-100	-64	-45	-19	+0.5	-30	+108	+18	-125	-85	-222	-100	+2	20.92
1939	-70	+370	+76	-64	-51	+2	-53	-66	-1	+26	0	-100	+0.3	20.58
1952	-100	-61	-71	-23	-20	+53	-66	+172	+40	+138	+567	-80	+0.4	20.62

In Table 13, corresponding data are given for the four years whose totals are nearest to the mean. Even here, monthly amounts deviate widely from monthly averages, there being only five occasions on which this deviation was less than 10 per cent. 1939 and 1952 display the greatest variability, 1888 and 1931 the nearest approach to average conditions throughout the year.

Theoretically, it would be possible to classify the rainfall of every year in terms of lateness and earliness as well as dryness and wetness. In practice, the variation is so great that any such classification would obscure rather than clarify the picture. Nevertheless, two types of rainy season may be distinguished. One involves a long wet spell lasting two or three months, broken by short spells of dry weather, as in 1927-28 and 1928-29. Generally, this type consists of many days of moderate rainfall, though a few outbursts of heavy rain do occur. Periods of heavy rain are, however, more typical of the second type of rainy season, exemplified by 1911-12 and 1919-20, which consists of a series of short wet spells with relatively long dry periods between. In all years, the rains are broken by spells of dry, sunny and often warm weather which are of great importance to the farmer, most of whose ploughing and sowing must be executed in the wetter, winter months. Such fine spells are also not without significance to any proposed expansion of the tourist industry. [24L]

Emphasis has so far been laid on the extreme variability of the Maltese rainfall in time; in the following discussion of exceptionally heavy rainstorms, spatial variations are equally important.

STORM RAINFALL

The rainfall of the Maltese Islands is predominantly convectional, resulting from rising currents in turbulent air masses, the turbulence being the result of heating or of contact between masses of air at different temperatures. The orographic effect is also important. The presence of a land mass rising 800 feet out of the sea is sufficient to 'trigger off' precipitation in an air mass already unstable while, in summer, heating of the air above a lightly-coloured, dry, soil- and rock-covered surface will increase instability and encourage the development of thunderstorms.

The definition of 'storm rainfall' is necessarily subjective. Observation would suggest that a continuous fall amounting to 2 inches or more leads to significant run-off and physical damage and that such conditions are likely to occur on any day with 3 inches or more of rain. Accepting this definition, it follows that seven storms were recorded between 1901-02 and 1935-36.

Figures 12 and 13, illustrate two of these storms. In the first, eyewitness reports indicate that the rain continued for no longer than two hours, while the second, that of 22nd November, 1915, is described by Agius (22): 'A thunderstorm of exceptional intensity passed over the island in the early hours ... and the amount of rain registered was nearly equal to that recorded in another remarkable outburst ... some 40 years ago'. About the same time, there was much rain damage in Sicily, where 60 people lost their lives, and in Sardinia. During the period in which the number of rainfall stations was small, several major storms may have gone unrecorded, as would have been the case in one of the most recent, that of 12th October, 1957, had the Valletta record only (1.27 inches) been available. It is fortunate that the presence of one of the authors in Malta during the autumn of 1957 enabled him to study the storms of that period and their effects in some detail.

Early in August 1957, very localised rainfall caused some damage and flooding in the centre of the Island (23) but it was not until 22nd September that the first significant fall of the year took place at Valletta. Rain fell on several occasions in late September and early October and on 11th-13th October occurred some of the most violent storms of recent decades (Figs. 14 and 15).

During the 24 hours beginning at 0900 on 11th October, the heaviest falls occurred in the south-west of Malta. Figure 16 shows hourly rainfall at Miżieb and ta'Kandja where autographic records are available. The rainfall of the 11th/12th took place in three distinct phases, the first of which was barely felt at ta'Kandja, while at Miżieb the second phase was relatively unimportant. The sequence of events appears to have been as follows.

[Text continues on p. 66]

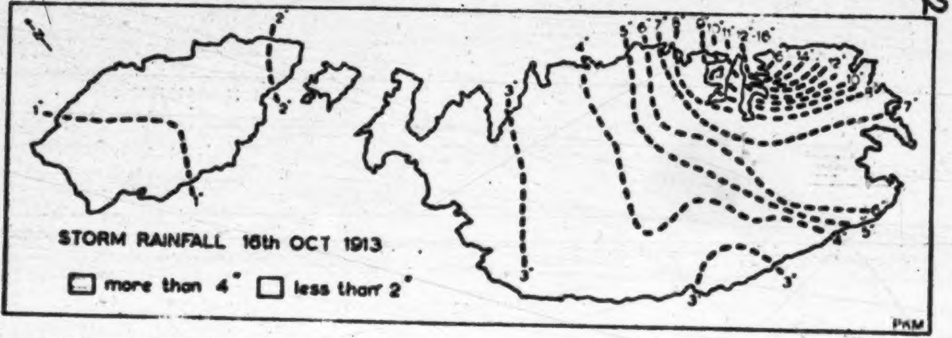
STORM RAINFALL 16th OCT 1913
▭ more than 4"
☐ less than 2"
1"
2"
3"
4"
5"
6"
7"
8"
9"
10"
11"
12"
14"
16"
PKM

Fig. 12 Storm Rainfall, Oct. 16th; 1913.

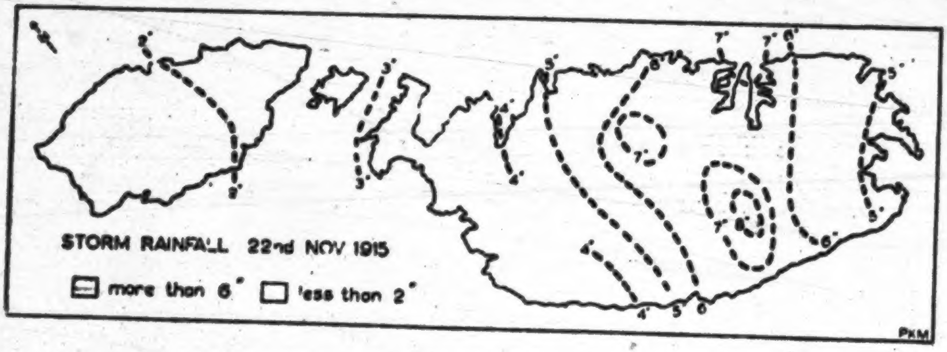
STORM RAINFALL 22nd NOV 1915
▭ more than 6"
☐ less than 2"
2"
3"
4"
5"
6"
7"
8"
PKM

Fig. 13 Storm Rainfall, Nov. 22nd, 1915.

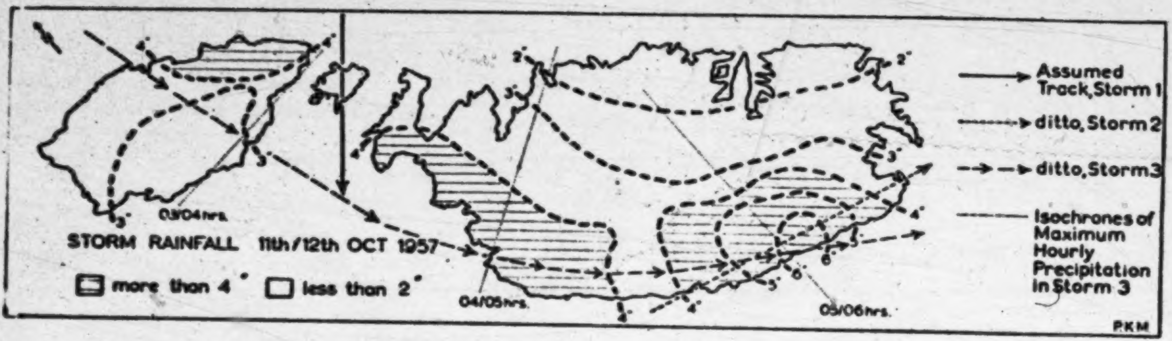
STORM RAINFALL 11th/12th OCT 1957
more than 4"
less than 2"
Assumed Track, Storm 1
ditto, Storm 2
ditto, Storm 3
Isochrones of Maximum Hourly Precipitation in Storm 3
03/04 hrs.
04/05 hrs.
05/06 hrs.
PKM

Fig. 14 Storm Rainfall, Oct. 11th/12th, 1957.

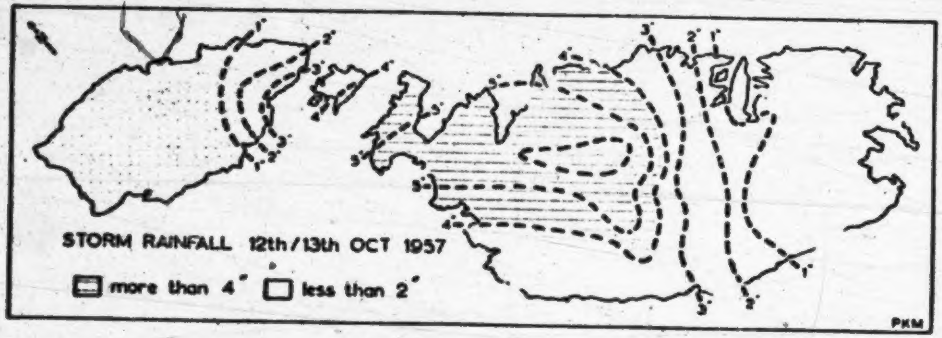
STORM RAINFALL 12th/13th OCT 1957
more than 4"
less than 2"
PKM

Fig. 15 Storm Rainfall, Oct. 12th/13th, 1957.

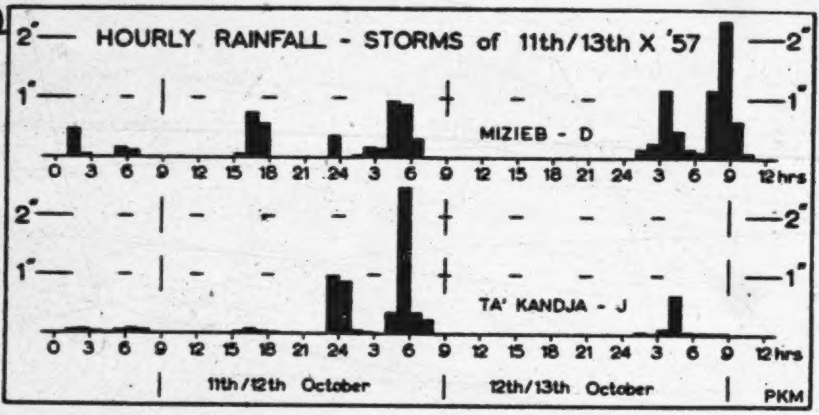

Fig. 16 Hourly Rainfall, Storms of 11th/13th, 1957.

A relatively minor storm centre, yielding 1.34 inches at Mi̇żieb, moved south-west through the Comino Channel between 1400 and 1900 hours, on the 11th. This brought rain to all parts of the Island though amounts were small in the south-east, where Pawla received only 0.22 inch in the five hours. At Mi̇żieb, closer to the storm centre, over 95 per cent. of the rain occurred within a two-hour period (1600-1800 hours). Some five hours later, a second storm passed from west to east across the extreme south of Malta giving rain for a little over three hours. More than 2 inches fell in the south (Wied Dalam 2.07 inches) but only 0.5 inch at Mi̇żieb. The third and most violent storm moved south across Central Gozo and along the western and southern sides of Malta, passing out to sea near Żurrieq. Between 0400 and 0800 hours, 3.45 inches fell at ta'Kandja, 2.48 inches of it between 0500 and 0600. This represents the maximum intensity of precipitation during the 24-hour period. Gozo appears to have received not more than 1.75 inches from this storm, which gave a steadily increasing amount of rain as it moved towards the south-east.

About 24 hours later, heavy rain again began to fall and was remarkably concentrated in northern Malta. Two periods of maximum intensity are apparent, the first being present at ta'Kandja, where total rainfall was relatively low (Fig. 16). It appears that a storm centre moved south over Mellieħa Bay to the Mosta area, causing general rain over the Islands from 0200 hours onwards. Mi̇żieb recorded 1.15 inches between 0300 and 0400 hours. Renewed activity began about 0500, giving maxima at Dingli, Wied il-Kbir and Wied Dalam. Movement of the storm centre was then reversed and rainfall intensity increased rapidly towards the north, giving 1.10 inches at Ghajn Qajjet between 0600 and 0700 hours, 2.90 inches at Naxxar between 0600 and 0800 hours, and 3.46 inches at Mi̇żieb between 0800 and 1000 hours. Rainfall in the Islands ceased early in the afternoon.

The contrasts between these two storms, occurring on successive days and yielding comparable rainfall intensities, warrant further investigation in which autographic rainfall recording will play an essential part.

Thus, many parts of the Islands received as much rain in 48 hours as they have, on occasions, received in the whole rainy season. In many areas, too, the rainfall of preceding days had already saturated the soil and filled the drainage channels. The effects of the storms of 11th-13th October are difficult to assess since they had been preceded by rains of moderate intensity and were followed by an abnormally wet period. Damage to autumn-planted potatoes, for example, 132* should be ascribed to the general wetness of the season rather than to these storms alone. A general picture of the damage can be obtained from the local press (24) but certain aspects, of interest to the hydrologist and agriculturalist alike, are worthy of elaboration here. The notes which follow are based largely on the experiences of the farmers themselves.

132* 241 731 There are some ways, perhaps, in which storms such as those of 11th-13th October, 1957, may be beneficial, in filling the rock-cut cisterns, in clearing debris from wied channels, in removing accumulated salts from irrigated land and in transporting soil from karstland on to the terraces below, but such benefits, affecting relatively few farmers, would be more than offset by damage to the crops and lands of a far greater number.

Several types of damage can occur in times of torrential rain. Plants are damaged by direct impact, walls weakened by saturation of soil between the stones, clay masses slide downhill. Run-off causes sheet and gully erosion of the soil, washes away dams, walls and roadways and removes growing plants from the ground. In valley floors and low-lying areas, dams are silted up and water courses overflow to flood the more level land.

Fortunately, there were few standing crops to be damaged. The small part of the grape crop remaining to be picked was completely destroyed but cauliflowers and tomatoes were little affected. In many cases, however, sulla seed which had germinated was washed away and October was too late for re-planting. In some cases, vetches were sown as a replacement crop but, where the soil remained so wet as to prevent later ploughing, no crop could be raised until the following winter. Some farmers made fortuitous gains: one, near Kirkop, harvested more than nine hmiel of sulla from a vine field on to which seed had been washed. In the Wied tal-Pwales, melons, stored in the open were washed out to sea.

Farmers with flat land draining a large catchment area suffered severely from flooding. Very late tomatoes, grown to exploit improved marketing conditions, together with much of the autumn-sown potato crop were lost or severely damaged. This was particularly the case in Bur Marrad, where floodwaters stood for several weeks, and in the Wied tal-Pwales. Violent run-off caused extensive damage in several areas, despite the traditional careful terracing of steep slopes. Though sheet erosion in places removed an inch or more of the topsoil, the greatest damage was caused by gullying. Figure 17 illustrates one such case. The group of fields shown here lies on a natural terrace formed by the Upper Globigerina overlain with Blue Clay, above St. Paul's Bay. The damage to these fields is a product of the rain falling within them, since they stand on a spur and were not affected by run-off from higher areas. Similar damage occurred in other sample areas of steep slopes, clay soils and maximum storm rainfall; at Mgarr, Rabat and Wied ta'l-Isqof. Fields lying in the path of storm drainage suffered damage of a different type as shown in Fig. 18. Retaining walls built across a valley floor were swept away owing to the absence of any sort of drainage channel. Similar instances were noted at Mellieha, Mgarr, St. Paul's Bay and Mqabba.

The worst damage naturally occurred in areas where steep slopes coincided with maximum rainfall intensity, i.e. in north and west Malta. Four hundred farmers submitted damage claims, of which 262 were accepted as warranting financial assistance. The latter group included 10 per cent of all registered farmers in the parishes of Mellieha, Mgarr, St. Paul's Bay and Rabat and just under 5 per cent, in Mosta and Gharghur. Damage in other parishes was not considered sufficient to merit assistance.

132* 311 It would appear that, in many parts of the Islands, a day's rain amounting to 3 inches is almost certain to lead to damage of the kinds indicated and since such rainfall occurs, in one area or another, at least once in every five years, more efficient drainage would appear desirable. There are, however, several conflicting factors to be taken into account. In drier years, the farmer wishes to limit drainage so as to obtain maximum soil moisture at the beginning of the dry season, while the hydrologist wishes to encourage percolation into subterranean aquifers (see p. 43). At the same time, valley floors, where damage is

[Text continues on p.69]

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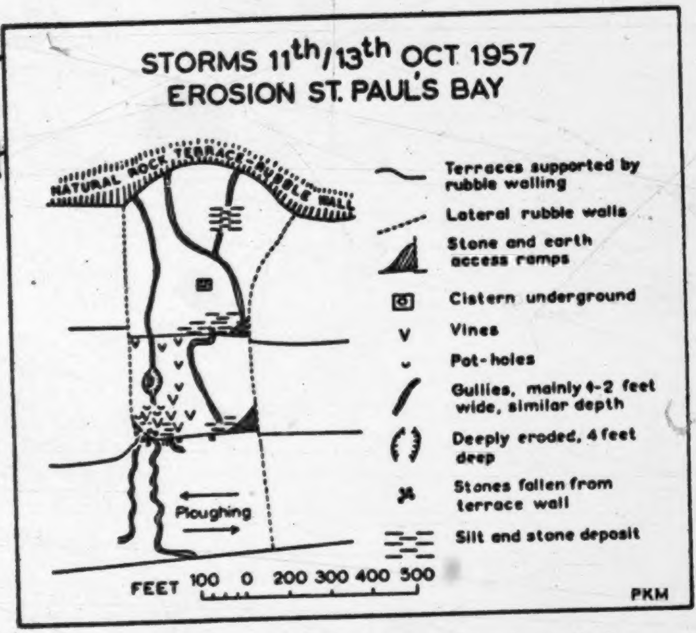
STORMS 11th/13th OCT. 1957
EROSION ST. PAUL'S BAY
NATURAL ROCK TERRACE - RUBBLE WALL
Ploughing
FEET 100 0 200 300 400 500
Terraces supported by rubble walling
Lateral rubble walls
Stone and earth access ramps
Cistern underground
Vines
Pot-holes
Gullies, mainly 1-2 feet wide, similar depth
Deeply eroded, 4 feet deep
Stones fallen from terrace wall
Silt and stone deposit
PKM

Fig. 17 Storms of 11th/13th Oct. 1957, Erosion, St. Paul's Bay.

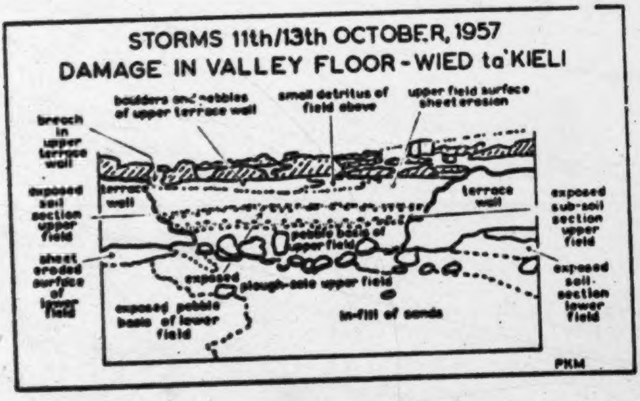
STORMS 11th/13th OCTOBER, 1957
DAMAGE IN VALLEY FLOOR - WIED ta'KIELI
boulders and pebbles of upper terrace wall
small detritus of field above
upper field surface sheet erosion
breach in upper terrace wall
exposed soil section upper field
terrace wall
terrace wall
exposed sub-soil section upper field
pebble basis of upper field
sheet eroded surface of lower field
exposed plough-sole upper field
exposed soil section lower field
exposed pebble basis of lower field
in-fill of sands
PKM

Fig. 18 Storms of 11th/13th Oct. 1957, Damage in Valley Floor, Wied ta' Kieli.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

likely to result from rapid run-off, are highly desirable for cultivation in most years because of their deeper soils and longer-lasting water tables. 132* [311]

Statistical analysis suggests that storms of the type described must be accepted as recurrent and normal and provision made to counter their effects. Damage to crops and lands might be considered as part of the normal cost of better yields in other years, though this raises questions of profit and loss accounting which have not so far been faced. Similarly, the conflicting interests of agriculture and water supply, referred to elsewhere in this book, must somehow be reconciled. Such problems must be considered against the fullest possible background of factual data.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RAINFALL

Two conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing analysis of storm rainfall, namely that there are marked regional variations in the distribution of rainfall from any one storm and that certain areas are more subject to storms than others. This would suggest that total precipitation might show a distinct regional pattern an idea borne out by analysis of records from a number of stations. Figure 19 is based on the Schools rain gauge records (Series II) and, although these cover a period of only 15 years, they accord well with the results of Agius's calculations based on records for a number of stations from 1901 to 1910.

Most of the Islands' rainfall is brought by north-westerly winds, the convectional effect being strengthened by orographic uplift along the steep north-western coasts of Malta and Gozo. The distributional pattern of Fig. 19 is a product of these factors. Maxima in Gozo of over 24 inches are recorded where the northern plateaux lie directly in the path of prevailing winds. In Comino and the extreme north of Malta there are indications of a slight rain-shadow effect. The upland areas south of Ghajn Tuffieha, together with the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills, give the highest rainfall amounts in Malta. In the lee of these hill masses distinct rain-shadow areas occur, with annual totals below 20 inches.

Valletta, lying in the drier, eastern part of Malta, had a mean annual rainfall of 21.94 inches for the period 1924-39. This is 1.4 inches or 7 per cent. greater than the average obtained from the 116-year record; thus the isohyetal values of Fig. 19 should be reduced by that amount to give a truer picture of long-term means.

DEWFALL

Dew is the only other form of precipitation to occur in the Maltese Islands but this has not been measured by modern methods. Zammit's figures (25) (Table 14) would appear to be much too high, presumably because his method involved the use of a metal collecting pan (26). [114]

Table 14. Zammit's measurements of Dewfall. Inches.

1854		1854		1854		1855	
April	0.75	July	0.81	October	0.79	January	0.24
May	0.62	August	0.30	November	0.34	February	0.56
June	1.12	September	0.78	December	0.16	March	0.08

Seasonal variations indicated by these figures are, however, reasonably reliable and it is interesting to note that 66 per cent. of Zammit's measured dewfall occurs in the period April-September inclusive, a seasonal rhythm similar to that observed by Duvdevani (27) on the Israeli littoral. The influence of dewfall on the growth of summer plants is obviously considerable and warrants investigation by more up-to-date methods.

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Table 15. Monthly rainfall - Valletta. Consolidated statistics.

(a) Totals by decades (in inches)

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Decade
1841-42/1850-51	0.36	1.36	10.30	15.89	31.72	33.06	46.77	20.56	15.87	9.40	6.10	1.08	192.47
1851-52/1860-61	1.25	1.44	5.59	23.45	45.56	41.74	41.07	20.80	20.98	10.31	3.66	0.30	216.15
1861-62/1870-71	0.45	2.26	3.03	36.28	30.60	30.38	29.92	16.73	18.97	12.41	2.37	0.73	194.13
1871-72/1880-81	1.28	1.09	18.61	35.93	35.47	45.40	31.16	19.32	20.87	4.93	3.05	0.57	217.68
1881-82/1890-91	-	0.78	7.51	29.55	28.57	43.66	36.16	22.86	11.84	5.83	3.15	1.21	191.12
1891-92/1900-01	0.47	0.43	8.75	26.24	35.84	45.32	35.11	19.21	11.20	13.76	8.47	1.30	206.10
1901-02/1910-11	0.57	1.88	13.30	49.58	33.70	40.75	33.06	25.42	12.27	9.33	2.97	0.55	223.38
1911-12/1920-21	-	0.85	13.02	29.23	49.89	19.20	25.91	23.18	17.47	11.45	4.12	2.11	196.43
1921-22/1930-31	0.02	1.50	9.76	19.85	35.78	41.76	37.54	30.76	20.43	9.55	4.58	0.41	211.75
1931-32/1940-41	0.05	1.21	13.42	24.50	34.92	43.19	35.75	23.80	13.62	7.74	5.11	0.77	204.08
1941-42/1950-51	0.01	3.82	3.04	28.04	29.78	41.99	30.76	17.01	16.47	4.99	3.19	0.22	179.32
1951-52/						Incomplete							

(b) Mean monthly rainfall, 116-years record.

A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Year
0.17	1.12	3.11	3.56	3.83	3.49	2.16	1.64	0.93	0.42	0.09	0.04	20.54

(c) Cumulative percentile values (rainfall in inches). 116-years record.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Year
0%	-	-	-	0.11	0.26	0.36	-	0.01	-	-	-	-	7.95
10%	-	-	0.41	1.23	1.06	1.20	0.44	0.29	0.12	-	-	-	13.95
20%	-	0.05	0.90	1.65	1.68	1.78	0.83	0.56	0.20	-	-	-	16.44
30%	-	0.21	1.24	2.26	2.22	2.19	1.12	0.79	0.31	0.05	-	-	17.45
40%	-	0.38	1.75	2.86	2.71	2.80	1.42	0.98	0.43	0.13	-	-	18.49
50%	-	0.62	2.21	3.31	3.39	3.24	1.74	1.21	0.58	0.26	-	-	19.87
60%	0.02	1.05	2.88	3.63	3.88	3.64	2.14	1.54	0.90	0.37	0.02	-	21.78
70%	0.08	1.42	3.33	4.36	4.66	4.27	2.46	2.09	1.18	0.53	0.05	-	23.82
80%	0.20	1.92	4.38	5.09	5.89	4.95	3.16	2.54	1.50	0.74	0.13	-	24.64
90%	0.55	2.47	6.08	6.46	7.02	6.06	4.11	3.45	2.30	1.33	0.23	0.04	25.73
100%	2.51	7.82	23.08	12.87	12.79	10.26	7.21	7.18	4.25	3.23	1.36	1.28	39.36

(d) Median, Quartiles, Inter-quartile range. 116-years record.

Median	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Year
Median	-	0.62	2.21	3.31	3.39	3.24	1.74	1.21	0.58	0.26	-	-	19.87
Upper Quartile	0.15	1.60	4.15	4.67	5.32	4.80	2.99	2.35	1.30	0.61	0.09	-	24.36
Lower Quartile	-	0.08	1.17	1.82	1.96	1.95	1.04	0.72	0.28	0.04	-	-	17.21
Inter Quartile Range	0.15	1.52	2.98	2.85	3.36	2.85	1.95	1.63	1.02	0.57	0.09	-	7.15

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(e) Frequency of rainless months. 116-years record.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J
Per Cent.	88	16	2	-	-	-	2	-	2	21	55	73

(f) Mean rainfall days. 35-years record.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J
Rainless	30.2	26.4	23.4	18.4	18.1	19.1	17.1	23.1	25.5	28.8	28.8	30.8
0-0.99"	0.7	3.3	7.0	10.8	12.3	11.4	10.6	7.8	4.3	2.2	1.2	0.2
1-1.99"	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	-	-
2-2.99"	-	-	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.03	0.1	-	-	-	-
3-3.99"	-	-	0.1	0.03	0.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4-5.99"	-	-	0.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6-7.99"	-	-	-	0.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 -11.99"	-	-	0.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Raindays	0.8	3.6	7.8	11.7	12.8	11.9	10.9	7.9	4.5	2.3	1.2	0.2

(g) Percentage of total rainfall falling on days with 1 inch or more. 35 years.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J
Per Cent.	22.5	21.0	24.5	20.0	14.5	10.7	9.5	9.0	10.0	8.8	0.0	0.0

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

(h) Percentage of all raindays having 1 inch or more. 35 years.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J
Per Cent.	7.4	7.9	8.2	6.9	4.6	4.1	3.1	2.2	3.8	2.5	0.0	0.0

(i) Monthly distribution of all raindays with 1 inch or more. 35 years.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Year
Per Cent.	1.6	7.9	17.5	22.2	16.7	13.5	9.5	.4.7	4.2	0.6	0.0	0.0	100

(j) Variability coefficients of monthly rainfall. 116 and 35 years.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J
Method 1. 116 yr.		255	134	86	99	90	112	135	176	219	∝	-
Method 2. 35 yr.	207	73	84	51	68	54	68	87	65	113	240	350

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

EVAPORATION AND EVAPO-TRANSPIRATION

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In the foregoing pages, attention has been drawn to the great variety of rainfall conditions in the Maltese Islands and an attempt has been made to assess the character of 'wet' and 'dry' years and seasons. Such terms, however, can never be absolute in terms of rainfall amount, since 'wetness' and 'dryness' are the product of a variety of factors including run-off, percolation, sub-surface drainage and soil-moisture conditions which, together with evaporation, all play their part in determining the effectiveness of a given amount of rainfall.

Little attention has been paid to the measurement of evaporation in Malta though some early work was done by Zammit (28) during 1845 and 1855 and at the University Observatory in 1878 (29). However, the results, as tabulated in Table 15, are far from satisfactory. No other records of evaporation in the Maltese Islands are available and Mitchell's field experiments in 1957-58 break practically untrodden ground.

Table 16. Open Water Evaporation in Inches.
Zammit's and University Measurements.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Zammit 1854/55	8.0	7.7	4.4	2.3	1.7	1.7	2.3	2.1	5.0	6.0	9.6	10.6	61.5
University 1878	10.4	7.8	6.0	5.3	4.6	3.6	3.8	6.5	6.8	10.0	11.6	12.8	89.2

The early experiments referred to above were concerned with evaporation from an open water surface. From the agricultural point of view, evapo-transpiration from soil with a vegetation cover is of much greater significance. If a plant cover is provided with an adequate moisture supply, it will transpire at the greatest possible rate and the water given off in this way will be taken into the surrounding air at the potential rate of evapo-transpiration for the particular plant under the weather conditions prevailing at the time. Thornethwaite (30) and Penman (31) have indicated that the study of potential evapo-transpiration through a grass-covered surface yields results which may be applied under a wide range of conditions and which provide basic data for controlled irrigation development.

As a first stage in the study of the water balance in the Maltese Islands, two potential evapo-transpirometers were installed during the early summer of 1957, the design and operation of the instruments being based on the practice of the U.K. Nature Conservancy (32) and on techniques developed and tested at Seabrook, NewJersey (33) and Ibadan, Nigeria (34). The sites chosen were at ta'Qali Pumping Station and at the Royal Naval Air Station, Hal Far (respectively the sites marked H, in the centre of the Island, and S in the south-west in Fig. 9). The local environments of these sites are sufficiently dissimilar to give a fair indication of the possible range of conditions in Malta. It is hoped that this pilot scheme will be developed by the installation of other instruments in various parts of the Islands.

It was found necessary to make adjustments to the crude data obtained from the ta'Qali and Hal Far. The methods used, together with the installations themselves and their sites, are fully described elsewhere (35). The adjusted monthly data are given at Table 17 and Fig. 20.

Table 17. Values of monthly potential evapo-transpiration from field-tank observations 1957-58. (Adjusted.)
Expressed in rainfall equivalent (inches).

		A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
ta'Qali	1956-57									4.1	5.0	4.9	6.5	
	1957-58	8.0	4.1	3.2	2.0	2.3	1.6	1.3	2.7	2.4	3.8	4.9	5.0	41.2
	1958-59	5.8												
Hal Far	1956-57									4.6	6.0	5.4	6.5	
	1957-58	8.3	6.8	4.8	5.4	3.1	2.5	3.0	3.2	3.9	6.3	6.5	7.0	60.9

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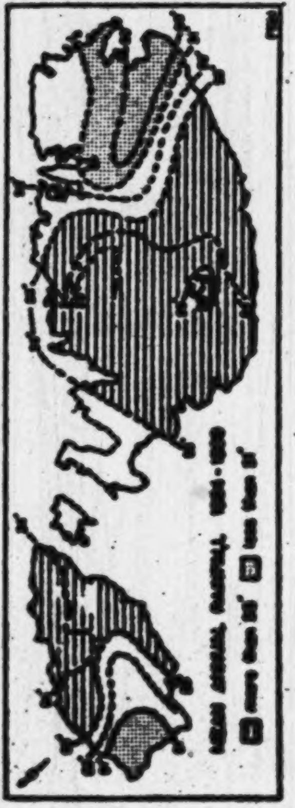
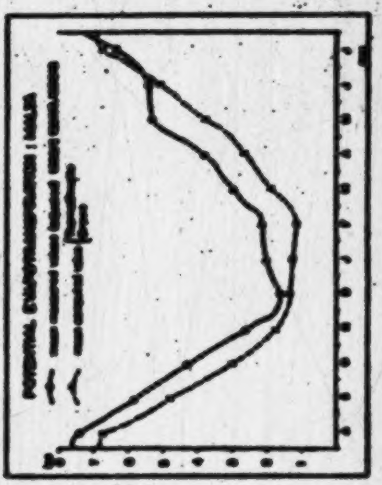
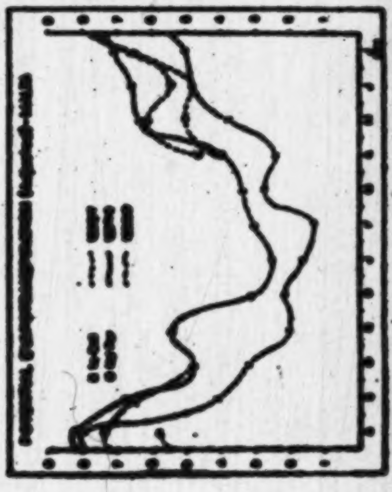

MEAN ANNUAL RAINFALL 1954-1958
more than 22"
less than 21"

Fig. 10 Mean Annual Rainfall, 1954-58.





1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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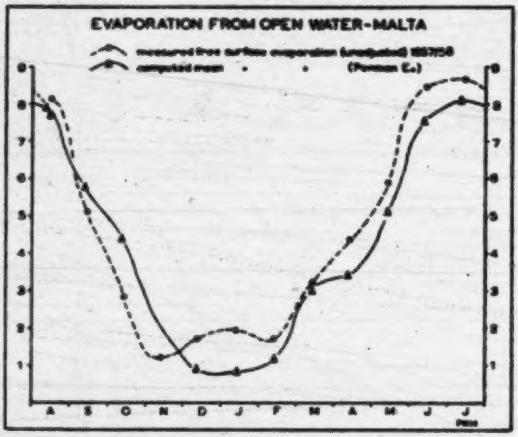
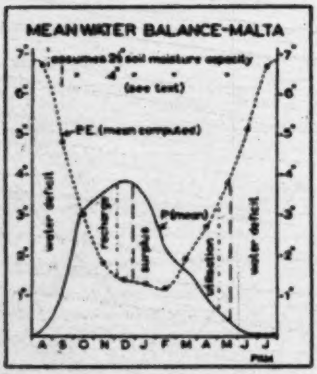


Fig. 22 Evaporation from open water, Malta.



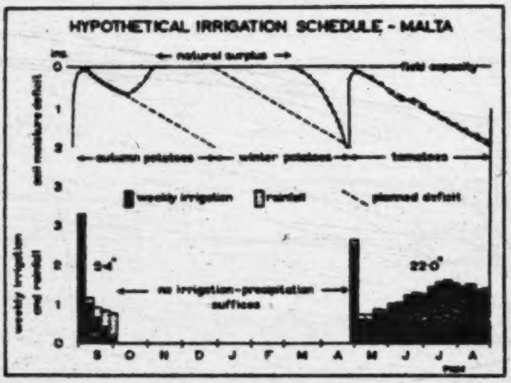


Fig. 23 Mean Water Balance, Malta.

Fig. 24 Hypothetical Irrigation Schedule, Malta.

Despite the considerable differences in the two totals for the full year 1957-58 which may largely be explained by differences in the exposure of the two instruments, the broad trend of potential evapo-transpiration is clearly evident (Fig. 20). The maximum occurs in August when the rate approaches a quarter-inch per day and falls off rapidly to a minimum of about 0.05 inch in December, thence rising slowly, and somewhat irregularly, to the August peak. Certain of the monthly figures appear inaccurate. May and June 1957 would seem to be too high and too low respectively. Settling of the soil may be responsible for the irregularity of these early values but can hardly explain a similar pattern in 1958. Difficulties experienced in maintaining a vegetation cover may be a further factor in distorting the values for these months. The high November reading at Hal Far is almost certainly due to the 'bushy' vegetation at the time. 132* 312

Thornethwaite (36), Penman (37) and Crowe (38) have produced formulae for the calculation of P.E. from standard meteorological data. The application of these formulae to mean monthly data for Malta is shown in Table 18. Comparison with the ta'Qali and Hal Far figures is encouraging (Fig. 21). A further comparison is made in Fig. 22 between mean values computed according to Penman's formula for evaporation from an open water surface and the results of observations at the ta'Qali free surface evaporation tank, kindly made available by the Senior Water Engineer. Again, the two curves are tolerably close.

Table 18. Computed mean monthly evapo-transpiration, Inches.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Thornethwaite, P.F.	6.2	4.7	3.4	1.9	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.4	2.1	3.2	4.7	6.4	37.3
Crowe, P.E.	7.1	4.8	2.6	1.7	1.4	1.5	1.4	2.4	3.3	4.4	5.4	7.0	43.0
Penman, Fo.*	8.0	5.9	4.5	2.3	1.0	1.0	1.3	3.1	3.5	5.2	7.6	8.1	51.5

*Evaporation from open water.

It seems probable that Zammit's figures, appropriately adjusted, would provide reasonably correct results. The University data, however, are excessive owing to deficiencies in the apparatus (the pan was only 2 inches deep and back radiation from its base would have heated the water and speeded up its evaporation). The low August values of these early readings may well be related to this insolation effect, since their rhythm is more closely linked with insolation than with air temperature. It is the latter which normally controls deep water evaporation and potential evaporation, though, as Penman points out (39), atmospheric humidity, wind and insolation are also significant. [114]

Clearly, further work is necessary before any final conclusions can be drawn. Observations made so far must be regarded as preliminary, though the results are sufficiently consistent to justify the following statements on the 'water balance' of the Maltese Islands.

THE WATER BALANCE OF THE MALTESE CLIMATE

The water balance is essentially the relationship between water requirements as expressed by potential evapo-transpiration (P.E.) rates and the availability of water from precipitation. Table 19 gives mean monthly values of P.E., computed according to the methods suggested by Thornethwaite and Crowe (40).

Table 19. Crude water balance - Malta. Inches.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Precipitation	0.2	1.1	3.1	3.6	3.8	3.5	2.2	1.6	0.9	0.4	0.1	0	20.5
Potential evapo-transpiration	6.7	4.8	3.0	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.9	2.7	3.8	5.1	6.7	40.1
Moisture surplus			0.1	1.8	2.4	2.2	1.0						7.5
Moisture deficiency	6.5	3.7						0.3	1.8	3.4	5.0	6.7	19.6

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

*132 134 312 The figures show that annual P.E. exceeds annual precipitation by nearly 100 per cent., a moisture surplus of 7.5 inches for the months of October to February inclusive being more than offset by a moisture deficiency of 19.6 inches, almost as great as the average rainfall, in the remaining seven months of the year. In practical terms this means that the maintenance of a herbaceous vegetation cover throughout the year would require a water supply equivalent to 40.1 inches of rainfall distributed according to the monthly P.E. values. Rainfall itself supplies only half this amount and the remainder must come from other sources as, for example, when irrigation is applied. In the latter case, water is brought in from elsewhere, during the limited growing season of cultivated plants, to supplement the supply from precipitation. However, the position is less simple than suggested by the foregoing statement. Application of water at the required rate can damage the soil by preventing proper aeration and may also cause disease in the growing crop. On the other hand, if the total amount of water supplied to a crop falls below the cumulative P.E. rate of the growing season by more than an inch or two, then full growth of the plant is prevented. Furthermore, surplus moisture will be stored in the soil from the wetter months to augment the supply in months of rainfall deficiency, the extent to which this takes place being dependent on such factors as type and depth of soil and the nature of the crop itself. Thornethwaite (41) has shown that, in humid areas, the majority of crops can only abstract 4 inches of water from the soil in this way but such a generalisation cannot apply to many of Malta's extremely thin soils, which are physically incapable of retaining so much water. The moisture-holding capacity of the soil is also significant in relation to run-off which will only occur once that capacity has been exceeded.

134 312 There are as yet, no data on the moisture-holding capacity of Maltese soils. In the computations which follow (Table 20), three values have been assumed - 2½ inches, 4 inches and 6 inches - of which the intermediate is the most likely average. These fuller figures give a truer picture of the water balance than that available from the moisture surplus and deficiency data of Table 19.

It will be observed that the whole moisture surplus of October and November is absorbed in soil moisture recharge, that is in the replacement of moisture removed from the soil during the dry summer months and that it is not until December that an actual water surplus occurs and that there are, in fact, only three months with such a surplus (two in soils with 6 inches storage capacity), which will be expressed in direct run-off and in percolation into the water table.

On the assumption made in the computation of Table 20 that evapotranspiration will take place at the full potential rate so long as there is any moisture stored in the soil it will be seen that the length of the growing season depends on soil moisture storage capacity. Thus, at the 2½ inches level, full plant growth is possible from October to early May (Fig. 23), at the 4 inches level, the season is extended by some two weeks and, at the 6 inches level, it would continue into early June. Water surplus also varies with soil character; so does the date at which significant run-off begins.

If the average soil moisture storage capacity is assumed to be 4 inches, December-February water surplus is seen to be 3.5 inches. Since this is based on the Valletta rainfall data it would be wise to raise this figure to 4.2 inches for the Islands as a whole (see p 75). Making the further (erroneous) assumption that the land surface is completely covered with soil, the total available water, including both percolation and run-off, would be some 7,000 million gallons. We have already seen (p. 45) that some 2,000 million gallons are used for irrigation and a further 2,400 million in the public water supply. If it is further recalled that a good deal of the precipitation is lost by direct run-off or by sub-surface percolation into the sea (p. 43) it will be realised that the 'water balance' is in fact in a precarious state of unbalance.

There are several implications here for the agriculturalist. In the first place, there is little prospect of obtaining additional water for irrigation purposes in years of average rainfall. Secondly, it is essential that excessive amounts of irrigation water should never be applied. Some indication of irrigation requirements may be obtained from P.E. data and an attempt has been made (Fig. 24)

Table 20. Water balance - Malta. Inches.
Assuming soil storage capacities of 2½ inches, 4 inches and 6 inches.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Moisture surplus			0.1	1.8	2.4	2.2	1.0						—
Moisture deficiency	6.5	3.7						0.3	1.6	3.4	4.0	6.7	19.6

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Soil storage capacity 2½ inches

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Soil m. recharge			0.1	1.8	0.6								2.5
Water surplus					1.8	2.2	1.0						5.0
Soil m. utilisation								0.3	1.6	0.6			2.5
Deficiency	6.5	3.7								2.8	5.0	6.7	
Soil moisture deficit	2.5	7.5	2.4	0.6	0	0	0	0.3	1.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	

Soil storage capacity 4 inches

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
S.M.R.			0.1	1.8	2.1								4.0
W.S.					0.3	2.2	1.0						3.5
S.M.U.								0.3	1.6	2.1			4.0
D	6.5	3.7								1.3	5.0	6.7	
S.M.D.	4.0	4.0	3.9	2.1	0	0	0	0.3	1.9	4.0	4.0	4.0	

Soil storage capacity 6 inches

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
S.M.R.			0.1	1.8	2.4	1.7							6.0
W.S.						0.5	1.0						1.5
S.M.U.								0.3	1.6	3.4	0.7		6.0
D	6.5	3.7									4.3	6.7	
S.M.D.	6.0	6.0	5.9	4.1	1.7	0	0	0.3	1.9	5.3	6.0	6.0	

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to prepare an irrigation schedule on the basis of the figures discussed in this chapter. The schedule is for a field in which potatoes, sown in September, are followed by further potato plantings in January and by the setting-out of tomatoes in late April. Regular P.E., rainfall and irrigation are assumed and soil moisture deficit of 2 inches at the end of each crop's growth is permitted (a figure allowed for shallow-rooted crops in U.K. Ministry of Agriculture experiments). The schedule indicates a maximum irrigation of 3.2 inches in the week of planting first-crop potatoes (when soil moisture deficit must be restored) and a similar amount is applied to the young tomatoes. The potatoes require less irrigation in subsequent weeks when soil moisture is near capacity and rainfall is increasing while P.E. is falling. A total of 5.4 inches of irrigation is required by this crop. Winter-sown potatoes need no irrigation but they deplete soil moisture reserves which must be restored when tomatoes are planted. During the growing season of the latter crop, soil moisture is allowed to decline but P.E. is increasing and irrigation rates rise from 0.6 inch per week in early May to 1.5 inches in July, the latter being equivalent to 9,450 gallons per tomna. The tomato crop requires a total of 22 inches.

It must be emphasised that this schedule is based on average conditions and on an even distribution of rainfall within each month, conditions which rarely, if ever, occur. The method, however, might be more profitably applied on the basis of P.E. rates, rainfall and precise planting dates in particular seasons. When more information on P.E. rates in Malta becomes available, experiments in the application of the water balance technique to the problem of irrigation might well show a profit in a more efficient use of water supplies.

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5   (1955-1958)   1961
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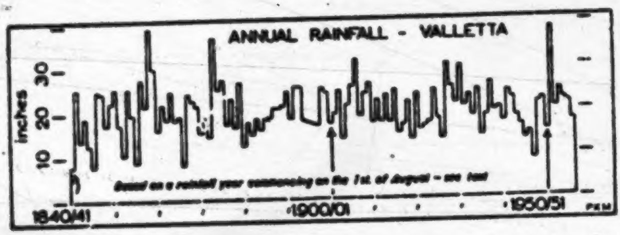
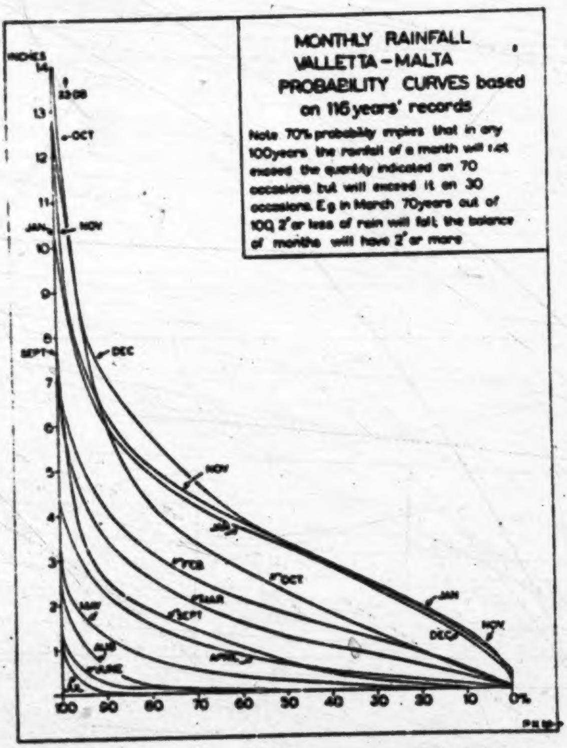


Fig. 25   Annual Rainfall, Valletta 1840-1957.



Note 70% probability implies that in any 100 years the rainfall of a month will not exceed the quantity indicated on 70 occasions but will exceed it on 30 occasions. E.g. in March 70 years out of 100, 2" or less of rain will fall, the balance of months will have 2" or more

Fig. 26   Probability Curves, Monthly Rainfall, Valletta.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE MOISTURE REGIME OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS

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The Maltese climate provides more moisture at the season when there is least demand for it, that is when the rate of plant growth is at its slowest. Conversely, when the potential for plant growth is highest, natural moisture is almost completely absent. Though winter temperature conditions allow the growth of a wide range of crops, some of the most valuable, e.g. tomatoes, would be unlikely to survive the winter season. Thus there have developed a number of types of crop management.

(1) Rain-fed crops are (a) planted before the onset of the autumn rains and watered artificially until adequate natural moisture is available, or (b) are sown mid-way through the rainy season when soil moisture is at a maximum. In all but the driest years, watering is unnecessary though, if applied, it can lead to higher yields.
(2) Crops dependent on soil moisture are generally planted late in the rainy season, when rainfall alone would be inadequate for their support. Land used in this way has generally been left fallow during the winter and repeatedly ploughed, thus keeping weeds down and reducing water loss from the bare soil. Even in average years, however, soil moisture will only support plant growth for a month or two and summer watering would be valuable but is not always possible.
(3) In irrigated areas, three crops a year are possible all depending to some extent on 'imported' water to supplement rainfall and soil moisture supplies. Areas in which this is possible, however efficient the methods used, are inevitably limited in extent.

Husbandry is largely controlled by considerations of this sort. Shallow ploughing is impossible until the onset of the rains has weakened hard surface crusts but is also difficult if the soil becomes excessively wet. The farmer thus hopes to cultivate and sow during the November dry spell (the Sajf ta 'San Martin) which often follows earlier rains. In all but a few years, this traditionally hoped for dry period does in fact occur.

Ploughing is also carried out on a large scale in high summer when deep cultivation, with manuring, is carried out every fourth year. There seems to be no particular reason why this should be done in the summer months except that it is then that a large labour force is available. With mechanisation, labour supply is no longer a controlling factor but the practice persists. Certainly the movement of tractors and heavy ploughs about the countryside is most easy when the bulk of the land is fallow. The danger here is that deep-ploughed land may suffer soil erosion if there is an early onset of really heavy rain.

The timing and violence of the onset of the wet period are very uncertain. Generally the farmer aims at conservation of the early rains and does all he can to reduce run-off and to assist soil moisture recharge. If the autumn is wet, however, as in 1957, saturation of the soil and serious gullying may result from such traditional activities as the diversion of water from roads to fields by the construction of temporary earth dams and channels. A long term forecast of autumn weather would, if feasible, be of great value.

In the summer months, plant growth is often slow as a result of moisture deficiencies but there are obvious compensations. The ripening of vines continues unhindered, though the grapes may be damaged before harvest by early heavy showers. In spring and early summer, grains and legumes ripen and dry with little interruption.

There can be little doubt that current Maltese farming practices are adjusted to average conditions. It is the frequent occurrence of 'non-average' seasons which causes most damage (Figs. 25 and 26). Flexibility to cope with departures from mean conditions must be a major consideration in any plans for agricultural development.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Chapter III

EDAPHIC AND ECOLOGICAL

A. Soils of Malta and Gozo (Fig. 27)

* D. M. LANG, Ph.D.

FACTORS OF SOIL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MALTESE ISLANDS

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Soil is a commonplace which everyone recognises but few would attempt to define or even describe. Joffe (1949) defines soil as 'a natural body of mineral and organic constituents usually unconsolidated, differentiated into horizons, of variable depth, which differs from the material below in morphology, physical make-up, chemical properties and composition and biological characteristics'. This definition, like many others, does not satisfy everyone. It does not emphasise, for example, that the soil is continually changing because the plants which grow in it and the active myriads of the soil microfauna whose home it is, cause changes in its characteristics. However, to include this and many other concepts which it might be desirable to use would require a long time and a lot of paper, because soil is essentially very complex.

There are, according to Dokuchaeff, five factors involved in the development of soil, and of these probably three, parent material, climate and time, are fundamental in the production of the soils of Malta. Topography, the fourth factor, is largely dependent on the first three, since landscape is largely moulded by erosion and deposition related to the parent structure, process and time. Biological influences, the fifth factor, despite the activity of plants and animals, is presently dominated by man's work, the effects of which are secondary, producing modifications of the existing patterns, but nonetheless sometimes profound.

TIME

Maltese soils are all rather young or immature since pedological processes are slow in calcareous soils like these, particularly where acidic drainage water is very limited in quantity. Certain soils, for example, the red brown clays of the Terra group (p. 92) are believed to have formed largely under the influence of processes which have been superseded. Under a changed climate the new very slow processes have so far produced little change in the soil profile. It is a relic of the old process and thus the soils are, in a sense, relic soils, but at the same time very immature (young) soils under the new climate, because the new process has produced so little change.

In the San Biagio series, very young, man-made, carbonate raw soils (p. 87) dating only from when they were mined from the rock, are found in front of undermined terrace backwalls. Only a few yards away much older soils are developed from the same parent rock, and they are xerorendzinas (p. 90). While the raw soil has been subjected to natural processes for less than 50 years, the xerorendzina has been developing over several hundred years. Thus time is an important factor in the soil's development.

CLIMATE

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The climate of Malta and Gozo, is a good example of the Mediterranean type. It consists of hot dry summers, having a high rate of evaporation and no rain, warm and showery autumns normally with a rainfall deficit, short cool winters with enough rainfall for agriculture in most years, but leaving insufficient reserve in the soil to combat the warm drying springs again having a rainfall deficit. The variation on sites of the same type is obviously small, but between deep-set valleys, north-facing scarp slopes and the main open plateaux or south-facing slopes there are often wellmarked differences in vegetation, both weeds and crops. The difference is striking because of the difference in insolation, and

[Text continues on P.85]

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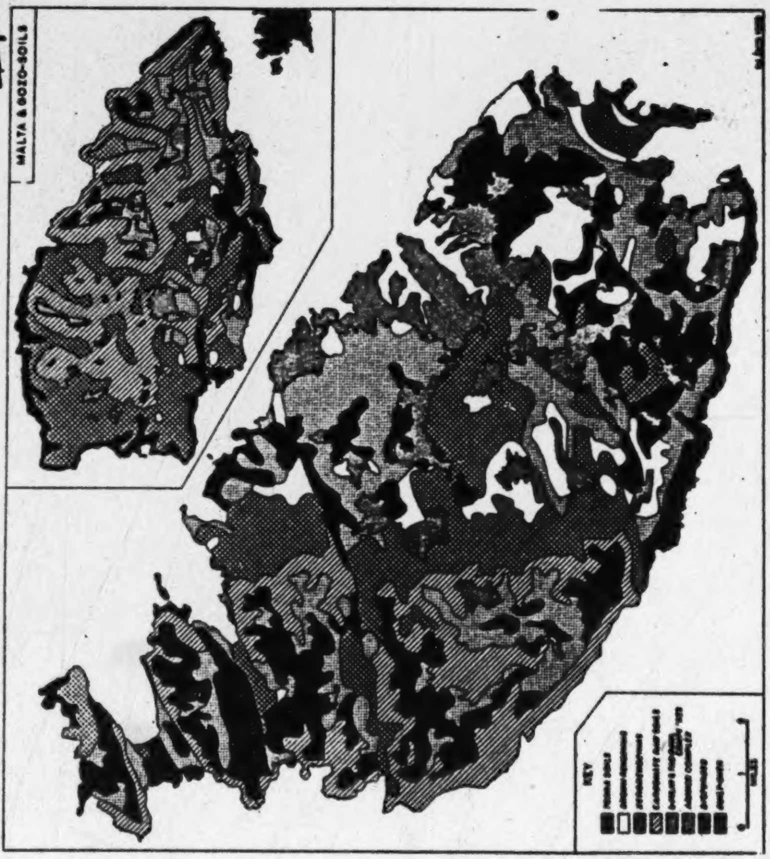
MALTA & GOZO-SOILS
KEY
TERRA SOILS
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
MILES

Fig. 27 Soils of Malta and Gozo.

132 134 thus of surface temperature regime. However, soil profiles show virtually no difference between different sites, and it is only in exceptionally wet locations that the normal pattern of aridity is sufficiently overcome to allow the development of noticeable humus horizons.

In the past there have been broad oscillations of climate responsible for the production at different times of widely differing soil materials such as the 'red soil' (red brown Terra clays), stoney calcareous debris and aeolian sands which are now the materials parent to the present soil. The present climate, however, is not a leaching climate.

This uniformly arid climate is in strong contrast with that of some other latitudes, for example, that of Britain, and suggests itself as the reason for the restricted range of soils found in Malta and Gozo.

PARENT MATERIAL

133 134 The rocks which are ancestors to the soils are all closely similar in type chemically, and only moderately variable in physical characteristics. Thus only a limited range of soil types is to be expected. However, the massive, well-jointed limestones have developed karst landscapes because they favour percolation and solution more than do the porous but nearly impervious finer-textured limestones. On the karstlands the red brown Terra clays have developed on almost completely de-calcified residues from the limestone, but on the other landscapes there has been a minimum of decalcification, and the soils are very like the rocks from which they have been formed. Thus, the composition of the impurities in the limestones from which they were originally weathered mainly decides the nature of the Terra soils (although inblown calcite has increased their calcium carbonate content). Similarly the texture and detailed composition of the carbonate raw soils and xerorendzinas is closely dependent on the parent material. The parent material type is therefore important for Maltese soils because it partly determines what pedological processes can take place and especially because the processes taking place now have little effect.

TOPOGRAPHY

Topography generally influences the development of the soil in a variety of ways, and chiefly through modifications of climate, variable conditions of drainage and effects on erosion and transportation processes. It has been noted that in Malta and Gozo the variations of topography produce sites with very different insolation conditions, but the effect on soil processes is negligible. It is only in the extremely freely-drained conditions of some hill tops, where lime crust yermas are simulated on parent materials of fine sandy loam texture that the effect of topography on drainage conditions can be thought to be sufficient to produce soil modifications. Flooding with sea water may be attributed to topography, and in the Alcol series at Salinas, for example, slight salinity is the result.

The effect of topography on erosion, transportation and deposition is more noticeable. Under former cooler climatic conditions, solifluction took place, and under the present conditions sheet or gully erosion occurs during the violent showers of late autumn. The result is that there are strikingly different eroded and alluvial phases of the same soil series in some locations. On the Blue Clay soils the alluvial, light clay type is more favourable to agriculture than the eroded heavy clay type which is in patches alkaline or saline-alkaline.

BIOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

134 311 Apart from man's activities, biotic factors are of relatively small importance in the soils. Humus horizons are only developed under well grown and long undisturbed vegetation, which is very rare. The organic-matter deficient humus forms of the surface horizons of the cultivated soils can only be seen easily under the microscope, and the soil fauna seems to be very limited in numbers.

The modifications of the soil pattern produced by man are, on the other hand most profound. Apart from the large area of Malta which has been covered by human habitations, factories, airfields and military installations, where the

134 soil has been bulldozed or covered up and is unrecognisable, the pattern of soils in the agricultural land has been changed.

311 Firstly, nearly all the land in Gozo and most of the land in Malta has been terraced, on slopes so steep that the terraces must be very narrow, with very high retaining walls. The backwalls of the terrace are often cut into the solid rock and the resulting rockflour mixed with the soil material, while the floor of the terrace is quarried and made flat and then covered with rubble before the soil material is replaced on it.

Terracing of this type is very widespread on the cultivated areas except on alluvial parent materials, and gives rise in the karst lands to a complex of soils described as l-Iklin complex, ranging from carbonate raw soils to Terra-like soils, dependent on the amount of rockflour and rubble added to the original Terra soils during terracing.

Where quarries have been dug, the soil has been replaced in a similar way, with added rubble, refuse and rockflour in terraces which have been built up at several levels in the quarry. The resultant mixed soils have been referred to as tad-Dawl complex, which is rather similar to l-Iklin.

The use of inorganic town refuse on the soils and the large-scale carting of soil material away from building sites to wherever it may be desired adds to the generally rather confused nature of many of the soils, and since about 0.1 per cent. of the total soil cover is moved every three years in this way, the scale is quite large.

To summarise, the pattern which man modified was dependent mainly on parent material, time and the ineffectiveness of the climate in producing soil horizon development. The effects of utilisation by man have produced widespread and profound modifications of that pattern.

Table 21. Classification of the soils of Malta and Gozo according to the system of Kubiena (1953).

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Division	Class	Type	Sub-type	Variety	Series
A. Sub-aqueous					
B. Semi-terrestrial	BD Salt soils		Secondary salt soils		
C. Terrestrial	CA Terrestrial raw soils	Syrosem	Carbonate Syrosem (Carbonate Raw Soil)		Fiddien Nadur Ramla San Lawrenz
	CB Not represented in Malta				
	CC Rendzina-like soils	Rendzina	Xerorendzina		Alcol San Biagio tal-Barrani
	CD Not represented in Malta				
	CE Terrae Calxis	Terra	Terra fusca	Earthy terra fusca	tas-Sigra
			Terra rossa	Siallitic terra rossa	Xaghra
	CF CG CH CI CJ Not represented in Malta				

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The table (21) which is based on Kubiena's classification illustrates the small range of soils found in Malta and Gozo. There are no sub-aqueous soils, and only a small fraction of one per cent. of the soils are secondarily saline and thus classified as semi-terrestial, although some of the present soils (for example, Alcol) are developed on alluvial (semi-terrestrial) soils, from an earlier climatic era.

In the account following we describe first the carbonate raw soils, which are only slightly differentiated from their parent material and then the xerorendzinas in which the humus development becomes apparent. The San Biagio soils are typical xerorendzinas but the Alcol and tal-Barrani series contain sufficient brown sesquioxide clay material to give the soils deeper brown colours than are usual. In the former case this is because of the red-brown clays in the sediments on which the soils are developed, and in the latter case partly for similar reasons and partly because of slight accumulation of precipitated iron. Finally, we consider the reddish-brown Terra soils in which limestone weathering has progressed so far as to leave largely decalcified residues of limestone as the mineral body of the soil. The writer inclines to the view that the removal of calcium carbonate in both the last mentioned soils occurred under moister conditions than now obtain, a view with which some authorities are not entirely in agreement.

CARBONATE RAW SOILS

According to Kubiena (1953) the carbonate raw soil is a 'very young raw soil, extremely low in humus, characterised generally by a dry summer (on the surface partly also hot summer) soil climate on calcareous parent rocks'.

These soils have an (A) C profile, that is to say an (A) horizon overlies the C or parent material horizon. The (A) horizon is the zone most strongly colonised by organisms, the well aerated superficial layer of soils in which no recognisable humus horizons have developed. It has a recognisable humus form, raw soil humus consisting of a few fragments of undecomposed plant remains in some of which there are cavities containing droppings of mining animals; the mineral grains are calcite. Usually only the calcite sand will be obvious to the unaided eye.

Occasionally the (A) horizon will overlie a Ca horizon of secondary calcium carbonate precipitation above the C horizon.

In Malta and Gozo four series of carbonate raw soil have been distinguished, on the basis of variation in the parent material to which the biological soil is so closely related. These are the Nadur, Ramla, Fiddien and San Lawrenz series. The organic matter content is very low and only in one surface sample of 13 profiles sampled was as much as 2 per cent. found, while in most cases there was only 1-1½ per cent. Lower horizons generally showed less than 1 per cent. organic matter. At the same time the calcium carbonate content was high, about 80-90 per cent. in soils derived from the soft limestones and 30-60 per cent. in those derived from the Blue Clay.

NADUR

Parent material and location: The Nadur series is mainly developed from weathered calcareous sandstones of Quaternary age and similar materials from the lower part of the Upper Coralline Limestone, and the Greensand formation, mixed with downwashed red clay material of the Xaghra soil from the Middle Upper Coralline Limestone. The Nadur soil is usually developed as a narrow belt along the upper slopes of the scarps, and is only more extensive where the scarps give way to broad gently sloping valleys, as at Nadur and Xaghra and in part of Wied l-Iemu.

Description: A typical profile is

0 - 12"	Reddish brown, gravelly loamy sand or gravelly sandy loam; very gritty; single grain to very weak medium granular structure; loose.
12 - 27"	Yellowish red, gritty sandy loam, single grain to very weak medium granular structure.
27" plus	Off white, friable coarse-grained limestone.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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Table 22. Summary of chemical analyses of samples from the surface horizon of normal soils (means and extremes)

GENETIC CLASSIFICATION, SERIES AND TEXTURE TYPE / CHEMICAL PROPERTY			Organic matter per cent.	Active $CaCO_3$ per cent.	pH	Total phosphates per cent.	Readily available phosphates p.p.m.	Total exchangeable bases milli-equivalents /100 gms.	Individual bases as per cent. of total				No. of samples
									Calcium	Magnesium	Sodium	Potassium	
CARBONATE	Kalkar Bajda	Sand to sandy loam	0.7 1.6 2.6	2.1 8.2 18.7	7.80 8.24 8.75	0.08 0.12 0.20	—	18 26 33	88 91 94	4.3 6.5 8.5	0.6 0.8 1.1	1.0 2.3 3.6	8
RAW	San Lawrenz Fiddien	Clay loam and light clay	0.9 1.8 3.1	[illegible] 24.8 [illegible]	7.77 8.20 8.40	0.05 0.14 0.20	4 12 26	19 28 40	80 83 89	7.7 11.3 15.0	0.7 1.0 1.6	1.2 2.8 3.3	7
SOILS	Fiddien	Heavy clay	1.6	12.9	8.70	0.19	33	34	65	24	5.8	4.8	1
XERO-	San Biagio Alcol	Sandy loam to clay	1.0 1.8 2.7	[illegible] 18.0 [illegible]	8.22 8.53 8.79	0.12 0.23 0.47	14 36 48	11 23 37	77 85 91	7.0 10.5 17.0	0.6 1.3 4.2	1.1 2.6 3.6	8
RENDZINAS	tal-Barrani	Silt loam, loam, clay loam	1.5 2.0 3.3	11.9 13.3 [illegible]	8.20 8.33 [illegible]	0.02 0.16 [illegible]	47 81 96	19 22 26	72 83 88	7.2 10.1 18.5	1.1 1.7 2.1	3.7 4.6 5.6	4
TERRA SOILS	Xaghra tas-Sigra	Clay, loam and clay	3.3 4.5 6.6	1.7 4.0 8.6	7.20 8.10 [illegible]	0.11 0.21 0.27	1 20 [illegible]	29 43 [illegible]	75 85 90	4.3 9.4 12.1	0.7 1.9 3.3	1.4 2.7 7.7	6

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The soil is usually reddish in colour because of the small admixture of red sesquioxide material, but this is sometimes missing and then the soil is greyish or slightly yellowish, while the other soil characteristics are unchanged. A variant found on the glauconitic facies of the Greensand covers only a few acres - a deep greenish buff loamy sand.

Sometimes the fields occupied by the Nadur Series contain fallen blocks of Coralline Limestone, and often they are very small and strongly terraced. Frequently they are abandoned, or devoted to flowers, but where in use, vines, and to a small extent, tree fruits are grown. [311]

RAMLA SERIES

Parent material and location: The Ramla soils are formed on sands of contemporary dunes at Ramla in Gozo and sands from the Quaternary dunesand bed at Armier in North Malta, where they are mostly man-made having been excavated from the dunesand bed. Where blown sands have been deposited, a sequence of parent materials giving a complex of soils (The Armier complex) of Xaghra and Ramla series and intermediate types is also found; on Qortin tan-Nadur in Gozo and on Marfa Ridge, south of Armier.

Description of a Ramla Series soil not recently cultivated:

0 - ½"	Oat grass emerging from a very thin A.F. layer composed of a dense mat of decaying grass leaves.
½ - 7"	Brown sand; single grain structure, grains 'strung' on abundant grass roots; no stones; dry.
7 - 14"	Brown sand; single grain structure; slightly moist.
14 - 40" plus	Strong brown sand; single grain structure; no stones; moist.

In agricultural use without a grass cover, these soils show even less horizon differentiation; they are almost completely uniform, except where they have been 'marled' with other soil materials.

These soils are generally terraced, but the fields are relatively large and the terrace walls are not high. [311]

FIDDIEN SERIES

Parent material and location: The Fiddien Series is mainly developed from well-weathered calcareous Blue Clay but a heavy clay soil is found on the relatively unweathered (calcareous) Blue Clay which is sometimes saline or alkaline. In both cases the topsoil may show an admixture of downwashed red clay and sandy materials from the soils upslope on the scarps in which the Blue Clay is mainly found.

Usually the unweathered Blue Clay is near the surface at the head of the scarp slope so that the heavy clay is upslope from the lighter clay. On the gentler slopes the light clay is extensive, and in total area far exceeds the heavy type. The differentiation is important since the heavy type is occasionally alkaline or saline alkaline, because of the nature of its parent material.

Description:

Medium or heavy clay type

0 - 10"	Olive clay (dry); moderately well developed fine to medium subangular blocky in large prisms; plastic and sticky.
10 - 30"	Olive clay (moist); massive; plastic and sticky.
30" plus	Dark blue green clay, unweathered. In field sloping 10 degrees with a 'slump-shoring' 4 feet high terrace wall at the front face.

Clay loam and light clay type

0 - 16"	Grey brown gritty clay loam; weakly developed fine granular structure; sticky, moderately plastic; numerous glauconite particles.
16 - 30"	Grey brown gritty clay loam; better developed granular structure in angular blocky compound peds; more compact.
30" plus	Grey brown gritty clay loam; well developed coarse prismatic structure. In flat field 40 yards across with a 3-feet drop at one wall.

The fields in which this soil is found are usually either unterraced or have minimal terracing as in the descriptions above. Frequently unterraced slopes [311]

134 311 of over 20 degrees which are worked can be seen, but at slopes over 30 degrees the soil development is very poor, there may be gullying and the land is unworked.

SAN LAWRENZ SERIES

Parent material and location: The soils of this series are related to those of the Fiddien having as parent material Blue Clay and Globigerina Limestone alluvium and colluvium overlying Globigerina rock. In the normal sequence of soils down a scarp slope the series lies below the Fiddien and above the San Biaġio.

Description:

0 - 1"	Brown clay loam; small granular structure; slightly stony; dry, powdery and loose.
1 - 13"	Brown fine sandy clay loam; weak medium granular structure; some gravel; very friable and slightly moist.
13 - 40"	Olive brown fine sandy clay loam to clay; well developed fine angular blocky structure; compact; plastic and sticky; moist.
40" plus	Pale brown fine sandy clay loam to clay; weak medium granular structure; gravelly, mostly decaying Globigerina rock.

311 The fields in which the series is found are usually terraced, and sometimes have tall rock-face cuts at the back. The terraces are seldom very narrow, while those of the San Biaġio series often are.

XFRORENDZINAS

According to Kubiena (1953), the xerorendzina, also called dry rendzina, is a 'rendzina, ash grey in colour, usually very loose, when dry in general very powdery, with extremely high chalk content often also of water soluble salts, particularly gypsum; occurring in dry regions'. This soil is very similar to the South Russian serosem or grey earth of the dry steppes.

General description: The xerorendzina has an AC profile. The grey, shallow, loose, calcareous A horizon, with mull or mull-like rendzina moder humus form usually passes through a well developed whitish Ca horizon into hard parent rock C. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish from a carbonate raw soil, differing in little but the humus form. In Malta and Gozo two series are classified as xerorendzinas, one of which is not typical but is most conveniently called by that name.

The organic matter content of the surface horizon averaged over 2 per cent. in five samples from the San Biaġio series, 1.7 per cent. in four samples of the Alcol series, but 3 per cent. in three samples of the tal-Rarrani series rising to 6 per cent. in samples of uncultivated soil. The calcium carbonate content of these soils estimated from a small number of samples is 55 to 80 per cent. but some areas of the Alcol and tal-Barrani series probably contain less.

SAN BIAĠIO SERIES

Parent material and location: This soil is developed from the weathered Upper Globigerina Limestones, and intercalated thin beds of iron-rich and phosphatic nodules, that appear both in the tall scarps of Malta and Gozo and in relatively flat plateaux. Consequently the sites on which the soils are developed are quite varied, and eroded and alluvial-colluvial phases are as common as a normal phase.

Description:

Eroded phase

0 - 7"	Very pale brown, silt loam, some gravel; moderately well developed medium sub-angular blocky structure; sticky and slightly plastic.
7 - 10"	Pale brown slightly heavier silt loam; moderate fine angular blocky structure.
10" plus	Very pale brown, silty, soft laminated rock.

Alluvial-colluvial phase

Surface just dry after recent rain has a thin, cracking, alluvium crust. 134

0 - 10"	Pale brown silt loam; weak medium sub-angular blocky to crumb structure; plastic, non-sticky.
10 - 28"	Pale brown, slightly heavier silt loam; slightly compact; with almost massive structure.
28 - 72"	Pale brown silty clay loam; massive.

The normal phase is between these two extremes in its characteristics, and is usually of the silt loam type.

The landscape appearance is very uniform, and the fields in which this soil is found are normally strongly terraced, with cut-rock faces at the back of the terraces, from which fresh rock flour is derived during ploughing and is incorporated in the soil. Many fields have been partly produced by 'mining' in this manner, and some patches of soil are still carbonate raw soils. For agriculture in the islands this series is probably one of the most important since it is very extensive, and widely used. 311 134

ALCOL SERIES

Parent material and location: The Alcol series is developed on the valley loams (Quaternary and Recent) which are partly alluvial and partly colluvial and occur in the broader valley bottoms. They are erosion products of Terra, rendzina and carbonate raw soils, they are often stratified and are generally, but not always, well sorted. In general the material parent to the present soil is deep and of heavy texture, but a few sandy types are found, and intercalated gravel or boulder horizons occur. The differentiation of the soil from the parent material is difficult, since there are no well developed horizons except those produced by tillage. 134

General description:

1. Uniform material

0 - 6"	Pale brown fine sandy clay loam; large to medium crumb structyre; loose; very dry; numerous worm casts.
6 - 21"	Pale brown silty clay loam; weak medium sub-angular blocky structure; moist; worm casts found.
21 - 72"	Pale brown clay loam, passing to brown silty clay; weak medium sub-angular blocky structure becoming larger with depth.
72" plus	Dark yellowish brown, similar to above, but very wet and possibly partly gleyed.

2. Stratified material

0 - 13"	Reddish brown silty clay loam; moderately well developed medium granular structure; some worm casts.
13 - 16"	Strong brown fine sandy clay loam; structure becoming laminar.
16 - 21"	Reddish yellow very fine sandy loam; weak medium laminar structure; some gravel and cobbles; slightly moist.
22 - 45"	Reddish yellow very fine sandy loam with many boulders.
45 - 60"	Clay loam; very fine to fine angular blocky structure.

In general the fields in which this soil appears, are flat and consequently unterraced. [311]

In some places at the coast a saline ground water table is producing symptoms of salinity in the soil, but more usually the soils are merely strongly calcareous, neither saline or alkaline.

TAL-BARRANI SERIES

The tal-Barrani soils appear to be transitional between the San Biagio and Xaghra soils. They are developed mainly on Globigerina rocks of massive appearance and texture similar to the Franka, on which they are also occasionally found. The soils have been much disturbed and mixed in the making of terraces, and some have been artificially produced by man, by mixing rock flour and Terra soil material. [311]

Description:

0 - 10"	Brown gravelly silt loam; with a thin crust (in dry weather) and below, moderately well developed crumb structure.
10 - 18"	Brown gravelly clay loam becoming more gravelly towards the

base; weak fine sub-angular or angular blocky structure.

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18 - 24" Brown gravelly loam or clay loam mixed with limestone rubble.

24" The formerly calcreted, broken surface of the Franka or similar rock.

B11

The fields in which the tal-Barrani soils are found are often strongly terraced, for example, in the dissected Globigerina Limestone Plateau of south east Malta.

The hill top fields are naturally relatively flat and unterraced, but often show evidence of profound alteration of the rock floor by man.

TERRA SOILS

The terra soils found in Malta are principally earthy terra fuscas, but soils similar to siallitic terra rossa have been found, and there are certainly forms transitional between these two varieties.

The Terrae Calxis to which group the Terra soils belong, are according to Kubiena (1953), 'very mature, extensively weathered usually completely chalk free soils with ochre yellow, ochre brown to red coloured (B) horizons which contain iron in the form of ferric hydroxide with varying water content...' Terra fuscas are 'usually humus deficient loamy soils with ochre yellow... to reddish brown colour on limestone rocks, which contain ferric hydroxide in the form of limonite', and earthy terra fusca is described as 'in the top soil, loose to slightly compacted, usually dark matt brown coloured terra fusca with good crumb structure'. The earthy terra fusca usually has an A(B)C profile, with a humus deficient, thin grey brown A horizon in which the humus form is generally mull. This horizon overlies a thicker reddish brown ferruginous (B) horizon which usually lies directly on the parent rock C horizon. The soil has a marked tendency to form crumbs and very low plasticity.

Terra rossa is described by Kubiena as a red soil, usually humus deficient and decalcified, rich in inorganic colloids containing ferric hydroxide in water deficient compounds, the siallitic terra rossa being 'Terra rossa with high colloid content, when wet highly plastic, viscous, characterised by a dense ground mass rich in silicic acid'. In general terms the profile is similar to that of the earthy terra fusca, but the soil colour is red and the plasticity is strikingly greater due to the different colloids. The structure is consequently different also, the peds being angular fragments produced by drying and shrinkage.

These soils have an organic matter content in the surface horizon of 4.5 per cent. (average of six samples) rather more in the case of uncultivated soils, rather less in the case of cultivated soils. This is slightly higher than the organic matter content of the tal-Barrani soils and very noticeably greater than that of the other xerorendzinas, and the carbonate raw soils. They are atypical of the variety in that they are not completely decalcified, containing in two profiles sampled 2 to 15 per cent. calcium carbonate, although much of the calcite in these soils has been blown in. This is emphasised by the greater calcium carbonate content in the surface horizons. (Two to four times greater than just above the rock.)

In the Maltese Islands the terra soils are found on the karst landscapes of the more massive limestones, that is the Upper and Lower Coralline Limestone and the Franka. The dominant variety is earthy terra fusca, and the mapping units used are described as such, ignoring the local transitions to terra rossa.

The terra soils can be divided into mapping units in various ways and it was found most convenient to map those appearing as patches between limestone lapiés as one group and the partly alluvial types in valley bottoms, dolines and on flat land without lapiés as another group. In the map (Fig. 27) they are not separated, but their agricultural potentialities are very different, because while in one case rock occupies from 10 to 50 per cent. of the surface and the rock slope may be steep, in the other case neither rock nor slope restricts the use of implements. In other respects they differ but little as can be seen from the descriptions below.

Soil between lapiés 134

Surface	A few limestone stones and an incomplete cover of xerophytic plants.
0 - ½"	Reddish brown gritty clay loam; moderately well developed medium crumb structure; hard.
½ - 24"	Reddish brown or dark red clay; well developed fine angular blocky structure; very dry and very hard.
24" plus.	Hard, white, semi-crystalline limestone with a calcreted surface;

Soil from site without lapiés

Surface	Bare after cultivation, a few stones.
0 - 15"	Dark yellowish red clay loam; medium crumb structure moderately well developed; dry.
15 - 36"	Yellowish red clay; moderate to well developed fine sub-angular blocky structure.
36"	Hard white crystalline limestone.

[311]

By definition of the mapping units these soils exist in fields which are unterraced and are often unenclosed.

COMPLEXES

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The mapping units so far described are relatively simple, in that although they are not completely uniform the variations in the soils encompassed by each unit are small. However much of Malta has been very intensively used by man for a long period, and in some localities the effects on the soil are most pronounced - as described earlier. In such places the complication of the soil pattern is considerable and the mapping unit used is the complex. This denotes a fixed relation between a number of soil series alternating too rapidly to be separately delineated. The two units used covered: (1) the lands which have been quarried, where soil has subsequently been replaced in terraces below ground level; (2) the terraced terra soils (mainly karst-land). Both complexes are produced on land which formerly was covered by terra soils, and soils which it is possible to classify as terra are usually found to be most extensive now. However, in the quarrying and in the production of terraces by cutting away limestone lapiés, much rock flour and broken stone was produced, and much refuse and 'imported' soil was used to make up the soil. Consequently carbonate raw soils are to be found in many terraces, simulating the Nadur series, and the terra soils contain much material that is never found in the untilled soils of similar type. Between these extremes, soils which simulate the tal-Barrani Series are also to be found, presumably produced by the mixing of some terra soil with a great deal of rock flour.

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These complexes are therefore dominantly disturbed terra soils with added matter, with numerous enclaves of xerorendzinas and carbonate raw soils. The alternation of the soils is so rapid that frequently within one small terrace 25 yards long by 8 yards wide all three types will appear, and the intensive terracing or quarrying is the distinguishing feature of these mapping units.

PROPERTIES AND UTILISATION OF THE SOILS

The interpretation of chemical analyses of calcareous soils is not always very clear. For example, the methods used for extracting exchangeable cations sometimes result in the extraction of calcium from calcium carbonate as well as from the exchange complex. Similarly figures given for readily available phosphate are of uncertain meaning, because the extractant cannot exactly simulate the ability of the plant to take up phosphorus which may be fixed by calcium carbonate. The figures given in Table 22 are therefore to be considered as a comparative guide. (It is thought that in this table there has probably not been much overestimation of calcium in the exchange complex because the highest measured values are correlated with the lowest values of calcium carbonate.) There is some difficulty of comparison with soils from other countries since the same analytical methods are not always used. Soils from

134 Spain, Sicily, Cyprus, Palestine and Australia of similar description, give roughly similar analyses, but it is not worthwhile to compare data obtained by methods of which the details are not closely standardised.

134 311 The carbonate raw soils have been divided into textural groups for convenience in describing properties and utilisation. The sands, loamy sands and sandy loams are very dry, easily worked, rapidly warming soils which where practicable, are mainly devoted to vines (Nadur series) and fruit trees (Nadur and Ramla series). Because of their light texture they have relatively low values for nutrients; however, they appear to give satisfactory crops, and are probably quite satisfactory. The clay loams and light clays (San Lawrenz and Fiddien series) are sticky, water retentive soils, usually fairly well structured, but hard and dry in late summer, and with a tendency towards an alkaline condition locally. In some parts of Malta they are used for a wide variety of crops, vines, tomatoes, cereals, and potatoes, but are more often devoted to sulla, as in Ġnejna Valley and western Gozo. The Fiddien heavy clay, potentially valuable because of its high clay content, is usually alkaline, sometimes slightly saline and often has very bad water relations, so that it remains little used.

The carbonate raw soils, with one or two localities excepted, are terraced, or stand in steep slopes, so that there is little prospect of increasing the field unit size. Of the xerorendzinas, the San Biagio sandy loams and silty loams and the tal-Barrani loams are only unterraced on plateaux tops, while the Alcol clay loams and clays are almost never terraced. It is among these xerorendzinas, together with the level tas-Sigra soils in the karst areas that there is a chance of increasing field size sufficiently to allow mechanisation.

The San Biagio and Alcol series are, moreover, among the more easily worked soils, but appear, with the highest active calcium carbonate, low exchangeable bases, low organic matter and higher pH, to be among the chemically less-favoured soils. Observations of potash necrosis and iron chlorosis were made mainly on these soils. However, the reasonably satisfactory structure, easy tillage, and reasonably good water relations of these soils appear to compensate, for the soils are universally cultivated and appear to give satisfactory crops. Both series appear to be used for a wide range of crops, cereals, vines, rootcrops and market garden crops generally, the last mentioned particularly on irrigated land.

The tal-Barrani loams and clay loams, which comprise the brown rendzina soils, are found almost entirely in the heavily populated area of southern Malta, where they are intensively used, and almost universally terraced. They appear to be entirely devoted, apart from odd fruit trees along walls, to annual crops, principally cereals and potatoes. From the table (22) their chemical characteristics appear more favourable than those of most of the soils, and their structure and tillage properties appear to be fairly satisfactory. It is not known, however, whether they are more productive than, for example, the nearby San Biagio xerorendzinas.

The clay loams and clays of the Terra soils are all, potentially at least, rather fertile, as is revealed by the high figures for exchangeable bases, the rather unusually satisfactory figure (in Terra soils) for total phosphate, the relatively high organic matter content, lower pH and low active $CaCO_3$. However, where they occur as small soil puddles between lapiés the mode of working is problematic, and they are generally rather dry, compact, and difficult to cultivate. Here they are usually left uncultivated, and used for birdcatching and very rough grazing for sheep and goats, or occasionally very patchily for poor crops of cereals, prickly pear, fruits or flowers. The alluvial flats and flatter lands without surface lapiés are by contrast, usually heavily cultivated, bearing a wide variety of crops, especially in the damper valley bottoms, with potatoes most important on the non-alluvial flatlands. Where the land is worked intensively the depth of crumb-structured soil is greater, and in the valley bottoms, especially, the water relations seem to be improved.

The terraced Terra soils, that is, members of the various complexes, are usually very dry, and one of the unfavourable features of the carbonate raw soils, is the higher active calcium carbonate because of the incorporated rock flour.

They seem to be largely devoted to cereals and potatoes, and in general give 134
relatively poor crops. These soils are in several areas widely abandoned 311
because they are uneconomic to work.

SOIL NEEDS

The needs of a soil, for the improvement of its fertility, are not simple to assess, and in the Maltese Islands at present they are not known. A fertile soil is considered as one which is in the optimum condition for the growth of crops, and this is dependent on a variety of factors, physical and biological as well as chemical. Air and water must be available, and man by cultivation and irrigation attempts to influence their disposition to favour his crops, just as by using fertilisers and weed or pest killers he attempts to influence the chemistry and biology of the soil.

PHYSICAL NEEDS

A soil which has a poor physical structure may be unable to support good crops, because water cannot be conducted to the plant easily enough, or because the soil aeration is poor. The heavy clay soils of the Fiddien series have poor structure, and it probably is the correlated difficulty of wetting the soil rather than the chemistry of the soil material (which often has a rather high concentration of exchangeable sodium and soluble salts) which causes it to be nearly useless for agriculture.

In the majority of cases the Maltese soils have a reasonably good structure, 134
and the only other soils which appear to be ill-favoured are the heavy-textured 242
soils of the Xaghra series. In this case the subsoil is often very compact indeed, and the separations between structural units are minimal. However, where such soils are well worked, and more particularly where they are irrigated, the structure seems to be much improved, partly no doubt because of the increased and active microfauna. While irrigation is probably difficult to extend, the use of improved cultural practices on these soils would probably produce an increase in the soil organic matter content and improvement of the structure. Among such practices the use of nitrogenous fertilisers, use of improved rotations, encouragement of root growth, avoidance of oxidation of root-derived organic matter through unnecessary turning over of the soil, and the avoidance of pulling cereals as a method of harvesting, might cause considerable improvement. The application of animal manure in irrigation water as already practised locally in Malta also appears to be effective in increasing organic matter content of the soil.

One of the chief problems of all crops in the Maltese Islands, is water. 134
Certain of the lighter textured soils are extremely dry, and conservation of [312]
rainwater rather than extension of irrigation must be the answer because domestic water needs are already difficult to satisfy. Apart from practices designed to diminish evaporation loss, especially early removal of weeds by hoeing, it is probable that increasing the organic matter content would considerably increase the ability of the soil to hold water. But another simple possible method would be to marl some of the lighter soils with the calcareous clay, e.g. Fiddien heavy clay, which is not in agricultural use. (This would in addition possibly make more nutrients available.)

As far as aeration is concerned, it seems unlikely that it is deficient in many soils at present; but use of a rototiller (common in Malta) is believed to decrease aeration, and this could be investigated quite simply. It is possible that an excess of soil CO_2 would be beneficial in calcareous soils, reducing the pH of the soil solution to a level at which there is greater availability of most nutrients; and particularly those, such as phosphorus, which are likely to be deficient.

CHEMICAL NEEDS

Despite some other possible deficiencies it seems likely that nutrient

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 97]

Plate V. Northern Malta. Spring.
From top left to bottom right: Bajda Ridge, Wied tal-Pwales, Wardija Upland, Binġemma Basin.

Plate VI. View north from the Citadel, Gozo. Spring.
Foreground: dissected Globigerina plain. Middle distance: Blue Clay slopes. Background: Upper Coralline plateaux. (Żebbuġ church, left centre).

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deficiencies are likely to be the most important factor involved in soils of low fertility in the Maltese islands. However, it is not possible to say immediately what these are because

(1) There is no simple relation between analytical data and availability of nutrients to plants.
(2) Existing analytical data are few and they are not correlated with field crop performance.
(3) Satisfactory chemical data for calcareous soils are more than usually difficult to obtain and compare.

Despite the generally healthy appearance of the crops, some symptoms of nutrient deficiencies have been observed, and remembering well known characteristics of calcareous soils, it is obvious that only experimental comparison of fertiliser application with crop yield, can give any definite answers about needs. Such experiments need to be of a form capable of statistical analysis, to enable tests of significance to be applied and to reveal interactions.

The first step should be to set up a simple series of long term trial plots in sites typical of each soil, using only one crop or rotation and only N, P and K fertilisers, each at two levels. Later, foliar analysis or an 'application to plant' method could be used to examine crops for specific deficiencies in order to make a more complete picture. Again, at a late stage alternative fertilisers might be compared, and time and mode of application, although until new data are obtained it is likely that early application, effective elsewhere, may be beneficial in Malta also.

It should be borne in mind that (1) effects of past management may have upset the natural status of the soil - the addition of town refuse is a case in point, as in addition to actual toxins, the microbial population may be unfavourable. (2) Effects of infestation by parasites and fungi, or diseased remains may remain which will invalidate a trial. This needs strong emphasis since much soil disturbance has taken place in Malta, and the addition of town refuse is common. Further, many plots have been observed to be infested with broomrape, which is never combated, and others to exhibit root damage produced by insect larvae. The elimination of these alone would in any case result in considerable improvement in crops.

The symptoms of deficiencies which have been observed are potash necrosis of fruit tree leaves, and lime induced iron chlorosis of citrus tree leaves, particularly on the xerorendzinas and carbonate raw soils. In addition it is well known that phosphorus fixation takes place rapidly in contact with calcium carbonate, and is most complete when the latter is in a state of fine subdivision (Gonzales Garcia and Tristan Matos, 1956). Thus deficiencies of these nutrients are likely to be discovered by experiment, and although the author has not observed symptoms of nitrogen deficiency, the low organic matter content of the soil, and the lack of conservation of nitrogen make it seem likely that it will be found deficient in some localities. Sulphur, sometimes found lacking in marly soils (like Fiddien series) in Spain, is likely to be found deficient, and although ordinary superphosphate supplies sulphur as well as phosphorus, it seems possible that elemental sulphur as used in Spain may be more effective. Minor nutrients, for example iron, may be supplied by chelates like those used successfully in arid parts of the U.S.A. (Kuykendall et al. 1957), or less expensive spraying methods.

SALINITY

A few soils in Malta are affected by a saline ground water, a few plots are being irrigated with brackish water, and, although this has not been directly observed, probably some are affected by saline spray. The result is an increasing soluble salt content in the lower part of the profile, but up to the present the concentration has not been great enough to cause very noticeable effects on crops, although poor structure is noticeable in two profiles examined. The avoidance of ill effects due to saline waters can be effected by making certain that through-drainage takes place from time to time, in order to carry away some of the dissolved salts. The use of soluble calcium salts in the irrigation

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134 water occasionally is a further aid. This is difficult or impossible, however, without drains and irrigation, so that soils with a saline ground water, are probably irremediable, but they may not in any case be worsening very rapidly.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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[p. 98-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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Malta

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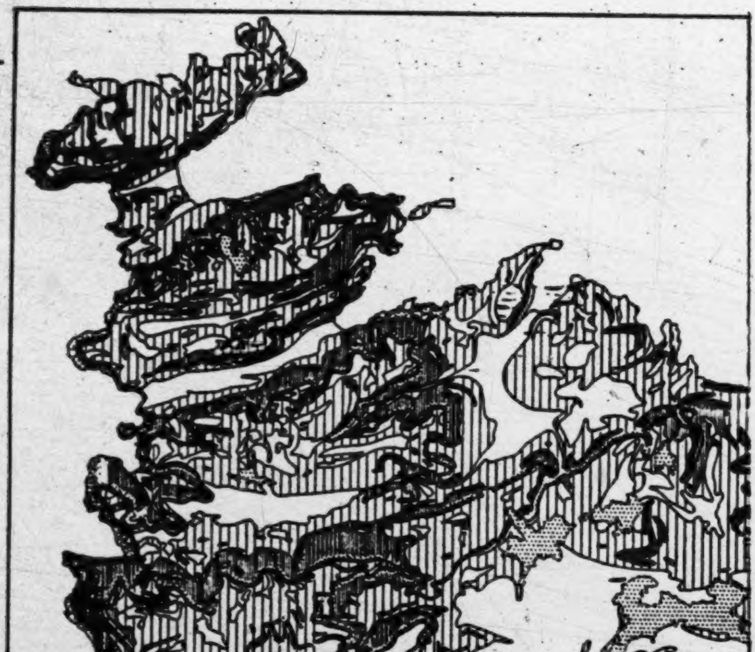

[p. 98-B]

Fig. 28 Steepness of Slope
(Malta).

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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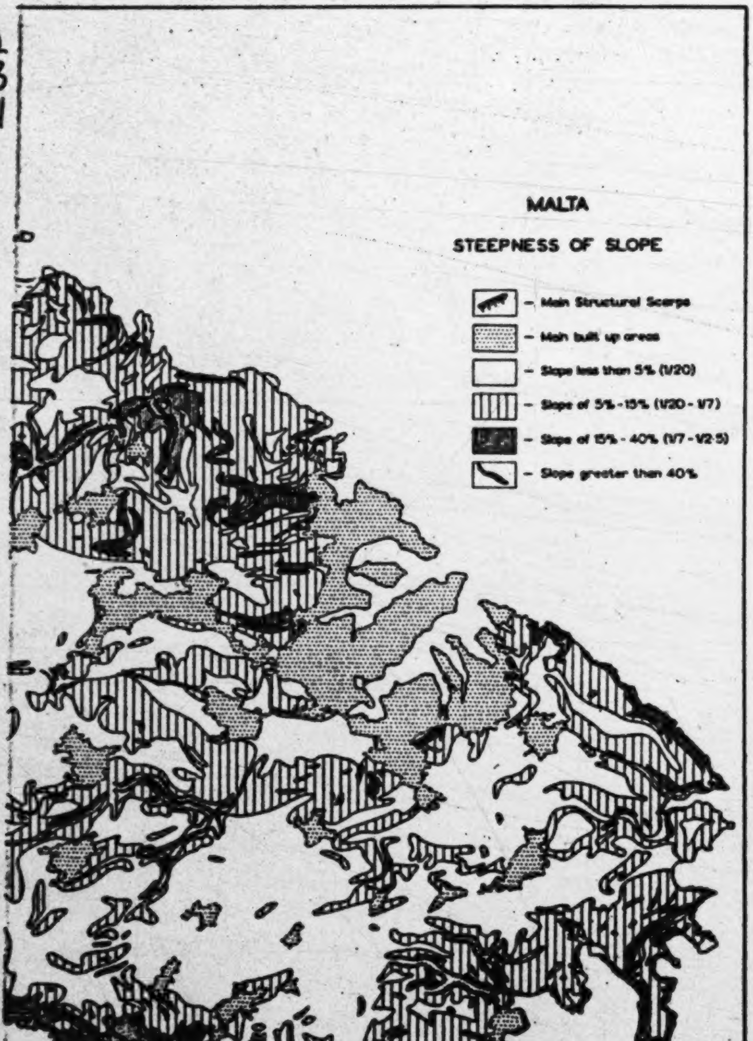
MALTA
STEEPNESS OF SLOPE
– Main Structural Scarps
– Main built up areas
– Slope less than 5% (1/20)
– Slope of 5% - 15% (1/20 - 1/7)
– Slope of 15% - 40% (1/7 - 1/2·5)
– Slope greater than 40%

Fig. 28

Steepness of Slope (Malta).

[p. 98-C]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

B. Slope Analysis, Erosion and Tillage

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The slope map (Fig. 28) is a further illustration of the regional variations in the physical landscape which were described in some detail in Chapter 1. The most clearly marked feature is the division into Western Scarplands and Central and Eastern Hills and Plains. In the former, gently sloping land (slopes less than 1 in 20) is confined to basins and to a few very limited parts of the plateau uplands. Sharply accidented topography and thus steep slopes are widely developed in this region, reflecting its complex structure. Slopes of gradients ranging from 1 in 7 to 1 in 2.5 occur along the faulted edges of all the plateau blocks as well as in the zone of Blue Clay outcrops which separates them from the Globigerina lands to the east. The various uplifted blocks themselves generally have undulating summits with slopes between 1 in 20 and 1 in 7. In the Central and Eastern Hills and Plains, the position is reversed. Over these parts of the Island gently sloping land (gradient less than 1 in 20) covers at least half the area and really steep slopes (greater than 1 in 7) are confined to coastal cliffs and a few valley incisions, the latter case being particularly widespread in the Naxxar-Gharghur hills.

There is, however, no simple correlation between steepness of slope and the presence or absence of cultivation. Indeed, the greater proportion of the land shown on the map as having a gradient greater than 1 in 7 is in fact still under the plough. The distribution of waste and abandoned land, occurring on plateau summit rather than scarp face, is a function of rock-type, exposure and various social and economic factors (see p. 227) rather than of gradient. That gradient only in extreme cases sets absolute limits to the extent of cultivation is illustrated by the Rdum zone of the south-west coast where, in the Rdum ta'Dingli and the Rdum tal-Lunzjata, intensive cultivation is maintained in land whose average gradient is greater than 1 in 2.5.

Though gradient has little direct effect on the pattern of farmland and waste, it obviously has much to do with the physical effort involved in maintaining a particular piece of land in cultivation. Even here, the control is by no means absolute. The problems of retaining a soil cover are much less serious in steeply sloping districts where thick, heavy soils are derived from the Blue Clay, than in areas of similar gradient where the parent rock is of Globigerina or Coralline Limestone. In the latter case, soils are thin and coarse, '*campi artificiale*' are frequently found and the soil, once removed, is not easily replaced either by natural or by human agencies.

The character of field boundaries illustrates this point. In Blue Clay areas they are generally low ramps rather than retaining walls, whereas in steeply sloping limestone areas, walls of great height and thickness are necessary to maintain a rudimentary soil cover. Field shape and size (see Fig. 68 and p.185) are also relevant. Long, narrow, ribbon-like fields are characteristic of steep slopes in limestone districts, while in Blue Clay areas fields are generally much larger, despite steep gradients.

The dangers consequent upon careless tillage and failure to maintain boundary walls are greatest on slopes steeper than 1 in 7, in areas where the soil cover is thin and is either artificial or derived from limestone rocks. The abandonment or neglect of a single field, the breaking down of a single wall quickly lead, in such areas, to damage above and below the neglected field and may eventually affect a whole flight of terraces, even driving away other cultivators who are unable to bear any increased load of maintenance work on their walls and fields. While outstandingly heavy storms can cause damage to land of all types (see p. 67), in areas falling within the category indicated above, constant vigilance is necessary at all times, both in the use of traditional methods of tillage and particularly in the introduction of new ones.

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SECTION 2

THE PEOPLE

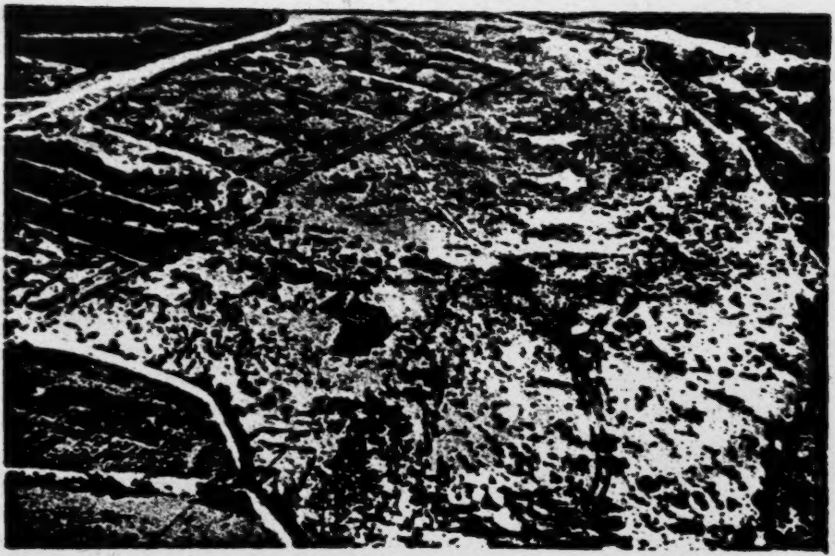

Plate VII. Upper Coralline Plateau.
"Cart ruts" on karstic wasteland. Man-made fields, some now abandoned, superimposed.

Plate VIII. Ġgantija.

Chapter IV

MALTA BEFORE A.D. 1800

A. Malta before the Knights

The Maltese Islands were probably first settled towards the end of the third millenium B.C.; certainly there is no evidence of any earlier occupation. From this time onwards, the landscape has had stamped upon it the successive imprints of a series of cultures and culture-contacts. This is not the place to attempt a detailed analytical history, but any study of a region and its people must consider time as well as place. In Malta we have, in the course of our fieldwork, continually felt an extraordinarily strong sense of continuity, an insistence that much which is contemporary can only be understood in terms of the past, and often of the remote past. Conversely, a close examination of the landscape can help to illuminate the past in a strictly historical sense. 121 17

The sort of question which arises in an investigation of the rural landscape may be exemplified by the much-debated problem of 'cart-ruts'. On some of the expanses of bare rock which exist in various parts of the island of Malta are deeply incised grooves, in dual and parallel alignment, sometimes in isolation, often in complex 'tramway' patterns (Plate VII). Various attempts have been made to explain them (1) but with little success. We are certain only of their approximate age. To the prehistorian they are of obvious direct interest. To ourselves they are irritatingly fascinating because of the indirect and obscure evidence which they seem to offer of the nature of the processes which have operated on the land of Malta. Were they friction-incised through a soil cover by skid-carts? If this is so, then the soil cover must not only have been more extensive than at present but must also have evolved under different climatic and edaphic conditions from those with which we are now familiar. What can we deduce from the present limited exposure of the ruts and from the fact that often they appear to have been blotted out by cultivation? The traditional answer, as put forward by Zammit (2), is that they carried sledges for the collection and transport of soil so that man could concentrate the soil in field plots. Thus field-making inevitably covered the ruts except on the ridges and bluffs. There are defects in these and other explanations, none of which come near to helping us to estimate the number and kind of people involved. 172 [114]

The settlements, too, present problems. Thus the archaeologist: 'The curious and complete absence of settlement-sites throughout the prehistoric period, which also holds good for the Punic and later periods, seems susceptible of only one explanation. The best sites must have been chosen for settlement very early in the islands' occupation and these have remained centres of habitation until the present day' (3). May we then assume that, with the exception of the 'lost villages' of more recent times, the settlement pattern of today results from continual addition to, and an absence of erasures from the palimpsest? The answer is not only of chronological interest but has an essential place in any analysis of present-day Malta.

For such reasons as these we have attempted in this section to give a time perspective to the Maltese picture in order to help our present understanding.

The first Maltese would seem to have been Neolithic farmers using impressed ceramic ware of a type associated with the *Stentinello* culture of eastern Sicily. The stylistically earliest wares of Ghar Dalam (I) (Fig. 20) are associated with megalithic temples already well enough developed to have lost their original tomb character and to have become cult centres. These and later temples, built during the eight centuries before *c.* 1500 B.C. (Period I), are impressive and surviving contributions to the landscape by the first Neolithic people. Megalithic rock-tombs have been found at Xemxija and probably from this type of structure there evolved five distinct and successive phases of temple architecture. The earliest are those of Mġarr (III) and Xewkija (III) with a simple

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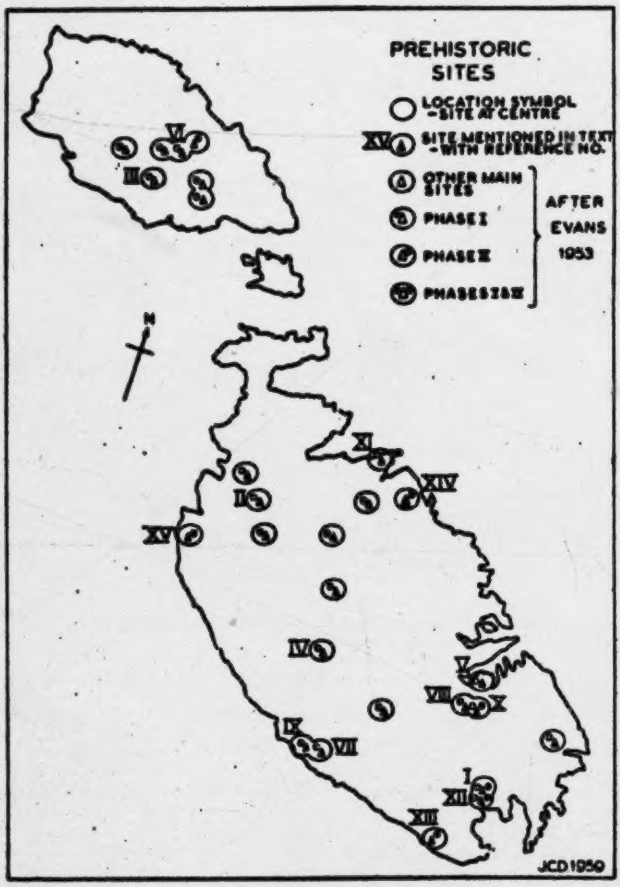
PREHISTORIC SITES
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Fig. 20 Prehistoric Sites.

172 clover-leaf plan of shrine and forecourts, associated with 'cut-out' styled ware also with *Stentinello* affiliations. By a little after 2000 B.C., a late Mġarr temple type had evolved contemporaneously with pottery of a more individual style as found in the Żebbuġ tombs (IV). In the latter, red ochre and flint have also been found, both imported from the Sicily-Lipari region. At Kordin (V) (Corradino), a more highly developed temple was built with embryonic apses opening off the centre court and in Gozo, at Ġgantija (VI), an early gigantic trefoil was further developed in this form (Plate VIII). At Ġgantija and Haġar Qim (VII) a penultimate stage foreshadowed the later climacteric. The buildings and individual stones became of immense size and, for the first time, the softer

Globigerina stone was used for the interior walls while the exterior remained of Upper Coralline. The Globigerina slabs were finely dressed and show the beginnings of ornamentation which was already being exuberantly applied to pigmented wares. Piggott (4) has maintained that, in this fourth phase of temple-building, in ceramic development and in the Hal Saflieni Hypogeum (VIII) (an underground ossuary), the Maltese tradition achieved its most characteristic individuality. Finely-worked flints and shell ornaments, known since the Żebbuġ phase, continued in use. The simple representational art in clay and bone, characteristic of the earliest period, evolved through the 'Statue-Menhir' of Żebbuġ to the fine figurines of this penultimate period (5). The 'scratched' decoration, so different from the painted wares of the Aegean entering Sicily, in particular emphasise the 'mysterious isolation and insularity' of Malta during this period. Evans (6) suggests that 'The Islands remained, as they were to do once more when the Greeks colonised the same areas of Sicily a millenium later, unaffected by this movement of Aegean peoples'.

At some time between 1700 and 1500 B.C. this culture, which had become indigenously rooted, reached its final flowering as a result of contacts with Cycladic and Mycenean cultures. The Mnajdra temple (IX) and those of Tarxien (X), the finest parts of the underground Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni, together with important but lesser works such as those at Bugibba (XI) reflect high aesthetic standards, great technical skill and considerable wealth. Spirally carved decorations, animal friezes in low relief and sophisticated modelling and sculpture embellished the shrines of an unknown religion. 'The finesse, the elaboration and sophistication... reflect a correspondingly unique development of ritual and liturgy... There are hints of divination and of oracular chambers, as well as the practice of ritual sleeping... to obtain visions; and the litter of broken pottery must come from offering bowls and the like; there are the statues of the mother-goddess. For 500 years at least, in the early second millenium B.C., Malta and Gozo must have counted as the most magic and potent island sanctuaries of the central Mediterranean world' (7).

As we have already noted, the settlements of these life-death worshippers have not been found and we can only assume that most of them must lie beneath the inhabited 'tells' of today. The early wares and the temples suggest for these people a remote origin in Western Asia. We know that, although some metal tools may have been used at a late date, they depended mainly on imported flint and obsidian and on local chert for implement making. The size and complexity of their shrines suggest that there must have been a large group of specialist masons and builders. These could have been supported either by an improbably numerous population capable of agricultural productivity of an unique intensity for the period or because Malta, even then, was the recipient of outside wealth. These early inhabitants wove cloth, carved in bone and ivory and practised inhumation and collective ossuary burial. Quite suddenly, about 1500 B.C., this culture, of which we know so little, was swept away by invaders.

Probably from southern Italy, possibly before that from Greece and Asia Minor, came a second culture and a people in all respects alien to the Period I settlers. Our knowledge of them is even more fragmentary than of their predecessors. The old cult centres and temples were generally ignored but that of Tarxien became a cremation cemetery, while Borġ in-Nadur (XII) became a fortified settlement site. In a cairn at Wied Moqbal (XIII) and in several small dolmens, as at ta'Hammut (XIV) pebble-burnished coarse slipware of the Tarxien Cemetery type has also been found. Metal objects, tools and weapons attest to the metal-using character of the newcomers. Before they became properly established, a second wave of kindred people would seem to have conquered the Islands. Borġ in-Nadur was re-occupied and strengthened as a fortress. The people of Period IIB possessed copper and bronze and, like their predecessors, looms of a primitive sort.

The final phase of Period II is represented by finds from the settlement site at Baḥrija (XV) which suggests South Italian Iron Age influence on an indigenously rooted culture. Probably between 1300 and 800 B.C. the cart ruts made their first appearance, while rock tombs of the period are still being found in pro-

172 fusion. Like their predecessors, the temple-builders, the Maltese of Period II represent one cul-de-sac ending 'of a gradual and infinitely complex movement of people and cultural elements from the Eastern to the Central Mediterranean' (8). The culture of Period I was probably erased in all forms but the monumental; the second probably persisted until Semitic contact was made with the Islands some time between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C.

174 Much has been speculated, though remarkably little is known, concerning the Phoenicians in Malta. As evidence one can only offer a few inscriptions found in various parts of the island, and characteristically Punic forms of burial which seem to have persisted down to the Roman occupation. The Phoenicians were once given credit for the great megalithic monuments and, until recently, it was fashionable to give them credit for the Maltese language as well. During the last 40 years, archaeological, linguistic and, to some extent, anthropometric advances in knowledge have changed the picture. Phoenicians and, later, Carthaginians may have come as traders but it is difficult to imagine that the Islands could have been anything more than transit points on shipping routes. Semitic settlers and administrators may have imposed an organised domination over Malta and Gozo: Mdina at least has produced pottery of Period I, Period II, Punic, Roman and later styles and, as already noted, Punic type rock tombs are numerous. Nevertheless, during the period of Greco-Punic rivalry in the Central Mediterranean, there is no certain Greek reference to Malta, whereas accounts such as that of Thucydides (Book VI) give detailed statements of all the important points held by 'the enemy'. Linguistically it may be feasible to consider that the Semitic structure and content of the Maltese language may have pre-Islamic elements but it is neither correct nor necessary to invoke a Punic conquest to account for this. The anthropological work of Buxton and Bradley (9) has but limited general value because of the difficulty of dating the prehistoric human remains (largely cranial). Even so, there is no supporting evidence for a Phoenician and/or Carthaginian colonisation.

All we know for certain is that, during the second century B.C., Rome, triumphant over Carthage, assumed political control in the Maltese Islands. The Islands were made part of the Praetorship of Sicily and, later, first Malta, and then Gozo were given 'Municipium' status. Direct evidence of conditions in Malta even during this, the first historical period, is fragmentary. Strabo mentions Malta and Gozo in terms of position, Livy and Ovid are scarcely more helpful. Cicero is a little more illuminating in his oration against Varres, once Praetor of Sicily, who was accused of abusing his position: '... what could you want with so much Maltese cloth, as if you were going to dress all your friends' wives?' Diodorus Siculus records that 'Melite' possessed many 'harbours', that its artisans were cunning weavers of linen and that the houses were architecturally worthy of note. He also believed that Malta was a Punic-planted colony and was already accruing wealth from sea trade. The Bible tells us nothing beyond the fact that St. Paul was shipwrecked on 'Melita' in A.D. 60 and spent some time thereafter in the island.

172 174 Archaeological evidence is scarcely more helpful, limited as it is to a few inscriptions, coins and parts of buildings in pre-existing settlements such as Rabat and Żurrieq. What we do know of the Roman period is, however, of some importance. It seems likely that Malta had long lain on the orbital fringe of a Siculo-Aegean culture zone and had probably been affected by Mycenean and Punic contacts. Henceforth, with one short break, the Islands occupied a place in the political and cultural organisation first of Rome and Byzantium and then of Christendom. For some five centuries, it seems reasonably to assume, the Maltese Islands were an organic part of Roman town-centred civilisation. After the Gothic and Vandal irruptions broke the unity of the Western Mediterranean the Justinian reconquest of Sicily may have included Malta or may merely have improved the regional stability around an isolated outpost of Roman culture in Malta. Again we do not know. During the long decline of Rome and the new territorial adjustments which preceded the rise of Islam, there is no direct evidence but only conjecture on the fate of Malta.

During the latter half of the ninth century A.D., we believe that the Islamic conquest of Sicily extended over Malta and for just over two centuries, the Islands came under non-European rule. This period is yet another element of the Maltese past which today appears fraught with significance but which remains maddeningly obscure. The material evidence of what may be termed the Arab era is limited to parts of the fortifications of Sant Anġlu (Birgu), the Grand Harbour and of Mdina, the *Medina* and capital of the Muslim rulers. The cultural and linguistic evidence is more abundant but its significance is also less certain. The census of households taken in 1240 (see p. 135) listed 771 Muslim as against 250 Christian families but what does this really imply? We can only hazard a guess as to the numerical accuracy of the count and, since we do not know for what purpose it was made, we cannot assess the meaning of 'Muslim family' in this context. In Malta today the townsman, who speaks a language basically Semitic, will often, rightly, insist on his post-Arab, European origin, yet in the country a farmer, speaking a language almost Arabic in content as well as Semitic in structure, may in all humility describe himself as 'Gharab'. We are left with speculation. Was Malta intensively Arabised? There is no evidence of religious persecution during this period and, although this is a dangerous argument, there seems little enough reason for Arab interest in the Islands to have been particularly strong. It may be that the Maltese were already sufficiently Semitic in language and cultural background easily to be overwhelmed by this last incursion from the East. Was the Roman and Christian overlay so thin as to allow something older and alien to Europe to break through? Even today, the horns of fertility appear side by side with Christian symbols. At all events, by 1090 and the Norman conquest of Malta, the Islands had become sufficiently non-European to retain a much stronger impress of the East than did even Sicily.

With the arrival of the Normans in Malta, less than 30 years after their occupation of England, Malta was rescued for Christendom to become one of the outposts and bulwarks of European culture. By the time of Roger II's assumption of the title of King of the Sicilies in 1139, the Christian Cathedral had been built at Mdina and the line of Island Bishops re-established. Until 1266, Malta and Gozo formed part of an Italo-Sicilian political unit, as a fief of the Grand Admiral of Sicily under the Norman crown from 1193 to 1194, and then under Swabian rulers. Presumably some form of feudal social and political organisation made an embryonic appearance but here once more we have practically no evidence. Indeed, although some late records do exist, no real study has yet been made of the social and economic basis of feudal life and land-holding for any pre-nineteenth century period of Maltese history. There is mention of Malta as a *commune* in 1208 (10) and in 1274 the *Consiglio Popolare dell Università* is recorded as protesting to Charles of Anjou, the contemporary ruler, over the violation of ancient rights (10).

In 1282, Aragonese rule was accepted by Sicily and in 1283 Malta also passed under Iberian control. The Islands remained associated with Sicily for administrative purposes and would seem to have been farmed out in parts as fiefs to members of the Aragonese and Sicilian nobility. At this time, too, the first noble titles were conferred on the indigenous aristocracy, beginning with that of Baron of Diar il-Bniet in 1350 (11). Otherwise, little is known except that the religious orders were early established and that the Church must at this time have secured its firm place in Maltese life. Arab corsairs continued to attack and plunder and to be attacked in their turn by Sicilian and Maltese ships. The population cannot have been numerous and we must assume that it was concentrated in large villages in the centres of the Islands. At Città Notabile (the old Mdina) (Plate IX), and at Gozitan Rabat (Plate X), the citadels were flanked by the houses of the magnates. There is no record of trade or manufacture.

Thus, until A.D. 1530, Malta existed feudally in relative stagnation, its isolation broken only by the alarms and excursions of sea-borne attack. In 1488, 35 years after their capture of Constantinople, the Ottoman Turks made their first recorded raid on Malta and the Islands entered a new phase of their history. In 1524, the Order of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem sent a

174 Commission to report on the state of the Islands. This report is no longer extant, but we may with caution use later writers' conflations (12) as evidence of the character of Maltese life in the period immediately before the coming of the Knights. Briefly, we can summarise as follows: Malta was described as 'a mere rock' inadequately covered with soil. The main products were honey, cotton and cumin, which the inhabitants exchanged for corn. Of water and timber there was a perpetual scarcity. Città Notabile was largely uninhabited and there were no settlements to be found on either the inhospitable northern littoral or the open bays and spacious harbours of the east. The island, with its 12,000 inhabitants, was frequently raided by corsairs who further increased the misery of the unfortunates subsisting on the barren soil. Gozo was described as being more fertile, with a population of some 5,000. The smaller island had no port and even the fine natural harbours of Malta were inadequately fortified. Much of Birgu (later Vittoriosa) lay in ruins. Even allowing for some prejudice on the part of the Knights' reconnaissance party it remains a forbidding picture.

The character of the pre-sixteenth century buildings is one manifest expression of the indigenous life which had developed (13). Churches were either of troglodytic form as at Maida and Mellieha, or small, rectangular buildings with pitched roofs of a type still surviving today. Some old village houses or farmsteads still retain their ancient characteristics. In most cases, large double doors open on to inner courtyards on which in turn open all the windows and doors of the single-storeyed house and storerooms. Life was centred in the courts and turned its back on the rest of the world in blind defensive walls. In villages such as Żejtun, the old streets are narrow and tortuous and some old houses have but small, single doors. The town houses of the nobility and gentry became more architecturally developed during the fifteenth century and later, but only in the security offered by the citadels and larger 'casals'. The exuberance of building which followed the coming of the Knights might be figuratively taken to represent a great freeing of the Islands from insecurity in isolation. Henceforth Malta might be besieged but at least it would be as a bastion, not as a lonely fort.

How much of the traditional experience of Maltese early history has survived into recent times must be largely a matter for speculation. All we may say here is that, for over 3,000 years, all the forces and currents which make up Mediterranean history have at least impinged on Malta. Each has left something in the landscape and, it is tempting to believe, in the traditional experience of the people.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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MALTA A.D.1530 to A.D.1800

B. Malta of the Knights

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Malta had become a mere pawn in feudal and state power-politics and its people, high and low, were not consulted when, in 1523, Emperor Charles V, King Charles I of the Spains and inheritor of the Aragonese Mediterranean empire, offered the Islands to the Military Order of Hospitallers.

The Order of St. John had its beginnings during the first Crusades. The Hospitallers were originally soldier-monks concerned primarily with the protection and welfare of pilgrims to the Holy Land. In addition to its duties of maintaining hospices and tending the Christian sick the Order, by the time of Papal charter recognition in 1113, had become involved in the military struggle against Islam. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Crusader Christian Kingdoms of the Levant, established with such effort, finally succumbed to internal weakness and external pressure. In 1291, the Hospitallers left the Holy Land for Cyprus and in 1309 moved to Rhodes to carry on the Crusading struggle as an island garrison. In their new base in Rhodes, the Order of St. John developed a fresh constitutional form and a new *raison d'être*, both of which were to survive for almost 500 years. The Knights of a now quasi-sovereign order retained their old vows of chastity, poverty and obedience and they extended their chain of hospitals and chapels throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. Nevetheless, as their military garrison characteristics became emphasised by the growing and threatening Ottoman strength and as the Knights added naval techniques to their armoury, so an organisational hierarchy of a secular type developed. They came to be grouped, on the basis of nationality, in eight *Langues;* those of Auvergne, Provence, France, Aragon, Castile, Italy, Germany and England. To each *Langue*, under its 'Pilier', was entrusted some part of the defence and organisation of the Order.

Two of the three classes of Knights were of noble descent. As in Palestinian days, the premier Knights of Justice, who elected the head of the Order, were only admitted from the many noble applicants after exhaustive investigation of their character and lineage. The second class, that of Chaplains, was particularly prominent in religious affairs as well as having normal military duties. Here, too, noble birth and standing were essential but the criteria were less exacting. Last came the Servants-at-Arms who, although of respectable rather than of aristocratic lineage, were still rigorously selected. Thus, in Rhodes, was finally established, in legitimate circumstances, the class structure and the exclusiveness which always thereafter characterised the Knights in all their dealings.

The Order itself, which for so long was to be a successful bastion against Islam, was not numerically strong. An account of 1631 (14) shows a strength of 1,755 Knights, 148 Chaplains and 155 Servants-at-Arms. In Rhodes, and later in Malta, local recruitment of sailors and soldiers swelled these numbers but the fighting power of the Order was essentially a matter of organisation and individual quality. Here lay the secret of the Knights' successes in the militant period of their history, and also the reason for a tendency towards segregation away from the populace. The fighting machine was to some extent supported by the capture of infidel treasure and by trade but the real wealth accrued from the European estates of the Order. Pious grants, political acquisition and inheritance brought to the Order farmland, castles and town dues, the administration of which was organised in 'Commanderies'. As a natural result of the preponderance of the French *Langues*, most of the 656 Commanderies which existed in the early sixteenth century were situated in the Kingdom of France, with dire results in the eighteenth century. Through the Knight and Chaplain administrators came regular tithe-like incomes and extraordinary levies for the requirements of the Order and its territorial bases. Thus already, in Rhodes, appeared a fully-fledged temporal power dependent on external wealth, the introduction of which into Malta was vitally to affect the Islands' way of life.

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In 1522, Turkish power, which had already advanced into Europe during the fourteenth century, proved too strong for the garrison of Rhodes. The valour of the Knights won them honourable surrender terms, and the inviolate Order together with its archives and treasure and accompanied by great numbers of the local people left that island. For eight years, Grand Master de L'Isle Adam sought a home and a base for a still militant Order, which was already something of an anachronism in a new Europe of nation-states and in a world less concerned with Mediterranean affairs than was the case before the great age of discovery. In 1523, as already mentioned, Charles V offered Malta as a possible base, but not until 1530 were the various political and military conditions more or less satisfactorily arranged. As we have seen, the Knights' reconnaissance party in 1524 viewed the Maltese Islands with repugnance so different were they from large and fertile Rhodes. However, there was no choice, and in 1530 the fleet of the Order sailed into Birgu harbour.

In Malta, the arrival of the Knights caused consternation among the indigenous nobility of Notabile. This blended Maltese-Sicilian-Spanish aristocracy had much to lose in status and sent envoys to plead with the Viceroy of Sicily. The Order could obviously not allow any rival government to hamper its specialised organisation for war and local administration was merged with its own. Neither did the Church and Religious Orders already established greet the Knights, with their especially favoured Papal status, with any joy. It seems unlikely that the peasantry of the inland villages had any particular reaction; their wishes, whatever they might have been, were in any case of little or no account. Thus began a state of affairs which continues to the present day in which Malta is inhabited by divided societies, farmers and town dwellers, a garrison and the indigenes, where parochial affairs are faced by cosmopolitan ideas. Even today, the nature and the roots of developing cleavages between communities must be understood before either the present situation can be appreciated or the future prognosticated.

Much has been written concerning the sojourn of the Order of St. John in the Maltese Islands (15). We must confine further attention to a few of the most relevant aspects of Knightly rule. First and most obvious is the military and strategic role of the Order.

Scarcely had the Knights arrived in Malta when the still expanding power of the Turks attempted once more to engulf them. During the 1540's, the new Islamic empire continued its conquering advance north of the Danube into Hungary and Transylvania. In 1551 eastern Tripolitania fell and in the same year Gozo was savagely attacked and its population reduced to about one-third of its former size. In 1560 the Knights were obliged to retreat from Tripoli itself, with the defence of which they had been saddled by Charles V. In 1565 the main attack on Malta was launched by Dragut Reis and there ensued the Great Siege, the memory of which is perpetuated still in a National Day. At this time the Order occupied the old port of Birgu and its small fleet of galleys and supply ships lay in what is now Dockyard Creek. It is worth emphasising here that the main expanses of the Grand Harbour and Marsamxett were too large and exposed for early shipping and it was the small subsidiary inlets which were the attractive, usable harbours. The main Turkish attack came overland from the south-eastern coves and beaches which the Commissioners of the Knights had earlier noted. From landward and from the sea the small fort of St. Elmo on the point of barren Xibberas peninsula was overwhelmed leaving only the Sant Anġlu fortress in Birgu. Here the Knights resisted assault after assault until the weakened Turks retired before the threat of Christian reinforcements from Sicily.

The victors, under Grand Master de la Vallette, turned to the tasks of recovery. From his insistent realisation of the tactical importance of the Xibberas peninsula, commanding as it did not only some of the creeks but also the entry to the main harbour basins on either side, came the re-siting of the headquarters of the Order. The building of Valletta was begun with all expedition in spite of misgivings concerning the scale of work involved. First the fortifications of St. Elmo and the garrison living quarters then the Hospital were

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constructed. The Auberges themselves, the hostels of the several Langues, were commenced and around these and the new Cathedral of St. John there took shape the regular grid pattern preserved to the present day. The Battle of Lepanto in 1571 gave the Order a respite from the expected Turkish attacks; no respite from financial pressure could take place. From 1566 until the expulsion of the Order in 1798, an immense amount of treasure and labour went into the building of more and more grandiose fortifications. The architectural history of Malta is a fascinating theme in itself and has been treated, in general and in particular, by many writers (16).

The major elements, rather than the details, are more relevant in this context. First, Valletta itself was never conceived as a port city. The Knights attempted to excavate a basin for their galleys at the Mandragg but this was too much for even their energies. The war-galleys were either moored alongside the peninsula or remained with the civil shipping in the creeks. The true ports either grew around the old nuclei of the Three Cities to the east, Birgu, Bormla and Isla, or slowly spread along the shores of Marsa, Marsamxett and Gżira. Thus around Valletta there slowly developed a complex conurbation of small units, the embryo 'urbs' of the great urban area of nineteenth and twentieth century Malta. Maltese Mdina, which had become the Città Notabile, now fell to second place as the Città Vecchia, the Old City, her Cathedral, rebuilt after accidental destruction, becoming a co-cathedral with that of Valletta.

Secondly, the sheer scale of the building effort of the Knights remains, even by modern standards, quite extraordinary. Decade after decade, Papal, Imperial and Royal treasure and architects were, often reluctantly, put at the Order's disposal for the construction of fortifications which were never put to the test (Plate XI).[2A] That this occurred resulted from the very real naval services rendered by the Order. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Order could very rightly be described as being 'the eye of Europe, the keystone of Christianity, the right arm of the Church, the nerve of our confidence, the terror of Asia and Africa, heroes who make the sea their battlefield' (17). The records of the votive Chapel in the Church of Żabbar attest to the accuracy of this description. Even during the eighteenth century, when Knightly vows were more and more forgotten in an age of decadence which Schermerhorn referred to as 'the era of wigpowder and curls' (18), speakers in the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce could, in 1790, defend the Order as a useful, even necessary safeguard against piracy (19). However irritating might be the sovereign pretensions of the Grand Masters, however politically embarrassing they could become particularly over matters of protocol, and however scandalous might be the conduct of some Knights, the rulers of Europe until the very last were always ultimately prepared to add by subvention to the Order's normal income from loot and the Commanderies. Malta as a whole one feels became accustomed, even then, to large scale works and constructional employment on them without ever realising the degree of involvement in power politics which was implied.

The third relevant aspect of the Knights' architectural legacy is social in character and leads on to a consideration of the social and economic impact of the Order on Maltese life. The peasant population consisted of subsistence farmers depending on their holdings for all but very few of their requirements. Even in 1958, the story was heard at Gharb of the almost legendary Gozitan farmer of a century ago who spent sixpence per annum - threepence on paraffin and threepence on having his donkey shod. In rural Malta, until very recently, a true money economy had not developed. Much of the technical ignorance which is only now being dispelled in the countryside arises from the long isolation of the farming community. It seems probable, for instance, that the Knights and their entourage depended on imports for high quality products of food and wine and only recently has a fastidious Maltese market for these commodities increased in size sufficiently to make correspondingly large demands on local expertise. The absence of social and economic contact between the Order and the Maltese is corroborated by the scale and function of their building. Away from the main fortified centres there arose watch towers and palaces. The former, which still stand guard around the coasts, are exotic elements in the

[2A] [See P. 132— Analyst]

rural landscape, mere reminders of the Order's main and specialised function. The palaces, such as those of Verdala in Buskett, Selmun and Sant Anton, were self-contained retreats for high officials and only in very recent years have some of them been partially opened to the public. In Valletta, the Three Cities and Città Vecchia, the indigenous aristocracy and the Order's upper class followers built great townhouses, the *Case*, after Italian styles. In the villages, the churches and a few houses indicate an infiltration of sophisticated taste (Plate XII);[xA] but the village priests remained largely rural in outlook, while a true country-living squirearchy never appeared.

This is not to say that the Order ignored the people over whom it ruled. The Hospitaller tradition was not forgotten. After the move to Valletta was built the Sacra Infermaria, much of which still stands. The hospital and the nursing organisation were advanced for the period and had a high reputation beyond Malta. During the 1620's (20), the cost of maintaining the hospital was equivalent to about two-thirds of the expenditure on the Auberges. A century after the report of an Apostolic Visitor in 1575 (21), a school of Anatomy, Chirurgy and Medicine was founded, and a free medical service was maintained until 1800. Nevertheless, the hospital, the school and the five medical practitioners only served Valletta and the Three Cities and were essentially designed to improve, directly and indirectly, the fighting efficiency of the Order. Educational facilities were with one exception, that of the *Università*'s school at Città Vecchia, provided by the Church. Even here, the Order's preoccupation with their own headquarters is evidenced. The first Jesuit College, built between 1597 and 1602, was the subjection of dissension between the Bishop, who wanted it in the Old City, and the Order who favoured Valletta. This College, with the addition of faculties of Law and Medicine, became the University a year after Grand Master de Pinto expelled the Society of Jesus and confiscated its estates in 1768.

It would be fatuous to criticise the Order for not doing more, either in the way of welfare or of making more social contact with the masses. What the cumulative evidence does suggest is that the Order never identified itself with Malta. Decade by decade, for 270 years, it lived its own specialised life, becoming more and more anachronistic in the new Europe that was emerging. The economy of the Islands, if it is permissible to use the term to describe such a peculiar complex, as well as the society, become imperceptibly changed and distorted, not deliberately but incidentally to the life of the Order. A tradition grew of service rather than manufacture, of an absent-minded paternalism and of reliance on remote, extra-territorial wealth. The *Consiglio Popolare dell' Università*, which was retained in name, became a *massa frumentaria* by which imported grain was bought in bulk and sold at controlled prices. Thus an old local administrative assembly became a means of avoiding discontent among the populace but also resulted in a precocious removal of Maltese prices from the influence of commercial fluctuations. A small number of Maltese, either noble or wealthy, became associated with the cosmopolitan anational life of the Knights. For the remainder, behind the 'Stone Curtain' of forts and palaces, parochial isolation remained undisturbed. Two nations and a garrison lived their own lives. As noted by Aquilina (22) the linguistic cleavages strikingly illustrate the internal dichotomy. The Three Cities of Birgu, Isla, and Bormla became, to the upper classes, Vittoriosa, Senglea and Cospicua. (The last, ironically enough, has now been given a Maltese spelling: Kospikwa.)

Much of what has been said would be applicable to the first century of British rule, but the basis of the present class-conscious and heterogeneous life of Malta was laid by the Knights. Today English loan-words simultaneously enrich and contaminate the language. Even before 1800, Semitic Maltese in all its purity was left to the farmers, while Valletta used a Romance-modified tongue and the literate wrote in anything but Maltese.

Such are the themes of the history of the Order in Malta. The Order busied itself with its own political and economic affairs. The secular peak of centralised government was reached during de Pinto's long reign, between 1741 and 1773, but internal weaknesses were appearing (23). Grand Master Perellos (1695-1720) had his own image stamped on the coinage of the Order and destroyed the

[xA] [See P. 132 -- Analyst]

last remnants of the power of the *Giurati*, the Maltese Civil Magistrates, but at 175*
the same time revived the nominal ceremony of receiving the keys of Città Vecchia from the same body. In 1749, the Moslem slaves of the Order made an unsuccessful revolt. De Pinto and his successor, de Rohan (1775-1797) bestowed [554]
numerous titles of nobility and of the 26 Maltese title-holders of today 12 derive their status from these two Grand Masters. Ximenes abolished the essential *Consiglio Popolare* (as distinct from the *Università*) in 1775. Diplomacy and court appearances in the capitals of Europe consumed more treasure than the *corsos*, the raids against the Infidel, brought in. Indeed, some of the seafaring exploits were essentially piratical in nature.

Insolvency, dissension and an absence of purpose, together with growing unpopularity in Malta; to these were added the embarrassments of Revolutionary abolition of the Order in France and seizure of the Commanderies in 1792. By 1800, the Malta of the Knights had crumbled under the Napoleonic touch.

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Plate IX. Mdina. Ramparts and Cathedral.

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Plate X. The Citadel, Rabat, Gozo.

Chapter V

MALTA A.D. 1800 to 1914

A. Economy and Trade

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During the last years of administration by the Knights, bankruptcy threatened the Order. In so far as one may think in terms of a Maltese 'economy' for that period, one may also note the appearance, even then, of the fundamental economic problems of Malta. During the nineteenth century, a slow change from a considerable dependence on extra-territorially derived wealth to overwhelming reliance upon it made the overall instability of the economy obvious to all. Equally important in many ways, was the growing need for reconciling external economic balance with the claims of a rapidly rising internal demand. This latter problem, now sufficiently familiar to us all, was too novel to be recognised during the nineteenth century. Moreover, in the case of Malta it was, and to some extent still is, obscured by the nature of the invisible income so long drawn from outside.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Malta drew wealth from two major external sources. Some was derived from visible trade, but: 'the trade of Malta previously to the invasion of the French in the year 1798 was inconsiderable... (it) consisted chiefly in the exportation of cotton twist, the produce and manufacture of the Island' (1). Nevertheless Boisgelin (2) estimated that annual exports of spun cotton to France alone were worth in the same period 2,750,000 *livres*, while Ball (3) in 1801 valued exports of cotton twist and goods at £500,000. These exports, products of indigenous agriculture and manufacture, paid for only a fraction of the Islands' imports. These imports included basic supplies of timber, vegetable oils, simple manufactures and, above all, grain, the domestic production of which supplied only about one-third of the need. Over and above these staple commodities for general consumption were the imports of a great range of superior consumer goods for the Knights and of capital goods for the equipping and maintenance of the Garrison. These were paid for out of the second main source of wealth, the foreign income derived from the Order's mainland estates, from the taxation of the Commanderies, and from special grants by irregularly sympathetic Kingdoms and the Papacy.

A further part of what we may term 'Negotiable Wealth' went to the Order's 'Internal Revenue Account' to pay for administrative costs, for 'contract' services such as fortification building, and also for social and welfare services such as the Hospital, almhouses and medical care (4). This element may be considered in present-day terms to have been expended on the wages and salaries of Maltese employees of the Government and Defence Departments, and therefore indirectly contributed to payments overseas for basic imports. A third but very minor source of 'foreign currency' was that of civil port activity and mercantile profit. Shipping dues made a small contribution, partly in foreign currency, to the Internal Revenue.

Thus, even at this early date, a complex inter-relationship existed between various elements in the Maltese economy. During the whole of the subsequent period the real distinction between the three main elements of the economy, the Internal Revenue Account, the Balance of Payments or Negotiable Income, and the National Product, became greater but unfortunately not fully recognised. The essence of later change lies in the altering relative importance of these main elements and of their constituent parts.

By 1798, the Internal Revenue Account in so far as it can be isolated, was showing weaknesses resulting from increased 'administrative' expenditure. The Balance of Payments was showing a visible annual deficit of 4,000,000 *livres* (5), and this was becoming hard to meet from the income of the Order's non-Maltese estates. The National Product is impossible to assess except in the broadest terms but may be analysed as follows. First there was the production of agri-

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culture and fishing almost entirely, with the exception of the bulk of the cotton crop, for home consumption in the largely self-sufficient rural community. Secondly, cotton spinning and weaving on a domestic scale which contributed most of the manufacturing production. The third item was made up of wages and mercantile profit on services supplied to the small amount of civilian shipping. A fourth item of rents and profits may be presumed to be very small. Lastly and most important were the peculiar services rendered by the Order to Christian Europe, paid for in foreign income and finally dispersed in wages and salaries for goods and services supplied by the Maltese population, particularly by what we may term the *entourage* of the Garrison.

The last years of the eighteenth century witnessed the complete destruction of the old basis of Internal Revenue and Externally Derived Income, as well as wiping out that part of the National Product which was a consequence of the function of the Order. From 1792 onwards the Knights' estates in France and French-dominated Europe were confiscated and when, in 1798, French forces occupied the Islands, the Order died, in fact if not in name. In 1800, an abject Spain, at the behest of France, prohibited the importation of cotton yarn and in Catalonia the last important Maltese export market was lost.

The period of British occupation and rule which commenced in 1800 was therefore a period in which the existing basic economic situation had to be served by new processes of wealth-getting based on new values. The general economy revived rapidly in embryonically new forms but in the special economic circumstances of the Napoleonic Wars. Between 1800 and 1813 British official expenditure of some £433,000 replaced that part of the Order's foreign income which had been functionally expended. Other compensation came from a relatively new source of foreign income, the personal expenditure of a new type of garrison and a foreign element numbering up to 20,000 at peak. This particular contribution to Malta's need for 'foreign currency' was the germ from which was to grow the greatest single source of Negotiable Wealth. The differential between the value of this type of income derived from outside the Islands and the value of the commodities, increasingly imported in type, set against it, started to become one of the chief elements in National Product as mercantile profit, in Negotiable Wealth - when earned by service industries, and in Internal Revenue through taxation (6).

The decline in the export of cotton was never arrested and the statement in 1812 that cotton twist was a commodity unsaleable abroad was corroborated by time (7). This loss of the second traditional source of foreign income was largely made up by a boom in civil port activity and entrepôt trade. This replacement however implied a further swing towards dependence on external economic activity, and an increase in the proportion of the National Product concerned with services rather than with local material resources.

In 1801 Britain declared Malta a Free Port and, in a series of Orders in Council dating from 1807, the Islands were given an especially favoured status for trading in the Mediterranean. Conceived as strategic economic measures to break the Continental Blockade, these Orders had the incidental effect of stimulating activity at Valletta. Since Napoleon's economic measures were anachronistically mercantilist in operation, and since each addition to the politico-economic confusion, whether the American Embargo Act or war with Turkey, merely intensified the channelling of trade through British maritime controls, Malta flourished. After 1807, the island of Malta became the focal point of a trading system artificially warped and distorted by war. In 1808 two-thirds of cargoes consigned from Malta went to the Levant and Egypt, in 1809 over one-half to Trieste. By 1810 over three-quarters of them were destined for North Adriatic ports and this proportion was maintained for some years. These cargoes consisted almost entirely of British manufactures and Colonial goods. In return, from the Levant came commodities mainly for war-booming London; fruit, oil and wine, fine woods, drugs, carpets, etc. From the Adriatic came raw materials and naval stores such as timber, hemp, pitch and tar, flax, iron, linen, mercury and verdigris as well as glass, wine and tobacco (8). This flood of goods overwhelmed the limited warehouses of Malta and resulted in

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the springing up of 60 British and over 20 Maltese entrepreneurial businesses. It is not surprising that the Royal Commissioners were able to say in 1812: 'The Commercial part of the Community we found daily increasing in prosperity and opulence; fully sensible of the peculiar advantages derived from the protection of Great Britain; anxious only that this Protection shall on no future occasion be withdrawn' (9). Prophetic words these; from this time onwards, port activity of one sort or another rather than the *corsos* was to be of direct importance.

Internally also there was relative prosperity: 'the great mass and body of the People were happy and contented: warm in their professions of attachment to Great Britain' (10). External boom was associated with internal inflation. Many farmers turned from cotton growing to the production of grain and foodstuffs, the prices of which soared in prosperous Valletta. Many artisans, weavers and spinners found employment in the port services. The decay and near collapse of the old *Università*, the cheap grain agency, was obscured, except for the very needy, by the short-term benefits following commodity shortages, rising prices and unevenly increased incomes.

From this period onward, in the harbour areas, there developed mercantile enterprises and a large labour force, all concerned with entrepôt trade, with trans-shipping, handling and re-export of almost entirely non-Maltese goods. This port activity began to contribute directly, and on a significant scale, what may be termed foreign currency in the form of commercial profit. Secondly, the payment of tonnage dues almost entirely by foreign shipping introduced a special element of external contribution to the Internal Revenue of the Administration. Thirdly, the wages of the civil port labour-force were, directly or indirectly, also derived from non-Maltese sources.

The boom of the Napoleonic Wars, in this sector of the economy, was unstable and short-lived in that it owed its strength to distorted trading conditions. Nevertheless the new entrepreneurs attributed the post-war decline to a British Colonial policy adjudged to be both *laissez faire* and restrictionist in character rather than to the inevitable termination of artificially favourable wartime conditions (11). This point is of importance because throughout the later history of Malta the same error was repeatedly made. Wealth, and in this instance mainly foreign-derived wealth, based on entrepreneurial activity must always be fluctuating in fortune, but it was the booms which were assumed to be the rightful norms while the intervening lower levels of prosperity were regarded as 'outrageous fortune'. One of the tragedies of Malta is that this attitude was strengthened by periodic coincidences of favourable circumstances, and Malta has come to expect such benefits almost as of right. At this early period, we can see too the failure to seize opportunities during periods of prosperity for investment in improved port facilities and in the manufacturing and agricultural sectors.

A post-war decline in externally inflated commerce was accompanied by a drop in direct and indirect Imperial expenditure. Britain had been primarily concerned with the beating of Bonaparte and, with certain strategic and constitutional provisos, was concerned with a return to the *status quo*. The main garrison and fleet departed, leaving behind in 1813 Governor Maitland, his 35 English administrators and a small naval and military force. British economic interest became centred on balancing the Internal Revenue account. The Treasury was in a parlous state and the *Università* heavily in debt. The Government Revenue Account was soon put on a sound basis but the loss of much external wealth severely affected the Islands' population. The fall in commercial and urban prosperity pricked the bubble of internal inflation and also reduced the level of non-agricultural employment. The countryside suffered considerably. In 1836 (12) it was reported that agricultural commodity prices had fallen on average by one-half since 1827 but that rents, the level of which were kept up by competition for land, fell only by one-quarter. By the later date cotton spinning and weaving, almost entirely for a depressed local market, were the only significant manufactures. Others were small and localised; salt and pottery making at the village of Birkirkara, cane work in Siġġiewi and tanning in Tarxien. The fishing industry was so ill-developed as to make the Commissioners wonder whether fishing was even feasible.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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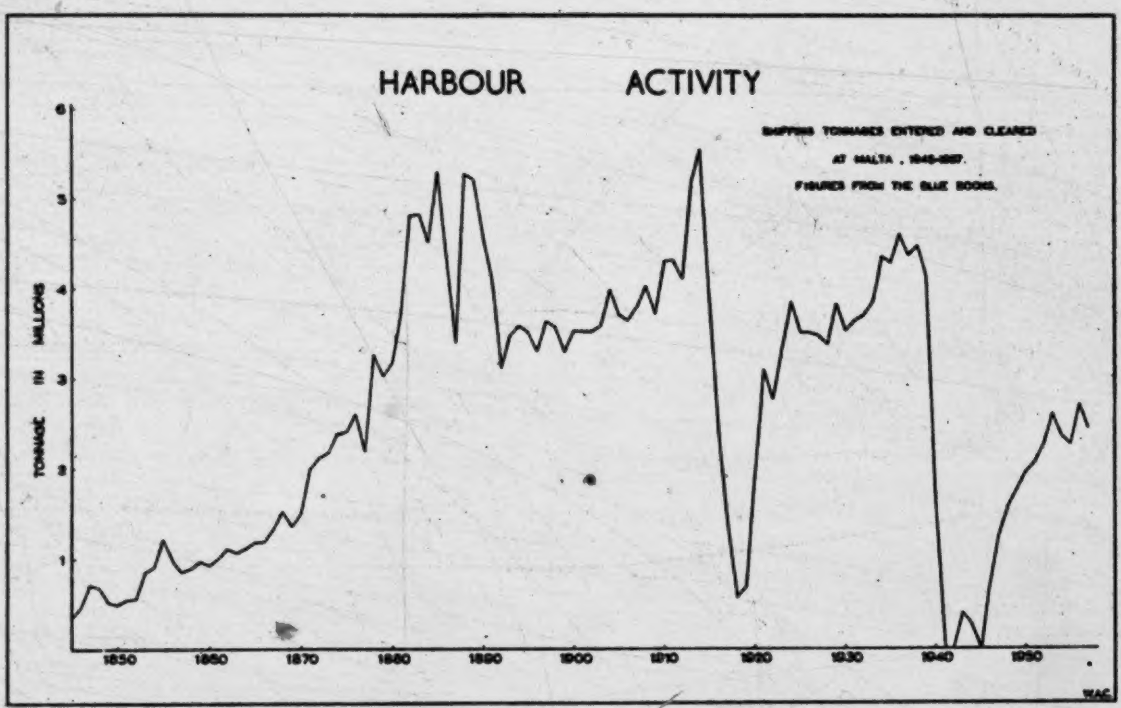

[p. 118-A]

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Fig. 30 Harbour Activity.

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

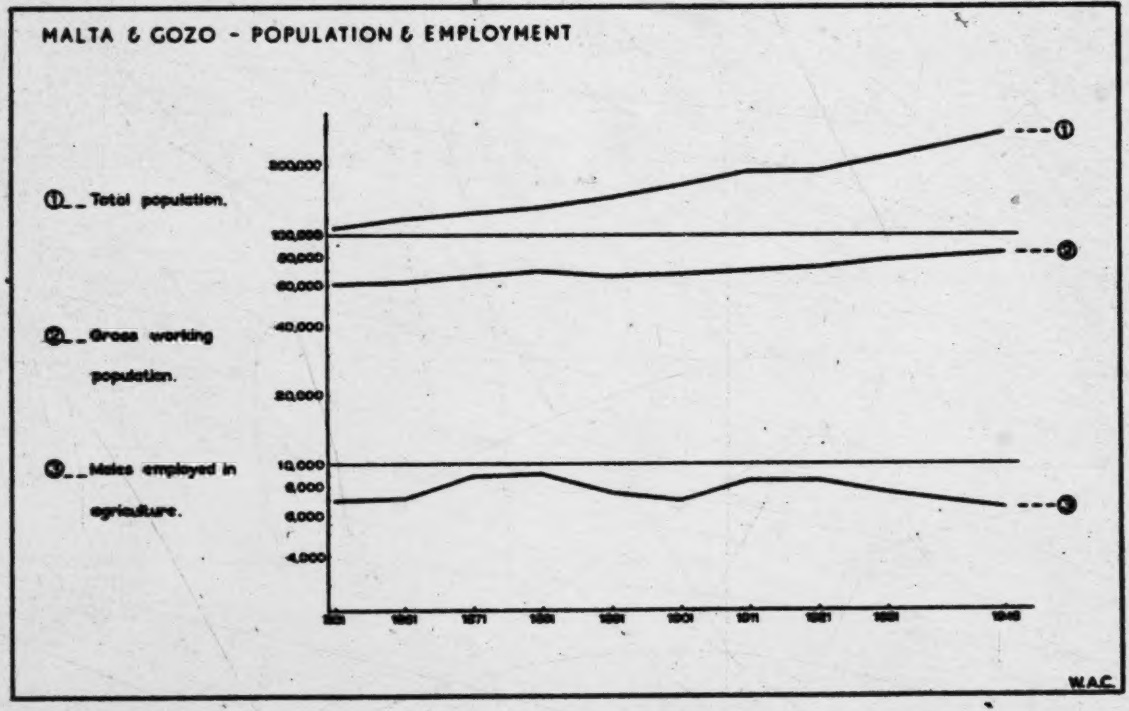

Fig. 31   Malta and Gozo, Population and Employment.

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[p.118-B]

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Part of the economic trouble resulted from the shortage of Maltese personnel capable or trained in the arts of public finance or in the exercise of private economic initiative, a natural result of the long period of paternal autocracy under the Knights. The position was improved neither by the lack of confidence felt by the British Administration in Maltese executive experience, nor by the attitude exemplified by Wellington's statement before the House of Lords (13): 'We hold it as an important post, as a great military and naval arsenal, and as nothing more'.

Nevertheless changes were in train. Paralleling the constitutional developments outlined in Section B of this chapter, and in symbiotic association with the demographic trends considered in Chapter VI A, the interplay of internal and external economic forces produced new economic patterns. In general, as the needs of British Imperial Policy, more variable than those of the strangely ossified Order, became greater, so Malta became more exposed to changes in world circumstances. Similarly, as commerce in its more rarified forms became dominant, world trade and business cycles were more and more closely reflected in the Maltese economy, evidence of growing integration into global conditions. An increased general sensitivity became characteristic of a more sophisticated but top-heavy structure. Under all lay the declining relative importance of that wealth based on indigenous resources and industries.

Between 1820 and 1854, the Maltese economy reflected slow world and regional adjustments to peace and to the growth of an international economy in which Britain led the way. Technological advances but slowly exerted economic effects. This was still the 'Iron Age' and of steampower in an embryonic form. Not until the 1850's, coinciding with a second phase of trade distortion and reawakening Imperial interest in the Mediterranean both associated with the Crimean War, came Bessemer's Convertor and the 'Steel Age'. The Maltese harbours still lay in a great inland lake, affairs on the shores of which alone were important. In 1827 (Battle of Navarino) the British fleet was based on Malta; in 1832 an Admiralty packet service was established and in 1839 the P. and O. and East India Companies used Malta as a calling port on their Egypt and Levant runs. The Crimean War itself demonstrated the regional limitation of Maltese shipping importance, and in the 1860's under one-half of shipping tonnage entered and cleared was extra-Mediterranean in character and most of that was British.

Even so, changes occurring before the middle of the nineteenth century were great enough to produce a sharpening of the old distinction between the 'Old Malta' of the villages, of the old nobility centred on Mdina, and the 'New Malta' of the harbours. The former was too parochially ignorant, the latter too centrifugally minded to allow of stable and regular development especially during a period of rapid external change.

In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened and the Mediterranean became a world highway. As the figures for shipping tonnages entered and cleared in Malta indicate (Fig. 30), and as also evidenced by the internal facts of migration and demography, land settlement and abandonment, employment and occupation, the Maltese economy entered a special phase after 1870.

Until this time, Malta's externally-based civil economy developed at average world rates rather than at the higher speeds found in Northern Europe. After 1870, shipping business and port activity in Malta increased more rapidly than did world trade and for two decades enjoyed a prosperity of which the Napoleonic and Crimean Wars had provided but a foretaste. Entrepôt trade with attendant commercial profits boomed and port employment benefited particularly from the increasing bunkering trade.

The Internal Revenue Account had remained based on the recommendations of specific and direct taxation made by the 1836 Royal Commission. Generally increasing commercial prosperity and the growing population, together with Imperial expenditure, so raised the level of consumption that import duties on food and drink made up over 40 per cent. of Government Revenue. Tonnage dues, and legal imports increased *pari passu* with port business. Only during two of the world slump years of the 1880's did rising expenditure produce current

*175 43 revenue deficits. In 1878 a report by Rowsell on the fiscal situation in Malta is particularly indicative of buoyant conditions, but also indicated the smallness of revenue reserves (14).

The superficially favourable Internal Revenue situation and the fall in unemployment and migration, particularly after 1870, were however paralleled by a growing unbalance in the National Product. Once again there occurred a fortuitous coincidence of favourable external circumstances. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and fleets of small steamships plying the new route to the Indian Ocean needed frequent bunkering. The Mediterranean littoral itself became the scene of increased economic activity. The same industrial surge in northern Europe, and in Britain in particular, which built the ships and the Canal, needed foodstuffs and raw materials and provided the capital and equipment for their production. Not only from the Mediterranean littoral, Australia and the Orient, but also from the Russian and Danubian Black Sea ports came the ships which converged on the Malta Straits. Many regions suffered from the downward movement of commodity prices which occurred after 1873. Malta was little affected by commodity price-changes in that her commercial activity was strictly concerned with services, and the Islands reaped the benefit of increased volume of traffic. By 1882, 80 per cent. of the recorded tonnage using the harbours dealt with extra-Mediterranean traffic. The same year witnessed the nineteenth century peak of British steel exports, the Black Sea grain trade was still building up and bunkering business in Malta reached its height. During the 1880's Britain was in virtual control of maritime affairs and the complicated pattern of a relevant part of tramp movement may be summarised thus (15):-

> '... steamers go a round voyage, part of which is in ballast, taking coal, say, to the Mediterranean and then grain from the Black Sea to Hamburg and home... The course of the export trade in coal is influenced in some degree by the return freight... modified by favourable harvests or otherwise in different parts of the world, and the consequent varying sources of our food supplies'.

*175 43 505 In this statement may be found an explanation both of the reason for Malta's Golden Era between 1870 and 1890 and for its impermanence. Before 1890 events conspired to produce commercial opportunity. After 1890 Europe turned more and more to the New World for grain and the volume of Black Sea trade slowly declined. Those ships still in the trade, together with those using the through Mediterranean routes grew larger and more power-efficient and therefore less in need of frequent bunkering stops. Competition from other ports increased as the Mediterranean political pattern became simplified by effective French control of much of North Africa, by the enforcement of stability on Egypt and by Italian unification. The sheer momentum of nineteenth century economic progress carried centres such as Algiers, Naples, Alexandria and Barcelona, all with developing hinterlands and facilities, out of the class of ports pure and simple. By 1895 shipping activity in Malta had dropped back to the level of 1880 and thenceforward it developed at a slower rate than did world trade as a whole. The Maltese were once more sharply reminded that the possession of a good natural harbour was not enough in itself permanently to attract commercial interest.

Since detailed statistics of trade, other than that in dutiable goods, were not recorded before 1910 it is difficult to measure directly the real significance of port activity and trade either during the boom or in more normal conditions. The Blue Books are of some analytical aid, and that for 1891 suggests that the total value of what are termed re-exports was £35,000,000 of which only 3 per cent. by value were actually landed in Malta, the remainder proceeding to their ultimate destinations in the same bottoms. For further information we must turn to an analysis of the other elements in the National Product.

*175 43 464 161 The most useful records at our disposal are the Census recordings of occupations although even here there are considerable deficiencies. The gross working population (unemployment figures are not available before 1921) shows trends which conform to those of net population increase (Fig. 31) but particularly noteworthy is the numerical loss due to a decline in the female working group.

175* 43 464

group. From 1851, when it composed 45 per cent. of the total, this element steadily decreased, absolutely and relatively. This general trend resulted from normal sociological changes consequent on a maturing of the whole economy and from the growing dominance of male employing service industries. At the same time, the preponderantly feminine cotton industry was steadily declining (see pp. 123 and 124).

175* 43 464 441 458

One of the most significant indicators of economic change is that of male employment in agriculture (Fig. 31). During the first century of British rule, agriculture played no part in the economic expansion which was in train. Agricultural prosperity became a function of general prosperity and therefore to a large extent mirrored external fortune. Employment in the industry on the other hand, except for the shortlived cotton growing boom of the 1860's during the American Civil War, varied inversely with general economic activity. In Malta, as in most countries, it would be true to say that rising profits in farming benefited existing producers but failed to attract net incomers. On the other hand, population growth, the cessation of employment elsewhere, obstacles to emigration or even forces producing a return of migrants all periodically forced some workers back on to the land. Thus in the years between 1851 and 1871 while the population was growing more quickly than the slow but accelerating commercial activity, sheer population pressure and migration trends (16) forced the level of male agricultural employment from c. 7,000 to c. 9,000. During the Golden Years and the subsequent period of large-scale dockyard and public works construction numbers fell once more to c. 7,000 in 1901. Later stagnation in commerce and a decline in constructional work culminating in a severe depression (necessitating a Royal Commission) were marked by an increase in the number of farmworkers to 8,500 in 1911. These general fluctuations can be corroborated by reference to farm family histories and by changes in the availability of land. Behind the overall absence of numerical change and of those of secular variations we may discern some of the fundamental features of Maltese agriculture. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the better land had already been occupied by as many farmworkers as contemporary productivity could properly support. This number remained more or less constant, first because the economic and social climate was not propitious to the labour saving innovations which were sweeping over Europe, and secondly because the intake of land from waste did little more than compensate for losses elsewhere. We have a picture of a technically static, status declining and credit starved industry which from time to time lost some of its most vigorous and enterprising young workers or gained a flood of generally poor and semi-skilled labourers.

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More true of Malta than of Gozo, this picture must be modified to accommodate regional differences and changes. Already in the eighteenth century, as we have noted, a cleavage existed in Malta between the *urbs* around Valletta, the Old City of Mdina-Rabat, and the rural communities. By the middle of the nineteenth century, this had developed into an embryonic form of the present division into urban, suburban and rural communities (Fig. 36). The social and demographic reasons for and implications of this are considered elsewhere (Chapter VI A) but the internal economic factors need present consideration.

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Before the building of the railway in 1881, the tramways in 1905, and the later motorable roads, communication between villages and between country and town was relatively limited. Within those areas physically closest to what had now become the Grand Harbour the attraction/repulsion effects on agricultural employment were most strongly felt. On the eastern urban fringe, in the Żabbar area, these fluctuations were very violent and indicative of too complete reliance on two simple forms of economic activity, dockyard work and farming. On the western fringe the expanding economic and political functions of the nuclear *urbs* overwhelmed old villages such as Birkirkara and created new townships such as that of Hamrun in a more complex urbanisation (Figs. 32 and 39). Fluctuations in agricultural employment still occurred but these were less important than the steady decline in the total.

The changes outlined above proceeded slowly but at an accelerating rate during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. By 1871 popula-

[Text Continues on p. 123]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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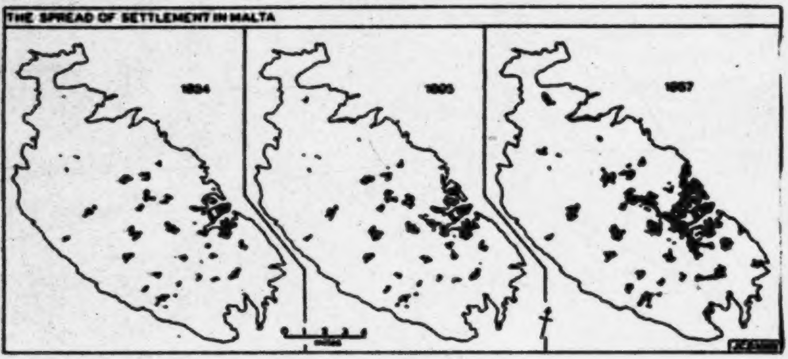
THE SPREAD OF SETTLEMENT IN MALTA
1957
miles

Fig. 32 The Spread of Settlement in Malta.

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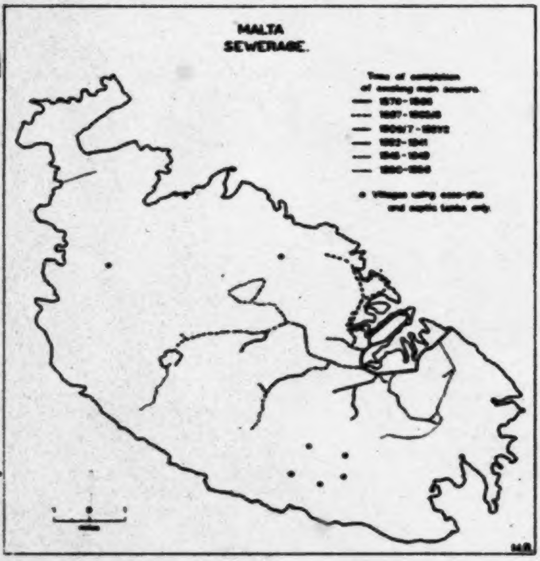
MALTA
SEWERAGE.
Time of completion
of existing main sewers.
Villages using cess-pits
and septic tanks only.
miles

Fig. 33 Malta: Sewerage.

tion increase had overtaken economic growth, and in particular had forced an 175*
expansion of the cultivated area. As still evidenced in the landscape the farming 369
frontier moved into the more difficult lands of the north-western uplands and on
Mellieha Ridge and intensified effort on the floodable lands of Wied il-Ghasel. 43
The *Società-Economico-Agraria* in a series of reports and in the *Gazzetta Agraria Maltese* expended much effort during this time in studying the possibility of reclaiming land hitherto uncultivated (17).

From 1871 onward non-agricultural employment became absolutely 175*
dominant. The significance of this change lies in the fact that indigenously
rooted manufacturing, viz. cotton working, died completely and the largest sector 463
of National Production became entirely dependent on external wealth. A closer 369
examination of one of the crucial periods, the decade 1871-81, illustrates the
regional changes which were taking place. The male working population 464
increased suddenly from 40,699 to 46,116. The greatest rate of increase
occurred in the urban area where the number of male workers rose by 17 per 43
cent. while the population increased only by 9 per cent. The suburban trend was intermediate between this and the rural situation where the employment rate rose by only 8 per cent. - less than 800 men. The greatest suburban rise occurred mainly in the following decade. Functionally the largest increase occurred in the group of Porters, Carriers and Coalheavers - 100 per cent., while the commercial group increased by 27 per cent. and the numbers in the building trade actually declined slightly. During this decade and most of the next the greater part of economic growth resulted from increased port activity. At one end of the social scale there would seem to have been an actual migration of nobility and gentry from the 'unfashionable' old centres into Valletta, while in the capital the number of 'gentry' increased rapidly with each census as successful *nouveaux riches* acquired estates and a higher status. Bankers, merchants and dealers increased by 8 per cent., and in ever descending and widening social circles, shopkeepers by 11 per cent. and petty vendors by 25 per cent. The Transport group, an advanced stage to that of Porters, increased in number even more astonishingly, by 129 per cent. in Malta as a whole and by 318 per cent. in the rural areas.

As Table 23 indicates, the economic revolution was becoming more complex and the sphere of influence of Valletta and the port became more extensive.

Table 23. Percentage change in the male working population.

Location	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91
Urban	+8	+17	-4
Suburban	+0.7	+12	+5
Rural	+9	+8	+1

By 1891 the port boom was over but Government expenditure and Imperial military spending continued to rise. Commerce came more to mean retail trade and dockyard work more associated with bunkering and naval servicing. Coal-heaving, civil and military, engaged 2,075 men by 1891. By 1905 over 9,000 men were employed by the Naval Establishments, half of these on constructional work. On the other hand, the build up of the garrison, naval and military ended in 1902 and the Royal Commissioners in 1911 estimated that 'the reduction of the garrison must mean a loss to the industries of Malta of not less than £400,000 a year'.

During the closing years of the nineteenth century there was finally estab- 175*
lished in Malta the complex economic pattern which still fundamentally underlies 43
life in the Islands. The greater integration of economic life, a high level of urban
and dockyard activity and the improvement of internal communications resulted [361]
not in continued movement into the *urbs* but in the growth of the suburbs and [369]
the strengthening of the non-agricultural element in the rural areas. Thus of
the coalheavers of 1891, 80 per cent. lived outside the port complex and [364]
44 per cent. in the outer ring of casals Qormi, Luqa and Żejtun. The labour

*175 43 catchment area of the port was extended to include most of the east and centre of the island.

[464] [114] The decline in indigenously rooted economic activity is typified by the fortunes of the cotton industry, which after two millennia of regional fame finally succumbed to the stresses of the new world into which Malta had been introduced. Statistical information is limited to brief mention of employment in the industry in the Census Reports of 1851 and later. General material, often untrustworthy, may be gleaned from travellers reports. Field work (18) carried out during the last four years has given us the evidence of the few surviving cotton workers who can recall the character of the industry as it was in its moribund latter days.

*175 288 43 178 In 1861 there still remained almost 9,000 workers occupationally described as spinners and weavers and some 200 beaters and dyers. Ninety-six per cent. of the total were women, and male labour was generally used only in the final stages of cloth preparation. The industry included all processes from the growing of indigenous short staple annual cottons to the manufacture of cloth. The actual operations however were carried out almost entirely by individual workers in their own homes and were linked only by merchants specialising in this trade. In many cases merchants advanced seed to the farmers on a crop-sharing basis. In all cases they bought the picked lint and then distributed quantities by weight to 'out-work' spinners. These would return the yarn, which had been prepared by primitive traditional teasers and spinning wheels, and were paid by weight and fineness of the yarn. The village merchant would store the yarn until he received an order for cloth and would then make similar contracts with domestic weavers.

That this type of 'out-work', domestic industry survived late into the nineteenth century is a commentary on the social and economic needs of the poorer village and rural classes. Much of the female labour described as occupied in cotton-working was often only seasonally thus employed. The 1861 census taken in the autumn in contrast to the usual spring period clearly illustrates the seasonal change of work between spring harvesting and tillage in the fields, and the home use of the spinning wheel after the autumnal harvest. Tariffs and quotas on trade in lint and yarn were deliberately employed to protect in the domestic market this last employment reserve of the 'lower classes'.

Finally however tradition and protection proved powerless to prevent change. In the harbour area the decline was rapid after 1851, alternative employment and the impact of trade virtually killing the indigenous cotton industry by 1901. Away from the conurbation the same factors operated more slowly but still inexorably. Żebbuġ and Rabat, centres of old Malta, were the last to succumb. The former, a great centre of mercantile and ecclesiastical wealth derived from cotton, remained relatively important for weaving until 1914. In Rabat, the suburb of the old capital, a craft industry still survives. With the coming of new opportunities for wealth gaining, not in trade but in mass employment in the dockyards and towns, the last *raison d'être* of the cotton industry disappeared. It survived longest in the cotton growing regions of the west and in the most Maltese of the old villages of the Centre and South. With its disappearance died the last considerable skilled employment of traditional resource wealth.

*175 178 43 Changes such as these characterised the Maltese economy during the nineteenth century. World War I marked the end of an epoch during which the evaluation placed on Malta by Britain was sometimes questioned but never invalidated. The Maltese economy as it existed in the opening years of the twentieth century had reached the logical culmination of a specialised development which had been under way for centuries.

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B. Constitutional and Social

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As well as those aspects of economic and commercial life examined in Chapter V A, other elements of recent historical experience in Malta need to be considered before we can begin to understand the contemporary scene. Of these other elements, only a few can be mentioned here, some 'institutional' in character such as problems of Government, Public Health, Education, and the Church; others more individual - consisting of the factors other than institutional that govern human choice - are considered in Chapters VI and X F.

First a brief survey of constitutional developments in Malta. One main theme runs through the whole history of government in Malta, a theme which illustrates the close parallelism of social and economic developments. In so far as Malta exists mainly in terms of her locational value to non-Maltese powers, any system of government is forced to subordinate local interests to those of the metropolitan power. This can always be justified by the valid assertion that the survival of even a residual part of the former depends on the strength of the latter.

Before 1798, government was naturally conceived of in strictly feudal terms. The Order of St. John exercised immediate sovereignty, the indigenous territorial nobility maintaining a certain precarious status by courtesy of the Order. Two assemblages existed, also mainly by courtesy of the Knights, the *Consiglio Popolare* a self-nominating body of squires and clergy which appears to have had very limited nominal functions, and the *Consiglio dell Università* the body controlling the central grain monopoly and which to some extent overlapped with the *Consiglio Popolare*. The municipalities, an over-elaborate name for the towns and villages, were headed by *giurati*, essentially village headmen, and selected nobles. All power, as distinct from position, resided in the hands of the Grand Master and his Council, this necessitated by the function of the Order.

Between 1798 and 1802 British intervention was based purely on military needs as then conceived. During and after French occupation the vacuum left by the *de facto* departure of the Order was to some extent filled by the spontaneous formation of a rather amorphous *Congresso* of local leaders. This body in 1802 declared its refusal to submit either to the return of the Order or to rule by the Kingdom of the Sicilies, but was prepared to become subject to the British Crown. Such a declaration together with claims for acknowledgment of special rights for the *Congresso* and the *Consiglio Popolare* and of the Church, could not be simply accepted in wartime conditions, but provided the basis for later development.

Until the Royal Commission of 1812 (1) made its recommendations for Direct Rule, recommendations followed by the appointment of the first Governor Sir Thomas Maitland in 1813, there was considerable confusion concerning the constitutional position. Briefly we may say that then as later the issue was complicated by three main issues. In the first place, the claims advanced by the Maltese nobility were not consistent with their lack of experience of governing. Secondly, as the 1812 Commissioners found, the old assemblies were neither representative or experienced. Thirdly, the needs of the British Crown were functionally similar to those of the Order in that paramount consideration had to be given to operational security for military and naval forces. Given a largely illiterate and inarticulate indigenous population and an extremely undeveloped feudal society in Malta the final decision was contemporarily valid.

In 1835 Gubernatorial rule was modified by the creation of an advisory 'Council of Government'. By this time certain changes had begun to take place in Malta. As noted in section A port activity and trade had flourished during the closing years of the Napoleonic War, and the new entrepreneurs sought both compensation for the later depression and acknowledgment of the existence of a small but growing *bourgeoisie* in political agitation. The Maltese nobility had continued to press their claims for recognition and power, and negotiations concerning the status of the Church *vis-a-vis* the Metropolitan Court at Palermo, the Papacy, and the Maltese Juridical System, had been held. The 1835 Constitution

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was regarded through Maltese eyes as unsatisfactory but no real body of Maltese as opposed to sectional opinion had yet developed.

Letters-patent were issued in 1849 for the reconstitution of the Council, on more liberal lines. Of the ten ex-officio members of the administration, half were Maltese, and eight other members were to be elected on a qualified franchise limited by age, financial and literacy qualifications. This development reflected growing liberalism in England and a decline in the emphasis placed on the fortress function of the Islands. In Malta the uneasy relationship between Church and State absorbed more direct attention than did the political situation, but in the issues involved one may perceive the crystallisation of later conflicting elements. Education, an integral part of the activities of the Roman Catholic Church, could not easily be interfered with by a constitutionally Anglican Imperial Government. The natural links between the Maltese Church and Italy reinforced old literary and political connections, and, in the absence of anything other than a vernacular and rural manifestation of indigenous culture, a division between pro-English and pro-Italian groups started to appear. Judicial problems which derived from the great differences between the English legal system and the complex and unique Maltese codes, were further excarbated by the stand taken by the Church. Press censorship, discriminatory libel laws, and privileges for the clergy were all modified only in the face of ecclesiastical opposition (2). Within six years of the promulgation of the new constitution, the reserve of Royal Power had to be used in Council to make it effective. Harrison-Smith (3) maintains that out of it all 'whether dominant or not, the Church emerged *protected* by the Government'.

During and after the Crimean War the issues involved became clearer. The revival of British strategic interest in Malta eventually resulted in, among other things, a reversion to the practice of appointing as Governor the Commander of the Imperial Forces. During Le Marchant's tenure of office (1858 to 1864) in particular, the differences of interest between the appointed and elected members of Council began to produce a permanent division of that body. The exclusion of clergy, religious and judicial officials from the Council between 1857 and 1870 is rather difficult to assess in its consequences. The Council might have become less secularily factional if ecclesiastical opinion which was then not much concerned with purely political matters had been directly represented. Such a course might on the other hand have drawn the Church into the political maelstrom; Malta has been fortunate in that the Church in the event has been able to represent itself as above politics. The main contemporary consequence was that the elected portion of the Council became almost entirely composed of professional men, mainly from Valletta and largely of Italian-Maltese sympathies. The events taking place on the Italian mainland, the immigration into Malta of a number of Italian families, affected in particular the sympathies and feelings of the two and a half thousand electors, who, by the nature of franchise limitations, were already in language and culture quite distinct from the great mass of people.

In 1864 the strength of local articulate feeling was acknowledged by Imperial instructions that 'great consideration should be shown to the opinions of Elected Members . . . above all, no vote of money should be pressed against the majority of the elected members except under very special circumstances . . . ' (4). The problem however remained. Public Works expenditure was soon to rise, touched off by the Cholera Epidemic of 1865, the appointment of a Commission of Public Health in 1874, and the appearance of the Keenan Report on Education in 1880. Such expenditure very often had to be 'pressed against the majority' opinion because of suspicions felt regarding the effects of development policies. It would be quite wrong to present a picture of a consistently benevolent and far-sighted administration forcing progressive measures upon conservative and bigoted elected members; nevertheless it is nearer the truth than a reversed presentation would be. Until 1887, political and constitutional dispute too often resolved itself into trials of strength, with little regard to the merits of the issues concerned, between the Governor and the Council majority. More serious causes of trouble were the Council's claim of Parliamentary privilege for its members,

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*175 64 and in 1877, the first use by the Elected Members of the tactic of absenting themselves on occasion of disagreement with the Governor-as-President.

*175 64 665 During the 1870's and 80's commercial boom, the associated rise of the *bourgeoisie*, together with the example of party politics in England, and the *Risorgimento* in Italy, all produced a headiness in Maltese political thinking and a clear division of interests. In 1883 the Governor reported that government was now being obstructed by the appearance in the Council of two groups, apart from that of the appointed members. The first, the *riformista* group was essentially a pro-English language faction, the second the *anti-riformista* was pro-Italian, that is favouring the old dominance of Italian language and culture. From this time onward political parties were born, to English eyes in strange and not easily recognisable forms. In Malta as in other countries in which such parties were sudden products of factional conflict rather than as in England slow crystallisations of attitudes, the names, the labels, such as 'Nationalist', 'Constitutionalist', 'Labour', 'Progressive', 'Workers' are misleading rather than illuminating. To English legislators, then and since, the difficulty of recognising lines of cleavage other than those with which they are by experience familiar can be very dangerous.

*175 64 As noted later (p. 130) the greatest part of the population was little affected through education by the many developments that were taking place. This group, the Maltese-speaking rustics and labourers, was usually illiterate. In the new liberal constitution promulgated in 1887 this element of the population further restricted by age, financial and legal qualifications was to be represented on the Council of Government by ten members themselves selected by rigorous financial and literacy qualifications. The remaining four elected members, even more rigorously selected by financial criteria, were to be chosen by special electors, viz. ecclesiastics, nobles, large landowners, senior members of the University, and members of the *Bourse*. This system of representation, logically defensible at all points, was to have two tragic results of particular relevance to our present study. The first was to ensure that a great deal of power without either the privilege or steadying influence of responsibility was given to the most cosmopolitan and the least Maltese of the Islands' people. Secondly that the cleavage of interests within this largely professional class, although stemming from differing legitimate interpretations of their own ideas of Maltese welfare, soon led to rarefied and rather sterile contentiousness in which little reference was made to the facts of real life in Malta. The old dichotomy between the Maltese and the Knights became perpetuated in a division between the upper middle-class Europeanised Maltese, and the remainder. It would be permissible to suggest that the bridging of this gulf often appeared more important to Englishmen than to the Maltese themselves, although there are of course notable exceptions.

The allocation of power provided for the supremacy of the executive over what had now become a legislature, even although the appointed members were as a group in minority, but it made the wielding of such supremacy a more delicate matter than had been previously the case. No dyarchical division between imperial and local interests was made. For our purposes, however, these and other details of the 44 constitutional articles, are of less significance than the fact that Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and Count Strickland, who in 1886 together led the agitation which led to the new Constitution, were in open disagreement two years later.

*175 64 665 Externally this was a period in which England, France, and to some extent Germany were entering on a contest for naval supremacy, and in which the short burst of conscious European desires for imperial aggrandisement produced many tensions. Increased naval and dockyard activity in Malta was paralleled by a rising tide of secular education, anglicisation and pro-Italian, pro-bourgeoisie reaction. The Maltese and Catholic Strickland, President of the Committee of Privileges of the Maltese Nobility, became Chief Secretary to the Government in 1889, and in his support of Maltese development on English rather than Italian lines, carried on the policy of the equally Maltese and Catholic Savona, one-time Director of Education.

175* 64 665 By the end of the century the struggle had resolved itself into extremes. Mizzi and his followers resorted to continuous legislative obstruction as the only but rather unworthy weapon left for what they maintained was a fight for responsible government. Strickland as Chief Secretary pointed correctly to the damaging effects such tactics were having on all policies including those of education, public health, etc., but conducted an offensive/defensive battle on equally intransigeant lines. Meanwhile British, Imperial as opposed to economic, effort was at its climacteric and Malta as a fortress, whose only value was as a fortress, had to 'suffer' the consequences; a necessary qualification must be made that this really entailed only subordination in status and was accompanied by great advances in all that the mid-twentieth century would term 'welfare services'.

[666] In 1903 Anglo-Italian relations were good and improving, the Crown and the Vatican, Governor and Archbishop all in amity, while in Malta, 180,000 people had 10,000 enfranchised electors of whom less than 4,000 ever voted. In the Legislative Council, however, tempers were at blazing point and obstruction produced deadlock. Followed Chamberlain's bombshell abrogating the constitution. With effect from 3rd June the Governor's Executive Council and the official group within the Council of Government were given majority power and complete control over policy and action. The reserve powers were re-invoked in all their strength. Malta entered the Modern Age in an unhappy political state, a state vocally resented by a few, ignored by the apathetic majority and a cause of unhappy puzzlement to Westminster.

In retrospect, to the writer at least, the most amazing feature of these developments appears to be their inevitability. Judged in isolation, it may appear facile to suggest that with the stage as set in preceding centuries, with players such natural 'typecast' products of past experience, no other play could have been produced. Judged along with the other evidence, the unity, the cohesion of all things Maltese do make it rather difficult to subscribe here to a doctrine of free-will.

Of the elements in Maltese social life most affected by institutional forces two are of very relevant interest to us, viz. public health and education. Some brief consideration is therefore given to the main developments of these sectors.

175* 744 As noted in Chapter VI A the death rate in the Maltese Islands fluctuated considerably but showed a slowly accelerating decline. During the century that elapsed between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the beginning of World War I, the main health improvements resulted from public works construction of a piped water-supply and sewerage systems in the most populated parts of the island of Malta. Developments in preventive remedial medicine and in disease control were slower mainly because of their greater dependence on trained medical staff and on public acceptance of new ideas.

At the mid-nineteenth century conditions were not very propitious for the consideration of suggestions for reducing mortality. Forecasts of impending Malthusian catastrophe were combined with diatribes on the improvidence of early marriage in many surveys by articulate Maltese of a presumed state of overpopulation. The inarticulate members of society continued to regard as normal conditions of which Sutherland (5) said: 'I have very seldom met with conditions so obviously injurious to health, and so likely to determine outbreaks of epidemic disease as those presented by many houses'. In Valletta the Knights had built a sewerage system and a piped water supply but pollution of the latter by the former was common. In the villages, the deficiency of water, refuse accumulation and the use of 'ordure rooms' were a product of ignorance and a cause of ill-health.

The Cholera epidemic of 1865 which slew 2,000 people eventually forced action upon the Government and after much general discussion a Commission of Public Health was appointed in 1874. Significantly enough, attention was focussed on the high rate of child mortality: in that same year, of over 4,000 recorded deaths, more than 2,000 were of children under five years of age. Between 1874 and the end of the century a series of reports put the blame on a series of associated factors. The ancient Three Cities and the new unrestricted

*175 744 urban growths of Hamrun and Sliema were centres of disease. The growth of urban and dockyard employment had not yet been accompanied by any striking educational improvements, and standards of personal hygiene barely tolerable in rural Malta became insupportable in the new towns. At the same time, the growing wealth and opportunities which made possible the new concentrations were not paralleled by similar rates of increase in Internal Revenue. The resulting shortage of capital available for public works delayed the construction of services until concern over conditions in the Garrison centres became acute. Between 1878 and 1886, a new system of drainage and flushing sewerage was constructed in Valletta, Floriana and the Three Cities, three-sevenths of the expenditure being provided by the military authorities. The 1897 sewerage extensions were similarly restricted to that area in which a financial vote could be subsidised by Imperial expenditure (Fig. 33). During this period also, the whole problem of water-supply first became acutely realised and under Chadwick (6) a water-use policy made an embryonic appearance. The 1909 proposals for island-wide sewerage were, significantly enough, for a sea-water flushing scheme, and in spite of depression-caused limitations public funds were made available for servicing the suburban areas of Hamrun and Birkirkara and the casal of Żejtun.

These and similar public works, limited in scale as they may now seem, were already having a controlling effect on epidemic disease by the end of World War I. In 1837 cholera killed 4,000 out of a population of c. 116,000; in 1917 fewer than a hundred people died out of a population which had doubled in size. Bubonic plague caused 4,600 deaths in 1813 but in 1917 only 3 mortalities followed a similar introduction of the disease. By the nature of her position and as a result of sea-borne contacts Malta has always been liable to the introduction of epidemic diseases. The nineteenth century intensification of urban and port activity which caused population concentration in a great conurbation, increased the external contact risk, made more acute the dangers of ignorance and low standards of hygiene but finally the associated expenditure of wealth derived from overseas, and improvements in domestic standards started a break-through into an epoch of adjusted and improved values placed on human life.

*175 658 In the educational field, progress was necessarily slower in that while public health measures were essentially a matter of providing physical services which previously did not exist, formal education had to be accepted *ab novo* by the great unlettered mass of the population, and secular public instruction had to meet the suspicions of the educated few associated with the Church-dominated, Italian-influenced University and academies (7).

British rule was followed by Government controlled education. The first elementary school was opened in 1819 and in 20 years' time there were 11. In 1842 the elementary school system was removed from the authority of the University, as recommended by the Royal Commissioners in 1838 (8), and its effectiveness was considerably increased. Even so, illiteracy was still high at mid-century (9) and the labouring classes still relied for information and guidance on the traditional sources - the Church and to a less extent the gentry.

The 1836 Commissioners noted a situation which is still not completely rectified (10). They blamed the educated classes for lack of initiative in permitting the continuance of an educational system which was geared to the training of priests, lawyers, doctors and civil servants and which virtually ignored wider social and technical needs. This same complaint was reiterated by Keenan in 1880 (11) and by Casolani, Director of Emigration in the 1930's (Chapter VI A). Through inertia rather than by deliberate act, the old social cleavage between the 'Two Nations', was being maintained.

*175 191 658 A prime difficulty was that of language. The Census compilers of 1881 commented thus on the root of the trouble (12): 'The Maltese . . . form part of the European family, however they speak the dialect of a language belonging to an oriental people with whom they have no social tie nor connection . . . As the dialect is confined to the Islands of Malta consequently very few literary productions are published in the vernacular, a circumstance which evidently does not favour the diffusion of instruction among the lower classes of the people.

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'The language . . . is Oriental and the Education is given in English and in Italian.

'. . . the Boys and Girls attending the Elementary Schools belong generally to the poor Classes. Before these children can acquire a competent knowledge in any of the Languages taught to them, they are generally taken away by their parents in order to be apprenticed to some trade or employed in agricultural labour. Consequently the child . . . forgets the Italian and English, foreign to him, owing to want of time and practice in reading and writing, and to his being also obliged to constantly speak and hear nothing but Maltese, the native dialect of kith and kin . . . '.

Given this situation, a conflict was bound to rise between the claims of Italian and English, with, as we have seen, all that that implied in religious, constitutional and economic affairs. The measures advocated by Keenan and the policy of Savona, Director of Education at the crucial period, resulted in the consolidation of English as the language of instruction. Consequentially English, and more slowly Maltese, gained in importance as Italian declined. While Italian language and culture became the symbols of opposition to the Government, such opposition became less and less associated with general popular feeling. In 1842 less than 4,000 children attended all schools (13); by 1908 almost 18,000 attended the Government primary schools alone (14). In 1902 parents of school-children were asked which language they wished to have used for instruction; the results were striking (15):

Standards up to III - Questioned on basis of either Italian or English

	Malta	Gozo	Both
English	98.7%	87.5%	97.7%
Italian	1.3%	12.5%	2.3%

Standards V and VI - Questioned on basis of single or combined use of languages.

English only	71.2%
English and Italian	27.8%
Italian only	1.0%

By the end of the period under discussion, the policy of anglicisation was triumphant, misgivings regarding the position of the Church had been allayed, and the Maltese economy was firmly associated with the wealth and needs of the Garrison. The Constitutional impasse had no immediate relevance to the life of the people. That social life was still dichotomous, although on a less insular plane than it had previously been.

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Plate XI. The Bastions, Valletta.

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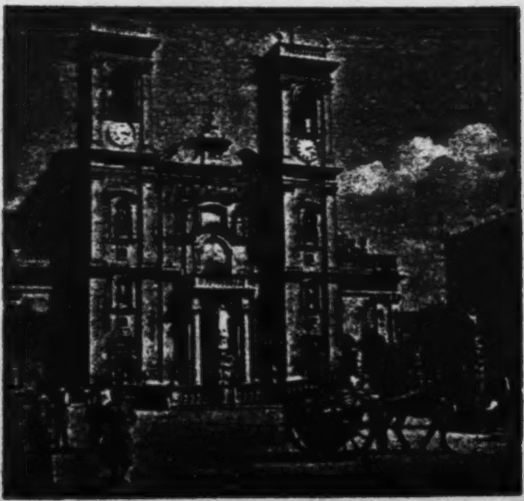

Plate XII. The Church and Piazza, Żebbar.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P. 133]

Chapter VI

MODERN MALTA

A. Population and Migration

It is common knowledge that the Maltese Islands now possess a population 175* which is extremely large relative to the territorial area. Polemical discussion of the implications of the situation has generally been based on two assumptions. 161 The first is that the present size of the population is wholly a consequence of a simple vital revolution which occurred during British rule in the nineteenth 114 century. The second assumption is that this vital revolution is almost over and that falling birthrates will stabilise the population at a new and higher level. These assumptions are erroneous. The brief study that follows (based on a full-scale investigation of many types of source material by M. Richardson and others), attempts to show the true characteristics of Maltese demography.

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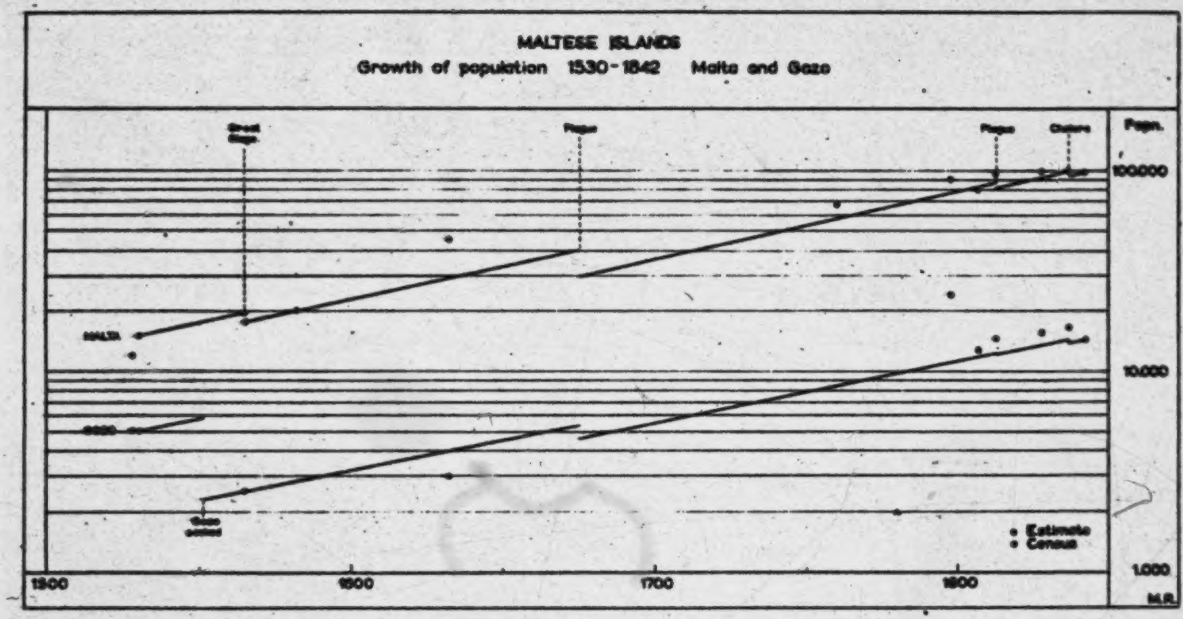
THE POPULATION BEFORE 1842

Table 24. Estimates of population A.D. 991 to 1842.

	I. MALTESE		II. NON-MALTESE		III. TOTAL
	Malta	Gozo	The Knights	Other	
(1) 991					21,000
(2) 1240	3,800	1,800			5,600
(3) 1400					10,000
(4) 1528	12,000	5,000			17,000
(5) 1530	15,000	5,000	5,000		25,000
(6) 1565	19,500	2,500	9,000		31,000
	17,500	2,500	3,000		23,000
(7) 1582	20,000				
(8) 1590	28,864		3,426		32,290
(9) 1632	45,450	3,000	4,450		52,900
(10) 1741					110,000
(11) 1760	66,800				
(12) 1798	90,000	24,000			114,000
(13) 1807	80,225	12,829		22,100	115,154
(14) 1813	96,403	14,400			110,803
(15) 1823					112,204
(16) 1828	98,618	15,618		1,700	115,945
(17) 1837	98,958	16,522		4,398	119,878
(18) 1842	97,535	14,330		1,999	113,864

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6



[p. 134-A]

Fig. 34 Maltese Islands: Growth of Population 1530-1842.

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1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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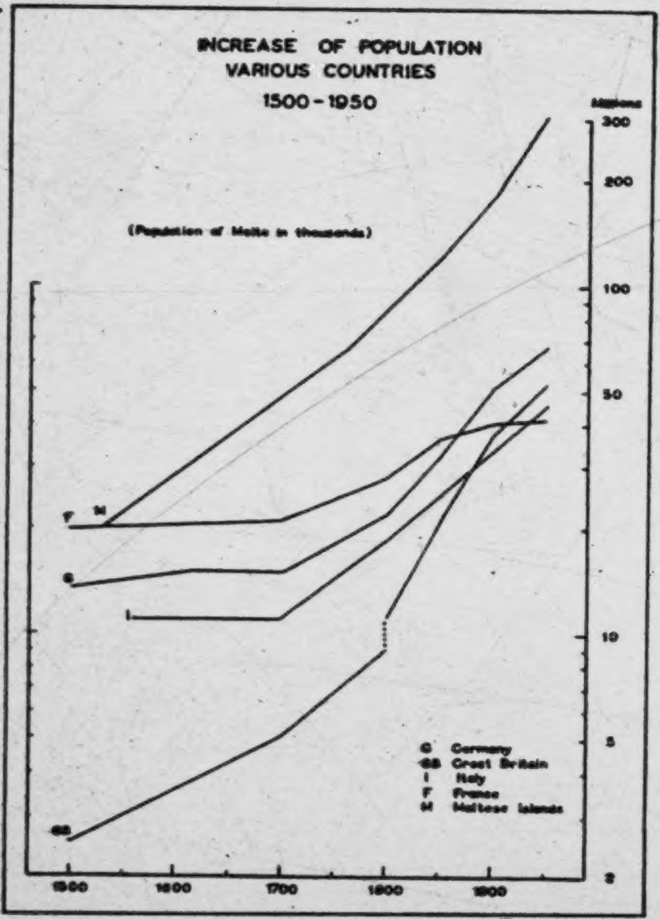

Fig. 35 Increase of Population, Various Countries, 1500 -1950.

[p. 134-B]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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MALTA – GROUPING of LOCALITIES into CENSUS DISTRICTS

LOCALITY	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1948
VALLETTA				Valletta District					Urban		
FLORIANA	Floriana District										
KOSPIKWA	Cottonera District						East District				
SENGLEA											
VITTORIOSA											
HAMRUN	Third District				Valletta District				Suburban		
STA.VENNERA											
MARSA											
SLIEMA											
GŻIRA											
ST. JULIAN'S											
MSIDA											
PIETA											
BIRKIRKARA						Country Districts	Central District				
QORMI	Fifth District										
PAWLA							East District				
TARXIEN											
ŻABBAR	Seventh District										
KALKARA											
MDINA	First District						West District		Rural		
RABAT											
DINGLI											
MĠARR											
SIĠĠIEWI	Second District						Central				
ŻEBBUĠ											
MOSTA	Fourth District						West District				
MELLIEHA											
ST. PAUL'S BAY											
NAXXAR							—				
GHARGHUR							Central District				
LIJA											
ATTARD	Third District										
BALZAN											
LUQA	Fifth District										
ŻEJTUN	Seventh District						East District				
MARSAXLOKK											
BIRŻEBBUĠA											
GUDJA											
GHAXAQ											
ŻURRIEQ	Sixth District										
SAFI											
KIRKOP											
QRENDI											
MQABBA											

M.R/J.C.D.1958

Fig. 36 Malta: Grouping of Localities into Census Districts.

[p. 134-C]

The earliest recorded estimate of the population of the Maltese Islands is one of 21,000, made by the Emir Yusuf al Futah in A.D. 991 (1), but this would appear to be excessive in the light of Abate Giliberto's report (2) of approximately 1,000 families in 1240 and Bosio's suggestion (3) that total numbers in A.D. 1400 did not exceed 10,000. The Commissioners to the Knights (4) estimated a total population of about 17,000 in 1528 to whom were added, shortly afterwards, members of the Order and their followers, some 5,000 in all. That the population of the Islands in 1530 was in the region of 20,000 may be assumed from data given by a number of writers including Fra Joannus Quintinus, Bosio and Boisgelin (5). 175* 161 114

The first half of the sixteenth century appears to have been a period of steady population increase in Malta, but Gozo suffered a severe setback in the Turkish raid of 1551 when large numbers were taken away as slaves. At the time of the Great Siege of 1565, members of the Order numbered 9,000 and the civilian population was in the region of 22,000 (6), a total of 31,000 of whom perhaps 3,000 lived in Gozo. Fatal casualties sustained by the Maltese during the Siege numbered 8,000 according to Zabarella, and Bosio puts the civilian population after the Siege at 20,000. A similar total was reported for the civilian population of Malta alone, excluding the Knights and their followers, by Grand Inquisitor Visconti in 1582 (7). In 1590 an enumeration was made for the Viceroy of Sicily (8). A detailed enumeration was made for Grand Master de Pawla in 1632 and is recorded by Abela (9). The members of the Order numbered 4,450 while the 'native' populations of Malta and Gozo were said to be 45,450 and 3,000 respectively, a grand total of 52,900.

Information is fragmentary for the period 1632-1807, although an estimate of 110,000 was made in 1741 (10) conflicting with Ciantar's figure (11) of 66,800 for Malta only, excluding members of the Order, in the year 1760. The former total is obviously much exaggerated. Boisgelin's total (12) of 114,000 in 1798 is equally unreliable as is shown by its estimate of 24,000 for Gozo, when that Island is known to have had only 14,000 inhabitants in 1842 (18) and there is no evidence of large-scale migration from Gozo in the intervening period.

The first detailed enumeration after the withdrawal of the French was recorded in an almanac of 1807 (13) and was based on Parish registers. This shows a 'native Catholic' population of 93,000 and a total of 22,100 'other inhabitants and domesticated strangers'. The 'census' of 1828 (16) gives a total which differs by a few hundreds only from that of 1807, and although the outbreak of plague in 1813 would in part account for the lack of population growth during the period, there can be little doubt that the 1828 enumeration had considerable deficiencies. That of 1837 (17) had similar defects. Over-estimation seems to have been a common feature of counts made in the early nineteenth century, since the first official census (18) of 1842, recorded a total population of only 113,864.

There is not sufficient material for any valid conclusions to be reached concerning the rate of population growth in the Maltese Islands before 1530, but the various estimates made between 1530 and 1842 permit an assessment of trends over the three centuries preceding the first official census. In Fig. 34 these estimates have been plotted on a semi-logarithmic scale and the trend of early nineteenth century population growth back-projected to 1530. Assuming a steady rate of increase, all the sixteenth century estimates, together with those of the nineteenth century are close to the totals arrived at by interpolation, but, in the intervening period, the figures given by Abela and Boisgelin appear grossly inaccurate. Abela's estimate for 1632 seems likely to have been at least 15,000 too great, his postulated increase of 100 per cent. or more over the figure for 1582 being an obvious impossibility. Boisgelin's total of 114,000 in 1798, includes a definite over-estimate of at least 10,000 in the case of Gozo and a probable exaggeration of 10,000 for Malta. Interpolation suggests a figure of 90,000 for the native population of the Islands in that year. 175*

It is noteworthy that, between 1530 and 1798, the period during which the Knights of St. John were in control of the Maltese Islands, the population of Malta and Gozo together increased by some 250 per cent. from 25,000 to 90,000 while 161

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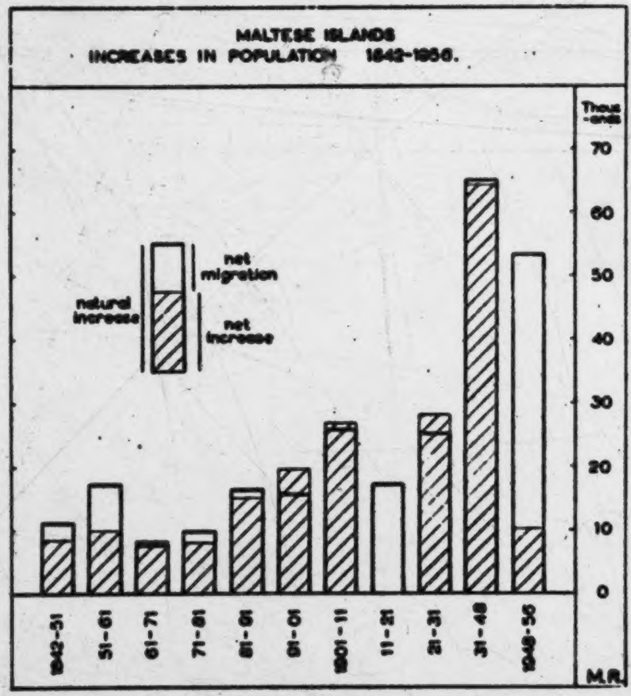

Fig. 37 Maltese Islands: Increases in Population, 1842-1956.

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much of the rest of Europe had static or declining numbers until the eighteenth century (Fig. 35). The relative security and stability of Maltese life during this period is thus reflected in the population figures. Excessive pressure of numbers on resources was becoming apparent before the British era and emigration was suggested as early as the eighteenth century (19). That this particular problem has become intensified during the period of British sovereignty is a result of further acceleration in the rate of population increase which, as we shall see, has been a product of improvements in social and economic welfare.

Table 25. Increare of population 1530-1956

Average annual increase %

Period	Maltese Islands	Malta	Gozo
1530-1842	0.63	0.74	0.33
1842-1956	0,90	0,96	0.58

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE POPULATION AFTER 1842

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Manuscripts of the unofficial census of 1828 are no longer extant and details of this enumeration are available only at second hand in Miège's *'Histoire de Malte'* published in 1840. The first regular Census of the Maltese Islands was taken in 1842 and the second in 1851, to be followed by decennial censuses until 1931. The war prevented any enumeration in 1941, and the eleventh Census took place in 1948.

Widespread illiteracy and the absence of penalties for non-compliance were obvious hindrances to accurate census-taking in nineteenth-century Malta. Thus the coverage of earlier censuses is unlikely to have been complete. The information asked for (20) has also been an extremely variable quantity (Table 26).

Table 26. Subjects covered in the censuses from 1861 to 1948.

Subject	Number of tables on each subject								
	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1948
Total Population			1	3	3	3	3	5	
Non-civilian Element			1	6	4	8	4		
Civilian Population									
Distribution and Increase	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	4
Ages	2	2	2	9	9	11	9	10	4
Marital Status	2	2	3	8	8	6	6	7	7
Occupations	2	2	3	5	8	4	4	4	33
Birthplace and Residence	2	2	7	10	10	9	9	10	11
Religion			2	2	2	1	1	1	
Housing of Families, Dwellings	2		2	5	4	4	4	5	16
Health and Vital Statistics	8	2	3	4	4	5	5	2	2
Asylums and Penal Institutions	1		6	4	4	4	4	3	
Maltese Abroad			1	1	1	1	1	1	
Miscellaneous	6[a]			10[b]	14[b]				16[c]
TOTAL Number of Tables[d]	19	4	30	80	83	67	61	62	96

a. Including four tables on the Judicial Courts.
b. All on Agriculture.
c. Including ten summary tables of all aspects.
d. This may not be the same as the total of the tables on each subject, since some tables cover more than one subject but have only been included under one heading.

The number of subjects dealt with has progressively increased, but few of the tabulations are strictly comparable for all censuses. In the nine censuses taken between 1861 and 1948, it is remarkable that not one tabulation has been preserved unchanged over the whole period. Apart from these variations in the scope of the census, there have been frequent changes in the number and grouping of the territorial units under which the figures are given (Fig. 38).

[563]

When considering population trends in the Maltese Islands, a good deal of confusion is also occasioned by the presence of a considerable non-Maltese element which produces fluctuations and changes in the pattern of population growth which are not characteristic of the Maltese people. This must always be borne in mind when considering the Census Reports which do not always make clear the distinction between the two groups.

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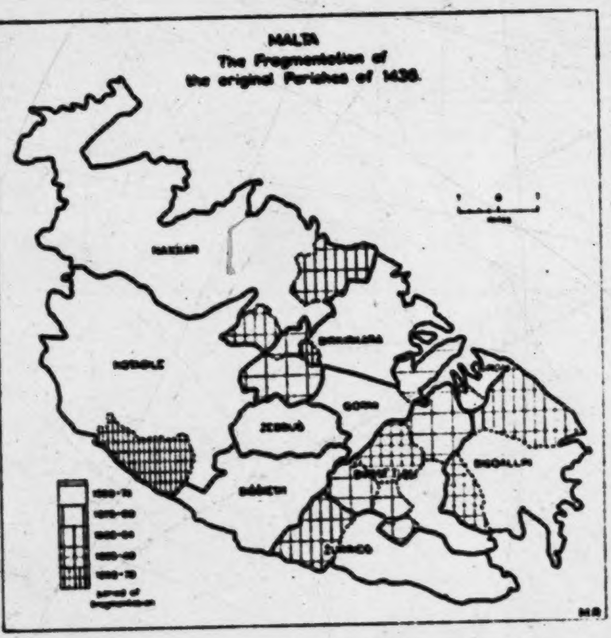

Fig. 38 The Fragmentation of the Original Parishes of 1436.

As early as 1836, a member of a Royal Commission was able to say that 'the real grievance of the Maltese lies beyond the reach of Commissioners and Governments, namely the excessive population'. At this date, as we have already seen, a steady increase of population had been maintained for some 300 years. During the nineteenth century, advances in medicine and sanitation together with increasing economic prosperity were reflected in a falling death rate and an accelerating natural increase. Thus between 1842 and 1956, numbers nearly trebled, rising from 114,000 to 316,000 and the overall density increased from 935 to 2,511 per square mile. While the rate of growth has in most European countries declined during the present century, that of Malta has remained at or above the levels of the nineteenth century. Only in the last few years has the Maltese crude birth rate begun to decline and only in the post-war period has emigration been on a large enough scale to act as a check on numerical growth. As will appear, neither of these simple facts gives any ground for optimism.

Fig. 37 shows the absolute growth of population in the Islands. In Malta, the rate of increase has been cumulatively high although during three past periods, first between 1861 and 1881, and later during the two World Wars, it declined to relatively low levels. Since 1948 the rate of growth has been consistently low and occasionally changed into absolute decrease. In Gozo, total increase has been smaller and fluctuations both larger and differently timed. Between 1861 and 1871 population increased remarkably rapidly, while between 1911 and 1921 there was an absolute decrease. Since 1948 trends have conformed with those of Malta.

Such absolute figures need consideration from several aspects. The economic background has already been considered. Details of distribution and structure of the population must now be examined.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1956-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
MalTa

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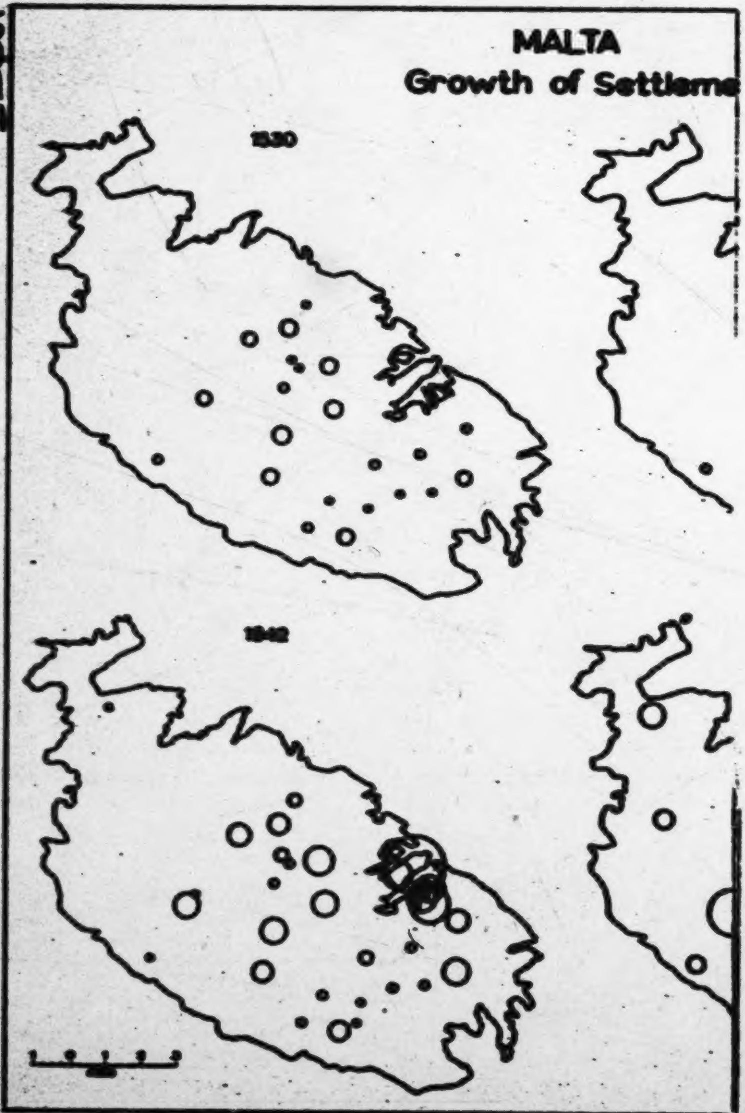
MALTA
Growth of Settleme
1530
1842

[p 139-A]

Fig. 30 Malta: Growth of Settlements

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ8 Malta EZ8

Malta

[139-B]

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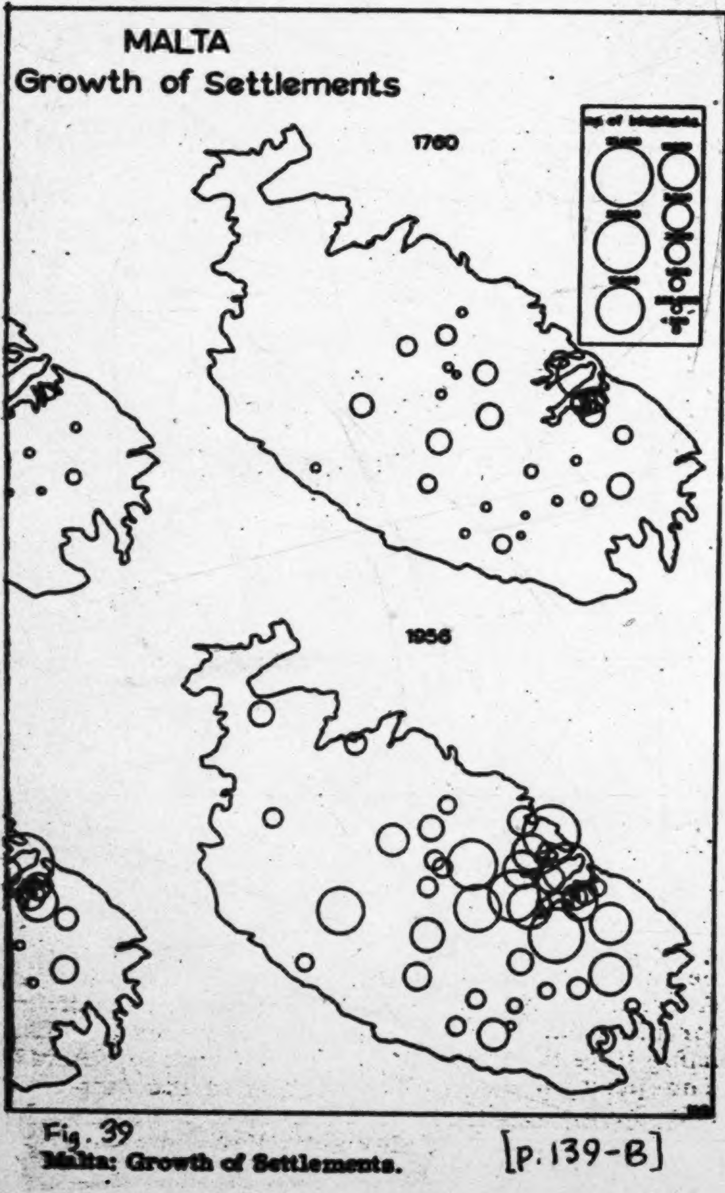
MALTA
Growth of Settlements
1760
of inhabitants.
1956

Fig. 39

Malta: Growth of Settlements.

[p. 139-B]

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

*175 The main changes in population distribution may be easily established.

161 Before the arrival of the Knights, the population of the Islands was clustered
361 in small inland villages while in the centre of each island was a fortified town where refuge could be sought in time of trouble. At the same time each island had its port. Thus, in Malta, Birgu (later renamed Vittoriosa) was the commercial centre while Mdina was the ecclesiastical and administrative capital. In 1436, there were 11 parishes in all: by the late seventeenth century the number had risen to 26 (Fig. 38). The establishment of these new parishes was largely confined to the central and southern parts of the Island; the north remained but sparsely peopled.

Under the Knights growth of population around the Grand Harbour and the vulnerability of Birgu to attack, as demonstrated in the Great Siege, led to the building of Bormla (Kospikwa) and Isla (Senglea) together with the new capital of Valletta on the previously barren Xibberas peninsula. The population of this city complex reached its high water mark in the early part of the nineteenth

[p. 139-C]

[Text continues on p. 140-C]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

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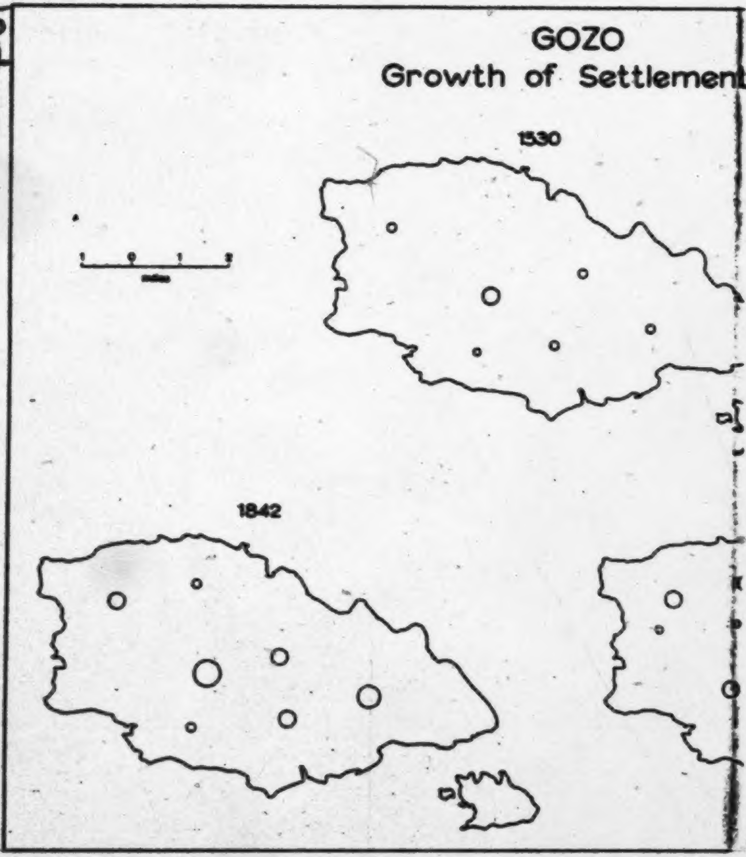
GOZO
Growth of Settlements
1530
1842
miles

Fig. 40 Gozo: Growth of Settlements

[p.140-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo..

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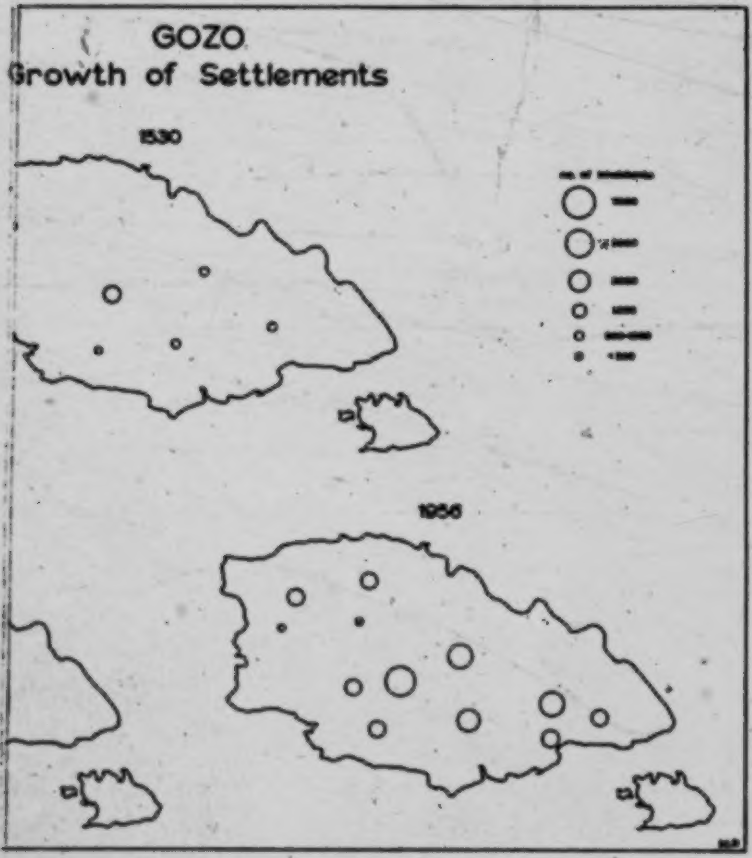
GOZO
Growth of Settlements
1530
1956

Fig. 40 Gozo: Growth of Settlements.

[p. 140-8]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

*175 century, since when the numbers living therein have declined appreciably.
A parallel development has been the spread of 'fringe' settlements outside the
161 fortifications accompanied by a transfer of population from the cities. At the
361 same time there has been a persistent movement inwards from rural districts.
The present century has also seen the establishment and growth of coastal
settlement, notably around Marsaxlokk Bay, and the expansion of such northern
villages as Mellieħa, St. Paul's Bay and Mġarr, previously of little importance
(Fig. 39).

Changes in the distribution of population and the development of new settlements have also occurred in Gozo where the hill top villages have grown ever-larger and where such places as Għasri, San Lawrenz and Kerċem have become sufficiently important to warrant the establishment of new parishes. In contrast to Malta, however, the ancient citadel of Gozo with its suburbs in Rabat (Victoria) remains the capital and there has been no movement of the economic centre of gravity towards the coast (Fig. 40).

The difference between the rates of increase of the populations of Malta and Gozo, the former trebling between 1842 and 1956, the latter not quite doubling, is one indicator of the growing socio-economic differences between the two islands. A more useful distinction appears from a study of the functional and demographic characteristics of regional groups of settlement. By the mid-nineteenth century onward a conurbation with true urban functions had developed around the Grand Harbour, while to the west around Marsamxett and beyond, and on the southern and eastern city fringes were appearing suburban settlements in which non-rural residential development overwhelmed old village

[p.140-C]

[Text continues on p.144]

Key to Abbreviations used in Figs. 41 - 45

*175
161
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Fig. 41
M = Malta
U = Urban
S = Suburban
R = Rural
G = Gozo

Fig. 42
Va = Valletta
C = Cospicua
F = Floriana
S = Senglea
V = Vittoriosa

Fig. 43
Bk = Birkirkara
Gz = Gżira
H = Hamrun
Ka = Kalkara
M = Marsa
Ms = Msida
Pa = Pawla
Pt = Pieta
Q = Qormi
SV = Santa Vennera
SJ = Saint Julian's
Sl = Sliema
T = Tarxien
Za = Żabbar

Fig. 44(a)
D = Dingli
Gg = Għargħur
Md = Mdina
Me = Mellieħa
Mg = Mġarr
Mo = Mosta
N = Naxxar
Rb = Rabat
SP = Saint Paul's Bay
Sg = Siggiewi
Zb = Żebbuġ

Fig. 44(b)
A = Attard
Ba = Balzan
Bb = Birżebbuġa
Gd = Gudja
Gx = Għaxaq
Kk = Kirkop
L = Lija
Lq = Luqa
Mq = Mqabba
Mx = Marsaxlokk
Qr = Qrendi
Sa = Safi
Zt = Żejtun
Zq = Żurrieq

Fig. 45
Gb = Għarb
GM = Għajnsielem and Mġarr
Gs = Għasri
Kc = Kercem
Nd = Nadur
Ql = Qala
Rb = Rabat
SM = Sannat and Munxar
SL = Santa Lučija
X = Xagħra
Xk = Xewkija
Zg = Żebbuġ

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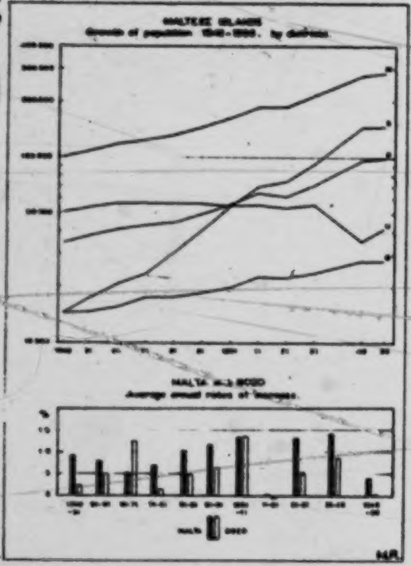

Fig. 41 Maltese Islands: Growth of Population, 1842-1956, by Districts.

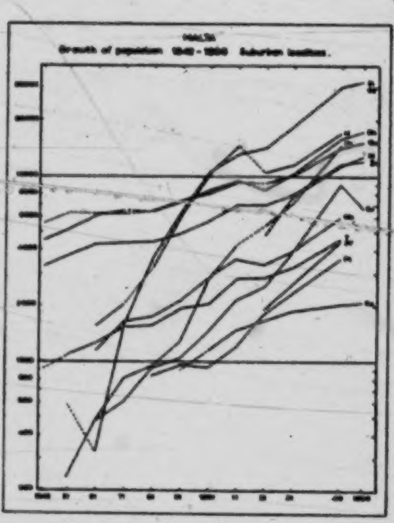

Fig. 43 Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Suburban Localities.

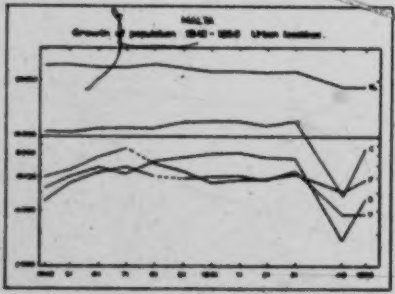

Fig. 42 Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Urban Localities.

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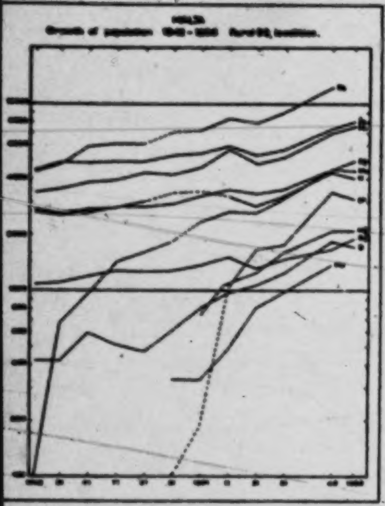
361



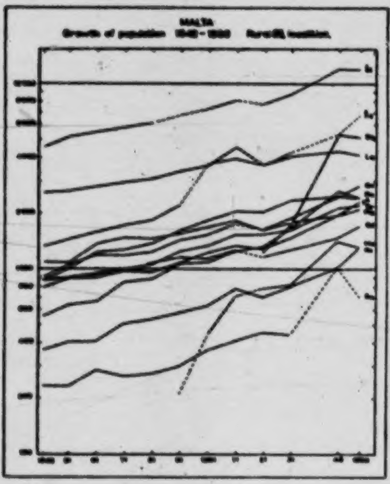


Fig. 44a Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Rural (N) Localities.

Fig. 44b Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Rural (S) Localities.

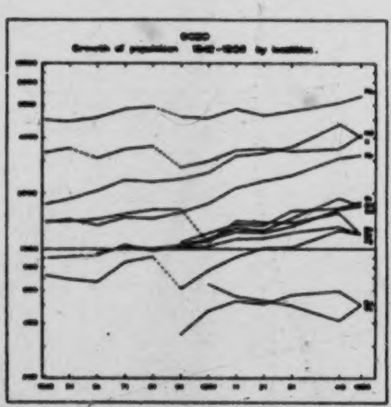


Fig. 45 Gozo: Growth of Population 1842-1956, by Districts.

*175 161 361 nuclei. Table 27 below shows how in numerical terms the regional population balance changed. It will be observed that the proportion of people living in the diminishing rural area remained remarkably constant, although as already noted in Chapter V, a growing number of these were not farmworkers. Equally noteworthy is the decline in residential importance of the urban nucleus compared with the rise of the suburbs, producing a complete proportional reversal between 1842 and 1956 (Fig. 41).

Table 27. Percentage distribution of population. Island of Malta.

	1842	1861	1881	1901	1921	1948	1956
Urban Districts	50.6	48.0	43.3	33.2	28.2	12.6	14.5
Suburban Districts	14.5	17.4	23.1	33.1	39.2	52.6	50.9
Rural Districts	34.9	34.6	33.6	33.7	32.6	34.8	34.6

Within this main pattern of distributional change, other small-scale but significant trends may be discerned. Among the urban areas (Fig. 42), Valletta's population was decreasing as early as 1842-51, but in other districts the decline did not set in until after 1871, while Senglea and Kospikwa continued to grow, albeit slowly, until 1911. During the Second World War, decline in numbers was most marked in the Three Cities while the population of Floriana actually increased. Since 1948, there has been a reversal of these trends, the populations of Senglea and Kospikwa growing more rapidly than that of Floriana, while Valletta and Vittoriosa showed little or no increase.

The most noteworthy distinction among suburban localities has been the differences between the older and newer centres (Fig. 43). Birkirkara, Qormi, Żabbar and Tarxien have all shown a slower rate of growth than the other nine localities, although in the case of Tarxien, now contiguous with the newer settlement of Pawla, increase has been quite rapid. The growth of Pawla, Hamrun, Sliema and St. Julian's has been the most striking feature of the period since the first Census. In 1842, these hamlets had less than 1,000 inhabitants while in 1956, they were the home of some 70,000 people, half the suburban population and one-quarter of that of the whole of Malta. The stagnation of Kalkara further illustrates the fact that second-stage suburban growth has been concentrated around and beyond Marsamxett Harbour rather than near the commercial and naval Grand Harbour.

Among rural areas too (Fig. 44) growth has been most rapid in the newer and largely non-agricultural settlements such as Marsaxlokk, Birżebbuġa and St. Paul's Bay. A few villages, including Żurrieq, Kirkop and Mosta, showed rapid gains between 1901 and 1911 but lost a great deal of ground in the following decade when their rate of growth was much smaller than that of the newer settlements mentioned above.

In Gozo (Fig. 45), the largest villages have grown least in recent years while smaller ones, such as Żebbuġ, have gained more rapidly. However, unlike Malta, Gozo shows no great gains among the newer centres. San Lawrenz, for example, was created a parish in 1901 but suffered a steady decline in population from that date until 1948.

*175 162 167

SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

From 1842 onward an excess of females over males has been characteristic of the population of the Islands (Fig. 46). Masculinity, as measured by the male: female ratio, has been consistently higher in Malta than in Gozo. All the evidence suggests that this is a result of the persistent character of male emigration from the smaller island, whether to Malta or further afield. Within Malta some characteristic trends are observable. The masculinity of the urban districts has closely followed, though at a lower level, that of Malta as a whole.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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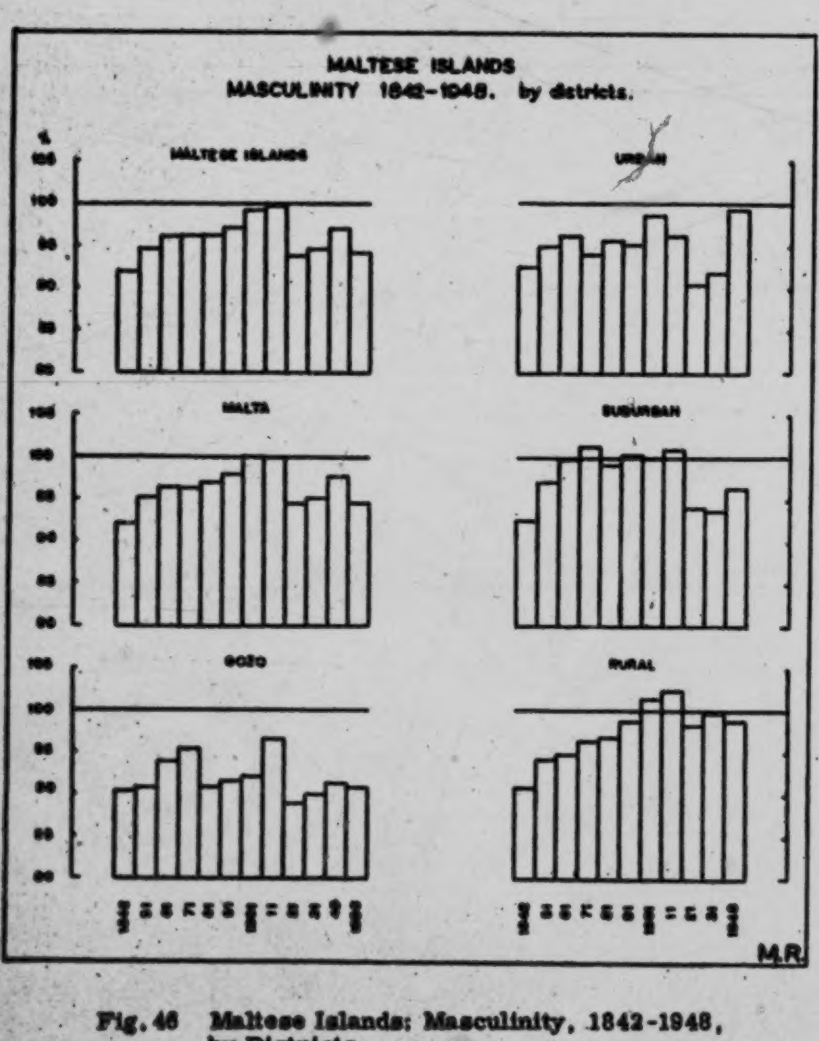

Fig. 46 Maltese Islands: Masculinity, 1842-1948, by Districts.

[p. 145-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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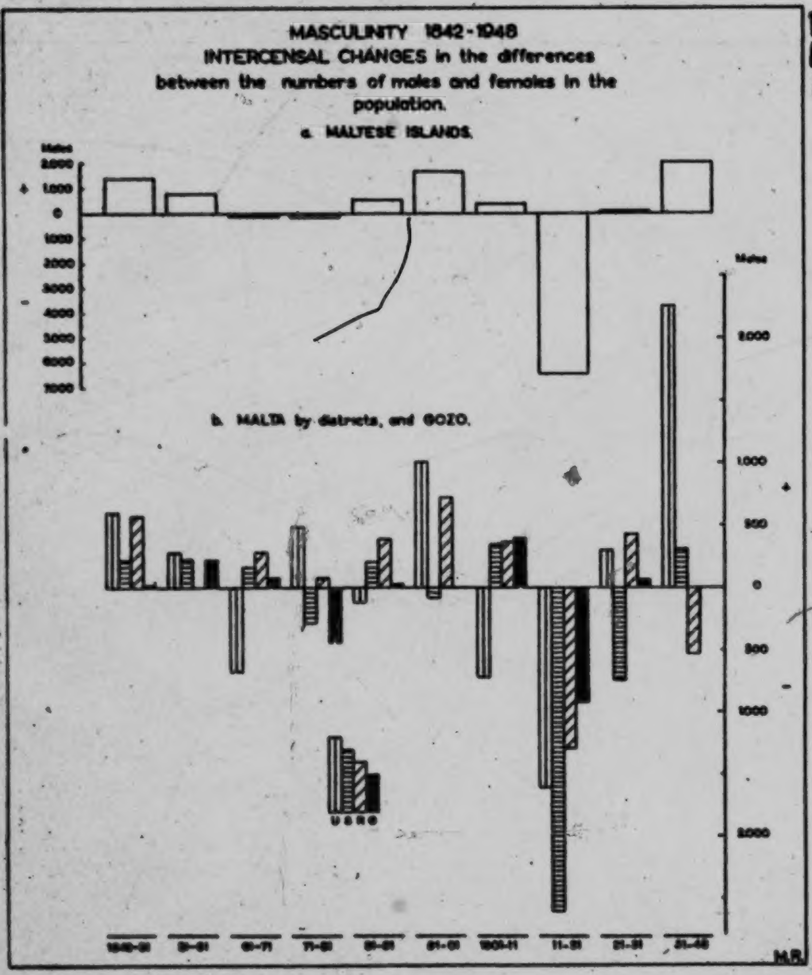

Fig. 47 Masculinity, 1842-1948.

[p.145-B]

*175 Departures from the Island trend were most marked by a low masculinity in
1921 and an abnormally high ratio in 1948. In suburban areas growth of the
162 population as a whole, which was most rapid between 1861 and 1911, was not
accompanied by any marked imbalance between the sexes but after the latter
167 date low masculinity was persistent and the ratio fluctuated much less than in
urban districts. In rural districts, masculinity increased steadily from 1842 to 1911, when 102.5, the highest ratio ever recorded in Malta, was achieved in these areas. After 1911, there was some decline, but rural areas continued to show a higher ratio of males to females than did the Island as a whole.

The sex structure of a population is closely connected with, among other factors, external and internal migration rates. We may therefore use masculinity ratios to help our general understanding of other socio-economic conditions and also vice-versa. The early appearance and continuance of an excess of females in the case of Malta is without doubt the result of predominantly male emigraton, a causative relationship particularly strong in slowly developing Gozo. By 1911, the cumulative effect of the return of male immigrants together with other factors brought the ratio to near-parity. After 1911, increasing emigration reduced masculinity to the low point of 1921 from which it again rose to 1948, since which time renewed and large-scale outward movement has once more reduced the ratio. Except for the special circumstances obtaining in the late 1930's when most of the female non-Maltese population (largely Garrison families) was evacuated, and in the mid-40s when a more balanced non-Maltese group became re-established; except for this, the sex ratio can clearly be understood in association with our examination of economic changes and with a study of emigration (p. 157 et. seq.).

Regional differences in masculinity are of similar value in elucidating
16 changing patterns of economic development and of internal migration. The rising
proportion of males in the urban population between 1891 and 1901, for example,
*175 was to a large extent a product of an inward movement of workers connected
with harbour development, and the decline in masculinity which marked the succeeding decade reflects the cessation of such work. The increased urban masculinity recorded in 1948 suggests that the return to reconstructed areas was evenly balanced thus causing an adjustment in the ratio, moving away from the female preponderance of 1931 (Fig. 47).

Fluctuations in suburban sex ratios have been relatively slight. The fall in masculinity between 1911 and 1921 was largely a product of emigration, while that of 1921-31 is statistical rather than real in that, at the latter census, the 'civil population' included the families of the garrison among whom females predominated and who lived mainly in Suburban Districts.

In Rural Districts, increases in the proportion of males down to 1911, reflect an inward movement, largely of emigrants returning from North Africa together with the late arresting of the earlier male movement to the towns. Declining masculinity between 1931 and 1948 was largely a product of renewed movement to the towns, often a first stage in migration overseas.

The age composition of the Islands' population is especially characterised
162 by the high proportion of children, as shown in Table 28.

Table 28. Age-distribution of populations in percentages.

		Under 15	15-64	65 and over
United Kingdom	(1948)	21.4	67.9	10.7
Italy	(1949)	26.5	65.6	7.9
Netherlands	(1950)	29.4	62.9	7.7
Malta	(1948)	34.8	59.3	5.9
Japan	(1950)	35.4	59.7	4.9

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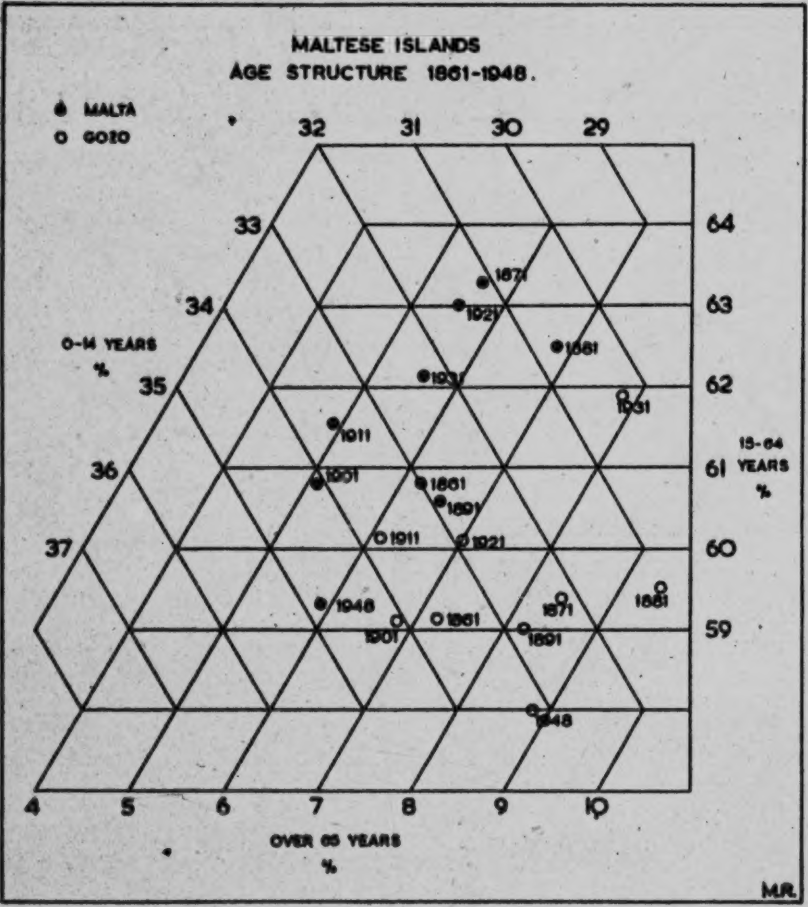

Fig. 48 Maltese Islands: Age Structure, 1861-1948.

[p. 147-A]

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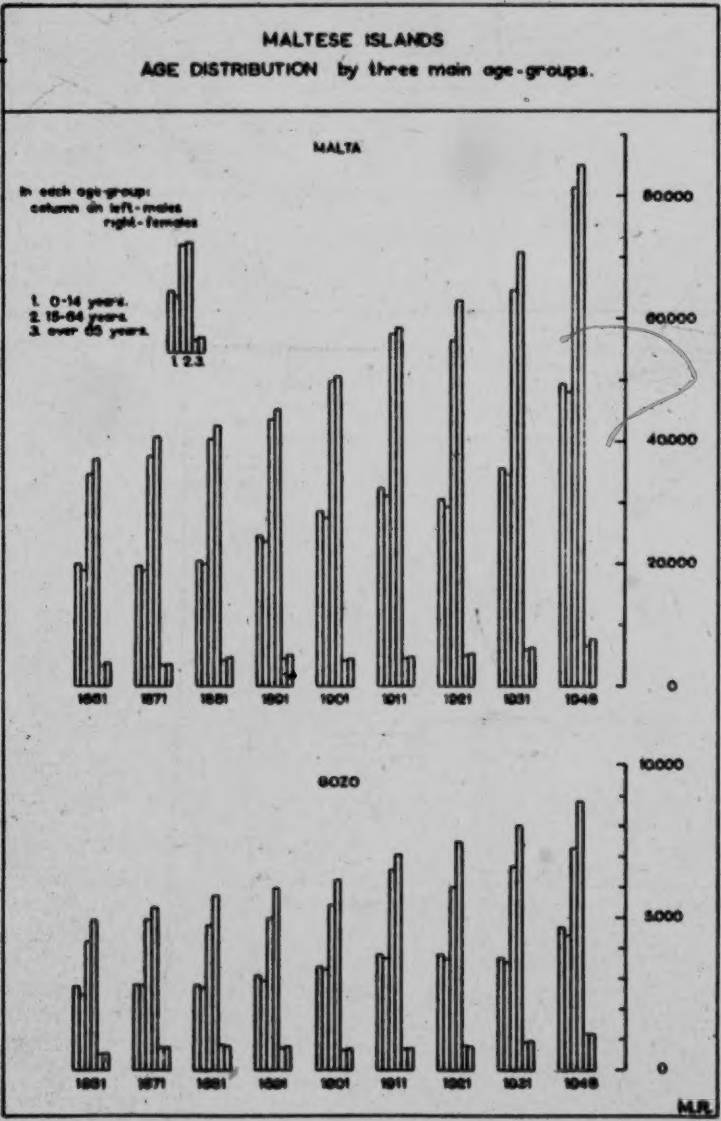

Fig. 49 Maltese Islands: Age Structure, 1861-1948, distribution by three Main Age Groups.

[p.147-B]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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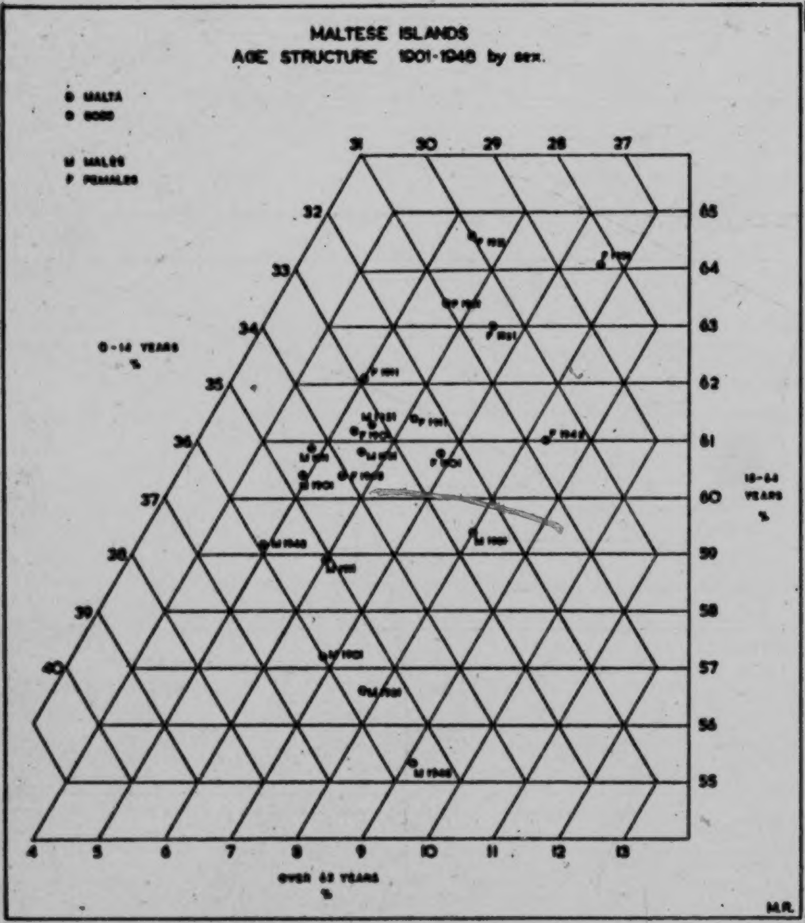

Fig. 50 **Maltese Islands: Age Structure, 1901-48, by Sex.**

[p. 148-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

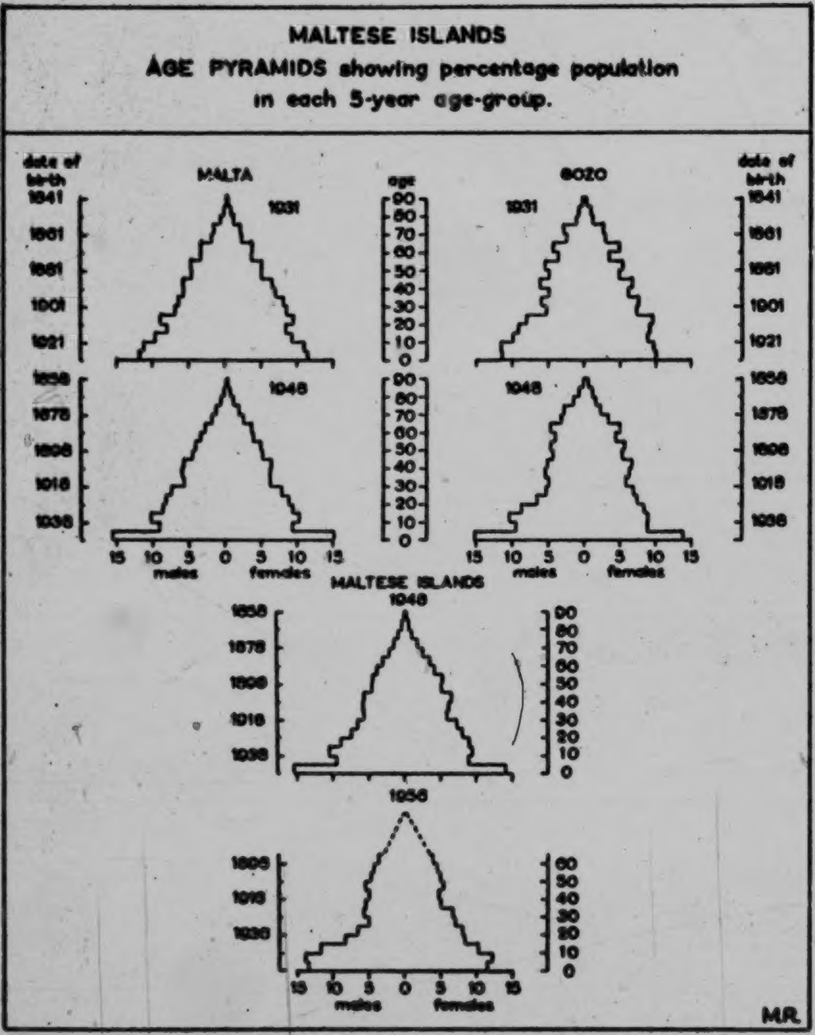
MALTESE ISLANDS
AGE PYRAMIDS showing percentage population
in each 5-year age-group.

Fig. 51 Maltese Islands: Age Pyramids.

[p.148-B]

The population of Gozo differs from that of Malta, having a higher proportion of people over 65 and a much smaller proportion in the 15-64 group (Fig. 48). Variations between the proportions in the main age groups are shown in Fig. 49, but few evolutionary trends are recognisable. There was a decline in the percentage of young children from 1891 down to 1931, but this was offset, particularly in Malta, by the post-war period when birth rates were high. In Gozo, the return of people to the Island from Malta and from abroad was reflected, in the 1931 Census, in a particularly high proportion in the 15-64 group, in contrast to the normal state of affairs. 162

The analysis of age structure by sex (Fig. 50) shows a consistently higher proportion of females than of males in the working age groups (15-64). That these figures are bound up with emigration is further corroborated by the more even balance between the sexes in the over 65 group.

In terms of actual numbers, children under 15 increased from 44,000 in 1861 to 106,600 in 1948 while the numbers of working age have grown from 80,700 to 182,600 and of old people from 8,200 to 16,800. The greatest relative increase has therefore been among the children but in their case there have been two distinct periods of numerical growth. Between 1861 and 1881, the group showed an absolute increase of only 4 per cent. In the next 30 years there was an increase of 57 per cent. This was checked in the period 1911-21, but followed by a further rapid increase between 1921 and 1948 when the number of children grew by 62 per cent. Throughout the whole period, the sex ratio remained fairly constant between 102 and 104 males per 100 females. The reasons for such fluctuations are best deferred to a later consideration of fertility rates.

Among the working age group, the rise in the number of women has been at a steadily accelerating rate, whereas that of the men fell sharply in 1921. The numbers over 65 declined in 1871 and 1901, but rose steadily at all other Census dates. Masculinity was least in 1921 (89) and highest in 1901 and 1911 (98). Among old people, the ratio of males to 100 females varied between 98 and 88 but showed no progressive trend.

The most recent developments in the evolution of the population are summarised by a comparison of the 1948 and 1956 age pyramids (Fig. 51). The large number of children who, in 1948, were less than five years old, had by 1956 been absorbed in the 5-15 age groups, but the proportion of under-five's in 1956 was well below that in 1948. The other most striking feature is the very small proportions of the 15-45 age groups in 1956, indicating the wastage, most marked among males, which is a product of emigration.

FAMILY SIZE

The Census of 1948 is the first from which a precise calculation of family size can be made. Previous estimates were generally to the effect that 'the average family is of four of five children'. Information from the Family Census of June 1955 (21) has not yet become available. 163

In Malta, more than half the married women have borne four or more children and in Gozo nearly two-thirds. An extraordinarily high proportion, 13.5 per cent. in Malta and 16.4 per cent. in Gozo, have ten or more. Such figures do not, however, represent the total number of births which may take place, and Table 29 shows the number of women by cohorts of completed fertility who have had various numbers of children.

Table 29.

Number of children	Great Britain 1946		Maltese Islands 1948
	a	b	c
None	10.3	17.2	11.3
1-3	48.2	63.6	17.8
4-9	37.8	18.6	45.0
10 and over	3.7	0.6	25.9
	100%	100%	100%

a = women married between 1900 and 1909 - R.C. on Pop. 1949-50, Vol. 2.
b = women married in 1925 - R.C. on Pop. 1949-50, Vol. 2.
c = married women over 45 years of age - Census of 1948.

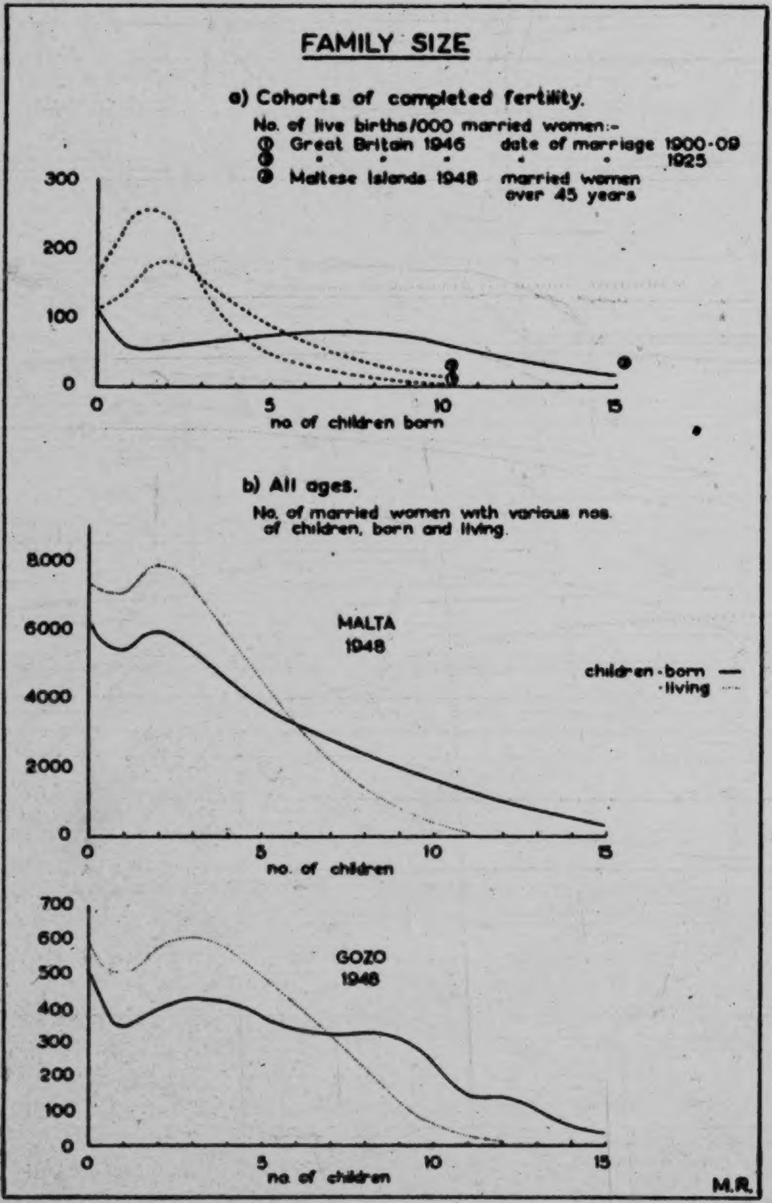

Fig. 52 Family Size.
[p.150-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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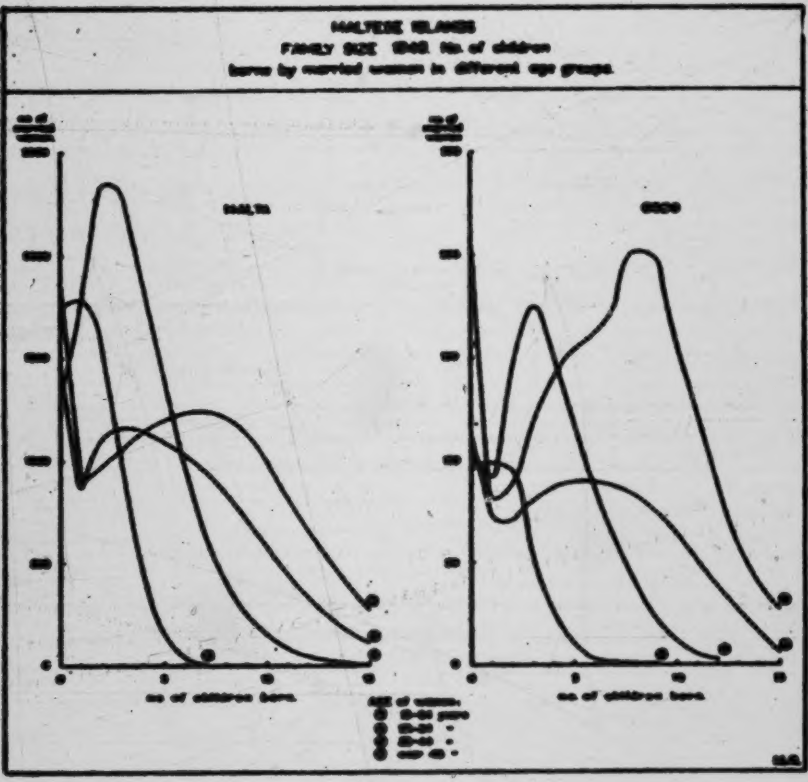

Fig. 83 Maltese Islands: Family Size, 1948.

[p.150-B]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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[P.151-A]

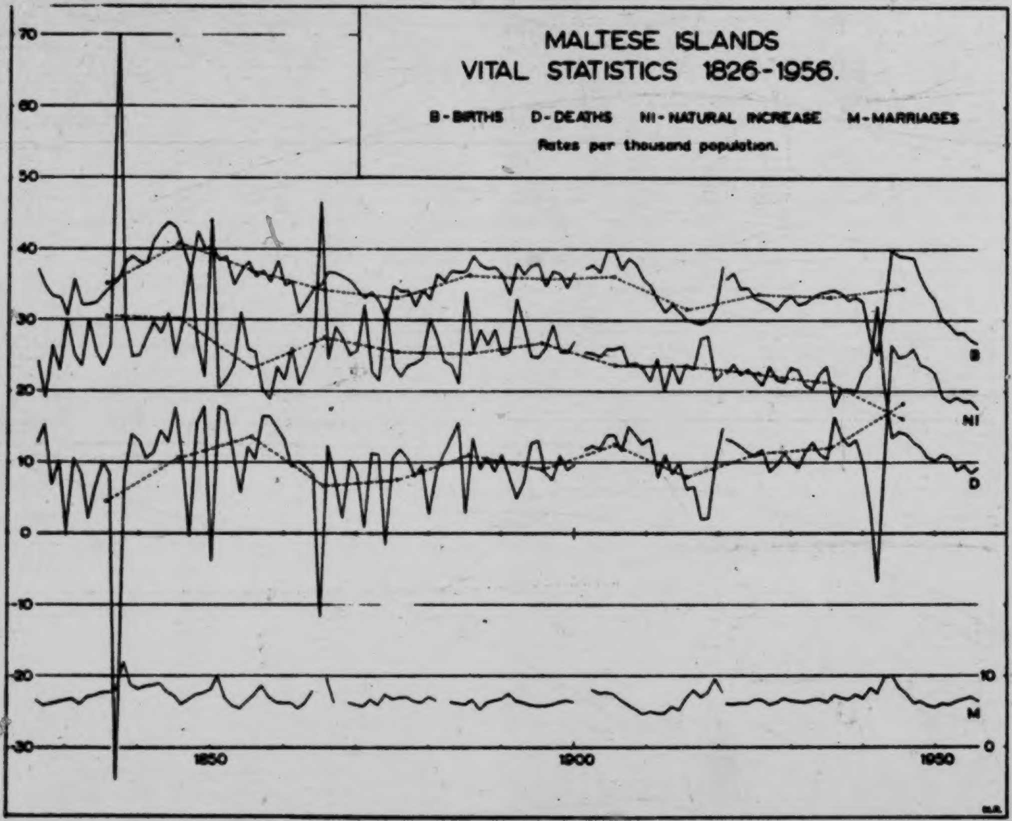

Fig. 54 Maltese Islands: Vital Statistics, 1826-1956.

16 This table[1] summarises the data illustrated graphically in Figs. 52 and 53, and shows that 70 per cent. of Maltese women eventually have four or more children and 25.9 per cent. have at least ten.

The survival rate is discussed later (p. 153) but the 1948 Census does show the proportion of children born who were still living at the time of the Census and adds a further perspective to the statement of actual family size. Deaths reduce the mean number of children per married woman from 4.8 to 3.2. Effective family size has in the past been reduced mainly by the extraordinarily high rate of infant mortality. In recent years this has been checked and larger families can be expected unless adjustments operate in the birth, marriage or fertility rates in the immediate future. Past trends in these rates, which contribute to the natural increase are considered in the following section.

ELEMENTS OF POPULATION GROWTH

161 Since changes in population are a function of births, deaths and migration, the trends of each of these and their relative contributions to growth must be considered. In the 114 years between 1842 and 1956, there was a net increase [167] of just over 200,000. In the same period, nearly 70,000 people have been lost by migration and the natural increase has amounted to some 267,000.

[p. 151- B]

[1] [i.e., Table 29, p. 149 -- Analyst]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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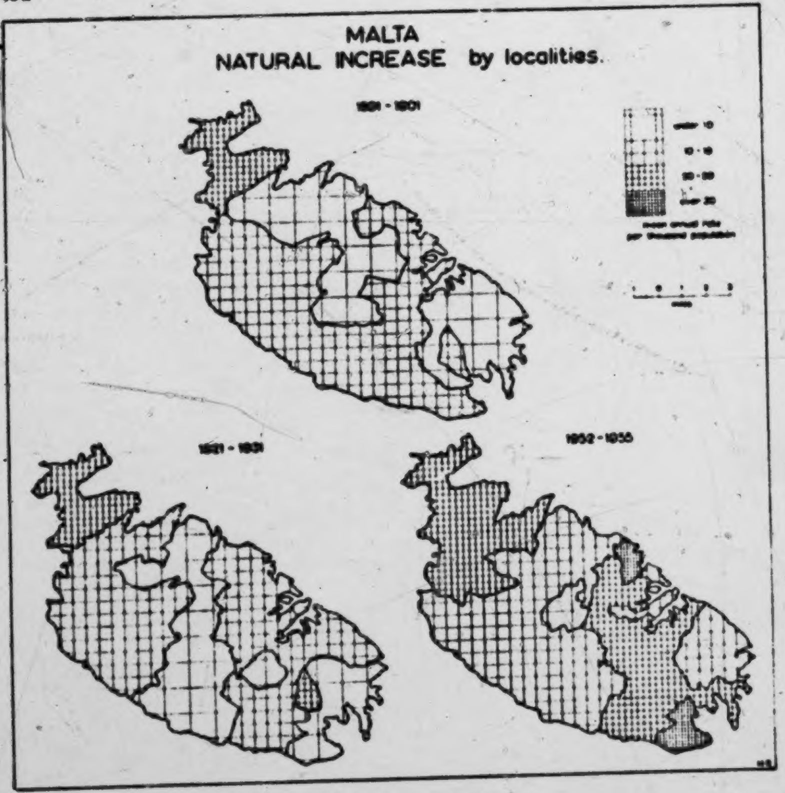

Fig. 55 · Natural Increase by locality.

BIRTHS

163 The crude birth rate in the Islands has remained between 30 and 40 per thousand over almost the entire period since 1826. Only in the 1840's did it exceed 40 and since then it has remained well below that figure. In 1917 and again in the Second World War it fell below 30, but a permanent downward trend has only been established during the last decade, bringing the birth rate below 30 since 1952 (Fig. 54).

The overall trend has thus been one of decline. This began after the peak of the 1840's and continued until the 70's. There was a reversion to higher rates during the last two decades of the nineteenth century which was carried on until 1906, but the next four years brought unemployment and depression, foreshadowing the trough of the 1914-18 War. This was followed by a recovery to 38 per thousand, but the rate soon fell again to remain around 33 until the Second World War. A marked decline in the period 1940-43 was followed by a rise in 1944 to levels above anything experienced since the 1850's and these were maintained until 1948. Since then, decline has been rapid and sustained. With the sole

exception of 1942, there has been no recorded instance of a birth rate as low 163 as 26.5, which was the figure for 1958.

In the late nineteenth century, Maltese birth rates were comparable with those of southern Europe, but subsequent decline has been much delayed in 163 Malta. Economic progress in the Islands during the late nineteenth and early 171 twentieth centuries was accompanied by a rising rather than by a falling birth rate. The pattern of natality in Malta since 1911, however, conforms to trends experienced elsewhere in Europe, although the rates themselves have not been the same. The decline in the Maltese birth rate during the 1914-18 War was less marked than on the European mainland and there was an actual increase in Malta between 1919 and 1939, when other European rates declined. The post-war upsurge in births reached its peak early in Malta and while the birth rates of most European countries have been stable at a medium level over the last few years, that of Malta has been falling from the most recent peak.

DEATHS

The decline in mortality during the past few years has been even greater 165 than that in births. Before the Second World War, the Maltese death rate had fallen below 20 on but three occasions and in 11 separate years it had exceeded 30. Since 1953 it has stayed consistently below 10, thus becoming directly comparable with the death rates of the most advanced Western European countries. [171]

In the nineteenth century, the Maltese death rate was subject to violent annual fluctuations. The worst years were those of epidemic cholera, but even in the latter part of the century, when this was less common, the rate remained high. The main factors responsible were poverty, disease and unsanitary living conditions which were particularly reflected in high infant mortality. Improvements in drainage, sewerage and water supply were effective in reducing mortality from nearly 27/1,000 in the 1890's to 21 in the 1930's but much greater reductions were achieved once the problem of infant mortality was attacked. As recently as the 1920's, this was still as high as 250 per 1,000 live births and only in 1936 did it fall below 200. The decline in this rate was further delayed by the Second World War but by 1944 it had fallen to 114. Since then, progress has been rapid, and infant mortality in 1958 stood at 40 per 1,000 live births, a level comparable with those of many European countries.

Thus, in Malta, as in other European countries, the death rate has been reduced largely as a result of declining infant mortality and the reduction although late has been extremely rapid. A further decline is both possible and, on humanitarian grounds, desirable.

NATURAL INCREASE

Statistics of births, deaths, marriages and natural increase are illustrated 161 in Figs. 54 and 55. In the years since 1948, the natural increase has reached its highest level because of a remarkable decline in the death rate. The absolute natural increase in the decade 1831-40 was 5,241 whereas in 1941-50, despite the low birth rate of the war years, the excess of births over deaths was 52,833. The current natural increase runs at about 5,000 a year, ten times that of a century ago.

The annual rate of natural increase in 1831-40 was less than 5 per 1,000; by the end of the century it had reached 10 and in 1941-50 it was 18, since when it has maintained the present rate of 19. The general upward trend has not been an even one as the graph shows, there being peaks in 1851-60, 1881-90, 1901-10 and 1941-50, of which the first and last were the highest. The former was a period of high birth rates, a moderate death rate and very early marriage; the latter was one of rapidly falling death rates and a post-war upsurge in births. The troughs in the curve were lowest in the early and mid-nineteenth centuries, corresponding to times of frequent sickness and epidemic, of which the late 1860's and early 1870's provide examples.

Annual fluctuations in natural increase reflect specific historical events. On six occasions, the number of deaths in a year has exceeded the number of births. In 1837, '47, '50 and '65, epidemic cholera was the cause. In 1874, a

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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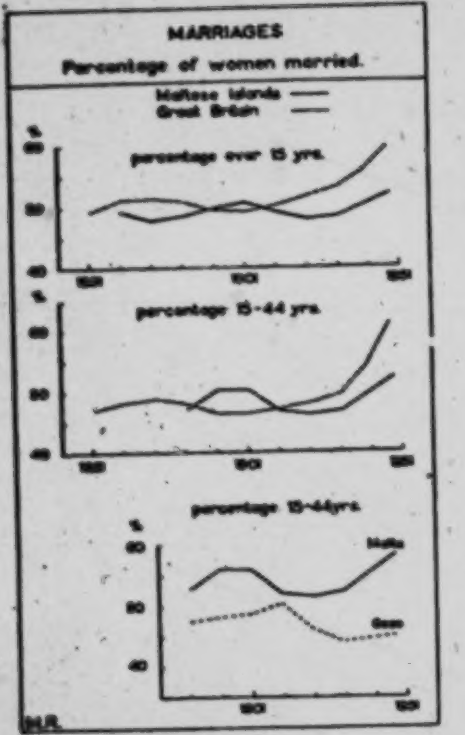

Fig. 56 Marriages: Percentage of Women Married.

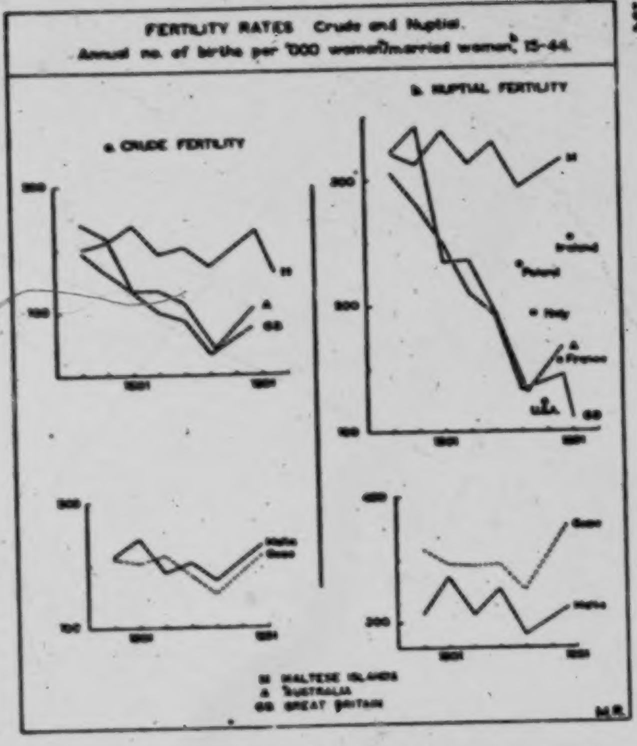

Fig. 57 Fertility Rates: Crude and Nuptial.

variety of diseases, among which smallpox and cholera were important, assumed epidemic proportions after several years in which sickness had been prevalent. In 1942, war casualties, malnutrition and disease were responsible for an excess of deaths over births. 161

CONJUGAL CONDITION ~~(Fig. 56)~~

The proportions of single, married and widowed persons has remained virtually the same since 1901. The great disparity between the numbers of married men and married women resident in the islands, a feature of the inter-war period, reduced the number of effective marriages, but the discrepancy was considerably reduced by 1948, when there were 97 married men to every 100 married women, as against 92 in 1921 and 1931. 162

Comparison with other countries indicates that a smaller proportion of the Maltese people marry than is the case in, for example, Britain, Ireland or Australia but the age of marriage in Malta is much lower than in most other countries. Nearly 80 per cent. of the men who marry do so before they are 30 and, in 1955, 90 per cent. of brides were below that age. (In England and Wales the comparative figures are 74 per cent. and 81 per cent.) Furthermore, 26.2 per cent. of Maltese brides are less than 20 years of age. In Gozo, marriages are fewer, proportionally, than in Malta, and take place later: although there is a higher proportion of brides below 20, the proportion of women married by the time they are 25 is similar in the two islands. The commonest age at which men are married is 25 in Gozo compared with 22 in Malta. 162 582

MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

While the proportion of the population which is married is relatively low, the resulting depressing effect on fertility rates is more than neutralised by the early age at which women are married. Crude fertility rates alone form an insufficient basis for detailed demographic analysis. Changes in the sex ratio, in migration, and in marriage rates as well as the underlying socio-economic attitudes to family size all must be examined. 162 582 163

The marriage rate has declined since the early nineteenth century. In 1831-40 it was 8 per 1,000 of the total population, while in 1951-56 it was 6.4, having fallen below 7 in the 1850's and remaining below that level with the exception of the two post-war periods (Fig. 54). Annual variations have followed changes in economic conditions as was the case in the rising marriage rate soon after 1900. Plagues, epidemics and wars have generally been followed by a sharp rise, as was the case after World War II.

A high marriage rate, maintained for several years, is generally an indication of prosperity. This was so in the first five years of the present century, while the depression which culminated in the arrival of the Royal Commission in 1911 was accompanied by a fall to less than 5 per 1,000. The high marriage rate of the years immediately following the Second World War soon fell away, but since 1950 there has been an unexpected recovery which has not been matched by a comparable rise in the number of births.

It is possible to assess the fertility of the population by a comparison of the Censuses with Vital Statistics and by relating the number of births either to the number of women of childbearing age (crude fertility rate) or to the number of married women of childbearing age (nuptial fertility rate). Crude and nuptial fertilities are shown in Fig. 57 and in both cases comparisons made with British and Australian equivalents. It will be seen that, in the Maltese Islands, between 1881 and 1948 the crude fertility rate only fell below 130 once (in 1931) and generally fluctuated between 140 and 170. In 1948 it was 175, the second highest figure recorded, but by 1950 it had declined to 130 despite a slight increase in the marriage rate. This would seem to indicate that nuptial fertility is now on the decline, though this cannot be demonstrated statistically.

The comparison of nuptial fertility rates is more valid than that of crude rates since it makes allowances for differences in the marriage rates between various countries. By this type of assessment, the outstandingly high fertility of the Maltese population is even more strongly emphasised. Only once, in 1931, 163

[Text continues on p. 157]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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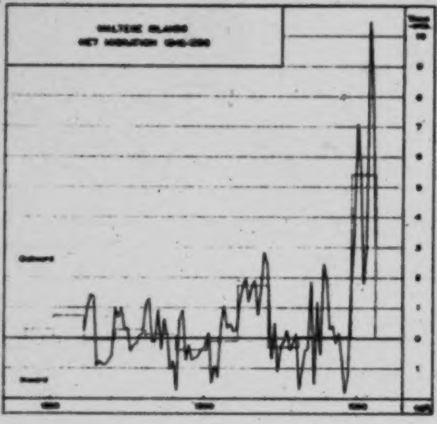

Fig. 58 Maltese Islands: Net Migration, 1842-1956.

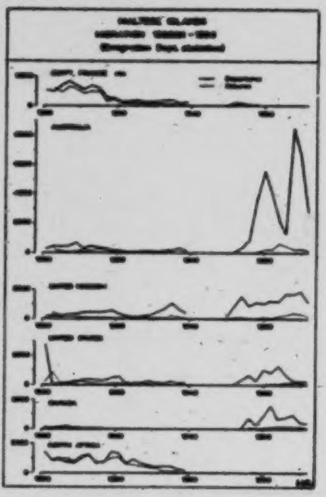

Fig. 60 Maltese Islands: Migration, 1920/21 - 1956.

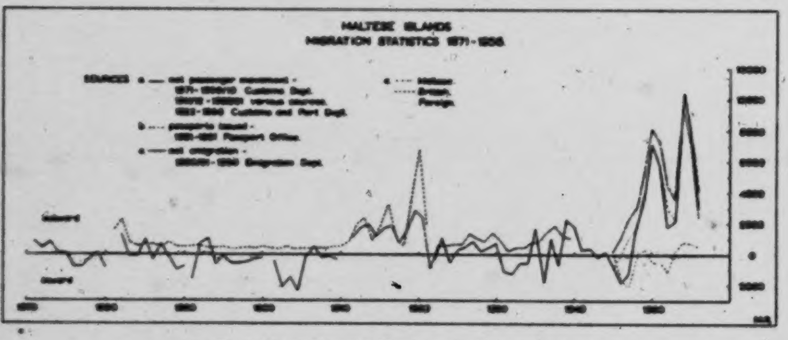

Fig. 59 Maltese Islands: Migration Statistics, 1871-1956.

has the nuptial fertility rate fallen below 300 and it is now 25 per cent. higher than that of Ireland, reputedly the highest in the world (22). 163

Fertility, marriage and birth-rates have been outlined above, but the trends of the first two do not account for decline of the last. Fertility is stable, or was until 1948, the marriage rate has not declined since that year and previous trends of nuptial fertility do not suggest any imminent decline. One strong possibility, however, is that the pattern of post-war migration is concealing a decline in the married population. Many migrants from the islands return to get married and leave with their brides for their new homes. Their children are born overseas so that marriages which have been registered in the islands give rise to children born and registered abroad. If this is so, it indicates that a decline in the rate of emigration would result in a rapid revival of the birth rate and that the present pattern of natural increase is very much affected by the trends of emigration. 163 167

MIGRATION

The pattern of nineteenth century migration has been the subject of close study by Price (23) who deals mainly with the period 1842-81 using as his major source of information, the records of the Passport Office. Since the Department of Emigration was not established until after the First World War, the intervening period has been filled in for this study by interpretation of further Passport records and of passenger movement statistics collected by the Customs and Port Department. From 1918 onwards statistics of the Emigration Department have been used along with those of the Customs and Port Department. 167 127

Comparability of material has been one of the biggest problems. In the period covered by Price, the native Maltese population only was considered; subsequent statistics are for the entire civil population, which from 1901 onwards included the families of the Garrison. The best check on the scale of movement is provided by a consideration of the Census reports together with vital statistics for inter-censal years. The difference between the net increase in population and the natural increase represents the inter-censal net migration.

Table 30. Inter-censal migration 1842-1956. 167

Period	Natural Increase	Net Increase	Net Migration
1842-51	11,310[1]	8,620	- 2,690
1851-61	17,470[2]	10,060	- 7,410
1861-71	7,860[3]	8,490	+ 630
1871-81	11,030[4]	8,180	- 2,850
1881-91	16,490	15,260	- 1,230
1891-1901	15,830	19,710	+ 3,880
1901-11	26,030	27,080	+ 1,050
1911-21	17,300	-110	-17,410
1921-31	25,280	28,260	+ 2,980
1931-48	65,140	64,370	- 770
1948-56[5]	53,480	10,250	-43,230

1-4. Price, op. cit.
5. Estimate from the Census of 1948 to 31st December, 1956.
1842-81. Maltese population only.
1881-1901. Civilian population excluding Garrison families.
1901-1956. Civilian population including Garrison families.

167 [128] A graph covering the last hundred years (Fig. 58) shows inter-censal net migrations and annual variations in the scale of movement as indicated by passports issued and by the Customs and Port Department records. The latter are adjusted for each decade to make the sum of annual totals comparable with the inter-censal net totals shown in Table 30 (see also Fig. 59).

In the nineteenth century, the principal factors affecting the scale of migration were economic. Periods of poverty at home sometimes drove the Maltese overseas while at other times they were attracted by boom conditions elsewhere in the Mediterranean. During the Crimean War, not even prosperity at home could counteract the cotton and building boom in Egypt and emigration rose to record heights (24). But the end of the Egyptian boom coincided with depression in Barbary and the two resulted in returns to Malta which more than compensated for the outward movement of the 50's and 60's. In the 1870's, recovery in Barbary coincided with slight recession in Malta and the number of emigrants again increased only to diminish again in 1875-80, reflecting bankrupt conditions in Egypt (25). The economic position of the receiving countries therefore played an important part in determining the volume of emigration at any given moment.

An outstanding feature of nineteenth century movement was a series of attempts to organise emigration from the Maltese Islands. The first of these ended with the failure of the Guiana and Granada experiments of 1831-41 when plantation settlement in these areas was attempted (26). Subsequent plans to settle colonies in Cyprus, Australia and the Americas collapsed and various other attempts to establish Maltese communities overseas each failed in turn. As a result, over 90 per cent. of nineteenth century emigrants moved no further than the coasts of North Africa and the Levant.

[829] The restricted scope of movement and the choice of the Mediterranean seaboard for settlement was influenced by three main non-economic factors: 'the belief that America and Australia were the permanent homes of strange and deadly diseases; the belief that it was necessary to settle in a country near enough to Malta to allow easy and frequent return to the beloved homeland; and the belief that similarity of language and custom marked out North Africa as the divinely appointed region for Maltese settlement abroad' (27).

The annexation of Tunis by the French in 1881 was an indication that the Maltese would no longer find North Africa an open field and the competition in business and commerce from the French and Italians became severe. Moreover, the standard of living in Malta from the 1860's onwards was higher than in most other parts of the Mediterranean so that there was little incentive for the Maltese to go there. Furthermore, the 80's saw the expansion of employment opportunities at home with the introduction of a number of schemes involving large scale public expenditure. As a result of such developments, the period from the late 1880's until 1905 was one in which there was a net inward movement. All thoughts of migration were abandoned and in 1905 the labour shortage was so acute that 300 workers were brought in from Sicily, Italy and Spain. 1906 saw the completion of major harbour and dockyard works and unemployment then became a serious problem which was partially responsible for the visit of the Royal Commission in 1911 (28). Since French and Italian control of North Africa was then complete, attention had to be paid to movement further afield.

In 1907, on the basis of experience already gained and during the period of depression, a voluntary organisation known as the Malta Emigration Committee was formed. In spite of the approval shown by the 1912 Royal Commissioners, this body was neither given any official status nor superseded by any official organisation. Partly as a result of the difficulties confronting the Committee, a Brazilian venture failed miserably in 1912, and in 1916 an unhappy combination of circumstances provoked such Australian antagonism to migration to that continent that an embargo on future movement was established which prevailed until 1920.

167 647 In 1918 the need for adjustment to post-war conditions became sufficiently great to force the establishment of an Emigration Department charged with the control of movement and the selection of personnel (Fig. 60). The social aspects

of the Selective System were of considerable importance. The main receiving 167
countries were formulating restrictive laws and imposing quotas on entry. The 647
physical, educational and social backgrounds of intending emigrants therefore
needed considerable attention. Of the prospective emigrants in the early 1920's,
90 per cent. were illiterate and apart from apprenticeship schemes in the
Dockyard there existed no opportunities for vocational or technical training.
It can be assumed that only an infinitesimal number of migrants possessed any
capital. Casolani, the Superintendent of Emigration between 1918 and 1930 [871]
claimed that the sudden realisation of the need for educating and training
intending emigrants was most salutary in that it clearly showed how the existing
educational system had - 'for a century been absolutely unrelated to the present
needs of the people' (29). Since 1920, vocational training courses have been
developed, a Migrants Training Centre opened in 1937, and more recently an
Industrial Training Centre. In 1956 nearly 1,000 students were attending evening
classes and many utilising other schemes. Ironically enough, by the 1950's the
burden of expenditure incurred in the training of people who were to use their
skills elsewhere, now began to prove in itself a major problem.

The direction of emigration since 1920 is illustrated in Figs. 60, 61, 62. 167
Briefly, the major trends may be outlined as follows. Short-distance migration to Europe and North Africa declined rapidly and returns increased during the 1920's of economic dislocation and increasingly restrictionist policies in the receiving countries. The United States, Canada and Australia by various quota schemes reduced the inflow from Europe and that part of Maltese long-distance movement via the mainland as well as direct was struck a final blow by the 1930-31 world slump. The most rapid revival took place in movement to the United Kingdom where Maltese status as British subjects ensured preferential treatment. Economic conditions in all other areas other than Australia prevented any other revival before World War II destroyed all possibility of movement.

During the war, continued population growth and obvious hardships and insecurity pointed to emigration as a desirable action and led to official preparation for a post-war exodus. By the end of December 1946 nearly 12,000 prospective emigrants had been registered of whom over 10,000 wished to go to the U.S.A. and Australia (in roughly equal numbers). Until 1948 shipping shortages, administrative difficulties and the presence of a housing problem in Australia, together with a boom in domestic demand for labour in reconstruction work, slowed down the actual rate of movement. At the same time pressure kept building up and by March 1949 there were 42,130 registered prospective migrants.

In that same year financial assistance to would-be emigrants was made available on a significant scale. As from 1947 the Maltese Government contributed to a Passage Assistance Scheme whereby 75 per cent. of the cost of passage would be provided to 'suitable, necessitous and deserving cases with good prospects of employment abroad', a scheme more generous in its coverage than that available in 1946 from the Emergency Unemployment Loan Scheme. With effect from the beginning of 1949 the Passage Assistance Agreement concluded between Malta and Australia made available more capital than Malta alone could supply but, in that the equal grants made by both Governments were each limited to £30 per capita, a greater onus was placed on the migrant. Even so during 1949 nearly three and a half thousand people left for Australia under passage assistance schemes and in 1950 this rose to nearly 5,000, a proportion in each case of over 90 per cent. of all assisted emigrants. Between 1951 and 1953 economic difficulties in Australia reduced the strength of attraction to that country and a relatively greater proportion of movement was direct towards Canada.

By 1953, Australian economic revival and a firm acceptance of an emigration policy by the Maltese Government foreshadowed an impending increase in emigration and the United Kingdom Government agreed to alleviate the personal and budgetary strains in Malta by making a contributory grant of up to £200,000 towards the Passage Assistance Scheme. By 1956, 60 per cent. of all expenditure on assistance was being borne by the United Kingdom Government, 10 per cent.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 160-C]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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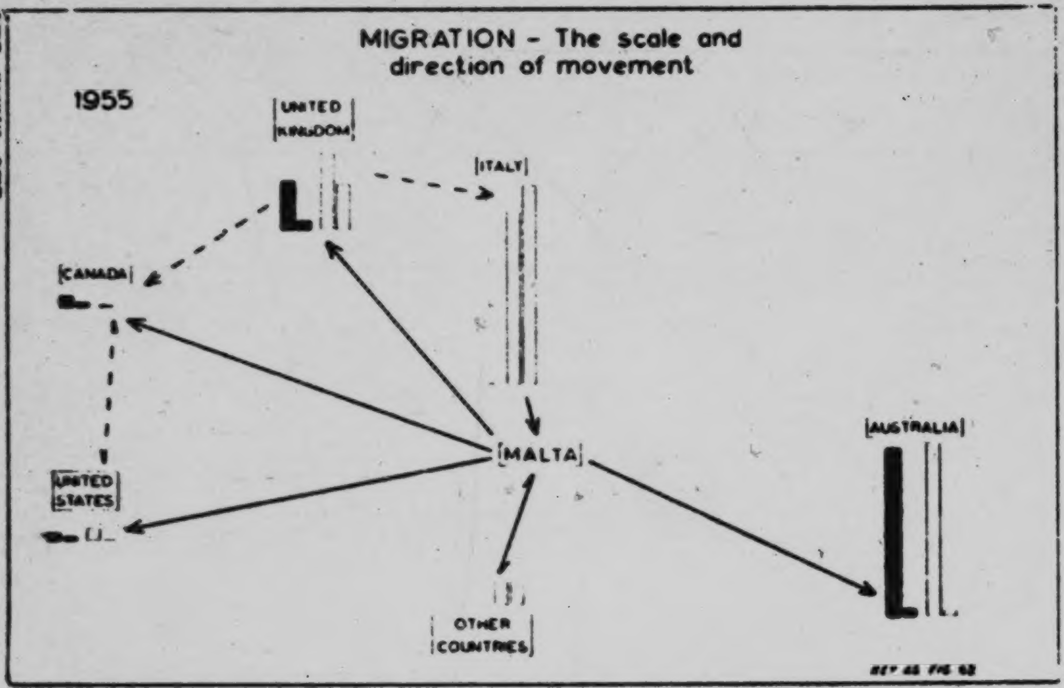
MIGRATION - The scale and direction of movement
1955
UNITED KINGDOM
ITALY
CANADA
UNITED STATES
MALTA
OTHER COUNTRIES
AUSTRALIA

[p. 160-A]

Fig. 61 Migration: Scale and Direction of Movement, 1955

167

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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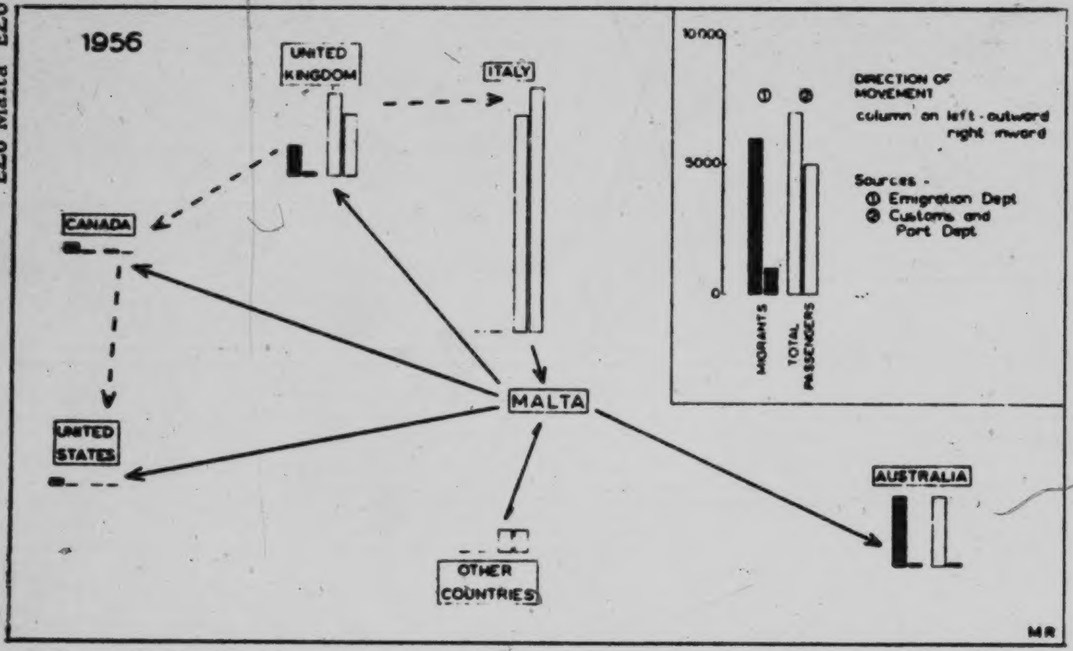

Fig. 62 Migration: Scale and Direction of Movement, 1956.

[p.160-8]

169 by Australia, and 30 per cent. by the Maltese Government. In addition, the
Colonial Development and Welfare Fund has helped to finance vocational training
[658] schemes. Even so, as already noted, the burden and the irony of training and
sending away that part of the population which potentially is the most productive
[874] has been keenly felt in Malta. In 1954, 11,000 emigrants left the Islands, 9,793
under Passage Assistance Schemes, over 8,000 of these for Australia. Since 1955,
the policy of encouraging emigration has been implemented less vigorously and
the rates of departure have become strongly influenced by political dictates.
The social and demographic repercussions of fluctuations in policy need no
especial emphasis here.

In conclusion, we may consider the regional variations in emigration. Traditionally, movement tended to be from the countryside into the towns and thence outward from Malta. Exceptional was Gozo in that from villages such as Nadur a direct exodus was already well established in the nineteenth century. The position in recent years is shown in Fig. 63. The three regions with the highest emigration rates each have distinctive characteristics. The North is a newly-settled agricultural region. From its still relatively youthful population with a high birth rate, a larger than average proportion is fitted by reason of age and absence of ties for emigration. The south-eastern district of Birżebbuġa

and Kalafrana have also been centres of inward movement, and moreover have a higher than average proportion of skilled labour associated with Naval stations. The last region, that of suburban Malta stretching from Tarxien to St. Andrew's, is an area of transit to some extent, an area of urban and relatively mobile life, and as such is the type of region from which on *a priori* grounds one would expect high rates of exodus. 167

In some ways more noteworthy, and of particular direct interest in association with other of our findings, is the relative immobility in Central Malta, that belt of country stretching from Fomm ir-Rieh, across the Mdina-Rabat Uplands, across the long-settled good farmlands of the Central Region eastwards to St. Thomas' Bay. In this heart of old rural Malta, least directly affected by the changes characteristic of the last four centuries, the extreme course of emigration makes the least appeal.

POPULATION INCREASE IN RELATION TO RESOURCES

Between 1842 and 1905 the population of the Islands increased by 86,000 from 113,864. By 1947 it had grown by a further 100,000, an increase of 50 per cent. in 42 years. During the last decade the rate of increase has considerably diminished. 161 168

Behind this bare statement lie a number of important facts. We know that the rate of increase before the date of the first census was very high, extremely so when we remember the incidence of disease and corsair raids. As noted on p. 136 the rate of increase in the island of Malta during the rule of the Order was greater than that of Gozo during the last century. Moreover, it is probable that for some three or four centuries previous to the arrival of the Knights the rate of increase was comparable to those of the later periods.

It seems likely, therefore, that for perhaps 800 years, the Maltese population has increased at a fairly consistent and high rate up to 1947 (see too Section IV). It also seems probable that net emigration, although regionally variable, did little to relieve the steadily growing pressure on resource. We know, for instance, that of the total loss by migration of 67,000 between 1842 and 1956, 43,000 left after 1948. We also know that crude mortality rates dropped but slowly before 1943 and that infantile death rates declined markedly only after this decade. There is therefore no obvious vital revolution, no sudden upsurge in numbers, no simple formula, to be invoked in the explanation of the growth in Malta's population.

From a consideration of the demographic history of the Islands, in terms of political, economic and cultural changes and against the background of the landscape palimpsest, one is forced to strange conclusions, viz. that the concepts of 'over-population' or 'optimum population' have no historically valid meaning in a Maltese context. As we have seen in earlier chapters, there has always been considerable Island contact with neighbouring lands. During the period for which we have any historical record a great part of the wealth on which Malta has lived has come from outside. The historical sequence of population growth appears in Micawberish terms: something has always turned up, either a new external valuation or a new possibility of marginally increasing resource wealth, in time to prevent real 'over-population' appearing. This hypothesis is considered more fully in the concluding section but it is worth noting here that each historical conquest has *ipso facto* been made by an increasingly world-conscious power, by a more enterprising society, and each has led to the creation of wider opportunities for the gaining of wealth. Similarly, each intervening period of doldrums has been marked by improved ability to intensify the exploitation of internal resource, generally in the agricultural sector. Thus, in the eighteenth century the cotton boom, in the mid-nineteenth century livestock improvement and land reclamation, in the twentieth century modernised irrigation and dairy-farming, and more recently horticulture and the search for oil.

Up to the present time fortune has smiled and there has been no fall in living standards as might be expected in consequence of extreme over-population. Yet, during historical times at least, the population has always been too great for self-sufficiency and in this sense has always been over-large. The rather

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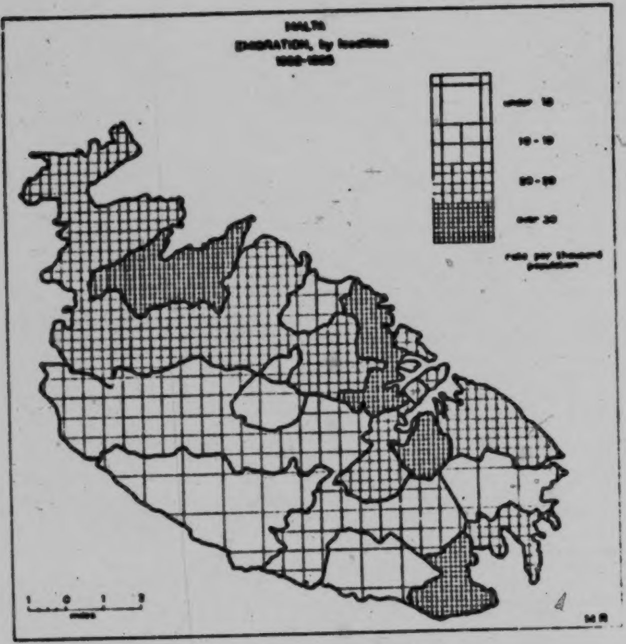

Fig. 63 Emigration by Localities, 1952-55.

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168 puzzled note made by the Royal Commissioners of 1911 would seem to be applicable to the whole of our period: 'We cannot but conclude that the Maltese people as a whole are by no means a destitute population seeing that they continue to absorb and pay for imports of considerable value over and above those which may be said to be paid for by the exportation of the products of the Islands' (30).

The obvious question of whether this process has now reached its limit is bound up with our analysis of the contemporary situation. For a decade or so, there has been a substantial overspill of population in emigration and the birth rate has declined. (p. 153). The present apparent equilibrium is however most unstable. [167] The rate of emigration itself is only to a limited extent controlled by economic forces and is bound to fluctuate. If the 1948-56 rate of natural increase were maintained and emigration discontinued, the total population of the Islands would leap up another 100,000 over the 1947 level to 400,000 by 1968. Moreover and as noted on p. 157 the nuptial fertility rates reveal that the rate of natural increase could rise even higher than at present if the indirect effects of emigration disappeared. To what circumstances can the concept of a population optimum be referred? Quite obviously the term has no relevance either to the known past or hypothetical future in that historical experience has so conditioned Maltese attitudes the even now there seems general confidence that a continued population inflation can be maintained.

168 Demographically considered these are *facts of observation*; socially and economically they are the factual basis on which future policies must be based.

Our consideration must be restricted to the self-imposed terms of reference laid out in the Introduction, an examination of the resources of the islands and their utilisation, bearing in mind the decreasing likelihood of there occurring more falls of manna.

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Plate XIII. The Grand Harbour, Malta.

Plate XIV. Mgarr Harbour, Gozo.

B. Economy and Trade

In any schematic division of history into periods there must be dangers and 128 difficulties. Nevertheless, some themes of significance to our present study, 433 naturally as well as for reasons of convenience, are best treated in this way. It is impossible to be precise about the date of birth of modern Malta in that different land marks might well be used in pursuing different lines of thought. Thus, constitutionally the year 1921 is of most significance, while the Royal Commission of 1911 is in some ways an economic obsequy for nineteenth-century Malta. In the sections that follow, therefore, arguments cannot be chronologically in step. Moreover, this, our last period, is the most well-documented of all and the irregularity of coverage most considerable. Some of the arguments earlier developed need little further emphasis in that some conditions and attitudes firmly established by the beginning of the twentieth century need merely to have their survival confirmed and readers referred to relevant material. Henceforward, therefore, our treatment can legitimately be more selective.

This period of Modern British Malta must be further subdivided. The first phase drew slowly and uneasily to a close during our period of research. It was formally ended by the suspension of the constitution in 1958. The new constitutional proposals of 1960 mark the official beginning of a second phase. The interregnum was the period of the transference of the Naval Dockyard to a civilian firm of ship repairers. In that we attach the greatest importance to the study of the fundamental infrastructure on which Maltese life has and will be based, most of the following analysis is concerned with the first phase - the climacteric of British rule in Malta. Our comment on more recent happenings is therefore deliberately restricted.

The Census of 1912 noted that in the decennial period 1901-11 ... 'produc- 162 tiveness has not risen in proportion to the increase of the population'. 433

The recorded Civil population in 1911 was 211,564. While in 1901, 28 per 464 cent. of the female population was gainfully occupied, ten years later the proportion had fallen to 20 per cent. Henceforth male employment alone was of significance. The male labour force, which for analytical purposes was regarded as excluding only the age-group below five years of age, totalled 92,529. Of these almost 12,000 were engaged in agriculture, 19,489 in commerce and transport, and over 21,000 enumerated as having 'industrial' occupations. 31,385 were returned as unoccupied or unproductive.

The opening quotation is strictly an actuarial statement based on demographic 433 facts. Behind the Census figures however we may perceive, by using various pieces of evidence, an economic basis for its sombreness. By comparing details 464 of the 1911 enumeration with those for 1921, the first year in which unemploy- 458 ment within occupational groups was recorded, we may deduce that some 10 per cent. of the able male labour force was in fact without employment during the earlier year. By 1907, 10 per cent. of the ships cleared from Malta left in ballast (1). Between 1901 and 1911, the numbers of farmers and farmers' relatives assisting on the land increased by 3,000 and the number of labourers fell by 1,259 (2). Only once between 1906 and 1914, in 1908-09, did Government Revenue not show a deficit (3). In 1905, 9,175 men were employed in the Naval Establishments but this had fallen to 5,181 in 1906 (4). Many such facts could [654] be quoted to prove the existence of an economic depression in Malta during the years following 1906, a situation which induced the setting up in 1911 of a Royal Commission to consider the financial situation. The array of evidence does more than this, it also shows that this was no simple secular trend but a sign of uneasy adjustment to new circumstances, an adjustment that is still in progress. This is why the Report of the 1911 Commission is of more than contemporary importance (5) and why its study is essential to any serious consideration of Maltese problems.

The main relevant conclusion was unmistakably ominous: 'Government
433 expenditure has more than made up for that of the Knights, and has diverted
458 more of the labour of the population to the service, direct or indirect, of the
foreign government which applied it to purposes entirely Imperial and unconnected
with the special interests of the colony. Doubtless this expenditure has
led to immediate prosperity... but the basis of this prosperity is artificial and
precarious' (6). It is possible to argue the degree of validity of the third premiss
of the first clause but the general truth is undeniable. This general picture is
so clear that in this particular chapter attention will be focussed only on some
aspects of the Maltese economy as it has developed during the last 50 years.

The changing character of Maltese Trade is well evidenced in the annual
43 reports of the Customs and Port Department. Before World War I, Malta was
still of some importance in Mediterranean transit trade, particularly for goods
destined for North African and Levant ports. Between 1910 and 1922 the annual
average weight of such merchandise handled was 17,000 tons (7). This activity
almost disappeared during hostilities and after a short post-war boom settled
down at a new low level handling only some 3,000 tons of merchandise. In part
this was due to the elimination of the important German and Austrian connection
which, in a Report published in 1919 (8), was the subject of much hostile Maltese
comment. More important was the fact that the gap thus left was not filled by
other foreign or local interests. The Maltese writers of the 1919 Report were
not able to obtain their desire 'to have a company formed by a few merchants,
who would thus teach Maltese capitalists that the investment of moneys in
industries and especially in shipping is more profitable and better for the Islands
and for the capitalists themselves, than the investment in doubtful securities
[504] or in reckless speculation'. The fundamental difficulties of expanding port
activity have remained. Malta, for all the grandiloquence of the name 'Grand
Harbour', has until very recently possessed but poor physical facilities for
handling shipping. All vessels of over 2,000 tons have had to be worked by
lighter, and civil repair facilities as well as warehousing have been extremely
limited. In that the needs of the Fleet have been paramount this is understandable;
the consequences have been deplorable. The absence of enthusiasm for
[454] local investment of Maltese capital has been equally inhibiting. There survives,
even intensified during the 1930's, a traditional feeling of insecurity which was
succinctly noted by a banker giving evidence before the 1911 Commission: 'There
is plenty of money in the Island... there is not much trust, I think' (9). Even
now, while the rate of saving in Malta is very high - c. 14 per cent. of total
personal income, too large a proportion of the savings are invested abroad -
some £70 millions. Given this basic insecurity, which still appears in conversations
with business men and which is so deeply rooted as to be very difficult to
remove, development is difficult. Moreover, since the Maltese for an island
[208] people are singularly non-maritime in character, and, in conditions no more
difficult than in many other parts of the Mediterranean, have almost ignored
the fishery industry (10), there exists no traditional basis for marine affairs.
In these circumstances the value of the handing over of the Naval base to British
civilian firms, and the policy of attracting foreign (mainly British) manufacturing
concerns, thus making available both facilities and most of the capital, is on
economic grounds indisputable.

One other aspect of port and trading activities must be examined, the nature
439 and balance of imports and exports. The changing character of world trade in
457 the first place has vitally affected the nature of Malta's entrepôt activity. By
1956, the value of re-exports had reached over two and a half million pounds,
of which one and a half million represented mineral fuels and lubricants, mainly
aviation spirit and turbine fuel (11). This is still the pattern today. Of Malta's
transit trade in re-exports, by far the biggest proportion is concerned with
supplying the Garrison in its new and more mobile form. The imbalance between
retained imports and domestic exports remains essentially similar to that
observed very much earlier and is best examined in conjunction with other
economic elements.

For brevity's sake it must suffice to say here that, apart from the obvious 178
effects of World War II, the Maltese economy during the last 50 years has 433
developed along more or less uniform general lines. Trade statistics began to
be compiled properly in 1909-10. By 1918, visible exports paid for only 10 per 457
cent. of all imports while by 1956 this proportion had dropped to 5 per cent.
For our present purpose the most recent specifically economic Report utilising [129]
normally unpublished source material, that of Balogh and Seers (13), may be
used as a basis for discussion. Statistics for the year 1953-54 contained therein
and in the original source material are here re-assembled and re-arranged in
the same combinations used in Chapter V A, i.e. Negotiable Income or External
Economic Balance, Internal Revenue and National Product. By no means all the
facts are available and some of the elements in the computation are open to
question, but this particular presentation has been adopted to bring out significant
points of direct relevance to our work.

The first element, that of External Balance may be presented in tabular form thus:-

Table 31. External economic balance, 1954. 434 457

A. Negotiable Income - originating externally.	
(i) Services pay	£6.5 millions
(of which dockyard)	(3.6 ")
(ii) Direct expenditure by Services	2.2 "
(iii) Estimated spending by non-Maltese Service personnel	6.0 "
	£14.7 "
(iv) Imperial Grants	3.0 "
	£17.7 "
B. Negotiable Income - originating internally.	
(i) Merchandise exports	£1.5 millions
(ii) Invisible exports	2.9 "
	£4.4 "
C. Negotiable Income - Grand Total	£22.1 millions
D. Expenditure on Imports.	
(i) Merchandise imports	£18.6 millions
(ii) Invisible imports	1.9 "
	£20.5 "

The most obvious characteristic of Malta's economy in its external relationship is its amazing dependence for Negotiable Income, i.e. convertible wealth available for paying for imports, on factors outside domestic control.

In detail various significant points emerge. While part of this income resulted from the provision of industrial and labour services - A (i) and (ii), about 40 per cent. came through retail and domestic services to the Garrison - A (iii). Statistically, this is an item impossible to measure precisely, and in so far as it is a residual item a further question arises, to wit, how far may it be an over-estimate concealing an unrecorded inflow of foreign wealth through hidden channels to the civil population. In Sierra Leone, periodic upsurges of

434 457 unrequited imports were indicative of illegal diamond smuggling. It may well be that, in Malta, a less spectacular movement of capital is similarly responsible for part of the residual items of foreign income. Even so, and considered in a later examination of Internal Revenue and National Product, the implications of a national reliance on this and other elements of income are manifestly significant.

439 If we turn to a consideration of the merchandise in trade, the instability of the situation becomes even more strikingly obvious. An analysis of trade of the Maltese Islands in 1953 (13), the year in which economic conditions for 1954 would be established, shows the following salient points. Britain and the Commonwealth supplied half of Malta's imports thus leaving some £10,000,000 of the remainder to be covered by British credit with other countries. Of the domestically originating exports of three-quarters of a million pounds, only £266,000 went to non-protected markets outside the Commonwealth. These and other details suggest that the Maltese Islands as a whole, not only the Garrison therein, represent a not inconsiderable drain on British reserves of foreign currency. This appears even more strongly from a consideration of the classes of imported merchandise. Imports of Food, Drink and Tobacco (F.D.T.), totalling £7,800,000 were of almost precisely the same value as imports of Manufactures. The Mediterranean Maltese islands naturally depend on imports for main supplies of dairy products. Almost all the £161,188 expended on butter went to the Commonwealth but nearly half of the value of cheese imports - £305,000 in all - came from Italy. Another £161,000 went on eggs, and £785,000 on processed milk. Alarmingly enough however even Mediterranean products were and still are imported in surprisingly large quantities. £130,000 on edible oils, and £353,000 on vegetables, one-third of the latter represented by tomato preparations, are such large sums as to need justification of local inability to produce these commodities. When one notes that, in a Class distinct from the F.D.T. group, a further £1,241,000 was expended on livestock fodder, then one begins to wonder whether agriculture is practised at all in the Islands. There seems no doubt that many of the fresh or processed food and fodder commodities now imported could properly be produced in Malta by better resource use. There remains one difficulty. It is probable that the Knights subsisted mainly on imported products of higher quality than those produced locally. Since 1800, and this is a sign of rising living standards, social emulation has been able to spread this effect through the greater part of the population. The trade figures for later years merely confirm what may be observed directly that most Maltese for one reason or another will deliberately choose foreign rather than domestic produce where possible. In 1956 this led to the consideration of quasi-sumptuary regulations; to us it is a factor in the social environment quite as important as many elements in the physical environment.

652 434 If we turn to a consideration of the Internal Revenue Account we see how deep-rooted and extensive are those characteristics of the economy already noted.

Thus of Government Revenue approximately one-third was derived directly from outside Malta (C) as a result of activities originating outside the control of the Maltese people. Of the remaining two-thirds (D), the largest part was *indirectly* also so obtained from activities dependent on expenditure by non-Maltese, in that it came from taxation of profits earned by mercantile services to the Garrison, taxation of wages, salaries and industrial profits earned by other services rendered to the Imperial power, and lastly from Customs levies on the goods paid for by external income. This revenue (D) was not in itself in any case large enough to cover ordinary expenditure (A) let alone supply capital for public investment.

434 471 Many other questions could be raised, e.g. is not the scale of Government expenditure on Administration rather large relative to total revenue?; but we must content ourselves with one last reflection. The paucity of material resources in the Islands is such that capital investment for raising production can only be applied to agriculture and to improving the productivity of labour in those industrial or commercial services called into being by the locational

Table 32. Internal revenue account 1953-54.

A. Ordinary Expenditure.		
(i) Maltese Government Administration	£1.667 millions	£1.958 millions
Public Debt and Pensions	.291 "	
(ii) Medical, Health, Commodity Subsidies and other Social Expenditure		2.625 "
(iii) Public Works and Agriculture		.559 "
		£5.142 "
(iv) LESS Revenue Profit on self balancing services		0.441 "
Net Ordinary Expenditure		£4.701 "
B. Special Expenditure.		
(i) Emigration		£0.143 millions
(ii) Colonial Development Works and Services		0.460 "
(iii) Imperial Government Expenditure - Administration, etc.		0.292 "
(iv) Works Extraordinary		0.268 "
Total Special Expenditure		£1.163 "
Grand Total Expenditure		£5.864 "
C. Revenue Directly Derived From Outside Malta.		
(i) Imperial Government Grants for Special Expenditure		£0.814 millions
(ii) Estimated External Revenue from:-		
Customs and Excise	£1 million	£1.180 millions
Lotteries	£0.180 millions	
		£1.994 "
D. Revenue Directly Derived From Inside Malta.		
(i) Customs and Excise (see C (ii))		£2.217 millions
(ii) Income Tax, Succession and Donation Duties		0.662 "
(iii) Lotteries (estimated £400,000), Note Fund, Savings Bank, etc.		1.491 "
		£4.370 "
Grand Total Revenue		£6.364 "

value of the Islands. In the sector of welfare economics the field for investment is in a sense limitless including as it does all the elements of water-supply, public health, education and dietetics. In this sector, capital can only come either from a relatively benevolent foreign power - and here lies the case for continued Maltese existence as a dependency and also the case for 'integration' with the United Kingdom - or hypothetically come from a vastly increased economic turnover within Malta. This immediately leads one back to the field of production economics. If, fundamentally, the value of the Islands for the attraction of capital lies in their location, then any decline in such attractiveness (as recently evinced

434 471 by British actions) *ipso facto* suggests a decline in that value. Until recently, as suggested elsewhere, domination by a new metropolitan power has implied domination by a more enterprising and a wealthier power. The inevitability of this process has become held so strongly almost as an article of faith by some Maltese that to suggest that it may now come to an end may be regarded as heretical. There is, in fact, every reason to suppose that Malta's locational value has now become so marginally attractive as to render even more economically dubious foreign investment in the limited and difficult sectors available for its application. Without such foreign capital in large quantities, revenue will neither be available for investment in production and welfare nor for continuing existence. The internal as well as external economic demands of the situation are therefore for the seizing of all opportunities to attract investment rather than for historically impossible attempts to preserve an economic *status quo*. Further, it is obviously essential that agriculture as the only sector in which capital and labour can be deployed on domestically controlled natural resources, must be transformed from hitherto the most neglected into one of the most important and potentially fruitful elements in the islands' life.

Finally, in this general section, a consideration of the National Product serves to put the economic situation into perspective. The salient facts are these:-

433 Table 33. National product 1954.

434 A.	Wages and Salaries.	
	(i) Service Departments	£6.7 millions
	(ii) Administration	3.5 "
	(iii) Other	5.8 "
		£16.0 "
B.	Incomes.	
	(i) Farmers and Fishermen	£1.3 millions
	(ii) Government Property	1.2 "
	(iii) Private Receipts of Interest and Rents	2.8 "
		£5.3 "
C.	Profits of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises	£6.0 millions
D.	Net Indirect Taxation	£3.6 millions
	Grand Total	£30.9 millions

Balogh and Sears in their interim report on economic conditions (14) computed that the total value of goods and services bought in 1954 amounted to over £51,400,000. Of this some £20,500,000 represented imports, leaving the total given in Table 33. More recent material, e.g. the 1955 Census of Production (15) which became available in 1958, would suggest the need for slight emendation of some items, particularly item C in Table 33. Further upward amendment to item B (i) is needed to cover that considerable part of agricultural production which, as field observation shows, never appears in measurable channels. Balogh's conclusion however remains absolutely valid (16): 'In the last resort nearly all the income and employment on the Island(s) are derived from the U.K. Government'. He does however go on to say that (17): 'This unbalanced

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely 433
based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate
help to the Islands in their present effort' find alternative sources of employ- 434
ment'. From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification,
while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more
violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain
it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate,
Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese
communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity.
The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this
dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic
stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that [511]
the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level
of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the
present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to
outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of
attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to pro-
duction, has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing
any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been
met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe
that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what
is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel.
Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes
manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived 162
from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In
December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta 464
having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of
Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of [161]
population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased.
The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of
the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per
cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government
revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service
Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial
Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in [433]
normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated
by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had [457]
increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2
millions. [434]

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to
the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life
investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in 504
the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter
of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent 464
and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main character-
istics of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that
time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost
exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in
'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction.
In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction,
Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional
departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees,
most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a
considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well
as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus con-
tained the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most
important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil
'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled,
particularly in the building industry (18).

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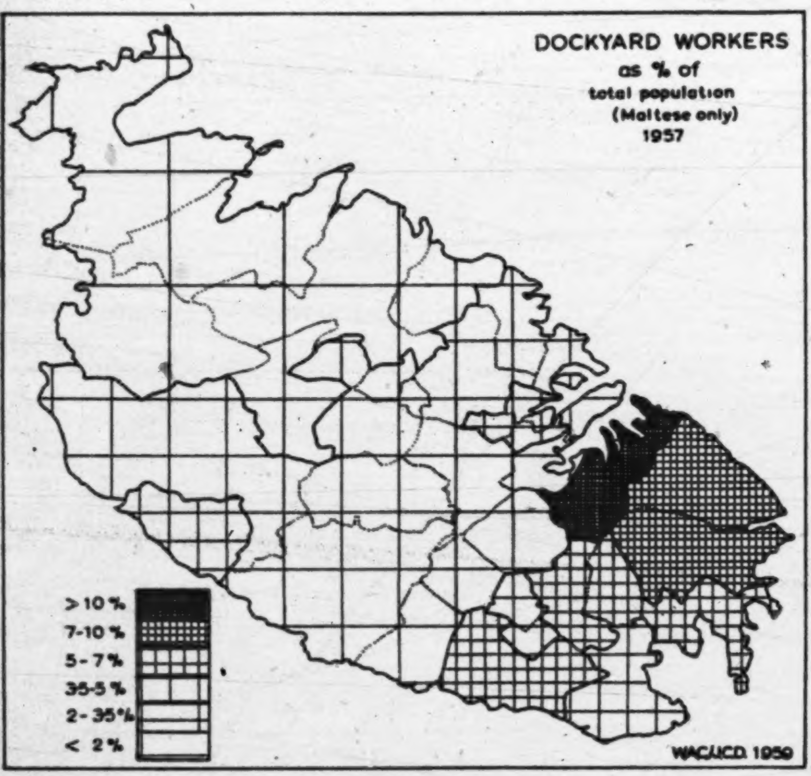
DOCKYARD WORKERS
as % of
total population
(Maltese only)
1957
>10 %
7-10 %
5-7%
35-5 %
2-35%
< 2%
WAC/UCD 1959

Fig. 64 Dockyard Workers as % age of Total Population.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

102 464 504 [361] Fig. 64 shows the distribution in Malta of Maltese Dockyard workers by residence as a proportion of the total regional populations. The zones of concentration are centred on the Three Cities, and the great importance of Dockyard employment in the North-East as a whole, a phenomenon more than a century old (19), is clear. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the much smaller association of Dockyard employment with the belt of urban settlement which stretches from Valletta westwards to Lija. Conversely, the northern third of the Island, most recently settled and still relatively sparsely populated, has very little indeed to do with Grand Harbour. Gozo, still more remote, had but 25 Dockyard workers. Some 417 English workers were employed in the Dockyard most of them living in the suburban residential areas west of Valletta, 75 per cent. in contiguous Sliema, St. Julians and Gżira.

Thus we see the one part of the climax of that change in Malta which, commencing in the sixteenth century, swung the economic centre of gravity from the Centre to the North-East. During the last century the new conurbation [494] extended its grip on the rest of the Island. Police Traffic Records (20) show part of this effect; on the 5th February, 1958, a normal day, 28 special buses, in addition to public transport, carried 930 Dockyard employees to work from a zone extending to Birżebbuġa, Żurrieq, Siġġiewi, Dingli, Rabat, Mosta and north-eastwards to St. Julians.

185 504 Here we have reason and space only for the briefest of notes on current economic conditions. For more complete statements the reader is referred to the recent publications of the Maltese Department of Trade and Industry. As a result of Britain's reappraisal of her strategic needs, the old Naval Dockyard was handed over to a civilian firm by April 1959. Some emotional reaction has

[p. 172 -B]

rather obscured the simultaneous mounting of a five-year Economic Development Plan. This is aimed at the establishment of manufacturing industries and envisages the expenditure of over £32,000,000, the bulk of which is to be contributed by the United Kingdom. Internal Legislation under the Aids to Industries Ordinance XXI of 1959 offers attractive terms to immigrant and local enterprises. At Marsa, an Industrial Estate is rapidly being built, public utilities are being extended and facilities for technical and craft training improved. Completion is expected in 1961 of the first commercial deep-water quays, complete with storage and handling facilities. Several British business interests have already responded to these new attractions. 185 504

However, the fundamental characteristics of the Maltese economy and society remain, and the whole complex of resources, appraisal of resources and social needs and demands must be appreciated before effective forces of change will appear.

As a last short study we turn to the development of communications and public transport in the Maltese Islands, which is of significance for two main reasons. First, in the pattern that has appeared we can see the interplay of all those forces, Imperial and indigenous, which have affected Maltese life. Secondly, although the Islands are small, distance and remoteness are everywhere measured mentally as well as physically, and the impact of modern transport has revolutionised Maltese life. The road pattern in Malta is complex and generally ancient (Fig. 68). It is impossible to categorise past and present roads sufficiently precisely to show cartographically the changes that have taken place and description must necessarily be brief. As shown in Worsley's survey of 1824 (21), the main alignments were then concentrated in the central region. Away from the grid-plan streets of Valletta and the less geometrical Three Cities (22), cart and carriage roads ran out to the main casals (within the zone referred to above as now served by Dockyard special buses) and inter-connected most of the rural centres. That part of the Island north of the Victoria Lines was poorly served. In Gozo, country tracks connected the villages with the inland capital of Rabat which in turn had a carriage road to the port of Mgarr. 491

By 1911 (23) traffic had increased considerably, particularly within a four-mile radius of Valletta, and the Royal Commissioners of that year ventured to question on financial grounds the need for maintaining the very large mileage of the dense central and eastern network of roads, most of which as the result of long customary use and evolution were of equal status although often strictly unnecessary. The northern and southern coastlands were still served only by a few 'feeder lines' from interior settlements, but with the bridging of the Isperanza gorge at Mosta, that town had become a route focus for the whole of the northern territory and henceforward began to rival Rabat. Military needs had resulted in improvements being made to some roads but, more important still, had called into being in 1881 a railway running from Valletta to Rabat, and later extended expensively to the camp and hospital at Mtarfa. By 1911 the operating loss had become so great as to warrant special inquiry by the Commission. The failure was due partly to the fact that the system had not been designed on commercial lines, partly because the total demand for transport was still relatively small in the areas served, but mainly because a railway service could not be flexible enough to meet the particular demand that did exist. In 1905 a tramway system, less open to objection on all these grounds, was opened. First the area between Valletta, Marsa and Hamrun was served, and later lines were built to Żebbuġ. Designed for passenger rather than freight carrying, the tramways assisted in the extension of urban influence into the country. Then as now, however, that indented coastal configuration to which Malta owes her natural harbours, and around which resides the majority of the island's population, made land communication in the conurbation area tortuous and lengthy. Innumerable ferries and the *dghajjes* boats in Marsamxett and Grand Harbour offered more convenient carriage. 496 [505]

During and after World War I, motor vehicles made their appearance and the railroad and tramways rapidly disappeared leaving as sole traces of their 494

[See P. 184 - AnB - Analyst]

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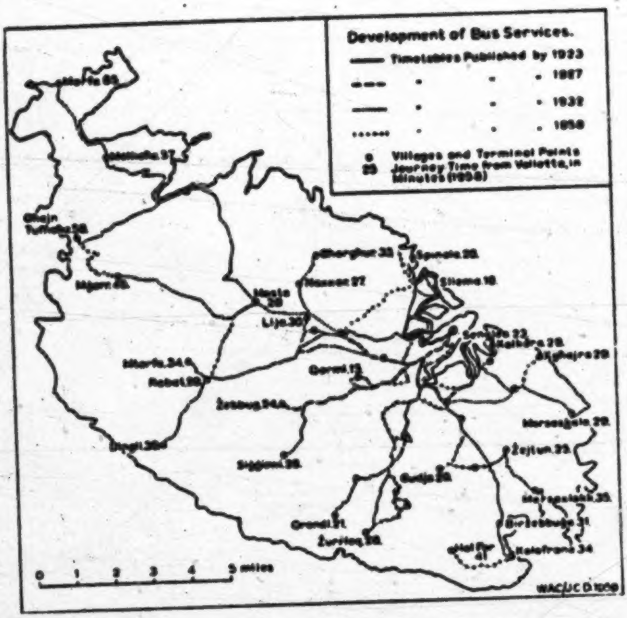
Development of Bus Services.
Timetables Published by 1923
" " " 1927
" " " 1932
" " " 1958
o Villages and Terminal Points
23 Journey Time from Valletta, in Minutes (1958)
Marfa 65
Mellieha 37
Ghajn Tuffieha 38
Mgarr 45
Mosta 29
Gharghur 33
Naxxar 27
Sliema 18
Lija 30
Mtarfa 34
Rabat 30
Qormi 15
Zebbug 24
Dingli 38
Siggiewi 28
Marsascala 29
Zejtun 23
Gudja 26
Marsaxlokk 35
Birzebbuga 31
Qrendi 31
Zurrieq 30
Hal Far 41
Kalafrana 34
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles
WAC/UC D.1009

Fig. 65 Development of Bus Services.

494 existence field alignments, small bridges and 'permanent ways' soon absorbed into the weave of country lanes. With the coming of the car, lorry and bus there rapidly appeared differentials in the importance of the many roads. During the last 40 years, new motor roads have been built, such as that traversing Wied-tal-Pwales for military purposes, or the coast road between Salinas and St. Andrews for military and civil use, and recent alignment changes have been made to make more suitable for modern economic needs some old routes. In Gozo as in Malta this has led to the strengthening of importance of the capitals, and in the latter island to the appearance of true communication centres such as Mosta. At the same time the relative remoteness of those regions off the main highways has been increased.

The duality of the nature of these changes is well exemplified by the development of the public bus services (Fig. 65). In March 1959 there were 20,181 licensed vehicles of which over 13,000 were private cars and taxis, almost 4,000 lorries and vans and some 600 buses. These last play an essential part in Maltese life. In September 1922 (24), the first official recognition of the existence of buses plying for hire took the form of regulating tariffs by mileage. By September 1923 the boom in this new transport sector was such that further regulations had to be introduced. Operating permits were obligatory, certain minimum services required, and the order of departure of the competing buses regulated. At this time the recognised services only extended between Valletta and Sliema, making four stops in all, with a legal maximum of 50 buses a day. Later in 1923 this was extended to St. Julians, and until 1927 there is no mention of service extension outside this suburban zone, although by the latter date the number of buses per day had risen to over 120. In 1927, the first great extension

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occurred, linking Zebbug, Birkirkara and Kospikwa with Valletta. Even so, and as detailed regulations make it clear, the bus services were still designed for commuters. Significantly enough, each route extension was largely pioneered by newcomers to the business, and to this day, public road transport remains a matter of so regulating traffic that many small independent units can just pay their way. There seems to be no inclination either to develop or to encourage the formation of larger economic units.

In 1930, timetables were published first for services between Valletta and Mellieħa via Mosta and St. Paul's Bay, and later between Kospikwa and Marsaskala. A separate Valletta-Mosta service also began operations. During the two following years, timetable recognition was given to other services which it seems were already operating and by the end of 1932 most of the services now in existence were then operating. Although the issue of timetables does not necessarily accurately date the commencement of services it does denote their firm establishment and as such is of considerable significance. As can be seen from Fig. 65, all routes lead to Valletta (see too p. 185) and Old Malta of the casals has become dominated by the conurbation. Not only are there few services inter-connecting the townships and villages but large areas in the West and North have either no bus service or have very limited services as, for example, Mġarr. The radial nature of the services is an obvious commentary on economy and society in Malta today; more than this it further exaggerates differences in accessibility as between regions and villages. It is no accident that Mġarr is the most agricultural of all settlements.

We can leave this brief selective examination of economic aspects of Maltese life with this last picture of the mechanically varied fleet of buses in their 15 vividly coloured regional liveries. As they pound noisily about the Island, they epitomise the uneasy mobility, the jerky breaking down of old parochialisms that is modern Malta.

113

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C. Constitutional and Social

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During World War I the political situation in the Islands remained amazingly stable. The re-imposition of bureaucratic rule by the Governor removed at least some of the opportunities for dispute. The departure from the political scene of Mizzi and Strickland also removed some of the personal animus that had appeared in the political conflict. During the war, the Maltese manpower contribution in labour battalions and on ship was considerable, and the security of the naval base was never questioned. After the cessation of hostilities there followed economic dislocation and in 1918 15,000 Dockyard workers were discharged, only 5,000 of whom had been re-engaged by 1920. Partly as an ameliorative measure accompanying others more directly valuable, and partly as a liberalist appreciation of services rendered, a new constitution was established in 1921 and further liberalised in 1928.

The 1921 constitution provided for bicameral representative and responsible government. The Governor in Council retained limited but reserve powers although no very clear separation was made between domestic and imperial affairs. For some years relative stability was maintained and political parties, major and minor, began to crystallise. Unfortunately for Malta the issues that had already developed (see Chapter V B) survived and, with the resurgence of nationalism in Italy and the logical extension of the process of anglicisation, all the old suspicions and enmities reappeared. The party which was to become termed 'Nationalist' became the protagonist of the still dominant upper middle-class and professional group and of those who saw the position of the Church threatened by the waning of Italian cultural supremacy. In 1920 a permanent Board of Education was created and in 1924 the Compulsory Attendance Act ensured a certain minimum of attendance once a pupil was registered. Although the Church schools remained independent, the growing dominance of English and to a lesser extent Maltese, and of secular education finally sparked off that antagonism to change which existed. In 1927 Lord Strickland returned to lead a party committed to hasten such change. Once again conflict of interests became acute and after a temporary suspension of the constitution in 1930, it was finally revoked, legally in 1936, in fact with effect from 1933 when Italian finally lost its position as one of the official languages (1). To an outsider, now as then, the period appears tragic in that it is characterised by pre-occupation with affairs of little relevance to the needs of most Maltese. The social and cultural dichotomy within the Islands was maintained.

An attempt to restart constitutional development was made in 1939 by the creation of a representative council but World War II forced a return to centralised government particularly during the state of siege. After hostilities had ceased a fresh approach to the problem was made, much in the spirit of 1920, and in 1947 the Constitution which was in force until 1958 was promulgated. It provided for single chamber Legislative Assembly of 40 members. Party government through an Executive Council advised the Governor. He, as head of the Imperial Government, alone had executive and legislative power in those reserved 'matters touching the public safety or defence', advised by a Nominated Council. In practice, this 'dyarchical' system depended on a logically impossible understanding and appreciation of the division of interests between reserved and non-reserved, imperial and domestic, affairs. Nevertheless, and as realised by the subscribers to the Report on the Round Table Conference in 1955 (2), some reservation of power to the Imperial Government is inevitably necessary.

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Since 1947, the cumulative effects of economic change have transformed the local political scene. There are now over 150,000 enfranchised voters and political power has slipped out of the hands of the upper middle-class. The most succinct statement of the platforms of the various modern political parties as they were before 1958 and probably still are in essence may be found in the Round Table Conference Report (3). To us, the most important feature of the contemporary political scene is the way in which the modern political cleavage

is uneasily superimposed on the traditional pattern. The part played by the Church during the 1956 Referendum on integration with the United Kingdom was most complicated. During the disturbances following the breakdown of Government in the spring of 1958, town and country, proletariat and bourgeoisie, Maltese Malta and Latinised Malta, all reacted differently. Over all responsible actions looms the knowledge that Malta is not a viable independency (4). 642 664

As we have seen, education and language have been inextricably involved in politics (5). More directly important is the educational effect on the people as a whole of the system of public instruction. Under the leadership of Dr. Albert Laferla public education became vastly improved in all ways (6), and from his tutelage, more particularly after the Compulsory Attendance Act of 1924, came the generation of Maltese which now forms economically and socially the most important part of the population. After 1933, Italian ceased to be used as a medium of instruction, a standard Maltese orthography came into use (7), and the school system was expanded to meet the most obvious and immediate needs. Education was sadly disrupted by World War II but since that time has continued to improve in quality and range of facilities (8). Compulsory Education as distinct from compulsory attendance came into force in 1946, and in 1955 full-time education became the rule. Some 22 per cent. of children of school age still receive education in private, usually Church run, schools. 658 178

It is vital to realise the extent of the social and economic revolution implied in these developments. In the rural areas the change has been one from illiteracy to education within one generation. Even in the towns, and this is particularly true for the new growths associated with dockyard, manufacturing and service industry employment, thoughts and activities are being fundamentally affected by education for the first time in Maltese history. Contrasts between the levels of awareness of the value of formal education are considerable, and the full impact of technical education has yet to be felt - the first Government Technical School was opened in 1934. The chief contrast observable in the field however is between the two age groups, over and under 30 to 35 years of age. The former still contains many illiterate and therefore conservative people; the latter by reason of training as well as age is radical and impatient. The latter attitude is largely responsible for the drift from the land which encourages the domination of agriculture by residual conservatism.

In the field of public health, skeletal public works services had been constructed before World War I. Recent developments may be regarded as logical extensions both in the sector of public works and in the field of medicine. As late as 1936 the judgment of the Chief Government Medical Officer was 'no scheme of sanitary reform ever met with greater opposition than the establishment of the modern sewer system in Malta' (9), but by 1955, about 270,000 or over 90 per cent. of the Maltese population lived in sewered dwellings, Żurrieq alone among the large villages remaining unserved. In parts of the countryside and in the smaller villages, dispersion of settlement renders prohibitive the cost of connection of each dwelling with the public sewers. The more isolated and the more rural areas are now the regions of lowest standards (Fig. 33). 744 178

Medical services, particularly in their relevance to the problem of high infant mortality, developed late and slowly (10). The most serious obstacles were those rooted in Maltese social life (11). The strength of the matriarchal tradition in Maltese household has meant that the ignorance of the oldest generation persists in imposing itself on the life of the youngest. Dirt, overclothing and under-feeding, the indiscriminate and early use of farinaceous foods, all these were difficult to eradicate in overcrowded and grandmother-dominated conditions (12). The difficulty of educating in hygiene and personal health an indifferent and tradition-bound population proved insuperable and in 1939 the infantile mortality rate was as high as the average for the preceding 20 years.

The final breakthrough occurred paradoxically during World War II. In 1943 and 1944 housing conditions and diet were worse than any experienced in peacetime but the death rate and the infantile mortality rate began to fall to record 178 722 744

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 179]

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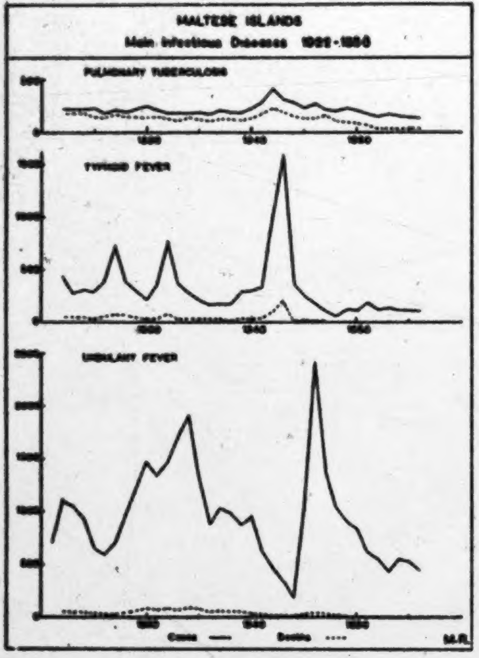

Fig. 66 Maltese Islands: Main Infectious Diseases.

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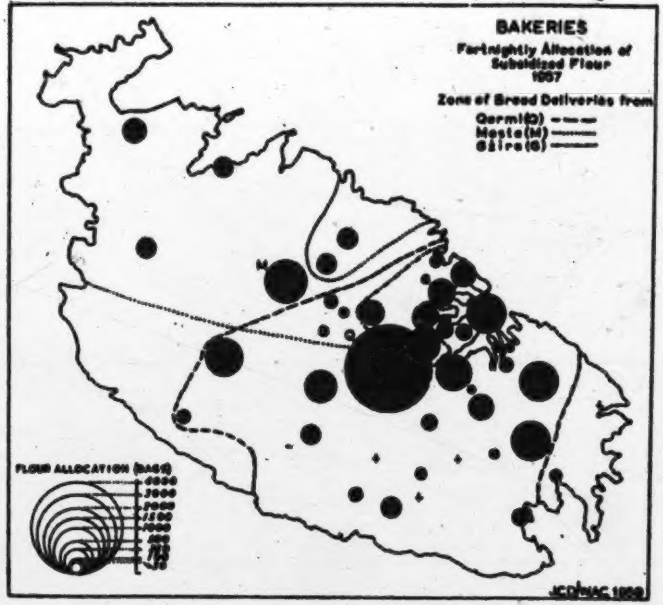
BAKERIES
Fortnightly Allocation of Subsidized Flour 1957
Zone of Bread Deliveries from
Qormi(Q)
Mosta(M)
Gżira(G)
M
FLOUR ALLOCATION (BAGS)
JCD/NAC 1959

Fig. 67 Bakeries.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

low levels. Earlier improvements probably supplied the basis for change but 178
more important was the fact that, for the first time, the effective Garrison of
Malta included the whole population. The new machinery for public information, 772
the desperate need for reducing disease incidence and preventing epidemics,
and even food rationing and shortage had cumulatively beneficial effects on the 744
public mind. More than all, it would seem, the military control of the besieged
islands with its conscription of many Maltese males and the increased contact
of British troops with the people, together with that strange uniting exaltation
in face of danger observed in other countries, all shocked Malta into new ways
of thought (Fig. 66).

After the war this momentum was maintained during the period of recon- 178
struction. The Malta Memorial District Nursing Association, Child Health
Clinics, and U.N.-established ante-natal clinics have now been accepted and 744
their services utilised. In 1959 the infantile mortality rate was 34.7 per 1,000,
leaving the memory of the rate of 350 per 1,000 in 1942 far behind.

This revolutionary change is of particular revelance to this study. Many of
its implications need no labouring. The demographic consequences, for instance,
are obvious enough, as also the slowness with which traditional ways of life in
Malta have changed. For us the most important consequence is that rising
generations through a new awareness of causation and consequence, of scientific
processes, are becoming vulnerable to new ideas in associated fields. There
are no great steps between preventive human medicine, inoculation, livestock
injections and an appreciation of plant pathology. One difficulty remains; the [369]
rural areas are the least affected by these recent changes and those individuals
in the countryside who are mentally injected with new ideas and understanding [185]
are, for various reasons, the least likely to remain in agriculture.

Exemplifying this continuing regional dichotomy, but unity in complexity, is 178
the recent history of milk consumption and production (13). Traditionally in
Malta, 'the entire milk supply has been delivered by the goat herself' (14). 234
Sometimes living with their flocks in the *fossa* which surround Valletta, the
herdsmen would wander the streets, milking the animals on demand. Bruce and 744
Zammit in 1885 and 1905 showed that the bacillus of Undulant or Malta Fever
was freely excreted in goats milk and that the high incidence in Malta of this [164]
debilitating, sometimes lethal, disease was a natural consequence of the general
albeit low per capita consumption of fresh milk from predominantly diseased
goats. After considerable investigation, a milk pasteurising plant was erected
and the first pasteurised milk was distributed, Valletta, Floriana and Sliema
being declared 'closed areas' within which the sale of raw milk became illegal.
During World War II, further extension of this policy was prevented but, since
most goats were slaughtered for meat because of fodder shortage and because
consumption of tinned milk became normal, the incidence of Malta fever fell to
record low levels. Post-war revival in goats' milk production resulted in general
re-infection by brucellosis and in 1946 the incidence of undulant fever was the
highest ever recorded. During the post-war period public health and welfare
policies have encouraged the consumption of milk. Because of the incidence of
Malta fever, this has entailed the provision of expensive pasteurising plant, the
prevention of the sale of unpasteurised, and the official encouragement of
production of cows' rather than goats' milk.

This particular development is examined at greater length in Chapter X but 178
some main points of general import merit consideration here. First, Maltese
society has recently been affected by social, dietetic and medical policies which 744
profoundly affect the basis of social life. In general one might say that the
Maltese way of life is being made more remote from the simple crudities of 185
parochial experience. Secondly, in the field of health and social welfare, the
criterion of scientifically measured need has been adopted as the basis of
official policy and the question of availability of resources is regarded as of
secondary importance. Thirdly, this increasing social sophistication has only
very recently become operative in Maltese life and different scales of value
exist in different generations and in different social groups. Lastly, it would
be fair to say that, while the urban markets are still only relatively fastidious

178 about quality and as yet incompletely dominated by ideas of welfare economics,
the rural community is far less affected by change. While milk consumers in
185 the towns are often either not completely convinced of the need for milk processing
or at the other extreme will use only imported tinned milk where possible,
744 the producers are generally even less convinced of the need for care in the
production of clean milk. Unpasteurised goats' milk is still generally used in
those farming households where milk is consumed at all, and understanding of
the processes of infection is but slowly growing. Thus, in the field of public
health and personal hygiene and medical care, social changes have been rapid,
recent and uneven in incidence. Here, as in the economic sector, the mental
acceptance of new ideas is not yet complete and is least advanced in the most
rural and remote regions.

The examination already made of the demographic situation in the Maltese
163 Islands needs some brief consideration against the background of social
369 attitudes. The consensus of expert opinion is that in developing societies a falling
birth rate is the result not of an actual decline in fertility but of family
842 limitation. In most regions such a decline in family size is associated with
changed social attitudes, which have become accepted in many countries in which
795 Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion. Pope Pius XII himself condemned
irresponsible parenthood and said it is 'a mistake and a departure from moral
truth to exalt too highly the generative function even in its right moral setting
of married life' (15).

The insularity and historical experience of Malta have preserved there a more rigid and strict application of Catholic rules of conduct, in which, despite the inadequacy of the Islands' resources to provide for the economic welfare of the population, the virtues of the large family are still stressed. Archbishop Gonzi in 1958 reminded an audience of young people that, although large families entailed much sacrifice on the part of the parents, parents should be prepared for a life of sacrifice (16). Father Vella, the founder of the Cana movement has said: 'One of Malta's glories is her large families' (17).

In Malta therefore the weight of the Church tends to discourage the secular social trend towards smaller families, and still makes illegal any provision for family limitation. Where secularism is strongest, in the urban cosmopolis, family size declines most rapidly. In the rural communities, where the precepts of the Church are most conscientiously observed and where the effect of secular socio-economic desires is most restricted, large families are normal and admired.

This regional contrast in social behaviour, when superimposed upon purely
163 demographic variations in rates of population growth, becomes sometimes
369 emphasised and sometimes negated. In the northern third of Malta, inward
internal movement as a consequence of 'pioneer' agricultural settlement during
842 and after the mid-nineteenth century produced a 'young' population, high birth
rates and rates of natural increase. This region has remained almost entirely
rural in social character. The second main region of inward movement of
population, the suburban area, has experienced a recent decline in the early
high birth rates as a result of the impact of secular ideas.

The urban heart of Malta in Valletta and Floriana by contrast, has been both
traditionally a zone of outward movement of population and the district most
affected by changes in social attitudes to family propagation. The remaining
area, the heart and core of Maltese 'casal' life, illustrates clearly the delicate
balance between demographic and religious and secular social influences. From
[166] this central area have traditionally gone the migrants to the new towns and the
'new' northern farming areas. The efflux has counteracted the traditionally rural
and strongly religious tendency towards large families and a high rate of natural
increase. On the southern fringe of this zone however lies the Żurrieq group
of 'casals' and villages. From this until recently relatively isolated district,
emigration has never been high and, with a survival of traditional rural values,
this region has had in the 1950's the consistently highest birth rates - over 30
per 1,000 - of the *Maltese* population.

As has already appeared it is impossible to live and work in Malta without becoming very much aware of the strength of the Church. We venture therefore to make some necessary comment on this at once most delicate and yet most vigorous aspect of Maltese affairs. 175 79

As noted in Chapter IV, religious activity of a highly developed and institutionalised nature was a feature of Malta even in prehistory. Little direct evidence is available of this facet of life in the semitic or classical cultures, and even when we come to the Christian era and St. Paul's shipwreck 'on an island called Melita' we have no conclusive evidence that this in fact was Malta, or that St. Paul introduced Christianity to the Islands (18).

At all events the Christian Church entered the Islands in Roman times, and the line of bishops regarded as beginning with Publius, St. Paul's host, although broken during the period of Arab rule, was re-established by the Normans. As examined in Chapter IV, from this time onward Malta became first a simple fief in Christendom and then its bastion, held by a Religious Order. Whatever toleration there may once have been between Christian and Moslem before 1530 was quickly erased.

The report by the Apostolic Visitor, Mgr. Pietro Duzina (19) of his visit to Malta in 1575 throws some light on the condition of the Church at the time. In answer to unorthodoxy a Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition was established, creating three rival forces in the Islands, the Grand Master, the Inquisitor and the Bishop. From Duzina's report and subsequent accounts we see that not until the Turkish threat in 1565 had been repulsed and the Visitor's instructions for future conduct had had some effect, did village life become centred around new and magnificent churches which replaced the smaller more humble edifices in the hamlets. Curia and architectural evidence (20) corroborate each other. From this time onward, the parishes, growing in number, became the administrative and social regional units that counted in Maltese life and the Parish Church became the focus of the religious, social, and economic life of the casals and villages. As patrons of all the arts, repositories of wealth, directors not only of consciences but all conscious action, the Parish organisations became, and to an amazing extent still retain, a permeating power. Quite apart from the regular clergy the Religious Orders have played an important part in the Maltese Church and in education and other aspects of social activity. The relationship between the Church and the Order of St. John was not always completely amicable. In the traditional village scene the village priest, in the virtual absence of an indigenous squirearchy, was the teacher, doctor, legal advisor as well as spiritual mentor. Compared with this the Knights were alien and apart from Maltese life. The position of the Church and the Order vis-a-vis the Papacy was also not completely easy. Nevertheless, mainly as a result of mutual non-interference, the Church gained complete local ascendancy.

During the nineteenth century an uneasy *modus vivendi* was established between the Church and the new non-Catholic rulers, and during most of the conflict over language and culture the Church played a pacific and calming role, concerning itself mainly with the administrative details necessitated by the rapidly increasing and nucleating population. How far the dependence of the individual on the spirit and dogma of his belief, the faith described in 1840 by Miège (21) as *'cette piété poussé jusqu'au fanatisme'*, has been supported by the long years of insecurity during which Divine and ecclesiastical protection was felt as a real and precious thing, it is hard to say. One may speculate on the fact that it was at the old 'frontier' casal at Mosta, westernmost of the old settlements, that local piety built in days of security the vast church with a dome that ranks among the largest of the world. It is also true that the Maltese Church enforces more strict rules of conduct upon its people than other Churches now find possible.

However we may interpret the situation, the Church which succeeded in adjusting itself to nineteenth century changes has been faced in the twentieth with the consequences of those changes. The traditional society in which it was virtually omnipotent and omnipresent is changing into a new society in which the individual does not have to lean so much on the priest. Now, the younger genera- 178 79

178 79 tion can read, travel and make contact directly and vicariously with the world outside. Emigration too has tested the strength of the Faith. In consequence, we can now find in Malta a historical cross-section represented in spatial distribution. At one extreme one can meet in Sliema agnostic Maltese who never go near a church; at the other, in rural Gozo, one can find general obedience to the Bishop's instructions. All societies are heterogeneous in this respect but in Malta the strain of division within society is particularly great because of the existence of so many other cleavages. The reaction of the Church to this new situation has been dual in character. In the first place the Church itself has taken official action. Reform and correction, the imposition of rigorous film and book censorship, the series of edicts on dress and on behaviour have accompanied research, such as that of Abbé Houtart (22), into the needs of the people. Secondly, there have appeared the lay organisations with the avowed intent of redressing the balance. M.U.S.E.U.M. and Catholic Action before World War II, Cana, Legion of Mary, Social Action, the Holy Name Society and many others of foreign and indigenous origin since 1945 have developed in the conurbation where the challenge to the Church was strongest (23).

Financially the Church is still strong, owning as it does some 19 per cent. of the agricultural land of the Islands and an unverifiable total of urban property (24). Politically, the strength of the Church rests on its hold over the minds and hearts of the people. It is not necessary for the Church to take much overt action to demonstrate its power.

178 256 655 722 As a last vignette of the changing Maltese socio-economic complex we may consider some aspects of recent research on a useful indicator of social change, the bread baking industry (25).

The purchasing, distribution and processing of wheat and wheat flour, remains as it has been for centuries, Government controlled. When the Knights established their capital at Valletta and when the suburb-outwork of Floriana was built, great stone-chamber granaries were hewn out of the solid rock, developed versions of the much older 'bell-pits'. These underground granaries were stocked by the official organisation, the *Università*, and the grain periodically distributed at controlled prices. This siege-system, necessitated by dependence on imports, was abolished in the early nineteenth century, and the newly established Board of Trade contented itself with licensing importations. As a measure of agricultural protection and for the raising of revenue, duties were levied on these shipments. During the twentieth century, and culminating in the emergency measures of the beleaguered Islands during World War II, controls became tighter and grain prices heavily subsidised.

178 256 During the period of urbanisation and more especially during the last siege the general practice of home baking rapidly declined in Malta, although in Gozo it still persists. In the latter island there was in 1957 only one full-time and one part-time commercial bakery, while in Malta there were 201. All food grains produced for sale in the Island should legally be sent to licensed flour mills for blending. Imports, almost entirely of hard Canadian grain, are made by the Department of Trade and by the Victualling Yard in H.M. Dockyard. Ninety-seven per cent. of all flour issued for ration-bread making is subsidised, but local estimates suggest that up to 50 per cent. is used for making other products, this illegally used flour being sold at a discount.

102 178 256 Fig. 67[a] shows the distribution of bakeries in Malta, their importance and the main distribution areas as they existed in 1957. Only two villages in 1950 and one in 1957 - Safi - did not possess their own bakeries. This however is not indicative of closed fields of distribution but only of the multiplicity and the small-scale of the enterprises. Of the 35 districts, 32 imported bread from and 17 exported bread to other areas. Over half the 15,000 bags of subsidised flour issued in 1950 eventually found their way as bread outside the receiving districts. Of this inter-regional trade, Qormi supplied almost 80 per cent. Very briefly the points of interest are as follows. Qormi, which in 1957 had 48 bakeries, has always been the traditional baking centre, partly because of its central situation, but mainly as noted in Chapter VIII because of its situation in

[a] [See p. 198--Analyst]

a dry-farming cereal region. The other main centres are of more recent growth and reflect a variety of factors, Mosta as a regional centre, Gżira and Msida as suitably placed coastal sites within the conurbation. Secondly, the distribution of bakeries does not correspond directly with variations in population density but rather reflects those variations in an exaggerated form. If we omit Qormi from consideration, Fig. 67 indicates fairly accurately the strength or weakness of traditional society in inverse ratio to the strength of commercial bakery development. Thirdly, the inter-regional 'trade' in bread, together with evidence we have no space to consider such as the development of travelling shops, etc., shows the importance of the new mobility which is rapidly breaking down old parochialisms. Uniformity, homogeneity, openness to world ideas, these are the social virtues lauded in the twentieth century, which are being inculcated in Malta most effectively by the delivery vans of the new commercialism. The decline of local individualisms is aesthetically sad; it is also dangerous in that the smoother the appearance of the social emulsion the less heed is paid to the degree of real cohesion between its members.

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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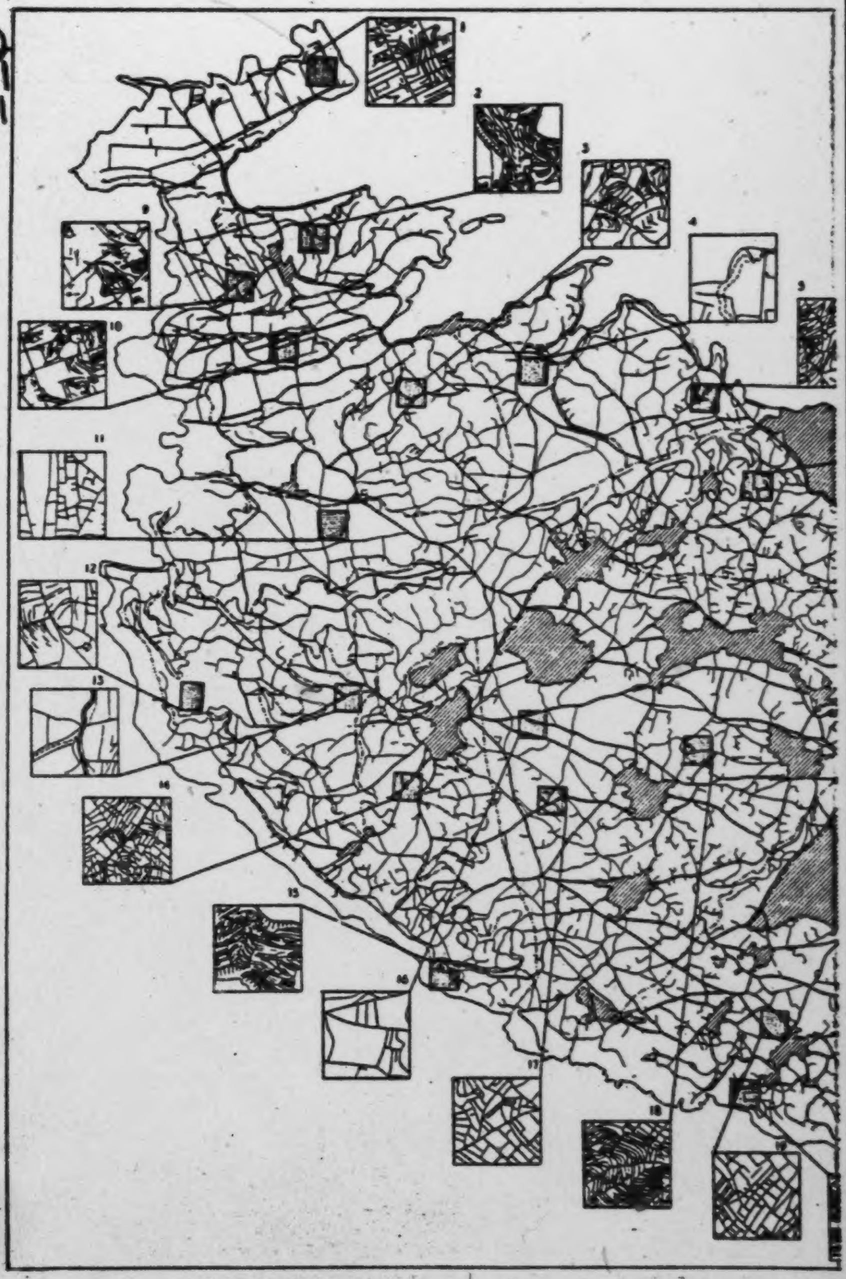
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Fig. 68 Communications and Field Patterns

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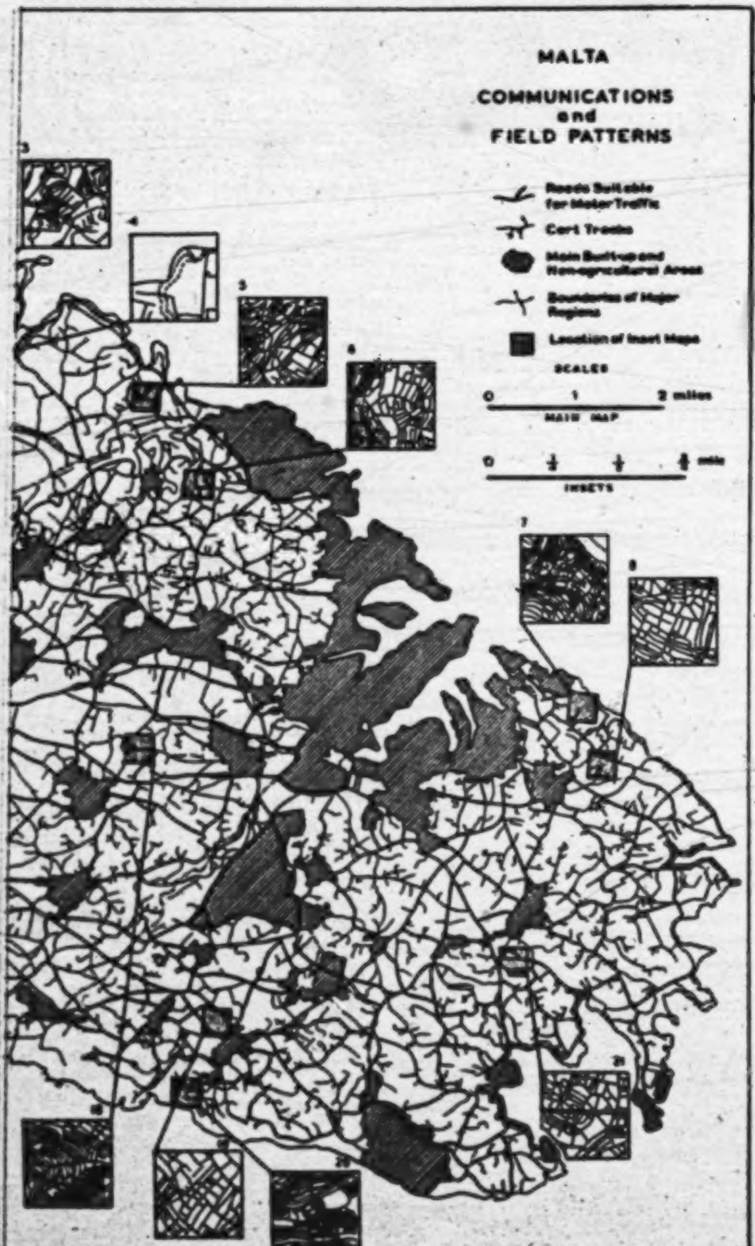
MALTA
COMMUNICATIONS and FIELD PATTERNS
Roads Suitable for Motor Traffic
Cart Tracks
Main Built-up and Non-agricultural Areas
Boundaries of Major Regions
Location of Inset Maps
SCALES
0 1 2 miles
MAIN MAP
0 1/4 1/2 3/4 mile
INSETS
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Communications and Field Patterns.

[p. 184-B]

D. Note on Fig. 68

COMMUNICATIONS AND FIELD PATTERNS

Roads, tracks, stone walls and buildings are the human imprint on the surface of the land and the first three of these elements are illustrated in Fig. 68. The pattern of communications, while at first appearing quite devoid of plan, nevertheless shows distinct regional characteristics. On the Coralline Uplands, where cultivated land is often scattered among stretches of karst, there are few motorable roads, but numerous tracks appear to wander at will across the surface. In the Marfa, Mellieħa Ridge and Bajda Ridge districts, a grid-iron pattern of roads and tracks reflects mid-nineteenth century plans for the allocation of land.

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Basins and lowlands such as Miżieb, Bingemma, Wied tal-Pwales, the Blue Clay Basin and Wied il-Għasel, are characterised by an open network which includes several important roads and a minimum of linking tracks, an arrangement also characteristic of the central plains west of Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi. In these areas, the gentle slopes obviate the necessity for cart access to every field, while the absence of terraces does away with the need for well-defined, walled tracks. 'Service tracks' leading off the main lines, are virtually absent. This is in complete contrast with the state of affairs prevailing throughout the bulk of central, southern and eastern Malta, where roads and connecting tracks form a denser web between the numerous settlements and their lands. Here, 'cul-de-sac' service tracks abound and few fields are more than a quarter of a mile from one of them. There is a marked tendency for the network to become closer in regions where steep slopes are common as in the Naxxar-Għargħur hills and around the Wied il-Kbir complex.

The inset maps, each covering an area of one-ninth square mile, illustrate the great variety of field size, shape and arrangement to be found in Malta.

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1. Marfa. The rectilinear nineteenth-century pattern has been superimposed on older patterns which show a clear relationship to topography.
2. Mellieħa Upland - Wied Għajn Żejtuna. The narrow terraces of the sharply sloping valley sides contrast with the rather larger fields of the valley floor and with the open karst of the upland.
3. Wardija Uplands. An irregular pattern developed on the Coralline plateau summit.
4. Wied il-Għasel. Unusually large, open fields with only occasional walls. The wied channel (shown by broken lines) has been ploughed over.
5. Għallis Hills. Small, irregular enclosures on the hill tops; larger, more regular fields in the small valley seen in the south-east.
6. Naxxar-Għargħur Hills. Large fields on the smooth hill summits; extremely narrow terraces on the sharply incised valley sides.
7. Ricasoli-Zonkor Ridge. Minute enclosures, the smallest in Malta, on the seaward side of the ridge.
8. Larger more regular fields on the southerly, inland slopes of the same ridge.
9. Mellieħa Ridge. Fragments of an old, topographically-determined pattern remain, on which a few lines of more recent origin have been superimposed.
10. Bajda Ridge. A clear example of the superimposition already referred to.
11. Binġemma Basin. Large fields, often with a strip formation, are typical of down-faulted Upper Coralline basins.
12. Santi-Binġemma Uplands. Now almost entirely abandoned: the fragmentary character of the pattern is typical of such areas.
13. Blue Clay Basin, near Fiddien Bridge. Large, open fields.
14. Rabat-Dingli Uplands. A more intensively worked section of the Upper Coralline along the Rabat-Dingli road (shown by a double line). Contrast with number 12.
15. Western Rdum Lands. Part of the Rdum tal-Lunzjata showing the minute subdivision typical of such areas.

16, 17, 18, illustrate variations within the central part of Malta. In example 16, the fields are particularly large. 17 shows greater subdivision, irregular in the north and approaching the rectilinear in the south. 18 illustrates the effects of steeper slopes, in this case on the southern side of the Wied is-Sewda.

19. A regular pattern on gentle slopes between Qrendi and Mqabba.
20. Minute terraces near the southern coast.
21. The effect of recent road building is illustrated here in the splitting up of no less than 14 fields, along a 600 yard stretch of road. In the process, a number of minute fields of little or no value have been formed.

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SECTION 3

AGRICULTURE

INTRODUCTION

121 24 Contemporary agriculture can only be understood in terms of the whole nexus of environmental and human factors. Although a general truism this assertion continually needs to be emphasised in a study of Malta. In these Islands the observer will meet more puzzling features both major and minor in scale than it is conceivable would be found in any territory of similar size. The wider one's comparative experience, the more it appears necessary to discard general principles and to adopt a habit of querying the origin of every minor element in the landscape. The various problems are examined elsewhere but a brief statement of their type and range will serve to depict the complex nature of Maltese agriculture.

121 311 24 All visitors to Malta are invariably impressed by the vast extent of stone terrace walls which give to the ground-level observer an impression of rocky barrenness. The questions which arise, and which have not been satisfactorily answered, are manifold in their complexity. Do the terrace-walls merely serve to retain naturally-evolved soil and if so is the present density of enclosures strictly necessary? Are these walls, on the other hand, ramparts behind which man-made soil accumulations have been slowly built up to create artificial fields? If the latter, does normal pedological analysis provide a sufficient basis for soil husbandry? If the former, how far can enclosures be enlarged to permit a greater use of mechanised techniques?

121 132 24 The climate of Malta, as analysed in Chapter II, has some especial characteristics. How far do certain combinations of temperature, humidity and wind velocity in various topographic circumstances encourage the appearance and survival of the very many diseases and pests which afflict Maltese crops? To what extent may the climate-soil complex be held responsible for the virtual absence of the olive and the remarkable ignorance concerning viticulture which is only now being dispelled? Must the physical environment be regarded as the main reason for the fact that Maltese farmers have never produced important indigenous strains of crops or livestock but have relied entirely on breeds imported from their more productive neighbours?

121 24 Innumerable queries of this type result from even the most cursory visual survey, and any attempt to answer them brings in even more complex human questions. If the maintenance of man-made soil in artificial fields by arduous manual labour is essential for the ecological stability of many regions, how important is the conflict between the needs of production and the social desires of the cultivators? How far has poor husbandry been a product of rural isolation? How measurable is distance as it affects contact between producer and market, between village-dweller and *Il-Belt*? None of these and other questions is uniquely applicable to Malta, but *in toto* they present such a formidable array as to make one feel that these small islands have concentrated within them certain microcosmic qualities.

In this Section are considered some of the observable facts tha. directly concern the use and potentialities of agricultural resources. The main features of the economy and society in general have been described in previous sections; the basic elements of the agricultural sector may be summarised as follows.

24 311 The total area of the Maltese Islands is some 280,512 *tmien* of which 152,343 *tmien* are cultivated (54 per cent of the total) (1). The relationship between Malta and Goso in these respects is remarkably constant, both islands having a similar proportion of worked land, Malta possessing 79 per cent. of the total area and of the cultivated land. Of the 7,272 *tmien* of irrigated land, almost 89 per cent. is found in Malta where the only large irrigated zones also occur.

162 24 This cultivated land is worked in 12,315 registered farmholdings of which over 70 per cent. are in Malta. The rural community (i.e. persons living in dwellings registered as farms and including farmworkers' children and other members of the family otherwise employed) number 57,354 (72 per cent. in Malta), almost 18 per cent. of the total population. Of this rural community 34

per cent. are children under 14 years of age. The number of whole-time 162
farmers, 8,100, is now smaller than the group of part-time agriculturalists - 24
8,946, and in its age-composition differs significantly from the total population
- 48 per cent. are aged 50 years or more (1948 - 33.8 per cent.) as compared
with 31 per cent. for the Islands as a whole.

The relatively small and, until very recently, declining size of the full-time 178
farming population, and its rapid ageing, suggest a decline in the importance 24
and status of agriculture. The implications of these figures are discussed else-
where but it is worth noting that the agricultural areas are still inhabited by [934]
over 126,000 persons most of whom draw some real income from the land in
amounts which may often be small per capita but which observation suggests
are large in total.

The total value of the recorded crop product is estimated at some £2.27 24
millions. From observation in Malta and experience elsewhere one can suggest 43
that is under-estimated by a fraction of the order of 10 per cent. (See p. 10, -
Essential Statistics - for further information.)

The combined value of crop and livestock products is estimated at almost £6,000,000. The income accruing to the cultivators is distributed in such a multiplicity of ways in such varying amounts that no useful estimate of average per capita income can be made. Of the disbursements of some £3 millions, an amount of the order of £2½ millions is expended on imports, notably of fodder and store cattle. Earnings of foreign currency amount to approximately £500,000, almost half of which derived from potato exports. This imbalance between imports and exports in the agricultural sector appears even more striking when one remembers that F.D.T. imports of over £9,000,000 make up 38 per cent. of the total Maltese import bill.

The efforts of the 9 per cent. of the employed population engaged in agri- 121
culture are already considerable but the needs of Malta are great. With no known 24
physical resources of any size other than the land, it becomes of vital
importance that farming productivity should be raised even further and that
special effort is directed towards a legitimate degree of self-sufficiency in
agricultural products. Much of the analysis that follows this introduction must
be considered in the light of present and future needs.

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Plate XV. Worked-out quarry in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills. Spring. Vines cultivated at various levels.

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Plate XVI. Walled orchards and gardens south of Naxxar. Summer. The circular building in the middle distance is an old windmill.

[P. 191]

Chapter VII

A. The Land Use Survey of the Maltese Islands

When, in 1954, the decision was made to undertake a programme of geographical research into Maltese agricultural resources and their utilisation, it was also decided to base such a programme on fundamental observational work. The availability of excellent maps on scales of 25 inches, 6 inches and 2 inches to the mile, made it possible to envisage a complete and detailed survey of land use, field by field, plot by plot. Financial exigencies and the need for concentrating work into a short critical period, made it necessary so to plan the first visit as to make the findings representative of the whole range of conditions observable. The work was later extended to cover the full area of the Islands. 311* 121

From the outset, it was realised that work along the lines adopted elsewhere under the World Land Utilisation Survey scheme, while valuable as a first step in regions of considerable extent, would be inadequate under Maltese conditions. Several of the categories suggested by the scheme for use in the Old World (e.g. 6: Unimproved Grazing Land and 7: Woodland) do not exist in Malta while others (e.g. 3: Tree and other Perennial Crops and 4: Crop Land) are too broad to give any indication of regional land use characteristics. The small size of the Maltese Islands has made it possible, despite the minute sub-division of the land to carry out a field-by-field survey of use while at the same time distinguishing all the main crops. It is the combinations of these many different crops which most obviously mark out the different agricultural regions and which make necessary a breakdown of the broader land use categories. It has been appreciated that in many territories suitable conditions do not exist for this 'microscopic' approach, but the authors venture to wonder whether the dangers of more general surveys may not outweigh the value of their findings. These dangers lie not intrinsically in the scale of work but rather in that the findings, if used at all, will generally be used by people who may not appreciate their shortcomings. The problem lies in the gulf between the researcher and those responsible for policies and action.

The survey has been essentially a team effort, directed by the senior authors, the field work being carried out by them with the assistance of the student members of the survey parties (see Introduction, p. 9). It was found that a great deal of useful work could be carried out by the latter, provided that more experienced workers were available to organise and take part in the actual field work and to correlate and interpret the results. The basic method was the plotting of crops actually growing in the fields at the time of the survey (see below) on 6-inch or 25-inch maps. The latter scale was used in parts of Malta where fields are too small to allow the use of the 6-inch scale and throughout Goso where 6-inch maps are not available. However, the work was not confined to mere crop-plotting, but included the noting of a variety of elements: the quality of the crops, conditions of soil, drainage and water supply, the relationship of crops to rock type, slope, exposure and other physical factors, farming techniques, irrigation methods and the character and extent of rural settlement. A large number of perspective sketches, plots of individual fields, and case studies of farms, a fraction of which are reproduced in the present volume, were made and many photographs taken. Wherever possible, farmers were interviewed and, although this was most easily done when interpreters were available, sufficient farmers with some English were found to extend the scope of this part of the work to cover some 250 individuals. Each day's work was followed by a conference at which points noted by the field workers were discussed and recorded. By these means, sufficient material of all kinds was gathered to permit not only the compilation of an accurate and very detailed record of land use but also a reasoned interpretation of observed fact which could be viewed alongside published official reports and statistical material. The authors so arranged their share of the work that they were able to visit all regions of the 311* 114 [124]

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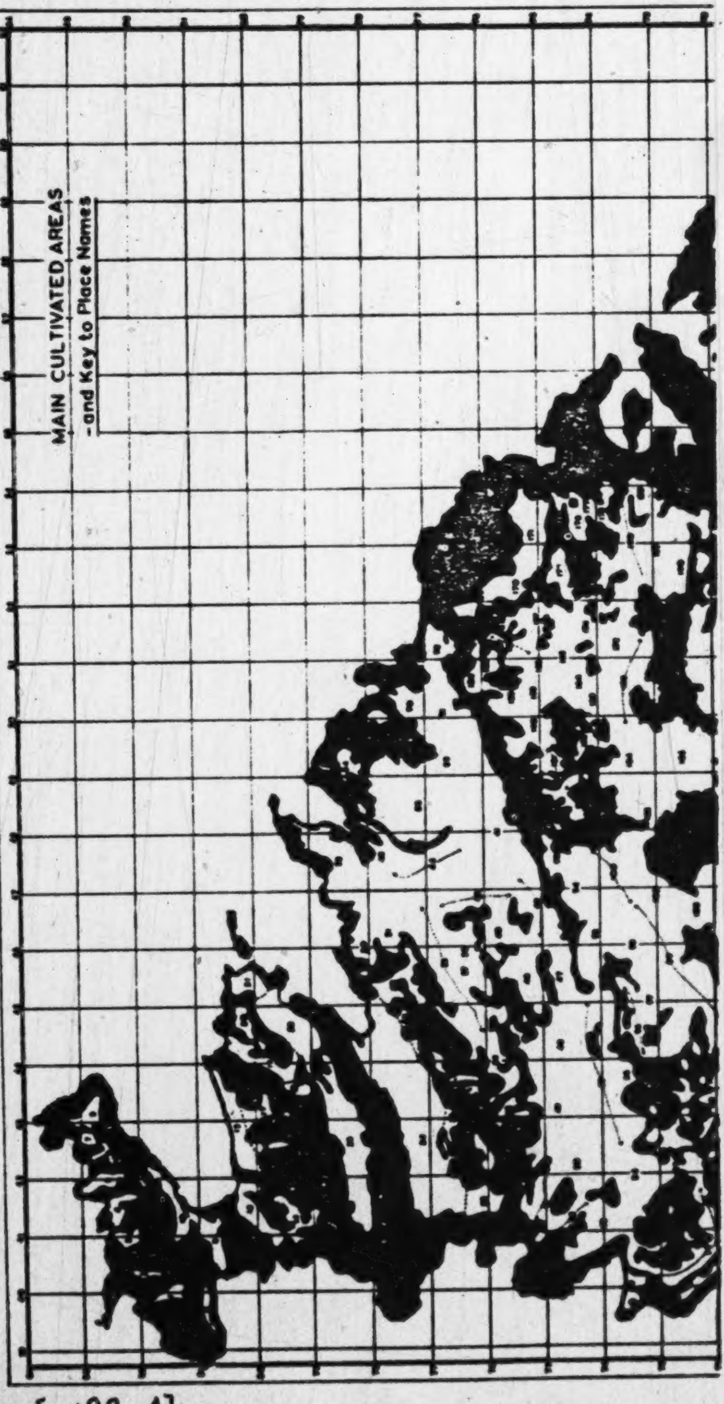
MAIN CULTIVATED AREAS
-and Key to Place Names

[p.192-A]

Fig. 69 Main Cultivated Areas and

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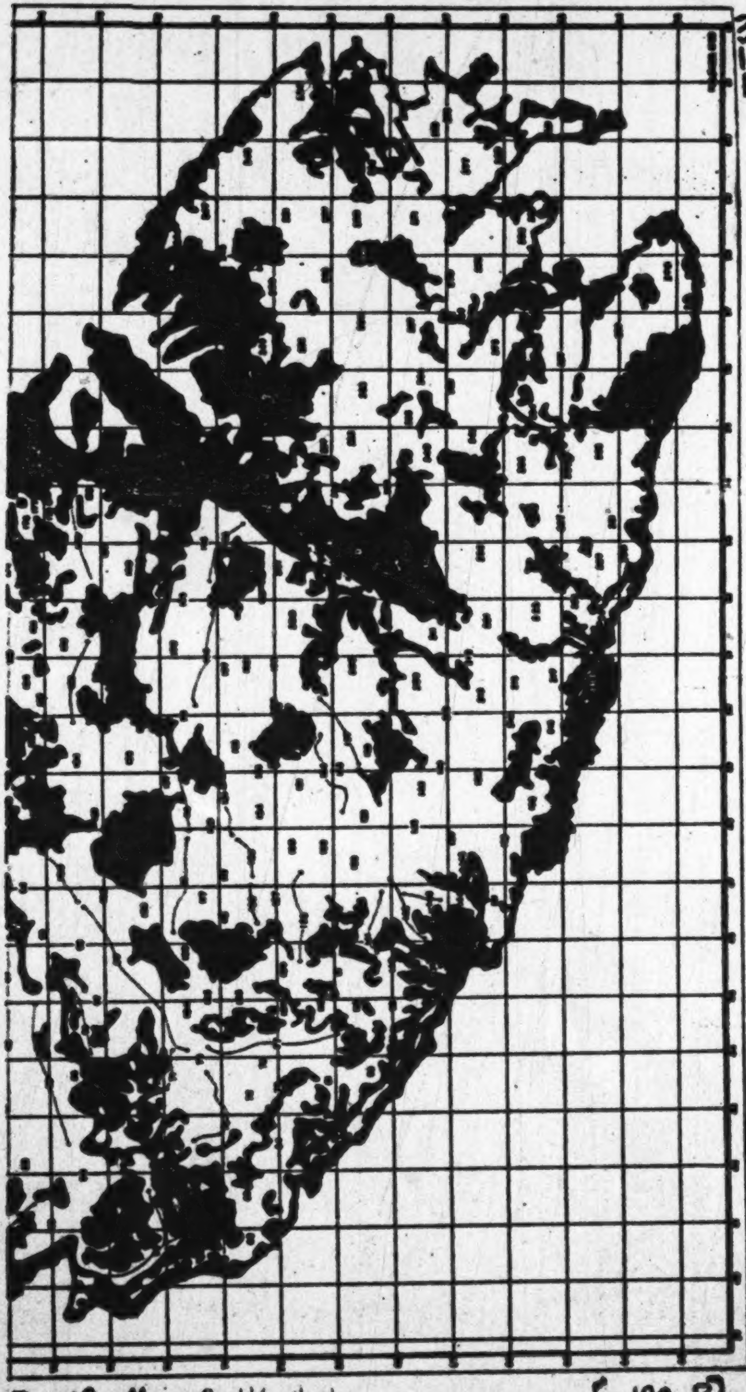

Fig. 69 Main Cultivated
d Areas and Key to Place Names: Malta.

[p.192-B]

Islands and could thus provide continuity in the interpretation of the records of the many field workers. 311* 114

The survey parties worked in the Islands during the months of March and April in each of the three years 1955, 1956, and 1957. In March-April and August-September 1958 the authors themselves carried out final checks. During the Spring periods, the use of fairly large teams of observers, between six and eight in number, enabled the work to be concentrated at a critical time when the widest range of crops and of activities are to be seen. Summer vegetables and cotton are the only major crops not then in the fields and this difficulty was overcome by the enlistment of the other Durham research workers permanently residing in the Islands and by a summer visit of one of the authors. Objection might be raised to the spreading of the survey work over more than one season. The difficulty of completing such work on such a scale during one short period of time is not a sufficient answer. The real answer is that the time spread did not matter. The miniscule field pattern and the further subdivision into separate plots, both amply illustrated in the examples shown here, mean that crop changes from year to year merely result in the re-shuffling of tiny pieces of an intricate mosaic. The variety of crops grown and identified (see below), the relative uniformity of crop sequences and the individuality possessed by the various regions, further remove any deficiencies apparently implied by this particular method. The spreading of the fieldwork over a number of years did in fact allow both the checking of methodological validity and the carrying out of subsidiary pieces of work. For example, sample areas were surveyed during each of the four years, thus giving an accurate picture of crop sequence and rotations, as well as a check on short term change.

The following crops were individually identified in the field: sulla, wheat, [241] barley, vines, fruit, olives, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, marrows, other vegetables, broad beans, peas and vetches. In addition, uncropped land was recorded as waste, fallow, rough grazing or tilled. In several cases, e.g. vegetables, fruit and vetches, a note was made of the actual variety of plant being grown, e.g. cauliflowers, artichokes, apples, peaches, lemons, *gilbicna*, *zozfa*, *widna*, etc. Coloured maps on a 6-inch scale, showing the 18 different 102 crops and uses of land have been prepared. Cost of publication prevents their 311* reproduction here, but they have been used in the preparation of this volume, particularly in Chapters VII B and VIII. The Land Use Maps (Figs. 69 to 98) 126 show the distribution of individual crops, though the range distinguished has been somewhat curtailed. Wheat and barley, tomatoes and marrows, the various vegetables, broad beans and peas, and vetches and minor fodders have respectively been combined into single maps although the accompanying text notes regional variations. These 14 distribution maps in black and white have been prepared by reduction from the coloured 6-inch series. They were originally prepared on a 2-inch scale, and were thus directly comparable with the standard 2-inch topographical sheets and with the 2-inch geology and soil maps. The distribution maps, together with the coloured 6-inch are at present stored in the Durham Geography Department and it is hoped that the former at least will eventually be published on a 2-inch scale. The amount of cartographic work involved has been at least as great as that done in the field, and, since it was carried out by the authors alone it has consumed a considerable amount of time. However, it is felt that the labour has been justified in that only by accurate cartographic representation and by deduction from the maps can easy generalities be avoided. The long term character of the project also made easier the establishment of friendly contacts with local individuals, both official and private, whose help is sincerely acknowledged, and at the same time allowed the authors to amass a background knowledge of the Maltese Islands which has been invaluable in their interpretation of the agricultural landscape.

Note. A preliminary report - 'Agriculture in Malta, a survey of land use', was produced by H. Bowen-Jones and J. C. Dewdney, at Durham, in 1958. 113

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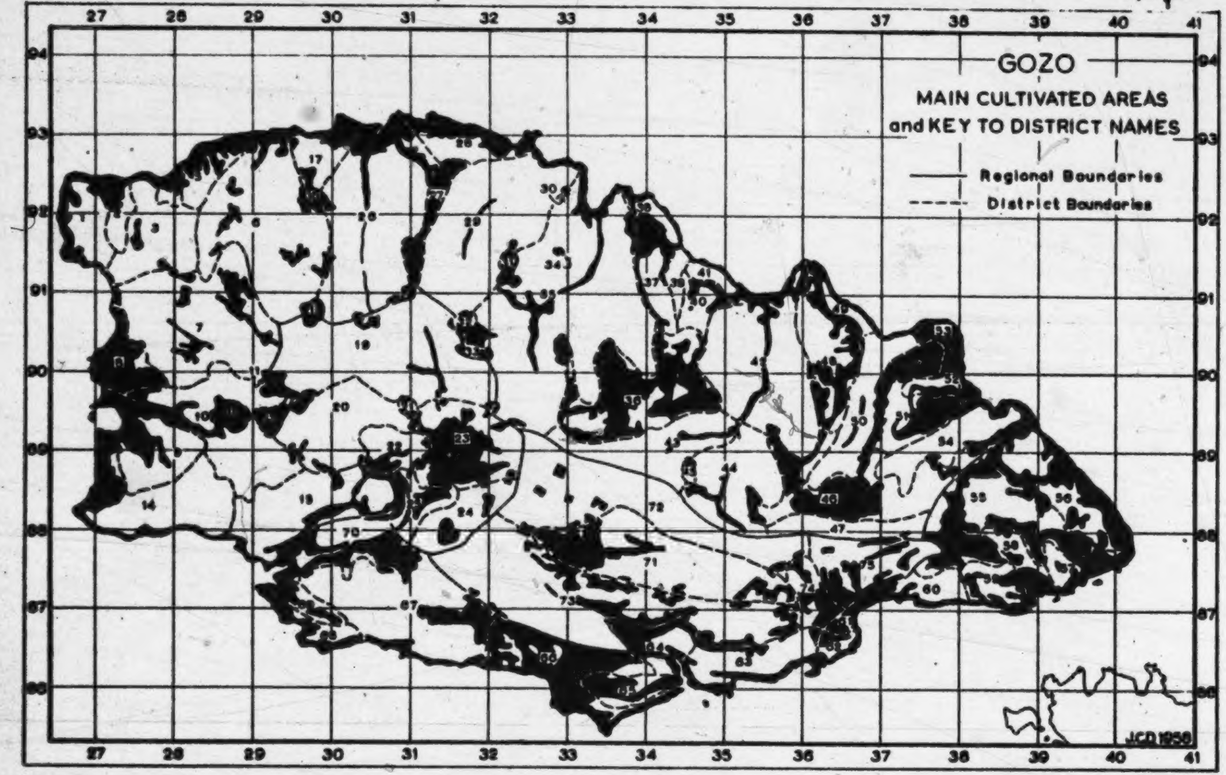
GOZO
MAIN CULTIVATED AREAS
and KEY TO DISTRICT NAMES
Regional Boundaries
District Boundaries
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Fig. 70 Main Cultivated Areas and Key to District Names: Gozo.

B. Crop Distributions

FIELD CROPS

CEREALS - WHEAT and BARLEY (*Qamh and Xgħir*)
As the land use maps show (Figs. 71 and 72), cereals are grown in all 311*
regions of the Islands. Of the grains, wheat and barley alone are of importance. 243
Some maize and millets are still grown and a few fields of sown oats were
observed. *Mixta* - a mixture of wheat and barley - is now rare, although self-seeding produces some mixtures difficult to distinguish except by close examination. The practice of sowing spoilt or 'bottom of the bag' grain on odd patches of soil that would otherwise bear nothing also produces unexpected results.

Many different varieties of wheat and barley are grown - naked and bearded, short and long-awned, with short, stiff and long, weak culms. So-called 'Maltese' varieties such as *Qamh la'Susa* and *la'Bla Sifa*, have little homogeneity except that the wheats are all hard, bearded types. Introductions are mainly of durums
from Canada. The local barleys are poor in type - short-eared, small-grained,
'dry' varieties, although the poor results are obviously partly explained by their [197]
use for cropping the harsher lands. The new barleys are also mainly of North American origin and selected for early maturation. This latter characteristic is especially of value in an environment in which barley may dry and shatter rather than ripen - this has been observed even as early as March. In so far as barley is a residual land crop, however, then innovated varieties would seem to be difficult to establish and popularise - especially since the farmers on the poorest land are the least able to indulge in experiment.

That the importance of cereal cultivation remains so great, in spite of growing dependence on imported bread grains, seems strange at first sight. Information supplied by local mills suggests that human consumption of local cereals is very small, but quantitative estimates cannot accurately be made at present. Little is known of the relative importance of domestic subsistence on the farmers' own grain crops. Davy, in 1842 (1), and witnesses before the Royal Commission of 1911 maintained that production was mainly for domestic consumption. This is still obviously true for some vegetable crops and poultry but, in the present period of continued transition from peasant farming towards commercial farming, is difficult to evaluate for cereal production. For general purposes we may however presume the validity of the assumption that Maltese-grown grains have become less important for human food. No significant amount, it is generally agreed, is used for distilling and brewing. The former is severely restricted by law, and the latter by the general unsuitability for malting - unevenness of sample is a major difficulty - of local barley. For use there then remains only production for livestock fodder - particularly for horses and cattle, although the value of a grain ration for pigs is becoming more apparent with the introduction of better breeds such as the Large White. Given this situation, the comparative ease of grain-growing in the usual rotations practised, and the difficulty of finding alternative crops for some hardland areas, results in the survival of what has been called *grande culture* - land use of which would seem to be, in many regions at least, unnecessarily extensive.

The matter of rotation is fairly simple. Debono (2), in 1911, pointed out that, 241
after previous manuring and vegetable growing - 'there is only the sowing and
the crop comes by itself. So that whether there be duty or no duty, wheat will 242
always be cultivated here in Malta, unless there is a revaluation in the rotation of crops'. A contemporary example may be taken from a farm at tad-Dahla. On the poorer land, wheat is grown alternate years with sulla. On the better land, potatoes and vegetables are the main crops and wheat, sown incidentally as a rotation crop, then gives yields of 25-28 cwt. per acre - double that on the other fields. Any change in the proportion of wheat to other crops under this system of farming could only be a consequence of an agricultural revolution.

More complex is the importance of the grains as hardland crops. Basically, 243
wheat and barley are dry farming crops in Malta. Without irrigation, even away 311*

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 197]

Malta

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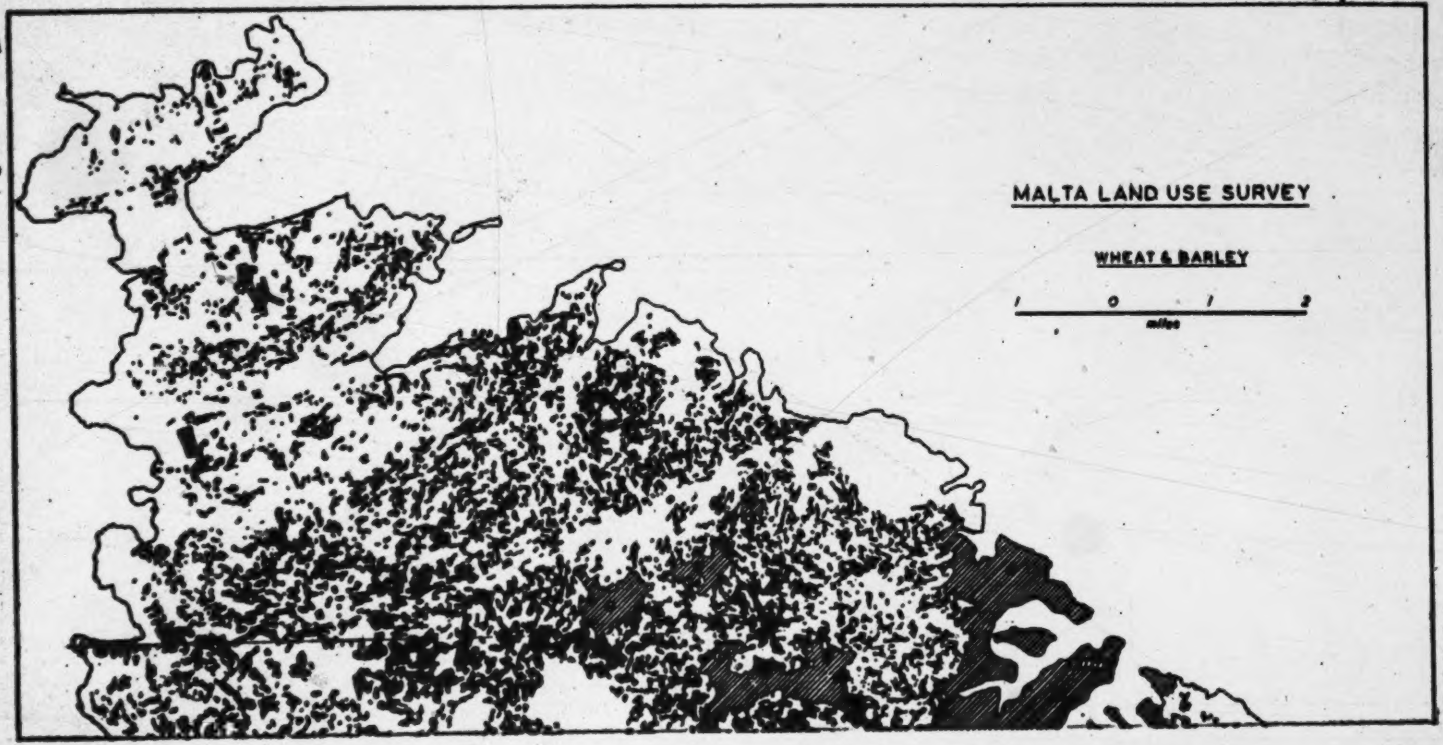
243


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
WHEAT & BARLEY
1 0 1 2
miles

[p.196-A]

Fig. 71 Malta: Land Use Survey:

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*311
102
243

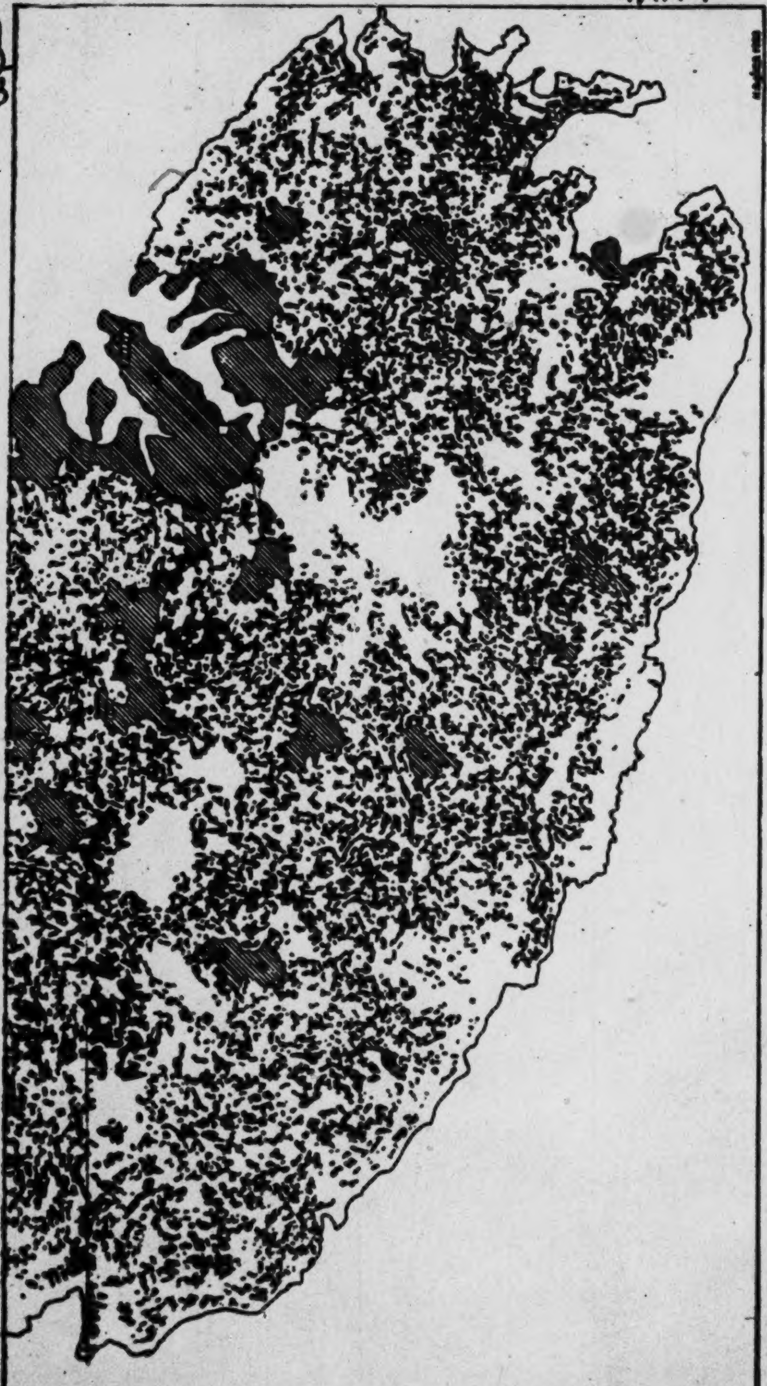


Fig. 71

Land Use Survey: Wheat and Barley

[p. 196-B]

from the *terre accidentée* which borders the Wied Inċita and the Wied il-Kbir, the light Globigerina soils can only well support the grains and sulla. Even more striking is the fact that both in areas where irrigation water is comparatively abundant, as in the Wied l-Iemu (south-west of Rabat), and on the relatively deep and fertile soils of the Bingemma Lowlands and the Wied il-Ghasel, wheat and barley are treated as crops which make little demand on water, manure and tillage and therefore they are to be found in the same environments as intensive market gardening. On the bleaker or less well mantled hillsides, barley, patch sown between rock outcrops, or regarded as a catch crop gamble, usually becomes supreme. It is the more surprising therefore that average yields are relatively high (wheat and barley 22.4 bushels per acre for the decennial period 1949-58). It is doubtful however whether any but a small fraction of the hardland crop yields are represented in statistical returns, particularly since much of these crops are individually inter-cultivated with other crops such as peas and vetches. Even on good land, a considerable total acreage of cereals must avoid statistical measurements - the narrow boundary demarcation hedges of barley in the Wied tal-Pwales and the windbreak ridges of wheat near Ghajn Tuffieħa. 311* 243

Moreover, and here appears the crux of the matter, most of the poor grain crops and a large proportion of others are pulled green for fodder rather than threshed for grain. This is true not only of *Ferrana* - green barley - but also of much of the wheat. This use of the cereals as grain and 'hay' crops give them an extra value in that land under wheat and barley is not necessarily unusable for other crops for the full life cycle of the grains. The danger here lies in the deprivation of the soil of a great deal of organic matter that might be more profitably used for other crops given a revaluation of rotations, and in the encouragement of soil blowing, particularly in the windy Spring months, by the removal by pulling of the whole plant. Stubble-mulch farming so often associated with the 'Ard' is by no means general in Malta.

As shown in Fig. 71, in Malta, only in the high-value heavily irrigated Wied tal-Pwales are the cereals other than dominant. Other points of significance are best examined regionally (see Chapter VIII). In Gozo (Fig. 72), wheat and barley predominate on the most level Globigerina platforms lying below the sulla-clad clay slopes. They are unimportant only in the tree-crop zone north of Nadur.

The differentiation between cultivation of barley and wheat in general is essentially one between hardy and less hardy grain types.

FODDERS AND FORAGES

311* 246

Sulla, green barley, vetches, lucerne, chickpeas, the 'caterpillar plant' (*Widna*) and broad beans are the main forage crops. The leguminous character of all the forages, excepting barley, is worthy of note, and of the herbs gathered as 'wild' hay, by far the greatest number also are leguminous, including among their number many species of *Medicago*.

In the cultivation and use of these fodder crops, there are several features which are peculiar to the Maltese Islands and which deserve close attention. In the first place, all the forages, including sulla which is a true perennial, are grown strictly as annuals in close rotations of the types exemplified in the section on Husbandry (Chapter X C). They are all capable of rapid maturation into 'hay'. This situation is a natural consequence of the virtually unique historical *creation* of most of the tillable land in response to population pressure. All land which is cultivable has to bear at least three crops every two years, and in many cases five or six. Land which is not cultivable is karst; bare, calcareous rock interspersed with small soil pockets and crevices. There is very little land which can be put under perennial pastures or grasses that is not already carrying a close sequence of soil-building and soil-exhausting crops. The introduction of perennials into a system such that, even in the dry-farming regions, there is remarkable diversification would be as revolutionary as the displacement of leguminous forages by other types.

Secondly, fodders are almost invariably cut green or as hay crops and stall-fed to livestock. The peripatetic herds of goats and sheep which live on the rock

[TEXT Continues on p. 199]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo
*3111
102
243

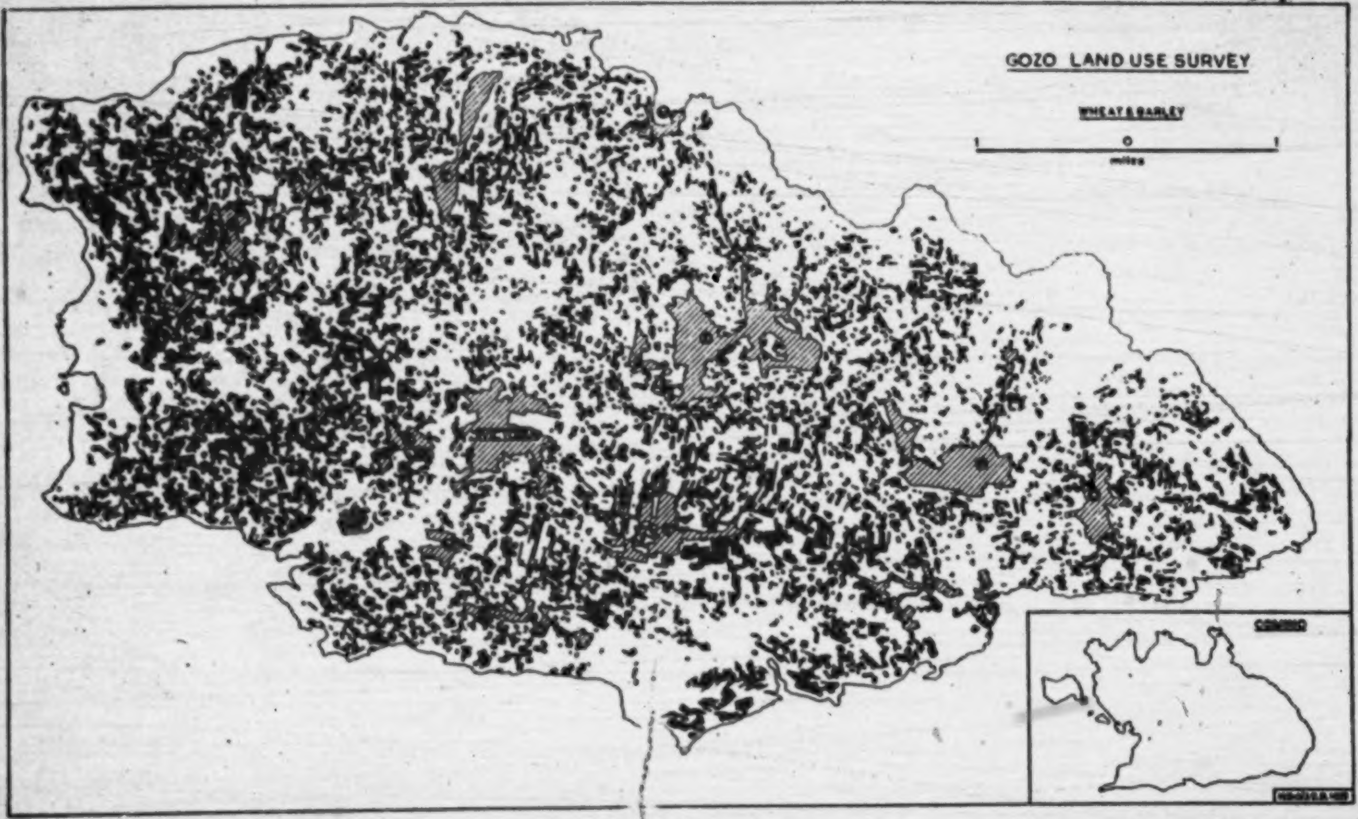

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
WHEAT & BARLEY
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Fig. 72 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Wheat and Barley.

wastelands and roadside verges are occasionally turned on to sulla fields and on 311* to bastard fallow but that is all. This, too, is a necessary consequence of the 246 pressure on land resources mentioned above: land is too precious to be used as pasture or even as true fallow *vaine pâture*. A consequent disadvantage is [239] that, in the enforced absence of folding, dung is expensive and rarely applied.

Thirdly, much more than in other Mediterranean areas of dry farming, the Maltese cultivators are already alive to the necessity of raising cash crops which are also rotation crops, and are capable of choosing multi-purpose plants for catch-drop use. Broad beans, together with bread and *pasta*, form the basis of [262] the countryman's diet but are also used as horse and mule fodder, depending on crop quality and ruling prices. Chickpeas similarly have alternative uses as dry fodder, green vegetables or coffee substitutes. Fodder crop improvement or change is therefore not simply a matter of elevating standards of primitive farming, but implies an agricultural revolution.

Given this situation, it would seem that there are only two reasonable methods of increasing fodder production in the near future, assuming that such an increase is desired. The first is that of devoting more scarce irrigated land to leguminous fodder production. From the economic point of view, any diversion of land now producing irrigated vegetables to forage growing would be of doubtful value. Malta, even now, is not self-supporting in vegetable crops such as tomatoes, and dietetically would probably benefit from an even greater consumption of green vegetables. Though a net exporter of potatoes and onions, Malta has to import unnecessarily large quantities of these same products. Moreover, as examined in connection with Vegetables and Fruit Crops (pp.213-219), the use of irrigated land for fodder growing would debar the development of Malta's only possible large-scale exports - fruits and early specialised vegetables. The loss of such an important export possibility would weigh heavily against the gain in the production of fodder.

The second possibility is that of the replacement of the poor wheats and barleys by new hybrid sorghums. Here too there are difficulties. Though sorghums generally have low transpiration rates, their large leaf areas make them more dependent on subsoil water than the short, local barleys. On the other hand, they survive early droughts better than most grains. A second possible danger lies in our ignorance concerning their vulnerability to indigenous insect pests. The third difficulty is social. The poor barley lands on which sorghums might be grown, as indicated earlier, are those in which terrain makes it most necessary for continuous and arduous manual labour to be applied. It is precisely these areas, vulnerable to soil erosion, which are most likely to be neglected or abandoned by a society with rising living standards and demands. Nevertheless, here may lie both an easy and efficient way of improving and increasing fodder production without mortgaging the future of the best lands.

SULLA - HEDYSARIUM CORONARIUM L.

Sulla, the most important fodder crop, is a perennial legume indigenous to the Mediterranean. The variety *Africa* or *Gaulliana*, erect, slightly branched and often growing 4 to 6 feet in height, is usually found, particularly in Gozo; the more prostrate and finer foliaged varieties such as *Diffusa* and *Prostrata* are more recently introduced and less common.

Matured seed is sown in late summer and it germinates after the first autumnal rains, flowering between March and May. It is then usually cut or pulled and either used as green fodder or, more commonly, sun-dried as hay. Little affected by pests and diseases, sulla develops luxuriant foliage and extensive root systems. It therefore provides good anti-erosion soil cover as well as possessing excellent powers of nitrogen fixation. Water requirements are lower than for any of the cultivated *Trifolium* or *Medicago* plants. In first flowering, its protein content is high, but some of the fodder quality is lost by the delaying of harvesting until the yield in volume is highest and also by poor storage. Much sulla is sold off the farm.

As Fig. 73 shows, the distribution of sulla in Malta corresponds in general with the distribution of cultivated land, but it is noticeably less important in

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 203]

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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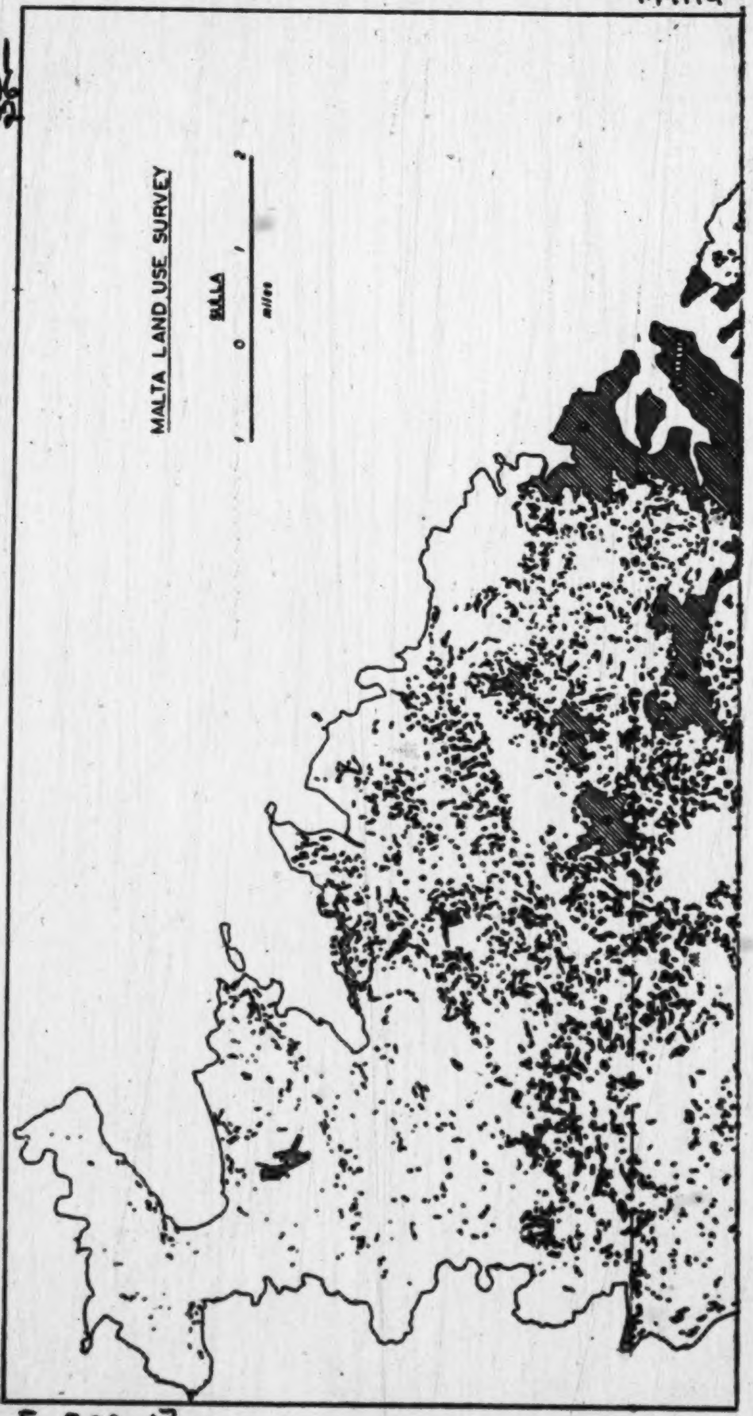

MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
SULLA
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 200-A]

Fig. 73 Malta: Land Use Survey: Sulla.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
346

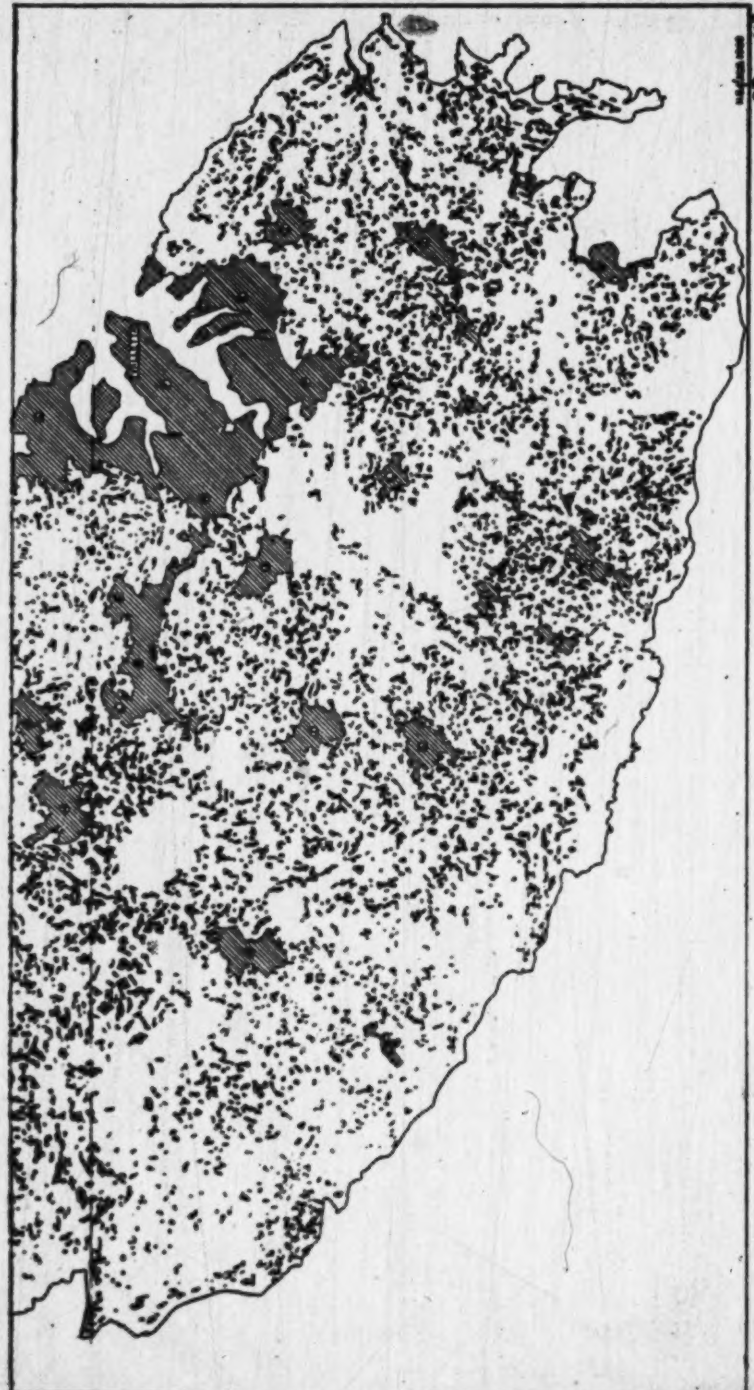


Fig. 73

Malta: Land Use Survey: Sulla.

[p. 200-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

*311
102
246

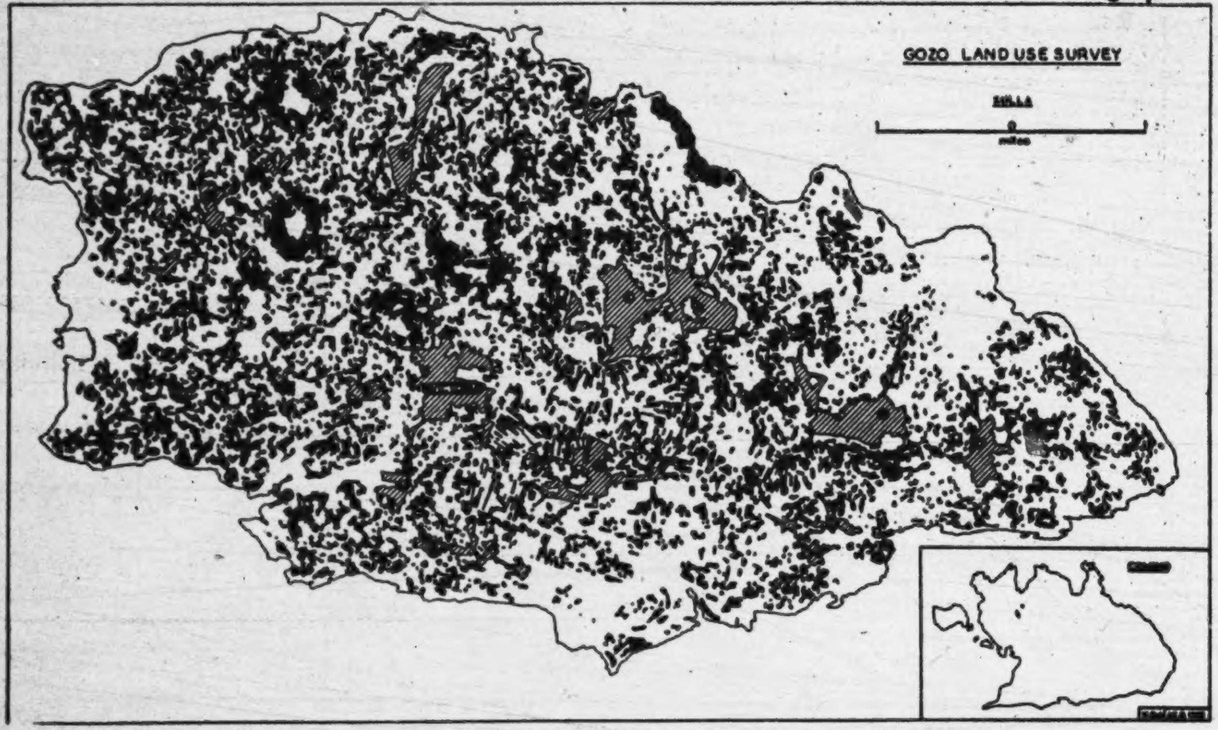

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
SULLA
0
miles

Fig. 74 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Sulla.

*311
102
296

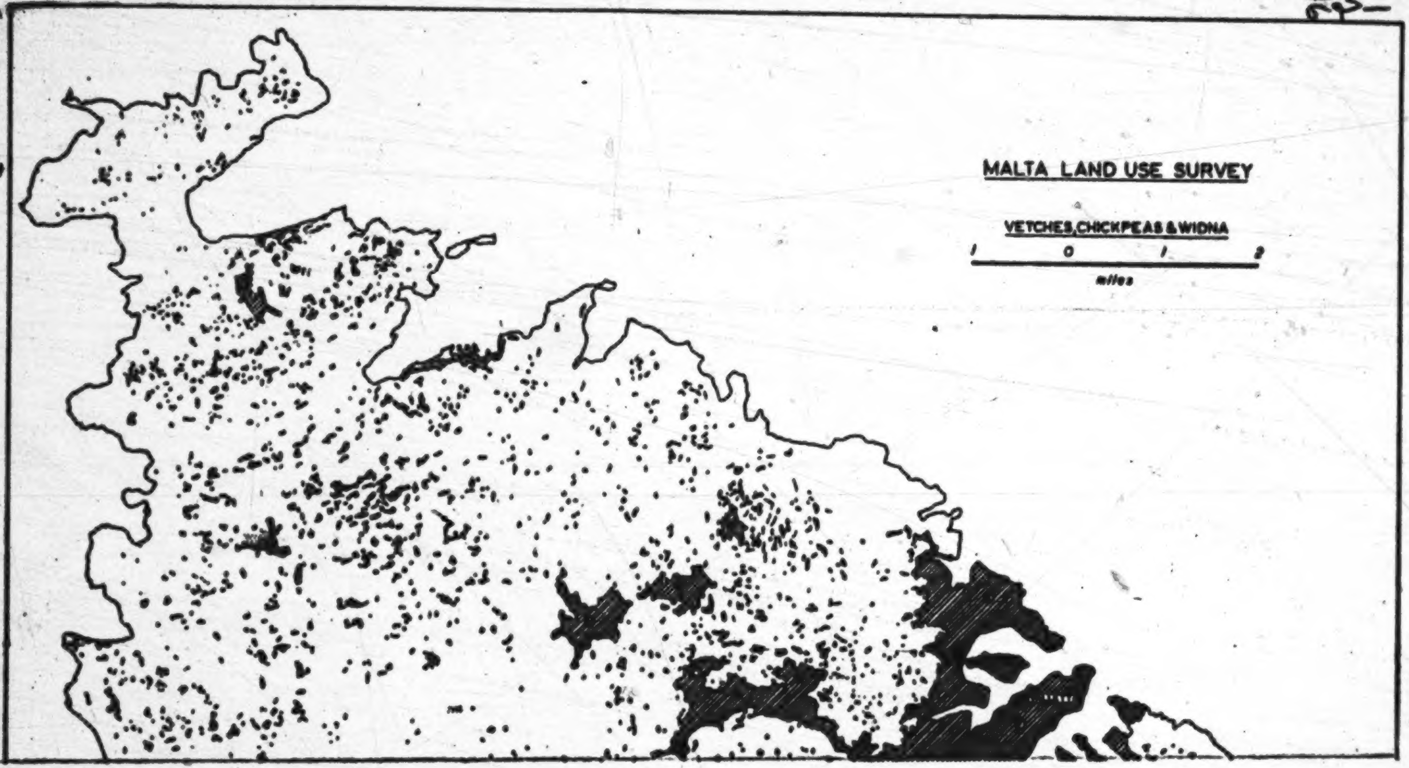

MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
VETCHES, CHICKPEAS & WIDNA
1 0 1 2
miles

Fig. 75 Malta: Land Use Survey: 1

[p. 202-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
107
246

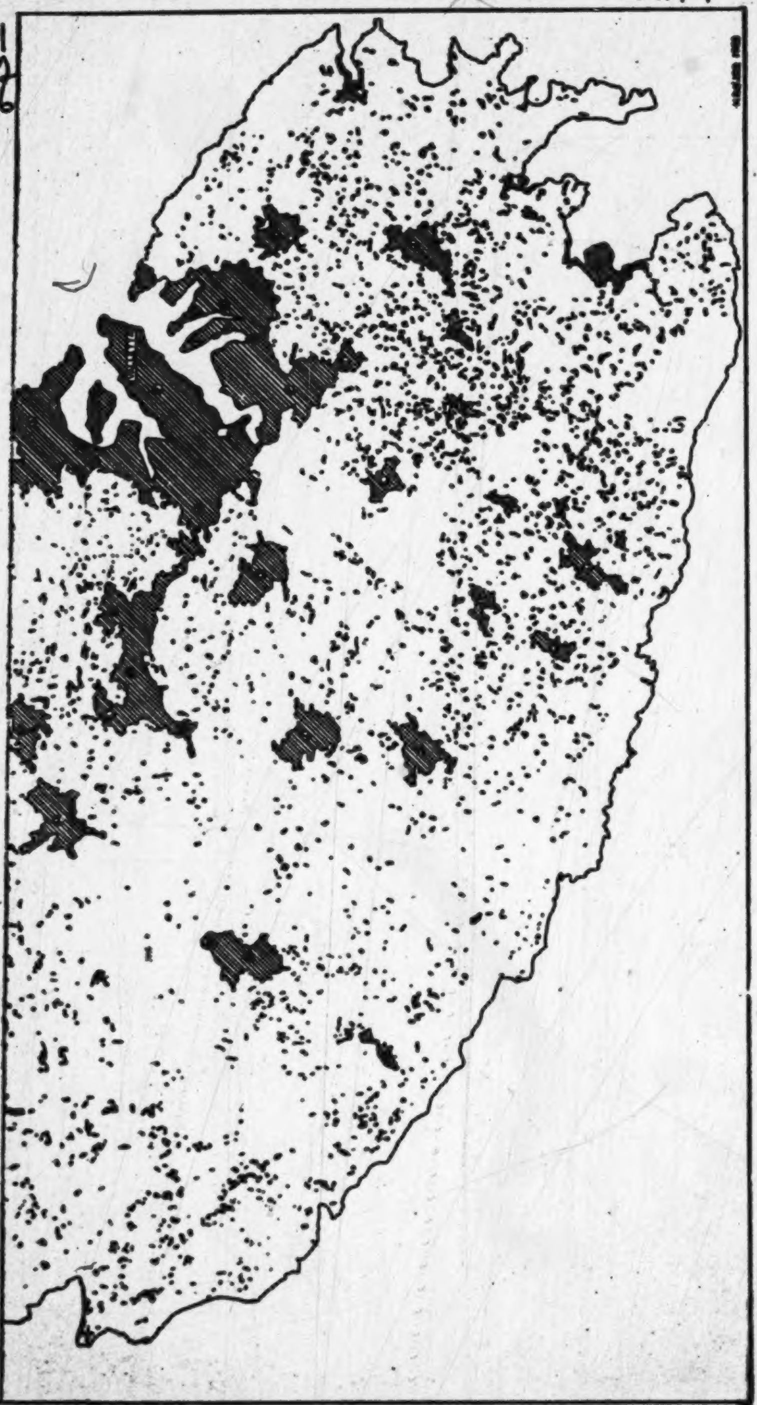


Fig. 75   Malta: [p. 202-B]
Land Use Survey: Vetches and Chickpeas.

311*
246

well-watered areas. The clay slopes carry perceptibly less sulla than the Globigerina regions, while the crop is almost absent from the irrigated depressions of the Upper Coralline zone, i.e. Wied tal-Pwales and the Marfa oases. It is also fairly sparse on the higher and more exposed thin-soiled lands. Thus sulla may be said to be ubiquitous save that in extreme environmental conditions it is replaced either by poorer but hardier fodders or by higher value cash-crops.

Fig. 74, of sulla cultivation in Gozo shows some striking contrasts. The only area in which it is not of importance is the tree-crop zone lying north of Nadur. In the whole of the Western and Northern regions, sulla, annual or self-seeded perennial, almost completely mantles the sweeping clay slopes. Some difficulty has been experienced in attempting ~~a~~ differentiation between cultivated sulla and 'natural' rough pasture. Fig. 94,[2] was therefore devised (partly) to include this latter category of land which is almost absent in Malta.

The main reasons for the relatively great acreage of sulla of all kinds in Gozo are to be found, first, in the character of the land, secondly, and in part consequently, in the character of the economy. The Blue Clay slopes lying below the small surviving fragments of Upper Coralline Limestone are as a whole less well watered and make more intractable dry-farming land than those of Malta. Exceptional are the series of Wieds on the northern face of the Nadur upland which are given over to tree-crops and vegetables. Livestock plays a greater part in the farming economy of Gozo than in Malta and hence sulla ranks roughly equal in acreage with the cereals. Conversely, the absence of any large Gozitan urban market for vegetables, together with the relative difficulty of transporting such commodities regularly to Malta, reduces competition for the better land. (See also p. 287.)

VETCHES AND CHICKPEAS

Included in Figs. 75 and 76, are several other much less important fodders excluding lucerne. The minor forages and fodders are generally found in small fields and patches throughout the cultivated area. *Widna (Scorpiurus Muricatus* var. *Subvillosus L.)* is both cultivated and gathered wild for goats and rabbits and to a lesser, traditional, extent for fat cattle:-

> *'Il-fart li jiekol il-widna jagħmel il-laham bil wiżna'* = 'Cattle which feed on widna put on flesh by the wiżna'.

Chickpea or *Gram* (*Cicer Arietinum*), because of the irritating toxicity of the juice, is best used as a dry fodder. Vetch (*Vicia Sativa*) is most often grown on small or exposed terraces of good soil. Bitter vetch, *'Żolfa'* (*Vicia Ervillia*), has some of the disadvantages of *Gram* but is more suitable a crop than sweet vetch for arid areas, and for land topographically difficult for successful sulla. Lucerne, in the Maltese Islands, has ranked as a minor fodder because of its high water needs. The total acreage is still small and it is not cultivated except as a summer irrigated or watered crop.

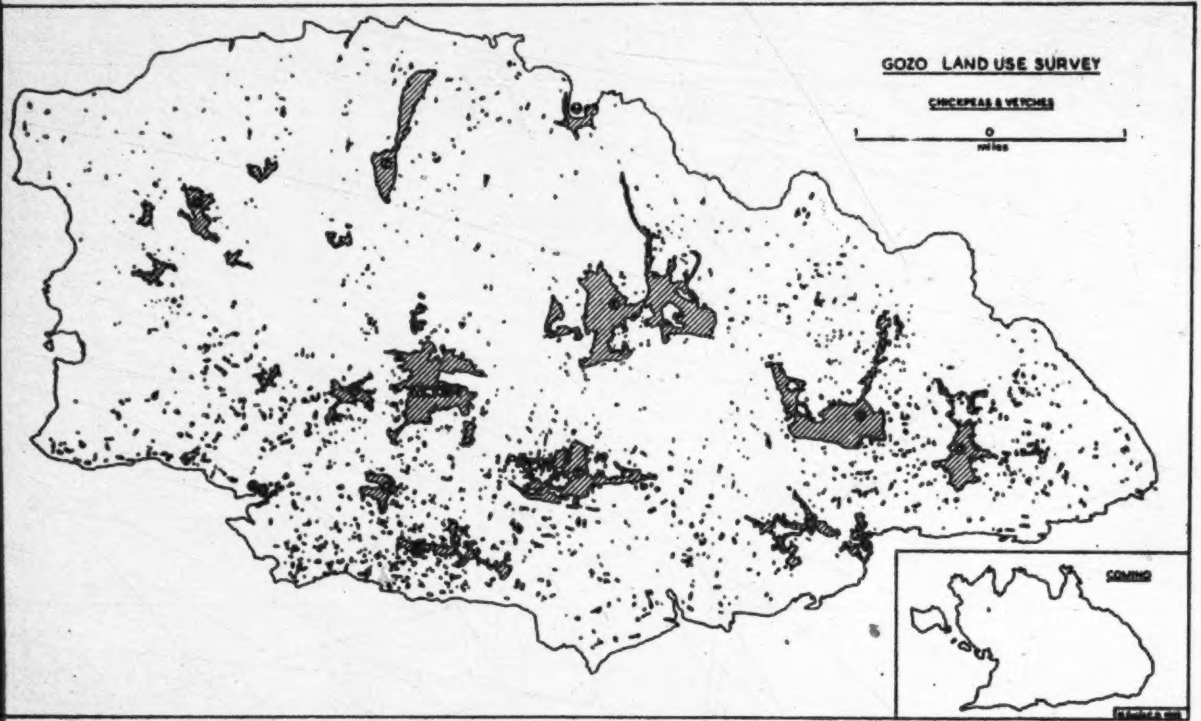
In Malta, these minor fodders are most important in the Eastern regions where small holdings and part-time farming are most common. They are of considerable total significance on the Upper Coralline hills where they supplant sulla, broad beans and peas because of their greater resistance to exposure and tolerance of poor, thin soils. Similarly in Gozo they are most commonly found in areas of difficulty such as the eastern uplands and the hills south-west of Sannat.

BROAD BEANS AND PEAS (*Ful* and *Piselli*)

As noted earlier, these two crops are undifferentiated in Figs. 77 and 78. No significant regional variations in the distribution of these crops is to be observed. They are grown in all cultivated areas, usually in small plots, the beans occasionally inter-rowed with barley in larger fields. This is a natural consequence of their tolerance of a wide range of conditions and of their dual use, already noted, as food and fodder.

[2] [See P. 229 --Analyst]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo
*311
102
246


GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
CHICKPEAS & VETCHES
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miles
COMINO

Fig. 76 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Vetches and Chickpeas.

POTATOES (*Patata*)

311* 244 [439]

Potatoes have been for some years the most important commercial plants raised in Malta. First introduced in the early nineteenth century, the acreage used for spring potatoes is now greater than that for any other crop, and the value of potato exports has been exceeded only by that of scrap metal (during the abnormal post-war years of 1951 and 1952). Spring and winter crop acreages combined take up 15 to 20 per cent. of the cultivable land.

The cultivation of potatoes varies with season and type of land available. The export crop is entirely raised from imported seed. This is planted in December or early January and the crop is ready for lifting from late March onwards, depending on weather conditions during the growing season. The seed, which accounts for most of the total potato imports, is necessary in order to ensure disease-free, good-yielding stock and its use is economic only as long as a high-price market for early potatoes can be found in Northern Europe. On dry soils which quickly warm up in the Spring and which give a fine yet loose tilth, and under climatic and soil conditions which on average are well-nigh optimum for tuber rather than leaf growth, yields are extremely good for the very short growing season. There are however certain hazards. Cool, wet winters delay sprouting and can both reduce and retard the harvest very severely, as in the seasons 1934-35 and 1950-51. Ground frosts in January may have similar effects as in 1936-37. Cool and humid weather during February and March encourages the appearance of blight and over-favours leaf growth - as, for example, in 1955. A more serious hazard is that of winter rainfall deficiency. As can be seen from the weather records (pp. 48 - 52 and Figs. 7, 19, 25), Malta rarely experiences 'average' weather and low winter precipitation can be expected at least once in every five years, e.g. 1957; rainfall: January 3.85 inches, February 0.25 inches, March 0.46 inches, April 0.41 inches. The thin, light soils, which otherwise are so suitable, are very quickly dried by strong winds and yields then decrease considerably. On non-irrigated land of medium quality, the yield is rarely more than fourfold and usually less. A reduction in yield of the order of 50 per cent. means considerable loss. For this reason, a very large amount of the best irrigated land is used for this crop in order to ensure good returns. Total yields are further depressed by the very short growing season, by local mineral deficiencies, by inadequate spraying treatment against fungus diseases, and by poor manuring. The general reliance on sulphate of ammonia is not only misplaced but may be positively dangerous.

The summer crop, unimportant in size and acreage, is obtained from the sowing of local seed in early summer and harvesting in September. This can only be done on irrigated or very fertile land and is entirely for the Maltese market. The winter crop, approximately half as important in bulk as that of the spring, is from local seed sown in early autumn and harvested in December and January. This supplies most of Maltese requirements. In these cases also, vagaries of weather result in great fluctuations in yield.

Potato cultivation on dry and irrigated land makes heavy demands on labour for sowing, tilling and lifting. Since climatic conditions on average give good sprouting ratios, the tubers are usually divided into thirds and quarters for reasons of economy. This economy becomes less marked when hand labour becomes as costly as at the present moment. The heavy water demands of the growing plant make continual hoeing essential, and, since the harvest is short and the crop value highest at the end of April, the demand for labour reaches a dangerously high peak at this time. Marketing of the export potato crop is equally hazardous. The high-priced earlies can only be sold in the relatively wealthy markets of Northern Europe. Freightage is costly, averaging £5 10s. 0d. a ton Marsa to Glasgow. [439]

311* 244 439

Official policy is to encourage the replacement of varieties such as Arran Banner by earlier varieties - 'scrapers' - of wider market appeal. The economics of early potato growing are further complicated by the year-to-year fluctuations in acreage. These variations correspond to a year's time-lag in reaction to changes in market price. Thus, in 1957, a glut, which resulted from market rather than producing conditions, was followed by a surplus of seed and

[Text continues on p. 211]

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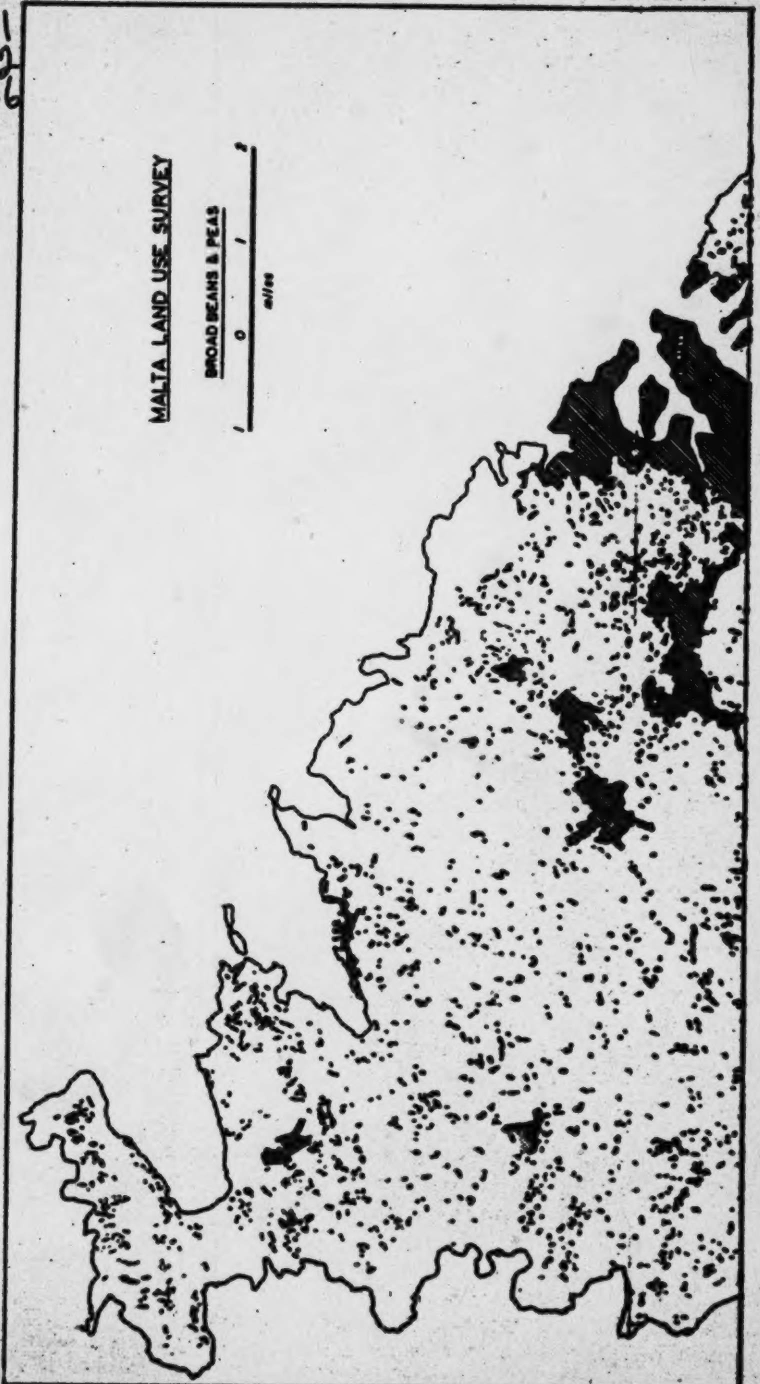
102
246


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
BROAD BEANS & PEAS
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 206-A]

Fig. 77 Malta: Land Use Survey:
Broad Beans & Peas.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
2A6

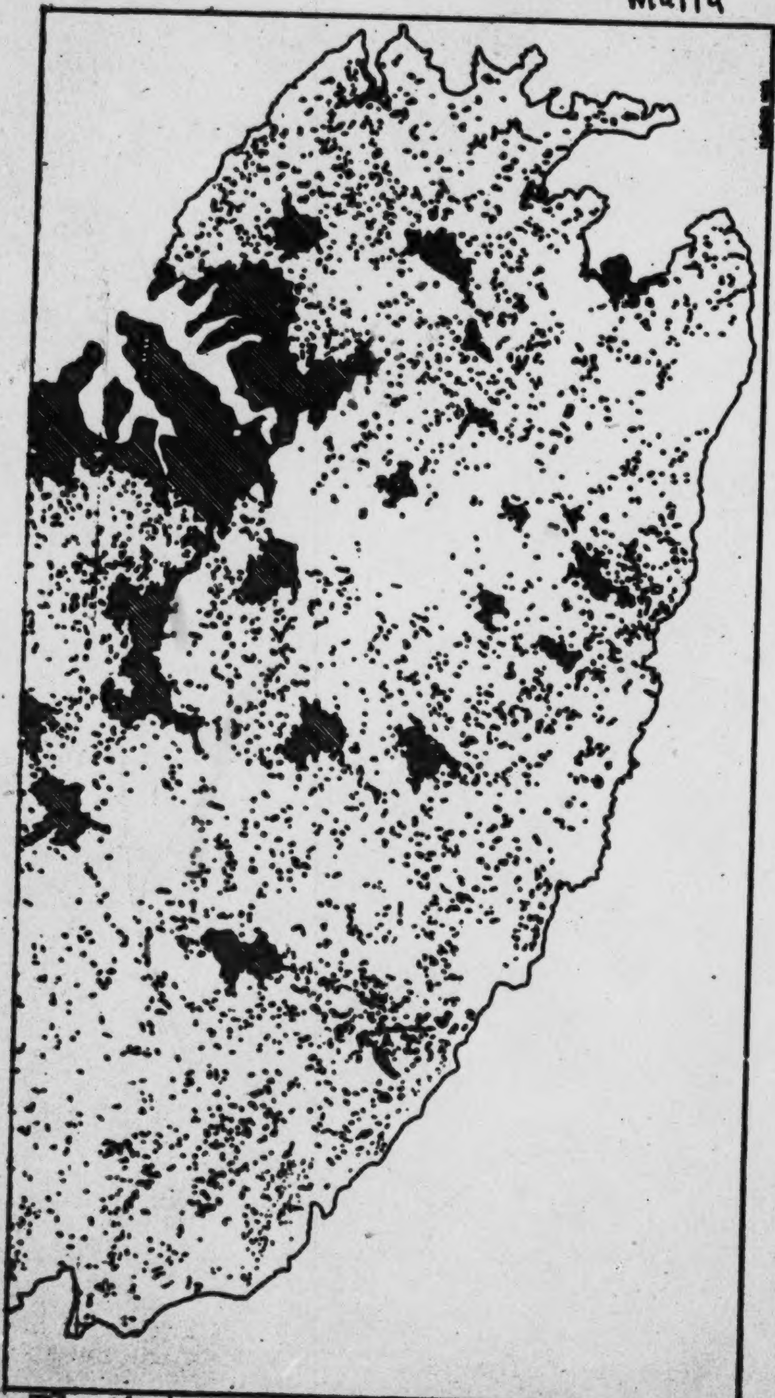


Fig. 71 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Broad Beans and Peas.

[p. 206-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

#311
102
246

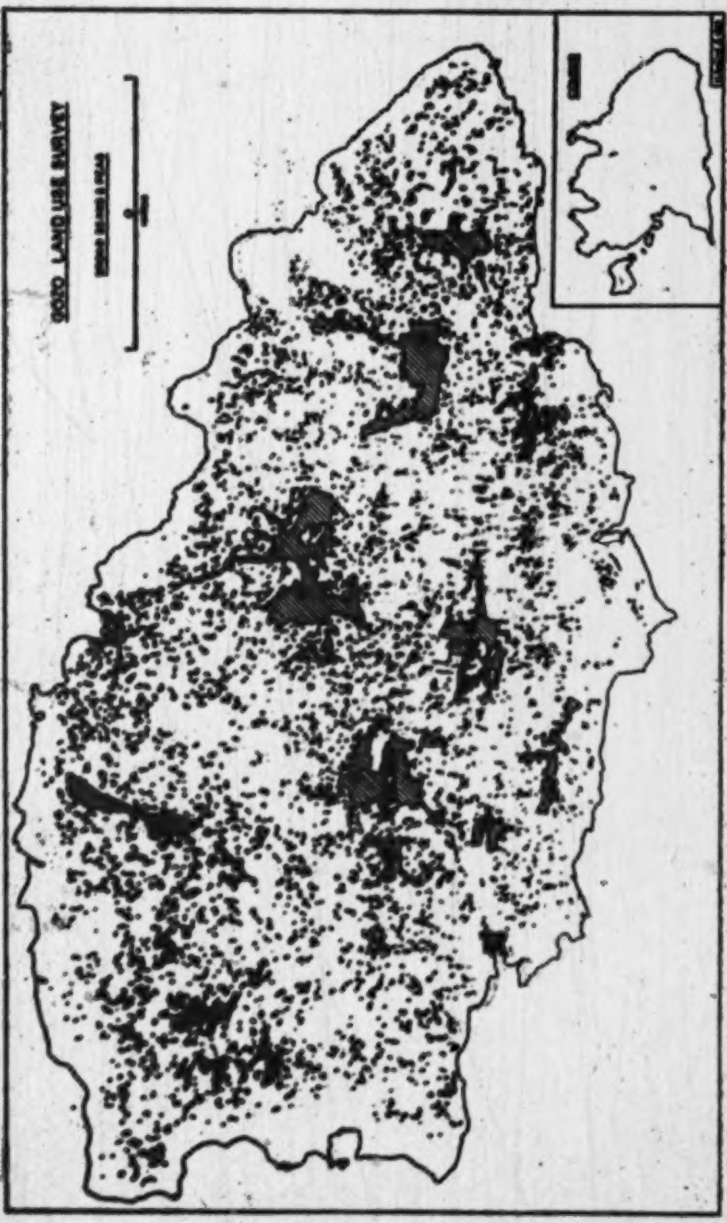
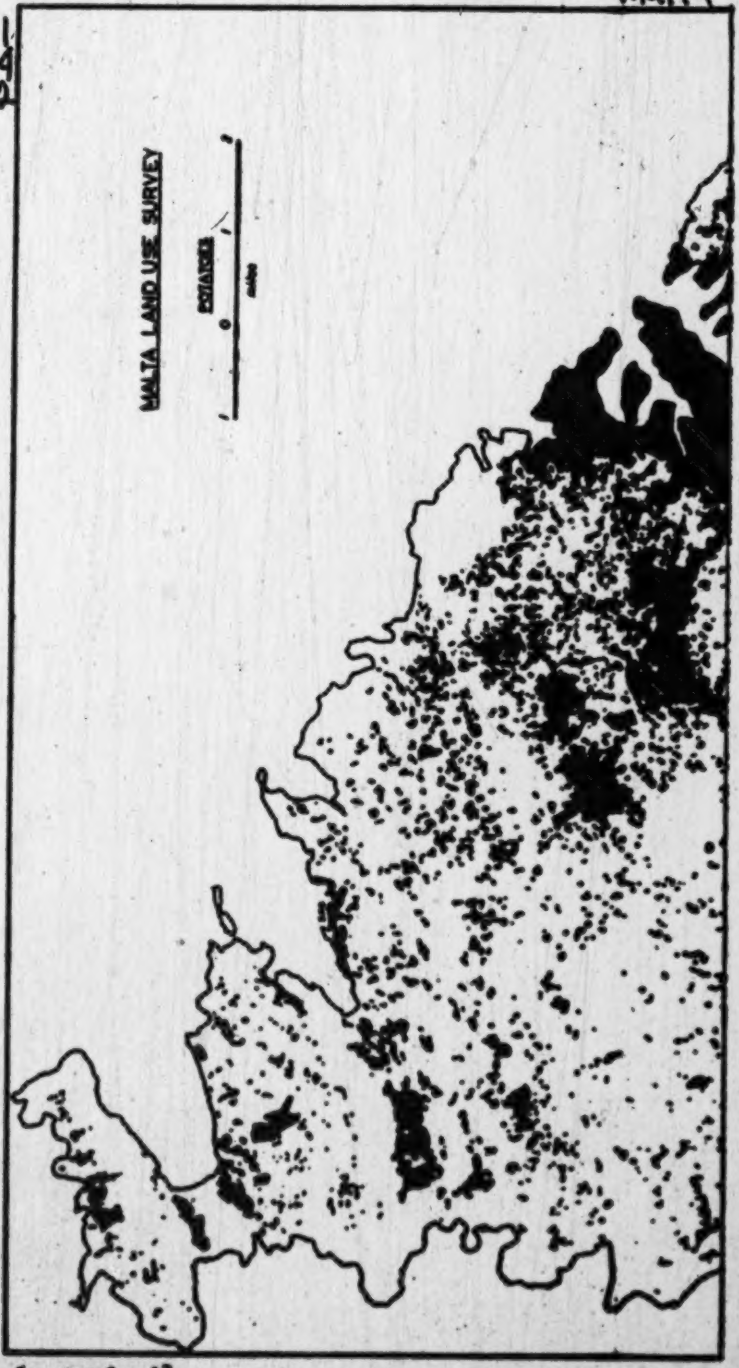

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
BROAD BEANS & PEAS

Fig. 78 Gozo: Land Use Survey; Broad Beans and Peas.

Malta

*311
249
102


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
POTATOES
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 208-A]

Fig. 10 Malta: Land Use Survey: Potatoes.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
244

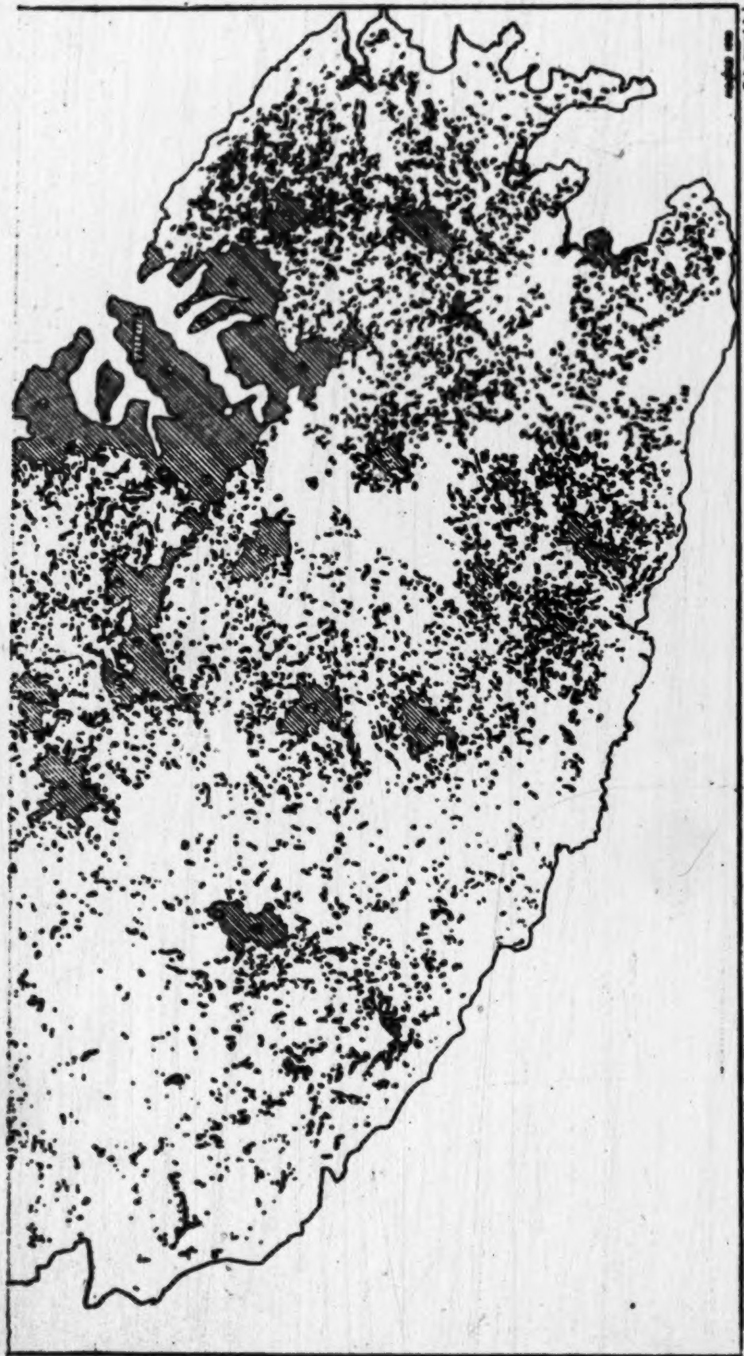


Fig. 79
alta: Land Use Survey: Potatoes.

p. 208-B

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

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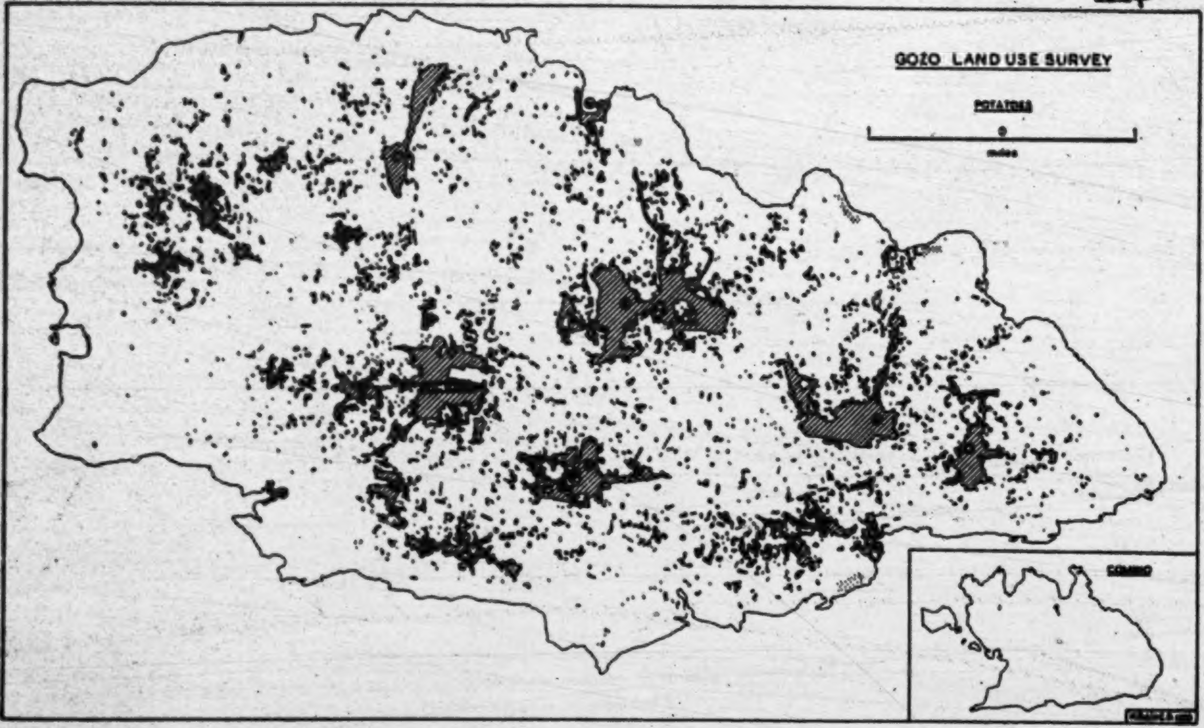
102
244



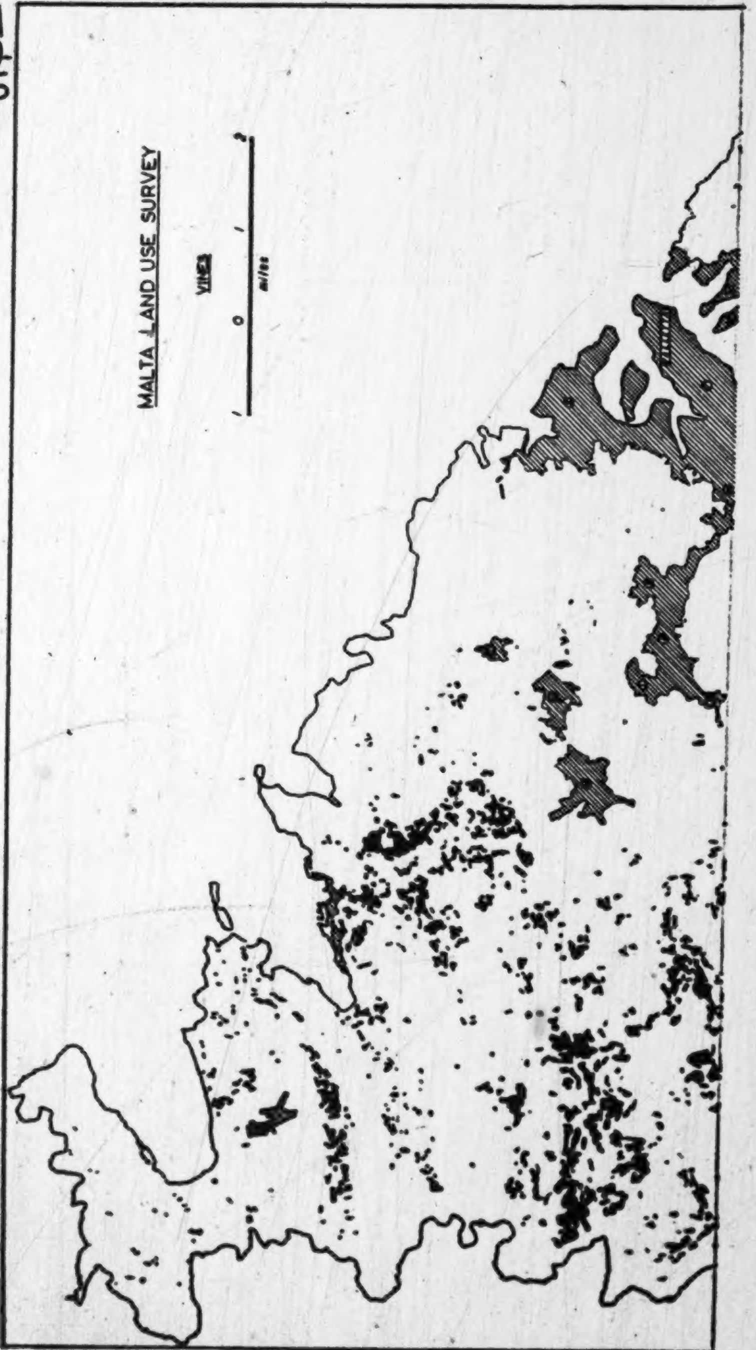
GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
POTATOES
0
miles
COMINO

Fig. 80 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Potatoes.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
245


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
VINES
1
0
1
2
miles

[p. 210-A]

Fig. 81 Malta: Land Use
Survey: Vines

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
245

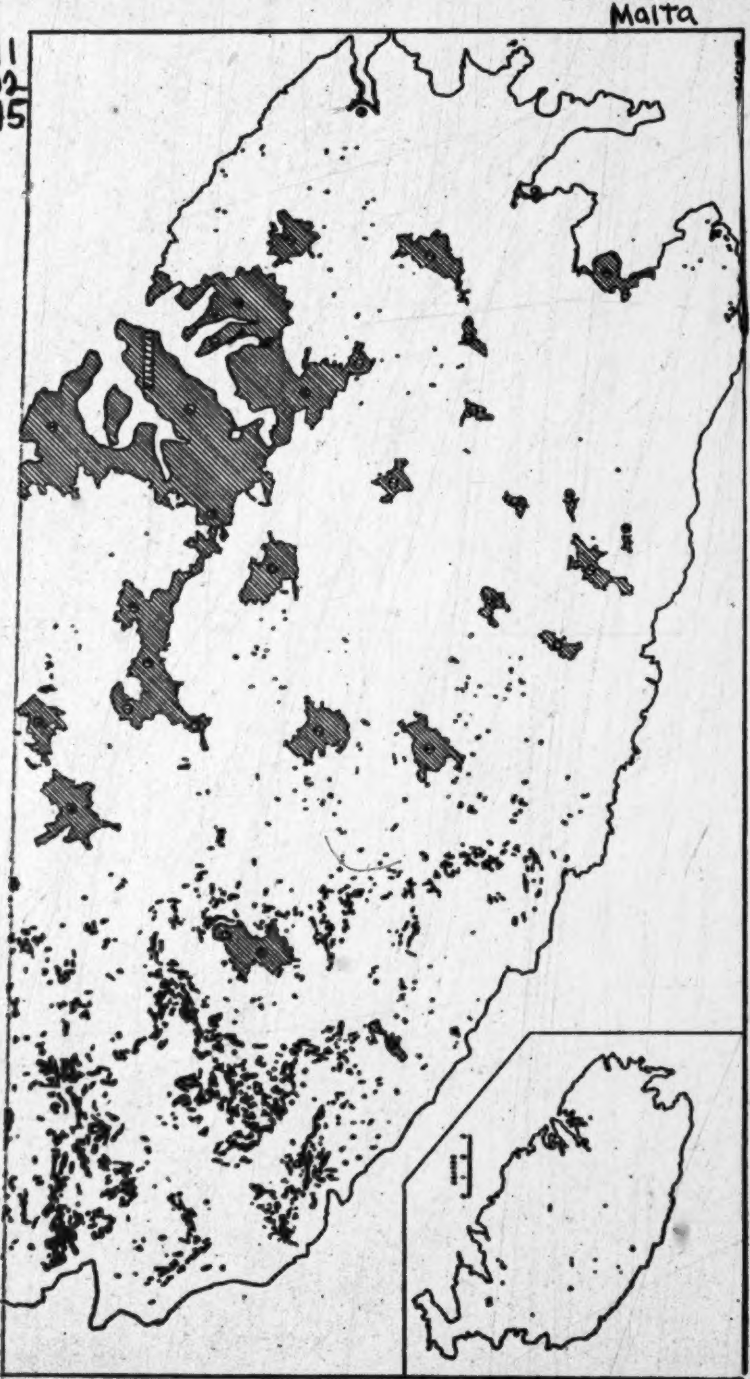


Fig. 81

[p. 210-B]

Malta: Land Use Survey: Vines

a reduction in the acreage planted during the following winter. In spring 1958, 311* the export market could have absorbed more than the total production. Official encouragement to re-expand cultivation followed. Moreover, the main importing 244 countries are those in which regulations governing the health of imported crops are most severe, and in which competition is most keen. When to these factors [439] one must add two more, viz. the very high water demands of the crop and its comparatively low bulk value and high freight costs; then a very considerable doubt arises concerning the rationality of this sector of agriculture. On unirrigated land, a potato crop leaves the soil deprived of most of its water. On irrigated land it competes with crops of higher bulk value some of which are already cultivated on a smaller scale, such as strawberries, globe and Jerusalem artichokes, asparagus, sub-tropical fruits, etc. Potatoes require no less labour, no less fertiliser, and are much less amenable to handling by fast land or air transport. The impression left by the crop survey is that Malta has almost somnambulistically developed this specialisation and that the ecological and economic implications have never been seriously examined.

Figs. 79 and 80 show the extent of land under potatoes during March and April. In Malta, the main concentrations are to be found in three different types of region. First, cultivation is widespread on the Globigerina lands. Most intense around the 'casals' and villages of the east and south, it seems more to be associated with human rather than with physical factors (see Chapter VIII). A marked thinning out is noticeable on the higher central slopes rising westward to the Coralline uplands. Secondly, there exist the very important concentrations in the major irrigated basins of the west and north such as Wied tal-Pwales, the Mellieha isthmus and the Marfa oases. Lastly, potato cultivation is of considerable extent on the smaller and more dispersed irrigated plots of the Upper Coralline plateaux, e.g. Hofret ir-Rizz. In the predominantly dry-farmed upland basins of Bingemma and Miżieb, the acreage is relatively small.

Early potato cultivation in Gozo is of much less importance, the island being one further step removed from the export market. Concentration is significantly greatest within easy reach of the settlements. In addition, potato growing is of importance in the tree-fruit and vegetable zones of the north-east. The crop is almost entirely absent from the more remote areas.

TREE CROPS

In the Maltese Islands are to be found a great variety of tree-crops of all 311* kinds on irrigated and non-irrigated land. This variety, exemplified in one field 245 in the Wied Qlejgha which carries apples, peaches, loquats, pomegranates, citrus fruit and vines, is in some ways detrimental to cultivation standards. Only a very few regions are completely devoid of tree-crops. Thermal conditions make possible the growth of a crop range extending from the temperate pome fruits to sub-tropical and tropical types such as the date and banana (albeit with poor results in the latter cases). Low water availability in the soil is the main restrictive factor. Irrigation generally doubles the yields of fruit crops and is essential for citrus cultivation. It is, however, certain that yields could be considerably increased, even on unirrigated land, by improvement of stock quality, by reducing disease and pest infestation and by less intercultivation. One of the main problems in Malta and Gozo is that, as elsewhere in the world, farmers with a strong subsistence-farming streak in their makeup are apt to prefer the security of inter-cultivated poor crops to hazardous but rewarding specialisation.

One non-human factor which makes the arboriculturist's task more difficult [[132] is the wind-humidity complex. As noted in Chapter II, the effects of high wind velocity on transpiration and in producing physiological drought are considerable. High humidity, even in summer, produces special problems of plant pathology. Successful competition with more sophisticated producers possessing greater natural advantages seems unlikely.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
101
245

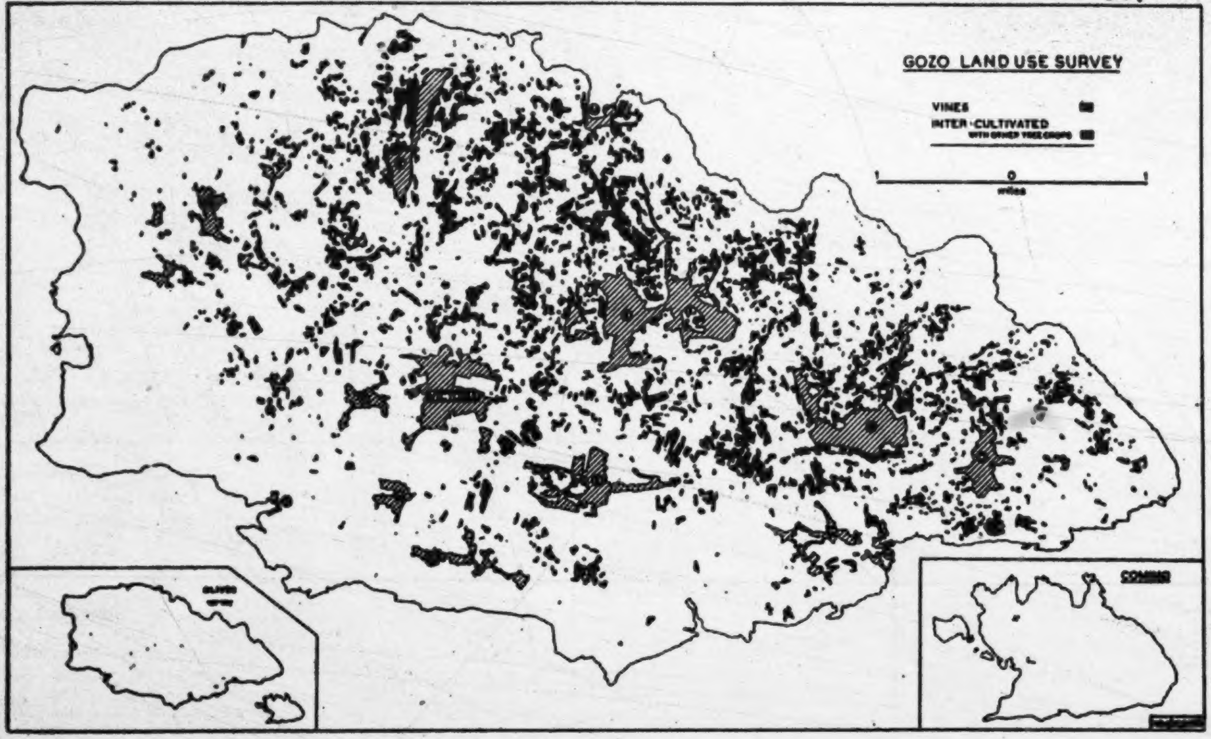

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
VINES
INTER-CULTIVATED WITH OTHER TREE CROPS
1
0
1
Miles
COMINO

Fig. 82 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Vines.

VINES

Viticulture, has suffered many vicissitudes. Needing irrigation water only for the raising of scions, the vine would seem a crop plant eminently suitable for all but the thinnest dry calcareous soils. No satisfactory reason has yet been adduced for the present absence of 'expertise' in this field, and this unsatisfactory state of affairs is a Mediterranean anachronism. Since Giacinto (3) wondered at Maltese oenological ignorance various improvements havetaken place. Stock is American in origin imported during the Phylloxera epidemic in Europe. Scions are officially imported for grafting and are mainly from France. On the whole, too little specialisation is found, grapes being grown both for table use, fetching prices about £4 per qantar (175 lb. ave.), and for pressing - controlled prices 46s. to 48s. per qantar depending on quality. Commercial success in any other than the home market will depend entirely on whether the viticulturalist can now be weaned from quantity production to quality production. Products at present, while being remarkably good value, are not suitable for profitable export. 311* 245 101 [435]

In Malta (Fig. 81), there is a striking concentration of viticulture in the western half of the island. In contrast to general Mediterranean practice, vines occupy much of the best watered heavy land of the Blue Clay slopes. Secondly, vines are of importance in the larger depressions with plentiful sub-soil water, for example the Wied il-Għasel, the Binġemma Basin, and Miżieb. Those cultivated areas of the north and west which rely on pump irrigation - such as the Wied tal-Pwales, and the Rabat-Dingli upland pockets - have little land under vines. Over the remainder of the island, vines are mainly represented by wall- and house-side plants which, mainly for domestic use, are becoming of less importance as field cultivation is extended. This extension of acreage is taking place almost entirely in the traditional regions of the west.

As shown in Fig. 82, viticulture in Gozo, occurs in a great variety of conditions and there is a much greater extent of inter-cultivation with other tree-crops. Such inter-cultivation is particularly found in the *ġnien* zones - the spring line belts lying below the Upper Coralline mesa cappings - as around Żebbuġ and Nadur. North of Nadur, it extends into the Wieds San Blas and Daħlet Qorrot. Except in the remote western lands and on the thin soils of the southern hills, vines are found everywhere; in the central mixed-soil lowlands, in the open northern valleys and on the eastern coastal slopes. This reflects the traditional self-sufficiency of the Gozitan farm economy, a point also brought out by the large number of vineries (see p. 213). The vine is also inter-cultivated with sulla which, undersown annually, is a useful soil-renewing and cleaning crop.

OLIVES

Inset maps, Figs. 81 and 82. Malta must be the only Mediterranean land where the tradition of olive cultivation has almost disappeared. Vegetable oil consumption is high and has to be supplied by imports costing on average nearly £300,000 per annum. Olive cultivation has been more extensive in the past as attested by place names such as Żebbuġ - the place of the olive, and Żejtun - olive tree, and is still perfectly feasible over a great deal of under-utilised land. Various reasons for this strange situation have been mooted, ranging from the completely invalid belief that the olive cannot stand sea-air to the inadequate charge that tenurial security is insufficiently great. The matter is still a mystery. [439]

Recent extensions of planting, particularly at Salinas and on Bajda Ridge, have been Government-sponsored, and the latter case is basically a scheme for the afforestation of a water catchment and percolation area. [654]

CITRUS FRUITS

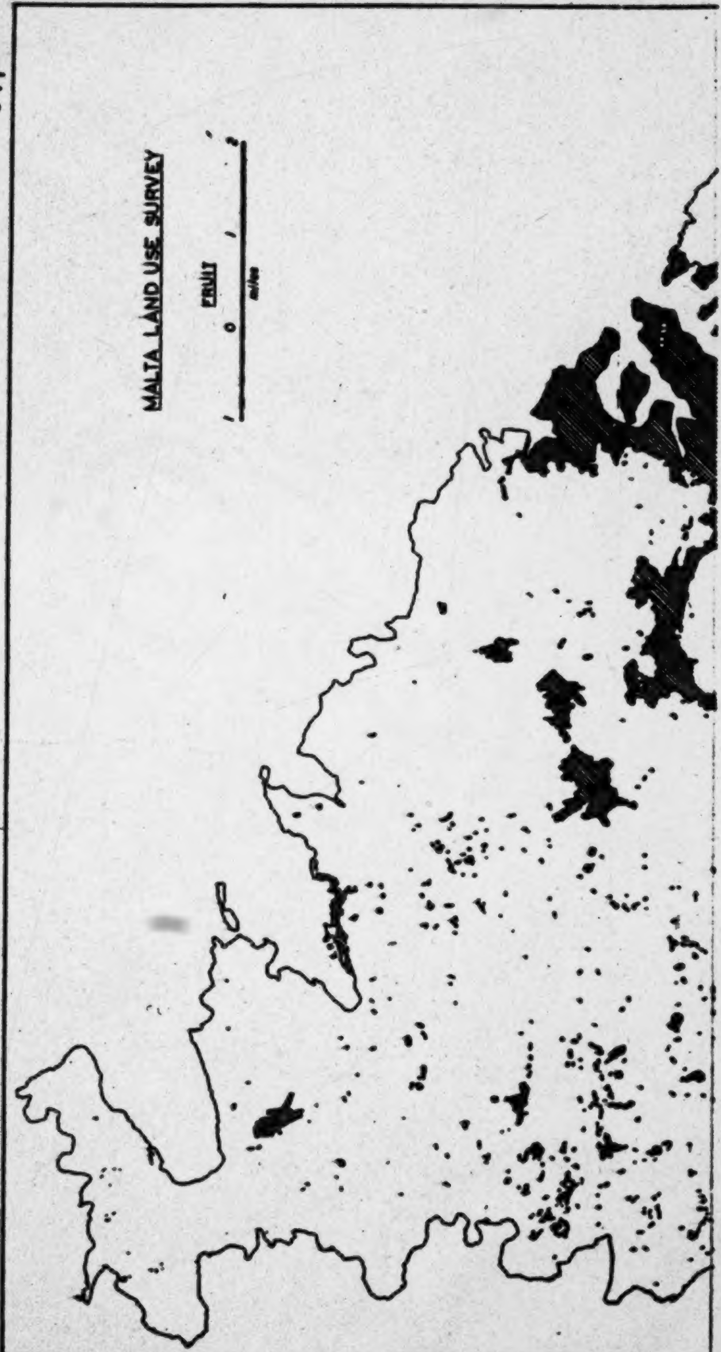
Because of their large water requirements, oranges and lemons are of orchard importance only along the Upper Coralline - Blue Clay springlines in Western Malta and Eastern Gozo. Scattered trees and very small plots are found in many districts, often in the most unlikely places. The Seville orange, once of considerable importance, is now rarely found and most of the old trees have

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 217]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
245


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
FRUIT
1
0
1
2
miles

[p.214-A]

Fig. 83 Malta: Land Use Survey: Fruit.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
245

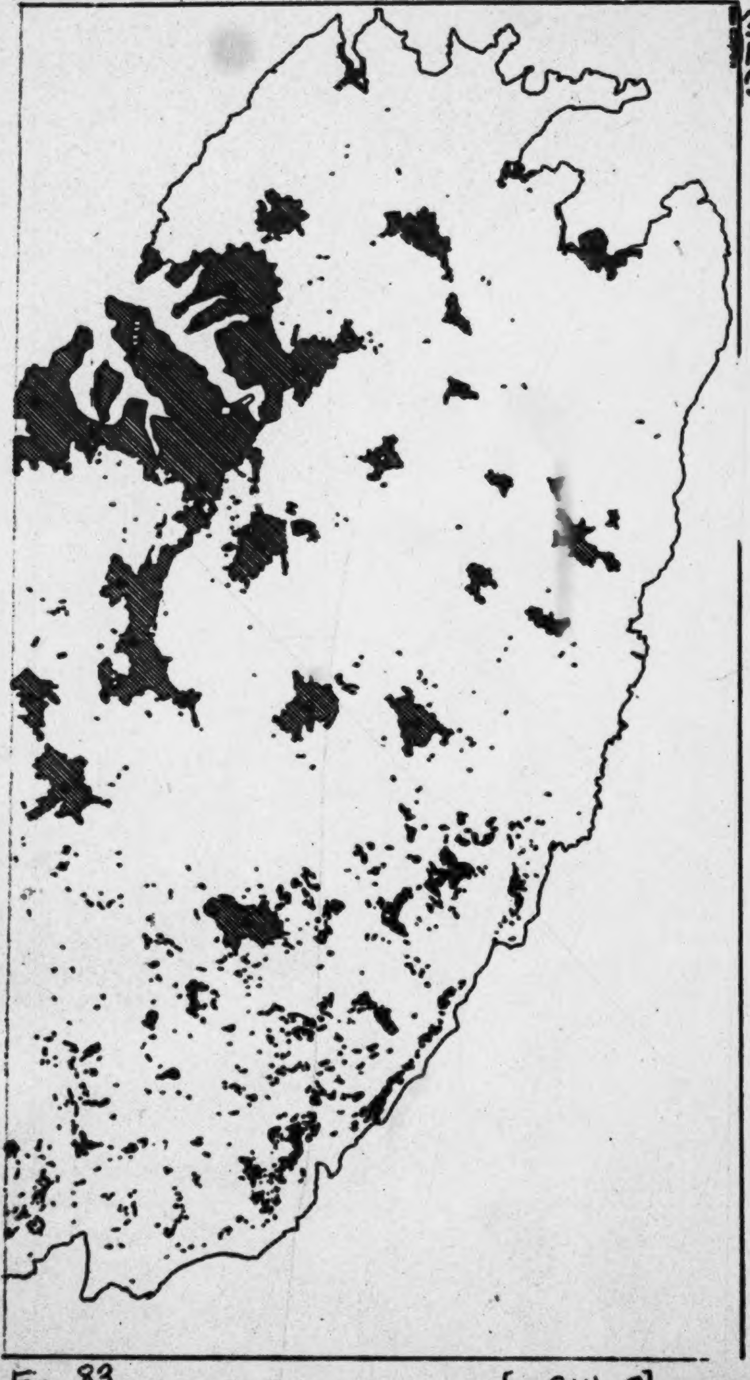


Fig. 83
Malta: Land Use Survey: Fruit.

[p. 214-B]

*311
102
245

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

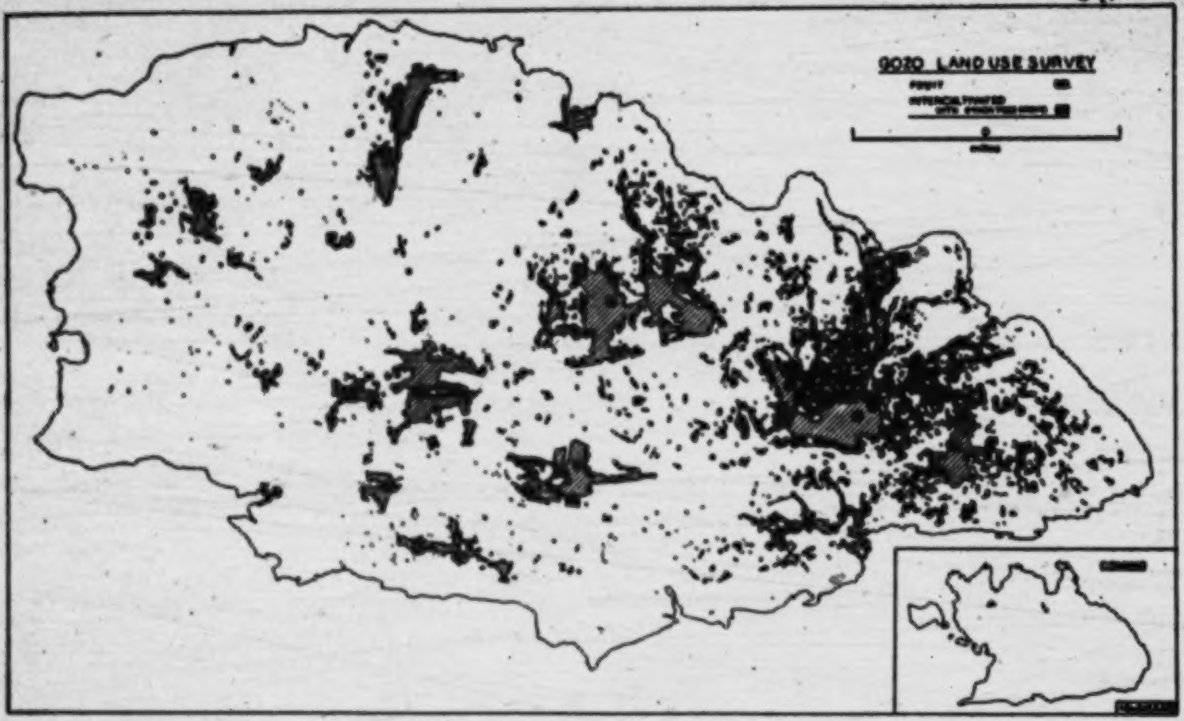
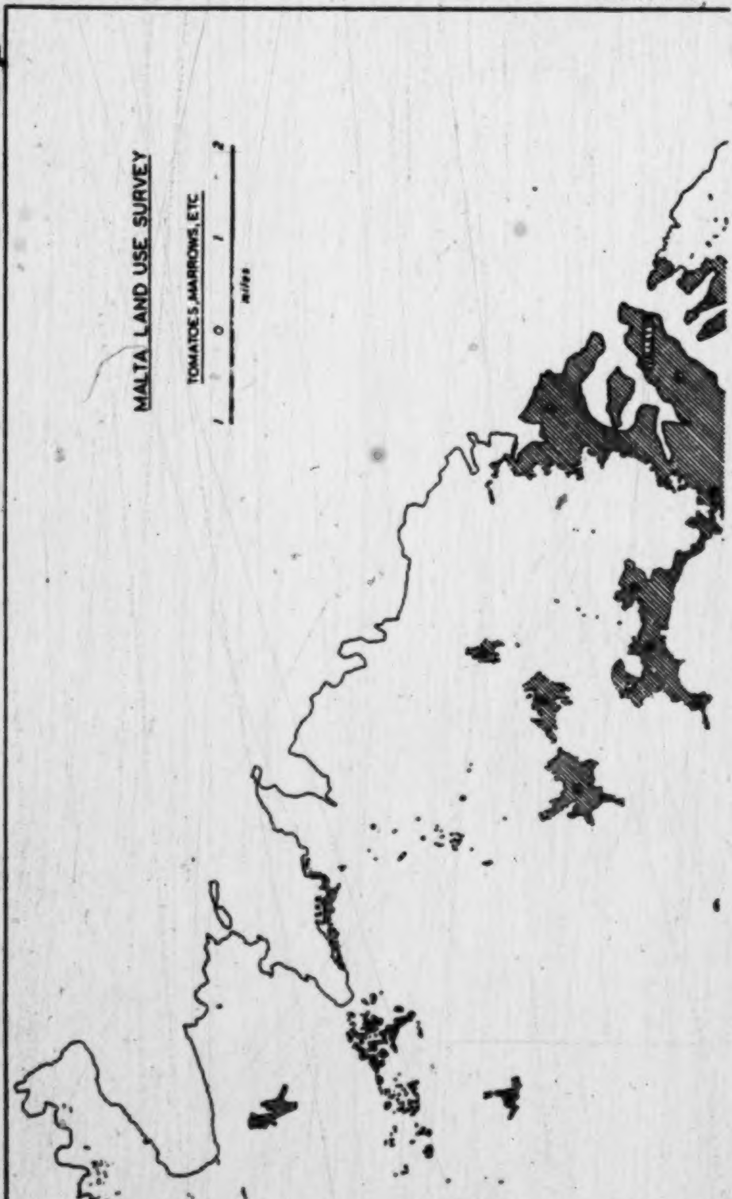

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
FRUIT
INTERCULTIVATED
0
miles

Fig. 84 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Fruit.

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
244


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
TOMATOES, MARROWS, ETC
1 0 1 2
miles

[p.216-A]

Fig. 85 Malta: Land Use Survey:
Tomatoes, Marrows, etc.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
144

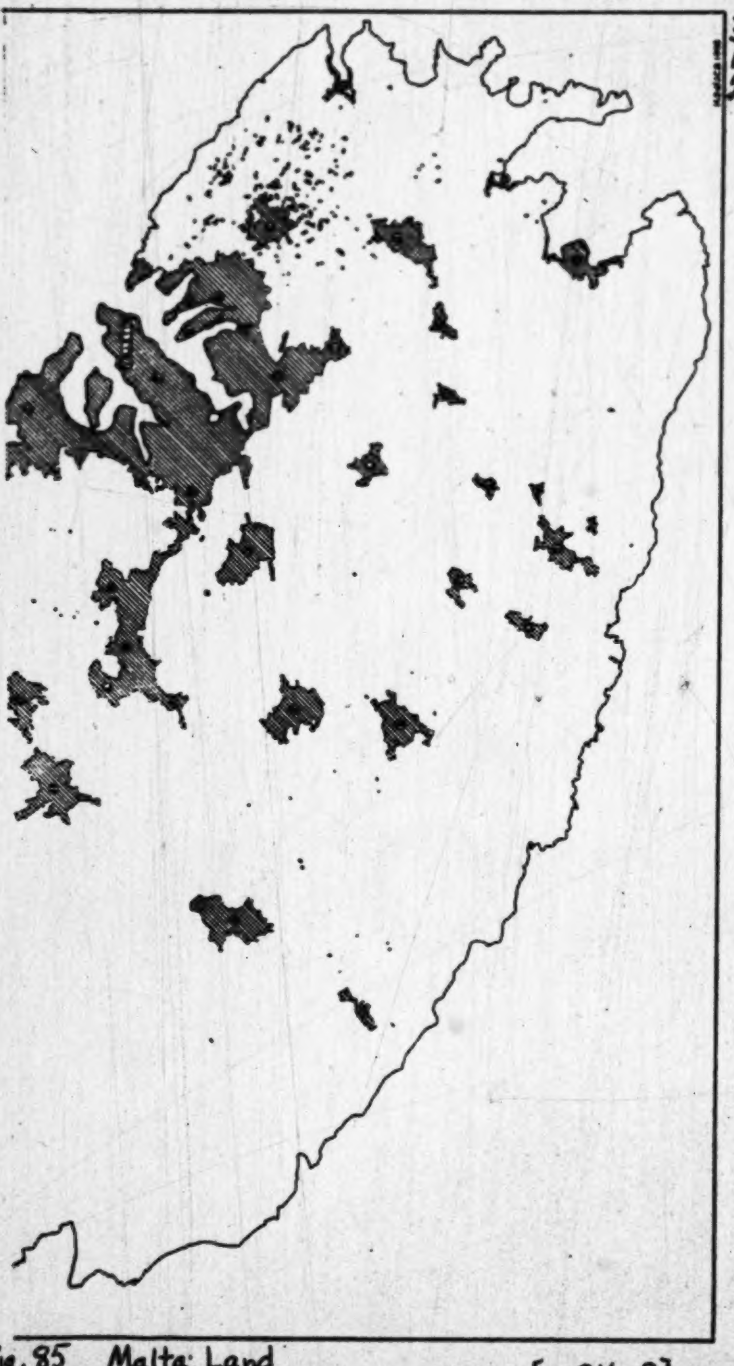


Fig. 85 Malta: Land
Use Survey: Tomatoes, Marrows, etc.

[p. 216-B]

been used as stock on to which lemons and sweet oranges have been grafted. 311*
Too great a variety of strains is cultivated, and too little grading is done to make 245
citrus growing under difficult conditions a commercial proposition except in
the home market.

STONE FRUITS

Peaches and plums are found as wall-side crops in many areas. Irrigation improves their yields less than those of most other fruits and, since the water needs of the peach in particular are fairly low and soils generally suitable, commercial production for export to Northern Europe is at least a possibility.

POME FRUITS

Apples and pears are the only important members of this group. Apart from the *Bombinelli*, the small hard pears, efficient production implies the use of irrigation water by which means yields can be doubled or trebled. Production, at present sufficient for the home market, could be expanded. However, since handling and transport of these fruit is comparatively expensive and the complex organisation of European supplies is already established, better marketing facilities as well as an improvement in the quality of the crop would be required before any export sale could be established.

OTHER FRUITS AND NUTS

These range from pomegranates, grown, for example, as windbreaks in the Wied tal-Pwales, to loquats, which need irrigation, and almonds which, grafted on to wild peaches are prolific and hardy. Strawberries are grown on a limited scale in some of the irrigated areas. All these varieties, though distinguished in the original survey, are undifferentiated in Figs. 83 and 84. The distribution is clearly related to spring lines, Blue Clay outcrops and irrigated districts, and regional variations in the character of fruit farming are brought out in Chapter VIII.

FIG, CAROB AND PRICKLY PEAR

Fig trees are found for the most part along field edges and around farmhouses. Only in very rare instances do they occur in plantations though they are at times found growing in groves of mixed fruit trees. Of some importance domestically and in rural areas, the fig occupies an ecological position midway between that of the other fruits on the one hand and the prickly pear on the other. Physiologically well suited to dry soil conditions, fig trees require more shelter than the prickly pear and are less profitable on good land than are the stone fruits.

Prickly pear, of which only the spineless variety is grown, gives a poor fruit 311*
and serves as a reserve fodder. The young leaves are fed, chopped, to livestock 245
when other fodder is in short supply. The nutrition provided is small but the 246
water content is high. This plant is characteristically found on village and casal outskirts and in Malta it disappears in open country. In Gozo, where the leaves are often used to shelter growing vegetable plants, it is more widespread. Essentially a mark of primitive parochialism, the prickly pear sometimes occupies an unnecessarily large area of land and might occasionally be replaced by such plants as the sunflower, whose fodder value is much higher. A topic urgently in need of investigation is that of water extraction from neighbouring fields by wall crops of this kind.

The carob is the tree of rough land and is rarely found on level areas, whatever their altitude. It has often been planted as much to disintegrate rock and boulders as to supply fodder. The beans have a very high fat and protein content but require feeding in moderation. Most of the large clumps in which this tree typically occurs are neglected and untended and are less productive than they could be. The import of carob beans into Malta would be appreciably reduced by more attention to the native trees. Under present conditions the carob is the only wasteland tree crop and its presence elsewhere denotes under-utilisation of better land.

*311
102
244

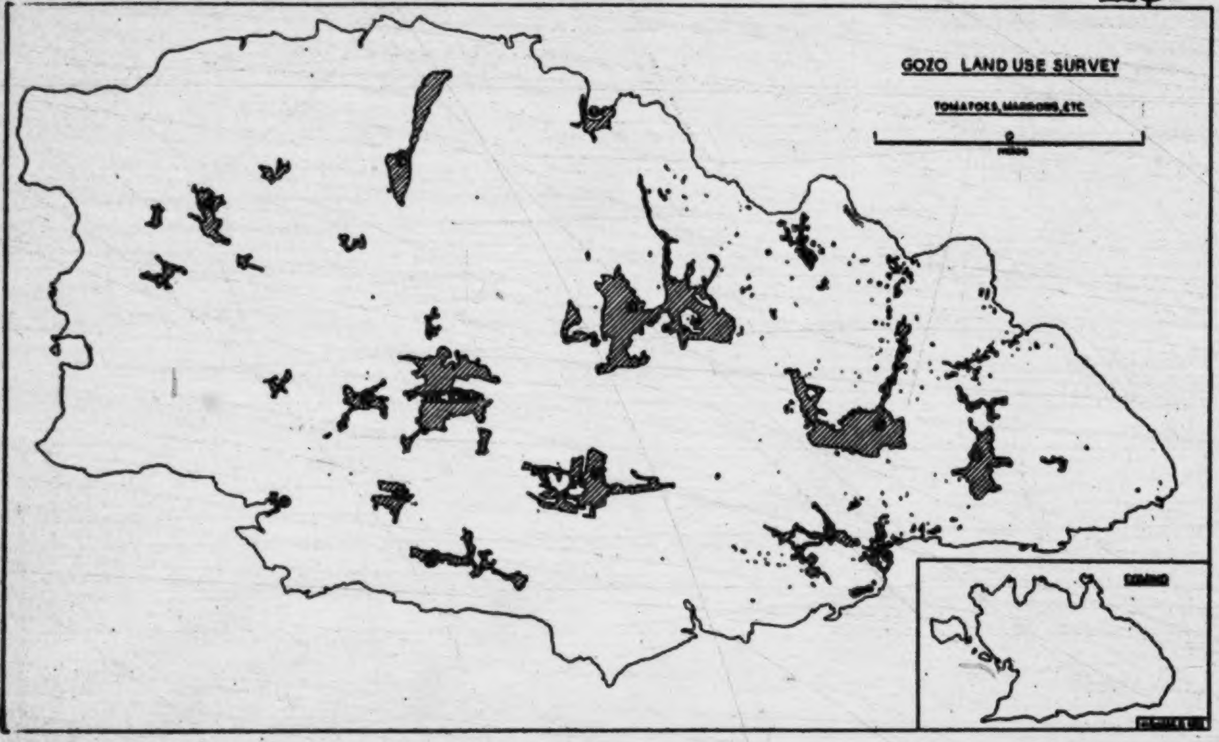

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
TOMATOES, MARROWS, ETC.
0

Fig. 86 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Tomatoes, Marrows, etc.

VEGETABLES - TOMATOES AND CUCURBITS

The survey period, as noted previously, was largely confined to the spring season and thus coincided only with the earliest field plantings of these crops. Later in the agricultural year, the areas involved become more extensive (see below: Tilled Land), but the distributions here noted are indicative of special conditions for cultivation.

The distribution of these crops in Malta is shown in Fig. 85. Since 1957, the growing of tomatoes under glass has received official encouragement, but production by this means is as yet on a small scale and was previously all but non-existent. The planting of field tomatoes appears to take place later than climatic conditions make necessary and the harvest misses the main early markets in Europe. Export potentialities require further consideration as does the possibility of extending the areas of production. A small acreage of early tomatoes is planted out on non-irrigated land but the main districts correspond closely to the irrigation areas of the north and west. Particularly important is the Wied tal-Pwales, wherein there exist minor regional concentrations (see Chapter VIII). Other, smaller areas are found in the Marfa oases, Mellieħa isthmus and the Wied il-Ghasel.

During the survey period, the cucurbits are represented mainly by the dry-land gourds *qaragħ bagħli*, which are particularly associated with the Żabbar district. This regional specialisation is at the moment not fully explicable but is of some traditional standing. Water-melons, pumpkins, etc., are found in the irrigated zones, for example in the Wied tal-Pwales and near Mellieħa. In other regions, such as that around Mġarr, the seed is usually sown about the end of April. Such plots have been omitted from the distribution maps because of the critical time variation from year to year. Here, as elsewhere, much depends on the rotation and the availability of ground water.

In Gozo (Fig. 86) during March and April, tomatoes predominate over the other crops of this group. Wieds Ramla, San Blas and Daħlet Qorrot are the main areas of cultivation, mainly as the result of shelter and the availability of water from the mesa spring-lines. In Wied Ramla (see Chapter VIII) there is a special association with the warm, sandy soils of the eastern slopes. These crops are also of some importance around Mġarr and Għajnsielem, associated partly with special soil conditions but also with nearness to the harbour from which they are shipped to Malta.

ONIONS (*Basal*) (Figs. 87 and 88)

These are grown on the better dry soils as well as in irrigated areas. They have been distinguished from other vegetables because of their traditional and potential status as an export crop. Most holdings have an onion patch to supply domestic needs, but there is also a growing, though fluctuating export trade. The dark-skinned 'red' Spanish types are most suitable for Maltese climatic conditions and are also most in demand in overseas markets. This to some extent conflicts with the domestic demand for the flat, white types which do not store well.

In Malta, onions of all varieties are cultivated in small plots throughout the Globigerina lands. A belt of rather higher density stretches through the Central Region, extending from Attard to Qrendi. The Siġġiewi district is of especial importance, since here alone are grown considerable numbers of the red-skinned variety most suitable for export. A rather strange concentration is also found on the steep, terraced slopes of l-Imtaħleb.

In Gozo, onion cultivation is general around the villages. The only significant regional concentration is that on the southern flank of the Xewkija Ridge.

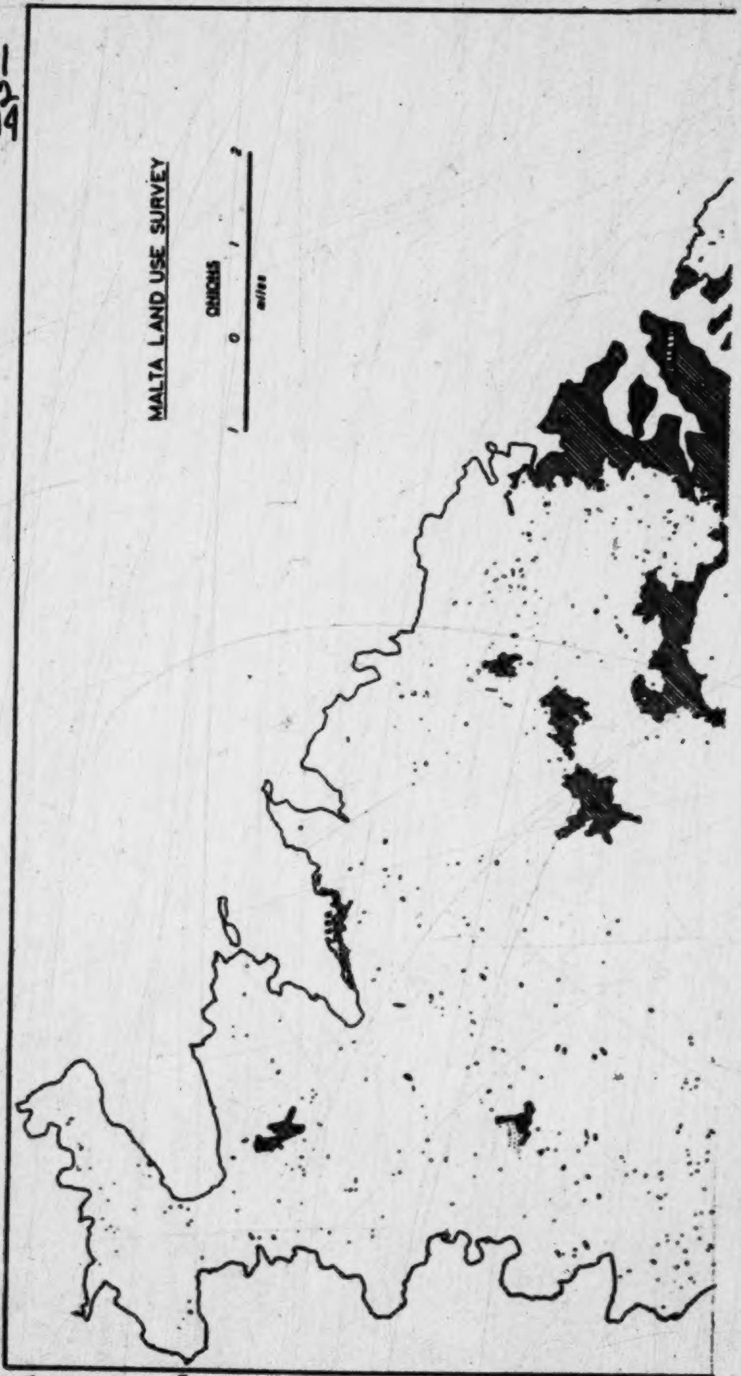
OTHER VEGETABLES

During March and April, field vegetables are confined to crops such as artichokes, particularly grown for Lenten consumption, early or seeding brassicas, garden crops including phaseolus beans and lettuce together with minor root vegetables such as carrot and kohl rabi.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

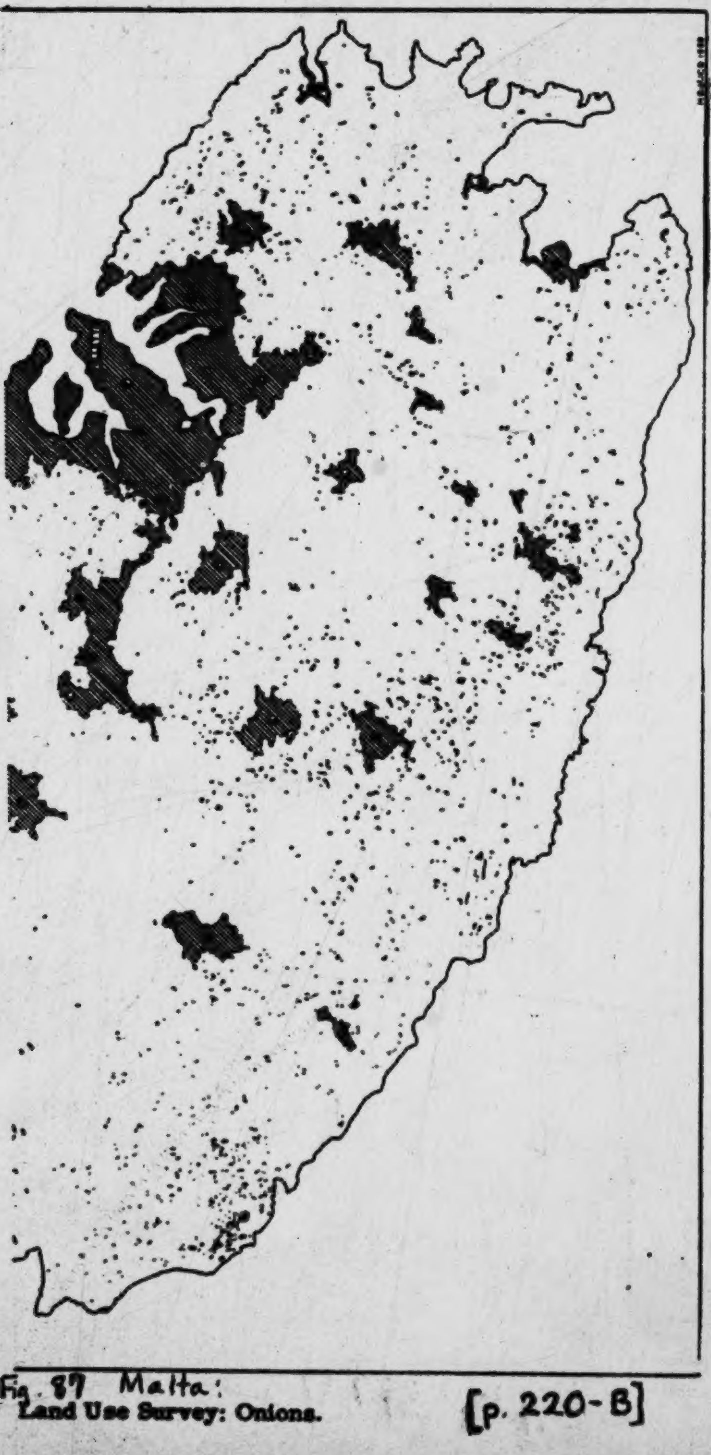
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
244


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
ONIONS
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 220-A]

Fig. 87 Malta: Land Use Survey: Onions.



311*
102
244

Fig. 87 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Onions.

[p. 220-B]

*311
107
344

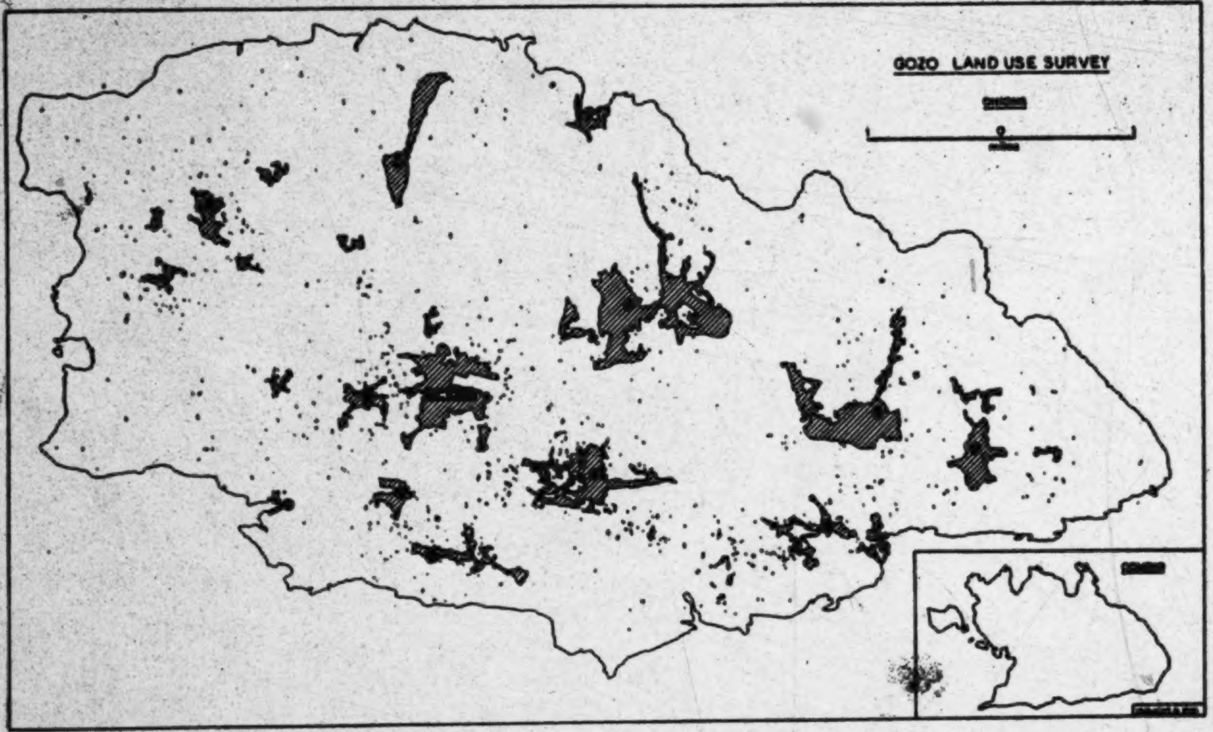
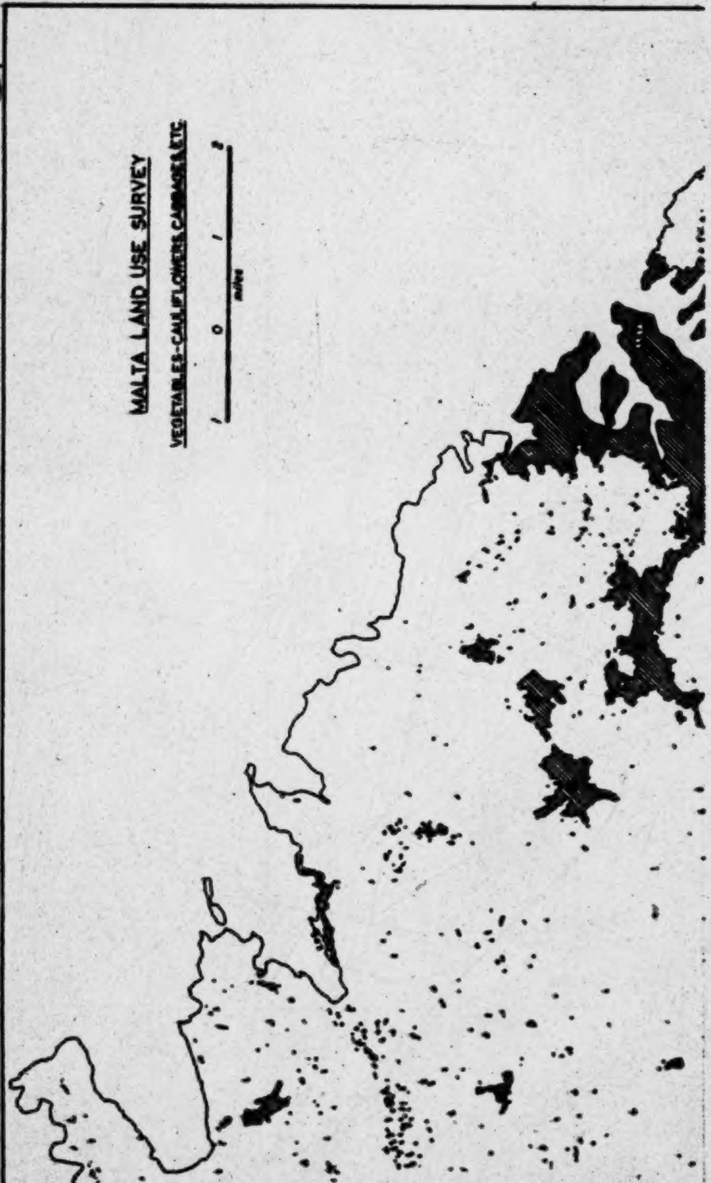

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY

Fig. 88 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Onions.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
102
244


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
VEGETABLES-CAULIFLOWERS, CABBAGES, ETC.
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 222-A]

Fig. 89 Malta: Land Use Survey; vegetables.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
2A9

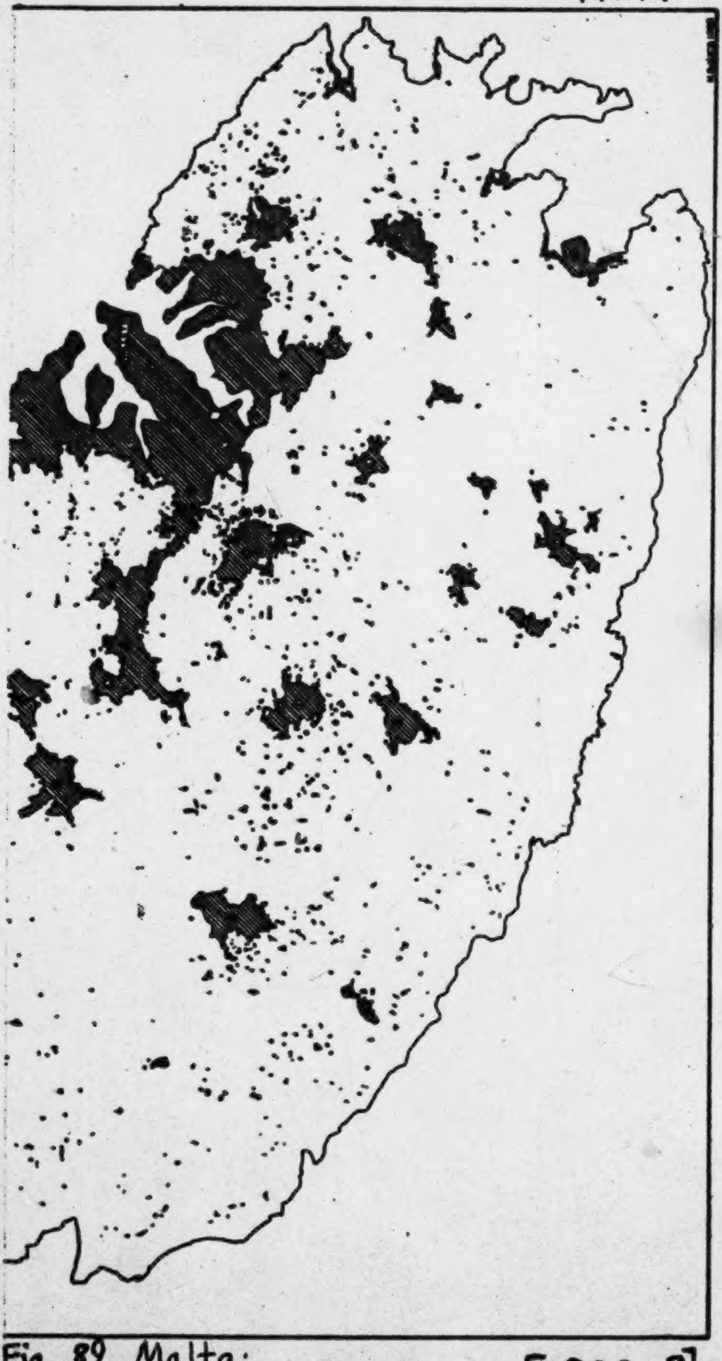


Fig. 89 Malta.
Land Use Survey: Vegetables.

[p.222-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

#311
102
244

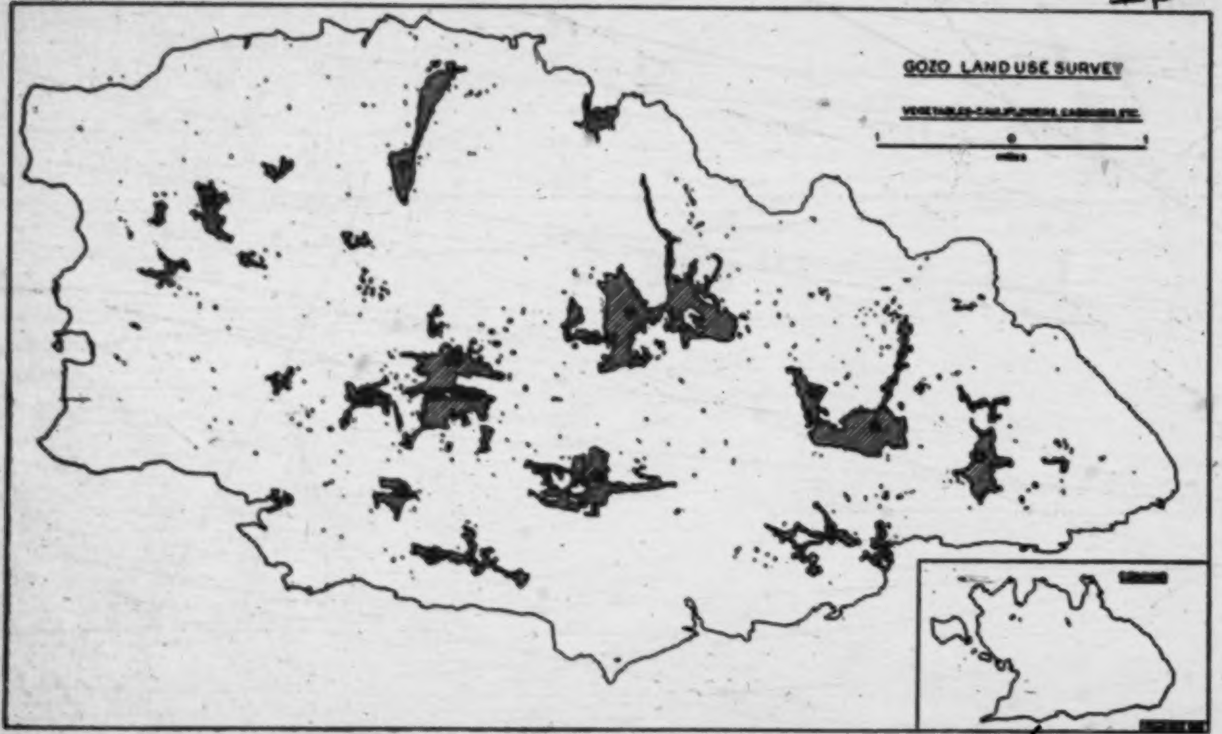
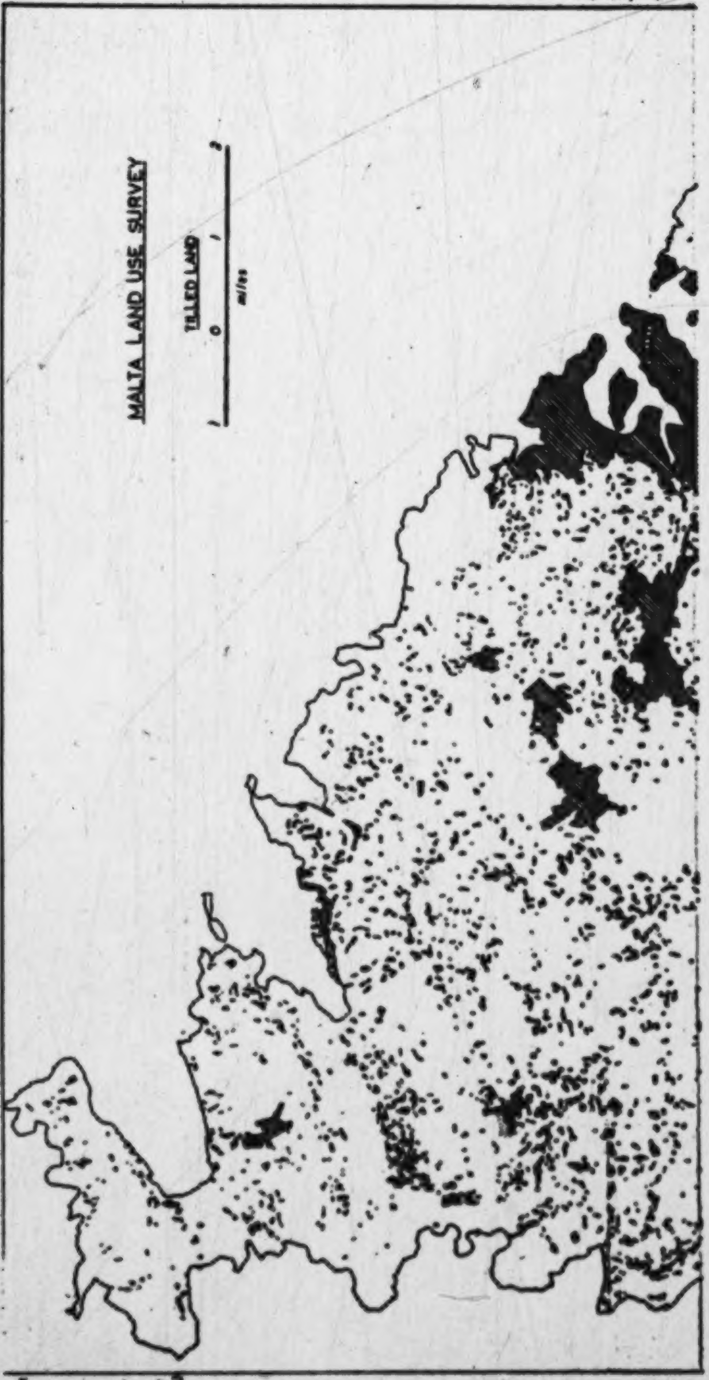

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
VEGETABLES-CAULIFLOWERS, CABBAGES ETC.
1
0
1
MILES

Fig. 90 Gozo: Land Use Survey; Vegetables.

*311
102
241


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
TILLED LAND
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 224-A]

Fig. 91 Malta: Land Use Survey: Tilled Land.

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
241

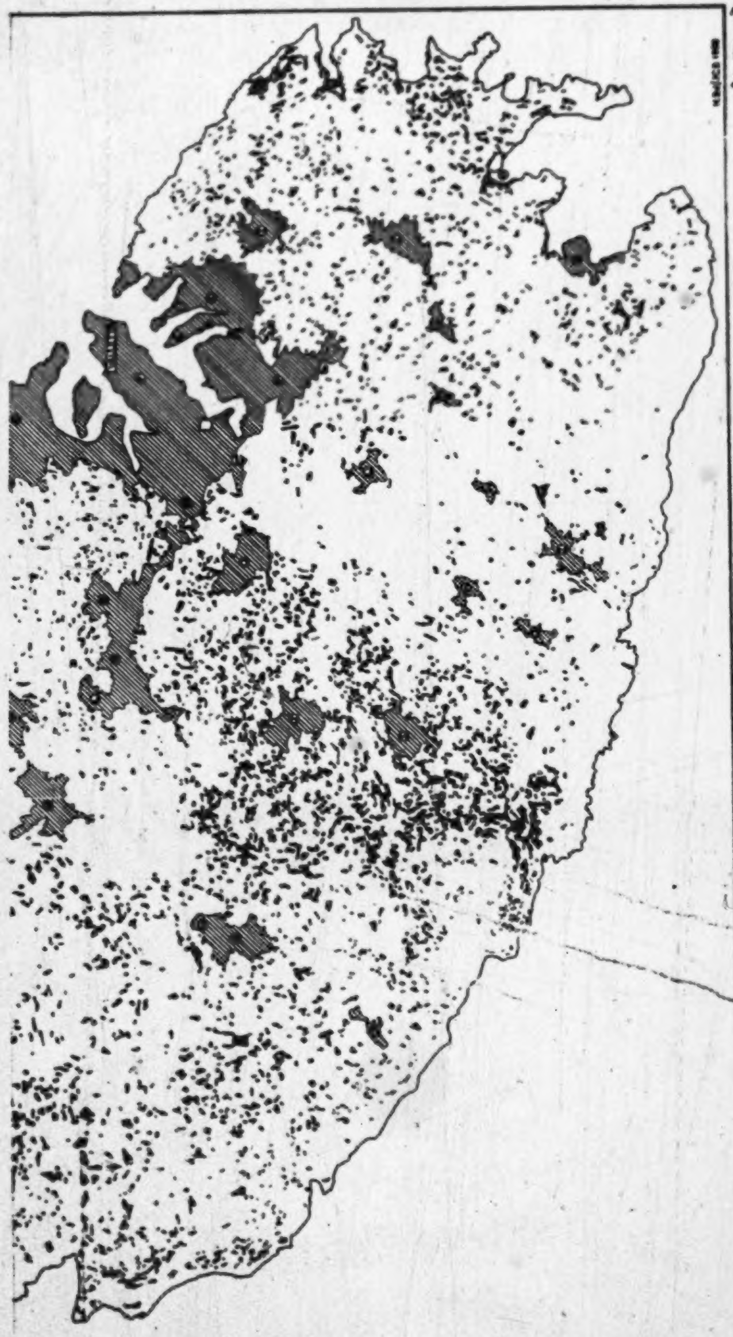


Fig. 91 *Malta;*
Land Use Survey: Tilled Land.

[p. 224-B]

Various types of location may be observed. In Malta (Fig. 89) there are, first, the main irrigated vegetable zones of the Wied tal-Pwales and Wied tal-Mistra where cultivation is carried out on a commercial scale. A great variety of crops are raised, but artichokes assume a particular importance. Secondly, in the Bur Marrad district of the Wied il-Ghasel, there is considerable specialisation, particularly in artichokes and to a lesser extent in brassicas. Thirdly, there is the group of districts around certain settlements with urban-fringe market gardening. Near Żabbar, mixed vegetables, predominantly brassicas, are cultivated in many small plots, often worked by part-time farmers. Around Qormi, the possibility of irrigation has encouraged a very considerable spread of market gardening which further extends into Hamrun. Near Rabat, a similar, smaller zone is also of some importance for mainly non-brassica crops. 311* 244

Lastly, a belt of vegetable cultivation occurs on the high central platforms between Żebbuġ-Siġġiewi and the Rabat-Dingli upland. In Fig. 89 the importance of this zone is not fully illustrated. Fig. 91, showing tilled land during the survey period, gives an indication of the considerable area which is, later in each year, devoted to summer vegetables. This is pre-eminently the area of brassica cultivation with cauliflowers of particular importance. The reasons for this are not completely known, but seem in the main to reflect climatic and soil advantages (see Chapter VIII).

In Gozo (Fig. 90) the range of vegetables grown is rather smaller than in Malta, and cultivation is much more closely confined to the settlement fringes. There are some exceptional districts, such as the Wied tal-Mistra in the north-east and the small depression lying north-west of Victoria, where good supplies of water have encouraged commercial specialisation.

TILLED LAND (Figs. 91 and 92)

Land shown in this category is that which either had a prepared tilth in readiness for further sowing and planting or had been cleared for summer fallow. This would follow early harvesting of sulla, *ferrana* and potatoes or a long fallow period. Areas where tree-crop cultivation is widespread are obviously of little significance in this category. Classification problems arise in that cleared land unsuitable for summer cultivation (for reasons of environment or rotation) is, under Maltese conditions, difficult to distinguish from land about to be planted. However, it can be stated with some degree of certainty that in Malta the main belt of tilled land west of Siġġiewi and Żebbuġ represents land prepared for summer vegetable cultivation (see Chapter VIII). In Gozo, much of the tilled land of the west is prepared in readiness for summer cotton growing. 311* 241

COTTON (*Qoton*)

The cultivation of cotton, which was widespread in the Maltese Islands from Classical times to the mid-nineteenth century, has been slowly reviving in Gozo during the last few years. 311* 248

This is only the annual crop of which the seasonal range fell completely outside the survey period. Cultivation is most considerable around Żebbuġ, Gharb and San Lawrenz. Environmental conditions are far from optimum and the future of cotton growing depends largely on the efforts and interest of one textile firm and of the Government.

FALLOW LAND - Malta (Fig. 93)

Land classified under this head is that which neither carried a crop nor had a prepared tilth but which did not appear to have been unworked for more than about a year. Some such land is inevitably in the first stage of abandonment, but other areas have remained uncultivated for a variety of other reasons connected with quarrying, tenurial disputes, demands of the Defence Departments and various types of farming hazard. 311* 241

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

*3311
107
241

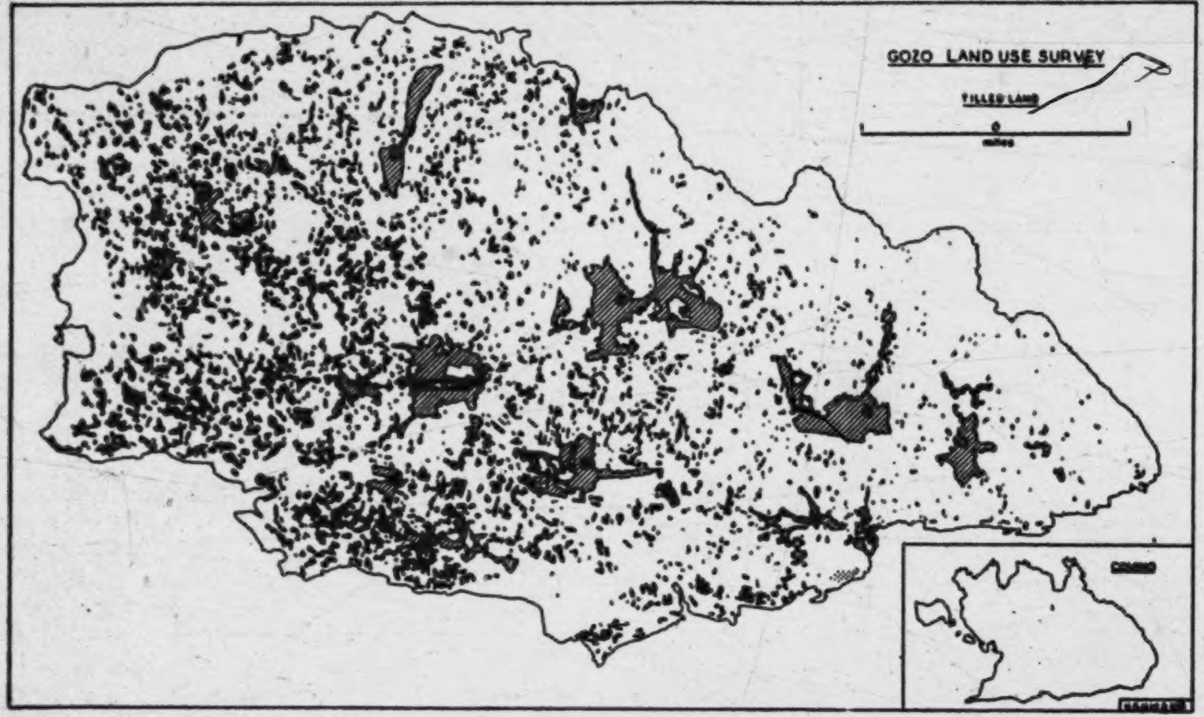

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
TILLED LAND
0
miles

Fig.93 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Tilled Land.

FALLOW AND ROUGH GRAZING - Gozo (Fig. 94)

As noted above, land classification in Gozo presents special problems. The widespread occurrence of self-seeded sulla, very often heavily weed-infested, and abandoned land still carrying (on the thicker soils) fairly dense herbaceous and graminaceous vegetation, is not an indication of completely waste land. This intermediate category is a reflection of the lesser intensity of direct pressure on agricultural resources and the greater importance of field grazing in Gozo. 311* 241 [233]

WASTELAND

All areas in which a soil mantle has never been developed or from which it has been wholly or partially removed by erosion, together with land which has obviously not been cultivated for some years, have been classified as waste. Thus, karstland as on the Marfa Ridge, the clay badlands of Ghajn Tuffieha, the abandoned terraces of Wied il-Kbir and the more recently neglected fields of il-Wilgia in Wied tal-Pwales, all fall within this category. Earlier classifications of wasteland in the Islands have attempted to postulate completely unutilised barrenness. This, on the one hand, leads to an underestimate of the extent and rate of abandonment, a feature of crucial importance, and on the other overestimates the absence of value: much wasteland is in fact utilised for *xagħra* grazing. 311* [233]

Figs. 95[1] and 96[2] indicate the magnitude of wasteland in the Maltese Islands. Gradient as such has little effect, parent rock, water supply, accessibility and exposure all being a good deal more important. The Lower Coralline exposures are very largely waste, a result of the slow rate of physico-chemical disintegration of this massive series. The other major wasteland areas are associated with special conditions of aspect and altitude. The fact that they are largely developed on Upper Coralline rocks results not from any parent-rock intractability but from the great height at which the strata of this series generally lie and from shortage of water. As noted in Chapter III, Terra Rossa development can give very productive areas.

In Malta, the inter-relationship of aspect, topography, geology and soils is well exemplified in the northern part of the island. The structural and topographic grain is transverse to winds blowing from directions between north and west. As noted in Chapter II, these winds bring high humidity and low temperatures, during the winter season. Ecological conditions of relative bleakness inhibit vegetal growth and soil formation except in sheltered depressions. The effect on land use has been to bring the 'karst line' down to sea level on the exposed Marfa peninsula, from which it ascends south-eastwards towards the more sheltered interior ridges. The level of cultivation rises progressively higher until, on the Santi-Bingemma plateau, it extends over the whole upland area. Secondary controls are exerted by details of aspect, altitude and spring-line development. Thus Bajda Ridge, of intermediate height and lying in the lee of Mellieha Ridge, forms one of the most continuous belts of wasteland. Structurally an anticline, and too small to contain an appreciable body of water or to allow doline formation, the Bajda Ridge is unlikely ever to allow a more intensive form of land use than that provided by the experiments in afforestation now in progress.

Comino and Cominotto, which are fragments of a shattered Upper Coralline anticline, are almost entirely waste. A few patches of cultivation in sheltered positions are all that remain of a never very extensive tilled area. Remoteness and exposure are sufficient to explain the present condition of these small islands.

Dissection and consequent exposure of the Lower Coralline have been the major processes giving rise to wasteland in Gozo. This is clearly exemplified in the fault-shattered zone of Qawra, id-Dwejra and the Wied Ilma as well as in Wied ix-Xlendi. Along the north coast, steep cliffs fall to a Lower Coralline platform which is reflected in an analogous belt of wasteland, while the barren ta'Cenc hills are also developed on rocks of this series. In the north-east, wasteland covers the higher and more exposed *gortin* areas and scattered stretches of waste occupy much of the steep and tectonically disrupted eastern

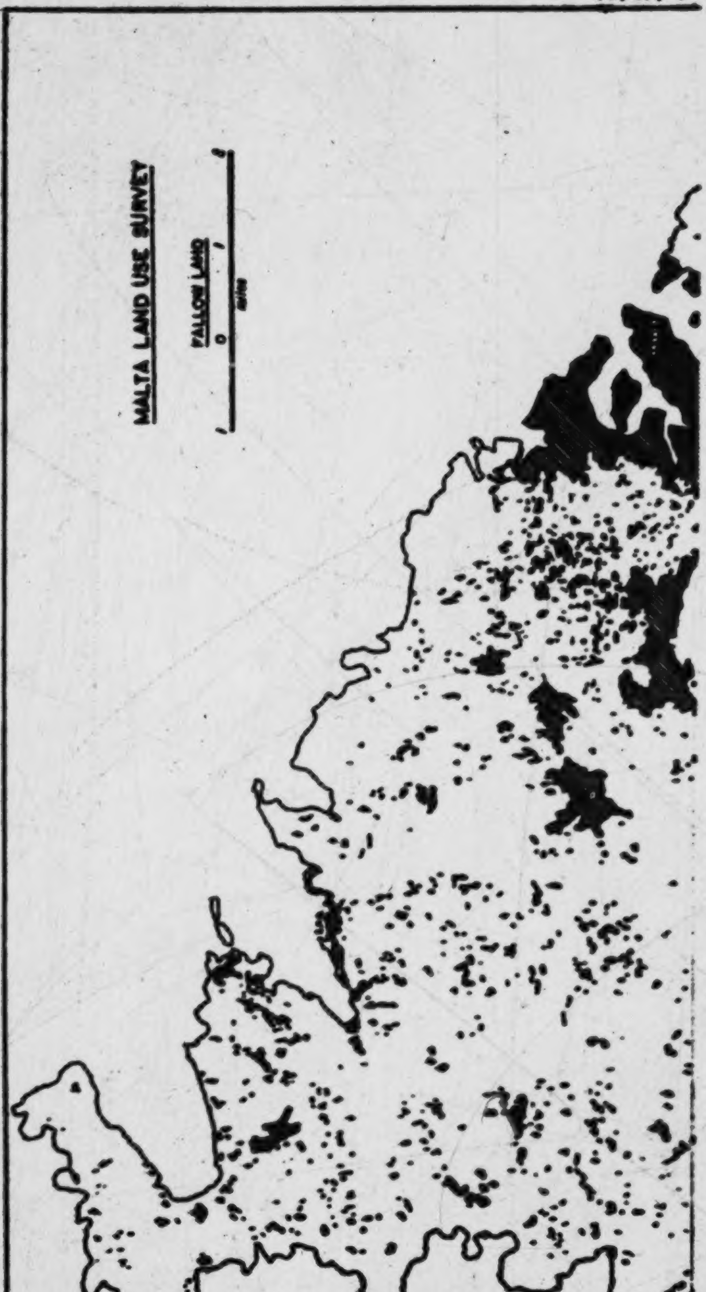
[1], [2] [See pp. 230 A&B and 231 -- Analyst)

[Text continues on p. 233]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
241


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
FALLOW LAND
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 228-A]

Fig.93 Malta: Land Use
Survey: Fallow

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

311*
102
241

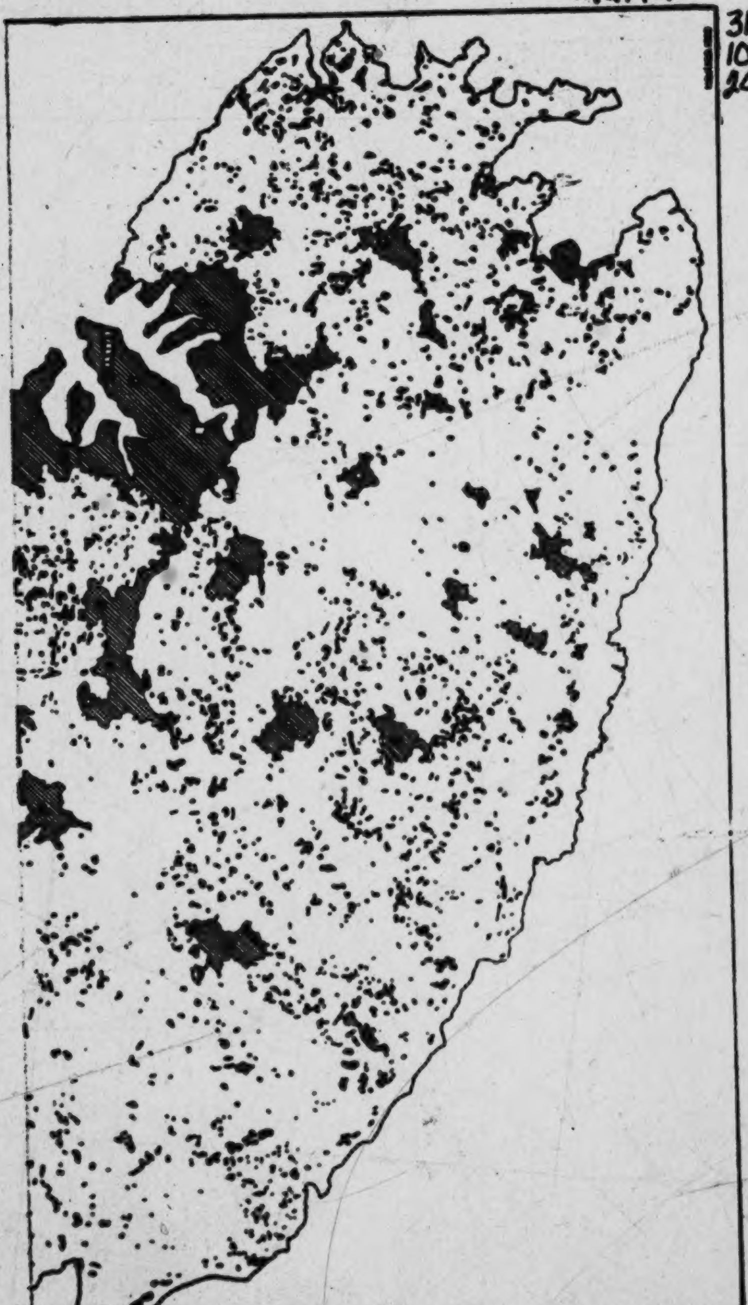


Fig. 93 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Fallow.

[p. 228-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
102
233
241

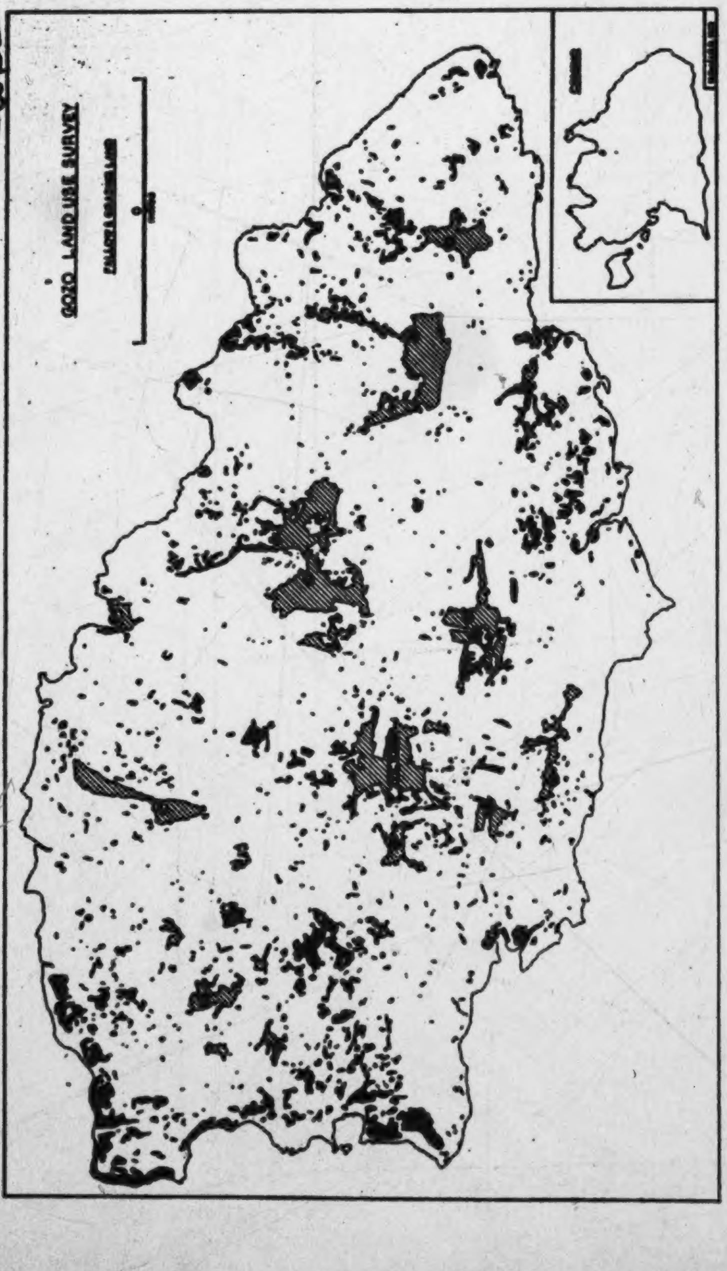

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
FALLOW & GRAZING LAND

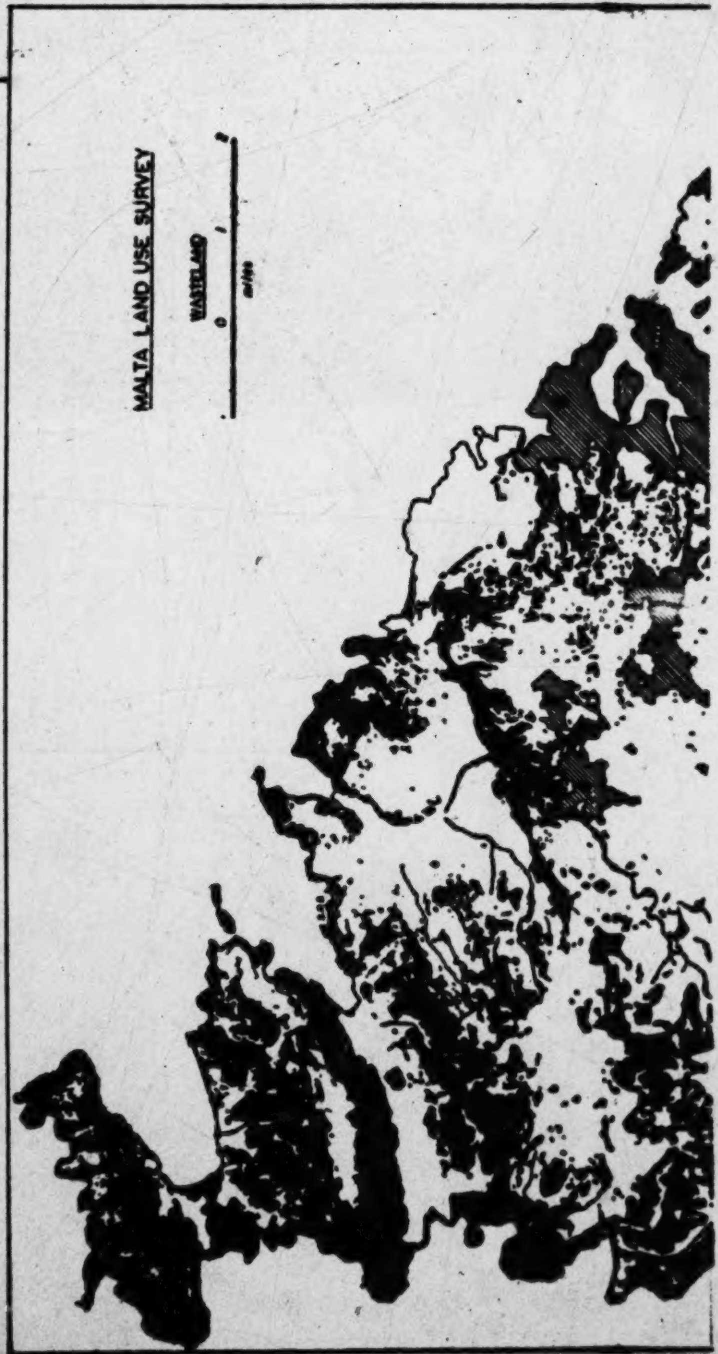
Fig.94 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Fallow and Grazing.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*311
102


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
WASTELAND
0
1
2
miles

[p. 230-A]

Fig. 85 Malta: Land Use Survey;
WASTELAND.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102

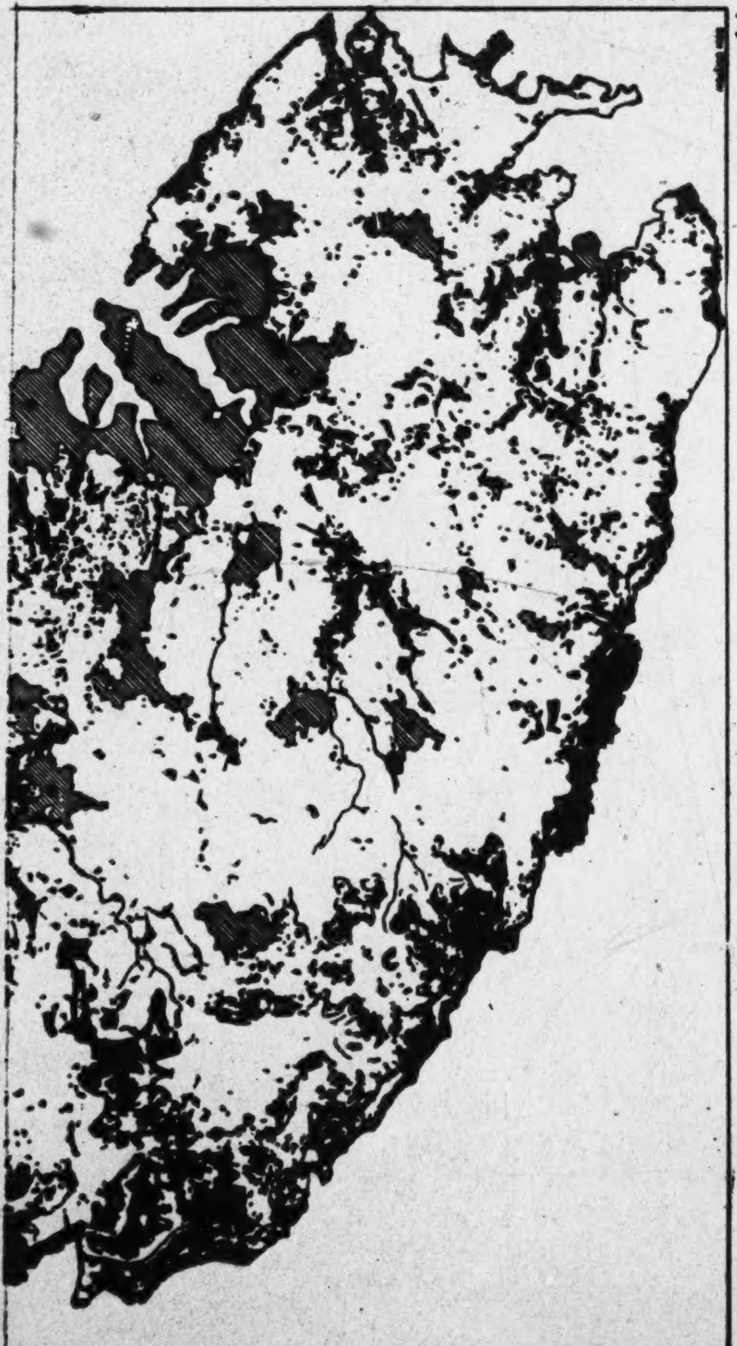


Fig. 95
Malta: Land Use Survey: Wasteland

[p. 230-B]

#311
162

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-3 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

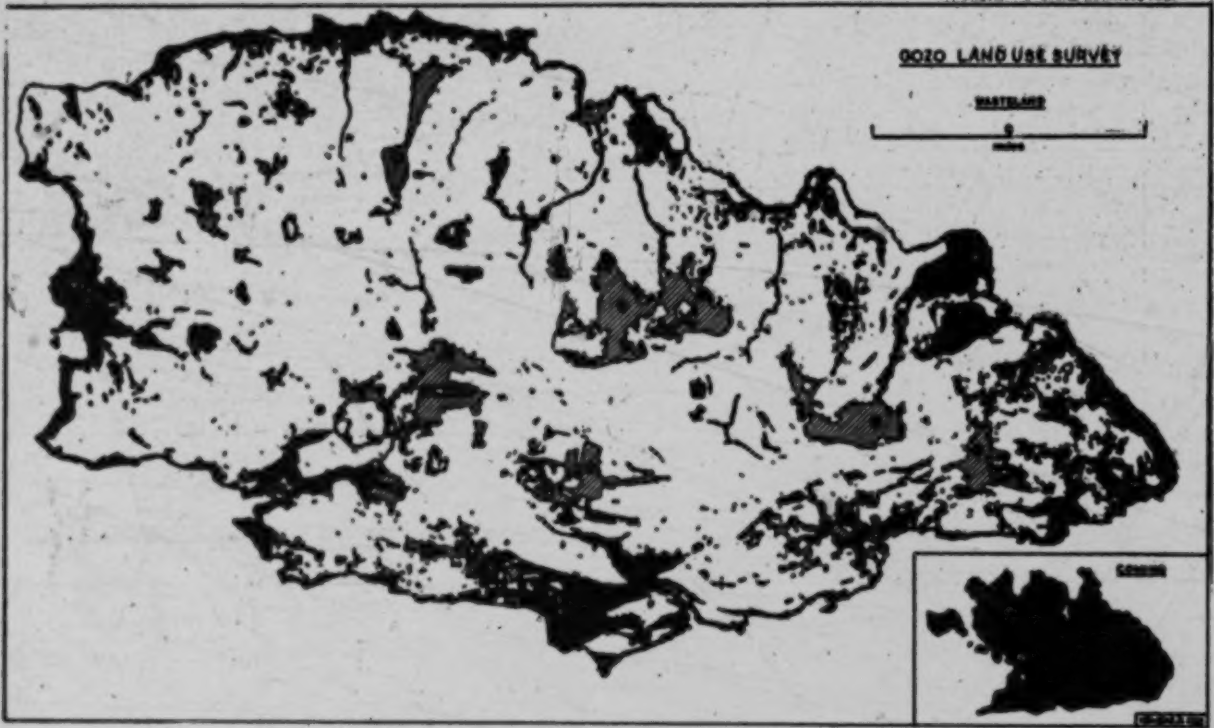
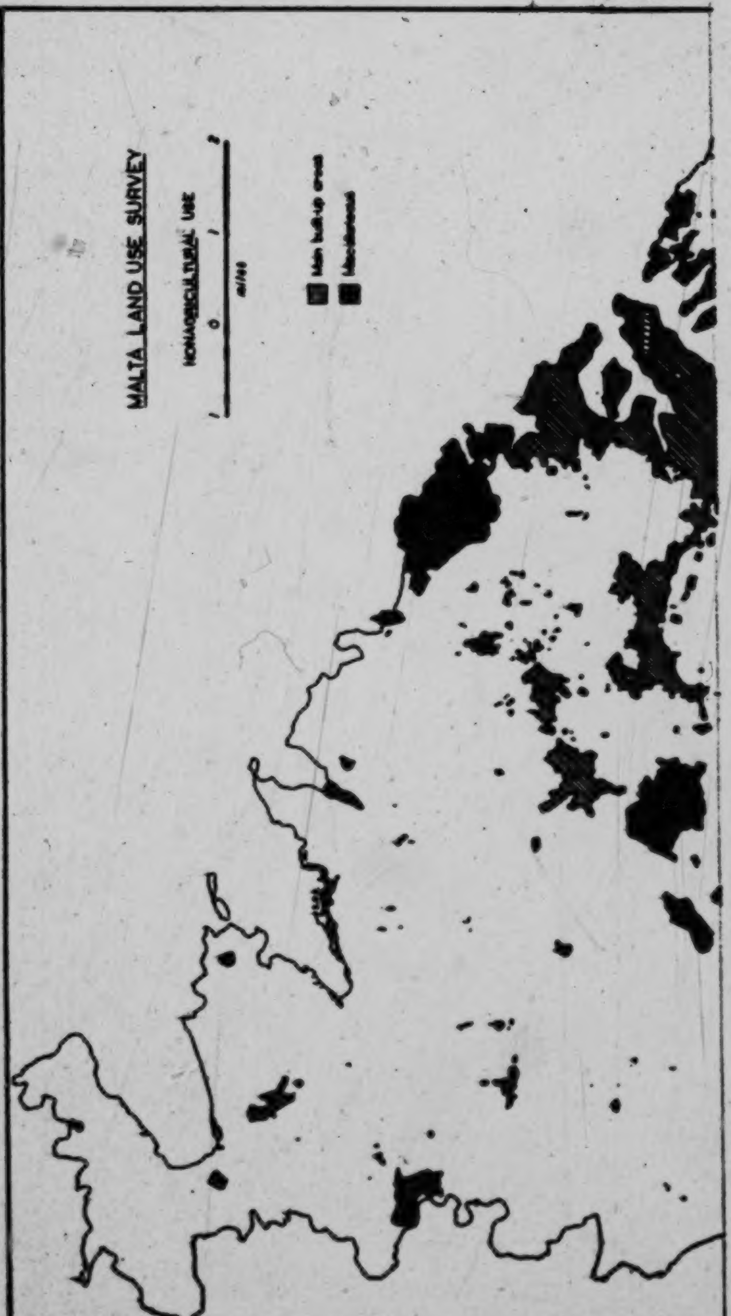

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
WASTELAND
0
miles

Fig. 86 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Wasteland.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
361


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
NONAGRICULTURAL USE
1 0 1 2
miles
Main built-up areas
Miscellaneous

[p.232-A]

Fig.97 Malta: Land Use Survey: Non-Agricultural Use.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
MalT9

311*
102
361

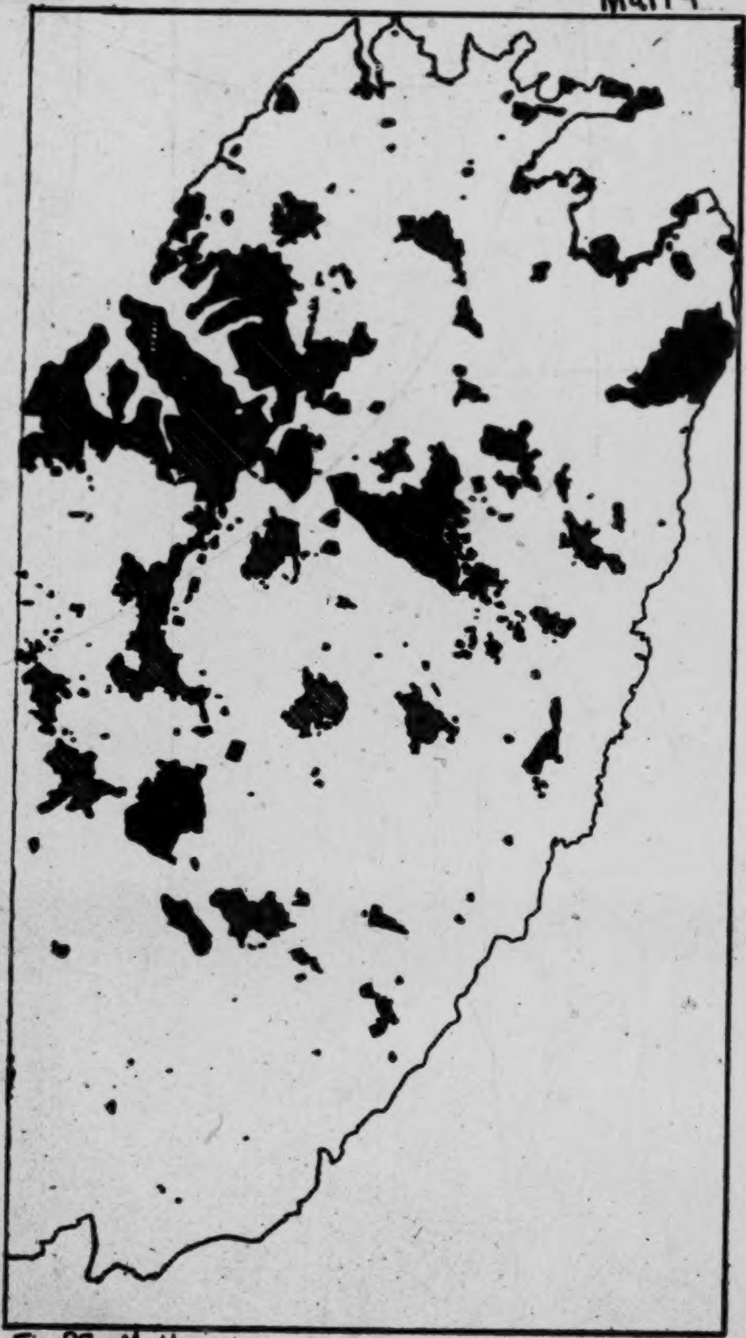


Fig. 97 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Non-agricultural Use.

[p. 232-B]

slopes. With the exception of ta'Ċenċ, these areas also correspond to the most remote and difficult lands. Lastly, the tops of the smaller mesas, too restricted in area for permanent settlement, form lesser patches of waste. 311*

NON-AGRICULTURAL USE (Figs. 97 and 98)

This category covers a variety of uses of land. The major element here is land occupied by settlements. In Malta, this includes true urban development as in the Valletta conurbation, agro-towns (the *casals*) and a small number of village-hamlets such as Mġarr and Bubaqra. Their limits, plotted on a six-inch scale, were drawn to separate true farmland from house-gardens, orchards and stockyards associated with the settlements. As noted previously, this has resulted in some slight exaggeration of the areas defined as 'built-up'. 311* 361

In Gozo, Victoria is the only true town. Żebbuġ, Xaghra, Nadur and Qala have small urban nuclei but otherwise consist of agglomerated farmsteads as also do the remaining villages. Field-work on a 25-inch scale has allowed a more precise delineation of the built-up areas and of dispersed settlement. The latter, as may be seen from the maps, bears a striking correspondence to the road pattern.

The 'Miscellaneous' category includes land used by the Defence Departments as airfields, barracks and other installations. For security reasons, a more detailed appraisal has not been made. Other types of land-use included here are quarries being worked at the time of the survey, as in the Naxxar-Gharghur and ta'Kandja districts of Malta, sportsgrounds (e.g. Marsa) and reservoirs as at ta'Ċenċ. In Malta, small groups of buildings outside the main settlements also fall within this category, whereas in Gozo only special cases such as that of ta'Pinu shrine and the Fort Chambray asylum are so marked.

The 15 different types of land use portrayed in the distribution maps are a striking illustration of the wide range of conditions, physical, human and economic, to be found within the Maltese Islands. A fuller picture emerges when the regional combinations of these elements are studied in detail and this is done in Chapter VIII, where different crop assemblages are used to define Agricultural Regions. 311* 128

REFERENCES

1. DAVY, J.: Notes and Observations on the Ionian Islands and Malta, London, 1842, p. [illegible]. 113
2. DEBONO, F.: Report by the Inspector of Agriculture to the Royal Commission of 1911-12.
3. GIACINTO, P. C.: *Saggio di Agricoltura per le Isole di Malta e Gozo*, Messina, 1811.
4. PERALTA, G. J.: The Vines and Wines of Malta, Malta Yearbook, Valletta, 1954.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
102
361

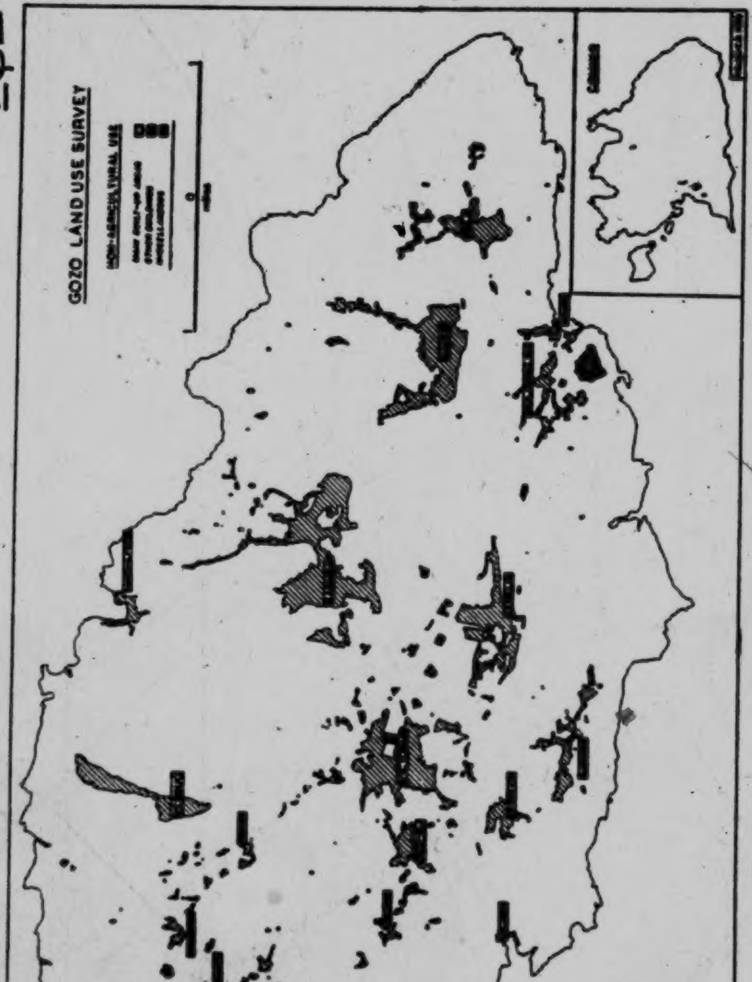

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
NON-AGRICULTURAL USE

Fig.98 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Non-agricultural Use.

[P.235]

Chapter VIII

AGRICULTURAL REGIONS

Individual crop distributions have been considered in the preceding chapter but 241* in order to understand the nature of Maltese agriculture, more complex analyses of spatial differentiation must be made. The method adopted is to identify areas 311* characterised by particular crop assemblages and thus to define agricultural regions.

Over the Islands as a whole may be observed a series of distinct farming landscapes which reflect a graduation in physical and socio-economic conditions. The lowest grade of land use is represented by marginal production of the hardiest fodders and legumes. Vetches and poor barley are cultivated in small pockets of soil lying between expanses of bare karst. The regions in which this [233] pattern is dominant, being primarily used as rough grazing land, are most suitably referred to as *xaghra*. Extensive dry farming covers much of the Islands, varying in quality particularly with variations in exposure, slope and water supply. The poorest type is restricted to low-grade cereals, sulla and the minor fodders and legumes. A medium grade of dry farming, occurring where conditions are more favourable, is characterised by crops of better quality and higher value. Potatoes become prominent and specialised production of certain vegetables such as *qaragh baghli* appears. On well watered but non-irrigated land, the crop assemblage is further enlarged by the addition of vines on an appreciable scale. Vegetables now include both spring- and summer-grown, field and garden types, notably brassicas. Where irrigation is possible, higher-value vegetable crops such as tomatoes, melons and artichokes become widespread, although the potato is dominant. Small-scale cultivation of fruit and table-grapes is also of some importance. Finally, the *gnien* and *rdum* lands, which are distinct although not everywhere the most intensively worked areas, are often characterised by much inter-cultivation and by the varying importance of all the high-value crops. It is here that fruit is most widely grown. These six types of crop assemblage are readily recognisable and provide the basic criteria for regional analysis of the rural landscapes of Malta and of Gozo.

Malta

In Malta, there is a marked correspondence between the physiographic regions as described in Chapter II and the agricultural regions. A major three-fold division may be observed in both cases:-

A. The Western Scarplands.
B. The Wied-il Ghasel District.
C. The Hills and Plains of the Centre and East.

A. THE WESTERN SCARPLANDS

The physical characteristics of this major region have been outlined in Chapter I and their effect on the distribution of waste and cultivated land noted in Chapter VII B. The south-west to north-east graining of the land is the predominant physical control, but secondary controls are exerted by details of aspect, altitude, soil and water supply, so that many local deviations from the general pattern of wasteland ridge and cultivated basin may be observed. General points concerning settlements include the tendency for these to develop at the junction of the two types of landscape, though there are important exceptions to this arrangement. The alignment of roads further affects the degree to [491] which particular districts have been developed or neglected. The fact that road

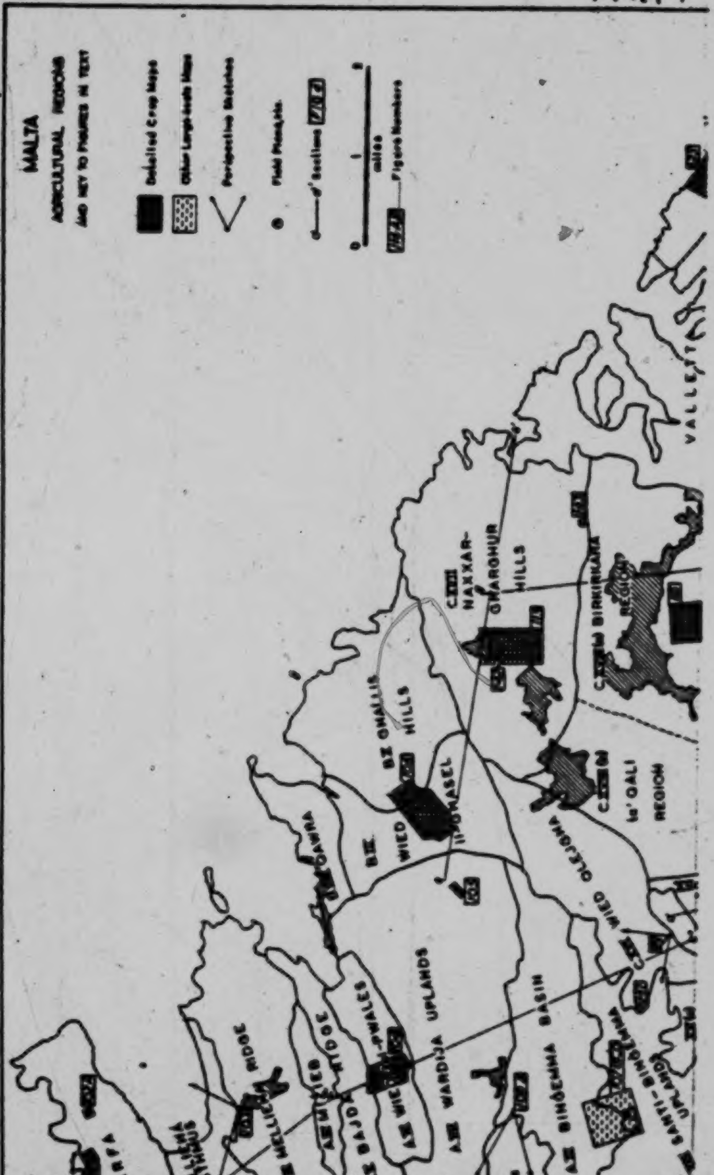
[Text continues on p. 238]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1956) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*241
*311
102
128



MALTA
AGRICULTURAL REGIONS
AND KEY TO FIGURES IN TEXT
Detailed Crop Maps
Other Large-scale Maps
Perspective Sketches
Field Plans, etc.
Sections
0 1 2
miles
Figure Numbers
A I MARFA
A II MELLIEHA ISTHMUS
A III MELLIEHA RIDGE
A III MIZIEB
A II BAJDA RIDGE
A II WIED-PWALES
A III WARDIJA UPLANDS
A III BINGEMMA BASIN
SANTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS
Gnejna
The WES
B IX WIED
GAWRA
B X GHALLIS HILLS
IL-GHASEL
C NAXXAR-GHARGHUR HILLS
C WIED QLEJGHA
C TA' QALI REGION
C BIRKIRKARA REGION
VALLETTA

[p. 236-A]

Fig. 99 Malta: Agricultural Regions

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

24*
31*
107
128

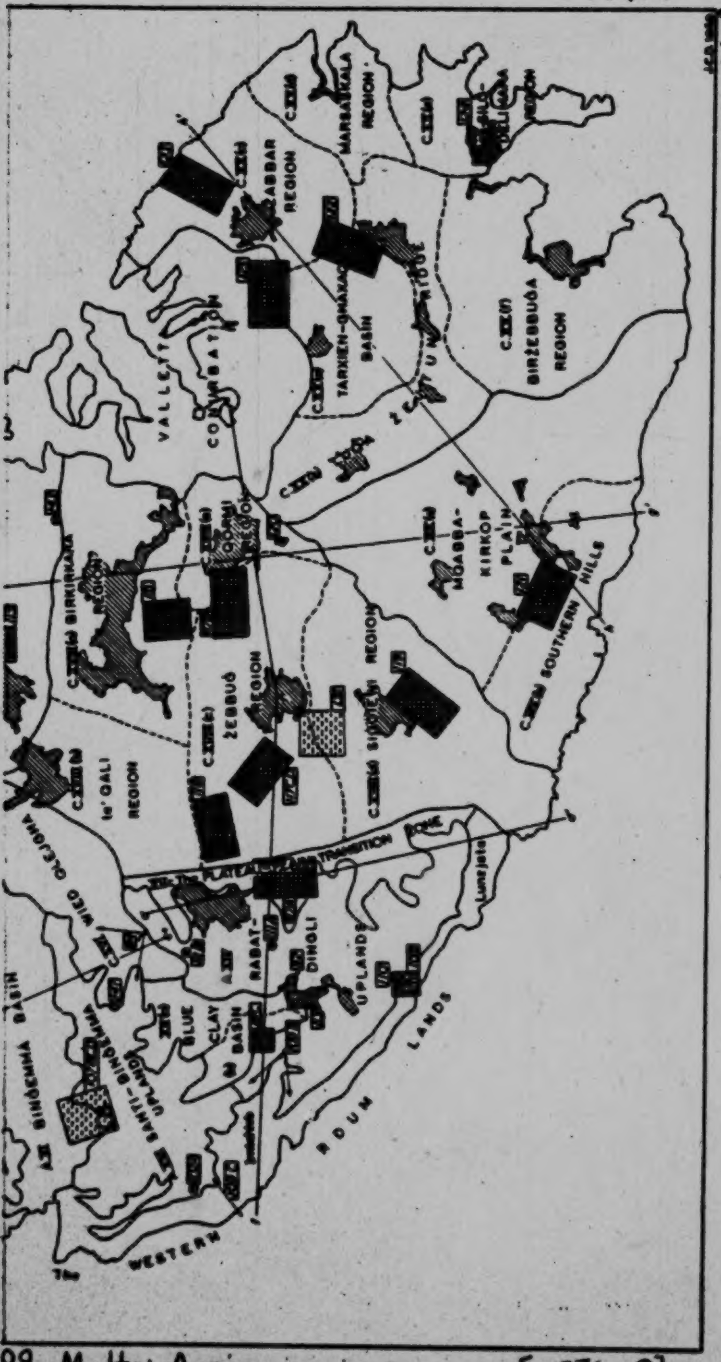

A XI BINĠEMMA BASIN
SANTI-BINĠEMMA UPLANDS
WIED GĦAJN RIĦANA
C.XIII (a) Ix' GĦALI REGION
C.XVIII (a) BIRKIRKARA REGION
VALLETTA CONURBATION
BLUE CLAY BASIN
A XIV RABAT-DINGLI UPLANDS
C.XVIII (c) ŻEBBUĠ REGION
C.XVIII (b) QORMI REGION
ŻABBAR REGION
THE PLATEAU-PLAINS TRANSITION ZONE
WESTERN
RDUM
LANDS
Lunzjata
C.XVIII (d) SIĠĠIEWI REGION
TARXIEN-GĦAXAQ BASIN
MARSASKALA REGION
ŻEJTUN RIDGE
C.XX (e) MQABBA-KIRKOP PLAIN
C.XX (f) BIRŻEBBUĠA REGION
MARSAXLOKK-DELIMARA REGION
C.XX (d) SOUTHERN HILLS

Fig. 99 Malta: Agricultural Regions and Key to Figures in Text. [p. 236-B]

*291
*311
109
108

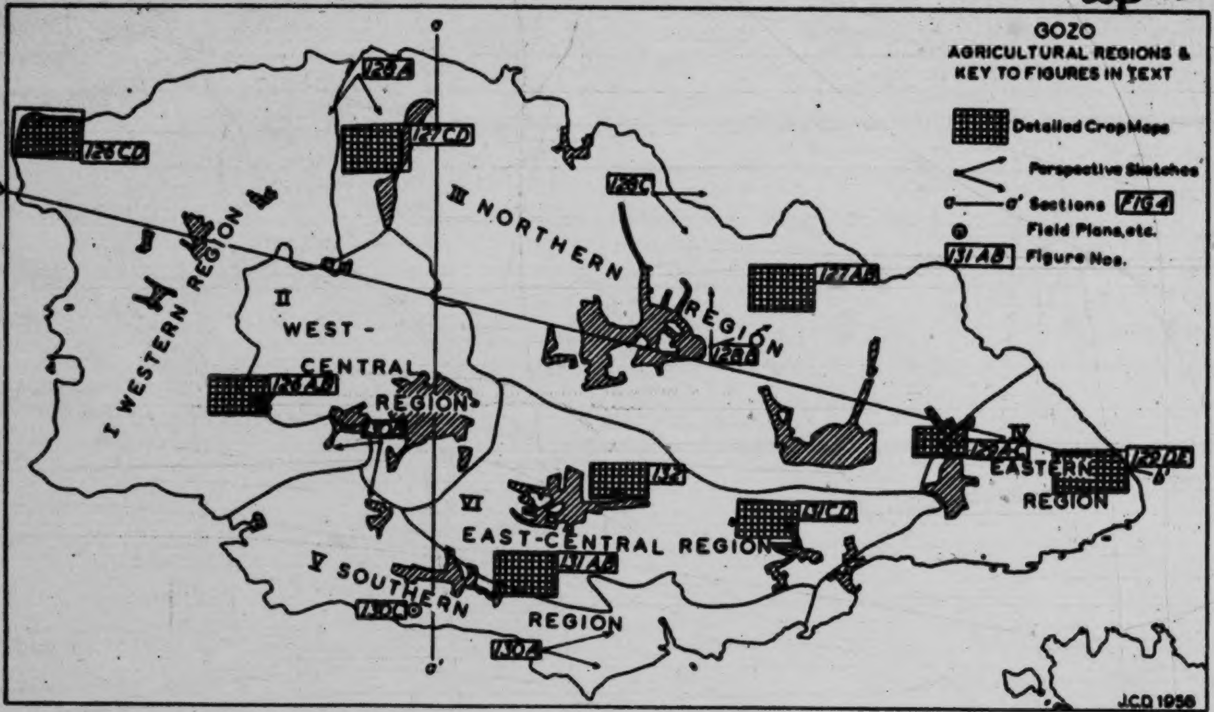

GOZO
AGRICULTURAL REGIONS & KEY TO FIGURES IN TEXT
Detailed Crop Maps
Perspective Sketches
a —— a' Sections FIG 4
Field Plans, etc.
131 AB Figure Nos.
I WESTERN REGION
II WEST-CENTRAL REGION
III NORTHERN REGION
IV EASTERN REGION
V SOUTHERN REGION
VI EAST-CENTRAL REGION
126 CD
126 A
127 CD
128 C
127 AB
128 B
126 AB
130 A
132
131 CD
129 A
129 CD
131 AB
130 C
130 A
a
a'
b
b'
J.C.D. 1958

Fig. 100 Gozo: Agricultural Regions and Key to Figures in Text.

*241
*311
[102]

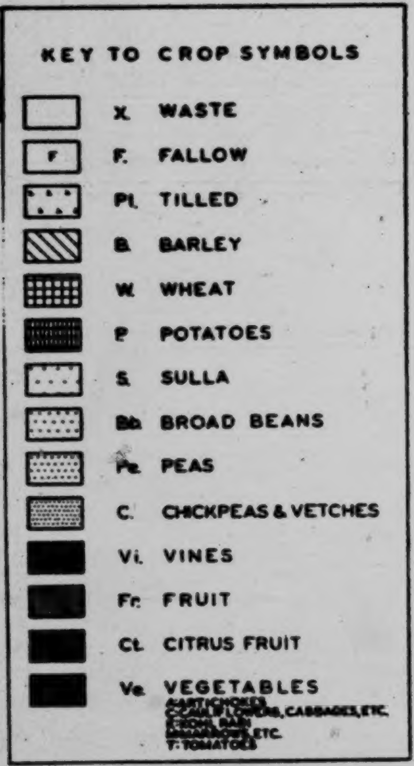

KEY TO CROP SYMBOLS
X. WASTE
F. FALLOW
Pl. TILLED
B. BARLEY
W. WHEAT
P. POTATOES
S. SULLA
Bb. BROAD BEANS
Pe. PEAS
C. CHICKPEAS & VETCHES
Vi. VINES
Fr. FRUIT
Ct. CITRUS FRUIT
Ve. VEGETABLES
A:ARTICHOKES
C:CAULIFLOWERS, CABBAGES, ETC.
ETC.
T:TOMATOES

Fig. 101 Key to Crop Symbols as used in Figs. 102-132 inclusive.

[491] building has been influenced not only by the needs of the farming community but also by military and, more recently, by tourist requirements adds a further element to an already complicated pattern. Isolation is a social and economic matter as well as a physical one. For all these reasons, detailed regional study is necessary before the full range of conditions present in this region can be appreciated.

A point of particular application to the Scarplands is their economically marginal character. It is here that development and neglect, advance and withdrawal of the 'cultivation frontier' have been most effective, reflecting changes in the economic and social position of agriculture and the rural community. Thus published maps of this region show a rectilinear pattern of roads, tracks and field boundaries which takes no account of topography, contrasting with the older field pattern on which it is often superimposed. This palimpsest of economic change appears mainly on land once Government owned and is most extensive in Marfa, the northern flanks of Mellieha Ridge and on Bajda Ridge (Fig. 68).

A.1. MARFA

Much of the peninsula is now *xagħra* land although a larger area has been cultivated in the past. Poor dry farming persists in a few areas such ta'Ramal

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

241*
311*
102

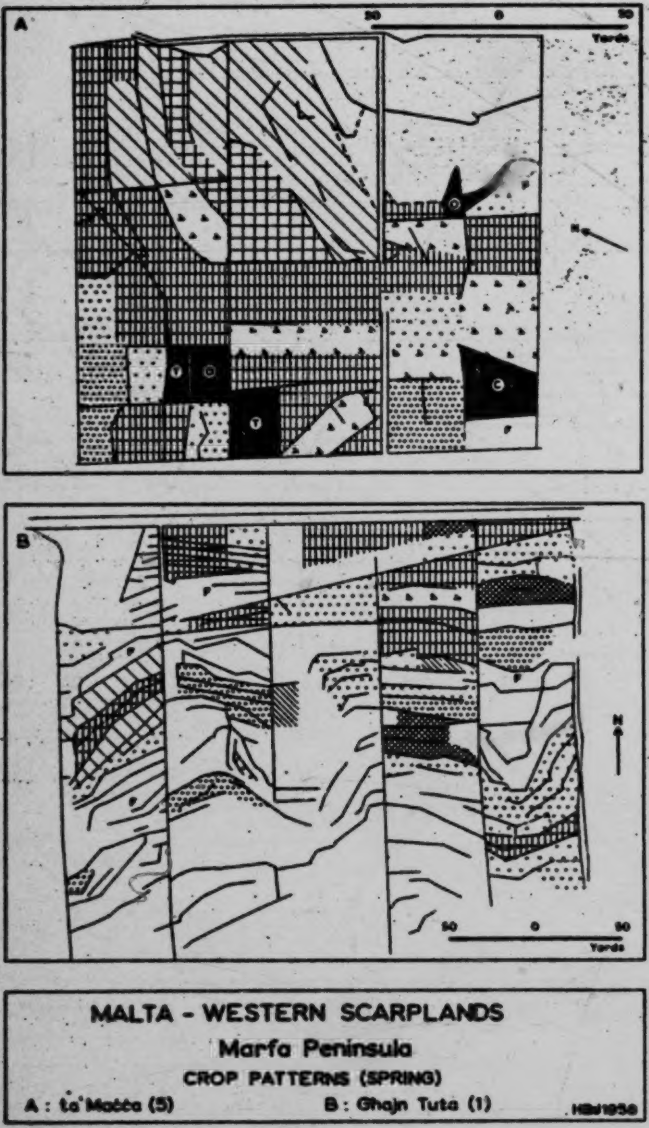

A
50
0
50
Yards
N
B
N
50
0
50
Yards
MALTA - WESTERN SCARPLANDS
Marfa Peninsula
CROP PATTERNS (SPRING)
A : ta' Maċċa (5)
B : Ghajn Tuta (1)
HBJ1958

Fig. 102 Malta: Western Scarplands: Marfa Peninsula.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malt9

*241
*31
[102
[133

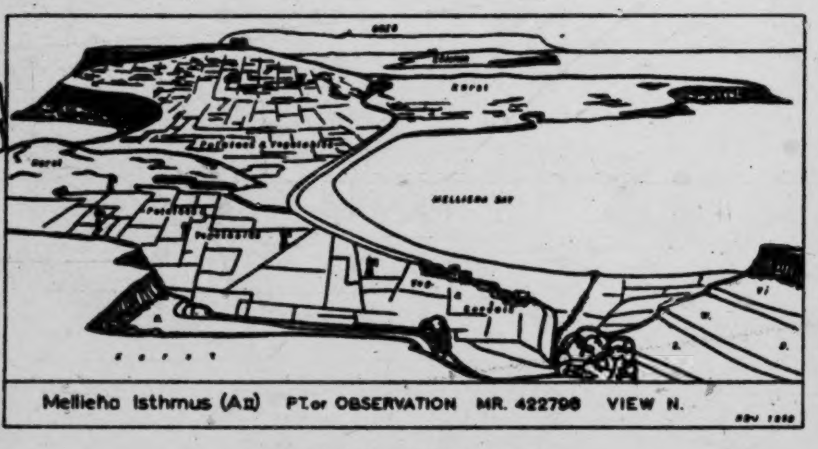

Potatoes & Vegetables
Potatoes
Vegetables
MELLIEHA BAY
Mellieħo Isthmus (AII) PT. of OBSERVATION MR. 422798 VIEW N.

Fig. 103 Malta: Mellieħa Isthmus.

(8)*, id-Dahar (Fig. 102 B) above the Wied Ghajn Tuta (1), and in smaller scattered plots. It also occurs in the undercliff zones of Rdum tal-Qammieh (9)* (significantly, 'Qammieħ' means 'wheat-producing') and Rdum tal-Ahrax (10) where Blue Clay and Globigerina outcrop beneath the Upper Coralline scarp. A few small homesteads are sparsely scattered over these zones. In the small valleys which open to the north, such as Wied Musa (2) and ta'Maċċia (5) (Fig. 102 A), wind-pump irrigation and road development have allowed the introduction of commercial cultivation of potatoes and vegetables. Field boundaries have been recast, new farms built and cultivation extended on to former wasteland. The utilisation of these small oases is essentially precarious as sea-spray salinity on the one hand and ground-water salinity induced by over-pumping on the other set definite limits to productivity. Abandoned wind pumps mark points at which these limits have been over-stepped.

Thus in the region there occur simultaneously both slow abandonment of the harder lands and reclamation of especially favoured pockets.

A.II. MELLIEĦA ISTHMUS (Fig. 103)

There are three separate areas of cultivation. Il-Ghadira (11) and il-Hofra (12), lying on either side of a barren karstic hill, are pump-irrigated for the production of potatoes and some summer vegetables. Good dry farming is represented by the marled slopes between Mellieħa and the sea (13).

A.III. MELLIEĦA RIDGE

Here, as in other, analagous regions, there is a natural association of central summit-lands with fringing valley embayments. In the west, rising in cliffs from the sea and more gently from the head of Miżieb, the ridge is almost entirely waste, although a few small plots of minor fodders and beans have survived abandonment. Near Mellieħa, in contrast, small scale reclamation is extending an area of rather more intensive cultivation. This is associated with the rapid growth of Mellieħa itself. Further to the east, topographic controls become dominant, cultivation, with one exception, being confined to the several depressions. Wied Imġiebah (19) is intensively cultivated in spring-watered high terraces near the cliffed coast. Further inland, where water is less plentiful,

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*A number in brackets following a place name refers to Figs. 69 and 70.

241*
311*

vines and potatoes become replaced by other field crops. A small cluster of large farmhouses lies on the lower, richer land. Above the head of the valley is the small but striking patch of cultivation at tal-Brag (18). Geometrically laid out in small enclosures more than 70 years ago, this area of stony Terra Rossa soils is characterised by poor, mixed crops. Abandoned plots and buildings are numerous. Tal-Lembi (20), though lying at a greater altitude and in an apparently more exposed position, forms a larger and more prosperous cultivated area. Cultivation has been maintained in solution hollows and on terraced fields and where abandonment has taken place some reclamation is now proceeding below the Ħadid - tal-Blata fault-scarp. This small-scale revival of vegetable growing appears to be consequent upon the improvement, for defence purposes, of the only road. Tal-Blata (21) lies on the Clay and Globigerina slopes which run down to the sea opposite St. Paul's Island (Selmunett). Cereals and sulla, much of the latter self-seeded and weed-infested, mantle these slopes.

Below these three upland areas lies the considerable valley of tal-Mistra ('the hidden place'). On the low, flat floor of the wied there is intensive cultivation of potatoes and vegetables, artichokes being particularly important among the latter. In this sheltered and windless pocket, motor- and donkey-driven pumps supply abundant irrigation water from a small, fault-bounded sea-level water body. On the terraced slopes rising to the north, are fields of fodders, cereals and vines.

Lastly, included within the Mellieħa Ridge region, are the embayments which fringe its northern scarped edge. Each of these has its own especial land-use characteristics. The westernmost (12) includes the mixed, rather low-grade cultivation of the Wied tal-Ħanżira and the unusually specialised raising of potatoes at San Niklaw. Ġnien Ingraw (15) and Wied Mellieħa (16) have the added diversity of fruit-growing, the latter area also possessing market gardens of vegetables. In Ghajn Żejtuna (17), the largest of these embayments, vines, grown on the upper slopes, are added to the range of crops.

Here again, some points of general application may be noted. Irrigation, particularly as affected by the extent of spring-line development, together with access to settlements and/or communications, encourage the cultivation of spring potatoes above all other crops. In summer, vegetables replace the potato. Mellieħa Ridge, like Marfa, is an area of simultaneous abandonment and reclamation. Here, too, the rectilinear pattern referred to in the introduction (p. 238) is particularly well developed in the Qasam Barrani district west of Mellieħa. It is perhaps significant that this place-name could indicate a large estate laid out away from the village. (Qasam = estate; Barrani = foreign or outside.) Mellieħa itself was, until the late nineteenth century, a small settlement, remote on its defensive site, and its rapid growth during the last 60 or 70 years has been associated with the increased importance of commercial farming in the north-west of Malta generally. The developments envisaged by the laying out of the Qasam Barrani fields have not, however, been realised.

A.IV. MIŻIEB

Miżieb, which in Maltese means a gutter or drain, is in the topographic sense the upper basin of the Wied tal-Mistra. Geologically and hydrologically, however, it is quite distinct, a fact which is reflected in its agriculture. Although now known to possess considerable resources of water at depth in synclinal aquifers (Chapter I B), this is an area of dry-farming. The shallow basin is given over almost entirely to cereals, sulla and vines, the last often being much neglected. There is only one small centre of permanent settlement and this occurs around an old wine factory.

A.V. BAJDA RIDGE

As noted in Chapter VII B, this ridge forms the most continuous belt of wasteland in the island of Malta. There are two patterns of enclosure fragmentarily discernible in this area. The older of these, conforming to topography and structural grain, is marked by low curved walls and a few scattered fields of transported soil carrying poor crops of barley and vetches (see p. 303). The

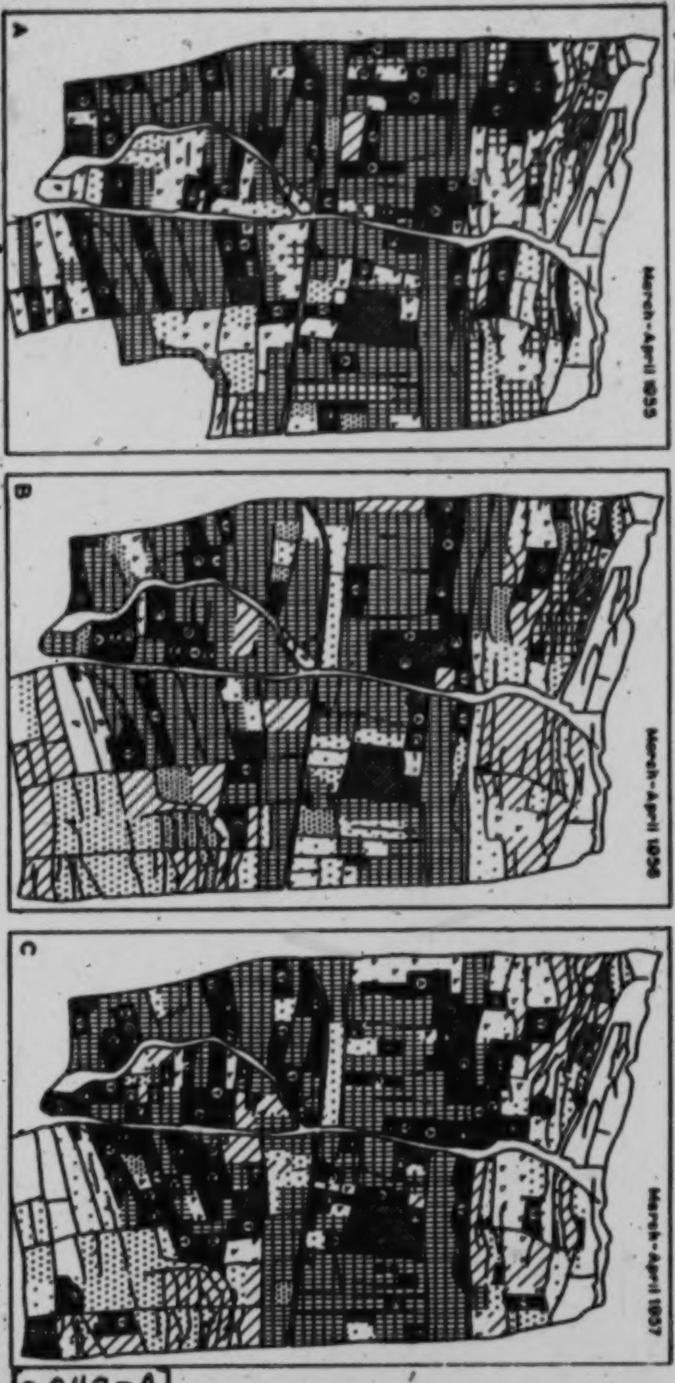
[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 243]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

241*
311*
102

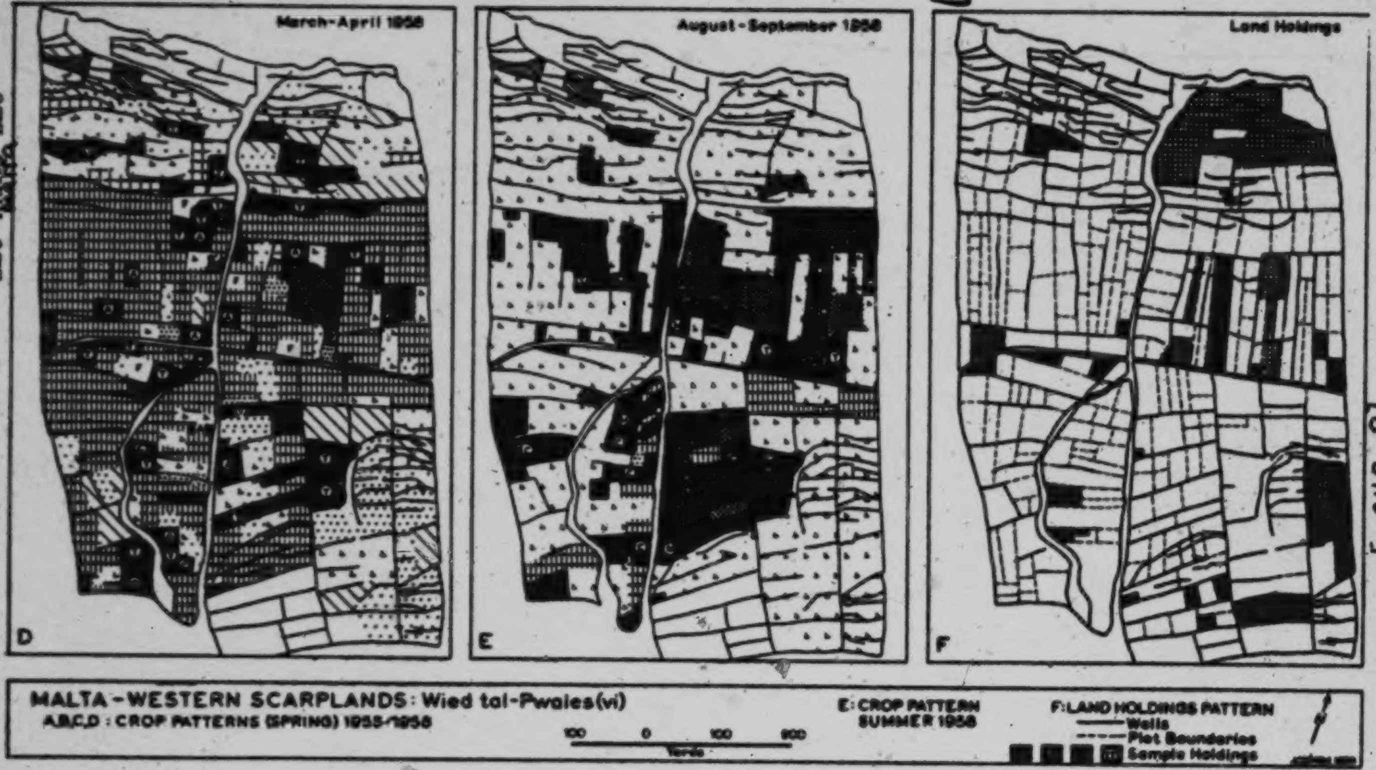

A
March-April 1955
B
March-April 1956
C
March-April 1957

[p. 242-A]

241*
311*
102

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[443]


March-April 1958
August-September 1958
Land Holdings
D
E
F
MALTA-WESTERN SCARPLANDS: Wied tal-Pwales(vi)
A,B,C,D : CROP PATTERNS (SPRING) 1955-1958
100 0 100 200
Yards
E: CROP PATTERN SUMMER 1958
F: LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Walls
Plot Boundaries
Sample Holdings

[p.242-B]

Fig. 104 Malta: Wied tal-Pwales.

newer pattern is represented by a rectilinear arrangement of tracks and a few walls. This apparent attempt to develop the region may be approximately dated to the 1880's, the last period of agricultural expansion. Very little of the land then laid out can have been further developed. Since 1957, afforestation by olive planting is adding a third layer to the palimpsest that is the map of Bajda Ridge. 241* 311*

A.VI. WIED TAL-PWALES (Fig. 104)

This fault-controlled alluvial basin shows little topographic diversity. The differing character of the bordering areas (see Chapter I B) is, however, reflected in the agriculture and the abrupt cessation of cultivation along the low Coralline scarp which forms the northern boundary of the lowland contrasts with the long slope on the southern side, where a transitional belt of dry farming leads up to the Wardija Uplands.

The relatively recent discovery of plentiful sub-soil water at shallow depth has allowed the relegation of dry-farmed crops to the hill slopes, though some cereals and legumes are still grown in the lowland as wind breaks and rotation crops. Yields from the large but intensely subdivided and fragmented fields (Fig. 104) are among the highest in Malta. Tomatoes, melons and artichokes are unusually important in the eastern half of the depression while, on the slightly higher ground in the west, potatoes and vines predominate.

This specialised and prospering commercial agriculture, relying on numerous small diesel- and donkey-powered pumps, is not without its ecological dangers. Already, after less than half a century's use, too lavish use of water drawn from a sea-level water table (Chapter I C) in combination with artificial fertilisers has resulted in an increased concentration of soluble salts in the soil. Surface inflorescences may be noted in many places and it would seem that some land has deteriorated. Social factors too have played their part in reducing productivity; one large block of land, abandoned by some 30 tenants following a dispute over rentals, stands out sharply on the wasteland map (Fig. 95).

There are a few large farmsteads in the centre of the lowland, but settlement is for the most part aligned along its edges. [361]

A.VII. WARDIJA UPLANDS

These uplands have a diversity similar to that already noted in the case of Mellieha, but expressed on a considerably larger scale. The main ridge is flanked by embayments to the north and south, and, in the east, is divided into two prongs by the Wied Qannotta complex.

The northern prong, extending from the lip of Ġnejna to Wardija Hill, forms an irregular belt of wasteland in which the cols (as at il Hotba ta'San Martin (36)) stand out as small cultivated zones. Patch cultivation in solution hollows further diminishes the apparent barrenness. On the northern slopes, between the Wied tal-Pwales and the broken Upper Coralline escarpment, lies a series of embayments.

In the west is the elongated depression of Wied Ghajn Tuffieha (25). Tank-irrigated potato cultivation is particularly intensive near the valley-side hamlet though the crop range is generally diversified. Il-Palma (26) is a similar, although smaller pocket. Scattered settlement occurs in the wied bottom between an undercliff hamlet at the valley head and a lower hamlet at the valley-foot junction with Wied tal-Pwales. The Wied ta'San Martin (27) is much more linked with the plain to the north in that tomato cultivation is dominant even to the exclusion of many of the dry-farmed crops. The prosperity of this irrigated embayment is reflected in the large size of the several farmsteads. Il-Ballut (28) has more land devoted to cereals and vines. The more open embayment of the Wied Bufula (29) with its more extensive outcrop of Blue Clay possesses fewer *gnien* characteristics. With a greater range of irrigated and dry crops, it is more akin to the Clay slope zones of other regions.

North of iż-Żebbieh, at ta'Saliba Crossroads (34), the southern limb of the Wardija Uplands diverges from the main ridge and extends eastward to Ġebel Ghawzara. Narrow, and much broken by small wieds, this southern ridge has only discontinuous stretches of wasteland, which are concentrated on the hill

*241
*311
[102]

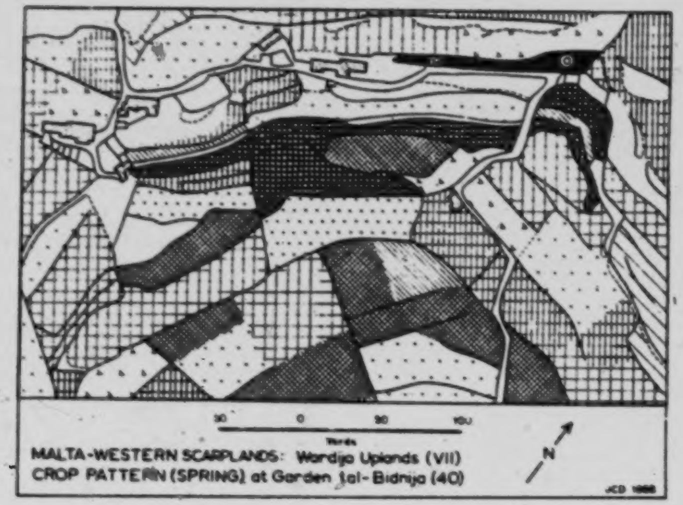

50
0
50
100
Yards
MALTA-WESTERN SCARPLANDS: Wardija Uplands (VII)
CROP PATTERN (SPRING) at Garden tal-Bidnija (40)
N
JCD 1958

Fig. 105 Malta: Wardija Uplands.

tops. Around the many individual and clustered houses lie patches of cultivation in large pockets of Terra Rossa. Potatoes and cereals are dominant as at tal-Milord (39). South of the main ridge fork, this type of saddle topography falls away, between Mġarr and iż-Żebbieħ to the downthrown Binġemma Basin.

East of iż-Żebbieħ the Blue Clay outcrop zone appears, the southern extremity of a belt which overlooks the Wied il-Ghasel and includes Wied Qannotta (33). On these well watered but non-irrigated clay slopes, vines, cereals and sulla are dominant. The grapes of this zone are of some repute and command a higher price than the more watery products of Bur Marrad. Fruit cultivation is carried on on the Ġebel Ghawzara slopes (43), within easy reach of a main road. In the Wied Qannotta (33), a similar type of landscape occupies the depression between the two limbs of the summit ridge. A few *ġnien* pockets, as at the Garden tal-Bidnija ('the garden of the prosperous one') (40) (Fig. 105), lie beneath the Coralline scarp.

B. THE WIED IL-GHASEL DISTRICT

Overlooked by the eastern summits of Wardija Ridge and separated from the rest of the island by the fault-scarp of the Victoria Lines, lies a region which is quite distinct in character. Belonging neither to the Scarplands nor to the Central hill and plain region, the Qawra Peninsula (VIII), Wied il-Ghasel (IX) and the Ghallis Hills (X) merit separate attention.

B.VIII. QAWRA PENINSULA and B.X. GHALLIS HILLS

The physical unity of these two regions is broken only by the presence of Salina Bay which lies between them. Very striking is the way in which the distribution of wasteland corresponds almost exactly with the surface exposure of

[Text continues on p. 247]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

2A1*
311*
102

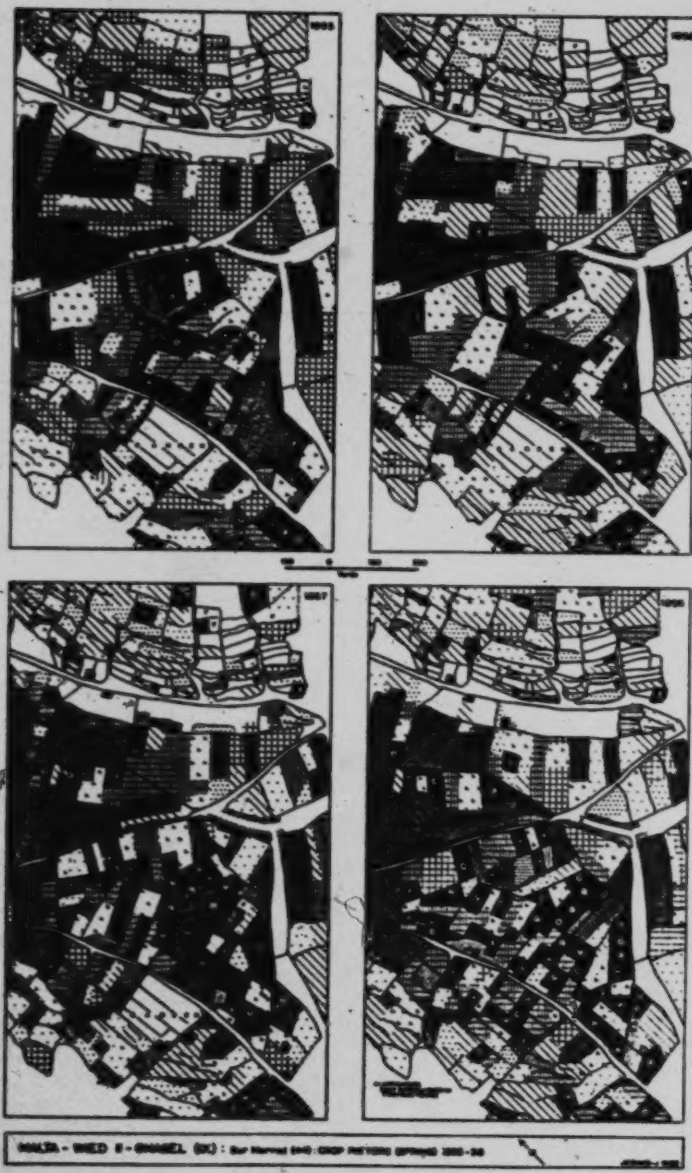
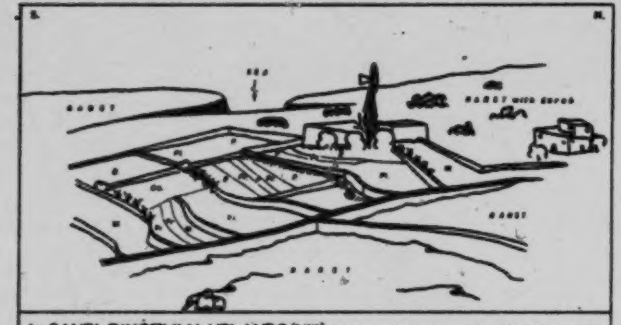
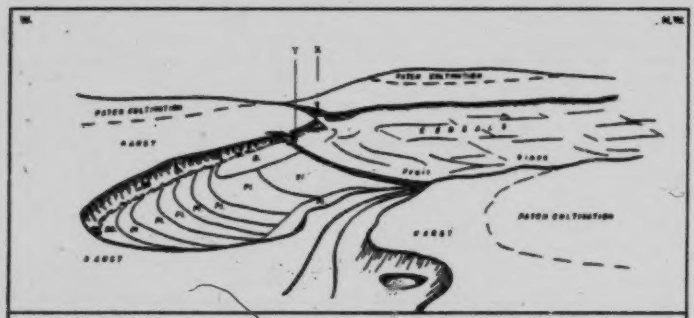


Fig. 106 Malta: Wied il-Ghasel.

*241
*311
107
133


S.
N.
SEA
KARST
KARST with carob
KARST
KARST

A: SANTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS(XIII) Cultivated pocket at 650ft. M.R. 412713


W.
N.W.
Y
X
Patch cultivation
Patch cultivation
KARST
Cereals
Vines
Fruit
Patch cultivation
KARST
KARST

B: [illegible]NTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS(XIII) Santi Gap(57) PT. of OBS. M.R. 423729, 720ft. VIEW W.

[245] →

[312] ←

C: Detail of part of area shown in B

D: Santi Gap : Distribution of tree-crops

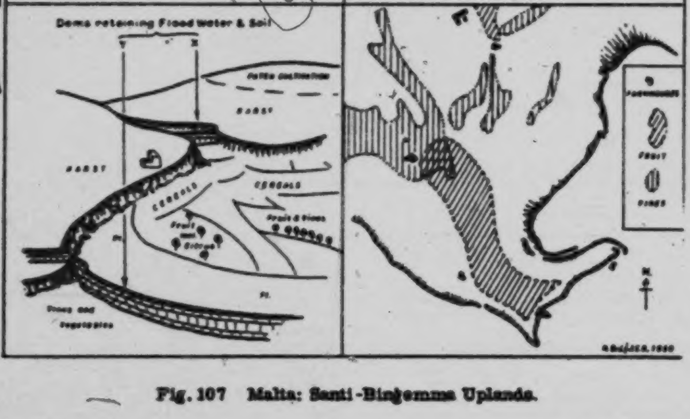

Dams retaining Flood Water & Soil
Y
X
Patch cultivation
KARST
KARST
Cereals
Cereals
Fruit and Citrus
Fruit & Vines
Vines and Vegetables
Farmhouse
Fruit
Vines
N.

Fig. 107 Malta: Santi-Binġemma Uplands.

Lower Coralline rocks. This correspondence may be noted at the tip of Qawra, 241* in a narrow strip at tal-Qraj (86), where the Coralline plunges under the alluvial 311* infill of Bur Marrad, and inland from Qala San Marku. On the more tractable Globigerina, as at Bugibba (32) and il-Qasam ta'San Gorg (88), big-field cultivation of cereals and sulla is the rule (see also p. 197). Degree of exposure to northerly winds is a second factor controlling the farming pattern. In the sheltered depression of il-Maghtab (91), this is reflected in the greater importance of potatoes and the larger amount of settlement. These two regions have until recently been remote from the main streams of life and the recent construction of a coastal road linking St. George's and Salina Bays has, as yet, had little effect on society and farming.

B.IX. WIED IL-GHASEL

In this large lowland, Lower Coralline and Globigerina rocks are covered by recent sediments of marine and alluvial origin which thin out west and south to expose the solid rock. Borings indicate a sediment depth of over 14 feet in the floor of the depression, at which level (approximately sea-level) a saline water-table occurs. Irrigation, in contrast to the practice in Wied tal-Pwales, is carried on only on the western side of the depression, where pumps tap water percolating from the Wardija Ridge catchment. Salinity prohibits irrigation at low levels. Consequently, below 25 feet, sub-divided, large fields carry a great acreage of vines flanked by belts of cereals and sulla on slightly higher levels. The storm-water course has itself been ploughed over, but in periods of heavy rainfall, e.g. October and November 1957, extensive flooding occurs and water has been known to lie for periods of several weeks. It is this low-lying area which bears the name Bur Marrad (44) literally meaning 'the sickly meadow' or 'the area where sickness occurs'.

Slightly above the 25-foot contour, where water-logging is less likely, a wider range of crops occurs. This is particularly marked at the junction of the two main watercourses - the Wied il-Ghasel and the Wied ta'Ghajn Rihana (Fig. 106) where vegetable cultivation becomes important. Artichokes, tomatoes, marrows and brassicas are irrigated by water led from the valley sides. On the marled slopes below the Victoria Lines, at Habel Ghendus il-Kbir (41), lie large fields of dry-farmed vines, cereals and sulla.

In the main lowland area, few trees or walls and no buildings break the flat landscape. Lines of farms lie along the tal-Qraj (86) edge, while small hamlets are growing up along the main road which follows the western break of slope. Deep-digger ploughs and caterpillar tractors make tillage activity in this zone [184] most uncharacteristic of Malta as a whole.

THE WESTERN SCARPLANDS (continued)

A.XI. BINĠEMMA BASIN

The Wied ta'Ghajn Rihana rises upstream over a low saddle which leads from the Wied il-Ghasel to the higher Binġemma Basin. The structural and topographic asymmetry of this basin is paralleled by crop zonation. Cereals and sulla are dominant on the lower, northern floor below Mgarr and is-Żebbieh. Vines become more prominent on an east-west belt of higher slopes and these field crops become generally poorer with a southward increase in altitude. They are, however, diversified by several *gnien* embayments which lie beneath the Victoria Lines scarp which defines the southern edge of the basin. These areas include Santi Gap (57) (Fig. 107) and the Wied ta'Binġemma (58). Irrigation is confined to the use of spring water in these pockets.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

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*311
[102]

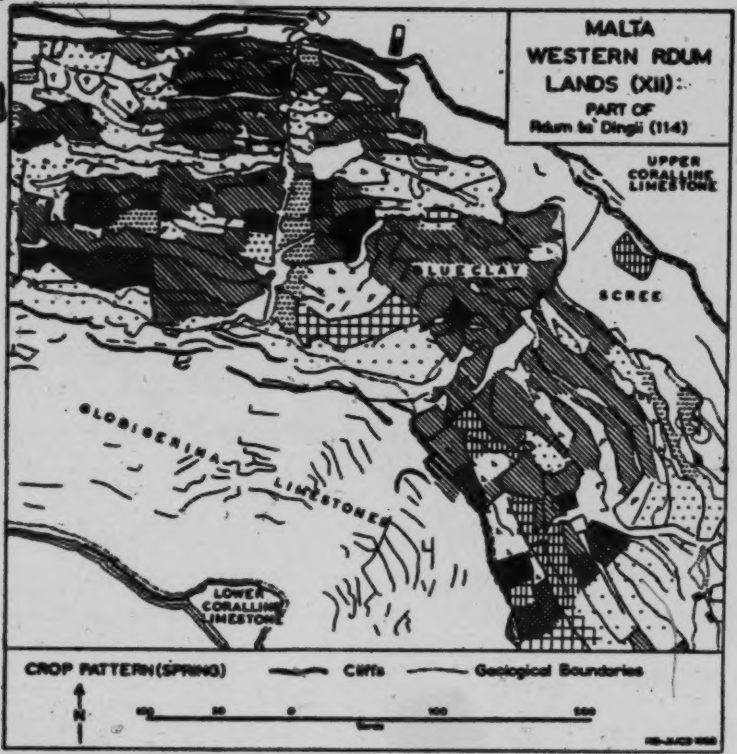
MALTA
WESTERN RDUM
LANDS (XII):
PART OF
Rdum ta' Dingli (114)
UPPER CORALLINE LIMESTONE
BLUE CLAY
SCREE
GLOBIGERINA LIMESTONE
LOWER CORALLINE LIMESTONE
CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
Cliffs
Geological Boundaries
N
100
50
0
100
200

Fig. 108 Malta: Western Rdum Lands. Pt. of Rdum ta' Dingli.

Structurally and agriculturally part of the Binġemma Basin is the area west of the hamlet of l-Iskirvit (50). While Binġemma Basin proper is a zone of deep soil accumulation, this upstanding area is one of residual soils and Terra Rossa formation. On this exposed bluff a surprisingly large area is devoted to viticulture. There is a close working association between the western part of the Binġemma Basin as a whole and the Ġnejna *rdum* lands. (See also pp. 250, 251 and pp. 307-315.)

Settlement within this region is, with the exception of l-Iskirvit, entirely peripheral. Mġarr, the only centre with any true urban functions, is continuing to spread along the basin edge and roads, iż-Żebbieħ showing similar characteristics on a smaller scale. Binġemma, by contrast a truly rural hamlet lying on an outwash fan beneath the southern scarp, has been overshadowed by the two northern settlements. L-Iskirvit, which marks the western edge of the main basin, has similarly stagnated.

A.XII. THE WESTERN *RDUM* LANDS

From the western edge of the Binġemma Basin southwards along the coast to tal-Bajjada (152), between the sea and the Upper Coralline edge, lies a zone which, in Maltese, bears the name of *Rdum* (=precipice). In parts of this zone,

[Text continues on P. 250]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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Malta

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311*
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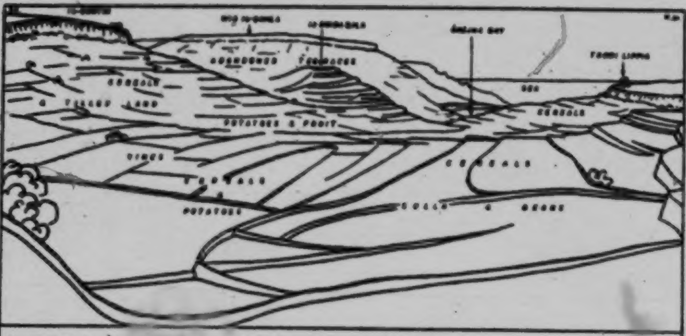
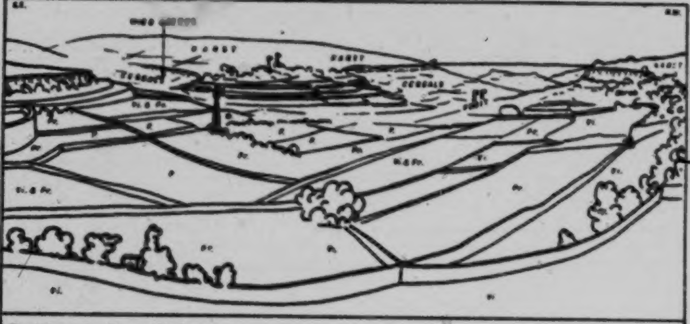
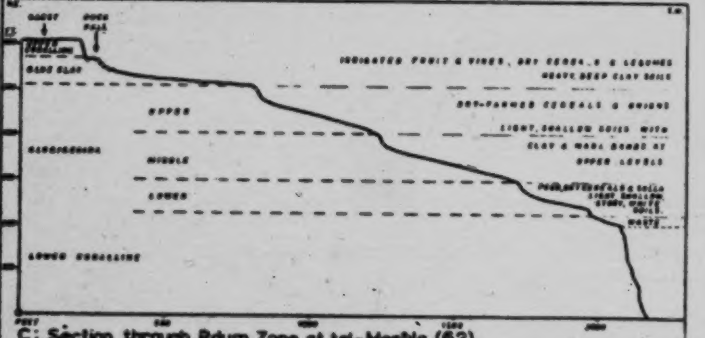
133


ABANDONED TERRACES
CEREALS
& TILLED LAND
POTATOES & FRUIT
VINES
TOMATOES
POTATOES
CEREALS
SULLA & BEANS
SEA
CEREALS

A: Wied il-Ġnejna (51) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 423749, HT. 225ft., VIEW W.



B: Wied ir-Rum (64) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 434696, HT. 600ft., VIEW N.W.


ROCK FALL
BLUE CLAY
IRRIGATED FRUIT & VINES, DRY CEREALS & LEGUMES
HEAVY DEEP CLAY SOILS
DRY-FARMED CEREALS & ONIONS
UPPER
LIGHT, SHALLOW SOILS WITH
CLAY & MARL BANDS AT
UPPER LEVELS
GLOBIGERINA
MIDDLE
LOWER
LOWER CORALLINE
FEET
1000
1500
2000

C: Section through Rdum Zone at tal-Merħla (62)

Fig. 109 Malta: Western Rdum Lands.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

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*311
[102]
[133]

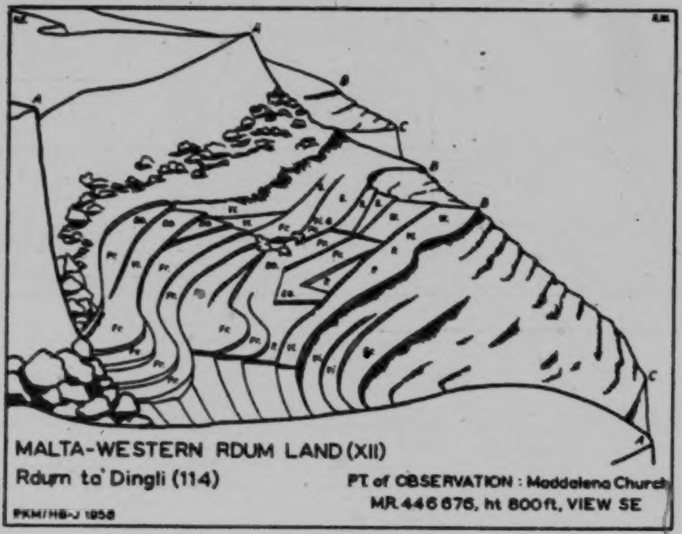
A
B
C
B
B
C
A
A
MALTA-WESTERN RDUM LAND (XII)
Rdum ta' Dingli (114)
PT of OBSERVATION : Maddalena Church
MR 446 676, ht 800 ft, VIEW SE
PKM/HB-J 1958

Fig. 110 Malta: Western Rdum Lands.

as, for instance, in the Rdum ta'Dingli (114) (Fig. 108), the cultivation of steep, narrow terraces between formidable cliffs represents a desperate clinging to limited resources. In others, great embayments such as Ġnejna (51) (Fig. 109A), l-Imtaħleb (63) and Wied ir-Rum (64) (Fig. 109B) offer greater and more easily realised opportunities for specialised farming. In all cases in the *rdum* zone is found a cross-section of the complete geological sequence found in the Islands and this exerts a close control over topography, hydrology, soil-formation and land use. Ideally, and as may be seen at tal-Merħla (62) (Fig. 109C), belts of cultivation lie between the Upper Coralline scarp-cliff and the sheer sea-cliff of the massive Lower Coralline. Zonal differentiation is otherwise controlled by the incidence of springs from the Upper Coralline cap, by differences in gradient and by minor variations between the different beds within the Greensand, Clay and Globigerina series. Although the aspect of the *rdum* lands suggests exposure to strong westerly and south-westerly winds, in fact they often lie in a pocket of calm air below the main airflow which is deflected up and over the *rdum* belt by the high sea cliffs. As evidenced by terrace walls, cultivation has been more extensive in the past. Abandonment is still proceeding and is most rapid in areas which are either most difficult of physical access, e.g. Rdum tal-Vicarju (61), or most remote from settlement, e.g. tar-Raheb (60) ('the place of the hermit').

The most simple type of *rdum* cultivation is exemplified in the narrow sea-facing zone including the Rdum Dun Nazio (80) and the Rdum ta'Dingli (114). Figs. 109C and 110 show the close inter-relationship between geology, slope and cultivation. Three major breaks of slope result from differential erosion. From the Upper Coralline cliff edge (marked A in Fig. 110) a steep cliff falls to a concave slope of gentler gradient on the Blue Clay and Upper Globigerina. Here, on the spring-watered terrace-retained mixed soils, typical *ġnien* crops are found. Below the break of slope B and on the steeper convex slopes of the Middle and Lower Globigerina beds lie a series of abandoned narrower and more inaccessible terraces. Points marked C indicate the line of the upper surface of the Lower Coralline outcrop which forms a last vertical seacliff.

241* 311*

More complex is the longer and wider platform of the Rdum tal-Lunzjata. A narrow *ġnien* zone stretches along the well watered Blue Clay spring zone. On the wide and gently sloping Globigerina platform medium grade dry farming is practised wherever the soil cover has been terrace retained. The lower edge of this belt is now eroded by the abandonment which has already laid waste the narrow belt of precipitous terraces which fringe the Lower Coralline sea-cliff. This region is essentially transitional between the true *rdum* lands and the wied-head zone (XVc) of the Central Region. Large enough to support two small hamlets and several large farmsteads and served by a good road which makes the shrines of Lunzjata and Karmnu accessible from the Central Region, this district appears to be more stable, ecologically and economically, than most of the western coastlands.

Lastly can be distinguished several great embayments which extend the coastal *rdum* characteristics into the interior. At l'Imtaħleb (63) and Wied ir-Rum (64) considerable expanses of land lie between the 200 feet contour and the Lower Coralline sea-cliffs. Along the upper scarp springline from which run many rivulets and streams, so rare in Malta, vine and fruit cultivation characterises an extensive *ġnien* belt. In the Wied ir-Rum, wind pump irrigation extends intensive cultivation on to the large fields on the gentle central slopes (Fig. 109B). Where water is less plentiful, as at tal-Merħla and on the small Globigerina hills in the middle of the embayment, good dry-farming on marl soils is distinguished by a singular predominance of onions. On a much smaller scale but essentially similar are the two small valleys which open on the bay of Fomm ir-Riħ; Wied Gerżuma (58) and Wied tal-Baħrija. Further north is the intermediate sized Ġnejna. The name, a plural form of *ġnien* (garden or orchard), indicates the main characteristics of land use.

The human forces operating on this region as a whole are exemplified by the striking contrasts of detail and trend between Ġnejna and l'Imtaħleb. Although the former is not over-difficult of access and is very near the flourishing centre of Mġarr, land is steadily being abandoned in favour of more easily worked but poorer unused land in the Binġemma Basin; settlement is completely absent. L'Imtaħleb is sufficiently extensive and accessible to support a considerable number of farmsteads. At the same time, Rabat, one of the main Island markets seems sufficiently close to encourage commercial specialisation while there is no immediately neighbouring attraction to draw effort away from the *Rdum*.

A.XIII. SANTI-BINĠEMMA UPLANDS

These Upper Coralline hill-lands are very similar in general character to the Wardija Uplands (VII). Waste, which fringes the Victoria Lines escarpment, is also widespread over the higher parts of the plateau interior. There is some patch cultivation of poor fodder crops, particularly barley and vetches. As shown in Fig. 107, slight depressions are occupied by small, scattered, but often irrigated holdings. On all sides, cultivation penetrates up the fringing valleys to lap over on to the neighbouring heights as in the Baħrija - l'Imtaħleb (65) and Santi-Binġemma (67) districts. A higher standard of cultivation and a wider crop range, including broad beans, peas, onions and some potatoes distinguishes these areas from those of true upland farming. An exposed, narrow ridge extends eastward to separate the Binġemma Basin and the Wied Qlejgħa. Even here, at id-Dwejra (96), a pocket of cultivation occurs in the lee of the scarp edge.

In general, the quality of farming in this region is affected by remoteness and exposure. Thus the largest blocks of wasteland include the inaccessible and bleak *xagħra* lands overlooking the sea in the west and, to the north, the Terri Ħadur uplands (68). Compared with the associated plateau of Rabat-Dingli, this region is ill served by communications, far from main centres of life and sparsely populated: it is the wildest and most isolated district of Malta.

A.XIV. RABAT-DINGLI UPLANDS

This region is linked to Santi-Binġemma by a narrow Upper Coralline ridge. The latter, sapped from west and east by the Wied ir-Rum and Wied l-Ieme (77).

[Text Continues on P. 253]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*241
*311
102
423
[312]

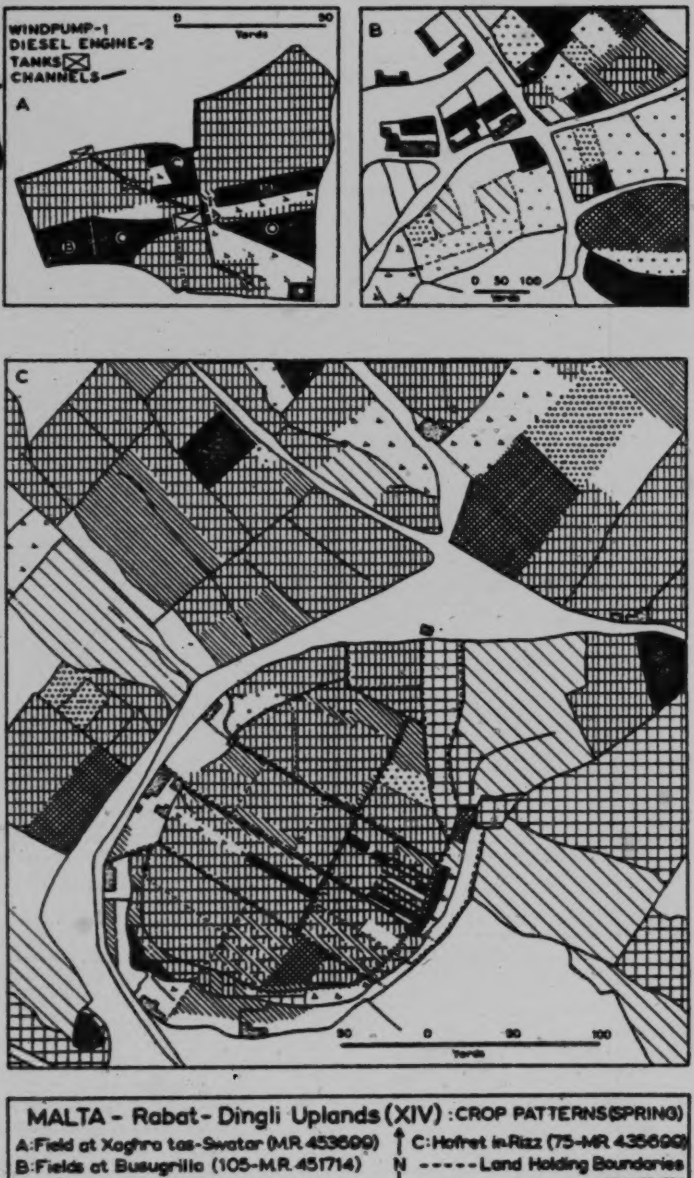
WINDPUMP-1
DIESEL ENGINE-2
TANKS ☒
CHANNELS
A
0
30
Yards
B
0 50 100
Yards
C
30
0
30
100
Yards
MALTA - Rabat-Dingli Uplands (XIV) : CROP PATTERNS (SPRING)
A: Field at Xaghra tas-Swatar (M.R. 453699)
B: Fields at Busugrilla (105-M.R. 451714)
N
C: Hofret in-Rizz (75-M.R. 435690)
----- Land Holding Boundaries
NB-J/CD 1959

Fig. 111 Malta: Rabat-Dingli Uplands.

241*
311*
[102]
[133]

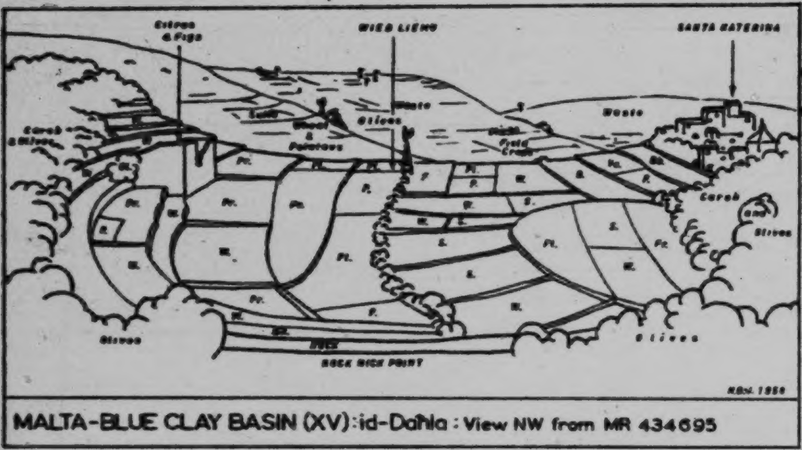

Fig. 112 Malta: Blue Clay Basin: Wied l-Iemu.

has, developed within it, the large solution hollow of Hofret ir-Rizz (75) (Fig. 111C). Bounded by a low Coralline cliff under which lie five farmhouses, and infilled with deep, red soils, this almost circular depression has often been erroneously identified as a circular fault. It is intensively cultivated for potato, vegetable and fruit crops and sub-division of the wind-pump irrigated land is extreme.

Around Hofret ir-Rizz lie dry-farmed fields of cereals and sulla interspersed with wasteland. The name of neighbouring Misrah tas-Suffara ('the open place of the whistle' - a possible reference to shepherds' pipes) gives an indication of the character of the open, non-irrigated upland here and over the remainder of the region, where dry-farming and *xaghra*-grazing areas are interspersed. Most of the eastern promontories of Xaghra ta l-Isqof (129) and Ġebel Ċiantar are so used. Similarly, behind the Upper Coralline cliff overlooking the sea, extends an area of virgin karst, abandoned land and some small reclaimed plots. [103]

Between these more exposed lands are many small pockets, intensively cultivated under potatoes, legumes and a relatively large number of vegetables. The small, walled fields cluster around groups of wind-pumps and tanks as at ix-Xaghra ta'Swatar (Fig. 111A) on the Rabat Plateau (109). Irrigation water, extracted by wind- and motor-pumps, is available almost everywhere on these uplands. The density of pumps suggests that extraction is dangerously large (see also Chapter I C). Already in 1955 farmers in the tal-Pitkal district (82) were obliged to stagger periods of pumping and a large number of abandoned wind-pumps emphasize the hydrological instability. In 1956 the Maltese Government, in order to avoid such dangers, imposed a general ban on unlicensed well-drilling.

In this region, the urge to cultivate intensively results from the demands of Rabat as a consuming and marketing centre. At Busugrilla (105) (Fig. 111B) this is manifested in very specialised market-gardening around a flourishing hamlet which stands on the Fiddien road. Well linked by roads to the rest of the island, possessing in Mdina-Rabat the old capital which is still of considerable importance, and also carrying much dispersed and hamlet-settlement, these uplands stand out from other Upper Coralline regions by reason of their more intensive land use.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

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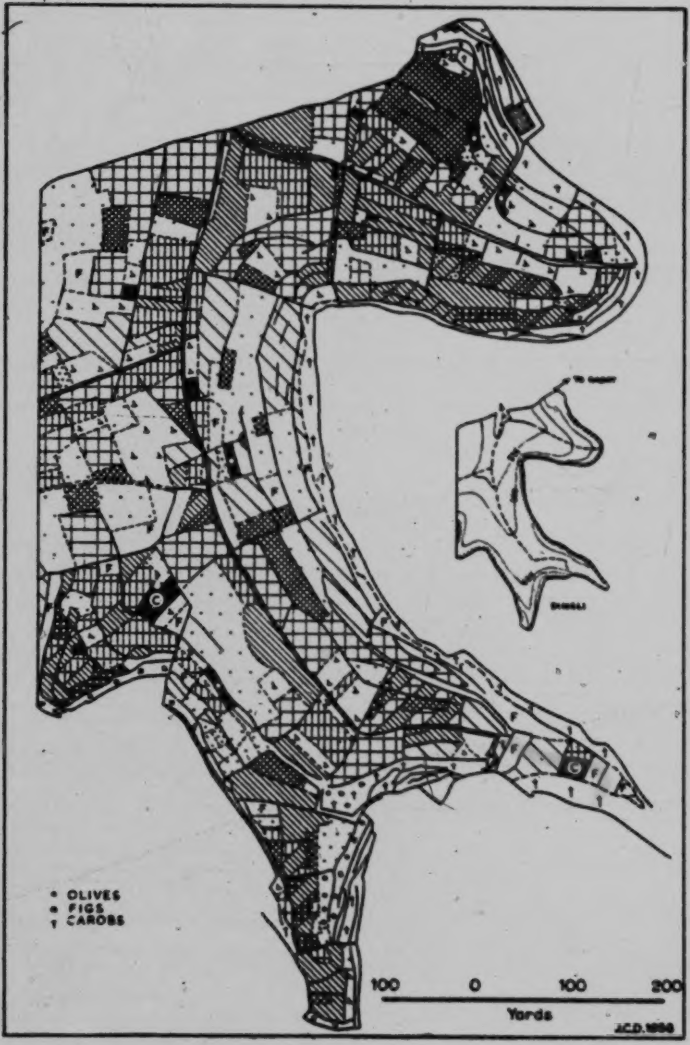
102
423



• OLIVES
• FIGS
† CAROBS
100
0
100
200
Yards
J.C.D.1958

MALTA - BLUE CLAY BASIN (XV) Wied I- Jemu (77)

CROP PATTERNS (SPRING) —— Walls ---- Plot Boundaries

Fig. 113 Malta: Blue Clay Basin: id-Dahla.

A.XV (a and b). THE BLUE CLAY BASIN

Between the Santi-Bingemma and Rabat-Dingli Coralline uplands lies a basin-inlier of the Blue Clay, drained by the upper Wied Qlejgha. In this region has developed a distinctive physical and agricultural landscape otherwise to be found only on steeper and more restricted fringe-slopes of the Western Scarplands. This is by no means a homogeneous region. On the northern and eastern edges the basin is sharply defined by Upper Coralline cliffs, while to the west it rises more gently on to a low coralline platform, transitional towards the upland proper. A discontinuous spring-line marks the geological boundary of sub-region XV (a) and *gnien* farming is particularly well developed at the heads of the tributary wieds such as Ghemieri (69), l-Iemu (77) and id-Dahla (Fig. 112). At a lower level, wind-pump irrigation supports some fruit and vegetable cultivation among large, rich fields of wheat, sulla and vines. Here is the district of Fiddien, proverbially noted for its productivity: '*Mill-Fiddien il-qamh johrog bil-kejjiet u l-qoton johrog bil-wizzien*' - 'From Fiddien wheat is collected in huge quantities and cotton in great weight'. This proverb dates from a period when cotton was one of the most valuable crops and was widely cultivated in this district. 241* 311*

As may be seen in the case of Wied l-Iemu (Fig. 113), intensive land-use is confined to a relatively small total area, average intensity being reduced by the large acreage of lower value 'dry' crops. The use of irrigation water has merely extended the normal crop range by the addition of fruit and vegetables. Wied l-Iemu, in contrast with Wied tal-Pwales, has not been transformed by any commercial specialisation. The impression left with an observer is one of peasant insistence on diversity, which is surprising considering the possibilities of the area. This occurs despite the proximity of the Rabat market, the adequate communications, and the town-dwelling character of the cultivators. There is very little dispersed settlement within the region.

On the Upper Coralline platform of the western sub-region XV(b), smaller fields of peas, beans and vines are interspersed with irrigated plots of potatoes. The main difference between this area and the Blue Clay inlier appears in the smaller acreage devoted to wheat and sulla. Irrigation is invariably with wind-pumps and wells even in the upper Wied il-Busbies (72). A further contrast is provided by the presence of farmsteads, both dispersed and clustered. [36]

A.XV (c). THE PLATEAU-PLAIN TRANSITION ZONE

Along the eastern flanks of the Rabat-Dingli upland, extending from Mtarfa to tal-Bajjada (152) runs a continuous outcrop of Greensand and Blue Clay. From the Upper Coralline scarp, sweeping slopes fall to the Central plains developed on the Globigerina beds. Sharply incised wieds, separated by plateau promontories, carry this zone westward into the uplands. A spring-line zone occurs at the junction of Upper Coralline and Blue Clay and is particularly well-developed in the wied re-entrants.

In this zone, fruit cultivation of a specialised *gnien* type is more intensive than in any other region of Malta. At Girgenti (143) and Wied ix-Xaghri (142) below the Inquisitor's Palace, and at Buskett (140) near the old summer palace of the Grand Masters, Verdala, specialised fruit (especially citrus) and vine cultivation are carried on in dense orchards. In the former case and in the lower stretches of Buskett, much land is cultivated by Siggiewi farmers. (see also p. 200 and Fig. 126.) The grounds of Verdala palace, which also include a landscaped garden of exotic trees (shown on the map of non-agricultural land, Fig. 97), are farmed directly by the Maltese Government particularly for vine products. Northward along the plateau edge the typical springwatered *gnien* crops become progressively less important through Wied ta'l'Iaqof (128) (Fig. 117 A) to Mtarfa. It seems probable that this results from decreasing springwater availability from the narrowing Coralline plateau.

Below the narrow *gnien* zones under the promontories and merging with the wied mouths lies a belt of superior dry-farming. In this downwash zone obscure soil changes and a downward decreasing plenitude of ground water mark a transition region between western and eastern Malta. This, although possessing

[Text continues on p. 257]

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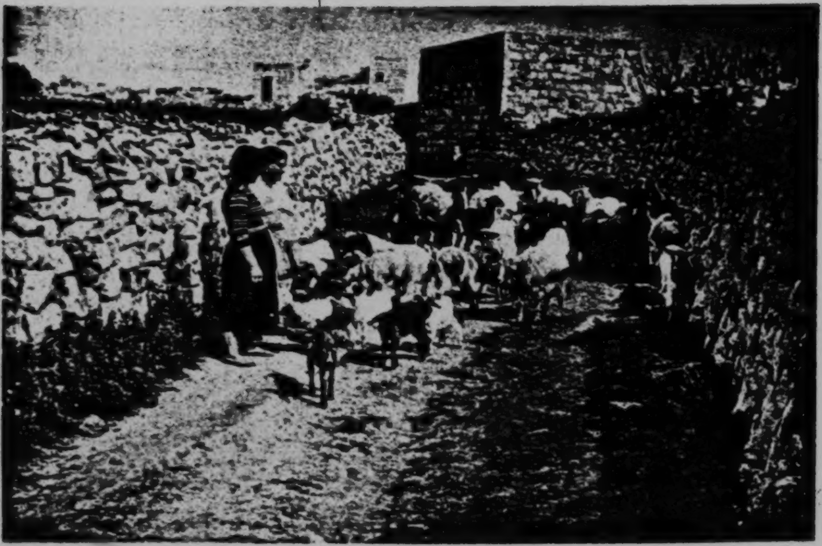


Plate XVII. Roadside grazing of goats.

291
415

Plate XVIII. A farming family.

a but arbitrarily defined eastern limit is clearly distinguishable in the field by 241*
the large ramped rather than terraced fields of mixed good dry farming. 311*

C. THE HILLS AND PLAINS OF THE CENTRE AND EAST

This area possesses a certain unity based on physical and human characteristics. 311* As noted in Chapter I B, the landscape, although presenting a deceptively monotonous appearance to the eye, is in places emphatically dissected and the altitudinal range is fairly great (Fig. 1). The importance of minor relief features in this region is magnified by its relative uniformity; this in contrast to the scarplands of the west.

There is also a less simple relationship between altitude, aspect and climate. [132] Exposure to sea winds adversely affects many coastal districts. Away from the coast, land temperature conditions assume a greater importance in the development of local climates. Thus, even under insular conditions, regional contrasts between the interior and the periphery are marked (see Chapter II).

In this eastern half of the island is found the core of Maltese *life*, both urban 311* and rural, and links between town, village and country are everywhere close. 361 There is no really widespread development of dispersed settlement. As noted in Chapter VI, Valletta (il-Belt) is the focus of a series of concentric zones of human activity. Around it lie, first, the residential and industrial towns of Sliema, Hamrun, Pawla and the Three Cities. Beyond these are large settlements in which urban and rural activities are intermingled but in which the former predominate. These include Birkirkara, Qormi, Tarxien and Żabbar. Clearly distinct, a third type of settlement, here termed *casal* or township, lies in an outer ring. This comprises Għargħur and Naxxar, Mosta, Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Qrendi and Żurrieq, Għaxaq and Żejtun. Each of these forms an independent centre for rural life and each has developed some limited urban function.

Inside this zone lie smaller settlements of varying character. Lija and Attard are increasingly attached to the growing 'suburban' development spreading westwards from the Valletta conurbation. Kirkop, Safi and Gudja are country villages, while Mqabba and Luqa have some non-rural additions. Along the eastern coast, with its fine natural harbours, are to be found the old fishing villages of Marsaskala and Marsaxlokk. At Birżebbuġa and Kalafrana, this traditional *function* has been submerged by more modern developments.

Communications are generally good and public transport services frequent, 311* thus there are few areas of real remoteness. Throughout this part of the island, 369 the attraction exerted by the Valletta conurbation affects all sectors of social and economic life. The larger casals have their own independent gravitational pulls. At either end of the rural-urban continuum, decline in rural life is taking place. The smallest villages such as Safi are losing population to their larger neighbours while on the fringe of the conurbation, part-time farming spreads over an ever-increasing area.

Thus the character of cultivation in this part of Malta is the product of many 241* interacting human and physical factors. These interactions combine in various ways to differentiate the *five* major and many minor regions considered below. 311*

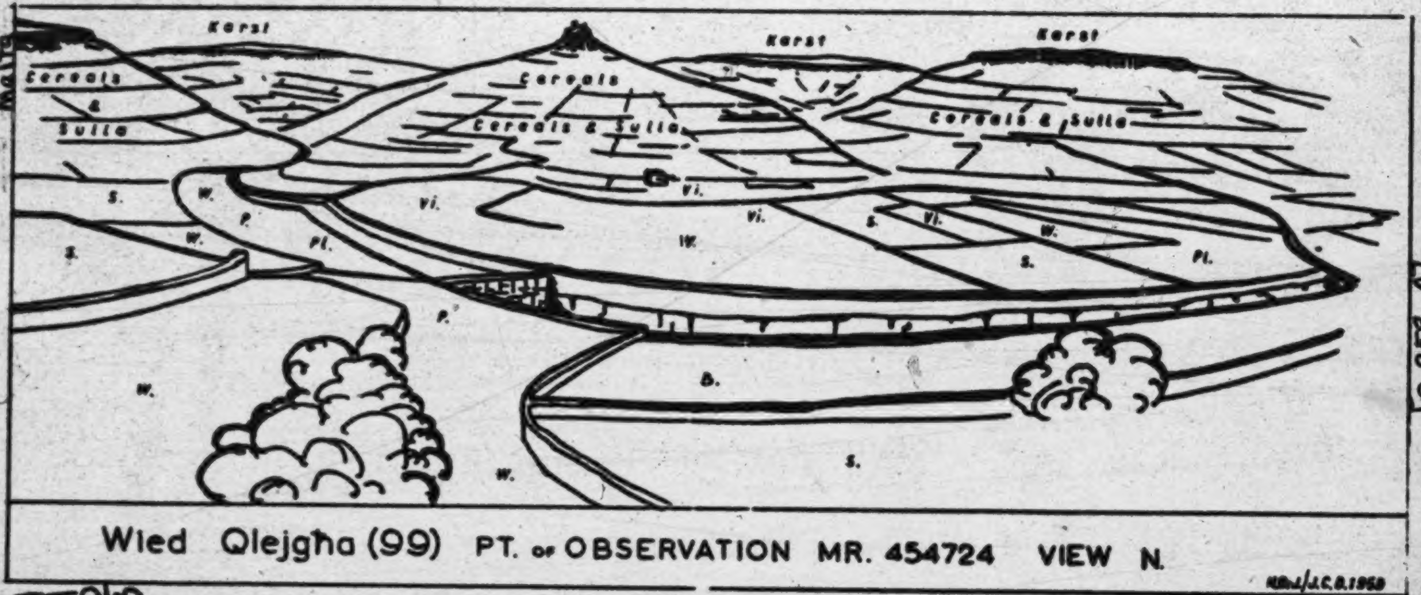
C.XVI. WIED QLEJGHA

From the Upper Coralline col at Għajn Qajjet, Wied Qlejgħa passes over a narrow outcrop of Blue Clay to become more open on the Globigerina beds, before entering the gorge of the Wied ta'l-Isperanza (101), cut in the Lower Coralline.

This is a transitional region between the West and Centre and suitably enough displays all the characteristic types of farming and crop assemblage. At Għajn Qajjet, below Upper Coralline plateau *xagħra*, lies an intensively cultivated *ġnien* zone, mirrored on a smaller scale on the Blue Clay slopes below Mtarfa. On the terraced wied floor flanking the Chadwick lakes, good dry farming including viticulture is practised. The intermediate slopes of the basin are dry-farmed to

[Text continues on P. 258-B]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961 EZ6 Malta EZ6 Malta


Karst
Karst
Karst
Cereals & Sulla
Cereals
Cereals & Sulla
Cereals & Sulla
S.
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Wied Qlejgħa (99) PT. OF OBSERVATION MR. 454724 VIEW N.
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P. 258-A

#24
*31
102
135

Fig. 114 Malta: Wied Qlejgħa.

*241 *311 large ramped fields (Fig. 114). This last zone merges with the open lands on either side of the Wied ta'l-Isperanza at the line of transition with the Central Plains. To the west towards Falka (93) and Besbesija, cereal and sulla fields rise to the Lower Coralline cliff-edge waste of the Victoria Lines.

*311 361 At the junction of the Wied Qlejgħa Region (XVI) with the Naxxar-Ghargħur Hills (XVII) stands the gap-town of Mosta. This settlement has grown rapidly over the last 60 or 70 years so that it is now, both in size and population, the largest of the casals. This development is undoubtedly connected with Mosta's position. Controlling as it does the lowest gap in the Victoria Lines and sited where central and northern parts of the island meet, the casal has benefited from the expansion of commercial farming in the latter region. Improvements in communications and particularly the great increase in the use of motor transport over the last 30 years have also had their effect. The bridging of the Wied ta'l-Isperanza on the northern outskirts of Mosta has opened up a relatively easy route to Wied il-Għasel and the north, a fact reflected in the way in which the more recent growth of the settlement has been mainly along its southeast-northwest axis in contrast with its previous alignment from northeast to southwest.

*241 *31 [133]

C.XVII. THE NAXXAR-GHARGHUR-HILLS

These, the highest of the Globigerina hill-lands, rise to over 400 feet and are dissected by a series of radially arranged, deep wieds. Aspects and slope are the main controls on agriculture in this region, though man-made features, particularly quarries, considerably affect the details of utilisation. The distribution of wasteland is largely determined by outcrop and gradient although the inter-relationship is by no means a simple one. Steep gradients themselves do not inhibit cultivation as is shown by the contrast between Wied l-Iklin (164) and the gentler slopes below tal-Balal (174). Similarly, exposure to northerly winds is far from constant in its adverse effects on farming, witness the cultivated heights immediately north of Ghargħur, contrasting with the much-abandoned, though more sheltered Wied Għomor (173). The most continuous belt of waste extends along the Victoria Lines, including the narrow northern scree slope and the wider ridge-top developed on Lower Coralline rocks. Viewed from the sea, the bare, grey cliffs at Madelena and Ġebel San Pietru (154) appear impressively stark. The southward discontinuous extension of wasteland between Mosta and Naxxar is closely coincident with the Lower Coralline outcrop. However, on these gentle, sheltered slopes, the close proximity of the two major casals has encouraged the maintenance of land in cultivation, potatoes being widespread. This is one of the very few districts in which a relatively high

[p. 258-B]

[TEXT continues on p. 261]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
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[134]

[247]
[316]

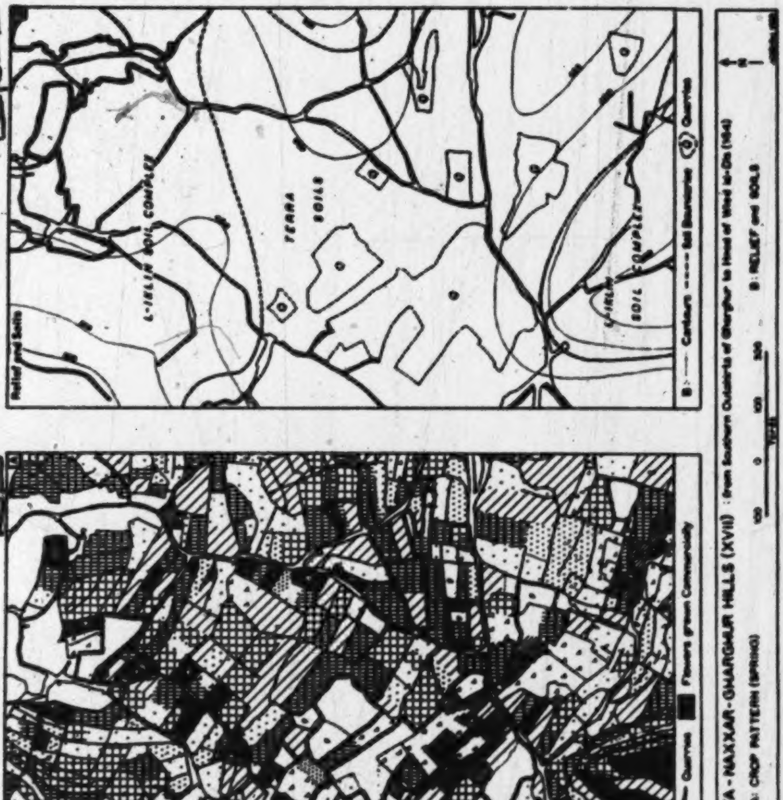
Relief and Soils
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
B: Contours ---- Soil Boundaries (Q) Quarries
A: Quarries Flowers grown Commercially
MALTA - NAXXAR - GHARGHUR HILLS (XVII) : from Southern Outskirts of Gharghur to Head of Wied is-Dis (164)
A: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards
B: RELIEF and SOILS
N

Fig. 115 Malta: Naxxar-Gharghur Hills.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*241

*311

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[423]
←

[134]

[133]
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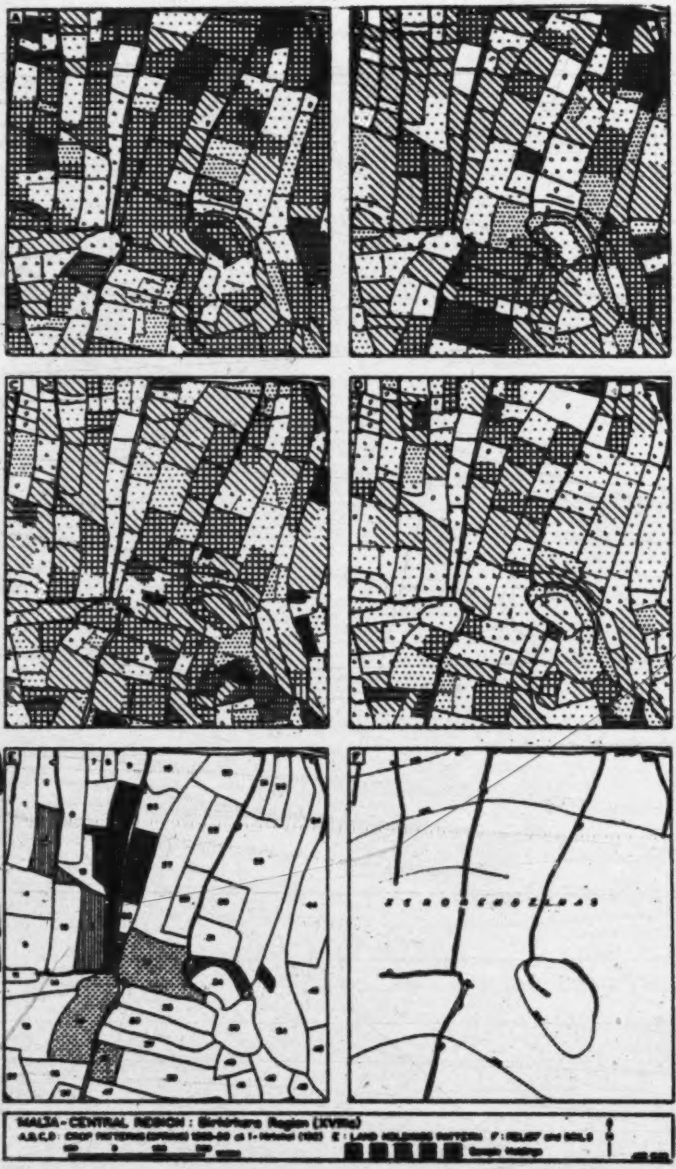
A
B
C
D
E
F
MALTA - CENTRAL REGION : Birkirkara Region
A,B,C,D : CROP PATTERNS
E : LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
F : RELIEF and SOILS

Fig. 116 Malta: Central Region: Birkirkara Region.

intensity of cultivation exists on soils derived from Lower Coralline rocks.

On the rich, red loams of the summits, minor variations in topography and 241* aspect influence the detailed distributions of a wide range of crops. Only vines 311* and fruit trees are generally absent. Potatoes, grown to some extent in all parts of the region, are least plentiful on the tops of the north-facing spurs where vetches, the hardiest legumes, are particularly important. On the saddle between Naxxar and Gharghur, there are large, level fields of wheat and sulla. At similar levels eastward towards the Wied Ghomor, the standard of cultivation declines and the incidence of waste and poor fallow increases. To some extent this reflects the widespread use of land for quarrying, which is particularly important in this area. Many farmers do not till land which is to be thus utilised in the near future while worked-out quarries are often reclaimed. These latter form well-watered and sheltered pits which may be used for fruit and vegetables in districts otherwise environmentally ill-suited to such crops (Plate XV).[z] Fig. 115 illustrates an area with quarries in different stages of use.

Defining the bluff on which Gharghur is situated are three north-facing wieds of differing physical and land-use character. Here, extremely narrow fields contrast with the large enclosures of the summits. Very steep slopes of gradients up to 1 in 2 have been terraced with walls often 10 or 12 feet high. Wied Angla (158), although less steep than the other two, is largely wasteland, being floored by intractable Lower Coralline. The Wieds ta'Santa Marija ta'Zullieqa (155) and id-Dis (157) have much in common. Intensity of cultivation generally varies with distance from Gharghur. The crops represented are potatoes, cereals, sulla and vetches, and it is noteworthy that the first of these is most plentiful near the settlement.

One valley, the Wied l-Iklin (164) runs south from the main ridge. Southerly aspect and the availability of some spring-water make this a more productive valley than those of the north. Vines fill the wied-head pocket and potatoes, with a little fruit, are grown on the wied floor. The narrow valley-side terraces are given over almost entirely to barley.

The eastern slopes of the region are pierced by a series of wieds. The most striking feature of this district is the large amount of abandoned land occurring on hill-top, valley-side and wied-floor alike (Fig. 95). This district, lying as it does on the edge of the expanding conurbation, illustrates the effects of urban growth. In the first place, much land is sterilised by building operations and by the land transfers which precede them. Secondly, the urban growth which is eating into the farmland is itself a product of internal migration from country to town. Thirdly, this physically marginal land is especially vulnerable to such attack. The southern hill slopes, viewed from the south, present a superficially similar picture of abandonment. Such loss of agricultural land is most rapid above the Wied Ghollieqa (180) behind Gżira. Further west, away from the conurbation, most land is still tilled.

The eastern and southern flanks of the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills are intermediate in gradient between the summits and the wieds. Fields are generally small and are devoted to a wide range of crops. While potatoes, cereals and sulla are the leading elements, minor crops are in total as important as any one of these, a balance which is infrequent in Malta. There appears to be no factor favouring any single major or minor crop. Vetches, broad beans, peas and onions each occupy approximately the same amount of land. Occasional high-walled enclosures shelter orchards and gardens (Plate XVI).

While in the western part of this region settlement is generally concentrated [361] in the two main casals and the small village of San Pawl tat-Targa (166), to the east and south isolated farmsteads become dominant. Occasional small hamlets, e.g. l-Imsierah (178) have grown up at minor route junctions. Settlement and communications both tend to avoid the steep-sided valleys of the north and east.

C.XVIII. THE CENTRAL REGION

The east-west topographic grain to which attention is drawn in Chapter I B p. 35 . is reflected in a similar arrangement of agricultural sub-regions as well as by the pattern of communications and settlement. There is, nevertheless,

[z] [See p. 190 -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 263]

1:Bowen-Jones et al K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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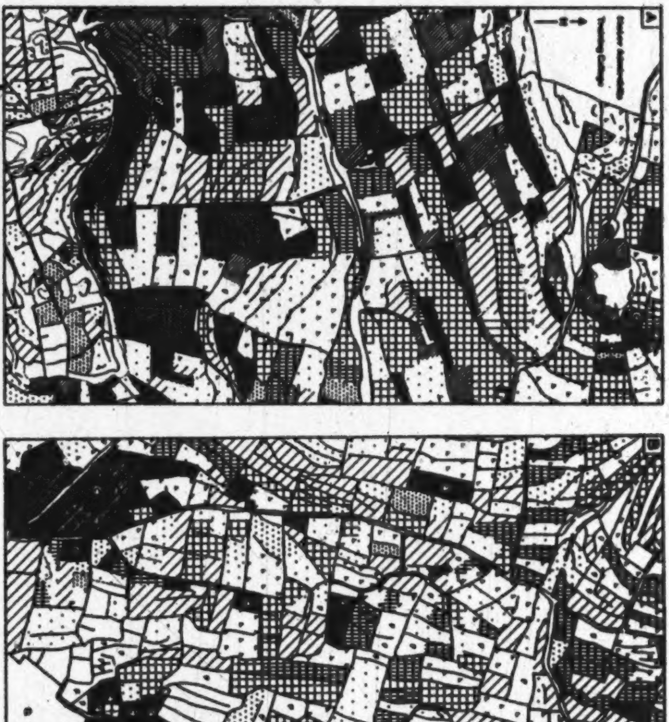
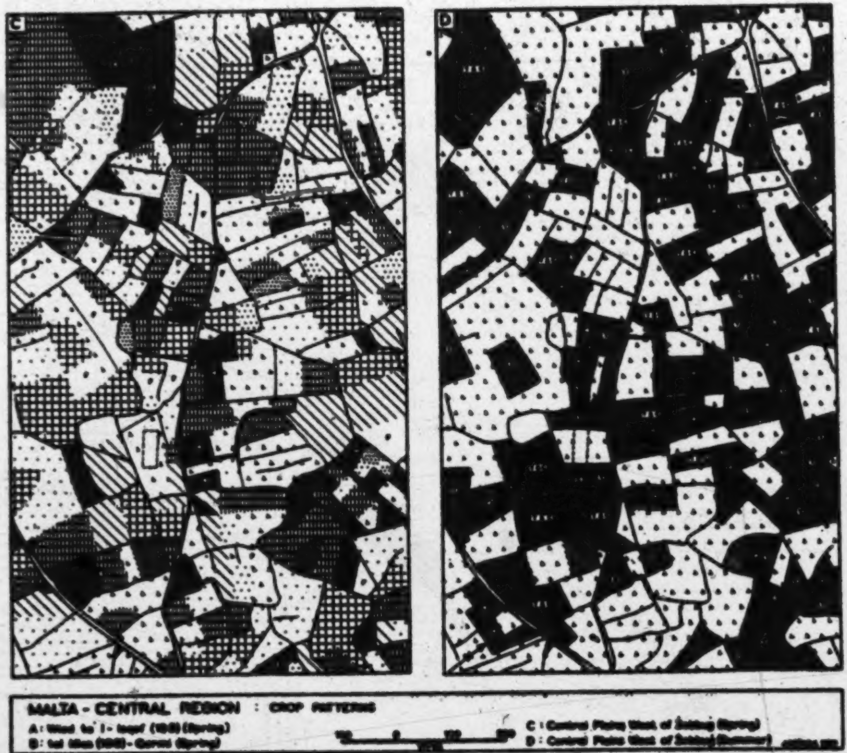


[p. 262-A]

[See P. 262-B for legend--Analyst]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta


C
D
MALTA - CENTRAL REGION : CROP PATTERNS
C : Central Plains West of
D : Central Plains West of

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K311
102

Fig. 117 Malta: Central Region.

[p.262-B]

within each sub-region, a gradation from west to east reflecting the successional outcropping of the various Globigerina beds. These outcrops give rise to minor breaks of slope so that the Central Region as a whole consists of a series of broad, stepped platforms. These become less distinct to the east where relief is diversified by deep wied incision. 241* 311*

XVIII (a). THE BIRKIRKARA REGION

[361] A long tongue of urban settlement stretches westward from the main conurbation linking it to the previously independent villages of Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija and Attard. The built-up area occupies the shallow depression of the Birkirkara-Balzan valley and extends up the slopes on either side. Where this valley deepens eastward into the Wied Msida (130), settlement diverges on to the Santa Vennera Ridge. A few isolated farmsteads are dispersed throughout the region, but most of the land is worked by inhabitants of the several urban settlements.

The northern slopes rise to the edge of Naxxar-Gharghur Hills, and the crops of this district have the same diversified balance of potatoes, cereals, fodders and minor legumes as was observed on the flanks of that region. Small, irregularly-shaped fields and scattered farmstead settlement further strengthen the similarity. On the edge of the built-up area, more intensive land use is associated with urban farming, particularly at Santa Vennera. At San Anton there is an enclave of irrigated gardens and orchards which is only in part directly associated with the Palace.

Msida Valley has a character of its own. In high-walled gardens on the floor of the upper wied some fruit cultivation is practised but the steep sides of this narrow defile have largely been abandoned. The silt-charged waters which frequently flow down the valley during periods of heavy rain bear witness to the soil erosion consequent upon such abandonment.

South of the built-up area lies the low upswelling of l-Imriehel (192) (Fig. 116). A narrow belt of buildings is slowly encroaching from the north on to land otherwise devoted almost entirely to cereals and sulla. The large, dry-farmed fields are on the whole poorly cultivated.

XVIII (b). THE TA'QALI REGION

This high and level Globigerina platform is largely occupied by an airfield which has destroyed the former unity of the region. Cereals and sulla occupy a particularly large proportion of the surviving farm land. Beneath the Mdina slopes, viticulture is of importance in the Wied il-Hemsija (115). On the other side of the airfield, towards Mosta and Attard, potatoes are the main secondary crop. Cultivation throughout is generally of a high standard. [508]

XVIII (c). THE ŻEBBUĠ REGION

Running east from the Rabat-Dingli uplands, this region is defined on the north by the Wied is-Sewda (194) and on the south by the Wied Qirda (202). In the west, where the wieds are shallow depressions rather than true valleys, there is no clear topographic break between the Żebbuġ Region and those to the north and south. To the east, however, though altitude decreases, the amplitude of relief becomes greater and a clearly defined spur stands between the deepening wieds.

On the high plains west of Żebbuġ (Fig. 117 C and D) is developed a particularly intensive type of dry farming. Cereals and sulla form the basis of rotations which include potatoes, vegetables and winter-fallowed land. Spring potatoes, mixed vegetables including summer brassicas, particularly cauliflowers, together with winter sulla and cereals are characteristic of this zone. The reasons for such an assemblage of crops are not altogether clear. The successional outcropping of Globigerina strata and intervening phosphatic nodule beds with consequent effects on soil development, the relatively high water table and distance from the sea would all seem to favour a highly productive form of dry farming but more investigation is required. Onion-growing is particularly characteristic of the environs of Żebbuġ, a lesser *pitkal* centre. Minor variations in crop assemblage are illustrated by Fig. 118.

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5   (1955-1958)   1961
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Malta

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* 311
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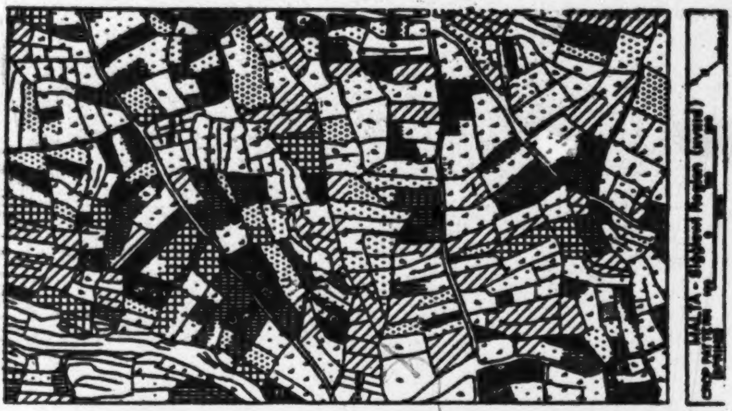
MALTA - Siġġiewi Region (inland)
CROP PATTERN
(SPRING)

Fig. 119   Malta: Siġġiewi Region.

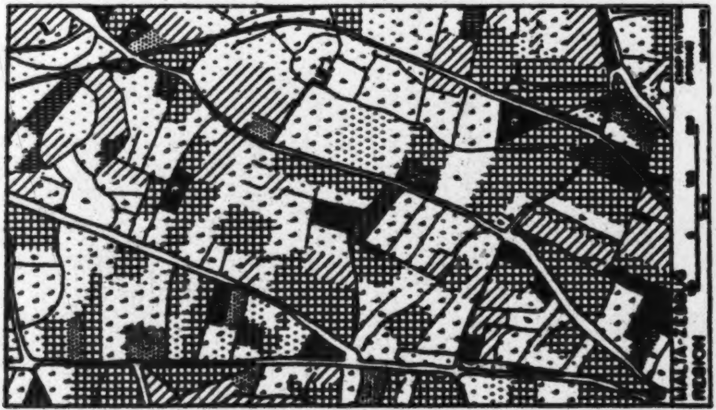
MALTA-ŻEBBUĠ
REGION
CROP PATTERN
(SPRING)

Fig. 118   Malta: Żebbuġ Regio .

On the spur of Ghar Ram (199) and tal-Handaq (200), the intensity of cultivation 241* decreases eastward, cereals and sulla becoming dominant. The even slopes of tal-Hlas (198) drop northward to the more level Ghammieri district of the 311* Wied is-Sewda. Gradient has little effect on the selection of crops grown in these areas. Cereals and sulla dominant throughout although potatoes assume a greater importance than on the summit. In contrast the southern edge of the ridge is more abrupt, falling sharply to the Wied Qirda. Precipitous terraces, standing above a storm-water channel cut in Lower Coralline rocks are almost completely abandoned. The only pocket of fruit cultivation in this region lies in the Wied Qirda above the main incision and close to Żebbuġ.

Scattered settlement of farmsteads and a few small hamlets is generally [361] aligned along roads and tracks. The great majority of the land-holders, however, live in the casal of Żebbuġ which combines some urban functions with those of village settlement.

XVIII (d). THE SIĠĠIEWI REGION

In many ways this region is a counterpart of that of Żebbuġ. The high plains west of Siġġiewi sweep south from ta'Brija (133) to tal-Bajjada to merge with the open Rdum tal-Lunzjata. Intensive dry-farming of cereals, sulla and vegetables is characteristic. Onion cultivation is of particular importance here as throughout the region.

From this western platform, the ridges of tal-Bordin (135), tal-Ghaqba (205) and ta'Haxxluq carry relatively high land to the east. Tal-Bordin is noteworthy only for the absence of early potatoes, possibly because of its rather exposed position. The place-name element *nadur*, meaning a look-out point, is significantly [103] attached to the fields on this small ridge. The main ridge of tal-Ghaqba, carrying a variety of crops, is generally similar to tal-Handaq on the other side of Wied Qirda. The crop range is similar on ta'Haxxluq ridge, though the fields are generally smaller and the country more broken (see Fig. 119). In these eastern districts, the commercial farming element is most strongly represented by onion growing which is even more extensive here than around Żebbuġ.

Siġġiewi itself was established on the south-western edge of the central 311* settlement zone of Malta. The casal and outlying farmsteads were to some extent influenced by the need for protection from corsair raids. 361 Walled enclosures and a few defensive towers indicate past insecurity. Siġġiewi still lies off the busiest lines of communication and the south-western part of the region is one of the least accessible districts of the central lands of Malta. Here, small hamlets cluster around isolated churches as at tal-Providenza (150).

XVIII (e). THE QORMI REGION

The district around Qormi is atypical of the Central Region as a whole. A 241* considerable number of motor-driven pumps extract water from the fault- 311* fissured Globigerina beds and irrigable land constitutes a large proportion of the total area. Vegetable and fruit crops, the latter including citrus and even such exotics as the banana are grown intensively in this sheltered district (Fig. 120). The Qormi basin is a westward continuation of the Marsa lowland, an area of alluvial deposition (see Chapter III). Large farms with irrigated gardens surround the large casal (Fig. 117B).

C.XIX. THE SOUTHERN REGION

A highland ridge with an average altitude of more than 400 feet extends eastwards from the Upper Coralline scarp at Lunzjata along the southern coast as far as Bubaqra. Further east and towards the interior of the island, the land falls away in gentle slopes. Although true wasteland is confined to a coastal belt coinciding with outcrops of Lower and down-faulted Upper Coralline beds, much land has elsewhere been taken out of cultivation. [508] The airfields of Luqa and Hal Far, still in use and their as yet un-reclaimed wartime extensions, together with large-scale quarrying on either side of Mqabba, have sterilised a great [316] deal of land.

*241
*311
[244]
[102]

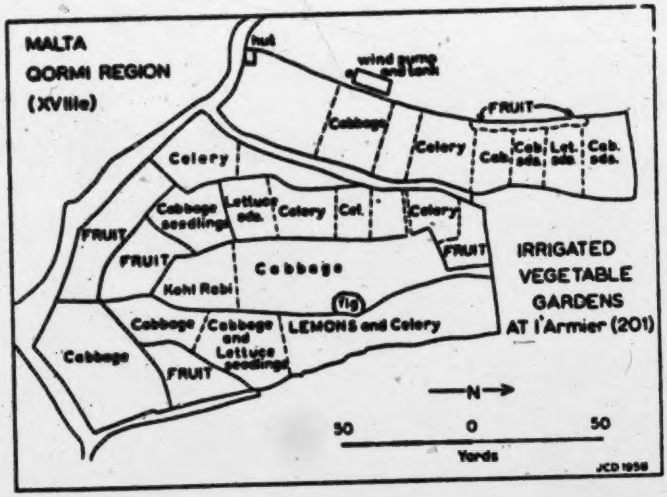
MALTA
QORMI REGION
(XVIIIe)
hut
wind pump and tank
FRUIT
Cabbage
Celery
Cab.
Cab. sds.
Let. sds.
Cab. sds.
Celery
Cabbage seedlings
Lettuce sds.
Celery
Cel.
Celery
FRUIT
FRUIT
FRUIT
Cabbage
Kohl Rabi
fig
IRRIGATED VEGETABLE GARDENS AT l'Armier (201)
Cabbage
Cabbage and Lettuce seedlings
LEMONS and Celery
Cabbage
FRUIT
N
50
0
50
Yards
JCD 1958

Fig. 120 Malta: Qormi Region.

XIX (a). THE MQABBA - KIRKOP PLAIN

Relatively intensive cultivation of a wide range of crops shows few noteworthy special features. An inverse relationship between the amount of land cultivated for cereals and sulla on the one hand and under potatoes on the other is apparent. The unusually massive concentration of sulla and cereal fields between Mqabba and Żurrieq may be compared with an equally marked concentration on potatoes around Kirkop and Safi. There is otherwise an even scatter of the normal dry-farmed subsidiary crops.

As over the Globigerina lands as a whole, dispersed settlement, while by no means absent, is clearly secondary to concentration in casals and villages.

XIX (b). THE SOUTHERN HILLS

The ridge lands are distinguished from the plain by differences in altitude, exposure, gradient, field size and accessibility. Fig. 121 illustrates some of the contrasts. Nevertheless, the crop range is not markedly different from that of the plains, save that the hardier legumes assume a greater importance. Onion growing would seem to be associated with local markets and with the difficulty of raising other vegetables.

[361] The casals of Qrendi and Żurrieq lie at the junction of these hills with the interior plain. Their functions include marketing and contracting for both subregions as well as minor fishing activity. Żurrieq, the larger of the two, has become the chief centre of the region, incorporating within its extended built-up area the satellite villages of Nigret and Bubaqra.

C.XX. THE EASTERN REGION

As described in Chapter I B, this region is one of hill ridges and depressions. Although relief is subdued, there is little level land and relatively minor structural and topographic features have a disproportionately large influence on agriculture. The Main Water Table, which rises but slightly above sea level is nearly everywhere far beneath the surface. The need for dry farming restricts the crop range considerably, even vines being virtually absent. Variations in crop assemblage, which result from a variety of physical and human factors, produce six distinct sub-regions.

[Text continues on p. 269]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*241
*311
102
[133]
[134]

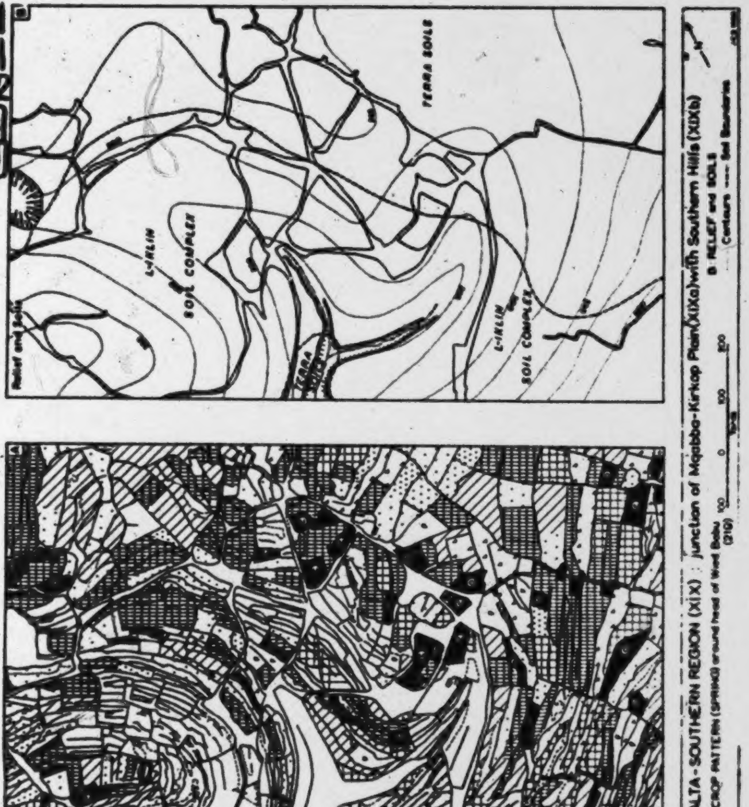
MALTA - SOUTHERN REGION (XIX) : junction of Mqabba-Kirkop Plain (XIXa) with Southern Hills (XIXb)
A CROP PATTERN (SPRING) around head of Wied Babu
(210) 100 0 100 200
Yards
B RELIEF and SOILS
Contours ---- Soil Boundaries
Relief and Soils
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
TERRA
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
N

Fig. 121 Malta: Southern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5   (1955-1958)   1961
EZ6   Malta EZ6
Malta

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*311
102
[138]
[134]
[423]

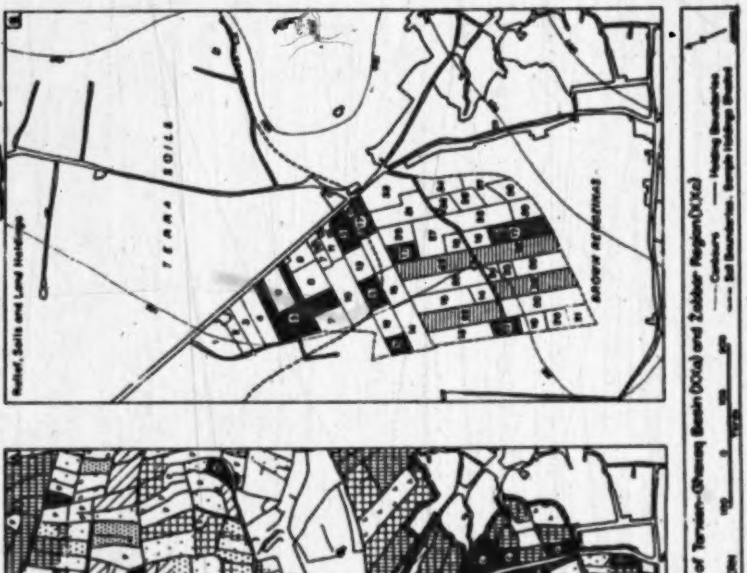
Relief, Soils and Land Holdings
TERRA SOILS
BROWN RENDZINAS
MALTA-EASTERN REGION: junction of Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin (XXIa) and Żabbar Region (XXIa)
A: CROP PATTERNS (SPRING)
B: RELIEF, SOILS and LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Contours
Holding Boundaries
Soil Boundaries. Sample Holdings Shaded

Fig. 123   Malta: Eastern Region: Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin.

XX (a). THE TARXIEN-GHAXAQ BASIN

This is the open upper section of the shallow Wied ta'Mazza which reaches 241* the sea at Marsaskala. Rock weathering and slow soil formation on the periphery 311* surround a central zone of deep soil accumulation. The deep-soiled district is one in which the upper surface of the Lower Coralline aquifers falls below sea-level and, compared with the remainder of the Eastern Region, ground water is of high salinity (see Chapter I B). The effect of this is to be seen primarily in the small area devoted to potato growing. This zone of large fields under cereals and sulla is surrounded by a belt of more intensive cultivation on the higher slopes, where fields are smaller and potatoes re-assume their normal importance in the crop range. Part of this latter zone, on the northern outskirts of Żejtun, is shown in Fig. 122.

Exceptional is an area of abandonment at il-Bur ta'Sufa (MR 573688), where it is believed that increasing soil salinity is primarily responsible. This small hill, once the site of the only clustered farm settlement in the sub-region, has also suffered from the attraction of the surrounding casals. Carob trees and crumbling terrace walls mark this out as the only area of difficulty in an otherwise tractable region.

XX (b). THE LUQA-ŻEJTUN RIDGE

A crescentic ridge, which separates the catchment areas of the Grand [361] Harbour and Marsaxlokk Bay is crowned by a series of settlements. Near these, fairly intensive cultivation, best developed around Luqa, includes that of potatoes, onions and other spring vegetables. Where the soil mantle is thinnest and most subject to erosion, cultivation is poorer. For example, just north of Gudja, at ta'Salib (265), a harder bed in the Globigerina series has formed a small mesa as a result of differential erosion. The top and steep sides of this feature are marked by abandoned fields.

Much of the better land in this sub-region is now being taken up by settlement extension and road building, a process most marked between Żejtun and [499] Ghaxaq.

XX (c). THE ŻABBAR REGION

The primary unity of this region is provided by general specialisation in the production of *qaragħ bagħli* (dry-farmed marrows grown in spring: see Fig. 123 and p. 219). Subsidiary to this unifying feature are a number of diverse elements.

On the seaward slopes of the San Anard (244) - San Rokku (248) ridge, a belt of wasteland covers the barren shore and abandoned fields of minute size rising above it. North of San Rokku, abandonment is complete where these slopes coincide with a Lower Coralline outcrop. Near the growing village of ix-Xgħajra, patches of poor cultivation have survived. The whole of this district is one of particular difficulty. Coastal alignment of the ridge and its pronounced relief accentuate the effects of northerly winds, which carry sea-spray some distance inland. The extreme smallness of the walled enclosures indicates the need for shelter and it is not surprising that this exposed and difficult area should have been left derelict. On the 6-inch maps is marked a rectilinear pattern of proposed road and building development. As yet, ix-Xgħajra, a strange [361] motley of farmhouses, suburban and sea-side villas, is the only realisation of the plan. It may well be that land speculation has here contributed to land abandonment.

The ridge top and its sheltered southern flank, with their larger fields, form a vivid contrast. This richer-soiled area is given over to a diversity of crops, *qaragħ bagħli*, potatoes and other spring vegetables occupying as large an area as that under all other crops combined. This type of farming is carried southward across the rise of tal-Plieri (251) and into the Wied ta'Mazza (257). South and west from the latter in the Bajda ta'Żejtun (260) and ta'Bulebel (256) districts, there is a transition to the less specialised farming typical of the Eastern Region as a whole.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

E26 Malta E26

Malta

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*311
102
[133]
[134]

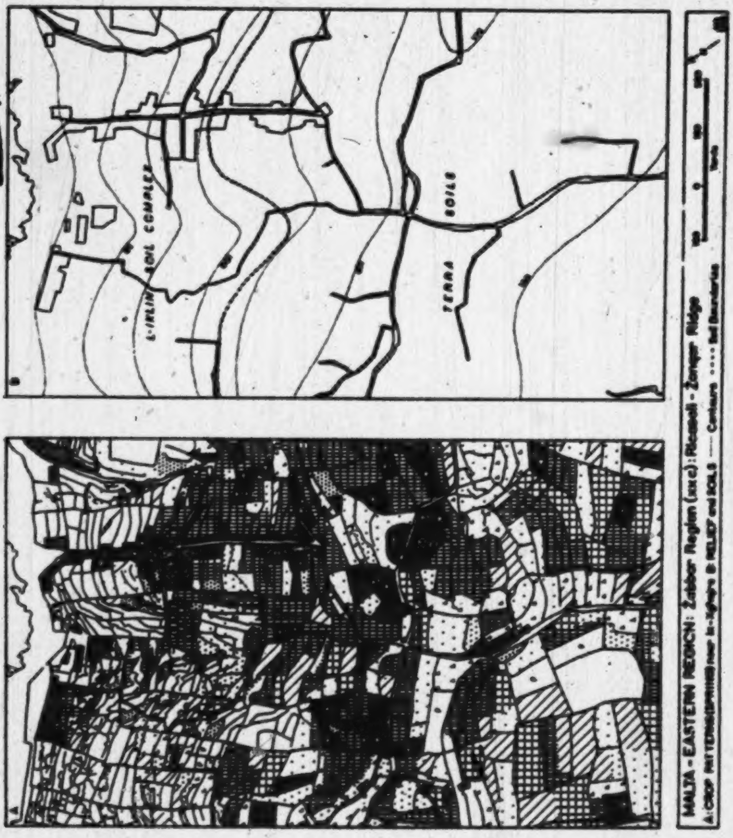
B
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
A
MALTA - EASTERN REGION: Żabbar Region (xxc): Ricasoli - Żonqor Ridge
A: CROP PATTERNS (SPRING) near Ix-Xgħajra B: RELIEF and SOILS ---- Contours ···· Soil Boundaries
100 0 100 200
Yards

Fig. 133 Malta: Eastern Region: Żabbar Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

XX (d). THE MARSÁSKALA REGION

The twin promontories of Żonqor (254) and il-Gżira (264) flank the bay of Marsaskala and a Lower Coralline exposure incised by the Wieds il-Għajn (252) and iz-Żiju (261). At Żonqor, exposure restricts the crop range to cereals and sulla, although some vegetables appear on the sheltered southern side of the ridge. Land abandonment is more extensive on il-Gżira, where erosion has already removed much of the thin red soil. Cultivation has retreated to the flanking lower land. The small spur of il-Bidni (253), standing between the two wieds marks the west-east transition between the Żabbar and Marsaskala Regions. Wasteland occupies its eastern slopes while, to the west, *qaragħ bagħli* and potatoes mark a change to more favourable conditions. The wieds themselves are uncultivated and abandonment has progressed some distance up the valley sides. 241* 311*

The primary function of Marsaskala is that of a fishing village and it is developing into a minor seaside resort rather than into a rural centre. [361]

XX (e). THE TAS-SILĠ—DELIMARA REGION (Fig. 124)

The crenulated peninsula of Delimara runs south from its broad isthmic base in the tas-Silġ hills. The whole of this area is exposed to the *Xlokk*. The eastward-dipping Globigerina beds cover Lower Coralline aquifers which are everywhere below sea level. Thus water for crops can only be drawn from rain-fed cisterns cut into the surface rocks.

In consequence of water shortage and exposure to humid sea winds there is very little potato cultivation. In the valleys opening on to the bay of San Tumas and on the ridge between tas-Silġ (277) and tal-Lombardi (278) are large fields of sulla and cereals, together with the minor fodders and legumes. The absence of permanent agricultural settlement and the restricted crop range appear surprising when compared with neighbouring areas, although cultivation is by no means of low standard.

Delimara peninsula, an asymmetrical north-south ridge, has a generally similar assemblage of crops in a restricted summit zone of cultivation. On the indented eastern coast, the many promontories between il-Munxar (MR. 614673) and Delimara Point have been affected by normal abandonment of difficult land and by the needs of the Defence Departments. A narrower band of wasteland marks the steep, concave western slopes. More open and sweeping slopes lie at the root of the peninsula below tas-Silġ and on a minor coastal plain to the east of Marsaxlokk fishponds sheltered conditions make possible a greater intensity of cultivation, the crops including potatoes and some early vegetables.

XX (f). THE BIRŻEBBUĠA REGION

Converging on Marsaxlokk Bay are a number of distinct physical and human sub-regions. The barren Wied ta'Marsaxlokk (276) is separated from Wied Dalam (274) by a low spur, on the higher slopes of which scattered farmsteads stand among gently terraced fields of mixed crops. Nearer the sea, on the promontory of ir-Ras (283), there is a good deal more uncultivated and non-agricultural land. Marsaxlokk itself has much the same limited range of functions as Marsaskala.

The Wieds Dalam (274) and Has-Saptan (285) form the only non-coastal region in the Eastlands with a rugged terrain of deep wied incision. On the interfluves, slow soil formation allows cultivation which, increasing in quality towards the west, concentrates on sulla, cereals, potatoes and minor legumes. Continued transporting of soil and silt from the wied channels to the upper terraces helps to maintain this rather low-grade form of land-use. The convex slopes running down to the valley floors are areas of rapid erosion and large-scale land abandonment. The wied floors in their upper sections are gentle depressions, part cultivated, part abandoned. Nick-points at heights of approximately 170 feet in Wied Dalam and 200 feet in Wied has-Saptan mark the heads of the incised, vertically-walled gorges in which Lower Coralline beds are exposed. Below the 50-foot contour, the stony, eroded channel with its covering of rough grass and weeds gives way to a zone of alluvial deposition. In the case of the Wied

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 273]

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5   (1955-1958)   1961

EZ6   Malta EZ6

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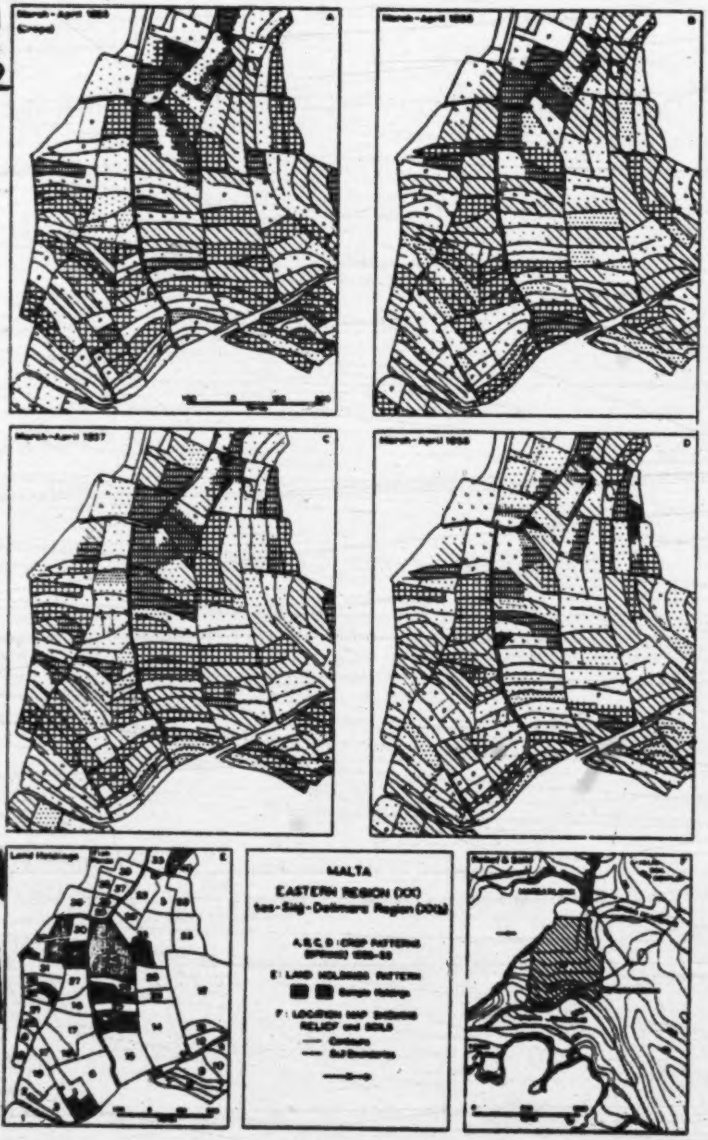
March-April 1955
(Crops)
A
March-April 1956
B
March-April 1957
C
March-April 1958
D
Land Holdings
E
MALTA
EASTERN REGION (XX)
tas-Silg-Delimara Region (XXa)
A,B,C,D: CROP PATTERNS (SPRING) 1955-58
E: LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Sample Holdings
F: LOCATION MAP SHOWING RELIEF and SOILS
Contours
Soil Boundaries
Relief & Soils
F

Fig. 124   Malta: Eastern Region: tas-Silg Delimara.

Dalam, a good deal of this better land has been sterilised by the construction of a large pumping station, but a small pocket of intensive potato-growing occurs before the sea is reached. In the Wied has-Saptan, the transition is marked by a belt of marshy land carrying canes, bullrushes and grasses which are tended and 'cropped'. Below this lies a second small alluvial area also largely under potatoes. This district as a whole possesses a greater variety of physical and land-use conditions than any other in Eastern Malta. 241* 311*

From Qala San Ġorġ to Benghisa Point, a narrow coastal lowland has been completely taken out of cultivation by settlement growth and by commercial and military installations. The slopes behind this zone are traversed by a series of shallow wieds in which lie narrow strips of wasteland. All dry-farmed crops are represented in this hilly country, even to a few vines grown near the southern coast in a strangely exposed position.

In this small region is exemplified the major problem which besets the Maltese agricultural community and which complicates the patterns of land-use and farming practice in the island. New, well-surfaced roads serve Hal Far and Kalafrana, but between these arteries lies a neglected and relatively remote farming area. Distances involved are small, particularly when the attraction of non-rural life pulls people away from the land. However, as noted elsewhere, the same distances become exaggerated in their effect of isolating the country-dwellers who remain. The dichotomy of town and country is thus perpetuated. 369 491

GENERAL

The main facts underlying the regional differentiation of Maltese agriculture may be summarised as follows. While structure and topography control the general distribution of these cropping combinations, important regional differences result from variations in weather and micro-climate. Soil controls, in the main, coincide with those of structure and outcrop, but slope, as affecting removal and accumulation, together with the widespread traditional practice of transporting soil to artificial fields, break up the simple geological pattern. 241* 311*

Farming types in Malta must be identified against a background of socio-economic change. Commercial production is the rule, but considerable variations result from differing degrees of linkage with markets. Socially, this is paralleled by differences in the extent to which rural communities are affected by urban desires and emulations. Proximity to, or remoteness from town life are most important.

Wasteland is spreading most rapidly on the remote and physically hard lands. The flight from the land is slower where it is more productive. General deterioration is most widespread on lands of medium quality where the attraction of town life is strong. On the immediate fringes of the built-up areas, conditions are by no means uniform. While in some cases market gardening provides a particularly intensive form of land use, in others encroachment of roads and buildings produces a jumble of building sites, abandoned fields and a few surviving patches of cultivation. Around the main conurbation as delimited in Fig. 97, lie many pockets of true urban farming. In many of these, as in the case illustrated by Fig. 125, the jostling together of stock-yards and houses and fields, both abandoned and cropped, shows the town triumphant.

Agricultural Regions of Gozo

The physiographic divisions already indicated in Chapter 1 and shown in Fig. 4[1] are suitable for a regional analysis of agricultural practice in Gozo. Printed maps of Gozo bear few local place-names and thus it has been necessary to devise the special nomenclature used in the present section and illustrated in Fig. 78.[2] 241* 311* 102 104

[1] [See P. 39-A -- AnalysT]

[2] [See P. 199 -- AnalysT]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*241
*311
102
[133]
[134]
[123]

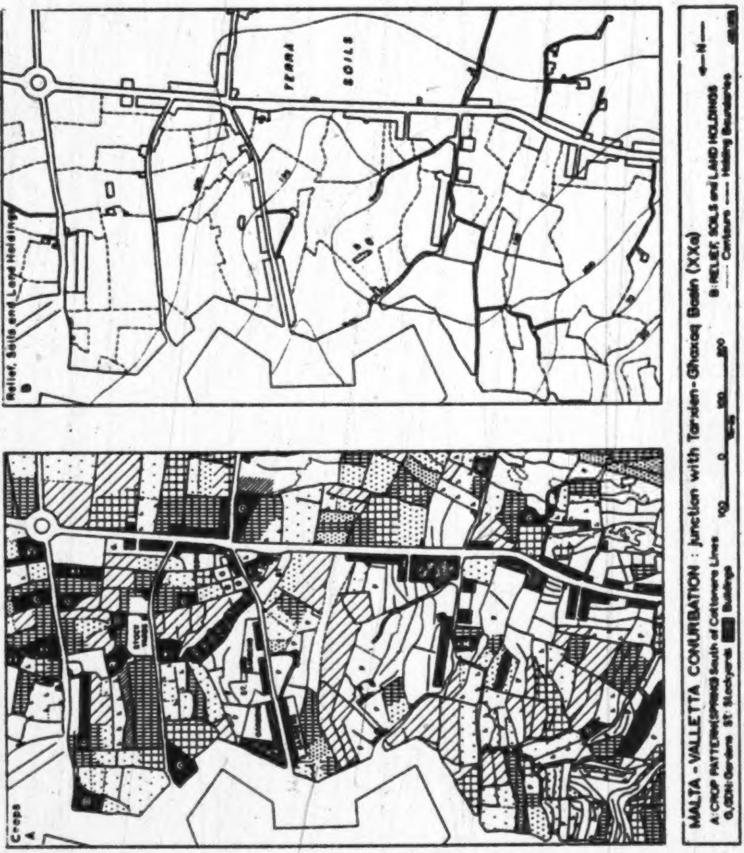
Relief, Soils and Land Holdings
B
TERRA
SOILS
Crops
A
STOCK YARDS
MALTA - VALLETTA CONURBATION : Junction with Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin (XXa)
A: CROP PATTERN (SPRING) South of Cottonera Lines
G, GDN: Gardens ST: Stockyards ▇ Buildings
100 0 100 200
B: RELIEF, SOILS and LAND HOLDINGS
---- Contours —— Holding Boundaries
←N—

Fig. 125 Malta: Valletta Conurbation.

I. THE WEST

The western regions are composed of an undulating Globigerina platform occasionally deeply incised and bounded on its seaward side by precipitous cliffs. 241* 311*

A narrow belt of wasteland fringes the coast and extends inland in the complex, faulted depression of Qawra (8), Wied Ilma (10) and Wied id-Dwejra (9). Minor blocks of abandonment also occur on the Upper Coralline mesa summits, as at Ġordan (16), Għammar (18) and Għajn Abdul (12).

In the North-Western sub-region, the most intensive dry-farming is associated with the important village settlements of the Gharb - San Lawrenz plateau (7). Early potatoes, summer cotton and some viticulture differentiate this district from the remainder of the region. Further to the west, there is little difference to be observed between the crops grown in the shallow valleys of the Wieds il-Mielaħ (6) and ir-Raheb (2) and those on the higher lands of Birbuba (3). Il-Hotba tal-Qasam (1) (Fig. 126 C and D), remote and bleak, illustrates a general deterioration westward from the medium-grade dry farming typified by that near Santa Luċija (Fig. 126 A and B).

In the South-West, almost complete absence of settlement is associated with a crop range restricted to cereals, sulla and legumes. The promontory of Wardija (14) is the least intensively worked district.

The West as a whole is an epitome of dry farming. There is no irrigation and little watering of crops, and sulla, wheat and barley are vastly more important than all other crops. The clay slopes of the small mesas are almost entirely devoted to sulla, much of it self-seeded. Their coralline caps are too restricted in area to store any appreciable quantity of water and the clay soils are heavy and intractable. The retreat of cultivation from difficult and remote land is here marked by abandoned farmsteads as on the summit of Ghar Ilma (13). The coastland waste is not virgin karst but also exemplifies such degeneration.

II. THE WEST-CENTRAL REGION

This is a mixed region, both topographically and agriculturally, consisting as it does of open, wied-head basins, small mesas and the low Coralline platform on which Victoria stands, but it has a certain unity, based on the presence of the largest settlement in the island.

To the north and west of the town, in the Żebbuġ-Victoria and San Ġorġ districts (19 and 20), dry farming takes on a more intensive form than in the regions previously described. The several hamlets and small village settlements are associated with the growing of potatoes, brassicas, vines and even a little fruit, all of which however remain subsidiary to the predominant cereals and fodders. The land is well farmed and there is very little of the waste and low-grade fallow characteristic of parts of the West, although this does occur on the mesas as in the case of il-Ġelmus (21).

On the Victoria platform (23), the highest point of which is crowned by the Citadel, more intensive land use results from urban demands. Farmhouses, stock-yards and walled gardens carrying a great variety of crops form a southern, rural fringe to an otherwise essentially urban settlement. Kerċem has retained its village character in spite of, or possibly because of its close proximity to Victoria. [361]

The Wied tal-Lunzjata (25) (Fig. 130B) possesses some interesting agricultural characteristics, which derive from an especial combination of factors. Between the low Upper Coralline scarps which mark the edge of the central platform and above the incision of the Wied ix-Xlendi (70), where Lower Coralline rocks are exposed, is a spring-watered zone developed on clay and marled Globigerina. Below Għajn il-Kbir (M.R. 313884: =the great spring) are small irrigated plots of vegetables and fruit. Away from this small pocket, cultivation deteriorates rapidly into the wasteland of Wied ix-Xlendi.

III. THE NORTHERN REGION

In this, the largest region of Gozo, unity is provided by the repetition of a few simple landscape elements. As noted in Chapter I.B, these comprise the

[Text continues on p. 277]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

*241
*311
102

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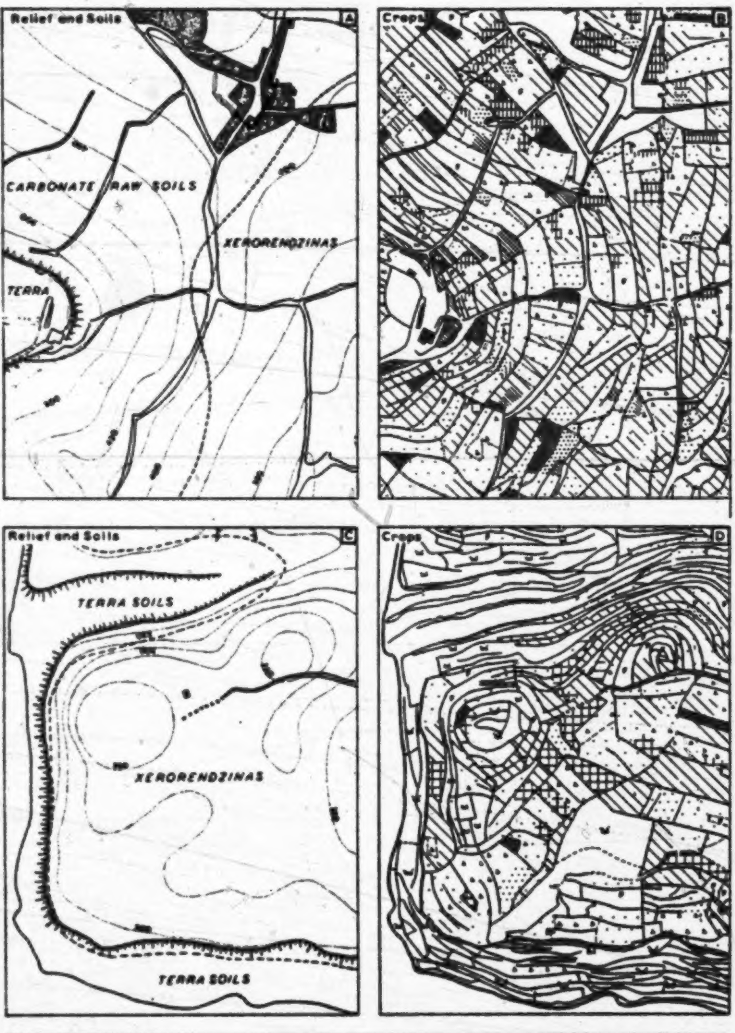
Relief and Soils
A
Crops
B
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
TERRA
Relief and Soils
C
Crops
D
TERRA SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
TERRA SOILS
GOZO - WESTERN REGION
Upper Wied Ilma (10/20)
A: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Il-Holba tal-Qasam (1)
C: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
D: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)

[133]
[134]
←

Fig. 138 Gozo: Western Region.

Gozo

high Upper Coralline platforms, the sweeping Blue Clay slopes and, in the larger valleys, Globigerina beds, generally covered by down-washed material. Variations in the arrangement of these elements are reflected in important differences between the several sub-regions. 241* 311*

Żebbuġ, the most compact of the larger mesas, is flanked by the Wied il-Ghasri (26) (Fig. 128A) and the Wied tal-Qlejgha (29) on the west and east respectively. Immediately below a peripheral cliff on which stand lines of farmhouses, lies a *gnien* zone of inter-cultivated fruit and vines. The Upper Coralline cap, unlike those of the smaller western mesas, is sufficiently extensive to hold a small perched water body. The demands of the settlement, however, restrict the quantity of water available for irrigation, this in part accounting for the narrowness of the *gnien* belt. On the northern coastal slopes (28), such intensive cultivation survives precariously in defiance of exposure to violent northerly winds and sea spray. Some abandoned fields and farmhouses show that retreat is in progress.

On either side of the mesa, a similar gradation from *gnien* zone to valley floor may be observed (Fig. 127 C and D). On both the higher Blue Clay slopes and the marled areas below, the crop range of vines, sulla and cereals, with some potatoes, indicates a productive type of dry farming common to all the valley slopes of the Northern region. These ramped fields on open, sweeping slopes, carrying good crops but, devoid of settlement, constitute the most widespread type of rural landscape in Gozo. It is the relatively limited development of this landscape in Malta which provides the most striking contrast between the two islands.

The restricted wied floors and the small size of their catchment areas militate against any development of irrigation. The lowest slopes are thus less intensively worked than those rising to Żebbuġ. The interfluves to the west of the Wied il-Ghasri and east of Wied tal-Qlejgha are marked by a discontinuous line of small mesas with waterless clay slopes. Dry farming laps over the low ridges to grade westward into still poorer land use and eastward into the more diversified Wied ta'Marsalforn (35).

In the latter valley, while the main clay and downwash slopes are similar in character to those of the Wied tal-Qlejgha, the more open valley is different. Towards the wied mouth there is a small alluvial lowland of good, stoneless soils, largely devoted to the growing of potatoes. Irrigation by water pumped from a small sea-level water body at the moment supports this higher intensity of cultivation, although increasing salinity, which already affects the water supply of Marsalforn itself, inevitably limits possibilities in this district.

The small settlement of Marsalforn is still primarily a fishing village but, like Marsaskala in Malta, is developing into a minor sea-side resort. Resulting improvements in communications have not as yet affected the pattern of farming. [361]

Further upstream, there is a slight lowering of farming intensity in the valley. Vines are most important in the centre of the depression while potatoes are most concentrated along the road to Victoria. Although the topographic map shows the Wied ta'Marsalforn opening out onto a low col north-east of Victoria, a fault-line, marked by a low cliff of upthrown Lower Coralline, clearly defines the southern limit of wied-type cultivation. Along this line, the effects of urban settlement on land use become apparent and there is also a sudden transition to the different field patterns and crop assemblage of the Central Plain.

On the eastern side of the Wied ta'Marsalforn, the ramped slopes of sulla, cereals and vines pass into embayments in the edge of the Xagħra Plateau (36). Around the tiny urban nucleus of Xagħra itself are clusters of farms, beyond which farmsteads are strung out in long lines along tracks and roads and around the plateau edge. The thin, red, stony soil of the plateau supports a scatter of cultivated fields. Some of these are intensively worked gardens, others carry patch cultivation of poor cereals, vegetables and fruits, while many are now waste. To the north, density of settlement and intensity of farming diminish on the exposed *qortin* lands, the Qortin ta'Ghajn Damma (37) being completely waste. The remote *rdum* areas are completely covered by sulla, much of it self-sown (Fig. 128C). The neglect of such undercliff areas which, in Malta, [361]

[Text Continues on P. 279]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

*241

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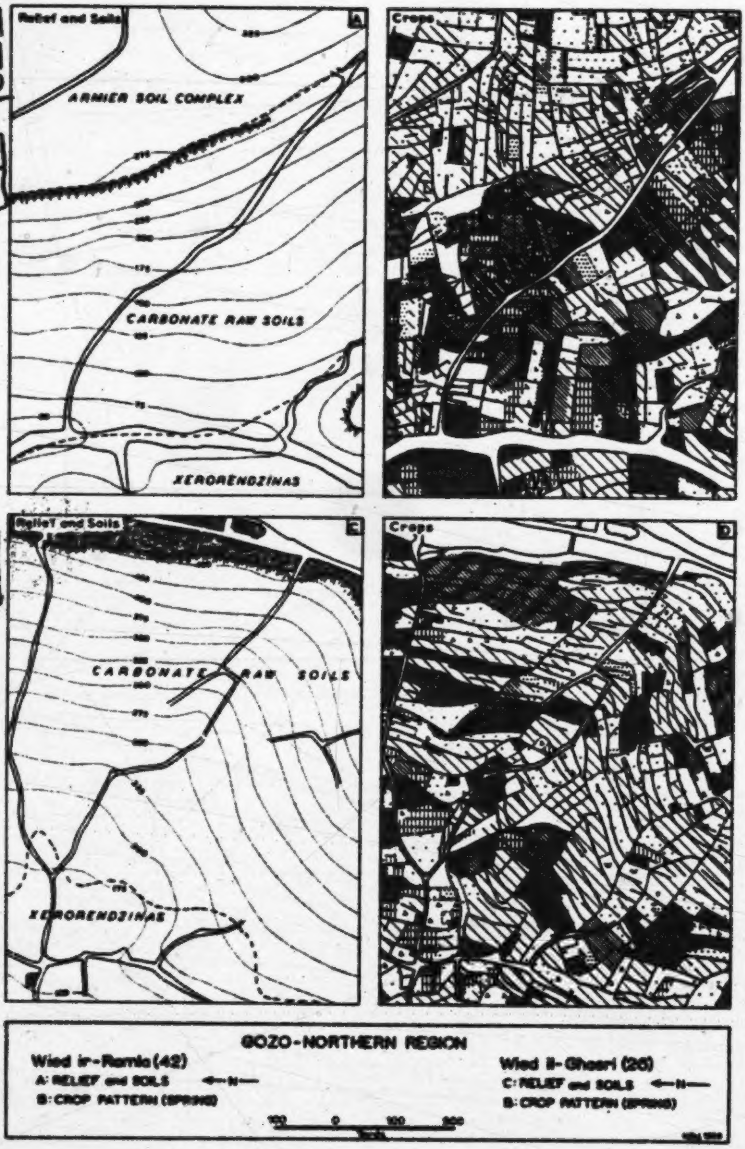

Relief and Soils
A
ARMIER SOIL COMPLEX
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XEROPENDZINAS
Crops
B
Relief and Soils
C
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XEROPENDZINAS
Crops
D
GOZO-NORTHERN REGION
Wied ir-Ramla (42)
A: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
Wied il-Ghasri (26)
C: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards

Fig. 127 Gozo: Northern Region.

are among the most intensively worked, reflects the lower intensity of pressure 241* on land in Gozo.

Topographically, the Wied ir-Ramla (42) (Fig. 128B) is similar in type to 311* the Wied ta'Marsalforn. The wied channel becomes progressively more sharply incised downstream before opening out into the sandy, bay-head lowland (from which the valley takes its name: *Ramla* = sands). Tributary wied embayments cut into the Coralline plateaus on either side.

Below the mesa scarps there are the usual *ġnien* zones and these give way downhill to a belt of sulla and cereals on the heavier, drier parts of the Blue Clay outcrop. On the eastern slopes lying below the Qortin tan-Nadur (48), recent and Quaternary sands, whose presence is marked by light, ochre-coloured soils, occurs a specialised zone of early tomato and cucurbit production and viticulture (Fig. 127 A and B). This relatively intensive pattern of land use extends from the scarp on to the eastern half of the lower valley floor. On the remainder of the main valley floor, mixed cultivation in which vines and sulla predominate is diversifed by relatively large scale potato-growing and some fruit production. The floors of the tributary wieds il-Ġgantija (43) and il-Hanaq (44) are characterised by particularly intensive viticulture which merges into flanking zones of cereals and sulla. The small mesa of in-Nuffara (45) has similar characteristics to those of the western Coralline fragments. 311*

The remaining part of the Northern Region is closely associated with the 361 village of Nadur. The plateau on which the latter stands (46) is composed of a series of flat-topped promontories (*Qortin*) which run north and north-eastward [133] from the main ridge. These overlook the coast in a series of *Rdum* slopes and are separated by deeply incised wieds. The arrangement of physical features is reflected in the lay-out of settlement and communications. As in the case of Xagħra, a small urban nucleus gives way northwards to strings of farmsteads aligned along roads and tracks. The plateau top thus contrasts with the valleys, which have virtually no permanent settlement.

Land use on the main plateau ridge is semi-urban in character with gardens 241* and stockyards. The *qortin* lands, though physically uniform, differ a good deal 311* from each other in land utilisation. The higher southerly part of the Qortin tan-Nadur (48) is largely waste, but the lower northern bluff is remarkably well cultivated under cereals and sulla with occasional small plots of vegetables and vines. The two promontories of the Qortin il-Kbir (51), on the other hand, form the most extensive areas of karst wasteland in the whole Northern Region of Gozo. Similar contrasts exist between the two rdum areas lying below the *qortin* lands. The Rdum tan-Nadur bears a scatter of small enclosures of vegetables, fruit and minor crops. In this case, cultivation is similar in type, though not in intensity, to that of the Maltese 'undercliff' areas. The Rdum tal-Mistra (53), by contrast, is a rugged wasteland, the greater part of which has never been cultivated.

Piercing the plateau on its northern side are three deep and sheltered [133] valleys: Wied San Blas (50), Wied tal-Mistra (52) and Wied Dańlet Qorrot (54). These are characterised by the virtual absence of the common dry-farmed crops, which are replaced by a remarkably complex inter-cultivation pattern of fruit, vegetables and vines. This is the only area in Gozo completely devoted to intensive market gardening, the products of which are sold in Malta. The growing demand for early produce has resulted in the recent and continuing extension of the area under fruit and has encouraged experiments such as that of strawberry [489] growing. The difficulties of transporting produce out of these deep valleys is offset by the advantage of proximity to the harbour of Mġarr. Thus the *ġnien* type of farming typical of plateau peripheries has here been extended downhill to the valley floors.

IV. THE EASTERN REGION

This comprises the Qala Uplands (55) and flanking coastlands (56) together with the narrow coastal strip which separates the East Central Region from the sea. Structure, topography and land use alike distinguish the Eastern Region from its neighbours. As a result of faulting, the pattern of rock outcrop is often

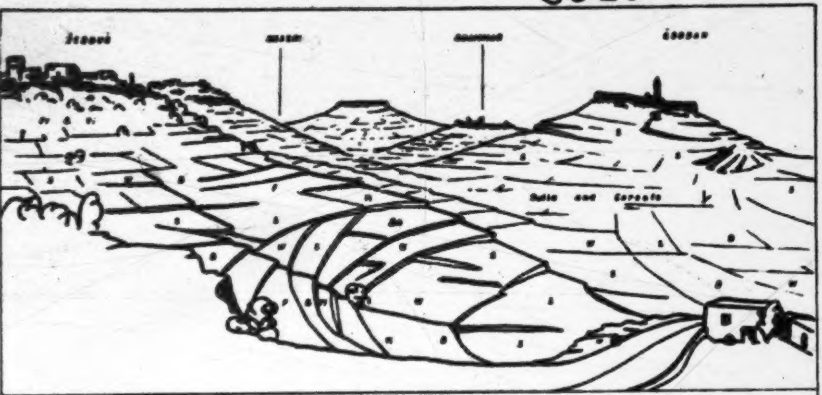
[Text continues on P. 281]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

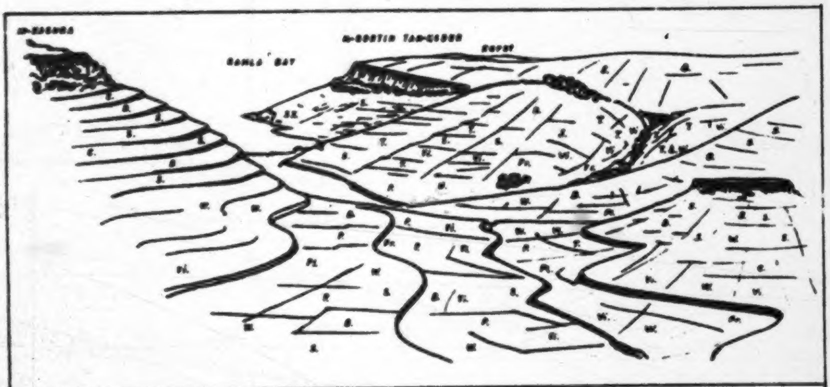
EZ6 Malta EZ6

GOZO

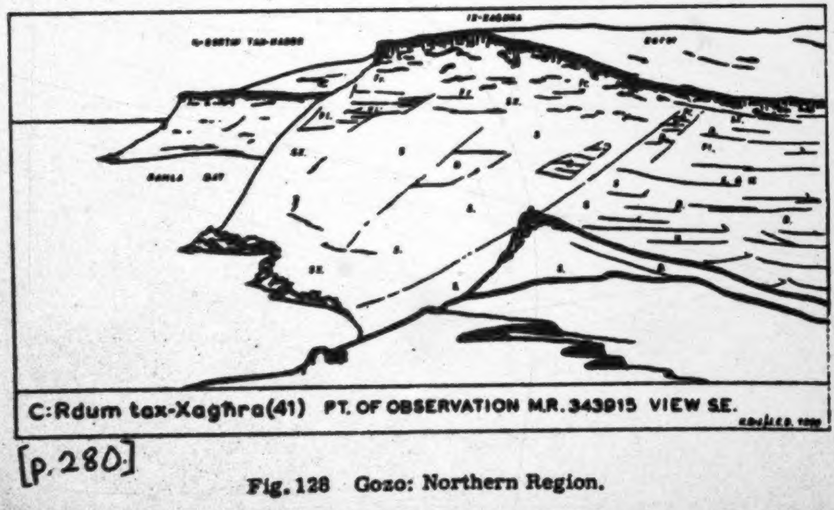
*291
*311
102
133


Sulla and Cereals

A: Wied il-Għasri (26) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 307930 VIEW S.



B: Wied ir-Ramla (42) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 350897 VIEW N.E.



C: Rdum tax-Xagħra (41) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 343915 VIEW S.E.

[p. 280]

Fig. 128 Gozo: Northern Region.

confused and seldom bears any simple relation to topography. In this region, 241* many minor factors of soil, aspect and water supply produce local variations 311* in the landscape, human as well as physical (Fig. 129 A, B and C).

Around the village of Qala, the upland is generally poorly cultivated. Fields of cereals and sulla are interspersed with abandoned areas and karst patches. On the Qala coastlands to the east the pattern of cultivation is clearly related to the successive outcropping of the various rock formations which are here, in contrast to the rest of the region, quite simply arranged (Fig. 129 D and E). The whole sequence from Upper Coralline to Lower is displayed in this district but there are few well marked breaks of slope, the whole forming a single slope from 400 feet to sea level. Immediately below the Upper Coralline summits, vines and fruit trees occur on the Blue Clay. Nearer the sea, a band of Globigerina is largely under cereals, sulla and legumes, this being succeeded by Lower Coralline wasteland fringing the coast.

The complex structure of the lands to the south of Qala is reflected in broken topography and a great variety of outcrop. South facing valleys in which the Blue Clay is exposed give way on their seaward side to a fragmentary platform developed on Globigerina and Lower Coralline limestones. The distribution of wasteland is closely associated with the outcrops of the latter formation. With the exception of the upper Wied tal-Qala (58), where good, well watered soils carry fruit, this district is one in which small enclosures of the whole dry crop assemblage lie among rocky hill wastes. Standards of cultivation in this somewhat inaccessible part of the island are generally low and abandonment is proceeding. By contrast, the slopes above Mġarr Bay, extending eastwards to include ta'Zewwieqa (60) are, on the whole, more intensively worked. In this steeply sloping area, unusually small enclosures have been established for the cultivation of fruit and tomatoes, while somewhat larger fields carry cereals and sulla. These patches of cultivation alternate with barren scree slopes. In the immediate vicinity of Mġarr (61), ill-tended minor tree crops such as carobs, figs and olives give a spurious impression of luxuriance. Mġarr itself is a fishing harbour and commercial port. In its latter capacity it belongs to Gozo as a whole rather to its immediate hinterland and through it passes all the trade between the two islands. Port facilities are limited and have acted as a [504] brake on the commercial development of Gozo. Mġarr has little or no agricultural function and is overshadowed in size by its immediate neighbour, the farming village of Ghajnsielem. South of Mġarr, below Fort Chambray, the Rdum it-Tafal (62) is a typical Gozitan undercliff area with small enclosures, all rather ill developed, which carry some tomatoes, potatoes and fruit crops, among which there are numerous islands of rocky, carob-clad wasteland.

V. THE SOUTHERN REGION (Fig. 130)

The only unity possessed by this region is a result of its structural and topographical separation from the interior. The Il-Hobz Coastlands (63) lie below a well-marked Upper Coralline scarp and are separated by the Wied Mġarr ix-Xini (64) from the Sannat and ta'Ċenċ Uplands (67 and 66). The latter are an [133] upthrown block of Globigerina and Lower Coralline Limestone, the northern edge of which is a clearly defined, interior-facing fault-line scarp. In the extreme west, the sharp incision of the Wied ix-Xlendi (70) divides the Southern Region from the Globigerina platforms of the west.

At Il-Hobż (63) the karst edge of a low Upper Coralline cliff overlooks gentle slopes developed on Blue Clay and Globigerina. A narrow belt of spring-line fruit growing is succeeded downhill by open terraces and larger fields of cereals, sulla and other 'dry' crops. Much of the land is spring-tilled in preparation for summer vegetables. The seaward limit of these shelving slopes is marked by a break of slope below which lies a low Globigerina rock platform.

This simplicity of landform is abruptly terminated on the west by the fault-guided incision of the Wied Mġarr ix-Xini (64). Below the pumping station, steep slopes and exposure of the compact Lower Coralline beds have prevented cultivation. Coinciding with an upthrown block of the same rock type, wasteland extends into the lower Wied Hanżira and over the neighbouring, gentle slopes.

[Text continues on p. 283]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

GOZO

*241

*311

102

[133]
[134]
←

[423]
→

[133]
[134]
←

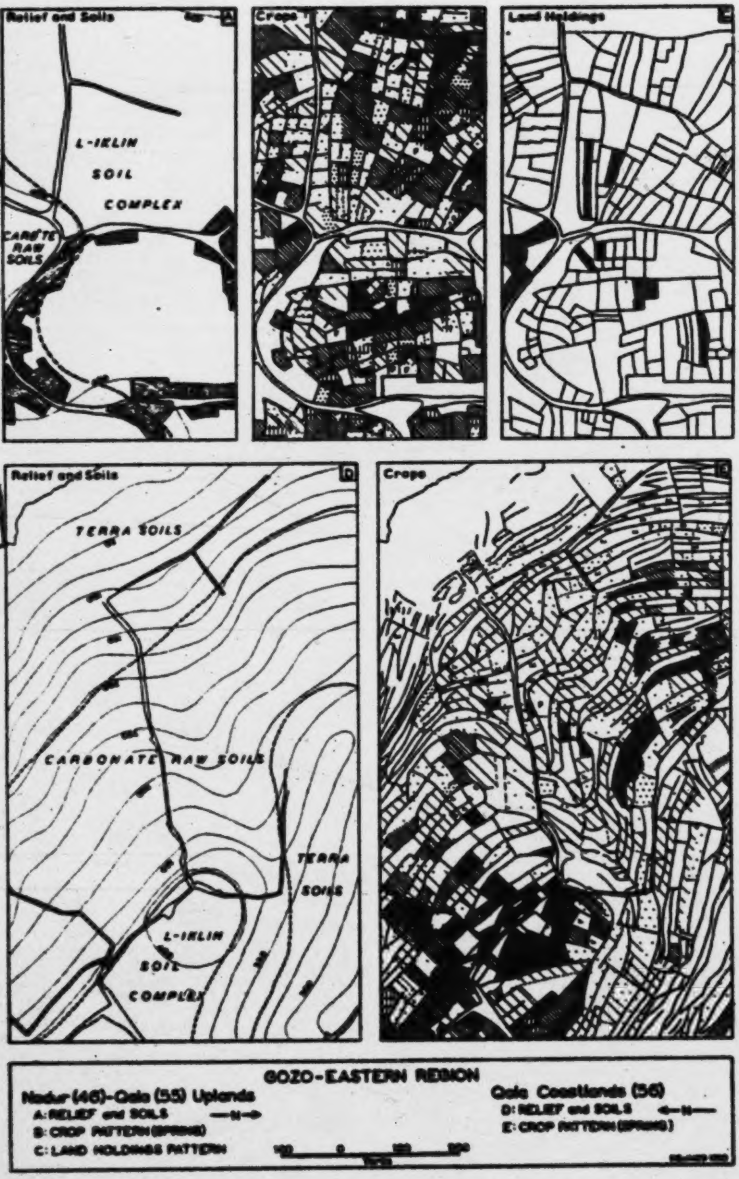

Relief and Soils
A
L-IKLIN
SOIL
COMPLEX
CARB'TE
RAW
SOILS
Crops
B
Land Holdings
C
Relief and Soils
D
TERRA SOILS
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
TERRA
SOILS
L-IKLIN
SOIL
COMPLEX
Crops
E
GOZO-EASTERN REGION
Nadur (46)-Qala (55) Uplands
A: RELIEF and SOILS
—N→
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
C: LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Qala Coastlands (56)
D: RELIEF and SOILS
←N—
E: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100
0
100
200
Yards

Fig. 120 Gozo: Eastern Region.

The intractibility of the Lower Coralline rocks, a function of the extreme slowness with which they are attacked by the forces of weathering, is repeated on the ta'Ċenċ Upland (66). Most striking is the contrast with cultivated outliers of the softer Globigerina beds. Thus it is the spurs on either side of the Wied is-Sabbar (65) rather than the valley itself which are cultivated, mainly under cereals and sulla (Fig. 130A). At ta'Ċenc, grey karst hills overlook the sea and contrast strikingly with the scarp-foot basin to the interior. 241* 311*

The Sannat Uplands (67), also tectonically elevated, have retained a cover of Globigerina rocks and here cultivated fields extend to the edge of the high sea-cliff. South of Sannat village, these fields are geometrically laid out and are to be associated with enclosure accompanying the westward extension of village settlement on to the hills. A similar crop assemblage is to be found both here and in the less regular fields of the broken land to the west. These are districts of dry farming, cereals, sulla and legumes being the chief crops. In spring, following winter cropping and in preparation for some summer vegetable cultivation, many of the fields are newly tilled. A high water table is maintained in the shallow Globigerina beds by the underlying massive and relatively impervious Lower Coralline.

The western extremity of the Southern Region is marked by a return to barrenness. Incision along a shatterbelt exposes Lower Coralline rocks in the Wied ix-Xlendi (70) and the tributary wieds Munxar and tal-Bardan (69). Karst, usable only for *xagħra* grazing, is but rarely broken by patch cultivation. The compact agricultural village of Munxar is divided by a Coralline gorge, at the head of which lie dense thickets of neglected trees. Above the small fishing village of Xlendi there is a small alluvial pocket devoted almost entirely to legumes. These two small patches are exceptional in an otherwise rocky wasteland area.

VI. THE EAST CENTRAL REGION

This region, as viewed from the surrounding hills, appears as a single basin. In fact, a central ridge separates two main depressions, a topographic division strengthened by the east-west alignment of a fault zone. The southern depression, that of the Wied Hanżira (73), is bounded to the north by a minor cliff with a narrow exposure of Lower Coralline rocks. The Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge (71) is in turn demarcated on its northern side by a sharp break of slope coinciding with a resistant bed in the Globigerina. This latitudinal graining of the land becomes blurred between Xewjika and Victoria, where the Victoria-Mġarr Depression (72) swings southward to merge with that of the Wied Hanżira. These regional subdivisions and their topographic characteristics are reflected in the field patterns (Figs. 131 and 132). [133]

The sub-region identified as the Wied Hanzira Depression (73) includes the basin of the upper wied and the shelf which extends eastwards at the same level to Ghajnsielem. In the west, between Sannat and Xewkija, lies a symmetrical, open basin of intensive dry farming. As shown in Fig. 131 A and B, there is a fairly regular arrangement of large but subdivided field. On the deep soils are grown a great variety of crops among which vines, cereals and sulla predominate. On the eastern shelf, the proportion of cultivated land diminishes, vines disappear and there is a great deal of fallow and grazing land. This change in crop assemblage is not associated with any topographic break but with a change in soil type and parent rock across a major fault. (See p. 31 and Fig. 2.) The only enrichment of the crop range which appears to result is seen in the greater importance of potatoes and onions. This may also result in part from the nearness of Ghajnsielem and proximity to the main Mġarr highway.

On the central ridge, the poorest cultivation and the thinnest, least continuous soil cover are found at the western end and along the Lower Coralline exposure south-west of Xewkija. In general pattern, this village resembles the hill-top settlements of the North, with its farmsteads and gardens strung along a web of roads and tracks. South-east and east of the village, the ridge top is characterised by geometrically arranged, undivided fields, the largest seen in Gozo. Cereals, sulla and vines, grown in exceptionally large blocks, are the typical [361]

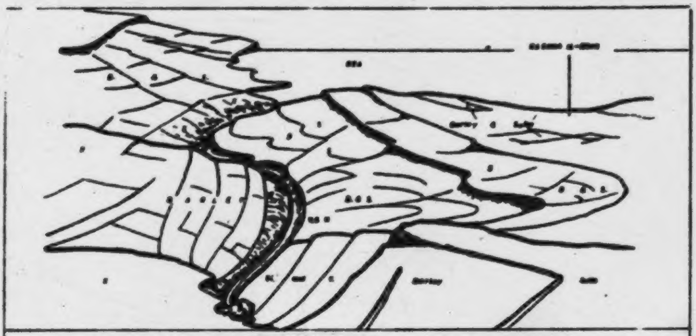
[Text continues on p. 287]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

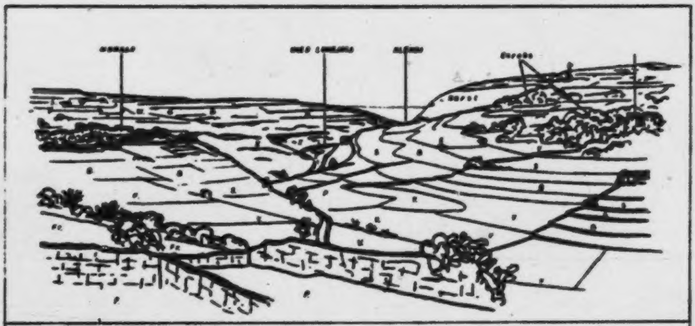
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

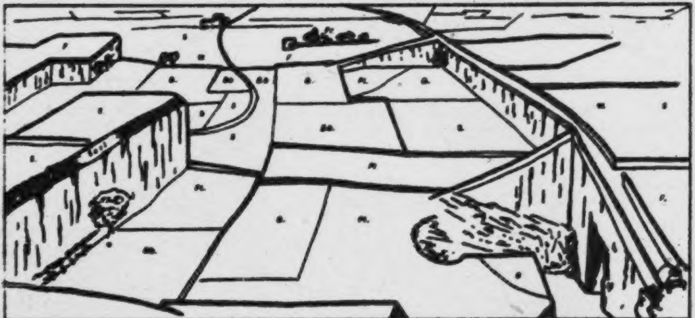
*241
*311
102
133



A: Wied is-Sabbar (65) PT. OF OBSERVATION MR. 333859 VIEW E.



B: Wied tal-Lunzjata (25) PT. OF OBSERVATION MR. 312886 VIEW S.W.



C: Abandoned quarry- Sannat (67)

H.B-J. [illegible]

Fig. 130 Gozo: Southern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

241*
311*
102

[133
[134
←

[133
[134
←

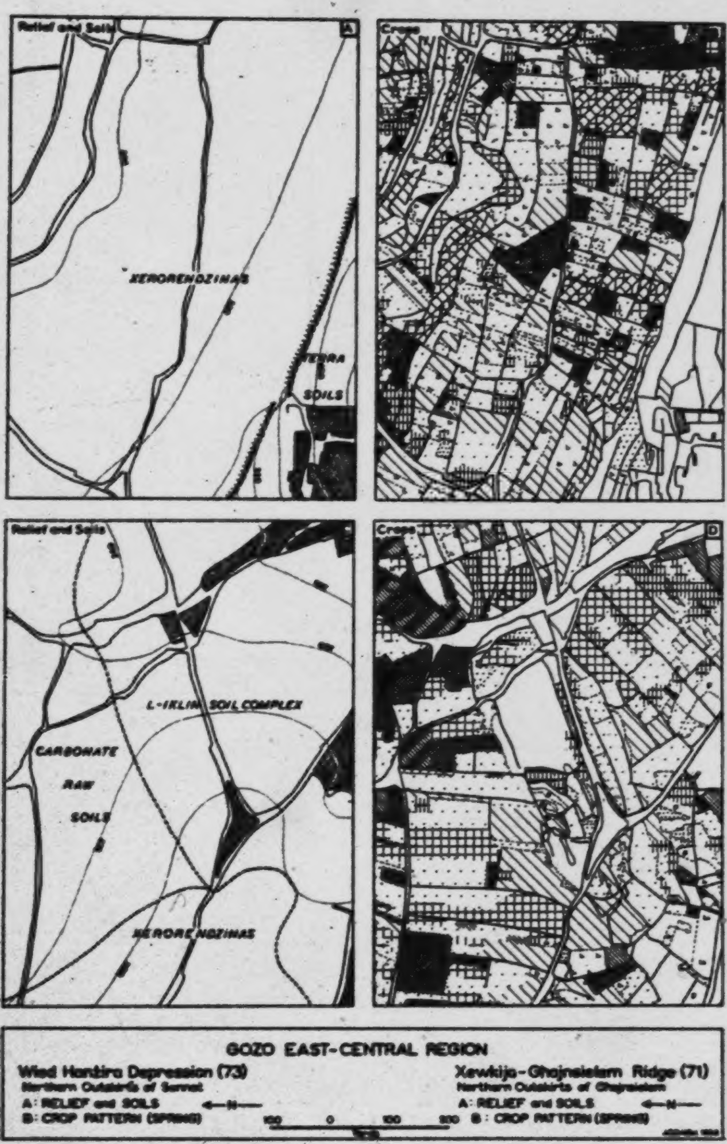

Relief and Soils
A
XERORENDZINAS
TERRA
SOILS
Crops
B
Relief and Soils
C
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
CARBONATE
RAW
SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
Crops
D
GOZO EAST-CENTRAL REGION
Wied Hanżira Depression (73)
Northern Outskirts of Sannat
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
N
100
0
100
200
Xewkija-Għajnsielem Ridge (71)
Northern Outskirts of Għajnsielem
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
N

Fig. 131 Gozo: East-Central Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

[133]
[134]

*241
*311
102
[923]

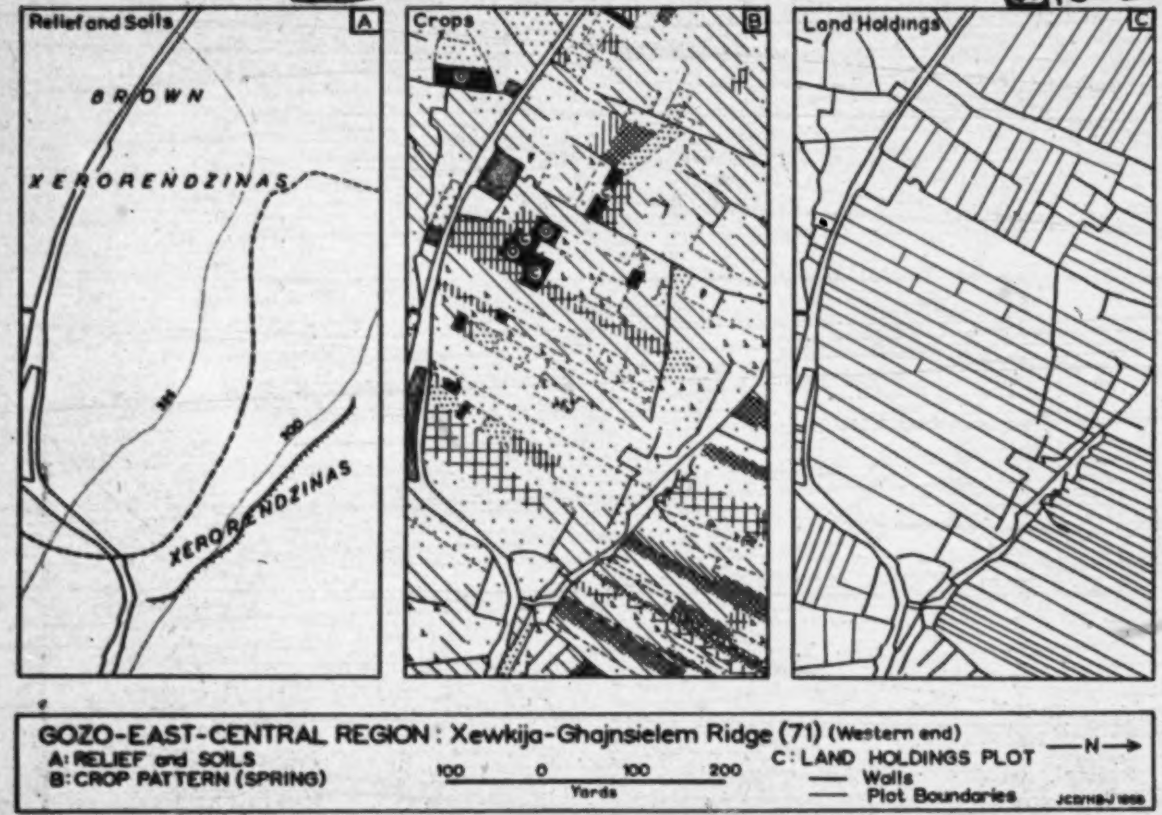

Relief and Soils
A
BROWN
XERORENDZINAS
100
XERORENDZINAS
Crops
B
Land Holdings
C
GOZO-EAST-CENTRAL REGION : Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge (71) (Western end)
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards
C: LAND HOLDINGS PLOT
Walls
Plot Boundaries
N
JCD/HBJ 1958

Fig. 132 Gozo: East-Central Region: Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

crops of this dry-farmed area. A striking contrast is formed by the field 241* patterns of the level area immediately north of Xewkija at il-Hamrija (Fig. 132), where the equally large fields are minutely subdivided into long, extremely 311* narrow strip holdings. In spite of this contrast, the crop assemblage is much the same. Here, as elsewhere in the Islands, such differences in the man-made landscape can only be interpreted by a full investigation of land ownership and the evolution of tenures. Field investigation suggests that there is no valid ecological reason for such fragmentation.

The Victoria-Mġarr Depression (72) is the largest area of level land in Gozo. There is practically no permanent settlement in this sheltered zone of deep soils, though intensity of cultivation is everywhere high. Here again, large level fields are divided into minute strips. All the more important crops are represented in this area of high grade dry farming (Fig. 131 C and D). The viticultural standards are particularly high, the vines being better tended than in practically all other areas of the Maltese Islands.

Ghajnsielem village lies at the eastern junction of the three major units of [361] the East Central Region and stands above the lower lands of the Wieds Mġarr (74) and Biljan (75) which converge on Mġarr Bay. The elongated settlement of Ghajnsielem itself is primarily an agricultural centre, consisting of a loosely-knit agglomeration of farmhouses. Along the roads, however, there are numerous small workshops and contractors' yards. These have appeared in response to the growing importance of traffic along the arteries which link the centre of the island with its only port. Here may be observed one of the inevitable results of economic progress, analogous in type to the much bigger development at Qormi in Malta. Eastwards, in the sheltered hollows of the Wied tal-Mġarr (74) and the Wied Biljan (75) specialised fruit growing predominates, although a full range of crops is to be found.

GENERAL

In Gozo there exists the same range of agricultural regions and crops as may be found in Malta, but the balance of importance is very different. The few areas of absolute waste are small and scattered and are confined almost entirely to outcrops of Lower Coralline rocks, while the Upper Coralline exposures are, with few exceptions, either built over or quite intensively worked. The defensive or refuge character of old settlement in Gozo has been mainly responsible for the agricultural exploitation of the Upper Coralline plateau tops which in Malta are often neglected. Retreat from such areas has been slower than in Malta, first because the presence of villages 'anchors' the farmers to their vicinity and secondly because of the lack of alternatives to the rural way of life in the predominantly agricultural Gozitan economy. On the other hand, the difficulties of export and the absence of large urban markets militate against commercial specialisation on the scale found in the most intensively farmed parts of Malta. Physical factors have also inhibited such development in that irrigation in Gozo is generally a matter of the utilisation of spring-line water and there are no known water bodies capable of easy exploitation such as that of the Maltese Wied tal-Pwales. Such specialisation as does exist is for the most part of recent origin and is based on the climatic advantage of early fruit and vegetable production. In the virtual absence of extremes, the Gozitan norm is good quality dry farming in its various forms.

CONCLUSION

The regional variations in farming landscape which may be observed in the Maltese Islands and are here described are significant in two main respects. In the first place they indicate the nature of the general forces which influence rural life. The fact that the lowest farming standards and most restricted crop assemblages are found in the remote as well as in the physically difficult areas emphasises how, even over small absolute distances, degrees of isolation and

*241
*311

communication can determine the quality of resource use. Similarly, the consequences of differences in pressure on land resources are clearly demonstrated in the regional variations in the intensity of use of intrinsically similar land.

Even more important, the distinctive character possessed by each of the regions described shows how the physical environment is variously assessed by the Islands' farmers. This is finally the question which matters: how far is Maltese life, not only in the rural sector, dominated by sometimes rigid, sometimes anachronistic perception of possibilities? It is to a consideration of this theme that our study now turns.

[P. 289]

Chapter IX

A. The Maltese Farmholding

423* 241 [464] For our purposes here we shall define a 'farmer' as 'the owner or holder of land which he cultivates', but will add the limiting clause, 'as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise'. There may be joint owners or holders but normally, even where a *'communio inter fratres'* has been established on the death of a parent landholder, one person will assume responsibility for the control of the enterprise. He is the farmer. His brothers, sisters, wife and children, if they assist in working the land, together with the non-family labour which he may employ are the farmworkers. The inter-relationships of family and work can, however, be much more complex than this simplification may imply.

423* The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers we shall term the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners, and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer. Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact that a holding may contain freehold, as well as various types of leasehold land. Within each holding there exists a loosely-knit collection of plots, which, through accident or design, have come to be in the occupation of one individual or group. Because of the geographical isolation of the plots, most of the holdings might, descriptively, be termed 'fragmented holdings'. Such holdings need not necessarily have acquired this characteristic through the process of *parcellement*; that is by splitting up of a holding into a number of non-contiguous plots. No generic connotation, therefore, should be attached to the purely descriptive use of the term 'fragmented'. In the following examination of the Maltese farm, this distinction between descriptive statements and analyses of processes will be maintained.

The physical size of a farm may be considered as the total area of land over which the farmer exercises sole rights of occupation for agricultural purposes. Fortunately, in the Maltese Islands, the matter is not complicated by problems of definition concerned with common land, as communal holding of land is effectively absent. But other problems do arise, since land is so variable in quality, ranging from fertile irrigated lands to soil-less karst, with many gradations in between. Most farms include land of more than one category and, especially in the north and west of Malta and the hard-rock areas of Gozo, many farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivator's point of view is useless.

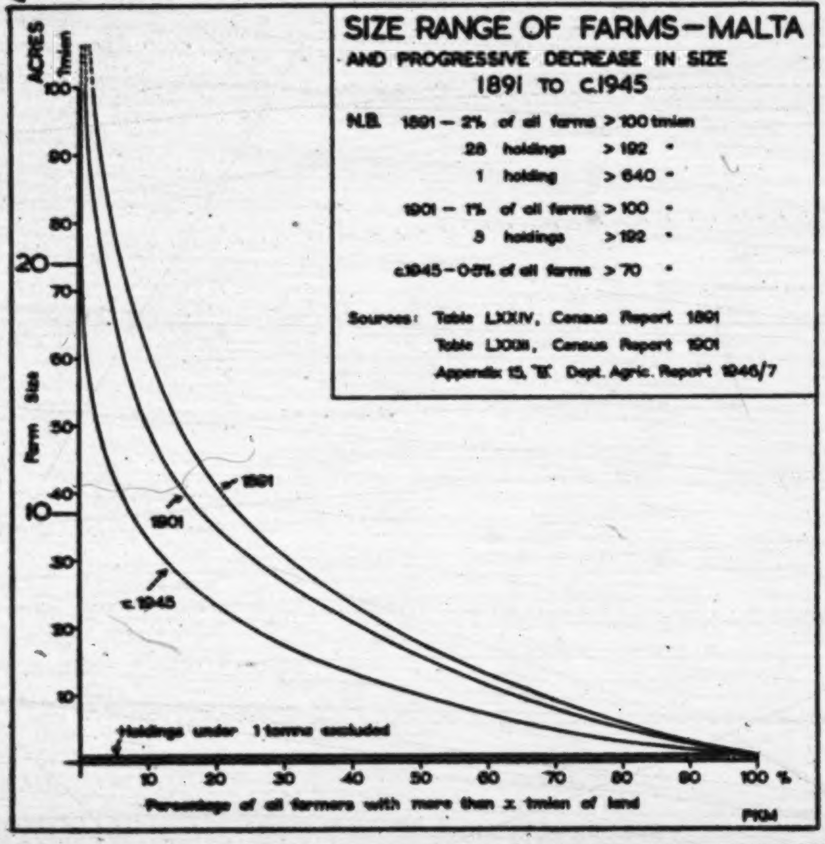
The average size of farms has proved an elusive statistic for many writers. A figure of 3.7 acres was given to the Royal Commission of 1911-12. From 1921-36 the Blue Books continued to advertise the patent fallacy that only 236 holdings were in the 0-10 acre size range and that 10,864 holdings contained from 11-50 acres of land. However, in this context any average figure is very largely meaningless except for purely comparative purposes. The range is enormous; holdings less than 1 *tomna* are not considered as farms, but there are many holdings only slightly larger than this, while at the other end of the scale, farms of 200 *tmien* are not unknown.

423* 127 659 Much of the record concerning farm sizes is incomplete and, although the present response rate of over 97 per cent. to the annual Agricultural Census conducted by the Central Office of Statistics is excellent under the conditions prevailing in the Maltese Islands, it seems probable that earlier returns lagged far behind in this respect. Of the various sources, the Farm Register is probably the most accurate. It began with a Census in 1943 and was checked against another in 1944; for several years its details were consolidated by field survey.

[Text continues on p. 291]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

423*



N.B. 1891 — 2% of all farms > 100 tmien
28 holdings > 192 "
1 holding > 640 "
1901 — 1% of all farms > 100 "
5 holdings > 192 "
c.1945 — 0·5% of all farms > 70 "

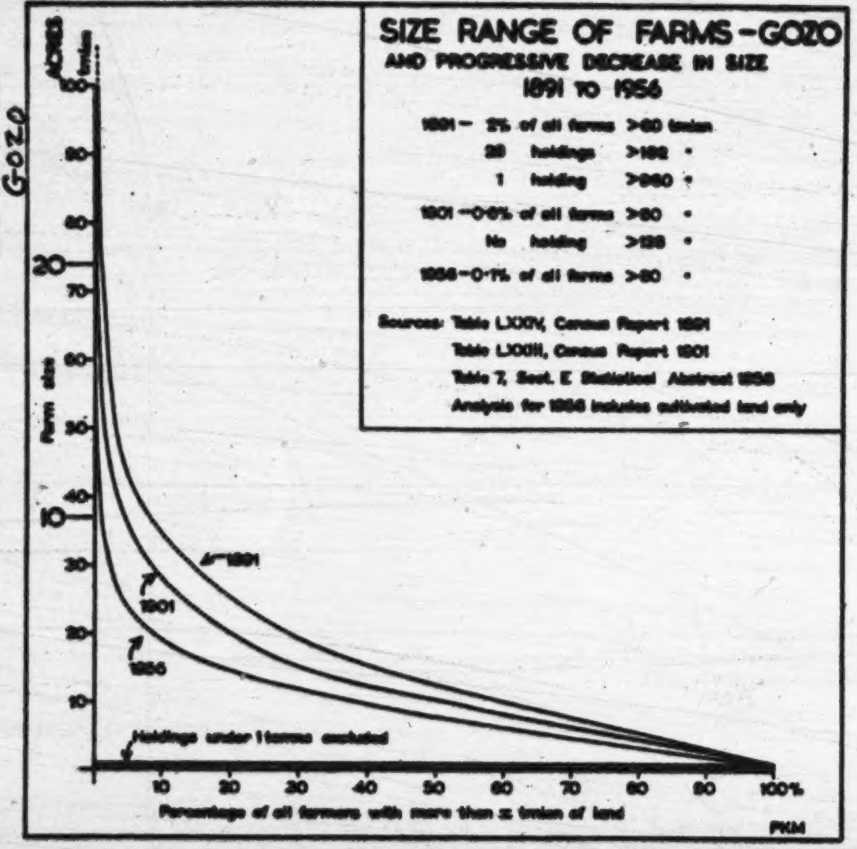
Sources: Table LXXIV, Census Report 1891
Table LXXIII, Census Report 1901
Appendix 15, "B" Dept. Agric. Report 1946/7

[p. 290-A]

Fig. 133
Size Range of Farms: Malta.

423*

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961 EZ6 Malta EZ6 Gozo



[p. 290-B]

Fig. 134
Size Range of Farms: Gozo.

and a small staff is still retained to endeavour to keep its material up to date. 423*

Quite apart from the varying accuracy of the censuses (and it is almost 127
impossible to assess the accuracy of the earlier ones), the analyst is faced with
other internal problems. In connection with the size of farms and the types of [659]
land within them, different criteria have been used at different times: in 1891 423*
and 1901, land was classed as cultivated and uncultivable; in the Farm Register, 127
irrigated, semi-irrigated, dry- and tree-covered land are classed as cultivated
and the balance as waste; the surveys of 1951-56 specify dry, irrigated and idle 311
land, together with waste. How far these groups are comparable from period to period it is difficult to say. The 1956 Abstract provides a better picture, for here in addition to the analyses of dry and irrigated land considered separately, there is also a simple size analysis of holdings according to the amount of dry and irrigated land taken together. More closely comparable with the earlier analyses it is yet not identical, since wasteland and, presumably, idle land are omitted. The full significance of the size characteristics of Maltese farms emerges only when the relative proportions of the two classes of land, dry and irrigable, are studied. This material is presented later, in Table 38. However, useful preliminary points can be made on the basis of the earlier, simple size-range tabulations.

The size-range data are presented in Figs. 133 and 134 and relating to Malta 423*
and Gozo respectively; they are directly comparable except for the 1956 curve in the Gozo diagram which relates to cultivated land only. However it is unlikely that this discrepancy will seriously upset the validity of the diagram as a whole. A 1956 curve for Malta, based on similar figures, differs only in detail from that produced here for the period c. 1945.

The content of these diagrams is largely self-explanatory: each curve illustrating the number of holdings above or below certain critical size limits. In Malta, in the year 1891, almost 80 per cent. of all holdings were smaller than 40 *tmien*. Also in that year the median figure was 18 *tmien*.(5 acres) in Malta but 13 *tmien* (3¾ acres) in Gozo. Farms were already smaller in both islands by 1901 and, at the end of World War II, Maltese farms had become smaller than were the farms of Gozo 55 years earlier. In 1956, the median figure for Gozo stood at the very low level of 8 *tmien* (2¼ acres). When it is realised that, for all except Gozo 1956, these data include some 5-7 per cent. uncultivated land, a major problem in Maltese agriculture has been outlined.

It might be held that the decrease in the size of holdings simply reflects a general reduction in the farmed area as a result of urban expansion. However, later evidence will show that the process of *morcellement* has probably been continuous for at least 100 years, and it is uncertain whether, over this longer period, there has been a net increase or decrease in the area of agricultural land. Certainly, in the period 1850-80 large areas of wasteland, mainly Government Land, were let on long improvement leases. Although it is clear that some of this land, for various reasons, never became productive, and yet more has remained marginal in character, a quantity unknown has been permanently added to the cultivated area of the island.

However, from Figs. 133 and 134, it is clear that the reduction in the average size of the farm has taken place at all levels: large farms have become two or more smaller farms, while smaller farms have been reduced in size. The process is thus an integral part of local agricultural development: small farm units are not merely the product of external encroachment, which, by reducing the area of agricultural land also reduces the average farm size (assuming a constant farm population). The extension of non-agricultural uses is obviously a factor to be considered, but the total farm population has not remained constant; indeed, despite considerable emigration and movement to the towns, it has increased (Chapter VI A). The precise number of holdings at any one time is not readily ascertainable, as most records are known to be incomplete and there is no means of knowing how many farmers failed to make returns. However, the following Table 34 indicates the general trend:-

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Table 34. Number of farm holdings.

	Malta	Gozo	Malta and Gozo
1891	6,307	2,965	9,272
1901	6,106	3,072	9,178
1950	9,600	4,000	13,600
1952	9,440	3,815	13,255
1955	9,011	3,674	12,690
1958	8,774	3,441	12,215

The fluctuations during the post-war period are not considered to be significant, since the 1950 figure was an estimate, and something like 750 farmers are known not to have co-operated in 1955.

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Some further indication of the long-term increase in the number of holdings is given by the Census statistics of Agricultural Occupations for the years 1842-1931. In those years, persons working on the land were grouped in the following categories:-

Table 35.

	1842	1851	1861		1871	1881		1891 1901 1911 1921 1931
A	Farmer	do. (Proprietor)		C	Farmer	Peasant Proprietor		Farmer, cultivator of land
B	Farmer	do. (Tenant)						
D	Labourer in the field						E	Farmer's relative assisting
							F	Agricultural Labourer

It would appear from the context in which they are used that the classes A and B of the earlier years were intended to comprise the same groups as class C, of 1871 onward; also that these represent the number of cultivators working land on their own account who have no other major occupation.

Class D was subdivided in 1891 and later years to take special account of those farm-workers who were close relatives of the land-holder. There is no close equivalent in the post-war material for this group, for the 1948 Census takes no heed of the family relationships, while the Departmental enquiries make inadequate reference to the admittedly small group of farm-workers who are not members of landholders' families.

If the classes A, B, C and D, E, F can be presumed to be comparable for the whole of the period, even to a wide degree of approximation, then a general upward trend in the numbers of landholders, balancing a downward trend in the number of farm-workers, is apparent (Table 36).

Short-term variations in these trends result, at least in part, from misclassification of persons as between the two groups, but of greater significance were the succeeding slump and boom conditions in Maltese agriculture, which in turn are to be related to contemporary, but opposite, fluctuations in the general economy of the Islands (Chapter V A). A fall in the number of full-time farmholders need not imply an absolute recession from the land, but rather that numbers of farmers are taking alternative employment, which, for a period, becomes their principal occupation. In the meantime the land is being worked on a part-time basis, or by the men's wives and families.

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Table 36. Agricultural occupations - male and female.

Farmholders, farm-workers, and total workers on land (excluding sheep and goat herders).

		1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders	%	27.2	19.7	17.1	30.2	19.1	37.4	36.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers	%	71.9	78.4	80.9	68.1	79.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	56.9	51.1
Total workers on land	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	000's	12.2	13.4	10.8	15.4	15.3	15.3	13.8	15.1	16.2	13.6

The general increase in the numbers of farmholders could have arisen entirely within the class itself, by the repeated re-allocation of land to succeeding and larger generations. Similarly the full decline in the numbers of farmworkers may be related to increased alternative employment or to emigration. However, case-study material seems to indicate that many families whose members had traditionally been landless labourers, working in fields, quarries or industry, as wages rose and fell began to acquire a direct interest in the land, thereby moving from one class to another without affecting the total agricultural labour force. Such a family history is examined in detail later in this chapter.

Another factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming. In this sector data is particularly limited and of dubious value. Table 37 consolidates all the relevant material.

Table 37.

	1891	1901		1956
'Farmers'	5,727	5,038	Full-time farmholders	4,706
'Part-time Farmers'	2,263	500	Part-time farmholders	5,337
			Other farmholders	1,368
Total	7,990	5,538	Total	11,411
Number of holdings	9,272	9,178	Number of holders	12,640

The discrepancies in the earlier two years between the numbers of farmholders and of farmholdings arise from the differing bases of the material, and because the number of holdings includes returns by the 'owners of fruit gardens and field labourers with very small amounts of land'. Similar explanations apply in 1956. These doubts notwithstanding, it is quite clear that a major part of the increase in holdings is made up of holdings farmed on a part-time basis; the number of farmholders principally dependent on agriculture having declined meanwhile.

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Earlier in this chapter, the point was made that most farms contain land of various types. Apart from virtually non-productive waste land, the main distinction is between dry land and irrigated land. The distinction is not always very clearly set between the two groups, since land can also be considered as 'semi-irrigated', as in the Farm Register. However, this type of land, watered from rain-filled cisterns perhaps twice or three times per season, cannot compare in output with the perennially irrigable land. The crops on this latter type of land will be watered at ten-day intervals for a period of six or more months. Semi-irrigated land is grouped by the farmers themselves with dry land as *raba baghli*, while perennially irrigated land they refer to as *raba saqwi*. So long as data is based on the agriculturalist's own criteria there seems little danger of confusion.

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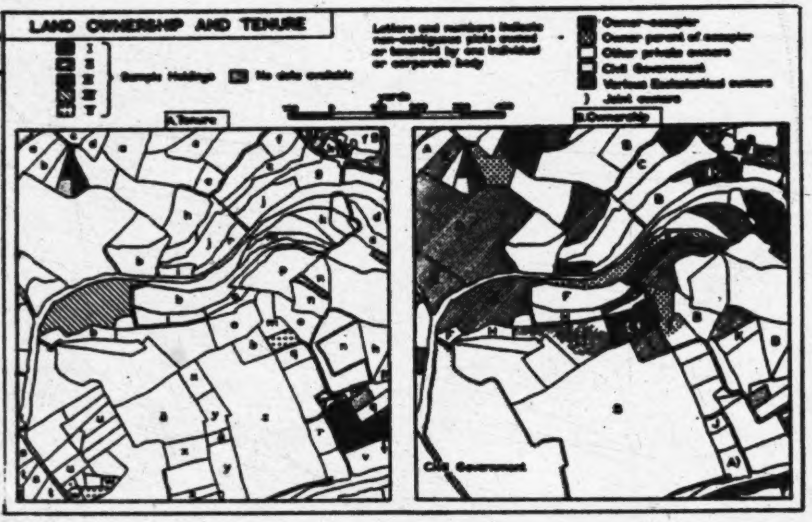
LAND OWNERSHIP AND TENURE
I
II
III
IV
V
Sample Holdings
No data available
Letters and numbers indicate non-contiguous plots owned or tenanted by one individual or corporate body
Owner-occupier
Owner parent of occupier
Other private owners
Civil Government
Various Ecclesiastical owners
Joint owners
yards
A.Tenure
B.Ownership
Civil Government

Fig. 135 Land Ownership and Tenure.

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From data supplied by the Central Office of Statistics, Table 38 has been produced. It shows the proportion of holdings, according to size range which contain only dry and only irrigated land, together with the proportion of holdings containing both; and on a simple areal basis, the predominance of each class of land within the mixed holdings. Table 38, as it stands, gives a valuable indication of the varied character of holdings. The great majority of holdings (83.5 per cent.) are seen to consist of dry land only. A very small proportion, less than half of 1 per cent., contain irrigated land only. The balance of 16 per cent. of all holdings are 'mixed'. The majority of these mixed holdings contain less than 5 *tmien* of irrigated and less than 20 *tmien* of dry land. It is clear that the additional productivity of the irrigated land will not affect a sufficiently large number of holdings, nor to a degree great enough, to upset the earlier conclusion that Maltese farms are extremely small.

The conclusions thus far drawn may now be summarised. Farm holdings of the Maltese Islands show wide variations in size, and their productivity is also very variable since farms consist of different classes of land held in varying proportions. Gozitan farms are smaller than those of the larger island, but everywhere the numbers of large and medium sized farms have been greatly reduced during the past 70 and probably 100 years; the residual holdings are mainly small. Encroachment on farmland by the expanding urban areas, roads and military installations may have been compensated in some degree over the long period by the development of former wastelands. *Morcellement* has been a characteristic internal process affecting the agricultural sector. It appears to have arisen partly through the sub-division of holdings amongst successive generations, but also through the acquisition of land by former landless families. Increasing, but uncertain urban employment has encouraged the growth of much part-time farming, which practice has in turn, contributed to the overall pattern of small holdings.

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Table 38. Percentage of all holdings according to the amount of dry and/or irrigated land occupied.

Maltese Islands 1956.

Horizontally: quantity of dry land held.

Vertically: quantity of irrigated land held

Tm.	0	10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99	100	Total
0	+	51.66	18.63	7.29	3.25	1.50	0.71	0.30	0.11	0.05	0.03	-	83.53
5	0.31	4.83	4.26	1.75	0.97	0.39	0.21	0.08	0.02	0.04	-	0.01	12.83
5- 9	0.11	0.56	0.78	0.55	0.28	0.09	0.08	0.04	0.01	0.02	-	0.01	2.53
10-14	0.04	0.17	0.16	0.16	0.10	0.04	0.03	0.01	-	-	-	-	0.69
15-19	0.02	0.06	0.07	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.01	-	-	-	-	-	0.20
20-24	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.04	-	-	0.01	-	-	-	-	0.14
25-29	-	0.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03
30 34	-	-	0.01	0.02	0.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03
35	-	0.02	-	0.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03
Total	0.49	57.35	23.92	9.85	4.64	2.02	1.02	0.43	0.14	0.10	0.03	0.02	100.00

100% = 12,552 holdings.

*423 102 311 [133] [489] This small agricultural entity, the Maltese Farm, is further split into a number of non-contiguous plots or parcels, each of no great size. In illustration of this and other related points a small area in Malta, square in shape with a side half a mile long, has been examined in some detail (Fig. 135). The area lies in the Central Region, between Siġġiewi and Żebbuġ, and includes in its north-eastern corner, part of the latter settlement. It is dissected by two steep-sided valleys, that of the Wied il-Beqqiegħa crossing from south-west to north-east, and the Wied il-Hesri which appears in the south-east corner. Narrow, terraced fields follow the contours of the valley sides but, on the more rounded relief of the interfluve, the fields, although still terraced, become generally larger and more nearly square in shape. Apart from the valley-floors, used as foot- and cart-ways, with other accommodation roads and paths, non-agricultural lands are limited to a few house-sites in the outskirts of Żebbuġ. A few scattered patches of rock outcrop occur on the steeper slopes, but the only large patch of uncultivated land covers the north-eastern lobe of the large tenancy plot lying south of the area shaded black in map. The remaining land is devoted to dry farming crops characteristic of the region.

LAND TENURE (Fig. 135A)

The underlying topography, clearly influences the shape, and, to a lesser extent the size of the tenurial plots. This is most striking in the north-eastern quadrant, where long, narrow plots reflect the sinuous terraces of the Wied il-Beqqiegħa; on the slopes of the Wied il-Hesri, however, the relationship is scarcely apparent. Shallower gradients are covered by plots of fuller and more varied shape differing greatly in size. In the north-east corner small and oddly shaped tenancy parcels are clearly related to the nearby settlements and are mainly specialised garden plots. An anomalous area of small plots in the opposite corner breaks up the general tendency of increasing size away from the casal.

Tenancy units are small in size, but there is enormous variation. The average of the parcels shown here, including parts of parcels beyond the limits of the area mapped, is slightly less than 5 *tmien* The smallest garden plot (*b*, north-east corner) contains about one-twentieth of a *tmien* of land, while the large plot of fieldland in the south (*z*) is about 50 *tmien* in extent. There may be a tendency for plots to be larger in areas where soils are thin and poor, but the two distributions can certainly not be equated.

Of the 129 plots, parts of which lie within the half mile square, 57 are held by farmers with no other land in the area. But the remaining 29 holdings each have two or more non-contiguous parcels. This relationship is indicated by the use of distinctive shading in the case of Sample Holdings II and V, and otherwise by the letter *a* to *z* and *d*. Holding *b* (six plots) scattered throughout the northern two-thirds of the area is an extreme example of the typical parcellation.

*423 102 LAND OWNERSHIP (Fig. 135B)

In general terms, within the area shown here, the distributions of ownership and of tenure are similar. As shown in Fig. 135B, there are many scattered plots belonging to the same owner, a characteristic which might be termed fragmented ownership. A similar cartographical convention to that used in Fig. 135A is adopted here. Plots owned by the same private owner are indicated by the letters A-J (I is excluded); the numbers 1-4 are used similarly for the various classes of ecclesiastical ownership. All plots, whether duplicated or not, belonging to the latter class, which includes monastic, episcopal, and parish land, as well as land owned by Charitable Institutions (a very small proportion in this area), are distinguished by a special system of shading as also are Civil Government lands. The rather special cases of ownership by the occupier or by his parent are also distinguished from the bulk of the parcels which are owned by other private persons.

Looking at the distribution in its basic form, as a simple pattern of parcels, ignoring the various special relationships, several points emerge. As in the map of tenure, there is a complex network, but the weave is generally coarser,

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the plots larger in size. The average ownership/plot is 7.33 *tmien*, and although the smallest is still one-twentieth of a *tomna*, the largest is now over 100 *tmien*. Thus the landscape can be considered as a series of four webs, the mesh of which becomes progressively smaller. The two larger are illustrated here: ownership parcels and tenancy plots. Next in magnitude is the field pattern, shown in detail on the standard 6-inch and 25-inch maps, and finally the crop-stand pattern with its very small units, amply illustrated in other sections of this book. But the alignments of these various sub-divisions are by no means constant from the smaller to the next larger. For example, some of the boundaries of the tenancy plots run across the middle of fields; similarly a parcel held by one tenant may be owned by more than one landlord. Nevertheless, in any given area, as here, the various patterns show clear evidence of their family relationship and the tendency for plots to decrease in size with proximity to the settlement is more clearly defined in the map of land ownership than in that of tenure.

Common ownership of several plots adds complexity. The owner of plots B is clearly the largest landowner although his plots are widely scattered. Next in order of magnitude, if it be considered as one ownership, is Ecclesiastical land. The Church lands are interesting, by virtue of the contrast between the large blocks owned by the monasteries (3 and 4), and the scattered episcopal (2) and parochial (1) lands. Owner-occupied and family-occupied land is concentrated to the north-east, where the relative ease of access from and to Żebbuġ has been a factor in the acquisition of freehold land. This same tendency has been observed during field investigation in many other parts of the islands.

How far does the pattern of ownership influence the detailed structure of farm holdings? The difficulty of answering such a question is illustrated by a comparison of Fig. A with Fig. B. The greatest dissimilarity of the two distributions is occasioned by the division into small tenancy plots of the Government-owned land of the south-west. But, apart from Sample V, it is noteworthy that holders of land in this sector have no other land within the area. The conclusion is that these are portions of an original holding, which has been sub-divided. However, tenancy holdings are by no means limited to one ownership holding. A striking example of such non-conformity is afforded by tenancy holding b, consisting of six tenancy plots. These six plots have seven separate owners, including the farmer as owner-occupier of the small garden plot (north-east corner). One plot (that immediately south of sample holding IV, centre-west) is owned by three persons. Is this an indication of an attempt to consolidate a holding? - or has contiguity merely enabled the tenant to know of an ensuing vacancy so that he could speak for the new tenancy in advance of any competitors?

Special attention is given in Fig. 135B to owner-occupiers, and occupiers of land owned by their parent. Tent *m*'s holdings within the area are limited to land owned by his father's heirs *E*, while a portion of this ownership is occupied by sample holding V. This case comes nearest to contradicting the generalisation that none of those owner-occupiers having more than one plot in the area own land occupied by other farmers; on the other hand each has land leased from another owner, and that those with but a single plot in the area are tenants in other parts of the region.

Close examination of the two maps will reveal further illustrations of these complex inter-relations.

The principal points arising from an examination of this case-study may be listed as follows:-

(1) The tenurial plot is very variable in size, but averages some 8½ *tmien* in area.

(2) The shape, size and distribution of the plots making up the tenurial pattern is influenced by all, but not controlled by any of the following factors: relief, soils, land management, field shape and size and ownership.

(3) Descriptively, farm holdings and land property may both be held to be fragmented.

(4) Tenurial holdings display a complex and extremely varied range of relationships with various estates.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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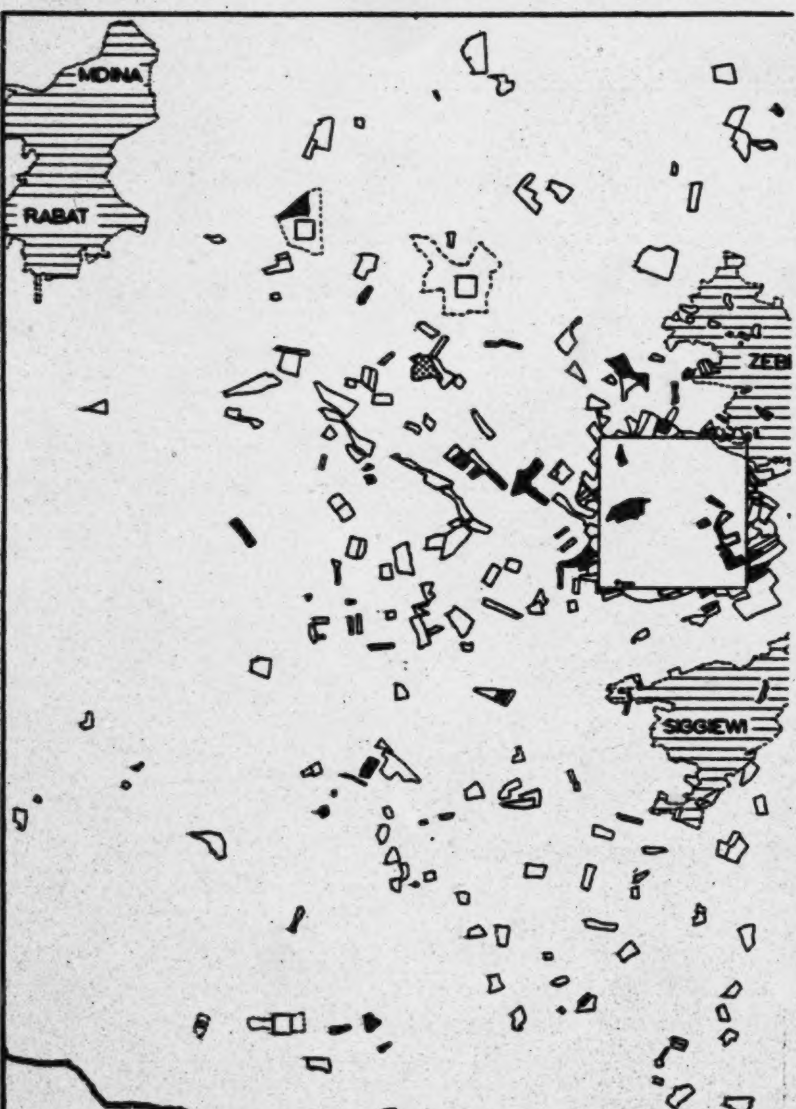
102.


MDINA
RABAT
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Based on

[p. 298-A]

Fig. 138 Fragmented Farm Holdings.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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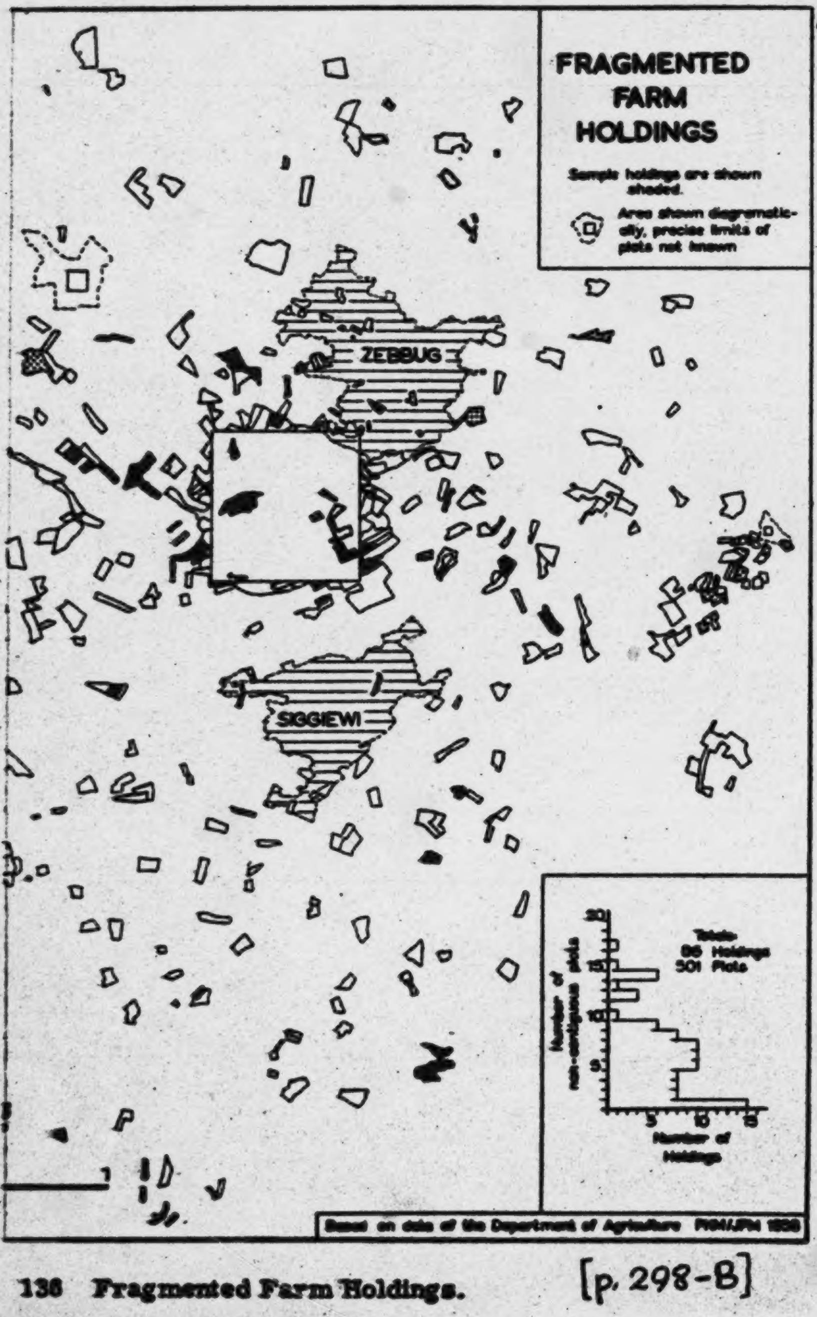
FRAGMENTED
FARM
HOLDINGS
Sample holdings are shown shaded.
Area shown diagrammatically, precise limits of plots not known
ZEBBUG
SIGGIEWI
1
Totals:
86 Holdings
501 Plots
Number of non-contiguous plots
20
15
10
5
Number of Holdings
5
10
15
Based on data of the Department of Agriculture RKH/JPM 1958

Fig. 136 Fragmented Farm Holdings.

[p. 298-B]

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(5) So far as existing patterns can be self-explanatory, it would appear that farm holdings are composed of scattered plots by virtue of several processes; the splitting up of single holdings among several tenants, the letting to a single tenant of parts of a fragmented estate and by the collection under an individual's control of a number of entirely separate plots of land.

However, Fig. 135 does not fully explore the degree to which parts of holdings are scattered, since many plots may lie well outside the half mile square. That this is so to a considerable degree is demonstrated by Fig. 136.

In the centre is shown the area represented by Fig. 135. All those farm holdings, having plots or parts of plots within this smaller square are shown in full. Including the 129 plots of Fig. 135, 501 non-contiguous plots farmed by 86 separate agriculturalists are represented. In those cases where the Farm Register Map is incomplete and the sub-divisions of larger tracts are not yet fully known, the outline of these tracts is marked, containing a symbolic plot proportional to the area held within that tract. 501 should therefore be regarded

[p. 298-C]

as a slight under-estimate of the number of plots concerned.

Geographically, the holdings spread over a large area, circular in shape, with a diameter of some 4 miles. The half-mile square is excentric to this distribution, whose spread is greatest towards the coast, in a south-westerly direction. However, there is also a considerable thinning out in this direction, and the maximum number of plots cluster about an east-west axis cutting through the square. Within this belt, and to the north, plots tend to be somewhat larger than to the south. 423* 102

All these plots are farmed by people who live either in Żebbuġ or Siġġiewi; 31 of them in the latter. The built-up areas of these casals and also that of Rabat-Mdina are shown. In the north-west, many of the Żebbuġ-Siġġiewi holdings encroach on the parish territory of Rabat, while a broad belt of inter-mixture of Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi holdings follows the inter-parochial boundary. In terms of farm holdings, parochial limits have only a very general validity, and it seems unlikely that the parishes have possessed any real economic integrity for a considerable period, if ever. The maintenance of parish units during the various agricultural censuses has presented analysts with many problems, but it is extremely difficult to see what other small units could be adopted.

Five of the holdings of Fig. 135 are given distinctive shading, and plots belonging to these are also particularised in Fig. 136, where a key makes identification possible. As it appears, fragmentation is an exceedingly difficult thing to measure with precision, since it is a function of the area of the holding, the number of the constituent parts and their relative isolation. Sample holding V, for example, consists of 17 separate plots and a direct line between the furthest plots is almost 2½ miles long. That this sample is unexceptional can be judged by the geographical scatter, and from the diagram appended to Fig. 136 which relates the number of holdings to the number of separate plots within each holding. Apart from single-plot holdings, of which the majority are small in size and held by part-time cultivators, more than half consist of six or more plots, and the average for all holdings is between five and six non-contiguous plots.

In the course of this examination, an assessment has been made of the extent to which farms may be described as fragmented. It is often suggested that *parcellement*, as a process, is partially responsible for this characteristic. However, in order to assess the degree of importance of the various processes, an historical perspective would be most valuable. It has therefore proved necessary to follow a long trail of field enquiry in order to build up the case-history which closes this chapter. 423*

Before discussing this material, however, it would be advisable to comment briefly on the validity of conclusions based on the above example, upon certain causes which are constantly invoked as full and adequate explanations of the scattered character of holdings, and upon the Laws which lie behind the present Maltese agricultural systems.

Within the complex processes of the development of farmholdings, the element of ownership must obviously play an important part. Unfortunately the translation of source-material into statistical and cartographic forms is by no means easy. The Farm Register is the only official source for cartographic representation and, until the proposed Cadastral Survey is complete, will with all its faults remain the main analytical tool. Few areas are completely registered and, even in these, the true ownership of land has not always been ascertained. The area already considered, that lying between Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi, is less affected than most by such deficiencies. 423* 127

Differentiation between the main classes of ownership is of basic importance. Some classes of Church and Government lands have had sufficient historical continuity of ownership to allow one to ignore effects of sub-division by legacy. Owner-occupied farms on the other hand are more prone to such *parcellement*. On the economic plane, differences in the level of rents demanded by various classes of owner can also have a considerable influence on farm morphology. 423*

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Quantitative estimates of these main classes of owner, available at a national level, are presented in Tables 39 and 40. Since they are incomplete and to some extent suspect, an attempt is made to rationalise some of the inconsistencies. In particular, percentage analysis has been resorted to, in order to overcome fluctuations of the agricultural area from one year to another.

Table 39. Land ownership and quality of land. Malta.

Percentage of total agricultural land.

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2"></th><th rowspan="2">Civil Govnmt.</th><th rowspan="2">War Dept.</th><th rowspan="2">Church, etc.</th><th rowspan="2">Private Landlord</th><th rowspan="2">Owner Occupier</th><th colspan="2">Total</th></tr>
<tr><th>%</th><th>000 tm.</th></tr>
<tr><td>(a)</td><td colspan="7">Cultivated land</td></tr>
<tr><td>1891</td><td colspan="2">13.8</td><td>16.8</td><td colspan="2">61.2</td><td>91.5</td><td>124</td></tr>
<tr><td>1901</td><td colspan="2">13.3</td><td>17.1</td><td colspan="2">61.0</td><td>91.4</td><td>107</td></tr>
<tr><td>c. 1945</td><td colspan="2">13.4</td><td>18.5</td><td colspan="2">54.6</td><td>86.5</td><td>115</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>12.6</td><td>0.08</td><td></td><td>45.9</td><td>8.8</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>1951</td><td colspan="4">80.0
78.9</td><td>8.2
6.7</td><td>88.2
85.6</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>(b)</td><td colspan="7">Uncultivated land</td></tr>
<tr><td>1891</td><td colspan="2">1.6</td><td>0.7</td><td colspan="2">6.2 (2.6*)</td><td>8.5</td><td>12</td></tr>
<tr><td>1901</td><td colspan="2">2.3</td><td>1.7</td><td colspan="2">4.7</td><td>8.6</td><td>10</td></tr>
<tr><td>c. 1945</td><td colspan="2">3.7</td><td>2.5</td><td colspan="2">7.3</td><td>13.5</td><td>18</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>3.4</td><td>0.3</td><td></td><td>6.3</td><td>1.0</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>1951
1953</td><td colspan="4">11.0
13.8</td><td>0.6
0.7</td><td>11.6
14.5</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>(c)</td><td colspan="7">Agricultural land</td></tr>
<tr><td>1891</td><td colspan="2">15.4</td><td>17.2</td><td colspan="2">67.4</td><td>100</td><td>135</td></tr>
<tr><td>1901</td><td colspan="2">15.8</td><td>18.7</td><td colspan="2">65.7</td><td>100</td><td>117</td></tr>
<tr><td>c. 1945</td><td colspan="2">17.1</td><td>21.0</td><td colspan="2">62.0</td><td>100</td><td>132</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>16.0</td><td>1.1</td><td></td><td>52.2</td><td>9.8</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>1951
1953</td><td colspan="4">91.0
92.7</td><td>8.8
7.4</td><td>100
100</td><td>157
143</td></tr>
</table>

*Ownership 'indefinite' - excluded from totals.

In Malta, the proportion of privately owned land appears to have fallen by some 5½ per cent. since 1891, with increases of 1½ per cent. and 4 per cent. respectively in Government and Church owned land. In Gozo the trends are the same but their amplitude greater.

One complicating factor is the difficulty of ascertaining the actual owner of a particular parcel of land. The frequent practice of returning an agent's name, or even the name of one member of a group of co-owners can only be neutralised by field checks. It is also known that some semi-literate farmers have returned land held under very long lease - particularly important within Church estates - as freehold.

One recent and important obfuscation of the picture has resulted in an apparent contradiction between Caruana and Missi (1, 2) on the one hand, who showed that in 1947 the area of freehold farmer-owned land had increased, and more recent figures which confirm the apparent long-term decline. In the economic situation prevailing before World War II, the ageing farmer would retain legal ownership of his land until he was incapable of working it, at which

I: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Table 40. Land ownership and quality of land. Gozo.

Percentage of total agricultural land.

423*

	Civil Govnmt.	War Dept.	Church etc.	Private Landlord	Owner Occupier	Total %	Total 000 tm.
(a) Cultivated land							
1891	18.0		8.4	67.7		94.1	37
1901	21.1		11.3	62.8		95.2	32
1951	83.4				9.5	92.9	
1952	84.6				8.8	93.4	
(b) Uncultivated land							
1891	0.6		0.2	5.1	(1.1*)	5.9	2
1901	0.6		0.6	3.7		4.8	2
1951	6.6				0.5	7.1	
1952	6.2				0.2	6.4	
(c) Agricultural land							
1891	18.6		8.6	72.8		100	40
1901	21.6		11.8	66.5		99.9	33
1951	90.0				10.0	100	36
1952	91.1				8.9	100	38

*Ownership 'indefinite' - excluded from totals.

time, ownership would change. Since 1947, the existence of savings amassed during the price boom of World War II and the granting of old-age pensions have together encouraged the farmer to retire at an earlier age from active management and, through various crop-sharing agreements, to divide the usufruct with heirs, relations and friends. New types of tenure ensuring security to the original owner and opportunity to others are of considerable significance. Thus, over a short period of time simple freehold may be replaced by other legal situations although the *de facto* position of owner-occupied land as a whole remains unchanged. [854] [745]

Increasing accuracy of classification may correct these and other discrepancies but may in itself and as a result of such corrections introduce apparent fluctuations in general trends. Thus, because it is reasonable to assume that the most recent figures are most likely to be accurate, minor trends culminating in recent records should be ignored. 423* 127

Thus it is that, in the absence of external evidence, we may say that increases in the actual or proportional areas of land owned by Church and State have been insignificant. Table 41 shows in round figures the probable proportions of land owned by the various groups, based on various sources and broadly correct for the years around 1950. We are satisfied that this gives a more accurate picture than that usually presented.

The character of ownership and its effects on land use must also be related to the character of the land itself. Tables 39 and 40 show, among other features, the growing amount of 'wasteland' which now makes up some 15 per cent. of the so-called farmed area of Malta, and a lesser proportion of Gozo. This 'waste' is mainly marginal land which bears clear traces of earlier cultivation. True 'wasteland', virgin karst or long-abandoned, has always been excluded from the total figure. 423*

It has been suggested that such figures show that freehold property (in which the farmer might be expected to have the greatest interest) is most likely to

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 303]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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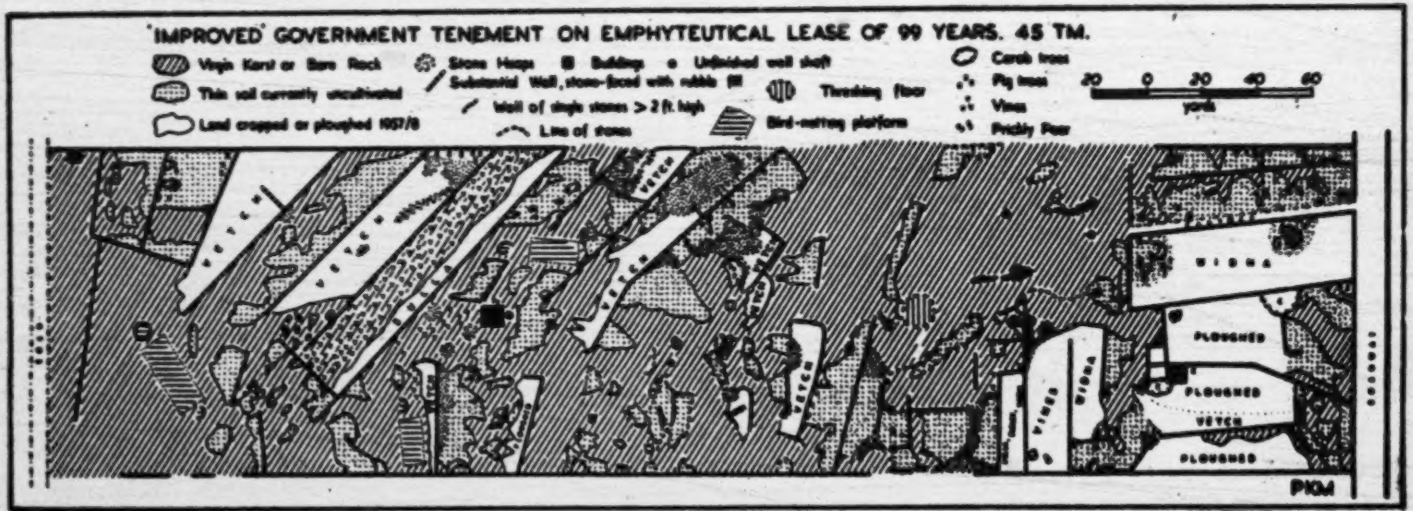
IMPROVED GOVERNMENT TENEMENT ON EMPHYTEUTICAL LEASE OF 99 YEARS. 45 TM.
Virgin Karst or Bare Rock
Thin soil currently uncultivated
Land cropped or ploughed 1957/8
Stone Heaps
Buildings
Unfinished well shaft
Substantial Wall, stone-faced with rubble fill
Wall of single stones > 2 ft. high
Line of stones
Threshing floor
Bird-netting platform
Carob trees
Fig trees
Vines
Prickly Pear
20 0 20 40 60
yards
VETCH
VINES
PLOUGHED
PLOUGHED
VETCH
PLOUGHED
PKM

Fig. 137 Improved Government Tenement on Emphyteutical Lease of 99 years.

[p. 302-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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923*
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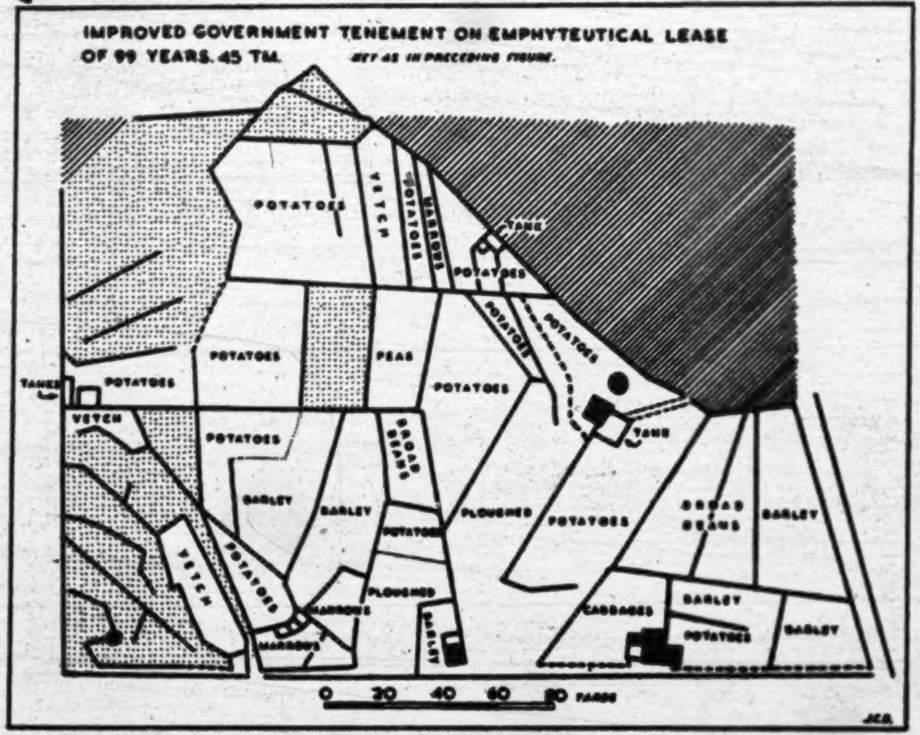
IMPROVED GOVERNMENT TENEMENT ON EMPHYTEUTICAL LEASE
OF 99 YEARS. 45 TM.
KEY AS IN PRECEDING FIGURE.
POTATOES
VETCH
POTATOES
MARROWS
TANK
POTATOES
POTATOES
POTATOES
PEAS
POTATOES
TANK
POTATOES
POTATOES
VETCH
POTATOES
BROAD BEANS
TANK
BARLEY
BARLEY
POTATOES
PLOUGHED
POTATOES
BROAD BEANS
BARLEY
VETCH
POTATOES
PLOUGHED
MARROWS
BARLEY
CABBAGES
BARLEY
POTATOES
BARLEY
MARROWS
0 20 40 60 80 YARDS
J.C.B.

[p. 302-B]

[For key see page 302-A]

Fig. 138 Improved Government Tenement on Emphyteutical Lease of 99 years (second example).

Table 41. Estimated percentages of total agricultural land owned by various groups. c. 1950. 423*

	Civil Govt.	War Depts.	Church, etc.	Landlord	Farmer's Family	Farmer	Total
Malta	16	1	22	51	2	8	100
Gozo	23		12	54	2	9	100
Both Islands	19		19	52	2	8	100

be properly worked. This argument as a basis for encouraging owner-occupance must be treated with some suspicion. All the field evidence goes to show that, in recent years, land purchases by working farmers have been mainly of good and, if possible, irrigated land. The Maltese agriculturalist rarely makes a conscious assessment of his returns in terms of productivity of labour or capital but rather the emphasis is placed on gross production. Nevertheless, general productivity, security of harvest and even social status all make him buy the best land, even at inflated prices. Little of such freehold property is difficult to work and little of it therefore lies 'waste'.

Historically there is further proof that the incentive of ownership is on its 423*
own of no great importance in increasing the proportion of worked land in any 311
holding. Early nineteenth century writers both commented on the large areas 654
of rock and other wasteland in the North of Malta, and on the age-old practice of building 'artificial fields' (see p. 324). There was a widespread belief that the whole of the cultivated land had been created in this way and that further extension was mainly a matter of encouraging the farmers to undertake the labour involved. A Commission of the *Società Economico Agraria* considered the question and made in their report of 1848 (3) the following points. First, any increase in agricultural production, particularly of grains, would be welcome. Secondly, there existed a pool of grossly under-employed labour and capital. Thirdly, although the physical extension of the cultivated area would be a slow process, the national advantage would be great. Fourthly, this end could be achieved by the granting of land in perpetual emphyteusis so that capital and labour could be securely applied to reclamation. In 1855 Schembri supported such a policy (4).

From 1850 onwards, much barren Crown land was distributed on this basis, frequently in parcels of 16 *tmien* and on 99-year emphyteutical leases. Subject to improvement (a clause that does not appear to have been enforced), the tenant had complete security of a tenure which could be renewed by his heirs on a preferential basis at low rents. During the first period rents could be as low as 1½d. per *tomna*.

Although some land was improved, the project as a whole was not a great success. Economic and social changes can be held responsible for some of the lack of response to these offers, for the second half of the nineteenth century was a dynamic period. In spite of much Crown expenditure on the laying out and construction of access roads, and the building of many field and terrace walls, some land was never taken up and more remained economically marginal. Of the leased land, a considerable proportion was later abandoned.

The main factor making for local success or failure of the scheme was the 423*
availability or otherwise of water. Two contrasting examples illustrate this 102
point. Fig. 137 shows an area of 16 *tmien* in the hands of one tenant. Small 311
patches of vetch are the sole evidence of use. Figs and vines planted during 654
early development no longer bear fruit. This long-lease land is virtually waste. The other example, illustrated in Fig. 138, has similar terrain and is more exposed to wind and seaspray. Here the presence of a shallow water-body has provided an incentive for the slow development of a soil cover and enabled intensive cultivation to succeed. Twenty-two heirs of the original lessee have each insisted on their right to work a portion of the holding.

*423 654 These are extreme cases but everywhere it is true that during the last century, continuity of tenure has not been enough in itself to produce land improvement.

*423 427 A variety of forms of tenure exists in the Islands. Emphyteutical leases, which must be documented, are legally all such that extend for a term longer than 16 years and have the proper content and conditions. On Crown land a period of 99 years has been favoured, but leases of 30 and 60 years are also found. The essence of such leases lies in their emphasis on tenant improvement of the land and on compensation for premature dispossession. Some of the implications of the official encouragement of emphyteusis have already been examined. In general the system is based on the supposition that the lease is long enough to reward the tenant for his development work, and that the land has been improved to a level at which short-term leases - *first offered* to the emphyteuta's heirs - become feasible.

Other leases are generally based on a four-year rotational cycle, in its turn based on the duration of the effects of intensive manuring on 'dry' land. Entry is normally on 15th August, in the 'dead' period of the year, and the most popular lease is for a duration of eight years with an option for renewal for a further similar term. On expiration the land is usually held on a yearly basis until a new satisfactory settlement is reached. Provisions for repairs usually divide responsibility between tenant and landlord on the basis of the scale of work and capital needed, the tenant being always responsible for wells and cisterns. Water derived from the holding should only be used thereon but in practice this is ignored. Regulation of husbandry is rarely mentioned except in general terms. Unless specifically revoked, legal provision exists for the remission of rents in the event of naturally caused crop-failure, although we have no knowledge of such a claim being made in recent years. After the flood damage of the autumn of 1957, the appeals were solely for Governmental aid.

The problem of compensation for improvement or for dispossession has in Malta as in other countries given rise to much disputation. Unless agreed by the landlord, any improvements to short-leased land can only be indirectly recovered either by removing impermanent fixtures or by the incoming tenant paying for items such as recent manuring or tillage. In the latter case, both parties regard the transaction in the light of a hand-over charge rather than as formal compensation.

Before 1940, the short-lease tenant had little legal security of continuity of tenure. On the termination of a lease the sitting tenant had preferential rights to renewal only if he were prepared to accept conditions equally or more onerous than would other applicants, provided the courts held these conditions to be reasonable. Such preference was negated if the land was needed by an owner or cousin or nearer relation of the owner. Theoretically, therefore, the ability of the tenant-farmer to resist rent increases or to prevent loss of investment was very limited. Wartime Emergency Regulations resulted in the creation of a special Board to consider problems of tenure where leases were shorter than for 16 years. Since that time preferential rights of renewal have been extended to cover immediate relations of a deceased tenant or to the equivalent of 'copyholders'. Rent increases must not be based on any increase in value accruing from any type of improvement, and their reasonableness is adjudged by comparable neighbouring rents. Greater freedom was afforded in sub-letting to a co-tenant or relation while the landlord's personal or family claim on land has now to be justified on the basis of a minimum four year use.

*423 311 427 The combination of short leases and absence of compensation for improvement has been held at one time or another to be responsible for virtually all the ills and defects of Maltese farming from a reluctance to plant tree-crops to the poorness of many local track and access roads. As with the relationship between freehold tenure and intensity of land use, such arguments are not fundamentally valid. Where physical economic conditions provide incentive to investment and improvement then the cultivator generally responds, no matter

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

what type of lease. However, many of the minor variations in land use which 423*
exist as between adjacent fields or parts of fields can be partially explained on 311
the basis of their legal position. Thus the wasteland of il-Wilġa in the Wied
tal-Pwales reflects both physical deterioration and a tenurial conflict. But, as 427
may be observed throughout the regional and distributional studies in this volume, the patterns observable in Maltese farming are resultants of many forces and influences, in which the legal element plays a very minor part.

A third type of tenure, that of share-cropping, appears in some rather 423*
specialised forms in the Maltese Islands. Between land-owner and occupier,
its main incidence seems to be as a working arrangement between aged parents 427
and their children. Between coevals it appears as a temporary form of subletting known as *bin nofs*. Some of the factors influencing the first type have already been examined. In the second case, share-cropping arrangements are a consequence of the growing tendency of farmers to leave the land for short trial periods to seek other employment or to emigrate. As a form of insurance, leased or owned land is then often let temporarily to relatives or friends on the understanding that should the farmer return, his land reverts to him or in the case of the time-limit (usually five years) elapsing before his return, the share-cropper takes over full rights. Although this is of doubtful legality in the case of rented land, landlords do not seem to object. In the north and west of Malta, over 6 per cent. of the cultivated area is held in this way, and the proportion is over 3 per cent. in Gozo. In other areas, share-cropping would seem to be of negligible importance. Because this system appears to be based on expediency, the details of owner-cropper relationship are more variable than in areas where *metayage* is more fully developed as an institution. The provision of land, materials and labour and the division of product vary greatly. One case exists of a whole community working the land under a tenant-in-chief who provides land, seed, manure and some machinery and then claims one-fifth of the value of the crops which he buys back in bulk.

The share-cropping tenures terminate with the death of either party. In all 423*
other cases the death of a tenant results in the leasehold becoming part of his
divisible estate and liable to fragmentation between the children, all of whom 427
have equal rights of inheritance. The importance of this element in the process 428
of *parcellement* has been regarded as very great, in Malta as elsewhere. Before considering an actual case-study of holding evolution, it is as well to note some of the general points.

First, the family group has strong powers to maintain its hold on land and to exclude others from it. In this they are supported by the action of landlords and by the legal codes as at present framed. On the other hand, little effort is made to prevent sub-division within the family group. Thus no analysis of the process of fragmentation can be made without a full understanding of the nature of the Maltese rural family.

In this chapter, the main elements in the physical and legal entity which 423*
constitutes the Maltese farm have been considered. As much as is feasible of the legal and customary background to the farm unit has been considered. In illustration of these points and in order to amplify them, a detailed analysis of
the lands of one Maltese family follows. It is appropriate here to record the [123]
great kindness, forbearance and co-operation shown by the members of that family without whose considerable assistance such an examination could not have been made.

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113

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Società Economico Agraria: Rapporto della Commissione del Barone Cav. Vincenzo Azopardi sulla utilità di concedere in enfiteusi le terre incolte del Gruppo di Malta, Malta, 1846.
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492
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Plate XIX. Tillage - traditional style.

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Plate XX. Tillage - new style.

B. The Lands of a Maltese Family

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It has been found possible to trace the landholding history of a single family back to its very beginning through four generations and slightly more than 100 years. Before about 1850, the family in question had no direct proprietary interest in land. Its members were landless labourers working mainly in the fields of various farmers in the northern districts of the island. They appear to have moved from farm to farm as demands for labour arose. Frequently they worked as a team, occasionally as individuals but always they were paid on a daily basis. Their home was in the casal of Mosta, and there is still some attachment to that centre, although few members of the family continue to reside there.

[127]
[128]

This study is based, fundamentally, on the oral tradition of the family, refined by studies of the Farm Register, Government Land Records and field identification. For ethical reasons, the family must remain anonymous; its members are therefore referred to by key numbers. The founder-father of our family and his five children are designated 0 to 5 as below. The progeny of each son are numbered similarly, the digits suffixed to the parent's number and so throughout. In addition, the lineage groups stemming from the original five children are distinguished by the letter A to E. Final suffixes 0 denote husbands of the females of the family.

The history begins in the 1850's with a family of five children and their father (0). Four of the children (2-5) were sons and worked for some time with their father as farm labourers. At some stage, the daughter (1), married a farmer with land in the Manikata area, and from her springs branch A of the family. Later, one of the brothers (2) married the daughter of a farmer who held most of his land at Ġnejn Għajn Tuffieħa, and lived nearby. On the death or retirement of his father-in-law, 2 acquired the tenancy of this land in the third year of an eight year lease which had commenced in 1862. Finding that he was unable to work this farm satisfactorily by himself he invited one of his brothers (3) to join him in the enterprise. When the eight year lease was renewed for a similar period, in 1870, both brothers became joint tenants. Their respective descendants form groups B and C of the genealogy. Another piece of land, which had been leased by 2's father-in-law for 99 years from 1861, passed to 2, neither 3 nor his descendants having any share in it.

Meanwhile, in 1857 or 1858, the father (0) and his two remaining sons (4 and 5) acquired the tenancy of an area of partially irrigable land at the head of the Ġnejna valley. Some 12 months earlier the land, with its terraces, had been severely damaged by floodwaters following very heavy rain. The landowner concerned was unwilling to assist the sitting tenant in the repair of severe storm damage to the extent which that tenant expected. Rather than bear alone the full cost, the latter attempted to sub-let outside his own family and was dispossessed by the owner. Our landless labourer (0) and his two sons (4 and 5) evidently felt themselves capable of tackling this reconstruction and, with the landowner's approval, took over the tenancy. It is uncertain whether the landlord gave them assistance in the form of reduced rent, whether they had some capital saved from their meagre wages which they could exploit here, or whether they depended for success entirely on their own labour. Some capital must have been available to them to cover the period of reconstruction and the sale of the first season's crop. It would be characteristic of the period if some financial help was given by the *pilkali* merchants who functioned as the land bank of that day.

[426]

[522]

There is evidence that local opinion did not rate highly the chances of this landless group in restoring the valley to its former fertility. The story is told of local comment that the family would not stay 'from Christmas Day to St. Stephen's' (25th-26th December). After 100 years of continuous occupation the story affords the family some considerable amusement, but serves to illustrate the shaky nature of the original enterprise.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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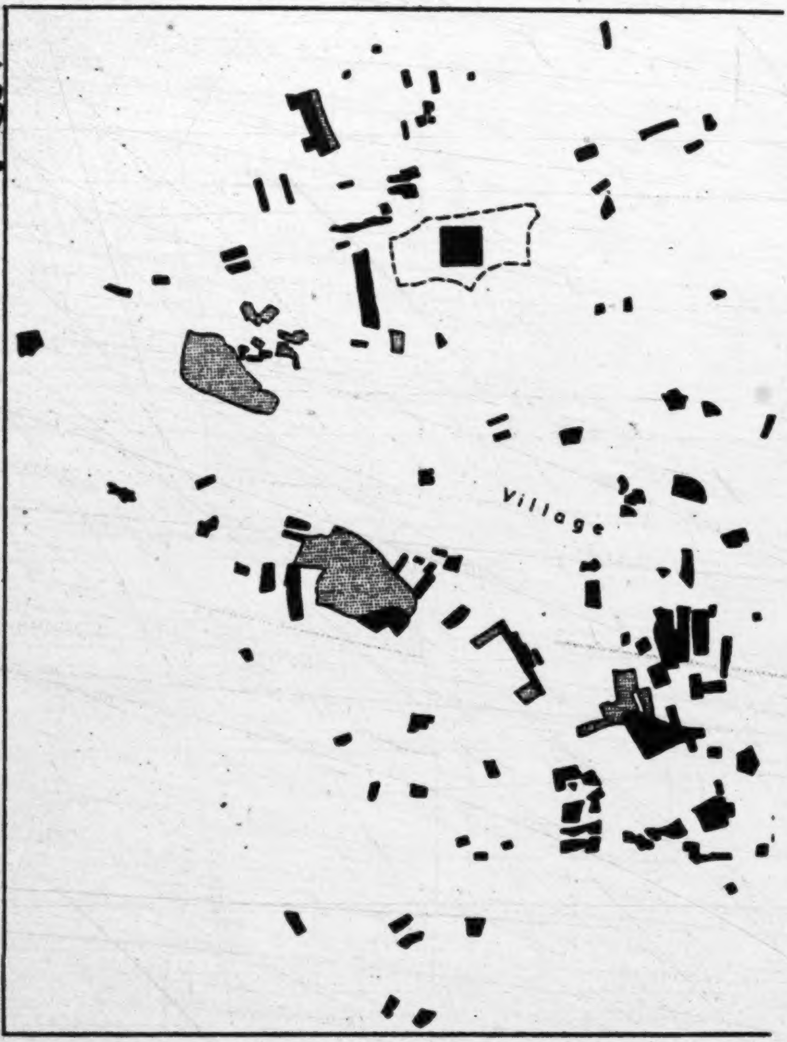

Fig. 139 The Landholdings of a Maltese Family

[p. 308-A]

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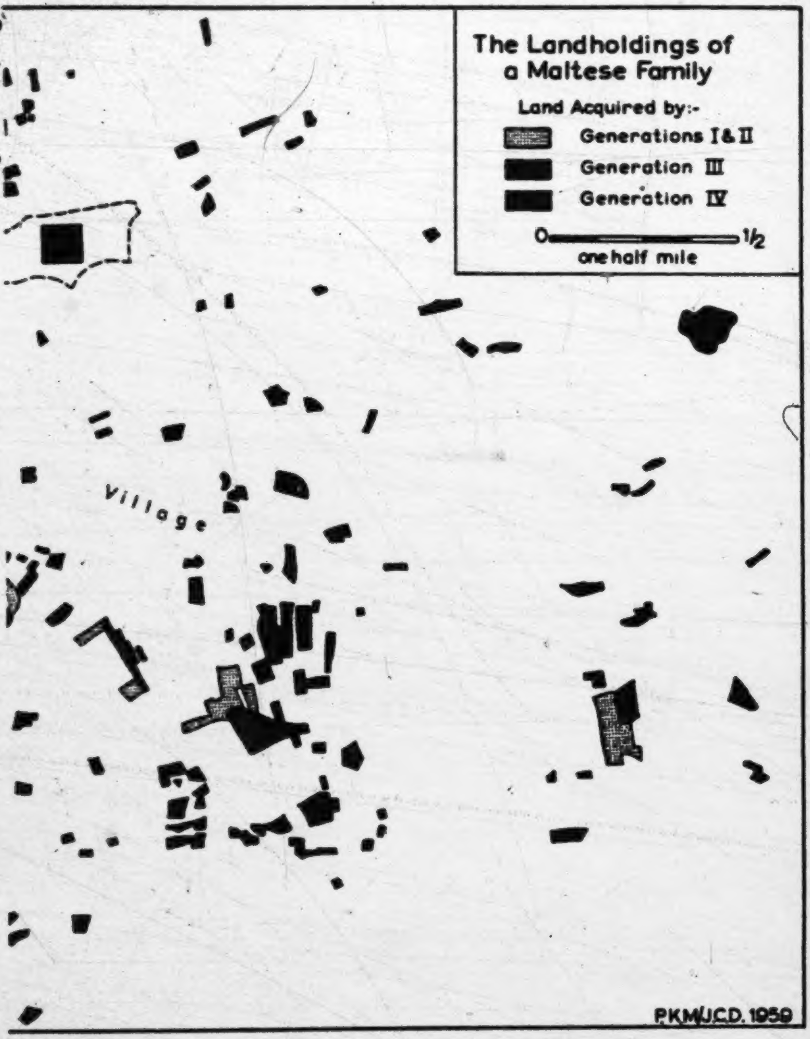
The Landholdings of a Maltese Family
Land Acquired by:-
▨ Generations I & II
■ Generation III
■ Generation IV
0
1/2
one half mile
Village
PKM/UCD. 1959

Fig. 139
The Landholdings of a Maltese Family.

[p. 308-B]

*423 This valley land, occupied by 0, 4 and 5, was not originally a single continuous plot, for two other tenants occupied land within the perimeter. At some
173 date, the holdings of these tenants were absorbed by the family, for today the
427 whole plot is held by members of groups D and E, the descendants of 4 and 5. It has belonged, throughout, to a single owner and has been held for many years
596 on an annual lease. For many members of the family it still forms the nucleus of their holdings, though each now works a relatively small portion of it.

Probably in 1880, 5 acquired the tenancy of two 4-*tmien* plots of a 29-*tmien* tenement near to this nucleus, on flat land to the east of the valley and the lease was later renewed, on similar terms, to one of 5's sons (54). On termination of the second lease, an increase of rent was mooted, to which 54 could not agree. After five months, no alternative tenant had been found and 54 therefore re-occupied at the old rent. He took two of the six portions into which the 29 *tmien* were divided, intending one for a brother, who however, did not require it. Both portions are retained by 54's descendants.

One year after this re-entry, 5 and his three brothers were approached by the agent to become tenants of another patch of less fertile land (75 *tmien* including rock). The division was uneven, 2 receiving a nominal 1½ *tmien* despite the plot's proximity to his home and other land. 5, perhaps as the principal tenant, acquired a lion's share (33 *tmien*).

The agent's inability to find alternative tenants for the 8 *tmien* of land and his soliciting of the family to occupy the larger plot, seem to indicate a marked

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absence of land hunger at this period, 1895 to 1896. Such a situation had probably existed for some years, since there is no information that other land taken over as a new tenancy, again by 5, at the beginning of that decade was 'lying idle', at the expiration of a long lease. The area concerned was again substantial and 5, unable or unwilling to tackle the whole plot, joined with two brothers from a nearby hamlet in making a successful bid for the tenement. The land, and also the rent which they had jointly agreed to pay, was then sub-divided, local conditions of soil and quality being taken into consideration.

At some time, possibly during this period, the other brothers, 2 and 3, added to the land obtained by marriage at Ghajn Tuffieħa (as a new tenancy and with strangers as co-tenants) another 35 *tmien* some two miles to the south-east, close to what is now the parish boundary in that direction. At a later date (c. 1910) 2 and his son, 21, entered on a new tenement of irrigated land in the Wied tal-Pwales to the north of Ghajn Tuffieħa. This was immediately divided into two approximately equal portions, of which the father's was eventually shared only amongst his other children.

The land initially acquired by 2 (the founder of group B) from his wife's family was Government land, which was already at that date split into a number of separate plots, but the other lands acquired by this second generation as new tenancies were fairly large blocks of land, averaging 36 *tmien* in area, including the two 4-*tmien* plots of land leased to 5.

It is clear, therefore, that during the 50 years before 1910 quite large blocks of land in northern Malta were coming on to the leasehold market, and that a family without previous rights of any sort in that land could enter on to it, apply sufficient capital and industry to maintain its hold and, within limits, dictate the amount of rent which it was willing to pay for the use of that land. All the land leased for the first time during this period belonged to owners of large private or ecclesiastical estates and some at least had been surrendered on the termination of long leases. There is strong evidence from all branches of the family that all land leased during this period has stayed within the group, though some naturally has passed to daughters on their marriage. The land acquired in the male line by 0 and 2-5 in this early period is mapped at Fig. 139.

This area mapped in Fig. 139 totals 262 *tmien* and was held by the four brothers in the proportions shown in Table 42.

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Table 42. Maximum holdings of generation II. *Tmien.*

	Sons of Farmer 0				
	Son 2 (B)	Son 3 (C)	Son 4 (D)	Son 5 (E)	Total
Acquired by marriage	12½	7¼	-	-	19¾
New tenancies	21½	42½	56⅜	121⅞	242¼
Total leasehold	34	49¾	56⅜	121⅞	262
Freehold	-	-	-	-	-
Total area	34	49¾	56⅜	121⅞	262
No. of non-contiguous plots	?	?	6	8	?

Even at this early stage, there is considerable disparity in the size of holdings, though this would partly disappear if the relative proportions of irrigated and waste land were taken into account. None of the brothers had any significant financial interests outside farming. 2 and 3 seem to have lived at Għejn Ghajn Tuffieħa but the others remained at Mosta, though many week-nights were spent in rooms which they had in a building at the head of the Għejna valley.

*423 As the circumstances of land acquisition would indicate, these early holdings were not excessively 'fragmented' but the seeds of later more complex patterns
173 had been set by the lease of non-contiguous properties and the parcellation amongst themselves or with unrelated co-tenants of large tenements newly
427 leased. However, we must remember that, although the male line of the family held no land before c. 1860, this is certainly not true of all the families into
596 which 0's sons and their descendants married. Accordingly, 2's children and the children of later marriages were only partially descended from the landless
[428] strain. With the legal right of equality of division of all heritable property regardless of sex, the expectations of later scions would therefore be enhanced. It must also be remembered that all land held by the later descendants of 0, whether acquired by descent through the family, by marriage, new tenancy or purchase, may with equal validity be considered as the land of other families, whose sons and daughters marry into the family which we have chosen to study.
[621] It is a valid case of 'gaining a son, not losing a daughter'. In the present (fourth) generation the family is fully integrated into a complex web of relationships within the village. Indeed an informant has remarked that if someone in the village is not related to him, that person must be a stranger and newcomer to the area.

Notwithstanding these considerations, clarity can only be preserved by maintaining the idea of the family as a developing entity in terms of which land is gained, lost or divided. Division is the normal process by which lands may pass in effect into the hands of a single child, though siblings may be entitled to some form of compensation. Division to all the children need not take place at the same time; an elder child may even receive its share while a younger brother is still unborn. In these circumstances, 'shares' cannot be precise, though efforts may be made to re-adjust at a later stage. A share of parental land is normally the first which a young farmer begins to work as his own. If, as is usual, his departure from the family farm was occasioned by marriage, he may also obtain land from his father-in-law, but this is never *his* in the same sense and is only effectively consolidated with the land of his own family when his children, born of that wife, come to work it on their own behalf.

Generation 3

All the brothers of the second generation are now dead, the last having died c. 1936, and their landholdings split up. The pattern of acquisition of land by the third generation is shown in Fig. 139. Family land passed very unevenly to these groups. For example, in group C, although there were seven other children all land came ultimately to the husband of one daughter (3 to 35). Initially the farm was divided amongst the children.

Table 43. Holdings of Generation III: Group C. *Tmien.*

s = son; d = daughter.

	31s	32s	33s	34d	35/36d	37d	38d	Total
Division from parent: 3	⅔	⅔	⅔	⅔	45½	⅔	⅔	49½
Transfers among siblings	-⅔	-⅔	-⅔	-⅔	+4	-⅔	-⅔	4
Total land and max. holding	⅔	⅔	⅔	⅔	49½	⅔	⅔	-
Total land to be passed on	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½
Leasehold	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½

Note: Some of 35's siblings have a little land elsewhere.

In other groups, the demands of each child were more nearly equal, but in none was there a rigid egalitarian sub-division. Even in group B, where all the children received some land, its distribution seems to have been controlled by

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need rather than any rigid adherence to the legal issues. All but one of 2's children remained fundamentally within the farming community. The exception (24) married a non-farmer, but even she was given a share of the irrigated land of her mother's portion, presumably to use as a vegetable garden.

Table 44. Holdings of Generation III: Group B. *Tmien.*

s = son; d = daughter.

	21s	22s	23s	24d	25d	26d	27d	Total	Ex. 25d
Division from parent: 2	3	4⅙	5⅙	⅔	1½	11⅙	7⅔	34	
Acquired by marriage	7⅔	3½	-	-	*	2	2	15⅙	
New tenancies	†32⅔	11	5	-	n.d.	12⅙	8½	69⅓	
Purchase	7½	5	5	-	n.d.	-	-	17½	
Transfers among siblings	-	†22⅓	-15⅙	-⅔	-	-	-6	22½	
Transfers outside family	-	-	-	-	n.d.	-2	-2	-4	
Total land held	50⅚	46	15⅙	⅔	c. 66½	25⅓	18	c. 223⅓	156⅚
Maximum holding size	50⅚	46	10⅙	⅔	c. 66½	25⅓	18⅙	c. 218⅓	151⅚
Total land to be passed on	50⅚	46	-	-	c. 66½	23⅓	10⅙	c. 196⅚	130⅓
Leasehold	43⅓	41			n.d.	23⅓	10⅙		117⅚
Freehold	20⅓	5	-	-	n.d.	-	-		12⅓

*circa 65 *tmien* at Attard. †Of which 11 *tmien* later purchased.

Table 44 shows the distribution of 2's 34 tmien of land, and other data relating to group B. Analysis of this distribution is complicated by the diverse qualities of 2's land holding, especially with regard to irrigated and dry land. But even when allowance is made for this factor, shares cannot be considered equal. The shares of 26 and 27, which passed to their husbands 260 and 270, were inflated by the inclusion of much dry land, but 26 still had a disproportionately large share from her father, perhaps because 260 had little land in his own right (2 *tmien*); the same might also be said of 270. 21 had already halved a tenement with his father (10 *tmien* of his new tenancies) and therefore received only a share of his mother's land, and none of that later added by his father. His brother (22) had a relatively small holding initially but added to it substantially later in life, when he took over the land of some of his brothers and sisters. Similar divisions are apparent in groups D and E.

Of their generation, group B were the most assiduous in adding to land holdings by purchase and new tenancies. Had it not been for their low fertility (23, 24 and 26 had no children, though all were married) they would have dominated the family in later generations. It will have been noticed that much care was taken that 2's children should have a share in their mother's land, while land later added by the father was distributed more partially. The mother's land comes into the family essentially for the use of herself and her children and where there are no children it must be returned eventually to her family. Similar logic applies to land or use of land *inherited* by the father, as is exemplified by 260's 2 *tmien* which, when it became clear that 260 and his wife would not produce issue, was given to his sister for her children. In contrast to some of his brothers and sisters, 22 had a large, vigorous, agriculturally-minded family and this, no doubt, stimulated him into adding to his initially relatively small holding, for not only would his children's labour permit him to expand but also their future welfare would demand it.

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The basic pattern is thus one of more or less unequal division amongst those children who wish to take up their rights of pre-emption on land, with greatest emphasis on the equality of division of land coming ultimately from a grand- parent. At a later stage, 'family' land tends to become concentrated into the hands of the more interested children (e.g. 350 and 22), and along with it some land added by their siblings. The volume of lands added other than by marriage is very much less than during generation II. New tenancies, which totalled 242¼ *tmien* of the holdings of 2, 3, 4 and 5, in the holdings of their children amounted to only 93¾ *tmien*, although there were at this latter stage 11 individuals actively interested in farming in the district. Sixteen new tenements were entered by this generation and the average size was 7¼ *tmien* (c.f. Generation II: 35 tmien). Of these, two were outstandingly large and in both cases tenancy was shared with members of other generations. The smaller (20¾ *tmien*) was occupied by 21 and his father (2) in c. 1910, while the other (30 *tmien*) was a co-tenancy between 21, 54, 5410 (54's son-in-law, generation IV) and a stranger, taken up in 1916. Thus, within a short space of six years, or perhaps a little more, three generations were actively acquiring land, this being some measure of the considerable interdigitation of the generations which makes it impossible to refer any one generation to any specific period in Malta's economic history. Where precise dates are known the evidence is thus the more valuable.

An example of the circumstances in which these new tenancies were added is illuminating. In 1916, the sitting tenant of the 30-*tmien* plot mentioned above attempted to sub-let the land to a non-relative. Not only was this done without the owner's permission but he also attempted to exact a premium from his proposed sub-tenant. The landlord was informed and the tenant evicted. Agreement was almost reached between the owner and a prospective new tenant, 410's father, when it was suggested by the owner's lawyer that a higher rent might be obtained on the open market. The tenancy was therefore published, in the traditional way - at Mass in the parish church - and, the joint bid of 21, 54 and 5410 being the highest, they were offered the tenement. The defeated applicant asked if he might share in the tenancy and, in view of the earlier negotiations, all parties agreed to this. This transaction, with the relatively small size of the other new tenancies, would seem to indicate that considerable competition for land had developed since the larger acquisitions of the previous generation. There is here certainly no evidence of land lying idle for five months as had happened in 1895.

The average size of plot added by marriage during this generation was also small, some 5¼ *tmien*. A small size is to be expected since these are all subdivisions of other families' land. The increase in total marriage land over the previous generation is roughly proportional to the increase in the number of marriages. As previously, 50 per cent. of the marriages in which the partners continue as agriculturalists involve no exchange of land, but in at least one of these cases (41) land passed from the wife's family directly to the children at a time when they were already independent of their father. Similarly, parts of the marriage lands of 210, 510 and 530 were also passed in this way directly from grandparent or uncle or aunt to the child. This process further emphasises that the land in question is not a dowry in the normal sense of the word, but essentially a settlement on the expected issue of the marriage.

A clear illustration of the economic advance of the family lies in its acquisition, during the third generation, of freehold land. It is doubly significant that only 1¾ *tmien* of the 35¾ *tmien* freehold came into the family by marriage, the rest was actually purchased by members of a family which, one or two generations earlier, were not even the occupiers of rented land. Most of this freehold land came into group B, where 21 and his brothers purchased 28½ *tmien*.

In these different ways 167½ *tmien* near the old nucleus and some 100 *tmien* elsewhere have been added to the 262 *tmien* handed down from generation II. In contrast, only 4 tmien has passed out of family control during the period. The distribution of this additional land is shown in Fig. 139 where its increased 'scatter' and the smaller size of the unit pieces makes a contrast with the earlier distributions.

By the time this generation[1] was at its prime, the village had grown both in size and facilities and achieved parish status. Gradually houses were built and the old attachment to Mosta was at least partially broken, but some of the farmers retain a house in the casal, now often rented to British Service families from ta'Qali airfield. Saved the need to travel to and from the casal, and increased dispersal of plots will matter much less to the farmer than if that journey still had to be made. 423* 173 596

More directly of concern to him will be the size of his holding. As there are now 13 farmers where formerly there were only four and since the total local area has been increased by appreciably less than 100 per cent., the farmer of generation III must, on the average, have a smaller holding than did his parent or parent-in-law. 350, holding all his father-in-law's land is one exception, and there is considerable diversity from individual to individual and group to group.

Many of the third generation are still alive, some retain control of land and one or two are still actively farming small remnants of their holdings. Therefore it would not be possible to examine the transmission of all their land to the succeeding generation. Nor indeed would this be necessary to the present study since the distribution, so far as it has taken place, has followed the same pattern as that from generation II. However, one aspect of the inheritance of land can best be studied at this stage, an aspect scarcely touched upon earlier. That concerns the physical division of a father's holding when it passes to his children. For example, is a holding of ten plots belonging to a farmer with five sons split into five components each with ten plots, every original plot being divided equally to each son - or, if all the plots are of uniform size will each son receive two plots only? This question is clearly of importance to the whole problem of *parcellement* and *morcellement*. That the true position lies somewhere between the two hypotheses given above is evidenced by the subsequent history of 54's holding outlined below. 423* 596

At its maximum, 54's holding comprised 142 plots in six localities, a total area of 74 *imien*, distributed as shown in Table 45.

Table 45. Holdings of 54. Locality, number of plots and area.

Locality	No. of plots	Size of plots				Total
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	
A	2	4 tm.	4 tm.	-		8 tm.
B	2	30 tm.	½ tm.	-		30½ tm.
C	3	3¾ tm.	1 tm.	3 tm.		7¾ tm.
D	4	8¼ tm.	2¼ tm.	2¾ tm.	4 tm.	17¼ tm.
E	1	7¼ tm.				7¼ tm.
F	1	3 tm.				3 tm.

He had six children (541-546) equally divided among the sexes and the amount of land given to each child varied enormously (Table 46), the daughters receiving small portions, the eldest son somewhat more, while the two younger brothers received two-thirds of the total land, which they work in partnership. The two elder daughters each married men with substantial land holdings. Their sister married a butcher who normally takes no part in farming but did work on the land during the recent war. At present the butcher's land is worked by 543 on a profit-sharing basis. 543 became independent of his father at an early age and has acquired a not inconsiderable farm (52 *imien*) by purchase from his wife's family as well as from his father either direct or through siblings. These facts doubtless explain the inequality of the father's sub-division, and 173 423* 596

[1] [i.e., The third generation of the family under discussion -- Analyst]

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the portion which 544 and 546 work jointly represents the remnant holding which they and their father worked jointly after the other children had received land. Some of it is still held by the father who takes a nominal share of the profits.

Table 46. Allotments to each of 54's children, showing plot number and areas which each received.

541 d	542 d	543 s	545 d	544 s/546 s
pt. C(a) 1t.	A(a) 4t.	pt. B(a) ⅓t.	pt. D(a) 3⅓t.	pt. A(b) 4t.
D(d) 4t.	pt. B(a) ⅓t.	pt. C(a) 1t.		pt. B(a) 29⅓t.
		pt. D(a) 1⅔t.		B(b) ⅓t.
		E 7⅓t.		pt. C(a) 1⅓t.
				C(b) 1t.
				C(c) 3t.
				pt. D(a) 3⅓t.
				D(b) 2⅓t.
				D(c) 2⅔t.
				F 3t.
5t.	4⅓t.	10⅓t.	3⅓t.	50⅓t.

Table 46 shows the extent to which plots have been sub-divided. On the whole the smaller plots have passed unbroken to the children (e.g. A(a) and (b), C(b) and (c), and D(b), (c) and (d)) but so has E(a) which is a fairly large fertile plot. Plot B, also, is little broken, though 542 and 543 each have a small portion for the supply of fruit to their respective family tables.

The fourth generation received paternal land according to the same patterns as the preceding one, and a similar generalisation applies to their acquisition of new land.

Table 47. Acquisition of new land by generation IV.

Groups	B	C	D	E	Total
From grandparent	4⅔		3⅔	17⅙	25½
Marriage	34⅙	26⅓	72⅙	151⅙	183⅚
New tenancy	35⅔	3⅙	5⅙	20	65⅓
Purchase	7			51⅓	58⅓
Miscellaneous*				5⅙	5⅙
Total	81½	30⅙	81⅔	244⅚	338⅙

*In trust for step-son.

The proportions acquired in the different ways have however changed substantially. Some indication of the extent to which the family are now integrated into the local community may be had from the amount of land now acquired by

marriage (60 per cent. of the total), but there are now a greater number of 423* family members interested in land - 31 in all, though only 22 have holdings of 173 a size likely to produce an adequate family income. The net per capita change 596 over the generation is a significant reduction in the area added, especially in the area added by new tenancies which in generation III resulted in an increase of 93¾ *tmien*. Further, the increase indicated in Table 47 is significantly influenced by a tenement newly entered by one member of the family (2130) which, in one large block of land, amounted to 28¾ *tmien*. All other new tenancies were relatively small pieces of land. The same applies, in fact, to all the land added at this time and, while land held by the family is gradually becoming an increasingly significant proportion of the total land in the locality, the outer spatial limit of new acquisitions is becoming increasingly wider (Fig. 139).

Naturally, generation V, some of whom are still babes-in-arms, has not yet been long enough active in the field for any clear patterns to show, but some transfers of land have take place. There does however seem to be evidence of an increasing proportion of children receiving only small garden plots from their parents, their major source of income being clearly outside farming. Throughout the period considered, 'garden land' of this sort has increased, though the pattern is obscured by overlapping generations (e.g. group C, generation III was somewhat younger and therefore later developing than other groups).

In the foregoing section, the landholding history of a family has been examined in historical depth. Both the methods of acquiring new land and the means of sub-dividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots. Although all children have pre-emptions to their parents' land, by no means all such rights are in fact taken up. In general, sons receive more land than daughters, while dowry land, so-called, is seen to have rather a more special function than that term implies. Although the availability of land has varied from period to period, energetic individuals seem always to have been able to build up their holdings to a viable size, partly perhaps by judicious choice of a marriage partner. Nevertheless, since c. 1870 there has been a general decrease in the size of farm.

Much of this evidence confirms and in part explains the trends observed in 423* the general statistical material and the study of the Żebbug-Siġġiewi area. The 178 legal evidence, which as was shown earlier allowed for the possibility of extreme sub-division, is only relevant so far as individuals and economic conditions enforce such extremes. In so far as law and custom support the maintenance of a family's control over land, field evidence suggests that law and custom prevail, for very little land entering the family is subsequently lost. On the other hand, attempts to sub-let outside a family group are seen again and again to result in forfeiture of land which our expanding family were quick to seize upon.

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that, although fragmentation has not proceeded to a degree made possible in law, it has developed with fair rapidity during the period of this survey. Had fragmentation proceeded everywhere in the island at the same speed in longer-established farming families, it would certainly have reached a more critical phase than it patently has. There seem to be three possible explanations of this apparent contradiction. Firstly there may have been some factor, as yet unknown, which inhibited considerable general fragmentation and which ceased to operate as from 70 or 80 years ago. The nineteenth century development of Government Lands, or some element in the emigrating pattern may be involved. Secondly, there may be a socio-economic limit to the process which our family has just reached, bringing it into line with conditions in older families - extensive inter-marriage may be a factor here. Or finally, there may be special forces within a developing family unit, perhaps not unrelated to the spirit of determination which led 6 and his sons with little capital to take upon themselves the task of restoring 100 *tmien* of storm-ravaged land, which would not apply to other groups. Certainly some individual members of the family studied display a peasant-like devotion to the soil which is becoming increasingly rare in Malta.

Notes on Two Land-Holding Patterns

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Fig. 104F[1] provides an example of extreme sub-division of the land in an intensely cultivated area, where irrigation water is readily available. The map covers some 324 *tmien* (90 acres) and is divided into no less than 323 plots, separated from each other by stone walls, by tenancy boundaries or by both. The tenancies of 259 of these plots have been identified from the maps of the Land Register and these are worked by 69 individual tenants. Forty-six tenants, working 194 plots, are registered in the parish of St. Paul's Bay, 15, working 46 plots, belong to Mġarr and 8, with 19 plots, to Mellieħa. The distribution of plots among the tenants is as follows:-

Number of plots per tenant	Number of tenants	Total number of plots
1	29	29
2	9	18
3	4	12
4	8	32
5	3	15
6	3	18
7	0	0
8	4	32
9	1	9
10	4	40
11	0	0
12	1	12
13	0	0
14	3	42
	69	259

Fig. 116E[2] illustrates a tenancy pattern in complete contrast to that of Fig. 104F. In this dry-farmed area, plots are much larger, averaging 3.7 *tmien* (approx. 1 acre), compared with 1 *tomna* in the Wied tal-Pwales sample. Individual tenants generally work a number of adjacent fields and sub-division of fields is extremely rare. The area involved in this case, is approximately 414 *tmien* (115 acres) divided into 112 plots worked by 50 tenants. The land lies wholly in the parishes of Attard and Qormi, the boundary running north-south along the central track, but the farmers are registered in a number of neighbouring parishes:-

Parish	Tenants	Plots
Attard	7	13
Balzan	12	3
Birkirkara	16	35
Ħamrun	2	3
Lija	1	1
Msida	1	1
Qormi	21	56
	50	112

This distribution indicates the deficiencies involved in statistics collected on a parish basis.

The distribution of plots is as follows:-

Number of plots per tenant	Number of tenants	Total number of plots
1	24	24
2	10	20
3	7	21
4	3	12
5	3	15
6	2	12
7	0	0
8	1	8
	50	112

[1] [See p. 262--Analyst]

[2] [See p. 260--Analyst]

Chapter X

THE PRACTICE OF FARMING

We have considered at some length the physical and social environments in which Maltese farming exists, the distribution of crops and of agricultural regions, and examined some of the physical and legal characteristics of the land holdings in which the land is worked. There follows a more systematic statement and a tentative interpretation of farming practice, and studies of the Maltese countryfolk (Plate XVIII). 128

A. Livestock

Livestock in Malta, with the exception of the wandering, wasteland-feeding, herds of sheep and goats, is rarely seen or heard. Cattle, pigs, poultry and rabbits are all kept in stockyards or enclosures, and horses, mules and donkeys, when not working in the fields, are stabled the whole time. Their near invisibility has caused us to omit mention of them in earlier sections. As noted in Chapter VII, the Maltese farmer, faced with land shortage as a result of the high population density, has chosen to cultivate stall-fed fodders as short-rotation crops rather than to grow pastures or perennial forages. It is difficult to believe that he has not made the correct choice if the criterion adopted is that of intensive and continual use of difficult land resources and the minimising of waste. 231 [246]

Numerically, goats are by far the most important (Plate XVII)[2] During the past century, they increased tenfold in number, a fact which marks the amazingly rapid increase in milk consumption, but in the last decade the trend has been reversed. The indigenous breeds, highly regarded in the Mediterranean up to the close of the eighteenth century, have now almost entirely been replaced by crosses with introduced British Saanen types. These crosses, in which Saanen blood remains dominant to the third or fourth generation, are hardy and prolific milkers, considering the quality of feed. Goats have remained important not only because they still supply about 40 per cent. of returned milk sales (and a large amount produced domestically and sold illegally), but also because, together with sheep, they utilise the great extent of wasteland as natural pasture. Some feeding on field grown forages is practised - during the survey such feeding was observed at Marnisi on broad beans and at Wied Babu on sulla, for example - but this is rare. 231 234 311 [232] [246]

Land unusable for cultivation, and which makes up over 30 per cent. of the total area, provides the basic forage ration. Breeders and kids are given supplementary feeds of beans and hay crops. Although, therefore, goats are theoretically poor converters of fodder into milk, they cannot be displaced by milch cows without at once offending the tastes of most Maltese for goats' milk and cheese, and making the uncultivable land almost totally unproductive. Sheep, somewhat less numerous than pigs, and by far less valuable, occupy the same ecological niche as do goats. Used domestically in many areas for milking, and by far the cheapest meat animals, these predominantly hairy rather than woolled sheep, of a strong German strain, are one of the 'crops' of the barren lands. In the absence of statistics of fodder consumption, the only evidence available is that obtained in interview. It would certainly seem that sheep and goats use much uncultivated land in their demand for feed, and are almost the only media for obtaining any yield at all from one-third of the land of Malta and Gozo. (See also Chapter X C.)

Pigs, numerically the most important meat animals, are almost all of recently introduced breeds, the English Large White in particular. Berkshire, Wessex Saddleback and Middle White have been tried, but the Large White Yorkshire, even when bred for lean meat to an average weight of 150 lb., has 231 232

[2] [See page 256 -- Analyst]

231 232 [131] proved its superior adaptability. An interesting point is that, before 1914, Serbia and Croatia exported to Malta large numbers of pigs for fattening, while Yugoslavia is today importing Large Whites as breeders from this country. It is now illegal to use other than pedigree boars for breeding, and the success of the Agricultural Department and the relative enthusiasm of the Maltese farmer in raising pig production standards have made Malta self-sufficient in this respect at least. Local grain and imported beans form the basis of feeding stuffs given by the best farmers. Animal slaughterings now average about 30,000 head per annum.

23 [179] [illegible] Of the total cattle population of some 6,000 in Malta and 3,000 in Gozo, nearly 30 per cent. are milch cows. This proportion has increased steadily since the first introduction of milch cows in the early years of British occupation. Before 1800, the indigenous Maltese breed, raised as general purpose stock in normal peasant tradition, alone was of importance. During the nineteenth century, specialised breeds were slowly introduced, a process which culminated in trials with Swiss Brown, Polish and Jersey cattle during the 1920's and '30's. By 1939, the cattle were mainly of mixed blood with the older strains predominating, and those still found are rapidly being displaced because of their low milk yields of some 1 to 1¼ gallons a day. The only surviving registered Maltese bull is to be seen on a farm at Binġemma Gap. In the post-war period, imported Ayrshires, British Friesians and Durham Shorthorns have proved very successful and popular. The Friesian strains in particular are very effective for crossing, important in that most country herds are still of mixed blood. A typical composition was noted in a stockyard on Delimara Peninsula - 13 milk cows and three heifers consisting of pure polled Maltese, Friesians, Friesian/Maltese crosses, Ayrshire/Maltese crosses, together with seven Friesian and crossed Friesian calves. Store cattle, of which over 3,000 are annually imported for fattening, are of various breeds, and come in the main from within the Mediterranean region.

231 84 This cattle population, which supplies half of the total production of milk in Malta, and approximately two-thirds in Gozo, as well as over 75 per cent. of the beef consumed, is a very special element in Maltese agriculture. The imported store cattle have but to be fattened for slaughtering. Trustworthy statistics are lacking, but it would seem that over one-half of the imported fodder is consumed for this purpose.

The milch cows are given a maintenance ration of sulla and other leguminous fodders, and a production ration of imported beans, grains and cake. Carob beans and chopped prickly pear are sometimes used, and *oxalis cernua* may also be fed in moderation.

231 234 246 This large demand for fodders has so far been met by maintaining at high level the production of leguminous and grain crops. Only in recent years has it become economic to add high protein feeds. For social and health reasons the human consumption of high protein foods, milk in particular, has been encouraged. It has therefore often been suggested that further concentration on production of forage crops is necessary.

It is probable that such a policy would be both uneconomic and impracticable. In the first place, as long as it requires an average of 6 lb. weight of fodder protein to produce 1 lb. weight of animal food protein, then any country with restricted land resources has to look twice at the wastage involved. Such a country, having to import either animal products or vegetable products, or even both as in the case of Malta, has little to gain by specialising in a production technique in which over three-quarters of the crops grown and imported for feed merely go to maintaining livestock in existence. Thirdly, since that land now grazed by sheep and goats is virtually unusable in any other way, they cannot be simply replaced by cattle. More cattle would mean less arable farming of food crops and this would entail either the loss of potential vegetable exports from irrigated land or, more feasibly, the improvement of arable dry-farmed crops, e.g. sorghums in place of barley.

The impracticability of a policy designed vastly to increase forage production may be proved as follows. The growing of perennial fodder crops is out of the

231 234 246 question unless a complete agricultural revolution committed Maltese farming to thorough-going dairy farming specialisation. Such specialisation, given the climatic and physiological difficulties, would not be easy to justify. A very considerable seasonal glut of milk exists between May and August at present, and the Milk Marketing Undertaking cannot handle the flush. This degree of fluctuation could be lessened but not removed. Costs of production are such that not only would exports be uneconomic but imported tinned milk can and could considerably undercut home production. Local consumption of fresh cows' milk could not be expanded much more than 10 to 15 per cent. above the present level which is already the highest in the Mediterranean, as long as tinned milk is more easily preserved, and as long as the rural community keeps goats and sheep. The banning of milk imports and of the production of goat milk would hardly be in the consumer's economic or dietetic interests.

492 407 Horses, mules and donkeys, some 6,500 in number, are still very important as work animals. For farm transport, they can only be replaced by the internal combustion engine purchasable only by the more prosperous cultivators. Produce collection by merchants' lorries is increasing as also is the use of hired tractors for cultivation. The numbers of these animals is unlikely to decrease quickly outside the urban areas because of their usefulness in tilling difficult land.

231 235 Of the remaining small livestock, rabbits and poultry already make a very large although immeasurable contribution to food supplies. Improvements in quality could be obtained if farmers' interest was aroused. At present, mixed breeds of poor poultry are commercially uneconomic.

234 654 In conclusion, we must return to the vexed question of dairy-farming and milk production in Malta. In 1950, the Director of Agriculture (1) put the question: 'Under prevailing conditions in Malta and Gozo, which is the more profitable animal to keep? The cow or the goat?', and followed with the statement: '... no accurate answer backed by accurate scientific data has ever been given'. The same impasse had often been noted before, for example by Dawson Shepherd (2), and Stockdale (3). An unpublished report on Maltese Agriculture by a visiting F.A.O. commission (4) similarly found itself at sea in the absence of any firm information. In 1956, the complexity as well as the obscurity of the situation was manifested in a Report on the Dairy Industry by G. W. Ford (5). In this study, reference is made to the different conclusions reached by independent observers, and to intermediate suggestions made by Marshall (6), one of whose remarks: 'I simply cannot visualise hygienic milk production by the peasant farmer in Malta', our observations would endorse.

Milk-production in Malta is no longer a matter of economics but, as in many countries, is affected by social and dietetic policies. Brief mention was made in Chapter VI C of the problem of the incidence of undulant fever and its association with milk infected by *Brucellosis Melitensis*. Some 20 per cent. of Maltese goats are thus infected, and any dietetic campaign to encourage the drinking of milk, particularly important in child welfare, must take account of this. Few cows are thus far infected and elimination is easier. The problem that emerges is therefore both economic and social in character. It is felt by some that reliance on imported tinned milk is one solution but by others such a suggestion is regarded as humiliating. Another possible line of action is to replace goats with milch cows, and in 1956 a system by which herdsmen were offered one Dutch Friesian heifer in calf for 12 diseased goats actually came into operation. The third possibility is to accept the position as it exists at the moment, or slightly to modify it, and centralise milk distribution thus enabling pasteurisation. This too has been done. Even now however, the cost of tinned milk imports, the cost of producing cows' milk, the surplus of goats' milk, all these as well as the land use point mentioned earlier, still remain to be dealt with. As we shall see, the market for milk called into being as a social measure is now the mainstay of many farmers of all grades. The development of the centralised agency, the Milk Marketing Undertaking has been accompanied by a guaranteed price system. Some 50 per cent. of all milk producers have, as a result of this organising of wholesale purchases, formed their own union the K.M.H. - *'Kumpanija Maltija*

234 654 *tal-Halib*'. These bodies have introduced some constant elements into an otherwise chaotic situation but this has also implied a certain rigidity. Sonce the costs of milk production are not accurately known and the costs to the National Economy are ignored one now has an artificial market with artificial prices which must be maintained to prevent economic disaster on the farms. (For such information on production and marketing as is available, the reader is further referred to Chapters X D and X E.)

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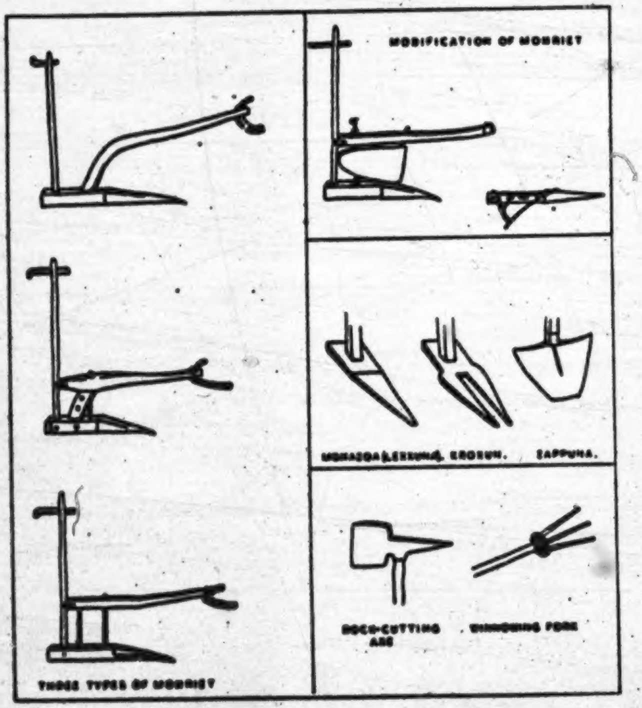

Fig. 140 Cultivation Equipment.

B. Cultivation Equipment and Tillage

171 407 412

Of the implements observed in Malta, the traditional types of plough, hoe, sickle and harrow are of the same genera as those to be generally found in the Mediterranean region (Fig. 140).

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Ploughs are of the *Aratrum* or *Ard* type, steel tipped wooden wedges, devoid of cutting edges and having very restricted powers of furrow making or inversion - *moħriet*. None of those observed had lateral 'ears' or 'wings' but apparently ards thus equipped are occasionally used. There are various sub-types with differing arrangements of beam, body and handle but no constant rational relationship between these sub-types and local environments could be observed. Prices range upwards of £4 10s. 0d. Iron or steel tips for the body cost about £1. One interesting modification of the plough is manufactured at Żurrieq. On top of the basic beam and body is fitted a movable double mouldboard of which either or both breasts can be brought into operation at any one time. Ridging and left and right furrow inversion are therefore made possible. For those areas where furrow inversion is practicable such a cheap, light multi-purpose implement would be very valuable, and the development of such improvements might well be encouraged by official approbation.

412

Hoes are manufactured in four main types. The heavy spade type, the *Żappuna*, is generally used for soil trenching in preparation for manuring. The effort involved tends to restrict its use. The small, single tined, wedge-shaped hoe, the *Mgħazqa* or *Lexxuna*, is a general purpose implement that is replaced under damp and cohesive soil conditions by a forked, two-tined variety, the *Kroxun*. A three-tined hoe is often used, together with the ard, for potato lifting. In general, each cultivator possesses a selection of different types of hoe, necessitated by the variety of manual operations he usually has to perform and made possible by the reasonable prices of the implements (prices range from about 16s. for the single-tine, to 18s. to £1 for the spade hoe).

407

The sickle in general use is a small, smooth-edged type costing about 12s. 6d. The small number of sickle types observed may result from the widespread practice of pulling rather than cutting green fodder. Traditional harrows are almost invariably of the Mediterranean and Asiatic type, harrows cum levellers and seed coverers. Those observed were triangular and stone weighted. When manufactured for the purpose they were usually constructed of ash and had removable tines. Without metal tines, the cost is about 50s.

[241]

These implements, of which illustrated examples are given (Fig. 140), have already to some extent been displaced by imported newer types. Most farmers who possess fields which are at all accessible to tractors now periodically hire contractors to plough the land with mouldboard or disc ploughs and even, in some areas, with deep digger-ploughs. Where plots are small or the terrain difficult, then rotary cultivators are hired or purchased. These latter machines, in spite of their relatively high cost - usually over £200 in Malta - are amazingly popular and are more and more replacing the *ard* and the hoe. The reasons for, and implications of this popularity are examined below.

[412] [906] [243] [892] 241 824

The spade proper is hardly ever used, and its absence is associated with the reasons for the survival of the *ard* plough. Small, light, flexible, metal harrows are to be found. Entirely imported, their only advantages are their flexibility on rough ground and ease of draught. They are, on the other hand, more easily damaged and more difficult to repair than their wooden prototypes. Other equipment includes a great range of fixed and movable adjuncts to farming, all but one class of which are constructed rurally from local materials. The exceptional group is that connected with irrigation and includes windpumps and small diesel engines. Threshing and winnowing, traditional style, needs no more than a rock or *lorba* (beaten earth) floor and asses or horses for trampling, baskets constructed of local cane, and simple wooden winnowing forks. Of recent years, centralised threshing by contractors' machines has almost entirely displaced the older method in all but the more remote western regions. Canes, grown in slightly marshy conditions in wied floors, provide the raw material for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc.

000 for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc. Livestock harness is
492 simple in type consisting of head harness and collar. Working bullocks, now
rarely used, are also equipped with collars for traction but the guiding reins
are attached to the horns. Country carts are unsprung, wooden frames resting
493 directly on the metal axles. That the ruggedness of their construction is only
equalled by the toughness of the draught animals is evinced by their presence
on places such as Dingli Undercliff, or the cliffsides of the Wied il-Luq
(Buskett).

343 The solidly built stone huts or *orfa* that are to be found on most holdings may be regarded as part of the farmers' 'equipment' rather than his habitation. The simplest and most numerous are simple one-roomed cubes, some five yards square, strongly constructed, usually of worked stone blocks with wood and *torba* roofs. These 'blockhouses', for such they appear, serve as storehouses for implements and crops, for guns and birdcatching equipment, as well as for shelter during the 'siesta' hours and bad weather. Their cost in construction labour, and the pride that does into the simple furnishing of what is the farmers 'den', as well as the deceptive appearance of dispersed settlement that they give, suggests that further investigation into their origins might prove valuable. In general terms, they seem to be a natural response to the marked concentration of settlement in the casals. They are far less numerous in the western region of more recent and dispersed settlement. The larger, two-roomed and two-storied types are used mainly as summer working residences, when a whole family may move out of its casal to the main holding.

407 These implements and types of equipment are one facet of the complex of traditional cultivation techniques - techniques based on the intense and continuous application of uncosted hand labour. A brief examination of the working characteristics of some of the implements is a necessary introduction to a discussion of general cultivation techniques.

The *moħriet* (Plate XIX) is used as an animal-drawn hoe rather than as a plough proper. It is light and can be carried by the cultivator along narrow field paths and across rugged terrain. Its negotiability is limited only by the ease of access demanded by the draught animals. The 'rotavator' (Plate XX) alone of modern mechanical implements can rival it in this respect. On coarse soils, often only a few inches deep, cross tilling by hoe or *ard* seems perfectly satisfactory for tilth making. A vertically applied tool such as the true spade cannot be utilised in such soils, while all but the simplest mouldboard ploughs are too clumsy for use in small terraced fields. Both *ard* and hoe are used in garden rather than field style and their only disadvantages lie in the slowness of the work performed. Here lies the especial advantage of the rotavator that can, under reasonable conditions, be used for tilling six *tmien* of land a day as compared with about two or three for the *ard* and one for the hoe. (Figures are necessarily approximate averages.)

178 Cultivation techniques and the farming landscapes which they have produced
are now in a critical stage of development. For millennia, a slowly increasing
291 population has been utilising the natural land resources more and more intensively
and also supplementing them by artificial works. Until the early nineteenth
311 century, social and tenurial obstructions to full land use on the one hand, and
wealth derived from the overseas possessions of the Knights of Malta on the
other, little affected the basic land hunger of the rural community. During the
period of British occupation, however, externally derived income has brought
with it more and more non-agricultural activity. Opportunities for non-farm work
have increased and so has socio-economic dissatisfaction with arduous and
limited rural life. The stage has now been reached at which land reclamation
and land abandonment, intensification of effort and neglect, are proceeding
simultaneously. An examination of those landscape features which are products
of farming techniques suggests that this stage is now critical.

242 Land reclamation and the extension of the cultivable area are still going on.
At several points on the Delimara peninsula, material is being carried from
311 the cliff foot and from old huts and dwellings and spread over the existing thin
and discontinuous soil cover. On this, sulla as a soil building leguminous crop

*[see page 306-- Analyst]

242
311

is then sown. Much of the resultant poor crop is hoed in, and then the humus enrichened tilth ploughed and put under rotational farming. At ta'Denfila, on the Upper Coralline tablelands, terrace walls are constructed from the larger boulders, and soil garnered from crevices and hollows then packed along and above the new walls. Fruit trees are planted in this new soil zone so that root development will both hold the soil and accelerate disintegration of the underlying rock. Stones are cleared from the remaining area, the rock floor chipped away, and leguminous crops such as broad beans are sown. When chemical weathering has sufficiently deepened the thin soils, and the humus content has been increased then normal ploughing is introduced.

On a smaller scale may be observed the building up by hand of 'perched' fields which, as at the Wied Buqana (103)* north east of Mtarfa, may stand 6 or 8 feet above neighbouring fields and which, with their red soils, contrast markedly with the surrounding white and yellow lands. Here, the material is derived both from Wied Qleigha silt and from town refuse. Not only in these areas but in many others as around the Wied il-Hallelin in the Southlands, on the interfluves of the Wieds Dalam (274) and Has-Saptan (285), and near Armier Bay (6) in the north-west, this age-old land making can still be observed. Less important but still practised, as near il-Marnisi (275), is the process of chipping small fields out of the solid rock, and the slow conversion of inorganic aggregates, capable only of hydroponic use, into real soil. (A European analogue can be found in Spanish Galicia.)

Distinct from these creative processes, are the techniques of laboriously utilising to the maximum the existing natural resources. First there is the practice of using soil pockets and crevices which for the most part would be quite uneconomic to work on any commercial evaluation of effort. On all the Upper Coralline lands small pockets of weathered material - Terra Rossa - lying between great rock platforms and boulders are remarkably well utilised. Barley, peas and broad beans are typical crops as at Xaghra tal-Buskett. At il-Wejdar peas are sown in karst crevices and give surprisingly good yields. Larger clefts and pockets are usually used for tree crops. Carefully tended peach trees may be observed in a 4-feet wide and 14-feet deep landslip cleft on the Upper Coralline cliff south of the School Mater Admirabilis (Rabat). On the Victoria Lines Scarp at Targa Gap (95) a solitary lemon tree can be seen, carefully sheltered by cane fences in a small soil pocket surrounded by a great area of karst.

These are minutiae, but they illustrate the high intensity of resource use. Larger depressions in the Upper Coralline as at Hofret ir-Rizz (75) (Fig. 111C) have been given special attention. Here, irrigated crops are intensively grown in the deep soils of what is mainly a shallow solution hollow cum collapsed cavern. Dry wied basins having subsoil water as at the eastern Wied Musa (Fig. 102A) form oases in barren karstland. On a still larger scale there are basins such as that of ta'Saliba (34) (measuring about 400 yards by 800 yards) in which dry and irrigated cultivated lands are inextricably intermingled with small karst hills.

A different type of utilisation is that which notes and takes advantage of minor differences in environment. Where wied channels are wet and marshy for most of the year, as in the Upper Wied ta'l-Isqof (128) and in lower Wied Has-Saptan (285) then canes, bullrushes and sward grasses are encouraged, tended, and cropped. Where, on the other hand, wied channels are wider and less well watered, then cultivation has spread down from the neighbouring terraces. Protection from storm-water is obtained by the building of longitudinal protective walls in the channel itself as in parts of the Wied is-Sewda (194) and the Wied ta'San Martin, and Wied ta'Ghajn Rihana (42). Occasionally, as in the Wied tal-Qleigha (89), a further lower water channel has been artificially cut in the wied rock floor for extra protection.

Most of the storm water dams and soil traps are carefully sited at nick points in the long profiles. Examples of this conservation work may be found at

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*A number in brackets following a place name refers to Figs. 69 and 70. z/A

z/A [See pp. 192 and 194--Analyst]

242 the heads of Wied Babu (219) and in the Santi Gap (57) in Malta and in the West-
Central Region of Gozo. In such topographical pockets, the building of soil trap
311 walls is sometimes extended to form walled orchards as at id-Dahla and the
head of the Wied ir Rum.

When we turn to observation and consideration of cultivation reactions to
241 minor topographical and geological features we are further reminded of the
311 special relationship between tillage techniques and the soil. Bearing in mind
the points noted in Chapter III B and the picture we have drawn of the physical
and social environment in which Maltese agriculture has developed, we are
forced to the following conclusions.

The economic necessity for the utilisation of virtually all land resources and indeed for creating some of them, together with the physical need for basing all farming practice on soil and water conservation techniques, have until very recently rigidly controlled the details of tillage. Fragmentation, a perfectly rational response to circumstances, has intensified the physical sub-division of the land. The majority of fields in Malta and Gozo cannot easily be worked except by small highly mobile implements. In the conditions described above and in a climate which makes possible a great crop range, implements must also be capable of a great diversity of application. In order to keep up the terraces, work the fields and succeed in maintaining and even increasing the area of cultivable land, the cultivator has been committed to unremitting and arduous manual labour. His basic tool is the hoe, his natural development of it the non-soil-inverting *ard*-plough.

The recent removal, by the creation of new real and psychological opportunities, of part of the pressure that has long kept the farmers on the land has altered the traditional picture. Cartographic evidence of the 25-inch to the mile maps, surveyed in the 1880's and 1890's, shows that since that time little wasteland has been improved. The only known large-scale change in field patterns occurred during and after World War II in the central lowlands of Gozo as the result of airfield construction, but holding fragmentation has re-imposed subdivision on the landscape. Occupational statistics and case-study evidence all point the same way. As a result of this release of pressure, land neglect and abandonment are now irregularly removing the extremes of control of cultivation. Even more important, Malta has been affected by the new evaluation of tillage techniques which has characterised so much of the world. Under modern conditions, most improvements in cultivation techniques have been deliberately designed for the increase of productivity on the better and more easily worked lands. Rural depopulation of the hard lands which gained such momentum in nineteenth-century Europe is an inevitable concomitant of such increases in productivity and of the accompanying demands for higher standards of material consumption and an 'easier' life. In countries such as Malta, this means that a new equilibrium has to be established, existing and new techniques and implements have to be evaluated against established environments and actual or potential changes.

241 Three examples from case-studies (Key letters refer to Chapter X E) can
illustrate what this means in farmer's terms. The first (A. p. 337) concerns a
311 part-time farmer in Region A II, Mellieha Isthmus. This cultivator corroborated
other evidence that in the nineteenth century it was still common for 'dry' fields
435 to be created out of wasteland. More recently it has only been economic to make
irrigable fields. The method is virtually the same in either case. First a terrace
[242] is cut into the rock slope, and the stone rubble is then built outwards in 'made-
ground' and held in place by a terrace wall. Soil, usually now from a building
site, is then laid over the rock platform and stone infill. Such a field 2 *tmien* in
extent in 1951 cost £150 in construction (almost entirely in labour) plus £50
for the transport of 20 truckloads of soil. The gross receipts from this irrigated
[434] *campe artificale* were £60 and £35 respectively for the first two seasons.
A generation previously, such work would have been done more slowly by full-
time farmers who themselves would have garnered the soil, but the market for
irrigated vegetables would have been smaller. A generation hence, a cultivator
will add to the costs of construction all the at present uncosted labour expended

by himself and will think of net profit on his sales rather than of gross receipts. 241

The second example is from a case-study (J. p. 342') of a full-time mixed 311 farmer holding 33 *lmien* of dry land (three blocks of six field plots) in Region C XX a, the Mqabba-Kirkop Plain. During the last 20 years, this farmer has 435 built up a herd of 13 Maltese Friesian cattle including ten milch cows from a flock of six goats. Before World War II he relied on crop-sales from arable land. Now approximately half the cultivated area is given over to fodder production. Although by Maltese standards this farmer is enterprising, knowledgeable and possessed of much more than average capital, he has no mechanised equipment for tillage but relies on contract work. Each year a tractor plough [427] and rotary cultivator are hired at a cost of between 15s. and £1 per *tomna*. The farmer still differentiates very clearly between the quality of different parts of his land, on the basis of a soil depth which varies from 8 inches to 2 feet, and on soil type distinguished by colour. Nevertheless, since he is now only really interested in livestock, and regards even fodder production as uneconomic, he has lost interest in arable farming and tends to neglect the poorer land and think of disposing of the other. This man is typical of many of the better class farmers in that the old niceties of tillage are forgotten as commercial considerations predominate, these latter a resultant of social and economic change in the Islands.

Lastly we may consider the extreme development, the farmer turned machine 177 contractor. Only half the age of the farmers already considered, this man is 241 much more aware of general developments in the agricultural scene, partly as a result of seven years spent as an 'emigrant' in Australia. Patrimonial land 407 is left to the attention of other members of the family, and he is only concerned with investment in machinery for hire. This contractor now possesses a lorry, a Ferguson hydraulic lift tractor, a hydraulic shovel, triple-disc and mouldboard ploughs, a rotavator as well as numerous accessories, and wants to purchase a thresher and a small combine harvester. The whole cultivation emphasis is put on mechanical effort and its ease of application. Deep-ploughing is advocated wherever possible even though he admits 'there may be drawbacks'; no qualms are felt about knocking down walls to gain admittance to fields, and considerable impatience shown towards traditional agrarian and social values. This man even complained that he was not allowed to plough on Sundays. One of his ambitions is the quintessence of the new attitude towards cultivation. It is to have a farm of 30-40 *lmien*, all in one block with no patch smaller than about an acre, the whole to be workable by tractor, thus making hand labour unnecessary, and accessible to heavy machinery. The holding should have its own farmhouse and be near to a market such as Żabbar. In this man the mechanical revolution in cultivation in Malta is epitomised, contrasting strangely with an attitude met at Rabat that the wheelbarrow is too technically revolutionary to be acceptable - 'it is not used here!'

C. Husbandry

241 In this section, a brief examination is made of those elements in agricultural production not previously considered. A methodological problem arises from 128 the fact that, as should be abundantly evident, farming in Malta is a complex in which it is most difficult to isolate the various elements. The method adopted here is to examine in general first arable farming, and then livestock. In the subsequent sections, an attempt is made to examine the general economic characteristics of Maltese farming and then to define the types of farms which exist in the Islands, with particular reference to the island of Malta.

As in all non-industrial countries with high population densities and limited 242 resources, a paradoxical situation may be observed in Malta. The intensive application of manual labour and careful observances of the minutiae of traditional techniques are found alongside some instances of land neglect which offend all the canons of good husbandry. On the one hand are observed careful tillage sequences, a first shallow ploughing or hoeing to kill weeds, a second deeper ploughing one week later to break up the surface crust and 'stir' for aeration of the soil to a depth of some 6 to 9 inches, and a further ploughing just before sowing to produce a fine surface tilth. On the other hand can be seen hoeing and ploughing during periods of high wind during which steady and large-scale wind removal of the finer aggregates takes place. Similarly, single trees can be almost coddled, while orchards are most often neglected and, while village refuse and animal dung is carefully worked into the soil, little effort is made to discard inorganic rubbish or diseased and seeding crops and weeds.

This paradoxical situation is most clearly defined in the attitude to weed and pest infestation and to the use of artificial fertilisers. Weeds of many types occur everywhere, and their eradication is manifestly impossible as long as the areas of wasteland to be found in every region provide safe centres for propagation and diffusion. The very walls of Malta which line almost all the fields and roads shelter weeds and pests. Even if eradication is impossible control is not, and the inadequacy of present husbandry is a measure of difficulties both mental and monetary.

The most prevalent and damaging weeds are broomrape and *oxalis cernua*. The former is indigenous to Malta as a field weed, particularly in association with cereals and broad beans in the dry farming area. On the thin dry soils of these regions, broomrape competes, only too successfully, for the limited water available and for plant nutrient material. The total effect on yields and the negating of much of the effort put into leguminous crop rotations must be very serious. Chemical control seems unlikely, and the cultivators themselves are aggravating rather than ameliorating the position. One cultivator interviewed in Region C XVIIIa epitomised the situation. Complaining that 'the weeds are pushing us off the land' he pulled his sulla crop, carefully leaving his wild oats and broomrape to seed freely. It was not surprising that his immediate neighbour had given up farming.

Many similar situations may be observed. Partly they are to be explained by the diminished actual and psychological pressure on land resources. In the main however they imply a basic parochial ignorance left as a legacy from the more primitive past. A farmer interviewed in Region C XX e clearly illustrated the nature of the mental problem. On being remonstrated with, because while pulling his rust-infected broad beans he left the numerous broomrape plants to seed freely, he professed astonishment at our ignorance. Observation, he pointed out, showed that the root tissues of bean and broomrape were not only intermingled but conjoined. Obviously therefore *both* plants grew out of the planted bean and surface seeding had nothing to do with the weed infestation. The problem set is how to explain in a convincing manner to a medievally-minded farmer the following: 'The seeds (of broomrape) germinate in the soil if the fibrous roots of a congenial host plant are nearby. Otherwise they remain dormant . . . as long as 13 years. When the primary root or radicle of a germinating seed makes contact with a fibrous root of its host, it forms a nodule of tissue

which becomes fused with tissues of the host. New roots and a stem of the parasite develop at that point' (1). The monetary problem results from the fact that once broomrape, or for that matter *oxalis*, infestation is severe, eradication by sterilisation means considerable expense and temporary loss of land.

The position as regards other aspects of phyto-pathology is even more serious. 'An intolerably large proportion of the field crops is being destroyed by pests and diseases' (2). An unpublished interim report of a Plant Disease Survey showed that c. 150 different diseases were found in one season in 1957 (3). Recent work by the newly established Plant Protection Unit indicated in 1958 that not only were old established diseases still virulent but that new ones, virus types in particular, seem to spread to the Islands very rapidly. Thus a fungus infection of grapes observed in August had been identified for the first time less than six months before in France. Pests are numerous and damaging. The only place where the author has ever seen large-scale infestation of a cereal crop by snails was in a barley field near Munxar (Region V) Gozo. They are also very destructive in the environmentally attractive globe artichoke patches found in so many wied bottoms. The Maltese practice of trapping or shooting virtually anything that flies may be amusingly reminiscent of Tartarin of Tarascon, but it does limit the controlling effect of bird life on some pests. Insect pests are even more important, ranging from the lethal onion thrips to the less spectacular but qualitatively damaging Mediterranean fruit fly and tomato red mite.

While it is essential for the sake of the internal economy that quantitative loss of production should be avoided, it is equally important that agricultural produce which might now or potentially be exported should be unblemished and free from disease. Thus the only countries which can offer markets for high priced early potatoes are *ipso facto* those in which regulations governing the health of imported produce are most severe and in which competition is most keen. The Department of Agriculture and more recently the Agricultural Advisory Service are thus confronted by very serious problems. The first step, taken mainly since 1955, has been to establish scientifically observed fact. Thus the phyto-pathological surveys already cited have been made; in 1957 a preliminary report on the meteorological possibilities of operating a potato blight forecasting service was prepared by Mitchell (4), and a plant protection adviser appointed. As Hopkins (5) has pointed out some plant symptoms may be attributable to a 'wide range of conditions varying from soil exhaustion to root or virus diseases'. The soil survey carried out by Lang (6) has considerably increased our knowledge, but more needs to be done before deficiency troubles of all kinds can be overcome. Meteorologically, the obscurity may be illustrated by the confusion caused by the frequent use of the word '*glaia*' to mean frost or frost damage as well as 'blight'. Sunscorch, particularly through dew globules, followed by moulds which find optimum conditions in the high humidities and temperatures in plant level micro-climates is probably responsible for much of the so-called '*glaia*' damage. The removal of obscurity by scientific investigation is an essential step but it is one which, figuratively, takes the investigator away from the farmer.

The second type of action required is the examination of crop types and varieties at present grown and the consideration of the possibility of introducing exotic types, varieties and strains. Hypothetically, this is no great problem inasmuch as the farmers of the Islands have in the past apparently shown themselves ready to experiment and able to recognise a superficially 'good thing' when they see it. One has merely to look at the publications of the *Società Economico Agraria* to realise how much experimental work has been carried on by enthusiasts. In 1848, a work on barley and vine varieties was published together with a consideration of tobacco cultivation. So too in other years. In practice many difficulties arise, mainly from the non-traditional nature of the changes which farmers are now being asked to make. Up to the end of the nineteenth century Malta was famous for the production of bitter (Seville) and blood oranges. The decline in the U.K. market for these types has led to the extensive grafting of sweet orange varieties on to bitter orange stock. That change was possible in terms of Maltese traditional husbandry. But as Hopkins

242 has pointed out (7), any further advance through the introduction of exotic and specially bred more productive varieties needs careful examination in that since 'nearly all citrus ... is budded on sour orange stock ... there is a great danger of the total loss of all trees should the *trisleza* virus be introduced'. The expertise needed in this type of development is not present in traditional husbandry.

Apart from the ecological and technical problems, lie the economic and social questions. The Maltese farmer is prepared to take experimental risks only so far as he can understand their consequences. Potato cultivation, only developed on a large scale during the last century, is now a very important commercial element on most farms. Having attained a reasonable level of success with Arran Banner as a quasi-early potato, even the most enterprising cultivators are reluctant to extend further hostages to fortune by trying new varieties. The efforts of the Agricultural Advisory Service in the crop selection field (8) are meeting with some deserved success but the nature of indigenous conservatism needs to be realised. Many Maltese farmers achieve reasonable results by the proper use of traditional crops and techniques. In those regions of the world where the level of productivity is much and unreasonably lower, for example in the mountains of Tuscany, or the paddyfields of Vietnam, rapid improvements can be relatively easily demonstrated. When, as often in Malta, second stage development challenges a traditional husbandry which is giving not unprofitable results, then resistance to change is much stronger. From one of the case-studies the common type of social resistance may be thus illustrated. On an irrigated holding carrots proved a profitable cash crop. The farmer was told by a returned emigrant that paraffin spray was very suitable as a weed killer. He chose a small patch, in his own words, 'where no-one could see what I was doing and laugh' and tried the new treatment. Eventually convinced of its efficacy, this farmer was able to observe the slow visual impression made on his neighbours.

Fear of failure in neighbours' eyes has to be put alongside a strangely humble pride which will cause a group of farmers to listen with genuine respect to the suggestions of an expert, to raise no queries, but also to take no action since, although the adviser must be right in general, his knowledge cannot on *a priori* grounds be applicable to anywhere in particular. Thus another farmer, rather than confess to an outbreak of true blight in a field-trial plot of a new potato variety, dug up the crop, sold it and reported total failure.

242 439 Illuminating also is the attitude to fertilisers and chemical aids to husbandry. All artificials are at present imported and used in conjunction with animal manure and town refuse. In 1954, before the main programme of agricultural research and extension, the relative importance of imported fertilisers was as follows:-

IMPORTS OF FERTILISERS 1954

	Volume	Value
Sulphate of Ammonia	1,834,000 Kg.	£40,983
Sodium Nitrate	150,000 Kg.	3,550
Phosphatic fertilisers	2,032 Kg.	43
Potassic fertilisers	2,000 Kg.	51
Other chemical fertilisers	100 Kg.	6
Organic manures	362 Kg.	101
(Copper Sulphate-Bordeaux mixture	-	6,038)

242 The overwhelming reliance on nitrogenous fertilisers is a result not of their proven efficiency but of an incorrect reaction, by cultivators possessing practically no scientific understanding of the processes involved, to new ideas of soil feeding. It seems probable for instance, that most Maltese soils have a low potassic content. Nitrogenous fertilisers cannot give their best results under these conditions and their over-use may result in further impoverishment of

other plant nutrients. The Law of the Minimum is the ultimate control. Both sulphate of ammonia and sodium nitrate are extensively used on the potato crops although most of the added growth goes into production of foliage rather than of carbohydrate in the tubers. Lastly, under Maltese climatic conditions, the balance between the mineralisation of nitrogen and the maintenance of organic matter in the soil, judging from South African experience, seems hardly to be improved by the simple application of nitrates.

As noted in Chapter III, a great deal more work needs to be done on the problem of availability in the soil of plant nutrients and water before additive needs can be estimated. In the meantime the farmer just does not know, and uses fertilisers rather blindly, often extravagantly, in the same way that he administers the 'medicines' as he usually calls other chemicals. This is a highly dangerous situation because it can lead through disillusionment to even stronger resistance to new ideas. On many occasions we have met farmers who as a result of using Bordeaux mixture incorrectly and suffering accordingly have been inclined to doubt the value of the scientific approach as a whole. The moral, in so far as one may be discerned, is that any advice given must be overseen in its application and thoroughly understood by the farmer in order to prevent any failure due to misuse of that advice. Otherwise the situation will be worsened rather than improved.

Lastly, a consideration of the positive elements in land husbandry as at present practised. The crops grown in the Islands have already been considered in Chapter VII, and the physical environment for the growing of those crops in Chapters I-III. In general, Maltese farmers employ on non-irrigated land one basic crop-sequence which is, to a degree varying with the individual, regarded as a rotation of soil-building and soil-exhausting crops. A typical succession would be:-

First year - September heavy manuring followed by winter potato crop.
- April-July onions.
- Summer fallow followed by ploughing.
Second year - September-May vetches and/or beans followed by spring potato crop.
- Possibly a small catchcrop of legumes with summer fallow.
Third year - September-May cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
- Possibly a minor catchcrop of summer vegetables with summer fallow.
Fourth year - September-April cultivation and growing of sulla crop.

There are many variations on this pattern observable. For instance, near tal-Ġonna (222), a sequence observed on good land was:-

First year - September heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per *tomna*.
- September-December winter potato crop with dressing of sulphate of ammonia, 1 bag per *tomna*.
- January-April spring potato crop.
- May-August summer fallow.
Second year - September-April two crops of potatoes as in previous year.
- May-August onions on watered land.
Third year - September-May cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
- May-August summer fallow.
Fourth year - September-April sulla.
- April-September deep ploughing and heavy manuring.

On the other hand in the Central Region, C XVIII c, one farmer with 42 *tmien* of dry land has at least 20 at any one time under cauliflowers. He has no rotational system as such but rather an intensive catch- and cash-crop sequence supported by heavy manuring and by the rather mysterious soil virtues of this region. He is thus enabled to harvest a cauliflower crop almost continuously

242 from December to September during each year, from seven or eight different plant strains.

On irrigated land, an even more intensive succession of vegetables, cucurbits, tomatoes and potatoes is seen. Further variants resulting from the addition to the crop range of tree-crops have been illustrated in Chapter VIII.

Accessibility to markets, as well as general environmental conditions, produce the regional variations already discussed. On a smaller scale still, minor distinctions of climatic and soil types produce minute differentiations which are all-important to the Maltese farmer. Land husbandry may then be said to be controlled by the following forces. First, and particularly affecting the older generations, is the survival of a primitive urge to control land and to maintain it as the basis of subsistence. This now implies that cultivators who normally rely on sales of their produce do in large measure base their husbandry on non-commercial standards. The social and economic background already examined in Section II is thus responsible for making Maltese cultivators a pseudo-peasantry. A recent compilation of farmers' opinions and attitudes shows this very clearly (9). Secondly, and superimposed on the first factor, are the commercial forces which, through the demands of the market, are breaking down the old inbreeding of ideas. Because the internal market for agricultural produce is still rather undiscriminating and because marketing systems are still crude, the new demands on husbandry are partly inconsistent and partly uneven in their effects (Chapter X E). Thirdly, and because of the characteristics of these first two elements, the physical environment still dominates husbandry practice. In some countries, such as the United Kingdom, within broad limits one can say that available techniques, readiness to use those techniques and the dominance of the profit motive all combine to neutralise many environmental variations. In Malta this is not true.

Maltese farming, having already developed so well from a simple peasant basis is now faced by a last hurdle before it can play a necessarily major role in the economy of Malta. Traditional experience has now to be translated into a scientific idiom, application of 'rules of thumb' replaced by an understanding of the processes involved. Without that idiom and without that understanding, imported ideas and techniques will not survive transplanting. Given such a mental renaissance, good husbandry is possible to cultivators already capable of careful hard work.

232 Livestock husbandry, faces the same sort of problems as does land husbandry. The main difference results from the more concentrated impact of new needs on traditional methods. Little is known of Maltese livestock during or before the nineteenth century. John Galt, in 1812 (10), asserted that the first milch cows were introduced by the British in 1809, a statement later re-affirmed by Macgill (11). Boisgelin (12) and Giacinto (13) in 1805 and 1811 do little more than comment on the high quality and repute of the indigenous breed of asses and goats and on the poor quality of the sheep. Even in 1911 (14), the Inspector of Agriculture, F. Debono, was able virtually to ignore milk production, note the near extinction of the Maltese ass, and remark that cheap meat imports allowed farmers to concentrate on non-fodder crops. In the 1920's and '30's changes were slowly occurring but they did not accelerate significantly until World War II.

The Maltese livestock farmer cast in traditional mould is still controlled by land shortage. Only in Gozo is there some grazing and exercise space for animals, and even there the practice of stall feeding is dominant. While animal needs have increased with the change in emphasis from goats and sheep to cattle and from general purpose cattle to dairy cows, the Maltese farmer has not been able, for reasons financial, mental, and of space, to meet these needs.

A preliminary sample survey of the feeding of milch cows and goats made by Charlton in 1956 brought out the following points (15). Of the total sample of goat-herders, 80 per cent. relied on wasteland *xaghra* grazing to supply forage, this proportion being higher in Gozo than in Malta. We also know that very few cattle-farmers have adequate exercise yards and none have real pasturage. Goat and cattle farmers further rely to an inordinate extent on *haxix hazin* - rough

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weed greens pulled from wallsides and fallow or abandoned fields. Sulla, green barley and the minor legumes make up the remainder of the bulk feed, except for prickly pear which is used as a summer reserve fodder. Concentrates in the form of cake and beans are invariably fed to cattle but cake is rarely given to goats. There is considerable variation in the feeding of calves and kids. The most characteristic feature of livestock feeding is, however, the complete lack of uniformity and the virtual absence of any rational programme of feeding of cattle. At a relatively low level, most Maltese farmers are better acquainted with goats' needs and of course those needs are fairly elastic. With cattle, as the survey showed, every possible range and combination of diet is to be observed. 'Farmers seem to have little idea about the relative nutritive values of foodstuffs such as cake and beans' (16), so that over-feeding and unbalanced feeding are normal. An extreme example is that of a goatherd, newly possessed of a Friesian heifer in calf, through a Government exchange scheme (p. 310), who stall-fed it 15 lb. of cake, 3.5 lb. of beans, one bundle of green sulla and half a sack of barley straw daily. At the same time there exists a 'pedigree complex' and the possession of an animal with a known lineage and some Friesian blood is a matter of pride.

Animal diseases are prevalent, ranging from endemic infection by *brucellosis mellitensis* and pregnancy diseases in goats to contagious abortion and mastitis in cattle. Most of these result from unhygienic and inadequate accommodation. The Maltese livestock farmer, as noted later, operates on a small scale and with little capital. The provision of adequate facilities can only be done with borrowed money. Since 1956, Governmental loans and subsidies have been available for helping with the construction of stock houses, water supply systems, etc., as well as for purchases of machinery. Instruction in animal care and hygiene is also provided. Mental resistance to change is not as great in this sector as in crop-production because losses through disease are more catastrophic in their impact on individual farmers. Nevertheless, even here, the better the traditional practices, the more loth cultivators may be to accept advice. Thus in a case-study of a very efficient fraternal partnership holding some 70 *tmien* and practising mixed farming, a standard reaction was found. This partnership had no shortage of capital, and the production of an average of 50 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is high for Malta. Unfortunately, with livestock as with crops, the high degree of success attributable to their able application of traditional ideas seems to bar the way to future progress - 'A good cowman knows as much as a vet.'. At the other extreme lie the perpetually indebted small producers with insufficient land, money or even traditional expertise, for whom advice must be simple and fundamental. Here again, the Agricultural Advisory Service can only produce slow improvements.

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With livestock, as with husbandry, the need for improving standards is obvious. The maximum efficiency in the utilisation of all possible resources is essential to Malta. Work is in hand, limited unfortunately by the perpetual shortage of revenue and trained personnel (a situation which is the result of Malta's peculiar evolution), in a variety of ways, from studies of balanced rations for livestock and improved crop strains even to a pilot survey of the seaweed resources of the Island (17). But, before any recommendations can be implemented, they must be accepted by the farmers of Malta and Gozo.

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D. Economic and Commercial Characteristics

In 1956, Surridge (1) in a note on Co-operatives in Malta, endorsed the F.A.O. statement (2) that 'real progress in the co-operative field will be impossible so long as the essential connection between credit facilities and marketing remains unrecognised'. 241 433

Subsistence farming is not now practised in the Maltese Islands and all farmers are to a large extent controlled in their productive use of land by commercial markets. The application of capital and techniques to the land is much more than the simple provision of cheap credit.

Environmental conditions necessitate the continued and intensive use of hand labour in order to maintain in existence the artificially made fields and in order to utilise the maximum area of land. Therefore large-scale capital application is restricted to provision of better water supplies and similar public works projects. What is needed is the small scale use of capital in crops and livestock experimentation and for backing efforts in the export markets. Capital provision for land purchase should not be made until cultivators are less likely to indulge in speculative 'landgrabbing' which would result in greater problems of fragmentation, etc.

The amount of hidden capital in the countryside must be very considerable. Estimates that 80 per cent. of Malta's National Income is derived directly and indirectly from the Defence Departments cannot take into account all the gross real income in kind of the countryside - real income which never appears long enough to be measured. Present expenditure on improved equipment and better breeds of plant and livestock as well as spectacular efforts such as the building of Mosta Church go to show that, given incentive and faith in the future, the rural communities can and will deploy some considerable hidden reserves. Before any such capital will be applied, some compulsive force must operate on the farmers. [454] [434]

For centuries past, production has been largely for subsistence except for cotton and cumin seed, both exported to other Mediterranean countries. From the sixteenth century onward, urbanisation slowly created a significantly sized indigenous market and, with the disappearance of the trade in cotton during the nineteenth century, the home market became completely dominant. Some 70 years ago, potatoes became profitably exportable, while at the same time rapid urbanisation increased the size and wealth of the home market. As already noted, the domestic market for milk is of very recent origin, while export possibilities for crops other than potatoes are now slowly being realised.

Until World War II, marketing of produce was organised almost entirely by licensed but uncontrolled middlemen - the *pitkali* - who collected or accepted small lots, offered them for sale to wholesalers or retailers, and then paid the farmers the negotiated price less commission. (The details of organisation are well described in the 1911-12 Royal Commission Report (3).) During World War II, "the evolution of Internal Marketing made a great stride forward during the exigency... (4)'. This statement really means that controls were imposed on prices and marketing, controls which have basically survived to the present day. As the economics of production have become more confused with welfare policies, so the complexity of the situation has increased. All that we can do here is to sketch and illustrate the nature of this complexity. 241 441 435

The first factor to be reckoned with is that cultivators in no case know their costs of production. They have some general idea of whether a proposed price is unprofitable or not but this is not necessarily trustworthy. Secondly, while the fodder crops are not very perishable, the vegetable and fruit products which find their way out of the rural economy into Maltese markets are extremely so. While the market for such produce in Malta is not a very selective one, this on the whole has the effect of encouraging the sending to market of produce which is very liable to deterioration. In the markets, therefore, any produce surplus to clear requirements is virtually valueless. One complaint concerning the

241 441 435 *pilkali* system is that the middlemen charged commission for negotiating sales but took no stock risks. Thus, when wholesalers and retailers had satisfied their requirements, playing for safety themselves, the *pilkali* merely informed some unfortunate producers that their product could not be sold. The prices attained for that which could be sold varied with the skill of the *pilkali*. Since many Maltese farmers need forward credit for various purposes, it was perfectly natural that the *pitkal* became not only a middleman but a supplier of credit and therefore to some extent a controller of production. The whole of this system resulted from two simple facts. First, the quantities of individual items that most farmers could daily offer for sale were so small as to make some concentrating agency a logical development. Secondly, the social legacy of dichotomy between town and country meant that the farmer was most often incapable of dealing directly with his market. Questions of literacy, language and social status still often put the farmer in a position of inferiority. The *pitkali* bridged that gap. In so doing they have sometimes exploited the farmers' ignorance. Many and vivid are the stories heard of their dishonesty; one such, told by several farmers, concerned the spring export crop of potatoes in 1955. They had been told by middlemen that the U.K. market had been depressed by competition from France and Spain and that therefore the prices offered would have to be low. In fact, shippers declared that the poor quality of the 1954 crops had discouraged some buyers but that the f.o.b. prices were still very much higher than reported by the middlemen. Most *pitkali* are no doubt honest but many farmers bypass them where possible and most others have suspicions - mostly born of their own ignorance.

During World War II, control of all agricultural produce had to be established and, since this time, the financial side of such transactions has been controlled by Government clerks at established *pitkali* markets although the middlemen still handle the actual sales. The intrusion of Governmental financial control has not removed suspicion although it has removed part of the cause of it at the cost of a higher commission charged to the producer. The annual cost of this protection and the controls mentioned below to individual farmers and to small co-operatives is almost £23,000 (5).

Another development has further confused the situation. Stemming from wartime controls, policies aimed at controlling prices for the benefit of the consumer have replaced the old attitude of *caveat emptor*. Various methods have been adopted but they are all based on regulating maximum retail prices, directly and by fixing maximum profit margins and percentages of profit. As noted by many observers, and effectively by an Adviser on Marketing (6), such controls cannot be strictly enforced and it is impossible to make them sufficiently flexible to encourage the production virtues of improved quality and evenness of supply in time. It must suffice here to say that the marketing side of commercial agriculture is not in a satisfactory state, being as it is costly, wasteful and very beneficial neither to consumer nor to producer judging by a great number of local statements.

234 435 441 [467] The local market for livestock products is very different. All milk (7) legally sold is bought by the Milk Marketing Undertaking which in practice accepts any quantity of milk delivered to the collecting depots dispersed through the Islands. There is a tendency to restrict goats' milk acceptances during the summer period of glut by relating summer and winter ratios. Many producers still have written contracts but more important than individual arrangements is the negotiating power of the K.M.H. (the union of milk producers already cited) which incorporates about half of the 600 or so registered producers in the island of Malta. The fixed and scheduled prices paid to producers bear no real relation to production costs since these are not known but rather result from M.M.U.-K.M.H. negotiations and political and welfare decisions by the Government. The M.M.U. takes full risk over wastage and excess production of liquid milk and processed milk products, but is partly able to offset losses by trading profits on imports of dried, evaporated and condensed milk which sales it handles. The M.M.U. now distributes all legally sold liquid milk, as well as its own milk products, and retail prices are fixed by announcement. In 1955-56 the result

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was that gross financial loss totalled £124,000 representing an equivalent subsidy to consumers of M.M.U. products, while, if profits on imports were subtracted the figure would rise to over £200,000. The commercial aspect of milk marketing is thus completely artificial and dominated by welfare policies. Price policy, even so, has not been powerful enough to even out the immense seasonal fluctuation in production of goats' milk, roughly half the total, and the smaller but still considerable fluctuation of cows' milk.

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Meat production is rather more crude. The Government abattoir slaughters all the horned cattle, most of the swine and a considerable proportion of sheep and goats. The commercial transaction between producer and butcher is usually direct. Here once more the small scale and the unspecialised nature of meat production controls all else. The 1956 Census of Agriculture recorded only nine specialist cattle breeders and 94 breeders of swine as compared with over 700 engaged in sheep and goat breeding (in roughly equal numbers). Licensed importers bring in the store cattle which are then usually sold to non-specialist farmers. Feeding standards are as low as with milch cows. There is little incentive to improvement because of the low standard set by the widespread practice of milk producers selling old and diseased stock for butchering. Pig meat and store-bull meat do command a premium but, while some 15,320 horned cattle were slaughtered in 1957-58, the average import rate of stores is only some 3,000. In the same year, 5,000 sheep (of the indigenous poor breeds) and 8,400 goats (mainly those useless for milk production) as well as 7,800 lambs and kids, were slaughtered. The commercial side of meat and, for that matter, hides and skin production, like that of milk, can only be improved as and when the arable sector of agriculture is further developed.

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Lastly, we must refer to exports. For some years, the most important exported agricultural product has been the spring crop of potatoes. Some general points concerning the production and sale of potatoes have already been made (Chapter VII, pp. 205-206), but one or two points need expansion here. The main market for pseudo-early potatoes grown in the Mediterranean (harvested in April and May), lies in North-West Europe. During the earlier part of this century, Holland, Belgium and Germany were the most important buyers but, of recent years, the Arran Banner variety, which yields well as a pseudo-early in Malta, has only found favour in Glasgow. By 1955 this dependence on a single main market was appearing dangerous and since that time, as noted by Haesler in 1957 (8), more heed has been taken of consumer demand for other earlier varieties, yellow rather than white fleshed, such as the Eigenhemer. On the marketing side, some important problems remain. The virtual absence of good civilian port facilities and the dependence on lighterage puts up freight costs and discourages shippers. The middlemen and wholesale handling of produce for export is not above reproach while the only worthwhile markets expect good and consistent quality of graded merchandise. Here the deficiencies of even the most commercially sophisticated part of the community can partly negate improved efforts on the part of the producer. Standards set by the home market tend to affect the services rendered to foreign markets and before the latter can be expanded, the former will have to be improved. There is one sector in which a separate break-through has begun. Air freightage of high value for bulk merchandise (which does not include potatoes) can make distant markets accessible to medium-scale individual producers. Thus flowers, plants and seeds are to some small extent being traded by a few growers sufficiently skilled to bypass the mercantile system. This cannot be done by all but it might encourage emulation.

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The whole of the marketing organisation is of course organically associated with production and the commercial aspects of production need consideration.

One of the first points that strikes an observer in the Islands is that the production of the different commodities is altogether too concentrated in time. In the case of milk, a traditional organic cycle imposed by crude goat husbandry imposes great financial strains on the centralised agencies. With crops it would seem that traditional fear of risk-taking, rational enough in a peasant economy but antithetical to the whole nature of commercialism, is now hampering

241 433 435 development and straining even the existing pattern. In the first place, physical environment so dominates the mind of the Maltese farmer that he categorically asserts the virtues and deficiencies of various regions and does not realise that with the techniques and crop-strains at his disposal he now can negate some of these differentiations. Thus the case-study quoted on p. 329 is atypical rather than normal. The result is that in these Islands, which have a long thermal growing season, there are very marked seasonal fluctuations in production. With cauliflowers, tomatoes, carrots and some other vegetables the produce suddenly appears on the markets, prices soar through the fixed ceilings and then as suddenly slump with glut. For the rest of the year - January to September in the case of cauliflowers, and for all except June to September with tomatoes - good quality produce is not available. Prices to the producer range from very high to zero and such fluctuations, superimposed on those caused by climatic variations, both strain the farming economy and encourage poor production. Thus some winter grown Arran Banner sold for up to 50s. per *qantar* in 1956 but only 8s. 4d. in 1958; in January 1957, unsold cauliflowers could be bought from *pitkali* for fodder at 1s. a sack, while a year later they fetched almost 1s. a *wizna* (8¾ lb. av.).

241 464 465 Secondly, the concentration in time of the various harvests causes severe fluctuations in the demand for labour. All farmers interviewed regard hired labour as poor in quality and expensive. This is a frequent grumble in many countries but in the Maltese context there are some special implications. The number of agricultural labourers, which declined in the nineteenth century as pressure on land resources diminished holding size and encouraged cultivation by occupiers, further declined as urban employment opportunities increased. That pool which is left to some extent sets its standards of wage demand by urban levels, but more important still is only urgently required at two seasons of the year. During the first of these, March to middle May, it is needed for the harvesting of cereals, sulla, potatoes and other winter crops and for the first of the summer cultivations. The second period, about September, coincides with the grape harvest which lasts but three weeks, and with autumn tillage. The result is to elevate day-wage rates to the point of discouragement for the farmer and to lower seasonal earnings so as to repel possible labourer recruits. Merchants, vintners, fodder and food consumers and producers all suffer, and suffer needlessly when one realises the climatic possibilities for extending production.

241 433 To sum up, one may say that the farmer, although largely producing for the market, is generally unable to cost his efforts, deal on equal terms with traders, or appreciate the needs of the market domestic or foreign. This inability must be corrected because the farmer and his land are potentially capable of supplying more of the Islands' agricultural needs than they do at present, and of making a considerable positive contribution to the balance of trade which at the moment they help to distort.

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E. The Farmers of Malta

From survey work, farm interviews and detailed case-studies we have been able to distinguish certain characteristic types of Maltese farmer. The variety of practice and productivity within the pseudo-peasantry makes it impossible to take general treatment any further, therefore in this section are presented a cross-section of such types. For obvious reasons, we cannot present details which might lead to the identification of any farmer or his landholding.

1. THE PART-TIME FARMER

Numerically as important as full-time farmers this group, although heterogeneous, indicates the incompleteness of the recent 'flight from the land'. At the highest level, as in case-study (A), the stability given by a non-agricultural income encourages good land use.

A - A holding of c. 10 *tmien* in two blocks of 19 irrigable field plots in Region AII, Mellieha Isthmus, produces c. 60 per cent. of the cultivator's net income. Irrigated market gardening produces potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, cucurbits, carrots, cauliflowers, garlic, lemons and table-grapes for sale, and beans, maize, celery and turnips for home consumption. Rents of reclaimed land on Government property are negligible. The farmer maintains that he holds the land partly to support the present family of three and to enable his eight adult emigrant sons to have some 'hobby' land when they return as expected to Malta. Nevertheless, his husbandry standards and commercial acumen are good, his yields high. This type of part-time farmer is neither common nor rare.

B - At the other extreme is a policeman who, in 1950, purchased 14 *tmien* of dry land in Region XVIIIb, ta'Qali, in order to have land to work after retirement. Of this, 10 *tmien* is let out on annual leases, both tenants' and landlord's responsibilities being ignored, and 6 *tmien* is 'cultivated' by the owner, carrying weed infested and diseased crops of wheat, sulla and broad beans. This is symptomatic of unhealthy economic and social conditions, viz. simple land hunger based on insecurity of urban occupations and inadequate pensions.

2. THE FULL-TIME ARABLE FARMER ON IRRIGATED LAND

The time-consuming nature of market gardening and the high value of irrigated *saqwi* land tend either to restrict the total size of holdings or to focus the farmer's attention on such land.

C - In Region XIV, two full-time farmer brothers with three dependants cultivate 7 *tmien* in one irrigated plot (Fig. 111A). One of the brothers returned from temporary migration to Canada in 1913 bringing some capital and ideas. Their equipment consists of hoes, an American windpump and an English diesel pump. There is a well graded irrigation system of three cisterns, overhead and ground level stone channelling. The diesel pump is used for filling the cisterns, the windpump for maintaining the water level. Both farmers share equally the cost of equipment and pumping and have a family arrangement for division of labour and produce. Surplus produce is sold in the Rabat market.

D - A full-time farmer with family of 11, six of whom are adults, working on holding of c. 30 *tmien* in Region A XV a The Blue Clay Basin (Fig. 141). Lives on a main plot of 14 *tmien* on Blue Clay and marl. On the main part of the holding are cultivated irrigated fruit and vegetable crops. The other plots consist mainly of rock, rough grazing and carobs with some vines. Intensive arboriculture is practised with peaches replacing plums and old apple stock being replaced by vines and peaches. [231]
Livestock - 1 horse, 9 sheep, 12 pigs and 3 goats. [407]
Equipment - *makriet* and hoes. The farmer borrows a 'rotavator' for summer cultivation and has 'access' to lorry and jeep for marketing produce. The dwelling has piped water supply. Irrigation water is obtained from [312]

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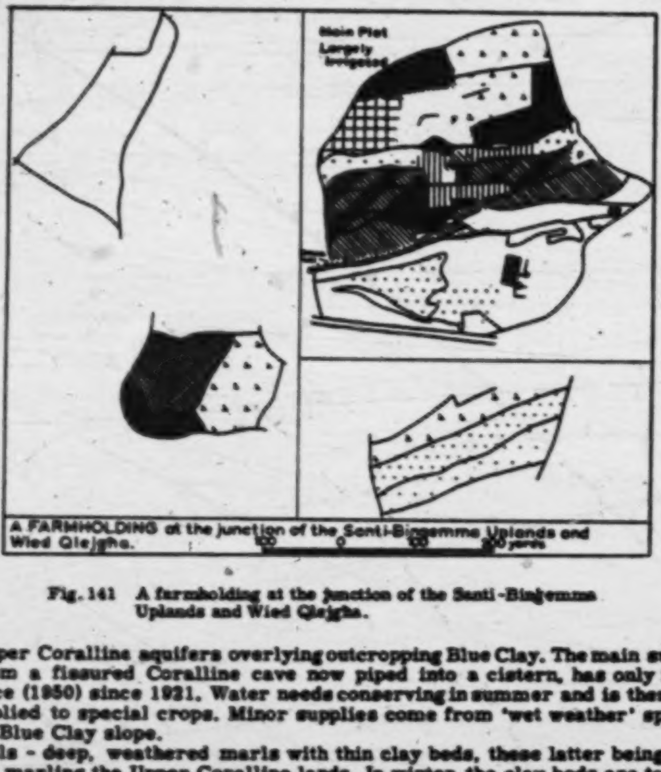
Main Plot
Largely
Irrigated
A FARMHOLDING at the junction of the Santi-Binġemma Uplands and Wied Qlejgha.
100
0
100
200 yards

Fig. 141 A farmholding at the junction of the Santi-Binġemma Uplands and Wied Qlejgha.

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312 Upper Coralline aquifers overlying outcropping Blue Clay. The main supply, from a fissured Coralline cave now piped into a cistern, has only failed once (1950) since 1921. Water needs conserving in summer and is then only applied to special crops. Minor supplies come from 'wet weather' springs on Blue Clay slope.

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241 Soils - deep, weathered marls with thin clay beds, these latter being used for marling the Upper Coralline lands. In winter, the clay beds are too wet for most crops, e.g. during the 1953-54 season an attempt to grow wheat failed completely and, on 2nd April, 1955, drainage holes were necessary to hasten the percolation of surplus water in some fields. In summer, the clays need careful tilling in order to avoid caking. Produce is mainly for sale in Rabat market.

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3. THE FULL-TIME DRYLAND ARABLE FARMER

This group is numerically and areally the most important. It also tends to set the general standard of farming.

E - The first example of this group works land in Region CXX, the Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin. A full-time farmer with two dependants with a fairly concentrated holding of 32 *tmien* (8.7 acres), used as follows in spring:-

3.6 *tmien* of Sulla
5 *tmien* of Potatoes
5 *tmien* of Wheat
5 *tmien* of Barley
.5 *tmien* of Broad Beans (vegetable)

19.1

The remainder is under onions, aniseed, cumin, fallow and forages. The best land has 30 inches of soil and is rented at 36s. per *tomna*. The poorer

land, with as little as 3 inches of soil, has rents as low as 10s.
Livestock - pigs and poultry.
Equipment - hoes and one *moħriet*. The farmer borrows a horse for ploughing and a contractor with tractor and single furrow steel plough is hired for cultivating the best land at a cost of 17s. per *tomna*.
Rotation
First Year - Manures soil with dung and sulphate of ammonia.
- Plants summer crop of potatoes for lifting in September.
- Plants a following crop of winter potatoes for lifting in December-January.
Second Year - Plants and sows onions, aniseed and melons in March-April for summer harvesting.
- Sows wheat and barley in the autumn.
Third Year - Harvest cereals in June-July.
- Sows sulla, broad beans and *Widna* in the autumn.
Fourth Year - Crop fodders in March-April.
Marketing - Sells *Widna* hay (cut after seeding) and sulla hay (cut when in bloom) to goat and sheep herders.
- Sells other crops direct to wholesalers, bypassing merchants in order to obtain higher prices.

F - The second example has land in the best dryland farming central region, in this case C XVIII d. A full-time farmer who lives in Siġġiewi itself with his family of eight. The very scattered fields lie between Siġġiewi and Buskett, making up the total holding of 24 *tmien* (8½ acres).
- at Buskett - 8 *tmien* of Tomatoes
- 3 *tmien* of Broad Beans
- at ta'Hazzinq - 1.5 *tmien* of Sulla
- 2 *tmien* of Barley
- 4 *tmien* of Potatoes
- 1.5 *tmien* of Onions
- 1.5 *tmien* of Broad Beans

21.5 *tmien*

Remainder under vegetables, cumin and forages.
Livestock - 1 horse, 4 sheep, 4 goats, 1 pig, poultry.
Equipment - Hoes, two ploughs and cart.
Crop Sequence - Ploughs and manures after sulla crop.
- Plants potatoes in January.
- Lifts potatoes in April.
- Plants cabbages and cauliflowers in May.
- Harvests these in winter. Then cereals, potatoes and sulla.
If soil not manured then sequence - sulla, barley, one year of fallow, and then 'almost any' crop - usually potatoes.
Marketing - sells produce to Siġġiewi *Pitkali*.

Many dryland farmers in the western half of Malta also have relatively small but important *ġnien* plots. One such has already been considered from the point of view of holding evolution (Chapter IX B) and the relevant production facts may be summarized thus:-

G - The farmer, married with seven children, now works c. 83 *tmien* of dry and 2 *tmien* irrigable land in Region A XI, Binġemma Basin. Two-thirds of this is worked in partnership with a brother. The *ġnien* land is mainly under apples, the most important cash crop. Three fields, distant from the village farmhouse and with thin rocky soils of a maximum depth of 12 inches over a rock platform, carry vines of ages ranging from over 30 to 2 years. Plot 4, a narrow strip of good *terra* soil is planted under vines because neighbouring small parcels carry fruit trees making it impossible to grow sown crops successfully. Plots 5 and 6, on good 18 inches deep xerorendzina soils, are most suitable for tomatoes, wheat and sulla. Plot 7 carries self-sown sulla on heavy clay, plot 8 rotational sulla. All these plots are worked

102
241

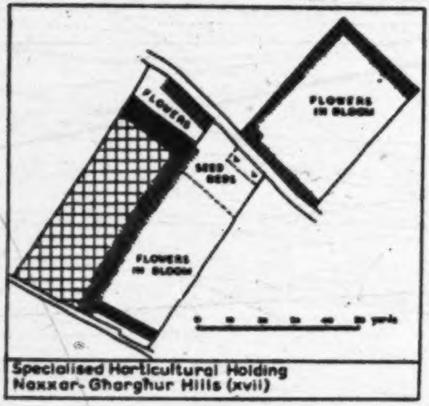
FLOWERS
FLOWERS IN BLOOM
SEED BEDS
FLOWERS IN BLOOM
yards
Specialised Horticultural Holding
Naxxar-Gharghur Hills (xvii)

Fig. 142 Specialised Horticultural Holding in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills.

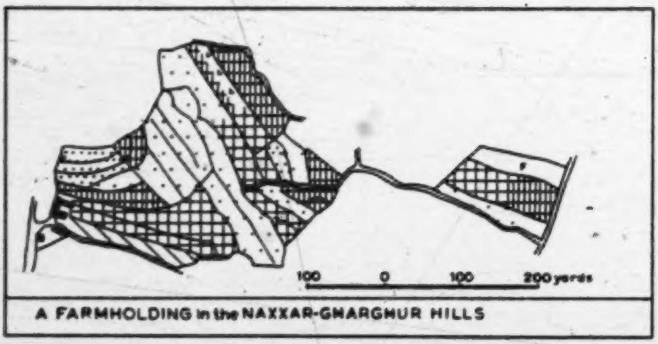
100
0
100
200 yards
A FARMHOLDING in the NAXXAR-GHARGHUR HILLS

Fig. 143 A Farmholding in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills.

241 by the cultivator for his wife who inherited control from her family. The remaining two-thirds of the land is held from several landlords in various customary partnership arrangements. On these field plots, very variable in quality, a typical land use pattern would be as follows:-

1½ plots, c. 3 *tmien*, under vines.
2 plots of six terraces, c. one-half rocky waste, one-quarter vetches and barley, one-quarter wheat and beans.
2 plots, c. 4 *tmien*, under wheat followed by melons.
½ plot intercultivated potatoes and melons.
2 plots, c. 2 tmien, under *gilbiena* (black peas).

This farmer, like many of his kind, obtains the greatest single return from *gnien* fruit farming and, although with very limited livestock interests, devotes much acreage to leguminous rotational fodder crops to be sold either by the field or by harvested volume. Working livestock is owned by the farmer and about half the land periodically worked by hired machinery. Produce is sold mainly through middlemen - the *pitkali*.

Such dry land farmers need about 20 *tmien* or more of cultivable land in order to make a reasonable living by rural standards. They and their families are necessarily expert in traditional ways of cultivating a considerably range of crops. Most of them rely on home raised seed except for spring potatoes and very few of them need very much liquid capital. Under normal conditions there is no debt problem. Production of individual items is generally small and, unless they have direct connections with wholesalers and retailers in nearby towns, they rely very much on the collection and sale of produce through middlemen. Their expertise is largely a matter of hard won experience of handling particular soils and crops and very limited in other ways. 241

4. THE SPECIALISED CROP PRODUCER

Lastly, there is the small group of highly specialised arable farmers. These are mainly producers of flowers or seeds and, at their highest stage of development, sell their high-value produce abroad. In practically all cases the only thing that distinguishes them from their neighbours is knowledge and initiative. The next example shows the type of indigenous development that is fairly easily attained. Here, and in the next stage of export marketing, lies one of the hopes for Malta's economic future and stability for Maltese agriculture. 247

H - This farmer and one adult son have 20 *tmien* of land in Region C XVII. Seventeen *tmien* are farmed under a relatively extensive cereal, sulla, catch-crop system, the remaining 3 *tmien* (Fig. 142) intensively cultivated under flowers - 'More profitable than normal Maltese agriculture'. A rotational sequence is practised of flowers, vegetables and a 'resting crop' of wheat or sulla. Vines are grown on wallsides. This farmer occasionally hires contract ploughing but normally hand-hoes 12 to 18 inches deep *Terra* soils and regularly and heavily applies sulphate of ammonia as well as green manure. Flower seed is imported annually from the U.K. and Holland, since Maltese strains are poor and diseased, and imported strains rapidly degenerate. Produce is sold directly in the relatively wealthy suburb of Sliema. A characteristic range of flowers together with some nine different vegetables at Easter would be:-

Alliums
Anemones
Bluebells
Broom
Carnations
Dahlias
Freesias
Gladioli
Gypsophila
Larkspur
Love-in-a-mist
Marguerites
Marigolds
Narcissi
Roses
Iris
Tulips
Violets

5. MILK PRODUCERS

Another main group of farmers consists of milk producers. Differentiation between them is considerable depending as it does on the scale of production, the efficiency of production and on whether cows or goats are kept. At the lowest end of the scale come the virtually landless small-scale producers of goats' milk. These are the last survivors of a traditionally important class of urban herders who, before the control and pasteurisation of milk, delivered milk 'on the hoof' in towns and villages. Typical is case-study:- 234

I - This producer rents 2 *tmien* of land in Hamrun, half of which is used for domestically consumed garden produce. The remainder gives some exercise space and grazing for a herd of goats varying between 50 and 30 in number. This herd, which includes some 25 milkers, is over-fed on purchased fodder, and gives an average daily milk production ranging from a winter minimum of c. 30 lb. per day to c. 70 lb. per day in summer. Individual yields are low in quantity and quality and the farmer and his eight surviving children only survive in debt-ridden existence because of the M.M.U's guaranteed prices. He has no capital or equipment and the family's food consumption comes half from the garden plot and is further supplemented by food gifts from C.A.R.E. (an American welfare organisation). There is no real future for this type of livestock farmer.

Higher in the scale come the goats' milk producers who are able to rely on fodder from their own lands. One such, in Gozo, Region I, The West, may be summarised thus:-

234 *J* - With a holding of over 42 *tmien* in 26 plots, half of which is rough grazing, and with 2 *tmien* permanently under potatoes, this farmer is able to supply most of the fodder requirements of his 46 goats and kids, and 100 head of poultry as well as a few cows, sheep and horses. This land costs some £23 in rent. This farmer obtains a gross profit (receipts minus fodder costs) of some 14s. a day from sales of milk. At this level he, like many of his type, is aware of the crude economics of the situation and of the need for relating feed to livestock needs. Even so, readiness to experiment is confined to those sectors in which the farmer is able to base production on traditional knowledge and his own and family's uncosted labour. In Gozo, remoteness from the main milk market in the Maltese conurbation strengthens the general herdsmen's reluctance to use relatively novel milch cows. [427] [434]

Farmers who are mainly producers of cows' milk are, *ipso facto*, economically more sophisticated than goat herdsmen. Even so, the range is considerable, particularly great since most of these 'dairy farmers' also rely on arable farming to a varying extent. Thus case-study:-

K - is of a working partnership of two friends who keep some 40 cattle in Regions C XX b, Luqa-Zejtun and C XX e, Delimara. Untypically, they hold some 100 *tmien* of land, much of which is wasteland grazing on Defence Department land. The complexity and obscurity of their claims to much of the land reflects the rather unorganised pattern of production. Since they have land, they grow the standard cash-crop - potatoes - and vegetable crops for domestic consumption. About two-thirds of the cultivated area is given over to fodder crops - wheat, barley and sulla. This, together with a truck-load of prickly pear each day and cake and beans fed to capacity, suffices for the cows. The cultivators' answer when questioned on production costs is *'Min jaf?'* - 'who knows?', and they are not at all convinced of the need for balanced feeding. Cows are served altogether at the season which would be suitable for goats so that production varies seasonally with a spring and early summer maximum of c. 50 gallons daily and a midwinter negligible minimum. This of course is in inverse relation to the Mediterranean plant growing season and, as noted earlier, accentuates the seasonal fluctuation normal with goats' milk. Significantly, the families drink goats' milk in preference to cows' although some of the former is sold. Such farmers, although operating on a fairly large scale, are almost perpetually in debt and rarely have much capital.

By contrast one may find the type of producer already referred to on p. 329, case-study:-

L - This farmer, although with relatively few cattle, is an efficient and highly developed type by Maltese standards. The half of his cultivated land devoted to fodder crops supplies half of the fodder requirements of the 13 stall-fed cattle. The remainder, including beans and cakes, costs him some £1,000 per annum. *Receipts from milk sales come* to c. £1,350 per annum. This farmer, becoming interested in the possibilities of cattle-breeding, puts most of his not inconsiderable capital directly into the livestock. Arable crops, particularly potatoes and onions, bring in good gross returns but, as with fodder production, are becoming increasingly regarded as uneconomic. This in spite of the fact that the only financial records kept relate to milk sales, fodder purchases, land transactions and buildings. With farmers such as this, one finds an irrational blend of conservatism and a readiness to try new ideas such as artificial insemination and balanced feeding. [434]

234 241

6. MIXED FARMERS

Lastly there are the mixed farmers, which in Malta and Gozo usually means farmers who for one reason or another have neither become very reliant on the 'milk-cheque' nor are able to grow irrigated or specialised crops. These farmers, usually middle-aged, have little capital, a modicum of enterprise and reasonable dry-land but the lack of agricultural interest shown by their sons discourages much development. They tend to be opportunist in outlook and fairly

efficient as judged by yields. This is the group mainly responsible for the fairly steady progress made during the last 30 years but their productivity is neither high enough for modern needs nor attractive enough to ensure family succession on the land. A typical example is a composite case-study:- 234 241

M - In Region C XVII, the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills, lies a holding of 40 *tmien* (Fig. 143). Two wells supply water except in high summer. The 60-year-old farmer and his wife live in a relatively new farmhouse, an older dwelling with byres now being used to house six Friesian cows, seven goats, a horse and a mule. The grown-up children have either emigrated or work in *'il-Belt'* and have no interest in the land. The farmer built up his herd in the period after World War II and would like to increase its size but realises that he could not handle any more stock. About 5 *tmien* of land is usually under potatoes, small plots carry vegetables for home use, and the remainder grows fodder. This allocation results partly from the swing towards milk production but also from the high cost of hired labour to work the land. Husbandry is fairly good but the farmer confesses his technical ignorance and has no younger generation on the farm to encourage him. He keeps no accounts since 'this is the way he lives'.

Many other examples of sub-types of Maltese farmer could be given, ranging from the highly organised syndicate of five brothers which practises successful mixed farming in Region C XVIII d, Siġġiewi but which, almost as a result, is highly resistant to change; to the fruit and vegetable farmers of Wied San Blas in Gozo (Region III, Northern). Those given represent a fairly comprehensive cross-section of the producers who, within their limitations, make a fairly efficient use of land resources. Unfortunately this is not enough. All but a very few are commercially limited to an appreciation of the local not very exacting markets. In no case have we found any appreciation of costing by profit but only a more or less vague knowledge of gross returns. Everywhere there is suspicion, not vicious or pathological but quietly ingrained. It is assumed that the only way to ensure fair purchase prices is personally to deliver the produce - even to the M.M.U. It is equally natural to be suspicious of bureaucracy - a not abnormal rural phenomenon - and also of the practical knowledge if not the learning of advisers. A great many farmers are also conscious of a helplessness, of being left behind by the cunning of the city. This too is a not abnormal country attitude but, seen in the context of the whole social nexus, it is dangerous. 241 829

Note: For a fuller consideration of some case-studies see P. K. Mitchell: 'Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta', Part II, 'The Maltese Farm'. Report to C.E.R.C., Durham, 1960, and B. W. Beeley: 'The Farmer and Rural Society in Malta'. Report to C.E.R.C., Durham, 1960. 113

F. The Farmer in Maltese Rural Society

241 571 A study of the Maltese farmer within the total of agriculture in the Islands must include a consideration of the individual as a member of the community in which he lives, works and thinks.

The total social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles - family, village, and 'Malta'.

241 619 To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old countryman for whom Valletta is a foreign world, the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. But even for most of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for the countryman to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta complain. The 'National' unit is large enough for him to speak of *'Il-Gvern'* - the Government, of which he has heard frequently, though imprecisely, on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems with a characteristic disregard for logic or even fact. This concept of *Gvern* is of importance in an appreciation of rural thought in Malta. In it no very clear distinction is made between Maltese Government and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy. Neither is allegiance to one or other of the political parties very significant, for personality is always more important than party.

[178] To give an historical perspective to this attitude of the remoteness of *Gvern* one may see in it not only the product of foreign British rule since 1800 but also the legacy of the 'paternal' government of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands. Rural communities are characteristically conservative.

793 The other Malta-wide authority is that of the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the individual than is *Gvern*. In the normal practice of his Religion the countryman leans directly on his local priests, though the Curia and Archbishop in Malta and the Bishop in Gozo do represent, for him, the essential unity that is the Maltese Church.

241 178 369 Within the framework of 'Malta' the distinction between the conurbation of towns, centred on Valletta, and the countryside is crucial. This 'conurbation' may be defined as those census districts with less than 3 per cent. of their working population engaged in farming. In 1948, this accounted for all districts bordering on either the Grand or Marsamxett Harbours together with the adjoining residential suburb of St. Julians (1). Outside this urban area, the farming element in the working population increases towards the west and north of Malta, although only in Mġarr does it pass 50 per cent. In Gozo, the scene is notably more 'rural', on the basis of this definition, with six of the 12 census districts having more than half their working population engaged in agriculture. [463] A survey of parallel information in censuses over the past 100 years shows a declining farming element along with a diversification of the occupational structure - especially in those villages regarded as traditional strongholds of agriculture.

This trend to economic diversification has been accompanied by a break away from the former social homogeneity of these rural villages. In fact, economic and social change cannot be considered each in isolation. In Malta, change - in its widest sense - has spread into the countryside from the conurbation. The tempo of this process has accelerated rapidly since the 1939-45 war, which brought town and country together more than ever before and shook the foundations of the cleavage between 'peasant villager' and 'urban townsman', a key feature in the social geography of the Maltese Islands. The appearance of schools, amenities - particularly transport, and a degree of occupational choice, have enabled the countryman to sample a more 'urban' way of life and culture and this has produced a dissatisfaction with rural society as it has been. Maltese countrymen knew they were regarded, as a class, as low in the social scale of urban opinion. They accepted this fatalistically and were in fact able to view

178 241 their designation with a certain tolerant wisdom. Not so the present young generation in the farming community for whom education and material facilities have presented the chance of escape from a social inferiority complex.

369 [628] The village was traditionally the community-group in rural Malta. Contact with the towns and Valletta was limited, especially for the villages of the west and in Gozo, until buses, press and rediffusion narrowed the gulf, but it was hardly less than the contacts between the villages themselves. The village was the group for most social interaction. Currently, the trend is towards a Malta-wide community-group in which villages are losing much of their isolation, although there is very little uniformity in this process. Sub-urban villages are clearly absorbing non-rural characteristics much more quickly than is the case in outlying parts of the Islands.

793 [796] [555] The nucleus of village life is the Church and the first citizen is the Parish Priest. The Priest combined teaching and general advisory duties with his spiritual role (see Chapter VI C). He was also the main link with the world outside the village through his relaying of general news from his pulpit. Normally, land transfers and a wide variety of matters connected with the agricultural cycle were announced by the Priest. The Church was the social meeting place and the basis of institutionalised activity. Even the village *festa*, that single day of wild exuberance, noise, fire-works, procession and carnivalesque has as its pretext a religious observance such as the honouring of the particular Saint of the village or the National Feast of the Shipwreck of St. Paul. In all this, the link between Priest and people was often further cemented by wide kinship connexions within the village. The son of an illiterate farmer might progress through Seminary and University to return to his home village as a priest and to be claimed as a relative by many members of that static and much intermarried community.

Such proximity, together with the very number of the priesthood in any parish made for a familiarity with the personnel of the Church just as confession, fasting, observance of Saints' and other special days, quite apart from the daily Mass, made for close acquaintance with its practice.

178 It is convenient to use the past tense in the foregoing only because the picture sketched has been modified in recent decades. It is however still the essential basis of communal life, especially in the rural community which, as suggested, holds to traditional custom longer than does the town. The modifications which have appeared are important in this present consideration because they lie behind the current social upheaval in which the individual countryman is being faced with a clash of new against old. If, as seems possible, he leaps to the new so completely as to relinquish the old entirely, then the traditional order of society will disappear along with the agricultural system on which it is based. This is the problem of the farmer in Maltese rural society.

575 An early non-religious movement was that of the Band Clubs; the first appeared in Rabat in 1860. But even these came to be identified with particular Churches and also with parish rivalries. The Band Club grew to become a major feature of social life in both town and country in Malta, although in Gozo it has had only a limited extension outside Victoria.

562 [575] [462] The Band Club is essentially a male organisation. Women have never been more than tolerated spectators and, to this extent, the movement reflects the place of women in Maltese society. Emancipation of women has spread into the countryside from the towns but even today women take an undemonstrative part in village activity and their movement outside the home is largely confined to Church-going, shopping and possibly field-work. The modern young woman who has had at least eight years schooling seeks paid employment beyond the house and fields. In rural circles the tendency is still to frown mightily at such a suggestion but it can only be a matter of a few years before what is now accepted in Valletta becomes tolerated in rural Gozo.

178 Functional diversification has been the keynote of twentieth century village society in the Maltese Islands. There is no evidence to show that there is any challenge to the position of the Parish Priest in matters religious (the situation has been less satisfactory from the point of view of the Church in urban Malta)

178 but there has been a delegation of his traditional secondary functions. The spread of Government primary education, for example, has produced a literate younger generation able to write - and think - for itself; rediffusion, cinemas, and television have made their presence felt; the Maltese-language press has grown in volume and scope; letters and visits from emigrated Maltese widen horizons rapidly; cheap bus transport puts most of the Malta within easy reach; health and social services have brought improvements; C.A.R.E. (2) and other relief supplies have brought a new external influence; the changing pattern of work with the new limited working day is giving the time for the novel activities made possible by cultural and material advancement. The last 50 years have seen the appearance and spread of the lay religious movements (see Chapter VI C) which have attempted to relieve the Priest of some of the work with which he had previously been able to contend unaided. The Society of Christian Doctrine [575] (M.U.S.E.U.M.), founded in 1909, was the first of these but larger and more comprehensive is Catholic Action whose four groups for men, women, young men, and young women have been established throughout the Islands to provide the modern Maltese parallel to the Village Institute, Youth Club and Church Fellowship of other countries.

178 241 654 The rural family was traditionally the economic unit within the village. A century ago, farming in Malta implied the self-sufficiency of the true subsistence peasant rather than the crop- and milk-selling producer of today. The food for the family came very largely from the fields worked by its members, milk from their own goats or sheep and clothing from home-produced cotton and wool.

Money and matters financial now occupy a major part of the thoughts of the Maltese farmer - even of the older generation, illiterate and cut off from more cultural developments. Barter as a means of exchange is breathing its last. Perhaps more than anything else did the 1939-45 war mark the change. During the years of siege and shortage the farmer was able to get prices for produce out of all proportion to anything before or since. With the return of conditions to normal after the war this Golden Age of Maltese farming collapsed but the farmer went on somehow expecting to make the same profits in peace as he had in war. The fact that he has not been able to do this, even with recent Government protective farming programmes of subsidies, guaranteed prices and other artificial inducements, has increased the bitterness which the farmer has come to feel for his lot. For its part, the Government has tried to keep the farming community as contented as possible and at the same time has embarked on attempts at dairy and general farming reforms of methods, varieties, marketing, etc., in an attempt to stop the retreat from the land and from the way of life based on it. The produce of the soil is, after all, Malta's only major locally-based industry. This has seemed to prove to the farmer that *'Guern'* ought to do all that it has done for the farmer, and a lot more. The Government's recent policy has been to educate the farmer to accept the new ideas and novel methods and techniques and it has attempted to do this through lectures to farmers, programmes on rediffusion, and pamphlets - along with the inducements of subsidies and guarantees. But the limited success of this programme has emphasised the basic problem in farming today which is that the 'Farmer' is now the middle-aged or old man, whose lack of education and experience outside the community of his village makes it most unlikely that he will accept information and advice from those who are patently not *Maltese* farmers and lack the lifetime's association with the alleged idiosyncracies of the Maltese environment.

178 464 241 561 The younger generation, which has benefited from a thorough primary schooling, might have been the individuals to listen to lectures on farming but, and here is the basic problem, as a group the sons and daughters of farmers are desperate to leave the land and even more concerned to rid themselves of what they see as the social inferiority attached to the calling of their fathers. These young people have in fact been educated to an awareness of new possibilities of economic and social life outside farming and also outside the village community which bred them. So many of the younger generation have in fact managed to make the break with the way of life of their fathers that the average age of the Maltese farmer is now higher than only a few years ago, and is still rising (see Section III Introduction).

In terms of the social pattern of the rural village, this means that there is a very significant distinction to be made between the older generation of farmers proper and the younger generation whose direct attachment to the land and farming is weaker if not already broken. If one turns to a consideration of the way of life and living standards in the village community this gulf is apparent. Most spectacular perhaps are changes in clothing. 178 241 561

178 291 The familiar working garb of the farmer has been the heavy woollen vest, cotton trousers, waistcoat, and cap. Recently, army-surplus shirts, denims, etc., have replaced the locally-made garment, often of home-grown cotton, while the cummerbund is now rare. Sandals are normally worn for walking but not for work. The farmer who works round the clock has never had a 'best suit'. He attends Mass in his working clothes before going to the fields and, on Sundays and holidays, ventures forth as on any other day with the possible addition of a woollen cardigan or more presentable waistcoat. For women, the use of the *faldetta* ribbed hood has declined rapidly in the last 20 years and is now only worn by the older women in the villages and by female members of the M.U.S.E.U.M. movement. The use of black generally by women is declining but most clothes are still made in the home even if from bought material rather than home-produced cotton or wool. The younger generation are not usually content to venture forth dressed in the manner of their parents but insist on making their own appearance as much like that of the average town-dweller among whom they aim to move socially. The white shirt, smart suit, shoes, socks, and well-oiled hair of the young men and the bright dresses, high-heeled shoes, nylons and cosmetics of the village maidens are regarded as the essential uniform of the seeker after the bright lights of Valletta and the towns. The schools have played a part in this with their demands on cleanliness, footwear and dress in the classroom. Occasionally a child goes bare-foot to a village school but no one would think of visiting Valletta shoe-less. The imitation of urban standards of dress is particularly apparent in the sub-urban districts where the farming minority are at pains to 'keep up with the Vellas' in dress - in spite of the expense involved.

178 [262] Diet in the traditional rural scene depended upon what could be produced by the fields and animals held by any family. The standard soups and stews (such as *minestra* and *brodu*) were consequently largely vegetable. Meat was rarer, fish seasonal and small birds might be added to a stew depending on the results of the hunting or, more correctly, shooting which was and is a popular Sunday and Holiday pastime in the countryside. The diet was rather less 'Italian' than that in Valletta and the towns, with potatoes in place of the various forms of farinaceous paste - spaghetti, macaroni, etc. As in the rest of the Islands before the 1939-45 war, milk was taken fresh from goats and sheep and was not [272] infrequently disease-carrying. Tinned milk is now popular in town and country but consumption of bottled, pasteurised milk is growing. Tea and coffee drinking have to some extent replaced local and home-made wines, especially in the many bars and small cafés which have become the leisure-time resorts of the men of the villages between strolls in the squares and streets. Even here change is [533] evidenced, for the traditional guitar-accompanied *ghana* of the Maltese peasant [207] has given way to *Radio e Televisione Italiana* as the basis of *café* entertainment.

512 This very increase in leisure time is significant. The old farmer is content to spend the greater part of every day with his animals or in the fields for they are in fact his hobby as well as his livelihood. Cinemas and bright lights hold no attraction for him; but the young man insists on recreation as he sees it in the towns. The timetable of the farmer varies according to his type of farming. The herdsmen's life is ruled by the routine of feeding and attention demanded by his cows or goats and by the times of milk collection demanded by the Milk Marketing Undertaking. All this means an earlier daily start (sometimes 1 or 2 a.m.) than is usual for the field worker who begins his day with a 4 a.m. or 5 a.m. Mass and then stops for a light breakfast some three hours later. Lunch-time is 11 a.m. or noon and is followed by a *siesta* of some hours, depending on the season and the pressure of work to be completed before the sun goes down and the field-worker shoulders his hoes or his wooden plough and returns home

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table
only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
366 by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension
of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised
shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops,
and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of
home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War,
the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly
to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The
petrolju van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on
paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
[262] addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free
distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
[749] by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation
distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

178 Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home
was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a stair-
342 case frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic
life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
[351] enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were
small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for
animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump
and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
[312] emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
[364] summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can
only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

[491] Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
[377] Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has
been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
[206] north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the
islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
[546] Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent
241 family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the
village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese
agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the
village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have
improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now
greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them,
thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee.
Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village
have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction
not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and
functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community
has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he
was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappear-
ing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old
order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all,
a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a
changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113 1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 53.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1960.

[P.349]

SECTION IV

Chapter XI

An Assessment of the Cultural Landscape

In this book we have attempted to portray the Maltese Islands 'in the round'. 121
Deficiencies and omissions occur; the former unfortunate, the latter equally 182
unfortunate but also deliberate because of space limitations. Nevertheless, we
believe that our study, such as it is, has illustrated certain points of value. 311
First, and this is a geographical truism, the relationship between man and the land on which he lives is infinitely complex. In the case of Malta this relationship is also astoundingly complete and coherent, so that alteration in any one part may provoke repercussions on all the rest. Hence, under these circumstances, change of any kind should be introduced with extreme caution; it has been demonstrated that lines of action which seem apparently well-found and reasonable at the time of inception can have wholly unforeseen and unintentional consequences. This warning has a general as well as local validity. Further, and in the light of this situation, it becomes essential to have as full a knowledge as possible of local conditions before undertaking action. Such knowledge can only be acquired through observation, which must be as complete and detailed as financial resources allow.

Thirdly, investigation of the use man makes of his surroundings leads to the conclusion that, in a last analysis, it is not the actual physical conditions which control man's activities - it is the view that man himself takes of what can or cannot be done which really matters. From the physical standpoint Malta is a highly typical Mediterranean country, yet we still do not know why the vine and the olive, these most characteristic plants, have hitherto only made temporary invasions of Malta. We do however know that the factors behind this were not physical - e.g. climate or to do with soil. It would thus seem to be the way man actually estimates the physical potentialities of his home region that governs what takes place - put in another way, we may say that environment finally exists only in the minds of men. In such a form it can appear intractable, offering insuperable obstacles, and mysterious in its effects. Hence, resource use should not be thought of solely as a routine controlled by physical media, but as a process in which temperament and attitudes of mind are involved. Recognition of the human factor as indissolubly associated with the physical elements of geography underlies our approach: and it is in this sense that our subtitle 'Background to Development' should be interpreted.

Lastly, there is an opportunity to draw together some of the threads which we have unravelled from the general weave, and summarise the main themes.

The principal conclusion is that everything one sees in Malta, other than the major topographical features, is man-made and man-maintained in existence. For this reason there is an unstable equilibrium that eternally threatens to collapse.

Physical environment is fundamentally harsh. The component rocks consist almost entirely of fissured and fractured Tertiary calcareous series, mostly of Miocene age; and natural accumulation of relatively insoluble inorganic soil aggregates is very slow everywhere except on the narrow outcrops of the Blue Clays. There is complete absence of surface water and subsurface moisture is small. Only in the western half of the Island do non-saline water-tables now rise near to ground level over appreciable areas, and only in one restricted area in the east - at Marsa - has this been even historically important. Malta has a highly accidented topography. The western half of the Island is heavily faulted and forms a region of scarpland and faulted basins. The eastern area has more subdued relief particularly in its central and eastern parts, but even here the legacy of gorge formation - the dry wieds of Malta - during the humid late Pleistocene, and the small scale erosional etching of all major and minor geological and structural junctions have resulted in there being very little land of low gradient. 133

132 The Maltese climate is characterised by variability rather than by extremes. Most of the complex elemental combinations, as far as we can tell at the moment, tend to inhibit soil and plant development under natural conditions.

The annual precipitation average of 20.5 inches is largely meaningless - the variations from one year to another for each month in which there has been recorded any significant rainfall are all several times the mean values. Very high insolation and evaporation rates, from the end of April to the beginning of October, further reduce the effectiveness of scanty and variable precipitation. Much of the rainfall of spring and autumn is associated with violent frontal storms and is sufficiently concentrated in incidence to produce ephemeral torrents and cause considerable erosion.

Wind incidence is of peculiar importance. The maritime air streams are generally of high humidity and velocity. The dominant Northerlies, in particular the stormy *Majjistral*, with high humidity and relatively low temperatures, have a biological effect bleak enough to produce a very clear ecological pattern controlled by aspect and shelter. The soil line in the lee of the ridges which lie transverse to these North to West winds, rises higher to the south east with the cumulative sheltering effect. On a small scale, windbreaks of stones, wattle hurdles and even cereal hedges, become of importance. The *Xlokk* comes as a warm humid wind of usually sufficient velocity to force plant transpiration rates above the critical points. The occasional humid still air conditions in winter delay germination and encourage fungus diseases while all summer winds heighten evaporation rates and cause actual soil blowing.

One of the few biologically favourable climatic features is the absence of a thermal dormant season. Mean monthly temperatures are consistently above 50° Fahrenheit, frosts are very rare, and diurnal ranges small. On the other hand, the associated high summer temperatures even though ameliorated by sea breezes produce considerable physiological troubles in plants and livestock. It is significant that over 80 per cent. of the flora now found in Malta are of North African rather than European type.

133 In the absence of human interference Malta must have been, as it still is in many areas, largely a barren karstic waste relieved only by a few basins and plains such as the Wied tal-Pwales and the Wied il-Ghasel. On the hill and ridge tops Terra Rossa formation takes place in solution hollows. On all slopes with gradients greater than 5 per cent., and on all but the most wind sheltered flatlands corrasion and movement, often exposing great stretches of bare rock, are dominant. Only in a few basins, such as the erosional Wied ta'Mazza or the tectonic Bur Marrad in the Wied il-Ghasel, does deposition become important.

In this harsh environment man created the land on which he could live.

134 311 Malta has few true soils but, rather, laboriously garnered and transported inorganic material, carefully built up with humic additions, terraced and walled into place and irrigated wherever possible. For millennia this making of *'campi artificiale'* has gone on and may still be observed, so that some two-thirds of what Bernard Shaw called 'a heap of stones' is now cultivable land. This process of the extension first of hydroponics and then of true farming over bare rock and the reclamation of unhealthy lowland has meant the creation of new and precarious balances. The artificially produced thin pseudo-soil is not self perpetuating. The underlying rock must be regularly chipped away, the solution hollows periodically harvested. The texture must be maintained by the addition of organic matter and by frequent working. The level of nutrients must be kept up with dung and fertilisers and the water content supplemented by irrigation. The terrace walls need constant repair.

In each case there is a sharply critical point beyond which action spells danger. The use of refuse brings bacterial and virus infections, frequent tillage produces a clean surface vulnerable to erosion, the use of irrigation water and artificial fertilisers raises soil salinity. Extension of the soil cover decreases the rate of percolation replenishment of the subterranean aquifers by rain water. Malta is now in fact living on capital as far as water is concerned.

241 There have been similar critical points in crop values. When water is available, the potential crop range is large - bananas grow in barley patches, date-

241 palms and pomegranates alongside potatoes - but in no case are conditions optimal or yields very good. In the comparatively closed economies of the past this mattered little; in an era of world trade and world markets Malta has now been left behind. Large-scale cotton production has virtually ceased and that of citrus fruit is declining; viticulture is of low standard and the olive tree very rare. Cereals can now provide only a tiny fraction of local needs while fodder production is limited in season and type by water shortage.

178 The critical phase in the social and economic reactions to the physical situation has also been reached. In the simple peasant communities of the past, the creative manual effort was necessarily associated with a low valuation of individual human effort and an arduous and restricted life. Now, however, economic and social opportunities and desires have widened and with them has come impatience with the demands imposed by the artificial landscape.

182 Higher per capita productivity to assure more freedom and leisure is only quickly attainable by technical and mechanical innovation. It is just such innovation that is impossible on a large scale on the land of Malta.

241 311 [134] The slope analysis map (Fig. 28)[1] illustrates one aspect of the problem. Maltese soil 12 inches deep needs, as a minimum amount, terracing at horizontal intervals of about 20 feet. Anything wider in the way of fields or a deeper soil makes essential increasingly higher and stronger retaining walls. The problem is such that considerable control is exercised by dip as well as gradient. The amount of labour involved in maintenance is heartbreaking by modern standards and yet, without it, erosion is quickly followed by the complete stripping away of the soil down to bare rock. The scale of farming operations often has to be very small - the planting of single rows of beans, of single trees, the sowing of chick-peas in rock crevices. Power and tool application is severely restricted. Small and light implements and single draught animals or more recently 'rotavators' alone can negotiate this type of terrain and work very thin soils covering rock platforms. The dangerous effect of the abandonment of any land is obvious. The past has in fact enchained the present. If cultivation is to continue then in order to preserve the artificial ecological balance, created with such effort over the centuries, a social imbalance will become even stronger. Whatever the scale of farming the farmer will always have to grub for soil, build his terraces, carry his plough or manhandle his rotavator for long hours under conditions that will seem less attractive even than those of casual dockside and urban labour.

The first point then is that the landscape indicates how human effort is pinned down by the artificial environment and how restive man is becoming.

175 The second theme is concerned with the reasons for the historical process of what really amounts to landscape gardening, and with the underlying implications.

241 648 Malta's wealth, in historical times at least, has come from a large extra-territorially derived income which has resulted from the Island's positional value. It is possible that even in prehistoric times Malta was never self-sufficient. The great temple building cultures of Malta and Gozo may well have maintained their master masons on imported wealth. Certainly Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Normans all occupied Malta because of its strategic position and took wealth in rather than removed it. The Order of St. John held it as an outpost of Christendom maintained by the Knights' possessions on the European mainland. Britain has similarly supported the Island's economy in return for its use as a naval, military and more recently a strategic air centre. Because of Malta's positional importance its inhabitants found it necessary and worth while to create agricultural resources. Because Malta has usually been an outpost the society and its works have attained the unstable equilibrium of a siege life.

369 At least since Arab occupation a duality has appeared in the community. Earliest at Mdina, later in the Three Cities, then in Valletta and the whole Grand Harbour complex, and now around the naval, military and air bases, the garrisons have formed successive nuclei of a cosmopolitan and sophisticated community. This community, literate, trained in the professions and trades has

[1] [See pp. 98-B and 98-C -- Analyst]

369 formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial
Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically
indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European
loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place
[103] names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or
Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements -
Żebbuġ, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three
Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for
the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people.
Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament
still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who
helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the
coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants
from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially
Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship.
The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce,
the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical revo-
178 lutions of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the
369 first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available.
464 The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades
of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken
[166] up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such
as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual
and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought
the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years,
the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now
probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent.
178 of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service
182 Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture.
This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also
[464] apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954
totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a
[167] steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has
slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons
have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields,
storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This
conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs
of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of
the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further
strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has
become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the
necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs
is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping
towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for
the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that
made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also
responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one
indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken
lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieħa, and even this, hidden
from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 80 years.
Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it com-
mands. Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the
individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

178 Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways.
182 Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always
454 flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 25 years ago, who would

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[954]

have guaranteed that the United Kingdom would not have abandoned Malta in the event of war in the Mediterranean? Those Maltese possessing power and knowledge traditionally have had too much to lose by local investment. The inadequacy of commercial port handling facilities, the paucity of processing industries, the shortage of credit, all these are products of fear.

Moreover, the changing circumstances of Mediterranean life which have increased security have also deprived Malta of her most easily earned income from entrepôt trade and her value as a calling station. The old commercial and financial attitudes of the most sophisticated part of society have become anachronisms in a new age, but still remain locally very deadening in their encouragement of hand-to-mouth activity.

What of old Malta? There the problem is one of breaking down isolation and correcting mental indigestion. The farmers of Malta have been commercially minded and experimentally inclined for centuries. Production for sale and exchange is the rule rather than the exception. But in fact they have little knowledge of commercial possibilities nor are they able to deal on equal terms with merchants. Often prepared to try new crops and equipment, their ignorance concerning the processes involved produces unhappy results. In short, the rural community in its partial isolation has seized with avidity a few crumbs of opportunity and knowledge and has never properly assimilated them.

It is a divided Malta that has met the new challenge, each sector too burdened with its past to respond vigorously on its own initiative.

The historic creation of an artificial environment has imposed severe restrictions on methods of utilising land, both now and in the future. The historic reasons for that creation have produced an ambivalent society, one part hampered by fear, one part hampered by ignorance. The main need now is for political security and a certain amount of economic stability. With security and stability the extrovert community may plough in its wealth rather than keep it poised for flight. The introvert rural community can then in turn translate its traditional experience into scientific idiom. In a suitable socio-economic climate and in an undivided society, many things could flourish, export market gardening and horticulture, processing industries, tourism, entrepôt trade and even subtropical research and training. Without such development, as is already foreshadowed in the landscape, Malta will become stagnant, depending on war and rumours of war for anything more than starvation level existence, while the landscape itself will reveal more and more of those rocky bare bones so decently interred in the past.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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[For additional data on types and examples of land tenure, see category 116, pp. 289-316.]

1: Bowen-Jones et al.
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[For additional data on land use, see category 116, pp. 190-288.]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. EZ6 Malta EZ6
241

[For additional data on general aspects of agriculture, see category 116, pp. 235-288.]

1: Bowen-Jones et al.
175

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[For additional historical data, see category 116, pp. 109-146.]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. EZ6 Malta EZ6
132

[For additional data on climate, see category 116, pp. 48-81.]

1: Bowen-Jones et al.　　　　EZ6 Malta EZ6
103

[The place names for which the numerals on the maps on pages 192-A and 192-B provide a key can be found in scattered references on pages 238 and following.]

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SAINTS AND FIREWORKS
RELIGION AND POLITICS IN RURAL MALTA

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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[p. ii]

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LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
MONOGRAPHS ON SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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St George and partisans

[Frontispiece, facing p.iii]

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No. 30

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SAINTS AND FIREWORKS

Religion and Politics in Rural Malta

BY
JEREMY BOISSEVAIN

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TO INGA

[p vi]

539

Minghajr qaddisin ma titlax il-ġenna
You can't get to heaven without saints
Maltese proverb

Preface

This study was carried out and written shortly before Malta be- 121
came an independent nation. Its purpose is to present a descriptive [621]
analysis of Maltese village politics. In many respects these are quite
unusual, for in Malta, which has been administered as a fortress for
the last four centuries, there are no village headmen, mayors or
councillors to serve as links between their villages and the central
government. But in spite of the highly centralized administration 121
certain activities in the villages do play a part in the decision of both 621
local and national issues, though at first sight they may not seem to 66
be closely connected with politics as this is usually conceived. These
are political activities, for as Prof. Lucy Mair has observed, politics
is concerned with the ways persons and groups compete to in-
fluence the outcome of disputes and community decisions in
accordance with their own interests.[1] The central problem can thus
be divided into three major parts: first, to explore the relations
between competing persons and groups; second, to examine the
nature of the issues which concern them and the community; and
third, to trace the channels through which they bring influence to
bear on those who make the decisions.

After a brief sketch of Malta in time and space, I examine suc- 121
cessively the articulation of the State, the Church and the political parties with the villages, the ties of neighbourhood and family, the social composition of the villages, and the basis of leadership. Against this background I show how issues which originate within the Church, and in particular over the cult of saints, affect village social organization. I then look at the effects of disputes arising out of issues of national policy. Finally, I examine the channels of influence open to the villagers.

Throughout this study I have been exclusively concerned with describing and analysing the political life of the villages of Malta and Gozo. But it has occasionally been necessary for me to make brief excursions into the field of national politics, for because of Malta's smallness, national political disputes swiftly become issues

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[1] Lucy Mair, *Primitive Government* (London, Penguin Books, 1962), p. 10.

121 which divide the villages. I have therefore presented the current political and religious issues in Malta as concisely as possible, and have made no attempt to evaluate or to pass judgement on the policies of State, Church or political party. Consequently, any attempt to put the facts contained herein to polemical use is likely to distort them.

114 [122] Though I lived in Malta during 1957 and 1958, this study is based on the research I carried out there from July 1960 to September 1961 under a grant from the Colonial Social Science Research Council, to whom I am most grateful. The terms of reference on which the research was based, and the form this final report has assumed, were dictated solely by my personal interests; my work was neither carried out on behalf of, nor a report to, a government.

114 128 My wife and daughters were with me during the entire period of fieldwork, and their encouragement and interest as well as the many friends they made were a great asset. We spent our first five months in Farruġ and the last eight months in Kortin. These are not the real names of the villages, for the inhabitants of neither [123] seek recognition. Indeed, throughout this study I have been at pains to avoid any indiscretion which would repay most shamefully our special debt of gratitude to friends and neighbours for their hospitality and good humour in the face of our ignorance of their customs. For the same reason, the names of many of the persons and saints who figure in this account have been altered.

121 [578] [162] I chose to work in Farruġ because it is one of the villages divided by competing band clubs, and among other things I was particularly interested in the part this unusual rivalry plays in village politics. With a population of approximately 1,400, it is one of the smaller Maltese villages. We later moved to Kortin, a village of almost 5,000, since its size and the fact that it is not divided by band club rivalry provided an interesting contrast to Farruġ. Available housing determined the choice of these particular two villages from among the many that would have met my requirements. Besides detailed research in these villages, I carried out comparative studies into the general organization, leadership and patterns of conflict of 12 other communities. In this work Mr. Edward Micallef was my very able research assistant for three months. I chose 11 of these villages by stratifying all villages in Malta and Gozo according to population and then drawing out a

30 per cent random sample. Those selected this way were Balzan, 121 Dingli, Gudja, Għarb, Għargħur, Mosta, Qala, Qrendi, Xagħra, Żebbuġ (Malta) and Żurrieq. I also chose Sliema, a large suburb, to provide a special contrast to the villages. Thus the general statements I make about Maltese villages are based on a fairly wide cross-section.

Thanks to the patient teaching of our friends Francis and Evelyn 122 Chetcuti during the year preceding fieldwork, I was able to begin to work in Maltese soon after my arrival. Much of my work, however, was done in English, which many informants spoke fluently.

I also wish to express my thanks to Mr. Trafford Smith, former 000 Lieutenant-Governor of Malta; to Mr. Maurice Abela, the Principal Government Statistician, and Chev. Paul Naudi, Director of Information, and their assistants; to Dr. V. De Pasquale, Chev. J. Galea, Mr. E. R. Leopardi and Mr. John Bezzina of the Royal Malta Library; to the Revs. Joseph Ghigo S.J., Paul Pace, Paul Said, Joseph Theuma, Benjamin Tonna, Charles Vella and Anton Xiberras, and to the Hon. A. Barbara, Dr. Brian Beeley, Mr. J. Cassar Pullicino, Mr. Francis Mizzi and Mr. Joseph Muscat for their interest and help in many ways. Prof. J. Aquilina kindly [127] allowed me to read the manuscript of his unpublished work on Maltese proverbs.

I am greatly indebted to the staff and my fellow students at the Department of Anthropology of the London School of Economics for their stimulating discussion, both formal and informal, of this material.

Finally, I wish to record here my very special thanks and obligation to Professor Lucy Mair, my academic supervisor, for the 128 valuable criticism and patient help she gave me before and during my research and especially in analysing and writing up the material collected in the field.

Except for minor alterations, the present work is identical with the Ph.D. thesis I submitted to the University of London in November 1962.

J.B.

Département d'Anthropologie
Université de Montréal

[p. x]

An Introductory Note on Maltese

197 Maltese is a distinct language, which is morphologically related to North African Arabic but draws much of its vocabulary, syntax and idiom from Sicilian.[1] This difficult language is spoken by all classes, but it did not become an official language of the law courts until 1934, when it replaced Italian. As it has only been a written language for little more than 100 years, it does not yet have a rich literature.

104 In order to help the reader with the Maltese names and words that appear in the text, the following is given as a short guide to their approximate pronunciation.[2] In general, vowels have much the same sound as they do in Italian. The following consonants are pronounced as indicated: *ċ*: *ch*air; *ġ*: *g*entle; *g*: *g*ift; *h*: silent; *ħ*: aspirate; *għ*: the *għajn*, is usually silent; *j*: *y*ear; *q*: glottal stop; *x*: *sh*ine; *ż*: *z*ebra; and *z*: boo*ts*.

---

[1] Joseph Aquilina, *Papers in Maltese Linguistics* (Valletta, Royal University of Malta, 1961), p. 180.

[2] For the pronunciation of Maltese consult: Joseph Aquilina, *The Structure of Maltese* (Valletta, Royal University of Malta, 1959), pp. 1-17.

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MAP

Malta and Gozo *page* 2

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CHAPTER I

The Background

Malta and her sister islands, Gozo and Comino, lie midway 131 between Gibraltar and Lebanon, at almost the exact geographical centre of the Mediterranean. Sicily lies just 58 miles to the north, Tripoli 220 miles due south and Tunis slightly over 200 miles to the west. The Maltese archipelago thus forms a port of call between Europe and North Africa, between the Christian and the Moslem worlds. The Maltese have been in contact with both for [177] centuries, and the cultures of both have contributed many traits which the islanders have adapted to their own use.

Malta, the largest and southernmost island, is seventeen miles long and nine miles wide, and covers an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is only nine miles by five miles, with an area of 26 square miles. Finally, the little island of Comino, which lies in the three-mile-wide channel separating the two larger islands, has an area of one square mile.

The islands are composed entirely of tertiary limestone, and the 133 soil consists of clays and marls. Although the land rises to a maximum of little more than 800 feet near Dingli, the terrain is [134] varied, and often broken, with jagged escarpments falling into narrow valleys, which run out to level fields. A visitor to the 133 islands, especially during the long dry summer, is struck at once 137 by the absence of vegetation and the rocky aspect of the countryside. This is, in part, a false impression, for although there are few trees, rubble retaining and boundary walls hide the network of small cultivated fields. Occasionally, the dark green foliage of a carob or olive tree reaches over these stone enclosures to add a sudden splash of colour to the shimmering white-yellow of the summer landscape.

The soft yellow limestone gives a continuity to the scenery. 133 Houses, villages and whole towns seem to grow up out of the 333 rocky matrix from which they are built, and from which they are distinguished only by the regular outline of the buildings against

[text continues on p. 3]

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[P.2]

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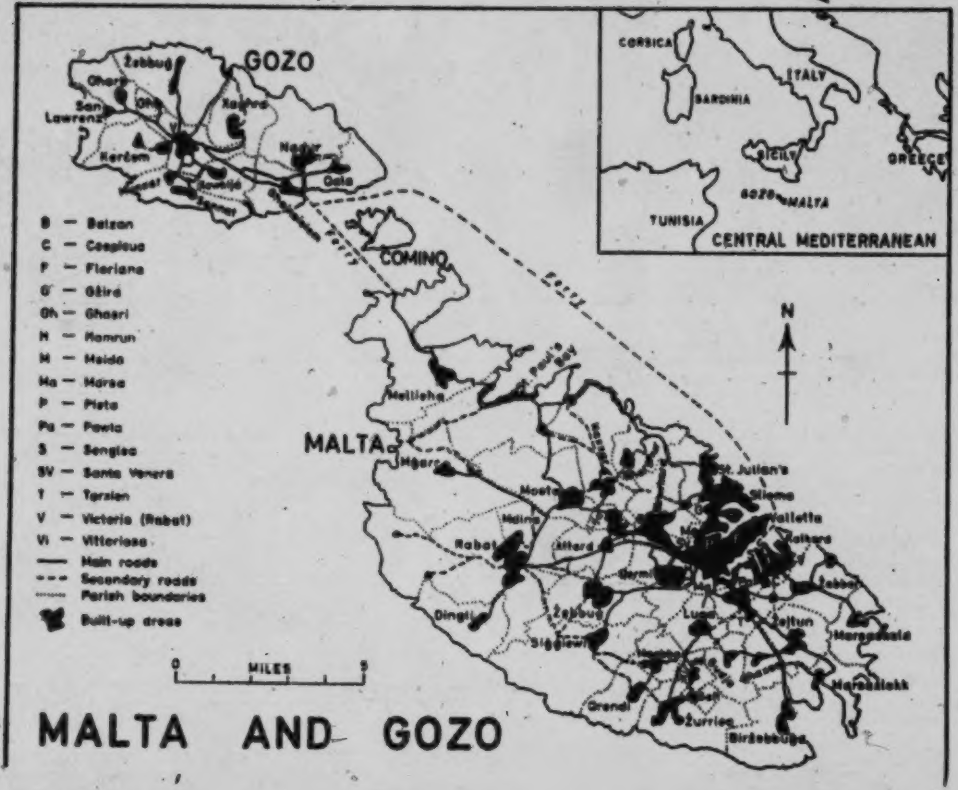
GOZO
Żebbuġ
Għarb
San Lawrenz
Gh
Xagħra
Kerċem
Nadur
Qala
Sannat
Xewkija
COMINO
Ferry
Ferry
St. Paul's Bay
Mellieħa
MALTA
Mġarr
Mosta
Mdina
Rabat
Attard
Qormi
Dingli
Żebbuġ
Siġġiewi
Luqa
Żejtun
Qrendi
Żurrieq
Birżebbuġa
Marsaxlokk
Marsaskala
Żabbar
Kalkara
Valletta
Sliema
St. Julian's
N
B — Balzan
C — Cospicua
F — Floriana
G — Gżira
Gh — Għasri
Ħ — Ħamrun
M — Msida
Ma — Marsa
P — Pieta
Pa — Pawla
S — Senglea
SV — Santa Venera
T — Tarxien
V — Victoria (Rabat)
Vi — Vittoriosa
Main roads
Secondary roads
Parish boundaries
Built-up areas
0
MILES
3
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ITALY
SICILY
GREECE
TUNISIA
GOZO
MALTA
CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN

MALTA AND GOZO

the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a 133
gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely 333
populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square 161
miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population den-
sity of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated [131]
countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the
urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The 162
rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly
separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The popu-
lation of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very 16
limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems. The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged 8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000 women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. 175
The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality.
With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known pub-
lished sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to [121]
enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical
perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different [648]

---

[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands*, 1960 (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–5.

rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural
175 harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans successively
648 occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that
Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually
nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the
Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were
replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of
the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed
successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–1283),
the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. In 1530,
[701] Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their protesting
inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military
Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles
vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on
Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800
Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to
Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then
they have remained a British possession.

The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was
175 the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he
776 stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the
795 people to Christianity. Whether he converted many is a moot
[797] point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor,
Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. The Maltese are intensely
proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna*
[796] *San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the principal
patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a
national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local
legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his
gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there
was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during
175 the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, re-established
793 and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to
795 arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed
while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of
Maltese bishops dates from this period.

175 Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the
642 Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered
646

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[1] Acts 27 and 28.

by the officials of the governing body, or *Università*. This body, 175
which met in Mdina, the old capital of the island, was composed 642
of representatives of the nobles, learned men, secular priests, 646
merchants and artisans elected by all the family heads in the towns
and villages of Malta and Gozo. The Knights of St. John, how- [439]
ever, severely limited the authority of the Università, and during
their final years it was little more than a public corporation
responsible for the importation of scarce foodstuffs.

The Order made itself responsible for local government. It con- 175
trolled and financed the local militia, police, courts, water supply, 642
public works, hospitals and charities. The government of the 701
Order was highly centralized, and all key posts were held by
Knights, though many of the lesser administrative offices were
given to Maltese nobles, lawyers and clerks. The authority of the [625]
Order was made effective in the rural areas through the police and
the ten Captains who were in charge of military garrisons and
arsenals, located at strategic points for internal security and defence
against war parties and corsairs, and were also responsible for
mobilizing the militia. This paternalistic system of administration
came to an abrupt end when Napoleon drove the Knights from
the islands. Their departure marked the end of an era.

Napoleon remained in Malta only eight days, but they were 175
busy days. According to Laferla, 'it is certain that no one in the 177
space of a few days attempted more, did more and upset the 648
Maltese more than he did.'[1] He set up a nominated council of
Maltese to see to civil administration, remodelled the tribunals
along French lines and established twelve municipal councils. He
abolished the nobility. He closed the University, established a
central technical college and founded fifteen government elementary schools. He also sent sixty sons of wealthy families off to study at republican colleges in Paris at their parents' expense.

'All this and probably much more would the Maltese have patiently tolerated,' says Laferla, 'had Napoleon not interfered with religion.'[2] For he set out to curtail the influence of the Church. He limited the jurisdiction of the Bishop to purely ecclesiastical affairs, ordered the expulsion from the islands of all non-Maltese clergy and reduced the number of clerics. He also instituted civil marriage, gave protection to the Jews and forbade

---

[1] A. V. Laferla, *The Story of Man in Malta* (3rd ed.; Malta, A. C. Aquilina and Co., 1958), p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

175 the clergy to charge for their services. Finally, he decreed that no
177 foreign power, even the Pope, might interfere in local religious
648 administration.

By these acts, the French attacked values that were at the very
175 foundation of the Maltese social structure. Moreover, the new
government aggravated the discontent by its failure to meet its
648 financial commitments. Less than two months later, the suppressed
669 hostility flared into savage revolt when the authorities
tried to auction off the property of the Carmelite church in Mdina. The citizens rose, massacred the town's garrison and burned their bodies. Then, led by Notary Vitale and Canon Caruana, a powerful cotton merchant who later became Bishop, they penned up the main French force under General Vaubois behind the fortifications of Valletta and the Three Cities. Two years later the French surrendered to the British force which had come to assist the Maltese.

Under British rule, Malta changed from a theocracy ruled by a
175 religious order, to a self-governing colony with an active internal
177 political life. Administrative posts gradually passed to Maltese
64 hands, and today the civil service, apart from a few foreign
69 experts, is completely Maltese. But in spite of a long flirtation with
[621] various forms of local and regional government, there are still no
village mayors or councillors. The new civic committee in Gozo is an exception which will be discussed in the following chapter. Early in their rule, the British abolished the Università. To appease the wounded dignity of the nobles, they divided Malta into six districts under the nominal authority of Lords Lieutenant, chosen from the nobility. These officers were in charge of civil affairs, and presided over district courts. Each was assisted by syndics, deputies with magisterial powers, who lived in the villages. In 1839, this system of local government was abandoned as inefficient and costly, and district magistrates, also called syndics, were appointed from the class of advocates. Later, the government established district consultative committees to advise it on local needs and to coordinate health measures during epidemics. These committees were only partly successful, and were also abandoned. In 1896 the government finally abolished the office of syndic, and, in the interest of economy, closed the last district courts in 1913. After that, except for the Magistrate's Court in Gozo, the administration of justice remained centralized in Valletta.

In the early years of its rule, Britain moved slowly but firmly to 175
restrict the authority of the Church. As one of its first steps, it 177
imposed a mortmain law which forced the Church to sell off 648
bequests of immovable property within one year. In 1828, it 659
abolished the right of sanctuary and restricted the jurisdiction of 659
the ecclesiastical courts to purely spiritual matters. Shortly after- 795
wards, the Diocese of Malta, until then subject to the Metropolitan
of Palermo, was made directly dependent on the Holy See.

In spite of the inroads Britain made on the power of the Church, the relations between the two have, on the whole, remained extremely cordial. This friendliness has been due very largely to the considerable protection which Britain has given to the Church in Malta. To begin with, it is protected from the competition of other religions. The missionary activities of groups such as the Bible Society and the Salvation Army have been severely restricted. Moreover, the government reserves the right to ban public religious ceremonies by non-Catholics if they threaten to disturb the peace. Catholic precepts regarding education and marriage are also safeguarded, for education is on Catholic religious principles, and divorce and civil marriage are not possible under Maltese law. Furthermore, the Archbishop is accorded high honour, and in the jealously guarded order of precedence he is second only to the Governor. Both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo are exempt from the jurisdiction of the criminal courts.

In addition, the first Maltese elected government passed a law in 659
1922, declaring the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the 795
country. Article 161 of the Malta Criminal Code makes it a criminal 671
offence to vilify in public the Catholic religion or its ministers.[1]

Constitutional development in Malta has been a painful and 642
slow process; for it is not a simple matter to give representative 648
government to a fortress. The first constitution in 1835 provided for a council of government composed of five office holders, including the Governor and the Bishop, and three nominated dignitaries. Since then, there have been no less than nine different constitutions. Those promulgated before the First World War established an oligarchical system. Property restrictions on those allowed to vote and hold office resulted in elections by and for members of the landed, professional and merchant classes. Further-

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[1] Act XVIII, 1933.

642 648 more, because Imperial strategic interests limited the terms of reference of these councils, the constitutions permitted only the most rudimentary form of government. Only under the 1887 Constitution did elected members outnumber official members. But this elected majority had no effective power and finally proved so awkward that in 1903 a new constitution reinstated an official majority.

64 [579] After the First World War, there was popular agitation for a more liberal form of government. In 1919, the social unrest culminated in an anti-British riot during which British troops killed four demonstrators. Later that year, Britain announced that Malta would receive a more liberal constitution. The new constitution, which eventually came into force in 1921, attempted to reconcile two conflicting principles: continued British control over her strategic island-fortress, and Maltese self-government. The complicated solution which Britain adopted was dyarchy, under which effective legislative and executive power was divided between the Governor and the representatives of the Maltese people. This created two separate governments.

[666] The Imperial Government dealt with 'Reserved Matters', which included defence, foreign relations, immigration and coinage. The Malta Government consisted of a seventeen-member Senate and a Legislative Assembly of 32 members. The Senate was composed of representatives of the clergy, the nobility, the University, the Chamber of Commerce and the Trade Union Council. The members of the Legislative Assembly and seven members of the Senate were elected by adult males, subject to certain minimal property or educational restrictions.

The 1921 Constitution was suspended in 1930 and again in 1933, and finally revoked in 1936. In spite of a new constitution in 1939, the islands remained effectively under Governor's rule until representative government was restored after the war. The 1947 Constitution again provided dyarchy, but it did not resurrect the cumbersome Senate. The new Legislative Assembly consisted of forty members elected by universal suffrage from eight electoral districts. In 1958, the government resigned following the collapse of talks with Britain over a proposal to 'integrate' Malta more closely with the United Kingdom. As the leader of the opposition refused to form a new government, the Governor suspended and then revoked the constitution.

I did the fieldwork on which this study is based at this period in 642
Malta's constitutional history. A new constitution was promul- 648
gated late in 1961, and elections took place in February 1962. In [114]
place of dyarchy, it provided for 'concurrent powers' on foreign affairs and defence to be held by the Malta Government and a United Kingdom Commissioner.

The first Maltese political parties were born out of the con- 197
troversy over language which followed the publication in 1880 of 665
the Keenan report on education. This recommended that English 668
should be taught in place of Italian in the primary schools, although students might later take Italian as an elective subject. In the Lyceum and the University, except for the Faculty of Theology, all work was to be done in English. These recommendations, which the government tried for many years to implement, weakened the dominant position which Italian had enjoyed in the educational system. As Italian was the language of the law courts, the clergy and the University, it was something of a class symbol. Most of the educated classes, and especially the lawyers and priests, strenuously resisted the move to downgrade it in favour of English. Many of the refugees from the Italian wars, who came to Malta after 1850, gave encouragement to the partisans of Italian. The Italian movement also whipped up considerable support amongst the clergy and their parishioners by declaring that English would certainly bring with it increased Protestant influences.

The dispute thus created interest groups which were to dominate Maltese politics for the next fifty years. On one side was the pro-English, or *riformista*, party led first by Sigismondo Savona, later the Director of Education, and subsequently by Count (later
Lord) Gerald Strickland. This party, which generally supported [648]
government policy, favoured close cultural and political ties with Britain. By the 1920's, it became known as the Constitutional Party. Its successor, the Progressive Constitutional Party, is led by Strickland's daughter, Miss Mabel Strickland.

The *anti-riformista* or pro-Italian party was led by Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and later by his son, Dr. Enrico Mizzi. The Nationalist Party eventually emerged out of this group, and today, although the language issue is quite dead, it is still one of the two major political parties. Both parties campaigned for support in the villages and thus, for the first time, forcefully presented national political issues to the masses.

000 197 648 668 political issues to the masses. The pro-Italian group came to dominate the elected members, and blocked the affairs of government to such an extent that Britain re-established the official majority.

[665] Britain did not succeed until many years later in implementing the recommendations of the Keenan Report. The language of instruction in the primary schools remained English or Italian, at the option of a student's parents – the so-called '*pari-passu*' system. In 1921, Britain attempted to remove language from the political arena by stipulating in the new constitution 'that nothing shall be done by way of legislation or administration which shall diminish or detract from the position of English as an official language or to reduce its use in education or in the public service.'[1]

197 665 668 For the first six years after the 1921 Constitution was promulgated, the government was in the hands of the political groups which eventually merged into the Nationalist Party: Monsignor Panzavecchia's 'Unione Maltese' and the 'Partito Democratico Nazionalista' led by Enrico Mizzi. The newly-formed Labour Party at first supported the Nationalists, but later became a firm ally of Strickland's Constitutional Party. Monsignor Michael Gonzi, now Archbishop of Malta, was a representative of the Labour Party until he became Bishop of Gozo in 1924. During this early period, the only serious political skirmish occurred, not surprisingly, over the 1923 Pari-Passu Bill by which the Nationalists introduced both English and Italian as compulsory subjects in the elementary schools. Strickland attacked the bill on the ground that it made no provision to teach Maltese, the language of the masses. He maintained that without a firm knowledge of their own language, children could never learn two foreign languages at the same time. [648] Although the British at first declared that this act was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, it was allowed to become law.

665 666 The Constitutional Party, supported by the Labour Party, won the 1927 general elections, and Strickland became Prime Minister. The elections, however, were marred by an incident which embittered the relations between Strickland's supporters and their opponents. On the day before the election, the Nationalists circulated thousands of copies of a perjured affidavit which declared that Strickland was a Freemason. Although the perjurer, a

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[1] Section 57.

notorious criminal whom the Nationalists hid until after the 665
elections, was later convicted, the accusation jarred the solidly 666
Catholic electorate and undoubtedly cost Strickland many votes.

In the years that followed this election, Malta was torn by an 659
unprecedented political struggle between the Strickland Government and the Church. Since this dispute in many ways foreshadowed the present conflict between the Church and the Malta Labour Party, it is worth while to examine it in some detail.

While Strickland was the leader of the opposition, he made frequent attacks, both from the floor and through his newspapers, on the priests sitting in the Assembly. He maintained that the clergy should not take part in politics. In doing this he made many enemies, for his attacks were often bitter and insulting. For example, he once offered a cash prize to the person who gave him the best reason for having the Bishop of Gozo removed from office. On another occasion, he announced that for a small sum of money, even a horse could become a Papal Marquis.

Relations between Strickland and the Church, already strained, deteriorated rapidly after he became Prime Minister. When the two monsignori who represented the Archbishop in the Senate voted against his first budget, he considered that the Church had declared war on him. This was followed by a public demonstration against the Archbishop. At the same time, Strickland also launched a blistering attack through his newspapers on the two clerical Senators. Following this, there was a whole series of petty disputes which culminated in the famous Father Carta case.

Father Carta, a Sardinian monk, had been sent to Malta by the Superior General of the Franciscan Conventuals to resolve a disciplinary problem in one of the Order's Maltese convents. He soon discovered that a certain Maltese monk, Father Guido Micallef, was one of the principal trouble-makers, and arranged for his transfer to the Order's house in Liverpool. At this point Strickland intervened. He asserted that Father Micallef was being exiled because he had supported the Constitutional Party in the 1927 elections, and refused to issue the necessary exit permit. The Church was furious at this interference in what it regarded as its internal affairs. In the wrangle which followed, both the Governor and the Archbishop became involved, Father Micallef was expelled from the Order and defrocked, and the Cabinet asked the Governor to petition the Holy See to investigate the incident.

659 A Papal Delegate visited Malta and concluded that the differences between the government and the Church could best be settled by means of a concordat. During most of the year following the Papal Delegate's visit, Britain tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a concordat and to get the Holy See to forbid the Maltese clergy to take part in the general elections scheduled for May 1930. The Vatican, however, declared that Strickland was not *persona grata* and that as long as he remained in power, a concordat was not possible.

In Malta, the relations between the Strickland Government and
the Church went from bad to worse. In April 1930, two Con-
stitutional Party Ministers gathered many sworn statements that
Monsignor Gonzi, the Bishop of Gozo, had instructed priests to
preach against the Constitutional Party and to refuse absolution
to its supporters. This inquiry greatly angered the Church. On the
666 first of May, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo issued a joint
659 pastoral which forbade people to vote for Strickland or those can-
648 didates who supported him. In view of the spiritual sanctions that
[664] threatened people who voted for the candidates of one of the two
[642] major parties, Britain had no option but to cancel the elections. It
subsequently suspended the constitution, but kept the Strickland
ministers on as advisers.

197 A Royal Commission went to Malta to investigate the trouble.
64 Following its report, Britain restored the constitution and
abolished the teaching of Italian in primary schools. In June 1932
665 the Nationalists defeated Strickland and his supporters in a bit-
666 terly contested election in which 96 per cent of the electorate
voted. However, their period in office was very brief. The
Governor dismissed them in November 1933 for deliberately
evading the constitutional provisions regarding language, for they
had set about to re-establish the primacy of Italian in the educa-
tional system and the civil service. Once again the administration
of the islands became the responsibility of the Governor.

186 During the fourteen years of Governor's rule which followed,
the deep wounds caused by the long, harsh political conflict
64 slowly healed. The first Italian bombs of the war finally killed the
language dispute. The united defence effort and the common
suffering caused by the prolonged bombardment further helped
to reunite political rivals and suppress parochial quarrels. Britain
awarded the people of Malta and Gozo the George Cross for

186 64 their heroism, and after the war restored representative government.

665 666 In the first election under the new constitution, the people voted overwhelmingly for the Labour Party, then led by Dr. Paul Boffa. But in 1949 a disagreement between Dr. Boffa and his Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction, Mr. Dom Mintoff, split the party. The Nationalists, with the support of Dr. Boffa's new Workers' Party, formed the next few governments. Dom Mintoff's Malta Labour Party gradually swallowed the Workers' Party and finally defeated the Nationalists in the 1955 general election.

659 There was almost constant friction between the Church and the Mintoff Government during the three years it was in office. From the outset, Mintoff showed himself reluctant to submit to the authority of the Church. His refusal to pay the traditional call on the Archbishop, Monsignor Gonzi, when he took office was symbolic of this independence. Many incidents contributed to the disagreement between the two, which grew more intense as both became more outspoken in their criticism of each other. Perhaps the most serious clash occurred over the Archbishop's stand on the Government's proposal to link Malta more closely with Britain. On the eve of a referendum concerning this proposal, Monsignor Gonzi made a broadcast in which he said that he could not support the integration proposal because Mintoff had failed (whether by design or circumstance is an open question) to secure adequate guarantees from Britain to protect the position of the Roman Catholic religion. In spite of this, the electorate supported Mintoff's proposal; but relations between the Labour Party and the Archbishop remained strained.

186 659 Then, shortly before he resigned, Mintoff sparked off a sharp dispute with the Church by hanging in the National Museum a painting taken from St. John's Co-Cathedral. Originally, the government had sent the painting, a Caravaggio, to Italy to be restored. But the government seized it when it returned and declared that since the Co-Cathedral was government property, the painting was a national treasure that should be properly cared for and displayed to the public. In the course of the acrimonious dispute which followed, Mintoff, who had appealed the matter to the Vatican, was ordered by the Holy See to return the painting. He finally returned it on the night before he resigned.

578 665 795 The relations between the Labour Party and the Church continued to deteriorate after the resignation; finally, in 1961, they gave way to open hostility. Both sides abused each other in the course of the election campaign. On 9th April the Church placed Mintoff and many of the Labour leaders under an interdict for their disrespect to the Bishop. A little over a month later, the Bishops issued a circular condemning the Labour papers. These sanctions intensified the conflict. Finally, just six weeks before the election, the Church, through the Diocesan Joint Council of Catholic Lay Associations, launched a massive campaign to persuade the people to vote against the Labour Party. The campaign was successful: the parties which the Church supported defeated the Labour Party at the polls, and the Nationalist Party took office.

578 659 665 795 The reader will have noted the similarity between the course of the conflicts of Strickland and Mintoff with the Church. Both took place after relatively long (for Malta) periods of representative government. Both involved a series of rather petty disputes which became progressively more bitter and divided the country. Both culminated in the Church imposing sanctions which ultimately led to the electoral defeat of its opponents. In each case, approximately one-third of the population chose to face Church sanctions rather than abandon its political leaders. Most of the actual incidents which provoked the disputes were quite out of proportion to the conflict they created. To my mind, these incidents were symptomatic of the inherent conflict between an elected government and a Church which has long exercised great authority in both secular and religious spheres.

It is not my intention to make a detailed analysis here of the complex causes underlying the present conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. At this point it is sufficient to know that the dispute exists. In later chapters I shall be concerned with tracing its effects on the social organization of the villages. In the course of this study, it will also become apparent that there are conflicts between secular and religious interests in the villages which are quite unrelated to national political issues.

[p. 15]

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out 647
by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under
the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is
usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the [648]
interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation
from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads
were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants.
Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of
civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers
through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial
labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the government. [464]
They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This [162]
makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands.
Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the
principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open
competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration [621]
required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no
councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to
represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey
the wishes and commands of government to the people.
Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are
located in Valletta. Only the police represent government [625]
authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools [658]
for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most
villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a [744]
day under the supervision of a government District Medical
Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and [205]
branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour.
All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where [364]
it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

647 many countries are carried out by village or municipal authorities, are in Malta centrally administered from Valletta.

[364] Gozo provides in some respects an exception to this picture. Though Gozo is administratively and economically dependent upon Malta, it has had for many years a certain measure of autonomy under a separate Commissioner. This appointment is dictated by the island's distance from Valletta in time and space. This isolation has not surprisingly resulted in a widely held belief that the Maltese administration, in which, incidentally, a large number of Gozitans have always held important posts, has systematically [653] neglected Gozo. That there is a certain justification for this belief can be seen by anyone who compares the condition of the roads and the extension of street lighting, water and drainage in the two islands.

623 653 Partly to still for ever complaints about neglect, and partly as an experiment with a concept of local government new to Malta, the Gozo Civic Council was established in the summer of 1961. Each village in Gozo now has an elected committee of six councillors, one of whom represents the village on the Civic Council. The Council has the responsibility for the maintenance of roads, government buildings, cemeteries and public gardens, village dispensaries and the museum and public library. It can also construct new roads and extend drainage, water and street lighting. To [651] finance its work the Council receives the revenue from local taxes and from certain government property in Gozo. It also has the power to levy rates, but as all councillors made solemn promises to their constituents that they would not do so, this additional source of revenue must be discounted for the time being.

II

793 795 The Maltese Islands form a single province of the Catholic Church. This province is divided into the Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo, which includes the small island of Comino. The Bishop of Gozo is suffragan to the Archbishop of Malta. As the senior or Metropolitan Bishop, the Archbishop has [293] certain privileges and rights over his suffragan. These include the right to visit his suffragan's diocese (with Papal authority), should the latter neglect to do so; the right to appoint a temporary vicar on the decease of the Bishop of Gozo, if the Cathedral Chapter of

the latter's diocese fails to appoint one within eight days; and the 793
right to wear the insignia of his office which mark his superior 795
dignity (the *pallium* and the double cross), throughout his province. [293]
Moreover, the Archbishop's court functions as a court of
appeal for cases heard in the court of the Bishop of Gozo. In all [698]
other matters, however, the Bishop of Gozo has the same rights as the Archbishop. These include the right to make certain rules and dispensations for his diocese, to inflict penalties, interdictions and excommunication; and to determine who may be admitted to the priesthood.[1]

Each Bishop is assisted by a number of advisers, who also run the Curia, or administrative headquarters of the diocese. In the Archdiocese of Malta the Curia is under the charge of the Vicar General, who has the title of Titular Bishop. These advisers are for the most part Monsignori, or Canons, of the Cathedral Chapter. The Cathedral Chapter is composed of the priests attached to a cathedral church who advise the Bishop, arrange for a more solemn celebration of divine worship, and, when the See is vacant, provide for the government of the diocese. Though the Archdiocese of Malta has both a Cathedral in Mdina, and a Co-Cathedral in Valletta, there is only one Chapter.

In addition to the Cathedral Chapters in Malta and Gozo, there are also a number of Collegiate churches. The clergy of a Collegiate Church form a Collegiate Chapter, and have the title of
Canons. They perform no special duties in the diocese. The title [554]
of 'Collegiate' is an honour which can only be bestowed upon a church with Papal sanction. There are Collegiate Chapters in Senglea, Vittoriosa, Cospicua, Rabat, Birkirkara and Valletta in Malta, and in Għarb, Nadur and Xagħra in Gozo.

The Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo are divided 621
into 48 and 15 parishes respectively. A parish is the basic social and 794
territorial unit of the Church. Every village in Malta and Gozo is 795
a separate parish, though some towns are divided into two or more parishes. The limits of a parish are fixed by the Bishop. They often extend several miles beyond the compact villages that are so characteristic of the Maltese countryside. In most rural parishes there are also a few scattered farmsteads. The occupants of these isolated farms normally have houses in the village, to which they

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[1] Cf. William E. Addis and others, 'Archbishop', *A Catholic Dictionary* (16th ed. rev.; London, Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1960), pp. 44 f.

621 move for religious feasts and family celebrations. Sometimes a
number of these farms are clustered around a chapel or small
794 church dependent upon the parish church. In time, these hamlets
795 may disappear; historical sources cite many which have long since
vanished.[1] On the other hand, a hamlet may grow to the point
where its inhabitants can afford to build a larger church and in
other ways successfully press their claim to become a separate
632 parish. Most rural parishes in Malta and Gozo have come into
being in this way. Some towns have been divided into two or
794 more parishes for administrative reasons. In Malta, Qormi and
795 Valletta are each divided into two parishes, and Sliema into three.
[578] Rabat in Gozo is currently being divided into two parishes. But
because of fierce rivalry between the residents of the territories
concerned, the exact boundary line is disputed and the territorial
division will probably take another generation to complete.

79 The parish priest, who in all but the smallest parishes is assisted
by a curate or more, is responsible to the Church for the care of
[609] the souls of all Catholics resident in his parish. Except where
foreign service personnel live with their families – notably in
Rabat, Naxxar, Mosta, St. Paul's Bay, Luqa and Birżebbuġa – all
villagers are Catholic, and are thus the priest's parishioners. These
parishioners also form part of the corporate body of the Church.

793 The clergy in Malta, as in all other Catholic countries, are
divided into two main groups: the secular or diocesan clergy, and
the regular clergy. Diocesan priests are trained in the Bishop's
Seminary and are directly subject to the authority of the Bishop.
A further distinction is made between those diocesan priests whose
families or patrons have been able to provide them with a benefice
– either property or cash deposited at the Curia bank – yielding
a minimum of £10 annually, and those who have received
their benefices from their Bishop. After the first five years the
former, who are by far the most numerous, are free to serve
where they wish. The latter always remain at the service of their
Bishop. Most parishes are run by diocesan priests, and the clergy
[792] resident in the villages belong to this group. The friars and monks
of the regular clergy are members of religious orders. They have
been trained in the seminaries and houses of their particular orders.

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[1] An interesting study of villages which have disappeared is given in M. Richardson, *Aspects of the Demography of Modern Malta* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1960), pp. 243 ff.

They must live together in specially designated premises under 792
the discipline of their order, and they are subject to the authority 793
of their provincial or superior. As we shall see, the position that [162]
the clergy occupy in society and the nature of their work is to a [554]
very considerable extent determined by their sheer numbers. In 1957 there were 1,229 diocesan priests, friars and monks and 1,588 nuns in Malta and Gozo.[1] In addition to these, in 1958 there were approximately 220 friars and monks and 200 nuns studying abroad or working as missionaries or chaplains to communities of migrants.[2]

There are a number of associations which occupy important 664
positions in the structure of both the diocese and its constituent 793
parishes. At the diocesan level the most important of these are the
College of Archpriests and Parish Priests, which acts as a pressure 794
group in the interest of its members; the Cana Movement, which runs courses for engaged couples, a marriage advisory council and a clinic; and the Social Action Movement, which is trying to establish trade unions. There is also the Diocesan Junta, or Diocesan Council of Catholic Lay Organizations. This body, on which most of the diocesan and parochial societies are represented, is an important pressure group. As already noted, it played a leading part in bringing about the defeat of the Malta Labour Party in the 1962 elections.

Many associations, though organized at the diocesan level, have 794
semi-autonomous branches at the parish level. These can be roughly divided into the lay apostolate associations and the devotional societies. The lay apostolate groups have been organized so that 'the Church will be able to exercise its direct and indirect action in all the fields: religious, cultural, technical, family, workers' movements and others.'[3] These societies are usually divided by age and sex, and except for the Society of Christian Doctrine, all are run by village priests who are responsible to the parish priest. These chaplains and the lay leaders generally work out an active programme of lectures, good works and outings. Many of them take part in religious processions and, in general, support the work of the parish priest. Together with the clergy,

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[1] *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Economic Activities* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), p. 45.

[2] Charles G. Vella, ed., *The Catholic Directory of Malta and Gozo* (Valletta, Archbishop's Palace, 1958), pp. 273-308.

[3] François H. Houtart, *in* Vella, p. 311.

794 they provide the organized opposition of the Church to the Malta Labour Party.

The most active of these societies are the Catholic Action, the Young Christian Workers, the Legion of Mary and the Sodality of Our Lady. Since the aims of these groups are all very much alike, there is a certain amount of rivalry between them for members and for recognition as the most active society in the parish. The position of Catholic Action as the leading lay apostolate society is being challenged by the Legion of Mary and the Young Christian Workers, whose militant opposition to the Labour Party has generated much publicity.

The Jesuits introduced the Young Christian Workers movement in 1945. Its members today, however, are for the most part young unmarried white-collar workers. This is an occupational class which does not generally support the Labour Party. The male sections of Catholic Action and the Young Christian Workers usually have their own premises, with facilities for table tennis and billiards, and sometimes a bar and library.

In all villages, the Church societies with the greatest membership are those which cater for women and girls. Few of these groups have premises of their own; they usually meet, separately, several times a week in one of the smaller chapels that are to be found in all villages. There the members say prayers and listen to lectures and sermons from their chaplains. They also teach catechism, look after church vestments, visit the sick and in general perform useful work for the parish priest and the clergy. Many village girls are members of one or other of these groups until they get married. For, quite apart from the religious benefits they may derive, they find in them a certain organized companionship, especially after they leave school.

The strictest and one of the oldest of the lay apostolate groups is 785 the Society of Christian Doctrine. It is more commonly referred 794 to as *tal-muzew* or MUSEUM (Magister Utinam Sequatur Evangelium Universus Mundus). A Maltese priest founded the society in 1907 with the object of giving a deep religious formation to its members through a life of prayer and instruction. Although MUSEUM members live at home and work alongside others, they may not smoke, attend any kind of public entertainment, cultivate friendships with non-members, read secular newspapers or join other associations. Moreover, the men are required to cut their

hair short, are not allowed to wear neckties, and must wear jackets 785
in public. Female members are obliged to wear the traditional 794
Maltese *ghonella* (also *faldetta*). This is a black silk cowl which [292]
renders the wearer completely shapeless. Finally, all members are [589]
tied by a promise of celibacy. Since members usually enter the
society as children, and work up through grades until they
become full members, this promise ensures that all are either
bachelors or spinsters.

The male and female sections are completely separate. Each 794
meets daily under its respective superior in its own house. There [834]
the members hold devotional exercises, conduct study groups for
adults and also teach catechism to the children. The superiors are normally elected for life; but if the members cannot agree, the national superior general, after consultation with the parish priest, appoints an acting superior, either from the village or from outside groups.

The society is somewhat unusual among village religious [793]
associations, since no member of the village clergy is directly
involved in its activities, though priests are often invited in to give lectures. This relatively independent status, and the close contact that members maintain with their national headquarters, has led some parish priests to look upon it as a potential threat to their authority and consequently to oppose its establishment in their parishes. Thus, although the society has spread to 40 (83 per cent) of the Maltese parishes, it is only established in 6 (40 per cent) of those in Gozo, Malta's conservative sister island. In point of fact, wherever it has been established it has supported the authority of the parish priest, and its members are now among the staunchest opponents of the Labour Party.

In each parish there are usually several loosely organized groups such as the Association of Christian Mothers and the Holy Name Society which meet infrequently for special prayers and devotions.

Finally, there is at least one confraternity in each parish. A
confraternity is a lay religious society which is dedicated to a particular saint and offers Masses for dead members. These societies,
called *fratellanzi*, are the oldest associations in Malta, and many [467]
date back to the Middle Ages. Formerly certain confraternities in
the larger villages and towns acted as trade guilds; others only
enrolled persons of the highest socio-economic class. Both men [242]
and women may enrol, as members; but only men may wear the

794 distinctive habit of the confraternity in processions, in which the
[292] *fratelli* play an important part. Entrance to a confraternity is by
means of a short religious ceremony and the payment of a small
fee. This entitles the newly professed member to share in the indulgences,
privileges and spiritual favours which have accrued to
the society.

Every confraternity is established independently in each parish,
and has nothing to do with confraternities of the same name in
other villages. Before the band clubs were established, confraternities
were the only formally constituted associations in rural
[554] parishes. Their officers enjoyed considerable prestige, and had a
voice in village affairs. But today the members seldom meet as a
[178] group and most confraternities have no premises of their own,
though they generally have an altar in the parish church. Aside
from the dozen or two who take part in all the parish processions,
members take no part in any activity. A few confraternities
[423] which own property are a notable exception. Their officers meet
occasionally to discuss the business affairs of the confraternity, and
the societies still play an active role in local affairs.

There are also a number of third orders. These societies are lay counterparts of certain religious orders. They are organized in much the same way as the confraternities. Members attend occasional spiritual exercises and have the right to take part in processions and to be buried in the habit of the order. Altogether there are 16 different confraternities and third orders. Among the most common are the confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, which is established in all parishes, the Holy Rosary, Our Lady of Consolation (*Ta' Ċintura*), St. Joseph and the Third Orders of the Franciscans and the Carmelites.

554 All groups and individuals that are tied to the Church are
79 ranked. Each parish, religious order and parish society has its fixed
position in the overall order. The same applies to the clerics who constitute its personnel. Position in the hierarchy is determined by seniority of foundation in the case of parishes and associations – or date of ordination or appointment to present office, in the case of the clergy – in combination with certain marks of honour conferred by the Church authorities. Such honours carry with them a claim to higher precedence than seniority by itself would give. For example, any parish in which there is a Collegiate Chapter, or whose church has the title of Basilica, ranks higher than one

which does not have these honours. Other honours are the right 554 to perform rituals, indulgence to persons visiting the church, and 79 particular ecclesiastical offices. To a considerable extent these are rewards for meritorious conduct, measured by contributions to the decorations of the church, or the number of vocations, or special devotions performed in a parish.

During certain religious processions and ceremonies this ranking becomes an important determinant of the order in which the participants take part. Formerly, during the annual St. Gregory procession, virtually the entire hierarchy of Malta could be seen lined up on the ground. But this procession of parishes was abolished and the ceremony modified in 1927, among other reasons because of a dispute between the Canons of Senglea and Birkirkara over a question of precedence. But the St. Gregory procession in Gozo is still held every March. Then it is possible to see parish following parish in order of precedence, and the confraternities of each, in their turn, ranked according to their position in their own parish hierarchy. At the front of the procession is the youngest parish, the one with the lowest rank. It is followed by parishes in ascending order of seniority until the oldest Collegiate Chapter. Then come the religious orders. These are followed by the clergy of the Cathedral and the Monsignori of the Cathedral Chapter. The celebrant or Bishop brings up the end of the procession. This inverted order of precedence is an important organizational principle, which operates in the secular as well as the religious sphere, and it is one of the basic causes of disputes between villages and band clubs.

III

At present there are six political parties in Malta. Of these, only 665 three contested the 1955 elections: the Nationalist Party (NP), led by Dr. Giorgio Borg Olivier; the Malta Labour Party (MLP), whose leader is Dom Mintoff; and Miss Mabel Strickland's Progressive Constitutional Party (PCP). The election resulted in 23 [666] seats for the MLP, 17 for the NP and none for the PCP. Three new parties have emerged since the resignation from office of the MLP in 1958: the Democratic Nationalist Party (DNP), led by Dr. Herbert Ganado, split from the Nationalist Party; Anthony Pellegrini, a former Secretary of the Labour Party, founded the

665 Christian Workers' Party (CWP); and Chev. George Ransley started up the Democratic Christian Party (DCP).

Of these six parties, only one, the Malta Labour Party, incor-
665 porates the villages on a permanent basis in its organizational
666 framework. The other five parties are loosely organized. Their
structure can be seen most clearly just before an election. At the
top of each there is the party executive. Below that are the candidates
from the electoral districts. (Under the 1947 Constitution
there were eight electoral districts each returning five representatives;
the 1961 Constitution increased the number to ten.)
The candidates from the various electoral districts work out their
campaign strategy with their national executives. Each candidate,
in his turn, tries to appoint canvassers or agents in each important
village in his district. Some canvassers are paid, and have represented
other candidates and parties before. Thus at the village
level it is pretty much every candidate for himself. This is particularly
true when there are several candidates from a single party
canvassing votes in the same village. If the party is successful, the
chain from canvasser, through the local member of the Legislative
Assembly (MLA), to Cabinet Minister, serves as a channel for
requests and patronage. The party structure is thus strengthened
and given a degree of permanence. But if the party is defeated or,
if elected, it resigns, or the constitution is suspended, it ceases to
be an operative organization at the village level. None of these
parties have permanently organized village committees or clubs,
though there are Nationalist Party clubs in a few towns. In the
past, a few band clubs became identified with specific parties and
[575] served as local centres for the party. This often occurred when
prominent band club members became successful party politicians.
But the linkage between a village band club and a particular party
was coincidental. Moreover, only rarely did all the members of
such a band club support the political party with which its leaders
were aligned. The above, in rather general terms, is a rough
description of the structure of five of the six Maltese political
parties in 1961. The Labour Party is the exception.

665 The Labour Party was the first to reorganize itself immediately after the war. During the period between 1949 and 1955, when the Nationalists and Dr. Boffa's Workers' Party carried on a coalition government, Dom Mintoff further reorganized and strengthened the Malta Labour Party. Its structure was greatly

reinforced during the three years following 1955 when it formed 665
the government. Since then it has been streamlined and hardened
by the Party's almost constant struggle with the Church. Frequent
meetings now keep the rank and file in close touch with the
national leaders. The Party's newspaper, which became a daily [204]
shortly after Mintoff resigned in 1958, disseminates propaganda [208]
and news of Labour activities as well as international news, and so
provides the leaders with an important contact with members.

The MLP is now organized in three tiers: at the national level, at
the level of the electoral district, and at the village level. The
structure of the MLP, unlike that of its rivals, rests very firmly on
its village level organization. Virtually every village in Malta has
its own Local Committee, the members of which are elected
annually by the formal, dues-paying members among the MLP
supporters in the village. In most villages there is also a Party 575
club, of which the Local Committee members are the officers. 665
The Labour Club, which is usually equipped with a bar, a television
set and a billiards table, serves as the social centre for the [529]
MLP group in the village. Its frequent activities keep the supporters
united, as do the attacks of their enemies. The Club has become
something of a refuge for MLP supporters who are now cut off
from many village activities by the stigma which the Church has
attached to them. A number of Local Committees have organized
sub-committees for women and children.

Every Local Committee in each electoral district elects one 665
member to sit on the District Committee. This Committee acts
as a clearing house for propaganda and electoral tactics. During
the three years that the Party formed the government, the District
Committees were also points at which district-wide complaints,
patronage and public works were discussed with the
district MLA's.

At the apex of this pyramid is the National Executive of the Malta Labour Party. This is composed of representatives from all the District Committees, from the Parliamentary group and from the Labour League of Youth. The Party officers and additional members of the Executives are elected at an annual General Conference. All electoral candidates and major policy decisions are confirmed there. Conference delegates are representatives of the Local Committees of each village and town.

During the period the MLP was in power, the Local Committees

665 were transformed from propaganda and social centres into instruments of government. As the village branches of the party in
power, they represented government in the eyes of the people, if
not the civil servants. They transmitted and explained the policy
of the administration and they channelled requests to the appropriate authorities. Ministers made use of the Local Committees
[645] for business at the village level, since the Committees generally
provided their only direct contact with the villages.

IV

182 The State, the Church and the political parties are thus the
64 national organizations which affect the lives of the people at the
665 village level. The State is highly centralized, and has no political
795 representatives in the villages. In contrast to the State, the Church
has its official representatives in every village and hamlet. They
are firmly controlled from above. The structure of the Malta Labour Party also rests firmly on its village level organization. The differing structural frameworks of these organizations have a direct bearing on this study. While competition for power at the national level between the State, on the one hand, and the Church or political parties, on the other, can often lead to bitter disputes, such conflict rarely causes division at the village level. In contrast, disputes at the national level between the political parties, or between a political party and the Church are transmitted immediately through their respective structures to the level of the village. There they bring about a conflict of interest which reflects the struggle for power at the national level.

CHAPTER III

The Villages and Their Inhabitants

The villages with which this essay deals are the communities 361
outside the densely populated built-up area which centres on [121]
Valletta. This area is contained in a rectangle formed by imaginary lines running from St. Julians' and Lija, and thence to Tarxien and Kalkara.[1] Many of these villages, however, are in reality rural towns with populations of up to 15,000, as in the case of Qormi. The Maltese do not distinguish linguistically between small [196]
villages and country towns, both are called 'villages' (*rhula*; sing. *rahal*). These are contrasted to *Il-Belt*, the City of Valletta, and its environs. Although I contrast town and country, it is worthwhile pointing once again to Malta's small size. No village in Malta is more than an hour's bus ride from Valletta, and Gozo is only thirty minutes by ferry from its larger sister island. Moreover, 'rival' villages are often no more than a few hundred yards apart.

I am here concerned with abstracting certain principles of social 121
organization, and not with comparing the size and shape of resi- 369
dential groupings, although these two ends are obviously not completely unrelated. Consequently, the geographical limitations which I have placed upon this study are somewhat arbitrary. It is, perhaps, easier to think of the division between town and country as a continuum, with Valletta or Sliema at one end, and small villages such as Qrendi or Għarb at the other. Although much of the description and analysis which follows holds true for both town and village, I am here dealing specifically with the villages.

The separation between town and country corresponds to a 361
rough division of economic and political power, for villagers look 369
to the urban area for employment, income and patronage. First 464
of all, the seat of government is in Valletta, and most of the senior civil servants live there or in Sliema, the sprawling residential suburb that has grown up opposite Valletta during the last 100 years. Secondly, almost all the professionals, wealthy business men,

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[1] See the map of Malta and Gozo on page 2, above.

361 landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of
369 the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the
464 greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to
work in this area.

369 Differences in language, dress and education set many of the
villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be
so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in
contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries.
[565] The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so considered,
[177] have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of
these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth
century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who
struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen,
whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

177 There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants
and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the
19 English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of
369 whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also
differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken
in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English
words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their
preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema
the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*,
which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà*
(mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however,
are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged
to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

186 The social and cultural differences between town and country
have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was
369 often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who
829 goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe,
tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The
villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who
spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for
the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross
exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth.
But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices
369 in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary
871 level.

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[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barrett, 1615), p. 234.

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level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advancement. 555

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same 212
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had 369
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same
period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to
17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment opportunities 464
during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 178
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 241
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 433
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the 464

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school. [114]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

241 giant dockyard in Cospicua, or for one of the various British
433 Service departments scattered over the island. Gozo is more
464 dependent upon agriculture, but many Gozitan men work in
[178] Malta, returning to their families for the weekend. Though
Maltese villages are populated mostly by industrial workers, they
have nonetheless a decidedly rural atmosphere about them, for
their inhabitants still have links with the agricultural economy of
[231] the past. Many retain a patch or two of land which they plant with
[235] potatoes or some other cash crop to supplement their wages, and
[262] virtually all keep chickens and rabbits to supply them with eggs
and fresh meat for special celebrations.

463

TABLE I. Occupational Classes in Farruġ and Kortin[1]
(Expressed as percentages of the total male working population)

Occupational Class	*Farruġ*	*Kortin*	*Islands*
Professional and Clerical	4	7	15
Service and Skilled	39	52	55
Semi- and Unskilled	42	27	20
Agricultural	15	14	10
Totals	100	100	100

[438] A hundred years ago, the inhabitants of Farruġ were mostly farmers, though many were also employed on a cottage-industry basis in the thriving cotton industry of the time. Today they are for the most part wage labourers. Of the total male working population, 42 per cent are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, 39 per cent work as skilled fitters and as service personnel (shopkeepers, drivers, policemen, etc.) and 15 per cent as farmers. Only 4 per cent are professionals and white-collar workers. Three-fourths travel outside the village to their places of employment, chiefly with the Malta Government and the British military departments.

The occupational structure of Kortin is much the same. The higher proportion of skilled and clerical workers is in part a reflection of its past importance as an administrative centre, for until early in this century it was the seat of the district court. Seven per cent of the men work in professional and white-collar

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[1] The figures for Farruġ and Kortin are based on surveys I conducted, and the national figures on the 1957 *Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 45–55. The totals of the male working population in Farruġ, Kortin and the Maltese Islands are 296, 1,131 and 75,930 respectively.

occupations, 52 per cent are service personnel and skilled workers, 463
27 per cent are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and 14 per cent
are engaged in agriculture. Just over two-thirds of the total are
employed outside the village. The majority of these, as in Farruġ,
work in the Grand Harbour industrial area. Those who work in
the village are for the most part self-employed. They are farmers,
shopkeepers, blacksmiths and carpenters.

In Table No. 1 I have compared the various occupational classes
in Kortin and Farruġ to each other and to the national figures.

III

Most villages look very much alike. Their magnificent baroque 361
churches provide a startling contrast to the low, flat-roofed houses
grouped tightly around them. As the parish church towers over
the village, so it dominates it socially, for the church is in every
sense the centre around which the life of the village revolves. In
front of the church there is usually a large square, the *misrah* or
pjazza, which is the social centre of the village. Various village
clubs and lay societies, as well as the police station, are situated on
the *pjazza*, or just off it, as are the principal wine shops, the
government dispensary and the finest houses of the village. As the [498]
square is usually the terminal point of the local bus line, it is the
point at which most people enter and leave the village. It is also [796]
the stage on which the principal events of village life take place:
the annual feast, or *festa*, of the patron saint, the many religious
processions and the occasional political rallies. On Sundays, and [517]
especially during the long summer evenings, the square teems
with groups of men, who sit about on steps and benches, talking
and arguing for hours on end. During weekday mornings, it [745]
belongs to the old men of the village, now freed by government [887]
old age pensions from the backbreaking toil in the fields that was
the lot of their forefathers.

Each village is first and foremost a community of neighbours. 621
Even the smallest of them have distinct residential groups, the
members of which are in closer contact with each other than with
people living in other parts of the village. This is, of course, particularly
true of the larger villages. But even in Farruġ, a village of
about 1,400, the extremities of the village and the various streets
and alleys form separate neighbourhoods. The many little shops [illegible]

438 The many little shops
443 scattered about the village permit the women to do most of their
512 shopping near their own homes. Because of the long, hot summers
621 when food spoils quickly, they shop separately for each meal.
Their shopping trips begin on the way home from the early Mass,
251 at about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, and continue until
796 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus, during the course of a day, a woman may make as many as a dozen trips to the shops as well as to the hawkers who pass through the neighbourhood. These trips are social occasions during which she comes in contact with friends and neighbours from all parts of the village, and in the process hears the village news.

275 The men are out of the village from 6 o'clock or so in the
512 morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, and
517 in the winter from about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock
621 in the evening. But summer or winter, in the late afternoon and the early evening the men gather in the clubs, wine shops and cafés. Besides the clubs and important cafés in the square, which draw men from all over the village, there are many small neighbourhood wine shops. Most have a regular clientele of friends and neighbours who spend hours together talking, playing cards and drinking tea, soft drinks or wine. Many cafés also have television. Thus, though most inhabitants of a village are in fairly frequent contact with each other, the gossip groups of the women and the wine shops of the men form local social centres which help bind neighbours more closely to one another. These neighbourhoods develop a certain group loyalty.

621 It often happens that some of the neighbourhoods in a town or
794 village are centred on small chapels. In times gone by there used
796 to be a certain amount of good-natured competition between the youngsters of these districts over the festas of the patron saints of their respective chapels. But, except on rare occasions, this rivalry never threatened the unity of the village during the annual festa of the patron saint of the parish. Frequent removals from house to house within the village have usually helped to prevent the development of disruptive sectional loyalties.

621 Since each village is also a separate parish it is not possible to
771 consider a village entirely as a secular community. Religion per-
794 meates the structure of Maltese society to an extent that makes it quite impossible to classify many institutions as either religious or secular. As a secular community, a village has no official leader, it

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

361
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[facing P. 32]

(Courtesy H.M.S. Falcon. Crown copyright reserved)

1. A Maltese Village

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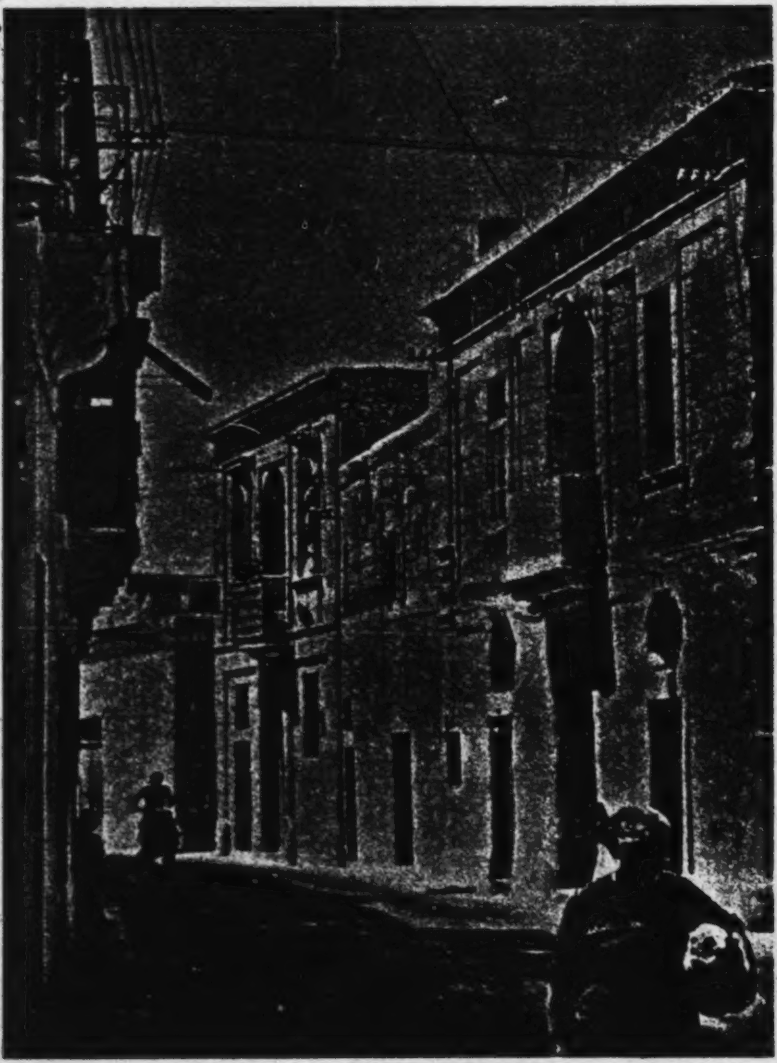

2. A village street

[facing p. 33]

owns no land or other property in common and its inhabitants 621
are rarely called upon or choose to work for a common end. At [186]
the same time, villagers are conscious of belonging to a distinct
social entity which is distinguished from other villages by a
collective nickname and a common sub-culture.

Many villages have a dialect quite distinct from that of their 184
neighbours, which the inhabitants, even those who have learned 197
to speak 'correctly' (*bil-pulit*), normally use to each other; 621
although they will invariably address strangers in their school
Maltese. There are also a number of minor variations of certain
customs between villages or districts. These may include the way
church bells are rung to announce a death or the way some aspects
of the festas are organized. Finally, each village has its own very
private body of gossip, stories, scandals and jokes, which makes
up a part of its history and tradition that is not shared with
outsiders.

As a congregation and a religious corporation, the village *qua* 421
parish owns land and other property, including the parish church. 423
It also has an appointed leader in the parish priest. The inhabitants 621
of the village meet regularly for worship, to take part in religious 794
processions and to carry out other devotional activities. Further- 796
more, they act together to celebrate the annual festa of the patron
saint, who symbolizes the unity of the secular and religious aspects
of the village, for he is patron of both village and parish.

A village can also be regarded as a moral community. That is, 621
people who live there must conform to a certain code of conduct. 626
While the community cannot enforce this code with the type of formal sanctions the police and the Church use to punish infractions of secular and religious laws, public opinion can, and does, exert great pressure for conformity. A person who flouts the canons of convention becomes the object of malicious gossip and, depending on the nature of the offence, he may also become the target of overt hostile action and have his house front splashed with paint, or his front door burned. The only way to escape from the sanctions of public opinion is to move to one of the urban areas or the expanding new suburbs, where licence can be relatively anonymous.

Members of a village thus share a common body of custom and 186
tradition; they also display an intense loyalty to their place of 621
birth. This sense of loyalty is strongest during the annual festa of 796

186 the village, which draws in native sons and daughters from all over
621 the country, and often from as far away as Canada and Australia.
This loyalty is also evident at other times. Villagers like to think of
796 themselves as a united body, and they take care to protect the
appearance of unity before strangers. This is an attitude of which
186 anyone studying the social history of a village becomes keenly
609 aware. Strangers are thus treated with great reserve. The inhabitants of the smaller villages are well known for their reluctance to
624 give any information about their neighbours to strangers. Inquiring visitors are often referred to the parish priest, who, as
village spokesman, screens them and, if possible, deals with their
questions. The reserve of a village *vis-à-vis* a stranger is consider-
[627] ably more than just an expression of village loyalty. Present also
is the very real fear of vengeance should the answer to a stranger's
question lead to some unpleasantness for a neighbour. Social
relations in a small village are to a very considerable extent
governed by the proverb 'Don't make an enemy of your neighbour' (*Tagħmilx għadu lil ġarek*).

In view of this loyalty, it is not surprising that people express
628 their solidarity with their native village by opposition to other
villages. A village's traditional rivals are usually those with which it has the most frequent contact. I was almost invariably warned by villagers that the inhabitants of the neighbouring village were a treacherous and savage lot. There are many tales of hostility between neighbouring villages, especially over the celebration of the annual festa, which I dare say have lost nothing in retelling. I was told a number of stories of how youths stampeded goats through their rivals' festa processions, and of expeditions which stole fireworks, attacked street decorations and performed other daring escapades. Although most of these adventures are said to have taken place many years ago, they are no more unusual than some of the incidents that I witnessed.

[178] If the intense inter-village rivalry of former times has abated
somewhat, it is probably because increased education and contact
outside the villages have helped to break down ignorance and
[796] isolation. But this rivalry still lies dormant, and may flare up at the
slightest provocation from a traditional rival; I have seen a num-
[526] ber of fights over trivial incidents during festas and football
[712] matches. The number of police at village feasts and the quantity
and density of the barbed-wire entanglements at the Schreiber

Stadium, where most village football matches are played, are in 628
themselves evidence that fights during these occasions are the rule [526]
rather than the exception. [712]

Although there is little formal contact between villages, there
is a considerable amount of informal coming and going between
their inhabitants. Most inter-village marriages are between partners [582]
from neighbouring villages, and the network of kin ties that
these form helps to bind the villages of a district together. Inhabitants
of neighbouring villages travel to and from work on the
same buses, and see each other often at the annual feasts of the
district. These multiple relations contribute to a certain district
spirit. The most striking example is the unity of the Gozitans,
although people from the south of Malta have something of the
same spirit of belonging to a particular district. Nonetheless, the
knowledge the inhabitants of the southern Maltese villages have
of each other cannot be compared to that of the Gozitans, who,
for the most part, not only recognize each other by face, name and
nickname, but usually know a surprising (and often uncomfortable)
amount of personal details about one another.

IV

A person becomes a member of a village by being born there, or 217
marrying or moving into it. The administrative details connected 591
with these acts are quite simple. Parents must register the birth of [621]
a child at the local police station, and the parish priest enters the [851]
child's name in his register when the baby is baptized, which
usually takes place within a few days of its birth. If a man marries
into a village, his name will be entered in the parish register, for
under Church law the marriage must be performed by the parish
priest of the bride, or his delegate. If the couple settles in the
husband's village or in a strange village, their names will be
recorded on the annual census there, the *status animarum*, which
every parish priest prepares for his bishop. All changes of address
are supposed to be given (but often are not) to the Rationing
Office and, if the person is over twenty-one, to the Electoral
Office. No other civil authorities are interested in a person's
whereabouts.

In point of fact, however, most people live in the villages into 369
which they were born. This is another respect in which the towns 591

369 differ from the villages. While only about sixteen per cent of the
591 adult population of an average Maltese village is not native born,
approximately two-thirds of the adults residing in the urban and
suburban areas were born outside the communities in which they
now live (see Table 2 below).

591 There is no rule of village endogamy or exogamy, and a bride
and groom are free to choose where they wish to live and set up
their household. The choice of residence is normally governed by
available housing, place of work and the relative strength of the
bride's and groom's ties with their respective families and villages.
But in case of a conflict of interest, a wife is expected to follow
the wishes of her husband. If housing is available in both the village
of the wife and that of her husband, and the husband's place of
work is in neither, there is a tendency for the couple to live in the
wife's village. The Maltese themselves acknowledge that, all other
things being equal, the ties between a wife and her family are
stronger than those between her husband and his kin.

162 Thus in Farruġ and Kortin, I found that approximately half the
couples had married and settled within their respective villages.
591 Less than one in twenty (4 per cent) of the couples were strangers
who had moved there because of the shortage of housing in their
own villages; and all of these had relatives already living in the
two villages. The outsiders who married or moved into Farruġ
and Kortin formed one-fifth (21 per cent) of the adult population,
or about 10 per cent of the total population of each. In slightly
591 over half (56 per cent) the marriages between people from these
[184] two villages and other villages, the husband settled in his wife's
village. This is the general trend in Malta, where most men work
[369] outside their villages. In Gozo, where farming is the chief occupation,
it is more usual for a woman to move to her husband's
village, for that is his place of work. People from the towns who
marry villagers are reluctant to move into the villages, and it is
therefore fairly common to find villagers, especially women,
moving to join their spouses in the towns.

The general principles regarding marriage residence are
reflected in Table 2.

The number of outsiders resident in a village is an important
591 factor governing the degree to which its inhabitants consider
621 themselves a corporate group. As outsiders always retain strong
links with their place of birth, the solidarity of a village is inversely

proportional to the number of outsiders resident in it. Not only 591 does loyalty to friends and relations in a man's village of birth 621 often take precedence over new ties established by his marriage into a strange village, but it is not unusual for a man married into another village to continue to play an active part in the social life of his native village. Conversely, an outsider is seldom called upon or attempts to join the clubs and associations of his wife's village. Thus, only 3 per cent of the committee members of the fifteen band and social clubs in the sample villages I studied were outsiders, although about 18 per cent of the adult male population resident in these villages were born elsewhere. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the committee members were now living outside the villages in which they were born and hold office.

TABLE 2. Adults Born Outside their Place of Residence[1] [162]

Place of Residence	*Percentage born elsewhere*	*Males*	*Females*
Urban/Suburban	66%	45%	55%
Maltese Villages	16	52	48
Gozitan Villages	15	39	61

Because of the many ties which bind people to their villages of birth, an adult who moves into his wife's village remains an outsider for many years. The village will probably not give him a [551] distinctive village nickname, and he will be known simply as the husband of his wife, or perhaps by the name of his native village. Although the village may ignore his outside origin for much of the time, his place of birth is certain to be remembered and held against him by his enemies, should be become involved in a dispute. The children of an outsider, however, become full [851] members of the village by virtue of their birth there, and their connection with the community through the family of their mother (or father). By the time his children begin to grow up and get married, the outsider is usually firmly established as a full member of the community.

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[1] This table was compiled from data made available to me by the Principal Government Electoral Officer. It covers a random sample drawn from a sample of two suburban communities (Sliema and Balzan), seven Maltese villages (Żebbuġ, Gharghur, Gudja, Mosta, Qrendi, Dingli and Żurrieq) and three Gozitan villages (Qala, Xaghra and Gharb). [103] [127]

V

611 The Maltese have large families and reckon kin relationship equally through males and females. Each person is thus at the centre of a wide network of cognates and affines. All these rela-
602 tives do not have equal importance; a person normally makes a distinction between his immediate family (*qraba tal-familja*), his close relatives (*qraba ta' gewwa*) and his distant relatives (*qraba fil-boghod*). A man's immediate family consists of his parents and his siblings and their fiancées, wives and children. This set of relatives normally sees each other at least once a week, and would be invited for a baptismal or betrothal celebration. The close relatives usually include grandparents, parents' siblings and their
[574] wives and children – his first cousins. These relatives all expect to be invited to a wedding, if not to a baptism. If they live in different villages they will also exchange visits during their annual festas. Distant relatives include the siblings of grandparents and great-grandparents and their descendants. A person normally has no formal contact with this set, but he recognizes his relationship to them if it is known to him.

Upon marriage, a person extends the range of his immediate family to include the corresponding set of his spouse. He may meet more frequently with his wife's immediate family than with his own, especially if they live equidistant from both sets (or in his wife's village).

It should be noted, however, that these sets of kin are not fixed or bounded groups; a person is relatively free to invite whom he wishes to any given ceremony. Physical as well as genealogical distance combines with sentiment to determine the actual relatives who are placed in these rough categories by an individual. Thus a person may be on closer terms with a second cousin who lives next door than with a first cousin living in another village.
[578] Normally, however, certain relatives *expect* to be invited to particular ceremonies, and failure to do so leads to friction, or may be a reflection of an existing conflict. Thus, while a first cousin does not expect to be invited to a baptismal or betrothal party, he does expect an invitation to a wedding. A second cousin does not expect to be invited to either, although he often is. These sets of kin relations are thus flexible; long dormant links can be manipulated for special purposes, such as to arrange introductions to

persons with political or economic influence. Once a kin relationship 602 is made known, it establishes a special tie between the two parties, and preferential treatment often follows; for kin are expected to help each other.

The ties of kinship can also be extended artificially by asking 608 non-kin to become godparents or marriage witnesses. Although parents normally choose persons to fill these offices from among their parents, uncles and aunts, thus reinforcing already existing kin ties, they quite often ask influential non-kin to perform this function. While the obligations created by godparenthood in [601] Malta, as in Italy, are not as demanding as they are in Spain, and [171] Spanish America,[1] the godparent (*parrinu*) is expected to favour his godchild (*filjozz*), if not the child's father.[2] Thus the institution of godparenthood plays a part in the system of patronage. Influential persons, however, are more often asked to become marriage witnesses. This relationship is not enduring. When [557] influential non-kin are asked to fill this office it is done as much to increase the prestige of the families of the couple getting married as it is to honour a patron.

There is constant informal contact between relatives living in 602 the same village. These informal meetings strengthen kin ties and ensure that people have a wide knowledge of their kin. Thus a friend in Farruġ was able to name 49 households in the village (20 per cent of the total) whose members were descended from his father's six siblings. Although the spread of this old man's family was unusual, no one in the village did not have some relatives living there. The many cross-cutting bonds of kinship [621] thus reinforce the multiplex ties created by neighbourhood, common culture and shared devotion to common symbols, and bind together the inhabitants of a village into the tightly united community which outsiders see.

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[1] See Gallatin Anderson, *A Survey of Italian God-parenthood* (The Kroeber Anthropological [113] Society Papers, No. 15; Berkeley, 1956), J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954), pp. 107 f.; and Sidney W. Mintz and Eric R. Wolf, 'An Analysis of Ritual Co-parenthood (Compadrazgo),' *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI (1950), 341–68.

[2] The reciprocal term *xbin* is used between a godparent and the father of his godchild. Friends and even strangers often use it to address one another; it is a way of reducing social distance and making possible a more intimate association. Michael Kenny in his book, *A Spanish Tapestry* (London, Cohen and West, 1961), p. 72, notes that this is also an Andalusian custom.

[p.40]

CHAPTER IV

The Basis of Leadership

621 The Maltese word for leader, *mexxej*, is seldom heard, and then
[192] only in reference to the leader of a political party. I once asked a
parish priest who were the leaders of the village. He laughed and
[622] replied that there weren't any, because his parishioners did not like
[551] leaders. With the exception of the professionals and *il-puliti* from
the towns, all the inhabitants of a village usually call one another
by their Christian names and in general look upon each other as
equals. This egalitarian outlook is compounded of many factors,
of which the most important are similar occupation, standard of
living and values, the detailed knowledge of each other's personal
lives that comes with residence in a face-to-face community, and
178 jealousy. Any person who attempts to lead or to try to start
something new – such as a village playground – is derided. His
578 true motive is seen as self aggrandizement and his enemies and
621 envious neighbours are quick to point this out to others who may
[539] not have realized it. 'Envy follows the wise man like his shadow'
(*L-ghira titrot wara l-gharef bhal dellu mieghu*), goes the Maltese
[609] proverb. Professionals and outsiders, especially if they are from
the town, are occasionally able to start something new. Their
social distance from most of the community protects them from
the full impact of the envy and gossip which moulds so much of
village life.

554 But in spite of the absence of official lay leaders and the conservative pressure of envy and gossip, there are a number of
621 persons who have a greater say than others in the affairs of the
793 community. They are able to do this by virtue of their social
position, their occupation or office in one of the village associations or their influence with the parish priest. These persons,
together with the parish priest, form the aggregate which can be
[192] said to run the affairs of the community. While there is no generic
term for this aggregate, those who compose it are sometimes
referred to as *il-kbarat*, 'the big ones', or more derogatively as

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ir-rjus il-kbar, 'the big heads'. But if asked, a person will often 554
deny that such persons exist, and reply, 'Here we are all the same; 621
we are all from the village'. 793

II

The authority of the State is represented by the police, who are 625 formally responsible for law and order. Each village has a police station manned by a small contingent of constables under a sergeant. Several villages make up a police district under an inspector. In Malta most policemen live outside the villages in which they work. But it is usual for Gozitan constables stationed in Malta to be quartered in the police stations to which they are assigned.

In addition to their official duties of law enforcement, the police [659] distribute voting certificates, help conduct censuses and give out [657] the allotments of free food to old age pensioners and people on relief.[1] They also perform many favours for local residents. They help people fill out government forms, and occasionally allow the station telephone to be used for private calls. They are sometimes 625 able to mediate in local disputes. Disputants very often report each 627 other for insults, threats or some minor infraction of the law – throwing waste water and rubbish in the street is one of the most common – thus hoping to strangle their enemies in its due process. The police constable on duty is often able to reconcile the disputants and persuade them to withdraw the charges and counter-charges.

In general, the punitive role that the police are occasionally 625 forced to play is offset by their role as distributors of government assistance and by their general helpfulness. District inspectors try to avoid personal relations with the people in their districts since they must prosecute all criminal cases, and personal ties might prove awkward. Sergeants and constables, on the other hand, normally maintain friendly social contact with the local inhabitants. They are often invited for drinks during feasts and weddings, and quite a number marry local girls. The Maltese police thus play

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[1] The government has distributed surplus U.S. agricultural products to different groups of needy people since 1956. This food was first secured through the Co-operative for American Relief to Everywhere, Inc. (C.A.R.E., Inc.) and more recently through the Catholic Relief Services of America. The Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare, not the police, selects the beneficiaries.

625 a very different role from that of their Spanish counterparts, the Civil Guard, whom Kenny describes as 'the traditional enemy of the peasants'.[1]

III

795 The very considerable authority of the Church in Malta is derived not from law, but from the loyalty of a people who fervently practise their religion. Until recently, there had never been a separation in their minds between Church and State, between the religious and secular elements in their daily lives. The Church, as we have already observed, has occupied this position for many centuries. Its power is bolstered by its considerable wealth, for in [423] Malta the rich property and lands of the Church have not been expropriated by the State, as they have in so many other Catholic countries.[2]

As the official representative of the Church, the parish priest 793 occupies a position of great importance in his community. He has authority in all religious matters affecting his parishioners. He ministers to their spiritual and often to their personal needs. He alone can arrange for the important ceremonies which mark the [795] stages in their lives. These *rites de passage* include baptism, confirmation, marriage, death and burial. He also controls the many [796] ritual activities of the village as a whole. These are the daily services of worship and the ceremonies, processions and feasts by which all Maltese, but above all the countrymen, regulate their days and mark the divisions of the year. Through his preaching and admonition he defines, interprets and enforces the moral code of the Church. He is also the official custodian of the richly decorated parish church.

Besides this dependence on the parish priest in the religious matters which are of such vital importance in the lives of a devoutly Catholic people, the country people have traditionally [212] looked to him for assistance in many secular fields. Until only a few decades ago, he was often one of the few literate persons in his parish. As such he was frequently asked to read and write letters.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 48.

[2] Mitchell estimates that the Church owns 22 per cent of the agricultural land in Malta and 12 per cent in Gozo. See Peter K. Mitchell, *The Maltese Farm*, vol. II of *Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta* (mimeographed; Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, 1959), p. 130.

letters. His high standing in the village, and his contacts with 793
people of influence and power outside it, led people to turn to him for advice. He was asked to represent them in their relations with the outside world. In this capacity he served his parishioners as lawyer, banker and business adviser. He was also the traditional dispenser of charity.

The increasing literacy of the people and their ever-widening [212]
range of contacts outside the limits of the parish has somewhat [178]
reduced their dependence upon the parish priest. The State's [659]
recent involvement in welfare and charity has further weakened it. But if this dependence has been reduced, it has most certainly not been eliminated. Many still call on him to divide inheritances, to argue their claims against the government or to plead with prospective employers, and not a few expect him to be able to secure better roads, new schools, sewerage and playgrounds.

Thus the parish priest is the village's chief spokesman, and many 203
still refer to him as *il-principal tar-raħal*, 'the head of the village'. 793
The government has long recognized this, and makes use of him as a convenient contact with the people. Each Sunday morning, in addition to his own official announcements, the parish priest reads from the altar government notices advising the people of forthcoming elections, immunization campaigns, agricultural extension lectures and so on.

But if the parish priest performs numerous services for his 793
parishioners, both individually and collectively, he has also the power to refuse them. The sanctions with which he can punish [626]
disobedience are considerable. They range from declining to write a good conduct certificate to denying absolution in confession. On the other hand, he has the power to give rewards for services rendered. Aside from doing favours for people who have helped him, he can appoint them to offices which confer prestige and authority and, in some cases, are also financially rewarding. All this serves to underline and reinforce his position as a leader in the community.

Parish priests are usually outsiders, but the rest of the village clergy are natives of the communities in which they live. Unlike Catholic priests in Britain or the United States, who live in presbyteries, the diocesan clergy of Malta and Gozo live at home with their relatives. This means that they remain in constant contact with the village. They are often called on to take part in family

793 quarrels and village disputes, for their position in society makes them important allies. These demands frequently place them in the difficult position of having to choose between acting as an impartial servant of God and acting as a good son and loyal friend, who can only be impartial at the cost of making enemies of friends and family.

793 465 While parish priests, in all save the smallest parishes, usually receive an income sufficient for a reasonably comfortable life, few ordinary diocesan priests can live on their income as clerics. The average village priest gets only his daily Mass stipend of five shillings as compensation for his clerical services. If a priest is popular and gifted, he may be able to earn a bit extra by preaching, lecturing and taking part in religious functions in other parishes. Even so, most priests are forced to look to secular fields to be able to help support their parents and near relatives. Thus it is that most of the village clergy are part-time priests. That is, they spend most of the day away from their parish working at jobs that vary from farming to school teaching. Their pastoral work in their own parish is limited.

793 Of the eight priests born in Kortin and still living there, two are retired, one is the parish curate, two work outside the village as teachers and three are clerks with various diocesan bodies. In the evening most help the parish priest in church, teach catechism to the children and take charge of the various lay associations for which the parish priest has asked them to be responsible. In Farruġ there is only one local priest in the village. He teaches in the village's elementary school, and assists the parish priest in the evening, on Sundays and on feast days.

794 [792] [465] In almost every village there is an infants' school run by one of the female religious orders. The nuns are supported by donations of cash and produce from the local inhabitants. A few nuns earn something by doing elementary nursing among the sick of the community.

[872] [793] There are a number of other officers connected with the parish. These include the procurators (administrators) of the smaller churches and chapels, the sacristan, the choirmaster, the organist, the prefect of the altar boys, and so on. All have certain responsibilities delegated to them by the parish priest. In those villages where the celebration of the annual festa is organized by a committee, its members have the authority to command the financial and manpower resources of the community while they prepare

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for the feast. There are also the officers of the numerous religious associations.

In Farrug, for example, there are two sections of the Catholic Action (youths and girls), a branch of the MUSEUM for men, and confraternities dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Rosary and St. Roque. There are considerably more in Kortin, which is a good bit larger. There are branches of MUSEUM for men and women, sections of Catholic Action for men, boys and girls, a section each of the Sodality of Our Lady and the Young Christian Workers, confraternities dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Rosary, St. Joseph and Our Lady of Sorrows, and sections of the Third Orders of St. Francis and Our Lady of Mount Carmel. There are also parish chapters of the Holy Name Society, the Christian Mothers Association and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, a small, exclusive group which in Kortin raises about £50 a year to buy clothing and medicines for the poor of the parish.

Though the officers of the societies all have certain *ex officio* authority over the members, few are able to exercise authority in the village. Many are chosen by the parish priest to fill particular offices because of their pliability, religious conviction, or occupational status, rather than their qualities of leadership. But there are some officers who organize activities of concern to the entire community, and who consequently have a measure of authority in the wider community. These are the procurators of the parish confraternities and festas.

While the rector of a confraternity is its titular head, the procurator is the only officer who has any real authority. He keeps the registers of the society, recruits and enrols new members and often makes the arrangements for the funeral services of dead members. He also collects for and supervises the maintenance and decoration of the altar and statue of the society's patron saint. Furthermore, he makes all the arrangements for its annual festa. These may include collecting money, decorating the streets, booking brass bands and inviting priests to conduct the religious services and take part in the processions. His duties give him the authority to direct the action of others. He holds this authority, to be sure, in the name of and at the pleasure of the parish priest. The Church allows every procurator – whether of a confraternity, church, or festa – a three per cent commission on the entries in his financial registers to compensate him for his services.

[465]

557 793 794 Most of the procuratorships and offices in the associations connected with the Church are conferred upon members of the circle of persons who figuratively, and often physically, surround the parish priest. They become his favourites by doing some of the hundred and one odd jobs for which he depends on volunteers. These include running messages, carrying chairs, arranging meetings and decorating the streets for feasts and other important occasions, such as the visit of the Archbishop. Acceptance into the circle and the rewards meted out vary, of course, according to the capabilities of the individuals concerned, and the character of the parish priest. Advancement is most rapid and the rewards most interesting where the parish priest is open to influence, and the job-seeker has the qualities of leadership discussed below. But people are loath to see their parish priest delegate too much of his authority to their fellows. Those who pursue power in the community by attaching themselves to the parish priest often incur a good measure of hostility. Most frequently they are accused by the village gossips of lining their pockets with their neighbour's money.

794 [796] The most important member of the circle surrounding the parish priest in Kortin is old Manwel, a retired school teacher. As procurator of the Confraternity of our Lady of Sorrows, he collects funds for and organizes the elaborate Good Friday procession. This is an event which attracts visitors from all over the island. He is also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Joseph, the village cemetery and the Mass legacies of the parish. He is one of the founders and a former vice-president and secretary of the Social Club, and a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. [575] Though no longer in the Band Club, he was once on its committee. For many years he was also on the committee which organized the annual festa. All these offices give him a greater voice in the administration of the parish and its ceremonial affairs than anyone except the parish priest.

IV

575 [554] The officers of the secular associations in a village generally enjoy high standing and wield considerable influence. The secular associations, though they vary, generally include a men's social club (usually a brass band club), a political party committee or

club and a sports club. In Farrug, for instance, there are two band 575
clubs – one of which is dedicated to St. Martin, the other to St.
Roque – a football club and an active Labour Party committee;
while Kortin has a band club, a social club, a Labour club, a
football club and a troop of Boy Scouts. The term secular, used 575
in this context, requires a few words of qualification. Although 794
clubs and associations which I have called secular do not form part
of the Church, this does not necessarily mean that they are
opposed to it, or are cut off from it. Quite the contrary. Almost
every club has a chaplain who serves as a link between it and the
parish priest. Most clubs take part in certain religious functions,
especially during the week preceding Easter. Moreover, many of [778]
the clubs have dedicated themselves to the Sacred Heart of Jesus
and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary by means of special reli-
gious ceremonies. Often this dedication is renewed annually. Only [665]
the clubs of the Malta Labour Party do not have any linkage with
the Church.

The band clubs are the most important secular societies. They 575
are formally constituted associations with elected committees,
premises of their own and a large body of dues-paying members
drawn from all occupational and social classes. The first band
clubs were established shortly after the middle of the last century
in order to organize the external celebrations and provide music
for the annual festas of village patron saints. The clubs multiplied
rapidly, and soon became civic and social centres. They have [536]
broadened their scope to include dramatic groups, reading rooms [525]
and places where members can gamble out of sight of the watch-
ful eyes of the law. Most clubs have large concert halls that can
be used for wedding receptions. Today, each club usually has a
well-stocked bar, a television set and a billiards table.

But a band club is more than just a social centre. As it usually
plays an important part in organizing the external celebration of
the annual festa, the men who run the club make decisions which
affect all the inhabitants. Furthermore, the club often represents 575
the community to the outside world. Not only is the club's brass 574
band considered as the village's band when it plays at other festas, [186]
but the club also provides a welcome to important visitors from
outside. Thus when the Governor or the Archbishop makes an
official visit, he normally calls on the band clubs, where he is
given a reception on behalf of the entire village.

575 The important officers of a band club are among the most influential people in the community, and are usually chosen from the village's leading citizens. The president is the figurehead of [574] the club. He greets distinguished visitors and handles many of the ceremonial and business relations the club has with other groups within and outside the community. He also presides over committee meetings and over the annual election of new officers. The day-to-day running of the club is in the hands of the secretary, who is registered with the police as the club's official representative. Much of the success of the club depends upon his ability to run its social activities and administrative affairs. Other important committee members are the vice-president, the treasurer and the bandmaster. The latter is very often an outsider who comes to the village only for the weekly rehearsal of the band.

575 Though the formal authority of the committee members 554 extends over the members of the association only while they are in the club, their position in the club occasionally gives them a voice in decisions which affect the entire community. This, in turn, gives them a measure of authority over persons who are not members of the club.

575 But not all villages have band clubs. The small villages of Gharghur, Dingli and Safi have not been able to afford the luxury 184 of their own bands; though each has a social club that performs much the same function as a social and civic centre. A few villages, such as Kortin, have both social clubs and band clubs. But there are neither band clubs nor social clubs in the Maltese villages of [517] Marsaskala, Marsaxlokk and Mġarr. In Gozo, only Rabat, Xewkija and Xaghra have band clubs. All the villages without clubs are fishing or agricultural communities. This may be because the men of these villages do not dispose of the leisure time in the evening necessary for a club to be a success: the farmers are too tired, and the fishermen are off tending their nets.

575 There are also political and football clubs in most Maltese 665 villages. In Gozo there are a few football clubs, but no political clubs. These clubs are organized in much the same way as the [526] band clubs, and corresponding office holders have similar functions and authority over their members. These offices, however, [554] confer much less prestige. The football clubs, in particular, play only a small part in village affairs. The Malta Labour Party, as has already been noted, is the only political party which has clubs

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3. Confraternity members resting during procession

[facing p. 48]

Z: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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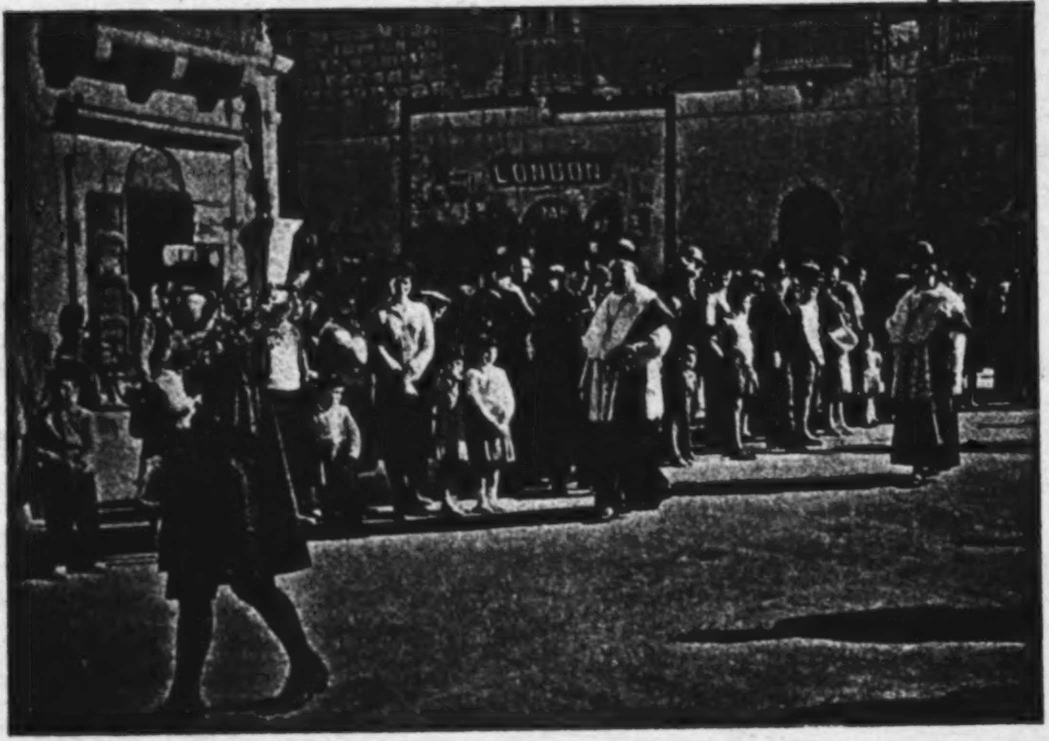
[facing p. 49]



4. Mace and canons of the Gozo Cathedral Chapter

575 665 at the village level. While there are Labour committees in almost all villages in Malta, not all of them have been successful in finding club premises. Where clubs have not been opened, the active members usually meet in a café or a private house.

575 659 665 The role of the Labour committee or club in the social life of a village is rather complex. The Labour club at all times is the centre of the local Labour supporters. During the past few years it has also been the centre of agitation against the established authority of the Church, especially in so far as it touches on secular matters. During the three years following 1955 when the Labour Government was in office, these village committees were backed by the government. Committee members thus wielded considerable power, for they provided a direct link with the established authority of the State at the national level. The same was true, but to a lesser extent, of the agents of the Nationalist Party during its period in government.

V

156 577 The qualities which the Maltese themselves consider important for a person to have in order to hold office are, of course, ideal ones. As such, they may not all be present in the same person. The leader of the St. Roque Band Club in Farrug summed these up for me as responsibility, willingness to work, courage and social status (*pozizzjoni*). Responsibility and willingness to work are self-explanatory.

Courage is a necessary quality since any person in a position to exercise some control over the action of others (especially in a society which stresses equality) is bound to be criticized by those over whom he exercises it, as well as by those who envy his position. Courage may be based on a desire to acquire power, and insensitivity to or failure to perceive criticism, or on an idealism which places the ultimate ends above the criticism of the means employed to attain them. I have known various village leaders whose courage was based upon one or more of these attributes. I have also met people who resigned from their offices because their motivation or insensitivity was not sufficiently strong to prompt them to carry on in spite of criticism. A former secretary of the social club in Kortin once summed up the reasons for his resignation with the proverb, 'Unfortunate is the one who gets

156 talked about' (*Miskin min jiġi f'ilsien in-nies*). This is especially
true for those persons whose social position does not permit them
577 to remain outside the circle in which criticism and gossip circulates. For these the esteem of neighbours is more important than office.

156 Social status is the fourth quality of leadership mentioned. High
status is a desirable and, in some cases, necessary quality for the
554 holders of certain offices. The president of a band club is required
575 to act as its ambassador and to handle its external relations; a person with high status is an obvious asset. He can meet visiting dignitaries and perform the required speech making without embarrassment to the club. Thus the president and vice-president of the clubs have often been invited to fill those offices because of their high status. Some clubs create the office of honorary patron for benefactors who are willing to lend their names – and status – to the clubs, although they take no part or interest in their actual running.

High social position is also an asset to the office of treasurer; for at some time or another he is almost sure to be accused by the village gossips of putting his hand into the purse. Considerable social distance between him and his critics renders him less vulnerable to their comments. It also makes potential critics less vocal. People are often willing to concede integrity to their superiors which they deny to their equals.

The secretary of the club does not need high status to carry out his work successfully, although it is certainly an asset. But he must have at least one of the attributes of high status, namely education; for as administrator of the club he is required to do a great deal of paper work. On the other hand, occupying one of the important offices in itself confers prestige upon a person. Thus the secretary is accorded a higher social status that he would have if he did not occupy that position, assuming for a moment that he had no other attributes which would confer status upon him.

Two important attributes of status are education and occupa-
156 tion. Education is the key that unlocks the world of the printed
463 word and frees people from dependence on patrons willing to
554 interpret it. Education also leads to better employment oppor-
871 tunities. Since entrance to the civil service, the professions and many commercial concerns is by competitive examination, the Maltese attach great importance to formal education.

There is considerable difference in the social status ascribed to 156
various jobs. Non-manual occupations have the highest status,
manual occupations the lowest. The professionals – the priest, 463
doctor, lawyer, chemist or teacher – are at the top; while the 554
farmers are at the bottom. In many respects a government clerical
officer is also at the other end of the scale from the farmer. The
civil servant has a steady, relatively easy job with a good cash
income and comfortable pension at the end. He also has ready
access to influential persons in the government. His is a life of
security and relative independence. The farmer, on the other
hand, has been looked down on for centuries. He represents the
traditional life of dependence: dependence upon the weather, the
market, the *pitkal*, or middleman, for cash advances, the letter-
writer and the patron through whom established authority has to
be contacted. Education and wage labour have presented the [178]
farmer with a means of escape from that dependence and the
exhausting labour in his rocky fields. Where he has had the oppor- [871]
tunity, he has been quick to turn his back on the traditional [241]
occupation of his forefathers.

Wealth is another determinant of status. This is generally 156
related to occupation. There has always been a considerable 463
difference between the standard of living of the professionals and
that of the average countryman. But until the past war, there was 511
relatively little difference in the standard of living of most 554
villagers. True, the more affluent lived in the large houses on the 556
main square, and the poorer people lived in the alleys and streets
remote from the square. Most people ate similar food, dressed
alike and furnished their houses in the same way. But the increase
in the level of wages, which followed the war, has changed that
pattern. New houses, cars, fridges and transistor radios have
become a tangible index of success and status. People are now
being graded according to the number of these symbols they
own.

Education, occupation and wealth are thus the chief criteria by 156
which social position is differentiated. A person who has all these
attributes has high status. But a person with high status is not 554
necessarily a leader; for he may not possess the innate qualities [577]
required of a successful leader – courage, responsibility and wil-
lingness to work. Where a person has both high status and
possesses these qualities – as well as ambition – he will undoubtedly

156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
156 meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xiħ żomm fih*). But
561 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where
schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to
their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard.
The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is
wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leadership in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish
registers support the memories of the present generation of elders
that this has not always been the case.

Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
156 their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
[[illegible]5] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it convenient for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
[693] continue to practise in their native villages. But when they continue to reside in their villages, even though their social life and
many of their business interests are oriented away from the community, they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge
their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted
into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have
gone successfully into politics.

Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
156 citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday procession. Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter
693 of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football
and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he
has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a
successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
759 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

Partly because of the temporary nature of their assignments, but 554
also because they are usually city-bred, they generally keep 759
themselves aloof from the people amongst whom they work.
With but few exceptions, they take little or no part in the social
life of the communities to which they are assigned. But they are
nevertheless respected figures. Where they are tolerant of village
customs, not too mercenary, and take a patronal interest in the
personal problems of their clients, they will have, in addition to
prestige, a large personal following. This has enabled a number of
former District Medical Officers to stand successfully for elected
office.

School teachers are another group of people with high pres- 554
tige. Every village and almost every hamlet in Malta and Gozo
now has a government school. Headmasters usually live outside 875
the villages in which they work. They begin their careers in the
small rural villages and move into the larger and more important
schools as they gain experience and seniority. They are rarely in a 554
village long enough to be asked to take part in its social life. 575
Village-born teachers, on the other hand, normally teach in their 875
home villages, where they often occupy important offices in the
associations. But even where he no longer resides in his place of
birth the teacher or headmaster, as a village son with high pres-
tige, is often asked to take an active part in its social life. The
president of the St. Roque Band Club in Farrug, for example, is
headmaster of the primary school in a neighbouring village, where
he has lived since he married there more than forty years ago. He
has been a member of the club's committee for most of that time,
and its president for the last twenty years. Until two years ago he [594]
was also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Roque.

VI

The structure of authority in the villages of Malta and Gozo, 621
because of the importance of offices and associations which are 795
either focused on or articulated with the Church, bears a certain
superficial resemblance to the civil/religious hierarchy which has
been described in Mexican villages.[1] But it differs significantly;
it is neither a hierarchy, nor is it formally related to the structure
of government.

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[1] See, for instance, Fernando Camara, 'Religious and Political Organization', in *Heritage of Conquest*, Sol Tax, ed. (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), *passim*.

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of government. While the parish priest in Malta is the official
621 village representative of the Church and has authority to act for
625 it on most matters, the police represent only the law enforcement
793 function of government; all other functions and services of
government are administered from Valletta. In this respect the
villages of Malta are unique.

463 On the other hand, there is a relation between social status and
the functional requirements of the authority system. In any given
554 community, the people with the highest status usually fill the
most important offices, since such offices require the standing,
skills and contacts which they possess. There is thus a rough
grading of office holders in terms of their social status and the
463 authority and prestige attached to their offices. Upward mobility
554 through this structure is usually dependent upon factors such as
555 education and occupation rather than on having held other, and
less important, offices. Once a person has become the president of
his local band club, in other words has attained the highest secular
office in the village, and has a social status which commands
respect outside, he may be elected to political office.

[p.55]

CHAPTER V

The Church and Village Politics

Most Maltese regulate their lives by the daily and monthly cycle 796
of religious activities. The major divisions of the day are rung 805
from the bells of the village church. They first ring the Pater-
noster half an hour before the first Mass. Then the Angelus bell
rings a call to prayer at eight in the morning, at noon and at sun-
set. The final bell of the day is rung two or three hours after
sunset, and is a brief request for the living to remember the dead
in their prayers. The call of the Angelus is observed by many.
When it is rung, work and conversation stop whether in a
government office or a village café, men remove their hats, and
someone among them leads them in a short prayer. In Gozo I
have seen a busy square become suddenly silent and many people
kneel in the street as the Ave Maria was rung at sunset. People
also often kneel in the streets when the bells announce the eleva-
tion of the Host during a sung Mass, and during Benediction in
the evening. And finally, late in the evening, clusters of relatives
and neighbours can be seen sitting in their open doorways
reciting the Rosary together before they go to bed.

Most girls and women and many boys and men attend one of 184
the three or four daily Masses which are offered in all parish 796
churches between four and seven in the morning. Virtually every
one in the village attends one of the five or six Masses offered on
Sundays. The few who do not attend are known to the village, [626]
and are the subject of gossip and other social pressure. Since the [659]
recent dispute between the MLP and the Church, however, their
numbers are increasing.

As the church bells mark the important hours of the day, so the 796
principal divisions of the year are set out by the annual national
and parochial religious feasts and processions. Besides being major [541]
religious occasions, they are eagerly looked forward to as recrea- [655]
tional events. Though secular spectacles, such as political rallies,
the government-run Carnival procession and, above all, the [546]

796 cinema, are becoming increasingly important, the principal
[541 amusements of the Maltese still generally have some connection
[546 with their religious ceremonies. The French Consul in Malta at
[655 the beginning of the last century described this enjoyment of
religion with great eloquence:

> Le Maltais a de la religion au fond de l'âme; cette religion, dont il remplit les devoirs sans ostentation, il l'aime autant plus qu'elle prend sa source, non seulement dans une foi sincère, mais encore dans cette habitude, contractée dès l'enfance, de chercher au sein des cérémonies religieuses un délassement, que les autres peuples trouvent dans les spectacles et les réjouissances publiques.[1]

People from all parishes come to take part in the diocesan celebrations of St. Joseph the Worker, Corpus Christi and Christ the King. These rallies and processions are usually held in Valletta and Floriana. The national festival of St. Paul's Shipwreck in February, which is also the titular feast of a Valletta parish, draws many people into the city. Another national feast commemorates the lifting of the great Turkish siege in 1565. This feast coincides with that of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary on September 8, and is celebrated with boat races and other aquatic competitions in the Grand Harbour. But the traditional national festivals for the country people are the feasts of St. Gregory in April and SS. Peter and Paul (*L-Imnarja*) in June. Though most of the pageantry of the former has been abolished, the custom of going for a picnic to Marsaxlokk, the little village just beyond the terminal point of the procession in Żejtun, lingers on. On the occasion of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, thousands proceed to the Buskett, Malta's only wood, where they spend most of the
[543 night before the feast eating, drinking and singing. On the feast
[541 day they throng to see the agricultural show in the Buskett, the
religious procession in Mdina and the bareback horse races that take place just outside Rabat. While these two feasts are the occasions for special outings for the villagers, they are generally looked upon as very low affairs by many from the professional and middle classes.

The principal religious spectacles, however, are those which are organized at the village level. During the course of a year in Kortin, for example, there are fourteen major celebrations and religious processions. The greatest concentration of ceremonies is 796 around Easter. This cycle starts with the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows on the Friday before Palm Sunday. Virtually all the inhabitants escort the statue through the principal streets of the village. This is followed by the Palm Sunday procession around the church square.[1] On Maundy Thursday there is a long service during which the parish priest washes the feet of twelve village laymen. Immediately after this the church is draped completely in black damask, and a huge wooden rattle replaces the church bells as a sign of mourning. On Maundy Thursday and on Good Friday in the morning, family groups visit the church and, passing before the statues depicting scenes from the Passion, stop to pray before the elaborate Sepulchre constructed in one of the chapels. Members of each of the village associations and clubs visit the Sepulchre in groups. Many families make pilgrimages to the churches in the twelve other parishes which hold Good Friday processions. At each one they offer prayers before the Sepulchre and pause to examine the statues and funereal hangings of their rivals before going on. All morning visitors from outside stream into Kortin to see the church. Then, at about two in the afternoon, there is a three-hour sermon on the Passion. This is followed by the Good Friday procession.

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[1] M. Miège, *Histoire de Malte* (3 vols., Paris, Paulin, 1840), III, 168.

Old Manwel, the procurator, directs the procession. This is his 794 big day. During the preceding weeks, he and Anton and Pawlu, 796 the two men who take charge of decorating the parish for special occasions, worked very hard getting ready the eight statues, assembling the ornate Sepulchre and collecting the £90 required to meet the expenses of the Holy Week. Since he became procurator twenty years ago, Manwel has collected almost £3,000 for new statues, costumes, banners and black damask for the church. The procession itself lasts about three hours. Some 420 men and youths from the village carry and escort the eight huge statues. Some of the men have carried the same statue for years. The ten who carry the statue of the Crucifixion have protected [675] their right to do so by a notarized contract with the parish priest. In return they have spent almost £200 over the past ten years to

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[1] Instead of palm fronds, olive branches are distributed to the faithful. It is generally [751] believed that if these blessed branches are burned, their smoke is particularly effective against the harmful effects of the evil eye. Farmers pass burning leaves through their [824] cattle sheds, and I have met professionals who do the same to their salons before cocktail parties.

794 repair and improve the statue and its pedestal. The procession also
796 includes a dozen or so masked penitents who walk barefooted or crawl the length of the procession route dragging heavy chains
[785] behind them. It is a most solemn and impressive spectacle.

Very early on Easter morning the bells ring out the announcement of the Resurrection, and the sacristan, helped by Anton and Pawlu, removes the black damask from the church walls and sacred pictures. Later in the morning the procession with the statue of the Risen Christ passes through the village.

II

796 Of all the village feasts, the most important is always that of the patron saint of the parish church. The patron or titular saint of a church is the saint under whose special protection its founders have placed it. The titular of the parish church thus becomes the patron saint and protector of the village. In addition to the more usual religious ceremonies and processions, the people express their devotion to their patron with band marches and tremendous displays of fireworks. These celebrations provide the chief public entertainment of the countryside.

796 But the annual festa is more than a superior religious feast and a time of amusement for the village; it is also an event upon which
628 village prestige depends. During the feast thousands of people crowd in from every part of the island. All these visitors have definite ideas on how a good festa should be run, and nothing they see or hear escapes their critical attention. The decoration of the church, the lighting of the streets, the quantity and firing rhythm of the exploding rockets are compared with those of their own and other feasts. The reputation of the village depends upon their judgement. This is a matter which concerns everyone, and the village draws together to display itself to the outsiders in the most favourable light. House fronts are repainted and new clothes are bought or made. The church is illuminated, the interior is hung with red damask and its treasures are placed on display. Every year the village tries to acquire at least one new work of art for this display. The principal streets and the square are lined with vividly painted papier mâché statues of prophets and saints, interspersed with urns from which sprout dazzling branches of electric light. Overhead, scores of colourful arches, strung from

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2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

house to house, transform the streets into gaily lighted tunnels. The 796
pjazza is usually draped in flags, and all the clubs are also dressed 628
in their festal finery and their doors thrown open to the public.
Many bands are hired and the mountains of fireworks are fused [533]
and made ready. All this is done before the visitors from outside [389]
arrive, and involves a great deal of organization, time and money.

The festa is thus an occasion on which communal values are reaffirmed 796
and strengthened, as individuals and groups express their 182
loyalty to their patron saint and unite to defend and enhance the
reputation of their village. At the same time, the central position
which the Church occupies in the social structure is strongly
reinforced, for the parish church is the hub around which this
festive occasion turns.

A festa is also an occasion on which the bonds of kinship are 796
reinforced, for each family opens its doors to its relations, especially 182
to those who live in other villages. Grown sons and daughters 602
return to their parental home, forming, for a few hours, a grand
family with a depth of three or four generations. Because of this
influx of relatives, younger children learn to recognize more
distant relatives whom they might not see at any other time of the
year, and become aware of the network of kin relations that
stretches out from their home. As parents become momentarily [584]
more indulgent during the festa and relax their watchfulness, it is
also a favourite meeting time for courting couples and a traditional
occasion on which marriageable boys and girls are introduced
to one another.

The celebration of a village festa usually lasts three days. It 796
consists of religious ceremonies, which take place principally
within the church, and secular celebrations outside the church.
The Maltese themselves make a distinction between these two
elements in the festa: they call the former the 'internal feast' (*il-festa
ta' ġewwa*) and the latter the 'external feast' (*il-festa ta' barra*).
These often take place simultaneously. The mixture of sacred and 123
profane which results was shown to me very vividly during one 796
of the first festas I attended. I was in the church during a particularly
solemn moment in the service of worship. Suddenly there
was a nerve-shattering burst of fireworks from the roof of the
church. Then, slowly, the sharp smell of burning gunpowder
began to drift in through the open doors and mingle with the
pungent odour of candles and incense. After that I ceased to be

796 aware of their separateness, and realized that both incense and
[123] gunpowder were ingredients basic to the celebration of a festa.

The actual celebration of the feast can be divided into three
parts: the Triduum or Novena – the three to nine days of spiritual
preparation which precede the feast day – the eve of the feast,
and the day of the feast. As the feast is usually celebrated on a
Sunday so that more people can come, the Triduum days are
Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. High Mass is offered on these
days, and in the evenings outside priests often come to preach
sermons on religious topics related to the life of the patron saint.
They are also days of preparation during which the elaborate
street decorations are hoisted into place. Throughout the day the
village is psychologically conditioned to the festa by salvoes of
aerial bombs which are often timed to coincide with the ringing
[533] of the Paternoster and the Angelus. On the last day of the Triduum,
after the final sermon, the village band marches through
the main streets. Often the band is preceded by a mass of dancing
and shouting enthusiasts of both sexes, who wave coloured
scarves, silver loving cups and other symbols of their loyalty to
[578] their band and their saint. In villages where there are competing
[575] band clubs, this demonstration often provokes fights between
rival supporters. These skirmishes are usually sparked off by the
bands of girls who hoarsely shout themselves into a frenzy proclaiming
the virtues of their saint and the shortcomings of their
rivals. There are no visitors during this part of the feast.

On Saturday, the eve of the feast, there is a High Mass and Te
Deum to mark the end of the Triduum. This is usually followed
by a barrage of aerial fireworks. The local band then often
marches through the village, stopping at all the clubs for drinks.
[273] This march is usually quite gay but in some villages it degenerates
into a drunken spree. During the day, outside priests are brought
[783] in specially for the festa to hear confessions in the church. In the
late afternoon, visitors begin to arrive to watch the Translation, a
ceremony during which the celebrant, usually the Bishop, takes a
relic of the saint on a short procession outside the church. After
[533] the Translation, the various guest bands march through the
village and then settle down to play selections from operas and
works composed by Maltese bandmasters. The many relatives and
friends of the bandsmen join the gaily dressed crowds who have
been streaming in by bus and car or on foot.

For several hours they wander up and down the principal 796 streets, past the nougat vendors, past the dazzling houses with their doors and shutters thrown open to attract the eyes of all to festal drapes and carpets, gleaming cookers and new refrigerators. The crowd moves on past the packed bars and through the festooned clubs, their silver trophies all on show. Stopping now and then to eat and drink and talk with friends, they move into the church and past the banks of flowers that stand before the statue of the patron saint. From there, now surrounded by the red damask and the cut-glass crowns suspended from the golden ceilings, they pass before the silver altar-front and gaze at the jewel-encrusted reliquaries on display beside it. Now and then there is a soft discussion of price and craftsmanship as a new picture or silver candlestick reaches past the guttering candles for the attention of the crowd. Slowly, for many stop to kneel and say a prayer, the people move out through the door and past the bandstand, and on to make the round again.

The climax of the evening comes at eleven o'clock, when the forest of standing fireworks which have been planted in the square is lighted, and the second day of the festa closes in a shower of sparks and acrid smoke.

On the morning of the feast-day, there is a Solemn High Mass [537] during which some noted clerical orator delivers a lengthy and bombastic panegyric of the saint. After the service the committees of the various clubs make formal calls on each other and exchange hospitality. The parish priest and the village clergy also call on each of the clubs and associations. Following this, the people retire to their houses for huge luncheons with their close relatives. In the late afternoon the long procession with the statue of the saint slowly moves from the church. The saint, carried by white-robed members of the confraternities, stops on the threshold to take the salute of 21 petards and barrage of smaller rockets, the *kaxxa infernal*, which often last up to twenty minutes.[1] As the saint at last leaves the church he is cheered on his way by groups of shouting devotees. The crowds are thicker than the night before, and amuse themselves in much the same way. There [533] are also more bands, and sometimes as many as five will be

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[1] These petards are usually immense. They are often made from half-gallon tins packed [389] with gelignite that is either stolen or extracted from dud shells and bombs fished up from military target areas by festa enthusiasts. Occasionally their explosions break windows.

796 competing for the attention of the crowd within a few yards of
[533] each other.

All the while, the procession, followed by a few black-clad
[292] penitents, solemnly passes through the main streets of the village.
[481] Often those carrying the saint move with a shuffling step that causes him to bob and turn as though he were dancing. As he passes under balconies his cheering and clapping admirers shower him with confetti. Then, as the procession nears the church, the final *kaxxa infernal*, this time of coloured rockets, is touched off. In some villages the saint is turned around so that he can see this barrage and the display of multi-staged rockets that follows it. The statue then enters the church and the Benediction is given. After this the crowd of visitors quickly disperses. Soon the inhabitants have the village to themselves again. As the women and girls wheel and pull the children off to bed, the men carry around from club to club the grimy, soot-stained men who made and fired the fireworks. They are the heroes of the hour. Other men seek out their clubs or usual cafés and toast one another and the success of their feast. So ends the festa for another year.

796 The organization of the annual festa requires a long period of planning and preparation. This work calls for a certain degree of
793 centralization. In most villages the parish priest controls the
[794] organization of both the internal and the external feasts. In some villages, however, he delegates some of this work to a procurator, usually a priest, but occasionally to a committee of leading per-
[575] sonalities of the village. In other villages, all the details of the external feast, including the fund raising, are handled by the band club committees. In any case, the parish priest always has the last word. Sometimes there is friction between him and other interested parties over organizational details.

796 The cost of these feasts varies considerably. It is naturally related to the size of the village and to the degree of enthusiasm
794 with which the festa is celebrated. It ranges from a few shillings
435 per family in a large urban parish to as much as £15 per family in a small rural parish celebrating a particularly important festa. The average cost to the community, however, is about £1,000. The organizers of the festa collect the necessary funds by means of lotteries, fairs, special appeals and a small weekly contribution of threepence or sixpence from each family. Most fund raisers also solicit pledges from leading citizens and enter their names and the

sums pledged on a long list. This method, called *l-arbural*, permits 796
donors to compare their contributions with those of others. Then 794
there may be several unofficial groups who raise funds for fire- 435
works, which they manufacture and fire as their special contributions to the feast.

While I was living in Farruġ, the village celebrated the centenary of St. Martin, the titular saint of the parish. The festa cost a total of £1,465. Of this sum the parish priest raised and spent £302 for the elaborate internal feast, of which he took complete charge. The rest, some £1,163, was collected and spent on the external feast by the committee of the St. Martin Band Club. The fireworks, including most of the gunpowder, were made illegally by the members of the club in their houses and in sheds and abandoned quarries surrounding the village. The cost of the raw materials amounted to £712. Committee members divided the actual work among themselves, and set up sub-committees dealing with decoration, music, fireworks and fund-raising. With the exception of the extra lighting for the streets and the church, which was done by an outside contractor, all the work involved in the festa was done by local inhabitants.

In Kortin, on the other hand, the parish priest personally con- [793]
trols every aspect of the festa. With the assistance of the Sodality of Our Lady, he collects all the funds. Most of the street decoration is done by Anton and Pawlu, who get a number of people to help them. In the following table, I have summarized the rather complicated accounts of the 1961 festa in Kortin.

TABLE 3. Kortin 1961 Festa Accounts

INCOME	£	s.	EXPENSES	£	s.
Internal Feast			*Internal Feast*		
Collections	143	10	Music	150	0
Special gifts	121	10	Other	50	0
External Feast			*External Feast*		
Three collections	221	10	Dec[illegible]ions, programmes, etc.	39	14
Weekly 3d.	120	0	Fireworks: crackers and ground display only	105	16
Lotteries	90	0	Bands: 8 performances	224	10
'Arbural'	53	0	Lighting	170	0
			Balance	9	10
Total	£749	10	*Total*	£749	10

794 In addition to the sums which the parish priest spent on fire-
796 works, another £472 was collected by six groups of enthusiasts
[435] and spent on raw materials for the fireworks which they manufactured. The total cost to the village was thus £1,212. In all
[389] respects this was an average festa for a village of 5,000.

The festa in Kortin has not always been controlled by the parish
79 priest. Dun Bert, the present incumbent, had something of a
struggle to seize and hold the reins of authority. Until he took
over the parish eight years ago the external festa had been run by
a committee. Though the parish priest was *ex officio* head of this
committee, the actual affairs of the committee were run by old
Manwel and the father of the curate, who was general manager of
the festa for over thirty years. The committee also included the
[389] latter's wife's father and brother in its membership. His brother
[731] was killed twenty-five years ago in an explosion which wrecked
the village's officially licensed firework factory and killed four others. This committee used to book the bands, repaint, erect and store the decorations and collect all the funds for the external feast. One of its major responsibilities was to run the two large fund-raising fairs which were held every year in the school. Next to the festa, these fairs were the favourite amusement of the village. Thus when Dun Bert arrived in Kortin, he found his was only a nominal role as far as the external festa was concerned. As he is a man who likes to run things his own way, the arrangement did not suit him. Moreover, he was concerned with the financial position of the parish, and in particular with the interest on the £3,000 that his predecessor had borrowed from the Curia to help finance the unfinished parish hall. To be able to meet all the parish's financial commitments, he felt that he had to have control of all its financial resources. The first year, however, he did very little about it.

During his second year in Kortin, the newly elected Labour Government came to his assistance, albeit unwittingly. The new Minister of Education refused permission to the organizers of the Kortin festa to hold a public fair in the school. This deprived the organizers of their major source of income, and threatened the festa. Dun Bert quickly took over the financial management of the festa and made two house-to-house collections. These raised the necessary funds and saved the festa. He then gave to the Sodality of Our Lady the responsibility of collecting threepence a week from each household. But for six months of the year these

contributions would be used for the general needs of the church. 79
The festa committee was dismissed.

The following year he ran the festa himself. It was quite a 79
success, although there was some grumbling that there was not 578
the same spirit in the festa as before. But following the festa the
year after that, the grumblers became more vocal and began to
take action. Their main criticism was that without the committee
to whip up enthusiasm for the festa, the village was becoming
apathetic about its celebration. Moreover, with no committee
there was no one to paint and care for the festa furnishings – which
they considered to be the finest in Malta, if not the world – and
they would soon be spoiled. Consequently, a few days after the 79
festa, the ringleaders gathered in the football club and formed a 575
committee with Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, as
chairman. Sur Ġorġ,[1] a wealthy middle-aged bachelor, is the last 578
descendant in the village of a family which has played a leading
role in the community for almost a century. The committee was
composed of members of the band club, the social club and the
football club. Representatives then went to Dun Bert and told
him that many people wished to have the old festa committee
restored, with the power of raising funds. They also suggested that
this committee should control the collection of threepence a week.
Dun Bert replied that while he was not opposed in principle to
the idea of such a committee, he would have to consider it. In any
event, he could not approve of their financial proposals. When the
spokesman told him that a committee was already in existence
and working for the good of the village, he became somewhat
alarmed. The following Sunday he defended his position before
the village from the altar, citing relevant portions of Canon Law
and describing the parish's financial situation.

Sur Ġorġ's group then distributed leaflets to each house asking
for a vote of confidence. This divided the village into two
factions, for there were many who would not consider going
against the wishes of their spiritual shepherd, no matter what their
views on the festa were. Dun Bert eventually agreed to the formation of a parish council, to comprise two representatives from

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[1] The title *sur* (from *sinjur*, sir, gentleman) is a mark of respect bestowed by villagers [576]
upon all educated outsiders who have no other title. It also marks social distance. Very [554]
few persons are addressed this way by their fellow villagers. Sur Ġorġ, though born in
Kortin, was addressed this way because of his high social status and university education.

79 each association, including the religious ones.[1] The committee
forwarded the names of the representatives of its three constituent
575 clubs to Dun Bert. After some time, when they had received
578 no reply from him, they wrote to the Archbishop. Finally, some two months later, Dun Bert wrote back that he could not accept any member of a political party committee on the parish council. This was clearly aimed at the secretary of the band club, who was a very active member of the Labour Party committee, the only political committee in the village. He was not willing to step down, and the other members of the committee supported his decision. The rest of the village slowly lost interest in the matter. The parish priest thus had his way, and is still in full control of the feast.

Many are still bitter about the manner in which their request to
79 take a more active part in the organization of their feast was
578 suppressed, but most have accepted it. They miss not so much the old festa committee, the members of which most people criticized freely, as the feeling they had had of all working together for the greater glory of the village. The members of the old committee at least had the virtue of being from the village, and were as anxious as the next person to celebrate the biggest and best feast in Malta, or so I was often told. Although no one suggested that the parish priest is anything but scrupulously honest, they consider that as an outsider, he does not have the same keen interest in their feast, and in the reputation of the village. Others, less charitable, accuse him of being hungry for power and anxious to
178 enrich himself with his fees as procurator of the festa. Many also spoke to me with regret of the passing of the annual fairs, which
543 the parish priest has not attempted to run on his own. The fairs
794 were exciting occasions on which young and old, rich and poor,
[793] competed against each other in games of chance and raffles to win back the rabbits and chickens which they had previously donated to the festa. They say they miss the sense of unity that the fairs brought them. 'In those days we knew each other better,' one priest remarked. 'With the fair some of the poetry of the village was destroyed.' Perhaps, without expressing it in quite this fashion, the organizers of the committee, in their own way, were also seeking this lost poetry.

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[1] Such parish councils have from time to time been established in some of the larger villages and towns, but most of them came to threaten the authority of the parish priests, who therefore disbanded them.

III

A previous chapter set out the hierarchical organization of the Church. It was observed that rank was determined by seniority in combination with certain marks of honour conferred by ecclesiastical authorities in recognition of merit. Besides rank, these honours often bestow the right to certain external signs, which are much prized. The many religious processions and ceremonies provide occasions on which parishes can display their symbols of rank to outsiders. For example, the Canons of a Collegiate church wear distinctive ceremonial robes, and are permitted to carry a huge silver mace in processions as a sign of their church's rank. They add a great deal of colour and pageantry to the religious processions in which they are invited to participate. An old man once described Collegiate churches to me as 'the ornament of all other parish churches', and added, 'where there are no Canons, there is nothing in a procession.' The clergy of a church which has received the title of Basilica may carry in procession a huge red and gold damask umbrella. They are also permitted to carry a bell, to wear gold buckles on their shoes and, on certain occasions, to say Mass facing the congregation. As with the title Collegiate, the title Basilica can only be bestowed upon a church by Papal sanction. In Malta it has been given only to the Collegiate churches of Senglea and Birkirkara, to the churches of Mt. Carmel and St. Dominic in Valletta, and in Gozo to that of St. George in Rabat. 79 292 293

The bestowal of honours is not in fact determined by merit alone. In view of their importance as symbols of excellence, they become counters in the competition between parishes and between parish associations. Their acquisition is thus a matter of great concern to the entire community, and often becomes the subject of political action. That is, persons and groups try to influence those who make the decisions in relation to their bestowal. Through their network of personal relations, leading village figures, including the priests, try to influence the Bishop and the monsignori who surround him. They also bargain with these authorities, and if an unfavourable decision is handed down, they may resort to an open show of disrespect towards the Bishop – by smashing his coat of arms, for example – to signal their dissatisfaction and so attempt to force him to reconsider their 79 626 628 664

79 claim. The final decision is thus made in response to a great many
626 pressures. The honour usually goes to the contender who can
628 present the best case and apply the strongest pressure. This is
664 normally the largest and most influential of the groups competing for the honour. Thus the number and degree of honours bestowed on any group are roughly equal to its social importance to the community of which it forms part.

The current dispute in Gozo over the bestowal of the title of Basilica on the church of St. George provides an excellent illustration of the length to which the pursuit of such honours may be carried. For many years the Collegiate Chapters of Nadur and Xaghra unsuccessfully sought to obtain this title for their respective churches. During that time the Bishop had been able to avoid having to commit himself. In Nadur many believed that their church would be the next in Gozo to become a Basilica as a compensation for certain privileges which were modified some thirty years ago. The people of Xaghra, for their part, were also under the impression that their church would become the first Basilica in Gozo.

The claims of Nadur and Xaghra were not the only ones. There was also that of the new parish which the Bishop had created around the church of St. George in Rabat. Many argued that this new parish should take the lowest position in the diocesan table of precedence. But the new parish was located in the island's capital, and many of Gozo's most influential citizens had been instrumental in bringing about its creation. Moreover, the church of St. George was one of the oldest in the diocese. In brief, the thought of their parish having an inferior rank to that of the small rural parish of Munxar, hitherto the lowest-ranking parish, was distasteful to the townsmen. As a Basilica the church of St. George could take precedence over all other parishes and occupy a place immediately before the Collegiate Chapters. The partisans of St. George were in an excellent position to make their voices heard in the Curia, and late in 1958 the title was formally bestowed upon their church. The people of Nadur and Xaghra, led by their disappointed Canons, reacted with great vigour. The abuse and violent action that resulted were as insulting to the Bishop as anything that the Labour Party has been accused of directing at him or at the Archbishop of Malta.

Nadur and Xaghra all but severed relations with the Curia.

Both boycotted the annual festa of St. George, and in 1961 some 79
hoe-heads in Xagħra even erected a road block to prevent cars 626
from the village going to Rabat. The people of Nadur refused to
celebrate their own festa, or to take part in the St. Gregory pro- 628
cession. They also refused to allow the Bishop to administer the 664
sacrament of Confirmation in their parish. In Xagħra someone exploded a bomb on the roof of the Archpriest's house because many considered that he, an outsider, had not worked hard enough to secure the Basilica. In 1960 Xagħra celebrated only the internal festa, and even that was not without incident. Shortly before the festa, the Bishop received an anonymous letter accusing him of being an enemy of the village. Later, when he visited the village to assist at the High Mass, he was given a hostile reception. Then it was discovered that part of the throne that he was to sit on during the service was missing. Furious at these insults, he issued formal interdicts against the person or persons unknown who had written the anonymous letter and 'stolen' his throne.

To date the dispute has not been settled. The people of Nadur 79
and Xagħra both say that peace cannot be restored until they 626
receive some other honour to compensate them for the lost 628
Basilica. To back up their claims, they have each spent tens of 664
thousands of pounds during the past few years decorating their
respective churches. In Nadur the new marble pulpit cost almost 346
£5,000, and the work of covering the walls with marble may cost as much as £20,000 before it is completed.

This type of dispute, however, is not limited to Malta's sister island. The Collegiate Chapters of Birkirkara, Senglea and St. Paul's Shipwreck in Valletta have similar unresolved conflicts over precedence, and they refuse to take part in processions together. But not all their disputes are limited to matters of precedence. In 1949 the people of Birkirkara smashed the Archbishop's coat of arms and heaped rubble in the main door of their church, thereby symbolically denying him entrance. They were protesting because the Archbishop had abolished, among others, the right of the Chapter to choose as Canons only those priests born and baptized in Birkirkara. The Holy See was able to resolve the dispute, and a few years later it bestowed the title of Basilica on the town's church.

IV

346 Even when a parish is not competing with another for some
794 honour, the decoration of the parish church is a matter of great
concern to the village. As we have already observed, a parish
church is more than just a central place of worship; it is the centre
of most of the social life of a village and the repository of its collective
[353] wealth. The building itself, with its gilded ceilings and
silver altar fronts, its damask tapestries and embroidered vestments,
its precious votive offerings and ornate statues, represents
a fortune amassed over centuries from the savings and bequests of
countless inhabitants. The parish church is thus the embodiment
of village history, a showpiece which all, even the most anticlerical
Labour supporters, point out with great pride to strangers.

793 The custodian of the church is the parish priest, who is responsible
for all alterations or improvements to it. He often delegates
794 much of this work, especially the fund-raising, to a local priest,
346 who then becomes procurator of the church. Many church procurators
devote their lives to building and beautifying their
churches, and every generation contributes thousands of pounds
for its upkeep and embellishment. But regardless of who holds
the procura of the church, the people regard it as their communal
property, and all take an intense interest in its maintenance and
decoration. Because of this proprietary interest, a difference of
opinion over details of decoration, and especially over structural
alterations to it, can divide a village into strongly opposed
factions.

346 At the beginning of this century Kortin was divided on the
576 question whether to enlarge the existing church or to build a new
793 one. The stronger faction, which included the resident nobles and
794 the wealthy merchants, wished to build a new church. Their
leader was Sur Vinċenz, the grandfather of Sur Ġorġ. A wealthy
merchant was thought to be willing to help finance the scheme.
This group was opposed by most of the village clergy, including
the parish priest, on the ground that the cost of a new church was
beyond the resources of the village. Moreover, a benefactor had
already bequeathed £2,000 for enlarging the church. The leader
of this faction was Dun Batist, the senior local priest in the village.

The dispute raged from about 1880, when the plans of the new
church were drawn up, to about 1913. In 1898 a number of people

addressed a petition to the Archbishop requesting permission to 346
build a new church. But a year and a half later he ruled in favour 578
of a counter-petition, and gave permission to begin reconstructing
the old church. Shortly after this a riot developed out of a meeting 793
called to urge the parish priest to permit the building of a new 794
church. During the commotion, the stone railing around the [579]
front of the church was damaged. Six days afterward forty-two
people were arrested for disturbing the peace and taken off to
prison. After three days the arrested men were released because of
insufficient evidence. The court assessed the total damage to the
church railing at twenty-two shillings. This incident aroused the
village. A month later the new church faction decided to begin
work without the permission of the Archbishop. Early the following
Sunday, a huge crowd led by Sur Vinċenz asked the parish
priest for permission to work on Sunday. When their request was
refused, they set off for the site and began to work anyway. That
afternoon, Sur Vinċenz hired a band to play for them, and the
music attracted people from many surrounding villages. The
following day Dun Batist and the parish priest laid the matter
before the Archbishop.

All through the month of October 1901 the leaders of the new
church faction went in delegations to argue their case before the
Archbishop, who was on holiday in Marsalforn, Gozo. The local
diarist, on whose account much of the above is based, notes
cynically that the Bishop listened with great attention, as he was
in debt to one of the leading members. Meanwhile, the parish
priest had been able to mediate between the factions. Dun Batist
and his followers agreed to stop their work on the old church
provided their opponents reimbursed them for their expenses to
date. This was arranged. Finally, in January 1902 the parish priest
announced that the Archbishop had given his permission for the
construction of the new church. That afternoon there was a great [527]
celebration in the village, with many fireworks and a guest band,
again paid for by Sur Gorg's grandfather.

But the construction of the new church soon ran into trouble. 346
Sur Vinċenz failed to raise the capital required. As Dun Batist had 793
foreseen, the cost of this grandiose scheme was far more than the 794
village could manage. After the foundations had been laid, the
work gradually came to a halt. The village did not begin to rebuild
the old church until the end of 1909, when the parish priest
set out to raise the extra £2,000 required.

346 set out to raise the extra £2,000 required. One of the fund-raisers
794 at the time was young Manwel, the father of Dr. Farrugia,
[875] who had then just begun to teach in the village school. The reconstruction
of the old church was finally completed in 1913.

Sur Vinċenz gradually dropped out of village activities. Many
794 people blamed him for the trouble in the community. In 1912 he
578 refused to allow the organizers of the festa to anchor one of the
major street decorations in its customary position against his
house. This action created more hostility towards him, and shortly
after the festa a bomb was thrown through his cellar window.
During the next six weeks he and his close relatives received
several threatening letters, and one night the front of his house was
smeared with red paint. But the rivalry between the factions
gradually died out, and today there is no trace of it left. The old
[887] men of Kortin who now spend their days in the shade of the huge
façade of the church, and their evenings on its cool steps, remember
the struggle clearly, for they were all deeply involved in it.
As they look back to the events of sixty years ago, they often
remark with wry smiles that the village was then a very lively
place.

This incident was exceptional because of the immense cost to
346 the village in money and labour that the construction of the new
578 church involved. Now that church-building is no longer in
794 vogue, new works usually take the form of decorations, such as
new paintings or candlesticks. These do not generally arouse
strong feelings, since all additions to the beauty and wealth of the
church are normally welcome. A wise priest, however, tries to
ensure that there is general agreement about them. It sometimes
happens that he forgets, or underestimates, the proprietary interest
of his parishioners in their church. When this occurs, there is
usually trouble.

Some years ago, the parish priest of Farruġ proposed to regild
346 the chancel. His parishioners welcomed the idea, and contributed
578 generously. But when the work was finally completed and the
793 scaffolding removed, his parishioners were shocked to find that
794 he had placed his personal coat of arms high over the chancel. He
was the first priest in the history of the parish to have put his coat
of arms inside their church; moreover, he had done so without
their consent. There was great indignation, but the arms remained
there. A year later he was promoted to a larger parish, and left

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the village. People then began to ask the new parish priest to have 346
the coat of arms removed. He quite understandably declined to 578
do so. 793

One morning, less than two months after the old priest had left, 794
the village was startled by the news that the irksome coat of arms had been removed in the dead of night by persons unknown. In its place gleamed the freshly painted arms of the village. The job, which had involved at least three men, one of whom must have worked on top of a 60-foot ladder, had been skilfully executed. To add insult to injury, the nocturnal painters had telephoned the former parish priest after finishing their work and announced that he would find something of great interest in the church next time he visited Farruġ. The following morning he came to the village, saw what had happened to his coat of arms, and immediately reported the matter to the police. The police interviewed many people, but did not find the culprits. They are still looking for them. The village is quite pleased that the arms were removed, although some deplored the rather crude way in which it had been done.

[p.74]

CHAPTER VI

Festa Partiti

578 Village unity is an ideal, and all villages try to present a tightly
united front to the outside world. In spite of this, all are divided
621 internally by cleavages which cut across the community at various
levels. Some of these divisions are only temporary, and disappear
when the issues out of which they have arisen are resolved. Others,
which may have arisen out of temporary issues, have for one
reason or another become a permanent part of the social scene.
But regardless of their origin or duration, these divisions are painfully real to the villagers. Persons made vulnerable through a network of personal relations are often forced to commit themselves
to a particular division. In doing so, they become opposed to
neighbours and kinsmen who are committed to the other side.
[602] This is one of the characteristics of life in all small villages. It is
particularly true of communities, such as those in Malta, in which
the inhabitants are closely related through kinship and affinity.

192 The Maltese call these divisions *partiti* (sing., *partit*). The term
578 thus corresponds not only to groups of the order which we in
English would call 'parties', but also to those to which we would
621 apply the term 'factions'. Political parties are called partiti, and
[665] so are rival groups such as the two in Kortin which competed over
[794] the rebuilding of the church. Partiti are said to have *pika* between
them. *Pika* denotes relations of competition, ill-feeling, hostility.
There is little about the word which suggests the good-natured
competition that can exist between rival school football or cricket
teams. On the contrary, if there is *pika* between two groups, a
no-holds-barred competition is expected. Partiti are thus considered to be a bad thing. They disrupt the harmony of the community and make it more difficult to project the ideal image of
village unity to the outside world.

575 The oldest permanent division that exists in the villages is
578 between the supporters of rival band clubs. This division is related
621 to the cult of saints. In the previous chapter it was noted that
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besides the patron saint, parishes celebrate many other saints. The 575
feasts of these secondary saints are normally not as lavish as the 578
annual festa of the patron. But many villages celebrate two large 621
festas: one for the titular saint of the parish, and the other for a 794
secondary saint who has assumed almost equal social importance. 794
Where this occurs, a village is divided into two partiti, each of 796
which has its own band club and celebrates one of the saints. The
partiti compete over almost every aspect of the festa, including the
decoration of the streets, the adornment of the statue, the number
of guest bands and, above all, the fireworks. Even the exact number
of communicants, the size of candles and the quantity of light
bulbs illuminating the façade of the church often become the
subject of dispute. Farruġ is divided by this type of rivalry. One
partit is dedicated to St. Martin, the titular of the parish, the other
to St. Roque.

The origins of these festa partiti, where they can be traced, are 17
very much alike. Most of them came into existence sometime 578
between 1850 and the turn of the century, and most arose out of 621
disputes between persons concerned with the celebration of the 796
titular festa and those interested in the cult of some lesser saint. [794]
The latter were usually members of the confraternity dedicated to [575]
that saint.[1] These factions in time became centred on separate
social clubs, and eventually acquired brass bands. The clubs provided
a permanent institutional basis for the rivalry. As time went
on, the partiti became more violent in their disputes and in the
pressure they put upon individuals to support them. Finally in 578
1935, the Church, long alarmed at the extremes to which the 621
devotion to some saints had been carried in certain villages, took 79
steps to eliminate the competition. It promulgated a series of
regulations designed to reduce the scale on which secondary feasts [575]
could be celebrated. These stipulated that for secondary feasts there
was to be no Translation of Holy Relics on the eve of the feast,
that only the church and the area immediately adjacent to it could

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[1] Cf. Rob. Mifsud Bonnici, *Ġrajja Tal-Mużika F'Malta u Għawdex* (Malta, Giov. [113]
Muscat, 1954), pp. 38 f. He suggests that these partiti developed out of a dispute between [114]
persons who wanted to play sacred music by the Maltese composer Vincenzo Bugeja
(1806–60) and those who preferred that of his rival, Paolo Nani (1814–1904). As far as
I could determine, however, the only partiti which arose directly out of this dispute [575]
are those in Żebbuġ. On the other hand, many rival partiti, once established, played the
music of either Bugeja or Nani during their feasts. The former took a star as their symbol,
the latter an eagle. Today partiti in many villages are still nicknamed either *tal-istilla* or
tal-ajkla after this once-important division.

578 be illuminated and that only one band on the eve and one on the
621 day of the feast would be allowed. Although they are now
79 ignored, the regulations also placed limits upon the variety,
quantity and duration of firework displays. Finally, they drew
[575] attention to the already existing regulations that church decorations and new works of art introduced for secondary feasts should be less costly and beautiful than those for titular feasts.[1]

Parish priests were expected to insist on the observance of these regulations, and they succeeded so well that some secondary feasts were reduced to minor celebrations. Moreover, the *pika* between the partiti in Żabbar and Qrendi was so violent that the secondary feasts there were suppressed completely.[2] This served as a stern warning to others.

II

175 The story of the origin and development of the festa partiti in
621 Farruġ is in many respects similar to the accounts which I col-
79 lected about festa partiti in other villages. It might, therefore, be helpful to examine it in some detail. Before 1877 there were no festa partiti in the village; everyone co-operated in the celebration of the feast of St. Martin, the patron of the parish. By all accounts it was a humble one, and lasted only one day. This period is described as an idyllic time during which the village was happy and united. But in 1876 a new parish priest arrived, and after that the scene began to change. Dun Rokku, the new priest, not only had a strong personal devotion to the saint after whom he had been named, but he was also from a village where there was a strong secondary partit devoted to St. Roque. Within a year he established a confraternity dedicated to St. Roque in order to 'inject some more life into this rural parish', according to the president of the St. Roque Band Club. The first feast in honour of St. Roque was celebrated in October 1878 to mark the establishment of the confraternity. Although the new secondary feast was at first a simple affair, it and the titular feast grew during the next few years.

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[1] Concilium Regionale Melitense (1935), *Decreta* (Malta, Empire Press, 1936), p. 91.

[178] [2] In Żabbar the devotion to St. Michael, the secondary patron, died out almost completely, though the *pika* between the bands has persisted. But in Qrendi the devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes, the secondary patron, has continued as strong as ever. In 1958 the Archbishop reinstated the confraternity dedicated to her, which his predecessor suppressed in 1935, but the partit band is still not allowed to play for her feast.

few years. In 1880 the new confraternity dedicated an altar in the 175
church to its patron, and by 1886 some persons were beginning 578
to grumble about having to pay for another feast. There was a 621
feeling of 'you collect for your feast, and we'll collect for ours.' 79

In 1888 an incident occurred which changed the course of the
rivalry between the supporters of the two saints, which until then
appears to have been rather mild. Dun Rokku, who was the pro- [427]
curator of the parish church, tried to increase the rent on some of the local property it owned. There was an outcry, and some persons went to the Bishop to complain that not only had Dun Rokku been diverting parish funds to buy new street decorations for the feast of St. Roque, but he was also raising rents to continue this work. The complaints resulted in an investigation, following which the procura of the church was taken from Dun Rokku and given to a prominent member of the village, who favoured St. Martin. This action, not surprisingly, infuriated Dun Rokku. From that day onward, so the accounts relate, he threw his full support openly behind the feast of St. Roque.

Some time after this, the partiti each formed their own social 175
clubs. According to St. Martin supporters, their club grew out of 575
a pre-existing band club, but that of their rivals was not estab- 621
lished until after the First World War. They thus consider that they have seniority. St. Roque partisans, on the other hand, deny this seniority. They maintain that both clubs came into being out of the former club around the turn of the century. Consequently they have equal seniority. However, both clubs claim that the records crucial to the question of seniority were destroyed by enemy action during the last war. There is thus no documentary evidence for either claim, a fact which makes for deadlock whenever the issue of seniority is raised.

Dun Rokku was a strongminded priest, and he ruled the village 578
for fifty-six years. When he finally died in 1932 at the age of 90, he 621
was blind and deaf. During his many years in the parish he did 79
much to beautify the church. Unfortunately, so people recount, he also introduced the hated partiti that divided the village. Through a variety of means at the disposal of a parish priest, he succeeded in wooing or coercing three-fourths of the village into his partit. There are many stories about the old man and the methods he used to recruit supporters. One is that he would make it difficult for people to marry unless they were, or became, members of the

578 Confraternity of St. Roque. Unfortunately, at this point, it is not
621 possible to distinguish fact from myth. The tales are accepted as
reality, and so help to formulate the attitude of St. Martin sup-
79 porters toward their rivals. However, when the old priest died, it was discovered that most of the festal finery of the parish church had been purchased in the name of the Confraternity of St. Roque. St. Martin supporters were in the humiliating position of having to beg their rivals for the use of the church valuables in order to decorate the church for the feast of the parish patron. Moreover, while the old priest had controlled the celebration of St. Martin, he had allowed the lay leaders of the St. Roque partit a free hand in planning their feast.

At this time the St. Martin club was split over national politics,
578 and a faction composed of Strickland supporters left and founded
621 a new club. Though both clubs remained loyal to St. Martin,
665 there was trouble between them. Older St. Roque partisans recount with amusement how a report to the police by the secretary of the parent club resulted in twenty members of the new club being arrested and fined for gambling. But the hostility between these two factions declined when Strickland made his peace with the Church, and in 1934 they reunited.

578 The burden of redressing the balance between the partiti fell
621 upon the old priest's successor, and upon those who followed him.
793 There were many incidents between these priests and the St.
794 Roque partit, and on several occasions the former had to send for police protection. In spite of the 1935 regulations, the St. Roque partit retained its numerical superiority as well as the church decorations during the 'thirties. It was not until 1942 that a shrewd parish priest succeeded in bringing the silver altar front out of the St. Roque strongroom into that of the parish church, where it has remained ever since.

The rivalry between the partiti lay dormant during the Second World War, as the people united to fight for survival. But it flared up again immediately after the war, as did similar rivalry in other villages. Both clubs organized musical bands for the first time. After a series of incidents which culminated in the parish priest again having to send for police protection, this time against angry St. Martin supporters, the rivalry began to decline somewhat. This decline was brought about chiefly by the effects of emigration, improvements in local transport, the establishment of a number

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 793
political parties. 794

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro- 794
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the con-
fraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are mem-
bers neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

575 these groups is the loyalty of the people to the partit and its patron,
shown by supporting the many activities that the leaders organize,
621 and by boycotting similar activities of their rivals. These
794 include fund-raising lotteries and fairs, weekly collections and
796 partit picnics and pilgrimages. During the festa, supporters march
with the statue, dress themselves and their houses up and in
general celebrate their patron. Their rivals often walk about unshaven
and glowering, and do not normally decorate their houses.

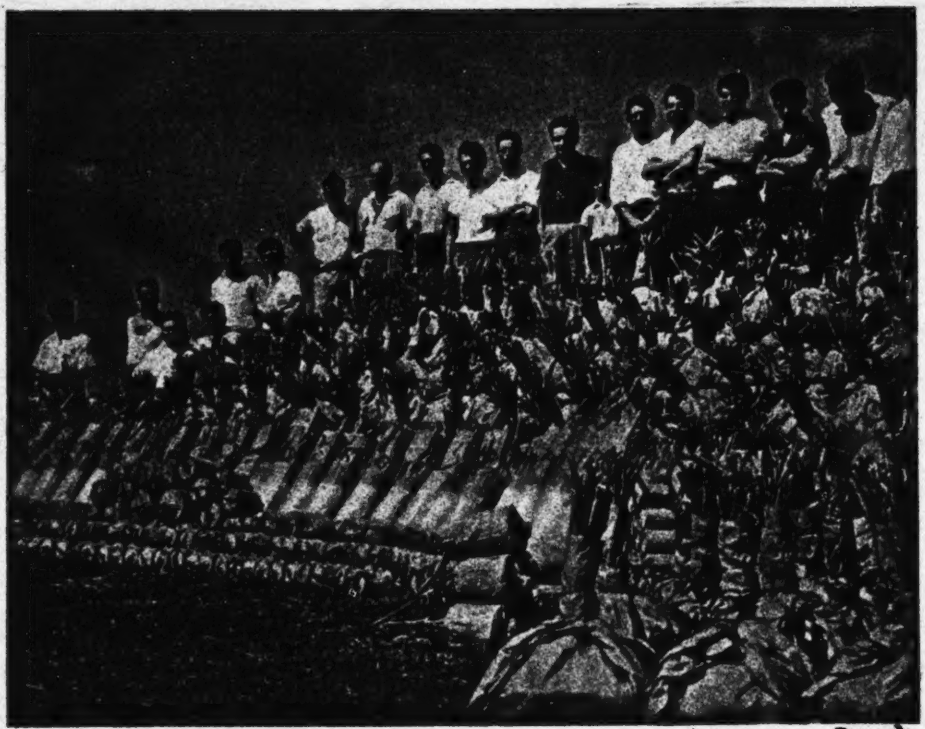
Although most people in a village divided by this type of
578 rivalry will choose, or be forced, to take sides, a few are able to
621 avoid this commitment, or at least say they have. These are often
794 priests and teachers, who sometimes find it to their advantage to
remain neutral, as do outsiders who have married into the village.
796 MUSEUM members are not permitted to maintain partit affiliation
though, of course, many do. Neutral people contribute to both
feasts. A true partisan would never contribute to the external feast
of his rival, although he might give something to the parish
priest for the internal feast. During periods of intense rivalry, even
these contributions cease. Thus, virtually the entire £1,465 which
St. Martin's centenary cost was contributed by his supporters
alone. Six months later their rivals spent £600 on the feast of St.
Roque.

575 The band club is the organizational and social centre of a partit.
All members of the club are supporters of the partit, but not all
621 supporters of the partit are members of the club, though nonmembers
are normally welcome to come and use its facilities. To
a certain extent, membership of the club depends upon the availability
of ready cash, for many men are reluctant to part with the
subscription fee as long as they can make use of the club's premises.
Though the confraternities are open to all adults without
621 regard to partit affiliation, there is normally a positive correlation
794 between partit and confraternity membership. Generally speaking,
the supporters of the titular feast enrol in the older confraternities
of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary. These
confraternities are established in all parishes, and play an important
part in many religious ceremonies. Supporters of the secondary
patron enrol in the confraternity dedicated to him, if they feel
inclined to join one.

162 These general principles can be illustrated by data collected in
621 Farruġ. Table No. 4 below shows the relative strengths of the two

2:Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[facing P. 80]



5. Fireworks for the feast of St Leonard

291
389
796

142
291
482
516
666

6. 'Viva San Ġużepp!'

[Facing P. 81]

partiti. Of the 617 inhabitants of both sexes over twenty-one years old, 48 per cent support St. Martin, 42 per cent St. Roque, and 10 per cent are uncommitted. Although the numerical strength of the partiti is almost the same, each claims two-thirds of the total population. Of those who claim to be neutral, 63 per cent were born outside the village. 162 621

TABLE 4. Farruġ: Festa Partit Affiliation and Place of Birth

PARTIT	PLACE OF BIRTH			
	Village	*Outside*	*Total*	*Percentage*
St. Martin	250	47	297	48
St. Roque	219	42	261	42
Uncommitted	22	37	59	10
Total	491	126	617	100

Table 5 shows the relation between partit affiliation and membership in one of the three confraternities in Farruġ. Of the members of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary who belong to no other confraternity 84 and 64 per cent respectively belong to the St. Martin partit. Ninety-five per cent of the members of the Confraternity of St. Roque belong to his partit. It is interesting to observe that 83 per cent of those who declare that they are not committed to either partit have also avoided confraternity membership. 162 621 794

TABLE 5. Farruġ: Festa Partit Affiliation and Confraternity Membership

CONFRATERNITY	PARTIT			
	St. Martin	*St. Roque*	*None*	*Total*
B/Sacrament	57	8	3	68
St. Roque	5	87	-	92
Holy Rosary	20	8	5	33
Mixed	24	23	2	49
None	191	135	49	375
Total	297	261	59	617

Recruitment to a partit is quite straightforward, for members do not now change sides, although this occasionally occurred in the generation following their establishment. Today a person is either born into a partit, or marries into it. Children support the partit of their parents, and an outsider marrying into the village generally supports that of his (or her) spouse. Marriages between 621

Marriages between
621 members of rival partiti are regarded as undesirable. They occa-
[582] sionally take place, but the division of loyalty within the nuclear
[586] family which results often leads to quarrels and, occasionally, to
[593] temporary separations. (The favourite festa-time story of the wife
[538] who refuses to cook for her husband because he belongs to the
other partit is based on fact!) Of the marriages contracted within Farruġ, 72 per cent took place between members of the same partit. Children of mixed marriages support the feast of their favourite parent: boys normally follow their fathers and girls their mothers.

I recorded only two cases in Farruġ of adults who changed
578 their partit affiliation. Both occurred over fifty years ago. A lead-
621 ing member of the St. Roque partit left it after a heated quarrel with Dun Rokku over the design for new street decorations. He subsequently became one of the other partit's most honoured members, and even wrote a book on the life of St. Martin. The second man left St. Roque when he married the daughter of the president of the St. Martin club. I was told that the girl's father had insisted on the change before he gave his consent to the marriage. The young man went on to become president of the club, as did his only son. In another village a few young men left their partit after a quarrel with one of the leaders, but all returned after a year.

621 Although an outsider who marries into a village generally supports the partit of his spouse, a few of them, particularly the men, succeed in remaining neutral. Of the 122 outsiders who married into Farruġ,[1] 28 per cent of the men but only 8 per cent of the women remained uncommitted. A few even chose to support partiti opposed to those of their spouses. Thus a women from Qrendi who married a St. Martin supporter and moved to Farruġ became a follower of St. Roque because she had been a keen member of the secondary partit in her native village. Children of families in which one of the parents is an outsider, especially if the parent remains neutral, often support the partit of their friends rather than those of their parents or siblings. A case in point is that of the president of the St. Roque club, and his brother. Their father was an outsider who, because of his position as headmaster, made a point of remaining strictly neutral. Though his wife was from a St. Martin family, one son supported St. Martin, the other St. Roque.

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[162] [1] 61 men and 61 women. These marriages represent 34 per cent of the total in the village.

Children begin to express partit affiliation when they are between 621
twelve and fourteen years old. At this age they are old 794
enough to follow the processions and take part in the demonstrations 883
on their own. Fund raisers make demands on them, and they
are asked to help decorate the streets. At this age they also begin [533]
to play in the band. A youngster would jeopardize his social
standing with his elders and with his age mates if he failed to take [882]
a firm position with regard to one of the saints. This would remove him from much of the community's social life. Consequently, by the time a village boy has reached fifteen, he has usually selected his partit, thus accepting and becoming part of the fabric of partit rivalry which will hold him until he dies or leaves the village.

There is some relation between occupational class and partit 463
affiliation: in general, the supporters of titular saints belong to a 621
higher occupational class than their rivals. The reason for this will be discussed a little later. The data I gathered in Farruġ illustrate this correlation clearly. As shown in Table No. 6 below, 83 per cent of the village's professional and white-collar workers belong to the St. Martin partit, while only 38 per cent of those engaged in agriculture do so.

TABLE 6. Farruġ: Partit Affiliation and Occupational Class

OCCUPATION			PARTIT AFFILIATION	
	Number	*Percentage of Lab. Force*	*St. Martin*	*St. Roque*
Professional and clerical	12	4	83%	17%
Service and skilled	115	39	55	45
Semi- and unskilled	124	42	48	52
Agricultural	45	15	38	62
Total	296	100		

So much for the origin and social composition of the partiti. I 361
may just observe here that festa partiti are not usually based on 621
territorial divisions. Since upward mobility does not involve [555]
change of partit, but is often accompanied by a change of residence, all residential areas are mixed. Nonetheless, there is a tendency for supporters of the titular partiti to live in the better residential area near the church, and for their rivals to live in the poorer sections more remote from the central square. This is a reflection of the differing occupational class of the members. This

361 residence pattern is certainly true in Farrug, and I observed much
the same thing in other villages divided by festa partiti. In Farrug,
621 65 per cent of the people living on the main square and the four
streets leading into it supported St. Martin, but only 46 per cent
of those living in other parts of the village did so.

Disputes between partiti usually concern matters of precedence
578 or their ability to display devotion to their saints. Each partit has
621 certain rights, usually secured at the cost of clashes with its rival.
[575] These include the position and participation of the club and con-
[794] fraternity in Church processions and at other functions, the routes
over which these processions travel and the possession of certain
property and its display in the parish church. Any attempt to
[626] extend or reduce them is resisted by the partit affected, which
takes action to protect its interests by trying to influence the
Church authorities, who must make the final decisions.

The structural position of a partit determines the kind of
621 pressure that it can bring to bear upon the Church. Those of
626 titular saints are, in a sense, the establishment parties. As we have
794 seen, the Church seeks to build up their celebrations at the
796 expense of the secondary ones. Hence a titular partit can negotiate
from a strong position: its ultimate sanction is refusal to participate
in the feast of the village patron, an event which the Church is
anxious to see celebrated with great pomp. Secondary partiti, on
the other hand, are inherently opposed to the Church in matters
of festa policy. They try to increase the scale of their feasts, while
the Church tries to reduce them. They dare not cancel their feasts
for fear that the Church would accuse them of making trouble
and suppress them, as it did the secondary festas of Our Lady of
Lourdes in Qrendi, and St. Michael in Żabbar.

621 Their position in opposition to Church policy has given most
626 secondary partiti a certain *esprit de corps* and unity of purpose that
their rivals often lack. This has made them better able to with-
665 stand the divisive effects of the political factions which have
794 recently weakened many of their rivals. It has also generally
resulted in the emergence of stronger leaders. Secondary partiti
are often united around a single professional class leader who can
not only hold the partit together in the face of the attacks of its
opponents, but can also argue intricate points of Canon Law with
the monsignori at the Curia and, at times, with the Archbishop
621 himself. As we have observed, the secondary partiti generally have

fewer professional class members. Consequently competition for 621
the role of leader does not occur so often, and there is a longer
tenure of office. In the partit of a titular saint, with its better-educated
members, there are more men with the necessary qualities
of leadership, and accordingly more competition for office
and a high turnover of office holders. The competition both [578]
creates and results from internal factions which weaken the group.
In Farrug, for example, the President of the St. Roque Band Club 575
has led the St. Roque partit more or less continuously since Dun 621
Rokku died thirty years ago. He is also just about the only member
of the partit with the educational qualifications and social
position required of a leader. The key positions of the St. Martin
Band Club, in contrast, constantly pass between about half a
dozen educated persons. This divided leadership has weakened the
club; and on one occasion it even split in two. The strong leadership
and internal unity of the secondary partiti, plus the fact that
they rarely present claims that are not well founded, has enabled
them to score many successes in spite of their apparently unfavourable
position in relation to the Church.

Disputes between festa partiti are all very much alike. A typical 578
dispute begins when leaders of a secondary partit petition the 621
parish priest for some new privilege, for example the right to 793
renew the bouquets of artificial flowers which adorn the statue of
their saint. The parish priest normally refuses at first, and tells 794
them that he thinks the old flowers are quite serviceable. His policy
is to let sleeping dogs lie. Moreover, he has to take into account
the rule that decorations for secondary feasts must not be more
beautiful than those for titular ones. But the saint's supporters
continue to bring influence to bear on him. In the meantime,
members of the titular partit have learned of their rivals' move
and rush to the parish priest to point out that the old flowers are
more than adequate. They threaten to cancel their feast if he [626]
gives in on this matter. The priest is now caught in a vice, and the
pressure on him builds up. Finally, he agrees to refer the whole
case to the Curia and passes the matter upwards, usually with a
feeling of relief. Relations between him and the partiti return to
normal, as the scene of the struggle shifts to the Curia.

The Curia normally appoints experts to re-investigate the merits of the case, including the proposed design of the flowers. Leaders from both partiti spend a great deal of their time at the

578 Curia trying to persuade all concerned, from the Bishop down, to
621 think the way they do. This may go on for years, for the Curia,
793 knowing the trouble that lies ahead, is usually in no hurry to give
794 its decision. When the final decision is handed down, it is usually favourable, and the design for a set of flowers less beautiful and costly than the corresponding set of the titular partit is furnished. The secondary partit then instructs the craftsmen to begin work. The titular partit announces to everyone that it will cancel its next feast.

It often happens, however, that just before the new bouquets (or whatever *objets d'art* are concerned) are inaugurated during the secondary festa, the parish priest discovers that most of the Curia's specifications have been ignored. The new flowers are far more beautiful than they were supposed to be. He is furious. The guilty leaders of the secondary partit apologize profusely and take immediate steps to make them less beautiful. Occasionally, the priest may discipline the partit by temporarily reducing the scale of its feast. The secondary partit then holds its feast, and the flowers are admired by all visitors. Strong police reinforcements usually prevent trouble from occurring. Relations between the parish priest and the titular partit are gradually re-established and it agrees, usually for some concessions on his part, to celebrate its feast again. But in a year or so, a new dispute occurs, and the process starts all over again.

578 Sometimes relations between a parish priest and a partit reach
621 a deadlock that can be broken only by an outside peacemaker,
625 frequently an officer of the police. The police in any case have a
793 vital interest in the degree of rivalry existing in the villages, as it is
794 their business to keep order during the feast. The number of police on duty at these times ranges from a dozen or so in villages such as Siġġiewi and Naxxar, where there are no partiti, to around 100 in those where there are strong ones, such as Mqabba and
[626] Żurrieq. Occasionally a parish priest is threatened, frightened by a home-made bomb, or attacked; he then often requests, and generally receives, a transfer to another parish.

543 So far only the more important encounters between partiti have
575, been discussed. There are many other events to keep their rivalry
578 alive throughout the year. The numerous fund-raising fairs of
621 the band clubs are occasions for the village to divide along festa partit lines. While supporters of the partit running the fair flock

to it, their rivals invariably stage their own fair or, and this is 621
more usual, hire several buses and noisily leave the village for a 578
picnic or a pilgrimage to some shrine of their saint. Many other [575]
incidents divide groups and associations along partit lines. For [543]
example, a former head teacher of the Farruġ school told me that [301]
he had once tried to get the girls to wear the dark blue hair ribbons which are supposed to be part of their school uniforms. He was astounded when half the girls flatly refused. It was then explained to him that blue is the colour of the St. Roque partit, so the St. Martin girls could not be expected to wear it.

Let us now look at some of the major skirmishes which have 578
taken place in Farruġ during the last ten years. During 1952 and 621
1953 there was a dispute over an attempt by the St. Roque pro- 79
cession to pass along a street over which St. Martin's followers claimed exclusive rights. When the inexperienced new parish priest backed the St. Roque claim before the Archbishop, he brought violently into the open a dispute over which his pre-
decessor had successfully procrastinated for years. The followers [626]
of St. Martin not only refused to celebrate their feast, but also succeeded in frightening the unfortunate priest rather badly by exploding a huge rocket in the drainpipe under his house. Some St. Martin partisans gleefully recounted to me that the priest was soon transferred to another parish, and that during his last week in Farruġ he had asked the police to escort him between his house and the church. Relations between the Church and the St. Martin partit were restored when the Archbishop modified the St. Roque procession route.

In 1956 the St. Martin Band Club refused to celebrate the titular [575]
festa because the Archbishop had given the Confraternity of St. Roque permission to renew the four bunches of artificial flowers which decorate the main altar during his feast. The following year the St. Roque Band Club refused to play at the installation ceremony of the new parish priest because the Curia had just turned down the confraternity's request for permission to hang a new picture over its altar. In 1960 the same priest angered the St. Roque partit by refusing to let it participate in the St. Martin centenary celebrations. The poor man's hands were tied, for the St. Martin club had declared that it would have nothing to do with the feast if its rival took any part in it. At the moment, there is another struggle in the offing. The Confraternity of St. Roque

578 621 79 recently petitioned the Archbishop for permission to renew the platform on which their saint stands during the feast. St. Martin supporters have threatened to cancel their feast if permission is granted, as it probably will be, for the present platform is old and falling to pieces.

575 578 621 793 While I was in the village, there was also a dispute over precedence between the two band clubs on the occasion of the installation ceremony of Dun Franġisk, the present parish priest. This is a good example of a dispute over precedence, and it is one which recurs in some form every time a new parish priest is appointed to a village where there are two band clubs. The band which has precedence has the right to march last and to escort the priest from the church to his house after the ceremony. The other club escorts him from his house to the church before the ceremony. Quite straightforward, but clubs rarely agree on which one has precedence. The dispute thus presents a knotty problem that brings a new priest abruptly up against the realities of parish politics within a few days after his arrival. His handling of the matter may well govern his relations with the partiti during the rest of his time in the village.

On the evening when Dun Franġisk moved into the parish, the St. Martin Band Club gave a party to welcome him and to bid farewell to his predecessor, who had been its strong ally. The party was a great success. The departing priest received a huge coloured portrait of St. Martin as a farewell gift, and Dun Franġisk met all the St. Martin leaders and blessed the club's new television set. A few days later, the St. Martin leaders called on the new priest and offered to provide a musical escort to and from the church for his installation ceremony. This was to be followed by a concert in the square and a firework display. The offer pleased him and he accepted. During the next few days the St. Martin club went about collecting the £25 the band programme would cost, thus advising the village of its plans.

Until then Dun Franġisk had heard nothing from the St. Roque club, a fact which rather disturbed him.

Two days later he called in person at both clubs to invite them to attend his installation ceremony and the reception following it. But he found the clubs deserted. The members of the St. Martin committee were away offering their congratulations to the old parish priest, who that night was holding his installation ceremony

in his new parish. Most of the St. Roque leaders, for their part, 575
were off supervising a fund-raising fair which they had hastily 578
organized to help ensure that no St. Roque supporter would be 621
tempted to attend the lavish reception of their former antagonist.
Finding no one of importance at the clubs, Dun Franġisk left the 793
invitations with the bar-keepers.

Two days later a group of St. Roque leaders called to thank him for his invitation, at the same time informing him that they were looking forward to escorting him to and from the church with their band. Dun Franġisk had been warned by his predecessor that this might happen, so he asked them to meet him the next evening to discuss the details of the programme with the other club.

Next morning the members of the St. Martin partit were furious over this move of their rivals. They grumbled to me that now only a miracle could save the band programme they had been planning. It was the main topic of conversation in the village that day. Many people were on hand to watch the St. Martin committee members enter the parish priest's house that afternoon. Soon after, the rival delegation, headed by the vice-president, the secretary and the treasurer of the St. Roque Band Club, joined the meeting. The first session lasted two hours. I saw the young priest shortly afterwards. He looked rather stunned, and exclaimed, 'They can't agree. They both want to escort me to my house! It's like a U.N. session. Nothing is settled and we meet again in an hour.' I learned later that he had had a difficult time preventing the rivals from coming to blows.

They met again, but the deadlock remained unbroken. The St. Martin delegates maintained that their club had the right to escort the priest to his house because it was the oldest, it represented the official patron saint of the village and it had been the only one to play during the past two installation ceremonies. Their rivals rejected all these claims, and suggested that they draw lots for the privilege of playing last, or hire outside bands to play, and let them decide. The St. Martin representatives rejected these suggestions. Finally, at midnight, the parish priest put an end to the wrangle. He told them that unless they could decide the matter among themselves, he would have to decline their offers to play for him. He asked them to let him have their decision by the following evening.

575 The next day each delegation called separately on Dun Fran-
578 ġisk and told him that they had not been able to reach a decision.
In fact, they had not met again. St. Martin supporters were very
621 bitter about the whole affair, and said that since they could not
793 play, they would also cancel the firework display they had been
planning.

The installation ceremony took place three days later as planned. Neither band played, but each fired off a number of petards during the day, and each gave the newly installed priest a rousing salute of fire crackers on his return from the church. The leaders of both partiti attended his reception, separately to be sure, and they were very cordial in their congratulations. The skirmish was over. St. Martin leaders admitted to me that Dun Franġisk had handled himself well, and that he had taken the only sensible course open to him. They declared, however, that he should not have called in person to invite the St. Roque club, but should have sent the more usual printed invitation. The St. Roque leaders, on the other hand, were quite pleased with the way things had gone. They invited Dun Franġisk to a reception in his honour at their club the following week, and shortly afterwards asked him to support their request for a new platform for their saint.

This whole episode must be seen as an attempt by the St. Roque partit to unseat its rival from the position of pre-eminence it had enjoyed during the centenary celebration. It could do this by blocking the St. Martin club's plan to be the only band to play at the installation ceremony. The St. Roque leaders were able to make their first move when Dun Franġisk called in person at their club, thereby assuring them that they be given equal standing with the other, which they felt had been favoured by his predecessor. They would not have made their offer to play if there had been the slightest indication that Dun Franġisk was going to favour their rivals. In fact it is extremely unlikely that the St. Roque club was really planning to play. It had not done so for many years, it had no bandsmen and at the time it did not even have a bandmaster. Finally, it had made no collection to pay for a band. All these facts were known to the St. Martin supporters when they
[521] made their offer to play. Furthermore, they had heard indirectly
from the St. Roque secretary – who told a policemen in a neighbouring town, who in turn mentioned it to the president of the

St. Martin club – that the St. Roque club was not planning to participate in the ceremony in protest against the way they had been treated during the centenary. Dun Frangisk's spontaneous move upset their plans. 575 578 621 793

Although Dun Frangisk favoured the suggestions that the clubs draw lots, or hire outside bands, St. Martin rejected both because they implied that the clubs had equal status. The last time the St. Roque band had played was six years and four parish priests before, when the local police inspector had devised a compromise solution, and the St. Martin leaders had 'allowed' St. Roque to play the last march of the day, while their band escorted the new priest home. They believed any concession they made now would undo the advantage which they felt they had gained as the only functioning band in the village during the past six years. [521]

Thus it came about that no band played at Dun Frangisk's installation ceremony. This greatly surprised the many visitors from the city and the suburbs, but the good people of the district found it quite in accordance with the way things should be, considering the issues involved. At no point in the series of events were the feelings of the young priest, whom all liked, ever considered. His installation had become the vehicle for a clash between the followers of St. Martin and St. Roque. They had been vying with each other for supremacy long before he was born, and would be at it long after he left. Any concessions made for his sake would have to be entered into the eighty-year-old ledger of credits and debits, and might have an important bearing on the outcome of the next series of encounters.

III

Two interesting problems remain to be considered: why festa partiti arose during the fifty years or so after 1850, and what reasons prompted people to join one partit rather than its rival. The factors which caused the partiti to come into existence at this particular period in Maltese history are necessarily complex, and they are dimmed by the time that has elapsed since their foundation. Nonetheless, one can discern several elements which would appear to be related to the general problem. To begin with, during this period there was a sudden increase in the devotion to the Virgin Mary following her apparition in 1858 at Lourdes, and the 17 621 787 795

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic
Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedi-
787 cated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
795 elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

17 During this period a conception of social organization new to
Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'.
621 After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate
urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178 Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
880

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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*.
He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

communities where they became leaders, and the source of many 178
new ideas and customs. In Għaxaq, for example, I found that a 875
teacher born in Valletta had been the one to introduce the
custom of decorating the streets for the festa.

It is, of course, extremely difficult, if not impossible, to dis- 174
cover the motives which prompted people to choose a particular 178
partit. The only possible clue to at least one set of reasons may well 463
lie in the correlation between occupational class and partit
affiliation. Apart from this class alignment, I found no evidence in 621
Farrug, or any other village so divided, of any pre-existing struc-
tural division out of which these festa partiti might have deve-
loped. In view of the way membership is inherited, it would
appear that the position which members of the great-grandfather
generation occupied in the village class structure in some way
influenced their choice of partit. There is some evidence for this,
although not a great deal, to be found in the genealogies of the
present generation. Frequent marriages with outsiders, emigra-
tion and the changing employment structure of the country over
the past six decades have blurred this picture considerably.

But it is certainly possible that the new cult appealed more to 174
those persons who held no office in the older confraternities and 178
who performed no official functions in connection with the cele-
bration of the annual festa of the village patron. Through the new 621
cult they could gain offices and perform functions which hither-
to had been monopolized by the circle of the village elite who
surrounded the parish priest. Some informants have also men-
tioned that young men were particularly attracted to the new
cult. In this we can see the universal resistance of the young to the
authority of their elders, for by becoming active in the new cult,
they were asserting their independence from the controls of the
older generation. Were the secondary partiti then a form of
protest against the established authority, a sort of underdogs'
party?

Other facts appear to support the hypothesis that the founda- 174
tion of the secondary partiti was in some way related to a wider 476
working-class movement. Many of the partiti are dedicated to St. 621
Joseph, the patron saint of the working classes who were begin- 776
ning to organize themselves into formal associations throughout 794
Europe. In Malta there are many signs that this devotion was very
strong. In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to 600

In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to
103 him,¹ after 1850 (in Naxxar, Għargħur, Kirkop and Xagħra, for
175 example) he was chosen as patron of the new parish churches of
621, Kalkara, Qala and Msida. Moreover, four parishes have secondary
776 feasts dedicated to him (Rabat, Għaxaq, Kirkop and Żebbuġ).
794 Besides these Għargħur and Siġġiewi had St. Joseph partiti which
796 succumbed to the 1935 Church regulations.

The identification of secondary partiti in general with St.
621 Joseph is also perhaps reflected in the colour most have chosen as
794 their symbol. It is blue, the colour of the banner of the Con-
822 fraternity of St. Joseph. The supporters of many secondary partiti, even if their saint is the Virgin Mary, wave blue scarves about to show their loyalty to it. Their rivals display red scarves, after the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose members support the titular saint.

463 The correlation between partiti and occupational class is also
621 shown in the high proportion of village priests who are sons of
793, families supporting the titular feasts. I once asked the leader of a
794 secondary partit why this was so. He replied that it was only natural since the families of the titular partiti were in much closer contact with the parish priest. Thus their sons, rather than those of rivals, more often became his young helpers and altar boys and received the necessary recommendations to the seminary and other church-run schools. From there, some became priests, and others assumed positions of leadership with the various associations. Other informants suggested it was because the 'best' families support the titular saints, and therefore can afford the additional school fees and loss of earning power that are involved in having their sons become priests.

Of the 41 priests born and now resident in Żurrieq, Kirkop, Qrendi, Mqabba, Luqa, Għaxaq and Żebbuġ, 33 (80 per cent) are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. This percentage gains added importance by the fact that in each of these villages the secondary partit is either equal to or larger than the titular partit. The exception is Żebbuġ, where the secondary partit is decidedly smaller than the titular one. In Farruġ, though the local priest is from a St. Roque family, all the offices connected with the parish church, and 23 of the 30 key positions with Catholic Action, the Football Club and the Labour Committee, are in the hands of St. Martin supporters. Thus the members of titular partiti are not only closer to established authority, they often become part of it.

[1] [i.e. St. Joseph, - Analyst]

Whatever the reasons for their beginnings in particular villages, 575
there are today festa partiti or at least competing band clubs in 578
nineteen villages and towns. Ten communities are divided by the 621
type of rivalry described above. Of these Gudja has partiti which 794
compete only over two secondary feasts and another, Żebbuġ, has three rival band clubs, two of which compete over the titular feast. Besides these ten, another four towns are divided by rivalry between their constituent parishes, five more are divided by rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, although the band clubs in one of them, Żabbar, were once allied to festa partiti.

The competition between rival parishes of the same town is very similar to that between festa partiti. In fact the division of Qormi and Rabat (Gozo) into two parishes each came about partly because of the rivalry between festa partiti. Since each parish has its own church and is not limited by the 1935 regulations, the competition between them is even keener than between festa partiti within the same parish. For this reason the feasts of St. Mary and St. George in Rabat (Gozo) and St. George and St. Sebastian in Qormi are probably the most spectacular in the country. Competition between rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, in contrast, is not as fierce as that between festa partiti. It is, nonetheless, a considerable force in the communities where it exists. Disputes between these band clubs usually involve questions of precedence, such as those which arise over their positions and role during the titular festa or at an installation ceremony of a new parish priest. Failure to reach agreement may mean that one or both boycott the celebration.

Finally, weak festa partiti once existed in another seven villages. But as they were not aligned with band or social clubs, they were not well enough organized to resist the firm pressure the Church began to exert after 1935. Today there is scarcely a trace of their former existence. All festa partiti and rival band clubs, both present and past, are listed in Appendix A.[1]

IV

Implicit throughout this examination of the various types of 571
competing groups described in this chapter and in the previous 578
one, has been the highly formal nature of their interaction. Their 621
disputes are like war games. The action between them takes place

[1] [See p. 142. —Analyst]

571 within a framework bounded by the decrees of the Church, the laws of the State and the appropriate body of custom. New pic-
578 tures are not hung in churches and new procession routes are not
621 followed unless permission has first been obtained from the Church. Action without this permission could result in the suppression of the feast, the desecration of the church or the interdiction of the ringleaders. In the same way, the threats and insults of demonstrating partisans rarely result in physical violence because of the swift penalties that the ever-vigilant police would impose. Permanent truce or peace between the partiti and competing parishes is impossible to achieve owing to the inherent nature of the rivalry which exists between them. It is this state of continuous one-upmanship that provides the driving force behind much of the village politics in Malta. At least it did until the increasing involvement of the people in national politics created a new set of conflicting loyalties that cut deeply across many older ones.

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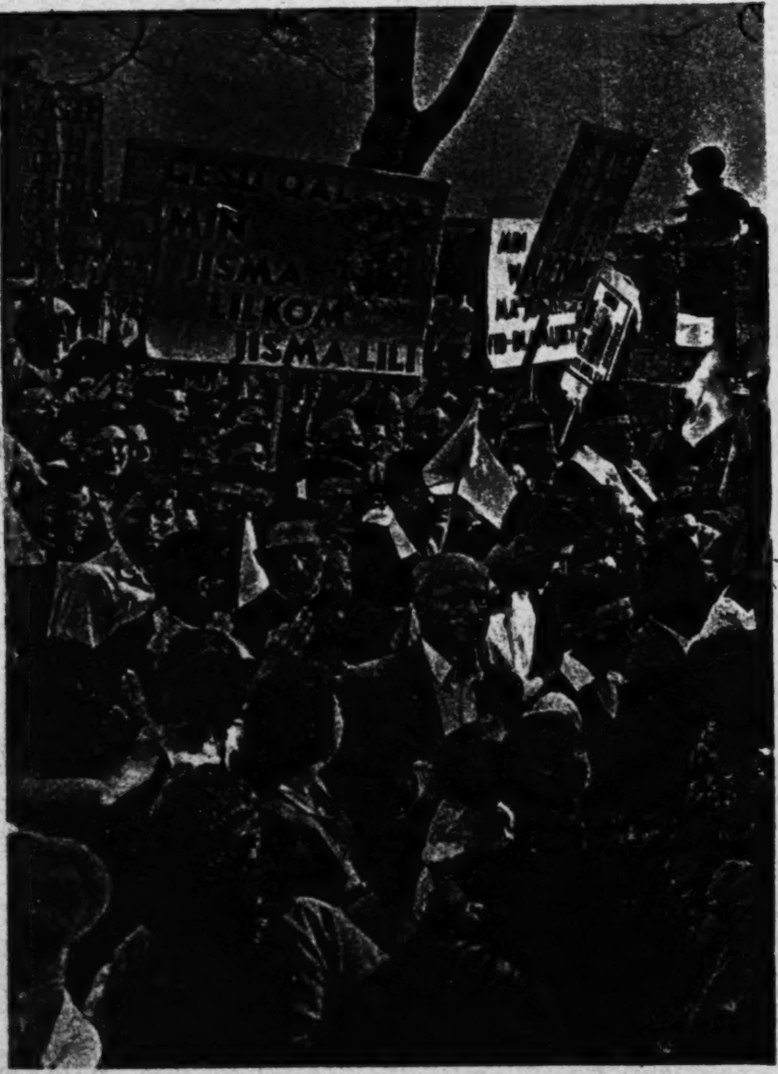

7. Demonstrations of loyalty to the Archbishop

[Facing P. 96]-A

[p.97]

CHAPTER VII

National Politics and the Village

In the last few years issues of national policy have taken an 578
increasingly important place in the villages alongside the purely
parochial ones we discussed in the preceding two chapters. Divi- 665
sions based on opposed political ideologies are now reflected in 668
the groups and associations in which people spend their time. The 795
major division which cuts across all Maltese villages is based not so
much upon rivalry between political parties, as upon the present
conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. But as
has been observed, conflict between the Church and a political
party is not new to Malta. It also existed during the late 'twenties
and early 'thirties.

The dispute between the Labour Party and the Church is 578
essentially a struggle for power. Dom Mintoff, the Labour leader,
accuses the Archbishop Gonzi of siding with Britain to maintain 665
Malta's colonial status, and with interfering in politics by attack- 795
ing the Labour Party and its leaders. In its 1962 Electoral Mani-
festo the MLP proclaims the right of a person 'to fulfil his civic duty [666]
without pseudo-religious interference'; sees as a crime 'any inter-
ference with the right of a democratically elected majority to
implement the people's mandate', and advocates the 'abolition of
medieval privileges which have retarded [the country's] social
and economic progress.'[1] The Church sees this not only as a direct
attack on the basic right and duty of a bishop to teach and to
guard the morals of his flock,[2] but also as a move to destroy its
traditional position in Maltese society. In particular it fears that
if the Labour Party were returned to power, it would enact legis-
lation which would render the Archbishop liable to prosecution
before the criminal court if he were to comment on the political
issues of the day.

These opposing views are expressed in the slogans written on [208]

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[1] See Appendix B for the 1962 MLP Electoral Manifesto.

[2] Cf. William E. Addis and others, '*Bishop*', *A Catholic Dictionary*, pp. 80 ff.

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2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[facing p. 97]

8. Labour Party supporters cheer Dom Mintoff

208 walls and shouted at public meetings. Mintoff is portrayed as a
578 Socialist devil working to give the islands over to Communism
in the manner of Cuba's Castro. These are some typical examples
665 of the ones that appeared on the blackboard outside the Kortin
795 Catholic Action centre: 'Mintoff is the enemy of the Church', 'Nobody can serve both God and the Devil', '"The Bishops are interfering in politics!" That is what Communists say,' and 'We don't want Communists among us!' In stating their case, Mintoff and his supporters did not mince words either, as the following slogans that appeared on the blackboard of the Kortin Labour Party club demonstrate: 'We want a chance in court about the $60,000 lie',[1] 'With the Papal flag in their hands and shouting for vengeance', 'A fish begins to stink from its head',[2] and 'In Gozo they told the women that we have tails.'

208 The popular slogan 'Either with the Bishop or against the
578 Church!' sums up the uncompromising attitude of the Church.
Most of the sanctions it has imposed have presented that choice
665 to the people in unequivocal terms. Early in May 1961, shortly
794 after the Labour leaders were interdicted, all Church lay societies
795 were instructed to obtain from each member a pledge of his full and unqualified support for the Archbishop. Those that declined to give this were expelled from the society concerned and their names reported to the national office of Catholic Action. But a more drastic sanction was imposed a few weeks later. After the
[783] Executive of the Labour Party had invited the Archbishop and the
[226] Bishop of Gozo to debate their policy in public at a Labour rally in Cospicua, the Bishops replied to this insult by issuing a circular which declared it a mortal sin to print, write for, sell, buy, distribute or read the Labour Party newspapers. All confessors were instructed to put the necessary questions to their penitents.

578 Hence, to remain a Labour supporter, a person has to forego the
665 Church sacraments that he has been brought up to believe vital
to his happiness and spiritual salvation. This is a very serious
794 choice for a practising Catholic, and before these sanctions were
795 imposed, the Maltese were among the most devoutly Catholic
[851] people in the world. It has also meant that MLP supporters cannot
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[1] This refers to the Archbishop's charge, made at a rally in March 1961, that Mintoff had received $61,000 from the allegedly Communist dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which the MLP had just joined.

[539] [2] A Maltese proverb meaning that corruption first becomes apparent among people in high places. This was presumably directed against the Archbishop.

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act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented 665
from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred 794
not to baptize their children. 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have [851]
stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything [608]
that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that [664]
there is nothing incompatible between support of their political
leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the
slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has
become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the [208]
Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it
does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue
to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have
been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized
their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for
personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does
not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This
attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters
who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the
military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist
and a practising Catholic at the same time.

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on
the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this
struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been
unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from
church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a [626]
confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone
to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very
difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to
live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people complained about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour
Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some
extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role
for the non-practising Catholic.

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed 115
up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. 578
We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked 665
him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the 794
Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Communist by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am 795
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578 young, I cannot even vote in the next election. But I must think
665 of the future. I feel that Mintoff is doing what is right for Malta.
794 He helped the poor people when he made the government. The
795 Church fights Mintoff because she fears she will lose her privileges
and power if he wins, and that he will tax her property. The
829 Church is in favour of keeping people ignorant, and limiting their
[115] education. Why? Because when people are educated they think
for themselves and can judge. They no longer follow blindly. Besides, you should not take too seriously all this talk of Communism – they are products of this fight. In a fight, people use all means available.'

The street sweeper who was with us understood most of the conversation and shook his head in disagreement. His only com-
[539] ment was the proverb, 'A ship with two captains can't sail' (*Il-vapur biż-żewġ kaptani ma jimxiex*). At this every one in the shop nodded in agreement, for both Labour and Church supporters had different captains in mind. Those who support the Archbishop look to him as the leader of the Maltese people. They make little distinction between Church and State. Labour supporters, in contrast, make a clear distinction. Mintoff is their candidate for head of State, and since they see the Archbishop as interfering with their choice, they accuse him of reaching out to control both Church and State.

II

578 At the village level, this conflict has brought about a bitter
665 division. All societies and groups which are not formally identi-
fied with one side or the other, have been divided and weakened
794 by politically based factions. The parish priest is the leader of
[793] those who support the Archbishop. His most enthusiastic followers are the clergy and the members of the lay societies. This group, with the other prominent villagers who make up the parish priest's circle, provide the hard core of the active opposition to the MLP. Considering the offices that they occupy and the societies to which they belong, it could hardly be otherwise. They usually meet in the club houses of the societies, but sometimes the older members meet in a particular café.

The hard core of the Labour group is made up of the officers of the local MLP Committee and the members who openly frequent the club. There is very little contact between the leaders and

active members of the two sides. But there are a number of persons who would like to avoid having to make a break with either side. For the most part they keep quiet about their political views. But the Church sanctions and the pressure exerted by relatives, friends and workmates is slowly reducing their numbers. 578 665 794

Affiliation is expressed in very much the same way as with the festa partiti. That is, supporters participate in their side's activities and boycott those of their opponents. The activities of those who support the Archbishop centre on the lay apostolate societies. The leaders of these groups, with the parish priest, usually organize the buses that take villagers to the rallies of the Diocesan Junta, which are usually held in front of the Floriana parish church. More recently, separate parishes have organized rallies and pilgrimages of reparation a few days after the Labour Party has held a meeting in the village. An official visit of the Archbishop to a village also provides an occasion for a big demonstration by his supporters in his honour. Bus-loads of colleagues from other parishes often swell the ranks of the local lay societies during their demonstrations. They in turn attend similar meetings in other parishes. Occasionally they unite and act in opposition to MLP meetings in their own and other parishes. More often though, they organize picnics or pilgrimages to take supporters out of the village when their opponents have arranged an event. Supporters of the Archbishop show their allegiance by decorating their houses with pictures of him and with yellow and white Papal flags. Many also buy the newspapers of Catholic Action and the Young Christian Workers.

Enthusiasm for the struggle, which had assumed something of the character of a Holy War when I left Malta, has gripped both young and old. For example, at an MLP meeting in Birkirkara in May 1961 I saw a black-cowled MUSEUM woman herding a group of youngsters up against a police cordon. All were blowing whistles as loudly as they could. [579] A little later a scuffle broke out between MLP supporters and organized parties from the lay religious societies who had surrounded the meeting. But a police water cannon promptly dampened their enthusiasm. In another village, opponents of the MLP rang the bells of the parish church to drown out the Labour voices. This technique, in fact, was first used in Gozo at a big MLP rally there in April, where it proved so successful that not one of the speakers was able to make himself

578 heard. The meeting was finally called off, and the large MLP
665 delegation from Malta was literally routed. They had to return on
foot from Rabat to the ferry, as the bus drivers refused them
794 transport. During the long walk to the ferry, the Labour partisans were ambushed and rather badly mauled by groups of men, women and children from all over Gozo. The ardour of many Gozitans had been worked up by lay leaders who toured the villages for several days beforehand. But besides their religious fervour, there was a considerable element of parochial pride, and the feeling that 'we'll show these Maltese invaders a thing or two.' In all, forty persons were reported injured. The Gozitans were extremely proud of their victory, and the local branch of the Social Action Movement published a booklet to commemorate the occasion.[1]

665 The activity of Labour supporters centres on their local Party club or committee, which arranges for transportation to national MLP rallies and conducts lectures and classes on the political aims of the Party. It also organizes social evenings and outings for Labour supporters. The members of the Local Committee take charge of the preparations for national meetings held in their own village. Local Committees take the initiative in preparing floats, decorated carts and companies in costume for the annual MLP
demonstration on the First of May. For the past few years the
[796] MLP Executive has also organized a carnival celebration for its supporters to induce them to boycott the official government-
[204] sponsored carnival.[2] Labour supporters read the Labour daily
newspaper, *Il-Helsien* (Freedom), and the Sunday *Voice of Malta.* Since the condemnation, *Il-Helsien* has become a party badge. It is pasted on bus windows during MLP excursions, worn as an armband at rallies and in general used by Labour supporters to taunt their opponents. I have even seen some young men in Kortin swagger into church on Sunday morning with copies of it sticking out of their hip pockets.

578 All supporters of the Labour Party do not show their allegiance
665 this openly, for many wish to avoid the break with a large section of the community which would follow such action. Some are teachers or civil servants who fear lest their open support for the

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[1] *Ghawdex Jiddefendi L-Knisja* [Gozo defends the Church] (Gozo: Social Action Movement, 1961).

[648] [2] The government at this time was administered by a British Chief Secretary, and the MLP ordered members to stay away from all events it organized.

MLP cost them their jobs.[1] Others have friends or relatives on the 578
other side with whom they do not wish to break. Yet others, 665
responsible for maintaining the unity of a neutral club, fear that
an open stand will bring about a crisis which would divide it.
Although most of these persons continue to read the condemned 204
papers, they do so discreetly, for reading them openly would 578
provoke incidents. There are also a large number of Labour 626
sympathizers who have been unwilling to forego the sacraments
of the Church. They no longer read the Labour papers or attend 665
MLP rallies, but they are bitter about having been forced to make
the choice.

The physical act of purchasing a Labour newspaper has in itself become a public statement of political allegiance. After the condemnation and the threat of a general Church boycott of their premises (which was carried out in Gozo) most vendors have refused to handle MLP publications. In the villages they can usually only be bought at the local MLP club. Thus the act of striding across the village square and into the stronghold of the devil, performed in front of many of the village elders, becomes an open declaration of sympathy with the Labour cause. In Kortin many wait until the square is empty, usually around midnight in the summer, and then scuttle into the club to get their papers.

III

There is a correlation between occupational class and support for 467
one of these two ideological divisions. In general, professionals, 665
white-collar workers and farmers support the Archbishop, and
industrial labourers the Labour Party. There are several reasons for this. To begin with, the Labour Party is a working-man's party, and there is ideological support for it on that account. Although the MLP has a definitely socialist ideology, and is a member of the Socialist International (points on which the Church attacks it regularly), it advocates few of the measures associated with doctrinaire Socialism, such as public ownership of transport and industry or the collectivization of farming. On the other hand, it does promise equal opportunity for all, and 'the right of the

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[1] The Malta Government Circular of 19 October 1960 prohibited most grades of civil servants from holding office in political organizations or publicly expressing their political views. This regulation is something of a paradox in a small country in which most intellectuals work for the government in one capacity or another. E56

467 people to have the final say in the nation's vital means of pro-
duction."[1] These policies have a general appeal to labourers and
665 are among the reasons for the party's popularity.

The Labour Party is closer to the worker than any of the other political parties. In this respect, its organization resembles that of the Church. As already noted, the MLP rests on its village and district organization. This has enabled the average worker to have a say of sorts, not only in his party's policy, but, when it was in power, also in the affairs of government. How he and his neighbours were able to manipulate the party structure to their advantage is a matter which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

657 During its period in office the Labour Party did much to
improve conditions for the workers and the poor. This is another
665 reason why many support it. It introduced many social benefits,
including the extension of medical services, regular allotments of
free food and social assistance allowances for the needy and aged.
[653] It also built many new schools, surfaced dusty roads and under-
took other large public works projects which gave employment
to many, besides benefiting the community. Moreover, the party
[242] did a great deal to improve agriculture by bringing in foreign
experts who set up an advisory service and introduced new crops
and techniques of cultivation. All these and the general atmo-
sphere of activity which permeated the Labour Government,
gained great popularity for the party and its leader.

There is yet another important way in which the MLP attracts
665 many: it has attacked the established authority of Britain, the
Church, the local captains of industry and the prosperous members of society. This outlook appeals not only to many poor and underprivileged persons, but also to the young and the uninfluential who are seeking to establish their personal independence and to make their mark on society. This opposition to authority and vested interests holds an attraction for many social 'misfits', such as the young 'Teddy Boy' element, the eccentrics and free thinkers. These find in the MLP a haven for their nonconformity to the social and moral teaching of the Church. Though social and religious stigma still attaches to them, many find it easier to bear in the company of others who have similar beliefs and problems. The Labour Party has thus provided social outcasts with a sense of

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[1] MLP manifesto. See Appendix B.

'belonging', and to a certain extent has created for them a com- 665
munity of their own. These persons often make up the hard core
of Labour supporters in their villages, since they have nothing to
lose by openly fighting the Church.

A number of sociological explanations can be advanced to 463
account for the support professionals, white-collar workers and 467
farmers give to the Church. First of all, professionals generally lose
status in the eyes of their colleagues, if not the wider society, if 665
they join the Labour Party or sympathize with it. It is a working- [558]
class party, and they are professionals. There are a number of
notable exceptions to this, but the only professionals that I met
who sympathized with the MLP were either candidates for office
with it or members of the Executive. The political ideology of
their colleagues and the expectations of their clients combine to
make them look upon the Labour Party as the antithesis of every-
thing they have been brought up to believe in. They, through
their offices in parish associations and through their work as
doctors, lawyers, high civil servants, and so on, form part of the
establishment to which the Labour Party is opposed.

Much the same reasoning can be applied to the white-collar
workers. As teachers, clerks and other intermediate grade civil
servants they hold a relatively high position in the social hier-
archy of their villages. Many are anxious to identify themselves
with their social superiors, those in control of the village as well
as their employers, and thus look down upon the MLP as opposed
to their interests. Moreover most of them have been educated at
colleges run by the Church. There their teachers gave them addi- [873]
tional religious instruction and strengthened those values which [794]
make the anti-clerical tone of the Labour Party repugnant to them.

Farmers, on the other hand, are looked down upon by many
and are regarded as underprivileged by all. Why is it then that
they do not support the Labour Party? Farmers in most communi-
ties are very conservative, and those in Malta are no exception.
Their solitary occupation isolates them from the Labour Party
ideology which is so freely discussed among the industrial
workers of Malta. Not only that, but as we have seen, they are
among the most poorly educated section of the community.
Many are unable to read the propaganda which the MLP dis- [212]
seminates through its publications. This isolation from the secular
and materialistic ideologies which enter the country through the

463 Grand Harbour and first establish themselves in the conurbation
467 surrounding it has helped to keep the farmer devoutly tied to the
665 Church. For this reason the action of the MLP in challenging the
authority of the Bishops is as abhorrent to him as it is difficult to understand.

463 The recent sanctions of the Church have increased the class
alignment of those who support the Labour Party and those who
578 oppose it. This is largely because those with high social status have
665 more to lose than industrial workers, and are thus more vulner-
795 able to the pressure of public opinion and the Church. The
increasingly heavy pressure of the Church has forced many of the
[626] young professionals and intellectuals to abandon the party for which they voted in 1955. But even when the MLP was in office, its policies began to alarm many in the professional and middle classes. They objected not only to Mintoff's attitude to the Church, but also to the somewhat abrupt way his government occasionally dealt with the professional and business communities. Many were disturbed by the MLP's rather sudden switch from advocating integration with Britain to demanding complete independence. As most of those who left the party or became inactive in it were moderates, both in their approach to the Church and to the economic and political problems facing Malta, the MLP has become more extreme in its outlook. This in turn
[656] induced others to leave it. This process was accelerated by the
regulations which prohibited the better-educated civil servants from taking an active part in the political life of their country.

463 Table 7 below shows the rough correlation between occupa-
tional class and support of the Malta Labour Party. In particular,
665 it demonstrates that as the proportion of skilled workers decreases,
666 so does the proportion of voters who support Labour. Other
variables are the number of professionals and farmers. The Second and Fourth Electoral Districts polled the highest number of Labour votes in the 1962 election, and the Sixth and Tenth the lowest. The MLP polled 56 per cent of the total votes in the Second Electoral District, where 45 per cent of the working population are classified as skilled labourers.

In contrast, it received only 6 per cent of the votes in Gozo, where only 16 per cent of the people are skilled labourers, but 38 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Another important variable is the number of clergy resident in a district. The relatively high

proportion of clerics and nuns in the Sixth Electoral District 463
helps to explain the relatively low Labour poll there. It is also a 665
significant factor in explaining the overwhelming defeat of the
MLP in Gozo. These two districts have the highest proportion of 666
clerics in the country. The Fourth District, in contrast, has the lowest.

TABLE 7. 1962 Elections:
Occupational Class and Voting Behaviour[1]

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS[2]	SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (As percentage of total lab. force)			PERCENTAGE LABOUR VOTES
	Professional[3]	*Skilled*	*Agricultural*	
IInd (Senglea, etc.)	4 (3)	45	4	56
IVth (Żurrieq, etc.)	3 (2)	34	11	47
VIth (Birkirkara, etc.)	6 (4)	33	11	24
Xth (Gozo)	7 (6)	16	38	6
All Districts	5 (3)	32	11	34

IV

It will have been observed that there is a certain superficial 621
similarity between the reasons given here for belonging to the 665
MLP and those suggested in the preceding chapter for recruitment into the secondary festa partiti. One might expect therefore that in comparison with titular partiti, secondary partiti would have a higher proportion of Labour supporters among their members. Unfortunately, owing to the disturbed political situation prevailing at the time, I was not able to gather satisfactory systematic
data on this point. Almost all informants with whom I discussed [124]
the matter suggested that secondary partiti did in fact have more pro-Mintoff members than their rivals. But the situation is not quite as straightforward as it might appear. To begin with, the statements of informants varied according to their own political
beliefs and their position in relation to the festa partiti. Rivals [575]
generally tried to place each other in an unfavourable light. Thus [578]
an anti-MLP member of a band club supporting a titular feast

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[1] Source: *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 40–111; and *The Malta Government Gazette* (3 March 1962), pp. 585–94.

[2] *IInd* (Cospicua, Senglea, Vittoriosa, Kalkara, Żabbar, M'skala), *IVth* (Żurrieq, Safi, [103]
Qrendi, Mqabba, Kirkop, B'bugia, Żejtun, M'xlokk), *VIth* (Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija, Attard, Naxxar, Gharghur).

[3] Percentage of priests, monks and nuns in parenthesis.

575 578 621 665 would describe the rival club as a Mintoff stronghold, but suggested that his own club had relatively few MLP members. In contrast, a member of the rival club with the same political view would often say just the opposite. Parish priests generally gave very conservative estimates of the number of MLP supporters in the clubs, but usually said that the secondary clubs had more.

621 665 [464] Another factor which makes it difficult to be dogmatic about the political alignment of the partiti is that most are located in the southern villages. These communities are reservoirs of industrial labour and are generally strongly pro-Labour. For this reason, unbiased informants generally estimated that Labour supporters made up between half and three-fourths of the membership of all clubs, but that secondary clubs had slightly more. My own experience in Farruġ confirms this. I found there that about 70 per cent of the members of each partit are pro-Labour, although the leaders of the village MLP group are almost all from the St. Martin partit. This I suggested was due more to the shallowness of the leadership resources of the St. Roque partit than to the political inclination of its members.

575 621 665 At the policy level, all clubs usually maintain strict political neutrality. At least, all incorporate clauses to this effect in their by-laws, and many prohibit party newspapers and political discussions in the club. Nonetheless, some clubs are closely identified with a particular political party. Of the clubs that are aligned in this way, those that celebrate the titular feasts generally support one of the parties allied with the Church, usually the Nationalist Party; their rivals support the Labour Party. This alignment often comes about when a leading member of a club seeks political office. Where this occurs, members of the opposite festa partit, as a matter of course, give their votes to his chief opponent in another party, or to a rival in his own party. The political significance of the rivalry between festa partiti will be examined in the following chapter, together with some of the ways in which political candidates manipulate the partiti, and are, in their turn, manipulated by them.

But the tendency to political polarity of rival band clubs still does not explain why the leader of a secondary club, for example, supports the Labour Party, and not one of the rival parties. The chief reason for this, quite apart from the fact that he may have a personal preference for the party, is that the members of his own

festa partit form the nucleus of his political following. It is not 575
surprising therefore that he should support the party they favour. 621

There is another interesting way in which festa partiti in general, 665
and secondary partiti in particular, are related to support for the
Labour Party. In all villages divided by these partiti, people have 621
become conditioned to opposing the authority of the Church in 578
connection with matters dealing with the celebration of feasts. 665
This, I suggest, has enabled them to accept the anti-clerical outlook 795
of the Labour Party more easily than the people of villages not so divided. An old stone-cutter in Kortin, who was procurator of one of the small chapels in the village, once unconsciously pointed to the structural similarity of the MLP and secondary festa partiti. We were discussing the resemblance of the Strickland crisis of thirty years ago to the present political dispute, when he pointed to the parish church and remarked, 'I've always been against them. I was for Strickland. I'm for Mintoff, and if we had partiti here, I would support the secondary feast.' There is, of course, a difference between the opposition of a secondary partit and that of the MLP. Nonetheless, both oppose the authority of the Church and both resort to attacks on the clergy to drive home their points of view. This is anti-clericalism. Both the festa partiti and the Labour Party make a distinction between the person and the office of the cleric they attack, and they appear to attack the former rather than the latter. But repeated attacks upon the person holding an office may weaken the office itself. Thus prolonged anti-clericalism can lead to anti-religious sentiment, or at least prepare the way for it. This, I feel, has happened in the case of the festa partiti.

In challenging the decisions of the Church relating to matters of 578
festa policy a festa partisan often resorts to violence. He frightens 621
the priest with home-made bombs to show his displeasure, to try 79
and change the decision and even to compel him to leave the
village. But he never attacks the ultimate right of the Church or [620]
its ministers to make those decisions. Indeed, some friends in Farruġ were quite shocked when I suggested that they were doing just this. On the other hand, this constant rebellion against the authority of the Church has accustomed people to being at odds for long periods with their parish priests as well as with the Archbishop. During these times, they often ignore what the Church has to say if it does not agree with the point of view they

578 hold. This is the accepted pattern of behaviour, not only in
villages divided by festa partiti, but also in others which have disputes
621 with the Church. But it is only in the villages with festa
79 partiti that these disputes, and the related anti-clerical action, take
place on a regularly recurring basis. In these villages, though
people are devout in observing many details of their religion,
constant opposition to the parish priest in matters connected with
festas has led them to look upon a measure of anti-clericalism as
part of their way of life.

578 The relative lack of respect for the clergy in these villages has
been partly responsible for a rather high turnover of parish
621 priests. It has been shown how uncomfortable festa partiti can
554 make the life of a parish priest. This, plus the meagre living in the
793 smaller parishes, prompts priests to look for openings in wealthier
and less troublesome villages. The Church itself regards the small
rural parishes as training or 'stepping-stone parishes', as a monsignor
from the Curia once described them to me. But even as
such, they are unpopular, and the Archbishop often has difficulty
finding priests willing to take charge of them. Farruġ, for
example, has had six parish priests since 1953. The lack of continuity
of Church leadership in these small, divided villages has
tended to weaken its influence there and to foster a lack of respect
for its authority.

In this social climate the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party
578 fits without great difficulty. Labour supporters have already had
621 experience as festa partisans in ignoring the commands of the
665 Church, and in enduring the taunts and disapproval of their rivals
795 in the other partit. For them anti-clericalism is nothing new, and
[626] they are thus not as vulnerable to public opinion and the sanctions
of the Church as persons in villages which do not have this
tradition of opposition to the Church.

But if there is a certain similarity between the anti-clerical behaviour of many festa enthusiasts and that of MLP supporters, most persons make a distinction between the two. The anti-clerical actions of the festa partiti are usually directed against particular clerics in connection with specific decisions. In contrast, the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party is directed at the Archbishop in particular and often at all priests in general. This difference stems from the fact that basically their challenge to the authority of the Church differs significantly. Where the festa partisan does

not rationalize the distinction he makes between the person and 578
the office of the cleric he attacks, though his behaviour shows that 621
he does make one, the Labour supporter often proclaims that he 665
makes such a distinction, when in fact he does not. The MLP not 795
only challenges the statements of the Archbishop which apply to
the political scene, but often questions his right to make them. This explains the difference in the reaction of the Church to the two forms of anti-clericalism.

I have suggested that the one prepares the way for the other. The rebellious atmosphere created by the disputes between the festa partiti is, I believe, as important a factor as occupational class in explaining the relatively high degree of open support the Labour Party has in the southern villages. The extent of this support, especially in the smaller villages, in spite of the sanctions of the Church, came as a surprise to some of the leaders of the MLP, who had always thought of them as dominated by their parish priests, like the small villages in Gozo. But in the spring of 1961, the small villages of Kirkop, Dingli and Gudja were placed first, second and third in an MLP competition to find the community which had the greatest proportion of new Party members. I suggest that the support for the MLP in these three villages is due not so much to their proportion of industrial labourers, which in any case is not particularly high (23, 20 and 35 per cent respectively),[1] as to their strong tradition of rebellion against the authority of the Church. Kirkop and Gudja both have active festa partiti of long standing, and while Dingli has no festa partiti now, the village has a long history of opposition to its parish priests. For example, shortly after the First World War, the Dingli Social Club had an argument with the parish priest, and for many years after, members celebrated the national feast on 8 September, instead of the patronal feast of the Assumption, simply to annoy him.

V

But whatever complex and diverse reasons people have for taking 178
sides, the division has given rise to conflict in most villages. In 578
this respect Kortin is no different, as the slogans displayed during 621
the battle of the blackboards indicated. The division has cut right

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[1] *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 41–2.

178 across the village and the clubs, and has brought about conflict
within many families. People lament the change that has come
578 over the village as a result. An old bachelor friend often used to
621 complain that had we come to live there just a few years ago,
'before politics came and spoiled everything', we would have
found the village a far happier place. Picnics and outings were
more frequent then, and groups of friends used to gather on hot
summer evenings and stroll outside the village to play guitars and
sing the lilting Maltese *ghana* in the cool air away from the houses.
There was also more life in the clubs. Both the Social Club and
[575] the Band Club used to take part in the national carnival com-
[796] petition for the best decorated carts and costumed companies. But
as the political conflict has divided the island's carnival celebra-
tion in two, so it has also affected the clubs. They now celebrate
neither the government's carnival nor that of the MLP for fear the
question of which one to participate in would provoke a fight
that would cripple the club.

Dun Bert, the parish priest in Kortin, is of course the head of
578 the local group which supports the Archbishop and opposes the
665 MLP. His chief lieutenants in the fight are the local clergy and the
793 lay leaders of the religious associations. Pawlu and Anton, his two
794 faithful helpers, are also vocal partisans, as is old Manwel. Dr.
Farrugia, old Manwel's son, as a former member of the Legisla-
tive Assembly (MLA) and a leading member of one of the political
parties opposed to the MLP, also belongs to the pro-Church
division in the village, though he takes little part in its day-to-day
275 affairs. The main activity and support comes from the leaders of
the lay associations, especially of the Young Christian Workers,
578 the MUSEUM and the Sodality of Our Lady. These all meet regu-
665 larly in their respective premises. Many of the others, older men,
794 spend much of their free time in Kelinu's café. These include old
Manwel, Pawlu, Anton, the sacristan, the organist, and Dun
Mikiel and Dun Filip, respectively the chaplains of the female and
male sections of Catholic Action. This café, located right next to
Dr. Farrugia's house, is the nicest café on the square, or in the
village for that matter. It is the only one which the clergy, the
teachers and occasionally Dr. Farrugia himself, frequent. It is thus
the headquarters of the more influential village citizens who sup-
[512] port the Archbishop. Most MLP supporters have stopped going to
it, although a few still play cards there for an hour or so in the late
afternoon when they return from work.

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afternoon when they return from work. Many Labour sympathizers believe that the important anti-Labour demonstrations and moves are plotted at Kelinu's. 578 665 794

The headquarters of the MLP group is the Labour Club, which is situated just off the square and around the corner from Kelinu's. Salvu, the ex-MLA who is the leader of the village Labour group, spends his evenings there with his lieutenants, the officers of the village Labour Committee. Salvu, a small building contractor, has had little formal education, but he has an engaging personality, a quick mind and is a persuasive speaker. He is also an excellent comic actor, a playwright of sorts, and the author of most of the slogans that appear on the club's blackboard. Smaller groups of [275] Labour supporters meet at one of the other cafés on the square, and at some of the wine shops near the chapel of St. Paul in the poorer section of the village. Other groups of pro-Labour friends often gather on the steps of the church or around a bench near the Labour club. They rarely go into the club itself, for all are anxious to avoid being marked as open Labour supporters by the village, which, generally speaking, is strongly anti-Labour. 575 665

The supporters of the Archbishop and those of the Labour Party rarely meet face to face as organized bodies. When they do, it is the occasion for a good deal of ill-feeling and, sometimes, open hostility. This occurs when a big rally is organized in the village. Two such rallies were held in Kortin while we were living there. The first was on the occasion of a visit of the Archbishop; the second was a national MLP meeting. Dun Bert and his assistants organized a huge demonstration in honour of the Archbishop during his visit. It was a great success. The Labour club arranged a social and musical gathering the evening before to work up Party solidarity, but it closed its doors during the actual visit and cleaned off its blackboard in order not to provoke incidents. With but one exception, there were no incidents to spoil the enthusiastic welcome the villagers accorded the Archbishop. Many Labour supporters attended the demonstration, for the Archbishop was visiting the village as head of the Church in Malta to bestow the sacrament of confirmation on the children. But as the Archbishop and his excited escort approached the church, a bitter Labour supporter made an insulting gesture at him. (People were quick to inform us that the man was an outsider married into the village.) He was subsequently arrested and convicted, for as 575 665 794 578 665 673 688 794

578

665 already noted, in Malta, it is a criminal offence to insult a minister
673 of religion. There were no other disturbances.

688 The Labour rally was rather a different story. The leader of the
694 MLP and the thousands of his supporters who came to Kortin to
hear him speak received a decidedly hostile reception. Though
578 Dun Bert did not organize a counter-demonstration for the
665 occasion, he did arrange a mass protest meeting the evening
794 before. The following day rival groups were out decorating. A
number of MUSEUM lads under the direction of one of the older
members pasted anti-MLP slogans all over the façade of the
church. At the same time, a group of men were busy hanging
posters and flags from the Labour club to welcome Dom Mintoff
to the village.

At 4 p.m. buses and cars began to stream into the village with
[790] thousands of MLP supporters from all over the island. At about the
same time the church bells began to call the faithful to a religious
procession in honour of Our Lady of Fatima which Dun Bert had
scheduled to take place during the Labour meeting. He himself
stood in the square watching the faithful gather in the church. He
also carefully observed those who passed by on their way to the
Labour meeting, which was being held right behind the church.
Most of the villagers who sympathized with the Labour Party
but who did not support it openly did not attend the meeting.
[783] They were anxious to avoid the open break with the rest of the
community which attending would have entailed. Besides, several
mentioned that their confessors had told them that they would
commit a mortal sin if they attended MLP meetings. All the open
supporters of the MLP in the village went to the meeting.

[796] The meeting began at about 4.30 p.m. and lasted for two hours.
Shortly after it had started, Dun Bert's procession of nearly a
thousand men, women and children slowly wound its way
through the village and returned to the church for a period of
prayer and worship. When the Labour meeting finally broke up,
most of the outside supporters departed quickly, though a number
were delayed because villagers had deflated the tyres of about
578 a dozen of their cars. At this time people also began to leave the
625 church. But the police, who were trying to keep a passage clear in
665 the centre of the square for the stream of departing Labour supporters,
kept them on the steps of the church. They waited there
794 for a while and then began singing hymns and songs in honour of

the Pope and the Archbishop, stopping now and then to shout 578
insults at the passing Labour supporters. The square on the other 625
side of the police cordon began to fill up with people returning
from the meeting and others who left their houses to see what the 665
excitement was about. Gradually the songs became louder and 794
more excited, and the shouts hoarser. By then it was getting quite dark, but I could see Dun Mikiel in the front row, his hands thrust tensely into the pockets of his cassock, scowling at the passers-by while he smoked cigarette after cigarette. The tension by this time was almost electric. Suddenly, one of the local MLP supporters returning to the Labour club replied to a taunt by making a threatening gesture. The crowd in front of the church booed him loudly and surged forward. The police, anxious to hurry the trouble-maker off the square, pushed him a bit too hard and he stumbled and fell. This angered the crowd on the other side of the square and it began to press through the police cordon. At this point police reinforcements arrived and cleared the square in a few moments. Their prompt action prevented an ugly situation from going further, for there had been well over a thousand angry people facing each other, separated by less than two dozen unarmed policemen.

Four days after the meeting, Dun Bert organized a pilgrimage 578
of reparation to atone for the insults of the MLP speakers. The 665
procession of some 1,200 people reciting the Rosary escorted the 794
statue of Our Lady of Sorrows through the area behind the church [788]
where the Labour meeting had been held. About 400 of the par-
ticipants were outsiders who had come to Kortin from other parts [783]
of the island for the occasion. After the procession the crowd
gathered in front of the church where a Mass was said. A noted [796]
Jesuit orator then rebutted the MLP speeches point by point. The [537]
whole affair had almost passed off without incident when a number of stones and bottles were thrown from behind walls at the buses and cars leaving the village.

But if there are relatively few face-to-face meetings of this kind 575
in Kortin or elsewhere, there are many disputes that divide and 578
weaken the clubs and associations. This matter has particularly 665
affected Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, who feels responsible for preserving its unity in these difficult times. In Kelinu's, where many of the influential regulars are members of the Social Club, they say that it has become a Mintoff stronghold.

575 Many of them have stopped going there. In point of fact, Sur
Ġorġ and the secretary are strongly opposed to the Labour Party,
578 though many of the younger men and some of the most active
665 older members support it. A number of people living nearby have complained that members praise Mintoff in loud voices. There is growing pressure on Sur Ġorġ to ban all political conversation there. He has so far resisted the pressure, for he believes that if he were to give in, he would drive away the very members who form the backbone of the club. His chief problem, as he described it to me, is how to focus the attention of the members on something other than politics. He is therefore doing his best to obtain the permits necessary to open the theatre for which they have been planning and saving for years. He feels that in the excitement of building, the members will forget their political differences and reunite, and thus the club will pass safely through this crisis. But the permits have been slow in coming and meanwhile the pressure on him is building up. Two important members of the committee have already resigned, 'under the influence of those busy-bodies in Kelinu's', as some members described it.

The men in charge of the St. Martin Band Club in Farruġ face much the same problem. As has already been noted, most of the leaders of the two political blocs in the village are members of the St. Martin club, and several of them are on its committee. This difference of political loyalty often provokes quarrels over matters
[574] of policy. During the centenary, for example, the committee were sharply divided over whether to salute the Archbishop with the customary barrage of fireworks when he entered the village to take part in the ceremony. The matter was put to a vote, and the MLP faction won. The disgruntled losers began talking about firing off their own salute of welcome. But the crisis that this action would have brought about was avoided when the Vicar-General officiated in place of the Archbishop, who was indisposed. As the MLP supporters had nothing against him, he received the full barrage of aerial bombs and fire crackers. The rift was thus healed, and all joined in to celebrate a rousing feast.

578 The following year the festa again brought a crisis with it. This
621 time it was a far more serious one. Most of the young Labour
665 supporters, in retaliation for the way the Church had attacked
their party and its leaders, flatly refused to have anything to do
794 with the feast. These young men included virtually all the partit's
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fireworkers, and without their expert help it was feared that the 578
feast would be a miserable failure. Many Labour supporters also 621
instructed their parents and wives not to contribute money to the 665
feast. This depressing state of affairs continued for some time. 794

Then one day, about three months before the festa, Pietru, the 796
young schoolteacher who is head of Catholic Action and treasurer of the St. Martin club, came up to me looking very pleased. He said that the feast was saved. Several events had combined to work
up interest in it. It seems that most of the people had attended a [216]
large and very successful titular festa in a neighbouring village; the St. Roque fireworkers had shot off three extremely well-made test rockets; and he himself had played his tape recording of the St. Martin hymn, the anthem of the partit, over a loudspeaker in the square. These events revived interest in the festa and in the reputation of the partit. Immediately afterwards the secretary of the club, a Labour supporter who has set politics aside for the honour of the partit, called a committee meeting to discuss the problem of making fireworks. After several speeches urging members to keep their politics from spoiling the feast, the
committee voted to make fireworks. Though two skilled fire- [389]
workers crossed the floor and agreed to help, none of the many [463]
experts among the rank and file followed suit. But soon after this political loyalty again began to smother the rekindled partit spirit, and one of the fireworkers all but dropped out. Moreover, Pietru, who is the village's most eloquent and outspoken enemy of the Labour Party, began to preach so vehemently to those he calls the 'lost sheep' of the club, that he antagonized many. His fund-raiising suffered as a result.

About a month after this I met Toni at a festa in a neighbouring 578
village, and we had a long talk away from the interested eyes and 621
ears of Farruġ. Toni has been a member of the St. Martin Club 665
committee for nearly twenty years, and until some months ago had been vice president. He was clearly very worried about the club. People were already beginning to draw parallels between the present situation and the events that led up to the split in 1930. He said he was doing his best to discourage such talk, and had now begun working hard to avoid an open break.

He pointed out that he had experienced many crises in the partit and favoured a less blunt approach to winning back the interest of the MLP members than did the crusading Pietru. He felt that he

578 had already had some success wooing members back on a personal basis
621 by talking only of the honour of the partit and leaving politics
665 out altogether. He stressed that the main problem was not so much the feast but the survival of the club. 'If we can just weather out the storm until after the election we can save it.' He went on to describe how it had taken years to heal the division after the seceding Strickland supporters had rejoined in 1935. 'We must avoid a split at all costs, and the only way we can do that is to bury our political differences.' His technique for doing this was to have as few formal committee meetings as possible, to avoid discussing controversial subjects and to vote in secret, for in these times 'an open vote divides the members'.

578 The wise counsel and efforts of the older members, who have set politics aside, has so far kept the younger hot-heads from split-
621 ting the club. In spite of all the obstacles in its way, the feast of
794 St. Martin turned out to be a good show. Though many supporters did not contribute, others gave more than usual and there were
796 enough funds for a good feast. About a dozen boys worked under the direction of the two adult fireworkers, and made most of the
[389] fireworks. They gave a very good account of themselves, though
[868] not one of them is old enough (18) to join the club as a formal member. All are Catholic Action members. In fact, except for a few St. Roque boys, they are the only ones left in the society. The Catholic Action group once numbered almost fifty. The others, the sons of Labour families, had been forced out by the vote of loyalty to the Archbishop which the association's national headquarters had demanded. But their enthusiasm could not quite make up for their youth or their lack of numbers. During the Friday demonstration for the saint some outsiders who were supporters of the guest band had to help them carry the statue of their patron part of the way. This was a great comedown from the previous year, when his followers were so numerous that they had to struggle for a turn to carry him. But the noise and the gay atmosphere of the celebration rekindled the interest of a number of the Labour supporters. Several helped to erect the decorations on Saturday; a few even joined in one of the band matches.

VI

It is of course an open question how much longer the intense 178
partit spirit can survive in the face of the political division now 578
cutting across all festa partiti. In Farruġ the division between the 621
festa partiti, such a strong force in the past, is now of less importance
as a principle of social organization than the rivalry
between the supporters and opponents of the MLP. The relative 178
importance in Farruġ, as everywhere, of this latter division is
directly related to the intensity of the conflict at the national level 578
between the MLP and the Church. If it decreases, so will that at the 665
village level. But the longer it lasts, the more difficult it will be to 795
remove it completely from the social scene. Both the Church and the Labour Party, through their respective societies, committees and social clubs, are building up an institutional framework that is incorporating this political opposition on a permanent basis in all villages. This is taking place in much the same way as the confraternities and social clubs a hundred years ago made permanent the conflict between rival factions competing over the celebration of saints.

The rivalry between the Church and the MLP, as well as that between competing political parties, reflects the increasing involvement of the villager in the political life of his country. It was perhaps only due to Malta's peculiar position as a colony and an island fortress, a role which effectively prevented the development of an active internal political life of the more conventional kind, that competition over church privileges and saints was able to assume the importance it has. It is not surprising that the changing nature of Malta's strategic and constitutional position should alter the tempo and character of its internal political life.
In the villages, this change is reflected in the weakening of the [621]
festa partiti by national political issues.

[p.120]

CHAPTER VIII

The Village and the Outside World

557 Every Maltese is at the centre of a large network of kin relations.
Thus, when the need arises, many people are able to move along
602 the intricate channels of consanguinity and affinity to establish
personal contact with influential persons. It has also been noted
that this network of kin can be extended artificially. Important
persons, such as politicians, police officers, high civil servants and
professionals are often invited to become godparents, marriage
witnesses and confirmation sponsors. These relationships are constantly
manipulated to bring individuals in touch with decision
makers. This gives a personal content to many official decisions.
Since most people honour the obligations of kinship, friendship
and neighbourhood, requests which appeal to these values stand
a good chance of a favourable reply. But a large network of kins-
557 men can also be a liability to a civil servant, for the favourable
602 treatment he is expected to give a kinsman often conflicts with
647 the civil service ethic of impartiality. This can place persons in
authority in awkward positions, since the refusal of a request may
seriously affect either their personal relations or their professional
integrity. Maltese civil servants thus work under pressure which is
quite unfamiliar to their counterparts in larger, less intimately
related societies.

II

171 Another method of handling contacts with authority is through
influential patrons. By 'patron' I mean a person who uses his
557 influence to assist and protect some other person, who then
771 becomes his 'client'. In a Catholic society there is a strong ideo-
776 logical basis for a system of patronage, for there is great similarity
between the function of saints and mortal patrons. Michael
Kenny points to this correspondence in his study of patronage in
Spain[1] and, in general terms, his analysis is equally applicable to

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[1] 'Patterns of Patronage in Spain', *Anthropological Quarterly*, XXXIII (January 1960), pp. 14–23.

Malta. He sees the patronage system in Spain as a pyramidal 171 structure incorporating both the natural and the spiritual worlds. 557 At the top is God, the supreme patron who is not dependent upon 771 anyone. At the base are the persons who have no clients. Between these lowly clients and God there are many different ranks of 776 patrons, each of whom has his own small pyramid of clients. They, in turn, are clients dependent upon other higher and more influential persons. The patrons of each rank form a group which asks favours from one another on behalf of their clients.

The intermediaries between man and God are the saints, who are closer to God than man is. A person who seeks to influence the 557 decision of a higher authority similarly looks for a person who, by virtue of his kin relation or social position, is closer to the decision maker than he. In view of the functional similarity of [192] saints to living patrons, it should not come as a surprise that the word for patron in Maltese is 'saint' (*qaddis*; plural *qaddisin*). Several proverbs underline the important role that patrons play in [539] Maltese social life. Here are two: 'Without saints you can't get to heaven' (*Minghajr qaddisin ma titlax il-ġenna*); and 'You can do nothing without saints' (*Minghajr qaddisin ma taghmel xejn*). Another points to the fact that any patron-client relationship is not without obligation, even danger, for the client: 'He who fattens you will kill you' (*Min semmnek joqtlok*).

Who are these 'saints', these men of influence? For the most part they are people who have already been encountered, albeit in a slightly different capacity. They are the professionals, the civil servants and, in general, the wealthy and powerful. They are persons, respected for their education and social standing in the world outside the village, who can deal as equals with other important people and decision-makers, many of whom are their relatives and former classmates. Their patronage is sought by individuals and groups alike. They are often asked to become godparents, and they are called on to handle the ceremonial, business and political relations of clubs. They are also called on to help secure employment, building permits, hawkers licences or a long-delayed hearing at the law courts. Generally speaking, villagers choose patrons from the circle of influential people with whom they have the closest contact: the local professionals, the parish priest and clergy, the important landlords, all of whom command [602] respect outside the village. Some clients are related to their

557 patrons; others have established fairly close contact with them
602 through business relations.

The patronage of the parish priest has traditionally been im-
557 portant. Not only are all villagers his spiritual clients, but he is
793 also a source of charity and assistance in many fields. He serves his parishioners individually in the capacity of legal adviser, character reference and often also as letter-writer and banker. He frequently argues their claims against the government. He also represents the interests of the community at large, and attempts, often successfully, to obtain improved public amenities such as new roads, street lighting and so on. At least, this is the role that he occupied until the introduction of representative government.

III

557 Influence through the networks of personal relations and patrons is the traditional method of handling contacts with authority. It
662 still operates when representative government is in abeyance. But the advent of elected government introduced a new set of relations, and provided a new focus of power. Political parties and professional politicians provided new and surer channels of influence and sources of patronage, though they have not replaced the old ones. The villager now uses both old and new channels, separately or together.

662 The organization of all parties, at least before Mintoff reorgan-
ized the Labour Party, was rather simple. Party interests were
665 represented in the villages by personal canvassers or party agents, as well as by the candidates themselves. The old Labour Party under Paul Boffa had a number of village party committees. When the party was returned to power, patronage and influence flowed abundantly, and brought the whole structure into vigorous life. The canvassers became important people who could pass along requests and schedule appointments with the local MLA's
[464] and even the Ministers. They also helped the local MLA's prepare the lists of people who were to be given jobs, for until 1955 most
[653] of the lower-grade industrial labourers with the Public Works Department were employed upon the recommendation of the local MLA's. Politicians who held office before 1955 often told me that making out the employment rosters and dealing with the daily queue of job-seekers were among their most difficult and

time-consuming tasks. To help as many as possible, they often made up new job rosters every few months. 662 665

Canvassers would often expect presents for their work as intermediaries and for the favours they promised or secured. By and large, the party agents or canvassers were not popular figures, at least in retrospect. I came across many accounts of how they had exploited their positions to enrich themselves. The usual story was that they had accepted gifts – a rabbit, some chickens, a bottle of whisky or even cash – but had not assisted as they had promised. These tales may or may not be true; I had no way of checking. It is significant, however, that persons of all political colours, including former Ministers and MLA's, believe them to be true.

Mintoff's government did much to change the course of the stream of political patronage. To begin with, shortly after it came into office in 1955, the MLP passed a law which made it compulsory for those seeking employment with the government as industrial labourers to register with the Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare.[1] There they had to wait their turn. This took away from MLA's a considerable source of patronage. The MLP also established special sub-committees of the Labour Committees in each village to deal with the complaints and requests of the local inhabitants. A member of the sub-committee was generally available to the public for an hour or two every evening. All requests for assistance and complaints were discussed by the entire sub-committee, which would countersign the routine ones and send them along to the appropriate government department. More important matters were brought personally to the attention of the civil servant concerned by a member of the sub-committee. Complicated requests and serious complaints were forwarded to the District Committee, where they were discussed at the regular weekly meetings with the district MLA's, who might then take the matter up directly with the Minister. Civil servants, on the whole, handled complaints and requests for action from the Local Committees with much the same dispatch they would give a request from their Minister. Some Ministers even went so far as to instruct their Department Heads to ignore all complaints brought to them by private persons, especially parish priests. They were told only to act on those presented by the Local Committee. 647 662 665 [656] [653] [464]

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[1] Act No. XIV, 1955: 'An Act to Make Provisions for the Establishment and Regulation of an Employment Service.'

653 Another very important function the Local Committees performed during the period the MLP was in power was to obtain
665 improvements for the village. Requests for drainage, new roads, street lighting and, above all, new schools, were submitted to the District Committees. There the proposals were screened and given priority ratings by the committee members and the district MLA's. When these projects were implemented, and a large number were, the Local Committees naturally received credit for them. This added to their claim to represent their villages, and strengthened the formal structure of the party.

647 This system of handling patronage and complaints gave the villager a direct contact with authority. It was a fairly simple
662 procedure, and many considered it reasonably impartial, though
665 of course it did help to be a member of the Labour Party in good standing. Moreover, the complainant, even though he might not succeed in his cause, had the satisfaction that it had received attention, and it did not cost him a nice fat rabbit. This does not
578 mean that there was no abuse. Civil servants complained that they
647 were often intimidated by zealous MLP members who threatened to report them to their Ministers if they did not comply as
66. requested. This friction was particularly keen between the Local Committee members and the village police, street sweepers and teachers. One head teacher I knew was particularly bitter about his caretaker, who was a member of the village MLP committee. The caretaker would stroll into the head teacher's office if he disagreed with the disciplining of a child, for example, and threaten to report him to the Minister if he did not lighten the punishment.

647 But on the whole, the MLP made a concerted effort to take
665 patronage out of the hands of canvassers and MLA's alike and channel it through the various committees of the party apparatus.
662 This not only strengthened the party, it also won it considerable popularity. Moreover, it relieved MLA's and Ministers of a heavy administrative load; they were only called in on the more complicated matters. In short, the Local Committees came to function as branches of the government.

When the Labour Government resigned in 1958, the MLP clubs and committees lost the influence they had with government. They once more became merely propaganda and social centres. But the role they had played for three years in representing the interests of government at the village level and in

forwarding the requests and complaints of the villagers to government 647
had greatly increased their strength, and that of the party 662
they represented. As the members operated as a formal committee 665
and not as individuals, they had the esteem and respect of
most of the community. They also had considerable power in
local affairs. In fact, for three years the leaders of the Labour [554]
group in the village ranked alongside the parish priest and the
professionals as the most prominent and influential citizens of the village. The canvassers of the rival parties had perhaps had power, but they had never had respect. Theirs was always rather an underhanded operation, that was often disowned by MLA's when they were confronted with it. The MLP, on the other hand, delegated responsibility to Local Committees, and the Ministers legitimized them by openly working through them in all their relations with the villages. Villagers were also openly encouraged to work through them. These committees thus served the ends of the Labour Party most successfully. It is quite likely, therefore, that in the future other parties will find it politically as well as administratively expedient to develop and work through village committees patterned on the model so successfully tested by the Labour Party.

The party system has come into direct conflict with the traditional 578
relations between patron and client at relatively few points. 647
This is largely because most patrons who desired to were able to 662
move successfully into the new field of party politics. A notable 665
exception are priests, who are no longer permitted by their 793
Bishops to stand for national political office. Their power to
influence authority has thus been weakened by the new source of patronage and influence open to their parishioners. In particular, parish priests came into open conflict with the village MLP committees during the Labour Party's time in power after 1955. Not surprisingly, their clash at the village level mirrored the dispute between the Archbishop and the MLP at the national level. That is, it was a conflict between the religious authority of the Church and the secular authority of the State, represented in the villages by the Local Committees of the Labour Party. Both the parish priest and the Local Committee claimed to represent the village, and both sought by mobilizing their supporters to advance their claim at the expense of their opponents. This invariably resulted in a struggle for power during which the Labour supporters were

647 accused of being anti-clerical and against the Church because they
662 opposed the will of the parish priest.

665 Shortly after Mintoff took office, the Local Committee in
793 Kortin made plans to open a new avenue into the village. The
scheme, first projected by government planners over sixty years
578 before, was designed to ease the flow of traffic through the village
647 and provide a wide, tree-lined promenade leading to the main
square in front of the church. Unfortunately, the project required
653 the demolition of four buildings, two of which were small
665 chapels used as warehouses for the festa decorations. Because of
793 this Dun Bert, the parish priest, bitterly opposed the scheme, as had his predecessors. He claimed that most of the village supported him. The Labour Committee, on the other hand, felt that it had the backing of the village, and went ahead with the project. The road was finally opened, and it proved to be a great success. But the two small churches were destroyed, and the relations between the Labour group and the parish priest remained hostile. Six years later, Dun Bert and his supporters were still pointing to the avenue as positive proof that the Labour Party is fundamentally opposed to the Church.

IV

463 But if the political parties have modified the traditional system of
665 patronage somewhat by providing a new channel of influence for
the villager, the professional politician of today is by and large the same traditional patron. That is, the successful politicians are largely drawn from the professional classes; they are still the doctors, the lawyers, the architects and the chemists. Indeed, until recently the lists of candidates often read like directories of the professional classes. This situation prevailed until about the time of the Labour Party split in 1949, when virtually all the professional class Labour MLA's sided with Dr. Boffa and formed the Workers' Party, while most of the MLP Executive and the rank and file supported Mintoff. After this the Labour Party asked people from all classes to stand as candidates, and began to push up working-class leaders trained in union and club politics. But the politicians from the professional class still heavily outnumber their working-class colleagues, even in the Labour Party.

Table 8 below illustrates this. Of the fifty MLA's elected in the

1962 elections, three-fourths are members of the professional 463
classes. The remainder are persons who, for the most part, have 665
risen to positions of influence through party and trade union hierarchies.

TABLE 8. Occupation of Candidates Elected to the 1962 Malta Legislative Assembly [162]

OCCUPATION	POLITICAL PARTY				
	Nationalist	*Labour*	*Other*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Professional	24	9	5	38	76
Administrative	1	4	2	7	14
Skilled Labour	—	3	2	5	10
Total	25	16	9	50	100

The way a political candidate recruits a following depends upon 666
his status and party. All candidates recruit support through their relatives and friends; and all usually have a following in their own villages outside this circle of relatives. To get this, they must usually be successful politicians at the village level. It is for this reason that so many politicians are also presidents of local band and social clubs, and even of some of the lay apostolate societies. Next, every candidate must establish contact with the people in his electoral district outside the village. Since there are usually at least five candidates from each party standing in every district, each normally concentrates his campaign on one part of the district. He does this by making frequent rounds of all the band and social clubs and important wine shops in his territory. There he listens to complaints and requests and, in general, tries to establish a reputation as a generous and approachable person without committing himself to do specific favours. But above all, it is important for him to meet many people, for the Maltese voter does not like to give his first vote to a person he, or at least some member of his immediate family, does not know personally. Finally, all candidates tour their districts just before the election and make speeches.

Candidates who are doctors, lawyers, notaries, architects and 557
so on, have a decided advantage. As professionals, they already 662
have close personal contact with a large number of clients, many
of whom are bound to them by debts, or obligated to them for 666
help and favours. These obligations are important, for the Maltese villager does not like to receive something for nothing, and he

557 does not rest easily until he has repaid it. This is as true of
662 corporate groups such as the band clubs as it is of individuals
Frequently the financial circumstances of the client, or the very
666 nature of the favour, make it difficult or impossible for him to
meet his obligation. His vote, and those of his family, provide the
logical and accepted means to this end. This extends the relationship between patron and client to include that between politician and constituent.

66 Candidates who do not have the professional qualifications or high status necessary to recruit a following in this way are at a disadvantage. This is especially true for many of the Labour Party candidates, whose education and social standing at times compare unfavourably with those of their rivals. It was principally to overcome this handicap that the Labour Party sought to strengthen the party at the expense of individual candidates. It did this by limiting the system of political patronage which prevailed under previous governments and curbing the influence of the canvassers. In fact, the MLP officially forbade its candidates to employ canvassers. (Though, of course, many candidates have informal canvassers in their friends, relatives and clients.) At the same time, the party directed its propaganda at building up the image of the party and its leader. Labour supporters were constantly urged to vote for the party and not for individuals. By and large its campaign has been most successful. Its sympathizers not only vote for candidates who do not conform to the traditional image of the professional patron-politician, but they also vote across class lines, i.e. the teacher voting for an ex-dockyard fitter.

578 All candidates have to take into account the parochial rivalries
which often cut across their districts. This is particularly true of
621 the rivalry between the festa partiti. It has been noted that there
665 is often a political polarity between festa partiti in the same village,
666 and that sometimes the rivalry is so strong that partisans vote
against a political party simply because a leading member of the rival partit is a candidate for it. But the number of people who place loyalty to their festa partit before support of a political party is declining. Nonetheless, if parochial rivalry no longer determines which party will get the votes, it very often decides which of the candidates within the party will. Many people have assured me that it is almost unheard of for a member of a festa partit to vote for a member of the rival partit, even though both support the

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same political party. Thus a politician who is also a leading 621 member of a festa partit always asks a rival candidate from his 665 party to come to his village and canvass the party votes from the 666 opposite festa partit.

Most people believe that politicians trade promises to assist 621 festa partiti in return for votes. One well-known Labour politician who is the leader of the secondary festa partit in his own village, 66 made such a promise to gain the support of a neighbouring secondary partit that was facing eviction. In return for the votes of the partit, he offered to introduce a bill into the Legislative Assembly which would prevent landlords from evicting band clubs. The proposition appealed to the partit and the bill, which [671] gained a great deal of support for the Labour Party from other clubs as well, became law.[1] In fact, it was one of the first laws the MLP enacted after it was returned to office in 1955. Partly as a result of his promise of assistance, but also because of his keen interest in the problems of secondary festa partiti, this candidate became so identified with this neighbouring partit that he had to ask MLP candidates from the other side of the electoral district to bid for the Labour votes of the members of the opposite partit. He naturally asked them to canvass the Labour votes of the titular partit in his own village as well.

But perhaps the most famous case of this kind, and certainly the most conspicuous, took place in Gozo. For many years the supporters of the Leone partit in Rabat had been embarrassed by the fact that the statue of their beloved patron could not be taken in processions from the cathedral. There was simply no way for her to pass through the walls of the old citadel in which the cathedral was situated. The members of the partit wished to remedy this by breaching the wall and making a large gate, but the Antiquities Board strongly opposed the idea. Finally, an ambitious MLP candidate came to their rescue. He is alleged to have promised them help if they voted for him. Whether the deal for votes is true I do not know. I do know, however, that the politician was elected and succeeded in having a huge new gate torn in the historic citadel. That he did this at public expense, against the orders of his [626] Ministers and in defiance of the Antiquities Board, is evidence of his ingenuity and single-mindedness. Of course, it might also have

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[1] Act V, 1955: 'An Act to Amend the Reletting of Urban Property (Regulation) Ordinance.'

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been due to the amount of pressure that the partit brought to bear on him.

V

666 But popularity, close contact with the electorate and the support of his party and festa partit are not always enough to assure the success of a candidate. In order to understand why this is so, it is necessary to examine the electoral process. The system of voting which has been used in Malta since 1921 is proportional representation with the single transferable vote. The country is divided into ten electoral districts, each of which returns five representatives to the Legislative Assembly. The districts are based on population density, and each averages about 15,000 registered voters. A candidate need not be resident in a district in order to stand for election there, and he can stand in two districts at the same time. If he is successful in both, he relinquishes one seat, which is then filled by a member of his party chosen in a by-election. At the polling booth each voter is given a ballot paper listing all the candidates standing in the district, and is required to rank them by placing a number against the name of each, to indicate the order of preference. After the polling is finished, all the ballot boxes from a district are opened simultaneously and the ballot papers mixed. The votes are then counted. As each paper is opened, a single vote is credited to the candidate to whom the voter has given first preference. This is the first count. A candidate is declared elected if he receives a certain proportion of the total number of votes cast.[1] After the first count the candidate with the lowest number of votes is eliminated, and his votes are redistributed in accordance with the second preferences. The votes are then retotalled for the second count. The candidate with the lowest number of votes is again eliminated, and his votes are redistributed for the third count. The elimination of candidates and the redistribution of their votes continues until five candidates receive the required quota of votes.

Few candidates are elected on the first count, for the first preferences of the voters are generally distributed among a large number. First preferences reflect the popularity of a candidate and the size of his following, but the secondary votes he receives are

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[1] This quota, the Droop quota, is one plus the total number of votes cast, divided by the number of seats (5) plus one.

critical to his election. Successful politicians repeatedly stressed to 666
me the importance of carefully cultivating secondary preferences.
As one put it, 'The first preferences keep you from being eliminated, but the secondary ones elect you.' The votes a candidate 662
gets on subsequent counts are the result of his ability (i) to bargain 666
with other candidates for the secondary preferences of their followers, and (ii) to set up a network of personal canvassers to secure these secondary preferences from the supporters of candidates who do not wish to release them to him. One technique that all candidates use is to encourage popular village figures to stand as mock candidates for vote-getting purposes. The understanding is that the politician is to receive their secondary preferences if they are defeated, as they usually are, since they are not generally known outside their villages. In exchange for these votes, the professional politician generally offers to pay the mock candidate's election expenses, or if elected to procure some favour for him, or both. This technique has resulted in an extraordinary number of candidates contesting every election. In 1955 a total of 140 candidates from three parties contested 40 seats; in 1962 there
were 302 for six parties and 50 seats. Thus voters, many of whom [212]
are illiterate, are faced with a bewildering choice of candidates arranged alphabetically on ballots that are sometimes three feet long.

Another way for a candidate to gather secondary votes is to exchange secondary preferences with a rival. Occasionally a candidate tries to play both ends against the middle. That is, he promises his second votes to more than one of his rivals in exchange for theirs. This works very well for him if his rivals are eliminated before he is, but if he goes first, the official record of the distribution of his votes soon shows up his duplicity.

While this system of voting assures representation to all shades of political opinion, it works in several ways against the development of a strong two-party system. To begin with, it is ideally suited to the needs of the traditional patron-politician with his own localized, semi-private political organization of canvassers, mock candidates and clients. The present system of voting in combination with this organization assures him that many votes will be funnelled in to him. In the past these personal organizations ensured the re-election of politicians even if they changed parties. In fact a politician's supporters sometimes encourage him

662 666 to switch to the party with best chance of success, for they know that if he is elected, he will channel patronage to them, often at the expense of the rest of his electoral district.

578 66 This system of voting also encourages contests between candidates from the same party. Such contests, carried out in public and in the heat of a campaign, often create hostility among the leaders of the party, and weaken its solidarity.

Finally, because this proportional system makes it possible for popular minority candidates to be elected, it encourages dissident factions to hive off from the major parties and found new ones. 665 666 This seriously weakens the parent parties. Thus, although the only political division of real importance is that between the supporters of the Archbishop and those who favour Mintoff, there are now six political parties in Malta. It is not surprising therefore that the minority parties, and Miss Strickland's Progressive Constitutional Party in particular, are strongly in favour of retaining the present electoral system. Without it they would not be represented. The Malta Labour Party, which favours a strong two-party system, would prefer to see substituted an electoral system which would eliminate the smaller parties and strengthen the major parties. The Nationalist Party, although it would benefit from a change in the electoral system which would eliminate many of its rivals, has remained relatively silent on this point. This is because most of its leading members are patron-politicians of the old school. They owe their political life and the influence they command to the electoral system which has enabled them to build their own personal political organizations. The Nationalist Party is a party of respected and influential men, but in their strength lies its weakness. It is a party of politicians, rather than a politician's party. Dr. Borg Olivier, the Nationalist Prime Minister, is a first among equals; he does not lead his party in the sense that Mintoff leads the Malta Labour Party.

In short the Maltese system of proportional representation [578] facilitates the emergence of minority parties. It also weakens the major parties by promoting intra-party rivalry and helping to keep alive the tradition of local patron-politicians. These factors 642 66 militate against the development of a strong central government. It can be argued forcefully that Malta, which is facing a critical period in its economic and constitutional development, is now in greater need of a strong central government than ever before. It

would therefore seem that as this need becomes more pronounced, 642
and as the Maltese voter gains in sophistication, there will be 66
increasing pressure to change the present system of voting to one
which strengthens the national government rather than weakens it.

VI

In addition to personal kin ties, patrons, political parties and 664
politicians, pressure groups provide yet another way by which the
villager can influence authorities outside his community. By
bringing interest groups from one village into contact with
similar groups in other villages, they permit united action for the
resolution of common problems. The band clubs and football [575]
clubs have active national associations. Village lay apostolate [794]
societies have their own national bodies as well as the Diocesan
Coordinating Junta, a powerful body which has now become one
of the strongest forces opposed to the MLP. In view of the important part it and the other Church societies played in defeating
the Labour Party in the recent election, they will probably be able
to provide a channel of contact with the Ministers and anti-Labour MLA's. Some have already begun to apply pressure to
obtain playgrounds and public conveniences for their respective
villages.

Even the festa partiti have their associations. The Association 621
of Secondary Feasts works to obtain new Church privileges for its 664
members. It is opposed by the Association of Titular Feasts, which 664
has formally advised the Archbishop that if he grants privileges to 794
the secondary partiti, its members will stop celebrating the titular
feasts.

Finally, there are also a number of trade unions. Though most 467
have no village level organization or representatives, and play no 664
direct part in village politics, some, in particular the General
Workers Union and the Gozo Agricultural Co-operative Society,
a large proportion of whose members live in the villages, play an
important part in national politics. They thus provide another
channel through which persons at the village level can influence
decisions at the national level.

[p.134]

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

128 This study has been concerned with Maltese village politics. It has looked at the ways in which persons and groups compete to influence the outcome of disputes and community decisions in accordance with their own interests. In particular, it has examined the nature of the groups, the issues between them and the means by which they influenced their outcome. The various groups involved varied from parishes to political parties, and from associations to factions. The issues between them, though they also varied, all had one thing in common: in one way or another they involved the Church. Whether the competition between parishes for the title of Basilica, between festa partiti over their saints or between the supporters of Mintoff and their opponents, all were somehow related to the Church. Much of the political action we studied involved attempts to influence its decisions.

175 It may now be asked why the Church is so intimately involved in political activity at all levels. Part of the answer lies in history, 795 for in the absence of any form of civil government at the village level, the Church represented the interests of the people to the secular authorities governing the islands: first to the Knights of St. John, and later to the British. Thus for centuries the Church played the important political role of defender of the interests of the people. Its importance in the political and its dominance in the 795 religious sphere reinforced each other. It is not strange that at the village level the Church controls the outcome of many of the issues considered of importance to the community, since for centuries a village has had little corporate reality outside the religious framework. That is, it only assumes some semblance of [794] group solidarity or unity as a parish. As a parish its inhabitants own property, meet for worship, celebrate feasts, have a collective leader in their parish priest and a common symbol and patron in their titular saint. As members of a village, considered as a community outside the structure of the Church, they have and can do none of these things.

none of these things. This study of village politics has thus been 795
largely concerned with parish politics. In this field the Church is the arbiter of all issues of policy. It is therefore the authority that hands down decisions on matters which concern the community; it is also the authority against which disappointed petitioners rebel.

II

At the national level, the picture is similar. Since the Church for 578
so long has represented the interests of a solidly Catholic people 659
vis-à-vis the State, it has always exercised considerable influence, if 665
not authority, in matters of national policy. Hence some groups 795
have often disagreed with its decisions. Both during the late 'twenties and early 'thirties and more recently, political parties have rebelled against its authority. Their rebellions have given rise to conflicts that have divided the country.

Though the Maltese do not regard this conflict as permanent, it would seem from its recurrence during Malta's only two periods of sustained representative government that it is, in fact, inherent in the social system. That is, it has followed almost inevitably upon the introduction of elected government into a society linked as closely with the Church as Malta is. Issues of national policy, which in countries where the Church is not such an integral part of society would be regarded as purely political and devoid of religious content, in Malta become matters on which the Church feels obliged to make known its views. Disputes arise when the views of a political party differ from those held by the Church. The party then accuses the Church of interfering in politics, and is in turn charged by the Church with being anti-clerical. Political issues become religious ones, or, seen from another point of view, religious ones become political. But in the dispute which follows, people from all walks of life are forced to make a choice between Church and political party. The resulting conflict divides the islands into bitterly opposed factions.

The persistence of this conflict, of course, is partly dependent upon the continuing survival of a political party at variance with the Church. In the past this was Strickland's Constitutional Party; at present it is the Malta Labour Party; in the future it may be yet another. The conflict which divided the country thirty years ago diminished after Strickland made peace with the Church; it

578 disappeared when the old Constitutional Party died out in the long
period of Governor's rule and the war that followed. At present,
659 however, the MLP shows no signs of weakening. On the contrary,
665 it is as tightly united and strong today as it has ever been. Thus
795 this conflict will in all probability continue to divide Malta and
Gozo in the foreseeable future, though its intensity may fluctuate.

It is well to remember that this study was carried out at a time
114 when the hostility between these two camps was at its peak. Some
578 of the examples that have been given, therefore, are extreme cases
659 which would have been quite inconceivable even ten years ago.
It is also possible that ten years hence they will appear equally
665 strange. But this does not detract from the relevance of the
795 analysis, for if the examples given are ephemeral, the principles
which they illustrate are permanent.

III

In many respects the rebellion of a political party against the
578 authority of the Bishop is similar to that of a festa partit against its
659 parish priest. There is an important difference, however; the festa
665 partit can appeal an unfavourable decision of its parish priest to
795 the Archbishop. If the latter rules against the partit, it can bring
pressure to bear that may result in the transfer of the parish priest.
[626] A political party, on the other hand, cannot appeal the unfavourable
decisions of the Bishop to any local authority, for in his
diocese his word is law. Though in theory such disputes can be referred to the Holy See, in practice, as in the case of Strickland's conflict with the Church, they fester for so long that by the time Rome is brought in reconciliation is difficult, if not impossible. If in practice a political party cannot appeal to a higher authority, it can even less agitate for the replacement of the Bishop. Thus disputes remain unresolved and the supporters of the political party become progressively more anti-clerical. Finally, their anti-clericalism is equated with anti-Catholicism, and their rebellion against authority with revolt against the social order.

But is it in fact a revolution? It is important to draw a clear distinction between rebellion and revolution.[1] In the case of the former, people may turn against a leader personally, and may

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[1] Cf. Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 28.

even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the 578
office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only
the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social 654
order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has 665
strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in 795
insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as though he were bent on overthrowing the established social order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of countries which have fought successful battles against the Church. Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are
beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, 205
'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the 656
Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose
by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its 668
way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

IV

But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly 578
united communities, life goes on and the social order does not 621
disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively
little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the 665
Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often 794
caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

578 there have been remarkably few of the overtly hostile attacks,
common when festa partiti are registering disagreement. What
621 accounts for the qualitative difference in the violence between the
665 groups involved in these two types of conflict? What prevents the
794 national political conflict from degenerating into widespread
violence, from destroying normal relations, thus making
shambles of the social order? Is it merely the presence of a large,
efficient police force?

In point of fact, there are many institutions and ties that operate
578 to exert pressure on the opponents to reach a settlement, and so
621 prevent the dispute from destroying the social system. The most
626 important of the factors that inhibit the spread of conflict is the
existence of persons whose loyalties are divided between the conflicting
665 sides. Such persons have a vested interest in the main-
795 tenance of peace and limitation of the area of conflict.[1]

The considerable difference between the disputes of festa partiti with the Church, and the conflict between the Church and the Labour Party, has been stressed. The disputes involving festa partiti are localized, their course is highly formalized, there are acknowledged peace-makers: they are clearly rebellions in the sense that Gluckman uses. These disputes are also tightly circumscribed by customary safeguards which keep them from spreading and channel them through set stages until they have been resolved. It is patterned action which, in spite of its occasional violence, does not threaten the position of the Church. In contrast, the conflict between the MLP and the Church is not localized, it is not circumscribed by a body of custom which keeps it from spreading, and there are no acknowledged peace-makers who can mediate between the disputants. Not only is it inherent, it is irresoluble. There is an air of revolt about it and if it were allowed to run to the violence of some of the clashes between festa partiti and the Church, it could throw the country into civil war. The violence of the festa partiti does not threaten the social order, that between supporters of the Church and the MLP would.

What keeps the conflict from becoming more violent are the thousands of persons who have their allegiances divided between the Church and the Labour Party. All these people work to keep the conflict from spreading, if not actually to make peace. Who are they? They are the countless persons whose families have been

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[1] *Ibid., passim.*

divided by the conflict, the office-holders who have laid politics 578
aside to preserve the unity of the clubs for which they are respon- 621
sible, the many who have sought to avoid open commitments to
either side, and to remain in contact with both. They are the 626
people who, in spite of all that has been preached and said against 665
them by both sides, still look to both the Archbishop and Mintoff
as their leaders, the one in the religious sphere, the other in the
political. They see nothing inconsistent in hanging pictures of the
two side by side in their houses. All have a vested interest in
peace; and all work in their own way to keep the conflict from
spreading and destroying completely their customary way of life.

At one time the entire civil service worked to prevent the 578
spread of conflict in much the same way. When the Labour 626
Party took over the government many civil servants, forced by
the nature of their office to carry out the orders of the party in 647
power, were obliged to administer policies which were contrary 665
to the declared interests of the Church. Their loyalties were thus 795
often divided between the two. Some of the higher civil servants
carried messages between the two sides. Others called at the Curia
merely to assure the Church that they implemented unwillingly
the controversial policies. Yet others acted quietly in their own
various ways to reduce the tension between government and
Church that made their own positions so uncomfortable. Civil
servants at all levels thus worked to keep the Church and the
Labour Government in touch with each other and exerted con-
siderable pressure to prevent the relations between the two from
deteriorating even more. But their conciliatory influence came to
an end when the Labour Party resigned. It is not surprising, there-
fore, that with the removal of this bridge between the MLP and
the Church, the conflict became more intense almost immediately.

The two sides are now linked together only by the many per- 578
sons with conflicting allegiances. Yet their ability to keep the 626
conflict from spreading is slowly being reduced by the uncom- 665
promising position of the Church which is forcing them to take
sides openly. As these persons reluctantly do so, the important 795
cross links that tie the two combatants together are snapped off
one by one, and the conflict becomes progressively more intense.

V

578 What of the future? It would seem likely that the present conflict
665 will continue. The dispute between the Church and the
Labour Party has become institutionalized in many villages
795 through their respective associations and social clubs. The major
political activity at the village level will thus most likely continue
to be a reflection of that at the national level. It will be a dispute
between those who wish to preserve the identity of the village as
a parish, with the dependence upon the Church that it implies,
and the secular elements who wish to establish the village as a
political unit apart from the Church. But there will also be other
578 conflicting groups, such as the festa partiti, which will continue
621 to manipulate this political division to their own advantage. The
665 leader of one of the secondary festa partiti indicated to me how
795 this may take place. He was discussing the recent attempts of the
Association of Secondary Feasts to increase the scale of its members'
[626] feasts, and concluded by remarking, 'If the Archbishop
doesn't increase our feast this year, ninety per cent of the club will
vote for Mintoff in the coming election.' Thus in the future, as in
the past, the Church will continue to be one of the central actors
in the drama of Maltese village politics.

[p.141]

Appendix A

Festa and Band Club Partiti

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	Titular Feast	*Band Club*	*Secondary Feast*	*Band Club*
A. FESTA AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
GHAXAQ	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
GUDJA[1]	O/L of the Rosary	'La Stella'	O/L of Consolation	'O/L of Consolation'
KIRKOP	St. Leonard	'St. Leonard'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
LUQA	St. Andrew	'St. Andrew'	O/L of Consolation	'Union'
MQABBA	The Assumption	'King George V'	O/L of the Lily	'Lily'
QRENDI	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	O/L of Lourdes	'Lourdes'
RABAT	St. Paul	'Count Roger'	St. Joseph[2] (Franciscans)	'L'Isle Adam'
VITTORIOSA	St. Lawrence	'Duke of Edinburgh'	St. Dominic[2] (Dominicans)	'Prince of Wales'
ŻEBBUĠ	St. Philip	'St. Philip' 'St. Philip's Festivities and Social Club'	St. Joseph	'De Rohan'
ŻURRIEQ	St. Catherine	'St. Catherine' -	O/L of Mount Carmel	'Queen Victoria'
B. INTER PARISH AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
QORMI	St. George	'St. George'	St. Sebastian	'Pinto'
RABAT, GOZO	The Assumption	'Leone'	St. George	'La Stella'
SLIEMA	Stella Maris	'Stella Maris'	Sacred Heart	'Sliema'
VALLETTA	St. Paul	'La Vallette'	St. Dominic[3] (Dominicans)	'King's Own'

[776]

[1] Both saints are secondary; the titular is the Assumption of Our Lady.

[2] The devotion is centred on a church in the parish that is run by regular clergy. The rivalry is thus classified midway between A and B.

[3] Though this is the main feast, the titular of the parish is Our Lady of Porto Salvo.

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C. BAND CLUB RIVALRY ONLY

BIRKIRKARA	St. Helen	'St. Helen'	X	'Duke of Connaught'
HAMRUN	St. Gajetan	'St. Gajetan'	X	'St. Joseph'
MELLIEHA	Nativity of Our Lady	'La Vittoria'	X	'Imperial'
ŻABBAR[1]	O/L of Grace	'Maria M. Gratiae'	(St. Michael)	'St. Michael'
ŻEJTUN	St. Catherine	'Beland'	X	'Żejtun'

D. FESTA RIVALRY EXISTED FORMERLY

BALZAN	The Annunciation	'St. Gabriel'	St. Valentine	X
DINGLI	The Assumption	X	National Feast on September 8	'Dingli Club'[2]
GHARGHUR	St. Bartholomew	'St. Bartholomew'[2]	St. Joseph	X
LIJA	Transfiguration of Our Lord	'Pius X'	St. Aloysius	X
NAXXAR	Nativity of Our Lady	'Peace'	O/L of Doctrine	X
SAFI	The Conversion of St. Paul	'St. Paul'[2]	O/L of the Rosary	X
SIĠĠIEWI	St. Nicholas	'St. Nicholas'	St. Joseph	X

[1] The external feast of the secondary saint was suppressed.

[2] Social and festa club without a band.

[p.143]

Appendix B

Extracts from the 1962 Electoral Manifesto of the Malta Labour Party[1] 665 666

The Malta Labour Party reaffirm their democratic socialist principles which do not run counter to Christian beliefs and solemnly subscribe to:

(1) the right of every nation, however small, to govern itself and to determine its own international relations in its own best interest and for the furtherance of its own progress and prosperity.

(2) freedom of conscience. This ensures for every citizen the right to exercise his own religious beliefs without hindrance and at the same time to fulfil his civic duties without pseudo-religious interference.

(3) the equality of all citizens before the law of the land. This implies not only the adherence to the Charter of Human Rights but also the abolition of medieval privileges which have retarded our own social and economic progress. Any interference with the right of a democratically elected majority to implement the people's mandate is a crime.

(4) equal opportunities to all citizens. This entails freedom of speech at public meetings, in the press, on the air, universal suffrage, free compulsory education, full employment and adequate social services from the cradle to the grave. Whilst the right to private ownership is by no means denied, the state must exercise the positive function of preventing any individual or group of individuals from dominating the heights of the nation's economy and dictating living standards to their fellow citizens. The Malta Labour Party firmly believe in the right of the people to have the final say in the nation's vital means of production. All forms

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[1] Source: *The Voice of Malta*, 7 and 14 January 1962.

665 of Co-operative and Social ownership should therefore be encouraged in order to curb the excesses of unbridled capitalism.

666 (5) Charter of the United Nations and the equality of all the human races – black, white or coloured. In particular Maltese Labour believe in the right of every nation to choose the method of government and the social system most consonant with its economic environment and its special political and social stage of development. The division of the world into two huge power blocs, the one intent on destroying the other, militates against world peace and the brotherhood of man. Whilst therefore communism with its anti-democratic suppression of freedom of conscience, freedom of association and other restrictive human rights earns Labour's unequivocal condemnation, the means chosen so far to combat it – namely nuclear weapons and military alliances are equally reprehensible. Labour believe in a reinvigorated United Nation's Organization able to enforce the principles embodied in the Charter through an international police force.

II. INDEPENDENCE

648 665 666 Since time immemorial our islands have been dominated by foreign powers. Our people have not therefore been the custodians of these fundamental human rights. On the contrary our social, political and economic institutions have been at the mercy of foreign masters who have fashioned them to suit their own requirements. . . .

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[Title Page]

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE ETHNOLOGY OF MALTA AND GOZO.

By L. H. Dudley Buxton.

(Department of Human Anatomy, Oxford.)

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[The figures in brackets in the text refer to Appendix I, Literature.]

I.—Introduction.

12 [101] [14] This report refers to a part of the material collected in December, 1920, and January, 1921, by an anthropological expedition from Oxford. The expedition was made possible by the generosity of Sir Alfred Mond and a grant from the Mary Ewart Trust. Most of the measurements on crania, on the women, and on about a hundred men and women at Gozo, were done by Mrs. Jenkinson and Miss Moss working together. Miss Russell measured long bones and about half the children.[1] The remaining measurements were done by the present writer. As far as possible all the skeletal material was examined by the present writer, who is ultimately responsible for the sexing. Mr. Hort was occupied in working at the archæological problems. I am indebted to Mrs. Jenkinson and Miss Moss for working out a number of indices on the living, and to Miss Russell for help in tabulation.

We all wish to express our thanks to the Governor of Malta (Field-Marshal Lord Plumer), who gave us official support, took a great personal interest in our work, and smoothed away many of the difficulties; and to the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Robertson. Dr. Zammit, the Rector of Malta University and Curator of the Museum, set his unrivalled knowledge of the island at our disposal, and gave us every possible help. Our thanks are also due to various members of the Department of Public Health, who sacrificed busy days in order to take us into villages where they happened to be known; to Count Caruana Gatto, for instructing me in the botany of Malta; and to numerous other friends who did everything in their power to enable us to collect data in Malta.

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[1] It is hoped to utilise the material dealing with the long bones and with the children in subsequent papers.

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In Oxford, Professor Arthur Thomson has set the resources of his Department, 12
including a calculating machine, at my disposal, and has helped me continually with advice and kindly criticism. My former teachers—Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. Henry Balfour, Mr. E. T. Leeds, and Professor J. L. Myres—have accorded me in many conversations the combined privileges of a colleague and a pupil. I fear that I have, albeit unwittingly, often pirated their ideas. My colleague, Miss Blackwood, has devoted the greater part of a Long Vacation to helping to finish and prepare this paper for the press before my leaving England, and has performed the laborious task of looking over proofs in my absence.

II.—Geography.

The Maltese archipelago consists of the islands of Malta, Gozo, Comino, Comi- 131
netto and Filfola. The two latter are uninhabited, and Comino is practically 0o0
untenanted. We are therefore only concerned with the islands of Malta and Gozo.

Malta lies about 60 miles south of Sicily and 180 miles north of the African coast. Its maximum length is 18½ miles, its maximum breadth 8¼ miles, and its area 95 square miles. Gozo is considerably smaller, and has an area of about 20 square miles.

Geologically, the islands are Late Eocene (3). The eastern and most thickly 133
inhabited part of Malta consists of globigerina limestone, which overlies lower coralline limestone; in the western part these beds are covered with beds of greensand and blue clay or marl, over which lies the upper coralline limestone. The rock is everywhere extremely friable, and is perpetually disintegrating under the influence of wind and rain. Except in one or two places the soil is seldom more than a few inches deep.

The surrounding seas are warm and shallow; a rise of 50 fathoms would connect Malta and Sicily, and a rise of 200 fathoms would join North Africa and Europe and include Malta as a craggy bastion. The shallowest sea, however, lies more to the west. Malta should, therefore, be more correctly described as an outlying pier of an old land bridge rather than part of the land bridge itself. It seems probable that slow, tectonic movements are actually in progress to-day, and that the archipelago is sinking; but it is extremely unlikely that any men of whom we possess traces at present, with the doubtful exception of a few fragments from the Weid Dalam, came to Malta when it was still part of the mainland.

The island is tilted from south to north. The cliffs along the southern coast are high and precipitous, and some of the loftiest parts of the island are close to the shore.

The undercliff here forms a pleasant contrast to the less fertile parts of Malta. 137
Carib trees are not uncommon, potatoes are cultivated on terraces, and the tiny 312
fields are irrigated, as elsewhere in Malta, by little runlets conducted along channels

137 312 made of open stone pipes. On the rocks, in January, there was a wild profusion of flowering heath, of a species akin to our heather (*Erica*). Where the water overflows, there are tiny reed beds, but always smaller and less luxuriant than those of the Eastern Mediterranean. In some places on these cliffs the charlock appears to have competed successfully with *Oxalis cernua*.

133 The north coast is generally more shelving. There are no mountains, but the whole surface is cut by deep ravines, which are for the most part dry, but which may contain as much as three feet of water during a spate; the mouths of some of these valleys form small fiords. The western part of the island, which contains the upper coralline beds, contrasts strongly with the eastern. The hills are higher, the valleys bigger and more rounded, and the country is less parched, owing to the underlying marls. The scenery of Gozo resembles that of Western Malta, but the cliffs are higher and grander, the fields are larger, and the country is greener.

241 137 Owing to the large population every foot of soil is precious, and the whole of Malta is parcelled out into innumerable tiny fields, some hardly more than a few yards square, each being separated from the next by a stone wall. Olives and caribs grow as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, but for the most part they are limited to the courses of the streams; oranges flourish where there is sufficient water to irrigate them, but in Malta one looks in vain for the abundant orange groves of Sicily, or the pleasant tangled hillsides of Northern Cyprus. The myrtle is almost absent, the numbers of wild myrtle bushes can nearly be counted on the fingers of a man's hands. The flora (4) generally is most akin to that of Sicily; 94 per cent. of the Maltese species are found in that island, 91 per cent. in Africa, and 90·5 per cent. in the Levant (5). There are three things which are predominant in all the scenery of Malta: stone walls, goats, and the yellow flowers of the virulent *Oxalis cernua*, which not even the goats will eat.

132 Owing to the small size of Malta and the nature of its surface, the weather is dominated by two factors—the sea and the direction of the wind. The mean annual temperature is 66·6° F., the mean annual rainfall is 21·6 inches, precipitation normally occurring on 81 days. The mean relative humidity for seven years is 79·1 per cent. The coldest month is February (mean temperature 52·9° F.); the hottest August (77·9° F.). During June and July practically no rain falls, and in August the mean is only 0·13 mm. (6).

361 In working out constants, I have divided the islands into two areas—Urban and Rural. This is the division in the census (31), and corresponds very closely to a marked difference in the conditions under which the population lives. The former includes the fortified towns and suburbs, Valletta, Floriana, Cottoneria, Senglea, Conspicua, Sliema, St. Julian, Pieta Misida, Hamrum, Birchircara, Curmi, Paula, Tarxien, Zabbar, Calcara and Rabato; the latter, the more isolated villages in the country.

The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically continuous inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes. 361 [161] 114 245 366

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by the whole population. 369 489 582

III.—History.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of undercutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age. By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus. These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water. 133 172

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Neandertal man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual characters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with 114 172

114 172 authenticated material, it is hardly possible to state definitely that Neandertal man was living in Malta at the time when the rivers were large and the pygmy hippopotamus abundant. It is further remarkable that in a deposit which appears to be admirably suited for the preservation of bones, only small fragments of man have been found. In such a dry climate as that of Malta, cracks may have occurred in the floor of a cave, down which tiny fragments of bones may easily have fallen. There are some gravel terraces in the neighbourhood of Zebbug, which should certainly be explored for traces of Palæolithic man in the island.

172 The peculiar form of the Maltese sanctuaries has been discussed with great wealth of detail by Professor Zammit, with special reference to the site at Hal Tarxien. He is inclined to believe that they belong to the Neolithic period. There is certainly an entire absence of metal in the "Neolithic" stratum, and the stone masonry has not been worked with metal tools. The development of pottery, however, suggests a Late Neolithic or even an Eneolithic stage, not improbably of comparatively late date. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the buildings were extremely holy places, and there are numerous parallel examples from other parts of the Mediterranean which indicate that under certain conditions metal, or at a later date iron, was tabu in particular sanctuaries. We know nothing at present about the domestic culture of these megalith builders, and it is unsafe to argue from their sanctuaries that they were unacquainted with the use of bronze. The period may be provisionally termed "Malta Local Neolithic."

Although the majority of the material found at Hal Saflieni[1] is Neolithic, a number of undoubtedly Bronze Age wares of coarse types, and fragments of large vessels similar to the cremation urns of the Hal Tarxien Bronze Age period were found there. In spite of the very large number of bones which I examined, however, I did not find any definite traces of cremation; and with such evidence as I possess at present, I think it is justifiable to conclude that we are dealing with material anterior to the Bronze Age at Hal Tarxien, *i.e.* belonging to the Malta Local Neolithic period. Some bodies were undoubtedly buried *in situ*, but the majority appear to have been brought there, possibly from various parts of the island; probably they were exhumed and stored in the Hypogæum. The fractures on many of the bones and the comparative absence of complete long bones, suggests exhumation, a practice still widely distributed in the Mediterranean.

The very close resemblance between the incised "Neolithic" ware from Hal Tarxien and that from Santa Verna in Gozo, suggests that at this time there must

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[1] The Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni consists of a series of artificial caves hollowed out underground. In addition to numerous small objects, statuettes and sherds, these caves contained a very large number of human bones. The carvings, which are dolmenic in form, and the spirals in red ochre on the roof, have inclined Professor Zammit to believe that this is a sanctuary. Whatever its true purpose, the Hypogæum certainly forms an extensive ossuary of "Malta Local Neolithic" material.

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have been considerable intercommunication at least between these two places and admits the possibility of some of the bones in the Hypogæum coming from a distance.

A careful examination was made of the bones found in the Neolithic stratum at Hal Tarxien. These were all, as far as could be made out, those of domestic animals, the ox and the sheep predominating.[1] A number were either calcined, or had the semi-calcined appearance of bones which had formed part of a roast joint. It seems reasonable to follow Professor Zammit's suggestion that a number of these bones were those of sacrificial animals. No trace of human bones was discovered in the stratum of this period at Hal Tarxien. The very big dust deposit which occurs on top of the Neolithic stratum suggests a rather dryer climate than occurs at present. If the climatic conditions had been similar throughout the ages, there appears to be no reason why such a deposit should not also have occurred at other times. Without laying undue stress on what must necessarily be a hazardous hypothesis, there are slight indications from osteological evidence, as we shall hope to show later, that there was a difference in climate at the time when Hal Tarxien was built and modern days.

The ground plan of Hal Tarxien and the other sanctuaries remains to be explained. Speaking generally, each sanctuary may be described as a series of three consecutive apses growing successively smaller. At the end of the third apse, in what appears to have been the holy place, there is usually a small dolmen-shaped cist, sometimes with a hole on top and in front. In such cists large numbers of animal bones have been found. It is suggested by Professor Myres that such a plan is the final outcome of the *allée couverte*.

The general dolmen-like features of a number of the recesses of some of the sanctuaries, and of the stonework in the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni, together with the terra-cotta objects which have been found, suggest that the megalith builders were familiar with dolmens, of which there are examples in the island; and it seems just possible that in Maltese soil the structure, which elsewhere developed into the most elaborate form of chambered barrow, may have become the three-apsed shrine. It must be remembered that it would be impossible in Malta to build any form of barrow, owing to the absence of surface soil.

It is interesting to note that except for certain differences in the form of the nose, the people that we associate with the dolmen culture in Western Europe closely resemble the people buried in the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni.

The human remains of Bronze Age date are unfortunately scanty, and are limited to calcined fragments from Hal Tarxien. The finds at Bahria, a site which has not yet been properly excavated, suggest a settlement of foreign immigrants to a place which, as the name implies, is one of the few spots in that part of the island where the sea is easy of access. This may have been the first introduction

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[1] Some dogs' bones were found, possibly of doubtful antiquity.

172 of metals to the island. Bronze Age pottery is less highly finished than the Neolithic ware, but although the two are certainly distinct, there are transitional forms.

From an ethnological point of view it would appear that the Bronze Age, or the end of the Neolithic Age, was in many places a crucial period. It is difficult, however, to parallel this in Malta by linking up the osteological and the archæological material. As we shall hope to show later, the Megalithic people in Malta appear to be very distinct from the later inhabitants, and to present certain Armenoid characteristics. Sir Arthur Evans[1] has pointed out that there was a western colonial movement from the mainland of Greece towards the close of the period which he has termed Late Minoan III. There is evidence of such a movement in cemeteries near Syracuse. Up to the present, however, there is no evidence of Malta being connected with the East at so early a date. It has further been suggested that at some period in the early history of the island a complete destruction of the old population took place.

The sherds from Kallilia appear to be similar in fabric and design to those of the Hal Tarxien Bronze Age. During the so-called "Phœnician" period we have cultural evidence of connection with the Ægean and North Africa, and it would appear that then, if not earlier, the final shaping of the present population was taking place, and that the mixed "island people" of the Eastern Mediterranean were sufficiently firmly established to swamp any further immigration of invaders belonging to a pure Mediterranean strain.

[144] The Punic influence, though culturally no doubt of importance, does not seem to have altered the population physically, and though at this time the connection with North Africa was undoubtedly close, it was not sufficiently strong to counteract the change wrought by the sea rovers from the islands, and to restore a type similar to that of Neolithic times.

175 648 Until the Roman occupation at the end of the third century B.C. Malta appears to have been closely connected with North Africa. Rome held the islands as a military or semi-military outpost until nearly the end of the second century A.D. The period usually known as "Roman" in Malta should be more correctly described as Romano-Maltese; although Rome was the ruling power and much Roman culture was introduced, there are few references to Malta in Roman literature, and from an ethnological point of view the island was certainly working out its own salvation.

The archipelago was given practical autonomy and made a municipium about A.D. 177. On the division of the Empire, in A.D. 395, the islands were taken over by the Eastern Empire, to which they were certainly ethnologically akin. Invasions of barbarians may possibly have occurred, but when the Arabs captured the islands in 870 they found a Byzantine garrison in occupation. Robert of Sicily, with a small handful of Knights, took over Malta in 1090. The islands became part of the kingdom of Sicily, and shared its varying fortunes till they were ceded to the Knights of St. John by the Emperor Charles V in 1530. 175 648

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[1] "Prehistoric Tombs of Cnossos," *Archæologia*, LIX, p. 107.

For the next three centuries the history of the Knights is so intimately concerned with the history of Malta that we must at least briefly consider the general position of the Order.

The Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem were finally ejected from the coast of Syria at the end of the thirteenth century. They occupied Rhodes in 1308. This island formed their home for over two hundred years. Early in 1523 they were driven from Rhodes, taking with them 4000 Rhodians. Given a temporary home at Viterbo by Pope Clement VII, a member of their own Order, they finally received the island of Malta from the Emperor Charles V under conditions of nominal feudal submission, to wit, the Grand Master to send a falcon to the Viceroy of Sicily every All Souls' Day.

The Order had an international character, and in the sixteenth century was divided into eight "Languages" or "Langues," according to the origin of the Knights, namely, Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, England, Germany and Castile. The English "Language" was suppressed in 1540, previous to which time many of the Knights who had been in England (the Grand Priory was situated in Clerkenwell) had either fled to Malta or been executed. The fiction of an English "Language" was, however, kept, and as late as 1782, on the foundation of a Bavarian "Language," this latter was united to the old English "Langue," which of course in reality no longer existed, and called the Anglo-Bavarian. The dominant element in the population of the Knights was certainly French, and the three French "Langues" —Provence, Auvergne and France—were certainly, both ethnologically and politically, the most important. The latter aspect was reflected in the great number of French Grand Masters.

For a generation after the occupation of the island by the Knights, Malta gradually succeeded in establishing an important position in the Mediterranean. There seems little doubt that men like Strozzi, La Vallette, Charles of Lorraine, and [567] de Romegas were practically pirates, at least as far as their treatment of the Turk was concerned, and at this time a very large number of Turkish slaves, presumably chiefly of Negro origin, were introduced into the island. In 1564 Suliman the Magnificent decided to attack Malta. The story of the siege of Malta in 1565 is a magnificent passage in the history of this very distinguished Order of Chivalry. It only concerns us so far as it resulted in a reorganization of the fortifications of the island and the building of the great city of Valletta, called after the Grand Master of the Order, Jean Parisot de la Vallette. It is important for our purpose to remember that when the Turks were eventually driven from the island, the Order had only 600 men capable of bearing arms who had survived the struggle.

175 169 344 The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

175 161 361 It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is comparatively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

175 648 The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

175 433 464 During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

175 648 The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediæval Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—Demography.

161 174 It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogæum is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Miège (27) suggests a population of 29,659. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

population as 20,000 in 1582. In 1632, 50,113 is given, and in 1667, 53,000. In 1741, 161 110,000 is the population, which is said to have increased to 114,000 in 1798. The 174 figures for Malta and Gozo in 1826 are stated to be 119,736. But the first reliable figure is 115,945 in 1828. In 1881 the population was 132,129 in Malta and 17,653 in Gozo; in 1901, 184,742, and 1911, 211,564.

In regard to the proportion of the sexes there were in 1911 110 bachelors to 162 100 spinsters, 98 husbands to 100 wives, and 44 widowers to 100 widows. In round thousands, the males over 5 years of age were engaged in the following occupations: 7 in professional, 2 domestic, 19 commercial, 12 agricultural, 21 industrial, and 31 were unproductive and unoccupied; the last figure is rather misleading as it includes at least four separate classes—children, aged, people of independent income, and incapables of all classes. The data in regard to foreigners is the most interesting for our purpose, as it gives an insight into the amount of mixture that is taking place. There were at the last census (1911) (31) 854 ♂ and 1,003 ♀ foreigners in the island. Of these 3 ♀ were English, the remainder were made up as follows: 77 ♂ and 45 ♀ from Africa (apart from 1 ♂ and 2 ♀, all these came from Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria); 479 ♂ and 499 ♀ from Sicily; 156 ♂ and 253 ♀ from other parts of Italy; 36 ♂ and 39 ♀ came from Greece, and 11 ♂ were classified as Asiatics. This does not, of course, include the garrison, a large floating population of which the figures are uncertain, as they depend so much on the ships which happen to be in harbour at the time when the census is taken. The increase of population 161 between 1828 and 1911 is of interest. That of Malta increased by 88·25 per cent. of the total, and that of Gozo by 45·31 per cent. The increase in Malta was nearly five times as great in the suburban area as in the other areas combined.[1]

The density per square mile in 1911 was 1884 (Malta 2167, and Gozo 879). The density in the south-east corner of Malta is, however, greater than would appear from these figures. If the island be divided along a line west of Gargur, Naxaro, Musta, Notabile, Rabato, Crendi, the areas east and west of such a line would be almost equal in size. The eastern area, however, contained in 1911 183,132 inhabitants, and the western 5737. Practically all the Neolithic remains occur in the [172] eastern area, suggesting that the centres of population have not changed appreciably since Neolithic times.

V.—Material and Methods.

The skeletal material examined is conveniently grouped in four series: (i) Bones 126 from the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic); (ii) Miscellaneous ancient 141 skeletons, chiefly Romano-Maltese; (iii) Specimens from the Chapel of Bones (Late Mediæval); (iv) Modern bones. Only in case (ii) were any complete skeletons available.

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[1] Since this article was written the results of the Census of 1921 have become available. [162] They are as follows:—Malta, 189,697 (92,127 ♂, 97,570 ♀); Gozo, 22,561 (10,618 ♂, 11,943 ♀). Total for the two islands, 212,258, an increase of only 694 since 1911, as against 26,822 in the previous decade.

126 141 172; (i) The Hal Saflieni bones (whose antiquity we have already discussed) are in a very bad condition; few long bones are complete. After sorting through several tons of fragments, measurements were taken on such bones as were sufficiently well preserved. A number of astragali were brought to England for more detailed examination later. The Hal Saflieni crania, which had previously been examined by Bradley, were re-measured.

(ii) There are in the Museum of Valletta and in the Roman villa at Notabile a small series of ancient skulls and some complete skeletons, most of which were excavated by Dr. Zammit. These can be exactly dated by archæological evidence, but are unfortunately too few to warrant the drawing of any definite conclusions.

126 141 (iii) The Chapel of Bones is a large, fantastically arranged ossuary. It is alleged to contain the bones of patients dying in the hospital of the Knights of St. John, and probably dates from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are several remarkable features about these bones, first the number of aged persons represented, suggesting generally the type of population which finds its way into the casual ward of a modern institution, secondly the almost entire absence of the female sex; among 500 skulls selected at random, about 8 per cent. only were sexed as ?♂, ?♀, or ♀; these have not been included in the final count. It is, of course, quite possible that the number of female skulls is even less, but there was an orphanage attached to the hospital, and some children's bones were found in the ossuary, which may contain a few bones of nuns. The method of selection—for the number of bones is very great—was as follows: The skulls are arranged on shelves, and any skull without a basion was rejected, otherwise no selection was made; long bones were picked out where the epiphyses were sufficiently well preserved for measurement. Unfortunately the person who arranged the ossuary mixed up all the bones, and wired the wrong mandibles on to the crania. Although, therefore, as a whole, the bones belong to the same series of persons, the association of particular long bones with each other, or of particular mandibles with skulls is impossible. The sexing was of the type that Professor Pearson terms "anatomical sexing." All the bones were removed to the Anatomical Department at Valletta, and measured there.

(iv) The modern bones are from an ossuary, and were set at my disposal by Dr. Busittel, who was kind enough to allow us to use a room in the Anatomy School at Valletta. As some of the bones were used for teaching purposes, it is possible that a slight selection has been made; but enquiry into the method of obtaining the material inclines one to the belief that on the whole they are chance specimens, and a number of skulls were actually examined *in situ*. Sexing presented again considerable difficulty; fortunately, however, in a number of cases they had not been properly macerated.

141 125 In measuring the living it was necessary to find such as would submit themselves to examination; as far as possible, however, typical Maltese were taken. The

female children are from Valletta and Sliema Government Elementary Schools, the 141
male from the Government Elementary School and the Lyceum at Valletta, and 125
include some of the students at the University.

The adult males have been grouped as follows:—(1) Malta, (2) Gozo. The Malta group has then been subdivided into Urban Districts; Rural Districts exclusive of Siggewe and Zurrico; Siggewe; Zurrico; sufficient measurements having been taken at the two latter villages to make statistical treatment of value (Table II). The adult females have been divided into (1) Malta, (2) Gozo. Malta has then been subdivided into Urban and Rural Districts (Table III). Unfortunately, sufficient women were not measured at any one village to make further subdivision practicable.

The individuals measured include among the men representatives of all social classes; among the women the lower social grades are chiefly represented. The men include professional men, gunners, militia, government messengers, men doing short sentences, paupers, and by far the largest class, "men in the street." The women include teachers, pupils at night schools, eighteen prisoners, patients in hospitals, paupers, and, again the largest class, any peasant woman who was not too frightened to be measured. All those who were either born of Maltese parents abroad, or although born in Malta are not of pure Maltese parentage, have been rejected. It is impossible in all cases to be quite certain, especially in the neighbourhood of Valletta. The measurements were taken in accordance with Martin's definitions (33); those on the femur follow Pearson (34). In working out the constants, the [128].
methods discussed in the Anthropology of Cyprus (37) have been followed. The limit of plotting selected has been such that the observations fall in from 15 to 20 groups. In head-lengths, for instance, this condition is fulfilled if the series be divided into 2 mm. groups. In order not to lengthen the report few comparative figures have been given.

For convenience of reference measurements have been referred to by their 141
initial letters, which are given in brackets after each in the following list:— 104
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A.—*Skulls.*

Ophryo-occipital length (O.O.L.).
Glabello-occipital length (G.O.L.).
Greatest breadth (G.B.).
Minimum frontal diameter (M.F.D.).
Bizygomatic breadth (Biz.B.).
Nasal height (N.H.).
Nasal breadth (N.B.).
Basi-bregmatic height (B.B.H.).
Basi-nasal length (B.N.L.).

Basi-alveolar length (B.A.L.).
Upper facial height (U.F.H.).
Facial breadth (F.B.).
Orbital breadth (left) (O.B.L.).
Orbital breadth (right) (O.B.R.).
Orbital height (left) (O.H.L.).
Orbital height (right) (O.H.R.).
Palatal length (P.L.).
Palatal breadth (P.B.).

B.—*Living.*

141 Glabello-occipital length (G.O.L.).
128 Greatest head breadth (G.B.).
[104] Minimum frontal diameter (M.F.D.).
Bizygomatic breadth (Biz.B.).
External orbital breadth (E.O.B.).
Bigonial breadth (Big.B.).

Upper facial height (U.F.H.).
Total facial height (T.F.H.).
Nasal height (N.H.).
Nasal breadth (N.B.).
Internal ocular breadth (I.O.B.).

The following indices were calculated on the living :—

Cephalic index (C.I.).
Upper facial index (U.F.I.).

Total facial index (T.F.I.).
Nasal index (N.I.).

On skulls, owing to the fact that it was impossible in the majority of cases to associate cranium and mandible, the total facial index was not calculated. The following additional indices were, however, worked out :—

Vertical index (V.I.).
Mandibular index (M.I.).

Orbital index (left) (O.I.L.).
Orbital index (right) (O.I.R.).

In a number of cases it was found necessary to work out the *significant difference* between two measurements. The method employed was described by the writer in a short paper on Cyprus, where it was shown that stress could be laid on the difference if it was greater than three times its own probable error. In order to avoid an excessive amount of figures, only significant differences have actually been tabulated. The symbols used are as follows: the Greek letter delta, Δ, signifies *difference*; epsilon, with a subscript delta, ϵ_Δ, means *error* of that difference. Measures, places and series are referred to by their initial letters, thus

	Δ C–V	ϵ_Δ
G.O.L.	1·93	± 0·63

means that the difference in the glabello-occipital length between the Chapel of Bones and the Valletta crania is 1·93, with a probable error of 0·63. At a glance it is often difficult to tell whether such an error is significant; we have therefore tabulated the difference divided by its probable error, using at the head of the column the $\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$ symbol. In the particular case referred to above $\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$ is 3·06, and the difference is therefore significant. Owing to the necessity of preparing the data for publication in a comparatively short time, it has not been possible to work out as many correlations as might have been advantageous. A small number have, however, been worked out. Wherever it was possible to do so—that is to say, in the case of indices—the *coefficient of variation* method has been used, the formula employed

being, if $I = 100\ A/B$ be an index, then a good approximation is arrived at by the formula 128 141

$$r = \frac{V_A^2 + V_B^2 - V_I^2}{2V_A V_B}.$$

To take an actual example, the correlation between the head length and the head breadth of the females from the urban districts is arrived at as follows:—The data are, Coefficient of variation, G.O.L. 3·44 and G.B. 3·78, and C.I. 4·05. The correlation will therefore be arrived at by adding $(3{\cdot}44)^2$ to $(3{\cdot}78)^2$, subtracting $(4{\cdot}05)^2$ from the result, and dividing the whole by 3·44, multiplied by 3·78 multiplied by 2. The answer in this case is 0·3750.

The following measurements were made on the mandible:—

Coronoid height.
Condylar height.
Sigmoid height.
Symphysial height.
Breadth of ascending ramus, called for brevity ramus breadth.
Condylo-symphysial length.
Bicondylar breadth.

In the Chapel of Bones measurements on the mandible were taken on both left and right sides, and the constants were worked out separately. In the case of the other fragments it was seldom possible to measure more than one side, and as the measurements in the Chapel of Bones showed how extremely close the dimensions on the two sides were, side has been disregarded elsewhere.

Only one index has been calculated, namely, the mandibular index, that is to say, condylo-symphysial length multiplied by 100 and divided by bicondylar breadth.

VI.—Physical Anthropology.

Before discussing in detail the cranial measurements, it may be convenient briefly to state the general dimensions of the crania. The means of skulls vary from 179 to 188 mm. in glabello-occipital length, and the means of the living males from 185 to 188 mm. The mean breadths vary from 133 to 141 mm. on the crania, and 150 to 152 mm. on the living adult male. The cranial capacity, estimated from the glabello-occipital breadth, the greatest breadth, and the basi-bregmatic height multiplied together, the product being multiplied by 0·0003849 + 96, varies from 1390·6 in the case of the Neolithic, to 1437·9 in the case of the Romano-Maltese, the Mediæval skulls show a capacity, by this formula, of 1405·5, and the modern 1393·7. It is unwise, probably, to lay any stress on these figures. 141 172

The cephalic index varies from 71·4, the mean of the Neolithic crania to 79·0, the mean of the modern crania and the vertical index from 71·2 in the case of the Neolithic crania, to 75·0, the vertical index of the Mediæval crania.

The variations in the general dimensions of the crania are sufficient to warrant a more detailed enquiry into the development of racial history in Malta. A complete

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list of the measurements taken and, where the series is sufficiently large, of their variation, will be found in Appendix II, Table I.[1] This should be read in conjunction with the following pages, from which, in order to make the general gist of the argument clearer, figures have, as far as possible, been eliminated.

The evidence which is so far available for the detailed history of man's development in Malta in early times is exceedingly scanty, and no ancient remains can be treated statistically. Such remarks as occur in the next few paragraphs can only be considered as tentative. The cranial measurements available seem to suggest that the head form of the Maltese has grown consistently shorter, both absolutely and relatively, since the Neolithic Age. The head breadth is remarkably consistent from Romano-Maltese times onwards. The skulls from Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic), however, were extremely narrow, in great contrast to the modern crania. Living heads are 10 mm. longer than modern skulls among the males, in the females the difference is somewhat greater, but the modern series of female skulls is so very small that no reliance can be placed on it. Male heads are about 11 mm. broader than male skulls. The greater thickness of the scalp where the greatest head breadth is taken, may be accounted for by the influence of the temporal muscle.

The cephalic index appears to have increased continuously from the earliest times onwards, *pari passu* with the *decrease* in the glabello-occipital length. The index of the Romano-Maltese males is noticeably low, that of the females extremely high. This result is possibly due to the small numbers. There certainly seems to be a definite increase in the numerical value of the index from Mediæval times onward. The modern female crania are noticeably more brachycephalic than the modern male; indeed, there is a difference of 4 units, which closely parallels the difference between the Romano-Maltese male and female. This difference, although probably exaggerated by small numbers, appears to be based on some definite disparity. In Malta the living females are significantly more brachycephalic than the males. It is curious, however, that the Gozo males and females show no difference in their cephalic index. Probably in Gozo the male population is less disturbed than in Malta. The normal allowance of 2 units difference between the cephalic index of the living and the dead is borne out by comparing the modern Maltese heads and skulls.

The variations in head length and head breadth appear to be very similar in Mediæval and modern skulls, and equally as between crania and living people. Considerable stress should probably be laid on the fact that a large series of crania from a Late Mediæval ossuary (the Chapel of Bones) show practically the same degree of variation in their cephalic index as a chance collection from a modern ossuary, and as the modern inhabitants taken from all over the island.

The basi-nasal length appears to be consistently the same from Neolithic times onwards. This absence of change is of importance when we consider that the head length has undergone marked changes. It is probable, therefore, that the changes are taking place in the occipital region. A comparison of the contours of

[1] [see pp. 197-199.—Analyst]

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

the skulls suggests that the Maltese, for some reason, are developing a more 141 plano-occipital or Armenoid type of skull than their ancestors possessed. This 172 change is not accompanied by any great difference in the basi-bregmatic height. Although there is a difference of 2 mm. between the height of the Mediæval and modern skulls, as measured from the basion to the bregma, the very great variation of that measurement among the modern skulls makes it doubtful whether we can lay any stress on so small a difference. It is true that the vertical index shows certain changes, but they may be ascribed rather to the change in head length than to a difference in height. The measurement of the minimum frontal diameter adds further weight to our suggestion, that the changes which are taking place in Maltese skulls are confined to the occipital region, as there is no difference between this measurement in the earliest and in modern skulls. The ophryo-occipital length appears to be always about 2 mm. shorter than the glabello-occipital length, suggesting that few if any changes have taken place in the ophryonic region.

Passing to the consideration of the measurements associated with the masticatory apparatus, the bizygomatic breadth is extremely small in the Neolithic crania, but the numbers are very few. The Late Mediæval crania from the Chapel of Bones are significantly greater than the modern skulls in this measurement, and also in the basi-alveolar length, whereas the Romano-Maltese seem to approach more closely in both measurements to the Mediæval than to the modern crania. This may be due to a harder diet.

The upper facial height in the Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic) material is similar to that of the Romano-Maltese, but the Mediæval crania have a significantly greater measurement than the modern. The facial breadth is small in the Hal Saflieni material, but the Mediæval skulls are significantly broader in the face than the modern. The upper facial index is very close to the same figure from Neolithic times onwards, except for the small series of Romano-Maltese skulls, which have a lower index.

Some of the above measurements are probably more affected by the respiratory apparatus than by the action of the jaw, although it has been convenient to consider them in the above paragraph. The same is, to a certain extent, true of the palatal measurements, one of which, the breadth, is certainly intimately correlated with the breadth of the nose. The palatal breadth appears to have been very small in Neolithic times—smaller than can quite be accounted for by the smaller nasal breadth—and it is possible that a rather enfeebled masticatory apparatus may be the predominant factor in this particular case. Otherwise the palatal breadth has remained more or less constant. Certain changes appear to have taken place in the palatal length. In spite of the unusual smallness of the palatal breadth, the mean palatal length happens to be the greatest recorded. It is quite possible that this is an illusory figure. It is interesting to note, however, that the palates of Mediæval Maltese are significantly longer than those of their modern successors. This is

141 quite possibly due to the same causes as are at work in the case of the bizygomatic breadth.

172 Turning to the respiratory apparatus proper, the nasal breadth of the Neolithic people is rather narrower than that of the Romano-Maltese, but only six Neolithic crania were available for measurement. The Mediæval crania have practically the same breadth of nose as the Romano-Maltese. The modern examples from Valletta, however, have a significantly narrower nose. The nasal height shows no appreciable difference. The nasal index shows considerable variation, accompanied, as usual, by a high coefficient of variation. Under these circumstances it is difficult to argue about the actual changes since early times. It is possible, however, that the nasal index was slightly greater in ancient than in modern times. It is clear from the figures that the nasal index of the Mediæval Maltese was significantly greater than it is at present. This point is of special interest because if, as has been argued, a number of persons from Western Europe were represented in the ossuary of the hospital, we should have expected to find a narrower nose, whereas in actual fact this is not the case.

The breadth of the orbits shows greater divergences than any other measurement. In the case of the left orbit the difference between the Mediæval and the modern bones is nearly seven times its probable error; in the right orbit it is over nine times its probable error. It is difficult to suppose that such a divergence should be without significance. It is not clear, however, what changes have taken place since Neolithic times, although the earlier orbits tend to be rather broader. There is no difference in the orbital height among the more recent bones, though the early bones seem to be not quite so high. The orbital indices are probably of great importance. The difference between the Neolithic and the modern indices amounts to eight units, the modern index being the greater. Parsons[1] has argued that a microsemic orbit is especially characteristic of Neolithic man, an outcome, as Thomson has shown, of powerful jaw development. In spite of the fewness of our numbers, the Neolithic material from Hal Saflieni indicates that Parsons' generalization is applicable to Malta, and that the introduction of a change to Armenoid characteristics has considerably affected the form of the orbit.

The difference between the left and right orbits is striking in our two larger series. In the case of the Mediæval bones the difference in the orbital breadth is ·52 with a probable error of ·085, a difference that is certainly significant. In the modern series the difference is actually greater, but owing to the smallness of the numbers the probable errors are too great to make this significant.

The comparative variation of the Mediæval and the modern crania is a matter of considerable importance. Unfortunately the number of earlier skulls is too few for statistical treatment, but the results of a comparison of modern crania with those from the Mediæval hospital certainly suggest that those authorities who maintain 141 that the hospital probably contained, amongst others, the bones of people from 172 Western Europe are possibly in error. We should in that case have expected to find a high degree of variation. We do not do so. It may well be argued that the modern crania are too few to base any satisfactory arguments on, and we fully admit that it is unwise to argue from a series that never exceeds 42, and in some cases falls as low as 29. It would appear, however, that the modern series, of the majority of which the provenance was fairly exactly known, is consistently more variable than the Mediæval series from the Chapel of Bones. It would certainly be worth while to make a series of measurements on about 100 modern crania to see whether this statement really represents the truth.

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[1] Professor Parsons has been good enough to discuss the matter with me personally.

Except in a few cases, it was impossible to associate mandibles with the crania to which they belonged, and unfortunately at the time when measurements were made on modern crania few mandibles could be discovered. The only series, therefore, of mandibles which could be treated statistically are those Mediæval specimen from the Chapel of Bones. Even in this case it was not found possible to get a series as large as 300 for every measurement. The majority of these, and probably all, are male; any doubtful cases having been rejected. The Neolithic and Romano-British mandibles are also probably male. The Bronze Age mandibles appeared from the associated bones to be female, but the condition of the latter was such that a definite opinion could not be expressed. In general terms there are certain marked differences between the mandibles from Hal Saflieni and elsewhere, whereas the Romano-Maltese and the Mediæval mandibles, although differing in detail, present a general similarity. The coronoid height and the condyloid height of the Neolithic mandibles are both lower, the ramus being of about the same breadth. The condylo-symphysial breadth is about the same. The Mediæval mandibles have a slightly lower ascending ramus than the Romano-Maltese, but the former are slightly more stoutly built; the mandibular index is quite possibly about the same. Generalizing, we may say that the Neolithic mandibles belong to a type with a rather short, broad ascending ramus, and a shallow sigmoid notch, whereas the Mediæval mandibles have the higher ascending ramus and the deeper sigmoid notch which are usually associated with various branches of the Alpine race.

A collection of teeth was made from the bone heaps at Hal Saflieni.[1] Unfortunately no teeth of more recent date are available. Out of a total of 224 adult teeth 172 164. from Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic), 15 upper incisors and canines showed a marked edge-to-edge bite. Caries occurred in 19 cases; there was a complete erosion of the roots in 2. One incisor had two roots. Speaking generally, the teeth

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[1] I am indebted to my brother, Mr. J. L. Dudley Buxton, for examining and reporting on these teeth from the point of view of a dental surgeon. [128]

172 164 did not differ from a chance collection of modern civilized teeth, except that caries was less common.

TEETH FROM HYPOGÆUM, HAL SAFLIENI (MALTA LOCAL NEOLITHIC).

	1 Normal Teeth.	2 Carious Teeth.	3 Teeth showing Marked Attrition of Edge-to-edge Form.	4 Teeth showing Marked Attrition.	5 Total Adult Teeth.	6 Deciduous Teeth.
Molars	21	10	—	18	48	3
Premolars	26	6	—	36	62	—
Canines	9	—	7	15	31	2
Upper incisors ...	23	1	8	23	54	—
Lower incisors ...	2	2	—	27	29	—
Total ...	81	19	15	119	224	5

Teeth included in Column 2 may also be included in Columns 3 or 4; Columns 3 and 4 are mutually exclusive.

141 172 Summing up, the general characters of the Maltese skulls at our disposal, the physical type conveniently termed "Malta first race" is associated culturally with the Malta Local Neolithic. Skulls of this type are long, narrow, and slightly built. They have low orbits, narrow zygomatic arches, and a jaw which, though often not absolutely large, has a low ascending ramus, a shallow sigmoid, and considerable breadth in the antero-posterior diameter. They appear to be representatives of the Mediterranean race.

The skulls of succeeding periods, conveniently termed "Malta second race," and associated with numerous cultural periods, are, as a general rule, shorter, broader, more stoutly built, larger, and have higher orbits. The ascending ramus of the jaw is high, and the antero-posterior diameter is small. Although among a large collection of these crania single specimens exhibit the characteristics of the Mediterranean type, and some even occur with features which are usually considered to be typical of the Nordic race, the majority, in addition to the features already mentioned, show that peculiar contour in the occipital region which is usually associated with the type called by Von Luschan "Armenoid."

Living Material.

141 Apart from those questions which have already been discussed when dealing with the general anthropology of Malta, special problems are connected with the living. In the first place, the sex and birthplace are definitely known, and the age, at least approximately. Secondly, the numbers are usually greater. Thirdly,

although the measurement of the long bones on the living was found to be impracticable, stature and sitting height could be measured. The purpose of this section is to study the living material intensively, with a view to finding out how far there are present differences within the islands.

In working out significant differences a comparison has been made between Malta and Gozo, between the urban and rural districts in Malta, between the urban districts and Siggewe, between the urban districts and Zurrico, and between Siggewe and Zurrico, in the case of the males, and between Malta and Gozo and the urban and rural districts in the case of the females. First the *means* have been compared; secondly, the *variations* from those means. In dealing with absolute measurements the *coefficient of variation* has been used, in the case of indices we have employed the *standard deviation*.

The stature throughout the whole archipelago appears to be very consistent. In both sexes the people from Gozo appear to be rather taller. The difference between the sexes amounts to rather under 15 cm.

The head measurements do not present any very striking differences. We have only tabulated those which are probably significant. Among the males there is a significant difference between Malta and Gozo in the following head measurements: Glabello-occipital length, minimum frontal diameter, external orbital breadth, bigonial breadth, and both nasal measurements, the Maltese being in every case larger. Between the urban and rural districts there is no difference except in the nasal height. Siggewe differs from the urban districts in six characters: minimum frontal diameter, bizygomatic breadth, bigonial breadth, total facial height, nasal breadth, internal ocular breadth. The differences between Zurrico and the urban districts are of a different nature. Again there is no difference in glabello-occipital length, or external orbital breadth, but in this case there is no difference in minimum frontal diameter or bigonial breadth. All the other characters are significantly different, the urban population having in every case the larger dimensions. As a final test, Siggewe and Zurrico were compared. Siggewe presented larger dimensions in every signficant case, except minimum frontal diameter, which was significantly smaller, the other significant differences being in greatest breadth, external orbital breadth, and the nasal measurements. The significant differences in the case of the females appear in other characters. Between Malta and Gozo three measurements differ: bizygomatic breadth, external orbital breadth, and internal ocular breadth, but there are differences in upper facial height, nasal height, bizygomatic breadth, and external orbital breadth between the urban and rural districts.

There is very little difference in the variability. Among the males the minimum frontal diameter varies differently in the urban districts and in Zurrico, and as between Siggewe and Zurrico. The variability of the external orbital breadth is different in Malta and Gozo, and that of the upper facial height in the urban and rural districts. The total facial height differs in Malta and Gozo, and the nasal

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

141 height in the urban districts and Zurrico. Among the females there is a significant difference between Malta and Gozo in greatest breadth, bigonial breadth and nasal height. There is no significant difference between the urban and rural districts. Between male and female, the males have a significantly greater bizygomatic breadth, the females significantly greater external orbital breadth, nasal height and cephalic index.

It is impossible to compare the absolute measurements of males and females. There is no significant difference in the total facial index between males and females, the other three indices are, however, significantly different, the females having the greater index in every case.

These differences are extremely difficult to correlate with actual facts. That the urban and rural population should resemble each other so closely is a striking feature, especially since we know that Valletta is, and has been, continually receiving additions, both from the outside world and from other parts of the island. In spite of this immigration, however, we do not appear to get an appreciably larger variation in the town than in the endogamous villages, if we take them *as a whole*. Contrasts arise, however, between the urban districts and individual villages. It may be suggested tentatively that the small local variations which appear to occur in the various villages tend to be swamped if we take all the villages together, as we can do artificially by pooling our measurements, and actually by measuring individuals from Valletta and the fortified suburbs, which have only existed for under four hundred years, that is to say about eleven generations, and have a population recruited from all over the island. This fact is all the more remarkable because, as we have shown, foreign blood has certainly been pouring into Valletta for a considerable period.

It may be argued that possibly the isolation in the island is not sufficiently complete, yet there is as much difference between the urban districts and the village of Zurrico as there is between Malta and Gozo, although in different directions. The isolation of the villages, a social more than a geographical division, has proved as strong or as weak a frontier as the hazardous strip of water between the two islands.

The measurements on females throw little light on this point. There is a greater difference between the urban and rural district women than between those of Malta and Gozo; the latter series are unfortunately too few for more than a tentative inference. Social conditions cannot contribute much in the result; because whereas the women are comparatively stationary, apart from country and town marriages, there is considerable movement of the males.

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132 Let us now consider the differences in the facial measurements. Professor Arthur Thomson (39) has suggested that the temperature and the humidity of the air have considerable effect on the form of the nose. The rainfall, at different stations at which observations are taken, differs to quite a large extent. For example, in

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

1919, 14·18 inches were recorded at Casal Lia, and 19·44 at Naxaro. Unfortunately no comparative humidity data are available, but such a striking difference in rainfall argues that the inhabitants of those two places breathe an atmosphere which differs at least appreciably in moisture. Again, local variations in temperature, if not great, may prove significant. At the same two stations the annual means of temperature for that year were, maximum 71·5, minimum 56·8, mean 64·1 at Casal Lia, and 69·9, 53·7 and 61·8 respectively at Naxaro, a big difference if the total area of the archipelago is taken into consideration. 141 132

The differences in the upper facial height may be, and probably are, associated partly with the respiratory (including as it does the nasal height) and partly with the masticatory apparatus, and the same is true of the total facial height, which includes both the two last-mentioned factors. It is interesting to note that differences in the total facial height are always associated with differences in the bizygomatic breadth; differences in the upper facial, with differences in the nasal height. The converse, though true in the former case, is not true in the latter. The differences in the bigonial breadth accompany differences in the minimum frontal diameter on the two occasions where they occur, but the excessive minimum frontal diameter at Zurrico is not associated with any irregularity of the bigonial breadth. The differences in the external orbital breadth do not appear to have any particular associations. 141

Although no doubt it is possible that these local differences may be largely due to heredity as opposed to environment, it would seem not unlikely that the present rather insignificant differences, taken as a whole, may be ascribed to small variations in climatic and economic conditions, to most of which the people have been subjected for many generations.

The differences between the sexes in head form is difficult to estimate. Obviously we cannot compare the absolute measurements, because the female is built on a different scale from the male, and to reduce them to similar proportions would be to abandon certain fundamental anatomical principles. There remain, however, a comparison of the variations and the indices. The former do not present great differences. The nasal height and the external orbital breadth of the female are appreciably more variable. The bizygomatic breadth of the male has a significantly wider dispersion. It is possible that in the latter case the greater muscular development of the male may account for this variation. The exact significance of the striking differences between the indices is not apparent.

Pigmentation.

Pigmentation figures bring out a certain contrast already suggested by measurements, and fail to confirm others. The figures are, however, rather unsatisfactory, and it was not found practicable to make more than three divisions in hair or eye 142

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

142 colour, without risk of considerable confusion, where work had necessarily to be done, sometimes under ideal conditions, sometimes in glaring sunlight, and sometimes in the not too well-lighted interior of a Maltese house. Both in hair and eye colour Zurrico stands by itself. In that village one man in three has black hair, and two have brown. In the rest of Malta and Gozo the reverse is true. About 1 per cent. fair-haired people are found alike in Zurrico and elsewhere. In Zurrico two men out of three have brown eyes and there are slight odds in favour of the third man having hazel eyes rather than blue. In Siggewe, where black hair is slightly less common than elsewhere, out of ten men, five tend to have brown eyes, four hazel, and one blue. Elsewhere in Malta blue eyes are about twice as common, that is to say out [103] of ten men five have brown eyes, three hazel, and two blue. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the name Zurrico, connected with the root *azrak*, means blue, and I was told that the village was so called because blue eyes were more common there than elsewhere.

In Gozo, although the hair colour does not differ materially from that of Malta, in round numbers, out of ten men seven have brown eyes, two hazel, and one blue.

In Malta the hair colour of the women does not differ to any great extent from that of the men, although fair-haired women appear to be slightly more uncommon. Brown eyes, however, seem to be much commoner, and hazel and blue eyes about half as common. With so small a series, however, it is possible that this result is merely illusory.

Comparative material from the Eastern Mediterranean shows very great discrepancy with these data, especially in relation to the number of blue eyes, which are nearly twice as common in Malta as they are in Cyprus, and more than three times as common as they are in Crete. The number of fair-haired persons in Malta is small, smaller even than in Cyprus, whereas generally speaking fair-haired people, though always remarkable and much admired, are not uncommon in Greek lands, not only among gods and goddesses, but even among the ordinary folk.

It would be interesting to correlate these differences in pigmentation with differences in climatic conditions. Up to the present, however, we have not succeeded in finding any generalization which would fit the figures, and the matter must remain *sub judice* until further data is available.

141 142 We have so far been dealing with hair colour and eye colour separately. By the use of Parsons' index (36) it is possible to take both into consideration. Parsons takes the percentage of dark brown and black hair, adds the percentage of dark eyes, and divides the result by two. This final result he terms his colour index. Where the eyes have been graded in three shades, *e.g.* blue, neutral, and brown, or some similar classification, he includes half the neutral group as well as the brown eyes under the heading dark. As our eye colour was graded in this way we have

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followed the above procedure. Parsons' indices for our material will then 191
be :— 142

	♂	♀
Urban Districts	67·4	72·3
Rural Districts	67·7	73·1
Siggewe	66·3	—
Zurrico..	54·2	—
Malta	67·5	74·9
Gozo	74·5	77·5

For comparative purposes we have worked out the Index of Pigmentation for some places in the Eastern Mediterranean. The values, which refer only to males, are as follows: Albania 53·3, Cyprus 55·8, Crete 78·0, Meligala 61·1, Mani 66·6.[1]

Parsons, in dealing with the British Isles, draws attention to the following facts. First that the males show greater variation; secondly that the females are darker than the males, in the British Isles the difference amounting to about 2 degrees; and thirdly, that where the men are fairest the discrepancy between the two series is greatest, while where the men are very dark, the discrepancy is quite small. These conclusions are strikingly confirmed by our Mediterranean figures. We have not included any very small series from Malta, and, therefore, we do not get some of the irregularities which Parsons attributes to small numbers.

The difference between Zurrico and the rest of Malta is very striking. It will be noticed that it is even greater than that between Malta and Gozo, and shows the Zurrico men to be markedly fairer, with the comparatively low index of 54·2. The urban districts, rural districts, and Siggewe all have an index that does not differ by more than the probable error. Gozo, both among the males and the females, has a higher index, *i.e.* a greater percentage of "darkness." The exact significance of these figures is at the present stage of our understanding of pigmentation in the Mediterranean area not easy to unravel. If we take comparative data it will be seen that the Cretans are considerably darker. This may be reasonably interpreted as suggesting a higher percentage of Mediterranean admixture. The Albanians appear to belong to a very different racial stock. As far as measurements go there is, on the whole, not very much resemblance between the people of Zurrico and those of Cyprus, although the appearance of both would suggest that they belong to the same racial stock. The resemblance between the Maniots and the Maltese, as far as pigmentation index is concerned, is very striking. When other measurements are considered, some resemblances appear, but there are certain very great differences. The Maltese and the Maniots are closely alike, not only in the proportions of the cranium, as represented by the cephalic index, but also in the absolute measurements of head length and head breadth. The facial and nasal measurements are, however,

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[1] For absolute values see p. 106 of reference 28.

141 142 extremely different, due possibly to differences in environmental conditions or dietary habits.[1]

[148] Pigmentation figures, then, seem to support a conclusion which had already been arrived at on other grounds, namely, the relationship between the Maltese and the mixed Armenoid population of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Coefficients of Correlation.

141 128 The coefficients of correlation which have been worked out refer only to those figures which are utilized for indices. Unfortunately some of the series are too small for this treatment. For the most part the coefficients of correlation do not suggest, in the four series of characters which were selected, any great differences. There is a significant difference between the correlation of the total facial height and the bizygomatic breadth in the male and female, a condition which is probably due to the more developed masticatory apparatus of the male. The difference between the correlations of head length and head breadth between the urban districts and Siggewe is of interest when we compare the means and the coefficients of variation of those measurements absolutely, and confirms to a certain extent our hypothesis that Siggewe possibly represents a local deviation from the normal Maltese type. Differences between the urban district females and the rural district females are found in four characters (total facial height, bizygomatic breadth, nasal height and nasal breadth) suggesting conditions one of which can be referred to food and the other to climate, but the absence of confirmatory evidence in the males makes it necessary to withhold any conclusions until further correlations have been worked out.

Looking at the figures generally, the correlated characters show remarkably little correlation, and the absence of real differences between the various groups goes far to suggest that the differences between the various parts of the archipelago are not in any way of fundamental importance.

The coefficients of correlation on the skulls are unsatisfactory, owing to the paucity of material. The extremely small correlation between glabello-occipital length and greatest breadth from the Chapel of Bones is of an unusual character. It can hardly be illusory when worked out on so large a series, but the explanation is not apparent from our present data.

VII.—Racial Problems.

144 The racial problems connected with Malta are extremely difficult to deal with, because they raise certain social questions. Historically the matter may be summarized briefly as follows.

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[1] Both Meligala and Mani are situated in the Peloponnese.

The megalith builders, who may be conveniently termed "Malta first race" 144
(culturally "Local Neolithic"), are certainly akin to the early, and, indeed, present 141
inhabitants of North Africa and to those of Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Spain, and belong to what is usually known as the Mediterranean race, differing from many skulls of this type in having a shorter nasal aperture, and therefore a bigger nasal index.

The inhabitants of the Barbary coast have been discussed at great length by Bertholon and Chantre (41). A series of 124 skulls (unfortunately the sexes have been mixed) from Carthage, dating from the sixth to the third century, B.C., shows a close resemblance to the "Neolithic" skulls found in the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni. The low standard deviations, even when the sexes are mixed, *e.g.* cephalic index, mean 74·73 and 2·94 σ[1] suggest the absence of any Armenoid blood in Carthage, and a small series (35) of modern crania (♂ + ♀) from Tunis show almost identical figures (*e.g.* cephalic index mean 74·31 and 2·96σ).

In Sicily from Eneolithic times onward the population is of the same type. Even in a series of two hundred modern Sicilian skulls, Giuffrida Ruggeri found only 5♂ and 2♀ of the Eurasiatic form, one was doubtful. Apart from the small series from Anghelu Reju, the modern inhabitants of Sardinia and Corsica appear to belong to this type (46).

It is remarkable that wherever we find Mediterranean man he shows little variation, suggesting a primitive stock which has maintained itself in certain areas.

The "Neolithic" Maltese (Malta first race) can have differed but little from our own Neolithic ancestors, except in the form of the nasal aperture. The modern people differ from the modern British type in head form, in stature, and in the general build of the skeleton. It would seem as though these differences were of essential importance. The Maltese appear to be a mixture of a people who certainly form a part of the population of the British Isles, but there is a second element that is not akin. It is noticeable that, as would appear from recent work, the Neolithic element seems not to have been entirely swamped in the British Isles; on the other hand we have shown that in spite of continuous influx of Mediterranean blood, it has not been able to dominate the population in Malta. Possibly the geographical conditions of the island are particularly favourable to the continuance of the race which has since developed.

These megalith builders are succeeded by a different type of folk, exhibiting 144
Armenoid characteristics (Malta second race). The most interesting question of 174
Maltese anthropology is, where did these late arrivals come from, and when did they come to Malta. Early skulls are unfortunately missing at present in the Mediterranean area. The immigrants are not racially allied to the people of Italy, Sicily, or the Barbary coast; they differ fundamentally from what appears to be the type

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[1] σ is used throughout this paper as a symbol for "standard deviation."

in Albania; they resemble some of the elements in the early population of Cyprus, but the closest parallel appears to be Crete, some parts of Greece, and the Islands of the Sea. Such evidence as we have suggests an immigration from the eastern part of the Mediterranean. We have already argued elsewhere (38, p. 92) that even early in the Bronze Age there existed in the Eastern Mediterranean a mixed stock consisting of elements of Armenoid and Mediterranean man, and suggested that such mixing possibly took place as early as the end of the Neolithic period. It seems possible that these people arrived in Malta at a much later date. Unfortunately the gap is a long one. Plenty of Neolithic material has survived, we have a few scattered finds in the long intervening periods, and a small and scarcely adequate number of crania of the Romano-Maltese time.

We have argued above that the Malta second race cannot have come from anywhere but the Eastern Mediterranean, and that they show no affinities with the Carthaginians. We have at present, however, no satisfactory cranial evidence from Carthage earlier than the sixth century B.C. We know, on the other hand, that Carthage was closely connected in earlier times with the great trading cities of the Syrian coast. The conditions in Malta and North Africa are extremely different, and whereas it might be impossible for people of Armenoid type to establish themselves on the coast of North Africa, this argument would not affect the possible establishment of the same type in a comparatively isolated island. We know, further, that a people of undoubtedly Syrian origin, namely the Jews, have, in Tripoli, to a large extent, lost their typical head form, while retaining their religious, social, and, it would appear, at least some of their physical characteristics. It is possible, therefore, that the origin of the Malta second race must be looked for in Phœnician traders of Armenoid origin, who may have come either directly from the Eastern Mediterranean or indirectly via Carthage.

There can be little doubt that such a change must have taken place at a comparatively late date in the history of Malta, but it would seem extraordinary that an invasion of any such race could have entirely altered the population of an island. We have at present no evidence to show how the change was affected. It may have extended over some generations, but in that case we should have expected to find an intermediate stage between Malta first and second races. Our present evidence, however, does not, unfortunately, cover that transitional period. It is possible that such a period may be discovered. On the other hand we have the possibility of the new influx of people exterminating, or nearly exterminating, the previous inhabitants, an event which is not without parallel in modern times. In North Africa the problem is somewhat different. Here the Armenoid peoples can only have represented a comparatively small element in the whole population, and we know that there are certain brachycephalic elements surviving till to-day. Again, the inhumation burials in Carthage which have as yet been explored are so few, and show so little variation in cranial form, that they may quite well belong to

some definite section of the population. On the one hand we have on the mainland 144
a series of settlers among a large indigenous population, and on the other hand we 174
have a further band of settlers, on a small island, on which it is quite possible events occurred which would have been impossible amidst a large population.

We have not at present sufficient statistical material in early times to enable us to judge how far there has been a change in the standard deviations since the coming of the second race, which would enable us to say whether there ever was a time in Malta when a considerable mixing of races was taking place; and it must always be remembered that the second race may have been, at least in origin, considerably intermixed with Mediterranean blood before they ever ventured as far as Malta.

It cannot be denied that the second race has altered since its arrival in Malta; 144
but just as in most parts of the Mediterranean, even at comparatively short distances apart, we find local divergences, it would hardly be surprising that we should also find differences in the time series, namely, that people of one age should show a slight physical difference from those of the other. The internal differences, however, in Malta appear to be but insignificant when compared with the differences between the Maltese and the other inhabitants of the Mediterranean, and it seems justifiable —at least for purposes of intensive study—to regard them as a Maltese sub-race.

Summing up their characters, they are distinctly long-headed, though hardly 141
so long-headed as the Cretans, but nearly 10 mm. longer than the Cypriots; they 144
are broad-headed, having about the same head breadth as the Cretans, and a greater breadth than the Cypriots. The change since ancient times has operated both in shortening the length and increasing the breadth, the height of the cranium having remained constant. The face is much broader than in ancient times; the orbits are higher and narrower: the nose longer and broader, so that the nasal index is not appreciably altered.

The Mediæval skulls in the Chapel of Bones presented characteristics similar to those of the skulls in the modern ossuaries. Although some variation occurred, as might be expected in a series which might contain a number of foreigners, the standard deviations are sufficiently small to suggest that on the whole the skulls are those of adult males of a normal population. The standard deviations are, indeed, smaller than those of the series from the modern ossuary. Both series, from the Mediæval Chapel of Bones, and from the modern ossuary, are large in size—that is to say, absolutely long, high, and broad; in the majority, the brow ridges are very well developed, and there are other indications of considerable muscularity. It is possible that some of the skulls, on the sex of which it was not possible to express an opinion, may be males of Mediterranean origin, as these latter appear as a general rule to be smaller. A few appeared to be Negroid.

Although skulls which presented Negroid characters were not uncommon from 144
Saracenic—possibly earlier, and certainly later—graves, the Negro element in the

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144 [567] population does not appear to be very great. Slaves were, we know, introduced in large numbers by the Knights of St. John, and a fine old building still remains in Valletta as a witness to the number of Negroes kept in captivity, but yet there appears to have been great segregation. The Turk in Cyprus seems to have been more merciful to his slaves than the Christian in Malta, possibly because of the difference in the social systems. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the Negro element is more than a negligible factor in Maltese ethnology.

Cases certainly occur, in all periods, of extremely long skulls of the hypsistenocephalic type of Giuffrida Ruggeri. Some of these specimens appeared on a careful examination to present Negroid characters; the majority seemed to be well within the range of normal variation of the ordinary Mediterranean type. If mixing with Alpines immediately raises the standard deviation of Mediterranean man, it is to be expected that a mixture with Negro or Proto-Ethiopic would have the same effect; without definitely denying the possibility of this type in Malta, it would seem a more reasonable hypothesis to suggest that those crania which present a combination of the characters of a long head with considerable prognathism and a wide nasal aperture probably belonged either to actually imported Negroes or to their descendants.

Although the census figures show a different result, it is of interest to note that among the people who presented themselves for measurement in villages or institutions, practically all the foreigners came from the Barbary coast.

[563] There can be little doubt that there has been considerable Italian influence in the island for a long period, and we have already shown that at the present day the largest resident foreign element apart from the garrison is Italian. It seems possible that the same influences, whatever they were, which made it possible for the early population to be swamped by the present type, have also made the latter immigrants, of a type similar to the Neolithic people, unable to stand against the domination of the sub-race (Malta second race) now established in the island.

144 563 A question of considerable importance from the practical point of view is whether there is any essential difference between the Maltese and the nations of Western Europe, who, either singly or collectively, have occupied the island since the Middle Ages. Social distinctions have operated during the whole time, but there is evidence to suggest that the Knights may have considerably affected the population, especially that of Valletta. Some of the people of Rhodes, who followed the fortunes of the Knights when the latter were driven from the Eastern Mediterranean, settled in Malta. Mercenaries were employed by the Order, and in some cases never returned home. In later times also, the Knights' vows of chastity, never very strictly adhered to, were entirely neglected, and their illegitimate children, whose fathers were predominantly French, contributed a considerable element to the population (28, p. 46). It is probably to such influences that we owe those crania in the Chapel of Bones which appear to show Nordic affinities.

The stay of the French in the island was too short to have any effect on the 144
population. A social barrier has been built up between the British and the people 563
of the land, and the general impression gained is that, though there are a certain number of mixed marriages, there cannot, even after three generations of a large, if floating, British element in Valletta, be more than a very thin British strain in the population.

We have shown, in dealing with the history of the island, how extremely difficult 144
it is to account for the wholesale immigration of an Armenoid-like population at 174
any period. We have also shown how, in spite of the continual immigration of 132
people of the Mediterranean stock, the Maltese type (*i.e.* Malta second race, displaying Armenoid characters) appears to have persisted for a long period. It would seem, therefore, a point worthy of further consideration, whether the development of the Maltese along the lines they appear to have followed may not be due to certain definite geographical factors of whose influence we are as yet unaware. It is possible that if we had at our disposal a long unbroken series, instead of larger or smaller series from Neolithic, Mediæval, and modern ossuaries, we should not find such striking contrasts as we do at present. Anthropological data from various parts of the Mediterranean show that there is very often a significant difference between two villages in different valleys of the same mountain range. It is possible that even the few generations which have elapsed between the building of Hal Tarxien and 1921 may be the equivalent, in time, of such a journey in space, and certain big changes may have taken place owing to changing geographical conditions. There can be little doubt that the climate of Malta has changed very much, not only since the first terrace was cut in the Weid Dalam, but even since the formation of the second terrace. We have also suggested that the evidence from Professor Zammit's excavations at Hal Tarxien hints at a change in climate since Neolithic times. The change in the structure of the population may be due, therefore, partly to geographical as well as to historical causes.

Whether or no the development of the Maltese sub-race is due to particular 161
geographical conditions, there can be little doubt that, in Malta at least, the strain 842
is biologically remarkably successful and extremely fertile. In spite of the high [165]
infant mortality which has existed in the past, they have continued to increase, and the modern developments of hygiene and the care of infants are likely to make the increase still more rapid. If the overcrowding continues, in a comparatively short time we shall be faced with conditions in the island which would appear to be, biologically speaking, unsatisfactory. Sanitary conditions can be improved, food can be imported, but excessive overcrowding may bring its own remedy, either in disease or in a diminished fertility. The present fertility is quite possibly due to some underlying climatic condition. In spite of lack of water, Malta has long been
extremely fertile botanically, and was famed for this in classical times. The [231]
Maltese goats, by far the most abundant large mammal of the island apart from

161 man, are also unusually fertile, and the females possess remarkably developed
842 udders. Possibly similar causes make both man and the goats fertile. If this
231 is so, emigrants from the island will probably, after a short time, lose their fertility,[1]
whilst the only limiting factors on the island itself will be space and the food and water supply.

144 Summarizing our general conclusions, the race in Malta which is associated with
172 the period of great megalithic buildings—a cultural stage we have termed "Malta
Local Neolithic"—appears to be closely akin to the Mediterranean race. This is
174 our "Malta first race." At a later date, possibly towards the end of the Bronze Age, but more probably during the Early Iron Age, Malta was peopled by a race with different characteristics, our "Malta second race." These people are of Armenoid type, but probably have an admixture of Mediterranean blood. Their origin appears to be the Eastern Mediterranean. They may have come to Malta either directly or by way of Carthage. They may have destroyed the previous inhabitants, or they may merely have pursued methods of peaceful penetration. This race has firmly established itself in Malta, and all subsequent introduction of foreign blood has failed to raise the variation. During the course of years certain changes have taken place; there are also certain local variations, but the differences between Malta and Gozo are not greater than the differences between the general population of Malta and at least one, and possibly more, of the more isolated villages.

APPENDIX I.

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183 In writing this paper the following authorities have been consulted. Where specific reference is made, the number is given in brackets in the text.

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[167] [1] Of interest in this connection is the fact that there is at present a Maltese colony in Detroit, U.S.A., and it will be instructive to observe whether, amid alien surroundings, the strain is able to perpetuate itself and to retain its fertility.

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Table I.—Skull Measurements.

	Malta Local Neolithic, Hypogæum, Hal Saflieni.		Romano-Maltese.				Mediæval, Chapel of Bones.			
	♂		♂		♀		♂			
Character.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
O.O.L.	9	186·38	18	183·33	4	172·97	466	178·20 ±0·20	6·39 ±0·14	3·59 ±0·08
G.O.L.	9	188·34	18	186·08	4	173·25	467	180·54 ±0·20	6·34 ±0·14	3·51 ±0·11
G.B.	10	133·45	18	139·53	5	139·80	468	139·04 ±0·15	4·77 ±0·11	3·43 ±0·07
M.F.D.	9	97·06	18	96·14	5	94·00	467	96·56 ±0·16	5·00 ±0·11	5·18 ±0·11
Biz.B.	4	118·00	6	131·50	—	—	263	132·28 ±0·18	4·28 ±0·13	3·24 ±0·10
N.H.	7	49·29	18	50·78	4	46·50	461	52·08 ±0·08	2·51 ±0·06	4·82 ±0·11
N.B.	6	22·50	17	24·44	4	23·25	452	24·37 ±0·06	1·93 ±0·04	7·92 ±0·18
B.B.H.	4	133·87	18	134·31	1	130·00	461	135·62 ±0·16	4·97 ±0·11	3·66 ±0·08
B.N.L.	4	101·37	18	99·72	2	94·00	459	101·13 ±0·13	3·99 ±0·09	3·95 ±0·09
B.A.L.	4	95·12	17	95·30	—	—	392	96·27 ±0·15	4·42 ±0·11	4·59 ±0·11
U.F.H.	8	65·00	18	65·11	2	67·00	437	68·10 ±0·14	4·38 ±0·10	6·43 ±0·15
F.B.	6	86·67	11	92·81	3	91·00	420	94·62 ±0·18	5·51 ±0·13	5·82 ±0·14
O.B.L.	6	41·83	16	39·59	4	37·50	449	40·65 ±0·06	2·03 ±0·05	4·99 ±0·11
O.B.R.	6	41·25	15	39·80	3	36·77	458	41·17 ±0·06	2·05 ±0·05	4·98 ±0·11
O.H.L.	6	31·58	15	33·20	4	32·12	451	33·56 ±0·07	2·10 ±0·05	6·26 ±0·14
O.H.R.	6	31·67	14	32·85	3	30·38	456	33·34 ±0·07	2·12 ±0·05	6·36 ±0·14
P.L.	7	50·63	18	50·19	4	43·00	443	49·36 ±0·11	3·51 ±0·08	7·11 ±0·16
P.B.	8	32·25	16	36·75	3	34·66	447	36·19 ±0·10	3·14 ±0·07	8·66 ±0·20
C.I.	9	71·44	17	75·29	4	80·75	463	77·09 ±0·11	3·63 ±0·08	4·71 ±0·10
V.I.	4	71·24	16	72·25	—	—	461	75·17 ±0·11	3·52 ±0·08	4·68 ±0·09
U.F.I.	4	52·00	9	48·44	—	—	247	51·83 ±0·15	3·45 ±0·10	6·65 ±0·20
O.I.L.	8	76·00	15	83·67	—	—	451	82·27 ±0·19	5·95 ±0·13	7·23 ±0·16
O.I.R.	6	76·92	12	84·33	—	—	462	81·10 ±0·19	6·04 ±0·13	7·45 ±0·17
N.I.	6	47·17	17	48·18	4	50·25	448	46·94 ±0·13	4·14 ±0·09	8·82 ±0·20

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Table I.—Skull Measurements—*continued.*

Malta Local Neolithic, Hypogæum, Hal Saflieni.			Bronze Age.		Romano-Maltese.		Mediæval, Chapel of Bones.			
♂			♂		♂ + ♀		♂			
Character.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
Cor.H.L.	11	59·32	2	54·50	7	69·00	317	67·19 ±0·23	5·94 ±0·16	8·85 ±0·24
Cor.H.R.							325	67·41 ±0·22	5·85 ±0·15	8·68 ±0·23
Con.H.L.	11	49·55	3	41·17	13	55·00	305	60·15 ±0·27	7·05 ±0·19	11·72 ±0·32
Con.H.R.							304	60·99 ±0·29	7·53 ±0·21	12·35 ±0·34
Sig.H.L.	13	42·65	3	36·83	10	47·75	340	49·51 ±0·21	5·62 ±0·15	11·35 ±0·30
Sig.H.R.							345	50·31 ±0·20	5·44 ±0·14	10·81 ±0·28
Symph.H.	7	30·07	5	28·10	11	30·00	334	30·30 ±0·14	3·74 ±0·10	12·34 ±0·33
Ramus R.							337	33·96 ±0·11	3·04 ±0·08	8·95 ±0·23
Ramus L.	16	34·57	3	34·00	—	—	345	33·73 ±0·11	3·10 ±0·08	9·20 ±0·24
Con.-Sym.L.	2	103·75	—	—	9	101·44	344	105·35 ±0·24	6·51 ±0·17	6·18 ±0·16
Bigon.B.	—	—	—	—	7	93·93	—	—	—	—
Bicond.B.	—	—	—	—	3	115·83	284	118·31 ±0·28	6·99 ±0·20	5·92 ±0·17
M.I.	—	—	—	—	3	89·97	283	88·96 ±0·28	6·91 ±0·20	7·76 ±0·22

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE I.—SKULL MEASUREMENTS—*continued.*

	Valletta Modern. ♂				Valletta Modern. ♀	
Character.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.	No.	Mean.
O.O.L.	30	176·43 ±0·72	5·84 ±0·51	3·31 ±0·28	9	164·00
G.O.L.	41	178·61 ±0·57	5·39 ±0·40	3·02 ±0·23	12	166·54
G.B.	42	141·42 ±0·60	5·79 ±0·43	4·10 ±0·30	12	137·63
M.F.D.	42	96·76 ±0·50	4·84 ±0·36	5·00 ±0·37	12	92·92
Biz.B.	38	130·22 ±0·54	4·90 ±0·38	3·76 ±0·29	11	124·41
N.H.	42	51·68 ±0·38	3·62 ±0·27	7·00 ±0·52	11	48·14
N.B.	42	23·50 ±0·17	1·63 ±0·12	6·94 ±0·51	11	24·82
B.B.H.	41	133·50 ±0·65	6·17 ±0·46	4·63 ±0·35	12	124·42
B.N.L.	41	100·02 ±0·60	5·70 ±0·42	5·70 ±0·43	12	94·42
B.A.L.	41	94·50 ±0·52	4·92 ±0·37	5·20 ±0·39	11	89·68
U.F.H.	42	66·58 ±0·43	4·16 ±0·31	6·24 ±0·46	12	60·17
F.B.	41	92·74 ±0·49	4·61 ±0·34	4·97 ±0·37	12	89·75
O.R.L.	31	39·13 ±0·21	1·75 ±0·15	4·46 ±0·38	8	38·66
O.B.R.	29	38·47 ±0·28	2·26 ±0·20	5·88 ±0·52	8	38·06
O.H.L.	31	32·66 ±0·39	3·20 ±0·27	9·81 ±0·85	8	35·25
O.H.R.	30	32·42 ±0·37	3·04 ±0·26	9·38 ±0·82	8	33·25
P.L.	30	48·03 ±0·42	3·45 ±0·30	7·19 ±0·63	8	45·50
P.B.	30	35·23 ±0·33	2·67 ±0·23	7·50 ±0·66	6	37·68
C.I.	41	79·01 ±0·30	3·67 ±0·27	4·64 ±0·33	12	82·71
V.I.	40	74·55 ±0·36	3·36 ±0·25	4·51 ±0·34	12	75·08
U.F.I.	38	50·92 ±0·38	3·43 ±0·27	6·74 ±0·52	11	48·55
O.I.L.	31	83·89 ±0·75	7·52 ±0·64	8·96 ±0·77	8	91·25
O.I.R.	29	85·01 ±0·98	7·82 ±0·69	9·20 ±0·82	8	88·75
N.I.	42	45·62 ±0·38	3·67 ±0·27	8·05 ±0·60	11	51·64
Cor.H.L.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cor.H.R. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Con.H.L. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Con.H.R. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sig.H.L.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sig.H.R.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Symph.H. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ramus R. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ramus L. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Con.-Sym.L. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bigon.B.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bicond.B. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
M.I.	—	—	—	—	—	—

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TABLE II.—ADULT ♂.

	Malta.				Gozo.			
Character.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
Stature	483	1651·18 ±1·93	62·96 ±1·37	3·81 ±0·08	56	1657·86 ±6·91	76·68 ±4·89	4·63 ±0·30
Sit.Ht.	342	869·43 ±1·40	38·48 ±1·00	4·43 ±0·11	53	869·05 ±3·66	39·48 ±2·59	4·54 ±0·30
G.O.L.	561	188·70 ±0·19	6·63 ±0·13	3·51 ±0·07	82	185·38 ±0·49	6·55 ±0·34	3·53 ±0·19
G.H.B.	562	152·29 ±0·17	5·80 ±0·12	3·81 ±0·08	82	151·79 ±0·44	5·91 ±0·31	3·89 ±0·21
M.F.D.	561	110·23 ±0·16	5·66 ±0·11	5·13 ±0·10	82	108·18 ±0·48	6·46 ±0·34	5·97 ±0·32
Biz.B.	560	139·14 ±0·17	5·95 ±0·12	4·28 ±0·09	82	139·11 ±0·46	6·12 ±0·32	4·40 ±0·23
Ext.Orb.B.	560	100·01 ±0·15	5·42 ±0·11	5·42 ±0·11	82	96·91 ±0·49	6·50 ±0·35	6·80 ±0·36
Big.B.	562	109·31 ±0·19	6·53 ±0·13	5·98 ±0·12	82	107·21 ±0·49	6·62 ±0·35	6·17 ±0·33
U.F.H.	555	64·82 ±0·14	4·80 ±0·10	7·41 ±0·15	82	64·04 ±0·35	4·66 ±0·25	7·28 ±0·39
T.F.H.	554	115·98 ±0·21	7·40 ±0·15	6·38 ±0·13	77	114·94 ±0·43	5·60 ±0·30	4·87 ±0·27
N.H.	560	48·79 ±0·12	4·32 ±0·09	8·85 ±0·18	83	50·86 ±0·36	4·83 ±0·25	9·50 ±0·50
N.B.	560	36·28 ±0·09	3·24 ±0·07	8·93 ±0·18	83	37·05 ±0·24	3·23 ±0·17	8·72 ±0·46
Int.Oc.B.	559	32·33 ±0·09	3·15 ±0·06	9·73 ±0·20	—	—	—	—
C.I.	561	80·71 ±0·10	3·44 ±0·07	4·26 ±0·09	81	82·00 ±0·25	3·33 ±0·18	4·06 ±0·22
U.F.I.	554	46·59 ±0·11	3·75 ±0·08	8·04 ±0·16	81	46·07 ±0·23	3·01 ±0·16	6·53 ±0·35
T.F.I.	552	83·52 ±0·15	5·38 ±0·11	6·44 ±0·13	76	82·54 ±0·35	4·58 ±0·25	5·55 ±0·30
N.I.	559	75·26 ±0·25	8·89 ±0·18	11·81 ±0·24	83	73·45 ±0·62	8·48 ±0·44	11·55 ±0·61

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE II.—ADULT ♂—*continued.*

	Urban Districts.				Rural Districts.			
Character.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
Stature	175	1647·77 ± 3·39	70·40 ± 2·54	4·27 ± 0·15	151	1647·75 ± 3·65	66·50 ± 2·58	4·04 ± 0·16
Sit.Ht.	166	867·80 ± 2·13	40·72 ± 1·51	4·69 ± 0·17	122	877·91 ± 2·22	36·40 ± 1·57	4·15 ± 0·18
G.O.L.	237	188·86 ± 0·20	6·60 ± 0·20	3·49 ± 0·11	157	188·30 ± 0·36	6·68 ± 0·25	3·55 ± 0·14
G.H.B.	238	152·92 ± 0·23	5·23 ± 0·16	3·42 ± 0·11	157	152·63 ± 0·32	6·01 ± 0·23	3·93 ± 0·15
M.F.D.	238	110·77 ± 0·24	5·47 ± 0·17	4·94 ± 0·15	156	110·91 ± 0·33	6·15 ± 0·24	5·55 ± 0·21
Biz.B.	236	139·53 ± 0·25	5·77 ± 0·18	4·14 ± 0·13	157	139·97 ± 0·32	5·94 ± 0·23	4·24 ± 0·16
Ext.Orb.B.	236	99·87 ± 0·23	5·18 ± 0·16	5·18 ± 0·16	157	99·33 ± 0·28	5·22 ± 0·20	5·26 ± 0·20
Big.B.	238	110·02 ± 0·30	6·77 ± 0·21	6·15 ± 0·19	157	110·16 ± 0·34	6·28 ± 0·24	5·70 ± 0·22
U.F.H.	232	65·41 ± 0·23	5·23 ± 0·16	8·00 ± 0·25	156	65·01 ± 0·24	4·39 ± 0·17	6·75 ± 0·26
T.F.H.	232	116·66 ± 0·34	7·72 ± 0·24	6·62 ± 0·21	155	116·75 ± 0·39	7·18 ± 0·28	6·15 ± 0·24
N.H.	236	49·32 ± 0·19	4·28 ± 0·13	8·67 ± 0·27	157	48·34 ± 0·21	3·90 ± 0·15	8·08 ± 0·31
N.B.	237	36·39 ± 0·14	3·29 ± 0·10	9·04 ± 0·28	157	36·15 ± 0·17	3·14 ± 0·12	8·70 ± 0·33
Int.Oc.B.	236	32·93 ± 0·14	3·27 ± 0·10	9·94 ± 0·31	157	32·62 ± 0·15	2·83 ± 0·11	8·69 ± 0·33
C.I.	237	80·97 ± 0·15	3·51 ± 0·11	4·33 ± 0·13	157	81·20 ± 0·19	3·58 ± 0·14	4·41 ± 0·17
U.F.I.	231	46·00 ± 0·17	3·78 ± 0·12	8·22 ± 0·26	156	46·26 ± 0·18	3·40 ± 0·13	7·36 ± 0·28
T.F.I.	230	83·70 ± 0·24	5·43 ± 0·17	6·49 ± 0·20	155	83·72 ± 0·27	5·05 ± 0·19	6·04 ± 0·23
N.I.	236	73·03 ± 0·39	8·85 ± 0·27	12·11 ± 0·38	157	75·20 ± 0·47	8·64 ± 0·33	11·48 ± 0·44

[4]

TABLE II.—ADULT ♂—*continued.*

	Siggewi.				Zurrico.			
Character.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
Stature	74	1655·41 ± 4·39	55·94 ±	3·38 ± 0·19	83	1660·85 ± 3·41	46·04 ± 2·41	2·77 ± 0·15
Sit.Ht.	—	—	—	—	54	860·00 ± 2·95	32·18 ± 2·09	3·74 ± 0·24
G.O.L.	80	189·08 ± 0·48	6·33 ± 0·34	3·35 ± 0·18	87	188·83 ± 0·47	6·51 ± 0·33	3·45 ± 0·18
G.H.B.	80	152·17 ± 0·42	5·59 ± 0·30	3·67 ± 0·20	87	150·30 ± 0·39	5·38 ± 0·28	3·58 ± 0·18
M.F.D.	80	107·45 ± 0·41	5·49 ± 0·29	5·11 ± 0·27	87	110·21 ± 0·29	3·97 ± 0·20	3·62 ± 0·19
Biz.B.	80	137·98 ± 0·44	5·81 ± 0·31	4·21 ± 0·22	87	137·68 ± 0·44	6·15 ± 0·31	4·47 ± 0·23
Ext.Orb.B.	80	99·15 ± 0·41	5·38 ± 0·29	5·43 ± 0·29	87	101·16 ± 0·47	6·45 ± 0·33	6·38 ± 0·33
Big.B.	80	108·17 ± 0·35	6·52 ± 0·40	6·03 ± 0·38	87	108·90 ± 0·41	5·72 ± 0·29	5·25 ± 0·27
U.F.H.	80	64·30 ± 0·36	4·71 ± 0·25	7·33 ± 0·39	87	63·18 ± 0·31	4·22 ± 0·22	6·68 ± 0·34
T.F.H.	80	114·40 ± 0·57	7·50 ± 0·40	6·56 ± 0·35	87	114·19 ± 0·46	6·31 ± 0·32	5·52 ± 0·28
N.H.	80	49·05 ± 0·31	4·09 ± 0·22	8·34 ± 0·45	87	46·55 ± 0·35	4·82 ± 0·25	10·36 ± 0·54
N.B.	79	37·56 ± 0·24	3·13 ± 0·17	8·33 ± 0·45	87	35·05 ± 0·21	2·89 ± 0·15	8·24 ± 0·42
Int.Oc.B.	79	30·91 ± 0·27	3·51 ± 0·19	11·47 ± 0·62	87	31·20 ± 0·18	2·51 ± 0·13	8·02 ± 0·41
C.I.	80	80·69 ± 0·22	2·95 ± 0·16	3·66 ± 0·20	87	79·78 ± 0·25	3·51 ± 0·18	4·40 ± 0·23
U.F.I.	80	46·61 ± 0·27	3·63 ± 0·19	7·79 ± 0·42	87	45·92 ± 0·24	3·34 ± 0·17	7·27 ± 0·37
T.F.I.	80	82·95 ± 0·45	5·96 ± 0·32	7·19 ± 0·39	87	83·03 ± 0·36	5·00 ± 0·26	6·02 ± 0·31
N.I.	79	77·47 ± 0·63	8·26 ± 0·44	10·66 ± 0·58	87	75·92 ± 0·68	9·36 ± 0·48	12·33 ± 0·64

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

TABLE III.—ADULT ♀.

Character.	Malta. No.	Malta. Mean.	Malta. σ	Malta. V.	Gozo. No.	Gozo. Mean.	Gozo. σ	Gozo. V.
Stature	229	1506·05 ±2·77	61·02 ±1·96	4·05 ±0·13	49	1518·57 ±6·07	62·96 ±4·29	4·15 ±0·27
Sit.Ht.	182	813·02 ±2·39	47·94 ±1·69	5·90 ±0·21	30	803·50 ±5·42	44·03 ±3·83	5·48 ±0·48
G.O.L.	330	177·40 ±0·23	6·11 ±0·16	3·44 ±0·09	51	176·95 ±0·59	6·20 ±0·41	3·50 ±0·23
G.H.B.	329	144·62 ±0·20	5·41 ±0·14	3·74 ±0·10	51	144·47 ±0·36	3·84 ±0·26	2·66 ±0·18
M.F.D.	326	102·14 ±0·20	5·30 ±0·14	5·19 ±0·14	51	101·75 ±0·44	4·70 ±0·31	4·62 ±0·31
Biz.B.	327	127·15 ±0·18	4·92 ±0·13	3·87 ±0·10	51	129·27 ±0·42	4·46 ±0·30	3·45 ±0·23
Ext.Orb.B.	328	92·04 ±0·20	7·90 ±0·21	8·59 ±0·23	51	88·58 ±0·61	6·44 ±0·43	7·27 ±0·49
Big.B.	326	98·14 ±0·20	5·40 ±0·14	5·50 ±0·15	51	97·47 ±0·42	4·34 ±0·29	4·45 ±0·30
U.F.H.	326	62·30 ±0·22	4·80 ±0·15	7·70 ±0·20	51	63·32 ±0·46	4·92 ±0·33	7·77 ±0·52
T.F.H.	304	106·77 ±0·25	6·55 ±0·18	6·14 ±0·17	47	108·27 ±0·55	5·61 ±0·39	5·18 ±0·36
N.H.	330	49·32 ±0·18	4·85 ±0·13	9·83 ±0·26	51	50·45 ±0·38	4·05 ±0·27	8·03 ±0·54
N.B.	326	32·62 ±0·11	2·95 ±0·08	9·03 ±0·24	51	33·43 ±0·33	3·45 ±0·23	10·32 ±0·70
Int.Oc.B.	325	27·85 ±0·11	3·07 ±0·08	11·03 ±0·30	51	26·39 ±0·25	2·68 ±0·18	10·16 ±0·69
C.I.	328	81·55 ±0·12	3·34 ±0·09	4·10 ±0·11	51	82·37 ±0·32	3·36 ±0·22	4·08 ±0·27
U.F.I.	329	49·06 ±0·15	4·05 ±0·11	8·26 ±0·22	51	49·52 ±0·41	4·30 ±0·29	8·68 ±0·58
T.F.I.	303	84·25 ±0·23	5·91 ±0·16	7·02 ±0·19	47	84·24 ±0·47	4·82 ±0·34	5·72 ±0·40
N.I.	325	66·76 ±0·33	8·81 ±0·23	13·21 ±0·36	51	66·60 ±0·77	8·14 ±0·54	1·22 ±0·83

TABLE III.—ADULT ♀—*continued.*

	Urban Districts.				Rural Districts.			
Character.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
Stature	111	1509·06 ±3·92	61·24 ±2·77	4·06 ±0·18	99	1503·03 ±4·37	64·41 ±3·09	4·29 ±0·21
Sit.Ht.	108	804·25 ±2·42	37·33 ±1·71	4·64 ±0·21	74	828·58 ±3·78	48·22 ±2·67	5·82 ±0·32
G.O.L.	184	177·29 ±0·30	6·10 ±0·21	3·44 ±0·12	146	177·49 ±0·34	6·03 ±0·24	3·40 ±0·14
G.H.B.	183	145·09 ±0·27	5·49 ±0·19	3·78 ±0·13	146	144·03 ±0·29	5·23 ±0·21	3·64 ±0·14
M.F.D.	182	102·36 ±0·26	5·14 ±0·18	5·02 ±0·18	144	101·83 ±0·31	5·50 ±0·22	5·40 ±0·22
Biz.B.	183	127·82 ±0·25	4·99 ±0·18	3·91 ±0·14	144	126·38 ±0·26	4·61 ±0·18	3·65 ±0·14
Ext.Orb.B.	183	93·82 ±0·39	7·83 ±0·28	8·35 ±0·30	145	89·83 ±0·41	7·34 ±0·29	8·12 ±0·32
Big.B.	184	98·64 ±0·27	5·44 ±0·19	5·52 ±0·19	142	97·50 ±0·31	5·45 ±0·22	5·59 ±0·22
U.F.H.	182	61·51 ±0·23	4·50 ±0·16	7·31 ±0·26	144	62·89 ±0·27	4·86 ±0·19	7·73 ±0·31
T.F.H.	168	106·21 ±0·36	6·86 ±0·25	6·46 ±0·24	136	107·51 ±0·34	5·81 ±0·24	5·40 ±0·22
N.H.	184	48·58 ±0·24	4·81 ±0·17	9·91 ±0·35	146	50·07 ±0·27	4·76 ±0·19	9·50 ±0·38
N.B.	183	32·17 ±0·15	3·02 ±0·11	9·38 ±0·33	143	32·72 ±0·16	2·82 ±0·11	8·60 ±0·35
Int.Oc.B.	182	27·96 ±0·17	3·31 ±0·12	11·98 ±0·48	143	27·73 ±0·17	2·98 ±0·12	10·74 ±0·43
C.I.	183	81·83 ±0·17	3·32 ±0·12	4·05 ±0·14	146	81·16 ±0·18	3·25 ±0·13	4·00 ±0·16
U.F.I.	184	48·54 ±0·20	3·97 ±0·14	8·19 ±0·29	145	49·06 ±0·24	4·28 ±0·17	8·57 ±0·34
T.F.I.	168	83·33 ±0·30	5·84 ±0·21	7·01 ±0·26	135	85·24 ±0·34	5·88 ±0·24	6·90 ±0·28
N.I.	183	67·36 ±0·42	8·40 ±0·30	12·48 ±0·45	142	65·96 ±0·52	9·16 ±0·37	13·89 ±0·57

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

TABLE IV.—SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES. CRANIA.

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Mediæval Chapel of Bones and Modern Valletta.

Character.	Means.		Variations.	
	Δ_{c-v}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	$V_v - V_c$	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
O.O.L.	—	—	—	—
G.O.L.	1·93 ±0·63	3·06	—	—
G.B.	—	—	—	—
M.F.D.	—	—	—	—
Biz.B.	2·06 ±0·58	3·56	—	—
N.H.	—	—	2·18 ±0·53	4·10
N.B.	0·87 ±0·18	4·83	—	—
B.B.H.	2·12 ±0·45	6·69	—	—
B.N.	—	—	1·75 ±0·44	3·98
B.A.	1·68 ±0·54	3·10	—	—
U.F.H.	1·52 ±0·45	3·36	—	—
F.B.	1·88 ±0·52	3·60	—	—
O.B.L.	1·52 ±0·22	6·96	—	—
O.B.R.	2·70 ±0·29	9·43	—	—
O.H.L.	—	—	3·55 ±0·86	4·13
O.H.R.	—	—	3·02 ±0·83	3·63
P.L.	1·33 ±0·43	3·06	—	—
P.B.	—	—	—	—
C.I.	−1·92 ±0·41	4·73	—	—
V.I.	—	—	—	—
U.F.I.	—	—	—	—
O.I.L.	—	—	—	—
O.I.R.	—	—	—	—
N.I.	1·32 ±0·40	3·29	—	—

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 E26 Malta E26

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TABLE V.—SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES. LIVING.

Means ♂.

Character.	Malta and Gozo.		Urban District and Rural District.		Urban District and Siggewe.		Urban District and Zurrico.		Zurrico and Siggewe.	
	Δ_{M-G}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{U-R}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{U-S}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{U-Z}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{S-Z}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
G.O.L.	3·32 ±0·53	6·26	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—
H.B.	None.	—	"	—	"	—	2·62 ±0·45	5·79	1·87 ±0·57	3·26
M.F.D.	2·05 ±0·51	4·02	"	—	3·32 ±0·48	6·99	None.	—	−2·76 ±0·50	5·50
Biz.B.	None.	—	"	—	1·55 ±0·51	3·06	1·85 ±0·51	3·66	None.	—
Ext.Orb.B. ...	3·10 ±0·51	6·05	"	—	None.	—	None.	—	2·01 ±0·62	3·22
Big.B.	2·10 ±0·53	3·99	"	—	−1·85 ±0·46	4·01	"	—	None.	—
U.F.H.	None.	—	"	—	None.	—	2·23 ±0·39	5·78	"	—
T.F.H.	"	—	"	—	2·26 ±0·66	3·41	2·47 ±0·57	4·31	"	—
N.H.	2·07 ±0·38	5·45	0·98—0·28	3·46	None.	—	2·77 ±0·40	6·96	2·50 ±0·47	5·35
N.B.	−0·77 ±0·26	3·00	None.	—	1·17 ±0·28	4·21	1·34 ±0·25	5·31	2·51 ±0·32	7·87
Int.Oc.B.	?	—	"	—	2·02 ±0·30	6·65	1·64 ±0·23	7·19	None.	—
C.I.	1·29 ±0·27	4·78	None.	—	None.	—	1·19 ±0·31	3·86	None.	—
U.F.I.	None.	—	"	—	"	—	None.	—	"	—
T.F.I.	"	—	"	—	"	—	"	—	"	—
N.I.	"	—	2·17—0·61	3·55	4·44 ±0·74	5·99	"	—	"	—

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES.

Variations ♂.

Character.	Malta and Gozo.		Urban District and Rural District.		Urban District and Siggewe.		Urban District and Zurrico.		Zurrico and Siggewe.	
	Δ_{M-G}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{U-R}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{U-S}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{U-Z}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{S-Z}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
M.F.D.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1·93 ±0·28	6·82	1·49 ±0·33	4·51
E.O.B.	1·38 ±0·38	3·67	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
U.F.H.	—	—	1·25 ±0·36	3·47	—	—	—	—	—	—
T.F.H.	1·51 ±0·30	5·04	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
N.H.	—	—	—	—	—	—	2·28 ±0·62	3·66	—	—

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE V.—SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES. LIVING—*continued.*

Character.	Means ♀.				Variations.					
	Malta and Gozo.		Urban District and Rural District.		Malta. ♀ and ♂.		Malta and Gozo ♀.		Urban District and Rural District ♀.	
	Δ_{M-G}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{U-R}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	$\Delta_{♂-♀}$	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{M-G}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{U-R}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
G.O.L.	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—
H.B.	"	—	"	—	"	—	1·08 ±0·21	5·25	"	—
M.F.D.	"	—	"	—	"	—	None.	—	"	—
Biz.B.	−2·12 ±0·46	4·64	1·44 ±0·36	3·99	0·41 ±0·13	3·15	"	—	"	—
E.O.B.	3·86 ±0·68	5·12	3·99 ±0·57	7·05	−3·17 ±0·26	12·43	"	—	"	—
Big.B.	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—	1·05 ±0·34	3·13	"	—
U.F.H.	"	—	−1·38 ±0·35	3·89	"	—	None.	—	"	—
T.F.H.	"	—	None.	—	"	—	"	—	"	—
N.H.	"	—	−1·49 ±0·36	4·12	−0·98 ±0·32	3·10	1·80 ±0·60	3·00	"	—
N.B.	"	—	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—	"	—
I.O.B.	1·46 ±0·27	5·35	"	—	(?)	—	"	—	"	—
C.I.	None.	—	None.	—	−0·41 ±0·12	3·42	None.	—	None	—
U.F.I.	"	—	−1·42 ±0·31	4·55	None.	—	"	—	"	—
T.F.I.	"	—	−1·91 ±0·45	4·21	"	—	"	—	"	—
N.I.	"	—	None.	—	"	—	"	—	"	—

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE V.—SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES. LIVING—*continued.*

Means ♂ and ♀ (Indices).		
Malta.		
Character.	$\Delta_{♂-♀}$	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
C.I.	$-0·84 \pm 0·16$	5·38
U.F.I.	$-2·49 \pm 0·19$	13·39
T.F.I.	—	—
N.I.	$-0·85 \pm 0·13$	6·49

Coefficients of Correlation.		
Malta.		
Character.	$\Delta_{♂-♀}$	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
T.F.H. and Biz.B. ...	$0·25 \pm 0·08$	5·28
	Urban and Rural Districts ♀.	
T.F.H. and Biz.B. ...	$0·29 \pm 0·08$	3·74
N.H. and N.B.	$0·35 \pm 0·07$	4·74
	Urban Districts and Siggewe ♂.	
G.O.L. and G.B. ...	$-0·24 \pm 0·07$	3·37

TABLE VI.—COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION.

Living ♂.

Character.	Malta.	Gozo.	Urban Districts.	Rural Districts.	Siggewe.	Zurrico.
G.O.L. and G.B.	0·325 ±0·025	0·405 ±0·063	0·215 ±0·042	0·319 ±0·048	0·459 ±0·059	0·217 ±0·069
U.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·135 ±0·028	0·308 ±0·068	0·205 ±0·043	0·176 ±0·052	0·175 ±0·073	0·107 ±0·069
T.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·321 ±0·026	0·287 ±0·071	0·344 ±0·039	0·370 ±0·047	0·164 ±0·073	0·288 ±0·066
N.H. and N.B.	0·111 ±0·028	0·190 ±0·071	0·065 ±0·044	0·065 ±0·054	0·193 ±0·073	0·136 ±0·071

Living ♀.

Character.	Malta.	Gozo.	Urban Districts.	Rural Districts.	Siggewe.	Zurrico.
G.O.L. and G.B.	0·350 ±0·033	0·144 ±0·093	0·375 ±0·043	0·356 ±0·049	—	—
U.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·101 ±0·037	−0·057 ±0·094	0·064 ±0·050	−0·007 ±0·056	—	—
T.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·074 ±0·039	0·168 ±0·096	0·156 ±0·051	−0·130 ±0·057	—	—
N.H. and N.B.	0·021 ±0·037	0·131 ±0·093	0·164 ±0·049	−0·182 ±0·055	—	—

Skulls ♂.

Character.	Mediæval Chapel of Bones.	Modern Valletta.
G.O.L. and G.B.	0·079 ±0·031	0·173 ±0·102
H.L. and B.R.	0·149 ±0·031	0·366 ±0·092
U.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·183 ±0·042	0·163 ±0·106
O.B. & O.H.L.	0·180 ±0·031	0·410 ±0·091
O.B. and O.H.R.	0·154 ±0·031	0·344 ±0·111
N.H. and N.B.	0·107 ±0·032	0·653 ±0·060
C.S. and Bic.L.	0·178 ±0·039	—

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Table VII.—Pigmentation.

Hair Colour.

Hair Colour.	Absolute Figures.									
	♂						♀			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Black	150	99	51	30	330	56	107	102	209	38
Brown	65	44	27	56	192	24	64	38	102	13
Fair	2	1	1	1	5	1	3	—	3	—
Total ...	217	144	79	87	527	81	174	140	314	51

Hair Colour.	Percentages.									
	♂						♀			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Black	69·1	68·8	64·5	34·5	62·6	69·1	61·5	72·8	66·5	74·5
Brown	30·0	30·5	34·2	64·4	36·5	29·7	36·8	27·2	32·5	25·5
Fair	0·9	0·7	1·3	1·1	0·9	1·2	1·7	—	1·0	—
Total ...	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

Eye Colour.

Eye Colour.	Absolute Figures.									
	♂						♀			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Brown	121	82	37	58	298	58	136	109	245	38
Intermediate ...	71	41	34	16	162	15	32	24	56	6
Blue	43	31	8	13	95	8	15	12	27	7
Total ...	235	154	79	87	555	81	183	145	328	51

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE VII.—PIGMENTATION—*continued.*

Eye Colour.	Percentages.									
	♂						♂			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Brown	51·5	53·3	46·9	66·6	57·7	71·6	74·3	75·2	74·7	74·5
Intermediate ...	30·2	26·6	43·0	18·4	29·2	18·5	17·5	16·5	17·1	11·8
Blue	18·3	20·1	10·1	15·0	17·1	9·9	8·2	8·3	8·2	13·7
Total ...	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

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Medical Votive Offerings in the Maltese Islands

PAUL CASSAR

THE MALTESE GROUP OF ISLANDS—Malta, Gozo, Kemmuna, Kemmunet and Filfla— 131
cover an area of just over 120 square miles. They form a stepping-stone between Europe
and Africa, being fifty-eight miles distant from Sicily and 180 miles away from the
North African shore. Malta and Gozo are renowned for the number of Stone Age 172
temples they contain. Archaeologists have expressed the opinion that some of the enclosures of these temples were sacred to a healing deity (Zammit 1926, p. 53). This is suggested by the discovery of clay and limestone objects consisting of (1) two models of women lying asleep on a kind of stretcher of wicker work, and (2) several votive offerings in the shape of parts of the human body (Zammit & Singer 1924, pp. 75–6).

It is believed that the sleeping ladies represent devotees who went to the Hypogeum 17
temple at Hal Saflieni, near Pawla, to consult the oracle through the practice of oneiro- 787
mancy. This was a form of dream interpretation after the patient had been aroused from 755
a hypnotic state induced deliberately by means of drugs or other means (Zammit 1935, p. 58). In ancient Egypt dreams were regarded with reverence and the faithful believed that their prayers were rewarded by the gods with an indication, in their dreams, of the remedies which their illness required (Wilkinson 1837, III, p. 394). Similar practices prevailed also in the temple-hospitals of classical Greece where the patient is said to have had the line of treatment revealed to him in his sleep (Pavey 1951, p. 59). It is, therefore, quite possible that such methods were likewise followed in Malta by the Hypogeum priests in the treatment of disease about 1500 B.C. Whatever might have happened in Malta in neolithic days, it is very striking to come across similar parallels in modern times where sick persons claim to have been healed by a heavenly power while in the sleeping state.

The following cases were recorded in 1890, the first being the most interesting as 175
the patient fell asleep in the church itself: 755

(i) A woman had been subject to a purulent inflammation of the mouth for 787
fifteen years. She had recourse to the Virgin Mary and while praying at Ta Pinu 781
church (Gharb, Gozo) she was overtaken by extreme somnolence. She woke up with the conviction that the Madonna had granted her the desired favour; in fact, she recovered completely from her illness within three days.

(ii) Maria Cachia, from a village in Gozo, was so gravely ill from puerperal fever that it was decided to give her the Last Sacraments. Her mother made a vow to the Virgin Mary and annointed the patient on the forehead and breasts with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp of Ta Pinu church. Maria fell into a calm sleep. Our Lady appeared to her in a vision, touched her on the parts smeared with the oil and healed her. On waking she was 'happy and smiling and left her bed completely cured'.

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 E26 Malta E26

175 755 787 781 (iii) Giovanna Debriacat had been suffering from depression with religious scruples for eight months. Her symptoms became acute one day in February with extreme anxiety, agitation, and insomnia. This phase lasted for four consecutive days and nights in spite of the efforts of the doctor and a priest to reassure her and placate her. Finally her relatives annointed her with the sanctuary oil and appealed to the Blessed Virgin to cure her. The patient immediately became tranquil and had a peaceful sleep. When she woke up, all her symptoms had disappeared (*Idderet ta Maria*, 1890).

532

NEOLITHIC VOTIVE OFFERINGS

172 782 [171] The custom of offering 'ex-votos' to the deity for favours received is not limited to the Maltese Islands and goes back to very remote times. The neolithic 'ex-votos' of Malta are made of clay and limestone, and measure from 1½ to 3½ inches in height. No less than fifteen of them, consisting of the following anatomical forms, have been found:

- (i) Faces: 2.
- (ii) Hand: 1.
- (iii) Female torsos with large abdomen, pendulous breasts, and prominent genitalia: 4.
- (iv) Kneeling female (?) torso with arms folded on breast: 2.
- (v) Fragment of female statuette consisting of lower abdomen, both thighs, and right leg: 1.
- (vi) Female body cut short in the neck and upper parts of the thighs; the left arm is bent on the nape of the neck and the right upper limb points to the genitalia which are very clearly shown. The abdomen and breasts are very full and a swelling fills the left groin while pieces of white shells are stuck in the armpits, groins, umbilicus, mons veneris, and other parts.
- (vii) Female pelvis with upper parts of thighs and sexual triangle: 2.
- (viii) Legs: 2 (Zammit & Singer 1924, p. 67).

17 782 [797] The Roman occupation of Malta (218 B.C.–A.D. 397) is represented by one solitary 'ex-voto' consisting of a clay model of the lateral view of a leg and foot. It was found quite recently with other Roman objects in the north-west part of the island (Plate 1, Fig. 2). The inhabitants of the Maltese Islands were converted to Christianity by St Paul in A.D. 60. No more 'ex-votos' can be traced for many hundreds of years until they reappear in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Catholic Church. The interruption in the time-sequence and the change of religious beliefs do not, however, prevent us from perceiving that they have a common purpose and that the 'ex-votos' of Stone Age and Roman times foreshadow the similar ones of later years. Indeed the same ideational process links the ancient ones with those of our own times.

782 532 755 Anatomical 'ex-votos' are still preserved in many of the Catholic churches of Malta and Gozo and in several wayside shrines in the countryside and in niches in the towns. They are either figures of the complete human body or of parts of it. The former consist of the front view of babies with the trunk and limbs swathed in bands like a mummy; and of side views of men and women in a kneeling posture with their hands joined in prayer over their breasts or else holding a symbolical heart. The men are turned towards the left and the women look towards the right. The models representing parts of the

4: Cassar P-4,5 (no date) 1964. E26 Malta E26

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[772]

1/1 [captions appear on p. 29. - An.]

[facing P. 24]

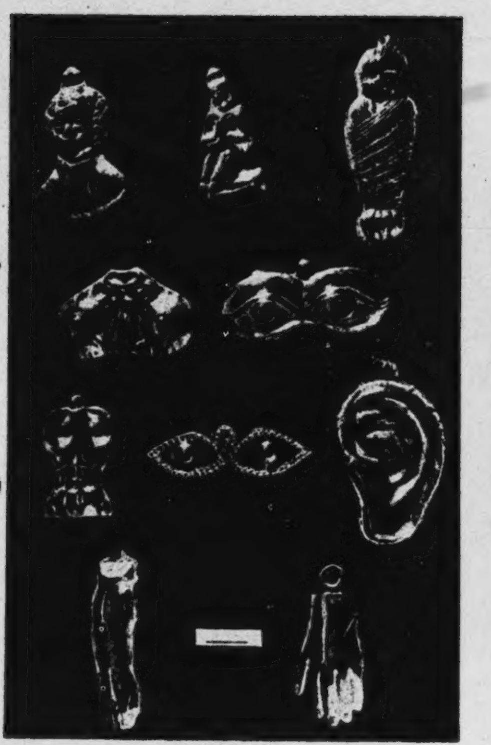

FIGURE 1

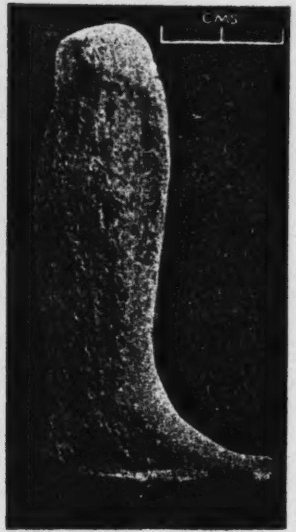

FIGURE 2

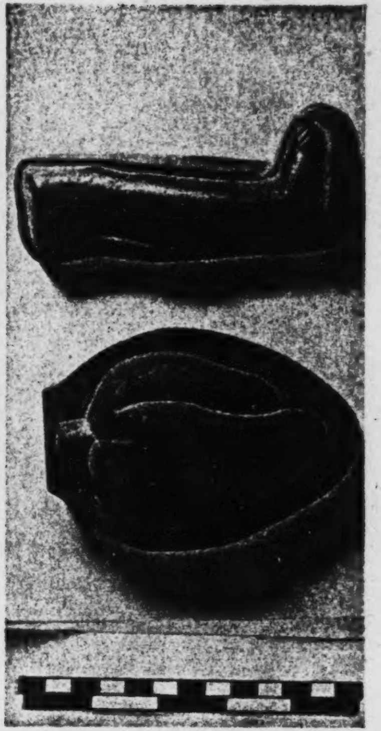

FIGURE 3

body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no patho- 532
logy they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 755
'legs were offered for paralysis, congenital anomalies and chronic ulcers in the lower
limbs; 'arms' and 'hands' for fractures and threatened loss of fingers by injury or gangrene; 'ears' for deafness and otitis; and 'eyes' for a variety of ocular diseases. Sometimes, however, the association of illness and anatomical part is not so specific; thus 'trunks' were offered for such varied conditions as throat affections, hernias, and mental disorder; 'faces' for enlarged glands in the neck; and pairs of female 'breasts' for deficiency of milk in a lactating mother as well as disease of these organs.

They were made of wax or of raised work in gold and silver foil. Those met with at 782
present are the silver ones, the others having disappeared from the churches though 532
they were still being offered at the end of the last century if not later. There are records
of wax effigies of arms, legs, eyes, and babies and also of gold ones having been deposited [325]
at that period at Ta Pinu Church at Gharb in Gozo. A pair of gold legs cost £17
(*Id-devot ta Maria* 1890; Kerr 1893). Wax figures also existed until some thirty years ago
in the small church of Tal Mirakli at Lija (Tanti 1962). These objects were manufac- [439]
tured in Malta but some of them were imported from Sicily and North Africa. The gold [325]
and silver foil was hammered into the desired shape over dies of bronze by a silversmith
(Plate 1, Fig. 3). They vary in size from 6 by 2½ inches to 1 by 3½ inches. Some of them
bear hall-marks which help to date them and identify the source of manufacture. The
earliest met so far by the writer is a stylized silver model (in the writer's collection) of a pair [422]
of female breasts impressed with the hall-marks of the Grand Master of the Order of St.
John of Jerusalem, Em. de Rohan who ruled over the Maltese Islands from 1775 to 1797.

The deposition of anatomical 'ex-votos' in Maltese churches ceased in 1935. The
ecclesiastical council held in that year in Malta under the presidency of Cardinal H. 782
Lepicier disallowed the exhibition of 'votive offerings showing parts of the human body 532
except those in the shape of a heart', (*Concilium*, 1935, p. 60), so that the present-day 795
visitor will hardly see anything else except 'hearts' hanging by the statues of the saints to
whom they were offered by grateful devotees. The more 'profane' models have been
melted and converted into sacred utensils for the church service.

Very occasionally instead of an anatomical representation, we come across a silver 211
tablet commemorating deliverance from illness. Here is a specimen inscribed in Latin: 164

P. Trapani cum suis / A. MDCCCLXXXVII / Ab Asiana Lue /
Incolumes (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1888).

that is P. Trapani and his family spared from the Asiatic Disease of the year 1887.

(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the [731]
last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of [165]
over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and 782
by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These 755
actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from
the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in
which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

PAUL CASSAR MEDICAL VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN THE MALTESE ISLANDS PLATE II 2/n

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782
789
[402]
[291]

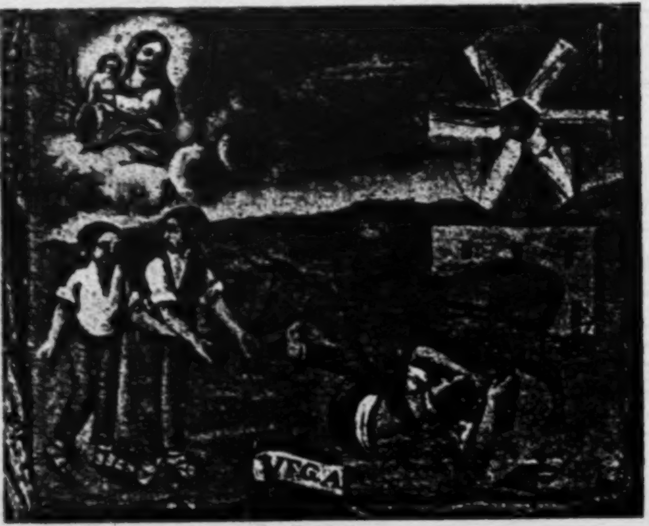

FIGURE 1

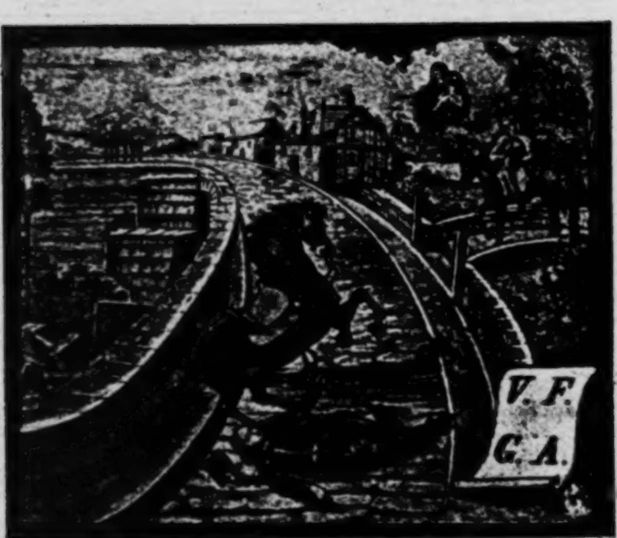

FIGURE 2

[facing p. 25]

a/n [captions appear on p. 29 - An.]

782 drinking from the spring of the grotto at Mellieha village where the Holy Virgin is
755 venerated; or placing some earth on the sick person from the tomb of a hermit reputed
to have died in odour of sanctity in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 16).

Sometimes the donation of an 'ex-voto' was coupled with the publication, in a
755 religious periodical, of the circumstances of the illness and its extraordinary cure. The
782 following are typical case-histories, translated from Maltese, culled at random from
214 such a periodical:

[204] (i) Victoria Conti, who had been suffering from deafness in the right ear for four years, was told by two doctors that her condition was incurable. She prayed to the Holy Mary and as soon as she placed the oil from the sanctuary of Ta Pinu (Gharb, Gozo) on her ear she regained her hearing.

(ii) A woman fell from the balcony of her house and, as a result, had a series of convulsions, lost the faculty of speech, and became moribund. She remained in this precarious state for fifteen days when her parents promised the offer of a silver 'ex-voto' to the Holy Virgin if their daughter recovered. The following night the patient began to regain consciousness and to talk. She made steady progress and was well within a short time.

(iii) Joseph Spiteri, from Zabbar, had a mentally sick brother who, in a fit of frenzy, cut his throat. The doctor declared the case a hopeless one but, following a vow to the Mother of Christ, the patient began to improve until he recovered from his wound and from his mental illness within nine weeks.

(iv) Clo. Monsignier had measles and almost lost his eyesight as a complication. His mother vowed to the Virgin Mary that she would offer a silver 'ex-voto' in the shape of a pair of eyes if his sight was spared. Immediately this promise was made, the boy opened his eyes from which all the signs of disease had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1894–9).

Other published accounts deal with cases of throat infections, puerperal sepsis, hyperpyrexia (up to 107° F), and trachoma. To appreciate the seriousness of these diseases up to thirty years ago, it must be remembered that the sulphonamide and the antibiotic eras had not yet dawned and that no effective therapy was yet available with the result that many patients with sepsis lost their lives and cases of trachoma ended in permanent blindness. Stories of accidents, such as falls from heights, scalding and involvement in vehicular traffic are also recorded. At times medical certificates over the signatures of prominent doctors were published as evidence of the gravity of the injury or illness sustained and of recovery therefrom (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1887).

MEDICAL PAINTINGS

782 These are of various sizes ranging from 5 × 12 to 18 × 24 inches. They were much more
532 numerous in the past than they are to-day. Church walls, which are now bare, were
346 covered with these small canvases and wooden panels. A number of these 'ex-votos'
353 vanished many years ago as in the case of the Sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception
of Qala in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 13). In other churches these pictures still existed in great numbers up to about thirty years ago but have now dwindled considerably, instances being those of the Cave chapel of the Annunciation and St Leonard at Minsija (Birkirkara), the church of Tal Mirakli (Lija), and Tal Hlas (Qormi). One of the sanc-

tuaries that remains particularly rich in painted 'ex-votos' is the church in the Tal 782
Herba district (Birkirkara) erected in 1640 and dedicated to the Birth of the Holy 532
Virgin. These panels are hung up, one above the other, almost up to the ceiling so that 346
the following description written almost one hundred years ago still applies with regard 353
to this particular church: 'On the walls one sees a considerable number of small paintings representing the favours received through the intercession of the Holy Virgin by those devotees who had recourse to her in their calamities' (Ferres 1866, p. 322). As far as could be ascertained the latest painting in this church is dated 1944.

On the whole these pictures are the work of self-taught anonymous folk who never 532
regarded themselves as artists but only as humble craftsmen. In fact their productions 789
often ignore the rules of perspective while the colours and the shading are poor; but in 782
viewing them one must take account of the fact that they were not intended to be decorative pieces. They were simply meant to be pictorial records of the occurrence of a medical emergency that was thought to be beyond human control and which ended happily in an extraordinary manner through a supernatural act. Indeed these pictures portray the moment in which the physician confesses that there is nothing that medical art and science can do to save the patient's life and the instant in which the Divine intervention occurs. Thus we behold the Holy Mary relieving a choking girl or rescuing a pedestrian from being crushed by the wheel of a carriage or see Our Lady stopping a run-away horse and saving its rider from harm (Plate 2, Fig. 2); or else softening the impact of the fall from a height of a stone-mason so that he reaches the ground uninjured; or sparing the life of a farmer from an enraged beast (Plate 2, Fig. 1). In this task of graphically reproducing an event, these paintings succeed very well.

OTHER VOTIVE OFFERINGS

Other things offered for medical reasons consist of: (i) Surgical and orthopaedic ap- 782
pliances such as crutches, plaster jackets, leather corsets, iron splints, metal sutures, etc. (ii) Foreign bodies removed from organs such as stones from the kidneys, needles from fingers, hair-clips from the throat, swallowed thimble, etc. (iii) Babies' dresses, some of them embroidered with gold thread, are a characteristic feature of the Mellieha sanctuary. This custom of offering the child's clothing as a token for recovery from illness prevailed also in connexion with the tomb of the Holy Hermit Kurraw at the Qala sanctuary in Gozo. The grateful mothers of sick children used to deposit the clothing of their offspring on the hermit's grave as a sign that the disease had been transferred from the children's bodies on to their clothing (Vella Haber 1946, p. 14). Babies' dresses are also offered in thanksgiving for an uneventful delivery and the birth of a normal infant. (iv) Wax tapers, decorated torches and bottles of olive oil for lighting the sanctuary lamp. (v) Sums of money. (vi) Jewellery is the most common 'ex-voto' to be seen to-day in Maltese churches. There are gold necklaces, finger-rings, brooches and other items of personal adornment. Apart from their intrinsic value, most of these gold ornaments represent the most prized possessions which the votary had to offer because they formed the most substantial part of a woman's dowry. To give an idea of the quantity of these valuable articles deposited in one single shrine during a month's time, here is a list, chosen at random from a religious periodical published in 1894: 'Sixteen gold rings, one pair of gold ear-rings with diamonds, two silver bracelets, a gold watch and a

1/A 2/A [see plate II, facing p. 25-Ah.]

782 silver medal, seventeen "ex-votos" of silver, and £39 10s. 6d. in cash' (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1894). In November 1961 twenty-two gold rings and thirty-one pairs of gold ear-rings, besides sums of money, were offered as 'ex-votos' at the shrine of St Rita at St Augustine's Priory, Valletta (*Santa Rita*, 1961, p. 192).

DISCUSSION

154 The relief of anxiety is one of the basic needs of the human personality. In a religion-
782 conditioned community, such as that of the Maltese Islands, one of the most potent
defence mechanisms against life-threatening situations consists in prayer and the offer of
771 'ex-votos' to the Godhead in order to receive deliverance in return. Perhaps what
753 underlies this aspect of human behaviour is the idea that sickness and death are punitive
761 measures from the Godhead for lapses committed by oneself, one's relatives, or one's
community. As a matter of fact, the notion that illness is sent by God as a punishment
for sins is still a current folk-belief in the Maltese Islands. The same trend of thought
finds expression in certain depressive psychoses where the patient shows a heightened
feeling of guilt and is convinced that divine wrath has been visited upon himself and his
close relatives in the form of disease or death. It appears, therefore, that the 'ex-voto' is
not a mere token of gratitude for a favour received but is also a propitiatory offering to
appease the offended deity and thus obtain his pardon and the removal of the punish-
154 ment. The element of sacrifice is implied in the self-denying act of surrendering a
precious thing in return for recovery of health or rescue from imminent death, either
782 materially in the shape of money or jewellery, or symbolically in the form of an ana-
171 tomical representation of one's body. Whatever the psychological motivation prompting
the offer of 'ex-votos', there is no doubt that they throw an illuminating sidelight on the
part played by religious belief in the history of healing in the Maltese Islands since pre-
historic times. They are also a testimony to the beneficial influence of religious *mores* (1)
in satisfying the natural craving for security felt by the individual and by the community
when faced with the crises of life, and (2) in maintaining morale and the will to live
when the failure of medical skill tends to disorganize and destroy them. Indeed the
'ex-votos' reveal the story of the triumph of hope and faith over the trials and sufferings
of countless generations of Maltese men and women who had found themselves beyond
the help of contemporary science and of human assistance. It is needless to emphasize
the recasting of Maltese religious beliefs after their conversion to Christianity in A.D. 60.
[178] The change from paganism to Catholicism, coupled with technical and cultural de-
velopments, has brought about a parallel modification in the conventional form of the
'votiva'—from the baked clay image, the painted panel, and the wax and silver ana-
tomical models to the exquisite examples of the jeweller's art; but the idea behind the
changed outward sign remains immutable, i.e. the anxiety-relieving value of faith in a
community ~~where belief~~ in an all-controlling God has, for thousands of years, been the
pervasive character of the warp and woof of its cultural and psychological pattern.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Director of the National Museum, Valletta, Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A., and to Mr Jos. Spiteri of the same department for their kindness in taking the photographs; to the Rev. Jos. Tanti and the Rev. Canon Jos. Zammit, administrators of Tal Mirakli Church and of Tal Hlas Church, respectively, for allowing me to publish pictures of 'ex-votos' preserved in their churches. 128 126

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CAPTIONS TO PLATES [1]

PLATE I

Fig. 1. Silver votive offerings representing various parts of the body. The model between the trunk and the ear is a stylized form of the female breasts. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782

Fig. 2. This leg of baked clay is from the Roman ruins at Ras-ir-Raheb to the north west of Bahria, Malta. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 3. Bronze dies of liver and lower limb used by Maltese silver smiths for the manufacture of the silver 'ex-votos'. Scale in centimetres and inches. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

PLATE II

Fig. 1. The picture tells the story so clearly that no inscription is attached to it. Note the Maltese type of windmill and the costumes of the peasants still in use during the last century. Tal Hlas Church, Qormi. (Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782 789

Fig. 2. The landscape is not Maltese. Presumably this 'ex-voto' was offered by a foreigner or else the donor was a Maltese who met with a riding accident abroad. The letters V.F.G.A. stand for 'Votum Fecit Gratiam Accepit' (A vow was made and a favour received). Tal Mirakli Church, Lija, Malta. (Photograph by Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A.) [402] [291]

[1] [plate I will be found facing p. 24; plate II faces p. 25.– An.]

5: Cremona B'-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

FOLK-LORE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW
OF
MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM
BEING
THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

And Incorporating THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW *and*
THE FOLK-LORE JOURNAL

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1923

[LXXXIII.]

[Title Page]

5: Cremona *B*-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

MALTESE DEATH, MOURNING, AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

764 SIR JAMES FRAZER'S communication of a coroner's note about "Beliefs regarding Death in Cumberland"[1] has suggested to me that I might put on record Maltese funeral customs now extant, some of which are analogous to those noticed in Cumberland.

764 263 [184] [565] [171] [539] Amongst our middle and lower classes the practice still lingers of placing a dish of salt on the stomach of the corpse, whether of a male or of a female. The popular belief in Malta is that the salt prevents early decomposition. Certeux and Carnoy[2] give the following interpretation of a practice by Arabs in Algeria: "*Il est de convenance religieuse . . . de lui poser sur le ventre* [of the dead person] *quelque chose de pesant, afin de prevenir le gonflement.*" One of our Maltese sayings runs:

> "*Imût il-ghani u jmut il-fqir*
> *It-tnejn jitmelhu ghal geũũa il-bîr.*"

i.e. "Both the rich man and the poor man die, and both are salted for the pit" (a common rock tomb). This may, however, refer to the pickling or preservation of bodies in a saline solution.

764 The covering over of looking-glasses in the room where the body is lying is also practised by several Maltese families. Some go so far as to remove furniture, and turn round or take down pictures, in the death chamber and passages.

764 171 The following are the most characteristic features of existing Maltese practices, many of which are comparable to those of Sicily, while a few show some Eastern influence:—

(*a*) The washing of the dead body before shrouding. This is not a religious rite, and has no connection with that of Islam.

(*b*) The shutting of the eyelids, if open, and the raising of the chin by means of a band, usually a white kerchief, tied on the head.[3]

(*c*) The removal of door knockers and knobs; house doors are kept closed for several days; neighbours half-shut their own.

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[1] Vol. xxxi., p. 154.

[2] *L'Algerie Traditionelle*, p. 223.

[3] This is practised in Algeria. See Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black 764
crape.

(*d*) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(*e*) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and 764
watch the corpse for the whole night. This custom prevails 767
mostly in Gozo. In old days official female mourners, named
neŭŭieha (from *neŭŭah*, "to cry") were employed. The prac- [175]
tice was abolished in Malta during the plague of A.D. 1676.[1] [731]
Sicilians employed mourners called Praeficae or Reputatrices, [171]
a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish
until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the
Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese
female mourners is described by Abela as follows :—

They wore trailing veils (*kurkâr*), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their mourning. 764

(*f*) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the [354]
Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This [765]
is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is [775]
in this way prevented from haunting the house. In some of [788]
the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-
ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room
of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary
before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth,
and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced
by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the

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[1] Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 794.

[113]

The belief still lingers that the
764 775 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul of the departed remains above the flame.

764 735 171 (*g*) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 178 [177] [192] Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century passed through wide changes and, as in other European countries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 292 178 184 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700. Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 178 [562] Family mourning is generally observed as follows :—

I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days,
after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern 171
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 264
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 516
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these 352
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom
has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain from having their pastry and other food prepared in a
public oven for a period of some months after the death of a
member of the family. 184

IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. 184
Some women do not wear a hat or bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

Bombazine (without lace) or silk faldettas are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *čulqâna* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in
wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those
of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford
to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
764 extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the
period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian
influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *żuntier*, from
French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
[671] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural
interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it
was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public
cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required
that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a
coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
[534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the
church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing
of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which
in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases
to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the
Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important
that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the
corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was
laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the
less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a pro-
fanation

fanation. Wreaths are laid on the grave, and oil lamps are 764
lit on it for some days. The construction and decoration of [354]
the graves in the public cemetery is much the same as on the continent. Marble slabs with inscriptions are very common. Pillars with crosses on the top and sacred statues are also erected on bases of marble, or bronze reliefs symbolising Time and
Eternity. The higher class own vaults in the form of chapels, [565]
in which an altar is erected and requiem masses are said.

In the professional and educated classes cards expressing 765
sympathy are sent by friends to the mourning family, but in 184
some districts, especially in the country, people still follow the old etiquette of paying a mourning visit within nine days of the
death. Photographs of the deceased, with an inscription, are [215]
sent to friends and acquaintances.

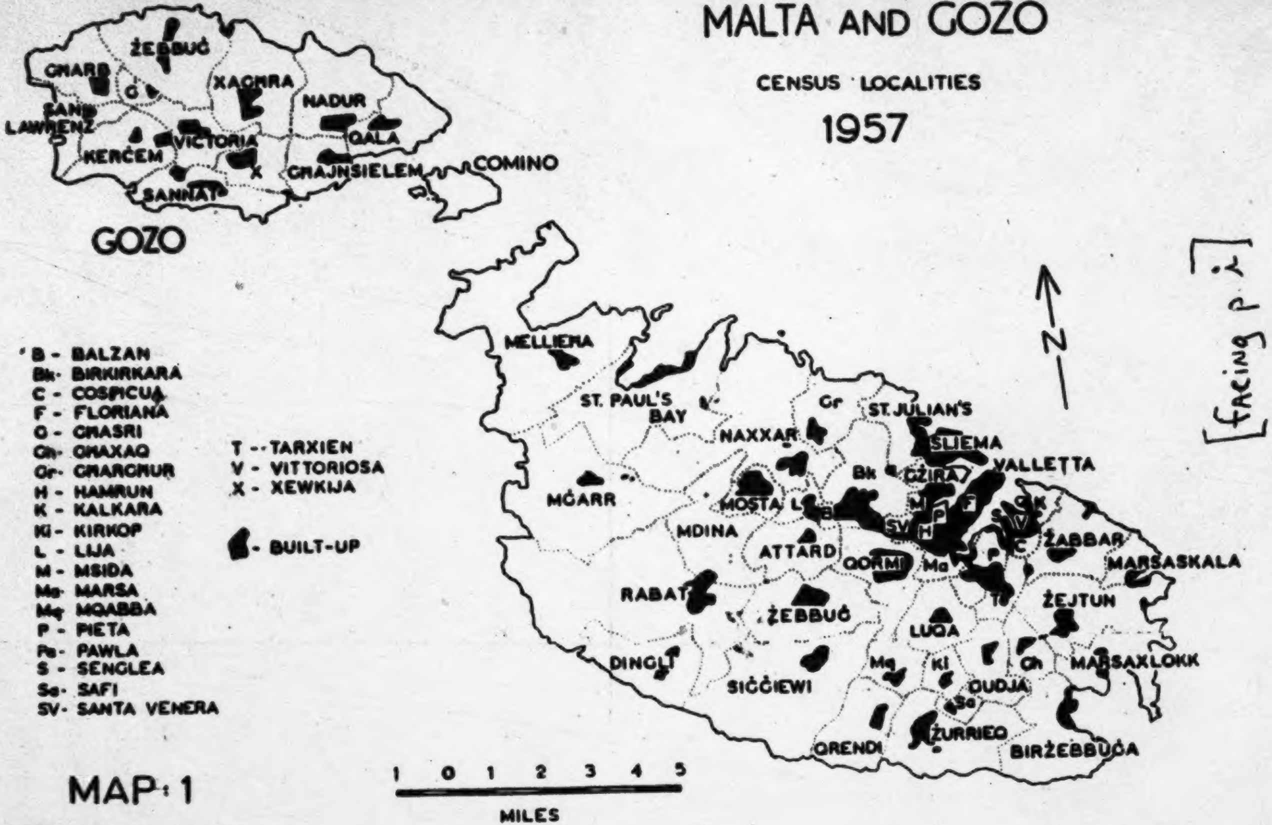
A. Cremona.

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

MALTA AND GOZO

CENSUS LOCALITIES

1957


GOZO
ŻEBBUĠ
GHARB
G
XAGHRA
NADUR
SAN LAWRENZ
VICTORIA
QALA
KERĊEM
X
GHAJNSIELEM
COMINO
SANNAT
MELLIEHA
ST. PAUL'S BAY
Gr
ST. JULIAN'S
NAXXAR
SLIEMA
Bk
GZIRA
VALLETTA
MĠARR
MOSTA
L
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ATTARD
C
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ŻABBAR
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MARSASKALA
RABAT
T
ŻEJTUN
ŻEBBUĠ
LUQA
DINGLI
Mq
Ki
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MARSAXLOKK
SIĠĠIEWI
GUDJA
Sa
ŻURRIEQ
QRENDI
BIRŻEBBUĠA
B - BALZAN
Bk - BIRKIRKARA
C - COSPICUA
F - FLORIANA
G - GHASRI
Gh - GHAXAQ
Gr - GHARGHUR
H - HAMRUN
K - KALKARA
Ki - KIRKOP
L - LIJA
M - MSIDA
Ma - MARSA
Mq - MQABBA
P - PIETA
Pa - PAWLA
S - SENGLEA
Sa - SAFI
SV - SANTA VENERA
T - TARXIEN
V - VITTORIOSA
X - XEWKIJA
- BUILT-UP
N
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MAP: 1

[facing p. i]

[frontispiece]

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[P. i]

THE FARMER AND RURAL SOCIETY IN MALTA

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A Report to the
Colonial Economic Research Committee
PROJECT C.D.W.(R) No. 764

B.W. BEELEY

1959

Department of Geography
Durham Colleges in the University of Durham

[Title Page]

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PREFACE

(1) TERMS OF REFERENCE

114 On October 1st, 1956, the writer became Junior Research
121 Fellow in the Department of Geography in the Durham Division
of the University of Durham, an appointment sponsored by the
Research Department of the Colonial Office. The terms of
the appointment, which was to be tenable for two years,
entailed research into the social factors behind the problems
of rural Malta and Gozo - especially as these concern the
large agricultural element in this population (Project C.D.W.
(R) No. 764).

The report here submitted presents the writer's assessment of the position.

114 The sixteen months between January, 1957, and May, 1958,
[101] were spent in the Maltese Islands, the remainder of the
period being spent in the Department in Durham on the analysis and preparation of material amassed in the field.

(2) ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

122 The writer wishes to record his gratitude for the help and encouragement received within both official and private circles in Malta and Gozo. During the period of work in the Islands, in 1957-58, the Maltese Government provided extensive help both to him and to a colleague, Mr. Peter K. Mitchell. This took the form of:

(a) the use of official transport for research purposes on two or three days each week throughout the period in the Islands,

(b) the provision of an interpreter for a large part of the time during which transport was also available,

(c) permission to use the facilities of certain Government Departments and other premises - on the customary Civil Service oath,

0-00 (d) a grant to cover certain travel expenses.

The Governor of Malta, His Excellency Sir Robert Laycock, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., and the Lieutenant-Governor, His Honour Mr. Trafford Smith, C.M.G., both showed gracious interest in the work in Malta.

General acknowledgement of other assistance given to the writer in Malta must, for reasons of space, be confined here to a few of a very long list of individuals. A very special mention must, however, be made in one case, for the writer wishes to place on record his debt to Mr. and Mrs. P.K. Mitchell for the help and friendship extended to him throughout the stay in Malta.

Profound thanks are due also to the farmers whose patience and generosity made field work among them possible and profitable. As their help and information was given in confidence individual identities have had to be obscured.

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[122]

A great deal of help was also given by members of the clergy of Malta and Gozo. Some of the many to whom thanks are due are included in the following list.

The writer also wishes to thank other members of the Department in Durham, notably Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney, for their advice and tolerance.

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Mr. Carmel Bonavia; Żabbar.
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Rev.Fr. Francis Camilleri; Comino.
Mr. Cassar; Public Works Department, Valletta.
Mr. Joseph Cassar Pullicino; Librarian, Royal University of Malta.
Miss Joan Cassar Torreggiani; Gżira.
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Rev.Professor R.Cirillo; Royal University of Malta.
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Mr. Walter Laferla; Sliema.
Mr. David Lang; Soil Specialist.
Professor J.A. Manché; Rector, Royal University of Malta.
Mr. J. McClement; Dairying Specialist, Department of Agriculture, Valletta.
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Rt.Rev.Mgr. Edgar Salamone; Mġarr.
Rev.Fr. Michael Saliba; Rabat.
Colonel Slade; Department of Statistics, Valletta.
Mr. G.A. Slater; Rediffusion, Valletta.
Rev.Fr. Benjamin Tonna; Rabat.
Mr. J.P. Vassallo; Director of Education, Valletta.
Mr. Andrew Vella; Government School, Mellieħa.
Rev. Fr. Charles Vella; CANA Movement, Valletta.
Rev.Fr. Horatius Vella; Mġarr.
Mr. J.P. Vella; Secondary Technical School, Pawla.
Dr. Brian Wheeler; Colonial Pool Plant Pathologist,
Malta.
Mr. James Wilkinson; Msida.
Mr. A. Wirth; Chief Government Statistician, Valletta.
Dr. Calcedonio Zammit, MD., M.L.A.; Siġġiewi.

(3) INTRODUCTION

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This report is composed of five main sections:

(i) The first is a brief examination of the major features of rural society in the Maltese Islands (Section 1). The report begins with some attempt at definition and discussion of this society, with special emphasis on the socio-functional changes which have emerged during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

(ii) Sections 2 to 5 consider the present-day Maltese farmer against the background of this society in which he lives and works, and attempt to outline the essential problems now facing the farmer and farming in the Islands. In Section 2, the technical and operational difficulties confronting the farmer are examined along with those remedies at present available, which, it is hoped, will make farming not only more attractive and profitable for the farmer but will also strengthen it as Malta's only basic industry. Section 3 includes an account of the place of money in Maltese rural economy with special reference to the recent emergence of a long list of new demands which the farmer now makes as part of the general change from the independent peasant subsistence of the past to the inter-dependent, commercial and money-based farming of today. This Section concludes with a discussion of these demands and the now changed actual and expected (i.e. demanded) living standards of the farmer. It appears that although rural standards have risen very considerably over the past hundred years the standards demanded have increased even more rapidly in relative terms so that the countryman is able today to complain of an inferior economic position within the total community. The attitudes and outlook of the farmer are discussed in Section 4 in so far as they are important in an understanding of Maltese agriculture as it exists today and to any 'official' or other efforts to improve the industry and the

128 lot of the farmer.

In Section 5 an attempt is made to draw together the main socio-economic aspects of the present problem of Maltese agriculture. It is recognized that other aspects of this total problem have been covered elsewhere (e.g. - Mitchell, B/524, 525; Cirillo, B/387; Bowen-Jones and Dewdney, B/336; and in the various official reports which have appeared in recent years, B/Part 7 E). It is felt, [114] however, that in most cases, insufficient emphasis has been put on what is in fact the essence of the problem - namely the retreat of the present younger generation from farming and from rural society for a variety of reasons which are, it emerges, certainly as much sociological as economic.

(iii) Section 6 presents a considerable part of the evidence upon which the assessments in Section 2 to 5 have been based. It contains, as it were, the minutes of evidence for the conclusions reached. Part 1 (Cases I to XIII) presents detailed studies on thirteen farm-units representative of the different branches of the industry. Part 2 (Cases XIV to XXII) illuminates the main features of the current over-emphasis on large tractors and other types of farm machinery, while Part 3 comprises a brief note on the fishing community in the Islands, included because the fortunes of this comparatively small group parallel those of the farmers of the Islands.

[127] In addition to the material set out in Section 6 the writer has made use of a great deal of case study and general material collected during the period of field research in Malta and Gozo. Most of this is now in B/5.

(iv) Section 7 comprises a note on literature and language in Malta and a bibliographical list of published and unpublished material on the Islands. This covers not only the field of research of the present report but attempts to include also details of a cross section of material available on the historical, economic, archaeological, geological, hydrological and other fields of study of Malta and Gozo. Being the first example of an attempt at such a comprehensive coverage it is given with apologies for its deficiencies. Works listed in the bibliography are referred to in the general text of the report by their number in the bibliography preceded by 'B/'.

(v) Section 8 includes five Statistical Appendices. The first of these presents a picture of Maltese agriculture, its nature and weaknesses, together with relevant details of the farming population. Appendix 5 assembles a wider range of information on weights and measures than previously available. The other three Appendices are included as illustrative of points made in Section 1, as are Maps 1 to 7 and The Graph.

000 and the Graph.

NB: Typographical Note.

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In Maltese orthography the aspirate or hard 'h' is distinguished from the inaspirate or mute 'h' by the addition of a second bar in the capital letter and a bar through the up-stroke of the small letter. For ease of typing the writer has taken the liberty of omitting the second bar in the capital H and of adding a bar through the lower small letter - i.e. 'ħ'. Similarly the letter 'ain is represented 'għ'.

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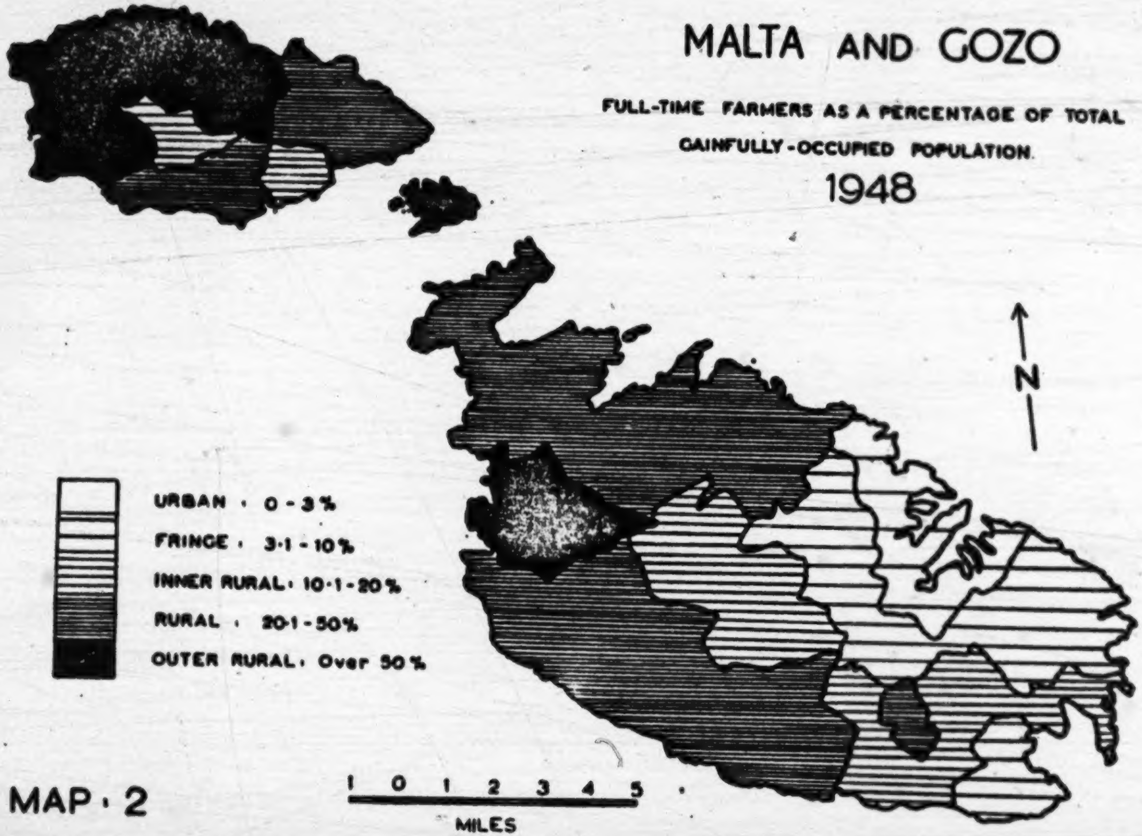
MALTA AND GOZO

FULL-TIME FARMERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

1948


N
URBAN : 0 - 3%
FRINGE : 3·1 - 10%
INNER RURAL : 10·1 - 20%
RURAL : 20·1 - 50%
OUTER RURAL : Over 50%
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MAP · 2

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and
villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes
administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to
the physical arrangement of functional parts), these
provide important evidence of the social and economic nature
of society. The present report is concerned with rural
society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear
that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of
the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements
cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of
some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These
creations have since expanded and merged to become the
[396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society
had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a
few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and
[464] Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended
on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment
existing only in the larger settlements or in the little
harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta
on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island
as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530
standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined
in relative importance.

Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
[161] a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
[396] associated townships became dominant and the increase in the
population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if
not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the
largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been
based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the
past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence
farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs
of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which
money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

It has faded very rapidly

369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give
241 way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
433 animals or animal products are sold for money.

By using the 1948 Census material (B/167 - 1946, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:

634

Table 1 (v. Map 2)

369

[127]

Urban (0-3%)	
Valletta	0
Cospicua	0
Senglea	0
Vittoriosa	.008
Gżira	.11
Sliema	.24
Floriana	.43
Pawla	.8
Marsa	1.2
Hemrun	1.35
Msida	1.36
Kalkara	1.84
Pieta	2.6
St. Julian's	2.9

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Gharghur	29.1
Mellieha	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Fringe (3-10%)	
Balzan	5.48
Luqa	6.1
Birkirkara	6.16
Tarxien	6.43
St. Vennera	6.46
Qormi	6.88
Birzebbuga	7.3
Żabbar	7.35
Żejtun	8.27
Lija	9.9

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Kercem	56.43
*Xagħra	64
*Għarb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Għasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Mqabba	10.5
Marsaxlokk	10.6
Żurrieq	11.15
Għaxaq	11.29
Attard	11.53
*Victoria	13
Mdina	15.4
Mosta	16.56
Żebbuġ	18.41
*Għajnsielem	19.2
Gudja	19.91

Malta.................	9.11%
Gozo..................	41.78%
All Islands.........	12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an
369 increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the
464 Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the
most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo
the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of
this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the
Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages
369 [i.e. peasant subsistence farming, -Analyst]

178 which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming
369 element are the old settlements.[4] The non-agricultural Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages grew little in size and declined considerably in relative importance.

178 A closer investigation of the declining relative impor-
241 tance of farming within the rural villages themselves over the past hundred years (v. Appendix 1D, vii and Graph)
433 reveals that during some periods economic prosperity in
464 Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally,
166 that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared.[5] This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the present century (B/381). Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming (v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the land as he is with the community which it supported. If a depression were to appear along with any limitation in emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic in character.

178 The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial
464 rather than total in that the bulk of farmers and farm-workers
241 who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or 'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper (B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past the availability of alternative employment has been the governing factor. The earlier periods of economic prosperity mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for
175 the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the
464 only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural
288 Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving. Even here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth

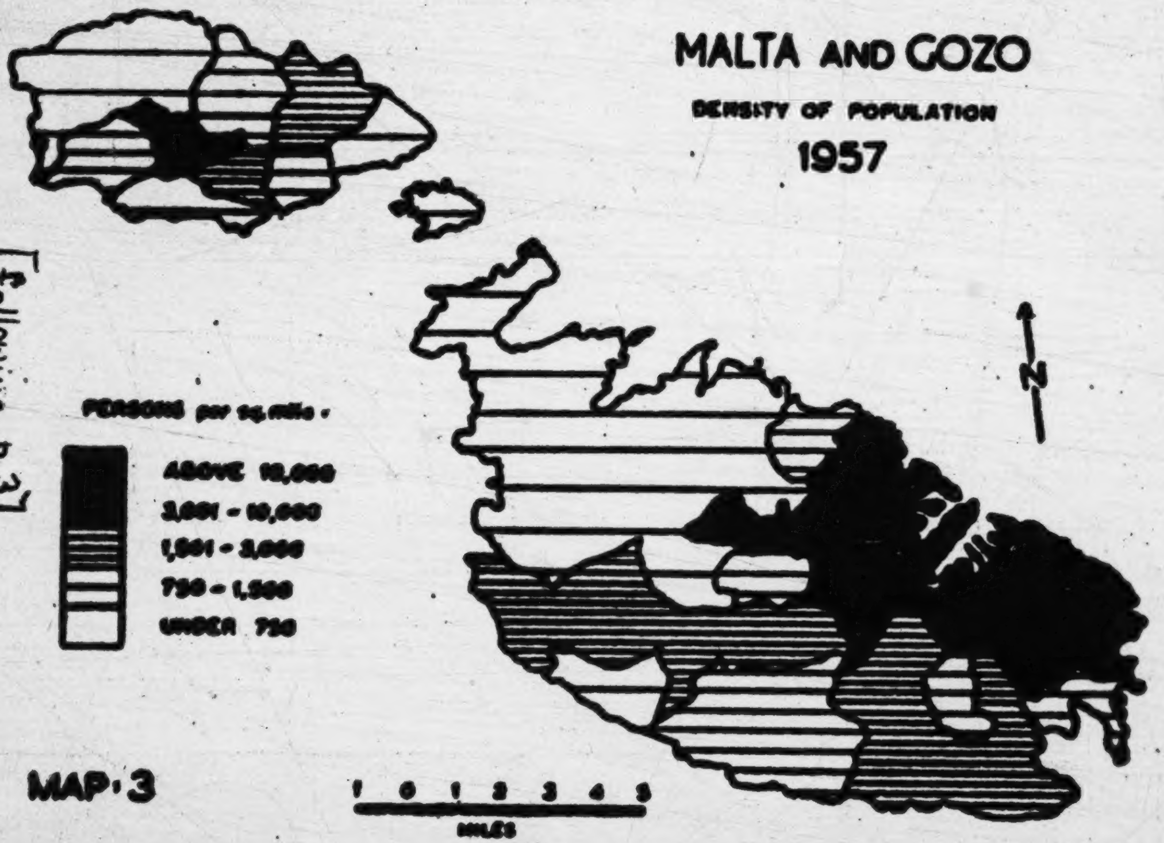
102
161

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

MALTA AND GOZO

DENSITY OF POPULATION

1957


PERSONS per sq. mile
■ ABOVE 10,000
■ 3,001 - 10,000
▤ 1,501 - 3,000
▤ 750 - 1,500
☐ UNDER 750
N
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MAP·3

[following p 3]

175 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, par-
288 ticularly after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports
464 of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is
today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century, much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft, so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton production declined. This decline accelerated towards the close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands. The total decline was due to external economic factors but, within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest - where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing
178 work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end
241 of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of
369 this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first,
464 and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the
[288] Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the
[396] harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton
[504] industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus
appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater break with home, farm and village than had been the case with cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population of the rural area became less and less dependent on agriculture for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in
178 an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second,
241 considered later in more detail, is the social change which
369 has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager
241 through direct and indirect education and contact with the
433 people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two
forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had happened before on a temporary basis and the other a consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world, have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he has the new range of employment opportunities indicated, while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The
percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'. Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to
36 this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the
harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops, cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
162 dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the
most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix 3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but even in the rural districts most people are seen to live within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only five districts show a built-up township area accounting for more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for 1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern (R/561).

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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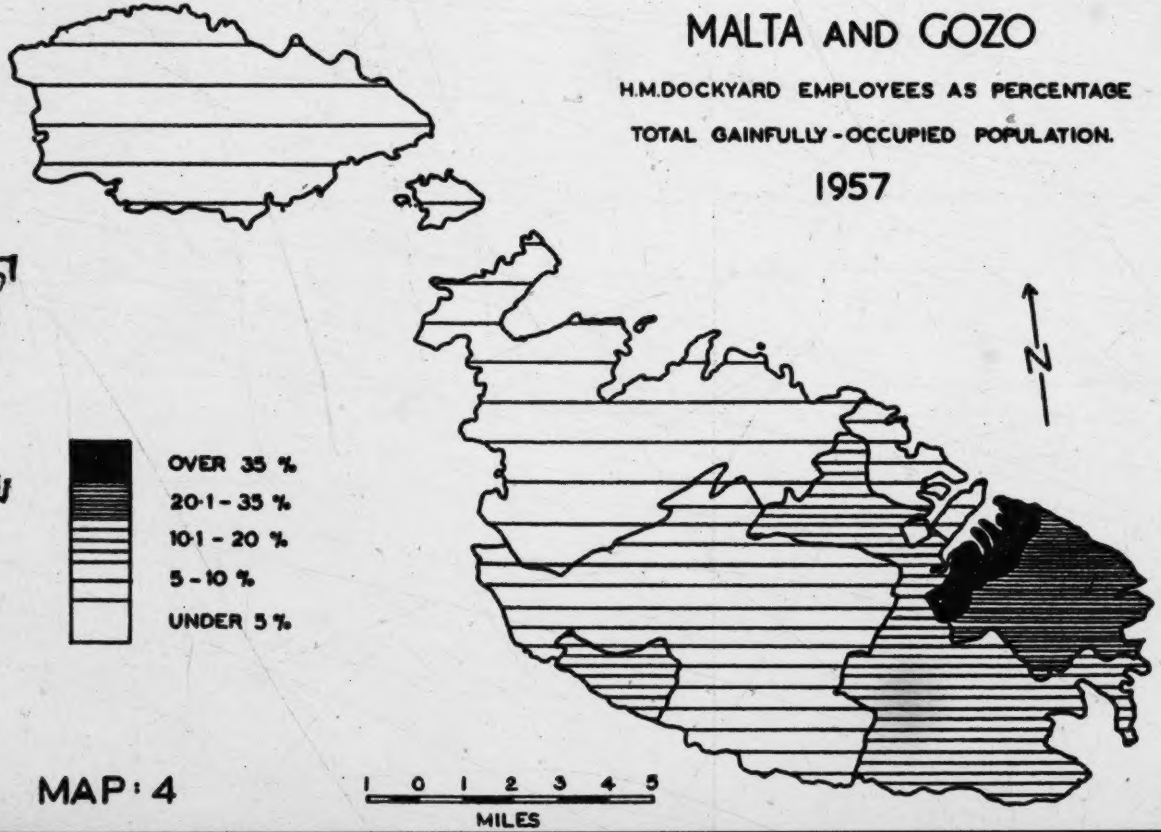
463
162

MAP: 4



MALTA AND GOZO

H.M.DOCKYARD EMPLOYEES AS PERCENTAGE TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

1957

a.
b.
N
OVER 35 %
20·1 - 35 %
10·1 - 20 %
5 - 10 %
UNDER 5 %
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

[Following p.5]

361 Map 3, showing density of population by localities for 1957, closely reflects the built-up area pattern. Broadly-speaking it resembles Map 4 (residence of Dockyard workers) but here the emphasis on Valletta and Sliema, and all the northern part of the Urban zone, is notably less.

THE VILLAGE

621 [361] Maltese rural society is essentially composed of village communities each occupying a compact settlement[8]. There are some three dozen villages in the rural area of the Islands[9] among which there is considerable variation in site, date of foundation, morphology, population (B/561) and economic structure (B/361), but throughout the Islands there is a uniformity of function within the village as a community group. This makes it possible to speak of "the Maltese Village" from the point of view of social structure, and allows a qualifying classification into types on the basis of the features mentioned.

17 Maltese society as a whole, and particularly the rural part of it, is to some extent cut off from outside influences by virtue of the insular position of the country, cultural as well as geographical. Yet the Islands have clearly at no time in their history been independent of Europe to the north, Africa to the south and Asia to the east. Quite patently the opposite has been the case and Malta, as ever the mute pawn of great powers, has absorbed its material and moral culture from abroad just as it has received additions to its population whether coming as traders, invaders, or settlers, for four thousand years. But the Islands have put their own stamp on these arrivals so that a discussion such as this must take account of both autochthonous developments within the Islands, as well as those of wider origin.

17 621 The elements within the traditional Maltese village were, briefly, the Roman Catholic Church and clergy, the landed class, and the mass of the population - an illiterate peasantry. 'Traditional' here refers to rural society as it existed in Malta one, two or three centuries ago.

This is not to say that the traditional has been erased from the present scene but rather that recent moves towards literacy, emancipation and communication, and a greater range of amenities within the Islands, have diversified and modified the traditional aspects to produce a variety of different [793] [795] types in place of the social uniformity of the past. But the traditional nucleus within the village, the Parish Priest and the Parish Church retain their pivotal role. The modification of this role is very apparent but the place of the Church has been affected far less in the country districts

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard developments
621 and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the rural districts where change has to date been slower than in the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisers as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the population was not. This concentration of learning produced a situation in which only the clergy were able to step forward to take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
[669] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolutionary
[648] leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the
[874] University came strongly under the influence of the Church, for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long standing,
[178] was and still is best known for its Theology. However, during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth. The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociological importance during the present century has been the growth of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces which are today tending to detract from the traditional omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will loom much larger than at present in the country districts and in Gozo[11].

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

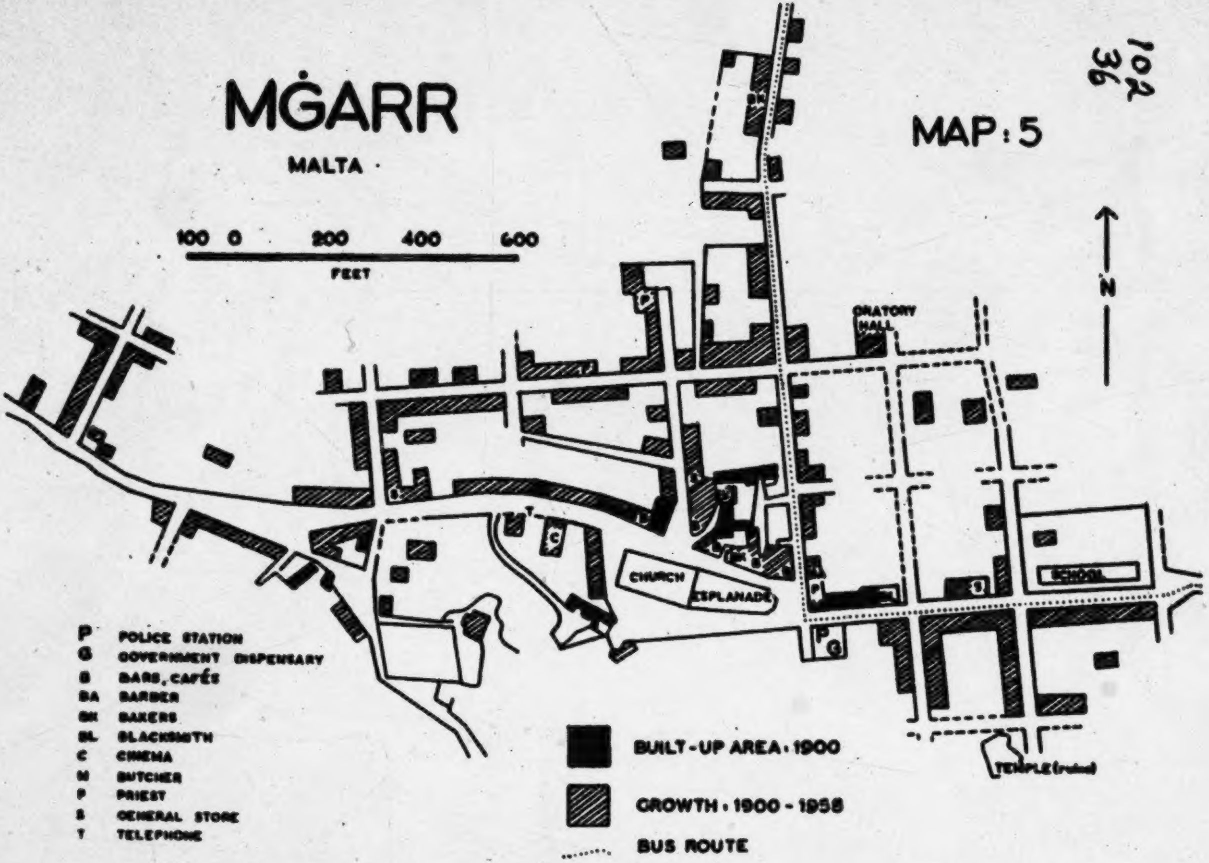
102
36

[following p. 7]

MĠARR

MALTA

MAP: 5


100 0 200 400 600
FEET
N
ORATORY HALL
CHURCH
ESPLANADE
SCHOOL
TEMPLE (ruins)
P POLICE STATION
G GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY
B BARS, CAFÉS
BA BARBER
BK BAKERS
BL BLACKSMITH
C CINEMA
H BUTCHER
P PRIEST
S GENERAL STORE
T TELEPHONE
BUILT-UP AREA: 1900
GROWTH: 1900 - 1958
BUS ROUTE

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
795 of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day or every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
[591] were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
197 were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutturals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

628 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gozo that a
186 man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to
point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some
comparatively recent date[13].

621 Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic
structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese
793 village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest,
795 and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely
an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church
by the new features and modifications of the old landscape
in the present.

175 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young
361 Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement
has acquired the essential features common to rural society
throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria
Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on
account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the
sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in
the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church
[172] in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1580[14]. Evidence, too,
of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat
(2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the
village.

175 However, in the early part of the nineteenth century,
farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now
361 the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of
793 the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell
795 (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general
movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an
independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual
needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from
Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of
St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918.
Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr
had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to
their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the
Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning
Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area per-
175 manently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a
346 full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and
[793] settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a
new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the popula-
tion of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911).
[463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect con-
cerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
themselves responsible for much of the labouring work.
794 Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards
the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939);
this in a parish which even ten years later had no more
than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

175 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were
793 attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor)
871 Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became
Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest
not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way
in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features
possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the
Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration
and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was
"sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of
Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in
the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by
the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
[671] elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this
still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for
nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory
Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

744 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for
793 by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone
759 himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of
175 1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest
of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the
day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to
anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6).
As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in
difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social,
as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the
first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the
village, and another of the traditional functions of the
Priest passed to specialist hands.

175 After this, interest was turned again to building and
the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out
346 in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the
344 Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the
[435] District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers them-
selves were responsible for a great deal of the building
work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued
to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
600 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-Thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
[365] levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
[794] has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
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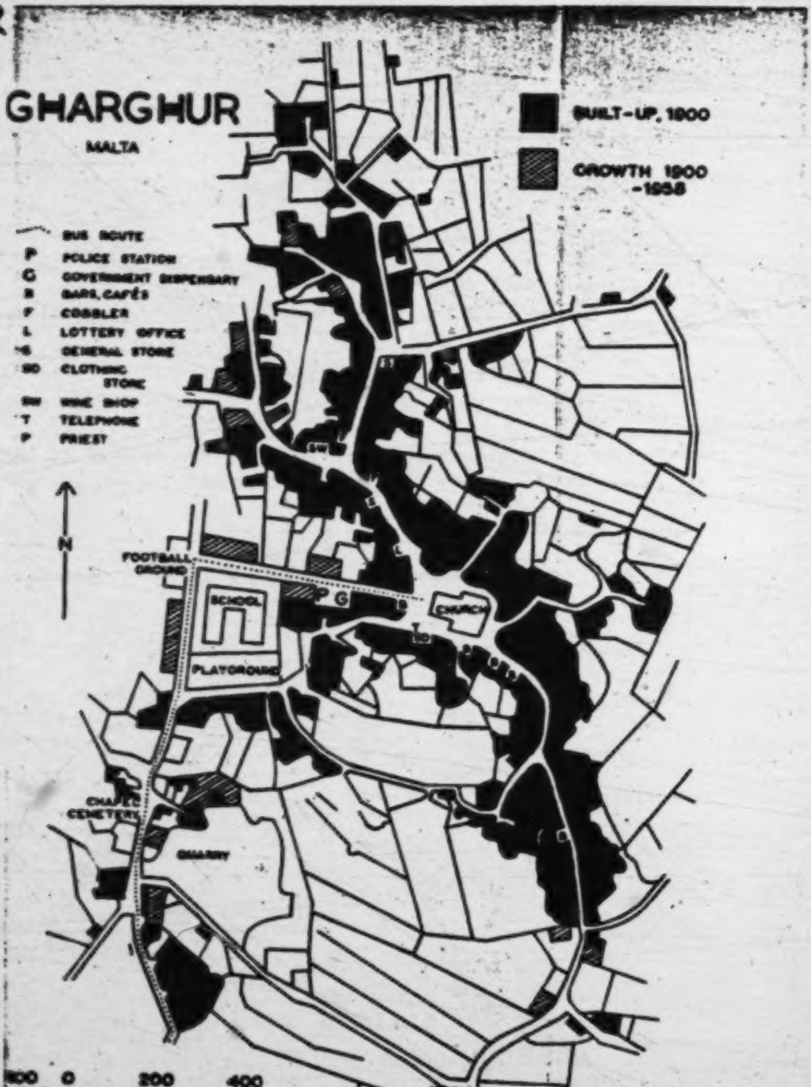
GHARGHUR
MALTA
▇ BUILT-UP, 1900
▨ GROWTH 1900 -1958
BUS ROUTE
P POLICE STATION
G GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY
B BARS, CAFÉS
F COBBLER
L LOTTERY OFFICE
GS GENERAL STORE
SO CLOTHING STORE
SW WINE SHOP
T TELEPHONE
P PRIEST
N
FOOTBALL GROUND
SCHOOL
PLAYGROUND
CHURCH
CHAPEL
CEMETERY
QUARRY
SW
P
G
B
L
100 0 200 400
FEET
MAP: 6

[following p. 11]

[Village of Mġarr]
[Village of Gharghur]

000 settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4). Other characteristic features of rural Malta absent in Mġarr are the Band Club and the Football Club. The Band Club movement which spread rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of this became the major 'social' centre for men outside the Church itself (B/521). Similarly football has become a focus of extra-church activity in the Islands - more especially in Gozo where the Band Club has had only a limited extension outside the capital, Victoria. In the case of Mġarr one would expect the village to acquire these 'inter-stage' features as it develops in size and 621 social diversity. The writer holds that at present Mġarr is essentially very close to what has been called the traditional Maltese village. Incidentally also its agricultural bias (Map 2) is less removed from the traditional than is the case in the more urban-influenced villages. It is certainly the most rural Parish of Malta and yet does seem more 'urbanate' in terms of social life than is the case over much of Gozo.

121 184 Having enumerated the essential elements of Maltese village structure as exemplified in Mġarr, a brief comparative study of other villages of the archipelago, many of which are much larger, older and more complex, is indicated. From observation two basic premises have been established:

(i) Despite the regional differentiation customarily made, rural society in the Islands has a basic homogeneity:

(ii) The modern problem of this rural society, the problem of the individual who is now socially out of sympathy with the life of the community which bred him, is common to all the rural community of the Islands.

The final question is therefore whether or not there can be a standard type of working rapprochement between the new and the old.

121 621 Two villages which may be compared with Mġarr in an effort to answer this question are Gharghur, a settlement of very old foundation, predominantly agricultural as is Mġarr and of like size, and Żurrieq, much larger, more urbanate in character, containing certain socio-functional divisions within itself, and also possessing two small satellite villages.

36 Morphologically GHARGHUR (Map 6) and Mġarr have little in common on first inspection. The latter contains many new or recent detached and semi-detached buildings within the regular street pattern previously laid down. Many of the houses are quite modern by prevailing standards and

[village of Gharghur]
[village of Zurrieq]

36 include such atypically rural features as ground-floor
windows[16]. In Mġarr the Church and the Jubilee Esplanade
are at the centre of village organization with most of the
shops, police station and dispensary close by, and through
this central area pass the bus routes from Ghajn Tuffieha,
to the north, and Mosta to the east. Gharghur, on the
other hand, is a village of many centuries standing. Its
morphology is as irregular as that of Mġarr is regular. As
[171] one expects of a Maltese village the great Parish Church
stands in the centre of the houses and the narrow streets
- just as the Faith of the people stands in the centre of
their life and work. The old streets of Gharghur grew up
without any town-planning. Narrow alleys lead off to quiet
courts; goat-pens, tiny shops and houses within yards of
each other break the monotony of the streets in which few
windows appear at ground-floor level[16]. First floor
windows are seen, along with decorative balcony work and
other embellishments of the yellow limestone walls. Map 6
distinguishes those parts of the village which have under-
gone new development, largely since 1945. The main part
[491] of the work has been the cutting of a section of new road
through old buildings between the Church and the recent
[494] Government school. This road now carries the bus route
from the Church square, the terminus, to Naxxar, and also
houses the police station and the Government dispensary.
Here then is the core area of the village (Map 6)

(i) a main street, carrying a regular bus route,
(ii) Church, police station, dispensary and school,
(iii) shops and bars nearby.

Turning again to Mġarr we now perceive the basic similarities of pattern (Maps 5 and 6).

In the case of ŻURRIEQ (Map 7) the same basic elements appear, though the built-up area of this village is much larger and there are additional, more urbanate, features. Bubaqra is an example of a dependent hamlet lacking the full complement of features of an independent village; it has no school, police station, etc. Żurrieq's morphological development follows the general pattern of the long-established Maltese villages with narrow, twisting streets and alleys delving seemingly at random into the built-up mass of houses, farm buildings, shops and work premises. The village is large enough to allow of secondary nuclei, particularly around churches or chapels, but the bulk of activity is focussed on the core area between Parish Church and School and in and near Churchill Square with its Band Club and Football Club premises, Lotto office[17], and shops.

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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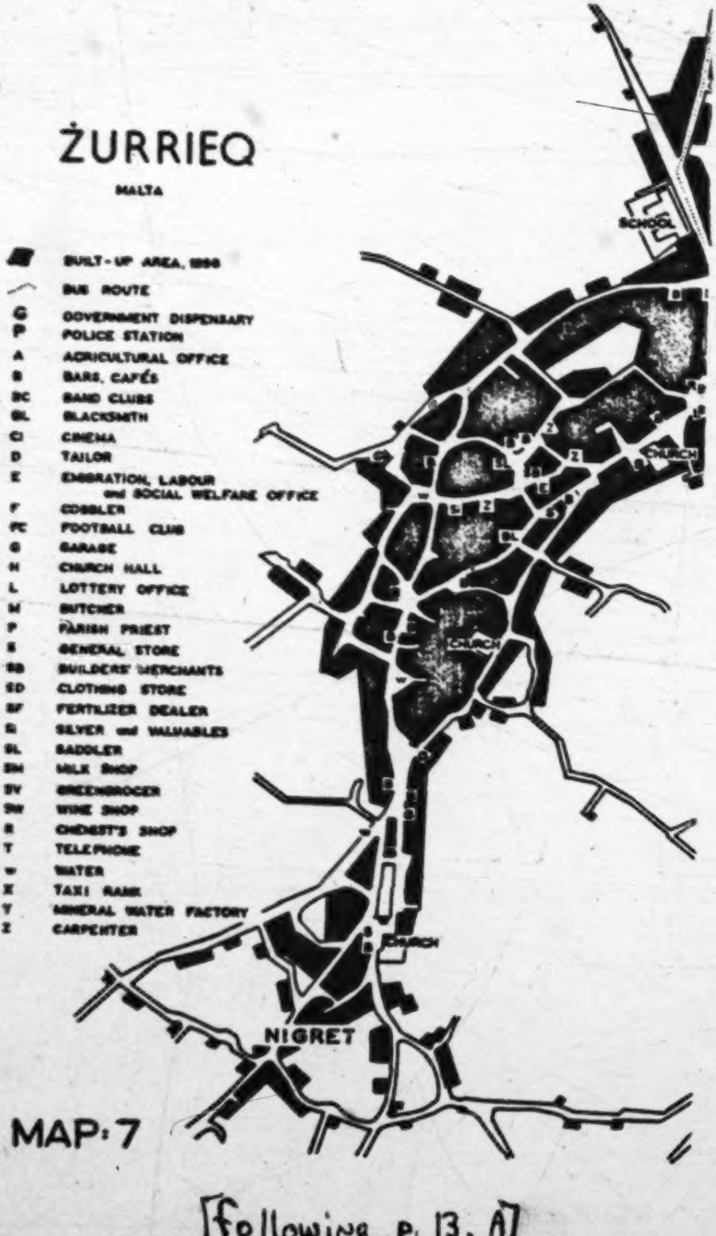
ŻURRIEQ

MALTA


BUILT-UP AREA, 1958
BUS ROUTE
G GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY
P POLICE STATION
A AGRICULTURAL OFFICE
B BARS, CAFÉS
BC BAND CLUBS
BL BLACKSMITH
CI CINEMA
D TAILOR
E EMIGRATION, LABOUR and SOCIAL WELFARE OFFICE
F COBBLER
FC FOOTBALL CLUB
G GARAGE
H CHURCH HALL
L LOTTERY OFFICE
M BUTCHER
P PARISH PRIEST
S GENERAL STORE
SB BUILDERS' MERCHANTS
SD CLOTHING STORE
SF FERTILIZER DEALER
SI SILVER and VALUABLES
SL SADDLER
SM MILK SHOP
SV GREENGROCER
SW WINE SHOP
R CHEMIST'S SHOP
T TELEPHONE
W WATER
X TAXI RANK
Y MINERAL WATER FACTORY
Z CARPENTER
SCHOOL
CHURCH
CHURCH
CHURCH
NIGRET

MAP: 7

[following p. 13, A]

8: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
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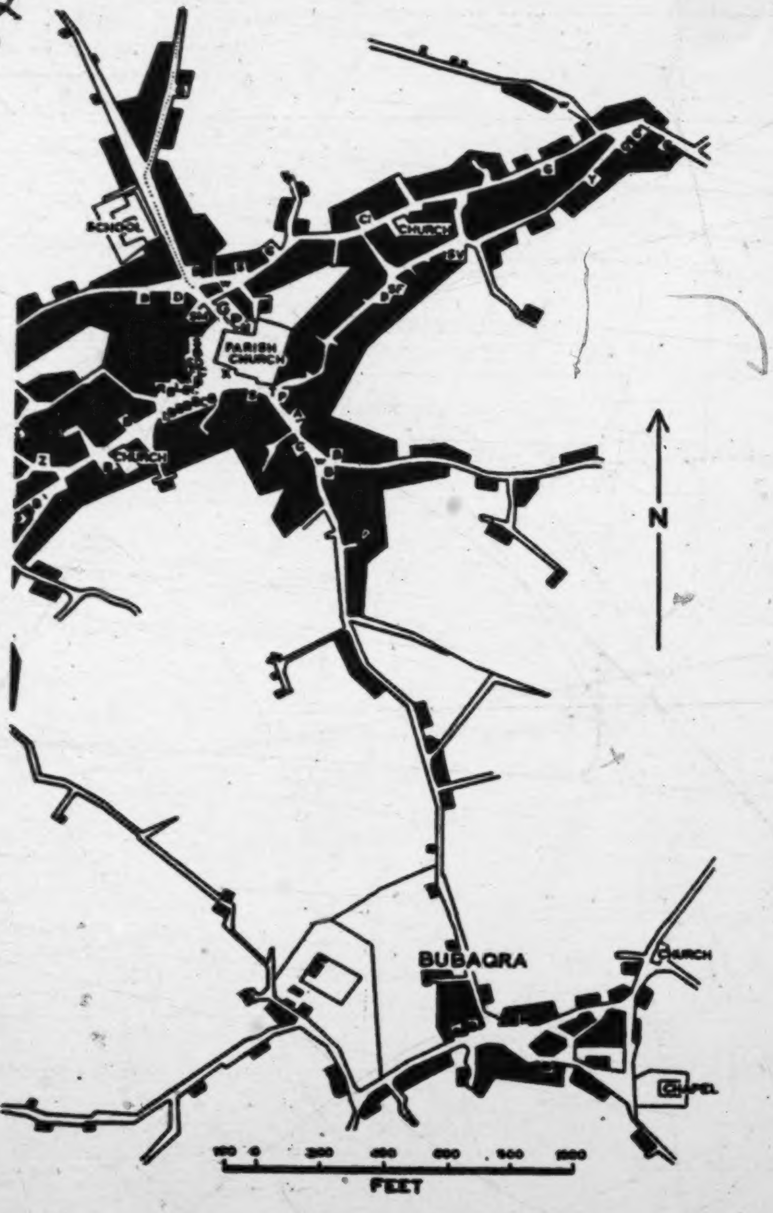
SCHOOL
CHURCH
PARISH CHURCH
CHURCH
N
BUBAQRA
CHURCH
CHAPEL
100 0 200 400 600 800 1000
FEET

[following p. B, B.]

36 This type of core area therefore, as defined in these examples is the basic pattern in all villages throughout Malta and Gozo.

103
361
178 In a consideration of the present scene within the Maltese village it is essential to be aware, at all stages of the argument, of the evolution of the settlements concerned. In the Żurrieq case it is clear that the main village block is extending in several directions, notably northward past the school and south-westward towards the small hamlet of Nigret. This latter is already linked by a continuous built-up stretch to the main village and thus contrasts with Bubaqra which remains morphologically independent. [578] In the case of some of the larger villages, Żebbuġ and Żejtun are two notable examples, the completion of this kind of merging of nuclei accounts for present intra-village sectionalism. Thus Żebbuġ (Malta) is a compound of three ancient village nuclei, Hal Muxi, Hal Mula and Hal Dwieli. The very title of 'Hal', or 'village', still given to these parts of what is now a single village reflects their original separate independence. They have grown together over the centuries and have been unified by the construction of a Parish Church and the appearance of a new 'township' core in the central area. Similarly Żejtun has three component parts, Ta'Fuq (Upper), Ta'Isfel (Lower), and Ta' Wara l-Knisja (Behind the Church): the present large Parish Church has been built in the space remaining between the merging older nuclei. The distinction here is clearly morphological rather than administrative but is nevertheless not to be ignored in a study of social structure and affiliation in a static and conservative community.

Merging between fully independent villages has also occurred. Balzan-Birkirkara and Pawla-Tarxien are examples, but here the administrative and affiliatory distinctions have been maintained. At a higher level still the merging of the settlements comprising the Urban area, begun in the nineteenth century but more rapid in the twentieth, is the major feature of modern settlement growth in Malta (B/561).

Rabat in Malta, and Rabat (Victoria) in Gozo, illustrate another aspect of settlement evolution where morphological [712] facts bear on social structure. In both cases the 'suburb of the citadel' ('Ir-Rabat tal-Imdina') grew to large-village size outside the Walls [illegible] the central fortified stronghold of each Island. In Malta, Rabat remained as the main rural centre after the capital had moved to Valletta, with ancient Mdina itself remaining a quiet residential back-water.

000 In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an

In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an
178 unofficial capital of the rural areas of his Island; markets
361 are still held there even though the main ones have
[443] gravitated to Valletta and the urban area. The annual
'Immarja', traditionally one of the main events in the
farmers' social calendar, is held nearby[18], while the
ancient importance of the Church is reflected in the large
number of clergy, churches, confraternities and third orders
[712] found there (Appendix 4). In Gozo, Rabat is the administrative, cultural and economic capital with the old
fortified 'Castello' now in large part a deserted ruin.

369 The differing extent to which the villages of Malta and
178 Gozo have been influenced economically by the industrial and
urban developments of the dockyard areas and towns are
paralleled in the social plane. Traditionally rural centres
such as Qormi, Żabbar and Birkirkara have undergone increasing
social and cultural attraction towards Valletta and the Urban
area along with economic 'de-ruralization' by virtue of their
proximity to the towns and harbours. The improvements in
amenities and especially in transport facilities have tended
to link these fringe settlements to the Urban area rather
than to the countryside which produced them (B/381).

361 A further type of village is exemplified by St. Paul's
178 Bay. This began as a summer-time resort for town and city
dwellers during the nineteenth century but attained a
sufficient permanence and size to be granted full parochial
status in 1905. The analogy in Gozo is Marsalforn though
this settlement is perhaps half a century behind St. Paul's
Bay in development and presents in winter time the appearance
of almost a ghost-town with only a few permanent farmer and
fishermen residents.

Birżebbuġa is a class on its own, having grown in the
past few decades upon largely non-agricultural foundations
of the British and United States' bases, oil installations
and some small-scale industry.

128 Using this type of analytical approach, a classification
361 of the villages of Malta and Gozo on the basis of their
origin and socio-functional characteristics becomes possible
(Richardson (B/561) goes into greater detail concerning the
evolution of settlement in Malta itself and considers the
development of the present pattern in the light of population
growth and movement and other historical factors.)

712 (1) Medieval Capital Fortresses - Mdina in Malta and
175 the Castello in Gozo. Both occupy central eminences in
[361] their respective Islands and were used as capitals by the
Arabs (in Malta 870-1090) and by the various rulers of Malta
between 1090 and the coming of the Knights of St. John in
712 1530. The former is today a tranquil, residential

712 museum-piece; the latter ruined apart from the Cathedral and the Law Courts.

361 175 (2) Attached to each of the two fortresses there grew up at an early date suburbs which themselves achieved the status of independent settlements. Rabat is still an important locus for the farming community of rural Malta, while the Rabat in Gozo (or Victoria as it is now known) is the largest settlement in that Island and the only one with any urban features.

361 175 103 (3) The medieval town-villages of Malta, other than Rabat, were granted parochial status in 1436. This pattern of large agricultural villages formed the basis of the economic life of the times and even today they retain a strong flavour of the "Old Malta". They were Birkirkara, Qormi (split 1935), Żejtun, Żurrieq, Żebbuġ, Gudja, Naxxar and Siġġiewi. The parallel group of villages in Gozo included Xewkija (1678), Gharb (1679), and Żebbuġ, Xaghra, Nadur and Sannat (all 1688).

(4) Soon after the arrival of the Knights in 1530 building in the Three Cities and on the Xiberras Peninsula began. Thus Senglea (1551) and Cospicua (1584) were given parochial status (Vittoriosa had been one of the two 'parishes' of 1090) and the Valletta parishes of St. Paul and St. Dominic were established on the Peninsula in 1585 and 1587.

(5) Chronologically, the next development was the 'filling-in' of the rural scene with new village centres during the rule of the Knights. In all, thirteen such parishes were established in Malta and ten of these were in what are now the Fringe and Inner Rural areas. They were Tarxien and Kirkop (both 1592), Lija (1594), Gharghur, Safi and Mqabba (all 1598), Mosta (1608), Żabbar (1615), Qrendi (1618), Ghaxaq (1626), Luqa (1634), Balzan (1655), and Dingli (1678).

(6) After this spate of parish-building in the hundred years 1580-1680 there was a gap of a century and a half before any new parishes were created. The list then reflects very closely the growth of the Urban area under British rule after 1800 (v. Appendix 1A, and Map 3). Of the eighteen new parishes in Malta eleven were Urban and three in the Fringe zone. The new Urban settlements were Floriana (1844), Msida & Pieta (1867), Sliema (1878, 1918, and 1940), Hamrun (1881), St. Julian's (1891), Kalkara (1898) Pawla (1910), Marsa and Gżira (both 1913); in the Fringe zone came Birżebbuġa (1913), Santa Vennera (1918), and Marsaskala (1949). Other foundations in Malta were Marsaxlokk (1897) and the three new villages in the north -

361 Mellieha (1841), Mġarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
175 In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
103 Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kerbem (1885),
San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911),
Gharb (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

17 In the period reviewed the major development has been
361 the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the
369 Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth
and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval
Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were
eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally
and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic
'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the
Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the
countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the
towns. This has been accompanied by the education and
emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the
line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus
an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly
elusive.

SECTION 2. The Farmer and Farming

128

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community'
and village' need examination before they can be used in
socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings
of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official
reports, need elucidation.

128 The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525)
241 have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is
423 the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either
[114] individually or as the principal person of an agricultural
enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group
of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'.
'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer,
and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic
'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining
a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one
hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held
by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a
legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer.
311 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact
423 that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types
of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include
land of more than one category, and especially in the north

311 and west of Malta and the hard rock areas of Gozo many
423 farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivators' point of view is useless". As to size "the range is enormous" but "it is clear that a reduction in the average size of the farms has taken place at all levels". Today "the great majority of holdings (83.5%) are seen to consist of dry land only. A very small proportion, less than half of one per cent, contain irrigated land only. The balance of 16% of all holdings are 'mixed'. The majority of the mixed holdings contain less than 5 tmien of irrigated and less than 20 tmien of dry land".

423
178 The past hundred years have shown "a general upward trend in the number of land-holders balancing a downward trend in the number of farm workers", while a "factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming".

This picture is made even more complex by the prevailing systems of land tenure and their wide ramifications. This sector has been investigated by Mitchell (B/525). He considers the various types of ownership (Government, Church, private ownership and owner occupation) and the systems of tenure (long and short lease and share cropping, etc.), and traces the land-holding history of one family back through four generations, in order to reveal the way in which the farm-holdings of the members of the various branches of the family have been assembled as the individual farmers have lived and built up their holdings and then dispersed upon death or retirement (in B/337). "Both the methods of acquiring new land and subdividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots".

311 Thus the Maltese farm is characterized by variety of
423 size, tenure, composition and soil types. Moreover, one
must distinguish holdings which are primarily livestock
supporting, from those essentially arable in emphasis and
also from the heterogeneous class which might be called
[128] 'mixed farms'. The present discussion attempts to consider
the Maltese farmer as an individual within the agricultural
and rural scene and aims to demonstrate the contrasts between
the illiterate and the educated, the old-fashioned and the
modern, the prosperous and the poor.

THE PROBLEM.

128 This Section considers the dilemma of the Maltese farm today from the point of view of its technical management. The problem soon emerges essentially as the struggle by an uneconomic unit - the Maltese farm - for existence in the already unbalanced Total Maltese economy.

000 already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

241 The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the
423 points of definition just made. This is the complex of
features which have produced the present landscape of tiny
field-plots covering the cultivable parts of the Islands with
a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely
scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The
farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception.
[433] Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large
the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over
55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than
9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in
many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the
family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or
fodder (Case V).

241 The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not
311 always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and
464 new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land
in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of
cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is
not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions.
Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of
rock in days when manual labour was readily available and
cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were
constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled,
tilled and irrigated. But while mechanization, particularly
[409] in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is
enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over
much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even
this kind of development on account of their small size,
tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are
neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the
soil which it held in place collapses over the terraces
below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated
flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

423 The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this
241 picture since they make for further divisions in an already
454 minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is
frequently deterred from making improvements on a piece of
land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates
any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either
owns himself or has on long lease and which show the
necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability
(Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building
(Case I).

241 Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature.
423 They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more

241 423 rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields, which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

241 464 433 This is the background to the present attempts to rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

(a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654] (b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

654 241 464 The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

178 462 [592] The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

562 462 178 In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p.80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

[p.21]

462 family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and
562 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment
178 outside the home or even outside the village and insists on a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been proper for her mother.

462 The home and the care of the children remains the sphere
178 of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats generalization.

178 Until recently it was customary for most women and girls
462 to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields,
288 especially when work was pressing as at harvest time.
464 Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of its preparation (Section 1), while lace was almost entirely the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity excluded them from field work. Cotton is now of minor importance and lace-working is confined to the older
178 generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now
464 partly being filled by young women and girls seeking employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing, teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers than was the case a generation ago. Yet there remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude that persists in labelling paid employment fo a girl as somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case, discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout Malta (B/598).

241 Some farming families still retain the traditional
462 pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI);
[178] others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled, such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men (v. Case I on the division of family labour).

241 In general it appears that as the younger age-groups
592 are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided.
[178] The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-
[465] money' donations and even these went to sons working full-time with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and not to daughters. Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

241 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited,
592 in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned
to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until
they can find some paid employment away from the home farm,
and

241 (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between
464 £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family
[461] would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover
[465] the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily
available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a
return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely
to become scarcer and more costly.

241 The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that
[461] as already suggested, the particular characeristics of
Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual
labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious
fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail
of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable
of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of
activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and
241 varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to
distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual
calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming
conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree
of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so
has the range of variety increased.

175 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the
178 crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work
221 a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of
241 each month along with short articles on subjects of interest
to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as
silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco,
would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the
[234] Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since
[233] 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely
mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to
first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be
241 expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village
and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese
farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial'
and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

178
241 modern calendar of events is considered.

As random sample illustrations three farmers' accounts of their own work during 1957-58 are analyzed[22]. At least they reveal something of the variety that now exists between one farmer and the next.

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221 (1) A full-time field worker (Case X) usually working with his brother and a nephew and having some irrigable land. An analysis of the routine of this man is given (Case X; E, v. Work Analysis) and, from the same material, Mitchell has made a detailed study of time/labour utilization (B/525). A summary of this, which is on the basis of the ten hours per day worked by each of the three men over the year 1957-8, is also included in Case X.

[592] (2) The second example relates to an arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce (Case XI; E, v. Work Analysis). This man is helped in the fields by his wife and family. The analysis illustrates the main features of this 'irrigated' farmer's year (although in the year studied there was an exceptional loss of time in the Autumn due to storm damage) and should be compared with (1) above. Irrigation accounts for about a quarter of the months May-July but occupies a mere two afternoons in the period November-February. Cutting and reaping accounts for even more time in July than does irrigation: by October plowing is the largest single item apart from "No work (storms)". In November, planting and sowing account for slightly more time than "collecting greenery" and is by far the main work of December (potatoes). General cultivation work occupies much of the next two months but pruning and grafting of vines is the biggest single item of February. The parallel between this and (1) is clear, apart from the special emphasis, on fruit - largely apples - in the former case.

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221
461 (3) A Goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping (Case II; E, v. Work Analysis) provides the third sample study. In 1957 - 58 this herdsman spent all but thirty afternoons "grazing the goats" - on only one Sunday or 'festa' day did he not go out with his animals. This illustrates an important feature. While Sundays and Holy Days are normally kept free of field-work, work with animals has to be allowed. The herdsman is consequently much more tied to his farm than is the predominantly arable farmer. He has a set daily schedule of feeding and milking the animals and cleaning out their stalls, etc., and can expect to have to adhere to this especially if he is working alone or with very little help. In fact the herdsman spends a considerable amount of his working year on

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

234 (i) the grazing mentioned,
221 (ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
461 (iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting milk receipts from the M.M.U., cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of every working day.

221 241 178 181 [931] The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of late, 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of these he is better acquainted.

241 461 178 181 This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate or recently-illiterate farming folk and is given further consideration (Section 4). Suffice it at this stage to emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no

241 461 178 181 direct result. The farmer in (1) spends more than a fortnight each summer gouging tree pests from his apple orchard, a tedious and monotonous task for which the cost would be enormous if any account were made of the labour involved. He has always accepted this task as one of the essential jobs in his fields, presenting itself each year as regularly as the seasons. Today he is wondering whether the same result might not be achieved within the space of a few hours by the application of some spray treatment (Case X).

241 461 This is certainly not to suggest that the Maltese farmer has ever consciously wasted his time. The opposite is the case. Visitors to Malta and Gozo since the eighteenth century have been full of praise for the farmers of the Islands and for their diligent industry. The fact is that the physical limitations of the fields and farms are such that agriculture in the Islands has been maintained and developed only by the application by the farmer of meticulous hand-labour. [464] Today a critical shortage of this very labour is producing a state of doubt and tension in the industry. The question is being posed as to whether some forms of mechanized development can replace traditional manual labour. In view of the characterisites of the rural landscape of the Islands possibilities seem limited.

241 461 178 The farmer's daily timetable, with its long hours of monotonous toil for comparatively little remuneration, is producing a younger farming generation embittered with their inability to do a day's work on the farm in eight hours only and frustrated because independence - in their terms - is denied them. They are tied to the farm and the animals and unable to take as much leisure as their counterparts in 'urban' jobs. Independence for them implies the freedom to take time off from the farm in which to make themselves socially as 'urbanate' as possible. Independence for their fathers' generation is not the same thing. Here is seen a vestige of the traditional peasant way of life which was essentially independent in its family and village self-sufficiency. Thus the old farmer's concept of independence is the ability to rule himself and to work his long hours as he inclines. The liberty to sit with his goats between siesta and sunset, with no foreman and no questions, is in fact part of the attraction which keeps the older farmer in farming at all. It is by no means the whole story because he knows well enough that in his case it is too late to think of acquiring any of the education which he sees as the key to things better than farming. The younger generation do not see things in this light at all and regard their education as a means of escape (Section 1).

000 as a means of escape (Section 1).

512 The nature of the farmer's daily timetable depends on
241
234

(a) the type of farm-unit involved,
(b) the labour force available,
(c) location,
(d) season.

The farmer's day begins, on average, between 4 a.m. and 4.30 a.m. Extremes are found in the case of herdsmen who often rise much earlier - at 2.30 a.m. in the case of the Gozitan with a large herd of cows and only a limited milking labour force, or after 5a.m. or 5.30 a.m. for a herdsman whose farm is close to an M.M.U. collection depôt. The M.M.U. require herdsmen to deliver their milk at such a depôt for transportation to the pasteurizing centre at Hamrun or, in Gozo (after 1958), to the new milk centre at Xewkija. Before this latter addition to the milk industry, which is expected to cope with all the Gozo-produced milk in both pasteurizing and other processes, it was possible for a herdsman (Case I) in north-western Gozo to have to rise as early as 12.30 a.m. Generally, in the summer, reveille for the field worker might be an hour or so earlier than in winter so that he and, even more, the herdsman might expect to begin most of his working days in darkness.

[791] The first event of the day for many country people is Mass. Some are regular attenders at one of the services between 4 and 6 a.m. Others, living further from a Church or having very heavy commitments of work, are less so. Field workers frequently take the Mass on their way to the work of the day (Case X).

[264] Breakfast is invariably a very light meal of little more than bread and tea or coffee. It is taken sometime between reveille and about 9 a.m. and does not constitute a major halt in the work of the farm. Milk producers in most cases do not breakfast until the animals are milked or even until they return with their carts from taking the churns to the M.M.U. collection depôt in the nearest village.

[264] [461] The main meal of the day is lunch, taken somewhere between 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. and followed by a siesta of up to three hours. The herdsman's siesta is less flexible than that of the farmer for a 1 p.m. afternoon milking limits the time available. The milking over, the goat-herder takes his animals out to graze on a suitable patch of waste ground or stubble until 5 or 6 pm. - or later in the summer (Case II). The milk is taken to the collection depôt with minimum loss of time especially in hot weather. In the case of the herdsman with cows there is clearly no question of grazing these animals (Case VI), except in one case (Case IX).

000 except in one case (Case IX).

241 234 512 264 [262] The evening meal is generally smaller than the lunch although consisting of much the same elements - a thick stew ('brodu' or 'minestra'), along with bread, cheese, fruit, olives, tomatoes, etc. The consumption of meat and fish is in part governed by religion and in part by price and availability, though meat certainly figures much more prominently in the rural diet than formerly. The meal is taken soon after the return from the fields, about 6.30 p.m. and is followed, an hour or so later by the saying of a family Rosary before retiring for the night about 8.0 p.m. In Gozo there is a tendency for people to rise, eat, work and retire to bed rather earlier than in the larger Island and the smaller villages are usually dark and quiet by 7 p.m.

241 234 512 Apart, therefore, from external factors, such as M.M.U. collection or Church service timings, the daily timetable of the farmer and the herdsman depends to a large degree on his own volition. He knows what work is outstanding and can decide how and when he will do it within the limits imposed by the season, demands of animals, and so on. Thus, at a peak period of field-work, such as harvest, the farmer and his assistants may work on until the late evening - even through the night. During exceptionally heavy rains, as in October 1957, work on anything approaching the normal scale is, on the other hand, impossible and the farmer's day becomes one of doing what he can and complaining copiously meanwhile.

241 572 461 Miège (B/516, p.236), writing in 1840, was impressed by the regular and assiduous labour of the Maltese farmer, even during the heat of the summer sun. "Il semble impossible, au premier abord, que le paysan maltais puisse résister aux chaleurs intenses de l'été. Cependant, au milieu des champs, dès le lever du soleil, on le voit, exposés a ses brûlants rayons, continuer tout le jour ses pénibles travaux. Il fait deux pauses: la première a huit heures; il se repose alors une demi-heure pour déjeuner; la seconde à onze heures; c'est l'instant de son dîner frugal, après lequel il se repose de nouveau jusqu'à midi en hiver, et jusqu'à une heure en été, tantôt à l'ombre d'un figuier, tantôt au pied du petit mur qui entoure le champ, la tête couverte d'un bonnet de laine, et le reste du corps exposé au feux du jour. Il reprend ensuite ses travaux avec la même vigueur, et ne se retire qu'au signal donné par la cloche de son village, c'est à dire au coucher du soleil".

572 241 234 178 The essentials of the daily round of the farmer have changed little since Miège wrote except in so far as the tremendous increase in the importance of stock-rearing and

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
572 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

572 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[234] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
577 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
517 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo [illegible] continue operating.

178 241 farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

It is hoped that some at least of the answer to this problem will come from co-operation and mechanization. The first implies the pooling of labour resources of individual farmers while the latter includes the whole range of developments leading to a replacement of hand labour, as far as possible under Maltese conditions, by machinery or by more efficient implements.

CO-OPERATION

241 476 Co-operation in field work between farmers is not new in Malta[23]. It is either permanent, where two or more farmers combine with each other to work a single farm unit, sharing profits and expenses, or temporary, as when two or more farmers share the use of a threshing machine at harvest.

An example of the permanent type is a case (Case VIII) where five brothers work one farm-unit as a team with one of their number being something of a primus inter pares. This [234] is an efficient and profitable arrangement with a substantial income accruing from the herd of some thirty head and the 70 tmien of land worked by the partnership.

Another case (Case XI) is that of two unrelated farmers working one farm-unit as partners after a lifetime's friendship. So completely are their resources pooled that it is not always clear what belongs to the one and what to the other. With their respective oldest sons (teenagers) these [233] [234] two men operate a holding of some 100 tmien and have in recent years joined in the change-over from goats to cows. Their joint herd now numbers some forty head, but as an economic unit is in a much inferior position to that of the first example.

A third example (Case X) shows two brothers working the fields held by them together but maintaining clear distinctions as to which brother owns which plot. This association has also endured for decades and now includes the full-time assistance of the oldest son of the brother.

An example of a temporary association is that where two or more farmers combine to thresh the grain of each man in turn, six being the optimum number for a threshing team which normally includes the owner-operator of the hired [178] threshing machine himself working as one of the team. In the days when the traditional threshing floor with the mule and hand-winnowing was the standard method of threshing (as before the 1939-45 War) different farmers would also join and help each other at the harvest. (Today this threshing floor method is confined to cases where a long straw is required.)

000 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against

241 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against
exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly
474 common, while a recent development has been the tractor
co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator
or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

178 The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta
407 in the 1930s (Case XV, XXII) but "at that time there was a
general feeling against the use of such machines on the land
and it was about five years before their value was acknow-
[427] ledged and suspicions overcome"[12]. One of the earliest
tractor-hire businesses (Case XV) began in 1935 and for a
[422] decade there were comparatively few competitors. Since the
1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning
agricultural tractos and mechanized implements[24] has
increased to about thirty in Malta[25] and some twelve in Gozo
(1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[26], made
in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still
increasing but the work available for them is decreasing.
This is clear from a consideration of the points raised in
Cases XV to XII (Section 6, Part 2).

The main points emerging were

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended (Case XVI), while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement (Case XXII).

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

(ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can
[654] be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially
since low-interest loans are now available from the
Government.

(c) The limited area of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between asignments (Case · XVII).

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case · XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of
damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).
The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are
therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per
tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the
hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can themselves
[461] be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job
which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a
matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

(ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
407 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
461 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements
464 (Case · XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving
the problem of labour shortage.

For the contractor himself there is a social as well
427 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has
554 come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane
than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status
is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no
implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far
[221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main
disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three
summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines
and services to builders and others out of the plowing
season (Cases · XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing
machine which brings in further contracts in the summer
(Case XVII).

From what has been said it would appear that the large
178 tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese
407 farming, although it may bring considerable profit and
427 advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The
[434] present decline in this type of contracting has been noted.
Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be
greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to
the land in the near future. The small hand rotary
cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like
going much further along the way to enabling a time/money
conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with
little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly
limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming
landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it
can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

407 472 474 Many of the large tractor plowing concerns described above are run by two or more men, often brothers, in partnership. A much more recent development of this kind has been the 'tractor co-operative' in which a much larger number of farmers share the use and expenses of a cultivator of tractor. By the end of 1958 one such co-operative had been established in Mellicha in Malta, and another at Gharb, in Gozo.

407 474 648 These two projects are attempts which, if successful, may be followed by the setting up of other similar co-operatives. Two powerful hand cultivators were donated by C.A.R.E[27], the American relief organization, to a committee of farmers in Mellicha and two more to a similar group in Gharb. In each village farmers wishing to join [429] the co-operative paid a fee of some £2 after which they were entitled to hire the machine at a fraction of the prevailing commercial hire cost. In Gharb this was 10/- an hour where other private tractor operators were demanding 17/-. The C.A.R.E. gifts of tractors removed the need for the farmer himself to invest capital in something novel. He stood only to gain and not to lose and there was, consequently, fierce competition for the limited membership of the co-operative. Maintainance of the machines was in each case left to a full-time operator, while the running of the co-operative was in the hands of an executive committee of some half dozen farmers in each case who were elected from among the members concerned. This kind of organization in farm work is quite new to the Maltese farmer who has previously been incapable of uniting to any degree, whether in a marketing co-operative or farmers' union (Section 4). If the Mellicha and Gharb projects prove successful the principle of such co-operation may well extend to other branches of agriculture. The resulting financial economies would considerably strengthen the farmer's position.

407 474 A co-operative of any sort is, however, a somewhat unknown quantity among a largely illiterate and conservative farming population not far removed from traditional independent subsistence. Moreover, until recently, mechanical skill has been confined to the small number of farmers operating tractors themselves. In the Gharb co-operative only two men were available who could in fact operate the machines at all.

Although it is too early to judge the effiency of this kind of co-operative in Malta its initial success would suggest that it has a future. The answer to the problem of shortage of labour discussed earlier in this section may then well be a combination of the widespread owner-use of one or other of the small rotary cultivators on the market along

407 474 with the setting up of co-operatives which would make available to the farmer the services of a heavy tractor and deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire the smaller type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY and GUARANTEE

435 241 654 During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for produce handed in to the collection centres in each district. Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never known before and were able to build up often considerable financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

434 435 241 654 Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite different conditions of competition from abroad, demands a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and milk production. He insists that responsibility for this subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on "Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and marketing and gives him a substantial return.

654 The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible foodstuffs (which would often mean imported goods rather than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities (bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows everyone in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included four main types of help to agriculture.

234 654 (a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U. This varies slightly with season and there is a difference of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells

234 pasteurized milk at about this same price to the general
654 public, regardless of the administrative, collection and pasteurization costs involved and the losses on surplus milk wasted. The subsequent deficit is born by the Government exchequer and may therefore be regarded as a Government subsidy to the milk producer. Its effect in the past few years has been immense in that it has encouraged herdsmen all over the Islands to increase their production to the maximum at the expense of arable cash-crops (Cases I to IX).

232 (b) As part of the general policy to improve farming
654 in the Islands and, at the same time, to eradicate certain livestock diseases the Government has made available to herdsmen an exchange scheme whereby they may exchange diseased animals for newly imported stock. This has also included goats, some dozen of which could be exchanged for a cow. Along with this stock improvement policy has gone official limitation on the number of animals entering the Islands since the present overstocking is regarded as undesirable. Farmers have however not been slow to find ways round such limitations - one popular method of acquiring a cow having been, for example, for a farmer to buy in weak and ailing goats and effect an exchange of these for a healthy imported heifer.

654 (c) Of considerable help to the arable farmer as well as the herdsman has been the programme of 'Loans and Grants' ('Self u Donazzjonijiet') by the Government to farmers for the purpose of making capital improvements in the farm and its operation. The low-interest loans have been particularly popular and have already enabled many farmers to buy, for example, their own rotary cultivators (Case II). One important limiting feature in these loans has been the ignorance on the part of many farmers of the system and the suspicion felt by others of something new and not clearly explained.

(d) Of particular concern to the arable farmer have been the various distributions of free or subsidized seeds, potatoes, tomatoes, etc. In some cases the aim has here been to popularize some new departure from custom such as a variety of early potato new to Malta or to introduce farmers to the 'Balanced Ration' ('Għalf Bilanċjat') experiments of the agricultural authorities.

242 (e) In this same category of aids to farming comes the
654 recently-formed Agricultural Advisory Service, which has itself been responsible for many of the new moves mentioned and also for the series of public lectures to farmers (Section 4), which have been part of the effort to improve farming in the Islands by providing an up-to-date research

242 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for
654 advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming
community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial
insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in
the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud
(Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service
are outlined in B/252.

178 Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said
241 about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification
654 to bring it more closely into line with present conditions
181 both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic
conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4)
but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is
[234] not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the
guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space
of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the
Islands.

433 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk
654 surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee
234 remains he will continue to put every effort into selling
more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to
fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is
certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently,
having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

MONEY

433 In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was
434 a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale
178 subsistence farming with the help only of his family.
[175] Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family,
farm and village. There were very few wants which could
not be supplied at home, or at least within the village.
In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in
terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have
his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his
predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells
each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual
turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes
modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the
farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the
food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction
436 between the present 'commercialized' position and that which
437 prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century
ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they
465 were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when
compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for
comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal
Commissioners (B/184), Miège (B/516) and Price (B/556),
but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
454 this same report however, it is learnt that the farming
community had by that date become investment conscious and
had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day
where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited
eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field
work at all. The developments observed by the 1911
Commissioners were by no means general among the rural
population at that time. They were in fact merely the
178 first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
433 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
722 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
465 in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before.
He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce
- or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became
used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted
war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was
the feeling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in
Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time,
the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the countryman.
The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was
content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the
change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his
social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered
needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a
variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

178 standards demanded have risen; and luxuries, once almost
511 unheard of, are now becoming part of the expected pattern
of the life of the countryman (Section 2). For most of
these new needs the farmer has required money. Hence
progress, to him, has become synonomous with the acquisition
178 of more money. Branches of banks have appeared in some
511 villages in both islands since 1945 and the countryman is
454 coming to accept this means of storing his accumulated
wealth. The concern for bigger interest, first noted by
[453] the 1911 Commissioners, is replacing the traditional mere
accumulation of wealth whether in money or in jewellery and
other valuables.

178 There is still, however, a very strong element of
181 accumulation rather than investment in the finances of the
454 farmer. This is particularly the case with the older
511 generation who, as always, cling to the ways of the past
because their lack of formal education makes them, apparently,
unable to comprehend or adapt themselves to the workings
of the present. Thus it is held that, while the younger
generation have sought to urbanize themselves socially and
economically with the money which now comes their way, many
of the older generation, that is to say those who are
tending to stay in farming today, have taken the 'new'
money but have not changed their way of life or living
standards to anything like the same extent. Thus dress,
for example, is no sure indication of a farmer's wealth
in terms of money and one hears of bare-foot, shabbily
clothed countrymen with savings of £1000 or more. In
traditional Maltese village society the uniformity which
was the keynote (Section 1) encouraged the farmer to appear
like his neighbour lest he be accused of deviationary
tendencies: this feeling is often revealed today in the
reluctance of the farmer to be the first to try a new
method or crop in his fields for fear of becoming a
laughing-stock.

Although the older generation do not strive to demonstrate their wealth in dress, habits, a new house, etc., and do not share the anxiety of the younger villager that he should look like a townsman and move to a 'good' - i.e. non-rural - district, their saving is not completely without aim. To resolve this point fully it would be necessary to consider the whole complex of traditional Maltese village society but for the present discussion some major features only will be outlined.

178 Dowry is one feature of traditional Maltese society
583 which is currently assuming different proportions to those
183 earlier held. It was regarded in the past as essential

178 583 183 [554] for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as substantial a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind: land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among the families of the same village and farming background. [182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance (B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts of the Islands have increased and marriages between individuals from different villages and also from differing economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 454 423 471 Another development which has put money into an altogether new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War, and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 654 [426] Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for capital. The Government added to this money consciousness with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest loans for capital improvements of the farms and their equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
154 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the
[234] maximum (Section 2).

Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
178 Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
511 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to
434 his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned.
These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

[464] (d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

178
Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
434 his farm the means of providing for the various needs of
[471] the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding,
his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make
the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is
the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very
small section of the farming community: one of the major
problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means
the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
26 position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial
434 status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem
emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

be suffering from economic near-strangulation because the working of his farm-unit is linked with a fluctuating but permanent element of debt. This is because the factors mentioned above as producing the need and demand for money are operating, but the farmer and his farm-unit are unable to hold their own in the present agricultural economy of Malta; this in spite of the artificial boosts of Government loans, guaranteed prices, free gifts, agricultural development schemes, information services, etc., (Section 2).

178 434 There is a range therefore between the farmer who is proving able to advance financially and he who is not, even to the state of impoverishment. The problem of the latter may be considered from two view-points, the economic and the social. Economically, the difficulty is clear. Many farm units as they exist today cannot hope to provide an income, after expenses have been met, which will support the family and allow of expansion or even maintainance of the unit. The social problem is less easy to define. It would appear that many characteristics of the traditional peasant farming system of subsistence and independence of each farm unit still remain beneath an often thin veneer of [212] commercialization and modernization. This is related in large part to the lack of education of the farmer himself. The farmer of today in Malta is an old man and ageing who has been but little affected by the developments in education, in its widest sense, which are turning the ambitions of the present younger generation of the farming community towards the towns and towards non-agricultural pursuits. At heart, the present Maltese farmer is still in very many cases thinking as a peasant, isolated and independent, in a farming system now essentially commercial, competitive yet inter-dependent. Financial profits and losses now rule his life but the farmer is, in a disturbingly large number of cases, partly unable and partly unwilling to adapt himself and his farm to the new conditions.

178 234 434 426 Something of the effect of the both the economic and social aspects of the problem may be gathered from a study of a number of sample cases:

(a) A goats' milk producer, living just within the boundary of the Urban area of Malta (Case V), operated during 1957 with a persistent debt on the maintainance of his animals, the basis of his livelihood. During the year, the milk production of his herd varied between 70 and 30 lbs per day. This was sold for the official guaranteed prices and to this extent may be seen as a constant element. Produce from the tomna of land held by the [451] farmer was used in the home but made only a minor contribution to the food budget. This man keeps no accounts of the costs of maintainance of his herd and profits therefrom. He is operating in a perpetual state of debt. A table of

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
234 nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
434 the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
426 poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
fully realizes that without the present Government guaran-
[654] tee (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt
is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together
as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a
total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for
the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that
the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize
their farm and herd as they would wish. For example,
while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rear-
ing calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in
fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would
otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the
cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding
to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them
reluctant to take on any further loan commitments;
nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are
definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be
able to increase the number in their herd and also
mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
234 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
434 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U
with as much milk as possible.

654 They have no thought or care as to what might happen
were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the
subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly
little appreciation of the total picture of which they
form part and will be content to grumble quietly and
ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate
(Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
434 which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
454 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
provision of dowries and Wedding costs, etc., are met.
234 This farmer admits to having been able to save more than
654 £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that
today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread".
[451] He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly
on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase
of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds
of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on
the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for
all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is
typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying,
today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to
making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-
supported market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
accounts of the working of his farm. His second employ-
434 ment brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
241 weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he
[511] reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a
third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc.
and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the
steady income from his other job farming has something
of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

178 434 241 because he has always been used to doing it and one which enables him to provide many of the food items needed by the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

156 241 426 The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies of farming from the economic point of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

472 511 It appears that MONEY is a variable but important factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household, as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear distinction made by the farmer between the finances pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its maintainance. The most common practice is for there to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it come the costs of running farm and household. As seen, the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as the labour of his family and himself is concerned
[451] (Case X). Similarly it is still the exception rather than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is making a loss, though of the details he has no notion. In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
571 is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
[651] tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
454 normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
[593] few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expenses of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
178 accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[294] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family,
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
[656] killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

[P. 41]

262 369 In respect of diet an important distinction between town and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially 'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily available; but in the country districts there is notably less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 273 262 511 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now established themselves as needs and, consequently, as demands on the family purse.

178 291 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy. Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made at home or at least within the village and were worn by the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest change is among the younger farming generation who want to dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly, especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the widespread use of military surplus material.

423 362 511 Housing is important in the present consideration because money is now being spent by the farmer both on buying his own house where he can but also on developing it and improving the furnishings.

[178] Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

178 511 There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of 'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and recreation all require money. Payments to the Church have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, can clearly only be met with cash.

451 511 [123] The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

457 lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm
511 and that spent on the household.

In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and
[593] co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where they proved of major importance and benefit.

At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance
[454] of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X). The period in question was financially atypical for this man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for any farmer like him is further complicated by the uncommercial approach which is made to the labour of the farmer himself (and in this Case that of a brother and nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed because custom demands that they are done and a job is not neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus
[511] the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure as a cost in production (Section 2).

His income derives largely from the sale of fruit
434 (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable.
454 In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57
458 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only £340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew "receives something when a crop is sold". Other items sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season each of the brothers received a gross profit of about £250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X) nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57 from savings. This feature is crucial. Given the normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far
[181] hence. This insecurity of his capital is important in his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production or farm management and in part also echoes the conservation and inertia of the traditional peasant [illegible]

000 and inertia of the traditional peasant.

STANDARD OF LIVING

178 511 [436] The past century and a half have seen the development from peasant to commercial farming, along with the adoption of money as the basis of exchange, and the appearance of a large range of new demands in diet, clothing, housing, luxuries, recreation, etc. Some observations on the living standards of the farming community during the period are now indicated.

175 511 369 178 Speaking of living standards in the Malta of the early nineteenth century Price considers that "an identity and cohesion prevailed not only in major economic trends but in the economic habits of the people" (B/556, p.8). Thus "In these circumstances it is possible to examine together the habits of rural labourers, urban labourers, artisans, small farmers and fishermen...." (B/556, p.9). Price holds that during the first half of the nineteenth century there was in fact little change in the living standards prevailing in the Maltese Islands despite the fluctuations evident within the national economy as a whole. "Years of prosperity may have brought a slight increase in the ratio of wheaten to barley bread or in the use of novel clothing such as straw hats. But, it seems clear, the chief effect of prosperity was to increase the consumption of oil, alcohol and tobacco; these, together with his religion, ranked first in the list of desirable and important things in the minds of the Maltese flush with surplus cash. Presumably these were the things he hoped society would give while his traditional diet, clothing and shelter were the things he expected society to provide" (B/556, p.9-10). 175 434 369 Among the unskilled urban and rural workers there was a notable uniformity in wage throughout the period. Price speaks of 6½d for a day's work for a man (and about 1d only for a women) but observes that skilled workers, and especially those in dockyard employ, could expect very much more (B/556, p.9-10). For the mass of the labouring and farming community therefore income was of the order of a few pence per day but, as suggested, the prevailing self-sufficiency of the near-peasant farmer of the period made actual monetary income an inadequate indicator of standards of living. For the urban worker, on the other hand, lacking the farm basis, the low wage level meant poverty and hardship. More especially "Poverty..... pressed heavily on the under-employed" (B/556, p. 11).

175 288 The importance of cotton to the nineteenth century Maltese farmer has been discussed in Section 1. In 1839

In 1839
175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The principal
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-
wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is
the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing
by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work,
175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nine-
teenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on
other crops while, socially, the change affected the
family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commis-
735 sioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become
511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and
that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts,
the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded
saving but also led to begging and stealing which was
"One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty
and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Miège in 1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167); reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874 (B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207); on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great
as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the
bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country
districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst
description" while "It must also be admitted that the
sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not
so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late
175 years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

511 The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence
[369] is that there existed a considerable gulf in general
[464] living standards between the people of the towns and
those of the country. There was also an important
[452] contrast within the then rapidly expanding urban area

175 between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This
458 dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth
511 century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished
[464] from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which
[184] characterized the totality of economic life in Malta. Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century.
[731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts, epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable Malta (B/556).

175 The major economic developments arising from the
184 growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the
511 Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various
178 stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the chain of external events made their presence felt. In all this the fortunes of one section of the population, such as the farming community, could at no time stand unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands as a whole.

175 Malta remained sharply divided within itself by
178 class, district and education and the parallel differences
[184] of living standards between one section of society and another were continued. But the later decades of the
[871] nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from the economic plane, the beginnings of general education which, during the present century, was to remove the illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of life and society outside the limits of the village.
[184] Improvements in transport and communication within the
[369] Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural
[621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the forces indicated were beginning to modify the position but it was not until the present century and particularly

178 the years after 1939 that the cumulative effects of
[175] education, emancipation and communication were to produce
a society very different from that which Maltese country
[511] folk had known for centuries (Section 1). It became
[184] different when the traditionally depressed sections of the
community became restless and began to demand the improvements in their living standards which they came to believe
should be theirs by right as well as need.

178 This is not to suggest that the present position of
184 Maltese rural society is an 'end-product' of change. The
369 opposite is true. The old and new exist side by side in
agriculture and in the farming community of the Islands
today. Some people, some places, and some features of
life and work hold far more tenaciously to the old than do
others where comparatively few years have seen considerable modifications of the traditional pattern.

175 By 1912, the Royal Commissioners were able to observe
458 that the living standards of the labouring classes of
Malta and Gozo compared well with those of other Mediter-
464 ranean countries (B/186, p.25-6). "Building", they said.
511 "is cheap and good and the country people are exceptionally
well-housed". But, in their consideration of the economic
state of the Islands as a whole, the Commissioners thought
the picture much more gloomy. The depression which they
found, though of only recent appearance, was being felt
by the mass of the people, although "until the advent of
the present depression, the condition of the people has
been one of comparative comfort". To appreciate
"The present distress, and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta.....it is necessary to
recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former
prosperity and employments, which depended to a large
extent upon Imperial expenditure...." (B/186, p.12).
Here did the Commissioners strike at the root of the problem
which has grown to formidable proportions in the half-century since the report was made. They pointed to the
position in which the economic structure of the country
as a whole was based on the shifting sands of Imperial
naval and military expenditure and in which the living
standards of the Maltese population were therefore tied
indirectly and directly to that Imperial expenditure.
Moreover, within the Maltese population itself, it is not
difficult to see that the first to be hit by a drop in
Imperial expenditure (as happened between 1902 and 1911
and, again, in the post-1945 period) were and are the
labouring and poorer classes generally lacking alternative
employment in the Islands, in the event of their becoming
redundant, and having often little or no capital reserves.

175 Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger
458 position than the townsman for he has had the land to which
464 he could return when no other work was available. Thus the
369 degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred
years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level
of prosperity in the Islands (Section 2).

178 The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be
related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the
241 higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural
464 pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold
458 on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in
[554] some future period of major economic recession and
depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however
is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than
a minor part of the total population. As an economic
retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the
[554] problem goes further. The present younger generation in the
farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the
stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting
as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly.
Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who
might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The
estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of
reconciliation.

175 Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese
465 agriculture may be seen from that afore-mentioned index,
the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which
would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War, a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is, today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourer:

1826-42	6½d - 8d	(B/556, p.215)
1843-54	8d - 10d	"
1855-56	1s - 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d - 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d - 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s - 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s	(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s - 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s - 25s	(Personal Investigation)

178 464 511 In a consideration of the standard of living of the Maltese population in general and of the farming section of it in particular during the present century it is seen that the two World Wars (1914-18 and 1939-45) saw tremendous upheavals in this aspect of Maltese life, as in so many others. In the case of the 1914-18 struggle "there is no doubt that the War first and principally and secondly the political events that have occurred since have completely altered and raised the standard of living of the working classes in Malta...." (B/130 - 1930, p.ix). A distinction is here infered between the working classes and the upper and professional or business classes whose previously higher standards were maintained unimpaired or even improved. The wage-rate index after the 1914-18 War gives only an intermittent picture as official statistics on wage rates in agriculture have been very limited. The Blue Books of the inter-War period observed that "No official information is available" regarding agricultural wages (B/165) but the Cost-of-Living investigations between 1943 and 1946 are little better for they are concerned almost exclusively with non-agricultural workers (B/213, 214, 217).

178 464 465 511 It does emerge, however, that the 1914-18 War brought little change in Maltese living standards when compared with the effects of the 1939-45 War. In 1946 it was decided that "The war years have produced improvements in the standard of living and we may hope that the working class family will never revert to the pre-war standard" (B/217, para.5). Costs to the consumer of food, clothing and other items had doubled and trebled between 1939 and 1946 (B/217, Appendix I, II, IIA) but wages had also increased. In 1936 an average wage for labour in 'trade and manufacture' was put at an annual £82, or about 31/7d per week (B/165-1936, Section 23). Even by 1943 an average weekly wage for such workers had grown to £2.16s, plus an average 'other income' of a further 18/6d weekly. Against this was an average total weekly expenditure of £3.12.9d (B/213, Appendix R).

Farm work had shared in the increased wages. A 1936 estimate for agricultural labour put the weekly rate between 21/- and 24/- (B/165 - 1936, Section 23). The 1943 report quotes one farm labourer, among its sample 100 workers, as gaining a total of £2.16s per week, or the same as the average 'earned income' (without 'other income') of all the sample 100 workers (B/213, Appendix R, No.90).

000 During the War years the farmer had been able to

[P.52]

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital
improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows
and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in
post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to
'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living
above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt.
He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position
and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the
financial point of view, to his commanding position during
the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25,
although the average per capita income for the whole
country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing
and other essential items are often quite exorbitant,
especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954
survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of
northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of
£136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm
labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75
per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn
little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
labourer without field commitments of his own can demand
his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases,
markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who
stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
511 average, a standard of life still slightly below the
434 general level, although the disparity is by no means as
great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Above-average exceptions include those
farmers who have been able to profit from the present
regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large
herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings
or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

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735 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison.
747 The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth
434 and assets against family size. Thus a household of four
648 persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or
a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for
the free food[32].

162 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the
735 above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by
434 place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which
the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in
addition, also listed separately. The residential
divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the
basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working
population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

	A	B	C	D	E
DISTRICT	POPULATION[35]	'Poor & Needy' as % Population	FARMERS[36]	'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	B/D
Urban Area	134,309	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.8	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	9	0.9:

369 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living
735 standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as
has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta
511 and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect
162 the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of
Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the
farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less
poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone
they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural
zone (most of Gozo, and Mġarr in Malta), however, the farmer
is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general
average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most
dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this
zone are one third below the general level as far as their
standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

162 The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom
735 9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as
511 a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the
whole population.

369 This pattern of comparatively low living standards in rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the problem with which this Section has been concerned. While
[178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in the Islands the younger generation of the rural community will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present
241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3). The social background to this change is, however, no less important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work, thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and illiterate sections of the farming community this question of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta
619. complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the
829 farmer to speak of "Il-Overn" - the Government of which he has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems. In this important concept of 'Overn' no very clear distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is allegiance to political parties very significant for person-
[648] ality is more important than party. Historically, this attitude to a remote 'Overn' probably descends from the tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands.

795 Another Malta-wide authority is the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the farmer than is 'Il-Gvern' for in the normal practice of his religion he leans directly on the local church and priests.

829 To the farmer 'Gvern' is synonomous with control. Illiteracy has, in the past, made it very difficult for him to view authority with anything but suspicion. This has not been made easier by incompetent and condescending elements within officialdom whose actions, if any, have confirmed the doubts of the small farmer striving to provide his family with a living despite the odds against him - of which 'Gvern' was one.

178 654 Today the picture is changing. It is official policy to "encourage investment and to improve farming methods so as to raise the efficiency of the industry to a level where it can provide a decent livelihood for those engaged in it"[38].

178 156 129 The farmers' reactions to efforts on his behalf are particularly important at this crucial stage in the progress of agriculture in the Islands. Essentially his outlook retains much of the traditional reserve and caution of the illiterate peasant, an attitude apparent also in two further contexts, the organization within farming itself (Unions, Co-Operatives, etc.), and the farmers' attitudes towards society in general and rural society in particular.

829 156 The three aspects of the problem may be re-phrased as
(i) the farmer's attitudes to officialdom, espec- the Department of Agriculture, and 'Il-Gvern' generally,
(ii) his attitude towards other farmers and towards the industry as a whole,
(iii) his position as a member of a socially 'low' class within Malta.

[561] Within each of these the present gulf between the younger generation, with a degree of education and emancipation, and the older (including most of the Islands' full-time farmers) produces a further conflict of attitudes and aspirations.

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THE FARMER AND GOVERNMENT

Official interest in agricultural development has increased very rapidly during the present decade and now includes a wide variety of measures aimed at improving farming by financial support and investment. These have been outlined in Section 2. There has also been an attempt to educate the farmer in better suited techniques and to make him aware of improvements which, it is believed, will increase the profit from his farm or herd. The problem here is seen to be twofold:

654 (a) to decide which crops, animals, feeding stuffs, machinery, methods of farm management, etc., are most likely to improve Maltese farming conditions, and

(b) to pass this information to a conservative and doubting farming public.

654 242 A central feature of official policy since 1956 has been the Agricultural Advisory Service (B/252), modelled on the parallel organization in the United Kingdom. In Malta this body has aimed to co-ordinate research and experiment with encouraging the farmer to adopt proven results. Within a short while of its inception the Service was concerned with detailed investigations into pig rearing, poultry feeding, dairying, potatoes, tomatoes, fertilizers and other agricultural topics in the Islands (B/252, pp.3-4). At the same time a great deal of importance was attached to demonstrations and lectures to farmers. In addition broadcasts were made over the Rediffusion system and these were supplemented by a certain amount of printed publicity.

654 242 544 232 The easiest part of the programme of lectures and demonstrations was to get farmers and others to attend the meetings. Those who stayed away did so either because they could not be available at the appointed time or, more usually, because they could not be persuaded that foreign experts could know anything applicable to farming in Malta which the local farmer did not know already. The attitudes of those who did attend was revealing. In many cases the novelty of the event was the attraction but there was also a large element of reasoned interest. Attendances varied from a few dozen farmers in some of the smaller villages to 200 in Xaghra and other large rural settlements, while, in January, 1958, no less than 700 people assembled in Rabat to be lectured by four of the specialists then working with the local Department of Agriculture, and to see a film on "Clean Milk". The reactions of this audience were typical of the response to the whole range of lectures and demonstrations and illustrate clearly the kind of problem which any would-be improver of agriculture can expect to have to face in Malta. There was, significantly, only one Maltese woman in the audience at Rabat of which some two or three hundred appeared to be non-farmers and concerned rather with free coffee in the interval than with the topics of the lectures. Of the rest, however, some farmers had made considerable journeys to attend while more than a few of these had never set foot in a meeting hall or attended anything in the nature of a lecture or lesson in their lives. For them it was a 'Sunday-best' outing. Even the bravest

654 242 544 232 of those present could not however be pursuaded to ask any questions of the 'experts' or to develop any discussion, although everything not in Maltese was translated copiously. They were over-awed by the proceedings but were not slow to seize on topics raised by the speakers for future discussion among groups of farmers. The average age of those present was lower than that of the full-time farming population on account of the presence of large numbers of disinterested village youths and young men. But the true farmers themselves paid attention to what they were told and were especially impressed by the film.

Some of the points raised were dismissed as "not suitable for Malta". Some suggested measures were "interesting but unremunerative", notably the efforts, demonstrated in the film, to achieve cleanliness in milking. The farmer could not readily comprehend how he was to profit financially if he were to add what to him were needless tasks to an already heavy time-table. Yet, on the other hand, he was sceptical when told that many of the jobs which he is accustomed to performing could be replaced by more efficient methods. Being unable to read of farming outside Malta the illiterate believes that no methods could be better than those tried, tested and taught by his father and grand-father before him. Hence a major part of the work of an advisory service is "to create conditions which will give the farmer confidence in the advice given. The adviser must be above creed or party and honest in all his dealings. In addition, however, some inducement must be offered to the farmer to accept advice and the most powerful inducement that has yet been found is money - cash - a better price"[39].

654 232 One example of this inducement in practice was afforded by the study of pig feeding using balanced rations which was undertaken by the Agricultural Advisory Service early in its career. Haesler was able to show that "the high mortality rate in small pigs can be considerably reduced, and what is more important, losses in pig keeping have been turned into profits" (B/252, p.3). The farming public was assailed with Maltese-language leaflets[40] showing how the traditional pig feeding patterns were both wrongly balanced and generally excessive in quantity and encouraging pig breeders to invest in the prepared balanced rations ('Għalf Bilanċjat') then on the market. This improved diet would, it was claimed, not only produce a better pig but would result in reduced costs of feeding. This prospect appealed to the farmer, who hastened to purchase the balanced ration particularly as such rations were subsidized by the Government[40] in order to encourage

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their adoption. Sales soared after the ration appeared and the idea spread rapidly from farmer to farmer. Unforeseen difficulties soon emerged however and threatened to make the ration unpopular among pig breeders as quickly as it had become popular a short while before. Partly on account of ignorance and illiteracy and partly because of the lack of the correct kind of propaganda farmers began to find that the ration was not the magical remedy to their pig problems. A sample investigation, by the writer, in Gozo among farmers who had purchased the balanced ration showed that some of them had understood it to be a kind of medicine to be given in addition to the diet normally fed, others treated it as one item of the feed and mixed it with their normal ration to the pigs, while most common of all was the complaint that "I've been feeding the balanced ration for a week and there is no sign of the promised improvement so I'm using no more". Individuals of this latter inclination not only stopped purchasing the ration themselves but spread ugly rumours about it among their fellows. None of those with such complaints would consider approaching the Officers of the Advisory Service - as they had in fact been invited to do in the leaflet[40]. For them the new pig feed was a failure.

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Illiteracy produces a feeling of inferiority in most cases which makes the farmer too timid to approach a department or an official on some problem. Moreover the written word is for them suspect. Therefore if they are to be persuaded to adopt new techniques in their farming the instruction will have to be personal and followed up with further help and advice when difficulties and lack of appreciation of what is intended emerge. For these farmers lectures are too remote. Demonstrations of new crops or cultivation methods, etc. are more likely to succeed but are insufficient in themselves. Unfortunately a large qualified staff of visiting advisers would be necessary to supervise farmers at such an individual level. In Malta this is not yet available. Even if it were the farmers' trust would have to be gained and maintained at every stage. In the past such trust has been conspicuous but its absence with the farmer believing that everyone with whom he comes in contact is anxious to take advantage of his illiteracy for their own gain. There has been no-one to give him professional, impartial advice on farming and the new Advisory Service with its free information and other help to the farmer is still something

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of an unknown quantity. The Agrarian Society (B/286) has in the past been responsible for a certain amount of research on agricultural topics in Malta but does not appear

654 232 242 to have made its presence felt among the farmers themselves.

When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in the Islands will depend, have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

241 829 [575] [874] In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened younger farming generation might develop. Neither is there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

654 234 As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U. (Section 2). In short, official policy here has been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the [433] cost of which is borne by the Government. The totals of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[41].

TABLE 3

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Year	Purchased by M.M.U.		Surplus		Percentage cows' milk	
1943-44	510,000	gallons			27	
1948-49	776,000	"				
1950-51	1,298,000	"			35	(1951)
1952-53	1,795,000	"	99,000	gallons	44	(1951)
1954-55	2,390,000	"	275,000	"	48	(1955)
1956-57	3,542,000	"	391,000	"	57	(1956)

234 654 178 A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII (Section 6) shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production. [434] Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions (Section 2) but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

185 829 439 Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in time as far as the management of his farm is concerned so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this Section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricacies of the export market for Maltese agricultural produce[42]. 439 The fact that Maltese produce for export

439 suffers by being inadequately graded and packed does not concern him although the specialist working in Malta on marketing problems has stressed this as a primary weakness up to now (B/253). The farmer is further reluctant to [178] change to the production of certain 'early' varieties of potato which would sell much more profitably on the overseas market than does the Arran Banner which has been the predominant variety in the Islands for several decades.

178 241 The argument returns, in fact, to the thesis put forward in a number of contexts in this report that the farmer is still thinking very much as a peasant subsistence producer although to outward appearances he has now become a fully commercial, cash-cropping farmer. This outlook, the product of illiteracy and confined experience, will have to be appreciated by those concerned with any kind of improvement and development in the Maltese agriculture. It is the younger, literate generation of the farming community who would be capable of education in these terms - if they stay in agriculture to be educated.

654 426 In the long run it would appear that the most satisfactory kind of financial help to farming is the loan at very low interest rate (Section 2). The basis of this was the Agriculture and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, No.11 of 1956, which authorized the loans for approved capital improvement projects at only 1% interest per annum. A major result of the loan system was that it made the farmer independent of money-lenders and money-lending middlemen. Previously many farmers had suffered near financial strangulation in the grip of these indivuals, particularly where they were operating under perpetual debt (v. Cases V and IX). A second great advantage of the loan is that the farmer is able to improve his farm and farming and at the same time preserve that independence of operation so dear to him. Many of the subsidies on seeds, rations, etc. have forced him to use his money in a certain way. He much prefers if possible to have the money and spend it as he chooses on machinery, livestock and fodder, buildings, cisterns, irrigation equipment, land reclamation, and repayment of previous debts, etc.

654 426 454 One disturbing feature of the loans is, however, that they are putting a lot of money into the hands of the farmer without necessarily ensuring that it is spent to the best advantage of agriculture or to the farmer himself in a long term view. For example much of the money loaned has been put towards the purchase of livestock and accommodation for animals in order to increase ~~milk~~ production, while the present regime of guaranteed milk price remains. To this extent the loans have helped the

654 herdsman to produce a now over-grown dairy industry
426 (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses earlier in this
454 Section).

Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Section 2), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

829 The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has
467 been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly
no less strained have been relations between one farmer
and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has
emerged on the administrative side of farming in the
Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic
[474] co-operation (Section 2). The main outcome of this has
been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal
and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed
[747] any importance. The very recent tractor co-operatives
(Section 2) are proving successful but would probably not
have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[29].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in it. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[43]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

829 It has also precluded the development of a substantial
474 Co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading.

829 474 The details of the Co-operatives as they do exist merit a more detailed mention since it is likely that they will grow in importance in the future and concern a rather larger proportion of the farming population than at present.

474 In October, 1957, there were ten co-operatives in Malta concerned with the marketing of agricultural produce: Rabat (171 members), Żabbar (86), Dingli (78), Siġġiewi (59), St. Paul's Bay (52), Żebbuġ (37), Mellieha (33), Qormi (23), Gudja (22), and Mġarr (16). All but two of these were officially registered in 1947[44]. The ten societies are independent but have delegate representation in an eleventh body, the Farmers' Central Co-operative. In addition, there were in 1957 two other Co-operatives in Malta, one with only the minimum twelve members who clung to their complete independence, and the Co-operative Stores Malta with 80 members, the sole consumers' society. Of the four Co-operatives in Gozo at the time only one had any capital or was able to organize a market centre for Gozo farmers. All four were concerned with the distribution of fodder.

474 829 The two features of the Co-operative movement important in the present discussion are (i) the very small number of farmers who will have anything to do with it, and (ii) the fact that the movement was initiated not by farmers but by the Government, whose official policy is now to encourage the development of both consumer and producer co-operatives in the Islands[44].

The Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) is an independent and privately run body to be distinguished from the official Milk Marketing Undertaking (M.M.U.). The organization of the Company appears to depend entirely on one man who, as secretary and manager, claims to present the milk producers' grievances to the M.M.U. authorities. Numbers of herdsmen regard the Company as able to secure for them more favourable selling conditions than they could obtain as individuals. Being mostly illiterate they feel unable to speak for themselves on such matters and yet are not inclined to support one or other of the Unions. How the producer does in fact benefit from membership of the Company is not in fact clear and some at least of its status in their eyes appears to depend on the personality of the secretary-manager[45].

474 467 829 Whatever future developments the farming Unions and Co-operatives may produce it is clear that at present only a small part of the farming population is concerned in either. Of the 5,635 full-time farmers in Malta in 1957 (B/164) only 589, or some 10.5% were members of the eleven producer co-operatives in the Islands[46]. Fewer than one

829 474 467 in three of the 7,813 full-time farmers in both Islands at the time were even nominal members of either Union, one of which could claim to represent 25% of the farming population and the other only 6%[43].

829 467 As long as the farmers' Unions continue to represent only a minority of producers and to be divided among themselves there is little likelihood of their being able to benefit those in the industry. But the writer maintains that the grievances of the farmer today are not of the kind in which Union action could effect fundamental improvements because the position of the industry at present and at least in the immediate future depends on a policy of official benevolence. More precisely, this includes the range of financial, material and advisory assistance discussed above.

829 474 The farmer does however stand to make real gains from an efficient and popular co-operative movement. The present limited appeal of the co-operative system is a major drawback. In his interim report on the attitudes of the farming community, Fr. Cirillo observes that "the indifference and open hostility of the majority of farmers towards co-operatives can be partially explained by the fact that they are not able to give farmers the services which are expected of them....they are not in a position to operate as true marketing societies" (B/387, p.18). Fr. Cirillo also points to the mistrust of local co-operative organizers on the part of many farmers who have, moreover, never completely overcome their suspicion of the Government initiative behind the movement.

829 474 442 It is clear that the system of marketing produce is the main weakness at present. Up to now most farmers have marketed their produce through a pitkal. This pitkal is a selling middleman who maintains a stall at one of the pitkalin centres at each of which is a Government-appointed [426] clerk. The pitkal has also served a secondary function as a money lender to farmers who regularly deal with him. Fr. Cirillo observes that "many farmers would not join a co-operative society because of the fear that they might lose their pitkal's friendship" and "the farmer's dependence on the pitkal makes him look at the pitkal with respect" (B/387, pp.17-18). In 1957 it was proposed to centralize the marketing of produce through a single centre for the whole Island (B/253), but at least one of the farmers' Unions was quick to announce its opposition to the plan (B/54 - 11.6.1957, p.4). As on many parallel occasions the farmer was here faced with a choice:- between trusting the Union or 'Il-Gvern'. In most cases he would not venture to make his own decision on the matter.

000 matter. [P. 65]

474 While the farmer does not favour the co-operative
442 movement at present he is generally dissatisfied also with
829 the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits
178 being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

208 The Government plan to centralize marketing on the
654 one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the
selling of produce on the other will not succeed without
474 a great deal of patient education of the farmer supplemented
44 by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and Co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

464 In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of
184 the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University
178 team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

464 184 178 lacking any education at all they took up farming as their natural calling" (B/387, p.9), but their sons are faced with a choice both between occupations and ways of life. Their education is enabling them to compete with other sections of society for industrial and other non-agricultural employment while their emancipation, in terms of access to the world outside the village, is leading them to think of escape from the lowly social status of their fathers. They have been brought up to appreciate the insecurity of farming with its inadequate and fluctuating income and have seen the technical limitations and the hard and monotonous schedule of work with which their fathers have had to contend in order to provide even the most frugal living standards for their families. In very many cases the younger generation have been actively discouraged by their elders from contemplating farming as a livelihood. Within society as a whole they see farming as something of a low 'caste' and one example of this is the opposition faced by many a young farmer if he wishes to marry into a non-farming family.

The importance of this revolt on the part of the younger generation is clear when one considers the topic of this Section. The current policy is to change the pattern of farming in the Islands and to raise the standards of living of the farmers by the variety of methods mentioned and these are, quite naturally, being aimed primarily at the present farmers, that is to say the older generation. But the future of farming depends on the future farmers who are, it would appear, leaving or have already left the industry. Many of them do not plan to stay in farming longer than the time necessary to find another occupation and they are consequently not concerned with loans, subsidies, lectures, and the work of the advisory service. The farming which they are anxious to leave will, it is hoped, change rapidly in response to the measure outlined. But, even if only a few years are needed to show substantial results and a better kind of farming is evolved, the younger generations may not be there to take over. Many of them will have emigrated from the Islands altogether and others will have left the villages for all manner of employment in the towns.

654 829 The official aid to farming policy may fail, one fears, on two accounts:

(i) The measures designed to assist the farmer and farming have not yet been as successful as was hoped because of the difficulties of having rapid and far-reaching changes accepted by a suspicious, conservative and largely illiterate body of farmers,

654 (ii) The younger generation are not interested in
829 improving farming; they scarcely stop to think that any
464 changes in the industry might be possible in their
present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk
178 of life. Thus they will probably not be available to
take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise,
from their fathers.

SECTION 5 : Conclusions.

369 In conclusion one may attempt to draw together the several general points raised in the previous four Sections. The most important of these may be listed as follows:

(1) The twentieth century is witnessing an accelerating process of the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo (Section 1). This comprises

(a) material change (the development of electricity, roads, sewage, transport, and a variety of other amenities),

(b) cultural change following general, elementary education - that is literacy, 'emancipation' and the emergence of a critical public awareness,

[565] (c) social and economic changes which have laid the foundations of a rural middle class, unknown in the traditional village scene.
[793] Along with this have come modifications in the pivotal rôle of the Parish Priest and other priests. Some of their traditional functions, notably teaching and caring for the sick, have been taken over by specialists in such fields.

369
829 The factors outlined under (a), (b), and (c) are tending to extend the horizon of the individual villager far beyond the limits of his own village. Whereas he used to work and think within his family and village he is now aware of Malta and beyond.

241 (2) The particular physical limitations on farming in
464 the Islands have, in the past, made the industry dependent
to a very considerable extent on the meticulous hand-labour
178 of the industrious Maltese farmer. This has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance, and even construction, of the fields and terraces themselves (Section 2). The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involved. They have benefited from general elementary education, literacy, and contact with the world outside the villages to the extent of demanding work which seems to them economically and socially rewarding. The past twenty-five years have seen a rapid decline in the number of full-time farmers and farm-workers. Today the farmer, in most cases no longer assisted by his sons, finds hired labour both scarce and costly (Section 2).

178 (3) On account of those same physical limitations
241 mechanization of field-work cannot be expected to solve all
407 labour problems in Maltese agriculture. An initial, over-
464 optimistic emphasis on large tractors and other heavy machinery has given way to a rapid increase in the number and popularity of the small rotary-cultivators. But even this cannot be expected to displace completely the wooden plow and hand implement working (Section 2).

However, mechanized farm implements, particularly the small, manoeuvrable rotary-cultivator type of hand tractor, have enabled a reduced number of farmers to work their fields more intensively, and, in some cases, to increase the area worked by a single individual.

The neglect of those aspects of farming where manual work is dominant and necessary have, nevertheless, accompanied this change with the bizarre result that intensification of effort and neglect are proceeding simultaneously (B/336).

178 (4) A basic factor in the present situation, in which
434 the young farmer is retreating from farming, has been the emergence of a demand for money income (Section 3). The traditional pattern of peasant, subsistence farming in which the main object was the support of the farmer and his family has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook in farming. The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with which he can

(a) purchase those items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (clothing, bread etc., etc.),

(b) purchase items which have recently become part of his regular demands and for which money is a sine qua non (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.),

433 Food, as an item of family expenditure, nowadays figures
511 especially prominantly

(a) where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, to fodder,

(b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element of the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market prospects.

178 But of greater significance in the long-term view is the
434 fact that these new demands for monetary gain are a particularly prominent feature among the present younger generation of the farming community. For them a substantially increased income is synonomous with social and economic betterment. Since they do not envisage such an increased income coming from farming they are all the more anxious to leave the

178 434 [511] industry in search of it.

(5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture(Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

511 Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

[461] (a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

[454] (c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

829 157 [178] (6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, to Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

829 157 a policy of long term assurances for agriculture" (B/387, p.39). He claims that the Government "ought" to guarantee his prices, his markets, and "ought" to find the foreign export markets, and provide machinery, subsidies, etc. He also insists, incongruously, that farmers' needs could well be served by a strong and well-organized Union of Farmers and yet, in the next breath, he will reject outright any suggestions that he, individually, might take a prominent part in such a movement. The nature of this attitude emerges clearly from the collection of complaints and comments, made by farmers to Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team (B/387). On the one hand, the farmer demands Government support for farming but, on the other hand, he speaks even of his fellow farmers as "they". Conservative, cautious and usually illiterate, he is quick to speak but slow to act (v.Section 4).

829 The new awareness of horizons outside the village is consequently limited in extent and confined in nature. The farmer's son, however, with his education and emancipation and his ideas of social and economic emulation, has a clearer vision of the illogicality of his father's situation but is not yet sufficiently mentally liberated from the past to see for himself any right course of action.

554 367 [177] (7) As a class, the farmer is low on the social scale. This arises partly from his illiteracy and the features outlined in (6) and is partly also the outcome of a tradition of wealth and education being confined to the cities and towns. Wealth and culture came easily to the urban section of Maltese society and both implied foreign contacts on a large scale. Meanwhile the Maltese farmer toiling in his fields remained cut off socially as well as economically.

178 554 Today this felt inferiority puts him

(a) in a weak position for bargaining with Government and 'officials' and business men fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education,

(b) - if young and literate, in the position of being anxious to escape from his lowly class by leaving the village and farming as opportunity presents itself (v.Section 4).

654 178 (8) Official policy has been to assist farming in the Islands by means of a variety of subsidies and guarantees designed to protect the farmer from unfavourable competition and fluctuations in market demand (Sections 2 and 4). The industry has, in the past, received such attention only in time of siege of widespread unemployment. The basic intention today is therefore

[135] (a) to enable Malta's only basic industry - agriculture - to develop under protection for it is held that "In an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2).

654 (b) to encourage the members of the farming community to remain in their villages and in the industry.

(9) Following the official policy, outlined under (8) 654 234 particularly that relating to dairying in the Islands, and the limited and short-sighted outlook of the average Maltese farmer (v.6), an irrational emphasis on milk production has emerged in recent years (v. Section 4). The dairy industry has grown to unprecedented size in the Islands and many herdsmen have seized eagerly upon the guaranteed price for milk sold to the M.M.U. as a source of a steady income. The fact that the dairy industry as a whole is over-producing and the continuation of the present conditions depend on a virtual Government subsidy does not deter them from concentrating all efforts into milk production to the neglect of other aspects of farming.

654 178 (10) The official policy, outlined in (8) and (9), seems likely to fail or to come near to failure on two main accounts (Section 4):

(a) the difficulties facing current attempts to pursuade the farmer to accept new schemes, crops, equipment, methods, etc., and arising from

  (i) the outlook and attitudes of the farmer as discussed in (6),

  [208] (ii) the use of unsuitable means of propaganda by the Advisory Service and others at present attempting to pursuade the farmer to accept new ideas and methods which would bring him cheaper working, a better profit and, thereby, contentment.

(b) the fact that the policy, outlined in (8), is directed, naturally enough, at the present farmers. This generation, however, illiterate and conservative, and with an average age in the late fifties, is, in the long-term view, the wrong one.

The present younger generation in the farming community, whose literacy and awareness of the world beyond the village make them educable and more responsive to new ideas, are the individuals towards whom official effort should be directed if Maltese agriculture is not to be lost by default. Nothing, however, included in official policy (up to December, 1959), is aimed at them (there is nothing resembling a young farmers' club in the Islands and no institute or college where agriculture can be studied).

241 178 The younger generation is in fact, on account of the whole complex of technical, economic and social reason (the strenuous work, the insecurity and the low social status involved) discussed in the four previous Sections, anxious to escape from farming as fast as opportunity to do so emerges.

The problem is clear, and its solution one of action.

654 241 [181] An F.A.O. report on investigations in Malta and Gozo observes that "Progress in agriculture is fundamentally a human problem; it depends on knowledge and the intelligent application of knowledge" (B/243, p.9). Within the Islands themselves there is a certain awareness of the situation and particularly of the need for an official policy designed to develop the agricultural industry to the best advantage of the total economy of the Islands and to assist the farmers who "are perhaps the most hard-working, honest and God-fearing section of the community and the country will be the loser if it were to let them down" (B/387, p.7).

It must be noted that the position in Gozo is even more intractable than in Malta.

From work done in the field two major lines of approach to the problem of Maltese farming emerge:

(a) Development policy must be related to the present and future position of her only basic industry - agriculture - within Malta's total economy. In this context one feels that at present there is some over-emphasis on the parts rather than the whole, that is the individual farmer qua economic unit and on the means whereby he may derive increased profit from his present - generally uneconomic - farm-unit. It is too easy to discuss minutiae of policy which are "good for agriculture", rather than to consider either men in villages or the fundamental national needs.

(b) The long-term improvement of Maltese agriculture as regards both the national economy and the fortunes of the individual farmers depends on the personnel of farming as much as on policy imposed from above. Policies must be tailored to fit the varying capabilities for absorption among the farmers, from the potato-grower who cannot see why a certain variety of potatoe is not selling on the export market to the dairyman unable to comprehend the artificially distorted basis of the industry which provides his livelihood. Moreover, up to now few development plans have been aimed specifically at the future farmers of Malta, the young, literate generation of the farming community. Before they have all left farming and village society this generation must be made aware of the possibilities and potential of agriculture in Malta and Gozo.

468 829 234 FOOTNOTE: While this report was 'in print' it was announced that the milk producers had decided to withhold deliveries to the M.M.U. (B/59, 17th November, 1959, p.4). They argue that the guaranteed price given them should be increased to take into account current production costs - especially of fodder. The fact that they appear to have overlooked the £370,000 paid by the taxpayer in subsidising the milk industry (1958) illuminates both the narrow outlook of the farmer and his failure to appreciate the uneconomic basis of his dairying industry today (v.9).

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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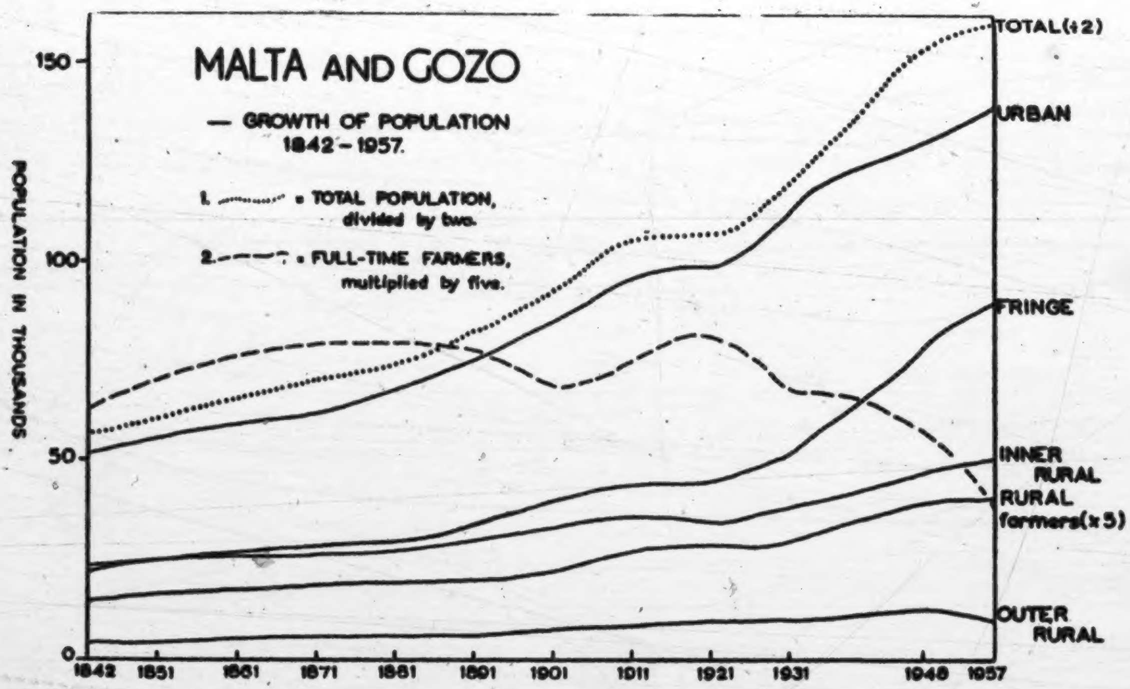
[following p. 72]



6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

SECTION 6: CASE STUDIES

This section is divided into three parts:

PART 1. Thirteen Case Studies of representative farmers and herdsmen in Malta and Gozo. In each Case a general discussion emphasizes important particular features against the total background of farming in the Islands. Each Study concludes with a Summary[47] of the farmer and his farming classified under the following headings: A - Land; B - Utilisation; C - Livestock; D - Capital; E - Labour; F - Production and Sales; G - Husbandry; H - General. The adoption of a standard system facilitates comparisons of any one Study with all the others.

The examples chosen include[48]

CASE I (Pawlu): A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.

CASE II (Ġużepp): A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping.

CASE III (Nardu): A goats' milk producer.

CASE IV (Wistin): A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land.

CASE V (Anġlu): A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.

CASE VI (Gaetu): A milk producer with a considbrable land-holding.

CASE VII (Wenzu): A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land-holding.

CASE VIII (Niklaws): A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.

CASE IX (Antnin and Ġakbu): A long-established partnership of two unrelated farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.

CASE X (Ġamri): An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.

CASE XI (Pietru): An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.

CASE XII (Ċenzu): A cows' milk producer and part-time village weighman.

CASE XIII (Toni): A part-time arable farmer and caretaker.

CASE I (herdsman) and CASE X (arable farmer) are given more detailed consideration as examples of the two main branches of agriculture.

PART 2. Cases XIV to XXII comprise studies of farmers and others who operate large tractors and other heavy agricultural machinery. These illustrate the discussion, in Section 2, of the place of such heavy mechanization in Maltese farming. An exhaustive study was made of CASE XIV to which particular attention is drawn as it emphasises a number of points made in the general text of the report - especially those concerning the place of the younger generation of farmers today.

128 [226] PART 3. A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo is included because the economic position of this comparatively small group is in many ways similar to that of the farming community itself.

*159 234 654

PART 1. Maltese Farming - Case Studies I-XIII

CASE I: Pawlu. (A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.)

Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed
[435] sale for milk produced. He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialization which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the official policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

*159 55 423 [463] Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (B/525).

Pawlu's holding at Easter, 1958.

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Origin of TENURE	1958 T S K[49]	No longer held in 1959 T S K[49]
From own family on his marriage in 1955...	5-5-5	4-3-8
From own family since his marriage	7-4-5	
From his bride's family at marriage	5-0	16-0-0
From non-relatives, all since 1955	28-0-3	
	42-3-3	20-3-8

OWNERSHIP of land held by Pawlu.			Plots		Plots
Church	Cathedral (Mdina)	3-4-0	5	16-0-0	var
	Gharb	1-0-3	4		
	Benefizzju (agent)	4-3-0	2		
Civil Government		3-5-0	2		
Other farmers		4-0-0	2		
Sinjur (a Xewkija Baron)		5-0	1	1-1-8	2
Owned by Pawlu himself		4-0	1	1-0-0	1
Sub-leased (4-yearly) from 8 farmers who hold on long lease, or own		24-0-0	var.adj.		
Military authorities		0		0	
No information				3-0	1
Notary (agent)				1-5-0	2
		42-3-3		20-3-8	

The details of the 20-3-8 relinquished by Pawlu are significant:

Sub-let because of small-size and inaccessibility	7-0
Sold because of inaccessibility	1-0-0
Abandoned because of distance & inaccessibility	1-0-0
Option declined because of distance	16-0-0
Exchanged	1-2-5
	20-3-8

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On sixteen of his twenty-six plots of land Pawlu pays annually about £24 in rent. On average this works out at about 4 shillings per tomna for rough grazing land and £1.1.6d per tomna of cultivable dry (baghli) land. Pawlu himself receives an income of 5s 6½d per annum as rent for two small patches (totalling slightly more than a tomna) which he sub-lets. He himself owns the pivotal centre of his farm, and four sighan on which stands his house, cattle byre, goat shed, store rooms and small enclosures.

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Pawlu's present policy is to expand fodder production in order to eliminate much of the very high cost of purchased fodder. Along with this he is keen to acquire the use of rough grazing land for his goats where he can do so cheaply. The large block of this type of rough grazing which Pawlu acquired piece-meal during 1957 and 1958 makes the supervision of the animals easier than would be the case if he had to graze them in small fields adjacent to land carrying standing crops. [244] Pawlu is cutting down the quantity of vegetables produced for sale each year since he is without any guaranteed market or price. He aims nevertheless to produce as much of the family requirements as possible.

* 159 311 The trend is clear from an analysis of the utilisation of his land holding:-

	1956			1957			1958		
	T	S	K[49]	T	S	K	T	S	K
House and adjacent roadway		2	0		2	0		2	0
Vines		3	0		3	0		3	0
Prickly Pear		3	0		3	0		3	0
Potatoes	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Vegetables, other than potato (a)	6	4	0	4	3	0		4	0
Fodder(b)	8	2	3	10	3	3	14	2	3
Rough grazing - and shooting			0	12	0	0	24	0	0
Unused		1	0		1	0		1	0
	18	3	3	30	3	3	42	3	3

(a) mainly tomatoes and melons (bittich and dulich)
(b) silla, wheat (qamh), barley (xghir), mixed wheat and barley (mahlut), beans.

*159 422 231 **Livestock**

Pawlu's farm holding of slightly less than twelve acres is large by Gozitan standards. So also is the herd which it supports. Late in 1957 he had some 40 goats and 8 kids, two cows, a sheep, one horse, and about 100 poultry. "Goats are easier to handle than are cows" (Pawlu). For him, as for most herdsmen in the Islands, the dairy cow is still something of a novelty, and an expensive one, requiring considerable capital outlay for both the animal and its accommodation. The single sheep is quite typical, being kept mainly for the popular 'rikotta' cheese made from its milk. The large poultry element is also becoming a common feature in Gozo, though disease takes a very high toll. Pawlu's one horse provides the motive power for the cart which for him as for the rest of Gozo is still the prime mover of goods and produce.

*159 234 434 Pawlu's income derives mainly from the sale of milk to the M.M.U. This was also the case before 1958 when Gozo finally became a 'closed' area in which unpasteurised milk could not, legally, be sold. Thus the herdsman's cry of "Halib, halib" ('Milk, milk') as he took his goats from door to door and milked them to order on the customer's threshold is heard no more. The churned milk from the farms is collected and taken to the factory at Xewkija - before 1958 it had had to make the long journey to the Hamrun centre. Apart from the unpasteurised fresh milk used by the family, Pawlu sells, and sold, the milk his goats produce to the M.M.U. He pays no labour, hired or family, and does not consider his own time as a cost factor. Some idea of his income is therefore obtainable from an account of his receipts from the M.M.U. against the costs of the fodder.

423 234 *159 The amount of fodder bought in to supplement home production varies. In the case of sulla (silla), particularly, Pawlu is forced to buy in a large quantity when his own crop is poor. His purchases of wheat (qamh) and

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159 barley (xghir) fluctuate but cake-feed is all bought from
432 fodder agents. Milk production varies with season, being
at its peak in the Spring. The price given by the M.M.U.
234 changes accordingly to the extent of a few pence per gallon.
On the basis of an average feed programme one can get some
idea of the gross profit margin on which Pawlu is working,
the absence of any allowance for labour costs being noted.

*
159 A sample feed programme with daily costs for one cow
234 yielding about three gallons:
43

	s	d
3 rtal xghir (barley-bran)	1	4
8 rtal cake...............	3	6
5 rtal sulla (silla)......	1	4
8 rtal beans (½ tomna)....	5	0
1 basket prickly pear.....	1	0
½ basket straw............		6
	12	8d

Selling the three gallons at 5s 6d per gallon (see above) brings in 16s 6d per day, leaving a profit on the one cow of 3s 10d.

A sample feed programme with daily costs for 46 goats yielding about ten gallons per day:

	£	s	d
3 tmien (48 rtal) beans....	1	10	0
1 tomna xghir (barley).....		6	0
4 bundles sulla (silla)....		5	0
Purrajna (green barley)....		5	0
	2	6	0

Selling ten gallons per day at some 6s per gallon thereby brings Pawlu a further profit of 60s minus 46s, or 16 shillings. This, together with the 3s 10d from each of his two cows, amounts to a net income of approximately 23/8d per day.

*159 Unlike most of his fellow herdsmen in both Islands,
156 Pawlu is fully aware of the relation between feed programmes
234 for livestock and milk yields (B/379). He does not share
232 the common view that "The more the feed the more the milk".
He is also well aware of the economics of his situation as
described above and, as seen, his aim is to cut the costs of
fodder by producing more on his own holding and thereby
increase his profit margin on milk sold. This is a most
widespread feature among Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen today.
But Pawlu goes further than most in that he is conscious of
the need for a 'balanced diet'. Not only does he carefully
regulate the types and quantities of feed which he gives
but he also follows the latest researches of the Department
of Agriculture, especially that of Haesler (B/252) and
others working on this and similar topics. The average
illiterate Maltese farmer tends to dismiss the statements
and efforts of such experts as "No good for Malta, and

*159 useless in my district" but Pawlu, who has at all times in
156 his life been conscious of education and a knowledge of
234 things outside his village, is prepared to consider suggestions
232 on their merits. This attitude pervades the working
of his farm as a unit and has had important repercussions
within his family. (v. Section 4).

*159 In spite of his own lack of advanced formal education.
156 Pawlu has in fact an awareness of its importance which is
829 still uncommon in rural Gozo. He is constantly stressing
the need for education in its widest sense, both general and technical. He is anxious for his children to be educated to a standard far above his own, while, in the wider scene, he recognizes the importance of education for the farmer and farming. His attitude to the course of lectures for farmers (Section 4) is typical of the man. He observed that "attendances at the lectures have been big because the farmers are interested - they wouldn't go if they were not". The ideas put forward by the experts are weighed by the farmer and, if considered 'good ideas', are discussed at length in the villages or at the It-Tokk market on Sunday mornings. These lecture courses for farmers, and others like them such as the important McClement demonstrations and lectures on dairying technique (Section 4), fail for Pawlu in so far as they do not lead to individual contact between specialist and farmer. No farmer would dream of making comment or criticising 'officialdom' - with which he naturally associates ventures like those of Haesler and McClement[50]. "The Maltese back down much more easily than do the English in their relations with the authorities. In England you might complain to a Government Department and there would be argument for a day but in Malta such a complaint would mean petty victimization for years". The farmer blames "clerical inefficiency" in Valletta for what he considers has been the failure to follow up the McClement or other recommendations but no farmer would seriously consider complaining in person to officialdom. They just argue and become increasingly bitter with their lot.

* **Farming**
for Pawlu means independence. He complains of the
159 inferior social position which the farmer holds in Maltese
178 society today and observes that the present generation of
829 young people demand the means to enable them to equal the
[554] people of the towns in appearance, leisure and other superficialities.
The old farmer with little formal education
is not troubled by these notions. His life is the only one
he can comprehend - apart from which his daily round leaves
[464] him little time to think. The youngster, on the other hand,
is desperate for an eight-hour job with steady income and leisure
time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

800 leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

Pawlu admits nevertheless that much of the inferior condition of the farmer derives from his inability to unite with other farmers (Section 4). Illiteracy, ignorance and suspicion are the major causes of his fear. Only a few farmers are members of either of the two opposing Unions of Farmers while the situation regarding co-operatives is equally unpromising. Pawlu himself became one of the organisers of a special 'Tractor Co-Operative', initiated by C.A.R.E. at the end of 1958 (Section 2) for a group of farmers in his home village. The members paid £2 each on joining the co-operative and were thereafter able to hire one of the two tractors donated by C.A.R.E. at only 10/- per hour instead of the commercial 17s. The fact that Pawlu himself was among the organizers of such a novel venture reflects his progressive outlook, and his standing in the village.

*159 156 829 Politics interest Pawlu, to a more than average degree His concern is based on an informed intelligence. A supporter of the Labour Party, he considers the Nationalists as holding the masses in contempt and he points to their emphasis on the Italian language and the non-Maltese culture which it represented as evidence. He reads the local Maltese-language press but is sufficiently independent of mind to have cancelled his subscription to the 'Lehen is-Sewwa' (B/65) at the time of the 'Integration' referendum on the grounds that neither the Church nor the Paper would publish an 'official' statement on the attitude of the Church. Yet his religious devotion is without question and he has a respected place in Church and village life.

*159 156 829 593 [555] [167]

The Family. Pawlu lives with his wife and six of his children. His eldest son and daughter are both working as teachers in Malta. Another daughter has emigrated.

Pawlu's wife speaks only Maltese and had as little formal education as her husband, but she has at all times nothing but encouragement for her family in their education In this case there is not the usual gulf in outlook between parents and children on account of the education of the latter - for the parents fully realize the need. Pawlu's wife used to work in the fields when young but now spends [462] her time in the house. Certain jobs remain her special concern however, notably cheese-making, care of lambs and chicks and egg-collection.

*159 156 178 593 [875] The eldest son, now working as a teacher, is one of the young 'intellectuals' who are currently making an appearance in Goso. The ties of family and respect between him and his father are strong but he is out of touch with the

*159 156 178 593 farm and ignorant of many details of its history and operation. He is "never likely to soil his hands with farming". He is moving away from farming and from the cultural and social life of his village. He apologises for the efforts of the villagers when they attempt to produce a play, he dismisses nick-names as "old-fashioned", and he decries the limitations on activity in his native Island (no dancing or bright lights). Yet he is still enough attached to Gozo to want to introduce changes to it and to make it more like the place his education has made him want to live in. He is typical of one important and growing element in the younger generation of rural Malta and Gozo. In his teens he used to help his father in the fields and took milk to the collection depot, but this stopped as soon as he found a full-time alternative occupation.

*159 156 593 46 Pawlu's eldest daughter, also a teacher, has left farm-work far behind. For her this was never more than casual assistance with vegetable picking and lifting during holidays from school. It is not likely that she will be a farmer's wife.

87 Pawlu's second daughter left school at twelve and divided her time between house and field work until her marriage in her late teens. She was acknowledged as her father's main assistant with the animals.

Two daughters in their middle teens are academically inclined to the extent of staying at school as long as possible and speaking four languages. Both still do incidental farm work when not occupied with studies. Both would be probable 'sixth-form' and university candidates were there any liklihood of financial backing. Their education, especially in English language and culture, is giving them - and many others like them - an advancement which is not matched by opportunity. They are learning in an educational cul-de-sac.

A son in his middle teens works full-time in the fields with his father, having left school at twelve, while two more boys are still of compulsory school age and give their father only casual assistance with feeding the smaller animals out of school hours. A little girl of some ten years makes no economic contribution to the farm.

*159 46 The major feature to emerge from the above consideration is that the bulk of the work of the farm, and the full-time responsibility for all jobs, rests with Pawlu alone. The son who is old enough to deputise for his father has left farming: the only full-time help comes from a younger boy who may himself decide to follow his brother in a few years. Now Pawlu complains that "Labour is the main trouble if the farmer cannot cope with all the

*159 46 work of the farm and animals himself", and he can only cope with his own farm and animals if he follows a heavy and rigidly organized schedule of work. Hired labour is not a proposition, Pawlu avers, at £1 for an eight-hour day and this has apparently contributed to the emphasis which he has put on fodder and milk production in recent years. [433] High costs of hired labour for field-work together with the poor and unguaranteed returns for crop produce make field work on dry (baghli) land a poor prospect. Irrigable land presents a different picture but there is none available in Pawlu's district.

*159 512 Pawlu's timetable (in effect he runs the farm single-handed) centres on the animals. During the summer months the pressure is slightly less because the weather is easier, field-work is less pressing and he has the casual help of the younger children in school vacations. Daily time of rising for Pawlu depends on where and when the milk has to be taken for collection. At one stage, in 1957, he had to be up soon after midnight but, until the new milk factory was opened at Xewkija in 1958, a more usual reveille was at 2 or 3 a.m.

[264] [262] Breakfast, of coffee and bread, is taken when the family gets up or when they return from the Church nearby. Pawlu often has to take meals when he can fit them in between his jobs so that it is somewhat exceptional to find the whole family sitting together for food. The morning milking takes him some two hours after which the animals need feeding and attention before he can go to the fields. About six times a month his morning takes him to Rabat on shopping or business errands.

[264] [262] Lunch, the main meal of the day, consists every day of either minestra (thick soup) or farinaceous paste of some kind, together with bread, cheese, oil (żejt) and home-made tomato 'kunserva'. Lunch is usually over by noon when milking and the preparation of the afternoon feed begins. [264] The evening meal is normally similar to the lunch in content but less in amount. It is often taken immediately before retirement for the night which is early in the village. The farmer reckons to be in from the fields by sun-down but, when the evenings are longer, most of the village is quiet soon after 6 p.m. except where some conversation lingers in a paraffin-lit shop.

*159 512 794 Sundays and festa days are breaks from the normal routine, but Church-going is not confined to these days and in fact accounts for some two half-hour visits every day with extra attendances at the weekend. In this very rural community the 'social' aspect of church-going retains most of its traditional importance. In the absence of

*159 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs
512 and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.
794

Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his
592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they
178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to
*159 offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding)
423
427 A. Land.
(311)

- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 B. Utilisation.
423
311

	1956	1957	1958
House	¼	¼	¼
Vines	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Prickly pear	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fodders	8¼	10½	14¾
Vegetables	8⅝	6½	2⅜
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)
231

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 D. Capital.
421
[427]
[456]

- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 E. Labour.
464

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 F. Production and Sales.
432
[434]

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159
433

3	ratal barley bran	1s. 4d.
8	" cake	3s. 6d.
5	" sulla	1s. 4d.
8	" beans	5s. 0d.
1	basket prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½	" straw	6d
		12s. 8d.

- Sample daily feed for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48	ratal bean	£1. 10s. 0d.
16	" barley	6s. 0d.
4	bundles sulla	5s. 0d.
	Furrajna (green barley)	5s. 0d.
		£2. 6s. 0d.

[434] - Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit, making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d. daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

*159
234

G. Husbandry.

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".
- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
(a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.
(b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.
(c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

*159
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(ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.
- Two rotations are in use,

(a) 1st yr: Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
2nd yr: Sulla
3rd yr: Wheat
4th yr: Fallow

(b) 1st yr: Wheat
2nd yr: Sulla and Beans
3rd yr: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor plowing.
4th yr: Fallow

*159
43
829

H. General.

- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gozitan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.

[454] - At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

*159
234

CASE II: Ġużepp (A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping.)

Like Pawlu (Case I) Ġużepp is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
[246] to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
(he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
241 for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
433 the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
434 from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
[427] cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
[241] whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
[433] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
438 great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
443 paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

*159 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
511 extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
829 entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
178 yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation. In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is difficult
241 to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
178 the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
362 £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
[427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a new house and include near it accommodation for his animals. For his large family of wife and eight children the house, though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
54 called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
461 distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can him-
464 self operate his small holding and care for his two dozen animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
654 when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. **Land.**

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. **Utilisation.**

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. **Livestock.**

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. **Capital.**

[423] [454] [412] [407] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.

- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. **Labour.** (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. **Production and Sales.**

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
  - Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
  - Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
  - Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
  - 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
  - In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
  - Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. **Husbandry.**

[245]
(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
  - Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
  - Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 [245]
- Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233] [461] (ii)
- Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] [231] (iii)
- Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.
- Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

*159 829 241 H. **General.**

- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.
- *159 [434] [234] Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.
- [511] [454] [241] Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.
- [511] Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

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TABLE 4. CASE II. Analysis of Work Record. 1957-58(a)

ACTIVITY		Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
		am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Sundays and feasts(b)		6		5		4		5		6		6		5		6		5	1	6		6		4		64	1
"Business", miscellaneous		1				1		2				1		2		1				1				1		10	-
Grazing Goats.(c)			29		28		30		29		30		30		25		20		28		30		29		28	-	336
Collecting money from M.M.U.		1		1		2		2				2		1		1		1		2		2		2		17	-
Goats' sheds - cleaning				1		3		2	1	4		2	1	2		1										15	2
" " - building, repairing		3						9		1																13	-
Pigs, illness and slaughtering				1		1								1										1	1	4	1
Potatoes	(Sowing			1								5														6	-
	Weeding, hoeing															2		3								5	-
	(Lifting									6												2				8	-
Vines	Pruning											12		3												15	-
	Grafting											1		4		2										7	-
	Hoeing, plowing, spraying					1	1							1	1	6	1	3		9	1	1				21	4
	Picking			6		2																				8	-
Tomatoes	Planting out, hoeing															1				2				1		4	-
	Picking	1		8		4		1																2		16	-
Wheat	Sowing							1		10																11	-
	Reaping																					11				11	-
Barley	Sowing							3																		3	-
	Reaping																			6						6	-
Sulla	Sowing	2																						1		3	-
	Reaping	1												1		6		6						2		16	-
	Binding(d)																	5						5		10	-
Marrows, Melons, Pumpkins,														1				1		5		2		2		11	-
Onions and garlic						1				1																2	-
Beans, carob and Prickly Pear(e)		5		1		1						2				1		3								13	-
Gathering greenery (haxix)														1	1	1	2									2	3
Plowing (unspecified): Motor -			2	1		5		2		1				4			1	2								15	3
" " : Wood Plow. and hoeing				1		2										3	7			1						7	7
Threshing wheat & barley - (f)																						5		3		8	-

continued

6:Bealey K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 E26 Malta E26

*159
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Table 4 continued.

ACTIVITY	Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Manure spreading (g)	5		2						1												5		3		16	-
Repairing field storm damage					4		3						1												8	-
Other and unspecified (h)	6		2	2					1	1			1	1			1	1			1	1	2	2	14	8
TOTAL	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(a) From work record kept by farmer's wife. (Translated by the writer): originals in R/S).
(b) No work in the mornings - goats grazed as usual in afternoon.
(c) Occasionally the children relieve Gulepp of supervising the goats' grazing.
(d) Including transport and storage.
(e) Hoeing and cutting.
(f) Including preparations for threshing.
(g) Including moving, spreading, turning and selling.
(h) Including 6 mornings when Gulepp washed clothes (wife's confinement), and others when weather was too bad for work.

6:Boeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 E26 Malta E26

CASE III : Nardu (A goats' milk producer)

*159 157 Illiterate and suspicious, Nardu typifies the most conservative element in Maltese farming for whom nothing new can be worthy of consideration. It is probable that no amount of lecturing, demonstrations of improved methods, or capital loans from the Government, would persuade him to change the ways he knows. The prospect of machinery does not impress him although he thinks of acquiring a rotary cultivator (at about £245). His observation is, when freely translated, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" (he is aged 40).

*159 234 [425] His father was a mason with a few fields. Nardu's brother took over the family business and sold his share of the fields to Nardu. who also bought out the shares of his five sisters. He has since concentrated all his effort on his herd of goats, regarding his fields primarily as a source of fodder. During the fifteen months of study his herd varied in size from 34 to 50 animals. All the goats are of the local breed as he does "not like horned goats". He is more concerned with producing milk, under the current favourable regime of guaranteed sales to the M.M.U., than with breeding goats. Most of the kids born to his herd are sold for meat or for breeding to a dealer. Payment [426] seems to be made as money becomes available from the M.M.U every two weeks. Often however he admits to being up to two months behind with payment, settling one debt "when the next transaction is afoot".

In 1958, Nardu was talking at length about "getting two or three cows or calves". He "knows about cows from friends" but has not himself got the £300 capital necessary for two. Moreover he observes that "you can't graze cows" and their general upkeep is likely to clash with that of goats, especially where one man is working alone as in this case. There seems to be an element of prestige attached to the ownership of cows in a village such as Nardu's where the vast majority of herdsmen have only goats. Certainly his thinking is not guided by comparative costings of milk production from the cow and goat.

*159 434 [443] [511] Nardu's fields produce fodder and some food for the family so that they "will not have to buy in everything from the shops". He reckons to save between 15/- and £1 per week in this way. His wife spends £3 a week on purchased food and she looks back nostalgically to her youth when her mother spent some 30/- per week on food and clothing for a family with twelve children, while she has only three. The steady item of income in Nardu's budget is the money received from the M.M.U. for the goats' milk 000 sold. Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6 [P 91]

*159 Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 423 A. **Land.**

30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 241 311 B. **Utilisation.**

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under kofafa (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 231 C. **Livestock.**

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital.**

- [423] Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's.
- Freehold village house.
- [454] According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
- [412] [407] Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc. No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 464 E. **Labour.**

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting. During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
- [427] Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 433 F. **Production and Sales.**

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and wool
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week

*159 241 G. **Husbandry.**

(1) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annu
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prev the employment of the normal four-year rota

*159 241 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments. Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 46 [56 The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurised milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons [433 or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin [434 strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk *159 46 24 465 to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

244 *159 461 465 "available", and normally delegates most of the work to a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.

*159 43 [451] His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a 'cost'.

*159 511 178 Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

*159 461 Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

*159 178 234 His father was a labourer with the Services and had only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen and then gradually built up his own herd to its present size, particularly in the past few years when, in common with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his family) are actively discouraging the children from planning to follow their father. Their main objection to herding appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields you never go back...."

*159 423

CASE IV : Summary.

(A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. Land.

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

*159 423
- 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. Utilisation.

*159 241 311 (i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 231 234 C. Livestock.

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. Capital.

*159 423 (i) No freehold land.

(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.

[511 426] (iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. Labour.

*159 464 (i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 43 234 (i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day. Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

G. Husbandry.

*159 23 (i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*159 434 H. General.

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

> *159 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen,
> 434 interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained
> by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anġlu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anġlu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

*159 His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to
231 door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or
443 "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the
[712] family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago
[551] the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and
[656] the family moved some two miles. They continued to take
their milk into the capital however until pasteurisation began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anġlu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

*159 Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial
423 land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder
434 crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and
spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against
[432] a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only
supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodders. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

*159 Anġlu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT
452 (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents
who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anġlu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

*159 452 off until mid-November but, in the intervening two and a half months, the purchase of fodder had been continued and the debt maintained. In that September he himself put his debt at £60 and said that at the previous Christmas (1956) it had been £100. Thus a debt of £60 in the flush milk season of highest total receipts from the M.M.U. would appear to be the best financial position he could achieve. Removal of the guaranteed milk price to the producer could result only in ruin for this herdsman and the many in the Islands like him.

*159 829 In spite of his own poverty Anġlu maintains that he is fully aware of the artificial economic picture of which the guaranteed price is a part. In the same breath however he complains that he could sell his milk for more than the M.M.U. gives him in the short season. Here he overlooks the obvious outcome of a removal of the guarantee during the annual glut.

*159 178 291 511 His financial hardships make it impossible for him to hire labour or to invest in any capital improvements to the farm or herd. Neither does it enable him to support his family as he aspires. This is especially evident in the case of clothing because the family lives in an urban area and therefore strives to appear as well dressed as their non-farming neighbours. Anġlu observes that there has been a change both in the types of clothing worn and in the occasions on which they are worn. He speaks of a Doctor of the district who used to go barefoot in the streets carrying a pair of shoes to put on before entering a house or Church. Nowadays, by contrast, children attend school with shoes and are generally well turned out. This is particularly true of an urban area, where Anġlu's children go to school and where his teenage children go to work - a son as an apprentice carpenter, one daughter as a shop assistant and another as a factory worker. None of his children is likely to contemplate farming as a way of life and means of earning a living, for, in their father's case they can see an extreme example of the problem facing many farmers throughout the Islands today, that is a man unable to make a living wage for himself and his family from a farm limited in possibilities by external factors and dependant on a guarantee which could be removed at a general election.

*159 427

CASE V : Summary.

(A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer)

A. Land.

Rents and grazes 1 tomna of wasteland.
Rents and works as a domestic garden 1 tomna of dry land, in the Urban area.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 231 234 **C. Livestock.**

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 42 **D. Capital.**

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[21] food gifts.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 434 234 [435] **F. Production and Sales.**

(v. Table 5)

(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p. .
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 232 234 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.
(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.
(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

TABLE V.

(Case V : Accounts)

*159
434
435

Date	Dealer	Fodder	Rtal[1]	Shillings per rotal	Cost £ -s- d	Payment £ -s- d
7.12.56	B	Beans	287	70	10 - 0-10	
		Cake	201	50	5 - 0- 6	
		Corn[2]	113	50	2 -16-	
6. 1.57	B	Beans	285	71	10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	215	48	5 - 5- 3	
15. 1.57	B					5 - 0- 5
1. 2.57	B	Beans	255	71	9 - 0- 1	
		Cake	319	48	7 -16- 3	
						13 - 1- 7
15. 2.57	B	Beans	281	72	10 - 0- 0	
		Cake	186	48	4 - 9- 6	
						17
27. 2.57	B	Cake	638	47	15	
						15
15. 3.57	B	Beans	180	71	6 - 7- 9	
		Cake	366	47	8 -11- 6	
						15
1. 4.57	B	Beans	185	70	6 - 9- 6	
		Cake	270	48	6 - 4- 9	
						15
15. 4.57	B	Beans	218	69	7 -10- 0	
		Cake	282	46	6 - 6- 9	
						15
27. 4.57	A	Beans	282⅓	65	9 - 3- 9	
		Cake	266⅓	44	5 -17- 3	
		Corn[2]	95	58	2 -15- 3	
1. 5.57	B	Cake	582	45	13 - 2- 0	
		W.Potato[3]	286		2 - 1- 0	
						17 - 4
16. 5.57	A	Beans	76		2 - 9- 6	
17. 5.57	B	Beans	119	69	4 - 2- 0	
		Cake	474	45	10 -13- 6	
20. 5.57	B					15
21. 5.57	A	Beans	316		10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	323⅓	44	7 - 2- 6	
1. 6.57	B					15
3. 6.57	B	Beans	211	69	7 - 5- 6	
		Cake	290	45	6 -10- 6	
4. 6.57	A	Beans	363⅓	64	9 -14- 2	
		Cake	271⅓	44	5 -19- 6	
		Bran			6- 0	
12. 6.57	B					15
19. 6.57	B	Cake	621	45	13 -19- 5	
22. 6.57	A	Beans	330⅓	56	9 - 5- 0	
		Cake	261⅓	44	5 -15- 2	
2. 7.57	B	Beans	365	57	9 - 6- 3	
		Cake	325	45	7 - 6- 3	
						15
5. 7.57	A	Beans	330	50⅓	8 -10- 9	
		Cake	280⅓	44	6 - 3- 6	
1. 7.57	A					8
13. 7.57	A					15
16. 7.57	B	Cake	753	44	17 -11- 3	
						16
27. 7.57	A	Beans	371	48	8 -18- 6	
		Cake	290⅓	44	6 -11- 6	
1. 8.57	B	Beans	171	57	4 - 7- 3	
		Cake	383	45	8 -12- 3	
						15
2. 8.57	A					15
8. 8.57	A	Buri seed	96	52	2 -10- 0	
9. 8.57	A	Beans	344	51	8 -15- 6	
		Cake	288	44	6 - 6- 3	
16. 8.57	A					17
18. 8.57	B					15
23. 8.57	A	Beans	398⅓	51	10 - 3- 9	
					£353 - 1- 6	£375 -14- 6

[426] 1. 9.57 Debt (to A) - £79.7.6d

(1 - see Appendix 5; 2 - qamh harun; 3 - patata tax-xitwa)

* 159 433

H. General.

This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

* 159 231 232

CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow."

x 159 234 [311] [246] [435] [464] [451] [651]

Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has very little appreciation of his profit. None of his labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax authorities each year.

000 authorities each year.

*159 Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since
494 its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the
234 present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work
434 of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In
January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk
[432] and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling
some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a
nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me".
Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but
it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in
[454] for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of
the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment
of his herd of cows, together with improvements to
the accommodation for the animals.

*159 Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old,
423 and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise
234 yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop
[427] his own property since the war in order to qualify for the
necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his
now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the
Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family
and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of
buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village.
This is typical of the majority of farm units based on
livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts
with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be
housed at some distance from the family living quarters,
a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household
342 is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead
351 off to the gound floor living rooms, to the goat shed and
cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room,
423 to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street.
From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder
storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor
store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further
staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to
the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are
typical with their intensive use of available space and
maximum building development on the portion owned by the
farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate
enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small
patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of
continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

*159 423 551 [554] [621] The family has occupied the present house for several generations and has acquired the street name as a family nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even semi-official, mode of reference though not of address, when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a prominent member of the community in his part of the village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 829 461 234 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an active supporter of the local football club and a regular cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially to the goats which he will keep "because we have always had them". *159 829 544 234 178 He takes an interest in farming and, despite his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice. He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods". He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time and labour thus expended would bring no additional return to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures) would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427] All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

*159 231 234

C. Livestock.

- 50 goats
- 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.
- Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159 42 454

D. Capital.

- The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).
- Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.
- [407] No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tomna when necessary.

*159 464

E. Labour.

- No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.
- Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

*159 43

F. Production and Sales.

- Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qantar respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.

These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

*159 231 234

G. Husbandry.

- Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention to holding.
- Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

*159 433

H. General.

- When asked whether he considered himself to be herdsman or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general dealer" in crops and animals.
- In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

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351
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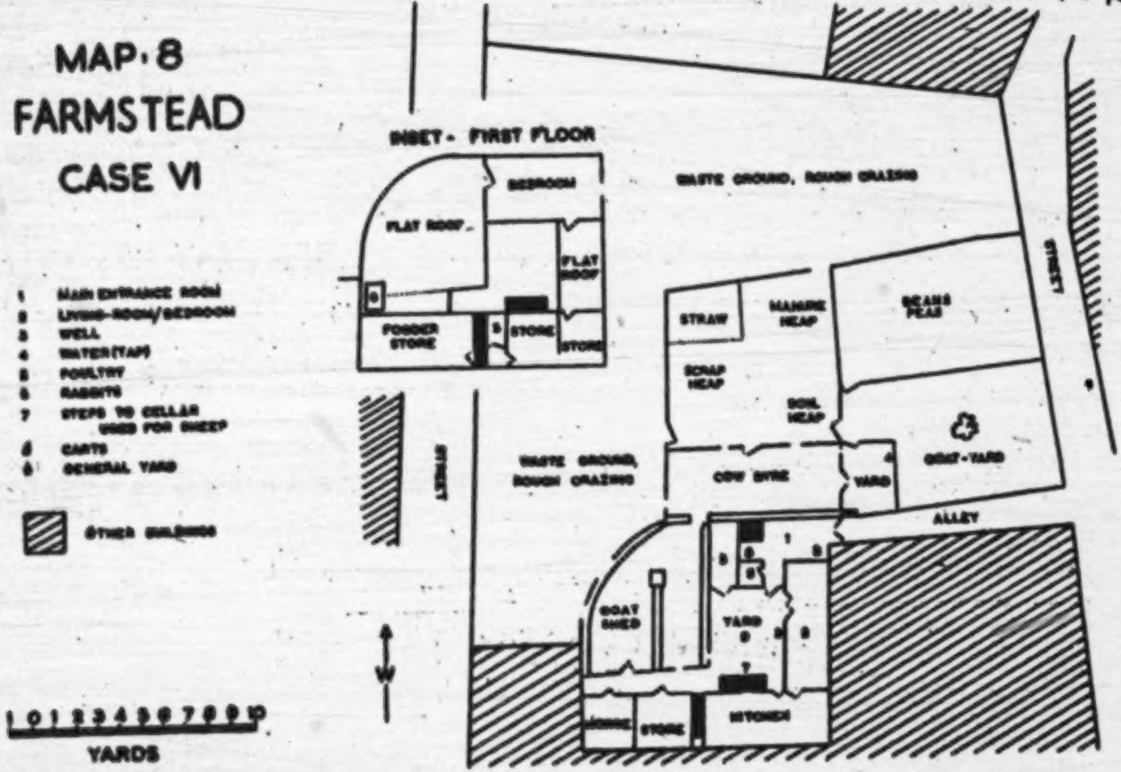
[following p. 102]

MAP·8
FARMSTEAD
CASE VI


INSET - FIRST FLOOR
BEDROOM
FLAT ROOF
FLAT ROOF
FODDER STORE
STORE
STORE
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
STRAW
MANURE HEAP
BEANS PEAS
SCRAP HEAP
SOIL HEAP
COW BYRE
YARD
GOAT-YARD
ALLEY
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
GOAT SHED
YARD
STORE
KITCHEN
1 MAIN ENTRANCE ROOM
2 LIVING-ROOM/BEDROOM
3 WELL
4 WATER (TAP)
5 POULTRY
6 RABBITS
7 STEPS TO CELLAR USED FOR SHEEP
8 CARTS
9 GENERAL YARD
OTHER BUILDINGS
W
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
YARDS

CASE VII : Wensu (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

*
159 Like Case VI, Wensu has been a goat herder and is now
234 anxious to concentrate on dairy cows. At present he holds
4 Friesians, belonging to himself and his sons, but he wants
to import Ayrshires. This cow, says Wensu, is better suited to Maltese conditions, needing less feed than the
Friesian and standing up better to long periods of confine-
[656] ment in cramped stalls. Wensu became interested in cows
when the Government forbade the selling of raw goats' milk
in Valletta. For a time thereafter he sold bottled milk
in the capital and then returned to selling raw goats' milk
in still unclosed areas such as nearby Cospicua until that
too came to an end with the evacuation in 1940. After the
War he went back to cows' milk production and sold his out-
[654] put to the M.M.U. He acquired the Friesians through an
exchange for inferior quality and diseased goats organized
by the Government (one cow for 13 goats). At present, he
says, cows' milk production is the more profitable ("Six
cows will support a small family") but that this would not
be so were it possible to give goats good grazing land at
low cost. He reckons that good grazing saves 15/- per day
on the fodder bill.

*
159 Wensu's Case illustrates an important feature of the
829 study of a predominantly illiterate section of society. *
This is the prominence of personality in the thoughts and
178 actions of the individual. Unable to read and suspicious
232 of what he may hear over Rediffusion, Wensu relies on
242 personal contact to a very considerable degree. This is
clear from a brief survey of his life. He speaks nowadays
of a certain Dr. MacFarlane whose veterinary skill and
advice impressed him and who originally recommended him to
keep Ayrshires. To listen to Wensu talking of this "Scots
Doctor" one gathers that Wensu last spoke with him quite
recently. In fact, however, Dr. A.M. MacFarlane was
Superintendent Veterinary Surgeon in Malta some half a
century ago! A Mr. Hurst gave him advice on bulls some
25 years ago while, much more recently, Mr. Ebejer Slythe
of the Department of Agriculture gave him much valued information on lucerne as a fodder and, latest of all, Dr. Godfrey
Alton, the veterinary expert, has become something of a help
for the injections he has arranged. Evidently, therefore,
any improvements in Maltese farming have a greater chance
of success if this element of personal contact - particularly
in the cases of illiterate farmers - can be established.
One man who will argue with one farmer for a morning on a
single topic stands a greater chance of general success than
has the big public lecture or even the practical demonstration

*
159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
[249] lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great
success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow
to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

*
159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

427
- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

*
159 [241] **B. Utilisation.**

- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

*
159 [231] [234]
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

*
159 [454] **D. Capital.**

- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] [234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

*
G. Husbandry.

159 231 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

[427]
- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.

[311]
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly ½ tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

[435] [434]
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

*
H. General.

159 156
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159 156 [231]

- Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
- Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.
- Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

*159 472 [423] [234]

CASE VIII : Niklaws (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)

Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70 tmien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 472 234 433 [232]

The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 407 454 234 [429] [435]

Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being re paid."

000 159 241 731 the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

*159 829 442 464 472 The brothers also complain of the present marketing regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themselves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

*159 423 [134]

A. Land.

c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region.
16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2½ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

*159 241

B. Utilisation. (i) Typical arrangement.

		Winter	Summer
Plot 1.	8⅜ tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot 3.	1⅓ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot 4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot 5.	2⅜ tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot 6.	1⅓ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 8.	7⅜ tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
		Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot 9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot 10.	2⅝ tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 11.	21 tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
		Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
		Vetches	Fallow
Plot 12.	2¼ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot 13.	1¼ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot 14.	2⅝ tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot 15.	5½ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
		Tomatoes	
Plot 16.	1⅝ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 C. Livestock.

231 (i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

234 (ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

*159 D. Capital.

[472) (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[402) [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426) (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

*159 E. Labour.

(i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

464 (ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

407 (iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

427 (iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

*159 F. Production and Sales.

433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

*159 43 (iv) Potatoes are grown regularly for the home market in spite of price variations - reported as ranging between 50/- per qantar in 1956 and 8/4 in 1957.

(v) Home grown fodder and forage makes up c.80% of non-concentrate feed. Other crops make members of the partnership self-sufficient in foodstuffs (at a high level of consumption).

(vi) Annual sales of wine-grapes c.40 qantar.

(vii) The response to general variations in yields and prices is to maintain the general pattern of production. The syndicate has enough capital to survive periodic losses and therefore deliberately ignores fluctuations. The only alterations made in a planned cropping sequence result from natural hazards e.g. if a late crop of sulla fails as a result of poor germination, a rapid switch may be made to balck vetch.

G. Husbandry. General standards are good.

*159 242 (i) Soil maintaining rotations are carefully and consciously practised. Thus leguminous fodders are regarded as essential in arable farming.

(ii) Fertiliser application is heavy:
- Organic manure is applied for the first two years of a four year cycle at a rate of c.60 sacks per tomna.
- Sulphate of Ammonia is applied to all the fields each year at a rate of 15-20 sacks per tomna.
- They do not regard the idea of green manuring with any favour although they use dry vegetable refuse mixed with dung.

(iii) They are very conscious of minor regional differences in soil and climate and regard the parcellated holding of selected land much more important than convenience of working a consolidated holding e.g.
- 'earliness' is associated with coastal situations and "early tomatoes will not come up in Żebbug".
- soils are classified as follows:
  - 'hamrija' (red) is good for all crops
  - 'abjad' (white) for cereals and tomatoes but not for potatoes.
  - 'sewdina' (grey) for sulla and tomatoes.
  - 'tafli' (clay) poor for green crops.
  - 'hirbi', an intermediate soil, easy to work.

The differences between these types and the presence or absence of nodule beds, saline layers etc. are held to be sufficient justification for rental differentiation as between fields and parts of fields.

This articulate consciousness of environmental variations even in this case reinforces conservatism and much more importance is attached to such natural 'controls' than to crop strains.

*159 232 (iv) Cattle are well housed and fed according to yield. Very vague about balanced feeding and rely on traditional greens, beans, hay and cake. Nevertheless in the spokesman's own words they are aiming at 'better management of the cattle rather than more animals'.

*159 829 232 242 (v) In some ways, the high standards achieved using traditional techniques are proving a barrier to further technical advances, e.g. the cattle are relatively free from disease and therefore more trust is placed in the expertise of the syndicate than in the 'book-knowledge' of a vet., e.g. whatever experts may say, any crop innovation must be demonstrated successfully and in the immediate locality.

* **H. General.**

159 (i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndicate is not typical of Maltese farming systems.
472 The partnership seems to derive historically from
451 a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

*159 (ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organisation one may use this case-study as illustrating the practises and modes of thought of the most highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

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- Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does no seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.
- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.

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- Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these are attained by the careful application of proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.

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- In spite of the fact that the syndicate's capital reserves and their practical abilities are considerable, the physical environment dominates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these there is a great mental gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

*
159 __CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu__ (A long-established
472 partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in
464 cows' milk production.)

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

*
159 Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By
178 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows'
234 milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

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substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however, show no inclination to stay in farming.

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A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

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In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Ingliżi type. As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Ingliżi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

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[246]
Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?"). The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

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Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

*159 178 829 [454]

Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming", although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

*159 423

(A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows'milk production.)

A. Land.

[429]

Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

*159 241

B. Utilisation.

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

*159 231

C. Livestock.

Shifting emphasis in recent years.
- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957: 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- Pigs 8.

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Ingliżi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 426 D. Capital.

[423] [454] [407] [312]

(i) No freehold property.

(ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

(iii) Equipment
- usual hand tools
- rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.
- no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 464 E. Labour.

- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 434 435 F. Production and Sales.

- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 231 G. Husbandry.

(i)
- The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- [232] Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 234 829 H. General.

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect [426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
829 Gozitan milk producer, Case I.
234 The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle within the current artificial economy of milk production. There
[433] is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
472 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġamri's father.

*159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
472 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let	13 tmien
Potatoes	6 tmien
Other vegetables	5 tmien

*159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
[435] at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

*159 245 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to quality as those for the table.

*159 245 231 451 In this move towards more vine production and the recent interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to emphasize the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made between money spent on the home and family, and money spent on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held "in one purse". [593] Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

*159 434 454 [511] At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400, less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30 for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957. During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income from pig sales and other items.

*159 434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit........	£340	-	£340
Grapes.......	49	£ 8	57
Sulla........	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons.......	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals.......	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 434 435 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between one year and the next is today more important to the arable farmer than to the herdsman who can rely on the M.M.U.'s guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more [454] accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

*159 434 454 is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent. Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting his money into capital equipment for his fields. He has in [407] fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of 16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding, in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

*159 511 262 Expenses within the household are difficult to determine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva), a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat and ham,, coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc), olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958) -butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (għaġin). Ġamri observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually insufficient for the family so additional quantities of these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring [354] the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not considered essential even during the coldest part of the winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

*159 262 [369] The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural Malta. In some details this differs from that found among urban working classes in the Islands but these differences are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm, where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An impor- [785] tant factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions. Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

*159 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday
262 Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable
to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts.
785 These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of
Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain
occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The
emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary
and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of
permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between
thefrugal meals.

*159 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in
Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his
262 wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school
264 time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of
bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or
so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields
Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs,
olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked
meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls.
Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks,
and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least
one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature
and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (especially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields).
[261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted.
Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the
boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

198 The proportion of food purchased is now much greater
291 than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same
443 is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably
[432] both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young
[294] farmer when half the people in the village had looms and
many had spinning wheels to produce cotton garments for the
family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the
farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a
thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally
produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army
surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and
wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have
been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of
army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and
the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday
markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in
both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 With the increasing contact between town and country
369 the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief
178 leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no
longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like
townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

This increase in the

178 range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-
291 produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged
financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The
[511] villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of
his children, both the infants and those attending school.
[871] The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands
[702] has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War
of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men
into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that
they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been
their practice before.

* **Work and Labour**

159 As seen, Ġamri's normal labour force consists
241 of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being
all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little.
461 This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural
464) year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit......	1740	man/hours
	- vines......	489	" "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437	" "
	- potatoes...	868	" "
	- other vegetables...	505	" "
(ii) on Ġamri's own holding	- vines....	444	" "
	- cereals & fodders..	222	" "
	- vegetables	65	
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage.................		160	" "
(d) Building of pig-sties..................		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous..........................		677	" "
		6816	man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analysed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġamri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

000 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in con-
231 trast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

*159 Ġamri and farming

Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
24 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[891] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
[454] ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[922] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
[434] costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
*159 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
18 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he bel-
ieves that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
18 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

*159 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously
829 and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.
181 Ġemri is typical of the section of the farming community
178 in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

*159 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production.)
423 (Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

427 **A. Land.**

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**
241

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9	tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9	"
Potatoes	6.2	"
Other vegetables	4.9	"
Fallow or unproductive or lot 'bin-nofs'.	12.6	"
	62.5	tmien

*159 **C. Livestock.**
231

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

*159 **D. Capital.**
423

(i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.
454 (ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.
(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.

*159
409 (iv) - Equipment:
- Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
427
- Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding. Ġ

159 407 427 paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on G̊'s personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tomna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tomna.

- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tomna.

E. Labour.

*159 464

- G̊'s 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:
  - (a) Joint holding worked by partners and G̊'s nephew.
  - (b) Land held by G̊, deriving from wife's family, farmed by G̊ and eldest nephew.
  - (c) Land held by G̊'s brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 461

- A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On G̊'s own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tomna.

*159 434 241

F. Production and Sales.

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From G̊'s land	Total.
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13.	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
G̊'s share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434

- This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from ££.10.0 to £15 per tomna, fruit £28 per tomna,

[P.121]

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tomatoes £18.10.0 and grapes from £8 to £18.

- Measured yields include:-

Grapes:	4.2 tmien	11.4 qnatar
Winter sown potatoes (irrigated):	2.0 tmien	6.8 qnatar
Autumn sown potatoes (dry):	3.3 tmien	7.6 qnatar
Green beans in pod:	1.5 tmien	600 rtal
Wheat (threshed):	6.7 tmien	31.5 tmien
Sulla:	1.0 tomna	13 hmiel
	1.0 tomna	20 hmiel
	3.0 tmien	10 hmiel
Vetches:	0.7 tomna	6.5 hmiel
	2.0 tomna	7.0 hmiel

- Thus, comparing these figures with figures for labour applied, cash receipts per man-day were £2 for fruit, £1.10.0 for grapes and £1 for sulla. Were labour applied to be costed at prevailing rates of 20/- to 25/- per man-day, a large loss on the year's working would result.

*159
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(2) A large proportion of the produce is retained for consumption by the family and by its small number of stock. In 1956/7 one quarter of joint holding and one third of 0's own land produced entirely for home consumption.

*159
241

9. Husbandry.

(1)- Rotations not strictly adhered to, but common sequences are:
- (a) on good land
  - 1st Yr: Manuring followed by potatoes or by winter fallow and summer crop (tomatoes or melons).
  - 2nd Yr: Potatoes or tomatoes.
  - 3rd Yr: Sulla.
  - 4th Yr: Wheat.
- (b) on poorer dry land an alternation of sulla or vetches with cereals.
- (c) best irrigated land may carry 2 crops of potatoes in each of several successive years but more usually tomatoes or melons follow winter-sown potatoes and autumn-sown potatoes are then omitted.
- (d) fields may be irrigated in alternate years only, with dry land crops (cereals, beans, onions) in non-irrigated years.

(2)- Common cultivation methods:
- (a) Vines: land worked 3 times with tined hoes during late winter and early spring. Ammonium sulphate worked in during second cultivation.
- (b) Tomatoes: surface scattering of manure followed by deep plowing (summer). Worked four times with wooden plow in winter and subsequently reduced to fine tilth with hoe before planting seedlings.
- (c) Wheat: land worked twice with wooden plow in October, seed scattered broadcast and plowed in immediately.
- (d) Melons: land worked six times during autumn, winter and early spring, four times with wooden plow, twice with rotary cultivator. Seed sown and watered in early April.
- (e) Beans: land deep-plowed during summer and worked twice with wooden plow. Hoed during planting.

(3)- Seeds. Average rates of application:-
- (a) Sulla (new crop) c.10 tmien (weight) per tomna of land, seed obtained from previous year's crop.
- (b) Wheat and barley 4 sighan (weight) per tomna, generally from previous crop but may be purchased at c.3/- per sighan.
- (c) Beans. 1 tomna (weight) per tomna of land.
- (d) Potatoes are the only seed regularly purchased, Arran Banner and other Scottish varieties bought (v. after Table 6)

[text continues on P.124]

*159

TABLE 6.

CASE X : WORK ANALYSIS, 1957-58

ACTIVITY	AUG.		SEPT.		OCT.		NOV.		DEC.		JAN.		FEB.		MAR.		APR.		MAY		JUNE		JULY		YEAR	
	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM
A NON-FIELD WORK																										
Sundays, Feasts (1)	5	4½	5	4	4	4	6	6	8	8	6	6	5	5	6	6	4	4	6	6	7	5	4	4	64	64½
To Valletta or Mosta			1						1	1	2½		1		1										6½	1
Ill-health and resting	½		½	½		1	1											1						1	2	3½
Too wet for field-work (2)					10½	8½	9	13	3	6	4	5	1	3	2	2	2½	1							32	38½
Too cold for field-work									1																1	
Pigs needing attention															1	1									1	1
Shooting birds			1				1½																		2½	
Repairing Storm Damage (2)										1					3	2									3	3
Other building Work (5)	1		½		4	5	4½	3	3	1½								2							13	8½
Implement maintainance												1				1										2
B FIELD WORK																										
Irrigating	1	11		5											1½	1½		4	2	5	2	11		11	6½	48½
Plowing, working (3)	1½		2		4½	6½	1	2½	1	2			7	4	2	2	6½	3							25½	20
Manure; refuse	2	1½	½															1			1½	1½	8	3	12	7
Threshing (grain & silla)			½																2	2	½	2	1½		4½	4
Transporting produce	1½	3	3½	2½	3	3	1			½											4	2	1	4	14	14
Sulphate spreading									1		1				½										2½	
Spraying (4)																1										1
"Among the trees" (general) (5)								1	1		2	2	7	5	9	7	3	2½	2						23	17½
APPLES (6) 1 GATHERING	7	5																			2		14½	4½	23½	9½
" 2 "[illegible]" (6)	3½	4	7	11	1																				11½	15
VINES: GRAFTING											6½	5	1	1											6½	6
PRUNING											3½	3	2	2											5½	5
PICKING	1		4	2½																					5	2½
Making Wine			½	1																					½	1
TOMATOES: PLANTING																1		2		1						4
PICKING	½		1		1	1																			2½	1

continued.

6: Boeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 E26 Malta E26

[P.1122]

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(Case X Table continued)

ACTIVITY		AUG. AM	AUG. PM	SEPT. AM	SEPT. PM	OCT. AM	OCT. PM	NOV. AM	NOV. PM	DEC. AM	DEC. PM	JAN. AM	JAN. PM	FEB. AM	FEB. PM	MAR. AM	MAR. PM	APR. AM	APR. PM	MAY AM	MAY PM	JUNE AM	JUNE PM	JULY AM	JULY PM	YEAR AM	YEAR PM
POTATOES:	SOWING			1	1					1		4½	7	2	3											8½	11
	LIFTING							1		5	4									7	5			½	1½	13½	10½
BARLEY:	SOWING					2	2	1	1																	3	3
	REAPING																		1	1						1	1
WHEAT:	SOWING							3	2½	1	1															4	3½
	REAPING																			4	2	6	2			10	4
GATHERING ROUGH GREENSTUFF(7)									1		2		1	2	5		4½	2	3							4	16½
BEANS:	SOWING					1		1		4	2	1	1													7	3
	CUTTING															1		2	1½	2	1					5	2½
SULLA:	SOWING																							½	1	½	1
	REAPING																	6	1½	3	2					9	3½
	BINDING																		1				½	½		½	1½
OTHER FIELD WORK		6½	2	2	1½					3	2					1		4	1½		6	5½	5	½	1	22½	19
OTHER WORK - UNSPECIFIED																4	2			2	1	1½	2			7½	5
		31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(1) And other Church visits.
(2) The latter part of 1957 saw exceptionally heavy rain in Malta.
(3) Including weeding, hoeing, etc.
(4) A new venture - in conjunction with Dept. of Agriculture.
(5) Largely apple orchard, in Gnejna.
(6) A laborious process of removing larva from apple-tree trunks - with penknife and piece of wire.
(7) I.e. "Haxix" - including a variety of grasses, 'inglila', and other greenery - for animal fodder.
(8) And "odd jobs" in the house.

*159 241 for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna.
Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c.½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

H. General.

*159 [472] [423] [464] [178] [435] [451] [461] [157]

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows G to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- G therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.
- G has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, G could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (baghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464 Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

*159 241 311 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargha baghli), and a variety of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-
[406] house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-
[343] driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
[134] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 241 433 434 829 [464] Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to cultivate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative (Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having the money than letting the Government get it. This belief that the Government is behind everything is characteristic (Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 178 241 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility of achieving anything above low living standards. Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case among many of his generation and it may be that he will have difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
[654] the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture to the full but it has done comparatively little for the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

CASE XI : Summary.

(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

*159 A. Land.

423 (i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Wallicha District. 2 tmien freehold.

429 (ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.

(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.

(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced as annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 241 B. Utilisation. With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons, Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.

(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 231 C. Livestock. During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bojjem tax-xoghol').

*159 D. Capital.

- [423] 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
- [435] [454] No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E.[2] Estimated possible total less than £100.
- [406] Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

- [464] Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.
- [474] [241] A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.
- [464] Rarely hires labour.
- [461] An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

6:Besley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

TABLE 7

*159
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	July[f] 57		Oct 57		Nov 57		Dec 57		Jan 58		Feb 58		May 57	
	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm
Sundays, Festas	4	4	4	4	6	6	7	7	6	6	5	5	7	7
Business, Valletta	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Repairs fields & buildings (storm)	.	.	2	4[l]	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No work (storms)	.	.	7	7[g]	6	3	3	3	8	7	2	2	.	.
Irrigation	8	8[j]	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8	5[j]
Plowing	3	2	5	3	.	.	.	.	3	3	1	1	2	2
Planting, sowing	.	.	4	3	6	6	12	11[a]	7	8[b]	4	1	7	2
Working,[c] etc.	5	3	4	2	3	5	1	2	4	4	5	3	.	3
Cutting, reaping	8	9[d]	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3
Lifting potatoes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3[h]	3	5[i]
Threshing	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Loading, transporting	2	1	1	1	.	.	3	3	.	2	.	1	.	2
Vines, prune, graft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	7	.	.
Collecting kaxix[e]	1	1	1	4	5	5[k]	3	4	1	.	.	3	.	2
Collecting [illegible]			.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
	31	31	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31

Notes

a. all potatoes.
b. potatoes 3.5.
c. working, weeding, dressing, spraying, manuring, hoeing, etc.
d. wheat and barley 4.2.
e. kaxix - general greenery for animal fodder.
f. data for other months not available.
g. the latter part of 1957 saw exceptional storms in Malta & Gozo.
h. the winter crop a month late on account of damp conditions.
i. the spring crop.
j. irrigation in dry months.
k. kaxix gathering peak after 2 months of rain.
l. including 2.2 attending to animals (too wet to work fields).

E. Production and Sales.

*159
433
435

(i) Main cash-crop irrigated potatoes - Arran Banner. Two crops - winter and 'early' crop, the latter for export. Yields vary considerably in spite of irrigation - winter crop 1956 double the quantity of the winter crop 1957. Soil conditions for cultivation and for germination can vary critically between November and February. Prices similarly vary considerably. 1956 - maximum price obtained 30/- per qantar. 1957 - April maximum price obtain 25/- per qantar. 1957 - May maximum price obtained 15/- per qantar.

[442]

(ii) Tomatoes. Pickings from May to October with peak production in July. Prices vary inversely with production (E/253). Irrigated local varieties only are grown. The best tomatoes are kept for seed, the next grade carefully selected for sale through 'pitkal' middleman for local market, the third grade sold to the tomato paste ('Kunserva') factory. Prices range from 10d. to 1/6d. per wizna, but vary with quantity available rather than with quality. Regarded as preferable to potatoes since the farmer believes they are less expensive to produce.

(iii) Artichokes. Irrigated perennials producing for up to about 8 years. Best marketing period is during Lent. Great efforts made to raise a crop early in

*159 433 435

February when prices start at c.9d a head rather than later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241

(i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming. In 1956 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, leguminous fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land where vetches alternate with barley.

[461]

(c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

[242]

(d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953 Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:

Relies entirely on own plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Eigenheimer.

*159 231

(iii) Livestock:

Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

*159 241 433 435 [465]

(i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

*159 451

(ii) The farmers children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

000 was taken for granted.
*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XXI : Čenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

*159 Čenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
554 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Čenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compen-
sation to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
241 to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
[451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Cenzu shares the still general view that money given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 A. Land.

427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 B. Utilisation.

241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 C. Livestock.

231 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats;
234 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 D. Capital.

[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[407] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

E. Labour.

*159 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
464 - In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
[465] Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[427] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and
[241] threshing machine each year. Costs of contract
[407] plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 434 234 (i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957 c.£1350. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).
- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').
- [272] About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production.
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

*159 241 [435] (ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
-'Early' Crop - January to April.
Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 25/4 per qantar for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.
- [433] Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

[433] (iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder production meets c.one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land

(a) On best land typical sequence would be.

Sept. (a) Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per tomna.
Sept.-Dec. (b) Winter crop of potatoes.
Jan. (c) Artifical fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April (d) Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug. (e) Summer fallow.
Sept.-April (f) Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug. (g) Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May (h) Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug. (i) Fallow.
Sept.-April (j) Sulla.

(b) More usual practice (which is not though of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.
- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as Żofżfa and ġinġlin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassicas, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds
- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

*159 232 (iii) Livestock - Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.
- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

*159 433 451 (i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer. Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own

*159 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic
433 because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising
451 yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 - some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform
134 and these can only be worked by hand.
241 - deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melħ" - salt) - subsurface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorĉa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen
157 he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as
626 elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-
829 weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159
241 An example of part-time farming in which the field oper-
434 ations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming
178 for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter,
461 while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be
*[159] the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual
interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the
greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic
[369] feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent
increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agri-
[162] culture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time
farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of
full-time farming is significant in the present overall
retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely
residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] Case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his
sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this
type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no
importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
829 as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the
fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election
times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and
his problems" because, it appears, of sucpicion and ignorance.
He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily
- because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging
the younger farming generation from staying on the land and
struggling against rising costs to sell products which are
but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

423 **A. Land.**

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mollieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] Soils: 1-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

- [241] Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] **C. Livestock.** 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 **D. Capital.**

- 454 No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
- 422 Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- 423 Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 **E. Labour.**

- 464 Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- [465] Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.

[433] [251] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 244 43
(i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve. [454]

*159 157 829

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-ploughman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

*159 rojection of his village background, and his attitude to
157 agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark
829 him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

*159 He comes of a village family in which his father and
423 paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired
167 a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the
177 family but neither Ġanni nor his brother, a few years his
241 junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family
[441] butchering business held no more attraction for them and was relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the brothers thought that neither butchering nor farming presented scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian pattern, with tractor-drawn, three-furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

*159 He returned home full of ideas of making money as a
177 contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers
241 and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities.
Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plow-
407 ing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead, working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few young men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

*159 Ġanni's view of farming in Malta.

241 "Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical
829 because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and because of the difficulties facing the mechanization of field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither

*159 241 829 of these problems is without solution and he puts a great part of the blame on the Maltese farmer himself who is prevented says Ġ by his illiteracy and suspicion from uniting and from seeking to improve his own farming. He maintains that it __is__ possible to make money in farming today in the Islands, but only with the right methods, ideas and facilities. This is where he himself comes in, for he believes his ideas on mechanization are the answer, leading to the elimination of hand labour as far as possible. He insists that a profitable farm must be a workable unit, that is a large patch of twenty, forty or more tmien capable of being worked by mechanical implements. Moreover, he insists that the farmer should, where possible, sell his own produce to the consumer in order to evade the 'middle-men' and thereby make a greater profit.

Ġanni himself talks vaguely of acquiring such a farm, although to date his contract-plowing has absorbed all his profit-making energies.

__Ġanni's view of the farmer in Malta.__

He lays a great deal of the blame for the present agricultural difficulties at the door of the farmers themselves. His view of his fellow farmers and villagers approaches cynicism: "The farmer's illiteracy prevents him from admitting that anything could be better than that which he knows. It also prevents him from trusting other farmers and prevents him from realizing the folly of putting bad-weight with produce for export. The young people who are far from illiterate and will listen to reason are not staying on the land long enough for this to be of lasting benefit to agriculture". He observes that the farmer is keen for a sure profit but not at all anxious to plunge his often considerable capital into [178] a new venture such as buying a tractor. In fact he will not accept any new method or crop before he sees it a working success - preferably in a field near his own. This applied particularly to the 'outlandish' ideas on deep-plowing which 7 Ġanni brought back from Australia. His fellow villagers regarded his 16" mould-board, three-furrow plows with great suspicion, and his ideas on potato-ridging, combine-harvesting and threshing met with no more approval initially.

[454] Ġanni insists that the farmer's saving is merely "an aimless accumulation of money: a man may look poor in dress and have £1000 tucked away". He says of an old lady in a nearby lonely house "She wears no shoes and has never been to Valletta but will die leaving thousands".

181 241 829 This conservatism and reluctance on the part of the illiterate farmer emerges, therefore, as a major difficulty in the way of improvement and modification. It is one which tends to be overlooked by well-meaning experts and officials who forget that, unlike themselves, the farmer is unable to

181 241 829 read of successful experiments of one kind or another in a foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

*159 407 422 427 472 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They have (1958):

(i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board plow, the only one in the district,

(ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only slowly - 465 Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

*159 156 Ġanni and the village.

Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

*159 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people
156 around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as
461 well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social
life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is
626 most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on
577 speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids
his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on
493 the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he
to plow on Sundays or festa days he would be "publically
ostracised and no villager would hire him and his plow".
His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at
high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than
farming".

*159 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical.
156 He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of
593 illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son
argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending
to assume that his education and wider experience entitles
him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments.
Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough
for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite
the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his
father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself
doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data')
156 system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni.
He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle
[583] without the older people of the village criticising him for
not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate
of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the
ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs
which his education and his knowledge of the world outside
the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he
is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs,
he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close
[178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the
new methods and implements which he has brought to the
village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are
a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father
472 works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their
407 joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention.
Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago
and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta.
[illegible] They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

* 59 472 407 477 They appear to have been among the first in the tractor 'business' and note that when they started there were only some half dozen large tractors already in use in Malta.

When the original tractor was imported along with a trailing plow it was found very difficult to negotiate the tortuous Maltese country tracks. They have since shortened the fitment and adapted it for carriage high above the ground in transit. Unlike CASE XIV these brothers maintain that the 'crawling' type of tractor is better suited to Maltese conditions than is the wheeled as it can cope more easily with rough ground and with mud.

Although they have no competitors in the immediate vicinity, they complain that:

(i) The introduction of the small hand rotary cultivator in recent years has caused a set-back in their business. It is clearly a less unwieldy implement for many small or narrow fields than is the large tractor and one which is cheap enough for a farmer to purchase fairly easily. However the brothers have increased the variety of special fitments which they can operate with their tractors and have thus to some extent retained their business.

(ii) There are at present too many large tractors for the work available. The brothers would be pleased if several of them would go out of business.

CASE XVI

Two brothers have three wheeled tractors, a threshing machine and two rotary cultivators. Holding only some three acres of land themselves they depend primarily on their tractor-hire business which they began, with a single tractor, shortly before the 1939-45 War. At present business is declining for the reasons mentioned in CASE XV. One of the brothers insists that the Government should prohibit the import of any more tractors into the Island in an effort to reduce the competition. As for rotary cultivators they observe that these implements can be used almost all the year round and are better suited for general cultivation work than is the tractor-drawn deep plow.

CASE XVII

A plowman with two large tractors (both 'caterpillar' tracked and one converted into a bulldozer), this Case illustrates some further points. He acquired his first machine early in the 1939-45 War and has built up his business so successfully that he now farms only a single acre himself relying for his income on the profits of the short plowing season and on his contract work throughout the year with his bull-dozer. His area of operation stretches from St. Paul's Bay in the north of Malta to Bonghajsa in the extreme south, where he works for at least two full weeks per year. He also hires his threshing machine in widely scattered parts of the Island. This occupies him for some two months each summer. [427]

His major complaints are (i) the high price of diesel oil, and (ii) the fact that tractor operators are forbidden by law to drive their machines on public highways. On the question of 'over-lap' between contractors he wants the Government to delimate areas of operation for each man, an impracticable suggestion which would, he imagines, remove the necessity for his having to seek work at great distances from his village. His attitude on this point contrasts with his desire to import a new threshing machine as soon as possible.

CASE XVIII

In this case, a farmer works his tractor-hire business in conjunction with a friend. He bought a Chalmers tractor shortly before 1939 and has recently acquired a second machine - an Olivier. The area which he and his partner work with their tractors and 14" plow has become more limited of late on account of the increased use of rotary cultivators, especially as these are often user-owned.

*159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
472 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
407 contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
contractors like him going out of business in the near future. 477

CASE XIX

This farmer (working 35 tmien, including seven irrigable) was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He
[178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years. Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

*159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
407 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they them-
241 selves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor
434 he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his
income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the
[178] area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by local vintners).

CASE XXI

*159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
256 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
241 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
407 the sole such operator in his village and business grew. How-
ever in the present decade competition from new tractor oper-
472 ators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing
season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted
[477] him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

*159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
441 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
472 these were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
407 local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was intro-
duced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
[191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo, especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island some three or four are normally unused in the season. This agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957 plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce new implements. His father was the first to import motor pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultivator in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of harvesting machines, but the very limited success of the first ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be collected for animal fodder.

[P.141]

#159 55 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 [871] Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14).

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 821 824 826 [814] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fishermen has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command [illegible]

can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[51] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (E/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fisher-
361 men live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi.
Socially this residential distribution is important since only
in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
[512] gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economi-
463 cally lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
162 basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
178 the present official financial assistance, is producing
exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger
generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor
the way of life based on it.

SECTION 7 : Bibliography

113 Published and documentary material relating to the Maltese Islands falls clearly into two categories:

(a) that concerning the Order of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem,

(b) that relating to the Islands themselves and to the Maltese people.

113
175 The two and a half centuries during which the Order had its headquarters in Malta (1530-1798) included the climacteric of its naval power in the Mediterranean struggle with Islam, and the greatest development of its sovereign position among the states of Europe. Historians continue to find, in these years, an apparently limitless field of research and the flow of published results of new or 'second-hand' work shows no signs of abating. This is not to say that the four centuries of the Order before 1530 and the years since 1798 have been overlooked but it underlines the importance of the period of rule in the Maltese Islands, to Europe as well as to the Order itself. The fact that the members of the Order came to be known as 'Knights of Malta' is a further indication of their association with the Islands.

By the good fortune of history many of the archives and original manuscript material of the Order, from its foundation to its expulsion from Malta by the French in 1798, are still preserved in the Royal Malta Library (B/16) or in smaller collections elsewhere. The Royal Malta Library with its large and partly unclassified collection remains a veritable mine of information to students of the Order and of the Islands which they ruled so tightly (B/26).

Since ancient times the Maltese Islands have received attention from foreign writers. In the eighteenth century the volume of this interest increased immensely. Itinerant gentlemen of leisure from Britain and the Continent wrote home their observations and produced 'accounts' and 'descriptions' of the Islands. This recording of "interesting facts" (B/19, p.xv) continued into the nineteenth century but broadened with the appearance of several large-scale works, the results of painstaking investigations (B/326, 455, 516, etc.).

The 159 years of British rule have seen the growth of the local Government Printing Office (now a section of the Department of Information) and the appearance of an increasing number of reports and papers, singly and in series. To these have been added the H.M.S.O. and other official items emanating from the United Kingdom. In recent years these sources have expanded rapidly in scope and volume as the policies and problems of the Islands have called for more observation, documentation and record.

113 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in
195 Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the
object of both propaganda and admiration.

191 As to language, it is clear the War finally killed the
197 greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confirmed
177 English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It
178 had been a language of government for more than a century
but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until
the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under
the Order and had maintained its position during British
nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not replace Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since been a considerable increase in the number of books and periodicals appearing in the language, along with general education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese public. Over the same period the use of Italian has declined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the Church and the professional classes) and the demand for English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of
[204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following
classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for
1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920, p.333), 1933-34 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 - 1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English................	1	1	2	2
Italian................	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese................	-	-	2	2

197 Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary
214 language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese
[212] themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly,
or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this, it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant section of the population, generally the professional and business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write only one or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language dictionaries and works of a philological or etymological nature are obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistics

197 of Maltese, with its semitic sub-strata and immense Italian
214 and other European accretions, have attracted much attention
among students of comparative linguistics abroad.

The circulation of the Maltese daily "Il-Berqa" (B/55) reflects the position in the Islands, being limited to the working and rural classes. Many periodicals of a religious or occupational nature, or those produced by some towns and villages, now appear in Maltese; others are bi-lingual.
191 But a knowledge of English is now so widespread among the
younger generation that one would expect it to consolidate
198 its growing importance as the language of government, education and culture, with the use of written Maltese declining relatively - though growing in absolute terms with the extension of literacy.

197 Maltese language fiction and poetry exists today along
538 with a great deal of religious writing. The present biblio-
113 graphy makes no attempt to cover this field although several
[217] of the Maltese writers concerned do appear in the general
list (Part 8), while the principal store-houses of Maltese literature, the Royal Malta Library (B/16) and the Royal University (B/17), and others, are mentioned in Part 1. Neither is any systematic coverage attempted of the wealth of material concerning the Knights Hospitallers and their sojourn in Malta though some of the principal sources are included in Parts 2 and 8.

113 Maps, plans and charts of the Islands are not included. Many of the collections listed in Part 1 contain such items (B/1, 5, 6, 16, etc.), the Naval and Military authorities in the Islands have made surveys, maps and charts as required, while many private individuals have added to the list. Reference to the official 2" to one mile map (Geographical Section, General Staff, No.3859, War Office, 3rd Edition - 1953) is recommended at all points in the present volume. Sheet 1 covers Gozo and Comino and Sheet 2 Malta. For Malta, more detailed coverage is provided by the 6" (G.S.G.S., No.3852) and the 25" to the mile (G.S.G.S., No.3752) maps. A valuable land-use survey in Malta (1955) and Gozo (1957) have provided the Islands' first detailed coverage of this nature (B/5, 336, 337). Also valuable is the indexed and comprehensive 'Malta Street Guide' (B/489).

The bibliography which follows attempts only a very basic classification into eight sections

Part 1... List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands (B/1 - 17),

Part 2... List of some bibliographies on Maltese subjects (B/18 - 52),

Part 3... Sample list of some newspapers, periodicals and journals (B/53 - 85),

Part 4... Some almanacs, directories and year books (B/86 - 98),

113 Part 5... List of Malta Government Departments and other official sources which have produced annual or other periodical reports during the past twenty-five years (B/99 - 163),

Part 6... List of Censuses and official Statistical Publications of a periodical rather than special nature 1800-1959 (B/164 - 181),

Part 7... List of some of the special reports produced by the United Kingdom and Malta Governments from time to time since 1800, classified into major subject divisions (B/182 - 278),

Part 8... General alphabetical list of books, articles and other items of a non-official nature, but including cross reference to some official reports where identification is thereby facilitated (B/279 - 664).

NOTE: Throughout this volume items to which reference is made are quoted by their number in the bibliography as B/12; or B/357, Vol.I; or B/83 (1957), p.65; etc.

113
104 Other ABBREVIATIONS used include:

C.E.R.C.	H.M. Colonial Economic Research Committee.
Chev..............	Chevalier (a Knight of the Order of St. John).
Cmd...............	Command.
C.O...............	Colonial Office.
C.O.S.	Central Office of Statistics.
Dept.	Department.
E	English.
Ed	Editor.
esp	especially.
Govt.	Government.
G.P.O.	Government Printing Office (now Printing Section), Malta.
H.M.S.O.	London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
inc.	including.
I.	Italian.
L.................	Latin.
L.P.	Letters Patent.
M.	Maltese.
misc	miscellaneous.
MS, MSS	Manuscript, Manuscripts.
Order	The Order of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.
O.U.P.	Oxford University Press.
pub.	published.
R.A.I.	Royal Anthropological Institute.
R.C.I.	Royal Colonial Institute.
R.I.I.A.	Royal Institute of International Affairs.
S.E.A.	Agrarian Society - Malta (formerly Società Economico-Agraria).
S.G.M.	Scottish Geographical Magazine.
trans.	translated.
v.	see.
var.	various.
Vol.	Volume.
unpub.	unpublished.

113

Part 1. List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands.

(1) ARCHIEPISCOPAL CURIA, Malta : Collections of archives, MSS, documents, plans, etc., relating to the Church in Malta. (v. also Cathedral Archives - some 500 items, and the Archives of the Inquisition - some 500 items).

(2) BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, Paris : v. especially material on the Order (classified under French history),

113 (3) BODLEIAN LIBRARY, Oxford : v. lists and catalogues, especially of the collection of some 1,500 Maltese works given by Sir Hannibal P. Scicluna.

(4) BRITISH MUSEUM, London : catalogues and collections on the Order and general.

(5) DURHAM COLLEGES (Department of Geography) ; collection of modern material.

(6) GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, Malta : misc. collections, esp. Departmental and other official publications. (v. Medical and Health Dept. Library, Valletta.)

(7) GOVERNOR'S PALACE, Valletta : Government Gazettes, Minutes of the Malta Legislative Assembly and other official material.

(8) GOZO PUBLIC LIBRARY, Victoria : catalogue and collections.

(9) LONDON UNIVERSITY : catalogue & collections.

(10) MALTA GARRISON OFFICERS' LIBRARY, Valletta : collection.

(11) MEDICAL and HEALTH DEPT. LIBRARY, Valletta : MSS, correspondence, reports, etc.

(12) ORDER of ST. JOHN, Rome : collections.

(13) PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, London : catalogues, indexes and collections (Treasury, War Office, Colonial Office, Admiralty, Blue Books, correspondence etc.)

(14) ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY, London : catalogue (Vol. 4) & collections.

(15) ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London : catalogue and collections.

(16) ROYAL MALTA LIBRARY, Valletta : MSS, archives of the Order - contracts, charts, Papal bulls, letters, etc. from 1107 to the 18th century. Also catalogue & collections of general material.

(17) ROYAL UNIVERSITY of MALTA, Valletta : Library catalogue and collections (inc. University thesis material, etc.).

Part 2. List of some bibliographies on Maltese subjects

(Note : v. also Part 1)

(18) AGIUS, J.A: 'Malta and the Second World War - some additions to Dr. Galea's Bibliography'; in B/83, 1956, pp. 14-18.

(19) BOISGELIN, Chev. Louis de: a comprehensive list of authors making reference to Malta (books, maps and plans) before 1805: in B/326, p.xv.

(20) CAMBRIDGE HISTORY of the BRITISH EMPIRE : v. under Malta; in Vol.II.

(21) CASSAR, P. : 'Maltese Medical Journals 1838-1952'; in B/83, 1952, pp. 19-32.

(22) CASSAR PULLICINO, J. : 'Malta in British Periodicals 1915-51', a list of 132 articles, based on the lists in B/40; in B/83, 1953, pp.75-86.

(23) CASSAR PULLICINO, J. : 'Other Bibliographical Notices', a list of 32 misc. articles (1953-56); in B/83, 1956, pp. 59-60.

(24) DONALDSON, G. : 'A Handlist of Manuscripts in the British Isles relating to Malta'; in Bulletin No.7 of The Institute of Historical Research, Malta, 1950.

(25) EVANS, J.D. : a list of some 30 references on the archaeology of the Maltese Islands; in B/434, 1959, pp. 194-6.

(26) GALEA, J. : 'The Archives of the Hospitallers and the Records of the Commune in the Royal Malta Library'. Gives (a) outline history of the Malta Public Records, (b) description of the 18 classes in the catalogue of B/16, and (c) a note on the records of the Commune; in "The Journal of Documentation", Vol. 5, No.1, pp. 31-37.

(27) GALEA, J. : 'Malta and the Second World War. A Bibliography'. List of 266 books, pamphlets, articles and periodicals; in B/83, 1952, pp. 33-49.

(28) HARRISON SMITH : a list of public documents relating to Malta in the 19th century and some 80 general items; in B/471, 1953, Vol.1, pp. 240-256.

(29) HARRISON SMITH : a list of official documents bearing on the period 1899-1903, plus a general list; in B/471-1953, Vol. II, pp.165-172.

(30) HELLWALD, F.H. von : 'Bibliographie méthodique de l'Ordre Souverain de Saint Jean de Jerusalem'. Rome, 1885.

(31) HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Malta : Card Index, planned 26.4.1950, was to begin with indexing of articles in periodicals v. B/83, 1953, pp.65-6.

(32) HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Malta : National Register of Archives. A survey of MS and archive material other than that preserved in Government repositories. v. B/83, 1952, p.61.

(33) HOUSES of LORDS and COMMONS, London : General Index of Bills, Sessional Papers, Debates, etc.

(34) HYDE, H.P.T. : list of 147 items on geology and related topics in the Maltese Islands; in B/487, 1955, pp.114-124.

(35) INGUANEZ, Dom M : 'Hand-list of the Incunabula in the Royal Malta Library', New York, 1951.

(36) INGUANEZ, Dom M : 'Un rarissimo incunabulo della Royal Malta Library', in B/84, Vol. VII, No.2, Jul-Dec. 1954, Malta.

(37) INGUANEZ, Dom M. : 'The Archives of the Università del Gozo - A Classified List'; in B/83, 1956, pp.44-47.

(38) KING, P.S. . 'Catalogue of Parliamentary Papers 1801-1900'; v. under Malta.

(39) LEE, H. : Bibliography in B/500, London, 1949.

(40) LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, London : v. under Malta in 'Subject Index to Periodicals' - pub. annually since 1915 (except 1923-25). Originally the "Athaenaum", a series of class lists for var. subjects, it is now an alphabetical subject-index to some 374 English-language periodicals.

(41) MACKENZIE-GRIEVE, A. : 'Library of the Knights of St. John - Archives at Malta'; in "Country Life", 20.2.1948, pp.373-4.

(42) MORRIS, T.O. : list of some 80 items on water supply and related topics in the Maltese Islands; in B/241, 1952, pp.122-3.

(43) POOLE, W.F. : 'Index to Periodical Literature', London, 1883. Also supplements (with W.I. Fletcher).

(44) PRICE, C.A. : a comprehensive bibliography on emigration, social and general topics; in B/556, 1954, pp.254-263.

(45) QUENTIN HUGHES, J. : list of some 160 works on the architectural and general history of the Islands; in B/483, 1956, pp.227-234.

(46) ROSSI, E. : 'Aggiunta alla bibliographie méthodique de l'Ordre souverain de St.Jean de Jerusalem', Roma, 1924. (v. B/30).

(47) ROSSI, E. : A bibliography of the Order in B/565, Roma, 1926.

(48) SAYDON, P.P. : 'Bibliographical Aids to the Study of Maltese', a hand-list of books on the Maltese language; in "Journal of Near Eastern Studies", 1953, Vol. XII, No.1 (pp. 20-30) and No.2 (pp.124-133). v. also B/585.

(49) SIMPSON, D.H. : 'Malta'. A special subject list (No.15), issued by B/40, London, inc. 77 general and topical entries.

(50) SIMPSON, D.H. : 'A Checklist of British Official Publications relating to Malta 1801-1950', inc. 115 references on 'official' topics, from the indexes to Parliamentary Papers between 1801-1949 (HMSO); in B/83, 1954, pp.150-156.

(51) VALLETTA, A. : 'A Century of Butterfly Hunting in Malta', bibliography traces the subject since 1843; in "The Link", No.10, 1953, pp.4-7.

(52) VALLETTA, A. : 'Bibliography of the Lepidoptera-Heterocera of the Maltese Islands', a list of 46 items - mainly journal articles; in B/83, 1956, pp.42-43.

Part 3. Sample list of some newspapers, periodicals and journals.

(Note: A comprehensive list of 86 periodicals appearing in 1959 is given in B/96, 1958-9, pp.406-7. Certain nineteenth century periodicals are listed in B/556, p.255. A list of nine periodicals appearing during the 1939-45 War is given in B/27, p.49. Year Books and directories are listed in Part 4.)

(53) "GOVERNMENT GAZETTE" (previously "GAZETTA di MALTA"), Valletta : the official bulletin of Government with supplements; E and M, G.P.O.

(54) "TIMES of MALTA", Valletta (Allied Malta Newspapers, Ltd.) : E - daily.

(55) "Il-BERQA", Valletta (Allied Malta Newspapers, Ltd.): M - daily.

(56) "Is-SEBH", Valletta (Union Press): M - daily.

(57) "The BULLETIN", Hamrun (Lux Press) : E - evening.

(58) "SUNDAY TIMES of MALTA", Valletta (Allied Malta Newspapers, Ltd.): E - weekly.

(59) "The REVIEW", Valletta (Dept. of Information): E - official fortnightly (1956-7 - "C.O.I. Review")

(60) "Ir-REVIEW", Valletta (Dept. of Information) : M. version of B/59.

(61) "TAJJEB LI TKUN TAF", Valletta (Dept. of Information) : M - an occasional news-sheet.

(62) "The KNIGHT", Valletta (Labour Party): literary and political; E.

(63) "MALTA TAGHNA", Tarxien : M - political.

(64) "FORWARD-Il-QUDDIEM", Mdina (Progressive Constitutional Party) : E and M - political.

(65) "LEHEN is-SEWWA", Valletta (Malta Catholic Action) : M - religious and social, weekly.

(66) "Il-HUĠĠIEĠA" (Malta Catholic Action) : M - religious, monthly.

(67) "KANA", Valletta (CANA Movement) : M - marriage and family, bi-monthly.

(68) "The FAITH", Mdina : E - religious, bi-monthly.

(69) "Lil-HUTNA" (Malta Catholic Action) : M - for migrants.

113 (70) "The COMMERCIAL COURIER", Valletta : E - organ of the Malta Chamber of Commerce, monthly.

(71) "The TORCH", Sliema : E - trade union.

(72) "The RETAILER", Valletta : E and M - organ of the General Retailers' Union.

(73) "The TEACHER" : E - Malta Union of Teachers.

(74) "Il-BIDWI", Valletta (Dept. of Agriculture) : M - farming, monthly.

(75) "LEHEN il-BDIEWA", Qormi : M - Malta Union of Farmers, monthly.

(76) "ARGUS", Floriana : E - Malta Civil Defence Bulletin.

(77) "YOUTH WORLD", Msida : E - organ of the Malta Youth Consultative Council, monthly.

(78) "COSPICUA", : Educational and non-political. (Note: other 'local' publications including "MARSA", "Ir-RABAT", "LEHEN il-BELT PINTO", "LEHEN il-BELT VICTORIA", "LEHEN BIRKIRKARA PROGRESSIVA", etc.)

(79) "ARCHIVUM MELITENSE", Valletta: scholarly journal, 1910 et seq.

(80) "BULLETIN of the MALTA CULTURAL INSTITUTE", Floriana : E - monthly.

(81) "JOURNAL of the FACULTY of ARTS", Valletta (Royal University) : mainly E - annually, since 1957.

(82) "LEHEN il-MALTI", Floriana : M - organ of the Ghaqda tal-Malti.

(83) "MELITA HISTORICA" (Malta Historical Society): mainly E - annually, since 1952.

(84) "MELITA THEOLOGICA" : E - a scholarly religous review.

(85) "SCIENTIA", Valletta : E - a scientific and cultural review, quarterly.

Part 4. Some Almanacs, Directories and Year Books.

(86) "ALMANACCO di Malta per l'anno 1807", I - Malta, 1807.

(87) "ALMANAKK", Gozo (St. Joseph's Institute) : M - annually, since 1936.

(88) "ALMANAKK Astronomiku u Meteoroloġiku", Malta (Lux Press) : M - annually, since 1928.

(89) "ALMANAKK ta' Malta u Ghawdex", Valletta (G.Muscat) : M - annually.

(90) "ANNUARIO della Diocesi di Malta", Malta (Empire Press) : I, L and M - Anno I (1933), pp. 470; Anno II (1934, supplemento), pp.269.

(91) "The CATHOLIC DIRECTORY of Malta and Gozo", Valletta (Archiepiscopal Curia Press Office) : E - 1959, pp.416.

(92) "DOCUMENTI su Malta e Gozo - raccolta di varie cose", Malta, 1843.

(93) "The GOZO Year Book", Gozo (Social Action Movement) : E and M - local information and interest, 1959 (first issue).

(94) "GUIDE to Malta" (previously "Guida di Malta"), Valletta (G.Muscat): E (previously I) - a general & commercial guide, pub. 1880-1940 (33 issues). (Note: v. also "Il Compagno per Tutti", Valletta (Aquilina), appeared in the 1880s).

(95) "The MALTA Almanac and Directory for 1889", Valletta (Critien, L.).

[p. 151]

113 (96) "The MALTA Directory and Trade Index", Valletta (Malta Publicity Services) : E - valuable general data and articles, 1956, 1957, 1958-9.

(97) "The MALTA Year Book", St. Julian's (St. Michael's College) : E - current information and valuable special articles, annually, since 1953.

(98) "ROYAL UNIVERSITY - Calendar", Valletta : E (previously I), periodically.

Part 5. List of Malta Government Departments and other official sources which have produced annual or other periodical reports during the past twenty-five years, G.P.O.

(Note esp. the annual volumes containing all such reports available each year. v. B/108)

(99) Reports by the Auditor on the Accounts of Malta
(100) " on the working of the Department of Agriculture
(101) " of the Commissioner for Malta in Australia
(102) " by the Controller of Building Materials
(103) " " " Registrar of Co-Operative Societies
(104) " on the working of H.M. Superior Courts
(105) " " " " " the Courts of Judicial Police
(106) " " " " " " " " Gozo and the Public Registry, Gozo.
(107) " " " " " Customs and Port Department
(108) Departments (Government), Annual Volumes of Reports of,
(109) Reports on the Activities of the Demolition and Clearance Dept.
(110) " " " Department of Education
(111) " " " " " Technical Education (since 1955)
(112) " " " working of the Approved School
(113) " " " Malta General Elections
(114) " " " working of the Electoral Office (for 1946-52 v. B/115)
(115) " " " " " " Electoral Registry
(116) Emigration Reports (early 1920s)
(117) Reports of the Emigration Department (esp. 1926-27)
(118) " by the Director of Emigration (before 1948)
(119) " on the Dept. of Emigration (1948-55)
(120) Report on Emigration from Malta (1951-53)
(121) " " the Dept. of Labour, Emigration and Social Welfare (1956)
(122) Reports of the National Employment Board
(123) " on the working of the Dept. of Fisheries
(108) Government Departments, Annual Volumes of Reports of,
(124) Reports on the working of the Office of the Commissioner for Gozo
(125) " " Housing Activities
(126) " " the working of the Housing Dept.
(127) " of the Collector of Imposts and Lotto
(128) " on the working of the Central Office of Information
(129) " of the Inland Revenue Dept.
(130) " on the Dept. of Labour (except between 1937-48)
(131) " " " " " " and Social Welfare (1937-48, and 1955)
(132) Report on the Dept. of Social Welfare (1949)
(121) " " " " " Labour, Emigration and Social Welfare (1956)
(133) Reports on the working of the Land Valuation Office
(134) " " " " " " Royal Malta Library, the Gozo Public Library and the Circulating Libraries
(135) Annual Reports on the working of the Public Health Dept. (prior to 1925. v. also B/453)
(136) " " on the Health of the Maltese Islands (1926-36)
(137) Reports on the working of the Medical and Health Dept. (after 1936).

113 (138) Reports of the Milk Marketing Dept. (predecessor of B/139)
(139) " on the working of the Milk Marketing Undertaking
(140) " " " " " " Museum Dept.
(141) " of the Notary to Government
(142) " on the working of the Police Dept.
(143) " " " Activities of the Post Office
(144) " " " working of the Posts and Telephones Dept.
(145) " " " " " " Government Printing Office
(146) " " " Malta Prison
(147) " " " working of the Public Registry.
(148) " of the Public Relations Office
(149) " " " Director of Public Works (prior to 1950)
(150) " on the working of the Public Works Dept.
(151) " " " " " " Rationing Office
(152) " " " " " " Reconstruction Section of the Public Works Dept.
(153) " of the Superintendent of the Reformatory
(154) " " " Religious Instruction Board
(155) " on the working of the Royal University of Malta
(156) " " " " " " Central Office of Statistics
(157) " " " Telephones Dept.
(158) " " " working of the Tourist Bureau
(159) " " " " " " Dept. of Trade & Industry
(160) " by the Trade Development Officer
(161) " of the Registrar of Trade Unions
(162) " on the working of the War Damage Commission
(163) " " " " " " Water and Electricity Dept.

Part 6. List of Censuses and other official Statistical Publications of a periodical rather than special nature, 1800-1959

(164) Census of AGRICULTURE, Malta, C.O.S: annually since 1955.
(165) BLUE BOOKS of Statistics, G.P.O: annually 1821-1936, 2 sets (incomplete) in B/16 and 1 complete set in B/13
(166) CENSUS of the Maltese Islands. 1842: unpub. v. B/53, 12.3.1842.
(167) CENSUS of the Maltese Islands. G.P.O: 1851(v.B/451), 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1948.
(168) CENSUS of the Maltese Islands. 1957. Report on Population and Housing, G.P.O. 1959.
(169) Population, Housing and Employment CENSUS of the Maltese Islands, 1957 - Preliminary Report, G.P.O. 1958.
(170) CENSUS of the British Empire. 1901, H.M.S.O. 1906 : v. article relating to the Maltese Islands (pp. 76-83).
(171) EDUCATION Statistics, G.P.O., annually.
(172) ESTIMATES, G.P.O., annually.
(173) Census of PRODUCTION for 1955. Final Report, G.P.O., 1958, pp.139.
(174) TAXES, Duties, Fees and other sources of Revenue, G.P.O., annually.
(175) Malta SHIPPING Statistics, G.P.O., annually : v. also B/176.
(176) SHIPPING and AVIATION Statistics, G.P.O., annually : v. B/175.
(177) STATISTICAL ABSTRACTS of the Maltese Islands, G.P.O., 1946, 1947-48, 1949 and thereafter annually.
(178) STATISTICAL Summaries, G.P.O., monthly.
(179) Tables Relating to United Kingdom and Dependencies - 1836, London, H.M.S.O. 1839 : see tables relating to the Maltese Islands. (Note: other H.M.S.O. statistics including Maltese Islands)
(180) The TRADE of the Maltese Islands, G.P.O., quarterly
(181) The TRADE of the Maltese Islands, G.P.O., annually - previously appeared as TRADE STATISTICS.

Part 7. List of some of the special reports produced by the United Kingdom and Malta Governments from time to time since 1800, classified into major subject divisions. (v. B/50)

(A) ROYAL COMMISSIONS

(182) Royal Commission (1811-12) : C.O. 158/19, 20.
(183) " " on Colonial Revenue (1830), inc. Malta.
(184) " " (1836-38): inc. reports on Charities, Education, Wages, the Poor, etc., by Commissioners J. Austen and J. Lewis, London, 1838.
(185) Royal Commission (1888): concerning electoral districts for the election of a Council of Govt., L.P. 12.12.1887.
(186) Royal Commission on the Finances, Economic Position and Judicial Procedure of Malta, H.M.S.O., Cmd 6090 & 6280, May 1912.
(187) Royal Commission on the Constitution of Malta (1931-32): H.M.S.O. Cmd 3993 and Col. No. 68 (Minutes), 1932.

(B) CONSTITUTION and ADMINISTRATION

(53) "Government Gazette" (previously "Gazzetta di Malta"), G.P.O. : the official Govt. record, with supplements, ordinances, acts, lists, etc.
(188) "Hansard", London : v. references to Maltese affairs (debates, Commission and Conference Reports, etc.)
(189) Reports of the Governor of Malta, London, C.O. : from 1846-86 a volume of reports of Colonial Governors was produced but, between 1887-1921, separate Governor's Reports were produced for Malta.
(190) 'Leggi, organizzazione e procedura civile per l'Isola di Malta e sue Dipendenze', Malta, 1855, pp.142.
(191) 'Report......Commercial and Industrial Policy of the British Empire after the War'. (i.e. as affecting Malta), G.P.O., 1919.
(192) Statement on the Policy of the Government....27th December, 1921. G.P.O., 1921, pp.11.
(193) Papers relating to the new constitution of Malta. H.M.S.O., Cmd, 1921.
(194) Correspondence with the Holy See relative to Maltese Affairs. H.M.S.O. Cmd 3588, 1929-30. (Note also Vatican publications at this time, e.g. 'Exposition of the Malta Question with documents', Rome (Vatican Polyglot Press), 1930, pp.159.)
(195) 'Il significato del Trionfo Nazionalista nelle ultime Elezione Generale di Malta e Gozo - 1932', Malta, G.P.O. 1932 (An English version appeared in 1933)
(196) Report on the Electoral Laws. G.P.O., 1946.
(197) Malta - Statement of Policy on Constitutional Reform. H.M.S.O., Cmd 7014, 1947, pp.11. (v. Report of the Commissioner also)
(198) 'The Colonial Empire (1939-47)', H.M.S.O., 1947 : v. section on Malta pp. 47-49.
(199) 'Report on the Malta Police Force' (Muller W.A.), G.P.O., 1955.
(200) Malta Round Table Conference Report 1955. H.M.S.O. Cmd 9657, 1955, pp.37.
(201) Report of the Commission on the Malta Civil Service. G.P.O., 1956, pp.51.
(202) Report of the Commercial Partnerships Law Reform Commission accompanying a Draft Commercial Partnerships Bill. G.P.O., 1956.
(203) 'The Future'. Series of Rediffusion broadcasts 7.8. to 9.9.1958, G.P.O., 1958, pp.64.

(C) ECONOMY and FINANCE

(204) Revenues of Malta, 1801-02 (82)
(205) Report of the Committee to Enquire into Distress, 1824, London, C.O. 158/41.
(183) Reports of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Receipts and Expenditure of the Revenue in the Colonies ..(inc. Malta), 1830-31 (64).

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6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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SECTION 8 : Appendices

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APPENDIX 1 A : POPULATION

YEAR	All Islands	Malta	Gozo	Urban	Fringe	Inner Rural	Rural	Outer Rural
1957	319,620	292,019	27,601	135,390	83,898	50,002	40,438	10,892
1948	305,991	278,311	27,680	129,153	78,492	46,766	39,405	12,175
1931	241,621	217,784	23,837	114,196	51,367	36,780	29,502	9,776
1921	212,258	189,697	22,561	98,069	44,114	34,166	26,877	9,032
1911	211,564	188,869	22,695	96,147	43,902	36,346	26,696	8,573
1901	184,742	164,952	19,790	84,429	38,111	32,276	22,614	7,312
1891	165,037	146,484	18,553	75,377	33,142	30,012	20,521	5,985
1881	149,782	132,129	17,653	68,476	29,388	27,837	18,102	5,961
1871	140,883	123,402	17,381	61,782	28,567	26,719	18,020	5,796
1861	132,958	117,497	15,469	58,786	27,197	25,289	16,403	5,180
1851	123,496	108,833	14,663	54,885	24,800	24,200	15,650	3,961
1842	113,864	99,522	14,342	51,487	21,923	22,163	14,438	3,853
1828	114,236	98,618	15,618	-	-	-	-	-
1807	93,054	80,225	12,829	-	-	-	-	-
1741	15,032	13,309	1,723	-	-	-	-	-
1632	52,900	49,900	3,000	-	-	-	-	-
1530	29,669	25,000	4,669	-	-	-	-	-

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Sources :
1957 - B/168
1851 to 1948 (inc.) - B/167
1842 - B/166
1828 (estimate) - B/316, Vol.1, p.151
1807 (estimate) - B/86
1741 (estimate) - v.B/167 (1881, p.2)
1632 (estimate) - B/383, Vol.1, Chapter 8
1530 (estimate) - B/316, Vol.1, p.151 (after B/334)

Notes :
(i) 1957 population figures by census localities (B/168) are given in Appendix 3.

(ii) See B/166, 167, and 168, for full statistics since 1842; see also B/381 for detailed analysis of population changes.

(iii) Some of the information in the above table is given in graph form.

(iv) See Map 3 for Population Density by Localities, 1957.

APPENDIX 1 B.

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Occupational Structure of Population 1957 (B/177-1957).

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
A. Malta Government			
Administrative, Executive & Clerical	1600	300	1900
Professional & Technical	1920	1520	3440
Protective Social & other Services	2650	690	3340
Minor & manipulative Office Staff	930	70	1000
Trade Groups	7090	200	7290
TOTAL	14190	2780	16970
B. Service Departments			
Industrial	17260	360	17620
Non-Industrial	1720	220	1940
H.M. Forces	3550	-	3550
TOTAL	22530	580	23110
C. PRIVATE INDUSTRY			
Agriculture	6512	1301	7813
Fishing	820	20	840
Construction	4940	10	4950
Wholesale and Retail	7510	3100	10610
Transport	3250	120	3370
Food (except beverages)	1150	460	1610
Beverages	750	250	1000
Personal Service	2240	3250	5590
All other Private Industry	7590	2030	9620
TOTAL	34762	10541	45303
TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION:	71482	13901	85383

NB - Total gainfully-occupied figures, by localities, are listed in Appendix 2 A.

APPENDIX 1 C : Some Trade Statistics, 1957.

(i) Principal Trading Partners, 1957 (B/181-1957)

COUNTRY	IMPORTS[a] into Malta	EXPORTS from Malta	RE-EXPORTS from Malta
	£	£	£
United Kingdom	11,237,471	283,142	240,740
Canada	1,189,815	7,525	6
Australia	488,947	12,045	2,047
H.M.Ships & British merchants ships and aircraft	77,250	8,908	1,759,118
Rest of Commonwealth and Eire	841,083	43,710	23,391
Italy	3,334,318	254,164	181,510
Netherlands and Antilles	1,887,655	25,765	438
France	1,298,672	18,915	3,657
West Germany	1,099,727	19,089	9,366
United States	876,754	508	4,426
Denmark	841,590	3,938	1,317
Yugoslavia	607,583	9	100
Lebanon	598,647	2,009	3,079
Libya	418,087	193,438	156,382
other foreign countries except Eire	2,631,500	14,214	94,254
	£27,009,056	£887,535	£2,459,849

(ii) Commodities, 1957 (B/181-1957)

Article (£)	IMPORTS[a] into Malta	EXPORTS from Malta	RE-EXPORTS from Malta
Food, drink & tobacco	8,990,319	222,398	438,359
Raw material & articles mainly unmanufactured	3,576,170	484,503	1,507,631
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	11,836,029	165,054	176,261
Misc. & unclassified	2,606,[illegible]38	5,583	337,598
	£27,009,056	£887,535	£2,459,840

a. excluding Gold.

(iii) Customs Revenue on Imports, 1957 (B/181-1957)

£ 3,846,620

(iv) Trade in selected items of 'Food and Drink', 1957 (B/181-1957)

Article (£)	IMPORTED into Malta	EXPORTED from Malta	RE-EXPORTED from Malta
Meat - uncanned	393,991	-	6,672
Meat - canned	803,256	6	14,153
Milk - evaporated, dried, condensed	768,908	-	1,478
Butter	129,970	-	810
Cheese & Curd	400,557	-	378
Eggs	193,424	-	-
Fish & Preparations	171,333	97	1,578
Wheat - unmilled	1,391,807	-	-
Barley - unmilled	78,877	-	-
Fruit & Nuts - fresh	421,683	-	63
Fruit - fried & preserved	206,828	25,334	8,186
Potatoes - table	1,083	104,961	-
Potatoes - seed	97,742	-	-
Other vegetables	832,799	18,078	-
Animal feed	456,181	-	-
Alcoholic Beverages	373,008	28,818	98,380

APPENDIX 1 D : Agriculture (B/164-1957)

131 (i) AREAS

AREA of the Maltese Islands...........	278,429 tmien	(77,400 ac)
Area of Malta.....................	217,143 tmien	(60,800 ac)
Area of Gozo......................	59,286 tmien	(16,600 ac)

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CULTIVABLE AREA of the Maltese Islands	156,211 tmien	(12,484 hldngs)
Holdings of dry (baghli) land....	116,460 tmien	(10,517 ")
Holdings of irrigable (saqwi) land	700 tmien	(88 holdings)
Holdings of both dry & irrigable.	39,051 tmien	(1,879 ")

241 (ii) ACREAGE and PRODUCTION of CROPS. 1956-57

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CROP	ACREAGE	VALUE(£)	YIELD(Tons)	YIELD per Acre (tons)
Wheat	5,192	96,908	2,916	0.6
Barley & Meslin	4,836	68,339	2,738	0.6
Vetches	1,727	51,993	1,354	0.8
Forages	11,000	361,150(a)	32,000(a)	2.3
Broad Beans	1,000	15,233	356	3.5
Cumin Seed	14	180	3	0.2
Cotton	35	800	8	0.2
Locust Beans	500	20,000	1,500	3.0
Total	24,304	616,603	40,875	
Potatoes (spring)	6,000	350,000	21,000	3.5
Potatoes (autumn)	3,057	193,394	9,157	3.0
Melons	2,721	32,908	1,714	0.6
Onions	788	47,970	3,000	3.8
Tomatoes	3,000	146,000	12,000	4.0
Other vegetables	3,897	344,744	18,436	5.0
Total	19,259	1,115,016	65,307	
Grapes	5,204	171,102	5,347	1.0
Citrus	160	32,000	510	3.0
Other Fruit	1,000	105,000	4,000	2.0
Total	6,364	308,102	9,847	
Flowers & Seeds	250	100,000	..	
TOTAL	ac. 50,177	£2,139,721	116,029 Tons	

(a) Including Straw.

231 (iii) CLASSIFICATION OF LIVESTOCK. 1957 (September)

	Malta (1957)	Gozo (1957)	TOTAL (1957)	TOTAL (1949)
Horses...............	1,688	369	2,057	2,753
Donkeys..............	1,732	1,107	2,839	3,335
Mules................	1,535	349	1,884	2,356
Goats................	21,630	10,428	32,058	50,677
Billy Goats..........	417	177	594	
Kids under 1 year...	3,564	3,121	6,685	
Sheep................	8,091	4,241	12,332	21,237
Rams.................	98	43	141	
Lambs under 1 year..	1,015	1,330	2,345	
Bulls................	377	294	671	2,633
Heifers Pregnant....	339	195	534	
Heifers other........	731	363	1,001	
Milch Cows...........	2,536	953	3,402	
Stud Bulls...........	111	26	137	
Maltese Draught-Cows	109	6	115	
Imported Store Bulls	2,860	824	3,684	
Breeding Sows.......	2,783	598	3,381	20,016
Boars...............	214	87	301	
Sucking Pigs.........	935	367	1,302	
Other Fatteners.....	6,561	1,753	8,314	
Hens.................	195,683	126,630	322,313	
Other Poultry........	5,146	1,364	6,500	
Rabbits..............	43,645	16,048	59,693	

407 (iv) MECHANIZED IMPLEMENTS owned by farmers, 1956-57

IMPLEMENTS	MALTA	GOZO	TOTAL
Tractors - under 10 horse-power.....	15	11	26
Tractors - over 10 horse-power.....	26	6	32
Hand Cultivators - under 10 h-p......	592	74	666
Hand Cultivators - over 10 h-p......	64	10	73
Harvesting machines - under 10 h-p..	16	1	17
Harvesting machines - over 10 h-p..	1	-	1
Threshing machines - under 10 h-p...	2	-	2
Threshing machines - over 10 h-p...	13	4	17

162 241 (v) FARMING POPULATION.1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers............	6,512	1,301	7,813
Part-time farmers............	6,634	2,954	9,588
Farming population not in farming (over 14).....	5,777	14,694	20,471
Children (under 14)..........	10,246	9,795	20,041
Total............	29,169	28,744	57,913

46 241 (vi) DAYS WORKED on farms (in Man/days). 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers............	full	full	2,343,900
Part-time farmers............	part	part	340,221
Hired labour..................	158,515	28,401	186,916
Unpaid farmers' relatives...	43,716	5,716	49,388

162 (vii) FARMERS as PERCENTAGE of Total Population. 1871-1957 (v.A)

	FULL-TIME FARMERS					as % TOTAL POPULATION				
	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957
Urban	342	415	307	325	224	.55	.49	.27	.22	.17
Fringe	3923	2259	2181	1618	1150	13.7	5.9	4.26	2.1	1.37
Inner R.	5026	4224	3597	2404	1795	18.8	13.1	8.7	5.15	3.6
Rural	4856	4791	4602	4271	3133	27	21	15.6	10.8	7.8
Outer R.	1763	2200	3002	2805	1511	30	30	31	23	13.9
TOTAL	15910	13889	13689	11423	7813	11.3	7.5	5.15	3.7	2.46

NB: - Sources - 1957 full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957)
- 1957 Population (B/168)
- other data (B/167)
- See also Map 2, and Graph

162 46 241 (viii) PART-TIME FARMING (B/525, p.112)

1901		1958	
"Farmers".............	5038	Full-time Farmholders..	4706
"Part-time farmers"..	500	Part-time " ..	5337
		Other Farmholders......	1368
TOTAL................	5538	....	11411
No. of Holdings......	9178	....	12640

(ix) FARM LABOURING (B/525, p.111): Farmholders, labourers, field workers as % total.

	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders %...	27.2	19.7	17.1	30.2	19.1	37.4	38.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers %...	71.9	78.4	80.9	68.1	79.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	58.9	51.1
Total workers %...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
On land (000's)...	12.8	13.4	10.8	15.9	18.0	15.6	13.9	15.2	16.3	13.7

APPENDIX 2 A : The Malta Dockyard, Employees by Locality of Residence, March 1957.

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LOCALITY	Maltese Workers	Gainfully-Occupied	%	United Kingdom Workers
Pawla	1,261	3115	38.8	20
Żejtun	995	3500	28.4	1
Żabbar	961	3461	31	1
Cospicua	960	2599	37	6
Hamrun	715	6594	11.25	5
Sliema	573	6660	8.6	232
Senglea	537	1408	38.1	17
Tarxien	467	2184	21.6	-
Vittoriosa	461	1216	38	4
Valletta	444	5927	7.5	2
Birkirkara	441	5128	11.8	5
Qormi	408	4401	9.3	-
Rabat	363	4293	8.7	1
Żurrieq	345	2154	16	-
Marsa	343	3023	11.4	-
Żebbuġ	248	2554	9.7	-
Msida	240	1725	13.9	15
Kalkara	218	616	35.4	3
Birżebbuġa	215	1285	16.7	1
Gżira	214	2214	9.6	26
Luqa	173	1263	13.7	-
Floriana	172	1755	9.75	5
Mosta	169	2412	7	1
St. Julian's	155	2153	7.2	44
Ghaxaq	154	836	18.5	-
Siġġiewi	148	1670	8.85	-
Gudja	104	514	19.9	-
Dingli	94	781	12	-
Marsaxlokk	83	484	17.2	-
Marsaskala	83	v.Żabbar		2
Pieta	79	1062	7.45	3
Balzan	76	761	10	10
Lija	75	685	11	4
Qrendi	73	768	9.5	-
Naxxar	72	1582	4.55	3
Mqabba	68	634	10.7	-
Attard	55	965	5.7	1
Mellieha	50	1279	3.9	-
Kirkop	50	372	13.4	-
Safi	29	257	11.3	-
Gharghur	28	608	4.55	-
St. Paul's Bay	27	1027	2.33	3
GOZO	25	7893	0.32	-
Santa Venera	25	v.Hamrun		1
Mġarr	24	784	3.06	-
Mdina	11	v.Rabat		1
not known	81			-
	12,572			417

Note: - The distribution of Maltese workers as a percentage of total gainfully-occupied population by localities is shown on Map 4.

- Sources; see Note (7). Gainfully-occupied figures from B/168.

APPENDIX 2 B : The Malta Dockyard - Dates of major Extensions prior to 1910.

Admiralty House, Vittoriosa............	Probably built	1670-1680
Superintendent Victualling Yard House..	" "	1730
Captain Attendant's House......................	Built	1730
Admiralty House, Valletta.....................	Re-built	1761-1763
Deputy Surgeon General's House, Bighi..........	Altered	1832
Officers' Residences..........................	"	1832
Deputy Surgeon General's Office...............	Built	1832
Sea Baths, Bighi..............................	"	1832 (extended in 1871, 1877, 1879 and 1886)
Dockyard in Galley Creek......................	Mainly built	1840-1850
Corradino Tank, No. 1.........................	Built	1841
Naval Bakery..................................	"	1844
Clock Tower...................................	"	1844
Camine Tunnel.................................	"	1845
Dockyard Terrace, Senglea.....................	"	1846
No. 1 Dock (Outer)............................	"	1847
Bakery Tanks..................................	"	1847-1848
Officers' Mess, Sheer Bastion.................	Altered	1848
Buildings round No. 1 Dock....................	Built	1848
Admiralty Bridge (Margherita).................	"	1848
Master Miller, Baker Engineer's House.........	"	1848
Police Quarters...............................	"	1848
(Late) Torpedo Store..........................	"	1848
Main Gate.....................................	"	1849
Wharf by Sheer Bastion and Main Gate..........	"	1850
Foreman's Residence...........................	"	1851
St. Helena Tank...............................	"	1852
Slip in front of Margherita Arches............	"	1852
St. Teresa Tunnel.............................	"	1855
St. Lorenzo Tunnel............................	"	1858
Corradino Tank No.2...........................	"	1861
No.1 Dock (Inner).............................	"	1862
Officers' Mess, Bighi.........................	"	1863
Short Tunnel from Dockyard to French Creek.....	"	1865
Church Tunnel " " " " "	"	1866
Marsa Coal Stores, various....................	"	1869
No.3 Dock (Somerset)..........................	"	1871
Hydraulic Dock................................	"	1871
Dockyard Chapel, over Tunnel..................	"	1882
Pumping House, No. 3 Dock.....................	"	1884
Torpedo Depot, Sliema.........................	"	1884
North Gate....................................	"	1892
No. 2 Dock (Hamilton).........................	"	1892
South Gate....................................	Re-built	1894
Scheme for increased accommodation for H.M. Ships............	Approved	1901
Works Department Office.......................	Built	1901
New Docks.....................................	"	1906
Burmola Gate..................................	"	1906
Ghajn Dwieli Gate.............................	Re-built	1906
Corradino Gate................................	Built	1907
Ricasoli Breakwater...........................	"	1907
St. Elmo Breakwater...........................	"	1909

NOTE Information from B/466, Appendix XI.

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APPENDIX 3 : THE BUILT-UP AREA

"A Township is the definite urban-type built-up nucleus of a census locality" (v. R/168, p.38). On this basis the 'township' area and population within each census locality may be distinguished:

CENSUS LOCALITIES	LOCALITIES LAND AREA, sq. miles A	LOCALITIES POPULATION. B	"TOWNSHIPS" LAND AREA, as % of A.	"TOWNSHIPS" POPULATION. as % of B.
Valletta	0.281	18,202	100	100
Cospicua	0.241	9,085	100	100
Senglea	0.057	5,065	100	100
Vittoriosa	0.205	4,242	100	100
Gżira	0.411	8,545	38.9	99.3
Sliema	0.485	23,399	100	100
Floriana	0.341	5,811	100	100
Pawla	1.088	11,424	24.6	100
Marsa	0.883	10,672	39.6	100
Hamrun	0.360	18,895	73.1	100
Msida	0.368	6,587	53.3	98.9
Kalkara	0.471	2,101	28.9	92.9
Pieta	0.200	4,076	78.5	100
St. Julians	1,635	8,285	17.9	70.8
Balzan	0.236	2,734	68.6	100
Luqa	1.812	5,382	5.6	91.2
Birkirkara	2.736	16,987	15.2	90.5
Tarxien	0.850	7,706	12.5	56.2
St. Venera	0.415	5,246	34.9	75.1
Qormi	2.412	14,869	9.9	95.6
Birżebbuġa	2.994	5,297	4.7	88.1
Żabbar & M'skala	3.255	11,893	9.5	61.3
Żejtun	3.777	11,685	5.9	87.2
Lija	0.547	2,119	24.1	96.3
Mqabba	1.242	2,088	5	97.5
Marsaxlokk	1.952	1,469	1.9	92.9
Żurrieq	3.536	6,837	4.3	92.8
Ghaxaq	1.121	2,830	6.6	96.5
Attard	2.090	2,663	7.2	97.2
Victoria	1.635	6,357	19.6	97
Mdina	2.473	823	1.1	100
Mosta	1.900	7,377	14	97.9
Żebbuġ	3.167	7,969	10.2	99.7
Ghajnsielem	1.414	1,830	6.9	98
Gudja	1.709	1,712	2.6	97.4
Qrendi	2.587	2,155	2.2	97.7
Kirkop	0.717	1,204	6.3	100
Naxxar	6.538	4,668	2.7	83
Rabat	8.048	12,792	2.9	82
Xewkija	1.286	3,281	12.9	99.9
Gharghur	2.023	1,813	3	67.3
Mellieha	7.808	4,290	0.9	71.9
Siġġiewi	6.230	5,065	2.4	96.4
Sannat & Munxar	2.187	1,656	4.9	99.6
Nadur	2.487	4,130	7.8	98.7
Safi	0.447	700	10.1	87.7
Dingli	3.674	2,041	1.7	68.5
Qala	2.218	1,616	3.6	95.8
St. Paul's Bay	6.620	3,040	2.1	72.5
Kerċem & St.Lucia	2.442	1,272	4	100
Xaghra	4.654	4,066	5.6	87.9
Gharb	2.043	1,209	2.2	67.3
San Lawrenz	1.355	428	3.4	69.2
Żebbuġ	2.775	1,199	4.4	85.1
Mġarr	5.896	2,167	0.6	31.2
Ghasri	1.423	471	3	41.2
Comino	1.075	30	0	0
Maltese Islands	121.850	319,620	7.6	91.1
Malta	94.876	292,019	8	90.9
Gozo	26.974	27,601	5.9	93.6

NB: - Information from R/168. Table P XXIb).

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APPENDIX 4 : The LAY APOSTOLATE

794 Of the more than two dozen movements which now form the Lay Apostolate in the Maltese Islands (v.B/91) five of the more prominent organizations are shown in the table by their present distribution and by the date, where known, of their foundation in each parish. Numbers of confraternities and third orders, and numbers of churches in each parish are also included.

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Malta Catholic Action - Young Men	CY
" " " - Young Women	CG
" " " - Men	CM
" " " - Women	CW
Society of Christian Doctrine (M.U.S.E.U.M.) - Men	MM
" " " " " - Women	MF
Legion of Mary, number of Praesidia in each parish	LM
Holy Name Society	AM
Young Christian Workers	YCW
Confraternities and Third Orders	Cs
Churches	Chs
Date of foundation of Parish	Date
Parishes where a movement has no branch	.
" " " " " a branch but date of its appearance in that parish not known	@

In CY, CG, CM, CW, MM, MF, AM, YCW, numbers (e.g. 36, 10) indicate date of appearance of branch (i.e. 1936, 1910, etc.)

No information ... ?

NB - Information derived in large part from B/91.
- List arranged by increasing size of farming element of the working population (v. Section 1).

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PARISH	Date	CY	CG	CM	CW	MM	MF	LM	AM	YCW	Cs	Chs
Valletta 1	1585	@	25	58	@	10	10	2	55	55	11	8
" 2	1587	@	@	@	@	@	.	10	.	@	6	10
Cospicua	1584	31	46	57	.	08	08	.	.	56	8	5
Senglea	1581	30	.	30	.	16	@	1	.	.	9	4
Vittoriosa	1090	@	@	@	@	@	@	.	@	.	7	5
Gżira	1913	37	39	45	43	33	10	4	48	.	2	3
Sliema 1	1878	32	31	33	56	.	.	9	@	.	4	3
" 2	1918	.	@	58	@	.	.	2	.	.	2	3
" 3	1940	41	55	41	@	@	@	10	.	@	3	5
Floriana	1844	27	@	50	53	07	28	3	36	@	6	4
Paola	1910	28	@	28	28	10	10	4	48	46	2	4
Marsa	1913	@	@	@	@	00	09	1	.	51	.	3
Hamrun	1881	26	34	42	47	07	12	7	32	49	.	7
Msida, Pieta	1867	31	31	56	.	09	09	2	@	@	4	4
St. Julians	1891	45	44	45	46	?	.	2	.	.	6	2
Balzan	1655	@	56	31	57	@	@	4	@	.	4	7
Luqa	1634	51	51	51	.	@	.	.	.	.	4	7
Birkirkara	1436	32	?	@	57	@	@	8	31	49	6	10
Tarxien	1592	37	@	?	.	09	.	2	.	.	5	4
St. Venera	1918	46	37	45	50	34	34	1	.	.	2	4
Qormi 1	1436	@	@	.	@	?	?	.	.	.	7	6
" 2	1935	35	35	57	.	14	?	?	30	@	3	3
Birżebbuġa	1913	?	?	44	.	37	24	.	31	.	1	7
Żabbar	1615	46	45	46	52	09	.	5	47	.	6	3
Marsaskala	1949	.	.	.	.	46	45	.	49	.	1	1
Żejtun	1436	52	35	@	55	12	@	.	@	55	5	7
Lija	1594	@	50	58	.	52	53	2	29	.	3	5
Mqabba	1598	.	.	.	.	32	33	5	32	.	4	7
Marsaxlokk	1897	.	56	.	.	50	50	.	52	.	2	7
Żurrieq	1436	32	30	47	40	26	28	.	29	54	6	7
Ghaxaq	1626	.	.	.	.	56	07	.	@	@	3	4
Attard	1575	.	.	@	.	21	21	2	.	.	4	7
Mosta	1608	@	@	46	49	@	@	5	.	48	9	7
Żebbuġ(M)	1436	32	33	44	49	11	15	.	28	.	7	10
Ghajnsielem	1855	@	@	.	.	.	@	1	.	.	2	4
Gudja	1436	.	46	.	51	15	15	.	33	.	4	4
Qrendi	1618	@	@	.	.	@	@	.	@	.	5	7
Kirkop	1592	46	46	.	.	52	.	.	44	.	3	7
Naxxar	1436	47	40	@	.	36	31	1	36	49	6	6

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PARISH	DATE	CY	CG	CM	CW	MM	MF	LM	AM	YCW	Cs	CMs
Rabat*	1902	33	33	57	.	33	37	8	28	56	15	17
Xewkija	1678	33	33	.	.	ø	ø	2	ø	.	2	2
Gharghur	1598	ø	46	58	57	ø	33	.	32	.	6	6
Mellicha	1841	54	48	57	54	.	44	3	ø	52	4	3
Siġġiewi	1436	32	ø	38	.	28	38	.	ø	48	6	.
Sannat	1688	.	32	30	.	50	.	1	.	.	2	1
Nadur	1688	ø	ø	.	.	ø	ø	.	ø	.	3	3
Safi	1598	7	54	.	58	.	ø	.	37	54	3	2
Dingli	1678	48	.	.	.	36	38	.	32	.	2	2
Qala	1872	ø	ø	.	.	ø	ø	.	.	.	3	2
St. Paul's Bay	1905	48	.	ø	42	.	48	2	.	.	4	7
Korčom,St.Lucia	1885	ø	ø	39	ø	.	.	1	47	.	2	2
Xaghra	1688	ø	ø	.	.	.	.	2	ø	.	3	4
Gharb	1679	ø	ø	ø	ø	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
San Lawrenz	1893	ø	ø	ø	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Żebbuġ(G)	1688	.	ø	ø	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Mġarr (M)	1898	ø	ø	ø	ø	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
Ghasri	1921	.	.	40	.	.	.	.	27	.	2	2
Munxar	1957	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	1	1

Mdina (A.D. 60) 1090 - Co-Cathedral of Malta (with St. John's, Valletta).
Cathedral of Gozo (at Victoria).

* - separated from Mdina, 1902.

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

APPENDIX A : WEIGHTS and MEASURES

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UNIT	EQUIVALENTS Maltese	British	Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollice)	-	0,859 ins	21,83 mm
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10,312 ins	26,19 cm
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar*	2,292 yds	2,095 m
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	2,252 sq.yds	1,881 sq.m
Kejla	-	22,410 sq.yds	18,735 sq.m
Siegh (mondello)	10 Kejliet*	224,100 sq.yds	187,354 sq.m
Tomna (tummolo)	6 Sieghan*	0,278 acre	0,112 ha.
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	4,444 acres	1,798 ha.
		(1 acre - 3,6 tmien*)	
VOLUME			
Xiber Kubu	-	0,63 cu.ft	
Qasba Kubu	-	12,04 cu.yds	
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0,933 oz	0,026 kg
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1,750 lbs	0,793 kg
Wiżna	5 Rtal*	8,750 lbs	3,968 kg
Qantar	20 Wiżna	175,000 lbs	79,378 kg
		(1 ton - 12,8 qnater* - 1016,128 kg)	

BUNDLE MEASURE

Qatta, Xibka, Xkora (sheaf or bundle of sulla, wheat, etc.)
Hemel (somma) 10 Qattiet* (8 Qattiet in Gozo)

UNIT	Maltese	British	Metric
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna (tummolo)	-	0,0625 qrs	0,1818 hectolitr
Wejba	4 Tmien*	2,0 bushels	0,7272 "
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8,0 "	2,909 "
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Terz	-	0,281 quart	0,32 litres
Nofs	2 Terzi*	0,562 "	0,63 "
Kartočč	2 Nfus*	1,125 "	1,27 "
Kwarta	4 Kratoč*	1,125 gallons	5,11 "
CAPACITY: BEER, WINES & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0,25 pint	0,142 litres
Terz	2 Pinet*	0,50 "	0,284 "
Nofs	2 Terzi*	1,00 "	0,561 "
Kartočč	2 Nfus*	2,00 "	1,136 "
Kwarta	4.75 Kratoč*	1,187 gallons	5,398 "
Garra	2 Kwarti*	2,375 "	10,797 "
Barmil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9,500 "	43,187 "

MONEY

436 Sterling is the official currency in Malta and Gozo but various old units are also retained in popular usage:

'Lira'..........................	£1	'Sitta(6) rbghajja'......	10d
'Nofs Lira'....................	10s	'Sixpence'..................	6d
'Tmintax(18) rbighi'..........	2s 6d	'Tlieta(3) rbghajja'.....	5d
'Skud'..........................	1s 8d	'Sold'.......................	⅓d
'Xelin'.........................	1s	'Sitt(6) habbiet'.........	½d

(A 'habba' - grain - was one twelfth of a penny; twenty 'habbiet' equalled one 'tari' or 'rbighi'.)

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804 **NOTES** (1) Plural forms, identified by an asterisk* in the table: Garar (s.Garra); Habbiet (s.Habba); Kratoč (s.Kartočč); Kejliet (s.Kejla); Kwarti (s.Kwarta); Nfus (s.Nofs); Pinet (s.Pinta); Qnater (s.Qantar); Qattiet (s.Qatta); Rbghajja (s. Rbighi); Rtal (s.Ratal); Sieghan (s.Siegh); Skudi (s.Skud); Terzi (s.Terz); Tmien (s.Tomna); Xbar (s.Xiber); Wizniet (s.Wizna).

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114 (2) The information in the table is based in part on that given in B/90 - 1958-9, p.410, and in part on personal investigation.

NOTES

000 [105] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [127] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analysed by Charlton (B/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Welts, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

[342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

[529] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/266).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

[124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made .1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

000 28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

[113] 30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No.259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

434 32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revised):

747	Family of 3 or 4 persons	....	maximum income	- £5
648	" " 5 to 7 "	....	" "	- £5 8s
	" " 8 " 10 "	....	" "	- £5 15s
735	" " 11 " 13 "	....	" "	- £6 1s
	" " 14 " 16 "	....	" "	- £6 6s
	" " 17 or 18 "	....	" "	- £6 10s

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

[122] 34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Matla at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

000 35. (B/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

113 38. "Labour Government's Progress Report, 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClement in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Ghalf Bilanċjat ghall-Majjali" by A.T. Hessler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

000 42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present trailing position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but these registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.H.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

[114] 47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

[124] 48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tmien, Sighan and Kejliet : v. Appendix 5.

234 177 50. Mr. J. McClement, a Dairying Specialist visited Malta and Gozo from the United Kingdom in the summer of 1957, and, with his assistant Miss Faill, was responsible for much instruction and recommendation on the dairy industry in both Islands (v. Note 39).

000 51. The Agricultural and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, (No.11 of 1956).

6: Beeley EZ6 Malta EZ6

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[Biographical information on thirteen case studies of representative farmers and herdsmen in Malta and Gozo will be found in category 116, pp. 73-141.]

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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HOLIDAY CUSTOMS
IN
MALTA
AND
SPORTS, USAGES, CEREMONIES, OMENS & SUPERSTITIONS
OF THE
MALTESE PEOPLE

BY

V. BUSUTTIL
(Head-Master, Govt. School Vittoriosa)

MALTA
1894.

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With the Author's best Compliments
Malta 5/2/902

[P. i]

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[Title Page]

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EZ6 Malta EZ6

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HARVARD C
APR 21 1902
CA

The Author

[P.ii]

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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DEDICATED
(by permission)
WITH MUCH RESPECT
TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
SIR A. J. LYON FREMANTLE K.C.M.G.,C.B.
GOVERNOR
AND
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
IN AND OVER
THE ISLAND OF MALTA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES
&c. &c. &c.

[p. iii]

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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PREFACE

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In these pages I have endeavoured to give a short description, and, where possible, the origin of the principal Holiday Customs, Amusements *and* Sports *of the Maltese people, which I hope will prove of some interest, not only to the foreign visitors who happen to be in Malta during the time in which some of these popular customs are being observed, but also to most of the Maltese themselves, for while the observance of these customs is perhaps no where stronger than in Malta, tradition as to their origin is scanty in the extreme.*

There being in our Island, as in other countries, an array of superstitions, beliefs and practices, I have also collected in this volume, in the hope of making this work more interesting, some of the principal items of folk-lore which have been handed down to us in popular traditions, tales, rhymes, and proverbs.

V. BUSUTTIL.

Vittoriosa,
20th June 1894.

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[P. 1]

178 NOWHERE has the legacy of antiquity so binding a force in the practice of to-day, nowhere is the saying “our forefathers did so” accepted as a sufficing and imperative reason for following, in most cases blindly, in the ancestral groove as in Malta, where the long memories of the ages stir darkly in the popular mind, and the associations of many centuries have accumulated, as it were, stratum above stratum, upon the soil.

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177 178 Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, Normans, Germans, French, Spaniards, Aragonese & Knights of St. John have all been here, some for a short and some for a longer time, and they have nearly all left more or less their footprints on this Island and contributed their quota to the manners of the people.

The Maltese are as tenacious of the old usages and diversions, handed down to them from time immemorial, as any other people in the world. Although usage survives, motive, in most cases is forgotten, and as we will further observe the ideas of the older mythologies are sometimes altered to meet the exigencies of the new Creed.

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FEAST DAYS.

Most of these are made the occasion of general rejoicings in Malta, celebrated either by illuminations, feastings, fireworks or some other open air amusement. 527 796

The greater number of the holidays in Malta are in connection with the religion of the people, and are held either in honour of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, or of some Saint—as the titular Saint of the Parish or the celestial Patron of the town or village whose day is always celebrated with special pomp in each district.

Of all these *festas*, which are celebrated throughout the year with more or less enthusiasm, we only mention that which is celebrated on the 10th February in honour of St. Paul. 796

Great preparations are made for this day, to adequately celebrate this truly

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796 national and religious festival, which has been lately declared a general holiday.

796 173 This very popular feast is intended to commemorate the greatest and most important event in the whole history of these Islands: that is, the conversion of the Maltese from Paganism to Christianity by the Great Apostle of the Gentiles, after he was shipwrecked on the shores of this Island A.D. 58.

796 The taste displayed by the Maltese in their festive decorations amount almost to genius, and they effect with the simplest means, what the most elaborate mechanism is generally required to effect elsewhere.

796 373 The front of the church, and the principal streets leading to it, are always decorated with thousands of white and coloured lamps. Along the road large

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flags are seen floating, either from poles topped with evergreens, or from ropes stretched from house to house across the street. The balconies, windows and terraces of the private houses are also bedecked with many coloured flags and festooned with garlands of fairy lamps.

After dark the aspect of the streets of the town or village in which the feast is being celebrated is rendered still more striking by the multitude of variegated lamps. These are merely tiny cups of tinted glass with some oil and wick hung across and along the streets in a maze of graceful curves, but the profusion with which they are used and the taste shown in their arrangement combine to produce a magical result, the innumerable points of coloured light combining to form an illumination that is singularly brilliant and effective.

796 [541] There is also on each occasion a liberal display of fireworks on the evening before the feast day, with the usual amount of noise and glare, and several bands, civic and military, play choice selections of music to the great delight of the large concourse of persons assembled.

[346] [353] [794] The interior of the churches is always most beautifully and gracefully decorated for the occasion of the festival, and the inhabitants of each town or village are always vying with each other in contributing large sums of money for the purpose of decorating the church of the parish to which they belong. In most cases the feast day closes with a procession followed by the image of the Blessed Virgin, or that of the Saint who is being honoured, carried on the shoulders of some eight or ten men.

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Large crowds of people in their best attire assemble, from nearly all parts of the Island, on the afternoon of the day of the festival, for the purpose of seeing the procession walking along the principal streets of the place.

When the statue is yet some distance of the parish church, the priests who take part in the procession enter the church, while a number of men and youths, carrying lighted torches, blue lights, and branches of real or artificial flowers in their hands, precede the statue up to the church entrance, amidst deafening shouts of " Evviva " the merry chiming of bells and the firing of hundreds of small bronze or iron petards, which are crammed to the muzzle with powder and stones to make the detonation more stunning.

Besides the procession which takes

796 place during the year in the towns and villages on the day of the festival, held in honour of the titular or some other Saint, there are also other processions, such as that of Good Friday and St. Gregory's day, the origin and description of which will be given in another place.

Having thus glanced briefly at some local recreations of the Maltese which have connection with their religious ceremonies in celebrating the annual festivals in honour of the celestial patron of the town or village, we now come to the other usages and customs, which are observed by the Maltese during the year commencing from that of

NEW YEAR'S DAY.

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431 Early on the morning of the 1st. of January, groups of children may be

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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seen perambulating the streets, throughout the towns and villages, each with a small oval-shaped wooden box in hand. 527 431

Every child you meet, in wishing you "Is-sena it-tajba" (a Happy New Year) implores the yearly mite, and this he does by shaking his cash, which no doubt consists of some few farthings or halfpennies, whose dulcet jingle, however, fills his little soul with joy.

The practice of giving "l' Istrina" (a small money gift) to these children, to domestic servants and to persons in an inferior position on New Year's Day is a recognised custom in this Island.

This making of presents on the first day of the year is no doubt of great antiquity, and innocent as is now the custom of giving money gifts to the children and servants on New Year's 527 431 171

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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527 Day, it was in ancient times done by the
431 heathen Romans as a form of homage
171 to the two-faced *Janus*, the God of the year, especially honoured in that capacity in the first month (January), and the giving of "strina" in January was vehemently denounced by the early council of Auxerre, as an act of Pagan, worship.

In the *Monthly Miscellany* for December 1592 there is an essay on New Year's gifts, which state that the Romans were great observers of the custom, even when their year began in March and consisted of 10 months of 36 days each, and also when January and February were added by Numa(*) to the other ten, the calends, or first of

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(*) Numa—a celebrated philosopher born at Cures, a village of the Sabines,on the day that Romulus laid the foundation of Rome.

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January, was the time on which they made presents, and even Romulus (1) and Tatius (2) decreed that every year *vervine* (3) should be brought as an offering to them with other gifts, as a token of good fortune for the New Year. 527 431 171

Tacitus (4) makes mention of an order of Tiberius (5) forbidding the giving or demanding of New Year's gifts unless it was in the calends of January, at

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(1) **Romulus**—the founder of Rome was the son of Mars, he was ranked by the Romans among the 12 great gods, being the founder of their city and Empire, and the son of the god of war.

(2) **Tatius**—king of Cures among the Sabines, made war against the Romans after the rape of the Sabines. He was murdered at Lanuvium B.C. 792.

(3) *Vervine*—a plant which has been connected with some of the superstitious rites of the Greeks & Romans.

(4) **Tacitus**—a celebrated historian born in the reign of Nero and was destroyed by the secret dagger of an assassin on the 13th of April in the 276th year of the Christian era.

(5) **Tiberius**—a Roman Emperor after the death of Augustus.

527 431 171 which time the Senators, as well as the knights and other great men, brought gifts to the Emperor, and in his absence to the Capitol (1).

527 777 It is also the custom in some places of Malta for men to go about strewing some lime in the door-ways on New Year's day. Some idea of good luck may perhaps be associated with the lime; there is no tradition, however, as far as is known, whence this custom arose.

527 203 New Year's greetings in the shape of visiting cards, are very profusely exchanged on this occasion, especially among the better classes.

527 431 533 Groups of street musicians go from house to house, either on the last day of the old year or on the morning of

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(1) Capitol, the temple of Jupiter at Rome built on the top of a hill.

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the 1st of January playing popular pieces 527
of music, and this they do as a New 431
Year's greeting. These men will rarely 533
leave a house until some little gift of money is bestowed upon them as a remuneration for their trouble in paying their annual congratulations.

ST. ANTHONY'S DAY.

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Among the popular Maltese customs in which animals play a leading part, that of the blessing of the quadrupeds of the equine species, in Valletta, on St. Anthony's day, is the most familiar.

On the morning of the 17th January (St. Anthony's day) a number of horses, mules, and donkeys, decked out in ribbons and tassels, are driven in procession in front of the Vittoria, a little

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church in Str. Mezzodì, at the back of the Royal Opera House, where a priest standing at the door of the little church, sprinkles the animals with holy water as they pass by.

The same ceremony takes place annually at Notabile, where the animals are blessed by an Augustinian friar, at the door of St. Augustine Church. Here the quadrupeds partake of some barley which is placed in a tray for them.

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In the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the ceremony of blessing the quadrupeds on St. Anthony's day was more imposing than it is in our days.

The first that took part in the procession, were the horses drawing the Grand Master's stately carriage, followed by every description of vehicle,

from the gala coach of the dignitaries 796 825
of the Island to the peasant's cart. 175

Very many inquiries have been made into the origin of the blessing of quadrupeds on this festival, none of which, however, has proved satisfactory.

That St. Anthony has been long re- 776
cognized as the patron and protector 825
of the lower animals, and particularly of pigs, is a well established fact.

Fuller, in his "Worthies." says: 776 825
"St. Anthony is universally known as 114
the patron of hogs, having in all pictures a pig for his attendant, though for what reason is unknown, except because being a hermit, and having a cell or hole digged in the earth, and feeding principally on roots, he and the hogs were both alike in their diet and lodgings."

When St. Anthony was living in the 776 173 825

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desert, away from the rumours of the world, for the only object of serving God, the devil tried all his means to tempt the old hermit and win him to himself—the Saint, however, always held fast and kept faithful to God. The fiend, seeing that all his efforts were vain, took to frightning and tormenting the good hermit. On several occasions he appeared to him amidst a flock of wild beasts. Anthony, however, was never frightened, he soon invoked the name of our Lord and signed the cross for help, and the devil enraged was always obliged to leave him unhurt.

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This is probably the reason why animals are blessed on St' Anthony's day, so as to keep off the devil from them, and thus man is less liable to be injured or hurt by them.

CANDLEMAS DAY

This is a religious festival observed 796
not only in Malta but in all other Cath- 171
olic countries in honour of the Blessed
Virgin on the 2nd of February, the
40th day after the Nativity of our Lord.

The word Candlemas is evidently 796
derived from the benediction of the [778]
candles, followed by a procession, which
takes place in the churches on the
morning of this day.

Nearly every family in the Island is 796
presented with one or two of these bles- 794
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sed candles—each having at the lower 431
end, the image of the Blessed Virgin 354
stamped in gold leaf, as a distinction
from other ordinary wax candles.

These they receive either from the priests, or from some other person attached to the church, as a sort of a slight recompense, for the contributions

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796 offered during the year, for the purpose
794 either of decorating or repairing the
778 church or churches of the parish to
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354 which they belong.

It is also customary for every parish priest—on this special day, or on the day following—to present both the Bishop and the Governor of the Island with a
[643] two lb. candle. It is to be observed, however, that the candle given to the Governor is only a blessed one when he happens to profess the Roman Catholic Religion.

178 This giving of candles to both the
796 Bishop and the Governor—a continua-
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793 tion of a custom that prevailed in the
431 time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, when the Grand Master was annually presented with a blessed candle on this day—is meant as a token of respect to each of the highest Ecclesiastical and Civil dignitaries of the Island.

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This festival is said to have originated with the ancient Romans who, on the night of the 1st day of February, went about the streets of Rome with lighted torches and candles in honour of the Goddess *Februa*, the mother of Mars. 796 173

In the year 684, however, pope Sergius, anxious to wean his disciples from the practice of heathen observances, and seeing that it would be useless to prohibit a practice of so long standing, turned the ceremony to a christian account by enjoining a similar offer of candles to the Blessed Virgin, and ordained that all Christian people should come to church on the 2nd day of February with candles in honour of the Virgin Mother of God. 796 175

CARNIVAL

541 Among the several sources of popular amusements in Malta, the Carnival no doubt ranks first.

When the Carnival is about to make its usual visit, the dancing season, dinner parties and amusing entertainments begin.

541 175 This amusement, which affords a harmless outlet for the spirit of merry-making, was introduced in Malta during the Grandmastership of Peter Del Ponte in the year 1535. (*)

(*) Grand Master Lascaris, at the request, it is supposed, of some Jesuit fathers, gave orders in 1639 that no woman was to be allowed to mask herself, or to assist at any dramatic entertainment, on the 3 days of Carnival under penalty of being whipped- This order gave rise to serious disturbances and the Grand Master deemed it prudent not to interfere again.

Sir Patrick Stuart, Governor of Malta, determined in 1846 to reduce the Carnival by one day, not allowing any masqueraders on Sunday, the first day. This, however, led to a collision between the police and the people. The Governor, seeing that serious consequences would follow, let things take their usual course.

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Carnival commences on the Saturday preceding lent, and ends on the Tuesday following.

On Saturday morning the "Parata" opens the Carnival diversions. This consists of about 30 men of the lower classes dressed up, some in gay Turkish costumes and others as European warriors, all armed with wooden swords.

These men meet first opposite the Governor's palace, where they commence dancing and striking their wooden swords with great dexterity to the sound of music. The dance is concluded by lifting up a little girl, splendidly arrayed, and girded with a small dagger which she is taught to wave with one hand, whilst with the other she throws kisses in a very graceful manner. The companies then range through the city, stopping to perform their

541 evolutions before the doors of the wealthy, to whom the little girl, who is called "Il gharusa tal parata" (the bride), is taken after the performance to receive some money as a remuneration for the trouble taken by the men, who employ the money they collect in defraying the expenses of the band, and the buying or hiring of the costumes they wear. (*)

541 175 648 The parata is a commemoration of the famous victory which the Maltese gained over the Musulmans in 1565.

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[171] (*) In Dr. Chandler's "Travels in Greece" page 133, we read the following passage which bears great resemblance to our "Parata":

"Some Arabian and black slaves who had obtained their freedom and were settled at Athens had a feast on the performance of the rite of circumcision. The women danced in a ring with sticks in their hands, and turning in pairs, clashed them over their heads at intervals, singing wildly to the music."

In the afternoon of this first day of the Carnival an extraordinary charivari takes place, especially in the streets of the towns of the Island. Troops of boys with their face besmeared, and clad in all kind of incongruous garment, parade through the streets with all sorts of instruments of noise, such as trumpets, drums, whistles and empty petroleum tin cans.

During the other three days of Carnival—Sunday, Monday and Tuesday—the streets of Valletta, of the three Cities and also those of the other populous villages, are, on the afternoon (that being the principal time of the amusement) always densely crowded with people to see the masqueraders walking and dancing about.

The rich dresses and costly costumes are no doubt to be best seen in Valletta.

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54| Here are always some well got up companies and perfectly appointed perambulating satires. Every description of wheeled vehicle follow in a regular train through Str. Reale, Mezzodì, Mercanti and Cristoforo. The occupants of these hired vehicles engage mostly in pelting the bystanders, who will enter the list with them. The balconies of the houses are crowded with numerously gaily dressed spectators; the streets below are thronged with gay parties of pedestrians mingled with those clad in every variety of costume that fancy can suggest, and one and all play every imaginable sort of prank. The throwing of confits in the three days of Carnival has greatly increased lately especially in Valletta. Groups of ladies, and gentlemen engage in a warfare with a tiny sort of *confetti*; it is not uncommon, however, that some

big confits are thrown by some evil disposed person, and in such a manner, as to cause injury; in fact the Police authorities issue, every year, notifications warning persons against the throwing of hard substances. 541

On Monday the Governor of the Island gives a fancy dress ball at the Palace, which is always very numerously attended. Some of the costumes worn on this night are indeed magnificent, and the noble marble palace halls and corridors, once thronged by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, present a truly picturesque appearance. A list of the persons present and the costumes worn is annually published in some of the local papers. 541 643

The Carnival is supposed to have been originally instituted in imitation of the Sigillaria or festival days added 541 173 177

541 173 177 to the ancient Saturnalia (*) and was condemned by the Synod of Trullus, where it was decreed that the days called the Calends should entirely be stripped of their ceremonies, and that the faithful should no longer observe them; that the public dancing of women should cease as being the occasion of much harm and ruin, and as being invented and observed in honour of the Gods of the heathens and therefore quite averse to the Christian life.

541 174 177 The author of "Convivial Antiquities," speaking about the ancient Saturnalia, says: that on this occasion there were

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(*). Saturnalia, festivals in honour of *Saturno*, celebrated in Rome about the middle of December. The celebration, which continued for 3 or more days, was remarkable for the liberty which universally prevailed. The slaves were permitted to ridicule their masters and to speak with freedom upon every subject.

frequent and luxurious feastings amongst 541
friends, and changes of dress made, and 174
the Christians have adopted the same [177]
customs.

He added, that as the heathens had their Saturnalia in December, Lupercalia and Baccanalia (*) in February, so amongst Christians three months are

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(*) Lupercalia, a yearly festival observed at Rome on the 15th of February in honour of *Pan* the God of Shepherds. It was usual to sacrifice two goats and a dog. The skins of the victims were cut into throngs, with which whips were made for the youths. With these whips the youths ran about the streets, almost naked, and whipped freely all those whom they met.

Baccanalia, festivals in honour of *Bacchus* (God of vintage,and of wine drinkers)at Rome—during the time of the celebration, the Romans clothed themselves in fawns' skins, fine linen and mitres; they carried " thyrsi " drums, pipes and flutes and crowned themselves with garlands of ivy, vine, fir &c. In this manner both sexes joined in the solemnity and ran about the streets nodding their heads dancing in ridiculous postures, and filling the air with hideous shrieks and shouts.

541 174 spent in feastings and revelling of every kind.

FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT

796 783 In the afternoon of this day, which is known by the name of "Hadd in-nies" (the people's Sunday), immense crowds of people, from all parts of the Island, flock to casal Zabbar, in their best Sunday finery, for the purpose of saying some prayers before our Lady of Graces (tal Grazia) in the pari-h Church of the village, as an atonement of the follies committed on the Carnival days, After paying the visit the people go out of the church parading the streets.

796 265 The numerous shops of the said village are pretty well got up for this occasion. Stews, ham, cheesecakes, and other viands are profusely supplied fcr

those, who, either from the effect of the country walk, or from the smells emanating from the cooked rabbits and fried sausages, feel inclined to go in and partake of the tempting dishes. 796 265

The crowd of visitors keep on promenading along the streets of the village till little before sunset. At the *Angelus*, the Zabbar visitors are on their way home, and the inhabitants of the village, are left peacefully alone to remove the chairs and tables prepared for their friends and relations. 796

HOLY THURSDAY AND GOOD FRIDAY 796 785

These two days of Holy Week—the end of the Penitential season—are days of solemn and melancholy ceremonial in Malta and observed as days of rigid

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fast, being sacred as a commemoration of the crucifixion of our Lord.

The Churches are covered with black hangings, all the altars stripped of their ornaments, and all the bells are kept silent in token of deep mourning.

The people assist in crowds at the most imposing services which take place in all the principal churches on these days.

On Holy Thursday (Maundy Thursday), from about 1 p.m. till very late at night, the towns, Notabile and the other thickly populated centres of Malta, present a very striking scene.

Hundreds, from every rank and class of the people, generally in couples or in groups, are seen most devoutly performing the visit to the churches, reciting prayers all the time as they move from one church to another.

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Good Friday is kept as a day of general mourning. All business is suspended, and no holdings of public proceedings take place upon this day. The churches are all crowded, especially in the adoration of the Cross which, no doubt, is the most striking ceremony of Good Friday.

In the afternoon, after a three hours sermon, or meditation upon the seven words uttered by our Redeemer before his dying for us on the Cross, large crowds of people assemble on each side of the streets of Valletta, the three Cities, Notabile, and most of the villages to see the processions which are intended to commemorate the passion and death of our Saviour.

In these processions several life-sized images, representing the principal events of the Crucifixion, are carried through

796 the main streets, attended by scores of *fratelli*, or members of the fraternity of the Crucifix, who are entirely covered in white or dark brown garments, and by the clergy of the parish, chanting as they follow the statues carried before them at equal distances in the procession. At the end of each of these processions a gorgeous bed is carried, covered with a canopy hung with rich embroidered curtains on which a life-sized figure of our Redeemer is stretched.

After traversing several of the streets, the procession re-enters the church and every body goes quietly home.

HOLY SATURDAY
or
EASTER EVE

The service of Holy Saturday is signalized by the Benediction of the paschal

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Candle and the solemn chanting of the 796 "*Gloria in Excelsis Deo*" which is the signal for the uncovering of the Church pictures, which had been covered during the two preceding weeks, and the simultaneous ringing of all the Church bells which were kept hushed in token of mourning during the two preceding days.

General rejoicings now commence, and Easter greetings are profusely exchanged amongst all classes of the people.

Peculiar custom prevails in Valletta 796 533 184 and Vittoriosa on Easter Eve. Just at sunset, two or three men, one with a big drum and the others with fifes, playing a merry tune, go about the streets, followed by large crowds of men, among whom noisy bands of lads, who keep rushing and pushing wildly all

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796 533 184 the time through the spectators, each adding his quota to the universal clamour. Everything, however, is done in perfect good humour and no one dreams either of giving or taking offence. (*)

EASTER

796 Very early on Easter Sunday, before daylight, there is, in each town and in some of the villages of Malta, a procession with the image representing the Resurrection of our Lord.

The most popular of these processions is undoubtedly that of Valletta.

Large crowds of people assemble, as

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[171] (*) The Greeks celebrate the feast of Easter with singing and shouting in honour of the Resurrection --with crakling of a large bonfire on Easter evening and on Easter morning before daybreak.

(Brand's " Popular Antiqunities").

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early as 2 o'clock in the morning, round the door of the Catholic Greek Church, in Strada Vescovo, whence the procession starts.

At about 3 a.m. the procession—which consists of a number of young men carrying lighted lamps in their hands, led by the "*Papas*" and followed by the image—proceeds through some of the principal streets of Valletta, amidst the joyful acclamations of thousands of people who flock there from almost all parts of the Island.

When the procession arrives at the small church of Vittoria (at the back of the Royal Opera House) the bearers of the image halt for a while; all at once the way is cleared and a general run is taken with the image as far as the walls of the city.

This run is repeated three or four

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796 times at different parts of the town; the best run, however, which is mostly enjoyed, both by the spectators and the carriers of the statue, is that which takes place at the lower end of Strada Reale on the hill opposite St. Catherine's Church and Convent.

Here large crowds of men are seen ready to help the bearers in the run with the heavy statue up the hill.

After traversing several other streets, the image is deposited in the same church from which it started.

796 *EASTER EGGS &c.*

262 The custom of eating and presenting
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431 *figolli* and round cheese cakes *(kassatat)*
is as prevalent in Malta, at Easter, as
it is in any other town or country of
Italy.

Maltese children look forward with great anxiety to get either from their parents, or from some friend or relative, a *figolla* at Easter. 796 262 431

The *figolla* consists of a bit of flat baked dough, cut in the shape of a woman, a turk, an eagle, a horse, a star, or a basket, with one or more eggs, having the shell stained red, or some other colour, embedded in its centre and fixed in position by cross bands of paste.

This characteristic rite of Paschal or Easter eggs is most widely diffused. 796 262 171 174
The universal connection of eggs with Eastertide does not seem to rest on any Christian symbolism. This popular observance is clearly of pagan origin.

In pagan imagery the egg was assigned to *Astarte*—the Phœnician Venus—as an emblem of the fructifying

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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796 forces of nature, and may thus have
262 come to be associated with April, the
171 month held sacred to *Aphroditis* (*), in
174 or near which Easter falls.

We are told that the Jews used eggs in the feast of the Passover, and that when the Persians keep the festival of the Solar New Year (in March) they mutually present each other with coloured eggs. There can be little doubt, however, that the use of eggs at this season was originally symbolical of the revivification of nature, that is, the springing forth of life in spring.

A writer, in the "Gentlemen's Magazine" for July 1783, supposes the Easter egg to be an emblem of the Resurrection of our Lord—in the same manner, as the chicken entombed, as

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(*) The Grecian name of Venus

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it were, in the egg, in due time bursts its shell and springs forth to life.

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Hutchinson (History of Northumberland) says: Eggs were held by the Egyptians as a sacred emblem of the renovation of mankind after the deluge.

The Jews adopted it to suit the circumstances of their History as a type of their departure from the land of Egypt, and it was used in the feast of Passover as a part of the furniture of the table with the Paschal Lamb.

The Christians have certainly used it on this day, containing as it does the elements of future life, as an emblem of the Resurrection. It seems that these eggs were decorated for a religious trophy after the days of lent, which are days of mortification and abstinence.

We know also that the Jews in ce-

796 lebrating their Passover, placed on the
262 table two unleavened cakes called "pass-
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174 over cakes" (*) with hard boiled eggs bound in with slips of paste cross ways on them (†)

Hyde, in his "Oriental Sports" says that the Christians buy eggs at Easter and stain them with a red colour, in memory of the blood of Christ shed for us at the time of the Crucifixion.

That the Roman Catholic Church has considered eggs as emblematical of the Resurrection may be gathered from the Ritual.

St. GREGORY'S DAY

General procession

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793 This very popular feast, which takes place on the first Wednesday after

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(*) The *figolla.*

(†) Brand's "Popular Antiquities."

Easter, is celebrated by a general procession composed of the fraternities and Clergy of all the parishes of the Island, led by the Chapter of the Cathedral followed by His Grace the Bishop of the Diocese. 796 [793]

The solemn chiming of the bells of all the parishes in the Island at sunset, on the day before, and the lighting of a large fire on the top of Cathedral church at Notabile, about 10 at night, warns the faithful to gather early on the following morning (Wednesday) in their respective parish church to start for the annual procession. [202]

At about 7 o'clock in the morning, Casal Paula is literally thronged with thousands of people from all parts of the Island, awaiting instructions as to the marching and ordering of the grand procession.

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796 A person, then, appointed by the Bishop, reads out the parishes to march in the order of their seniority. This done, the cross-bearers of all the parishes walk, following each other, to the Parish Church at Tarxien—some 10 minutes walk from Casal Paula — where they join their respective fraternities and clergy, and start for Zeitun — about a mile and a half from Tarxien—each Company walking behind their standard bearer,joining in the response of the Litany of the Saints which is pronounced by one of the priests of each parish.

On arriving at Zeitun, after passing through the parish Church of St. Catherine, were the standard bearers in the procession, by way of salute, wave their standards three or four times before the high altar, the procession proceeds to the old church of St.-Gregory which is at the end of the village.

The waving of the standards is renewed here with more excitement; in fact, large crowds assemble round the environs of this small church to witness the daring feats of some of the brawny countrymen standard-bearers, who, although encircled by half a dozen or more policemen, who try to prevent them from waving the standard, (*) succeed in doing so to the great delight of the enthusiastical crowd.

When the clergy of each parish enters this church, they kneel down before the altar of St. Gregory and exclaim aloud for three times "Misericordia." One of

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(*) The reason the police interfere is, that on several occasions accidents have happened through the breaking of the flag-staffs

796 the Canons of the Cathedral then says mass and the ceremony is over.

At the conclusion of this procession there is a scene of general confusion throughout the whole village of Zeitun. Priests, friars, *fratelli*, cross and standard-bearers, men and women of all classes, especially country people, and of these unfailingly the most recently married couples—all in their best attire and with a grand display of jewels and gold (*)—are seen going to and fro, buying and eating sweetmeats
[493] and cheese cakes. Then again hundreds of all sorts of vehicles, from His

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[675] [584] (*) Till lately, young women residing in the country insisted before they were married on its being particularly stipulated in the marriage contract, that their husbands should take them to Casal Zeitun on St. Gregory's day, to Valletta on St. John's day, and to Boschetto on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, on the 29th of June.

Grace's carriage to the commonest 796
donkey cart, keep moving through [493]
the merry crowds, in search of their
occupants.

Most of the people, however, who take part in this general procession, either stop at Zeitun, or proceed to Marsascirocco — a watering place at some distance from that village—where they spend the remainder of the day in merry making.

Round cheese cakes, *kassatât*, is the 796
most common edible connected with 262
265
this day, and from early morning, the
whole day long, the shrill cries uttered
by the innumerable vendors of the cakes
may be heard throughout the village.

A few remarks about the origin of 796
174
this procession will be interesting.

Many and various are the opinions as regards that origin.

796 174 [931] Abela, in his "History of Malta" says: that it was instituted as a vow to St. Gregory, to whose intercession the Maltese had recourse in 1519, when the Island was visited by an epidemic disease.

Ciantar, the celebrated Historian, assures us, however, that the procession was instituted in 1400 long before the epidemic mentioned by Abela.

[648] Others again say: that it was held about the year 1429 whilst the Island was being besieged by some 18000 Moors, but this could not possibly be the case in as much as the people who were besieged within the walls of the town could not join in the cry "Misericordia" at Zeitun.

[731] Again some say that the procession took place for the first time in Malta in thanksgiving to the Almighty after

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the deliverance from a large swarm of 796
locusts that once caused a dreadful 174
havoc in the Island. [731]

Monsignor Duzina, the Apostolic 796
Visitor, who visited Malta in February 174
1575, having found that the origin of 782
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this procession was involved in great obscurity, caused the most aged men of the Island to be brought before him, and on asking them about the origin of the institution of this general procession, he was informed that the tradition was "That the procession was founded by a general vow of the Maltese after their deliverance from the Turks, whose fleet was dispersed by a terrible storm at Marsascirocco,(*) just when the Moslems were on the point

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(*) This is probably the reason that the general procession goes to the churches of St. Catherine and St. Gregory, those being the nearest churches to Marsascirocco.

796 of effecting a landing on the shores of
174 the Island.

[648]
[782] It is an undeniable fact that the procession has been instituted in commemoration of some signal public deliverance. Of all the traditions, however, the most generally received is that which we read in the acts of the said Mons. Duzina's visit in 1575.

796 This procession used formerly to take place in lent, on St. Gregory's day, which falls on the 12th of March. That day was selected not because the above mentioned invasion occurred on that particular day, but because lent being the time of penance, our faithful forefathers thought that the vow would be more acceptable to God in lent. And the day of St. Gregory was chosen, that Saint being the founder of all processions which are solemnized by the Roman Catholic Church.

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ALL FOOLS' DAY

1st. April

This particular day has been selected for playing off little tricks whereby ridicule may be fixed upon unguarded persons, especially the younger sort. 527 522

The favourite jest in Malta, on the 1st. day of April, is to send some one upon an errand for something grossly nonsensical, who is sent home in a state of bewilderment as to what the affair means. The joke is carried so far as to send letters making appointments in the name of persons who, it is well known, must be absent from the house at the time fixed upon, and the laugh is always in proportion to the trouble given.

When the person falls into the snare the term "Leuuel ta April" (the first

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527 of April) which amounts to "April
522 fool" is applied with laughter.

527 The custom of sending one upon a
522 bootless errand on the 1st. of April is
174 perhaps a travesty of the sending hither and thither of our Lord from Annas to Caiphas, and from Pilate to Herod. It is possible, however, that it may be a relic of some old heathen festival.

It is conjectured that April day is celebrated as part of the festivity of the New Year. That day used to be kept on the 25th of March, and it is certain that the commencement of the New Year, at whatever time that was supposed to be, was always esteemed a high festival, and this was the case both amidst the ancient Romans and with us. Now great festivals were usually attended with an octave—that

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is, they were wont to continue for 8 527
days, whereof the first and last were 522
the principal; and you will find the 174
1st. of April the octave of the 25th of March, and the close or ending consequently of the feast. Hence it is supposed that the 1st. day of April became a day of extraordinary mirth and festivity, especially among the lower classes who are apt to pervert and make a bad use of institutions, which at first might have been very laudable in themselves.

A writer in "Poor Robin's Almanac" 527
for 1760, gives the following metrical 522
description of the modern fooleries on the 1st. of April, with the open avowal of being ignorant of their origin.

"The 1st. of April some do say [539]
Is set apart for all Fools' day,
But why the people call it so

527 Nor I nor they themselves do know.
522 But on this day are people sent,
539 On purpose for pure merriment,
And though the day is known before
Yet frequently there is great store
Of these forgetful to be found
Who are sent to dance *Moll Dixon's round.*
And having tried each shop and stall
And disappointed at them all
At last some tells them of the cheat,
Then they return from the pursuit
And straight way home with shame they run
And others laugh at what is done,
But 'tis a thing to be disputed
Which is the greatest fool reputed,
The man that innocently went
Or he that him design'dly sent."

527 522 171 This custom of imposing upon each other on the 1st day of April, and sending one another upon frivolous, ridiculous and absurd errands, whatever be its origin, appears to be universal throughout Europe.

In France one thus imposed upon, 527
on the 1st of April, is called "un 522
poisson d' Avril," in England such a 171
person is called an "April fool," in Italy "un pesce d' Aprile" and in Scotland a "Gowk."

It is curious that the Hindoos practice precisely similar tricks on the 31st. of March, when they hold what is called the "Huli Festival."

During the "Huli festival" when mirth and festivity reign among the Hindoos of every class, one subject of diversion is to send people on errands and expeditions that are to end in disappointment and raise a laugh at the expense of the person sent.

The "Huli" is always in March and [114]
the last day is the general holiday.
Colonel Pearce in his "Asiatic Researches" proves this to have been a cus-

114 171 522 527 tom, from immemorial time, among the Hindoos. The least inquiry, however, into the ancient customs of Persia, or the minutest acquaintance with the general astronomical mythology of Asia, would have told Colonel Pearce that the boundless hilarity and jocund sports, prevalent during the "Huli Festival" in India, have their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating with festival rites the period of the vernal equinox, or the day when the New Year of Persia anciently began (*)

527

ASCENSION DAY
Lapsi

The Maltese celebrate Ascension day by parties and picnics on the water.

(*) **Maurice in his " Indian Antiquities."**

In the afternoon of the Feast, the 527
great harbour and the several creeks,
especially that of Calcara, present indeed
a very lively appearance. Yachts, boats, [291]
and small crafts plough the deep, the [501]
greater part sailing, with flags and
streamers flying in the breeze, laden
with people, mostly clad in gay summer
costumes, which they put on for the
first time on this day as a sign of
the approaching hot season.

Some of these gay parties keep on 527
their crafts, singing and playing guitars 264
and melodeons, whilst others disembark 534
on some shady rock on the sea-shore,
where they spread their table-cloths
and sit down to enjoy the edibles which
they bring with them.

A little after sunset, when the numerous 527
and jolly picnic parties have 501
emptied some bottles of wine, the boats

527 are seen putting off the shore and
501 steering their course homewards.

527 The custom of making swings on
526 Ascension Day, is very common in Malta, especially among the country people. In almost every village, lots of women and children may be seen swinging together and singing merrily on the day of *Lapsi*.

527 No reason could perhaps be assigned
173 by the Maltese for the practice of celebrating *Lapsi* by parties and picnics on the water, and for making swings, except that they follow the custom of their ancestors.

796
St. JOHN'S EVE

372
857 Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating

the Nativity of St. John by kindling 796
great fires in the public streets, and 372
giving their children dolls to carry in 857
their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist "*Multi in nativitatae ejus gaudebunt*".

Days and even weeks before this festival, groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs and all sorts of other combustibles which they store up for St. John's eve.

On the night of the 23rd. of June, 796
the day before the festival of the Saint, 372
great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the Island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking.

796 372 These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being continually fed by the scores of by-standers who take great delight in throwing amidst the flames some old rickety piece of furniture which they consider as lumber in their houses. Lots of happy and reckless children, and very often men, are seen merrily leaping in succession over and through the crackling flames (*).

796 372 175 At the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Grand Master

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[174] (*) Leaping over the fires is mentioned among the superstitious rites used at the *Palilia* feasts, instituted in honour of *Pales* the goddess of shepherds, (in the calends of May) in Ovidius's Fasti.

> " Moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
> Traijcias celeri strenua membra pede "

The learned Moresin appears to have been of opinion that the custom of leaping over these fires is a vestige of the ordeal, where to be able to pass through fires with safety, was held to be an indication of innocence.

himself, soon after the *Angelus* used to leave his palace, accompanied by the Grand Prior, the Bishop, and two bailiffs, to set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred Hospital. 796 372 175

Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on, of the 8 casks, (*), by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

Various opinions are entertained by antiquarian writers with regard to the origin of these fires on St. John's eve. 796 372 171 174

From the account given by Jakob Grimm in his "Deutsche Mythologie" p. p. 583, 593, it would appear that

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(*) Eight being the languages of the Order.

796 the great blaze reserved for the eve
372 of the feast of the nativity of St.
171
174 John the Baptist on the 23rd. of
June, is observed with similar rites
in every country of Europe.

The kindling of the fire, the leaping over or through the flames clearly show that these rites are essentially of heathen origin. They are obviously connected with the worship of the sun, and were doubtless practised long before the Baptist was born. In old heathen times the summer and winter solstices were the two greatest and most widespread festivals in Europe.

These fires—says another writer—are evidently a remnant of the ancient Beal fires of the Druids, at the *Beil* time, which was at the beginning of May. But why do they chiefly occur on the night before the festival of the

Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* 796
time which was the beginning of May? 372
—I do not believe that a satisfactory 171 174
explanation of these circumstances has [114]
yet been given by any of the antiquaries. It was perhaps to transfer the practice or custom of lighting these fires from a Pagan to a Christian object.

The Nativity of St. John the Baptist 796
was a great and solemn festival of 372
the Church, like those of the other great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in the early ages, commemorated with appropriated ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these [776]
was probably introduced a large and [174]

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[776)

unusual exhibition of lights to typify the Baptist who, in the Gospel, is called by the Saviour himself "A burning shining Light." What could have been more natural than that the early Christian Authorities would have directed the people to light their anniversary fires on the eve of this Saint, and thus give to the national custom a Christian instead of a Pagan significance? To this feeling, most likely is due the transfer of the fires to the 23rd. of June and, perhaps too, this perpetuation to this day amongst the people.

Gebelin, in his "Allegories Orientales" accounts in the following manner for the custom of making fires on Midsummer Eve.

"Can one" says he " omit to mention here the St. John's fires, those sacred fires kindled about midnight, on the

very moment of the solstices, by the 174
greatest part of ancient as well as of 796
modern nations—a religious ceremony 372
of the most remote antiquity which was observed for the prosperity of states and people and to dispel every kind of evil? The origin of this fire which is still retained by so many nations, though enveloped in the mist of antiquity, is very simple. It was a *Feu de joie*, kindled the very moment the year began; for the first of all years, and the most ancient that we know of, began at this month of June, hence the very name of this month, *Junior* meaning the youngest, which is renewed; while that of the preceding one is May, *Major*, meaning the ancient. Thus the one was the month of young people whilst the other belonged to old men.

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These *feu de joie* were accompanied, at the same time, with vows and sacrifices for the prosperity of the people and the fruits of the earth.

They danced also round this fire, and the most active leaped over it. Each on departing took a fire brand, and the remains were scattered to the wind, which at the same time that it dispersed the ashes, was thought to expel every evil. When after a long train of years, the year ceased to commence at this solstice, the custom of making these fires, at this time, was still continued by force of habit. Besides it would have been a sad thing to have deprived the people of a day of joy in times when there were not many of them, thus the custom has been continued and handed down to us."

Dr. Milner is of opinion that the 796
fires lighted up all over the continent, 372
on the eve of the 24th. of June, are not 174
intended as the idolatrous worship of 114
the sun or *Baal*, the Philistine God of fire, but in honour of Christ's precursor, as alluding to his character of bearing witness to the light (John i. 7) and of his being himself a bright and shining light (John V, 35).

In conclusion, it would appear as 796
certain, that the fires of St. John's 372
eve were intended to typify the Saint by an exhibition of light.

Formerly the feast of St. John (24th. 796
of June) was very popular in Malta. It ranked with that of SS. Peter and Paul, celebrated at Notabile on the 29th of the same month.

The number of people that flocked to Valletta from all parts of the Island,

796 on the morning of this day, was indeed very great.

When the procession was over, most of the country people repaired to the upper Barracca, which was then roofed over and consequently offered a very comfortable temporary asylum. Here they amused themselves till the evening eating, drinking, and singing.

St. PETER AND St. PAUL

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527 One of the principal occasions of amusement for the Maltese is,no doubt, the popular feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, celebrated at Notabile or Città Vecchia on the 29th of June.

[192] This feast is known by the name of l' IMNARIA which is a corruption of *luminaria* (illumination) from the illumination which takes place at the

Cathedral Church of Notabile on the 796 527
eve of the said festival. 192

On the morning of the feast—as 527
soon as the procession, which is led 262
by the Bishop, enters the Cathedral 264 273
Church—large crowds, especially of 301 [796]
country people in their substantial holiday finery, and wearing their hoarded ornaments of massive gold, drive at a racing speed to Boschetto, where, careless of the excessive heat of a broiling sun, they divide into companies and under the shades of the leafy orange trees in the beautiful garden, they seem quite happy in eating their sumptuous dinners, consisting chiefly of stewed rabbit, ham, pies, cheese and an allowance of common wine, which they keep in large dark glass bottles, or in tin cans where the indispensable liquid is less liable to being spilt.

527 When the viands are fairly consum-
53 ed and the wine commences to use
its influence, the jolly parties amuse
themselves in dancing, singing, and
playing their guitars and melodeons.
527 These gratifications are carried on up
541 to 3 or 4 p.m., when the picnic-mak-
ers drive back to see the races which
are held on this day just below the
walls of the old City, where the stout
swarthy country women, to secure a
good view, occupy their seats on the
field walls for hours until they get
nearly broiled in the blaze of a mid-
summer sun.

The races commence at 6 p. m. and consist of mules, horses, and mares, which are entirely unharnessed, and the riders without any means of maintaining their position, except their legs which they fix under the animal's

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belly, while with a thong in each hand 527
they keep urging the gaily bedecked 541
beasts to reach the goal first.

Soon after the races the merry parties 527
set out on their return to their dwel- 492
lings at quite a racing speed. Now you 493
see every description of vehicle vying with its neighbour, and every driver urging with whip and voice to a reckless break-neck gallop his steed, adorned with two or more rows of tinkling bells hanging round the neck.

Flags and variegated silk handkerchiefs are streaming from the carriages, and ribbons from the horses' heads. Every cart is crammed, as only the Maltese can cram on anything on wheels. The sun-burnt country women 527
are laughing and pelting the by-standers with apples, and waving tall green reeds and poplar branches in their

527 hands, whilst the men are either playing their favourite melodeons or singing, and from group after group the chorus of the gaily dressed young girls rises all along the roads leading to the respective villages.

543 Before leaving the description of this very popular amusement, I think it will not be amiss to say something about the famous *Imnaria* exhibition, which is held every year at Boschetto and is always thoroughly enjoyed by a very large attendance of visitors.

This agricultural show, which was instituted by Sir William Reid, Governor of Malta, in 1857, is held on the 28th and 29th of June, the eve and the feast day of St. Peter and St. Paul, under the auspices of the "Società Economico-Agraria" and under the patronage of H. E. the Governor of the Island.

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When the gentlemen appointed as judges in the different sections carry out their duties, the exhibition receives the benediction of the church, and the show is then opened to the public.

His Excellency visits the exhibition and is received by the President and other officers of the Agricultural Society.

After making a tour round the different sections, the Governor proceeds to the stand where he at once commences the distribution of prizes to the successful exhibitors.

The show is generally a very good one — animals, fruits, grains, cereals, honey, poultry, and vegetables are exhibited. Some of the bulls and cows of Maltese and English breeds cannot but be greatly admired, being truly superb animals.

Of all the objects exhibited none

543 perhaps excites more interest to the visitors than the beautiful animals which are considered a great ornament to the show.

Sta. VENERA

796 A similar occasion as that of *Imnaria* is afforded to the never tired merry-makers country-women, on the 4th Sunday of July, the day dedicated to the festival of St. Anne.

As early as 4 o'clock in the morning of this day, scores of carts, loaded with gaily dressed country girls, leave their respective villages and proceed to Sta. Venera, a small church at Hamrun, which is very nicely decorated for the occasion.

[537] Here a sermon on the life of the great saint is preached to the people as-

sembled, from a wooden pulpit in the 796 537
open air, near the small chapel. When 796
the sermon is over the jolly country 543
girls take a great delight in the fair [366]
which is held along the space in front
of the small church, which is blocked up
from end to end with temporary booths.

The wares offered for sale are of the 796
simplest description, consisting princi- 543
pally of scapulars, pictures, gay woollen 438
and cotton sashes and handkerchiefs,
cheep trinkets, and glass and china of
inferior quality; but there is enough
colour and glitter to produce a pretty
kaleidoscopic effect when touched by
the rays of the bright shining sun.

On this morning the scores of vendors [265]
of sweetmeats, lemonade, and iced water
seem endowed with extra power of
throat and lungs for vociferating these
refreshing compounds, ~~and~~ the set up

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796 tables, piled with the castellated erections
[543] of honey and almonds, tempt
[438] those crowds of country people to spend
[265] what they have purposely put by for this annual holiday.

After three or four hours of high revel the wheeled vehicles return home with their jolly occupants singing all along the road.

Sta. MARIA

796 On the 15th of August, the day dedicated
184 to the Assumption of the B. V. Mary (Santa Maria), nearly all the Island of Malta is *en fête*.

[103] Seven of the twentyfour villages, that is:—Casals Musta, Dingli, Attard, Crendi, Micabiba, Asciak and Gudia celebrate on this day their titular feast with the usual illuminations, fireworks and processions.

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This feast is also celebrated with great 796
pomp at the Cathedral Church of città 484
Vittoria, Gozo, and for this reason our 184
sister Island is, on the occasion, an attraction for the Maltese people. In fact, several steamers and launches decorated with coloured flags, are employed on the eve of the festival, and sometimes for some days before, transporting the vast concourse of people who, influenced either by a spirit of devotion or a desire to enjoy a pleasant trip, a healthy change, and a little fresh air, embrace the opportunity of paying a visit to the famed Island of Calypso to behold the festivities which take place there at the festival of "Santa Maria."

On the evening of the 14th the illuminations 796
and fireworks are very splendid; the religious ceremonies, on that,

796 and the following day, are conducted with the usual solemnity and fervour. [541] There are also several races of quadrupeds in the afternoon of the day of the festival, similar to those which are held in Malta on the feast of S. S. Peter and Paul (L'Imnaria). These races bring the amusements to a close.

796 484 788 Worth mentioning is the custom which prevails amongst some of our country people on the 14th of August, the eve of the feast of "Santa Maria."

Groups of country men and country women, actuated purely by religious motives and a desire to honour the Great Mother of God, start for a pilgrimage of more than 8 hours walk on the morning of that summer day, heedless of the excessive heat of the scorching sun, to visit the churches at the 7 above mentioned villages dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

St. ROCCO RACES

The famous horse race which is annually run at Pietà on the 16th of August, the feast day of St. Roque, is a source of great excitement to the large crowds of people who flock thither from all parts of the Island. 527 54 [796]

Although the races do not commence before 6 p.m. yet, as early as 3 o'clock, the Pietà creek is all covered with hundreds of boats of every description, laden with people; and all along the Pietà quay, from the Bathing house — the place from which the competing animals start — to the winning post, at a little distance from "Portes des Bombes" — is always lined with thousands of spectators in order to witness the sport.

Some 5 minutes before 6 o'clock, a [202] gun is fired as a signal for the people to clear the way; a second report is

527 then heard, and some 10 or 12 donkeys
541 are seen running at full speed, driven
[202] by jockeys, amidst great shouts and roars of laughter from the spectators, caused sometimes by the stubborness of some of the long eared quadrupeds, which instead of running keep kicking right and left, not being in humour perhaps on that day of being tormented by the constant goading of their merciless rider.

The donkey race is immediately followed by the horses first, and then that of the mares.

It is really grand to see the noble creatures, darting along the race course with neither saddles or bridles, and mounted barebacked by the gaily dressed jockeys.

When the Government prizes, which consist of gay stripes of richly brocaded

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silk and lama cloth of gold, are distributed, 527
all the crowds disperse and 541
the victorious champions, loaded with honours and caresses, and covered with garlands of flowers and ribbons, are conducted in triumph through the streets of the town amidst the deafening cheers and acclamations of the populace.

These races were instituted in 1593 527
during the reign of Grand Master Verdala, 541 175
as popular rejoicings after that [731]
the plague, which was introduced in Malta through the carelessness of some of the authorities, had played great havoc for eighteen months amongst the inhabitants of the Island.

From this race all the other races which are held on different occasions during the year, both in Malta and in Gozo, owe their origin.

527 541 776 755 796 175 These races were first held on St. Roque's Feast day in consequence of the working of miraculous cures of the plague by St. Roque who was specially invoked by persons afflicted, while stricken himself with the desease, at Piacenza,. in Italy.

THE "VITTORIA"

527 *Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary*

[796] The 8th. of September, the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary,. is no doubt the grandest and the most popular day for the people of these Islands.

Both the streets and church of Senglea—the town in which the feast is celebrated—present on this occasion a most lively appearance.

[184) The grand illumination and the

beautiful display of fireworks, on the eve 527
of the festival, attract thousands of 184
spectators not only from the towns and
villages of Malta but also from the
sister Island.

Hundreds of Gozitans flock to Malta 527
in order, as it were, to take part in 175
the general rejoicings held on this 184
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special day of the anniversary of the
raising of the great siege of Malta,
which ended in the total repulse of
the Turks, after a most heroic defence
by the Knights of St. John, united
to the bravery of the Maltese, under
the intrepid Grand Master Jean La
Valette, in 1565.

In the afternoon of the feast (8th 527
Sept.) the grand harbour presents indeed 526
a very lively appearance, there being
boat racing and the *giostra* or greasy
pole, the prizes for which are given

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527 526 by Government in commemoration of the defeat of the Turks (*)

The famous annual boat race of the 8th. of September draws as great a concourse of people, comparatively speaking, as the far-famed Oxford and Cambridge contest annually does along the banks of the Thames.

The Valletta harbour quays, from the new extension, right up to the old Barriera, and all the overlooking lines of walls and batteries, on both sides of the harbour, are early taken possession of by thousands of spectators who take great delight in this exciting annual regatta.

The course is from "Ras Hanzir"

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796 648 (*) Both the regatta and the *giostra* were formerly held on the 10th of August, St. Lawrence day—The Parochial feast of Vittoriosa, the principal seat during the memorable siege of 1565.

to the Custom house, the whole length 520
of which is always crowded with thou- 526
sands of picturesquely painted boats, yachts, and small crafts with living cargo.

The race course in the centre channel is always well kept clear by a couple of steam launches, and the Port Department gondolas.

The races consist of (1) four-oared fishing boats (2) double pair and single pair passage boats—that is boats employed for the conveyance of passengers —and (3) four-oared *cajjicchi.*

The boats used for racing, on this [501]
special day, are always very gaily painted and gilt, being also of a much lighter and sharper build than the others of the same kind, and the best stalwart men are always selected for rowing.

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When the victory prizes are awarded, the beaten racers return crest-fallen in silence to their creeks, whilst the victors, cheered by the immense crowds of spectators, keep ploughing the deep, with the prize flags tied up at the prow end of the boat, waving in the breeze.

The boat race is immediately followed by the *Giostra* or greasy pole, which adds not a little to the amusement of the crowds assembled to witness the sports.

The *Giostra* is a large barge, anchored opposite the Custom House buildings, in the centre of the port, having a long tapering pole, placed almost horizontally from the head, with a small white and red flag fixed on at the end, and made slippery with grease, soap, and other ingredients. At a given signal a number of boys first, then lads and men,

in their bathing costume, immediately 527
begin the task of endeavouring to seize 526
the flag, one after another they continue tumbling into the water and raising again to renew the attempt.

Gradually the greasy matter diminishes and the competitors are able to advance further. At last the winner with the prize flag in hand, amidst great shouts of "bravo," loud whistling, and clapping of hands announces the end of the National Feast for that day.

The 7th of September is also comme- 796
morated by a melancholy, and at the 769
same time imposing, ceremony at the Co-Cathedral Church of St. John in Valletta.

On the morning of this day the celebrant, preceded by the Chapter and Clergy, descend into the crypt beneath the High Altar, and while chanting

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796 *requiems* for the repose of the souls of
769 the knights interred there, and all the other dead who fell in the great siege, sprinkles holy water upon the tombs, while the great bells, in the towers above, peal mournfully the legend which the Maltese voice in the words "Il-libera tal Cavalieri" (the funeral of the Knights).

527 For some years past a purely civil commemoration of the glorious Victory of the 8th of Sept. (1565) when the Cross triumphed over the Crescent, has been celebrated, however, not on the 8th of September, but on the 1st Sunday after that date in Valletta, and the Sunday after that at Vittoriosa and Cospicua, while on the following Sunday the celebration takes place at Sliema and Zabbar.

In Valletta, the St. George's Square and Str. Reale, are worth seeing on this occasion.

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Str. Reale, from Fort St. Elmo to 527
Porta Reale, is aglow with the red and 186
white colours of Malta and knights' flags; and at night is ablaze with thousands of variegated lights.

St. George's Square — opposite the 527
Governor's Palace—is ornamented with 186
splendid clusters of flags, pennons, gon- 543
falons, shields, battle axes, spears, captured cannons and some entire suits of armour, kindly lent from the Palace collection. These suits create great interest, being the original property of the knights, some of the pieces bearing the evidence of shots and sabre cuts.

From the various stands, selected 527
national bands fill the city with sweet [533]
music, and in the evening elaborate fire-works illustrate the figures and deeds of the knights.

In connection with this feast, horse 000

527 541 525 In connection with this feast, horse races take place at Sliema. The concourse of people and the excitement are not less, on this occasion, than they are on the St. Rocco festival, the events being always contested with great spirit, and large sums exchange hands in the bets laid upon the respective favourites.

527 The national Feast at Cospicua is celebrated on the hillside of Sta. Margherita which is, on this occasion, very tastefully decorated and illuminated with Venetian lights to the delectation of many thousands.

[541] At the Sliema celebration the fireworks are set off on barges on the water and thousands cheer the beautiful display.

At Vittoriosa—the very scene of the final victory on Sept. 8th 1565—the commemoration of this most glorious event in History is fitly celebrated.

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The square is most tastefully got up with splendid trophies of arms and red and white flags. From each of the trophies broad red and white sashes are seen hanging, on which the names of those who distinguished themselves by some brave and noble deed in the memorable siege, are written in gold letters. 527 186

The decorations of the column of Victory, in the middle of the square, are simply magnificent. This column is surrounded by four figures, representing 4 Grand Masters in full armour, one of these is the immortal La Valette, who at the head of his knights, and supported by the population of Malta—men, women, and children—succeeded in hurling back, discomfited and disgraced, the Moslem, that would from Malta have sallied forth to the conquest of Europe. 527 186 211

During the day the bands, playing 527 533

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527 533 lively marches, parade the principal streets of the old town, preceded by large crowds of people with palm leaves and Maltese flags in their hands.

527 541 In the evening the enthusiasm in the beautifully illuminated square is intense and prolonged.

[533] Large crowds from all parts of the Island flock here to listen to the choice selections of music, played by the bands on the square, and to witness the grand display of fireworks.

These are indeed worth seeing, especially one set piece. This represents a real fort with the red and white cross banner of the knights at the top. This fort opens fire and is attacked by several Turkish men-of-war, with sails set and the crescent flying at the mast heads.

As these miniatures of old-fashioned

galleys come sailing across the square, 527
on wires stretched over the people's 541
heads, towards the fort, they open fire
in great style. One after the other
they meet their fate, for the fort peppers
them cruelly and finally sets them on
fire, so that soon—hulls, sails, masts,
yards, crescent flags, and all the warlike
things about them are in few seconds
wrapped in flames and destroyed.

Before leaving the description of the 527
celebration of this National *fète* at Vit- 735
toriosa, I wish to mention that hundreds
of loaves are distributed to the needy
of that town on the morning of the
feast.

Worth mentioning is the custom 184
which prevails, on the 7th of Sept. 527
among the women residing at Rabato 533
(Notabile) and in the country surround-
ing it. These, to celebrate the com-

184 memoration of the Victory won by the
527 Maltese in the great siege of 1565,
533 instead of coming to take part in the amusements held in Valletta and in the other towns, meet in groups on the terraces, or flat tops of their houses, and keep singing merrily till very late at night.

ANOTHER NATIONAL FEAST

527 The celebration of the glorious vic-
186 tory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565 has been of good use to the Maltese, It has enabled them to comprehend more keeply the historic value of this Island.

[175] In fact, some two years ago another
[648] national commemoration has originated at Città Vecchia, on the 3rd or 4th Sunday of September, to celebrate the

liberation of the Maltese from the yoke 527
of the Saracens by Count Roger of 186
Normandy in the year 1090. [175]
[648]

A liberal programme is now annually arranged by the Committee embracing every kind of attraction at Notabile.

PILGRIMAGES TO MELLEHA (*) 778

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On the last two Sundays of September, every year, the roads leading to Melleha are alive with merry parties, especially country people, on their way to that village, in order to visit the

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(*) Melleha is a village some 10½ miles distant from Valletta, and about an hour's ride from St. Paul's Bay. It is renowned for the very old, perhaps the oldest, Sanctuary in the world, dedicated to the B. Virgin. This Sanctuary was founded by St. Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, while he was in Malta (58 A. D.) for the convenience of the faithful who lived in those neighbourhoods. Over the small altar is a picture of St. Mary, covering another old drawing of the same, executed by St. Luke. [361] [776] [532]

778 788 Sanctuary dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

[782] [527] When the devout visitors recite their prayers in the venerated shrine of the Madonna, and leave behind their offerings, such as candles, oil to be burnt in the lamps before the image, waxen and silver limbs &c., they come out and devote the remainder of the day to amusements.

173 778 788 The annual pilgrimages to Melleha in September are supposed to have originated after the victory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565. The siege being raised on the 7th of Sept.—the eve of the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin—the Maltese, in token of gratitude for the help received from the Virgin, in those trying days, made pilgrimages to Melleha, to offer prayers before the mirac-

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ulous effigy of the B. V. Mary, venerated in that shrine excavated out of the rock. 173 778 788

ALL SOULS' DAY
2nd November

In Malta, the same as in any other Roman Catholic country, a feast is also celebrated for the dead, and the Cemeteries especially that of the "Addolorata," which ranks amongst the finest in Europe, are, on the 1st and 2nd of November the favourite resort of nearly the whole population of the towns and of the neighbouring villages. 769 796

Amidst mournful tingling and tolling of the church bells, countless inhabitants, mostly clad in the habiliments of grief, and murmuring prayers, are seen wending their way to the Cemetery. Arrived

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769 there they proceed to the tombs of
796 their departed dear ones.

[782] Here a widow and orphans are seen knelt in prayer at the vault of their respective husband and father, or perhaps some daughters at the resting place of their ever lost mother or father. There some father and mother contemplating the last abode of their beloved son in whom they had placed their future hopes; they are all there reverently and devoutly reciting prayers to the Almighty for the repose of the souls of their deceased.

The graves on these two days are very beautifully decorated. Some are literally covered by masses of flowers, some hung with wreaths and crosses woven of the loveliest blossoms, others converted into a temporary garden, with willows, cypress, and other shrubs.

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The custom of strewing garlands of flowers upon the graves of the departed is derived from the ancients who used to crown the deceased with flowers in token of the shortness of life. (*) It appears also from "Pliny's Natural History," from "Cicero's Oration on Lucius Plancus" and from "Virgil's sixth Æneid," that the strewing of flowers on the graves was a funeral rite among the heathens—St. Ambrose, however, in his funeral oration on the death of Valentinian, has these words: "I will not sprinkle his grave with flowers but pour on his spirit the odour of Christ. Let others pour baskets of flowers—Christ is our lily and with this will I consecrate his relics." (†)

(*) Gough, in the introduction to his second volume of Sepulchral munuments, page 5.

(†) Brand's Popular Antiquities.

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At the *Angelus*, these devout mourners, after hours spent in prayers and in going round the cypress groves, reading the beautiful epitaphs inscribed on the rich marble tombstones and the beautiful monuments, take a last glance at the tombs, as if bidding a fond and affectionate farewell to their inanimate occupants, and then return to their city or country homes, either murmuring their prayers for the repose of the souls of the faithful departed, or talking about the many magnificent mausoleums, and the beauty of floral decorations lavished on them. The nearer the crowds approach their dwelling places the more they are reminded of the sacred day, by the mournful pealing of the bells which seem to say "Remember those you have lost, for to-day is the day of the dead."

It is also the custom in Malta to commemorate all Souls' day by distributing relief among the poor and needy. Collections are made for the purpose of purchasing bread and providing dinner for the poor in the lower quarters of the towns and populous centres. 796 769 735

A walk at about 11 a.m., on the 2nd of November, as far as the square in front of the Capuchins' Convent at Vittoriosa or at Floriana, or to some other place where the relief is distributed, affords not a little delight. [792]

About a hundred poor old men and women, some of whom either half crippled or blind are to be seen struggling towards the big boiler in which the dinner is being cooked, with something in the shape of a pot in their hands, each and every one eager to get his or her share of the nicely cooked dinner.

796 769 [735] When these poor creatures get their share, they go gladly back to some corner to eat what has been procured for them by the contributions received from the charitably disposed.

Before leaving the description of the celebration of All Souls' Day, it would be interesting also to mention another custom which prevails in the Island on the 2nd of November.

On this day most of the charnel-houses are thrown open and lighted up with scores of oil lamps and decked out with flowers, while crowds throng the vaults to visit the bones of their friends and relatives.

[792] The most crowded of these vaults, however, used to be that below the Capuchin church and Convent at Flo-

riana. (*). Here the fleshless skeletons 796
of the monks who died in the con- 769
vent are dressed up in the robes which [792]
they wore during life, and arranged
erect in niches along the wall.

St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny, in 998 insti- 175
tuted the "Commemoration of all the 796
faithful departed" in all the monas- 769
teries of his Congregation, on the 1st of November, which was soon adopted by the whole western Church. The Council of Oxford in 1222, declared it a holiday of the second class, on which certain necessary and important kinds of work were allowed (†). In Malta however the 2nd of November is only a day of devotion.

(*) The opening of this vault for the public on All Soul's day has been stopped for some years past to prevent some accidents through overcrowding. Visitors, however, are allowed in at any time of the year by applying for permission to the Father Superior.

(†) Butler, "Life of Saints."

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SAINT MARTIN'S DAY

527 One of the greatest family feast-days, among the Maltese, is that of St. Martin's, which is held on the 2nd and 3rd Sunday of November.

Happiness and true enjoyment reign supreme in every household on this
[593] special day. Pater and materfamilias entertain at dinner their married sons and daughters, with their respective consorts and children, besides nephews, nieces, and others allied by ties of consanguinity.

Every body enjoys his share of sweetmeats on St. Martin's day, with a due allowance of Marsala or some other sort of good Sicilian wine.

527 Children look forward with pleasure
267 to this day, being always regaled, by
857 either their parents or some other member of the family, with a small bag

crammed to the top with hazelnuts, chestnuts, figs, sweets and other edibles, besides a nice small roll studded with hazelnut-kernels and covered all over with sesame. 527 262 857

With these bags and rolls the happy children come out walking along the streets, proud of what they were lucky to get, then they meet in groups or parties and indulge in games for the nuts.

The most favourite game for children on this occasion is what they call "ta 'l castell" which means hitting at the castle. The castle consists of three nuts put near each other, topped by a fourth. They each arrange, say two or three of these castles in rows, and keep throwing by turns—every one wins the castle or castles he succeeds hitting and demolishing. 527 524 857

527 No reason can be assigned for the
174 origin or meaning of keeping St. Martin's
feast as a day of merriment among
[171] the Maltese. The usage is persisted
in without any association or tradition to account for it, but the merry making in the neighbouring island of Sicily at this time of the year, when the new wine is made use of for the first time.

527 Wine drinkers are of opinion that
262 one can judge best of the flavour of
273 wine after eating some nuts first—
this perhaps is the reason why nuts are made so much use of on this merry day.

174 Moresin refers the great doings on
527 this occasion to an ancient Athenian
festival observed in honour of Bacchus, on the 11th, 12th, and 13th days of the month of *Anthesterion*, corresponding with our November.

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CHRISTMAS

The Maltese are not at all wanting 796
in the religious fervour and the exhibition of hearty demonstrations of delight with which Christians welcome the anniversaries of the Nativity of our Blessed Redeemer.

This is made very apparent by the rich decorations and the illuminations which are to be seen in the churches on Christmas night.

Places of public resort and private residences are also richly decorated with floral emblems and devices on this occasion. 7

On the 24th December—Xmas eve— 796
most of the inhabitants, especially 574
young men, do not retire to bed at all 262
but ramble about, some parading the streets playing sweet melodies to charm the ears of the people, and others going

796 in companies to some one of their
574 friends,at whose house they amuse them-
262 selves eating honey cakes and pancakes or fritters, and playing for nuts till the church bells ring a little before or after midnight.

At the conclusion of the service they come out again and devote the remainder of the night to amusements.

796 The approaching festival of Christmas
534 is heralded in some of the villages of
[184] Malta by the appearance of the "zakk" and "tambur" players in the streets. (*)

[237] The *zakk* or bagpipe is a wind instrument—one of the primitive instruments of sylvan music—formed of an inflated dog skin, which is held by the player under his left arm, with the legs

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[541] (*) The *Zakk* and tambourine are also in use amongst our lower classes on the days of Carnival.

directed upwards, and having a mouth piece by which the skin is filled, and a cane flute or pipe which is played with both hands. This the country people play at this time of the year to represent the shepherds of Bethlehem. 796 534 [237]

The decking out of the *presepiu*, a crib or representation of the Nativity of the Holy Child at Bethlehem, by a group of dolls with pasteboard scenery, furnishes amusement to the Maltese, both old and young. 796 778

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Several of the houses have a crib more or less artistically arranged, and the better the arrangements of the crib, the greater is the concourse of people who come to see it.

The custom of decking our churches and habitations with evergreens at Christmas has existed from the very establishment of Christianity and was 796 174 824

796 unquestionably derived from the like
174 practice of our Pagan ancestors.
824

"Trimming of Temples," says Polydore Virgil "with hangings, flowers, boughs, and garlands was taken from the heathen people, who decked their idols and houses with such array.

796 "Christmas," says Blount, "was
174 called the feast of lights in the Western
373 or Latin Church, from the many lights or candles that were lit at the feast, and this because Christ, the light of all lights, that true light, then came into the world. Hence the prevalent custom to have so many lights in our churches at Christmas midnight service.

796 The custom of eating pancakes or
174 fritters and honey cakes at Christmas
262 in Malta is supposed to owe its origin to the cakes baked in honour of *Janus*, who presided over the beginning of the New Year.

[P.109]

ANCIENT AND MODERN
SPORTS, USAGES, CEREMONIES &c.
OF THE
MALTESE PEOPLE

THE MAY POLE

This is one of the most amusing outdoor diversions which at the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was kept annually on the 1st of May in the square facing the Grand Master's Palace in Valletta. 527

This popular amusement has been lately revived in Malta and is kept on some particular feast days.

The May Pole consists of a tall mast erected in some open place or square [526]

527 526 and different kinds of provisions are hung to a hoop fixed on the top of it.

The mast is rubbed with tallow from the bottom to about a third of its height, and on a given signal, from one of the Authorities, some young men, mostly of the lower class, run to the mast, where they form themselves into different parties, the nimblest one amongst them climbing on his comrades' shoulders who defend him from the others, and he who first reaches the flag, which waves on the top of the pinnacle, receives a money prize and carries off the provisions.

The art of mounting to the top consists in twisting successively linen or cotton bands and straw round the slippery part of the mast, so that while the foot rests on the band first knotted, the hands are employed in fixing a second and a third on which, being sus-

pended by the hands, it is necessary to untie the first knot with the feet, in order to replace it a second time on the fourth step of this kind of ladder. The greasy part of the mast being once surmounted, the remaining part of the ascent is comparatively easy, and the adventurer, who has already overcome the greatest difficulty, is encouraged to proceed by repeated acclamations from the crowd. 527 526

When the pinnacle is reached the brave climber rests on a little seat made of ropes, and untying the provisions throws some of them amongst the people, whose eagerness to seize them always causes some laughable disputes.

MAY DAY

175 527 824 Historians mention that there was a time in Malta, during the Government of the Knights of St. John, when it was customary on the 1st of May to deck the Grand Master's palace balcony, and the doors of those who were invested with the Grand Cross, with branches [194] of trees. It appears that this sign of a holiday, which was introduced in Malta by the families from the island of Rhodes, was a remnant of the worship of the sun, formerly adored by the Rhodians.

171 527 824 Bourne cites Polydor Virgil, as telling us that among the Italians the youth of both sexes were accustomed to go into the fields in the Calends of May, and bring thence branches of trees, singing all the way as they came, and to place them on the doors of their

houses. This, he observes, is a relic of 171
an ancient custom among the Heathens, 527
who observed the last 4 days of April, 824
and the 1st day of May in honour of the goddess *Flora* who was imagined to be the deity presiding over the fruits and flowers.

THE CUCCANJA

This is an entertainment which was 175
formerly given by the Grand Master to 527
the Maltese on Shrove Tuesday, the last day of the Carnival.

Long beams were fixed against the 527
guard house opposite the palace, and 526
between each of the beams, rope-ladders 175
were fastened, the whole being covered over with branches of trees in leaf, to which were tied, from top to bottom, live animals, baskets full of eggs, hams, sausages, and all kinds of provisions.

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This wooden edifice was crowned by a globe, made up of hoops and covered over with linen cloth, on which stood the figure of *Fame* holding a flag with the Grand Master's arms. Crowds of people assembled on the spacious square, and at a given signal commence to attack the *Cuccanja*, and the provisions became the property of those who, having seized them, were able to carry them off in safety through the crowd.

This lively proceeding was the cause of furious disturbances—the possessors of the various prizes having a rather rough time of it, before being allowed to retire with what they captured.

To the first enterprising individual who reached the figure of *Fame* was allotted some pecuniary remuneration which was well earned, considering the struggle he had gone through to attain

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his object, and on the standard being taken to be returned to the Grand Master, the cloth covered globe burst open and out came a flight of pigeons. 527 526 175

The Maltese never allowed either foreigners or soldiers to share the profits of the *cuccanja*.

This entertainment which has been suppressed since the reign of the Grand Master De Rohan (1775-1797) was a a source of great delight to the Maltese people. [656]

BOWLS

A game of bowls is a favourite pastime in Malta. 562

The players arrange themselves in sides of three or four each, and each man is usually provided with three bowls, which he marks differently for distinction.

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526 The bowling ground selected by the players is either some country lane, a smooth flat piece of turf, or a ditch.

The game consists in sending first, by one of the players, a small round wooden ball called *lozzu* or *likk* (the jack) to a distance of some 5 or 6 yards, and the aim of the players is to send their bowls, from the same place, that may lie as near as possible to the jack.

The side whose bowls are nearest the *jack* reckon one point for each bowl so placed. 11, 12, 15 &c. points make game according to mutual arrangement before hand.

In each side there are always a player or two who are reputed the best for either sending or throwing their bowls with accuracy and skill.

When two or more bowls, belonging to the players of the same side, accumu-

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late round the *jack*, one of the adversaries' side, who is left for the purpose, is called by the skip (l'imghallem), whose duty is to direct each of the men of his side, to play straight at the jack with force, and this generally succeeds in hitting and carrying away the jack from the neighbourhood of his opponents' bowls. 526

When the game is finished the losers, as a rule, stand drinks to the winning side.

PLAYING AT *MORRA*

The Maltese of the lower class, especially boatmen and coal-heavers are very fond of playing at *Morra*. 524 [565]

The *Morra* is a game that keeps the two adversaries—between whom it is played—on the alert and which creates great excitement between them.

524 The game consists in presenting very suddenly to your adversary your right hand, keeping one, two, three, or four fingers shut, and in shouting at the same moment the number of fingers extended both by you and by your adversary.

The left hand serves to mark the the points gained.

The precipitate haste, the tensity of mind required, the rapidity of the turns, make both players cry their words in jerks, then their faces become glowing and contracted, while they speak with a guttural intonation the numbers cried: *Dui*, *erbgha*, *tlieta*, *ottu*, *ghaxra* or *collox* &c. (*)

[525] Animated by this amusement, which

(*) Two, four, three, eight, ten or all—the player in this case extends the four fingers and thumb while expecting his adversary to do the same.

carries a certain spice of gambling, the 524
players of *Morra* congregate at some 525
street corner or a public house and indulge in a game for small stakes which the winner generally spent in assuaging the thirst of both parties, a proceeding to which the loser as a rule made no objection.

FAIRS

Every Sunday morning there is a 443
fair held along strada Mercanti, Val- 438
letta. The goods exposed for sale in 527
these weekly fairs are of all descriptions, and attract large crowds, especially of country people.

Besides these Sunday fairs there is 443
also another fair held annually at Flo- 527
riana on the mornings of the feast days 796
of St. Calcedonio, St. Giacomo, and

443 St. Anna, which are celebrated on the
527 [796] 24th, 25th, and 26th of July. These
[178] fairs, however, which were once very popular, have now sunk into insignificance and most likely will before long entirely disappear.

443 Fairs have long been regularly held
171 in most parts of Europe and Asia, and they appear to have originated in the Church festivals, which were found to afford convenient opportunities for commercial transactions. The concourse of people being then so such greater than on other occasions.

USAGES

175 The ancient Maltese formerly kept
562 their wives in the strictest retirement. They held the opinion that women should never appear but twice in public,

the day they were married and when 175
they were buried. They were therefore 562
always employed within doors, and ne- 175 562
ver went out, except at a very early 291
hour to church, when they were en- [794]
tirely covered by a long mantle. This [177]
costume came originally from Sicily,
and reached from the head to the
feet, the forehead and eyes alone being
visible. The upper part of the mantle,
covering the head, was cut in a different
manner for unmarried women—
these wearing it shaped round, while
married women wore it pointed.

WEDDINGS

Marriages in Malta were always en- 584
tirely arranged by the parents; who
for the greater part consulted only
their own interest, and the suitable-

584 ness of the connection, without at all consulting the inclinations of their children.

[675] [431] [583] The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.

The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.

[989] Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey

584 [789] [301] with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of rendering her affable and prudent. She was then conducted into the room where her future husband awaited her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual faith—together with bracelets, necklaces and a gold chain —she presenting him in return with a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon.

This ceremony is called " il chelma " which means the engagement.

585 292 301 On the morning of the wedding-day the most honoured personage among the husband's relations threw a fine white veil over the bride's head—who wore a brocade or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells.

585 The bridal procession then proceeded to the Church for the ceremony, attended by musicians playing on different instruments, and singers who sang stanzas, in praise of the young couple. These musicians were proceeded by three men: the first bearing on his head a basin of white earth on which was placed a big cake with two figures, representing the bridegroom and the bride—the man who carried this basin wore also a scarf with a round [262] cake hanging from it. The second [431] carried a basket filled with sugar plums and candied nuts, which one of the relations distributed among such acquaintances he happened to meet. In the middle of the basket was a handkerchief folded in the form of a pyramid, and ornamented with the images of the B. Virgin, St. Joseph, and the

Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding. The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the *Haddara* closed the procession. 585

The arrival of the bridal procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was completed, everyone returned from church in the same order as before. [202] [793] [1465]

As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies show-

585 ered flowers upon them, also nuts and grains of wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.

[184] [535] [465] [431] At a village wedding the company danced during the feast; each dancer throwing a piece of money to the fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast.

[591] The bride always passed a week in her father's house, after which she was received with much pomp by her husband whose relations gave a great feast which was called il *hargia.*

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THE KUCCIJA

Among the peculiar customs which still exist in Malta, the *kuccija* may perhaps rank first. 852

The *kuccija* is an elaborate entertainment given by the parents on the first anniversary of their children's birth.

The company of relations and friends having assembled, the child is brought in and if it be a boy he is presented with a basket or tray containing corn, sweetmeats, coins, an inkstand, a candle, a rosary, a book, a sword, and other toys—if the baby is a girl, needles, silks and ribbands supply the place of the sword and inkstand. 852 787

The choice the baby makes on this occasion will, according to Maltese notions, give a just idea of his future disposition and the profession which he will follow. Should he choose the corn 852 787 828

852 [787] [828] it is a sign of a liberal character—if he picks out the inkstand it points towards inclination for trade or the bar—if he takes the book, the rosary or the candle the assumption is that he intends to dedicate his life to the service of the church.

[574) When the baby makes his or her selection, the guests are treated with refreshments, and they all drink the health and future prospects of the small individual in question.

FUNERALS

764 767 [533) On the death of a Maltese, two or three women called *Neuuieha*, hired for the occasion, and attired in long mourning cloaks, immediately entered the house of the deceased singing in a low and dismal voice, some appropriate deathsong. These women cut away

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branches of such vines as formed arbours in the courts, disturbed the furniture &c. in all the apartments, overturned the flower pots in the windows, broke some of the ornamental furniture, and carrying the fragments to a retired spot, threw them in a cauldron of boiling water,in which they mixed soot and ashes. With this liquid they stained all the doors in the house howling and sobbing most dismally whilst performing the operation. (*) The *neunicha* then proceeded to the chamber of the deceased, already in his coffin, and surrounded by his female relations, wearing veils over 764 767 [292]

(*) The custom of mourning for the dead in shricks and howlings is of great antiquity, and prevails almost universally among the followers of Mahomet. [171] [152]

764 767 [292] their faces and black silk cloaks. (*) The room being stripped of all its furniture and hung with black cloth.

[302] The *neuuieha*, throwing themselves on their knees at the foot of the coffin, began singing the praises of the dead, and cut off handfuls of their hair which
[262] [431] they spread over the coffin. On the same day, cakes and boiled wheat were distributed among all the relations, and the hair was cut off the tails of every horse at the stables belonging to the house of the deceased.

764 533 The funeral procession was always composed of the relations in mourning preceded by some boys playing the fifes or trumpets.

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[765] [822] [171] (*) The colours of the dress or habit. worn to signify grief are different in different countries. In Europe, the ordinary colour for mourning is black. *Black*, being the privation of light, is supposed to denote the privation of life.

PULLEYN *Origin & Inventions.*

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or trumpets. Before the corpse was interred, a pillow filled with orange and laurel leaves (*) was placed under the head, and a carpet spread over the tomb, which was suffered to remain some days, to show that during that time it was forbidden to walk over it. 000 764 824

No fire was lighted for three days in the kitchen of the deceased, and either one of the relations or some most intimate friend sent a dinner to the inhabitants of the house, which they ate cross-legged on the floor. 765 372 264

Women on this occasion remained forty days in the house, but men went out on the seventh day, with their faces unshaven. (†) 765 302

(*) Orange trees were regarded by the Pagans as expiatory.

(†) Mourning among the ancients was expressed by very different signs; such as by rending of garments, wearing sack cloth, laying aside crowns &c. Thus Plutarch, in his life of Cato, relates, that from the time of his leaving the city with Pompey, he neither shaved his head, nor, as usual, wore his crown or garland.

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585 Both Weddings and Funerals are in
764 our days celebrated in Malta in the
171 same manner as in any other civilized
part of the world.

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OMENS AND SUPERSTITIONS

ST. PAUL'S TONGUE

It was a popular belief among our ancestors that the teeth of fish, which we find embedded in some of the rocks, are St. Paul's *tongue*, which during his sermons penetrated even the solid rock. These fossils were pounded and the powder was held to possess a miraculous power in healing wounds. 825 133 [278]

Till recently it has been known that some of our countryfolks used to carry one of these teeth about with them, sometimes mounted on silver and hung about their necks, as an amulet against the bites of venomous vipers—at one time very abundant in Malta. 825 751

4

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THE GAUGAU

771 In " M. A. Vassalli's Dictionary " we
774 read that:

Among the silly superstitions of the Maltese there still exists that which a human being can be changed or turned into a *Gaugau*.

Many women and children, therefore, believe that those who are born on Christmas Eve, just at the very time when our Lord was born, will continue until their death to be transformed into a ghost while asleep, every year just on Christmas eve. They then go out and wander about all over the Island frighting people with their groanings. After thus performing these ghostly pranks for some hours, these transformed creatures return home towards dawn quite exhausted, and awake in the morning quite unconscious of what had taken place during their nocturnal expedition.

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This yearly punishment is thought to 771
have been inflicted, as our Saviour does 774
not like any one to be born at the same
time He was born ! !

In order to give confirmation to this strange fancy, some of our silly females affirm that they frequently go in search of their husbands and children, and from midnight till about 4 a.m. they do not find them in the bed where they left them.

Others, who are still more superstitious, add to this foolish belief by saying that a person may get rid of this annual transformation by taking a sieve and spending from 11 o'clock at night till Christmas morning at dawn counting the holes.

We are unable to explain, goes on to 771
say Vassalli, how this superstition got 774
into the minds of our forefathers. We 792

771 only know that the word "Gaúgau" is
774 derived from the Syrian word *hagogo*
192 which means a ghost and most probably was introduced here by the Phoenicians.

BOGEY-MAN

776 The ancient Maltese thought, and insisted upon others believing, that the Bogey-man wanders about our streets during the winter nights.

The Bogey-man is described as a hideous animal partaking of the nature of an ox, a ram and a donkey, going about until it comes to the first house which has been unfairly possessed, in order that with its hideous cries it might frighten the inmates.

Parents and nurses are still in the habit of frightening the little ones with the Bogey-man in order to induce them to go to sleep.

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THE ROSE

When a women is about to give birth 844 824 to a child she sends to one of her neighbours for the loan of a withered flower called the "Passion Flower" which is put at once into the water. As soon as the flower opens the woman is delivered of the child.

It is true that the rose opens after it has remained in the water for some time, although quite withered, but the fanaticism of some of our people is really excessive. A certain man relates that his wife was about to be confined and one of the neighbours brought her a passion flower, in the confusion, however, that prevailed at the moment, the withered flower was thrown into a drawer and they forgot all about it.

Shortly after the woman was delivered of three sons. The flower, however, was not to be seen.

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844
824 One of the inmates then remembered that it was left in a drawer. What was his astonishment, on opening that drawer, to find that on the stem of the withered flower were brought forth *three* branches covered with leaves ! ! !

THE EVIL EYE

754
755 Many of our people believe in the evil eye, and are of opinion that there are individuals who possess the power of inflicting injury by merely looking on those whom they wish to harm. It is, however, believed that any one who has been influenced by the evil eye of another, must procure a piece of cloth from the dress of the person by whom he has been fascinated, burn it, and expose himself to the smoke of it and

the effects of the evil eye will thus be 754 755
removed.

Various charms are practised for counteracting the baneful influence of this cruel species of witchcraft. Some of the chief consist in spitting or making a big cross with the thumb on the belly while saying the words "tohrog il ghageb"; or sticking some brown wax—from the candles used during the Holy Week service—to the heads of the children or animals. Some again hung a sort of a sea-shell called *bahbuha* round the necks of the little ones, or cattle, to make them impervious to its effects. A pair of horns is also used by some as a charm to avert the evil-eye.

THE GHOST OF THE HOUSE

776 777 825 Some of our people believe in what they call *Il Hâres*—and some of our country-folk still say that this *hâres* exists in the shape af an old black serpent which guards the house and bestows riches and good luck on the children born in that house.

It is held extremely unlucky to kill the old black serpent, as after its death great misfortunes will befall the members of the family.

GOOD LUCK

787 823 [777] Many believe in their fortune or luck (especially maidens) according to the figures formed by melted lead.

On the Feast of St. John—24th of June—some lead is melted and immediately poured into a vessel containing

water, and according to the figure or shape it assumes when it solidifies so will be the fortune of the person who tries the experiment. If the lead becomes bright the maiden is to get a handsome young man for her husband, and lead a happy life with him; if it turns out black the husband will be ugly and the maiden may expect to lead a miserable existence. (*) 787 823

THE BATH

On Easter Sunday as soon as the *Gloria* is sung in the Churches, mothers dip their babies into a bath, in which 755 824

(*) A similar practice is kept up in Denmark, where young women melt lead on New Year's Eve, and after pouring it into water observed in the following morning what form it has assumed. If it resembles a pair of scissors, they will inevitably marry tailors; if a hammer their husbands will be smiths, and so on. 0710

T. Dyer *Domestic Folklore.*

755 [824] are thrown some flowers which were used to decorate the sepulchre on Good Friday.

This the mothers do to cure their little ones from any fright they may have taken.

751 Some mothers dip their other children in succession in the same bath when the baby is taken out, and this they do in order that their children might not inherit the fright the one from the other.

THE FOOT BATH

757 Some people say that when you bathe your feet in hot water, while under the influence of fever, or head ache, a little salt should be added to the water to [755] strengthen it. But in order that the

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salt may produce its effects it must be 755
thrown by a married woman, not by a 757
maiden.

IL *GHAGIUSA*

We have an old custom in Malta to 857
make children believe that the *ghagiusa* 888
(the oldest woman living in the parish) is killed at noon on Thursday, the middle of Lent.

Mothers, after fasting the first twenty [785]
days of lent, send their children to the door of the parish church, or of some convent to see the sexton or some friar throwing the old woman from the steeple down below.

The disappointment of the children is indeed very great when at noon, they don't see the *ghagiusa* thrown down.

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THE ITCHING OF THE EYE

787 826 [777] The itching of the eye is considered as an unlucky omen. Grose, celebrated antiquarian, who collected together so many of the superstitions prevalent in his day, says: "When the right eye itches the party affected will shortly cry."

THE ITCHING OF THE HAND

Among other omens we are told that the itching of the hands signifies that they will shortly receive money.

HOWLING OF DOGS

825 763 A superstitious opinion vulgarly prevails in Malta that the howling of a dog in a neighbourhood is the presage of death to any that are sick in it.

The howling of the dog is ascribed by some to its keen sense of the odour of approaching dissolution. 825 763

This superstition which, while not confined to our Island, appears to have been almost as well known in ancient times as at the present day. 825 763 171

Dr. Nathaniel Home, in his "Daemonologie" page 60, says: "If dogs howl in the night near a house where somebody is sick, it is a sign of death."

Capitolinus tells us: that the dogs by their howlings presaged the death of Maximinus.

TINGLING of the EAR

It is a well known superstition among the Maltese that when the ear tingles they usually say that somebody is talking of them. A tingling of the right ear 787 826

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787 826 denotes that a friend is speaking well of one: a tingling of the left, implying the opposite.

[171] The opinion, from whence this proverbial saying is derived, is of great antiquity, being thus mentioned by Pliny: "Moreover is not this an opinion generally received that when our ears do glow and tingle some there be that in our absence do talk of us?"

MEETING OF WOMEN

846 787 777 If two women who have been confined on the same day meet before forty days, one of them will suffer some misfortune either in her own person or in that of her child.

THE MONTH OF MAY

777 May is considered as the month of accidents, and consequently many be-

lieve that those who get married during this month will be unfortunate. 777

THE CHURCH ORGAN

787 585 533 Many of our country people want the organ to be played during the mass which is celebrated at their wedding, for they believe that if it is not played the couple will not live long together. To show how much some of our country men believe in this superstition, my friend, Mr. P. P. Castagna, gives the following anecdote in his "Storia ta Malta."

Not long ago a young man went to church at Casal Chircop to get married. On finding, however, that the organist did not turn up to play during the mass, he took off his coat threw it on the floor and went out

787 585 533 in a rage, and he could not be persuaded to go back to his wedding before the organist could be found and the organ played for the occasion.

PAYING VISITS

273 574 576 825 If a person goes to pay a visit, for the first time, to a party and is not treated with a sort of drink called *zambur* — made of aniseed—a mouse enters the chest of drawers and gnaws all the petticoats of the mistress of the house.

SENDING TO THE OVEN

252 562 Some people think it a great shame for a woman who sends dishes to be cooked in an oven when her husband is away from the Island.

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LIGHT OMENS

If a woman wishes that either her husband or her son return from abroad, she is to light a lamp and leave it behind the entrance door. If the party expected does not return on the following morning, she is to light the lamp again on the following night and keep doing so until at last she sees her dear one entering the house. 789 373

BALSAM

Those among the Maltese who wish to have a *balsam* that possesses the property of healing all kinds of wounds, take an egg that has been laid on the 25th of March, Lady Day, hide it within a cupboard or on a shelf, in a dark place, and at the end of a year they begin to use it as a sovereign and unfailing remedy. 755

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THE ACACIA OR SPONGE-TREE

(Gazzïa)

824 Our ancestors had a strong aversion to introducing or bringing in the acacia or sponge-tree with the other flower-plants in the house.

[763] They believed that if the acacia were brought into the house the head thereof would die within twelve months.

THE NEWT

825 Our superstitiously inclined believe that when one kills a newt and leaves its tail contorting or wagging on the floor, that tail will be cursing the parents of its destroyer!

COAL-DUST AND SOOT

777
527 The throwing of coal-dust or soot instead of lime before a door on New year's day betokens gloom and bad luck.

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NEW YEAR'S SUPERSTITIONS

A superstitious dread still attaches to some one of the family keeping absent at dinner time on New Year's day. He who doesn't dine with his family on New Year's day is expected to die at the end of that same year. 527 763 264

He who eats hotch-potch soup on New year's day is to gnaw the ham bones all the rest of the year. 527 262 787

Those who eat cabbages on New year's day groan for a whole year.

OIL, SALT AND WINE

The spilling of oil is considered a very unlucky omen by the Maltese. The spilling of salt or wine, however, betokens good luck. 777 787

PARSLEY

824 763 When one plucks a stem of parsley by the roots and plants it again he may expect to lose one of his parents within the year.

THE HEN

825 763 When a hen crows it is at once destroyed as it foretells the death of some member of the family.

THE HAWKMOTH OR SPHINX

825 787 The appearance of a white hawkmoth betokens the coming home of some one who is abroad. The appearance of a black hawkmoth, however, is a harbinger of sad news.

COMETS

821 787 The appearance of a comet is a sign of an approaching evil.

THROWING STONES IN A WELL

Our ancestors made children believe 787
that if they threw stones in a well or 823
into the sea they had to lift them up some day with their eyelashes.

THIRTEEN AT TABLE

Sitting down thirteen to dinner is 777
considered very unlucky. 264
763

The notion is that one of the thirteen will die within the next twenty four hours. The origin popularly assigned to this widespread superstition is the fact that thirteen was the number at the Last Supper, Judas being the thirteenth.

SNEEZING

The custom of saying "Evviva" or 827
"Sahha" to one who happens to sneeze

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829 prevails in Malta as in other parts of the world. (*)

DREAMS

989 There is also a popular superstition in Malta to give interpretation to certain dreams.

The Maltese say that to dream of

[999] (a) fish betokens good luck

(b) the sea foreshews a great trouble

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[191] (*) Carolus Sigonius in his Hist. of Italy would deduce this custom from a pestilence that happened in the time of Gregory the Great (about the year 750) that proved mortal to such as sneezed.

In Brand's "Popular Antiquities" we read that the custom of saluting a person who sneezed was accounted very ancient, even in the time of Aristotle, who in his Problems has endeavoured to account for it, but knew nothing of its origin. According to him, the first men prepossessed with the ideas concerning the head as the principal seat of the soul, carried their respect to sternutation, as the most manifest and the most sensible operation of the head. Hence those several forms of compliments used on similar occasions amongst Greeks and Romans: *Long may you live, May you enjoy health.*

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(c) corn portends bitter crying through a misfortune 787 (777)

(d) lentils signifies hunger.

COMMON AILMENTS

755

At the present day, in spite of the "march of intellect" most of the ordinary ailments of every day life have still, what are popularly termed in folk medicine, their "charm remedies" consisting in very quaint recipes which from time immemorial, have been handed down from parent to child.

The following are the complaints to which more or less eccentric remedies have always been applied.

Bleeding of the nose—A curious remedy for the bleeding of the nose is to place a key on the person's back. The key is resorted to as a charm in

755 this case on account of the coldness of the metal.

755 825 *Jaundice*—Our folk believe that the blood of a tortoise is an excellent remedy for jaundice caused by a fright. If the patient be a man he is to bleed a female tortoise in the leg and make the sign of the cross with its blood on the joints of his arms and legs—but if the patient be a woman she is to bleed a male tortoise.

Fright.—The cure of the ailments brought about in consequence of a fright is to kill a puppy, boil it, give the patient to drink the water in which it is boiled, then throw the whole boiled pup in the plate in such a way as to cause a fright to the patient.

Fever—Even for this dangerous disease our folks do not hesitate to practice their own remedies. One of these

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consists in cutting open a live rabbit and applying it with the still warm entrails on the stomach of the patient. 755 [825]

Piles—Carrying about a dried fig in one's pocket is considered a good specific for this complaint. [824]

Rheumatism—Amateurs of the healing art advised the sufferer to carry about a dried fish in his pocket as a charm for its cure. [825]

Sty—To prevent or cure this disorder it is customary for the patient to throw over his shoulders seven grains of barley in a well. [824]

The superstitiously inclined say that a sty forebodes the inheritance of some riches. [787]

Beside the omens and superstitions briefly described in the preceding pages 128

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128 there are many other items of folk-lore associated with our daily-life. Our object, however, being to give in this section only a brief sketch of that folk-lore which has, from time to time, woven itself around the affairs of our home life, we leave to others the task of exhausting the interesting subject relating to those old world notions and quaint beliefs which marked the social and domestic life of our forefathers.

THE END.

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/Information on religious processionals as part of various religious holidays will be found in category 796./

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MALTESE MEMORIES

"TIFKIRIET"

by

ERIC BROCKMAN

LONDON
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
MUSEUM STREET

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VI

THE OLD THINGS

"Little or no distinction can be drawn between classic Myth and popular Fairy-tale: Myth was obviously once Fairy-tale, and what is often supposed to be mere Fairy-tale proves in many instances to be unsuspected Theology."—HAROLD BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

". . . But what made the People of the Hills go away?" Una asked. "Different things . . ." said Puck. "Most of them were foreigners who couldn't stand our climate. The fact is they began as Gods. The Phoenicians brought some . . . and the Gauls and the Jutes and the Danes and the Frisians and the Angles."[1]

It was not quite fair of Puck to talk of the Old Things as "foreigners." They have no nation. They belong to all nations. Puck himself is the "Mikum-Wess" of the American Indians, Pan of the Greeks, Krishna of the Hindus. The stories that men tell of him, the clothes he wears, the language he talks, may differ, but he is still Puck. He only seems a native.

As with comparative religion, so is it with folklore. All returns, full circle, to a point where pagan faiths, myths, customs, are rooted in some Age of Beginnings when Man was a frightened, groping child.

"After a while men simply left the Old Things alone . . ." Puck goes on. "The roofs of their temples fell in, and the Old Things had to scuttle out and pick up a living as they could."[2] Malta had been Christian and the Temple of Bel 178
a waste of stones for centuries when Weland still held sway 795
in England. It seems, therefore, the more surprising that traces of the "Old Things" remain in islands so anciently and

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[1] *Puck of Pook's Hill.*

[2] *Puck of Pook's Hill*

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178
795 so fervently Christian. The reason lies, perhaps, in their Catholicism. The Faith has a tolerant and not unfriendly eye for many of the Old Things. It is hard to think of St. Francis being unkind to a leprechaun.

The savants make much argument about Malta's folklore. The wish being often father to their able reasoning, they will prove from it that the Maltese are Phoenician or Arab or Italian with equal conviction. Like the Cornishman who will tell you that the Hobby Horse was invented to frighten away the French, the people themselves know little if anything of the reasons why certain tales are told, certain things done; but, from birth to grave, the Old Things—often recognisable, but always with their peculiar Maltese twist—make intermittent appearances in the lives of Zeppu[1] and Grez.[1]

Some of them even have so far won the good opinion of Mother Church as to be granted a place in her own ceremonies.

ON GETTING BORN

844
824 The Maltese baby—boy or girl—gets born with very little fuss, and is always welcome. In Gozo, or in what remains of country, some friend of the mother will assist the arrival of the little one, bringing into the house with her the withered bud of a certain rose. The flower is placed in water and slowly opens. At the moment of its fullest opening the child is born.
844
824
171 Here is clearly a very ancient magic. The association of the rose with Motherhood, with Life, and indeed with Godhead itself, is as old as time. In the Litany of Loretto, the Virgin Mother is invoked as "Rosa Mystica"—"Mystical Rose." Dante saw the innermost circle of the heavenly spheres as a rose. The Brahmins, the Persians, and the Jews all attached
844
824 a high mystic symbolism to the rose. The simple peasant, setting her rosebud in water, little knows what forgotten gods

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[1] Popular personifications of the peasant and his wife.

she honours and calls upon in her sister's hour of need. The 844
tale is told of the birth-rose which was forgotten. Triplets 824
were born. Later the rose was found, having grown on its withered stem three healthy branches bearing fresh, green leaves. Whatever deep significance attached originally to the birth-rose, the custom has a beauty of its own.

The next thought is for the little one's future. A gold ring 844
or some other golden object is placed in the water in which 823
he or she is washed, in order, they say, that riches will not be lacking. At one time, it may be, something of more value than the dross of riches was sought, for gold was the symbol of wisdom and a bright understanding long before it had value as currency.

It will be well if the baby is not red-headed, for the red- 826
headed child will inevitably be known as "Son of the Wind," [551]
"Daughter of the alcove," or even more scurrilously, "Child of the priest." This readiness to doubt the paternity of poor little "Copper-knob" seems to indicate that, in spite of the blue or grey eyes of the peasants, the Maltese have always been an essentially brunette people. The slur may be no older than the occupation of the priestly knights, when celibacy must frequently have proved too much for the young "Aryans" of the Teutonic Langues. It may date back to the
much earlier time of red-bearded Ullyses. It may, again, be [822]
nothing more than a rendering of "love-child"—for red has always been the colour of Love—sacred to Astoreth, Isis, and Venus.

Yet another of the Old Things has a hand in birth. Even 774
to-day it is accounted by some a serious matter for a child 777
to be born on Christmas Eve. Such a child is in danger of becoming a *Gaugau*—one whose spirit will leave its body every Christmas Eve—"They then go out and wander all over the island frightening people with their groanings. After thus performing these ghostly pranks for some hours,

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774 these transformed creatures return home towards dawn quite
777 exhausted and awake in the morning quite unconscious of
their nocturnal expedition."[1] The derivation of the word
[192] *Gaugau* has been given as the Syrian *Hagogo*, a ghost; but
surely the *Gaugau* is more than a simple ghost. His behaviour
stamps him as a vampire. Busuttil says that "the yearly
[177] punishment" is thought to be inflicted because Christ "does
not like anyone to be born at the same time he was born,"
and then suggests that the *Gaugau* came into Malta with
774 the Phoenicians. The Phoenician origin and the popular
777 explanation seem quite irreconcilable until it is recalled
774 that—

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> "It is well known that in the transition from paganry to Christianity the Christian clergy, finding it impossible to wean the populace from old customs or to eradicate primitive beliefs, discreetly met the situation by diverting pagan festivals to the honour of Christ. It is not so generally known that December 25th, the Christmas Day of Christendom, was necessarily thus fixed for the reason that this date was the birthday of Mithra, and that the obdurate heathen flatly refused to relinquish their cherished festival. It was not until A.D. 400 that the Church Fathers accepted the inevitable, and tactfully adopted the Birthday of Mithra as the official Birthday of Christianity. At the beginning of the fifth century, S. Chrysostom, referring to the festival of the pagan Sun god, wrote: 'On this day also the birthday of Christ *was lately fixed* at Rome in order that, while the heathens were busy with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their sacred rites undisturbed. They call this (December 25th) the birthday of the Invincible One (Mithra); but who is so invincible as the Lord? They call

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[1] BUSUTTIL, *Holiday Customs in Malta.*

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it the Birthday of the Solar Disc; but Christ is the Sun 774
of Righteousness' " (S. HEATH, *Romance of Symbolism*).[1] 777
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We cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, connect the vampire *Gaugau* with Christianity; but with Mithra the affair becomes quite different. It is not difficult to connect a child born on the eve of the Birth-feast of the bloodthirsty Mithra with something more terrible than "ghostly pranks." It is comforting to hear that the vampire *Gaugau* is now capable of nothing worse than "frightening people with his groanings!"

There was a time before the dread broom of "Progress" 846
began to sweep all peasant customs—good as well as bad— 777
before it, when the newly-delivered mother kept carefully to 787
her house during forty days for fear of meeting another mother who had been confined on the same day. It was believed that of two such women meeting within forty days of their confinement, one would suffer a great misfortune. Two possible [174]
reasons for this quaint prohibition are apparent. It was either some remnant of a primitive, levitical period of purification or a means of ensuring that the mother wasted no time gossiping at the doorway or in the market place, to the neglect of her young family.

GROWING UP

With the child's first birthday comes the *'uccija*, or "choosing." 852
A tray or basket is filled with an assortment of articles repre- 787
senting trades and professions—a book, a rosary, a candle, an inkstand, a sword—whichever the baby first picks up will indicate its bent in life. This simple means of divination is widespread, and little need be said of it except that some grains of corn are sometimes introduced as a symbol of generosity, suggesting that at one time the *'uccija* decided

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[1] H. BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

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852 787 not the trade the child was to follow, but the deity whose particular care the child should be. Corn, sacred to Ceres the Earth-Mother, alone remains.

776 It will not, unfortunately, be long before the little Maltese makes the acquaintance of the Bogey-man. He is called *Babau*, and differs very little from the English bogey-man. He is black, and lurks in corners, cupboards, behind trees, and in ill-lit streets. Sometimes he will assume the shape of an ox, a ram, or a homely donkey. In Malta he has one virtue. He prefers to haunt those whose possessions have been unfairly come by. If Grez and Zeppu go in fear of *Babau* they have in the *Hares* a friend and protector.

Il Hares—for thus he, or it, is always referred to—takes many forms and performs a variety of tasks. It is possible that *Hares* is the generic name for several spirits, some good, some evil; but the children's *Hares* is our old friend Puck, or Robin Goodfellow. He appears to good children in the form of a little black dwarf, and taking them by the hand leads them off to play with him in some hidden world of his own where fair gardens, luscious sweetmeats, and marvellous toys abound. Only one condition attaches to these secret visits: the *Hares* must never be betrayed to parents or grown-ups. Should his visits be discussed with adults the gates of his magic world are for ever shut upon the garrulous child. I know a grown woman, sensible and devout, who tells of meeting the little black *Hares* frequently when she was a child. She firmly believes in him.

For the adult the *Hares* is a more fearsome creature. Some say that every household has its own particular guardian spirit, sometimes materialized as a black snake. The snake must be treated with respect. If it is injured, calamity will overtake the house and all who dwell in it. This snake would seem to be African in origin. The Bantu races, notably the Zulus, believe that their guardian spirits take upon them the body of a black snake.

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There is a *Hares*, too, who guards all hidden treasure. If you are a deserving person he will lead you to the treasure; but you must never, on pain of death by strangulation, tell anyone how you discovered it. 776

There are persistent tales in Malta of a priceless treasure, hidden by the builders of the prehistoric temples. This treasure is known as "The Golden Bull," and is guarded by a most terrible and powerful *Hares*. No one has ever found it because, though some few have been selected by the *Hares* to be led to its hiding place, they have been unable to keep his secret, and he has strangled them together with the friends in whom they have confided.

There seems little reason to doubt that the Golden Bull is a legacy of the old gods—possibly of Mithra or Osiris—and that the great snake-like *Hares* who guards the treasure is no other than Set, guardian of the underworld. Perhaps the Bull exists, hidden deep in one of Malta's many caves. [174]

There may be peasants who know where it is. Amongst the moor-folk of Devon and the peasants of Ireland there are many who know the whereabouts of the "crocks of gold," buried by the Pixies and the leprechauns; but none would dare disturb "Fairy Gold." So it is with the Maltese peasant. He would be a bold man who had dealings with the "Golden Bull."

From a very tender age the little Maltese will be occupied in learning his Catechism and the significance of the rites and ceremonies of his faith. Though busied in this way there will be time, in the long winter evenings, for "Fairy Tales." Usually one member of the family will be able to read. If none can read someone will certainly know all the old tales and legends by heart, and will be expert in the correct way of recounting them. The family will gather round the story-teller and all, from grandmother to youngest grandchild, will listen with close attention to tales which many of them have heard hundreds of times. 538 [795] [212]

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538 Before examining the shapes which the Old Things assume in the Maltese "fairy story," it may be well to examine the nature of the stories themselves. They are, like our own tales, an essential part of the national culture; but they differ from such classics as Little Red Riding Hood, The Three Bears, and The Arabian Nights. These latter belong to a literature. [178] The Maltese folk-tale is part of an oral tradition, ever changing as each succeeding generation has added its touch of contemporary colour and disguised some part of the original sense. Of the literature of the early Maltese, if, indeed, they possessed a literature, no trace remains. Thanks to some few patriots like Father Magri, collections of folk-tales in the vernacular have been made, and there has lately grown up some sort of Maltese literature. It is from collections such as Father Magri's that the literate peasant reads to the family.

[177] The educated Maltese are all too ready to embrace a foreign culture, partly from necessity it is true, but also, because expediency has persuaded them that their own tongue, their own national culture, and their own folklore belong to "the lower orders." So for centuries the remnants of what may well be the oldest civilization in the West—linked with the lost Atlantis and with the dawn of human thought—have been left to peasants and to servants. These lowly folk have stubbornly maintained some life amongst embers which may yet be fanned into a bright flame.

The absence of a literature has one advantage. The folk-tales of a literature become standardized. They are, for that reason, no true mirror of the minds of a people. The people "grow up" but the story remains. "Once upon a time" means distinctly "a very long time ago"; but the *D'erba*—"on a time"—with which every Maltese story commences, might well be used equally of something which happened yesterday, last week, or in the days of King Suleiman. So stories which were once fraught with a religious significance have been

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turned into childish burlesques. The battles of gods become the village squabbles of yesterday. Not much imagination is needed to trace, in one such story, the transition of the race from fierce, bloodthirsty pride to easily contented, peace-loving good humour, from the cruelty of a Tiglath-Pileser to the cruelty of a naughty child.

Sometimes in these peasants' tales the tracks of the Old Things are plain; but often they are hardly visible, because the very story-tellers themselves repeat slavishly words, phrases, and whole sentences which are completely meaningless. The story would be incomplete and the listeners would hotly protest were these scraps of apparent nonsense omitted. Who has not wondered who "Marjorie Daw" was? Yet "See-Saw, Dragon's claw"—is definitely not correct, while "Rumpel Stiltskin" will always be "Rumpel Stiltskin."[1] These are probably mere "jingles," put in for the sake of rhyme or rhythm, but they must not be changed. In the Maltese tale the whole essence of the story is often hidden in some such meaningless word.

So the Maltese child grows up, with Mother Church for Faith, Philosophy, and Art, and the strange old tales of his people for literature.

JAHAN

No reference to Maltese "fairy-tales" would be complete without Jahan. He is the child-hero of a thousand unlikely situations. Impish and cunning in character, he gets in and out of trouble with unfailing ease and regularity, circumvents authority, and makes a long-nose at the powers of evil. He is the embodiment of the spirit of mischief in the character of the race; but his adventures are almost all of comparatively recent importation. He is Ali-Baba, Aladdin, Baron Munchausen, a lovable little fellow, but probably no older than

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[1] "Rumpel Stiltschen"—? "Raggle-Taggle Spindleshanks."

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538 the Arab domination. Jahan is merely a typically Maltese character placed in a series of foreign settings which have been changed to give an appearance of authenticity.

THE PEASANT AND THE SULTAN

539 From the familiar ground of Jahan's adventures it is a long step to the tale of "The Kaukam and the Kaukama." Here, again, is the typical Maltese hero who, by superior cunning, outwits the "Sultan"[1] who sets him, a poor peasant, a series of impossible tasks, but the atmosphere of the story is of the distant past.

> "Upon a time there was a peasant who loved his father as the light of his eyes. When the father became very old and decrepid, the son was obliged to do as everyone else did; he had to put his father into a cave-tomb: but he could not bring himself to block up the mouth of the cave. . . . He kept two holes. . . ."

The son then arranges to feed his father by leading his ewes to the cave, so that the old man may suck their milk through one of the holes.[2]

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883 It has been suggested that the burial of the aged father who is kept alive and his advice sought is nothing more than a tradition of oracular response from ancestral tombs. Although this is a reasonable enough theory, there seems no cause to doubt the possibility that the facts are exactly as stated. To this day primitive tribes get rid of their aged and infirm members, for obvious reasons. Respect for the wisdom and experience of the old men and women whose advice was sufficiently valuable

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[1] There is no Maltese word for "king," "ruler" or "governor." "Sultan" is used in folk-tales broadly to describe any person in authority. The Italian "re" is rarely used in the true vernacular.

[2] L. GALEA AND MARGARET A. MURRAY, *Maltese Folk Tales.*

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to justify the inconvenience of caring for them is a lesson 539.
which had to be learned. "Ghalec ma tridx tmut l'ghagiusa, 888
ghax actar ma ticber izjed titghallem"—"The old woman does not want to die for the older she grows the more she learns"—is a common saying. For further proof that the story of the "Kaukam" has come down from very early times, there is the only other context in which the word *ghagiusa* means "an old woman" or, more accurately, "the oldest woman hereabouts" (normally the word means "a crab").

> "We have an old custom in Malta," says Bussutil,[1] 539
> "to make children believe that the ghagiusa is killed at 796
> noon on Thursday, the middle of Lent. Mothers, after 785
> fasting the first twenty days of Lent, send their children 888
> to the door of the parish church, or of some convent to see the sexton or some friar throwing the old woman from the steeple. . . ."

That the destruction of the old woman should occur in 174
the middle of Lent—a period of fasting—is too much of a 796
coincidence not to indicate that, in times when food was 539
scarce, the aged folk were removed—either by being thrown 888
from a high place or, to save the guilt of actual murder, walled up in a rock tomb, as in the case of the peasant. The association of the Church with the destruction of the *ghagiusa* suggests that in primitive times the removal of the aged was the responsibility of the pagan priests who performed the "ritual murders." These murders may have developed from a practical necessity into a sacrificial propitiation.

The story of the Kaukam takes its name from the ancient's 539
first piece of advice to his perplexed son. Faced with the probability of losing his own crops while he cares for those of the Sultan, who has commanded that no man may plant his

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

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539 own fields until he has planted an equal number for the Sultan, he is told, in rhyming verse:

> Buy the Kaukama and the Kaukam
> Count not the cost.
> Feed the field with clover and lucerne
> So the plough may bury them deep.
> At night till your fields, by day the Sultan's.
> Without the Kaukam and the two Kaukama
> Nought will remain but the strength of your hands.

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174 There is no one now who can say what they were that the peasant was to buy. The words have no longer any meaning. Can it be—for we have already seen that the story is of great antiquity—that the hero was the originator of draught oxen? Of the two words one would seem to be singular, the other plural. Perhaps the old man's advice to his son was to breed oxen for draught, known formerly only as food. The use of oxen for ploughing and threshing would have so lightened the peasant's labour as to make it possible for him to plant and tend the Sultan's fields as well as his own. That is what he succeeds in doing, with the aid of the mysterious "Kaukama and Kaukam," to the amazement and chagrin of the Sultan. "Without the Kaukam and the two Kaukama nought will remain but the strength of your hands" might reasonably read "Without the ox and the two she-oxen . . . ."

539 The Sultan is unwilling to be beaten by the peasant, and sets him more problems which place him repeatedly "within the onion" (Maltese for "the horns of a dilemma"). The old man, from his rock-tomb, furnishes the answer to every problem, and the peasant is at last forced to tell the Sultan his guilty secret.

> "The Sultan was highly delighted. . . . From this day forward no one shall bury either father or mother

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alive in a cave; for though the old man be useless for some things, yet they are always of use to give advice."[1] 539

THE DRAGON SLAYER

The fair princess carried off by the dragon appears in the tale called "Pietru Lagrimanti," or "The Eighth Son." The Princess is married, by her own wish, to a prince with golden teeth. In order to escape being married she has persuaded her father that only a young man whose teeth are all of gold shall have her. Perhaps it is as a punishment for her undutiful bargain that the Evil One himself appears in this unlikely shape, and having married her carries her off to his dwelling in the depths of a mountain. Here are his former wives bewitched into the shapes of beasts and fast imprisoned within seven doors of iron.

The Evil One changes into his proper shape and becomes "Dragun Draganti"—"The Serpent of Serpents." From one of the bewitched ladies the princess learns that there are seven brothers, sons of a Wise Woman in her father's kingdom, who are able to release her if they will carefully carry out certain instructions. A dove carries a message to the Sultan who immediately seeks out the Wise Woman and orders her to send her seven wonderful sons to the aid of his daughter. If they fail they will die disgraceful deaths—presumably having "their skins made into doormats," a favourite punishment in the Maltese folk-tale. If they succeed they will be made rich for life. Though armed each with his own magic power—one miraculously keen sighted, another equally keen of hearing, the third wonderfully strong, the fourth able "to steal the eggs from a sitting hen without her feeling anything," the fifth able "to lift up sleeping people without their waking," the sixth "able to build a tower of bronze in an instant"—the seven champions rescue the princess, only to be pursued by

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

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539 the "Dragun Draganti," captured, and turned into beasts. For they omit to pronounce the spell which will restore the bewitched prisoners to their human shape. The recaptured princess spends several more years in captivity. One day the Evil One, who is not unkind to her, for he "truly loves her," tells her:

> ". . . There is only one person who can deliver you, and he is not born yet. He will be called Pietru Lagrimanti (Peter of Tears), and he will be the brother of the seven men who are turned into mules. But after he has killed me and smashed me up, if he does not burn my body completely, I shall throw myself into the pool of the Water of Life, and I shall rise again from the dead. That accursed one shall come into the world from his mother's tears."

The princess contrives to convey this information to her father, who again seeks out the Wise Woman.

> "The widow was so divided between sorrow that her seven sons had been turned into mules and joy that another son of hers would deliver his brothers and give them their human form again, that she burst into a torrent of tears, so great that there never was anything like it. She cried and she cried and she cried, and the King caught her tears in a golden cup and made her drink them.
>
> "In time her eighth son was born. When he was born he was enormously powerful, and could speak, but he was deformed with a head larger than his whole body. As soon as he was born the widow went and told the King, and the King returned with her to see the baby.
>
> As soon as the baby saw the King, he said, 'Give me some clothes.'

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'I have nothing to give you to put on,' said the King.

'Give me one of your shirts,' said the baby.

'It will be much too big for you,' said the King.

'Never mind, I can hold it up,' said the baby. So the King gave him one of his shirts.

'Now,' said the baby, 'I am ready to go and fetch your daughter.'

'O yes!' cried the King. 'Only tell me what you need and I will give it to you.'

'All I want,' said the baby, 'is a hammer, just a bit of a thing.'

The King showed him two or three hammers.

'No, no,' said the baby. 'Those won't do at all; I must have a bigger one, about nine kantars (a kantar is about a hundredweight) in weight.'

The King sent him to the dockyard with the guards, ordering them to obey the baby's commands. Everybody was bursting with laughter at the sight of the baby with his head bigger than his body and holding up his long shirt lest he should trip over it.

The baby made the people of the Dockyard show him hammers of all kinds, but he liked none of them. He looked about, here, there, and everywhere, his eyes shining, and at last he spied a great block of iron weighing nine kantars. He ordered that a hole should be bored through it and a handle made to carry it by.

'What do you want the handle of?' they asked.

'Of iron, so that it will be strong,' said the baby.

As soon as it was made he threw it across both his shoulders and went to the King.

'I am ready to start now,' he said."[1]

The miraculous dwarf, needless to say, rescues the prin-

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

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539 cess and releases all the captives, including his seven elder brothers.

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This story bears traces of a number of legends. The princess may well be Summer, wedded to Autumn, the season with the golden teeth of ripe corn. Imprisoned throughout the winter, the failure of the seven brothers to rescue her may represent the brighter periods of the Maltese mid-winter, followed by the wild weather of early spring. The recurrence of the number seven, in the seven sons and the seven doors is interesting. Seven has always borne a sacred character. It is associated with Indra from whom the seven great rivers of Hindu mythology are supposed to flow. Ishtar or Astarte was clothed in seven garments and passed through seven gates when she descended into the Underworld. Certain details of ths Assyrian and Phoenician story of Ishtar's visit to the underworld suggest that the captive Princess is herself no other than that once powerful goddess whose temples are known to have existed in Malta. Ishtar, descending into the Land of Darkness is admitted on condition that at each of the seven gates she shall shed one of the seven mystic garments from which she draws her divine power. In the Maltese tale, the Evil One causes the princess to remove her shoes—for no reason that is now apparent. At last Ishtar stands before the Queen of the Underworld naked and helpless. She is stricken with all manner of diseases from which she recovers at last when a rescuer, created by her father, the God of Light, releases her and bathes her in the Waters of Life. In the Maltese version it is in connection with the serpent that the Waters of Life appear.

In detailing the attributes of Pietru's seven brothers, the story omits to give any special power to the seventh brother. It may be that there were originally only six brothers, making the monstrous child-hero one of those seven sons, world-renowned for their magic powers.

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Pietru Lagrimanti's strange birth has a parallel in Egyptian mythology, where a man is born of the tears of the deity Nu who personified the Celestial Ocean from which the life-force even of the gods themselves was drawn. 539 171

Armed with his great hammer, "Il Lagrimanti" resembles the Dragon Slayers of every mythology, from Bel-Marduk of the Assyrians to Thor of the Scandinavians and Finn M'Cull of the Celts; but he is sadly fallen from his high estate and become a figure of fun, with his huge head and his shirt too long for him. A primitive respect for deformity or else some modification of the monstrous shapes of a pagan Pantheon may account for the baby's misshapen figure. The long shirt has clearly been added to provide a comic figure of the sort dear to the Maltese sense of the ridiculous.

The stories of the Kaukam and of Pietru Lagrimanti are but two of many tales in which pursuit of the Old Things, through the labyrinth which time has built around them, is a fascinating pastime. Enough has been said to illustrate the way in which a tenacious handful of peasants has handed down, through the centuries, legends of great antiquity—in some cases nearly intact. 539

GROWN UP

The Maltese—a people as old as time—are a people who never grow up. In this lies their chief charm. For Zeppu the passing of childhood means only an understanding of the ancient price of manhood: 885

> "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the earth, out of which thou wast taken. . . ."

For Grez the flowering into womanhood brings only the divine command:

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> "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children and thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee. . . ."

In all other things they remain children and "of such is the Kingdom. . . ."

So that the curse of Adam may lie less heavily upon these children of an unfertile rock, the Old Things have blessed them with an uncanny ability to make flowering fields out of nothing.[1]

THE SKY AND THE SOIL

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The weather and husbandry lore of the peasant has much to do with the success of his untiring hands. Much of this peasant wisdom is incomprehensible to the town-bred Maltese (too often they have lost touch or dismiss it—in hybrid Italian—as *ignuranza*); much of it has exact parallels in the lore of the English countryside, as for example the following:

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Maltese	*English*
"The Moon eats everything."	"Fair weather with a full moon."
"The stars wink at the coming wind."	"Twinkling stars foretell high winds."
"Sky like a turtle's back; heavy rains, fierce winds."	"A rounded cloud with flattened base carries rainfall in its face."
"Clouds with heads of men and beasts bring in the thunder and the lightning."	

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[1] During the early years of the last century Malta's cotton crop was valued at an average of one and a half millions sterling annually. The cotton industry, dating from Roman times and earlier, is now practically dead.

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Maltese	*English*
"Red sky at evening, harness your mules. Red sky at morning, herd your beasts."	"Red sky at night, Shepherd's delight. Red sky in the morning Shepherd's warning."
"Ill weather comes, ahead or astern, when the cat sneezes."	"The cat washes herself before stormy weather."

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Often it appears that sheer nonsense is mixed with sound common sense. Typical of the mixed "sense" and "nonsense" is the following: 245 824 242

"The first autumnal produce of the wild fig is called by the Maltese *Barru*. A second crop which takes place in winter is supposed to be due to the outcome of the first produce. This is called *Carru*, and is supposed to bring forth the third outcrop which appears in spring time and is recognized as the *dukkar* or real fertilizer of the fig. This fruit is cut and hung up in pairs on the bough of the fig tree.

"The male fruit (*dukkar*) is usually full of a colony [825] of minute winged insects by the produce of which, the Maltese husbandman identifies the real fertilizing fruit.

"The pomegranate is supposed to be fertilized by the flowers of the wild parsnip, and for this purpose bunches of these flowers are thrown over the pomegranate tree when in flower. *Dakra*, probably from *dakar* = to fertilize, is the name given to the wild parsnip by the Maltese husbandman.

"The male flowers of the wild carob-tree (*baghal*) are thrown over the branches of the female plant to favour impregnation.

Small pieces of coarse stone are still hung up in the 241
jujube-tree with a view to securing a good produce. 823

241 823 [171] Husbandmen would still consider that queer operation as a medium of impregnation (*Dukkar*). This strange usage may, however, be traced amongst the *fellahin* of Upper Egypt, where, as Professor Sayce points out in his contribution to the *Cairene and Upper Egypt Folklore* (Folklore, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1920, p. 200) phallic symbols are still hung up to protect the melons and sugar-cane. The old Maltese practice of hanging up stones to the jujube-tree may therefore be considered as a modification of this early phallic worship."[1]

The sense contained in these practices requires no elucidation. The horticulturist with his camel hair brush does no better than the peasant with the male carob flowers. The votive stones are a silent appeal to the oldest and greatest of the Old Things, to the All-Father, Giver of Life and Fertility, whose ancient and enduring image, from Drizzlecombe in Devon to the High Places of Melanesia, is the Rock or Stone without shape—the altar of "The Unknown God"—"Thou art Peter and upon this Rock. . . ."

[538] Traces of this rock-cult are plentiful enough in Maltese folklore. Children who throw stones into a well or into the sea will one day have to gather them up by their eyelashes. The "old stones" (i.e. *menhir*) resent being moved and are, for that reason, twice as heavy as ordinary stones.

751 825 776 "St. Paul's tongue"—a valuable amulet against the evil-eye and against all venoms—takes the form of fossilized teeth found in the ancient rocks. The blessed tongue which preached the gospel of the Redeemer is enshrined for ever in rock, the symbol of the Father.

776 823 St. Paul's rock-cell, in which he is reputed to have lived, has the miraculous property that no matter how much of the rock is cut away its bulk grows no less—a clear expression

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[1] Lecture by Mr. Cremona at the University of Malta in 1922.

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of the eternal and immutable nature of the All-Father whose symbol the rock is. 776 823

THE MONTHS

The Maltese, like the Scandinavians and the Russians, personify the months, giving to each a human character in keeping with its weather. A delightful little story called "The Gifts of the Months" serves the dual purpose of impressing the qualities of each month upon the listener, while stressing the importance of accepting the best qualities in every season without complaining about the disadvantages. Two brothers, one a poor peasant, the other a rich merchant, each meet the twelve months. On being questioned as to what people say about the months in his part of the country, the peasant recites a number of couplets in praise of each month: 539 805 821

> " 'Friend,' said January, 'what do people say about January in your part of the world?'[1]
>
> The poor man answered, 'It is a month of rain and of plenty. Vegetables grow and all that your heart can desire.'
>
> 'Do you know any rhymes about it?' asked January.
>
> 'Just imagine asking!' cried the poor man. 'As many as ever you like.'
>
> 'Tell me some, please,' said January.
>
> The poor man then repeated the three following: 'January sits in the cosiest nook in the house. A warm January makes full barns in the summer. The January moon brings the girls out of the caves for they think it is daylight.'
>
> January smiled and the others laughed. Then February took up the running. 'Friend, what do they say about February?'

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

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> 539 'He is January's own brother, bless him,' said the
> poor man. 'Quantities of rain and everyone satisfied, for
> 805 February fills up all and brings riches to the peasant's
> 824 house. In the month of February all mistakes are discovered. In February sow, water, and tend the small-leaved basil.'
>
> 'What a lot you know!' they all cried.
>
> 'Friend,' said March, 'what about March?'
>
> 'Days long and beautiful,' answered the peasant. 'The cold braces you like iron, and a little wind is always desirable.'
>
> The poor man answered in this way each question of the rest of the months, letting his tongue wag in their honour, praising each one up to the skies."

The merchant, in reply to the same set of questions, complains bitterly about each month. The peasant is given a magic cloth of the sort used to cover bread, which provides him and his family with food and drink in plenty. The rich merchant receives a stick which beats him and his wife unmercifully every time it is addressed.

821 Apart from the expected, usual characters of the twelve
787 months, there is a method whereby the year's weather may
be foretold. The twelve days preceding Christmas Eve are known as "presages." Each day foretells the weather of its corresponding month during the forthcoming year. Here, again, is seen the shadow of Mithra—the "Great Fecundator"—no period could be more ominous than the sacred twelve days preceding his feast.

FAITH

771 Where knowledge fails or some error in complying with
782 the traditional rules is made, Faith steps in. A farmer will
send for the village priest to bless his fields when he has sown

at the wrong season and so set right his error. The blessing is 771
accompanied by the burning of leaves of the wild olive which 782
have been blessed in Holy Week. Blessing, accompanied by [226]
sacred "fumigation," is very widely used—by fishermen to
ensure a good catch, by newly married folk to ensure a happy [585]
house.

GETTING MARRIED

Zeppu and Grez will think long and seriously before they 584
get married. In an island where poverty is the rule rather than [735]
the exception, and there is no "dole," there can be no haphazard mating. Zeppu will wait until he has a sufficient competence and Grez will contribute her share of the common resources in the form of a "dot" which she, herself, has earned and saved. Until very recently all marriages were arranged by a professional "go-between"—an old woman wise in the ways of the world and in suitable matings. Even now there is little choice left to the girl.

In this matter of marriage, so hedged about with Christian 584
law and custom, the Old Things still command a place. Their 824
hands are perhaps more apparent than in the marriage customs of all other countries—themselves pagan enough in origin.

In the story which has been quoted the month of February is praised, amongst other reasons, because it is then that the "small-leaved basil" is tended and watered. The reference might be rendered "In the Spring a young man's fancy . . ." for the sweet basil is the sign and symbol that a marriageable girl awaits a suitor.

The small bush, either of basil or of the Madonna rose, is carefully tended and placed on the sill of an upper window.
A well-grown plant is an indication that the maiden will make [787]
a good wife and mother.

A suitor, seeing the "marriage bush" at an upper window,

584 824 will walk up and down the village street wearing a red carnation behind his right ear and a red handkerchief thrown over his left shoulder. The shy maiden will be peeping from behind the latticed window, probably accompanied by one or two giggling, curious younger sisters.

The symbolic bush has about it something of the atmosphere of the Song of Solomon:

> My beloved is unto me as a
> cluster of camphire in the vineyards of En-Gedi . . .
>
> I am the Rose of Sharon and
> the lily of the valleys. . . .
>
> A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse . . .
>
> Awake, O North Wind; and come, thou south;
> blow upon my garden that the spices
> thereof may flow out.
> Let my beloved come into his garden,
> and eat his pleasant fruits.

[822] [171] The red carnation and the red handkerchief, badges of the lover, are of that colour which is sacred to Venus. The wearing of the flower has its parallel amongst the Polynesians, to whom a red flower behind the right ear means "I am looking for a sweetheart."

584 Official "courting" will not begin until the "go-between" and the parents have arranged matters to everybody's satisfaction.

585 801 171 After the religious ceremony the young folk separate, returning to their homes for a period of eight days before setting up house. The reason for the choice of the number "eight" may not be without significance; for eight, it is said, was one of the signs of the goddess Astoreth, while the ancient Egyptians had a company of eight gods who were the Fathers and Mothers of the World. The double form of the figure "8"

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was anciently used to represent the tying of Life with Spirit. 585
Its association with the "True Lovers' Knot" of our grand- 801
mothers is obvious. There is Biblical authority, too, for the 171
separation of husband from wife, in the incident between Tobias and the Angel Raphael.

Tobias (or Tobit) is about to be wedded to the maiden whose former seven husbands have been slain on the bridal night by an evil spirit. The angel says, "For they who in such manner receive matrimony as to shut out God from themselves to their lust, as the horse and mule, which they have not understanding. Over them the devil hath power. . . . Keep thyself continent from her. . . ."[1]

So far the marriage customs which remain extant—only one or two generations separate Zeppu and Gretz from the
more primitive customs. Here is what a Maltese writer has 584
to say of marriages in the not very distant past:

> "The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.
>
> The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.
>
> Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two [789]
> young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of
> rendering her affable and prudent. She was then con- [301]
> ducted into the room where her future husband awaited

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[1] *Tobias*, VI, 17–18.

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584 [301] her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual faith—together with bracelets, necklaces, and a gold chain—she presenting him in return with a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon.

This ceremony is called *il chelma,* which means the engagement.

585 [292] [301] On the morning of the wedding day the most honoured personage among the husband's relations threw a fine white veil over the bride's head—who wore a brocade or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells.

[533] The bridal procession then proceeded to the Church
for the ceremony, attended by musicians playing on
different instruments, and singers who sang stanzas in
praise of the young couple. These musicians were pre-
ceded by three men, the first bearing on his head a basin
of white earth on which was placed a big cake with two
figures representing the bridegroom and the bride—the
[431] man who carried this basin wore also a scarf with a round
cake hanging from it. The second carried a basket filled
with sugar plums and candied nuts, which one of the
relations distributed among such acquaintances he hap-
[532] pened to meet. In the middle of the basket was a hand-
kerchief folded in the form of a pyramid and ornamented
with the images of the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, and
the Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed
in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom fol-
lowed, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried
by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding.
The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the
Haddara, closed the procession.

[202] The arrival of the bridal procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating

> The officiating priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, 585 a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee [793] on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was [465] completed, everyone returned from church in the same order as before.
>
> As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies showered flowers upon them also nuts and grains and wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.
>
> The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended, she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.
>
> At a village wedding the company danced during the [535] feast, each dancer throwing a piece of money to the [431] fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast. [465]
>
> The bride always passed a week in her father's house, [591] after which she was received with much pomp by her husband, whose relations gave a great feast which was called *il hargia.*"[1]

The bridegroom's symbolic present of a fish is very likely 584 connected with fecundity, for the fish was regarded as an 174 emblem of fecundity by the Assyrians and the Phoenicians. 825 It is not, however, in this connection alone that the fish is a potent symbol. Prudence (apparently a virtue highly prized [577]. in a Maltese wife—Salt, another symbol of prudence, is included in the ingredients with which the bride's lips are anointed), and Wisdom were anciently supposed to be the properties of numerous Sacred Fish. Finn M'Cull, in the Irish legend, "Happens upon the Salmon of Knowledge . . ."

[1] BUSUTTIL, op. cit.

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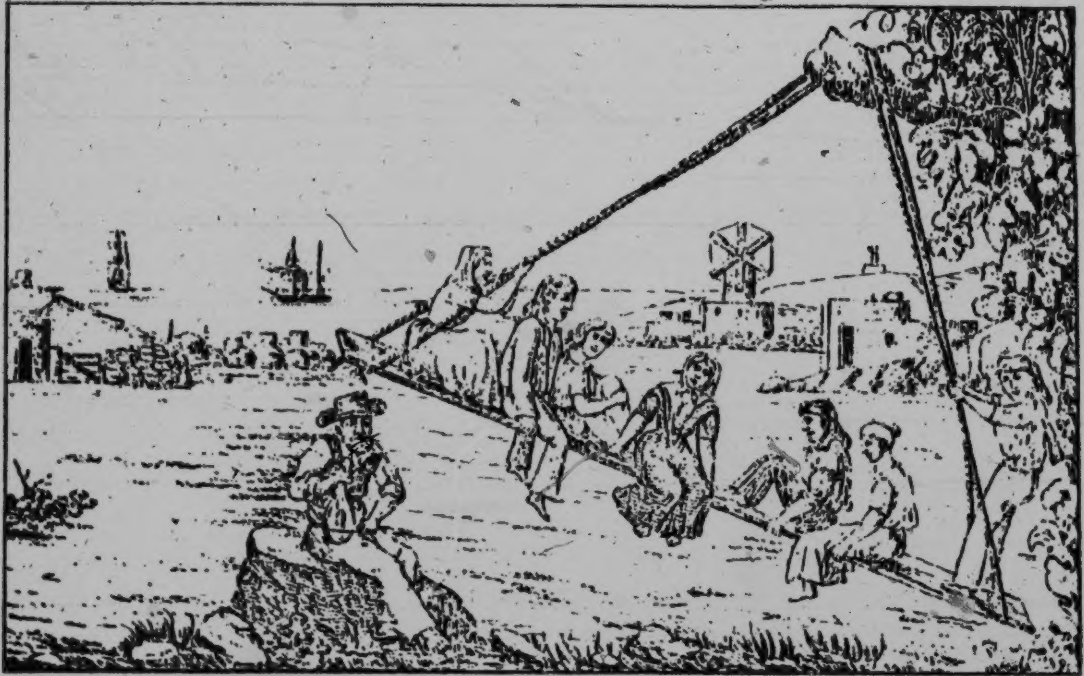
[facing P. 128]



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PEASANTS CELEBRATING "LAPSI"—FESTA OF THE ASCENSION
(From an old Maltese print)

174 which conferred on him "such Wisdom, Prowess, and good
584 fortune . . . that Fame and Prosperity always attended him
825 thereafter." Tennyson, describing his mystic Lady of the
Lake, has:

> And o'er her breast floated the Sacred Fish.

The Saviour Himself was symbolized by the early Christians as a fish. Julius Africanus, an early Christian writer, said of Christ that He was the Great Fish, caught by the Hook of God, whose flesh nourishes the whole world.[1]

This bridal fish, then, may be in some sense a sacramental
584 offering as well as a mere symbol.

789 The anointing of the bride's lips is yet another custom
828 which, like the miniature "garden inclosed" of the marriageable girl, recalls the Canticle of Canticles:

> Thy lips my spouse are as a dropping honeycomb,
> honey and milk are under thy tongue. . . .[2]

585 The whole of this marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the
174 old Fertility cults—the cakes, sweetmeats, nuts, grain, all in honour of the fertile Mother whose bountiful Earth is carried in a bowl bearing effigies of the bride and bridegroom whom it is hoped she will bless with her own fecundity and riches.

EVERYDAY HABITS

771 Grez, the housewife, will go about her daily tasks carefully
788 following a thousand small rules, most of which have their English parallels. She will never cut a loaf without first making the Sign of the Cross on it with forefinger or knife. If the loaf falls to the ground, she will kiss it by way of asking pardon. She will not sweep her house after sunset for fear of
[754] sweeping away good fortune. She will take care not to throw her "combings" out of doors. Should anyone wish her ill it

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[1] *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

[2] *Song of Solomon*, IV, ii.

will only be necessary for a "wise woman" or witch to spit 771 788
on the hair while uttering a curse to bring misfortune upon [754]
the head which nourished it.

Grez will be careful not to laugh too heartily on a Friday—when the memory of the Crucifixion should make all sad. She will make the Sign of the Cross on leaving her house, on entering any vehicle or boat for no matter how short a journey, on cutting a piece of new cloth, before her baby's mouth when it yawns—so that evil spirits may not enter.
On meeting a deformed or maimed person she will sign [826]
her corresponding limb or part of her body with the Cross.

When she brings flowers into her house she will be as 771
careful to exclude the acacia as any West-country woman to [824]
avoid "may" or whitethorn, for the spiky Maltese acacia is the "thorn" of Palestine wherewith the Saviour was crowned.

These are but a few of the small ways in which the peasant woman pays a somewhat mixed homage to the Old Things as well as to the tenets of her Faith. In her favour it may be said that her "superstitions" are more logical than those of such folk who habitually "touch wood" or object to a third cigarette from one match.

THE FESTAS

The Festa, primarily a religious festival and a Holy Day of 796
Obligation, provides the only relaxation for a hardworking and frugal people. Such simple pleasures as a meal of unaccustomed meat, a little wine, processions, and fireworks
give full rein to the most lovable, childlike side of the national
character. The importance attaching to these periodical [585]
holidays is well illustrated by an old rhyme: [675]

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THE SWEETHEART'S BARGAIN

585 In the marriage contract, they have it for a pact,
675 That he takes her to the Feste and sets her on a wall.
[262] That he buys her cakes of sweetmeat, of the sort with hempseed made.
For that's the kind of sweetmeat a bride likes best of all.

It is believed that such a clause used actually to be embodied in the written contract drawn up by the parents and the go-between.

796 [184] Each little hamlet has its own feast, in honour of its own particular patron. Each has its own peculiar forms. Of the national feasts that of St. John naturally occupies a place of considerable importance. Certain aspects of its celebration, however, indicate that the Order of St. John was not alone responsible for the enthusiasm which this saint inspires. Busuttil, who has already been quoted at some length, writes of the Feast of St. John as follows: 796 372

> "Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating the Nativity of St. John by kindling great fires in the public streets, and giving their children dolls to carry in their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist 'Multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt.'
>
> Days and even weeks before this festival groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs, and all sorts of other combustibles which they store up for St. John's Eve.
>
> On the night of June 23rd, the day before the festival of the Saint, great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the Island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking.
>
> These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being

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continually fed by the scores of by-standers who take great delight in throwing amidst the flames some old rickety piece of furniture which they consider as lumber in their houses. Lots of happy and reckless children, and very often men, are seen merrily leaping in succession over and through the crackling flames."[1] 796 372

At the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Grand Master himself, soon after the *Angelus*, used to leave his palace, accompanied by the Grand Prior, the Bishop and two bailiffs, to set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred hospital. 175 796 372

Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on, of the eight casks,[2] by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

Various opinions are entertained by antiquarian writers with regard to the origin of these fires on St. John's Eve. 796 372

From the account given by Jacob Grimm in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 583, 593, it would appear that the great blaze reserved for the eve of the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist on June 23rd is observed with similar rites in every country of Europe. 171

The kindling of the fire, the leaping over or through the flames clearly show that these rites are essentially of

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[1] Leaping over the fires is mentioned among the superstitious rites at the Palilia feasts, instituted in honour of *Pales*, the goddess of shepherds (in the calends of May) in Ovid's Fasti.

> "Moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
> traijcias celeri strenua membra pede."

The learned Moresin appears to have been of opinion that the custom of leaping over these fires is a vestige of the ordeal, where to be able to pass through fires with safety, was held to be an indication of innocence.

[2] Eight being the languages of the Order.

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heathen origin. They are obviously connected with the worship of the sun, and were doubtless practised long before the Baptist was born. In old heathen times the summer and winter solstices were the two greatest and most widespread festivals in Europe.

These fires (says another writer) are evidently a remnant of the ancient Bel fires of the Druids, at the *Beil* time, which was at the beginning of May. But why do they chiefly occur on the night before the festival of the Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* time which was the beginning of May? I do not believe that a satisfactory explanation of these circumstances has yet been given by any of the antiquaries. It was perhaps to transfer the practice or custom of lighting these fires from a pagan to a Christian object.

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The Nativity of St. John Baptist was a great and solemn festival of the Church, like those of the other great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in the early ages, commemorated with appropriate ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the Patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these was probably introduced a large and unusual exhibition of lights to typify the Baptist who, in the Gospel, is called by the Saviour himself 'A burning, shining light.' What could have been more natural than that the early Christian authorities would have directed the people to light their anniversary fires on the eve of this Saint, and thus give to the national custom a Christian instead of a pagan significance? To this feeling, most likely, is due the transfer of the fires to June 23rd, and perhaps, too, this perpetuation to this day amongst the people.

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Gebelin, in his *Allegories Orientales*, accounts in the following manner for the custom of making fires on Midsummer Eve. 796
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'Can one,' says he, 'omit to mention here the St. John fires, those sacred fires, kindled about midnight, in the very moment of the solstices, by the greatest part of ancient as well as of modern nations—a religious ceremony of the most remote antiquity which was observed for the prosperity of states and people and to dispel every kind of evil? The origin of this fire which is still retained by so many nations, though enveloped in the mist of antiquity, is very simple. It was a *feu de joie*, kindled the very moment the year began; for the first of all years, and the most ancient that we know of, began at this month of June, hence the very name of this month, *Junior*, meaning the youngest, which is renewed; while that of the preceding one is May, *Major*, meaning the ancient.

'Thus the one was the month of young people whilst the other belonged to old men.

'These *feu de joie* were accompanied, at the same time, with vows and sacrifices for the prosperity of the people and the fruits of the earth.

'They danced also round this fire, and the most active leaped over it. Each on departing took a fire brand, and the remains were scattered to the winds, which at the same time that it dispersed the ashes, was thought to expel every evil. When after a long train of years, the year ceased to commence at this solstice, the custom of making these fires, at this time, was still continued by force of habit. Besides, it would have deprived the people of a day of joy in times when there were not many of them; thus the custom has been continued and handed down to us.'

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796 372 Dr. Milner is of opinion that the fires lighted up all over the continent, on the eve of June 24th, are not intended as the idolatrous worship of the sun or *Baal*, the Philistine God of Fire, but in honour of Christ's precursor, as alluding to his character of bearing witness to the light (John i. 7) and of his being himself a bright and shining light (John v. 35)."

796 171 It is of some interest to compare the Maltese account with the following notes on English Midsummer customs which appeared in the *Radio Times* recently under the signature of Felix Felton, compere of so many excellent folklore broadcasts:

> "Midsummer's Eve is also St. John's Eve. . . . Sermons on that day used to be preached out of doors in the quadrangle of Magdalen College, Oxford, 'that the preaching might more nearly resemble that of John the Baptist in the wilderness'; and bonfires were lighted in various parts of the country, 'betokennynge that Saint Johan was a lanterne of light to the people.' Then comes a collection of curious legends and superstitions connected with certain herbs. The legends attribute to these all kinds of magical powers; women, it is said, can tell by hempseed[1] who their husband is to be; and in Shropshire it was believed that those who failed to hang up St. John's Wort outside their doors would suffer by their cows going dry and their hens refusing to lay. Finally come the Midsummer's Eve revels and festivals—the old London processions, the revels at Penzance, the gatherings at Stonehenge, and the bonfire festivities still held to-day. . . .
>
> As varied as the customs themselves are the possible

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[1] Compare the reference to hempseed in "The Sweetheart's Bargain."

explanations of them. Two kinds of explanations have 796
to be treated with some caution, the local one and the 171
Christian one . . . and we shall find ourselves going back for the true causes to the worship of the sun and of the seasons.

The revel, easily degenerating into the brawl, has always found opposition, as in the thunderous verse of an old poet who branded the Midsummer processions as

Of Edinburgh the great idolatrie
And manifest abomination.

Other forces have militated against them besides the disapproval of the austere. As another old writer has rather obscurely remarked: 'No suffimen is a greater fugator of phantosmes than gunpowder.' Other such fugators are periods of increased popular education and of quickened pace in national life. These forces have been active enough in our own times, and few Midsummer customs have survived them; but all of them were originally the spontaneous outcome of certain impulses in the make-up of human beings, and thus, past or present, they are of permanent interest to us."

There seems little doubt that the Night of Fires belongs 372
to that very early civilization of which, as has been suggested 796
elsewhere, the Maltese are amongst the direct descendants. 174
What more appropriate than the adaptation of these ancient fires to the honour of that Saint beneath whose banner there happened all that is most valiant in Maltese history?

In one form or another practically all the "seasonal" customs 796
familiar in other countries appear in Malta: All Fools' Day, [527]
with its affinity to the Hindu festival of Huli; May Day, when [171]
the children gather green bows in honour of Flora; New Year's Day, when lime is strewn on doorsteps in token of good luck; but Malta's most popular holiday is the period of Carnival. Its

796 adoption by the English garrison may have done much to save it from extinction. Here is a description of Carnival, written in 1850:[1]

> "The Carnival is another source of popular amusement; this begins on the Sunday preceding Lent, and lasts for three days. The afternoon is the principal time of the feast, during which numerous persons in masks are seen walking about the streets, endeavouring to amuse themselves, and to be a source of amusement to others. The variety of dresses used on these occasions is beyond description. Not a few pride themselves in playing all kinds of antics in a black habit, with long red horns, and a huge tail of the same colour. Calesses filled with ladies follow in a train through the principal streets, who readily engage in pelting confits and peas with any of the by-standers who will enter the lists with them. The number of respectable persons, however, who mask in the public streets has greatly diminished within the last few years, and it is to be hoped that their good example will soon be followed by an entire relinquishment of so absurd [783] and foolish a diversion. The first Sunday after the carnival, most of those persons who have masked repair to the parish church of Casal Zabbar, called *della Grazia*, by way of penance for their follies.
>
> On Saturday preceding the first day of the feast the *Parata* is celebrated. This consists of several companies of men, dressed up in gay ribbons, and armed with wooden staves and shields, who meet together under the houses of the wealthy, and perform several evolutions, striking their shields and dancing at the sound of music. This is concluded by raising up a little girl, splendidly arrayed, and girded with a small dagger, which she is

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[1] G. P. BADGER, *A Description of Malta and Gozo.*

> taught to wave, while the band plays the national anthem, 'God Save the King.' In the time of the Order they proceeded to the palace to receive permission for the celebration of the Carnival. Their request was signified to the Grand Master by one of the knights, and upon the boon being granted, they immediately performed a dance in front of the palace, and afterwards before the door of any other person, whom they thought would pay them for their trouble.' 796
>
> The origin of this amusement must be sought for in the annals of pagan rites, which Christianity has not succeeded in abolishing in several countries of Europe. In a work on Malta, *Par un voyageur François*, the author ranks it with a popular feast very ancient in Thessaly, the *Salzea* of the Babylonians, the *Chronia* of the Athenians, and the *Saturnalia* of Rome, which many of the early Christians continued, notwithstanding the zealous efforts which were made by the Church to abolish them." 796 171

It will be noted that the public "masque" was regarded as "an absurd and foolish diversion." The "diversion" must at some time have proved rather more dangerous than absurd, for the wearing of masks after sunset is now forbidden by law. It is of interest also to note that an attempt on the part of a strict Sabbatarian Governor who hailed from north of the Tweed to abolish the merrymaking on the Sunday of Carnival led to a major civil disturbance which could only be quelled at bayonet point, and which is still remembered by those who are, for one cause or another, "agin' the Government!" 796 656 [669]

DYING

Zeppu's tired hands are at rest. They lie, brown and calloused, upon the coverlet. The village bell tolls urgently. The *fratelli* 763

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The fratelli

763 794 —lay brethren of the congregation—hurry from their homes to take their places in the procession of the Viatecum. Marching rapidly, like a company of soldiers, headed by a peasant ringing a staccato, commanding bell, some bearing tapers, some censers, all chanting the prayers for the dying, they pass [793] quickly through the village street. Under a canopy, borne by two sturdy *fratelli*, goes the priest in his bright vestments, bearing God to the dying man.

The women hurry to place a light in their windows, kneel and pray as God passes.

So, with such poor pomp as these simple folk can muster, 764 the Prince of Peace comes to dying Zeppu. The funeral rites [771] and customs differ hardly at all nowadays from those of other Catholic countries. But Zeppu's grandfather could remember a time when the Old Things were much in evidence.

764 767 There were the "Wailing Women" (whose name *neuuicha* survives in the sense of "one who constantly complains"). They wore long black robes, and chanted death-songs whose burden was a combination of praise for the deceased's virtues and rebuke for his having left them. They cut the vines from the courtyard, overturned the furniture, broke pottery, and mixed the fragments with soot and ashes, staining the doors [302] of the bereaved house with the mixture. They cut pieces of their hair and scattered them over the coffin.

765 If the dead man possessed horses, cows, goats, all their tails [262] had pieces cut from them in token of mourning. There was a [764] form of "wake" where funeral cakes and boiled wheat were eaten. A carpet was spread over the tomb to prevent the unware from treading on it.

[372] No fire was lit in the house for three days after the funeral. [302] The women kept to the house for forty days. The men, having remained indoors for seven days, went unshaven.

764 174 Here are clear signs of the most primitive funeral rites and *taboos*. Death was a pollution—hence the segregation of

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the relatives and the staining of the doors. Provision was made for the deceased's comfort in the other life by the breaking of his pottery—thus releasing the *manes* to accompany him in death. 764 174

The wake was a death feast originally designed to provide a sort of communion with the departed. Similarly, the cutting of the mourner's hair was intended to furnish a ritual link with the dead. Primitive tribes express the same idea in cannibalism and in funeral mutilations. [302]

The cutting of the animals' tails was very probably a version of the sacrifice in expiation of the dead man's sins. 765

> "... Then they brought out a splendid white horse, and the priest cut some hair from its mane and tail and burned it on the altar, shouting 'A sacrifice!' ... 'I saw poor Weland's face through the smoke, and I couldn't help laughing ...' says Puck."[1]

Based on fear, as these "ancient fictions" were, they yet hid certain eternal truths.

The Old Things, with their complicated rituals, their theologies of terror, served their turn in leading mankind some distance on his upward march. Nowhere is their vague disembodied presence more felt than in Malta's rapidly dwindling countryside, where every stone may well have housed one of their altars. Not all of the Old Things were evil. The good ones have been adopted by Mother Church; but there remain those restless, evil ones who have never bowed down to the Nazarene. They hide in the shadows, angry and resentful. 771 178

THE HOUR OF THE OLD THINGS

Let us go out, at the third or fourth hour after midnight. Away from the clamorous ballrooms or the cramped city of 788 178

---

[1] *Puck of Pook's Hill.*

788 178 palaces and "prairie oysters." Out into the still, shadowed villages. Not those which fringe the military roads, but those lying in quiet hollows, away from the smell of petrol.

Let us sit for a while on some low wall and be silent.

It will seem that all the world sleeps. Only the darkness beneath walls and in windows and deep-cut doorways will be astir with a ghostly wakefulness. We shall see the little, sleeping houses and the quiet fields, stretching out in gentle waves of purple shadow and moonlit stone. There will be a wayside shrine, with an oil lamp burning fitfully in the light wind that heralds "Dawn's left hand." The sculptured saint will be deep in shadow save for the halo of yellow light painting strange meaning on the graven face, now smiling, now troubled.

Without warning the silence will be riven by the great shout of Musta's bell—like the voice of some titanic muezzin, calling from the minaret of heaven. The voices of all the bells will call, then, to each other. Some deep, manly baritones. Some high-pitched, boyish trebles. Some sweet and womanly, others cracked and querulous like the shrill chatter of crones.

The darkness will seem to stir ominously. The votive flame will flicker madly and die almost away. The protecting ox-horns above dim windows will seem to be shaken by an unseen hand. At last the bells will be silent, but there is no more stillness. All about us, from within every squat dwelling, there comes a murmuring—eerie, guttural, rising and falling in unfamiliar cadence—the voices of the peasants praying.

[776] It is "The Hour of the Departed," when every uneasy soul, every wandering sprite and *hares* is free to be abroad; when every devout peasant stirs restlessly at the sound of the bells, wakes and prays that the Restless Ones may be granted peace and that the Evil Ones be kept at bay.

The Old Things are awake. In every patch of darkness

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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they are lurking—Baal, Mithra, Astarte, and all their kind. 788
The very stones beneath us seem to move and groan at the memory of ancient power. 178

We are brave sceptics in the daylight and in the lamplit city. We shall not stand up here in this, Their Hour, and scoff at the Old Things.

[pp 141-150 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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[Frontispiece, facing Title Page]

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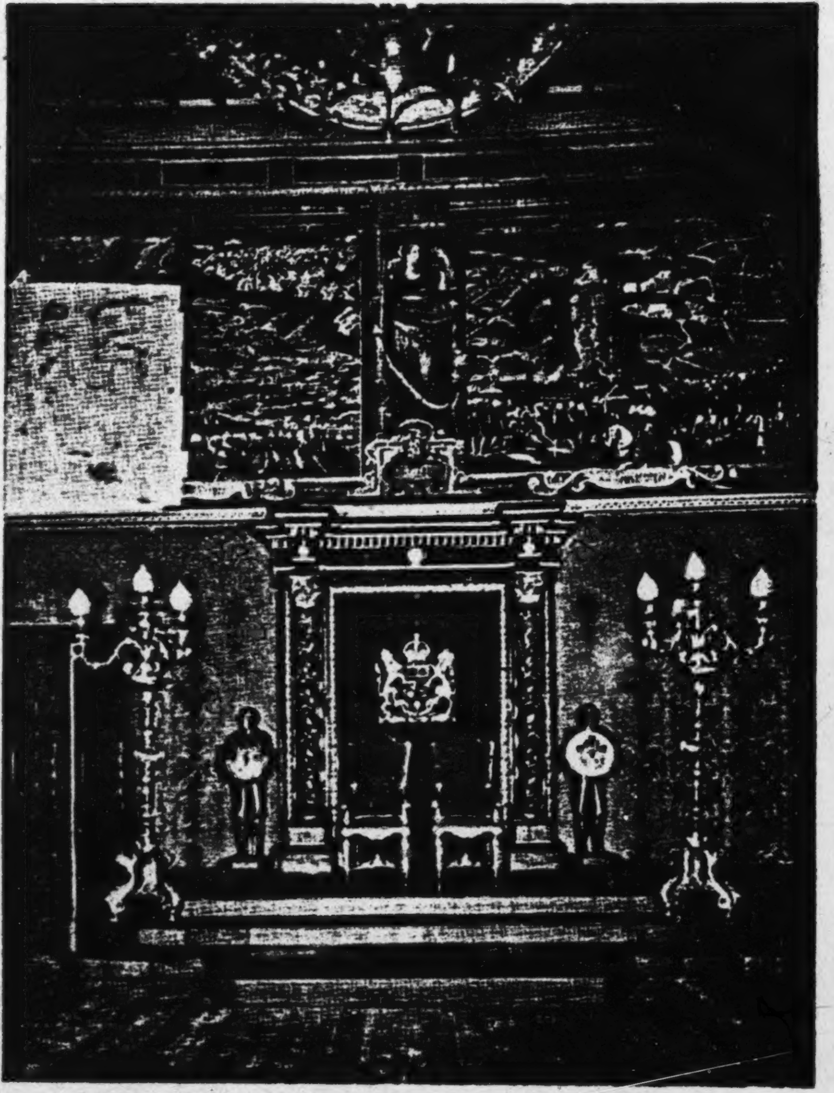

THE PALACE, VALETTA: THRONE IN HALL OF S. MICHAEL AND S. GEORGE

Above, portions of the frescoes depicting the Great Siege. The patch over the fresco to the left of the throne covers temporarily the portion of it damaged by bombing.

Fr.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

An Account and an Appreciation

ooD

MALTA

BY

SIR HARRY LUKE

K.C.M.G., D.Litt.(Oxon), hon. LL.D.(Malta)
Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford
Bailiff Grand Cross and Registrar of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem in the British Realm; Cross of Merit, First Class with Crown, of the Sovereign Order of Malta

Lieutenant-Governor of Malta 1930–38

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[Title page]

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[pp. 2-3 have not been processed]

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To

MY COLLEAGUES OF THE

MALTA CIVIL SERVICE

during eight strenuous, difficult and
at times tempestuous years

First published 1949
by George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd
182 High Holborn, London, W.C.1

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Second Edition 1960

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Made in Great Britain

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Preface to the Second Edition

SO MUCH HAS HAPPENED IN MALTA SINCE THIS BOOK WAS LAST reprinted that it has seemed desirable to add a new chapter tracing the momentous developments in the Island since the end of the war. This addition apart, I have revised the book throughout in the light of new knowledge now available on subjects dealt with in the earlier parts. I have added a twentieth-century author, D. H. Lawrence, to the writers whose views on Malta are presented in Chapter XIV. A number of admirable photographs newly taken for the Government Tourist Board by Miss Ann Bolt, A.I.B.P., replace, by the kindness of Mr Philip Barker-Benfield, Chairman of the Board, certain illustrations become obsolescent. 128

I have fortunately been able to keep my experience of Malta up to date by almost annual visits in the last decade, including two as the guest of Sir Gerald and Lady Creasy, three more prolonged visits to Major-General Sir Robert and Lady Laycock, and a more recent one to Admiral Sir Guy and Lady Grantham, to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their sustained hospitality, as to Captain and Mrs Olof Gollcher on earlier occasions. 114

In renewing my thanks to those mentioned in the earlier preface, I must also record my gratitude to the late Lieutenant-Governor, Mr Trafford Smith, C.M.G.; Colonel Victor Vella, C.V.O.; Dr the Hon. Lewis Galea, C.B.E.; Dr V. A. Depasquale (the Librarian) and Mr Joseph Galea of the Royal Malta Library, for information on several points. Mr Charles Zammit, now Director of Antiquities, has been most helpful with illustrations of the prehistoric period. I thank Sir Hannibal Scicluna and the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction for the photograph of Caravaggio's *Beheading of S. John the Baptist* after restoration in Italy, the *Times of Malta* for the view of Mdina, Mr Wilfred Flores for taking for me the colour photograph which forms the frontispiece, and, for two photographs, the Result Studio of Sliema. 122

H.C.L.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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[p. 6]

Preface to the First Edition

12 I HAVE THE PLEASANT DUTY TO EXPRESS MY THANKS TO VARIOUS friends for help in several directions: to the Chevalier H. P. Scicluna, M.B.E., for many years the Director of the Royal Malta Library, for allowing me to draw on his vast store of knowledge of the records of his native island; to the lamented Sir Themistocles Zammit, most lovable and human of savants, who introduced me, a newcomer to Malta, to those Stone Age wonders he did more than anyone else to reveal and interpret to the world; to Miss Norah Penhaligon for the kindness and patience with which she undertook research on my behalf while I was cut off from libraries and works of reference at the other side of the globe; to Mr George Bonello, M.B.E., of the Lieutenant-Governor's office, for help in other respects.

I have to thank also the following friends for allowing me to use photographs taken or procured by them: Gwenllian, Lady Palmer (garden of Dar il-Lyuni); Major the Hon. James Galizia, C.B.E.; the late Rev. A. Spiteri, O.P. (Tapestry Chamber); Mr Stewart Perowne, O.B.E.; Brigadier W. N. Stokes, O.B.E., D.S.C.; Mr Charles Zammit, who is following in his father's footsteps at the Malta Museum. By a piquant circumstance the photograph of Dragut's tomb was given me in Tripoli by a member of the once reigning dynasty of Karamanli, whose ancestors were a thorn in the side of the Grand Masters in the last century of their rule in Malta.

My thanks are similarly due to the R.A.F., the Malta Museum, the Malta Government Tourist Bureau and the Director of Public Works, while I owe to the courtesy of the Administration of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris the photograph of the jewelled hilt of the sword sent by Philip II to Grand Master La Valette.

I have also drawn on the work of Malta's excellent professional photographers, especially Mr E. A. Gouder. Likewise represented are Messrs R. Ellis, the Grand Studio, S. L. Cassar, G. Fürst (women in *faldettas*), all of Valetta; Messrs M. Farrugia of Gozo and Felice of Pawla. The photograph of the Inca monoliths at Ollantay-Tampu in Peru is by Martin Chambi of Cuzco, a Peruvian Indian.

H.C.L.

9: Luke G 5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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The letter *x* in Maltese is pronounced like the English *sh*; *q* is a hard guttural. A dot over *c* and *g* (*ċ* and *ġ*) indicates that those letters are then to be pronounced respectively like *ch* in "chair" and the soft *g* in "giant."

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To Malta, through our Mediterranean Sea.
Marlowe

Je ferai halte,
Car l'âge m'alourdit un peu,
Aux blanches terrasses de Malte
Entre l'eau bleue et le ciel bleu.
Théophile Gautier

Then cried the soul of the stout Apostle Paul to God;
"Once we frapped a ship, and she laboured woundily.
There were fourteen score of these,
And they blessed Thee on their knees,
When they learned Thy Grace and Glory under Malta by the sea!"
Rudyard Kipling

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER I

Introductory

MY EIGHT CROWDED YEARS OF LIVING AND WORKING IN Malta—preceded by two brief halts as a temporary Naval Officer towards the end of the First World War—taught me a little about Maltese affairs and conditions, perhaps as much as a mere sojourner may expect to absorb in less than a decade. And the more I discovered about Malta and the Maltese, the better I grew to like both. What I then acquired, and retain, was an affection neither uncritical nor undiscriminating but based on the beginnings of understanding, I hope, of a small but complex community. I should be glad to think that something of what I have learned about and feel for those two remarkable little islands has found expression in the following pages. 114

This book is not a guide, it is not a handbook, it is not a history, it is not a collection of personal reminiscences, even if a personal note may be faintly audible here and there. It is above all not a commentary on Malta's politics, although I had my fill and more of these during my eight years. Twice during this period was Self-Government suspended and twice did I assume departmental charge under the Governor of the civil administration (having been concerned during Self-Government only with the Imperial side of the diarchy), a type of experience common enough among politicians returning from the wilderness to office but rare to the verge of uniqueness among Civil Servants. And there were other experiences scarcely less unusual. 121 123 66 [114]

Nor were Maltese politics of mere local, parish-pump range. Even in Homeric times Malta was looked upon as "the navel of the inland sea"; and the winds that blow upon it from every quarter, the cross-currents that buffet its rocky 121 66

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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121 66 shores, are composed of more than the physical elements of air and water. The implications and repercussions of Maltese politics when I had experience of them were unfortunately often international and sometimes politico-ecclesiastical (these can be very prickly); not infrequently they impinged upon the most fundamental constitutional principles. For the relations between Church and State have given rise to controversies that have troubled Christendom since the Dark Ages; other Maltese problems were equally deeply rooted in a long and complicated past. Their implications and repercussions bore, in fact, a striking resemblance in certain directions to those of politics in the Palestine of the Mandate, where I had previously served. Happily the Maltese scene lacked one factor—the ambiguity of the established policy—which in Palestine made an administrator's life a hell on earth; in other respects politics in Malta could be almost as corrosive, almost as pervasive. But they will not pervade this book, nor even enter it except occasionally for the sole purpose of *constatation*, that untranslatable word.

121 These, then, are the things which this book is not. I find it less easy to state what it is. I have called it an "Account and an Appreciation" because I can think of no better definition of what I have tried to do in the chapters that follow. A reviewer of one of my previous books remarked that Malta was the only part of the Mediterranean about which I had not written. At least I have now repaired that omission, if omission it may claim to have been.

114 [128] The book was begun in Malta, continued in Barbados, finished, of all places, in the Straits of Magellan, the eye-witness account of whose discovery, written by Antonio Pigafetta, a Knight of the Order of S. John, was dedicated to Philippe Villiers de L'Isle Adam, the first Grand Master of the Order to reign in Malta. I left Malta in 1938, whisked from the land-locked Mediterranean, where from choice I had served during most of my career, to the greatest of the oceans, the Pacific, at the other side of the globe. Since my

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return to the Old World I have fortunately been able to revisit Malta a good many times, but in the interval it had suffered the greatest physical damage in its history, had undergone more external change than at any time since the Knights of S. John converted the "barren rock" of their first impressions into one of the most thickly built-up geographical units in the world. 114

In the circumstances I may well have fallen into errors of commission and omission, for which, if so, I ask the reader's indulgence.

"Even S. Paul," say the Maltese encouragingly—for S. Paul is Malta's most deeply venerated saint—"even S. Paul suffered shipwreck in Malta."

CHAPTER II

Where and What is Malta?

133 SEVENTEEN MILES IN LENGTH AND NINE MILES ACROSS AT ITS widest, with its long axis running north-west and south-east, Malta is the principal island of one of the smallest archipelagoes in the world, a survival from those remote days when continents were differently shaped and the Mediterranean was a cluster of fresh-water lakes, divided by land bridges that connected Europe with Africa. Of one of these bridges the Maltese archipelago is to-day the sole existing pier, the one remaining fragment of a causeway along which prehistoric pachyderms and ruminants groped their puzzled way to the African warmth when driven from Europe by its increasing glaciation. Some of these mighty beasts lingered too long on the Maltese pier, and the cave of Ghar Dalam, "the Cave of Darkness," near Bir Zebbuġa at the southern extremity of the island, is a storehouse of their remains, converted in the course of ages into layers of fossil deposits as important as any of their kind in the world.

648
175
(133) This position midway between two continents has at times created doubts in the minds of scientists no less than of administrators as to the one to which Malta should properly belong, just as doubts have been expressed whether Cyprus should be held to belong to Europe or to Asia. These doubts were set at rest, from the legal point of view at all events, soon after the British Occupation. For in 1801 the Parliament of the United Kingdom gravely enacted, in clause 3 of 41 Geo. III cap. 103—or, to give the law its full title, "An Act to empower His Majesty to regulate the trade and commerce to and from the isle of Malta until the signing of a definitive Treaty of Peace, and from thence until six weeks

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9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960

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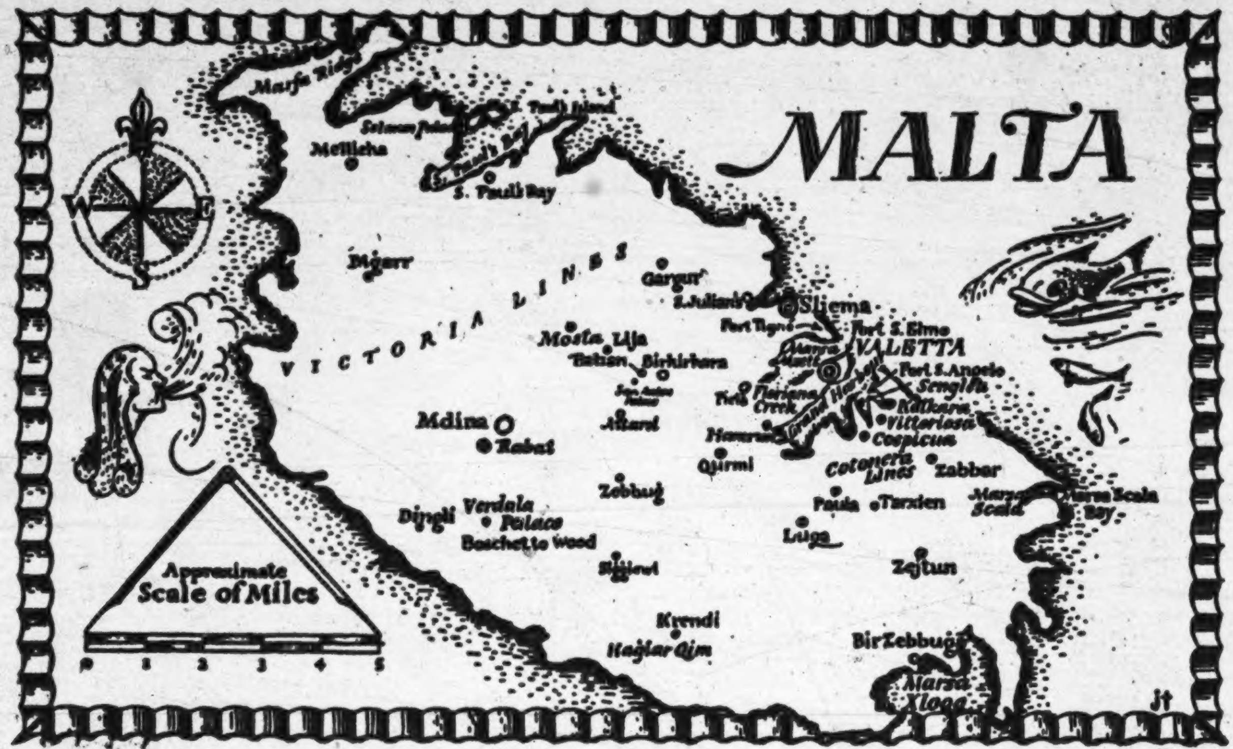
[P.17]


MALTA
Marfa Ridge
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S. Paul's Island
S. Paul's Bay
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Gargur
S. Julian's
Sliema
Port Tigne
Fort S. Elmo
VALETTA
Marsa Muscet
Fort S. Angelo
Senglea
Kalkara
Vittoriosa
Cospicua
Grand Harbour
Floriana Creek
Pieta
Hamrun
Mosta
Lija
Balzan
Birkirkara
San Anton Palace
Attard
Mdina
Rabat
Qormi
Zebbug
Cotonera Lines
Zabbar
Paula
Tarxien
Marsa Scala
Marsa Scala Bay
Luqa
Zejtun
Dingli
Verdala Palace
Boschetto Wood
Siggiewi
Krendi
Hagiar Qim
Bir Zebbug
Marsa Xlocq
Approximate Scale of Miles
0
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4
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Jt

102
103

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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648 after the next meeting of Parliament; and to declare the isle
175 of Malta to be part of Europe"—

> that the said Island of Malta and dependencies thereof shall be deemed, taken and construed to be part of Europe for all purposes, and as to all matters and things whatever; any law or laws, usage or custom, or act or acts, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

114
175 But this enactment, although it satisfied the administrators, did not wholly silence the men of science, who produced, in addition to Europe and Africa, yet a third continental claimant to the geographical ownership of the Maltese Islands. In the middle of the nineteenth century a Maltese architect and engineer named Grognet de Vassé, best known as the designer of the great Parish Church of Mosta, propounded the theory that the submerged continent of Atlantis lay between Cyrenaica in the east and Tunis in the west, almost filling the indentations in the coast of North Africa which the Romans called Syrtes Major and Syrtes Minor and we know to-day as the Gulfs of Sidra and Gabes. Of this continent, said Grognet, the Maltese archipelago formed the north-western corner; and he published a learned treatise in support of his theory, which he based on ample references to mythology, etymology and classical geography.

It is an ingenious piece of imaginative reasoning whereby the author places the Elysian Fields and the lower world of the ancients in Atlantis, the mouths of the rivers Acheron and Phlegethon in that part of Atlantis which is Malta—namely, in the Grand Harbour and the harbour of Marsa Mxett—and an outlet of the river Styx in one of the springs of the gardens of the Villa Frere, for many years the beautiful residence and garden in Pietà of the distinguished scholar, man of letters, diplomatist and friend of Sir Walter Scott, the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere.

137
132 Nevertheless the legislators of 1801 were rightly inspired, for in climate and vegetation no less than in the works of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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man Malta is essentially European, a projection of Europe 137
into the south. Its vegetation is of the Mediterranean type, [132]
similar to that of Southern Spain, the Riviera, Sicily and the islands of the Ægean although, strangely enough, it lacks among its wild flowers the cyclamen which so delightfully and characteristically, in springtime, carpets the ground in Cyprus and the Isles of Greece. Here and there, it is true, there rises above its pines and cypresses and carob-trees an occasional stately date-palm, suggesting a garden-escape from the groves of Tunis. And Tunis, whence come the best dates in the world, lies, be it noted, to the north of Malta. But the fruit on the date-palms of Malta practically never ripens. Malta is too European for that.

2

If anything shaped as differently from a circle as the 131
Mediterranean can be said to have a centre, that centre is 175
Malta. The Maltese archipelago is equidistant from the 648
Mediterranean's western and eastern extremities; it is its half-way house between Occident and Orient, historically no less than geographically; it has been its nerve-centre—and more than its nerve-centre, its magnet—from the "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." All the people of the Middle Sea have possessed, influenced or coveted Malta at one time or another, the first to do so of whom we have definite knowledge being a small seafaring, trading and colonizing tribe from its easternmost shores. "The twin islands of Melita and Gaulos," wrote Professor Freeman, "lay immediately in the way of Phœnician adventurers" and became, and remained for centuries, a Phœnician settlement. It was the all-absorbing power of Rome that first brought them into the European fold.

As the nerve-centre, as the magnet, of the Mediterranean 175
Malta was all but snatched back from the European fold 648
when the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent sought

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648 desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty
175 years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But
he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of
blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant:
he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval
base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean.
Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the
point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the
naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean
but a vital link in the route to a farther East than
Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither
William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn
on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

3

161- At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an
[162] estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls
(exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which
Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to
say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile,
which makes it one of the most densely populated geographical
[167] units in the world. The figure would have been
higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia
161 and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by
619, the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small
for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto
themselves, with their own language, their own traditions,
their own physical characteristics and a history that is one
of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

172 For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and
173 Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days
reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in
other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta
[132] was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

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[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the "tempestuous wind called Euroclydon" that still whistles 172
across it during the winter months under its modern name 173
of *gregale*, the "Greek wind," drove S. Paul on to its shores
and brought it about that the "chief man" of the island, [132]
Publius, became its first Bishop. It was a centre of civilization, as well as a centre of the religious life of the Western Mediterranean, very much earlier, for Malta, in the words of the lamented Sir Themistocles Zammit, "was the holy island of neolithic faith, the half-way house of the early mariners, who trusted themselves to their frail wooden craft, full of hope in a protecting power."

Later, when we emerge from prehistory, we find the 175
position reversed: Malta, instead of extending supernatural 648
protection to peoples beyond its shores, comes under the
political protection of others. During the many centuries 197
of its recorded history Malta has had many rulers: the Phœnicians and their offspring, the Carthaginians, then Romans, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Aragonese and Castilians, then for two and a half centuries the international Order of S. John of Jerusalem, and, finally, at the invitation of the Maltese people after a brief French occupation, the British. But despite the impact of such cosmopolitan influences this people has clung tenaciously to its ancient tongue, which is unquestionably of Semitic structure and has claims to descent from the speech of Dido and Hannibal.[1]
It was, in fact, from a bilingual inscription in Phœnician and [172]
Greek found in Malta in 1697, of which more will be said in the following chapter, that the Phœnician alphabet was reconstructed. Of this inscription Dr A. V. Laferla writes in his *Story of Man in Malta*: "The construction and grammar . . . are identical with those of modern Maltese and many of the words (*lil, bin, tnejn, jisma, iberikom*) are still in use at the
present day." S. Luke in the Acts describes the Maltese as 101
"barbarians"—that is, as neither Greeks nor Romans—and 175

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[1] The name Hannibal is still met with in Malta as a Christian name. Its Maltese diminutive is Nibblu.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

175 we may safely assume that S. Paul's Aramaic was as comprehensible
101 to them as was their related Phœnician to him.

There seems to be no evidence that this Semitic speech of
197 the Maltese "barbarians" had been replaced by some other
language when the Arabs seized the Maltese islands in 870.
648 Many of the philologists therefore hold that on to this Punic
175 stock the Arabs grafted, during the two hundred and twenty
years of their occupation, a vocabulary of contemporary
Arabic which did not completely oust words of the older,
kindred stratum. These scholars consider that the dialect
received, in fact, a second, fresher infusion from the same
reservoir and that the resulting blend is the core of the
Maltese language of to-day.

197 Inevitably, in the course of ages, this language has
borrowed words from the languages and dialects of the other
countries with which Malta has been connected—from
Sicilian, from Aragonese, from Italian, from French, even
from English—but it has always fitted such words into its
own Semitic framework, has governed them according to
167 the rules of its own Semitic grammar and mechanics. Thus
the Maltese who have emigrated to Syria and to the north
coast of Africa have no difficulty in making themselves
understood by their Arabic-speaking neighbours, who for
their part can make themselves readily understood in Malta.
197 Here is the Lord's Prayer in Maltese, which I quote so that
539 the reader unfamiliar with the language may see for himself
what it looks like:

Missierna li inti fis-smewwiet,
Jitqaddes ismek,
Tigi saltnatek,
Ikun li trid Int, kif fis-sema hekda fl-art.

Hobzna ta' kull jum aghtina l-lum,
Ahfrilna dnubietna, bhalma nahfru lil min hu hati ghalina.
U la ddahhalniex fit-tigrib,
Izda ehlisna mid-deni. Hekk ikun.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

And here is another example, a translation by the late Sir 197
Augustus Bartolo, scholar, historian, orator, staunch 539
Imperialist and one of His Majesty's Judges in Malta, of the first verse of Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*, beginning with the familiar words "Tell me not, in mournful numbers":

Tghidulix li id-dinja hi holma,
Mhiex hlief frugha, u niket, u hemm;
Dak li jidher fil-wiċċ hu qarrieqi,
Ujekk torqod ir-ruh taghna tintemm.

The formal allocutions of the present Archbishop of Malta to his flock are headed as follows:

"MICHAEL GONZI
Ghall Grazzja t'Alla
U Tas-Sedi Apostolika
ARCISQOF TA' MALTA
SAHHA U BARKA"

(Michael Gonzi, by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See Archbishop of Malta, Greeting and Blessing.)

It doesn't really look much like a dialect of Italian, does 197
it? Yet that is the impression which Mussolini's unscrupulous 648
and efficient propaganda bureau determined to create in Italy. It set itself to convince the Italians that the Maltese were a branch of the Italian race and that their speech was an Italian dialect—a somewhat corrupt one, perhaps—which had absorbed during the Arab occupation of their islands a certain quantity of Arabic words. Fascist propaganda would draw a false and misleading analogy between Maltese and such Italian dialects as Sicilian, which, while Italian in grammar and structure, has incorporated Arabic words with its Italian vocabulary.

In point of fact Maltese is the converse of Sicilian, since it is an Oriental language that has absorbed non-Oriental words into its Semitic structure. But Mussolini and his agents, zealously directed by his son-in-law Ciano, succeeded in making large numbers of Italians believe quite honestly—

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

197 648 seeing that they had no means of checking the facts for themselves—what they wanted them to swallow. Even in the eighteenth century, as we shall see in Chapter XIII, an Italian visitor to Malta described the language of the Maltese as "their own perfidious idiom."

A case in point is the episode, recounted to the writer by one of His Majesty's Ambassadors to the Quirinal during the Fascist régime, concerning a Maltese football team on a visit to Italy. On their arrival in Rome the Maltese were met by the Italian team detailed to look after them, who had been well briefed to treat their visitors as 'unredeemed' blood-brothers. The Italians, knowing no reason to doubt the accuracy of their brief, greeted the Maltese footballers at the station in all good faith with a cordial address in eloquent Italian, of which their guests understood barely a word. Realizing, however, that they in their turn would be expected to say something, they replied with an equally friendly speech in Maltese, whereupon their hosts threw up their hands in mystified despair, crying, "*Ma che fratelli son' questi*—but what sort of brothers are these?"

A pleasant French contribution to Maltese is a word for 197 192 a train, *xmundifer* (*chemin de fer*), thought to have been introduced by Maltese emigrants returning from Algeria and Tunis. And, as has been said above, English words, too, have found their way into Malta's eclectic vocabulary, words for the most part of a technical kind or related to sport. Among these is the verb "to score" which, as Professor J. Aquilina has pointed out, is conjugated as *niskorja*, I score, *skorja*, *skorjat*, *skorjajna*, *skorjaw*—he, she, we, they have scored a goal, and so on.

But it is interesting to note that we appear to be witnessing [576] the beginnings of a two-way traffic in this connexion. The common Maltese form of greeting and farewell is *sahha*, literally "health," a word that springs easily and comfortably also to the lips of non-Maltese who have spent any time in the islands. Thanks, no doubt, to the habitual use of this

term by the numerous British Service men and women who 197
have been stationed in or have passed through Malta, *sahha* 192-
has been admitted, in the form "saha," into the more recent editions of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* as an English word for "good-bye," with due acknowledgment of its Maltese origin. And perhaps "saha" is but the forerunner of others; for in its issue of the 5th January 1945 the London *Spectator* had this to say on the etymology of the word "spitchered," which occurs in one of the war books on Malta:

> The word clearly derives from the Maltese *spicca*, meaning "finished" or something similar. Naval opinion agrees with Air Force opinion on that. But naval opinion claims credit for embodying the word in the English language. And as naval opinion can point to its use as long ago as 1903, the Air Force does seem to be grounded or, indeed, spitchered on this particular point.

4

In some parts of the Old World the visitor can select, 133
according to his tastes, the century that he prefers. It is no 172
exaggeration to say that in Malta he can choose the millennium and more than the millennium. If he is a palæontologist he may wander about the cave of Ghar Dalam and study *in situ* the remains of the elephants and hippopotami who left their bones there when the world was yet young, and of giant swans who sailed on lakes that have long since
vanished. Advancing from these and from the Neanderthal 172
Man, of whom traces may have been found in Malta, many thousands of years into the Stone Age, he will find in Malta and Gozo a series of megalithic and neolithic sanctuaries—Tarxien, the Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni, Haġiar Qim, Mnajdra, Ġgantija, to mention only the most important—unequalled in any other part of the world.

He will find other survivals of the Stone Age, of a different 172
sort, in the cart-tracks which traverse many of the barren 493
136

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

172, rocky surfaces of the island, the tram-lines of neolithic man;
493 and he will notice, if he is observant, that the dimensions of
[136.) the flat two-wheeled carts which, with their gaily caparisoned
little ponies or donkeys, are the traditional vehicle of the
Maltese countryman of to-day correspond almost exactly
with those of the carts of his neolithic predecessor, as
136 deduced from the width of these ancient tracks. If he is
interested in strange animals that still survive but must be a
living link with hoary antiquity, he can study on the picturesque,
uninhabited islet of Filfla, now used only as a target
for gun practice, a remarkable lizard of the darkest green
spotted with red (*Lacerta muralis* var. *filfolensis*), which occurs
nowhere else in the world but on this tiny and diminishing
spit of rock.

341: The dominant architectural notes of the Maltese Islands are
megalithic and Baroque, and the gamut thus established can
217., scarcely be called a narrow one. So far as works of art are
192 concerned, the Museum in Valetta, housed before World
War II in the Auberge d'Italie and since 1958 in that of
Provence, contains a scientifically arranged exhibition of
[742] Stone Age culture unrivalled in any other country. This
collection, whose most bizarre items are the astonishing fat
female deities characteristic of Maltese neolithic sculpture,
was organized in chronological sequence by the Museum's
late learned Director, Sir Themistocles Zammit, who made
a second international reputation in the field of Maltese
archæology and excavation after having made an earlier one
in medical research in connexion with undulant, or Malta,
fever.

But the visitor is not obliged to study the activities of
241: these remote peoples solely in museums. If he wishes to see
501 how the distant forbears of the present population cultivated
178 their land he has only to watch the Maltese farmer of to-day
[532] ploughing his field; if he is a student of cultural survivals he
will note the eye of Osiris still painted on the bows of Malta's
ooo sturdy little schooners and characteristic "Gozo boats." If

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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If
he cares to attend the Cathedral of Mdina, the island's earliest 796
capital, on the 4th November, he will hear a Mass said for 175
the repose of the soul of Roger the Norman, Count of Sicily, who ended the Arab occupation of Malta in 1090 and is there commemorated as "Deliverer of Malta and Founder of the *mensa* [table] of the Cathedral, the Bishop and the Canons." Should he chance to be in Malta before the beginning of Lent he will have the opportunity to witness in the carnival festivities not only the jollifications common to other Mediterranean carnivals but also features of more local interest, such as the Parata dance on the Palace Square, which takes its symbolism from the capture of a Maltese bride by a Moslem corsair.

If he prolongs his stay into the summer he will see on the 527.
29th June, the feast of S. Peter and S. Paul, one of the most 526
characteristic of Maltese popular functions in the densely thronged Mnarja races. These races, for horses and donkeys, are of unknown but undoubtedly great age. The course is a piece of straight, hard road leading uphill towards the big square in front of Mdina, a square known as the Saqqaja. Here, from his great stone box, the Grand Master in former days, in these days the Governor of Malta, hands the banners of victory down to the winning competitors, while interested spectators watch the proceedings from two smaller but similar boxes, flanking the Grand Master's and belonging to some of the leading families of the island.

The name Mnarja is a corruption of the Latin *luminaria* 527
(illumination), for it was the custom on that day to illuminate 173
the churches of Mdina and the adjacent Rabat in honour of 584
the two saints. A more picturesque if unfortunately less trustworthy tradition derives Mnarja from Hymen, the goddess of marriage, it being supposed that the young men of the island were formerly in the habit of choosing their wives from among the maidens crowding to watch the contest. This much, at all events, may be urged in support of the latter theory, that until modern times Maltese brides

527 would insist on the stipulation being inserted in their
173 marriage settlement, their *kitba taz-zwieġ*, that their husbands
584 should take them to the Mnarja every year.

The banners given in prizes to the present day are long
526 and narrow pieces of brocade of different colours called
361 *paliu*, which it is the custom of the fortunate winners to take back to their casals to be used as the altar-cloth of the parish church for the ensuing year. The casals, it should be explained, are the 'villages' of Malta, if 'village' is the appropriate term, for they are stone-built compact townships with populations often running into five figures. The Maltese word for them is *hal*.

291 Again, our visitor will learn that the *faldetta* or *ghonnella*—the true Maltese term is *stamina*—of the Maltese women does not owe its existence, as some people allege, to the need for defence against the excessive gallantry of Bonaparte's troops, but is of much more ancient origin. If proof were needed, there is in the Royal Malta Library a print of the year 1576 showing a Maltese lady wearing the national head-dress. The *ghonnella* is a voluminous hood of rich silk—black everywhere save in the villages of Zabbar and Zejtun, where it is blue and is called *xurqana*—stiffened inside the top edge by a piece of cardboard about a yard long, one end of which rests on the head, while the other end has to be held. Originally, it was really, like the Turkish *charshaf*, a skirt or petticoat (which is what the word *ghonnella* means) thrown up over the head. Later it was curtailed, for which reason it is sometimes called *nofs ghonnella*, a half skirt; but it is still cut to show the placket-hole—in point of fact, half the placket-hole—of the garment from which it has sprung.

[191] This striking and picturesque mode of female adornment or, rather, concealment constitutes Malta's one characteristic article of dress and is the local method of shrouding a woman's face and form, a custom common to southern latitudes from as far east as India to as far west as the Azores,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

although the Maltese form was probably dictated by the 291
need to cover the head when entering a church. Its one [illegible]
drawback is that it takes up a lot of space, more space, 494
unfortunately, than is available in the motor-bus, modern Malta's form of land transport. Let it be hoped that it will survive these disabilities, for it is not only unique but also an asset if those of the younger generation who have abandoned it in favour of the banal dress of everywhere else would only realize the fact, enhancing beauty while discreetly veiling any imperfections. These young ladies should ponder the words of Monsieur André Maurois in his little sketch of Malta:

> When its wearer moves, the *faldetta* is filled with air, and the Maltese girls, tripping in twos and threes along the streets, look like flotillas of graceful barques with black sails, blown along their course by the wind of destiny.

Oddly enough another French visitor and Academician anticipated by just a century, and in almost the same terms, Monsieur Maurois's charming flight, or perhaps echo, of fancy. Monsieur de Lamartine, visiting Malta with his English wife in 1832, describes the *ghonnella* as

> a half-cloak of black silk . . . of a light texture caught by a breeze, suggesting the sail of a skiff whose capricious folds alternately conceal and reveal the mysterious figure of the wearer, which seems able to escape at will from its embrace.

In the Malta of an earlier age, when the lives of Maltese 562.
women and girls were closely circumscribed, the *ghonnella*
was not the only aid to their seclusion. Those who wander 291
about the country districts will notice here and there that the 342.
older farmhouses have no windows giving on to the street; 584.
the Maltese countrywoman, like her Spanish sister, had to 824.
turn her face inward, not outward. But what the houses had, and some still retain, were stone brackets on the outer wall, made to hold the pots of sweet basil which showed that

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

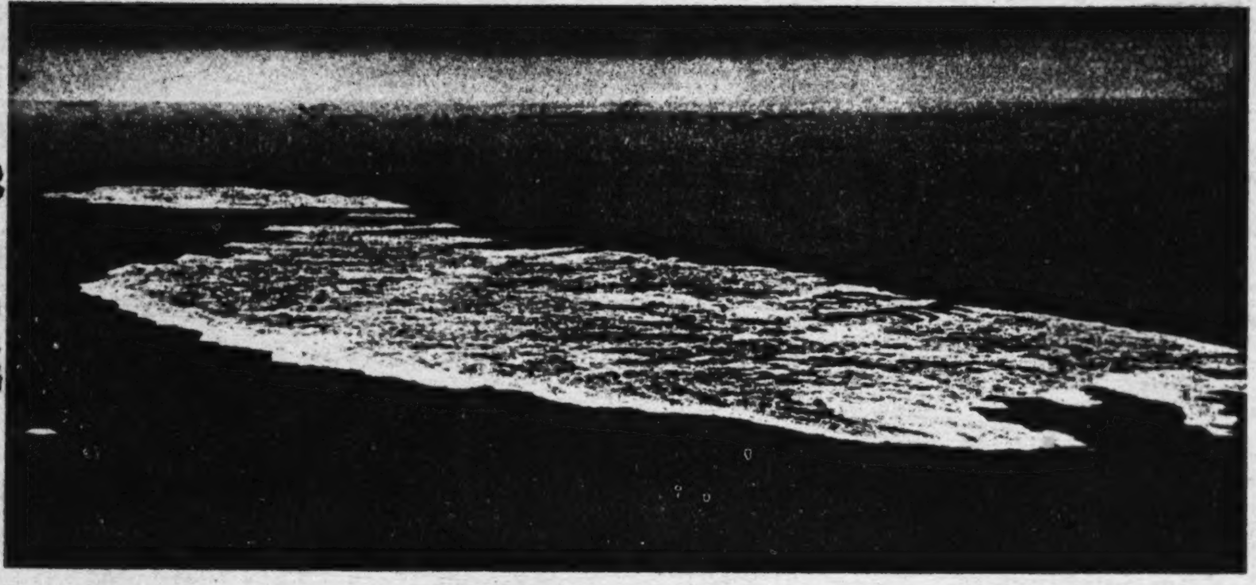
562 a marriageable daughter lived within. One pot of basil to
342 each marriageable girl. So the potential swain could tell at a
glance whereabouts to loiter for a discreet preview and
584 what address, should he be interested, to give to the marriage-
824 broker.
291

[pp 31-55 of text not processed. Plates facing pp 40,41,48 and 49 have been processed].

133

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[facing p. 40]



THE MALTESE ARCHIPELAGO FROM THE AIR
In left foreground the islet of Filfla.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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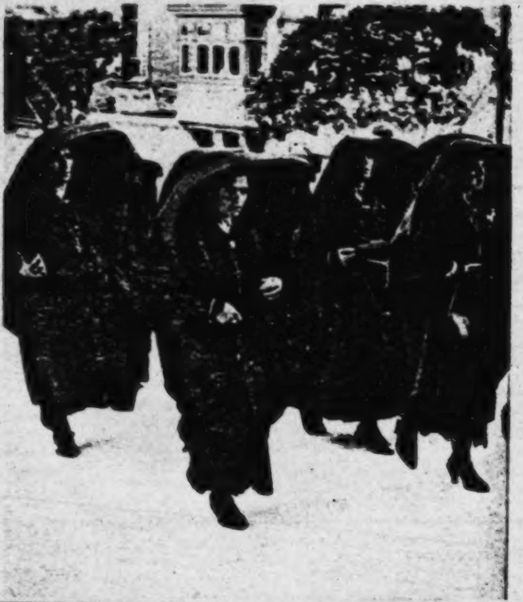

MALTESE WOMEN IN FALDETTAS
[See pp. 28–29.]

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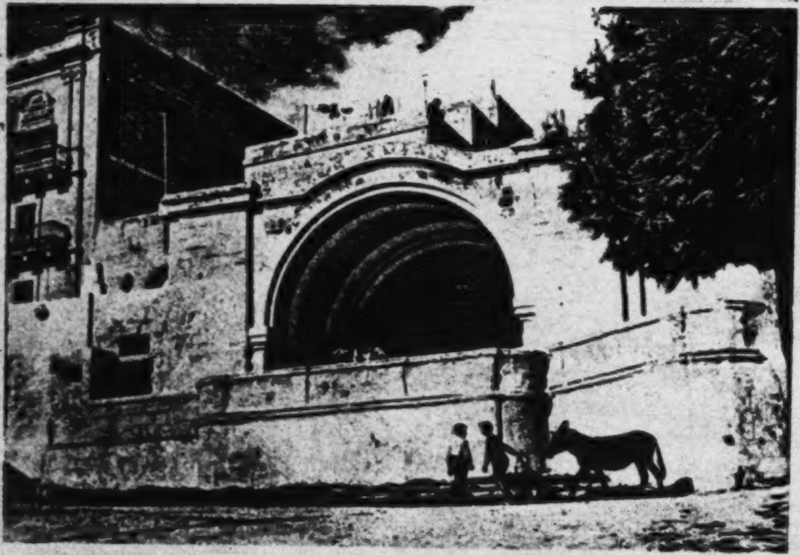

MNARJA RACES: THE GRAND MASTER'S (NOW THE GOVERNOR'S) BOX BELOW MDINA
[See pp. 27–28.]

[facing P. 41]
[pp. 41-48 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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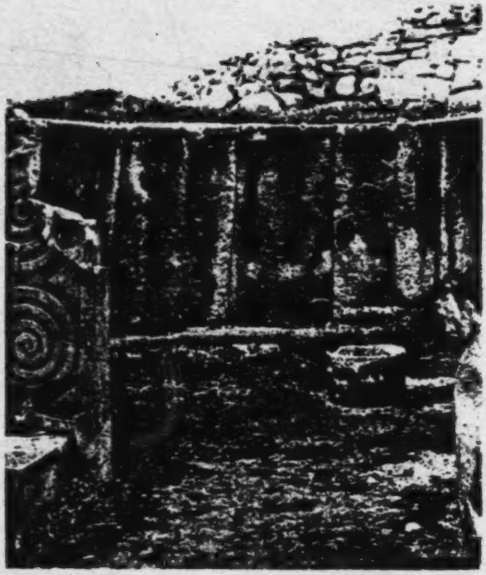
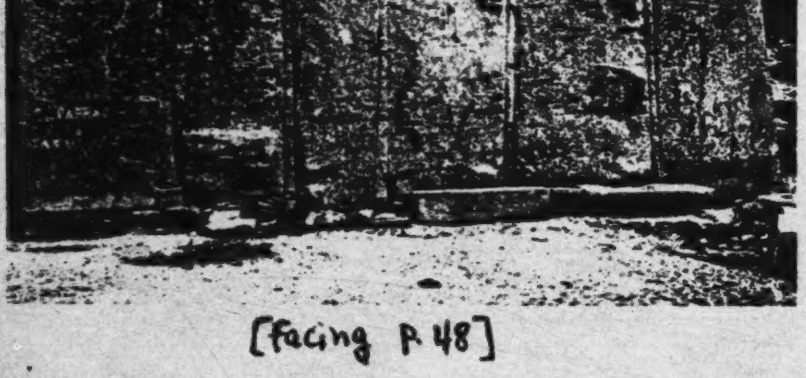


TARXIEN: MONOLITHS IN SECOND TEMPLE
[*See p.* 34]

MONOLITHS IN INCA CITADEL OF OLLANTAY-TAMPU, PERU



[facing p. 48]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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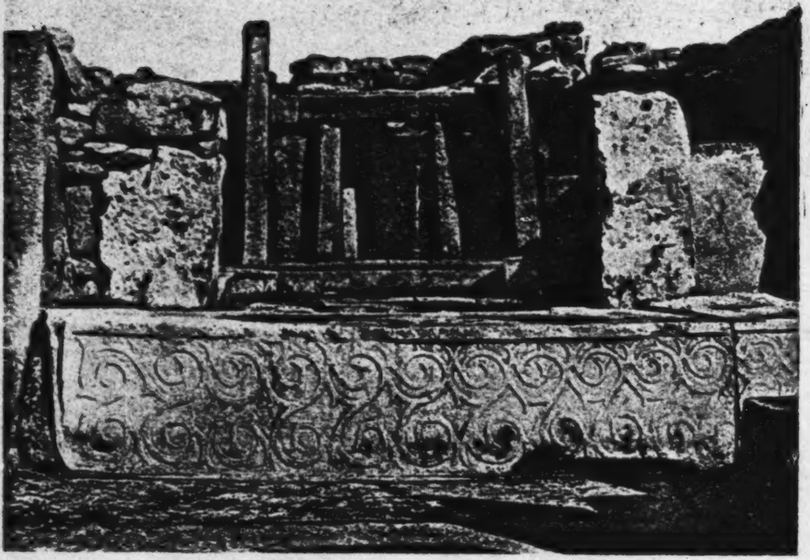
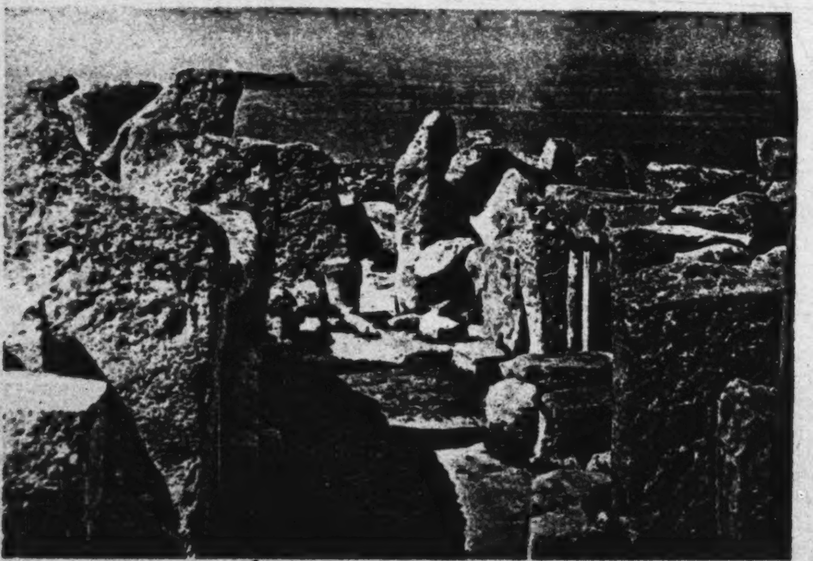


TARXIEN: FRIEZE AND AN ALTAR
[*See pp.* 33-35]

TEMPLE OF HAĠIAR QIM: MAIN APSE
Filfla in background.



[facing p-49,(A)]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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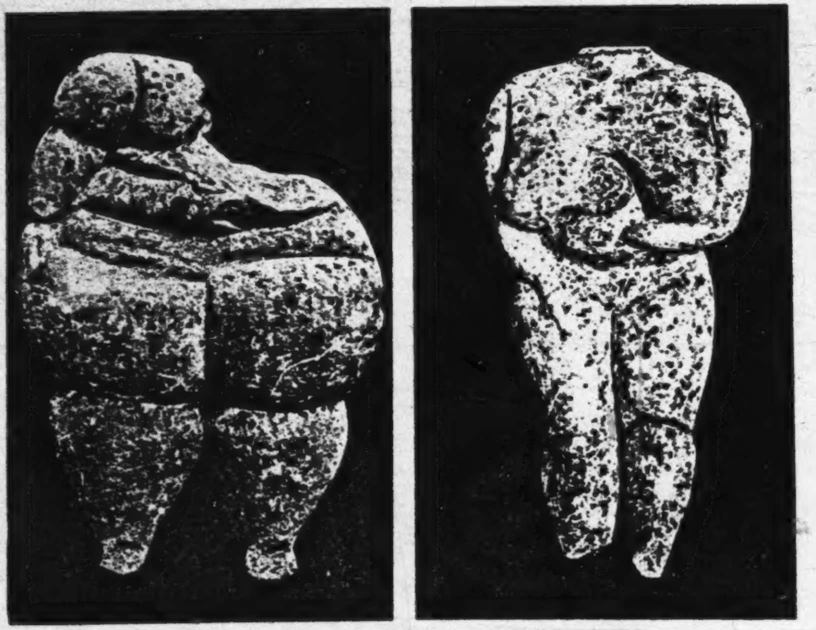


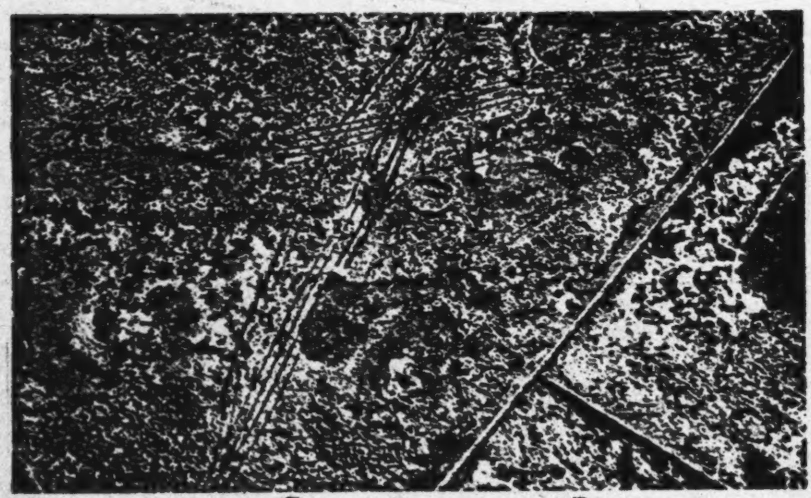
STONE AGE STATUETTES OF FAT DIVINITIES

The figure on the right is known as the "Venus of Malta."

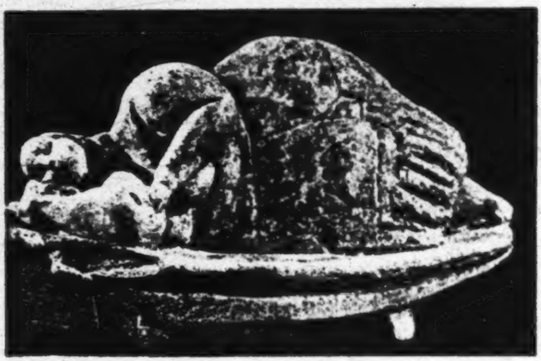
[*See p.* 34.]

STONE AGE CART-TRACKS, SHOWING CROSS-ROADS AND JUNCTIONS

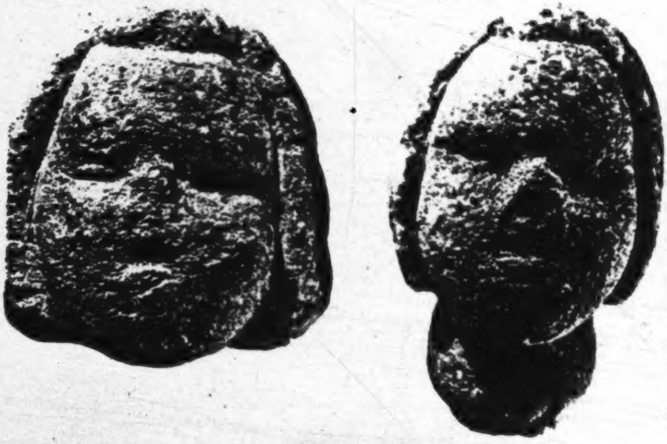
[*See pp.* 32–33.]



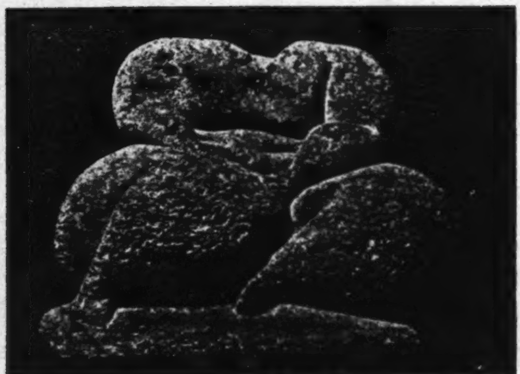
[facing p. 49, (B)]



RECUMBENT FEMALE DEITY FROM THE HYPOGEUM



TWO DETACHABLE HEADS OF FAT DEITIES



FAT FEMALE DEITY FROM HAĠIAR QIM
[*See p.* 34.]

[facing P. 49, (C)]
[pp. 49-55 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

346 As regards the ecclesiastical buildings, it is permissible to
178 regret the disappearance of all but one or two—the most notable survivor is Zejtun's "Old Parish Church" of S. Gregory—of the modest mediæval village churches, swept away to make room for the spacious, florid Baroque shrines that now raise their towers and domes high above the flat roofs of the casals. But we stand amazed at the architectural effort and achievement of the Knights in Malta in the days of their Order's greatness. Justly could they have said with Wren, "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*"

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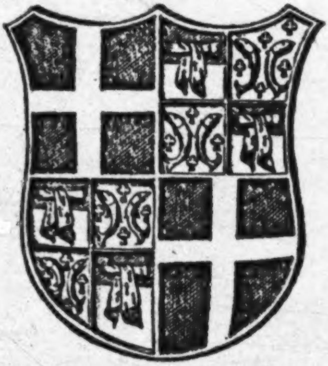

Arms of G. M. de L'Isle Adam above the Burial-place of his Entrails in Ta Ġiesu Church, Rabat

[PP. 57-69 not processed. Plates facing PP. 64 and 65 have been processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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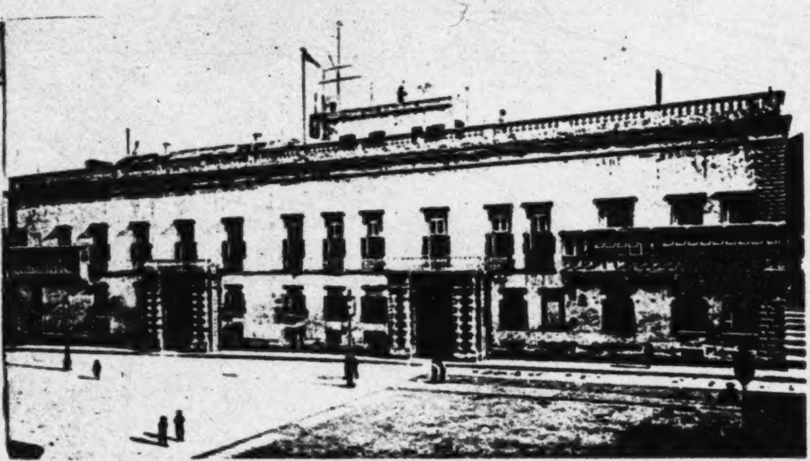

THE PALACE, VALETTA
[*See p.* 58]

GRANT OF MALTA TO THE KNIGHTS OF S. JOHN BY THE EMPEROR CHARLES V
[*See p.* 46.]

175

NOS CAROLVS ... IOANA

[facing P. 64]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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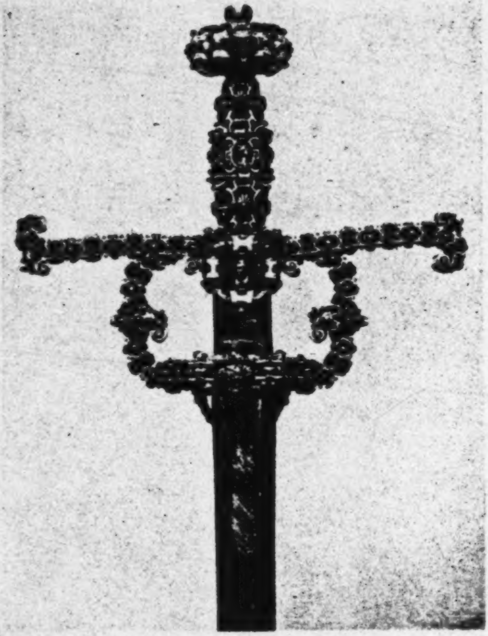

JEWELLED HILT OF SWORD GIVEN BY PHILIP II TO GRAND MASTER LA VALETTE
In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
[*See pp.* 51–52.]

CRYPT OF S. JOHN'S
The tomb of La Valette is in the niche on the left.
[*See pp.* 53–54.]

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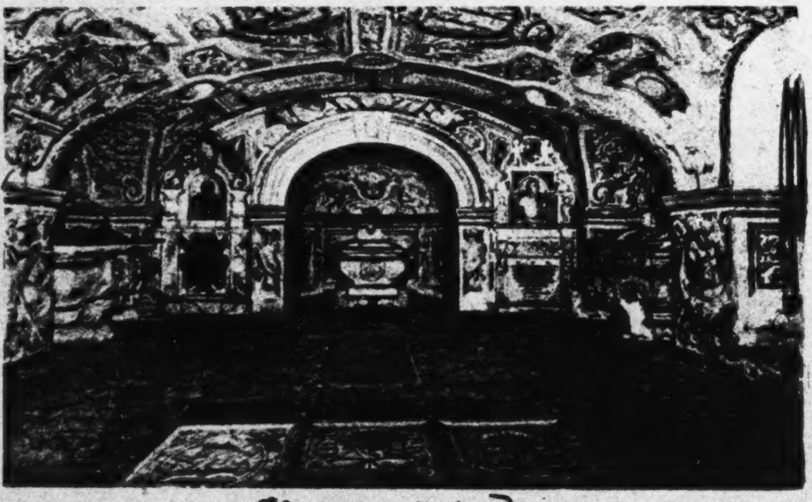


[facing p. 65]

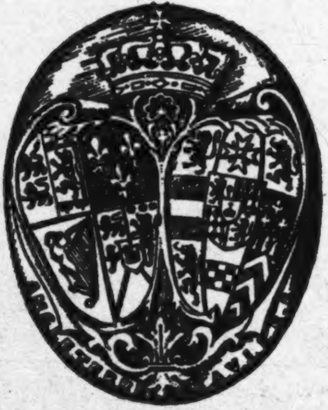
[pp. 65-67 Not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

hors-d'œuvres" of the rich mass of material available on the subject, which is all that the modest authoress allows herself to claim for her work.

113 Equally indispensable for the effect on Valetta, and Malta generally, of the Second World War is the admirably produced *Report to accompany the Outline Plan for the Region of Valletta and the Three Cities*, prepared for the Government of Malta by Austen St B. Harrison and R. Pearce Hubbard and published by that Government in 1945. Useful also is Hugh Braun's *Works of Art in Malta: Losses and Survivals in the War*, published by His Majesty's Stationery Office in 1946. The architecture of Malta during the period of the Order is fully dealt with in Dr Quentin Hughes's workmanlike study *The Building of Malta, 1530–1795*, published in 1956 by Tiranti.

186

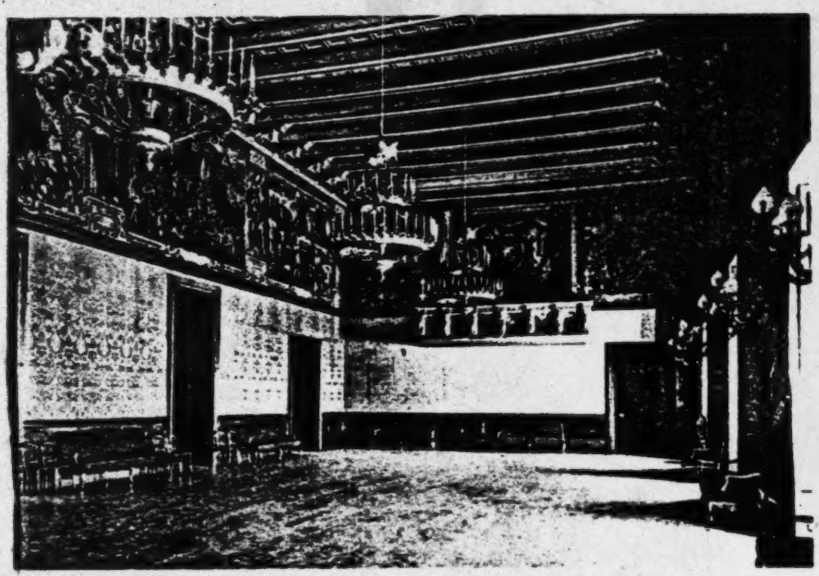


Arms of the Anglo-Bavarian Langue

[pp. 69–109 of text not processed. Plates facing pp. 80, 81, 96, 97, 104 and 105 have been processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

344
35



HALL OF S. MICHAEL AND S. GEORGE, SHOWING FRESCOES OF THE GREAT SIEGE AND MUSICIANS' GALLERY FROM THE GREAT CARRACK OF RHODES
[*See pp.* 48–49, 52 *and* 181.]

TOMB OF DRAGUT IN TRIPOLI (BARBARY)
[*See p.* 53.]

[facing p. 80]

341
493

VALETTA: AUBERGE DE CASTILE
[*See p.* 60.]

MAIN ROOM OF THE AUBERGE DE PROVENCE (NOW THE MALTA NATIONAL MUSEUM) WHEN USED AS THE COFFEE-ROOM OF THE UNION CLUB
[*See pp.* 60 *and* 63.]

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[facing P. 81]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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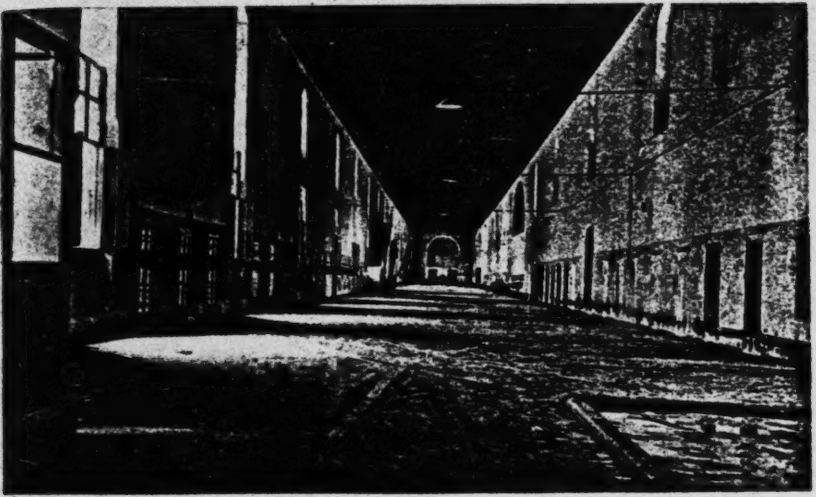
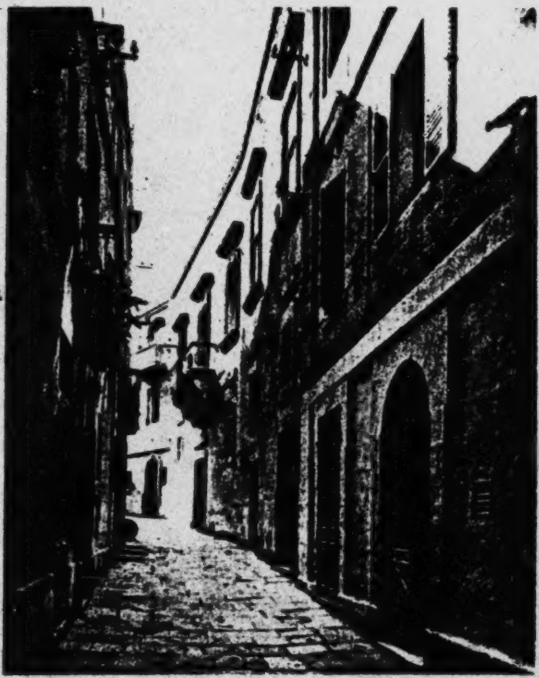


SACRED INFIRMARY: PART OF LONG WARD AFTER REMOVAL OF PARTITION WALL
[*See pp.* 66 *and* 141.]

363
342



AUBERGE OF ENGLAND AND HOUSE OF SIR OLIVER STARKEY, VITTORIOSA (BIRGU)
[*See pp.* 69 *and* 140.]

[facing p. 96]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

361
133
491

MDINA, "THE NOTABLE CITY"

In the background Mosta, with its domed church.

[*See pp.* 90 *and* 203.]

THE CATHEDRAL, MDINA, FLOODLIT FOR THE JUBILEE OF KING GEORGE V

[*See p.* 88.]

346
341

[facing p. 97]

341/
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MAIN GATE INTO MDINA, WITH ARMS OF GRAND MASTER MANOEL DE VILHENA
[*See p.* 89.]

INSIDE OF SAME, WITH ARMS OF INGUANEZ FAMILY
[*See p.* 92.]

104

THE LATE BARONESS INGUANEZ ALIGHTING FROM HER OLD FAMILY CALÈCHE, MDINA

291/
493
342
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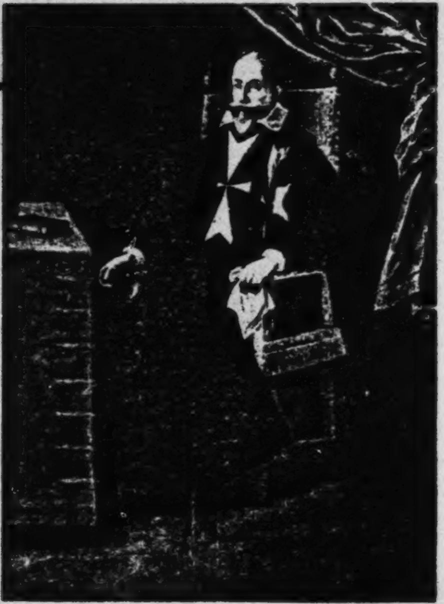
STRADA
DEICELSI

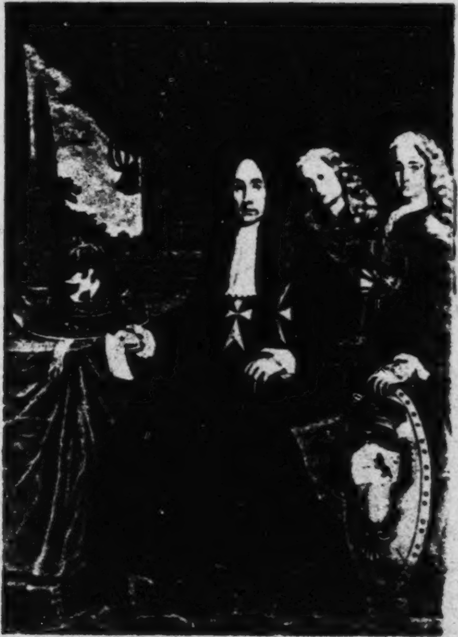
[facing p. 104, (A)]

643
292
175



DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAND MASTER'S HABIT

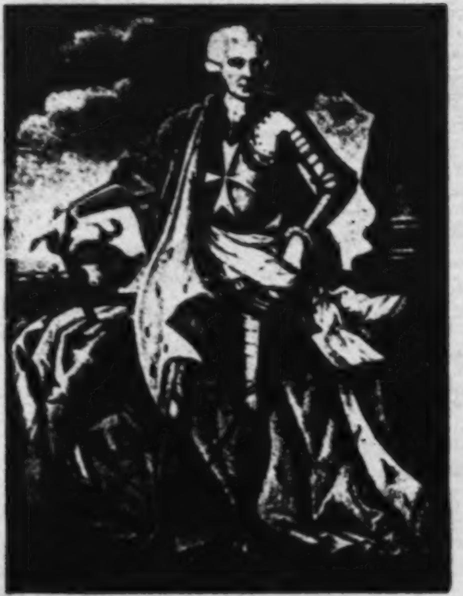
G.M. Vasconcellos



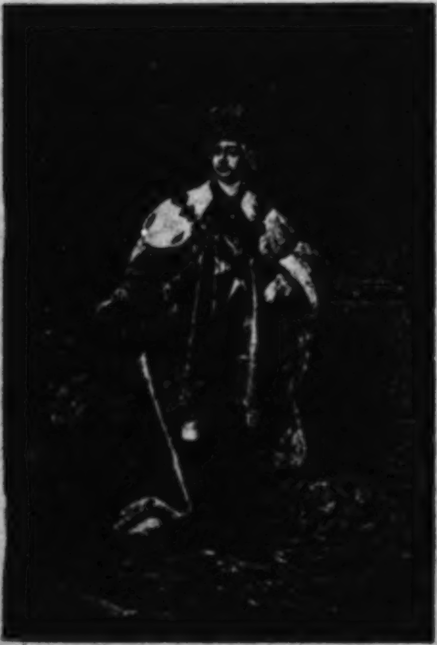
G.M. de Vilhena
(with Stoc and Pilier)

[facing p.104, (B)]

643
292
175



G.M. Hompesch



Emperor Paul of Russia as Grand Master

[facing p. 104, (c)]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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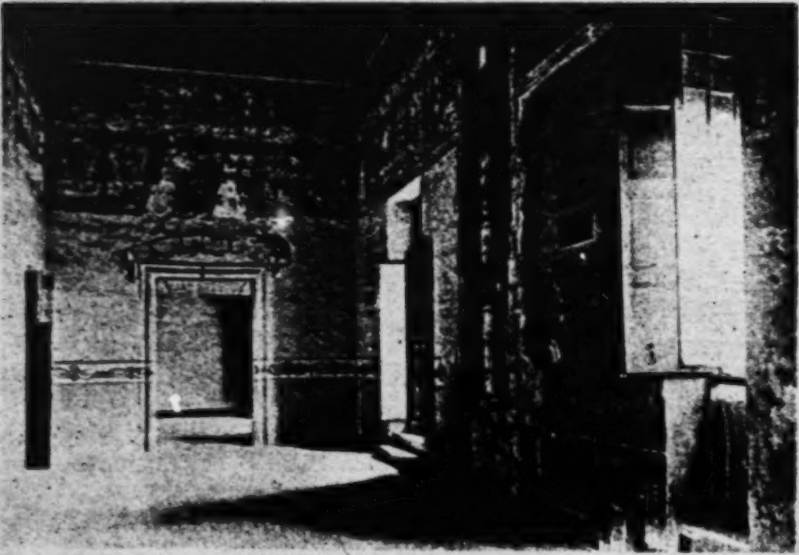
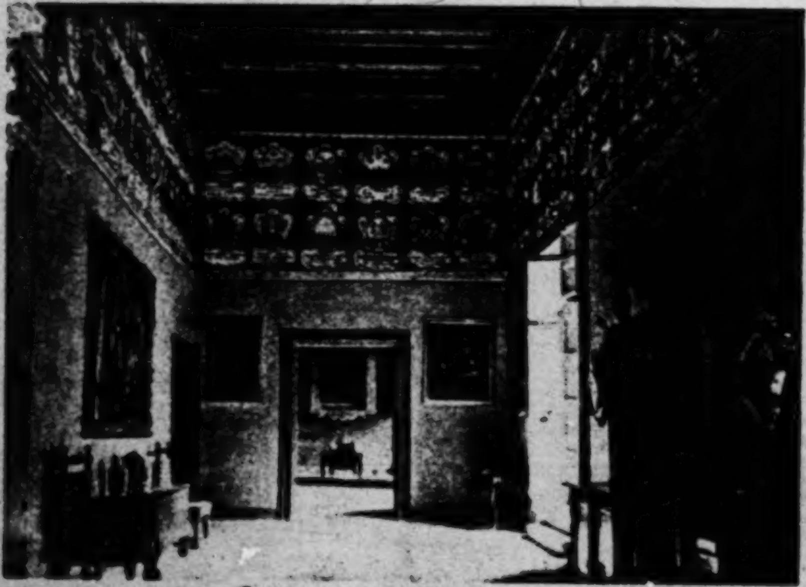


A ROOM IN THE INQUISITOR'S PALACE, VITTORIOSA, BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION

[*See pp.* 99 *and* 140.]



[facing p. 105]

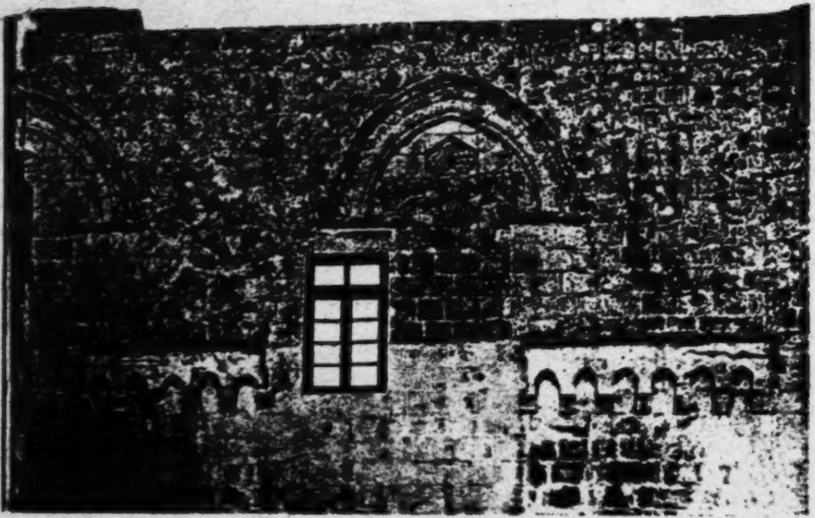
800 ears, a share of their own cosmopolitan culture, of their own standards of civilized life and manners.

They also, it would appear, taught the Maltese how to
262 cook if the origin of some of the more savoury Maltese
177 dishes—*imbuljuta* and *zalzett*, *pastizzi* and *kusksu*, has been correctly ascribed to the kitchens of the Grand Masters' palaces and Auberges of the Knights. One island speciality has even made its way into the *haute cuisine* of Europe as the perfect accompaniment of boiled turbot and similar fish. It is *Sauce Maltaise*—a *Hollandaise* encarnadined and additionally flavoured with the juice and finely shredded peel of the blood-orange, which can be of a deeper red in Malta than anywhere else in the world.

186

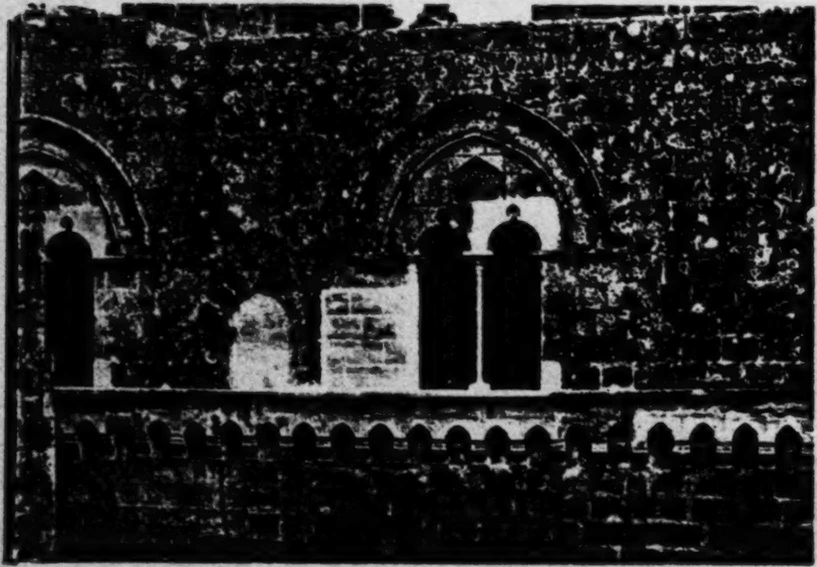
Arms of the Order of S. John

[pp. 111–119 of Text have not been processed. Plates facing p. 112, and 113 have been processed].



WALL OF GATTO-MURINA PALACE, MDINA, BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION

Observe the lamprey (*murina*) on arcade and arch.
[*See pp.* 93 *and* 141.]



[facing p. 112]

341

SICULO-NORMAN WINDOW, VITTORIOSA, BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION
[*See p.* 141.]

[facing p. 113]
[pp. 113- 119 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 would have survived Tommasi as well. He died at Montpellier, a destitute and lonely exile, in May 1805, six months after the Emperor Napoleon had confirmed the annual pension of 300,000 francs which General Bonaparte had undertaken to pay him in 1798 by the Convention of the capitulation of Valetta.

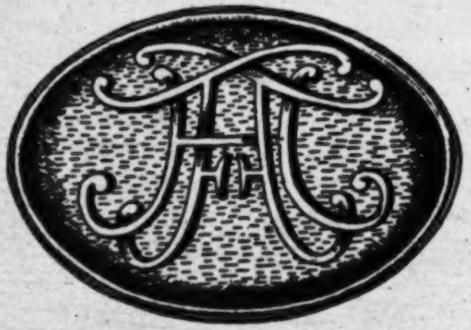
Henry Harland closes one of his short stories with the reflection that while all good things come to him who waits, they sometimes come to him too late, and sometimes may come too early. True, no doubt; but the former is probably the commoner misfortune. At all events, the change in his luck came too late for poor Hompesch. When he died there was no money for the doctors or for the cost of the funeral, and he was buried by the Confraternity of the Blue Penitents of Montpellier under the altar of their chapel, in a plain unpainted coffin of soft wood. No inscription marked his obscure resting-place.[1]

He was spared the irony that it should bear his family's haughty motto: "*Frangor nec flector*—I may be broken, but I cannot be bent."

---

[1] *Cf.* De Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Monuments des Grands-Maîtres de l'Ordre de St Jean* (Paris, 1829, vol. ii, p. 322). One of Hompesch's personal standards is preserved in the Armoury of the Tower of London. Another is at St John's Gate.

186



Monogram of G. M. Hompesch

From the mantelpiece of his bedroom (now the Governor's Office) in the Palace.

[pp. 121-141 of text have not been processed, plates facing pp. 128, and 129 have been processed].

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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BALCONY OF THE RESTORED BONDI PALACE, GOZO, FROM THE ENTRANCE INTO THE CITADEL

[*See pp.* 141–142 *and* 222.]

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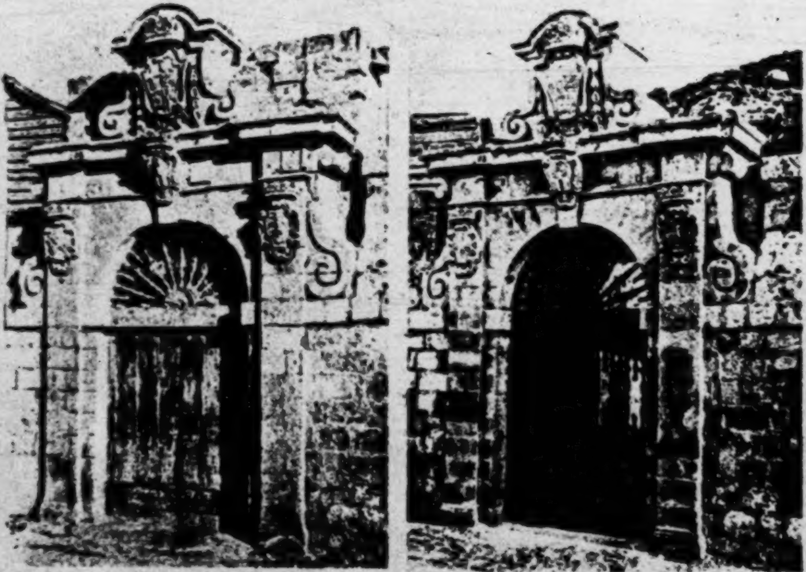

A MONTE DI REDENZIONE GATEWAY NEAR KALAMISTRA, BEFORE AND AFTER RECONDITIONING

[*See p.* 141.]

[facing p. 128]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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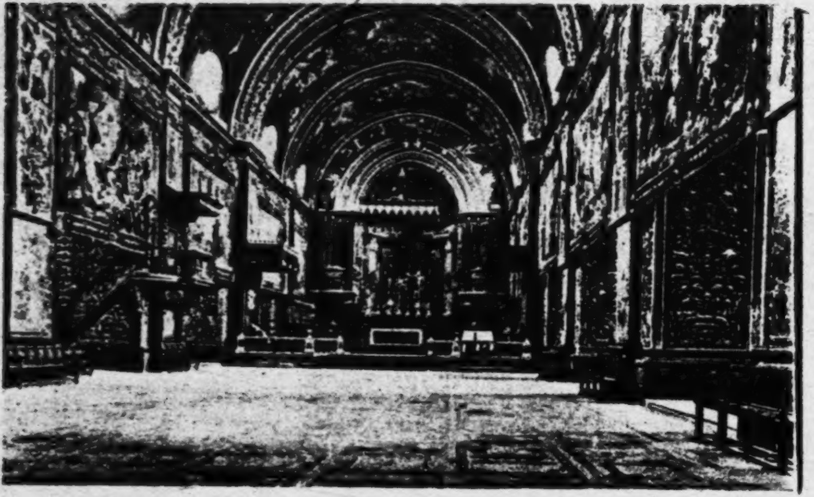
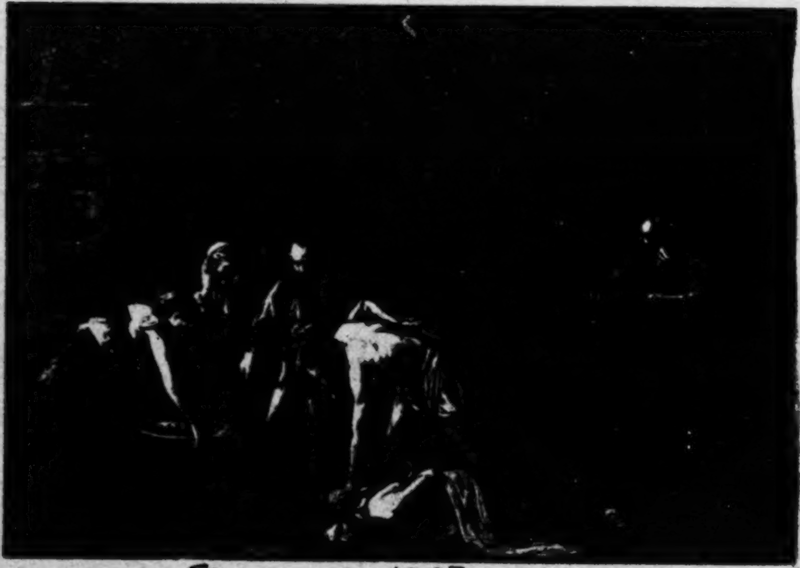


NAVE OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA, WITH ITS TAPESTRIES DISPLAYED
[*See pp.* 177–180.]

BEHEADING OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST, BY CARAVAGGIO, IN THE ORATORY OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA
[*See pp.* 242–243.]

532



[facing p. 129]

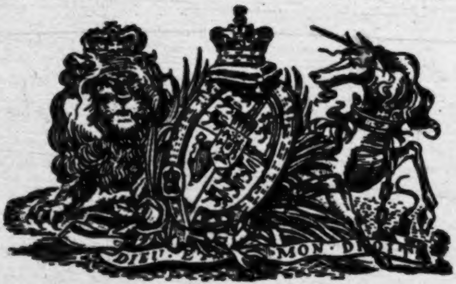
9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

masons have found it possible to comply with a suggestion of mine that the two originals should be pieced together and replaced, for the sake of continuity, in their original position.

Also, as regards the handsome carved stone balcony, crumbling fragments of the original balcony were found in sufficient quantity to make it possible for the entire design to be reconstituted.

2/7 The Bondi Palace, thus saved from disappearance, is destined to be the Museum of Gozo.

186



The British Royal Arms: 1801–16
From the early numbers of "The Malta Government Gazette"

[pp. 143-196 of text not processed.
Plates facing pp. 144, 145, 160, 161, 192 and
193 have been processed].

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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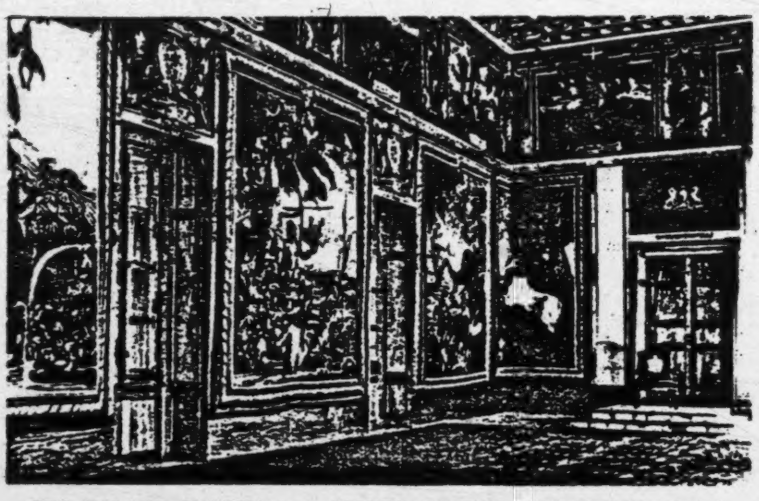
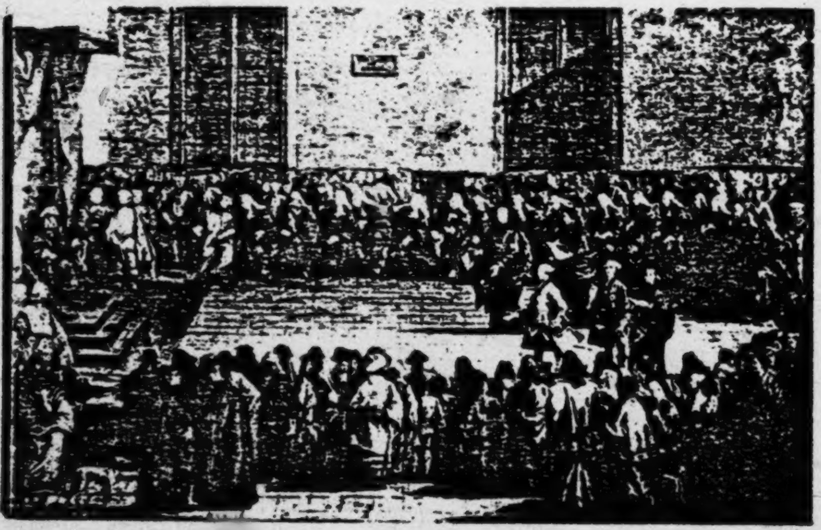


THE PALACE, VALETTA: A CORNER OF THE TAPESTRY CHAMBER (FORMERLY THE COUNCIL CHAMBER)

[See pp. 182 and 184–186.]

532



DEPUTATION OF THE PATRICIATE OF UDINE ARGUING BEFORE G.M. PINTO AND HIS CHAPTER-GENERAL IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER OF THE PALACE, VALETTA

By Giambattista Tiepolo.

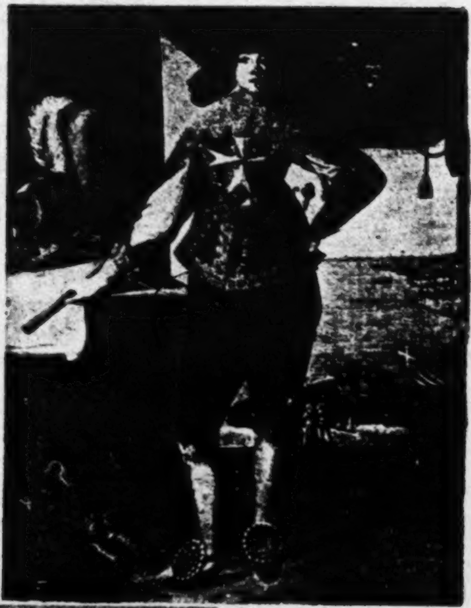
[See pp. 181–182.]

144

[facing p. 144]

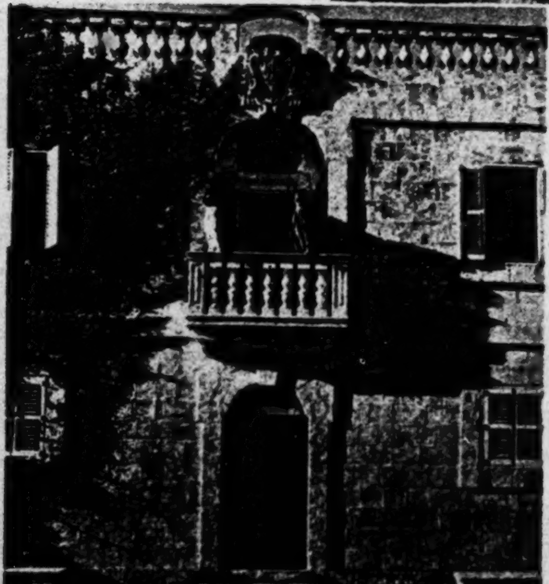
9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

532



CARDINAL FREDERICK,
LANDGRAVE OF HESSE,
GENERAL OF THE GALLEYS
In the Palace, Valetta. Dated 1644.
[*See p.* 183.]

344
341



ENTRANCE TO
THE INQUISITOR'S
SUMMER PALACE
[*See pp.* 100-101.]

[facing p. 145]
[pp. 145-160 Not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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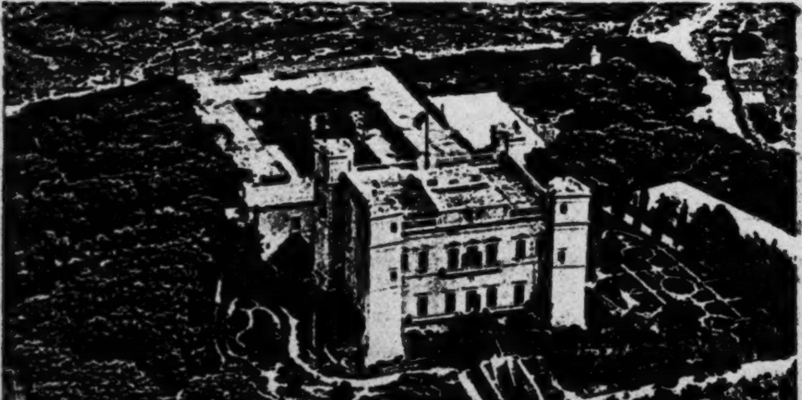
793

BUST OF G.M. CARDINAL DE VERDALLE
[*See p.* 190.]

VERDALA CASTLE
[*See pp.* 187–191.]

344
341



[Facing p. 160]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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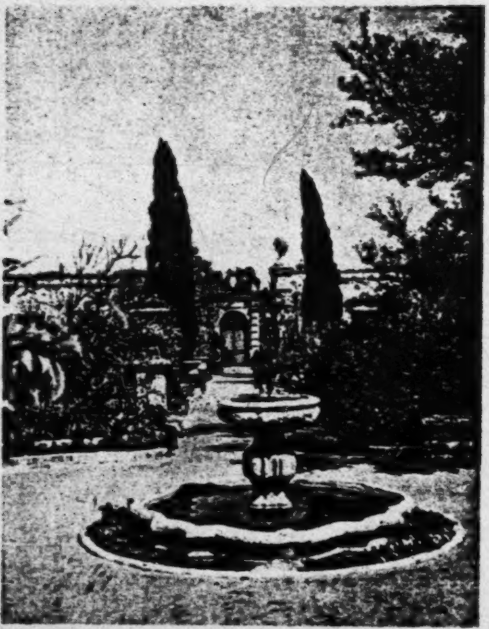
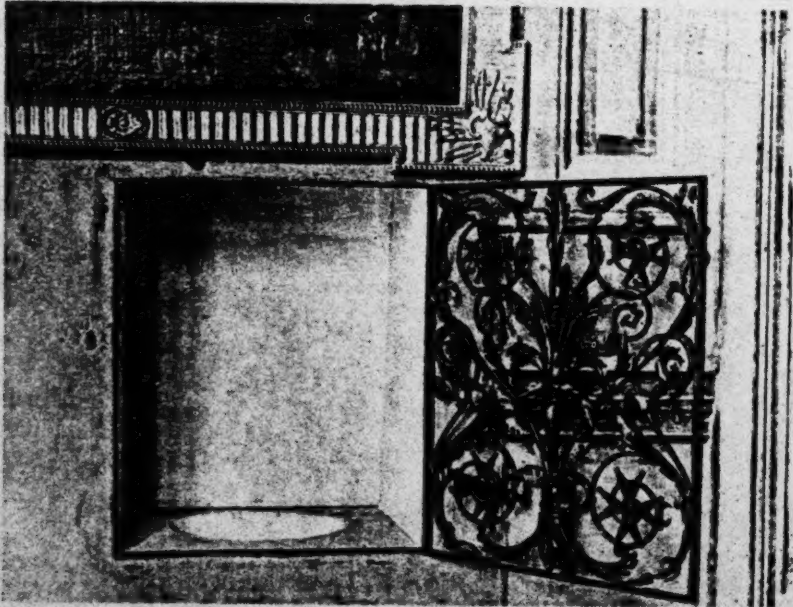


IN THE GARDEN OF CASA LEONI (DAR IL-LYUNI)
[*See pp.* 191–193.]

326



GRILLE OF WELL IN THE PALACE, VALETTA
[*See p.* 181.]

[facing p. 161]
[pp. 161-192 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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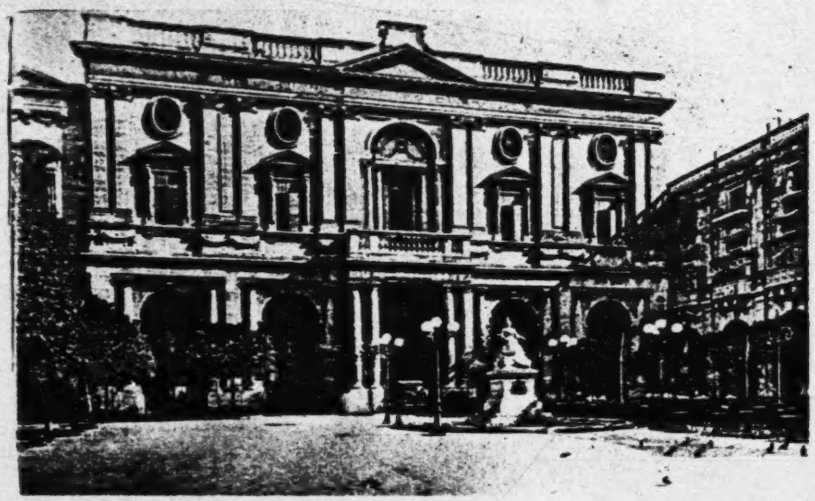

QUEEN SQUARE AND THE ROYAL LIBRARY, VALETTA
[*See pp.* 199–200.]

A PROCESSION EMERGING FROM S. JOHN'S

STREET IN SIĠĠIEWI
Note the "fat" mouldings.
[*See p* 67.]

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←

363
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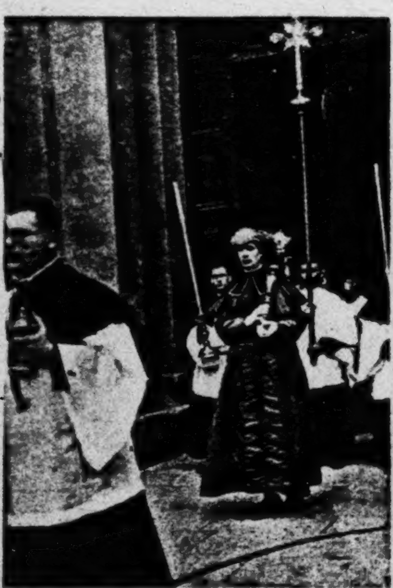

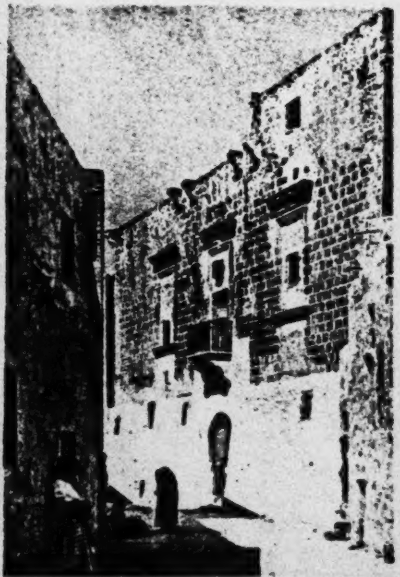

[facing P. 192]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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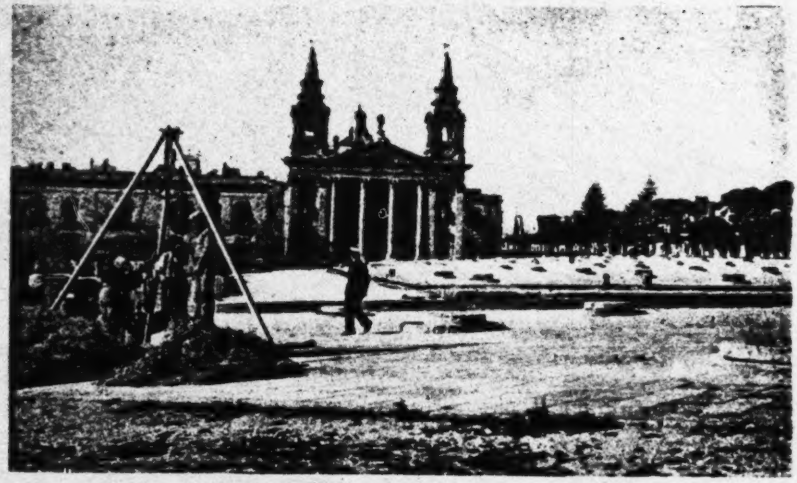
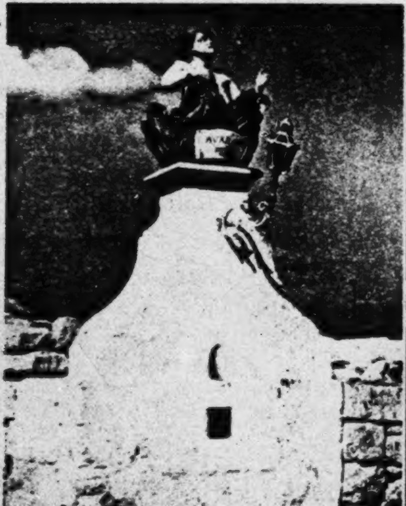


OPENING ONE OF THE GRANARIES, FLORIANA
[*See p.* 217.]

532



SOUL IN PURGATORY
[*See p.* 205.]

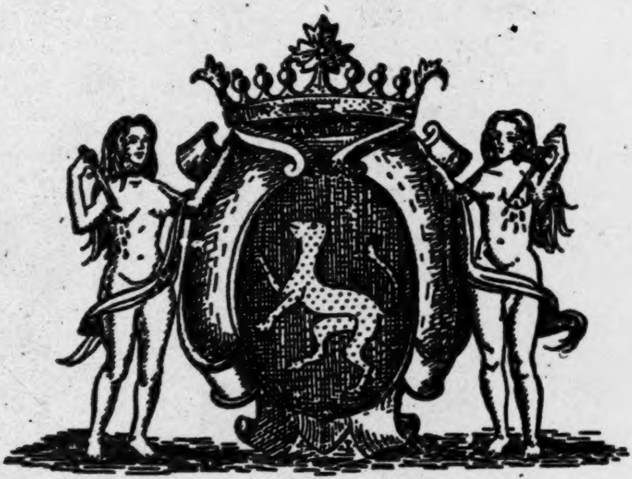
IN A MALTESE GARDEN
[*See p.* 104.]

[facing p. 193]
[pp. 193-196 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

800 more outstanding examples, in Bulletin No. 1 of the Malta Institute of Historical Research by Sir Hannibal Scicluna, whose name is almost synonymous with that of the Library he so long and enthusiastically directed. Other "classifications" comprise the minutes of the Council of the Order,

186



Arms of Devalbelle Latour

800 the Council of State, Chapter-General and the Congregation of War, the Chancery registers, the records of the Order's Commanderies abroad, ecclesiastical affairs, the Inquisition, the administration of the Sacred Infirmary and of the Navy, the affairs of the several Langues. They include, in short, the multifarious matters with which a body that was not only a quasi-military, quasi-religious, militant and Hospitaller organization with property in every country in Christendom, but also the ruler of islands set in the midst of all the cross-currents of Europe, could be expected to be concerned. One interesting "classification" also includes Papal Bulls concerning two other Crusading Orders—the Teutonic Knights, who still exist, and the Knights Templar, whose dramatic

[pp. 198-201 of text not processed.]

CHAPTER XVII

Casals and Countryside

311 OWING TO THE DENSITY AND RAPID GROWTH OF THE
656 population, to the lack of soil and to the abundance of
excellent building-stone, which not only takes on in the
342 course of ages a beautiful patina but is easy to work, the
proportion of Malta's built-up area to the area under cultivation is probably uniquely high. Unique is probably also the "Red Soil Law" whereby anyone about to erect a house is compelled to dig up and hand over to the Government (which removes it for him) any soil there may be on the site of the future structure, so that the precious earth may not be buried and lost for ever to the island's cultivators.

133 So precious is it that the smallest pockets, however in-
311. accessibly they may be situated, are jealously conserved. Malta is low-lying—in the words of Tasso

giace Malta fra l'onde occulta, e bassa

—and only on the thyme-covered cliffs of the south-western stretch of coast does it rise as high as 800 feet. These cliffs are wild and rugged and sheer, but here and there, as they drop precipitously to the sea, narrow ledges of earth-covered rock cling precariously to their face. But even these *redums*, as
[342] they are termed—the like of which I have seen only on that
hermit-inhabited spur of Mount Athos which is called Kerasia—are brought into use by the indomitable Maltese farmer of the locality, who sometimes lives in the caves beside them with his family and his animals as his Stone Age predecessor lived in them before him.

311 Thus every nook and cranny of these islands is eloquent
34 of their past: towns; casals; little country chapels, farm-
103 houses and isolated gateways, which are often adorned with
243

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

some sculptured escutcheon; the old stone *fougasses*[1] to be 311
encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny 34
Comino, from whose stony fields, where is cultivated the 103
cumin seed from which the island takes its name, there rises 243
one of the massive square keeps which the Knights scattered
throughout their territory.[2]

The casals are, as has been said in an earlier chapter, not 361
villages, but compact stone townships of tall houses and 341
narrow streets, solidly built in good substantial Baroque 351
architecture. Their outskirts, as likely as not, are dignified 346
with some ancient country-house concealed behind high walls amid charming gardens—the beauty and seclusion of the Maltese gardens are justly proverbial—while the focus of the casal, both literally and metaphorically, is the parish church. This is generally a great Baroque pile of golden sandstone flanked by two massive towers, but an exception is the Parish Church of Mosta, built in the classical style in the middle of the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts, both technical and financial, of the villagers themselves to the design of the ingenious Maltese architect Grognet de Vassé mentioned in Chapter II. It is topped by a dome that claims to be the third largest in the world, being surpassed in size only by those of S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Peter's in Rome, higher internally than the dome of the Roman Pantheon and exceeding by sixteen feet the diameter of that of S. Paul's in London.

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[1] Patrick Brydone (*cf.* pp. 143–147) gives an interesting account of this little-known form of coastal defence; "For we found, to our no small amazement, that the rocks were not only cut into fortifications but likewise into artillery to defend these fortifications: being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air: and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel." [712] [713]

[2] An excellent companion for the exploration of the island is F. Weston's *Walks in Malta*, published in Valetta. Later booklets include Showell Styles, *Walks and Climbs in Malta* (Valetta, 2nd edn., 1952), and H. H. Hick, *Walks in Gozo* (Malta, 1953). [113]

361 363 342 There is nothing in the rest of the Old World quite like the casals of Malta. Mostly built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the older parts of them consist of narrow winding streets except for the square facing the parish church. The houses, of uniform height, present a front of uninterrupted masonry, the façades broken only by the boxed balconies typical of Malta. Here and there the sculptured porticoes and elaborately decorated windows and cornices of a nobleman's mansion interrupt the simplicity of the other houses, but the streets preserve that enchanting homogeneity of period which on a larger scale distinguishes Valetta from other cities of its size. They are vernacular architecture in the fullest sense of the term. The stonework bears the lovely patina of age; any patches of garden are out of sight. In the more densely inhabited parts of the island the growth of population may bring about a confluence of two or even three casals, as in the case of Attard, Lija and Balzan.

To wander about these great stone villages by full moon or on a night lit by the illuminations and fireworks of the annual *festa* is to experience a translation in time more realistic than any suggested by stage or screen.

643 Samuel Taylor Coleridge records that it was Sir Alexander Ball's "custom to visit each casal throughout the island once, if not twice, in the course of each summer: and during my residence there I had the honour of being his constant, and most often his only, companion in these rides; to which I owe some of the happiest and most instructive hours of my life." A mid-twentieth century Governor, Sir Charles Bonham-Carter, followed with success this practice of regular weekly visits to the casals.

2

794 The Maltese are among the most devoted sons and daughters of the Roman Catholic Church. They are, men and women alike, assiduous at their public devotions; there

is no sacrifice they will not gladly make for the greater 794
dignity and beauty of their churches. Take, for example, the case of Mġarr—one of the smallest and poorest of the parishes of Malta and the one most cherished by that great seaman and lover of Malta, the late Admiral Sir W. W. Fisher. Here between the two wars the inhabitants, nearly all hard-working peasants, under the enthusiastic leadership of their parish priest, Father (later Monsignor) Edgar Salomone, built a great new church by their own efforts, bringing their weekly contributions to the building fund in eggs and fowls and vegetables and whatever else they produce.

At street corners statues of saints, sometimes also of souls 532
enveloped in a purgatorial blaze, afford them ever-present 778
reminders, encouraging or minatory as the case may be, of
the next world; in this one they love the great ecclesiastical 796
ceremonies, particularly the processions which are one of the features of Maltese life. These assume on Good Friday something of the character of a Passion Play, with members of lay confraternities staggering along Merchants' Street in Valetta beneath the weight of life-size groups of the Passion carved with gruesome realism. I have also seen these processions in Palermo, where I have been shocked at the flippancy and irreverence not so much of the onlookers as of the actual participants. The Maltese play their parts in these functions with profound and solemn devoutness. Indeed, [783]
some of them may be bearing their burden, whatever it is, in fulfilment of a self-imposed penance, concealing their features behind a hood with eye-holes that covers the head.

But on the annual *festa*, the local saint's day, of their 527
village they give themselves up wholeheartedly to rejoicings, which are definitely on the noisy side. For they are punctuated by the explosions of crackers, maroons and every procurable form of noise-producing apparatus, and they are illuminated by ingenious, locally made fireworks. On these days the casals are a brave sight as they fly [186]
from the top of every house of any importance the flag of

186 527 the Grand Master who was their founder or their patron,
gay with the rich heraldry and colouring of the last phase
of the age of chivalry. We have seen in Chapter XII that
643 Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch, inglorious but
186 Maltese-speaking and on excellent terms with the Maltese
527 country-folk, gave one of his names and his special patronage
103 to no fewer than three of the casals. Zabbar's subsidiary name
was Città Hompesch, that of Siġġiewi Città Ferdinando,
that of Zejtun Città Beland, the maiden name (Bylandt)
of Hompesch's mother. Similarly, Curmi was known
alternatively as Città Pinto, Zebbuġ as Città Rohan. In
the cases of Senglea and Pawla the Grand Masters de la
Sengle and de Paule were actually the founders.

It affords a pleasant and richly coloured glimpse into a romantic past, and happy evidence of the attachment of the Maltese to their unique historical traditions, to see the great square armorial flags of these Grand Masters in their proper tinctures waving on gala days over their casals.

527 July, August and September, the hottest months of the year, are Malta's *festa* season *par excellence*. At that period, and especially in August, there is an absolute orgy of what irreverent young officers are apt to call "festering," and the two islands resound from end to end with the detonations of petards and bombs. At night the parish church of whichever casal is celebrating its patronal feast is prettily illuminated, while elaborate set-pieces are displayed regardless of expense and other fireworks of a less stationary nature accomplish, or fail to accomplish, their destined trajectory. The amount spent annually by the population on fireworks and mere noise-making contrivances is positively staggering.

The first village *festa* I attended—I had arrived in Malta in the month of August—was in one of the smaller, more remote and more rustic casals. The church bells were clanging with no attempt at rhythm; rockets and Roman candles were going off in rapid succession in all directions; Catharine-wheels were rotating around one; the noise was

almost as varied and barbaric as at the Holy Fire in Jerusalem. 527
During the rare pauses between the bangs of the explosives and the splutterings of the pyrotechnical diversions one was just able to catch the sound of the chanting of an ecclesiastical procession, faintly audible reminder that the excuse for all this sound was a religious anniversary.

Nor was this by any means all. In an open space outside 527
the village a band was trying in the face of considerable 533
difficulties to play a secular air from some opera, all the bandsmen dressed in what might at a distance have passed for a naval Commander's white uniform, with aiguillettes of yellow cord. All, that is to say, except the *maestro*, whom I still see in my mind's eye as an elderly, worn-out, languid, apathetic cynic in a drooping Panama hat, with a cigarette hanging limply from his lower lip. Two hundred yards away another band was competing with an entirely different tune. Not that it mattered in the least. Nobody was paying the slightest attention to the music; and, even if they had been, neither band had a hope of making its output prevail over the other component parts of the general din.

Likewise do I recall a *festa* in Gozo, where the band, in this case not in uniform, was playing as it marched round the village square. But it afforded the pleasant sight of a man in a brown Homburg hat nonchalantly beating with his right hand the big drum which was being carried fore and aft by two small boys, while fanning himself with his music, which he held in his left.

These particular bands were professionals hired for the 533
occasion, for the villages in question were not large enough 665
to possess bands of their own. But in the large casals the band is a local institution of far wider significance than the specifically musical. Next to the parish church it is probably the most important social nucleus of the township, and influential personages regard it as a distinction to be offered the patronage or honorary Presidency of its organization. It may have even a political connotation. In the towns which

533 665 are populous enough to run to two bands these will as likely as not be identified with the opposing political parties.

3

357 No book about Malta, no chapter making mention of the country people, would be complete without reference to a class of Maltese largely drawn from the country-folk. In these days, when domestic service is shunned by potential employees and thought of more as a myth than as something that once existed by would-be employers, it is my pleasant duty to record that Maltese servants can be among the best in the world. Such, at all events, has been my experience and that of many of my friends in Malta. Where employer and employee have been able to establish a relationship of mutual esteem and respect (and few people are more ready to respond in this way than the Maltese domestic), the employer in Malta may confidently count not only upon receiving from members of the household staff faithful, efficient and loyal service but upon retaining, if he or she is only a sojourner in the island, their affectionate regard long after he or she has left its shores.

It is, however, regrettable but necessary to add that since these words were first written domestic servants are tending to become as rare in Malta as they are elsewhere.

114 357 Shortly after the First World War a gentleman named Eric Shepherd came to Malta as Professor of English Literature at the University, and remained there for three years. On his experiences during those three years Mr Shepherd subsequently wrote a book called *Malta and Me*,[1] which abounds in puckish humour and flashes of insight and is often extremely entertaining.

But partly because of its puckishness, partly because the author laid what might appear to some to be excessive emphasis on such drawbacks to life as may exist in Malta

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[1] Selwyn and Blount, 1926.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

133

S. PAUL'S ISLAND
[*See pp.* 21, 87 *and* 213.]

SELMUN PALACE
[*See p.* 213.]

341
344

[facing p. 208]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

(and where do they not exist?), his book gave a certain 114
amount of offence in the more sensitive quarters of the 357
island. None the less, it includes a chapter which should have atoned for any "causes of stumbling" created in those quarters. The chapter is entitled "Dolores" and concerns the Shepherds' Maltese maid-of-all-work and their baby's nurse. "Dolores" is not only a telling tribute to some of the salient virtues of the Maltese character; it is one of the most sensitive and moving descriptions of the personal devotion of a servant to her employers and her charge that I have had the good fortune to read.

4

A word has been said earlier in this chapter as to the 137
grandeur of the cliff scenery of Malta. Inland, on the other [133]
hand, the countryside can scarcely be called either grand or impressive, and during the dry summer months there is little colour to set against the brown aridity of the fields other than the sage of the olive, the carob and the fig-trees, and the pinks and whites of the oleanders beside the roads. But after [132]
the autumn rains have begun to refresh the parched earth the land rapidly assumes a mantle of young green, and the wild flowers appear shyly above ground, beginning with two lovely miniature blooms—the brilliantly blue *Iris minuta* and the even more ethereal, strongly scented "*satarina*" (*N. serotinus*). This, the tiniest of the narcissi, looks as if it had been called into being by a touch of the fairy's wand in Walt Disney's *Fantasia*.

Later, in March and April, Malta and Gozo alike seem to [246]
glow with the crimson, deepening into purple, of the *sulla*, the clover or sainfoin with which thousands of acres are sown for fodder. Among the most striking blends of colour are those produced by many varieties of Bougainvillæa (which flourishes exceedingly in Malta) and the purple-and-cream flowers of the wild caper, against the background of the rich gold of the fortifications.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

172

ROMAN INSCRIPTION RELATING TO THE *MUNICIPIUM* OF GOZO IN OUTER WALL OF CITADEL
[*See p.* 224.]

133

CLIFFS OF TA ĊENĊ, GOZO
[*See p.* 220.]

172

MAIMUNA'S TOMBSTONE
[*See p.* 224.]

[facing p. 209]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

114 Classical authors as well as travellers of the Renaissance
and later ages have praised Malta's fertility, the quality of its
137 corn, its fruit, its linen and its cotton,[1] the sweet scent of its
roses,[2] the delicate aroma of the wild thyme that flavours its
honey. Cicero, in fact, called Malta a land of honey and
roses, and it was being described in similar terms nearly two
thousand years later. "The fruits are of exquisite flavour,"
wrote Dr Meryon, Lady Hester Stanhope's sorely tried
physician, companion and biographer. "Flowers are very
fine, and I could not help fancying the roses more fragrant
than in my own country. Malta honey is highly esteemed."
[186] Elsewhere the Doctor remarks that "no people are more
attached to their country than the Maltese to their barren
rock"; and it is natural enough that the Maltese of to-day
should like to refer to their island as "the flower of the
world."

This phrase, if held to refer solely to scenery and vegetation, might appear to some to verge on the excessive. If it be taken to apply to the many-sidelines of Malta's interest and amenities it does not lack justification.

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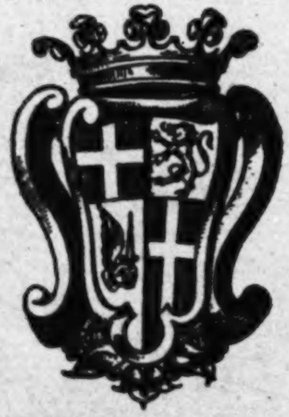
[439] [1] During the era of sailing-ships Malta, and especially the casal of Zebbug, produced a heavy cotton sail-cloth which earned a wide reputation and was exported all over Europe.

[103] [2] The name Attard, the charming old casal half-way between Hamrum and Mdina, means "the village of roses."

186



Arms of G. M. Manoel de Vilhena

CHAPTER XVIII

Old Survivals in Modern Malta

MALTA OCCUPIES A PLACE OF ITS OWN IN THE OLD WORLD 101
not only by reason of the length and unusual character of its annals, not only by reason of the tremendous range of its architectural monuments. It does so because it combines with these features the circumstance that it is the home of a separate race, the smallest of European peoples.

There are, it is true, four independent states in Europe of
lesser size than Malta, but the inhabitants of these states do
not form distinct racial stocks, nor have they their own
languages. The Maltese are the smallest nation with the
longest history, and their islands are a microcosm, self-
contained. Not only has Malta its own tongue. It has its [197]
own University—the oldest in the British Commonwealth [873]
Overseas and granted the Royal patronage and the prefix
"Royal" by King George VI in his coronation year—with
seven faculties: Theology, Laws, Medicine and Surgery,
Dental Surgery, Engineering and Architecture, Arts, Science.
It has, as we have seen, its own Nobility with their Committee [565]
of Privileges. It is an ecclesiastical Province whose Archbishop [793]
exercises jurisdiction since 1944 over the bishopric of Gozo,
previously immediately subject to the Holy See since
its formation in 1864. And in the history of this
microcosm has been mirrored the life of the great world
around it.

Viewed as a part of the British Commonwealth, Malta is 655
unique in two particulars. It is the only British possession 545
whose Government owns an Opera House and in normal times 368
maintains an annual opera season and conducts the pawn-
broking of the nation in the manner of certain Continental
states.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 states. Alone with Gibraltar it runs a Lotto (with weekly
659 drawings) as a Government Department. Until 1866 Malta's
525 Opera House was the Manoel Theatre, a little gem of a playhouse
368 built as the Court Theatre by Grand Master Manoel
de Vilhena in 1731 and believed to be the oldest theatre in
368 Europe. It is easy enough to appreciate how daintily graceful
545 it must have looked when the audience, arrayed in the
brocades and perukes of the eighteenth century, was assembled to witness some comedy of Molière or Goldoni. Later used as a cinema, it is now being scientifically restored to its original form and purpose.

368 In 1866 the new Opera House, officially called the Theatre Royal, was completed at a cost of £60,000 just within Kingsgate, partly on the site of a dilapidated old bakery which has been identified with the house of the Turcopilier, title of the Pillar or Head of the Langue of England. In 1873 this building, which was designed by Barry, the architect of the Covent Garden Theatre, in a style which while dignified was entirely out of harmony with Valetta's prevailing architectural character, was seriously damaged by fire and was reconstructed at a farther cost of £20,000. Before its destruction in the Second World War it was the only theatre known to the writer where it was the rule for male members of the audience to attend the evening performances either in mess dress or in evening dress with decorations.

655 The Monte di Pietà, the Government pawnbroking
175 Department, was established at the end of the sixteenth century and was housed in its present handsome office in Merchants' Street by Ximenes, the last but two of Malta's Grand Masters. Connected with the Monte di Pietà is an institution known as the Monte di Redenzione. In wandering about the island the visitor will occasionally encounter a building of the seventeenth or eighteenth century adorned with a shield representing three cones surmounted by the letter "R". These buildings constitute the property, now administered by the Government of Malta under a trust, of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the Monte di Redenzione, a foundation established more 655
than three hundred years ago by one Father Rafael, a 175
Maltese Capuchin.

Preaching one day in the year 1607 in S. John's Con- 648
ventual Church, this good friar called upon his hearers to 655
inaugurate a fund for the redemption of the Christian captives 175
of the Barbary States, whose sufferings he depicted in terms of such realism that the Grand Master, Alof de Wignacourt, was able to set up the Monte di Redenzione with the offerings of the congregation and of members of the Order. Later, other charitable persons added or made bequests to the fund, which at first paid a ransom of 70 scudi for each Maltese slave and 150 scudi for a Knight of the Order. Subsequently these rates were raised to 200 and 500 scudi respectively; but, as the wars between the Order and the Barbary States ceased and the latter discontinued their raids on the island, the original object of the trust came to be fulfilled. So its properties were combined with those of the Monte di Pietà and administered by the Order, and thus continue to be administered to the present day by the Malta Government.

The most important property of the Monte di Redenzione 344
is Selmun Castle, which stands on a high eminence over- 341
looking S. Paul's Island and S. Paul's Bay. It is a clumsy replica of Verdala but is none the less impressive with its four towers and general air of a mediæval fortified stronghold. A balcony that completely encircles the castle, towers and all, is a pleasing feature of a building which might otherwise seem heavy and lacking in the gracefulness which Verdala, vast as it is, possesses in so marked a degree. Another attractive little property of the Redenzione is a handsome armorial ornamented gateway of the reign of Grand Master Pinto, standing below Selmun near the junction of the main road between S. Paul's Bay and Mellicha and the track to Kalamistra.

In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, the 000

In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, The visitor will likewise notice, let into the external walls of churches, small marble slabs bearing the inscription: 346 692 778

NON GODE
L'IMMUNITÀ
ECCLESIASTICA

The tablets meant that the churches and chapels in question did not enjoy the right of ecclesiastical sanctuary, and their explanation lay in the fact that until well after the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ecclesiastical Courts in Malta exercised temporal jurisdiction over the clergy. It followed that their jurisdiction extended over all consecrated buildings, in which the civil authority was unable to exercise its functions.

778 346 692 656 The next stage was reached when lay criminals sought refuge in these "extra-territorial" churches from the arm of the civil law. When the abuse tended to become serious the ecclesiastical authorities sought to minimize it by affixing the notice in question to various rural churches with the object of confining the right of sanctuary to the churches on which the inscription did not appear. But the right, even thus restricted, had clearly become an anachronism dangerous to the peace and good order of the country, and no longer tolerable. So in 1828 it was completely abolished by Governor Ponsonby by means of a Proclamation, whose preamble declares that:

> In consequence of certain privileges or immunities heretofore claimed as belonging to divers churches and other holy edifices and places in these islands, wicked and profligate men have often been tempted to commit murders, robberies and other atrocious crimes in the hope of escaping punishment by taking refuge in such places.

If the Church in Malta thus lost its right of granting asylum, 793
its Head acquired at an even earlier stage of the British occupa-
tion another right which is carefully preserved to the present 659
day. In 1801 Major-General Pigot, then in charge of the 554
administration and in command of the troops, issued the following Standing Order to the "Garrison of La Valette and its Dependencies":

> His Eminence the Bishop of Malta is to receive from all guards honour due to a Brigadeer [*sic*] General.

When, after the First World War, the rank of Brigadier-General was abolished, the Archbishop of Malta was promoted, from the point of view of military compliments, to be a Major-General; and the guard never fails to turn out to him every day that he crosses the Palace Square.

It is sometimes said that the privilege was granted in recognition of the military services of Bishop Francis Xavier Caruana, who as Canon Caruana played a leading rôle in the rising against the French in 1798–1800. But this story is picturesque rather than probable, seeing that the salute to the Bishop was ordered in 1801 and Canon Caruana did not become Bishop of Malta until thirty years later. Its origin lay no doubt in the wish of the Occupying Power to demonstrate in a public manner its respect for the Church of Malta and its Head.

For the Roman Catholic Church is in Malta by law 795
established; its canon law is, as in Quebec, the law of the 659
land. It follows that contact between Church and State is
close, and this contact is not confined, on the part of the 796
representatives of the State, to relations with the hierarchy but is maintained equally with the parish clergy. The link finds its formal and public expression on the 2nd February of each year, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the ceremony of Candlemas, the "Candelora." On the morning of this day all the parish priests, wearing their best cassocks, repair to the Palace in Valetta, and one

795 by one; as the names of their parishes are called out, advance
659 to the Governor's throne and present to him a large and
heavy wax candle, generally embellished with painted
796 decorations.

This Candlemas ceremony has been maintained uninterruptedly from the days when the State was the Order of S. John; and the Governor takes this occasion, as did his predecessors the Grand Masters, to address the assembly on the problems of the day, with particular emphasis on the manner in which Church and State can best co-operate for the benefit of the people. It gives the Governor of Malta the same sort of opportunity, *mutatis mutandis*, to make public pronouncements on matters of policy as the British Prime Minister is given at the Lord Mayor's Banquet. A collation brings this happy and useful function to a close.

Here it may be added that the Governor retains, as the successor of the Grand Masters, certain ecclesiastical patronage, such as the nomination to the post of Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Malta and the right of presentation to various benefices. A survival of another sort from the days of the Knights is the religious corporation known as the Collegiate Church of S. Paul's Grotto at Rabat, whose Canons still wear at their ceremonies the habit, *stolone* and cross of the Order.

The principal industry of the Maltese islands is agriculture,
241 and the Maltese, despite the stony nature of their land, are
433 skilful and industrious farmers with a wonderful knack of
extracting the utmost from the soil, despite methods
necessarily somewhat primitive since their fields are too
small for modern agricultural machinery. Maltese potatoes
and Maltese oranges have a high reputation. Vegetables
are good, especially tomatoes; wheat does well where there
[439] is room to grow it. But the islands can produce only a
fraction of their annual consumption of cereals, and much
251 has therefore to be imported from outside. Among the most
178 familiar features surviving from the era of the Knights are

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the underground granaries, shaped like vast jars, beneath the 251
open space between Valetta and its suburb of Floriana and
beneath a few other places, sealed with round stone lids and /178
still in use for conserving Malta's stocks of imported grain.

There are other links in Malta with the rule of the Order 326
of S. John. There survives, for example, from the days of
the Grand Masters an official known as the Consul for 656
Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, who is the appraiser of the 647
Government and impresses on Maltese silver its own hall- [178]
mark, the Maltese Cross, and on gold the crown or the Maltese shield. The Consul's office is housed on the ground-floor of the Monte di Pietà building in Merchants' Street. Opposite to it is the handsome Public Registry, with a tablet commemorating its reconstruction by Grand Master Zondadari. As if to compensate for the defacement by the French Revolutionaries of the Sienese Grand Master's escutcheon, his inscription was subsequently surmounted by a bust of George III, topped by the Royal Arms of that day.

In connexion with the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silver- 436
smiths it may be mentioned that the coinage of the Order remained legal tender in Malta until 1886, when by a Government Notice there were called in all coins of "the late Government of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem."[1]
The principal denominations of the Maltese coinage were
the scudo, the tari, the carlino and the grano or grain, which [178]
in Maltese were called *skut*, *rbighi*, *karlin* and *habba*; and not only the country people but all Maltese use to this day the old names to denote certain values in our modern coinage. Thus 2½*d*. is described as *tliet karlinijet* (three carlini); half a crown as *tmintax rbighi*, meaning eighteen tari; 1*s*. 3*d*. is invariably *disa' rbghajja*—that is, nine tari.

Malta has no longer a separate coinage of its own, but small bronze coins of one-third of a farthing, still known locally as grains, were struck at the London Mint for use in

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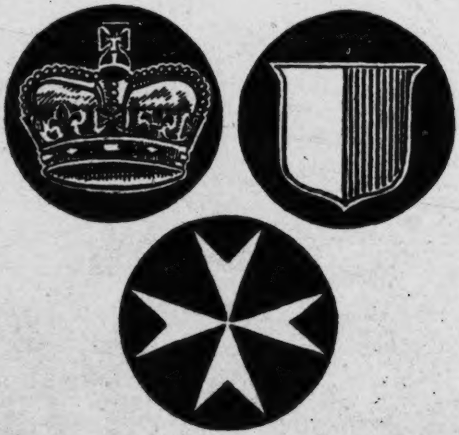
[1] The standard work on this interesting coinage is Canon Calleja Schembri's *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 2nd edn., 1910). [113]

436 Malta in the reigns of all the British sovereigns who have ruled in Malta from George IV to George V inclusive.

186 Let this chapter end with another survival, perhaps the
most ubiquitous of all, although its origin antedates the
173 arrival of the Knights by more than four hundred years.
178 It is the red-and-white Maltese flag which is flown throughout the islands side by side with the Union Jack. Long-established tradition has it that the red and white were the colours of the Norman House of Hauteville, and that the flag and the corresponding arms are one of the legacies of Roger de Hauteville, Count of Sicily, Lord of Malta, to this smallest of his dominions. When, between the World Wars, it was suggested to Malta by the English College of Arms that the Colony should regularize its arms by formally recording them at the College, Malta replied that it had borne those arms for nearly three centuries before the foundation of the College by Richard III.

The position was ultimately adjusted with the College in 1943, when Malta's coat-of-arms received the honourable augmentation of the George Cross.

326
656



Malta Government Hall-marks for Gold and Silver

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

CHAPTER XIX

Gozo

All round the cave-mouth there flourished a luxuriant copse of alder trees and black poplars and rich-scented cypresses: therein roosted birds of long wing, owls and hawks and chattering hook-billed crows—birds of the sea whose livelihood was from the waters. A young strong vine loaded with bunches of grapes wreathed the opening of the cave. Four springs quite near together jetted out translucent water in separate rills ingeniously contrived, each to water its own garden-plot. The soft lawns were starred with parsley and violets. Even an immortal coming upon the nook would pause before its beauty and feel his heart made glad. 114/13

IT IS POSSIBLE—INDEED, PROBABLE—THAT THE MODERN visitor would fail to recognize from these words, taken from T. E. Lawrence's translation of the *Odyssey*, the cave of Calypso as it appears to-day, surmounting and overlooking the sandy bay of Ramla on the north coast of Gozo. Still less easily, perhaps, would he recognize it from the passage in *Télémaque* in which Fénelon describes the grotto in language even more exuberant. As Malta is S. Paul's island, so is Gozo Calypso's; and it may be that nothing but an earthly paradise was deemed meet for the entertainment by an immortal of so critical a guest as Odysseus.

True, there are corners of Gozo that fall not far short of the picture imagined by the great Archbishop of Cambrai: I have in mind especially the little Chapel of Lunzjata (the Annunziata) in a grove of ancient almond- and carob-trees between Victoria and the village of Kerchem, facing the munificent Perellos's graceful fountain at the head of the rich little *wied* (valley) that runs down to Xlendi. Whether this glade is seen in the spring, when it is a mass of blossom 346/137 137

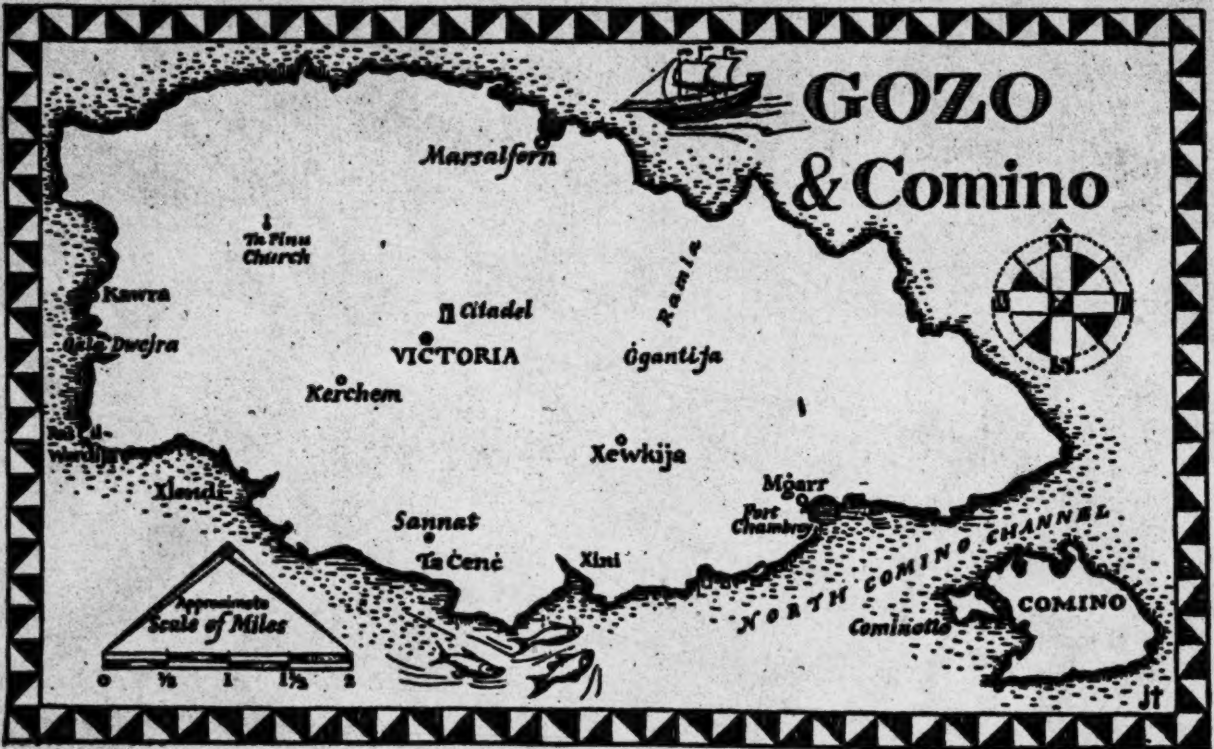
9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

/37 that would not disgrace Taormina, or in the summer, when its tangled mass of vegetation forms an almost solid screen of verdure from the blazing sun, it would seem a fitting lair for the daughter of Atlas if it did not rather conjure up, with its figs, its vines, its calamus and its pomegranates, a vision of the Song of Songs.

/3 Certainly Gozo is more fertile, less rocky, more verdant than is Malta. Edward Lear called its scenery "pomskizillious and gromphiberous, being as no words can describe its magnificence." It is not broken up to anything like the same extent by the stone and rubble walls which in the larger island so provokingly conceal gardens and fields from all
[241] except aviators. In Gozo it is easy to enjoy wide vistas of green corn and purple clover, of terraced cultivation along the contours of its seven flat-topped hills.

/3 Like Malta, Gozo ends on its south-western coast in sheer
341 rock-faces that rise abruptly as much as 400 feet from the sea. But elsewhere its coast-line is more varied than Malta's, with its pleasant miniature fjords of Xlendi and Xini, the yellow sands of Ramla, the blue lagoon of Qala Dwejra, the mysterious landlocked bay of Kawra, the grim cliffs of Ta Ċenċ and Ras il Wardija. Its architecture, too, is highly characteristic, and although its villages bear a general resemblance to the casals of Malta, they can be distinguished from these by the handsome carved stone balconies which have happily remained one of Gozo's pleasantest and most live traditions. These balconies are a feature throughout the island but are to be seen at their best in the Manderaggio of Victoria, for Gozo, too, has its Manderaggio.

36/ The capital of the island, Rabat or Victoria—Rabat because it is the suburb of the walled fortress above it—sprawls
7/2 pleasantly at the foot of the great rock on which rises, like Edinburgh Castle, its bastioned and embattled citadel. This high place was designed as a stronghold, a place of refuge from the Barbary pirates, just as were the little hill-towns of the Riviera, Eze and many another, that look down on the


GOZO
& Comino
Marsalforn
Ta Pinu Church
Kawra
Qala Dwejra
Citadel
VICTORIA
Kerchem
Ramla
Ġgantija
Ras il-Wardija
Xlendi
Xewkija
Sannat
Ta Ċenċ
Xini
Mġarr
Fort Chambray
NORTH COMINO CHANNEL
COMINO
Cominotto
Approximate Scale of Miles
0
½
1
1½
2
Jt

9: Luke G-5 (ca.1920-ca.1960) 1960

EZ6 Malta EZ6

GOZO

COMINO

102
103

[p.22]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

361 712 Corniche from heights as inaccessible as nature and man's ingenuity could make them. When the marauders from North Africa ceased to be a menace, the citadel was partly evacuated for the lower town, but happily was never abandoned completely. Even now it contains the cathedral of the diocese and the Law Court and Public Registry, formerly the residence of the Governors of Gozo; and, although many of its ancient houses are in ruins, a few are still inhabited.

175 717 341 654 One interesting little lane with façades of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was restored by the Government before the outbreak of the Second World War, as has been the handsome Renaissance building facing the entrance to the citadel latterly known as the Bondi Palace, as related at the end of Chapter XIII. One of the houses in the lane at one time belonged, as an inscription testifies, to the soldier Bernard, "*miles Bernardus,*" who was killed at the capture of the citadel by the Turks under Sinan Pasha in 1551. When he saw that the fortress could hold out no longer this dauntless man took the lives of his wife and two daughters with his own hand to save them from being sold into captivity, and then fell, fighting to the end. The walls and fortifications of the citadel are happily well preserved.

101 Gozo was Ogygia or Gaulos to the Greeks, *gaulos* (γαῦλος) being the word the Greeks had for the round merchant-boats of their rivals, the Phœnicians. From Gaulos it became Gaulum to the Romans, then appears on Idrisi's map of 1154 as Ghudash, and in modern Maltese is known as Ghawdex (pronounced Audesh), its Bishop signing as 484 505 *Episcopus Gaudisiensis.* The shortest ferry-crossing between the two islands is only four miles, yet many Gozitans have never been to Malta while the overwhelming majority of Maltese have never been to Gozo.

181 186 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

sometimes regarded in England—in other words, as hard-headed folk whom nothing will keep out of the best jobs. 181 186 It is certainly true to say that, loth as they may be to leave their own little island, when they do it is definitely to better themselves. They make excellent colonists in Australia and [167] elsewhere in the New World, while those who emigrate no farther than Malta frequently attain distinction. The story is told of a function in S. John's Co-Cathedral in Valetta at a time, not so many years ago, when the Gozitans who were leading personages in Church and State included the Archbishop of Malta, Mgr Pace.

"Well," said a Maltese worshipper, after watching the entry into the church of the procession of Archbishop and Canons and other dignitaries, mostly (or so it seemed to him) natives of the junior island, "I suppose we ought to be thankful that the sacristan is still a Maltese."

Byron may have had something similar in mind when he bracketed Malta with Gozo as

> Calypso's isles,
> The sister tenants of the middle deep,

instead of describing them as mother and daughter.

There is much to see in this small island of 27 square miles 172 and as many thousand inhabitants besides natural scenery and [731] the monuments alluded to above. Let me instance some [161] characteristic features of various widely different epochs of Gozo's long history. First must come the twin Stone Age temples of Ggantija, through their cyclopean construction—one block has the formidable dimensions of 12½ by 17½ feet—the most stupendous work of Neolithic man in the Maltese archipelago. Farther excavation by the Malta Museum is planned on and around their site when funds permit, and more wonders may yet come to light. Meanwhile the [133] visitor may enjoy from one of the most impressive architectural survivals of remote antiquity a comprehensive view of Gozo and of the north-western end of Malta, with

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

172 133 Comino between them separated from the islet of Cominotto by a channel of the palest green.

Traversing thousands of years, let us next notice a reminder 172 of the rule of Rome in the Latin inscription embedded in the entrance to the citadel, dating from the time when Gozo was a separate *municipium* of the Roman republic. Now for a glimpse of Islam, a legacy of the two centuries—from 870 to 1090—when the Arabs were the lords of these islands. Between the villages of Xewkija and Sannat on the road now called Ta Maimuna was discovered about three hundred years ago a slab of marble bearing an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters. This slab was the tombstone of an Arab girl named Maimuna, and the inscription is not only a fine piece of lapidary work but a human document from which I quote without apology:

> "Ask thyself," cries Maimuna from the grave, "if there is anything everlasting, anything that can repel or cast a spell upon death.
>
> "Alas, death has robbed me of my short life; neither my piety nor my modesty could save me from him. I was industrious in my work, and all that I did is reckoned and remains.
>
> "Oh, thou who lookest upon this grave in which I am enclosed, dust has covered my eyelids and the corners of my eyes.
>
> "On my couch and in my abode there is nought but tears; and [what will happen] when my Creator comes to me?
>
> "Oh, brother, take. . . ."

And here little Maimuna's pathetic message comes to an abrupt end.

873 175 The passage of a few more centuries brings us to the spacious days of the Knights of S. John, the study of whose rule in Gozo may be facilitated by reference to the archives of the island's "University," for Gozo had, like Malta, its own "University" until the beginning of British rule.[1] It

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[217]

[1] These archives were rescued from oblivion after the Second World War by the Commissioner of Gozo, Mr E. Montanaro, and are now preserved in the Commissioner's Office.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

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CHARACTERISTIC STONE BALCONY, VICTORIA, GOZO
[See p. 220.]

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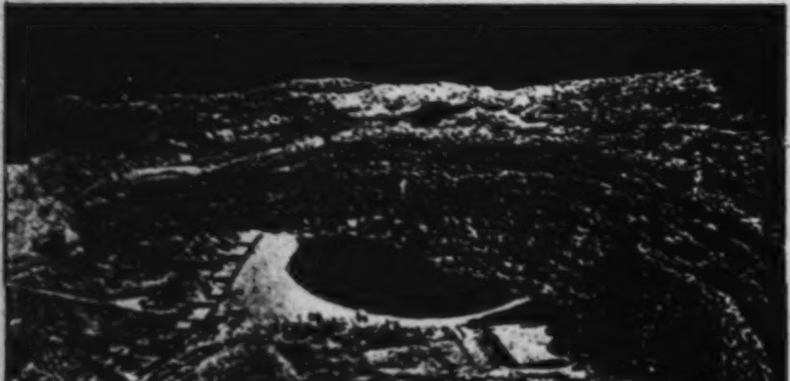

LANDLOCKED BAY OF KAWRA, GOZO
[See p. 220.]

[facing P. 224]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

It may also be combined with a tricky piece of rock-climbing—how tricky the writer can testify from personal experience—by anyone prepared to scale the precipitous islet known as the Fungus Rock, which closes the entrance to the lagoon of Qala Dwejra. 133

This impressive and now almost inaccessible rock takes its name from the strange and repellent-looking black plant (*Fucus coccineus melitensis*) which grows on its summit and in the days of the Order was regarded as a sovereign remedy against hæmorrhage and dysentery. The plant was a perquisite of the Grand Masters, and a guard was provided in a tower on the mainland to keep away trespassers. Those who came legitimately to take the fungus landed by means of a basket suspended on ropes stretched between the rock and the nearest point on the mainland; an old water-colour in the Malta Museum depicts this means of transit, which has long since disappeared. It was evidently of a somewhat precarious nature, at all events to judge from the account of a gentleman who effected the passage in 1815:[1]

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278
655
[137]
[757]
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417
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> One object of curiosity on the south side of the island [*sc.* Gozo] is a rock, on which grows a kind of fungus, which is used as a styptic. The passage to this rock is rather curious, if not dangerous; two ropes are made fast on each shore, on which a box with grooves on its edges passes over. A Maltese first works his way across, then the person desirous to go over draws the box back and seats himself in it, when he is hauled over by the guide; in this manner as many as please can go, one at a time.
>
> It is not a very pleasant sensation to be suspended some hundred feet above the water, and if there is any wind, the movement of the box is anything but agreeable, and all that can be obtained are a few pieces of fungus. I was well pleased to be back again, and made a determination never to risk my precious carcase in that conveyance again. It seems very strange to be swinging up in the air between two rocks, with sea-gulls and other aquatics flying about below you.

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[1] From *Malta Sixty Years Ago*, by Claudius Shaw (London, 1875).

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

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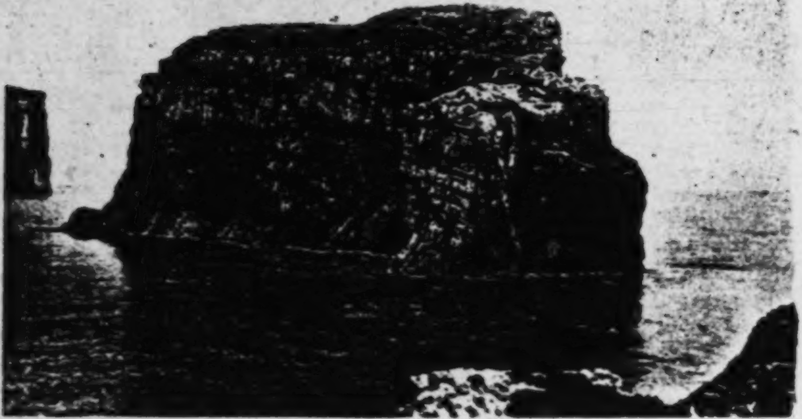

FUNGUS ROCK, GOZO

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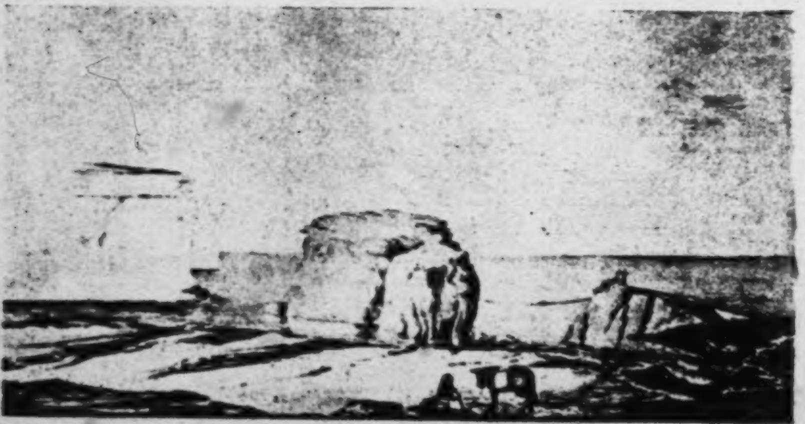

THE SAME, SHOWING ANCIENT ROPEWAY
From an old water-colour in the Malta Museum.
[*See p.* 225.]

[facing p. 225]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

712 Among the more accessible survivals of the Order is the
175 large and impressive Fort Chambray, which commands the
648 island's principal port of Mġarr. This stronghold was built, as we have already seen, by Jacques de Chambray, one of the last of the great Admirals of the Order, when he was Governor[1] of Gozo in the middle of the eighteenth century so that the island should no longer be at the mercy of every raiding enemy. Not that Fort Chambray had ever to endure a siege at the hands of the Barbary pirates. Its value in that direction was mainly a prophylactic one. But it did serve a military purpose during the death-pangs of the Order in 1798, when the Gozitans under their Governor and three of the Knights shut themselves up within its walls, determined to hold out as long as they could against the surprised French, who had not expected any resistance.

344 Then there is the Banca Giuratale, a graceful, semicircular
341 Baroque structure which Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena erected at the end of the main square of Victoria as the offices
341 of the Jurats of Gozo. Another was until 1943—alas, that
342 the past tense has to be used here—the charming manor outside Xewkija known as the Torri Gourgion. Although it had fallen somewhat from its high estate and had been reduced to the status of a farmhouse, this unspoiled piece of seventeenth-century rural architecture, embellished by a charming well, yet retained externally all the dignity of that lordly epoch. Its stone drop-boxes alternating with elaborate stone escutcheons, its tall staircase tower topped by a conspicuous dome, its suggestion of the fortified country-house—all these features made it the only structure of its kind in the Maltese Islands.

342 It is indeed lamentable that it should have had to be razed
648 to the ground in 1943, not by enemy action but to make room for a temporary American aerodrome required in

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[648] [1] The Governor of Gozo, known in Maltese as the Hakem, lived in the house in the Citadel which, as has been said, is now the Law Court and Public Registry.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

342 648 connexion with the invasion of Sicily and destined to be used only once.[1]

Lastly, to prove that Gozo lives not only in the past, let me mention the pilgrimage church of Ta Pinu, a lofty basilica in the beautiful white limestone of the island completed as recently as 1931. This shrine is impressive as an example of modern Romanesque no less than as proof of the active piety of a laborious and God-fearing people. 346 341

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[1] A public-spirited citizen of Xewkija, Mr L. Zammit Haber, has piously preserved all the carved escutcheons, inscriptions and balcony stones of the Torri Gourgion.

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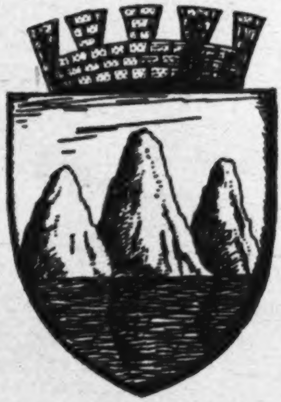

Arms of Gozo

[PP. 228–232 have not been Processed]

8-a. "The Bulwark of the Faith" had become the bulwark of freedom in the Middle Sea. Justly had it merited its latest title of "Malta, George Cross."

The tenacity of the Maltese during their long ordeal recalls to me the epitaph written by Tymnes, a Greek poet of the second century B.C., on a Maltese dog:

> He came from Malta; and Eumelus says
> He had no better dog in all his days.
> We called him Bull.

Such might have been Great Britain's tribute after the second Siege of Malta to her watchdog-island in the Mediterranean.

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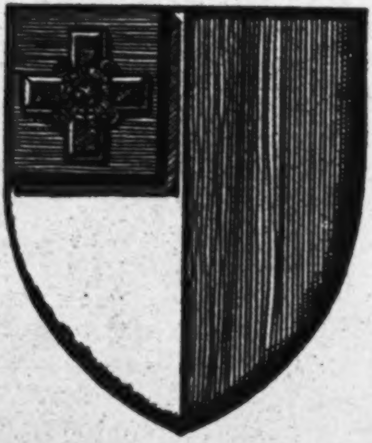

Arms of Malta, George Cross

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XXI

After the Second World War

727 795 TO THE STORM AND STRESS OF THE WAR YEARS SUCCEEDED other activities imposed by other pressures. Urgent was the need to repair the bombed areas; to stabilize an economy disturbed by war and post-war conditions; to speed up emigration from the world's most heavily overcrowded political unit; to take into consideration the ferment in men's minds which prolonged wars on a major scale have never yet failed to generate. The circumstance that the ferment took less unsettling forms in Malta than in some other parts of a war-distracted world may be ascribed to the steadying influence of the Church.

727 648 652 Britain herself, though bowing beneath the weight of unprecedented taxation, did not fail to recognize the needs and deserts of her Maltese bulwark. "There will be general agreement," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons in 1942, "that the outstanding gallantry shown by the people of Malta in the face of enemy attacks of unprecedented length and severity calls for some special recognition." A first free gift of ten million pounds, made there and then by the British Government for restoration of war damage and reconstruction, was followed by an additional grant of twenty millions for the same purposes. To these were added substantial and still continuing annual grants of several millions a year in aid of the local revenue.

643 701 From 1813 to 1946, except for one four-year interval, the Governors of Malta had been distinguished serving soldiers—Field-Marshals and Generals on the Active List of the Army and Commanders-in-Chief, not only in name but in effect,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of the islands' military forces. The exception was the Right Honourable Richard More O'Ferrall, an Irish Roman Catholic Member of Parliament who had been a junior Minister in Lord Melbourne's Administration and was Governor of Malta from 1847 to 1851. O'Ferrall was sensitive, high-minded, well-intentioned and an indefatigable reformer; a Liberal by instinct, he gave Malta its first part-elected Legislative Council. But his very reforming zeal laid him open to bitter attacks and misrepresentation, which led to his premature resignation. 643 701 [646]

The experiment of placing a civilian and a politician in charge of Malta was held to have failed and was not repeated until 1946, when the Labour Government appointed a Socialist Member of Parliament in the person of Mr F. Douglas (later Lord Douglas of Barloch) as Malta's second civilian Governor. A new departure was made when Douglas was succeeded in 1949 by Sir Gerald Creasy, the first regular member of the Colonial Service to hold the appointment; yet another, when Creasy was succeeded in 1954 by Major-General Sir Robert Laycock. Although General Laycock is a distinguished soldier whose military career culminated in the post of Chief of Combined Operations during and after the Second World War, he had already retired from the Army before coming to Malta; his appointment was a civil one, not a revival of the military Governorship. So was that of Admiral Sir Guy Grantham, a former Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Station, who retired from the Navy immediately before succeeding Sir Robert Laycock in 1959. 643

2

Sections 2 to 4 of this chapter may be skipped by the reader not interested in Malta's constitutional vicissitudes between the restoration of self-government in 1947 and its temporary withdrawal in 1959. The book would, however, 000

600 be incomplete without some record of these events. It is a complex story but I will endeavour to tell it as succinctly as possible.

642
648 On the 7th July 1943, while the war was yet raging and Malta still in jeopardy, the British Government had made a Declaration from which I quote the following paragraphs:

> His Majesty's Government have had under consideration certain representations which have been made by the elected members of the Council of Government in Malta, who have asked for an announcement regarding their intentions in relation to farther constitutional development. Since the present Constitution of Malta was inaugurated in 1939 the fortress has successfully withstood a siege of two and a half years. During the siege the Island was subjected to heavy and sustained attacks from the air and to a food shortage of increasing gravity. By their steadfastness and fortitude under the severe hardships thus occasioned, the people of Malta together with its gallant garrison rendered services of incalculable value to the allied cause. . . .
>
> For more than ten years, between 1921 and 1933, the people of Malta enjoyed full legislative and administrative responsibility under the Crown in the conduct of their national affairs, the control of naval and military Services and of all matters appertaining to the position of Malta as an imperial fortress, or otherwise affecting imperial interests or policy, being reserved to the Imperial Government. It is the policy of His Majesty's Government that responsible government in the same sphere should again be granted to Malta after the war.

642
646 After the conclusion of hostilities no time was lost in taking the first steps to implement this undertaking. In 1944 a National Congress representative of all the constituted bodies recognized by the Government of Malta prepared the way for a National Assembly, summoned to consider plans for a new Constitution to replace the so-called "MacDonald Constitution" of 1939. This in its turn had followed one

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of 1936, which superseded the original self-governing 642
Constitution of 1921. In 1946 Sir Harold MacMichael, a 646
distinguished retired administrator in the Middle East, was invited by the British Government to formulate detailed proposals for constitutional reform after consultation with the National Assembly. His recommendations[1] provided for a Legislative Assembly of forty members elected on a system of proportional representation and led to the re-establishment of self-government in September 1947.[2] But some responsible elements regretted that they made no provision for the Second Chamber or Senate which had existed under the Constitution of 1921.

The elections gave Malta the first Labour Government in 665
its parliamentary history, under Dr (later Sir) Paul Boffa; 642
this made way in 1950 for one formed by the Nationalists, whose earlier dismissal had led to the suspension of the Constitution in 1933.[3] The new Government was headed—for such are the vicissitudes of politics—by the veteran pro-Italian Enrico Mizzi, who had been interned in East Africa during the war and died in December 1950, three months after taking office. In 1951 his successor, the Nationalist Dr G. Borg Olivier, formed a Coalition with Dr Boffa's "Malta Workers' Party"; this Coalition remained in power until defeated in 1955 by the Left-Wing Labour Leader, Mr Dominic Mintoff,[4] a former Rhodes Scholar who had been Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction in the Boffa Ministry but seceded from his former chief in 1950.

Already in the time of Dr Borg Olivier there had been 642
inaugurated a series of talks in London between the Secretary 648
of State for the Colonies and the Maltese Prime Minister 668
and Leader of the Opposition on proposed changes in Malta's

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[1] Published in 1947 as Colonial No. 207 and analysed in the White Paper "Malta; Statement on Constitutional Reform (Comd. 7014) of Jan. 1947." [113]

[2] See p. 137.

[3] See pp. 135–137.

[4] Mintoff is a variation of the name usually spelled Mintuf, which is the Maltese word meaning 'plucked.' [557]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

642 648 668 constitutional status. The British Government had felt unable to accept the Nationalists' request for Dominion status and the transfer of responsibility for Malta from the Colonial to the Commonwealth Relations Office; but neither Party regarded as adequate the British counter-proposal for the removal of Maltese affairs from the Colonial to the Home Office. In 1954 the British Government suggested all-party talks, to be held in London, and Mr Mintoff accepted the suggestion on assuming office in February 1955.

64 668 Mr Mintoff now put forward the novel proposal that Malta, while retaining its local autonomy and local Parliament (with power to legislate on all matters other than defence and external affairs), should be "integrated" with the United Kingdom and be represented in the House of Commons at Westminster by not fewer than three Members elected in accordance with United Kingdom electoral laws. The British Parliament's reaction to this interesting suggestion proving generally sympathetic, the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, announced in July 1955 that a Round Table Conference consisting of representatives of all political parties at Westminster would be convened for its consideration. The Round Table Conference of seventeen members (including Lord Attlee, Mr A. Bevan and Mr Clement Davies) under the Chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, held twelve plenary sessions in London and three in Malta. Its Report was published in December 1955.[1] The Conference concluded that Maltese representation at Westminster was "practicable and reasonable" and recommended its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government and Parliament if also accepted by the people of Malta.

64 666 668 A referendum to ascertain the wishes of the Maltese was held—somewhat prematurely as was thought by some—on the 11th and 12th February 1956. The figures of the referendum showed:

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[1] As Command 9657.

in favour of integration	67,607	64
against	20,177	666
invalid votes	2,559	668
votes cast	90,343	

As the names on the Electoral Register totalled 152,583 the number of those who refrained from voting was 62,240; [795] and it was assumed that most of the abstentions were due to the misgivings of the Church, which, if not openly hostile to the plan, was certainly not articulate in its favour. Obviously, too, the implications of the proposal far transcended purely constitutional issues: the entire Maltese economy was involved, with inevitable changes in the standard of living and economic consequences for good or ill difficult to forecast. Such terms as "parity" and "equivalence" were added to the slogans of the day.

Those opposed, for one reason or another, to Integration as propounded by Mr Mintoff argued that the poll, although showing a majority *of those voting* as in favour of the proposal, had certainly not resulted in the clear, unmistakable overall majority envisaged as necessary by the Round Table Conference. Her Majesty's Government shared this view to the extent of deciding that the Maltese electors should have another opportunity to pronounce themselves on the subject. On the 28th March 1956, after a debate in the House of Commons, Sir Anthony Eden announced the Government's intention of implementing the Round Table Conference Report in a Bill to be drafted in two parts, the first to contain a new Constitution for Malta, the second to deal with Maltese representation at Westminster. But the Maltese people would be enabled once more to declare their views on Integration at a General Election, to be held in Malta before the United Kingdom Bill finally became law.

The position, then, by the middle of 1956 was that under the constitutional arrangements proposed by the Round Table Conference and accepted by Her Majesty's

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

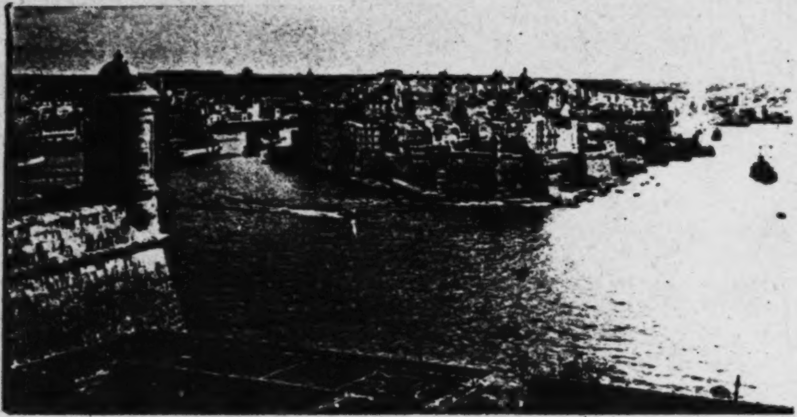
64 Government the Maltese people would be represented, if
666 they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at
Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative
668 Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a
single Maltese Government would take the place of the
existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly
concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain
the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government
[651] of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would
retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as
the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level
comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Govern-
642 ment and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with
648 fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and
668 financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial
464 difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equival-
ence" which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his
supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration
and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government.
Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in
April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the
situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of
Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in
[504] British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence
expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest
single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the
reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future
war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last
one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

464 The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over
13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard
668 out of a national working population of just under
504 83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable
proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has
always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

36/



SENGLEA FROM THE VALETTA SIDE OF THE GRAND HARBOUR
[*See pp.* 55, 69.]

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THE THREE CITIES AND PART OF THE DOCKYARD, LOOKING TOWARDS VALETTA
In between, Vittoriosa and Fort S. Angelo.
[*See pp.* 47, 240–41, 249 *and* 250.]

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504

[facing p. 240]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

504

core of Malta." The average Dockyard hand did not know if 464
his job might not come to an end by the end of the year; and 668
representatives of all classes in the country, including the
parish priests, passed resolutions pressing for a guarantee of [793]
alternative employment if the Dockyard were to close down.

In the following month the Secretary of State for the
Colonies, Mr Lennox-Boyd, put forward a new proposal 668
to avert the threatened deadlock. 648 While adhering to the Integration policy, and to "equivalence" of the Maltese economy and standard of living as an ultimate aim, he proposed an experimental period or trial run of five years for the Maltese economy to approximate itself to that of the United Kingdom. During this period the British Government would afford economic assistance towards the attainment of this object, consisting of a grant of £25,000,000 over the five years; assistance with educational, health and other social services based on a percentage of what the Maltese were able to do for themselves; and an obligation to help if unemployment rose above the British level in consequence of Defence cuts. Meanwhile Maltese representation at Westminster would remain in abeyance.

Even so, Mr Mintoff was not satisfied. On the 14th December he tendered his resignation owing to a difference of opinion with a section of his supporters in the General Workers' Union but withdrew it three days later; and he then raised the cry of independence as the alternative if he failed to obtain Integration on his own financial terms. The Nationalist Opposition, which had combated Integration, proved ready to support the converse alternative, for on the 30th December 1957 their representatives in the Legislative Assembly voted for Mr Mintoff's Resolution threatening severance of the link with Britain, which was passed unanimously and with acclamation in the following terms:

> That, as the British Government is not prepared to honour the obligation assumed by that Government, in the declaration

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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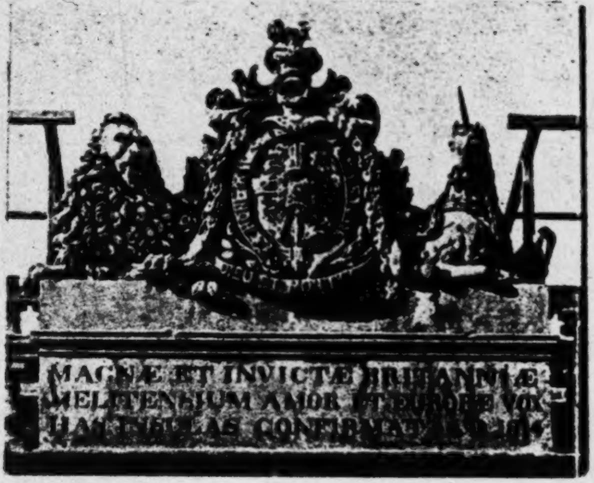
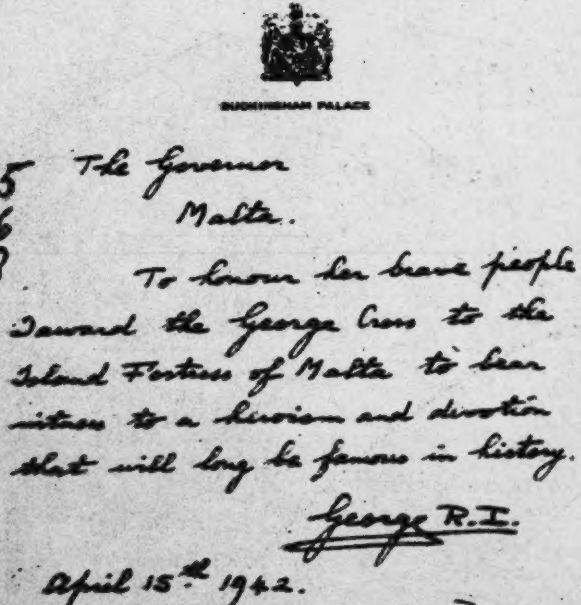

MAGNÆ ET INVICTÆ BRITANNIÆ
MELITENSIUM AMOR ET EUROPÆ VOX
HAS INSULAS CONFIRMAT A.D. 181

ARMS AND INSCRIPTION ABOVE THE MAIN GUARD, VALETTA
[See p. 119.]



BUCKINGHAM PALACE

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The Governor
Malta.

To honour her brave people I award the George Cross to the Island Fortress of Malta to bear witness to a heroism and devotion that will long be famous in history.

George R.I.

April 15th 1942.

KING GEORGE VI'S LETTER AWARDING THE GEORGE CROSS
[See p. 231]

[Facing p. 241]

668 of July 1955, to avoid unemployment, the representatives of
648 the Maltese people, in Parliament assembled, declare themselves absolved from their pacts and obligations towards the British Government, and from those so far assumed towards the Allies of that Government—this position to obtain for so long as the British Government fails to guarantee that the number of persons employed by the said Government in Malta shall not decrease before there is "alternative employment" for those discharged.

On this inauspicious note ended the year 1957 despite the patient efforts of the Government in London and of Sir Robert Laycock and his advisers in Malta to bring the protracted and often vexatious negotiations to a happy issue. The latter's task thereafter was made no easier by a Circular issued in February 1958 to Heads of Departments and all other Malta Government employees forbidding them on pain of disciplinary action "to make any verbal or personal contacts on any official matter with any member of the other side of the Diarchy" without the personal permission of the Minister concerned. In April these words were extended to cover "any official matter *or otherwise.*" Thereby was created the anomalous situation that the islands' officials subordinate to the Mintoff Administration had to boycott those of the Maltese Imperial Government not only officially but socially, even to the extent of declining the Governor's invitations to dinner. Be it added that the embargo was far from being universally observed, while Ministers continued to seek direct personal contacts with the Imperial side of the Diarchy whenever it suited them to do so.

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643 In 1608 one of the greatest and most innovating painters
175 of the Seicento, that Michaelangelo Amerighi who was better known from his birthplace as Caravaggio, spent some
532 months of his short and disordered life in Malta, employed
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9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

by the splendid, vigorous and art-loving Grand Master Alof 175
de Wignacourt. Notwithstanding the Grand Master's 643
generous protection the 38-year-old artist soon made Malta 532
too hot to hold him. He was put in prison, escaped and died
in Italy within a year or so. But in the meantime Malta and 659
the world had become the richer by two pictures which he painted for S. John's Conventual Church in Valetta, the great Beheading of S. John the Baptist and the smaller S. Jerome. In 1956 these pictures, which had never before left the walls for which they were painted except to be put in a place of safety during the Second World War, were sent to Italy in a British man-of-war for restoration and for display at the Exhibition of seventeenth-century art held in Rome during the winter of 1956–57. Of this Exhibition, indeed, the larger picture provided the central attraction.

At the close of the Exhibition the pictures were brought 659
back to Malta, again in one of Her Majesty's ships, but to the general astonishment were forcibly impounded on arrival by the Maltese Government on Mr Mintoff's orders without previous notice and conveyed to the Museum despite vigorous protests from the ecclesiastical authorities. The Mintoff Government had clashed with the Church on other matters but there had been no inkling that its unpredictable leader had ever contemplated the transfer of these pictures to civil custody or the use of unilateral high-handed action to bring it about.

The state of tension with the Church created by this and other subjects of disagreement persisted for another year, that is to say until April 1958, by which time Mr Mintoff, now ready to break with the British Government, decided to clear the decks by making his peace with the Archbishop. As abruptly as he had seized the Caravaggios did he return them to S. John's, at the oddly chosen time of 1 A.M. on Sunday, the 20th April. On the following day statements were issued from the Archbishop's Palace and the Prime Minister's office declaring that good relations between the
q° Government and the Church had been restored.

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Government and the Church had been restored. That evening, the 21st,[1] Mr Mintoff handed his resignation and that of his Cabinet to the Governor.

The dramatic events of the next three days were described to the people of Malta in the following broadcast made by Sir Robert Laycock on the 24th April:

> "A constitutional crisis has arisen in Malta and I want to tell you how this situation came about and what it means.
>
> "Last Monday evening, Mr Mintoff tendered to me his resignation. He refused to form a caretaker Government but agreed to remain in office until I had tried to find an alternative Government.
>
> "But before Mr Mintoff came to see me, he had already told the people of Malta over the Rediffusion that he and his colleagues no longer wanted to remain responsible for public peace and order in Malta.
>
> "Yet in spite of this statement Mr Mintoff remained Minister of Police. In other words, he remained the Minister responsible for law and order. As such he issued certain orders to the Commissioner of Police during the disturbances last night.
>
> "If these orders had been carried out the Police would have found it very difficult to do their duty. They would have been at a grave disadvantage. Now the Commissioner of Police knows that I alone as Governor am ultimately responsible for your safety. He told me what Mr Mintoff had ordered and he said that, if these orders were carried out, his men would not have been able to do their job.
>
> "The Commissioner of Police asked me what he should do. I had not the slightest doubt that Mr Mintoff's orders were a threat to the public safety and might bring innocent people into danger, and so I told the Commissioner of Police not to carry out those orders.
>
> "This morning Mr Mintoff recommended to me that the Commissioner of Police, Mr Vivian de Gray, should be dismissed. To this I refused to give my approval.
>
> "Last evening, as you know, I consulted Dr Borg Olivier and he informed me that he was not prepared to form a Government. This afternoon, I asked Mr Mintoff to see me

[1] [i.e. April 21, 1958--Analyst]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

again. He came with all his Ministers and we spent two hours together. He failed to convince me that he was prepared to give the proper assurances that he would maintain law and order and I therefore accepted his resignation. 64 668

"So the people of Malta are now without an elected Government, and I, the Governor, am without Ministers. I have been forced into a position where I have had to take over control of the Administration, and I want to tell you now just what this means.

"First of all the Legislative Assembly will be dissolved and there will be a General Election at the earliest possible moment.

"Secondly, the Commissioner of Police, Mr Vivian de Gray, remains in command of the Police Force. I can tell you now that everything will be done to ensure the preservation of law and order and public safety in Valetta and indeed throughout these Islands. I trust that there will be no more disturbances and that the elections will be held in complete freedom as they should be in a law-abiding community.

"Thirdly, I want to make it quite clear that the salaries of civil servants and Government employees will continue to be paid without interruption. There will be no crisis over finance or employment.

"I appeal to you, therefore, to remain calm, to maintain law and order, and to go about your day-to-day business as usual.

"Once again I want to say with all the emphasis I can that I am determined to get things back to normal without delay. I want to repeat that free elections will be held at the first possible moment.

"Finally, I want to assure you all that the British Government and people have nothing but goodwill for the people of Malta and will do everything they can to see that you have a peaceful, happy and secure future. As Her Majesty the Queen's Representative in Malta I make that statement without reservations of any kind."

The same day were issued Proclamations dissolving the Legislative Assembly and prohibiting for a fortnight the holding of public meetings and demonstrations in Valetta and Floriana. [656]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

A post-war phenomenon from which Malta is not
668 immune is the Teddy-Boy, whose long locks and bizarre
579 dress as he lounges about the capital faintly recall, if only in
656 caricature, the flowing curls and exotic clothes in which the
young Disraeli postured in the streets of Valetta in 1830.
[468] A one-day general strike called for the 28th April by the
General Workers' Union as a "national protest" gave these
and the late Prime Minister's other lawless supporters the opportunity for widespread rioting in which they demolished walls to make barricades and road-blocks, dislocated traffic, destroyed cars and other property and stoned the Police. One of the mobs wrecked and set fire to Zabbar Police Station. Nor was illegal action confined to the mobs. These received encouragement from above; two members of the Mintoff Ministry were convicted of intimidation and had their sentences upheld on appeal. The Police, no longer impeded in the performance of their duty by political pressure, behaved magnificently and with great restraint in the face of violent and sustained provocation.

In consequence of this disorder, whereby relatively small but carefully organized gangs of hooligans interrupted the lawful occasions of the vast majority of peaceful citizens, the prohibition of the holding of public meetings and demonstrations was extended for three months and applied to all Malta and Gozo. Another Proclamation declared a state of emergency which enabled the Governor to assume wider
[793] powers for the maintenance of public order and safety. The
Archbishop condemned violence in a timely broadcast.

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642 With the elimination of factors making for trouble the
country settled down under the Governor's direct adminis-
648 tration, and by November 1958 Mr Lennox-Boyd thought
668 the time had come to initiate fresh discussions in London
between himself, Sir Robert Laycock and the leaders

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

respectively of the Maltese Labour, Nationalist and Progressive Constitutionalist Parties, Mr Mintoff, Dr Borg Olivier and Miss Mabel Strickland. The negotiations were unsuccessful. If I now reproduce the text of another official document, it is because the Colonial Secretary's statement of the 5th January 1959, made after the talks had broken down, is the authoritative pronouncement on the chain of events which led the British Government to repeal the 1947 Constitution and promulgate a new interim Constitution to fill the gap pending the return to self-government.

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CONSTITUTIONAL AND ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS FOR MALTA

Her Majesty's Government's Plans for the Future

1. Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered the views put forward during the constitutional discussions between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the delegations representing the Malta Labour Party, the Nationalist Party and the Progressive Constitutional Party, which were held in London between the 19th November and the 21st December 1958. Because these talks failed to reach agreement on a new constitution Her Majesty's Government have now had to decide on constitutional arrangements for an interim period.

2. It will be recalled that Malta has been without an elected government since April 1958, when Mr Mintoff resigned and Dr Borg Olivier declined to form a government. At the same time disturbances threatening public safety broke out, which necessitated the proclamation of an emergency. Since then the Governor has had to use his emergency powers to govern Malta. In the situation created by these events, the Secretary of State decided to invite the three political parties to London last November to discuss future constitutional arrangements.

3. In their approach to these discussions Her Majesty's Government naturally had regard to the negotiations which had taken place over the past three years for the integration of Malta with the United Kingdom. Although the integration negotiations have not borne fruit, and none of the Maltese

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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political parties now accepts integration as an aim of policy, Her Majesty's Government felt that the far-reaching self-government which Malta would have enjoyed under integration provided a suitable basis for discussion of any new constitutional plan. The Secretary of State was accordingly prepared to discuss with the Maltese delegations at the talks a new constitution drawing its inspiration from those constitutional arrangements under integration on which there had been a substantial measure of agreement. This new constitution would give Malta self-government in most fields. Her Majesty's Government would have retained responsibility for defence and external affairs, for assuring the independence of the Police and the Public Service and for their protection from victimization. This constitution was based on the continuing close association between the United Kingdom and Malta, which Her Majesty's Government firmly believe corresponds to the wishes and interests of both countries.

4. The Secretary of State hoped that after an initial meeting with each of the delegations there could be a plenary Conference with all three delegations. That proved to be impossible.

5. The Labour Party delegation, at the two meetings held with them, and in correspondence between Mr Mintoff and the Secretary of State, took the view that any constitutional arrangements for the future must be on the basis of immediate independence or independence by 1962. They persisted in that view after it had been pointed out to them that the people of Malta would suffer mass unemployment and serious economic hardship if Malta were to become independent now or in the near future. The attitude of the Labour Party delegation made it fruitless to attempt to discuss any detailed constitutional arrangements with them.

There was a valuable general discussion on future constitutional arrangements with the Nationalist Party delegation but the Party required more precise assurances on Malta's eventual position in the Commonwealth than Her Majesty's Government were in a position to give. There was also a useful exchange of views with the Progressive Constitutional Party.

6. There is evidently no prospect at present of devising a Constitution for Malta which would be generally acceptable

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

to the political parties and Her Majesty's Government. Farther 642
efforts must, of course, be made, and it is Her Majesty's
Government's intention to hold farther discussions in due 648
course with a view to reintroducing elected representative 668
government. In the meantime it is desirable that the present arrangements, under which the Governor is using his emergency powers under the present Constitution to govern the islands, should be terminated as soon as possible. Her Majesty's Government have accordingly no alternative but to revoke the present Constitution and to make special arrangements of an interim character for the government of Malta. This will necessitate legislation and a Bill will be introduced into Parliament after the House re-assembles. The form of government contemplated for this interim period is one in which the Governor will be assisted by a Council on which there will be Maltese representation.

7. During this interim period the Governor with the full 648
support of Her Majesty's Government will press on with 433
economic development. As was recognized in the 1955
Declaration to which the Maltese political leaders subscribe, 654
Malta depends very heavily on Services expenditure and every effort must be made to develop other sources of income. Much has already been done since 1955 in laying the foundation for future industrial development, to which end Malta has received assistance amounting to some £18,000,000 from Her Majesty's Government.

8. Her Majesty's Government's main aim in promoting economic development in Malta is to attract new industries. The 1955 Declaration recognized that this required a joint effort towards which the Maltese Government and people should make the best possible contribution from their own resources. A very important step in Malta's economic development has already been taken by the decision to convert the Naval Dockyard to a commercial ship repair yard and to develop associated industries. The construction of a deepwater harbour, the building of an industrial estate, the re-equipment of the Island's electricity supply and other public utilities, and the development of tourism are already going ahead. Plans for other development are now under examination. It is the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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654 433 648 Governor's intention to ask the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for advice from time to time on current problems of the Maltese economy and on the plans for Malta's economic development.

9. Private industrial development is to be assisted by the Aids to Industry legislation which the Governor intends to enact this month. This will offer substantial fiscal incentives to new industries to establish themselves in the Islands. New industries establishing themselves in Malta will also be eligible to apply for grants and loans. In administering these various incentives to industrial development the Governor will be assisted by an influential advisory body on which there will be Maltese representatives. This body will be under the chairmanship of Lord Hives, who is already familiar with Malta's problems.

Her Majesty's Government have now decided to contribute a sum of up to £29,000,000 over the next five years towards the cost of Malta's capital programme, the conversion of the dockyard to civil use and the encouragement of new industries.

642 654 648 The 1959 Constitution came into operation, as it happened, on the 15th April, which is celebrated in Malta as George Cross Day. It provides for the administration of the islands by the Governor with the aid of a part-official, part-nominated Executive Council with Maltese representation, an arrangement similar to that in force between 1936 and 1939. There was also enacted the Aids to Industry legislation foreshadowed in Mr Lennox-Boyd's Statement; Messrs Bailey successfully took over the Dockyard, which had been converted into a commercial undertaking with the financial help of the British Government; work was inaugurated on the construction of a new deep-water wharf in the Grand Harbour.

744 73 Sir Robert Laycock's term of office, while politically frustrating, ended with a year of economic advance and new hopes. It also saw an immense advance in social services such as District Nursing and the care of handicapped children, orphans and victims of infantile paralysis under the vigorous

leadership and in some cases on the initiative of Lady 744
Laycock, who worked in close association with the Arch- 73
bishop of Malta and voluntary helpers clerical and lay.

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History tends to repeat itself, not least in Malta. In the 648
times of the Knights the flags of eight Langues or Nations waved over their respective sectors of the island's defences. To-day, from the Headquarters of the Allied Forces, Mediterranean (HAFMED) beside the ancient granaries of Floriana, there fly the flags of six of the NATO Nations, Great Britain, France, Greece, Italy, Turkey and the U.S.A. There is only one change since the days when the banners of the Langues symbolized a League of Christian Nations banded against a common foe and a common danger. In the Malta of the Knights the common foe had been the Turk; to-day the star and crescent of Turkey fly over the walls of Malta beside the flags of Turkey's allies in NATO, emblematic of a common defensive partnership against a very different foe. Christian and Moslem are now linked in alliance against an ideology whose enemies are God and freedom.

The cosmopolitan impact of NATO officers and their wives and daughters on the Island's society has made Malta once more what the traveller Patrick Brydone called it in the reign of Grand Master Pinto, "the epitome of all Europe."

[pp. 252-266 not processed]

/Information on the Gaugau, the belief that the spirit of persons born on Christmas Eve will be transformed into a ghost and on subsequent Christmas Eves, while the person is asleep, haunt the island only returning to its body at dawn, will be found in category 774./

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE ETHNOLOGY OF MALTA AND GOZO.

By L. H. Dudley Buxton.

(*Department of Human Anatomy, Oxford.*)

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[The figures in brackets in the text refer to Appendix I, Literature.]

I.—Introduction.

12 [101] [114] This report refers to a part of the material collected in December, 1920, and January, 1921, by an anthropological expedition from Oxford. The expedition was made possible by the generosity of Sir Alfred Mond and a grant from the Mary Ewart Trust. Most of the measurements on crania, on the women, and on about a hundred men and women at Gozo, were done by Mrs. Jenkinson and Miss Moss working together. Miss Russell measured long bones and about half the children.[1] The remaining measurements were done by the present writer. As far as possible all the skeletal material was examined by the present writer, who is ultimately responsible for the sexing. Mr. Hort was occupied in working at the archæological problems. I am indebted to Mrs. Jenkinson and Miss Moss for working out a number of indices on the living, and to Miss Russell for help in tabulation.

We all wish to express our thanks to the Governor of Malta (Field-Marshal Lord Plumer), who gave us official support, took a great personal interest in our work, and smoothed away many of the difficulties; and to the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Robertson. Dr. Zammit, the Rector of Malta University and Curator of the Museum, set his unrivalled knowledge of the island at our disposal, and gave us every possible help. Our thanks are also due to various members of the Department of Public Health, who sacrificed busy days in order to take us into villages where they happened to be known; to Count Caruana Gatto, for instructing me in the botany of Malta; and to numerous other friends who did everything in their power to enable us to collect data in Malta.

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[1] It is hoped to utilise the material dealing with the long bones and with the children in subsequent papers.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

In Oxford, Professor Arthur Thomson has set the resources of his Department, 12 ●
including a calculating machine, at my disposal, and has helped me continually with advice and kindly criticism. My former teachers—Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. Henry Balfour, Mr. E. T. Leeds, and Professor J. L. Myres—have accorded me in many conversations the combined privileges of a colleague and a pupil. I fear that I have, albeit unwittingly, often pirated their ideas. My colleague, Miss Blackwood, has devoted the greater part of a Long Vacation to helping to finish and prepare this paper for the press before my leaving England, and has performed the laborious task of looking over proofs in my absence.

II.—Geography.

The Maltese archipelago consists of the islands of Malta, Gozo, Comino, Cominetto and Filfola. The two latter are uninhabited, and Comino is practically untenanted. We are therefore only concerned with the islands of Malta and Gozo. 131 [10]

Malta lies about 60 miles south of Sicily and 180 miles north of the African coast. Its maximum length is 18½ miles, its maximum breadth 8¼ miles, and its area 95 square miles. Gozo is considerably smaller, and has an area of about 20 square miles.

Geologically, the islands are Late Eocene (3). The eastern and most thickly 133
inhabited part of Malta consists of globigerina limestone, which overlies lower coralline limestone; in the western part these beds are covered with beds of greensand and blue clay or marl, over which lies the upper coralline limestone. The rock is everywhere extremely friable, and is perpetually disintegrating under the influence of wind and rain. Except in one or two places the soil is seldom more than a few inches deep.

The surrounding seas are warm and shallow; a rise of 50 fathoms would connect Malta and Sicily, and a rise of 200 fathoms would join North Africa and Europe and include Malta as a craggy bastion. The shallowest sea, however, lies more to the west. Malta should, therefore, be more correctly described as an outlying pier of an old land bridge rather than part of the land bridge itself. It seems probable that slow, tectonic movements are actually in progress to-day, and that the archipelago is sinking; but it is extremely unlikely that any men of whom we possess traces at present, with the doubtful exception of a few fragments from the Weid Dalam, came to Malta when it was still part of the mainland.

The island is tilted from south to north. The cliffs along the southern coast are high and precipitous, and some of the loftiest parts of the island are close to the shore.

The undercliff here forms a pleasant contrast to the less fertile parts of Malta. 137
Carib trees are not uncommon, potatoes are cultivated on terraces, and the tiny 312
fields are irrigated, as elsewhere in Malta, by little runlets conducted along channels

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Preface to the First Edition

● 12 I HAVE THE PLEASANT DUTY TO EXPRESS MY THANKS TO VARIOUS friends for help in several directions: to the Chevalier H. P. Scicluna, M.B.E., for many years the Director of the Royal Malta Library, for allowing me to draw on his vast store of knowledge of the records of his native island; to the lamented Sir Themistocles Zammit, most lovable and human of savants, who introduced me, a newcomer to Malta, to those Stone Age wonders he did more than anyone else to reveal and interpret to the world; to Miss Norah Penhaligon for the kindness and patience with which she undertook research on my behalf while I was cut off from libraries and works of reference at the other side of the globe; to Mr George Bonello, M.B.E., of the Lieutenant-Governor's office, for help in other respects.

I have to thank also the following friends for allowing me to use photographs taken or procured by them: Gwenllian, Lady Palmer (garden of Dar il-Lyuni); Major the Hon. James Galizia, C.B.E.; the late Rev. A. Spiteri, O.P. (Tapestry Chamber); Mr Stewart Perowne, O.B.E.; Brigadier W. N. Stokes, O.B.E., D.S.C.; Mr Charles Zammit, who is following in his father's footsteps at the Malta Museum. By a piquant circumstance the photograph of Dragut's tomb was given me in Tripoli by a member of the once reigning dynasty of Karamanli, whose ancestors were a thorn in the side of the Grand Masters in the last century of their rule in Malta.

My thanks are similarly due to the R.A.F., the Malta Museum, the Malta Government Tourist Bureau and the Director of Public Works, while I owe to the courtesy of the Administration of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris the photograph of the jewelled hilt of the sword sent by Philip II to Grand Master La Valette.

I have also drawn on the work of Malta's excellent professional photographers, especially Mr E. A. Gouder. Likewise represented are Messrs R. Ellis, the Grand Studio, S. L. Cassar, G. Fürst (women in *faldettas*), all of Valetta; Messrs M. Farrugia of Gozo and Felice of Pawla. The photograph of the Inca monoliths at Ollantay-Tampu in Peru is by Martin Chambi of Cuzco, a Peruvian Indian.

H.C.L.

INTRODUCTION

114 121 The distinctive qualities of Malta first exerted their attraction on us over fifteen years ago. In 1954 an opportunity for closer study occurred and we developed the idea of undertaking some form of geographical survey.

When the authors made a preliminary survey of documentary source material, their first reaction was one of surprise at the relative paucity of literature available: although since that time there has been an improvement in the quality, extent and accessibility of studies relating to the Islands, this original impression persists. Smallness in overall area and in population numbers might be held responsible for such a limited degree of intellectual interest; and yet the true importance of Malta has been out of all proportion to mere size. The number of references quoted below might seem a rebuttal of these assertions. Indeed in total amount the material extant is superficially impressive. However, with certain significant exceptions, many studies prove to be unreliable either because of their uncritical acceptance of earlier dicta, or because analyses are relatively superficial in that they lack foundation upon direct observation and on the cross-checking given by comparative studies in related fields. These introductory remarks are intended not as complacent and destructive criticism but rather as a partial explanation and justification of the wide but not definitive range of our work. The research on which our book is based commenced as a sample study of land utilization. Because however of the difficulty of accepting other than very few statements as authoritative it became essential to undertake simultaneous inquiries in varied fields.

114 121 182 Equally important as a reason for attempting a relatively comprehensive coverage of affairs Maltese is the fact that in these strange, perhaps unique, islands the interweave of human and non-human elements is so close. Approach to a single isolated problem leads extraordinarily rapidly to all other parts of the complex, more quickly and completely than we have observed elsewhere. Whatever the starting point; micro-climate or semantics, hoe-types or constitutional history, any sustained investigation involves a mass of varied but inter-related problems.

114 The first simple project evolved for these reasons into a complex scheme carried out under the auspices of two Universities, two Governments, and in association with two Civil Services as well as other organizations, British, Maltese and international. We have therefore also experienced the need and received the opportunity of testing and experimenting with various techniques of geographical research. Circumstances allowed the participation of a relatively large number of workers of differing levels in experience. Besides full-time researchers at postgraduate level and a number of university teachers who made Malta a specific interest, there was scope for drawing upon the energy and enthusiasm of undergraduate members of the Department. In this way, the terrain could be fully covered and geography practised through the soles of the feet, with every part surveyed by personal observation on the ground. During the more or less parallel investigations therefore made necessary it has been possible to reconcile the methods of team research without restricting the freedom of the individuals concerned, whilst at the same time the Field Directors have been able to survey the whole of the work and take part in all of its constituent elements. It has been very reassuring to find that the checks provided by consequent overlapping have been consistently favourable.

121 As professional geographers, we welcome an opportunity of stating a belief that has lain in our minds throughout our work in Malta and elsewhere, and that experience has only served to confirm. This is that geography implies first, field observation of conditions relating to the way men live; secondly a willingness to trace a relationship through, and if necessary beyond the formal bounds normally assigned to a particular academic discipline. Thirdly, in order to give the whole process form and meaning, the operation must be rooted in a physical regional framework - this is what makes our approach 'geography' rather

121 than sociology. All that we attempt to observe, explain and compare occurs on or near a particular expanse of the earth's surface thereby conferring a unity to the studies we undertake.

The project thus far has been mainly designed to cover the agricultural sector (with all that that implies), but the impossibility of isolating any single segment of Maltese life has provided us with full justification for frequent divergence. Not only is it impossible to consider any element solely from the point of physical production; it becomes necessary to consider the wider and finally often more important factors such as, among others, social status, adaptability to change, and mental as well as physical climate.

We are therefore led to the belief that the facts here presented have an applicability wider than that to Maltese agriculture alone. It is not intended to produce a plan for specific lines of development - we feel strongly that this is not our function. Instead, we hope that our study will provide a background for development, the establishment of a factual corpus of knowledge that will allow development and future policy making by others.

In the case of the Maltese Islands, as in many other regions, such provision is not only necessary but imperative. During this century there has occurred a striking alteration of the status and importance of many dependent territories and newly independent states. Such rather sudden revaluations, inevitably consequent on erratic reactions to changing circumstances, are historically normal. Hitherto, however, resulting changes in sovereignty and economic and cultural ties have taken little account of the desires of the peoples concerned. Today, new ideas of political status are paralleled by ideas of development and 'natural rights' on the economic plane. Much of this, it is true, is a historical difference of degree rather than of kind. Although Malta for 5,000 years has always been part of some larger socio-cultural or political unit, it has always maintained a certain especial status of autonomy. Equally in the economic sector there has always existed some insular and independent activity. Nevertheless, more than ever before, the Maltese are and feel they are themselves now responsible for their socio-economic destinies. With such a responsibility, there arises a need, not always wholly welcome, and at times conceded only with reluctance, firstly for knowledge of basic facts relating to existing institutions, and secondly, for sympathetic understanding and appraisal of these facts. It is our earnest hope that this present work, which amounts to an extensive abstract of investigations and reports which are in themselves too specialized and lengthy for normal publication, will assist toward such an understanding.

128 The arrangement of the subject matter has been chosen in order to suit the attempt at integrating diverse but relevant material. Section One is devoted to studies of the physical environment. To the non-specialist much of it may appear prosaic and 'earthbound' but, as will appear, without such appraisal of limitations and possibilities any socio-economic analysis would remain over-speculative. In Section Two are considered the societies which have both left their impress on the landscape and produced cumulative responses to environment. Section Three contains studies of the contemporary rural scene; many of these directly and indirectly also help an understanding of non-agricultural activities. The concluding Section Four is an attempt to select and inter-relate the ideas and themes which have seemed to us of the greatest importance, and to present them in a single impression of the continuum which is Malta.

122 It remains to particularize, with deep gratitude, the assistance received during our investigations. Original interest, a kind of priming of the pump, came from Sir James Duff, then Warden of the Durham Colleges; and next, the support of the Colonial Economic Research Council, which provided financial backing for a large part of the survey. The Government of Malta also associated itself with the scheme, and provided powerful and indispensable support, financial and technical, especially through the Office of the Prime Minister, and Minister for Agriculture and his officials. As well, contacts with all officials of the Government, Imperial and National, were extremely fruitful, and personally most cordial.

Chapter IV

MALTA BEFORE A.D. 1800

A. Malta before the Knights

The Maltese Islands were probably first settled towards the end of the third 121 millenium B.C.; certainly there is no evidence of any earlier occupation. From 17 this time onwards, the landscape has had stamped upon it the successive imprints of a series of cultures and culture-contacts. This is not the place to attempt a detailed analytical history, but any study of a region and its people must consider time as well as place. In Malta we have, in the course of our fieldwork, continually felt an extraordinarily strong sense of continuity, an insistence that much which is contemporary can only be understood in terms of the past, and often of the remote past. Conversely, a close examination of the landscape can help to illuminate the past in a strictly historical sense.

The sort of question which arises in an investigation of the rural landscape may be exemplified by the much-debated problem of 'cart-ruts'. On some of the 172 expanses of bare rock which exist in various parts of the island of Malta are deeply incised grooves, in dual and parallel alignment, sometimes in isolation, often in complex 'tramway' patterns (Plate VII). Various attempts have been made to explain them (1) but with little success. We are certain only of their approximate age. To the prehistorian they are of obvious direct interest. To ourselves they are irritatingly fascinating because of the indirect and obscure evidence which they seem to offer of the nature of the processes which have operated on the land of Malta. Were they friction-incised through a soil cover by skid-carts? If this is so, then the soil cover must not only have been more extensive than at present but must also have evolved under different climatic and edaphic conditions from those with which we are now familiar. What can we deduce from the present limited exposure of the ruts and from the fact that often they appear to have been blotted out by cultivation? The traditional answer, as put forward by Zammit (2), is that they carried sledges for the collection [114] and transport of soil so that man could concentrate the soil in field plots. Thus field-making inevitably covered the ruts except on the ridges and bluffs. There are defects in these and other explanations, none of which come near to helping us to estimate the number and kind of people involved.

The settlements, too, present problems. Thus the archaeologist: 'The curious and complete absence of settlement-sites throughout the prehistoric period, which also holds good for the Punic and later periods, seems susceptible of only one explanation. The best sites must have been chosen for settlement very early in the islands' occupation and these have remained centres of habitation until the present day' (3). May we then assume that, with the exception of the 'lost villages' of more recent times, the settlement pattern of today results from continual addition to, and an absence of erasures from the palimpsest? The answer is not only of chronological interest but has an essential place in any analysis of present-day Malta.

For such reasons as these we have attempted in this section to give a time perspective to the Maltese picture in order to help our present understanding.

The first Maltese would seem to have been Neolithic farmers using impressed ceramic ware of a type associated with the *Stentinello* culture of eastern Sicily. The stylistically earliest wares of Ghar Dalam (I) (Fig. 29) are associated with megalithic temples already well enough developed to have lost their original tomb character and to have become cult centres. These and later temples, built during the eight centuries before *c.* 1500 B.C. (Period I), are impressive and surviving contributions to the landscape by the first Neolithic people. Megalithic rock-tombs have been found at Xemxija and probably from this type of structure there evolved five distinct and successive phases of temple architecture. The earliest are those of Mġarr (II) and Xewkija (III) with a simple

INTRODUCTION

● 121 24 Contemporary agriculture can only be understood in terms of the whole nexus of environmental and human factors. Although a general truism this assertion continually needs to be emphasised in a study of Malta. In these Islands the observer will meet more puzzling features both major and minor in scale than it is conceivable would be found in any territory of similar size. The wider one's comparative experience, the more it appears necessary to discard general principles and to adopt a habit of querying the origin of every minor element in the landscape. The various problems are examined elsewhere but a brief statement of their type and range will serve to depict the complex nature of Maltese agriculture.

121 311 24 All visitors to Malta are invariably impressed by the vast extent of stone terrace walls which give to the ground-level observer an impression of rocky barrenness. The questions which arise, and which have not been satisfactorily answered, are manifold in their complexity. Do the terrace-walls merely serve to retain naturally-evolved soil and if so is the present density of enclosures strictly necessary? Are these walls, on the other hand, ramparts behind which man-made soil accumulations have been slowly built up to create artificial fields? If the latter, does normal pedological analysis provide a sufficient basis for soil husbandry? If the former, how far can enclosures be enlarged to permit a greater use of mechanised techniques?

121 132 24 The climate of Malta, as analysed in Chapter II, has some especial characteristics. How far do certain combinations of temperature, humidity and wind velocity in various topographic circumstances encourage the appearance and survival of the very many diseases and pests which afflict Maltese crops? To what extent may the climate-soil complex be held responsible for the virtual absence of the olive and the remarkable ignorance concerning viticulture which is only now being dispelled? Must the physical environment be regarded as the main reason for the fact that Maltese farmers have never produced important indigenous strains of crops or livestock but have relied entirely on breeds imported from their more productive neighbours?

121 24 Innumerable queries of this type result from even the most cursory visual survey, and any attempt to answer them brings in even more complex human questions. If the maintenance of man-made soil in artificial fields by arduous manual labour is essential for the ecological stability of many regions, how important is the conflict between the needs of production and the social desires of the cultivators? How far has poor husbandry been a product of rural isolation? How measurable is distance as it affects contact between producer and market, between village-dweller and *il-Belt*? None of these and other questions is uniquely applicable to Malta, but *in toto* they present such a formidable array as to make one feel that these small islands have concentrated within them certain microcosmic qualities.

In this Section are considered some of the observable facts tha. directly concern the use and potentialities of agricultural resources. The main features of the economy and society in general have been described in previous sections; the basic elements of the agricultural sector may be summarised as follows.

24 311 The total area of the Maltese Islands is some 280,512 *imien* of which 152,343 *imien* are cultivated (54 per cent of the total) (1). The relationship between Malta and Gozo in these respects is remarkably constant, both islands having a similar proportion of worked land, Malta possessing 79 per cent. of the total area and of the cultivated land. Of the 7,272 *imien* of irrigated land, almost 89 per cent. is found in Malta where the only large irrigated zones also occur.

162 24 This cultivated land is worked in 12,215 registered farmholdings of which over 70 per cent. are in Malta. The rural community (i.e. persons living in dwellings registered as farms and including farmworkers' children and other members of the family otherwise employed) number 57,354 (72 per cent. in Malta), almost 18 per cent. of the total population. Of this rural community 34

per cent. are children under 14 years of age. The number of whole-time 162
farmers, 8,100, is now smaller than the group of part-time agriculturalists - 24
8,946, and in its age-composition differs significantly from the total population
- 48 per cent. are aged 50 years or more (1948 - 33,8 per cent.) as compared
with 31 per cent. for the Islands as a whole.

The relatively small and, until very recently, declining size of the full-time 178
farming population, and its rapid ageing, suggest a decline in the importance 24
and status of agriculture. The implications of these figures are discussed else-
where but it is worth noting that the agricultural areas are still inhabited by [434]
over 126,000 persons most of whom draw some real income from the land in
amounts which may often be small per capita but which observation suggests
are large in total.

The total value of the recorded crop product is estimated at some £2.27 24
millions. From observation in Malta and experience elsewhere one can suggest 43
that is under-estimated by a fraction of the order of 10 per cent. (See p. 10, -
Essential Statistics - for further information.)

The combined value of crop and livestock products is estimated at almost £6,000,000. The income accruing to the cultivators is distributed in such a multiplicity of ways in such varying amounts that no useful estimate of average per capita income can be made. Of the disbursements of some £3 millions, an amount of the order of £2½ millions is expended on imports, notably of fodder and store cattle. Earnings of foreign currency amount to approximately £500,000, almost half of which derived from potato exports. This imbalance between imports and exports in the agricultural sector appears even more striking when one remembers that F.D.T. imports of over £9,000,000 make up 35 per cent. of the total Maltese import bill.

The efforts of the 9 per cent. of the employed population engaged in agri- 121
culture are already considerable but the needs of Malta are great. With no known 24
physical resources of any size other than the land, it becomes of vital
importance that farming productivity should be raised even further and that
special effort is directed towards a legitimate degree of self-sufficiency in
agricultural products. Much of the analysis that follows this introduction must
be considered in the light of present and future needs.

REFERENCES

113

1. et passim Census of Agriculture, 1958. Malta. 1960.

[P. 191]

Chapter VII

A. The Land Use Survey of the Maltese Islands

When, in 1954, the decision was made to undertake a programme of geographical research into Maltese agricultural resources and their utilisation, it was also decided to base such a programme on fundamental observational work. The availability of excellent maps on scales of 25 inches, 6 inches and 2 inches to the mile, made it possible to envisage a complete and detailed survey of land use, field by field, plot by plot. Financial exigencies and the need for concentrating work into a short critical period, made it necessary so to plan the first visit as to make the findings representative of the whole range of conditions observable. The work was later extended to cover the full area of the islands. 311(* 121

From the outset, it was realised that work along the lines adopted elsewhere under the World Land Utilisation Survey scheme, while valuable as a first step in regions of considerable extent, would be inadequate under Maltese conditions. Several of the categories suggested by the scheme for use in the Old World (e.g. 6: Unimproved Grazing Land and 7: Woodland) do not exist in Malta while others (e.g. 3: Tree and other Perennial Crops and 4: Crop Land) are too broad to give any indication of regional land use characteristics. The small size of the Maltese Islands has made it possible, despite the minute sub-division of the land to carry out a field-by-field survey of use while at the same time distinguishing all the main crops. It is the combinations of these many different crops which most obviously mark out the different agricultural regions and which make necessary a breakdown of the broader land use categories. It has been appreciated that in many territories suitable conditions do not exist for this 'microscopic' approach, but the authors venture to wonder whether the dangers of more general surveys may not outweigh the value of their findings. These dangers lie not intrinsically in the scale of work but rather in that the findings, if used at all, will generally be used by people who may not appreciate their shortcomings. The problem lies in the gulf between the researcher and those responsible for policies and action.

The survey has been essentially a team effort, directed by the senior authors, the field work being carried out by them with the assistance of the student members of the survey parties (see Introduction, p. 9). It was found that a great deal of useful work could be carried out by the latter, provided that more experienced workers were available to organise and take part in the actual field work and to correlate and interpret the results. The basic method was the plotting of crops actually growing in the fields at the time of the survey (see below) on 6-inch or 25-inch maps. The latter scale was used in parts of Malta where fields are too small to allow the use of the 6-inch scale and throughout Gozo where 6-inch maps are not available. However, the work was not confined to mere crop-plotting, but included the noting of a variety of elements: the quality of the crops, conditions of soil, drainage and water supply, the relationship of crops to rock type, slope, exposure and other physical factors, farming techniques, irrigation methods and the character and extent of rural settlement. A large number of perspective sketches, plots of individual fields, and case studies of farms, a fraction of which are reproduced in the present volume, were made and many photographs taken. Wherever possible, farmers were interviewed and, although this was most easily done when interpreters were available, sufficient farmers with some English were found to extend the scope of this part of the work to cover some 250 individuals. Each day's work was followed by a conference at which points noted by the field workers were discussed and recorded. By these means, sufficient material of all kinds was gathered to permit not only the compilation of an accurate and very detailed record of land use but also a reasoned interpretation of observed fact which could be viewed alongside published official reports and statistical material. The authors so arranged their share of the work that they were able to visit all regions of the 311* 114 [124]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 193]

[P.349]

SECTION IV Chapter XI

An Assessment of the Cultural Landscape

In this book we have attempted to portray the Maltese Islands 'in the round'. 121 Deficiencies and omissions occur; the former unfortunate, the latter equally unfortunate but also deliberate because of space limitations. Nevertheless, we 182 believe that our study, such as it is, has illustrated certain points of value. 311 First, and this is a geographical truism, the relationship between man and the land on which he lives is infinitely complex. In the case of Malta this relationship is also astoundingly complete and coherent, so that alteration in any one part may provoke repercussions on all the rest. Hence, under these circumstances, change of any kind should be introduced with extreme caution; it has been demonstrated that lines of action which seem apparently well-found and reasonable at the time of inception can have wholly unforeseen and unintentional consequences. This warning has a general as well as local validity. Further, and in the light of this situation, it becomes essential to have as full a knowledge as possible of local conditions before undertaking action. Such knowledge can only be acquired through observation, which must be as complete and detailed as financial resources allow.

Thirdly, investigation of the use man makes of his surroundings leads to the conclusion that, in a last analysis, it is not the actual physical conditions which control man's activities - it is the view that man himself takes of what can or cannot be done which really matters. From the physical standpoint Malta is a highly typical Mediterranean country, yet we still do not know why the vine and the olive, these most characteristic plants, have hitherto only made temporary invasions of Malta. We do however know that the factors behind this were not physical - e.g. climate or to do with soil. It would thus seem to be the way man actually estimates the physical potentialities of his home region that governs what takes place - put in another way, we may say that environment finally exists only in the minds of men. In such a form it can appear intractable, offering insuperable obstacles, and mysterious in its effects. Hence, resource use should not be thought of solely as a routine controlled by physical media, but as a process in which temperament and attitudes of mind are involved. Recognition of the human factor as indissolubly associated with the physical elements of geography underlies our approach: and it is in this sense that our subtitle 'Background to Development' should be interpreted.

Lastly, there is an opportunity to draw together some of the threads which we have unravelled from the general weave, and summarise the main themes.

The principal conclusion is that everything one sees in Malta, other than the major topographical features, is man-made and man-maintained in existence. For this reason there is an unstable equilibrium that eternally threatens to collapse.

Physical environment is fundamentally harsh. The component rocks consist 133 almost entirely of fissured and fractured Tertiary calcareous series, mostly of Miocene age; and natural accumulation of relatively insoluble inorganic soil aggregates is very slow everywhere except on the narrow outcrops of the Blue Clays. There is complete absence of surface water and subsurface moisture is small. Only in the western half of the Island do non-saline water-tables now rise near to ground level over appreciable areas, and only in one restricted area in the east - at Marsa - has this been even historically important. Malta has a highly accidented topography. The western half of the Island is heavily faulted and forms a region of scarpland and faulted basins. The eastern area has more subdued relief particularly in its central and eastern parts, but even here the legacy of gorge formation - the dry wieds of Malta - during the humid late Pleistocene, and the small scale erosional etching of all major and minor geological and structural junctions have resulted in there being very little land of low gradient.

[p. vii]

Preface

This study was carried out and written shortly before Malta became 121
an independent nation. Its purpose is to present a descriptive [621]
analysis of Maltese village politics. In many respects these are quite
unusual, for in Malta, which has been administered as a fortress for
the last four centuries, there are no village headmen, mayors or
councillors to serve as links between their villages and the central
government. But in spite of the highly centralized administration 121
certain activities in the villages do play a part in the decision of both 621
local and national issues, though at first sight they may not seem to
be closely connected with politics as this is usually conceived. These 66
are political activities, for as Prof. Lucy Mair has observed, politics
is concerned with the ways persons and groups compete to influence
the outcome of disputes and community decisions in
accordance with their own interests.[1] The central problem can thus
be divided into three major parts: first, to explore the relations
between competing persons and groups; second, to examine the
nature of the issues which concern them and the community; and
third, to trace the channels through which they bring influence to
bear on those who make the decisions.

After a brief sketch of Malta in time and space, I examine successively 121
the articulation of the State, the Church and the political parties with the villages, the ties of neighbourhood and family, the social composition of the villages, and the basis of leadership. Against this background I show how issues which originate within the Church, and in particular over the cult of saints, affect village social organization. I then look at the effects of disputes arising out of issues of national policy. Finally, I examine the channels of influence open to the villagers.

Throughout this study I have been exclusively concerned with describing and analysing the political life of the villages of Malta and Gozo. But it has occasionally been necessary for me to make brief excursions into the field of national politics, for because of Malta's smallness, national political disputes swiftly become issues

[1] Lucy Mair, *Primitive Government* (London, Penguin Books, 1962), p. 10.

● 121 which divide the villages. I have therefore presented the current
political and religious issues in Malta as concisely as possible, and
have made no attempt to evaluate or to pass judgement on the
policies of State, Church or political party. Consequently, any
attempt to put the facts contained herein to polemical use is likely
to distort them.

114 Though I lived in Malta during 1957 and 1958, this study is
based on the research I carried out there from July 1960 to September
[122] 1961 under a grant from the Colonial Social Science
Research Council, to whom I am most grateful. The terms of
reference on which the research was based, and the form this final
report has assumed, were dictated solely by my personal interests;
my work was neither carried out on behalf of, nor a report to, a
government.

114 My wife and daughters were with me during the entire period
of fieldwork, and their encouragement and interest as well as the
128 many friends they made were a great asset. We spent our first five
months in Farruġ and the last eight months in Kortin. These are
not the real names of the villages, for the inhabitants of neither
[123] seek recognition. Indeed, throughout this study I have been at
pains to avoid any indiscretion which would repay most shamefully
our special debt of gratitude to friends and neighbours for
their hospitality and good humour in the face of our ignorance of
their customs. For the same reason, the names of many of the
persons and saints who figure in this account have been altered.

121 I chose to work in Farruġ because it is one of the villages divided
[578] by competing band clubs, and among other things I was particularly
interested in the part this unusual rivalry plays in village
[162] politics. With a population of approximately 1,400, it is one of the
smaller Maltese villages. We later moved to Kortin, a village of
almost 5,000, since its size and the fact that it is not divided by
band club rivalry provided an interesting contrast to Farruġ.
Available housing determined the choice of these particular two
villages from among the many that would have met my requirements.
Besides detailed research in these villages, I carried out
comparative studies into the general organization, leadership and
patterns of conflict of 12 other communities. In this work Mr.
Edward Micallef was my very able research assistant for three
months. I chose 11 of these villages by stratifying all villages in
Malta and Gozo according to population and then drawing out a

121 30 per cent random sample. Those selected this way were Balzan, Dingli, Gudja, Għarb, Għargħur, Mosta, Qala, Qrendi, Xagħra, Żebbuġ (Malta) and Żurrieq. I also chose Sliema, a large suburb, to provide a special contrast to the villages. Thus the general statements I make about Maltese villages are based on a fairly wide cross-section.

122 Thanks to the patient teaching of our friends Francis and Evelyn Chetcuti during the year preceding fieldwork, I was able to begin to work in Maltese soon after my arrival. Much of my work, however, was done in English, which many informants spoke fluently.

000 I also wish to express my thanks to Mr. Trafford Smith, former Lieutenant-Governor of Malta; to Mr. Maurice Abela, the Principal Government Statistician, and Chev. Paul Naudi, Director of Information, and their assistants; to Dr. V. De Pasquale, Chev. J. Galea, Mr. E. R. Leopardi and Mr. John Bezzina of the Royal Malta Library; to the Revs. Joseph Ghigo S.J., Paul Pace, Paul Said, Joseph Theuma, Benjamin Tonna, Charles Vella and Anton Xiberras, and to the Hon. A. Barbara, Dr. Brian Beeley, Mr. J. Cassar Pullicino, Mr. Francis Mizzi and Mr. Joseph Muscat for their interest and help in many ways. Prof. J. Aquilina kindly [127] allowed me to read the manuscript of his unpublished work on Maltese proverbs.

I am greatly indebted to the staff and my fellow students at the Department of Anthropology of the London School of Economics for their stimulating discussion, both formal and informal, of this material.

128 Finally, I wish to record here my very special thanks and obligation to Professor Lucy Mair, my academic supervisor, for the valuable criticism and patient help she gave me before and during my research and especially in analysing and writing up the material collected in the field.

Except for minor alterations, the present work is identical with the Ph.D. thesis I submitted to the University of London in November 1962.

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the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a 133
gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely 333
populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square 161
miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population density [137]
of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated
countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the
urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The 162
rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly
separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The population
of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very 16
limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems.
The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been
encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large
families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized
the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service
for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged
8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase
was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period
was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual
rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off
many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there
were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000
women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. 175
The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality.
With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known published
sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to [121]
enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical
perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different [648]

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[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands*, 1960 (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–3.

[p.27]

CHAPTER III

The Villages and Their Inhabitants

The villages with which this essay deals are the communities 361
outside the densely populated built-up area which centres on [121]
Valletta. This area is contained in a rectangle formed by imaginary
lines running from St. Julians' and Lija, and thence to Tarxien and
Kalkara.[1] Many of these villages, however, are in reality rural
towns with populations of up to 15,000, as in the case of Qormi.
The Maltese do not distinguish linguistically between small [196]
villages and country towns, both are called 'villages' (*rhula*; sing.
rahal). These are contrasted to *Il-Belt*, the City of Valletta, and its
environs. Although I contrast town and country, it is worthwhile
pointing once again to Malta's small size. No village in Malta is
more than an hour's bus ride from Valletta, and Gozo is only
thirty minutes by ferry from its larger sister island. Moreover,
'rival' villages are often no more than a few hundred yards apart.

I am here concerned with abstracting certain principles of social 121
organization, and not with comparing the size and shape of resi- 369
dential groupings, although these two ends are obviously not
completely unrelated. Consequently, the geographical limitations
which I have placed upon this study are somewhat arbitrary. It is,
perhaps, easier to think of the division between town and country
as a continuum, with Valletta or Sliema at one end, and small
villages such as Qrendi or Gharb at the other. Although much of
the description and analysis which follows holds true for both
town and village, I am here dealing specifically with the villages.

The separation between town and country corresponds to a 361
rough division of economic and political power, for villagers look 369
to the urban area for employment, income and patronage. First 464
of all, the seat of government is in Valletta, and most of the senior
civil servants live there or in Sliema, the sprawling residential
suburb that has grown up opposite Valletta during the last 100
years. Secondly, almost all the professionals, wealthy business men,

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[1] See the map of Malta and Gozo on page 2, above.

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

●121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and
villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes
administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to
the physical arrangement of functional parts), these
provide important evidence of the social and economic nature
of society. The present report is concerned with rural
society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear
that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of
the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements
cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of
some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These
creations have since expanded and merged to become the
[396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society
had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a
few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and
Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended
[464] on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment
existing only in the larger settlements or in the little
harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta
on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island
as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530
standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined
in relative importance.

Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
[161] a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
[396] associated townships became dominant and the increase in the
population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if
not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the
largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been
based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the
past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence
farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs
of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which
money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

PREFACE

(1) TERMS OF REFERENCE

114 / 121 On October 1st, 1956, the writer became Junior Research Fellow in the Department of Geography in the Durham Division of the University of Durham, an appointment sponsored by the Research Department of the Colonial Office. The terms of the appointment, which was to be tenable for two years, entailed research into the social factors behind the problems of rural Malta and Gozo - especially as these concern the large agricultural element in this population (Project C.D.W. (R) No. 764).

The report here submitted presents the writer's assessment of the position.

114 [101] The sixteen months between January, 1957, and May, 1958, were spent in the Maltese Islands, the remainder of the period being spent in the Department in Durham on the analysis and preparation of material amassed in the field.

(2) ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

122 The writer wishes to record his gratitude for the help and encouragement received within both official and private circles in Malta and Gozo. During the period of work in the Islands, in 1957-58, the Maltese Government provided extensive help both to him and to a colleague, Mr. Peter K. Mitchell. This took the form of:

(a) the use of official transport for research purposes on two or three days each week throughout the period in the Islands,

(b) the provision of an interpreter for a large part of the time during which transport was also available,

(c) permission to use the facilities of certain Government Departments and other premises - on the customary Civil Service oath,

0-00 (d) a grant to cover certain travel expenses.

The Governor of Malta, His Excellency Sir Robert Laycock, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., and the Lieutenant-Governor, His Honour Mr. Trafford Smith, C.M.G., both showed gracious interest in the work in Malta.

General acknowledgement of other assistance given to the writer in Malta must, for reasons of space, be confined here to a few of a very long list of individuals. A very special mention must, however, be made in one case, for the writer wishes to place on record his debt to Mr. and Mrs. P.K. Mitchell for the help and friendship extended to him throughout the stay in Malta.

Profound thanks are due also to the farmers whose patience and generosity made field work among them possible and profitable. As their help and information was given in confidence individual identities have had to be obscured.

[Village of Mġarr]
[Village of Gharghur]

000 settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4). Other characteristic features of rural Malta absent in Mġarr are the Band Club and the Football Club. The Band Club movement which spread rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of this became the major 'social' centre for men outside the Church itself (B/521). Similarly football has become a focus of extra-church activity in the Islands - more especially in Gozo where the Band Club has had only a limited extension outside the capital, Victoria. In the case of Mġarr one would expect the village to acquire these 'later-stage' features as it develops in size and 621 social diversity. The writer holds that at present Mġarr is essentially very close to what has been called the traditional Maltese village. Incidentally also its agricultural bias (Map 2) is less removed from the traditional than is the case in the more urban-influenced villages. It is certainly the most rural Parish of Malta and yet does seem more 'urbanate' in terms of social life than is the case over much of Gozo.

121 184 Having enumerated the essential elements of Maltese village structure as exemplified in Mġarr, a brief comparative study of other villages of the archipelago, many of which are much larger, older and more complex, is indicated. From observation two basic premises have been established:

(i) Despite the regional differentiation customarily made, rural society in the Islands has a basic homogeneity:

(ii) The modern problem of this rural society, the problem of the individual who is now socially out of sympathy with the life of the community which bred him, is common to all the rural community of the Islands.

The final question is therefore whether or not there can be a standard type of working rapprochement between the new and the old.

121 621 Two villages which may be compared with Mġarr in an effort to answer this question are Għargħur, a settlement of very old foundation, predominantly agricultural as is Mġarr and of like size, and Żurrieq, much larger, more urbanate in character, containing certain socio-functional divisions within itself, and also possessing two small satellite villages.

36 Morphologically GHARGHUR (Map 6) and Mġarr have little in common on first inspection. The latter contains many new or recent detached and semi-detached buildings within the regular street pattern previously laid down. Many of the houses are quite modern by prevailing standards and

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

PREFACE

In these pages I have endeavoured to give a short description, and, where possible, the origin of the principal Holiday Customs, Amusements *and* Sports *of the Maltese people, which I hope will prove of some interest, not only to the foreign visitors who happen to be in Malta during the time in which some of these popular customs are being observed, but also to most of the Maltese themselves, for while the observance of these customs is perhaps no where stronger than in Malta, tradition as to their origin is scanty in the extreme.* 121 128

There being in our Island, as in other countries, an array of superstitions, beliefs and practices, I have also collected in this volume, in the hope of making this work more interesting, some of the principal items of folk-lore which have been handed down to us in popular traditions, tales, rhymes, and proverbs.

V. Busuttil.

Vittoriosa,
20th June 1894.

[P.V]
[P. iV is blank]

CHAPTER I

Introductory

MY EIGHT CROWDED YEARS OF LIVING AND WORKING IN 114
Malta—preceded by two brief halts as a temporary
Naval Officer towards the end of the First World War—
taught me a little about Maltese affairs and conditions,
perhaps as much as a mere sojourner may expect to absorb
in less than a decade. And the more I discovered about
Malta and the Maltese, the better I grew to like both. What
I then acquired, and retain, was an affection neither un-
critical nor undiscriminating but based on the beginnings of
understanding, I hope, of a small but complex community.
I should be glad to think that something of what I have
learned about and feel for those two remarkable little islands
has found expression in the following pages.

This book is not a guide, it is not a handbook, it is not a 121
history, it is not a collection of personal reminiscences, even 123
if a personal note may be faintly audible here and there. It 66
is above all not a commentary on Malta's politics, although
I had my fill and more of these during my eight years.
Twice during this period was Self-Government suspended [114]
and twice did I assume departmental charge under the
Governor of the civil administration (having been concerned
during Self-Government only with the Imperial side of the
diarchy), a type of experience common enough among
politicians returning from the wilderness to office but rare
to the verge of uniqueness among Civil Servants. And
there were other experiences scarcely less unusual.

Nor were Maltese politics of mere local, parish-pump 121
range. Even in Homeric times Malta was looked upon as 66
"the navel of the inland sea"; and the winds that blow upon
it from every quarter, the cross-currents that buffet its rocky

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 121 shores, are composed of more than the physical elements of air and water. 66 The implications and repercussions of Maltese politics when I had experience of them were unfortunately often international and sometimes politico-ecclesiastical (these can be very prickly); not infrequently they impinged upon the most fundamental constitutional principles. For the relations between Church and State have given rise to controversies that have troubled Christendom since the Dark Ages; other Maltese problems were equally deeply rooted in a long and complicated past. Their implications and repercussions bore, in fact, a striking resemblance in certain directions to those of politics in the Palestine of the Mandate, where I had previously served. Happily the Maltese scene lacked one factor—the ambiguity of the established policy—which in Palestine made an administrator's life a hell on earth; in other respects politics in Malta could be almost as corrosive, almost as pervasive. But they will not pervade this book, nor even enter it except occasionally for the sole purpose of *constatation*, that untranslatable word.

121 These, then, are the things which this book is not. I find it less easy to state what it is. I have called it an "Account and an Appreciation" because I can think of no better definition of what I have tried to do in the chapters that follow. A reviewer of one of my previous books remarked that Malta was the only part of the Mediterranean about which I had not written. At least I have now repaired that omission, if omission it may claim to have been.

114 The book was begun in Malta, continued in Barbados, [128] finished, of all places, in the Straits of Magellan, the eye-witness account of whose discovery, written by Antonio Pigafetta, a Knight of the Order of S. John, was dedicated to Philippe Villiers de L'Isle Adam, the first Grand Master of the Order to reign in Malta. I left Malta in 1938, whisked from the land-locked Mediterranean, where from choice I had served during most of my career, to the greatest of the oceans, the Pacific, at the other side of the globe. Since my

121 than sociology. All that we attempt to observe, explain and compare occurs on or near a particular expanse of the earth's surface thereby conferring a unity to the studies we undertake.

The project thus far has been mainly designed to cover the agricultural sector (with all that that implies), but the impossibility of isolating any single segment of Maltese life has provided us with full justification for frequent divergence. Not only is it impossible to consider any element solely from the point of physical production; it becomes necessary to consider the wider and finally often more important factors such as, among others, social status, adaptability to change, and mental as well as physical climate.

We are therefore led to the belief that the facts here presented have an applicability wider than that to Maltese agriculture alone. It is not intended to produce a plan for specific lines of development - we feel strongly that this is not our function. Instead, we hope that our study will provide a background for development, the establishment of a factual corpus of knowledge that will allow development and future policy making by others.

In the case of the Maltese Islands, as in many other regions, such provision is not only necessary but imperative. During this century there has occurred a striking alteration of the status and importance of many dependent territories and newly independent states. Such rather sudden revaluations, inevitably consequent on erratic reactions to changing circumstances, are historically normal. Hitherto, however, resulting changes in sovereignty and economic and cultural ties have taken little account of the desires of the peoples concerned. Today, new ideas of political status are paralleled by ideas of development and 'natural rights' on the economic plane. Much of this, it is true, is a historical difference of degree rather than of kind. Although Malta for 5,000 years has always been part of some larger socio-cultural or political unit, it has always maintained a certain especial status of autonomy. Equally in the economic sector there has always existed some insular and independent activity. Nevertheless, more than ever before, the Maltese are and feel they are themselves now responsible for their socio-economic destinies. With such a responsibility, there arises a need, not always wholly welcome, and at times conceded only with reluctance, firstly for knowledge of basic facts relating to existing institutions, and secondly, for sympathetic understanding and appraisal of these facts. It is our earnest hope that this present work, which amounts to an extensive abstract of investigations and reports which are in themselves too specialized and lengthy for normal publication, will assist toward such an understanding.

128 The arrangement of the subject matter has been chosen in order to suit the attempt at integrating diverse but relevant material. Section One is devoted to studies of the physical environment. To the non-specialist much of it may appear prosaic and 'earthbound' but, as will appear, without such appraisal of limitations and possibilities any socio-economic analysis would remain over-speculative. In Section Two are considered the societies which have both left their impress on the landscape and produced cumulative responses to environment. Section Three contains studies of the contemporary rural scene; many of these directly and indirectly also help an understanding of non-agricultural activities. The concluding Section Four is an attempt to select and inter-relate the ideas and themes which have seemed to us of the greatest importance, and to present them in a single impression of the continuum which is Malta.

122 It remains to particularise, with deep gratitude, the assistance received during our investigations. Original interest, a kind of priming of the pump, came from Sir James Duff, then Warden of the Durham Colleges; and next, the support of the Colonial Economic Research Council, which provided financial backing for a large part of the survey. The Government of Malta also associated itself with the scheme, and provided powerful and indispensable support, financial and technical, especially through the Office of the Prime Minister, and Minister for Agriculture and his officials. As well, contacts with all officials of the Government, Imperial and National, were extremely fruitful, and personally most cordial.

122

The Royal University of Malta, through its Rector Magnificus, its Professor of Economics, and Registrar also gave much valued collaboration; and further academic assistance came from Brother Leo Barrington, until recently Principal of St. Michael's Training College for Men, Valletta. A final but none the less sincere expression of appreciation concerns the long-suffering farmers, who submitted with excellent grace to inquisition, disquisition, and even perquisition. To all these individuals we offer thanks, and the hope that their recollection of our presence will be as agreeable as are our memories of their Islands generally.

H. B-J., J. C. D., W. B. F.
Durham, June 1960.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE MALTA PROJECT

114

The present volume draws upon and summarizes the findings of research and observation carried out by a relatively large group of individuals. Much has been omitted or greatly abbreviated but it is proper that the names of all participants in the Malta project should be recorded.

There are first the collaborators in the volume, Professor K. C. Dunham, F. R. S., Dr. M. House and Mr. J. C. Wigglesworth of the Department of Geology, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, who are responsible for Chapter 1(A); and Mr. D. Lang of the Soil Survey of Great Britain, who has contributed Chapter 3(A). As well, we acknowledge with deep appreciation the general co-operation of Dr. R. Cirillo, Professor of Economics, and Dr. J. Aquilina, Professor of Maltese Language, both of the Royal University, Valletta.

The others, whose names are given below, are past or present members of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges.

Directors of Fieldwork and Land Use Survey; Research Supervisors.
H. Bowen-Jones, M. A. Cantab. Senior Lecturer. } Malta 1955, '56, '57, '58.
J. C. Dewdney, M. A. Edin. Lecturer. }

C. E. R. C. Research Fellows in Malta, 1956-'58.
P. K. Mitchell, B. A. Dunelm. (Lecturer at University College of Sierra Leone).
B. W. Beeley, B. A., Ph. D. Dunelm. (Research Fellow in Middle Eastern Studies, Durham Colleges).

Postgraduate Research Workers.
W. A. Charlton, B. A., Ph. D. Dunelm } Malta 1955, '56, '57.
M. Richardson, B. Sc., Ph. D. Dunelm }
R. W. Hill, B. A. Sheff., Ph. D. Dunelm Malta 1957

Land Use Survey Parties.	
F. H. Andreason-Aalen, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1955
J. A. Allen, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1956
B. P. Birch, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1957
K. S. MacLachlan, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1956
P. K. Mitchell, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1955
B. E. Roberts, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1955, '56
A. R. Taylor, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1957
S. A. Taylor, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1955
I. B. Thompson, B. A. Dunelm, M. A. Indiana	Malta 1956
K. G. Wardhaugh, B. Sc. Dunelm	Malta 1956, '57
B. F. Wooten, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1957
J. F. Yaxley, B. A. Dunelm	Malta 1956

General Director of the Research Project.
Professor W. B. Fisher, B. A. Manc., Doct. d'Univ. Paris. Malta 1948, '52, '53, '57, '58.

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134 water occasionally is a further aid. This is difficult or impossible, however, without drains and irrigation, so that soils with a saline ground water, are probably irremediable, but they may not in any case be worsening very rapidly.

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KUYKENDALL et al. (1957) - Soil Science 84. 1957, pp. 77-86.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

122 The author is indebted to the Colonial Office, under whose auspices the field work was carried out, for permission to publish this account.

His sincere thanks are due to Dr. H. Greene and Dr. D. A. Osmond for criticism and
114 guidance, to the staff of the Analysis Section of the Macaulay Institute under Dr. H. G. M.
128 Hardie who performed the analyses, and to Mrs. D. Sutton for help in the preparation of
the typescript.

[p. 98-A]

121 which divide the villages. I have therefore presented the current
political and religious issues in Malta as concisely as possible, and
have made no attempt to evaluate or to pass judgement on the
policies of State, Church or political party. Consequently, any
attempt to put the facts contained herein to polemical use is likely
to distort them.

Though I lived in Malta during 1957 and 1958, this study is
114 based on the research I carried out there from July 1960 to Sep-
[122] tember 1961 under a grant from the Colonial Social Science
Research Council, to whom I am most grateful. The terms of
reference on which the research was based, and the form this final
report has assumed, were dictated solely by my personal interests;
my work was neither carried out on behalf of, nor a report to, a
government.

114 My wife and daughters were with me during the entire period
of fieldwork, and their encouragement and interest as well as the
128 many friends they made were a great asset. We spent our first five
months in Farruġ and the last eight months in Kortin. These are
not the real names of the villages, for the inhabitants of neither
[123] seek recognition. Indeed, throughout this study I have been at
pains to avoid any indiscretion which would repay most shame-
fully our special debt of gratitude to friends and neighbours for
their hospitality and good humour in the face of our ignorance of
their customs. For the same reason, the names of many of the
persons and saints who figure in this account have been altered.

121 I chose to work in Farruġ because it is one of the villages divided
by competing band clubs, and among other things I was particu-
[578] larly interested in the part this unusual rivalry plays in village
[162] politics. With a population of approximately 1,400, it is one of the
smaller Maltese villages. We later moved to Kortin, a village of
almost 5,000, since its size and the fact that it is not divided by
band club rivalry provided an interesting contrast to Farruġ.
Available housing determined the choice of these particular two
villages from among the many that would have met my require-
ments. Besides detailed research in these villages, I carried out
comparative studies into the general organization, leadership and
patterns of conflict of 12 other communities. In this work Mr.
Edward Micallef was my very able research assistant for three
months. I chose 11 of these villages by stratifying all villages in
Malta and Gozo according to population and then drawing out a

30 per cent random sample. Those selected this way were Balzan, 121 Dingli, Gudja, Għarb, Għargħur, Mosta, Qala, Qrendi, Xagħra, Żebbuġ (Malta) and Żurrieq. I also chose Sliema, a large suburb, to provide a special contrast to the villages. Thus the general statements I make about Maltese villages are based on a fairly wide cross-section.

Thanks to the patient teaching of our friends Francis and Evelyn 122 ● Chetcuti during the year preceding fieldwork, I was able to begin to work in Maltese soon after my arrival. Much of my work, however, was done in English, which many informants spoke fluently.

I also wish to express my thanks to Mr. Trafford Smith, former 000 Lieutenant-Governor of Malta; to Mr. Maurice Abela, the Principal Government Statistician, and Chev. Paul Naudi, Director of Information, and their assistants; to Dr. V. De Pasquale, Chev. J. Galea, Mr. E. R. Leopardi and Mr. John Bezzina of the Royal Malta Library; to the Revs. Joseph Ghigo S.J., Paul Pace, Paul Said, Joseph Theuma, Benjamin Tonna, Charles Vella and Anton Xiberras, and to the Hon. A. Barbara, Dr. Brian Beeley, Mr. J. Cassar Pullicino, Mr. Francis Mizzi and Mr. Joseph Muscat for their interest and help in many ways. Prof. J. Aquilina kindly [127] allowed me to read the manuscript of his unpublished work on Maltese proverbs.

I am greatly indebted to the staff and my fellow students at the Department of Anthropology of the London School of Economics for their stimulating discussion, both formal and informal, of this material.

Finally, I wish to record here my very special thanks and obliga- 128 tion to Professor Lucy Mair, my academic supervisor, for the valuable criticism and patient help she gave me before and during my research and especially in analysing and writing up the material collected in the field.

Except for minor alterations, the present work is identical with the Ph.D. thesis I submitted to the University of London in November 1962.

J.B.

Départment d'Anthropologie
Université de Montréal

PREFACE

(1) TERMS OF REFERENCE

114 121 On October 1st, 1956, the writer became Junior Research Fellow in the Department of Geography in the Durham Division of the University of Durham, an appointment sponsored by the Research Department of the Colonial Office. The terms of the appointment, which was to be tenable for two years, entailed research into the social factors behind the problems of rural Malta and Gozo - especially as these concern the large agricultural element in this population (Project C.D.W. (R) No. 764).

The report here submitted presents the writer's assessment of the position.

114 [101] The sixteen months between January, 1957, and May, 1958, were spent in the Maltese Islands, the remainder of the period being spent in the Department in Durham on the analysis and preparation of material amassed in the field.

(2) ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

•122 The writer wishes to record his gratitude for the help and encouragement received within both official and private circles in Malta and Gozo. During the period of work in the Islands, in 1957-58, the Maltese Government provided extensive help both to him and to a colleague, Mr. Peter K. Mitchell. This took the form of:

(a) the use of official transport for research purposes on two or three days each week throughout the period in the Islands,

(b) the provision of an interpreter for a large part of the time during which transport was also available,

(c) permission to use the facilities of certain Government Departments and other premises - on the customary Civil Service oath,

0-00 (d) a grant to cover certain travel expenses.

The Governor of Malta, His Excellency Sir Robert Laycock, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., and the Lieutenant-Governor, His Honour Mr. Trafford Smith, C.M.G., both showed gracious interest in the work in Malta.

General acknowledgement of other assistance given to the writer in Malta must, for reasons of space, be confined here to a few of a very long list of individuals. A very special mention must, however, be made in one case, for the writer wishes to place on record his debt to Mr. and Mrs. P.K. Mitchell for the help and friendship extended to him throughout the stay in Malta.

Profound thanks are due also to the farmers whose patience and generosity made field work among them possible and profitable. As their help and information was given in confidence individual identities have had to be obscured.

600 A great deal of help was also given by members of the clergy of Malta and Gozo. Some of the many to whom thanks are due are included in the following list.

•[122] The writer also wishes to thank other members of the Department in Durham, notably Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney, for their advice and tolerance.

The following list includes some others responsible for help in general or in particular and is given with apologies for its incompleteness:

Sister C. Abela; Government School (Girls'), Qala.
Professor Joseph Aquilina; Royal University of Malta.
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Mr. Joseph Attard; Gozo Lyceum.
Mrs. Vincenza Azzopardi; Tas-Salib, Rabat.
Rev.Fr. Joseph Bernard, S.J.; St. Aloysius College.
Mr. Anthony Bilocca, Snr; Milk Marketing Undertaking.
Mr. Anthony Bilocca, Jnr; Pawla.
Mr. Jeremy Boissevain; Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Malta.
Mr. Carmel Bonavia; Żabbar.
Rt.Rev.Mgr.Prof. Arthur Bonnici; Secretary to His Grace the Archbishop.
Mr. Anthony Buttiġieġ; Government School, Nadur.
Dr. Alexander Cachia Zammit, M.D., M.L.A.; Żejtun.
Rev.Fr. Francis Camilleri; Comino.
Mr. Cassar; Public Works Department, Valletta.
Mr. Joseph Cassar Pullicino; Librarian, Royal University of Malta.
Miss Joan Cassar Torreggiani; Gżira.
Major V.J.Castillo; Director of Agriculture, Valletta.
Rev.Professor R.Cirillo; Royal University of Malta.
Major Critien; Personnel Officer, H.M. Dockyard.
Mr. John De Brincat; Senior Agricultural Officer, Gozo.
The Countess Chapelle Paleologo; Valletta.
Dr. V. Depasquale; Royal Malta Library.
Mr. Francis Ebejer; Government School, Siġġiewi.
Mr. George Farrugia; Department of Agriculture, Gozo.
Mr. P. Farrugia; Malta Band Clubs Association.
Mr. Jack Fazio; National Catholic Welfare Conference, Malta Mission.
Rev. Fr. Felician of Floriana, O.F.M. Cap.; Marsa.
Mr. George W. Ford; Dairying Advisor, Department of Agriculture, Valletta.
Mr. Sebastian Gatt; Government School, Mqabba.
Mrs. Shirley Gratrix; St. Julian's.
Mr. Joseph Grima; Government School (Boys), Qala.
Mr. Lino Grima; Cospicua.
M. Jacques Grenier; Attaché au Consulat de France, Valletta.
Mr. A.T. Haesler; Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, Valletta.
Rev.Bro. Hilary; St. Michael's Training College, St. Julian's.
Ir. P. ter Hofstede; Marketing Advisor; Department of Agriculture, Valletta.
L'Abbé François Houtart; Centre de Recherches Socio-Religieuses, Louvain.
Mr. Joseph Laferla; Rigg Welta, Marsa.
Mr. Walter Laferla; Sliema.
Mr. David Lang; Soil Specialist.
Professor J.A. Manché; Rector, Royal University of Malta.
Mr. J. McClement; Dairying Specialist, Department of Agriculture, Valletta.
Rev.Fr. Joseph Mejlak, S.J.; Victoria, Gozo.
Mr. Micallef-Grimaud; Government School, Qrendi.
Mr. C. Mifsud Bonnici; Royal University of Malta.

000 28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

[113) 30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No.259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

434 32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revised):
747 Family of 3 or 4 persons ....maximum income - £5
648 " " 5 to 7 " .... " " - £5 8s
735 " " 8 " 10 " .... " " - £5 15s
" " 11 " 13 " .... " " - £6 1s
" " 14 " 16 " .... " " - £6 6s
" " 17 or 18 " .... " " - £6 10s

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

[122] 34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Matla at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

000 35. (B/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

113 38. "Labour Government's Progress Report. 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClement in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Ghalf Bilanċjat ghall-Majjali" by A.T. Haesler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

000 42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present trading position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but these registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.H.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

[114] 47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

[124] 48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tmien, Sighan and Kejliet : v. Appendix 5.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Preface to the Second Edition

So much has happened in Malta since this book was last 128
reprinted that it has seemed desirable to add a new chapter tracing the momentous developments in the Island since the end of the war. This addition apart, I have revised the book throughout in the light of new knowledge now available on subjects dealt with in the earlier parts. I have added a twentieth-century author, D. H. Lawrence, to the writers whose views on Malta are presented in Chapter XIV. A number of admirable photographs newly taken for the Government Tourist Board by Miss Ann Bolt, A.I.B.P., replace, by the kindness of Mr Philip Barker-Benfield, Chairman of the Board, certain illustrations become obsolescent.

I have fortunately been able to keep my experience of 114
Malta up to date by almost annual visits in the last decade, including two as the guest of Sir Gerald and Lady Creasy, three more prolonged visits to Major-General Sir Robert and Lady Laycock, and a more recent one to Admiral Sir Guy and Lady Grantham, to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their sustained hospitality, as to Captain and Mrs Olof Gollcher on earlier occasions.

In renewing my thanks to those mentioned in the earlier 122
preface, I must also record my gratitude to the late Lieutenant-Governor, Mr Trafford Smith, C.M.G.; Colonel Victor Vella, C.V.O.; Dr the Hon. Lewis Galea, C.B.E.; Dr V. A. Depasquale (the Librarian) and Mr Joseph Galea of the Royal Malta Library, for information on several points. Mr Charles Zammit, now Director of Antiquities, has been most helpful with illustrations of the prehistoric period. I thank Sir Hannibal Scicluna and the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction for the photograph of Caravaggio's *Beheading of S. John the Baptist* after restoration in Italy, the *Times of Malta* for the view of Mdina, Mr Wilfred Flores for taking for me the colour photograph which forms the frontispiece, and, for two photographs, the Result Studio of Sliema.

H.C.L.

what type of lease. However, many of the minor variations in land use which 423*
exist as between adjacent fields or parts of fields can be partially explained on 311
the basis of their legal position. Thus the wasteland of Il-Wilġa in the Wied 427
tal-Pwales reflects both physical deterioration and a tenurial conflict. But, as may be observed throughout the regional and distributional studies in this volume, the patterns observable in Maltese farming are resultants of many forces and influences, in which the legal element plays a very minor part.

A third type of tenure, that of share-cropping, appears in some rather 423*
specialised forms in the Maltese Islands. Between land-owner and occupier,
its main incidence seems to be as a working arrangement between aged parents 427
and their children. Between coevals it appears as a temporary form of sub-letting known as *bin nofs*. Some of the factors influencing the first type have already been examined. In the second case, share-cropping arrangements are a consequence of the growing tendency of farmers to leave the land for short trial periods to seek other employment or to emigrate. As a form of insurance, leased or owned land is then often let temporarily to relatives or friends on the understanding that should the farmer return, his land reverts to him or in the case of the time-limit (usually five years) elapsing before his return, the share-cropper takes over full rights. Although this is of doubtful legality in the case of rented land, landlords do not seem to object. In the north and west of Malta, over 6 per cent. of the cultivated area is held in this way, and the proportion is over 3 per cent. in Gozo. In other areas, share-cropping would seem to be of negligible importance. Because this system appears to be based on expediency, the details of owner-cropper relationship are more variable than in areas where *metayage* is more fully developed as an institution. The provision of land, materials and labour and the division of product vary greatly. One case exists of a whole community working the land under a tenant-in-chief who provides land, seed, manure and some machinery and then claims one-fifth of the value of the crops which he buys back in bulk.

The share-cropping tenures terminate with the death of either party. In all 423*
other cases the death of a tenant results in the leasehold becoming part of his 427
divisible estate and liable to fragmentation between the children, all of whom 428
have equal rights of inheritance. The importance of this element in the process *of parcellement* has been regarded as very great, in Malta as elsewhere. Before considering an actual case-study of holding evolution, it is as well to note some of the general points.

First, the family group has strong powers to maintain its hold on land and to exclude others from it. In this they are supported by the action of landlords and by the legal codes as at present framed. On the other hand, little effort is made to prevent sub-division within the family group. Thus no analysis of the process of fragmentation can be made without a full understanding of the nature of the Maltese rural family.

In this chapter, the main elements in the physical and legal entity which 423*
constitutes the Maltese farm have been considered. As much as is feasible of the legal and customary background to the farm unit has been considered. In illustration of these points and in order to amplify them, a detailed analysis of the lands of one Maltese family follows. It is appropriate here to record the [123]
great kindness, forbearance and co-operation shown by the members of that family without whose considerable assistance such an examination could not have been made.

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113

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Società Economico Agraria: Rapporto della Commissione del Barone Cav. Vincenzo Azzopardi sulla utilità di concedere in enfiteusi le terre incolte del Gruppo di Malta, Malta, 1848.
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121 which divide the villages. I have therefore presented the current
political and religious issues in Malta as concisely as possible, and
have made no attempt to evaluate or to pass judgement on the
policies of State, Church or political party. Consequently, any
attempt to put the facts contained herein to polemical use is likely
to distort them.

Though I lived in Malta during 1957 and 1958, this study is
114 [122] based on the research I carried out there from July 1960 to Sep-
tember 1961 under a grant from the Colonial Social Science
Research Council, to whom I am most grateful. The terms of
reference on which the research was based, and the form this final
report has assumed, were dictated solely by my personal interests;
my work was neither carried out on behalf of, nor a report to, a
government.

114 My wife and daughters were with me during the entire period
of fieldwork, and their encouragement and interest as well as the
128 many friends they made were a great asset. We spent our first five
months in Farruġ and the last eight months in Kortin. These are
not the real names of the villages, for the inhabitants of neither
[123] seek recognition. Indeed, throughout this study I have been at
pains to avoid any indiscretion which would repay most shame-
fully our special debt of gratitude to friends and neighbours for
their hospitality and good humour in the face of our ignorance of
their customs. For the same reason, the names of many of the
persons and saints who figure in this account have been altered.

121 I chose to work in Farruġ because it is one of the villages divided
by competing band clubs, and among other things I was particu-
[578] larly interested in the part this unusual rivalry plays in village
[162] politics. With a population of approximately 1,400, it is one of the
smaller Maltese villages. We later moved to Kortin, a village of
almost 5,000, since its size and the fact that it is not divided by
band club rivalry provided an interesting contrast to Farruġ.
Available housing determined the choice of these particular two
villages from among the many that would have met my require-
ments. Besides detailed research in these villages, I carried out
comparative studies into the general organization, leadership and
patterns of conflict of 12 other communities. In this work Mr.
Edward Micallef was my very able research assistant for three
months. I chose 11 of these villages by stratifying all villages in
Malta and Gozo according to population and then drawing out a

house to house, transform the streets into gaily lighted tunnels. The 796
pjazza is usually draped in flags, and all the clubs are also dressed 628
in their festal finery and their doors thrown open to the public.
Many bands are hired and the mountains of fireworks are fused [533]
and made ready. All this is done before the visitors from outside [389]
arrive, and involves a great deal of organization, time and money.

The festa is thus an occasion on which communal values are 796
reaffirmed and strengthened, as individuals and groups express their 182
loyalty to their patron saint and unite to defend and enhance the
reputation of their village. At the same time, the central position
which the Church occupies in the social structure is strongly
reinforced, for the parish church is the hub around which this
festive occasion turns.

A festa is also an occasion on which the bonds of kinship are 796
reinforced, for each family opens its doors to its relations, especi- 182
ally to those who live in other villages. Grown sons and daughters 602
return to their parental home, forming, for a few hours, a grand
family with a depth of three or four generations. Because of this
influx of relatives, younger children learn to recognize more
distant relatives whom they might not see at any other time of the
year, and become aware of the network of kin relations that
stretches out from their home. As parents become momentarily [584]
more indulgent during the festa and relax their watchfulness, it is
also a favourite meeting time for courting couples and a tradi-
tional occasion on which marriageable boys and girls are intro-
duced to one another.

The celebration of a village festa usually lasts three days. It 796
consists of religious ceremonies, which take place principally
within the church, and secular celebrations outside the church.
The Maltese themselves make a distinction between these two
elements in the festa: they call the former the 'internal feast' (*il-
festa ta' ġewwa*) and the latter the 'external feast' (*il-festa ta' barra*).
These often take place simultaneously. The mixture of sacred and 123 ●
profane which results was shown to me very vividly during one 796
of the first festas I attended. I was in the church during a particu-
larly solemn moment in the service of worship. Suddenly there
was a nerve-shattering burst of fireworks from the roof of the
church. Then, slowly, the sharp smell of burning gunpowder
began to drift in through the open doors and mingle with the
pungent odour of candles and incense. After that I ceased to be

796 aware of their separateness, and realized that both incense and
[123] gunpowder were ingredients basic to the celebration of a festa.

The actual celebration of the feast can be divided into three parts: the Triduum or Novena – the three to nine days of spiritual preparation which precede the feast day – the eve of the feast, and the day of the feast. As the feast is usually celebrated on a Sunday so that more people can come, the Triduum days are Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. High Mass is offered on these days, and in the evenings outside priests often come to preach sermons on religious topics related to the life of the patron saint. They are also days of preparation during which the elaborate street decorations are hoisted into place. Throughout the day the village is psychologically conditioned to the festa by salvoes of aerial bombs which are often timed to coincide with the ringing
[533] of the Paternoster and the Angelus. On the last day of the Triduum, after the final sermon, the village band marches through the main streets. Often the band is preceded by a mass of dancing and shouting enthusiasts of both sexes, who wave coloured scarves, silver loving cups and other symbols of their loyalty to
[578] their band and their saint. In villages where there are competing
[575] band clubs, this demonstration often provokes fights between rival supporters. These skirmishes are usually sparked off by the bands of girls who hoarsely shout themselves into a frenzy proclaiming the virtues of their saint and the shortcomings of their rivals. There are no visitors during this part of the feast.

On Saturday, the eve of the feast, there is a High Mass and Te Deum to mark the end of the Triduum. This is usually followed by a barrage of aerial fireworks. The local band then often marches through the village, stopping at all the clubs for drinks.
[273] This march is usually quite gay but in some villages it degenerates into a drunken spree. During the day, outside priests are brought
[783] in specially for the festa to hear confessions in the church. In the late afternoon, visitors begin to arrive to watch the Translation, a ceremony during which the celebrant, usually the Bishop, takes a relic of the saint on a short procession outside the church. After
[533] the Translation, the various guest bands march through the village and then settle down to play selections from operas and works composed by Maltese bandmasters. The many relatives and friends of the bandsmen join the gaily dressed crowds who have been streaming in by bus and car or on foot.

262 In respect of diet an important distinction between town
369 and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially
'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other
pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily
available; but in the country districts there is notably
less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other
vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all
his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain
local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still
able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables
for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however
a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits
273 (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are
262 now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods
511 such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet
cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now
established themselves as needs and, consequently, as
demands on the family purse.

178 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from
291 which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This
in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy.
Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made
at home or at least within the village and were worn by
the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today
a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer
now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest
change is among the younger farming generation who want to
dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of
clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly,
especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the
widespread use of military surplus material.

423 Housing is important in the present consideration
362 because money is now being spent by the farmer both on
511 buying his own house where he can but also on developing
it and improving the furnishings.

[178] Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town
dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

178 There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or
511 semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of
'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and
recreation all require money. Payments to the Church
have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and
taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, can
clearly only be met with cash.

451 The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the
511 typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The
[123] second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER I

Introductory

MY EIGHT CROWDED YEARS OF LIVING AND WORKING IN 114
Malta—preceded by two brief halts as a temporary Naval Officer towards the end of the First World War—taught me a little about Maltese affairs and conditions, perhaps as much as a mere sojourner may expect to absorb in less than a decade. And the more I discovered about Malta and the Maltese, the better I grew to like both. What I then acquired, and retain, was an affection neither uncritical nor undiscriminating but based on the beginnings of understanding, I hope, of a small but complex community. I should be glad to think that something of what I have learned about and feel for those two remarkable little islands has found expression in the following pages.

This book is not a guide, it is not a handbook, it is not a 121
history, it is not a collection of personal reminiscences, even 123
if a personal note may be faintly audible here and there. It 66
is above all not a commentary on Malta's politics, although
I had my fill and more of these during my eight years.
Twice during this period was Self-Government suspended [114]
and twice did I assume departmental charge under the Governor of the civil administration (having been concerned during Self-Government only with the Imperial side of the diarchy), a type of experience common enough among politicians returning from the wilderness to office but rare to the verge of uniqueness among Civil Servants. And there were other experiences scarcely less unusual.

Nor were Maltese politics of mere local, parish-pump 121
range. Even in Homeric times Malta was looked upon as 66
"the navel of the inland sea"; and the winds that blow upon it from every quarter, the cross-currents that buffet its rocky

Chapter VII

A. The Land Use Survey of the Maltese Islands

311* 121 When, in 1954, the decision was made to undertake a programme of geographical research into Maltese agricultural resources and their utilisation, it was also decided to base such a programme on fundamental observational work. The availability of excellent maps on scales of 25 inches, 6 inches and 2 inches to the mile, made it possible to envisage a complete and detailed survey of land use, field by field, plot by plot. Financial exigencies and the need for concentrating work into a short critical period, made it necessary so to plan the first visit as to make the findings representative of the whole range of conditions observable. The work was later extended to cover the full area of the islands.

From the outset, it was realised that work along the lines adopted elsewhere under the World Land Utilisation Survey scheme, while valuable as a first step in regions of considerable extent, would be inadequate under Maltese conditions. Several of the categories suggested by the scheme for use in the Old World (e.g. 6: Unimproved Grazing Land and 7: Woodland) do not exist in Malta while others (e.g. 3: Tree and other Perennial Crops and 4: Crop Land) are too broad to give any indication of regional land use characteristics. The small size of the Maltese Islands has made it possible, despite the minute sub-division of the land to carry out a field-by-field survey of use while at the same time distinguishing all the main crops. It is the combinations of these many different crops which most obviously mark out the different agricultural regions and which make necessary a breakdown of the broader land use categories. It has been appreciated that in many territories suitable conditions do not exist for this 'microscopic' approach, but the authors venture to wonder whether the dangers of more general surveys may not outweigh the value of their findings. These dangers lie not intrinsically in the scale of work but rather in that the findings, if used at all, will generally be used by people who may not appreciate their shortcomings. The problem lies in the gulf between the researcher and those responsible for policies and action.

311* 114 The survey has been essentially a team effort, directed by the senior authors, the field work being carried out by them with the assistance of the student members of the survey parties (see Introduction, p. 9). It was found that a great deal of useful work could be carried out by the latter, provided that more experienced workers were available to organise and take part in the actual field work and to correlate and interpret the results. The basic method was the plotting of crops actually growing in the fields at the time of the survey (see below) on 6-inch or 25-inch maps. The latter scale was used in parts of Malta where fields are too small to allow the use of the 6-inch scale and throughout Gozo where 6-inch maps are not available. However, the work was not confined to mere crop-plotting, but included the noting of a variety of elements: the quality of the crops, conditions of soil, drainage and water supply, the relationship of crops to rock type, slope, exposure and other physical factors, farming techniques, irrigation methods and the character and extent of rural settlement. A large number of perspective sketches, plots of individual fields, and case studies of farms, a fraction of which are reproduced in the present volume, were made and many photographs taken. Wherever possible, farmers were interviewed [124] and, although this was most easily done when interpreters were available, sufficient farmers with some English were found to extend the scope of this part of the work to cover some 250 individuals. Each day's work was followed by a conference at which points noted by the field workers were discussed and recorded. By these means, sufficient material of all kinds was gathered to permit not only the compilation of an accurate and very detailed record of land use but also a reasoned interpretation of observed fact which could be viewed alongside published official reports and statistical material. The authors so arranged their share of the work that they were able to visit all regions of the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 193]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

proportion of clerics and nuns in the Sixth Electoral District 463
helps to explain the relatively low Labour poll there. It is also a 665
significant factor in explaining the overwhelming defeat of the 666
MLP in Gozo. These two districts have the highest proportion of
clerics in the country. The Fourth District, in contrast, has the
lowest.

TABLE 7. 1962 Elections:
Occupational Class and Voting Behaviour[1]

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS[2]	SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (As percentage of total lab. force)			PERCENTAGE LABOUR VOTES
	Professional[3]	*Skilled*	*Agricultural*	
IInd (Senglea, etc.)	4 (3)	45	4	56
IVth (Żurrieq, etc.)	3 (2)	34	11	47
VIth (Birkirkara, etc.)	6 (4)	33	11	24
Xth (Gozo)	7 (6)	16	38	6
All Districts	5 (3)	32	11	34

IV

It will have been observed that there is a certain superficial 621
similarity between the reasons given here for belonging to the 665
MLP and those suggested in the preceding chapter for recruitment
into the secondary festa partiti. One might expect therefore that
in comparison with titular partiti, secondary partiti would have a
higher proportion of Labour supporters among their members.
Unfortunately, owing to the disturbed political situation prevailing
at the time, I was not able to gather satisfactory systematic
data on this point. Almost all informants with whom I discussed [124]
the matter suggested that secondary partiti did in fact have more
pro-Mintoff members than their rivals. But the situation is not
quite as straightforward as it might appear. To begin with, the
statements of informants varied according to their own political
beliefs and their position in relation to the festa partiti. Rivals [575]
generally tried to place each other in an unfavourable light. Thus [578]
an anti-MLP member of a band club supporting a titular feast

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[1] Source: *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 40–111; and *The Malta Government Gazette* (3 March 1962), pp. 385–94.

[2] *IInd* (Cospicua, Senglea, Vittoriosa, Kalkara, Żabbar, M'skala), *IVth* (Żurrieq, Safi, Qrendi, Mqabba, Kirkop, B'buġia, Żejtun, M'xlokk), *VIth* (Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija, Attard, Naxxar, Gharghur). [103]

[3] Percentage of priests, monks and nuns in parenthesis.

NOTES

000 [103] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [129] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analyzed by Charlton (b/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Welts, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

[342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

[529] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/266).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

● [124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made .1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

000 28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

[113] 30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No. 259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

434 32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revized):

747 Family of 3 or 4 persons ....maximum income - £5
648 " " 5 to 7 " .... " " - £5 8s
735 " " 8 " 10 " .... " " - £5 15s
" " 11 " 13 " .... " " - £6 1s
" " 14 " 16 " .... " " - £6 6s
" " 17 or 18 " .... " " - £6 10s

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

[122] 34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Matla at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

000 35. (B/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

113 38. "Labour Government's Progress Report, 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClement in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Ghalf Bilančjat ghall-Majjali" by A.T. Hessler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

000 42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present trading position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but these registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.H.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

[114] 47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

[124] 48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tmien, Sighan and Kejliet : v. Appendix 5.

126 141 172; (i) The Hal Saflieni bones (whose antiquity we have already discussed) are in a very bad condition; few long bones are complete. After sorting through several tons of fragments, measurements were taken on such bones as were sufficiently well preserved. A number of astragali were brought to England for more detailed examination later. The Hal Saflieni crania, which had previously been examined by Bradley, were re-measured.

(ii) There are in the Museum of Valletta and in the Roman villa at Notabile a small series of ancient skulls and some complete skeletons, most of which were excavated by Dr. Zammit. These can be exactly dated by archæological evidence, but are unfortunately too few to warrant the drawing of any definite conclusions.

126 141 (iii) The Chapel of Bones is a large, fantastically arranged ossuary. It is alleged to contain the bones of patients dying in the hospital of the Knights of St. John, and probably dates from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are several remarkable features about these bones, first the number of aged persons represented, suggesting generally the type of population which finds its way into the casual ward of a modern institution, secondly the almost entire absence of the female sex; among 500 skulls selected at random, about 8 per cent. only were sexed as ?♂, ?♀, or ♀; these have not been included in the final count. It is, of course, quite possible that the number of female skulls is even less, but there was an orphanage attached to the hospital, and some children's bones were found in the ossuary, which may contain a few bones of nuns. The method of selection—for the number of bones is very great—was as follows: The skulls are arranged on shelves, and any skull without a basion was rejected, otherwise no selection was made; long bones were picked out where the epiphyses were sufficiently well preserved for measurement. Unfortunately the person who arranged the ossuary mixed up all the bones, and wired the wrong mandibles on to the crania. Although, therefore, as a whole, the bones belong to the same series of persons, the association of particular long bones with each other, or of particular mandibles with skulls is impossible. The sexing was of the type that Professor Pearson terms "anatomical sexing." All the bones were removed to the Anatomical Department at Valletta, and measured there.

(iv) The modern bones are from an ossuary, and were set at my disposal by Dr. Busittel, who was kind enough to allow us to use a room in the Anatomy School at Valletta. As some of the bones were used for teaching purposes, it is possible that a slight selection has been made; but enquiry into the method of obtaining the material inclines one to the belief that on the whole they are chance specimens, and a number of skulls were actually examined *in situ*. Sexing presented again considerable difficulty; fortunately, however, in a number of cases they had not been properly macerated.

141 125 In measuring the living it was necessary to find such as would submit themselves to examination; as far as possible, however, typical Maltese were taken. The

female children are from Valletta and Sliema Government Elementary Schools, the 141
male from the Government Elementary School and the Lyceum at Valletta, and 125
include some of the students at the University.

The adult males have been grouped as follows:—(1) Malta, (2) Gozo. The Malta group has then been subdivided into Urban Districts; Rural Districts exclusive of Siggewe and Zurrico; Siggewe; Zurrico; sufficient measurements having been taken at the two latter villages to make statistical treatment of value (Table II). The adult females have been divided into (1) Malta, (2) Gozo. Malta has then been subdivided into Urban and Rural Districts (Table III). Unfortunately, sufficient women were not measured at any one village to make further subdivision practicable.

The individuals measured include among the men representatives of all social classes; among the women the lower social grades are chiefly represented. The men include professional men, gunners, militia, government messengers, men doing short sentences, paupers, and by far the largest class, "men in the street." The women include teachers, pupils at night schools, eighteen prisoners, patients in hospitals, paupers, and, again the largest class, any peasant woman who was not too frightened to be measured. All those who were either born of Maltese parents abroad, or although born in Malta are not of pure Maltese parentage, have been rejected. It is impossible in all cases to be quite certain, especially in the neighbourhood of Valletta. The measurements were taken in accordance with Martin's definitions (33); those on the femur follow Pearson (34). In working out the constants, the [128]. methods discussed in the Anthropology of Cyprus (37) have been followed. The limit of plotting selected has been such that the observations fall in from 15 to 20 groups. In head-lengths, for instance, this condition is fulfilled if the series be divided into 2 mm. groups. In order not to lengthen the report few comparative figures have been given.

For convenience of reference measurements have been referred to by their 141
initial letters, which are given in brackets after each in the following list:— 104
128

A.—*Skulls.*

Ophryo-occipital length (O.O.L.).
Glabello-occipital length (G.O.L.).
Greatest breadth (G.B.).
Minimum frontal diameter (M.F.D.).
Bizygomatic breadth (Biz.B.).
Nasal height (N.H.).
Nasal breadth (N.B.).
Basi-bregmatic height (B.B.H.).
Basi-nasal length (B.N.L.).
Basi-alveolar length (B.A.L.).
Upper facial height (U.F.H.).
Facial breadth (F.B.).
Orbital breadth (left) (O.B.L.).
Orbital breadth (right) (O.B.R.).
Orbital height (left) (O.H.L.).
Orbital height (right) (O.H.R.).
Palatal length (P.L.).
Palatal breadth (P.B.).

311* 114 Islands and could thus provide continuity in the interpretation of the records of the many field workers.

The survey parties worked in the Islands during the months of March and April in each of the three years 1955, 1956, and 1957. In March-April and August-September 1958 the authors themselves carried out final checks. During the Spring periods, the use of fairly large teams of observers, between six and eight in number, enabled the work to be concentrated at a critical time when the widest range of crops and of activities are to be seen. Summer vegetables and cotton are the only major crops not then in the fields and this difficulty was overcome by the enlistment of the other Durham research workers permanently residing in the Islands and by a summer visit of one of the authors. Objection might be raised to the spreading of the survey work over more than one season. The difficulty of completing such work on such a scale during one short period of time is not a sufficient answer. The real answer is that the time spread did not matter. The miniscule field pattern and the further subdivision into separate plots, both amply illustrated in the examples shown here, mean that crop changes from year to year merely result in the re-shuffling of tiny pieces of an intricate mosaic. The variety of crops grown and identified (see below), the relative uniformity of crop sequences and the individuality possessed by the various regions, further remove any deficiencies apparently implied by this particular method. The spreading of the fieldwork over a number of years did in fact allow both the checking of methodological validity and the carrying out of subsidiary pieces of work. For example, sample areas were surveyed during each of the four years, thus giving an accurate picture of crop sequence and rotations, as well as a check on short term change.

[241] The following crops were individually identified in the field: sulla, wheat, barley, vines, fruit, olives, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, marrows, other vegetables, broad beans, peas and vetches. In addition, uncropped land was recorded as waste, fallow, rough grazing or tilled. In several cases, e.g. vegetables, fruit and vetches, a note was made of the actual variety of plant being grown, e.g. cauliflowers, artichokes, apples, peaches, lemons, *gilbicna*, *zozfa*, *widna*, etc. 102 311* 126 Coloured maps on a 6-inch scale, showing the 18 different crops and uses of land have been prepared. Cost of publication prevents their reproduction here, but they have been used in the preparation of this volume, particularly in Chapters VII B and VIII. The Land Use Maps (Figs. 69 to 98) show the distribution of individual crops, though the range distinguished has been somewhat curtailed. Wheat and barley, tomatoes and marrows, the various vegetables, broad beans and peas, and vetches and minor fodders have respectively been combined into single maps although the accompanying text notes regional variations. These 14 distribution maps in black and white have been prepared by reduction from the coloured 6-inch series. They were originally prepared on a 2-inch scale, and were thus directly comparable with the standard 2-inch topographical sheets and with the 2-inch geology and soil maps. The distribution maps, together with the coloured 6-inch are at present stored in the Durham Geography Department and it is hoped that the former at least will eventually be published on a 2-inch scale. The amount of cartographic work involved has been at least as great as that done in the field, and, since it was carried out by the authors alone it has consumed a considerable amount of time. However, it is felt that the labour has been justified in that only by accurate cartographic representation and by deduction from the maps can easy generalities be avoided. The long term character of the project also made easier the establishment of friendly contacts with local individuals, both official and private, whose help is sincerely acknowledged, and at the same time allowed the authors to amass a background knowledge of the Maltese Islands which has been invaluable in their interpretation of the agricultural landscape.

Note. A preliminary report - 'Agriculture in Malta, a survey of land use', was produced by H. Bowen-Jones and J. C. Dewdney, at Durham, in 1955. 113

population as 20,000 in 1582. In 1632, 50,113 is given, and in 1667, 53,000. In 1741, 161
110,000 is the population, which is said to have increased to 114,000 in 1798. The 174
figures for Malta and Gozo in 1826 are stated to be 119,736. But the first reliable
figure is 115,945 in 1828. In 1881 the population was 132,129 in Malta and 17,653
in Gozo; in 1901, 184,742, and 1911, 211,564.

In regard to the proportion of the sexes there were in 1911 110 bachelors to 162
100 spinsters, 98 husbands to 100 wives, and 44 widowers to 100 widows. In round
thousands, the males over 5 years of age were engaged in the following occupations:
7 in professional, 2 domestic, 19 commercial, 12 agricultural, 21 industrial, and 31
were unproductive and unoccupied; the last figure is rather misleading as it includes
at least four separate classes—children, aged, people of independent income, and
incapables of all classes. The data in regard to foreigners is the most interesting
for our purpose, as it gives an insight into the amount of mixture that is taking
place. There were at the last census (1911) (31) 854 ♂ and 1,003 ♀ foreigners in
the island. Of these 3 ♀ were English, the remainder were made up as follows:
77 ♂ and 45 ♀ from Africa (apart from 1 ♂ and 2 ♀, all these came from Egypt,
Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria); 479 ♂ and 499 ♀ from Sicily; 156 ♂ and 253 ♀
from other parts of Italy; 36 ♂ and 39 ♀ came from Greece, and 11 ♂ were classified
as Asiatics. This does not, of course, include the garrison, a large floating population
of which the figures are uncertain, as they depend so much on the ships which happen
to be in harbour at the time when the census is taken. The increase of population 161
between 1828 and 1911 is of interest. That of Malta increased by 88·25 per cent.
of the total, and that of Gozo by 45·31 per cent. The increase in Malta was nearly
five times as great in the suburban area as in the other areas combined.[1]

The density per square mile in 1911 was 1884 (Malta 2167, and Gozo 879).
The density in the south-east corner of Malta is, however, greater than would appear
from these figures. If the island be divided along a line west of Gargur, Naxaro,
Musta, Notabile, Rabato, Crendi, the areas east and west of such a line would be
almost equal in size. The eastern area, however, contained in 1911 183,132 inhabitants,
and the western 5737. Practically all the Neolithic remains occur in the [172]
eastern area, suggesting that the centres of population have not changed appreciably
since Neolithic times.

V.—Material and Methods.

The skeletal material examined is conveniently grouped in four series: (i) Bones 126
from the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic); (ii) Miscellaneous ancient 141
skeletons, chiefly Romano-Maltese; (iii) Specimens from the Chapel of Bones (Late
Mediæval); (iv) Modern bones. Only in case (ii) were any complete skeletons available.

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[1] Since this article was written the results of the Census of 1921 have become available. [162]
They are as follows:—Malta, 189,697 (92,127 ♂, 97,570 ♀); Gozo, 22,561 (10,618 ♂, 11,943 ♀).
Total for the two islands, 212,258, an increase of only 694 since 1911, as against 26,822 in the
previous decade.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

126 (i) The Hal Saflieni bones (whose antiquity we have already discussed) are in
141 a very bad condition; few long bones are complete. After sorting through several
172 tons of fragments, measurements were taken on such bones as were sufficiently well preserved. A number of astragali were brought to England for more detailed examination later. The Hal Saflieni crania, which had previously been examined by Bradley, were re-measured.

(ii) There are in the Museum of Valletta and in the Roman villa at Notabile a small series of ancient skulls and some complete skeletons, most of which were excavated by Dr. Zammit. These can be exactly dated by archæological evidence, but are unfortunately too few to warrant the drawing of any definite conclusions.

126 (iii) The Chapel of Bones is a large, fantastically arranged ossuary. It is alleged
141 to contain the bones of patients dying in the hospital of the Knights of St. John, and probably dates from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are several remarkable features about these bones, first the number of aged persons represented, suggesting generally the type of population which finds its way into the casual ward of a modern institution, secondly the almost entire absence of the female sex; among 500 skulls selected at random, about 8 per cent. only were sexed as ?♂, ?♀, or ♀; these have not been included in the final count. It is, of course, quite possible that the number of female skulls is even less, but there was an orphanage attached to the hospital, and some children's bones were found in the ossuary, which may contain a few bones of nuns. The method of selection—for the number of bones is very great—was as follows: The skulls are arranged on shelves, and any skull without a basion was rejected, otherwise no selection was made; long bones were picked out where the epiphyses were sufficiently well preserved for measurement. Unfortunately the person who arranged the ossuary mixed up all the bones, and wired the wrong mandibles on to the crania. Although, therefore, as a whole, the bones belong to the same series of persons, the association of particular long bones with each other, or of particular mandibles with skulls is impossible. The sexing was of the type that Professor Pearson terms "anatomical sexing." All the bones were removed to the Anatomical Department at Valletta, and measured there.

(iv) The modern bones are from an ossuary, and were set at my disposal by Dr. Busittel, who was kind enough to allow us to use a room in the Anatomy School at Valletta. As some of the bones were used for teaching purposes, it is possible that a slight selection has been made; but enquiry into the method of obtaining the material inclines one to the belief that on the whole they are chance specimens, and a number of skulls were actually examined *in situ*. Sexing presented again considerable difficulty; fortunately, however, in a number of cases they had not been properly macerated.

141 In measuring the living it was necessary to find such as would submit themselves
125 to examination; as far as possible, however, typical Maltese were taken. The

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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F.S.A., and to Mr Jos. Spiteri of the same department for their kindness in taking the 126
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of Tal Mirakli Church and of Tal Hlas Church, respectively, for allowing me to
publish pictures of 'ex-votos' preserved in their churches.

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CAPTIONS TO PLATES [1]

PLATE I

Fig. 1. Silver votive offerings representing various parts of the body. The model between the trunk 532
and the ear is a stylized form of the female breasts. (By courtesy of the Director of the 782
National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 2. This leg of baked clay is from the Roman ruins at Ras-ir-Raheb to the north west of Bahria, Malta. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 3. Bronze dies of liver and lower limb used by Maltese silver smiths for the manufacture of the silver 'ex-votos'. Scale in centimetres and inches. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

PLATE II

Fig. 1. The picture tells the story so clearly that no inscription is attached to it. Note the Maltese 532
type of windmill and the costumes of the peasants still in use during the last century. Tal 782
Hlas Church, Qormi. (Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 789

Fig. 2. The landscape is not Maltese. Presumably this 'ex-voto' was offered by a foreigner or else [402]
the donor was a Maltese who met with a riding accident abroad. The letters V.F.G.A. stand [291]
for 'Votum Fecit Gratiam Accepit' (A vow was made and a favour received). Tal Mirakli
Church, Lija, Malta. (Photograph by Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A.)

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[1] [plate I will be found facing p. 24; plate II faces p. 25.–An.]

has the nuptial fertility rate fallen below 300 and it is now 25 per cent. higher than that of Ireland, reputedly the highest in the world (22). 163

Fertility, marriage and birth-rates have been outlined above, but the trends of the first two do not account for decline of the last. Fertility is stable, or was until 1948, the marriage rate has not declined since that year and previous trends of nuptial fertility do not suggest any imminent decline. One strong possibility, however, is that the pattern of post-war migration is concealing a decline in the married population. Many migrants from the Islands return to get married and leave with their brides for their new homes. Their children are born overseas so that marriages which have been registered in the Islands give rise to children born and registered abroad. If this is so, it indicates that a decline in the rate of emigration would result in a rapid revival of the birth rate and that the present pattern of natural increase is very much affected by the trends of emigration. 163 167

MIGRATION

The pattern of nineteenth century migration has been the subject of close study by Price (23) who deals mainly with the period 1842-81 using as his major source of information, the records of the Passport Office. Since the Department of Emigration was not established until after the First World War, the intervening period has been filled in for this study by interpretation of further Passport records and of passenger movement statistics collected by the Customs and Port Department. From 1918 onwards statistics of the Emigration Department have been used along with those of the Customs and Port Department. 167 127

Comparability of material has been one of the biggest problems. In the period covered by Price, the native Maltese population only was considered; subsequent statistics are for the entire civil population, which from 1901 onwards included the families of the Garrison. The best check on the scale of movement is provided by a consideration of the Census reports together with vital statistics for inter-censal years. The difference between the net increase in population and the natural increase represents the inter-censal net migration.

167

Table 30. Inter-censal migration 1842-1956.

Period	Natural Increase	Net Increase	Net Migration
1842-51	11,310[1]	8,620	- 2,690
1851-61	17,470[2]	10,060	- 7,410
1861-71	7,860[3]	8,490	+ 630
1871-81	11,030[4]	8,180	- 2,850
1881-91	16,490	15,260	- 1,230
1891-1901	15,830	19,710	+ 3,880
1901-11	26,030	27,080	+ 1,050
1911-21	17,300	-110	-17,410
1921-31	25,280	28,260	+ 2,980
1931-48	65,140	64,370	- 770
1948-56[5]	53,480	10,250	-43,230

1-4. Price, op. cit.
5. Estimate from the Census of 1948 to 31st December, 1956.
1842-81. Maltese population only.
1881-1901. Civilian population excluding Garrison families.
1901-1956. Civilian population including Garrison families.

For brevity's sake it must suffice to say here that, apart from the obvious effects of World War II, the Maltese economy during the last 50 years has developed along more or less uniform general lines. Trade statistics began to be compiled properly in 1909-10. By 1918, visible exports paid for only 10 per cent. of all imports while by 1956 this proportion had dropped to 5 per cent. For our present purpose the most recent specifically economic Report utilising normally unpublished source material, that of Balogh and Seers (13), may be used as a basis for discussion. Statistics for the year 1953-54 contained therein and in the original source material are here re-assembled and re-arranged in the same combinations used in Chapter V A, i.e. Negotiable Income or External Economic Balance, Internal Revenue and National Product. By no means all the facts are available and some of the elements in the computation are open to question, but this particular presentation has been adopted to bring out significant points of direct relevance to our work. 178 433 457 [129]

The first element, that of External Balance may be presented in tabular form thus:-

Table 31. External economic balance. 1954.

434
457

A. Negotiable Income - originating externally.		
(i) Services pay	£6.5	millions
(of which dockyard)	(3.6	")
(ii) Direct expenditure by Services	2.2	"
(iii) Estimated spending by non-Maltese Service personnel	6.0	"
	£14.7	"
(iv) Imperial Grants	3.0	"
	£17.7	"
B. Negotiable Income - originating internally.		
(i) Merchandise exports	£1.5	millions
(ii) Invisible exports	2.9	"
	£4.4	"
C. Negotiable Income - Grand Total	£22.1	millions
D. Expenditure on Imports.		
(i) Merchandise imports	£18.6	millions
(ii) Invisible imports	1.9	"
	£20.5	"

The most obvious characteristic of Malta's economy in its external relationship is its amazing dependence for Negotiable Income, i.e. convertible wealth available for paying for imports, on factors outside domestic control.

In detail various significant points emerge. While part of this income resulted from the provision of industrial and labour services - A (i) and (ii), about 40 per cent. came through retail and domestic services to the Garrison - A (iii). Statistically, this is an item impossible to measure precisely, and in so far as it is a residual item a further question arises, to wit, how far may it be an over-estimate concealing an unrecorded inflow of foreign wealth through hidden channels to the civil population. In Sierra Leone, periodic upsurges of

[P. 289]

Chapter IX

A. The Maltese Formholding

423* 241 [464] For our purposes here we shall define a 'farmer' as 'the owner or holder of land which he cultivates', but will add the limiting clause, 'as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise'. There may be joint owners or holders but normally, even where a *'communio inter fratres'* has been established on the death of a parent landholder, one person will assume responsibility for the control of the enterprise. He is the farmer. His brothers, sisters, wife and children, if they assist in working the land, together with the non-family labour which he may employ are the farmworkers. The inter-relationships of family and work can, however, be much more complex than this simplification may imply.

423* The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers we shall term the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners, and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer. Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact that a holding may contain freehold, as well as various types of leasehold land. Within each holding there exists a loosely-knit collection of plots, which, through accident or design, have come to be in the occupation of one individual or group. Because of the geographical isolation of the plots, most of the holdings might, descriptively, be termed 'fragmented holdings'. Such holdings need not necessarily have acquired this characteristic through the process of *parcellement*; that is by splitting up of a holding into a number of non-contiguous plots. No generic connotation, therefore, should be attached to the purely descriptive use of the term 'fragmented'. In the following examination of the Maltese farm, this distinction between descriptive statements and analyses of processes will be maintained.

The physical size of a farm may be considered as the total area of land over which the farmer exercises sole rights of occupation for agricultural purposes. Fortunately, in the Maltese Islands, the matter is not complicated by problems of definition concerned with common land, as communal holding of land is effectively absent. But other problems do arise, since land is so variable in quality, ranging from fertile irrigated lands to soil-less karst, with many gradations in between. Most farms include land of more than one category and, especially in the north and west of Malta and the hard-rock areas of Gozo, many farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivator's point of view is useless.

The average size of farms has proved an elusive statistic for many writers. A figure of 3.7 acres was given to the Royal Commission of 1911-12. From 1921-36 the Blue Books continued to advertise the patent fallacy that only 236 holdings were in the 0-10 acre size range and that 10,864 holdings contained from 11-50 acres of land. However, in this context any average figure is very largely meaningless except for purely comparative purposes. The range is enormous; holdings less than 1 *tomna* are not considered as farms, but there are many holdings only slightly larger than this, while at the other end of the scale, farms of 200 *tmien* are not unknown.

423* 127 659 Much of the record concerning farm sizes is incomplete and, although the present response rate of over 97 per cent. to the annual Agricultural Census conducted by the Central Office of Statistics is excellent under the conditions prevailing in the Maltese Islands, it seems probable that earlier returns lagged far behind in this respect. Of the various sources, the Farm Register is probably the most accurate. It began with a Census in 1942 and was checked against another in 1944; for several years its details were consolidated by field survey.

[Text continues on p. 291]

and a small staff is still retained to endeavour to keep its material up to date. 423*

Quite apart from the varying accuracy of the censuses (and it is almost 127
impossible to assess the accuracy of the earlier ones), the analyst is faced with
other internal problems. In connection with the size of farms and the types of [659]
land within them, different criteria have been used at different times: in 1891 423*
and 1901, land was classed as cultivated and uncultivable; in the Farm Register,
irrigated, semi-irrigated, dry- and tree-covered land are classed as cultivated 127
and the balance as waste; the surveys of 1951-56 specify dry, irrigated and idle 311
land, together with waste. How far these groups are comparable from period to period it is difficult to say. The 1956 Abstract provides a better picture, for here in addition to the analyses of dry and irrigated land considered separately, there is also a simple size analysis of holdings according to the amount of dry and irrigated land taken together. More closely comparable with the earlier analyses it is yet not identical, since wasteland and, presumably, idle land are omitted. The full significance of the size characteristics of Maltese farms emerges only when the relative proportions of the two classes of land, dry and irrigable, are studied. This material is presented later, in Table 38. However, useful preliminary points can be made on the basis of the earlier, simple size-range tabulations.

The size-range data are presented in Figs. 133 and 134 and relating to Malta 423*
and Gozo respectively; they are directly comparable except for the 1956 curve in the Gozo diagram which relates to cultivated land only. However it is unlikely that this discrepancy will seriously upset the validity of the diagram as a whole. A 1956 curve for Malta, based on similar figures, differs only in detail from that produced here for the period c. 1945.

The content of these diagrams is largely self-explanatory: each curve illustrating the number of holdings above or below certain critical size limits. In Malta, in the year 1891, almost 80 per cent. of all holdings were smaller than 40 *tmien*. Also in that year the median figure was 18 *tmien*. (5 acres) in Malta but 13 *tmien* (3½ acres) in Gozo. Farms were already smaller in both islands by 1901 and, at the end of World War II, Maltese farms had become smaller than were the farms of Gozo 55 years earlier. In 1956, the median figure for Gozo stood at the very low level of 8 *tmien* (2¼ acres). When it is realised that, for all except Gozo 1956, these data include some 5-7 per cent. uncultivated land, a major problem in Maltese agriculture has been outlined.

It might be held that the decrease in the size of holdings simply reflects a general reduction in the farmed area as a result of urban expansion. However, later evidence will show that the process of *morcellement* has probably been continuous for at least 100 years, and it is uncertain whether, over this longer period, there has been a net increase or decrease in the area of agricultural land. Certainly, in the period 1850-80 large areas of wasteland, mainly Government Land, were let on long improvement leases. Although it is clear that some of this land, for various reasons, never became productive, and yet more has remained marginal in character, a quantity unknown has been permanently added to the cultivated area of the island.

However, from Figs. 133 and 134, it is clear that the reduction in the average size of the farm has taken place at all levels: large farms have become two or more smaller farms, while smaller farms have been reduced in size. The process is thus an integral part of local agricultural development: small farm units are not merely the product of external encroachment, which, by reducing the area of agricultural land also reduces the average farm size (assuming a constant farm population). The extension of non-agricultural uses is obviously a factor to be considered, but the total farm population has not remained constant; indeed, despite considerable emigration and movement to the towns, it has increased (Chapter VI A). The precise number of holdings at any one time is not readily ascertainable, as most records are known to be incomplete and there is no means of knowing how many farmers failed to make returns. However, the following Table 34 indicates the general trend:-

as a slight under-estimate of the number of plots concerned.

423* 102 Geographically, the holdings spread over a large area, circular in shape, with a diameter of some 4 miles. The half-mile square is excentric to this distribution, whose spread is greatest towards the coast, in a south-westerly direction. However, there is also a considerable thinning out in this direction, and the maximum number of plots cluster about an east-west axis cutting through the square. Within this belt, and to the north, plots tend to be somewhat larger than to the south.

All these plots are farmed by people who live either in Żebbuġ or Siġġiewi; 31 of them in the latter. The built-up areas of these casals and also that of Rabat-Mdina are shown. In the north-west, many of the Żebbuġ-Siġġiewi holdings encroach on the parish territory of Rabat, while a broad belt of inter-mixture of Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi holdings follows the inter-parochial boundary. In terms of farm holdings, parochial limits have only a very general validity, and it seems unlikely that the parishes have possessed any real economic integrity for a considerable period, if ever. The maintenance of parish units during the various agricultural censuses has presented analysts with many problems, but it is extremely difficult to see what other small units could be adopted.

Five of the holdings of Fig. 135 are given distinctive shading, and plots belonging to these are also particularised in Fig. 136, where a key makes identification possible. As it appears, fragmentation is an exceedingly difficult thing to measure with precision, since it is a function of the area of the holding, the number of the constituent parts and their relative isolation. Sample holding V, for example, consists of 17 separate plots and a direct line between the furthest plots is almost 2¼ miles long. That this sample is unexceptional can be judged by the geographical scatter, and from the diagram appended to Fig. 136 which relates the number of holdings to the number of separate plots within each holding. Apart from single-plot holdings, of which the majority are small in size and held by part-time cultivators, more than half consist of six or more plots, and the average for all holdings is between five and six non-contiguous plots.

423* In the course of this examination, an assessment has been made of the extent to which farms may be described as fragmented. It is often suggested that *parcellement*, as a process, is partially responsible for this characteristic. However, in order to assess the degree of importance of the various processes, an historical perspective would be most valuable. It has therefore proved necessary to follow a long trail of field enquiry in order to build up the case-history which closes this chapter.

Before discussing this material, however, it would be advisable to comment briefly on the validity of conclusions based on the above example, upon certain causes which are constantly invoked as full and adequate explanations of the scattered character of holdings, and upon the Laws which lie behind the present Maltese agricultural systems.

423* 127 ● Within the complex processes of the development of farmholdings, the element of ownership must obviously play an important part. Unfortunately the translation of source-material into statistical and cartographic forms is by no means easy. The Farm Register is the only official source for cartographic representation and, until the proposed Cadastral Survey is complete, will with all its faults remain the main analytical tool. Few areas are completely registered and, even in these, the true ownership of land has not always been ascertained. The area already considered, that lying between Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi, is less affected than most by such deficiencies.

423* Differentiation between the main classes of ownership is of basic importance. Some classes of Church and Government lands have had sufficient historical continuity of ownership to allow one to ignore effects of sub-division by legacy. Owner-occupied farms on the other hand are more prone to such *parcellement*. On the economic plane, differences in the level of rents demanded by various classes of owner can also have a considerable influence on farm morphology.

Table 40. Land ownership and quality of land. Gozo.

Percentage of total agricultural land.

423*

	Civil Govnmt.	War Dept.	Church etc.	Private Landlord	Owner Occupier	Total %	Total 000 tm.
(a) Cultivated land							
1891	18.0		8.4	67.7		94.1	37
1901	21.1		11.3	62.8		95.2	33
1951	83.4				9.5	92.9	
1952	84.6				8.8	93.4	
(b) Uncultivated land							
1891	0.6		0.2	5.1	(1.1*)	5.9	2
1901	0.6		0.6	3.7		4.8	2
1951	6.6				0.5	7.1	
1952	6.2				0.2	6.4	
(c) Agricultural land							
1891	18.6		8.6	72.8		100	40
1901	21.6		11.8	66.5		99.9	33
1951	90.0				10.0	100	36
1952	91.1				8.9	100	38

*Ownership 'indefinite' - excluded from totals.

time, ownership would change. Since 1947, the existence of savings amassed during the price boom of World War II and the granting of old-age pensions have together encouraged the farmer to retire at an earlier age from active management and, through various crop-sharing agreements, to divide the usufruct with heirs, relations and friends. New types of tenure ensuring security to the original owner and opportunity to others are of considerable significance. Thus, over a short period of time simple freehold may be replaced by other legal situations although the *de facto* position of owner-occupied land as a whole remains unchanged. 454 745

Increasing accuracy of classification may correct these and other discrepancies but may in itself and as a result of such corrections introduce apparent fluctuations in general trends. Thus, because it is reasonable to assume that the most recent figures are most likely to be accurate, minor trends culminating in recent records should be ignored. 423* 127

Thus it is that, in the absence of external evidence, we may say that increases in the actual or proportional areas of land owned by Church and State have been insignificant. Table 41 shows in round figures the probable proportions of land owned by the various groups, based on various sources and broadly correct for the years around 1950. We are satisfied that this gives a more accurate picture than that usually presented.

The character of ownership and its effects on land use must also be related to the character of the land itself. Tables 39 and 40 show, among other features, the growing amount of 'wasteland' which now makes up some 15 per cent. of the so-called farmed area of Malta, and a lesser proportion of Gozo. This 'waste' is mainly marginal land which bears clear traces of earlier cultivation. True 'wasteland', virgin karst or long-abandoned, has always been excluded from the total figure. 423*

It has been suggested that such figures show that freehold property (in which the farmer might be expected to have the greatest interest) is most likely to

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 303]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

B. The Lands of a Maltese Family

423*
It has been found possible to trace the landholding history of a single family 173
back to its very beginning through four generations and slightly more than 100 427
years. Before about 1850, the family in question had no direct proprietary
interest in land. Its members were landless labourers working mainly in the 596
fields of various farmers in the northern districts of the island. They appear to
have moved from farm to farm as demands for labour arose. Frequently they
worked as a team, occasionally as individuals but always they were paid on a
daily basis. Their home was in the casal of Mosta, and there is still some
attachment to that centre, although few members of the family continue to reside
there.

This study is based, fundamentally, on the oral tradition of the family, [27]
refined by studies of the Farm Register, Government Land Records and field
identification. For ethical reasons, the family must remain anonymous; its
members are therefore referred to by key numbers. The founder-father of our
family and his five children are designated 0 to 5 as below. The progeny of each [128]
son are numbered similarly, the digits suffixed to the parent's number and so
throughout. In addition, the lineage groups stemming from the original five
children are distinguished by the letter A to E. Final suffixes 0 denote husbands
of the females of the family.

The history begins in the 1850's with a family of five children and their
father (0). Four of the children (2-5) were sons and worked for some time with
their father as farm labourers. At some stage, the daughter (1), married a
farmer with land in the Manikata area, and from her springs branch A of the
family. Later, one of the brothers (2) married the daughter of a farmer who
held most of his land at Ġnejn Għajn Tuffieħa, and lived nearby. On the death
or retirement of his father-in-law, 2 acquired the tenancy of this land in the
third year of an eight year lease which had commenced in 1862. Finding that he
was unable to work this farm satisfactorily by himself he invited one of his
brothers (3) to join him in the enterprise. When the eight year lease was
renewed for a similar period, in 1870, both brothers became joint tenants. Their
respective descendants form groups B and C of the genealogy. Another piece of
land, which had been leased by 2's father-in-law for 99 years from 1861, passed
to 2, neither 3 nor his descendants having any share in it.

Meanwhile, in 1857 or 1858, the father (0) and his two remaining sons (4
and 5) acquired the tenancy of an area of partially irrigable land at the head of
the Ġnejna valley. Some 12 months earlier the land, with its terraces, had been
severely damaged by floodwaters following very heavy rain. The landowner
concerned was unwilling to assist the sitting tenant in the repair of severe storm
damage to the extent which that tenant expected. Rather than bear alone the full
cost, the latter attempted to sub-let outside his own family and was dispossessed
by the owner. Our landless labourer (0) and his two sons (4 and 5) evidently felt
themselves capable of tackling this reconstruction and, with the landowner's
approval, took over the tenancy. It is uncertain whether the landlord gave them
assistance in the form of reduced rent, whether they had some capital saved
from their meagre wages which they could exploit here, or whether they
depended for success entirely on their own labour. Some capital must have been
available to them to cover the period of reconstruction and the sale of the first
season's crop. It would be characteristic of the period if some financial help [426]
was given by the *pitkali* merchants who functioned as the land bank of that day.

There is evidence that local opinion did not rate highly the chances of this
landless group in restoring the valley to its former fertility. The story is told [522]
of local comment that the family would not stay 'from Christmas Day to St.
Stephen's' (25th-26th December). After 100 years of continuous occupation the
story affords the family some considerable amusement, but serves to illustrate
the shaky nature of the original enterprise.

30 per cent random sample. Those selected this way were Balzan, 121
Dingli, Gudja, Għarb, Għargħur, Mosta, Qala, Qrendi, Xagħra, Żebbuġ (Malta) and Żurrieq. I also chose Sliema, a large suburb, to provide a special contrast to the villages. Thus the general statements I make about Maltese villages are based on a fairly wide cross-section.

Thanks to the patient teaching of our friends Francis and Evelyn 122
Chetcuti during the year preceding fieldwork, I was able to begin to work in Maltese soon after my arrival. Much of my work, however, was done in English, which many informants spoke fluently.

I also wish to express my thanks to Mr. Trafford Smith, former 000
Lieutenant-Governor of Malta; to Mr. Maurice Abela, the Principal Government Statistician, and Chev. Paul Naudi, Director of Information, and their assistants; to Dr. V. De Pasquale, Chev. J. Galea, Mr. E. R. Leopardi and Mr. John Bezzina of the Royal Malta Library; to the Revs. Joseph Ghigo S.J., Paul Pace, Paul Said, Joseph Theuma, Benjamin Tonna, Charles Vella and Anton Xiberras, and to the Hon. A. Barbara, Dr. Brian Beeley, Mr. J. Cassar Pullicino, Mr. Francis Mizzi and Mr. Joseph Muscat for their interest and help in many ways. Prof. J. Aquilina kindly [127]
allowed me to read the manuscript of his unpublished work on Maltese proverbs.

I am greatly indebted to the staff and my fellow students at the Department of Anthropology of the London School of Economics for their stimulating discussion, both formal and informal, of this material.

Finally, I wish to record here my very special thanks and obliga- 128
tion to Professor Lucy Mair, my academic supervisor, for the valuable criticism and patient help she gave me before and during my research and especially in analysing and writing up the material collected in the field.

Except for minor alterations, the present work is identical with the Ph.D. thesis I submitted to the University of London in November 1962.

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proportional to the number of outsiders resident in it. Not only 591
does loyalty to friends and relations in a man's village of birth 621
often take precedence over new ties established by his marriage into a strange village, but it is not unusual for a man married into another village to continue to play an active part in the social life of his native village. Conversely, an outsider is seldom called upon or attempts to join the clubs and associations of his wife's village. Thus, only 3 per cent of the committee members of the fifteen band and social clubs in the sample villages I studied were outsiders, although about 18 per cent of the adult male population resident in these villages were born elsewhere. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the committee members were now living outside the villages in which they were born and hold office.

TABLE 2. Adults Born Outside their Place of Residence[1] [162]

Place of Residence	*Percentage born elsewhere*	*Males*	*Females*
Urban/Suburban	66%	45%	55%
Maltese Villages	16	52	48
Gozitan Villages	15	39	61

Because of the many ties which bind people to their villages of birth, an adult who moves into his wife's village remains an outsider for many years. The village will probably not give him a [551]
distinctive village nickname, and he will be known simply as the husband of his wife, or perhaps by the name of his native village. Although the village may ignore his outside origin for much of the time, his place of birth is certain to be remembered and held against him by his enemies, should be become involved in a dispute. The children of an outsider, however, become full [851]
members of the village by virtue of their birth there, and their connection with the community through the family of their mother (or father). By the time his children begin to grow up and get married, the outsider is usually firmly established as a full member of the community.

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[1] This table was compiled from data made available to me by the Principal Government Electoral Officer. It covers a random sample drawn from a sample of two suburban communities (Sliema and Balzan), seven Maltese villages (Żebbuġ, Gharghur, Gudja, Mosta, Qrendi, Dingli and Żurrieq) and three Gozitan villages (Qala, Xaghra and Gharb). [103] [127]

128 lot of the farmer.

In Section 5 an attempt is made to draw together the main socio-economic aspects of the present problem of Maltese agriculture. It is recognized that other aspects of this total problem have been covered elsewhere (e.g. - Mitchell, B/524, 525; Cirillo, B/387; Bowen-Jones and Dewdney, B/336; and in the various official reports which [114] have appeared in recent years, B/Part 7 E). It is felt, however, that in most cases, insufficient emphasis has been put on what is in fact the essence of the problem - namely the retreat of the present younger generation from farming and from rural society for a variety of reasons which are, it emerges, certainly as much sociological as economic.

(iii) Section 6 presents a considerable part of the evidence upon which the assessments in Section 2 to 5 have been based. It contains, as it were, the minutes of evidence for the conclusions reached. Part 1 (Cases I to XIII) presents detailed studies on thirteen farm-units representative of the different branches of the industry. Part 2 (Cases XIV to XXII) illuminates the main features of the current over-emphasis on large tractors and other types of farm machinery, while Part 3 comprises a brief note on the fishing community in the Islands, included because the fortunes of this comparatively small group parallel those of the farmers of the Islands.

[127] In addition to the material set out in Section 6 the writer has made use of a great deal of case study and general material collected during the period of field research in Malta and Gozo. Most of this is now in B/5.

(iv) Section 7 comprises a note on literature and language in Malta and a bibliographical list of published and unpublished material on the Islands. This covers not only the field of research of the present report but attempts to include also details of a cross section of material available on the historical, economic, archaeological, geological, hydrological and other fields of study of Malta and Gozo. Being the first example of an attempt at such a comprehensive coverage it is given with apologies for its deficiencies. Works listed in the bibliography are referred to in the general text of the report by their number in the bibliography preceded by 'B/'.

(v) Section 8 includes five Statistical Appendices. The first of these presents a picture of Maltese agriculture, its nature and weaknesses, together with relevant details of the farming population. Appendix 5 assembles a wider range of information on weights and measures than previously available. The other three Appendices are included as illustrative of points made in Section 1, as are Maps 1 to 7 and The Graph.

It has faded very rapidly
369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give
way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
241 animals or animal products are sold for money.

433 By using the 1946 Census material (B/167 - 1946, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:

634 Table 1 (v. Map 2)

369
●[127]

Urban (0-3%)	
Valletta	0
Cospicua	0
Senglea	0
Vittoriosa	.008
Gżira	.11
Sliema	.24
Floriana	.43
Pawla	.8
Marsa	1.2
Hamrun	1.35
Msida	1.36
Kalkara	1.84
Pieta	2.6
St. Julian's	2.9

Fringe (3-10%)	
Balzan	5.48
Luqa	6.1
Birkirkara	6.16
Tarxien	6.43
St. Venera	6.46
Qormi	6.88
Birzebbuga	7.3
Żabbar	7.35
Żejtun	8.27
Lija	9.9

Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Mqabba	10.5
Marsaxlokk	10.6
Żurrieq	11.15
Għaxaq	11.29
Attard	11.53
*Victoria	13
Mdina	15.4
Mosta	16.56
Żebbuġ	18.41
*Għajnsielem	19.2
Gudja	19.91

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Kerċem	56.43
*Xagħra	64
*Għarb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Għasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Għargħur	29.1
Mellieħa	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Malta............... 9.11%
Gozo................ 41.78%
All Islands......... 12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an
increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
369 but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the
464 Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the
most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo
the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of
this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the
Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
369 counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages
[i.e. peasant subsistence farming, -[illegible]]

APPENDIX 6 : WEIGHTS and MEASURES

804

UNIT	EQUIVALENTS Maltese	British	Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollice)	-	0.859 ins	21.83 mm
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10.312 ins	26.19 cm
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar*	2.292 yds	2.095 m
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	2.252 sq.yds	1.891 sq.m
Kejla	-	22.410 sq.yds	18.735 sq.m
Siegh (mondello)	10 Kejliet*	224.100 sq.yds	187.354 sq.m
Tomna (tummolo)	6 Sieghan*	0.278 acre	0.112 ha.
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	4.444 acres	1.798 ha.
		(1 acre - 3.6 tmien*)	
VOLUME			
Xiber Kubu	-	0.63 cu.ft	
Qasba Kubu	-	12.04 cu.yds	
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0.933 oz	0.026 kg
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1.750 lbs	0.793 kg
Wiżna	5 Rtal*	8.750 lbs	3.968 kg
Qantar	20 Wiżna	175.000 lbs	79.378 kg
		(1 ton - 12.8 qnatar* - 1016.128 kg)	
BUNDLE MEASURE			
Qatta, Xibka, Xkora (sheaf or bundle of sulla, wheat, etc.)			
Hemel (somma)	10 Qattiet* (8 Qattiet in Gozo)		
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna (tummolo)	-	0.0825 qrs	0.1818 hectolitr
Jejba	4 Tmien*	2.0 bushels	0.7272 "
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8.0 "	2.909 "
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Terz	-	0.281 quart	0.32 litres
Nofs	2 Terzi*	0.562 "	0.63 "
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	1.125 "	1.27 "
Kwarta	4 Krateċ*	1.125 gallons	5.11 "
CAPACITY: BEER, WINES & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0.25 pint	0.142 litres
Terz	2 Pinet*	0.50 "	0.284 "
Nofs	2 Terzi*	1.00 "	0.561 "
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	2.00 "	1.136 "
Kwarta	4.75 Krateċ*	1.187 gallons	5.398 "
Garra	2 Karti*	2.375 "	10.797 "
Bermil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9.500 "	43.187 "

MONEY

436 Sterling is the official currency in Malta and Gozo but various old units are also retained in popular usage:

'Lira'..........................	£1	'Sitta(6) rbghajja'......	10d
'Nofs Lira'.....................	10s	'Sixpence'................	6d
'Tmintax(18) rbighi'.........	2s 6d	'Tlieta(3) rbghajja'.....	5d
'Skud'..........................	1s 8d	'Sold'.....................	1d
'Xelin'.........................	1s	'Sitt(6) habbiet'........	½d

(A 'habba' - grain - was one twelfth of a penny; twenty 'habbiet' equalled one 'tari' or 'rbighi'.)

193
804
NOTES (1) Plural forms, identified by an asterisk* in the table: Garar (s.Garra); Habbiet (s.Habba); Krateċ (s.Kartoċċ); Kejliet (s.Kejla); Kwarti (s.Kwarta); Nfas (s.Nofs); Pinet (s.Pinta); Qnatar (s.Qantar); Qattiet (s.Qatta); Rbghajja (s. Rbighi); Rtal (s.Ratal); Sieghan (s.Siegh); Skudi (s.Skud); Terzi (s.Terz); Tmien (s.Tomna); Xbar (s.Xiber); Wiżniet (s.Wiżna).

127
114
(2) The information in the table is based in part on that given in M/YB - 1958-9, p.410, and in part on personal investigation.

NOTES

000 [103] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [127] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analyzed by Charlton (b/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Welts, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

[342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

[529] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/266).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

[124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made (1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

121 than sociology. All that we attempt to observe, explain and compare occurs on or near a particular expanse of the earth's surface thereby conferring a unity to the studies we undertake.

The project thus far has been mainly designed to cover the agricultural sector (with all that that implies), but the impossibility of isolating any single segment of Maltese life has provided us with full justification for frequent divergence. Not only is it impossible to consider any element solely from the point of physical production; it becomes necessary to consider the wider and finally often more important factors such as, among others, social status, adaptability to change, and mental as well as physical climate.

We are therefore led to the belief that the facts here presented have an applicability wider than that to Maltese agriculture alone. It is not intended to produce a plan for specific lines of development - we feel strongly that this is not our function. Instead, we hope that our study will provide a background for development, the establishment of a factual corpus of knowledge that will allow development and future policy making by others.

In the case of the Maltese Islands, as in many other regions, such provision is not only necessary but imperative. During this century there has occurred a striking alteration of the status and importance of many dependent territories and newly independent states. Such rather sudden revaluations, inevitably consequent on erratic reactions to changing circumstances, are historically normal. Hitherto, however, resulting changes in sovereignty and economic and cultural ties have taken little account of the desires of the peoples concerned. Today, new ideas of political status are paralleled by ideas of development and 'natural rights' on the economic plane. Much of this, it is true, is a historical difference of degree rather than of kind. Although Malta for 5,000 years has always been part of some larger socio-cultural or political unit, it has always maintained a certain especial status of autonomy. Equally in the economic sector there has always existed some insular and independent activity. Nevertheless, more than ever before, the Maltese are and feel they are themselves now responsible for their socio-economic destinies. With such a responsibility, there arises a need, not always wholly welcome, and at times conceded only with reluctance, firstly for knowledge of basic facts relating to existing institutions, and secondly, for sympathetic understanding and appraisal of these facts. It is our earnest hope that this present work, which amounts to an extensive abstract of investigations and reports which are in themselves too specialized and lengthy for normal publication, will assist toward such an understanding.

The arrangement of the subject matter has been chosen in order to suit the 128 attempt at integrating diverse but relevant material. Section One is devoted to studies of the physical environment. To the non-specialist much of it may appear prosaic and 'earthbound' but, as will appear, without such appraisal of limitations and possibilities any socio-economic analysis would remain over-speculative. In Section Two are considered the societies which have both left their impress on the landscape and produced cumulative responses to environment. Section Three contains studies of the contemporary rural scene: many of these directly and indirectly also help an understanding of non-agricultural activities. The concluding Section Four is an attempt to select and inter-relate the ideas and themes which have seemed to us of the greatest importance, and to present them in a single impression of the continuum which is Malta.

It remains to particularize, with deep gratitude, the assistance received 122 during our investigations. Original interest, a kind of priming of the pump, came from Sir James Duff, then Warden of the Durham Colleges; and next, the support of the Colonial Economic Research Council, which provided financial backing for a large part of the survey. The Government of Malta also associated itself with the scheme, and provided powerful and indispensable support, financial and technical, especially through the Office of the Prime Minister, and Minister for Agriculture and his officials. As well, contacts with all officials of the Government, Imperial and National, were extremely fruitful, and personally most cordial.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Chapter 1

A. GEOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS

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INTRODUCTION

131 The central Mediterranean islands of Malta, Gozo and Comino lie 58 miles due south of Sicily, 220 miles due north of Tripoli and about 180 miles east of Tunis. The Maltese archipelago trends north-west to south-east and is 28 miles in length. Malta, the largest and most southerly island, is 17 miles in length and nine miles wide and has an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is nine miles long, up to four miles wide, and has an area of 26 square miles. The island of Comino, in the Comino Strait separating the two islands, occupies only one square mile. A submarine ridge, averaging 50 fathoms in depth, extends southwards from the Ragusa peninsula of Sicily towards the islands, and it continues on as a broader and deeper shelf to the African coasts of Tunisia and Tripolitania. This submarine ridge, which separates the Mediterranean into two main hydrographic basins, represents a sunken land bridge which connected Africa and Europe during parts of the Pleistocene and later Tertiary. 133

The islands are entirely composed of Tertiary limestones with subsidiary clays and marls. Superficial deposits, mostly Pleistocene in age, take the form of cliff breccias, cave and valley loams, sands and gravels. The succession of Tertiary rocks on the islands is as follows:-

		Feet
5. Upper Coralline Limestone	at least	530
4. Greensand		0-50
3. Blue Clay		0-230
2. Globigerina Limestone		75-680
1. Lower Coralline Limestone	at least	626

The Lower Coralline Limestone and Lower Globigerina Limestone belong to the Aquitanian stage and the Middle and Upper Globigerina Limestone and Blue Clay to the Burdigalian. The Helvetian is represented by the Greensand and the Tortonian by the Upper Coralline Limestone. All these stages fall within the Miocene period, following Eames' recommendation that the Aquitanian is Miocene rather than Oligocene.

The strata have an undulating regional dip to the south-east and the islands are cut by a system of normal faults, striking ENE., which affects Malta especially and is responsible for cutting that island into a series of horst and rift blocks.

The first description of the geology of these islands was given by Commander 114
T. A. Spratt (1843 and 1852) and later a general account was given by Murray
(1890) and his work stimulated others, especially Cooke (1893, 1893a, 1896, 133
1896a), to examine the rocks in more detail. During this century Rizzo (1932), Paver (1943), Sir E. B. Bailey (1943) and Morris (1952) have added detail mainly in connection with an examination of the water resources of the islands. Recently the literature has been reviewed and summarised by Reed (1949) and Hyde (1955). The fossils have been studied especially by Gregory (1891), Stefanini (1908), Roman and Roger (1939) and Eames and Cox (1956). The interesting fauna of the Pleistocene cave deposits have been described by Cooke (1891, 1896b), Cooke and Smith Woodward (1893) and Bate (1935), and Evans (1954, 1959) has described the prehistoric pottery sequence.

Note: Throughout this chapter, *four-figure grid references* have been used to locate the south-western corner of the kilometre grid square containing the feature named. The grid in use is that appearing on the standard two-inch map of Malta and Gozo, G.S.G.S. 3859. Edition 4, 1934, and reproduced on Fig. 3 et seq. The Roman numerals refer to regions marked on the inset map of Fig. 3. [128]

[p. 25]

134 water occasionally is a further aid. This is difficult or impossible, however, without drains and irrigation, so that soils with a saline ground water, are probably irremediable, but they may not in any case be worsening very rapidly.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

122 The author is indebted to the Colonial Office, under whose auspices the field work was carried out, for permission to publish this account.
His sincere thanks are due to Dr. H. Greene and Dr. D. A. Osmond for criticism and
114 guidance, to the staff of the Analysis Section of the Macaulay Institute under Dr. H. G. M.
● 128 Hardie who performed the analyses, and to Mrs. D. Sutton for help in the preparation of the typescript.

[p. 98-A]

167 [128] A graph covering the last hundred years (Fig. 58) shows inter-censal net migrations and annual variations in the scale of movement as indicated by passports issued and by the Customs and Port Department records. The latter are adjusted for each decade to make the sum of annual totals comparable with the inter-censal net totals shown in Table 30 (see also Fig. 59).

In the nineteenth century, the principal factors affecting the scale of migration were economic. Periods of poverty at home sometimes drove the Maltese overseas while at other times they were attracted by boom conditions elsewhere in the Mediterranean. During the Crimean War, not even prosperity at home could counteract the cotton and building boom in Egypt and emigration rose to record heights (24). But the end of the Egyptian boom coincided with depression in Barbary and the two resulted in returns to Malta which more than compensated for the outward movement of the 50's and 60's. In the 1870's, recovery in Barbary coincided with slight recession in Malta and the number of emigrants again increased only to diminish again in 1875-80, reflecting bankrupt conditions in Egypt (25). The economic position of the receiving countries therefore played an important part in determining the volume of emigration at any given moment.

An outstanding feature of nineteenth century movement was a series of attempts to organise emigration from the Maltese Islands. The first of these ended with the failure of the Guiana and Granada experiments of 1831-41 when plantation settlement in these areas was attempted (26). Subsequent plans to settle colonies in Cyprus, Australia and the Americas collapsed and various other attempts to establish Maltese communities overseas each failed in turn. As a result, over 90 per cent. of nineteenth century emigrants moved no further than the coasts of North Africa and the Levant.

[829] The restricted scope of movement and the choice of the Mediterranean seaboard for settlement was influenced by three main non-economic factors: 'the belief that America and Australia were the permanent homes of strange and deadly diseases; the belief that it was necessary to settle in a country near enough to Malta to allow easy and frequent return to the beloved homeland; and the belief that similarity of language and custom marked out North Africa as the divinely appointed region for Maltese settlement abroad' (27).

The annexation of Tunis by the French in 1881 was an indication that the Maltese would no longer find North Africa an open field and the competition in business and commerce from the French and Italians became severe. Moreover, the standard of living in Malta from the 1860's onwards was higher than in most other parts of the Mediterranean so that there was little incentive for the Maltese to go there. Furthermore, the 80's saw the expansion of employment opportunities at home with the introduction of a number of schemes involving large scale public expenditure. As a result of such developments, the period from the late 1880's until 1905 was one in which there was a net inward movement. All thoughts of migration were abandoned and in 1905 the labour shortage was so acute that 300 workers were brought in from Sicily, Italy and Spain. 1906 saw the completion of major harbour and dockyard works and unemployment then became a serious problem which was partially responsible for the visit of the Royal Commission in 1911 (28). Since French and Italian control of North Africa was then complete, attention had to be paid to movement further afield.

In 1907, on the basis of experience already gained and during the period of depression, a voluntary organisation known as the Malta Emigration Committee was formed. In spite of the approval shown by the 1912 Royal Commissioners, this body was neither given any official status nor superseded by any official organisation. Partly as a result of the difficulties confronting the Committee, a Brazilian venture failed miserably in 1912, and in 1916 an unhappy combination of circumstances provoked such Australian antagonism to migration to that continent that an embargo on future movement was established which prevailed until 1920.

167 647 In 1918 the need for adjustment to post-war conditions became sufficiently great to force the establishment of an Emigration Department charged with the control of movement and the selection of personnel (Fig. 60). The social aspects

B. Economy and Trade

128 433 In any schematic division of history into periods there must be dangers and difficulties. Nevertheless, some themes of significance to our present study, naturally as well as for reasons of convenience, are best treated in this way. It is impossible to be precise about the date of birth of modern Malta in that different land marks might well be used in pursuing different lines of thought. Thus, constitutionally the year 1921 is of most significance, while the Royal Commission of 1911 is in some ways an economic obsequy for nineteenth-century Malta. In the sections that follow, therefore, arguments cannot be chronologically in step. Moreover, this, our last period, is the most well-documented of all and the irregularity of coverage most considerable. Some of the arguments earlier developed need little further emphasis in that some conditions and attitudes firmly established by the beginning of the twentieth century need merely to have their survival confirmed and readers referred to relevant material. Henceforward, therefore, our treatment can legitimately be more selective.

This period of Modern British Malta must be further subdivided. The first phase drew slowly and uneasily to a close during our period of research. It was formally ended by the suspension of the constitution in 1958. The new constitutional proposals of 1960 mark the official beginning of a second phase. The interregnum was the period of the transference of the Naval Dockyard to a civilian firm of ship repairers. In that we attach the greatest importance to the study of the fundamental infrastructure on which Maltese life has and will be based, most of the following analysis is concerned with the first phase - the climacteric of British rule in Malta. Our comment on more recent happenings is therefore deliberately restricted.

162 433 464 The Census of 1912 noted that in the decennial period 1901-11 . . . 'productiveness has not risen in proportion to the increase of the population'.

The recorded Civil population in 1911 was 211,564. While in 1901, 28 per cent. of the female population was gainfully occupied, ten years later the proportion had fallen to 20 per cent. Henceforth male employment alone was of significance. The male labour force, which for analytical purposes was regarded as excluding only the age-group below five years of age, totalled 92,529. Of these almost 12,000 were engaged in agriculture, 19,489 in commerce and transport, and over 21,000 enumerated as having 'industrial' occupations. 31,385 were returned as unoccupied or unproductive.

433 464 458 The opening quotation is strictly an actuarial statement based on demographic facts. Behind the Census figures however we may perceive, by using various pieces of evidence, an economic basis for its sombreness. By comparing details of the 1911 enumeration with those for 1921, the first year in which unemployment within occupational groups was recorded, we may deduce that some 10 per cent. of the able male labour force was in fact without employment during the earlier year. By 1907, 10 per cent. of the ships cleared from Malta left in ballast (1). Between 1901 and 1911, the numbers of farmers and farmers' relatives assisting on the land increased by 3,000 and the number of labourers fell by 1,259 (2). Only once between 1906 and 1914, in 1908-09, did Government Revenue not show a deficit (3). In 1905, 9,175 men were employed in the Naval Establishments but this had fallen to 5,181 in 1906 (4). [654] Many such facts could be quoted to prove the existence of an economic depression in Malta during the years following 1906, a situation which induced the setting up in 1911 of a Royal Commission to consider the financial situation. The array of evidence does more than this, it also shows that this was no simple secular trend but a sign of uneasy adjustment to new circumstances, an adjustment that is still in progress. This is why the Report of the 1911 Commission is of more than contemporary importance (5) and why its study is essential to any serious consideration of Maltese problems.

slopes. With the exception of ta'Ċenċ, these areas also correspond to the most remote and difficult lands. Lastly, the tops of the smaller mesas, too restricted in area for permanent settlement, form lesser patches of waste. 311*

NON-AGRICULTURAL USE (Figs. 97 and 98)

This category covers a variety of uses of land. The major element here is land occupied by settlements. In Malta, this includes true urban development as in the Valletta conurbation, agro-towns (the *casals*) and a small number of village-hamlets such as Mġarr and Bubaqra. Their limits, plotted on a six-inch scale, were drawn to separate true farmland from house-gardens, orchards and stockyards associated with the settlements. As noted previously, this has resulted in some slight exaggeration of the areas defined as 'built-up'. 311* 361

In Gozo, Victoria is the only true town. Żebbuġ, Xagħra, Nadur and Qala have small urban nuclei but otherwise consist of agglomerated farmsteads as also do the remaining villages. Field-work on a 25-inch scale has allowed a more precise delineation of the built-up areas and of dispersed settlement. The latter, as may be seen from the maps, bears a striking correspondence to the road pattern.

The 'Miscellaneous' category includes land used by the Defence Departments as airfields, barracks and other installations. For security reasons, a more detailed appraisal has not been made. Other types of land-use included here are quarries being worked at the time of the survey, as in the Naxxar-Għargħur and ta'Kandja districts of Malta, sportsgrounds (e.g. Marsa) and reservoirs as at ta'Ċenċ. In Malta, small groups of buildings outside the main settlements also fall within this category, whereas in Gozo only special cases such as that of ta'Pinu shrine and the Fort Chambray asylum are so marked.

The 15 different types of land use portrayed in the distribution maps are a striking illustration of the wide range of conditions, physical, human and economic, to be found within the Maltese Islands. A fuller picture emerges when the regional combinations of these elements are studied in detail and this is done in Chapter VIII, where different crop assemblages are used to define Agricultural Regions. 311* 128

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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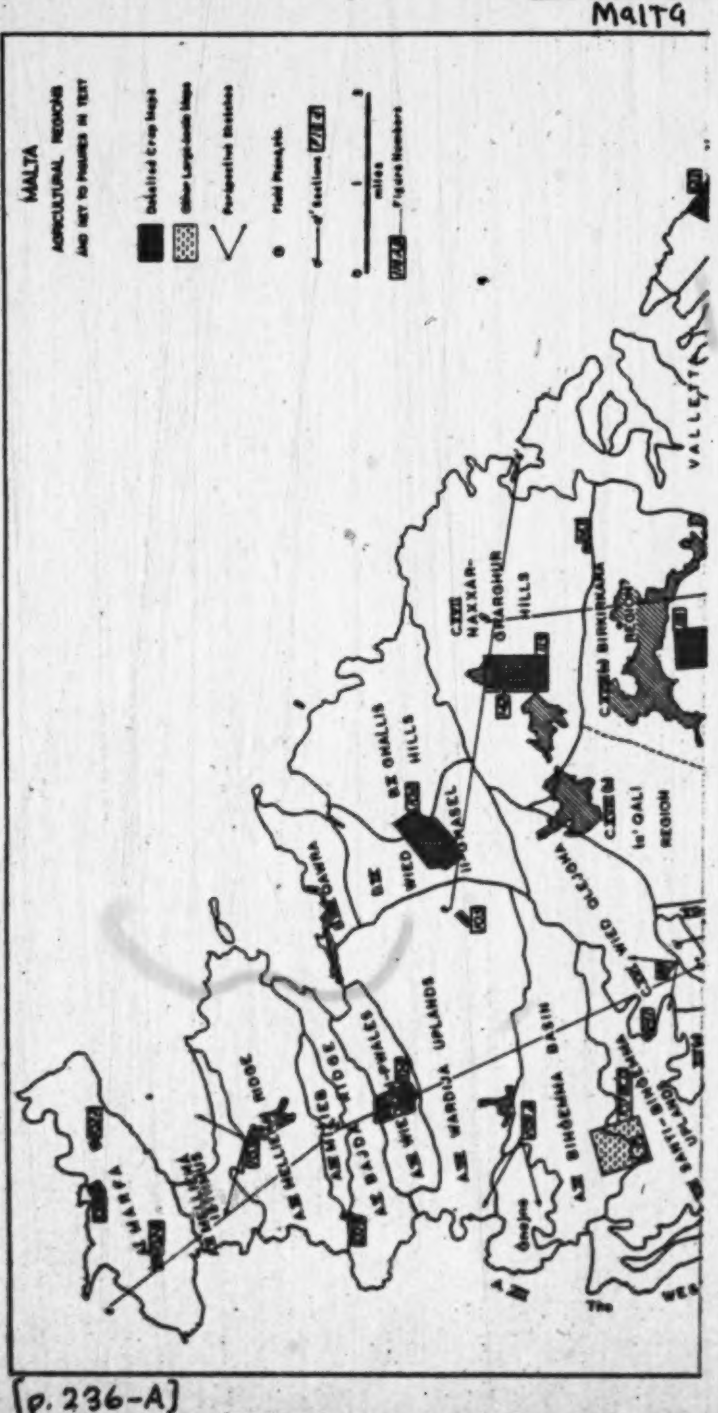
● 128


MALTA
AGRICULTURAL REGIONS
AND KEY TO FIGURES IN TEXT
Detailed Crop Maps
Other Large-Scale Maps
Perspective Sketches
Field Plans, etc.
d—d' Sections
0
1
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miles
Figure Numbers
MARFA
MELLIEHA ISTHMUS
MELLIEHA RIDGE
MIZIEB
BAJDA RIDGE
WIED-PWALES
WARDIJA UPLANDS
QAWRA
WIED
GHALLIS HILLS
IL-GHASEL
NAXXAR-GHARGHUR HILLS
BIRKIRKARA REGION
Is' QALI REGION
WIED QLEJJGHA
BINGEMMA BASIN
SANTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS
Gnejna
The WES
VALLETTA

[p. 236-A]

Fig. 99 Malta: Agricultural Regions

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

241*

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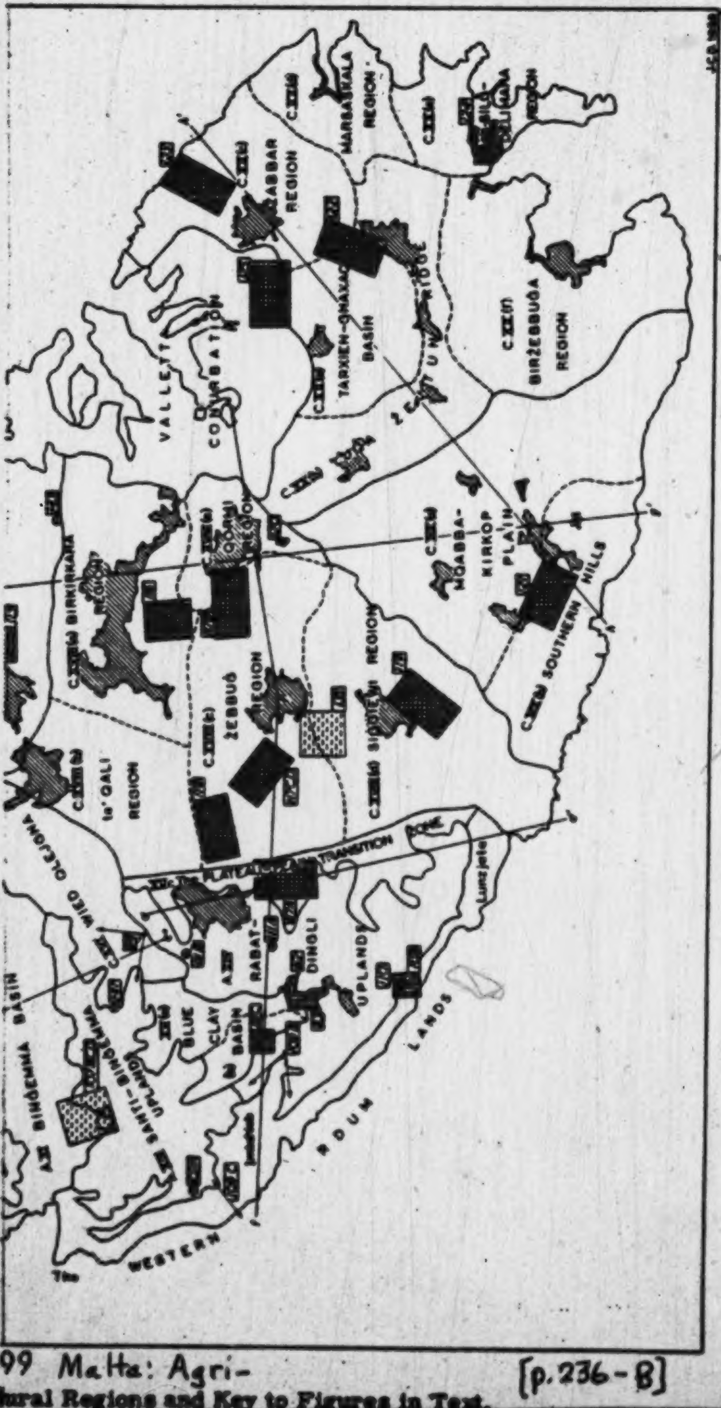

BINGEMMA BASIN
SANTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS
WIED OLEJGHA
Ta' QALI REGION
BIRKIRKARA REGION
VALLETTA CONURBATION
ŻEBBUĠ REGION
QORMI REGION
ŻABBAR REGION
MARSASKALA REGION
TARXIEN-GHAXAQ BASIN
ŻEJTUN RIDGE
BIRŻEBBUĠA REGION
HAL-BILI-DELIMARA REGION
HQABBA-KIRKOP PLAIN
SOUTHERN HILLS
SIGGIEWI REGION
BLUE CLAY BASIN
RABAT-DINGLI UPLANDS
The PLATEAU-PLAIN TRANSITION ZONE
The WESTERN RDUM LANDS
Lunzjata
JCG 1958

Fig. 99 Malta: Agricultural Regions and Key to Figures in Text. [p. 236-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

*291
*311
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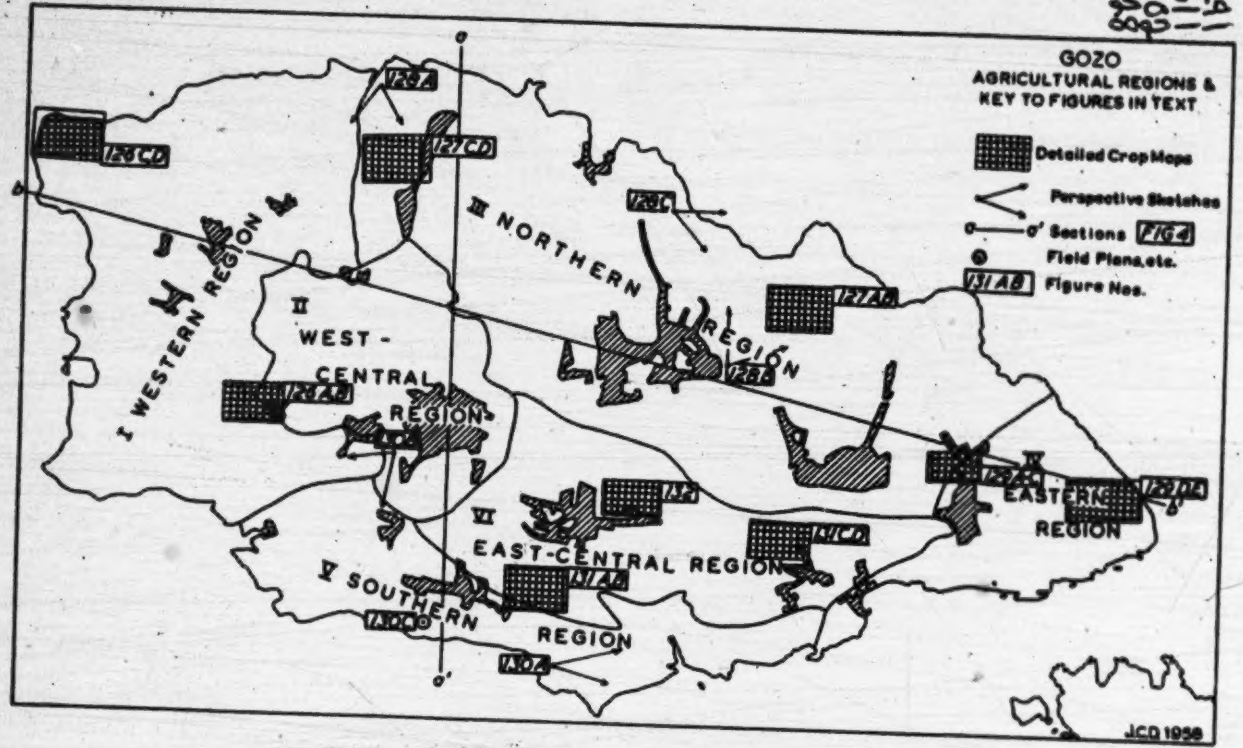
128



GOZO
AGRICULTURAL REGIONS & KEY TO FIGURES IN TEXT
Detailed Crop Maps
Perspective Sketches
o—o' Sections FIG 4
Field Plans, etc.
131 AB Figure Nos.
I WESTERN REGION
II WEST-CENTRAL REGION
III NORTHERN REGION
IV EASTERN REGION
V SOUTHERN REGION
VI EAST-CENTRAL REGION
126 CD
129 A
127 CD
128 C
127 AB
128 B
126 AB
132
131 CD
131 AB
130 C
130 A
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JCD 1958

Fig. 100 Gozo: Agricultural Regions and Key to Figures in Text.

8. The Lands of a Maltese Family

423*

It has been found possible to trace the landholding history of a single family 173
back to its very beginning through four generations and slightly more than 100 427
years. Before about 1850, the family in question had no direct proprietary
interest in land. Its members were landless labourers working mainly in the 596
fields of various farmers in the northern districts of the island. They appear to
have moved from farm to farm as demands for labour arose. Frequently they
worked as a team, occasionally as individuals but always they were paid on a
daily basis. Their home was in the casal of Mosta, and there is still some
attachment to that centre, although few members of the family continue to reside
there.

This study is based, fundamentally, on the oral tradition of the family, [127]
refined by studies of the Farm Register, Government Land Records and field
identification. For ethical reasons, the family must remain anonymous; its
members are therefore referred to by key numbers. The founder-father of our
family and his five children are designated 0 to 5 as below. The progeny of each [128]
son are numbered similarly, the digits suffixed to the parent's number and so
throughout. In addition, the lineage groups stemming from the original five
children are distinguished by the letter A to E. Final suffixes 0 denote husbands
of the females of the family.

The history begins in the 1850's with a family of five children and their
father (0). Four of the children (2-5) were sons and worked for some time with
their father as farm labourers. At some stage, the daughter (1), married a
farmer with land in the Manikata area, and from her springs branch A of the
family. Later, one of the brothers (2) married the daughter of a farmer who
held most of his land at Ĝnejn Ghajn Tuffieña, and lived nearby. On the death
or retirement of his father-in-law, 2 acquired the tenancy of this land in the
third year of an eight year lease which had commenced in 1862. Finding that he
was unable to work this farm satisfactorily by himself he invited one of his
brothers (3) to join him in the enterprise. When the eight year lease was
renewed for a similar period, in 1870, both brothers became joint tenants. Their
respective descendants form groups B and C of the genealogy. Another piece of
land, which had been leased by 2's father-in-law for 99 years from 1861, passed
to 2, neither 3 nor his descendants having any share in it.

Meanwhile, in 1857 or 1858, the father (0) and his two remaining sons (4
and 5) acquired the tenancy of an area of partially irrigable land at the head of
the Ĝnejna valley. Some 12 months earlier the land, with its terraces, had been
severely damaged by floodwaters following very heavy rain. The landowner
concerned was unwilling to assist the sitting tenant in the repair of severe storm
damage to the extent which that tenant expected. Rather than bear alone the full
cost, the latter attempted to sub-let outside his own family and was dispossessed
by the owner. Our landless labourer (0) and his two sons (4 and 5) evidently felt
themselves capable of tackling this reconstruction and, with the landowner's
approval, took over the tenancy. It is uncertain whether the landlord gave them
assistance in the form of reduced rent, whether they had some capital saved
from their meagre wages which they could exploit here, or whether they
depended for success entirely on their own labour. Some capital must have been
available to them to cover the period of reconstruction and the sale of the first
season's crop. It would be characteristic of the period if some financial help [426]
was given by the *pilhali* merchants who functioned as the land bank of that day.

There is evidence that local opinion did not rate highly the chances of this
landless group in restoring the valley to its former fertility. The story is told
of local comment that the family would not stay 'from Christmas Day to St. [522]
Stephen's' (25th-26th December). After 100 years of continuous occupation the
story affords the family some considerable amusement, but serves to illustrate
the shaky nature of the original enterprise.

[P.317]

Chapter X

THE PRACTICE OF FARMING

We have considered at some length the physical and social environments in 128 which Maltese farming exists, the distribution of crops and of agricultural regions, and examined some of the physical and legal characteristics of the land holdings in which the land is worked. There follows a more systematic statement and a tentative interpretation of farming practice, and studies of the Maltese countryfolk (Plate XVIII).

A. Livestock

Livestock in Malta, with the exception of the wandering, wasteland-feeding, 231 herds of sheep and goats, is rarely seen or heard. Cattle, pigs, poultry and rabbits are all kept in stockyards or enclosures, and horses, mules and donkeys, when not working in the fields, are stabled the whole time. Their near invisibility has caused us to omit mention of them in earlier sections. As noted in Chapter [246] VII, the Maltese farmer, faced with land shortage as a result of the high population density, has chosen to cultivate stall-fed fodders as short-rotation crops rather than to grow pastures or perennial forages. It is difficult to believe that he has not made the correct choice if the criterion adopted is that of intensive 231 and continual use of difficult land resources and the minimising of waste.

Numerically, goats are by far the most important (Plate XVII)[1]. During the 234 past century, they increased tenfold in number, a fact which marks the amazingly 311 rapid increase in milk consumption, but in the last decade the trend has been reversed. The indigenous breeds, highly regarded in the Mediterranean up to [232] the close of the eighteenth century, have now almost entirely been replaced by crosses with introduced British Saanen types. These crosses, in which Saanen blood remains dominant to the third or fourth generation, are hardy and prolific milkers, considering the quality of feed. Goats have remained important not only because they still supply about 40 per cent. of returned milk sales (and a large amount produced domestically and sold illegally), but also because, together with sheep, they utilise the great extent of wasteland as natural pasture. Some feeding on field grown forages is practised - during the survey such [246] feeding was observed at Marnisi on broad beans and at Wied Babu on sulla, for example - but this is rare.

Land unusable for cultivation, and which makes up over 30 per cent. of the total area, provides the basic forage ration. Breeders and kids are given supplementary feeds of beans and hay crops. Although, therefore, goats are theoretically poor converters of fodder into milk, they cannot be displaced by milch cows without at once offending the tastes of most Maltese for goats' milk and cheese, and making the uncultivable land almost totally unproductive. Sheep, somewhat less numerous than pigs, and by far less valuable, occupy the same ecological niche as do goats. Used domestically in many areas for milking, and by far the cheapest meat animals, these predominantly hairy rather than woolled sheep, of a strong German strain, are one of the 'crops' of the barren lands. In the absence of statistics of fodder consumption, the only evidence available is that obtained in interview. It would certainly seem that sheep and goats use much uncultivated land in their demand for feed, and are almost the only media for obtaining any yield at all from one-third of the land of Malta and Gozo. (See also Chapter X C.)

Pigs, numerically the most important meat animals, are almost all of 231 recently introduced breeds, the English Large White in particular. Berkshire, 232 Wessex Saddleback and Middle White have been tried, but the Large White Yorkshire, even when bred for lean meat to an average weight of 150 lb., has

[1] [See page 256 -- Analyst]

C. Husbandry

241 In this section, a brief examination is made of those elements in agricultural production not previously considered. A methodological problem arises from 128 the fact that, as should be abundantly evident, farming in Malta is a complex in which it is most difficult to isolate the various elements. The method adopted here is to examine in general first arable farming, and then livestock. In the subsequent sections, an attempt is made to examine the general economic characteristics of Maltese farming and then to define the types of farms which exist in the Islands, with particular reference to the island of Malta.

As in all non-industrial countries with high population densities and limited 242 resources, a paradoxical situation may be observed in Malta. The intensive application of manual labour and careful observances of the minutiae of traditional techniques are found alongside some instances of land neglect which offend all the canons of good husbandry. On the one hand are observed careful tillage sequences, a first shallow ploughing or hoeing to kill weeds, a second deeper ploughing one week later to break up the surface crust and 'stir' for aeration of the soil to a depth of some 6 to 9 inches, and a further ploughing just before sowing to produce a fine surface tilth. On the other hand can be seen hoeing and ploughing during periods of high wind during which steady and large-scale wind removal of the finer aggregates takes place. Similarly, single trees can be almost coddled, while orchards are most often neglected and, while village refuse and animal dung is carefully worked into the soil, little effort is made to discard inorganic rubbish or diseased and seeding crops and weeds.

This paradoxical situation is most clearly defined in the attitude to weed and pest infestation and to the use of artificial fertilisers. Weeds of many types occur everywhere, and their eradication is manifestly impossible as long as the areas of wasteland to be found in every region provide safe centres for propagation and diffusion. The very walls of Malta which line almost all the fields and roads shelter weeds and pests. Even if eradication is impossible control is not, and the inadequacy of present husbandry is a measure of difficulties both mental and monetary.

The most prevalent and damaging weeds are broomrape and *oxalis cernua*. The former is indigenous to Malta as a field weed, particularly in association with cereals and broad beans in the dry farming area. On the thin dry soils of these regions, broomrape competes, only too successfully, for the limited water available and for plant nutrient material. The total effect on yields and the negating of much of the effort put into leguminous crop rotations must be very serious. Chemical control seems unlikely, and the cultivators themselves are aggravating rather than ameliorating the position. One cultivator interviewed in Region C XVIIIa epitomised the situation. Complaining that 'the weeds are pushing us off the land' he pulled his sulla crop, carefully leaving his wild oats and broomrape to seed freely. It was not surprising that his immediate neighbour had given up farming.

Many similar situations may be observed. Partly they are to be explained by the diminished actual and psychological pressure on land resources. In the main however they imply a basic parochial ignorance left as a legacy from the more primitive past. A farmer interviewed in Region C XX e clearly illustrated the nature of the mental problem. On being remonstrated with, because while pulling his rust-infected broad beans he left the numerous broomrape plants to seed freely, he professed astonishment at our ignorance. Observation, he pointed out, showed that the root tissues of bean and broomrape were not only intermingled but conjoined. Obviously therefore *both* plants grew out of the planted bean and surface seeding had nothing to do with the weed infestation. The problem set is how to explain in a convincing manner to a medievally-minded farmer the following: 'The seeds (of broomrape) germinate in the soil if the fibrous roots of a congenial host plant are nearby. Otherwise they remain dormant . . . as long as 13 years. When the primary root or radicle of a germinating seed makes contact with a fibrous root of its host, it forms a nodule of tissue

121 which divide the villages. I have therefore presented the current
political and religious issues in Malta as concisely as possible, and
have made no attempt to evaluate or to pass judgement on the
policies of State, Church or political party. Consequently, any
attempt to put the facts contained herein to polemical use is likely
to distort them.

114 Though I lived in Malta during 1957 and 1958, this study is
based on the research I carried out there from July 1960 to September
[122] 1961 under a grant from the Colonial Social Science
Research Council, to whom I am most grateful. The terms of
reference on which the research was based, and the form this final
report has assumed, were dictated solely by my personal interests;
my work was neither carried out on behalf of, nor a report to, a
government.

114 My wife and daughters were with me during the entire period
of fieldwork, and their encouragement and interest as well as the
● 128 many friends they made were a great asset. We spent our first five
months in Farruġ and the last eight months in Kortin. These are
not the real names of the villages, for the inhabitants of neither
[123] seek recognition. Indeed, throughout this study I have been at
pains to avoid any indiscretion which would repay most shamefully
our special debt of gratitude to friends and neighbours for
their hospitality and good humour in the face of our ignorance of
their customs. For the same reason, the names of many of the
persons and saints who figure in this account have been altered.

121 I chose to work in Farruġ because it is one of the villages divided
by competing band clubs, and among other things I was particularly
[578] interested in the part this unusual rivalry plays in village
[162] politics. With a population of approximately 1,400, it is one of the
smaller Maltese villages. We later moved to Kortin, a village of
almost 5,000, since its size and the fact that it is not divided by
band club rivalry provided an interesting contrast to Farruġ.
Available housing determined the choice of these particular two
villages from among the many that would have met my requirements.
Besides detailed research in these villages, I carried out
comparative studies into the general organization, leadership and
patterns of conflict of 12 other communities. In this work Mr.
Edward Micallef was my very able research assistant for three
months. I chose 11 of these villages by stratifying all villages in
Malta and Gozo according to population and then drawing out a

30 per cent random sample. Those selected this way were Balzan, 121 Dingli, Gudja, Għarb, Għargħur, Mosta, Qala, Qrendi, Xagħra, Żebbuġ (Malta) and Żurrieq. I also chose Sliema, a large suburb, to provide a special contrast to the villages. Thus the general statements I make about Maltese villages are based on a fairly wide cross-section.

Thanks to the patient teaching of our friends Francis and Evelyn 122 Chetcuti during the year preceding fieldwork, I was able to begin to work in Maltese soon after my arrival. Much of my work, however, was done in English, which many informants spoke fluently.

I also wish to express my thanks to Mr. Trafford Smith, former 000 Lieutenant-Governor of Malta; to Mr. Maurice Abela, the Principal Government Statistician, and Chev. Paul Naudi, Director of Information, and their assistants; to Dr. V. De Pasquale, Chev. J. Galea, Mr. E. R. Leopardi and Mr. John Bezzina of the Royal Malta Library; to the Revs. Joseph Ghigo S.J., Paul Pace, Paul Said, Joseph Theuma, Benjamin Tonna, Charles Vella and Anton Xiberras, and to the Hon. A. Barbara, Dr. Brian Beeley, Mr. J. Cassar Pullicino, Mr. Francis Mizzi and Mr. Joseph Muscat for their interest and help in many ways. Prof. J. Aquilina kindly [127] allowed me to read the manuscript of his unpublished work on Maltese proverbs.

I am greatly indebted to the staff and my fellow students at the Department of Anthropology of the London School of Economics for their stimulating discussion, both formal and informal, of this material.

Finally, I wish to record here my very special thanks and obligation 128 to Professor Lucy Mair, my academic supervisor, for the valuable criticism and patient help she gave me before and during my research and especially in analysing and writing up the material collected in the field.

Except for minor alterations, the present work is identical with the Ph.D. thesis I submitted to the University of London in November 1962.

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[p. 134]

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

128 This study has been concerned with Maltese village politics. It has looked at the ways in which persons and groups compete to influence the outcome of disputes and community decisions in accordance with their own interests. In particular, it has examined the nature of the groups, the issues between them and the means by which they influenced their outcome. The various groups involved varied from parishes to political parties, and from associations to factions. The issues between them, though they also varied, all had one thing in common: in one way or another they involved the Church. Whether the competition between parishes for the title of Basilica, between festa partiti over their saints or between the supporters of Mintoff and their opponents, all were somehow related to the Church. Much of the political action we studied involved attempts to influence its decisions.

175 795 It may now be asked why the Church is so intimately involved in political activity at all levels. Part of the answer lies in history, for in the absence of any form of civil government at the village level, the Church represented the interests of the people to the secular authorities governing the islands: first to the Knights of St. John, and later to the British. Thus for centuries the Church played the important political role of defender of the interests of the people. Its importance in the political and its dominance in the religious sphere reinforced each other. 795 It is not strange that at the village level the Church controls the outcome of many of the issues considered of importance to the community, since for centuries a village has had little corporate reality outside the religious framework. That is, it only assumes some semblance of group solidarity or unity as a parish. [794] As a parish its inhabitants own property, meet for worship, celebrate feasts, have a collective leader in their parish priest and a common symbol and patron in their titular saint. As members of a village, considered as a community outside the structure of the Church, they have and can do none of these things.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

female children are from Valletta and Sliema Government Elementary Schools, the 141 male from the Government Elementary School and the Lyceum at Valletta, and 125 include some of the students at the University.

The adult males have been grouped as follows:—(1) Malta, (2) Gozo. The Malta group has then been subdivided into Urban Districts; Rural Districts exclusive of Siggewe and Zurrico; Siggewe; Zurrico; sufficient measurements having been taken at the two latter villages to make statistical treatment of value (Table II). The adult females have been divided into (1) Malta, (2) Gozo. Malta has then been subdivided into Urban and Rural Districts (Table III). Unfortunately, sufficient women were not measured at any one village to make further subdivision practicable.

The individuals measured include among the men representatives of all social classes; among the women the lower social grades are chiefly represented. The men include professional men, gunners, militia, government messengers, men doing short sentences, paupers, and by far the largest class, "men in the street." The women include teachers, pupils at night schools, eighteen prisoners, patients in hospitals, paupers, and, again the largest class, any peasant woman who was not too frightened to be measured. All those who were either born of Maltese parents abroad, or although born in Malta are not of pure Maltese parentage, have been rejected. It is impossible in all cases to be quite certain, especially in the neighbourhood of Valletta. The measurements were taken in accordance with Martin's definitions (33); those on the femur follow Pearson (34). In working out the constants, the [128] methods discussed in the Anthropology of Cyprus (37) have been followed. The limit of plotting selected has been such that the observations fall in from 15 to 20 groups. In head-lengths, for instance, this condition is fulfilled if the series be divided into 2 mm. groups. In order not to lengthen the report few comparative figures have been given.

For convenience of reference measurements have been referred to by their 141 initial letters, which are given in brackets after each in the following list:— 104

128

A.—*Skulls.*

Ophryo-occipital length (O.O.L.).
Glabello-occipital length (G.O.L.).
Greatest breadth (G.B.).
Minimum frontal diameter (M.F.D.).
Bizygomatic breadth (Biz.B.).
Nasal height (N.H.).
Nasal breadth (N.B.).
Basi-bregmatic height (B.B.H.).
Basi-nasal length (B.N.L.).
Basi-alveolar length (B.A.L.).
Upper facial height (U.F.H.).
Facial breadth (F.B.).
Orbital breadth (left) (O.B.L.).
Orbital breadth (right) (O.B.R.).
Orbital height (left) (O.H.L.).
Orbital height (right) (O.H.R.).
Palatal length (P.L.).
Palatal breadth (P.B.).

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

B.—*Living.*

141 Glabello-occipital length (G.O.L.).
128 Greatest head breadth (G.B.).
[104] Minimum frontal diameter (M.F.D.).
Bizygomatic breadth (Biz.B.).
External orbital breadth (E.O.B.).
Bigonial breadth (Big.B.).
Upper facial height (U.F.H.).
Total facial height (T.F.H.).
Nasal height (N.H.).
Nasal breadth (N.B.).
Internal ocular breadth (I.O.B.).

The following indices were calculated on the living :—

Cephalic index (C.I.).
Upper facial index (U.F.I.).
Total facial index (T.F.I.).
Nasal index (N.I.).

On skulls, owing to the fact that it was impossible in the majority of cases to associate cranium and mandible, the total facial index was not calculated. The following additional indices were, however, worked out :—

Vertical index (V.I.).
Mandibular index (M.I.).
Orbital index (left) (O.I.L.).
Orbital index (right) (O.I.R.).

In a number of cases it was found necessary to work out the *significant difference* between two measurements. The method employed was described by the writer in a short paper on Cyprus, where it was shown that stress could be laid on the difference if it was greater than three times its own probable error. In order to avoid an excessive amount of figures, only significant differences have actually been tabulated. The symbols used are as follows: the Greek letter delta, Δ, signifies *difference*; epsilon, with a subscript delta, ϵ_Δ, means *error* of that difference. Measures, places and series are referred to by their initial letters, thus

	Δ	ϵ_Δ
	C-V	
G.O.L.	1·93 ± 0·63	

means that the difference in the glabello-occipital length between the Chapel of Bones and the Valletta crania is 1·93, with a probable error of 0·63. At a glance it is often difficult to tell whether such an error is significant; we have therefore tabulated the difference divided by its probable error, using at the head of the column the $\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$ symbol. In the particular case referred to above $\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$ is 3·06, and the difference is therefore significant. Owing to the necessity of preparing the data for publication in a comparatively short time, it has not been possible to work out as many correlations as might have been advantageous. A small number have, however, been worked out. Wherever it was possible to do so—that is to say, in the case of indices—the *coefficient of variation* method has been used, the formula employed

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

being, if I = 100 A/B be an index, then a good approximation is arrived at by the formula 128 141

$$r = \frac{V_A^2 + V_B^2 - V_I^2}{2V_A V_B}.$$

To take an actual example, the correlation between the head length and the head breadth of the females from the urban districts is arrived at as follows:—The data are, Coefficient of variation, G.O.L. 3·44 and G.B. 3·78, and C.I. 4·05. The correlation will therefore be arrived at by adding $(3{\cdot}44)^2$ to $(3{\cdot}78)^2$, subtracting $(4{\cdot}05)^2$ from the result, and dividing the whole by 3·44, multiplied by 3·78 multiplied by 2. The answer in this case is 0·3750.

The following measurements were made on the mandible:—

Coronoid height.
Condylar height.
Sigmoid height.
Symphysial height.
Breadth of ascending ramus, called for brevity ramus breadth.
Condylo-symphysial length.
Bicondylar breadth.

In the Chapel of Bones measurements on the mandible were taken on both left and right sides, and the constants were worked out separately. In the case of the other fragments it was seldom possible to measure more than one side, and as the measurements in the Chapel of Bones showed how extremely close the dimensions on the two sides were, side has been disregarded elsewhere.

Only one index has been calculated, namely, the mandibular index, that is to say, condylo-symphysial length multiplied by 100 and divided by bicondylar breadth.

VI.—Physical Anthropology.

Before discussing in detail the cranial measurements, it may be convenient briefly to state the general dimensions of the crania. The means of skulls vary from 179 to 188 mm. in glabello-occipital length, and the means of the living males from 185 to 188 mm. The mean breadths vary from 133 to 141 mm. on the crania, and 150 to 152 mm. on the living adult male. The cranial capacity, estimated from the glabello-occipital breadth, the greatest breadth, and the basi-bregmatic height multiplied together, the product being multiplied by 0·0003849 + 96, varies from 1390·6 in the case of the Neolithic, to 1437·9 in the case of the Romano-Maltese, the Mediæval skulls show a capacity, by this formula, of 1405·5, and the modern 1393·7. It is unwise, probably, to lay any stress on these figures. 141 172

The cephalic index varies from 71·4, the mean of the Neolithic crania to 79·0, the mean of the modern crania and the vertical index from 71·2 in the case of the Neolithic crania, to 75·0, the vertical index of the Mediæval crania.

The variations in the general dimensions of the crania are sufficient to warrant a more detailed enquiry into the development of racial history in Malta. A complete

those from the Mediæval hospital certainly suggest that those authorities who maintain 141
that the hospital probably contained, amongst others, the bones of people from 172
Western Europe are possibly in error. We should in that case have expected to find a high degree of variation. We do not do so. It may well be argued that the modern crania are too few to base any satisfactory arguments on, and we fully admit that it is unwise to argue from a series that never exceeds 42, and in some cases falls as low as 29. It would appear, however, that the modern series, of the majority of which the provenance was fairly exactly known, is consistently more variable than the Mediæval series from the Chapel of Bones. It would certainly be worth while to make a series of measurements on about 100 modern crania to see whether this statement really represents the truth.

Except in a few cases, it was impossible to associate mandibles with the crania to which they belonged, and unfortunately at the time when measurements were made on modern crania few mandibles could be discovered. The only series, therefore, of mandibles which could be treated statistically are those Mediæval specimen from the Chapel of Bones. Even in this case it was not found possible to get a series as large as 300 for every measurement. The majority of these, and probably all, are male; any doubtful cases having been rejected. The Neolithic and Romano-British mandibles are also probably male. The Bronze Age mandibles appeared from the associated bones to be female, but the condition of the latter was such that a definite opinion could not be expressed. In general terms there are certain marked differences between the mandibles from Hal Saflieni and elsewhere, whereas the Romano-Maltese and the Mediæval mandibles, although differing in detail, present a general similarity. The coronoid height and the condyloid height of the Neolithic mandibles are both lower, the ramus being of about the same breadth. The condylo-symphysial breadth is about the same. The Mediæval mandibles have a slightly lower ascending ramus than the Romano-Maltese, but the former are slightly more stoutly built; the mandibular index is quite possibly about the same. Generalizing, we may say that the Neolithic mandibles belong to a type with a rather short, broad ascending ramus, and a shallow sigmoid notch, whereas the Mediæval mandibles have the higher ascending ramus and the deeper sigmoid notch which are usually associated with various branches of the Alpine race.

A collection of teeth was made from the bone heaps at Hal Saflieni.[1] Unfortu- 172
nately no teeth of more recent date are available. Out of a total of 224 adult teeth 164
from Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic), 15 upper incisors and canines showed a marked edge-to-edge bite. Caries occurred in 19 cases; there was a complete erosion of the roots in 2. One incisor had two roots. Speaking generally, the teeth

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[1] I am indebted to my brother, Mr. J. L. Dudley Buxton, for examining and reporting on [128]
these teeth from the point of view of a dental surgeon.

141 142 extremely different, due possibly to differences in environmental conditions or dietary habits.[1]

[144] Pigmentation figures, then, seem to support a conclusion which had already been arrived at on other grounds, namely, the relationship between the Maltese and the mixed Armenoid population of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Coefficients of Correlation.

141 128 The coefficients of correlation which have been worked out refer only to those figures which are utilized for indices. Unfortunately some of the series are too small for this treatment. For the most part the coefficients of correlation do not suggest, in the four series of characters which were selected, any great differences. There is a significant difference between the correlation of the total facial height and the bizygomatic breadth in the male and female, a condition which is probably due to the more developed masticatory apparatus of the male. The difference between the correlations of head length and head breadth between the urban districts and Siggewe is of interest when we compare the means and the coefficients of variation of those measurements absolutely, and confirms to a certain extent our hypothesis that Siggewe possibly represents a local deviation from the normal Maltese type. Differences between the urban district females and the rural district females are found in four characters (total facial height, bizygomatic breadth, nasal height and nasal breadth) suggesting conditions one of which can be referred to food and the other to climate, but the absence of confirmatory evidence in the males makes it necessary to withhold any conclusions until further correlations have been worked out.

Looking at the figures generally, the correlated characters show remarkably little correlation, and the absence of real differences between the various groups goes far to suggest that the differences between the various parts of the archipelago are not in any way of fundamental importance.

The coefficients of correlation on the skulls are unsatisfactory, owing to the paucity of material. The extremely small correlation between glabello-occipital length and greatest breadth from the Chapel of Bones is of an unusual character. It can hardly be illusory when worked out on so large a series, but the explanation is not apparent from ou[illegible]esent data.

VII.—Racial Problems.

144 The racial problems connected with Malta are extremely difficult to deal with, because they raise certain social questions. Historically the matter may be summarized briefly as follows.

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[1] Both Meligala and Mani are situated in the Peloponnese.

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I am grateful to the Director of the National Museum, Valletta, Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A., and to Mr Jos. Spiteri of the same department for their kindness in taking the photographs; to the Rev. Jos. Tanti and the Rev. Canon Jos. Zammit, administrators of Tal Mirakli Church and of Tal Hlas Church, respectively, for allowing me to publish pictures of 'ex-votos' preserved in their churches.

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126

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CAPTIONS TO PLATES [1]

PLATE I

Fig. 1. Silver votive offerings representing various parts of the body. The model between the trunk and the ear is a stylized form of the female breasts. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782

Fig. 2. This leg of baked clay is from the Roman ruins at Ras-ir-Raheb to the north west of Bahria, Malta. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 3. Bronze dies of liver and lower limb used by Maltese silver smiths for the manufacture of the silver 'ex-votos'. Scale in centimetres and inches. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

PLATE II

Fig. 1. The picture tells the story so clearly that no inscription is attached to it. Note the Maltese type of windmill and the costumes of the peasants still in use during the last century. Tal Hlas Church, Qormi. (Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782 789

Fig. 2. The landscape is not Maltese. Presumably this 'ex-voto' was offered by a foreigner or else the donor was a Maltese who met with a riding accident abroad. The letters V.F.G.A. stand for 'Votum Fecit Gratiam Accepit' (A vow was made and a favour received). Tal Mirakli Church, Lija, Malta. (Photograph by Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A.) [402] [291]

[1] [plate I will be found facing p. 24; plate II faces p. 25.—An.]

Rev.Fr. F.P. Mizzi; Social Action Movement, Valletta.
Mr. F.A. Munn; Secretary to Admiral Superintendent,
H.M. Dockyard.
Mr. L.M. Pace; Registrar, Royal University of Malta.
Mr. Rossignaud; Department of Labour and Social
Welfare, Valletta.
Rt.Rev.Mgr. Edgar Salamone; Mġarr.
Rev.Fr. Michael Saliba; Rabat.
Colonel Slade; Department of Statistics, Valletta.
Mr. G.A. Slater; Rediffusion, Valletta.
Rev.Fr. Benjamin Tonna; Rabat.
Mr. J.P. Vassallo; Director of Education, Valletta.
Mr. Andrew Vella; Government School, Mellieha.
Rev. Fr. Charles Vella; CANA Movement, Valletta.
Rev.Fr. Horatius Vella; Mġarr.
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Dr. Brian Wheeler; Colonial Pool Plant Pathologist,
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Mr. James Wilkinson; Naidu.
Mr. A. Wirth; Chief Government Statistician, Valletta.
Dr. Calcedonio Zammit, MD., M.L.A.; Siġġiewi.

(3) INTRODUCTION

128 This report is composed of five main sections:

(i) The first is a brief examination of the major features of rural society in the Maltese Islands (Section 1). The report begins with some attempt at definition and discussion of this society, with special emphasis on the socio-functional changes which have emerged during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

(ii) Sections 2 to 5 consider the present-day Maltese farmer against the background of this society in which he lives and works, and attempt to outline the essential problems now facing the farmer and farming in the Islands. In Section 2, the technical and operational difficulties confronting the farmer are examined along with those remedies at present available, which, it is hoped, will make farming not only more attractive and profitable for the farmer but will also strengthen it as Malta's only basic industry. Section 3 includes an account of the place of money in Maltese rural economy with special reference to the recent emergence of a long list of new demands which the farmer now makes as part of the general change from the independent peasant subsistence of the past to the inter-dependent, commercial and money-based farming of today. This Section concludes with a discussion of these demands and the now changed actual and expected (i.e. demanded) living standards of the farmer. It appears that although rural standards have risen very considerably over the past hundred years the standards demanded have increased even more rapidly in relative terms so that the countryman is able today to complain of an inferior economic position within the total community. The attitudes and outlook of the farmer are discussed in Section 4 in so far as they are important in an understanding of Maltese agriculture as it exists today and to any 'official' or other efforts to improve the industry and the

128 lot of the farmer.

In Section 5 an attempt is made to draw together the main socio-economic aspects of the present problem of Maltese agriculture. It is recognized that other aspects of this total problem have been covered elsewhere (e.g. - Mitchell, B/524, 525; Cirillo, B/387; Bowen-Jones and Dowdney, B/336; and in the various official reports which [114] have appeared in recent years, B/Part 7 E). It is felt, however, that in most cases, insufficient emphasis has been put on what is in fact the essence of the problem - namely the retreat of the present younger generation from farming and from rural society for a variety of reasons which are, it emerges, certainly as much sociological as economic.

(iii) Section 6 presents a considerable part of the evidence upon which the assessments in Section 2 to 5 have been based. It contains, as it were, the minutes of evidence for the conclusions reached. Part 1 (Cases I to XIII) presents detailed studies on thirteen farm-units representative of the different branches of the industry. Part 2 (Cases XIV to XXII) illuminates the main features of the current over-emphasis on large tractors and other types of farm machinery, while Part 3 comprises a brief note on the fishing community in the Islands, included because the fortunes of this comparatively small group parallel those of the farmers of the Islands.

[127] In addition to the material set out in Section 6 the writer has made use of a great deal of case study and general material collected during the period of field research in Malta and Gozo. Most of this is now in B/5.

(iv) Section 7 comprises a note on literature and language in Malta and a bibliographical list of published and unpublished material on the Islands. This covers not only the field of research of the present report but attempts to include also details of a cross section of material available on the historical, economic, archaeological, geological, hydrological and other fields of study of Malta and Gozo. Being the first example of an attempt at such a comprehensive coverage it is given with apologies for its deficiencies. Works listed in the bibliography are referred to in the general text of the report by their number in the bibliography preceded by 'B/'.

(v) Section 8 includes five Statistical Appendices. The first of these presents a picture of Maltese agriculture, its nature and weaknesses, together with relevant details of the farming population. Appendix 5 assembles a wider range of information on weights and measures than previously available. The other three Appendices are included as illustrative of points made in Section 1, as are Maps 1 to 7 and The Graph.

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

OOD and the Graph.

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NB: Typographical Note.

In Maltese orthography the aspirate or hard 'h' is distinguished from the inaspirate or mute 'h' by the addition of a second bar in the capital letter and a bar through the up-stroke of the small letter. For ease of typing the writer has taken the liberty of omitting the second bar in the capital H and of adding a bar through the lower small letter - i.e. 'ħ'. Similarly the letter 'ain is represented 'għ'.

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In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an
178 unofficial capital of the rural areas of his Island; markets
361 are still held there even though the main ones have
[443] gravitated to Valletta and the urban area. The annual 'Imnarja', traditionally one of the main events in the farmers' social calendar, is held nearby[18], while the ancient importance of the Church is reflected in the large number of clergy, churches, confraternities and third orders
[712] found there (Appendix 4). In Gozo, Rabat is the administrative, cultural and economic capital with the old fortified 'Castello' now in large part a deserted ruin.

369
178 The differing extent to which the villages of Malta and Gozo have been influenced economically by the industrial and urban developments of the dockyard areas and towns are paralleled in the social plane. Traditionally rural centres such as Qormi, Żabbar and Birkirkara have undergone increasing social and cultural attraction towards Valletta and the Urban area along with economic 'de-ruralization' by virtue of their proximity to the towns and harbours. The improvements in amenities and especially in transport facilities have tended to link these Fringe settlements to the Urban area rather than to the countryside which produced them (B/381).

361
178 A further type of village is exemplified by St. Paul's Bay. This began as a summer-time resort for town and city dwellers during the nineteenth century but attained a sufficient permanence and size to be granted full parochial status in 1905. The analogy in Gozo is Marsalforn though this settlement is perhaps half a century behind St. Paul's Bay in development and presents in winter time the appearance of almost a ghost-town with only a few permanent farmer and fishermen residents.

Birżebbuġa is a class on its own, having grown in the past few decades upon largely non-agricultural foundations of the British and United States' bases, oil installations and some small-scale industry.

128
361 Using this type of analytical approach, a classification of the villages of Malta and Gozo on the basis of their origin and socio-functional characteristics becomes possible (Richardson (B/561) goes into greater detail concerning the evolution of settlement in Malta itself and considers the development of the present pattern in the light of population growth and movement and other historical factors.)

712
175
[361] (1) Medieval Capital Fortresses - Mdina in Malta and the Castello in Gozo. Both occupy central eminences in their respective Islands and were used as capitals by the Arabs (in Malta 870-1090) and by the various rulers of Malta between 1090 and the coming of the Knights of St. John in
712 1530. The former is today a tranquil, residential

361 Mellieha (1841), Mġarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
175 In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kerbem (1885),
103 San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911),
Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

17 In the period reviewed the major development has been
361 the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the
Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth
369 and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval
Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2. The Farmer and Farming

• 128

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525)
241 have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is
423 the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either
individually or as the principal person of an agricultural
[114] enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group
of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'.
'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer.
311 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact
423 that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types
of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include
land of more than one category, and especially in the north

311 423 and west of Malta and the hard rock areas of Gozo many farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivators' point of view is useless". As to size "the range is enormous" but "it is clear that a reduction in the average size of the farms has taken place at all levels". Today "the great majority of holdings (83.5%) are seen to consist of dry land only. A very small proportion, less than half of one per cent, contain irrigated land only. The balance of 16% of all holdings are 'mixed'. The majority of the mixed holdings contain less than 5 tmien of irrigated and less than 20 tmien of dry land".

423 178 The past hundred years have shown "a general upward trend in the number of land-holders balancing a downward trend in the number of farm workers", while a "factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming".

This picture is made even more complex by the prevailing systems of land tenure and their wide ramifications. This sector has been investigated by Mitchell (B/525). He considers the various types of ownership (Government, Church, private ownership and owner occupation) and the systems of tenure (long and short lease and share cropping, etc.), and traces the land-holding history of one family back through four generations, in order to reveal the way in which the farm-holdings of the members of the various branches of the family have been assembled as the individual farmers have lived and built up their holdings and then dispersed upon death or retirement (in B/337). "Both the methods of acquiring new land and subdividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots".

311 423 Thus the Maltese farm is characterized by variety of size, tenure, composition and soil types. Moreover, one must distinguish holdings which are primarily livestock supporting, from those essentially arable in emphasis and also from the heterogeneous class which might be called
● [128] 'mixed farms'. The present discussion attempts to consider the Maltese farmer as an individual within the agricultural and rural scene and aims to demonstrate the contrasts between the illiterate and the educated, the old-fashioned and the modern, the prosperous and the poor.

THE PROBLEM.

128 This Section considers the dilemma of the Maltese farm today from the point of view of its technical management. The problem soon emerges essentially as the struggle by an uneconomic unit - the Maltese farm - for existence in the already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

SECTION 6: CASE STUDIES

This section is divided into three parts:

PART 1. Thirteen Case Studies of representative farmers and herdsmen in Malta and Gozo. In each Case a general discussion emphasizes important particular features against the total background of farming in the Islands. Each Study concludes with a Summary[47] of the farmer and his farming classified under the following headings: A - Land; B - Utilisation; C - Livestock; D - Capital; E - Labour; F - Production and Sales; G - Husbandry; H - General. The adoption of a standard system facilitates comparisons of any one Study with all the others.

The examples chosen include[48]

CASE I (Pawlu): A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.

CASE II (Ġużepp): A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping.

CASE III (Nardu): A goats' milk producer.

CASE IV (Wistin): A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land.

CASE V (Anġlu): A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.

CASE VI (Gaetu): A milk producer with a considbrable land-holding.

CASE VII (Wenzu): A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land-holding.

CASE VIII (Niklaws): A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.

CASE IX (Antnin and Ġakbu): A long-established [illegible]rtnership of two unrelated farmers now engaged in [illegible]ws' milk production.

CASE X (Ġamri): An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.

CASE XI (Pietru): An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.

CASE XII (Ċensu): A cows' milk producer and part-time village weighman.

CASE XIII (Toni): A part-time arable farmer and caretaker.

CASE I (herdsman) and CASE X (arable farmer) are given more detailed consideration as examples of the two main branches of agriculture.

PART 2. Cases XIV to XXII comprise studies of farmers and others who operate large tractors and other heavy agricultural machinery. These illustrate the discussion, in Section 2, of the place of such heavy mechanisation in Maltese farming. An exhaustive study was made of CASE XIV to which particular attention is drawn as it emphasises a number of points made in the general text of the report - especially those concerning the place of the younger generation of farmers today.

●128 [226] PART 3. A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo is included because the economic position of this comparatively small group is in many ways similar to that of the farming community itself.

*159 234 654 PART 1. Maltese Farming - Case Studies I-XIII

CASE I: Pawlu. (A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.)

Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed [435] sale for milk produced. He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialisation which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the official policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

*159 55 423 [463] Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (B/525).

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

PREFACE

In these pages I have endeavoured to give a short description, and, where possible, the origin of the principal Holiday Customs, Amusements and Sports *of the Maltese people, which I hope will prove of some interest, not only to the foreign visitors who happen to be in Malta during the time in which some of these popular customs are being observed, but also to most of the Maltese themselves, for while the observance of these customs is perhaps no where stronger than in Malta, tradition as to their origin is scanty in the extreme.* 121 128 ●

There being in our Island, as in other countries, an array of superstitions, beliefs and practices, I have also collected in this volume, in the hope of making this work more interesting, some of the principal items of folk-lore which have been handed down to us in popular traditions, tales, rhymes, and proverbs.

V. Busuttil.

Vittoriosa,
20th June 1894.

[P.V]
[P.iV is blank]

consists in cutting open a live rabbit and 755 applying it with the still warm entrails [825] on the stomach of the patient.

Piles—Carrying about a dried fig [824] in one's pocket is considered a good specific for this complaint.

Rheumatism—Amateurs of the healing art advised the sufferer to carry [825] about a dried fish in his pocket as a charm for its cure.

Sty—To prevent or cure this disorder [824] it is customary for the patient to throw over his shoulders seven grains of barley in a well.

The superstitiously inclined say that [787] a sty forebodes the inheritance of some riches.

Beside the omens and superstitions 128 briefly described in the preceding pages

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

●128 there are many other items of folk-lore associated with our daily-life. Our object, however, being to give in this section only a brief sketch of that folk-lore which has, from time to time, woven itself around the affairs of our home life, we leave to others the task of exhausting the interesting subject relating to those old world notions and quaint beliefs which marked the social and domestic life of our forefathers.

THE END.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[p.5]

Preface to the Second Edition

SO MUCH HAS HAPPENED IN MALTA SINCE THIS BOOK WAS LAST reprinted that it has seemed desirable to add a new chapter tracing the momentous developments in the Island since the end of the war. This addition apart, I have revised the book throughout in the light of new knowledge now available on subjects dealt with in the earlier parts. I have added a twentieth-century author, D. H. Lawrence, to the writers whose views on Malta are presented in Chapter XIV. A number of admirable photographs newly taken for the Government Tourist Board by Miss Ann Bolt, A.I.B.P., replace, by the kindness of Mr Philip Barker-Benfield, Chairman of the Board, certain illustrations become obsolescent. 128

I have fortunately been able to keep my experience of Malta up to date by almost annual visits in the last decade, including two as the guest of Sir Gerald and Lady Creasy, three more prolonged visits to Major-General Sir Robert and Lady Laycock, and a more recent one to Admiral Sir Guy and Lady Grantham, to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their sustained hospitality, as to Captain and Mrs Olof Gollcher on earlier occasions. 114

In renewing my thanks to those mentioned in the earlier preface, I must also record my gratitude to the late Lieutenant-Governor, Mr Trafford Smith, C.M.G.; Colonel Victor Vella, C.V.O.; Dr the Hon. Lewis Galea, C.B.E.; Dr V. A. Depasquale (the Librarian) and Mr Joseph Galea of the Royal Malta Library, for information on several points. Mr Charles Zammit, now Director of Antiquities, has been most helpful with illustrations of the prehistoric period. I thank Sir Hannibal Scicluna and the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction for the photograph of Caravaggio's *Beheading of S. John the Baptist* after restoration in Italy, the *Times of Malta* for the view of Mdina, Mr Wilfred Flores for taking for me the colour photograph which forms the frontispiece, and, for two photographs, the Result Studio of Sliema. 122

H.C.L.

121 shores, are composed of more than the physical elements of
66 air and water. The implications and repercussions of Maltese politics when I had experience of them were unfortunately often international and sometimes politico-ecclesiastical (these can be very prickly); not infrequently they impinged upon the most fundamental constitutional principles. For the relations between Church and State have given rise to controversies that have troubled Christendom since the Dark Ages; other Maltese problems were equally deeply rooted in a long and complicated past. Their implications and repercussions bore, in fact, a striking resemblance in certain directions to those of politics in the Palestine of the Mandate, where I had previously served. Happily the Maltese scene lacked one factor—the ambiguity of the established policy—which in Palestine made an administrator's life a hell on earth; in other respects politics in Malta could be almost as corrosive, almost as pervasive. But they will not pervade this book, nor even enter it except occasionally for the sole purpose of *constatation*, that untranslatable word.

121 These, then, are the things which this book is not. I find it less easy to state what it is. I have called it an "Account and an Appreciation" because I can think of no better definition of what I have tried to do in the chapters that follow. A reviewer of one of my previous books remarked that Malta was the only part of the Mediterranean about which I had not written. At least I have now repaired that omission, if omission it may claim to have been.

114 The book was begun in Malta, continued in Barbados,
[128] finished, of all places, in the Straits of Magellan, the eye-witness account of whose discovery, written by Antonio Pigafetta, a Knight of the Order of S. John, was dedicated to Philippe Villiers de L'Isle Adam, the first Grand Master of the Order to reign in Malta. I left Malta in 1938, whisked from the land-locked Mediterranean, where from choice I had served during most of my career, to the greatest of the oceans, the Pacific, at the other side of the globe. Since my

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

CHAPTER XIX

Gozo

All round the cave-mouth there flourished a luxuriant copse 114/13 of alder trees and black poplars and rich-scented cypresses: therein roosted birds of long wing, owls and hawks and chattering hook-billed crows—birds of the sea whose livelihood was from the waters. A young strong vine loaded with bunches of grapes wreathed the opening of the cave. Four springs quite near together jetted out translucent water in separate rills ingeniously contrived, each to water its own garden-plot. The soft lawns were starred with parsley and violets. Even an immortal coming upon the nook would pause before its beauty and feel his heart made glad.

IT IS POSSIBLE—INDEED, PROBABLE—THAT THE MODERN visitor would fail to recognize from these words, taken from T. E. Lawrence's translation of the *Odyssey*, the cave of Calypso as it appears to-day, surmounting and overlooking the sandy bay of Ramla on the north coast of Gozo. Still less easily, perhaps, would he recognize it from the passage in *Télémaque* in which Fénelon describes the grotto in language even more exuberant. As Malta is S. Paul's island, so is Gozo Calypso's; and it may be that nothing but an earthly paradise was deemed meet for the entertainment by an immortal of so critical a guest as Odysseus.

True, there are corners of Gozo that fall not far short of the 346/137 picture imagined by the great Archbishop of Cambrai: I have in mind especially the little Chapel of Lunzjata (the Annunziata) in a grove of ancient almond- and carob-trees between Victoria and the village of Kerchem, facing the munificent Perellos's graceful fountain at the head of the rich little *wied* (valley) that runs down to Xlendi. Whether 137 this glade is seen in the spring, when it is a mass of blossom

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

/37 that would not disgrace Taormina, or in the summer, when its tangled mass of vegetation forms an almost solid screen of verdure from the blazing sun, it would seem a fitting lair for the daughter of Atlas if it did not rather conjure up, with its figs, its vines, its calamus and its pomegranates, a vision of the Song of Songs.

•/3 Certainly Gozo is more fertile, less rocky, more verdant than is Malta. Edward Lear called its scenery "pomskizillious and gromphiberous, being as no words can describe its magnificence." It is not broken up to anything like the same extent by the stone and rubble walls which in the larger island so provokingly conceal gardens and fields from all
[241] except aviators. In Gozo it is easy to enjoy wide vistas of green corn and purple clover, of terraced cultivation along the contours of its seven flat-topped hills.

13 Like Malta, Gozo ends on its south-western coast in sheer
341 rock-faces that rise abruptly as much as 400 feet from the sea. But elsewhere its coast-line is more varied than Malta's, with its pleasant miniature fjords of Xlendi and Xini, the yellow sands of Ramla, the blue lagoon of Qala Dwejra, the mysterious landlocked bay of Kawra, the grim cliffs of Ta Ċenċ and Ras il Wardija. Its architecture, too, is highly characteristic, and although its villages bear a general resemblance to the casals of Malta, they can be distinguished from these by the handsome carved stone balconies which have happily remained one of Gozo's pleasantest and most live traditions. These balconies are a feature throughout the island but are to be seen at their best in the Manderaggio of Victoria, for Gozo, too, has its Manderaggio.

36/ The capital of the island, Rabat or Victoria—Rabat because it is the suburb of the walled fortress above it—sprawls
7/2 pleasantly at the foot of the great rock on which rises, like Edinburgh Castle, its bastioned and embattled citadel. This high place was designed as a stronghold, a place of refuge from the Barbary pirates, just as were the little hill-towns of the Riviera, Eze and many another, that look down on the

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

ESSENTIAL STATISTICS

131 The Maltese Islands - Land Area 121.850 sq. miles, Population 323,667[1].
161 Malta - Land Area 94.876 sq. miles, Population 296,008[1].
Gozo and Comino - Land Area 26.974 sq. miles, Population 27,659[1].

162 A. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION[2]

463

(i)	Civil Government	17,050
	Service Departments	22,480
(ii)	Agriculture, Fishing and Quarrying	9,130
	Manufacturing	9,030
	Construction	7,220
(iii)	Wholesale and Retail Trades	10,920
	Transport and Communications	3,850
	Insurance, Banking, etc.	550
	Gas Service	90
(iv)	Recreation and Personal Services	7,250
	Community and Business Services	1,140
	Total	88,710

433 B. PRODUCTION[1]

Gross Domestic Product 1957	£ m.	36.1
Gross Industrial Production 1957	"	10.036
Gross Agricultural Product 1957	"	5.008

439 C. TRADE[3]

(i) Commodities (value in £ m)	Imports	Exports	Re-exports
Food, Drink, Tobacco	9.411	.547	.549
Raw materials and materials mainly unmanufactured	3.227	.312	1.307
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	13.215	.132	.404
Miscellaneous and unspecified	2.862	.005	.339
Bullion and Specie	.104	-	-
	28.820	.995	2.600

(ii) Direction of Trade (%)	Imports	Exports
Sterling Area	49.3	41.1
Dollar Area	7.2	.8
O. E. E. C.	33.5	10.4
Other	10.0	2.1
Ships and Aircraft Stores	-	45.6
	100	100

(iii) Balance of Trade	Imports	Exports & Re-exports	Negative Balance
		Million £	
1949	15.312	1.038	14.274
1954	20.407	2.879	17.528
1958	28.820	3.595	25.225

(Since 1948 the adverse trade balance has increased by an average of 4.7% per annum)

Chapter 1

A. GEOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS

M. R. HOUSE, M.A., Ph.D., F.G.S., K. C. DUNHAM, D.Sc., F.R.S.,
and J. C. WIGGLESWORTH, B.Sc., F.G.S.

INTRODUCTION

The central Mediterranean islands of Malta, Gozo and Comino lie 58 miles 131 due south of Sicily, 220 miles due north of Tripoli and about 180 miles east of Tunis. The Maltese archipelago trends north-west to south-east and is 28 miles in length. Malta, the largest and most southerly island, is 17 miles in length and nine miles wide and has an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is nine miles long, up to four miles wide, and has an area of 26 square miles. The island of Comino, in the Comino Strait separating the two islands, occupies only one square mile. A submarine ridge, averaging 50 fathoms in depth, extends southwards from 133 the Ragusa peninsula of Sicily towards the islands, and it continues on as a broader and deeper shelf to the African coasts of Tunisia and Tripolitania. This submarine ridge, which separates the Mediterranean into two main hydrographic basins, represents a sunken land bridge which connected Africa and Europe during parts of the Pleistocene and later Tertiary.

The islands are entirely composed of Tertiary limestones with subsidiary clays and marls. Superficial deposits, mostly Pleistocene in age, take the form of cliff breccias, cave and valley loams, sands and gravels. The succession of Tertiary rocks on the islands is as follows:-

		Feet
5. Upper Coralline Limestone	at least	530
4. Greensand		0-50
3. Blue Clay		0-230
2. Globigerina Limestone		75-680
1. Lower Coralline Limestone	at least	626

The Lower Coralline Limestone and Lower Globigerina Limestone belong to the Aquitanian stage and the Middle and Upper Globigerina Limestone and Blue Clay to the Burdigalian. The Helvetian is represented by the Greensand and the Tortonian by the Upper Coralline Limestone. All these stages fall within the Miocene period, following Eames' recommendation that the Aquitanian is Miocene rather than Oligocene.

The strata have an undulating regional dip to the south-east and the islands are cut by a system of normal faults, striking ENE., which affects Malta especially and is responsible for cutting that island into a series of horst and rift blocks.

The first description of the geology of these islands was given by Commander 114 T. A. Spratt (1843 and 1852) and later a general account was given by Murray 133 (1890) and his work stimulated others, especially Cooke (1893, 1893a, 1896, 1896a), to examine the rocks in more detail. During this century Rizzo (1932), Paver (1943), Sir E. B. Bailey (1943) and Morris (1952) have added detail mainly in connection with an examination of the water resources of the islands. Recently the literature has been reviewed and summarised by Reed (1949) and Hyde (1955). The fossils have been studied especially by Gregory (1891), Stefanini (1908), Roman and Roger (1939) and Eames and Cox (1956). The interesting fauna of the Pleistocene cave deposits have been described by Cooke (1891, 1896b), Cooke and Smith Woodward (1893) and Bate (1935), and Evans (1954, 1959) has described the prehistoric pottery sequence.

Note: Throughout this chapter, four-figure grid references have been used to locate the south-western corner of the kilometre grid square containing the feature named. The grid in use is that appearing on the standard two-inch map of Malta and Gozo, G.S.G.S. 3859. Edition 4, 1954, and reproduced on Fig. 3 et seq. The Roman numerals refer to regions marked on the inset map of Fig. 3. [128]

[p. 25]

[p. 1]

CHAPTER I

The Background

Malta and her sister islands, Gozo and Comino, lie midway 131
between Gibraltar and Lebanon, at almost the exact geographical
centre of the Mediterranean. Sicily lies just 58 miles to the north,
Tripoli 220 miles due south and Tunis slightly over 200 miles to
the west. The Maltese archipelago thus forms a port of call between
Europe and North Africa, between the Christian and the
Moslem worlds. The Maltese have been in contact with both for [177]
centuries, and the cultures of both have contributed many traits
which the islanders have adapted to their own use.

Malta, the largest and southernmost island, is seventeen miles
long and nine miles wide, and covers an area of 95 square miles.
Gozo is only nine miles by five miles, with an area of 26 square
miles. Finally, the little island of Comino, which lies in the three-mile-wide
channel separating the two larger islands, has an area of
one square mile.

The islands are composed entirely of tertiary limestone, and the 133
soil consists of clays and marls. Although the land rises to a
maximum of little more than 800 feet near Dingli, the terrain is [134]
varied, and often broken, with jagged escarpments falling into
narrow valleys, which run out to level fields. A visitor to the 133
islands, especially during the long dry summer, is struck at once 137
by the absence of vegetation and the rocky aspect of the countryside.
This is, in part, a false impression, for although there are few
trees, rubble retaining and boundary walls hide the network of
small cultivated fields. Occasionally, the dark green foliage of a
carob or olive tree reaches over these stone enclosures to add a
sudden splash of colour to the shimmering white-yellow of the
summer landscape.

The soft yellow limestone gives a continuity to the scenery. 133
Houses, villages and whole towns seem to grow up out of the 333
rocky matrix from which they are built, and from which they are
distinguished only by the regular outline of the buildings against

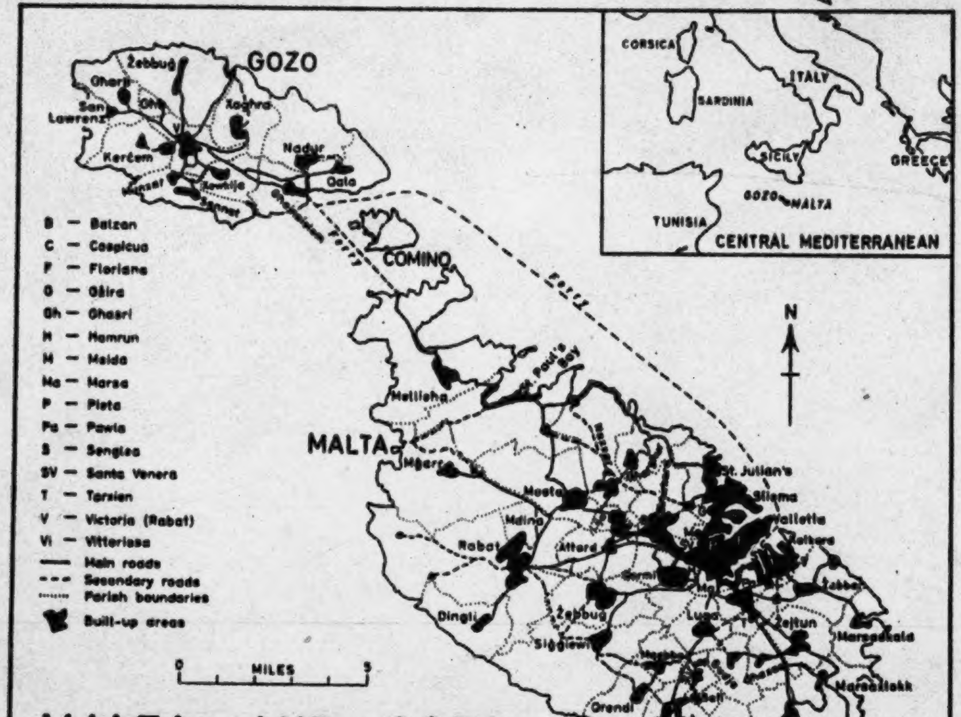
[text continues on p. 3]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965

EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P.2]

102
103
491
487
● 131.
311


GOZO
Żebbuġ
Gharb
Għasri
San Lawrenz
Xagħra
Kerċem
Nadur
Qala
Munxar
Xewkija
Sannat
Għajnsielem
Ferry
COMINO
Ferry
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ITALY
SICILY
GREECE
TUNISIA
GOZO
MALTA
CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN
N
St. Paul's Bay
Mellieħa
MALTA
Mġarr
Mosta
Mdina
Rabat
Attard
St. Julian's
Sliema
Valletta
Kalkara
Żabbar
Qormi
Dingli
Żebbuġ
Luqa
Żejtun
Marsaskala
Siġġiewi
Marsaxlokk
Qrendi
Żurrieq
Birżebbuġa
B — Balzan
C — Cospicua
F — Floriana
G — Gżira
Gh — Għasri
H — Hamrun
M — Msida
Ma — Marsa
P — Pieta
Pa — Pawla
S — Senglea
SV — Santa Venera
T — Tarxien
V — Victoria (Rabat)
Vi — Vittoriosa
Main roads
Secondary roads
Parish boundaries
Built-up areas
0
MILES
3

MALTA AND GOZO

the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a 133
gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely 333
populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square 161
miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population density [131]
of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated
countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the
urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The 162
rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly
separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The population
of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very 16
limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems.
The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been
encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large
families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized
the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service
for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged
8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase
was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period
was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual
rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off
many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there
were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000
women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. 175
The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality.
With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known published
sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to [121]
enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical
perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different [648]

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[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands*, 1960 (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–3.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

In Oxford, Professor Arthur Thomson has set the resources of his Department, 12
including a calculating machine, at my disposal, and has helped me continually with advice and kindly criticism. My former teachers—Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. Henry Balfour, Mr. E. T. Leeds, and Professor J. L. Myres—have accorded me in many conversations the combined privileges of a colleague and a pupil. I fear that I have, albeit unwittingly, often pirated their ideas. My colleague, Miss Blackwood, has devoted the greater part of a Long Vacation to helping to finish and prepare this paper for the press before my leaving England, and has performed the laborious task of looking over proofs in my absence.

II.—Geography.

The Maltese archipelago consists of the islands of Malta, Gozo, Comino, Comi- 131
netto and Filfola. The two latter are uninhabited, and Comino is practically [10]
untenanted. We are therefore only concerned with the islands of Malta and Gozo.

Malta lies about 60 miles south of Sicily and 180 miles north of the African coast. Its maximum length is 18½ miles, its maximum breadth 8¼ miles, and its area 95 square miles. Gozo is considerably smaller, and has an area of about 20 square miles.

Geologically, the islands are Late Eocene (3). The eastern and most thickly 133
inhabited part of Malta consists of globigerina limestone, which overlies lower coralline limestone; in the western part these beds are covered with beds of greensand and blue clay or marl, over which lies the upper coralline limestone. The rock is everywhere extremely friable, and is perpetually disintegrating under the influence of wind and rain. Except in one or two places the soil is seldom more than a few inches deep.

The surrounding seas are warm and shallow; a rise of 50 fathoms would connect Malta and Sicily, and a rise of 200 fathoms would join North Africa and Europe and include Malta as a craggy bastion. The shallowest sea, however, lies more to the west. Malta should, therefore, be more correctly described as an outlying pier of an old land bridge rather than part of the land bridge itself. It seems probable that slow, tectonic movements are actually in progress to-day, and that the archipelago is sinking; but it is extremely unlikely that any men of whom we possess traces at present, with the doubtful exception of a few fragments from the Weid Dalam, came to Malta when it was still part of the mainland.

The island is tilted from south to north. The cliffs along the southern coast are high and precipitous, and some of the loftiest parts of the island are close to the shore.

The undercliff here forms a pleasant contrast to the less fertile parts of Malta. 137
Carib trees are not uncommon, potatoes are cultivated on terraces, and the tiny 312
fields are irrigated, as elsewhere in Malta, by little runlets conducted along channels

Medical Votive Offerings in the Maltese Islands

PAUL CASSAR

THE MALTESE GROUP OF ISLANDS—Malta, Gozo, Kemmuna, Kemmunet and Filfla— 131
cover an area of just over 120 square miles. They form a stepping-stone between Europe
and Africa, being fifty-eight miles distant from Sicily and 180 miles away from the
North African shore. Malta and Gozo are renowned for the number of Stone Age 172
temples they contain. Archaeologists have expressed the opinion that some of the enclosures of these temples were sacred to a healing deity (Zammit 1926, p. 53). This is suggested by the discovery of clay and limestone objects consisting of (1) two models of women lying asleep on a kind of stretcher of wicker work, and (2) several votive offerings in the shape of parts of the human body (Zammit & Singer 1924, pp. 75–6).

It is believed that the sleeping ladies represent devotees who went to the Hypogeum 17
temple at Hal Saflieni, near Pawla, to consult the oracle through the practice of oneiro- 787
mancy. This was a form of dream interpretation after the patient had been aroused from 755
a hypnotic state induced deliberately by means of drugs or other means (Zammit 1935, p. 58). In ancient Egypt dreams were regarded with reverence and the faithful believed that their prayers were rewarded by the gods with an indication, in their dreams, of the remedies which their illness required (Wilkinson 1837, III, p. 394). Similar practices prevailed also in the temple-hospitals of classical Greece where the patient is said to have had the line of treatment revealed to him in his sleep (Pavey 1951, p. 59). It is, therefore, quite possible that such methods were likewise followed in Malta by the Hypogeum priests in the treatment of disease about 1500 B.C. Whatever might have happened in Malta in neolithic days, it is very striking to come across similar parallels in modern times where sick persons claim to have been healed by a heavenly power while in the sleeping state.

The following cases were recorded in 1890, the first being the most interesting as 175
the patient fell asleep in the church itself: 755

(i) A woman had been subject to a purulent inflammation of the mouth for 787
fifteen years. She had recourse to the Virgin Mary and while praying at Ta Pinu 781
church (Gharb, Gozo) she was overtaken by extreme somnolence. She woke up with the conviction that the Madonna had granted her the desired favour; in fact, she recovered completely from her illness within three days.

(ii) Maria Cachia, from a village in Gozo, was so gravely ill from puerperal fever that it was decided to give her the Last Sacraments. Her mother made a vow to the Virgin Mary and annointed the patient on the forehead and breasts with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp of Ta Pinu church. Maria fell into a calm sleep. Our Lady appeared to her in a vision, touched her on the parts smeared with the oil and healed her. On waking she was 'happy and smiling and left her bed completely cured'.

APPENDIX 1 D : Agriculture (B/104-1957)

131 (i) AREAS

AREA of the Maltese Islands............ 276,429 tmien (77,400 ac)
Area of Malta.......................... 217,143 tmien (60,800 ac)
Area of Gozo........................... 59,286 tmien (16,600 ac)

423 CULTIVABLE AREA of the Maltese Islands 156,211 tmien (12,484 hldngs)
Holdings of dry (baghli) land.... 116,460 tmien (10,517 ")
Holdings of irrigable (saqwi)land 700 tmien (88 holdings)
Holdings of both dry & irrigable. 39,051 tmien (1,879 ")

241 433 435 (ii) ACREAGE and PRODUCTION of CROPS, 1956-57

CROP	ACREAGE	VALUE(£)	YIELD(Tons)	YIELD per Acre (tons)
Wheat	5,192	96,906	2,916	0.6
Barley & Meslin	4,836	68,339	2,736	0.6
Vetches	1,727	51,093	1,354	0.8
Forages	11,000	381,150(a)	32,000(a)	2.3
Broad Beans	1,000	15,233	358	3.5
Cumin Seed	14	180	3	0.2
Cotton	35	800	8	0.2
Locust Beans	500	20,000	1,500	3.0
Total	24,304	616,603	40,875	
Potatoes (spring)	6,000	350,000	21,000	3.5
Potatoes (autumn)	3,057	193,394	9,157	3.0
Melons	2,721	32,906	1,714	0.6
Onions	788	47,970	3,000	3.8
Tomatoes	3,000	148,000	12,000	4.0
Other vegetables	3,687	344,744	18,436	5.0
Total	19,259	1,115,016	65,307	
Grapes	5,204	171,102	5,347	1.0
Citrus	160	32,000	510	3.0
Other Fruit	1,000	105,000	4,000	2.0
Total	6,364	308,102	9,847	
Flowers & Seeds	250	100,000	..	
TOTAL	ac.50,177	£2,139,721	116,029 Tons	

(a) Including Straw.

231 (iii) CLASSIFICATION OF LIVESTOCK, 1957 (September)

	Malta (1957)	Gozo (1957)	TOTAL(1957)	TOTAL(1949)
Horses................	1,688	369	2,057	2,753
Donkeys...............	1,732	1,107	2,839	3,335
Mules.................	1,535	349	1,884	2,366
Goats.................	21,630	10,428	32,058	80,677
Billy Goats...........	417	177	594	
Kids under 1 year...	3,564	3,121	6,685	
Sheep.................	8,091	4,241	12,332	21,257
Rams..................	98	43	141	
Lambs under 1 year..	1,015	1,330	2,345	
Bulls.................	377	294	671	
Heifers Pregnant.....	339	195	534	
Heifers other........	731	363	1,091	
Milch Cows...........	2,536	866	3,402	2,633
Stud Bulls...........	111	26	137	
Maltese Draught-Cows	109	6	115	
Imported Store Bulls	2,860	824	3,684	
Breeding Sows........	2,793	588	3,381	
Boars................	214	87	301	20,015
Sucking Pigs.........	935	367	1,302	
Other Fatteners......	6,561	1,753	8,314	
Hens.................	195,683	126,630	322,313	
Other Poultry........	5,145	1,364	6,509	
Rabbits..............	43,045	16,048	59,093	

[P. 180]

APPENDIX 3 : THE BUILT-UP AREA

103
161
162
632
● 131

"A Township is the definite urban-type built-up nucleus of a census locality" (v. B/188, p.38). On this basis the 'township' area and population within each census locality may be distinguished:

CENSUS LOCALITIES	LOCALITIES LAND AREA. sq. miles A	 POPULATION. B	"TOWNSHIPS" LAND AREA, as % of A.	 POPULATION, as % of B.
Valletta	0.281	18,202	100	100
Cospicua	0.241	9,085	100	100
Senglea	0.057	5,085	100	100
Vittoriosa	0.205	4,242	100	100
Gżira	0.411	6,545	38.0	99.3
Sliema	0.485	23,309	100	100
Floriana	0.341	5,811	100	100
Pawla	1.088	11,424	24.6	100
Marsa	0.883	10,672	20.6	100
Hamrun	0.380	16,895	73.1	100
Msida	0.388	6,587	53.3	98.9
Kalkara	0.471	2,101	28.9	92.9
Pieta	0.200	4,078	78.5	100
St. Julians	1,835	8,285	17.9	70.8
Balzan	0.236	2,734	48.8	100
Luqa	1.812	5,382	5.6	91.2
Birkirkara	2.738	18,987	15.2	90.5
Tarxien	0.850	7,708	12.5	86.2
St. Venera	0.415	5,248	34.9	75.1
Qormi	2.412	14,880	9.9	95.6
Birżebbuġa	2.984	5,297	4.7	88.1
Żabbar & M'skala	3.255	11,893	9.5	81.3
Żejtun	3.777	11,[illegible]	5.0	87.2
Lija	0.547	2,110	24.1	90.3
Mqabba	1.242	2,088	5	97.5
Marsaxlokk	1.952	1,489	1.9	92.9
Żurrieq	3.536	6,837	4.3	92.8
Ghaxaq	1.121	2,639	8.8	96.5
Attard	2.090	2,663	7.2	97.2
Victoria	1.635	6,367	10.6	97
Mdina	2.473	823	1.1	100
Mosta	1.900	7,377	14	97.9
Żebbuġ	3.167	7,969	10.2	99.7
Ghajnsielem	1.414	1,830	6.9	98
Gudja	1.709	1,712	2.6	97.4
Qrendi	2.587	2,155	2.3	97.7
Kirkop	0.717	1,204	6.3	100
Naxxar	5.535	4,698	2.7	83
Rabat	8.046	12,792	2.9	82
Xewkija	1.286	3,281	12.0	99.9
Gharghur	2.023	1,813	3	87.3
Mellieha	7.808	4,290	0.8	71.9
Siġġiewi	6.239	5,065	3.4	86.4
Sannat & Munxar	2.167	1,650	4.9	99.6
Nadur	2.487	4,138	7.8	86.7
Safi	0.447	709	90.1	97.7
Dingli	3.674	2,041	1.7	68.5
Qala	2.218	1,816	3.6	96.8
St. Paul's Bay	5.839	3,040	2.1	72.5
Kerċem & St.Lucia	2.442	1,272	4	100
Xaghra	4.454	4,058	5.6	87.9
Gharb	2.043	1,289	2.2	67.3
San Lawrenz	1.355	458	3.4	98.3
Żebbuġ	2.775	1,189	4.4	95.1
Mġarr	5.899	2,167	0.6	31.2
Ghasri	1.423	471	3	41.2
Comino	1,075	29	0	0
Maltese Islands	121.880	319,620	7.6	91.1
Malta	95,876	292,019	8	90.9
Gozo	26.974	27,601	5.9	93.6

NB: - Information from B/188. Table P XIII(b).

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

than Malta is essentially European, a projection of Europe 137
into the south. Its vegetation is of the Mediterranean type, [132]
similar to that of Southern Spain, the Riviera, Sicily and the islands of the Ægean although, strangely enough, it lacks among its wild flowers the cyclamen which so delightfully and characteristically, in springtime, carpets the ground in Cyprus and the Isles of Greece. Here and there, it is true, there rises above its pines and cypresses and carob-trees an occasional stately date-palm, suggesting a garden-escape from the groves of Tunis. And Tunis, whence come the best dates in the world, lies, be it noted, to the north of Malta. But the fruit on the date-palms of Malta practically never ripens. Malta is too European for that.

2

If anything shaped as differently from a circle as the 131
Mediterranean can be said to have a centre, that centre is 175
Malta. The Maltese archipelago is equidistant from the 648
Mediterranean's western and eastern extremities; it is its half-way house between Occident and Orient, historically no less than geographically; it has been its nerve-centre—and more than its nerve-centre, its magnet—from the "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." All the people of the Middle Sea have possessed, influenced or coveted Malta at one time or another, the first to do so of whom we have definite knowledge being a small seafaring, trading and colonizing tribe from its easternmost shores. "The twin islands of Melita and Gaulos," wrote Professor Freeman, "lay immediately in the way of Phœnician adventurers" and became, and remained for centuries, a Phœnician settlement. It was the all-absorbing power of Rome that first brought them into the European fold.

As the nerve-centre, as the magnet, of the Mediterranean 175
Malta was all but snatched back from the European fold 648
when the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent sought

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

sometimes regarded in England—in other words, as hard- 181
headed folk whom nothing will keep out of the best jobs.
It is certainly true to say that, loth as they may be to leave their 186
own little island, when they do it is definitely to better
themselves. They make excellent colonists in Australia and [167]
elsewhere in the New World, while those who emigrate no
farther than Malta frequently attain distinction. The story
is told of a function in S. John's Co-Cathedral in Valetta
at a time, not so many years ago, when the Gozitans who
were leading personages in Church and State included the
Archbishop of Malta, Mgr Pace.

"Well," said a Maltese worshipper, after watching the entry into the church of the procession of Archbishop and Canons and other dignitaries, mostly (or so it seemed to him) natives of the junior island, "I suppose we ought to be thankful that the sacristan is still a Maltese."

Byron may have had something similar in mind when he bracketed Malta with Gozo as

> Calypso's isles,
> The sister tenants of the middle deep,

instead of describing them as mother and daughter.

There is much to see in this small island of 27 square miles 172
and as many thousand inhabitants besides natural scenery and [131]
the monuments alluded to above. Let me instance some
characteristic features of various widely different epochs of [161]
Gozo's long history. First must come the twin Stone Age
temples of Ggantija, through their cyclopean construction—
one block has the formidable dimensions of 12½ by 17½ feet—
the most stupendous work of Neolithic man in the Maltese
archipelago. Farther excavation by the Malta Museum is
planned on and around their site when funds permit, and
more wonders may yet come to light. Meanwhile the [133]
visitor may enjoy from one of the most impressive architectural
survivals of remote antiquity a comprehensive view
of Gozo and of the north-western end of Malta, with

1: Bowen-Jones et al. EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 132

[For additional data on climate, see category 116, pp. 48-81.]

[P.83]

Chapter III

EDAPHIC AND ECOLOGICAL

A. Soils of Malta and Gozo (Fig. 27)

* D. M. LANG, Ph.D.

FACTORS OF SOIL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MALTESE ISLANDS

Soil is a commonplace which everyone recognises but few would attempt to define or even describe. Joffe (1949) defines soil as 'a natural body of mineral and organic constituents usually unconsolidated, differentiated into horizons, of variable depth, which differs from the material below in morphology, physical make-up, chemical properties and composition and biological characteristics'. This definition, like many others, does not satisfy everyone. It does not emphasise, for example, that the soil is continually changing because the plants which grow in it and the active myriads of the soil microfauna whose home it is, cause changes in its characteristics. However, to include this and many other concepts which it might be desirable to use would require a long time and a lot of paper, because soil is essentially very complex. 134

There are, according to Dokuchaeff, five factors involved in the development of soil, and of these probably three, parent material, climate and time, are fundamental in the production of the soils of Malta. Topography, the fourth factor, is largely dependent on the first three, since landscape is largely moulded by erosion and deposition related to the parent structure, process and time. Biological influences, the fifth factor, despite the activity of plants and animals, is presently dominated by man's work, the effects of which are secondary, producing modifications of the existing patterns, but nonetheless sometimes profound.

TIME

Maltese soils are all rather young or immature since pedological processes are slow in calcareous soils like these, particularly where acidic drainage water is very limited in quantity. Certain soils, for example, the red brown clays of the Terra group (p. 92) are believed to have formed largely under the influence of processes which have been superseded. Under a changed climate the new very slow processes have so far produced little change in the soil profile. It is a relic of the old process and thus the soils are, in a sense, relic soils, but at the same time very immature (young) soils under the new climate, because the new process has produced so little change.

In the San Biagio series, very young, man-made, carbonate raw soils (p. 87) dating only from when they were mined from the rock, are found in front of undermined terrace backwalls. Only a few yards away much older soils are developed from the same parent rock, and they are xerorendzinas (p. 90). While the raw soil has been subjected to natural processes for less than 50 years, the xerorendzina has been developing over several hundred years. Thus time is an important factor in the soil's development.

CLIMATE

The climate of Malta and Gozo, is a good example of the Mediterranean type. 132 It consists of hot dry summers, having a high rate of evaporation and no rain, 134 warm and showery autumns normally with a rainfall deficit, short cool winters with enough rainfall for agriculture in most years, but leaving insufficient reserve in the soil to combat the warm drying springs again having a rainfall deficit. The variation on sites of the same type is obviously small, but between deep-set valleys, north-facing scarp slopes and the main open plateaux or south-facing slopes there are often wellmarked differences in vegetation, both weeds and crops. The difference is striking because of the difference in insolation, and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 85]

thus of surface temperature regime. However, soil profiles show virtually no difference between different sites, and it is only in exceptionally wet locations that the normal pattern of aridity is sufficiently overcome to allow the development of noticeable humus horizons. 132 134

In the past there have been broad oscillations of climate responsible for the production at different times of widely differing soil materials such as the 'red soil' (red brown Terra clays), stoney calcareous debris and aeolian sands which are now the materials parent to the present soil. The present climate, however, is not a leaching climate.

This uniformly arid climate is in strong contrast with that of some other latitudes, for example, that of Britain, and suggests itself as the reason for the restricted range of soils found in Malta and Gozo.

PARENT MATERIAL 133 134

The rocks which are ancestors to the soils are all closely similar in type chemically, and only moderately variable in physical characteristics. Thus only a limited range of soil types is to be expected. However, the massive, well-jointed limestones have developed karst landscapes because they favour percolation and solution more than do the porous but nearly impervious finer-textured limestones. On the karstlands the red brown Terra clays have developed on almost completely de-calcified residues from the limestone, but on the other landscapes there has been a minimum of decalcification, and the soils are very like the rocks from which they have been formed. Thus, the composition of the impurities in the limestones from which they were originally weathered mainly decides the nature of the Terra soils (although inblown calcite has increased their calcium carbonate content). Similarly the texture and detailed composition of the carbonate raw soils and xerorendzinas is closely dependent on the parent material. The parent material type is therefore important for Maltese soils because it partly determines what pedological processes can take place and especially because the processes taking place now have little effect.

TOPOGRAPHY

Topography generally influences the development of the soil in a variety of ways, and chiefly through modifications of climate, variable conditions of drainage and effects on erosion and transportation processes. It has been noted that in Malta and Gozo the variations of topography produce sites with very different insolation conditions, but the effect on soil processes is negligible. It is only in the extremely freely-drained conditions of some hill tops, where lime crust yermas are simulated on parent materials of fine sandy loam texture that the effect of topography on drainage conditions can be thought to be sufficient to produce soil modifications. Flooding with sea water may be attributed to topography, and in the Alcol' series at Salinas, for example, slight salinity is the result.

The effect of topography on erosion, transportation and deposition is more noticeable. Under former cooler climatic conditions, solifluction took place, and under the present conditions sheet or gully erosion occurs during the violent showers of late autumn. The result is that there are strikingly different eroded and alluvial phases of the same soil series in some locations. On the Blue Clay soils the alluvial, light clay type is more favourable to agriculture than the eroded heavy clay type which is in patches alkaline or saline-alkaline.

BIOLOGICAL INFLUENCES 134 311

Apart from man's activities, biotic factors are of relatively small importance in the soils. Humus horizons are only developed under well grown and long undisturbed vegetation, which is very rare. The organic-matter deficient humus forms of the surface horizons of the cultivated soils can only be seen easily under the microscope, and the soil fauna seems to be very limited in numbers.

The modifications of the soil pattern produced by man are, on the other hand most profound. Apart from the large area of Malta which has been covered by human habitations, factories, airfields and military installations, where the

INTRODUCTION

121 24 Contemporary agriculture can only be understood in terms of the whole nexus of environmental and human factors. Although a general truism this assertion continually needs to be emphasised in a study of Malta. In these Islands the observer will meet more puzzling features both major and minor in scale than it is conceivable would be found in any territory of similar size. The wider one's comparative experience, the more it appears necessary to discard general principles and to adopt a habit of querying the origin of every minor element in the landscape. The various problems are examined elsewhere but a brief statement of their type and range will serve to depict the complex nature of Maltese agriculture.

121 311 24 All visitors to Malta are invariably impressed by the vast extent of stone terrace walls which give to the ground-level observer an impression of rocky barrenness. The questions which arise, and which have not been satisfactorily answered, are manifold in their complexity. Do the terrace-walls merely serve to retain naturally-evolved soil and if so is the present density of enclosures strictly necessary? Are these walls, on the other hand, ramparts behind which man-made soil accumulations have been slowly built up to create artificial fields? If the latter, does normal pedological analysis provide a sufficient basis for soil husbandry? If the former, how far can enclosures be enlarged to permit a greater use of mechanised techniques?

121 132 24 The climate of Malta, as analysed in Chapter II, has some especial characteristics. How far do certain combinations of temperature, humidity and wind velocity in various topographic circumstances encourage the appearance and survival of the very many diseases and pests which afflict Maltese crops? To what extent may the climate-soil complex be held responsible for the virtual absence of the olive and the remarkable ignorance concerning viticulture which is only now being dispelled? Must the physical environment be regarded as the main reason for the fact that Maltese farmers have never produced important indigenous strains of crops or livestock but have relied entirely on breeds imported from their more productive neighbours?

121 24 Innumerable queries of this type result from even the most cursory visual survey, and any attempt to answer them brings in even more complex human questions. If the maintenance of man-made soil in artificial fields by arduous manual labour is essential for the ecological stability of many regions, how important is the conflict between the needs of production and the social desires of the cultivators? How far has poor husbandry been a product of rural isolation? How measurable is distance as it affects contact between producer and market, between village-dweller and *Il-Belt*? None of these and other questions is uniquely applicable to Malta, but *in toto* they present such a formidable array as to make one feel that these small islands have concentrated within them certain microcosmic qualities.

In this Section are considered some of the observable facts that directly concern the use and potentialities of agricultural resources. The main features of the economy and society in general have been described in previous sections; the basic elements of the agricultural sector may be summarised as follows.

24 311 The total area of the Maltese Islands is some 280,512 *tmien* of which 152,343 *tmien* are cultivated (54 per cent of the total) (1). The relationship between Malta and Gozo in these respects is remarkably constant, both islands having a similar proportion of worked land, Malta possessing 79 per cent. of the total area and of the cultivated land. Of the 7,272 *tmien* of irrigated land, almost 89 per cent. is found in Malta where the only large irrigated zones also occur.

162 24 This cultivated land is worked in 12,215 registered farmholdings of which over 70 per cent. are in Malta. The rural community (i.e. persons living in dwellings registered as farms and including farmworkers' children and other members of the family otherwise employed) number 57,354 (72 per cent. in Malta), almost 18 per cent. of the total population. Of this rural community 34

a reduction in the acreage planted during the following winter. In spring 1958, the export market could have absorbed more than the total production. Official encouragement to re-expand cultivation followed. Moreover, the main importing countries are those in which regulations governing the health of imported crops are most severe, and in which competition is most keen. When to these factors one must add two more, viz. the very high water demands of the crop and its comparatively low bulk value and high freight costs; then a very considerable doubt arises concerning the rationality of this sector of agriculture. On unirrigated land, a potato crop leaves the soil deprived of most of its water. On irrigated land it competes with crops of higher bulk value some of which are already cultivated on a smaller scale, such as strawberries, globe and Jerusalem artichokes, asparagus, sub-tropical fruits, etc. Potatoes require no less labour, no less fertiliser, and are much less amenable to handling by fast land or air transport. The impression left by the crop survey is that Malta has almost somnambulistically developed this specialisation and that the ecological and economic implications have never been seriously examined. 311* 244 [439]

Figs. 79 and 80 show the extent of land under potatoes during March and April. In Malta, the main concentrations are to be found in three different types of region. First, cultivation is widespread on the Globigerina lands. Most intense around the 'casals' and villages of the east and south, it seems more to be associated with human rather than with physical factors (see Chapter VIII). A marked thinning out is noticeable on the higher central slopes rising westward to the Coralline uplands. Secondly, there exist the very important concentrations in the major irrigated basins of the west and north such as Wied tal-Pwales, the Mellieha isthmus and the Marfa oases. Lastly, potato cultivation is of considerable extent on the smaller and more dispersed irrigated plots of the Upper Coralline plateaux, e.g. Hofret ir-Rizz. In the predominantly dry-farmed upland basins of Bingemma and Miżieb, the acreage is relatively small.

Early potato cultivation in Gozo is of much less importance, the island being one further step removed from the export market. Concentration is significantly greatest within easy reach of the settlements. In addition, potato growing is of importance in the tree-fruit and vegetable zones of the north-east. The crop is almost entirely absent from the more remote areas.

TREE CROPS

In the Maltese Islands are to be found a great variety of tree-crops of all kinds on irrigated and non-irrigated land. This variety, exemplified in one field in the Wied Qlejgħa which carries apples, peaches, loquats, pomegranates, citrus fruit and vines, is in some ways detrimental to cultivation standards. Only a very few regions are completely devoid of tree-crops. Thermal conditions make possible the growth of a crop range extending from the temperate pome fruits to sub-tropical and tropical types such as the date and banana (albeit with poor results in the latter cases). Low water availability in the soil is the main restrictive factor. Irrigation generally doubles the yields of fruit crops and is essential for citrus cultivation. It is, however, certain that yields could be considerably increased, even on unirrigated land, by improvement of stock quality, by reducing disease and pest infestation and by less intercultivation. One of the main problems in Malta and Gozo is that, as elsewhere in the world, farmers with a strong subsistence-farming streak in their makeup are apt to prefer the security of inter-cultivated poor crops to hazardous but rewarding specialisation. 311* 245

One non-human factor which makes the arboriculturist's task more difficult is the wind-humidity complex. As noted in Chapter II, the effects of high wind velocity on transpiration and in producing physiological drought are considerable. High humidity, even in summer, produces special problems of plant pathology. Successful competition with more sophisticated producers possessing greater natural advantages seems unlikely. [[132]]

a but arbitrarily defined eastern limit is clearly distinguishable in the field by 241*
the large ramped rather than terraced fields of mixed good dry farming. 311*

C. THE HILLS AND PLAINS OF THE CENTRE AND EAST

This area possesses a certain unity based on physical and human characteristics. As noted in Chapter I B, the landscape, although presenting a deceptively monotonous appearance to the eye, is in places emphatically dissected and the altitudinal range is fairly great (Fig. 1). The importance of minor relief features in this region is magnified by its relative uniformity; this in contrast to the scarplands of the west. 311*

There is also a less simple relationship between altitude, aspect and climate. Exposure to sea winds adversely affects many coastal districts. Away from the coast, land temperature conditions assume a greater importance in the development of local climates. Thus, even under insular conditions, regional contrasts between the interior and the periphery are marked (see Chapter II). [132]

In this eastern half of the island is found the core of Maltese life, both urban and rural, and links between town, village and country are everywhere close. There is no really widespread development of dispersed settlement. As noted in Chapter VI, Valletta (il-Belt) is the focus of a series of concentric zones of human activity. Around it lie, first, the residential and industrial towns of Sliema, Hamrun, Pawla and the Three Cities. Beyond these are large settlements in which urban and rural activities are intermingled but in which the former predominate. These include Birkirkara, Qormi, Tarxien and Żabbar. Clearly distinct, a third type of settlement, here termed *casal* or township, lies in an outer ring. This comprises Għargħur and Naxxar, Mosta, Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Qrendi and Żurrieq, Għaxaq and Żejtun. Each of these forms an independent centre for rural life and each has developed some limited urban function. 311* 361

Inside this zone lie smaller settlements of varying character. Lija and Attard are increasingly attached to the growing 'suburban' development spreading westwards from the Valletta conurbation. Kirkop, Safi and Gudja are country villages, while Mqabba and Luqa have some non-rural additions. Along the eastern coast, with its fine natural harbours, are to be found the old fishing villages of Marsaskala and Marsaxlokk. At Birżebbuġa and Kalafrana, this traditional function has been submerged by more modern developments.

Communications are generally good and public transport services frequent, thus there are few areas of real remoteness. Throughout this part of the island, the attraction exerted by the Valletta conurbation affects all sectors of social and economic life. The larger casals have their own independent gravitational pulls. At either end of the rural-urban continuum, decline in rural life is taking place. The smallest villages such as Safi are losing population to their larger neighbours while on the fringe of the conurbation, part-time farming spreads over an ever-increasing area. 311* 369

Thus the character of cultivation in this part of Malta is the product of many interacting human and physical factors. These interactions combine in various ways to differentiate the five major and many minor regions considered below. 241* 311*

C.XVI. WIED QLEJGĦA

From the Upper Coralline col at Għajn Qajjet, Wied Qlejgħa passes over a narrow outcrop of Blue Clay to become more open on the Globigerina beds, before entering the gorge of the Wied ta'l-Isperanza (101), cut in the Lower Coralline.

This is a transitional region between the West and Centre and suitably enough displays all the characteristic types of farming and crop assemblage. At Għajn Qajjet, below Upper Coralline plateau *xagħra*, lies an intensively cultivated *ġnien* zone, mirrored on a smaller scale on the Blue Clay slopes below Mtarfa. On the terraced wied floor flanking the Chadwick lakes, good dry farming including viticulture is practised. The intermediate slopes of the basin are dry-farmed in

[Text Continues on p. 258-B]

132 The Maltese climate is characterised by variability rather than by extremes. Most of the complex elemental combinations, as far as we can tell at the moment, tend to inhibit soil and plant development under natural conditions.

The annual precipitation average of 20.5 inches is largely meaningless - the variations from one year to another for each month in which there has been recorded any significant rainfall are all several times the mean values. Very high insolation and evaporation rates, from the end of April to the beginning of October, further reduce the effectiveness of scanty and variable precipitation. Much of the rainfall of spring and autumn is associated with violent frontal storms and is sufficiently concentrated in incidence to produce ephemeral torrents and cause considerable erosion.

Wind incidence is of peculiar importance. The maritime air streams are generally of high humidity and velocity. The dominant Northerlies, in particular the stormy *Majjistral*, with high humidity and relatively low temperatures, have a biological effect bleak enough to produce a very clear ecological pattern controlled by aspect and shelter. The soil line in the lee of the ridges which lie transverse to these North to West winds, rises higher to the south east with the cumulative sheltering effect. On a small scale, windbreaks of stones, wattle hurdles and even cereal hedges, become of importance. The *Xlokk* comes as a warm humid wind of usually sufficient velocity to force plant transpiration rates above the critical points. The occasional humid still air conditions in winter delay germination and encourage fungus diseases while all summer winds heighten evaporation rates and cause actual soil blowing.

One of the few biologically favourable climatic features is the absence of a thermal dormant season. Mean monthly temperatures are consistently above 50° Fahrenheit, frosts are very rare, and diurnal ranges small. On the other hand, the associated high summer temperatures even though ameliorated by sea breezes produce considerable physiological troubles in plants and livestock. It is significant that over 80 per cent. of the flora now found in Malta are of North African rather than European type.

133 In the absence of human interference Malta must have been, as it still is in many areas, largely a barren karstic waste relieved only by a few basins and plains such as the Wied tal-Pwales and the Wied il-Ghasel. On the hill and ridge tops Terra Rossa formation takes place in solution hollows. On all slopes with gradients greater than 5 per cent., and on all but the most wind sheltered flatlands corrasion and movement, often exposing great stretches of bare rock, are dominant. Only in a few basins, such as the erosional Wied ta'Mazza or the tectonic Bur Marrad in the Wied il-Ghasel, does deposition become important.

In this harsh environment man created the land on which he could live.

134
311 Malta has few true soils but, rather, laboriously garnered and transported inorganic material, carefully built up with humic additions, terraced and walled into place and irrigated wherever possible. For millennia this making of *'campi artificiale'* has gone on and may still be observed, so that some two-thirds of what Bernard Shaw called 'a heap of stones' is now cultivable land. This process of the extension first of hydroponics and then of true farming over bare rock and the reclamation of unhealthy lowland has meant the creation of new and precarious balances. The artificially produced thin pseudo-soil is not self perpetuating. The underlying rock must be regularly chipped away, the solution hollows periodically harvested. The texture must be maintained by the addition of organic matter and by frequent working. The level of nutrients must be kept up with dung and fertilisers and the water content supplemented by irrigation. The terrace walls need constant repair.

In each case there is a sharply critical point beyond which action spells danger. The use of refuse brings bacterial and virus infections, frequent tillage produces a clean surface vulnerable to erosion, the use of irrigation water and artificial fertilisers raises soil salinity. Extension of the soil cover decreases the rate of percolation replenishment of the subterranean aquifers by rain water. Malta is now in fact living on capital as far as water is concerned.

241 There have been similar critical points in crop values. When water is available, the potential crop range is large - bananas grow in barley patches, date-

137 made of open stone pipes. On the rocks, in January, there was a wild profusion of
312 flowering heath, of a species akin to our heather (*Erica*). Where the water overflows, there are tiny reed beds, but always smaller and less luxuriant than those of the Eastern Mediterranean. In some places on these cliffs the charlock appears to have competed successfully with *Oxalis cernua.*

133 The north coast is generally more shelving. There are no mountains, but the whole surface is cut by deep ravines, which are for the most part dry, but which may contain as much as three feet of water during a spate; the mouths of some of these valleys form small fiords. The western part of the island, which contains the upper coralline beds, contrasts strongly with the eastern. The hills are higher, the valleys bigger and more rounded, and the country is less parched, owing to the underlying marls. The scenery of Gozo resembles that of Western Malta, but the cliffs are higher and grander, the fields are larger, and the country is greener.

241 Owing to the large population every foot of soil is precious, and the whole of
137 Malta is parcelled out into innumerable tiny fields, some hardly more than a few yards square, each being separated from the next by a stone wall. Olives and caribs grow as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, but for the most part they are limited to the courses of the streams; oranges flourish where there is sufficient water to irrigate them, but in Malta one looks in vain for the abundant orange groves of Sicily, or the pleasant tangled hillsides of Northern Cyprus. The myrtle is almost absent, the numbers of wild myrtle bushes can nearly be counted on the fingers of a man's hands. The flora (4) generally is most akin to that of Sicily; 94 per cent. of the Maltese species are found in that island, 91 per cent. in Africa, and 90·5 per cent. in the Levant (5). There are three things which are predominant in all the scenery of Malta: stone walls, goats, and the yellow flowers of the virulent *Oxalis cernua,* which not even the goats will eat.

132 Owing to the small size of Malta and the nature of its surface, the weather is dominated by two factors—the sea and the direction of the wind. The mean annual temperature is 66·6° F., the mean annual rainfall is 21·6 inches, precipitation normally occurring on 81 days. The mean relative humidity for seven years is 79·1 per cent. The coldest month is February (mean temperature 52·9° F.); the hottest August (77·9° F.). During June and July practically no rain falls, and in August the mean is only 0·13 mm. (6).

361 In working out constants, I have divided the islands into two areas—Urban and Rural. This is the division in the census (31), and corresponds very closely to a marked difference in the conditions under which the population lives. The former includes the fortified towns and suburbs, Valletta, Floriana, Cottoneria, Senglea, Conspicua, Sliema, St. Julian, Pieta Misida, Hamrum, Birchircara, Curmi, Paula, Tarxien, Zabbar, Calcara and Rabato; the latter, the more isolated villages in the country.

141 height in the urban districts and Zurrico. Among the females there is a significant difference between Malta and Gozo in greatest breadth, bigonial breadth and nasal height. There is no significant difference between the urban and rural districts. Between male and female, the males have a significantly greater bizygomatic breadth, the females significantly greater external orbital breadth, nasal height and cephalic index.

It is impossible to compare the absolute measurements of males and females. There is no significant difference in the total facial index between males and females, the other three indices are, however, significantly different, the females having the greater index in every case.

These differences are extremely difficult to correlate with actual facts. That the urban and rural population should resemble each other so closely is a striking feature, especially since we know that Valletta is, and has been, continually receiving additions, both from the outside world and from other parts of the island. In spite of this immigration, however, we do not appear to get an appreciably larger variation in the town than in the endogamous villages, if we take them *as a whole*. Contrasts arise, however, between the urban districts and individual villages. It may be suggested tentatively that the small local variations which appear to occur in the various villages tend to be swamped if we take all the villages together, as we can do artificially by pooling our measurements, and actually by measuring individuals from Valletta and the fortified suburbs, which have only existed for under four hundred years, that is to say about eleven generations, and have a population recruited from all over the island. This fact is all the more remarkable because, as we have shown, foreign blood has certainly been pouring into Valletta for a considerable period.

It may be argued that possibly the isolation in the island is not sufficiently complete, yet there is as much difference between the urban districts and the village of Zurrico as there is between Malta and Gozo, although in different directions. The isolation of the villages, a social more than a geographical division, has proved as strong or as weak a frontier as the hazardous strip of water between the two islands.

The measurements on females throw little light on this point. There is a greater difference between the urban and rural district women than between those of Malta and Gozo; the latter series are unfortunately too few for more than a tentative inference. Social conditions cannot contribute much in the result, because whereas the women are comparatively stationary, apart from country and town marriages, there is considerable movement of the males.

141 Let us now consider the differences in the facial measurements. Professor
132 Arthur Thomson (39) has suggested that the temperature and the humidity of the air have considerable effect on the form of the nose. The rainfall, at different stations at which observations are taken, differs to quite a large extent. For example, in

1919, 14·18 inches were recorded at Casal Lia, and 19·44 at Naxaro. Unfortunately 141
no comparative humidity data are available, but such a striking difference in rainfall 132 ●
argues that the inhabitants of those two places breathe an atmosphere which differs at least appreciably in moisture. Again, local variations in temperature, if not great, may prove significant. At the same two stations the annual means of temperature for that year were, maximum 71·5, minimum 56·8, mean 64·1 at Casal Lia, and 69·9, 53·7 and 61·8 respectively at Naxaro, a big difference if the total area of the archipelago is taken into consideration.

The differences in the upper facial height may be, and probably are, associated 141
partly with the respiratory (including as it does the nasal height) and partly with the masticatory apparatus, and the same is true of the total facial height, which includes both the two last-mentioned factors. It is interesting to note that differences in the total facial height are always associated with differences in the bizygomatic breadth; differences in the upper facial, with differences in the nasal height. The converse, though true in the former case, is not true in the latter. The differences in the bigonial breadth accompany differences in the minimum frontal diameter on the two occasions where they occur, but the excessive minimum frontal diameter at Zurrico is not associated with any irregularity of the bigonial breadth. The differences in the external orbital breadth do not appear to have any particular associations.

Although no doubt it is possible that these local differences may be largely due to heredity as opposed to environment, it would seem not unlikely that the present rather insignificant differences, taken as a whole, may be ascribed to small variations in climatic and economic conditions, to most of which the people have been subjected for many generations.

The differences between the sexes in head form is difficult to estimate. Obviously we cannot compare the absolute measurements, because the female is built on a different scale from the male, and to reduce them to similar proportions would be to abandon certain fundamental anatomical principles. There remain, however, a comparison of the variations and the indices. The former do not present great differences. The nasal height and the external orbital breadth of the female are appreciably more variable. The bizygomatic breadth of the male has a significantly wider dispersion. It is possible that in the latter case the greater muscular development of the male may account for this variation. The exact significance of the striking differences between the indices is not apparent.

Pigmentation.

Pigmentation figures bring out a certain contrast already suggested by measurements, and fail to confirm others. 142
The figures are, however, rather unsatisfactory, and it was not found practicable to make more than three divisions in hair or eye

The stay of the French in the island was too short to have any effect on the 144
population. A social barrier has been built up between the British and the people 563
of the land, and the general impression gained is that, though there are a certain number of mixed marriages, there cannot, even after three generations of a large, if floating, British element in Valletta, be more than a very thin British strain in the population.

We have shown, in dealing with the history of the island, how extremely difficult 144
it is to account for the wholesale immigration of an Armenoid-like population at 174.
any period. We have also shown how, in spite of the continual immigration of 132
people of the Mediterranean stock, the Maltese type (*i.e.* Malta second race, displaying Armenoid characters) appears to have persisted for a long period. It would seem, therefore, a point worthy of further consideration, whether the development of the Maltese along the lines they appear to have followed may not be due to certain definite geographical factors of whose influence we are as yet unaware. It is possible that if we had at our disposal a long unbroken series, instead of larger or smaller series from Neolithic, Mediæval, and modern ossuaries, we should not find such striking contrasts as we do at present. Anthropological data from various parts of the Mediterranean show that there is very often a significant difference between two villages in different valleys of the same mountain range. It is possible that even the few generations which have elapsed between the building of Hal Tarxien and 1921 may be the equivalent, in time, of such a journey in space, and certain big changes may have taken place owing to changing geographical conditions. There can be little doubt that the climate of Malta has changed very much, not only since the first terrace was cut in the Weid Dalam, but even since the formation of the second terrace. We have also suggested that the evidence from Professor Zammit's excavations at Hal Tarxien hints at a change in climate since Neolithic times. The change in the structure of the population may be due, therefore, partly to geographical as well as to historical causes.

Whether or no the development of the Maltese sub-race is due to particular 161
geographical conditions, there can be little doubt that, in Malta at least, the strain 842
is biologically remarkably successful and extremely fertile. In spite of the high [165]
infant mortality which has existed in the past, they have continued to increase, and the modern developments of hygiene and the care of infants are likely to make the increase still more rapid. If the overcrowding continues, in a comparatively short time we shall be faced with conditions in the island which would appear to be, biologically speaking, unsatisfactory. Sanitary conditions can be improved, food can be imported, but excessive overcrowding may bring its own remedy, either in disease or in a diminished fertility. The present fertility is quite possibly due to some underlying climatic condition. In spite of lack of water, Malta has long been extremely fertile botanically, and was famed for this in classical times. The [231]
Maltese goats, by far the most abundant large mammal of the island apart from

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

648 175 after the next meeting of Parliament; and to declare the isle of Malta to be part of Europe"—

> that the said Island of Malta and dependencies thereof shall be deemed, taken and construed to be part of Europe for all purposes, and as to all matters and things whatever; any law or laws, usage or custom, or act or acts, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

114 175 But this enactment, although it satisfied the administrators, did not wholly silence the men of science, who produced, in addition to Europe and Africa, yet a third continental claimant to the geographical ownership of the Maltese Islands. In the middle of the nineteenth century a Maltese architect and engineer named Grognet de Vassé, best known as the designer of the great Parish Church of Mosta, propounded the theory that the submerged continent of Atlantis lay between Cyrenaica in the east and Tunis in the west, almost filling the indentations in the coast of North Africa which the Romans called Syrtes Major and Syrtes Minor and we know to-day as the Gulfs of Sidra and Gabes. Of this continent, said Grognet, the Maltese archipelago formed the north-western corner; and he published a learned treatise in support of his theory, which he based on ample references to mythology, etymology and classical geography.

It is an ingenious piece of imaginative reasoning whereby the author places the Elysian Fields and the lower world of the ancients in Atlantis, the mouths of the rivers Acheron and Phlegethon in that part of Atlantis which is Malta—namely, in the Grand Harbour and the harbour of Marsa Mxett—and an outlet of the river Styx in one of the springs of the gardens of the Villa Frere, for many years the beautiful residence and garden in Pietà of the distinguished scholar, man of letters, diplomatist and friend of Sir Walter Scott, the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere.

137 132 Nevertheless the legislators of 1801 were rightly inspired, for in climate and vegetation no less than in the works of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

man Malta is essentially European, a projection of Europe 137
into the south. Its vegetation is of the Mediterranean type, [132]
similar to that of Southern Spain, the Riviera, Sicily and the islands of the Ægean although, strangely enough, it lacks among its wild flowers the cyclamen which so delightfully and characteristically, in springtime, carpets the ground in Cyprus and the Isles of Greece. Here and there, it is true, there rises above its pines and cypresses and carob-trees an occasional stately date-palm, suggesting a garden-escape from the groves of Tunis. And Tunis, whence come the best dates in the world, lies, be it noted, to the north of Malta. But the fruit on the date-palms of Malta practically never ripens. Malta is too European for that.

2

If anything shaped as differently from a circle as the 131
Mediterranean can be said to have a centre, that centre is 175
Malta. The Maltese archipelago is equidistant from the 648
Mediterranean's western and eastern extremities; it is its half-way house between Occident and Orient, historically no less than geographically; it has been its nerve-centre—and more than its nerve-centre, its magnet—from the "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." All the people of the Middle Sea have possessed, influenced or coveted Malta at one time or another, the first to do so of whom we have definite knowledge being a small seafaring, trading and colonizing tribe from its easternmost shores. "The twin islands of Melita and Gaulos," wrote Professor Freeman, "lay immediately in the way of Phœnician adventurers" and became, and remained for centuries, a Phœnician settlement. It was the all-absorbing power of Rome that first brought them into the European fold.

As the nerve-centre, as the magnet, of the Mediterranean 175
Malta was all but snatched back from the European fold 648
when the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent sought

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

648 desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty
175 years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But
he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of
blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant:
he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval
base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean.
Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the
point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the
naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean but a vital link in the route to a farther East than
Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither
William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn
on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

3

161- At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an
[162] estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls
(exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which
Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to
say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile,
which makes it one of the most densely populated geo-
[167] graphical units in the world. The figure would have been
higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia
161 and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by
619, the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small
for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto
themselves, with their own language, their own traditions,
their own physical characteristics and a history that is one
of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

172 For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and
173 Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days
reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in
other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta
● [132] was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

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[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the "tempestuous wind called Euroclydon" that still whistles 172
across it during the winter months under its modern name 173
of *gregale*, the "Greek wind," drove S. Paul on to its shores
and brought it about that the "chief man" of the island, [132]
Publius, became its first Bishop. It was a centre of civilization, as well as a centre of the religious life of the Western Mediterranean, very much earlier, for Malta, in the words of the lamented Sir Themistocles Zammit, "was the holy island of neolithic faith, the half-way house of the early mariners, who trusted themselves to their frail wooden craft, full of hope in a protecting power."

Later, when we emerge from prehistory, we find the 175
position reversed: Malta, instead of extending supernatural 648
protection to peoples beyond its shores, comes under the
political protection of others. 197
During the many centuries of its recorded history Malta has had many rulers: the Phœnicians and their offspring, the Carthaginians, then Romans, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Aragonese and Castilians, then for two and a half centuries the international Order of S. John of Jerusalem, and, finally, at the invitation of the Maltese people after a brief French occupation, the British. But despite the impact of such cosmopolitan influences this people has clung tenaciously to its ancient tongue, which is unquestionably of Semitic structure and has claims to descent from the speech of Dido and Hannibal.[1]
It was, in fact, from a bilingual inscription in Phœnician and [172]
Greek found in Malta in 1697, of which more will be said in the following chapter, that the Phœnician alphabet was reconstructed. Of this inscription Dr A. V. Laferla writes in his *Story of Man in Malta*: "The construction and grammar . . . are identical with those of modern Maltese and many of the words (*lil*, *bin*, *tnejn*, *jilsma*, *iberikom*) are still in use at the
present day." S. Luke in the Acts describes the Maltese as 101
"barbarians"—that is, as neither Greeks nor Romans—and 175

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[1] The name Hannibal is still met with in Malta as a Christian name. Its Maltese diminutive is Nibbie.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

(and where do they not exist?), his book gave a certain 114 amount of offence in the more sensitive quarters of the 357 island. None the less, it includes a chapter which should have atoned for any "causes of stumbling" created in those quarters. The chapter is entitled "Dolores" and concerns the Shepherds' Maltese maid-of-all-work and their baby's nurse. "Dolores" is not only a telling tribute to some of the salient virtues of the Maltese character; it is one of the most sensitive and moving descriptions of the personal devotion of a servant to her employers and her charge that I have had the good fortune to read.

4

A word has been said earlier in this chapter as to the 137 grandeur of the cliff scenery of Malta. Inland, on the other [133] hand, the countryside can scarcely be called either grand or impressive, and during the dry summer months there is little colour to set against the brown aridity of the fields other than the sage of the olive, the carob and the fig-trees, and the pinks and whites of the oleanders beside the roads. But after [132] the autumn rains have begun to refresh the parched earth the land rapidly assumes a mantle of young green, and the wild flowers appear shyly above ground, beginning with two lovely miniature blooms—the brilliantly blue *Iris minuta* and the even more ethereal, strongly scented "*satarina*" (*N. serotinus*). This, the tiniest of the narcissi, looks as if it had been called into being by a touch of the fairy's wand in Walt Disney's *Fantasia*.

Later, in March and April, Malta and Gozo alike seem to [246] glow with the crimson, deepening into purple, of the *sulla*, the clover or sainfoin with which thousands of acres are sown for fodder. Among the most striking blends of colour are those produced by many varieties of Bougainvillæa (which flourishes exceedingly in Malta) and the purple-and-cream flowers of the wild caper, against the background of the rich gold of the fortifications.

4

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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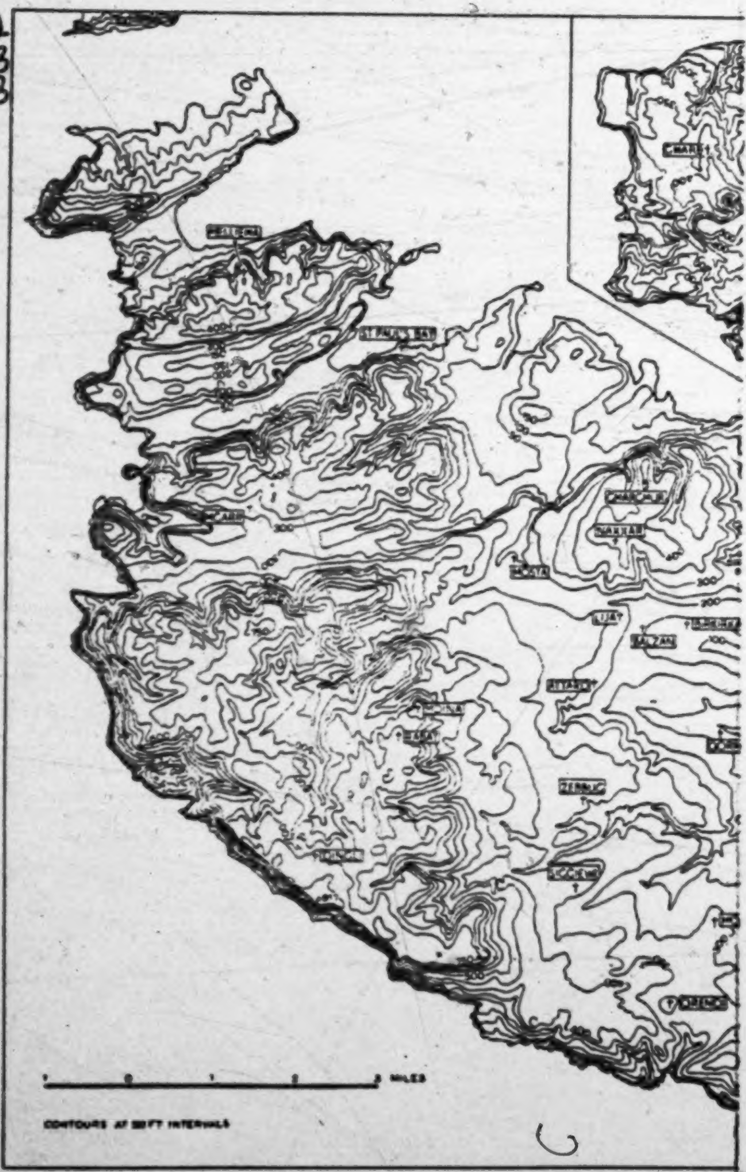
103
● 133


MELLIEHA
ST PAUL'S BAY
GHARGHUR
NAXXAR
MOSTA
LIJA
BALZAN
ATTARD
ZEBBUG
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100
200
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0 1 2 3 MILES
CONTOURS AT 50 FT INTERVALS

[p. 2-A]

Fig. 1 Relief Map of Malt
and Gozo.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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103
133

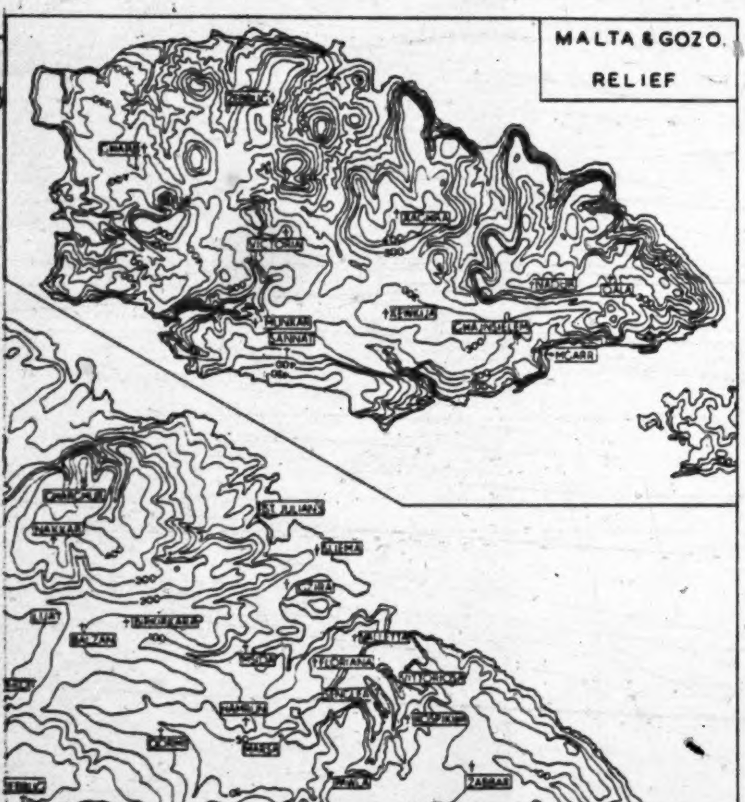
MALTA & GOZO.
RELIEF
ZEBBUG
GHARB
VICTORIA
XAGHRA
NADUR
QALA
XEWKIJA
MUNXAR
SANNAT
GHAJNSIELEM
MGARR
GHARGHUR
NAXXAR
ST JULIANS
SLIEMA
GZIRA
LIJA
BIRKIRKARA
BALZAN
MSIDA
VALLETTA
FLORIANA
VITTORIOSA
SENGLEA
COSPICUA
HAMRUN
QORMI
MARSA
PAOLA
ZABBAR
TARXIEN
MARSASCALA
LUQA
ZEITUN
MQABBA
GUDJA
GHAXAQ
KIRKOP
MARSAXLOKK
QRENDI
SAFI
ZURRIEQ
BIRZEBBUGA
J.C.D.

Fig. 1

Relief Map of Malta and Gozo.

[p.2-B]

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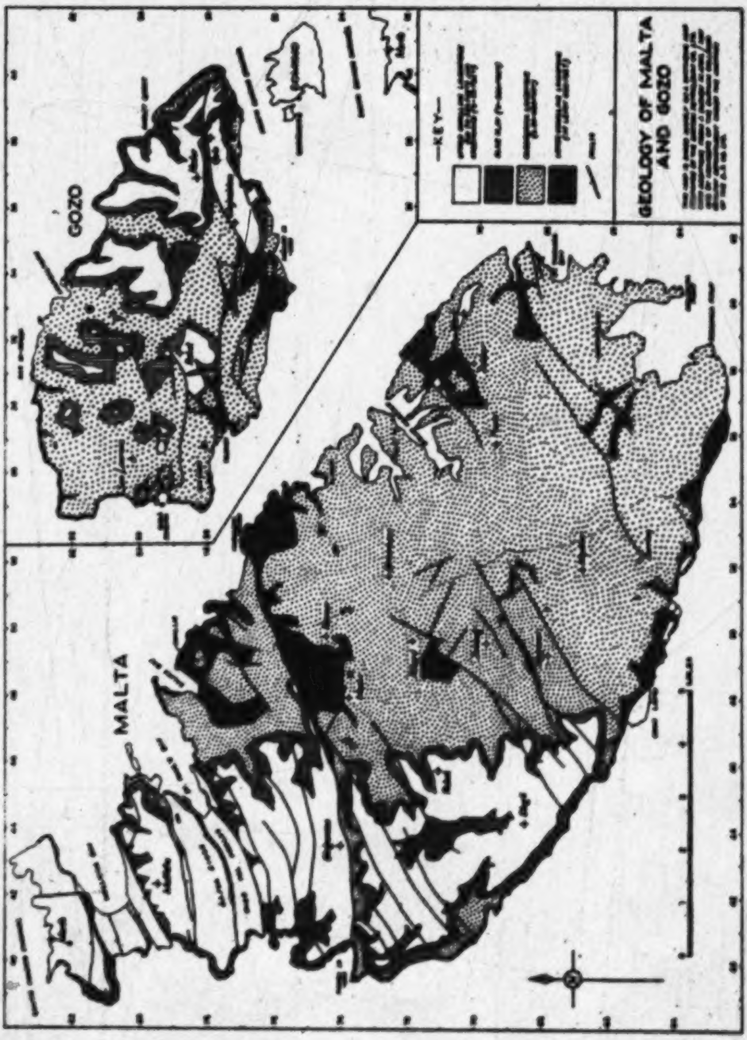
MALTA
GOZO
—KEY—
GEOLOGY OF MALTA AND GOZO

Fig. 3 Geology of Malta and Gozo.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Chapter 1

A. GEOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS

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INTRODUCTION

The central Mediterranean islands of Malta, Gozo and Comino lie 58 miles 131 due south of Sicily, 220 miles due north of Tripoli and about 180 miles east of Tunis. The Maltese archipelago trends north-west to south-east and is 28 miles in length. Malta, the largest and most southerly island, is 17 miles in length and nine miles wide and has an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is nine miles long, up to four miles wide, and has an area of 26 square miles. The island of Comino, in the Comino Strait separating the two islands, occupies only one square mile. A submarine ridge, averaging 50 fathoms in depth, extends southwards from the Ragusa peninsula of Sicily towards the islands, and it continues on as a 133 broader and deeper shelf to the African coasts of Tunisia and Tripolitania. This submarine ridge, which separates the Mediterranean into two main hydrographic basins, represents a sunken land bridge which connected Africa and Europe during parts of the Pleistocene and later Tertiary.

The islands are entirely composed of Tertiary limestones with subsidiary clays and marls. Superficial deposits, mostly Pleistocene in age, take the form of cliff breccias, cave and valley loams, sands and gravels. The succession of Tertiary rocks on the islands is as follows:-

			Feet
5.	Upper Coralline Limestone	at least	530
4.	Greensand		0-50
3.	Blue Clay		0-230
2.	Globigerina Limestone		75-680
1.	Lower Coralline Limestone	at least	626

The Lower Coralline Limestone and Lower Globigerina Limestone belong to the Aquitanian stage and the Middle and Upper Globigerina Limestone and Blue Clay to the Burdigalian. The Helvetian is represented by the Greensand and the Tortonian by the Upper Coralline Limestone. All these stages fall within the Miocene period, following Eames' recommendation that the Aquitanian is Miocene rather than Oligocene.

The strata have an undulating regional dip to the south-east and the islands are cut by a system of normal faults, striking ENE, which affects Malta especially and is responsible for cutting that island into a series of horst and rift blocks. 114

The first description of the geology of these islands was given by Commander T. A. Spratt (1843 and 1852) and later a general account was given by Murray 133 (1890) and his work stimulated others, especially Cooke (1893, 1893a, 1896, 1896a), to examine the rocks in more detail. During this century Rizzo (1932), Paver (1943), Sir E. B. Bailey (1943) and Morris (1952) have added detail mainly in connection with an examination of the water resources of the islands. Recently the literature has been reviewed and summarised by Reed (1949) and Hyde (1955). The fossils have been studied especially by Gregory (1891), Stefanini (1908), Roman and Roger (1939) and Eames and Cox (1956). The interesting fauna of the Pleistocene cave deposits have been described by Cooke (1891, 1896b), Cooke and Smith Woodward (1893) and Bate (1935), and Evans (1954, 1959) has described the prehistoric pottery sequence.

Note: Throughout this chapter, *four-figure grid references* have been used to locate the south-western corner of the kilometre grid square containing the feature named. The grid in use is that appearing on the standard two-inch map of Malta and Gozo, G.S.G.S. 3889. Edition 4, 1954, and reproduced on *Fig. 3 et seq.* The Roman numerals refer to regions marked on the inset map of Fig. 3. [128]

[p. 25]

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STRATIGRAPHY

The geological formations of the islands are very distinctive lithologically and this is reflected in the characteristic topography and vegetation which they produce. The Lower Coralline Limestone is responsible for forming the magnificent cliffs, some reaching 450 feet in height, which bound the islands especially to the west; but the rock is tough and intractable and inland usually gives rise to a barren grey limestone-pavement topography. The gentler, terraced slopes which succeed the Lower Coralline Limestone around the cliffs witness to the softer Globigerina Limestone which is the most widespread formation on the islands. It produces rather meagre soils, intensively cultivated, and a gentle, rolling landscape. The overlying Blue Clay, aided by the spring seeps above it, forms the most fertile bedrock on the islands. The outcrop is usually narrow and the slopes steep, but they are carefully terraced and tilled, except in the places where rains have produced unstable clay 'slurries'. The Upper Coralline Limestone caps the tabular hills, some of which reach 800 feet in altitude. These hill tops are typically barren and bare limestone plateaus of karstic types with joint cracks, small solution holes and underground caves.

The Tertiary succession bears a strong resemblance to that of south-east Sicily where a limestone-clay-limestone sequence occurs, and to that of North Africa (Macfadyen 1930). It is comparable to that of the Vienna Basin and representatives of the first Mediterranean stage of Suess (1904) are seen in the Lower Coralline Limestone and of the second Mediterranean stage in the Upper Coralline Limestone. The Blue Clay represents the 'schlier' facies, well developed, though probably diachronous, in the peri-Alpine region from Bavaria westwards. The Maltese sequence also bears a resemblance to that of Sardinia and southern Spain and the West Indies with which Haug has postulated a Miocene geosynclinal connection (Cottreau 1914, Stefanini 1924, Blow 1957).

1. Lower Coralline Limestone

This formation forms the characteristic vertical cliffs around most of Malta south of Fomm ir-Rih (4073) and St. Paul's Bay and also in western Gozo. The most magnificent cliffs are those south of Sannat, Gozo (3186), where 450 feet are exposed. A similar thickness is visible in the less spectacular cliffs near Ghar Lapsi, Malta (4864). The formation continues for a good depth underground and a borehole at Maddalena Quarry, Malta, penetrated 626 feet without reaching the base. Inland the Lower Coralline Limestone is brought up in several inliers, frequently associated with faults. The largest inlier, over one mile in width, is north of Mosta (4873) and Naxxar in central Malta and there is another, half a mile across, around the Attard Lunatic Asylum one and a half miles south of Mosta. This formation has been worked in a small way for ornamental stone on both islands under the name 'zonqor'.

The Lower Coralline Limestone is usually a dense, semi-crystalline, massive to moderately bedded limestone, occasionally silicified, ranging in colour from pure white to red and buff. The rock is largely composed of calcareous algae, especially *Lithothamnium* together with mollusc and echinoid fragments and common Foraminifera. A particularly well developed algal horizon occurs around Attard, Malta, where the limestone is silicified.

At the top of this formation is a characteristic band, a few feet thick, with numerous fossil sand-dollars, called the *Scutella* bed (Roman and Roger 1939). In Gozo and in north, east and south Malta it takes the form of a yellow detrital limestone, coarser than the Globigerina Limestone above, with *Scutella*, *Eupatagus*, *Schizaster*, *Echinolampas*, *Cidaris* and other echinoids with occasional nests of *Lepidocyclina* and *Bryozoa*. In some other places, as in central Malta around Attard and Naxxar, the *Scutella* bed cannot be recognised.

2. Globigerina Limestone

This formation outcrops over large areas in western Gozo and central and southern Malta and it provides the beautiful golden brown building stone, the 'franka', used for most of the buildings on the islands. The formation shows marked thickness variations. The greatest thickness now exposed, about 680

feet, is in southern Malta near Marsaxlokk (5965) and the thinnest, about 75 feet, is below Fort Chambray (3686) in southern Gozo. In general it is thinnest along a line passing north-south through the Comino Straits. 133

The Globigerina Limestone is a fine-grained white to buff calcarenite completely composed of calcareous tests of globigerinids, anomalinids, and other small foraminiferans. Within the formation are developed horizons of phosphatic nodules, usually very thin, and two of these extend throughout the islands and enable a subdivision to be made into lower, middle and upper divisions. These horizons are composed of individual nodules ranging from less than pea size to several inches in diameter. They range in colour from black through dark brown to green and are largely composed of collophane with up to 40 per cent. phosphate of lime in the lower beds.

One of the best exposures of the whole succession is seen near Fomm ir-Rih (4073) on the western coast of Malta. There the Middle and Lower Globigerina Limestone is best seen on the upthrown side of the Victoria Lines Fault at Fomm ir-Rih itself whilst the Upper Globigerina Limestone and the junction with the Blue Clay is seen 1,300 yards to the north-west. The succession is as follows:-

	Feet
3. Blue clay -	seen to 178
2. Globigerina Limestone	
(iii) Upper Globigerina Limestone	
Yellow-orange fine-grained and honeycomb-weathering limestone with abundant pteropods and scattered ferruginous nodules -	23
Light-grey/blue argillaceous marl -	25
Yellow, friable and jointed fine-grained limestone with scattered ferruginous nodules -	28
Yellow limestone as above but with several phosphatic seams (one is developed at Fomm ir-Rih and there forms a marked projecting cornice) -	9
(ii) Middle Globigerina Limestone	
Phosphatic nodule bed with limestone pebbles and abundant corals, fish teeth and other fossils, the whole passing irregularly down into the bed below -	3/4
Light grey to intensely white-weathering chalky limestone with khaki-hearted cherts in the middle portion: several thin nodule seams within it, two well marked ones lie 14 feet and 19 feet above the base -	129
(i) Lower Globigerina Limestone	
Phosphatic nodule bed forming a massive ledge with ferruginous and phosphatic nodules and abundant casts of fossils and fish teeth, etc. -	1
Fine grained yellow limestone with abundant *Pecten* spp. and Bryozoa -	3
Bryozoan and foraminiferan rock -	4
1. Lower Coralline Limestone	
Dense crystallised limestone forming sheer cliffs below -	100

The widespread *Scutella* graveyard, which is not well developed at Fomm ir-Rih, suggests that in upper Lower Coralline Limestone times the sea floor was nearly flat. During the deposition of the Lower and Middle Globigerina Limestone a zone of lesser sedimentation stretched through the Comino Straits while greater accumulation took place in a basin near Valletta and in western Gozo.

(i) Lower Globigerina Limestone: This division is typically a yellow, fine grained, occasionally fucoidal limestone, usually unbedded. It varies from a few feet in thickness, as at Fomm ir-Rih, to more than 300 feet near Valletta. 133 316

133 [316] Malta, and over 70 feet in western Malta. It provides the most important building stone on the islands, the 'franka', which is a very easily cut freestone which is worked in large, vertical sided quarries especially around Mqabba, Malta (5267), Sannat, Gozo (3186) and north of San Lawrens (2891). The franka when used for exterior work weathers well. The stone develops a tough outer layer but in time this often exfoliates and weathers in a curious honeycomb manner. There are abundant fossils in this division the commonest being *Flabellipecten*, *Schizaster* and *Eupatagus*.

A ubiquitous phosphatic nodule bed, varying from a few inches to three feet in thickness, marks the upper limit of the division. Within the limestone there are other seams of phosphatic nodules of only local distribution. There are two such near Naxxar (4974) at 40 feet and 90 feet above the base. The upper phosphatic nodule bed (bed G of Cooke 1896, p. 502) yields abundant fossils including the teeth of a giant shark *Carcharodon megalodon* and of the seal *Phoca rugosidens* and also *Stereodon*, *Notidanus* and *Odontaspis*. There are also corals, *Trochocyathus* spp., pectens and echinoids.

(ii) Middle Globigerina Limestone: The white marly limestones of this division which follow above the nodule bed at the top of the Lower Globigerina Limestone are everywhere readily distinguishable from the beds below in colour and lithology. The division is absent in eastern Gozo but increases to 150 feet near Rabat, Malta, and 390 feet in Marsaxlokk Bay (5965) where the series is very well exposed. Within this rather monotonous series several minor horizons of dispersed phosphatic nodules occur locally in west and central Malta. Also khaki-hearted cherts are developed in the lower portion and these form a prominent feature inland one mile south-west of Siġġiewi, Malta (4967). A wide-spread phosphatic nodule bed marks the upper limit of this division and below this in western Gozo is a coarse yellow limestone unit.

The sparse fauna found within the Middle Globigerina Limestone includes the typical Langhian or Burdigalian nautiloid *Aturia aturi*. Also there are the echinoids *Brissopsis* and *Schizaster* and several pectens. Of particular interest are the remains of the turtle *Tryonx melitensis* and the crocodile *Tomistoma*.

(iii) Upper Globigerina Limestone: The upper nodule bed at the top of the Middle Globigerina Limestone is followed by a return to yellow and coarser beds similar in lithology to the Lower Globigerina Limestone. This division does not show the same pattern of thickness variation as the two lower divisions. Typically it is 70-80 feet thick but expands southwards and at Delimara Point in south Malta (6064) there is at least 140 feet.

This division can be farther divided in many places into three parts: a lower, yellow, fine grained limestone, a light blue marly and argillaceous division, and an upper, fine grained yellow limestone with common pteropod casts and honey-317] comb weathering. When well exposed, the junction with the Bue Clay above is always clearly seen and it is difficult to understand why a contrary view is so widespread in the literature.

3. The Blue Clay

This formation, often called the 'Maltese Clays and Marls' or the 'Clays and Marls', lies conformably upon the Globigerina Limestone. It is a series of blue and yellow clays and marls, yielding selenite, up to 230 feet in thickness but at times thinning out completely. The clay is of considerable importance as a seal to the Upper Coralline Limestone and Greensand aquifer and has been used for pottery.

There has been considerable dispute as to the cause of the thinning of the Blue Clay. Murray and Cooke considered it was due to pressure of the Upper Coralline Limestone above leading to superficial 'bulging'. This is clearly a factor in most places, but in certain regions the Greensand and Upper Coralline Limestone may rest directly on the Middle and Lower Globigerina Limestone on a scale too vast to be interpreted as due either to 'bulging' or to removal by erosion of the intervening clay. In particular around San Anard (5970), two miles south-east of Valletta, the Upper Coralline Limestone transgresses northward over much of the Middle Globigerina Limestone and finally rests on the Lower Globigerina Limestone within half a mile.

Within the clay, rounded grains of quartz, augite, felspars and tourmaline have been recorded (Cooke 1893) and the fossils include pectens and *Aluria aluri*. These are of pelagic habit and similar to those typical of the true 'schlier' facies. 133

4. Greensand

The greensand is a coarse, orange-brown, thick bedded fragmental limestone which usually forms the base to the Upper Coralline Limestone cliffs. In the unweathered state an abundance of glauconite gives the rock a green colour. The thickness reaches a maximum of 50 feet in south-west Malta but it is usually about half this figure. In other places the formation is absent. The boundary with the Blue Clay below is very abrupt and, around the coasts, landslips commonly begin there. The upper boundary is often more difficult to define.

Frequently the rock is full of giant Foraminifera and has been termed a 'Heterostegina Rock' (Murray, 1890). Such developments are common on Gozo and near Dingli, Malta (4468). The formation has yielded a very rich echinoid fauna including *Clypeaster*, *Heteroclypeus* and *Echinolampas* together with shark teeth and the remains of dugongs, manatees, dolphins and whales.

5. Upper Coralline Limestone

This is the youngest Tertiary formation in the islands. Generally it caps the highest hills but, especially in northern Malta, faults bring it down to sea level. On Comino a thickness of some 250 feet is exposed and 530 feet was penetrated in a borehole near the centre of the Binġemma Syncline (4374) without reaching the bottom. Usually only about 100 feet is preserved on the high land. The rock varies considerably. Frequently it is composed of large growths of the coralline alga *Lithothamnium* with marly partings between the growths. In places it is a dense crystalline limestone and elsewhere there are thick marly seams rich in fossils. Compact limestone predominates, however, and it is usually poorly bedded. On Gozo the stone has been quarried as 'Gozo Marble' [316] which is hard, red to yellow in colour and taking a good polish. Petrologically the formation is very similar to the Leithakalke of the Vienna Basin with which it has been correlated (Fuchs 1874).

Fossils other than algae are locally abundant and they include the echinoids *Cidaris*, *Clypeaster*, *Schizaster*, *Echinus*, *Brissus* and *Echinolampas* together with abundant Foraminifera and large mollusca.

PLEISTOCENE AND RECENT DEPOSITS

These deposits may be conveniently divided into first, the valley loams and sands, second, the coastal conglomerates and breccias, third, the bone deposits in caves and fissures and finally the prehistoric remains.

The only widespread areas of valley deposits with stratified sands, loams and gravels of fluviatile origin are in the valley areas behind Mellieħa, St. Paul's, and Salina Bays.

Conglomerates and coastal breccias, often with Pleistocene Mollusca, occur in small patches around the Marfa Ridge, St. Paul's Bay, Mellieħa Bay, Għar Lapsi, Benġħisa Point (5863) and St. Thomas Bay (6067). They usually form a moderately cemented rock composed of local material (Trechman 1938).

The Pleistocene ossiferous deposits, filling caves and fissures in the limestones, have yielded numerous interesting animal remains. The Għar Dalam Cave (5765) is the most celebrated but there are others at Qrendi, Żebbuġ, Mellieħa and Malak. The oldest faunas include Pleistocene dwarf hippopotomi, pygmy elephants, dormice and swans and a later deposit has horse and deer.

Stone Age remains include 15 temples, the best of which is perhaps Tarxien, Malta (5660) which has provided vessels and amulets as well as statuettes of grotesquely fat divinities (Zammit 1930), but others are very fine, especially Ħaġar Qim, Malta (4965) and Ġgantija, Gozo (3489). There is also a three-storied Hypogeum at Pawla. The complex system of cart tracks, with cross roads and junctions, are probably also of neolithic age. A detailed cultural sequence based on potsherds has recently been described by Evans (1954, 1959). 172

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STRUCTURE

The Upper Coralline Limestone which crops out in eastern Gozo, Comino and in north and west Malta may be interpreted as marking the site of a much-faulted elongate basin, the axis of which strikes approximately N-S and which centres on Comino and north Malta. About four miles east of this line there is a disturbed anticlinal belt which runs from Salina Bay (4878) due south to Għar Lapsi (4864) which is responsible, in part, for bringing the Lower Coralline Limestone to the surface around Mosta and Attard. Farther east the Globigerina Limestone forms a broad basin around Valletta and east-central Malta. In Gozo the faulted and gently folded strata rise towards the west and south-west.

The rocks on Malta are cut by a series of normal faults which cross the island in ENE to NE directions. Structurally Malta may be divided into two regions by the greatest of these, the Victoria Lines Fault, which downthrows north and passes from the west coast at Fomm ir-Riħ (7340) to the east coast at Madalena Tower (5277). North of this fault are a series of rift and horst blocks which divide northern Malta into a series of valleys and ridges. South of the Victoria Lines Fault, the displacement on the faults is less conspicuous.

REGIONAL STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION

It is convenient to describe the structure of Gozo first, then the northern half of Malta, and finally southern and central Malta.

1. Gozo

The island of Gozo is structurally a block tilted to the north-east so that along the northern coast between Ras ir-Reqqa (3193) and Daħlet Qorrot (3889) the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone is below sea level, whilst in the south-west, at Ben Ġorġ (2788) and ta'Ċenċ (3286) it is around 400 feet above sea level. However, in the south and west this picture is disturbed by normal faults, fault complexes and flexures of some magnitude.

Over the northern half of the island the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone dips gently NE or NNE from about 200 feet above sea level at Rabat (3189) to 50 feet below sea level near Marsalforn (3392).

The southern part of the island, between Qala Dwejra (2789) and the North Comino Channel, shows more complicated structures. Here there are four structural downwarps around Qala Dwejra, Xlendi Bay, Mġarr ix-Xini and Għajnsielem, and complex faulting is associated with these. The Dwejra region (2789) forms a peculiar structural and topographical basin, almost a mile across and opening westward, in the centre of which the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone is brought near to sea level whilst at St. Lawrenz and Ben Ġorġ, one mile to the north-east and south respectively, it is at least 300 feet above sea level. In the centre of the downwarp are several circular or semicircular faults, the fault planes of which are clearly visible as walls around small amphitheatres about 350 yards across. These are probably collapse structures, but their origin is obscure. Through the region pass several east-west faults, one of which, with a downthrow to the north, continues to Rabat.

Around Xlendi Bay (2987) there is another structural downwarp accompanied by complex faulting. The major fault runs north-east up the Wied ix-Xlendi and subsidiary faults join it especially from the north where it is linked with the Qala Dwejra-Rabat Fault. Dips in towards the valley are high, reaching 28°SW. The structural low brings the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone to less than 50 feet above sea level, whereas near Ben Ġorġ to the west (2788), it is at 400 feet and along the cliffs near ta'Ċenċ to the ESE (3286) it reaches over 450 feet above sea level, the highest structural elevation on the Maltese Islands.

The valleys around Mġarr ix-Xini (3486) mark the site of a tectonic depression and fault complex. The two largest faults on Gozo pass out from this centre, one, to the WNW, reaches to Sannat and downthrows over 200 feet north, the other passes north-west to near Għajnsielem and on to Qala. Connected structurally with this complex is a syncline which passes northwards towards Xewkija where it links with the Xlendi Bay complex by the Xlendi Bay-Xewkija Fault. This syncline is cut by several faults downthrowing south.

The ix-Xini - Għajnsielem - Qala Fault, which reaches a maximum throw of about 400 feet south of Nadur (3688), tectonically separates south-eastern Gozo from the rest of the island. Between Għajnsielem (3587) and Qala (3887) Upper Coralline Limestone on the southern, downthrown side successively abuts beds between the Lower Coralline Limestone and the Blue Clay. Other minor faults, mainly striking NNE, E or SE proceeding westwards, cut the various formations which crop out along the coast.

2. Northern Malta

Northern Malta is dominated structurally by large normal faults striking ENE which divide the region into horst and rift blocks which are reflected topographically in ridges and valleys. The main units from north to south are, the Marfa Ridge, Mellieħa Isthmus, Mellieħa Ridge, Miżieb Valley, Bajda Ridge, Wied tal-Pwales, and the Wardija Ridge which passes south into lower land around Bingemma. The Għallis region (4978) forms a separate shallow dome to the south-east. This area is bounded to the south by the cliff-like face of the important Victoria Lines Fault between Fomm ir-Rih and Madalena Tower. With the exception of the Għallis region, where Lower Coralline Limestone and Globigerina Limestone have wide outcrops, the Upper Coralline Limestone has the largest outcrop and older formations are seen mainly around the coast.

The Upper Coralline Limestone of the Marfa Ridge dips north and is truncated to the south by a major fault, downthrowing at least 350 feet south, which introduces the Mellieħa rift valley. The southern fault of the Mellieħa Valley must exceed 200 feet in throw. Several other minor faults affect both the valley and the ridge and they strike ESE or ENE. There are also a few minor dip faults.

The Mellieħa Ridge varies in width from one mile in the east to half a mile in the west. A narrow fault belt, about 500 yards in maximum width, forms a southern boundary to the ridge and the downthrown Upper Coralline Limestone to the south underlies the Miżieb valley and gradually rises to the south to form the Bajda Ridge. The southern side of this ridge is limited by an important fault, downthrowing south, which passes from near the Naval Rifle Range (4077) to Rixawn Point (4578).

Wied tal-Pwales is a narrow rift only half a mile in maximum width, the southern boundary of which is marked by steep slopes along the line of a fault downthrowing over 200 feet north which passes NNE from Għajn Tuffieħa Bay (4076).

The country for two miles to the south is cut by several faults, mostly trending ENE, NE or E, but none are of great throw. The Upper Coralline Limestone here is gently folded, especially in the south against the Victoria Lines Fault where, at Bingemma (4374), an asymmetric syncline runs parallel with the fault.

The shallow dome around Għallis to the east shows only minor faulting. Some of the faults strike ENE, others NE.

The Victoria Lines Fault, downthrowing north between 300 and 600 feet gives rise to a fault scarp which is perhaps the most striking single topographic feature of the islands. The fault strikes ENE and in the west it almost brings the Upper Coralline Limestone down to the north against Lower Coralline Limestone. The throw in general decreases to the east and near Madalena Tower (5276) the Lower and Middle Globigerina Limestone is downthrown north against low levels in the Lower Coralline Limestone.

3. Central and Southern Malta

South of the Victoria Lines Fault numerous faults cross the country striking NE, but they do not form a dominant topographical control as they do to the north. Here the most important structures are large-scale gentle folds.

An anticlinal belt consisting of three main upwarps crosses central Malta from north to south between Mosta (4873) and Għar Lapsi (4864). To the west, a broad structural low centres beneath some of the highest ground. To the east, the broad, rolling Globigerina Limestone country forms a wide basin around

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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133 Valletta which gives way, in the extreme south-east, to southerly dips. The only important dislocation is the Malak Fault at Għar Lapsi which strikes NW and downthrows south-west at least 800 feet.

The westerly structural low brings the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone less than 100 feet above sea level between Qlejgħa (4072) and Baħrija (4171). But the region is very much complicated by shallow folds and faults. There is a general structural rise to the south-east, however, and this culminates near ta'Żuta (4566) where the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone is over 300 feet above sea level.

The main north-south anticlinal belt through central Malta was first recognised by Sir Edward Bailey. It is not, however, a simple ridge but forms several upwarps. The main domes are around Naxxar (4974), near Żebbuġ (4970) and north-east of Għar Lapsi (4865). The first and last of these domes brings the top of the Globigerina Limestone over 400 feet above sea level.

The broad Valletta basin which centres on the Grand Harbour must carry the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone a few hundred feet below sea level. To the north the structures rise to give the outcrops of Lower Coralline Limestone north of Sliema (5574) and to the west they rise towards the central anticlinal belt. To the south-west the rise culminates near Żurrieq (5265) and to the south, after rising to give the Lower Coralline Limestone inliers near Żabbar (5870) and Kospikwa (5771) the strata dip regularly to the south-east. Younger and younger strata are therefore regularly exposed in that direction and the highest beds, the Upper Globigerina Limestone, crop out on the peninsula of Delimara Point (6064).

The Malak Fault at Għar Lapsi (4864) downthrows the Upper Coralline Limestone at least 800 feet to seaward. The fault strikes NW and forms a conjugate association with the more usual NE or ENE striking faults. The fault plane is well exposed, and dips steeply seaward. The fault between Ta Berwiek (4864) and Deub il-Bagdal (4964) is double, enclosing a thick sliver of Globigerina Limestone.

The Age of the Faulting

The faults of the islands form prominent scarp faces and in many cases the actual fault planes show up as walls marked with original slickensiding. This suggests that the faulting must be quite recent. Indeed, Pleistocene Mollusca have been recorded in a crushed conglomerate caught up in the Malak Fault. [172] The neolithic cart tracks which enter the sea at St. George's Bay, Birżebbuġa and other places show that there has been even more recent movement of the islands.

114 This account is based in part upon a field survey of Malta and Gozo carried out at the expense of British Petroleum Company Ltd., in March-April, 1955. The geologists engaged in the work, in addition to the authors, were Dr. M. H. P. Bott and Dr. A. A. Wilson, also of the Durham Colleges' Geology Department. The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to the Directors of the Company for permission to publish this summary. In addition visits were made in 1958 and 1960.

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B. RELIEF AND LANDFORMS

133 The Maltese Islands, though they cover an area of only 120 square miles and reach a maximum height of little more than 800 feet, show great diversity of relief and landform. Thus detailed description and study involve the identification of a large number of regional divisions. The brief account which follows seeks to describe and analyse relief and landforms, and makes no attempt at full explanation of their origin and development since no detailed geomorphological work has yet been carried out in the islands. Furthermore, it has been found necessary to omit all mention of a large number of minor relief features which, though apparently insignificant when seen on the map, have had a decisive effect on the human occupation of the land, as will be shown in the sequel.

Briefly, the physical landscape of the Maltese Islands may be said to be composed of the following major elements:-

1. Coralline Limestone plateaus, which form the highest areas and are bounded by well-marked escarpments. These uplands range in size from the massive triangular plateau of western Malta to the tiny pinnacles of north-western Gozo.
2. Blue Clay slopes which separate the plateau uplands from the surrounding areas and which also occur in valleys cut into the plateau edges.
3. *Rdum* or 'undercliff' areas, occurring where the coralline plateaus meet the sea.
4. Flat-floored basins which in most cases are the result of faulting (e.g. Wied tal-Pwales) or downwarping (e.g. Binġemma Basin) but which are sometimes due to erosion and subsequent alluvial deposition (e.g. Wied il-Għasel).
5. Globigerina hills and plains - large areas of gently sloping land which, in Malta, take the form of a series of low ridges and shallow valleys but which, in Gozo, have a more varied though none-the-less subdued topography.

MALTA (Fig. 3)

The main island falls readily into two parts along the Victoria Lines fault, this major structural feature being marked by a well-defined escarpment which runs along the whole breadth of the island from Ras ir-Raheb (3973) to the coast (5277) north-east of Għargħur. The height of the escarpment decreases towards the east where, however, it becomes more abrupt. The Naxxar-Għargħur hills (xvii) are separated from the Wied il-Għasel (ix) lowlands by a precipitous drop of 150 feet, while in the west, the slopes down to the Binġemma Basin (xi) are appreciably gentler. The scarp face is broken by a series of deep embayments, of which the Wied tal-Baħria (4073), the Santi (4272) and Binġemma (4372) gaps in the west, the Wied ta'l-Isperanza (4875) in the centre and the Wied Anġlu (5076) and Wied id-Dis (5176) in the east are the most prominent. Only one of these, the Wied ta'l-Isperanza, makes a complete break through the Victoria Lines, and that an extremely narrow one. (Plate I.)

In the area south of the Victoria Lines, the major topographic divisions are clearly marked. To the west, the Coralline Limestone plateaus stand at heights of 600 to 800 feet and give way eastward through an irregular escarpment to the undulating areas developed on the less resistant Globigerina Limestone and lying for the most part below 400 feet. The western plateaus (xiii and xiv) are fretted on all sides by deeply incised valleys which have cut back into the upland to give it an extremely irregular outline. The south-western edge has been least affected by such action, and the regular line of cliffs are broken only in one place, where the wied complex of l-Imtahleb (4270) forms a deep embayment. Beneath the seaward edges of the plateaus lie the *Rdum* lands.

On the east is a series of valleys carved by streams descending to the central plains. From north to south, these are the Wieds il-Hemsija (4571), tal-Merħliet (4670), ta'l-Isqof (4669), il-Luq (4668), ix-Xagħri (4667) and Girgenti (4667). These valleys form deep depressions, their floors lying some 200 feet below the plateau spurs which separate them, spur and valley floor being connected by sweeping slopes developed on the Blue Clay. (Plate II.)

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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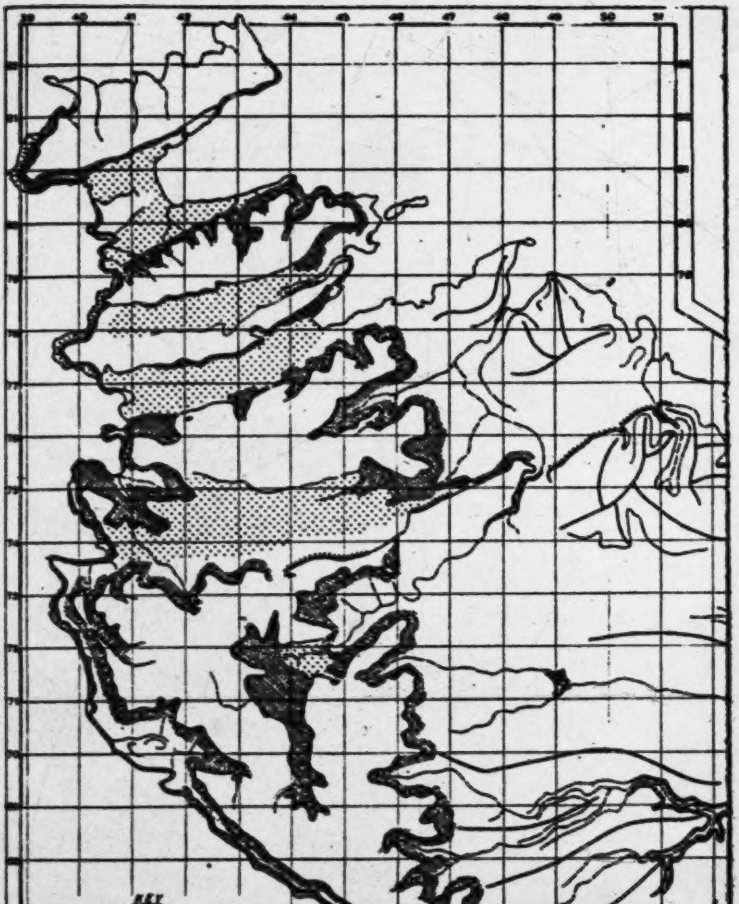
KEY
MAJOR SCARPS
OTHER IMPORTANT BREAKS OF SLOPE
FAULTED BASINS IN THE UPPER CORALLINE
BLUE CLAY SLOPES
MAIN CRESTLINES IN THE GLOBIGERINA
WIED COURSES
CLIFFS AND INCISED WIEDS

[p. 35-A]

Fig. 3 Physiography of Malta

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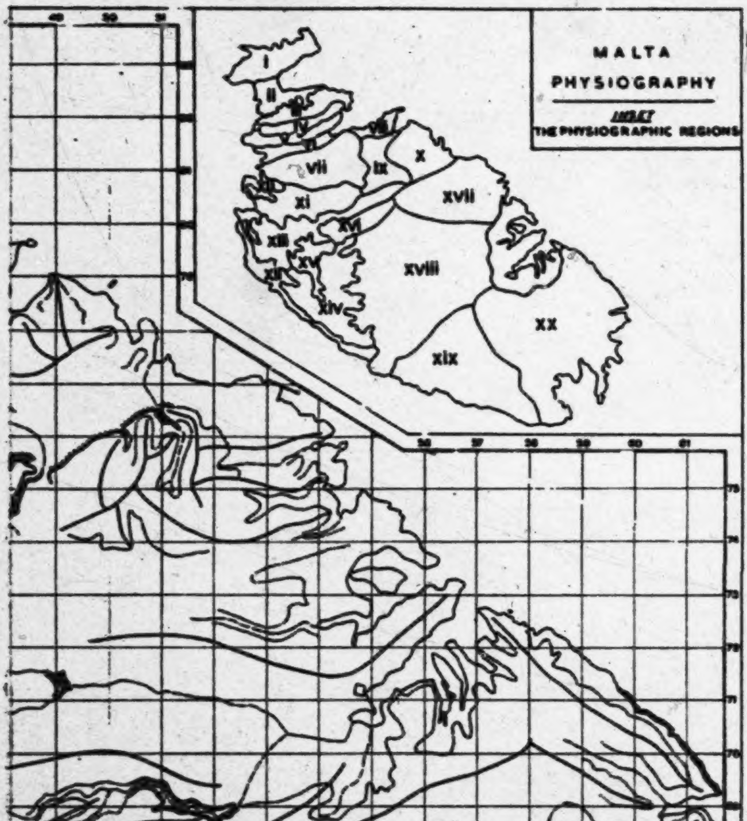
MALTA
PHYSIOGRAPHY
INSET
THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS
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Fig. 3

[p. 35-B]

Physiography of Malta.

133 The plateau itself is divided into two parts, the Santi-Binġemma (xiii) and Rabat-Dingli (xiv) Uplands, by the Blue Clay Basin (xv), an interior depression drained by the upper Wied Qlejgħa and its tributaries Wieds Għomor (4372), Għemieri (4371), il-Busbies (4371) and l-Iemu (4470) which converge towards the narrow outlet north-east of Fiddien Bridge (4471). The undulating, rocky surface of the plateau contrasts vividly with the valley and basin lands which surround and penetrate it, not only in landform, but also in the character of the human imprint.

The Naxxar-Għargħur Hills (xvii), though forming part of the Globigerina Limestone area of Malta, are sufficiently distinctive to warrant their inclusion as a major sub-division of the island. From their smooth and rounded summits at heights of 400 to 450 feet, the land falls away in convex slopes eastwards and southwards to the coast and to the Lija-Msida valley respectively. Several small valleys cut sharply into the surface but these are a good deal narrower than those of the Coralline plateaus described above.

The Central (xviii) Southern (xix) and Eastern (xx) regions are for the most part areas of gentle relief (Plate III), but even here the terrain is by no means featureless, and steep slopes occur in a number of places. West of a line running in the general direction Pawla (5569)-Luqa-Mqabba-Qrendi (5165), a series of ridges and valleys leave the Coralline plateaus of the west and the hill lands of the south to converge towards Marsamxett and Grand Harbour. Thus the Naxxar-Għargħur Hills are succeeded southwards by the Lija-Msida Valley which in turn gives way to the low upswelling of the Attard-Hamrun Ridge. This in turn falls away to the open valley of the Wied is-Sewda, bounded on the south by the Żebbuġ (4969) Ridge. Beyond this are the Wieds il-Beqqiegħa and il-Hesri, the Siġġiewi Ridge and the Wied Silani. In their upper courses, the three last-named valleys form gentle depressions rather than well marked troughs, but where they converge in the Wied il-Kbir complex (5269) they are sharply incised to depths of 100 feet or more below the general level before they open out again in the alluvial Marsa lowland (5470). The southern edge of this region falls to the the sea in a line of cliffs only slightly less impressive than those further west (Plate IV).' While the cliffs themselves are rarely more than 100 feet in height they are backed by steep slopes rising to a crest line which runs parallel to and less than a mile from the coast. The height of this crest-line declines eastwards from a maximum of 450 feet to about 150 feet south of Kalafrana.

East of the Pawla-Qrendi line mentioned above, the general relief trend is from east to west. Ridges running from Ricasoli (5772) to Żonqor (6169), from Żabbar (5870) to il-Bidni (6069) and from Żejtun (5868) to il-Gżira (6168) are separated by the Wied il-Għajn and ta'Mazza depressions, these features all converging towards Marsaskala Bay (6169). Further south, the convergence of ridges and valleys is towards Marsaxlokk. This arrangement gives an undulating character to the area, and steep slopes are confined to the coasts of Żonqor and Delimara and the Wieds ħas-Saptan and Dalam. The latter are both incised into the Lower Coralline Limestone.

Thus the landscape of the Globigerina areas is one of low ridges and valleys, and level land is very limited in extent, occurring only around the head of Marsa Creek and in the ta'Qali and Luqa (5268) airfield districts.

NORTHERN MALTA

The area north of the Victoria Lines fault is the most accidented section of the island, containing both the steepest slopes and largest expanses of flat or near-level land in Malta. Here, a major subdivision occurs along an irregular line running from St. Paul's Bay (4678) to Mosta (4874), which separates a western zone, where the Coralline cap rock has been preserved almost intact, from a smaller eastern area from which it has been entirely removed.

The eastern area falls into two sections of roughly equal size. The low upswellings of the Għallis Hills (x) and the Qawra Peninsula (viii), though their summits stand at less than 200 feet above sea level, are clearly defined topographic features, quite distinct from the broad, flat-floored, alluvial lowland of the Wied il-Għasel and its tributary the Wied ta'Għajn Riħana (ix). The latter

' [see page 46—Analyst]

[Text continues on page 38]

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Plate 1. Wied ta l'Isperanza. North of Mosta the valley cuts through the Lower Coralline fault-scarp of the Victoria Lines.

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Plate II. Western edge of Upper Coralline Plateau. Spring.
Foreground: ramped fields on Blue Clay slopes. Middle distance: Girgenti orchards and gardens. Background: Upper Coralline karst.

133 region stretches nearly two miles inland from Salina Bay (4878) and lies for the most part at heights below 50 feet, being abruptly terminated at its southern end by the escarpment of the Victoria Lines Fault.

The remainder of northern Malta consists of a series of fault-guided blocks and basins which, by comparison with the rest of the island give this region an almost mountainous appearance. From north to south, the major divisions are: the Marfa Peninsula (i), Mellieħa Isthmus (ii), Mellieħa Ridge (iii), Miżieb Depression (iv), Bajda Ridge (v), Wied tal-Pwales (vi), Wardija Upland (vii) and Binġemma Basin (xi) (Plate V). Important local features are, however, ignored in this simple statement.

The Marfa Peninsula (i), which reaches a maximum height of 400 feet in the west, has its steepest slope on the southern side where it overlooks the Mellieħa Isthmus and Mellieħa Bay in an abrupt fault-line scarp, the height of which decreases from 400 feet in the west to a little over 100 at the eastern extremity. The slope northwards to the Comino Channel (il-Fliegu ta'Malta) is a gentle one, diversified by numerous small valleys.

The Mellieħa Isthmus (ii) is a compound feature in which northern and southern alluvial depressions - il-Għadira and il-Hofra respectively - are separated by a low upswelling of Coralline Limestone which reaches a summit level of 200 feet near Ras in-Niexfa (4079).

The Mellieħa Ridge (iii) has been tilted from north to south so that its major escarpment, in which the Blue Clay outcrops, faces north over the isthmus and is breached by a series of narrow steep-sided valleys (Ġnejn Ingraw (4279), Wied Mellieħa, Wied Għajn Żejtuna (4379)) which form deep embayments in the scarp face. The ridge itself is a limestone plateau with a summit level of 400-450 feet declining eastwards to 300 feet or less in the Selmun - tal-Blata (4580) district.

The southern slope of the Mellieħa Ridge, though less abrupt than that on the north, is still well-marked and there is a drop of 200 feet in less than 300 yards to the Miżieb depression (iv). The latter is a narrow plain some 600 yards across and two and a quarter miles long with its lowest point about 100 feet above sea level. It narrows to the east and gives way to the Wied tal-Mistra (4478) where headward erosion from the Qala Mistra (4579) has exposed the Globigerina and Blue Clay and produced a valley whose floor lies less than 50 feet above the sea over a distance of one and a half miles.

The Miżieb depression is synclinal in structure and the southern limb of the syncline forms the gentler, northern side of the Bajda Ridge (v). The latter is another Coralline Limestone upland, but stands at heights (200-250 feet) a good deal lower than those already described.

A minor escarpment 50 to 100 feet high separates Bajda from the Wied tal-Pwales (vi), a flat-floored depression about half a mile wide which runs right across the island from Għajn Tuffieħa (4076) to St. Paul's Bay (4478). The highest point in this area is only about 75 feet above sea level and the greater part of the region is below 50 feet. With the exception of the Wied il-Għasel, this is the largest area of true lowland in the island. There is a marked contrast in landform between the northern and southern borders of this lowland. While the former is a minor escarpment rising directly to a limestone upland, the slopes of the southern sides are longer and less steep, passing through a zone in which patches of Blue Clay occur before attaining the summit of the Wardija Uplands.

The Wardija Uplands (vii), whose summits lie between 400 and 450 feet above sea level are the largest area of limestone plateau north of the Victoria lines and are more complex in detail than those already described. They are tilted from north to south so that their northern face is fretted by a series of north-flowing valleys but they have also been vigorously dissected along their eastern edge where the Wied Qannotta drainage system extends nearly to the Saliba crossroads (4476) and divides the eastern part of the uplands into northern and southern sections.

The dip slope of the Wardija Uplands leads south to the Binġemma Basin (xi), a flat-floored depression at heights of 250 to 275 feet. This region gives way eastwards through a well-marked break of slope (4575), to the upper Wied

[Text continues on page 39-B]

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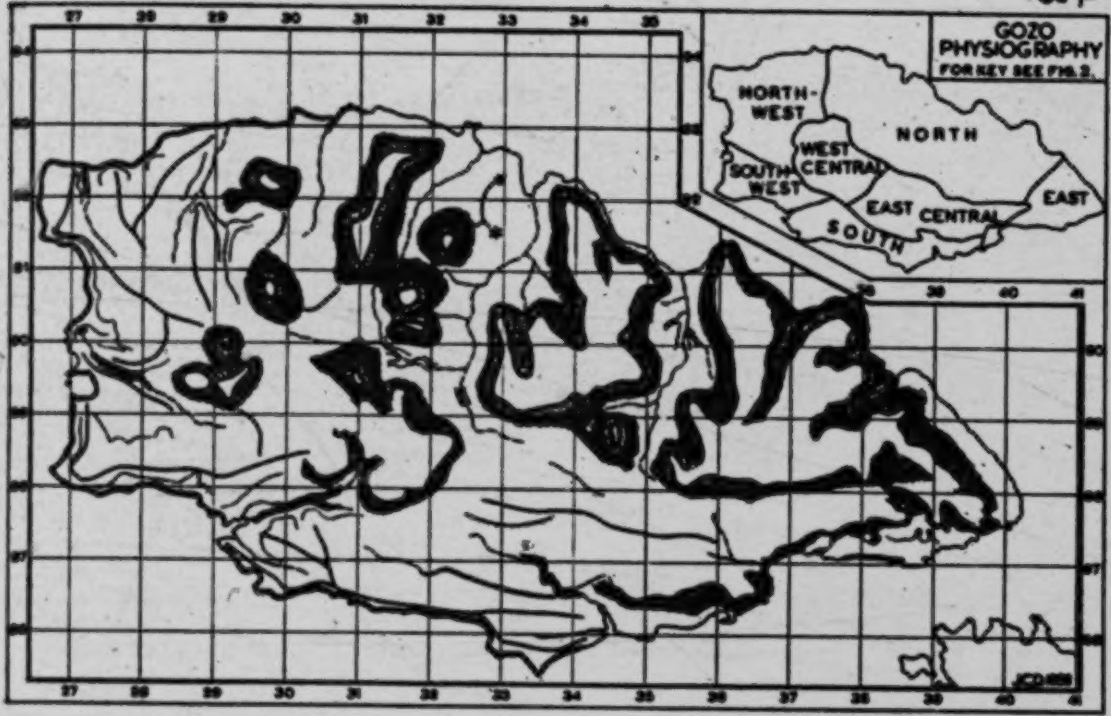
GOZO
PHYSIOGRAPHY
FOR KEY SEE FIG. 2.
NORTH-WEST
WEST CENTRAL
SOUTH-WEST
NORTH
EAST
EAST CENTRAL
SOUTH
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JCD 1958

Fig. 4 Physiography of Gozo.

[p. 39-A]

ta'Għajn Riħana which is, in fact, incised into the basin floor. The basin is in turn flanked on its southern side, by the long slopes, developed on Globigerina Limestone and Blue Clay, which lead up, through a vertical distance of some 500 feet, to the Victoria Lines. 133

The Ġnejna district (4175) requires separate mention since it forms an outlier of the Western *Rdum* ('Undercliff') Lands (xii), the main body of which lies south of the Victoria Lines on the seaward side of the Coralline plateaus. In Ġnejna, vigorous erosion by two streams has exposed the Globigerina and Blue Clay to give a deep embayment in the Coralline edge comparable in landform to the Imtaħleb embayment mentioned above.

GOZO (Fig. 4)

Though covering little more than one-third of the area of the main island, Gozo is topographically more varied than Malta. Two main features dominate the landscape: the fragmented plateau of Upper Coralline Limestone and the more low-lying plains and hills developed on the Globigerina. Between the two are sweeping slopes which mark the outcrop of the Blue Clay (Plate VI).

In the northern half of the island, erosion has broken the Coralline plateau into a series of disconnected fragments which diminish in size, but increase in height from east to west. The largest of these, the Nadur (3688) and Xagħra (3389) uplands, each cover an area of more than two square miles and rise to heights of 400-450 feet, thus occupying the bulk of the north-eastern part of the island. These uplands, like their counterparts in Malta, are penetrated by numerous sharply-incised valleys whose slopes and floors alike are developed on the Blue Clay. These include the Wieds Daħlet Qorrot (3889), tal-Mistra (3790) and San Blas (3790) and the eastern tributaries of the Wied ir-Ramla in the case of the Nadur plateau, while the Xagħra plateau is cut into by the Wied tal-Pergla and the eastern tributaries of the Wied ta'Marsalforn. Where these two uplands reach the coast, *Rdum* or 'undercliff' areas occur, Blue Clay slopes descending steeply to the sea from beneath the bluffs which mark the edge of the limestone

[p. 39-B]

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outcrop. In the far north-east, however, between Daħlet Qorrot and Ras il-Qala (4087), the slope down to the sea is a good deal less steep and a rocky platform occurs where the Lower Coralline appears in a narrow belt along the coast.

The Wied ir-Ramla, which separates the Nadur and Xagħra Uplands, is a wide, open valley, whose gently-sloping floor contrasts with the steeper slopes which mark its upper edge and with the narrow enclosed valleys mentioned above. This valley carries northward, albeit at a lower level, the Globigerina plains of central Gozo and the same may be said of the still larger Wied ta'Marsalforn, which separates the part of the island so far described from very different areas to the west.

West of the Wied ta'Marsalforn, small and scattered fragments are all that remain of the Upper Coralline plateau. The north-western part of Gozo is essentially an undulating plain of Globigerina limestone into which the valleys are for the most part not at all sharply cut and above which clay slopes lead up to the numerous mesas. These, though small in surface area, are an impressive feature of the landscape, standing as they do 150 feet or more above the level of the surrounding plains. The largest plateau is that on which Żebbug (3191) stands and this is only about one mile long and 400 yards across at its widest point. The Żebbug upland stands more than 500 feet above sea level and is bounded on the east by the Wied tal-Qlejgħa and on the west by the Wied il-Għasri, the two largest valleys of the north-western region.

A line of hills, culminating in heights of over 500 feet in the Coralline summits of tad-Dabrani (3291), ta'Kuljat (3190) and il-Harrax (3190), separates the Wied Qlejgħa from the Wied ta'Marsalforn. Minor summits in il-Qolla s-Safra (205 feet/3392) and il-Mirżuq (320 feet/3291) represent minute fragments of similar origin.

West and north of a line Żebbuġ-Kerċem (3088) - Ras id-Dwejra (2790), the Globigerina plains rise slowly to heights of 300-375 feet along the western coast where cliffs descend to the sea in a sheer drop of nearly 300 feet. In this region, too, numerous mesas such as Ġordan (2992) and Għar Ilma (2989) occur, all standing more than 500 feet above sea level. The valleys of the Wied il-Għasri (3092), Wied il-Mielaħ (2992) and Wied ir-Raheb (2792) are broad, open and gently-sloping save in their lower courses where, over short distances, they have exposed and cut into the Lower Coralline.

In the Qawra (2790) - id-Dwejra - Wied Ilma (2889) area, complex faulting has led to the formation of a deep trough which separates north-western Gozo from the hill-lands of the south-west. The latter reach a maximum height of 528 feet near Ras il-Wardija (2688) and fall away eastwards to the outskirts of Kerċem where they stand at 350 feet. Markedly assymetrical in form, the Wardija hills slope gently north to the Wied Ilma but are bounded on their southern side by precipitous cliffs which in places are as much as 400 feet in height. Further east, this southern edge turns inland to overlook the narrow, fault-bounded trough of the Wied ix-Xlendi (2987).

The southern coastal area between the last-named valley and the Wied Mġarr ix-Xini (3486) is a second region in which uplands, in this case rising a little above 450 feet, are bounded on the south by a line of cliffs and fall away in gentle slopes northwards to the central plains. East of Sannat (3137), however, the ta'Ċenċ upland (3286) overlooks the central plains in a well-marked fault-line scarp some 50 feet high, along which a narrow outcrop of the Lower Coralline occurs.

East of Mġarr ix-Xini, a change takes place in the character of the southern coast. Inland, faulting has preserved a large area of Upper Coralline from beneath which the Blue Clay outcrops to form the seaward slopes. Thus Rdum it-Tafal (3686), Wied tal-Mġarr (3687) and taż-Żewwieqa (3787) are similar in character to the coastlands of the north-east.

Near and to the east of Qala (3888), a southward extension of the Nadur plateau is flanked on its southern side by a fault-shattered zone in which the detailed arrangement of landforms is extremely complex. Blue Clay valleys, of which the Wied tal-Qala (3887) is the largest, run south to the coast and are separated by promontories and lines of cliffs.

The areas so far described enclose the central region of Gozo. This area, though by no means devoid of variety, is the least accidented part of the island.

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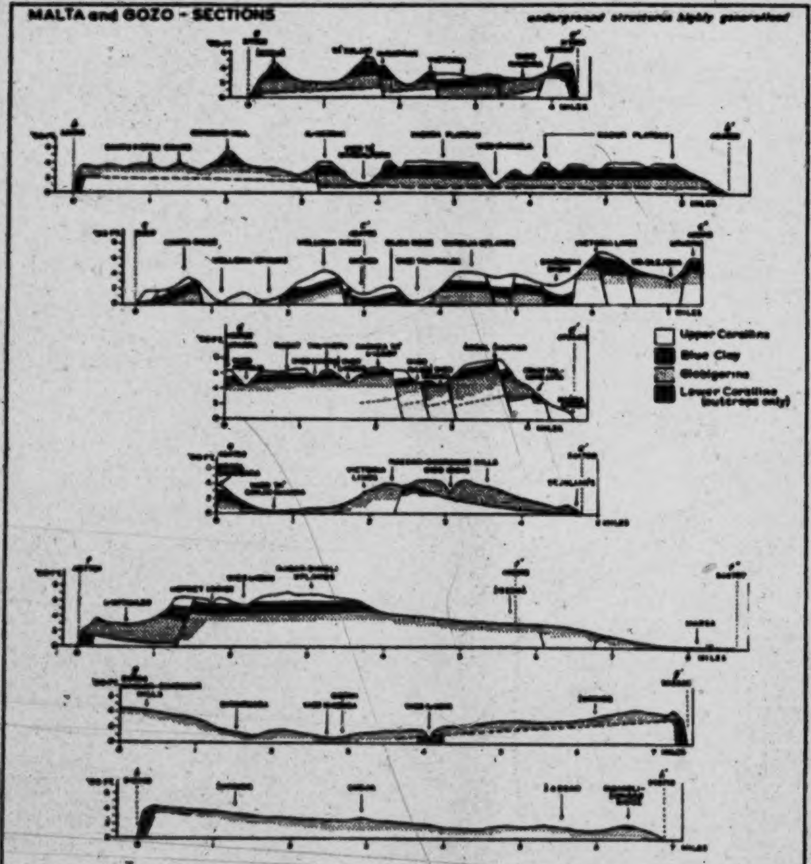
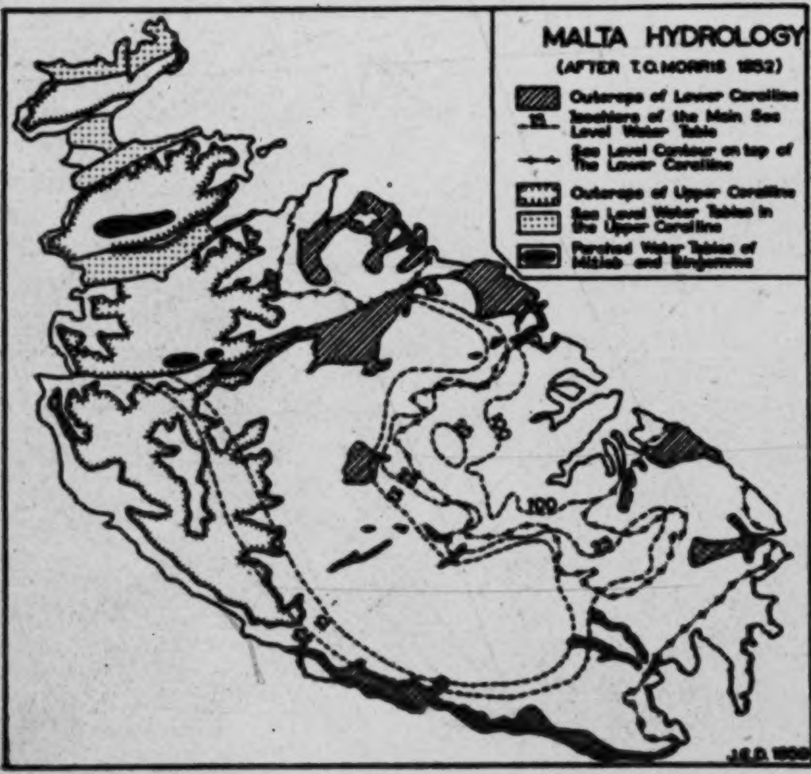

MALTA and GOZO - SECTIONS
underground structures highly generalised
Upper Coralline
Blue Clay
Globigerina
Lower Coralline (outcrops only)

Fig. 5 Sections, Malta and Gozo.

West of Rabat, il-Gelmus (479 feet/3189) separates the Żebbuġ-Rabat basin, drained by the upper reaches of the Wied ta'Marsalforn, from the San Gorġ basin (3089), whose outlet is via the Wied tal-Lunzjata (3188), to the Wied ix-Xlendi. These basins, whose lowest points are at 250 and 175 feet respectively, rise gently to low cols on which stand the villages of Għasri (3090) and Santa Luċija (3989). Rabat itself is sited on a low elevation of Upper Coralline, flanked on its eastern side by a minor escarpment beneath which unusually gentle clay slopes occur.

The area between Rabat and Għajnsielem (3687) is an undulating district lying at heights between 275 and 350 feet. The Xewkija (3387)-Għajnsielem Ridge, which is fault-bounded on its southerly, steeper side, is a recognisable topographic feature, though it rises but little above the general level of the area. The ridge is flanked on either side by plains of which the one to the north is

133 the most uniform. To the south, the slight incision of the Wied Hanżira (3387) gives somewhat steeper slopes, though here again relief is very subdued. No topographic break occurs where, to the east, faulting has preserved the Upper Coralline, and the central plains continue unchanged across the structural boundary until they fall away to the Wied Biljan (3787) and the Wied tal-Mġarr which run down to Mġarr Bay.


MALTA HYDROLOGY
(AFTER T.O. MORRIS 1952)
Outcrops of Lower Coralline
Isochlors of the Main Sea Level Water Table
Sea Level Contour on top of The Lower Coralline
Outcrops of Upper Coralline
Sea Level Water Tables in the Upper Coralline
Perched Water Tables of Mizieb and Binġemma
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J.E.D. 1960

Fig. 8 Hydrology of Malta.

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Plate III. The Central Plains. Summer.
Foreground: summer vegetable cultivation. Middle distance: carob trees on valley side.
Background: Wied is-Sewda and Qormi village.

Plate IV. Cliffs south of Zurrieq. Spring. Narrow, terraced fields.

thus of surface temperature regime. However, soil profiles show virtually no difference between different sites, and it is only in exceptionally wet locations that the normal pattern of aridity is sufficiently overcome to allow the development of noticeable humus horizons. 132 134

In the past there have been broad oscillations of climate responsible for the production at different times of widely differing soil materials such as the 'red soil' (red brown Terra clays), stoney calcareous debris and aeolian sands which are now the materials parent to the present soil. The present climate, however, is not a leaching climate.

This uniformly arid climate is in strong contrast with that of some other latitudes, for example, that of Britain, and suggests itself as the reason for the restricted range of soils found in Malta and Gozo.

PARENT MATERIAL

The rocks which are ancestors to the soils are all closely similar in type chemically, and only moderately variable in physical characteristics. Thus only a limited range of soil types is to be expected. However, the massive, well-jointed limestones have developed karst landscapes because they favour percolation and solution more than do the porous but nearly impervious finer-textured limestones. On the karstlands the red brown Terra clays have developed on almost completely de-calcified residues from the limestone, but on the other landscapes there has been a minimum of decalcification, and the soils are very like the rocks from which they have been formed. Thus, the composition of the impurities in the limestones from which they were originally weathered mainly decides the nature of the Terra soils (although inblown calcite has increased their calcium carbonate content). Similarly the texture and detailed composition of the carbonate raw soils and xerorendzinas is closely dependent on the parent material. The parent material type is therefore important for Maltese soils because it partly determines what pedological processes can take place and especially because the processes taking place now have little effect. 133 134

TOPOGRAPHY

Topography generally influences the development of the soil in a variety of ways, and chiefly through modifications of climate, variable conditions of drainage and effects on erosion and transportation processes. It has been noted that in Malta and Gozo the variations of topography produce sites with very different insolation conditions, but the effect on soil processes is negligible. It is only in the extremely freely-drained conditions of some hill tops, where lime crust yermas are simulated on parent materials of fine sandy loam texture that the effect of topography on drainage conditions can be thought to be sufficient to produce soil modifications. Flooding with sea water may be attributed to topography, and in the Alcol series at Salinas, for example, slight salinity is the result.

The effect of topography on erosion, transportation and deposition is more noticeable. Under former cooler climatic conditions, solifluction took place, and under the present conditions sheet or gully erosion occurs during the violent showers of late autumn. The result is that there are strikingly different eroded and alluvial phases of the same soil series in some locations. On the Blue Clay soils the alluvial, light clay type is more favourable to agriculture than the eroded heavy clay type which is in patches alkaline or saline-alkaline.

BIOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

Apart from man's activities, biotic factors are of relatively small importance in the soils. Humus horizons are only developed under well grown and long undisturbed vegetation, which is very rare. The organic-matter deficient humus forms of the surface horizons of the cultivated soils can only be seen easily under the microscope, and the soil fauna seems to be very limited in numbers. 134 311

The modifications of the soil pattern produced by man are, on the other hand most profound. Apart from the large area of Malta which has been covered by human habitations, factories, airfields and military installations, where the

Plate V. Northern Malta. Spring.
From top left to bottom right: Bajda Ridge, Wied tal-Pwales, Wardija Upland, Binġemma Basin.

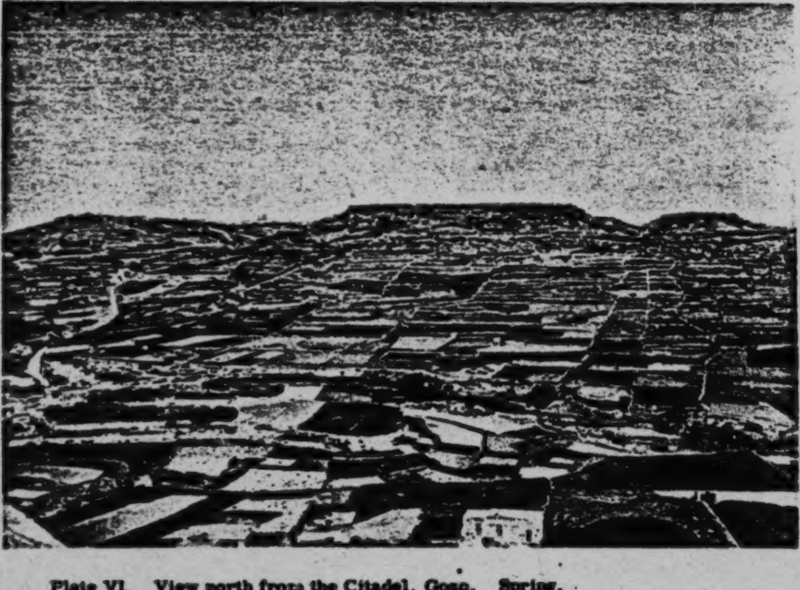

Plate VI. View north from the Citadel, Gozo. Spring.
Foreground: dissected Globigerina plain. Middle distance: Blue Clay slopes.
Background: Upper Coralline plateaux. (Żebbuġ church, left centre).

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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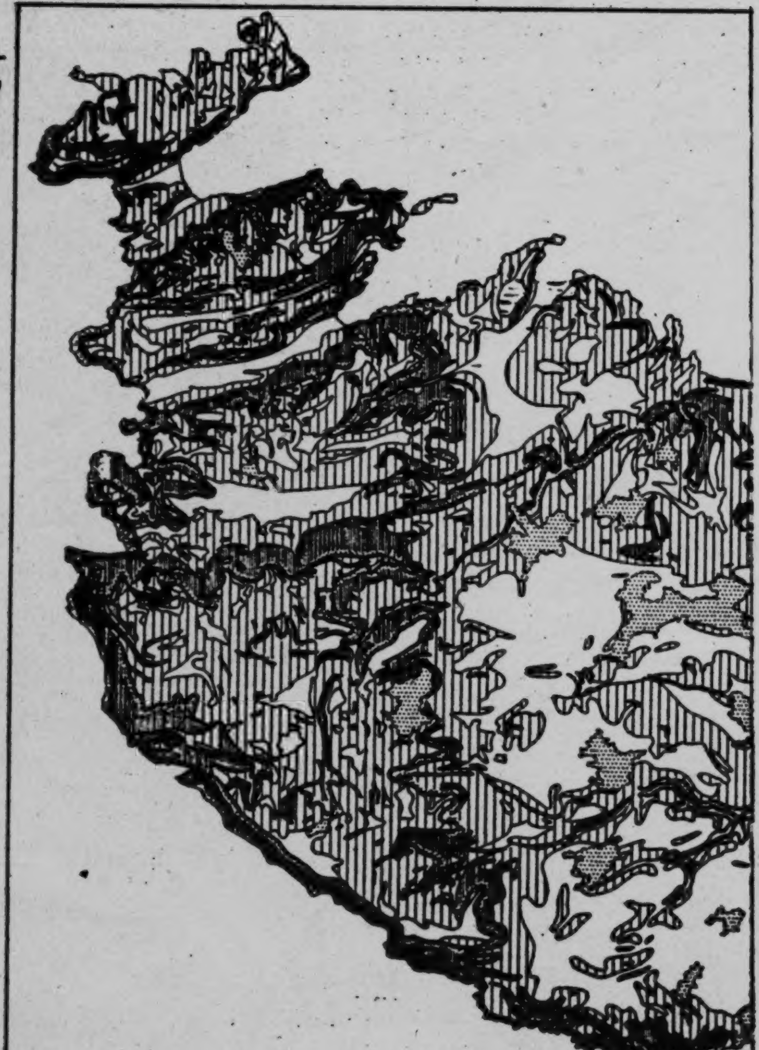

[p. 98-B]

Fig. 28 Steepness of Slope
(Malta).

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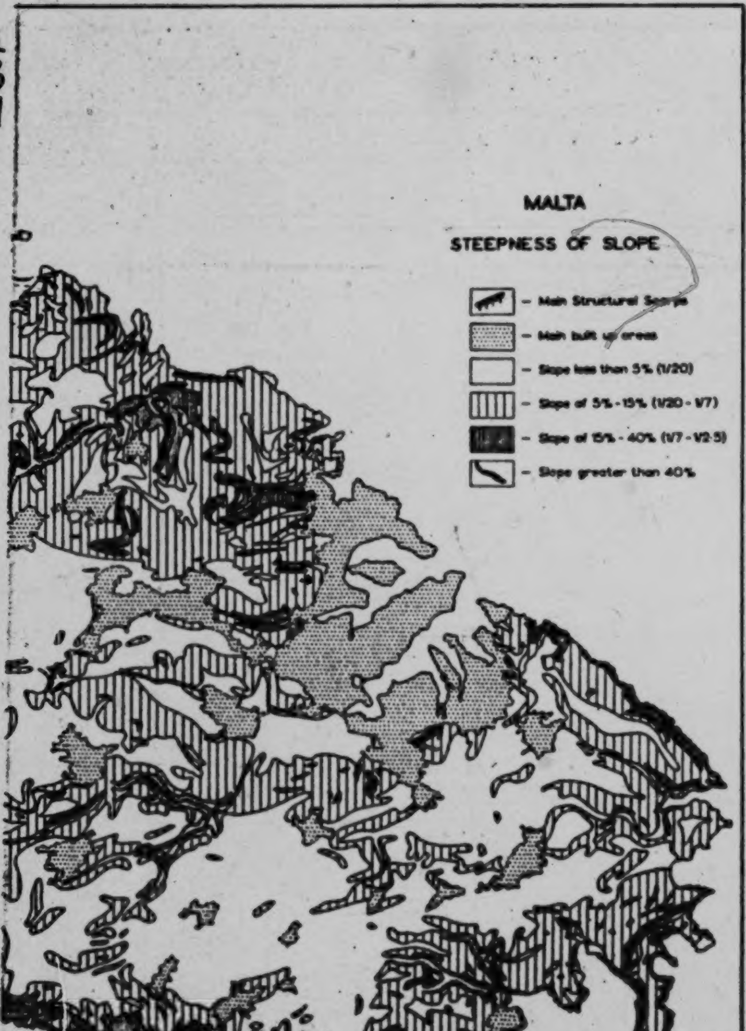
MALTA
STEEPNESS OF SLOPE
- Main Structural Scarps
- Main built up areas
- Slope less than 5% (1/20)
- Slope of 5%-15% (1/20 - 1/7)
- Slope of 15% - 40% (1/7 - 1/2.5)
- Slope greater than 40%

Fig. 28

Steepness of Slope (Malta).

[p. 98-C]

B. Slope Analysis, Erosion and Tillage

The slope map (Fig. 28) is a further illustration of the regional variations 133
in the physical landscape which were described in some detail in Chapter I. The 134
most clearly marked feature is the division into Western Scarplands and Central
and Eastern Hills and Plains. In the former, gently sloping land (slopes less 311
than 1 in 20) is confined to basins and to a few very limited parts of the plateau uplands. Sharply accidented topography and thus steep slopes are widely developed in this region, reflecting its complex structure. Slopes of gradients ranging from 1 in 7 to 1 in 2.5 occur along the faulted edges of all the plateau blocks as well as in the zone of Blue Clay outcrops which separates them from the Globigerina lands to the east. The various uplifted blocks themselves generally have undulating summits with slopes between 1 in 20 and 1 in 7. In the Central and Eastern Hills and Plains, the position is reversed. Over these parts of the Island gently sloping land (gradient less than 1 in 20) covers at least half the area and really steep slopes (greater than 1 in 7) are confined to coastal cliffs and a few valley incisions, the latter case being particularly widespread in the Naxxar-Gharghur hills.

There is, however, no simple correlation between steepness of slope and the presence or absence of cultivation. Indeed, the greater proportion of the land shown on the map as having a gradient greater than 1 in 7 is in fact still under the plough. The distribution of waste and abandoned land, occurring on plateau summit rather than scarp face, is a function of rock-type, exposure and various social and economic factors (see p. 227) rather than of gradient. That gradient only in extreme cases sets absolute limits to the extent of cultivation is illustrated by the Rdum zone of the south-west coast where, in the Rdum ta'Dingli and the Rdum tal-Lunzjata, intensive cultivation is maintained in land whose average gradient is greater than 1 in 2.5.

Though gradient has little direct effect on the pattern of farmland and waste, it obviously has much to do with the physical effort involved in maintaining a particular piece of land in cultivation. Even here, the control is by no means absolute. The problems of retaining a soil cover are much less serious in steeply sloping districts where thick, heavy soils are derived from the Blue Clay, than in areas of similar gradient where the parent rock is of Globigerina or Coralline Limestone. In the latter case, soils are thin and coarse, *'campi artificiale'* are frequently found and the soil, once removed, is not easily replaced either by natural or by human agencies.

The character of field boundaries illustrates this point. In Blue Clay areas they are generally low ramps rather than retaining walls, whereas in steeply sloping limestone areas, walls of great height and thickness are necessary to maintain a rudimentary soil cover. Field shape and size (see Fig. 68 and p. 185) are also relevant. Long, narrow, ribbon-like fields are characteristic of steep slopes in limestone districts, while in Blue Clay areas fields are generally much larger, despite steep gradients.

The dangers consequent upon careless tillage and failure to maintain boundary walls are greatest on slopes steeper than 1 in 7, in areas where the soil cover is thin and is either artificial or derived from limestone rocks. The abandonment or neglect of a single field, the breaking down of a single wall quickly lead, in such areas, to damage above and below the neglected field and may eventually affect a whole flight of terraces, even driving away other cultivators who are unable to bear any increased load of maintenance work on their walls and fields. While outstandingly heavy storms can cause damage to land of all types (see p. 67), in areas falling within the category indicated above, constant vigilance is necessary at all times, both in the use of traditional methods of tillage and particularly in the introduction of new ones.

[P. 99]
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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

133
341
361

Plate XIII. The Grand Harbour, Malta.

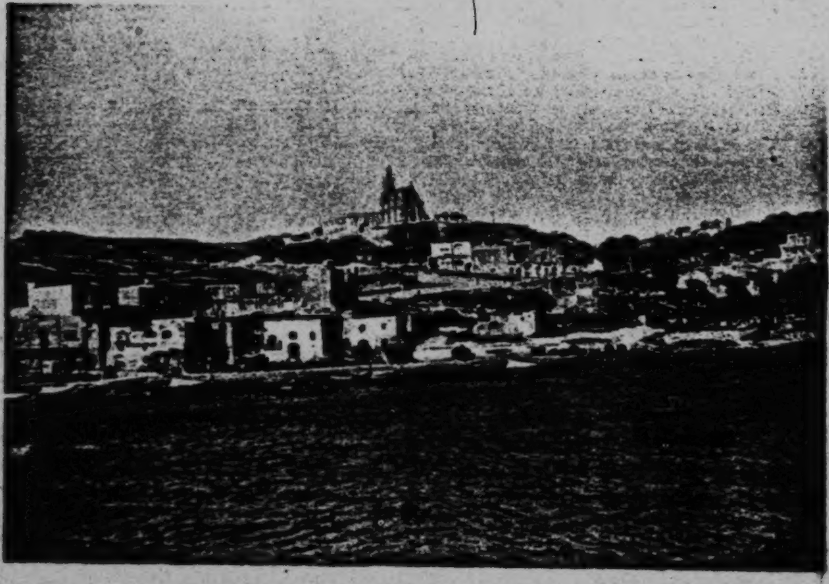

Plate XIV. Mgarr Harbour, Gozo.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta9

*241

*311

[102]

[133]

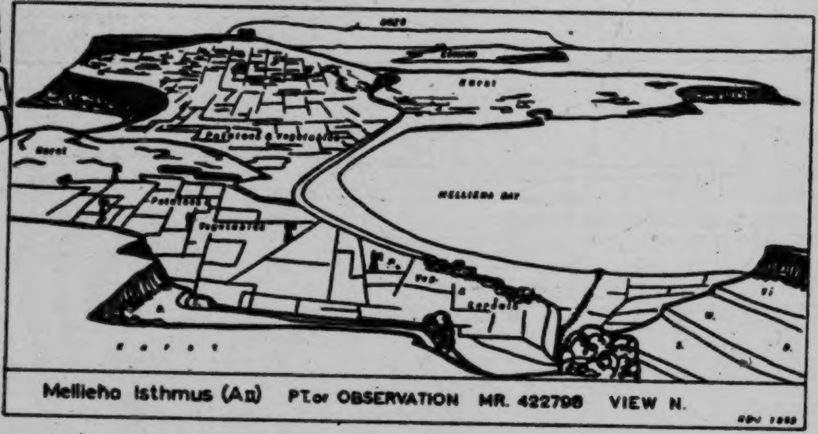

Fig. 103 Malta: Mellieħa Isthmus.

(8)*, id-Dahar (Fig. 102 B) above the Wied Ghajn Tuta (1), and in smaller scattered plots. It also occurs in the undercliff zones of Rdum tal-Qammieh (9)* (significantly, 'Qammieħ' means 'wheat-producing') and Rdum tal-Ahrax (10) where Blue Clay and Globigerina outcrop beneath the Upper Coralline scarp. A few small homesteads are sparsely scattered over these zones. In the small valleys which open to the north, such as Wied Musa (2) and ta'Maċċia (5) (Fig. 102 A), wind-pump irrigation and road development have allowed the introduction of commercial cultivation of potatoes and vegetables. Field boundaries have been recast, new farms built and cultivation extended on to former wasteland. The utilisation of these small oases is essentially precarious as sea-spray salinity on the one hand and ground-water salinity induced by over-pumping on the other set definite limits to productivity. Abandoned wind pumps mark points at which these limits have been over-stepped.

Thus in the region there occur simultaneously both slow abandonment of the harder lands and reclamation of especially favoured pockets.

A.II. MELLIEĦA ISTHMUS (Fig. 103)

There are three separate areas of cultivation. Il-Ghadira (11) and il-Hofra (12), lying on either side of a barren karstic hill, are pump-irrigated for the production of potatoes and some summer vegetables. Good dry farming is represented by the marled slopes between Mellieħa and the sea (13).

A.III. MELLIEĦA RIDGE

Here, as in other, analagous regions, there is a natural association of central summit-lands with fringing valley embayments. In the west, rising in cliffs from the sea and more gently from the head of Miżieb, the ridge is almost entirely waste, although a few small plots of minor fodders and beans have survived abandonment. Near Mellieħa, in contrast, small scale reclamation is extending an area of rather more intensive cultivation. This is associated with the rapid growth of Mellieħa itself. Further to the east, topographic controls become dominant, cultivation, with one exception, being confined to the several depressions. Wied Imġiebah (19) is intensively cultivated in spring-watered high terraces near the cliffed coast. Further inland, where water is less plentiful,

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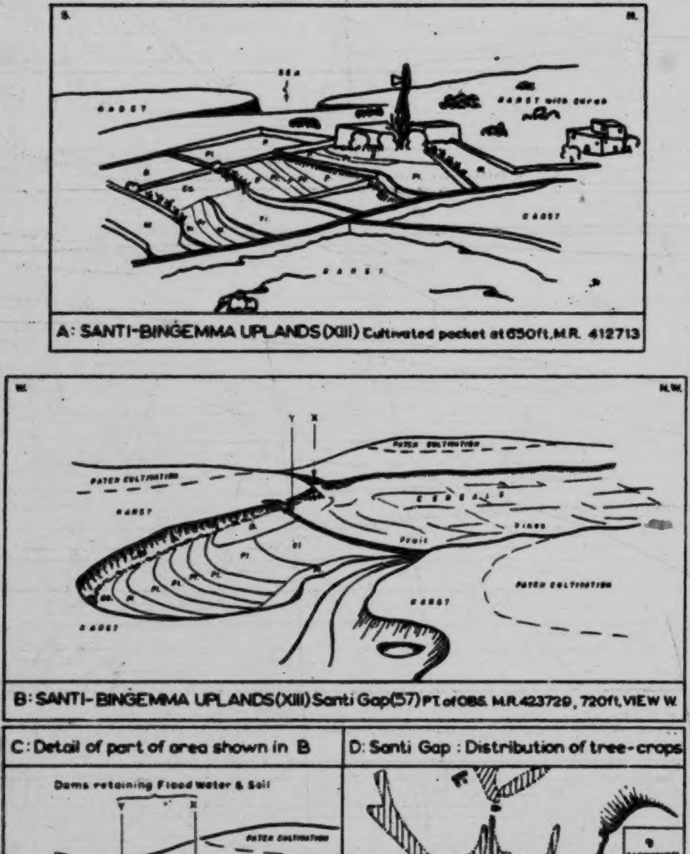
*A number in brackets following a place name refers to Figs. 69 and 70.

*241
*311
102
133
●

[245]
→

[312]
←


S.
N.
SEA
KARST
KARST
KARST
Pl.
W.
N.W.
Y
X
PATCH CULTIVATION
PATCH CULTIVATION
PATCH CULTIVATION
KARST
KARST
KARST
CEREALS
Vines
Fruit
Pl.
Dams retaining Flood water & Soil
Y
X
PATCH CULTIVATION
KARST
KARST
CEREALS
CEREALS
Fruit and Citrus
Fruit & Vines
Vines and Vegetables
Pl.
FARMHOUSES
FRUIT
VINES
N

A: SANTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS (XIII) Cultivated pocket at 650ft, M.R. 412713

B: SANTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS (XIII) Santi Gap (57) PT. of OBS. M.R. 423729, 720ft, VIEW W.

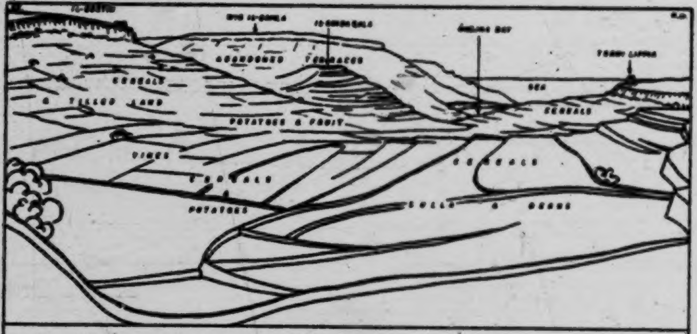
C: Detail of part of area shown in B

D: Santi Gap : Distribution of tree-crops

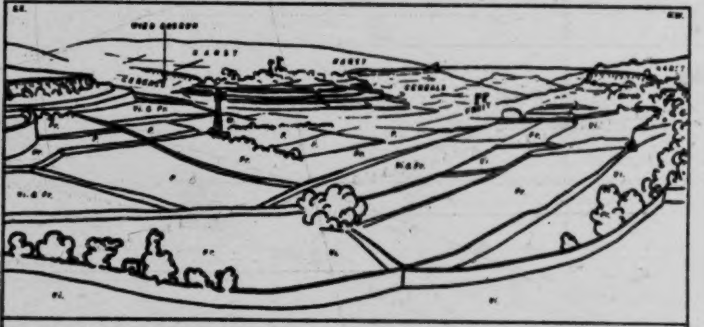
Fig. 107 Malta: Santi-Bingemma Uplands.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

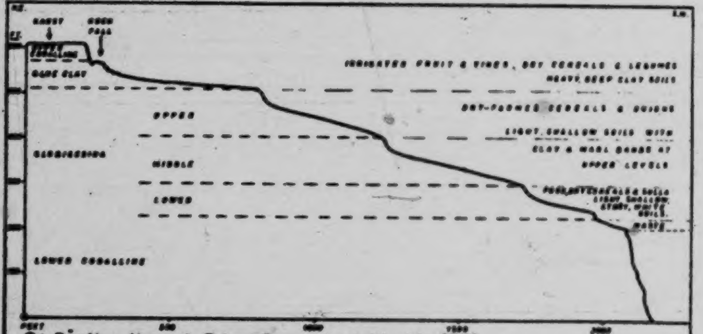
241*
311*
102
133


ABANDONED TERRACES
ĠNEJNA BAY
SEA
CEREALS
& TILLED LAND
POTATOES & FRUIT
CEREALS
VINES
CEREALS
POTATOES
SULLA & BEANS

A: Wied Il-Ġnejna (51) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 423749, HT. 225ft., VIEW W.


KARST
KARST
CEREALS

B: Wied ir-Rum (64) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 434696, HT. 600ft., VIEW N.W.


KARST
UPPER CORALLINE
BLUE CLAY
IRRIGATED FRUIT & VINES, DRY CEREALS & LEGUMES
HEAVY DEEP CLAY SOILS
DRY-FARMED CEREALS & ONIONS
UPPER
LIGHT, SHALLOW SOILS WITH
CLAY & MARL BANDS AT
UPPER LEVELS
GLOBIGERINA
MIDDLE
LOWER
LIGHT, SHALLOW, STONY, WHITE SOILS
LOWER CORALLINE
FEET
500
1000
1500
2000

C: Section through Rdum Zone at tal-Merħla (62)

Fig. 109 Malta: Western Rdum Lands.

Malta

*241
*311
[102
133]

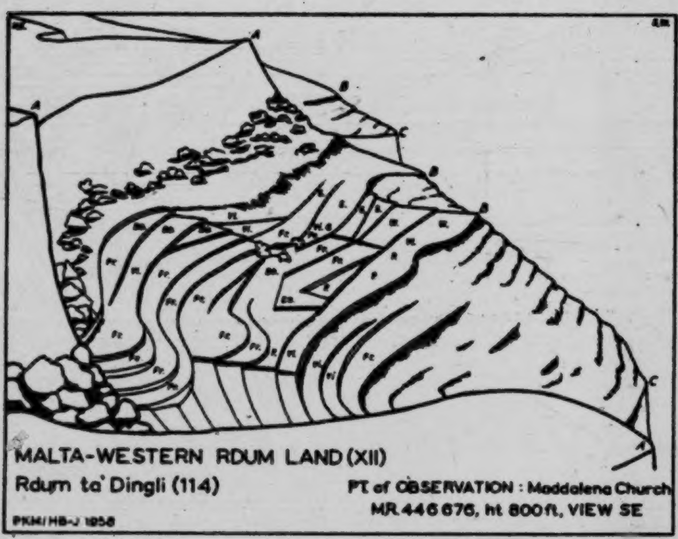

A
A
B
C
B
B
C
A
MALTA-WESTERN RDUM LAND (XII)
Rdum ta' Dingli (114)
PT of OBSERVATION : Maddalena Church
MR 446676, ht 800 ft, VIEW SE
PKM/HB-J 1958

Fig. 110 Malta: Western Rdum Lands.

as, for instance, in the Rdum ta'Dingli (114) (Fig. 108), the cultivation of steep, narrow terraces between formidable cliffs represents a desperate clinging to limited resources. In others, great embayments such as Ġnejna (51) (Fig. 109A), l-Imtaħleb (63) and Wied ir-Rum (64) (Fig. 109B) offer greater and more easily realised opportunities for specialised farming. In all cases in the *rdum* zone is found a cross-section of the complete geological sequence found in the Islands and this exerts a close control over topography, hydrology, soil-formation and land use. Ideally, and as may be seen at tal-Merħla (62) (Fig. 109C), belts of cultivation lie between the Upper Coralline scarp-cliff and the sheer sea-cliff of the massive Lower Coralline. Zonal differentiation is otherwise controlled by the incidence of springs from the Upper Coralline cap, by differences in gradient and by minor variations between the different beds within the Greensand, Clay and Globigerina series. Although the aspect of the *rdum* lands suggests exposure to strong westerly and south-westerly winds, in fact they often lie in a pocket of calm air below the main airflow which is deflected up and over the *rdum* belt by the high sea cliffs. As evidenced by terrace walls, cultivation has been more extensive in the past. Abandonment is still proceeding and is most rapid in areas which are either most difficult of physical access, e.g. Rdum tal-Vicarju (61), or most remote from settlement, e.g. tar-Raheb (60) ('the place of the hermit').

The most simple type of *rdum* cultivation is exemplified in the narrow sea-facing zone including the Rdum Dun Nazio (80) and the Rdum ta'Dingli (114). Figs. 109C and 110 show the close inter-relationship between geology, slope and cultivation. Three major breaks of slope result from differential erosion. From the Upper Coralline cliff edge (marked A in Fig. 110) a steep cliff falls to a concave slope of gentler gradient on the Blue Clay and Upper Globigerina. Here, on the spring-watered terrace-retained mixed soils, typical *ġnien* crops are found. Below the break of slope B and on the steeper convex slopes of the Middle and Lower Globigerina beds lie a series of abandoned narrower and more inaccessible terraces. Points marked C indicate the line of the upper surface

241*
311*
[102]
[133]

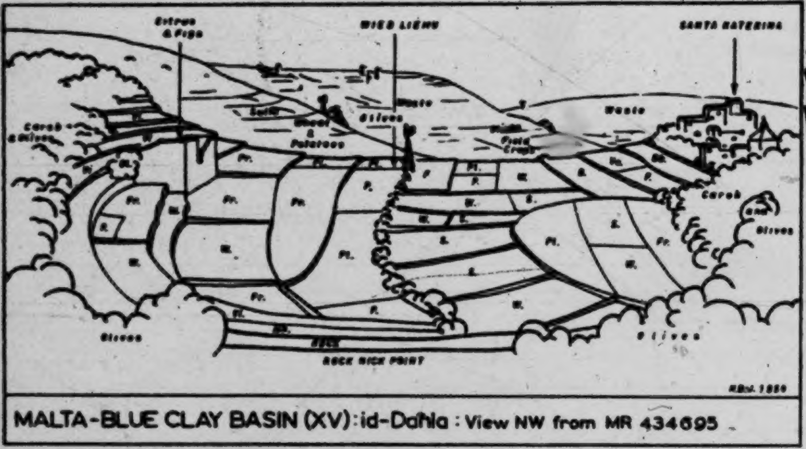


Fig. 112 Malta: Blue Clay Basin: Wied l-Iemu.

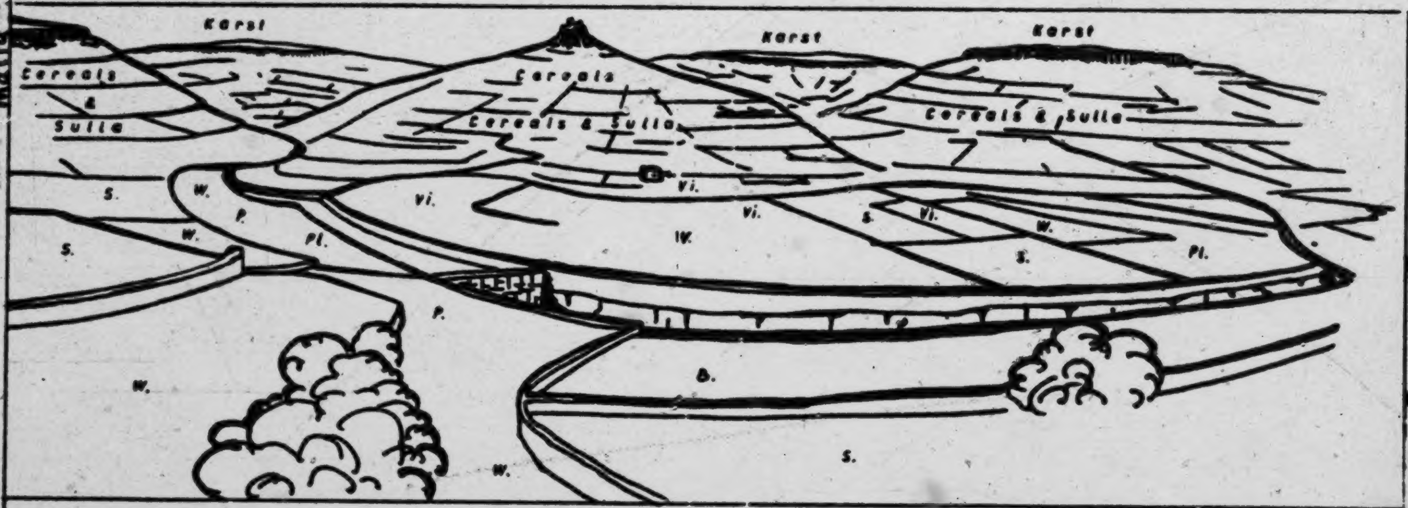
has, developed within it, the large solution hollow of Hofret ir-Rizz (75) (Fig. 111C). Bounded by a low Coralline cliff under which lie five farmhouses, and infilled with deep, red soils, this almost circular depression has often been erroneously identified as a circular fault. It is intensively cultivated for potato, vegetable and fruit crops and sub-division of the wind-pump irrigated land is extreme.

Around Hofret ir-Rizz lie dry-farmed fields of cereals and sulla interspersed with wasteland. The name of neighbouring Misraħ tas-Suffara ('the open place of the whistle' - a possible reference to shepherds' pipes) gives an indication of the character of the open, non-irrigated upland here and over the remainder of the region, where dry-farming and *xagħra*-grazing areas are interspersed. Most of the eastern promontories of Xagħra ta l-Isqof (129) and Ġebel Ċiantar are so used. Similarly, behind the Upper Coralline cliff overlooking the sea, extends an area of virgin karst, abandoned land and some small reclaimed plots. [103]

Between these more exposed lands are many small pockets, intensively cultivated under potatoes, legumes and a relatively large number of vegetables. The small, walled fields cluster around groups of wind-pumps and tanks as at ix-Xagħra ta'Swatar (Fig. 111A) on the Rabat Plateau (109). Irrigation water, extracted by wind- and motor-pumps, is available almost everywhere on these uplands. The density of pumps suggests that extraction is dangerously large (see also Chapter I C). Already in 1955 farmers in the tal-Pitkal district (82) were obliged to stagger periods of pumping and a large number of abandoned wind-pumps emphasise the hydrological instability. In 1956 the Maltese Government, in order to avoid such dangers, imposed a general ban on unlicensed well-drilling.

In this region, the urge to cultivate intensively results from the demands of Rabat as a consuming and marketing centre. At Busugrilla (105) (Fig. 111B) this is manifested in very specialised market-gardening around a flourishing hamlet which stands on the Fiddien road. Well linked by roads to the rest of the island, possessing in Mdina-Rabat the old capital which is still of considerable importance, and also carrying much dispersed and hamlet settlement, these uplands stand out from other Upper Coralline regions by reason of their more intensive land use.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961 EZ6 Malta EZ6 Malta


Karst
Karst
Karst
Cereals & Sulla
Cereals
Cereals & Sulla
Cereals & Sulla
S.
W.
P.
Vi.
Vi.
Vi.
S.
Vi.
W.
S.
W.
Pl.
W.
Pl.
S.
Pl.
P.
W.
D.
W.
S.
HBJ/J.C.D.1959

Wied Qlejgħa (99) PT. OF OBSERVATION MR. 454724 VIEW N.

P.258-A

*24
*31
102
135

Fig. 114 Malta: Wied Qlejgħa.

*241 *311 large ramped fields (Fig. 114). This last zone merges with the open lands on either side of the Wied ta'l-Isperanza at the line of transition with the Central Plains. To the west towards Falka (93) and Besbesija, cereal and sulla fields rise to the Lower Coralline cliff-edge waste of the Victoria Lines.

*311 361 At the junction of the Wied Qlejgħa Region (XVI) with the Naxxar-Għargħur Hills (XVII) stands the gap-town of Mosta. This settlement has grown rapidly over the last 60 or 70 years so that it is now, both in size and population, the largest of the casals. This development is undoubtedly connected with Mosta's position. Controlling as it does the lowest gap in the Victoria Lines and sited where central and northern parts of the island meet, the casal has benefited from the expansion of commercial farming in the latter region. Improvements in communications and particularly the great increase in the use of motor transport over the last 30 years have also had their effect. The bridging of the Wied ta'l-Isperanza on the northern outskirts of Mosta has opened up a relatively easy route to Wied il-Għasel and the north, a fact reflected in the way in which the more recent growth of the settlement has been mainly along its southeast-northwest axis in contrast with its previous alignment from northeast to southwest.

*241 *311 [133]

C.XVII. THE NAXXAR-GĦARGĦUR HILLS

These, the highest of the Globigerina hill-lands, rise to over 400 feet and are dissected by a series of radially arranged, deep wieds. Aspects and slope are the main controls on agriculture in this region, though man-made features, particularly quarries, considerably affect the details of utilisation. The distribution of wasteland is largely determined by outcrop and gradient although the inter-relationship is by no means a simple one. Steep gradients themselves do not inhibit cultivation as is shown by the contrast between Wied l-Iklin (164) and the gentler slopes below tal-Balal (174). Similarly, exposure to northerly winds is far from constant in its adverse effects on farming, witness the cultivated heights immediately north of Għargħur, contrasting with the much-abandoned, though more sheltered Wied Għomor (173). The most continuous belt of waste extends along the Victoria Lines, including the narrow northern scree slope and the wider ridge-top developed on Lower Coralline rocks. Viewed from the sea, the bare, grey cliffs at Madelena and Ġebel San Pietru (154) appear impressively stark. The southward discontinuous extension of wasteland between Mosta and Naxxar is closely coincident with the Lower Coralline outcrop. However, on these gentle, sheltered slopes, the close proximity of the two major casals has encouraged the maintenance of land in cultivation, potatoes being widespread. This is one of the very few districts in which a relatively high

[p. 258-B]

[Text continues on p. 261]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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Malta.

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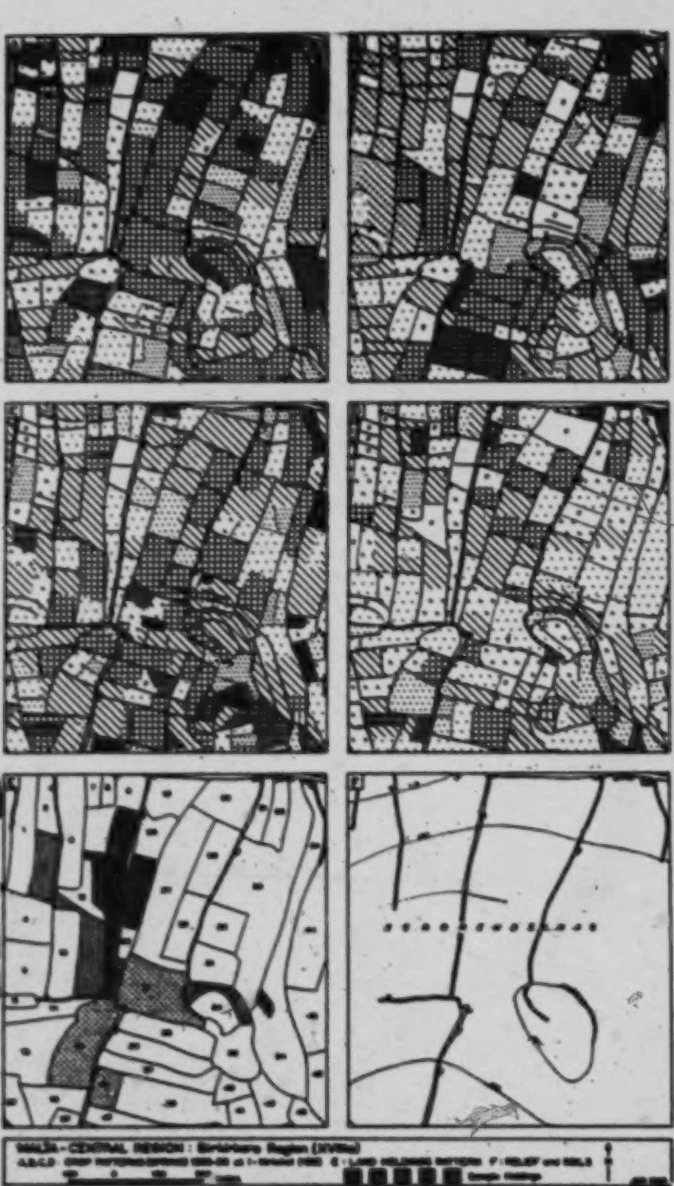
MALTA - CENTRAL REGION : Birkirkara Region

Fig. 116 Malta: Central Region: Birkirkara Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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[134]

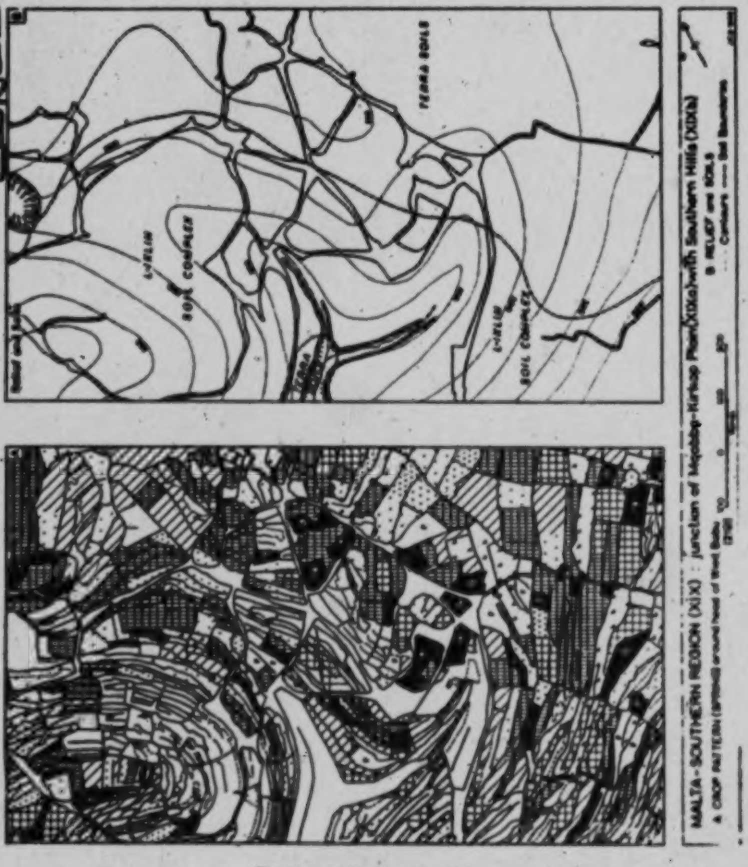
Relief and Soils
L-IKLIN
SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
TERRA
L-IKLIN
SOIL COMPLEX
MALTA - SOUTHERN REGION (XIX) : junction of Mqabba-Kirkop Plain (XIXa) with Southern Hills (XIXb)
A CROP PATTERN (SPRING) around head of Wied Babu
B RELIEF and SOILS
--- Contours ---- Soil Boundaries

Fig. 121 Malta: Southern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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[134]
[423]

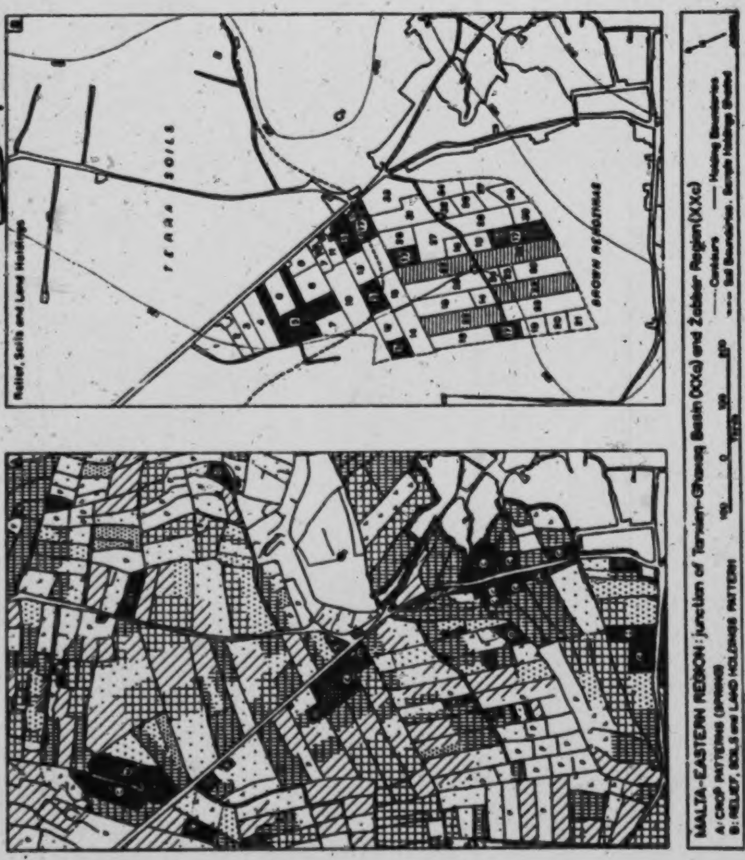
Relief, Soils and Land Holdings
B
TERRA SOILS
BROWN RENDZINAS
A
MALTA-EASTERN REGION: junction of Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin (XXa) and Żabbar Region (XXc)
A: CROP PATTERNS (SPRING)
B: RELIEF, SOILS and LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
100 0 100 200
Yards
Contours
Holding Boundaries
Soil Boundaries. Sample Holdings Shaded

Fig. 122 Malta: Eastern Region: Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin.

*241
*311
102
[133]
[134]

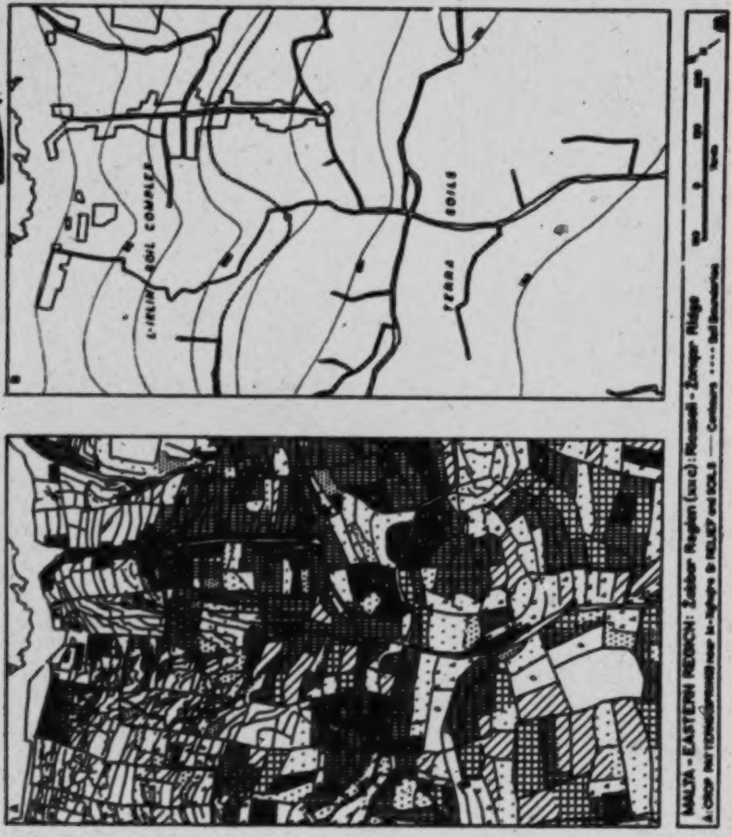
B
L-IRLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
A
MALTA - EASTERN REGION: Żabbar Region (xxc): Ricasoli - Żonqor Ridge
A: CROP PATTERNS (SPRING) near Ix-Xgħajra B: RELIEF and SOILS —— Contours ···· Soil Boundaries
Yards

Fig. 133 Malta: Eastern Region; Żabbar Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

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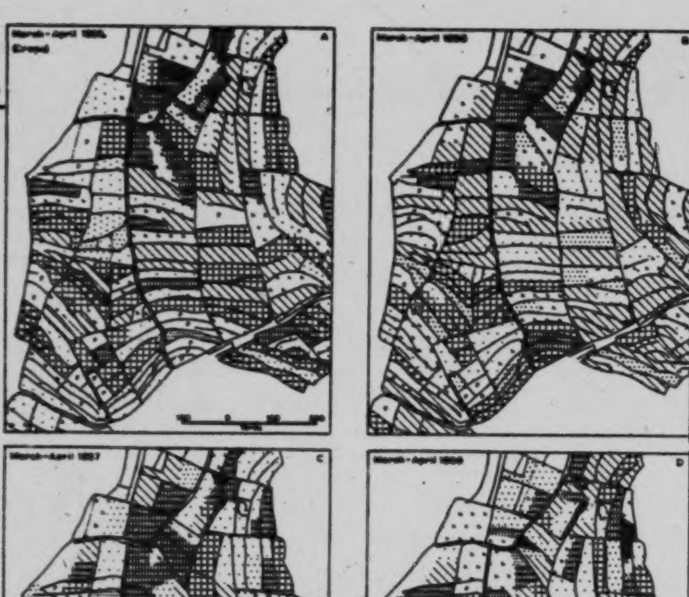

A
B
C
D
E
F
MALTA
EASTERN REGION
tas-Silg-Delimara Region
A, B, C, D: CROP PATTERNS
E: LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Sample Holdings
F: LOCATION MAP SHOWING RELIEF and SOILS
Contours
Soil Boundaries

Fig. 134 Malta: Eastern Region: tas-Silg Delimara.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

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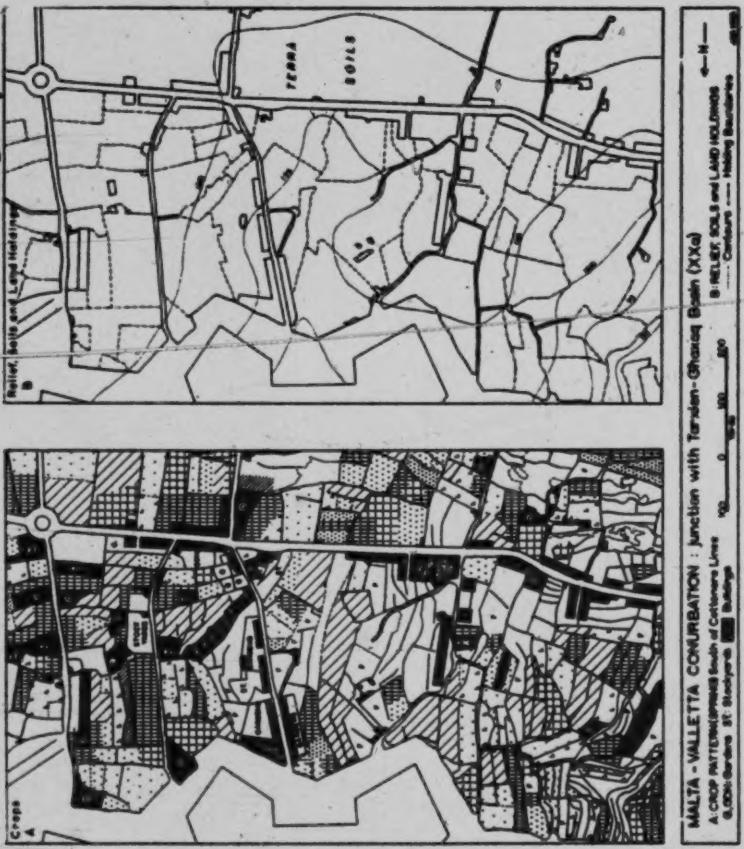
Relief, Soils and Land Holdings
B
TERRA
SOILS
Crops
A
MALTA - VALLETTA CONURBATION : junction with Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin (XXa)
A: CROP PATTERN (SPRING) South of Cottonera Lines
G, GDN: Gardens ST: Stockyards ▇ Buildings
100 0 100 200
B: RELIEF, SOILS and LAND HOLDINGS
---- Contours —— Holding Boundaries
←N—

Fig. 725 Malta: Valletta Conurbation.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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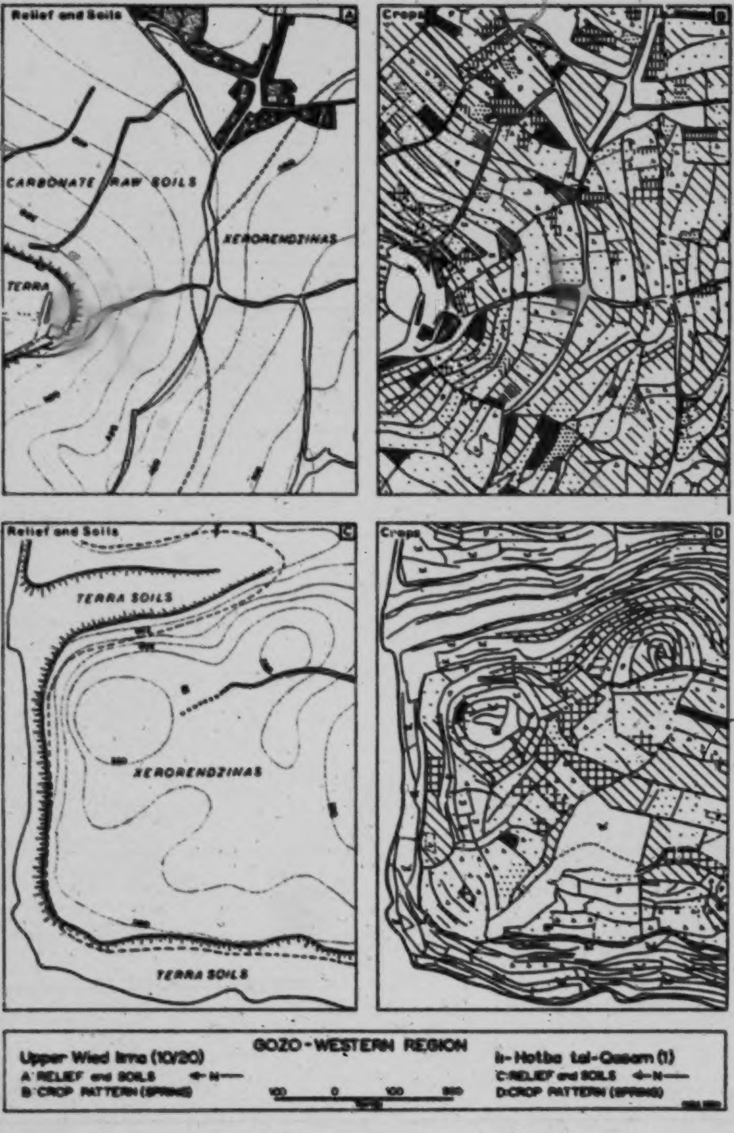
Relief and Soils
A
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
TERRA
Crops
B
Relief and Soils
C
TERRA SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
TERRA SOILS
Crops
D
GOZO - WESTERN REGION
Upper Wied Ilma (10/20)
A: RELIEF and SOILS ← N —
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Il-Hotba tal-Qasam (1)
C: RELIEF and SOILS ← N —
D: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)

Fig. 128 Gozo: Western Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

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*311
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[133]
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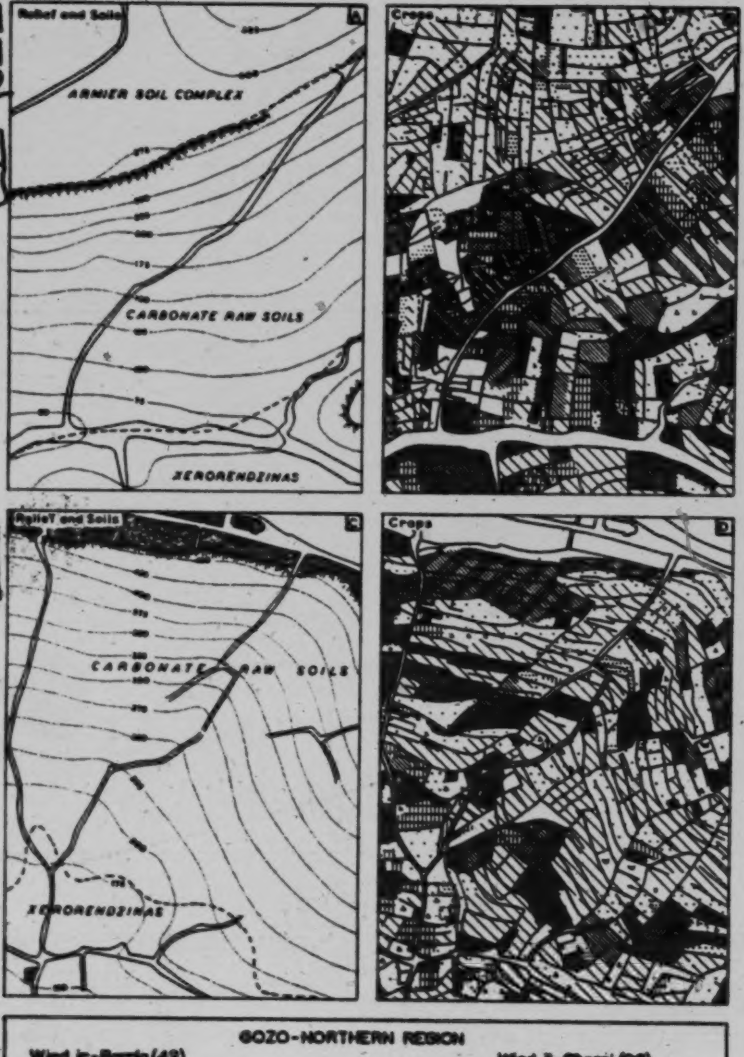

Relief and Soils
A
Crops
B
ARMIER SOIL COMPLEX
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
Relief and Soils
C
Crops
D
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
GOZO-NORTHERN REGION
Wied ir-Ramla (42)
A: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
Wied il-Ghasri (26)
C: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200

Fig. 127 Gozo: Northern Region.

are among the most intensively worked, reflects the lower intensity of pressure on land in Gozo. 241 *

Topographically, the Wied ir-Ramla (42) (Fig. 128B) is similar in type to the Wied ta'Marsalforn. The wied channel becomes progressively more sharply incised downstream before opening out into the sandy, bay-head lowland (from which the valley takes its name: *Ramla* = sands). Tributary wied embayments cut into the Coralline plateaus on either side. 311 *

Below the mesa scarps there are the usual *ġnien* zones and these give way downhill to a belt of sulla and cereals on the heavier, drier parts of the Blue Clay outcrop. On the eastern slopes lying below the Qortin tan-Nadur (48), recent and Quaternary sands, whose presence is marked by light, ochre-coloured soils, occurs a specialised zone of early tomato and cucurbit production and viticulture (Fig. 127 A and B). This relatively intensive pattern of land use extends from the scarp on to the eastern half of the lower valley floor. On the remainder of the main valley floor, mixed cultivation in which vines and sulla predominate is diversifed by relatively ~~large~~ scale potato-growing and some fruit production. The floors of the tributary wieds il-Ġgantija (43) and il-Ħanaq (44) are characterised by particularly intensive viticulture which merges into flanking zones of cereals and sulla. The small mesa of in-Nuffara (45) has similar characteristics to those of the western Coralline fragments. 311 *

The remaining part of the Northern Region is closely associated with the village of Nadur. The plateau on which the latter stands (46) is composed of a series of flat-topped promontories (*Qortin*) which run north and north-eastward from the main ridge. These overlook the coast in a series of *Rdum* slopes and are separated by deeply incised wieds. The arrangement of physical features is reflected in the lay-out of settlement and communications. As in the case of Xagħra, a small urban nucleus gives way northwards to strings of farmsteads aligned along roads and tracks. The plateau top thus contrasts with the valleys, which have virtually no permanent settlement. 361 [133]

Land use on the main plateau ridge is semi-urban in character with gardens and stockyards. The *qortin* lands, though physically uniform, differ a good deal from each other in land utilisation. The higher southerly part of the Qortin tan-Nadur (48) is largely waste, but the lower northern bluff is remarkably well cultivated under cereals and sulla with occasional small plots of vegetables and vines. The two promontories of the Qortin il-Kbir (51), on the other hand, form the most extensive areas of karst wasteland in the whole Northern Region of Gozo. Similar contrasts exist between the two rdum areas lying below the *qortin* lands. The Rdum tan-Nadur bears a scatter of small enclosures of vegetables, fruit and minor crops. In this case, cultivation is similar in type, though not in intensity, to that of the Maltese 'undercliff' areas. The Rdum tal-Mistra (53), by contrast, is a rugged wasteland, the greater part of which has never been cultivated. 241 * 311 *

Piercing the plateau on its northern side are three deep and sheltered valleys: Wied San Blas (50), Wied tal-Mistra (52) and Wied Daħlet Qorrot (54). These are characterised by the virtual absence of the common dry-farmed crops, which are replaced by a remarkably complex inter-cultivation pattern of fruit, vegetables and vines. This is the only area in Gozo completely devoted to intensive market gardening, the products of which are sold in Malta. The growing demand for early produce has resulted in the recent and continuing extension of the area under fruit and has encouraged experiments such as that of strawberry growing. The difficulties of transporting produce out of these deep valleys is offset by the advantage of proximity to the harbour of Mġarr. Thus the *ġnien* type of farming typical of plateau peripheries has here been extended downhill to the valley floors. [133] [489]

IV. THE EASTERN REGION

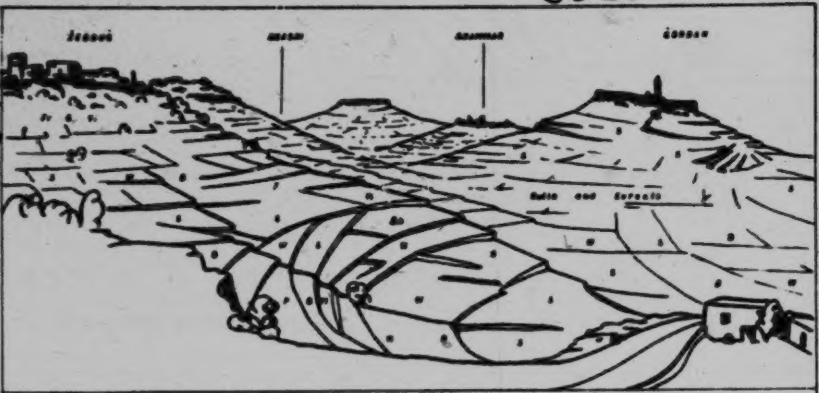
This comprises the Qala Uplands (55) and flanking coastlands (56) together with the narrow coastal strip which separates the East Central Region from the sea. Structure, topography and land use alike distinguish the Eastern Region from its neighbours. As a result of faulting, the pattern of rock outcrop is often

[Text continues on P. 281]

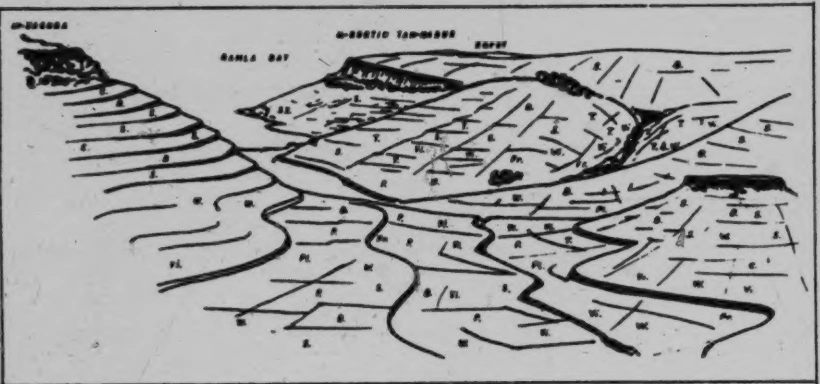
1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

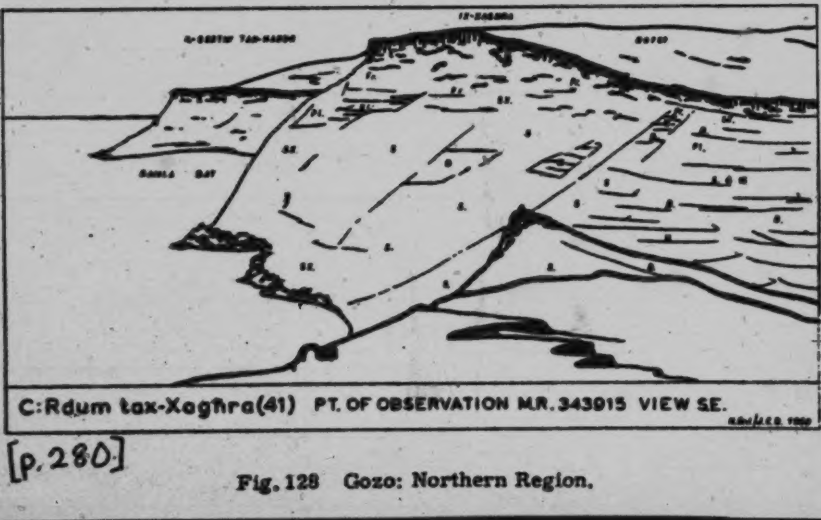
*241
*311
102
133


Sulla and Cereals

A: Wied il-Għasri (26) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 307930 VIEW S.



B: Wied ir-Ramla (42) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 350897 VIEW N.E.



C: Rdum tax-Xagħra (41) PT. OF OBSERVATION M.R. 343915 VIEW S.E.

[p. 280]

Fig. 128 Gozo: Northern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

confused and seldom bears any simple relation to topography. In this region, 241* many minor factors of soil, aspect and water supply produce local variations 311* in the landscape, human as well as physical (Fig. 129 A, B and C).

Around the village of Qala, the upland is generally poorly cultivated. Fields of cereals and sulla are interspersed with abandoned areas and karst patches. On the Qala coastlands to the east the pattern of cultivation is clearly related to the successive outcropping of the various rock formations which are here, in contrast to the rest of the region, quite simply arranged (Fig. 129 D and E). The whole sequence from Upper Coralline to Lower is displayed in this district but there are few well marked breaks of slope, the whole forming a single slope from 400 feet to sea level. Immediately below the Upper Coralline summits, vines and fruit trees occur on the Blue Clay. Nearer the sea, a band of Globigerina is largely under cereals, sulla and legumes, this being succeeded by Lower Coralline wasteland fringing the coast.

The complex structure of the lands to the south of Qala is reflected in broken topography and a great variety of outcrop. South facing valleys in which the Blue Clay is exposed give way on their seaward side to a fragmentary platform developed on Globigerina and Lower Coralline limestones. The distribution of wasteland is closely associated with the outcrops of the latter formation. With the exception of the upper Wied tal-Qala (58), where good, well watered soils carry fruit, this district is one in which small enclosures of the whole dry crop assemblage lie among rocky hill wastes. Standards of cultivation in this somewhat inaccessible part of the island are generally low and abandonment is proceeding. By contrast, the slopes above Mġarr Bay, extending eastwards to include ta'Zewwieqa (60) are, on the whole, more intensively worked. In this steeply sloping area, unusually small enclosures have been established for the cultivation of fruit and tomatoes, while somewhat larger fields carry cereals and sulla. These patches of cultivation alternate with barren scree slopes. In the immediate vicinity of Mġarr (61) ill-tended minor tree crops such as carobs, figs and olives give a spurious impression of luxuriance. Mġarr itself is a fishing harbour and commercial port. In its latter capacity it belongs to Gozo as a whole rather to its immediate hinterland and through it passes all the trade between the two islands. Port facilities are limited and have acted as a [504] brake on the commercial development of Gozo. Mġarr has little or no agricultural function and is overshadowed in size by its immediate neighbour, the farming village of Ghajnsielem. South of Mġarr, below Fort Chambray, the Rdum il-Tafal (62) is a typical Gozitan undercliff area with small enclosures, all rather ill developed, which carry some tomatoes, potatoes and fruit crops, among which there are numerous islands of rocky, carob-clad wasteland.

V. THE SOUTHERN REGION (Fig. 130)

The only unity possessed by this region is a result of its structural and topographical separation from the interior. The il-Hobż Coastlands (63) lie below a well-marked Upper Coralline scarp and are separated by the Wied Mġarr ix-Xini (64) from the Sannat and ta'Ċenċ Uplands (67 and 66). The latter are an [133] upthrown block of Globigerina and Lower Coralline Limestone, the northern edge of which is a clearly defined, interior-facing fault-line scarp. In the extreme west, the sharp incision of the Wied ix-Xlendi (70) divides the Southern Region from the Globigerina platforms of the west.

At il-Hobż (63) the karst edge of a low Upper Coralline cliff overlooks gentle slopes developed on Blue Clay and Globigerina. A narrow belt of spring-line fruit growing is succeeded downhill by open terraces and larger fields of cereals, sulla and other 'dry' crops. Much of the land is spring-tilled in preparation for summer vegetables. The seaward limit of these shelving slopes is marked by a break of slope below which lies a low Globigerina rock platform.

This simplicity of landform is abruptly terminated on the west by the fault-guided incision of the Wied Mġarr ix-Xini (64). Below the pumping station, steep slopes and exposure of the compact Lower Coralline beds have prevented cultivation. Coinciding with an upthrown block of the same rock type, wasteland extends into the lower Wied Hanżira and over the neighbouring, gentle slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 283]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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[134]
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[133]
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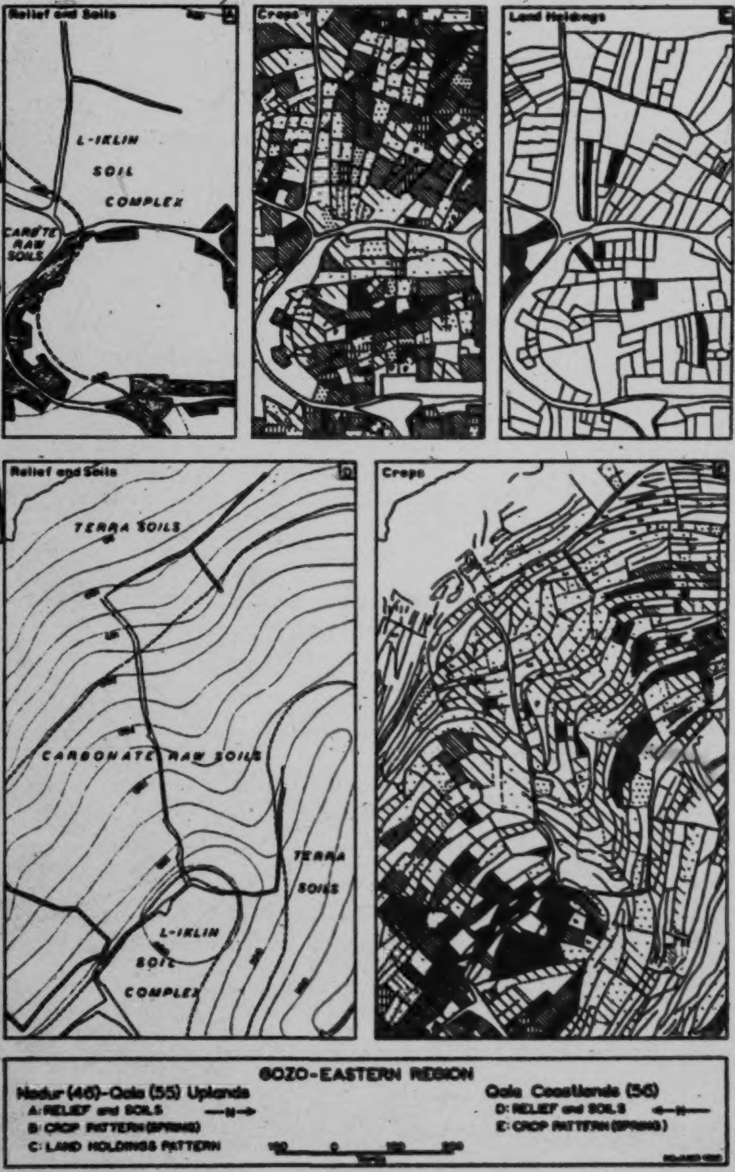
Relief and Soils
A
L-IKLIN
SOIL
COMPLEX
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
Crops
B
Land Holdings
C
Relief and Soils
D
TERRA SOILS
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
TERRA SOILS
L-IKLIN
SOIL
COMPLEX
Crops
E
GOZO-EASTERN REGION
Nadur (46)-Qala (55) Uplands
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
C: LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Qala Coastlands (56)
D: RELIEF and SOILS
E: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100
0
100
200

Fig. 129 Gozo: Eastern Region.

The intractibility of the Lower Coralline rocks, a function of the extreme slowness with which they are attacked by the forces of weathering, is repeated on the ta'Ċenċ Upland (66). Most striking is the contrast with cultivated outliers of the softer Globigerina beds. Thus it is the spurs on either side of the Wied is-Sabbar (65) rather than the valley itself which are cultivated, mainly under cereals and sulla (Fig. 130A). At ta'Ċenċ, grey karst hills overlook the sea and contrast strikingly with the scarp-foot basin to the interior. 241* 311*

The Sannat Uplands (67), also tectonically elevated, have retained a cover of Globigerina rocks and here cultivated fields extend to the edge of the high sea-cliff. South of Sannat village, these fields are geometrically laid out and are to be associated with enclosure accompanying the westward extension of village settlement on to the hills. A similar crop assemblage is to be found both here and in the less regular fields of the broken land to the west. These are districts of dry farming, cereals, sulla and legumes being the chief crops. In spring, following winter cropping and in preparation for some summer vegetable cultivation, many of the fields are newly tilled. A high water table is maintained in the shallow Globigerina beds by the underlying massive and relatively impervious Lower Coralline.

The western extremity of the Southern Region is marked by a return to barrenness. Incision along a shatterbelt exposes Lower Coralline rocks in the Wied ix-Xlendi (70) and the tributary wieds Munxar and tal-Bardan (69). Karst, usable only for meagre grazing, is but rarely broken by patch cultivation. The compact agricultural village of Munxar is divided by a Coralline gorge, at the head of which lie dense thickets of neglected trees. Above the small fishing village of Xlendi there is a small alluvial pocket devoted almost entirely to legumes. These two small patches are exceptional in an otherwise rocky wasteland area.

VI. THE EAST CENTRAL REGION

This region, as viewed from the surrounding hills, appears as a single basin. In fact, a central ridge separates two main depressions, a topographic division strengthened by the east-west alignment of a fault zone. The southern depression, that of the Wied Hanżira (73), is bounded to the north by a minor cliff with a narrow exposure of Lower Coralline rocks. The Xewkija-Għajnsielem Ridge (71) is in turn demarcated on its northern side by a sharp break of slope coinciding with a resistant bed in the Globigerina. This latitudinal graining of the land becomes blurred between Xewjika and Victoria, where the Victoria-Mġarr Depression (72) swings southward to merge with that of the Wied Hanżira. These regional subdivisions and their topographic characteristics are reflected in the field patterns (Figs. 131 and 132). [133]

The sub-region identified as the Wied Hansira Depression (73) includes the basin of the upper wied and the shelf which extends eastwards at the same level to Għajnsielem. In the west, between Sannat and Xewkija, lies a symmetrical, open basin of intensive dry farming. As shown in Fig. 131 A and B, there is a fairly regular arrangement of large but subdivided field. On the deep soils are grown a great variety of crops among which vines, cereals and sulla predominate. On the eastern shelf, the proportion of cultivated land diminishes, vines disappear and there is a great deal of fallow and grazing land. This change in crop assemblage is not associated with any topographic break but with a change in soil type and parent rock across a major fault. (See p. 31 and Fig. 2.) The only enrichment of the crop range which appears to result is seen in the greater importance of potatoes and onions. This may also result in part from the nearness of Għajnsielem and proximity to the main Mġarr highway.

On the central ridge, the poorest cultivation and the thinnest, least continuous soil cover are found at the western end and along the Lower Coralline exposure south-west of Xewkija. In general pattern, this village resembles the hill-top settlements of the North, with its farmsteads and gardens strung along a web of roads and tracks. South-east and east of the village, the ridge top is characterised by geometrically arranged, undivided fields, the largest seen in Gozo. Cereals, sulla and vines, grown in exceptionally large blocks, are the typical [361]

[Text continues on p. 287]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

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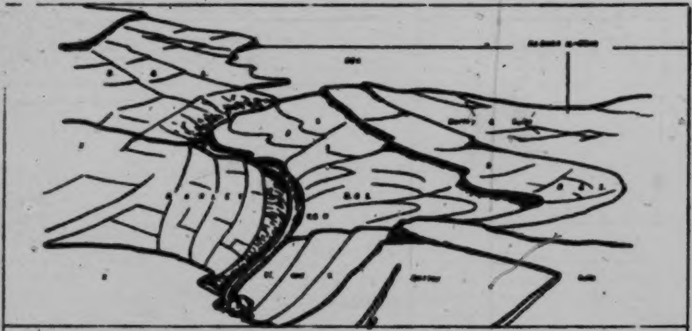
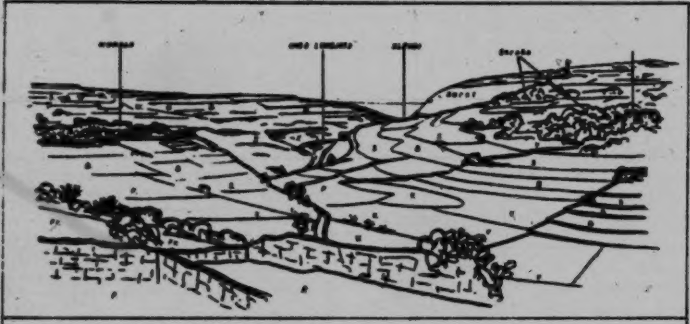
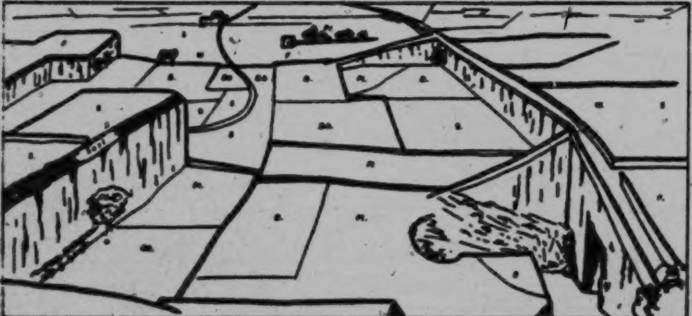


A: Wied is-Sabbar (65) PT. of OBSERVATION MR. 333859 VIEW E.



B: Wied tal-Lunzjata (25) PT. of OBSERVATION MR. 312886 VIEW S.W.



C: Abandoned quarry - Sannat (67)

Fig. 130 Gozo: Southern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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GOZO

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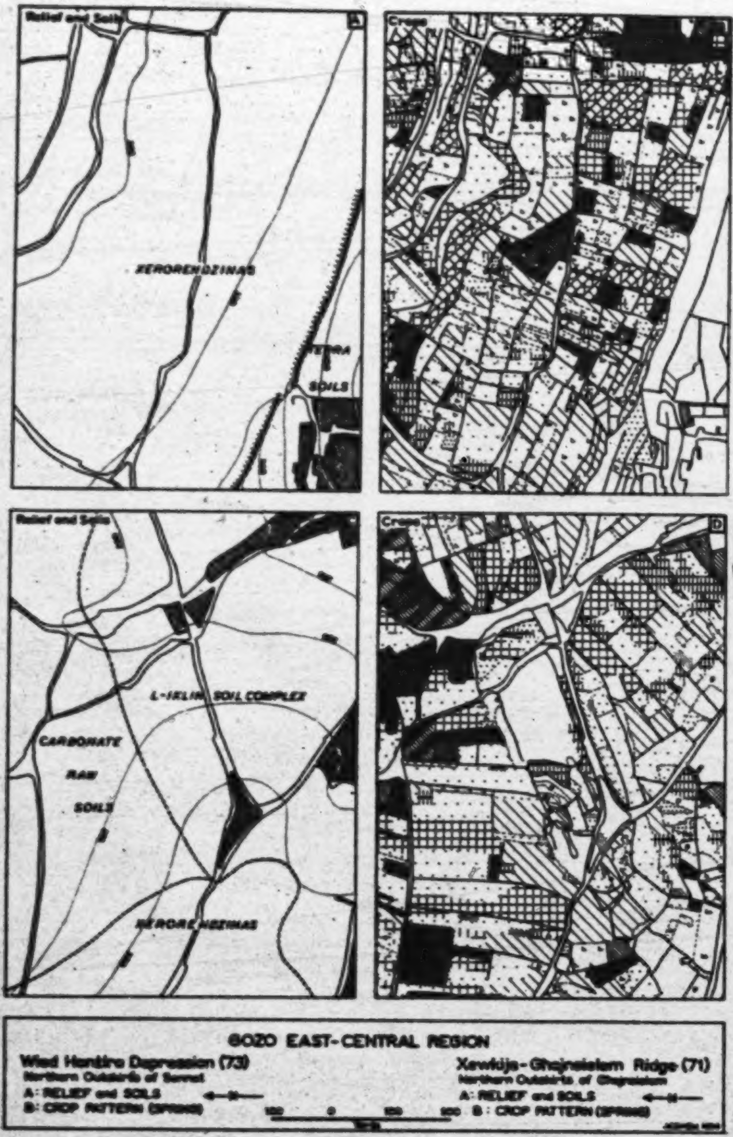
Relief and Soils
A
XEROREND ZINAS
TERRA
SOILS
Crops
B
Relief and Soils
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
CARBONATE
RAW
SOILS
XEROREND ZINAS
Crops
GOZO EAST-CENTRAL REGION
Wied Hanżira Depression (73)
Northern Outskirts of Sannat
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards
Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge (71)
Northern Outskirts of Ghajnsielem
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)

[133]

[134]

←

Fig. 131 Gozo: East-Central Region.

[133]
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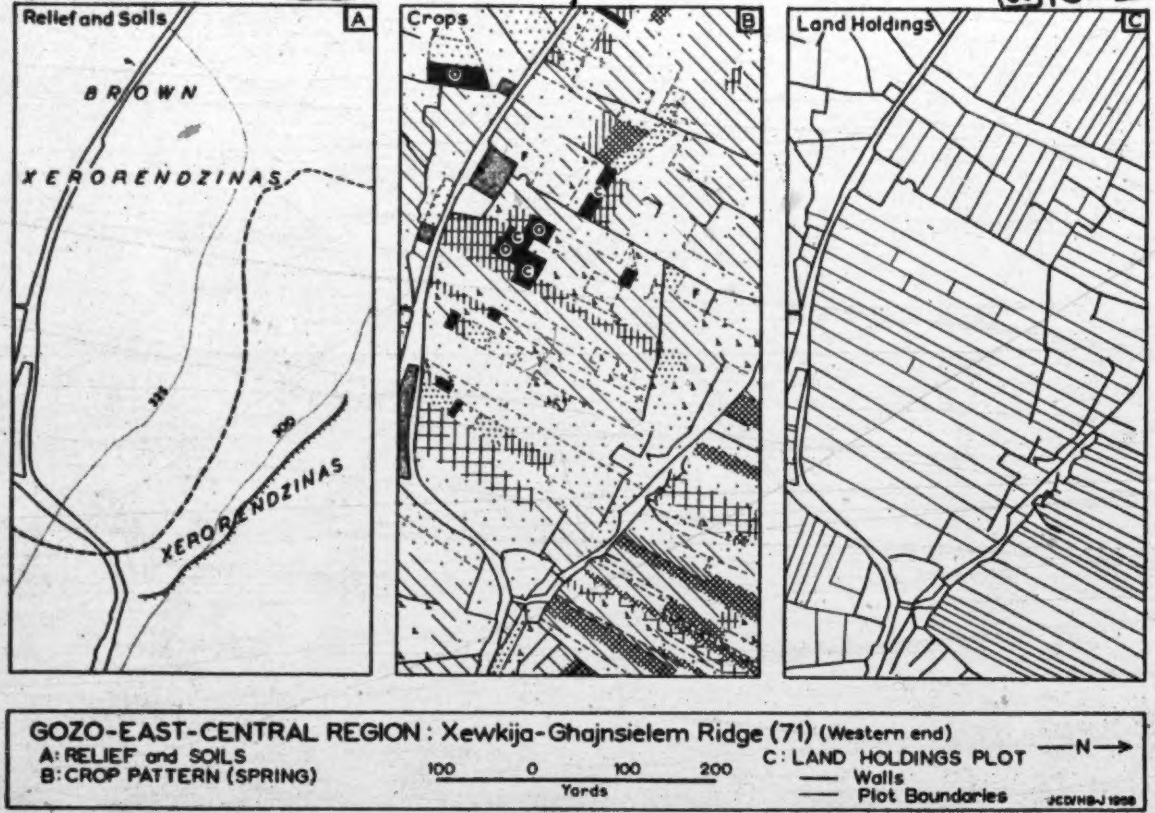
Relief and Soils
A
BROWN
XERORENDZINAS
XERORENDZINAS
100
Crops
B
Land Holdings
C
GOZO-EAST-CENTRAL REGION : Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge (71) (Western end)
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards
C: LAND HOLDINGS PLOT
Walls
Plot Boundaries
N
JCD/HB-J 1958

Fig. 133 Gozo: East-Central Region: Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge.

*423 102 311 [133] [489] This small agricultural entity, the Maltese Farm, is further split into a number of non-contiguous plots or parcels, each of no great size. In illustration of this and other related points a small area in Malta, square in shape with a side half a mile long, has been examined in some detail (Fig. 135). The area lies in the Central Region, between Siġġiewi and Żebbuġ, and includes in its north-eastern corner, part of the latter settlement. It is dissected by two steep-sided valleys, that of the Wied il-Beqqiegħa crossing from south-west to north-east, and the Wied il-Hesri which appears in the south-east corner. Narrow, terraced fields follow the contours of the valley sides but, on the more rounded relief of the interfluve, the fields, although still terraced, become generally larger and more nearly square in shape. Apart from the valley-floors, used as foot- and cart-ways, with other accommodation roads and paths, non-agricultural lands are limited to a few house-sites in the outskirts of Żebbuġ. A few scattered patches of rock outcrop occur on the steeper slopes, but the only large patch of uncultivated land covers the north-eastern lobe of the large tenancy plot lying south of the area shaded black in map. The remaining land is devoted to dry farming crops characteristic of the region.

LAND TENURE (Fig. 135A)

The underlying topography, clearly influences the shape, and, to a lesser extent the size of the tenurial plots. This is most striking in the north-eastern quadrant, where long, narrow plots reflect the sinuous terraces of the Wied il-Beqqiegħa; on the slopes of the Wied il-Hesri, however, the relationship is scarcely apparent. Shallower gradients are covered by plots of fuller and more varied shape differing greatly in size. In the north-east corner small and oddly shaped tenancy parcels are clearly related to the nearby settlements and are mainly specialised garden plots. An anomalous area of small plots in the opposite corner breaks up the general tendency of increasing size away from the casal.

Tenancy units are small in size, but there is enormous variation. The average of the parcels shown here, including parts of parcels beyond the limits of the area mapped, is slightly less than 5 *tmien*. The smallest garden plot (*b*, north-east corner) contains about one-twentieth of a *tmien* of land, while the large plot of fieldland in the south (*z*) is about 50 *tmien* in extent. There may be a tendency for plots to be larger in areas where soils are thin and poor, but the two distributions can certainly not be equated.

Of the 129 plots, parts of which lie within the half mile square, 57 are held by farmers with no other land in the area. But the remaining 29 holdings each have two or more non-contiguous parcels. This relationship is indicated by the use of distinctive shading in the case of Sample Holdings II and V, and otherwise by the letter *a* to *z* and *d*. Holding *b* (six plots) scattered throughout the northern two-thirds of the area is an extreme example of the typical parcellation.

*423 102 LAND OWNERSHIP (Fig. 135B)

In general terms, within the area shown here, the distributions of ownership and of tenure are similar. As shown in Fig. 135B, there are many scattered plots belonging to the same owner, a characteristic which might be termed fragmented ownership. A similar cartographical convention to that used in Fig. 135A is adopted here. Plots owned by the same private owner are indicated by the letters A-J (I is excluded); the numbers 1-4 are used similarly for the various classes of ecclesiastical ownership. All plots, whether duplicated or not, belonging to the latter class, which includes monastic, episcopal, and parish land, as well as land owned by Charitable Institutions (a very small proportion in this area), are distinguished by a special system of shading as also are Civil Government lands. The rather special cases of ownership by the occupier or by his parent are also distinguished from the bulk of the parcels which are owned by other private persons.

Looking at the distribution in its basic form, as a simple pattern of parcels, ignoring the various special relationships, several points emerge. As in the map of tenure, there is a complex network, but the weave is generally coarser,

SECTION IV

Chapter XI

An Assessment of the Cultural Landscape

In this book we have attempted to portray the Maltese Islands 'in the round'. 121
Deficiencies and omissions occur; the former unfortunate, the latter equally 182
unfortunate but also deliberate because of space limitations. Nevertheless, we
believe that our study, such as it is, has illustrated certain points of value. 311
First, and this is a geographical truism, the relationship between man and the land on which he lives is infinitely complex. In the case of Malta this relationship is also astoundingly complete and coherent, so that alteration in any one part may provoke repercussions on all the rest. Hence, under these circumstances, change of any kind should be introduced with extreme caution; it has been demonstrated that lines of action which seem apparently well-found and reasonable at the time of inception can have wholly unforeseen and unintentional consequences. This warning has a general as well as local validity. Further, and in the light of this situation, it becomes essential to have as full a knowledge as possible of local conditions before undertaking action. Such knowledge can only be acquired through observation, which must be as complete and detailed as financial resources allow.

Thirdly, investigation of the use man makes of his surroundings leads to the conclusion that, in a last analysis, it is not the actual physical conditions which control man's activities - it is the view that man himself takes of what can or cannot be done which really matters. From the physical standpoint Malta is a highly typical Mediterranean country, yet we still do not know why the vine and the olive, these most characteristic plants, have hitherto only made temporary invasions of Malta. We do however know that the factors behind this were not physical - e.g. climate or to do with soil. It would thus seem to be the way man actually estimates the physical potentialities of his home region that governs what takes place - put in another way, we may say that environment finally exists only in the minds of men. In such a form it can appear intractable, offering insuperable obstacles, and mysterious in its effects. Hence, resource use should not be thought of solely as a routine controlled by physical media, but as a process in which temperament and attitudes of mind are involved. Recognition of the human factor as indissolubly associated with the physical elements of geography underlies our approach: and it is in this sense that our subtitle 'Background to Development' should be interpreted.

Lastly, there is an opportunity to draw together some of the threads which we have unravelled from the general weave, and summarise the main themes.

The principal conclusion is that everything one sees in Malta, other than the major topographical features, is man-made and man-maintained in existence. For this reason there is an unstable equilibrium that eternally threatens to collapse.

Physical environment is fundamentally harsh. The component rocks consist 133
almost entirely of fissured and fractured Tertiary calcareous series, mostly of Miocene age; and natural accumulation of relatively insoluble inorganic soil aggregates is very slow everywhere except on the narrow outcrops of the Blue Clays. There is complete absence of surface water and subsurface moisture is small. Only in the western half of the Island do non-saline water-tables now rise near to ground level over appreciable areas, and only in one restricted area in the east - at Marsa - has this been even historically important. Malta has a highly accidented topography. The western half of the Island is heavily faulted and forms a region of scarpland and faulted basins. The eastern area has more subdued relief particularly in its central and eastern parts, but even here the legacy of gorge formation - the dry wieds of Malta - during the humid late Pleistocene, and the small scale erosional etching of all major and minor geological and structural junctions have resulted in there being very little land of low gradient.

132 The Maltese climate is characterised by variability rather than by extremes. Most of the complex elemental combinations, as far as we can tell at the moment, tend to inhibit soil and plant development under natural conditions.

The annual precipitation average of 20.5 inches is largely meaningless - the variations from one year to another for each month in which there has been recorded any significant rainfall are all several times the mean values. Very high insolation and evaporation rates, from the end of April to the beginning of October, further reduce the effectiveness of scanty and variable precipitation. Much of the rainfall of spring and autumn is associated with violent frontal storms and is sufficiently concentrated in incidence to produce ephemeral torrents and cause considerable erosion.

Wind incidence is of peculiar importance. The maritime air streams are generally of high humidity and velocity. The dominant Northerlies, in particular the stormy *Majjistral*, with high humidity and relatively low temperatures, have a biological effect bleak enough to produce a very clear ecological pattern controlled by aspect and shelter. The soil line in the lee of the ridges which lie transverse to these North to West winds, rises higher to the south east with the cumulative sheltering effect. On a small scale, windbreaks of stones, wattle hurdles and even cereal hedges, become of importance. The *Xlokk* comes as a warm humid wind of usually sufficient velocity to force plant transpiration rates above the critical points. The occasional humid still air conditions in winter delay germination and encourage fungus diseases while all summer winds heighten evaporation rates and cause actual soil blowing.

One of the few biologically favourable climatic features is the absence of a thermal dormant season. Mean monthly temperatures are consistently above 50° Fahrenheit, frosts are very rare, and diurnal ranges small. On the other hand, the associated high summer temperatures even though ameliorated by sea breezes produce considerable physiological troubles in plants and livestock. It is significant that over 80 per cent. of the flora now found in Malta are of North African rather than European type.

133 In the absence of human interference Malta must have been, as it still is in many areas, largely a barren karstic waste relieved only by a few basins and plains such as the Wied tal-Pwales and the Wied il-Ghasel. On the hill and ridge tops Terra Rossa formation takes place in solution hollows. On all slopes with gradients greater than 5 per cent., and on all but the most wind sheltered flatlands corrasion and movement, often exposing great stretches of bare rock, are dominant. Only in a few basins, such as the erosional Wied ta'Mazza or the tectonic Bur Marrad in the Wied il-Ghasel, does deposition become important.

In this harsh environment man created the land on which he could live.

134 311 Malta has few true soils but, rather, laboriously garnered and transported inorganic material, carefully built up with humic additions, terraced and walled into place and irrigated wherever possible. For millennia this making of *'campi artificiale'* has gone on and may still be observed, so that some two-thirds of what Bernard Shaw called 'a heap of stones' is now cultivable land. This process of the extension first of hydroponics and then of true farming over bare rock and the reclamation of unhealthy lowland has meant the creation of new and precarious balances. The artificially produced thin pseudo-soil is not self perpetuating. The underlying rock must be regularly chipped away, the solution hollows periodically harvested. The texture must be maintained by the addition of organic matter and by frequent working. The level of nutrients must be kept up with dung and fertilisers and the water content supplemented by irrigation. The terrace walls need constant repair.

In each case there is a sharply critical point beyond which action spells danger. The use of refuse brings bacterial and virus infections, frequent tillage produces a clean surface vulnerable to erosion, the use of irrigation water and artificial fertilisers raises soil salinity. Extension of the soil cover decreases the rate of percolation replenishment of the subterranean aquifers by rain water. Malta is now in fact living on capital as far as water is concerned.

241 There have been similar critical points in crop values. When water is available, the potential crop range is large - bananas grow in barley patches, date-

[p. 1]

CHAPTER I

The Background

Malta and her sister islands, Gozo and Comino, lie midway between Gibraltar and Lebanon, at almost the exact geographical centre of the Mediterranean. Sicily lies just 58 miles to the north, Tripoli 220 miles due south and Tunis slightly over 200 miles to the west. The Maltese archipelago thus forms a port of call between Europe and North Africa, between the Christian and the Moslem worlds. The Maltese have been in contact with both for centuries, and the cultures of both have contributed many traits which the islanders have adapted to their own use. 131 [177]

Malta, the largest and southernmost island, is seventeen miles long and nine miles wide, and covers an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is only nine miles by five miles, with an area of 26 square miles. Finally, the little island of Comino, which lies in the three-mile-wide channel separating the two larger islands, has an area of one square mile.

The islands are composed entirely of tertiary limestone, and the soil consists of clays and marls. Although the land rises to a maximum of little more than 800 feet near Dingli, the terrain is varied, and often broken, with jagged escarpments falling into narrow valleys, which run out to level fields. A visitor to the islands, especially during the long dry summer, is struck at once by the absence of vegetation and the rocky aspect of the countryside. This is, in part, a false impression, for although there are few trees, rubble retaining and boundary walls hide the network of small cultivated fields. Occasionally, the dark green foliage of a carob or olive tree reaches over these stone enclosures to add a sudden splash of colour to the shimmering white-yellow of the summer landscape. 133 [134] 133 137

The soft yellow limestone gives a continuity to the scenery. Houses, villages and whole towns seem to grow up out of the rocky matrix from which they are built, and from which they are distinguished only by the regular outline of the buildings against 133 333

[text continues on p. 3]

the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a 133
gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely 333
populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square 161
miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population density [131]
of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated
countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the
urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The 162
rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly
separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The population
of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very 16
limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems.
The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been
encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large
families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized
the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service
for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged
8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase
was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period
was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual
rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off
many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there
were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000
women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. 175
The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality.
With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known published
sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to [121]
enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical
perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different [648]

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[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands*, 1960 (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–5.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

12 In Oxford, Professor Arthur Thomson has set the resources of his Department, including a calculating machine, at my disposal, and has helped me continually with advice and kindly criticism. My former teachers—Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. Henry Balfour, Mr. E. T. Leeds, and Professor J. L. Myres—have accorded me in many conversations the combined privileges of a colleague and a pupil. I fear that I have, albeit unwittingly, often pirated their ideas. My colleague, Miss Blackwood, has devoted the greater part of a Long Vacation to helping to finish and prepare this paper for the press before my leaving England, and has performed the laborious task of looking over proofs in my absence.

II.—Geography.

131 [101] The Maltese archipelago consists of the islands of Malta, Gozo, Comino, Cominetto and Filfola. The two latter are uninhabited, and Comino is practically untenanted. We are therefore only concerned with the islands of Malta and Gozo.

Malta lies about 60 miles south of Sicily and 180 miles north of the African coast. Its maximum length is 18½ miles, its maximum breadth 8¼ miles, and its area 95 square miles. Gozo is considerably smaller, and has an area of about 20 square miles.

133 Geologically, the islands are Late Eocene (3). The eastern and most thickly inhabited part of Malta consists of globigerina limestone, which overlies lower coralline limestone; in the western part these beds are covered with beds of greensand and blue clay or marl, over which lies the upper coralline limestone. The rock is everywhere extremely friable, and is perpetually disintegrating under the influence of wind and rain. Except in one or two places the soil is seldom more than a few inches deep.

The surrounding seas are warm and shallow; a rise of 50 fathoms would connect Malta and Sicily, and a rise of 200 fathoms would join North Africa and Europe and include Malta as a craggy bastion. The shallowest sea, however, lies more to the west. Malta should, therefore, be more correctly described as an outlying pier of an old land bridge rather than part of the land bridge itself. It seems probable that slow, tectonic movements are actually in progress to-day, and that the archipelago is sinking; but it is extremely unlikely that any men of whom we possess traces at present, with the doubtful exception of a few fragments from the Weid Dalam, came to Malta when it was still part of the mainland.

The island is tilted from south to north. The cliffs along the southern coast are high and precipitous, and some of the loftiest parts of the island are close to the shore.

137 312 The undercliff here forms a pleasant contrast to the less fertile parts of Malta. Carib trees are not uncommon, potatoes are cultivated on terraces, and the tiny fields are irrigated, as elsewhere in Malta, by little runlets conducted along channels

137 312 made of open stone pipes. On the rocks, in January, there was a wild profusion of flowering heath, of a species akin to our heather (*Erica*). Where the water overflows, there are tiny reed beds, but always smaller and less luxuriant than those of the Eastern Mediterranean. In some places on these cliffs the charlock appears to have competed successfully with *Oxalis cernua*.

● 133 The north coast is generally more shelving. There are no mountains, but the whole surface is cut by deep ravines, which are for the most part dry, but which may contain as much as three feet of water during a spate; the mouths of some of these valleys form small fiords. The western part of the island, which contains the upper coralline beds, contrasts strongly with the eastern. The hills are higher, the valleys bigger and more rounded, and the country is less parched, owing to the underlying marls. The scenery of Gozo resembles that of Western Malta, but the cliffs are higher and grander, the fields are larger, and the country is greener.

241 137 Owing to the large population every foot of soil is precious, and the whole of Malta is parcelled out into innumerable tiny fields, some hardly more than a few yards square, each being separated from the next by a stone wall. Olives and caribs grow as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, but for the most part they are limited to the courses of the streams; oranges flourish where there is sufficient water to irrigate them, but in Malta one looks in vain for the abundant orange groves of Sicily, or the pleasant tangled hillsides of Northern Cyprus. The myrtle is almost absent, the numbers of wild myrtle bushes can nearly be counted on the fingers of a man's hands. The flora (4) generally is most akin to that of Sicily; 94 per cent. of the Maltese species are found in that island, 91 per cent. in Africa, and 90·5 per cent. in the Levant (5). There are three things which are predominant in all the scenery of Malta: stone walls, goats, and the yellow flowers of the virulent *Oxalis cernua*, which not even the goats will eat.

132 Owing to the small size of Malta and the nature of its surface, the weather is dominated by two factors—the sea and the direction of the wind. The mean annual temperature is 66·6° F., the mean annual rainfall is 21·6 inches, precipitation normally occurring on 81 days. The mean relative humidity for seven years is 79·1 per cent. The coldest month is February (mean temperature 52·9° F.); the hottest August (77·9° F.). During June and July practically no rain falls, and in August the mean is only 0·13 mm. (6).

361 In working out constants, I have divided the islands into two areas—Urban and Rural. This is the division in the census (31), and corresponds very closely to a marked difference in the conditions under which the population lives. The former includes the fortified towns and suburbs, Valletta, Floriana, Cottoneria, Senglea, Conspicua, Sliema, St. Julian, Pieta Misida, Hamrum, Birchircara, Curmi, Paula, Tarxien, Zabbar, Calcara and Rabato; the latter, the more isolated villages in the country.

The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically continuous 361
inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely [161]
overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding
lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the
village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here 114
that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as 245
the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, 366
wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes.

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the 369
whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of 489
the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not 582
seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by the whole population.

III.—History.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further 133
evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, 172
has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of undercutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age. By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus. These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water.

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Neandertal 114
man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small 172
fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual characters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P: 133]

OMENS AND SUPERSTITIONS

ST. PAUL'S TONGUE

It was a popular belief among our ancestors that the teeth of fish, which we find embedded in some of the rocks, are St. Paul's *tongue*, which during his sermons penetrated even the solid rock. These fossils were pounded and the powder was held to possess a miraculous power in healing wounds. 825 133 [278]

Till recently it has been known that some of our countryfolks used to carry one of these teeth about with them, sometimes mounted on silver and hung about their necks, as an amulet against the bites of venomous vipers—at one time very abundant in Malta. 825 751

CHAPTER II

Where and What is Malta?

●133 SEVENTEEN MILES IN LENGTH AND NINE MILES ACROSS AT ITS widest, with its long axis running north-west and south-east, Malta is the principal island of one of the smallest archipelagoes in the world, a survival from those remote days when continents were differently shaped and the Mediterranean was a cluster of fresh-water lakes, divided by land bridges that connected Europe with Africa. Of one of these bridges the Maltese archipelago is to-day the sole existing pier, the one remaining fragment of a causeway along which prehistoric pachyderms and ruminants groped their puzzled way to the African warmth when driven from Europe by its increasing glaciation. Some of these mighty beasts lingered too long on the Maltese pier, and the cave of Ghar Dalam, "the Cave of Darkness," near Bir Zebbuġa at the southern extremity of the island, is a storehouse of their remains, converted in the course of ages into layers of fossil deposits as important as any of their kind in the world.

648
175
[133]
This position midway between two continents has at times created doubts in the minds of scientists no less than of administrators as to the one to which Malta should properly belong, just as doubts have been expressed whether Cyprus should be held to belong to Europe or to Asia. These doubts were set at rest, from the legal point of view at all events, soon after the British Occupation. For in 1801 the Parliament of the United Kingdom gravely enacted, in clause 3 of 41 Geo. III cap. 103—or, to give the law its full title, "An Act to empower His Majesty to regulate the trade and commerce to and from the isle of Malta until the signing of a definitive Treaty of Peace, and from thence until six weeks

[Text continues on p. 18]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

term by the numerous British Service men and women who 197
have been stationed in or have passed through Malta, *sahha*
has been admitted, in the form "saha," into the more recent 192
editions of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* as an English word for "good-bye," with due acknowledgment of its Maltese origin. And perhaps "saha" is but the forerunner of others; for in its issue of the 5th January 1945 the London *Spectator* had this to say on the etymology of the word "spitchered," which occurs in one of the war books on Malta:

> The word clearly derives from the Maltese *spicca*, meaning "finished" or something similar. Naval opinion agrees with Air Force opinion on that. But naval opinion claims credit for embodying the word in the English language. And as naval opinion can point to its use as long ago as 1903, the Air Force does seem to be grounded or, indeed, spitchered on this particular point.

4

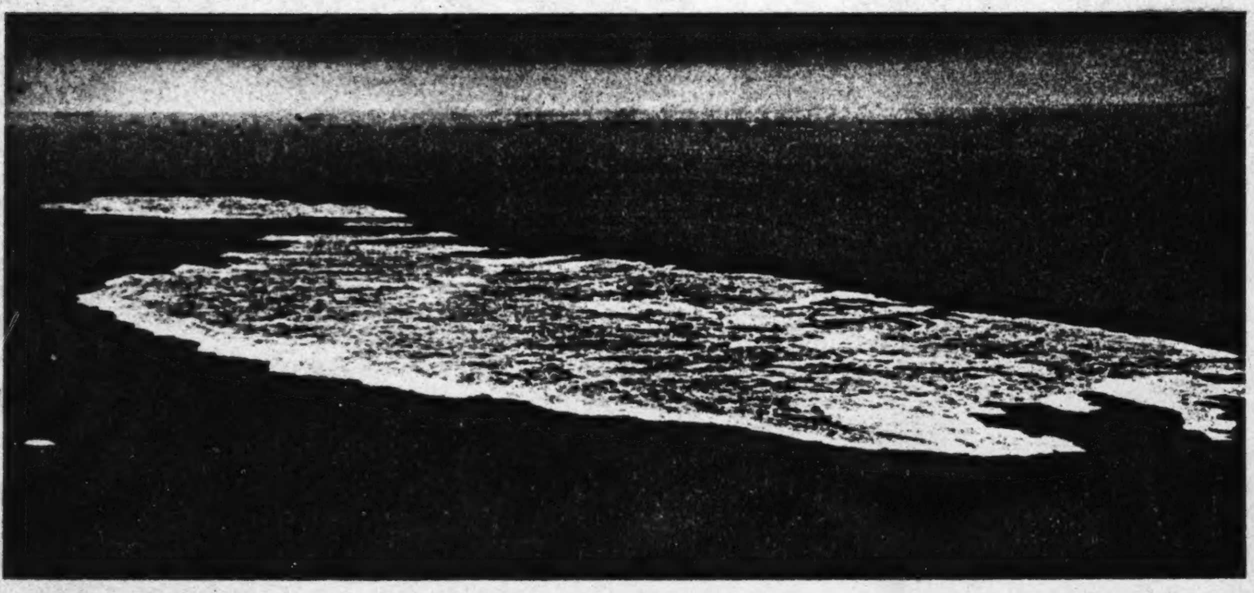
In some parts of the Old World the visitor can select, 133
according to his tastes, the century that he prefers. It is no 172
exaggeration to say that in Malta he can choose the millennium and more than the millennium. If he is a palæontologist he may wander about the cave of Ghar Dalam and study *in situ* the remains of the elephants and hippopotami who left their bones there when the world was yet young, and of giant swans who sailed on lakes that have long since
vanished. Advancing from these and from the Neanderthal 172
Man, of whom traces may have been found in Malta, many thousands of years into the Stone Age, he will find in Malta and Gozo a series of megalithic and neolithic sanctuaries—Tarxien, the Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni, Haġiar Qim, Mnajdra, Ġgantija, to mention only the most important—unequalled in any other part of the world.

He will find other survivals of the Stone Age, of a different 172
sort, in the cart-tracks which traverse many of the barren 493
136

133

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[facing P. 40]



THE MALTESE ARCHIPELAGO FROM THE AIR

In left foreground the islet of Filfla.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920–ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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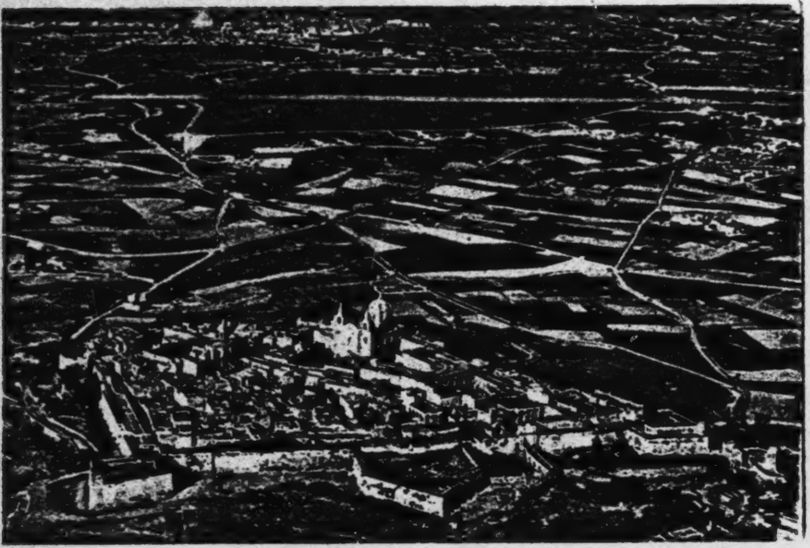
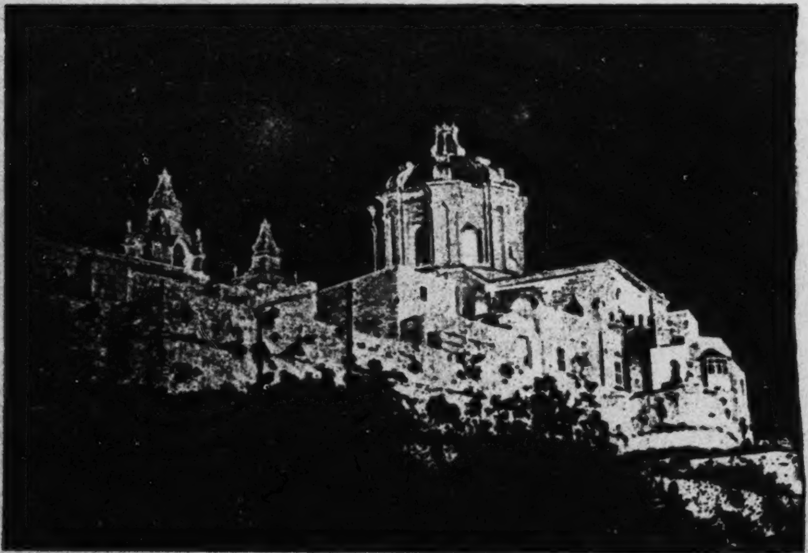


MDINA, "THE NOTABLE CITY"
In the background Mosta, with its domed church.
[*See pp.* 90 *and* 203.]

THE CATHEDRAL, MDINA, FLOODLIT FOR THE JUBILEE OF KING GEORGE V
[*See p.* 88.]

346
341



[facing p. 97]

CHAPTER XVII

Casals and Countryside

311 656 342 OWING TO THE DENSITY AND RAPID GROWTH OF THE population, to the lack of soil and to the abundance of excellent building-stone, which not only takes on in the course of ages a beautiful patina but is easy to work, the proportion of Malta's built-up area to the area under cultivation is probably uniquely high. Unique is probably also the "Red Soil Law" whereby anyone about to erect a house is compelled to dig up and hand over to the Government (which removes it for him) any soil there may be on the site of the future structure, so that the precious earth may not be buried and lost for ever to the island's cultivators.

● 133 311. So precious is it that the smallest pockets, however inaccessibly they may be situated, are jealously conserved. Malta is low-lying—in the words of Tasso

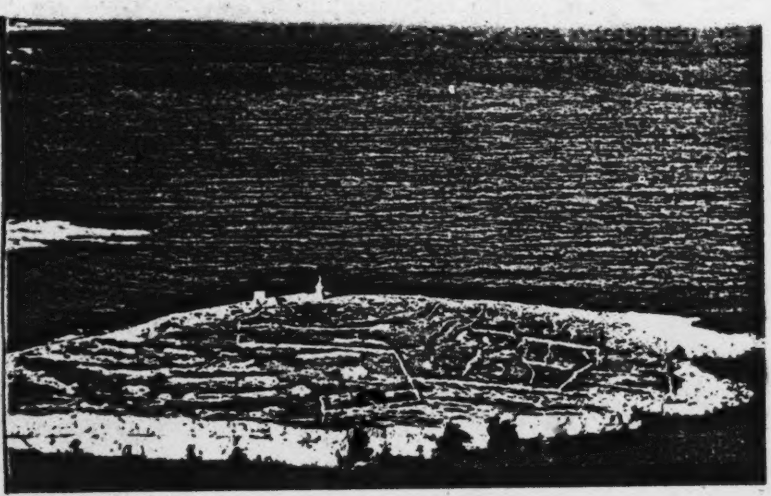
> *giace Malta fra l'onde occulta, e bassa*

—and only on the thyme-covered cliffs of the south-western stretch of coast does it rise as high as 800 feet. These cliffs are wild and rugged and sheer, but here and there, as they drop precipitously to the sea, narrow ledges of earth-covered rock cling precariously to their face. But even these *redums*, as [342] they are termed—the like of which I have seen only on that hermit-inhabited spur of Mount Athos which is called Kerasia—are brought into use by the indomitable Maltese farmer of the locality, who sometimes lives in the caves beside them with his family and his animals as his Stone Age predecessor lived in them before him.

311 34 103 243 Thus every nook and cranny of these islands is eloquent of their past: towns; casals; little country chapels, farmhouses and isolated gateways, which are often adorned with

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 133



S. PAUL'S ISLAND
[*See pp. 21, 87 and 213.*]

SELMUN PALACE
[*See p. 213.*]

341
344

[facing p. 208]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

(and where do they not exist?), his book gave a certain 114
amount of offence in the more sensitive quarters of the 357
island. None the less, it includes a chapter which should have atoned for any "causes of stumbling" created in those quarters. The chapter is entitled "Dolores" and concerns the Shepherds' Maltese maid-of-all-work and their baby's nurse. "Dolores" is not only a telling tribute to some of the salient virtues of the Maltese character; it is one of the most sensitive and moving descriptions of the personal devotion of a servant to her employers and her charge that I have had the good fortune to read.

4

A word has been said earlier in this chapter as to the [137
grandeur of the cliff scenery of Malta. Inland, on the other [133]
hand, the countryside can scarcely be called either grand or impressive, and during the dry summer months there is little colour to set against the brown aridity of the fields other than the sage of the olive, the carob and the fig-trees, and the
pinks and whites of the oleanders beside the roads. But after [132]
the autumn rains have begun to refresh the parched earth the land rapidly assumes a mantle of young green, and the wild flowers appear shyly above ground, beginning with two lovely miniature blooms—the brilliantly blue *Iris minuta* and the even more ethereal, strongly scented "*satarina*" (*N. serotinus*). This, the tiniest of the narcissi, looks as if it had been called into being by a touch of the fairy's wand in Walt Disney's *Fantasia*.

Later, in March and April, Malta and Gozo alike seem to [246]
glow with the crimson, deepening into purple, of the *sulla*, the clover or sainfoin with which thousands of acres are sown for fodder. Among the most striking blends of colour are those produced by many varieties of Bougainvillæa (which flourishes exceedingly in Malta) and the purple-and-cream flowers of the wild caper, against the background of the rich gold of the fortifications.

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9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

172

ROMAN INSCRIPTION RELATING TO THE *MUNICIPIUM* OF GOZO IN OUTER WALL OF CITADEL
[*See p.* 224.]

933

CLIFFS OF TA ĊENĊ, GOZO
[*See p.* 220.]

172

MAIMUNA'S TOMBSTONE
[*See p.* 224.]

[facing p. 209]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

sometimes regarded in England—in other words, as hard- 181
headed folk whom nothing will keep out of the best jobs.
It is certainly true to say that, loth as they may be to leave their 186
own little island, when they do it is definitely to better
themselves. They make excellent colonists in Australia and [167]
elsewhere in the New World, while those who emigrate no
farther than Malta frequently attain distinction. The story
is told of a function in S. John's Co-Cathedral in Valetta
at a time, not so many years ago, when the Gozitans who
were leading personages in Church and State included the
Archbishop of Malta, Mgr Pace.

"Well," said a Maltese worshipper, after watching the entry into the church of the procession of Archbishop and Canons and other dignitaries, mostly (or so it seemed to him) natives of the junior island, "I suppose we ought to be thankful that the sacristan is still a Maltese."

Byron may have had something similar in mind when he bracketed Malta with Gozo as

> Calypso's isles,
> The sister tenants of the middle deep,

instead of describing them as mother and daughter.

There is much to see in this small island of 27 square miles 172
and as many thousand inhabitants besides natural scenery and [131]
the monuments alluded to above. Let me instance some [161]
characteristic features of various widely different epochs of
Gozo's long history. First must come the twin Stone Age
temples of Ggantija, through their cyclopean construction—
one block has the formidable dimensions of 12½ by 17½ feet—
the most stupendous work of Neolithic man in the Maltese
archipelago. Farther excavation by the Malta Museum is
planned on and around their site when funds permit, and
more wonders may yet come to light. Meanwhile the [133]
visitor may enjoy from one of the most impressive architectural survivals of remote antiquity a comprehensive view of Gozo and of the north-western end of Malta, with

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

172 Comino between them separated from the islet of Cominotto
133 by a channel of the palest green.

Traversing thousands of years, let us next notice a reminder
172 of the rule of Rome in the Latin inscription embedded in the entrance to the citadel, dating from the time when Gozo was a separate *municipium* of the Roman republic. Now for a glimpse of Islam, a legacy of the two centuries—from 870 to 1090—when the Arabs were the lords of these islands. Between the villages of Xewkija and Sannat on the road now called Ta Maimuna was discovered about three hundred years ago a slab of marble bearing an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters. This slab was the tombstone of an Arab girl named Maimuna, and the inscription is not only a fine piece of lapidary work but a human document from which I quote without apology:

> "Ask thyself," cries Maimuna from the grave, "if there is anything everlasting, anything that can repel or cast a spell upon death.
>
> "Alas, death has robbed me of my short life; neither my piety nor my modesty could save me from him. I was industrious in my work, and all that I did is reckoned and remains.
>
> "Oh, thou who lookest upon this grave in which I am enclosed, dust has covered my eyelids and the corners of my eyes.
>
> "On my couch and in my abode there is nought but tears; and [what will happen] when my Creator comes to me?
>
> "Oh, brother, take. . . ."

And here little Maimuna's pathetic message comes to an abrupt end.

The passage of a few more centuries brings us to the
873 spacious days of the Knights of S. John, the study of whose
175 rule in Gozo may be facilitated by reference to the archives of the island's "University," for Gozo had, like Malta, its own "University" until the beginning of British rule.[1] It

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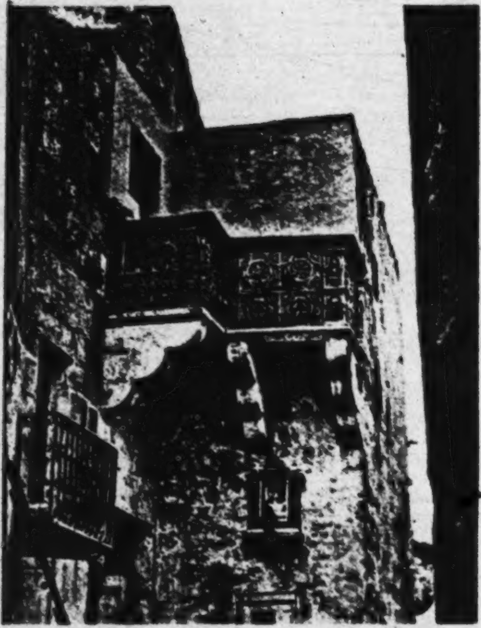
[217] [1] These archives were rescued from oblivion after the Second World War by the Commissioner of Gozo, Mr E. Montanaro, and are now preserved in the Commissioner's Office.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

341
342



CHARACTERISTIC STONE
BALCONY, VICTORIA, GOZO
[*See p.* 220.]

133

LANDLOCKED BAY OF KAWRA, GOZO
[*See p.* 220.]

[facing P. 224]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

It may also be combined with a tricky piece of rock-climbing—how tricky the writer can testify from personal experience—by anyone prepared to scale the precipitous islet known as the Fungus Rock, which closes the entrance to the lagoon of Qala Dwejra. 133

This impressive and now almost inaccessible rock takes its 133
name from the strange and repellent-looking black plant 278
(*Fucus coccineus melitensis*) which grows on its summit and 655
in the days of the Order was regarded as a sovereign remedy [137]
against hæmorrhage and dysentery. The plant was a [757]
perquisite of the Grand Masters, and a guard was provided
in a tower on the mainland to keep away trespassers. Those 133
who came legitimately to take the fungus landed by means 417
of a basket suspended on ropes stretched between the rock 278
and the nearest point on the mainland; an old water-colour in the Malta Museum depicts this means of transit, which has long since disappeared. It was evidently of a somewhat precarious nature, at all events to judge from the account of a gentleman who effected the passage in 1815:[1]

> One object of curiosity on the south side of the island [*sc.* Gozo] is a rock, on which grows a kind of fungus, which is used as a styptic. The passage to this rock is rather curious, if not dangerous; two ropes are made fast on each shore, on which a box with grooves on its edges passes over. A Maltese first works his way across, then the person desirous to go over draws the box back and seats himself in it, when he is hauled over by the guide; in this manner as many as please can go, one at a time.
>
> It is not a very pleasant sensation to be suspended some hundred feet above the water, and if there is any wind, the movement of the box is anything but agreeable, and all that can be obtained are a few pieces of fungus. I was well pleased to be back again, and made a determination never to risk my precious carcase in that conveyance again. It seems very strange to be swinging up in the air between two rocks, with sea-gulls and other aquatics flying about below you.

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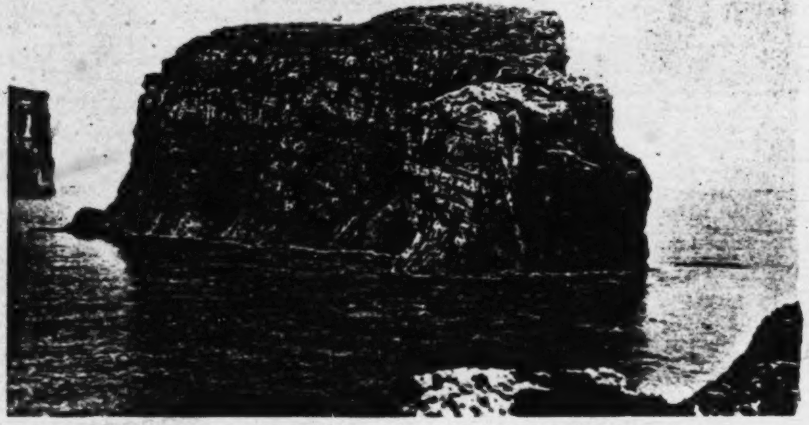
[1] From *Malta Sixty Years Ago*, by Claudius Shaw (London, 1875).

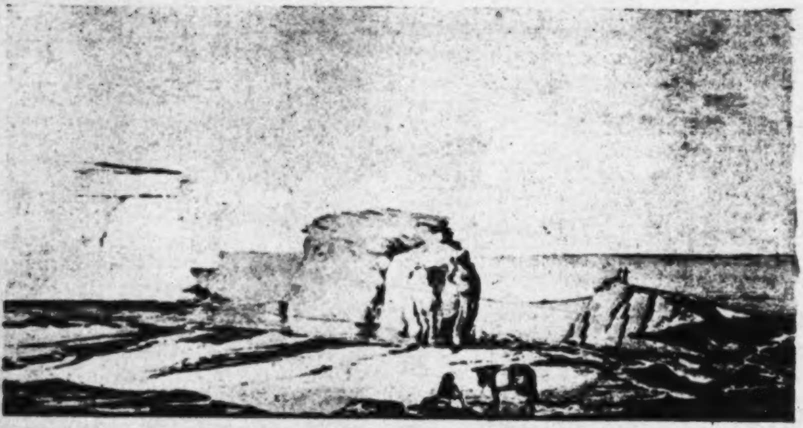
9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

● 133



FUNGUS ROCK, GOZO

417



THE SAME, SHOWING ANCIENT ROPEWAY
From an old water-colour in the Malta Museum.
[*See p.* 225.]

[facing p. 225]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

*132
931
241
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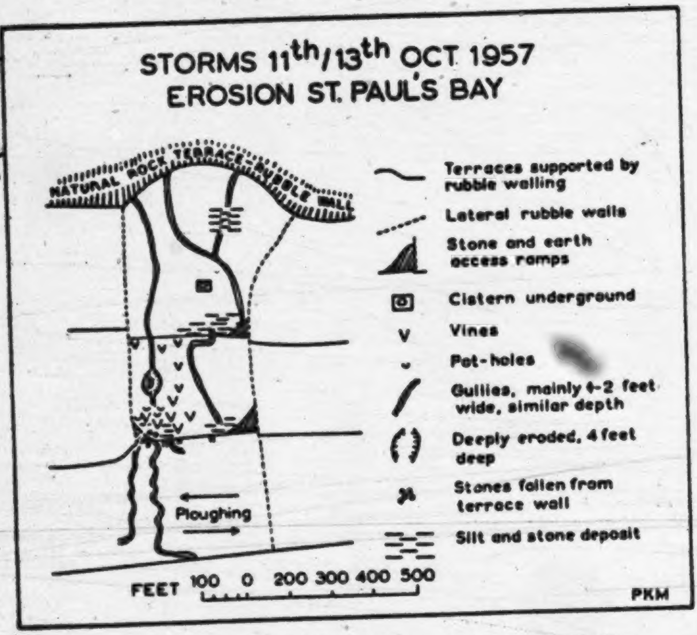
STORMS 11th/13th OCT 1957
EROSION ST. PAUL'S BAY
NATURAL ROCK TERRACE RUBBLE WALL
Ploughing
FEET 100 0 200 300 400 500
Terraces supported by rubble walling
Lateral rubble walls
Stone and earth access ramps
Cistern underground
Vines
Pot-holes
Gullies, mainly 1-2 feet wide, similar depth
Deeply eroded, 4 feet deep
Stones fallen from terrace wall
Silt and stone deposit
PKM

Fig. 17 Storms of 11th/13th Oct. 1957, Erosion, St. Paul's Bay.

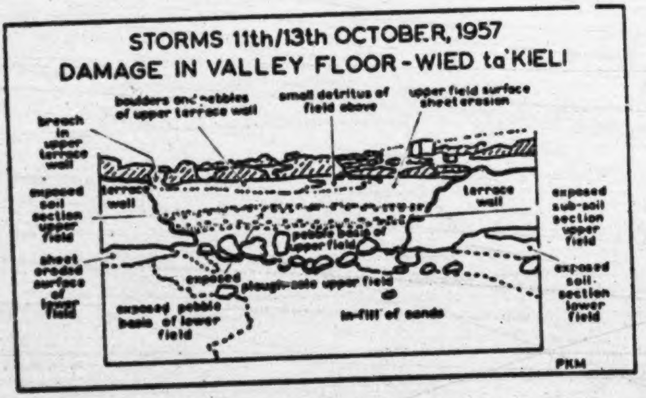
STORMS 11th/13th OCTOBER, 1957
DAMAGE IN VALLEY FLOOR - WIED ta'KIELI
boulders and pebbles of upper terrace wall
small detritus of field above
upper field surface sheet erosion
breach in upper terrace wall
terrace wall
terrace wall
exposed soil section upper field
exposed sub-soil section upper field
pebble basis of upper field
sheet eroded surface of lower field
exposed ploughsole upper field
exposed soil section lower field
exposed pebble basis of lower field
in-fill of sands
PKM

Fig. 18 Storms of 11th/13th Oct. 1957, Damage in Valley Floor, Wied ta' Kieli.

*132 ● 134 312 The figures show that annual P.E. exceeds annual precipitation by nearly 100 per cent., a moisture surplus of 7.5 inches for the months of October to February inclusive being more than offset by a moisture deficiency of 19.6 inches, almost as great as the average rainfall, in the remaining seven months of the year. In practical terms this means that the maintenance of a herbaceous vegetation cover throughout the year would require a water supply equivalent to 40.1 inches of rainfall distributed according to the monthly P.E. values. Rainfall itself supplies only half this amount and the remainder must come from other sources as, for example, when irrigation is applied. In the latter case, water is brought in from elsewhere, during the limited growing season of cultivated plants, to supplement the supply from precipitation. However, the position is less simple than suggested by the foregoing statement. Application of water at the required rate can damage the soil by preventing proper aeration and may also cause disease in the growing crop. On the other hand, if the total amount of water supplied to a crop falls below the cumulative P.E. rate of the growing season by more than an inch or two, then full growth of the plant is prevented. Furthermore, surplus moisture will be stored in the soil from the wetter months to augment the supply in months of rainfall deficiency, the extent to which this takes place being dependent on such factors as type and depth of soil and the nature of the crop itself. Thornethwaite (41) has shown that, in humid areas, the majority of crops can only abstract 4 inches of water from the soil in this way but such a generalisation cannot apply to many of Malta's extremely thin soils, which are physically incapable of retaining so much water. The moisture-holding capacity of the soil is also significant in relation to run-off which will only occur once that capacity has been exceeded.

134 312 There are as yet, no data on the moisture-holding capacity of Maltese soils. In the computations which follow (Table 20), three values have been assumed - 2½ inches, 4 inches and 6 inches - of which the intermediate is the most likely average. These fuller figures give a truer picture of the water balance than that available from the moisture surplus and deficiency data of Table 19.

It will be observed that the whole moisture surplus of October and November is absorbed in soil moisture recharge, that is in the replacement of moisture removed from the soil during the dry summer months and that it is not until December that an actual water surplus occurs and that there are, in fact, only three months with such a surplus (two in soils with 6 inches storage capacity), which will be expressed in direct run-off and in percolation into the water table.

On the assumption made in the computation of Table 20 that evapotranspiration will take place at the full potential rate so long as there is any moisture stored in the soil it will be seen that the length of the growing season depends on soil moisture storage capacity. Thus, at the 2½ inches level, full plant growth is possible from October to early May (Fig. 23), at the 4 inches level, the season is extended by some two weeks and, at the 6 inches level, it would continue into early June. Water surplus also varies with soil character; so does the date at which significant run-off begins.

If the average soil moisture storage capacity is assumed to be 4 inches, December-February water surplus is seen to be 3.5 inches. Since this is based on the Valletta rainfall data it would be wise to raise this figure to 4.2 inches for the Islands as a whole (see p 75). Making the further (erroneous) assumption that the land surface is completely covered with soil, the total available water, including both percolation and run-off, would be some 7,000 million gallons. We have already seen (p. 45) that some 2,000 million gallons are used for irrigation and a further 2,400 million in the public water supply. If it is further recalled that a good deal of the precipitation is lost by direct run-off or by sub-surface percolation into the sea (p. 43) it will be realised that the 'water balance' is in fact in a precarious state of unbalance.

There are several implications here for the agriculturalist. In the first place, there is little prospect of obtaining additional water for irrigation purposes in years of average rainfall. Secondly, it is essential that excessive amounts of irrigation water should never be applied. Some indication of irrigation requirements may be obtained from P.E. data and an attempt has been made (Fig. 24)

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Table 20. Water balance - Malta. Inches.
Assuming soil storage capacities of 2½ inches, 4 inches and 6 inches.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Moisture surplus			0.1	1.8	2.4	2.2	1.0						—
Moisture deficiency	6.5	3.7						0.3	1.6	3.4	5.0	6.7	19.6
Soil storage capacity 2½ inches													
Soil m. recharge			0.1	1.8	0.6								2.5
Water surplus					1.8	2.2	1.0						5.0
Soil m. utilisation								0.3	1.6	0.6			2.5
Deficiency	6.5	3.7								2.8	5.0	6.7	—
Soil moisture deficit	2.5	2.5	2.4	0.6	0	0	0	0.3	1.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	
Soil storage capacity 4 inches													
S.M.R.			0.1	1.8	2.1								4.0
W.S.					0.3	2.2	1.0						3.5
S.M.U.								0.3	1.6	2.1			4.0
D	6.5	3.7								1.3	5.0	6.7	—
S.M.D.	4.0	4.0	3.9	2.1	0	0	0	0.3	1.9	4.0	4.0	4.0	
Soil storage capacity 6 inches													
S.M.R.			0.1	1.8	2.4	1.7							6.0
W.S.						0.5	1.0						1.5
S.M.U.								0.3	1.6	3.4	0.7		6.0
D	6.5	3.7									4.3	6.7	—
S.M.D.	6.0	6.0	5.9	4.1	1.7	0	0	0.3	1.9	5.3	6.0	6.0	

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to prepare an irrigation schedule on the basis of the figures discussed in this chapter. The schedule is for a field in which potatoes, sown in September, are followed by further potato plantings in January and by the setting-out of tomatoes in late April. Regular P.E., rainfall and irrigation are assumed and soil moisture deficit of 2 inches at the end of each crop's growth is permitted (a figure allowed for shallow-rooted crops in U.K. Ministry of Agriculture experiments). The schedule indicates a maximum irrigation of 3.2 inches in the week of planting first-crop potatoes (when soil moisture deficit must be restored) and a similar amount is applied to the young tomatoes. The potatoes require less irrigation in subsequent weeks when soil moisture is near capacity and rainfall is increasing while P.E. is falling. A total of 5.4 inches of irrigation is required by this crop. Winter-sown potatoes need no irrigation but they deplete soil moisture reserves which must be restored when tomatoes are planted. During the growing season of the latter crop, soil moisture is allowed to decline but P.E. is increasing and irrigation rates rise from 0.6 inch per week in early May to 1.5 inches in July, the latter being equivalent to 9,450 gallons per tomna. The tomato crop requires a total of 22 inches.

It must be emphasised that this schedule is based on average conditions and on an even distribution of rainfall within each month, conditions which rarely, if ever, occur. The method, however, might be more profitably applied on the basis of P.E. rates, rainfall and precise planting dates in particular seasons. When more information on P.E. rates in Malta becomes available, experiments in the application of the water balance technique to the problem of irrigation might well show a profit in a more efficient use of water supplies.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P.83]

Chapter III

EDAPHIC AND ECOLOGICAL

A. Soils of Malta and Gozo (Fig. 27)

* D. M. LANG, Ph.D.

FACTORS OF SOIL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MALTESE ISLANDS

Soil is a commonplace which everyone recognises but few would attempt to define or even describe. Joffe (1949) defines soil as 'a natural body of mineral and organic constituents usually unconsolidated, differentiated into horizons, of variable depth, which differs from the material below in morphology, physical make-up, chemical properties and composition and biological characteristics'. This definition, like many others, does not satisfy everyone. It does not emphasise, for example, that the soil is continually changing because the plants which grow in it and the active myriads of the soil microfauna whose home it is, cause changes in its characteristics. However, to include this and many other concepts which it might be desirable to use would require a long time and a lot of paper, because soil is essentially very complex. 134

There are, according to Dokuchaeff, five factors involved in the development of soil, and of these probably three, parent material, climate and time, are fundamental in the production of the soils of Malta. Topography, the fourth factor, is largely dependent on the first three, since landscape is largely moulded by erosion and deposition related to the parent structure, process and time. Biological influences, the fifth factor, despite the activity of plants and animals, is presently dominated by man's work, the effects of which are secondary, producing modifications of the existing patterns, but nonetheless sometimes profound.

TIME

Maltese soils are all rather young or immature since pedological processes are slow in calcareous soils like these, particularly where acidic drainage water is very limited in quantity. Certain soils, for example, the red brown clays of the Terra group (p. 92) are believed to have formed largely under the influence of processes which have been superseded. Under a changed climate the new very slow processes have so far produced little change in the soil profile. It is a relic of the old process and thus the soils are, in a sense, relic soils, but at the same time very immature (young) soils under the new climate, because the new process has produced so little change.

In the San Biagio series, very young, man-made, carbonate raw soils (p. 87) dating only from when they were mined from the rock, are found in front of undermined terrace backwalls. Only a few yards away much older soils are developed from the same parent rock, and they are xerorendzinas (p. 90). While the raw soil has been subjected to natural processes for less than 50 years, the xerorendzina has been developing over several hundred years. Thus time is an important factor in the soil's development.

CLIMATE

The climate of Malta and Gozo, is a good example of the Mediterranean type. It consists of hot dry summers, having a high rate of evaporation and no rain, warm and showery autumns normally with a rainfall deficit, short cool winters with enough rainfall for agriculture in most years, but leaving insufficient reserve in the soil to combat the warm drying springs again having a rainfall deficit. The variation on sites of the same type is obviously small, but between deep-set valleys, north-facing scarp slopes and the main open plateaux or south-facing slopes there are often wellmarked differences in vegetation, both weeds and crops. The difference is striking because of the difference in insolation, and 132 134

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 85]

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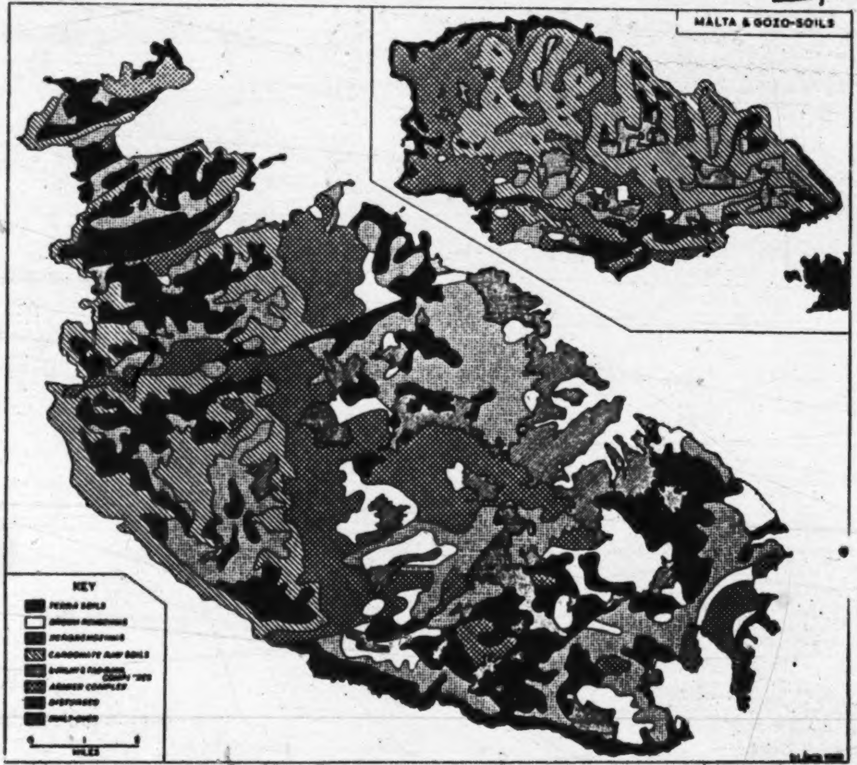
MALTA & GOZO-SOILS
KEY
TERRA SOILS
BROWN RENDZINAS
XERORENDZINAS
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
ARMIER COMPLEX
DISTURBED
0
1
2
MILES

Fig. 27 Soils of Malta and Gozo.

thus of surface temperature regime. However, soil profiles show virtually no 132
difference between different sites, and it is only in exceptionally wet locations
that the normal pattern of aridity is sufficiently overcome to allow the 134
development of noticeable humus horizons.

In the past there have been broad oscillations of climate responsible for the production at different times of widely differing soil materials such as the 'red soil' (red brown Terra clays), stoney calcareous debris and aeolian sands which are now the materials parent to the present soil. The present climate, however, is not a leaching climate.

This uniformly arid climate is in strong contrast with that of some other latitudes, for example, that of Britain, and suggests itself as the reason for the restricted range of soils found in Malta and Gozo.

PARENT MATERIAL

The rocks which are ancestors to the soils are all closely similar in type 133
chemically, and only moderately variable in physical characteristics. Thus only 134
a limited range of soil types is to be expected. However, the massive, well-jointed limestones have developed karst landscapes because they favour percolation and solution more than do the porous but nearly impervious finer-textured limestones. On the karstlands the red brown Terra clays have developed on almost completely de-calcified residues from the limestone, but on the other landscapes there has been a minimum of decalcification, and the soils are very like the rocks from which they have been formed. Thus, the composition of the impurities in the limestones from which they were originally weathered mainly decides the nature of the Terra soils (although inblown calcite has increased their calcium carbonate content). Similarly the texture and detailed composition of the carbonate raw soils and xerorendzinas is closely dependent on the parent material. The parent material type is therefore important for Maltese soils because it partly determines what pedological processes can take place and especially because the processes taking place now have little effect.

TOPOGRAPHY

Topography generally influences the development of the soil in a variety of ways, and chiefly through modifications of climate, variable conditions of drainage and effects on erosion and transportation processes. It has been noted that in Malta and Gozo the variations of topography produce sites with very different insolation conditions, but the effect on soil processes is negligible. It is only in the extremely freely-drained conditions of some hill tops, where lime crust yermas are simulated on parent materials of fine sandy loam texture that the effect of topography on drainage conditions can be thought to be sufficient to produce soil modifications. Flooding with sea water may be attributed to topography, and in the Alcol series at Salinas, for example, slight salinity is the result.

The effect of topography on erosion, transportation and deposition is more noticeable. Under former cooler climatic conditions, solifluction took place, and under the present conditions sheet or gully erosion occurs during the violent showers of late autumn. The result is that there are strikingly different eroded and alluvial phases of the same soil series in some locations. On the Blue Clay soils the alluvial, light clay type is more favourable to agriculture than the eroded heavy clay type which is in patches alkaline or saline-alkaline.

BIOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

Apart from man's activities, biotic factors are of relatively small import- 134
ance in the soils. Humus horizons are only developed under well grown and long 311
undisturbed vegetation, which is very rare. The organic-matter deficient humus forms of the surface horizons of the cultivated soils can only be seen easily under the microscope, and the soil fauna seems to be very limited in numbers.

The modifications of the soil pattern produced by man are, on the other hand most profound. Apart from the large area of Malta which has been covered by human habitations, factories, airfields and military installations, where the

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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soil has been bulldozed or covered up and is unrecognisable, the pattern of soils in the agricultural land has been changed.

Firstly, nearly all the land in Gozo and most of the land in Malta has been terraced, on slopes so steep that the terraces must be very narrow, with very high retaining walls. The backwalls of the terrace are often cut into the solid rock and the resulting rockflour mixed with the soil material, while the floor of the terrace is quarried and made flat and then covered with rubble before the soil material is replaced on it.

Terracing of this type is very widespread on the cultivated areas except on alluvial parent materials, and gives rise in the karst lands to a complex of soils described as l-Iklin complex, ranging from carbonate raw soils to Terra-like soils, dependent on the amount of rockflour and rubble added to the original Terra soils during terracing.

Where quarries have been dug, the soil has been replaced in a similar way, with added rubble, refuse and rockflour in terraces which have been built up at several levels in the quarry. The resultant mixed soils have been referred to as tad-Dawl complex, which is rather similar to l-Iklin.

The use of inorganic town refuse on the soils and the large-scale carting of soil material away from building sites to wherever it may be desired adds to the generally rather confused nature of many of the soils, and since about 0.1 per cent. of the total soil cover is moved every three years in this way, the scale is quite large.

To summarise, the pattern which man modified was dependent mainly on parent material, time and the ineffectiveness of the climate in producing soil horizon development. The effects of utilisation by man have produced widespread and profound modifications of that pattern.

Table 21. Classification of the soils of Malta and Gozo according to the system of Kubiena (1953).

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Division	Class	Type	Sub-type	Variety	Series
A. Sub-aqueous					
B. Semi-terrestrial	BD Salt soils		Secondary salt soils		
C. Terrestrial	CA Terrestrial raw soils	Syrosem	Carbonate Syrosem (Carbonate Raw Soil)		Fiddien Nadur Ramla San Lawrenz
	CB Not represented in Malta				
	CC Rendzina-like soils	Rendzina	Xerorendzina		Alcol San Biagio tal-Barrani
	CD Not represented in Malta				
	CE Terrae Calxis	Terra	Terra fusca	Earthy terra fusca	tas-Sigra
			Terra rossa	Siallitic terra rossa	Xaghra
	CF CG CH CI CJ Not represented in Malta				

The table (21) which is based on Kubiena's classification illustrates the small range of soils found in Malta and Gozo. There are no sub-aqueous soils, and only a small fraction of one per cent. of the soils are secondarily saline and thus classified as semi-terrestial, although some of the present soils (for example, Alcol) are developed on alluvial (semi-terrestrial) soils, from an earlier climatic era.

In the account following we describe first the carbonate raw soils, which are only slightly differentiated from their parent material and then the xerorendzinas in which the humus development becomes apparent. The San Biagio soils are typical xerorendzinas but the Alcol and tal-Barrani series contain sufficient brown sesquioxide clay material to give the soils deeper brown colours than are usual. In the former case this is because of the red-brown clays in the sediments on which the soils are developed, and in the latter case partly for similar reasons and partly because of slight accumulation of precipitated iron. Finally, we consider the reddish-brown Terra soils in which limestone weathering has progressed so far as to leave largely decalcified residues of limestone as the mineral body of the soil. The writer inclines to the view that the removal of calcium carbonate in both the last mentioned soils occurred under moister conditions than now obtain, a view with which some authorities are not entirely in agreement.

CARBONATE RAW SOILS

According to Kubiena (1953) the carbonate raw soil is a 'very young raw soil, extremely low in humus, characterised generally by a dry summer (on the surface partly also hot summer) soil climate on calcareous parent rocks'.

These soils have an (A) C profile, that is to say an (A) horizon overlies the C or parent material horizon. The (A) horizon is the zone most strongly colonised by organisms, the well aerated superficial layer of soils in which no recognisable humus horizons have developed. It has a recognisable humus form, raw soil humus consisting of a few fragments of undecomposed plant remains in some of which there are cavities containing droppings of mining animals; the mineral grains are calcite. Usually only the calcite sand will be obvious to the unaided eye.

Occasionally the (A) horizon will overlie a Ca horizon of secondary calcium carbonate precipitation above the C horizon.

In Malta and Gozo four series of carbonate raw soil have been distinguished, on the basis of variation in the parent material to which the biological soil is so closely related. These are the Nadur, Ramla, Fiddien and San Lawrenz series. The organic matter content is very low and only in one surface sample of 13 profiles sampled was as much as 2 per cent. found, while in most cases there was only 1-1½ per cent. Lower horizons generally showed less than 1 per cent. organic matter. At the same time the calcium carbonate content was high, about 80-90 per cent. in soils derived from the soft limestones and 30-60 per cent. in those derived from the Blue Clay.

NADUR

Parent material and location: The Nadur series is mainly developed from weathered calcareous sandstones of Quaternary age and similar materials from the lower part of the Upper Coralline Limestone, and the Greensand formation, mixed with downwashed red clay material of the Xaghra soil from the Middle Upper Coralline Limestone. The Nadur soil is usually developed as a narrow belt along the upper slopes of the scarps, and is only more extensive where the scarps give way to broad gently sloping valleys, as at Nadur and Xaghra and in part of Wied l-Iemu.

Description: A typical profile is

0 - 12"	Reddish brown, gravelly loamy sand or gravelly sandy loam; very gritty; single grain to very weak medium granular structure; loose.
12 - 37"	Yellowish red, gritty sandy loam, single grain to very weak medium granular structure.
37" plus	Off white, friable coarse-grained limestone.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Table 22. Summary of chemical analyses of samples from the surface horizon of normal soils (means and extremes)

GENETIC CLASSIFICATION, SERIES AND TEXTURE TYPE		CHEMICAL PROPERTY	Organic matter per cent.	Active CaCO3 per cent.	pH	Total phosphates per cent.	Readily available phosphates p.p.m.	Total exchangeable bases, milli-equivalents /100 gms.	Individual bases as per cent. of total				No. of samples
									Calcium	Magnesium	Sodium	Potassium	
CARBONATE	Nadur Ramla	Sand to sandy loam	0.7 1,6 1.9	2.1 8.2 14.7	7.80 8,34 8.73	0.05 0,12 0.20	—	18 24 33	80 91 94	4.3 6,5 8.6	0.6 0.8 1.1	1.9 2.2 2.6	5
RAW SOILS	San Lawrenz Fiddien	Clay loam and light clay	0.9 1,6 2.1	12.2 14,8 16.3	7.72 8.30 8.66	0.09 0,14 0.23	4 14 30	29 38 46	81 85 90	7,7 11,3 15.9	0.7 1,0 1.6	1.2 2,0 3.3	7
	Fiddien	Heavy clay	1.6	13,0	8,70	0,19	22	34	65	24	5,8	4,8	1
XERO-RENDZINAS	San Biagio Alcol	Sandy loam to clay	1.5 1,9 2.7	13.9 16,0 18.7	8.21 8,33 8.78	0.12 0,23 0.47	16 30 45	16 22 27	77 85 91	7.0 10,5 17.9	0.6 1,5 4.2	1.1 2,8 3.9	3
	tal-Barrani	Silt loam, loam, clay loam	2.6 3.0 3.2	11.9 13,9 15.1	8.20 8,35 8.49	0.12 0,18 0.19	68 81 96	29 33 36	72 83 88	7.0 10,1 15.5	1.3 1,7 2.1	2.7 4,4 5.6	4
TERRA SOILS	Xaghra tas-Sigra	Clay, loam and clay	3.1 4,5 6.4	1.7 4,0 6.0	7.20 8,08 8.38	0.11 0,21 0.37	3 30 105	39 43 50	75 83 90	6.5 8,4 12.1	0.7 1,8 3.5	1.4 3,7 7.7	6

The soil is usually reddish in colour because of the small admixture of red sesquioxide material, but this is sometimes missing and then the soil is greyish or slightly yellowish, while the other soil characteristics are unchanged. A variant found on the glauconitic facies of the Greensand covers only a few acres - a deep greenish buff loamy sand. 134

Sometimes the fields occupied by the Nadur Series contain fallen blocks of Coralline Limestone, and often they are very small and strongly terraced. Frequently they are abandoned, or devoted to flowers, but where in use, vines, and to a small extent, tree fruits are grown. [311]

RAMLA SERIES

Parent material and location: The Ramla soils are formed on sands of contemporary dunes at Ramla in Gozo and sands from the Quaternary dunesand bed at Armier in North Malta, where they are mostly man-made having been excavated from the dunesand bed. Where blown sands have been deposited, a sequence of parent materials giving a complex of soils (The Armier complex) of Xaghra and Ramla series and intermediate types is also found; on Qortin tan-Nadur in Gozo and on Marfa Ridge, south of Armier.

Description of a Ramla Series soil not recently cultivated:

0 - ¼"	Oat grass emerging from a very thin A.F. layer composed of a dense mat of decaying grass leaves.
¼ - 2"	Brown sand; single grain structure, grains 'strung' on abundant grass roots; no stones; dry.
7 - 14"	Brown sand; single grain structure; slightly moist.
14 - 40" plus	Strong brown sand; single grain structure; no stones; moist.

In agricultural use without a grass cover, these soils show even less horizon differentiation; they are almost completely uniform, except where they have been 'marled' with other soil materials.

These soils are generally terraced, but the fields are relatively large and the terrace walls are not high. [311]

FIDDIEN SERIES

Parent material and location: The Fiddien Series is mainly developed from well-weathered calcareous Blue Clay but a heavy clay soil is found on the relatively unweathered (calcareous) Blue Clay which is sometimes saline or alkaline. In both cases the topsoil may show an admixture of downwashed red clay and sandy materials from the soils upslope on the scarps in which the Blue Clay is mainly found.

Usually the unweathered Blue Clay is near the surface at the head of the scarp slope so that the heavy clay is upslope from the lighter clay. On the gentler slopes the li[illegible] clay is extensive, and in total area far exceeds the heavy type. The differentiation is important since the heavy type is occasionally alkaline or saline alkaline, because of the nature of its parent material.

Description: Medium or heavy clay type

0 - 10"	Olive clay (dry); moderately well developed fine to medium sub-angular blocky in large prisms; plastic and sticky.
10 - 30"	Olive clay (moist); massive; plastic and sticky.
30" plus	Dark blue green clay, unweathered. In field sloping 10 degrees with a 'slump-shoring' 4 feet high terrace wall at the front face.

Clay loam and light clay type

0 - 16"	Grey brown gritty clay loam; weakly developed fine granular structure; sticky, moderately plastic; numerous glauconite particles.
16 - 30"	Grey brown gritty clay loam; better developed granular structure in angular blocky compound peds; more compact.
30" plus	Grey brown gritty clay loam; well developed coarse prismatic structure. In flat field 40 yards across with a 2-feet drop at one wall.

The fields in which this soil is found are usually either unterraced or have minimal terracing as in the descriptions above. Frequently unterraced slopes [311]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

134 311 of over 20 degrees which are worked can be seen, but at slopes over 30 degrees the soil development is very poor, there may be gullying and the land is unworked.

SAN LAWRENZ SERIES

Parent material and location: The soils of this series are related to those of the Fiddien having as parent material Blue Clay and Globigerina Limestone alluvium and colluvium overlying Globigerina rock. In the normal sequence of soils down a scarp slope the series lies below the Fiddien and above the San Biaġio.

Description:

0 - 1"	Brown clay loam; small granular structure; slightly stony; dry, powdery and loose.
1 - 13"	Brown fine sandy clay loam; weak medium granular structure; some gravel; very friable and slightly moist.
13 - 40"	Olive brown fine sandy clay loam to clay; well developed fine angular blocky structure; compact; plastic and sticky; moist.
40" plus	Pale brown fine sandy clay loam to clay; weak medium granular structure; gravelly, mostly decaying Globigerina rock.

311 The fields in which the series is found are usually terraced, and sometimes have tall rock-face cuts at the back. The terraces are seldom very narrow, while those of the San Biaġio series often are.

XERORENDZINAS

According to Kubiena (1953), the xerorendzina, also called dry rendzina, is a 'rendzina, ash grey in colour, usually very loose, when dry in general very powdery, with extremely high chalk content often also of water soluble salts, particularly gypsum; occurring in dry regions'. This soil is very similar to the South Russian serosem or grey earth of the dry steppes.

General description: The xerorendzina has an AC profile. The grey, shallow, loose, calcareous A horizon, with mull or mull-like rendzina moder humus form usually passes through a well developed whitish Ca horizon into hard parent rock C. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish from a carbonate raw soil, differing in little but the humus form. In Malta and Gozo two series are classified as xerorendzinas, one of which is not typical but is most conveniently called by that name.

The organic matter content of the surface horizon averaged over 2 per cent. in five samples from the San Biaġio series, 1.7 per cent. in four samples of the Alcol series, but 3 per cent. in three samples of the tal-Barrani series rising to 6 per cent. in samples of uncultivated soil. The calcium carbonate content of these soils estimated from a small number of samples is 55 to 80 per cent. but some areas of the Alcol and tal-Barrani series probably contain less.

SAN BIAĠIO SERIES

Parent material and location: This soil is developed from the weathered Upper Globigerina Limestones, and intercalated thin beds of iron-rich and phosphatic nodules, that appear both in the tall scarps of Malta and Gozo and in relatively flat plateaux. Consequently the sites on which the soils are developed are quite varied, and eroded and alluvial-colluvial phases are as common as a normal phase.

Description:

Eroded phase

0 - 7"	Very pale brown, silt loam, some gravel; moderately well developed medium sub-angular blocky structure; sticky and slightly plastic.
7 - 10"	Pale brown slightly heavier silt loam; moderate fine angular blocky structure.
10" plus	Very pale brown, silty, soft laminated rock.

Alluvial-colluvial phase

Surface just dry after recent rain has a thin, cracking, alluvium crust. 134

0 - 10"	Pale brown silt loam; weak medium sub-angular blocky to crumb structure; plastic, non-sticky.
10 - 28"	Pale brown, slightly heavier silt loam; slightly compact; with almost massive structure.
28 - 72"	Pale brown silty clay loam; massive.

The normal phase is between these two extremes in its characteristics, and is usually of the silt loam type.

The landscape appearance is very uniform, and the fields in which this soil 311 is found are normally strongly terraced, with cut-rock faces at the back of the 134 terraces, from which fresh rock flour is derived during ploughing and is incorporated in the soil. Many fields have been partly produced by 'mining' in this manner, and some patches of soil are still carbonate raw soils. For agriculture in the islands this series is probably one of the most important since it is very extensive, and widely used.

ALCOL SERIES

Parent material and location: The Alcol series is developed on the valley 134 loams (Quaternary and Recent) which are partly alluvial and partly colluvial and occur in the broader valley bottoms. They are erosion products of Terra, rendzina and carbonate raw soils, they are often stratified and are generally, but not always, well sorted. In general the material parent to the present soil is deep and of heavy texture, but a few sandy types are found, and intercalated gravel or boulder horizons occur. The differentiation of the soil from the parent material is difficult, since there are no well developed horizons except those produced by tillage.

General description:

1. Uniform material

0 - 6"	Pale brown fine sandy clay loam; large to medium crumb structyre; loose; very dry; numerous worm casts.
6 - 21"	Pale brown silty clay loam; weak medium sub-angular blocky structure; moist; worm casts found.
21 - 72"	Pale brown clay loam, passing to brown silty clay; weak medium sub-angular blocky structure becoming larger with depth.
72" plus	Dark yellowish brown, similar to above, but very wet and possibly partly gleyed.

2. Stratified material

0 - 13"	Reddish brown silty clay loam; moderately well developed medium granular structure; some worm casts.
13 - 16"	Strong brown fine sandy clay loam; structure becoming laminar.
16 - 21"	Reddish yellow very fine sandy loam; weak medium laminar structure; some gravel and cobbles; slightly moist.
22 - 45"	Reddish yellow very fine sandy loam with many boulders.
46 - 60"	Clay loam; very fine to fine angular blocky structure.

In general the fields in which this soil appears, are flat and consequently [311] unterraced.

In some places at the coast a saline ground water table is producing symptoms of salinity in the soil, but more usually the soils are merely strongly calcareous, neither saline or alkaline.

TAL-BARRANI SERIES

The tal-Barrani soils appear to be transitional between the San Biagio and Xaghra soils. They are developed mainly on Globigerina rocks of massive appearance and texture similar to the Franka, on which they are also occasionally found. The soils have been much disturbed and mixed in the making of terraces, [311] and some have been artificially produced by man, by mixing rock flour and Terra soil material.

Description:

0 - 10"	Brown gravelly silt loam; with a thin crust (in dry weather) and below, moderately well developed crumb structure.
10 - 18"	Brown gravelly clay loam becoming more gravelly towards the

base; weak fine sub-angular or angular blocky structure.
134 18 - 24" Brown gravelly loam or clay loam mixed with limestone rubble.
24" The formerly calcreted, broken surface of the Franka or similar rock.

[311] The fields in which the tal-Barrani soils are found are often strongly terraced, for example, in the dissected Globigerina Limestone Plateau of south east Malta.

The hill top fields are naturally relatively flat and unterraced, but often show evidence of profound alteration of the rock floor by man.

TERRA SOILS

The terra soils found in Malta are principally earthy terra fuscas, but soils similar to siallitic terra rossa have been found, and there are certainly forms transitional between these two varieties.
The Terrae Calxis to which group the Terra soils belong, are according to Kubiena (1953), 'very mature, extensively weathered usually completely chalk free soils with ochre yellow, ochre brown to red coloured (B) horizons which contain iron in the form of ferric hydroxide with varying water content . . .' Terra fuscas are 'usually humus deficient loamy soils with ochre yellow . . . to reddish brown colour on limestone rocks, which contain ferric hydroxide in the form of limonite', and earthy terra fusca is described as 'in the top soil, loose to slightly compacted, usually dark matt brown coloured terra fusca with good crumb structure'. The earthy terra fusca usually has an A(B)C profile, with a humus deficient, thin grey brown A horizon in which the humus form is generally mull. This horizon overlies a thicker reddish brown ferruginous (B) horizon which usually lies directly on the parent rock C horizon. The soil has a marked tendency to form crumbs and very low plasticity.
Terra rossa is described by Kubiena as a red soil, usually humus deficient and decalcified, rich in inorganic colloids containing ferric hydroxide in water deficient compounds, the siallitic terra rossa being 'Terra rossa with high colloid content, when wet highly plastic, viscous, characterised by a dense ground mass rich in silicic acid'. In general terms the profile is similar to that of the earthy terra fusca, but the soil colour is red and the plasticity is strikingly greater due to the different colloids. The structure is consequently different also, the peds being angular fragments produced by drying and shrinkage.

These soils have an organic matter content in the surface horizon of 4.5 per cent. (average of six samples) rather more in the case of uncultivated soils, rather less in the case of cultivated soils. This is slightly higher than the organic matter content of the tal-Barrani soils and very noticeably greater than that of the other xerorendzinas, and the carbonate raw soils. They are atypical of the variety in that they are not completely decalcified, containing in two profiles sampled 2 to 15 per cent. calcium carbonate, although much of the calcite in these soils has been blown in. This is emphasised by the greater calcium carbonate content in the surface horizons. (Two to four times greater than just above the rock.)

In the Maltese Islands the terra soils are found on the karst landscapes of the more massive limestones, that is the Upper and Lower Coralline Limestone and the Franka. The dominant variety is earthy terra fusca, and the mapping units used are described as such, ignoring the local transitions to terra rossa.

The terra soils can be divided into mapping units in various ways and it was found most convenient to map those appearing as patches between limestone lapiés as one group and the partly alluvial types in valley bottoms, dolines and on flat land without lapiés as another group. In the map (Fig. 27) they are not separated, but their agricultural potentialities are very different, because while in one case rock occupies from 10 to 50 per cent. of the surface and the rock slope may be steep, in the other case neither rock nor slope restricts the use of implements. In other respects they differ but little as can be seen from the descriptions below.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Soil between lapiés

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Surface	A few limestone stones and an incomplete cover of xerophytic plants.
0 - ½"	Reddish brown gritty clay loam; moderately well developed medium crumb structure; hard.
½ - 34"	Reddish brown or dark red clay; well developed fine angular blocky structure; very dry and very hard.
34" plus	Hard, white, semi-crystalline limestone with a calcreted surface.

Soil from site without lapiés

Surface	Bare after cultivation, a few stones.
0 - 15"	Dark yellowish red clay loam; medium crumb structure moderately well developed; dry.
15 - 36"	Yellowish red clay; moderate to well developed fine sub-angular blocky structure.
36"	Hard white crystalline limestone.

[311]

By definition of the mapping units these soils exist in fields which are unterraced and are often unenclosed.

COMPLEXES

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The mapping units so far described are relatively simple, in that although they are not completely uniform the variations in the soils encompassed by each unit are small. However much of Malta has been very intensively used by man for a long period, and in some localities the effects on the soil are most pronounced - as described earlier. In such places the complication of the soil pattern is considerable and the mapping unit used is the complex. This denotes a fixed relation between a number of soil series alternating too rapidly to be separately delineated. The two units used covered: (1) the lands which have been quarried, where soil has subsequently been replaced in terraces below ground level; (2) the terraced terra soils (mainly karst-land). Both complexes are produced on land which formerly was covered by terra soils, and soils which it is possible to classify as terra are usually found to be most extensive now. However, in the quarrying and in the production of terraces by cutting away limestone lapiés, much rock flour and broken stone was produced, and much refuse and 'imported' soil was used to make up the soil. Consequently carbonate raw soils are to be found in many terraces, simulating the Nadur series, and the terra soils contain much material that is never found in the untilled soils of similar type. Between these extremes, soils which simulate the tal-Barrani Series are also to be found, presumably produced by the mixing of some terra soil with a great deal of rock flour.

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These complexes are therefore dominantly disturbed terra soils with added matter, with numerous enclaves of xerorendzinas and carbonate raw soils. The alternation of the soils is so rapid that frequently within one small terrace 25 yards long by 8 yards wide all three types will appear, and the intensive terracing or quarrying is the distinguishing feature of these mapping units.

PROPERTIES AND UTILISATION OF THE SOILS

The interpretation of chemical analyses of calcareous soils is not always very clear. For example, the methods used for extracting exchangeable cations sometimes result in the extraction of calcium from calcium carbonate as well as from the exchange complex. Similarly figures given for readily available phosphate are of uncertain meaning, because the extractant cannot exactly simulate the ability of the plant to take up phosphorus which may be fixed by calcium carbonate. The figures given in Table 22 are therefore to be considered as a comparative guide. (It is thought that in this table there has probably not been much overestimation of calcium in the exchange complex because the highest measured values are correlated with the lowest values of calcium carbonate.) There is some difficulty of comparison with soils from other countries since the same analytical methods are not always used. Soils from

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Spain, Sicily, Cyprus, Palestine and Australia of similar description, give
●134 roughly similar analyses, but it is not worthwhile to compare data obtained by
methods of which the details are not closely standardised.
The carbonate raw soils have been divided into textural groups for conveni-
134 ence in describing properties and utilisation. The sands, loamy sands and sandy
311 loams are very dry, easily worked, rapidly warming soils which where practic-
able, are mainly devoted to vines (Nadur series) and fruit trees (Nadur and
Ramla series). Because of their light texture they have relatively low values
for nutrients; however, they appear to give satisfactory crops, and are probably
quite satisfactory. The clay loams and light clays (San Lawrenz and Fiddien
series) are sticky, water retentive soils, usually fairly well structured, but hard
and dry in late summer, and with a tendency towards an alkaline condition
locally. In some parts of Malta they are used for a wide variety of crops, vines,
tomatoes, cereals, and potatoes, but are more often devoted to sulla, as in
Ġnejna Valley and western Gozo. The Fiddien heavy clay, potentially valuable
because of its high clay content, is usually alkaline, sometimes slightly saline
and often has very bad water relations, so that it remains little used.

The carbonate raw soils, with one or two localities excepted, are terraced,
or stand in steep slopes, so that there is little prospect of increasing the field
unit size. Of the xerorendzinas, the San Biagio sandy loams and silty loams and
the tal-Barrani loams are only unterraced on plateaux tops, while the Alcol clay
loams and clays are almost never terraced. It is among these xerorendzinas,
together with the level tas-Sigra soils in the karst areas that there is a chance
of increasing field size sufficiently to allow mechanisation.

The San Biagio and Alcol series are, moreover, among the more easily
worked soils, but appear, with the highest active calcium carbonate, low
exchangeable bases, low organic matter and higher pH, to be among the
chemically less-favoured soils. Observations of potash necrosis and iron
chlorosis were made mainly on these soils. However, the reasonably satisfactory
structure, easy tillage, and reasonably good water relations of these soils appear
to compensate, for the soils are universally cultivated and appear to give satis-
factory crops. Both series appear to be used for a wide range of crops, cereals,
vines, rootcrops and market garden crops generally, the last mentioned
particularly on irrigated land.

The tal-Barrani loams and clay loams, which comprise the brown rendzina
soils, are found almost entirely in the heavily populated area of southern Malta,
where they are intensively used, and almost universally terraced. They appear
to be entirely devoted, apart from odd fruit trees along walls, to annual crops,
principally cereals and potatoes. From the table (22) their chemical character-
istics appear more favourable than those of most of the soils, and their structure
and tillage properties appear to be fairly satisfactory. It is not known, however,
whether they are more productive than, for example, the nearby San Biagio
xerorendzinas.

The clay loams and clays of the Terra soils are all, potentially at least,
rather fertile, as is revealed by the high figures for exchangeable bases, the
rather unusually satisfactory figure (in Terra soils) for total phosphate, the
relatively high organic matter content, lower pH and low active $CaCO_3$. However,
where they occur as small soil puddles between lapiés the mode of working is
problematic, and they are generally rather dry, compact, and difficult to
cultivate. Here they are usually left uncultivated, and used for birdcatching and
very rough grazing for sheep and goats, or occasionally very patchily for poor
crops of cereals, prickly pear, fruits or flowers. The alluvial flats and flatter
lands without surface lapiés are by contrast, usually heavily cultivated, bearing
a wide variety of crops, especially in the damper valley bottoms, with potatoes
most important on the non-alluvial flatlands. Where the land is worked inten-
sively the depth of crumb-structured soil is greater, and in the valley bottoms,
especially, the water relations seem to be improved.

The terraced Terra soils, that is, members of the various complexes, are
usually very dry, and one of the unfavourable features of the carbonate raw soils,
is the higher active calcium carbonate because of the incorporated rock flour.

They seem to be largely devoted to cereals and potatoes, and in general give relatively poor crops. These soils are in several areas widely abandoned because they are uneconomic to work. 134 311

SOIL NEEDS

The needs of a soil, for the improvement of its fertility, are not simple to assess, and in the Maltese Islands at present they are not known. A fertile soil is considered as one which is in the optimum condition for the growth of crops, and this is dependent on a variety of factors, physical and biological as well as chemical. Air and water must be available, and man by cultivation and irrigation attempts to influence their disposition to favour his crops, just as by using fertilisers and weed or pest killers he attempts to influence the chemistry and biology of the soil.

PHYSICAL NEEDS

A soil which has a poor physical structure may be unable to support good crops, because water cannot be conducted to the plant easily enough, or because the soil aeration is poor. The heavy clay soils of the Fiddien series have poor structure, and it probably is the correlated difficulty of wetting the soil rather than the chemistry of the soil material (which often has a rather high concentration of exchangeable sodium and soluble salts) which causes it to be nearly useless for agriculture.

In the majority of cases the Maltese soils have a reasonably good structure, and the only other soils which appear to be ill-favoured are the heavy-textured soils of the Xaghra series. In this case the subsoil is often very compact indeed, and the separations between structural units are minimal. However, where such soils are well worked, and more particularly where they are irrigated, the structure seems to be much improved, partly no doubt because of the increased and active microfauna. While irrigation is probably difficult to extend, the use of improved cultural practices on these soils would probably produce an increase in the soil organic matter content and improvement of the structure. Among such practices the use of nitrogenous fertilisers, use of improved rotations, encouragement of root growth, avoidance of oxidation of root-derived organic matter through unnecessary turning over of the soil, and the avoidance of pulling cereals as a method of harvesting, might cause considerable improvement. The application of animal manure in irrigation water as already practised locally in Malta also appears to be effective in increasing organic matter content of the soil. 134 242

One of the chief problems of all crops in the Maltese Islands, is water. Certain of the lighter textured soils are extremely dry, and conservation of rainwater rather than extension of irrigation must be the answer because domestic water needs are already difficult to satisfy. Apart from practices designed to diminish evaporation loss, especially early removal of weeds by hoeing, it is probable that increasing the organic matter content would considerably increase the ability of the soil to hold water. But another simple possible method would be to marl some of the lighter soils with the calcareous clay, e.g. Fiddien heavy clay, which is not in agricultural use. (This would in addition possibly make more nutrients available.) 134 [312]

As far as aeration is concerned, it seems unlikely that it is deficient in many soils at present; but use of a rototiller (common in Malta) is believed to decrease aeration, and this could be investigated quite simply. It is possible that an excess of soil CO_2 would be beneficial in calcareous soils, reducing the pH of the soil solution to a level at which there is greater availability of most nutrients; and particularly those, such as phosphorus, which are likely to be deficient.

CHEMICAL NEEDS

Despite some other possible deficiencies it seems likely that nutrient

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 97]

deficiencies are likely to be the most important factor involved in soils of low fertility in the Maltese Islands. However, it is not possible to say immediately what these are because

(1) There is no simple relation between analytical data and availability of nutrients to plants.
(2) Existing analytical data are few and they are not correlated with field crop performance.
(3) Satisfactory chemical data for calcareous soils are more than usually difficult to obtain and compare.

Despite the generally healthy appearance of the crops, some symptoms of nutrient deficiencies have been observed, and remembering well known characteristics of calcareous soils, it is obvious that only experimental comparison of fertiliser application with crop yield, can give any definite answers about needs. Such experiments need to be of a form capable of statistical analysis, to enable tests of significance to be applied and to reveal interactions.

The first step should be to set up a simple series of long term trial plots in sites typical of each soil, using only one crop or rotation and only N, P and K fertilisers, each at two levels. Later, foliar analysis or an 'application to plant' method could be used to examine crops for specific deficiencies in order to make a more complete picture. Again, at a late stage alternative fertilisers might be compared, and time and mode of application, although until new data are obtained it is likely that early application, effective elsewhere, may be beneficial in Malta also.

It should be borne in mind that (1) effects of past management may have upset the natural status of the soil - the addition of town refuse is a case in point, as in addition to actual toxins, the microbial population may be unfavourable. (2) Effects of infestation by parasites and fungi, or diseased remains may remain which will invalidate a trial. This needs strong emphasis since much soil disturbance has taken place in Malta, and the addition of town refuse is common. Further, many plots have been observed to be infested with broomrape, which is never combated, and others to exhibit root damage produced by insect larvae. The elimination of these alone would in any case result in considerable improvement in crops.

The symptoms of deficiencies which have been observed are potash necrosis of fruit tree leaves, and lime induced iron chlorosis of citrus tree leaves, particularly on the xerorendzinas and carbonate raw soils. In addition it is well known that phosphorus fixation takes place rapidly in contact with calcium carbonate, and is most complete when the latter is in a state of fine subdivision (Gonsales Garcia and Tristan Matos, 1956). Thus deficiencies of these nutrients are likely to be discovered by experiment, and although the author has not observed symptoms of nitrogen deficiency, the low organic matter content of the soil, and the lack of conservation of nitrogen make it seem likely that it will be found deficient in some localities. Sulphur, sometimes found lacking in marly soils (like Fiddien series) in Spain, is likely to be found deficient, and although ordinary superphosphate supplies sulphur as well as phosphorus, it seems possible that elemental sulphur as used in Spain may be more effective. Minor nutrients, for example iron, may be supplied by chelates like those used successfully in arid parts of the U.S.A. (Kuykendall et al. 1957), or less expensive spraying methods.

SALINITY

A few soils in Malta are affected by a saline ground water, a few plots are being irrigated with brackish water, and, although this has not been directly observed, probably some are affected by saline spray. The result is an increasing soluble salt content in the lower part of the profile, but up to the present the concentration has not been great enough to cause very noticeable effects on crops, although poor structure is noticeable in two profiles examined. The avoidance of ill effects due to saline waters can be effected by making certain that through-drainage takes place from time to time, in order to carry away some of the dissolved salts. The use of soluble calcium salts in the irrigation

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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134 water occasionally is a further aid. This is difficult or impossible, however, without drains and irrigation, so that soils with a saline ground water, are probably irremediable, but they may not in any case be worsening very rapidly.

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[p. 98-A]

B. Slope Analysis, Erosion and Tillage

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The slope map (Fig. 28) is a further illustration of the regional variations in the physical landscape which were described in some detail in Chapter 1. The most clearly marked feature is the division into Western Scarplands and Central and Eastern Hills and Plains. In the former, gently sloping land (slopes less than 1 in 20) is confined to basins and to a few very limited parts of the plateau uplands. Sharply accidented topography and thus steep slopes are widely developed in this region, reflecting its complex structure. Slopes of gradients ranging from 1 in 7 to 1 in 2.5 occur along the faulted edges of all the plateau blocks as well as in the zone of Blue Clay outcrops which separates them from the Globigerina lands to the east. The various uplifted blocks themselves generally have undulating summits with slopes between 1 in 20 and 1 in 7. In the Central and Eastern Hills and Plains, the position is reversed. Over these parts of the Island gently sloping land (gradient less than 1 in 20) covers at least half the area and really steep slopes (greater than 1 in 7) are confined to coastal cliffs and a few valley incisions, the latter case being particularly widespread in the Naxxar-Gharghur hills.

There is, however, no simple correlation between steepness of slope and the presence or absence of cultivation. Indeed, the greater proportion of the land shown on the map as having a gradient greater than 1 in 7 is in fact still under the plough. The distribution of waste and abandoned land, occurring on plateau summit rather than scarp face, is a function of rock-type, exposure and various social and economic factors (see p. 227) rather than of gradient. That gradient only in extreme cases sets absolute limits to the extent of cultivation is illustrated by the Rdum zone of the south-west coast where, in the Rdum ta'Dingli and the Rdum tal-Lunzjata, intensive cultivation is maintained in land whose average gradient is greater than 1 in 2.5.

Though gradient has little direct effect on the pattern of farmland and waste, it obviously has much to do with the physical effort involved in maintaining a particular piece of land in cultivation. Even here, the control is by no means absolute. The problems of retaining a soil cover are much less serious in steeply sloping districts where thick, heavy soils are derived from the Blue Clay, than in areas of similar gradient where the parent rock is of Globigerina or Coralline Limestone. In the latter case, soils are thin and coarse, *'campi artificiale'* are frequently found and the soil, once removed, is not easily replaced either by natural or by human agencies.

The character of field boundaries illustrates this point. In Blue Clay areas they are generally low ramps rather than retaining walls, whereas in steeply sloping limestone areas, walls of great height and thickness are necessary to maintain a rudimentary soil cover. Field shape and size (see Fig. 68 and p.185) are also relevant. Long, narrow, ribbon-like fields are characteristic of steep slopes in limestone districts, while in Blue Clay areas fields are generally much larger, despite steep gradients.

The dangers consequent upon careless tillage and failure to maintain boundary walls are greatest on slopes steeper than 1 in 7, in areas where the soil cover is thin and is either artificial or derived from limestone rocks. The abandonment or neglect of a single field, the breaking down of a single wall quickly lead, in such areas, to damage above and below the neglected field and may eventually affect a whole flight of terraces, even driving away other cultivators who are unable to bear any increased load of maintenance work on their walls and fields. While outstandingly heavy storms can cause damage to land of all types (see p. 67), in areas falling within the category indicated above, constant vigilance is necessary at all times, both in the use of traditional methods of tillage and particularly in the introduction of new ones.

[P. 99]

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1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5   (1955-1958)   1961
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[316]

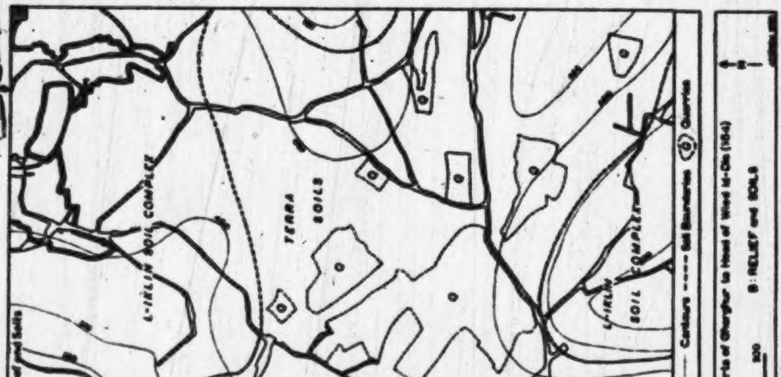
Relief and Soils
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
B: — Contours ---- Soil Boundaries (Q) Quarries
Crops
A: Quarries Flowers grown Commercially
MALTA - NAXXAR - GHARGHUR HILLS (XVII) : from Southern Outskirts of Gharghur to Head of Wied id-Dis (164)
A: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards
B: RELIEF and SOILS
N

Fig. 115   Malta: Naxxar-Gharghur Hills.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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Malta.

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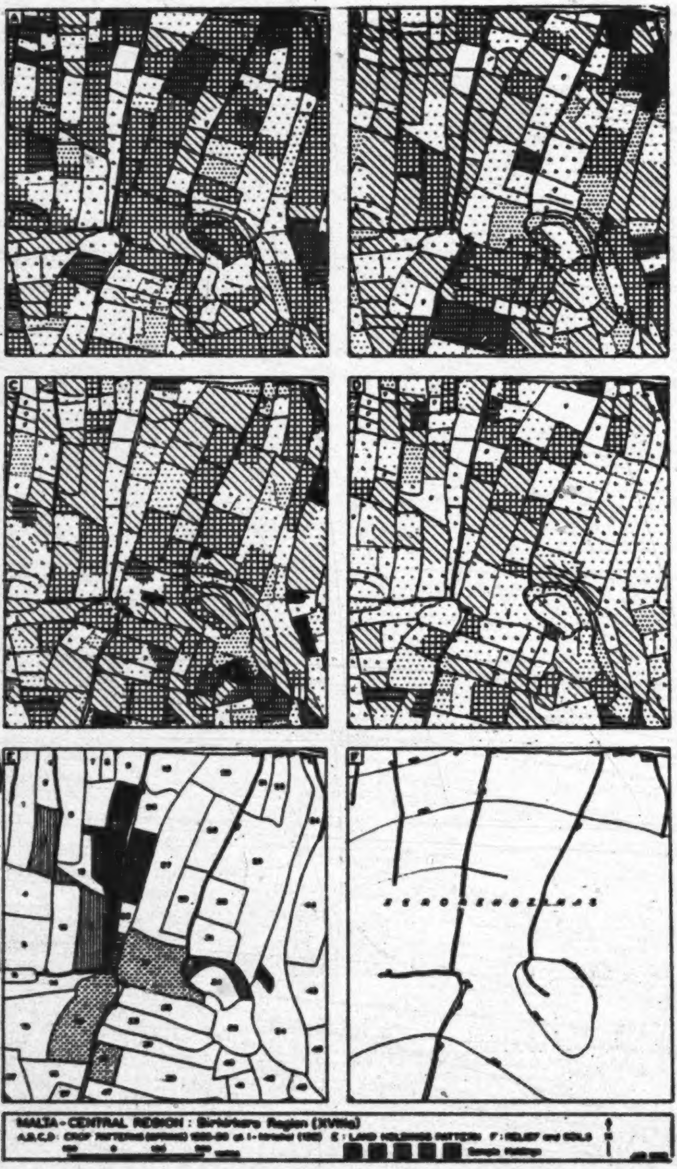
A
B
C
D
E
F
MALTA - CENTRAL REGION : Birkirkara Region (XVIIIa)
A,B,C,D : CROP PATTERNS (SPRING)
E : LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
F : RELIEF and SOILS
Sample Holdings

Fig. 116 Malta: Central Region: Birkirkara Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
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[133]
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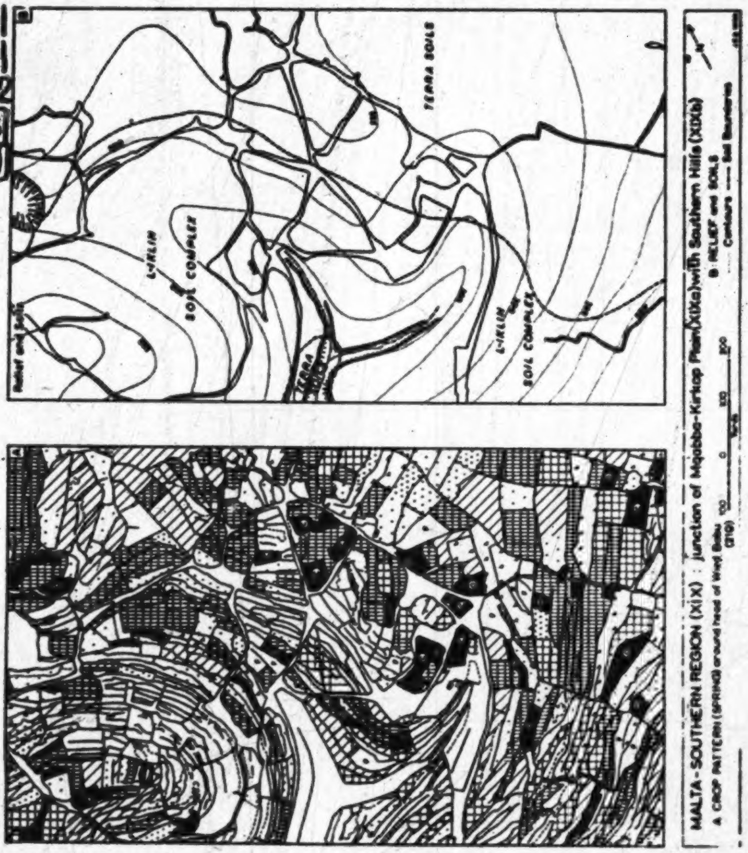
Relief and Soils
L-IKLIN
SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
TERRA
L-IKLIN
SOIL COMPLEX
MALTA - SOUTHERN REGION (XIX) : junction of Mqabba-Kirkop Plain(XIXa) with Southern Hills (XIXb)
A CROP PATTERN (SPRING) around head of Wied Babu
(210)
100
0
100
200
Yards
B: RELIEF and SOILS
Contours
Soil Boundaries
N

Fig. 121 Malta: Southern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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[134]
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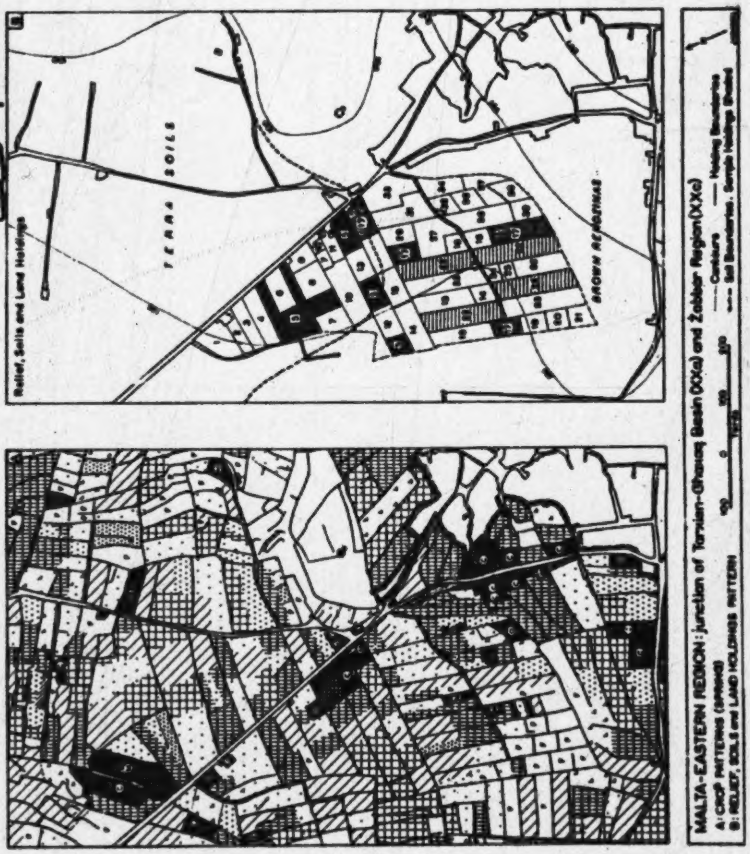
Relief, Soils and Land Holdings
TERRA SOILS
BROWN RENDZINAS
MALTA-EASTERN REGION: junction of Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin (XXa) and Żabbar Region (XXc)
A: CROP PATTERNS (SPRING)
B: RELIEF, SOILS and LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Contours
Holding Boundaries
Soil Boundaries. Sample Holdings Shaded
YARDS

Fig. 122 Malta: Eastern Region: Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*241
*311
102
[133]
[134]

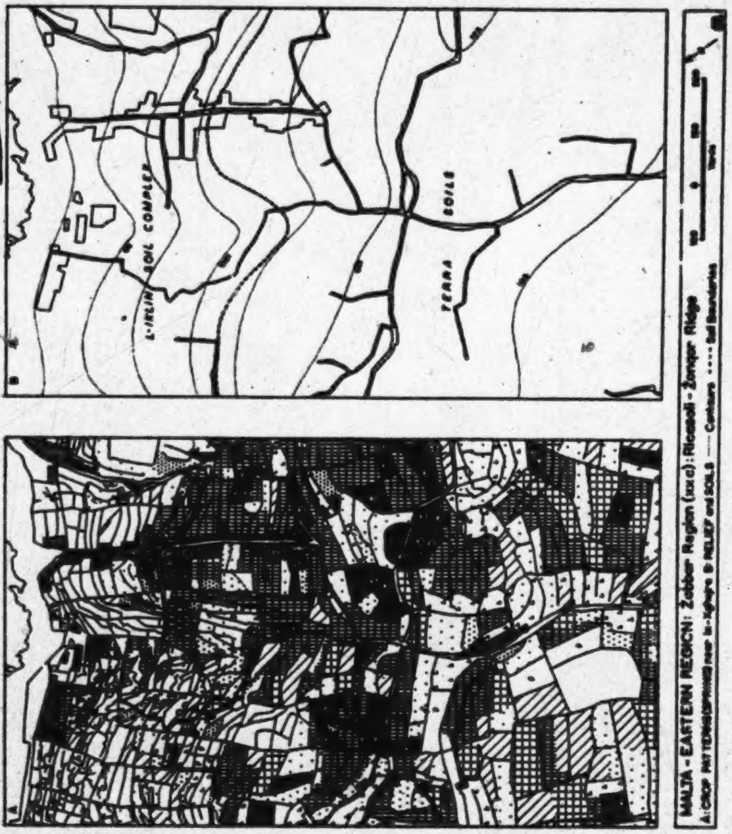
B
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
A
MALTA - EASTERN REGION: Żebbar Region (xxc): Ricasoli - Żonqor Ridge
A: CROP PATTERNS(SPRING) near Ix-Xgħajra B: RELIEF and SOILS ---- Contours ---- Soil Boundaries
Yards

Fig. 123 Malta: Eastern Region; Żabbar Region.

l: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*241
*311
102

[423]
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[133]
[134]
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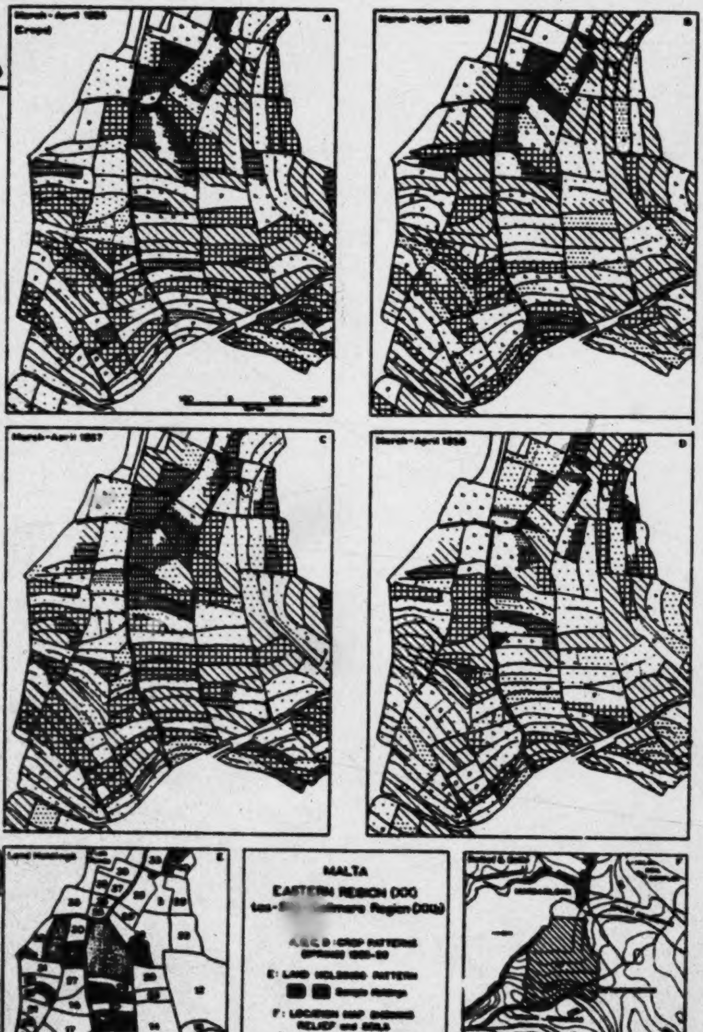
March-April 1955
(Crops)
A
March-April 1956
B
March-April 1957
C
March-April 1958
D
Land Holdings
E
Relief & Soils
F
MALTA
EASTERN REGION
tas-[illegible] Delimara Region
A, B, C, D : CROP PATTERNS
(SPRING) 1955-58
E: LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Sample Holdings
F: LOCATION MAP showing
RELIEF and SOILS
Contours
Soil Boundaries

Fig. 134 Malta: Eastern Region: tas-Silġ Delimara.

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5   (1955-1958)   1961
EZ6   Malta EZ6
Malta

*241
*311
102
[133]
[134]
[123]

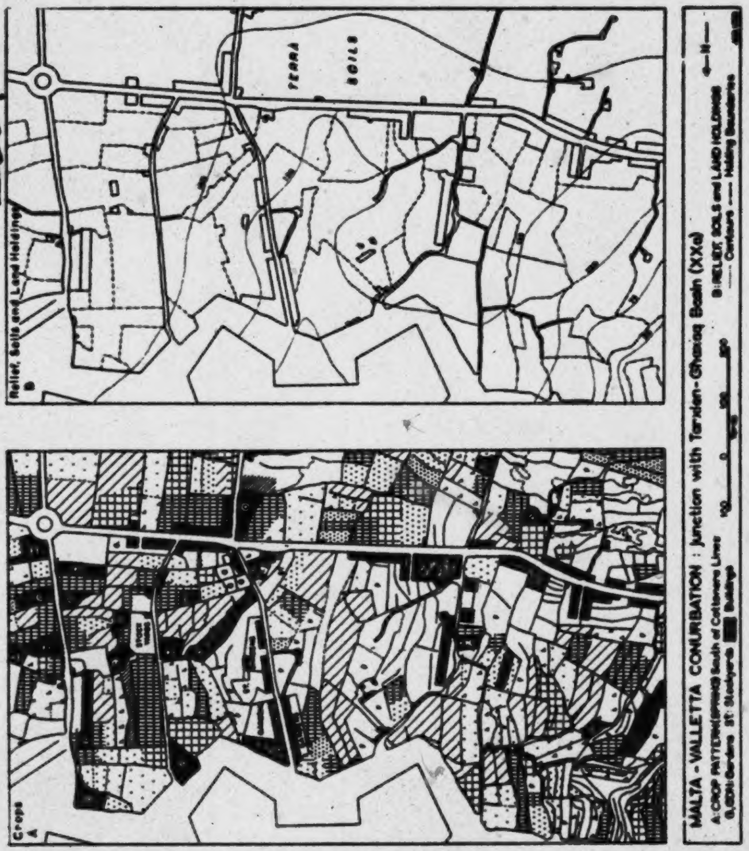
Relief, Soils and Land Holdings
B
TERRA
SOILS
Crops
A
STOCK YARDS
MALTA - VALLETTA CONURBATION : Junction with Tarxien-Għaxaq Basin (XXa)
A: CROP PATTERN (SPRING) South of Cottonera Lines
G, GDN: Gardens   ST: Stockyards   Buildings
100   0   100   200
B: RELIEF, SOILS and LAND HOLDINGS
---- Contours ---- Holding Boundaries
← N —

Fig. 125   Malta: Valletta Conurbation.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

*241
*311
102

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[134]
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[133]
[134]
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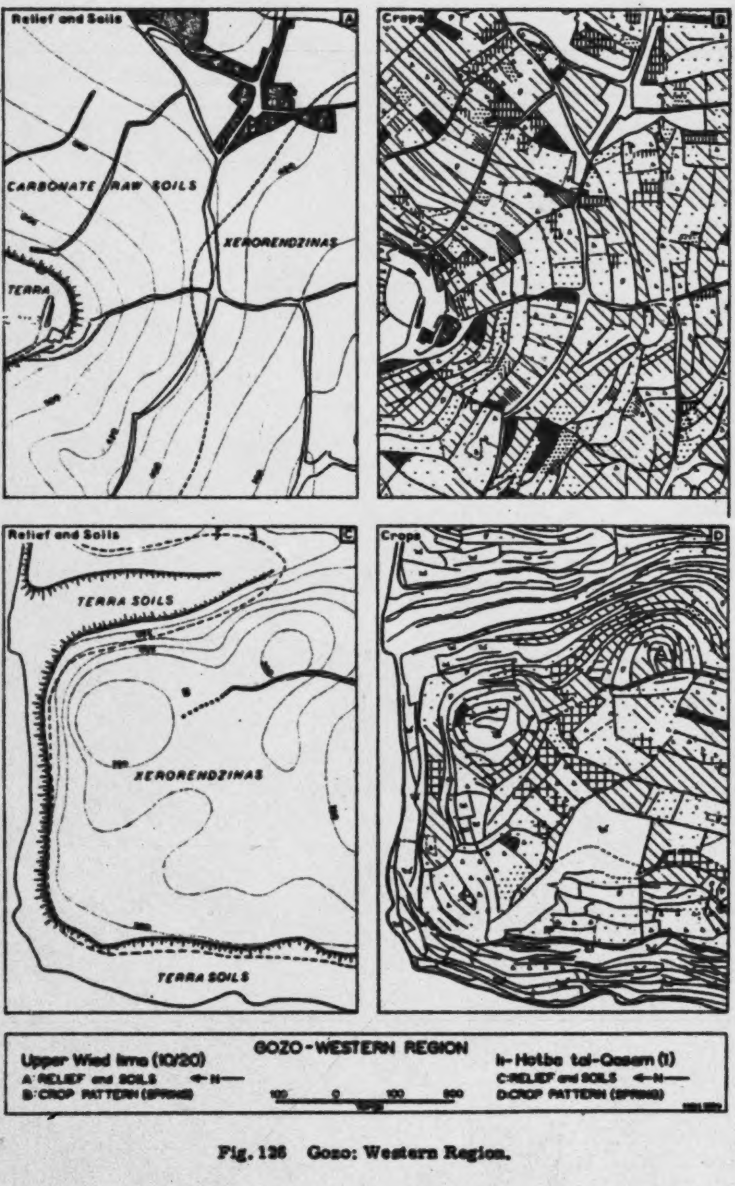
Relief and Soils
A
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
TERRA
Crops
B
Relief and Soils
C
TERRA SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
TERRA SOILS
Crops
D
GOZO-WESTERN REGION
Upper Wied Ilma (10/20)
A: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Il-Hotba tal-Qasam (1)
C: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
D: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)

Fig. 136 Gozo: Western Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

*241

*311

102

[133]

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←

[133]

[134]

←

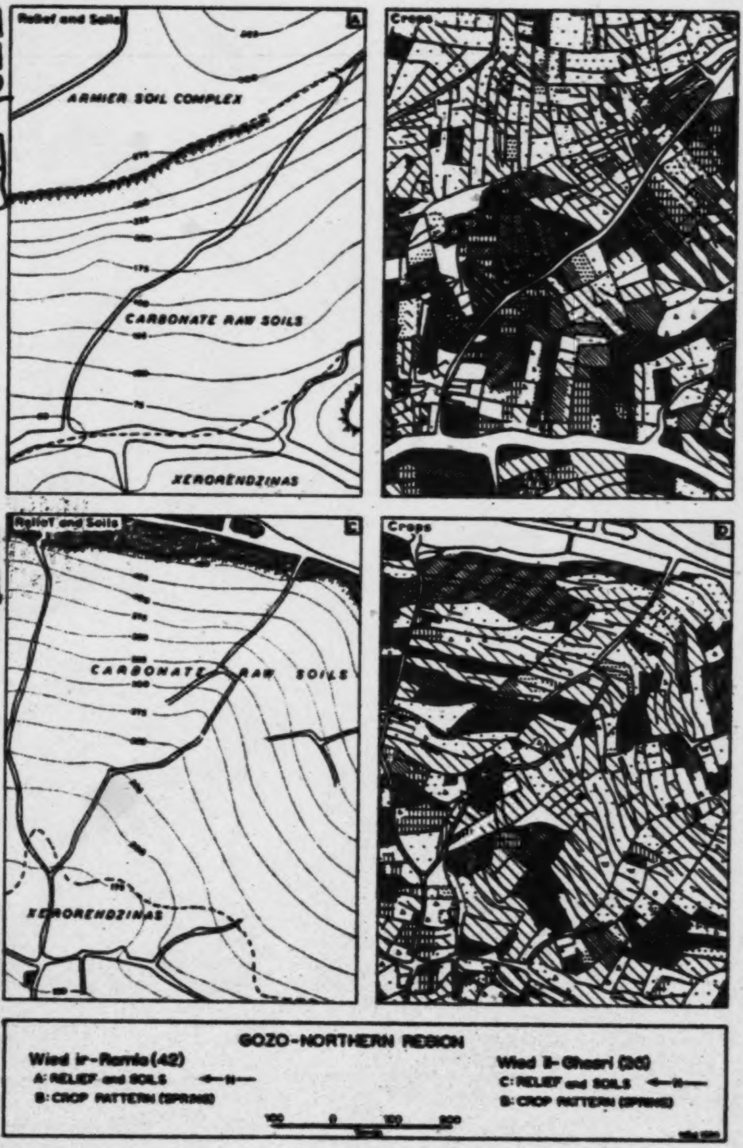

Relief and Soils
A
ARMIER SOIL COMPLEX
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
Crops
B
Relief and Soils
C
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
Crops
D
GOZO-NORTHERN REGION
Wied ir-Ramla (42)
A: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
Wied il-Ghasri (26)
C: RELIEF and SOILS ←N—
D: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards

Fig. 127 Gozo: Northern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

GOZO

*241

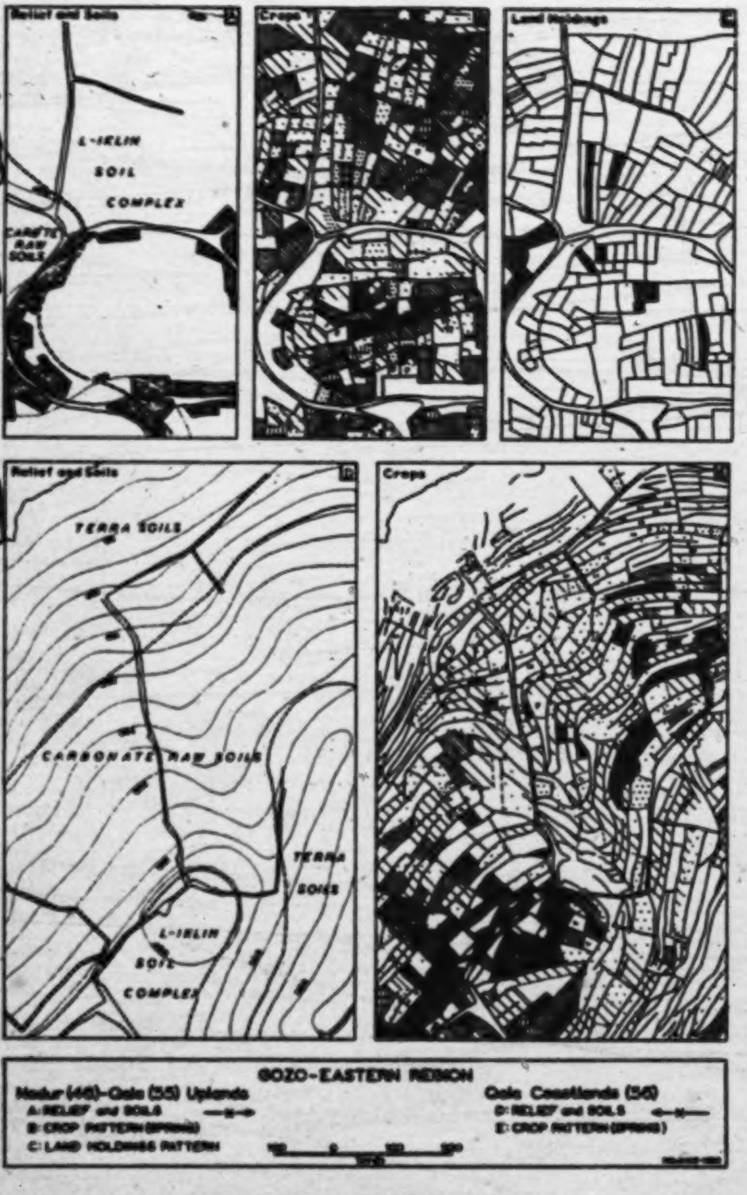
*311

102

[133]

[134]

[423]


Relief and Soils
Crops
Land Holdings
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
Relief and Soils
TERRA SOILS
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
TERRA SOILS
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
Crops
GOZO-EASTERN REGION
Nadur (46)-Qala (55) Uplands
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
C: LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Qala Coastlands (56)
D: RELIEF and SOILS
E: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)

[133]

[134]

Fig. 129 Gozo: Eastern Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

241*
311*
102

[133
134]
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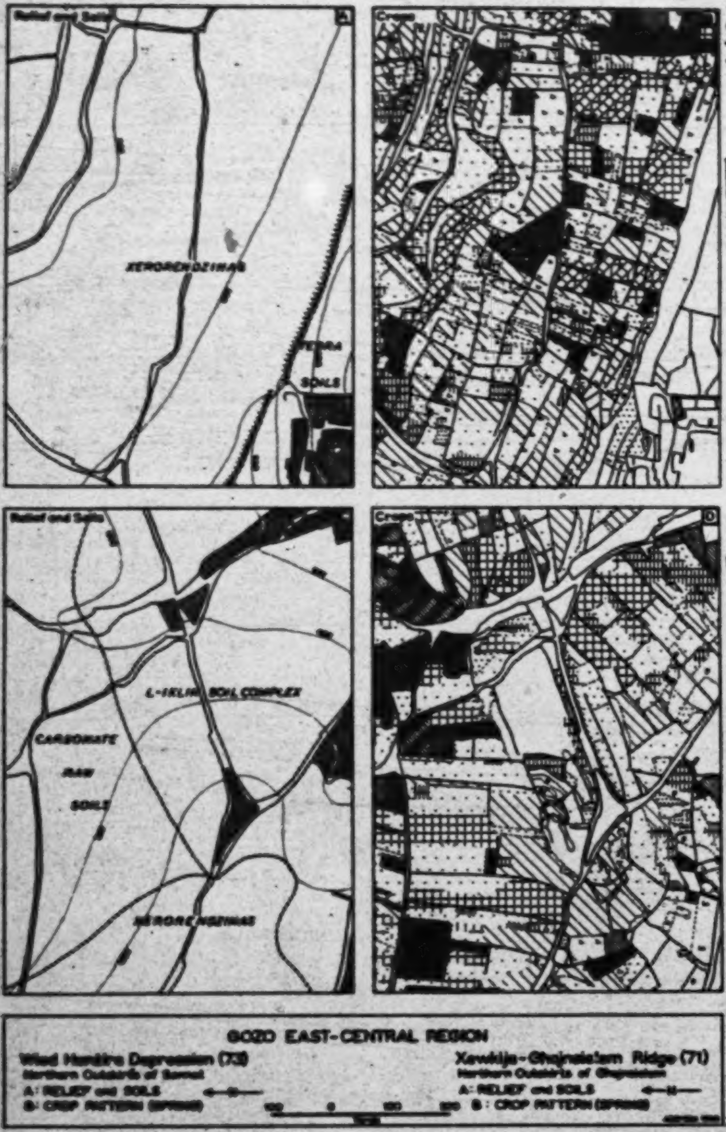
Relief and Soils
A
Crops
XERORENDZINAS
TERRA
SOILS
Relief and Soils
Crops
B
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
CARBONATE
RAW
SOILS
XERORENDZINAS
GOZO EAST-CENTRAL REGION
Wied Hanżira Depression (73)
Northern Outskirts of Sannat
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
Xewkija-Għajnsielem Ridge (71)
Northern Outskirts of Għajnsielem
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100
0
100
200

[133
134]
←

Fig. 131 Gozo: East-Central Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*291
*311
102
[423]

[133]
[134]

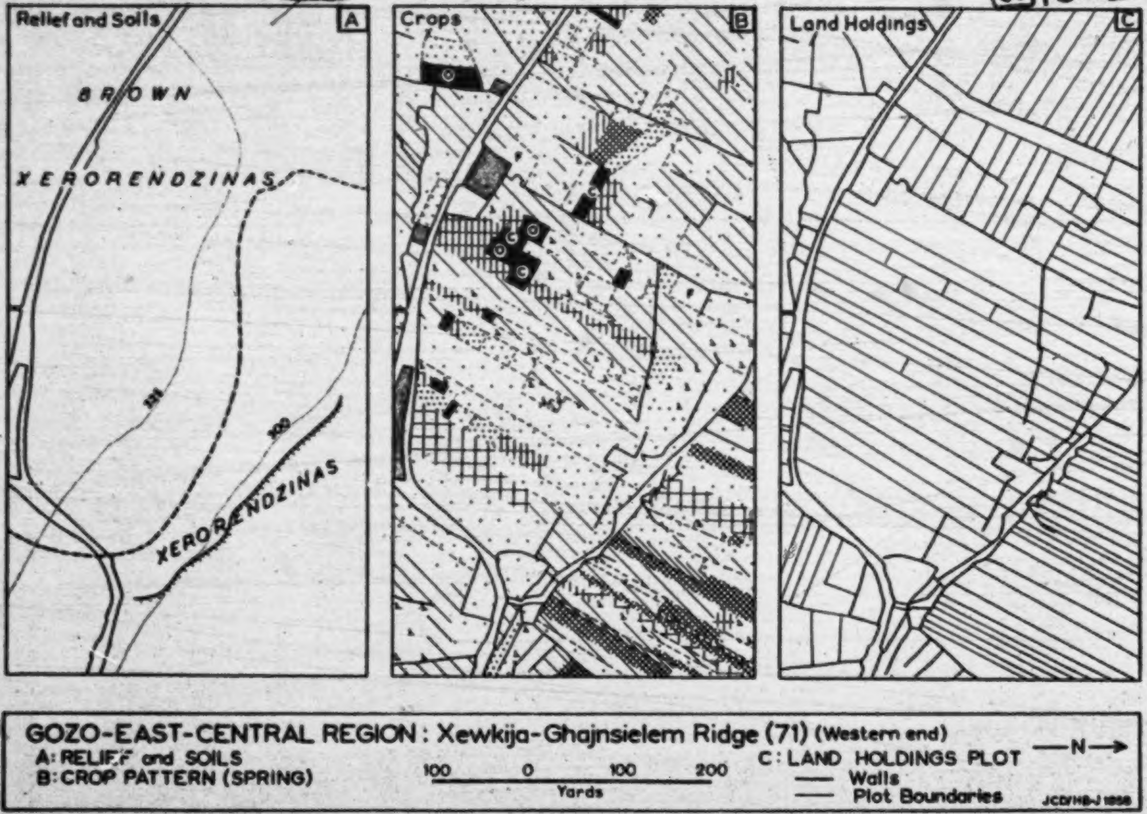
Relief and Soils
A
BROWN
XERORENDZINAS
100
100
XERORENDZINAS
Crops
B
Land Holdings
C
GOZO-EAST-CENTRAL REGION : Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge (71) (Western end)
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards
C: LAND HOLDINGS PLOT
Walls
Plot Boundaries
—N→
JCD/HB-J 1956

Fig. 132 Gozo: East-Central Region: Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge.

102
241

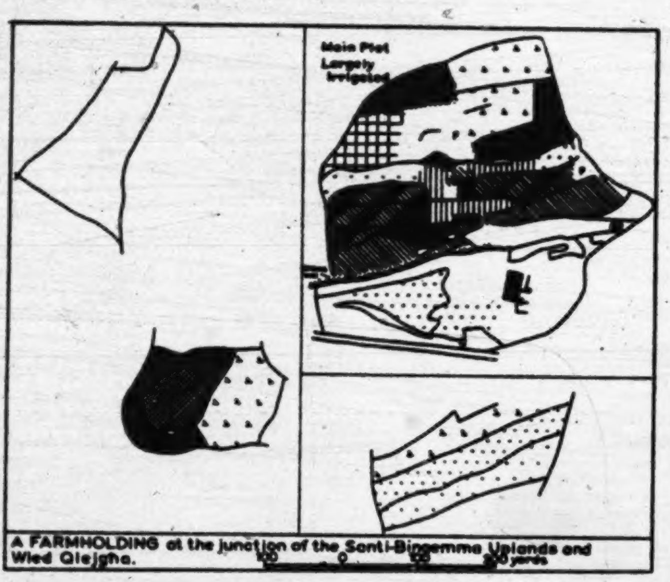
Main Plot
Largely
Irrigated
A FARMHOLDING at the junction of the Santi-Bingemma Uplands and Wied Qlejgha.
100
0
100
200 yards

Fig. 141 A farmholding at the junction of the Santi-Bingemma Uplands and Wied Qlejgha.

241
312 Upper Coralline aquifers overlying outcropping Blue Clay. The main supply, from a fissured Coralline cave now piped into a cistern, has only failed once (1950) since 1921. Water needs conserving in summer and is then only applied to special crops. Minor supplies come from 'wet weather' springs on Blue Clay slope.

•134
241 Soils - deep, weathered marls with thin clay beds, these latter being used for marling the Upper Coralline lands. In winter, the clay beds are too wet for most crops, e.g. during the 1953-54 season an attempt to grow wheat failed completely and, on 2nd April, 1955, drainage holes were necessary to hasten the percolation of surplus water in some fields. In summer, the clays need careful tilling in order to avoid caking. Produce is mainly for sale in Rabat market.

241 3. THE FULL-TIME DRYLAND ARABLE FARMER

This group is numerically and areally the most important. It also tends to set the general standard of farming.

E - The first example of this group works land in Region CXX, the Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin. A full-time farmer with two dependants with a fairly concentrated holding of 32 *tmien* (8.7 acres), used as follows in spring:-

3.6	*tmien* of Sulla
5	*tmien* of Potatoes
5	*tmien* of Wheat
5	*tmien* of Barley
.5	*tmien* of Broad Beans (vegetable)
19.1	

The remainder is under onions, aniseed, cumin, fallow and forages. The best land has 30 inches of soil and is rented at 26s. per *tomna*. The poorer

132 The Maltese climate is characterised by variability rather than by extremes. Most of the complex elemental combinations, as far as we can tell at the moment, tend to inhibit soil and plant development under natural conditions.

The annual precipitation average of 20.5 inches is largely meaningless - the variations from one year to another for each month in which there has been recorded any significant rainfall are all several times the mean values. Very high insolation and evaporation rates, from the end of April to the beginning of October, further reduce the effectiveness of scanty and variable precipitation. Much of the rainfall of spring and autumn is associated with violent frontal storms and is sufficiently concentrated in incidence to produce ephemeral torrents and cause considerable erosion.

Wind incidence is of peculiar importance. The maritime air streams are generally of high humidity and velocity. The dominant Northerlies, in particular the stormy *Majjistral*, with high humidity and relatively low temperatures, have a biological effect bleak enough to produce a very clear ecological pattern controlled by aspect and shelter. The soil line in the lee of the ridges which lie transverse to these North to West winds, rises higher to the south east with the cumulative sheltering effect. On a small scale, windbreaks of stones, wattle hurdles and even cereal hedges, become of importance. The *Xlokk* comes as a warm humid wind of usually sufficient velocity to force plant transpiration rates above the critical points. The occasional humid still air conditions in winter delay germination and encourage fungus diseases while all summer winds heighten evaporation rates and cause actual soil blowing.

One of the few biologically favourable climatic features is the absence of a thermal dormant season. Mean monthly temperatures are consistently above 50° Fahrenheit, frosts are very rare, and diurnal ranges small. On the other hand, the associated high summer temperatures even though ameliorated by sea breezes produce considerable physiological troubles in plants and livestock. It is significant that over 80 per cent. of the flora now found in Malta are of North African rather than European type.

133 In the absence of human interference Malta must have been, as it still is in many areas, largely a barren karstic waste relieved only by a few basins and plains such as the Wied tal-Pwales and the Wied il-Ghasel. On the hill and ridge tops Terra Rossa formation takes place in solution hollows. On all slopes with gradients greater than 5 per cent., and on all but the most wind sheltered flatlands corrasion and movement, often exposing great stretches of bare rock, are dominant. Only in a few basins, such as the erosional Wied ta'Mazza or the tectonic Bur Marrad in the Wied il-Ghasel, does deposition become important.

In this harsh environment man created the land on which he could live.

134 311 Malta has few true soils but, rather, laboriously garnered and transported inorganic material, carefully built up with humic additions, terraced and walled into place and irrigated wherever possible. For millennia this making of *'campi artificiale'* has gone on and may still be observed, so that some two-thirds of what Bernard Shaw called 'a heap of stones' is now cultivable land. This process of the extension first of hydroponics and then of true farming over bare rock and the reclamation of unhealthy lowland has meant the creation of new and precarious balances. The artificially produced thin pseudo-soil is not self perpetuating. The underlying rock must be regularly chipped away, the solution hollows periodically harvested. The texture must be maintained by the addition of organic matter and by frequent working. The level of nutrients must be kept up with dung and fertilisers and the water content supplemented by irrigation. The terrace walls need constant repair.

In each case there is a sharply critical point beyond which action spells danger. The use of refuse brings bacterial and virus infections, frequent tillage produces a clean surface vulnerable to erosion, the use of irrigation water and artificial fertilisers raises soil salinity. Extension of the soil cover decreases the rate of percolation replenishment of the subterranean aquifers by rain water. Malta is now in fact living on capital as far as water is concerned.

241 There have been similar critical points in crop values. When water is available, the potential crop range is large - bananas grow in barley patches, date-

241 palms and pomegranates alongside potatoes - but in no case are conditions optimal or yields very good. In the comparatively closed economies of the past this mattered little; in an era of world trade and world markets Malta has now been left behind. Large-scale cotton production has virtually ceased and that of citrus fruit is declining; viticulture is of low standard and the olive tree very rare. Cereals can now provide only a tiny fraction of local needs while fodder production is limited in season and type by water shortage.

178 The critical phase in the social and economic reactions to the physical situation has also been reached. In the simple peasant communities of the past, the creative manual effort was necessarily associated with a low valuation of individual human effort and an arduous and restricted life. Now, however, economic and social opportunities and desires have widened and with them has come impatience with the demands imposed by the artificial landscape.

182 Higher per capita productivity to assure more freedom and leisure is only quickly attainable by technical and mechanical innovation. It is just such innovation that is impossible on a large scale on the land of Malta. 241

311 [134] The slope analysis map (Fig. 28)[1] illustrates one aspect of the problem. Maltese soil 12 inches deep needs, as a minimum amount, terracing at horizontal intervals of about 20 feet. Anything wider in the way of fields or a deeper soil makes essential increasingly higher and stronger retaining walls. The problem is such that considerable control is exercised by dip as well as gradient. The amount of labour involved in maintenance is heartbreaking by modern standards and yet, without it, erosion is quickly followed by the complete stripping away of the soil down to bare rock. The scale of farming operations often has to be very small - the planting of single rows of beans, of single trees, the sowing of chick-peas in rock crevices. Power and tool application is severely restricted. Small and light implements and single draught animals or more recently 'rotavators' alone can negotiate this type of terrain and work very thin soils covering rock platforms. The dangerous effect of the abandonment of any land is obvious. The past has in fact enchained the present. If cultivation is to continue then in order to preserve the artificial ecological balance, created with such effort over the centuries, a social imbalance will become even stronger. Whatever the scale of farming the farmer will always have to grub for soil, build his terraces, carry his plough or manhandle his rotavator for long hours under conditions that will seem less attractive even than those of casual dockside and urban labour.

The first point then is that the landscape indicates how human effort is pinned down by the artificial environment and how restive man is becoming.

175 The second theme is concerned with the reasons for the historical process of what really amounts to landscape gardening, and with the underlying implications. 241

648 Malta's wealth, in historical times at least, has come from a large extra-territorially derived income which has resulted from the Island's positional value. It is possible that even in prehistoric times Malta was never self-sufficient. The great temple building cultures of Malta and Gozo may well have maintained their master masons on imported wealth. Certainly Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Normans all occupied Malta because of its strategic position and took wealth in rather than removed it. The Order of St. John held it as an outpost of Christendom maintained by the Knights' possessions on the European mainland. Britain has similarly supported the Island's economy in return for its use as a naval, military and more recently a strategic air centre. Because of Malta's positional importance its inhabitants found it necessary and worth while to create agricultural resources. Because Malta has usually been an outpost the society and its works have attained the unstable equilibrium of a siege life.

369 At least since Arab occupation a duality has appeared in the community. Earliest at Mdina, later in the Three Cities, then in Valletta and the whole Grand Harbour complex, and now around the naval, military and air bases, the garrisons have formed successive nuclei of a cosmopolitan and sophisticated community. This community, literate, trained in the professions and trades has

[1] [See pp. 98-B and 98-C -- Analyst]

[p. 1]

CHAPTER I

The Background

Malta and her sister islands, Gozo and Comino, lie midway 131
between Gibraltar and Lebanon, at almost the exact geographical
centre of the Mediterranean. Sicily lies just 58 miles to the north,
Tripoli 220 miles due south and Tunis slightly over 200 miles to
the west. The Maltese archipelago thus forms a port of call between
Europe and North Africa, between the Christian and the
Moslem worlds. The Maltese have been in contact with both for [177]
centuries, and the cultures of both have contributed many traits
which the islanders have adapted to their own use.

Malta, the largest and southernmost island, is seventeen miles
long and nine miles wide, and covers an area of 95 square miles.
Gozo is only nine miles by five miles, with an area of 26 square
miles. Finally, the little island of Comino, which lies in the three-mile-wide
channel separating the two larger islands, has an area of
one square mile.

The islands are composed entirely of tertiary limestone, and the 133
soil consists of clays and marls. Although the land rises to a
maximum of little more than 800 feet near Dingli, the terrain is [134] ●
varied, and often broken, with jagged escarpments falling into
narrow valleys, which run out to level fields. A visitor to the 133
islands, especially during the long dry summer, is struck at once 137
by the absence of vegetation and the rocky aspect of the countryside.
This is, in part, a false impression, for although there are few
trees, rubble retaining and boundary walls hide the network of
small cultivated fields. Occasionally, the dark green foliage of a
carob or olive tree reaches over these stone enclosures to add a
sudden splash of colour to the shimmering white-yellow of the
summer landscape.

The soft yellow limestone gives a continuity to the scenery. 133
Houses, villages and whole towns seem to grow up out of the 333
rocky matrix from which they are built, and from which they are
distinguished only by the regular outline of the buildings against

[text continues on p. 3]

000 the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming
159 depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957
241 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer
931 irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

*159 The brothers also complain of the present marketing
824 regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the
442 producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field
464 crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large
472 a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themselves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

*159
423 **A. Land.**

c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region. 16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2½ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils. [134]

*159
241 **B. Utilisation.** (1) Typical arrangement.

		Winter	Summer
Plot 1.	8⅜ tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot 3.	1⅓ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot 4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot 5.	2⅔ tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot 6.	1⅓ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 8.	7⅜ tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
		Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot 9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot 10.	2⅜ tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 11.	21 tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
		Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
		Vetches	Fallow
Plot 12.	2¼ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot 13.	1¼ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot 14.	2⅔ tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot 15.	5¼ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
		Tomatoes	
Plot 16.	1⅝ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa bagħli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the
corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-
[406] house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-
driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
[343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
●[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils
tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
241 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
433 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to culti-
434 vate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
829 to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
[464] heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at
least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to
qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however
content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the
lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the
most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative
(Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first
suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having
the money than letting the Government get it. This belief
that the Government is behind everything is characteristic
(Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organiza-
tion distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossi-
bility of achieving anything above low living standards.
Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet
clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case
among many of his generation and it may be that he will have
difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
[426] the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
[654] to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agricul-
ture to the full but it has done comparatively little for
the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at
least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to
stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

*159 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic
433 because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising
451 yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 - some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.

● 134

241 - deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.

- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorċa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159
157
626
(iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159
829
(v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159
241
434
An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

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178
46
*[159]
Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic

[369]
[162]
feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agriculture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

829 157 a policy of long term assurances for agriculture" (B/387, p.39). He claims that the Government "ought" to guarantee his prices, his markets, and "ought" to find the foreign export markets, and provide machinery, subsidies, etc. He also insists, incongruously, that farmers' needs could well be served by a strong and well-organized Union of Farmers and yet, in the next breath, he will reject outright any suggestions that he, individually, might take a prominent part in such a movement. The nature of this attitude emerges clearly from the collection of complaints and comments, made by farmers to Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team (B/387). On the one hand, the farmer demands Government support for farming but, on the other hand, he speaks even of his fellow farmers as "they". Conservative, cautious and usually illiterate, he is quick to speak but slow to act (v. Section 4).

829 The new awareness of horizons outside the village is consequently limited in extent and confined in nature. The farmer's son, however, with his education and emancipation and his ideas of social and economic emulation, has a clearer vision of the illogicality of his father's situation but is not yet sufficiently mentally liberated from the past to see for himself any right course of action.

554 367 (177) (7) As a class, the farmer is low on the social scale. This arises partly from his illiteracy and the features outlined in (6) and is partly also the outcome of a tradition of wealth and education being confined to the cities and towns. Wealth and culture came easily to the urban section of Maltese society and both implied foreign contacts on a large scale. Meanwhile the Maltese farmer toiling in his fields remained cut off socially as well as economically.

178 554 Today this felt inferiority puts him

(a) in a weak position for bargaining with Government and 'officials' and business men fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education,

(b) - if young and literate, in the position of being anxious to escape from his lowly class by leaving the village and farming as opportunity presents itself (v. Section 4).

654 178 (8) Official policy has been to assist farming in the Islands by means of a variety of subsidies and guarantees designed to protect the farmer from unfavourable competition and fluctuations in market demand (Sections 2 and 4). The industry has, in the past, received such attention only in time of siege of widespread unemployment. The basic intention today is therefore

[135] (a) to enable Malta's only basic industry - agriculture - to develop under protection for it is held that "In an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2).

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

term by the numerous British Service men and women who 197
have been stationed in or have passed through Malta, *sahha*
has been admitted, in the form "saha," into the more recent 192
editions of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* as an English word for "good-bye," with due acknowledgment of its Maltese origin. And perhaps "saha" is but the forerunner of others; for in its issue of the 5th January 1945 the London *Spectator* had this to say on the etymology of the word "spitchered," which occurs in one of the war books on Malta:

> The word clearly derives from the Maltese *spitta*, meaning "finished" or something similar. Naval opinion agrees with Air Force opinion on that. But naval opinion claims credit for embodying the word in the English language. And as naval opinion can point to its use as long ago as 1903, the Air Force does seem to be grounded or, indeed, spitchered on this particular point.

4

In some parts of the Old World the visitor can select, 133
according to his tastes, the century that he prefers. It is no 172
exaggeration to say that in Malta he can choose the millennium and more than the millennium. If he is a palæontologist he may wander about the cave of Ghar Dalam and study *in situ* the remains of the elephants and hippopotami who left their bones there when the world was yet young, and of giant swans who sailed on lakes that have long since
vanished. Advancing from these and from the Neanderthal 172
Man, of whom traces may have been found in Malta, many thousands of years into the Stone Age, he will find in Malta and Gozo a series of megalithic and neolithic sanctuaries—Tarxien, the Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni, Haġiar Qim, Mnajdra, Ġgantija, to mention only the most important—unequalled in any other part of the world.

He will find other survivals of the Stone Age, of a different 172
sort, in the cart-tracks which traverse many of the barren 493
136

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

172 rocky surfaces of the island, the tram-lines of neolithic man;
493 and he will notice, if he is observant, that the dimensions of
the flat two-wheeled carts which, with their gaily caparisoned
[136] little ponies or donkeys, are the traditional vehicle of the
Maltese countryman of to-day correspond almost exactly
with those of the carts of his neolithic predecessor, as
136 deduced from the width of these ancient tracks. If he is
interested in strange animals that still survive but must be a
living link with hoary antiquity, he can study on the picturesque, uninhabited islet of Filfla, now used only as a target for gun practice, a remarkable lizard of the darkest green spotted with red (*Lacerta muralis* var. *filfolensis*), which occurs nowhere else in the world but on this tiny and diminishing spit of rock.

341 The dominant architectural notes of the Maltese Islands are
megalithic and Baroque, and the gamut thus established can
217 scarcely be called a narrow one. So far as works of art are
172 concerned, the Museum in Valetta, housed before World
War II in the Auberge d'Italie and since 1958 in that of
Provence, contains a scientifically arranged exhibition of
[742] Stone Age culture unrivalled in any other country. This
collection, whose most bizarre items are the astonishing fat female deities characteristic of Maltese neolithic sculpture, was organized in chronological sequence by the Museum's late learned Director, Sir Themistocles Zammit, who made a second international reputation in the field of Maltese archæology and excavation after having made an earlier one in medical research in connexion with undulant, or Malta, fever.

But the visitor is not obliged to study the activities of
241 these remote peoples solely in museums. If he wishes to see
501 how the distant forbears of the present population cultivated
178 their land he has only to watch the Maltese farmer of to-day
[532] ploughing his field; if he is a student of cultural survivals he
will note the eye of Osiris still painted on the bows of Malta's
ooo sturdy little schooners and characteristic "Gozo boats." If

[p. 1]

CHAPTER I

The Background

Malta and her sister islands, Gozo and Comino, lie midway between Gibraltar and Lebanon, at almost the exact geographical centre of the Mediterranean. Sicily lies just 58 miles to the north, Tripoli 220 miles due south and Tunis slightly over 200 miles to the west. The Maltese archipelago thus forms a port of call between Europe and North Africa, between the Christian and the Moslem worlds. The Maltese have been in contact with both for centuries, and the cultures of both have contributed many traits which the islanders have adapted to their own use. 131 [177]

Malta, the largest and southernmost island, is seventeen miles long and nine miles wide, and covers an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is only nine miles by five miles, with an area of 26 square miles. Finally, the little island of Comino, which lies in the three-mile-wide channel separating the two larger islands, has an area of one square mile.

The islands are composed entirely of tertiary limestone, and the soil consists of clays and marls. Although the land rises to a maximum of little more than 800 feet near Dingli, the terrain is varied, and often broken, with jagged escarpments falling into narrow valleys, which run out to level fields. A visitor to the islands, especially during the long dry summer, is struck at once by the absence of vegetation and the rocky aspect of the countryside. This is, in part, a false impression, for although there are few trees, rubble retaining and boundary walls hide the network of small cultivated fields. Occasionally, the dark green foliage of a carob or olive tree reaches over these stone enclosures to add a sudden splash of colour to the shimmering white-yellow of the summer landscape. 133 [134] 133 137

The soft yellow limestone gives a continuity to the scenery. Houses, villages and whole towns seem to grow up out of the rocky matrix from which they are built, and from which they are distinguished only by the regular outline of the buildings against 133 333

[text continues on p. 3]

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

In Oxford, Professor Arthur Thomson has set the resources of his Department, 12
including a calculating machine, at my disposal, and has helped me continually with advice and kindly criticism. My former teachers—Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. Henry Balfour, Mr. E. T. Leeds, and Professor J. L. Myres—have accorded me in many conversations the combined privileges of a colleague and a pupil. I fear that I have, albeit unwittingly, often pirated their ideas. My colleague, Miss Blackwood, has devoted the greater part of a Long Vacation to helping to finish and prepare this paper for the press before my leaving England, and has performed the laborious task of looking over proofs in my absence.

II.—Geography.

The Maltese archipelago consists of the islands of Malta, Gozo, Comino, Cominetto and Filfola. The two latter are uninhabited, and Comino is practically untenanted. We are therefore only concerned with the islands of Malta and Gozo. 131 [10]

Malta lies about 60 miles south of Sicily and 180 miles north of the African coast. Its maximum length is 18½ miles, its maximum breadth 8¼ miles, and its area 95 square miles. Gozo is considerably smaller, and has an area of about 20 square miles.

Geologically, the islands are Late Eocene (3). The eastern and most thickly 133
inhabited part of Malta consists of globigerina limestone, which overlies lower coralline limestone; in the western part these beds are covered with beds of greensand and blue clay or marl, over which lies the upper coralline limestone. The rock is everywhere extremely friable, and is perpetually disintegrating under the influence of wind and rain. Except in one or two places the soil is seldom more than a few inches deep.

The surrounding seas are warm and shallow; a rise of 50 fathoms would connect Malta and Sicily, and a rise of 200 fathoms would join North Africa and Europe and include Malta as a craggy bastion. The shallowest sea, however, lies more to the west. Malta should, therefore, be more correctly described as an outlying pier of an old land bridge rather than part of the land bridge itself. It seems probable that slow, tectonic movements are actually in progress to-day, and that the archipelago is sinking; but it is extremely unlikely that any men of whom we possess traces at present, with the doubtful exception of a few fragments from the Weid Dalam, came to Malta when it was still part of the mainland.

The island is tilted from south to north. The cliffs along the southern coast are high and precipitous, and some of the loftiest parts of the island are close to the shore.

The undercliff here forms a pleasant contrast to the less fertile parts of Malta. 137●
Carib trees are not uncommon, potatoes are cultivated on terraces, and the tiny 312
fields are irrigated, as elsewhere in Malta, by little runlets conducted along channels

137 312 made of open stone pipes. On the rocks, in January, there was a wild profusion of flowering heath, of a species akin to our heather (*Erica*). Where the water overflows, there are tiny reed beds, but always smaller and less luxuriant than those of the Eastern Mediterranean. In some places on these cliffs the charlock appears to have competed successfully with *Oxalis cernua*.

133 The north coast is generally more shelving. There are no mountains, but the whole surface is cut by deep ravines, which are for the most part dry, but which may contain as much as three feet of water during a spate; the mouths of some of these valleys form small fiords. The western part of the island, which contains the upper coralline beds, contrasts strongly with the eastern. The hills are higher, the valleys bigger and more rounded, and the country is less parched, owing to the underlying marls. The scenery of Gozo resembles that of Western Malta, but the cliffs are higher and grander, the fields are larger, and the country is greener.

241 137 Owing to the large population every foot of soil is precious, and the whole of Malta is parcelled out into innumerable tiny fields, some hardly more than a few yards square, each being separated from the next by a stone wall. Olives and caribs grow as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, but for the most part they are limited to the courses of the streams; oranges flourish where there is sufficient water to irrigate them, but in Malta one looks in vain for the abundant orange groves of Sicily, or the pleasant tangled hillsides of Northern Cyprus. The myrtle is almost absent, the numbers of wild myrtle bushes can nearly be counted on the fingers of a man's hands. The flora (4) generally is most akin to that of Sicily; 94 per cent. of the Maltese species are found in that island, 91 per cent. in Africa, and 90·5 per cent. in the Levant (5). There are three things which are predominant in all the scenery of Malta: stone walls, goats, and the yellow flowers of the virulent *Oxalis cernua*, which not even the goats will eat.

132 Owing to the small size of Malta and the nature of its surface, the weather is dominated by two factors—the sea and the direction of the wind. The mean annual temperature is 66·6° F., the mean annual rainfall is 21·6 inches, precipitation normally occurring on 81 days. The mean relative humidity for seven years is 79·1 per cent. The coldest month is February (mean temperature 52·9° F.); the hottest August (77·9° F.). During June and July practically no rain falls, and in August the mean is only 0·13 mm. (6).

361 In working out constants, I have divided the islands into two areas—Urban and Rural. This is the division in the census (31), and corresponds very closely to a marked difference in the conditions under which the population lives. The former includes the fortified towns and suburbs, Valletta, Floriana, Cottoneria, Senglea, Conspicua, Sliema, St. Julian, Pieta Misida, Hamrum, Birchircara, Curmi, Paula, Tarxien, Zabbar, Calcara and Rabato; the latter, the more isolated villages in the country.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

648 after the next meeting of Parliament; and to declare the isle
175 of Malta to be part of Europe"—

> that the said Island of Malta and dependencies thereof shall be deemed, taken and construed to be part of Europe for all purposes, and as to all matters and things whatever; any law or laws, usage or custom, or act or acts, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

114 But this enactment, although it satisfied the administrators,
175 did not wholly silence the men of science, who produced, in addition to Europe and Africa, yet a third continental claimant to the geographical ownership of the Maltese Islands. In the middle of the nineteenth century a Maltese architect and engineer named Grognet de Vassé, best known as the designer of the great Parish Church of Mosta, propounded the theory that the submerged continent of Atlantis lay between Cyrenaica in the east and Tunis in the west, almost filling the indentations in the coast of North Africa which the Romans called Syrtes Major and Syrtes Minor and we know to-day as the Gulfs of Sidra and Gabes. Of this continent, said Grognet, the Maltese archipelago formed the north-western corner; and he published a learned treatise in support of his theory, which he based on ample references to mythology, etymology and classical geography.

It is an ingenious piece of imaginative reasoning whereby the author places the Elysian Fields and the lower world of the ancients in Atlantis, the mouths of the rivers Acheron and Phlegethon in that part of Atlantis which is Malta—namely, in the Grand Harbour and the harbour of Marsa Mxett—and an outlet of the river Styx in one of the springs of the gardens of the Villa Frere, for many years the beautiful residence and garden in Pietà of the distinguished scholar, man of letters, diplomatist and friend of Sir Walter Scott, the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere.

137 Nevertheless the legislators of 1801 were rightly inspired,
132 for in climate and vegetation no less than in the works of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

man Malta is essentially European, a projection of Europe 137
into the south. Its vegetation is of the Mediterranean type, [132]
similar to that of Southern Spain, the Riviera, Sicily and the islands of the Ægean although, strangely enough, it lacks among its wild flowers the cyclamen which so delightfully and characteristically, in springtime, carpets the ground in Cyprus and the Isles of Greece. Here and there, it is true, there rises above its pines and cypresses and carob-trees an occasional stately date-palm, suggesting a garden-escape from the groves of Tunis. And Tunis, whence come the best dates in the world, lies, be it noted, to the north of Malta. But the fruit on the date-palms of Malta practically never ripens. Malta is too European for that.

2

If anything shaped as differently from a circle as the 131
Mediterranean can be said to have a centre, that centre is 175
Malta. The Maltese archipelago is equidistant from the 648
Mediterranean's western and eastern extremities; it is its half-way house between Occident and Orient, historically no less than geographically; it has been its nerve-centre—and more than its nerve-centre, its magnet—from the "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." All the people of the Middle Sea have possessed, influenced or coveted Malta at one time or another, the first to do so of whom we have definite knowledge being a small seafaring, trading and colonizing tribe from its easternmost shores. "The twin islands of Melita and Gaulos," wrote Professor Freeman, "lay immediately in the way of Phœnician adventurers" and became, and remained for centuries, a Phœnician settlement. It was the all-absorbing power of Rome that first brought them into the European fold.

As the nerve-centre, as the magnet, of the Mediterranean 175
Malta was all but snatched back from the European fold 648
when the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent sought

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

(and where do they not exist?), his book gave a certain 114 amount of offence in the more sensitive quarters of the 357 island. None the less, it includes a chapter which should have atoned for any "causes of stumbling" created in those quarters. The chapter is entitled "Dolores" and concerns the Shepherds' Maltese maid-of-all-work and their baby's nurse. "Dolores" is not only a telling tribute to some of the salient virtues of the Maltese character; it is one of the most sensitive and moving descriptions of the personal devotion of a servant to her employers and her charge that I have had the good fortune to read.

4

A word has been said earlier in this chapter as to the 137 ● grandeur of the cliff scenery of Malta. Inland, on the other [133] hand, the countryside can scarcely be called either grand or impressive, and during the dry summer months there is little colour to set against the brown aridity of the fields other than the sage of the olive, the carob and the fig-trees, and the pinks and whites of the oleanders beside the roads. But after [132] the autumn rains have begun to refresh the parched earth the land rapidly assumes a mantle of young green, and the wild flowers appear shyly above ground, beginning with two lovely miniature blooms—the brilliantly blue *Iris minuta* and the even more ethereal, strongly scented "*satarina*" (*N. serotinus*). This, the tiniest of the narcissi, looks as if it had been called into being by a touch of the fairy's wand in Walt Disney's *Fantasia*.

Later, in March and April, Malta and Gozo alike seem to [246] glow with the crimson, deepening into purple, of the *sulla*, the clover or sainfoin with which thousands of acres are sown for fodder. Among the most striking blends of colour are those produced by many varieties of Bougainvillæa (which flourishes exceedingly in Malta) and the purple-and-cream flowers of the wild caper, against the background of the rich gold of the fortifications.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

114 Classical authors as well as travellers of the Renaissance and later ages have praised Malta's fertility, the quality of its
● 137 corn, its fruit, its linen and its cotton,[1] the sweet scent of its roses,[2] the delicate aroma of the wild thyme that flavours its honey. Cicero, in fact, called Malta a land of honey and roses, and it was being described in similar terms nearly two thousand years later. "The fruits are of exquisite flavour," wrote Dr Meryon, Lady Hester Stanhope's sorely tried physician, companion and biographer. "Flowers are very fine, and I could not help fancying the roses more fragrant than in my own country. Malta honey is highly esteemed."
[186] Elsewhere the Doctor remarks that "no people are more attached to their country than the Maltese to their barren rock"; and it is natural enough that the Maltese of to-day should like to refer to their island as "the flower of the world."

This phrase, if held to refer solely to scenery and vegetation, might appear to some to verge on the excessive. If it be taken to apply to the many-sidelines of Malta's interest and amenities it does not lack justification.

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[439] [1] During the era of sailing-ships Malta, and especially the casal of Zebbuġ, produced a heavy cotton sail-cloth which earned a wide reputation and was exported all over Europe.

[103] [2] The name Attard, the charming old casal half-way between Hamrum and Mdina, means "the village of roses."

186

Arms of G. M. Manoel de Vilhena

CHAPTER XIX

Gozo

> All round the cave-mouth there flourished a luxuriant copse 114/18
> of alder trees and black poplars and rich-scented cypresses: therein roosted birds of long wing, owls and hawks and chattering hook-billed crows—birds of the sea whose livelihood was from the waters. A young strong vine loaded with bunches of grapes wreathed the opening of the cave. Four springs quite near together jetted out translucent water in separate rills ingeniously contrived, each to water its own garden-plot. The soft lawns were starred with parsley and violets. Even an immortal coming upon the nook would pause before its beauty and feel his heart made glad.

IT IS POSSIBLE—INDEED, PROBABLE—THAT THE MODERN visitor would fail to recognize from these words, taken from T. E. Lawrence's translation of the *Odyssey*, the cave of Calypso as it appears to-day, surmounting and overlooking the sandy bay of Ramla on the north coast of Gozo. Still less easily, perhaps, would he recognize it from the passage in *Télémaque* in which Fénelon describes the grotto in language even more exuberant. As Malta is S. Paul's island, so is Gozo Calypso's; and it may be that nothing but an earthly paradise was deemed meet for the entertainment by an immortal of so critical a guest as Odysseus.

True, there are corners of Gozo that fall not far short of the 346/137
picture imagined by the great Archbishop of Cambrai: I have in mind especially the little Chapel of Lunzjata (the Annunziata) in a grove of ancient almond- and carob-trees between Victoria and the village of Kerchem, facing the munificent Perellos's graceful fountain at the head of the rich little *wied* (valley) that runs down to Xlendi. Whether 137
this glade is seen in the spring, when it is a mass of blossom

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

137 that would not disgrace Taormina, or in the summer, when its tangled mass of vegetation forms an almost solid screen of verdure from the blazing sun, it would seem a fitting lair for the daughter of Atlas if it did not rather conjure up, with its figs, its vines, its calamus and its pomegranates, a vision of the Song of Songs.

13 Certainly Gozo is more fertile, less rocky, more verdant than is Malta. Edward Lear called its scenery "pomskizillious and gromphiberous, being as no words can describe its magnificence." It is not broken up to anything like the same extent by the stone and rubble walls which in the larger island so provokingly conceal gardens and fields from all [241] except aviators. In Gozo it is easy to enjoy wide vistas of green corn and purple clover, of terraced cultivation along the contours of its seven flat-topped hills.

13 341 Like Malta, Gozo ends on its south-western coast in sheer rock-faces that rise abruptly as much as 400 feet from the sea. But elsewhere its coast-line is more varied than Malta's, with its pleasant miniature fjords of Xlendi and Xini, the yellow sands of Ramla, the blue lagoon of Qala Dwejra, the mysterious landlocked bay of Kawra, the grim cliffs of Ta Ċenċ and Ras il Wardija. Its architecture, too, is highly characteristic, and although its villages bear a general resemblance to the casals of Malta, they can be distinguished from these by the handsome carved stone balconies which have happily remained one of Gozo's pleasantest and most live traditions. These balconies are a feature throughout the island but are to be seen at their best in the Manderaggio of Victoria, for Gozo, too, has its Manderaggio.

36/ 7/2 The capital of the island, Rabat or Victoria—Rabat because it is the suburb of the walled fortress above it—sprawls pleasantly at the foot of the great rock on which rises, like Edinburgh Castle, its bastioned and embattled citadel. This high place was designed as a stronghold, a place of refuge from the Barbary pirates, just as were the little hill-towns of the Riviera, Eze and many another, that look down on the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

It may also be combined with a tricky piece of rock-climbing— 133
how tricky the writer can testify from personal experience—
by anyone prepared to scale the precipitous islet known as
the Fungus Rock, which closes the entrance to the lagoon
of Qala Dwejra.

This impressive and now almost inaccessible rock takes its 133
name from the strange and repellent-looking black plant 278
(*Fucus coccineus melitensis*) which grows on its summit and 655
in the days of the Order was regarded as a sovereign remedy [137]
against hæmorrhage and dysentery. The plant was a [757]
perquisite of the Grand Masters, and a guard was provided
in a tower on the mainland to keep away trespassers. Those 133
who came legitimately to take the fungus landed by means 417
of a basket suspended on ropes stretched between the rock 278
and the nearest point on the mainland; an old water-colour
in the Malta Museum depicts this means of transit, which
has long since disappeared. It was evidently of a somewhat
precarious nature, at all events to judge from the account of
a gentleman who effected the passage in 1815:[1]

> One object of curiosity on the south side of the island [*sc.* Gozo] is a rock, on which grows a kind of fungus, which is used as a styptic. The passage to this rock is rather curious, if not dangerous; two ropes are made fast on each shore, on which a box with grooves on its edges passes over. A Maltese first works his way across, then the person desirous to go over draws the box back and seats himself in it, when he is hauled over by the guide; in this manner as many as please can go, one at a time.
>
> It is not a very pleasant sensation to be suspended some hundred feet above the water, and if there is any wind, the movement of the box is anything but agreeable, and all that can be obtained are a few pieces of fungus. I was well pleased to be back again, and made a determination never to risk my precious carcase in that conveyance again. It seems very strange to be swinging up in the air between two rocks, with sea-gulls and other aquatics flying about below you.

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[1] From *Malta Sixty Years Ago*, by Claudius Shaw (London, 1875).

population as 20,000 in 1582. In 1632, 50,113 is given, and in 1667, 53,000. In 1741, 161
110,000 is the population, which is said to have increased to 114,000 in 1798. The 174
figures for Malta and Gozo in 1826 are stated to be 119,736. But the first reliable figure is 115,945 in 1828. In 1881 the population was 132,129 in Malta and 17,653 in Gozo; in 1901, 184,742, and 1911, 211,564.

In regard to the proportion of the sexes there were in 1911 110 bachelors to 162
100 spinsters, 98 husbands to 100 wives, and 44 widowers to 100 widows. In round thousands, the males over 5 years of age were engaged in the following occupations: 7 in professional, 2 domestic, 19 commercial, 12 agricultural, 21 industrial, and 31 were unproductive and unoccupied; the last figure is rather misleading as it includes at least four separate classes—children, aged, people of independent income, and incapables of all classes. The data in regard to foreigners is the most interesting for our purpose, as it gives an insight into the amount of mixture that is taking place. There were at the last census (1911) (31) 854 ♂ and 1,003 ♀ foreigners in the island. Of these 3 ♀ were English, the remainder were made up as follows: 77 ♂ and 45 ♀ from Africa (apart from 1 ♂ and 2 ♀, all these came from Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria); 479 ♂ and 499 ♀ from Sicily; 156 ♂ and 253 ♀ from other parts of Italy; 36 ♂ and 39 ♀ came from Greece, and 11 ♂ were classified as Asiatics. This does not, of course, include the garrison, a large floating population of which the figures are uncertain, as they depend so much on the ships which happen to be in harbour at the time when the census is taken. The increase of population 161
between 1828 and 1911 is of interest. That of Malta increased by 88·25 per cent. of the total, and that of Gozo by 45·31 per cent. The increase in Malta was nearly five times as great in the suburban area as in the other areas combined.[1]

The density per square mile in 1911 was 1884 (Malta 2167, and Gozo 879). The density in the south-east corner of Malta is, however, greater than would appear from these figures. If the island be divided along a line west of Gargur, Naxaro, Musta, Notabile, Rabato, Crendi, the areas east and west of such a line would be almost equal in size. The eastern area, however, contained in 1911 183,132 inhabitants, and the western 5737. Practically all the Neolithic remains occur in the [172]
eastern area, suggesting that the centres of population have not changed appreciably since Neolithic times.

V.—Material and Methods.

The skeletal material examined is conveniently grouped in four series: (i) Bones 126
from the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic); (ii) Miscellaneous ancient 141 ●
skeletons, chiefly Romano-Maltese; (iii) Specimens from the Chapel of Bones (Late Mediæval); (iv) Modern bones. Only in case (ii) were any complete skeletons available.

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[1] Since this article was written the results of the Census of 1921 have become available. [162]
They are as follows:—Malta, 189,697 (92,127 ♂, 97,570 ♀); Gozo, 22,561 (10,618 ♂, 11,943 ♀). Total for the two islands, 212,258, an increase of only 694 since 1911, as against 26,822 in the previous decade.

126 141 172 (i) The Hal Saflieni bones (whose antiquity we have already discussed) are in a very bad condition; few long bones are complete. After sorting through several tons of fragments, measurements were taken on such bones as were sufficiently well preserved. A number of astragali were brought to England for more detailed examination later. The Hal Saflieni crania, which had previously been examined by Bradley, were re-measured.

(ii) There are in the Museum of Valletta and in the Roman villa at Notabile a small series of ancient skulls and some complete skeletons, most of which were excavated by Dr. Zammit. These can be exactly dated by archæological evidence, but are unfortunately too few to warrant the drawing of any definite conclusions.

126 141 (iii) The Chapel of Bones is a large, fantastically arranged ossuary. It is alleged to contain the bones of patients dying in the hospital of the Knights of St. John, and probably dates from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are several remarkable features about these bones, first the number of aged persons represented, suggesting generally the type of population which finds its way into the casual ward of a modern institution, secondly the almost entire absence of the female sex; among 500 skulls selected at random, about 8 per cent. only were sexed as ?♂, ?♀, or ♀; these have not been included in the final count. It is, of course, quite possible that the number of female skulls is even less, but there was an orphanage attached to the hospital, and some children's bones were found in the ossuary, which may contain a few bones of nuns. The method of selection—for the number of bones is very great—was as follows: The skulls are arranged on shelves, and any skull without a basion was rejected, otherwise no selection was made; long bones were picked out where the epiphyses were sufficiently well preserved for measurement. Unfortunately the person who arranged the ossuary mixed up all the bones, and wired the wrong mandibles on to the crania. Although, therefore, as a whole, the bones belong to the same series of persons, the association of particular long bones with each other, or of particular mandibles with skulls is impossible. The sexing was of the type that Professor Pearson terms "anatomical sexing." All the bones were removed to the ~~Anatomical~~ Department at Valletta, and measured there.

(iv) The modern bones are from an ossuary, and were set at my disposal by Dr. Busittel, who was kind enough to allow us to use a room in the Anatomy School at Valletta. As some of the bones were used for teaching purposes, it is possible that a slight selection has been made; but enquiry into the method of obtaining the material inclines one to the belief that on the whole they are chance specimens, and a number of skulls were actually examined *in situ*. Sexing presented again considerable difficulty; fortunately, however, in a number of cases they had not been properly macerated.

141 125 In measuring the living it was necessary to find such as would submit themselves to examination; as far as possible, however, typical Maltese were taken. The

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female children are from Valletta and Sliema Government Elementary Schools, the male from the Government Elementary School and the Lyceum at Valletta, and include some of the students at the University. 141 125

The adult males have been grouped as follows:—(1) Malta, (2) Gozo. The Malta group has then been subdivided into Urban Districts; Rural Districts exclusive of Siggewo and Zurrico; Siggewo; Zurrico; sufficient measurements having been taken at the two latter villages to make statistical treatment of value (Table II). The adult females have been divided into (1) Malta, (2) Gozo. Malta has then been subdivided into Urban and Rural Districts (Table III). Unfortunately, sufficient women were not measured at any one village to make further subdivision practicable.

The individuals measured include among the men representatives of all social classes; among the women the lower social grades are chiefly represented. The men include professional men, gunners, militia, government messengers, men doing short sentences, paupers, and by far the largest class, "men in the street." The women include teachers, pupils at night schools, eighteen prisoners, patients in hospitals, paupers, and, again the largest class, any peasant woman who was not too frightened to be measured. All those who were either born of Maltese parents abroad, or although born in Malta are not of pure Maltese parentage, have been rejected. It is impossible in all cases to be quite certain, especially in the neighbourhood of Valletta. The measurements were taken in accordance with Martin's definitions (33); those on the femur follow Pearson (34). In working out the constants, the methods discussed in the Anthropology of Cyprus (37) have been followed. The limit of plotting selected has been such that the observations fall in from 15 to 20 groups. In head-lengths, for instance, this condition is fulfilled if the series be divided into 2 mm. groups. In order not to lengthen the report few comparative figures have been given. [128]

For convenience of reference measurements have been referred to by their initial letters, which are given in brackets after each in the following list:— 141 104 128

A.—*Skulls.*

Ophryo-occipital length (O.O.L.).
Glabello-occipital length (G.O.L.).
Greatest breadth (G.B.).
Minimum frontal diameter (M.F.D.).
Bizygomatic breadth (Biz.B.).
Nasal height (N.H.).
Nasal breadth (N.B.).
Basi-bregmatic height (B.B.H.).
Basi-nasal length (B.N.L.).
Basi-alveolar length (B.A.L.).
Upper facial height (U.F.H.).
Facial breadth (F.B.).
Orbital breadth (left) (O.B.L.).
Orbital breadth (right) (O.B.R.).
Orbital height (left) (O.H.L.).
Orbital height (right) (O.H.R.).
Palatal length (P.L.).
Palatal breadth (P.B.).

B.—*Living.*

● 141 Glabello-occipital length (G.O.L.).
128 Greatest head breadth (G.B.).
[104] Minimum frontal diameter (M.F.D.).
Bizygomatic breadth (Biz.B.).
External orbital breadth (E.O.B.).
Bigonial breadth (Big.B.).
Upper facial height (U.F.H.).
Total facial height (T.F.H.).
Nasal height (N.H.).
Nasal breadth (N.B.).
Internal ocular breadth (I.O.B.).

The following indices were calculated on the living:—

Cephalic index (C.I.).
Upper facial index (U.F.I.).
Total facial index (T.F.I.).
Nasal index (N.I.).

On skulls, owing to the fact that it was impossible in the majority of cases to associate cranium and mandible, the total facial index was not calculated. The following additional indices were, however, worked out:—

Vertical index (V.I.).
Mandibular index (M.I.).
Orbital index (left) (O.I.L.).
Orbital index (right) (O.I.R.).

In a number of cases it was found necessary to work out the *significant difference* between two measurements. The method employed was described by the writer in a short paper on Cyprus, where it was shown that stress could be laid on the difference if it was greater than three times its own probable error. In order to avoid an excessive amount of figures, only significant differences have actually been tabulated. The symbols used are as follows: the Greek letter delta, Δ, signifies *difference*; epsilon, with a subscript delta, ϵ_Δ, means *error* of that difference. Measures, places and series are referred to by their initial letters, thus

$$\begin{array}{lcc} & \Delta & \epsilon_\Delta \\ & \text{C-V} & \\ \text{G.O.L.} & 1\cdot93 \pm 0\cdot63 & \end{array}$$

means that the difference in the glabello-occipital length between the Chapel of Bones and the Valletta crania is 1·93, with a probable error of 0·63. At a glance it is often difficult to tell whether such an error is significant; we have therefore tabulated the difference divided by its probable error, using at the head of the column the $\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$ symbol. In the particular case referred to above $\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$ is 3·06, and the difference is therefore significant. Owing to the necessity of preparing the data for publication in a comparatively short time, it has not been possible to work out as many correlations as might have been advantageous. A small number have, however, been worked out. Wherever it was possible to do so—that is to say, in the case of indices—the *coefficient of variation* method has been used, the formula employed

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being, if I = 100 A/B be an index, then a good approximation is arrived at by the formula 128 141 ●

$$r = \frac{V_A^2 + V_B^2 - V_I^2}{2V_A V_B}.$$

To take an actual example, the correlation between the head length and the head breadth of the females from the urban districts is arrived at as follows:—The data are, Coefficient of variation, G.O.L. 3·44 and G.B. 3·78, and C.I. 4·05. The correlation will therefore be arrived at by adding $(3\cdot44)^2$ to $(3\cdot78)^2$, subtracting $(4\cdot05)^2$ from the result, and dividing the whole by 3·44, multiplied by 3·78 multiplied by 2. The answer in this case is 0·3750.

The following measurements were made on the mandible:—

Coronoid height.
Condylar height.
Sigmoid height.
Symphysial height.
Breadth of ascending ramus, called for brevity ramus breadth.
Condylo-symphysial length.
Bicondylar breadth.

In the Chapel of Bones measurements on the mandible were taken on both left and right sides, and the constants were worked out separately. In the case of the other fragments it was seldom possible to measure more than one side, and as the measurements in the Chapel of Bones showed how extremely close the dimensions on the two sides were, side has been disregarded elsewhere.

Only one index has been calculated, namely, the mandibular index, that is to say, condylo-symphysial length multiplied by 100 and divided by bicondylar breadth.

VI.—Physical Anthropology.

Before discussing in detail the cranial measurements, it may be convenient briefly to state the general dimensions of the crania. The means of skulls vary from 179 to 188 mm. in glabello-occipital length, and the means of the living males from 185 to 188 mm. The mean breadths vary from 133 to 141 mm. on the crania, and 150 to 152 mm. on the living adult male. The cranial capacity, estimated from the glabello-occipital breadth, the greatest breadth, and the basi-bregmatic height multiplied together, the product being multiplied by 0·0003849 + 96, varies from 1390·6 in the case of the Neolithic, to 1437·9 in the case of the Romano-Maltese, the Mediæval skulls show a capacity, by this formula, of 1405·5, and the modern 1393·7. It is unwise, probably, to lay any stress on these figures. 141 172

The cephalic index varies from 71·4, the mean of the Neolithic crania to 79·0, the mean of the modern crania and the vertical index from 71·2 in the case of the Neolithic crania, to 75·0, the vertical index of the Mediæval crania.

The variations in the general dimensions of the crania are sufficient to warrant a more detailed enquiry into the development of racial history in Malta. A complete

141 172 list of the measurements taken and, where the series is sufficiently large, of their variation, will be found in Appendix II, Table I.[1] This should be read in conjunction with the following pages, from which, in order to make the general gist of the argument clearer, figures have, as far as possible, been eliminated.

The evidence which is so far available for the detailed history of man's development in Malta in early times is exceedingly scanty, and no ancient remains can be treated statistically. Such remarks as occur in the next few paragraphs can only be considered as tentative. The cranial measurements available seem to suggest that the head form of the Maltese has grown consistently shorter, both absolutely and relatively, since the Neolithic Age. The head breadth is remarkably consistent from Romano-Maltese times onwards. The skulls from Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic), however, were extremely narrow, in great contrast to the modern crania. Living heads are 10 mm. longer than modern skulls among the males, in the females the difference is somewhat greater, but the modern series of female skulls is so very small that no reliance can be placed on it. Male heads are about 11 mm. broader than male skulls. The greater thickness of the scalp where the greatest head breadth is taken, may be accounted for by the influence of the temporal muscle.

The cephalic index appears to have increased continuously from the earliest times onwards, *pari passu* with the *decrease* in the glabello-occipital length. The index of the Romano-Maltese males is noticeably low, that of the females extremely high. This result is possibly due to the small numbers. There certainly seems to be a definite increase in the numerical value of the index from Mediæval times onward. The modern female crania are noticeably more brachycephalic than the modern male; indeed, there is a difference of 4 units, which closely parallels the difference between the Romano-Maltese male and female. This difference, although probably exaggerated by small numbers, appears to be based on some definite disparity. In Malta the living females are significantly more brachycephalic than the males. It is curious, however, that the Gozo males and females show no difference in their cephalic index. Probably in Gozo the male population is less disturbed than in Malta. The normal allowance of 2 units difference between the cephalic index of the living and the dead is borne out by comparing the modern Maltese heads and skulls.

The variations in head length and head breadth appear to be very similar in Mediæval and modern skulls, and equally as between crania and living people. Considerable stress should probably be laid on the fact that a large series of crania from a Late Mediæval ossuary (the Chapel of Bones) show practically the same degree of variation in their cephalic index as a chance collection from a modern ossuary, and as the modern inhabitants taken from all over the island.

The basi-nasal length appears to be consistently the same from Neolithic times onwards. This absence of change is of importance when we consider that the head length has undergone marked changes. It is probable, therefore, that the changes are taking place in the occipital region. A comparison of the contours of

[1] [see pp. 197-199.—Analyst]

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the skulls suggests that the Maltese, for some reason, are developing a more plano-occipital or Armenoid type of skull than their ancestors possessed. This change is not accompanied by any great difference in the basi-bregmatic height. Although there is a difference of 2 mm. between the height of the Mediæval and modern skulls, as measured from the basion to the bregma, the very great variation of that measurement among the modern skulls makes it doubtful whether we can lay any stress on so small a difference. It is true that the vertical index shows certain changes, but they may be ascribed rather to the change in head length than to a difference in height. The measurement of the minimum frontal diameter adds further weight to our suggestion, that the changes which are taking place in Maltese skulls are confined to the occipital region, as there is no difference between this measurement in the earliest and in modern skulls. The ophryo-occipital length appears to be always about 2 mm. shorter than the glabello-occipital length, suggesting that few if any changes have taken place in the ophryonic region.

Passing to the consideration of the measurements associated with the masticatory apparatus, the bizygomatic breadth is extremely small in the Neolithic crania, but the numbers are very few. The Late Mediæval crania from the Chapel of Bones are significantly greater than the modern skulls in this measurement, and also in the basi-alveolar length, whereas the Romano-Maltese seem to approach more closely in both measurements to the Mediæval than to the modern crania. This may be due to a harder diet.

The upper facial height in the Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic) material is similar to that of the Romano-Maltese, but the Mediæval crania have a significantly greater measurement than the modern. The facial breadth is small in the Hal Saflieni material, but the Mediæval skulls are significantly broader in the face than the modern. The upper facial index is very close to the same figure from Neolithic times onwards, except for the small series of Romano-Maltese skulls, which have a lower index.

Some of the above measurements are probably more affected by the respiratory apparatus than by the action of the jaw, although it has been convenient to consider them in the above paragraph. The same is, to a certain extent, true of the palatal measurements, one of which, the breadth, is certainly intimately correlated with the breadth of the nose. The palatal breadth appears to have been very small in Neolithic times—smaller than can quite be accounted for by the smaller nasal breadth—and it is possible that a rather enfeebled masticatory apparatus may be the predominant factor in this particular case. Otherwise the palatal breadth has remained more or less constant. Certain changes appear to have taken place in the palatal length. In spite of the unusual smallness of the palatal breadth, the mean palatal length happens to be the greatest recorded. It is quite possible that this is an illusory figure. It is interesting to note, however, that the palates of Mediæval Maltese are significantly longer than those of their modern successors. This is

141 quite possibly due to the same causes as are at work in the case of the bizygomatic breadth.

172 Turning to the respiratory apparatus proper, the nasal breadth of the Neolithic people is rather narrower than that of the Romano-Maltese, but only six Neolithic crania were available for measurement. The Mediæval crania have practically the same breadth of nose as the Romano-Maltese. The modern examples from Valletta, however, have a significantly narrower nose. The nasal height shows no appreciable difference. The nasal index shows considerable variation, accompanied, as usual, by a high coefficient of variation. Under these circumstances it is difficult to argue about the actual changes since early times. It is possible, however, that the nasal index was slightly greater in ancient than in modern times. It is clear from the figures that the nasal index of the Mediæval Maltese was significantly greater than it is at present. This point is of special interest because if, as has been argued, a number of persons from Western Europe were represented in the ossuary of the hospital, we should have expected to find a narrower nose, whereas in actual fact this is not the case.

The breadth of the orbits shows greater divergences than any other measurement. In the case of the left orbit the difference between the Mediæval and the modern bones is nearly seven times its probable error; in the right orbit it is over nine times its probable error. It is difficult to suppose that such a divergence should be without significance. It is not clear, however, what changes have taken place since Neolithic times, although the earlier orbits tend to be rather broader. There is no difference in the orbital height among the more recent bones, though the early bones seem to be not quite so high. The orbital indices are probably of great importance. The difference between the Neolithic and the modern indices amounts to eight units, the modern index being the greater. Parsons[1] has argued that a microsemic orbit is especially characteristic of Neolithic man, an outcome, as Thomson has shown, of powerful jaw development. In spite of the fewness of our numbers, the Neolithic material from Hal Saflieni indicates that Parsons' generalization is applicable to Malta, and that the introduction of a change to Armenoid characteristics has considerably affected the form of the orbit.

The difference between the left and right orbits is striking in our two larger series. In the case of the Mediæval bones the difference in the orbital breadth is ·52 with a probable error of ·085, a difference that is certainly significant. In the modern series the difference is actually greater, but owing to the smallness of the numbers the probable errors are too great to make this significant.

The comparative variation of the Mediæval and the modern crania is a matter of considerable importance. Unfortunately the number of earlier skulls is too few for statistical treatment, but the results of a comparison of modern crania with

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[1] Professor Parsons has been good enough to discuss the matter with me personally.

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those from the Mediæval hospital certainly suggest that those authorities who maintain 141
that the hospital probably contained, amongst others, the bones of people from 172
Western Europe are possibly in error. We should in that case have expected to find a high degree of variation. We do not do so. It may well be argued that the modern crania are too few to base any satisfactory arguments on, and we fully admit that it is unwise to argue from a series that never exceeds 42, and in some cases falls as low as 29. It would appear, however, that the modern series, of the majority of which the provenance was fairly exactly known, is consistently more variable than the Mediæval series from the Chapel of Bones. It would certainly be worth while to make a series of measurements on about 100 modern crania to see whether this statement really represents the truth.

Except in a few cases, it was impossible to associate mandibles with the crania to which they belonged, and unfortunately at the time when measurements were made on modern crania few mandibles could be discovered. The only series, therefore, of mandibles which could be treated statistically are those Mediæval specimen from the Chapel of Bones. Even in this case it was not found possible to get a series as large as 300 for every measurement. The majority of these, and probably all, are male; any doubtful cases having been rejected. The Neolithic and Romano-British mandibles are also probably male. The Bronze Age mandibles appeared from the associated bones to be female, but the condition of the latter was such that a definite opinion could not be expressed. In general terms there are certain marked differences between the mandibles from Hal Saflieni and elsewhere, whereas the Romano-Maltese and the Mediæval mandibles, although differing in detail, present a general similarity. The coronoid height and the condyloid height of the Neolithic mandibles are both lower, the ramus being of about the same breadth. The condylo-symphysial breadth is about the same. The Mediæval mandibles have a slightly lower ascending ramus than the Romano-Maltese, but the former are slightly more stoutly built; the mandibular index is quite possibly about the same. Generalizing, we may say that the Neolithic mandibles belong to a type with a rather short, broad ascending ramus, and a shallow sigmoid notch, whereas the Mediæval mandibles have the higher ascending ramus and the deeper sigmoid notch which are usually associated with various branches of the Alpine race.

A collection of teeth was made from the bone heaps at Hal Saflieni.[1] Unfortu- 172
nately no teeth of more recent date are available. Out of a total of 224 adult teeth 164
from Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic), 15 upper incisors and canines showed a marked edge-to-edge bite. Caries occurred in 19 cases; there was a complete erosion of the roots in 2. One incisor had two roots. Speaking generally, the teeth

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[1] I am indebted to my brother, Mr. J. L. Dudley Buxton, for examining and reporting on [129]
these teeth from the point of view of a dental surgeon.

172 164 did not differ from a chance collection of modern civilized teeth, except that caries was less common.

TEETH FROM HYPOGÆUM, HAL SAFLIENI (MALTA LOCAL NEOLITHIC).

	1 Normal Teeth.	2 Carious Teeth.	3 Teeth showing Marked Attrition of Edge-to-edge Form.	4 Teeth showing Marked Attrition.	5 Total Adult Teeth.	6 Deciduous Teeth.
Molars	21	10	—	18	48	3
Premolars	26	6	—	36	62	—
Canines	9	—	7	15	31	2
Upper incisors ...	23	1	8	23	54	—
Lower incisors ...	2	2	—	27	29	—
Total ...	81	19	15	119	224	5

Teeth included in Column 2 may also be included in Columns 3 or 4; Columns 3 and 4 are mutually exclusive.

141 172 Summing up, the general characters of the Maltese skulls at our disposal, the physical type conveniently termed "Malta first race" is associated culturally with the Malta Local Neolithic. Skulls of this type are long, narrow, and slightly built. They have low orbits, narrow zygomatic arches, and a jaw which, though often not absolutely large, has a low ascending ramus, a shallow sigmoid, and considerable breadth in the antero-posterior diameter. They appear to be representatives of the Mediterranean race.

The skulls of succeeding periods, conveniently termed "Malta second race," and associated with numerous cultural periods, are, as a general rule, shorter, broader, more stoutly built, larger, and have higher orbits. The ascending ramus of the jaw is high, and the antero-posterior diameter is small. Although among a large collection of these crania single specimens exhibit the characteristics of the Mediterranean type, and some even occur with features which are usually considered to be typical of the Nordic race, the majority, in addition to the features already mentioned, show that peculiar contour in the occipital region which is usually associated with the type called by Von Luschan "Armenoid."

Living Material.

141 Apart from those questions which have already been discussed when dealing with the general anthropology of Malta, special problems are connected with the living. In the first place, the sex and birthplace are definitely known, and the age, at least approximately. Secondly, the numbers are usually greater. Thirdly,

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although the measurement of the long bones on the living was found to be impracticable, stature and sitting height could be measured. The purpose of this section is to study the living material intensively, with a view to finding out how far there are present differences within the islands.

In working out significant differences a comparison has been made between Malta and Gozo, between the urban and rural districts in Malta, between the urban districts and Siggewe, between the urban districts and Zurrico, and between Siggewe and Zurrico, in the case of the males, and between Malta and Gozo and the urban and rural districts in the case of the females. First the *means* have been compared; secondly, the *variations* from those means. In dealing with absolute measurements the *coefficient of variation* has been used, in the case of indices we have employed the *standard deviation*.

The stature throughout the whole archipelago appears to be very consistent. In both sexes the people from Gozo appear to be rather taller. The difference between the sexes amounts to rather under 15 cm.

The head measurements do not present any very striking differences. We have only tabulated those which are probably significant. Among the males there is a significant difference between Malta and Gozo in the following head measurements: Glabello-occipital length, minimum frontal diameter, external orbital breadth, bigonial breadth, and both nasal measurements, the Maltese being in every case larger. Between the urban and rural districts there is no difference except in the nasal height. Siggewe differs from the urban districts in six characters: minimum frontal diameter, bizygomatic breadth, bigonial breadth, total facial height, nasal breadth, internal ocular breadth. The differences between Zurrico and the urban districts are of a different nature. Again there is no difference in glabello-occipital length, or external orbital breadth, but in this case there is no difference in minimum frontal diameter or bigonial breadth. All the other characters are significantly different, the urban population having in every case the larger dimensions. As a final test, Siggewe and Zurrico were compared. Siggewe presented larger dimensions in every signficant case, except minimum frontal diameter, which was significantly smaller, the other significant differences being in greatest breadth, external orbital breadth, and the nasal measurements. The significant differences in the case of the females appear in other characters. Between Malta and Gozo three measurements differ: bizygomatic breadth, external orbital breadth, and internal ocular breadth, but there are differences in upper facial height, nasal height, bizygomatic breadth, and external orbital breadth between the urban and rural districts.

There is very little difference in the variability. Among the males the minimum frontal diameter varies differently in the urban districts and in Zurrico, and as between Siggewe and Zurrico. The variability of the external orbital breadth is different in Malta and Gozo, and that of the upper facial height in the urban and rural districts. The total facial height differs in Malta and Gozo, and the nasal

141 height in the urban districts and Zurrico. Among the females there is a significant difference between Malta and Gozo in greatest breadth, bigonial breadth and nasal height. There is no significant difference between the urban and rural districts. Between male and female, the males have a significantly greater bizygomatic breadth, the females significantly greater external orbital breadth, nasal height and cephalic index.

It is impossible to compare the absolute measurements of males and females. There is no significant difference in the total facial index between males and females, the other three indices are, however, significantly different, the females having the greater index in every case.

These differences are extremely difficult to correlate with actual facts. That the urban and rural population should resemble each other so closely is a striking feature, especially since we know that Valletta is, and has been, continually receiving additions, both from the outside world and from other parts of the island. In spite of this immigration, however, we do not appear to get an appreciably larger variation in the town than in the endogamous villages, if we take them *as a whole*. Contrasts arise, however, between the urban districts and individual villages. It may be suggested tentatively that the small local variations which appear to occur in the various villages tend to be swamped if we take all the villages together, as we can do artificially by pooling our measurements, and actually by measuring individuals from Valletta and the fortified suburbs, which have only existed for under four hundred years, that is to say about eleven generations, and have a population recruited from all over the island. This fact is all the more remarkable because, as we have shown, foreign blood has certainly been pouring into Valletta for a considerable period.

It may be argued that possibly the isolation in the island is not sufficiently complete, yet there is as much difference between the urban districts and the village of Zurrico as there is between Malta and Gozo, although in different directions. The isolation of the villages, a social more than a geographical division, has proved as strong or as weak a frontier as the hazardous strip of water between the two islands.

The measurements on females throw little light on this point. There is a greater difference between the urban and rural district women than between those of Malta and Gozo; the latter series are unfortunately too few for more than a tentative inference. Social conditions cannot contribute much in the result, because whereas the women are comparatively stationary, apart from country and town marriages, there is considerable movement of the males.

141 Let us now consider the differences in the facial measurements. Professor
132 Arthur Thomson (39) has suggested that the temperature and the humidity of the
air have considerable effect on the form of the nose. The rainfall, at different stations
at which observations are taken, differs to quite a large extent. For example, in

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

1919, 14·18 inches were recorded at Casal Lia, and 19·44 at Naxaro. Unfortunately 141
no comparative humidity data are available, but such a striking difference in rainfall 132
argues that the inhabitants of those two places breathe an atmosphere which differs at least appreciably in moisture. Again, local variations in temperature, if not great, may prove significant. At the same two stations the annual means of temperature for that year were, maximum 71·5, minimum 56·8, mean 64·1 at Casal Lia, and 69·9, 53·7 and 61·8 respectively at Naxaro, a big difference if the total area of the archipelago is taken into consideration.

The differences in the upper facial height may be, and probably are, associated 141
partly with the respiratory (including as it does the nasal height) and partly with the masticatory apparatus, and the same is true of the total facial height, which includes both the two last-mentioned factors. It is interesting to note that differences in the total facial height are always associated with differences in the bizygomatic breadth; differences in the upper facial, with differences in the nasal height. The converse, though true in the former case, is not true in the latter. The differences in the bigonial breadth accompany differences in the minimum frontal diameter on the two occasions where they occur, but the excessive minimum frontal diameter at Zurrico is not associated with any irregularity of the bigonial breadth. The differences in the external orbital breadth do not appear to have any particular associations.

Although no doubt it is possible that these local differences may be largely due to heredity as opposed to environment, it would seem not unlikely that the present rather insignificant differences, taken as a whole, may be ascribed to small variations in climatic and economic conditions, to most of which the people have been subjected for many generations.

The differences between the sexes in head form is difficult to estimate. Obviously we cannot compare the absolute measurements, because the female is built on a different scale from the male, and to reduce them to similar proportions would be to abandon certain fundamental anatomical principles. There remain, however, a comparison of the variations and the indices. The former do not present great differences. The nasal height and the external orbital breadth of the female are appreciably more variable. The bizygomatic breadth of the male has a significantly wider dispersion. It is possible that in the latter case the greater muscular development of the male may account for this variation. The exact significance of the striking differences between the indices is not apparent.

Pigmentation.

Pigmentation figures bring out a certain contrast already suggested by measure- 142
ments, and fail to confirm others. The figures are, however, rather unsatisfactory, and it was not found practicable to make more than three divisions in hair or eye

142 colour, without risk of considerable confusion, where work had necessarily to be done, sometimes under ideal conditions, sometimes in glaring sunlight, and sometimes in the not too well-lighted interior of a Maltese house. Both in hair and eye colour Zurrico stands by itself. In that village one man in three has black hair, and two have brown. In the rest of Malta and Gozo the reverse is true. About 1 per cent. fair-haired people are found alike in Zurrico and elsewhere. In Zurrico two men out of three have brown eyes and there are slight odds in favour of the third man having hazel eyes rather than blue. In Siggewe, where black hair is slightly less common than elsewhere, out of ten men, five tend to have brown eyes, four hazel, and one blue. Elsewhere in Malta blue eyes are about twice as common, that is to say out 103 of ten men five have brown eyes, three hazel, and two blue. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the name Zurrico, connected with the root *azrak*, means blue, and I was told that the village was so called because blue eyes were more common there than elsewhere.

In Gozo, although the hair colour does not differ materially from that of Malta, in round numbers, out of ten men seven have brown eyes, two hazel, and one blue.

In Malta the hair colour of the women does not differ to any great extent from that of the men, although fair-haired women appear to be slightly more uncommon. Brown eyes, however, seem to be much commoner, and hazel and blue eyes about half as common. With so small a series, however, it is possible that this result is merely illusory.

Comparative material from the Eastern Mediterranean shows very great discrepancy with these data, especially in relation to the number of blue eyes, which are nearly twice as common in Malta as they are in Cyprus, and more than three times as common as they are in Crete. The number of fair-haired persons in Malta is small, smaller even than in Cyprus, whereas generally speaking fair-haired people, though always remarkable and much admired, are not uncommon in Greek lands, not only among gods and goddesses, but even among the ordinary folk.

It would be interesting to correlate these differences in pigmentation with differences in climatic conditions. Up to the present, however, we have not succeeded in finding any generalization which would fit the figures, and the matter must remain *sub judice* until further data is available.

141 We have so far been dealing with hair colour and eye colour separately. By 142 the use of Parsons' index (36) it is possible to take both into consideration. Parsons takes the percentage of dark brown and black hair, adds the percentage of dark eyes, and divides the result by two. This final result he terms his colour index. Where the eyes have been graded in three shades, *e.g.* blue, neutral, and brown, or some similar classification, he includes half the neutral group as well as the brown eyes under the heading dark. As our eye colour was graded in this way we have

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

followed the above procedure. Parsons' indices for our material will then be:—

	♂	♀
Urban Districts	67·4	72·3
Rural Districts	67·7	73·1
Siggewe	66·3	—
Zurrico..	54·2	—
Malta	67·5	74·9
Gozo	74·5	77·5

For comparative purposes we have worked out the Index of Pigmentation for some places in the Eastern Mediterranean. The values, which refer only to males, are as follows: Albania 53·3, Cyprus 55·8, Crete 78·0, Meligala 61·1, Mani 66·6.[1]

Parsons, in dealing with the British Isles, draws attention to the following facts. First that the males show greater variation; secondly that the females are darker than the males, in the British Isles the difference amounting to about 2 degrees; and thirdly, that where the men are fairest the discrepancy between the two series is greatest, while where the men are very dark, the discrepancy is quite small. These conclusions are strikingly confirmed by our Mediterranean figures. We have not included any very small series from Malta, and, therefore, we do not get some of the irregularities which Parsons attributes to small numbers.

The difference between Zurrico and the rest of Malta is very striking. It will be noticed that it is even greater than that between Malta and Gozo, and shows the Zurrico men to be markedly fairer, with the comparatively low index of 54·2. The urban districts, rural districts, and Siggewe all have an index that does not differ by more than the probable error. Gozo, both among the males and the females, has a higher index, *i.e.* a greater percentage of "darkness." The exact significance of these figures is at the present stage of our understanding of pigmentation in the Mediterranean area not easy to unravel. If we take comparative data it will be seen that the Cretans are considerably darker. This may be reasonably interpreted as suggesting a higher percentage of Mediterranean admixture. The Albanians appear to belong to a very different racial stock. As far as measurements go there is, on the whole, not very much resemblance between the people of Zurrico and those of Cyprus, although the appearance of both would suggest that they belong to the same racial stock. The resemblance between the Maniots and the Maltese, as far as pigmentation index is concerned, is very striking. When other measurements are considered, some resemblances appear, but there are certain very great differences. The Maltese and the Maniots are closely alike, not only in the proportions of the cranium, as represented by the cephalic index, but also in the absolute measurements of head length and head breadth. The facial and nasal measurements are, however,

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[1] For absolute values see p. 103 of reference 28.

141 142 extremely different, due possibly to differences in environmental conditions or dietary habits.[1]

[144] Pigmentation figures, then, seem to support a conclusion which had already been arrived at on other grounds, namely, the relationship between the Maltese and the mixed Armenoid population of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Coefficients of Correlation.

141 128 The coefficients of correlation which have been worked out refer only to those figures which are utilized for indices. Unfortunately some of the series are too small for this treatment. For the most part the coefficients of correlation do not suggest, in the four series of characters which were selected, any great differences. There is a significant difference between the correlation of the total facial height and the bizygomatic breadth in the male and female, a condition which is probably due to the more developed masticatory apparatus of the male. The difference between the correlations of head length and head breadth between the urban districts and Siggewe is of interest when we compare the means and the coefficients of variation of those measurements absolutely, and confirms to a certain extent our hypothesis that Siggewe possibly represents a local deviation from the normal Maltese type. Differences between the urban district females and the rural district females are found in four characters (total facial height, bizygomatic breadth, nasal height and nasal breadth) suggesting conditions one of which can be referred to food and the other to climate, but the absence of confirmatory evidence in the males makes it necessary to withhold any conclusions until further correlations have been worked out.

Looking at the figures generally, the correlated characters show remarkably little correlation, and the absence of real differences between the various groups goes far to suggest that the differences between the various parts of the archipelago are not in any way of fundamental importance.

The coefficients of correlation on the skulls are unsatisfactory, owing to the paucity of material. The extremely small correlation between glabello-occipital length and greatest breadth from the Chapel of Bones is of an unusual character. It can hardly be illusory when worked out on so large a series, but the explanation is not apparent from our present data.

VII.—RACIAL PROBLEMS.

144 The racial problems connected with Malta are extremely difficult to deal with, because they raise certain social questions. Historically the matter may be summarized briefly as follows.

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[1] Both Meligala and Mani are situated in the Peloponnese.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

The megalith builders, who may be conveniently termed "Malta first race" 144 (culturally "Local Neolithic"), are certainly akin to the early, and, indeed, present 141 inhabitants of North Africa and to those of Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Spain, and belong to what is usually known as the Mediterranean race, differing from many skulls of this type in having a shorter nasal aperture, and therefore a bigger nasal index.

The inhabitants of the Barbary coast have been discussed at great length by Bertholon and Chantre (41). A series of 124 skulls (unfortunately the sexes have been mixed) from Carthage, dating from the sixth to the third century, B.C., shows a close resemblance to the "Neolithic" skulls found in the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni. The low standard deviations, even when the sexes are mixed, *e.g.* cephalic index, mean 74·73 and 2·94 σ[1] suggest the absence of any Armenoid blood in Carthage, and a small series (35) of modern crania (♂ + ♀) from Tunis show almost identical figures (*e.g.* cephalic index mean 74·31 and 2·96σ).

In Sicily from Eneolithic times onward the population is of the same type. Even in a series of two hundred modern Sicilian skulls, Giuffrida Ruggeri found only 5 ♂ and 2 ♀ of the Eurasiatic form, one was doubtful. Apart from the small series from Anghelu Reju, the modern inhabitants of Sardinia and Corsica appear to belong to this type (46).

It is remarkable that wherever we find Mediterranean man he shows little variation, suggesting a primitive stock which has maintained itself in certain areas.

The "Neolithic" Maltese (Malta first race) can have differed but little from our own Neolithic ancestors, except in the form of the nasal aperture. The modern people differ from the modern British type in head form, in stature, and in the general build of the skeleton. It would seem as though these differences were of essential importance. The Maltese appear to be a mixture of a people who certainly form a part of the population of the British Isles, but there is a second element that is not akin. It is noticeable that, as would appear from recent work, the Neolithic element seems not to have been entirely swamped in the British Isles; on the other hand we have shown that in spite of continuous influx of Mediterranean blood, it has not been able to dominate the population in Malta. Possibly the geographical conditions of the island are particularly favourable to the continuance of the race which has since developed.

These megalith builders are succeeded by a different type of folk, exhibiting 144 Armenoid characteristics (Malta second race). The most interesting question of 174 Maltese anthropology is, where did these late arrivals come from, and when did they come to Malta. Early skulls are unfortunately missing at present in the Mediterranean area. The immigrants are not racially allied to the people of Italy, Sicily, or the Barbary coast; they differ fundamentally from what appears to be the type

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[1] σ is used throughout this paper as a symbol for "standard deviation."

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some definite section of the population. On the one hand we have on the mainland 144
a series of settlers among a large indigenous population, and on the other hand we 174
have a further band of settlers, on a small island, on which it is quite possible events
occurred which would have been impossible amidst a large population.

We have not at present sufficient statistical material in early times to enable us to judge how far there has been a change in the standard deviations since the coming of the second race, which would enable us to say whether there ever was a time in Malta when a considerable mixing of races was taking place; and it must always be remembered that the second race may have been, at least in origin, considerably intermixed with Mediterranean blood before they ever ventured as far as Malta.

It cannot be denied that the second race has altered since its arrival in Malta; 144
but just as in most parts of the Mediterranean, even at comparatively short distances apart, we find local divergences, it would hardly be surprising that we should also find differences in the time series, namely, that people of one age should show a slight physical difference from those of the other. The internal differences, however, in Malta appear to be but insignificant when compared with the differences between the Maltese and the other inhabitants of the Mediterranean, and it seems justifiable —at least for purposes of intensive study—to regard them as a Maltese sub-race.

Summing up their characters, they are distinctly long-headed, though hardly 141 ●
so long-headed as the Cretans, but nearly 10 mm. longer than the Cypriots; they 144
are broad-headed, having about the same head breadth as the Cretans, and a greater breadth than the Cypriots. The change since ancient times has operated both in shortening the length and increasing the breadth, the height of the cranium having remained constant. The face is much broader than in ancient times; the orbits are higher and narrower: the nose longer and broader, so that the nasal index is not appreciably altered.

The Mediæval skulls in the Chapel of Bones presented characteristics similar to those of the skulls in the modern ossuaries. Although some variation occurred, as might be expected in a series which might contain a number of foreigners, the standard deviations are sufficiently small to suggest that on the whole the skulls are those of adult males of a normal population. The standard deviations are, indeed, smaller than those of the series from the modern ossuary. Both series, from the Mediæval Chapel of Bones, and from the modern ossuary, are large in size—that is to say, absolutely long, high, and broad; in the majority, the brow ridges are very well developed, and there are other indications of considerable muscularity. It is possible that some of the skulls, on the sex of which it was not possible to express an opinion, may be males of Mediterranean origin, as these latter appear as a general rule to be smaller. A few appeared to be Negroid.

Although skulls which presented Negroid characters were not uncommon from 144
Saracenic—possibly earlier, and certainly later—graves, the Negro element in the

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

Table I.—Skull Measurements.

	Malta Local Neolithic, Hypogæum, Hal Saflieni.		Romano-Maltese.				Mediæval, Chapel of Bones.			
	♂		♂		♀		♂			
Character.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
O.O.L.	9	186·38	18	183·33	4	172·97	466	178·20 ±0·20	6·39 ±0·14	3·59 ±0·08
G.O.L.	9	188·34	18	186·08	4	173·25	467	180·54 ±0·20	6·34 ±0·14	3·51 ±0·11
G.B.	10	133·45	18	139·53	5	139·80	468	139·04 ±0·15	4·77 ±0·11	3·43 ±0·07
M.F.D.	9	97·06	18	96·14	5	94·00	467	96·56 ±0·16	5·00 ±0·11	5·18 ±0·11
Biz. B.	4	118·00	6	131·50	—	—	263	132·28 ±0·18	4·28 ±0·13	3·24 ±0·10
N.H.	7	49·29	18	50·78	4	46·50	461	52·08 ±0·08	2·51 ±0·06	4·82 ±0·11
N.B.	6	22·50	17	24·44	4	23·25	452	24·37 ±0·06	1·93 ±0·04	7·92 ±0·18
B.B.H.	4	133·87	18	134·31	1	130·00	461	135·62 ±0·16	4·97 ±0·11	3·66 ±0·08
B.N.L.	4	101·37	18	99·72	2	94·00	450	101·13 ±0·13	3·99 ±0·09	3·95 ±0·09
B.A.L.	4	95·12	17	95·30	—	—	392	96·27 ±0·15	4·42 ±0·11	4·59 ±0·11
U.F.H.	6	65·00	18	65·11	2	67·00	437	68·10 ±0·14	4·38 ±0·10	6·43 ±0·15
F.B.	6	86·67	11	92·81	3	91·00	420	94·62 ±0·18	5·51 ±0·13	5·82 ±0·14
O.B.L.	6	41·83	16	39·50	4	37·50	449	40·65 ±0·06	2·03 ±0·05	4·99 ±0·11
O.B.R.	6	41·25	15	39·80	3	36·77	458	41·17 ±0·06	2·05 ±0·05	4·98 ±0·11
O.H.L.	6	31·58	15	33·20	4	32·12	451	33·56 ±0·07	2·10 ±0·05	6·26 ±0·14
O.H.R.	6	31·67	14	32·65	3	30·38	456	33·34 ±0·07	2·12 ±0·05	6·36 ±0·14
P.L.	7	50·63	18	50·19	4	43·00	443	49·36 ±0·11	3·51 ±0·08	7·11 ±0·16
P.B.	8	32·25	16	36·75	3	34·66	447	36·19 ±0·10	3·14 ±0·07	8·66 ±0·20
C.I.	9	71·44	17	75·29	4	80·75	463	77·09 ±0·11	3·63 ±0·08	4·71 ±0·10
V.I.	4	71·24	16	72·25	—	—	461	75·17 ±0·11	3·52 ±0·08	4·68 ±0·09
U.F.I.	4	82·00	9	48·44	—	—	247	51·83 ±0·15	3·45 ±0·10	6·65 ±0·20
O.I.L.	6	76·00	15	83·67	—	—	451	82·27 ±0·19	5·95 ±0·13	7·23 ±0·16
O.I.R.	6	76·92	12	84·33	—	—	462	81·10 ±0·19	6·04 ±0·13	7·45 ±0·17
N.I.	6	47·17	17	48·18	4	50·25	448	46·94 ±0·13	4·14 ±0·09	8·82 ±0·20

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3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE I.—SKULL MEASUREMENTS—*continued.*

	Malta Local Neolithic, Hypogæum, Hal Saflieni.		Bronze Age.		Romano-Maltese.		Mediæval, Chapel of Bones.			
	♂		♂		♂ + ♀		♂			
Character.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
Cor.H.L.	11	50·32	2	54·50	7	60·00	317	67·19 ±0·23	5·94 ±0·16	8·85 ±0·24
Cor.H.R.							325	67·41 ±0·22	5·85 ±0·15	8·68 ±0·23
Con.H.L.	11	49·55	3	41·17	13	55·00	305	60·15 ±0·27	7·05 ±0·19	11·72 ±0·32
Con.H.R.							304	60·99 ±0·29	7·53 ±0·21	12·35 ±0·34
Sig.H.L.	13	42·65	3	36·83	10	47·75	340	49·51 ±0·21	5·62 ±0·15	11·35 ±0·30
Sig.H.R.							345	50·31 ±0·20	5·44 ±0·14	10·81 ±0·28
Symph.H.	7	30·07	5	28·10	11	30·00	334	30·30 ±0·14	3·74 ±0·10	12·34 ±0·33
Ramus R.							337	33·96 ±0·11	3·04 ±0·08	8·95 ±0·23
Ramus L.	16	34·57	3	34·00	—	—	345	33·73 ±0·11	3·10 ±0·08	9·20 ±0·24
Con.-Sym.L.	2	103·75	—	—	9	101·44	344	105·35 ±0·24	6·51 ±0·17	6·18 ±0·16
Bigon.B.	—	—	—	—	7	93·93	—	—	—	—
Bicond.B.	—	—	—	—	3	115·83	284	118·31 ±0·28	6·99 ±0·20	5·92 ±0·17
M.I.	—	—	—	—	3	89·97	283	88·96 ±0·28	6·91 ±0·20	7·76 ±0·22

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE I.—SKULL MEASUREMENTS—*continued.*

	Valletta Modern. ♂				Valletta Modern. ♀	
Character.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.	No.	Mean.
O.O.L.	30	176·43 ±0·72	5·84 ±0·51	3·31 ±0·28	9	164·00
G.O.L.	41	178·61 ±0·57	5·39 ±0·40	3·02 ±0·23	12	166·54
G.B.	42	141·42 ±0·60	5·79 ±0·43	4·10 ±0·30	12	137·63
M.F.D.	42	96·76 ±0·50	4·84 ±0·36	5·00 ±0·37	12	92·92
Biz.B.	38	130·22 ±0·54	4·90 ±0·38	3·76 ±0·29	11	124·41
N.H.	42	51·68 ±0·38	3·62 ±0·27	7·00 ±0·52	11	48·14
N.B.	42	23·50 ±0·17	1·63 ±0·12	6·94 ±0·51	11	24·82
B.B.H.	41	133·50 ±0·65	6·17 ±0·46	4·63 ±0·35	12	124·42
B.N.L.	41	100·02 ±0·60	5·70 ±0·42	5·70 ±0·43	12	94·42
B.A.L.	41	94·50 ±0·52	4·92 ±0·37	5·20 ±0·39	11	89·68
U.F.H.	42	66·58 ±0·43	4·16 ±0·31	6·24 ±0·46	12	60·17
F.B.	41	92·74 ±0·49	4·61 ±0·34	4·97 ±0·37	12	89·75
O.B.L.	31	39·13 ±0·21	1·75 ±0·15	4·46 ±0·38	8	38·66
O.B.R.	29	38·47 ±0·28	2·26 ±0·20	5·88 ±0·52	8	38·00
O.H.L.	31	32·66 ±0·30	3·20 ±0·27	9·81 ±0·85	8	35·25
O.H.R.	30	32·42 ±0·37	3·04 ±0·26	9·38 ±0·82	8	33·25
P.L.	30	48·03 ±0·42	3·43 ±0·30	7·19 ±0·63	8	45·50
P.B.	30	35·23 ±0·33	2·67 ±0·23	7·59 ±0·66	6	37·08
C.I.	41	79·01 ±0·30	3·67 ±0·27	4·64 ±0·35	12	82·71
V.I.	40	74·55 ±0·36	3·36 ±0·25	4·51 ±0·34	12	75·08
U.F.I.	38	50·92 ±0·38	3·43 ±0·27	6·74 ±0·52	11	48·55
O.I.L.	31	83·80 ±0·75	7·52 ±0·64	8·96 ±0·77	8	91·25
O.I.R.	29	85·01 ±0·96	7·82 ±0·69	9·20 ±0·82	8	88·75
N.I.	42	45·02 ±0·36	3·67 ±0·27	8·05 ±0·60	11	51·64
Cor.H.L.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cor.H.R. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Con.H.L. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Con.H.R. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sig.H.L.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sig.H.R.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Symph.H. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ramus R. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ramus L. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Con.-Sym.L. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bigon.B.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bicond.B. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
M.I.	—	—	—	—	—	—

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

Table II.—Adult ♂.

	Malta.				Gozo.			
Character.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
Stature	483	1651·18 ± 1·93	62·96 ± 1·37	3·81 ± 0·08	56	1657·86 ± 6·91	76·68 ± 4·89	4·63 ± 0·30
Sit.Ht.	342	869·43 ± 1·40	38·48 ± 1·00	4·43 ± 0·11	53	869·05 ± 3·66	39·48 ± 2·50	4·54 ± 0·30
G.O.L.	561	188·70 ± 0·19	6·63 ± 0·13	3·51 ± 0·07	82	185·38 ± 0·49	6·55 ± 0·34	3·53 ± 0·19
G.H.B.	562	152·29 ± 0·17	5·80 ± 0·12	3·81 ± 0·08	82	151·79 ± 0·44	5·91 ± 0·31	3·89 ± 0·21
M.F.D.	561	110·23 ± 0·16	5·66 ± 0·11	5·13 ± 0·10	82	108·18 ± 0·48	6·46 ± 0·34	5·97 ± 0·32
Biz.B.	560	139·14 ± 0·17	5·95 ± 0·12	4·28 ± 0·09	82	139·11 ± 0·46	6·12 ± 0·32	4·40 ± 0·23
Ext.Orb.B.	560	100·01 ± 0·15	5·42 ± 0·11	5·42 ± 0·11	82	96·91 ± 0·49	6·50 ± 0·35	6·80 ± 0·36
Big.B.	562	109·31 ± 0·19	6·53 ± 0·13	5·98 ± 0·12	82	107·21 ± 0·49	6·62 ± 0·35	6·17 ± 0·33
U.F.H.	553	64·82 ± 0·14	4·80 ± 0·10	7·41 ± 0·15	82	64·04 ± 0·35	4·66 ± 0·25	7·28 ± 0·39
T.F.H.	534	115·98 ± 0·21	7·40 ± 0·15	6·38 ± 0·13	77	114·94 ± 0·43	5·60 ± 0·30	4·87 ± 0·27
N.H.	560	48·79 ± 0·12	4·32 ± 0·09	8·85 ± 0·18	83	50·86 ± 0·36	4·83 ± 0·25	9·50 ± 0·50
N.B.	560	36·28 ± 0·09	3·24 ± 0·07	8·93 ± 0·18	83	37·05 ± 0·24	3·23 ± 0·17	8·72 ± 0·46
Int.Oc.B.	559	32·33 ± 0·09	3·15 ± 0·06	9·73 ± 0·20	—	—	—	—
C.I.	561	80·71 ± 0·10	3·44 ± 0·07	4·26 ± 0·09	81	82·00 ± 0·25	3·33 ± 0·18	4·06 ± 0·22
U.F.I.	554	46·59 ± 0·11	3·75 ± 0·08	8·04 ± 0·16	81	46·07 ± 0·23	3·01 ± 0·16	6·33 ± 0·35
T.F.I.	552	83·52 ± 0·15	5·38 ± 0·11	6·44 ± 0·13	76	82·54 ± 0·35	4·58 ± 0·25	5·55 ± 0·30
N.I.	559	75·26 ± 0·25	8·89 ± 0·18	11·81 ± 0·24	83	73·45 ± 0·62	8·48 ± 0·44	11·55 ± 0·61

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE II.—ADULT ♂—*continued.*

Character.	Urban Districts.				Rural Districts.			
	No.	Mean.	σ	V.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
Stature	175	1647·77 ±3·39	70·40 ±2·54	4·27 ±0·15	151	1647·75 ±3·65	66·50 ±2·58	4·04 ±0·16
Sit.Ht.	166	867·90 ±2·13	40·72 ±1·51	4·69 ±0·17	122	877·91 ±2·22	36·40 ±1·57	4·15 ±0·18
G.O.L.	237	188·86 ±0·29	6·60 ±0·20	3·49 ±0·11	157	188·30 ±0·36	6·68 ±0·25	3·55 ±0·14
G.H.B.	238	152·92 ±0·23	5·23 ±0·16	3·42 ±0·11	157	152·63 ±0·32	6·01 ±0·23	3·93 ±0·15
M.F.D.	238	110·77 ±0·24	5·47 ±0·17	4·94 ±0·15	156	110·91 ±0·33	6·15 ±0·24	5·55 ±0·21
Biz.B.	236	139·33 ±0·25	5·77 ±0·18	4·14 ±0·13	157	139·97 ±0·32	5·94 ±0·23	4·24 ±0·16
Ext.Orb.B.	236	99·87 ±0·23	5·18 ±0·16	5·18 ±0·16	157	99·33 ±0·28	5·22 ±0·20	5·26 ±0·20
Big.B.	234	110·02 ±0·30	6·77 ±0·21	6·15 ±0·19	157	110·16 ±0·34	6·28 ±0·24	5·70 ±0·22
U.F.H.	232	65·41 ±0·23	5·23 ±0·16	8·00 ±0·25	156	65·01 ±0·24	4·39 ±0·17	6·75 ±0·26
T.F.H.	232	116·66 ±0·34	7·72 ±0·24	6·62 ±0·21	155	116·75 ±0·39	7·18 ±0·28	6·15 ±0·24
N.H.	236	49·32 ±0·19	4·28 ±0·13	8·67 ±0·27	157	48·34 ±0·21	3·90 ±0·15	8·08 ±0·31
N.B.	237	36·39 ±0·14	3·29 ±0·10	9·01 ±0·28	157	36·15 ±0·17	3·14 ±0·12	8·70 ±0·33
Int.Oc.B.	236	32·93 ±0·14	3·27 ±0·10	9·94 ±0·31	157	32·62 ±0·15	2·83 ±0·11	8·69 ±0·33
C.I.	237	80·97 ±0·13	3·51 ±0·11	4·33 ±0·13	157	81·20 ±0·19	3·58 ±0·14	4·41 ±0·17
U.F.I.	231	46·00 ±0·17	3·78 ±0·12	8·22 ±0·26	156	46·26 ±0·18	3·40 ±0·13	7·36 ±0·28
T.F.I.	230	83·70 ±0·24	5·43 ±0·17	6·49 ±0·20	155	83·72 ±0·27	5·05 ±0·19	6·04 ±0·23
N.I.	236	73·03 ±0·39	8·85 ±0·27	12·11 ±0·38	157	75·20 ±0·47	8·64 ±0·33	11·48 ±0·44

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Table II.—Adult ♂—*continued.*

Character.	Siggewe. No.	Siggewe. Mean.	Siggewe. σ	Siggewe. V.	Zurrico. No.	Zurrico. Mean.	Zurrico. σ	Zurrico. V.
Stature	74	1655·41 ±4·39	55·94 ±	3·38 ±0·19	83	1660·85 ±3·41	46·04 ±2·41	2·77 ±0·15
Sit.Ht.	—	—	—	—	54	860·00 ±2·95	32·18 ±2·09	3·74 ±0·24
G.O.L.	80	189·08 ±0·48	6·33 ±0·34	3·35 ±0·18	87	188·83 ±0·47	6·51 ±0·33	3·45 ±0·18
G.H.B.	80	152·17 ±0·42	5·59 ±0·30	3·67 ±0·20	87	150·30 ±0·39	5·38 ±0·28	3·58 ±0·18
M.F.D.	80	107·45 ±0·41	5·49 ±0·29	5·11 ±0·27	87	110·21 ±0·29	3·97 ±0·20	3·62 ±0·19
Biz.B.	80	137·98 ±0·44	5·81 ±0·31	4·21 ±0·22	87	137·68 ±0·44	6·15 ±0·31	4·47 ±0·23
Ext.Orb.B.	80	99·15 ±0·41	5·38 ±0·29	5·43 ±0·29	87	101·16 ±0·47	6·45 ±0·33	6·38 ±0·33
Big.B.	80	108·17 ±0·35	6·52 ±0·40	6·03 ±0·38	87	108·90 ±0·41	5·72 ±0·29	5·25 ±0·27
U.F.H.	80	64·30 ±0·36	4·71 ±0·25	7·33 ±0·39	87	63·18 ±0·31	4·22 ±0·22	6·68 ±0·34
T.F.H.	80	114·40 ±0·57	7·50 ±0·40	6·56 ±0·35	87	114·19 ±0·46	6·31 ±0·32	5·52 ±0·28
N.H.	80	49·05 ±0·31	4·09 ±0·22	8·34 ±0·45	87	46·55 ±0·35	4·82 ±0·25	10·36 ±0·54
N.B.	79	37·56 ±0·24	3·13 ±0·17	8·33 ±0·45	87	35·05 ±0·21	2·89 ±0·15	8·24 ±0·42
Int.Oc.B.	79	30·91 ±0·27	3·51 ±0·19	11·47 ±0·62	87	31·29 ±0·18	2·51 ±0·13	8·02 ±0·41
C.I.	80	80·69 ±0·22	2·95 ±0·16	3·66 ±0·20	87	79·78 ±0·25	3·51 ±0·18	4·40 ±0·23
U.F.I.	80	46·61 ±0·27	3·63 ±0·19	7·79 ±0·42	87	45·92 ±0·24	3·34 ±0·17	7·27 ±0·37
T.F.I.	80	82·95 ±0·45	5·96 ±0·32	7·19 ±0·39	87	83·03 ±0·36	5·00 ±0·26	6·02 ±0·31
N.I.	79	77·47 ±0·63	8·26 ±0·44	10·66 ±0·58	87	75·92 ±0·68	9·36 ±0·48	12·33 ±0·64

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Table III.—Adult ♀.

	Malta.				Gozo.			
Character.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
Stature	220	1506·05 ±2·77	61·02 ±1·96	4·05 ±0·13	49	1518·57 ±6·07	62·96 ±4·29	4·15 ±0·27
Sit.Ht.	182	813·02 ±2·39	47·94 ±1·69	5·90 ±0·21	30	803·50 ±5·42	44·03 ±3·83	5·48 ±0·48
G.O.L.	330	177·40 ±0·23	6·11 ±0·16	3·44 ±0·09	51	176·95 ±0·50	6·20 ±0·41	3·50 ±0·23
G.H.B.	329	144·62 ±0·20	5·41 ±0·14	3·74 ±0·10	51	144·47 ±0·36	3·84 ±0·26	2·66 ±0·18
M.F.D.	326	102·14 ±0·20	5·30 ±0·14	5·19 ±0·14	51	101·75 ±0·44	4·70 ±0·31	4·62 ±0·31
Biz.B.	327	127·15 ±0·18	4·92 ±0·13	3·87 ±0·10	51	125·27 ±0·42	4·46 ±0·30	3·45 ±0·23
Ext.Orb.B.	328	92·04 ±0·29	7·90 ±0·21	8·59 ±0·23	51	88·58 ±0·61	6·44 ±0·43	7·27 ±0·49
Big.B.	326	98·14 ±0·20	5·40 ±0·14	5·50 ±0·15	51	97·47 ±0·42	4·34 ±0·29	4·45 ±0·30
U.F.H.	326	62·30 ±0·22	4·80 ±0·15	7·70 ±0·20	51	63·32 ±0·46	4·92 ±0·33	7·77 ±0·52
T.F.H.	304	106·77 ±0·25	6·55 ±0·18	6·14 ±0·17	47	108·27 ±0·55	5·61 ±0·39	5·18 ±0·36
N.H.	330	49·32 ±0·18	4·85 ±0·13	9·83 ±0·26	51	50·45 ±0·38	4·05 ±0·27	8·03 ±0·54
N.B.	326	32·62 ±0·11	2·95 ±0·08	9·03 ±0·24	51	33·43 ±0·33	3·45 ±0·23	10·32 ±0·70
Int.Oc.B.	325	27·85 ±0·11	3·07 ±0·08	11·03 ±0·30	51	26·39 ±0·25	2·68 ±0·18	10·16 ±0·69
C.I.	328	81·55 ±0·12	3·34 ±0·09	4·10 ±0·11	51	82·37 ±0·32	3·36 ±0·22	4·08 ±0·27
U.F.I.	329	49·08 ±0·15	4·05 ±0·11	8·26 ±0·22	51	49·52 ±0·41	4·30 ±0·29	8·68 ±0·58
T.F.I.	303	84·25 ±0·23	5·91 ±0·16	7·02 ±0·19	47	84·24 ±0·47	4·82 ±0·34	5·72 ±0·40
N.I.	325	66·76 ±0·33	8·81 ±0·23	13·21 ±0·36	51	66·60 ±0·77	8·14 ±0·54	1·22 ±0·83

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE III.—ADULT ♀—*continued.*

	Urban Districts.				Rural Districts.			
Character.	**No.**	**Mean.**	**σ**	**V.**	**No.**	**Mean.**	**σ**	**V.**
Stature	111	1509·66 ±3·92	61·24 ±2·77	4·06 ±0·18	99	1503·03 ±4·37	64·41 ±3·09	4·29 ±0·21
Sit.Ht.	108	804·25 ±2·42	37·33 ±1·71	4·64 ±0·21	74	828·58 ±3·78	48·22 ±2·67	5·82 ±0·32
G.O.L.	184	177·29 ±0·30	6·10 ±0·21	3·44 ±0·12	146	177·49 ±0·34	6·03 ±0·24	3·40 ±0·14
G.H.B.	183	145·09 ±0·27	5·49 ±0·19	3·78 ±0·13	146	144·03 ±0·29	5·23 ±0·21	3·64 ±0·14
M.F.D.	182	102·36 ±0·26	5·14 ±0·18	5·02 ±0·18	144	101·83 ±0·31	5·50 ±0·22	5·40 ±0·22
Biz.B.	183	127·82 ±0·25	4·99 ±0·18	3·91 ±0·14	144	126·38 ±0·26	4·61 ±0·18	3·65 ±0·14
Ext.Orb.B.	183	93·82 ±0·39	7·83 ±0·28	8·35 ±0·30	145	89·83 ±0·41	7·34 ±0·29	8·12 ±0·32
Big.B.	184	98·64 ±0·27	5·44 ±0·19	5·52 ±0·19	142	97·50 ±0·31	5·45 ±0·22	5·59 ±0·22
U.F.H.	182	61·51 ±0·23	4·50 ±0·16	7·31 ±0·26	144	62·89 ±0·27	4·86 ±0·19	7·73 ±0·31
T.F.H.	168	106·21 ±0·36	6·86 ±0·25	6·46 ±0·24	136	107·51 ±0·34	5·81 ±0·24	5·40 ±0·22
N.H.	184	48·58 ±0·24	4·81 ±0·17	9·91 ±0·35	146	50·07 ±0·27	4·76 ±0·19	9·50 ±0·38
N.B.	183	32·17 ±0·15	3·02 ±0·11	9·38 ±0·33	143	32·72 ±0·16	2·82 ±0·11	8·60 ±0·35
Int.Oc.B.	182	27·96 ±0·17	3·31 ±0·12	11·98 ±0·48	143	27·73 ±0·17	2·98 ±0·12	10·74 ±0·43
C.I.	183	81·83 ±0·17	3·32 ±0·12	4·05 ±0·14	146	81·16 ±0·18	3·25 ±0·13	4·00 ±0·16
U.F.I.	184	48·54 ±0·20	3·97 ±0·14	8·19 ±0·29	145	49·96 ±0·24	4·28 ±0·17	8·57 ±0·34
T.F.I.	168	83·33 ±0·30	5·84 ±0·21	7·01 ±0·26	135	85·24 ±0·34	5·88 ±0·24	6·90 ±0·28
N.I.	183	67·36 ±0·42	8·40 ±0·30	12·48 ±0·45	142	65·96 ±0·52	9·16 ±0·37	13·89 ±0·57

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE IV.—SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES. CRANIA.

Mediæval Chapel of Bones and Modern Valletta.

Character.	Means.		Variations.	
	Δ_{c-v}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	$V_v - V_c$	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
O.O.L.	—	—	—	—
G.O.L.	1·93 ±0·63	3·06	—	—
G.B.	—	—	—	—
M.F.D.	—	—	—	—
Biz.B.	2·06 ±0·58	3·56	—	—
N.H.	—	—	2·18 ±0·53	4·10
N.B.	0·87 ±0·18	4·85	—	—
B.B.H.	2·12 ±0·45	6·69	—	—
B.N.	—	—	1·75 ±0·44	3·98
B.A.	1·68 ±0·54	3·10	—	—
U.F.H.	1·52 ±0·45	3·30	—	—
F.B.	1·88 ±0·52	3·60	—	—
O.B.L.	1·52 ±0·22	6·96	—	—
O.B.R.	2·70 ±0·29	9·43	—	—
O.H.L.	—	—	3·55 ±0·86	4·13
O.H.R.	—	—	3·02 ±0·83	3·63
P.L.	1·33 ±0·43	3·06	—	—
P.B.	—	—	—	—
C.I.	−1·92 ±0·41	4·73	—	—
V.I.	—	—	—	—
U.F.I.	—	—	—	—
O.I.L.	—	—	—	—
O.I.R.	—	—	—	—
N.I.	1·32 ±0·40	3·29	—	—

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Table V.—Significant Differences. Living.

Means ♂.

Character.	Malta and Gozo.		Urban District and Rural District.		Urban District and Siggewe.		Urban District and Zurrico.		Zurrico and Siggewe.	
	Δ_{g-m}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{c-r}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{c-s}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{c-z}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{z-s}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
G.O.L.	3·32 ±0·53	6·26	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—
H.B.	None.	—	"	—	"	—	2·62 ±0·45	5·79	1·87 ±0·57	3·26
M.F.D.	2·05 ±0·51	4·02	"	—	3·32 ±0·48	6·99	None.	—	−2·76 ±0·50	5·50
Biz.B.	None.	—	"	—	1·55 ±0·51	3·06	1·85 ±0·51	3·66	None.	—
Ext.Orb.B. ...	3·10 ±0·51	6·05	"	—	None.	—	None.	—	2·01 ±0·62	3·22
Big.B.	2·10 ±0·53	3·99	"	—	−1·85 ±0·46	4·01	"	—	None.	—
U.F.H.	None.	—	"	—	None.	—	2·23 ±0·39	5·78	"	—
T.F.H.	"	—	"	—	2·26 ±0·66	3·41	2·47 ±0·57	4·31	"	—
X.H.	2·07 ±0·28	5·45	0·98—0·28	3·46	None.	—	2·77 ±0·40	6·96	2·50 ±0·47	5·35
X.B.	−0·77 ±0·26	3·00	None.	—	1·17 ±0·28	4·21	1·34 ±0·25	5·31	2·51 ±0·32	7·87
Int.Or.B.	?	—	"	—	2·02 ±0·30	6·65	1·64 ±0·23	7·19	None.	—
C.I.	1·29 ±0·27	4·78	None.	—	None.	—	1·19 ±0·31	3·86	None.	—
U.F.I.	None.	—	"	—	"	—	None.	—	"	—
T.F.I.	"	—	"	—	"	—	"	—	"	—
N.I.	"	—	2·17—0·61	3·55	4·44 ±0·74	5·99	"	—	"	—

Significant Differences.

Variations ♂.

Character.	Malta and Gozo.		Urban District and Rural District.		Urban District and Siggewe.		Urban District and Zurrico.		Zurrico and Siggewe.	
	Δ_{g-m}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{c-r}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{c-s}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{c-z}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{z-s}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
M.F.D.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1·93 ±0·28	6·82	1·40 ±0·33	4·51
E.O.B.	1·38 ±0·38	3·67	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
U.F.H.	—	—	1·25 ±0·36	3·47	—	—	—	—	—	—
T.F.H.	1·51 ±0·30	5·04	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
X.H.	—	—	—	—	—	—	2·28 ±0·62	3·66	—	—

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Table V.—Significant Differences. Living—*continued.*

Character.	Means ♀.				Variations.					
	Malta and Gozo.		Urban District and Rural District.		Malta. ♀ and ♂.		Malta and Gozo ♀.		Urban District and Rural District ♀.	
	Δ_{M-G}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{U-R}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	$\Delta_{♂-♀}$	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{M-G}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Δ_{U-R}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
G.O.I.	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—
H.B.	"	—	"	—	"	—	1·08 ± 0·21	5·25	"	—
M.F.D.	"	—	"	—	"	—	None.	—	"	—
Biz.D.	−2·12 ± 0·46	4·64	1·44 ± 0·36	3·99	0·41 ± 0·13	3·15	"	—	"	—
E.O.B.	3·86 ± 0·68	5·12	3·99 ± 0·57	7·05	−3·17 ± 0·26	12·43	"	—	"	—
Biz.B.	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—	1·05 ± 0·34	3·13	"	—
U.F.H.	"	—	−1·38 ± 0·35	3·89	"	—	None.	—	"	—
T.F.H.	"	—	None.	—	"	—	"	—	"	—
X.H.	"	—	−1·49 ± 0·36	4·12	−0·98 ± 0·32	3·10	1·80 ± 0·60	3·00	"	—
X.B.	"	—	None.	—	None.	—	None.	—	"	—
I.O.B.	1·46 ± 0·27	5·35	"	—	(?)	—	"	—	"	—
C.I.	None.	—	None.	—	−0·41 ± 0·12	3·42	None.	—	None	—
U.F.I.	"	—	−1·42 ± 0·31	4·55	None.	—	"	—	"	—
T.F.I.	"	—	1·91 ± 0·45	4·21	"	—	"	—	"	—
X.I.	"	—	None.	—	"	—	"	—	"	—

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TABLE V.—SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES. LIVING—*continued.*

Means ♂ and ♀ (Indices).			Coefficients of Correlation.		
Malta.			Malta.		
Character.	$\Delta_{♂-♀}$	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	Character.	$\Delta_{♂-♀}$	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
			T.F.H. and Biz.B. ...	0·25 ±0·08	5·28
C.I.	−0·84 ±0·16	5·38	Urban and Rural Districts ♀.		
U.F.I.	−2·49 ±0·19	13·39	T.F.H. and Biz.B. ...	0·29 ±0·08	3·74
T.F.I.	—	—	N.H. and N.B.	0·35 ±0·07	4·74
N.I.	−0·85 ±0·13	6·49	Urban Districts and Siggewe ♂.		
			G.O.L. and G.B. ...	−0·24 ±0·07	3·37

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

TABLE VI.—COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION.

Living ♂.

Character.	Malta.	Gozo.	Urban Districts.	Rural Districts.	Siggewe.	Zurrico.
G.O.L. and G.B.	0·325 ±0·025	0·405 ±0·063	0·215 ±0·042	0·310 ±0·048	0·450 ±0·050	0·217 ±0·069
U.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·135 ±0·028	0·308 ±0·068	0·205 ±0·043	0·176 ±0·052	0·175 ±0·073	0·197±0·069
T.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·321 ±0·026	0·287 ±0·071	0·344 ±0·039	0·370 ±0·047	0·164 ±0·073	0·288 ±0·066
N.H. and N.B.	0·111 ±0·028	0·199 ±0·071	0·063 ±0·044	0·065 ±0·054	0·193 ±0·073	0·136 ±0·071

Living ♀.

Character.	Malta.	Gozo.	Urban Districts.	Rural Districts.	Siggewe.	Zurrico.
G.O.L. and G.B.	0·350 ±0·033	0·144 ±0·093	0·375 ±0·043	0·356 ±0·049	—	—
U.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·101 ±0·037	−0·057 ±0·094	0·084 ±0·050	−0·007 ±0·056	—	—
T.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·074 ±0·039	0·168 ±0·096	0·156 ±0·051	−0·130 ±0·057	—	—
N.H. and N.B.	0·021 ±0·037	0·131 ±0·093	0·164 ±0·049	−0·182 ±0·055	—	—

Skulls ♂.

Character.	Mediæval Chapel of Bones.	Modern Valletta.
G.O.L. and G.B.	0·079 ±0·031	0·173 ±0·102
H.L. and B.B.	0·149 ±0·031	0·366 ±0·092
U.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·183 ±0·042	0·163 ±0·106
O.B. & O.H.L.	0·189 ±0·031	0·410 ±0·091
O.B. and O.H.R.	0·154 ±0·031	0·344 ±0·111
N.H. and N.B.	0·107 ±0·032	0·653 ±0·060
C.S. and Bic.L.	0·178 ±0·039	—

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Table VII.—Pigmentation.

Hair Colour.

Hair Colour.	Absolute Figures.									
	♂						♀			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Black	150	99	51	30	330	56	107	102	209	38
Brown	65	44	27	56	192	24	64	38	102	13
Fair	2	1	1	1	5	1	3	—	3	—
Total ...	217	144	79	87	527	81	174	140	314	51

Hair Colour.	Percentages.									
	♂						♀			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Black	69·1	68·8	64·5	34·5	62·6	69·1	61·5	72·8	66·5	74·5
Brown	30·0	30·5	34·2	64·4	36·5	29·7	36·8	27·2	32·5	25·5
Fair	0·9	0·7	1·3	1·1	0·9	1·2	1·7	—	1·0	—
Total ...	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

Eye Colour.

Eye Colour.	Absolute Figures.									
	♂						♀			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Brown	121	82	37	58	298	58	136	109	245	38
Intermediate ...	71	41	34	16	162	15	32	24	56	6
Blue	43	31	8	13	95	8	15	12	27	7
Total ...	235	154	79	87	555	81	183	145	328	51

TABLE VII.—PIGMENTATION—*continued.*

Eye Colour.	Percentages.									
	♂						♂			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Brown	51·5	53·3	46·9	66·6	57·7	71·6	74·3	75·2	74·7	74·5
Intermediate ...	30·2	26·6	43·0	18·4	29·2	18·5	17·5	16·5	17·1	11·8
Blue	18·3	20·1	10·1	15·0	17·1	9·9	8·2	8·3	8·2	13·7
Total ...	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

142
796
292
794

3. Confraternity members resting during procession

[facing p. 48]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 142
291
482
516
666

6. 'Viva San Ġużepp!'

[facing P. 81]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

793
794
212
● 142

JISMA
LILKOM
JISMA LILI

7. Demonstrations of loyalty to the Archbishop

[facing P. 96]

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665

2:Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[facing p. 97]

8. Labour Party supporters cheer Dom Mintoff

1919, 14·18 inches were recorded at Casal Lia, and 19·44 at Naxaro. Unfortunately 141
no comparative humidity data are available, but such a striking difference in rainfall 132
argues that the inhabitants of those two places breathe an atmosphere which differs at least appreciably in moisture. Again, local variations in temperature, if not great, may prove significant. At the same two stations the annual means of temperature for that year were, maximum 71·5, minimum 56·8, mean 64·1 at Casal Lia, and 69·9, 53·7 and 61·8 respectively at Naxaro, a big difference if the total area of the archipelago is taken into consideration.

The differences in the upper facial height may be, and probably are, associated 141
partly with the respiratory (including as it does the nasal height) and partly with the masticatory apparatus, and the same is true of the total facial height, which includes both the two last-mentioned factors. It is interesting to note that differences in the total facial height are always associated with differences in the bizygomatic breadth; differences in the upper facial, with differences in the nasal height. The converse, though true in the former case, is not true in the latter. The differences in the bigonial breadth accompany differences in the minimum frontal diameter on the two occasions where they occur, but the excessive minimum frontal diameter at Zurrico is not associated with any irregularity of the bigonial breadth. The differences in the external orbital breadth do not appear to have any particular associations.

Although no doubt it is possible that these local differences may be largely due to heredity as opposed to environment, it would seem not unlikely that the present rather insignificant differences, taken as a whole, may be ascribed to small variations in climatic and economic conditions, to most of which the people have been subjected for many generations.

The differences between the sexes in head form is difficult to estimate. Obviously we cannot compare the absolute measurements, because the female is built on a different scale from the male, and to reduce them to similar proportions would be to abandon certain fundamental anatomical principles. There remain, however, a comparison of the variations and the indices. The former do not present great differences. The nasal height and the external orbital breadth of the female are appreciably more variable. The bizygomatic breadth of the male has a significantly wider dispersion. It is possible that in the latter case the greater muscular development of the male may account for this variation. The exact significance of the striking differences between the indices is not apparent.

Pigmentation.

Pigmentation figures bring out a certain contrast already suggested by measure- 142
ments, and fail to confirm others. The figures are, however, rather unsatisfactory, and it was not found practicable to make more than three divisions in hair or eye

● 142 colour, without risk of considerable confusion, where work had necessarily to be done, sometimes under ideal conditions, sometimes in glaring sunlight, and sometimes in the not too well-lighted interior of a Maltese house. Both in hair and eye colour Zurrico stands by itself. In that village one man in three has black hair, and two have brown. In the rest of Malta and Gozo the reverse is true. About 1 per cent. fair-haired people are found alike in Zurrico and elsewhere. In Zurrico two men out of three have brown eyes and there are slight odds in favour of the third man having hazel eyes rather than blue. In Siggewe, where black hair is slightly less common than elsewhere, out of ten men, five tend to have brown eyes, four hazel, and one blue. Elsewhere in Malta blue eyes are about twice as common, that is to say out [103] of ten men five have brown eyes, three hazel, and two blue. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the name Zurrico, connected with the root *azrak*, means blue, and I was told that the village was so called because blue eyes were more common there than elsewhere.

In Gozo, although the hair colour does not differ materially from that of Malta, in round numbers, out of ten men seven have brown eyes, two hazel, and one blue.

In Malta the hair colour of the women does not differ to any great extent from that of the men, although fair-haired women appear to be slightly more uncommon. Brown eyes, however, seem to be much commoner, and hazel and blue eyes about half as common. With so small a series, however, it is possible that this result is merely illusory.

Comparative material from the Eastern Mediterranean shows very great discrepancy with these data, especially in relation to the number of blue eyes, which are nearly twice as common in Malta as they are in Cyprus, and more than three times as common as they are in Crete. The number of fair-haired persons in Malta is small, smaller even than in Cyprus, whereas generally speaking fair-haired people, though always remarkable and much admired, are not uncommon in Greek lands, not only among gods and goddesses, but even among the ordinary folk.

It would be interesting to correlate these differences in pigmentation with differences in climatic conditions. Up to the present, however, we have not succeeded in finding any generalization which would fit the figures, and the matter must remain *sub judice* until further data is available.

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142 We have so far been dealing with hair colour and eye colour separately. By the use of Parsons' index (36) it is possible to take both into consideration. Parsons takes the percentage of dark brown and black hair, adds the percentage of dark eyes, and divides the result by two. This final result he terms his colour index. Where the eyes have been graded in three shades, *e.g.* blue, neutral, and brown, or some similar classification, he includes half the neutral group as well as the brown eyes under the heading dark. As our eye colour was graded in this way we have

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

followed the above procedure. Parsons' indices for our material will then be:—

	♂	♀
Urban Districts	67·4	72·3
Rural Districts	67·7	73·1
Siggewe	66·3	—
Zurrico..	51·2	—
Malta	67·5	74·9
Gozo	74·5	77·5

For comparative purposes we have worked out the Index of Pigmentation for some places in the Eastern Mediterranean. The values, which refer only to males, are as follows: Albania 53·3, Cyprus 55·8, Crete 78·0, Meligala 61·1, Mani 66·6.[1]

Parsons, in dealing with the British Isles, draws attention to the following facts. First that the males show greater variation; secondly that the females are darker than the males, in the British Isles the difference amounting to about 2 degrees; and thirdly, that where the men are fairest the discrepancy between the two series is greatest, while where the men are very dark, the discrepancy is quite small. These conclusions are strikingly confirmed by our Mediterranean figures. We have not included any very small series from Malta, and, therefore, we do not get some of the irregularities which Parsons attributes to small numbers.

The difference between Zurrico and the rest of Malta is very striking. It will be noticed that it is even greater than that between Malta and Gozo, and shows the Zurrico men to be markedly fairer, with the comparatively low index of 51·2. The urban districts, rural districts, and Siggewe all have an index that does not differ by more than the probable error. Gozo, both among the males and the females, has a higher index, *i.e.* a greater percentage of "darkness." The exact significance of these figures is at the present stage of our understanding of pigmentation in the Mediterranean area not easy to unravel. If we take comparative data it will be seen that the Cretans are considerably darker. This may be reasonably interpreted as suggesting a higher percentage of Mediterranean admixture. The Albanians appear to belong to a very different racial stock. As far as measurements go there is, on the whole, not very much resemblance between the people of Zurrico and those of Cyprus, although the appearance of both would suggest that they belong to the same racial stock. The resemblance between the Maniots and the Maltese, as far as pigmentation index is concerned, is very striking. When other measurements are considered, some resemblances appear, but there are certain very great differences. The Maltese and the Maniots are closely alike, not only in the proportions of the cranium, as represented by the cephalic index, but also in the absolute measurements of head length and head breadth. The facial and nasal measurements are, however,

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[1] For absolute values see p. 105 of reference 28.

141 142 extremely different, due possibly to differences in environmental conditions or dietary habits.[1]

[144] Pigmentation figures, then, seem to support a conclusion which had already been arrived at on other grounds, namely, the relationship between the Maltese and the mixed Armenoid population of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Coefficients of Correlation.

141 128 The coefficients of correlation which have been worked out refer only to those figures which are utilized for indices. Unfortunately some of the series are too small for this treatment. For the most part the coefficients of correlation do not suggest, in the four series of characters which were selected, any great differences. There is a significant difference between the correlation of the total facial height and the bizygomatic breadth in the male and female, a condition which is probably due to the more developed masticatory apparatus of the male. The difference between the correlations of head length and head breadth between the urban districts and Siggewe is of interest when we compare the means and the coefficients of variation of those measurements absolutely, and confirms to a certain extent our hypothesis that Siggewe possibly represents a local deviation from the normal Maltese type. Differences between the urban district females and the rural district females are found in four characters (total facial height, bizygomatic breadth, nasal height and nasal breadth) suggesting conditions one of which can be referred to food and the other to climate, but the absence of confirmatory evidence in the males makes it necessary to withhold any conclusions until further correlations have been worked out.

Looking at the figures generally, the correlated characters show remarkably little correlation, and the absence of real differences between the various groups goes far to suggest that the differences between the various parts of the archipelago are not in any way of fundamental importance.

The coefficients of correlation on the skulls are unsatisfactory, owing to the paucity of material. The extremely small correlation between glabello-occipital length and greatest breadth from the Chapel of Bones is of an unusual character. It can hardly be illusory when worked out on so large a series, but the explanation is not apparent from our present data.

VII.—RACIAL PROBLEMS.

144 The racial problems connected with Malta are extremely difficult to deal with, because they raise certain social questions. Historically the matter may be summarized briefly as follows.

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[1] Both Meligala and Mani are situated in the Peloponnese.

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3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Table VII.—Pigmentation.

Hair Colour.

Hair Colour.	Absolute Figures.									
	♂						♀			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Black	150	99	51	30	330	56	107	102	200	38
Brown	65	44	27	56	192	24	64	38	102	13
Fair	2	1	1	1	5	1	3	—	3	—
Total ...	217	144	79	87	527	81	174	140	314	51

Hair Colour.	Percentages.									
	♂						♀			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Black	69·1	68·8	64·5	34·5	62·6	69·1	61·5	72·8	66·5	74·5
Brown	30·0	30·5	34·2	64·4	36·5	29·7	36·8	27·2	32·5	25·5
Fair	0·9	0·7	1·3	1·1	0·9	1·2	1·7	—	1·0	—
Total ...	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

Eye Colour.

Eye Colour.	Absolute Figures.									
	♂						♀			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Brown	121	82	37	58	298	58	136	109	245	38
Intermediate ...	71	41	34	16	162	15	32	24	56	6
Blue	43	31	8	13	95	8	15	12	27	7
Total ...	235	154	79	87	555	81	183	145	328	51

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE VII.—PIGMENTATION—*continued*.

Eye Colour.	Percentages.									
	♂						♂			
	U.D.	R.D.	Sig.	Zur.	Malta.	Gozo.	U.D.	R.D.	Malta.	Gozo.
Brown	51·5	53·3	46·9	66·6	53·7	71·6	74·3	75·2	74·7	74·3
Intermediate ...	30·2	26·6	43·0	18·4	29·2	18·5	17·5	16·5	17·1	11·8
Blue	18·3	20·1	10·1	15·0	17·1	9·9	8·2	8·3	8·2	12·7
Total ...	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

172 of metals to the island. Bronze Age pottery is less highly finished than the Neolithic ware, but although the two are certainly distinct, there are transitional forms.

From an ethnological point of view it would appear that the Bronze Age, or the end of the Neolithic Age, was in many places a crucial period. It is difficult, however, to parallel this in Malta by linking up the osteological and the archæological material. As we shall hope to show later, the Megalithic people in Malta appear to be very distinct from the later inhabitants, and to present certain Armenoid characteristics. Sir Arthur Evans[1] has pointed out that there was a western colonial movement from the mainland of Greece towards the close of the period which he has termed Late Minoan III. There is evidence of such a movement in cemeteries near Syracuse. Up to the present, however, there is no evidence of Malta being connected with the East at so early a date. It has further been suggested that at some period in the early history of the island a complete destruction of the old population took place.

The sherds from Kallilia appear to be similar in fabric and design to those of the Hal Tarxien Bronze Age. During the so-called "Phœnician" period we have cultural evidence of connection with the Ægean and North Africa, and it would appear that then, if not earlier, the final shaping of the present population was taking place, and that the mixed "island people" of the Eastern Mediterranean were sufficiently firmly established to swamp any further immigration of invaders belonging to a pure Mediterranean strain.

●[144] The Punic influence, though culturally no doubt of importance, does not seem to have altered the population physically, and though at this time the connection with North Africa was undoubtedly close, it was not sufficiently strong to counteract the change wrought by the sea rovers from the islands, and to restore a type similar to that of Neolithic times.

175 648 Until the Roman occupation at the end of the third century B.C. Malta appears to have been closely connected with North Africa. Rome held the islands as a military or semi-military outpost until nearly the end of the second century A.D. The period usually known as "Roman" in Malta should be more correctly described as Romano-Maltese; although Rome was the ruling power and much Roman culture was introduced, there are few references to Malta in Roman literature, and from an ethnological point of view the island was certainly working out its own salvation.

The archipelago was given practical autonomy and made a municipium about A.D. 177. On the division of the Empire, in A.D. 395, the islands were taken over by the Eastern Empire, to which they were certainly ethnologically akin. Invasions of barbarians may possibly have occurred, but when the Arabs captured the islands in 870 they found a Byzantine garrison in occupation. Robert of Sicily, with a

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[1] "Prehistoric Tombs of Cnossos," *Archæologia*, LIX, p. 107.

141 142 extremely different, due possibly to differences in environmental conditions or dietary habits.[1]

● [144] Pigmentation figures, then, seem to support a conclusion which had already been arrived at on other grounds, namely, the relationship between the Maltese and the mixed Armenoid population of the Eastern Mediterranean.

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141 128 The coefficients of correlation which have been worked out refer only to those figures which are utilized for indices. Unfortunately some of the series are too small for this treatment. For the most part the coefficients of correlation do not suggest, in the four series of characters which were selected, any great differences. There is a significant difference between the correlation of the total facial height and the bizygomatic breadth in the male and female, a condition which is probably due to the more developed masticatory apparatus of the male. The difference between the correlations of head length and head breadth between the urban districts and Siggewe is of interest when we compare the means and the coefficients of variation of those measurements absolutely, and confirms to a certain extent our hypothesis that Siggewe possibly represents a local deviation from the normal Maltese type. Differences between the urban district females and the rural district females are found in four characters (total facial height, bizygomatic breadth, nasal height and nasal breadth) suggesting conditions one of which can be referred to food and the other to climate, but the absence of confirmatory evidence in the males makes it necessary to withhold any conclusions until further correlations have been worked out.

Looking at the figures generally, the correlated characters show remarkably little correlation, and the absence of real differences between the various groups goes far to suggest that the differences between the various parts of the archipelago are not in any way of fundamental importance.

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VII.—Racial Problems.

144 The racial problems connected with Malta are extremely difficult to deal with, because they raise certain social questions. Historically the matter may be summarized briefly as follows.

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[1] Both Meligala and Mani are situated in the Peloponnese.

The megalith builders, who may be conveniently termed "Malta first race" 144 (culturally "Local Neolithic"), are certainly akin to the early, and, indeed, present 141 inhabitants of North Africa and to those of Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Spain, and belong to what is usually known as the Mediterranean race, differing from many skulls of this type in having a shorter nasal aperture, and therefore a bigger nasal index.

The inhabitants of the Barbary coast have been discussed at great length by Bertholon and Chantre (41). A series of 124 skulls (unfortunately the sexes have been mixed) from Carthage, dating from the sixth to the third century, B.C., shows a close resemblance to the "Neolithic" skulls found in the Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni. The low standard deviations, even when the sexes are mixed, *e.g.* cephalic index, mean 74·73 and 2·94 σ[1] suggest the absence of any Armenoid blood in Carthage, and a small series (35) of modern crania (♂ + ♀) from Tunis show almost identical figures (*e.g.* cephalic index mean 74·31 and 2·96σ).

In Sicily from Eneolithic times onward the population is of the same type. Even in a series of two hundred modern Sicilian skulls, Giuffrida Ruggeri found only 5 ♂ and 2 ♀ of the Eurasiatic form, one was doubtful. Apart from the small series from Anghelu Reju, the modern inhabitants of Sardinia and Corsica appear to belong to this type (46).

It is remarkable that wherever we find Mediterranean man he shows little variation, suggesting a primitive stock which has maintained itself in certain areas.

The "Neolithic" Maltese (Malta first race) can have differed but little from our own Neolithic ancestors, except in the form of the nasal aperture. The modern people differ from the modern British type in head form, in stature, and in the general build of the skeleton. It would seem as though these differences were of essential importance. The Maltese appear to be a mixture of a people who certainly form a part of the population of the British Isles, but there is a second element that is not akin. It is noticeable that, as would appear from recent work, the Neolithic element seems not to have been entirely swamped in the British Isles; on the other hand we have shown that in spite of continuous influx of Mediterranean blood, it has not been able to dominate the population in Malta. Possibly the geographical conditions of the island are particularly favourable to the continuance of the race which has since developed.

These megalith builders are succeeded by a different type of folk, exhibiting 144 Armenoid characteristics (Malta second race). The most interesting question of 174 Maltese anthropology is, where did these late arrivals come from, and when did they come to Malta. Early skulls are unfortunately missing at present in the Mediterranean area. The immigrants are not racially allied to the people of Italy, Sicily, or the Barbary coast; they differ fundamentally from what appears to be the type

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[1] σ is used throughout this paper as a symbol for "standard deviation."

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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in Albania; they resemble some of the elements in the early population of Cyprus, but the closest parallel appears to be Crete, some parts of Greece, and the Islands of the Sea. Such evidence as we have suggests an immigration from the eastern part of the Mediterranean. We have already argued elsewhere (38, p. 92) that even early in the Bronze Age there existed in the Eastern Mediterranean a mixed stock consisting of elements of Armenoid and Mediterranean man, and suggested that such mixing possibly took place as early as the end of the Neolithic period. It seems possible that these people arrived in Malta at a much later date. Unfortunately the gap is a long one. Plenty of Neolithic material has survived, we have a few scattered finds in the long intervening periods, and a small and scarcely adequate number of crania of the Romano-Maltese time.

We have argued above that the Malta second race cannot have come from anywhere but the Eastern Mediterranean, and that they show no affinities with the Carthaginians. We have at present, however, no satisfactory cranial evidence from Carthage earlier than the sixth century B.C. We know, on the other hand, that Carthage was closely connected in earlier times with the great trading cities of the Syrian coast. The conditions in Malta and North Africa are extremely different, and whereas it might be impossible for people of Armenoid type to establish themselves on the coast of North Africa, this argument would not affect the possible establishment of the same type in a comparatively isolated island. We know, further, that a people of undoubtedly Syrian origin, namely the Jews, have, in Tripoli, to a large extent, lost their typical head form, while retaining their religious, social, and, it would appear, at least some of their physical characteristics. It is possible, therefore, that the origin of the Malta second race must be looked for in Phœnician traders of Armenoid origin, who may have come either directly from the Eastern Mediterranean or indirectly via Carthage.

There can be little doubt that such a change must have taken place at a comparatively late date in the history of Malta, but it would seem extraordinary that an invasion of any such race could have entirely altered the population of an island. We have at present no evidence to show how the change was affected. It may have extended over some generations, but in that case we should have expected to find an intermediate stage between Malta first and second races. Our present evidence, however, does not, unfortunately, cover that transitional period. It is possible that such a period may be discovered. On the other hand we have the possibility of the new influx of people exterminating, or nearly exterminating, the previous inhabitants, an event which is not without parallel in modern times. In North Africa the problem is somewhat different. Here the Armenoid peoples can only have represented a comparatively small element in the whole population, and we know that there are certain brachycephalic elements surviving till to-day. Again, the inhumation burials in Carthage which have as yet been explored are so few, and show so little variation in cranial form, that they may quite well belong to

some definite section of the population. On the one hand we have on the mainland 144
a series of settlers among a large indigenous population, and on the other hand we 174
have a further band of settlers, on a small island, on which it is quite possible events occurred which would have been impossible amidst a large population.

We have not at present sufficient statistical material in early times to enable us to judge how far there has been a change in the standard deviations since the coming of the second race, which would enable us to say whether there ever was a time in Malta when a considerable mixing of races was taking place; and it must always be remembered that the second race may have been, at least in origin, considerably intermixed with Mediterranean blood before they ever ventured as far as Malta.

It cannot be denied that the second race has altered since its arrival in Malta; 144
but just as in most parts of the Mediterranean, even at comparatively short distances apart, we find local divergences, it would hardly be surprising that we should also find differences in the time series, namely, that people of one age should show a slight physical difference from those of the other. The internal differences, however, in Malta appear to be but insignificant when compared with the differences between the Maltese and the other inhabitants of the Mediterranean, and it seems justifiable —at least for purposes of intensive study—to regard them as a Maltese sub-race.

Summing up their characters, they are distinctly long-headed, though hardly 141
so long-headed as the Cretans, but nearly 10 mm. longer than the Cypriots; they 144
are broad-headed, having about the same head breadth as the Cretans, and a greater breadth than the Cypriots. The change since ancient times has operated both in shortening the length and increasing the breadth, the height of the cranium having remained constant. The face is much broader than in ancient times; the orbits are higher and narrower: the nose longer and broader, so that the nasal index is not appreciably altered.

The Mediæval skulls in the Chapel of Bones presented characteristics similar to those of the skulls in the modern ossuaries. Although some variation occurred, as might be expected in a series which might contain a number of foreigners, the standard deviations are sufficiently small to suggest that on the whole the skulls are those of adult males of a normal population. The standard deviations are, indeed, smaller than those of the series from the modern ossuary. Both series, from the Mediæval Chapel of Bones, and from the modern ossuary, are large in size—that is to say, absolutely long, high, and broad; in the majority, the brow ridges are very well developed, and there are other indications of considerable muscularity. It is possible that some of the skulls, on the sex of which it was not possible to express an opinion, may be males of Mediterranean origin, as these latter appear as a general rule to be smaller. A few appeared to be Negroid.

Although skulls which presented Negroid characters were not uncommon from 144
Saracenic—possibly earlier, and certainly later—graves, the Negro element in the

144 [567] population does not appear to be very great. Slaves were, we know, introduced in large numbers by the Knights of St. John, and a fine old building still remains in Valletta as a witness to the number of Negroes kept in captivity, but yet there appears to have been great segregation. The Turk in Cyprus seems to have been more merciful to his slaves than the Christian in Malta, possibly because of the difference in the social systems. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the Negro element is more than a negligible factor in Maltese ethnology.

Cases certainly occur, in all periods, of extremely long skulls of the hypsistenocephalic type of Giuffrida Ruggeri. Some of these specimens appeared on a careful examination to present Negroid characters; the majority seemed to be well within the range of normal variation of the ordinary Mediterranean type. If mixing with Alpines immediately raises the standard deviation of Mediterranean man, it is to be expected that a mixture with Negro or Proto-Ethiopic would have the same effect; without definitely denying the possibility of this type in Malta, it would seem a more reasonable hypothesis to suggest that those crania which present a combination of the characters of a long head with considerable prognathism and a wide nasal aperture probably belonged either to actually imported Negroes or to their descendants.

Although the census figures show a different result, it is of interest to note that among the people who presented themselves for measurement in villages or institutions, practically all the foreigners came from the Barbary coast.

[563] There can be little doubt that there has been considerable Italian influence in the island for a long period, and we have already shown that at the present day the largest resident foreign element apart from the garrison is Italian. It seems possible that the same influences, whatever they were, which made it possible for the early population to be swamped by the present type, have also made the latter immigrants, of a type similar to the Neolithic people, unable to stand against the domination of the sub-race (Malta second race) now established in the island.

144 563 A question of considerable importance from the practical point of view is whether there is any essential difference between the Maltese and the nations of Western Europe, who, either singly or collectively, have occupied the island since the Middle Ages. Social distinctions have operated during the whole time, but there is evidence to suggest that the Knights may have considerably affected the population, especially that of Valletta. Some of the people of Rhodes, who followed the fortunes of the Knights when the latter were driven from the Eastern Mediterranean, settled in Malta. Mercenaries were employed by the Order, and in some cases never returned home. In later times also, the Knights' vows of chastity, never very strictly adhered to, were entirely neglected, and their illegitimate children, whose fathers were predominantly French, contributed a considerable element to the population (28, p. 46). It is probably to such influences that we owe those crania in the Chapel of Bones which appear to show Nordic affinities.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

The stay of the French in the island was too short to have any effect on the 144 population. A social barrier has been built up between the British and the people 563 of the land, and the general impression gained is that, though there are a certain number of mixed marriages, there cannot, even after three generations of a large, if floating, British element in Valletta, be more than a very thin British strain in the population.

We have shown, in dealing with the history of the island, how extremely difficult 144 it is to account for the wholesale immigration of an Armenoid-like population at 174 any period. We have also shown how, in spite of the continual immigration of 132 people of the Mediterranean stock, the Maltese type (*i.e.* Malta second race, displaying Armenoid characters) appears to have persisted for a long period. It would seem, therefore, a point worthy of further consideration, whether the development of the Maltese along the lines they appear to have followed may not be due to certain definite geographical factors of whose influence we are as yet unaware. It is possible that if we had at our disposal a long unbroken series, instead of larger or smaller series from Neolithic, Mediæval, and modern ossuaries, we should not find such striking contrasts as we do at present. Anthropological data from various parts of the Mediterranean show that there is very often a significant difference between two villages in different valleys of the same mountain range. It is possible that even the few generations which have elapsed between the building of Hal Tarxien and 1921 may be the equivalent, in time, of such a journey in space, and certain big changes may have taken place owing to changing geographical conditions. There can be little doubt that the climate of Malta has changed very much, not only since the first terrace was cut in the Weid Dalam, but even since the formation of the second terrace. We have also suggested that the evidence from Professor Zammit's excavations at Hal Tarxien hints at a change in climate since Neolithic times. The change in the structure of the population may be due, therefore, partly to geographical as well as to historical causes.

Whether or no the development of the Maltese sub-race is due to particular 161 geographical conditions, there can be little doubt that, in Malta at least, the strain 842 is biologically remarkably successful and extremely fertile. In spite of the high [165] infant mortality which has existed in the past, they have continued to increase, and the modern developments of hygiene and the care of infants are likely to make the increase still more rapid. If the overcrowding continues, in a comparatively short time we shall be faced with conditions in the island which would appear to be, biologically speaking, unsatisfactory. Sanitary conditions can be improved, food can be imported, but excessive overcrowding may bring its own remedy, either in disease or in a diminished fertility. The present fertility is quite possibly due to some underlying climatic condition. In spite of lack of water, Malta has long been extremely fertile botanically, and was famed for this in classical times. The [231] Maltese goats, by far the most abundant large mammal of the island apart from

161 man, are also unusually fertile, and the females possess remarkably developed
842 udders. Possibly similar causes make both man and the goats fertile. If this
231 is so, emigrants from the island will probably, after a short time, lose their fertility,[1]
whilst the only limiting factors on the island itself will be space and the food and water supply.

● 144 Summarizing our general conclusions, the race in Malta which is associated with
172 the period of great megalithic buildings—a cultural stage we have termed "Malta
Local Neolithic"—appears to be closely akin to the Mediterranean race. This is
174 our "Malta first race." At a later date, possibly towards the end of the Bronze Age, but more probably during the Early Iron Age, Malta was peopled by a race with different characteristics, our "Malta second race." These people are of Armenoid type, but probably have an admixture of Mediterranean blood. Their origin appears to be the Eastern Mediterranean. They may have come to Malta either directly or by way of Carthage. They may have destroyed the previous inhabitants, or they may merely have pursued methods of peaceful penetration. This race has firmly established itself in Malta, and all subsequent introduction of foreign blood has failed to raise the variation. During the course of years certain changes have taken place; there are also certain local variations, but the differences between Malta and Gozo are not greater than the differences between the general population of Malta and at least one, and possibly more, of the more isolated villages.

APPENDIX I.

LITERATURE.

113 In writing this paper the following authorities have been consulted. Where specific reference is made, the number is given in brackets in the text.

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[167] [1] Of interest in this connection is the fact that there is at present a Maltese colony in Detroit, U.S.A., and it will be instructive to observe whether, amid alien surroundings, the strain is able to perpetuate itself and to retain its fertility.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

branches of such vines as formed ar- 764
bours in the courts, disturbed the furni- 767
ture &c. in all the apartments, overturned the flower pots in the windows, broke some of the ornamental furniture, and carrying the fragments to a retired spot, threw them in a cauldron of boiling water, in which they mixed soot and ashes. With this liquid they stained all the doors in the house howling and sobbing most dismally whilst performing the operation. (*) The *neunicha* then pro- [292]
ceeded to the chamber of the deceased, already in his coffin, and surrounded by his female relations, wearing veils over

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(*) The custom of mourning for the dead in shrieks [171]
and howlings is of great antiquity, and prevails almost [152]
universally among the followers of Mahomet.

782 silver medal, seventeen "ex-votos" of silver, and £39 10s. 6d. in cash' (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1894). In November 1961 twenty-two gold rings and thirty-one pairs of gold ear-rings, besides sums of money, were offered as 'ex-votos' at the shrine of St Rita at St Augustine's Priory, Valletta (*Santa Rita*, 1961, p. 192).

DISCUSSION

154 The relief of anxiety is one of the basic needs of the human personality. In a religion-
782 conditioned community, such as that of the Maltese Islands, one of the most potent
771 defence mechanisms against life-threatening situations consists in prayer and the offer of
753 'ex-votos' to the Godhead in order to receive deliverance in return. Perhaps what
761 underlies this aspect of human behaviour is the idea that sickness and death are punitive
measures from the Godhead for lapses committed by oneself, one's relatives, or one's
community. As a matter of fact, the notion that illness is sent by God as a punishment
for sins is still a current folk-belief in the Maltese Islands. The same trend of thought
finds expression in certain depressive psychoses where the patient shows a heightened
feeling of guilt and is convinced that divine wrath has been visited upon himself and his
close relatives in the form of disease or death. It appears, therefore, that the 'ex-voto' is
not a mere token of gratitude for a favour received but is also a propitiatory offering to
appease the offended deity and thus obtain his pardon and the removal of the punish-
154 ment. The element of sacrifice is implied in the self-denying act of surrendering a
782 precious thing in return for recovery of health or rescue from imminent death, either
171 materially in the shape of money or jewellery, or symbolically in the form of an ana-
tomical representation of one's body. Whatever the psychological motivation prompting
the offer of 'ex-votos', there is no doubt that they throw an illuminating sidelight on the
part played by religious belief in the history of healing in the Maltese Islands since pre-
historic times. They are also a testimony to the beneficial influence of religious *mores* (1)
in satisfying the natural craving for security felt by the individual and by the community
when faced with the crises of life, and (2) in maintaining morale and the will to live
when the failure of medical skill tends to disorganize and destroy them. Indeed the
'ex-votos' reveal the story of the triumph of hope and faith over the trials and sufferings
of countless generations of Maltese men and women who had found themselves beyond
the help of contemporary science and of human assistance. It is needless to emphasize
the recasting of Maltese religious beliefs after their conversion to Christianity in A.D. 60.
[178] The change from paganism to Catholicism, coupled with technical and cultural de-
velopments, has brought about a parallel modification in the conventional form of the
'votiva'—from the baked clay image, the painted panel, and the wax and silver ana-
tomical models to the exquisite examples of the jeweller's art; but the idea behind the
changed outward sign remains immutable, i.e. the anxiety-relieving value of faith in a
community where belief in an all-controlling God has, for thousands of years, been the
pervasive character of the warp and woof of its cultural and psychological pattern.

at the village level. While there are Labour committees in almost 575
all villages in Malta, not all of them have been successful in finding 665
club premises. Where clubs have not been opened, the active members usually meet in a café or a private house.

The role of the Labour committee or club in the social life of 575
a village is rather complex. The Labour club at all times is the 659
centre of the local Labour supporters. During the past few years
it has also been the centre of agitation against the established 665
authority of the Church, especially in so far as it touches on secular matters. During the three years following 1955 when the Labour Government was in office, these village committees were backed by the government. Committee members thus wielded considerable power, for they provided a direct link with the established authority of the State at the national level. The same was true, but to a lesser extent, of the agents of the Nationalist Party during its period in government.

V

The qualities which the Maltese themselves consider important 156
for a person to have in order to hold office are, of course, ideal 577
ones. As such, they may not all be present in the same person. The leader of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ summed these up for me as responsibility, willingness to work, courage and social status (*pożizzjoni*). Responsibility and willingness to work are self-explanatory.

Courage is a necessary quality since any person in a position to exercise some control over the action of others (especially in a society which stresses equality) is bound to be criticized by those over whom he exercises it, as well as by those who envy his position. Courage may be based on a desire to acquire power, and insensitivity to or failure to perceive criticism, or on an idealism which places the ultimate ends above the criticism of the means employed to attain them. I have known various village leaders whose courage was based upon one or more of these attributes. I have also met people who resigned from their offices because their motivation or insensitivity was not sufficiently strong to prompt them to carry on in spite of criticism. A former secretary of the social club in Kortin once summed up the reasons for his resignation with the proverb, 'Unfortunate is the one who gets

● 156 577 talked about' (*Miskin min jiġi f'ilsien in-nies*). This is especially true for those persons whose social position does not permit them to remain outside the circle in which criticism and gossip circulates. For these the esteem of neighbours is more important than office.

156 554 575 Social status is the fourth quality of leadership mentioned. High status is a desirable and, in some cases, necessary quality for the holders of certain offices. The president of a band club is required to act as its ambassador and to handle its external relations; a person with high status is an obvious asset. He can meet visiting dignitaries and perform the required speech making without embarrassment to the club. Thus the president and vice-president of the clubs have often been invited to fill those offices because of their high status. Some clubs create the office of honorary patron for benefactors who are willing to lend their names – and status – to the clubs, although they take no part or interest in their actual running.

High social position is also an asset to the office of treasurer; for at some time or another he is almost sure to be accused by the village gossips of putting his hand into the purse. Considerable social distance between him and his critics renders him less vulnerable to their comments. It also makes potential critics less vocal. People are often willing to concede integrity to their superiors which they deny to their equals.

The secretary of the club does not need high status to carry out his work successfully, although it is certainly an asset. But he must have at least one of the attributes of high status, namely education; for as administrator of the club he is required to do a great deal of paper work. On the other hand, occupying one of the important offices in itself confers prestige upon a person. Thus the secretary is accorded a higher social status that he would have if he did not occupy that position, assuming for a moment that he had no other attributes which would confer status upon him.

156 463 554 871 Two important attributes of status are education and occupation. Education is the key that unlocks the world of the printed word and frees people from dependence on patrons willing to interpret it. Education also leads to better employment opportunities. Since entrance to the civil service, the professions and many commercial concerns is by competitive examination, the Maltese attach great importance to formal education.

There is considerable difference in the social status ascribed to 156
various jobs. Non-manual occupations have the highest status, 463
manual occupations the lowest. The professionals – the priest, 554
doctor, lawyer, chemist or teacher – are at the top; while the
farmers are at the bottom. In many respects a government clerical
officer is also at the other end of the scale from the farmer. The
civil servant has a steady, relatively easy job with a good cash
income and comfortable pension at the end. He also has ready
access to influential persons in the government. His is a life of
security and relative independence. The farmer, on the other
hand, has been looked down on for centuries. He represents the
traditional life of dependence: dependence upon the weather, the
market, the *pitkal*, or middleman, for cash advances, the letter-writer
and the patron through whom established authority has to
be contacted. Education and wage labour have presented the [178]
farmer with a means of escape from that dependence and the
exhausting labour in his rocky fields. Where he has had the opportunity, [871]
he has been quick to turn his back on the traditional [241]
occupation of his forefathers.

Wealth is another determinant of status. This is generally 156
related to occupation. There has always been a considerable 463
difference between the standard of living of the professionals and
that of the average countryman. But until the past war, there was 511
relatively little difference in the standard of living of most 554
villagers. True, the more affluent lived in the large houses on the 556
main square, and the poorer people lived in the alleys and streets
remote from the square. Most people ate similar food, dressed
alike and furnished their houses in the same way. But the increase
in the level of wages, which followed the war, has changed that
pattern. New houses, cars, fridges and transistor radios have
become a tangible index of success and status. People are now
being graded according to the number of these symbols they
own.

Education, occupation and wealth are thus the chief criteria by 156
which social position is differentiated. A person who has all these 554
attributes has high status. But a person with high status is not
necessarily a leader; for he may not possess the innate qualities [577]
required of a successful leader – courage, responsibility and willingness
to work. Where a person has both high status and
possesses these qualities – as well as ambition – he will undoubtedly

● 156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
156 meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xih żomm fih*). But
561 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where
schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to
their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard.
The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is
wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leadership in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish
registers support the memories of the present generation of elders
that this has not always been the case.

Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
156 their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
[575] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it convenient for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
[693] continue to practise in their native villages. But when they continue to reside in their villages, even though their social life and
many of their business interests are oriented away from the community, they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge
their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted
into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have
gone successfully into politics.

Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
156 citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday procession. Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter
693 of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football
and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he
has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a
successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
759 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

178 because he has always been used to doing it and one which
434 enables him to provide many of the food items needed by
241 the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who
emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

● 156 The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives
241 both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of
426 independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies
of farming from the economic point of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

472 It appears that MONEY is a variable but important
factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an
511 economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household,
as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear distinction made by the farmer between the finances pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its maintainance. The most common practice is for there to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it come the costs of running farm and household. As seen, the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as the labour of his family and himself is concerned
[451] (Case X). Similarly it is still the exception rather
than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is making a loss, though of the details he has no notion. In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems

795 Another Malta-wide authority is the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the farmer than is 'Il-Gvern' for in the normal practice of his religion he leans directly on the local church and priests.

829 To the farmer 'Gvern' is synonomous with control. Illiteracy has, in the past, made it very difficult for him to view authority with anything but suspicion. This has not been made easier by incompetent and condescending elements within officialdom whose actions, if any, have confirmed the doubts of the small farmer striving to provide his family with a living despite the odds against him - of which 'Gvern' was one.

178 654 Today the picture is changing. It is official policy to "encourage investment and to improve farming methods so as to raise the efficiency of the industry to a level where it can provide a decent livelihood for those engaged in it"[38].

178 156 829 The farmers' reactions to efforts on his behalf are particularly important at this crucial stage in the progress of agriculture in the Islands. Essentially his outlook retains much of the traditional reserve and caution of the illiterate peasant, an attitude apparent also in two further contexts, the organization within farming itself (Unions, Co-Operatives, etc.), and the farmers' attitudes towards society in general and rural society in particular.

829 156 The three aspects of the problem may be re-phrased as

(i) the farmer's attitudes to officialdom, espec- the Department of Agriculture, and 'Il-Gvern' generally,

(ii) his attitude towards other farmers and towards the industry as a whole,

(iii) his position as a member of a socially 'low' class within Malta.

[561] Within each of these the present gulf between the younger generation, with a degree of education and emancipation, and the older (including most of the Islands' full-time farmers) produces a further conflict of attitudes and aspirations.

654

THE FARMER AND GOVERNMENT

Official interest in agricultural development has increased very rapidly during the present decade and now includes a wide variety of measures aimed at improving farming by financial support and investment. These have been outlined in Section 2. There has also been an attempt to educate the farmer in better suited techniques and to make him aware of improvements which, it is believed, will increase the profit from his farm or herd. The problem here is seen to be twofold:

159 barley (xghir) fluctuate but cake-feed is all bought from
432 fodder agents. Milk production varies with season, being
at its peak in the Spring. The price given by the M.M.U.
234 changes accordingly to the extent of a few pence per gallon.
On the basis of an average feed programme one can get some
idea of the gross profit margin on which Pawlu is working,
the absence of any allowance for labour costs being noted.

*
159 A sample feed programme with daily costs for one cow
234 yielding about three gallons:
43

	s	d
3 rtal xghir (barley-bran)	1	4
8 rtal cake................	3	6
5 rtal sulla (silla).......	1	4
8 rtal beans (½ tomna)....	5	0
1 basket prickly pear.....	1	0
½ basket straw............		6
	12	8d

Selling the three gallons at 5s 6d per gallon (see above) brings in 16s 6d per day, leaving a profit on the one cow of 3s 10d.

A sample feed programme with daily costs for 46 goats yielding about ten gallons per day:

	£	s	d
3 tmien (48 rtal) beans....	1	10	0
1 tomna xghir (barley).....		6	0
4 bundles sulla (silla)....		5	0
Purrajna (green barley)....		5	0
	2	6	0

Selling ten gallons per day at some 6s per gallon thereby brings Pawlu a further profit of 60s minus 46s, or 16 shillings. This, together with the 3s 10d from each of his two cows, amounts to a net income of approximately 23/8d per day.

*159 Unlike most of his fellow herdsmen in both Islands,
● 156 Pawlu is fully aware of the relation between feed programmes
234 for livestock and milk yields (B/379). He does not share
the common view that "The more the feed the more the milk".
232 He is also well aware of the economics of his situation as
described above and, as seen, his aim is to cut the costs of
fodder by producing more on his own holding and thereby
increase his profit margin on milk sold. This is a most
widespread feature among Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen today.
But Pawlu goes further than most in that he is conscious of
the need for a 'balanced diet'. Not only does he carefully
regulate the types and quantities of feed which he gives
but he also follows the latest researches of the Department
of Agriculture, especially that of Haesler (B/252) and
others working on this and similar topics. The average
illiterate Maltese farmer tends to dismiss the statements
and efforts of such experts as "No good for Malta, and

*159 useless in my district" but Pawlu, who has at all times in
156 his life been conscious of education and a knowledge of
234 things outside his village, is prepared to consider sugges-
232 tions on their merits. This attitude pervades the working of his farm as a unit and has had important repercussions within his family. (v. Section 4).

*159 In spite of his own lack of advanced formal education.
156 Pawlu has in fact an awareness of its importance which is
829 still uncommon in rural Gozo. He is constantly stressing the need for education in its widest sense, both general and technical. He is anxious for his children to be educated to a standard far above his own, while, in the wider scene, he recognizes the importance of education for the farmer and farming. His attitude to the course of lectures for farmers (Section 4) is typical of the man. He observed that "attendances at the lectures have been big because the farmers are interested - they wouldn't go if they were not". The ideas put forward by the experts are weighed by the farmer and, if considered 'good ideas', are discussed at length in the villages or at the It-Tokk market on Sunday mornings. These lecture courses for farmers, and others like them such as the important McClemont demonstrations and lectures on dairying technique (Section 4), fail for Pawlu in so far as they do not lead to individual contact between specialist and farmer. No farmer would dream of making comment or criticising 'officialdom' - with which he naturally associates ventures like those of Haesler and McClemont[50]. "The Maltese back down much more easily than do the English in their relations with the authorities. In England you might complain to a Government Department and there would be argument for a day but in Malta such a complaint would mean petty victimisation for years". The farmer blames "clerical inefficiency" in Valletta for what he considers has been the failure to follow up the McClemont or other recommendations but no farmer would seriously consider complaining in person to officialdom. They just argue and become increasingly bitter with their lot.

* **Farming**
159 for Pawlu means independence. He complains of the
178 inferior social position which the farmer holds in Maltese
829 society today and observes that the present generation of
[554] young people demand the means to enable them to equal the people of the towns in appearance, leisure and other superficialities. The old farmer with little formal education is not troubled by these notions. His life is the only one he can comprehend - apart from which his daily round leaves
[464] him little time to think. The youngster, on the other hand, is desperate for an eight-hour job with steady income and leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

(550 leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

Pawlu admits nevertheless that much of the inferior condition of the farmer derives from his inability to unite with other farmers (Section 4). Illiteracy, ignorance and suspicion are the major causes of his fear. Only a few farmers are members of either of the two opposing Unions of Farmers while the situation regarding co-operatives is equally unpromising. Pawlu himself became one of the organizers of a special 'Tractor Co-Operative', initiated by C.A.R.E. at the end of 1958 (Section 2) for a group of farmers in his home village. The members paid £2 each on joining the co-operative and were thereafter able to hire one of the two tractors donated by C.A.R.E. at only 10/- per hour instead of the commercial 17s. The fact that Pawlu himself was among the organizers of such a novel venture reflects his progressive outlook, and his standing in the village.

*159 Politics interest Pawlu, to a more than average degree
●156 His concern is based on an informed intelligence. A
829 supporter of the Labour Party, he considers the Nationalists
as holding the masses in contempt and he points to their emphasis on the Italian language and the non-Maltese culture which it represented as evidence. He reads the local Maltese-language press but is sufficiently independent of mind to have cancelled his subscription to the 'Lehen is-Sewwa' (B/65) at the time of the 'Integration' referendum on the grounds that neither the Church nor the Paper would publish an 'official' statement on the attitude of the Church. Yet his religious devotion is without question and he has a respected place in Church and village life.

*159 The Family. Pawlu lives with his wife and six of his child-
156 ren. His eldest son and daughter are both working as
829 teachers in Malta. Another daughter has emigrated.
593 Pawlu's wife speaks only Maltese and had as little
[555] formal education as her husband, but she has at all times
[167] nothing but encouragement for her family in their education
In this case there is not the usual gulf in outlook between parents and children on account of the education of the latter - for the parents fully realize the need. Pawlu's wife used to work in the fields when young but now spends
[462] her time in the house. Certain jobs remain her special concern however, notably cheese-making, care of lambs and chicks and egg-collection.

*159 The eldest son, now working as a teacher, is one of the
156 young 'intellectuals' who are currently making an appear-
128 ance in Gozo. The ties of family and respect between him
593 and his father are strong but he is out of touch with the
[875]

*159 ● 156 178 593 farm and ignorant of many details of its history and operation. He is "never likely to soil his hands with farming". He is moving away from farming and from the cultural and social life of his village. He apologises for the efforts of the villagers when they attempt to produce a play, he dismisses nick-names as "old-fashioned", and he decries the limitations on activity in his native Island (no dancing or bright lights). Yet he is still enough attached to Gozo to want to introduce changes to it and to make it more like the place his education has made him want to live in. He is typical of one important and growing element in the younger generation of rural Malta and Gozo. In his teens he used to help his father in the fields and took milk to the collection depot, but this stopped as soon as he found a full-time alternative occupation.

*159 156 593 46 Pawlu's eldest daughter, also a teacher, has left farm-work far behind. For her this was never more than casual assistance with vegetable picking and lifting during holidays from school. It is not likely that she will be a farmer's wife.

87 Pawlu's second daughter left school at twelve and divided her time between house and field work until her marriage in her late teens. She was acknowledged as her father's main assistant with the animals.

Two daughters in their middle teens are academically inclined to the extent of staying at school as long as possible and speaking four languages. Both still do incidental farm work when not occupied with studies. Both would be probable 'sixth-form' and university candidates were there any liklihood of financial backing. Their education, especially in English language and culture, is giving them - and many others like them - an advancement which is not matched by opportunity. They are learning in an educatiPawlcul-de-sac.

A son in his middle teens works full-time in the fields with his father, having left school at twelve, while two more boys are still of compulsory school age and give their father only casual assistance with feeding the smaller animals out of school hours. A little girl of some ten years makes no economic contribution to the farm.

*159 46 The major feature to emerge from the above consideration is that the bulk of the work of the farm, and the full-time responsibility for all jobs, rests with Pawlu alone. The son who is old enough to deputise for his father has left farming: the only full-time help comes from a younger boy who may himself decide to follow his brother in a few years. Now Pawlu complains that "Labour is the main trouble if the farmer cannot cope with all the

* 159 829 178 [246 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows. Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

* 159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

427
- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

* 159 **B. Utilisation.**

241
- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

* 159 231 234
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

* 159 **D. Capital.**

[454]
- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] [234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

* **G. Husbandry.**

159 231 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.
- [427] Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jun. to Aug.
- [311] This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly ½ tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.
- [435] Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- [434] Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

* **H. General.**

159 156
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159 - Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.

156 - Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.

[231] - Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.

- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

*159 472 **CASE VIII : Niklaws** (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)

[423] [234] Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70 tmien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 472 234 433 [232] The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 409 454 234 [429] Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and [435] the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

181 road of successful experiments of one kind or another in a
241 foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof
829 before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard
to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor
on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

*159 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting
407 business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They
422 have (1958):
429 (i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board
plow, the only one in the district,
472 (ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy
ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only
[465] slowly - Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

Ġanni and the village.

*159 Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his
● 156 literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience
and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

*159 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people
●156 around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as
well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social
461 life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is
626 most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on
517 speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids
his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on
493 the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he
to plow on Sundays or festa days he would be "publically
ostracised and no villager would hire him and his plow".
His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at
high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than farming".

*159 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical.
156 He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of
593 illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending to assume that his education and wider experience entitles him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments. Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data')
156 system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni.
[583] He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle without the older people of the village criticising him for not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs which his education and his knowledge of the world outside the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs, he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close
[178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the new methods and implements which he has brought to the village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father
472 works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their
407 joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention.
Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago
and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta.
000 They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
571 to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
[651] is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
454 normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
[593] few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expenses of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
178 accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[294] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family.
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
438 farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
[656] killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

178 434 [511] industry in search of it.

(5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture(Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

511 Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

[461] (a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

[454] (c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

829 157 [178] (6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, to Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

829 a policy of long term assurances for agriculture" (B/387,
157 p.39). He claims that the Government "ought" to guarantee
his prices, his markets, and "ought" to find the foreign
export markets, and provide machinery, subsidies, etc. He
also insists, incongruously, that farmers' needs could well
be served by a strong and well-organized Union of Farmers and
yet, in the next breath, he will reject outright any suggestions that he, individually, might take a prominent part in
such a movement. The nature of this attitude emerges clearly
from the collection of complaints and comments, made by
farmers to Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team (B/387).
On the one hand, the farmer demands Government support for
farming but, on the other hand, he speaks even of his fellow
farmers as "they". Conservative, cautious and usually
illiterate, he is quick to speak but slow to act (v. Section 4).

829 The new awareness of horizons outside the village is
consequently limited in extent and confined in nature. The
farmer's son, however, with his education and emancipation
and his ideas of social and economic emulation, has a clearer
vision of the illogicality of his father's situation but is
not yet sufficiently mentally liberated from the past to see
for himself any right course of action.

554 (7) As a class, the farmer is low on the social scale.
367 This arises partly from his illiteracy and the features
outlined in (6) and is partly also the outcome of a tradition
of wealth and education being confined to the cities and
[177] towns. Wealth and culture came easily to the urban section
of Maltese society and both implied foreign contacts on a
large scale. Meanwhile the Maltese farmer toiling in his
fields remained cut off socially as well as economically.

178
554
Today this felt inferiority puts him

- (a) in a weak position for bargaining with Government and 'officials' and business men fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education,
- (b) - if young and literate, in the position of being anxious to escape from his lowly class by leaving the village and farming as opportunity presents itself (v. Section 4).

654 (8) Official policy has been to assist farming in the
178 Islands by means of a variety of subsidies and guarantees
designed to protect the farmer from unfavourable competition
and fluctuations in market demand (Sections 2 and 4). The
industry has, in the past, received such attention only in
time of siege of widespread unemployment. The basic intention
today is therefore

[135]

- (a) to enable Malta's only basic industry - agriculture - to develop under protection for it is held that "In an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2).

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is difficult
to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
241 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
178 the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the
present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding
and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and
thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being
made available by the Government for farm development and of
"working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and
desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
362 £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
[427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a
new house and include near it accommodation for his animals.
For his large family of wife and eight children the house,
though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
● [157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife
enable the family to carry on under limitations of both
home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer
to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
54 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
461 distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife
observes "these things are not missed by the people" who
have had little experience of them. She notes that in
Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the
bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family
and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can himself
operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
464 animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
654 when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution,
he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to
acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan)
because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked
with his present labour force. A larger area would mean
more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the
milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be
increased along with the provision of extra accommodation
(also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is
that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale
through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits
here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

CASE III : Nardu (A goats' milk producer)

*159 ●157 Illiterate and suspicious, Nardu typifies the most conservative element in Maltese farming for whom nothing new can be worthy of consideration. It is probable that no amount of lecturing, demonstrations of improved methods, or capital loans from the Government, would persuade him to change the ways he knows. The prospect of machinery does not impress him although he thinks of acquiring a rotary cultivator (at about £245). His observation is, when freely translated, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" (he is aged 40).

*159 234 [425] His father was a mason with a few fields. Nardu's brother took over the family business and sold his share of the fields to Nardu, who also bought out the shares of his five sisters. He has since concentrated all his effort on his herd of goats, regarding his fields primarily as a source of fodder. During the fifteen months of study his herd varied in size from 34 to 50 animals. All the goats are of the local breed as he does "not like horned goats". He is more concerned with producing milk, under the current favourable regime of guaranteed sales to the M.M.U., than with breeding goats. Most of the kids born to his herd are sold for meat or for breeding to a dealer. Payment [426] seems to be made as money becomes available from the M.M.U every two weeks. Often however he admits to being up to two months behind with payment, settling one debt "when the next transaction is afoot".

In 1958, Nardu was talking at length about "getting two or three cows or calves". He "knows about cows from friends" but has not himself got the £300 capital necessary for two. Moreover he observes that "you can't graze cows" and their general upkeep is likely to clash with that of goats, especially where one man is working alone as in this case. There seems to be an element of prestige attached to the ownership of cows in a village such as Nardu's where the vast majority of herdsmen have only goats. Certainly his thinking is not guided by comparative costings of milk production from the cow and goat.

*159 434 [443] [511] Nardu's fields produce fodder and some food for the family so that they "will not have to buy in everything from the shops". He reckons to save between 15/- and £1 per week in this way. His wife spends £3 a week on purchased food and she looks back nostalgically to her youth when her mother spent some 30/- per week on food and clothing for a family with twelve children, while she has only three. The steady item of income in Nardu's budget is the money received from the M.M.U. for the goats' milk 600 sold. Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu

*159 24 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments. Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 ●157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land.)

*159
234 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields
474 supplying fodder for the animals together with some food
items for the family. His herd is however much larger and
in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpannija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This
234 meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurised milk
461 from door to door - previously there had been some seven or
[256 eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he
has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons
[433 or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin
[434 strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly
*159 however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk
46 to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He
24 himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is
465

*159 241 for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna. Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c.½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

H. General.

*159 [472] [423] [464] [178]

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows G to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- G therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.

[435] [451] [461] ●[157]

- G has no real idea of costing of his production. Could give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, G could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (baghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464 Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

*159 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic
433 because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising
451 yields any further.
(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:
*159 - some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform
134 and these can only be worked by hand.
241 - deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melħ" - salt) - subsurface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorċa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen
● 157 he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as
626 elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-
829 weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159
241
434
An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

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*[159]
[369]
[162]
Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agriculture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434]
- Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.

[433] [251]
- Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43

(i)
- Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii)
- Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii)
- Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv)
- Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve. [454]

*159 157 829

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-ploughman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdoms, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

*159 157 829 rojection of his village background, and his attitude to agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

*159 423 167 177 241 [441] He comes of a village family in which his father and paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the family but neither Ġanni nor his brother, a few years his junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family butchering business held no more attraction for them and was relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the brothers thought that neither butchering nor farming presented scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian pattern, with tractor-drawn, three-furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

*159 177 241 407 He returned home full of ideas of making money as a contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities. Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plowing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead, working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few young men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

*159 241 829 Ġanni's view of farming in Malta.

"Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and because of the difficulties facing the mechanisation of field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither

156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
156 meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xiħ żomm fih*). But
564 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where
schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to
their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard.
The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is
wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leadership
in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish
registers support the memories of the present generation of elders
that this has not always been the case.

Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
156 their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
[575] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it convenient
[693] for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
continue to practise in their native villages. But when they continue
to reside in their villages, even though their social life and
many of their business interests are oriented away from the community,
they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge
their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted
into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have
gone successfully into politics.

Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
156 citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday procession.
693 Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter
of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football
and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he
has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a
successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
759 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

● 159

[Biographical information on thirteen case studies of representative farmers and herdsmen in Malta and Gozo will be found in category 116, pp. 73-141.]

*175 Departures from the Island trend were most marked by a low masculinity in 1921 and an abnormally high ratio in 1948. In suburban areas growth of the 162 population as a whole, which was most rapid between 1861 and 1911, was not accompanied by any marked imbalance between the sexes but after the latter 167 date low masculinity was persistent and the ratio fluctuated much less than in urban districts. In rural districts, masculinity increased steadily from 1842 to 1911, when 102.5, the highest ratio ever recorded in Malta, was achieved in these areas. After 1911, there was some decline, but rural areas continued to show a higher ratio of males to females than did the Island as a whole.

The sex structure of a population is closely connected with, among other factors, external and internal migration rates. We may therefore use masculinity ratios to help our general understanding of other socio-economic conditions and also vice-versa. The early appearance and continuance of an excess of females in the case of Malta is without doubt the result of predominantly male emigraton, a causative relationship particularly strong in slowly developing Gozo. By 1911, the cumulative effect of the return of male immigrants together with other factors brought the ratio to near-parity. After 1911, increasing emigration reduced masculinity to the low point of 1921 from which it again rose to 1948, since which time renewed and large-scale outward movement has once more reduced the ratio. Except for the special circumstances obtaining in the late 1930's when most of the female non-Maltese population (largely Garrison families) was evacuated, and in the mid-40s when a more balanced non-Malt[illegible] group became re-established; except for this, the sex ratio can clearly be understood in association with our examination of economic changes and with a study of emigration (p. 157 et. seq.).

Regional differences in masculinity are of similar value in elucidating ● 16 changing patterns of economic development and of internal migration. The rising proportion of males in the urban population between 1891 and 1901, for example, *175 was to a large extent a product of an inward movement of workers connected with harbour development, and the decline in masculinity which marked the succeeding decade reflects the cessation of such work. The increased urban masculinity recorded in 1948 suggests that the return to reconstructed areas was evenly balanced thus causing an adjustment in the ratio, moving away from the female preponderance of 1931 (Fig. 47).

Fluctuations in suburban sex ratios have been relatively slight. The fall in masculinity between 1911 and 1921 was largely a product of emigration, while that of 1921-31 is statistical rather than real in that, at the latter census, the 'civil population' included the families of the garrison among whom females predominated and who lived mainly in Suburban Districts.

In Rural Districts, increases in the proportion of males down to 1911, reflect an inward movement, largely of emigrants returning from North Africa together with the late arresting of the earlier male movement to the towns. Declining masculinity between 1931 and 1948 was largely a product of renewed movement to the towns, often a first stage in migration overseas.

The age composition of the Islands' population is especially characterised 162 by the high proportion of children, as shown in Table 28.

Table 28. Age-distribution of populations in percentages.

		Under 15	15-64	65 and over
United Kingdom	(1948)	21.4	67.9	10.7
Italy	(1949)	26.5	65.6	7.9
Netherlands	(1950)	29.4	62.9	7.7
Malta	(1948)	34.8	59.3	5.9
Japan	(1950)	35.4	59.7	4.9

•16

[P.151-A]

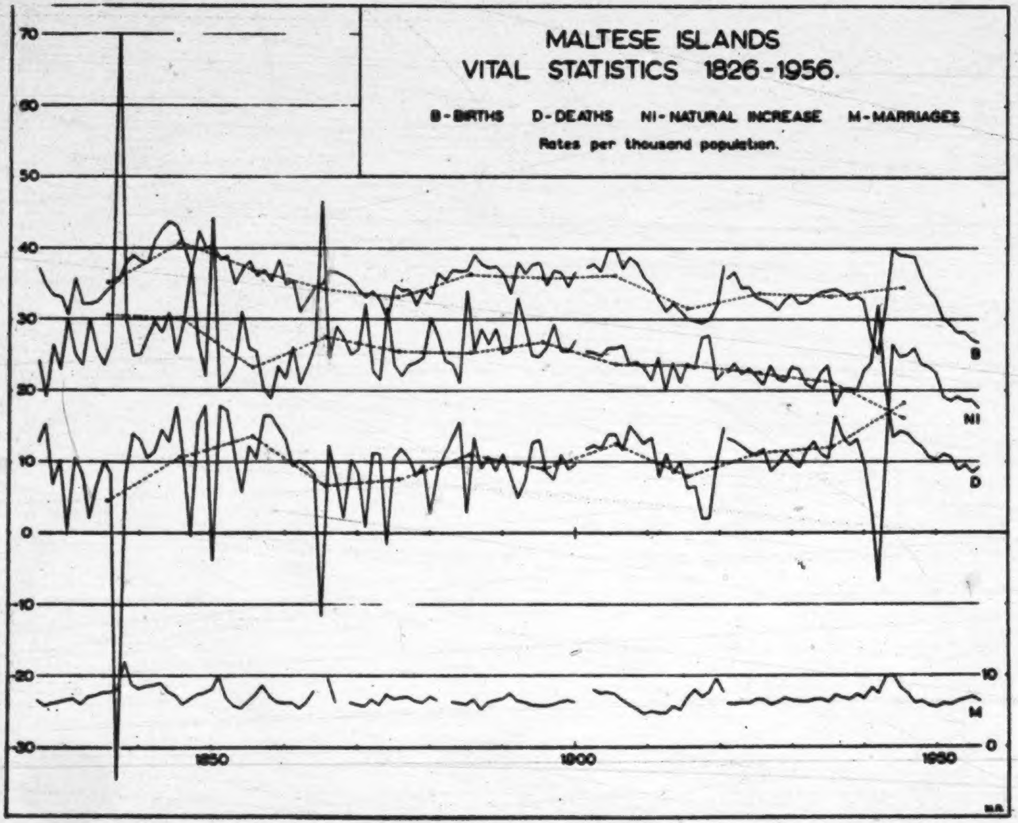

Fig. 54 Maltese Islands: Vital Statistics, 1826-1956.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

16 This table[1] summarises the data illustrated graphically in Figs. 52 and 53, and shows that 70 per cent. of Maltese women eventually have four or more children and 25.9 per cent. have at least ten.

The survival rate is discussed later (p. 153) but the 1948 Census does show the proportion of children born who were still living at the time of the Census and adds a further perspective to the statement of actual family size. Deaths reduce the mean number of children per married woman from 4.8 to 3.2. Effective family size has in the past been reduced mainly by the extraordinarily high rate of infant mortality. In recent years this has been checked and larger families can be expected unless adjustments operate in the birth, marriage or fertility rates in the immediate future. Past trends in these rates, which contribute to the natural increase are considered in the following section.

ELEMENTS OF POPULATION GROWTH

161 Since changes in population are a function of births, deaths and migration, the trends of each of these and their relative contributions to growth must be considered. In the 114 years between 1842 and 1956, there was a net increase [162] of just over 200,000. In the same period, nearly 70,000 people have been lost by migration and the natural increase has amounted to some 267,000.

[p. 151-B]

[1] [i.e., Table 29, p. 149 -- Analyst]

the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a 133
gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely 333
populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square 161
miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population density [131]
of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated
countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the
urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The 162
rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly
separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The population
of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very 16 ●
limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems. The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged 8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000 women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. 175
The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality.
With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known published
sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to [121]
enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical
perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different [648]

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[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands*, 1960 (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–5.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

ESSENTIAL STATISTICS

131 The Maltese Islands - Land Area 121.850 sq. miles, Population 323,667[1].
●161 Malta - Land Area 94.876 sq. miles, Population 296,008[1].
Gozo and Comino - Land Area 26.974 sq. miles, Population 27,659[1].

162 A. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION[2]

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(i)	Civil Government	17,050
	Service Departments	22,480
(ii)	Agriculture, Fishing and Quarrying	9,130
	Manufacturing	9,030
	Construction	7,220
(iii)	Wholesale and Retail Trades	10,920
	Transport and Communications	3,850
	Insurance, Banking, etc.	550
	Gas Service	90
(iv)	Recreation and Personal Services	7,250
	Community and Business Services	1,140
	Total	88,710

433 B. PRODUCTION[1]

Gross Domestic Product 1957	£ m.	36.1
Gross Industrial Production 1957	"	10.036
Gross Agricultural Product 1957	"	5.008

439 C. TRADE[3]

(i) Commodities (value in £ m)	Imports	Exports	Re-exports
Food, Drink, Tobacco	9.411	.547	.549
Raw materials and materials mainly unmanufactured	3.227	.312	1.307
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	13.215	.132	.404
Miscellaneous and unspecified	2.862	.005	.339
Bullion and Specie	.104	-	-
	28.820	.995	2.600

(ii) Direction of Trade (%)	Imports	Exports
Sterling Area	49.3	41.1
Dollar Area	7.2	.8
O. E. E. C.	33.5	10.4
Other	10.0	2.1
Ships and Aircraft Stores	-	45.6
	100	100

(iii) Balance of Trade	Imports	Exports & Re-exports	Negative Balance
		Million £	
1949	15.312	1.038	14.274
1954	20.407	2.879	17.528
1958	28.820	3.595	25.225

(Since 1948 the adverse trade balance has increased by an average of 4.7% per annum)

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

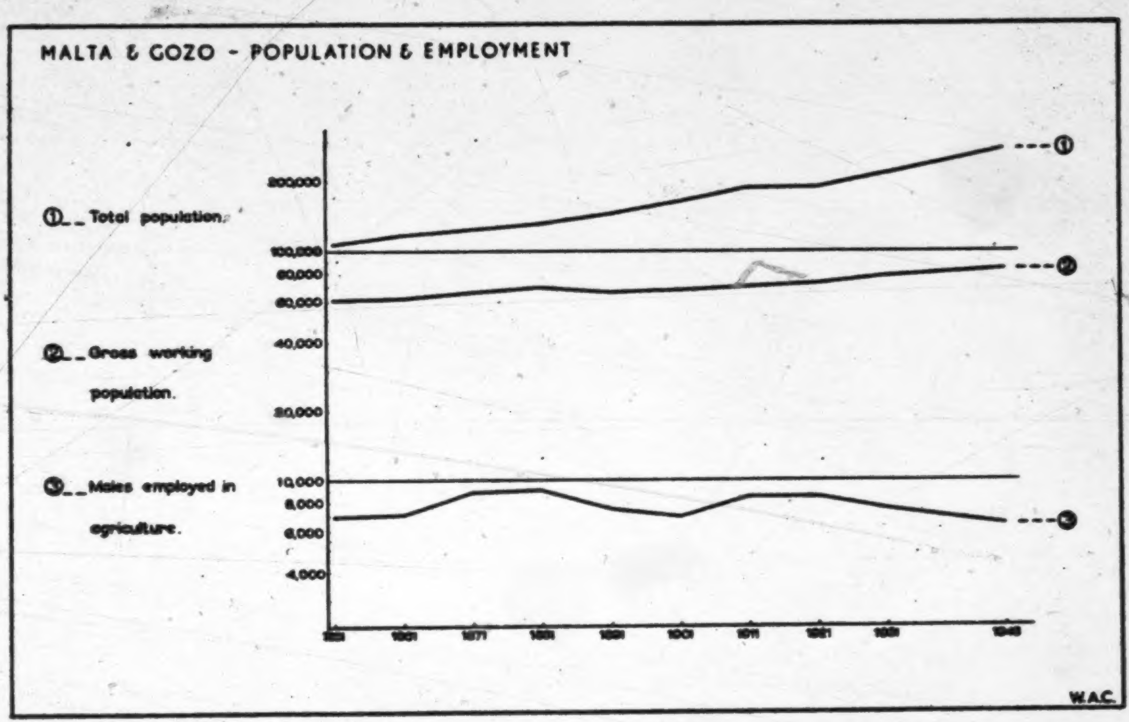

Fig. 31 Malta and Gozo, Population and Employment.

[p. 118-B]

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*175 revenue deficits. In 1878 a report by Rowsell on the fiscal situation in Malta is particularly indicative of buoyant conditions, but also indicated the smallness
43 of revenue reserves (14).

The superficially favourable Internal Revenue situation and the fall in unemployment and migration, particularly after 1870, were however paralleled by a growing unbalance in the National Product. Once again there occurred a fortuitous coincidence of favourable external circumstances. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and fleets of small steamships plying the new route to the Indian Ocean needed frequent bunkering. The Mediterranean littoral itself became the scene of increased economic activity. The same industrial surge in northern Europe, and in Britain in particular, which built the ships and the Canal, needed foodstuffs and raw materials and provided the capital and equipment for their production. Not only from the Mediterranean littoral, Australia and the Orient, but also from the Russian and Danubian Black Sea ports came the ships which converged on the Malta Straits. Many regions suffered from the downward movement of commodity prices which occurred after 1873. Malta was little affected by commodity price-changes in that her commercial activity was strictly concerned with services, and the Islands reaped the benefit of increased volume of traffic. By 1882, 80 per cent. of the recorded tonnage using the harbours dealt with extra-Mediterranean traffic. The same year witnessed the nineteenth century peak of British steel exports, the Black Sea grain trade was still building up and bunkering business in Malta reached its height. During the 1880's Britain was in virtual control of maritime affairs and the complicated pattern of a relevant part of tramp movement may be summarised thus (15):-

> '... steamers go a round voyage, part of which is in ballast, taking coal, say, to the Mediterranean and then grain from the Black Sea to Hamburg and home ... The course of the export trade in coal is influenced in some degree by the return freight ... modified by favourable harvests or otherwise in different parts of the world, and the consequent varying sources of our food supplies'.

In this statement may be found an explanation both of the reason for Malta's
*175 Golden Era between 1870 and 1890 and for its impermanence. Before 1890 events conspired to produce commercial opportunity. After 1890 Europe turned more
43 and more to the New World for grain and the volume of Black Sea trade slowly
505 declined. Those ships still in the trade together with those using the through Mediterranean routes grew larger and more power-efficient and therefore less in need of frequent bunkering stops. Competition from other ports increased as the Mediterranean political pattern became simplified by effective French control of much of North Africa, by the enforcement of stability on Egypt and by Italian unification. The sheer momentum of nineteenth century economic progress carried centres such as Algiers, Naples, Alexandria and Barcelona, all with developing hinterlands and facilities, out of the class of ports pure and simple. By 1895 shipping activity in Malta had dropped back to the level of 1880 and thenceforward it developed at a slower rate than did world trade as a whole. The Maltese were once more sharply reminded that the possession of a good natural harbour was not enough in itself permanently to attract commercial interest.

Since detailed statistics of trade, other than that in dutiable goods, were not recorded before 1910 it is difficult to measure directly the real significance of port activity and trade either during the boom or in more normal conditions. The Blue Books are of some analytical aid, and that for 1891 suggests that the total value of what are termed re-exports was £35,000,000 of which only 3 per cent. by value were actually landed in Malta, the remainder proceeding to their ultimate destinations in the same bottoms. For further information we must turn to an analysis of the other elements in the National Product.

*175 The most useful records at our disposal are the Census recordings of
43 occupations although even here there are considerable deficiencies. The gross working population (unemployment figures are not available before 1921) shows
464 trends which conform to those of net population increase (Fig. 31) but particularly noteworthy is the numerical loss due to a decline in the female working
●161 group.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P. 133]

Chapter VI

MODERN MALTA

A. Population and Migration

It is common knowledge that the Maltese Islands now possess a population which is extremely large relative to the territorial area. Polemical discussion of the implications of the situation has generally been based on two assumptions. The first is that the present size of the population is wholly a consequence of a simple vital revolution which occurred during British rule in the nineteenth century. The second assumption is that this vital revolution is almost over and that falling birthrates will stabilise the population at a new and higher level. These assumptions are erroneous. The brief study that follows (based on a full-scale investigation of many types of source material by M. Richardson and others), attempts to show the true characteristics of Maltese demography.

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THE POPULATION BEFORE 1842

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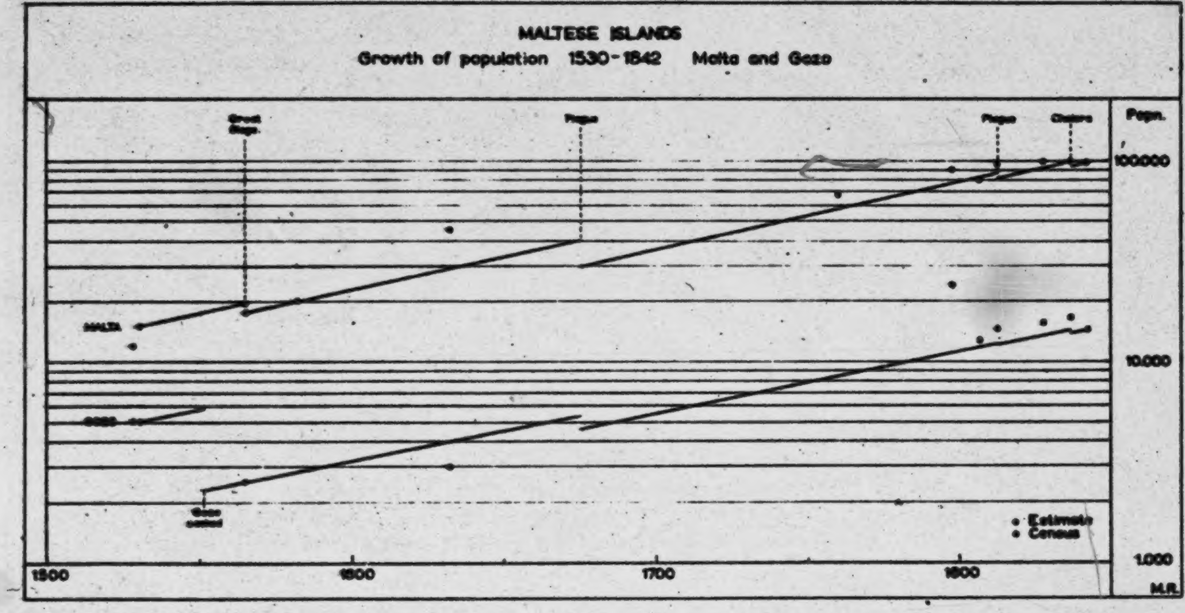
Table 24. Estimates of population A.D. 991 to 1842.

	I. MALTESE		II. NON-MALTESE		III. TOTAL
	Malta	Gozo	The Knights	Other	
(1) 991					21,000
(2) 1240	3,800	1,800			5,600
(3) 1400					10,000
(4) 1528	12,000	5,000			17,000
(5) 1530	15,000	5,000	5,000		25,000
(6) 1565	19,500	2,500	9,000		31,000
	17,500	2,500	3,000		23,000
(7) 1582	20,000				
(8) 1590	28,864		3,426		32,290
(9) 1632	45,450	3,000	4,450		52,900
(10) 1741					110,000
(11) 1760	66,800				
(12) 1798	90,000	24,000			114,000
(13) 1807	80,225	12,829		22,100	115,154
(14) 1813	96,403	14,400			110,803
(15) 1823					112,204
(16) 1828	98,618	15,618		1,709	115,945
(17) 1837	98,958	16,522		4,398	119,878
(18) 1842	97,535	14,330		1,999	113,864



[p. 134-A]

Fig. 34 Maltese Islands: Growth of Population 1530-1842.

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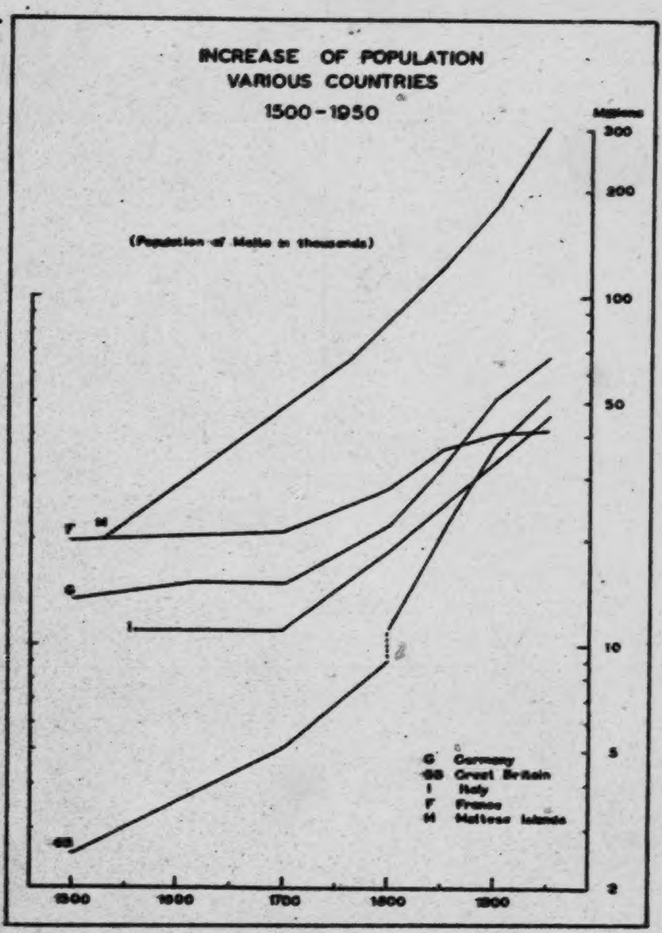

Fig. 35 Increase of Population, Various Countries, 1500 -1950.

[p. 134-B]

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The earliest recorded estimate of the population of the Maltese Islands is one of 21,000, made by the Emir Yusuf al Futah in A.D. 991 (1), but this would appear to be excessive in the light of Abate Giliberto's report (2) of approximately 1,000 families in 1240 and Bosio's suggestion (3) that total numbers in A.D. 1400 did not exceed 10,000. The Commissioners to the Knights (4) estimated a total population of about 17,000 in 1528 to whom were added, shortly afterwards, members of the Order and their followers, some 5,000 in all. That the population of the Islands in 1530 was in the region of 20,000 may be assumed from data given by a number of writers including Fra Joannus Quintinus, Bosio and Boisgelin (5).

The first half of the sixteenth century appears to have been a period of steady population increase in Malta, but Gozo suffered a severe setback in the Turkish raid of 1551 when large numbers were taken away as slaves. At the time of the Great Siege of 1565, members of the Order numbered 9,000 and the civilian population was in the region of 22,000 (6), a total of 31,000 of whom perhaps 5,000 lived in Gozo. Fatal casualties sustained by the Maltese during the Siege numbered 8,000 according to Zabarella, and Bosio puts the civilian population after the Siege at 20,000. A similar total was reported for the civilian population of Malta alone, excluding the Knights and their followers, by Grand Inquisitor Visconti in 1582 (7). In 1590 an enumeration was made for the Viceroy of Sicily (8). A detailed enumeration was made for Grand Master de Pawla in 1632 and is recorded by Abela (9). The members of the Order numbered 4,450 while the 'native' populations of Malta and Gozo were said to be 45,450 and 3,000 respectively, a grand total of 52,900.

Information is fragmentary for the period 1632-1807, although an estimate of 110,000 was made in 1741 (10) conflicting with Ciantar's figure (11) of 66,800 for Malta only, excluding members of the Order, in the year 1760. The former total is obviously much exaggerated. Boisgelin's total (12) of 114,000 in 1798 is equally unreliable as is shown by its estimate of 24,000 for Gozo, when that Island is known to have had only 14,000 inhabitants in 1842 (18) and there is no evidence of large-scale migration from Gozo in the intervening period.

The first detailed enumeration after the withdrawal of the French was recorded in an almanac of 1807 (13) and was based on Parish registers. This shows a 'native Catholic' population of 93,000 and a total of 22,100 'other inhabitants and domesticated strangers'. The 'census' of 1828 (16) gives a total which differs by a few hundreds only from that of 1807, and although the outbreak of plague in 1813 would in part account for the lack of population growth during the period, there can be little doubt that the 1828 enumeration had considerable deficiencies. That of 1837 (17) had similar defects. Over-estimation seems to have been a common feature of counts made in the early nineteenth century, since the first official census (18) of 1842, recorded a total population of only 113,884.

There is not sufficient material for any valid conclusions to be reached concerning the rate of population growth in the Maltese Islands before 1530, but the various estimates made between 1530 and 1842 permit an assessment of trends over the three centuries preceding the first official census. In Fig. 34 these estimates have been plotted on a semi-logarithmic scale and the trend of early nineteenth century population growth back-projected to 1530. Assuming a steady rate of increase, all the sixteenth century estimates, together with those of the nineteenth century are close to the totals arrived at by interpolation, but, in the intervening period, the figures given by Abela and Boisgelin appear grossly inaccurate. Abela's estimate for 1632 seems likely to have been at least 15,000 too great, his postulated increase of 100 per cent. or more over the figure for 1582 being an obvious impossibility. Boisgelin's total of 114,000 in 1798, includes a definite over-estimate of at least 10,000 in the case of Gozo and a probable exaggeration of 10,000 for Malta. Interpolation suggests a figure of 90,000 for the native population of the Islands in that year.

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It is noteworthy that, between 1530 and 1798, the period during which the Knights of St. John were in control of the Maltese Islands, the population of Malta and Gozo together increased by some 260 per cent. from 25,000 to 90,000 while

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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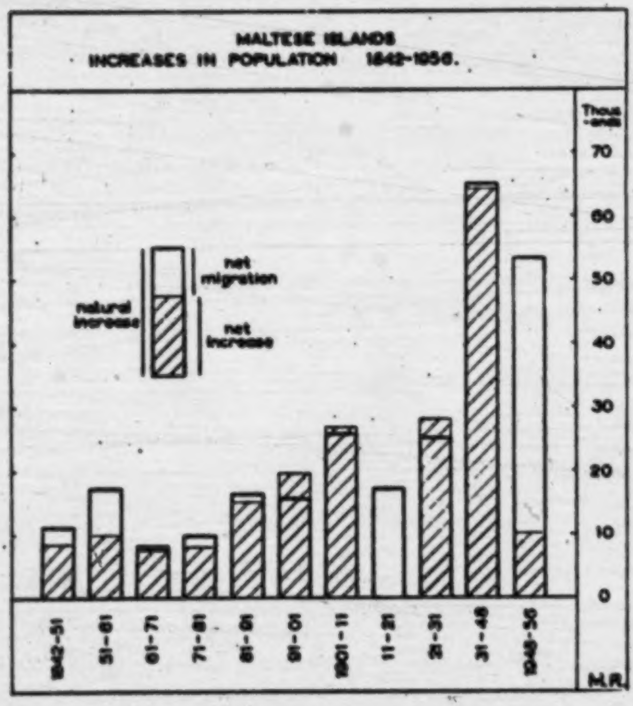

Fig. 37 Maltese Islands: Increases in Population, 1842-1956.

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much of the rest of Europe had static or declining numbers until the eighteenth century (Fig. 35). The relative security and stability of Maltese life during this period is thus reflected in the population figures. Excessive pressure of numbers on resources was becoming apparent before the British era and emigration was suggested as early as the eighteenth century (19). That this particular problem has become intensified during the period of British sovereignty is a result of further acceleration in the rate of population increase which, as we shall see, has been a product of improvements in social and economic welfare.

Table 25. Increare of population 1830-1956

Average annual increase %

Period	Maltese Islands	Malta	Goso
1830-1842	0,63	0.74	0.33
1842-1956	0,90	0,96	0,58

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE POPULATION AFTER 1842

Manuscripts of the unofficial census of 1828 are no longer extant and details of this enumeration are available only at second hand in Miège's '*Histoire de Malte*' published in 1840. The first regular Census of the Maltese Islands was taken in 1842 and the second in 1851, to be followed by decennial censuses until 1931. The war prevented any enumeration in 1941, and the eleventh Census took place in 1948.

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Widespread illiteracy and the absence of penalties for non-compliance were obvious hindrances to accurate census-taking in nineteenth-century Malta. Thus the coverage of earlier censuses is unlikely to have been complete. The information asked for (30) has also been an extremely variable quantity (Table 28).

Table 28. Subjects covered in the censuses from 1861 to 1948.

Subject	Number of tables on each subject								
	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1948
Total Population			1	3	3	3	3	5	
Non-civilian Element			1	6	4	8	4		
Civilian Population									
Distribution and Increase	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	3	4
Ages	2	2	2	9	9	11	9	10	4
Marital Status	2	3	3	8	8	6	6	7	7
Occupations	3	3	3	5	5	4	4	4	23
Birthplace and Residence	2	3	7	10	10	8	9	10	11
Religion			2	2	2	1	1	1	
Housing of Families, Dwellings	2		2	5	4	4	4	5	16
Health and Vital Statistics	8	2	3	4	4	5	5	2	2
Asylums and Penal Institutions	1		6	4	4	4	4	3	
Maltese Abroad			1	1	1	1	1	1	
Miscellaneous	6[a]			10[b]	14[b]				16[c]
TOTAL Number of Tables[d]	19	4	30	80	83	67	61	63	96

a. Including four tables on the Judicial Courts.
b. All on Agriculture.
c. Including ten summary tables of all aspects.
d. This may not be the same as the total of the tables on each subject, since some tables cover more than one subject but have only been included under one heading.

The number of subjects dealt with has progressively increased, but few of the tabulations are strictly comparable for all censuses. In the nine censuses taken between 1861 and 1948, it is remarkable that not one tabulation has been preserved unchanged over the whole period. Apart from these variations in the scope of the census, there have been frequent changes in the number and grouping of the territorial units under which the figures are given (Fig. 38).

When considering population trends in the Maltese Islands, a good deal of confusion is also occasioned by the presence of a considerable non-Maltese element which produces fluctuations and changes in the pattern of population growth which are not characteristic of the Maltese people. This must always be borne in mind when considering the Census Reports which do not always make clear the distinction between the two groups.

[563]

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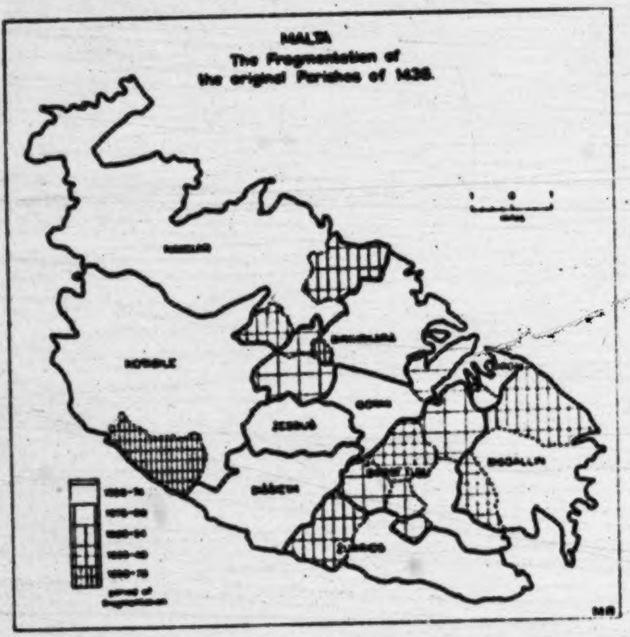


Fig. 38 The Fragmentation of the Original Parishes of 1436.

As early as 1836, a member of a Royal Commission was able to say that 'the real grievance of the Maltese lies beyond the reach of Commissioners and Governments, namely the excessive population'. At this date, as we have already seen, a steady increase of population had been maintained for some 300 years. During the nineteenth century, advances in medicine and sanitation together with increasing economic prosperity were reflected in a falling death rate and an accelerating natural increase. Thus between 1842 and 1956, numbers nearly trebled, rising from 114,000 to 316,000 and the overall density increased from 935 to 2,511 per square mile. While the rate of growth has in most European countries declined during the present century, that of Malta has remained at or above the levels of the nineteenth century. Only in the last few years has the Maltese crude birth rate begun to decline and only in the post-war period has emigration been on a large enough scale to act as a check on numerical growth. As will appear, neither of these simple facts gives any ground for optimism.

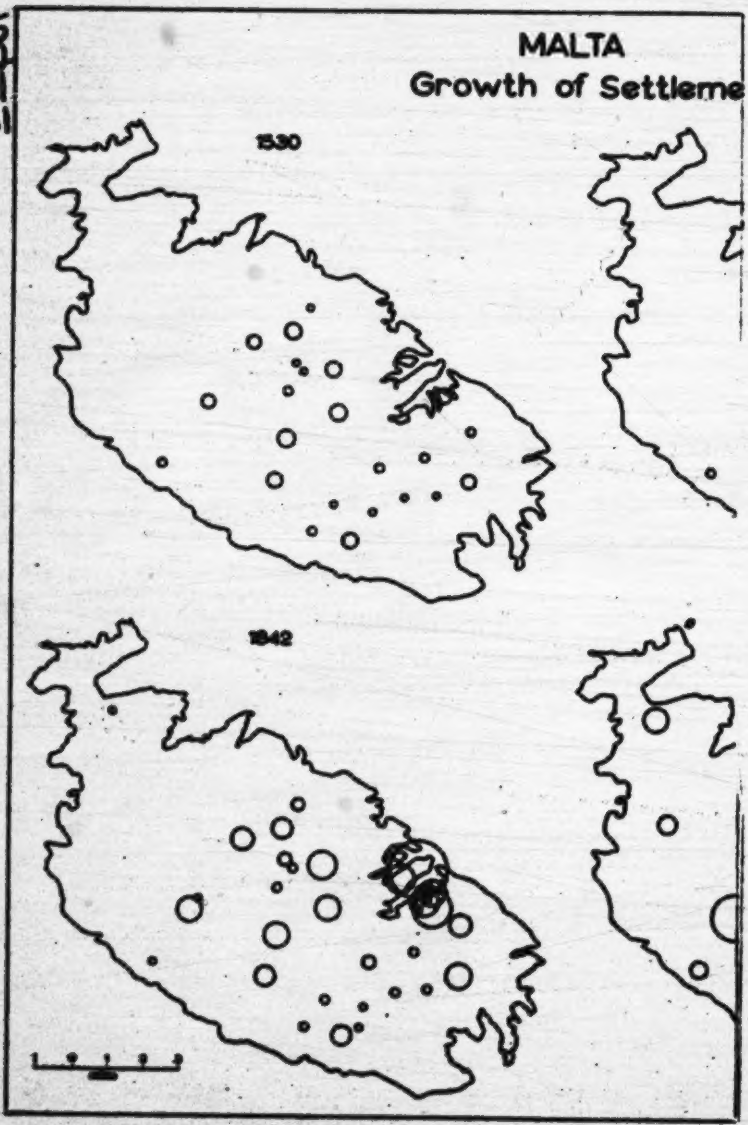
Fig. 37 shows the absolute growth of population in the Islands. In Malta, the rate of increase has been cumulatively high although during three past periods, first between 1861 and 1881, and later during the two World Wars, it declined to relatively low levels. Since 1948 the rate of growth has been consistently low and occasionally changed into absolute decrease. In Gozo, total increase has been smaller and fluctuations both larger and differently timed. Between 1861 and 1871 population increased remarkably rapidly, while between 1911 and 1921 there was an absolute decrease. Since 1948 trends have conformed with those of Malta.

Such absolute figures need consideration from several aspects. The economic background has already been considered. Details of distribution and structure of the population must now be examined.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
MalTa

*175
102
●161
361


MALTA
Growth of Settleme
1530
1842

[p 139-A]

Fig. 29 Malta: Growth of Settlements

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ8 Malta EZ8
Malta

[139-B]

175*
102
161
361

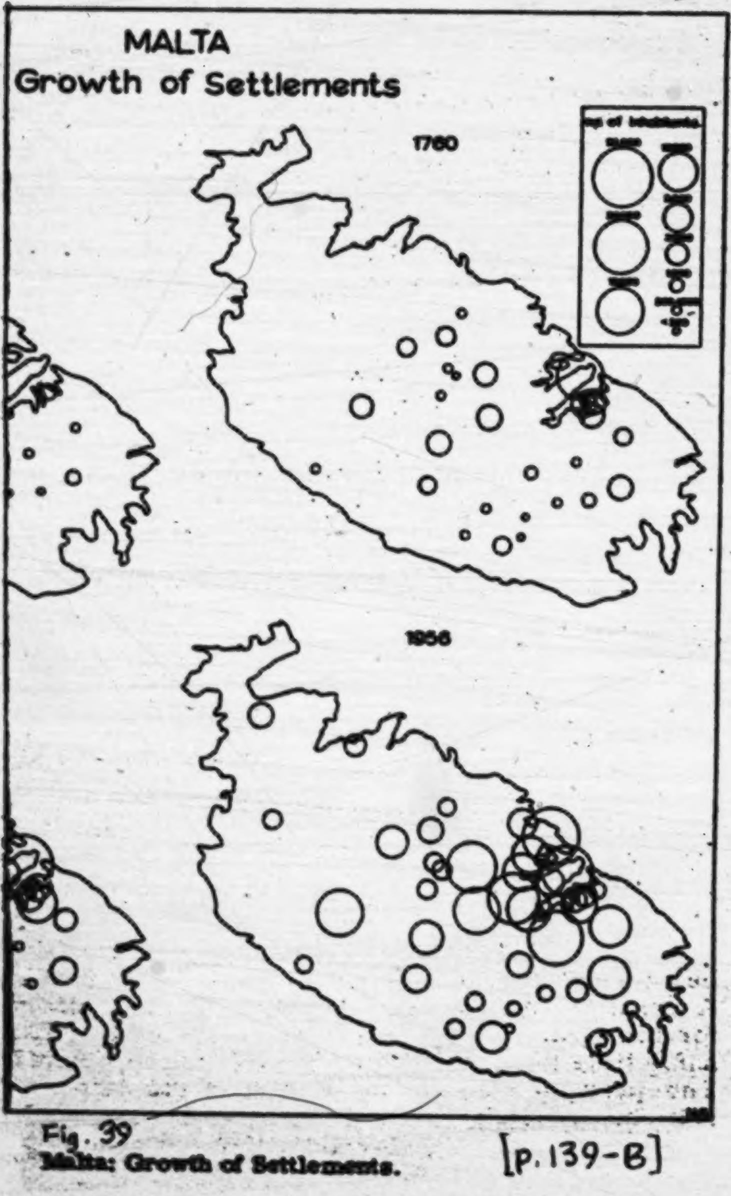

MALTA
Growth of Settlements
1760
1956

Fig. 39
Malta: Growth of Settlements.

[p. 139-B]

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

*175 The main changes in population distribution may be easily established.

●161 Before the arrival of the Knights, the population of the Islands was clustered
361 in small inland villages while in the centre of each island was a fortified town where refuge could be sought in time of trouble. At the same time each island had its port. Thus, in Malta, Birgu (later renamed Vittoriosa) was the commercial centre while Mdina was the ecclesiastical and administrative capital. In 1436, there were 11 parishes in all: by the late seventeenth century the number had risen to 26 (Fig. 38). The establishment of these new parishes was largely confined to the central and southern parts of the Island; the north remained but sparsely peopled.

Under the Knights growth of population around the Grand Harbour and the vulnerability of Birgu to attack, as demonstrated in the Great Siege, led to the building of Bormla (Kospikwa) and Isla (Senglea) together with the new capital of Valletta on the previously barren Xibberas peninsula. The population of this city complex reached its high water mark in the early part of the nineteenth

[p. 139-C]

[Text continues on p. 140-C]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*175
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●161
361

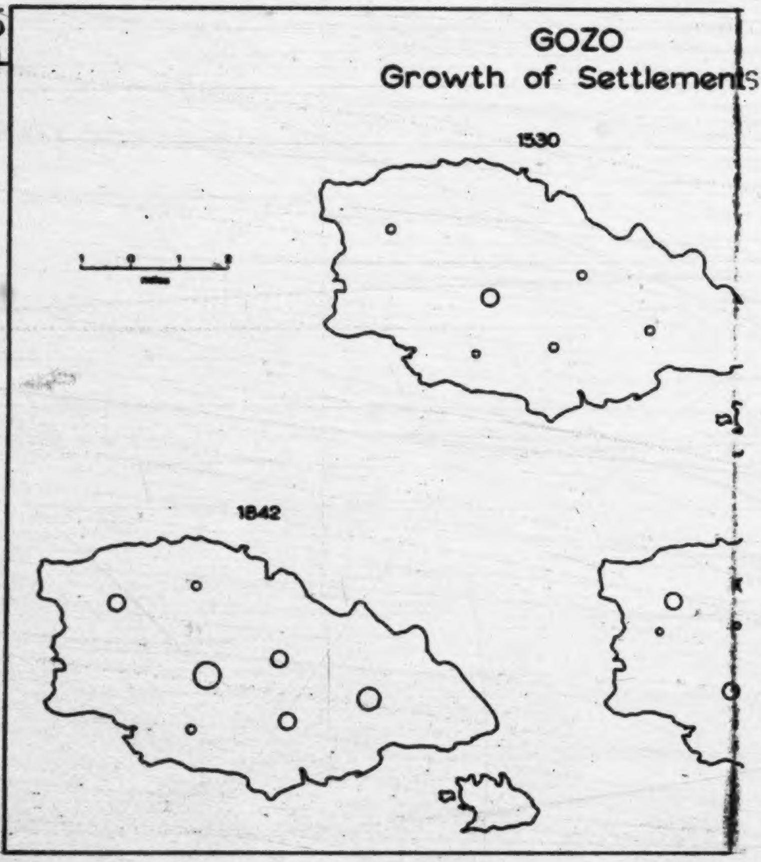
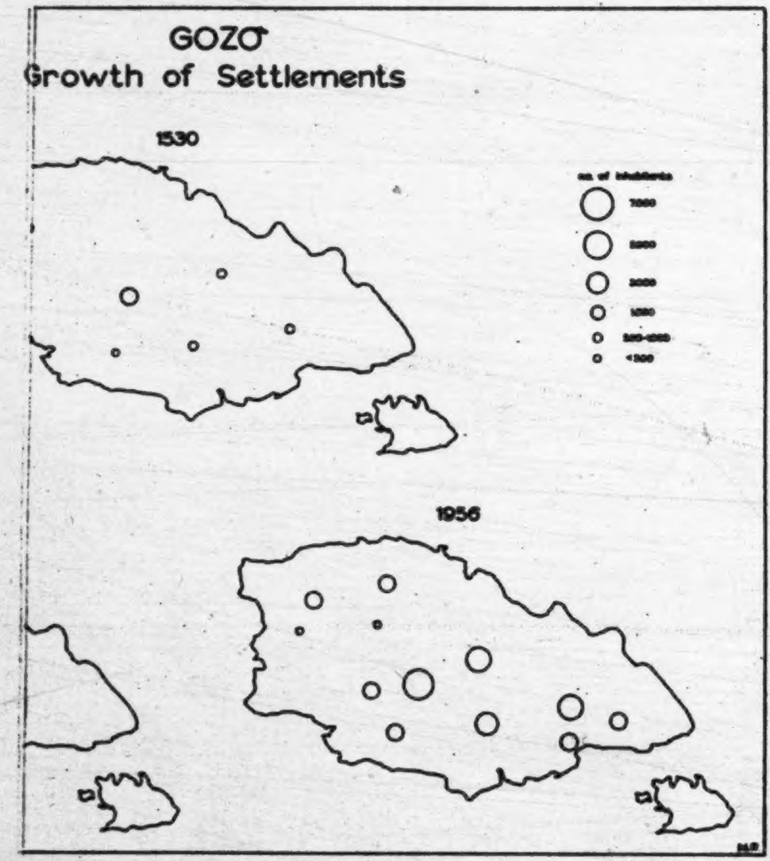

GOZO
Growth of Settlements
1530
1842
miles

Fig. 40 Gozo: Growth of Settlements

[p.140-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo


GOZO
Growth of Settlements
1530
1956
no. of inhabitants
7000
<500

175*
161 ●
102
361

Fig. 40 Gozo: Growth of Settlements.

[p. 140 -B]

*175 century, since when the numbers living therein have declined appreciably.
A parallel development has been the spread of 'fringe' settlements outside the
●161 fortifications accompanied by a transfer of population from the cities. At the
361 same time there has been a persistent movement inwards from rural districts. The present century has also seen the establishment and growth of coastal settlement, notably around Marsaxlokk Bay, and the expansion of such northern villages as Mellieħa, St. Paul's Bay and Mġarr, previously of little importance (Fig. 39).

Changes in the distribution of population and the development of new settlements have also occurred in Gozo where the hill top villages have grown ever-larger and where such places as Għasri, San Lawrenz and Kerċem have become sufficiently important to warrant the establishment of new parishes. In contrast to Malta, however, the ancient citadel of Gozo with its suburbs in Rabat (Victoria) remains the capital and there has been no movement of the economic centre of gravity towards the coast (Fig. 40).

The difference between the rates of increase of the populations of Malta and Gozo, the former trebling between 1842 and 1956, the latter not quite doubling, is one indicator of the growing socio-economic differences between the two islands. A more useful distinction appears from a study of the functional and demographic characteristics of regional groups of settlement. By the mid-nineteenth century onward a conurbation with true urban functions had developed around the Grand Harbour, while to the west around Marsamxett and beyond, and on the southern and eastern city fringes were appearing suburban settlements in which non-rural residential development overwhelmed old village

[Text continues on p.144]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Key to Abbreviations used in Figs. 41 - 45

*175
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361

Fig. 41
M = Malta
U = Urban
S = Suburban
R = Rural
G = Gozo

Fig. 42
Va = Valletta
C = Cospicua
F = Floriana
S = Senglea
V = Vittoriosa

Fig. 43
Bk = Birkirkara
Gz = Gżira
H = Hamrun
Ka = Kalkara
M = Marsa
Ms = Msida
Pa = Pawla
Pt = Pieta
Q = Qormi
SV = Santa Vennera
SJ = Saint Julian's
Sl = Sliema
T = Tarxien
Za = Żabbar

Fig. 44(a)
D = Dingli
Gg = Għargħur
Md = Mdina
Me = Mellieħa
Mg = Mġarr
Mo = Mosta
N = Naxxar
Rb = Rabat
SP = Saint Paul's Bay
Sg = Siggiewi
Zb = Żebbuġ

Fig. 44(b)
A = Attard
Ba = Balzan
Bb = Birżebbuġa
Gd = Gudja
Gx = Għaxaq
Kk = Kirkop
L = Lija
Lq = Luqa
Mq = Mqabba
Mx = Marsaxlokk
Qr = Qrendi
Sa = Safi
Zt = Żejtun
Zq = Żurrieq

Fig. 45
Gb = Għarb
GM = Ghajnsielem and Mġarr
Gs = Għasri
Kc = Kercem
Nd = Nadur
Ql = Qala
Rb = Rabat
SM = Sannat and Munxar
SL = Santa Luċija
X = Xagħra
Xk = Xewkija
Zg = Żebbuġ

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

*175
●161
361

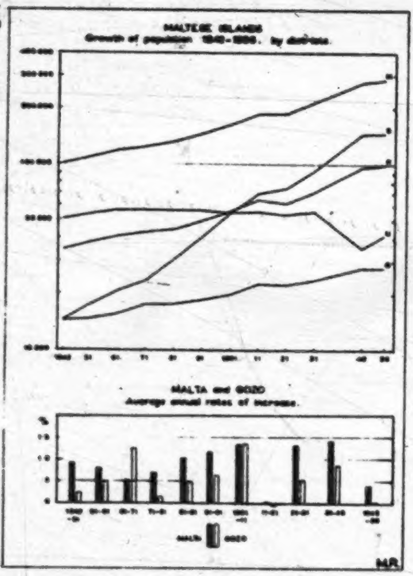


Fig. 41 Maltese Islands: Growth of Population, 1842-1956, by Districts.

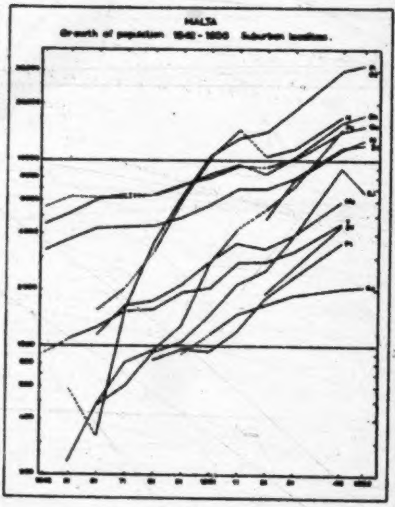


Fig. 43 Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Suburban Localities.

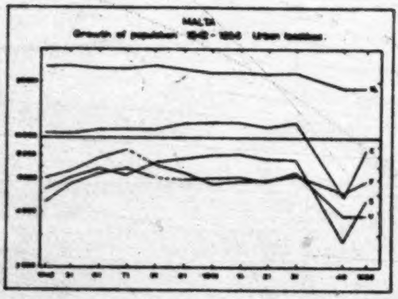
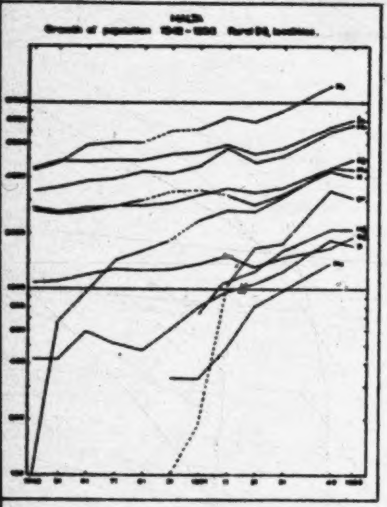


Fig. 42 Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Urban Localities.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

175*
161●
361



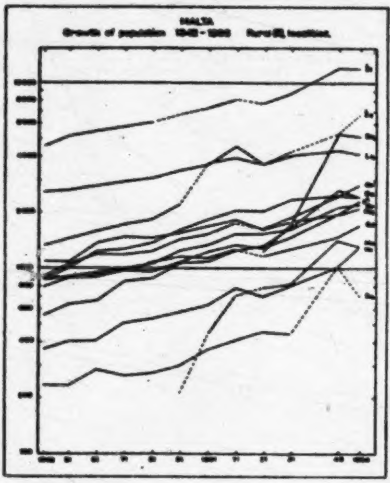


Fig. 44a Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Rural (N) Localities.

Fig. 44b Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Rural (S) Localities.

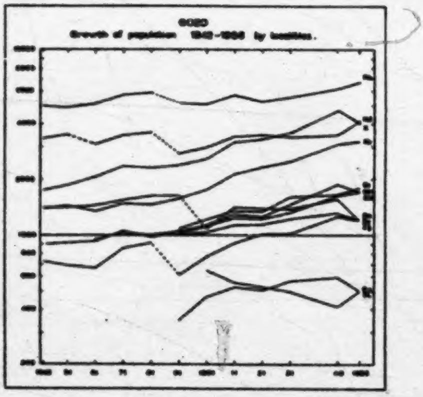


Fig. 45 Gozo: Growth of Population 1842-1956, by Districts.

*175 •161 361 nuclei. Table 27 below shows how in numerical terms the regional population balance changed. It will be observed that the proportion of people living in the diminishing rural area remained remarkably constant, although as already noted in Chapter V, a growing number of these were not farmworkers. Equally noteworthy is the decline in residential importance of the urban nucleus compared with the rise of the suburbs, producing a complete proportional reversal between 1842 and 1956 (Fig. 41).

Table 27. Percentage distribution of population, Island of Malta.

	1842	1861	1881	1901	1921	1948	1956
Urban Districts	50.6	48.0	43.3	33.2	28.2	12.6	14.5
Suburban Districts	14.5	17.4	23.1	33.1	39.2	52.6	50.9
Rural Districts	34.9	34.6	33.6	33.7	32.6	34.8	34.6

Within this main pattern of distributional change, other small-scale but significant trends may be discerned. Among the urban areas (Fig. 42), Valletta's population was decreasing as early as 1842-51, but in other districts the decline did not set in until after 1871, while Senglea and Kospikwa continued to grow, albeit slowly, until 1911. During the Second World War, decline in numbers was most marked in the Three Cities while the population of Floriana actually increased. Since 1948, there has been a reversal of these trends, the populations of Senglea and Kospikwa growing more rapidly than that of Floriana, while Valletta and Vittoriosa showed little or no increase.

The most noteworthy distinction among suburban localities has been the differences between the older and newer centres (Fig. 43). Birkirkara, Qormi, Żabbar and Tarxien have all shown a slower rate of growth than the other nine localities, although in the case of Tarxien, now contiguous with the newer settlement of Pawla, increase has been quite rapid. The growth of Pawla, Hamrun, Sliema and St. Julian's has been the most striking feature of the period since the first Census. In 1842, these hamlets had less than 1,000 inhabitants while in 1956, they were the home of some 70,000 people, half the suburban population and one-quarter of that of the whole of Malta. The stagnation of Kalkara further illustrates the fact that second-stage suburban growth has been concentrated around and beyond Marsamxett Harbour rather than near the commercial and naval Grand Harbour.

Among rural areas too (Fig. 44) growth has been most rapid in the newer and largely non-agricultural settlements such as Marsaxlokk, Birżebbuġa and St. Paul's Bay. A few villages, including Żurrieq, Kirkop and Mosta, showed rapid gains between 1901 and 1911 but lost a great deal of ground in the following decade when their rate of growth was much smaller than that of the newer settlements mentioned above.

In Gozo (Fig. 45), the largest villages have grown least in recent years while smaller ones, such as Żebbuġ, have gained more rapidly. However, unlike Malta, Gozo shows no great gains among the newer centres. San Lawrenz, for example, was created a parish in 1901 but suffered a steady decline in population from that date until 1948.

SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

*175 162 167 From 1842 onward an excess of females over males has been characteristic of the population of the Islands (Fig. 46). Masculinity, as measured by the male: female ratio, has been consistently higher in Malta than in Gozo. All the evidence suggests that this is a result of the persistent character of male emigration from the smaller island, whether to Malta or further afield. Within Malta some characteristic trends are observable. The masculinity of the urban districts has closely followed, though at a lower level, that of Malta as a whole.

16 This table[1] summarises the data illustrated graphically in Figs. 52 and 53, and shows that 70 per cent. of Maltese women eventually have four or more children and 25.9 per cent. have at least ten.

The survival rate is discussed later (p. 153) but the 1948 Census does show the proportion of children born who were still living at the time of the Census and adds a further perspective to the statement of actual family size. Deaths reduce the mean number of children per married woman from 4.8 to 3.2. Effective family size has in the past been reduced mainly by the extraordinarily high rate of infant mortality. In recent years this has been checked and larger families can be expected unless adjustments operate in the birth, marriage or fertility rates in the immediate future. Past trends in these rates, which contribute to the natural increase are considered in the following section.

ELEMENTS OF POPULATION GROWTH

●161 Since changes in population are a function of births, deaths and migration, the trends of each of these and their relative contributions to growth must be considered. In the 114 years between 1842 and 1956, there was a net increase [167] of just over 200,000. In the same period, nearly 70,000 people have been lost by migration and the natural increase has amounted to some 267,000.

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[1] [i.e., Table 29, p. 149 -- Analyst]

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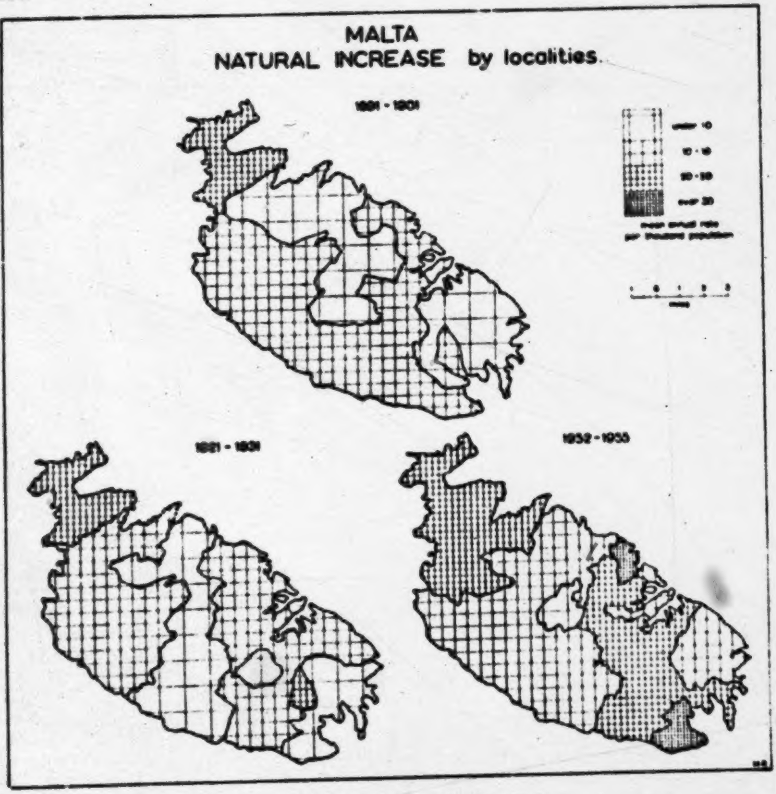

Fig. 55 . Natural Increase by locality.

BIRTHS

163 The crude birth rate in the Islands has remained between 30 and 40 per thousand over almost the entire period since 1826. Only in the 1840's did it exceed 40 and since then it has remained well below that figure. In 1917 and again in the Second World War it fell below 30, but a permanent downward trend has only been established during the last decade, bringing the birth rate below 30 since 1952 (Fig. 54).

The overall trend has thus been one of decline. This began after the peak of the 1840's and continued until the 70's. There was a reversion to higher rates during the last two decades of the nineteenth century which was carried on until 1906, but the next four years brought unemployment and depression, foreshadowing the trough of the 1914-18 War. This was followed by a recovery to 38 per thousand, but the rate soon fell again to remain around 33 until the Second World War. A marked decline in the period 1940-43 was followed by a rise in 1944 to levels above anything experienced since the 1830's and these were maintained until 1948. Since then, decline has been rapid and sustained. With the sole

exception of 1942, there has been no recorded instance of a birth rate as low as 26.5, which was the figure for 1958. 163

In the late nineteenth century, Maltese birth rates were comparable with those of southern Europe, but subsequent decline has been much delayed in Malta. Economic progress in the Islands during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was accompanied by a rising rather than by a falling birth rate. The pattern of natality in Malta since 1911, however, conforms to trends experienced elsewhere in Europe, although the rates themselves have not been the same. The decline in the Maltese birth rate during the 1914-18 War was less marked than on the European mainland and there was an actual increase in Malta between 1919 and 1939, when other European rates declined. The post-war upsurge in births reached its peak early in Malta and while the birth rates of most European countries have been stable at a medium level over the last few years, that of Malta has been falling from the most recent peak. 163 171

DEATHS

The decline in mortality during the past few years has been even greater than that in births. Before the Second World War, the Maltese death rate had fallen below 20 on but three occasions and in 11 separate years it had exceeded 30. Since 1953 it has stayed consistently below 10, thus becoming directly comparable with the death rates of the most advanced Western European countries. 165 [171]

In the nineteenth century, the Maltese death rate was subject to violent annual fluctuations. The worst years were those of epidemic cholera, but even in the latter part of the century, when this was less common, the rate remained high. The main factors responsible were poverty, disease and unsanitary living conditions which were particularly reflected in high infant mortality. Improvements in drainage, sewerage and water supply were effective in reducing mortality from nearly 27/1,000 in the 1890's to 21 in the 1930's but much greater reductions were achieved once the problem of infant mortality was attacked. As recently as the 1920's, this was still as high as 250 per 1,000 live births and only in 1936 did it fall below 200. The decline in this rate was further delayed by the Second World War but by 1944 it had fallen to 114. Since then, progress has been rapid, and infant mortality in 1958 stood at 40 per 1,000 live births, a level comparable with those of many European countries.

Thus, in Malta, as in other European countries, the death rate has been reduced largely as a result of declining infant mortality and the reduction although late has been extremely rapid. A further decline is both possible and, on humanitarian grounds, desirable.

NATURAL INCREASE

Statistics of births, deaths, marriages and natural increase are illustrated in Figs. 54 and 55. In the years since 1948, the natural increase has reached its highest level because of a remarkable decline in the death rate. The absolute natural increase in the decade 1831-40 was 5,241 whereas in 1941-50, despite the low birth rate of the war years, the excess of births over deaths was 52,833. The current natural increase runs at about 5,000 a year, ten times that of a century ago. 161

The annual rate of natural increase in 1831-40 was less than 5 per 1,000; by the end of the century it had reached 10 and in 1941-50 it was 18, since when it has maintained the present rate of 19. The general upward trend has not been an even one as the graph shows, there being peaks in [illegible]-60, 1881-90, 1901-10 and 1941-50, of which the first and last were the highest. The former was a period of high birth rates, a moderate death rate and very early marriage; the latter was one of rapidly falling death rates and a post-war upsurge in births. The troughs in the curve were lowest in the early and mid-nineteenth centuries, corresponding to times of frequent sickness and epidemic, of which the late 1860's and early 1870's provide examples.

Annual fluctuations in natural increase reflect specific historical events. On six occasions, the number of deaths in a year has exceeded the number of births. In 1837, '47, '50 and '65, epidemic cholera was the cause. In 1874, a

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.155]

161 variety of diseases, among which smallpox and cholera were important, assumed epidemic proportions after several years in which sickness had been prevalent. In 1942, war casualties, malnutrition and disease were responsible for an excess of deaths over births.

CONJUGAL CONDITION (Fig. 56)

162 The proportions of single, married and widowed persons has remained virtually the same since 1901. The great disparity between the numbers of married men and married women resident in the Islands, a feature of the inter-war period, reduced the number of effective marriages, but the discrepancy was considerably reduced by 1948, when there were 97 married men to every 100 married women, as against 92 in 1921 and 1931.

162 582 Comparison with other countries indicates that a smaller proportion of the Maltese people marry than is the case in, for example, Britain, Ireland or Australia but the age of marriage in Malta is much lower than in most other countries. Nearly 80 per cent. of the men who marry do so before they are 30 and, in 1955, 90 per cent. of brides were below that age. (In England and Wales the comparative figures are 74 per cent. and 81 per cent.) Furthermore, 26.2 per cent. of Maltese brides are less than 20 years of age. In Gozo, marriages are fewer, proportionally, than in Malta, and take place later: although there is a higher proportion of brides below 20, the proportion of women married by the time they are 25 is similar in the two islands. The commonest age at which men are married is 25 in Gozo compared with 22 in Malta.

MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

162 582 163 While the proportion of the population which is married is relatively low, the resulting depressing effect on fertility rates is more than neutralised by the early age at which women are married. Crude fertility rates alone form an insufficient basis for detailed demographic analysis. Changes in the sex ratio, in migration, and in marriage rates as well as the underlying socio-economic attitudes to family size all must be examined.

The marriage rate has declined since the early nineteenth century. In 1831-40 it was 8 per 1,000 of the total population, while in 1951-56 it was 6.4, having fallen below 7 in the 1850's and remaining below that level with the exception of the two post-war periods (Fig. 54). Annual variations have followed changes in economic conditions as was the case in the rising marriage rate soon after 1900. Plagues, epidemics and wars have generally been followed by a sharp rise, as was the case after World War II.

A high marriage rate, maintained for several years, is generally an indication of prosperity. This was so in the first five years of the present century, while the depression which culminated in the arrival of the Royal Commission in 1911 was accompanied by a fall to less than 5 per 1,000. The high marriage rate of the years immediately following the Second World War soon fell away, but since 1950 there has been an unexpected recovery which has not been matched by a comparable rise in the number of births.

It is possible to assess the fertility of the population by a comparison of the Censuses with Vital Statistics and by relating the number of births either to the number of women of childbearing age (crude fertility rate) or to the number of married women of childbearing age (nuptial fertility rate). Crude and nuptial fertilities are shown in Fig. 57 and in both cases comparisons made with British and Australian equivalents. It will be seen that, in the Maltese Islands, between 1881 and 1948 the crude fertility rate only fell below 130 once (in 1931) and generally fluctuated between 140 and 170. In 1948 it was 175, the second highest figure recorded, but by 1950 it had declined to 130 despite a slight increase in the marriage rate. This would seem to indicate that nuptial fertility is now on the decline, though this cannot be demonstrated statistically.

163 The comparison of nuptial fertility rates is more valid than that of crude rates since it makes allowances for differences in the marriage rates between various countries. By this type of assessment, the outstandingly high fertility of the Maltese population is even more strongly emphasised. Only once, in 1931,

[Text continues on p. 157]

167

and Kalafrana have also been centres of inward movement, and moreover have a higher than average proportion of skilled labour associated with Naval stations. The last region, that of suburban Malta stretching from Tarxien to St. Andrew's, is an area of transit to some extent, an area of urban and relatively mobile life, and as such is the type of region from which on *a priori* grounds one would expect high rates of exodus.

In some ways more noteworthy, and of particular direct interest in association with other of our findings, is the relative immobility in Central Malta, that belt of country stretching from Fomm ir-Rieh, across the Mdina-Rabat Uplands, across the long-settled good farmlands of the Central Region eastwards to St. Thomas' Bay. In this heart of old rural Malta, least directly affected by the changes characteristic of the last four centuries, the extreme course of emigration makes the least appeal.

POPULATION INCREASE IN RELATION TO RESOURCES

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168

Between 1842 and 1905 the population of the Islands increased by 86,000 from 113,864. By 1947 it had grown by a further 100,000, an increase of 50 per cent. in 42 years. During the last decade the rate of increase has considerably diminished.

Behind this bare statement lie a number of important facts. We know that the rate of increase before the date of the first census was very high, extremely so when we remember the incidence of disease and corsair raids. As noted on p. 136 the rate of increase in the island of Malta during the rule of the Order was greater than that of Gozo during the last century. Moreover, it is probable that for some three or four centuries previous to the arrival of the Knights the rate of increase was comparable to those of the later periods.

It seems likely, therefore, that for perhaps 800 years, the Maltese population has increased at a fairly consistent and high rate up to 1947 (see too Section IV). It also seems probable that net emigration, although regionally variable, did little to relieve the steadily growing pressure on resource. We know, for instance, that of the total loss by migration of 67,000 between 1842 and 1956, 43,000 left after 1[illegible]9. We also know that crude mortality rates dropped but slowly before 1943 and that infantile death rates declined markedly only after this decade. There is therefore no obvious vital revolution, no sudden upsurge in numbers, no simple formula, to be invoked in the explanation of the growth in Malta's population.

From a consideration of the demographic history of the Islands, in terms of political, economic and cultural changes and against the background of the landscape palimpsest, one is forced to strange conclusions, viz. that the concepts of 'over-population' or 'optimum population' have no historically valid meaning in a Maltese context. As we have seen in earlier chapters, there has always been considerable Island contact with neighbouring lands. During the period for which we have any historical record a great part of the wealth on which Malta has lived has come from outside. The historical sequence of population growth appears in Micawberish terms: something has always turned up, either a new external valuation or a new possibility of marginally increasing resource wealth, in time to prevent real 'over-population' appearing. This hypothesis is considered more fully in the concluding section but it is worth noting here that each historical conquest has *ipso facto* been made by an increasingly world-conscious power, by a more enterprising society, and each has led to the creation of wider opportunities for the gaining of wealth. Similarly, each intervening period of doldrums has been marked by improved ability to intensify the exploitation of internal resource, generally in the agricultural sector. Thus, in the eighteenth century the cotton boom, in the mid-nineteenth century livestock improvement and land reclamation, in the twentieth century modernised irrigation and dairy-farming, and more recently horticulture and the search for oil.

Up to the present time fortune has smiled and there has been no fall in living standards as might be expected in consequence of extreme over-population. Yet, during historical times at least, the population has always been too great for self-sufficiency and in this sense has always been over-large. The rather

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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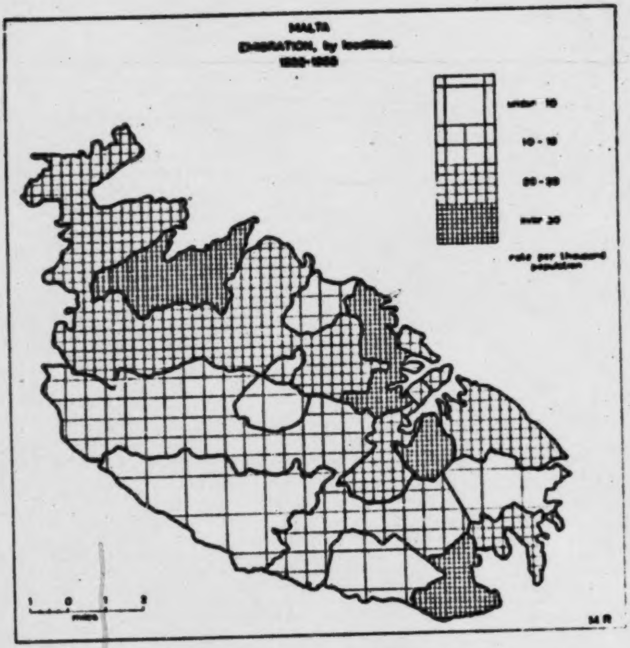

Fig. 63 Emigration by Localities, 1952-55.

161
168
puzzled note made by the Royal Commissioners of 1911 would seem to be applicable to the whole of our period: 'We cannot but conclude that the Maltese people as a whole are by no means a destitute population seeing that they continue to absorb and pay for imports of considerable value over and above those which may be said to be paid for by the exportation of the products of the Islands' (30).

The obvious question of whether this process has now reached its limit is bound up with our analysis of the contemporary situation. For a decade or so, there has been a substantial overspill of population in emigration and the birth rate has declined (p. 153). The present apparent equilibrium is however most unstable. The rate of emigration itself is only to a limited extent controlled by economic forces and is bound to fluctuate. If the 1948-56 rate of natural increase were maintained and emigration discontinued, the total population of the Islands would leap up another 100,000 over the 1947 level to 400,000 by 1968. Moreover and as noted on p. 157 the nuptial fertility rates reveal that the rate of natural increase could rise even higher than at present if the indirect effects of emigration disappeared. To what circumstances can the concept of a population optimum be referred? Quite obviously the term has no relevance either to the known past or hypothetical future in that historical experience has so conditioned Maltese attitudes the even now there seems general confidence that a continued population inflation can be maintained. [167]

168 Demographically considered these are facts of observation; socially and economically they are the factual basis on which future policies must be based.

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely 433
based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate
help to the Islands in their present effort ' find alternative sources of employ- 434
ment'. From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification,
while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more
violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain
it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate,
Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese
communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity.
The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this
dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic
stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that [511]
the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level
of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the
present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to
outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of
attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to pro-
duction, has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing
any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been
met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe
that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what
is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel.
Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes
manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived 162
from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In
December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta 464
having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of [161]
Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of
population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased.
The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of
the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per
cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government
revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service
Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial
Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in [433]
normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated
by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had [457]
increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2 [434]
millions.

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to
the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life
investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in 504
the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter
of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent 464
and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main character-
istics of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that
time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost
exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in
'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction.
In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction,
Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional
departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees,
most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a
considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well
as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus con-
tained the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most
important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil
'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled,
particularly in the building industry (18).

the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a 133
gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely 333
populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square 161 ●
miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population density [317]
of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated
countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the
urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The 162
rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly
separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The population
of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very 16
limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems. The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged 8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000 women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. 175
The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality.
With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known published
sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to [121]
enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical
perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different [648]

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[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands*, 1960 (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–5.

The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically continuous 361
inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely [161]
overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding
lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the
village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here 114
that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as 245
the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, 366
wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes.

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the 369
whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of 489
the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not 582
seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by the whole population.

III.—HISTORY.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further 133
evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, 172
has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of undercutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age. By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus. These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water.

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Neandertal 114
man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small 172
fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual characters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with

175 169 361 The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

175 ●161 361 It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is comparatively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

175 648 The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

175 433 464 During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

175 648 The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediæval Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—Demography.

161 174 It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogeum is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Midge (27) suggests a population of 20,650. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

population as 20,000 in 1582. In 1632, 50,113 is given, and in 1667, 53,000. In 1741, 161
110,000 is the population, which is said to have increased to 114,000 in 1798. The 174
figures for Malta and Gozo in 1826 are stated to be 119,736. But the first reliable figure is 115,945 in 1828. In 1881 the population was 132,129 in Malta and 17,653 in Gozo; in 1901, 184,742, and 1911, 211,564.

In regard to the proportion of the sexes there were in 1911 110 bachelors to 162
100 spinsters, 98 husbands to 100 wives, and 44 widowers to 100 widows. In round thousands, the males over 5 years of age were engaged in the following occupations: 7 in professional, 2 domestic, 19 commercial, 12 agricultural, 21 industrial, and 31 were unproductive and unoccupied; the last figure is rather misleading as it includes at least four separate classes—children, aged, people of independent income, and incapables of all classes. The data in regard to foreigners is the most interesting for our purpose, as it gives an insight into the amount of mixture that is taking place. There were at the last census (1911) (31) 854 ♂ and 1,003 ♀ foreigners in the island. Of these 3 ♀ were English, the remainder were made up as follows: 77 ♂ and 45 ♀ from Africa (apart from 1 ♂ and 2 ♀, all these came from Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria); 479 ♂ and 499 ♀ from Sicily; 156 ♂ and 253 ♀ from other parts of Italy; 36 ♂ and 39 ♀ came from Greece, and 11 ♂ were classified as Asiatics. This does not, of course, include the garrison, a large floating population of which the figures are uncertain, as they depend so much on the ships which happen to be in harbour at the time when the census is taken. The increase of population 161
between 1828 and 1911 is of interest. That of Malta increased by 88·25 per cent. of the total, and that of Gozo by 45·31 per cent. The increase in Malta was nearly five times as great in the suburban area as in the other areas combined.[1]

The density per square mile in 1911 was 1884 (Malta 2167, and Gozo 879). The density in the south-east corner of Malta is, however, greater than would appear from these figures. If the island be divided along a line west of Gargur, Naxaro, Musta, Notabile, Rabato, Crendi, the areas east and west of such a line would be almost equal in size. The eastern area, however, contained in 1911 183,132 inhabitants, and the western 5737. Practically all the Neolithic remains occur in the [172]
eastern area, suggesting that the centres of population have not changed appreciably since Neolithic times.

V.—Material and Methods.

The skeletal material examined is conveniently grouped in four series: (i) Bones 126
from the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic); (ii) Miscellaneous ancient 141
skeletons, chiefly Romano-Maltese; (iii) Specimens from the Chapel of Bones (Late Mediæval); (iv) Modern bones. Only in case (ii) were any complete skeletons available.

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[1] Since this article was written the results of the Census of 1921 have become available. [162]
They are as follows:—Malta, 189,697 (92,127 ♂, 97,570 ♀); Gozo, 22,561 (10,618 ♂, 11,943 ♀). Total for the two islands, 212,258, an increase of only 694 since 1911, as against 26,822 in the previous decade.

The stay of the French in the island was too short to have any effect on the 144
population. A social barrier has been built up between the British and the people 563
of the land, and the general impression gained is that, though there are a certain number of mixed marriages, there cannot, even after three generations of a large, if floating, British element in Valletta, be more than a very thin British strain in the population.

We have shown, in dealing with the history of the island, how extremely difficult 144
it is to account for the wholesale immigration of an Armenoid-like population at 174
any period. We have also shown how, in spite of the continual immigration of 132
people of the Mediterranean stock, the Maltese type (*i.e.* Malta second race, displaying Armenoid characters) appears to have persisted for a long period. It would seem, therefore, a point worthy of further consideration, whether the development of the Maltese along the lines they appear to have followed may not be due to certain definite geographical factors of whose influence we are as yet unaware. It is possible that if we had at our disposal a long unbroken series, instead of larger or smaller series from Neolithic, Mediæval, and modern ossuaries, we should not find such striking contrasts as we do at present. Anthropological data from various parts of the Mediterranean show that there is very often a significant difference between two villages in different valleys of the same mountain range. It is possible that even the few generations which have elapsed between the building of Hal Tarxien and 1921 may be the equivalent, in time, of such a journey in space, and certain big changes may have taken place owing to changing geographical conditions. There can be little doubt that the climate of Malta has changed very much, not only since the first terrace was cut in the Weid Dalam, but even since the formation of the second terrace. We have also suggested that the evidence from Professor Zammit's excavations at Hal Tarxien hints at a change in climate since Neolithic times. The change in the structure of the population may be due, therefore, partly to geographical as well as to historical causes.

Whether or no the development of the Maltese sub-race is due to particular 161
geographical conditions, there can be little doubt that, in Malta at least, the strain 842
is biologically remarkably successful and extremely fertile. In spite of the high [165]
infant mortality which has existed in the past, they have continued to increase, and the modern developments of hygiene and the care of infants are likely to make the increase still more rapid. If the overcrowding continues, in a comparatively short time we shall be faced with conditions in the island which would appear to be, biologically speaking, unsatisfactory. Sanitary conditions can be improved, food can be imported, but excessive overcrowding may bring its own remedy, either in disease or in a diminished fertility. The present fertility is quite possibly due to some underlying climatic condition. In spite of lack of water, Malta has long been extremely fertile botanically, and was famed for this in classical times. The [231]
Maltese goats, by far the most abundant large mammal of the island apart from

161 man, are also unusually fertile, and the females possess remarkably developed
842 udders. Possibly similar causes make both man and the goats fertile. If this
231 is so, emigrants from the island will probably, after a short time, lose their fertility,[1]
whilst the only limiting factors on the island itself will be space and the food and water supply.

144 Summarizing our general conclusions, the race in Malta which is associated with
172 the period of great megalithic buildings—a cultural stage we have termed "Malta
Local Neolithic"—appears to be closely akin to the Mediterranean race. This is
174 our "Malta first race." At a later date, possibly towards the end of the Bronze Age, but more probably during the Early Iron Age, Malta was peopled by a race with different characteristics, our "Malta second race." These people are of Armenoid type, but probably have an admixture of Mediterranean blood. Their origin appears to be the Eastern Mediterranean. They may have come to Malta either directly or by way of Carthage. They may have destroyed the previous inhabitants, or they may merely have pursued methods of peaceful penetration. This race has firmly established itself in Malta, and all subsequent introduction of foreign blood has failed to raise the variation. During the course of years certain changes have taken place; there are also certain local variations, but the differences between Malta and Gozo are not greater than the differences between the general population of Malta and at least one, and possibly more, of the more isolated villages.

APPENDIX I.

LITERATURE.

113 In writing this paper the following authorities have been consulted. Where specific reference is made, the number is given in brackets in the text.

II.—GEOGRAPHY.

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[167] [1] Of interest in this connection is the fact that there is at present a Maltese colony in Detroit, U.S.A., and it will be instructive to observe whether, amid alien surroundings, the strain is able to perpetuate itself and to retain its fertility.

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and
villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to the physical arrangement of functional parts), these provide important evidence of the social and economic nature of society. The present report is concerned with rural society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These
creations have since expanded and merged to become the
[396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society
had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a
few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and
Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended
[464] on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment existing only in the larger settlements or in the little harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530 standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined in relative importance.

Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
● [161] a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
[396] associated townships became dominant and the increase in the
population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if
not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the
largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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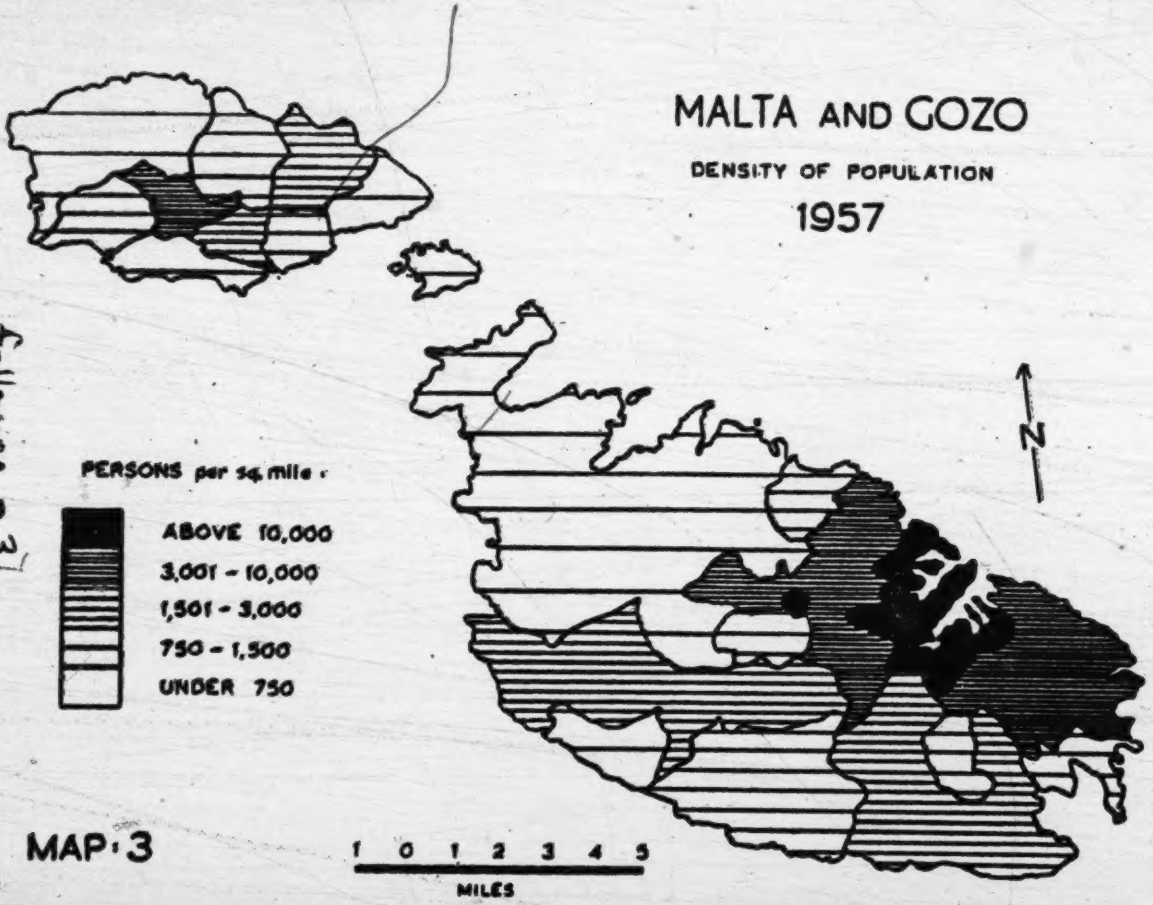
161

MALTA AND GOZO

DENSITY OF POPULATION

1957


PERSONS per sq. mile
ABOVE 10,000
3,001 - 10,000
1,501 - 3,000
750 - 1,500
UNDER 750
N
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

[following p. 3]

MAP 3

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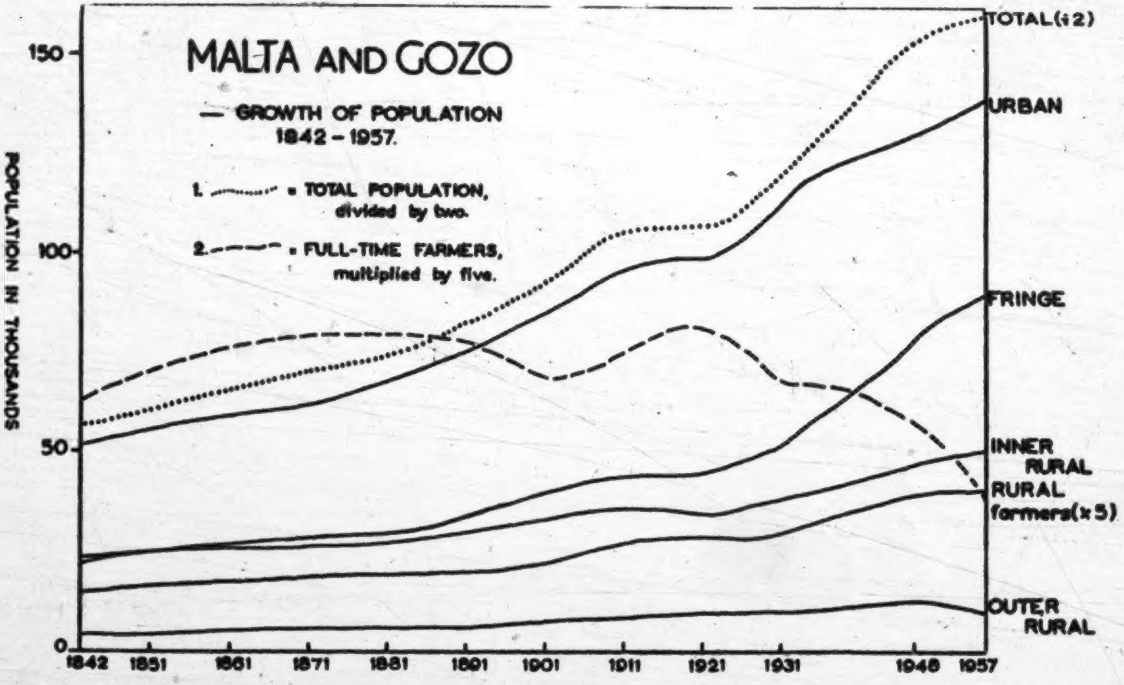
6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

[Following p. 72]



SECTION 8 : Appendices

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APPENDIX 1 A : POPULATION

YEAR	All Islands	Malta	Gozo	Urban	Fringe	Inner Rural	Rural	Outer Rural
1957	319,620	292,019	27,601	135,390	83,898	50,002	40,438	10,892
1948	305,991	278,311	27,680	129,153	78,432	46,766	39,405	12,175
1931	241,621	217,784	23,837	114,196	51,387	36,780	29,502	9,776
1921	212,258	189,697	22,561	98,069	44,114	34,166	26,877	9,052
1911	211,564	188,869	22,695	96,147	43,902	36,346	26,898	8,573
1901	184,742	164,952	19,790	84,429	38,111	32,276	22,614	7,312
1891	165,037	146,484	18,553	75,377	33,142	30,012	20,521	5,985
1881	149,782	132,129	17,653	68,476	29,388	27,837	18,182	5,861
1871	140,803	123,492	17,301	61,782	28,587	26,719	18,020	5,795
1861	132,956	117,497	15,459	58,788	27,107	25,288	16,403	5,189
1851	123,496	108,833	14,663	54,865	24,800	24,200	15,680	3,961
1842	113,864	99,522	14,342	51,487	21,923	22,183	14,438	3,853
1828	114,236	98,618	15,618	-	-	-	-	-
1807	93,054	80,225	12,829	-	-	-	-	-
1741	15,032	13,309	1,723	-	-	-	-	-
1632	52,900	49,900	3,000	-	-	-	-	-
1530	29,659	25,000	4,691	-	-	-	-	-

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162
113

Sources :
1957 - B/168
1851 to 1948 (inc.) - B/167
1842 - B/166
1828 (estimate) - B/318, Vol.1, p.151
1807 (estimate) - B/86
1741 (estimate) - v.B/167 (1881, p.2)
1632 (estimate) - B/383, Vol.1, Chapter 8
1530 (estimate) - B/318, Vol.1, p.151 (after B/334)

Notes : (i) 1957 population figures by census localities (B/168) are given in Appendix 3.

(ii) See B/166, 167, and 168, for full statistics since 1842; see also B/561 for detailed analysis of population changes.

(iii) Some of the information in the above table is given in graph form.

(iv) See Map 3 for Population Density by Localities, 1957.

[P. 180]

APPENDIX 3 : THE BUILT-UP AREA

103
● 161
162
632
131

"A Township is the definite urban-type built-up nucleus of a census locality" (v. B/168, p.38). On this basis the 'township' area and population within each census locality may be distinguished:

CENSUS LOCALITIES	LOCALITIES LAND AREA. sq. miles A	LOCALITIES POPULATION. B	"TOWNSHIPS" LAND AREA, as % of A.	"TOWNSHIPS" POPULATION. as % of B.
Valletta	0.281	18,202	100	100
Cospicua	0.241	9,095	100	100
Senglea	0.057	5,065	100	100
Vittoriosa	0.205	4,242	100	100
Gżira	0.411	8,545	38.9	99.3
Sliema	0.485	23,399	100	100
Floriana	0.341	5,811	100	100
Pawla	1,069	11,424	24.6	100
Marsa	0.883	10,672	39.6	100
Hamrun	0.380	16,895	73.1	100
Msida	0.368	6,587	53.3	98.9
Kalkara	0.471	2,101	28.9	92.9
Pieta	0.200	4,076	78.5	100
St. Julians	1,635	8,285	17.9	70.8
Balzan	0.236	2,734	68.6	100
Luqa	1.812	5,382	5.6	91.2
Birkirkara	2.736	16,987	15.2	90.5
Tarxien	0.850	7,708	12.5	56.2
St. Venera	0.415	5,246	34.8	75.1
Qormi	2.412	14,809	9.9	95.6
Birżebbuġa	2.094	5,297	4.7	88.1
Żabbar & M'skala	3.255	11,893	9.5	61.3
Żejtun	3.777	11,665	5.9	87.2
Lija	0.547	2,119	24.1	98.3
Mqabba	1.242	2,088	5	97.5
Marsaxlokk	1.952	1,409	1.9	92.9
Żurrieq	3.536	6,837	4.3	92.8
Ghaxaq	1.121	2,830	6.6	96.5
Attard	2.090	2,863	7.2	97.2
Victoria	1.635	6,357	19.6	97
Mdina	2.473	823	1.1	100
Mosta	1.900	7,377	14	97.9
Żebbuġ	3.167	7,069	10.2	99.7
Ghajnsielem	1.414	1,830	6.9	98
Gudja	1.709	1,712	2.8	97.4
Qrendi	2.587	2,155	2.2	97.7
Kirkop	0.717	1,204	6.3	100
Naxxar	6.538	4,688	2.7	83
Rabat	8.048	12,792	2.9	82
Xewkija	1.286	3,281	12.9	99.9
Gharghur	2.023	1,813	2	87.3
Mellieha	7.808	4,290	0.9	71.9
Siġġiewi	6.230	5,066	2.4	96.4
Sannat & Munxar	2.167	1,656	4.9	99.6
Nadur	2.487	4,136	7.8	96.7
Safi	0.447	700	10.1	97.7
Dingli	3.674	2,041	1.7	68.5
Qala	2.218	1,616	3.6	95.8
St. Paul's Bay	5.620	3,040	2.1	72.5
Kerċem & St.Lucia	2.442	1,272	4	100
Xaghra	4.654	4,056	5.6	87.9
Gharb	2.043	1,289	2.2	67.3
San Lawrenz	1.355	428	3.4	69.2
Żebbuġ	2.775	1,199	4.4	95.1
Mġarr	5.956	2,167	0.8	31.2
Ghasri	1.423	471	3	41.2
Comino	1.076	30	0	0
Maltese Islands	121.850	319,620	7.6	91.1
Malta	96.876	292,019	8	90.9
Gozo	24.974	27,601	5.9	83.6

NB: - Information from B/168. Table P IIIb).

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

648 desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty
175 years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But
he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of
blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant:
he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval
base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean.
Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the
point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the
naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean
but a vital link in the route to a farther East than
Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither
William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn
on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

3

161 At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an
[162] estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls
(exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which
Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to
say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile,
which makes it one of the most densely populated geo-
[167] graphical units in the world. The figure would have been
higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia
161 and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by
619, the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small
for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto
themselves, with their own language, their own traditions,
their own physical characteristics and a history that is one
of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

172 For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and
173 Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days
reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in
other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta
[132] was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

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[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

sometimes regarded in England—in other words, as hard- 181
headed folk whom nothing will keep out of the best jobs.
It is certainly true to say that, loth as they may be to leave their 186
own little island, when they do it is definitely to better
themselves. They make excellent colonists in Australia and [167]
elsewhere in the New World, while those who emigrate no
farther than Malta frequently attain distinction. The story
is told of a function in S. John's Co-Cathedral in Valetta
at a time, not so many years ago, when the Gozitans who
were leading personages in Church and State included the
Archbishop of Malta, Mgr Pace.

"Well," said a Maltese worshipper, after watching the entry into the church of the procession of Archbishop and Canons and other dignitaries, mostly (or so it seemed to him) natives of the junior island, "I suppose we ought to be thankful that the sacristan is still a Maltese."

Byron may have had something similar in mind when he bracketed Malta with Gozo as

> Calypso's isles,
> The sister tenants of the middle deep,

instead of describing them as mother and daughter.

There is much to see in this small island of 27 square miles 172
and as many thousand inhabitants besides natural scenery and 131
the monuments alluded to above. Let me instance some 161
characteristic features of various widely different epochs of
Gozo's long history. First must come the twin Stone Age
temples of Ggantija, through their cyclopean construction—
one block has the formidable dimensions of 12½ by 17½ feet—
the most stupendous work of Neolithic man in the Maltese
archipelago. Farther excavation by the Malta Museum is
planned on and around their site when funds permit, and
more wonders may yet come to light. Meanwhile the [133]
visitor may enjoy from one of the most impressive architectural survivals of remote antiquity a comprehensive view
of Gozo and of the north-western end of Malta, with

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

ESSENTIAL STATISTICS

131 The Maltese Islands - Land Area 121.850 sq. miles, Population 323,667[1].
161 Malta - Land Area 94.876 sq. miles, Population 296,008[1].
Gozo and Comino - Land Area 26.974 sq. miles, Population 27,659[1].

162 463 A. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION[2]

(i)	Civil Government	17,050
	Service Departments	22,480
(ii)	Agriculture, Fishing and Quarrying	9,130
	Manufacturing	9,030
	Construction	7,220
(iii)	Wholesale and Retail Trades	10,920
	Transport and Communications	3,850
	Insurance, Banking, etc.	550
	Gas Service	90
(iv)	Recreation and Personal Services	7,250
	Community and Business Services	1,140
	Total	88,710

433 B. PRODUCTION[1]

Gross Domestic Product 1957	£ m.	36.1
Gross Industrial Production 1957	"	10.036
Gross Agricultural Product 1957	"	5.008

439 C. TRADE[3]

(i) Commodities (value in £ m)	Imports	Exports	Re-exports
Food, Drink, Tobacco	9.411	.547	.549
Raw materials and materials mainly unmanufactured	3.227	.312	1.307
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	13.215	.132	.404
Miscellaneous and unspecified	2.862	.005	.339
Bullion and Specie	.104	-	-
	28.820	.995	2.600

(ii) Direction of Trade (%)	Imports	Exports
Sterling Area	49.3	41.1
Dollar Area	7.2	.8
O. E. E. C.	33.5	10.4
Other	10.0	2.1
Ships and Aircraft Stores	-	45.6
	100	100

(iii) Balance of Trade	Imports	Exports & Re-exports	Negative Balance
		Million £	
1949	15.312	1.038	14.274
1954	20.407	2.879	17.528
1958	28.820	3.595	25.225

(Since 1948 the adverse trade balance has increased by an average of 4.7% per annum)

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

[p. 118-B]

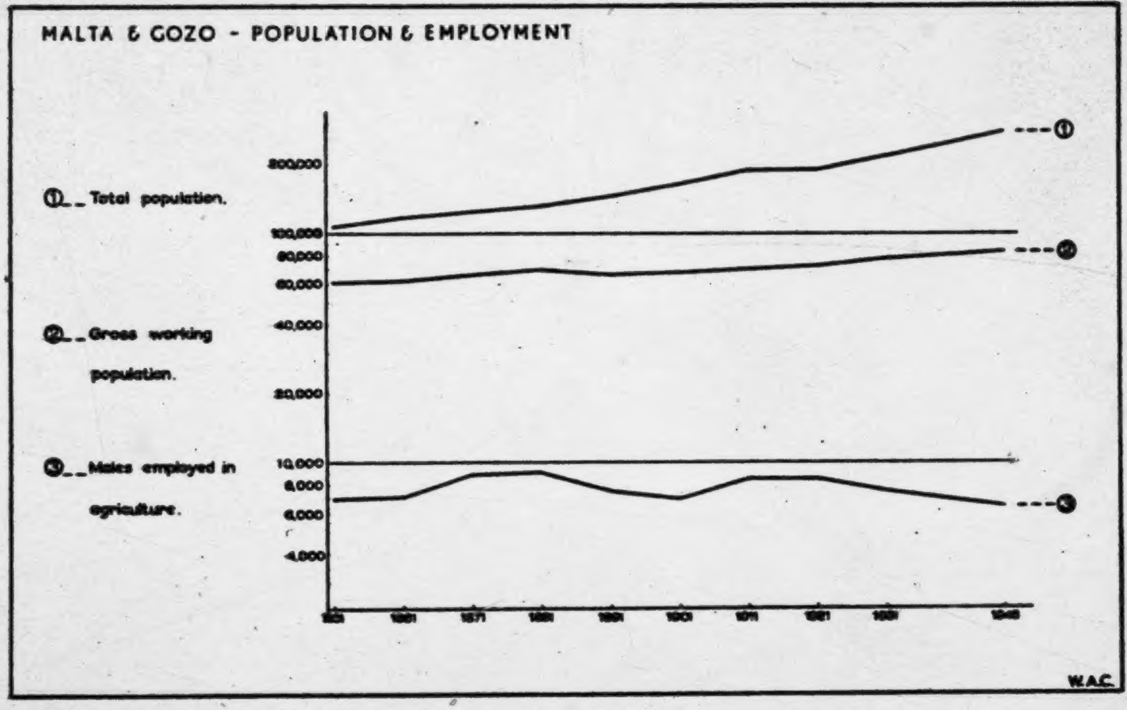

Fig. 31 Malta and Gozo, Population and Employment.

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[P. 133]

Chapter VI

MODERN MALTA

A. Population and Migration

175* 161 114

It is common knowledge that the Maltese islands now possess a population which is extremely large relative to the territorial area. Polemical discussion of the implications of the situation has generally been based on two assumptions. The first is that the present size of the population is wholly a consequence of a simple vital revolution which occurred during British rule in the nineteenth century. The second assumption is that this vital revolution is almost over and that falling birthrates will stabilise the population at a new and higher level. These assumptions are erroneous. The brief study that follows (based on a full-scale investigation of many types of source material by M. Richardson and others), attempts to show the true characteristics of Maltese demography.

175* 162

THE POPULATION BEFORE 1842

Table 24. Estimates of population A.D. 991 to 1842.

	I. MALTESE		II. NON-MALTESE		III. TOTAL
	Malta	Gozo	The Knights	Other	
(1) 991					21,000
(2) 1240	3,800	1,800			5,600
(3) 1400					10,000
(4) 1528	12,000	5,000			17,000
(5) 1530	15,000	5,000	5,000		25,000
(6) 1565	19,500	2,500	9,000		31,000
	17,500	2,500	3,000		23,000
(7) 1582	20,000				
(8) 1590	28,864		3,426		32,290
(9) 1632	45,450	3,000	4,450		52,900
(10) 1741					110,000
(11) 1760	66,800				
(12) 1798	90,000	24,000			114,000
(13) 1807	80,225	12,829		22,100	115,154
(14) 1813	96,403	14,400			110,803
(15) 1823					112,204
(16) 1828	98,618	15,618		1,709	115,945
(17) 1837	98,958	16,522		4,398	119,878
(18) 1842	97,535	14,330		1,999	113,864

*175 nuclei. Table 27 below shows how in numerical terms the regional population
balance changed. It will be observed that the proportion of people living in the
161 diminishing rural area remained remarkably constant, although as already noted
in Chapter V, a growing number of these were not farmworkers. Equally note-
361 worthy is the decline in residential importance of the urban nucleus compared
with the rise of the suburbs, producing a complete proportional reversal between
1842 and 1956 (Fig. 41).

Table 27. Percentage distribution of population. Island of Malta.

	1842	1861	1881	1901	1921	1948	1956
Urban Districts	50.6	48.0	43.3	33.2	28.2	12.6	14.5
Suburban Districts	14.5	17.4	23.1	33.1	39.2	52.6	50.9
Rural Districts	34.9	34.6	33.6	33.7	32.6	34.8	34.6

Within this main pattern of distributional change, other small-scale but significant trends may be discerned. Among the urban areas (Fig. 42), Valletta's population was decreasing as early as 1842-51, but in other districts the decline did not set in until after 1871, while Senglea and Kospikwa continued to grow, albeit slowly, until 1911. During the Second World War, decline in numbers was most marked in the Three Cities while the population of Floriana actually increased. Since 1948, there has been a reversal of these trends, the populations of Senglea and Kospikwa growing more rapidly than that of Floriana, while Valletta and Vittoriosa showed little or no increase.

The most noteworthy distinction among suburban localities has been the differences between the older and newer centres (Fig. 43). Birkirkara, Qormi, Żabbar and Tarxien have all shown a slower rate of growth than the other nine localities, although in the case of Tarxien, now contiguous with the newer settlement of Pawla, increase has been quite rapid. The growth of Pawla, Hamrun, Sliema and St. Julian's has been the most striking feature of the period since the first Census. In 1842, these hamlets had less than 1,000 inhabitants while in 1956, they were the home of some 70,000 people, half the suburban population and one-quarter of that of the whole of Malta. The stagnation of Kalkara further illustrates the fact that second-stage suburban growth has been concentrated around and beyond Marsamxett Harbour rather than near the commercial and naval Grand Harbour.

Among rural areas too (Fig. 44) growth has been most rapid in the newer and largely non-agricultural settlements such as Marsaxlokk, Birżebbuġa and St. Paul's Bay. A few villages, including Żurrieq, Kirkop and Mosta, showed rapid gains between 1901 and 1911 but lost a great deal of ground in the following decade when their rate of growth was much smaller than that of the newer settlements mentioned above.

In Gozo (Fig. 45), the largest villages have grown least in recent years while smaller ones, such as Żebbuġ, have gained more rapidly. However, unlike Malta, Gozo shows no great gains among the newer centres. San Lawrenz, for example, was created a parish in 1901 but suffered a steady decline in population from that date until 1948.

SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

*175 From 1842 onward an excess of females over males has been characteristic
● 162 of the population of the Islands (Fig. 46). Masculinity, as measured by the male:
female ratio, has been consistently higher in Malta than in Gozo. All the evidence
167 suggests that this is a result of the persistent character of male emigration from
the smaller island, whether to Malta or further afield. Within Malta some
characteristic trends are observable. The masculinity of the urban districts
has closely followed, though at a lower level, that of Malta as a whole.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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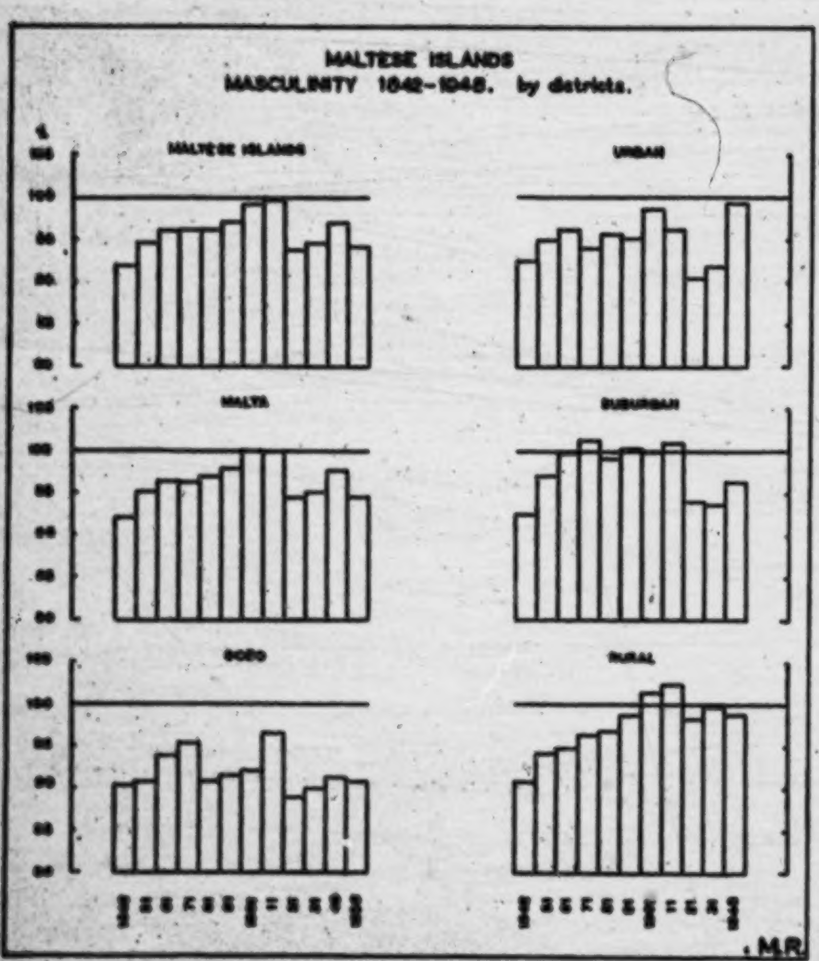

Fig. 46 Maltese Islands: Masculinity, 1842-1948, by Districts.

[p. 145-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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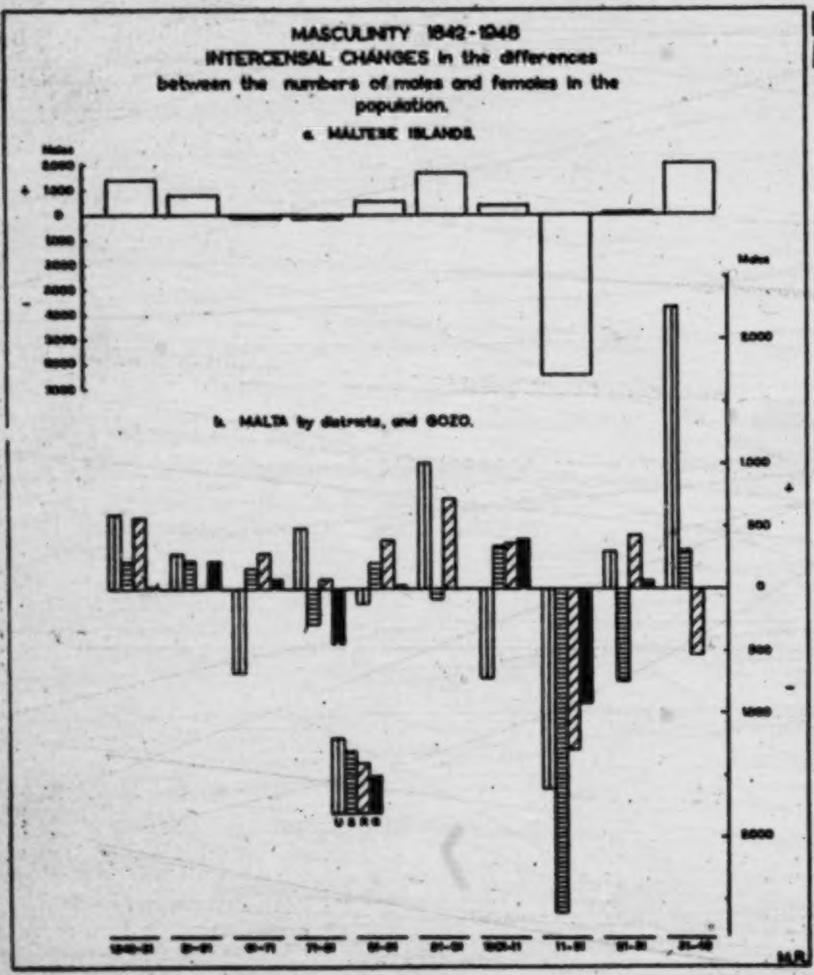

Fig. 47 Masculinity, 1842-1948.

[p.145-B]

*175 Departures from the Island trend were most marked by a low masculinity in
1921 and an abnormally high ratio in 1948. In suburban areas growth of the
●167 population as a whole, which was most rapid between 1861 and 1911, was not
accompanied by any marked imbalance between the sexes but after the latter
167 date low masculinity was persistent and the ratio fluctuated much less than in
urban districts. In rural districts, masculinity increased steadily from 1842
to 1911, when 102.5, the highest ratio ever recorded in Malta, was achieved in
these areas. After 1911, there was some decline, but rural areas continued to
show a higher ratio of males to females than did the Island as a whole.

The sex structure of a population is closely connected with, among other factors, external and internal migration rates. We may therefore use masculinity ratios to help our general understanding of other socio-economic conditions and also vice-versa. The early appearance and continuance of an excess of females in the case of Malta is without doubt the result of predominantly male emigraton, a causative relationship particularly strong in slowly developing Gozo. By 1911, the cumulative effect of the return of male immigrants together with other factors brought the ratio to near-parity. After 1911, increasing emigration reduced masculinity to the low point of 1921 from which it again rose to 1948, since which time renewed and large-scale outward movement has once more reduced the ratio. Except for the special circumstances obtaining in the late 1930's when most of the female non-Maltese population (largely Garrison families) was evacuated, and in the mid-40s when a more balanced non-Maltese group became re-established; except for this, the sex ratio can clearly be understood in association with our examination of economic changes and with a study of emigration (p. 157 et. seq.).

Regional differences in masculinity are of similar value in elucidating
16 changing patterns of economic development and of internal migration. The rising
proportion of males in the urban population between 1891 and 1901, for example,
*175 was to a large extent a product of an inward movement of workers connected
with harbour development, and the decline in masculinity which marked the
succeeding decade reflects the cessation of such work. The increased urban
masculinity recorded in 1948 suggests that the return to reconstructed areas
was evenly balanced thus causing an adjustment in the ratio, moving away from
the female preponderance of 1931 (Fig. 47).

Fluctuations in suburban sex ratios have been relatively slight. The fall in masculinity between 1911 and 1921 was largely a product of emigration, while that of 1921-31 is statistical rather than real in that, at the latter census, the 'civil population' included the families of the garrison among whom females predominated and who lived mainly in Suburban Districts.

In Rural Districts, increases in the proportion of males down to 1911, reflect an inward movement, largely of emigrants returning from North Africa together with the late arresting of the earlier male movement to the towns. Declining masculinity between 1931 and 1948 was largely a product of renewed movement to the towns, often a first stage in migration overseas.

The age composition of the Islands' population is especially characterised
167 by the high proportion of children, as shown in Table 38.

Table 38. Age-distribution of populations in percentages.

	Under 15	15-64	65 and over
United Kingdom (1948)	21.4	67.9	10.7
Italy (1949)	26.5	65.6	7.9
Netherlands (1950)	29.4	62.9	7.7
Malta (1948)	34.8	59.3	5.9
Japan (1950)	35.4	59.7	4.9

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

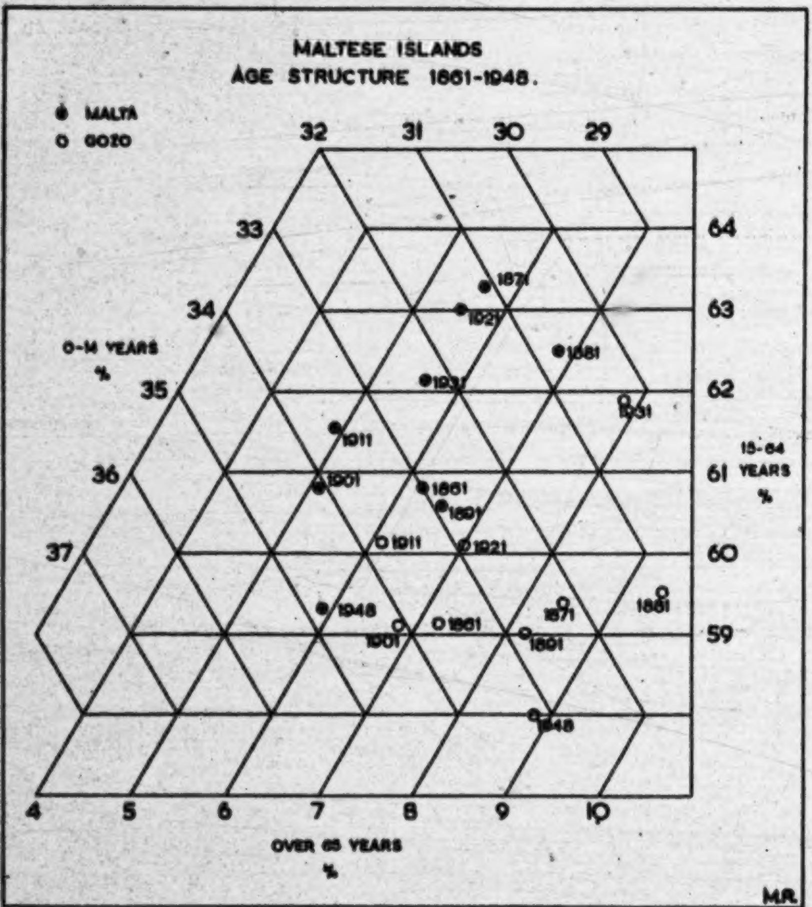

Fig. 48 Maltese Islands: Age Structure, 1861-1948.

[p. 147-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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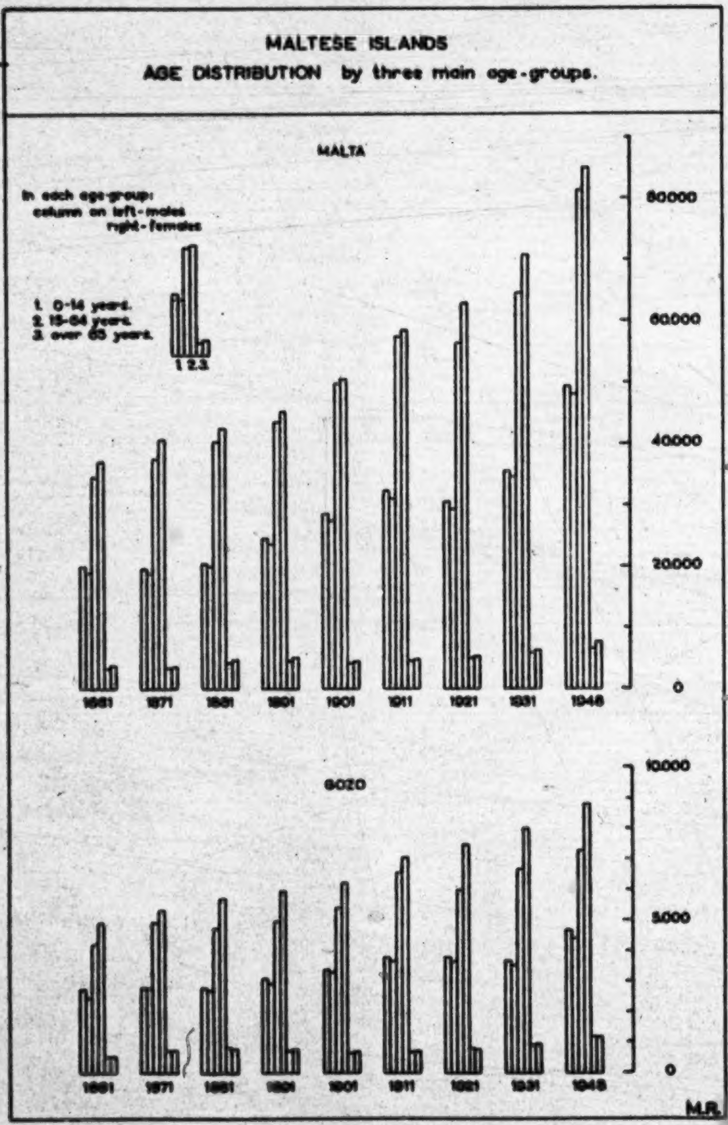

Fig. 49 Maltese Islands: Age Structure, 1861-1948, distribution by three Main Age Groups.

[p.147-B]

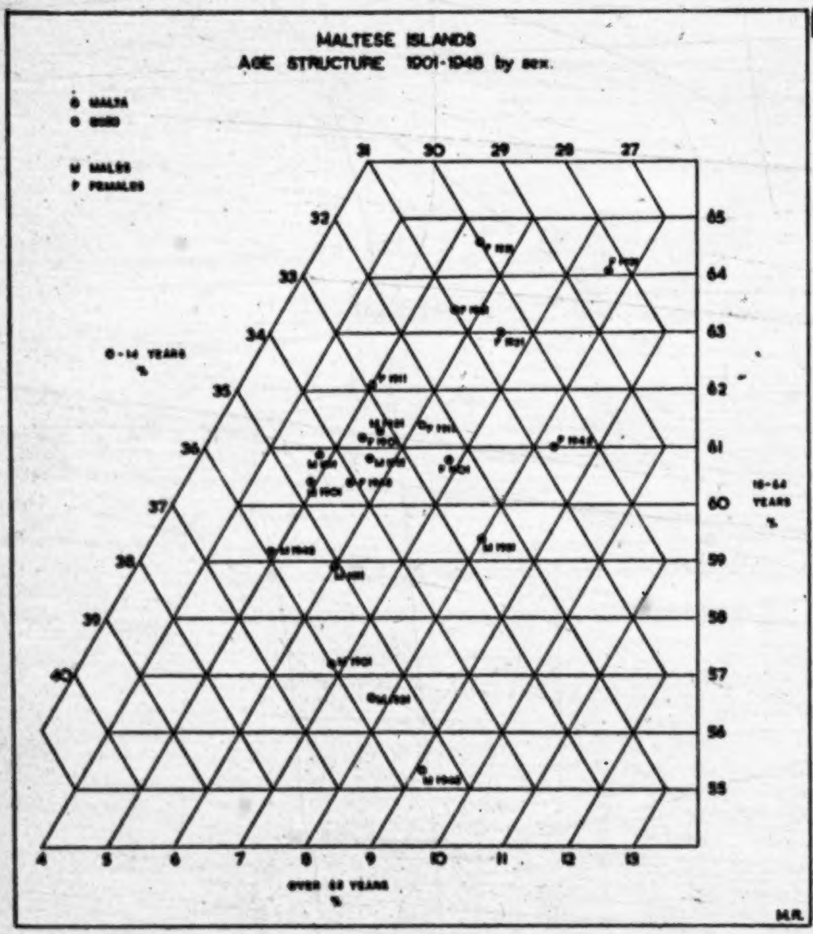

Fig. 50   Maltese Islands: Age Structure, 1901-48, by Sex.

[p. 148-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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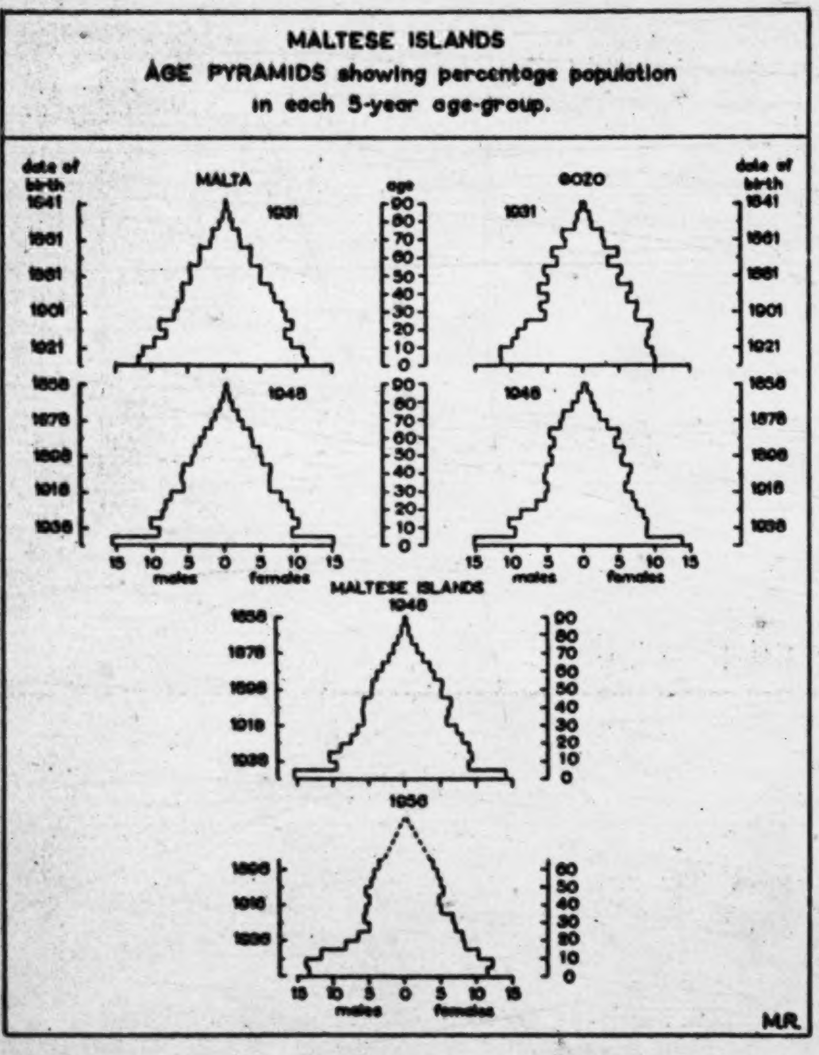

Fig. 51 Maltese Islands: Age Pyramids.

[p.148-B]

The population of Gozo differs from that of Malta, having a higher proportion of people over 65 and a much smaller proportion in the 15-64 group (Fig. 48). Variations between the proportions in the main age groups are shown in Fig. 49, but few evolutionary trends are recognisable. There was a decline in the percentage of young children from 1891 down to 1931, but this was offset, particularly in Malta, by the post-war period when birth rates were high. In Gozo, the return of people to the island from Malta and from abroad was reflected, in the 1931 Census, in a particularly high proportion in the 15-64 group, in contrast to the normal state of affairs. 162

The analysis of age structure by sex (Fig. 50) shows a consistently higher proportion of females than of males in the working age groups (15-64). That these figures are bound up with emigration is further corroborated by the more even balance between the sexes in the over 65 group.

In terms of actual numbers, children under 15 increased from 44,000 in 1861 to 106,600 in 1948 while the numbers of working age have grown from 80,700 to 182,600 and of old people from 8,200 to 16,800. The greatest relative increase has therefore been among the children but in their case there have been two distinct periods of numerical growth. Between 1861 and 1881, the group showed an absolute increase of only 4 per cent. In the next 30 years there was an increase of 57 per cent. This was checked in the period 1911-21, but followed by a further rapid increase between 1921 and 1948 when the number of children grew by 62 per cent. Throughout the whole period, the sex ratio remained fairly constant between 102 and 104 males per 100 females. The reasons for such fluctuations are best deferred to a later consideration of fertility rates.

Among the working age group, the rise in the number of women has been at a steadily accelerating rate, whereas that of the men fell sharply in 1921. The numbers over 65 declined in 1871 and 1901, but rose steadily at all other Census dates. Masculinity was least in 1921 (89) and highest in 1901 and 1911 (98). Among old people, the ratio of males to 100 females varied between 98 and 88 but showed no progressive trend.

The most recent developments in the evolution of the population are summarised by a comparison of the 1948 and 1956 age pyramids (Fig. 51). The large number of children who, in 1948, were less than five years old, had by 1956 been absorbed in the 5-15 age groups, but the proportion of under-five's in 1956 was well below that in 1948. The other most striking feature is the very small proportions of the 15-45 age groups in 1956, indicating the wastage, most marked among males, which is a product of emigration.

FAMILY SIZE

The Census of 1948 is the first from which a precise calculation of family size can be made. Previous estimates were generally to the effect that 'the average family is of four of five children'. Information from the Family Census of June 1955 (21) has not yet become available. 163

In Malta, more than half the married women have borne four or more children and in Gozo nearly two-thirds. An extraordinarily high proportion, 13.5 per cent. in Malta and 16.4 per cent. in Gozo, have ten or more. Such figures do not, however, represent the total number of births which may take place, and Table 29 shows the number of women by cohorts of completed fertility who have had various numbers of children.

Table 29.

Number of children	Great Britain 1946		Maltese Islands 1948
	a	b	c
None	10.3	17.2	11.3
1-3	48.2	63.6	17.8
4-9	37.8	18.6	45.0
10 and over	3.7	0.6	25.9
	100%	100%	100%

a = women married between 1900 and 1909 - R.C. on Pop. 1949-50. Vol. 2.
b = women married in 1925 - R.C. on Pop. 1949-50. Vol. 2.
c = married women over 45 years of age - Census of 1948.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

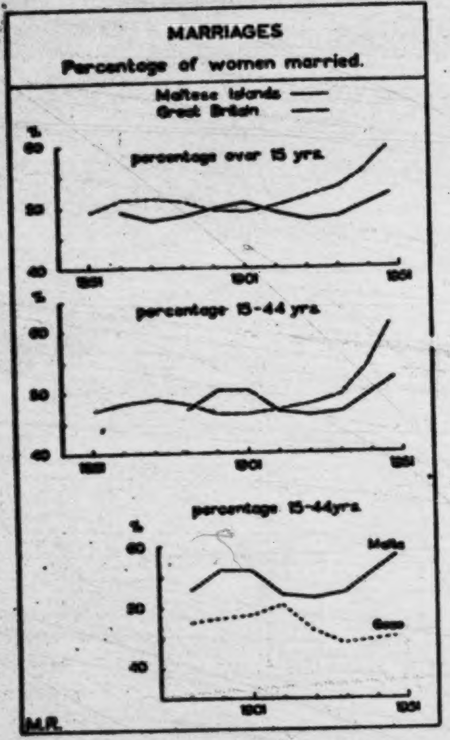

Fig. 56 Marriages: Percentage of Women Married.

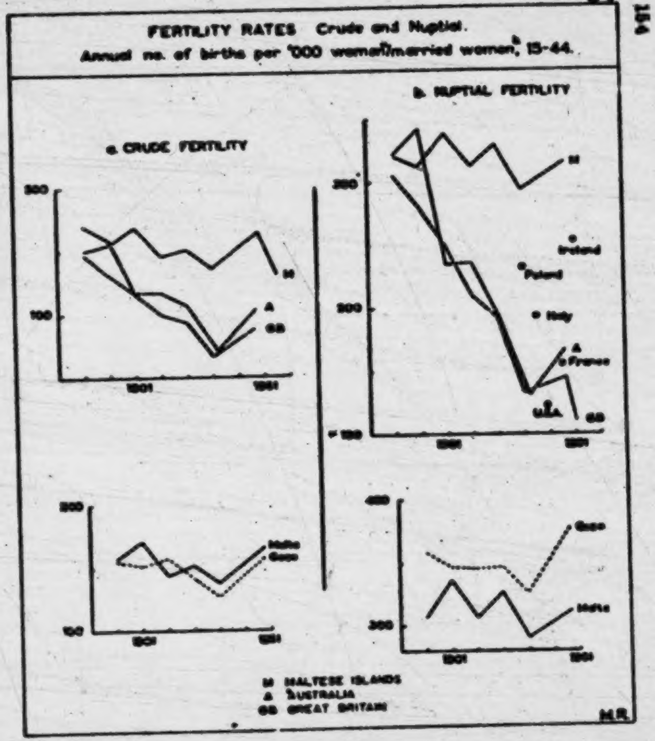

Fig. 57 Fertility Rates: Crude and Nuptial.

161 variety of diseases, among which smallpox and cholera were important, assumed epidemic proportions after several years in which sickness had been prevalent. In 1942, war casualties, malnutrition and disease were responsible for an excess of deaths over births.

CONJUGAL CONDITION (Fig. 56)

162 The proportions of single, married and widowed persons has remained virtually the same since 1901. The great disparity between the numbers of married men and married women resident in the islands, a feature of the inter-war period, reduced the number of effective marriages, but the discrepancy was considerably reduced by 1948, when there were 97 married men to every 100 married women, as against 92 in 1921 and 1931.

162 582 Comparison with other countries indicates that a smaller proportion of the Maltese people marry than is the case in, for example, Britain, Ireland or Australia but the age of marriage in Malta is much lower than in most other countries. Nearly 80 per cent. of the men who marry do so before they are 30 and, in 1955, 90 per cent. of brides were below that age. (In England and Wales the comparative figures are 74 per cent. and 81 per cent.) Furthermore, 26.2 per cent. of Maltese brides are less than 20 years of age. In Gozo, marriages are fewer, proportionally, than in Malta, and take place later: although there is a higher proportion of brides below 20, the proportion of women married by the time they are 25 is similar in the two islands. The commonest age at which men are married is 25 in Gozo compared with 22 in Malta.

MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

162 582 163 While the proportion of the population which is married is relatively low, the resulting depressing effect on fertility rates is more than neutralised by the early age at which women are married. Crude fertility rates alone form an insufficient basis for detailed demographic analysis. Changes in the sex ratio, in migration, and in marriage rates as well as the underlying socio-economic attitudes to family size all must be examined.

The marriage rate has declined since the early nineteenth century. In 1831-40 it was 8 per 1,000 of the total population, while in 1951-56 it was 6.4, having fallen below 7 in the 1850's and remaining below that level with the exception of the two post-war periods (Fig. 54). Annual variations have followed changes in economic conditions as was the case in the rising marriage rate soon after 1900. Plagues, epidemics and wars have generally been followed by a sharp rise, as was the case after World War II.

A high marriage rate, maintained for several years, is generally an indication of prosperity. This was so in the first five years of the present century, while the depression which culminated in the arrival of the Royal Commission in 1911 was accompanied by a fall to less than 5 per 1,000. The high marriage rate of the years immediately following the Second World War soon fell away, but since 1950 there has been an unexpected recovery which has not been matched by a comparable rise in the number of births.

It is possible to assess the fertility of the population by a comparison of the Censuses with Vital Statistics and by relating the number of births either to the number of women of childbearing age (crude fertility rate) or to the number of married women of childbearing age (nuptial fertility rate). Crude and nuptial fertilities are shown in Fig. 57 and in both cases comparisons made with British and Australian equivalents. It will be seen that, in the Maltese Islands, between 1881 and 1948 the crude fertility rate only fell below 130 once (in 1931) and generally fluctuated between 140 and 170. In 1948 it was 175, the second highest figure recorded, but by 1950 it had declined to 130 despite a slight increase in the marriage rate. This would seem to indicate that nuptial fertility is now on the decline, though this cannot be demonstrated statistically.

163 The comparison of nuptial fertility rates is more valid than that of crude rates since it makes allowances for differences in the marriage rates between various countries. By this type of assessment, the outstandingly high fertility of the Maltese population is even more strongly emphasised. Only once, in 1931,

[Text continues on p. 157]

8. Economy and Trade

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In any schematic division of history into periods there must be dangers and difficulties. Nevertheless, some themes of significance to our present study, naturally as well as for reasons of convenience, are best treated in this way. It is impossible to be precise about the date of birth of modern Malta in that different land marks might well be used in pursuing different lines of thought. Thus, constitutionally the year 1921 is of most significance, while the Royal Commission of 1911 is in some ways an economic obsequy for nineteenth-century Malta. In the sections that follow, therefore, arguments cannot be chronologically in step. Moreover, this, our last period, is the most well-documented of all and the irregularity of coverage most considerable. Some of the arguments earlier developed need little further emphasis in that some conditions and attitudes firmly established by the beginning of the twentieth century need merely to have their survival confirmed and readers referred to relevant material. Henceforward, therefore, our treatment can legitimately be more selective.

This period of Modern British Malta must be further subdivided. The first phase drew slowly and uneasily to a close during our period of research. It was formally ended by the suspension of the constitution in 1958. The new constitutional proposals of 1960 mark the official beginning of a second phase. The interregnum was the period of the transference of the Naval Dockyard to a civilian firm of ship repairers. In that we attach the greatest importance to the study of the fundamental infrastructure on which Maltese life has and will be based, most of the following analysis is concerned with the first phase - the climacteric of British rule in Malta. Our comment on more recent happenings is therefore deliberately restricted.

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The Census of 1912 noted that in the decennial period 1901-11 ... 'productiveness has not risen in proportion to the increase of the population'.

The recorded Civil population in 1911 was 211,564. While in 1901, 28 per cent. of the female population was gainfully occupied, ten years later the proportion had fallen to 20 per cent. Henceforth male employment alone was of significance. The male labour force, which for analytical purposes was regarded as excluding only the age-group below five years of age, totalled 92,529. Of these almost 12,000 were engaged in agriculture, 19,489 in commerce and transport, and over 21,000 enumerated as having 'industrial' occupations. 31,385 were returned as unoccupied or unproductive.

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The opening quotation is strictly an actuarial statement based on demographic facts. Behind the Census figures however we may perceive, by using various pieces of evidence, an economic basis for its sombreness. By comparing details of the 1911 enumeration with those for 1921, the first year in which unemployment within occupational groups was recorded, we may deduce that some 10 per cent. of the able male labour force was in fact without employment during the earlier year. By 1907, 10 per cent. of the ships cleared from Malta left in ballast (1). Between 1901 and 1911, the numbers of farmers and farmers' relatives assisting on the land increased by 3,000 and the number of labourers fell by 1,250 (2). Only once between 1906 and 1914, in 1908-09, did Government Revenue not show a deficit (3). In 1905, 9,175 men were employed in the Naval Establishments but this had fallen to 5,181 in 1906 (4). Many such facts could be quoted to prove the existence of an economic depression in Malta during the years following 1906, a situation which induced the setting up in 1911 of a Royal Commission to consider the financial situation. The array of evidence does more than this, it also shows that this was no simple secular trend but a sign of uneasy adjustment to new circumstances, an adjustment that is still in progress. This is why the Report of the 1911 Commission is of more than contemporary importance (5) and why its study is essential to any serious consideration of Maltese problems.

[654]

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely 433
based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate
help to the Islands in their present effort ' find alternative sources of employ- 434
ment'. From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification,
while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more
violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain
it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate,
Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese
communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity.
The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this
dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic
stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that [511]
the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level
of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the
present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to
outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of
attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to production,
has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing
any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been
met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe
that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what
is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel.
Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes
manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived 162
from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In
December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta 464
having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of [161]
Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of
population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased.
The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of
the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per
cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government
revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service
Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial
Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in [433]
normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated
by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had [457]
increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.3
millions. [434]

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to
the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life
investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in 504
the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter
of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent 464
and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main characteristics
of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that
time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost
exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in
'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction.
In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction,
Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional
departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees,
most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a
considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well
as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus contained
the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most
important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil
'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled,
particularly in the building industry (18).

INTRODUCTION

121 24 Contemporary agriculture can only be understood in terms of the whole nexus of environmental and human factors. Although a general truism this assertion continually needs to be emphasised in a study of Malta. In these Islands the observer will meet more puzzling features both major and minor in scale than it is conceivable would be found in any territory of similar size. The wider one's comparative experience, the more it appears necessary to discard general principles and to adopt a habit of querying the origin of every minor element in the landscape. The various problems are examined elsewhere but a brief statement of their type and range will serve to depict the complex nature of Maltese agriculture.

121 311 24 All visitors to Malta are invariably impressed by the vast extent of stone terrace walls which give to the ground-level observer an impression of rocky barrenness. The questions which arise, and which have not been satisfactorily answered, are manifold in their complexity. Do the terrace-walls merely serve to retain naturally-evolved soil and if so is the present density of enclosures strictly necessary? Are these walls, on the other hand, ramparts behind which man-made soil accumulations have been slowly built up to create artificial fields? If the latter, does normal pedological analysis provide a sufficient basis for soil husbandry? If the former, how far can enclosures be enlarged to permit a greater use of mechanised techniques?

121 131 24 The climate of Malta, as analysed in Chapter II, has some especial characteristics. How far do certain combinations of temperature, humidity and wind velocity in various topographic circumstances encourage the appearance and survival of the very many diseases and pests which afflict Maltese crops? To what extent may the climate-soil complex be held responsible for the virtual absence of the olive and the remarkable ignorance concerning viticulture which is only now being dispelled? Must the physical environment be regarded as the main reason for the fact that Maltese farmers have never produced important indigenous strains of crops or livestock but have relied entirely on breeds imported from their more productive neighbours?

121 24 Innumerable queries of this type result from even the most cursory visual survey, and any attempt to answer them brings in even more complex human questions. If the maintenance of man-made soil in artificial fields by arduous manual labour is essential for the ecological stability of many regions, how important is the conflict between the needs of production and the social desires of the cultivators? How far has poor husbandry been a product of rural isolation? How measurable is distance as it affects contact between producer and market, between village-dweller and *Il-Belt*? None of these and other questions is uniquely applicable to Malta, but *in toto* they present such a formidable array as to make one feel that these small islands have concentrated within them certain microcosmic qualities.

In this Section are considered some of the observable facts tha. directly concern the use and potentialities of agricultural resources. The main features of the economy and society in general have been described in previous sections; the basic elements of the agricultural sector may be summarised as follows.

24 311 The total area of the Maltese Islands is some 280,512 *tmien* of which 152,343 *tmien* are cultivated (54 per cent of the total) (1). The relationship between Malta and Gozo in these respects is remarkably constant, both islands having a similar proportion of worked land, Malta possessing 79 per cent. of the total area and of the cultivated land. Of the 7,273 *tmien* of irrigated land, almost 89 per cent. is found in Malta where the only large irrigated zones also occur.

162 24 This cultivated land is worked in 12,315 registered farmholdings of which over 70 per cent. are in Malta. The rural community (i.e. persons living in dwellings registered as farms and including farmworkers' children and other members of the family otherwise employed) number 57,354 (72 per cent. in Malta), almost 18 per cent. of the total population. Of this rural community 34

per cent. are children under 14 years of age. The number of whole-time 162
farmers, 8,100, is now smaller than the group of part-time agriculturalists -
8,946, and in its age-composition differs significantly from the total population 24
- 48 per cent. are aged 50 years or more (1948 - 33,8 per cent.) as compared with 31 per cent. for the Islands as a whole.

The relatively small and, until very recently, declining size of the full-time 178
farming population, and its rapid ageing, suggest a decline in the importance
and status of agriculture. The implications of these figures are discussed else- 24
where but it is worth noting that the agricultural areas are still inhabited by
over 126,000 persons most of whom draw some real income from the land in [934]
amounts which may often be small per capita but which observation suggests are large in total.

The total value of the recorded crop product is estimated at some £2.27 24
millions. From observation in Malta and experience elsewhere one can suggest 43
that is under-estimated by a fraction of the order of 10 per cent. (See p. 10,- Essential Statistics - for further information.)

The combined value of crop and livestock products is estimated at almost £6,000,000. The income accruing to the cultivators is distributed in such a multiplicity of ways in such varying amounts that no useful estimate of average per capita income can be made. Of the disbursements of some £3 millions, an amount of the order of £2½ millions is expended on imports, notably of fodder and store cattle. Earnings of foreign currency amount to approximately £500,000, almost half of which derived from potato exports. This imbalance between imports and exports in the agricultural sector appears even more striking when one remembers that F.D.T. imports of over £9,000,000 make up 35 per cent. of the total Maltese import bill.

The efforts of the 9 per cent. of the employed population engaged in agri- 121
culture are already considerable but the needs of Malta are great. With no known
physical resources of any size other than the land, it becomes of vital 24
importance that farming productivity should be raised even further and that special effort is directed towards a legitimate degree of self-sufficiency in agricultural products. Much of the analysis that follows this introduction must be considered in the light of present and future needs.

REFERENCES 113

1. et passim Census of Agriculture, 1956, Malta, 1960.

121 which divide the villages. I have therefore presented the current political and religious issues in Malta as concisely as possible, and have made no attempt to evaluate or to pass judgement on the policies of State, Church or political party. Consequently, any attempt to put the facts contained herein to polemical use is likely to distort them.

114 [122] Though I lived in Malta during 1957 and 1958, this study is based on the research I carried out there from July 1960 to September 1961 under a grant from the Colonial Social Science Research Council, to whom I am most grateful. The terms of reference on which the research was based, and the form this final report has assumed, were dictated solely by my personal interests; my work was neither carried out on behalf of, nor a report to, a government.

114 128 My wife and daughters were with me during the entire period of fieldwork, and their encouragement and interest as well as the many friends they made were a great asset. We spent our first five months in Farruġ and the last eight months in Kortin. These are not the real names of the villages, for the inhabitants of neither [123] seek recognition. Indeed, throughout this study I have been at pains to avoid any indiscretion which would repay most shamefully our special debt of gratitude to friends and neighbours for their hospitality and good humour in the face of our ignorance of their customs. For the same reason, the names of many of the persons and saints who figure in this account have been altered.

121 [578] [162] I chose to work in Farruġ because it is one of the villages divided by competing band clubs, and among other things I was particularly interested in the part this unusual rivalry plays in village politics. With a population of approximately 1,400, it is one of the smaller Maltese villages. We later moved to Kortin, a village of almost 5,000, since its size and the fact that it is not divided by band club rivalry provided an interesting contrast to Farruġ. Available housing determined the choice of these particular two villages from among the many that would have met my requirements. Besides detailed research in these villages, I carried out comparative studies into the general organization, leadership and patterns of conflict of 12 other communities. In this work Mr. Edward Micallef was my very able research assistant for three months. I chose 11 of these villages by stratifying all villages in Malta and Gozo according to population and then drawing out a

the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a 133
gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely 333
populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square 161
miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population density [131]
of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated
countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the
urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The 162 ●
rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly
separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The population
of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very 16
limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems.
The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been
encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large
families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized
the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service
for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged
8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase
was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period
was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual
rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off
many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there
were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000
women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. 175
The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality.
With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known published
sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to [121]
enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical
perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different [648]

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[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands*, 1960 (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–5.

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out 647
by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under
the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is
usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the [648]
interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation
from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads
were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants.
Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of
civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers
through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial
labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the government. [464]
They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This [162]
makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands.
Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the
principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open
competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration [621]
required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no
councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to
represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey
the wishes and commands of government to the people.
Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are
located in Valletta. Only the police represent government [625]
authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools [658]
for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most
villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a [744]
day under the supervision of a government District Medical
Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and [205]
branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour.
All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where [364]
it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

They must live together in specially designated premises under 792
the discipline of their order, and they are subject to the authority 793
of their provincial or superior. As we shall see, the position that [162]
the clergy occupy in society and the nature of their work is to a
very considerable extent determined by their sheer numbers. In [554]
1957 there were 1,229 diocesan priests, friars and monks and 1,588 nuns in Malta and Gozo.[1] In addition to these, in 1958 there were approximately 220 friars and monks and 200 nuns studying abroad or working as missionaries or chaplains to communities of migrants.[2]

There are a number of associations which occupy important 664
positions in the structure of both the diocese and its constituent 793
parishes. At the diocesan level the most important of these are the
College of Archpriests and Parish Priests, which acts as a pressure 794
group in the interest of its members; the Cana Movement, which runs courses for engaged couples, a marriage advisory council and a clinic; and the Social Action Movement, which is trying to establish trade unions. There is also the Diocesan Junta, or Diocesan Council of Catholic Lay Organizations. This body, on which most of the diocesan and parochial societies are represented, is an important pressure group. As already noted, it played a leading part in bringing about the defeat of the Malta Labour Party in the 1962 elections.

Many associations, though organized at the diocesan level, have 794
semi-autonomous branches at the parish level. These can be roughly divided into the lay apostolate associations and the devotional societies. The lay apostolate groups have been organized so that 'the Church will be able to exercise its direct and indirect action in all the fields: religious, cultural, technical, family, workers' movements and others.'[3] These societies are usually divided by age and sex, and except for the Society of Christian Doctrine, all are run by village priests who are responsible to the parish priest. These chaplains and the lay leaders generally work out an active programme of lectures, good works and outings. Many of them take part in religious processions and, in general, support the work of the parish priest. Together with the clergy,

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[1] *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Economic Activities* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), p. 45.

[2] Charles G. Vella, ed., *The Catholic Directory of Malta and Gozo* (Valletta, Archbishop's Palace, 1958), pp. 273–308.

[3] François H. Houtart, *in* Vella, p. 311.

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level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advance- 555
ment.

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta 212
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had 369
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same
period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to
17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment oppor- 464
tunities during and after the war, and the continuous improve-
ment in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advan-
tage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers
alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself
was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and
people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to
escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural
neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not
surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages,
regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between
past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, be-
tween poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 178
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 241
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 433
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the 464

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school. [114]

369 differ from the villages. While only about sixteen per cent of the
591 adult population of an average Maltese village is not native born,
approximately two-thirds of the adults residing in the urban and
suburban areas were born outside the communities in which they
now live (see Table 2 below).

591 There is no rule of village endogamy or exogamy, and a bride
and groom are free to choose where they wish to live and set up
their household. The choice of residence is normally governed by
available housing, place of work and the relative strength of the
bride's and groom's ties with their respective families and villages.
But in case of a conflict of interest, a wife is expected to follow
the wishes of her husband. If housing is available in both the village
of the wife and that of her husband, and the husband's place of
work is in neither, there is a tendency for the couple to live in the
wife's village. The Maltese themselves acknowledge that, all other
things being equal, the ties between a wife and her family are
stronger than those between her husband and his kin.

● 162 Thus in Farruġ and Kortin, I found that approximately half the
couples had married and settled within their respective villages.
591 Less than one in twenty (4 per cent) of the couples were strangers
who had moved there because of the shortage of housing in their
own villages; and all of these had relatives already living in the
two villages. The outsiders who married or moved into Farruġ
and Kortin formed one-fifth (21 per cent) of the adult population,
or about 10 per cent of the total population of each. In slightly
591 over half (56 per cent) the marriages between people from these
[184] two villages and other villages, the husband settled in his wife's
village. This is the general trend in Malta, where most men work
[369] outside their villages. In Gozo, where farming is the chief occupation,
it is more usual for a woman to move to her husband's
village, for that is his place of work. People from the towns who
marry villagers are reluctant to move into the villages, and it is
therefore fairly common to find villagers, especially women,
moving to join their spouses in the towns.

The general principles regarding marriage residence are
reflected in Table 2.

591 The number of outsiders resident in a village is an important
factor governing the degree to which its inhabitants consider
621 themselves a corporate group. As outsiders always retain strong
links with their place of birth, the solidarity of a village is inversely

proportional to the number of outsiders resident in it. Not only 591
does loyalty to friends and relations in a man's village of birth 621
often take precedence over new ties established by his marriage into a strange village, but it is not unusual for a man married into another village to continue to play an active part in the social life of his native village. Conversely, an outsider is seldom called upon or attempts to join the clubs and associations of his wife's village. Thus, only 3 per cent of the committee members of the fifteen band and social clubs in the sample villages I studied were outsiders, although about 18 per cent of the adult male population resident in these villages were born elsewhere. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the committee members were now living outside the villages in which they were born and hold office.

TABLE 2. Adults Born Outside their Place of Residence[1] [162]

Place of Residence	*Percentage born elsewhere*	*Males*	*Females*
Urban/Suburban	66%	45%	55%
Maltese Villages	16	52	48
Gozitan Villages	15	39	61

Because of the many ties which bind people to their villages of birth, an adult who moves into his wife's village remains an outsider for many years. The village will probably not give him a [551]
distinctive village nickname, and he will be known simply as the husband of his wife, or perhaps by the name of his native village. Although the village may ignore his outside origin for much of the time, his place of birth is certain to be remembered and held against him by his enemies, should he become involved in a dispute. The children of an outsider, however, become full [851]
members of the village by virtue of their birth there, and their connection with the community through the family of their mother (or father). By the time his children begin to grow up and get married, the outsider is usually firmly established as a full member of the community.

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[1] This table was compiled from data made available to me by the Principal Govern- [103]
ment Electoral Office. It covers a random sample drawn from a sample of two suburban [127]
communities (Sliema and Balzan), seven Maltese villages (Zebbug, Gharghur, Gudja, Mosta, Qrendi, Dingli and Zurrieq) and three Gozitan villages (Qala, Xaghra and Gharb).

575 these groups is the loyalty of the people to the partit and its patron,
shown by supporting the many activities that the leaders organise,
621 and by boycotting similar activities of their rivals. These
794 include fund-raising lotteries and fairs, weekly collections and
796 partit picnics and pilgrimages. During the festa, supporters march
with the statue, dress themselves and their houses up and in
general celebrate their patron. Their rivals often walk about unshaven
and glowering, and do not normally decorate their houses.

Although most people in a village divided by this type of
578 rivalry will choose, or be forced, to take sides, a few are able to
621 avoid this commitment, or at least say they have. These are often
794 priests and teachers, who sometimes find it to their advantage to
796 remain neutral, as do outsiders who have married into the village.
Museum members are not permitted to maintain partit affiliation
though, of course, many do. Neutral people contribute to both
feasts. A true partisan would never contribute to the external feast
of his rival, although he might give something to the parish
priest for the internal feast. During periods of intense rivalry, even
these contributions cease. Thus, virtually the entire £1,465 which
St. Martin's centenary cost was contributed by his supporters
alone. Six months later their rivals spent £600 on the feast of St.
Roque.

575 The band club is the organizational and social centre of a partit.
All members of the club are supporters of the partit, but not all
621 supporters of the partit are members of the club, though nonmembers
are normally welcome to come and use its facilities. To
a certain extent, membership of the club depends upon the availability
of ready cash, for many men are reluctant to part with the
subscription fee as long as they can make use of the club's premises.
Though the confraternities are open to all adults without
621 regard to partit affiliation, there is normally a positive correlation
794 between partit and confraternity membership. Generally speaking,
the supporters of the titular feast enrol in the older confraternities
of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary. These
confraternities are established in all parishes, and play an important
part in many religious ceremonies. Supporters of the secondary
patron enrol in the confraternity dedicated to him, if they feel
inclined to join one.

162 These general principles can be illustrated by data collected in
621 Farrug. Table No. 4 below shows the relative strengths of the two

partiti. Of the 617 inhabitants of both sexes over twenty-one years old, 48 per cent support St. Martin, 42 per cent St. Roque, and 10 per cent are uncommitted. Although the numerical strength of the partiti is almost the same, each claims two-thirds of the total population. Of those who claim to be neutral, 63 per cent were born outside the village. 162 621

TABLE 4. Farruġ: Festa Partit Affiliation and Place of Birth

PARTIT	PLACE OF BIRTH			
	Village	*Outside*	*Total*	*Percentage*
St. Martin	250	47	297	48
St. Roque	219	42	261	42
Uncommitted	22	37	59	10
Total	491	126	617	100

Table 5 shows the relation between partit affiliation and membership in one of the three confraternities in Farruġ. Of the members of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary who belong to no other confraternity 84 and 64 per cent respectively belong to the St. Martin partit. Ninety-five per cent of the members of the Confraternity of St. Roque belong to his partit. It is interesting to observe that 83 per cent of those who declare that they are not committed to either partit have also avoided confraternity membership. 162 621 794

TABLE 5. Farruġ: Festa Partit Affiliation and Confraternity Membership

CONFRATERNITY	PARTIT			
	St. Martin	*St. Roque*	*None*	*Total*
B/Sacrament	57	8	3	68
St. Roque	5	87	–	92
Holy Rosary	20	8	5	33
Mixed	24	23	2	49
None	191	135	49	375
Total	297	261	59	617

Recruitment to a partit is quite straightforward, for members do not now change sides, although this occasionally occurred in the generation following their establishment. Today a person is either born into a partit, or marries into it. Children support the partit of their parents, and an outsider marrying into the village generally supports that of his (or her) spouse. Marriages between 621

Marriages between
621 members of rival partiti are regarded as undesirable. They occa-
[582] sionally take place, but the division of loyalty within the nuclear
[586] family which results often leads to quarrels and, occasionally, to
[593] temporary separations. (The favourite festa-time story of the wife who refuses to cook for her husband because he belongs to the
[538] other partit is based on fact!) Of the marriages contracted within Farruġ, 72 per cent took place between members of the same partit. Children of mixed marriages support the feast of their favourite parent: boys normally follow their fathers and girls their mothers.

I recorded only two cases in Farruġ of adults who changed
578- their partit affiliation. Both occurred over fifty years ago. A lead-
621 ing member of the St. Roque partit left it after a heated quarrel with Dun Rokku over the design for new street decorations. He subsequently became one of the other partit's most honoured members, and even wrote a book on the life of St. Martin. The second man left St. Roque when he married the daughter of the president of the St. Martin club. I was told that the girl's father had insisted on the change before he gave his consent to the marriage. The young man went on to become president of the club, as did his only son. In another village a few young men left their partit after a quarrel with one of the leaders, but all returned after a year.

621 Although an outsider who marries into a village generally supports the partit of his spouse, a few of them, particularly the men, succeed in remaining neutral. Of the 122 outsiders who married into Farruġ,[1] 28 per cent of the men but only 8 per cent of the women remained uncommitted. A few even chose to support partiti opposed to those of their spouses. Thus a women from Qrendi who married a St. Martin supporter and moved to Farruġ became a follower of St. Roque because she had been a keen member of the secondary partit in her native village. Children of families in which one of the parents is an outsider, especially if the parent remains neutral, often support the partit of their friends rather than those of their parents or siblings. A case in point is that of the president of the St. Roque club, and his brother. Their father was an outsider who, because of his position as headmaster, made a point of remaining strictly neutral. Though his wife was from a St. Martin family, one son supported St. Martin, the other St. Roque.

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[162] [1] 61 men and 61 women. These marriages represent 34 per cent of the total in the village.

1962 elections, three-fourths are members of the professional 463
classes. The remainder are persons who, for the most part, have 665
risen to positions of influence through party and trade union
hierarchies.

TABLE 8. Occupation of Candidates Elected to the 1962 Malta Legislative Assembly [162]

OCCUPATION	POLITICAL PARTY				
	Nationalist	*Labour*	*Other*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Professional	24	9	5	38	76
Administrative	1	4	2	7	14
Skilled Labour	—	3	2	5	10
Total	25	16	9	50	100

The way a political candidate recruits a following depends upon 666
his status and party. All candidates recruit support through their relatives and friends; and all usually have a following in their own villages outside this circle of relatives. To get this, they must usually be successful politicians at the village level. It is for this reason that so many politicians are also presidents of local band and social clubs, and even of some of the lay apostolate societies. Next, every candidate must establish contact with the people in his electoral district outside the village. Since there are usually at least five candidates from each party standing in every district, each normally concentrates his campaign on one part of the district. He does this by making frequent rounds of all the band and social clubs and important wine shops in his territory. There he listens to complaints and requests and, in general, tries to establish a reputation as a generous and approachable person without committing himself to do specific favours. But above all, it is important for him to meet many people, for the Maltese voter does not like to give his first vote to a person he, or at least some member of his immediate family, does not know personally. Finally, all candidates tour their districts just before the election and make speeches.

Candidates who are doctors, lawyers, notaries, architects and 557
so on, have a decided advantage. As professionals, they already 662
have close personal contact with a large number of clients, many 666
of whom are bound to them by debts, or obligated to them for help and favours. These obligations are important, for the Maltese villager does not like to receive something for nothing, and he

population as 20,000 in 1582. In 1632, 50,113 is given, and in 1667, 53,000. In 1741, 161
110,000 is the population, which is said to have increased to 114,000 in 1798. The 174
figures for Malta and Gozo in 1826 are stated to be 119,736. But the first reliable
figure is 115,945 in 1828. In 1881 the population was 132,129 in Malta and 17,653
in Gozo; in 1901, 184,742, and 1911, 211,564.

In regard to the proportion of the sexes there were in 1911 110 bachelors to 162●
100 spinsters, 98 husbands to 100 wives, and 44 widowers to 100 widows. In round
thousands, the males over 5 years of age were engaged in the following occupations:
7 in professional, 2 domestic, 19 commercial, 12 agricultural, 21 industrial, and 31
were unproductive and unoccupied; the last figure is rather misleading as it includes
at least four separate classes—children, aged, people of independent income, and
incapables of all classes. The data in regard to foreigners is the most interesting
for our purpose, as it gives an insight into the amount of mixture that is taking
place. There were at the last census (1911) (31) 854 ♂ and 1,003 ♀ foreigners in
the island. Of these 3 ♀ were English, the remainder were made up as follows:
77 ♂ and 45 ♀ from Africa (apart from 1 ♂ and 2 ♀, all these came from Egypt,
Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria); 479 ♂ and 499 ♀ from Sicily; 156 ♂ and 253 ♀
from other parts of Italy; 36 ♂ and 39 ♀ came from Greece, and 11 ♂ were classified
as Asiatics. This does not, of course, include the garrison, a large floating population
of which the figures are uncertain, as they depend so much on the ships which happen
to be in harbour at the time when the census is taken. The increase of population 161
between 1828 and 1911 is of interest. That of Malta increased by 88·25 per cent.
of the total, and that of Gozo by 45·31 per cent. The increase in Malta was nearly
five times as great in the suburban area as in the other areas combined.[1]

The density per square mile in 1911 was 1884 (Malta 2167, and Gozo 879).
The density in the south-east corner of Malta is, however, greater than would appear
from these figures. If the island be divided along a line west of Gargur, Naxaro,
Musta, Notabile, Rabato, Crendi, the areas east and west of such a line would be
almost equal in size. The eastern area, however, contained in 1911 183,132 inhabitants, and the western 5737. Practically all the Neolithic remains occur in the [172]
eastern area, suggesting that the centres of population have not changed appreciably
since Neolithic times.

V.—Material and Methods.

The skeletal material examined is conveniently grouped in four series: (i) Bones 126
from the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic); (ii) Miscellaneous ancient 141
skeletons, chiefly Romano-Maltese; (iii) Specimens from the Chapel of Bones (Late
Mediæval); (iv) Modern bones. Only in case (ii) were any complete skeletons available.

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[1] Since this article was written the results of the Census of 1921 have become available. [162]
They are as follows:—Malta, 189,697 (92,127 ♂, 97,570 ♀); Gozo, 22,561 (10,618 ♂, 11,943 ♀).
Total for the two islands, 212,258, an increase of only 694 since 1911, as against 26,822 in the
previous decade.

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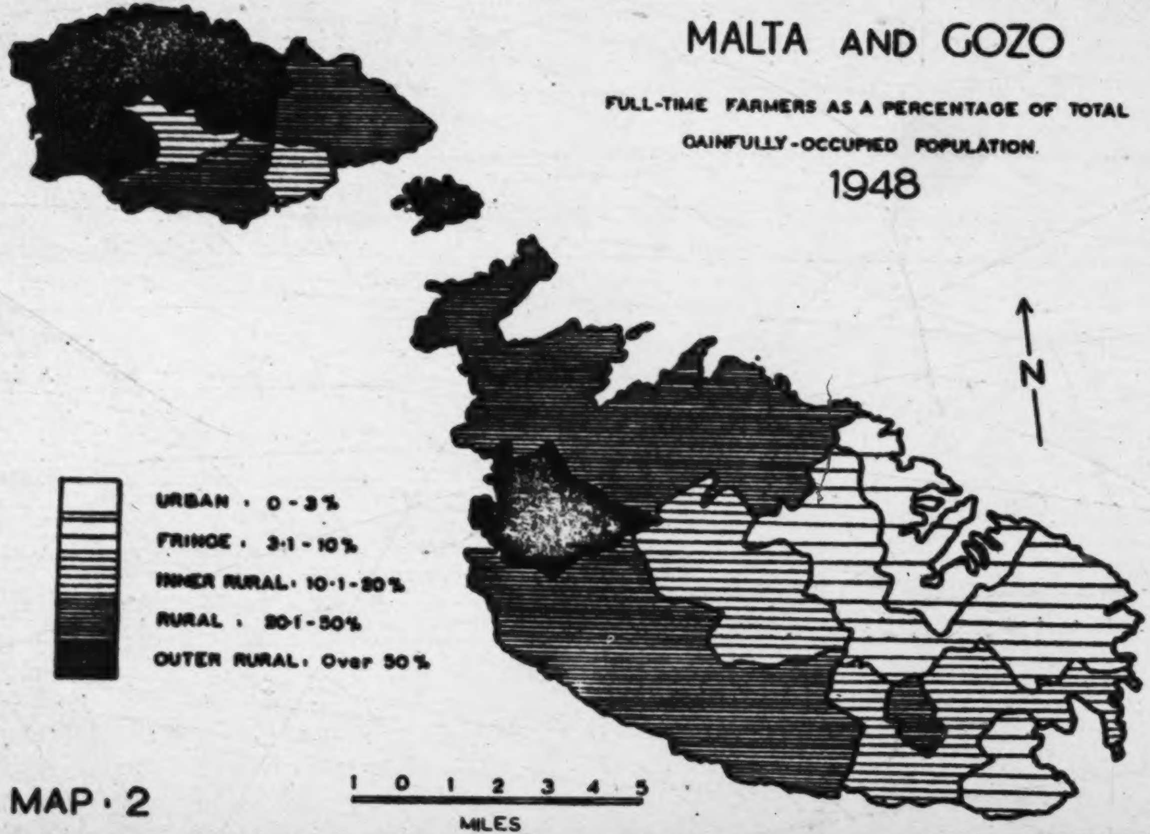
6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

[following p. viii]



MALTA AND GOZO

FULL-TIME FARMERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

1948

N
URBAN · 0 - 3%
FRINGE · 3·1 - 10%
INNER RURAL · 10·1 - 20%
RURAL · 20·1 - 50%
OUTER RURAL · Over 50%
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MAP · 2

It[1] has faded very rapidly
369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give
way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
241 animals or animal products are sold for money.

433 By using the 1948 Census material (B/167 - 1948, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:

634 Table 1 (v. Map 2)

369 Urban (0-3%)

[127]

Urban (0-3%)	
Valletta	0
Cospicua	0
Senglea	0
Vittoriosa	.008
Gżira	.11
Sliema	.24
Floriana	.43
Pawla	.8
Marsa	1.2
Hamrun	1.35
Msida	1.36
Kalkara	1.84
Pieta	2.6
St. Julian's	2.9

Fringe (3-10%)

Fringe (3-10%)	
Balzan	5.48
Luqa	6.1
Birkirkara	6.16
Tarxien	6.43
St. Venera	6.46
Qormi	6.88
Birzebbuga	7.3
Żabbar	7.35
Żejtun	8.27
Lija	9.9

Inner Rural (10-20%)

Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Mqabba	10.5
Marsaxlokk	10.6
Żurrieq	11.15
Ghaxaq	11.29
Attard	11.53
*Victoria	13
Mdina	15.4
Mosta	16.56
Żebbuġ	18.41
*Ghajnsielem	19.2
Gudja	19.91

Rural (20-50%)

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Kerkija	27.7
Gharghur	29.1
Mellieha	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Outer Rural (above 50%)

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Kercem	56.43
*Xaghra	64
*Gharb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Ghasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Malta.................. 9.11%
Gozo................... 41.78%
All Islands.......... 12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an
369 increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the
464 Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the
most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo
the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of
this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the
Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
369 counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages

[1] [i.e. peasant subsistence farming. - [illegible]]

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfaully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The
percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may
be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'.
Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed
as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the
heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three
Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of
south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-
five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for
Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant
that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to
36 this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the
harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service
industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops,
cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public
utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
162 dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the
most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to
which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census
distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix
3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would
expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but
even in the rural districts most people are seen to live
within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In
terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban
and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only
five districts show a built-up township area accounting for
more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this
nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for
1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern
(B/561).

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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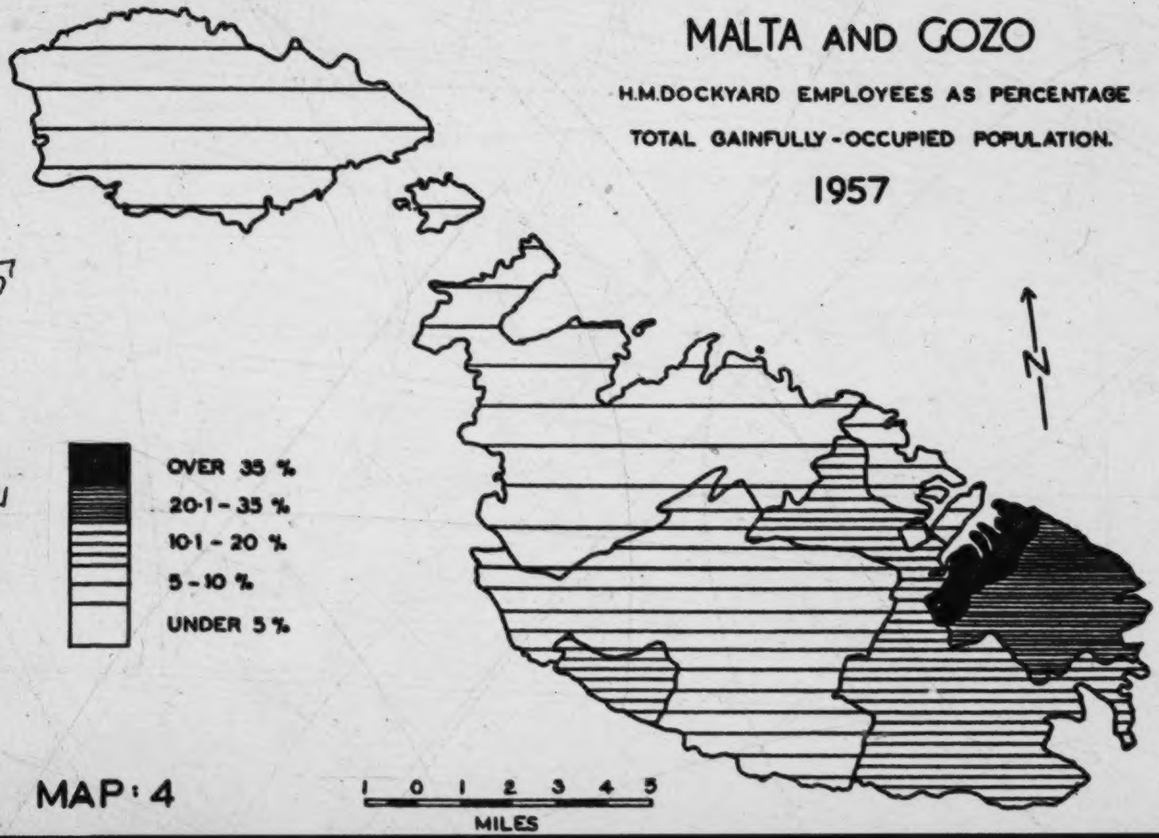
MALTA AND GOZO

H.M.DOCKYARD EMPLOYEES AS PERCENTAGE TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

1957


N
OVER 35 %
20·1 - 35 %
10·1 - 20 %
5 - 10 %
UNDER 5 %
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MAP: 4

[Following p.5]

735 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison.
747 The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth
434 and assets against family size. Thus a household of four
848 persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or
a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for
the free food[32].

162 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the
735 above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by
place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which
434 the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in
addition, also listed separately. The residential
divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the
basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working
population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

	A	B	C	D	E
DISTRICT	POPULATION[35]	'Poor & Needy' as % Population	FARMERS[36]	'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	B/D
Urban Area	134,399	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.8	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	9	0.9

369 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living
735 standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as
has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta
511 and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect
162 the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of
Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the
farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less
poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone
they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural
zone (most of Gozo, and Mġarr in Malta), however, the farmer
is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general
average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most
dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this
zone are one third below the general level as far as their
standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

162 The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom
9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as
735 a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the
511 whole population.

369 This pattern of comparatively low living standards in
rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the
problem with which this Section has been concerned. While
[178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in
the Islands the younger generation of the rural community
will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present
241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change
from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from
its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3).
The social background to this change is, however, no less
important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work,
thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little
removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of
commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and
illiterate sections of the farming community this question
of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any
efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be
seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and
Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to
Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta
the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate.
Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom
Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of
experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel
none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta
619 complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the
829 farmer to speak of "Il-Overn" - the Government of which he
has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on
which he blames many of his economic and social problems.
In this important concept of 'Overn' no very clear
distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities
and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is
allegiance to political parties very significant for person-
[648] ality is more important than party. Historically, this
attitude to a remote 'Overn' probably descends from the
tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign
British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid
hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two
and a half centuries in the Islands.

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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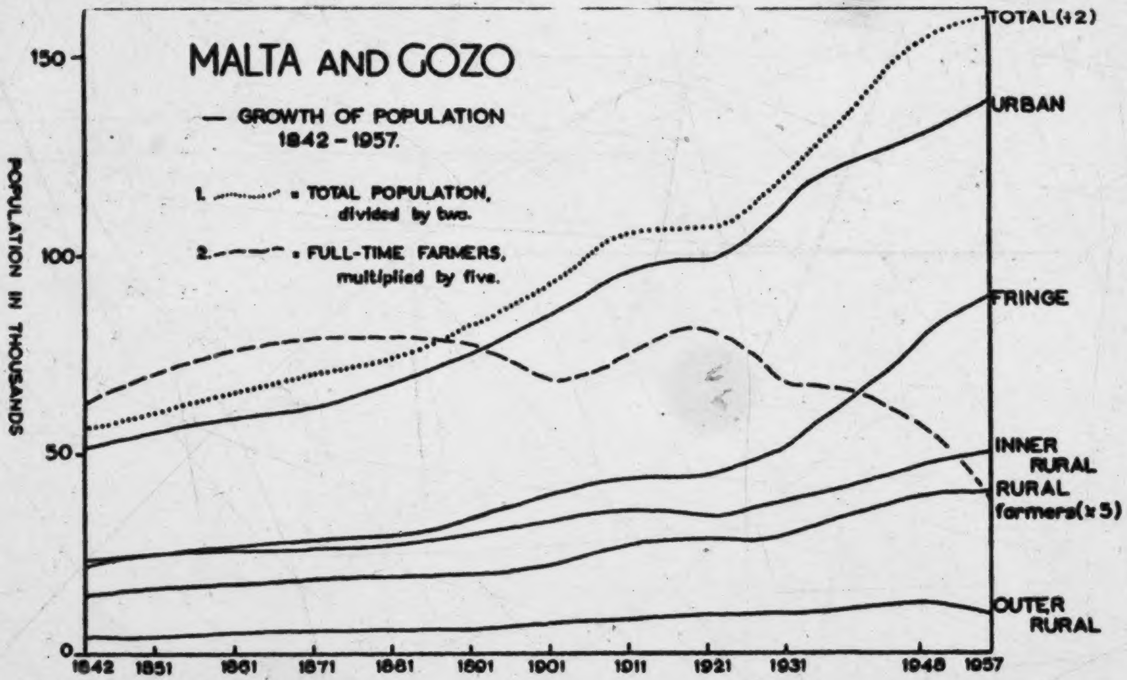
[Following p. 72]



*159 433 451 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:
- *159 134 241 some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
- deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorĉa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 157 626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159 241 434 An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 178 46 *[159] Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic [369] feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agri- [162] culture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

*159 554 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14). [871]

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 871 829 [014] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fisher-
361 men live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi.
Socially this residential distribution is important since only
in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
[512] gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economi-
463 cally lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
162 basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
the present official financial assistance, is producing
178 exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger
generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor
the way of life based on it.

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

SECTION 8 : Appendices

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APPENDIX 1 A : POPULATION

YEAR	All Islands	Malta	Gozo	Urban	Fringe	Inner Rural	Rural	Outer Rural
1957	319,620	292,019	27,601	135,390	83,898	50,002	40,438	10,892
1948	305,991	278,311	27,680	129,153	78,402	46,766	39,406	12,175
1931	241,621	217,784	23,837	114,198	51,367	36,780	29,502	9,776
1921	212,258	189,697	22,561	98,069	44,114	34,166	26,677	9,052
1911	211,564	188,869	22,695	96,147	43,902	36,346	26,686	8,573
1901	184,742	164,952	19,790	84,429	36,111	32,276	22,614	7,312
1891	165,037	146,484	18,553	75,377	33,142	30,012	20,521	5,985
1881	149,782	132,129	17,653	68,476	29,386	27,837	18,182	5,861
1871	140,803	123,492	17,391	61,782	28,567	26,719	18,020	5,795
1861	132,956	117,497	15,459	58,786	27,197	25,289	16,483	5,188
1851	123,496	108,833	14,663	54,885	24,800	24,200	15,680	3,961
1842	113,864	99,522	14,342	51,487	21,923	22,183	14,436	3,853
1828	114,236	98,618	15,618	-	-	-	-	-
1807	93,054	80,225	12,829	-	-	-	-	-
1741	15,032	13,309	1,723	-	-	-	-	-
1632	52,900	49,900	3,000	-	-	-	-	-
1530	29,659	25,000	4,691	-	-	-	-	-

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Sources :
1957 - B/168
1851 to 1948 (inc.) - B/167
1842 - B/166
1828 (estimate) - B/516, Vol.1, p.151
1807 (estimate) - B/86
1741 (estimate) - v.B/167 (1881, p.2)
1632 (estimate) - B/383, Vol.1, Chapter 8
1530 (estimate) - B/516, Vol.1, p.151 (after B/334)

Notes :

(i) 1957 population figures by census localities (B/168) are given in Appendix 3.

(ii) See B/166, 167, and 168, for full statistics since 1842; see also B/381 for detailed analysis of population changes.

(iii) Some of the information in the above table is given in graph form.

(iv) See Map 3 for Population Density by Localities, 1957.

APPENDIX 1 B.

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Occupational Structure of Population 1957 (B/177-1957).

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
A. Malta Government			
Administrative, Executive & Clerical	1600	300	1900
Professional & Technical	1920	1520	3440
Protective Social & other Services	2650	690	3340
Minor & manipulative Office Staff	930	70	1000
Trade Groups	7090	200	7290
TOTAL	14190	2780	16970
B. Service Departments			
Industrial	17260	360	17620
Non-Industrial	1720	220	1940
H.M. Forces	3550	-	3550
TOTAL	22530	580	23110
C. PRIVATE INDUSTRY			
Agriculture	6512	1301	7813
Fishing	820	20	840
Construction	4940	10	4950
Wholesale and Retail	7510	3100	10610
Transport	3250	120	3370
Food (except beverages)	1150	460	1610
Beverages	750	250	1000
Personal Service	2240	3250	5590
All other Private Industry	7590	2030	9620
TOTAL	34762	10541	45303
TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION:	71482	13901	85383

NB - Total gainfully-occupied figures, by localities, are listed in Appendix 2 A.

407 (iv) MECHANIZED IMPLEMENTS owned by farmers, 1956-57

IMPLEMENTS	MALTA	GOZO	TOTAL
Tractors - under 10 horse-power.....	15	11	26
Tractors - over 10 horse-power.....	26	6	32
Hand Cultivators - under 10 h-p.....	792	74	866
Hand Cultivators - over 10 h-p.....	54	19	73
Harvesting machines - under 10 h-p..	16	1	17
Harvesting machines - over 10 h-p..	1	-	1
Threshing machines - under 10 h-p...	2	-	2
Threshing machines - over 10 h-p...	13	4	17

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241 (v) FARMING POPULATION, 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers............	6,512	1,301	7,813
Part-time farmers............	6,634	2,954	9,588
Farming population not in farming (over 14).....	5,777	14,694	20,471
Children (under 14)..........	10,246	9,795	20,041
Total............	29,169	28,744	57,913

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241 (vi) DAYS WORKED on farms (in Man/days). 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers............	full	full	2,343,900
Part-time farmers............	part	part	340,221
Hired labour..................	158,515	28,401	186,916
Unpaid farmers' relatives...	43,718	5,718	49,388

162 (vii) FARMERS as PERCENTAGE of Total Population. 1871-1957 (v.A)

	FULL-TIME FARMERS					as % TOTAL POPULATION				
	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957
Urban	342	415	307	325	224	.55	.40	.27	.22	.17
Fringe	3923	2259	2181	1818	1150	13.7	5.9	4.26	2.1	1.37
Inner R.	5026	4224	3597	2404	1795	18.8	13.1	8.7	5.15	3.6
Rural	4858	4731	4802	4271	3133	27	21	15.6	10.6	7.8
Outer R.	1763	2200	3002	2805	1511	30	30	31	25	13.9
TOTAL	15910	13829	13889	11623	7813	11.3	7.8	5.15	3.7	2.48

NB: - Sources - 1957 full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957)
- 1957 Population (B/168)
- other data (B/167)
- See also Map 2, and Graph

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241 (viii) PART-TIME FARMING (B/525, p.112)

1901			1955
"Farmers".............	5038	Full-time Farmholders..	4706
"Part-time farmers"..	500	Part-time " ..	5337
		Other Farmholders......	1368
TOTAL.................	5638	....	11411
No. of Holdings......	9178	....	12840

(ix) FARM LABOURING (B/525, p.111): Farmholders, labourers, field workers as % total.

	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders %...	27.2	19.7	17.1	30.2	19.1	37.4	36.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers %...	71.8	78.4	80.9	68.1	79.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	56.9	51.1
Total workers %...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
On land (000's)...	12.6	13.4	10.8	15.9	16.0	15.6	13.9	15.2	16.3	13.7

APPENDIX 2 A : The Malta Dockyard, Employees by Locality of Residence, March 1957.

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LOCALITY	Maltese Workers	Gainfully-Occupied	%	United Kingdom Workers
Paola	1,201	3115	38.6	20
Żejtun	995	3506	28.4	1
Żabbar	961	3461	31	1
Cospicua	960	2599	37	6
Hamrun	718	6504	11.25	5
Sliema	575	6660	8.6	232
Senglea	537	1408	38.1	17
Tarxien	467	2164	21.6	–
Vittoriosa	461	1216	38	4
Valletta	444	5927	7.5	2
Birkirkara	441	5128	11.8	5
Qormi	408	4401	9.3	–
Rabat	383	4293	8.7	1
Żurrieq	346	2154	16	–
Marsa	343	3023	11.4	–
Żebbuġ	248	2554	9.7	–
Msida	240	1725	13.9	15
Kalkara	218	616	35.4	3
Birżebbuġa	215	1285	16.7	1
Gżira	214	2214	9.6	28
Luqa	173	1263	13.7	–
Floriana	172	1755	9.75	5
Mosta	169	2412	7	1
St. Julian's	155	2153	7.2	44
Ghaxaq	154	838	18.5	–
Siġġiewi	148	1670	8.85	–
Gudja	104	514	19.9	–
Dingli	94	781	12	–
Marsaxlokk	83	484	17.2	–
Marsaskala	83	v.Żabbar		2
Pieta	79	1062	7.45	3
Balzan	78	781	10	10
Lija	75	685	11	4
Qrendi	73	766	9.5	–
Naxxar	72	1582	4.55	3
Mqabba	68	634	10.7	–
Attard	55	965	5.7	1
Mellieha	50	1279	3.9	–
Kirkop	50	372	13.4	–
Safi	29	257	11.3	–
Gharghur	28	606	4.55	–
St. Paul's Bay	27	1027	2.35	3
GOZO	25	7893	0.32	–
Santa Venera	25	v.Hamrun		1
Mġarr	24	784	3.06	–
Mdina	11	v.Rabat		1
not known	61			–
	12,572			417

Notes - The distribution of Maltese workers as a percentage of total gainfully-occupied population by localities is shown on Map 4.

- Sources; see Note (7). Gainfully-occupied figures from B/160.

[P.180]

APPENDIX 3 : THE BUILT-UP AREA

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"A Township is the definite urban-type built-up nucleus of a census locality" (v. B/108, p.38). On this basis the 'township' area and population within each census locality may be distinguished:

CENSUS LOCALITIES	LOCALITIES LAND AREA. sq. miles A	 POPULATION. B	"TOWNSHIPS" LAND AREA, as % of A.	 POPULATION. as % of B.
Valletta	0.281	18,202	100	100
Cospicua	0.241	9,085	100	100
Senglea	0.057	5,085	100	100
Vittoriosa	0.205	4,242	100	100
Gżira	0.411	8,545	38.9	99.3
Sliema	0.485	23,399	100	100
Floriana	0.341	5,811	100	100
Paola	1.086	11,434	34.6	100
Marsa	0.883	10,672	28.6	100
Hamrun	0.380	16,885	73.1	100
Msida	0.368	6,587	53.3	88.9
Kalkara	0.471	2,101	28.9	92.9
Pieta	0.200	4,076	78.5	100
St. Julians	1,635	8,285	17.9	70.8
Balzan	0.236	2,734	68.6	100
Luqa	1.812	5,382	5.6	91.2
Birkirkara	2.736	16,987	15.2	90.5
Tarxien	0.850	7,706	12.5	58.2
St. Venera	0.415	5,246	34.9	75.1
Qormi	2.412	14,899	9.9	95.8
Birżebbuġa	2.094	5,297	4.7	88.1
Żabbar & M'skala	3.255	11,883	9.5	61.3
Żejtun	3.777	11,685	5.0	87.2
Lija	0.547	2,119	24.1	90.3
Mqabba	1.242	2,088	5	97.5
Marsaxlokk	1.952	1,489	1.9	82.9
Żurrieq	3.536	6,837	4.3	92.8
Ghaxaq	1.121	2,830	6.8	98.5
Attard	2.090	2,663	7.2	97.2
Victoria	1.635	6,357	19.6	97
Mdina	2.473	823	1.1	100
Mosta	1.900	7,377	14	87.9
Żebbuġ	3.167	7,089	10.2	98.7
Ghajnsielem	1.414	1,830	6.9	98
Gudja	1.706	1,712	2.8	97.4
Qrendi	2.587	2,155	2.2	97.7
Kirkop	0.717	1,204	6.3	100
Naxxar	6.536	4,888	2.7	83
Rabat	8.048	12,792	2.9	82
Xewkija	1.288	3,281	12.9	99.9
Gharghur	2.023	1,813	2	87.3
Mellieha	7.808	4,290	0.9	71.9
Siġġiewi	6.230	5,065	2.4	96.4
Sannat & Munxar	2.167	1,658	4.9	99.6
Nadur	2.487	4,136	7.8	98.7
Safi	0.447	700	10.1	97.7
Dingli	3.874	2,041	1.7	68.5
Qala	2.218	1,616	3.8	95.8
St. Paul's Bay	5.620	3,040	2.1	72.5
Kerċem & St.Lucia	2.442	1,272	4	100
Xaghra	4.654	4,866	5.8	87.9
Gharb	2.043	1,389	2.2	67.3
San Lawrenz	1.355	428	3.4	69.2
Żebbuġ	2.775	1,189	4.4	85.1
Mġarr	5.806	2,167	0.8	31.2
Ghasri	1.422	471	3	41.2
Comino	1,076	20	0	0
Maltese Islands	121.880	319,620	7.6	91.1
Malta	95.876	292,019	8	90.9
Gozo	25.974	27,601	5.9	83.6

NB: - Information from B/108. Table P III(b)).

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APPENDIX 4 : The LAY APOSTOLATE

794 Of the more than two dozen movements which now form the Lay Apostolate in the Maltese Islands (v.B/91) five of the more prominent organizations are shown in the table by their present distribution and by the date, where known, of their foundation in each parish. Numbers of confraternities and third orders, and numbers of churches in each parish are also included.

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Malta Catholic Action - Young Men	CY
" " " - Young Women	CG
" " " - Men	CM
" " " - Women	CW
Society of Christian Doctrine (M.U.S.E.U.M.) - Men	MM
" " " " " - Women	MF
Legion of Mary, number of Praesidia in each parish	LM
Holy Name Society	AN
Young Christian Workers	YCW
Confraternities and Third Orders	Co
Churches	Chs
Date of foundation of Parish	Date
Parishes where a movement has no branch	.
" " " " " a branch but date of its appearance in that parish not known	Ø

In CY, CG, CM, CW, MM, MF, AN, YCW, numbers (e.g. 36, 10) indicate date of appearance of branch (i.e. 1936, 1910, etc.)

No information.. ?

NB - Information derived in large part from B/91.
- List arranged by increasing size of farming element of the working population (v. Section 1).

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PARISH	Date	CY	CG	CM	CW	MM	MF	LM	AN	YCW	Co	Chs
Valletta 1	1585	Ø	25	58	Ø	10	10	2	55	55	11	8
" 2	1587	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	.	10	.	Ø	6	10
Cospicua	1584	31	48	57	.	08	08	.	.	56	8	5
Senglea	1581	30	.	30	.	16	Ø	1	.	.	9	4
Vittoriosa	1090	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	.	Ø	.	7	5
Gżira	1913	37	39	45	43	33	10	4	49	.	2	3
Sliema 1	1878	32	31	33	58	.	.	9	Ø	.	4	3
" 2	1918	.	Ø	58	Ø	.	.	2	.	.	2	3
" 3	1940	41	55	41	Ø	Ø	Ø	10	.	Ø	3	5
Floriana	1844	27	Ø	50	53	07	26	3	36	Ø	5	4
Pawla	1910	28	Ø	28	28	10	10	4	48	48	3	4
Marsa	1913	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	08	08	1	.	51	.	3
Hamrun	1881	26	34	42	47	07	12	7	32	40	.	7
Msida, Pieta	1867	31	31	56	.	08	08	2	Ø	Ø	4	4
St. Julians	1891	45	44	45	46	?	.	2	.	.	5	2
Balzan	1655	Ø	56	31	57	Ø	Ø	4	Ø	.	4	?
Luqa	1634	51	51	51	.	Ø	.	.	.	.	4	?
Birkirkara	1436	32	?	Ø	57	Ø	Ø	8	31	40	6	10
Tarxien	1592	37	Ø	?	.	09	.	2	.	.	5	4
St. Venera	1918	45	37	45	50	34	34	1	.	.	2	4
Qormi 1	1436	Ø	Ø	.	Ø	?	?	.	.	.	7	6
" 2	1935	35	35	57	.	14	?	?	30	Ø	3	3
Birżebbuġa	1913	?	?	44	.	37	24	.	31	.	1	7
Żabbar	1615	45	45	46	52	09	.	5	47	.	6	3
Marsaskala	1949	.	.	.	.	45	45	.	49	.	1	1
Żejtun	1436	52	35	Ø	55	12	Ø	.	Ø	55	5	7
Lija	1594	Ø	50	56	.	52	53	2	29	.	3	5
Mqabba	1598	.	.	.	.	32	35	5	32	.	4	7
Marsaxlokk	1897	.	58	.	.	50	50	.	52	.	2	7
Żurrieq	1436	32	30	47	40	26	28	.	29	54	6	7
Għaxaq	1626	.	.	.	.	56	07	.	Ø	Ø	3	4
Attard	1575	.	.	Ø	.	21	21	2	.	.	4	7
Mosta	1608	Ø	Ø	46	40	Ø	Ø	5	.	46	9	7
Żebbuġ(M)	1436	32	33	44	49	11	15	.	28	.	7	10
Għajnsielem	1855	Ø	Ø	.	.	.	Ø	1	.	.	2	4
Gudja	1436	.	45	.	51	15	15	.	33	.	4	4
Qrendi	1618	Ø	Ø	.	.	Ø	Ø	.	Ø	.	5	7
Kirkop	1592	46	46	.	.	52	.	.	44	.	3	7
Naxxar	1436	47	40	Ø	.	25	31	1	35	48	8	5

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PARISH	DATE	CY	CG	CN	CW	MM	MF	LM	AN	YCW	Cs	CHs
Rabat*	1902	33	33	57	.	33	37	8	28	56	15	17
Xewkija	1678	33	33	.	.	0	0	2	0	.	2	2
Gharghur	1598	0	46	58	57	0	33	.	32	.	6	6
Mellieha	1841	54	46	57	54	.	44	3	0	52	4	3
Siġġiewi	1436	32	0	38	.	26	38	.	0	46	6	.
Sannat	1688	.	32	30	.	50	.	1	.	.	2	1
Nadur	1688	0	0	.	.	0	0	.	0	.	3	3
Safi	1598	7	54	.	56	.	0	.	37	54	3	2
Dingli	1678	48	.	.	.	36	36	.	32	.	2	2
Qala	1872	0	0	.	.	0	0	.	.	.	3	2
St. Paul's Bay	1905	48	.	0	42	.	46	2	.	.	4	7
Kerčem,St.Lucia	1885	0	0	29	0	.	.	1	47	.	2	2
Xagħra	1688	0	0	.	.	.	.	2	0	.	3	4
Gharb	1679	0	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
San Lawrenz	1893	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Żebbuġ(G)	1688	.	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Mġarr (M)	1898	0	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
Għasri	1921	.	.	40	.	.	.	.	27	.	2	2
Munxar	1957	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	1	1

Mdina (A.D. 60) 1090 - Co-Cathedral of Malta (with St. John's,
Valletta).
Cathedral of Gozo (at Victoria).

* - separated from Mdina, 1902.

648 desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty
175 years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But
he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of
blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant:
he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval
base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean.
Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the
point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the
naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean
but a vital link in the route to a farther East than
Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither
William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn
on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

3

161 At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an
[162] estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls
(exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which
Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to
say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile,
which makes it one of the most densely populated geographical
[167] units in the world. The figure would have been
higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia
161 and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by
619, the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small
for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto
themselves, with their own language, their own traditions,
their own physical characteristics and a history that is one
of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

172 For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and
173 Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days
reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in
other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta
[132] was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

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[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

The population of Gozo differs from that of Malta, having a higher proportion of people over 65 and a much smaller proportion in the 15-64 group (Fig. 48). Variations between the proportions in the main age groups are shown in Fig. 49, but few evolutionary trends are recognisable. There was a decline in the percentage of young children from 1891 down to 1931, but this was offset, particularly in Malta, by the post-war period when birth rates were high. In Gozo, the return of people to the island from Malta and from abroad was reflected, in the 1931 Census, in a particularly high proportion in the 15-64 group, in contrast to the normal state of affairs. 162

The analysis of age structure by sex (Fig. 50) shows a consistently higher proportion of females than of males in the working age groups (15-64). That these figures are bound up with emigration is further corroborated by the more even balance between the sexes in the over 65 group.

In terms of actual numbers, children under 15 increased from 44,000 in 1861 to 106,600 in 1948 while the numbers of working age have grown from 80,700 to 182,600 and of old people from 8,200 to 16,800. The greatest relative increase has therefore been among the children but in their case there have been two distinct periods of numerical growth. Between 1861 and 1881, the group showed an absolute increase of only 4 per cent. In the next 30 years there was an increase of 57 per cent. This was checked in the period 1911-21, but followed by a further rapid increase between 1921 and 1948 when the number of children grew by 62 per cent. Throughout the whole period, the sex ratio remained fairly constant between 102 and 104 males per 100 females. The reasons for such fluctuations are best deferred to a later consideration of fertility rates.

Among the working age group, the rise in the number of women has been at a steadily accelerating rate, whereas that of the men fell sharply in 1921. The numbers over 65 declined in 1871 and 1901, but rose steadily at all other Census dates. Masculinity was least in 1921 (89) and highest in 1901 and 1911 (98). Among old people, the ratio of males to 100 females varied between 98 and 88 but showed no progressive trend.

The most recent developments in the evolution of the population are summarised by a comparison of the 1948 and 1956 age pyramids (Fig. 51). The large number of children who, in 1948, were less than five years old, had by 1956 been absorbed in the 5-15 age groups, but the proportion of under-five's in 1956 was well below that in 1948. The other most striking feature is the very small proportions of the 15-45 age groups in 1956, indicating the wastage, most marked among males, which is a product of emigration.

FAMILY SIZE

The Census of 1948 is the first from which a precise calculation of family size can be made. Previous estimates were generally to the effect that 'the average family is of four of five children'. Information from the Family Census of June 1955 (21) has not yet become available. 163

In Malta, more than half the married women have borne four or more children and in Gozo nearly two-thirds. An extraordinarily high proportion, 13.5 per cent. in Malta and 16.4 per cent. in Gozo, have ten or more. Such figures do not, however, represent the total number of births which may take place, and Table 29 shows the number of women by cohorts of completed fertility who have had various numbers of children.

Table 29.

Number of children	Great Britain 1946		Maltese Islands 1948
	a	b	c
None	10.3	17.2	11.3
1-3	48.2	63.6	17.8
4-9	37.8	18.6	45.0
10 and over	3.7	0.6	25.9
	100%	100%	100%

a = women married between 1900 and 1909 - R.C. on Pop. 1949-50. Vol. 2.
b = women married in 1925 - R.C. on Pop. 1949-50, Vol. 2.
c = married women over 45 years of age - Census of 1948.

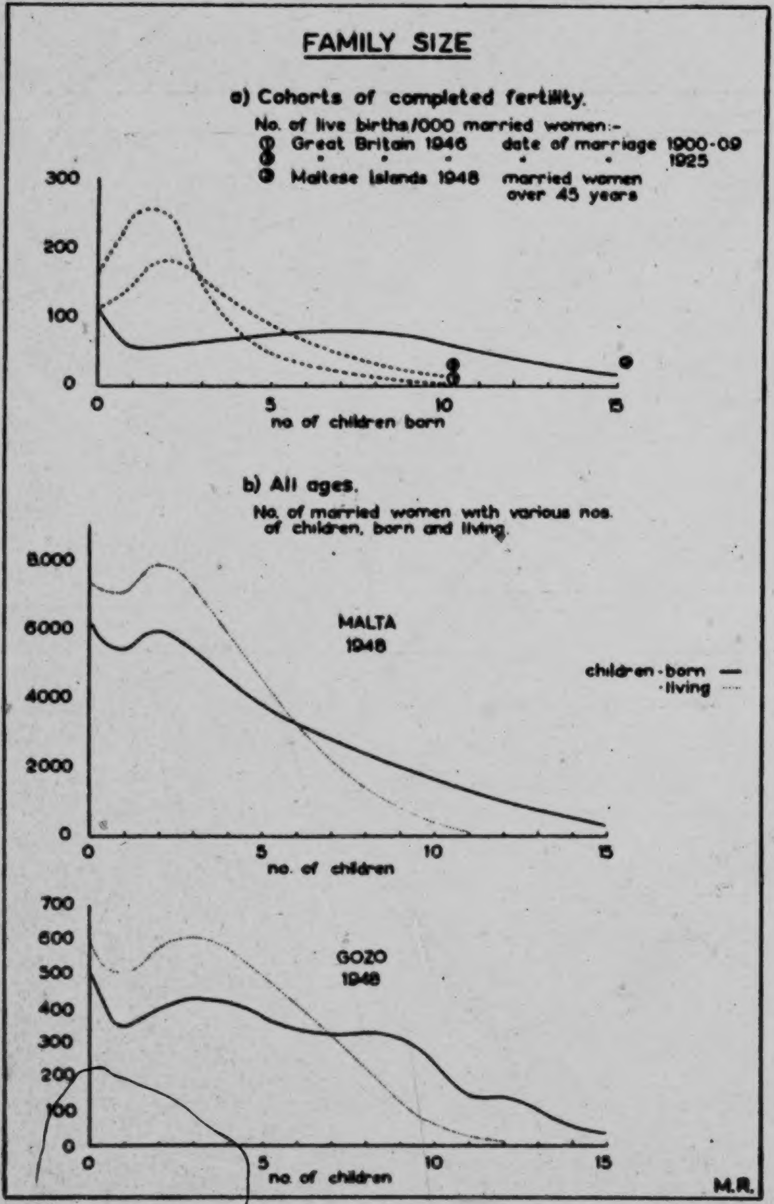

Fig. 52 Family Size.

[p.150-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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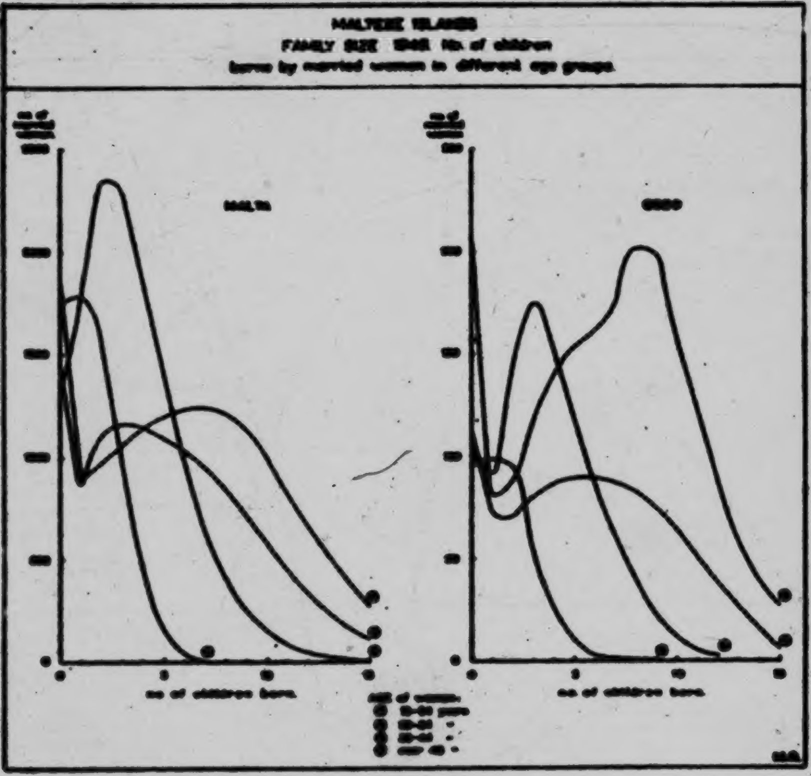

Fig. 83 Maltese Islands: Family Size, 1948.

[p. 150-B]

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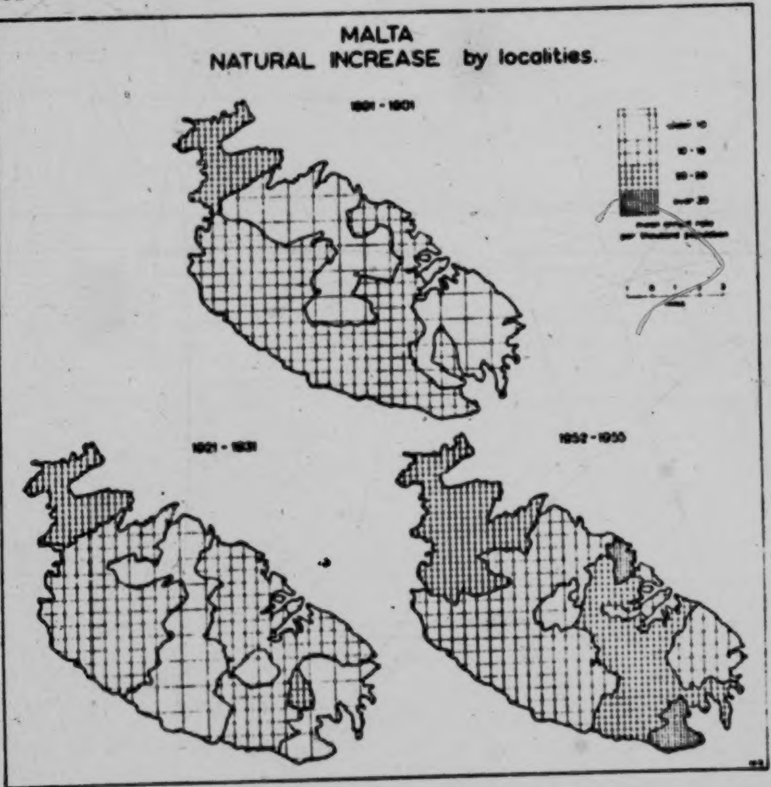

Fig. 55 · Natural Increase by locality.

BIRTHS

163 The crude birth rate in the Islands has remained between 30 and 40 per thousand over almost the entire period since 1826. Only in the 1840's did it exceed 40 and since then it has remained well below that figure. In 1917 and again in the Second World War it fell below 30, but a permanent downward trend has only been established during the last decade, bringing the birth rate below 30 since 1952 (Fig. 54).

The overall trend has thus been one of decline. This began after the peak of the 1840's and continued until the 70's. There was a reversion to higher rates during the last two decades of the nineteenth century which was carried on until 1906, but the next four years brought unemployment and depression, foreshadowing the trough of the 1914-18 War. This was followed by a recovery to 38 per thousand, but the rate soon fell again to remain around 33 until the Second World War. A marked decline in the period 1940-43 was followed by a rise in 1944 to levels above anything experienced since the 1850's and these were maintained until 1948. Since then, decline has been rapid and sustained. With the sole

exception of 1942, there has been no recorded instance of a birth rate as low 163 as 26.5, which was the figure for 1958.

In the late nineteenth century, Maltese birth rates were comparable with 163 those of southern Europe, but subsequent decline has been much delayed in Malta. Economic progress in the Islands during the late nineteenth and early 171 twentieth centuries was accompanied by a rising rather than by a falling birth rate. The pattern of natality in Malta since 1911, however, conforms to trends experienced elsewhere in Europe, although the rates themselves have not been the same. The decline in the Maltese birth rate during the 1914-18 War was less marked than on the European mainland and there was an actual increase in Malta between 1919 and 1939, when other European rates declined. The post-war upsurge in births reached its peak early in Malta and while the birth rates of most European countries have been stable at a medium level over the last few years, that of Malta has been falling from the most recent peak.

DEATHS

The decline in mortality during the past few years has been even greater 165 than that in births. Before the Second World War, the Maltese death rate had fallen below 20 on but three occasions and in 11 separate years it had exceeded 30. Since 1953 it has stayed consistently below 10, thus becoming directly comparable with the death rates of the most advanced Western European countries. [177]

In the nineteenth century, the Maltese death rate was subject to violent annual fluctuations. The worst years were those of epidemic cholera, but even in the latter part of the century, when this was less common, the rate remained high. The main factors responsible were poverty, disease and unsanitary living conditions which were particularly reflected in high infant mortality. Improvements in drainage, sewerage and water supply were effective in reducing mortality from nearly 27/1,000 in the 1890's to 21 in the 1930's but much greater reductions were achieved once the problem of infant mortality was attacked. As recently as the 1920's, this was still as high as 250 per 1,000 live births and only in 1936 did it fall below 200. The decline in this rate was further delayed by the Second World War but by 1944 it had fallen to 114. Since then, progress has been rapid, and infant mortality in 1958 stood at 40 per 1,000 live births, a level comparable with those of many European countries.

Thus, in Malta, as in other European countries, the death rate has been reduced largely as a result of declining infant mortality and the reduction although late has been extremely rapid. A further decline is both possible and, on humanitarian grounds, desirable.

NATURAL INCREASE

Statistics of births, deaths, marriages and natural increase are illustrated 161 in Figs. 54 and 55. In the years since 1948, the natural increase has reached its highest level because of a remarkable decline in the death rate. The absolute natural increase in the decade 1831-40 was 5,241 whereas in 1941-50, despite the low birth rate of the war years, the excess of births over deaths was 52,833. The current natural increase runs at about 5,000 a year, ten times that of a century ago.

The annual rate of natural increase in 1831-40 was less than 5 per 1,000; by the end of the century it had reached 10 and in 1941-50 it was 18, since when it has maintained the present rate of 19. The general upward trend has not been an even one as the graph shows, there being peaks in 1851-60, 1881-90, 1901-10 and 1941-50, of which the first and last were the highest. The former was a period of high birth rates, a moderate death rate and very early marriage; the latter was one of rapidly falling death rates and a post-war upsurge in births. The troughs in the curve were lowest in the early and mid-nineteenth centuries, corresponding to times of frequent sickness and epidemic, of which the late 1860's and early 1870's provide examples.

Annual fluctuations in natural increase reflect specific historical events. On six occasions, the number of deaths in a year has exceeded the number of births. In 1837, '47, '50 and '65, epidemic cholera was the cause. In 1874, a

[Text continues on p. 155]

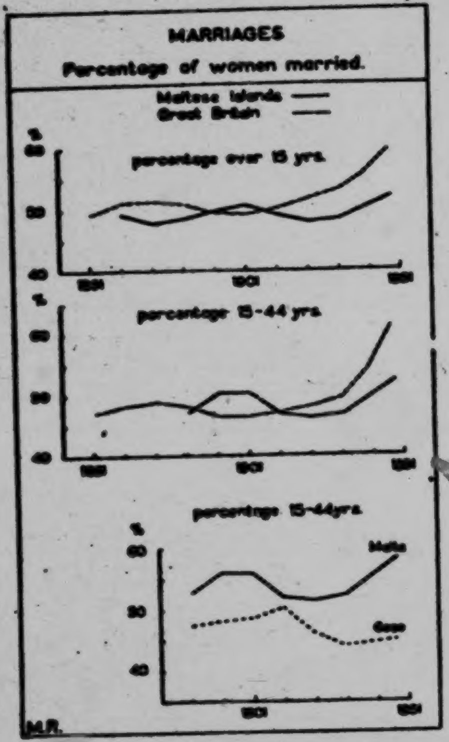

Fig. 56 Marriages: Percentage of Women Married.

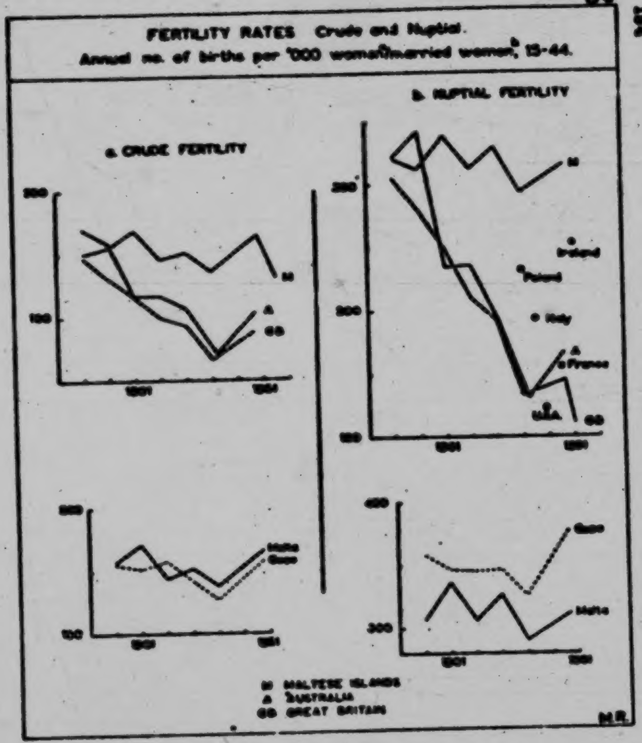

Fig. 57 Fertility Rates: Crude and Nuptial.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

variety of diseases, among which smallpox and cholera were important, 161
assumed epidemic proportions after several years in which sickness had been
prevalent. In 1942, war casualties, malnutrition and disease were responsible
for an excess of deaths over births.

CONJUGAL CONDITION (Fig. 56)

The proportions of single, married and widowed persons has remained 162
virtually the same since 1901. The great disparity between the numbers of
married men and married women resident in the Islands, a feature of the inter-
war period, reduced the number of effective marriages, but the discrepancy
was considerably reduced by 1948, when there were 97 married men to every
100 married women, as against 92 in 1921 and 1931.

Comparison with other countries indicates that a smaller proportion of the 162
Maltese people marry than is the case in, for example, Britain, Ireland or 582
Australia but the age of marriage in Malta is much lower than in most other
countries. Nearly 80 per cent. of the men who marry do so before they are 30
and, in 1955, 90 per cent. of brides were below that age. (In England and Wales
the comparative figures are 74 per cent. and 81 per cent.) Furthermore, 26.2
per cent. of Maltese brides are less than 20 years of age. In Gozo, marriages
are fewer, proportionally, than in Malta, and take place later: although there
is a higher proportion of brides below 20, the proportion of women married by
the time they are 25 is similar in the two islands. The commonest age at which
men are married is 25 in Gozo compared with 22 in Malta.

MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

While the proportion of the population which is married is relatively low, the 162
resulting depressing effect on fertility rates is more than neutralised by the early
age at which women are married. Crude fertility rates alone form an insufficient 582
basis for detailed demographic analysis. Changes in the sex ratio, in migration,
and in marriage rates as well as the underlying socio-economic attitudes to 163
family size all must be examined.

The marriage rate has declined since the early nineteenth century. In 1831-40 it was 8 per 1,000 of the total population, while in 1951-56 it was 6.4, having fallen below 7 in the 1850's and remaining below that level with the exception of the two post-war periods (Fig. 54). Annual variations have followed changes in economic conditions as was the case in the rising marriage rate soon after 1900. Plagues, epidemics and wars have generally been followed by a sharp rise, as was the case after World War II.

A high marriage rate, maintained for several years, is generally an indication of prosperity. This was so in the first five years of the present century, while the depression which culminated in the arrival of the Royal Commission in 1911 was accompanied by a fall to less than 5 per 1,000. The high marriage rate of the years immediately following the Second World War soon fell away, but since 1950 there has been an unexpected recovery which has not been matched by a comparable rise in the number of births.

It is possible to assess the fertility of the population by a comparison of the Censuses with Vital Statistics and by relating the number of births either to the number of women of childbearing age (crude fertility rate) or to the number of married women of childbearing age (nuptial fertility rate). Crude and nuptial fertilities are shown in Fig. 57 and in both cases comparisons made with British and Australian equivalents. It will be seen that, in the Maltese Islands, between 1881 and 1948 the crude fertility rate only fell below 130 once (in 1931) and generally fluctuated between 140 and 170. In 1948 it was 175, the second highest figure recorded, but by 1950 it had declined to 130 despite a slight increase in the marriage rate. This would seem to indicate that nuptial fertility is now on the decline, though this cannot be demonstrated statistically.

The comparison of nuptial fertility rates is more valid than that of crude 163
rates since it makes allowances for differences in the marriage rates between
various countries. By this type of assessment, the outstandingly high fertility
of the Maltese population is even more strongly emphasised. Only once, in 1931,

[Text Continues on p. 157]

has the nuptial fertility rate fallen below 300 and it is now 25 per cent. higher than that of Ireland, reputedly the highest in the world (22). 163

Fertility, marriage and birth-rates have been outlined above, but the trends of the first two do not account for decline of the last. Fertility is stable, or was until 1948, the marriage rate has not declined since that year and previous trends of nuptial fertility do not suggest any imminent decline. One strong possibility, however, is that the pattern of post-war migration is concealing a decline in the married population. Many migrants from the Islands return to get married and leave with their brides for their new homes. Their children are born overseas so that marriages which have been registered in the Islands give rise to children born and registered abroad. If this is so, it indicates that a decline in the rate of emigration would result in a rapid revival of the birth rate and that the present pattern of natural increase is very much affected by the trends of emigration. 163 167

MIGRATION

The pattern of nineteenth century migration has been the subject of close study by Price (23) who deals mainly with the period 1842-81 using as his major source of information, the records of the Passport Office. Since the Department of Emigration was not established until after the First World War, the intervening period has been filled in for this study by interpretation of further Passport records and of passenger movement statistics collected by the Customs and Port Department. From 1918 onwards statistics of the Emigration Department have been used along with those of the Customs and Port Department. 167 127

Comparability of material has been one of the biggest problems. In the period covered by Price, the native Maltese population only was considered; subsequent statistics are for the entire civil population, which from 1901 onwards included the families of the Garrison. The best check on the scale of movement is provided by a consideration of the Census reports together with vital statistics for inter-censal years. The difference between the net increase in population and the natural increase represents the inter-censal net migration.

167

Table 30. Inter-censal migration 1842-1956.

Period	Natural Increase	Net Increase	Net Migration
1842-51	11,310[1]	8,620	- 2,690
1851-61	17,470[2]	10,060	- 7,410
1861-71	7,860[3]	8,490	+ 630
1871-81	11,030[4]	8,180	- 2,850
1881-91	16,490	15,260	- 1,230
1891-1901	15,830	19,710	+ 3,880
1901-11	26,030	27,080	+ 1,050
1911-21	17,300	-110	-17,410
1921-31	25,280	28,260	+ 2,980
1931-48	65,140	64,370	- 770
1948-56[5]	53,480	10,250	-43,230

1-4. Price, op. cit.
5. Estimate from the Census of 1948 to 31st December, 1956.
1842-81. Maltese population only.
1881-1901. Civilian population excluding Garrison families.
1901-1956. Civilian population including Garrison families.

178 185 744 about quality and as yet incompletely dominated by ideas of welfare economics, the rural community is far less affected by change. While milk consumers in the towns are often either not completely convinced of the need for milk processing or at the other extreme will use only imported tinned milk where possible, the producers are generally even less convinced of the need for care in the production of clean milk. Unpasteurised goats' milk is still generally used in those farming households where milk is consumed at all, and understanding of the processes of infection is but slowly growing. Thus, in the field of public health and personal hygiene and medical care, social changes have been rapid, recent and uneven in incidence. Here, as in the economic sector, the mental acceptance of new ideas is not yet complete and is least advanced in the most rural and remote regions.

163 369 842 795 The examination already made of the demographic situation in the Maltese Islands needs some brief consideration against the background of social attitudes. The consensus of expert opinion is that in developing societies a falling birth rate is the result not of an actual decline in fertility but of family limitation. In most regions such a decline in family size is associated with changed social attitudes, which have become accepted in many countries in which Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion. Pope Pius XII himself condemned irresponsible parenthood and said it is 'a mistake and a departure from moral truth to exalt too highly the generative function even in its right moral setting of married life' (15).

The insularity and historical experience of Malta have preserved there a more rigid and strict application of Catholic rules of conduct, in which, despite the inadequacy of the Islands' resources to provide for the economic welfare of the population, the virtues of the large family are still stressed. Archbishop Gonzi in 1958 reminded an audience of young people that, although large families entailed much sacrifice on the part of the parents, parents should be prepared for a life of sacrifice (16). Father Vella, the founder of the Cana movement has said: 'One of Malta's glories is her large families' (17).

In Malta therefore the weight of the Church tends to discourage the secular social trend towards smaller families, and still makes illegal any provision for family limitation. Where secularism is strongest, in the urban cosmopolis, family size declines most rapidly. In the rural communities, where the precepts of the Church are most conscientiously observed and where the effect of secular socio-economic desires is most restricted, large families are normal and admired.

163 369 842 This regional contrast in social behaviour, when superimposed upon purely demographic variations in rates of population growth, becomes sometimes emphasised and sometimes negated. In the northern third of Malta, inward internal movement as a consequence of 'pioneer' agricultural settlement during and after the mid-nineteenth century produced a 'young' population, high birth rates and rates of natural increase. This region has remained almost entirely rural in social character. The second main region of inward movement of population, the suburban area, has experienced a recent decline in the early high birth rates as a result of the impact of secular ideas.

The urban heart of Malta in Valletta and Floriana by contrast, has been both traditionally a zone of outward movement of population and the district most affected by changes in social attitudes to family propagation. The remaining area, the heart and core of Maltese 'casal' life, illustrates clearly the delicate balance between demographic and religious and secular social influences. [166] From this central area have traditionally gone the migrants to the new towns and the 'new' northern farming areas. The efflux has counteracted the traditionally rural and strongly religious tendency towards large families and a high rate of natural increase. On the southern fringe of this zone however lies the Żurrieq group of 'casals' and villages. From this until recently relatively isolated district, emigration has never been high and, with a survival of traditional rural values, this region has had in the 1950's the consistently highest birth rates - over 30 per 1,000 - of the *Maltese* population.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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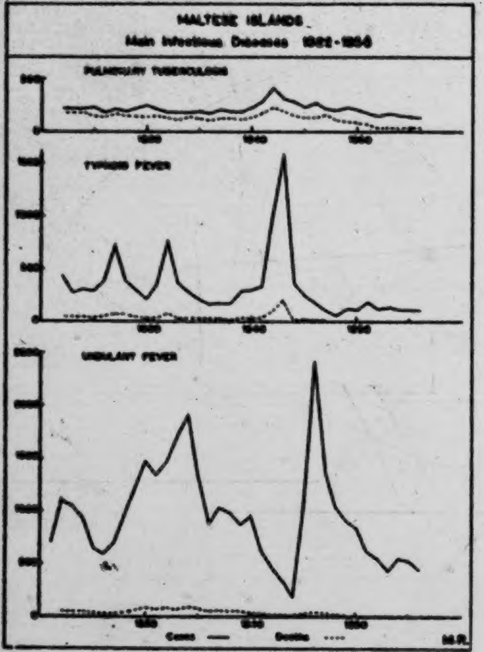

Fig.66 Maltese Islands: Main Infectious Diseases.

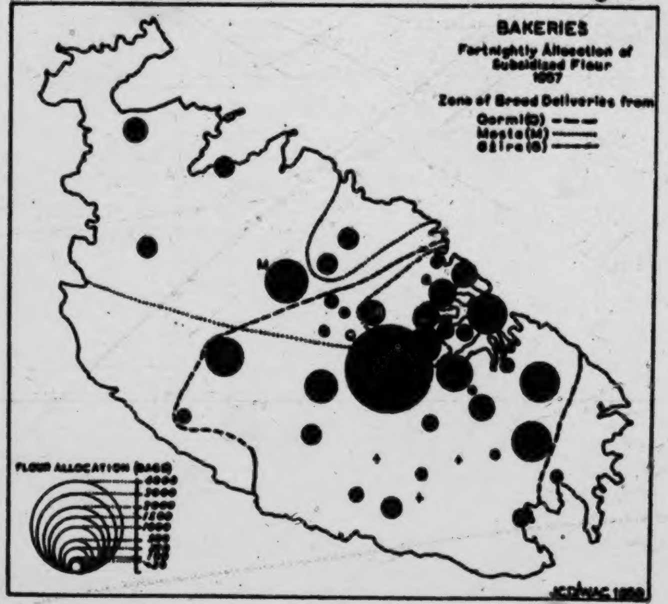
BAKERIES
Fortnightly Allocation of Subsidised Flour
1957
Zone of Bread Deliveries from
Qormi(Q)
Mosta(M)
M
FLOUR ALLOCATION (BAGS)

Fig.67 Bakeries.

178 722 744 low levels. Earlier improvements probably supplied the basis for change but more important was the fact that, for the first time, the effective Garrison of Malta included the whole population. The new machinery for public information, the desperate need for reducing disease incidence and preventing epidemics, and even food rationing and shortage had cumulatively beneficial effects on the public mind. More than all, it would seem, the military control of the besieged islands with its conscription of many Maltese males and the increased contact of British troops with the people, together with that strange uniting exaltation in face of danger observed in other countries, all shocked Malta into new ways of thought (Fig. 66).

178 744 After the war this momentum was maintained during the period of reconstruction. The Malta Memorial District Nursing Association, Child Health Clinics, and U.N.-established ante-natal clinics have now been accepted and their services utilised. In 1959 the infantile mortality rate was 34.7 per 1,000, leaving the memory of the rate of 350 per 1,000 in 1942 far behind.

369 185 This revolutionary change is of particular revelance to this study. Many of its implications need no labouring. The demographic consequences, for instance, are obvious enough, as also the slowness with which traditional ways of life in Malta have changed. For us the most important consequence is that rising generations through a new awareness of causation and consequence, of scientific processes, are becoming vulnerable to new ideas in associated fields. There are no great steps between preventive human medicine, inoculation, livestock injections and an appreciation of plant pathology. One difficulty remains; the rural areas are the least affected by these recent changes and those individuals in the countryside who are mentally injected with new ideas and understanding are, for various reasons, the least likely to remain in agriculture.

178 234 744 164 Exemplifying this continuing regional dichotomy, but unity in complexity, is the recent history of milk consumption and production (13). Traditionally in Malta, 'the entire milk supply has been delivered by the goat herself' (14). Sometimes living with their flocks in the *fossa* which surround Valletta, the herdsmen would wander the streets, milking the animals on demand. Bruce and Zammit in 1885 and 1905 showed that the bacillus of Undulant or Malta Fever was freely excreted in goats milk and that the high incidence in Malta of this debilitating, sometimes lethal, disease was a natural consequence of the general albeit low per capita consumption of fresh milk from predominantly diseased goats. After considerable investigation, a milk pasteurising plant was erected and the first pasteurised milk was distributed, Valletta, Floriana and Sliema being declared 'closed areas' within which the sale of raw milk became illegal. During World War II, further extension of this policy was prevented but, since most goats were slaughtered for meat because of fodder shortage and because consumption of tinned milk became normal, the incidence of Malta fever fell to record low levels. Post-war revival in goats' milk production resulted in general re-infection by brucellosis and in 1946 the incidence of undulant fever was the highest ever recorded. During the post-war period public health and welfare policies have encouraged the consumption of milk. Because of the incidence of Malta fever, this has entailed the provision of expensive pasteurising plant, the prevention of the sale of unpasteurised, and the official encouragement of production of cows' rather than goats' milk.

178 744 185 This particular development is examined at greater length in Chapter X but some main points of general import merit consideration here. First, Maltese society has recently been affected by social, dietetic and medical policies which profoundly affect the basis of social life. In general one might say that the Maltese way of life is being made more remote from the simple crudities of parochial experience. Secondly, in the field of health and social welfare, the criterion of scientifically measured need has been adopted as the basis of official policy and the question of availability of resources is regarded as of secondary importance. Thirdly, this increasing social sophistication has only very recently become operative in Maltese life and different scales of value exist in different generations and in different social groups. Lastly, it would be fair to say that, while the urban markets are still only relatively fastidious

those from the Mediæval hospital certainly suggest that those authorities who maintain 141
that the hospital probably contained, amongst others, the bones of people from 172
Western Europe are possibly in error. We should in that case have expected to find a high degree of variation. We do not do so. It may well be argued that the modern crania are too few to base any satisfactory arguments on, and we fully admit that it is unwise to argue from a series that never exceeds 42, and in some cases falls as low as 29. It would appear, however, that the modern series, of the majority of which the provenance was fairly exactly known, is consistently more variable than the Mediæval series from the Chapel of Bones. It would certainly be worth while to make a series of measurements on about 100 modern crania to see whether this statement really represents the truth.

Except in a few cases, it was impossible to associate mandibles with the crania to which they belonged, and unfortunately at the time when measurements were made on modern crania few mandibles could be discovered. The only series, therefore, of mandibles which could be treated statistically are those Mediæval specimen from the Chapel of Bones. Even in this case it was not found possible to get a series as large as 300 for every measurement. The majority of these, and probably all, are male; any doubtful cases having been rejected. The Neolithic and Romano-British mandibles are also probably male. The Bronze Age mandibles appeared from the associated bones to be female, but the condition of the latter was such that a definite opinion could not be expressed. In general terms there are certain marked differences between the mandibles from Hal Saflieni and elsewhere, whereas the Romano-Maltese and the Mediæval mandibles, although differing in detail, present a general similarity. The coronoid height and the condyloid height of the Neolithic mandibles are both lower, the ramus being of about the same breadth. The condylo-symphysial breadth is about the same. The Mediæval mandibles have a slightly lower ascending ramus than the Romano-Maltese, but the former are slightly more stoutly built; the mandibular index is quite possibly about the same. Generalising, we may say that the Neolithic mandibles belong to a type with a rather short, broad ascending ramus, and a shallow sigmoid notch, whereas the Mediæval mandibles have the higher ascending ramus and the deeper sigmoid notch which are usually associated with various branches of the Alpine race.

A collection of teeth was made from the bone heaps at Hal Saflieni.[1] Unfortu- 172
nately no teeth of more recent date are available. Out of a total of 224 adult teeth 164
from Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic), 15 upper incisors and canines showed a marked edge-to-edge bite. Caries occurred in 19 cases; there was a complete erosion of the roots in 2. One incisor had two roots. Speaking generally, the teeth

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[1] I am indebted to my brother, Mr. J. L. Dudley Buxton, for examining and reporting on these teeth from the point of view of a dental surgeon. [129]

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164
did not differ from a chance collection of modern civilized teeth, except that caries was less common.

Teeth from Hypogeum, Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic).

	1 Normal Teeth.	2 Carious Teeth.	3 Teeth showing Marked Attrition of Edge-to-edge Form.	4 Teeth showing Marked Attrition.	5 Total Adult Teeth.	6 Deciduous Teeth.
Molars	21	10	—	18	46	3
Premolars	26	6	—	36	62	—
Canines	9	—	7	15	31	2
Upper incisors ...	23	1	8	23	54	—
Lower incisors ...	2	2	—	27	29	—
Total ...	81	19	15	119	224	5

Teeth included in Column 2 may also be included in Columns 3 or 4; Columns 3 and 4 are mutually exclusive.

141
172
Summing up, the general characters of the Maltese skulls at our disposal, the physical type conveniently termed "Malta first race" is associated culturally with the Malta Local Neolithic. Skulls of this type are long, narrow, and slightly built. They have low orbits, narrow zygomatic arches, and a jaw which, though often not absolutely large, has a low ascending ramus, a shallow sigmoid, and considerable breadth in the antero-posterior diameter. They appear to be representatives of the Mediterranean race.

The skulls of succeeding periods, conveniently termed "Malta second race," and associated with numerous cultural periods, are, as a general rule, shorter, broader, more stoutly built, larger, and have higher orbits. The ascending ramus of the jaw is high, and the antero-posterior diameter is small. Although among a large collection of these crania single specimens exhibit the characteristics of the Mediterranean type, and some even occur with features which are usually considered to be typical of the Nordic race, the majority, in addition to the features already mentioned, show that peculiar contour in the occipital region which is usually associated with the type called by Von Luschan "Armenoid."

Living Material.

141
Apart from those questions which have already been discussed when dealing with the general anthropology of Malta, special problems are connected with the living. In the first place, the sex and birthplace are definitely known, and the age, at least approximately. Secondly, the numbers are usually greater. Thirdly,

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no patho-
logy they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 532
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(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the [731]
last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of [165]
over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and 782
by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These 755
actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from
the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in
which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

exception of 1943, there has been no recorded instance of a birth rate as low 163 as 26.5, which was the figure for 1958.

In the late nineteenth century, Maltese birth rates were comparable with 163 those of southern Europe, but subsequent decline has been much delayed in Malta. Economic progress in the Islands during the late nineteenth and early 171 twentieth centuries was accompanied by a rising rather than by a falling birth rate. The pattern of natality in Malta since 1911, however, conforms to trends experienced elsewhere in Europe, although the rates themselves have not been the same. The decline in the Maltese birth rate during the 1914-18 War was less marked than on the European mainland and there was an actual increase in Malta between 1919 and 1939, when other European rates declined. The post-war upsurge in births reached its peak early in Malta and while the birth rates of most European countries have been stable at a medium level over the last few years, that of Malta has been falling from the most recent peak.

DEATHS

The decline in mortality during the past few years has been even greater 165 than that in births. Before the Second World War, the Maltese death rate had fallen below 20 on but three occasions and in 11 separate years it had exceeded 30. Since 1953 it has stayed consistently below 10, thus becoming directly comparable with the death rates of the most advanced Western European countries. [171]

In the nineteenth century, the Maltese death rate was subject to violent annual fluctuations. The worst years were those of epidemic cholera, but even in the latter part of the century, when this was less common, the rate remained high. The main factors responsible were poverty, disease and unsanitary living conditions which were particularly reflected in high infant mortality. Improvements in drainage, sewerage and water supply were effective in reducing mortality from nearly 27/1,000 in the 1890's to 21 in the 1930's but much greater reductions were achieved once the problem of infant mortality was attacked. As recently as the 1920's, this was still as high as 250 per 1,000 live births and only in 1936 did it fall below 200. The decline in this rate was further delayed by the Second World War but by 1944 it had fallen to 114. Since then, progress has been rapid, and infant mortality in 1958 stood at 40 per 1,000 live births, a level comparable with those of many European countries.

Thus, in Malta, as in other European countries, the death rate has been reduced largely as a result of declining infant mortality and the reduction although late has been extremely rapid. A further decline is both possible and, on humanitarian grounds, desirable.

NATURAL INCREASE

Statistics of births, deaths, marriages and natural increase are illustrated 161 in Figs. 54 and 55. In the years since 1948, the natural increase has reached its highest level because of a remarkable decline in the death rate. The absolute natural increase in the decade 1831-40 was 5,241 whereas in 1941-50, despite the low birth rate of the war years, the excess of births over deaths was 52,833. The current natural increase runs at about 5,000 a year, ten times that of a century ago.

The annual rate of natural increase in 1831-40 was less than 5 per 1,000; by the end of the century it had reached 10 and in 1941-50 it was 18, since when it has maintained the present rate of 19. The general upward trend has not been an even one as the graph shows, there being peaks in 1851-60, 1881-90, 1901-10 and 1941-50, of which the first and last were the highest. The former was a period of high birth rates, a moderate death rate and very early marriage; the latter was one of rapidly falling death rates and a post-war upsurge in births. The troughs in the curve were lowest in the early and mid-nineteenth centuries, corresponding to times of frequent sickness and epidemic, of which the late 1860's and early 1870's provide examples.

Annual fluctuations in natural increase reflect specific historical events. On six occasions, the number of deaths in a year has exceeded the number of births. In 1837, '47, '50 and '65, epidemic cholera was the cause. In 1874, a

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

The stay of the French in the island was too short to have any effect on the population. A social barrier has been built up between the British and the people of the land, and the general impression gained is that, though there are a certain number of mixed marriages, there cannot, even after three generations of a large, if floating, British element in Valletta, be more than a very thin British strain in the population. 144 563

We have shown, in dealing with the history of the island, how extremely difficult it is to account for the wholesale immigration of an Armenoid-like population at any period. We have also shown how, in spite of the continual immigration of people of the Mediterranean stock, the Maltese type (*i.e.* Malta second race, displaying Armenoid characters) appears to have persisted for a long period. It would seem, therefore, a point worthy of further consideration, whether the development of the Maltese along the lines they appear to have followed may not be due to certain definite geographical factors of whose influence we are as yet unaware. It is possible that if we had at our disposal a long unbroken series, instead of larger or smaller series from Neolithic, Mediæval, and modern ossuaries, we should not find such striking contrasts as we do at present. Anthropological data from various parts of the Mediterranean show that there is very often a significant difference between two villages in different valleys of the same mountain range. It is possible that even the few generations which have elapsed between the building of Hal Tarxien and 1921 may be the equivalent, in time, of such a journey in space, and certain big changes may have taken place owing to changing geographical conditions. There can be little doubt that the climate of Malta has changed very much, not only since the first terrace was cut in the Weid Dalam, but even since the formation of the second terrace. We have also suggested that the evidence from Professor Zammit's excavations at Hal Tarxien hints at a change in climate since Neolithic times. The change in the structure of the population may be due, therefore, partly to geographical as well as to historical causes. 144 174 132

Whether or no the development of the Maltese sub-race is due to particular geographical conditions, there can be little doubt that, in Malta at least, the strain is biologically remarkably successful and extremely fertile. In spite of the high infant mortality which has existed in the past, they have continued to increase, and the modern developments of hygiene and the care of infants are likely to make the increase still more rapid. If the overcrowding continues, in a comparatively short time we shall be faced with conditions in the island which would appear to be, biologically speaking, unsatisfactory. Sanitary conditions can be improved, food can be imported, but excessive overcrowding may bring its own remedy, either in disease or in a diminished fertility. The present fertility is quite possibly due to some underlying climatic condition. In spite of lack of water, Malta has long been extremely fertile botanically, and was famed for this in classical times. The Maltese goats, by far the most abundant large mammal of the island apart from 161 842 [165] [231]

body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
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178 about quality and as yet incompletely dominated by ideas of welfare economics, the rural community is far less affected by change. While milk consumers in the towns are often either not completely convinced of the need for milk process- 185 ing or at the other extreme will use only imported tinned milk where possible, 744 the producers are generally even less convinced of the need for care in the production of clean milk. Unpasteurised goats' milk is still generally used in those farming households where milk is consumed at all, and understanding of the processes of infection is but slowly growing. Thus, in the field of public health and personal hygiene and medical care, social changes have been rapid, recent and uneven in incidence. Here, as in the economic sector, the mental acceptance of new ideas is not yet complete and is least advanced in the most rural and remote regions.

The examination already made of the demographic situation in the Maltese 163 Islands needs some brief consideration against the background of social 369 attitudes. The consensus of expert opinion is that in developing societies a falling birth rate is the result not of an actual decline in fertility but of family 842 limitation. In most regions such a decline in family size is associated with changed social attitudes, which have become accepted in many countries in which 795 Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion. Pope Pius XII himself condemned irresponsible parenthood and said it is 'a mistake and a departure from moral truth to exalt too highly the generative function even in its right moral setting of married life' (15).

The insularity and historical experience of Malta have preserved there a more rigid and strict application of Catholic rules of conduct, in which, despite the inadequacy of the Islands' resources to provide for the economic welfare of the population, the virtues of the large family are still stressed. Archbishop Gonzi in 1958 reminded an audience of young people that, although large families entailed much sacrifice on the part of the parents, parents should be prepared for a life of sacrifice (16). Father Vella, the founder of the Cana movement has said: 'One of Malta's glories is her large families' (17).

In Malta therefore the weight of the Church tends to discourage the secular social trend towards smaller families, and still makes illegal any provision for family limitation. Where secularism is strongest, in the urban cosmopolis, family size declines most rapidly. In the rural communities, where the precepts of the Church are most conscientiously observed and where the effect of secular socio-economic desires is most restricted, large families are normal and admired.

This regional contrast in social behaviour, when superimposed upon purely 163 demographic variations in rates of population growth, becomes sometimes emphasised and sometimes negated. In the northern third of Malta, inward 369 internal movement as a consequence of 'pioneer' agricultural settlement during 842 and after the mid-nineteenth century produced a 'young' population, high birth rates and rates of natural increase. This region has remained almost entirely rural in social character. The second main region of inward movement of population, the suburban area, has experienced a recent decline in the early high birth rates as a result of the impact of secular ideas.

The urban heart of Malta in Valletta and Floriana by contrast, has been both traditionally a zone of outward movement of population and the district most affected by changes in social attitudes to family propagation. The remaining area, the heart and core of Maltese 'casal' life, illustrates clearly the delicate balance between demographic and religious and secular social influences. From [166] this central area have traditionally gone the migrants to the new towns and the 'new' northern farming areas. The efflux has counteracted the traditionally rural and strongly religious tendency towards large families and a high rate of natural increase. On the southern fringe of this zone however lies the Żurrieq group of 'casals' and villages. From this until recently relatively isolated district, emigration has never been high and, with a survival of traditional rural values, this region has had in the 1950's the consistently highest birth rates - over 30 per 1,000 - of the *Maltese* population.

369 formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial
Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically
indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European
loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place
[103] names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or
Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements -
Żebbuġ, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three
Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for
the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people.
Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament
still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who
helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the
coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants
from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially
Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship.
The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce,
the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical revo-
178 lutions of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the
369 first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available.
464 The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades
of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken
up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such
[166] as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual
and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought
the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years,
the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now
probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent.
178 of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service
Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture.
182 This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also
[464] apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954
totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a
[167] steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has
slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons
have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields,
storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This
conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs
of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of
the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further
strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has
become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the
necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs
is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping
towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for
the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that
made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also
responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one
indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken
lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieħa, and even this, hidden
from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 80 years.
Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it com-
mands. Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the
individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

178 Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways.
182 Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always
354 flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 25 years ago, who would

178 which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming
369 element are the old settlements.[4] The non-agricultural Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages grew little in size and declined considerably in relative importance.

178 A closer investigation of the declining relative impor-
241 tance of farming within the rural villages themselves over
433 the past hundred years (v. Appendix 1D, vii and Graph)
464 reveals ~~that~~ that during some periods economic prosperity in
● 166 Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally, that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared. This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the present century (B/381). Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming (v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the land as he is with the community which it supported. If a depression were to appear along with any limitation in emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic in character.

178 The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial
464 rather than total in that the bulk of farmers and farm-workers
241 who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or 'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper (B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past the availability of alternative employment has been the governing factor. The earlier periods of economic prosperity mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for
175 the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the
464 only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural
288 Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving. Even here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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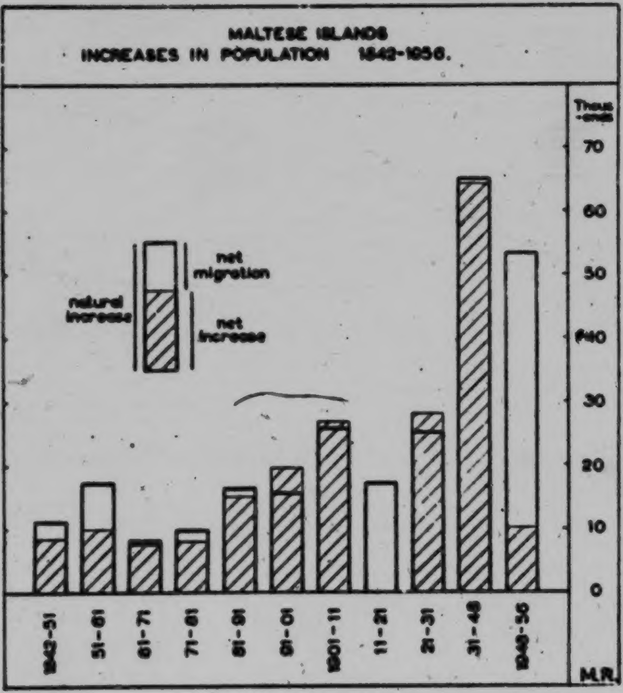

Fig. 37 Maltese Islands: Increases in Population, 1842-1956.

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much of the rest of Europe had static or declining numbers until the eighteenth century (Fig. 35). The relative security and stability of Maltese life during this period is thus reflected in the population figures. Excessive pressure of numbers on resources was becoming apparent before the British era and emigration was suggested as early as the eighteenth century (19). That this particular problem has become intensified during the period of British sovereignty is a result of further acceleration in the rate of population increase which, as we shall see, has been a product of improvements in social and economic welfare.

Table 25. Increare of population 1830-1956

Average annual increase %

Period	Maltese Islands	Malta	Gozo
1830-1842	0.63	0.74	0.33
1842-1956	0.90	0.96	0.58

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nuclei. Table 27 below shows how in numerical terms the regional population balance changed. It will be observed that the proportion of people living in the diminishing rural area remained remarkably constant, although as already noted in Chapter V, a growing number of these were not farmworkers. Equally noteworthy is the decline in residential importance of the urban nucleus compared with the rise of the suburbs, producing a complete proportional reversal between 1842 and 1956 (Fig. 41).

Table 27. Percentage distribution of population. Island of Malta.

	1842	1861	1881	1901	1921	1948	1956
Urban Districts	50.6	48.0	43.3	33.2	28.2	12.6	14.5
Suburban Districts	14.5	17.4	23.1	33.1	39.2	52.6	50.9
Rural Districts	34.9	34.6	33.6	33.7	32.6	34.8	34.6

Within this main pattern of distributional change, other small-scale but significant trends may be discerned. Among the urban areas (Fig. 42), Valletta's population was decreasing as early as 1842-51, but in other districts the decline did not set in until after 1871, while Senglea and Kospikwa continued to grow, albeit slowly, until 1911. During the Second World War, decline in numbers was most marked in the Three Cities while the population of Floriana actually increased. Since 1948, there has been a reversal of these trends, the populations of Senglea and Kospikwa growing more rapidly than that of Floriana, while Valletta and Vittoriosa showed little or no increase.

The most noteworthy distinction among suburban localities has been the differences between the older and newer centres (Fig. 43). Birkirkara, Qormi, Żabbar and Tarxien have all shown a slower rate of growth than the other nine localities, although in the case of Tarxien, now contiguous with the newer settlement of Pawla, increase has been quite rapid. The growth of Pawla, Hamrun, Sliema and St. Julian's has been the most striking feature of the period since the first Census. In 1842, these hamlets had less than 1,000 inhabitants while in 1956, they were the home of some 70,000 people, half the suburban population and one-quarter of that of the whole of Malta. The stagnation of Kalkara further illustrates the fact that second-stage suburban growth has been concentrated around and beyond Marsamxett Harbour rather than near the commercial and naval Grand Harbour.

Among rural areas too (Fig. 44) growth has been most rapid in the newer and largely non-agricultural settlements such as Marsaxlokk, Birżebbuġa and St. Paul's Bay. A few villages, including Żurrieq, Kirkop and Mosta, showed rapid gains between 1901 and 1911 but lost a great deal of ground in the following decade when their rate of growth was much smaller than that of the newer settlements mentioned above.

In Gozo (Fig. 45), the largest villages have grown least in recent years while smaller ones, such as Żebbuġ, have gained more rapidly. However, unlike Malta, Gozo shows no great gains among the newer centres. San Lawrenz, for example, was created a parish in 1901 but suffered a steady decline in population from that date until 1948.

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SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

From 1842 onward an excess of females over males has been characteristic of the population of the Islands (Fig. 46). Masculinity, as measured by the male: female ratio, has been consistently higher in Malta than in Gozo. All the evidence suggests that this is a result of the persistent character of male emigration from the smaller island, whether to Malta or further afield. Within Malta some characteristic trends are observable. The masculinity of the urban districts has closely followed, though at a lower level, that of Malta as a whole.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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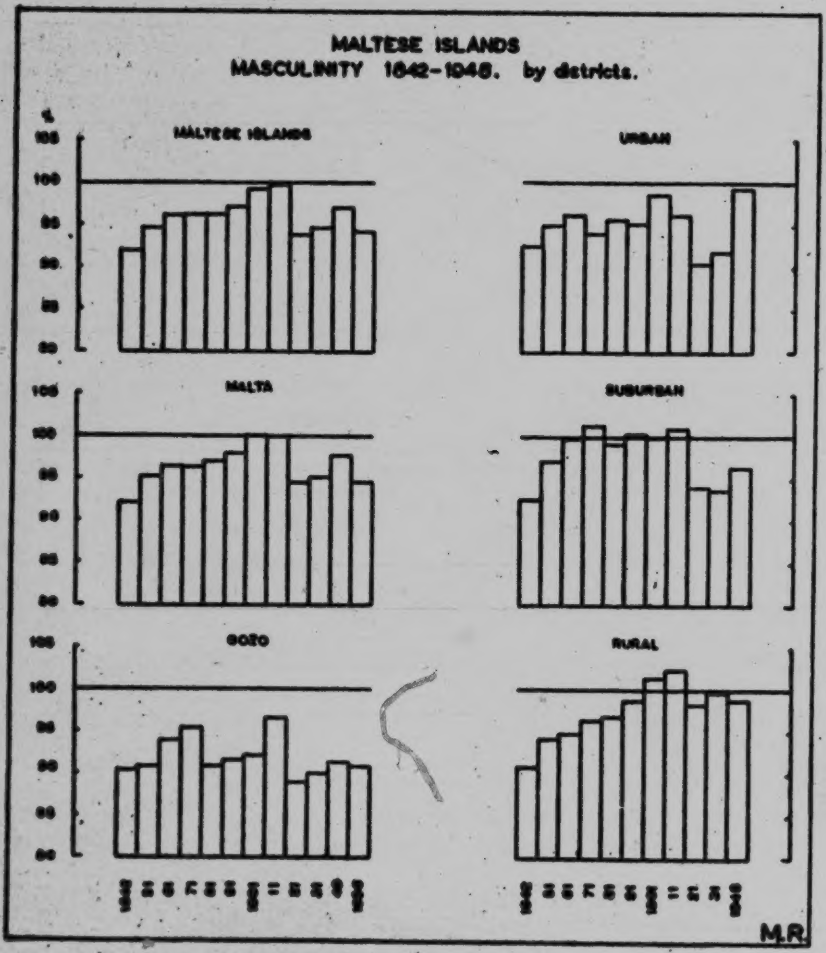

Fig. 46 **Maltese Islands: Masculinity, 1842-1948, by Districts.**

[p. 145-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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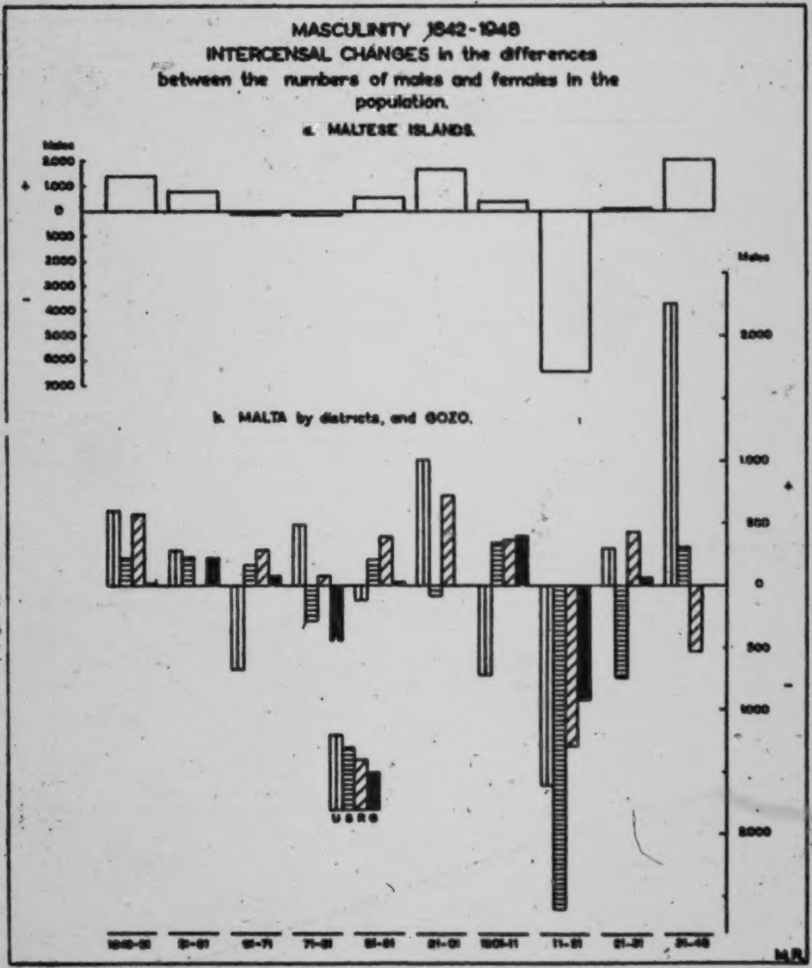

Fig. 47 Masculinity, 1842-1948.

[p.145-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

*175 Departures from the Island trend were most marked by a low masculinity in 1921 and an abnormally high ratio in 1948. In suburban areas growth of the 162 population as a whole, which was most rapid between 1861 and 1911, was not accompanied by any marked imbalance between the sexes but after the latter 167 date low masculinity was persistent and the ratio fluctuated much less than in urban districts. In rural districts, masculinity increased steadily from 1842 to 1911, when 102.5, the highest ratio ever recorded in Malta, was achieved in these areas. After 1911, there was some decline, but rural areas continued to show a higher ratio of males to females than did the Island as a whole.

The sex structure of a population is closely connected with, among other factors, external and internal migration rates. We may therefore use masculinity ratios to help our general understanding of other socio-economic conditions and also vice-versa. The early appearance and continuance of an excess of females in the case of Malta is without doubt the result of predominantly male emigraton, a causative relationship particularly strong in slowly developing Gozo. By 1911, the cumulative effect of the return of male immigrants together with other factors brought the ratio to near-parity. After 1911, increasing emigration reduced masculinity to the low point of 1921 from which it again rose to 1948, since which time renewed and large-scale outward movement has once more reduced the ratio. Except for the special circumstances obtaining in the late 1930's when most of the female non-Maltese population (largely Garrison families) was evacuated, and in the mid-40s when a more balanced non-Maltese group became re-established; except for this, the sex ratio can clearly be understood in association with our examination of economic changes and with a study of emigration (p. 157 et. seq.).

Regional differences in masculinity are of similar value in elucidating 16 changing patterns of economic development and of internal migration. The rising proportion of males in the urban population between 1891 and 1901, for example, *175 was to a large extent a product of an inward movement of workers connected with harbour development, and the decline in masculinity which marked the succeeding decade reflects the cessation of such work. The increased urban masculinity recorded in 1948 suggests that the return to reconstructed areas was evenly balanced thus causing an adjustment in the ratio, moving away from the female preponderance of 1931 (Fig. 47).

Fluctuations in suburban sex ratios have been relatively slight. The fall in masculinity between 1911 and 1921 was largely a product of emigration, while that of 1921-31 is statistical rather than real in that, at the latter census, the 'civil population' included the families of the garrison among whom females predominated and who lived mainly in Suburban Districts.

In Rural Districts, increases in the proportion of males down to 1911, reflect an inward movement, largely of emigrants returning from North Africa together with the late arresting of the earlier male movement to the towns. Declining masculinity between 1931 and 1948 was largely a product of renewed movement to the towns, often a first stage in migration overseas.

The age composition of the Islands' population is especially characterised 162 by the high proportion of children, as shown in Table 28.

Table 28. Age-distribution of populations in percentages.

	Under 15	15-64	65 and over
United Kingdom (1948)	21.4	67.9	10.7
Italy (1949)	26.5	65.6	7.9
Netherlands (1950)	29.4	62.9	7.7
Malta (1948)	34.8	59.3	5.9
Japan (1950)	35.4	59.7	4.9

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

16 This table[1] summarises the data illustrated graphically in Figs. 52 and 53, and shows that 70 per cent. of Maltese women eventually have four or more children and 25.9 per cent. have at least ten.

The survival rate is discussed later (p. 153) but the 1948 Census does show the proportion of children born who were still living at the time of the Census and adds a further perspective to the statement of actual family size. Deaths reduce the mean number of children per married woman from 4.8 to 3.2. Effective family size has in the past been reduced mainly by the extraordinarily high rate of infant mortality. In recent years this has been checked and larger families can be expected unless adjustments operate in the birth, marriage or fertility rates in the immediate future. Past trends in these rates, which contribute to the natural increase are considered in the following section.

ELEMENTS OF POPULATION GROWTH

161 - Since changes in population are a function of births, deaths and migration, the trends of each of these and their relative contributions to growth must be considered. In the 114 years between 1842 and 1956, there was a net increase [167] of just over 200,000. In the same period, nearly 70,000 people have been lost by migration and the natural increase has amounted to some 267,000.

[p. 151- B]

[1] [i.e., Table 29, p. 149 -- Analyst]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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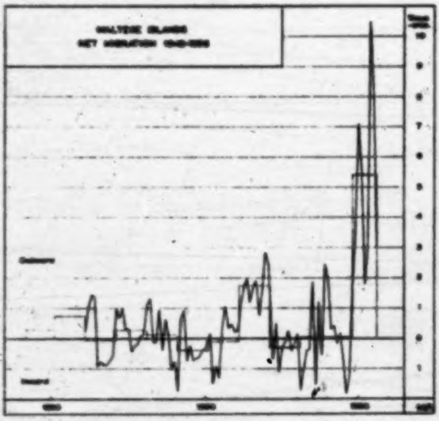


Fig. 58 Maltese Islands: Net Migration, 1842-1956.

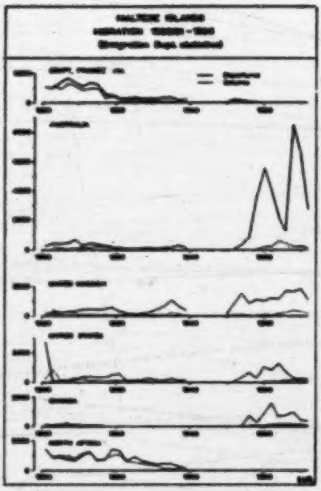


Fig. 60 Maltese Islands: Migration, 1920/21 - 1956.

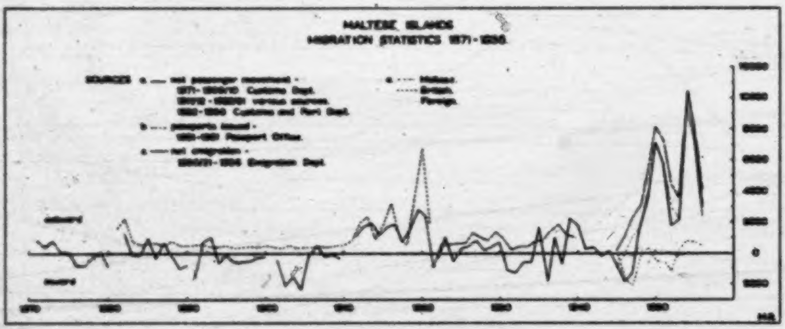


Fig. 59 Maltese Islands: Migration Statistics, 1871-1956.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

has the nuptial fertility rate fallen below 300 and it is now 25 per cent. higher than that of Ireland, reputedly the highest in the world (22). 163

Fertility, marriage and birth-rates have been outlined above, but the trends of the first two do not account for decline of the last. Fertility is stable, or was until 1948, the marriage rate has not declined since that year and previous trends of nuptial fertility do not suggest any imminent decline. One strong possibility, however, is that the pattern of post-war migration is concealing a decline in the married population. Many migrants from the Islands return to get married and leave with their brides for their new homes. Their children are born overseas so that marriages which have been registered in the Islands give rise to children born and registered abroad. If this is so, it indicates that a decline in the rate of emigration would result in a rapid revival of the birth rate and that the present pattern of natural increase is very much affected by the trends of emigration. 163 167

MIGRATION

The pattern of nineteenth century migration has been the subject of close study by Price (23) who deals mainly with the period 1842-81 using as his major source of information, the records of the Passport Office. Since the Department of Emigration was not established until after the First World War, the intervening period has been filled in for this study by interpretation of further Passport records and of passenger movement statistics collected by the Customs and Port Department. From 1918 onwards statistics of the Emigration Department have been used along with those of the Customs and Port Department. 167 127

Comparability of material has been one of the biggest problems. In the period covered by Price, the native Maltese population only was considered; subsequent statistics are for the entire civil population, which from 1901 onwards included the families of the Garrison. The best check on the scale of movement is provided by a consideration of the Census reports together with vital statistics for inter-censal years. The difference between the net increase in population and the natural increase represents the inter-censal net migration.

167

Table 30. Inter-censal migration 1842-1956.

Period	Natural Increase	Net Increase	Net Migration
1842-51	11,310[1]	8,620	- 2,690
1851-61	17,470[2]	10,060	- 7,410
1861-71	7,860[3]	8,490	+ 630
1871-81	11,030[4]	8,180	- 2,850
1881-91	16,490	15,260	- 1,230
1891-1901	15,830	19,710	+ 3,880
1901-11	26,030	27,080	+ 1,050
1911-21	17,300	-110	-17,410
1921-31	25,280	28,260	+ 2,980
1931-48	65,140	64,370	- 770
1948-56[5]	53,480	10,250	-43,230

1-4. Price, op. cit.
5. Estimate from the Census of 1948 to 31st December, 1956.
1842-81. Maltese population only.
1881-1901. Civilian population excluding Garrison families.
1901-1956. Civilian population including Garrison families.

167 [128] A graph covering the last hundred years (Fig. 58) shows inter-censal net migrations and annual variations in the scale of movement as indicated by passports issued and by the Customs and Port Department records. The latter are adjusted for each decade to make the sum of annual totals comparable with the inter-censal net totals shown in Table 30 (see also Fig. 59).

In the nineteenth century, the principal factors affecting the scale of migration were economic. Periods of poverty at home sometimes drove the Maltese overseas while at other times they were attracted by boom conditions elsewhere in the Mediterranean. During the Crimean War, not even prosperity at home could counteract the cotton and building boom in Egypt and emigration rose to record heights (24). But the end of the Egyptian boom coincided with depression in Barbary and the two resulted in returns to Malta which more than compensated for the outward movement of the 50's and 60's. In the 1870's, recovery in Barbary coincided with slight recession in Malta and the number of emigrants again increased only to diminish again in 1875-80, reflecting bankrupt conditions in Egypt (25). The economic position of the receiving countries therefore played an important part in determining the volume of emigration at any given moment.

An outstanding feature of nineteenth century movement was a series of attempts to organise emigration from the Maltese Islands. The first of these ended with the failure of the Guiana and Granada experiments of 1831-41 when plantation settlement in these areas was attempted (26). Subsequent plans to settle colonies in Cyprus, Australia and the Americas collapsed and various other attempts to establish Maltese communities overseas each failed in turn. As a result, over 90 per cent. of nineteenth century emigrants moved no further than the coasts of North Africa and the Levant.

[829] The restricted scope of movement and the choice of the Mediterranean seaboard for settlement was influenced by three main non-economic factors: 'the belief that America and Australia were the permanent homes of strange and deadly diseases; the belief that it was necessary to settle in a country near enough to Malta to allow easy and frequent return to the beloved homeland; and the belief that similarity of language and custom marked out North Africa as the divinely appointed region for Maltese settlement abroad' (27).

The annexation of Tunis by the French in 1881 was an indication that the Maltese would no longer find North Africa an open field and the competition in business and commerce from the French and Italians became severe. Moreover, the standard of living in Malta from the 1860's onwards was higher than in most other parts of the Mediterranean so that there was little incentive for the Maltese to go there. Furthermore, the 80's saw the expansion of employment opportunities at home with the introduction of a number of schemes involving large scale public expenditure. As a result of such developments, the period from the late 1880's until 1905 was one in which there was a net inward movement. All thoughts of migration were abandoned and in 1905 the labour shortage was so acute that 300 workers were brought in from Sicily, Italy and Spain. 1906 saw the completion of major harbour and dockyard works and unemployment then became a serious problem which was partially responsible for the visit of the Royal Commission in 1911 (28). Since French and Italian control of North Africa was then complete, attention had to be paid to movement further afield.

In 1907, on the basis of experience already gained and during the period of depression, a voluntary organisation known as the Malta Emigration Committee was formed. In spite of the approval shown by the 1912 Royal Commissioners, this body was neither given any official status nor superseded by any official organisation. Partly as a result of the difficulties confronting the Committee, a Brazilian venture failed miserably in 1912, and in 1916 an unhappy combination of circumstances provoked such Australian antagonism to migration to that continent that an embargo on future movement was established which prevailed until 1920.

167 647 In 1918 the need for adjustment to post-war conditions became sufficiently great to force the establishment of an Emigration Department charged with the control of movement and the selection of personnel (Fig. 60). The social aspects

of the Selective System were of considerable importance. The main receiving 167
countries were formulating restrictive laws and imposing quotas on entry. The 647
physical, educational and social backgrounds of intending emigrants therefore
needed considerable attention. Of the prospective emigrants in the early 1920's,
90 per cent. were illiterate and apart from apprenticeship schemes in the
Dockyard there existed no opportunities for vocational or technical training.
It can be assumed that only an infinitesimal number of migrants possessed any
capital. Casolani, the Superintendent of Emigration between 1918 and 1930
claimed that the sudden realisation of the need for educating and training [871]
intending emigrants was most salutary in that it clearly showed how the existing
educational system had - 'for a century been absolutely unrelated to the present
needs of the people' (28). Since 1920, vocational training courses have been
developed, a Migrants Training Centre opened in 1927, and more recently an
Industrial Training Centre. In 1956 nearly 1,000 students were attending evening
classes and many utilising other schemes. Ironically enough, by the 1950's the
burden of expenditure incurred in the training of people who were to use their
skills elsewhere, now began to prove in itself a major problem.

The direction of emigration since 1920 is illustrated in Figs. 60, 61, 62. 167
Briefly, the major trends may be outlined as follows. Short-distance migration to Europe and North Africa declined rapidly and returns increased during the 1920's of economic dislocation and increasingly restrictionist policies in the receiving countries. The United States, Canada and Australia by various quota schemes reduced the inflow from Europe and that part of Maltese long-distance movement via the mainland as well as direct was struck a final blow by the 1930-31 world slump. The most rapid revival took place in movement to the United Kingdom where Maltese status as British subjects ensured preferential treatment. Economic conditions in all other areas other than Australia prevented any other revival before World War II destroyed all possibility of movement.

During the war, continued population growth and obvious hardships and insecurity pointed to emigration as a desirable action and led to official preparation for a post-war exodus. By the end of December 1946 nearly 12,000 prospective emigrants had been registered of whom over 10,000 wished to go to the U.S.A. and Australia (in roughly equal numbers). Until 1948 shipping shortages, administrative difficulties and the presence of a housing problem in Australia, together with a boom in domestic demand for labour in reconstruction work, slowed down the actual rate of movement. At the same time pressure kept building up and by March 1949 there were 42,120 registered prospective migrants.

In that same year financial assistance to would-be emigrants was made available on a significant scale. As from 1947 the Maltese Government contributed to a Passage Assistance Scheme whereby 75 per cent. of the cost of passage would be provided to 'suitable, necessitous and deserving cases with good prospects of employment abroad', a scheme more generous in its coverage than that available in 1946 from the Emergency Unemployment Loan Scheme. With effect from the beginning of 1949 the Passage Assistance Agreement concluded between Malta and Australia made available more capital than Malta alone could supply but, in that the equal grants made by both Governments were each limited to £30 per capita, a greater onus was placed on the migrant. Even so during 1949 nearly three and a half thousand people left for Australia under passage assistance schemes and in 1950 this rose to nearly 5,000, a proportion in each case of over 80 per cent. of all assisted emigrants. Between 1951 and 1953 economic difficulties in Australia reduced the strength of attraction to that country and a relatively greater proportion of movement was direct towards Canada.

By 1953, Australian economic revival and a firm acceptance of an emigration policy by the Maltese Government foreshadowed an impending increase in emigration and the United Kingdom Government agreed to alleviate the personal and Budgetary strains in Malta by making a contributory grant of up to £200,000 towards the Passage Assistance Scheme. By 1956, 60 per cent. of all expenditure on assistance was being borne by the United Kingdom Government, 10 per cent.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 160-C]

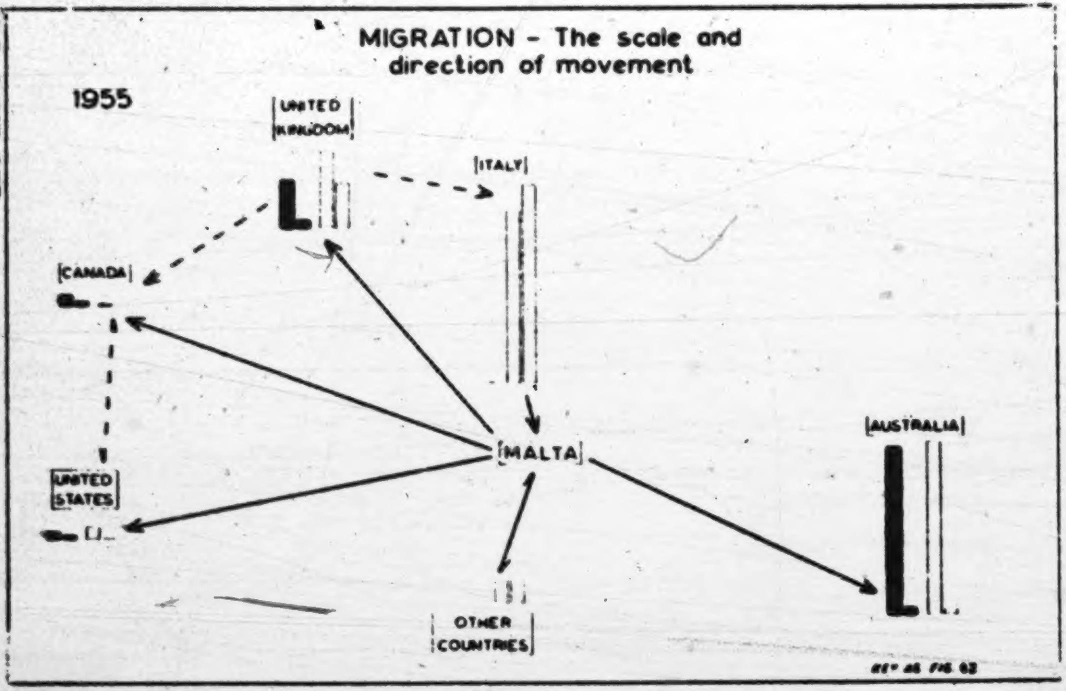
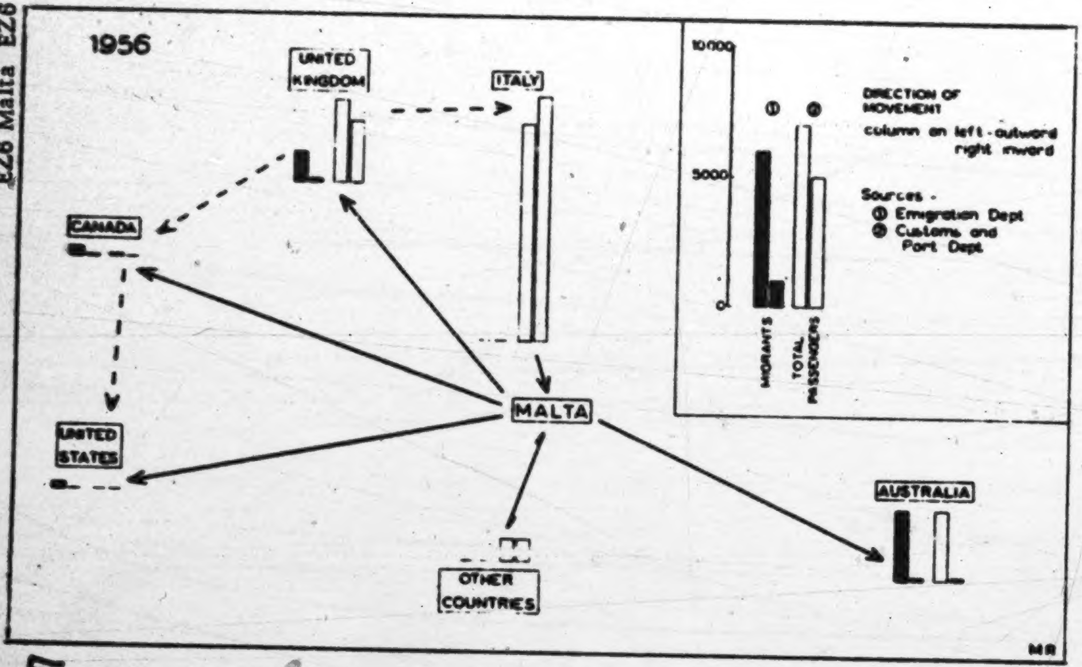

MIGRATION - The scale and direction of movement
1955
UNITED KINGDOM
ITALY
CANADA
UNITED STATES
MALTA
AUSTRALIA
OTHER COUNTRIES
REF AS FIG. 63

Fig. 61 Migration: Scale and Direction of Movement, 1955

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6



[p. 160-B]

Fig. 62 Migration: Scale and Direction of Movement, 1956.

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167 [658] [874] by Australia, and 30 per cent. by the Maltese Government. In addition, the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund has helped to finance vocational training schemes. Even so, as already noted, the burden and the irony of training and sending away that part of the population which potentially is the most productive has been keenly felt in Malta. In 1954, 11,000 emigrants left the Islands, 9,793 under Passage Assistance Schemes, over 8,000 of these for Australia. Since 1955, the policy of encouraging emigration has been implemented less vigorously and the rates of departure have become strongly influenced by political dictates. The social and demographic repercussions of fluctuations in policy need no especial emphasis here.

In conclusion, we may consider the regional variations in emigration. Traditionally, movement tended to be from the countryside into the towns and thence outward from Malta. Exceptional was Gozo in that from villages such as Nadur a direct exodus was already well established in the nineteenth century. The position in recent years is shown in Fig. 63. The three regions with the highest emigration rates each have distinctive characteristics. The North is a newly-settled agricultural region. From its still relatively youthful population with a high birth rate, a larger than average proportion is fitted by reason of age and absence of ties for emigration. The south-eastern district of Birżebbuġa

and Kalafrana have also been centres of inward movement, and moreover have a higher than average proportion of skilled labour associated with Naval stations. 167 The last region, that of suburban Malta stretching from Tarxien to St. Andrew's, is an area of transit to some extent, an area of urban and relatively mobile life, and as such is the type of region from which on *a priori* grounds one would expect high rates of exodus.

In some ways more noteworthy, and of particular direct interest in association with other of our findings, is the relative immobility in Central Malta, that belt of country stretching from Fomm ir-Rieh, across the Mdina-Rabat Uplands, across the long-settled good farmlands of the Central Region eastwards to St. Thomas' Bay. In this heart of old rural Malta, least directly affected by the changes characteristic of the last four centuries, the extreme course of emigration makes the least appeal.

POPULATION INCREASE IN RELATION TO RESOURCES

Between 1842 and 1905 the population of the Islands increased by 86,000 from 161 113,864. By 1947 it had grown by a further 100,000, an increase of 50 per cent. 168 in 42 years. During the last decade the rate of increase has considerably diminished.

Behind this bare statement lie a number of important facts. We know that the rate of increase before the date of the first census was very high, extremely so when we remember the incidence of disease and corsair raids. As noted on p. 136 the rate of increase in the island of Malta during the rule of the Order was greater than that of Gozo during the last century. Moreover, it is probable that for some three or four centuries previous to the arrival of the Knights the rate of increase was comparable to those of the later periods.

It seems likely, therefore, that for perhaps 800 years, the Maltese population has increased at a fairly consistent and high rate up to 1947 (see too Section IV). It also seems probable that net emigration, although regionally variable, did little to relieve the steadily growing pressure on resource. We know, for instance, that of the total loss by migration of 67,000 between 1842 and 1956, 43,000 left after 1945. We also know that crude mortality rates dropped but slowly before 1943 and that infantile death rates declined markedly only after this decade. There is therefore no obvious vital revolution, no sudden upsurge in numbers, no simple formula, to be invoked in the explanation of the growth in Malta's population.

From a consideration of the demographic history of the Islands, in terms of political, economic and cultural changes and against the background of the landscape palimpsest, one is forced to strange conclusions, viz. that the concepts of 'over-population' or 'optimum population' have no historically valid meaning in a Maltese context. As we have seen in earlier chapters, there has always been considerable Island contact with neighbouring lands. During the period for which we have any historical record a great part of the wealth on which Malta has lived has come from outside. The historical sequence of population growth appears in Micawberish terms: something has always turned up, either a new external valuation or a new possibility of marginally increasing resource wealth, in time to prevent real 'over-population' appearing. This hypothesis is considered more fully in the concluding section but it is worth noting here that each historical conquest has *ipso facto* been made by an increasingly world-conscious power, by a more enterprising society, and each has led to the creation of wider opportunities for the gaining of wealth. Similarly, each intervening period of doldrums has been marked by improved ability to intensify the exploitation of internal resource, generally in the agricultural sector. Thus, in the eighteenth century the cotton boom, in the mid-nineteenth century livestock improvement and land reclamation, in the twentieth century modernised irrigation and dairy-farming, and more recently horticulture and the search for oil.

Up to the present time fortune has smiled and there has been no fall in living standards as might be expected in consequence of extreme over-population. Yet, during historical times at least, the population has always been too great for self-sufficiency and in this sense has always been over-large. The rather

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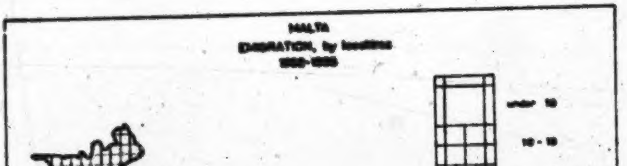

Fig. 63 Emigration by Localities, 1952-55.

161 168 puzzled note made by the Royal Commissioners of 1911 would seem to be applicable to the whole of our period: 'We cannot but conclude that the Maltese people as a whole are by no means a destitute population seeing that they continue to absorb and pay for imports of considerable value over and above those which may be said to be paid for by the exportation of the products of the Islands' (30).

The obvious question of whether this process has now reached its limit is bound up with our analysis of the contemporary situation. For a decade or so, there has been a substantial overspill of population in emigration and the birth rate has declined. (p. 153). The present apparent equilibrium is however most unstable. The rate of emigration itself is only to a limited extent controlled by [167] economic forces and is bound to fluctuate. If the 1948-56 rate of natural increase were maintained and emigration discontinued, the total population of the Islands would leap up another 100,000 over the 1947 level to 400,000 by 1968. Moreover and as noted on p. 157' the nuptial fertility rates reveal that the rate of natural increase could rise even higher than at present if the indirect effects of emigration disappeared. To what circumstances can the concept of a population optimum be referred? Quite obviously the term has no relevance either to the known past or hypothetical future in that historical experience has so conditioned Maltese attitudes the even now there seems general confidence that a continued population inflation can be maintained.

168 Demographically considered these are facts of observation; socially and economically they are the factual basis on which future policies must be based.

369 formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial
Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically
indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European
loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place
[103] names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or
Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements -
Żebbuġ, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three
Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for
the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people.
Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament
still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who
helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the
coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants
from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially
Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship.
The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce,
the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical revolutions
178 of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the
369 first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available.
464 The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades
of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken
up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such
[166] as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual
and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought
the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years,
the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now
probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent.
178 of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service
Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture.
182 This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also
[464] apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954
totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a
[167] steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has
slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons
have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields,
storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This
conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs
of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of
the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further
strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has
become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the
necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs
is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping
towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for
the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that
made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also
responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one
indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken
lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieħa, and even this, hidden
from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 80 years.
Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it commands.
Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the
individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

178 Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways.
182 Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always
454 flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 25 years ago, who would

578 621

of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 793
political parties. 794

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro- 794
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the con-
fraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are mem-
bers neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

175 167 361 The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

175 161 361 It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is comparatively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

175 648 The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

175 433-464 During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

175 648 The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediæval Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—DEMOGRAPHY.

161 174 It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogæum is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Miège (27) suggests a population of 29,659. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

161 man, are also unusually fertile, and the females possess remarkably developed
842 udders. Possibly similar causes make both man and the goats fertile. If this
231 is so, emigrants from the island will probably, after a short time, lose their fertility,[1]
whilst the only limiting factors on the island itself will be space and the food and water supply.

144 Summarizing our general conclusions, the race in Malta which is associated with
172 the period of great megalithic buildings—a cultural stage we have termed "Malta
Local Neolithic"—appears to be closely akin to the Mediterranean race. This is
174 our "Malta first race." At a later date, possibly towards the end of the Bronze Age, but more probably during the Early Iron Age, Malta was peopled by a race with different characteristics, our "Malta second race." These people are of Armenoid type, but probably have an admixture of Mediterranean blood. Their origin appears to be the Eastern Mediterranean. They may have come to Malta either directly or by way of Carthage. They may have destroyed the previous inhabitants, or they may merely have pursued methods of peaceful penetration. This race has firmly established itself in Malta, and all subsequent introduction of foreign blood has failed to raise the variation. During the course of years certain changes have taken place; there are also certain local variations, but the differences between Malta and Gozo are not greater than the differences between the general population of Malta and at least one, and possibly more, of the more isolated villages.

APPENDIX I.

LITERATURE.

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[167] [1] Of interest in this connection is the fact that there is at present a Maltese colony in Detroit, U.S.A., and it will be instructive to observe whether, amid alien surroundings, the strain is able to perpetuate itself and to retain its fertility.

000 leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

Pawlu admits nevertheless that much of the inferior condition of the farmer derives from his inability to unite with other farmers (Section 4). Illiteracy, ignorance and suspicion are the major causes of his fear. Only a few farmers are members of either of the two opposing Unions of Farmers while the situation regarding co-operatives is equally unpromising. Pawlu himself became one of the organizers of a special 'Tractor Co-Operative', initiated by C.A.R.E. at the end of 1958 (Section 2) for a group of farmers in his home village. The members paid £2 each on joining the co-operative and were thereafter able to hire one of the two tractors donated by C.A.R.E. at only 10/- per hour instead of the commercial 17s. The fact that Pawlu himself was among the organizers of such a novel venture reflects his progressive outlook, and his standing in the village.

*159 Politics interest Pawlu, to a more than average degree
156 His concern is based on an informed intelligence. A
829 supporter of the Labour Party, he considers the Nationalists
as holding the masses in contempt and he points to their emphasis on the Italian language and the non-Maltese culture which it represented as evidence. He reads the local Maltese-language press but is sufficiently independent of mind to have cancelled his subscription to the 'Lehen is-Sewwa' (B/65) at the time of the 'Integration' referendum on the grounds that neither the Church nor the Paper would publish an 'official' statement on the attitude of the Church. Yet his religious devotion is without question and he has a respected place in Church and village life.

The Family.
*159 Pawlu lives with his wife and six of his children.
156 His eldest son and daughter are both working as
829 teachers in Malta. Another daughter has emigrated.
593 Pawlu's wife speaks only Maltese and had as little
[555] formal education as her husband, but she has at all times
nothing but encouragement for her family in their education.
[167] In this case there is not the usual gulf in outlook between
parents and children on account of the education of the
latter - for the parents fully realize the need. Pawlu's
wife used to work in the fields when young but now spends
[462] her time in the house. Certain jobs remain her special
concern however, notably cheese-making, care of lambs and
chicks and egg-collection.

*159 The eldest son, now working as a teacher, is one of the
156 young 'intellectuals' who are currently making an appearance in Gozo.
[178] The ties of family and respect between him
593 and his father are strong but he is out of touch with the
[875]

*159 157 829 rejection of his village background, and his attitude to agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

*159 423 ●167 177 241 [441] He comes of a village family in which his father and paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the family but neither Ġanni nor his brother, a few years his junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family butchering business held no more attraction for them and was relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the brothers thought that neither butchering nor farming presented scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian pattern, with tractor-drawn, three-furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

*159 177 241 407 He returned home full of ideas of making money as a contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities. Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plowing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead, working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few young men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

*159 241 829 Ġanni's view of farming in Malta.

"Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and because of the difficulties facing the mechanization of field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

648 desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty
175 years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But
he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of
blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant:
he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval
base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean.
Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the
point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the
naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean
but a vital link in the route to a farther East than
Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither
William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn
on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

3

161- At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an
[162] estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls
(exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which
Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to
say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile,
which makes it one of the most densely populated geographical
●[167] units in the world. The figure would have been
higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia
161 and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by
619, the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small
for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto
themselves, with their own language, their own traditions,
their own physical characteristics and a history that is one
of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

172 For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and
173 Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days
reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in
other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta
[132] was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

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[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

175 we may safely assume that S. Paul's Aramaic was as comprehensible to them as was their related Phœnician to him.

101 There seems to be no evidence that this Semitic speech of
197 the Maltese "barbarians" had been replaced by some other language when the Arabs seized the Maltese islands in 870.
648 Many of the philologists therefore hold that on to this Punic
175 stock the Arabs grafted, during the two hundred and twenty years of their occupation, a vocabulary of contemporary Arabic which did not completely oust words of the older, kindred stratum. These scholars consider that the dialect received, in fact, a second, fresher infusion from the same reservoir and that the resulting blend is the core of the Maltese language of to-day.

197 Inevitably, in the course of ages, this language has borrowed words from the languages and dialects of the other countries with which Malta has been connected—from Sicilian, from Aragonese, from Italian, from French, even from English—but it has always fitted such words into its own Semitic framework, has governed them according to
● 167 the rules of its own Semitic grammar and mechanics. Thus the Maltese who have emigrated to Syria and to the north coast of Africa have no difficulty in making themselves understood by their Arabic-speaking neighbours, who for their part can make themselves readily understood in Malta.
197 Here is the Lord's Prayer in Maltese, which I quote so that
539 the reader unfamiliar with the language may see for himself what it looks like:

Missierna li inti fis-smewwiet,
Jitqaddes ismek,
Tigi saltnatek,
Ikun li trid Int, kif fis-sema hekda fl-art.

Hobzna ta' kull jum aghtina l-lum,
Ahfrilna dnubietna, bhalma nahfru lil min hu hati ghalina.
U la ddahhalniex fit-tigrib,
Izda ehlisna mid-deni. Hekk ikun.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

sometimes regarded in England—in other words, as hard-headed folk whom nothing will keep out of the best jobs. 181 186 It is certainly true to say that, loth as they may be to leave their own little island, when they do it is definitely to better themselves. They make excellent colonists in Australia and [167] elsewhere in the New World, while those who emigrate no farther than Malta frequently attain distinction. The story is told of a function in S. John's Co-Cathedral in Valetta at a time, not so many years ago, when the Gozitans who were leading personages in Church and State included the Archbishop of Malta, Mgr Pace.

"Well," said a Maltese worshipper, after watching the entry into the church of the procession of Archbishop and Canons and other dignitaries, mostly (or so it seemed to him) natives of the junior island, "I suppose we ought to be thankful that the sacristan is still a Maltese."

Byron may have had something similar in mind when he bracketed Malta with Gozo as

Calypso's isles,
The sister tenants of the middle deep,

instead of describing them as mother and daughter.

There is much to see in this small island of 27 square miles 172 and as many thousand inhabitants besides natural scenery and [131] the monuments alluded to above. Let me instance some [161] characteristic features of various widely different epochs of Gozo's long history. First must come the twin Stone Age temples of Ggantija, through their cyclopean construction—one block has the formidable dimensions of 12½ by 17½ feet—the most stupendous work of Neolithic man in the Maltese archipelago. Farther excavation by the Malta Museum is planned on and around their site when funds permit, and more wonders may yet come to light. Meanwhile the [133] visitor may enjoy from one of the most impressive architectural survivals of remote antiquity a comprehensive view of Gozo and of the north-western end of Malta, with

and Kalafrana have also been centres of inward movement, and moreover have 167 a higher than average proportion of skilled labour associated with Naval stations. The last region, that of suburban Malta stretching from Tarxien to St. Andrew's, is an area of transit to some extent, an area of urban and relatively mobile life, and as such is the type of region from which on *a priori* grounds one would expect high rates of exodus.

In some ways more noteworthy, and of particular direct interest in association with other of our findings, is the relative immobility in Central Malta, that belt of country stretching from Fomm ir-Rieh, across the Mdina-Rabat Uplands, across the long-settled good farmlands of the Central Region eastwards to St. Thomas' Bay. In this heart of old rural Malta, least directly affected by the changes characteristic of the last four centuries, the extreme course of emigration makes the least appeal.

POPULATION INCREASE IN RELATION TO RESOURCES 161

Between 1842 and 1905 the population of the Islands increased by 86,000 from 113,864. By 1947 it had grown by a further 100,000, an increase of 50 per cent. 168 in 42 years. During the last decade the rate of increase has considerably diminished.

Behind this bare statement lie a number of important facts. We know that the rate of increase before the date of the first census was very high, extremely so when we remember the incidence of disease and corsair raids. As noted on p. 136 the rate of increase in the island of Malta during the rule of the Order was greater than that of Gozo during the last century. Moreover, it is probable that for some three or four centuries previous to the arrival of the Knights the rate of increase was comparable to those of the later periods.

It seems likely, therefore, that for perhaps 800 years, the Maltese population has increased at a fairly consistent and high rate up to 1947 (see too Section IV). It also seems probable that net emigration, although regionally variable, did little to relieve the steadily growing pressure on resource. We know, for instance, that of the total loss by migration of 67,000 between 1842 and 1956, 43,000 left after 1943. We also know that crude mortality rates dropped but slowly before 1943 and that infantile death rates declined markedly only after this decade. There is therefore no obvious vital revolution, no sudden upsurge in numbers, no simple formula, to be invoked in the explanation of the growth in Malta's population.

From a consideration of the demographic history of the Islands, in terms of political, economic and cultural changes and against the background of the landscape palimpsest, one is forced to strange conclusions, viz. that the concepts of 'over-population' or 'optimum population' have no historically valid meaning in a Maltese context. As we have seen in earlier chapters, there has always been considerable Island contact with neighbouring lands. During the period for which we have any historical record a great part of the wealth on which Malta has lived has come from outside. The historical sequence of population growth appears in Micawberish terms: something has always turned up, either a new external valuation or a new possibility of marginally increasing resource wealth, in time to prevent real 'over-population' appearing. This hypothesis is considered more fully in the concluding section but it is worth noting here that each historical conquest has *ipso facto* been made by an increasingly world-conscious power, by a more enterprising society, and each has led to the creation of wider opportunities for the gaining of wealth. Similarly, each intervening period of doldrums has been marked by improved ability to intensify the exploitation of internal resource, generally in the agricultural sector. Thus, in the eighteenth century the cotton boom, in the mid-nineteenth century livestock improvement and land reclamation, in the twentieth century modernised irrigation and dairy-farming, and more recently horticulture and the search for oil.

Up to the present time fortune has smiled and there has been no fall in living standards as might be expected in consequence of extreme over-population. Yet, during historical times at least, the population has always been too great for self-sufficiency and in this sense has always been over-large. The rather

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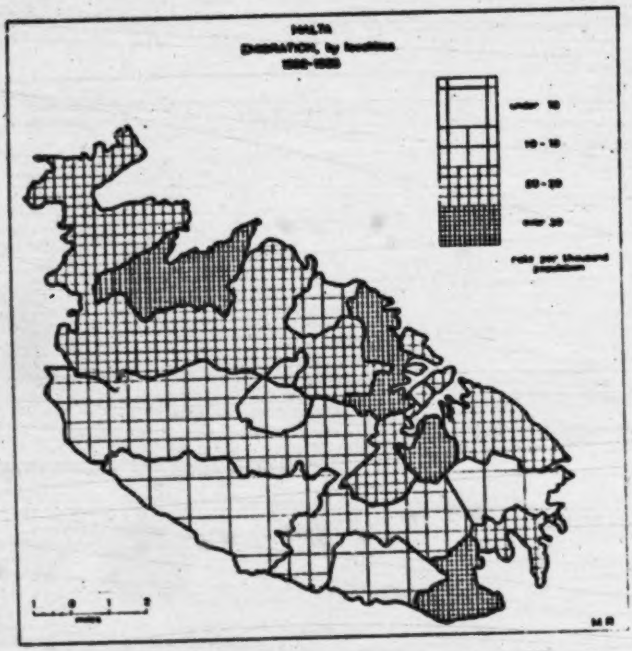

Fig.63 Emigration by Localities, 1952-55.

161 puzzled note made by the Royal Commissioners of 1911 would seem to be applicable to the whole of our period: 'We cannot but conclude that the Maltese ●168 people as a whole are by no means a destitute population seeing that they continue to absorb and pay for imports of considerable value over and above those which may be said to be paid for by the exportation of the products of the Islands' (30).

The obvious question of whether this process has now reached its limit is bound up with our analysis of the contemporary situation. For a decade or so, there has been a substantial overspill of population in emigration and the birth rate has declined (p. 153). The present apparent equilibrium is however most [167] unstable. The rate of emigration itself is only to a limited extent controlled by economic forces and is bound to fluctuate. If the 1948-56 rate of natural increase were maintained and emigration discontinued, the total population of the Islands would leap up another 100,000 over the 1947 level to 400,000 by 1968. Moreover and as noted on p. 157' the nuptial fertility rates reveal that the rate of natural increase could rise even higher than at present if the indirect effects of emigration disappeared. To what circumstances can the concept of a population optimum be referred? Quite obviously the term has no relevance either to the known past or hypothetical future in that historical experience has so conditioned Maltese attitudes the even now there seems general confidence that a continued population inflation can be maintained.

168 Demographically considered these are facts of observation; socially and economically they are the factual basis on which future policies must be based.

Our consideration must be restricted to the self-imposed terms of reference laid out in the Introduction, an examination of the resources of the Islands and their utilisation, bearing in mind the decreasing likelihood of there occurring more falls of manna.

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[P.103]

Chapter IV

MALTA BEFORE A.D. 1800

A. Malta before the Knights

The Maltese Islands were probably first settled towards the end of the third millenium B.C.; certainly there is no evidence of any earlier occupation. From this time onwards, the landscape has had stamped upon it the successive imprints of a series of cultures and culture-contacts. This is not the place to attempt a detailed analytical history, but any study of a region and its people must consider time as well as place. In Malta we have, in the course of our fieldwork, continually felt an extraordinarily strong sense of continuity, an insistence that much which is contemporary can only be understood in terms of the past, and often of the remote past. Conversely, a close examination of the landscape can help to illuminate the past in a strictly historical sense. 121 17

The sort of question which arises in an investigation of the rural landscape may be exemplified by the much-debated problem of 'cart-ruts'. On some of the expanses of bare rock which exist in various parts of the island of Malta are deeply incised grooves, in dual and parallel alignment, sometimes in isolation, often in complex 'tramway' patterns (Plate VII). Various attempts have been made to explain them (1) but with little success. We are certain only of their approximate age. To the prehistorian they are of obvious direct interest. To ourselves they are irritatingly fascinating because of the indirect and obscure evidence which they seem to offer of the nature of the processes which have operated on the land of Malta. Were they friction-incised through a soil cover by skid-carts? If this is so, then the soil cover must not only have been more extensive than at present but must also have evolved under different climatic and edaphic conditions from those with which we are now familiar. What can we deduce from the present limited exposure of the ruts and from the fact that often they appear to have been blotted out by cultivation? The traditional answer, as put forward by Zammit (2), is that they carried sledges for the collection [114] and transport of soil so that man could concentrate the soil in field plots. Thus field-making inevitably covered the ruts except on the ridges and bluffs. There are defects in these and other explanations, none of which come near to helping us to estimate the number and kind of people involved. 172

The settlements, too, present problems. Thus the archaeologist: 'The curious and complete absence of settlement-sites throughout the prehistoric period, which also holds good for the Punic and later periods, seems susceptible of only one explanation. The best sites must have been chosen for settlement very early in the islands' occupation and these have remained centres of habitation until the present day' (3). May we then assume that, with the exception of the 'lost villages' of more recent times, the settlement pattern of today results from continual addition to, and an absence of erasures from the palimpsest? The answer is not only of chronological interest but has an essential place in any analysis of present-day Malta.

For such reasons as these we have attempted in this section to give a time perspective to the Maltese picture in order to help our present understanding.

The first Maltese would seem to have been Neolithic farmers using impressed ceramic ware of a type associated with the *Stentinello* culture of eastern Sicily. The stylistically earliest wares of Ghar Dalam (I) (Fig. 20) are associated with megalithic temples already well enough developed to have lost their original tomb character and to have become cult centres. These and later temples, built during the eight centuries before *c.* 1500 B.C. (Period I), are impressive and surviving contributions to the landscape by the first Neolithic people. Megalithic rock-tombs have been found at Xemxija and probably from this type of structure there evolved five distinct and successive phases of temple architecture. The earliest are those of Mġarr (II) and Xewkija (III) with a simple

besides the patron saint, parishes celebrate many other saints. The 575
feasts of these secondary saints are normally not as lavish as the 578
annual festa of the patron. But many villages celebrate two large 621
festas: one for the titular saint of the parish, and the other for a 794
secondary saint who has assumed almost equal social importance. 796
Where this occurs, a village is divided into two partiti, each of
which has its own band club and celebrates one of the saints. The
partiti compete over almost every aspect of the festa, including the
decoration of the streets, the adornment of the statue, the number
of guest bands and, above all, the fireworks. Even the exact number of communicants, the size of candles and the quantity of light
bulbs illuminating the façade of the church often become the
subject of dispute. Farruġ is divided by this type of rivalry. One
partit is dedicated to St. Martin, the titular of the parish, the other
to St. Roque.

The origins of these festa partiti, where they can be traced, are 17
very much alike. Most of them came into existence sometime 578
between 1850 and the turn of the century, and most arose out of 621
disputes between persons concerned with the celebration of the 796
titular festa and those interested in the cult of some lesser saint.
The latter were usually members of the confraternity dedicated to [794]
that saint.[1] These factions in time became centred on separate [575]
social clubs, and eventually acquired brass bands. The clubs provided a permanent institutional basis for the rivalry. As time went
on, the partiti became more violent in their disputes and in the
pressure they put upon individuals to support them. Finally in 578
1935, the Church, long alarmed at the extremes to which the 621
devotion to some saints had been carried in certain villages, took
steps to eliminate the competition. It promulgated a series of 79
regulations designed to reduce the scale on which secondary feasts
could be celebrated. These stipulated that for secondary feasts there [575]
was to be no Translation of Holy Relics on the eve of the feast,
that only the church and the area immediately adjacent to it could

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[1] Cf. Rob. Mifsud Bonnici, *Ġrajja Tal-Mużika F'Malta u Għawdex* (Malta, Giov. [113]
Muscat, 1954), pp. 38 f. He suggests that these partiti developed out of a dispute between [114]
persons who wanted to play sacred music by the Maltese composer Vincenzo Bugeja
(1806–60) and those who preferred that of his rival, Paolo Nani (1814–1904). As far as
I could determine, however, the only partiti which arose directly out of this dispute [575]
are those in Żebbuġ. On the other hand, many rival partiti, once established, played the
music of either Bugeja or Nani during their feasts. The former took a star as their symbol,
the latter an eagle. Today partiti in many villages are still nicknamed either *tal-istilla* or
tal-ajkla after this once-important division.

St. Martin club – that the St. Roque club was not planning to par- 575
ticipate in the ceremony in protest against the way they had been 578
treated during the centenary. Dun Frangisk's spontaneous move 621
upset their plans. 793

Although Dun Frangisk favoured the suggestions that the clubs [521]
draw lots, or hire outside bands, St. Martin rejected both because they implied that the clubs had equal status. The last time the St. Roque band had played was six years and four parish priests before, when the local police inspector had devised a compromise solution, and the St. Martin leaders had 'allowed' St. Roque to play the last march of the day, while their band escorted the new priest home. They believed any concession they made now would undo the advantage which they felt they had gained as the only functioning band in the village during the past six years.

Thus it came about that no band played at Dun Frangisk's installation ceremony. This greatly surprised the many visitors from the city and the suburbs, but the good people of the district found it quite in accordance with the way things should be, considering the issues involved. At no point in the series of events were the feelings of the young priest, whom all liked, ever considered. His installation had become the vehicle for a clash between the followers of St. Martin and St. Roque. They had been vying with each other for supremacy long before he was born, and would be at it long after he left. Any concessions made for his sake would have to be entered into the eighty-year-old ledger of credits and debits, and might have an important bearing on the outcome of the next series of encounters.

III

Two interesting problems remain to be considered: why festa 17
partiti arose during the fifty years or so after 1850, and what 621
reasons prompted people to join one partit rather than its rival. 787
The factors which caused the partiti to come into existence at this 795
particular period in Maltese history are necessarily complex, and they are dimmed by the time that has elapsed since their foundation. Nonetheless, one can discern several elements which would appear to be related to the general problem. To begin with, during this period there was a sudden increase in the devotion to the Virgin Mary following her apparition in 1858 at Lourdes, and the

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catho-
787 lic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedi-
795 cated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs, especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentle-
621 men'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in 1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages. They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890, 'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
648 programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
653 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
658 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations, fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
DDD

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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

Medical Votive Offerings in the Maltese Islands

PAUL CASSAR

THE MALTESE GROUP OF ISLANDS—Malta, Gozo, Kemmuna, Kemmunet and Filfla— 131
cover an area of just over 120 square miles. They form a stepping-stone between Europe
and Africa, being fifty-eight miles distant from Sicily and 180 miles away from the
North African shore. Malta and Gozo are renowned for the number of Stone Age 172
temples they contain. Archaeologists have expressed the opinion that some of the enclosures of these temples were sacred to a healing deity (Zammit 1926, p. 53). This is suggested by the discovery of clay and limestone objects consisting of (1) two models of women lying asleep on a kind of stretcher of wicker work, and (2) several votive offerings in the shape of parts of the human body (Zammit & Singer 1924, pp. 75-6).

It is believed that the sleeping ladies represent devotees who went to the Hypogeum 17 ●
temple at Hal Saflieni, near Pawla, to consult the oracle through the practice of oneiro- 787
mancy. This was a form of dream interpretation after the patient had been aroused from 755
a hypnotic state induced deliberately by means of drugs or other means (Zammit 1935, p. 58). In ancient Egypt dreams were regarded with reverence and the faithful believed that their prayers were rewarded by the gods with an indication, in their dreams, of the remedies which their illness required (Wilkinson 1837, III, p. 394). Similar practices prevailed also in the temple-hospitals of classical Greece where the patient is said to have had the line of treatment revealed to him in his sleep (Pavey 1951, p. 59). It is, therefore, quite possible that such methods were likewise followed in Malta by the Hypogeum priests in the treatment of disease about 1500 B.C. Whatever might have happened in Malta in neolithic days, it is very striking to come across similar parallels in modern times where sick persons claim to have been healed by a heavenly power while in the sleeping state.

The following cases were recorded in 1890, the first being the most interesting as 175
the patient fell asleep in the church itself: 755

(i) A woman had been subject to a purulent inflammation of the mouth for 787
fifteen years. She had recourse to the Virgin Mary and while praying at Ta Pinu 781
church (Gharb, Gozo) she was overtaken by extreme somnolence. She woke up with the conviction that the Madonna had granted her the desired favour; in fact, she recovered completely from her illness within three days.

(ii) Maria Cachia, from a village in Gozo, was so gravely ill from puerperal fever that it was decided to give her the Last Sacraments. Her mother made a vow to the Virgin Mary and annointed the patient on the forehead and breasts with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp of Ta Pinu church. Maria fell into a calm sleep. Our Lady appeared to her in a vision, touched her on the parts smeared with the oil and healed her. On waking she was 'happy and smiling and left her bed completely cured'.

175 (iii) Giovanna Debrincat had been suffering from depression with religious
755 scruples for eight months. Her symptoms became acute one day in February with
787 extreme anxiety, agitation, and insomnia. This phase lasted for four consecutive
781 days and nights in spite of the efforts of the doctor and a priest to reassure her and placate her. Finally her relatives annointed her with the sanctuary oil and appealed to the Blessed Virgin to cure her. The patient immediately became tranquil and had a peaceful sleep. When she woke up, all her symptoms had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1890).

532
NEOLITHIC VOTIVE OFFERINGS

172 The custom of offering 'ex-votos' to the deity for favours received is not limited to the
782 Maltese Islands and goes back to very remote times. The neolithic 'ex-votos' of Malta
[171] are made of clay and limestone, and measure from 1¾ to 3¼ inches in height. No less than fifteen of them, consisting of the following anatomical forms, have been found:

(i) Faces: 2.
(ii) Hand: 1.
(iii) Female torsos with large abdomen, pendulous breasts, and prominent genitalia: 4.
(iv) Kneeling female (?) torso with arms folded on breast: 2.
(v) Fragment of female statuette consisting of lower abdomen, both thighs, and right leg: 1.
(vi) Female body cut short in the neck and upper parts of the thighs; the left arm is bent on the nape of the neck and the right upper limb points to the genitalia which are very clearly shown. The abdomen and breasts are very full and a swelling fills the left groin while pieces of white shells are stuck in the armpits, groins, umbilicus, mons veneris, and other parts.
(vii) Female pelvis with upper parts of thighs and sexual triangle: 2.
(viii) Legs: 2 (Zammit & Singer 1924, p. 67).

The Roman occupation of Malta (218 B.C.–A.D. 397) is represented by one solitary
● 17 'ex-voto' consisting of a clay model of the lateral view of a leg and foot. It was found
782 quite recently with other Roman objects in the north-west part of the island (Plate 1, Fig. 2). The inhabitants of the Maltese Islands were converted to Christianity by St
[797] Paul in A.D. 60. No more 'ex-votos' can be traced for many hundreds of years until they reappear in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Catholic Church. The interruption in the time-sequence and the change of religious beliefs do not, however, prevent us from perceiving that they have a common purpose and that the 'ex-votos' of Stone Age and Roman times foreshadow the similar ones of later years. Indeed the same ideational process links the ancient ones with those of our own times.

782 Anatomical 'ex-votos' are still preserved in many of the Catholic churches of Malta and Gozo and in several wayside shrines in the countryside and in niches in the towns.
532 They are either figures of the complete human body or of parts of it. The former consist
755 of the front view of babies with the trunk and limbs swathed in bands like a mummy; and of side views of men and women in a kneeling posture with their hands joined in prayer over their breasts or else holding a symbolical heart. The men are turned towards the left and the women look towards the right. The models representing parts of the

361 Map 3, showing density of population by localities for 1957, closely reflects the built-up area pattern. Broadly-speaking it resembles Map 4 (residence of Dockyard workers) but here the emphasis on Valletta and Sliema, and all the northern part of the Urban zone, is notably less.

THE VILLAGE

621 [361] Maltese rural society is essentially composed of village communities each occupying a compact settlement[8]. There are some three dozen villages in the rural area of the Islands[9] among which there is considerable variation in site, date of foundation, morphology, population (B/561) and economic structure (B/381), but throughout the Islands there is a uniformity of function within the village as a community group. This makes it possible to speak of "the Maltese Village" from the point of view of social structure, and allows a qualifying classification into types on the basis of the features mentioned.

17 Maltese society as a whole, and particularly the rural part of it, is to some extent cut off from outside influences by virtue of the insular position of the country, cultural as well as geographical. Yet the Islands have clearly at no time in their history been independent of Europe to the north, Africa to the south and Asia to the east. Quite patently the opposite has been the case and Malta, as ever the mute pawn of great powers, has absorbed its material and moral culture from abroad just as it has received additions to its population whether coming as traders, invaders, or settlers, for four thousand years. But the Islands have put their own stamp on these arrivals so that a discussion such as this must take account of both autochthonous developments within the Islands, as well as those of wider origin.

17 621 The elements within the traditional Maltese village were, briefly, the Roman Catholic Church and clergy, the landed class, and the mass of the population - an illiterate peasantry. 'Traditional' here refers to rural society as it existed in Malta one, two or three centuries ago.

This is not to say that the traditional has been erased from the present scene but rather that recent moves towards literacy, emancipation and communication, and a greater range of amenities within the Islands, have diversified and modified the traditional aspects to produce a variety of different types in place of the social uniformity of the past. But the [793] [795] traditional nucleus within the village, the Parish Priest and the Parish Church retain their pivotal role. The modification of this role is very apparent but the place of the Church has been affected far less in the country districts

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard develop-
621 ments and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the
rural districts where change has to date been slower than in
the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along
with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisers as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education
as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The
clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the popula-
tion was not. This concentration of learning produced a sit-
uation in which only the clergy were able to step forward to
take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might
have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
[669] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolution-
[648] ary leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino
Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising
against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands
by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both
village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the
[874] University came strongly under the influence of the Church,
for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long stan-
[178] ding, was and still is best known for its Theology. However,
during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the
Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative
details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of
the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth.
The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the
separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociologi-
cal importance during the present century has been the growth
of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban
areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces
which are today tending to detract from the traditional
omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before
the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will
loom much larger than at present in the country districts
and in Gozo[11].

361 Mellieha (1841), Mġarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
175 In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kerċem (1885),
103 San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911),
Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

17 361 369 In the period reviewed the major development has been the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2 · The Farmer and Farming

128

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 241 423 [114] The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525) have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either individually or as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer. 311 423 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north

*175
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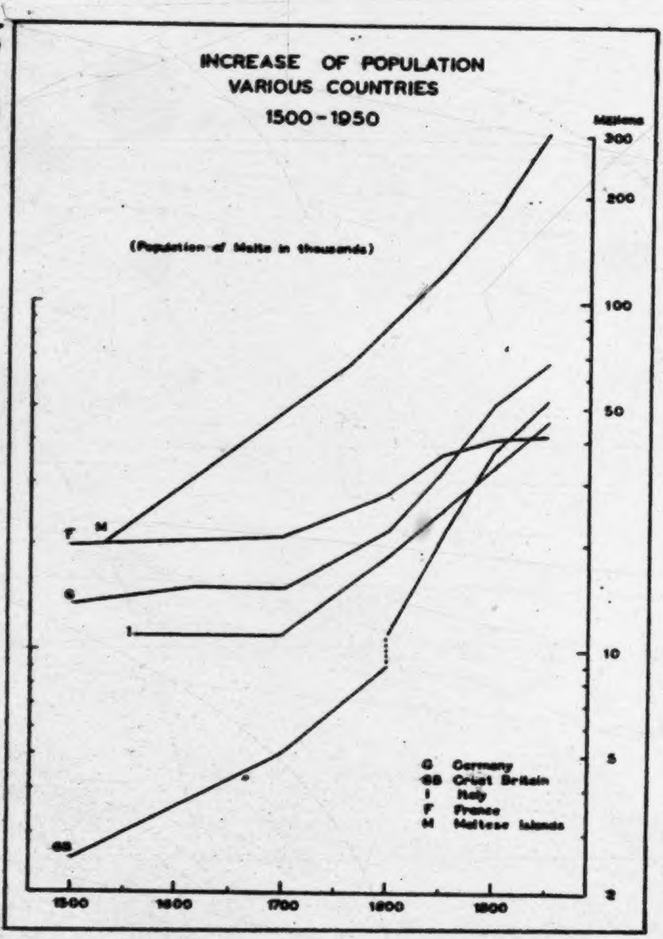

Fig. 35 Increase of Population, Various Countries, 1500-1950.

[p. 134-B]

exception of 1942, there has been no recorded instance of a birth rate as low 163
as 26.5, which was the figure for 1958.

In the late nineteenth century, Maltese birth rates were comparable with 163
those of southern Europe, but subsequent decline has been much delayed in
Malta. Economic progress in the Islands during the late nineteenth and early 171
twentieth centuries was accompanied by a rising rather than by a falling birth rate. The pattern of natality in Malta since 1911, however, conforms to trends experienced elsewhere in Europe, although the rates themselves have not been the same. The decline in the Maltese birth rate during the 1914-18 War was less marked than on the European mainland and there was an actual increase in Malta between 1919 and 1939, when other European rates declined. The post-war upsurge in births reached its peak early in Malta and while the birth rates of most European countries have been stable at a medium level over the last few years, that of Malta has been falling from the most recent peak.

DEATHS

The decline in mortality during the past few years has been even greater 165
than that in births. Before the Second World War, the Maltese death rate had fallen below 20 on but three occasions and in 11 separate years it had exceeded 30. Since 1953 it has stayed consistently below 10, thus becoming directly com- [171]
parable with the death rates of the most advanced Western European countries.

In the nineteenth century, the Maltese death rate was subject to violent annual fluctuations. The worst years were those of epidemic cholera, but even in the latter part of the century, when this was less common, the rate remained high. The main factors responsible were poverty, disease and unsanitary living conditions which were particularly reflected in high infant mortality. Improvements in drainage, sewerage and water supply were effective in reducing mortality from nearly 27/1,000 in the 1890's to 21 in the 1930's but much greater reductions were achieved once the problem of infant mortality was attacked. As recently as the 1920's, this was still as high as 250 per 1,000 live births and only in 1936 did it fall below 200. The decline in this rate was further delayed by the Second World War but by 1944 it had fallen to 114. Since then, progress has been rapid, and infant mortality in 1958 stood at 40 per 1,000 live births, a level comparable with those of many European countries.

Thus, in Malta, as in other European countries, the death rate has been reduced largely as a result of declining infant mortality and the reduction although late has been extremely rapid. A further decline is both possible and, on humanitarian grounds, desirable.

NATURAL INCREASE

Statistics of births, deaths, marriages and natural increase are illustrated 161
in Figs. 54 and 55. In the years since 1948, the natural increase has reached its highest level because of a remarkable decline in the death rate. The absolute natural increase in the decade 1831-40 was 5,241 whereas in 1941-50, despite the low birth rate of the war years, the excess of births over deaths was 52,833. The current natural increase runs at about 5,000 a year, ten times that of a century ago.

The annual rate of natural increase in 1831-40 was less than 5 per 1,000; by the end of the century it had reached 10 and in 1941-50 it was 18, since when it has maintained the present rate of 19. The general upward trend has not been an even one as the graph shows, there being peaks in 1851-60, 1881-90, 1901-10 and 1941-50, of which the first and last were the highest. The former was a period of high birth rates, a moderate death rate and very early marriage; the latter was one of rapidly falling death rates and a post-war upsurge in births. The troughs in the curve were lowest in the early and mid-nineteenth centuries, corresponding to times of frequent sickness and epidemic, of which the late 1860's and early 1870's provide examples.

Annual fluctuations in natural increase reflect specific historical events. On six occasions, the number of deaths in a year has exceeded the number of births. In 1837, '47, '50 and '65, epidemic cholera was the cause. In 1874, a

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.155]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

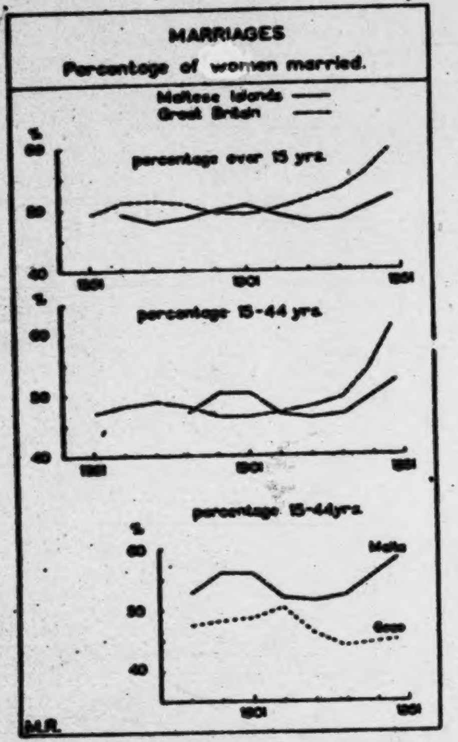

Fig. 56 Marriages: Percentage of Women Married.

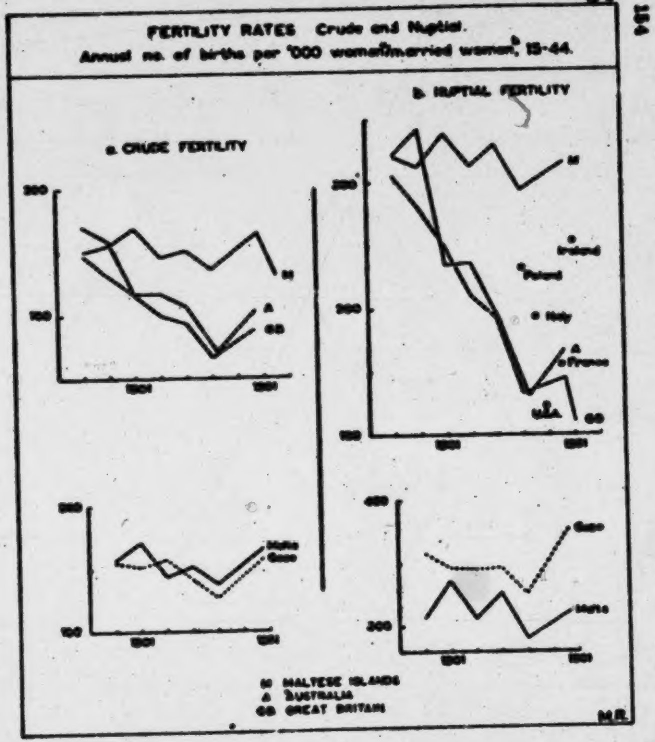

Fig. 57 Fertility Rates: Crude and Nuptial.

8. Cultivation Equipment and Tillage

171

Of the implements observed in Malta, the traditional types of plough, hoe, 407
sickle and harrow are of the same genera as those to be generally found in the 412
Mediterranean region (Fig. 140).
Ploughs are of the *Aratrum* or *Ard* type, steel tipped wooden wedges, devoid 407
of cutting edges and having very restricted powers of furrow making or inversion
- *moħriet*. None of those observed had lateral 'ears' or 'wings' but apparently
ards thus equipped are occasionally used. There are various sub-types with
differing arrangements of beam, body and handle but no constant rational
relationship between these sub-types and local environments could be observed.
Prices range upwards of £4 10s. 0d. Iron or steel tips for the body cost about
£1. One interesting modification of the plough is manufactured at Żurrieq. On
top of the basic beam and body is fitted a movable double mouldboard of which
either or both breasts can be brought into operation at any one time. Ridging and
left and right furrow inversion are therefore made possible. For those areas
where furrow inversion is practicable such a cheap, light multi-purpose
implement would be very valuable, and the development of such improvements
might well be encouraged by official approbation.
Hoes are manufactured in four main types. The heavy spade type, the 412
Żappuna, is generally used for soil trenching in preparation for manuring. The
effort involved tends to restrict its use. The small, single tined, wedge-shaped
hoe, the *Mgħazqa* or *Lexxuna*, is a general purpose implement that is replaced
under damp and cohesive soil conditions by a forked, two-tined variety, the
Kroxun. A three-tined hoe is often used, together with the ard, for potato lifting.
In general, each cultivator possesses a selection of different types of hoe,
necessitated by the variety of manual operations he usually has to perform and
made possible by the reasonable prices of the implements (prices range from
about 16s. for the single-tine, to 16s. to £1 for the spade hoe).
The sickle in general use is a small, smooth-edged type costing about 12s. 6d.
The small number of sickle types observed may result from the widespread
practice of pulling rather than cutting green fodder. Traditional harrows are 407
almost invariably of the Mediterranean and Asiatic type, harrows cum levellers
and seed coverers. Those observed were triangular and stone weighted. When
manufactured for the purpose they were usually constructed of ash and had
removable tines. Without metal tines, the cost is about 30s.
These implements, of which illustrated examples are given (Fig.140), have
already to some extent been displaced by imported newer types. Most farmers [241]
who possess fields which are at all accessible to tractors now periodically hire
contractors to plough the land with mouldboard or disc ploughs and even, in some
areas, with deep digger-ploughs. Where plots are small or the terrain difficult,
then rotary cultivators are hired or purchased. These latter machines, in spite
of their relatively high cost - usually over £200 in Malta - are amazingly
popular and are more and more replacing the *ard* and the hoe. The reasons for,
and implications of this popularity are examined below.
The spade proper is hardly ever used, and its absence is associated with [412]
the reasons for the survival of the *ard* plough. Small, light, flexible, metal
harrows are to be found. Entirely imported, their only advantages are their
flexibility on rough ground and ease of draught. They are, on the other hand,
more easily damaged and more difficult to repair than their wooden prototypes.
Other equipment includes a great range of fixed and movable adjuncts to farming,
all but one class of which are constructed rurally from local materials. The [406]
exceptional group is that connected with irrigation and includes windpumps and 243]
small diesel engines. Threshing and winnowing, traditional style, needs no more
than a rock or *torba* (beaten earth) floor and asses or horses for trampling, [492]
baskets constructed of local cane, and simple wooden winnowing forks. Of recent
years, centralised threshing by contractors' machines has almost entirely displaced
the older method in all but the more remote western regions. Canes, 241
grown in slightly marshy conditions in wied floors, provide the raw material 824
for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc.

persons with political or economic influence. Once a kin relationship 602 is made known, it establishes a special tie between the two parties, and preferential treatment often follows; for kin are expected to help each other.

The ties of kinship can also be extended artificially by asking 608 non-kin to become godparents or marriage witnesses. Although parents normally choose persons to fill these offices from among their parents, uncles and aunts, thus reinforcing already existing kin ties, they quite often ask influential non-kin to perform this function. While the obligations created by godparenthood in [601] Malta, as in Italy, are not as demanding as they are in Spain, and [171] Spanish America,[1] the godparent (*parrinu*) is expected to favour his godchild (*filjozz*), if not the child's father.[2] Thus the institution of godparenthood plays a part in the system of patronage. Influential persons, however, are more often asked to become marriage witnesses. This relationship is not enduring. When [557] influential non-kin are asked to fill this office it is done as much to increase the prestige of the families of the couple getting married as it is to honour a patron.

There is constant informal contact between relatives living in 602 the same village. These informal meetings strengthen kin ties and ensure that people have a wide knowledge of their kin. Thus a friend in Farrug was able to name 49 households in the village (20 per cent of the total) whose members were descended from his father's six siblings. Although the spread of this old man's family was unusual, no one in the village did not have some relatives living there. The many cross-cutting bonds of kinship [621] thus reinforce the multiplex ties created by neighbourhood, common culture and shared devotion to common symbols, and bind together the inhabitants of a village into the tightly united community which outsiders see.

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[1] See Gallatin Anderson, *A Survey of Italian God-parenthood* (The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 15; Berkeley, 1956), J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954), pp. 107 f.; and Sidney W. Mintz and Eric R. Wolf, 'An Analysis of Ritual Co-parenthood (Compadrazgo),' *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI (1950), 341–68. [113]

[2] The reciprocal term *xbin* is used between a godparent and the father of his godchild. Friends and even strangers often use it to address one another; it is a way of reducing social distance and making possible a more intimate association. Michael Kenny in his book, *A Spanish Tapestry* (London, Cohen and West, 1961), p. 72, notes that this is also an Andalusian custom.

CHAPTER VIII

The Village and the Outside World

557 Every Maltese is at the centre of a large network of kin relations.
Thus, when the need arises, many people are able to move along
602. the intricate channels of consanguinity and affinity to establish
personal contact with influential persons. It has also been noted
that this network of kin can be extended artificially. Important
persons, such as politicians, police officers, high civil servants and
professionals are often invited to become godparents, marriage
witnesses and confirmation sponsors. These relationships are constantly
manipulated to bring individuals in touch with decision
makers. This gives a personal content to many official decisions.
Since most people honour the obligations of kinship, friendship
and neighbourhood, requests which appeal to these values stand
a good chance of a favourable reply. But a large network of kinsmen
557 can also be a liability to a civil servant, for the favourable
602 treatment he is expected to give a kinsman often conflicts with
647. the civil service ethic of impartiality. This can place persons in
authority in awkward positions, since the refusal of a request may
seriously affect either their personal relations or their professional
integrity. Maltese civil servants thus work under pressure which is
quite unfamiliar to their counterparts in larger, less intimately
related societies.

II

171 Another method of handling contacts with authority is through
influential patrons. By 'patron' I mean a person who uses his
557 influence to assist and protect some other person, who then
771. becomes his 'client'. In a Catholic society there is a strong ideological
776 basis for a system of patronage, for there is great similarity
between the function of saints and mortal patrons. Michael
Kenny points to this correspondence in his study of patronage in
Spain[1] and, in general terms, his analysis is equally applicable to

[1] 'Patterns of Patronage in Spain', *Anthropological Quarterly*, XXXIII (January 1960), pp. 14-33.

Malta. He sees the patronage system in Spain as a pyramidal 171 structure incorporating both the natural and the spiritual worlds. 557 At the top is God, the supreme patron who is not dependent upon anyone. At the base are the persons who have no clients. Between 771 these lowly clients and God there are many different ranks of 776 patrons, each of whom has his own small pyramid of clients. They, in turn, are clients dependent upon other higher and more influential persons. The patrons of each rank form a group which asks favours from one another on behalf of their clients.

The intermediaries between man and God are the saints, who are closer to God than man is. A person who seeks to influence the 557 decision of a higher authority similarly looks for a person who, by virtue of his kin relation or social position, is closer to the decision maker than he. In view of the functional similarity of [192] saints to living patrons, it should not come as a surprise that the word for patron in Maltese is 'saint' (*qaddis*; plural *qaddisin*). Several proverbs underline the important role that patrons play in [539] Maltese social life. Here are two: 'Without saints you can't get to heaven' (*Mingħajr qaddisin ma titlax il-ġenna*); and 'You can do nothing without saints' (*Mingħajr qaddisin ma tagħmel xejn*). Another points to the fact that any patron-client relationship is not without obligation, even danger, for the client: 'He who fattens you will kill you' (*Min semmnek joqtlok*).

Who are these 'saints', these men of influence? For the most part they are people who have already been encountered, albeit in a slightly different capacity. They are the professionals, the civil servants and, in general, the wealthy and powerful. They are persons, respected for their education and social standing in the world outside the village, who can deal as equals with other important people and decision-makers, many of whom are their relatives and former classmates. Their patronage is sought by individuals and groups alike. They are often asked to become god-parents, and they are called on to handle the ceremonial, business and political relations of clubs. They are also called on to help secure employment, building permits, hawkers licences or a long-delayed hearing at the law courts. Generally speaking, villagers choose patrons from the circle of influential people with whom they have the closest contact: the local professionals, the parish priest and clergy, the important landlords, all of whom command [602] respect outside the village. Some clients are related to their

175 (iii) Giovanna Debrincat had been suffering from depression with religious
755 scruples for eight months. Her symptoms became acute one day in February with
extreme anxiety, agitation, and insomnia. This phase lasted for four consecutive
787 days and nights in spite of the efforts of the doctor and a priest to reassure her and
781 placate her. Finally her relatives annointed her with the sanctuary oil and appealed
to the Blessed Virgin to cure her. The patient immediately became tranquil and
had a peaceful sleep. When she woke up, all her symptoms had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1890).

532 NEOLITHIC VOTIVE OFFERINGS

172 The custom of offering 'ex-votos' to the deity for favours received is not limited to the
782 Maltese Islands and goes back to very remote times. The neolithic 'ex-votos' of Malta
●[171] are made of clay and limestone, and measure from 1¼ to 3¼ inches in height. No less
than fifteen of them, consisting of the following anatomical forms, have been found:

(i) Faces: 2.
(ii) Hand: 1.
(iii) Female torsos with large abdomen, pendulous breasts, and prominent genitalia: 4.
(iv) Kneeling female (?) torso with arms folded on breast: 2.
(v) Fragment of female statuette consisting of lower abdomen, both thighs, and right leg: 1.
(vi) Female body cut short in the neck and upper parts of the thighs; the left arm is bent on the nape of the neck and the right upper limb points to the genitalia which are very clearly shown. The abdomen and breasts are very full and a swelling fills the left groin while pieces of white shells are stuck in the armpits, groins, umbilicus, mons veneris, and other parts.
(vii) Female pelvis with upper parts of thighs and sexual triangle: 2.
(viii) Legs: 2 (Zammit & Singer 1924, p. 67).

The Roman occupation of Malta (218 B.C.–A.D. 397) is represented by one solitary
17 'ex-voto' consisting of a clay model of the lateral view of a leg and foot. It was found
782 quite recently with other Roman objects in the north-west part of the island (Plate 1,
Fig. 2). The inhabitants of the Maltese Islands were converted to Christianity by St
[797] Paul in A.D. 60. No more 'ex-votos' can be traced for many hundreds of years until they
reappear in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Catholic Church. The interruption in the time-sequence and the change of religious beliefs do not, however, prevent us from perceiving that they have a common purpose and that the 'ex-votos' of Stone Age and Roman times foreshadow the similar ones of later years. Indeed the same ideational process links the ancient ones with those of our own times.

782 Anatomical 'ex-votos' are still preserved in many of the Catholic churches of Malta
and Gozo and in several wayside shrines in the countryside and in niches in the towns.
532 They are either figures of the complete human body or of parts of it. The former consist
755 of the front view of babies with the trunk and limbs swathed in bands like a mummy;
and of side views of men and women in a kneeling posture with their hands joined in prayer over their breasts or else holding a symbolical heart. The men are turned towards the left and the women look towards the right. The models representing parts of the

782 silver medal, seventeen "ex-votos" of silver, and £39 10s. 6d. in cash' (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1894). In November 1961 twenty-two gold rings and thirty-one pairs of gold ear-rings, besides sums of money, were offered as 'ex-votos' at the shrine of St Rita at St Augustine's Priory, Valletta (*Santa Rita*, 1961, p. 192).

DISCUSSION

154 The relief of anxiety is one of the basic needs of the human personality. In a religion-
conditioned community, such as that of the Maltese Islands, one of the most potent
782 defence mechanisms against life-threatening situations consists in prayer and the offer of
771 'ex-votos' to the Godhead in order to receive deliverance in return. Perhaps what
753 underlies this aspect of human behaviour is the idea that sickness and death are punitive
761 measures from the Godhead for lapses committed by oneself, one's relatives, or one's
community. As a matter of fact, the notion that illness is sent by God as a punishment
for sins is still a current folk-belief in the Maltese Islands. The same trend of thought
finds expression in certain depressive psychoses where the patient shows a heightened
feeling of guilt and is convinced that divine wrath has been visited upon himself and his
close relatives in the form of disease or death. It appears, therefore, that the 'ex-voto' is
not a mere token of gratitude for a favour received but is also a propitiatory offering to
appease the offended deity and thus obtain his pardon and the removal of the punish-
154 ment. The element of sacrifice is implied in the self-denying act of surrendering a
precious thing in return for recovery of health or rescue from imminent death, either
782 materially in the shape of money or jewellery, or symbolically in the form of an ana-
● 171 tomical representation of one's body. Whatever the psychological motivation prompting
the offer of 'ex-votos', there is no doubt that they throw an illuminating sidelight on the
part played by religious belief in the history of healing in the Maltese Islands since pre-
historic times. They are also a testimony to the beneficial influence of religious *mores* (1)
in satisfying the natural craving for security felt by the individual and by the community
when faced with the crises of life, and (2) in maintaining morale and the will to live
when the failure of medical skill tends to disorganize and destroy them. Indeed the
'ex-votos' reveal the story of the triumph of hope and faith over the trials and sufferings
of countless generations of Maltese men and women who had found themselves beyond
the help of contemporary science and of human assistance. It is needless to emphasize
the recasting of Maltese religious beliefs after their conversion to Christianity in A.D. 60.
[178] The change from paganism to Catholicism, coupled with technical and cultural de-
velopments, has brought about a parallel modification in the conventional form of the
'votiva'—from the baked clay image, the painted panel, and the wax and silver ana-
tomical models to the exquisite examples of the jeweller's art; but the idea behind the
changed outward sign remains immutable, i.e. the anxiety-relieving value of faith in a
community where belief in an all-controlling God has, for thousands of years, been the
pervasive character of the warp and woof of its cultural and psychological pattern.

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

MALTESE DEATH, MOURNING, AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

764 SIR JAMES FRAZER'S communication of a coroner's note about "Beliefs regarding Death in Cumberland"[1] has suggested to me that I might put on record Maltese funeral customs now extant, some of which are analogous to those noticed in Cumberland.

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Amongst our middle and lower classes the practice still lingers of placing a dish of salt on the stomach of the corpse, whether of a male or of a female. The popular belief in Malta is that the salt prevents early decomposition. Certeux and Carnoy[2] give the following interpretation of a practice by Arabs in Algeria: "*Il est de convenance religieuse . . . de lui poser sur le ventre* [of the dead person] *quelque chose de pesant, afin de prevenir le gonflement.*" One of our Maltese sayings runs:

"*Imût il-ghani u jmut il-fqir*
It-tnejn jitmelhu ghal geũũa il-bîr."

i.e. "Both the rich man and the poor man die, and both are salted for the pit" (a common rock tomb). This may, however, refer to the pickling or preservation of bodies in a saline solution.

764 The covering over of looking-glasses in the room where the body is lying is also practised by several Maltese families. Some go so far as to remove furniture, and turn round or take down pictures, in the death chamber and passages.

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The following are the most characteristic features of existing Maltese practices, many of which are comparable to those of Sicily, while a few show some Eastern influence:—

(*a*) The washing of the dead body before shrouding. This is not a religious rite, and has no connection with that of Islam.

(*b*) The shutting of the eyelids, if open, and the raising of the chin by means of a band, usually a white kerchief, tied on the head.[3]

(*c*) The removal of door knockers and knobs; house doors are kept closed for several days; neighbours half-shut their own.

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[1] Vol. xxxi., p. 154.

[2] *L'Algerie Traditionelle*, p. 223.

[3] This is practised in Algeria. See Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black crape. 764

(*d*) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(*e*) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and watch the corpse for the whole night. This custom prevails mostly in Gozo. In old days official female mourners, named *neũũieha* (from *neũũah*, " to cry ") were employed. The practice was abolished in Malta during the plague of A.D. 1676.[1] Sicilians employed mourners called Praeficae or Reputatrices, a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese female mourners is described by Abela as follows :— 764 767 [175] [731] [171]

> They wore trailing veils (*kurkâr*), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their mourning. 764

(*f*) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is in this way prevented from haunting the house. In some of the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth, and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the [354] [765] [775] [788]

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[1] Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 794. [113]

The belief still lingers that the

764 775 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul of the departed remains above the flame.

764 735 ●171 (*g*) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 178 [177] [192] Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century passed through wide changes and, as in other European countries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 292 178 184 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700. Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 178 Family mourning is generally observed as follows :—

I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

[562] II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days,
after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 171
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 264
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these 516
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom 352
has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain from having their pastry and other food prepared in a
public oven for a period of some months after the death of a
member of the family. 184

IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

Bombazine (without lace) or silk faldettas are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *ċulqana* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
764 extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *żyntier*, from French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
[671] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
[534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a profanation

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital
improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows
and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in
post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to
'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living
above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt.
He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position
and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the
financial point of view, to his commanding position during
the siege.

Today the farmer's standard of living compares
434 unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25,
although the average per capita income for the whole
country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing
and other essential items are often quite exorbitant,
especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954
survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of
northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of
£136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm
labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75
per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn
little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
labourer without field commitments of his own can demand
his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases,
markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who
stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
511 average, a standard of life still slightly below the
434 general level, although the disparity is by no means as
great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Above-average exceptions include those
farmers who have been able to profit from the present
regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large
herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings
or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

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seen perambulating the streets, throughout the towns and villages, each with a small oval-shaped wooden box in hand.

Every child you meet, in wishing you "Is-sena it-tajba" (a Happy New Year) implores the yearly mite, and this he does by shaking his cash, which no doubt consists of some few farthings or halfpennies, whose dulcet jingle, however, fills his little soul with joy.

The practice of giving "l' Istrina" (a small money gift) to these children, to domestic servants and to persons in an inferior position on New Year's Day is a recognised custom in this Island.

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This making of presents on the first day of the year is no doubt of great antiquity, and innocent as is now the custom of giving money gifts to the children and servants on New Year's

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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Day, it was in ancient times done by the heathen Romans as a form of homage to the two-faced *Janus*, the God of the year, especially honoured in that capacity in the first month (January), and the giving of "strina" in January was vehemently denounced by the early council of Auxerre, as an act of Pagan worship.

In the *Monthly Miscellany* for December 1592 there is an essay on New Year's gifts, which state that the Romans were great observers of the custom, even when their year began in March and consisted of 10 months of 36 days each, and also when January and February were added by Numa(*) to the other ten, the calends, or first of

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(*) **Numa**—a celebrated philosopher born at Cures, a village of the Sabines, on the day that Romulus laid the foundation of Rome.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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January, was the time on which they made presents, and even Romulus (1) and Tatius (2) decreed that every year *vervine* (3) should be brought as an offering to them with other gifts, as a token of good fortune for the New Year.

Tacitus (4) makes mention of an order of Tiberius (5) forbidding the giving or demanding of New Year's gifts unless it was in the calends of January, at

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(1) Romulus—the founder of Rome was the son of Mars, he was ranked by the Romans among the 12 great gods, being the founder of their city and Empire, and the son of the god of war.

(2) Tatius—king of Cures among the Sabines, made war against the Romans after the rape of the Sabines. He was murdered at Lanuvium B.C. 792.

(3) *Vervine*—a plant which has been connected with some of the superstitious rites of the Greeks & Romans.

(4) Tacitus—a celebrated historian born in the reign of Nero and was destroyed by the secret dagger of an assassin on the 13th of April in the 276th year of the Christian era.

(5) Tiberius—a Roman Emperor after the death of Augustus.

527 which time the Senators, as well as the
431 knights and other great men, brought
171 gifts to the Emperor, and in his absence
to the Capitol (1).

527 It is also the custom in some places
777 of Malta for men to go about strewing some lime in the door-ways on New Year's day. Some idea of good luck may perhaps be associated with the lime; there is no tradition, however, as far as is known, whence this custom arose.

527 New Year's greetings in the shape
203 of visiting cards, are very profusely exchanged on this occasion, especially among the better classes.

527 Groups of street musicians go from
431 house to house, either on the last day
533 of the old year or on the morning of

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(1) Capitol, the temple of Jupiter at Rome built on the top of a hill.

CANDLEMAS DAY

This is a religious festival observed 796
not only in Malta but in all other Catholic 171
countries in honour of the Blessed Virgin on the 2nd of February, the 40th day after the Nativity of our Lord.

The word Candlemas is evidently 796
derived from the benediction of the [778]
candles, followed by a procession, which takes place in the churches on the morning of this day.

Nearly every family in the Island is 796
presented with one or two of these bles- 794
sed candles—each having at the lower 778 431
end, the image of the Blessed Virgin 354
stamped in gold leaf, as a distinction from other ordinary wax candles.

These they receive either from the priests, or from some other person attached to the church, as a sort of a slight recompense, for the contributions

541 evolutions before the doors of the wealthy, to whom the little girl, who is called "Il gharusa tal parata" (the bride), is taken after the performance to receive some money as a remuneration for the trouble taken by the men, who employ the money they collect in defraying the expenses of the band, and the buying or hiring of the costumes they wear. (*)

541 175 648 The parata is a commemoration of the famous victory which the Maltese gained over the Musulmans in 1565.

• [171] (*) In Dr. Chandler's "Travels in Greece" page 133, we read the following passage which bears great resemblance to our "Parata":

"Some Arabian and black slaves who had obtained their freedom and were settled at Athens had a feast on the performance of the rite of circumcision. The women danced in a ring with sticks in their hands, and turning in pairs, clashed them over their heads at intervals, singing wildly to the music."

796 533 184 the time through the spectators, each adding his quota to the universal clamour. Everything, however, is done in perfect good humour and no one dreams either of giving or taking offence. (*)

EASTER

796 Very early on Easter Sunday, before daylight, there is, in each town and in some of the villages of Malta, a procession with the image representing the Resurrection of our Lord.

The most popular of these processions is undoubtedly that of Valletta.

Large crowds of people assemble, as

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[171] (*) The Greeks celebrate the feast of Easter with singing and shouting in honour of the Resurrection --with crakling of a large bonfire on Easter evening and on Easter morning before daybreak.

(Brand's "Popular Antiquities").

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 times at different parts of the town; the best run, however, which is mostly enjoyed, both by the spectators and the carriers of the statue, is that which takes place at the lower end of Strada Reale on the hill opposite St. Catherine's Church and Convent.

Here large crowds of men are seen ready to help the bearers in the run with the heavy statue up the hill.

After traversing several other streets, the image is deposited in the same church from which it started.

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EASTER EGGS &c.

The custom of eating and presenting *figolli* and round cheese cakes *(kassatat)* is as prevalent in Malta, at Easter, as it is in any other town or country of Italy.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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Maltese children look forward with great anxiety to get either from their parents, or from some friend or relative, a *figolla* at Easter. 796 262 431

The *figolla* consists of a bit of flat baked dough, cut in the shape of a woman, a turk, an eagle, a horse, a star, or a basket, with one or more eggs, having the shell stained red, or some other colour, embedded in its centre and fixed in position by cross bands of paste.

This characteristic rite of Paschal or Easter eggs is most widely diffused. 796 262 171 174

The universal connection of eggs with Eastertide does not seem to rest on any Christian symbolism. This popular observance is clearly of pagan origin.

In pagan imagery the egg was assigned to *Astarte*—the Phœnician Venus—as an emblem of the fructifying

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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796 forces of nature, and may thus have
262 come to be associated with April, the
•171 month held sacred to *Aphroditis* (*), in
174 or near which Easter falls.

We are told that the Jews used eggs in the feast of the Passover, and that when the Persians keep the festival of the Solar New Year (in March) they mutually present each other with coloured eggs. There can be little doubt, however, that the use of eggs at this season was originally symbolical of the revivification of nature, that is, the springing forth of life in spring.

A writer, in the "Gentlemen's Magazine" for July 1783, supposes the Easter egg to be an emblem of the Resurrection of our Lord—in the same manner, as the chicken entombed, as

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(*) The Grecian name of Venus

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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it were, in the egg, in due time bursts 796
its shell and springs forth to life. 262
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Hutchinson (History of Northumberland) says : Eggs were held by the Egyptians as a sacred emblem of the renovation of mankind after the deluge.

The Jews adopted it to suit the circumstances of their History as a type of their departure from the land of Egypt, and it was used in the feast of Passover as a part of the furniture of the table with the Paschal Lamb.

The Christians have certainly used it on this day, containing as it does the elements of future life, as an emblem of the Resurrection. It seems that these eggs were decorated for a religious trophy after the days of lent, which are days of mortification and abstinence.

We know also that the Jews in ce-

796 lebrating their Passover, placed on the
262 table two unleavened cakes called "pass-
•171 over cakes" (*) with hard boiled eggs
174 bound in with slips of paste cross ways on them (†)

Hyde, in his "Oriental Sports" says that the Christians buy eggs at Easter and stain them with a red colour, in memory of the blood of Christ shed for us at the time of the Crucifixion.

That the Roman Catholic Church has considered eggs as emblematical of the Resurrection may be gathered from the Ritual.

St. GREGORY'S DAY

796
General procession

793 This very popular feast, which takes place on the first Wednesday after

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(*) The *figolla*.
(†) Brand's "Popular Antiquities."

529 Nor I nor they themselves do know.
522 But on this day are people sent,
539 On purpose for pure merriment,
And though the day is known before
Yet frequently there is great store
Of these forgetful to be found
Who are sent to dance *Moll*
Dixon's round.
And having tried each shop and stall
And disappointed at them all
At last some tells them of the cheat,
Then they return from the pursuit
And straight way home with shame they run
And others laugh at what is done,
But 'tis a thing to be disputed
Which is the greatest fool reputed,
The man that innocently went
Or he that him design'dly sent."

529 522 171 This custom of imposing upon each other on the 1st day of April, and sending one another upon frivolous, ridiculous and absurd errands, whatever be its origin, appears to be universal throughout Europe.

In France one thus imposed upon, on the 1st of April, is called "un poisson d' Avril," in England such a person is called an "April fool," in Italy "un pesce d' Aprile" and in Scotland a "Gowk." 527 522 171

It is curious that the Hindoos practice precisely similar tricks on the 31st. of March, when they hold what is called the "Huli Festival."

During the "Huli festival" when mirth and festivity reign among the Hindoos of every class, one subject of diversion is to send people on errands and expeditions that are to end in disappointment and raise a laugh at the expense of the person sent.

The "Huli" is always in March and the last day is the general holiday. [114]

Colonel Pearce in his "Asiatic Researches" proves this to have been a cus-

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527 tom, from immemorial time, among the Hindoos. The least inquiry, however, into the ancient customs of Persia, or the minutest acquaintance with the general astronomical mythology of Asia, would have told Colonel Pearce that the boundless hilarity and jocund sports, prevalent during the "Huli Festival" in India, have their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating with festival rites the period of the vernal equinox, or the day when the New Year of Persia anciently began (*)

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ASCENSION DAY
Lapsi

The Maltese celebrate Ascension day by parties and picnics on the water.

(*) Maurice in his "Indian Antiquities."

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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himself, soon after the *Angelus* used to leave his palace, accompanied by the Grand Prior, the Bishop, and two bailiffs, to set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred Hospital. 796 372 175

Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on, of the 8 casks, (*), by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

Various opinions are entertained by antiquarian writers with regard to the origin of these fires on St. John's eve. 796 372 171 174

From the account given by Jakob Grimm in his "Deutsche Mythologie" p. p. 583, 593, it would appear that

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(*) Eight being the languages of the Order.

796 the great blaze reserved for the eve
372 of the feast of the nativity of St.
171
174 John the Baptist on the 23rd. of June, is observed with similar rites in every country of Europe.

The kindling of the fire, the leaping over or through the flames clearly show that these rites are essentially of heathen origin. They are obviously connected with the worship of the sun, and were doubtless practised long before the Baptist was born. In old heathen times the summer and winter solstices were the two greatest and most widespread festivals in Europe.

These fires—says another writer—are evidently a remnant of the ancient Beal fires of the Druids, at the *Beil* time, which was at the beginning of May. But why do they chiefly occur on the night before the festival of the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* 796
time which was the beginning of May? 372
—I do not believe that a satisfactory 171 174
explanation of these circumstances has [114]
yet been given by any of the antiquaries. It was perhaps to transfer the practice or custom of lighting these fires from a Pagan to a Christian object.

The Nativity of St. John the Baptist 796
was a great and solemn festival of 372
the Church, like those of the other great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in the early ages, commemorated with appropriated ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these [776]
was probably introduced a large and [074]

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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527 174 (171) No reason can be assigned for the origin or meaning of keeping St. Martin's feast as a day of merriment among the Maltese. The usage is persisted in without any association or tradition to account for it, but the merry making in the neighbouring island of Sicily at this time of the year, when the new wine is made use of for the first time.

527 262 273 Wine drinkers are of opinion that one can judge best of the flavour of wine after eating some nuts first—this perhaps is the reason why nuts are made so much use of on this merry day.

174 527 Moresin refers the great doings on this occasion to an ancient Athenian festival observed in honour of Bacchus, on the 11th, 12th, and 13th days of the month of *Anthesterion*, corresponding with our November.

MAY DAY

175 527 824 Historians mention that there was a
time in Malta, during the Government
of the Knights of St. John, when it was
customary on the 1st of May to deck
the Grand Master's palace balcony, and
the doors of those who were invested
with the Grand Cross, with branches
[174] of trees. It appears that this sign of
a holiday, which was introduced in
Malta by the families from the island
of Rhodes, was a remnant of the worship
of the sun, formerly adored by the
Rhodians.

171 527 824 Bourne cites Polydor Virgil, as telling us that among the Italians the youth of both sexes were accustomed to go into the fields in the Calends of May, and bring thence branches of trees, singing all the way as they came, and to place them on the doors of their

houses. This, he observes, is a relic of 171
an ancient custom among the Heathens, 527
who observed the last 4 days of April, 824
and the 1st day of May in honour of the goddess *Flora* who was imagined to be the deity presiding over the fruits and flowers.

THE CUCCANJA

This is an entertainment which was 175
formerly given by the Grand Master to 527
the Maltese on Shrove Tuesday, the last day of the Carnival.

Long beams were fixed against the 527
guard house opposite the palace, and 526
between each of the beams, rope-ladders 175
were fastened, the whole being covered over with branches of trees in leaf, to which were tied, from top to bottom, live animals, baskets full of eggs, hams, sausages, and all kinds of provisions.

443 St. Anna, which are celebrated on the
527 24th, 25th, and 26th of July. These
[796] fairs, however, which were once very
[178] popular, have now sunk into insignificance and most likely will before long entirely disappear.

443 Fairs have long been regularly held
• 171 in most parts of Europe and Asia, and they appear to have originated in the Church festivals, which were found to afford convenient opportunities for commercial transactions. The concourse of people being then so such greater than on other occasions.

USAGES

175 The ancient Maltese formerly kept
562 their wives in the strictest retirement. They held the opinion that women should never appear but twice in public,

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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branches of such vines as formed arbours in the courts, disturbed the furniture &c. in all the apartments, overturned the flower pots in the windows, broke some of the ornamental furniture, and carrying the fragments to a retired spot, threw them in a cauldron of boiling water,in which they mixed soot and ashes. With this liquid they stained all the doors in the house howling and sobbing most dismally whilst performing the operation. (*) The *neuuicha* then proceeded to the chamber of the deceased, already in his coffin, and surrounded by his female relations, wearing veils over 764 767 [292]

(*) The custom of mourning for the dead in shrieks and howlings is of great antiquity, and prevails almost universally among the followers of Mahomet. [171] [152]

764 their faces and black silk cloaks. (*)
767 [292] The room being stripped of all its furniture and hung with black cloth.

[302] The *neuuieha*, throwing themselves on
their knees at the foot of the coffin,
began singing the praises of the dead,
and cut off handfuls of their hair which
[262] they spread over the coffin. On the same
[431] day, cakes and boiled wheat were distributed among all the relations, and the
hair was cut off the tails of every horse
at the stables belonging to the house of
the deceased.

764 The funeral procession was always
533 composed of the relations in mourning
preceded by some boys playing the fifes
or trumpets.

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[765] (*) The colours of the dress or habit. worn to signify
[822] grief are different in different countries. In Europe,
[171] the ordinary colour for mourning is black. *Black*, being
the privation of light, is supposed to denote the privation
of life.

PULLEYN *Origin & Inventions.*

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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585 Both Weddings and Funerals are in
764 our days celebrated in Malta in the
171 same manner as in any other civilized
part of the world.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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water, and according to the figure or shape it assumes when it solidifies so will be the fortune of the person who tries the experiment. If the lead becomes bright the maiden is to get a handsome young man for her husband, and lead a happy life with him; if it turns out black the husband will be ugly and the maiden may expect to lead a miserable existence. (*) 787 823

THE BATH

On Easter Sunday as soon as the *Gloria* is sung in the Churches, mothers dip their babies into a bath, in which 755 824

(*) A similar practice is kept up in Denmark, where young women melt lead on New Year's Eve, and after pouring it into water observed in the following morning what form it has assumed. If it resembles a pair of scissors, they will inevitably marry tailors; if a hammer their husbands will be smiths, and so on. [171]

T. Dyer *Domestic Folklore.*

The howling of the dog is ascribed 825
by some to its keen sense of the odour 763
of approaching dissolution.

This superstition which, while not 825
confined to our Island, appears to have 763
been almost as well known in ancient 171
times as at the present day.

Dr. Nathaniel Home, in his "Daemonologie" page 60, says: "If dogs howl in the night near a house where somebody is sick, it is a sign of death."

Capitolinus tells us: that the dogs by their howlings presaged the death of Maximinus.

TINGLING of the EAR

It is a well known superstition among 787
the Maltese that when the ear tingles 826
they usually say that somebody is talking of them. A tingling of the right ear

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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787 826 denotes that a friend is speaking well of one: a tingling of the left, implying the opposite.

•[171] The opinion, from whence this proverbial saying is derived, is of great antiquity, being thus mentioned by Pliny: "Moreover is not this an opinion generally received that when our ears do glow and tingle some there be that in our absence do talk of us?"

MEETING OF WOMEN

846 787 777 If two women who have been confined on the same day meet before forty days, one of them will suffer some misfortune either in her own person or in that of her child.

THE MONTH OF MAY

777 May is considered as the month of accidents, and consequently many be-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

827 prevails in Malta as in other parts of the world. (*)

DREAMS

987 There is also a popular superstition in Malta to give interpretation to certain dreams.

The Maltese say that to dream of

[997] (a) fish betokens good luck

(b) the sea foreshews a great trouble

● [191] (*) Carolus Sigonius in his Hist. of Italy would deduce this custom from a pestilence that happened in the time of Gregory the Great (about the year 750) that proved mortal to such as sneezed.

In Brand's "Popular Antiquities" we read that the custom of saluting a person who sneezed was accounted very ancient, even in the time of Aristotle, who in his Problems has endeavoured to account for it, but knew nothing of its origin. According to him, the first men prepossessed with the ideas concerning the head as the principal seat of the soul, carried their respect to sternutation, as the most manifest and the most sensible operation of the head. Hence those several forms of compliments used on similar occasions amongst Greeks and Romans: *Long may you live, May you enjoy health.*

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178 so fervently Christian. The reason lies, perhaps, in their
795 Catholicism. The Faith has a tolerant and not unfriendly eye for many of the Old Things. It is hard to think of St. Francis being unkind to a leprechaun.

The savants make much argument about Malta's folklore. The wish being often father to their able reasoning, they will prove from it that the Maltese are Phoenician or Arab or Italian with equal conviction. Like the Cornishman who will tell you that the Hobby Horse was invented to frighten away the French, the people themselves know little if anything of the reasons why certain tales are told, certain things done; but, from birth to grave, the Old Things—often recognisable, but always with their peculiar Maltese twist—make intermittent appearances in the lives of Zeppu[1] and Grez.[1]

Some of them even have so far won the good opinion of Mother Church as to be granted a place in her own ceremonies.

ON GETTING BORN

844 The Maltese baby—boy or girl—gets born with very little
824 fuss, and is always welcome. In Gozo, or in what remains of country, some friend of the mother will assist the arrival of the little one, bringing into the house with her the withered bud of a certain rose. The flower is placed in water and slowly opens. At the moment of its fullest opening the child is born.
844 Here is clearly a very ancient magic. The association of the
824 rose with Motherhood, with Life, and indeed with Godhead
171 itself, is as old as time. In the Litany of Loretto, the Virgin Mother is invoked as "Rosa Mystica"—"Mystical Rose." Dante saw the innermost circle of the heavenly spheres as a rose. The Brahmins, the Persians, and the Jews all attached
844 a high mystic symbolism to the rose. The simple peasant,
824 setting her rosebud in water, little knows what forgotten gods

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[1] Popular personifications of the peasant and his wife.

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539 cess and releases all the captives, including his seven elder brothers.

539 This story bears traces of a number of legends. The princess may well be Summer, wedded to Autumn, the season with
● 171 the golden teeth of ripe corn. Imprisoned throughout the winter, the failure of the seven brothers to rescue her may represent the brighter periods of the Maltese mid-winter, followed by the wild weather of early spring. The recurrence of the number seven, in the seven sons and the seven doors is interesting. Seven has always borne a sacred character. It is associated with Indra from whom the seven great rivers of Hindu mythology are supposed to flow. Ishtar or Astarte was clothed in seven garments and passed through seven gates when she descended into the Underworld. Certain details of ths Assyrian and Phoenician story of Ishtar's visit to the underworld suggest that the captive Princess is herself no other than that once powerful goddess whose temples are known to have existed in Malta. Ishtar, descending into the Land of Darkness is admitted on condition that at each of the seven gates she shall shed one of the seven mystic garments from which she draws her divine power. In the Maltese tale, the Evil One causes the princess to remove her shoes—for no reason that is now apparent. At last Ishtar stands before the Queen of the Underworld naked and helpless. She is stricken with all manner of diseases from which she recovers at last when a rescuer, created by her father, the God of Light, releases her and bathes her in the Waters of Life. In the Maltese version it is in connection with the serpent that the Waters of Life appear.

In detailing the attributes of Pietru's seven brothers, the story omits to give any special power to the seventh brother. It may be that there were originally only six brothers, making the monstrous child-hero one of those seven sons, world-renowned for their magic powers.

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Pietru Lagrimanti's strange birth has a parallel in Egyptian mythology, where a man is born of the tears of the deity Nu who personified the Celestial Ocean from which the life-force even of the gods themselves was drawn. 539 / 71

Armed with his great hammer, "Il Lagrimanti" resembles the Dragon Slayers of every mythology, from Bel-Marduk of the Assyrians to Thor of the Scandinavians and Finn M'Cull of the Celts; but he is sadly fallen from his high estate and become a figure of fun, with his huge head and his shirt too long for him. A primitive respect for deformity or else some modification of the monstrous shapes of a pagan Pantheon may account for the baby's misshapen figure. The long shirt has clearly been added to provide a comic figure of the sort dear to the Maltese sense of the ridiculous.

The stories of the Kaukam and of Pietru Lagrimanti are but two of many tales in which pursuit of the Old Things, through the labyrinth which time has built around them, is a fascinating pastime. Enough has been said to illustrate the way in which a tenacious handful of peasants has handed down, through the centuries, legends of great antiquity—in some cases nearly intact. 539

GROWN UP

The Maltese—a people as old as time—are a people who never grow up. In this lies their chief charm. For Zeppu the passing of childhood means only an understanding of the ancient price of manhood: 885

> "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the earth, out of which thou wast taken. . . ."

For Grez the flowering into womanhood brings only the divine command:

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> "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children and thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee. . . ."

In all other things they remain children and "of such is the Kingdom. . . ."

So that the curse of Adam may lie less heavily upon these children of an unfertile rock, the Old Things have blessed them with an uncanny ability to make flowering fields out of nothing.[1]

THE SKY AND THE SOIL

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● 171
[369]

The weather and husbandry lore of the peasant has much to do with the success of his untiring hands. Much of this peasant wisdom is incomprehensible to the town-bred Maltese (too often they have lost touch or dismiss it—in hybrid Italian—as *ignuranza*); much of it has exact parallels in the lore of the English countryside, as for example the following:

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Maltese	*English*
"The Moon eats everything."	"Fair weather with a full moon."
"The stars wink at the coming wind."	"Twinkling stars foretell high winds."
"Sky like a turtle's back; heavy rains, fierce winds."	"A rounded cloud with flattened base carries rainfall in its face."
"Clouds with heads of men and beasts bring in the thunder and the lightning."	

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[1] During the early years of the last century Malta's cotton crop was valued at an average of one and a half millions sterling annually. The cotton industry, dating from Roman times and earlier, is now practically dead.

Maltese	*English*	
"Red sky at evening, harness your mules. Red sky at morning, herd your beasts."	"Red sky at night, Shepherd's delight. Red sky in the morning Shepherd's warning."	821 171 ● 539
"Ill weather comes, ahead or astern, when the cat sneezes."	"The cat washes herself before stormy weather."	[825]

Often it appears that sheer nonsense is mixed with sound common sense. Typical of the mixed "sense" and "nonsense" is the following: 245 824 242

> "The first autumnal produce of the wild fig is called by the Maltese *Barru*. A second crop which takes place in winter is supposed to be due to the outcome of the first produce. This is called *Carru*, and is supposed to bring forth the third outcrop which appears in spring time and is recognized as the *dukkar* or real fertilizer of the fig. This fruit is cut and hung up in pairs on the bough of the fig tree.
>
> "The male fruit (*dukkar*) is usually full of a colony of minute winged insects by the produce of which, the Maltese husbandman identifies the real fertilizing fruit. [825]
>
> "The pomegranate is supposed to be fertilized by the flowers of the wild parsnip, and for this purpose bunches of these flowers are thrown over the pomegranate tree when in flower. *Dakra*, probably from *dakar* = to fertilize, is the name given to the wild parsnip by the Maltese husbandman.
>
> "The male flowers of the wild carob-tree (*baghal*) are thrown over the branches of the female plant to favour impregnation.
>
> Small pieces of coarse stone are still hung up in the jujube-tree with a view to securing a good produce. 241 823

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241 Husbandmen would still consider that queer operation
823 as a medium of impregnation (*Dukkar*). This strange
● [171] usage may, however, be traced amongst the *fellahin* of
Upper Egypt, where, as Professor Sayce points out in his contribution to the *Cairene and Upper Egypt Folklore* (Folklore, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1920, p. 200) phallic symbols are still hung up to protect the melons and sugar-cane. The old Maltese practice of hanging up stones to the jujube-tree may therefore be considered as a modification of this early phallic worship."[1]

The sense contained in these practices requires no elucidation. The horticulturist with his camel hair brush does no better than the peasant with the male carob flowers. The votive stones are a silent appeal to the oldest and greatest of the Old Things, to the All-Father, Giver of Life and Fertility, whose ancient and enduring image, from Drizzlecombe in Devon to the High Places of Melanesia, is the Rock or Stone without shape—the altar of "The Unknown God"—"Thou art Peter and upon this Rock. . . ."

[538] Traces of this rock-cult are plentiful enough in Maltese folklore. Children who throw stones into a well or into the sea will one day have to gather them up by their eyelashes. The "old stones" (i.e. *menhir*) resent being moved and are, for that reason, twice as heavy as ordinary stones.

751 "St. Paul's tongue"—a valuable amulet against the evil-
825 eye and against all venoms—takes the form of fossilized teeth
776 found in the ancient rocks. The blessed tongue which preached the gospel of the Redeemer is enshrined for ever in rock, the symbol of the Father.

776 St. Paul's rock-cell, in which he is reputed to have lived,
823 has the miraculous property that no matter how much of the rock is cut away its bulk grows no less—a clear expression

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[1] Lecture by Mr. Cremona at the University of Malta in 1922.

584 824 will walk up and down the village street wearing a red carnation behind his right ear and a red handkerchief thrown over his left shoulder. The shy maiden will be peeping from behind the latticed window, probably accompanied by one or two giggling, curious younger sisters.

The symbolic bush has about it something of the atmosphere of the Song of Solomon:

> My beloved is unto me as a
> cluster of camphire in the vineyards of En-Gedi . . .
>
> I am the Rose of Sharon and
> the lily of the valleys. . . .
>
> A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse . . .
>
> Awake, O North Wind; and come, thou south;
> blow upon my garden that the spices
> thereof may flow out.
> Let my beloved come into his garden,
> and eat his pleasant fruits.

[822] ● [171] The red carnation and the red handkerchief, badges of the lover, are of that colour which is sacred to Venus. The wearing of the flower has its parallel amongst the Polynesians, to whom a red flower behind the right ear means "I am looking for a sweetheart."

584 Official "courting" will not begin until the "go-between" and the parents have arranged matters to everybody's satisfaction.

585 801 171 After the religious ceremony the young folk separate, returning to their homes for a period of eight days before setting up house. The reason for the choice of the number "eight" may not be without significance; for eight, it is said, was one of the signs of the goddess Astoreth, while the ancient Egyptians had a company of eight gods who were the Fathers and Mothers of the World. The double form of the figure "8"

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was anciently used to represent the tying of Life with Spirit. 585
Its association with the "True Lovers' Knot" of our grandmothers is obvious. There is Biblical authority, too, for the 801 171 ●
separation of husband from wife, in the incident between Tobias and the Angel Raphael.

Tobias (or Tobit) is about to be wedded to the maiden whose former seven husbands have been slain on the bridal night by an evil spirit. The angel says, "For they who in such manner receive matrimony as to shut out God from themselves. to their lust, as the horse and mule, which they have not understanding. Over them the devil hath power. . . . Keep thyself continent from her. . . ."[1]

So far the marriage customs which remain extant—only one or two generations separate Zeppu and Gretz from the more primitive customs. Here is what a Maltese writer has 584
to say of marriages in the not very distant past:

> "The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.
>
> The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.
>
> Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two [789]
> young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of rendering her affable and prudent. She was then con- [301]
> ducted into the room where her future husband awaited

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[1] *Tobias*, VI, 17–18.

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continually fed by the scores of by-standers who take 796
great delight in throwing amidst the flames some old 372
rickety piece of furniture which they consider as lumber in their houses. Lots of happy and reckless children, and very often men, are seen merrily leaping in succession over and through the crackling flames."[1]

At the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the 175
Grand Master himself, soon after the *Angelus*, used to 796
leave his palace, accompanied by the Grand Prior, the 372
Bishop and two bailiffs, to set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred hospital.

Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on, of the eight casks,[2] by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

Various opinions are entertained by antiquarian writers 796
with regard to the origin of these fires on St. John's Eve. 372

From the account given by Jacob Grimm in his 171
Deutsche Mythologie, pp. 583, 593, it would appear that the great blaze reserved for the eve of the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist on June 23rd is observed with similar rites in every country of Europe.

The kindling of the fire, the leaping over or through the flames clearly show that these rites are essentially of

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[1] Leaping over the fires is mentioned among the superstitious rites at the Palilia feasts, instituted in honour of *Pales*, the goddess of shepherds (in the calends of May) in Ovid's Fasti.

"Moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
traijcias celeri strenua membra pede."

The learned Moresin appears to have been of opinion that the custom of leaping over these fires is a vestige of the ordeal, where to be able to pass through fires with safety, was held to be an indication of innocence.

[2] Eight being the languages of the Order.

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heathen origin. They are obviously connected with the worship of the sun, and were doubtless practised long before the Baptist was born. In old heathen times the summer and winter solstices were the two greatest and most widespread festivals in Europe.

These fires (says another writer) are evidently a remnant of the ancient Bel fires of the Druids, at the *Beil* time, which was at the beginning of May. But why do they chiefly occur on the night before the festival of the Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* time which was the beginning of May? I do not believe that a satisfactory explanation of these circumstances has yet been given by any of the antiquaries. It was perhaps to transfer the practice or custom of lighting these fires from a pagan to a Christian object.

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The Nativity of St. John Baptist was a great and solemn festival of the Church, like those of the other great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in the early ages, commemorated with appropriate ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the Patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these was probably introduced a large and unusual exhibition of lights to typify the Baptist who, in the Gospel, is called by the Saviour himself 'A burning, shining light.' What could have been more natural than that the early Christian authorities would have directed the people to light their anniversary fires on the eve of this Saint, and thus give to the national custom a Christian instead of a pagan significance? To this feeling, most likely, is due the transfer of the fires to June 23rd, and perhaps, too, this perpetuation to this day amongst the people.

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Dr. Milner is of opinion that the fires lighted up all over the continent, on the eve of June 24th, are not intended as the idolatrous worship of the sun or *Baal*, the Philistine God of Fire, but in honour of Christ's precursor, as alluding to his character of bearing witness to the light (John i. 7) and of his being himself a bright and shining light (John v. 35)."

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It is of some interest to compare the Maltese account with the following notes on English Midsummer customs which appeared in the *Radio Times* recently under the signature of Felix Felton, compere of so many excellent folklore broadcasts:

> "Midsummer's Eve is also St. John's Eve. . . . Sermons on that day used to be preached out of doors in the quadrangle of Magdalen College, Oxford, 'that the preaching might more nearly resemble that of John the Baptist in the wilderness'; and bonfires were lighted in various parts of the country, 'betokennynge that Saint Johan was a lanterne of light to the people.' Then comes a collection of curious legends and superstitions connected with certain herbs. The legends attribute to these all kinds of magical powers; women, it is said, can tell by hempseed[1] who their husband is to be; and in Shropshire it was believed that those who failed to hang up St. John's Wort outside their doors would suffer by their cows going dry and their hens refusing to lay. Finally come the Midsummer's Eve revels and festivals—the old London processions, the revels at Penzance, the gatherings at Stonehenge, and the bonfire festivities still held to-day. . . .
>
> As varied as the customs themselves are the possible

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[1] Compare the reference to hempseed in "The Sweetheart's Bargain."

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explanations of them. Two kinds of explanations have 796
to be treated with some caution, the local one and the 171
Christian one . . . and we shall find ourselves going back for the true causes to the worship of the sun and of the seasons.

The revel, easily degenerating into the brawl, has always found opposition, as in the thunderous verse of an old poet who branded the Midsummer processions as

> Of Edinburgh the great idolatrie
> And manifest abomination.

Other forces have militated against them besides the disapproval of the austere. As another old writer has rather obscurely remarked: 'No suffimen is a greater fugator of phantosmes than gunpowder.' Other such fugators are periods of increased popular education and of quickened pace in national life. These forces have been active enough in our own times, and few Midsummer customs have survived them; but all of them were originally the spontaneous outcome of certain impulses in the make-up of human beings, and thus, past or present, they are of permanent interest to us."

There seems little doubt that the Night of Fires belongs 372
to that very early civilization of which, as has been suggested 796
elsewhere, the Maltese are amongst the direct descendants. 174
What more appropriate than the adaptation of these ancient fires to the honour of that Saint beneath whose banner there happened all that is most valiant in Maltese history?

In one form or another practically all the "seasonal" customs 796
familiar in other countries appear in Malta: All Fools' Day, [527]
with its affinity to the Hindu festival of Huli; May Day, when [171]
the children gather green bows in honour of Flora; New Year's Day, when lime is strewn on doorsteps in token of good luck; but Malta's most popular holiday is the period of Carnival. Its

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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taught to wave, while the band plays the national anthem, 796
'God Save the King.' In the time of the Order they proceeded to the palace to receive permission for the celebration of the Carnival. Their request was signified to the Grand Master by one of the knights, and upon the boon being granted, they immediately performed a dance in front of the palace, and afterwards before the door of any other person, whom they thought would pay them for their trouble.

The origin of this amusement must be sought for in 796 the annals of pagan rites, which Christianity has not 171● succeeded in abolishing in several countries of Europe. In a work on Malta, *Par un voyageur François*, the author ranks it with a popular feast very ancient in Thessaly, the *Salzea* of the Babylonians, the *Chronia* of the Athenians, and the *Saturnalia* of Rome, which many of the early Christians continued, notwithstanding the zealous efforts which were made by the Church to abolish them."

It will be noted that the public "masque" was regarded 796 as "an absurd and foolish diversion." The "diversion" must 656 at some time have proved rather more dangerous than absurd, for the wearing of masks after sunset is now forbidden by law. It is of interest also to note that an attempt on the part of a strict Sabbatarian Governor who hailed from north of [669] the Tweed to abolish the merrymaking on the Sunday of Carnival led to a major civil disturbance which could only be quelled at bayonet point, and which is still remembered by those who are, for one cause or another, "agin' the Government!"

DYING

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Zeppu's tired hands are at rest. They lie, brown and calloused, upon the coverlet. The village bell tolls urgently. The *fratelli*

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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The fratelli

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794 —lay brethren of the congregation—hurry from their homes to take their places in the procession of the Viatecum. Marching rapidly, like a company of soldiers, headed by a peasant ringing a staccato, commanding bell, some bearing tapers, some censers, all chanting the prayers for the dying, they pass quickly through the village street. Under a canopy, borne by two sturdy *fratelli*, goes the priest in his bright vestments, bearing God to the dying man. [793]

The women hurry to place a light in their windows, kneel and pray as God passes.

So, with such poor pomp as these simple folk can muster, the Prince of Peace comes to dying Zeppu. The funeral rites and customs differ hardly at all nowadays from those of other Catholic countries. But Zeppu's grandfather could remember a time when the Old Things were much in evidence. 764 [171]

764
767 There were the "Wailing Women" (whose name *newuicha* survives in the sense of "one who constantly complains"). They wore long black robes, and chanted death-songs whose burden was a combination of praise for the deceased's virtues and rebuke for his having left them. They cut the vines from the courtyard, overturned the furniture, broke pottery, and mixed the fragments with soot and ashes, staining the doors of the bereaved house with the mixture. They cut pieces of their hair and scattered them over the coffin. [302]

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[262]
[764] If the dead man possessed horses, cows, goats, all their tails had pieces cut from them in token of mourning. There was a form of "wake" where funeral cakes and boiled wheat were eaten. A carpet was spread over the tomb to prevent the unware from treading on it.

[372]
[302] No fire was lit in the house for three days after the funeral. The women kept to the house for forty days. The men, having remained indoors for seven days, went unshaven.

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174 Here are clear signs of the most primitive funeral rites and *taboos*. Death was a pollution—hence the segregation of

527 173 584 would insist on the stipulation being inserted in their marriage settlement, their *kitba taz-zwieġ*, that their husbands should take them to the Mnarja every year.

526 361 The banners given in prizes to the present day are long and narrow pieces of brocade of different colours called *paliu*, which it is the custom of the fortunate winners to take back to their casals to be used as the altar-cloth of the parish church for the ensuing year. The casals, it should be explained, are the 'villages' of Malta, if 'village' is the appropriate term, for they are stone-built compact townships with populations often running into five figures. The Maltese word for them is *hal*.

291 Again, our visitor will learn that the *faldetta* or *ghonnella*—the true Maltese term is *stamina*—of the Maltese women does not owe its existence, as some people allege, to the need for defence against the excessive gallantry of Bonaparte's troops, but is of much more ancient origin. If proof were needed, there is in the Royal Malta Library a print of the year 1576 showing a Maltese lady wearing the national head-dress. The *ghonnella* is a voluminous hood of rich silk—black everywhere save in the villages of Zabbar and Zejtun, where it is blue and is called *xurqana*—stiffened inside the top edge by a piece of cardboard about a yard long, one end of which rests on the head, while the other end has to be held. Originally, it was really, like the Turkish *charshaf*, a skirt or petticoat (which is what the word *ghonnella* means) thrown up over the head. Later it was curtailed, for which reason it is sometimes called *nofs ghonnella*, a half skirt; but it is still cut to show the placket-hole—in point of fact, half the placket-hole—of the garment from which it has sprung.

[191] This striking and picturesque mode of female adornment or, rather, concealment constitutes Malta's one characteristic article of dress and is the local method of shrouding a woman's face and form, a custom common to southern latitudes from as far east as India to as far west as the Azores,

although the Maltese form was probably dictated by the 291 need to cover the head when entering a church. Its one [171] drawback is that it takes up a lot of space, more space, [494] unfortunately, than is available in the motor-bus, modern Malta's form of land transport. Let it be hoped that it will survive these disabilities, for it is not only unique but also an asset if those of the younger generation who have abandoned it in favour of the banal dress of everywhere else would only realize the fact, enhancing beauty while discreetly veiling any imperfections. These young ladies should ponder the words of Monsieur André Maurois in his little sketch of Malta:

> When its wearer moves, the *faldetta* is filled with air, and the Maltese girls, tripping in twos and threes along the streets, look like flotillas of graceful barques with black sails, blown along their course by the wind of destiny.

Oddly enough another French visitor and Academician anticipated by just a century, and in almost the same terms, Monsieur Maurois's charming flight, or perhaps echo, of fancy. Monsieur de Lamartine, visiting Malta with his English wife in 1832, describes the *ghonnella* as

> a half-cloak of black silk . . . of a light texture caught by a breeze, suggesting the sail of a skiff whose capricious folds alternately conceal and reveal the mysterious figure of the wearer, which seems able to escape at will from its embrace.

In the Malta of an earlier age, when the lives of Maltese 562 women and girls were closely circumscribed, the *ghonnella* 291 was not the only aid to their seclusion. Those who wander 342 about the country districts will notice here and there that the 584 older farmhouses have no windows giving on to the street; 824 the Maltese countrywoman, like her Spanish sister, had to turn her face inward, not outward. But what the houses had, and some still retain, were stone brackets on the outer wall, made to hold the pots of sweet basil which showed that

Within the clay, rounded grains of quartz, augite, felspars and tourmaline have been recorded (Cooke 1893) and the fossils include pectens and *Aturia aturi*. These are of pelagic habit and similar to those typical of the true 'schlier' facies. 133

4. Greensand

The greensand is a coarse, orange-brown, thick bedded fragmental limestone which usually forms the base to the Upper Coralline Limestone cliffs. In the unweathered state an abundance of glauconite gives the rock a green colour. The thickness reaches a maximum of 50 feet in south-west Malta but it is usually about half this figure. In other places the formation is absent. The boundary with the Blue Clay below is very abrupt and, around the coasts, landslips commonly begin there. The upper boundary is often more difficult to define.

Frequently the rock is full of giant Foraminifera and has been termed a 'Heterostegina Rock' (Murray, 1890). Such developments are common on Gozo and near Dingli, Malta (4468). The formation has yielded a very rich echinoid fauna including *Clypeaster*, *Heteroclypeus* and *Echinolampas* together with shark teeth and the remains of dugongs, manatees, dolphins and whales.

5. Upper Coralline Limestone

This is the youngest Tertiary formation in the islands. Generally it caps the highest hills but, especially in northern Malta, faults bring it down to sea level. On Comino a thickness of some 250 feet is exposed and 530 feet was penetrated in a borehole near the centre of the Binġemma Syncline (4374) without reaching the bottom. Usually only about 100 feet is preserved on the high land. The rock varies considerably. Frequently it is composed of large growths of the coralline alga *Lithothamnium* with marly partings between the growths. In places it is a dense crystalline limestone and elsewhere there are thick marly seams rich in fossils. Compact limestone predominates, however, and it is usually poorly bedded. On Gozo the stone has been quarried as 'Gozo Marble' [316] which is hard, red to yellow in colour and taking a good polish. Petrologically the formation is very similar to the Leithakalke of the Vienna Basin with which it has been correlated (Fuchs 1874).

Fossils other than algae are locally abundant and they include the echinoids *Cidaris*, *Clypeaster*, *Schizaster*, *Echinus*, *Brissus* and *Echinolampas* together with abundant Foraminifera and large mollusca.

PLEISTOCENE AND RECENT DEPOSITS

These deposits may be conveniently divided into first, the valley loams and sands, second, the coastal conglomerates and breccias, third, the bone deposits in caves and fissures and finally the prehistoric remains.

The only widespread areas of valley deposits with stratified sands, loams and gravels of fluviatile origin are in the valley areas behind Mellieħa, St. Paul's, and Salina Bays.

Conglomerates and coastal breccias, often with Pleistocene Mollusca, occur in small patches around the Marfa Ridge, St. Paul's Bay, Mellieħa Bay, Għar Lapsi, Bengħisa Point (5863) and St. Thomas Bay (6067). They usually form a moderately cemented rock composed of local material (Trechman 1938).

The Pleistocene ossiferous deposits, filling caves and fissures in the limestones, have yielded numerous interesting animal remains. The Għar Dalam Cave (5765) is the most celebrated but there are others at Qrendi, Żebbuġ, Mellieħa and Malak. The oldest faunas include Pleistocene dwarf hippopotomi, pygmy elephants, dormice and swans and a later deposit has horse and deer.

Stone Age remains include 15 temples, the best of which is perhaps Tarxien, Malta (5669) which has provided vessels and amulets as well as statuettes of grotesquely fat divinities (Zammit 1930), but others are very fine, especially Ħaġar Qim, Malta (4965) and Ġgantija, Gozo (3489). There is also a three-storied Hypogeum at Pawla. The complex system of cart tracks, with cross roads and junctions, are probably also of neolithic age. A detailed cultural sequence based on potsherds has recently been described by Evans (1954, 1959). 172

133 Valletta which gives way, in the extreme south-east, to southerly dips. The only important dislocation is the Malak Fault at Għar Lapsi which strikes NW and downthrows south-west at least 800 feet.

The westerly structural low brings the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone less than 100 feet above sea level between Qlejgħa (4072) and Baħrija (4171). But the region is very much complicated by shallow folds and faults. There is a general structural rise to the south-east, however, and this culminates near ta'Zuta (4566) where the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone is over 300 feet above sea level.

The main north-south anticlinal belt through central Malta was first recognised by Sir Edward Bailey. It is not, however, a simple ridge but forms several upwarps. The main domes are around Naxxar (4974), near Żebbuġ (4970) and north-east of Għar Lapsi (4865). The first and last of these domes brings the top of the Globigerina Limestone over 400 feet above sea level.

The broad Valletta basin which centres on the Grand Harbour must carry the top of the Lower Coralline Limestone a few hundred feet below sea level. To the north the structures rise to give the outcrops of Lower Coralline Limestone north of Sliema (5574) and to the west they rise towards the central anticlinal belt. To the south-west the rise culminates near Żurrieq (5265) and to the south, after rising to give the Lower Coralline Limestone inliers near Zabbar (5870) and Kospikwa (5771) the strata dip regularly to the south-east. Younger and younger strata are therefore regularly exposed in that direction and the highest beds, the Upper Globigerina Limestone, crop out on the peninsula of Delimara Point (6064).

The Malak Fault at Għar Lapsi (4864) downthrows the Upper Coralline Limestone at least 800 feet to seaward. The fault strikes NW and forms a conjugate association with the more usual NE or ENE striking faults. The fault plane is well exposed, and dips steeply seaward. The fault between Ta Berwiek (4864) and Deub il-Bagdal (4964) is double, enclosing a thick sliver of Globigerina Limestone.

The Age of the Faulting

The faults of the islands form prominent scarp faces and in many cases the actual fault planes show up as walls marked with original slickensiding. This suggests that the faulting must be quite recent. Indeed, Pleistocene Mollusca have been recorded in a crushed conglomerate caught up in the Malak Fault. ● [172] The neolithic cart tracks which enter the sea at St. George's Bay, Birżebbuga and other places show that there has been even more recent movement of the islands.

114 This account is based in part upon a field survey of Malta and Gozo carried out at the expense of British Petroleum Company Ltd., in March-April, 1955. The geologists engaged in the work, in addition to the authors, were Dr. M. H. P. Bott and Dr. A. A. Wilson, also of the Durham Colleges' Geology Department. The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to the Directors of the Company for permission to publish this summary. In addition visits were made in 1958 and 1960.

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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Plate VII. Upper Coralline Plateau.
"Cart ruts" on karstic wasteland. Man-made fields, some now abandoned, superimposed.

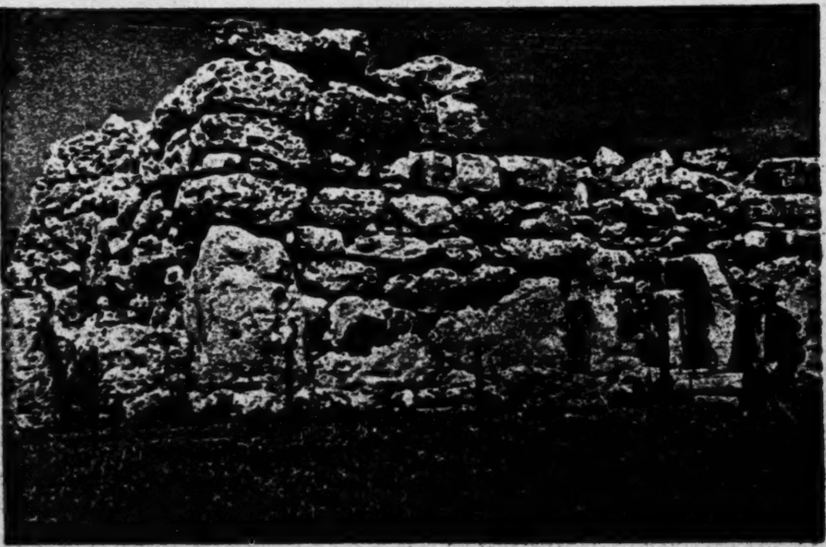

Plate VIII. Ġgantija.

[P.103]

Chapter IV

MALTA BEFORE A.D. 1800

A. Malta before the Knights

The Maltese Islands were probably first settled towards the end of the third 121 millenium B.C.; certainly there is no evidence of any earlier occupation. From 17 this time onwards, the landscape has had stamped upon it the successive imprints of a series of cultures and culture-contacts. This is not the place to attempt a detailed analytical history, but any study of a region and its people must consider time as well as place. In Malta we have, in the course of our fieldwork, continually felt an extraordinarily strong sense of continuity, an insistence that much which is contemporary can only be understood in terms of the past, and often of the remote past. Conversely, a close examination of the landscape can help to illuminate the past in a strictly historical sense.

The sort of question which arises in an investigation of the rural landscape 172 may be exemplified by the much-debated problem of 'cart-ruts'. On some of the expanses of bare rock which exist in various parts of the island of Malta are deeply incised grooves, in dual and parallel alignment, sometimes in isolation, often in complex 'tramway' patterns (Plate VII). Various attempts have been made to explain them (1) but with little success. We are certain only of their approximate age. To the prehistorian they are of obvious direct interest. To ourselves they are irritatingly fascinating because of the indirect and obscure evidence which they seem to offer of the nature of the processes which have operated on the land of Malta. Were they friction-incised through a soil cover by skid-carts? If this is so, then the soil cover must not only have been more extensive than at present but must also have evolved under different climatic and edaphic conditions from those with which we are now familiar. What can we deduce from the present limited exposure of the ruts and from the fact that often they appear to have been blotted out by cultivation? The traditional answer, as put forward by Zammit (2), is that they carried sledges for the collection [114] and transport of soil so that man could concentrate the soil in field plots. Thus field-making inevitably covered the ruts except on the ridges and bluffs. There are defects in these and other explanations, none of which come near to helping us to estimate the number and kind of people involved.

The settlements, too, present problems. Thus the archaeologist: 'The curious and complete absence of settlement-sites throughout the prehistoric period, which also holds good for the Punic and later periods, seems susceptible of only one explanation. The best sites must have been chosen for settlement very early in the islands' occupation and these have remained centres of habitation until the present day' (3). May we then assume that, with the exception of the 'lost villages' of more recent times, the settlement pattern of today results from continual addition to, and an absence of erasures from the palimpsest? The answer is not only of chronological interest but has an essential place in any analysis of present-day Malta.

For such reasons as these we have attempted in this section to give a time perspective to the Maltese picture in order to help our present understanding.

The first Maltese would seem to have been Neolithic farmers using impressed ceramic ware of a type associated with the *Stentinello* culture of eastern Sicily. The stylistically earliest wares of Ghar Dalam (I) (Fig. 29) are associated with megalithic temples already well enough developed to have lost their original tomb character and to have become cult centres. These and later temples, built during the eight centuries before *c.* 1500 B.C. (Period I), are impressive and surviving contributions to the landscape by the first Neolithic people. Megalithic rock-tombs have been found at Xemxija and probably from this type of structure there evolved five distinct and successive phases of temple architecture. The earliest are those of Mgarr (II) and Xewkija (III) with a simple

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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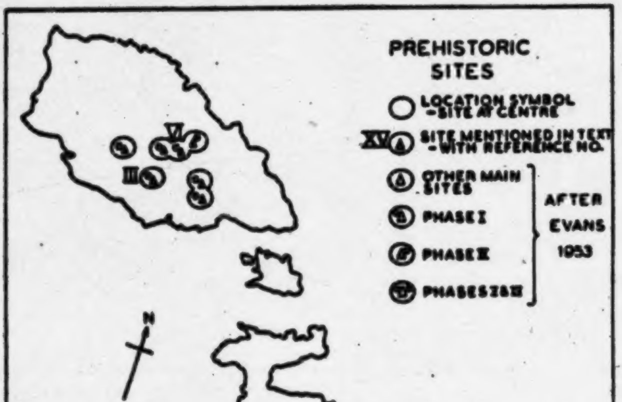
PREHISTORIC SITES
LOCATION SYMBOL - SITE AT CENTRE
XV SITE MENTIONED IN TEXT - WITH REFERENCE NO.
OTHER MAIN SITES
PHASE I
PHASE II
PHASES I & II
AFTER EVANS 1953
N
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
X
XI
XII
XIII
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XV
JCD 1959

Fig. 29 Prehistoric Sites.

172 clover-leaf plan of shrine and forecourts, associated with 'cut-out' styled ware also with *Stentinello* affiliations. By a little after 2000 B.C., a late Mġarr temple type had evolved contemporaneously with pottery of a more individual style as found in the Żebbuġ tombs (IV). In the latter, red ochre and flint have also been found, both imported from the Sicily-Lipari region. At Kordin (V) (Corradino), a more highly developed temple was built with embryonic apses opening off the centre court and in Gozo, at Ġgantija (VI), an early gigantic trefoil was further developed in this form (Plate VIII). At Ġgantija and Hagar Qim (VII) a penultimate stage foreshadowed the later climacteric. The buildings and individual stones became of immense size and, for the first time, the softer

Globigerina stone was used for the interior walls while the exterior remained of Upper Coralline. The Globigerina slabs were finely dressed and show the beginnings of ornamentation which was already being exuberantly applied to pigmented wares. Piggott (4) has maintained that, in this fourth phase of temple-building, in ceramic development and in the Hal Saflieni Hypogeum (VIII) (an underground ossuary), the Maltese tradition achieved its most characteristic individuality. Finely-worked flints and shell ornaments, known since the Żebbuġ phase, continued in use. The simple representational art in clay and bone, characteristic of the earliest period, evolved through the 'Statue-Menhir' of Żebbuġ to the fine figurines of this penultimate period (5). The 'scratched' decoration, so different from the painted wares of the Aegean entering Sicily, in particular emphasise the 'mysterious isolation and insularity' of Malta during this period. Evans (6) suggests that 'The Islands remained, as they were to do once more when the Greeks colonised the same areas of Sicily a millenium later, unaffected by this movement of Aegean peoples'.

At some time between 1700 and 1500 B.C. this culture, which had become indigenously rooted, reached its final flowering as a result of contacts with Cycladic and Mycenean cultures. The Mnajdra temple (IX) and those of Tarxien (X), the finest parts of the underground Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni, together with important but lesser works such as those at Bugibba (XI) reflect high aesthetic standards, great technical skill and considerable wealth. Spirally carved decorations, animal friezes in low relief and sophisticated modelling and sculpture embellished the shrines of an unknown religion. 'The finesse, the elaboration and sophistication... reflect a correspondingly unique development of ritual and liturgy... There are hints of divination and of oracular chambers, as well as the practice of ritual sleeping... to obtain visions; and the litter of broken pottery must come from offering bowls and the like; there are the statues of the mother-goddess. For 500 years at least, in the early second millenium B.C., Malta and Gozo must have counted as the most magic and potent island sanctuaries of the central Mediterranean world' (7).

As we have already noted, the settlements of these life-death worshippers have not been found and we can only assume that most of them must lie beneath the inhabited 'tells' of today. The early wares and the temples suggest for these people a remote origin in Western Asia. We know that, although some metal tools may have been used at a late date, they depended mainly on imported flint and obsidian and on local chert for implement making. The size and complexity of their shrines suggest that there must have been a large group of specialist masons and builders. These could have been supported either by an improbably numerous population capable of agricultural productivity of an unique intensity for the period or because Malta, even then, was the recipient of outside wealth. These early inhabitants wove cloth, carved in bone and ivory and practised inhumation and collective ossuary burial. Quite suddenly, about 1500 B.C., this culture, of which we know so little, was swept away by invaders.

Probably from southern Italy, possibly before that from Greece and Asia Minor, came a second culture and a people in all respects alien to the Period I settlers. Our knowledge of them is even more fragmentary than of their predecessors. The old cult centres and temples were generally ignored but that of Tarxien became a cremation cemetery, while Borġ in-Nadur (XII) became a fortified settlement site. In a cairn at Wied Moqbal (XIII) and in several small dolmens, as at ta'Hammut (XIV) pebble-burnished coarse slipware of the Tarxien Cemetery type has also been found. Metal objects, tools and weapons attest to the metal-using character of the newcomers. Before they became properly established, a second wave of kindred people would seem to have conquered the Islands. Borġ in-Nadur was re-occupied and strengthened as a fortress. The people of Period IIB possessed copper and bronze and, like their predecessors, looms of a primitive sort.

The final phase of Period II is represented by finds from the settlement site at Bahrija (XV) which suggests South Italian Iron Age influence on an indigenously rooted culture. Probably between 1200 and 800 B.C. the cart ruts made their first appearance, while rock tombs of the period are still being found in pro-

172 fusion. Like their predecessors, the temple-builders, the Maltese of Period II represent one cul-de-sac ending 'of a gradual and infinitely complex movement of people and cultural elements from the Eastern to the Central Mediterranean' (8). The culture of Period I was probably erased in all forms but the monumental; the second probably persisted until Semitic contact was made with the Islands some time between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C.

174 Much has been speculated, though remarkably little is known, concerning the Phoenicians in Malta. As evidence one can only offer a few inscriptions found in various parts of the island, and characteristically Punic forms of burial which seem to have persisted down to the Roman occupation. The Phoenicians were once given credit for the great megalithic monuments and, until recently, it was fashionable to give them credit for the Maltese language as well. During the last 40 years, archaeological, linguistic and, to some extent, anthropometric advances in knowledge have changed the picture. Phoenicians and, later, Carthaginians may have come as traders but it is difficult to imagine that the Islands could have been anything more than transit points on shipping routes. Semitic settlers and administrators may have imposed an organised domination over Malta and Gozo: Mdina at least has produced pottery of Period I, Period II, Punic, Roman and later styles and, as already noted, Punic type rock tombs are numerous. Nevertheless, during the period of Greco-Punic rivalry in the Central Mediterranean, there is no certain Greek reference to Malta, whereas accounts such as that of Thucydides (Book VI) give detailed statements of all the important points held by 'the enemy'. Linguistically it may be feasible to consider that the Semitic structure and content of the Maltese language may have pre-Islamic elements but it is neither correct nor necessary to invoke a Punic conquest to account for this. The anthropological work of Buxton and Bradley (9) has but limited general value because of the difficulty of dating the prehistoric human remains (largely cranial). Even so, there is no supporting evidence for a Phoenician and/or Carthaginian colonisation.

All we know for certain is that, during the second century B.C., Rome, triumphant over Carthage, assumed political control in the Maltese Islands. The Islands were made part of the Praetorship of Sicily and, later, first Malta, and then Gozo were given 'Municipium' status. Direct evidence of conditions in Malta even during this, the first historical period, is fragmentary. Strabo mentions Malta and Gozo in terms of position, Livy and Ovid are scarcely more helpful. Cicero is a little more illuminating in his oration against Varres, once Praetor of Sicily, who was accused of abusing his position: '... what could you want with so much Maltese cloth, as if you were going to dress all your friends' wives?' Diodorus Siculus records that 'Melite' possessed many 'harbours', that its artisans were cunning weavers of linen and that the houses were architecturally worthy of note. He also believed that Malta was a Punic-planted colony and was already accruing wealth from sea trade. The Bible tells us nothing beyond the fact that St. Paul was shipwrecked on 'Melita' in A.D. 60 and spent some time thereafter in the island.

172 174 Archaeological evidence is scarcely more helpful, limited as it is to a few inscriptions, coins and parts of buildings in pre-existing settlements such as Rabat and Żurrieq. What we do know of the Roman period is, however, of some importance. It seems likely that Malta had long lain on the orbital fringe of a Siculo-Aegean culture zone and had probably been affected by Mycenean and Punic contacts. Henceforth, with one short break, the Islands occupied a place in the political and cultural organisation first of Rome and Byzantium and then of Christendom. For some five centuries, it seems reasonably to assume, the Maltese Islands were an organic part of Roman town-centred civilisation. After the Gothic and Vandal irruptions broke the unity of the Western Mediterranean the Justinian reconquest of Sicily may have included Malta or may merely have improved the regional stability around an isolated outpost of Roman culture in Malta. Again we do not know. During the long decline of Rome and the new territorial adjustments which preceded the rise of Islam, there is no direct evidence but only conjecture on the fate of Malta.

The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically con- 361
tinuous inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely [161]
overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding
lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the
village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here 114
that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as 245
the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, 366
wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes.

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the 369
whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of 489
the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not 582
seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by the whole population.

III.—History.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further 133
evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, 172
has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of undercutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age. By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus. These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water.

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Nean- 114
dertal man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small 172
fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual characters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with

114 172 authenticated material, it is hardly possible to state definitely that Neandertal man was living in Malta at the time when the rivers were large and the pygmy hippopotamus abundant. It is further remarkable that in a deposit which appears to be admirably suited for the preservation of bones, only small fragments of man have been found. In such a dry climate as that of Malta, cracks may have occurred in the floor of a cave, down which tiny fragments of bones may easily have fallen. There are some gravel terraces in the neighbourhood of Zebbug, which should certainly be explored for traces of Palæolithic man in the island.

172 The peculiar form of the Maltese sanctuaries has been discussed with great wealth of detail by Professor Zammit, with special reference to the site at Hal Tarxien. He is inclined to believe that they belong to the Neolithic period. There is certainly an entire absence of metal in the "Neolithic" stratum, and the stone masonry has not been worked with metal tools. The development of pottery, however, suggests a Late Neolithic or even an Eneolithic stage, not improbably of comparatively late date. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the buildings were extremely holy places, and there are numerous parallel examples from other parts of the Mediterranean which indicate that under certain conditions metal, or at a later date iron, was tabu in particular sanctuaries. We know nothing at present about the domestic culture of these megalith builders, and it is unsafe to argue from their sanctuaries that they were unacquainted with the use of bronze. The period may be provisionally termed "Malta Local Neolithic."

Although the majority of the material found at Hal Saflieni[1] is Neolithic, a number of undoubtedly Bronze Age wares of coarse types, and fragments of large vessels similar to the cremation urns of the Hal Tarxien Bronze Age period were found there. In spite of the very large number of bones which I examined, however, I did not find any definite traces of cremation; and with such evidence as I possess at present, I think it is justifiable to conclude that we are dealing with material anterior to the Bronze Age at Hal Tarxien, *i.e.* belonging to the Malta Local Neolithic period. Some bodies were undoubtedly buried *in situ*, but the majority appear to have been brought there, possibly from various parts of the island; probably they were exhumed and stored in the Hypogæum. The fractures on many of the bones and the comparative absence of complete long bones, suggests exhumation, a practice still widely distributed in the Mediterranean.

The very close resemblance between the incised "Neolithic" ware from Hal Tarxien and that from Santa Verna in Gozo, suggests that at this time there must have been considerable intercommunication at least between these two places and admits the possibility of some of the bones in the Hypogæum coming from a distance. 172

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[1] The Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni consists of a series of artificial caves hollowed out underground. In addition to numerous small objects, statuettes and sherds, these caves contained a very large number of human bones. The carvings, which are dolmenic in form, and the spirals in red ochre on the roof, have inclined Professor Zammit to believe that this is a sanctuary. Whatever its true purpose, the Hypogæum certainly forms an extensive ossuary of "Malta Local Neolithic" material.

A careful examination was made of the bones found in the Neolithic stratum at Hal Tarxien. These were all, as far as could be made out, those of domestic animals; the ox and the sheep predominating.[1] A number were either calcined, or had the semi-calcined appearance of bones which had formed part of a roast joint. It seems reasonable to follow Professor Zammit's suggestion that a number of these bones were those of sacrificial animals. No trace of human bones was discovered in the stratum of this period at Hal Tarxien. The very big dust deposit which occurs on top of the Neolithic stratum suggests a rather dryer climate than occurs at present. If the climatic conditions had been similar throughout the ages, there appears to be no reason why such a deposit should not also have occurred at other times. Without laying undue stress on what must necessarily be a hazardous hypothesis, there are slight indications from osteological evidence, as we shall hope to show later, that there was a difference in climate at the time when Hal Tarxien was built and modern days.

The ground plan of Hal Tarxien and the other sanctuaries remains to be explained. Speaking generally, each sanctuary may be described as a series of three consecutive apses growing successively smaller. At the end of the third apse, in what appears to have been the holy place, there is usually a small dolmen-shaped cist, sometimes with a hole on top and in front. In such cists large numbers of animal bones have been found. It is suggested by Professor Myres that such a plan is the final outcome of the *allée couverte*.

The general dolmen-like features of a number of the recesses of some of the sanctuaries, and of the stonework in the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni, together with the terra-cotta objects which have been found, suggest that the megalith builders were familiar with dolmens, of which there are examples in the island; and it seems just possible that in Maltese soil the structure, which elsewhere developed into the most elaborate form of chambered barrow, may have become the three-apsed shrine. It must be remembered that it would be impossible in Malta to build any form of barrow, owing to the absence of surface soil.

It is interesting to note that except for certain differences in the form of the nose, the people that we associate with the dolmen culture in Western Europe closely resemble the people buried in the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni.

The human remains of Bronze Age date are unfortunately scanty, and are limited to calcined fragments from Hal Tarxien. The finds at Bahria, a site which has not yet been properly excavated, suggest a settlement of foreign immigrants to a place which, as the name implies, is one of the few spots in that part of the island where the sea is easy of access. This may have been the first introduction

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[1] Some dogs' bones were found, possibly of doubtful antiquity.

172 of metals to the island. Bronze Age pottery is less highly finished than the Neolithic ware, but although the two are certainly distinct, there are transitional forms.

From an ethnological point of view it would appear that the Bronze Age, or the end of the Neolithic Age, was in many places a crucial period. It is difficult, however, to parallel this in Malta by linking up the osteological and the archæological material. As we shall hope to show later, the Megalithic people in Malta appear to be very distinct from the later inhabitants, and to present certain Armenoid characteristics. Sir Arthur Evans[1] has pointed out that there was a western colonial movement from the mainland of Greece towards the close of the period which he has termed Late Minoan III. There is evidence of such a movement in cemeteries near Syracuse. Up to the present, however, there is no evidence of Malta being connected with the East at so early a date. It has further been suggested that at some period in the early history of the island a complete destruction of the old population took place.

The sherds from Kallilia appear to be similar in fabric and design to those of the Hal Tarxien Bronze Age. During the so-called "Phœnician" period we have cultural evidence of connection with the Ægean and North Africa, and it would appear that then, if not earlier, the final shaping of the present population was taking place, and that the mixed "island people" of the Eastern Mediterranean were sufficiently firmly established to swamp any further immigration of invaders belonging to a pure Mediterranean strain.

[144] The Punic influence, though culturally no doubt of importance, does not seem to have altered the population physically, and though at this time the connection with North Africa was undoubtedly close, it was not sufficiently strong to counteract the change wrought by the sea rovers from the islands, and to restore a type similar to that of Neolithic times.

175 Until the Roman occupation at the end of the third century B.C. Malta appears
648 to have been closely connected with North Africa. Rome held the islands as a military or semi-military outpost until nearly the end of the second century A.D. The period usually known as "Roman" in Malta should be more correctly described as Romano-Maltese; although Rome was the ruling power and much Roman culture was introduced, there are few references to Malta in Roman literature, and from an ethnological point of view the island was certainly working out its own salvation.

The archipelago was given practical autonomy and made a municipium about A.D. 177. On the division of the Empire, in A.D. 395, the islands were taken over by the Eastern Empire, to which they were certainly ethnologically akin. Invasions of barbarians may possibly have occurred, but when the Arabs captured the islands in 870 they found a Byzantine garrison in occupation. Robert of Sicily, with a

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[1] "Prehistoric Tombs of Cnossos," *Archæologia*, LIX, p. 107.

population as 20,000 in 1582. In 1632, 50,113 is given, and in 1667, 53,000. In 1741, 161
110,000 is the population, which is said to have increased to 114,000 in 1798. The 174
figures for Malta and Gozo in 1826 are stated to be 119,736. But the first reliable
figure is 115,945 in 1828. In 1881 the population was 132,129 in Malta and 17,653
in Gozo; in 1901, 184,742, and 1911, 211,564.

In regard to the proportion of the sexes there were in 1911 110 bachelors to 162
100 spinsters, 98 husbands to 100 wives, and 44 widowers to 100 widows. In round
thousands, the males over 5 years of age were engaged in the following occupations:
7 in professional, 2 domestic, 19 commercial, 12 agricultural, 21 industrial, and 31
were unproductive and unoccupied; the last figure is rather misleading as it includes
at least four separate classes—children, aged, people of independent income, and
incapables of all classes. The data in regard to foreigners is the most interesting
for our purpose, as it gives an insight into the amount of mixture that is taking
place. There were at the last census (1911) (31) 854 ♂ and 1,003 ♀ foreigners in
the island. Of these 3 ♀ were English, the remainder were made up as follows:
77 ♂ and 45 ♀ from Africa (apart from 1 ♂ and 2 ♀, all these came from Egypt,
Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria); 479 ♂ and 499 ♀ from Sicily; 156 ♂ and 253 ♀
from other parts of Italy; 36 ♂ and 39 ♀ came from Greece, and 11 ♂ were classified
as Asiatics. This does not, of course, include the garrison, a large floating population
of which the figures are uncertain, as they depend so much on the ships which happen
to be in harbour at the time when the census is taken. The increase of population 161
between 1828 and 1911 is of interest. That of Malta increased by 88·25 per cent.
of the total, and that of Gozo by 45·31 per cent. The increase in Malta was nearly
five times as great in the suburban area as in the other areas combined.[1]

The density per square mile in 1911 was 1884 (Malta 2167, and Gozo 879).
The density in the south-east corner of Malta is, however, greater than would appear
from these figures. If the island be divided along a line west of Gargur, Naxaro,
Musta, Notabile, Rabato, Crendi, the areas east and west of such a line would be
almost equal in size. The eastern area, however, contained in 1911 183,132 inhabi-
tants, and the western 5737. Practically all the Neolithic remains occur in the [172] ●
eastern area, suggesting that the centres of population have not changed appreciably
since Neolithic times.

V.—Material and Methods.

The skeletal material examined is conveniently grouped in four series: (i) Bones 126
from the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic); (ii) Miscellaneous ancient 141
skeletons, chiefly Romano-Maltese; (iii) Specimens from the Chapel of Bones (Late
Mediæval); (iv) Modern bones. Only in case (ii) were any complete skeletons available.

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[1] Since this article was written the results of the Census of 1921 have become available. [162]
They are as follows:—Malta, 189,697 (92,127 ♂, 97,570 ♀); Gozo, 22,561 (10,618 ♂, 11,943 ♀).
Total for the two islands, 212,258, an increase of only 694 since 1911, as against 26,822 in the
previous decade.

126 (i) The Hal Saflieni bones (whose antiquity we have already discussed) are in
141 a very bad condition; few long bones are complete. After sorting through several
tons of fragments, measurements were taken on such bones as were sufficiently well
172 preserved. A number of astragali were brought to England for more detailed
examination later. The Hal Saflieni crania, which had previously been examined
by Bradley, were re-measured.

(ii) There are in the Museum of Valletta and in the Roman villa at Notabile a small series of ancient skulls and some complete skeletons, most of which were excavated by Dr. Zammit. These can be exactly dated by archæological evidence, but are unfortunately too few to warrant the drawing of any definite conclusions.

126 (iii) The Chapel of Bones is a large, fantastically arranged ossuary. It is alleged
141 to contain the bones of patients dying in the hospital of the Knights of St. John,
and probably dates from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are several remarkable features about these bones, first the number of aged persons represented, suggesting generally the type of population which finds its way into the casual ward of a modern institution, secondly the almost entire absence of the female sex; among 500 skulls selected at random, about 8 per cent. only were sexed as ?♂, ?♀, or ♀; these have not been included in the final count. It is, of course, quite possible that the number of female skulls is even less, but there was an orphanage attached to the hospital, and some children's bones were found in the ossuary, which may contain a few bones of nuns. The method of selection—for the number of bones is very great—was as follows: The skulls are arranged on shelves, and any skull without a basion was rejected, otherwise no selection was made; long bones were picked out where the epiphyses were sufficiently well preserved for measurement. Unfortunately the person who arranged the ossuary mixed up all the bones, and wired the wrong mandibles on to the crania. Although, therefore, as a whole, the bones belong to the same series of persons, the association of particular long bones with each other, or of particular mandibles with skulls is impossible. The sexing was of the type that Professor Pearson terms "anatomical sexing." All the bones were removed to the Anatomical Department at Valletta, and measured there.

(iv) The modern bones are from an ossuary, and were set at my disposal by Dr. Busittel, who was kind enough to allow us to use a room in the Anatomy School at Valletta. As some of the bones were used for teaching purposes, it is possible that a slight selection has been made; but enquiry into the method of obtaining the material inclines one to the belief that on the whole they are chance specimens, and a number of skulls were actually examined *in situ*. Sexing presented again considerable difficulty; fortunately, however, in a number of cases they had not been properly macerated.

141 In measuring the living it was necessary to find such as would submit themselves
125 to examination; as far as possible, however, typical Maltese were taken. The

being, if I = 100 A/B be an index, then a good approximation is arrived at by the formula 128 141

$$r = \frac{V_A^2 + V_B^2 - V_I^2}{2V_A V_B}.$$

To take an actual example, the correlation between the head length and the head breadth of the females from the urban districts is arrived at as follows:— The data are, Coefficient of variation, G.O.L. 3·44 and G.B. 3·78, and C.I. 4·05. The correlation will therefore be arrived at by adding $(3 \cdot 44)^2$ to $(3 \cdot 78)^2$, subtracting $(4 \cdot 05)^2$ from the result, and dividing the whole by 3·44, multiplied by 3·78 multiplied by 2. The answer in this case is 0·3750.

The following measurements were made on the mandible:—

Coronoid height.	Breadth of ascending ramus, called for brevity ramus breadth.
Condylar height.	Condylo-symphysial length.
Sigmoid height.	Bicondylar breadth.
Symphysial height.	

In the Chapel of Bones measurements on the mandible were taken on both left and right sides, and the constants were worked out separately. In the case of the other fragments it was seldom possible to measure more than one side, and as the measurements in the Chapel of Bones showed how extremely close the dimensions on the two sides were, side has been disregarded elsewhere.

Only one index has been calculated, namely, the mandibular index, that is to say, condylo-symphysial length multiplied by 100 and divided by bicondylar breadth.

VI.—Physical Anthropology.

Before discussing in detail the cranial measurements, it may be convenient briefly to state the general dimensions of the crania. The means of skulls vary from 179 to 188 mm. in glabello-occipital length, and the means of the living males from 185 to 188 mm. The mean breadths vary from 133 to 141 mm. on the crania, and 150 to 152 mm. on the living adult male. The cranial capacity, estimated from the glabello-occipital breadth, the greatest breadth, and the basi-bregmatic height multiplied together, the product being multiplied by 0·0003849 + 96, varies from 1390·6 in the case of the Neolithic, to 1437·9 in the case of the Romano-Maltese, the Mediæval skulls show a capacity, by this formula, of 1405·5, and the modern 1393·7. It is unwise, probably, to lay any stress on these figures. 141 172

The cephalic index varies from 71·4, the mean of the Neolithic crania to 79·0, the mean of the modern crania and the vertical index from 71·2 in the case of the Neolithic crania, to 75·0, the vertical index of the Mediæval crania.

The variations in the general dimensions of the crania are sufficient to warrant a more detailed enquiry into the development of racial history in Malta. A complete

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list of the measurements taken and, where the series is sufficiently large, of their variation, will be found in Appendix II, Table I.[1] This should be read in conjunction with the following pages, from which, in order to make the general gist of the argument clearer, figures have, as far as possible, been eliminated.

The evidence which is so far available for the detailed history of man's development in Malta in early times is exceedingly scanty, and no ancient remains can be treated statistically. Such remarks as occur in the next few paragraphs can only be considered as tentative. The cranial measurements available seem to suggest that the head form of the Maltese has grown consistently shorter, both absolutely and relatively, since the Neolithic Age. The head breadth is remarkably consistent from Romano-Maltese times onwards. The skulls from Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic), however, were extremely narrow, in great contrast to the modern crania. Living heads are 10 mm. longer than modern skulls among the males, in the females the difference is somewhat greater, but the modern series of female skulls is so very small that no reliance can be placed on it. Male heads are about 11 mm. broader than male skulls. The greater thickness of the scalp where the greatest head breadth is taken, may be accounted for by the influence of the temporal muscle.

The cephalic index appears to have increased continuously from the earliest times onwards, *pari passu* with the *decrease* in the glabello-occipital length. The index of the Romano-Maltese males is noticeably low, that of the females extremely high. This result is possibly due to the small numbers. There certainly seems to be a definite increase in the numerical value of the index from Mediæval times onward. The modern female crania are noticeably more brachycephalic than the modern male; indeed, there is a difference of 4 units, which closely parallels the difference between the Romano-Maltese male and female. This difference, although probably exaggerated by small numbers, appears to be based on some definite disparity. In Malta the living females are significantly more brachycephalic than the males. It is curious, however, that the Gozo males and females show no difference in their cephalic index. Probably in Gozo the male population is less disturbed than in Malta. The normal allowance of 2 units difference between the cephalic index of the living and the dead is borne out by comparing the modern Maltese heads and skulls.

The variations in head length and head breadth appear to be very similar in Mediæval and modern skulls, and equally as between crania and living people. Considerable stress should probably be laid on the fact that a large series of crania from a Late Mediæval ossuary (the Chapel of Bones) show practically the same degree of variation in their cephalic index as a chance collection from a modern ossuary, and as the modern inhabitants taken from all over the island.

The basi-nasal length appears to be consistently the same from Neolithic times onwards. This absence of change is of importance when we consider that the head length has undergone marked changes. It is probable, therefore, that the changes are taking place in the occipital region. A comparison of the contours of

[1] [see pp. 197-199.—Analyst]

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

the skulls suggests that the Maltese, for some reason, are developing a more 141 plano-occipital or Armenoid type of skull than their ancestors possessed. This 172 change is not accompanied by any great difference in the basi-bregmatic height. Although there is a difference of 2 mm. between the height of the Mediæval and modern skulls, as measured from the basion to the bregma, the very great variation of that measurement among the modern skulls makes it doubtful whether we can lay any stress on so small a difference. It is true that the vertical index shows certain changes, but they may be ascribed rather to the change in head length than to a difference in height. The measurement of the minimum frontal diameter adds further weight to our suggestion, that the changes which are taking place in Maltese skulls are confined to the occipital region, as there is no difference between this measurement in the earliest and in modern skulls. The ophryo-occipital length appears to be always about 2 mm. shorter than the glabello-occipital length, suggesting that few if any changes have taken place in the ophryonic region.

Passing to the consideration of the measurements associated with the masticatory apparatus, the bizygomatic breadth is extremely small in the Neolithic crania, but the numbers are very few. The Late Mediæval crania from the Chapel of Bones are significantly greater than the modern skulls in this measurement, and also in the basi-alveolar length, whereas the Romano-Maltese seem to approach more closely in both measurements to the Mediæval than to the modern crania. This may be due to a harder diet.

The upper facial height in the Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic) material is similar to that of the Romano-Maltese, but the Mediæval crania have a significantly greater measurement than the modern. The facial breadth is small in the Hal Saflieni material, but the Mediæval skulls are significantly broader in the face than the modern. The upper facial index is very close to the same figure from Neolithic times onwards, except for the small series of Romano-Maltese skulls, which have a lower index.

Some of the above measurements are probably more affected by the respiratory apparatus than by the action of the jaw, although it has been convenient to consider them in the above paragraph. The same is, to a certain extent, true of the palatal measurements, one of which, the breadth, is certainly intimately correlated with the breadth of the nose. The palatal breadth appears to have been very small in Neolithic times—smaller than can quite be accounted for by the smaller nasal breadth—and it is possible that a rather enfeebled masticatory apparatus may be the predominant factor in this particular case. Otherwise the palatal breadth has remained more or less constant. Certain changes appear to have taken place in the palatal length. In spite of the unusual smallness of the palatal breadth, the mean palatal length happens to be the greatest recorded. It is quite possible that this is an illusory figure. It is interesting to note, however, that the palates of Mediæval Maltese are significantly longer than those of their modern successors. This is

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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quite possibly due to the same causes as are at work in the case of the bizygomatic breadth.

Turning to the respiratory apparatus proper, the nasal breadth of the Neolithic people is rather narrower than that of the Romano-Maltese, but only six Neolithic crania were available for measurement. The Mediæval crania have practically the same breadth of nose as the Romano-Maltese. The modern examples from Valletta, however, have a significantly narrower nose. The nasal height shows no appreciable difference. The nasal index shows considerable variation, accompanied, as usual, by a high coefficient of variation. Under these circumstances it is difficult to argue about the actual changes since early times. It is possible, however, that the nasal index was slightly greater in ancient than in modern times. It is clear from the figures that the nasal index of the Mediæval Maltese was significantly greater than it is at present. This point is of special interest because if, as has been argued, a number of persons from Western Europe were represented in the ossuary of the hospital, we should have expected to find a narrower nose, whereas in actual fact this is not the case.

The breadth of the orbits shows greater divergences than any other measurement. In the case of the left orbit the difference between the Mediæval and the modern bones is nearly seven times its probable error; in the right orbit it is over nine times its probable error. It is difficult to suppose that such a divergence should be without significance. It is not clear, however, what changes have taken place since Neolithic times, although the earlier orbits tend to be rather broader. There is no difference in the orbital height among the more recent bones, though the early bones seem to be not quite so high. The orbital indices are probably of great importance. The difference between the Neolithic and the modern indices amounts to eight units, the modern index being the greater. Parsons[1] has argued that a microsemic orbit is especially characteristic of Neolithic man, an outcome, as Thomson has shown, of powerful jaw development. In spite of the fewness of our numbers, the Neolithic material from Hal Saflieni indicates that Parsons' generalization is applicable to Malta, and that the introduction of a change to Armenoid characteristics has considerably affected the form of the orbit.

The difference between the left and right orbits is striking in our two larger series. In the case of the Mediæval bones the difference in the orbital breadth is ·52 with a probable error of ·085, a difference that is certainly significant. In the modern series the difference is actually greater, but owing to the smallness of the numbers the probable errors are too great to make this significant.

The comparative variation of the Mediæval and the modern crania is a matter of considerable importance. Unfortunately the number of earlier skulls is too few for statistical treatment, but the results of a comparison of modern crania with

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[1] Professor Parsons has been good enough to discuss the matter with me personally.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

those from the Mediæval hospital certainly suggest that those authorities who maintain 141
that the hospital probably contained, amongst others, the bones of people from 172
Western Europe are possibly in error. We should in that case have expected to find a high degree of variation. We do not do so. It may well be argued that the modern crania are too few to base any satisfactory arguments on, and we fully admit that it is unwise to argue from a series that never exceeds 42, and in some cases falls as low as 29. It would appear, however, that the modern series, of the majority of which the provenance was fairly exactly known, is consistently more variable than the Mediæval series from the Chapel of Bones. It would certainly be worth while to make a series of measurements on about 100 modern crania to see whether this statement really represents the truth.

Except in a few cases, it was impossible to associate mandibles with the crania to which they belonged, and unfortunately at the time when measurements were made on modern crania few mandibles could be discovered. The only series, therefore, of mandibles which could be treated statistically are those Mediæval specimen from the Chapel of Bones. Even in this case it was not found possible to get a series as large as 300 for every measurement. The majority of these, and probably all, are male; any doubtful cases having been rejected. The Neolithic and Romano-British mandibles are also probably male. The Bronze Age mandibles appeared from the associated bones to be female, but the condition of the latter was such that a definite opinion could not be expressed. In general terms there are certain marked differences between the mandibles from Hal Saflieni and elsewhere, whereas the Romano-Maltese and the Mediæval mandibles, although differing in detail, present a general similarity. The coronoid height and the condyloid height of the Neolithic mandibles are both lower, the ramus being of about the same breadth. The condylo-symphysial breadth is about the same. The Mediæval mandibles have a slightly lower ascending ramus than the Romano-Maltese, but the former are slightly more stoutly built; the mandibular index is quite possibly about the same. Generalizing, we may say that the Neolithic mandibles belong to a type with a rather short, broad ascending ramus, and a shallow sigmoid notch, whereas the Mediæval mandibles have the higher ascending ramus and the deeper sigmoid notch which are usually associated with various branches of the Alpine race.

A collection of teeth was made from the bone heaps at Hal Saflieni.[1] Unfortu- 172
nately no teeth of more recent date are available. Out of a total of 224 adult teeth 164
from Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic), 15 upper incisors and canines showed a marked edge-to-edge bite. Caries occurred in 19 cases; there was a complete erosion of the roots in 2. One incisor had two roots. Speaking generally, the teeth

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[1] I am indebted to my brother, Mr. J. L. Dudley Buxton, for examining and reporting on these teeth from the point of view of a dental surgeon. [128]

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did not differ from a chance collection of modern civilized teeth, except that caries was less common.

TEETH FROM HYPOGÆUM, HAL SAFLIENI (MALTA LOCAL NEOLITHIC).

	1 Normal Teeth.	2 Carious Teeth.	3 Teeth showing Marked Attrition of Edge-to-edge Form.	4 Teeth showing Marked Attrition.	5 Total Adult Teeth.	6 Deciduous Teeth.
Molars	21	10	—	18	48	3
Premolars	26	6	—	36	62	—
Canines	9	—	7	15	31	2
Upper incisors ...	23	1	8	23	54	—
Lower incisors ...	2	2	—	27	29	—
Total ...	81	19	15	119	224	5

Teeth included in Column 2 may also be included in Columns 3 or 4; Columns 3 and 4 are mutually exclusive.

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Summing up, the general characters of the Maltese skulls at our disposal, the physical type conveniently termed "Malta first race" is associated culturally with the Malta Local Neolithic. Skulls of this type are long, narrow, and slightly built. They have low orbits, narrow zygomatic arches, and a jaw which, though often not absolutely large, has a low ascending ramus, a shallow sigmoid, and considerable breadth in the antero-posterior diameter. They appear to be representatives of the Mediterranean race.

The skulls of succeeding periods, conveniently termed "Malta second race," and associated with numerous cultural periods, are, as a general rule, shorter, broader, more stoutly built, larger, and have higher orbits. The ascending ramus of the jaw is high, and the antero-posterior diameter is small. Although among a large collection of these crania single specimens exhibit the characteristics of the Mediterranean type, and some even occur with features which are usually considered to be typical of the Nordic race, the majority, in addition to the features already mentioned, show that peculiar contour in the occipital region which is usually associated with the type called by Von Luschan "Armenoid."

Living Material.

141 Apart from those questions which have already been discussed when dealing with the general anthropology of Malta, special problems are connected with the living. In the first place, the sex and birthplace are definitely known, and the age, at least approximately. Secondly, the numbers are usually greater. Thirdly,

161 man, are also unusually fertile, and the females possess remarkably developed
842 udders. Possibly similar causes make both man and the goats fertile. If this
231 is so, emigrants from the island will probably, after a short time, lose their fertility,[1]
whilst the only limiting factors on the island itself will be space and the food and water supply.

144 Summarizing our general conclusions, the race in Malta which is associated with
172 the period of great megalithic buildings—a cultural stage we have termed "Malta
Local Neolithic"—appears to be closely akin to the Mediterranean race. This is
174 our "Malta first race." At a later date, possibly towards the end of the Bronze Age, but more probably during the Early Iron Age, Malta was peopled by a race with different characteristics, our "Malta second race." These people are of Armenoid type, but probably have an admixture of Mediterranean blood. Their origin appears to be the Eastern Mediterranean. They may have come to Malta either directly or by way of Carthage. They may have destroyed the previous inhabitants, or they may merely have pursued methods of peaceful penetration. This race has firmly established itself in Malta, and all subsequent introduction of foreign blood has failed to raise the variation. During the course of years certain changes have taken place; there are also certain local variations, but the differences between Malta and Gozo are not greater than the differences between the general population of Malta and at least one, and possibly more, of the more isolated villages.

APPENDIX I.

LITERATURE.

113 In writing this paper the following authorities have been consulted. Where specific reference is made, the number is given in brackets in the text.

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167 [1] Of interest in this connection is the fact that there is at present a Maltese colony in Detroit, U.S.A., and it will be instructive to observe whether, amid alien surroundings, the strain is able to perpetuate itself and to retain its fertility.

Table I.—Skull Measurements.

Malta Local Neolithic, Hypogæum, Hal Saflieni.			Romano-Maltese.				Mediæval, Chapel of Bones.			
	♂		♂		♀		♂			
Character.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
O.O.L.	9	186·38	18	183·33	4	172·97	466	178·20 ±0·20	6·39 ±0·14	3·59 ±0·08
G.O.L.	9	186·34	18	186·08	4	173·25	467	180·54 ±0·20	6·34 ±0·14	3·51 ±0·11
G.B.	10	133·45	18	139·53	5	139·80	468	139·04 ±0·15	4·77 ±0·11	3·43 ±0·07
M.F.D.	9	97·06	18	96·14	5	94·00	467	96·56 ±0·16	5·00 ±0·11	5·18 ±0·11
Biz.B.	4	118·00	6	131·50	—	—	263	132·28 ±0·18	4·28 ±0·13	3·24 ±0·10
N.H.	7	49·29	18	50·78	4	46·50	461	52·08 ±0·08	2·51 ±0·06	4·82 ±0·11
N.B.	6	22·50	17	24·44	4	23·25	452	24·37 ±0·06	1·93 ±0·04	7·92 ±0·18
B.B.H.	4	133·67	18	134·31	1	130·00	461	135·62 ±0·16	4·97 ±0·11	3·66 ±0·08
B.N.L.	4	101·37	18	99·72	2	94·00	459	101·13 ±0·13	3·99 ±0·09	3·95 ±0·09
B.A.L.	4	95·12	17	95·30	—	—	392	96·27 ±0·15	4·42 ±0·11	4·59 ±0·11
U.F.H.	6	65·09	18	65·11	2	67·00	437	68·10 ±0·14	4·38 ±0·10	6·43 ±0·15
F.B.	6	96·67	11	92·81	3	91·00	420	94·62 ±0·18	5·51 ±0·13	5·82 ±0·14
O.R.L.	6	41·83	16	39·59	4	37·50	449	40·65 ±0·06	2·03 ±0·05	4·99 ±0·11
O.B.R.	6	41·25	15	39·80	3	36·77	458	41·17 ±0·06	2·05 ±0·05	4·98 ±0·11
O.H.L.	6	31·58	15	33·20	4	32·12	451	33·56 ±0·07	2·10 ±0·05	6·26 ±0·14
O.H.R.	6	31·67	14	32·65	3	30·38	456	33·34 ±0·07	2·12 ±0·05	6·36 ±0·14
P.L.	7	50·63	18	50·19	4	43·00	443	49·36 ±0·11	3·51 ±0·08	7·11 ±0·16
P.B.	8	32·25	16	36·75	3	34·66	447	36·19 ±0·10	3·14 ±0·07	8·66 ±0·20
C.I.	9	71·44	17	75·29	4	80·75	463	77·09 ±0·11	3·63 ±0·08	4·71 ±0·10
V.I.	4	71·24	16	72·25	—	—	461	75·17 ±0·11	3·52 ±0·08	4·68 ±0·09
U.F.I.	4	52·00	9	48·44	—	—	247	51·83 ±0·15	3·45 ±0·10	6·65 ±0·20
O.I.L.	6	76·00	15	83·67	—	—	451	82·27 ±0·19	5·95 ±0·13	7·23 ±0·16
O.I.R.	6	76·92	12	84·33	—	—	462	81·10 ±0·19	6·04 ±0·13	7·45 ±0·17
N.I.	6	47·17	17	48·16	4	50·25	448	46·94 ±0·13	4·14 ±0·09	8·82 ±0·20

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3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

TABLE I.—SKULL MEASUREMENTS—*continued.*

	Malta Local Neolithic, Hypogæum, Hal Saflieni.		Bronze Age.		Romano-Maltese.		Mediæval, Chapel of Bones.			
	♂		♂		♂ + ♀		♂			
Character.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	No.	Mean.	σ	V.
Cor.H.L.	11	50·32	2	54·50	7	60·00	317	67·19 ±0·23	5·94 ±0·16	8·85 ±0·24
Cor.H.R.							325	67·41 ±0·22	5·85 ±0·15	8·68 ±0·23
Con.H.L.	11	49·55	3	41·17	13	55·00	305	60·15 ±0·27	7·05 ±0·19	11·72 ±0·32
Con.H.R.							304	60·99 ±0·29	7·53 ±0·21	12·35 ±0·34
Sig.H.L.	13	42·65	3	38·83	10	47·75	340	49·51 ±0·21	5·62 ±0·15	11·35 ±0·30
Sig.H.R.							345	50·31 ±0·20	5·44 ±0·14	10·81 ±0·28
Symph.H.	7	30·07	5	28·10	11	30·00	334	30·30 ±0·14	3·74 ±0·10	12·34 ±0·33
Ramus R.							337	33·96 ±0·11	3·04 ±0·08	8·95 ±0·23
Ramus L.	16	34·57	3	34·00	—	—	345	33·73 ±0·11	3·10 ±0·08	9·20 ±0·24
Con.-Sym.L.	2	103·75	—	—	9	101·44	344	105·35 ±0·24	6·51 ±0·17	6·18 ±0·16
Bigon.B.	—	—	—	—	7	93·93	—	—	—	—
Bicond.B.	—	—	—	—	3	115·85	284	118·31 ±0·28	6·99 ±0·20	5·92 ±0·17
M.I.	—	—	—	—	3	89·97	283	88·96 ±0·28	6·91 ±0·20	7·76 ±0·22

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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TABLE I.—SKULL MEASUREMENTS—*continued.*

Character.	Valletta Modern. ♂				Valletta Modern. ♀	
	No.	Mean.	σ	V.	No.	Mean.
O.O.L.	30	176·43 ±0·72	5·84 ±0·51	3·31 ±0·28	9	164·00
G.O.L.	41	178·61 ±0·57	5·39 ±0·40	3·02 ±0·23	12	166·54
G.B.	42	141·42 ±0·60	5·79 ±0·43	4·10 ±0·30	12	137·63
M.F.D.	42	96·76 ±0·50	4·84 ±0·36	5·00 ±0·37	12	92·92
Biz.B.	38	130·22 ±0·54	4·90 ±0·38	3·76 ±0·29	11	124·41
N.H.	42	51·68 ±0·38	3·62 ±0·27	7·00 ±0·52	11	48·14
N.B.	42	23·50 ±0·17	1·63 ±0·12	6·94 ±0·51	11	24·82
B.B.H.	41	133·50 ±0·65	6·17 ±0·46	4·63 ±0·35	12	124·42
B.N.L.	41	100·02 ±0·60	5·70 ±0·42	5·70 ±0·43	12	94·42
B.A.L.	41	94·50 ±0·52	4·92 ±0·37	5·20 ±0·39	11	89·68
U.F.H.	42	66·58 ±0·43	4·16 ±0·31	6·24 ±0·46	12	60·17
F.B.	41	92·74 ±0·49	4·61 ±0·34	4·97 ±0·37	12	89·73
O.B.L.	31	30·13 ±0·21	1·75 ±0·15	4·46 ±0·38	8	38·06
O.B.R.	29	38·47 ±0·28	2·26 ±0·20	5·88 ±0·52	8	38·06
O.H.L.	31	32·66 ±0·30	3·20 ±0·27	9·81 ±0·85	8	35·25
O.H.R.	30	32·42 ±0·37	3·04 ±0·26	9·38 ±0·82	8	33·25
P.L.	30	46·03 ±0·42	3·45 ±0·30	7·10 ±0·63	8	45·50
P.B.	30	35·23 ±0·33	2·67 ±0·23	7·50 ±0·66	6	37·68
C.I.	41	79·01 ±0·39	3·67 ±0·27	4·64 ±0·35	12	82·71
V.I.	40	74·55 ±0·36	3·36 ±0·25	4·51 ±0·34	12	75·06
U.F.I.	38	50·92 ±0·38	3·43 ±0·27	6·74 ±0·52	11	48·55
O.I.L.	31	83·80 ±0·75	7·52 ±0·64	8·96 ±0·77	8	91·25
O.I.R.	29	85·01 ±0·98	7·82 ±0·69	9·20 ±0·82	8	88·75
N.I.	42	45·62 ±0·38	3·67 ±0·27	8·05 ±0·60	11	51·64
Cor.H.L.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cor.H.R. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Con.H.L. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Con.H.R. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sig.H.L.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sig.H.R.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Symph.H. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ramus B. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ramus L. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Con.-Sym.L. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bigon.B.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bicond.B. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
M.I.	—	—	—	—	—	—

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

TABLE IV.—SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES. CRANIA.

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Mediæval Chapel of Bones and Modern Valletta.

Character.	Means.		Variations.	
	Δ_{C-V}	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$	$V_V - V_C$	$\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$
O.O.L.	—	—	—	—
G.O.L.	1·93 ±0·63	3·06	—	—
G.B.	—	—	—	—
M.F.D.	—	—	—	—
Biz.B.	2·06 ±0·58	3·56	—	—
N.H.	—	—	2·18 ±0·53	4·10
N.B.	0·87 ±0·18	4·83	—	—
R.B.H.	2·12 ±0·45	6·69	—	—
B.N.	—	—	1·75 ±0·44	3·98
B.A.	1·68 ±0·54	3·10	—	—
U.F.H.	1·52 ±0·45	3·36	—	—
F.B.	1·88 ±0·52	3·60	—	—
O.B.L.	1·52 ±0·22	6·96	—	—
O.B.R.	2·70 ±0·29	9·43	—	—
O.H.L.	—	—	3·55 ±0·86	4·13
O.H.R.	—	—	3·02 ±0·83	3·63
P.L.	1·33 ±0·43	3·06	—	—
P.B.	—	—	—	—
C.I.	−1·92 ±0·41	4·73	—	—
V.I.	—	—	—	—
U.F.I.	—	—	—	—
O.I.L.	—	—	—	—
O.I.R.	—	—	—	—
N.I.	1·32 ±0·40	3·29	—	—

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

Table VI.—Coefficients of Correlation.

Living ♂.

Character.	Malta.	Gozo.	Urban Districts.	Rural Districts.	Siggewe.	Zurrico.
G.O.L. and G.B.	0·325 ±0·025	0·405 ±0·063	0·215 ±0·042	0·319 ±0·048	0·450 ±0·059	0·217 ±0·069
U.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·135 ±0·028	0·308 ±0·068	0·205 ±0·043	0·176 ±0·052	0·175 ±0·073	0·197 ±0·069
T.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·321 ±0·026	0·287 ±0·071	0·344 ±0·039	0·370 ±0·047	0·164 ±0·073	0·288 ±0·066
N.H. and N.B.	0·111 ±0·028	0·199 ±0·071	0·065 ±0·044	0·065 ±0·054	0·193 ±0·073	0·136 ±0·071

Living ♀.

Character.	Malta.	Gozo.	Urban Districts.	Rural Districts.	Siggewe.	Zurrico.
G.O.L. and G.B.	0·350 ±0·033	0·144 ±0·093	0·375 ±0·043	0·356 ±0·049	—	—
U.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·101 ±0·037	−0·057 ±0·094	0·064 ±0·050	−0·007 ±0·056	—	—
T.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·074 ±0·039	0·168 ±0·096	0·156 ±0·051	−0·130 ±0·057	—	—
N.H. and N.B.	0·021 ±0·037	0·131 ±0·093	0·164 ±0·049	−0·182 ±0·055	—	—

Skulls ♂.

Character.	Mediæval Chapel of Bones.	Modern Valletta.
G.O.L. and G.B.	0·079 ±0·031	0·173 ±0·102
H.L. and B.R.	0·149 ±0·031	0·366 ±0·092
U.F.H. and Biz.B.	0·183 ±0·042	0·163 ±0·106
O.B. & O.H.L.	0·189 ±0·031	0·410 ±0·091
O.B. and O.H.R.	0·154 ±0·031	0·344 ±0·111
N.H. and N.B.	0·107 ±0·032	0·653 ±0·060
C.S. and Bic.L.	0·178 ±0·030	—

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4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

Medical Votive Offerings in the Maltese Islands

PAUL CASSAR

THE MALTESE GROUP OF ISLANDS—Malta, Gozo, Kemmuna, Kemmunet and Filfla— 131
cover an area of just over 120 square miles. They form a stepping-stone between Europe
and Africa, being fifty-eight miles distant from Sicily and 180 miles away from the
North African shore. Malta and Gozo are renowned for the number of Stone Age 172
temples they contain. Archaeologists have expressed the opinion that some of the enclosures of these temples were sacred to a healing deity (Zammit 1926, p. 53). This is suggested by the discovery of clay and limestone objects consisting of (1) two models of women lying asleep on a kind of stretcher of wicker work, and (2) several votive offerings in the shape of parts of the human body (Zammit & Singer 1924, pp. 75–6).

It is believed that the sleeping ladies represent devotees who went to the Hypogeum 17
temple at Hal Saflieni, near Pawla, to consult the oracle through the practice of oneiro- 787
mancy. This was a form of dream interpretation after the patient had been aroused from 755
a hypnotic state induced deliberately by means of drugs or other means (Zammit 1935, p. 58). In ancient Egypt dreams were regarded with reverence and the faithful believed that their prayers were rewarded by the gods with an indication, in their dreams, of the remedies which their illness required (Wilkinson 1837, III, p. 394). Similar practices prevailed also in the temple-hospitals of classical Greece where the patient is said to have had the line of treatment revealed to him in his sleep (Pavey 1951, p. 59). It is, therefore, quite possible that such methods were likewise followed in Malta by the Hypogeum priests in the treatment of disease about 1500 B.C. Whatever might have happened in Malta in neolithic days, it is very striking to come across similar parallels in modern times where sick persons claim to have been healed by a heavenly power while in the sleeping state.

The following cases were recorded in 1890, the first being the most interesting as 175
the patient fell asleep in the church itself: 755

(i) A woman had been subject to a purulent inflammation of the mouth for 787
fifteen years. She had recourse to the Virgin Mary and while praying at Ta Pinu 781
church (Gharb, Gozo) she was overtaken by extreme somnolence. She woke up with the conviction that the Madonna had granted her the desired favour; in fact, she recovered completely from her illness within three days.

(ii) Maria Cachia, from a village in Gozo, was so gravely ill from puerperal fever that it was decided to give her the Last Sacraments. Her mother made a vow to the Virgin Mary and annointed the patient on the forehead and breasts with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp of Ta Pinu church. Maria fell into a calm sleep. Our Lady appeared to her in a vision, touched her on the parts smeared with the oil and healed her. On waking she was 'happy and smiling and left her bed completely cured'.

[172]

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1/1 [captions [facing P. 24] appear on p. 29. - An.)

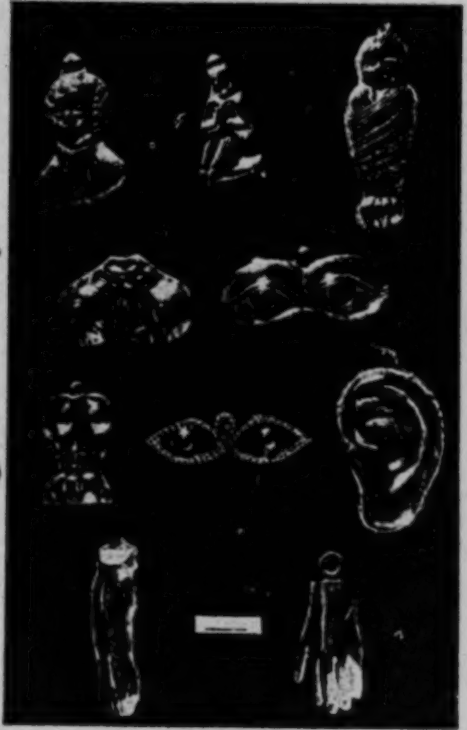

Figure 1

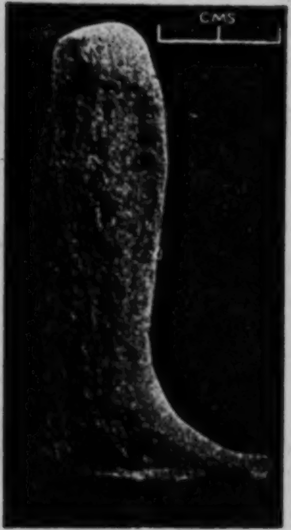

Figure 2

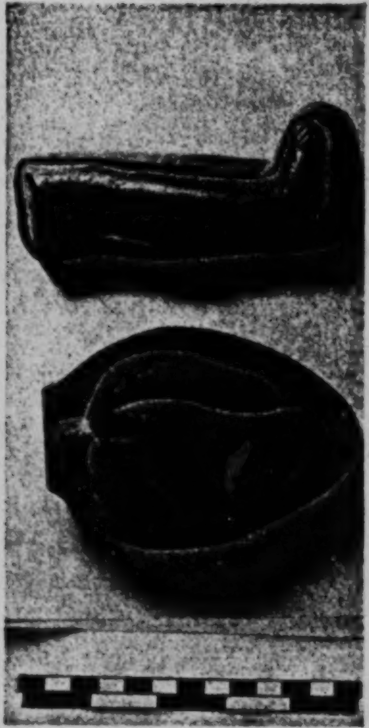

Figure 3

4: Cassar P-4,5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

175 (iii) Giovanna Debrincat had been suffering from depression with religious
755 scruples for eight months. Her symptoms became acute one day in February with
787 extreme anxiety, agitation, and insomnia. This phase lasted for four consecutive
781 days and nights in spite of the efforts of the doctor and a priest to reassure her and
placate her. Finally her relatives annointed her with the sanctuary oil and appealed to the Blessed Virgin to cure her. The patient immediately became tranquil and had a peaceful sleep. When she woke up, all her symptoms had disappeared (*Il-devot ta Maria*, 1890).

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NEOLITHIC VOTIVE OFFERINGS

● 172 The custom of offering 'ex-votos' to the deity for favours received is not limited to the
782 Maltese Islands and goes back to very remote times. The neolithic 'ex-votos' of Malta
are made of clay and limestone, and measure from 1¼ to 3¼ inches in height. No less
[171] than fifteen of them, consisting of the following anatomical forms, have been found:

(i) Faces: 2.
(ii) Hand: 1.
(iii) Female torsos with large abdomen, pendulous breasts, and prominent genitalia: 4.
(iv) Kneeling female (?) torso with arms folded on breast: 2.
(v) Fragment of female statuette consisting of lower abdomen, both thighs, and right leg: 1.
(vi) Female body cut short in the neck and upper parts of the thighs; the left arm is bent on the nape of the neck and the right upper limb points to the genitalia which are very clearly shown. The abdomen and breasts are very full and a swelling fills the left groin while pieces of white shells are stuck in the armpits, groins, umbilicus, mons veneris, and other parts.
(vii) Female pelvis with upper parts of thighs and sexual triangle: 2.
(viii) Legs: 2 (Zammit & Singer 1924, p. 67).

The Roman occupation of Malta (218 B.C.–A.D. 397) is represented by one solitary
17 'ex-voto' consisting of a clay model of the lateral view of a leg and foot. It was found
782 quite recently with other Roman objects in the north-west part of the island (Plate 1,
Fig. 2). The inhabitants of the Maltese Islands were converted to Christianity by St
[797] Paul in A.D. 60. No more 'ex-votos' can be traced for many hundreds of years until they
reappear in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Catholic Church. The interruption in the time-sequence and the change of religious beliefs do not, however, prevent us from perceiving that they have a common purpose and that the 'ex-votos' of Stone Age and Roman times foreshadow the similar ones of later years. Indeed the same ideational process links the ancient ones with those of our own times.

782 Anatomical 'ex-votos' are still preserved in many of the Catholic churches of Malta
and Gozo and in several wayside shrines in the countryside and in niches in the towns.
532 They are either figures of the complete human body or of parts of it. The former consist
755 of the front view of babies with the trunk and limbs swathed in bands like a mummy;
and of side views of men and women in a kneeling posture with their hands joined in prayer over their breasts or else holding a symbolical heart. The men are turned towards the left and the women look towards the right. The models representing parts of the

628 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gozo that a
186 man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to
point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some
comparatively recent date[13].

621 Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic
793 structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese
795 village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest,
and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely
an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church
by the new features and modifications of the old landscape
in the present.

175 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young
361 Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement
has acquired the essential features common to rural society
throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria
Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on
account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the
sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in
the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church
[172] in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1500[14]. Evidence, too,
of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat
(2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the
village.

175 However, in the early part of the nineteenth century,
361 farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now
793 the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of
795 the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell
(B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general
movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an
independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual
needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from
Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of
St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918.
Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr
had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to
their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the
Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning
Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area
175 permanently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a
346 full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and
[793] settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a
new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the
population of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911).
[463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect
concerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

648 desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty
175 years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But
he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of
blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant:
he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval
base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean.
Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the
point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the
naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean
but a vital link in the route to a farther East than
Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither
William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn
on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

3

161- At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an
[162] estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls
(exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which
Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to
say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile,
which makes it one of the most densely populated geographical
[167] units in the world. The figure would have been
higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia
161 and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by
619, the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small
for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto
themselves, with their own language, their own traditions,
their own physical characteristics and a history that is one
of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

•172 For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and
173 Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days
reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in
other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta
[132] was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

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[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the "tempestuous wind called Euroclydon" that still whistles across it during the winter months under its modern name of *gregale*, the "Greek wind," drove S. Paul on to its shores and brought it about that the "chief man" of the island, Publius, became its first Bishop. It was a centre of civilization, as well as a centre of the religious life of the Western Mediterranean, very much earlier, for Malta, in the words of the lamented Sir Themistocles Zammit, "was the holy island of neolithic faith, the half-way house of the early mariners, who trusted themselves to their frail wooden craft, full of hope in a protecting power." 172 173 [132]

Later, when we emerge from prehistory, we find the position reversed: Malta, instead of extending supernatural protection to peoples beyond its shores, comes under the political protection of others. During the many centuries of its recorded history Malta has had many rulers: the Phœnicians and their offspring, the Carthaginians, then Romans, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Aragonese and Castilians, then for two and a half centuries the international Order of S. John of Jerusalem, and, finally, at the invitation of the Maltese people after a brief French occupation, the British. But despite the impact of such cosmopolitan influences this people has clung tenaciously to its ancient tongue, which is unquestionably of Semitic structure and has claims to descent from the speech of Dido and Hannibal.[1] It was, in fact, from a bilingual inscription in Phœnician and Greek found in Malta in 1697, of which more will be said in the following chapter, that the Phœnician alphabet was reconstructed. Of this inscription Dr A. V. Laferla writes in his *Story of Man in Malta*: "The construction and grammar . . . are identical with those of modern Maltese and many of the words (*lil*, *bin*, *tnejn*, *jisma*, *iberikom*) are still in use at the present day." S. Luke in the Acts describes the Maltese as "barbarians"—that is, as neither Greeks nor Romans—and 175 648 197 [172] 101 175

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[1] The name Hannibal is still met with in Malta as a Christian name. Its Maltese diminutive is Nibblu.

term by the numerous British Service men and women who 197
have been stationed in or have passed through Malta, *sahha*
has been admitted, in the form "saha," into the more recent 192-
editions of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* as an English word
for "good-bye," with due acknowledgment of its Maltese
origin. And perhaps "saha" is but the forerunner of others;
for in its issue of the 5th January 1945 the London *Spectator*
had this to say on the etymology of the word "spitchered,"
which occurs in one of the war books on Malta:

> The word clearly derives from the Maltese *spiċċa*, meaning "finished" or something similar. Naval opinion agrees with Air Force opinion on that. But naval opinion claims credit for embodying the word in the English language. And as naval opinion can point to its use as long ago as 1903, the Air Force does seem to be grounded or, indeed, spitchered on this particular point.

4

In some parts of the Old World the visitor can select, -133
according to his tastes, the century that he prefers. It is no 172
exaggeration to say that in Malta he can choose the millennium and more than the millennium. If he is a palæontologist he may wander about the cave of Ghar Dalam and study *in situ* the remains of the elephants and hippopotami who left their bones there when the world was yet young, and of giant swans who sailed on lakes that have long since
vanished. Advancing from these and from the Neanderthal 172
Man, of whom traces may have been found in Malta, many thousands of years into the Stone Age, he will find in Malta and Gozo a series of megalithic and neolithic sanctuaries—Tarxien, the Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni, Haġiar Qim, Mnajdra, Ġgantija, to mention only the most important—unequalled in any other part of the world.

He will find other survivals of the Stone Age, of a different 172
sort, in the cart-tracks which traverse many of the barren 493
136

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

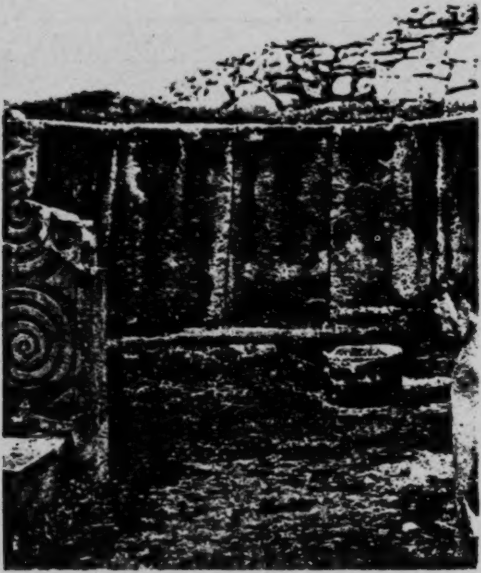
172 rocky surfaces of the island, the tram-lines of neolithic man;
493 and he will notice, if he is observant, that the dimensions of
the flat two-wheeled carts which, with their gaily caparisoned
[136] little ponies or donkeys, are the traditional vehicle of the
Maltese countryman of to-day correspond almost exactly
with those of the carts of his neolithic predecessor, as
136 deduced from the width of these ancient tracks. If he is
interested in strange animals that still survive but must be a
living link with hoary antiquity, he can study on the pictur-
esque, uninhabited islet of Filfla, now used only as a target
for gun practice, a remarkable lizard of the darkest green
spotted with red (*Lacerta muralis* var. *filfolensis*), which occurs
nowhere else in the world but on this tiny and diminishing
spit of rock.

341 The dominant architectural notes of the Maltese Islands are
megalithic and Baroque, and the gamut thus established can
217 scarcely be called a narrow one. So far as works of art are
172 concerned, the Museum in Valetta, housed before World
War II in the Auberge d'Italie and since 1958 in that of
Provence, contains a scientifically arranged exhibition of
[742] Stone Age culture unrivalled in any other country. This
collection, whose most bizarre items are the astonishing fat
female deities characteristic of Maltese neolithic sculpture,
was organized in chronological sequence by the Museum's
late learned Director, Sir Themistocles Zammit, who made
a second international reputation in the field of Maltese
archæology and excavation after having made an earlier one
in medical research in connexion with undulant, or Malta,
fever.

But the visitor is not obliged to study the activities of
241 these remote peoples solely in museums. If he wishes to see
501 how the distant forbears of the present population cultivated
178 their land he has only to watch the Maltese farmer of to-day
[532] ploughing his field; if he is a student of cultural survivals he
will note the eye of Osiris still painted on the bows of Malta's
sturdy little schooners and characteristic "Gozo boats." If

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

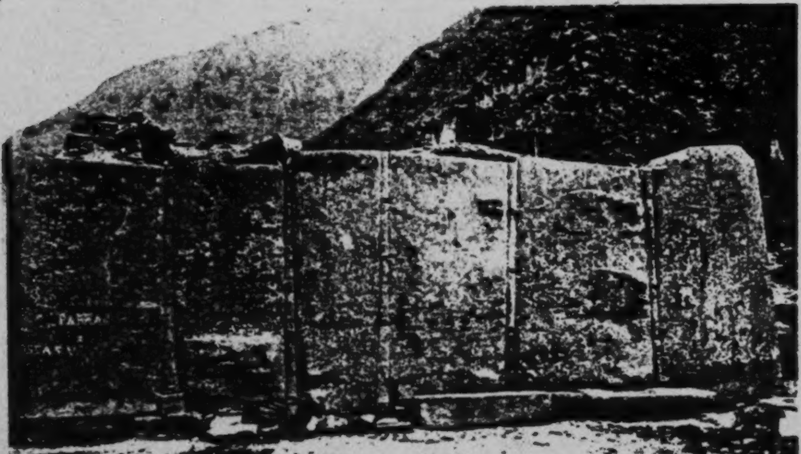
172



TARXIEN: MONOLITHS IN SECOND TEMPLE
[*See p.* 34]

48

000 MONOLITHS IN INCA CITADEL OF OLLANTAY-TAMPU, PERU



[Facing p. 48]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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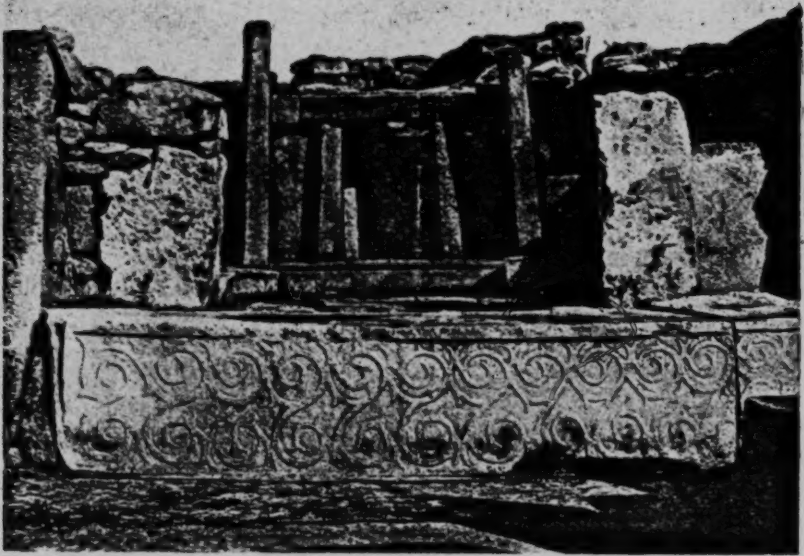
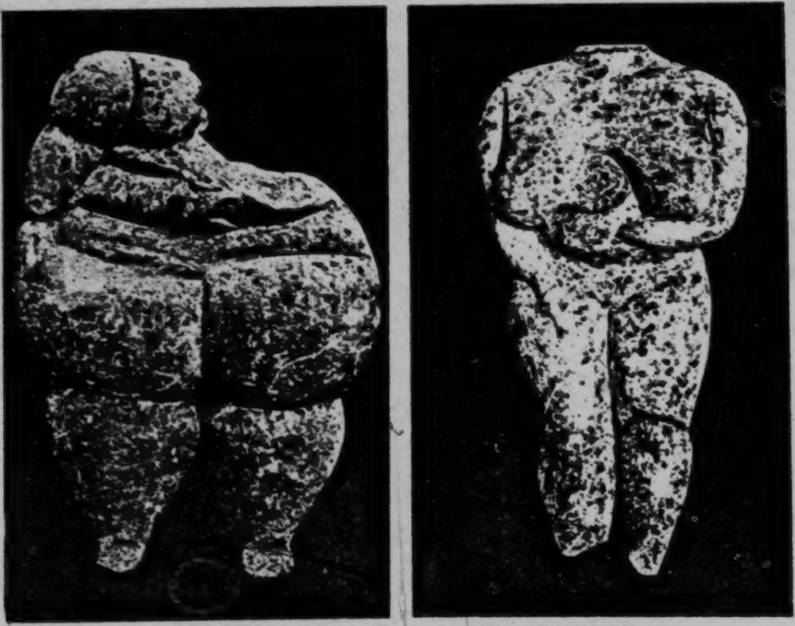


TARXIEN: FRIEZE AND AN ALTAR
[*See pp.* 33-35]

TEMPLE OF HAGIAR QIM: MAIN APSE
Filfla in background.

[facing p. 49, (A)]

•172



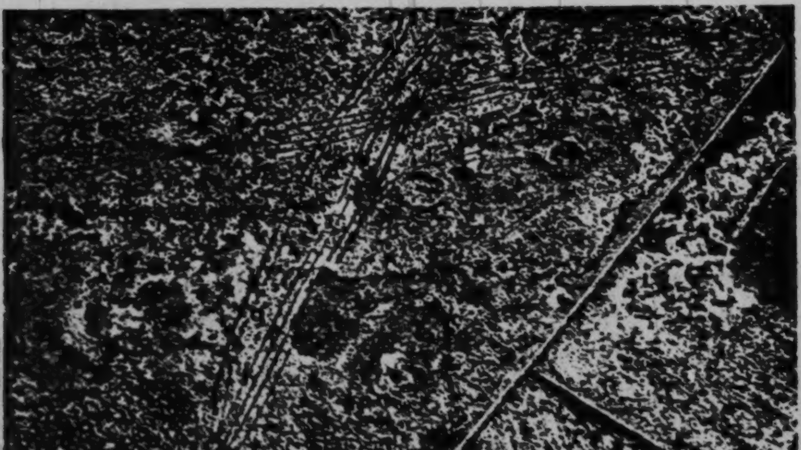
STONE AGE STATUETTES OF FAT DIVINITIES

The figure on the right is known as the "Venus of Malta."

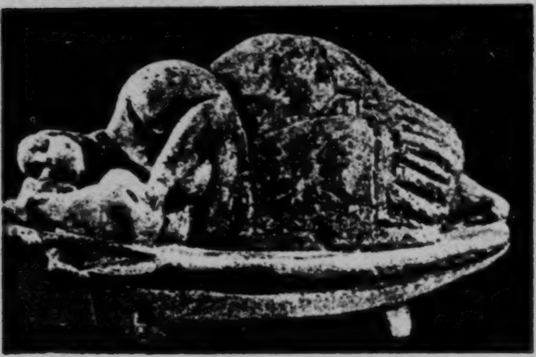
[*See p.* 34.]

STONE AGE CART-TRACKS, SHOWING CROSS-ROADS AND JUNCTIONS

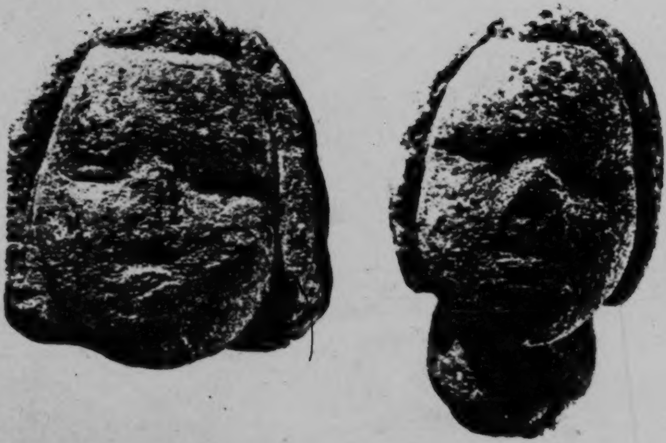
[*See pp.* 32-33.]



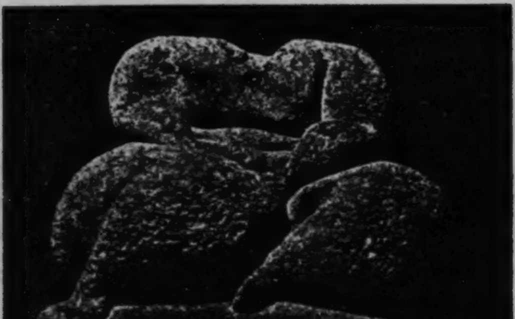
[facing p. 49, (B)]



RECUMBENT FEMALE DEITY FROM THE HYPOGEUM



TWO DETACHABLE HEADS OF FAT DEITIES



FAT FEMALE DEITY FROM HAĠIAR QIM
[*See p.* 34.]

[facing p. 49, (c)]
[pp. 49-55 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

•172

ROMAN INSCRIPTION RELATING TO THE *MUNICIPIUM* OF GOZO IN OUTER WALL OF CITADEL
[*See p.* 224.]

133

CLIFFS OF TA ĊENĊ, GOZO
[*See p.* 230.]

172

MAIMUNA'S TOMBSTONE
[*See p.* 224.]

[facing p. 209]

sometimes regarded in England—in other words, as hard- 181 headed folk whom nothing will keep out of the best jobs. It is certainly true to say that, loth as they may be to leave their 186 own little island, when they do it is definitely to better themselves. They make excellent colonists in Australia and [167] elsewhere in the New World, while those who emigrate no farther than Malta frequently attain distinction. The story is told of a function in S. John's Co-Cathedral in Valetta at a time, not so many years ago, when the Gozitans who were leading personages in Church and State included the Archbishop of Malta, Mgr Pace.

"Well," said a Maltese worshipper, after watching the entry into the church of the procession of Archbishop and Canons and other dignitaries, mostly (or so it seemed to him) natives of the junior island, "I suppose we ought to be thankful that the sacristan is still a Maltese."

Byron may have had something similar in mind when he bracketed Malta with Gozo as

> Calypso's isles,
> The sister tenants of the middle deep,

instead of describing them as mother and daughter.

There is much to see in this small island of 27 square miles 172 and as many thousand inhabitants besides natural scenery and [31] the monuments alluded to above. Let me instance some [161] characteristic features of various widely different epochs of Gozo's long history. First must come the twin Stone Age temples of Ggantija, through their cyclopean construction—one block has the formidable dimensions of 12½ by 17½ feet—the most stupendous work of Neolithic man in the Maltese archipelago. Farther excavation by the Malta Museum is planned on and around their site when funds permit, and more wonders may yet come to light. Meanwhile the [133] visitor may enjoy from one of the most impressive architectural survivals of remote antiquity a comprehensive view of Gozo and of the north-western end of Malta, with

GOZO

172 133 Comino between them separated from the islet of Cominotto by a channel of the palest green.

Traversing thousands of years, let us next notice a reminder 172 of the rule of Rome in the Latin inscription embedded in the entrance to the citadel, dating from the time when Gozo was a separate *municipium* of the Roman republic. Now for a glimpse of Islam, a legacy of the two centuries—from 870 to 1090—when the Arabs were the lords of these islands. Between the villages of Xewkija and Sannat on the road now called Ta Maimuna was discovered about three hundred years ago a slab of marble bearing an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters. This slab was the tombstone of an Arab girl named Maimuna, and the inscription is not only a fine piece of lapidary work but a human document from which I quote without apology:

> "Ask thyself," cries Maimuna from the grave, "if there is anything everlasting, anything that can repel or cast a spell upon death.
>
> "Alas, death has robbed me of my short life; neither my piety nor my modesty could save me from him. I was industrious in my work, and all that I did is reckoned and remains.
>
> "Oh, thou who lookest upon this grave in which I am enclosed, dust has covered my eyelids and the corners of my eyes.
>
> "On my couch and in my abode there is nought but tears; and [what will happen] when my Creator comes to me?
>
> "Oh, brother, take. . . ."

And here little Maimuna's pathetic message comes to an abrupt end.

873 175 The passage of a few more centuries brings us to the spacious days of the Knights of S. John, the study of whose rule in Gozo may be facilitated by reference to the archives of the island's "University," for Gozo had, like Malta, its own "University" until the beginning of British rule.[1] It

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[217]

[1] These archives were rescued from oblivion after the Second World War by the Commissioner of Gozo, Mr E. Montanaro, and are now preserved in the Commissioner's Office.

B. The Lands of a Maltese Family

423*

It has been found possible to trace the landholding history of a single family 173 back to its very beginning through four generations and slightly more than 100 427 years. Before about 1850, the family in question had no direct proprietary interest in land. 596 Its members were landless labourers working mainly in the fields of various farmers in the northern districts of the island. They appear to have moved from farm to farm as demands for labour arose. Frequently they worked as a team, occasionally as individuals but always they were paid on a daily basis. Their home was in the casal of Mosta, and there is still some attachment to that centre, although few members of the family continue to reside there.

This study is based, fundamentally, on the oral tradition of the family, [127] refined by studies of the Farm Register, Government Land Records and field identification. For ethical reasons, the family must remain anonymous; its members are therefore referred to by key numbers. The founder-father of our family and his five children are designated 0 to 5 as below. The progeny of each [128] son are numbered similarly, the digits suffixed to the parent's number and so throughout. In addition, the lineage groups stemming from the original five children are distinguished by the letter A to E. Final suffixes 0 denote husbands of the females of the family.

The history begins in the 1850's with a family of five children and their father (0). Four of the children (2-5) were sons and worked for some time with their father as farm labourers. At some stage, the daughter (1), married a farmer with land in the Manikata area, and from her springs branch A of the family. Later, one of the brothers (2) married the daughter of a farmer who held most of his land at Ġnejn Għajn Tuffieħa, and lived nearby. On the death or retirement of his father-in-law, 2 acquired the tenancy of this land in the third year of an eight year lease which had commenced in 1862. Finding that he was unable to work this farm satisfactorily by himself he invited one of his brothers (3) to join him in the enterprise. When the eight year lease was renewed for a similar period, in 1870, both brothers became joint tenants. Their respective descendants form groups B and C of the genealogy. Another piece of land, which had been leased by 2's father-in-law for 99 years from 1861, passed to 2, neither 2 nor his descendants having any share in it.

Meanwhile, in 1857 or 1858, the father (0) and his two remaining sons (4 and 5) acquired the tenancy of an area of partially irrigable land at the head of the Ġnejna valley. Some 12 months earlier the land, with its terraces, had been severely damaged by floodwaters following very heavy rain. The landowner concerned was unwilling to assist the sitting tenant in the repair of severe storm damage to the extent which that tenant expected. Rather than bear alone the full cost, the latter attempted to sub-let outside his own family and was dispossessed by the owner. Our landless labourer (0) and his two sons (4 and 5) evidently felt themselves capable of tackling this reconstruction and, with the landowner's approval, took over the tenancy. It is uncertain whether the landlord gave them assistance in the form of reduced rent, whether they had some capital saved from their meagre wages which they could exploit here, or whether they depended for success entirely on their own labour. Some capital must have been available to them to cover the period of reconstruction and the sale of the first season's crop. It would be characteristic of the period if some financial help [426] was given by the *pitkali* merchants who functioned as the land bank of that day.

There is evidence that local opinion did not rate highly the chances of this landless group in restoring the valley to its former fertility. The story is told of local comment that the family would not stay 'from Christmas Day to St. [522] Stephen's' (25th-26th December). After 100 years of continuous occupation the story affords the family some considerable amusement, but serves to illustrate the shaky nature of the original enterprise.

*423
102
●173
427
596

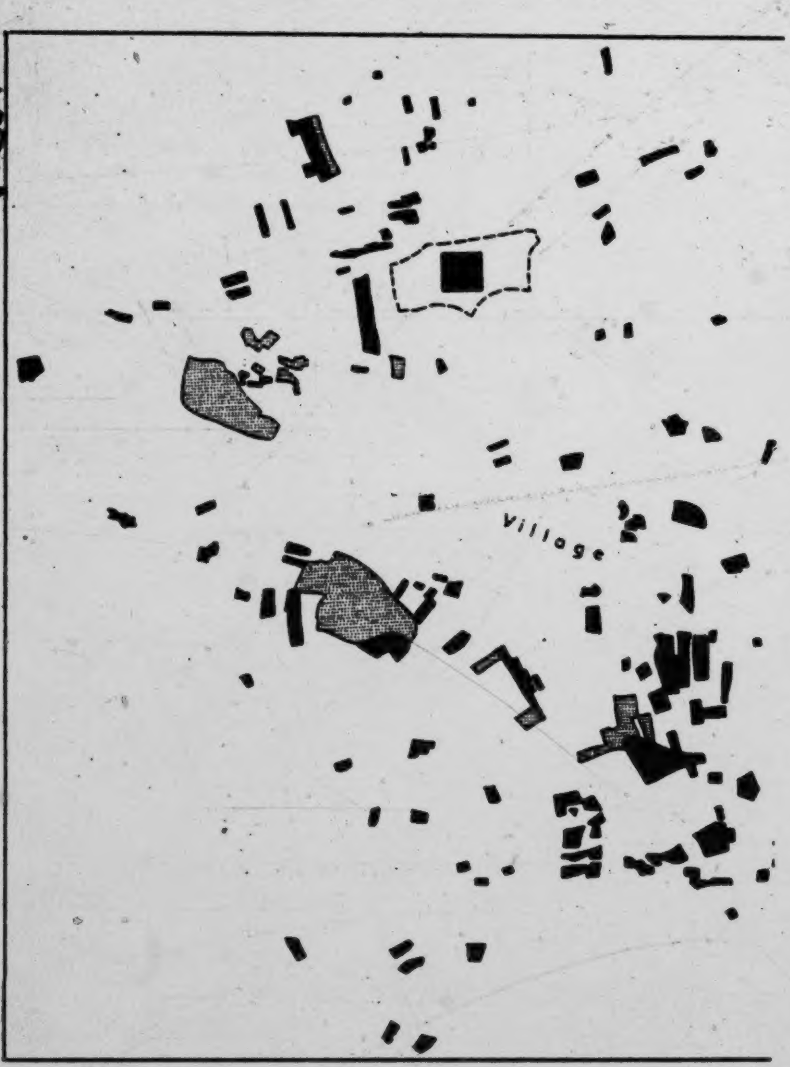

Fig. 139 The Landholdings of a Maltese Family

[p. 308-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

*423
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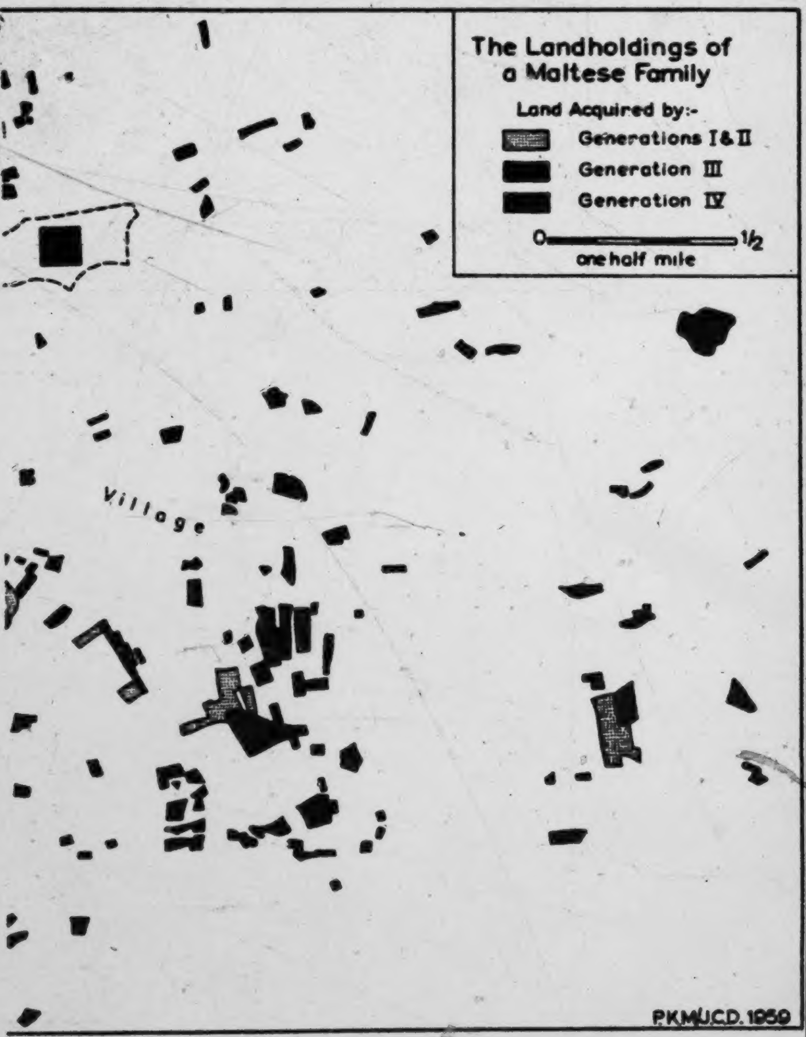
The Landholdings of a Maltese Family
Land Acquired by:-
▨ Generations I & II
■ Generation III
■ Generation IV
0 1/2
one half mile
Village
P.K.M./U.C.D. 1959

Fig. 139
The Landholdings of a Maltese Family.

[p. 308-B]

*423 This valley land, occupied by 0, 4 and 5, was not originally a single continuous
plot, for two other tenants occupied land within the perimeter. At some
173 date, the holdings of these tenants were absorbed by the family, for today the
427 whole plot is held by members of groups D and E, the descendants of 4 and 5.
It has belonged, throughout, to a single owner and has been held for many years
596 on an annual lease. For many members of the family it still forms the nucleus
of their holdings, though each now works a relatively small portion of it.

Probably in 1880, 5 acquired the tenancy of two 4-*tmien* plots of a 29-*tmien* tenement near to this nucleus, on flat land to the east of the valley and the lease was later renewed, on similar terms, to one of 5's sons (54). On termination of the second lease, an increase of rent was mooted, to which 54 could not agree. After five months, no alternative tenant had been found and 54 therefore re-occupied at the old rent. He took two of the six portions into which the 29 *tmien* were divided, intending one for a brother, who however, did not require it. Both portions are retained by 54's descendants.

One year after this re-entry, 5 and his three brothers were approached by the agent to become tenants of another patch of less fertile land (75 *tmien* including rock). The division was uneven, 2 receiving a nominal 1½ *tmien* despite the plot's proximity to his home and other land. 5, perhaps as the principal tenant, acquired a lion's share (33 *tmien*).

The agent's inability to find alternative tenants for the 8 *tmien* of land and his soliciting of the family to occupy the larger plot, seem to indicate a marked

absence of land hunger at this period, 1805 to 1806. Such a situation had probably existed for some years, since there is no information that other land taken over as a new tenancy, again by 5, at the beginning of that decade was 'lying idle', at the expiration of a long lease. The area concerned was again substantial and 5, unable or unwilling to tackle the whole plot, joined with two brothers from a nearby hamlet in making a successful bid for the tenement. The land, and also the rent which they had jointly agreed to pay, was then sub-divided, local conditions of soil and quality being taken into consideration. 423* 173● 427 596

At some time, possibly during this period, the other brothers, 2 and 3, added to the land obtained by marriage at Ghajn Tuffieha (as a new tenancy and with strangers as co-tenants) another 35 *tmien* some two miles to the south-east, close to what is now the parish boundary in that direction. At a later date (c. 1910) 2 and his son, 21, entered on a new tenement of irrigated land in the Wied tal-Pwales to the north of Ghajn Tuffieha. This was immediately divided into two approximately equal portions, of which the father's was eventually shared only amongst his other children.

The land initially acquired by 2 (the founder of group B) from his wife's family was Government land, which was already at that date split into a number of separate plots, but the other lands acquired by this second generation as new tenancies were fairly large blocks of land, averaging 36 *tmien* in area, including the two 4-*tmien* plots of land leased to 5.

It is clear, therefore, that during the 50 years before 1910 quite large blocks of land in northern Malta were coming on to the leasehold market, and that a family without previous rights of any sort in that land could enter on to it, apply sufficient capital and industry, to maintain its hold and, within limits, dictate the amount of rent which it was willing to pay for the use of that land. All the land leased for the first time during this period belonged to owners of large private or ecclesiastical estates and some at least had been surrendered on the termination of long leases. There is strong evidence from all branches of the family that all land leased during this period has stayed within the group, though some naturally has passed to daughters on their marriage. The land acquired in the male line by 0 and 2-5 in this early period is mapped at Fig. 139.

This area mapped in Fig. 139 totals 262 *tmien* and was held by the four brothers in the proportions shown in Table 42. 423* 102 173 427 596

Table 42. Maximum holdings of generation II. *Tmien*.

	Sons of Farmer 0				
	Son 2 (B)	Son 3 (C)	Son 4 (D)	Son 5 (E)	Total
Acquired by marriage	12½	7¼	-	-	19¾
New tenancies	21½	42¼	56⅝	121⅞	242¼
Total leasehold	34	49½	56⅝	121⅞	262
Freehold	-	-	-	-	-
Total area	34	49½	56⅝	121⅞	262
No. of non-contiguous plots	?	?	6	8	?

Even at this early stage, there is considerable disparity in the size of holdings, though this would partly disappear if the relative proportions of irrigated and waste land were taken into account. None of the brothers had any significant financial interests outside farming. 2 and 3 seem to have lived at Ghajn Ghajn Tuffieha but the others remained at Mosta, though many week-nights were spent in rooms which they had in a building at the head of the Ghajnsa valley.

*423 As the circumstances of land acquisition would indicate, these early holdings
were not excessively 'fragmented' but the seeds of later more complex patterns
●173 had been set by the lease of non-contiguous properties and the parcellation
amongst themselves or with unrelated co-tenants of large tenements newly
427 leased. However, we must remember that, although the male line of the family
held no land before c. 1860, this is certainly not true of all the families into
596 which 0's sons and their descendants married. Accordingly, 2's children and
the children of later marriages were only partially descended from the landless
[428] strain. With the legal right of equality of division of all heritable property
regardless of sex, the expectations of later scions would therefore be enhanced.
It must also be remembered that all land held by the later descendants of 0,
whether acquired by descent through the family, by marriage, new tenancy or
purchase, may with equal validity be considered as the land of other families,
whose sons and daughters marry into the family which we have chosen to study.
It is a valid case of 'gaining a son, not losing a daughter'. In the present (fourth)
[621] generation the family is fully integrated into a complex web of relationships
within the village. Indeed an informant has remarked that if someone in the
village is not related to him, that person must be a stranger and newcomer to
the area.

Notwithstanding these considerations, clarity can only be preserved by maintaining the idea of the family as a developing entity in terms of which land is gained, lost or divided. Division is the normal process by which lands may pass in effect into the hands of a single child, though siblings may be entitled to some form of compensation. Division to all the children need not take place at the same time, an elder child may even receive its share while a younger brother is still unborn. In these circumstances, 'shares' cannot be precise, though efforts may be made to re-adjust at a later stage. A share of parental land is normally the first which a young farmer begins to work as his own. If, as is usual, his departure from the family farm was occasioned by marriage, he may also obtain land from his father-in-law, but this is never *his* in the same sense and is only effectively consolidated with the land of his own family when his children, born of that wife, come to work it on their own behalf.

Generation 3

All the brothers of the second generation are now dead, the last having died c. 1936, and their landholdings split up. The pattern of acquisition of land by the third generation is shown in Fig. 139. Family land passed very unevenly to these groups. For example, in group C, although there were seven other children all land came ultimately to the husband of one daughter (3 to 35). Initially the farm was divided amongst the children.

Table 43. Holdings of Generation III: Group C. *Tmien.*

s = son; d = daughter.

	31s	32s	33s	34d	35/36d	37d	38d	Total
Division from parent: 3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	45½	[illegible]	[illegible]	49½
Transfers among siblings	-[illegible]	-[illegible]	-[illegible]	-[illegible]	+4	-[illegible]	-[illegible]	4
Total land and max. holding	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	49½	[illegible]	[illegible]	-
Total land to be passed on	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½
Leasehold	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½

Note: Some of 35's siblings have a little land elsewhere.

In other groups, the demands of each child were more nearly equal, but in none was there a rigid egalitarian sub-division. Even in group B, where all the children received some land, its distribution seems to have been controlled by

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need rather than any rigid adherence to the legal issues. All but one of 2's children remained fundamentally within the farming community. The exception (24) married a non-farmer, but even she was given a share of the irrigated land of her mother's portion, presumably to use as a vegetable-garden.

Table 44. Holdings of Generation III: Group B. *Tmien*.

s = son; d = daughter.

	21s	22s	23s	24d	25d	26d	27d	Total	Ex. 25d
Division from parent: 2	3	4½	5¼	¾	1½	11¼	7¾	34	
Acquired by marriage	7⅝	3½	-	-	*	2	2	15⅛	
New tenancies	†32⅝	11	5	-	n.d.	12⅛	8½	69¼	
Purchase	7½	5	5	-	n.d.	-	-	17½	
Transfers among siblings	-	†22½	-15⅜	-¾	-	-	-6	22½	
Transfers outside family	-	-	-	-	n.d.	-2	-2	-4	
Total land held	50¾	46	15⅛	¾	c. 66½	25⅜	18	c. 223⅜	156⅞
Maximum holding size	50¾	46	10⅛	¾	c. 66½	25⅜	18¼	c. 218⅜	151⅞
Total land to be passed on	50¾	46	-	-	c. 66½	23⅜	10¼	c. 196⅝	130⅛
Leasehold	43¾	41			n.d.	23⅜	10¼		117⅝
Freehold	20¾	5	-	-	n.d.	-	-		12½

*circa 65 *tmien* at Attard. †Of which 11 *tmien* later purchased.

Table 44 shows the distribution of 2's 34 tmien of land, and other data relating to group B. Analysis of this distribution is complicated by the diverse qualities of 2's land holding, especially with regard to irrigated and dry land. But even when allowance is made for this factor, shares cannot be considered equal. The shares of 26 and 27, which passed to their husbands 260 and 270, were inflated by the inclusion of much dry land, but 26 still had a disproportionately large share from her father, perhaps because 260 had little land in his own right (2 *tmien*); the same might also be said of 270. 21 had already halved a tenement with his father (10 *tmien* of his new tenancies) and therefore received only a share of his mother's land, and none of that later added by his father. His brother (22) had a relatively small holding initially but added to it substantially later in life, when he took over the land of some of his brothers and sisters. Similar divisions are apparent in groups D and E.

Of their generation, group B were the most assiduous in adding to land holdings by purchase and new tenancies. Had it not been for their low fertility (23, 24 and 26 had no children, though all were married) they would have dominated the family in later generations. It will have been noticed that much care was taken that 2's children should have a share in their mother's land, while land later added by the father was distributed more partially. The mother's land comes into the family essentially for the use of herself and her children and where there are no children it must be returned eventually to her family. Similar logic applies to land or use of land *inherited* by the father, as is exemplified by 260's 2 *tmien* which, when it became clear that 260 and his wife would not produce issue, was given to his sister for her children. In contrast to some of his brothers and sisters, 22 had a large, vigorous, agriculturally-minded family and this, no doubt, stimulated him into adding to his initially relatively small holding, for not only would his children's labour permit him to expand but also their future welfare would demand it.

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The basic pattern is thus one of more or less unequal division amongst those children who wish to take up their rights of pre-emption on land, with greatest emphasis on the equality of division of land coming ultimately from a grandparent. At a later stage, 'family' land tends to become concentrated into the hands of the more interested children (e.g. 350 and 22), and along with it some land added by their siblings. The volume of lands added other than by marriage is very much less than during generation II. New tenancies, which totalled 242¼ *tmien* of the holdings of 2, 3, 4 and 5, in the holdings of their children amounted to only 93¾ *tmien*, although there were at this latter stage 11 individuals actively interested in farming in the district. Sixteen new tenements were entered by this generation and the average size was 7¼ *tmien* (c.f. Generation II: 35 tmien). Of these, two were outstandingly large and in both cases tenancy was shared with members of other generations. The smaller (20¾ *tmien*) was occupied by 21 and his father (2) in c. 1910, while the other (30 *tmien*) was a co-tenancy between 21, 54, 5410 (54's son-in-law, generation IV) and a stranger, taken up in 1916. Thus, within a short space of six years, or perhaps a little more, three generations were actively acquiring land, this being some measure of the considerable interdigitation of the generations which makes it impossible to refer any one generation to any specific period in Malta's economic history. Where precise dates are known the evidence is thus the more valuable.

An example of the circumstances in which these new tenancies were added is illuminating. In 1916, the sitting tenant of the 30-*tmien* plot mentioned above attempted to sub-let the land to a non-relative. Not only was this done without the owner's permission but he also attempted to exact a premium from his proposed sub-tenant. The landlord was informed and the tenant evicted. Agreement was almost reached between the owner and a prospective new tenant, 410's father, when it was suggested by the owner's lawyer that a higher rent might be obtained on the open market. The tenancy was therefore published, in the traditional way - at Mass in the parish church - and, the joint bid of 21, 54 and 5410 being the highest, they were offered the tenement. The defeated applicant asked if he might share in the tenancy and, in view of the earlier negotiations, all parties agreed to this. This transaction, with the relatively small size of the other new tenancies, would seem to indicate that considerable competition for land had developed since the larger acquisitions of the previous generation. There is here certainly no evidence of land lying idle for five months as had happened in 1895.

The average size of plot added by marriage during this generation was also small, some 5¼ *tmien*. A small size is to be expected since these are all subdivisions of other families' land. The increase in total marriage land over the previous generation is roughly proportional to the increase in the number of marriages. As previously, 50 per cent. of the marriages in which the partners continue as agriculturalists involve no exchange of land, but in at least one of these cases (41) land passed from the wife's family directly to the children at a time when they were already independent of their father. Similarly, parts of the marriage lands of 210, 510 and 530 were also passed in this way directly from grandparent or uncle or aunt to the child. This process further emphasises that the land in question is not a dowry in the normal sense of the word, but essentially a settlement on the expected issue of the marriage.

A clear illustration of the economic advance of the family lies in its acquisition, during the third generation, of freehold land. It is doubly significant that only 1¾ *tmien* of the 35¾ *tmien* freehold came into the family by marriage, the rest was actually purchased by members of a family which, one or two generations earlier, were not even the occupiers of rented land. Most of this freehold land came into group B, where 21 and his brothers purchased 28¼ *tmien*.

In these different ways 167¾ *tmien* near the old nucleus and some 100 *tmien* elsewhere have been added to the 262 *tmien* handed down from generation II. In contrast, only 4 tmien has passed out of family control during the period. The distribution of this additional land is shown in Fig. 139 where its increased 'scatter' and the smaller size of the unit pieces makes a contrast with the earlier distributions.

By the time this generation[1] was at its prime, the village had grown both in size and facilities and achieved parish status. Gradually houses were built and the old attachment to Mosta was at least partially broken, but some of the farmers retain a house in the casal, now often rented to British Service families from ta'Qali airfield. Saved the need to travel to and from the casal, and increased dispersal of plots will matter much less to the farmer than if that journey still had to be made. 423* 173 596

More directly of concern to him will be the size of his holding. As there are now 13 farmers where formerly there were only four and since the total local area has been increased by appreciably less than 100 per cent., the farmer of generation III must, on the average, have a smaller holding than did his parent or parent-in-law. 350, holding all his father-in-law's land is one exception, and there is considerable diversity from individual to individual and group to group.

Many of the third generation are still alive, some retain control of land and one or two are still actively farming small remnants of their holdings. Therefore it would not be possible to examine the transmission of all their land to the succeeding generation. Nor indeed would this be necessary to the present study since the distribution, so far as it has taken place, has followed the same pattern as that from generation II. However, one aspect of the inheritance of land can best be studied at this stage, an aspect scarcely touched upon earlier. That concerns the physical division of a father's holding when it passes to his children. For example, is a holding of ten plots belonging to a farmer with five sons split into five components each with ten plots, every original plot being divided equally to each son - or, if all the plots are of uniform size will each son receive two plots only? This question is clearly of importance to the whole problem of *parcellement* and *morcellement*. That the true position lies somewhere between the two hypotheses given above is evidenced by the subsequent history of 54's holding outlined below. 423* 596

At its maximum, 54's holding comprised 142 plots in six localities, a total area of 74 *tmien*, distributed as shown in Table 45.

Table 45. Holdings of 54. Locality, number of plots and area.

Locality	No. of plots	Size of plots				Total
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	
A	2	4 tm.	4 tm.	-		8 tm.
B	2	30 tm.	½ tm.	-		30½ tm.
C	3	3¾ tm.	1 tm.	3 tm.		7¾ tm.
D	4	8½ tm.	2½ tm.	2¾ tm.	4 tm.	17¾ tm.
E	1	7½ tm.				7½ tm.
F	1	3 tm.				3 tm.

He had six children (541-546) equally divided among the sexes and the amount of land given to each child varied enormously (Table 46), the daughters receiving small portions, the eldest son somewhat more, while the two younger brothers received two-thirds of the total land, which they work in partnership. The two elder daughters each married men with substantial land holdings. Their sister married a butcher who normally takes no part in farming but did work on the land during the recent war. At present the butcher's land is worked by 543 on a profit-sharing basis. 543 became independent of his father at an early age and has acquired a not inconsiderable farm (52 *tmien*) by purchase from his wife's family as well as from his father either direct or through siblings. These facts doubtless explain the inequality of the father's sub-division, and 173 423* 596

[1] [i.e., The third generation of the family under discussion -- Analyst]

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the portion which 544 and 546 work jointly represents the remnant holding which they and their father worked jointly after the other children had received land. Some of it is still held by the father who takes a nominal share of the profits.

Table 46. Allotments to each of 54's children, showing plot number and areas which each received.

541 d	542 d	543 s	545 d	544 s/546 s
pt. C(a) 1t.	A(a) 4t.	pt. B(a) ½t.	pt. D(a) 3½t.	pt. A(b) 4t.
D(d) 4t.	pt. B(a) ½t.	pt. C(a) 1t.		pt. B(a) 29½t.
		pt. D(a) 1⅝t.		B(b) ½t.
		E 7½t.		pt. C(a) 1⅝t.
				C(b) 1t.
				C(c) 3t.
				pt. D(a) 3½t.
				D(b) 2½t.
				D(c) 2⅜t.
				F 3t.
5t.	4½t.	10⅝t.	3½t.	50⅝t.

Table 46 shows the extent to which plots have been sub-divided. On the whole the smaller plots have passed unbroken to the children (e.g. A(a) and (b), C(b) and (c), and D(b), (c) and (d)) but so has E(a) which is a fairly large fertile plot. Plot B, also, is little broken, though 542 and 543 each have a small portion for the supply of fruit to their respective family tables.

The fourth generation received paternal land according to the same patterns as the preceding one, and a similar generalisation applies to their acquisition of new land.

Table 47. Acquisition of new land by generation IV.

Groups	B	C	D	E	Total
From grandparent	4⅝		3⅝	17⅛	25½
Marriage	34⅛	26½	72⅛	151⅛	183⅞
New tenancy	35⅝	3⅜	5⅛	20	65½
Purchase	7			51½	58½
Miscellaneous*				5⅛	5⅛
Total	81½	30⅛	81⅝	244⅞	338⅛

*In trust for step-son.

The proportions acquired in the different ways have however changed substantially. Some indication of the extent to which the family are now integrated into the local community may be had from the amount of land now acquired by

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marriage (60 per cent. of the total), but there are now a greater number of family members interested in land - 31 in all, though only 22 have holdings of a size likely to produce an adequate family income. The net per capita change over the generation is a significant reduction in the area added, especially in the area added by new tenancies which in generation III resulted in an increase of 93½ *tmien*. Further, the increase indicated in Table 47 is significantly influenced by a tenement newly entered by one member of the family (2130) which, in one large block of land, amounted to 38½ *tmien*. All other new tenancies were relatively small pieces of land. The same applies, in fact, to all the land added at this time and, while land held by the family is gradually becoming an increasingly significant proportion of the total land in the locality, the outer spatial limit of new acquisitions is becoming increasingly wider (Fig. 139).

Naturally, generation V, some of whom are still babes-in-arms, has not yet been long enough active in the field for any clear patterns to show, but some transfers of land have take place. There does however seem to be evidence of an increasing proportion of children receiving only small garden plots from their parents, their major source of income being clearly outside farming. Throughout the period considered, 'garden land' of this sort has increased, though the pattern is obscured by overlapping generations (e.g. group C, generation III was somewhat younger and therefore later developing than other groups).

In the foregoing section, the landholding history of a family has been examined in historical depth. Both the methods of acquiring new land and the means of sub-dividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots. Although all children have pre-emptions to their parents' land, by no means all such rights are in fact taken up. In general, sons receive more land than daughters, while dowry land, so-called, is seen to have rather a more special function than that term implies. Although the availability of land has varied from period to period, energetic individuals seem always to have been able to build up their holdings to a viable size, partly perhaps by judicious choice of a marriage partner. Nevertheless, since c. 1870 there has been a general decrease in the size of farm.

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Much of this evidence confirms and in part explains the trends observed in the general statistical material and the study of the Żebbug-Siggiewi area. The legal evidence, which as was shown earlier allowed for the possibility of extreme sub-division, is only relevant so far as individuals and economic conditions enforce such extremes. In so far as law and custom support the maintenance of a family's control over land, field evidence suggests that law and custom prevail, for very little land entering the family is subsequently lost. On the other hand, attempts to sub-let outside a family group are seen again and again to result in forfeiture of land which our expanding family were quick to seize upon.

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that, although fragmentation has not proceeded to a degree made possible in law, it has developed with fair rapidity during the period of this survey. Had fragmentation proceeded everywhere in the island at the same speed in longer-established farming families, it would certainly have reached a more critical phase than it patently has. There seem to be three possible explanations of this apparent contradiction. Firstly there may have been some factor, as yet unknown, which inhibited considerable general fragmentation and which ceased to operate as from 70 or 80 years ago. The nineteenth century development of Government Lands, or some element in the emigrating pattern may be involved. Secondly, there may be a socio-economic limit to the process which our family has just reached, bringing it into line with conditions in older families - extensive inter-marriage may be a factor here. Or finally, there may be special forces within a developing family unit, perhaps not unrelated to the spirit of determination which led O and his sons with little capital to take upon themselves the task of restoring 100 *tmien* of storm-ravaged land, which would not apply to other groups. Certainly some individual members of the family studied display a peasant-like devotion to the soil which is becoming increasingly rare in Malta.

796 national and religious festival, which has been lately declared a general holiday.

796 This very popular feast is intended to
•173 commemorate the greatest and most important event in the whole history of these Islands: that is, the conversion of the Maltese from Paganism to Christianity by the Great Apostle of the Gentiles, after he was shipwrecked on the shores of this Island A.D. 58.

796 The taste displayed by the Maltese in their festive decorations amount almost to genius, and they effect with the simplest means, what the most elaborate mechanism is generally required to effect elsewhere.

796 The front of the church, and the
373 principal streets leading to it, are always decorated with thousands of white and coloured lamps. Along the road large

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

from the gala coach of the dignitaries 796
of the Island to the peasant's cart. 825 175

Very many inquiries have been made into the origin of the blessing of quadrupeds on this festival, none of which, however, has proved satisfactory.

That St. Anthony has been long re- 776
cognized as the patron and protector 825
of the lower animals, and particularly of pigs, is a well established fact.

Fuller, in his "Worthies." says: 776
"St. Anthony is universally known as 825 114
the patron of hogs, having in all pictures a pig for his attendant, though for what reason is unknown, except because being a hermit, and having a cell or hole digged in the earth, and feeding principally on roots, he and the hogs were both alike in their diet and lodgings."

When St. Anthony was living in the 776 173 825

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

173 776 825 desert, away from the rumours of the world, for the only object of serving God, the devil tried all his means to tempt the old hermit and win him to himself—the Saint, however, always held fast and kept faithful to God. The fiend, seeing that all his efforts were vain, took to frightning and tormenting the good hermit. On several occasions he appeared to him amidst a flock of wild beasts. Anthony, however, was never frightened, he soon invoked the name of our Lord and signed the cross for help, and the devil enraged was always obliged to leave him unhurt.

796 825 173 This is probably the reason why animals are blessed on St' Anthony's day, so as to keep off the devil from them, and thus man is less liable to be injured or hurt by them.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

This festival is said to have originated 796
with the ancient Romans who, on the 173
night of the 1st day of February, went about the streets of Rome with lighted torches and candles in honour of the Goddess *Februa*, the mother of Mars.

In the year 684, however, pope Ser- 796
gius, anxious to wean his disciples from 175
the practice of heathen observances, and seeing that it would be useless to prohibit a practice of so long standing, turned the ceremony to a christian account by enjoining a similar offer of candles to the Blessed Virgin, and ordained that all Christian people should come to church on the 2nd day of February with candles in honour of the Virgin Mother of God.

big confits are thrown by some evil 541
disposed person, and in such a manner, as to cause injury; in fact the Police authorities issue, every year, notifications warning persons against the throwing of hard substances.

On Monday the Governor of the 541 643
Island gives a fancy dress ball at the Palace, which is always very numerously attended. Some of the costumes worn on this night are indeed magnificent, and the noble marble palace halls and corridors, once thronged by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, present a truly picturesque appearance. A list of the persons present and the costumes worn is annually published in some of the local papers.

The Carnival is supposed to have 541 173
been originally instituted in imitation 177
of the Sigillaria or festival days added

541 •173 177 to the ancient Saturnalia (*) and was condemned by the Synod of Trullus, where it was decreed that the days called the Calends should entirely be stripped of their ceremonies, and that the faithful should no longer observe them; that the public dancing of women should cease as being the occasion of much harm and ruin, and as being invented and observed in honour of the Gods of the heathens and therefore quite averse to the Christian life.

541 174 177 The author of "Convivial Antiquities" speaking about the ancient Saturnalia, says: that on this occasion there were

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(*) Saturnalia, festivals in honour of *Saturno*, celebrated in Rome about the middle of December. The celebration, which continued for 3 or more days, was remarkable for the liberty which universally prevailed. The slaves were permitted to ridicule their masters and to speak with freedom upon every subject.

527 are seen putting off the shore and
501 steering their course homewards.

527 The custom of making swings on
526 Ascension Day, is very common in Malta, especially among the country people. In almost every village, lots of women and children may be seen swinging together and singing merrily on the day of *Lapsi*.

527 No reason could perhaps be assigned
173 by the Maltese for the practice of celebrating *Lapsi* by parties and picnics on the water, and for making swings, except that they follow the custom of their ancestors.

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St. JOHN'S EVE

Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating

778 788 Sanctuary dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

[782] [527] When the devout visitors recite their prayers in the venerated shrine of the Madonna, and leave behind their offerings, such as candles, oil to be burnt in the lamps before the image, waxen and silver limbs &c., they come out and devote the remainder of the day to amusements.

173 778 788 The annual pilgrimages to Melleha in September are supposed to have originated after the victory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565. The siege being raised on the 7th of Sept. —the eve of the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin— the Maltese, in token of gratitude for the help received from the Virgin, in those trying days, made pilgrimages to Melleha, to offer prayers before the mirac-

ulous effigy of the B. V. Mary, venerated in that shrine excavated out of the rock. 173 778 788

ALL SOULS' DAY
2nd November

769 796 In Malta, the same as in any other Roman Catholic country, a feast is also celebrated for the dead, and the Cemeteries especially that of the "Addolorata," which ranks amongst the finest in Europe, are, on the 1st and 2nd of November the favourite resort of nearly the whole population of the towns and of the neighbouring villages.

Amidst mournful tingling and tolling of the church bells, countless inhabitants, mostly clad in the habiliments of grief, and murmuring prayers, are seen wending their way to the Cemetery. Arrived

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

648 desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty
175 years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But
he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of
blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant:
he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval
base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean.
Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the
point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the
naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean
but a vital link in the route to a farther East than
Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither
William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn
on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

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161 At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an
[162] estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls
(exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which
Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to
say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile,
which makes it one of the most densely populated geographical
[167] units in the world. The figure would have been
higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia
161 and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by
619 the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small
for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto
themselves, with their own language, their own traditions,
their own physical characteristics and a history that is one
of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

172 For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and
173 Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days
reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in
other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta
[132] was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

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[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the "tempestuous wind called Euroclydon" that still whistles 172
across it during the winter months under its modern name 173
of *gregale*, the "Greek wind," drove S. Paul on to its shores
and brought it about that the "chief man" of the island, [132]
Publius, became its first Bishop. It was a centre of civilization,
as well as a centre of the religious life of the Western
Mediterranean, very much earlier, for Malta, in the words
of the lamented Sir Themistocles Zammit, "was the holy
island of neolithic faith, the half-way house of the early
mariners, who trusted themselves to their frail wooden craft,
full of hope in a protecting power."

Later, when we emerge from prehistory, we find the 175
position reversed: Malta, instead of extending supernatural 648
protection to peoples beyond its shores, comes under the
political protection of others. During the many centuries 197
of its recorded history Malta has had many rulers: the
Phœnicians and their offspring, the Carthaginians, then
Romans, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Aragonese and
Castilians, then for two and a half centuries the international
Order of S. John of Jerusalem, and, finally, at the invitation
of the Maltese people after a brief French occupation, the
British. But despite the impact of such cosmopolitan influences
this people has clung tenaciously to its ancient
tongue, which is unquestionably of Semitic structure and
has claims to descent from the speech of Dido and Hannibal.[1]
It was, in fact, from a bilingual inscription in Phœnician and [172]
Greek found in Malta in 1697, of which more will be said
in the following chapter, that the Phœnician alphabet was
reconstructed. Of this inscription Dr A. V. Laferla writes
in his *Story of Man in Malta*: "The construction and grammar
. . . are identical with those of modern Maltese and many of
the words (*lil*, *bin*, *tnejn*, *jisma*, *iberikom*) are still in use at the
present day." S. Luke in the Acts describes the Maltese as 101
"barbarians"—that is, as neither Greeks nor Romans—and 175

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[1] The name Hannibal is still met with in Malta as a Christian name. Its Maltese diminutive is Nibblu.

If
he cares to attend the Cathedral of Mdina, the island's earliest 796
capital, on the 4th November, he will hear a Mass said for
the repose of the soul of Roger the Norman, Count of 175
Sicily, who ended the Arab occupation of Malta in 1090 and
is there commemorated as "Deliverer of Malta and Founder
of the *mensa* [table] of the Cathedral, the Bishop and the
Canons." Should he chance to be in Malta before the
beginning of Lent he will have the opportunity to witness
in the carnival festivities not only the jollifications common
to other Mediterranean carnivals but also features of more
local interest, such as the Parata dance on the Palace Square,
which takes its symbolism from the capture of a Maltese
bride by a Moslem corsair.

If he prolongs his stay into the summer he will see on the 527.
29th June, the feast of S. Peter and S. Paul, one of the most 526
characteristic of Maltese popular functions in the densely
thronged Mnarja races. These races, for horses and donkeys,
are of unknown but undoubtedly great age. The course is
a piece of straight, hard road leading uphill towards the big
square in front of Mdina, a square known as the Saqqaja.
Here, from his great stone box, the Grand Master in former
days, in these days the Governor of Malta, hands the banners
of victory down to the winning competitors, while interested
spectators watch the proceedings from two smaller
but similar boxes, flanking the Grand Master's and belonging
to some of the leading families of the island.

The name Mnarja is a corruption of the Latin *luminaria* 527
(illumination), for it was the custom on that day to illuminate 173
the churches of Mdina and the adjacent Rabat in honour of
the two saints. A more picturesque if unfortunately less 584
trustworthy tradition derives Mnarja from Hymen, the
goddess of marriage, it being supposed that the young men
of the island were formerly in the habit of choosing their
wives from among the maidens crowding to watch the
contest. This much, at all events, may be urged in support
of the latter theory, that until modern times Maltese brides

527 would insist on the stipulation being inserted in their
● 173 marriage settlement, their *kitba taz-zwieġ*, that their husbands
584 should take them to the Mnarja every year.

The banners given in prizes to the present day are long
526 and narrow pieces of brocade of different colours called
361 *paliu*, which it is the custom of the fortunate winners to take back to their casals to be used as the altar-cloth of the parish church for the ensuing year. The casals, it should be explained, are the 'villages' of Malta, if 'village' is the appropriate term, for they are stone-built compact townships with populations often running into five figures. The Maltese word for them is *hal*.

291 Again, our visitor will learn that the *faldetta* or *ghonnella*—the true Maltese term is *stamina*—of the Maltese women does not owe its existence, as some people allege, to the need for defence against the excessive gallantry of Bonaparte's troops, but is of much more ancient origin. If proof were needed, there is in the Royal Malta Library a print of the year 1576 showing a Maltese lady wearing the national head-dress. The *ghonnella* is a voluminous hood of rich silk—black everywhere save in the villages of Zabbar and Zejtun, where it is blue and is called *xurqana*—stiffened inside the top edge by a piece of cardboard about a yard long, one end of which rests on the head, while the other end has to be held. Originally, it was really, like the Turkish *charshaf*, a skirt or petticoat (which is what the word *ghonnella* means) thrown up over the head. Later it was curtailed, for which reason it is sometimes called *nofs ghonnella*, a half skirt; but it is still cut to show the placket-hole—in point of fact, half the placket-hole—of the garment from which it has sprung.

[191] This striking and picturesque mode of female adornment or, rather, concealment constitutes Malta's one characteristic article of dress and is the local method of shrouding a woman's face and form, a custom common to southern latitudes from as far-east as India to as far west as the Azores,

436 Malta in the reigns of all the British sovereigns who have ruled in Malta from George IV to George V inclusive.

186 Let this chapter end with another survival, perhaps the
most ubiquitous of all, although its origin antedates the
•173 arrival of the Knights by more than four hundred years.
178 It is the red-and-white Maltese flag which is flown throughout the islands side by side with the Union Jack. Long-established tradition has it that the red and white were the colours of the Norman House of Hauteville, and that the flag and the corresponding arms are one of the legacies of Roger de Hauteville, Count of Sicily, Lord of Malta, to this smallest of his dominions. When, between the World Wars, it was suggested to Malta by the English College of Arms that the Colony should regularize its arms by formally recording them at the College, Malta replied that it had borne those arms for nearly three centuries before the foundation of the College by Richard III.

The position was ultimately adjusted with the College in 1943, when Malta's coat-of-arms received the honourable augmentation of the George Cross.

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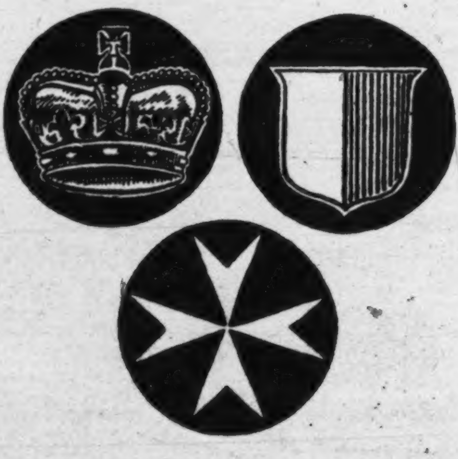

Malta Government Hall-marks for Gold and Silver

172 fusion. Like their predecessors, the temple-builders, the Maltese of Period II represent one cul-de-sac ending 'of a gradual and infinitely complex movement of people and cultural elements from the Eastern to the Central Mediterranean' (8). The culture of Period I was probably erased in all forms but the monumental; the second probably persisted until Semitic contact was made with the Islands some time between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C.

174 Much has been speculated, though remarkably little is known, concerning the Phoenicians in Malta. As evidence one can only offer a few inscriptions found in various parts of the island, and characteristically Punic forms of burial which seem to have persisted down to the Roman occupation. The Phoenicians were once given credit for the great megalithic monuments and, until recently, it was fashionable to give them credit for the Maltese language as well. During the last 40 years, archaeological, linguistic and, to some extent, anthropometric advances in knowledge have changed the picture. Phoenicians and, later, Carthaginians may have come as traders but it is difficult to imagine that the Islands could have been anything more than transit points on shipping routes. Semitic settlers and administrators may have imposed an organised domination over Malta and Gozo: Mdina at least has produced pottery of Period I, Period II, Punic, Roman and later styles and, as already noted, Punic type rock tombs are numerous. Nevertheless, during the period of Greco-Punic rivalry in the Central Mediterranean, there is no certain Greek reference to Malta, whereas accounts such as that of Thucydides (Book VI) give detailed statements of all the important points held by 'the enemy'. Linguistically it may be feasible to consider that the Semitic structure and content of the Maltese language may have pre-Islamic elements but it is neither correct nor necessary to invoke a Punic conquest to account for this. The anthropological work of Buxton and Bradley (9) has but limited general value because of the difficulty of dating the prehistoric human remains (largely cranial). Even so, there is no supporting evidence for a Phoenician and/or Carthaginian colonisation.

All we know for certain is that, during the second century B.C., Rome, triumphant over Carthage, assumed political control in the Maltese Islands. The Islands were made part of the Praetorship of Sicily and, later, first Malta, and then Gozo were given 'Municipium' status. Direct evidence of conditions in Malta even during this, the first historical period, is fragmentary. Strabo mentions Malta and Gozo in terms of position, Livy and Ovid are scarcely more helpful. Cicero is a little more illuminating in his oration against Varres, once Praetor of Sicily, who was accused of abusing his position: '... what could you want with so much Maltese cloth, as if you were going to dress all your friends' wives?' Diodorus Siculus records that 'Melite' possessed many 'harbours', that its artisans were cunning weavers of linen and that the houses were architecturally worthy of note. He also believed that Malta was a Punic-planted colony and was already accruing wealth from sea trade. The Bible tells us nothing beyond the fact that St. Paul was shipwrecked on 'Melita' in A.D. 60 and spent some time thereafter in the island.

172 174 Archaeological evidence is scarcely more helpful, limited as it is to a few inscriptions, coins and parts of buildings in pre-existing settlements such as Rabat and Żurrieq. What we do know of the Roman period is, however, of some importance. It seems likely that Malta had long lain on the orbital fringe of a Siculo-Aegean culture zone and had probably been affected by Mycenean and Punic contacts. Henceforth, with one short break, the Islands occupied a place in the political and cultural organisation first of Rome and Byzantium and then of Christendom. For some five centuries, it seems reasonably to assume, the Maltese Islands were an organic part of Roman town-centred civilisation. After the Gothic and Vandal irruptions broke the unity of the Western Mediterranean the Justinian reconquest of Sicily may have included Malta or may merely have improved the regional stability around an isolated outpost of Roman culture in Malta. Again we do not know. During the long decline of Rome and the new territorial adjustments which preceded the rise of Islam, there is no direct evidence but only conjecture on the fate of Malta.

During the latter half of the ninth century A.D., we believe that the Islamic conquest of Sicily extended over Malta and for just over two centuries, the Islands came under non-European rule. This period is yet another element of the Maltese past which today appears fraught with significance but which remains maddeningly obscure. The material evidence of what may be termed the Arab era is limited to parts of the fortifications of Sant Anġlu (Birgu), the Grand Harbour and of Mdina, the *Medina* and capital of the Muslim rulers. The cultural and linguistic evidence is more abundant but its significance is also less certain. The census of households taken in 1240 (see p. 135) listed 771 Muslim as against 250 Christian families but what does this really imply? We can only hazard a guess as to the numerical accuracy of the count and, since we do not know for what purpose it was made, we cannot assess the meaning of 'Muslim family' in this context. In Malta today the townsman, who speaks a language basically Semitic, will often, rightly, insist on his post-Arab, European origin, yet in the country a farmer, speaking a language almost Arabic in content as well as Semitic in structure, may in all humility describe himself as 'Għarab'. We are left with speculation. Was Malta intensively Arabised? There is no evidence of religious persecution during this period and, although this is a dangerous argument, there seems little enough reason for Arab interest in the Islands to have been particularly strong. It may be that the Maltese were already sufficiently Semitic in language and cultural background easily to be overwhelmed by this last incursion from the East. Was the Roman and Christian overlay so thin as to allow something older and alien to Europe to break through? Even today, the horns of fertility appear side by side with Christian symbols. At all events, by 1090 and the Norman conquest of Malta, the Islands had become sufficiently non-European to retain a much stronger impress of the East than did even Sicily.

With the arrival of the Normans in Malta, less than 30 years after their occupation of England, Malta was rescued for Christendom to become one of the outposts and bulwarks of European culture. By the time of Roger II's assumption of the title of King of the Sicilies in 1139, the Christian Cathedral had been built at Mdina and the line of Island Bishops re-established. Until 1266, Malta and Gozo formed part of an Italo-Sicilian political unit, as a fief of the Grand Admiral of Sicily under the Norman crown from 1193 to 1194, and then under Swabian rulers. Presumably some form of feudal social and political organisation made an embryonic appearance but here once more we have practically no evidence. Indeed, although some late records do exist, no real study has yet been made of the social and economic basis of feudal life and landholding for any pre-nineteenth century period of Maltese history. There is mention of Malta as a *commune* in 1208 (10) and in 1274 the *Consiglio Popolare dell Università* is recorded as protesting to Charles of Anjou, the contemporary ruler, over the violation of ancient rights (10).

In 1282, Aragonese rule was accepted by Sicily and in 1283 Malta also passed under Iberian control. The Islands remained associated with Sicily for administrative purposes and would seem to have been farmed out in parts as fiefs to members of the Aragonese and Sicilian nobility. At this time, too, the first noble titles were conferred on the indigenous aristocracy, beginning with that of Baron of Diar il-Bniet in 1350 (11). Otherwise, little is known except that the religious orders were early established and that the Church must at this time have secured its firm place in Maltese life. Arab corsairs continued to attack and plunder and to be attacked in their turn by Sicilian and Maltese ships. The population cannot have been numerous and we must assume that it was concentrated in large villages in the centres of the Islands. At Città Notabile (the old Mdina) (Plate IX), and at Gozitan Rabat (Plate X), the citadels were flanked by the houses of the magnates. There is no record of trade or manufacture.

Thus, until A.D. 1530, Malta existed feudally in relative stagnation, its isolation broken only by the alarms and excursions of sea-borne attack. In 1485, 32 years after their capture of Constantinople, the Ottoman Turks made their first recorded raid on Malta and the Islands entered a new phase of their history. In 1524, the Order of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem sent a

Commission to report on the state of the Islands. This report is no longer extant, but we may with caution use later writers' conflations (12) as evidence of the character of Maltese life in the period immediately before the coming of the Knights. Briefly, we can summarise as follows: Malta was described as 'a mere rock' inadequately covered with soil. The main products were honey, cotton and cumin, which the inhabitants exchanged for corn. Of water and timber there was a perpetual scarcity. Città Notabile was largely uninhabited and there were no settlements to be found on either the inhospitable northern littoral or the open bays and spacious harbours of the east. The island, with its 12,000 inhabitants, was frequently raided by corsairs who further increased the misery of the unfortunates subsisting on the barren soil. Gozo was described as being more fertile, with a population of some 5,000. The smaller island had no port and even the fine natural harbours of Malta were inadequately fortified. Much of Birgu (later Vittoriosa) lay in ruins. Even allowing for some prejudice on the part of the Knights' reconnaissance party it remains a forbidding picture.

The character of the pre-sixteenth century buildings is one manifest expression of the indigenous life which had developed (13). Churches were either of troglodytic form as at Mzida and Mellieha, or small, rectangular buildings with pitched roofs of a type still surviving today. Some old village houses or farmsteads still retain their ancient characteristics. In most cases, large double doors open on to inner courtyards on which in turn open all the windows and doors of the single-storeyed house and storerooms. Life was centred in the courts and turned its back on the rest of the world in blind defensive walls. In villages such as Żejtun, the old streets are narrow and tortuous and some old houses have but small, single doors. The town houses of the nobility and gentry became more architecturally developed during the fifteenth century and later, but only in the security offered by the citadels and larger 'casals'. The exuberance of building which followed the coming of the Knights might be figuratively taken to represent a great freeing of the Islands from insecurity in isolation. Henceforth Malta might be besieged but at least it would be as a bastion, not as a lonely fort.

How much of the traditional experience of Maltese early history has survived into recent times must be largely a matter for speculation. All we may say here is that, for over 3,000 years, all the forces and currents which make up Mediterranean history have at least impinged on Malta. Each has left something in the landscape and, it is tempting to believe, in the traditional experience of the people.

communities where they became leaders, and the source of many 178
new ideas and customs. In Għaxaq, for example, I found that a 875
teacher born in Valletta had been the one to introduce the
custom of decorating the streets for the festa.

It is, of course, extremely difficult, if not impossible, to discover 174
the motives which prompted people to choose a particular 178
partit. The only possible clue to at least one set of reasons may well 463
lie in the correlation between occupational class and partit 621
affiliation. Apart from this class alignment, I found no evidence in
Farruġ, or any other village so divided, of any pre-existing structural
division out of which these festa partiti might have developed.
In view of the way membership is inherited, it would
appear that the position which members of the great-grandfather
generation occupied in the village class structure in some way
influenced their choice of partit. There is some evidence for this,
although not a great deal, to be found in the genealogies of the
present generation. Frequent marriages with outsiders, emigration
and the changing employment structure of the country over
the past six decades have blurred this picture considerably.

But it is certainly possible that the new cult appealed more to 174
those persons who held no office in the older confraternities and 178
who performed no official functions in connection with the celebration 621
of the annual festa of the village patron. Through the new
cult they could gain offices and perform functions which hitherto
had been monopolized by the circle of the village elite who
surrounded the parish priest. Some informants have also mentioned
that young men were particularly attracted to the new
cult. In this we can see the universal resistance of the young to the
authority of their elders, for by becoming active in the new cult,
they were asserting their independence from the controls of the
older generation. Were the secondary partiti then a form of
protest against the established authority, a sort of underdogs'
party?

Other facts appear to support the hypothesis that the foundation 174
of the secondary partiti was in some way related to a wider 476
working-class movement. Many of the partiti are dedicated to St. 621
Joseph, the patron saint of the working classes who were beginning 776
to organize themselves into formal associations throughout 794
Europe. In Malta there are many signs that this devotion was very
strong. In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to 680

175 167 361 The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

175 161 361 It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is comparatively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

175 648 The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

175 433-464 During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

175 648 The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediæval Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—Demography.

161 ● 174 It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogeum is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Miège (27) suggests a population of 20,659. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

population as 20,000 in 1582. In 1632, 50,113 is given, and in 1667, 53,000. In 1741, 161
110,000 is the population, which is said to have increased to 114,000 in 1798. The 174
figures for Malta and Gozo in 1826 are stated to be 119,736. But the first reliable figure is 115,945 in 1828. In 1881 the population was 132,129 in Malta and 17,653 in Gozo; in 1901, 184,742, and 1911, 211,564.

In regard to the proportion of the sexes there were in 1911 110 bachelors to 162
100 spinsters, 98 husbands to 100 wives, and 44 widowers to 100 widows. In round thousands, the males over 5 years of age were engaged in the following occupations: 7 in professional, 2 domestic, 19 commercial, 12 agricultural, 21 industrial, and 31 were unproductive and unoccupied; the last figure is rather misleading as it includes at least four separate classes—children, aged, people of independent income, and incapables of all classes. The data in regard to foreigners is the most interesting for our purpose, as it gives an insight into the amount of mixture that is taking place. There were at the last census (1911) (31) 854 ♂ and 1,003 ♀ foreigners in the island. Of these 3 ♀ were English, the remainder were made up as follows: 77 ♂ and 45 ♀ from Africa (apart from 1 ♂ and 2 ♀, all these came from Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria); 479 ♂ and 499 ♀ from Sicily; 156 ♂ and 253 ♀ from other parts of Italy; 36 ♂ and 39 ♀ came from Greece, and 11 ♂ were classified as Asiatics. This does not, of course, include the garrison, a large floating population of which the figures are uncertain, as they depend so much on the ships which happen to be in harbour at the time when the census is taken. The increase of population 161
between 1828 and 1911 is of interest. That of Malta increased by 88·25 per cent. of the total, and that of Gozo by 45·31 per cent. The increase in Malta was nearly five times as great in the suburban area as in the other areas combined.[1]

The density per square mile in 1911 was 1884 (Malta 2167, and Gozo 879). The density in the south-east corner of Malta is, however, greater than would appear from these figures. If the island be divided along a line west of Gargur, Naxaro, Musta, Notabile, Rabato, Crendi, the areas east and west of such a line would be almost equal in size. The eastern area, however, contained in 1911 183,132 inhabitants, and the western 5737. Practically all the Neolithic remains occur in the [172]
eastern area, suggesting that the centres of population have not changed appreciably since Neolithic times.

V.—MATERIAL AND METHODS.

The skeletal material examined is conveniently grouped in four series: (i) Bones 126
from the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic); (ii) Miscellaneous ancient 141
skeletons, chiefly Romano-Maltese; (iii) Specimens from the Chapel of Bones (Late Mediæval); (iv) Modern bones. Only in case (ii) were any complete skeletons available.

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[1] Since this article was written the results of the Census of 1921 have become available. [162]
They are as follows:—Malta, 189,697 (92,127 ♂, 97,570 ♀); Gozo, 22,561 (10,618 ♂, 11,943 ♀). Total for the two islands, 212,258, an increase of only 694 since 1911, as against 26,822 in the previous decade.

The megalith builders, who may be conveniently termed "Malta first race" 144 (culturally "Local Neolithic"), are certainly akin to the early, and, indeed, present 141 inhabitants of North Africa and to those of Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Spain, and belong to what is usually known as the Mediterranean race, differing from many skulls of this type in having a shorter nasal aperture, and therefore a bigger nasal index.

The inhabitants of the Barbary coast have been discussed at great length by Bertholon and Chantre (41). A series of 124 skulls (unfortunately the sexes have been mixed) from Carthage, dating from the sixth to the third century, B.C., shows a close resemblance to the "Neolithic" skulls found in the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni. The low standard deviations, even when the sexes are mixed, *e.g.* cephalic index, mean 74·73 and 2·94 σ[1] suggest the absence of any Armenoid blood in Carthage, and a small series (35) of modern crania (♂ + ♀) from Tunis show almost identical figures (*e.g.* cephalic index mean 74·31 and 2·96σ).

In Sicily from Eneolithic times onward the population is of the same type. Even in a series of two hundred modern Sicilian skulls, Giuffrida Ruggeri found only 5♂ and 2♀ of the Eurasiatic form, one was doubtful. Apart from the small series from Anghelu Reju, the modern inhabitants of Sardinia and Corsica appear to belong to this type (46).

It is remarkable that wherever we find Mediterranean man he shows little variation, suggesting a primitive stock which has maintained itself in certain areas.

The "Neolithic" Maltese (Malta first race) can have differed but little from our own Neolithic ancestors, except in the form of the nasal aperture. The modern people differ from the modern British type in head form, in stature, and in the general build of the skeleton. It would seem as though these differences were of essential importance. The Maltese appear to be a mixture of a people who certainly form a part of the population of the British Isles, but there is a second element that is not akin. It is noticeable that, as would appear from recent work, the Neolithic element seems not to have been entirely swamped in the British Isles; on the other hand we have shown that in spite of continuous influx of Mediterranean blood, it has not been able to dominate the population in Malta. Possibly the geographical conditions of the island are particularly favourable to the continuance of the race which has since developed.

These megalith builders are succeeded by a different type of folk, exhibiting 144 Armenoid characteristics (Malta second race). The most interesting question of 174 Maltese anthropology is, where did these late arrivals come from, and when did they come to Malta. Early skulls are unfortunately missing at present in the Mediterranean area. The immigrants are not racially allied to the people of Italy, Sicily, or the Barbary coast; they differ fundamentally from what appears to be the type

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[1] σ is used throughout this paper as a symbol for "standard deviation."

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

144 174 in Albania; they resemble some of the elements in the early population of Cyprus, but the closest parallel appears to be Crete, some parts of Greece, and the Islands of the Sea. Such evidence as we have suggests an immigration from the eastern part of the Mediterranean. We have already argued elsewhere (38, p. 92) that even early in the Bronze Age there existed in the Eastern Mediterranean a mixed stock consisting of elements of Armenoid and Mediterranean man, and suggested that such mixing possibly took place as early as the end of the Neolithic period. It seems possible that these people arrived in Malta at a much later date. Unfortunately the gap is a long one. Plenty of Neolithic material has survived, we have a few scattered finds in the long intervening periods, and a small and scarcely adequate number of crania of the Romano-Maltese time.

We have argued above that the Malta second race cannot have come from anywhere but the Eastern Mediterranean, and that they show no affinities with the Carthaginians. We have at present, however, no satisfactory cranial evidence from Carthage earlier than the sixth century B.C. We know, on the other hand, that Carthage was closely connected in earlier times with the great trading cities of the Syrian coast. The conditions in Malta and North Africa are extremely different, and whereas it might be impossible for people of Armenoid type to establish themselves on the coast of North Africa, this argument would not affect the possible establishment of the same type in a comparatively isolated island. We know, further, that a people of undoubtedly Syrian origin, namely the Jews, have, in Tripoli, to a large extent, lost their typical head form, while retaining their religious, social, and, it would appear, at least some of their physical characteristics. It is possible, therefore, that the origin of the Malta second race must be looked for in Phœnician traders of Armenoid origin, who may have come either directly from the Eastern Mediterranean or indirectly via Carthage.

There can be little doubt that such a change must have taken place at a comparatively late date in the history of Malta, but it would seem extraordinary that an invasion of any such race could have entirely altered the population of an island. We have at present no evidence to show how the change was affected. It may have extended over some generations, but in that case we should have expected to find an intermediate stage between Malta first and second races. Our present evidence, however, does not, unfortunately, cover that transitional period. It is possible that such a period may be discovered. On the other hand we have the possibility of the new influx of people exterminating, or nearly exterminating, the previous inhabitants, an event which is not without parallel in modern times. In North Africa the problem is somewhat different. Here the Armenoid peoples can only have represented a comparatively small element in the whole population, and we know that there are certain brachycephalic elements surviving till to-day. Again, the inhumation burials in Carthage which have as yet been explored are so few, and show so little variation in cranial form, that they may quite well belong to

some definite section of the population. On the one hand we have on the mainland 144
a series of settlers among a large indigenous population, and on the other hand we 174
have a further band of settlers, on a small island, on which it is quite possible events
occurred which would have been impossible amidst a large population.

We have not at present sufficient statistical material in early times to enable us to judge how far there has been a change in the standard deviations since the coming of the second race, which would enable us to say whether there ever was a time in Malta when a considerable mixing of races was taking place; and it must always be remembered that the second race may have been, at least in origin, considerably intermixed with Mediterranean blood before they ever ventured as far as Malta.

It cannot be denied that the second race has altered since its arrival in Malta; 144
but just as in most parts of the Mediterranean, even at comparatively short distances
apart, we find local divergences, it would hardly be surprising that we should also
find differences in the time series, namely, that people of one age should show a
slight physical difference from those of the other. The internal differences, however,
in Malta appear to be but insignificant when compared with the differences between
the Maltese and the other inhabitants of the Mediterranean, and it seems justifiable
—at least for purposes of intensive study—to regard them as a Maltese sub-race.

Summing up their characters, they are distinctly long-headed, though hardly 141
so long-headed as the Cretans, but nearly 10 mm. longer than the Cypriots; they 144
are broad-headed, having about the same head breadth as the Cretans, and a greater
breadth than the Cypriots. The change since ancient times has operated both in
shortening the length and increasing the breadth, the height of the cranium having
remained constant. The face is much broader than in ancient times; the orbits
are higher and narrower: the nose longer and broader, so that the nasal index is not
appreciably altered.

The Mediæval skulls in the Chapel of Bones presented characteristics similar to those of the skulls in the modern ossuaries. Although some variation occurred, as might be expected in a series which might contain a number of foreigners, the standard deviations are sufficiently small to suggest that on the whole the skulls are those of adult males of a normal population. The standard deviations are, indeed, smaller than those of the series from the modern ossuary. Both series, from the Mediæval Chapel of Bones, and from the modern ossuary, are large in size—that is to say, absolutely long, high, and broad; in the majority, the brow ridges are very well developed, and there are other indications of considerable muscularity. It is possible that some of the skulls, on the sex of which it was not possible to express an opinion, may be males of Mediterranean origin, as these latter appear as a general rule to be smaller. A few appeared to be Negroid.

Although skulls which presented Negroid characters were not uncommon from 144
Saracenic—possibly earlier, and certainly later—graves, the Negro element in the

The stay of the French in the island was too short to have any effect on the 144
population. A social barrier has been built up between the British and the people 563
of the land, and the general impression gained is that, though there are a certain number of mixed marriages, there cannot, even after three generations of a large, if floating, British element in Valletta, be more than a very thin British strain in the population.

We have shown, in dealing with the history of the island, how extremely difficult 144
it is to account for the wholesale immigration of an Armenoid-like population at 174
any period. We have also shown how, in spite of the continual immigration of 132
people of the Mediterranean stock, the Maltese type (*i.e.* Malta second race, displaying Armenoid characters) appears to have persisted for a long period. It would seem, therefore, a point worthy of further consideration, whether the development of the Maltese along the lines they appear to have followed may not be due to certain definite geographical factors of whose influence we are as yet unaware. It is possible that if we had at our disposal a long unbroken series, instead of larger or smaller series from Neolithic, Mediæval, and modern ossuaries, we should not find such striking contrasts as we do at present. Anthropological data from various parts of the Mediterranean show that there is very often a significant difference between two villages in different valleys of the same mountain range. It is possible that even the few generations which have elapsed between the building of Hal Tarxien and 1921 may be the equivalent, in time, of such a journey in space, and certain big changes may have taken place owing to changing geographical conditions. There can be little doubt that the climate of Malta has changed very much, not only since the first terrace was cut in the Weid Dalam, but even since the formation of the second terrace. We have also suggested that the evidence from Professor Zammit's excavations at Hal Tarxien hints at a change in climate since Neolithic times. The change in the structure of the population may be due, therefore, partly to geographical as well as to historical causes.

Whether or no the development of the Maltese sub-race is due to particular 161
geographical conditions, there can be little doubt that, in Malta at least, the strain 842
is biologically remarkably successful and extremely fertile. In spite of the high [165]
infant mortality which has existed in the past, they have continued to increase, and the modern developments of hygiene and the care of infants are likely to make the increase still more rapid. If the overcrowding continues, in a comparatively short time we shall be faced with conditions in the island which would appear to be, biologically speaking, unsatisfactory. Sanitary conditions can be improved, food can be imported, but excessive overcrowding may bring its own remedy, either in disease or in a diminished fertility. The present fertility is quite possibly due to some underlying climatic condition. In spite of lack of water, Malta has long been extremely fertile botanically, and was famed for this in classical times. The [231]
Maltese goats, by far the most abundant large mammal of the island apart from

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

161 man, are also unusually fertile, and the females possess remarkably developed
842 udders. Possibly similar causes make both man and the goats fertile. If this
231 is so, emigrants from the island will probably, after a short time, lose their fertility,[1]
whilst the only limiting factors on the island itself will be space and the food and water supply.

144 Summarizing our general conclusions, the race in Malta which is associated with
172 the period of great megalithic buildings—a cultural stage we have termed "Malta
Local Neolithic"—appears to be closely akin to the Mediterranean race. This is
● 174 our "Malta first race." At a later date, possibly towards the end of the Bronze Age, but more probably during the Early Iron Age, Malta was peopled by a race with different characteristics, our "Malta second race." These people are of Armenoid type, but probably have an admixture of Mediterranean blood. Their origin appears to be the Eastern Mediterranean. They may have come to Malta either directly or by way of Carthage. They may have destroyed the previous inhabitants, or they may merely have pursued methods of peaceful penetration. This race has firmly established itself in Malta, and all subsequent introduction of foreign blood has failed to raise the variation. During the course of years certain changes have taken place; there are also certain local variations, but the differences between Malta and Gozo are not greater than the differences between the general population of Malta and at least one, and possibly more, of the more isolated villages.

APPENDIX I.

LITERATURE.

113 In writing this paper the following authorities have been consulted. Where specific reference is made, the number is given in brackets in the text.

II.—GEOGRAPHY.

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7. Agius, T. "The Monthly Characteristics of the Weather of Malta." In *General Guide of Malta and Gozo*, 1918.
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[167] [1] Of interest in this connection is the fact that there is at present a Maltese colony in Detroit, U.S.A., and it will be instructive to observe whether, amid alien surroundings, the strain is able to perpetuate itself and to retain its fertility.

541 173 177 to the ancient Saturnalia (*) and was condemned by the Synod of Trullus, where it was decreed that the days called the Calends should entirely be stripped of their ceremonies, and that the faithful should no longer observe them; that the public dancing of women should cease as being the occasion of much harm and ruin, and as being invented and observed in honour of the Gods of the heathens and therefore quite averse to the Christian life.

541 174 177 The author of "Convivial Antiquities" speaking about the ancient Saturnalia, says: that on this occasion there were

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(*) Saturnalia, festivals in honour of *Saturno*, celebrated in Rome about the middle of December. The celebration, which continued for 3 or more days, was remarkable for the liberty which universally prevailed. The slaves were permitted to ridicule their masters and to speak with freedom upon every subject.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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frequent and luxurious feastings amongst friends, and changes of dress made, and the Christians have adopted the same customs.

He added, that as the heathens had their Saturnalia in December, Lupercalia and Baccanalia (*) in February, so amongst Christians three months are

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(*) Lupercalia, a yearly festival observed at Rome on the 15th of February in honour of *Pan* the God of Shepherds. It was usual to sacrifice two goats and a dog. The skins of the victims were cut into throngs, with which whips were made for the youths. With these whips the youths ran about the streets, almost naked, and whipped freely all those whom they met.

Baccanalia, festivals in honour of *Bacchus* (God of vintage,and of wine drinkers)at Rome—during the time of the celebration, the Romans clothed themselves in fawns' skins, fine linen and mitres; they carried " thyrsi " drums, pipes and flutes and crowned themselves with garlands of ivy, vine, fir &c. In this manner both sexes joined in the solemnity and ran about the streets nodding their heads dancing in ridiculous postures, and filling the air with hideous shrieks and shouts.

541 •174 spent in feastings and revelling of every kind.

FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT

796 783 In the afternoon of this day, which is known by the name of "Hadd in-nies" (the people's Sunday), immense crowds of people, from all parts of the Island, flock to casal Zabbar, in their best Sunday finery, for the purpose of saying some prayers before our Lady of Graces (tal Grazia) in the parish Church of the village, as an atonement of the follies committed on the Carnival days, After paying the visit the people go out of the church parading the streets.

796 265 The numerous shops of the said village are pretty well got up for this occasion. Stews, ham, cheesecakes, and other viands are profusely supplied for

Maltese children look forward with great anxiety to get either from their parents, or from some friend or relative, a *figolla* at Easter. 796 262 431

The *figolla* consists of a bit of flat baked dough, cut in the shape of a woman, a turk, an eagle, a horse, a star, or a basket, with one or more eggs, having the shell stained red, or some other colour, embedded in its centre and fixed in position by cross bands of paste.

This characteristic rite of Paschal or Easter eggs is most widely diffused. 796 262 171 174

The universal connection of eggs with Eastertide does not seem to rest on any Christian symbolism. This popular observance is clearly of pagan origin.

In pagan imagery the egg was assigned to *Astarte*—the Phœnician Venus—as an emblem of the fructifying

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 forces of nature, and may thus have
262 come to be associated with April, the
171 month held sacred to *Aphroditis* (*), in
•174 or near which Easter falls.

We are told that the Jews used eggs in the feast of the Passover, and that when the Persians keep the festival of the Solar New Year (in March) they mutually present each other with coloured eggs. There can be little doubt, however, that the use of eggs at this season was originally symbolical of the revivification of nature, that is, the springing forth of life in spring.

A writer, in the "Gentlemen's Magazine" for July 1783, supposes the Easter egg to be an emblem of the Resurrection of our Lord—in the same manner, as the chicken entombed, as

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(*) The Grecian name of Venus

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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it were, in the egg, in due time bursts its shell and springs forth to life.

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Hutchinson (History of Northumberland) says: Eggs were held by the Egyptians as a sacred emblem of the renovation of mankind after the deluge.

The Jews adopted it to suit the circumstances of their History as a type of their departure from the land of Egypt, and it was used in the feast of Passover as a part of the furniture of the table with the Paschal Lamb.

The Christians have certainly used it on this day, containing as it does the elements of future life, as an emblem of the Resurrection. It seems that these eggs were decorated for a religious trophy after the days of lent, which are days of mortification and abstinence.

We know also that the Jews in ce-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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796 lebrating their Passover, placed on the
262 table two unleavened cakes called "pass-
171 over cakes" (*) with hard boiled eggs
• 174 bound in with slips of paste cross ways on them (†)

Hyde, in his " Oriental Sports " says that the Christians buy eggs at Easter and stain them with a red colour, in memory of the blood of Christ shed for us at the time of the Crucifixion.

That the Roman Catholic Church has considered eggs as emblematical of the Resurrection may be gathered from the Ritual.

St. GREGORY'S DAY

796 ### *General procession*

793 This very popular feast, which takes place on the first Wednesday after

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(*) The *figolla*.
(†) Brand's "Popular Antiquities."

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Grace's carriage to the commonest donkey cart, keep moving through the merry crowds, in search of their occupants. 796 [493]

Most of the people, however, who take part in this general procession, either stop at Zeitun, or proceed to Marsascirocco — a watering place at some distance from that village—where they spend the remainder of the day in merry making.

Round cheese cakes, *kassatât*, is the most common edible connected with this day, and from early morning, the whole day long, the shrill cries uttered by the innumerable vendors of the cakes may be heard throughout the village. 796 262 265

A few remarks about the origin of this procession will be interesting. 796 174

Many and various are the opinions as regards that origin.

796 174 [931] Abela, in his "History of Malta" says: that it was instituted as a vow to St. Gregory, to whose intercession the Maltese had recourse in 1519, when the Island was visited by an epidemic disease.

Ciantar, the celebrated Historian, assures us, however, that the procession was instituted in 1400 long before the epidemic mentioned by Abela.

[648] Others again say: that it was held about the year 1429 whilst the Island was being besieged by some 18000 Moors, but this could not possibly be the case in as much as the people who were besieged within the walls of the town could not join in the cry "Misericordia" at Zeitun.

[731] Again some say that the procession took place for the first time in Malta in thanksgiving to the Almighty after

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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the deliverance from a large swarm of 796
locusts that once caused a dreadful 174
havoc in the Island. [731]

Monsignor Duzina, the Apostolic 796
Visitor, who visited Malta in February 174
1575, having found that the origin of 782
this procession was involved in great 648
obscurity, caused the most aged men of the Island to be brought before him, and on asking them about the origin of the institution of this general procession, he was informed that the tradition was "That the procession was founded by a general vow of the Maltese after their deliverance from the Turks, whose fleet was dispersed by a terrible storm at Marsascirocco,(*) just when the Moslems were on the point

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(*) This is probably the reason that the general procession goes to the churches of St. Catherine and St. Gregory, those being the nearest churches to Marsascirocco.

796 of effecting a landing on the shores of
•174 the Island.

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[782] It is an undeniable fact that the procession has been instituted in commemoration of some signal public deliverance. Of all the traditions, however, the most generally received is that which we read in the acts of the said Mons. Duzina's visit in 1575.

796 This procession used formerly to take place in lent, on St. Gregory's day, which falls on the 12th of March. That day was selected not because the above mentioned invasion occurred on that particular day, but because lent being the time of penance, our faithful forefathers thought that the vow would be more acceptable to God in lent. And the day of St. Gregory was chosen, that Saint being the founder of all processions which are solemnized by the Roman Catholic Church.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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527 of April) which amounts to "April
522 fool" is applied with laughter.

527 The custom of sending one upon a
522 bootless errand on the 1st. of April is
174 perhaps a travesty of the sending hither and thither of our Lord from Annas to Caiphas, and from Pilate to Herod. It is possible, however, that it may be a relic of some old heathen festival.

It is conjectured that April day is celebrated as part of the festivity of the New Year. That day used to be kept on the 25th of March, and it is certain that the commencement of the New Year, at whatever time that was supposed to be, was always esteemed a high festival, and this was the case both amidst the ancient Romans and with us. Now great festivals were usually attended with an octave—that

is, they were wont to continue for 8 527
days, whereof the first and last were 522
the principal; and you will find the 174
1st. of April the octave of the 25th of March, and the close or ending consequently of the feast. Hence it is supposed that the 1st. day of April became a day of extraordinary mirth and festivity, especially among the lower classes who are apt to pervert and make a bad use of institutions, which at first might have been very laudable in themselves.

A writer in "Poor Robin's Almanac" 527
for 1760, gives the following metrical 522
description of the modern fooleries on the 1st. of April, with the open avowal of being ignorant of their origin.

"The 1st. of April some do say [539]
Is set apart for all Fools' day,
But why the people call it so

796 372 These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being continually fed by the scores of by-standers who take great delight in throwing amidst the flames some old rickety piece of furniture which they consider as lumber in their houses. Lots of happy and reckless children, and very often men, are seen merrily leaping in succession over and through the crackling flames (*).

796 372 175 At the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Grand Master

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[174] (*) Leaping over the fires is mentioned among the superstitious rites used at the *Palilia* feasts, instituted in honour of *Pales* the goddess of shepherds, (in the calends of May) in Ovidius's Fasti.

> " Moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
> Traijcias celeri strenua membra pede "

The learned Moresin appears to have been of opinion that the custom of leaping over these fires is a vestige of the ordeal, where to be able to pass through fires with safety, was held to be an indication of innocence.

himself, soon after the *Angelus* used to leave his palace, accompanied by the Grand Prior, the Bishop, and two bailiffs, to set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred Hospital. 796 372 175

Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on, of the 8 casks, (*), by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

Various opinions are entertained by antiquarian writers with regard to the origin of these fires on St. John's eve. 796 372 171 174

From the account given by Jakob Grimm in his "Deutsche Mythologie" p. p. 583, 593, it would appear that

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(*) Eight being the languages of the Order.

796 the great blaze reserved for the eve
372 of the feast of the nativity of St.
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174 John the Baptist on the 23rd. of June, is observed with similar rites in every country of Europe.

The kindling of the fire, the leaping over or through the flames clearly show that these rites are essentially of heathen origin. They are obviously connected with the worship of the sun, and were doubtless practised long before the Baptist was born. In old heathen times the summer and winter solstices were the two greatest and most wide-spread festivals in Europe.

These fires—says another writer—are evidently a remnant of the ancient Beal fires of the Druids, at the *Beil* time, which was at the beginning of May. But why do they chiefly occur on the night before the festival of the

Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* 796
time which was the beginning of May? 372
—I do not believe that a satisfactory 171
explanation of these circumstances has 174
yet been given by any of the anti- [114]
quaries. It was perhaps to transfer
the practice or custom of lighting these
fires from a Pagan to a Christian object.

The Nativity of St. John the Baptist 796
was a great and solemn festival of 372
the Church, like those of the other great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in the early ages, commemorated with appropriated ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these [776]
was probably introduced a large and [174]

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unusual exhibition of lights to typify the Baptist who, in the Gospel, is called by the Saviour himself "A burning shining Light." What could have been more natural than that the early Christian Authorities would have directed the people to light their anniversary fires on the eve of this Saint, and thus give to the national custom a Christian instead of a Pagan significance? To this feeling, most likely is due the transfer of the fires to the 23rd. of June and, perhaps too, this perpetuation to this day amongst the people.

Gebelin, in his "Allegories Orientales" accounts in the following manner for the custom of making fires on Midsummer Eve.

"Can one" says he " omit to mention here the St. John's fires, those sacred fires kindled about midnight, on the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

very moment of the solstices, by the 174
greatest part of ancient as well as of 796
modern nations—a religious ceremony 372
of the most remote antiquity which was observed for the prosperity of states and people and to dispel every kind of evil? The origin of this fire which is still retained by so many nations, though enveloped in the mist of antiquity, is very simple. It was a *Feu de joie*, kindled the very moment the year began; for the first of all years, and the most ancient that we know of, began at this month of June, hence the very name of this month, *Junior* meaning the youngest, which is renewed; while that of the preceding one is May, *Major*, meaning the ancient. Thus the one was the month of young people whilst the other belonged to old men.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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796 These *feu de joie* were accompanied,
372 at the same time, with vows and sacrifi-
174 ces for the prosperity of the people and
the fruits of the earth.

They danced also round this fire, and the most active leaped over it. Each on departing took a fire brand, and the remains were scattered to the wind, which at the same time that it dispersed the ashes, was thought to expel every evil. When after a long train of years, the year ceased to commence at this solstice, the custom of making these fires, at this time, was still continued by force of habit. Besides it would have been a sad thing to have deprived the people of a day of joy in times when there were not many of them, thus the custom has been continued and handed down to us."

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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Dr. Milner is of opinion that the fires lighted up all over the continent, on the eve of the 24th. of June, are not intended as the idolatrous worship of the sun or *Baal*, the Philistine God of fire, but in honour of Christ's precursor, as alluding to his character of bearing witness to the light (John i. 7) and of his being himself a bright and shining light (John V, 35). 796 372 174 114

In conclusion, it would appear as certain, that the fires of St. John's eve were intended to typify the Saint by an exhibition of light. 796 372

Formerly the feast of St. John (24th. of June) was very popular in Malta. It ranked with that of SS. Peter and Paul, celebrated at Notabile on the 29th of the same month. 796

The number of people that flocked to Valletta from all parts of the Island,

527 No reason can be assigned for the
174 origin or meaning of keeping St. Martin's feast as a day of merriment among
[171] the Maltese. The usage is persisted in without any association or tradition to account for it, but the merry making in the neighbouring island of Sicily at this time of the year, when the new wine is made use of for the first time.

527 Wine drinkers are of opinion that
262 one can judge best of the flavour of
273 wine after eating some nuts first—this perhaps is the reason why nuts are made so much use of on this merry day.

174 Moresin refers the great doings on
527 this occasion to an ancient Athenian festival observed in honour of Bacchus, on the 11th, 12th, and 13th days of the month of *Anthesterion*, corresponding with our November.

directed upwards, and having a mouth 796
piece by which the skin is filled, and a 534
cane flute or pipe which is played with [237]
both hands. This the country people play at this time of the year to represent the shepherds of Bethlehem.

The decking out of the *presepiu*, a 796
crib or representation of the Nativity of 778
the Holy Child at Bethlehem, by a group of dolls with pasteboard scenery, furnishes amusement to the Maltese, both old and young.

Several of the houses have a crib more or less artistically arranged, and the better the arrangements of the crib, the greater is the concourse of people who come to see it.

The custom of decking our churches 796
and habitations with evergreens at 174
Christmas has existed from the very 824
establishment of Christianity and was

796 174 824 unquestionably derived from the like practice of our Pagan ancestors.

"Trimming of Temples," says Polydore Virgil "with hangings, flowers, boughs, and garlands was taken from the heathen people, who decked their idols and houses with such array.

796 174 373 "Christmas," says Blount, "was called the feast of lights in the Western or Latin Church, from the many lights or candles that were lit at the feast, and this because Christ, the light of all lights, that true light, then came into the world. Hence the prevalent custom to have so many lights in our churches at Christmas midnight service.

796 174 262 The custom of eating pancakes or fritters and honey cakes at Christmas in Malta is supposed to owe its origin to the cakes baked in honour of *Janus*, who presided over the beginning of the New Year.

MAY DAY

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824 Historians mention that there was a time in Malta, during the Government of the Knights of St. John, when it was customary on the 1st of May to deck the Grand Master's palace balcony, and the doors of those who were invested with the Grand Cross, with branches [174] of trees. It appears that this sign of a holiday, which was introduced in Malta by the families from the island of Rhodes, was a remnant of the worship of the sun, formerly adored by the Rhodians.

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824 Bourne cites Polydor Virgil, as telling us that among the Italians the youth of both sexes were accustomed to go into the fields in the Calends of May, and bring thence branches of trees, singing all the way as they came, and to place them on the doors of their

774 these transformed creatures return home towards dawn quite
777 exhausted and awake in the morning quite unconscious of
their nocturnal expedition."[1] The derivation of the word
[192] *Gaugau* has been given as the Syrian *Hagogo*, a ghost; but
surely the *Gaugau* is more than a simple ghost. His behaviour
stamps him as a vampire. Busuttil says that "the yearly
[177] punishment" is thought to be inflicted because Christ "does
not like anyone to be born at the same time he was born,"
and then suggests that the *Gaugau* came into Malta with
774 the Phoenicians. The Phoenician origin and the popular
777 explanation seem quite irreconcilable until it is recalled
174 that—
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> "It is well known that in the transition from paganry to Christianity the Christian clergy, finding it impossible to wean the populace from old customs or to eradicate primitive beliefs, discreetly met the situation by diverting pagan festivals to the honour of Christ. It is not so generally known that December 25th, the Christmas Day of Christendom, was necessarily thus fixed for the reason that this date was the birthday of Mithra, and that the obdurate heathen flatly refused to relinquish their cherished festival. It was not until A.D. 400 that the Church Fathers accepted the inevitable, and tactfully adopted the Birthday of Mithra as the official Birthday of Christianity. At the beginning of the fifth century, S. Chrysostom, referring to the festival of the pagan Sun god, wrote: 'On this day also the birthday of Christ *was lately fixed* at Rome in order that, while the heathens were busy with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their sacred rites undisturbed. They call this (December 25th) the birthday of the Invincible One (Mithra); but who is so invincible as the Lord? They call

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[1] BUSUTTIL, *Holiday Customs in Malta.*

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it the Birthday of the Solar Disc; but Christ is the Sun of Righteousness' " (S. HEATH, *Romance of Symbolism*).[1]

We cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, connect the vampire *Gaugau* with Christianity; but with Mithra the affair becomes quite different. It is not difficult to connect a child born on the eve of the Birth-feast of the bloodthirsty Mithra with something more terrible than "ghostly pranks." It is comforting to hear that the vampire *Gaugau* is now capable of nothing worse than "frightening people with his groanings!"

846 777 787

There was a time before the dread broom of "Progress" began to sweep all peasant customs—good as well as bad—before it, when the newly-delivered mother kept carefully to her house during forty days for fear of meeting another mother who had been confined on the same day. It was believed that of two such women meeting within forty days of their confinement, one would suffer a great misfortune. Two possible reasons for this quaint prohibition are apparent. It was either some remnant of a primitive, levitical period of purification or a means of ensuring that the mother wasted no time gossiping at the doorway or in the market place, to the neglect of her young family. [174]

GROWING UP

852 787

With the child's first birthday comes the '*uccija*, or "choosing." A tray or basket is filled with an assortment of articles representing trades and professions—a book, a rosary, a candle, an inkstand, a sword—whichever the baby first picks up will indicate its bent in life. This simple means of divination is widespread, and little need be said of it except that some grains of corn are sometimes introduced as a symbol of generosity, suggesting that at one time the '*uccija* decided

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[1] H. BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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There is a *Hares*, too, who guards all hidden treasure. If you are a deserving person he will lead you to the treasure; but you must never, on pain of death by strangulation, tell anyone how you discovered it. 776

There are persistent tales in Malta of a priceless treasure, hidden by the builders of the prehistoric temples. This treasure is known as "The Golden Bull," and is guarded by a most terrible and powerful *Hares*. No one has ever found it because, though some few have been selected by the *Hares* to be led to its hiding place, they have been unable to keep his secret, and he has strangled them together with the friends in whom they have confided.

There seems little reason to doubt that the Golden Bull is a legacy of the old gods—possibly of Mithra or Osiris—and that the great snake-like *Hares* who guards the treasure is no other than Set, guardian of the underworld. Perhaps the Bull exists, hidden deep in one of Malta's many caves. [174] ●

There may be peasants who know where it is. Amongst the moor-folk of Devon and the peasants of Ireland there are many who know the whereabouts of the "crocks of gold," buried by the Pixies and the leprechauns; but none would dare disturb "Fairy Gold." So it is with the Maltese peasant. He would be a bold man who had dealings with the "Golden Bull."

From a very tender age the little Maltese will be occupied in learning his Catechism and the significance of the rites and ceremonies of his faith. Though busied in this way there will be time, in the long winter evenings, for "Fairy Tales." Usually one member of the family will be able to read. If none can read someone will certainly know all the old tales and legends by heart, and will be expert in the correct way of recounting them. The family will gather round the story-teller and all, from grandmother to youngest grandchild, will listen with close attention to tales which many of them have heard hundreds of times. 538 [795] [212]

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to justify the inconvenience of caring for them is a lesson 539
which had to be learned. "Ghalec ma tridx tmut l'ghagiusa, 888
ghax actar ma ticber izjed titghallem"—"The old woman does not want to die for the older she grows the more she learns"—is a common saying. For further proof that the story of the "Kaukam" has come down from very early times, there is the only other context in which the word *ghagiusa* means "an old woman" or, more accurately, "the oldest woman hereabouts" (normally the word means "a crab").

> "We have an old custom in Malta," says Bussutil,[1] 539
> "to make children believe that the ghagiusa is killed at 796
> noon on Thursday, the middle of Lent. Mothers, after 785
> fasting the first twenty days of Lent, send their children 888
> to the door of the parish church, or of some convent to see the sexton or some friar throwing the old woman from the steeple. . . ."

That the destruction of the old woman should occur in 174 ●
the middle of Lent—a period of fasting—is too much of a 796
coincidence not to indicate that, in times when food was 539
scarce, the aged folk were removed—either by being thrown 888
from a high place or, to save the guilt of actual murder, walled up in a rock tomb, as in the case of the peasant. The association of the Church with the destruction of the *ghagiusa* suggests that in primitive times the removal of the aged was the responsibility of the pagan priests who performed the "ritual murders." These murders may have developed from a practical necessity into a sacrificial propitiation.

The story of the Kaukam takes its name from the ancient's 539
first piece of advice to his perplexed son. Faced with the probability of losing his own crops while he cares for those of the Sultan, who has commanded that no man may plant his

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

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539 own fields until he has planted an equal number for the Sultan, he is told, in rhyming verse:

> Buy the Kaukama and the Kaukam
> Count not the cost.
> Feed the field with clover and lucerne
> So the plough may bury them deep.
> At night till your fields, by day the Sultan's.
> Without the Kaukam and the two Kaukama
> Nought will remain but the strength of your hands.

539 174 There is no one now who can say what they were that the peasant was to buy. The words have no longer any meaning. Can it be—for we have already seen that the story is of great antiquity—that the hero was the originator of draught oxen? Of the two words one would seem to be singular, the other plural. Perhaps the old man's advice to his son was to breed oxen for draught, known formerly only as food. The use of oxen for ploughing and threshing would have so lightened the peasant's labour as to make it possible for him to plant and tend the Sultan's fields as well as his own. That is what he succeeds in doing, with the aid of the mysterious "Kaukama and Kaukam," to the amazement and chagrin of the Sultan. "Without the Kaukam and the two Kaukama nought will remain but the strength of your hands" might reasonably read "Without the ox and the two she-oxen . . . ."

539 The Sultan is unwilling to be beaten by the peasant, and sets him more problems which place him repeatedly "within the onion" (Maltese for "the horns of a dilemma"). The old man, from his rock-tomb, furnishes the answer to every problem, and the peasant is at last forced to tell the Sultan his guilty secret.

> "The Sultan was highly delighted. . . . From this day forward no one shall bury either father or mother

> The officiating
> priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, 585
> a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee [793]
> on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was [465]
> completed, everyone returned from church in the same
> order as before.
>
> As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies showered flowers upon them also nuts and grains and wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.
>
> The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended, she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.
>
> At a village wedding the company danced during the [535]
> feast, each dancer throwing a piece of money to the [431]
> fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast. [465]
>
> The bride always passed a week in her father's house, [591]
> after which she was received with much pomp by her
> husband, whose relations gave a great feast which was
> called *il hargia*."[1]

The bridegroom's symbolic present of a fish is very likely 584
connected with fecundity, for the fish was regarded as an 174 ●
emblem of fecundity by the Assyrians and the Phoenicians. 825
It is not, however, in this connection alone that the fish is a
potent symbol. Prudence (apparently a virtue highly prized [577].
in a Maltese wife—Salt, another symbol of prudence, is included in the ingredients with which the bride's lips are anointed), and Wisdom were anciently supposed to be the properties of numerous Sacred Fish. Finn M'Cull, in the Irish legend, "Happens upon the Salmon of Knowledge . . ."

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[1] BUSUTTIL, op. cit.

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174 584 825 which conferred on him "such Wisdom, Prowess, and good fortune . . . that Fame and Prosperity always attended him thereafter." Tennyson, describing his mystic Lady of the Lake, has:

> And o'er her breast floated the Sacred Fish.

The Saviour Himself was symbolized by the early Christians as a fish. Julius Africanus, an early Christian writer, said of Christ that He was the Great Fish, caught by the Hook of God, whose flesh nourishes the whole world.[1]

This bridal fish, then, may be in some sense a sacramental offering as well as a mere symbol.

584 789 828 The anointing of the bride's lips is yet another custom which, like the miniature "garden inclosed" of the marriageable girl, recalls the Canticle of Canticles:

> Thy lips my spouse are as a dropping honeycomb,
> honey and milk are under thy tongue. . . .[2]

585 174 The whole of this marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the old Fertility cults—the cakes, sweetmeats, nuts, grain, all in honour of the fertile Mother whose bountiful Earth is carried in a bowl bearing effigies of the bride and bridegroom whom it is hoped she will bless with her own fecundity and riches.

EVERYDAY HABITS

771 788 Grez, the housewife, will go about her daily tasks carefully following a thousand small rules, most of which have their English parallels. She will never cut a loaf without first making the Sign of the Cross on it with forefinger or knife. If the loaf falls to the ground, she will kiss it by way of asking pardon. She will not sweep her house after sunset for fear of [754] sweeping away good fortune. She will take care not to throw her "combings" out of doors. Should anyone wish her ill it

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[1] *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

[2] *Song of Solomon*, IV, ii.

explanations of them. Two kinds of explanations have 796
to be treated with some caution, the local one and the 171
Christian one . . . and we shall find ourselves going back for the true causes to the worship of the sun and of the seasons.

The revel, easily degenerating into the brawl, has always found opposition, as in the thunderous verse of an old poet who branded the Midsummer processions as

Of Edinburgh the great idolatrie
And manifest abomination.

Other forces have militated against them besides the disapproval of the austere. As another old writer has rather obscurely remarked: 'No suffimen is a greater fugator of phantosmes than gunpowder.' Other such fugators are periods of increased popular education and of quickened pace in national life. These forces have been active enough in our own times, and few Midsummer customs have survived them; but all of them were originally the spontaneous outcome of certain impulses in the make-up of human beings, and thus, past or present, they are of permanent interest to us."

There seems little doubt that the Night of Fires belongs 372
to that very early civilization of which, as has been suggested 796
elsewhere, the Maltese are amongst the direct descendants. 174
What more appropriate than the adaptation of these ancient fires to the honour of that Saint beneath whose banner there happened all that is most valiant in Maltese history?

In one form or another practically all the "seasonal" customs 796
familiar in other countries appear in Malta: All Fools' Day, [527]
with its affinity to the Hindu festival of Huli; May Day, when [171]
the children gather green bows in honour of Flora; New Year's Day, when lime is strewn on doorsteps in token of good luck; but Malta's most popular holiday is the period of Carnival. Its

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The fratelli
763 —lay brethren of the congregation—hurry from their homes
794 to take their places in the procession of the Viatecum. Marching
rapidly, like a company of soldiers, headed by a peasant
ringing a staccato, commanding bell, some bearing tapers,
some censers, all chanting the prayers for the dying, they pass
[793] quickly through the village street. Under a canopy, borne
by two sturdy *fratelli*, goes the priest in his bright vestments,
bearing God to the dying man.

The women hurry to place a light in their windows, kneel
and pray as God passes.

So, with such poor pomp as these simple folk can muster,
764 the Prince of Peace comes to dying Zeppu. The funeral rites
[171] and customs differ hardly at all nowadays from those of other
Catholic countries. But Zeppu's grandfather could remember
a time when the Old Things were much in evidence.

764 There were the "Wailing Women" (whose name *neuuicha*
survives in the sense of "one who constantly complains").
767 They wore long black robes, and chanted death-songs whose
burden was a combination of praise for the deceased's virtues
and rebuke for his having left them. They cut the vines from
the courtyard, overturned the furniture, broke pottery, and
mixed the fragments with soot and ashes, staining the doors
[302] of the bereaved house with the mixture. They cut pieces of
their hair and scattered them over the coffin.

765 If the dead man possessed horses, cows, goats, all their tails
[262] had pieces cut from them in token of mourning. There was a
[764] form of "wake" where funeral cakes and boiled wheat were
eaten. A carpet was spread over the tomb to prevent the
unware from treading on it.

[372] No fire was lit in the house for three days after the funeral.
[302] The women kept to the house for forty days. The men, having
remained indoors for seven days, went unshaven.

764 Here are clear signs of the most primitive funeral rites
174 and *taboos*. Death was a pollution—hence the segregation of

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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the relatives and the staining of the doors. Provision was 764
made for the deceased's comfort in the other life by the 174
breaking of his pottery—thus releasing the *manes* to accompany him in death.

The wake was a death feast originally designed to provide
a sort of communion with the departed. Similarly, the cutting [302]
of the mourner's hair was intended to furnish a ritual link with the dead. Primitive tribes express the same idea in cannibalism and in funeral mutilations.

The cutting of the animals' tails was very probably a 765
version of the sacrifice in expiation of the dead man's sins.

> ". . . Then they brought out a splendid white horse, and the priest cut some hair from its mane and tail and burned it on the altar, shouting 'A sacrifice!' . . . 'I saw poor Weland's face through the smoke, and I couldn't help laughing . . .' says Puck."[1]

Based on fear, as these "ancient fictions" were, they yet hid certain eternal truths.

The Old Things, with their complicated rituals, their 771
theologies of terror, served their turn in leading mankind 178
some distance on his upward march. Nowhere is their vague disembodied presence more felt than in Malta's rapidly dwindling countryside, where every stone may well have housed one of their altars. Not all of the Old Things were evil. The good ones have been adopted by Mother Church; but there remain those restless, evil ones who have never bowed down to the Nazarene. They hide in the shadows, angry and resentful.

THE HOUR OF THE OLD THINGS

Let us go out, at the third or fourth hour after midnight. 788
Away from the clamorous ballrooms or the cramped city of 178

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[1] *Puck of Pook's Hill.*

1: Bowen-Jones et al. EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 175

[For additional historical data, see category 116, pp. 109-146.]

C. Constitutional and Social

175 642 During World War I the political situation in the Islands remained amazingly stable. The re-imposition of bureaucratic rule by the Governor removed at least some of the opportunities for dispute. The departure from the political scene of Mizzi and Strickland also removed some of the personal animus that had appeared in the political conflict. During the war, the Maltese manpower contribution in labour battalions and on ship was considerable, and the security of the naval base was never questioned. After the cessation of hostilities there followed economic dislocation and in 1918 15,000 Dockyard workers were discharged, only 5,000 of whom had been re-engaged by 1920. Partly as an ameliorative measure accompanying others more directly valuable, and partly as a liberalist appreciation of services rendered, a new constitution was established in 1921 and further liberalised in 1928.

The 1921 constitution provided for bicameral representative and responsible government. The Governor in Council retained limited but reserve powers although no very clear separation was made between domestic and imperial affairs. For some years relative stability was maintained and political parties, major and minor, began to crystallise. Unfortunately for Malta the issues that had already developed (see Chapter V B) survived and, with the resurgence of nationalism in Italy and the logical extension of the process of anglicisation, all the old suspicions and enmities reappeared. The party which was to become termed 'Nationalist' became the protagonist of the still dominant upper middle-class and professional group and of those who saw the position of the Church threatened by the waning of Italian cultural supremacy. In 1920 a permanent Board of Education was created and in 1924 the Compulsory Attendance Act ensured a certain minimum of attendance once a pupil was registered. Although the Church schools remained independent, the growing dominance of English and to a lesser extent Maltese, and of secular education finally sparked off that antagonism to change which existed. In 1927 Lord Strickland returned to lead a party committed to hasten such change. Once again conflict of interests became acute and after a temporary suspension of the constitution in 1930, it was finally revoked, legally in 1936, in fact with effect from 1933 when Italian finally lost its position as one of the official languages (1). To an outsider, now as then, the period appears tragic in that it is characterised by pre-occupation with affairs of little relevance to the needs of most Maltese. The social and cultural dichotomy within the Islands was maintained.

An attempt to restart constitutional development was made in 1939 by the creation of a representative council but World War II forced a return to centralised government particularly during the state of siege. After hostilities had ceased a fresh approach to the problem was made, much in the spirit of 1920, and in 1947 the Constitution which was in force until 1958 was promulgated. It provided for single chamber Legislative Assembly of 40 members. Party government through an Executive Council advised the Governor. He, as head of the Imperial Government, alone had executive and legislative power in those reserved 'matters touching the public safety or defence', advised by a Nominated Council. In practice, this 'dyarchical' system depended on a logically impossible understanding and appreciation of the division of interests between reserved and non-reserved, imperial and domestic, affairs. Nevertheless, and as realised by the subscribers to the Report on the Round Table Conference in 1955 (2), some reservation of power to the Imperial Government is inevitably necessary.

642 664 Since 1947, the cumulative effects of economic change have transformed the local political scene. There are now over 150,000 enfranchised voters and political power has slipped out of the hands of the upper middle-class. The most succinct statement of the platforms of the various modern political parties as they were before 1958 and probably still are in essence may be found in the Round Table Conference Report (3). To us, the most important feature of the contemporary political scene is the way in which the modern political cleavage

175 79 As has already appeared it is impossible to live and work in Malta without becoming very much aware of the strength of the Church. We venture therefore to make some necessary comment on this at once most delicate and yet most vigorous aspect of Maltese affairs.

As noted in Chapter IV, religious activity of a highly developed and institutionalised nature was a feature of Malta even in prehistory. Little direct evidence is available of this facet of life in the semitic or classical cultures, and even when we come to the Christian era and St. Paul's shipwreck 'on an island called Melita' we have no conclusive evidence that this in fact was Malta, or that St. Paul introduced Christianity to the Islands (18).

At all events the Christian Church entered the Islands in Roman times, and the line of bishops regarded as beginning with Publius, St. Paul's host, although broken during the period of Arab rule, was re-established by the Normans. As examined in Chapter IV, from this time onward Malta became first a simple fief in Christendom and then its bastion, held by a Religious Order. Whatever toleration there may once have been between Christian and Moslem before 1530 was quickly erased.

The report by the Apostolic Visitor, Mgr. Pietro Duzina (19) of his visit to Malta in 1575 throws some light on the condition of the Church at the time. In answer to unorthodoxy a Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition was established, creating three rival forces in the Islands, the Grand Master, the Inquisitor and the Bishop. From Duzina's report and subsequent accounts we see that not until the Turkish threat in 1565 had been repulsed and the Visitor's instructions for future conduct had had some effect, did village life become centred around new and magnificent churches which replaced the smaller more humble edifices in the hamlets. Curia and architectural evidence (20) corroborate each other. From this time onward, the parishes, growing in number, became the administrative and social regional units that counted in Maltese life and the Parish Church became the focus of the religious, social, and economic life of the casals and villages. As patrons of all the arts, repositories of wealth, directors not only of consciences but all conscious action, the Parish organisations became, and to an amazing extent still retain, a permeating power. Quite apart from the regular clergy the Religious Orders have played an important part in the Maltese Church and in education and other aspects of social activity. The relationship between the Church and the Order of St. John was not always completely amicable. In the traditional village scene the village priest, in the virtual absence of an indigenous squirearchy, was the teacher, doctor, legal advisor as well as spiritual mentor. Compared with this the Knights were alien and apart from Maltese life. The position of the Church and the Order vis-a-vis the Papacy was also not completely easy. Nevertheless, mainly as a result of mutual non-interference, the Church gained complete local ascendancy.

During the nineteenth century an uneasy *modus vivendi* was established between the Church and the new non-Catholic rulers, and during most of the conflict over language and culture the Church played a pacific and calming role, concerning itself mainly with the administrative details necessitated by the rapidly increasing and nucleating population. How far the dependence of the individual on the spirit and dogma of his belief, the faith described in 1840 by Miège (21) as *'cette piété poussé jusqu'au fanatisme'*, has been supported by the long years of insecurity during which Divine and ecclesiastical protection was felt as a real and precious thing, it is hard to say. One may speculate on the fact that it was at the old 'frontier' casal at Mosta, westernmost of the old settlements, that local piety built in days of security the vast church with a dome that ranks among the largest of the world. It is also true that the Maltese Church enforces more strict rules of conduct upon its people than other Churches now find possible.

178 79 However we may interpret the situation, the Church which succeeded in adjusting itself to nineteenth century changes has been faced in the twentieth with the consequences of those changes. The traditional society in which it was virtually omnipotent and omnipresent is changing into a new society in which the individual does not have to lean so much on the priest. Now, the younger genera-

palms and pomegranates alongside potatoes - but in no case are conditions optimal or yields very good. In the comparatively closed economies of the past this mattered little; in an era of world trade and world markets Malta has now been left behind. Large-scale cotton production has virtually ceased and that of citrus fruit is declining; viticulture is of low standard and the olive tree very rare. Cereals can now provide only a tiny fraction of local needs while fodder production is limited in season and type by water shortage. 241

178 The critical phase in the social and economic reactions to the physical situation has also been reached. In the simple peasant communities of the past, the creative manual effort was necessarily associated with a low valuation of individual human effort and an arduous and restricted life. Now, however, economic and social opportunities and desires have widened and with them has come impatience with the demands imposed by the artificial landscape.

182 Higher per capita productivity to assure more freedom and leisure is only quickly attainable by technical and mechanical innovation. It is just such innovation that is impossible on a large scale on the land of Malta. 241

311 [134] The slope analysis map (Fig. 28)[1] illustrates one aspect of the problem. Maltese soil 12 inches deep needs, as a minimum amount, terracing at horizontal intervals of about 20 feet. Anything wider in the way of fields or a deeper soil makes essential increasingly higher and stronger retaining walls. The problem is such that considerable control is exercised by dip as well as gradient. The amount of labour involved in maintenance is heartbreaking by modern standards and yet, without it, erosion is quickly followed by the complete stripping away of the soil down to bare rock. The scale of farming operations often has to be very small - the planting of single rows of beans, of single trees, the sowing of chick-peas in rock crevices. Power and tool application is severely restricted. Small and light implements and single draught animals or more recently 'rotavators' alone can negotiate this type of terrain and work very thin soils covering rock platforms. The dangerous effect of the abandonment of any land is obvious. The past has in fact enchained the present. If cultivation is to continue then in order to preserve the artificial ecological balance, created with such effort over the centuries, a social imbalance will become even stronger. Whatever the scale of farming the farmer will always have to grub for soil, build his terraces, carry his plough or manhandle his rotavator for long hours under conditions that will seem less attractive even than those of casual dockside and urban labour.

The first point then is that the landscape indicates how human effort is pinned down by the artificial environment and how restive man is becoming.

175 The second theme is concerned with the reasons for the historical process of what really amounts to landscape gardening, and with the underlying implications. 241

648 Malta's wealth, in historical times at least, has come from a large extra-territorially derived income which has resulted from the Island's positional value. It is possible that even in prehistoric times Malta was never self-sufficient. The great temple building cultures of Malta and Gozo may well have maintained their master masons on imported wealth. Certainly Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Normans all occupied Malta because of its strategic position and took wealth in rather than removed it. The Order of St. John held it as an outpost of Christendom maintained by the Knights' possessions on the European mainland. Britain has similarly supported the Island's economy in return for its use as a naval, military and more recently a strategic air centre. Because of Malta's positional importance its inhabitants found it necessary and worth while to create agricultural resources. Because Malta has usually been an outpost the society and its works have attained the unstable equilibrium of a siege life.

369 At least since Arab occupation a duality has appeared in the community. Earliest at Mdina, later in the Three Cities, then in Valletta and the whole Grand Harbour complex, and now around the naval, military and air bases, the garrisons have formed successive nuclei of a cosmopolitan and sophisticated community. This community, literate, trained in the professions and trades has

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[1] [See pp. 98-B and 98-C -- Analyst]

the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a 133
gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely 333
populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square 161
miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population density [131]
of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated
countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the
urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The 162
rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly
separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The population
of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very 16
limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems.
The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been
encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large
families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized
the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service
for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged
8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase
was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period
was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual
rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off
many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there
were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000
women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. 175 ●
The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality.
With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known published
sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to [121]
enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical
perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different [648]

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[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands*, 1960 (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–5.

● 175 648 rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans successively occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–1283), the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. [701] In 1530, Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their protesting inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800 Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then they have remained a British possession.

175 776 795 The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the people to Christianity. [797] Whether he converted many is a moot point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor, Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. [796] The Maltese are intensely proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the principal patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

175 793 795 The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, re-established and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of Maltese bishops dates from this period.

175 642 646 Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered

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[1] Acts 27 and 28.

by the officials of the governing body, or *Università*. This body, 175
which met in Mdina, the old capital of the island, was composed 642
of representatives of the nobles, learned men, secular priests, 646
merchants and artisans elected by all the family heads in the towns
and villages of Malta and Gozo. The Knights of St. John, however, [439]
severely limited the authority of the Università, and during
their final years it was little more than a public corporation
responsible for the importation of scarce foodstuffs.

The Order made itself responsible for local government. It con- 175
trolled and financed the local militia, police, courts, water supply, 642
public works, hospitals and charities. The government of the 701
Order was highly centralized, and all key posts were held by
Knights, though many of the lesser administrative offices were
given to Maltese nobles, lawyers and clerks. The authority of the [625]
Order was made effective in the rural areas through the police and
the ten Captains who were in charge of military garrisons and
arsenals, located at strategic points for internal security and defence
against war parties and corsairs, and were also responsible for
mobilizing the militia. This paternalistic system of administration
came to an abrupt end when Napoleon drove the Knights from
the islands. Their departure marked the end of an era.

Napoleon remained in Malta only eight days, but they were 175
busy days. According to Laferla, 'it is certain that no one in the 177
space of a few days attempted more, did more and upset the 648
Maltese more than he did.'[1] He set up a nominated council of
Maltese to see to civil administration, remodelled the tribunals
along French lines and established twelve municipal councils. He
abolished the nobility. He closed the University, established a
central technical college and founded fifteen government elementary schools. He also sent sixty sons of wealthy families off to
study at republican colleges in Paris at their parents' expense.

'All this and probably much more would the Maltese have patiently tolerated,' says Laferla, 'had Napoleon not interfered with religion.'[2] For he set out to curtail the influence of the Church. He limited the jurisdiction of the Bishop to purely ecclesiastical affairs, ordered the expulsion from the islands of all non-Maltese clergy and reduced the number of clerics. He also instituted civil marriage, gave protection to the Jews and forbade

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[1] A. V. Laferla, *The Story of Man in Malta* (3rd ed.; Malta, A. C. Aquilina and Co., 1958), p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

175 the clergy to charge for their services. Finally, he decreed that no
177 foreign power, even the Pope, might interfere in local religious
648 administration.

By these acts, the French attacked values that were at the very
175 foundation of the Maltese social structure. Moreover, the new
government aggravated the discontent by its failure to meet its
648 financial commitments. Less than two months later, the sup-
669 pressed hostility flared into savage revolt when the authorities
tried to auction off the property of the Carmelite church in
Mdina. The citizens rose, massacred the town's garrison and
burned their bodies. Then, led by Notary Vitale and Canon
Caruana, a powerful cotton merchant who later became Bishop,
they penned up the main French force under General Vaubois
behind the fortifications of Valletta and the Three Cities. Two
years later the French surrendered to the British force which had
come to assist the Maltese.

Under British rule, Malta changed from a theocracy ruled by a
175 religious order, to a self-governing colony with an active internal
177 political life. Administrative posts gradually passed to Maltese
64 hands, and today the civil service, apart from a few foreign
69 experts, is completely Maltese. But in spite of a long flirtation with
[621] various forms of local and regional government, there are still no
village mayors or councillors. The new civic committee in Gozo
is an exception which will be discussed in the following chapter.
Early in their rule, the British abolished the Università. To appease
the wounded dignity of the nobles, they divided Malta into six
districts under the nominal authority of Lords Lieutenant, chosen
from the nobility. These officers were in charge of civil affairs, and
presided over district courts. Each was assisted by syndics, deputies
with magisterial powers, who lived in the villages. In 1839, this
system of local government was abandoned as inefficient and
costly, and district magistrates, also called syndics, were ap-
pointed from the class of advocates. Later, the government
established district consultative committees to advise it on local
needs and to coordinate health measures during epidemics. These
committees were only partly successful, and were also abandoned.
In 1896 the government finally abolished the office of syndic, and,
in the interest of economy, closed the last district courts in 1913.
After that, except for the Magistrate's Court in Gozo, the adminis-
tration of justice remained centralized in Valletta.

In the early years of its rule, Britain moved slowly but firmly to 175
restrict the authority of the Church. As one of its first steps, it 177
imposed a mortmain law which forced the Church to sell off 648
bequests of immovable property within one year. In 1828, it 659
abolished the right of sanctuary and restricted the jurisdiction of 795
the ecclesiastical courts to purely spiritual matters. Shortly after-
wards, the Diocese of Malta, until then subject to the Metropolitan
of Palermo, was made directly dependent on the Holy See.

In spite of the inroads Britain made on the power of the Church, the relations between the two have, on the whole, remained extremely cordial. This friendliness has been due very largely to the considerable protection which Britain has given to the Church in Malta. To begin with, it is protected from the competition of other religions. The missionary activities of groups such as the Bible Society and the Salvation Army have been severely restricted. Moreover, the government reserves the right to ban public religious ceremonies by non-Catholics if they threaten to disturb the peace. Catholic precepts regarding education and marriage are also safeguarded, for education is on Catholic religious principles, and divorce and civil marriage are not possible under Maltese law. Furthermore, the Archbishop is accorded high honour, and in the jealously guarded order of precedence he is second only to the Governor. Both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo are exempt from the jurisdiction of the criminal courts.

In addition, the first Maltese elected government passed a law in 659
1922, declaring the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the 795
country. Article 161 of the Malta Criminal Code makes it a criminal 671
offence to vilify in public the Catholic religion or its ministers.[1]

Constitutional development in Malta has been a painful and 642
slow process; for it is not a simple matter to give representative 648
government to a fortress. The first constitution in 1835 provided for a council of government composed of five office holders, including the Governor and the Bishop, and three nominated dignitaries. Since then, there have been no less than nine different constitutions. Those promulgated before the First World War established an oligarchical system. Property restrictions on those allowed to vote and hold office resulted in elections by and for members of the landed, professional and merchant classes. Further-

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[1] Act XVIII, 1933.

578 621 79 [575] be illuminated and that only one band on the eve and one on the day of the feast would be allowed. Although they are now ignored, the regulations also placed limits upon the variety, quantity and duration of firework displays. Finally, they drew attention to the already existing regulations that church decorations and new works of art introduced for secondary feasts should be less costly and beautiful than those for titular feasts.[1]

Parish priests were expected to insist on the observance of these regulations, and they succeeded so well that some secondary feasts were reduced to minor celebrations. Moreover, the *pika* between the partiti in Żabbar and Qrendi was so violent that the secondary feasts there were suppressed completely.[2] This served as a stern warning to others.

II

● 175 621 79 The story of the origin and development of the festa partiti in Farruġ is in many respects similar to the accounts which I collected about festa partiti in other villages. It might, therefore, be helpful to examine it in some detail. Before 1877 there were no festa partiti in the village; everyone co-operated in the celebration of the feast of St. Martin, the patron of the parish. By all accounts it was a humble one, and lasted only one day. This period is described as an idyllic time during which the village was happy and united. But in 1876 a new parish priest arrived, and after that the scene began to change. Dun Rokku, the new priest, not only had a strong personal devotion to the saint after whom he had been named, but he was also from a village where there was a strong secondary partit devoted to St. Roque. Within a year he established a confraternity dedicated to St. Roque in order to 'inject some more life into this rural parish', according to the president of the St. Roque Band Club. The first feast in honour of St. Roque was celebrated in October 1878 to mark the establishment of the confraternity. Although the new secondary feast was at first a simple affair, it and the titular feast grew during the next few years.

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[1] Concilium Regionale Melitense (1935), *Decreta* (Malta, Empire Press, 1936), p. 91.

[178] [2] In Żabbar the devotion to St. Michael, the secondary patron, died out almost completely, though the *pika* between the bands has persisted. But in Qrendi the devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes, the secondary patron, has continued as strong as ever. In 1958 the Archbishop reinstated the confraternity dedicated to her, which his predecessor suppressed in 1935, but the partit band is still not allowed to play for her feast.

175 578 621 79

few years. In 1880 the new confraternity dedicated an altar in the church to its patron, and by 1886 some persons were beginning to grumble about having to pay for another feast. There was a feeling of 'you collect for your feast, and we'll collect for ours.'

[427]

In 1888 an incident occurred which changed the course of the rivalry between the supporters of the two saints, which until then appears to have been rather mild. Dun Rokku, who was the procurator of the parish church, tried to increase the rent on some of the local property it owned. There was an outcry, and some persons went to the Bishop to complain that not only had Dun Rokku been diverting parish funds to buy new street decorations for the feast of St. Roque, but he was also raising rents to continue this work. The complaints resulted in an investigation, following which the procura of the church was taken from Dun Rokku and given to a prominent member of the village, who favoured St. Martin. This action, not surprisingly, infuriated Dun Rokku. From that day onward, so the accounts relate, he threw his full support openly behind the feast of St. Roque.

175 575 621

Some time after this, the partiti each formed their own social clubs. According to St. Martin supporters, their club grew out of a pre-existing band club, but that of their rivals was not established until after the First World War. They thus consider that they have seniority. St. Roque partisans, on the other hand, deny this seniority. They maintain that both clubs came into being out of the former club around the turn of the century. Consequently they have equal seniority. However, both clubs claim that the records crucial to the question of seniority were destroyed by enemy action during the last war. There is thus no documentary evidence for either claim, a fact which makes for deadlock whenever the issue of seniority is raised.

578 621 79

Dun Rokku was a strongminded priest, and he ruled the village for fifty-six years. When he finally died in 1932 at the age of 90, he was blind and deaf. During his many years in the parish he did much to beautify the church. Unfortunately, so people recount, he also introduced the hated partiti that divided the village. Through a variety of means at the disposal of a parish priest, he succeeded in wooing or coercing three-fourths of the village into his partit. There are many stories about the old man and the methods he used to recruit supporters. One is that he would make it difficult for people to marry unless they were, or became, members of the

In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to
103 him[1] after 1850 (in Naxxar, Gharghur, Kirkop and Xaghra, for
175 example) he was chosen as patron of the new parish churches of
621, Kalkara, Qala and Maida. Moreover, four parishes have secondary
776 feasts dedicated to him (Rabat, Ghaxaq, Kirkop and Żebbuġ).
794 Besides these Gharghur and Siġġiewi had St. Joseph partiti which
796 succumbed to the 1935 Church regulations.

The identification of secondary partiti in general with St.
621 Joseph is also perhaps reflected in the colour most have chosen as
794 their symbol. It is blue, the colour of the banner of the Con-
822 fraternity of St. Joseph. The supporters of many secondary partiti, even if their saint is the Virgin Mary, wave blue scarves about to show their loyalty to it. Their rivals display red scarves, after the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose members support the titular saint.

463 The correlation between partiti and occupational class is also
621, shown in the high proportion of village priests who are sons of
793, families supporting the titular feasts. I once asked the leader of a
794 secondary partit why this was so. He replied that it was only natural since the families of the titular partiti were in much closer contact with the parish priest. Thus their sons, rather than those of rivals, more often became his young helpers and altar boys and received the necessary recommendations to the seminary and other church-run schools. From there, some became priests, and others assumed positions of leadership with the various associations. Other informants suggested it was because the 'best' families support the titular saints, and therefore can afford the additional school fees and loss of earning power that are involved in having their sons become priests.

Of the 41 priests born and now resident in Żurrieq, Kirkop, Qrendi, Mqabba, Luqa, Ghaxaq and Żebbuġ, 33 (80 per cent) are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. This percentage gains added importance by the fact that in each of these villages the secondary partit is either equal to or larger than the titular partit. The exception is Żebbuġ, where the secondary partit is decidedly smaller than the titular one. In Farruġ, though the local priest is from a St. Roque family, all the offices connected with the parish church, and 23 of the 30 key positions with Catholic Action, the Football Club and the Labour Committee, are in the hands of St. Martin supporters. Thus the members of titular partiti are not only closer to established authority, they often become part of it.

[1] [i.e. St. Joseph,-Analyst]

[p. 134]

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

128 This study has been concerned with Maltese village politics. It has looked at the ways in which persons and groups compete to influence the outcome of disputes and community decisions in accordance with their own interests. In particular, it has examined the nature of the groups, the issues between them and the means by which they influenced their outcome. The various groups involved varied from parishes to political parties, and from associations to factions. The issues between them, though they also varied, all had one thing in common: in one way or another they involved the Church. Whether the competition between parishes for the title of Basilica, between festa partiti over their saints or between the supporters of Mintoff and their opponents, all were somehow related to the Church. Much of the political action we studied involved attempts to influence its decisions.

● 175 795 It may now be asked why the Church is so intimately involved in political activity at all levels. Part of the answer lies in history, for in the absence of any form of civil government at the village level, the Church represented the interests of the people to the secular authorities governing the islands: first to the Knights of St. John, and later to the British. Thus for centuries the Church played the important political role of defender of the interests of the people. Its importance in the political and its dominance in the 795 religious sphere reinforced each other. It is not strange that at the village level the Church controls the outcome of many of the issues considered of importance to the community, since for centuries a village has had little corporate reality outside the religious framework. That is, it only assumes some semblance of group solidarity or unity as a parish. [794] As a parish its inhabitants own property, meet for worship, celebrate feasts, have a collective leader in their parish priest and a common symbol and patron in their titular saint. As members of a village, considered as a community outside the structure of the Church, they have and can do none of these things.

172 of metals to the island. Bronze Age pottery is less highly finished than the Neolithic ware, but although the two are certainly distinct, there are transitional forms.

From an ethnological point of view it would appear that the Bronze Age, or the end of the Neolithic Age, was in many places a crucial period. It is difficult, however, to parallel this in Malta by linking up the osteological and the archæological material. As we shall hope to show later, the Megalithic people in Malta appear to be very distinct from the later inhabitants, and to present certain Armenoid characteristics. Sir Arthur Evans[1] has pointed out that there was a western colonial movement from the mainland of Greece towards the close of the period which he has termed Late Minoan III. There is evidence of such a movement in cemeteries near Syracuse. Up to the present, however, there is no evidence of Malta being connected with the East at so early a date. It has further been suggested that at some period in the early history of the island a complete destruction of the old population took place.

The sherds from Kallilia appear to be similar in fabric and design to those of the Hal Tarxien Bronze Age. During the so-called "Phœnician" period we have cultural evidence of connection with the Ægean and North Africa, and it would appear that then, if not earlier, the final shaping of the present population was taking place, and that the mixed "island people" of the Eastern Mediterranean were sufficiently firmly established to swamp any further immigration of invaders belonging to a pure Mediterranean strain.

[144] The Punic influence, though culturally no doubt of importance, does not seem to have altered the population physically, and though at this time the connection with North Africa was undoubtedly close, it was not sufficiently strong to counteract the change wrought by the sea rovers from the islands, and to restore a type similar to that of Neolithic times.

175 Until the Roman occupation at the end of the third century B.C. Malta appears
648 to have been closely connected with North Africa. Rome held the islands as a military or semi-military outpost until nearly the end of the second century A.D. The period usually known as "Roman" in Malta should be more correctly described as Romano-Maltese; although Rome was the ruling power and much Roman culture was introduced, there are few references to Malta in Roman literature, and from an ethnological point of view the island was certainly working out its own salvation.

The archipelago was given practical autonomy and made a municipium about A.D. 177. On the division of the Empire, in A.D. 395, the islands were taken over by the Eastern Empire, to which they were certainly ethnologically akin. Invasions of barbarians may possibly have occurred, but when the Arabs captured the islands in 870 they found a Byzantine garrison in occupation. Robert of Sicily, with a

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[1] "Prehistoric Tombs of Cnossos," *Archæologia*, LIX, p. 107.

small handful of Knights, took over Malta in 1090. The islands became part of the 175
kingdom of Sicily, and shared its varying fortunes till they were ceded to the Knights 648
of St. John by the Emperor Charles V in 1530.

For the next three centuries the history of the Knights is so intimately concerned with the history of Malta that we must at least briefly consider the general position of the Order.

The Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem were finally ejected from the coast of Syria at the end of the thirteenth century. They occupied Rhodes in 1308. This island formed their home for over two hundred years. Early in 1523 they were driven from Rhodes, taking with them 4000 Rhodians. Given a temporary home at Viterbo by Pope Clement VII, a member of their own Order, they finally received the island of Malta from the Emperor Charles V under conditions of nominal feudal submission, to wit, the Grand Master to send a falcon to the Viceroy of Sicily every All Souls' Day.

The Order had an international character, and in the sixteenth century was divided into eight "Languages" or "Langues," according to the origin of the Knights, namely, Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, England, Germany and Castile. The English "Language" was suppressed in 1540, previous to which time many of the Knights who had been in England (the Grand Priory was situated in Clerkenwell) had either fled to Malta or been executed. The fiction of an English "Language" was, however, kept, and as late as 1782, on the foundation of a Bavarian "Language," this latter was united to the old English "Langue," which of course in reality no longer existed, and called the Anglo-Bavarian. The dominant element in the population of the Knights was certainly French, and the three French "Langues" —Provence, Auvergne and France—were certainly, both ethnologically and politically, the most important. The latter aspect was reflected in the great number of French Grand Masters.

For a generation after the occupation of the island by the Knights, Malta gradually succeeded in establishing an important position in the Mediterranean.
There seems little doubt that men like Strozzi, La Vallette, Charles of Lorraine, and [567]
de Romegas were practically pirates, at least as far as their treatment of the Turk was concerned, and at this time a very large number of Turkish slaves, presumably chiefly of Negro origin, were introduced into the island. In 1564 Suliman the Magnificent decided to attack Malta. The story of the siege of Malta in 1565 is a magnificent passage in the history of this very distinguished Order of Chivalry. It only concerns us so far as it resulted in a reorganization of the fortifications of the island and the building of the great city of Valletta, called after the Grand Master of the Order, Jean Parisot de la Vallette. It is important for our purpose to remember that when the Turks were eventually driven from the island, the Order had only 600 men capable of bearing arms who had survived the struggle.

175 167 361

The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

175 161 361

It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is comparatively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

175 648

The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

175 433 464

During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

175 648

The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediæval Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—Demography.

161 174

It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogæum is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Miège (27) suggests a population of 29,650. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

Medical Votive Offerings in the Maltese Islands

PAUL CASSAR

THE MALTESE GROUP OF ISLANDS—Malta, Gozo, Kemmuna, Kemmunet and Filfla— 131
cover an area of just over 120 square miles. They form a stepping-stone between Europe
and Africa, being fifty-eight miles distant from Sicily and 180 miles away from the
North African shore. Malta and Gozo are renowned for the number of Stone Age 172
temples they contain. Archaeologists have expressed the opinion that some of the enclosures
of these temples were sacred to a healing deity (Zammit 1926, p. 53). This is
suggested by the discovery of clay and limestone objects consisting of (1) two models of
women lying asleep on a kind of stretcher of wicker work, and (2) several votive offerings
in the shape of parts of the human body (Zammit & Singer 1924, pp. 75-6).

It is believed that the sleeping ladies represent devotees who went to the Hypogeum 17
temple at Hal Saflieni, near Pawla, to consult the oracle through the practice of oneiro- 787
mancy. This was a form of dream interpretation after the patient had been aroused from 755
a hypnotic state induced deliberately by means of drugs or other means (Zammit 1935, p. 58). In ancient Egypt dreams were regarded with reverence and the faithful believed that their prayers were rewarded by the gods with an indication, in their dreams, of the remedies which their illness required (Wilkinson 1837, III, p. 394). Similar practices prevailed also in the temple-hospitals of classical Greece where the patient is said to have had the line of treatment revealed to him in his sleep (Pavey 1951, p. 59). It is, therefore, quite possible that such methods were likewise followed in Malta by the Hypogeum priests in the treatment of disease about 1500 B.C. Whatever might have happened in Malta in neolithic days, it is very striking to come across similar parallels in modern times where sick persons claim to have been healed by a heavenly power while in the sleeping state.

The following cases were recorded in 1890, the first being the most interesting as 175
the patient fell asleep in the church itself: 755

(i) A woman had been subject to a purulent inflammation of the mouth for 787
fifteen years. She had recourse to the Virgin Mary and while praying at Ta Pinu 781
church (Gharb, Gozo) she was overtaken by extreme somnolence. She woke up with
the conviction that the Madonna had granted her the desired favour; in fact, she
recovered completely from her illness within three days.

(ii) Maria Cachia, from a village in Gozo, was so gravely ill from puerperal fever that it was decided to give her the Last Sacraments. Her mother made a vow to the Virgin Mary and anointed the patient on the forehead and breasts with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp of Ta Pinu church. Maria fell into a calm sleep. Our Lady appeared to her in a vision, touched her on the parts smeared with the oil and healed her. On waking she was 'happy and smiling and left her bed completely cured'.

175 (iii) Giovanna Debrincat had been suffering from depression with religious
755 scruples for eight months. Her symptoms became acute one day in February with
extreme anxiety, agitation, and insomnia. This phase lasted for four consecutive
787 days and nights in spite of the efforts of the doctor and a priest to reassure her and
781 placate her. Finally her relatives annointed her with the sanctuary oil and appealed to the Blessed Virgin to cure her. The patient immediately became tranquil and had a peaceful sleep. When she woke up, all her symptoms had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1890).

NEOLITHIC VOTIVE OFFERINGS

532
172 The custom of offering 'ex-votos' to the deity for favours received is not limited to the
Maltese Islands and goes back to very remote times. The neolithic 'ex-votos' of Malta
782 are made of clay and limestone, and measure from 1¾ to 3¼ inches in height. No less
[171] than fifteen of them, consisting of the following anatomical forms, have been found:

(i) Faces: 2.
(ii) Hand: 1.
(iii) Female torsos with large abdomen, pendulous breasts, and prominent genitalia: 4.
(iv) Kneeling female (?) torso with arms folded on breast: 2.
(v) Fragment of female statuette consisting of lower abdomen, both thighs, and right leg: 1.
(vi) Female body cut short in the neck and upper parts of the thighs; the left arm is bent on the nape of the neck and the right upper limb points to the genitalia which are very clearly shown. The abdomen and breasts are very full and a swelling fills the left groin while pieces of white shells are stuck in the armpits, groins, umbilicus, mons veneris, and other parts.
(vii) Female pelvis with upper parts of thighs and sexual triangle: 2.
(viii) Legs: 2 (Zammit & Singer 1924, p. 67).

The Roman occupation of Malta (218 B.C.–A.D. 397) is represented by one solitary
17 'ex-voto' consisting of a clay model of the lateral view of a leg and foot. It was found
782 quite recently with other Roman objects in the north-west part of the island (Plate 1,
Fig. 2). The inhabitants of the Maltese Islands were converted to Christianity by St
[797] Paul in A.D. 60. No more 'ex-votos' can be traced for many hundreds of years until they reappear in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Catholic Church. The interruption in the time-sequence and the change of religious beliefs do not, however, prevent us from perceiving that they have a common purpose and that the 'ex-votos' of Stone Age and Roman times foreshadow the similar ones of later years. Indeed the same ideational process links the ancient ones with those of our own times.

Anatomical 'ex-votos' are still preserved in many of the Catholic churches of Malta
782 and Gozo and in several wayside shrines in the countryside and in niches in the towns.
532 They are either figures of the complete human body or of parts of it. The former consist
755 of the front view of babies with the trunk and limbs swathed in bands like a mummy;
and of side views of men and women in a kneeling posture with their hands joined in prayer over their breasts or else holding a symbolical heart. The men are turned towards the left and the women look towards the right. The models representing parts of the

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black crape. 764

(*d*) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(*e*) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and 764
watch the corpse for the whole night. This custom prevails 767
mostly in Gozo. In old days official female mourners, named
neññieka (from *neññah*, " to cry ") were employed. The prac- [175]
tice was abolished in Malta during the plague of A.D. 1676.[1] [731]
Sicilians employed mourners called Praeficae or Reputatrices, [171]
a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese female mourners is described by Abela as follows :—

> They wore trailing veils (*kurkâr*), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their mourning.

764
(*f*) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the [354]
Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This [765]
is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is [775]
in this way prevented from haunting the house. In some of [783]
the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth, and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the

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[1] Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 794. [113]

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to the physical arrangement of functional parts), these provide important evidence of the social and economic nature of society. The present report is concerned with rural society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These creations have since expanded and merged to become the
[396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and
[464] Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment existing only in the larger settlements or in the little harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530 standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined in relative importance.

Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
[161] a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
[396] associated townships became dominant and the increase in the population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

178 which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming
element are the old settlements.[4] The non-agricultural
369 Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta
and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural
basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages
grew little in size and declined considerably in relative
importance.

178 A closer investigation of the declining relative importance
of farming within the rural villages themselves over
241 the past hundred years (v. Appendix 1D, vii and Graph)
433 reveals that during some periods economic prosperity in
464 Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally,
166 that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a
return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared.
This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the
nineteenth and the first decade of the present century (B/381).
Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming
(v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the
Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land
have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked
this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers
who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the
nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land
upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions
declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a
foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the
land as he is with the community which it supported. If a
depression were to appear along with any limitation in
emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in
times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for
farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring
but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and
farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic
in character.

178 The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial
464 rather than total in that the bulk of farmers and farm-workers
241 who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or
'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper
(B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of
countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past
the availability of alternative employment has been the
governing factor. The earlier periods of economic prosperity
mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for
● 175 the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the
464 only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural
288 Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving. Even
here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and
manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth

175 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, particularly
288 after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports
464 of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is
today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective
monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century,
much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted
to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male
labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing
departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was
centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft,
so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from
home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton
production declined. This decline accelerated towards the
close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an
even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands.
The total decline was due to external economic factors but,
within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest
in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The
cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest -
where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing
178 work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end
241 of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of
369 this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first,
and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the
464 Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the
[288] harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton
[396] industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus
[504] appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater
break with home, farm and village than had been the case with
cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the
alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into
the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population
of the rural area became less and less dependent on agriculture
for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in
178 an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second,
241 considered later in more detail, is the social change which
369 has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager
241 through direct and indirect education and contact with the
433 people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two
forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had
happened before on a temporary basis and the other a
consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which
has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world,
have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he
has the new range of employment opportunities indicated,
while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard developments
621 and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the
rural districts where change has to date been slower than in
the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along
with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
●175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisers as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education
as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The
clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the population
was not. This concentration of learning produced a situation
in which only the clergy were able to step forward to
take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might
have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
[669] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolutionary
[648] leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino
Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising
against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands
by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both
village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the
[874] University came strongly under the influence of the Church,
for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long standing,
[178] was and still is best known for its Theology. However,
during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the
Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative
details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of
the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth.
The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the
separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociological
importance during the present century has been the growth
of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban
areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces
which are today tending to detract from the traditional
omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before
the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will
loom much larger than at present in the country districts
and in Gozo[11].

628 186 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gożo that a man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some comparatively recent date[13].

621 793 795 Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest, and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church by the new features and modifications of the old landscape in the present.

● 175 361 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement has acquired the essential features common to rural society throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church [172] in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1580[14]. Evidence, too, of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat (2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the village.

175 361 793 795 However, in the early part of the nineteenth century, farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918. Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area permanently. 175 346 [793] With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the population of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911). [463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect concerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

[Village of Mġarr]

175 Building went ahead slowly on the immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
themselves responsible for much of the labouring work.
794 Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards
the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939);
this in a parish which even ten years later had no more
than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

175 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were
793 attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor)
871 Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became
Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest
not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way
in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features
possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the
Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration
and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was
"sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of
Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in
the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by
the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this
[671] still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for
nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory
Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

744 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for
793 by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone
759 himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of
1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest
175 of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the
day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to
anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6).
As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in
difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social,
as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the
first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the
village, and another of the traditional functions of the
Priest passed to specialist hands.

175 After this, interest was turned again to building and
the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out
346 in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the
344 Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the
[435] District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers them-
selves were responsible for a great deal of the building
work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued
to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an
178 unofficial capital of the rural areas of his Island; markets
361 are still held there even though the main ones have
[443] gravitated to Valletta and the urban area. The annual
'Imnarja', traditionally one of the main events in the
farmers' social calendar, is held nearby[18], while the
ancient importance of the Church is reflected in the large
number of clergy, churches, confraternities and third orders
[712] found there (Appendix 4). In Gozo, Rabat is the administrative, cultural and economic capital with the old
fortified 'Castello' now in large part a deserted ruin.

369 The differing extent to which the villages of Malta and
178 Gozo have been influenced economically by the industrial and
urban developments of the dockyard areas and towns are
paralleled in the social plane. Traditionally rural centres
such as Qormi, Żabbar and Birkirkara have undergone increasing
social and cultural attraction towards Valletta and the Urban
area along with economic 'de-ruralization' by virtue of their
proximity to the towns and harbours. The improvements in
amenities and especially in transport facilities have tended
to link these fringe settlements to the Urban area rather
than to the countryside which produced them (B/381).

361 A further type of village is exemplified by St. Paul's
178 Bay. This began as a summer-time resort for town and city
dwellers during the nineteenth century but attained a
sufficient permanence and size to be granted full parochial
status in 1905. The analogy in Gozo is Marsalforn though
this settlement is perhaps half a century behind St. Paul's
Bay in development and presents in winter time the appearance
of almost a ghost-town with only a few permanent farmer and
fishermen residents.

Birżebbuġa is a class on its own, having grown in the
past few decades upon largely non-agricultural foundations
of the British and United States' bases, oil installations
and some small-scale industry.

128 Using this type of analytical approach, a classification
361 of the villages of Malta and Gozo on the basis of their
origin and socio-functional characteristics becomes possible
(Richardson (B/561) goes into greater detail concerning the
evolution of settlement in Malta itself and considers the
development of the present pattern in the light of population
growth and movement and other historical factors.)

712 (1) Medieval Capital Fortresses - Mdina in Malta and
175 the Castello in Gozo. Both occupy central eminences in
[361] their respective Islands and were used as capitals by the
Arabs (in Malta 870-1090) and by the various rulers of Malta
between 1090 and the coming of the Knights of St. John in
712 1530. The former is today a tranquil, residential

712 museum-piece; the latter ruined apart from the Cathedral and the Law Courts.

361 175 (2) Attached to each of the two fortresses there grew up at an early date suburbs which themselves achieved the status of independent settlements. Rabat is still an important focus for the farming community of rural Malta, while the Rabat in Gozo (or Victoria as it is now known) is the largest settlement in that Island and the only one with any urban features.

361 175 103 (3) The medieval town-villages of Malta, other than Rabat, were granted parochial status in 1436. This pattern of large agricultural villages formed the basis of the economic life of the times and even today they retain a strong flavour of the "Old Malta". They were Birkirkara, Qormi (split 1935), Żejtun, Żurrieq, Żebbuġ, Gudja, Naxxar and Siġġiewi. The parallel group of villages in Gozo included Xewkija (1678), Gharb (1679), and Żebbuġ, Xaghra, Nadur and Sannat (all 1688).

(4) Soon after the arrival of the Knights in 1530 building in the Three Cities and on the Xiberras Peninsula began. Thus Senglea (1581) and Cospicua (1584) were given parochial status (Vittoriosa had been one of the two 'parishes' of 1090) and the Valletta parishes of St. Paul and St. Dominic were established on the Peninsula in 1585 and 1587.

(5) Chronologically, the next development was the 'filling-in' of the rural scene with new village centres during the rule of the Knights. In all, thirteen such parishes were established in Malta and ten of these were in what are now the Fringe and Inner Rural areas. They were Tarxien and Kirkop (both 1592), Lija (1594), Gharghur, Safi and Mqabba (all 1598), Mosta (1608), Żabbar (1615), Qrendi (1618), Ghaxaq (1626), Luqa (1634), Balzan (1655), and Dingli (1678).

(6) After this spate of parish-building in the hundred years 1580-1680 there was a gap of a century and a half before any new parishes were created. The list then reflects very closely the growth of the Urban area under British rule after 1800 (v. Appendix 1A, and Map 3). Of the eighteen new parishes in Malta eleven were Urban and three in the Fringe zone. The new Urban settlements were Floriana (1844), Msida & Pieta (1867), Sliema (1878, 1918, and 1940), Hamrun (1881), St. Julian's (1891), Kalkara (1898) Pawla (1910), Marsa and Gżira (both 1913); in the Fringe zone came Birżebbuġa (1913), Santa Venera (1918), and Marsaskala (1949). Other foundations in Malta were Marsaxlokk (1897) and the three new villages in the north -

361 Mellieha (1841), Mġarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
175 In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
103 Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kerċem (1885), San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911), Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

17 361 369 In the period reviewed the major development has been the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2·· The Farmer and Farming

128

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 241 423 [114] The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525) have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either individually or as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer.
311 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact
423 that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north

241 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited,
592 in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned
to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until
they can find some paid employment away from the home farm,
and

241 (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between
464 £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family
[461] would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover
[465] the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily
available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a
return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely to become scarcer and more costly.

241 The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that
[461] as already suggested, the particular characeristics of
Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and
241 varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to
distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so has the range of variety increased.

175 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the
178 crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work
221 a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agri-
241 coltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of
each month along with short articles on subjects of interest to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco, would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the
[234] Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since
[233] 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely
mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be
241 expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village
and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial' and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

242 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for
654 advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming
community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial
insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in
the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud
(Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service
are outlined in B/252.

178 Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said
241 about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification
654 to bring it more closely into line with present conditions
both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic
181 conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4)
but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is
[234] not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the
guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space
of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the
Islands.

433 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk
surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee
654 remains he will continue to put every effort into selling
234 more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to
fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is
certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently,
having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

433 MONEY

434 In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was
a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale
178 subsistence farming with the help only of his family.
[175] Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family,
farm and village. There were very few wants which could
not be supplied at home, or at least within the village.
In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese country-
man of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in
terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have
his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his
predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells
each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual
turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes
modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the
farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the
food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction
436 between the present 'commercialized' position and that which
437 prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century
ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

000 and inertia of the traditional peasant.

STANDARD OF LIVING

178 511 [436] The past century and a half have seen the development from peasant to commercial farming, along with the adoption of money as the basis of exchange, and the appearance of a large range of new demands in diet, clothing, housing, luxuries, recreation, etc. Some observations on the living standards of the farming community during the period are now indicated.

175 511 369 178 Speaking of living standards in the Malta of the early nineteenth century Price considers that "an identity and cohesion prevailed not only in major economic trends but in the economic habits of the people" (B/556, p.8). Thus "In these circumstances it is possible to examine together the habits of rural labourers, urban labourers, artisans, small farmers and fishermen...." (B/556, p.9). Price holds that during the first half of the nineteenth century there was in fact little change in the living standards prevailing in the Maltese Islands despite the fluctuations evident within the national economy as a whole. "Years of prosperity may have brought a slight increase in the ratio of wheaten to barley bread or in the use of novel clothing such as straw hats. But, it seems clear, the chief effect of prosperity was to increase the consumption of oil, alcohol and tobacco; these, together with his religion, ranked first in the list of desirable and important things in the minds of the Maltese flush with surplus cash. Presumably these were the things he hoped society would give while his traditional diet, clothing and shelter were the things he expected society to provide" (B/556, p.9-10). 175 434 369 Among the unskilled urban and rural workers there was a notable uniformity in wage throughout the period. Price speaks of 6¾d for a day's work for a man (and about 1d only for a women) but observes that skilled workers, and especially those in dockyard employ, could expect very much more (B/556, p.9-10). For the mass of the labouring and farming community therefore income was of the order of a few pence per day but, as suggested, the prevailing self-sufficiency of the near-peasant farmer of the period made actual monetary income an inadequate indicator of standards of living. For the urban worker, on the other hand, lacking the farm basis, the low wage level meant poverty and hardship. More especially "Poverty..... pressed heavily on the under-employed" (B/556, p. 11).

175 288 The importance of cotton to the nineteenth century Maltese farmer has been discussed in Section 1. In 1839

In 1839

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The princip
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work,
175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nineteenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on other crops while, socially, the change affected the family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commis-
735 sioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become
511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts, the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded saving but also led to begging and stealing which was "One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Midge in 1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167); reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874 (B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207); on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst description" while "It must also be admitted that the sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late
175 years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

511 The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence
[369] is that there existed a considerable gulf in general
[464] living standards between the people of the towns and those of the country. There was also an important
[458] contrast within the then rapidly expanding [illegible]

175 between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This
458 dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth
511 century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished
[468] from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which
[184] characterized the totality of economic life in Malta.
Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean
basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by
changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the
fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of
prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century.
[731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts,
epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean
in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable
Malta (B/556).

175 The major economic developments arising from the
184 growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the
511 Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various
178 stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic
life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the
chain of external events made their presence felt. In
all this the fortunes of one section of the population,
such as the farming community, could at no time stand
unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands
as a whole.

175 Malta remained sharply divided within itself by
178 class, district and education and the parallel differences
[184] of living standards between one section of society and
another were continued. But the later decades of the
[871] nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from
the economic plane, the beginnings of general education
which, during the present century, was to remove the
illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural
classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of
life and society outside the limits of the village.
[184] Improvements in transport and communication within the
[369] Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area
to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the
twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of
isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and
Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural
[621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been
a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little
contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages
in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the forces indicated were beginning to modify the position but it was not until the present century and particularly

178 [175] the years after 1939 that the cumulative effects of education, emancipation and communication were to produce a society very different from that which Maltese country [511] [184] folk had known for centuries (Section 1). It became different when the traditionally depressed sections of the community became restless and began to demand the improvements in their living standards which they came to believe should be theirs by right as well as need.

178 184 369 This is not to suggest that the present position of Maltese rural society is an 'end-product' of change. The opposite is true. The old and new exist side by side in agriculture and in the farming community of the Islands today. Some people, some places, and some features of life and work hold far more tenaciously to the old than do others where comparatively few years have seen considerable modifications of the traditional pattern.

175 458 464 511 By 1912, the Royal Commissioners were able to observe that the living standards of the labouring classes of Malta and Gozo compared well with those of other Mediterranean countries (B/186, p.25-6). "Building", they said. "is cheap and good and the country people are exceptionally well-housed". But, in their consideration of the economic state of the Islands as a whole, the Commissioners thought the picture much more gloomy. The depression which they found, though of only recent appearance, was being felt by the mass of the people, although "until the advent of the present depression, the condition of the people has been one of comparative comfort". To appreciate "The present distress, and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta.....it is necessary to recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former prosperity and employments, which depended to a large extent upon Imperial expenditure...." (B/186, p.12). Here did the Commissioners strike at the root of the problem which has grown to formidable proportions in the half-century since the report was made. They pointed to the position in which the economic structure of the country as a whole was based on the shifting sands of Imperial naval and military expenditure and in which the living standards of the Maltese population were therefore tied indirectly and directly to that Imperial expenditure. Moreover, within the Maltese population itself, it is not difficult to see that the first to be hit by a drop in Imperial expenditure (as happened between 1902 and 1911 and, again, in the post-1945 period) were and are the labouring and poorer classes generally lacking alternative employment in the Islands, in the event of their becoming redundant, and having often little or no capital reserves.

175 Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger
458 position than the townsman for he has had the land to which
464 he could return when no other work was available. Thus the
369 degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred
years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level of prosperity in the Islands (Section 2).

178 The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be
241 related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the
464 higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural
pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold
[458] on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in
[554] some future period of major economic recession and
depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than a minor part of the total population. As an economic retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the
[554] problem goes further. The present younger generation in the farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly. Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of reconciliation.

175 Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese
465 agriculture may be seen from that afore-mentioned index,
the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War, a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is, today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourer:

1826-42	6½d - 8d	(B/556, p.215)
1843-54	8d - 10d	"
1855-56	1s - 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d - 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d - 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s - 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s	(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s - 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s - 25s	(Personal Investigation)

[P.52]

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
454 disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital
improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows
and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in
post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to
'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living
above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt.
He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position
and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the
financial point of view, to his commanding position during
the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25,
although the average per capita income for the whole
country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing
and other essential items are often quite exorbitant,
especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954
survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of
northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of
£136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm
labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75
per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn
little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
labourer without field commitments of his own can demand
his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases,
markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who
stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

511 Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
average, a standard of life still slightly below the
434 general level, although the disparity is by no means as
great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Above-average exceptions include those
farmers who have been able to profit from the present
regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large
herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings
or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

747
648

6:Beeley K-5 (1937-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

SECTION 7 : Bibliography

113 Published and documentary material relating to the Maltese Islands falls clearly into two categories:

(a) that concerning the Order of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem,
(b) that relating to the Islands themselves and to the Maltese people.

113 175 The two and a half centuries during which the Order had its headquarters in Malta (1530-1798) included the climacteric of its naval power in the Mediterranean struggle with Islam, and the greatest development of its sovereign position among the states of Europe. Historians continue to find, in these years, an apparently limitless field of research and the flow of published results of new or 'second-hand' work shows no signs of abating. This is not to say that the four centuries of the Order before 1530 and the years since 1798 have been overlooked but it underlines the importance of the period of rule in the Maltese Islands, to Europe as well as to the Order itself. The fact that the members of the Order came to be known as 'Knights of Malta' is a further indication of their association with the Islands.

By the good fortune of history many of the archives and original manuscript material of the Order, from its foundation to its expulsion from Malta by the French in 1798, are still preserved in the Royal Malta Library (B/16) or in smaller collections elsewhere. The Royal Malta Library with its large and partly unclassified collection remains a veritable mine of information to students of the Order and of the Islands which they ruled so tightly (B/26).

Since ancient times the Maltese Islands have received attention from foreign writers. In the eighteenth century the volume of this interest increased immensely. Itinerant gentlemen of leisure from Britain and the Continent wrote home their observations and produced 'accounts' and 'descriptions' of the Islands. This recording of "interesting facts" (B/19, p.xv) continued into the nineteenth century but broadened with the appearance of several large-scale works, the results of painstaking investigations (B/326, 455, 516, etc.).

The 159 years of British rule have seen the growth of the local Government Printing Office (now a section of the Department of Information) and the appearance of an increasing number of reports and papers, singly and in series. To these have been added the H.M.S.O. and other official items emanating from the United Kingdom. In recent years these sources have expanded rapidly in scope and volume as the policies and problems of the Islands have called for more observation, documentation and record.

113 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in
195 Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the
object of both propaganda and admiration.

As to language,it is clear the War finally killed the
191 greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confir-
197 med English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It
177 had been a language of government for more than a century
178 but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until
the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under
the Order and had maintained its position during British
nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not replace Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since been a considerable increase in the number of books and periodicals appearing in the language, along with general education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese public. Over the same period the use of Italian has declined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the Church and the professional classes) and the demand for English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-
tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of
[204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following
classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for
1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920,
p.333), 1933-34 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 -
1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English..................	1	1	2	2
Italian..................	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese..................	-	-	2	2

197 Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary
214 language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese
[212] themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly,
or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this,
it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect
to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant
section of the population, generally the professional and
business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as
Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write __only__ one
or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language dictionaries and works of a philological or etymological nature are obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistics

APPENDIX 2 B : The Malta Dockyard - Dates of major Extensions prior to 1910.

Admiralty House, Vittoriosa	Probably built	1670-1680
Superintendent Victualling Yard House	" "	1730
Captain Attendant's House	Built	1730
Admiralty House, Valletta	Re-built	1761-1765
Deputy Surgeon General's House, Bighi	Altered	1832
Officers' Residences	"	1832
Deputy Surgeon General's Office	Built	1832
Sea Baths, Bighi	"	1832 (extended in 1871, 1877, 1879 and 1886)
Dockyard in Galley Creek	Mainly built	1840-1850
Corradino Tank, No. 1	Built	1841
Naval Bakery	"	1844
Clock Tower	"	1844
Camine Tunnel	"	1845
Dockyard Terrace, Senglea	"	1846
No. 1 Dock (Outer)	"	1847
Bakery Tanks	"	1847-1848
Officers' Mess, Sheer Bastion	Altered	1848
Buildings round No. 1 Dock	Built	1848
Admiralty Bridge (Margherita)	"	1848
Master Miller, Baker Engineer's House	"	1848
Police Quarters	"	1848
(Late) Torpedo Store	"	1848
Main Gate	"	1849
Wharf by Sheer Bastion and Main Gate	"	1850
Foreman's Residence	"	1851
St. Helena Tank	"	1852
Slip in front of Margherita Arches	"	1852
St. Teresa Tunnel	"	1855
St. Lorenzo Tunnel	"	1858
Corradino Tank No.2	"	1861
No.1 Dock (Inner)	"	1862
Officers' Mess, Bighi	"	1863
Short Tunnel from Dockyard to French Creek	"	1865
Church Tunnel " " " " "	"	1866
Marsa Coal Stores, various	"	1869
No.3 Dock (Somerset)	"	1871
Hydraulic Dock	"	1871
Dockyard Chapel, over Tunnel	"	1882
Pumping House, No. 3 Dock	"	1884
Torpedo Depot, Sliema	"	1884
North Gate	"	1892
No. 2 Dock (Hamilton)	"	1892
South Gate	Re-built	1894
Scheme for increased accommodation for H.M. Ships	Approved	1901
Works Department Office	Built	1901
New Docks	"	1906
Burmola Gate	"	1906
Ghajn Dwieli Gate	Re-built	1906
Corradino Gate	Built	1907
Ricasoli Breakwater	"	1907
St. Elmo Breakwater	"	1909

NOTE Information from M/488, Appendix XI.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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796 church in Str. Mezzodì, at the back of
825 the Royal Opera House, where a priest standing at the door of the little church, sprinkles the animals with holy water as they pass by.

The same ceremony takes place annually at Notabile, where the animals are blessed by an Augustinian friar, at the door of St. Augustine Church. Here the quadrupeds partake of some barley which is placed in a tray for them.

796 In the time of the Order of St. John
825 of Jerusalem, the ceremony of blessing
•175 the quadrupeds on St. Anthony's day was more imposing than it is in our days.

The first that took part in the procession, were the horses drawing the Grand Master's stately carriage, followed by every description of vehicle,

from the gala coach of the dignitaries 796 825
of the Island to the peasant's cart. 175

Very many inquiries have been made into the origin of the blessing of quadrupeds on this festival, none of which, however, has proved satisfactory.

That St. Anthony has been long re- 776
cognized as the patron and protector 825
of the lower animals, and particularly of pigs, is a well established fact.

Fuller, in his "Worthies." says: 776
"St. Anthony is universally known as 825 114
the patron of hogs, having in all pictures a pig for his attendant, though for what reason is unknown, except because being a hermit, and having a cell or hole digged in the earth, and feeding principally on roots, he and the hogs were both alike in their diet and lodgings." 776

When St. Anthony was living in the 173 825

This festival is said to have originated 796
with the ancient Romans who, on the 173
night of the 1st day of February, went about the streets of Rome with lighted torches and candles in honour of the Goddess *Februa*, the mother of Mars.

In the year 684, however, pope Ser- 796
gius, anxious to wean his disciples from 175
the practice of heathen observances, and seeing that it would be useless to prohibit a practice of so long standing, turned the ceremony to a christian account by enjoining a similar offer of candles to the Blessed Virgin, and ordained that all Christian people should come to church on the 2nd day of February with candles in honour of the Virgin Mother of God.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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CARNIVAL

541 Among the several sources of popular amusements in Malta, the Carnival no doubt ranks first.

When the Carnival is about to make its usual visit, the dancing season, dinner parties and amusing entertainments begin.

541
175 This amusement, which affords a harmless outlet for the spirit of merry-making, was introduced in Malta during the Grandmastership of Peter Del Ponte in the year 1535. (*)

(*) Grand Master Lascaris, at the request, it is supposed, of some Jesuit fathers, gave orders in 1639 that no woman was to be allowed to mask herself, or to assist at any dramatic entertainment, on the 3 days of Carnival under penalty of being whipped- This order gave rise to serious disturbances and the Grand Master deemed it prudent not to interfere again.

Sir Patrick Stuart, Governor of Malta, determined in 1846 to reduce the Carnival by one day, not allowing any masqueraders on Sunday, the first day. This, however, led to a collision between the police and the people. The Governor, seeing that serious consequences would follow, let things take their usual course.

541 evolutions before the doors of the wealthy, to whom the little girl, who is called "Il gharusa tal parata" (the bride), is taken after the performance to receive some money as a remuneration for the trouble taken by the men, who employ the money they collect in defraying the expenses of the band, and the buying or hiring of the costumes they wear. (*)

541 The parata is a commemoration of
•175 the famous victory which the Maltese
648 gained over the Musulmans in 1565.

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[171] (*) In Dr. Chandler's "Travels in Greece" page 133, we read the following passage which bears great resemblance to our "Parata":

"Some Arabian and black slaves who had obtained their freedom and were settled at Athens had a feast on the performance of the rite of circumcision. The women danced in a ring with sticks in their hands, and turning in pairs, clashed them over their heads at intervals, singing wildly to the music."

796 372 These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being continually fed by the scores of by-standers who take great delight in throwing amidst the flames some old rickety piece of furniture which they consider as lumber in their houses. Lots of happy and reckless children, and very often men, are seen merrily leaping in succession over and through the crackling flames (*).

796 372 175 At the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Grand Master

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[174] (*) Leaping over the fires is mentioned among the superstitious rites used at the *Palilia* feasts, instituted in honour of *Pales* the goddess of shepherds, (in the calends of May) in Ovidius's Fasti.

" Moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
Traijcias celeri strenua membra pede "

The learned Moresin appears to have been of opinion that the custom of leaping over these fires is a vestige of the ordeal, where to be able to pass through fires with safety, was held to be an indication of innocence.

himself, soon after the *Angelus* used 796
to leave his palace, accompanied by 372
the Grand Prior, the Bishop, and two 175
bailiffs, to set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred Hospital.

Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on, of the 8 casks, (*), by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

Various opinions are entertained by 796 372
antiquarian writers with regard to the 171
origin of these fires on St. John's eve. 174

From the account given by Jakob Grimm in his "Deutsche Mythologie" p. p. 583, 593, it would appear that

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(*) Eight being the languages of the Order.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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silk and lama cloth of gold, are distributed, all the crowds disperse and 527 541 the victorious champions, loaded with honours and caresses, and covered with garlands of flowers and ribbons, are conducted in triumph through the streets of the town amidst the deafening cheers and acclamations of the populace.

These races were instituted in 1593 527 during the reign of Grand Master Verdala, 541 175 as popular rejoicings after that [731] the plague, which was introduced in Malta through the carelessness of some of the authorities, had played great havoc for eighteen months amongst the inhabitants of the Island.

From this race all the other races which are held on different occasions during the year, both in Malta and in Gozo, owe their origin.

527 These races were first held on St.
541 Roque's Feast day in consequence of
776 the working of miraculous cures of
755 the plague by St. Roque who was
796 specially invoked by persons afflicted,
195 while stricken himself with the desease,
at Piacenza, in Italy.

THE "VITTORIA"

527 *Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary*

[796] The 8th. of September, the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is no doubt the grandest and the most popular day for the people of these Islands.

Both the streets and church of Senglea—the town in which the feast is celebrated—present on this occasion a most lively appearance.

[184) The grand illumination and the

beautiful display of fireworks, on the eve 527
of the festival, attract thousands of 184
spectators not only from the towns and
villages of Malta but also from the
sister Island.

Hundreds of Gozitans flock to Malta 527
in order, as it were, to take part in 175•
the general rejoicings held on this 184
special day of the anniversary of the 648
raising of the great siege of Malta,
which ended in the total repulse of
the Turks, after a most heroic defence
by the Knights of St. John, united
to the bravery of the Maltese, under
the intrepid Grand Master Jean La
Valette, in 1565.

In the afternoon of the feast (8th 527
Sept.) the grand harbour presents indeed 526
a very lively appearance, there being
boat racing and the *giostra* or greasy
pole, the prizes for which are given

184 527 533 memoration of the Victory won by the Maltese in the great siege of 1565, instead of coming to take part in the amusements held in Valletta and in the other towns, meet in groups on the terraces, or flat tops of their houses, and keep singing merrily till very late at night.

ANOTHER NATIONAL FEAST

527 186 The celebration of the glorious victory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565 has been of good use to the Maltese, It has enabled them to comprehend more keenly the historic value of this Island.

[175] [648] In fact, some two years ago another national commemoration has originated at Città Vecchia, on the 3rd or 4th Sunday of September, to celebrate the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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liberation of the Maltese from the yoke 527
of the Saracens by Count Roger of 186
Normandy in the year 1090. [175] [648]

A liberal programme is now annually arranged by the Committee embracing every kind of attraction at Notabile.

PILGRIMAGES TO MELLEHA (*) 778

On the last two Sundays of Septem- 788
ber, every year, the roads leading to Melleha are alive with merry parties, especially country people, on their way to that village, in order to visit the

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(*) Melleha is a village some 10½ miles distant from Valletta, and about an hour's ride from St. Paul's Bay. It is renowned for the very old, perhaps the oldest, Sanctuary in the world, dedicated to the B. Virgin. This Sanctuary was founded by St. Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, while he was in Malta (58 A. D.) for the convenience of the faithful who lived in those neighbourhoods. Over the small altar is a picture of St. Mary, covering another old drawing of the same, executed by St. Luke. [361] [776] [532]

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The custom of strewing garlands of flowers upon the graves of the departed is derived from the ancients who used to crown the deceased with flowers in token of the shortness of life. (*) It appears also from "Pliny's Natural History," from "Cicero's Oration on Lucius Plancus" and from "Virgil's sixth Æneid," that the strewing of flowers on the graves was a funeral rite among the heathens—St. Ambrose, however, in his funeral oration on the death of Valentinian, has these words: "I will not sprinkle his grave with flowers but pour on his spirit the odour of Christ. Let others pour baskets of flowers—Christ is our lily and with this will I consecrate his relics." (†)

(*) Gough, in the introduction to his second volume of Sepulchral munuments, page 5.

(†) Brand's Popular Antiquities.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

riana. (*). Here the fleshless skeletons 796
of the monks who died in the convent 769 [792]
are dressed up in the robes which
they wore during life, and arranged
erect in niches along the wall.

St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny, in 998 instituted 175
the "Commemoration of all the 796
faithful departed" in all the monasteries 769
of his Congregation, on the 1st
of November, which was soon adopted
by the whole western Church. The
Council of Oxford in 1222, declared
it a holiday of the second class, on
which certain necessary and important
kinds of work were allowed (†). In
Malta however the 2nd of November
is only a day of devotion.

(*) The opening of this vault for the public on All Soul's day has been stopped for some years past to prevent some accidents through overcrowding. Visitors, however, are allowed in at any time of the year by applying for permission to the Father Superior.

(†) Butler, "Life of Saints."

MAY DAY

• 175 529 824 Historians mention that there was a time in Malta, during the Government of the Knights of St. John, when it was customary on the 1st of May to deck the Grand Master's palace balcony, and the doors of those who were invested with the Grand Cross, with branches [194] of trees. It appears that this sign of a holiday, which was introduced in Malta by the families from the island of Rhodes, was a remnant of the worship of the sun, formerly adored by the Rhodians.

171 529 824 Bourne cites Polydor Virgil, as telling us that among the Italians the youth of both sexes were accustomed to go into the fields in the Calends of May, and bring thence branches of trees, singing all the way as they came, and to place them on the doors of their

houses. This, he observes, is a relic of 171
an ancient custom among the Heathens, 527
who observed the last 4 days of April, 824
and the 1st day of May in honour of the goddess *Flora* who was imagined to be the deity presiding over the fruits and flowers.

THE CUCCANJA

This is an entertainment which was 175•
formerly given by the Grand Master to 527
the Maltese on Shrove Tuesday, the last day of the Carnival.

Long beams were fixed against the 527
guard house opposite the palace, and 526
between each of the beams, rope-ladders 175
were fastened, the whole being covered over with branches of trees in leaf, to which were tied, from top to bottom, live animals, baskets full of eggs, hams, sausages, and all kinds of provisions.

527
526
175

This wooden edifice was crowned by a globe, made up of hoops and covered over with linen cloth, on which stood the figure of *Fame* holding a flag with the Grand Master's arms. Crowds of people assembled on the spacious square, and at a given signal commence to attack the *Cuccanja*, and the provisions became the property of those who, having seized them, were able to carry them off in safety through the crowd.

This lively proceeding was the cause of furious disturbances—the possessors of the various prizes having a rather rough time of it, before being allowed to retire with what they captured.

To the first enterprising individual who reached the figure of *Fame* was allotted some pecuniary remuneration which was well earned, considering the struggle he had gone through to attain

his object, and on the standard being 527
taken to be returned to the Grand 526
Master, the cloth covered globe burst 175
open and out came a flight of pigeons.

The Maltese never allowed either foreigners or soldiers to share the profits of the *cuccanja.*

This entertainment which has been [656] suppressed since the reign of the Grand Master De Rohan (1775-1797) was a a source of great delight to the Maltese people.

BOWLS

A game of bowls is a favourite pastime in Malta. 562

The players arrange themselves in sides of three or four each, and each man is usually provided with three bowls, which he marks differently for distinction.

443 St. Anna, which are celebrated on the
527 24th, 25th, and 26th of July. These
[796] fairs, however, which were once very
[178] popular, have now sunk into insignificance and most likely will before long entirely disappear.

443 Fairs have long been regularly held
171 in most parts of Europe and Asia, and they appear to have originated in the Church festivals, which were found to afford convenient opportunities for commercial transactions. The concourse of people being then so such greater than on other occasions.

USAGES

195 The ancient Maltese formerly kept
562 their wives in the strictest retirement. They held the opinion that women should never appear but twice in public,

the day they were married and when 175
they were buried. They were therefore 562
always employed within doors, and never 175 562
went out, except at a very early 291
hour to church, when they were entirely [794]
covered by a long mantle. This [177]
costume came originally from Sicily, and reached from the head to the feet, the forehead and eyes alone being visible. The upper part of the mantle, covering the head, was cut in a different manner for unmarried women—these wearing it shaped round, while married women wore it pointed.

WEDDINGS

Marriages in Malta were always entirely 584
arranged by the parents; who for the greater part consulted only their own interest, and the suitable-

continually fed by the scores of by-standers who take 796
great delight in throwing amidst the flames some old 372
rickety piece of furniture which they consider as lumber in their houses. Lots of happy and reckless children, and very often men, are seen merrily leaping in succession over and through the crackling flames."[1]

At the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the 175 ●
Grand Master himself, soon after the *Angelus*, used to 796
leave his palace, accompanied by the Grand Prior, the 372
Bishop and two bailiffs, to set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred hospital.

Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on, of the eight casks,[2] by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

Various opinions are entertained by antiquarian writers 796
with regard to the origin of these fires on St. John's Eve. 372

From the account given by Jacob Grimm in his 171
Deutsche Mythologie, pp. 583, 593, it would appear that the great blaze reserved for the eve of the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist on June 23rd is observed with similar rites in every country of Europe.

The kindling of the fire, the leaping over or through the flames clearly show that these rites are essentially of

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[1] Leaping over the fires is mentioned among the superstitious rites at the Palilia feasts, instituted in honour of *Palet*, the goddess of shepherds (in the calends of May) in Ovid's Fasti.

> "Moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
> traijcias celeri strenua membra pede."

The learned Moresin appears to have been of opinion that the custom of leaping over these fires is a vestige of the ordeal, where to be able to pass through fires with safety, was held to be an indication of innocence.

[2] Eight being the languages of the Order.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER II

Where and What is Malta?

133 SEVENTEEN MILES IN LENGTH AND NINE MILES ACROSS AT ITS widest, with its long axis running north-west and south-east, Malta is the principal island of one of the smallest archipelagoes in the world, a survival from those remote days when continents were differently shaped and the Mediterranean was a cluster of fresh-water lakes, divided by land bridges that connected Europe with Africa. Of one of these bridges the Maltese archipelago is to-day the sole existing pier, the one remaining fragment of a causeway along which prehistoric pachyderms and ruminants groped their puzzled way to the African warmth when driven from Europe by its increasing glaciation. Some of these mighty beasts lingered too long on the Maltese pier, and the cave of Ghar Dalam, "the Cave of Darkness," near Bir Zebbuġa at the southern extremity of the island, is a storehouse of their remains, converted in the course of ages into layers of fossil deposits as important as any of their kind in the world.

648 •175 [133] This position midway between two continents has at times created doubts in the minds of scientists no less than of administrators as to the one to which Malta should properly belong, just as doubts have been expressed whether Cyprus should be held to belong to Europe or to Asia. These doubts were set at rest, from the legal point of view at all events, soon after the British Occupation. For in 1801 the Parliament of the United Kingdom gravely enacted, in clause 3 of 41 Geo. III cap. 103—or, to give the law its full title, "An Act to empower His Majesty to regulate the trade and commerce to and from the isle of Malta until the signing of a definitive Treaty of Peace, and from thence until six weeks

[Text continues on p. 18]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

648 after the next meeting of Parliament; and to declare the isle
175 of Malta to be part of Europe"—

> that the said Island of Malta and dependencies thereof shall be deemed, taken and construed to be part of Europe for all purposes, and as to all matters and things whatever; any law or laws, usage or custom, or act or acts, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

114 But this enactment, although it satisfied the administrators,
175 did not wholly silence the men of science, who produced, in addition to Europe and Africa, yet a third continental claimant to the geographical ownership of the Maltese Islands. In the middle of the nineteenth century a Maltese architect and engineer named Grognet de Vassé, best known as the designer of the great Parish Church of Mosta, propounded the theory that the submerged continent of Atlantis lay between Cyrenaica in the east and Tunis in the west, almost filling the indentations in the coast of North Africa which the Romans called Syrtes Major and Syrtes Minor and we know to-day as the Gulfs of Sidra and Gabes. Of this continent, said Grognet, the Maltese archipelago formed the north-western corner; and he published a learned treatise in support of his theory, which he based on ample references to mythology, etymology and classical geography.

It is an ingenious piece of imaginative reasoning whereby the author places the Elysian Fields and the lower world of the ancients in Atlantis, the mouths of the rivers Acheron and Phlegethon in that part of Atlantis which is Malta—namely, in the Grand Harbour and the harbour of Marsa Mxett—and an outlet of the river Styx in one of the springs of the gardens of the Villa Frere, for many years the beautiful residence and garden in Pietà of the distinguished scholar, man of letters, diplomatist and friend of Sir Walter Scott, the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere.

137 Nevertheless the legislators of 1801 were rightly inspired,
132 for in climate and vegetation no less than in the works of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

man Malta is essentially European, a projection of Europe 137
into the south. Its vegetation is of the Mediterranean type, [132]
similar to that of Southern Spain, the Riviera, Sicily and the islands of the Ægean although, strangely enough, it lacks among its wild flowers the cyclamen which so delightfully and characteristically, in springtime, carpets the ground in Cyprus and the Isles of Greece. Here and there, it is true, there rises above its pines and cypresses and carob-trees an occasional stately date-palm, suggesting a garden-escape from the groves of Tunis. And Tunis, whence come the best dates in the world, lies, be it noted, to the north of Malta. But the fruit on the date-palms of Malta practically never ripens. Malta is too European for that.

2

If anything shaped as differently from a circle as the 131
Mediterranean can be said to have a centre, that centre is 175
Malta. The Maltese archipelago is equidistant from the 648
Mediterranean's western and eastern extremities; it is its half-way house between Occident and Orient, historically no less than geographically; it has been its nerve-centre—and more than its nerve-centre, its magnet—from the "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." All the people of the Middle Sea have possessed, influenced or coveted Malta at one time or another, the first to do so of whom we have definite knowledge being a small seafaring, trading and colonizing tribe from its easternmost shores. "The twin islands of Melita and Gaulos," wrote Professor Freeman, "lay immediately in the way of Phœnician adventurers" and became, and remained for centuries, a Phœnician settlement. It was the all-absorbing power of Rome that first brought them into the European fold.

As the nerve-centre, as the magnet, of the Mediterranean 175
Malta was all but snatched back from the European fold 648
when the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent sought

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

648 desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty ●175 years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant: he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean. Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean but a vital link in the route to a farther East than Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

3

161 At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an [162] estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls (exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile, which makes it one of the most densely populated [167] geographical units in the world. The figure would have been higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia 161 and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by 619, the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto themselves, with their own language, their own traditions, their own physical characteristics and a history that is one of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

172 For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and 173 Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta [132] was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

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[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the "tempestuous wind called Euroclydon" that still whistles 172
across it during the winter months under its modern name 173
of *gregale*, the "Greek wind," drove S. Paul on to its shores
and brought it about that the "chief man" of the island, [132]
Publius, became its first Bishop. It was a centre of civilization,
as well as a centre of the religious life of the Western
Mediterranean, very much earlier, for Malta, in the words
of the lamented Sir Themistocles Zammit, "was the holy
island of neolithic faith, the half-way house of the early
mariners, who trusted themselves to their frail wooden craft,
full of hope in a protecting power."

Later, when we emerge from prehistory, we find the 175
position reversed: Malta, instead of extending supernatural 648
protection to peoples beyond its shores, comes under the 197
political protection of others. During the many centuries
of its recorded history Malta has had many rulers: the
Phœnicians and their offspring, the Carthaginians, then
Romans, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Aragonese and
Castilians, then for two and a half centuries the international
Order of S. John of Jerusalem, and, finally, at the invitation
of the Maltese people after a brief French occupation, the
British. But despite the impact of such cosmopolitan influences
this people has clung tenaciously to its ancient
tongue, which is unquestionably of Semitic structure and
has claims to descent from the speech of Dido and Hannibal.[1]
It was, in fact, from a bilingual inscription in Phœnician and [172]
Greek found in Malta in 1697, of which more will be said
in the following chapter, that the Phœnician alphabet was
reconstructed. Of this inscription Dr A. V. Laferla writes
in his *Story of Man in Malta*: "The construction and grammar
. . . are identical with those of modern Maltese and many of
the words (*lil*, *bin*, *tnejn*, *jisma*, *iberikom*) are still in use at the
present day." S. Luke in the Acts describes the Maltese as 101
"barbarians"—that is, as neither Greeks nor Romans—and 175

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[1] The name Hannibal is still met with in Malta as a Christian name. Its Maltese diminutive is Nibblu.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

•175 we may safely assume that S. Paul's Aramaic was as comprehensible to them as was their related Phœnician to him.

101 There seems to be no evidence that this Semitic speech of
197 the Maltese "barbarians" had been replaced by some other
language when the Arabs seized the Maltese islands in 870.
648 Many of the philologists therefore hold that on to this Punic
175 stock the Arabs grafted, during the two hundred and twenty
years of their occupation, a vocabulary of contemporary Arabic which did not completely oust words of the older, kindred stratum. These scholars consider that the dialect received, in fact, a second, fresher infusion from the same reservoir and that the resulting blend is the core of the Maltese language of to-day.

197 Inevitably, in the course of ages, this language has borrowed words from the languages and dialects of the other countries with which Malta has been connected—from Sicilian, from Aragonese, from Italian, from French, even from English—but it has always fitted such words into its own Semitic framework, has governed them according to
[167] the rules of its own Semitic grammar and mechanics. Thus
the Maltese who have emigrated to Syria and to the north coast of Africa have no difficulty in making themselves understood by their Arabic-speaking neighbours, who for their part can make themselves readily understood in Malta.
197 Here is the Lord's Prayer in Maltese, which I quote so that
539 the reader unfamiliar with the language may see for himself
what it looks like:

Missierna li inti fis-smewwiet,
Jitqaddes ismek,
Tigi saltnatek,
Ikun li trid Int, kif fis-sema hekda fl-art.

Hobzna ta' kull jum aghtina l-lum,
Ahfrilna dnubietna, bhalma nahfru lil min hu hati ghalina.
U la ddahhalniex fit-tigrib,
Izda ehlisna mid-deni. Hekk ikun.

If
he cares to attend the Cathedral of Mdina, the island's earliest 796
capital, on the 4th November, he will hear a Mass said for
the repose of the soul of Roger the Norman, Count of 175
Sicily, who ended the Arab occupation of Malta in 1090 and
is there commemorated as "Deliverer of Malta and Founder
of the *mensa* [table] of the Cathedral, the Bishop and the
Canons." Should he chance to be in Malta before the
beginning of Lent he will have the opportunity to witness
in the carnival festivities not only the jollifications common
to other Mediterranean carnivals but also features of more
local interest, such as the Parata dance on the Palace Square,
which takes its symbolism from the capture of a Maltese
bride by a Moslem corsair.

If he prolongs his stay into the summer he will see on the 527
29th June, the feast of S. Peter and S. Paul, one of the most 526
characteristic of Maltese popular functions in the densely
thronged Mnarja races. These races, for horses and donkeys,
are of unknown but undoubtedly great age. The course is
a piece of straight, hard road leading uphill towards the big
square in front of Mdina, a square known as the Saqqaja.
Here, from his great stone box, the Grand Master in former
days, in these days the Governor of Malta, hands the banners
of victory down to the winning competitors, while interested
spectators watch the proceedings from two smaller
but similar boxes, flanking the Grand Master's and belonging
to some of the leading families of the island.

The name Mnarja is a corruption of the Latin *luminaria* 527
(illumination), for it was the custom on that day to illuminate 173
the churches of Mdina and the adjacent Rabat in honour of
the two saints. A more picturesque if unfortunately less 584
trustworthy tradition derives Mnarja from Hymen, the
goddess of marriage, it being supposed that the young men
of the island were formerly in the habit of choosing their
wives from among the maidens crowding to watch the
contest. This much, at all events, may be urged in support
of the latter theory, that until modern times Maltese brides

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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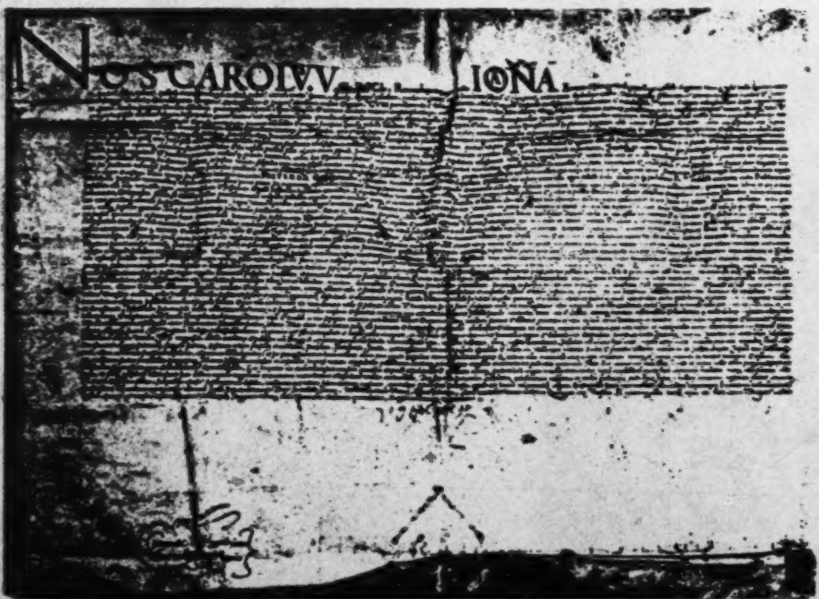
THE PALACE, VALETTA
[*See p.* 58]

GRANT OF MALTA TO THE KNIGHTS OF S. JOHN BY THE EMPEROR CHARLES V
[*See p.* 46.]

●175



[facing p. 64]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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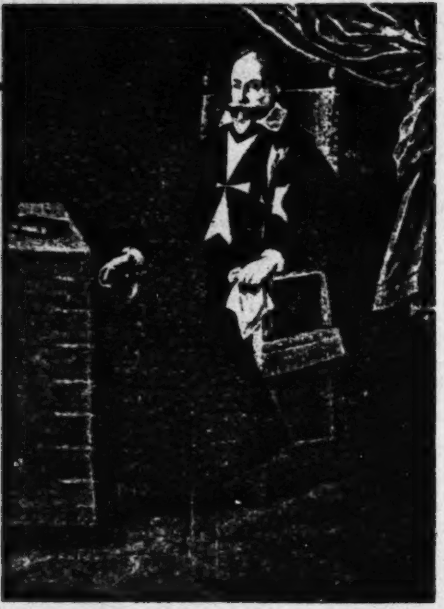
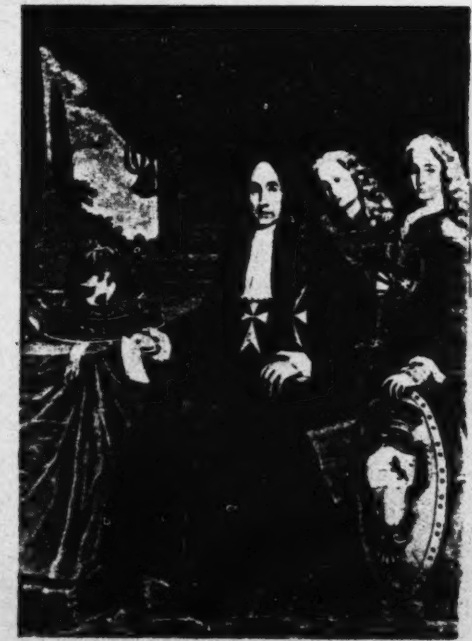
DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAND MASTER'S HABIT



G.M. Vasconcellos



G.M. de Vilhena
(with Stoc and Pilier)

[facing p.104; (B)]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960.
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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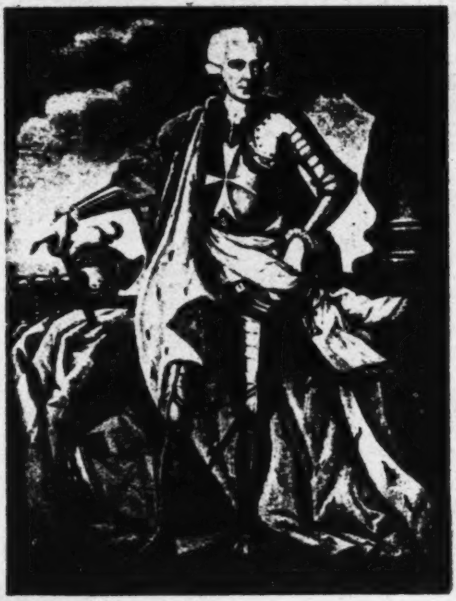
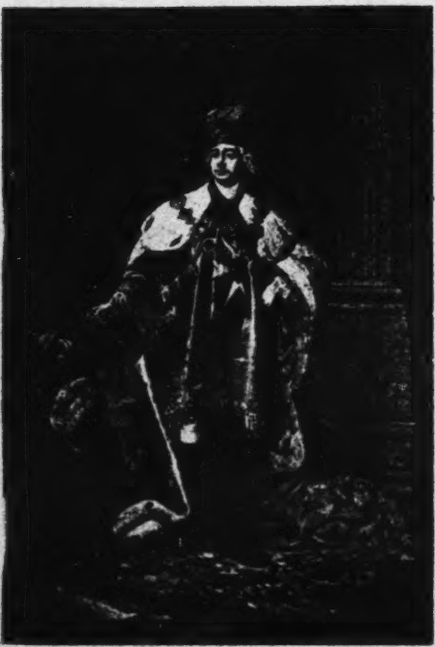


G.M. Hompesch



Emperor Paul of Russia as Grand Master

[facing p. 104, (c)]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 states. Alone with Gibraltar it runs a Lotto (with weekly
659 drawings) as a Government Department. Until 1866 Malta's
525 Opera House was the Manoel Theatre, a little gem of a play-
368 house built as the Court Theatre by Grand Master Manoel
de Vilhena in 1731 and believed to be the oldest theatre in
368 Europe. It is easy enough to appreciate how daintily graceful
545 it must have looked when the audience, arrayed in the
brocades and perukes of the eighteenth century, was
assembled to witness some comedy of Molière or Goldoni.
Later used as a cinema, it is now being scientifically restored
to its original form and purpose.

368 In 1866 the new Opera House, officially called the Theatre Royal, was completed at a cost of £60,000 just within Kingsgate, partly on the site of a dilapidated old bakery which has been identified with the house of the Turcopilier, title of the Pillar or Head of the Langue of England. In 1873 this building, which was designed by Barry, the architect of the Covent Garden Theatre, in a style which while dignified was entirely out of harmony with Valetta's prevailing architectural character, was seriously damaged by fire and was reconstructed at a farther cost of £20,000. Before its destruction in the Second World War it was the only theatre known to the writer where it was the rule for male members of the audience to attend the evening performances either in mess dress or in evening dress with decorations.

655 The Monte di Pietà, the Government pawnbroking
175 Department, was established at the end of the sixteenth
century and was housed in its present handsome office in Merchants' Street by Ximenes, the last but two of Malta's Grand Masters. Connected with the Monte di Pietà is an institution known as the Monte di Redenzione. In wandering about the island the visitor will occasionally encounter a building of the seventeenth or eighteenth century adorned with a shield representing three cones surmounted by the letter "R". These buildings constitute the property, now administered by the Government of Malta under a trust, of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the Monte di Redenzione, a foundation established more 655
than three hundred years ago by one Father Rafael, a 175
Maltese Capuchin.

Preaching one day in the year 1607 in S. John's Con- 648
ventual Church, this good friar called upon his hearers to 655
inaugurate a fund for the redemption of the Christian captives 175
of the Barbary States, whose sufferings he depicted in terms of such realism that the Grand Master, Alof de Wignacourt, was able to set up the Monte di Redenzione with the offerings of the congregation and of members of the Order. Later, other charitable persons added or made bequests to the fund, which at first paid a ransom of 70 scudi for each Maltese slave and 150 scudi for a Knight of the Order. Subsequently these rates were raised to 200 and 500 scudi respectively; but, as the wars between the Order and the Barbary States ceased and the latter discontinued their raids on the island, the original object of the trust came to be fulfilled. So its properties were combined with those of the Monte di Pietà and administered by the Order, and thus continue to be administered to the present day by the Malta Government.

The most important property of the Monte di Redenzione 344
is Selmun Castle, which stands on a high eminence over- 341
looking S. Paul's Island and S. Paul's Bay. It is a clumsy replica of Verdala but is none the less impressive with its four towers and general air of a mediæval fortified stronghold. A balcony that completely encircles the castle, towers and all, is a pleasing feature of a building which might otherwise seem heavy and lacking in the gracefulness which Verdala, vast as it is, possesses in so marked a degree. Another attractive little property of the Redenzione is a handsome armorial ornamented gateway of the reign of Grand Master Pinto, standing below Selmun near the junction of the main road between S. Paul's Bay and Mellieha and the track to Kalamistra.

In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, the 000

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

361 Corniche from heights as inaccessible as nature and man's
712 ingenuity could make them. When the marauders from North Africa ceased to be a menace, the citadel was partly evacuated for the lower town, but happily was never abandoned completely. Even now it contains the cathedral of the diocese and the Law Court and Public Registry, formerly the residence of the Governors of Gozo; and, although many of its ancient houses are in ruins, a few are still inhabited.

•175 One interesting little lane with façades of the thirteenth
717 and fourteenth centuries was restored by the Government before the outbreak of the Second World War, as has been
341 the handsome Renaissance building facing the entrance to
654 the citadel latterly known as the Bondi Palace, as related at the end of Chapter XIII. One of the houses in the lane at one time belonged, as an inscription testifies, to the soldier Bernard, "*miles Bernardus,*" who was killed at the capture of the citadel by the Turks under Sinan Pasha in 1551. When he saw that the fortress could hold out no longer this dauntless man took the lives of his wife and two daughters with his own hand to save them from being sold into captivity, and then fell, fighting to the end. The walls and fortifications of the citadel are happily well preserved.

101 Gozo was Ogygia or Gaulos to the Greeks, *gaulos* (γαῦλος) being the word the Greeks had for the round merchant-boats of their rivals, the Phœnicians. From Gaulos it became Gaulum to the Romans, then appears on Idrisi's map of 1154 as Ghudash, and in modern Maltese is known as Ghawdex (pronounced Audesh), its Bishop signing as
484 *Episcopus Gaudisiensis.* The shortest ferry-crossing between
505 the two islands is only four miles, yet many Gozitans have never been to Malta while the overwhelming majority of Maltese have never been to Gozo.

181 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times
186 somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

172 Comino between them separated from the islet of Cominotto
133 by a channel of the palest green.

Traversing thousands of years, let us next notice a reminder
172 of the rule of Rome in the Latin inscription embedded in the
entrance to the citadel, dating from the time when Gozo
was a separate *municipium* of the Roman republic. Now for a glimpse of Islam, a legacy of the two centuries—from 870 to 1090—when the Arabs were the lords of these islands. Between the villages of Xewkija and Sannat on the road now called Ta Maimuna was discovered about three hundred years ago a slab of marble bearing an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters. This slab was the tombstone of an Arab girl named Maimuna, and the inscription is not only a fine piece of lapidary work but a human document from which I quote without apology:

> "Ask thyself," cries Maimuna from the grave, "if there is anything everlasting, anything that can repel or cast a spell upon death.
>
> "Alas, death has robbed me of my short life; neither my piety nor my modesty could save me from him. I was industrious in my work, and all that I did is reckoned and remains.
>
> "Oh, thou who lookest upon this grave in which I am enclosed, dust has covered my eyelids and the corners of my eyes.
>
> "On my couch and in my abode there is nought but tears; and [what will happen] when my Creator comes to me?
>
> "Oh, brother, take. . . ."

And here little Maimuna's pathetic message comes to an abrupt end.

873 The passage of a few more centuries brings us to the
spacious days of the Knights of S. John, the study of whose
175 rule in Gozo may be facilitated by reference to the archives
of the island's "University," for Gozo had, like Malta, its
ooo own "University" until the beginning of British rule.[1] It

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[217] [1] These archives were rescued from oblivion after the Second World War by the Commissioner of Gozo, Mr E. Montanaro, and are now preserved in the Commissioner's Office.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

718 Among the more accessible survivals of the Order is the
175 large and impressive Fort Chambray, which commands the
648 island's principal port of Mġarr. This stronghold was built,
as we have already seen, by Jacques de Chambray, one of the
last of the great Admirals of the Order, when he was
Governor[1] of Gozo in the middle of the eighteenth century
so that the island should no longer be at the mercy of every
raiding enemy. Not that Fort Chambray had ever to endure
a siege at the hands of the Barbary pirates. Its value in that
direction was mainly a prophylactic one. But it did serve a
military purpose during the death-pangs of the Order in
1798, when the Gozitans under their Governor and three
of the Knights shut themselves up within its walls, determined
to hold out as long as they could against the surprised French,
who had not expected any resistance.

344 Then there is the Banca Giuratale, a graceful, semicircular
341 Baroque structure which Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena
erected at the end of the main square of Victoria as the offices
341 of the Jurats of Gozo. Another was until 1943—alas, that
342 the past tense has to be used here—the charming manor
outside Xewkija known as the Torri Gourgion. Although
it had fallen somewhat from its high estate and had been
reduced to the status of a farmhouse, this unspoiled piece of
seventeenth-century rural architecture, embellished by a
charming well, yet retained externally all the dignity of that
lordly epoch. Its stone drop-boxes alternating with elaborate
stone escutcheons, its tall staircase tower topped by a conspicuous
dome, its suggestion of the fortified country-house
—all these features made it the only structure of its kind in
the Maltese Islands.

342 It is indeed lamentable that it should have had to be razed
648 to the ground in 1943, not by enemy action but to make
room for a temporary American aerodrome required in

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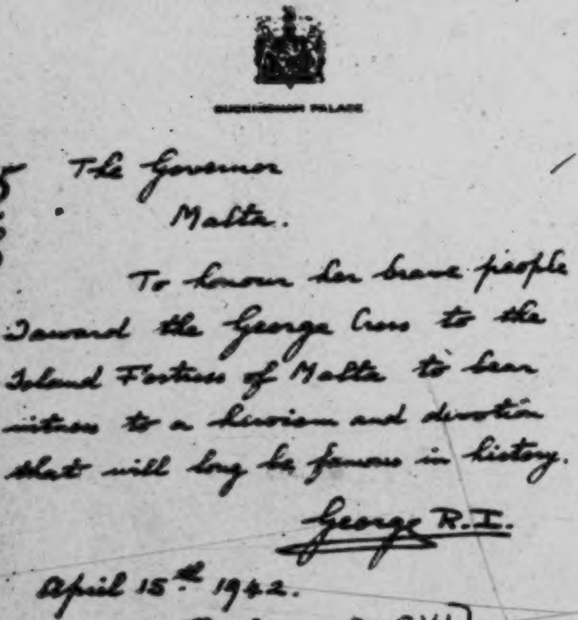
[649] [1] The Governor of Gozo, known in Maltese as the Hakem, lived in the house in the Citadel which, as has been said, is now the Law Court and Public Registry.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

186

ARMS AND INSCRIPTION ABOVE THE MAIN GUARD, VALETTA
[*See p.* 119.]

MAGNÆ ET INVICTÆ BRITANNIÆ
MELITENSIUM AMOR ET EUROPÆ VOX
HAS INSULAS CONFIRMAT



BUCKINGHAM PALACE

175
186
648

The Governor
Malta.

To honour her brave people I award the George Cross to the Island Fortress of Malta to bear witness to a heroism and devotion that will long be famous in history.

George R.I.

April 15th 1942.

KING GEORGE VI'S LETTER AWARDING THE GEORGE CROSS
[*See p.* 231]

[Facing p. 241]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

668 of July 1955, to avoid unemployment, the representatives of the Maltese people, in Parliament assembled, declare themselves 648 absolved from their pacts and obligations towards the British Government, and from those so far assumed towards the Allies of that Government—this position to obtain for so long as the British Government fails to guarantee that the number of persons employed by the said Government in Malta shall not decrease before there is "alternative employment" for those discharged.

On this inauspicious note ended the year 1957 despite the patient efforts of the Government in London and of Sir Robert Laycock and his advisers in Malta to bring the protracted and often vexatious negotiations to a happy issue. The latter's task thereafter was made no easier by a Circular issued in February 1958 to Heads of Departments and all other Malta Government employees forbidding them on pain of disciplinary action "to make any verbal or personal contacts on any official matter with any member of the other side of the Diarchy" without the personal permission of the Minister concerned. In April these words were extended to cover "any official matter *or otherwise*." Thereby was created the anomalous situation that the islands' officials subordinate to the Mintoff Administration had to boycott those of the Maltese Imperial Government not only officially but socially, even to the extent of declining the Governor's invitations to dinner. Be it added that the embargo was far from being universally observed, while Ministers continued to seek direct personal contacts with the Imperial side of the Diarchy whenever it suited them to do so.

3

643 In 1608 one of the greatest and most innovating painters •175 of the Seicento, that Michaelangelo Amerighi who was better known from his birthplace as Caravaggio, spent some 532 months of his short and disordered life in Malta, employed
659

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

by the splendid, vigorous and art-loving Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt. Notwithstanding the Grand Master's generous protection the 38-year-old artist soon made Malta too hot to hold him. He was put in prison, escaped and died in Italy within a year or so. But in the meantime Malta and the world had become the richer by two pictures which he painted for S. John's Conventual Church in Valetta, the great Beheading of S. John the Baptist and the smaller S. Jerome. In 1956 these pictures, which had never before left the walls for which they were painted except to be put in a place of safety during the Second World War, were sent to Italy in a British man-of-war for restoration and for display at the Exhibition of seventeenth-century art held in Rome during the winter of 1956–57. Of this Exhibition, indeed, the larger picture provided the central attraction. 175 643 532 659

At the close of the Exhibition the pictures were brought back to Malta, again in one of Her Majesty's ships, but to the general astonishment were forcibly impounded on arrival by the Maltese Government on Mr Mintoff's orders without previous notice and conveyed to the Museum despite vigorous protests from the ecclesiastical authorities. The Mintoff Government had clashed with the Church on other matters but there had been no inkling that its unpredictable leader had ever contemplated the transfer of these pictures to civil custody or the use of unilateral high-handed action to bring it about. 659

The state of tension with the Church created by this and other subjects of disagreement persisted for another year, that is to say until April 1958, by which time Mr Mintoff, now ready to break with the British Government, decided to clear the decks by making his peace with the Archbishop. As abruptly as he had seized the Caravaggios did he return them to S. John's, at the oddly chosen time of 1 A.M. on Sunday, the 20th April. On the following day statements were issued from the Archbishop's Palace and the Prime Minister's office declaring that good relations between the

q Government and the Church had been restored.

B. Crop Distributions

FIELD CROPS

CEREALS - WHEAT and BARLEY *(Qamh and Xgħir)* 311*

As the land use maps show (Figs. 71 and 72), cereals are grown in all regions of the Islands. Of the grains, wheat and barley alone are of importance. 243 Some maize and millets are still grown and a few fields of sown oats were observed. *Mixla* - a mixture of wheat and barley - is now rare, although self-seeding produces some mixtures difficult to distinguish except by close examination. The practice of sowing spoilt or 'bottom of the bag' grain on odd patches of soil that would otherwise bear nothing also produces unexpected results.

Many different varieties of wheat and barley are grown - naked and bearded, short and long-awned, with short, stiff and long, weak culms. So-called 'Maltese' varieties such as *Qamh la'Susa* and *la'Bla Sifa*, have little homogeneity except that the wheats are all hard, bearded types. Introductions are mainly of durums from Canada. The local barleys are poor in type - short-eared, small-grained, [197] 'dry' varieties, although the poor results are obviously partly explained by their use for cropping the harsher lands. The new barleys are also mainly of North American origin and selected for early maturation. This latter characteristic is especially of value in an environment in which barley may dry and shatter rather than ripen - this has been observed even as early as March. In so far as barley is a residual land crop, however, then innovated varieties would seem to be difficult to establish and popularise - especially since the farmers on the poorest land are the least able to indulge in experiment.

That the importance of cereal cultivation remains so great, in spite of growing dependence on imported bread grains, seems strange at first sight. Information supplied by local mills suggests that human consumption of local cereals is very small, but quantitative estimates cannot accurately be made at present. Little is known of the relative importance of domestic subsistence on the farmers' own grain crops. Davy, in 1842 (1), and witnesses before the Royal Commission of 1911 maintained that production was mainly for domestic consumption. This is still obviously true for some vegetable crops and poultry but, in the present period of continued transition from peasant farming towards commercial farming, is difficult to evaluate for cereal production. For general purposes we may however presume the validity of the assumption that Maltese-grown grains have become less important for human food. No significant amount, it is generally agreed, is used for distilling and brewing. The former is severely restricted by law, and the latter by the general unsuitability for malting - unevenness of sample is a major difficulty - of local barley. For use there then remains only production for livestock fodder - particularly for horses and cattle, although the value of a grain ration for pigs is becoming more apparent with the introduction of better breeds such as the Large White. Given this situation, the comparative ease of grain-growing in the usual rotations practised, and the difficulty of finding alternative crops for some hardland areas, results in the survival of what has been called *grande culture* - land use of which would seem to be, in many regions at least, unnecessarily extensive.

The matter of rotation is fairly simple. Debono (2), in 1911, pointed out that, 241 after previous manuring and vegetable growing - 'there is only the sowing and 242 the crop comes by itself. So that whether there be duty or no duty, wheat will always be cultivated here in Malta, unless there is a revaluation in the rotation of crops'. A contemporary example may be taken from a farm at tad-Dahla. On the poorer land, wheat is grown alternate years with sulla. On the better land, potatoes and vegetables are the main crops and wheat, sown incidentally as a rotation crop, then gives yields of 25-28 cwt. per acre - double that on the other fields. Any change in the proportion of wheat to other crops under this system of farming could only be a consequence of an agricultural revolution.

More complex is the importance of the grains as hardland crops. Basically, 243 wheat and barley are dry farming crops in Malta. Without irrigation, even away 311*

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 197]

231 232 [131] proved its superior adaptability. An interesting point is that, before 1914, Serbia and Croatia exported to Malta large numbers of pigs for fattening, while Yugoslavia is today importing Large Whites as breeders from this country. It is now illegal to use other than pedigree boars for breeding, and the success of the Agricultural Department and the relative enthusiasm of the Maltese farmer in raising pig production standards have made Malta self-sufficient in this respect at least. Local grain and imported beans form the basis of feeding stuffs given by the best farmers. Animal slaughterings now average about 30,000 head per annum.

23 Of the total cattle population of some 6,000 in Malta and 3,000 in Gozo, nearly 30 per cent. are milch cows. This proportion has increased steadily since the first introduction of milch cows in the early years of British occupation. Before 1800, the indigenous Maltese breed, raised as general purpose stock in normal [197] peasant tradition, alone was of importance. During the nineteenth century, specialised breeds were slowly introduced, a process which culminated in trials with Swiss Brown, Polish and Jersey cattle during the 1920's and '30's. By 1939, the cattle were mainly of mixed blood with the older strains predominating, and those still found are rapidly being displaced because of their low milk yields of some 1 to 1¼ gallons a day. The only surviving registered Maltese bull is to be seen on a farm at Binġemma Gap. In the post-war period, imported Ayrshires, British Friesians and Durham Shorthorns have proved very successful and popular. The Friesian strains in particular are very effective for crossing, important in that most country herds are still of mixed blood. A typical composition was noted in a stockyard on Delimara Peninsula - 13 milk cows and three heifers consisting of pure polled Maltese, Friesians, Friesian/Maltese crosses, Ayrshire/Maltese crosses, together with seven Friesian and crossed Friesian [139] calves. Store cattle, of which over 3,000 are annually imported for fattening, are of various breeds, and come in the main from within the Mediterranean region.

231 234 This cattle population, which supplies half of the total production of milk in Malta, and approximately two-thirds in Gozo, as well as over 75 per cent. of the beef consumed, is a very special element in Maltese agriculture. The imported store cattle have but to be fattened for slaughtering. Trustworthy statistics are lacking, but it would seem that over one-half of the imported fodder is consumed for this purpose.

The milch cows are given a maintenance ration of sulla and other leguminous fodders, and a production ration of imported beans, grains and cake. Carob beans and chopped prickly pear are sometimes used, and *oxalis cernua* may also be fed in moderation.

231 234 246 This large demand for fodders has so far been met by maintaining at high level the production of leguminous and grain crops. Only in recent years has it become economic to add high protein feeds. For social and health reasons the human consumption of high protein foods, milk in particular, has been encouraged. It has therefore often been suggested that further concentration on production of forage crops is necessary.

It is probable that such a policy would be both uneconomic and impracticable. In the first place, as long as it requires an average of 6 lb. weight of fodder protein to produce 1 lb. weight of animal food protein, then any country with restricted land resources has to look twice at the wastage involved. Such a country, having to import either animal products or vegetable products, or even both as in the case of Malta, has little to gain by specialising in a production technique in which over three-quarters of the crops grown and imported for feed merely go to maintaining livestock in existence. Thirdly, since that land now grazed by sheep and goats is virtually unusable in any other way, they cannot be simply replaced by cattle. More cattle would mean less arable farming of food crops and this would entail either the loss of potential vegetable exports from irrigated land or, more feasibly, the improvement of arable dry-farmed crops, e.g. sorghums in place of barley.

The impracticability of a policy designed vastly to increase forage production may be proved as follows. The growing of perennial fodder crops is out of the

by himself and will think of net profit on his sales rather than of gross receipts. 241

The second example is from a case-study (J. p. 342') of a full-time mixed 311
farmer holding 33 *tmien* of dry land (three blocks of six field plots) in Region
C XX a, the Mqabba-Kirkop Plain. During the last 20 years, this farmer has 435
built up a herd of 13 Maltese Friesian cattle including ten milch cows from a
flock of six goats. Before World War II he relied on crop-sales from arable
land. Now approximately half the cultivated area is given over to fodder production. Although by Maltese standards this farmer is enterprising, knowledgeable and possessed of much more than average capital, he has no mechanised
equipment for tillage but relies on contract work. Each year a tractor plough [427]
and rotary cultivator are hired at a cost of between 15s. and £1 per *tomna*. The
farmer still differentiates very clearly between the quality of different parts
of his land, on the basis of a soil depth which varies from 8 inches to 2 feet,
and on soil type distinguished by colour. Nevertheless, since he is now only
really interested in livestock, and regards even fodder production as uneconomic,
he has lost interest in arable farming and tends to neglect the poorer land and
think of disposing of the other. This man is typical of many of the better class
farmers in that the old niceties of tillage are forgotten as commercial considerations predominate, these latter a resultant of social and economic change
in the Islands.

Lastly we may consider the extreme development, the farmer turned machine 177
contractor. Only half the age of the farmers already considered, this man is
much more aware of general developments in the agricultural scene, partly as 241
a result of seven years spent as an 'emigrant' in Australia. Patrimonial land
is left to the attention of other members of the family, and he is only concerned 407
with investment in machinery for hire. This contractor now possesses a lorry,
a Ferguson hydraulic lift tractor, a hydraulic shovel, triple-disc and mouldboard ploughs, a rotavator as well as numerous accessories, and wants to
purchase a thresher and a small combine harvester. The whole cultivation
emphasis is put on mechanical effort and its ease of application. Deep-ploughing
is advocated wherever possible even though he admits 'there may be drawbacks',
no qualms are felt about knocking down walls to gain admittance to fields, and
considerable impatience shown towards traditional agrarian and social values.
This man even complained that he was not allowed to plough on Sundays. One of
his ambitions is the quintessence of the new attitude towards cultivation. It is
to have a farm of 30-40 *tmien*, all in one block with no patch smaller than about
an acre, the whole to be workable by tractor, thus making hand labour unnecessary, and accessible to heavy machinery. The holding should have its own
farmhouse and be near to a market such as Żabbar. In this man the mechanical
revolution in cultivation in Malta is epitomised, contrasting strangely with an
attitude met at Rabat that the wheelbarrow is too technically revolutionary to be
acceptable - 'it is not used here!'

[p. 1]

CHAPTER I

The Background

Malta and her sister islands, Gozo and Comino, lie midway 131
between Gibraltar and Lebanon, at almost the exact geographical
centre of the Mediterranean. Sicily lies just 58 miles to the north,
Tripoli 220 miles due south and Tunis slightly over 200 miles to
the west. The Maltese archipelago thus forms a port of call be-
tween Europe and North Africa, between the Christian and the
Moslem worlds. The Maltese have been in contact with both for [177]
centuries, and the cultures of both have contributed many traits
which the islanders have adapted to their own use.

Malta, the largest and southernmost island, is seventeen miles long and nine miles wide, and covers an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is only nine miles by five miles, with an area of 26 square miles. Finally, the little island of Comino, which lies in the three-mile-wide channel separating the two larger islands, has an area of one square mile.

The islands are composed entirely of tertiary limestone, and the 133
soil consists of clays and marls. Although the land rises to a
maximum of little more than 800 feet near Dingli, the terrain is [134]
varied, and often broken, with jagged escarpments falling into
narrow valleys, which run out to level fields. A visitor to the 133
islands, especially during the long dry summer, is struck at once 137
by the absence of vegetation and the rocky aspect of the country-side. This is, in part, a false impression, for although there are few trees, rubble retaining and boundary walls hide the network of small cultivated fields. Occasionally, the dark green foliage of a carob or olive tree reaches over these stone enclosures to add a sudden splash of colour to the shimmering white-yellow of the summer landscape.

The soft yellow limestone gives a continuity to the scenery. 133
Houses, villages and whole towns seem to grow up out of the 333
rocky matrix from which they are built, and from which they are
distinguished only by the regular outline of the buildings against

[text continues on p. 3]

by the officials of the governing body, or *Università*. This body, 175
which met in Mdina, the old capital of the island, was composed 642
of representatives of the nobles, learned men, secular priests, 646
merchants and artisans elected by all the family heads in the towns
and villages of Malta and Gozo. The Knights of St. John, however, [439]
severely limited the authority of the Università, and during
their final years it was little more than a public corporation
responsible for the importation of scarce foodstuffs.

The Order made itself responsible for local government. It controlled 175
and financed the local militia, police, courts, water supply, 642
public works, hospitals and charities. The government of the 701
Order was highly centralized, and all key posts were held by
Knights, though many of the lesser administrative offices were
given to Maltese nobles, lawyers and clerks. The authority of the [625]
Order was made effective in the rural areas through the police and
the ten Captains who were in charge of military garrisons and
arsenals, located at strategic points for internal security and defence
against war parties and corsairs, and were also responsible for
mobilizing the militia. This paternalistic system of administration
came to an abrupt end when Napoleon drove the Knights from
the islands. Their departure marked the end of an era.

Napoleon remained in Malta only eight days, but they were 175
busy days. According to Laferla, 'it is certain that no one in the 177
space of a few days attempted more, did more and upset the 648
Maltese more than he did.'[1] He set up a nominated council of
Maltese to see to civil administration, remodelled the tribunals
along French lines and established twelve municipal councils. He
abolished the nobility. He closed the University, established a
central technical college and founded fifteen government elementary
schools. He also sent sixty sons of wealthy families off to
study at republican colleges in Paris at their parents' expense.

'All this and probably much more would the Maltese have patiently tolerated,' says Laferla, 'had Napoleon not interfered with religion.'[2] For he set out to curtail the influence of the Church. He limited the jurisdiction of the Bishop to purely ecclesiastical affairs, ordered the expulsion from the islands of all non-Maltese clergy and reduced the number of clerics. He also instituted civil marriage, gave protection to the Jews and forbade

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[1] A. V. Laferla, *The Story of Man in Malta* (3rd ed.; Malta, A. C. Aquilina and Co., 1958), p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

175 the clergy to charge for their services. Finally, he decreed that no
177 foreign power, even the Pope, might interfere in local religious
648 administration.

By these acts, the French attacked values that were at the very
175 foundation of the Maltese social structure. Moreover, the new
government aggravated the discontent by its failure to meet its
648 financial commitments. Less than two months later, the sup-
669 pressed hostility flared into savage revolt when the authorities
tried to auction off the property of the Carmelite church in Mdina. The citizens rose, massacred the town's garrison and burned their bodies. Then, led by Notary Vitale and Canon Caruana, a powerful cotton merchant who later became Bishop, they penned up the main French force under General Vaubois behind the fortifications of Valletta and the Three Cities. Two years later the French surrendered to the British force which had come to assist the Maltese.

Under British rule, Malta changed from a theocracy ruled by a
175 religious order, to a self-governing colony with an active internal
177 political life. Administrative posts gradually passed to Maltese
64 hands, and today the civil service, apart from a few foreign
69 experts, is completely Maltese. But in spite of a long flirtation with
[621] various forms of local and regional government, there are still no
village mayors or councillors. The new civic committee in Gozo is an exception which will be discussed in the following chapter. Early in their rule, the British abolished the Università. To appease the wounded dignity of the nobles, they divided Malta into six districts under the nominal authority of Lords Lieutenant, chosen from the nobility. These officers were in charge of civil affairs, and presided over district courts. Each was assisted by syndics, deputies with magisterial powers, who lived in the villages. In 1839, this system of local government was abandoned as inefficient and costly, and district magistrates, also called syndics, were appointed from the class of advocates. Later, the government established district consultative committees to advise it on local needs and to coordinate health measures during epidemics. These committees were only partly successful, and were also abandoned. In 1896 the government finally abolished the office of syndic, and, in the interest of economy, closed the last district courts in 1913. After that, except for the Magistrate's Court in Gozo, the administration of justice remained centralized in Valletta.

In the early years of its rule, Britain moved slowly but firmly to 175
restrict the authority of the Church. As one of its first steps, it 177
imposed a mortmain law which forced the Church to sell off 648
bequests of immovable property within one year. In 1828, it 659
abolished the right of sanctuary and restricted the jurisdiction of 795
the ecclesiastical courts to purely spiritual matters. Shortly afterwards, the Diocese of Malta, until then subject to the Metropolitan of Palermo, was made directly dependent on the Holy See.

In spite of the inroads Britain made on the power of the Church, the relations between the two have, on the whole, remained extremely cordial. This friendliness has been due very largely to the considerable protection which Britain has given to the Church in Malta. To begin with, it is protected from the competition of other religions. The missionary activities of groups such as the Bible Society and the Salvation Army have been severely restricted. Moreover, the government reserves the right to ban public religious ceremonies by non-Catholics if they threaten to disturb the peace. Catholic precepts regarding education and marriage are also safeguarded, for education is on Catholic religious principles, and divorce and civil marriage are not possible under Maltese law. Furthermore, the Archbishop is accorded high honour, and in the jealously guarded order of precedence he is second only to the Governor. Both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo are exempt from the jurisdiction of the criminal courts.

In addition, the first Maltese elected government passed a law in 659
1922, declaring the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the 795
country. Article 161 of the Malta Criminal Code makes it a criminal 671
offence to vilify in public the Catholic religion or its ministers.[1]

Constitutional development in Malta has been a painful and 642
slow process; for it is not a simple matter to give representative 648
government to a fortress. The first constitution in 1835 provided for a council of government composed of five office holders, including the Governor and the Bishop, and three nominated dignitaries. Since then, there have been no less than nine different constitutions. Those promulgated before the First World War established an oligarchical system. Property restrictions on those allowed to vote and hold office resulted in elections by and for members of the landed, professional and merchant classes. Further-

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[1] Act XVIII, 1933.

361 landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of
369 the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the
464 greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to
work in this area.

369 Differences in language, dress and education set many of the
villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be
so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in
contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries.
[565 The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so considered,
● 177] have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of
these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth
century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who
struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen,
whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

177 There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants
and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the
19 English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of
369 whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also
differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken
in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English
words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their
preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema
the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*,
which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà*
(mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however,
are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged
to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

186 The social and cultural differences between town and country
have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was
369 often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who
829 goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe,
tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The
villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who
spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for
the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross
exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth.
But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices
369 in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary
871 level.

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[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barnett, 1615), p. 234.

The belief still lingers that the
764 775 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul
of the departed remains above the flame.

764 (*g*) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of
735 the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in
171 both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled
wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century
178 passed through wide changes and, as in other European coun-
tries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely
● [177] mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with
[192] Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The
vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the
292 fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700.
178 Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls
184 over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black
transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 Family mourning is generally observed as follows:—

178 I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

[562] II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Bombazine (without lace) or silk faldettas are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *ċulqâna* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
764 extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *zgutier*, from French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
[671] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
[534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a profanation

829 157 a policy of long term assurances for agriculture" (B/387, p.39). He claims that the Government "ought" to guarantee his prices, his markets, and "ought" to find the foreign export markets, and provide machinery, subsidies, etc. He also insists, incongruously, that farmers' needs could well be served by a strong and well-organized Union of Farmers and yet, in the next breath, he will reject outright any suggestions that he, individually, might take a prominent part in such a movement. The nature of this attitude emerges clearly from the collection of complaints and comments, made by farmers to Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team (B/387). On the one hand, the farmer demands Government support for farming but, on the other hand, he speaks even of his fellow farmers as "they". Conservative, cautious and usually illiterate, he is quick to speak but slow to act (v. Section 4).

829 The new awareness of horizons outside the village is consequently limited in extent and confined in nature. The farmer's son, however, with his education and emancipation and his ideas of social and economic emulation, has a clearer vision of the illogicality of his father's situation but is not yet sufficiently mentally liberated from the past to see for himself any right course of action.

554 369 [177] (7) As a class, the farmer is low on the social scale. This arises partly from his illiteracy and the features outlined in (6) and is partly also the outcome of a tradition of wealth and education being confined to the cities and towns. Wealth and culture came easily to the urban section of Maltese society and both implied foreign contacts on a large scale. Meanwhile the Maltese farmer toiling in his fields remained cut off socially as well as economically.

178 554 Today this felt inferiority puts him

(a) in a weak position for bargaining with Government and 'officials' and business men fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education,

– (b) - if young and literate, in the position of being anxious to escape from his lowly class by leaving the village and farming as opportunity presents itself (v. Section 4).

654 178 (8) Official policy has been to assist farming in the Islands by means of a variety of subsidies and guarantees designed to protect the farmer from unfavourable competition and fluctuations in market demand (Sections 2 and 4). The industry has, in the past, received such attention only in time of siege of widespread unemployment. The basic intention today is therefore

[135] (a) to enable Malta's only basic industry - agriculture - to develop under protection for it is held that "In an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2).

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
● [177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[791] the towns. Čenzu shares the still general view that money given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 **A. Land.**

427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats;
234 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[407] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

E. Labour.

*159 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
464 - In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
[465] Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[422] [241] [407] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

*159 rojection of his village background, and his attitude to
157 agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark
829 him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At
the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and
impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

*159 He comes of a village family in which his father and
423 paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired
167 a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the
●177 family but neither Ġanni nor his brother, a few years his
241 junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family
[441] butchering business held no more attraction for them and was
relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the brothers thought that neither butchering nor farming presented scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian pattern, with tractor-drawn, three-furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

*159 He returned home full of ideas of making money as a
177 contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers
241 and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities.
407 Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plowing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead, working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few *young* men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

*159 Ġanni's view of farming in Malta.

241 "Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical
829 because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and
because of the difficulties facing the mechanisation of field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither

[P.144]

113 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in
175 Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the
object of both propaganda and admiration.

As to language, it is clear the War finally killed the
191 greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confir-
197 med English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It
177 had been a language of government for more than a century
178 but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until
the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under
the Order and had maintained its position during British
nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its
traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not
replace Italian as one of the two official languages of
Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for
the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since
been a considerable increase in the number of books and
periodicals appearing in the language, along with general
education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese
public. Over the same period the use of Italian has de-
clined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the
Church and the professional classes) and the demand for
English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of
the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-
tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of
[204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following
classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for
1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920,
p.33[illegible]), 1933-34 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 -
1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English...............	1	1	2	2
Italian...............	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese...............	-	-	2	2

197 Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary
214 language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese
[212] themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly,
or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this,
it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect
to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant
section of the population, generally the professional and
business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as
Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write only one
or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely
to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which
lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language diction-
aries and works of a philological or etymological nature are
obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistics

234 30. Mr. J. McClement, a Dairying Specialist visited Malta and Gozo from the United Kingdom in the summer of 1957, and, with his assistant Miss Paill, was responsible for much instruction and recommendation on the dairy industry in both Islands (v. Note 39).
177

CSO 31. The Agricultural and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, (No.11 of 1956).

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

•177
178 Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, Normans, Germans, French, Spaniards, Aragonese & Knights of St. John have all been here, some for a short and some for a longer time, and they have nearly all left more or less their footprints on this Island and contributed their quota to the manners of the people.

The Maltese are as tenacious of the old usages and diversions, handed down to them from time immemorial, as any other people in the world. Although usage survives, motive, in most cases is forgotten, and as we will further observe the ideas of the older mythologies are sometimes altered to meet the exigencies of the new Creed.

big confits are thrown by some evil disposed person, and in such a manner, as to cause injury; in fact the Police authorities issue, every year, notifications warning persons against the throwing of hard substances. 541

On Monday the Governor of the Island gives a fancy dress ball at the Palace, which is always very numerously attended. Some of the costumes worn on this night are indeed magnificent, and the noble marble palace halls and corridors, once thronged by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, present a truly picturesque appearance. A list of the persons present and the costumes worn is annually published in some of the local papers. 541 643

The Carnival is supposed to have been originally instituted in imitation of the Sigillaria or festival days added 541 173 177

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

541 to the ancient Saturnalia (*) and was
173 condemned by the Synod of Trullus,
•177 where it was decreed that the days called the Calends should entirely be stripped of their ceremonies, and that the faithful should no longer observe them; that the public dancing of women should cease as being the occasion of much harm and ruin, and as being invented and observed in honour of the Gods of the heathens and therefore quite averse to the Christian life.

541 The author of "Convivial Antiquities"
174 speaking about the ancient Saturnalia,
177 says: that on this occasion there were

(*) Saturnalia, festivals in honour of *Saturno*, celebrated in Rome about the middle of December. The celebration, which continued for 3 or more days, was remarkable for the liberty which universally prevailed. The slaves were permitted to ridicule their masters and to speak with freedom upon every subject.

frequent and luxurious feastings amongst friends, and changes of dress made, and the Christians have adopted the same customs.

He added, that as the heathens had their Saturnalia in December, Lupercalia and Baccanalia (*) in February, so amongst Christians three months are

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(*) Lupercalia, a yearly festival observed at Rome on the 15th of February in honour of *Pan* the God of Shepherds. It was usual to sacrifice two goats and a dog. The skins of the victims were cut into throngs, with which whips were made for the youths. With these whips the youths ran about the streets, almost naked, and whipped freely all those whom they met.

Baccanalia, festivals in honour of *Bacchus* (God of vintage, and of wine drinkers) at Rome—during the time of the celebration, the Romans clothed themselves in fawns' skins, fine linen and mitres; they carried "thyrsi" drums, pipes and flutes and crowned themselves with garlands of ivy, vine, fir &c. In this manner both sexes joined in the solemnity and ran about the streets nodding their heads dancing in ridiculous postures, and filling the air with hideous shrieks and shouts.

the day they were married and when 175
they were buried. They were therefore 562
always employed within doors, and ne- 175 562
ver went out, except at a very early 291
hour to church, when they were en- [794]
tirely covered by a long mantle. This [177]
costume came originally from Sicily, and reached from the head to the feet, the forehead and eyes alone being visible. The upper part of the mantle, covering the head, was cut in a different manner for unmarried women—these wearing it shaped round, while married women wore it pointed.

WEDDINGS

Marriages in Malta were always en- 584
tirely arranged by the parents; who for the greater part consulted only their own interest, and the suitable-

774 these transformed creatures return home towards dawn quite
777 exhausted and awake in the morning quite unconscious of
their nocturnal expedition."[1] The derivation of the word
[192] *Gaugau* has been given as the Syrian *Hagogo*, a ghost; but
surely the *Gaugau* is more than a simple ghost. His behaviour
stamps him as a vampire. Busuttil says that "the yearly
[177] punishment" is thought to be inflicted because Christ "does
not like anyone to be born at the same time he was born,"
and then suggests that the *Gaugau* came into Malta with
774 the Phoenicians. The Phoenician origin and the popular
777 explanation seem quite irreconcilable until it is recalled
774 that—

796

> "It is well known that in the transition from paganry to Christianity the Christian clergy, finding it impossible to wean the populace from old customs or to eradicate primitive beliefs, discreetly met the situation by diverting pagan festivals to the honour of Christ. It is not so generally known that December 25th, the Christmas Day of Christendom, was necessarily thus fixed for the reason that this date was the birthday of Mithra, and that the obdurate heathen flatly refused to relinquish their cherished festival. It was not until A.D. 400 that the Church Fathers accepted the inevitable, and tactfully adopted the Birthday of Mithra as the official Birthday of Christianity. At the beginning of the fifth century, S. Chrysostom, referring to the festival of the pagan Sun god, wrote: 'On this day also the birthday of Christ *was lately fixed* at Rome in order that, while the heathens were busy with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their sacred rites undisturbed. They call this (December 25th) the birthday of the Invincible One (Mithra); but who is so invincible as the Lord? They call

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[1] BUSUTTIL, *Holiday Customs in Malta.*

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

538 Before examining the shapes which the Old Things assume in the Maltese "fairy story," it may be well to examine the nature of the stories themselves. They are, like our own tales, an essential part of the national culture; but they differ from such classics as Little Red Riding Hood, The Three Bears, and The Arabian Nights. These latter belong to a literature. [178] The Maltese folk-tale is part of an oral tradition, ever changing as each succeeding generation has added its touch of contemporary colour and disguised some part of the original sense. Of the literature of the early Maltese, if, indeed, they possessed a literature, no trace remains. Thanks to some few patriots like Father Magri, collections of folk-tales in the vernacular have been made, and there has lately grown up some sort of Maltese literature. It is from collections such as Father Magri's that the literate peasant reads to the family.

[177] The educated Maltese are all too ready to embrace a foreign culture, partly from necessity it is true, but also, because expediency has persuaded them that their own tongue, their own national culture, and their own folklore belong to "the lower orders." So for centuries the remnants of what may well be the oldest civilization in the West—linked with the lost Atlantis and with the dawn of human thought—have been left to peasants and to servants. These lowly folk have stubbornly maintained some life amongst embers which may yet be fanned into a bright flame.

The absence of a literature has one advantage. The folk-tales of a literature become standardized. They are, for that reason, no true mirror of the minds of a people. The people "grow up" but the story remains. "Once upon a time" means distinctly "a very long time ago"; but the *D'erba*—"on a time"—with which every Maltese story commences, might well be used equally of something which happened yesterday, last week, or in the days of King Suleiman. So stories which were once fraught with a religious significance have been

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 ears, a share of their own cosmopolitan culture, of their own standards of civilized life and manners.

They also, it would appear, taught the Maltese how to
262 cook if the origin of some of the more savoury Maltese
● 177 dishes—*imbuljuta* and *zalzett*, *pastizzi* and *kusksu*, has been correctly ascribed to the kitchens of the Grand Masters' palaces and Auberges of the Knights. One island speciality has even made its way into the *haute cuisine* of Europe as the perfect accompaniment of boiled turbot and similar fish. It is *Sauce Maltaise*—a *Hollandaise* encarnadined and additionally flavoured with the juice and finely shredded peel of the blood-orange, which can be of a deeper red in Malta than anywhere else in the world.

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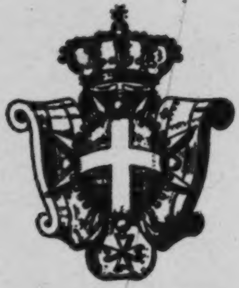

Arms of the Order of S. John

[PP. 111–119 of Text have not been processed. Plates facing p. 112, and 113 have been processed].

*175 43 catchment area of the port was extended to include most of the east and centre of the island.

[464] The decline in indigenously rooted economic activity is typified by the fortunes of the cotton industry, which after two millennia of regional fame finally succumbed to the stresses of the new world into which Malta had been introduced. Statistical information is limited to brief mention of employment in the industry in the Census Reports of 1851 and later. General material, often [114] untrustworthy, may be gleaned from travellers reports. Field work (18) carried out during the last four years has given us the evidence of the few surviving cotton workers who can recall the character of the industry as it was in its moribund latter days.

*175 288 43 ● 178 In 1861 there still remained almost 9,000 workers occupationally described as spinners and weavers and some 200 beaters and dyers. Ninety-six per cent. of the total were women, and male labour was generally used only in the final stages of cloth preparation. The industry included all processes from the growing of indigenous short staple annual cottons to the manufacture of cloth. The actual operations however were carried out almost entirely by individual workers in their own homes and were linked only by merchants specialising in this trade. In many cases merchants advanced seed to the farmers on a crop-sharing basis. In all cases they bought the picked lint and then distributed quantities by weight to 'out-work' spinners. These would return the yarn, which had been prepared by primitive traditional teasers and spinning wheels, and were paid by weight and fineness of the yarn. The village merchant would store the yarn until he received an order for cloth and would then make similar contracts with domestic weavers.

That this type of 'out-work', domestic industry survived late into the nineteenth century is a commentary on the social and economic needs of the poorer village and rural classes. Much of the female labour described as occupied in cotton-working was often only seasonally thus employed. The 1861 census taken in the autumn in contrast to the usual spring period clearly illustrates the seasonal change of work between spring harvesting and tillage in the fields, and the home use of the spinning wheel after the autumnal harvest. Tariffs and quotas on trade in lint and yarn were deliberately employed to protect in the domestic market this last employment reserve of the 'lower classes'.

Finally however tradition and protection proved powerless to prevent change. In the harbour area the decline was rapid after 1851, alternative employment and the impact of trade virtually killing the indigenous cotton industry by 1901. Away from the conurbation the same factors operated more slowly but still inexorably. Żebbuġ and Rabat, centres of old Malta, were the last to succumb. The former, a great centre of mercantile and ecclesiastical wealth derived from cotton, remained relatively important for weaving until 1914. In Rabat, the suburb of the old capital, a craft industry still survives. With the coming of new opportunities for wealth gaining, not in trade but in mass employment in the dockyards and towns, the last *raison d'être* of the cotton industry disappeared. It survived longest in the cotton growing regions of the west and in the most Maltese of the old villages of the Centre and South. With its disappearance died the last considerable skilled employment of traditional resource wealth.

*175 178 43 Changes such as these characterised the Maltese economy during the nineteenth century. World War I marked the end of an epoch during which the evaluation placed on Malta by Britain was sometimes questioned but never invalidated. The Maltese economy as it existed in the opening years of the twentieth century had reached the logical culmination of a specialised development which had been under way for centuries.

For brevity's sake it must suffice to say here that, apart from the obvious effects of World War II, the Maltese economy during the last 50 years has developed along more or less uniform general lines. Trade statistics began to be compiled properly in 1909-10. By 1918, visible exports paid for only 10 per cent. of all imports while by 1956 this proportion had dropped to 5 per cent. For our present purpose the most recent specifically economic Report utilising normally unpublished source material, that of Balogh and Seers (13), may be used as a basis for discussion. Statistics for the year 1953-54 contained therein and in the original source material are here re-assembled and re-arranged in the same combinations used in Chapter V A, i.e. Negotiable Income or External Economic Balance, Internal Revenue and National Product. By no means all the facts are available and some of the elements in the computation are open to question, but this particular presentation has been adopted to bring out significant points of direct relevance to our work. 178 433 457 [129]

The first element, that of External Balance may be presented in tabular form thus:-

434
457

Table 31. External economic balance, 1954.

A. Negotiable Income - originating externally.	
(i) Services pay	£6.5 millions
(of which dockyard)	(£3.6 ")
(ii) Direct expenditure by Services	2.2 "
(iii) Estimated spending by non-Maltese Service personnel	6.0 "
	£14.7 "
(iv) Imperial Grants	3.0 "
	£17.7 "
B. Negotiable Income - originating internally.	
(i) Merchandise exports	£1.5 millions
(ii) Invisible exports	2.9 "
	£4.4 "
C. Negotiable Income - Grand Total	£22.1 millions
D. Expenditure on Imports.	
(i) Merchandise imports	£18.6 millions
(ii) Invisible imports	1.9 "
	£20.5 "

The most obvious characteristic of Malta's economy in its external relationship is its amazing dependence for Negotiable Income, i.e. convertible wealth available for paying for imports, on factors outside domestic control.

In detail various significant points emerge. While part of this income resulted from the provision of industrial and labour services - A (i) and (ii), about 40 per cent. came through retail and domestic services to the Garrison - A (iii). Statistically, this is an item impossible to measure precisely, and in so far as it is a residual item a further question arises, to wit, how far may it be an over-estimate concealing an unrecorded inflow of foreign wealth through hidden channels to the civil population. In Sierra Leone, periodic upsurges of

is uneasily superimposed on the traditional pattern. The part played by the Church during the 1956 Referendum on integration with the United Kingdom was most complicated. During the disturbances following the breakdown of Government in the spring of 1958, town and country, proletariat and bourgeoisie, Maltese Malta and Latinised Malta, all reacted differently. Over all responsible actions looms the knowledge that Malta is not a viable independency (4). 642 664

As we have seen, education and language have been inextricably involved in politics (5). More directly important is the educational effect on the people as a whole of the system of public instruction. Under the leadership of Dr. Albert Laferla public education became vastly improved in all ways (6), and from his tutelage, more particularly after the Compulsory Attendance Act of 1924, came the generation of Maltese which now forms economically and socially the most important part of the population. After 1933, Italian ceased to be used as a medium of instruction, a standard Maltese orthography came into use (7), and the school system was expanded to meet the most obvious and immediate needs. Education was sadly disrupted by World War II but since that time has continued to improve in quality and range of facilities (8). Compulsory Education as distinct from compulsory attendance came into force in 1946, and in 1955 full-time education became the rule. Some 22 per cent. of children of school age still receive education in private, usually Church run, schools. 658 178

It is vital to realise the extent of the social and economic revolution implied in these developments. In the rural areas the change has been one from illiteracy to education within one generation. Even in the towns, and this is particularly true for the new growths associated with dockyard, manufacturing and service industry employment, thoughts and activities are being fundamentally affected by education for the first time in Maltese history. Contrasts between the levels of awareness of the value of formal education are considerable, and the full impact of technical education has yet to be felt - the first Government Technical School was opened in 1934. The chief contrast observable in the field however is between the two age groups, over and under 30 to 35 years of age. The former still contains many illiterate and therefore conservative people; the latter by reason of training as well as age is radical and impatient. The latter attitude is largely responsible for the drift from the land which encourages the domination of agriculture by residual conservatism.

In the field of public health, skeletal public works services had been constructed before World War I. Recent developments may be regarded as logical extensions both in the sector of public works and in the field of medicine. As late as 1936 the judgment of the Chief Government Medical Officer was 'no scheme of sanitary reform ever met with greater opposition than the establishment of the modern sewer system in Malta' (9), but by 1955, about 270,000 or over 90 per cent. of the Maltese population lived in sewered dwellings. Żurrieq alone among the large villages remaining unserved. In parts of the countryside and in the smaller villages, dispersion of settlement renders prohibitive the cost of connection of each dwelling with the public sewers. The more isolated and the more rural areas are now the regions of lowest standards (Fig. 33). 744 178

Medical services, particularly in their relevance to the problem of high infant mortality, developed late and slowly (10). The most serious obstacles were those rooted in Maltese social life (11). The strength of the matriarchal tradition in Maltese household has meant that the ignorance of the oldest generation persists in imposing itself on the life of the youngest. Dirt, over-clothing and under-feeding, the indiscriminate and early use of farinaceous foods, all these were difficult to eradicate in overcrowded and grandmother-dominated conditions (12). The difficulty of educating in hygiene and personal health an indifferent and tradition-bound population proved insuperable and in 1939 the infantile mortality rate was as high as the average for the preceding 20 years.

The final breakthrough occurred paradoxically during World War II. In 1943 and 1944 housing conditions and diet were worse than any experienced in peace-time but the death rate and the infantile mortality rate began to fall to record 178 727 744

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 179]

low levels. Earlier improvements probably supplied the basis for change but more important was the fact that, for the first time, the effective Garrison of Malta included the whole population. The new machinery for public information, the desperate need for reducing disease incidence and preventing epidemics, and even food rationing and shortage had cumulatively beneficial effects on the public mind. More than all, it would seem, the military control of the besieged islands with its conscription of many Maltese males and the increased contact of British troops with the people, together with that strange uniting exaltation in face of danger observed in other countries, all shocked Malta into new ways of thought (Fig. 66). 178 722 744

After the war this momentum was maintained during the period of reconstruction. The Malta Memorial District Nursing Association, Child Health Clinics, and U.N.-established ante-natal clinics have now been accepted and their services utilised. In 1959 the infantile mortality rate was 34.7 per 1,000, leaving the memory of the rate of 350 per 1,000 in 1942 far behind. 178 744

This revolutionary change is of particular revelance to this study. Many of its implications need no labouring. The demographic consequences, for instance, are obvious enough, as also the slowness with which traditional ways of life in Malta have changed. For us the most important consequence is that rising generations through a new awareness of causation and consequence, of scientific processes, are becoming vulnerable to new ideas in associated fields. There are no great steps between preventive human medicine, inoculation, livestock injections and an appreciation of plant pathology. One difficulty remains; the rural areas are the least affected by these recent changes and those individuals in the countryside who are mentally injected with new ideas and understanding are, for various reasons, the least likely to remain in agriculture. [369] [185]

Exemplifying this continuing regional dichotomy, but unity in complexity, is the recent history of milk consumption and production (13). Traditionally in Malta, 'the entire milk supply has been delivered by the goat herself' (14). Sometimes living with their flocks in the *fosse* which surround Valletta, the herdsmen would wander the streets, milking the animals on demand. Bruce and Zammit in 1885 and 1905 showed that the bacillus of Undulant or Malta Fever was freely excreted in goats milk and that the high incidence in Malta of this debilitating, sometimes lethal, disease was a natural consequence of the general albeit low per capita consumption of fresh milk from predominantly diseased goats. After considerable investigation, a milk pasteurising plant was erected and the first pasteurised milk was distributed, Valletta, Floriana and Sliema being declared 'closed areas' within which the sale of raw milk became illegal. During World War II, further extension of this policy was prevented but, since most goats were slaughtered for meat because of fodder shortage and because consumption of tinned milk became normal, the incidence of Malta fever fell to record low levels. Post-war revival in goats' milk production resulted in general re-infection by brucellosis and in 1946 the incidence of undulant fever was the highest ever recorded. During the post-war period public health and welfare policies have encouraged the consumption of milk. Because of the incidence of Malta fever, this has entailed the provision of expensive pasteurising plant, the prevention of the sale of unpasteurised, and the official encouragement of production of cows' rather than goats' milk. 178 234 744 [164]

This particular development is examined at greater length in Chapter X but some main points of general import merit consideration here. First, Maltese society has recently been affected by social, dietetic and medical policies which profoundly affect the basis of social life. In general one might say that the Maltese way of life is being made more remote from the simple crudities of parochial experience. Secondly, in the field of health and social welfare, the criterion of scientifically measured need has been adopted as the basis of official policy and the question of availability of resources is regarded as of secondary importance. Thirdly, this increasing social sophistication has only very recently become operative in Maltese life and different scales of value exist in different generations and in different social groups. Lastly, it would be fair to say that, while the urban markets are still only relatively fastidious 178 744 185

178 about quality and as yet incompletely dominated by ideas of welfare economics, the rural community is far less affected by change. While milk consumers in 185 the towns are often either not completely convinced of the need for milk processing or at the other extreme will use only imported tinned milk where possible, 744 the producers are generally even less convinced of the need for care in the production of clean milk. Unpasteurised goats' milk is still generally used in those farming households where milk is consumed at all, and understanding of the processes of infection is but slowly growing. Thus, in the field of public health and personal hygiene and medical care, social changes have been rapid, recent and uneven in incidence. Here, as in the economic sector, the mental acceptance of new ideas is not yet complete and is least advanced in the most rural and remote regions.

The examination already made of the demographic situation in the Maltese 163 Islands needs some brief consideration against the background of social 369 attitudes. The consensus of expert opinion is that in developing societies a falling birth rate is the result not of an actual decline in fertility but of family 842 limitation. In most regions such a decline in family size is associated with changed social attitudes, which have become accepted in many countries in which 795 Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion. Pope Pius XII himself condemned irresponsible parenthood and said it is 'a mistake and a departure from moral truth to exalt too highly the generative function even in its right moral setting of married life' (15).

The insularity and historical experience of Malta have preserved there a more rigid and strict application of Catholic rules of conduct, in which, despite the inadequacy of the Islands' resources to provide for the economic welfare of the population, the virtues of the large family are still stressed. Archbishop Gonzi in 1958 reminded an audience of young people that, although large families entailed much sacrifice on the part of the parents, parents should be prepared for a life of sacrifice (16). Father Vella, the founder of the Cana movement has said: 'One of Malta's glories is her large families' (17).

In Malta therefore the weight of the Church tends to discourage the secular social trend towards smaller families, and still makes illegal any provision for family limitation. Where secularism is strongest, in the urban cosmopolis, family size declines most rapidly. In the rural communities, where the precepts of the Church are most conscientiously observed and where the effect of secular socio-economic desires is most restricted, large families are normal and admired.

This regional contrast in social behaviour, when superimposed upon purely 163 demographic variations in rates of population growth, becomes sometimes 369 emphasised and sometimes negated. In the northern third of Malta, inward internal movement as a consequence of 'pioneer' agricultural settlement during 842 and after the mid-nineteenth century produced a 'young' population, high birth rates and rates of natural increase. This region has remained almost entirely rural in social character. The second main region of inward movement of population, the suburban area, has experienced a recent decline in the early high birth rates as a result of the impact of secular ideas.

The urban heart of Malta in Valletta and Floriana by contrast, has been both traditionally a zone of outward movement of population and the district most affected by changes in social attitudes to family propagation. The remaining area, the heart and core of Maltese 'casal' life, illustrates clearly the delicate balance between demographic and religious and secular social influences. From [166] this central area have traditionally gone the migrants to the new towns and the 'new' northern farming areas. The efflux has counteracted the traditionally rural and strongly religious tendency towards large families and a high rate of natural increase. On the southern fringe of this zone however lies the Żurrieq group of 'casals' and villages. From this until recently relatively isolated district, emigration has never been high and, with a survival of traditional rural values, this region has had in the 1950's the consistently highest birth rates - over 30 per 1,000 - of the *Maltese* population.

As has already appeared it is impossible to live and work in Malta without becoming very much aware of the strength of the Church. We venture therefore to make some necessary comment on this at once most delicate and yet most vigorous aspect of Maltese affairs. 175 79

As noted in Chapter IV, religious activity of a highly developed and institutionalised nature was a feature of Malta even in prehistory. Little direct evidence is available of this facet of life in the semitic or classical cultures, and even when we come to the Christian era and St. Paul's shipwreck 'on an island called Melita' we have no conclusive evidence that this in fact was Malta, or that St. Paul introduced Christianity to the Islands (18).

At all events the Christian Church entered the Islands in Roman times, and the line of bishops regarded as beginning with Publius, St. Paul's host, although broken during the period of Arab rule, was re-established by the Normans. As examined in Chapter IV, from this time onward Malta became first a simple fief in Christendom and then its bastion, held by a Religious Order. Whatever toleration there may once have been between Christian and Moslem before 1530 was quickly erased.

The report by the Apostolic Visitor, Mgr. Pietro Duzina (19) of his visit to Malta in 1575 throws some light on the condition of the Church at the time. In answer to unorthodoxy a Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition was established, creating three rival forces in the Islands, the Grand Master, the Inquisitor and the Bishop. From Duzina's report and subsequent accounts we see that not until the Turkish threat in 1565 had been repulsed and the Visitor's instructions for future conduct had had some effect, did village life become centred around new and magnificent churches which replaced the smaller more humble edifices in the hamlets. Curia and architectural evidence (20) corroborate each other. From this time onward, the parishes, growing in number, became the administrative and social regional units that counted in Maltese life and the Parish Church became the focus of the religious, social, and economic life of the casals and villages. As patrons of all the arts, repositories of wealth, directors not only of consciences but all conscious action, the Parish organisations became, and to an amazing extent still retain, a permeating power. Quite apart from the regular clergy the Religious Orders have played an important part in the Maltese Church and in education and other aspects of social activity. The relationship between the Church and the Order of St. John was not always completely amicable. In the traditional village scene the village priest, in the virtual absence of an indigenous squirearchy, was the teacher, doctor, legal advisor as well as spiritual mentor. Compared with this the Knights were alien and apart from Maltese life. The position of the Church and the Order vis-a-vis the Papacy was also not completely easy. Nevertheless, mainly as a result of mutual non-interference, the Church gained complete local ascendancy.

During the nineteenth century an uneasy *modus vivendi* was established between the Church and the new non-Catholic rulers, and during most of the conflict over language and culture the Church played a pacific and calming role, concerning itself mainly with the administrative details necessitated by the rapidly increasing and nucleating population. How far the dependence of the individual on the spirit and dogma of his belief, the faith described in 1840 by Miège (21) as '*cette piété poussé jusqu'au fanatisme*', has been supported by the long years of insecurity during which Divine and ecclesiastical protection was felt as a real and precious thing, it is hard to say. One may speculate on the fact that it was at the old 'frontier' casal at Mosta, westernmost of the old settlements, that local piety built in days of security the vast church with a dome that ranks among the largest of the world. It is also true that the Maltese Church enforces more strict rules of conduct upon its people than other Churches now find possible.

However we may interpret the situation, the Church which succeeded in adjusting itself to nineteenth century changes has been faced in the twentieth with the consequences of those changes. The traditional society in which it was virtually omnipotent and omnipresent is changing into a new society in which the individual does not have to lean so much on the priest. Now, the younger genera- 178 79

178 79 tion can read, travel and make contact directly and vicariously with the world outside. Emigration too has tested the strength of the Faith. In consequence, we can now find in Malta a historical cross-section represented in spatial distribution. At one extreme one can meet in Sliema agnostic Maltese who never go near a church; at the other, in rural Gozo, one can find general obedience to the Bishop's instructions. All societies are heterogeneous in this respect but in Malta the strain of division within society is particularly great because of the existence of so many other cleavages. The reaction of the Church to this new situation has been dual in character. In the first place the Church itself has taken official action. Reform and correction, the imposition of rigorous film and book censorship, the series of edicts on dress and on behaviour have accompanied research, such as that of Abbé Houtart (22), into the needs of the people. Secondly, there have appeared the lay organisations with the avowed intent of redressing the balance. M.U.S.E.U.M. and Catholic Action before World War II, Cana, Legion of Mary, Social Action, the Holy Name Society and many others of foreign and indigenous origin since 1945 have developed in the conurbation where the challenge to the Church was strongest (23).

Financially the Church is still strong, owning as it does some 19 per cent. of the agricultural land of the Islands and an unverifiable total of urban property (24). Politically, the strength of the Church rests on its hold over the minds and hearts of the people. It is not necessary for the Church to take much overt action to demonstrate its power.

178 256 As a last vignette of the changing Maltese socio-economic complex we may consider some aspects of recent research on a useful indicator of social change, the bread baking industry (25).

655 722 The purchasing, distribution and processing of wheat and wheat flour, remains as it has been for centuries, Government controlled. When the Knights established their capital at Valletta and when the suburb-outwork of Floriana was built, great stone-chamber granaries were hewn out of the solid rock, developed versions of the much older 'bell-pits'. These underground granaries were stocked by the official organisation, the *Università*, and the grain periodically distributed at controlled prices. This siege-system, necessitated by dependence on imports, was abolished in the early nineteenth century, and the newly established Board of Trade contented itself with licensing importations. As a measure of agricultural protection and for the raising of revenue, duties were levied on these shipments. During the twentieth century, and culminating in the emergency measures of the beleaguered Islands during World War II, controls became tighter and grain prices heavily subsidised.

178 256 During the period of urbanisation and more especially during the last siege the general practice of home baking rapidly declined in Malta, although in Gozo it still persists. In the latter island there was in 1957 only one full-time and one part-time commercial bakery, while in Malta there were 201. All food grains produced for sale in the Island should legally be sent to licensed flour mills for blending. Imports, almost entirely of hard Canadian grain, are made by the Department of Trade and by the Victualling Yard in H.M. Dockyard. Ninety-seven per cent. of all flour issued for ration-bread making is subsidised, but local estimates suggest that up to 50 per cent. is used for making other products, this illegally used flour being sold at a discount.

102 178 256 Fig. 67* shows the distribution of bakeries in Malta, their importance and the main distribution areas as they existed in 1957. Only two villages in 1950 and one in 1957 - Safi - did not possess their own bakeries. This however is not indicative of closed fields of distribution but only of the multiplicity and the small-scale of the enterprises. Of the 35 districts, 32 imported bread from and 17 exported bread to other areas. Over half the 15,000 bags of subsidised flour issued in 1950 eventually found their way as bread outside the receiving districts. Of this inter-regional trade, Qormi supplied almost 80 per cent. Very briefly the points of interest are as follows. Qormi, which in 1957 had 48 bakeries, has always been the traditional baking centre, partly because of its central situation, but mainly as noted in Chapter VIII because of its situation in

*[See p. 198 -- Analyst]

a dry-farming cereal region. The other main centres are of more recent growth and reflect a variety of factors, Mosta as a regional centre, Gżira and Msida as suitably placed coastal sites within the conurbation. Secondly, the distribution of bakeries does not correspond directly with variations in population density but rather reflects those variations in an exaggerated form. If we omit Qormi from consideration, Fig. 67 indicates fairly accurately the strength or weakness of traditional society in inverse ratio to the strength of commercial bakery development. Thirdly, the inter-regional 'trade' in bread, together with evidence we have no space to consider such as the development of travelling shops, etc., shows the importance of the new mobility which is rapidly breaking down old parochialisms. Uniformity, homogeneity, openness to world ideas, these are the social virtues lauded in the twentieth century, which are being inculcated in Malta most effectively by the delivery vans of the new commercialism. The decline of local individualisms is aesthetically sad; it is also dangerous in that the smoother the appearance of the social emulsion the less heed is paid to the degree of real cohesion between its members.

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23. Source material concerning these religious activities ranges from the *Annuario delle Diocesi di Malta* before 1935; and the Catholic Directory of the Maltese Islands 1959, the Archbishop's Palace; to C.T.S. Publications and reports of Lay Organisations.
24. see Chapter IX.
25. CHARLTON, W. A.: *op. cit.*

per cent. are children under 14 years of age. The number of whole-time farmers, 8,100, is now smaller than the group of part-time agriculturalists - 8,946, and in its age-composition differs significantly from the total population - 48 per cent. are aged 50 years or more (1948 - 33.8 per cent.) as compared with 31 per cent. for the Islands as a whole. 162 24

The relatively small and, until very recently, declining size of the full-time farming population, and its rapid ageing, suggest a decline in the importance and status of agriculture. The implications of these figures are discussed elsewhere but it is worth noting that the agricultural areas are still inhabited by over 126,000 persons most of whom draw some real income from the land in amounts which may often be small per capita but which observation suggests are large in total. 178 24 [434]

The total value of the recorded crop product is estimated at some £2.27 millions. From observation in Malta and experience elsewhere one can suggest that is under-estimated by a fraction of the order of 10 per cent. (See p. 10, - Essential Statistics - for further information.) 24 43

The combined value of crop and livestock products is estimated at almost £6,000,000. The income accruing to the cultivators is distributed in such a multiplicity of ways in such varying amounts that no useful estimate of average per capita income can be made. Of the disbursements of some £3 millions, an amount of the order of £2½ millions is expended on imports, notably of fodder and store cattle. Earnings of foreign currency amount to approximately £500,000, almost half of which derived from potato exports. This imbalance between imports and exports in the agricultural sector appears even more striking when one remembers that F.D.T. imports of over £9,000,000 make up 35 per cent. of the total Maltese import bill.

The efforts of the 9 per cent. of the employed population engaged in agriculture are already considerable but the needs of Malta are great. With no known physical resources of any size other than the land, it becomes of vital importance that farming productivity should be raised even further and that special effort is directed towards a legitimate degree of self-sufficiency in agricultural products. Much of the analysis that follows this introduction must be considered in the light of present and future needs. 121 24

REFERENCES

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1. et passim Census of Agriculture, 1958, Malta, 1960.

marriage (60 per cent. of the total), but there are now a greater number of family members interested in land - 31 in all, though only 22 have holdings of a size likely to produce an adequate family income. The net per capita change over the generation is a significant reduction in the area added, especially in the area added by new tenancies which in generation III resulted in an increase of 93¾ *tmien*. Further, the increase indicated in Table 47 is significantly influenced by a tenement newly entered by one member of the family (2130) which, in one large block of land, amounted to 28¾ *tmien*. All other new tenancies were relatively small pieces of land. The same applies, in fact, to all the land added at this time and, while land held by the family is gradually becoming an increasingly significant proportion of the total land in the locality, the outer spatial limit of new acquisitions is becoming increasingly wider (Fig. 139). 423* 173 596

Naturally, generation V, some of whom are still babes-in-arms, has not yet been long enough active in the field for any clear patterns to show, but some transfers of land have take place. There does however seem to be evidence of an increasing proportion of children receiving only small garden plots from their parents, their major source of income being clearly outside farming. Throughout the period considered, 'garden land' of this sort has increased, though the pattern is obscured by overlapping generations (e.g. group C, generation III was somewhat younger and therefore later developing than other groups).

In the foregoing section, the landholding history of a family has been examined in historical depth. Both the methods of acquiring new land and the means of sub-dividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots. Although all children have pre-emptions to their parents' land, by no means all such rights are in fact taken up. In general, sons receive more land than daughters, while dowry land, so-called, is seen to have rather a more special function than that term implies. Although the availability of land has varied from period to period, energetic individuals seem always to have been able to build up their holdings to a viable size, partly perhaps by judicious choice of a marriage partner. Nevertheless, since c. 1870 there has been a general decrease in the size of farm.

Much of this evidence confirms and in part explains the trends observed in the general statistical material and the study of the Żebbuġ-Siġġiewi area. The legal evidence, which as was shown earlier allowed for the possibility of extreme sub-division, is only relevant so far as individuals and economic conditions enforce such extremes. In so far as law and custom support the maintenance of a family's control over land, field evidence suggests that law and custom prevail, for very little land entering the family is subsequently lost. On the other hand, attempts to sub-let outside a family group are seen again and again to result in forfeiture of land which our expanding family were quick to seize upon. 423* 178

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that, although fragmentation has not proceeded to a degree made possible in law, it has developed with fair rapidity during the period of this survey. Had fragmentation proceeded everywhere in the island at the same speed in longer-established farming families, it would certainly have reached a more critical phase than it patently has. There seem to be three possible explanations of this apparent contradiction. Firstly there may have been some factor, as yet unknown, which inhibited considerable general fragmentation and which ceased to operate as from 70 or 80 years ago. The nineteenth century development of Government Lands, or some element in the emigrating pattern may be involved. Secondly, there may be a socio-economic limit to the process which our family has just reached, bringing it into line with conditions in older families - extensive inter-marriage may be a factor here. Or finally, there may be special forces within a developing family unit, perhaps not unrelated to the spirit of determination which led O and his sons with little capital to take upon themselves the task of restoring 100 *tmien* of storm-ravaged land, which would not apply to other groups. Certainly some individual members of the family studied display a peasant-like devotion to the soil which is becoming increasingly rare in Malta.

000 for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc. Livestock harness is
492 simple in type consisting of head harness and collar. Working bullocks, now
rarely used, are also equipped with collars for traction but the guiding reins
are attached to the horns. Country carts are unsprung, wooden frames resting
493 directly on the metal axles. That the ruggedness of their construction is only
equalled by the toughness of the draught animals is evinced by their presence
on places such as Dingli Undercliff, or the cliffsides of the Wied il-Luq
(Buskett).

343 The solidly built stone huts or *orfa* that are to be found on most holdings may be regarded as part of the farmers' 'equipment' rather than his habitation. The simplest and most numerous are simple one-roomed cubes, some five yards square, strongly constructed, usually of worked stone blocks with wood and *torba* roofs. These 'blockhouses', for such they appear, serve as storehouses for implements and crops, for guns and birdcatching equipment, as well as for shelter during the 'siesta' hours and bad weather. Their cost in construction labour, and the pride that does into the simple furnishing of what is the farmers 'den', as well as the deceptive appearance of dispersed settlement that they give, suggests that further investigation into their origins might prove valuable. In general terms, they seem to be a natural response to the marked concentration of settlement in the casals. They are far less numerous in the western region of more recent and dispersed settlement. The larger, two-roomed and two-storied types are used mainly as summer working residences, when a whole family may move out of its casal to the main holding.

407 These implements and types of equipment are one facet of the complex of traditional cultivation techniques - techniques based on the intense and continuous application of uncosted hand labour. A brief examination of the working characteristics of some of the implements is a necessary introduction to a discussion of general cultivation techniques.

The *moħriet* (Plate XIX) is used as an animal-drawn hoe rather than as a plough proper. It is light and can be carried by the cultivator along narrow field paths and across rugged terrain. Its negotiability is limited only by the ease of access demanded by the draught animals. The 'rotavator' (Plate XX) alone of modern mechanical implements can rival it in this respect. On coarse soils, often only a few inches deep, cross tilling by hoe or *ard* seems perfectly satisfactory for tilth making. A vertically applied tool such as the true spade cannot be utilised in such soils, while all but the simplest mouldboard ploughs are too clumsy for use in small terraced fields. Both *ard* and hoe are used in garden rather than field style and their only disadvantages lie in the slowness of the work performed. Here lies the especial advantage of the rotavator that can, under reasonable conditions, be used for tilling six *tmien* of land a day as compared with about two or three for the *ard* and one for the hoe. (Figures are necessarily approximate averages.)

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311 Cultivation techniques and the farming landscapes which they have produced are now in a critical stage of development. For millennia, a slowly increasing population has been utilising the natural land resources more and more intensively and also supplementing them by artificial works. Until the early nineteenth century, social and tenurial obstructions to full land use on the one hand, and wealth derived from the overseas possessions of the Knights of Malta on the other, little affected the basic land hunger of the rural community. During the period of British occupation, however, externally derived income has brought with it more and more non-agricultural activity. Opportunities for non-farm work have increased and so has socio-economic dissatisfaction with arduous and limited rural life. The stage has now been reached at which land reclamation and land abandonment, intensification of effort and neglect, are proceeding simultaneously. An examination of those landscape features which are products of farming techniques suggests that this stage is now critical.

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311 Land reclamation and the extension of the cultivable area are still going on. At several points on the Delimara peninsula, material is being carried from the cliff foot and from old huts and dwellings and spread over the existing thin and discontinuous soil cover. On this, sulla as a soil building leguminous crop

*[See page 306 -- Analyst]

F. The Farmer in Maltese Rural Society

241 A study of the Maltese farmer within the total of agriculture in the Islands
571 must include a consideration of the individual as a member of the community in which he lives, works and thinks.

The total social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles - family, village, and 'Malta'.

To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old
241 countryman for whom Valletta is a foreign world, the concept of 'Malta' is some-
619 thing large and indeterminate. But even for most of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for the countryman to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta complain. The 'National' unit is large enough for him to speak of *'Il-Gvern'* - the Government, of which he has heard frequently, though imprecisely, on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems with a characteristic disregard for logic or even fact. This concept of *Gvern* is of importance in an appreciation of rural thought in Malta. In it no very clear distinction is made between Maltese Government and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy. Neither is allegiance to one or other of the political parties very significant, for personality is always more important than party.

To give an historical perspective to this attitude of the remoteness of *Gvern*
[178] one may see in it not only the product of foreign British rule since 1800 but also the legacy of the 'paternal' government of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands. Rural communities are characteristically conservative.

The other Malta-wide authority is that of the Church, but the summit of this
793 is scarcely less remote to the individual than is *Gvern*. In the normal practice of his Religion the countryman leans directly on his local priests, though the Curia and Archbishop in Malta and the Bishop in Gozo do represent, for him, the essential unity that is the Maltese Church.

Within the framework of 'Malta' the distinction between the conurbation of
241 towns, centred on Valletta, and the countryside is crucial. This 'conurbation'
178 may be defined as those census districts with less than 3 per cent. of their working population engaged in farming. In 1948, this accounted for all districts
369 bordering on either the Grand or Marsamxett Harbours together with the adjoining residential suburb of St. Julians (1). Outside this urban area, the farming element in the working population increases towards the west and north of Malta, although only in Mġarr does it pass 50 per cent. In Gozo, the scene is notably more 'rural', on the basis of this definition, with six of the 12 census districts having more than half their working population engaged in agriculture. A survey of parallel information in censuses over the past 100 years shows a
[963] declining farming element along with a diversification of the occupational structure - especially in those villages regarded as traditional strongholds of agriculture.

This trend to economic diversification has been accompanied by a break away from the former social homogeneity of these rural villages. In fact, economic and social change cannot be considered each in isolation. In Malta, change - in its widest sense - has spread into the countryside from the conurbation. The tempo of this process has accelerated rapidly since the 1939-45 war, which brought town and country together more than ever before and shook the foundations of the cleavage between 'peasant villager' and 'urban townsman', a key feature in the social geography of the Maltese Islands. The appearance of schools, amenities - particularly transport, and a degree of occupational choice, have enabled the countryman to sample a more 'urban' way of life and culture and this has produced a dissatisfaction with rural society as it has been. Maltese countrymen knew they were regarded, as a class, as low in the social scale of urban opinion. They accepted this fatalistically and were in fact able to view

their designation with a certain tolerant wisdom. Not so the present young 178
generation in the farming community for whom education and material facilities 241
have presented the chance of escape from a social inferiority complex.

The village was traditionally the community-group in rural Malta. Contact 369
with the towns and Valletta was limited, especially for the villages of the west [628]
and in Gozo, until buses, press and rediffusion narrowed the gulf, but it was
hardly less than the contacts between the villages themselves. The village was
the group for most social interaction. Currently, the trend is towards a Malta-wide
community-group in which villages are losing much of their isolation,
although there is very little uniformity in this process. Sub-urban villages are
clearly absorbing non-rural characteristics much more quickly than is the case
in outlying parts of the Islands.

The nucleus of village life is the Church and the first citizen is the Parish 793
Priest. The Priest combined teaching and general advisory duties with his
spiritual role (see Chapter VI C). He was also the main link with the world outside
the village through his relaying of general news from his pulpit. Normally,
land transfers and a wide variety of matters connected with the agricultural
cycle were announced by the Priest. The Church was the social meeting place
and the basis of institutionalised activity. Even the village *festa*, that single day [796]
of wild exuberance, noise, fire-works, procession and carnivalesque has as its
pretext a religious observance such as the honouring of the particular Saint of
the village or the National Feast of the Shipwreck of St. Paul. In all this, the
link between Priest and people was often further cemented by wide kinship
connexions within the village. The son of an illiterate farmer might progress [555]
through Seminary and University to return to his home village as a priest and
to be claimed as a relative by many members of that static and much intermarried
community.

Such proximity, together with the very number of the priesthood in any parish
made for a familiarity with the personnel of the Church just as confession,
fasting, observance of Saints' and other special days, quite apart from the daily
Mass, made for close acquaintance with its practice.

It is convenient to use the past tense in the foregoing only because the picture 178
sketched has been modified in recent decades. It is however still the essential
basis of communal life, especially in the rural community which, as suggested,
holds to traditional custom longer than does the town. The modifications which
have appeared are important in this present consideration because they lie
behind the current social upheaval in which the individual countryman is being
faced with a clash of new against old. If, as seems possible, he leaps to the new
so completely as to relinquish the old entirely, then the traditional order of
society will disappear along with the agricultural system on which it is based.
This is the problem of the farmer in Maltese rural society.

An early non-religious movement was that of the Band Clubs; the first 575
appeared in Rabat in 1860. But even these came to be identified with particular
Churches and also with parish rivalries. The Band Club grew to become a major
feature of social life in both town and country in Malta, although in Gozo it has
had only a limited extension outside Victoria.

The Band Club is essentially a male organisation. Women have never been 562
more than tolerated spectators and, to this extent, the movement reflects the [575]
place of women in Maltese society. Emancipation of women has spread into the
countryside from the towns but even today women take an undemonstrative part [462]
in village activity and their movement outside the home is largely confined to
Church-going, shopping and possibly field-work. The modern young woman who
has had at least eight years schooling seeks paid employment beyond the house
and fields. In rural circles the tendency is still to frown mightily at such a
suggestion but it can only be a matter of a few years before what is now accepted
in Valletta becomes tolerated in rural Gozo.

Functional diversification has been the keynote of twentieth century village 178
society in the Maltese Islands. There is no evidence to show that there is any
challenge to the position of the Parish Priest in matters religious (the situation
has been less satisfactory from the point of view of the Church in urban Malta)

178 but there has been a delegation of his traditional secondary functions. The spread of Government primary education, for example, has produced a literate younger generation able to write - and think - for itself; rediffusion, cinemas, and television have made their presence felt; the Maltese-language press has grown in volume and scope; letters and visits from emigrated Maltese widen horizons rapidly; cheap bus transport puts most of the Malta within easy reach; health and social services have brought improvements; C.A.R.E. (2) and other relief supplies have brought a new external influence; the changing pattern of work with the new limited working day is giving the time for the novel activities made possible by cultural and material advancement. The last 50 years have seen the appearance and spread of the lay religious movements (see Chapter VI C) which have attempted to relieve the Priest of some of the work with which he had previously been able to contend unaided. The Society of Christian Doctrine [575] (M.U.S.E.U.M.), founded in 1909, was the first of these but larger and more comprehensive is Catholic Action whose four groups for men, women, young men, and young women have been established throughout the Islands to provide the modern Maltese parallel to the Village Institute, Youth Club and Church Fellowship of other countries.

The rural family was traditionally the economic unit within the village. A 178 century ago, farming in Malta implied the self-sufficiency of the true subsistence 241 peasant rather than the crop- and milk-selling producer of today. The food for the family came very largely from the fields worked by its members, milk from 654 their own goats or sheep and clothing from home-produced cotton and wool.

Money and matters financial now occupy a major part of the thoughts of the Maltese farmer - even of the older generation, illiterate and cut off from more cultural developments. Barter as a means of exchange is breathing its last. Perhaps more than anything else did the 1939-45 war mark the change. During the years of siege and shortage the farmer was able to get prices for produce out of all proportion to anything before or since. With the return of conditions to normal after the war this Golden Age of Maltese farming collapsed but the farmer went on somehow expecting to make the same profits in peace as he had in war. The fact that he has not been able to do this, even with recent Government protective farming programmes of subsidies, guaranteed prices and other artificial inducements, has increased the bitterness which the farmer has come to feel for his lot. For its part, the Government has tried to keep the farming community as contented as possible and at the same time has embarked on attempts at dairy and general farming reforms of methods, varieties, marketing, etc., in an attempt to stop the retreat from the land and from the way of life based on it. The produce of the soil is, after all, Malta's only major locally-based industry. This has seemed to prove to the farmer that '*Guvern*' ought to do all that it has done for the farmer, and a lot more. The Government's recent policy has been to educate the farmer to accept the new ideas and novel methods and techniques and it has attempted to do this through lectures to farmers, programmes on rediffusion, and pamphlets - along with the inducements of subsidies and guarantees. But the limited success of this programme has emphasised the basic problem in farming today which is that the 'Farmer' is now the middle-aged or old man, whose lack of education and experience outside the community of his village makes it most unlikely that he will accept information and advice from those who are patently not *Maltese* farmers and lack the lifetime's association with the alleged idiosyncracies of the Maltese environment.

The younger generation, which has benefited from a thorough primary 178 schooling, might have been the individuals to listen to lectures on farming but, 464 and here is the basic problem, as a group the sons and daughters of farmers 241 are desperate to leave the land and even more concerned to rid themselves of what they see as the social inferiority attached to the calling of their fathers. 561 These young people have in fact been educated to an awareness of new possibilities of economic and social life outside farming and also outside the village community which bred them. So many of the younger generation have in fact managed to make the break with the way of life of their fathers that the average age of the Maltese farmer is now higher than only a few years ago, and is still rising (see Section III Introduction).

178 241 561 In terms of the social pattern of the rural village, this means that there is a very significant distinction to be made between the older generation of farmers proper and the younger generation whose direct attachment to the land and farming is weaker if not already broken. If one turns to a consideration of the way of life and living standards in the village community this gulf is apparent. Most spectacular perhaps are changes in clothing.

178 291 The familiar working garb of the farmer has been the heavy woollen vest, cotton trousers, waistcoat, and cap. Recently, army-surplus shirts, denims, etc., have replaced the locally-made garment, often of home-grown cotton, while the cummerbund is now rare. Sandals are normally worn for walking but not for work. The farmer who works round the clock has never had a 'best suit'. He attends Mass in his working clothes before going to the fields and, on Sundays and holidays, ventures forth as on any other day with the possible addition of a woollen cardigan or more presentable waistcoat. For women, the use of the *faldetta* ribbed hood has declined rapidly in the last 20 years and is now only worn by the older women in the villages and by female members of the M.U.S.E.U.M. movement. The use of black generally by women is declining but most clothes are still made in the home even if from bought material rather than home-produced cotton or wool. The younger generation are not usually content to venture forth dressed in the manner of their parents but insist on making their own appearance as much like that of the average town-dweller among whom they aim to move socially. The white shirt, smart suit, shoes, socks, and well-oiled hair of the young men and the bright dresses, high-heeled shoes, nylons and cosmetics of the village maidens are regarded as the essential uniform of the seeker after the bright lights of Valletta and the towns. The schools have played a part in this with their demands on cleanliness, footwear and dress in the classroom. Occasionally a child goes bare-foot to a village school but no one would think of visiting Valletta shoe-less. The imitation of urban standards of dress is particularly apparent in the sub-urban districts where the farming minority are at pains to 'keep up with the Vellas' in dress - in spite of the expense involved.

178 [262] Diet in the traditional rural scene depended upon what could be produced by the fields and animals held by any family. The standard soups and stews (such as *minestra* and *brodu*) were consequently largely vegetable. Meat was rarer, fish seasonal and small birds might be added to a stew depending on the results of the hunting or, more correctly, shooting which was and is a popular Sunday and Holiday pastime in the countryside. The diet was rather less 'Italian' than that in Valletta and the towns, with potatoes in place of the various forms of [272] farinaceous paste - spaghetti, macaroni, etc. As in the rest of the Islands before the 1939-45 war, milk was taken fresh from goats and sheep and was not infrequently disease-carrying. Tinned milk is now popular in town and country but consumption of bottled, pasteurised milk is growing. Tea and coffee drinking have to some extent replaced local and home-made wines, especially in the many bars and small *cafés* which have become the leisure-time resorts of the men of the villages between strolls in the squares and streets. [533] Even here change is evidenced, for the traditional guitar-accompanied *għana* of the Maltese peasant [207] has given way to *Radio e Televisione Italiana* as the basis of café entertainment.

512 This very increase in leisure time is significant. The old farmer is content to spend the greater part of every day with his animals or in the fields for they are in fact his hobby as well as his livelihood. Cinemas and bright lights hold no attraction for him; but the young man insists on recreation as he sees it in the towns. The timetable of the farmer varies according to his type of farming. The herdsmen's life is ruled by the routine of feeding and attention demanded by his cows or goats and by the times of milk collection demanded by the Milk Marketing Undertaking. All this means an earlier daily start (sometimes 1 or 2 a.m.) than is usual for the field worker who begins his day with a 4 a.m. or 5 a.m. Mass and then stops for a light breakfast some three hours later. Lunch-time is 11 a.m. or noon and is followed by a *siesta* of some hours, depending on the season and the pressure of work to be completed before the sun goes down and the *field-worker* shoulders his hoes or his wooden plough and returns home

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table
only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension
366 of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised
shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops,
and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of
home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War,
the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly
to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The
petrolju van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on
paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
[262] addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free
distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
[749] by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation
distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home
178 was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a stair-
392 case frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic
[351] life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were
small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for
animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump
[312] and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
[369] summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can
only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

[491] Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has
[399] been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
[204] north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the
[546] Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

241 Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent
family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the
village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese
agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the
village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have
improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now
greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them,
thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee.
Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village
have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction
not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and
functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community
has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113 1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 33.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1959.

241 palms and pomegranates alongside potatoes - but in no case are conditions optimal or yields very good. In the comparatively closed economies of the past this mattered little; in an era of world trade and world markets Malta has now been left behind. Large-scale cotton production has virtually ceased and that of citrus fruit is declining; viticulture is of low standard and the olive tree very rare. Cereals can now provide only a tiny fraction of local needs while fodder production is limited in season and type by water shortage.

178 The critical phase in the social and economic reactions to the physical situation has also been reached. In the simple peasant communities of the past, the creative manual effort was necessarily associated with a low valuation of individual human effort and an arduous and restricted life. Now, however, economic and social opportunities and desires have widened and with them has come impatience with the demands imposed by the artificial landscape.

182 241 Higher per capita productivity to assure more freedom and leisure is only quickly attainable by technical and mechanical innovation. It is just such innovation that is impossible on a large scale on the land of Malta.

311 [134] The slope analysis map (Fig. 28)[1] illustrates one aspect of the problem. Maltese soil 12 inches deep needs, as a minimum amount, terracing at horizontal intervals of about 20 feet. Anything wider in the way of fields or a deeper soil makes essential increasingly higher and stronger retaining walls. The problem is such that considerable control is exercised by dip as well as gradient. The amount of labour involved in maintenance is heartbreaking by modern standards and yet, without it, erosion is quickly followed by the complete stripping away of the soil down to bare rock. The scale of farming operations often has to be very small - the planting of single rows of beans, of single trees, the sowing of chick-peas in rock crevices. Power and tool application is severely restricted. Small and light implements and single draught animals or more recently 'rotavators' alone can negotiate this type of terrain and work very thin soils covering rock platforms. The dangerous effect of the abandonment of any land is obvious. The past has in fact enchained the present. If cultivation is to continue then in order to preserve the artificial ecological balance, created with such effort over the centuries, a social imbalance will become even stronger. Whatever the scale of farming the farmer will always have to grub for soil, build his terraces, carry his plough or manhandle his rotavator for long hours under conditions that will seem less attractive even than those of casual dockside and urban labour.

The first point then is that the landscape indicates how human effort is pinned down by the artificial environment and how restive man is becoming.

175 241 The second theme is concerned with the reasons for the historical process of what really amounts to landscape gardening, and with the underlying implications.

648 Malta's wealth, in historical times at least, has come from a large extra-territorially derived income which has resulted from the Island's positional value. It is possible that even in prehistoric times Malta was never self-sufficient. The great temple building cultures of Malta and Gozo may well have maintained their master masons on imported wealth. Certainly Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Normans all occupied Malta because of its strategic position and took wealth in rather than removed it. The Order of St. John held it as an outpost of Christendom maintained by the Knights' possessions on the European mainland. Britain has similarly supported the Island's economy in return for its use as a naval, military and more recently a strategic air centre. Because of Malta's positional importance its inhabitants found it necessary and worth while to create agricultural resources. Because Malta has usually been an outpost the society and its works have attained the unstable equilibrium of a siege life.

369 At least since Arab occupation a duality has appeared in the community. Earliest at Mdina, later in the Three Cities, then in Valletta and the whole Grand Harbour complex, and now around the naval, military and air bases, the garrisons have formed successive nuclei of a cosmopolitan and sophisticated community. This community, literate, trained in the professions and trades has

[1] [See pp. 98-B and 98-C -- Analyst]

369 formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place [103] names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements - Żebbug, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people. Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship. The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce, the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical 178 revolutions of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the 369 first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available. 464 The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken [166] up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years, the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent. 178 of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service 182 Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture. This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also [464] apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954 [167] totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields, storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieħa, and even this, hidden from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 80 years. Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it commands. Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

178 Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways. 182 Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 25 years ago, who would 454

have guaranteed that the United Kingdom would not have abandoned Malta in the 178
event of war in the Mediterranean? Those Maltese possessing power and 182
knowledge traditionally have had too much to lose by local investment. The inadequacy of commercial port handling facilities, the paucity of processing [454]
industries, the shortage of credit, all these are products of fear.

Moreover, the changing circumstances of Mediterranean life which have increased security have also deprived Malta of her most easily earned income from entrepôt trade and her value as a calling station. The old commercial and financial attitudes of the most sophisticated part of society have become anachronisms in a new age, but still remain locally very deadening in their encouragement of hand-to-mouth activity.

What of old Malta? There the problem is one of breaking down isolation and correcting mental indigestion. The farmers of Malta have been commercially minded and experimentally inclined for centuries. Production for sale and exchange is the rule rather than the exception. But in fact they have little knowledge of commercial possibilities nor are they able to deal on equal terms with merchants. Often prepared to try new crops and equipment, their ignorance concerning the processes involved produces unhappy results. In short, the rural community in its partial isolation has seized with avidity a few crumbs of opportunity and knowledge and has never properly assimilated them.

It is a divided Malta that has met the new challenge, each sector too burdened with its past to respond vigorously on its own initiative.

The historic creation of an artificial environment has imposed severe restrictions on methods of utilising land, both now and in the future. The historic reasons for that creation have produced an ambivalent society, one part hampered by fear, one part hampered by ignorance. The main need now is for political security and a certain amount of economic stability. With security and stability the extrovert community may plough in its wealth rather than keep it poised for flight. The introvert rural community can then in turn translate its traditional experience into scientific idiom. In a suitable socio-economic climate and in an undivided society, many things could flourish, export market gardening and horticulture, processing industries, tourism, entrepôt trade and even subtropical research and training. Without such development, as is already foreshadowed in the landscape, Malta will become stagnant, depending on war and rumours of war for anything more than starvation level existence, while the landscape itself will reveal more and more of those rocky bare bones so decently interred in the past.

794 distinctive habit of the confraternity in processions, in which the
[242] *fratelli* play an important part. Entrance to a confraternity is by
means of a short religious ceremony and the payment of a small in-fee.
This entitles the newly professed member to share in the indulgences,
privileges and spiritual favours which have accrued to
the society.

Every confraternity is established independently in each parish,
and has nothing to do with confraternities of the same name in
other villages. Before the band clubs were established, confraternities
were the only formally constituted associations in rural
[554] parishes. Their officers enjoyed considerable prestige, and had a
voice in village affairs. But today the members seldom meet as a
● [178] group and most confraternities have no premises of their own,
though they generally have an altar in the parish church. Aside
from the dozen or two who take part in all the parish processions,
members take no part in any activity. A few confraternities
[423] which own property are a notable exception. Their officers meet
occasionally to discuss the business affairs of the confraternity, and
the societies still play an active role in local affairs.

There are also a number of third orders. These societies are lay counterparts of certain religious orders. They are organized in much the same way as the confraternities. Members attend occasional spiritual exercises and have the right to take part in processions and to be buried in the habit of the order. Altogether there are 16 different confraternities and third orders. Among the most common are the confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, which is established in all parishes, the Holy Rosary, Our Lady of Consolation (*Ta' Ċintura*), St. Joseph and the Third Orders of the Franciscans and the Carmelites.

554 All groups and individuals that are tied to the Church are
79 ranked. Each parish, religious order and parish society has its fixed
position in the overall order. The same applies to the clerics who constitute its personnel. Position in the hierarchy is determined by seniority of foundation in the case of parishes and associations – or date of ordination or appointment to present office, in the case of the clergy – in combination with certain marks of honour conferred by the Church authorities. Such honours carry with them a claim to higher precedence than seniority by itself would give. For example, any parish in which there is a Collegiate Chapter, or whose church has the title of Basilica, ranks higher than one

level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advance- 555
ment.

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same 212
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had 369
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same
period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to
17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment oppor- 464
tunities during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 178
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 241
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 433
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the 464

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and [114]
1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing (Valletta, Central
Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable.
Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only
the number of people who never attended school.

241 giant dockyard in Cospicua, or for one of the various British
433 Service departments scattered over the island. Gozo is more
464 dependent upon agriculture, but many Gozitan men work in
Malta, returning to their families for the weekend. Though
● [178] Maltese villages are populated mostly by industrial workers, they
have nonetheless a decidedly rural atmosphere about them, for
their inhabitants still have links with the agricultural economy of
[231] the past. Many retain a patch or two of land which they plant with
[235] potatoes or some other cash crop to supplement their wages, and
[262] virtually all keep chickens and rabbits to supply them with eggs
and fresh meat for special celebrations.

463

TABLE 1. Occupational Classes in Farruġ and Kortin[1]
(Expressed as percentages of the total male working population)

Occupational Class	*Farruġ*	*Kortin*	*Islands*
Professional and Clerical	4	7	15
Service and Skilled	39	52	55
Semi- and Unskilled	42	27	20
Agricultural	15	14	10
Totals	100	100	100

[438] A hundred years ago, the inhabitants of Farruġ were mostly farmers, though many were also employed on a cottage-industry basis in the thriving cotton industry of the time. Today they are for the most part wage labourers. Of the total male working population, 42 per cent are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, 39 per cent work as skilled fitters and as service personnel (shopkeepers, drivers, policemen, etc.) and 15 per cent as farmers. Only 4 per cent are professionals and white-collar workers. Three-fourths travel outside the village to their places of employment, chiefly with the Malta Government and the British military departments.

The occupational structure of Kortin is much the same. The higher proportion of skilled and clerical workers is in part a reflection of its past importance as an administrative centre, for until early in this century it was the seat of the district court. Seven per cent of the men work in professional and white-collar

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[1] The figures for Farruġ and Kortin are based on surveys I conducted, and the national figures on the *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 45–55. The totals of the male working population in Farruġ, Kortin and the Maltese Islands are 296, 1,131 and 75,930 respectively.

186 the village, which draws in native sons and daughters from all over
the country, and often from as far away as Canada and Australia.
621 This loyalty is also evident at other times. Villagers like to think of
796 themselves as a united body, and they take care to protect the
appearance of unity before strangers. This is an attitude of which
186 anyone studying the social history of a village becomes keenly
aware. Strangers are thus treated with great reserve. The inhabi-
669 tants of the smaller villages are well known for their reluctance to
621 give any information about their neighbours to strangers. In-
quiring visitors are often referred to the parish priest, who, as
village spokesman, screens them and, if possible, deals with their
questions. The reserve of a village *vis-à-vis* a stranger is consider-
[627] ably more than just an expression of village loyalty. Present also
is the very real fear of vengeance should the answer to a stranger's
question lead to some unpleasantness for a neighbour. Social
relations in a small village are to a very considerable extent
governed by the proverb 'Don't make an enemy of your neigh-
bour' (*Taghmilx gliadu lil garek*).

In view of this loyalty, it is not surprising that people express
628 their solidarity with their native village by opposition to other
villages. A village's traditional rivals are usually those with which
it has the most frequent contact. I was almost invariably warned
by villagers that the inhabitants of the neighbouring village were
a treacherous and savage lot. There are many tales of hostility
between neighbouring villages, especially over the celebration of
the annual festa, which I dare say have lost nothing in retelling. I
was told a number of stories of how youths stampeded goats
through their rivals' festa processions, and of expeditions which
stole fireworks, attacked street decorations and performed other
daring escapades. Although most of these adventures are said to
have taken place many years ago, they are no more unusual than
some of the incidents that I witnessed.

If the intense inter-village rivalry of former times has abated
[178] somewhat, it is probably because increased education and contact
outside the villages have helped to break down ignorance and
[796] isolation. But this rivalry still lies dormant, and may flare up at the
slightest provocation from a traditional rival; I have seen a num-
[526] ber of fights over trivial incidents during festas and football
[712] matches. The number of police at village feasts and the quantity
and density of the barbed-wire entanglements at the Schreiber

CHAPTER IV

The Basis of Leadership

621 The Maltese word for leader, *mexxej*, is seldom heard, and then
[192] only in reference to the leader of a political party. I once asked a
parish priest who were the leaders of the village. He laughed and
[622] replied that there weren't any, because his parishioners did not like
[551] leaders. With the exception of the professionals and *il-puliti* from
the towns, all the inhabitants of a village usually call one another
by their Christian names and in general look upon each other as
equals. This egalitarian outlook is compounded of many factors,
of which the most important are similar occupation, standard of
living and values, the detailed knowledge of each other's personal
lives that comes with residence in a face-to-face community, and
178 jealousy. Any person who attempts to lead or to try to start
something new – such as a village playground – is derided. His
578 true motive is seen as self aggrandizement and his enemies and
621 envious neighbours are quick to point this out to others who may
[539] not have realized it. 'Envy follows the wise man like his shadow'
(*L-ghira titrot wara l-gharef bhal dellu mieghu*), goes the Maltese
[609] proverb. Professionals and outsiders, especially if they are from
the town, are occasionally able to start something new. Their
social distance from most of the community protects them from
the full impact of the envy and gossip which moulds so much of
village life.

But in spite of the absence of official lay leaders and the con-
554 servative pressure of envy and gossip, there are a number of
621 persons who have a greater say than others in the affairs of the
793 community. They are able to do this by virtue of their social
position, their occupation or office in one of the village associations or their influence with the parish priest. These persons,
together with the parish priest, form the aggregate which can be
[192] said to run the affairs of the community. While there is no generic
term for this aggregate, those who compose it are sometimes
referred to as *il-kbarat*, 'the big ones', or more derogatively as

letters. His high standing in the village, and his contacts with 793
people of influence and power outside it, led people to turn to
him for advice. He was asked to represent them in their relations
with the outside world. In this capacity he served his parishioners
as lawyer, banker and business adviser. He was also the traditional
dispenser of charity.

The increasing literacy of the people and their ever-widening [212
range of contacts outside the limits of the parish has somewhat 178]
reduced their dependence upon the parish priest. The State's
recent involvement in welfare and charity has further weakened [659]
it. But if this dependence has been reduced, it has most certainly
not been eliminated. Many still call on him to divide inheritances,
to argue their claims against the government or to plead with prospective
employers, and not a few expect him to be able to secure
better roads, new schools, sewerage and playgrounds.

Thus the parish priest is the village's chief spokesman, and many 203
still refer to him as *il-principal tar-rahal*, 'the head of the village'. 793
The government has long recognized this, and makes use of him
as a convenient contact with the people. Each Sunday morning,
in addition to his own official announcements, the parish priest
reads from the altar government notices advising the people of
forthcoming elections, immunization campaigns, agricultural
extension lectures and so on.

But if the parish priest performs numerous services for his 793
parishioners, both individually and collectively, he has also the
power to refuse them. The sanctions with which he can punish [626]
disobedience are considerable. They range from declining to
write a good conduct certificate to denying absolution in confession.
On the other hand, he has the power to give rewards for
services rendered. Aside from doing favours for people who have
helped him, he can appoint them to offices which confer prestige
and authority and, in some cases, are also financially rewarding.
All this serves to underline and reinforce his position as a leader
in the community.

Parish priests are usually outsiders, but the rest of the village
clergy are natives of the communities in which they live. Unlike
Catholic priests in Britain or the United States, who live in presbyteries,
the diocesan clergy of Malta and Gozo live at home with
their relatives. This means that they remain in constant contact
with the village. They are often called on to take part in family

There is considerable difference in the social status ascribed to 156
various jobs. Non-manual occupations have the highest status,
manual occupations the lowest. The professionals – the priest, 463
doctor, lawyer, chemist or teacher – are at the top; while the 554
farmers are at the bottom. In many respects a government clerical
officer is also at the other end of the scale from the farmer. The
civil servant has a steady, relatively easy job with a good cash
income and comfortable pension at the end. He also has ready
access to influential persons in the government. His is a life of
security and relative independence. The farmer, on the other
hand, has been looked down on for centuries. He represents the
traditional life of dependence: dependence upon the weather, the
market, the *pitkal*, or middleman, for cash advances, the letter-writer
and the patron through whom established authority has to
be contacted. Education and wage labour have presented the [178]
farmer with a means of escape from that dependence and the
exhausting labour in his rocky fields. Where he has had the opportunity, [871]
he has been quick to turn his back on the traditional [241]
occupation of his forefathers.

Wealth is another determinant of status. This is generally 156
related to occupation. There has always been a considerable 463
difference between the standard of living of the professionals and
that of the average countryman. But until the past war, there was 511
relatively little difference in the standard of living of most 554
villagers. True, the more affluent lived in the large houses on the 556
main square, and the poorer people lived in the alleys and streets
remote from the square. Most people ate similar food, dressed
alike and furnished their houses in the same way. But the increase
in the level of wages, which followed the war, has changed that
pattern. New houses, cars, fridges and transistor radios have
become a tangible index of success and status. People are now
being graded according to the number of these symbols they
own.

Education, occupation and wealth are thus the chief criteria by 156
which social position is differentiated. A person who has all these
attributes has high status. But a person with high status is not 554
necessarily a leader; for he may not possess the innate qualities [577]
required of a successful leader – courage, responsibility and willingness
to work. Where a person has both high status and
possesses these qualities – as well as ambition – he will undoubtedly

156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
156 meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xiħ żomm fih*). But
561 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where
schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard. The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leadership in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish registers support the memories of the present generation of elders that this has not always been the case.

Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
156 their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
[575] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it convenient for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
[693] continue to practise in their native villages. But when they continue to reside in their villages, even though their social life and many of their business interests are oriented away from the community, they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have gone successfully into politics.

Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
156 citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday proces-
693 sion. Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter
of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football
and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
759 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

79 each association, including the religious ones.[1] The committee
forwarded the names of the representatives of its three constitu-
575 ent clubs to Dun Bert. After some time, when they had received
578 no reply from him, they wrote to the Archbishop. Finally, some
two months later, Dun Bert wrote back that he could not accept
any member of a political party committee on the parish council.
This was clearly aimed at the secretary of the band club, who was
a very active member of the Labour Party committee, the only
political committee in the village. He was not willing to step down,
and the other members of the committee supported his decision.
The rest of the village slowly lost interest in the matter. The parish
priest thus had his way, and is still in full control of the feast.

Many are still bitter about the manner in which their request to
79 take a more active part in the organization of their feast was
578 suppressed, but most have accepted it. They miss not so much the
old festa committee, the members of which most people criticized
freely, as the feeling they had had of all working together for the
greater glory of the village. The members of the old committee
at least had the virtue of being from the village, and were as
anxious as the next person to celebrate the biggest and best feast
in Malta, or so I was often told. Although no one suggested that
the parish priest is anything but scrupulously honest, they con-
sider that as an outsider, he does not have the same keen interest
in their feast, and in the reputation of the village. Others, less
charitable, accuse him of being hungry for power and anxious to
● 178 enrich himself with his fees as procurator of the festa. Many also
spoke to me with regret of the passing of the annual fairs, which
543 the parish priest has not attempted to run on his own. The fairs
794 were exciting occasions on which young and old, rich and poor,
[793] competed against each other in games of chance and raffles to win
back the rabbits and chickens which they had previously donated
to the festa. They say they miss the sense of unity that the fairs
brought them. 'In those days we knew each other better,' one
priest remarked. 'With the fair some of the poetry of the village
was destroyed.' Perhaps, without expressing it in quite this
fashion, the organizers of the committee, in their own way, were
also seeking this lost poetry.

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[1] Such parish councils have from time to time been established in some of the larger villages and towns, but most of them came to threaten the authority of the parish priests, who therefore disbanded them.

578 621 79 [575] be illuminated and that only one band on the eve and one on the day of the feast would be allowed. Although they are now ignored, the regulations also placed limits upon the variety, quantity and duration of firework displays. Finally, they drew attention to the already existing regulations that church decorations and new works of art introduced for secondary feasts should be less costly and beautiful than those for titular feasts.[1]

Parish priests were expected to insist on the observance of these regulations, and they succeeded so well that some secondary feasts were reduced to minor celebrations. Moreover, the *pika* between the partiti in Żabbar and Qrendi was so violent that the secondary feasts there were suppressed completely.[2] This served as a stern warning to others.

II

175 621 79 The story of the origin and development of the festa partiti in Farruġ is in many respects similar to the accounts which I collected about festa partiti in other villages. It might, therefore, be helpful to examine it in some detail. Before 1877 there were no festa partiti in the village; everyone co-operated in the celebration of the feast of St. Martin, the patron of the parish. By all accounts it was a humble one, and lasted only one day. This period is described as an idyllic time during which the village was happy and united. But in 1876 a new parish priest arrived, and after that the scene began to change. Dun Rokku, the new priest, not only had a strong personal devotion to the saint after whom he had been named, but he was also from a village where there was a strong secondary partit devoted to St. Roque. Within a year he established a confraternity dedicated to St. Roque in order to 'inject some more life into this rural parish', according to the president of the St. Roque Band Club. The first feast in honour of St. Roque was celebrated in October 1878 to mark the establishment of the confraternity. Although the new secondary feast was at first a simple affair, it and the titular feast grew during the next few years.

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[1] Concilium Regionale Melitense (1935), *Decreta* (Malta, Empire Press, 1936), p. 91.

● [178] [2] In Żabbar the devotion to St. Michael, the secondary patron, died out almost completely, though the *pika* between the bands has persisted. But in Qrendi the devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes, the secondary patron, has continued as strong as ever. In 1958 the Archbishop reinstated the confraternity dedicated to her, which his predecessor suppressed in 1935, but the partit band is still not allowed to play for her feast.

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catho-
624 lic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedi-
787 cated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
795 elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentle-
621 men'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to dis-
seminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

communities where they became leaders, and the source of many 178
new ideas and customs. In Għaxaq, for example, I found that a 875
teacher born in Valletta had been the one to introduce the custom of decorating the streets for the festa.

It is, of course, extremely difficult, if not impossible, to dis- 174
cover the motives which prompted people to choose a particular 178
partit. The only possible clue to at least one set of reasons may well 463
lie in the correlation between occupational class and partit 621
affiliation. Apart from this class alignment, I found no evidence in Fàrruġ, or any other village so divided, of any pre-existing structural division out of which these festa partiti might have developed. In view of the way membership is inherited, it would appear that the position which members of the great-grandfather generation occupied in the village class structure in some way influenced their choice of partit. There is some evidence for this, although not a great deal, to be found in the genealogies of the present generation. Frequent marriages with outsiders, emigration and the changing employment structure of the country over the past six decades have blurred this picture considerably.

But it is certainly possible that the new cult appealed more to 174
those persons who held no office in the older confraternities and 178
who performed no official functions in connection with the cele- 621
bration of the annual festa of the village patron. Through the new cult they could gain offices and perform functions which hitherto had been monopolized by the circle of the village elite who surrounded the parish priest. Some informants have also mentioned that young men were particularly attracted to the new cult. In this we can see the universal resistance of the young to the authority of their elders, for by becoming active in the new cult, they were asserting their independence from the controls of the older generation. Were the secondary partiti then a form of protest against the established authority, a sort of underdogs' party?

Other facts appear to support the hypothesis that the founda- 174
tion of the secondary partiti was in some way related to a wider 476
working-class movement. Many of the partiti are dedicated to St. 621
Joseph, the patron saint of the working classes who were begin- 776
ning to organize themselves into formal associations throughout 794
Europe. In Malta there are many signs that this devotion was very
strong. In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to 580

not rationalize the distinction he makes between the person and 578
the office of the cleric he attacks, though his behaviour shows that 621
he does make one, the Labour supporter often proclaims that he 665
makes such a distinction, when in fact he does not. The MLP not 795
only challenges the statements of the Archbishop which apply to the political scene, but often questions his right to make them. This explains the difference in the reaction of the Church to the two forms of anti-clericalism.

I have suggested that the one prepares the way for the other. The rebellious atmosphere created by the disputes between the festa partiti is, I believe, as important a factor as occupational class in explaining the relatively high degree of open support the Labour Party has in the southern villages. The extent of this support, especially in the smaller villages, in spite of the sanctions of the Church, came as a surprise to some of the leaders of the MLP, who had always thought of them as dominated by their parish priests, like the small villages in Gozo. But in the spring of 1961, the small villages of Kirkop, Dingli and Gudja were placed first, second and third in an MLP competition to find the community which had the greatest proportion of new Party members. I suggest that the support for the MLP in these three villages is due not so much to their proportion of industrial labourers, which in any case is not particularly high (23, 20 and 35 per cent respectively),[1] as to their strong tradition of rebellion against the authority of the Church. Kirkop and Gudja both have active festa partiti of long standing, and while Dingli has no festa partiti now, the village has a long history of opposition to its parish priests. For example, shortly after the First World War, the Dingli Social Club had an argument with the parish priest, and for many years after, members celebrated the national feast on 8 September, instead of the patronal feast of the Assumption, simply to annoy him.

V

But whatever complex and diverse reasons people have for taking 178
sides, the division has given rise to conflict in most villages. In 578
this respect Kortin is no different, as the slogans displayed during 621
the battle of the blackboards indicated. The division has cut right

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[1] *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 41–2.

178 across the village and the clubs, and has brought about conflict
within many families. People lament the change that has come
578 over the village as a result. An old bachelor friend often used to
621 complain that had we come to live there just a few years ago,
'before politics came and spoiled everything', we would have
found the village a far happier place. Picnics and outings were
more frequent then, and groups of friends used to gather on hot
summer evenings and stroll outside the village to play guitars and
sing the lilting Maltese *ghana* in the cool air away from the houses.
[575] There was also more life in the clubs. Both the Social Club and
the Band Club used to take part in the national carnival competition
[796] for the best decorated carts and costumed companies. But
as the political conflict has divided the island's carnival celebration
in two, so it has also affected the clubs. They now celebrate
neither the government's carnival nor that of the MLP for fear the
question of which one to participate in would provoke a fight
that would cripple the club.

Dun Bert, the parish priest in Kortin, is of course the head of
578 the local group which supports the Archbishop and opposes the
665 MLP. His chief lieutenants in the fight are the local clergy and the
793 lay leaders of the religious associations. Pawlu and Anton, his two
794 faithful helpers, are also vocal partisans, as is old Manwel. Dr.
Farrugia, old Manwel's son, as a former member of the Legislative
Assembly (MLA) and a leading member of one of the political
parties opposed to the MLP, also belongs to the pro-Church
division in the village, though he takes little part in its day-to-day
275 affairs. The main activity and support comes from the leaders of
the lay associations, especially of the Young Christian Workers,
578 the MUSEUM and the Sodality of Our Lady. These all meet regularly
665 in their respective premises. Many of the others, older men,
794 spend much of their free time in Kelinu's café. These include old
Manwel, Pawlu, Anton, the sacristan, the organist, and Dun
Mikiel and Dun Filip, respectively the chaplains of the female and
male sections of Catholic Action. This café, located right next to
Dr. Farrugia's house, is the nicest café on the square, or in the
village for that matter. It is the only one which the clergy, the
teachers and occasionally Dr. Farrugia himself, frequent. It is thus
the headquarters of the more influential village citizens who support
[517] the Archbishop. Most MLP supporters have stopped going to
it, although a few still play cards there for an hour or so in the late
afternoon when they return from work.

VI

It is of course an open question how much longer the intense 178
partit spirit can survive in the face of the political division now 578
cutting across all festa partiti. In Farrug the division between the 621
festa partiti, such a strong force in the past, is now of less importance
as a principle of social organization than the rivalry
between the supporters and opponents of the MLP. The relative 178
importance in Farrug, as everywhere, of this latter division is
directly related to the intensity of the conflict at the national level 578
between the MLP and the Church. If it decreases, so will that at the 665
village level. But the longer it lasts, the more difficult it will be to 795
remove it completely from the social scene. Both the Church and the Labour Party, through their respective societies, committees and social clubs, are building up an institutional framework that is incorporating this political opposition on a permanent basis in all villages. This is taking place in much the same way as the confraternities and social clubs a hundred years ago made permanent the conflict between rival factions competing over the celebration of saints.

The rivalry between the Church and the MLP, as well as that between competing political parties, reflects the increasing involvement of the villager in the political life of his country. It was perhaps only due to Malta's peculiar position as a colony and an island fortress, a role which effectively prevented the development of an active internal political life of the more conventional kind, that competition over church privileges and saints was able to assume the importance it has. It is not surprising that the changing nature of Malta's strategic and constitutional position should alter the tempo and character of its internal political life.
In the villages, this change is reflected in the weakening of the [621]
festa partiti by national political issues.

782 silver medal, seventeen "ex-votos" of silver, and £39 10s. 6d. in cash' (*Id-devot ta Maria*,
1894). In November 1961 twenty-two gold rings and thirty-one pairs of gold ear-rings,
besides sums of money, were offered as 'ex-votos' at the shrine of St Rita at St Augustine's
Priory, Valletta (*Santa Rita*, 1961, p. 192).

DISCUSSION

154 The relief of anxiety is one of the basic needs of the human personality. In a religion-
782 conditioned community, such as that of the Maltese Islands, one of the most potent
771 defence mechanisms against life-threatening situations consists in prayer and the offer of
753 'ex-votos' to the Godhead in order to receive deliverance in return. Perhaps what
761 underlies this aspect of human behaviour is the idea that sickness and death are punitive
measures from the Godhead for lapses committed by oneself, one's relatives, or one's
community. As a matter of fact, the notion that illness is sent by God as a punishment
for sins is still a current folk-belief in the Maltese Islands. The same trend of thought
finds expression in certain depressive psychoses where the patient shows a heightened
feeling of guilt and is convinced that divine wrath has been visited upon himself and his
close relatives in the form of disease or death. It appears, therefore, that the 'ex-voto' is
not a mere token of gratitude for a favour received but is also a propitiatory offering to
appease the offended deity and thus obtain his pardon and the removal of the punishment.
154 The element of sacrifice is implied in the self-denying act of surrendering a
782 precious thing in return for recovery of health or rescue from imminent death, either
171 materially in the shape of money or jewellery, or symbolically in the form of an anatomical
representation of one's body. Whatever the psychological motivation prompting
the offer of 'ex-votos', there is no doubt that they throw an illuminating sidelight on the
part played by religious belief in the history of healing in the Maltese Islands since prehistoric
times. They are also a testimony to the beneficial influence of religious *mores* (1)
in satisfying the natural craving for security felt by the individual and by the community
when faced with the crises of life, and (2) in maintaining morale and the will to live
when the failure of medical skill tends to disorganize and destroy them. Indeed the
'ex-votos' reveal the story of the triumph of hope and faith over the trials and sufferings
of countless generations of Maltese men and women who had found themselves beyond
the help of contemporary science and of human assistance. It is needless to emphasize
the recasting of Maltese religious beliefs after their conversion to Christianity in A.D. 60.
● [178] The change from paganism to Catholicism, coupled with technical and cultural developments,
has brought about a parallel modification in the conventional form of the
'votiva'—from the baked clay image, the painted panel, and the wax and silver anatomical
models to the exquisite examples of the jeweller's art; but the idea behind the
changed outward sign remains immutable, i.e. the anxiety-relieving value of faith in a
community where belief in an all-controlling God has, for thousands of years, been the
pervasive character of the warp and woof of its cultural and psychological pattern.

The belief still lingers that the
764 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul
775 of the departed remains above the flame.

764 (*g*) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of
735 the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in
171 both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century
●178 passed through wide changes and, as in other European coun-
[177] tries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with
[192] Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the
292 fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700.
178 Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black
184 transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 Family mourning is generally observed as follows :—

178 I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

[562] II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days, after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern 171
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 264
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 516
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom 352
has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain from having their pastry and other food prepared in a public oven for a period of some months after the death of a member of the family.

IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 184 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Bombazine (without lace) or silk faldettas are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *ċulqána* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
● 178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in
wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those
of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford
to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
764 extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the
period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian
influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *żuntier*, from
French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
[671] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural
interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it
was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public
cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required
that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a
coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
[534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the
church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing
of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which
in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases
to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the
Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important
that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the
corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was
laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the
less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a pro-
fanation

It[1] has faded very rapidly
369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
241 animals or animal products are sold for money.

433 By using the 1946 Census material (B/167 - 1946, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:

634 Table 1 (v. Map 2)

369 [127]

Urban (0-3%)	
Valletta	0
Cospicua	0
Senglea	0
Vittoriosa	.008
Gżira	.11
Sliema	.24
Floriana	.43
Pawla	.8
Marsa	1.2
Hamrun	1.35
Msida	1.36
Kalkara	1.84
Pieta	2.6
St. Julian's	2.9

Fringe (3-10%)	
Balzan	5.48
Luqa	6.1
Birkirkara	6.16
Tarxien	6.43
St. Venera	6.46
Qormi	6.88
Birzebbuga	7.3
Żabbar	7.35
Żejtun	8.27
Lija	9.9

Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Mqabba	10.5
Marsaxlokk	10.6
Żurrieq	11.15
Għaxaq	11.29
Attard	11.53
*Victoria	13
Mdina	15.4
Mosta	16.56
Żebbuġ	18.41
*Għajnsielem	19.2
Gudja	19.91

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Għargħur	29.1
Mellieħa	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Kerċem	56.43
*Xagħra	64
*Għarb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Għasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Malta................	9.11%
Gozo.................	41.78%
All Islands..........	12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an
369 increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the
464 Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
369 counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages

[1] [i.e. peasant subsistence farming. -Analyst]

178 which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming
369 element are the old settlements.[4] The non-agricultural
Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages grew little in size and declined considerably in relative importance.

178 A closer investigation of the declining relative impor-
241 tance of farming within the rural villages themselves over
the past hundred years (v. Appendix 1D, vii and Graph)
433 reveals that during some periods economic prosperity in
464 Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally,
166 that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a
return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared. This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the present century (B/381). Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming (v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the land as he is with the community which it supported. If a depression were to appear along with any limitation in emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic in character.

178 The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial
464 rather than total in that the bulk of farmers and farm-workers
who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or
241 'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper
(B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past the availability of alternative employment has been the governing factor. The earlier periods of economic prosperity mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for
175 the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the
464 only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural
288 Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving. Even
here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth

175 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, particularly
288 after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports
464 of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is
today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century, much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft, so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton production declined. This decline accelerated towards the close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands. The total decline was due to external economic factors but, within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest - where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing
● 178 work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end
241 of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of
369 this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first,
464 and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the
[288] Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the
[396] harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton
[504] industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus
appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater break with home, farm and village than had been the case with cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population of the rural area became less and less dependent on agriculture for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in
178 an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second,
241 considered later in more detail, is the social change which
369 has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager
241 through direct and indirect education and contact with the
433 people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two
forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had happened before on a temporary basis and the other a consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world, have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he has the new range of employment opportunities indicated, while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The
percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may
be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'.
Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed
as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the
heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three
Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of
south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-
five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for
Santa Venera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant
that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
36 those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to
this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the
harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service
industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops,
cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public
utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
162 dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the
most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to
which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census
distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix
3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would
expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but
even in the rural districts most people are seen to live
within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In
terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban
and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only
five districts show a built-up township area accounting for
more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this
nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for
1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern
(B/561).

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard develop-
621 ments and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the
rural districts where change has to date been slower than in
the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along
with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisors as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education
as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The
clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the popula-
tion was not. This concentration of learning produced a sit-
uation in which only the clergy were able to step forward to
take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might
have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
[669] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolution-
[648] ary leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino
Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising
against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands
by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both
village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the
[874] University came strongly under the influence of the Church,
for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long stan-
[178] ding, was and still is best known for its Theology. However,
during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the
Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative
details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of
the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth.
The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the
separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociologi-
cal importance during the present century has been the growth
of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban
areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces
which are today tending to detract from the traditional
omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before
the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will
loom much larger than at present in the country districts
and in Gozo[11].

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
[794] has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

36 This type of core area therefore, as defined in these examples is the basic pattern in all villages throughout Malta and Gozo.

103 361 ● 178 In a consideration of the present scene within the Maltese village it is essential to be aware, at all stages of the argument, of the evolution of the settlements concerned. In the Żurrieq case it is clear that the main village block is extending in several directions, notably northward past the school and south-westward towards the small hamlet of Nigret. This latter is already linked by a continuous built-up stretch to the main village and thus contrasts with Bubaqra which remains morphologically [578] independent. In the case of some of the larger villages, Żebbuġ and Żejtun are two notable examples, the completion of this kind of merging of nuclei accounts for present intra-village sectionalism. Thus Żebbuġ (Malta) is a compound of three ancient village nuclei, Hal Muxi, Hal Mula and Hal Dwieli. The very title of 'Hal', or 'village', still given to these parts of what is now a single village reflects their original separate independence. They have grown together over the centuries and have been unified by the construction of a Parish Church and the appearance of a new 'township' core in the central area. Similarly Żejtun has three component parts, Ta'Fuq (Upper), Ta'Isfel (Lower), and Ta' Wara l-Knisja (Behind the Church): the present large Parish Church has been built in the space remaining between the merging older nuclei. The distinction here is clearly morphological rather than administrative but is nevertheless not to be ignored in a study of social structure and affiliation in a static and conservative community.

Merging between fully independent villages has also occurred. Balzan-Birkirkara and Pawla-Tarxien are examples, but here the administrative and affiliatory distinctions have been maintained. At a higher level still the merging of the settlements comprising the Urban area, begun in the nineteenth century but more rapid in the twentieth, is the major feature of modern settlement growth in Malta (B/561).

Rabat in Malta, and Rabat (Victoria) in Gozo, illustrate another aspect of settlement evolution where morphological [712] facts bear on social structure. In both cases the 'suburb of the citadel' ('Ir-Rabat tal-Imdina') grew to large-village size outside the Walls [illegible] the central fortified stronghold of each Island. In Malta, Rabat remained as the main rural centre after the capital had moved to Valletta, with ancient Mdina itself remaining a quiet residential back-water.

000 In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an

In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an
178 unofficial capital of the rural areas of his Island; markets
361 are still held there even though the main ones have
[443] gravitated to Valletta and the urban area. The annual
'Imnarja', traditionally one of the main events in the
farmers' social calendar, is held nearby[18], while the
ancient importance of the Church is reflected in the large
number of clergy, churches, confraternities and third orders
[712] found there (Appendix 4). In Gozo, Rabat is the administrative, cultural and economic capital with the old
fortified 'Castello' now in large part a deserted ruin.

369 The differing extent to which the villages of Malta and
178 Gozo have been influenced economically by the industrial and
urban developments of the dockyard areas and towns are
paralleled in the social plane. Traditionally rural centres
such as Qormi, Żabbar and Birkirkara have undergone increasing
social and cultural attraction towards Valletta and the Urban
area along with economic 'de-ruralization' by virtue of their
proximity to the towns and harbours. The improvements in
amenities and especially in transport facilities have tended
to link these Fringe settlements to the Urban area rather
than to the countryside which produced them (B/381).

361 A further type of village is exemplified by St. Paul's
178 Bay. This began as a summer-time resort for town and city
dwellers during the nineteenth century but attained a
sufficient permanence and size to be granted full parochial
status in 1905. The analogy in Gozo is Marsalforn though
this settlement is perhaps half a century behind St. Paul's
Bay in development and presents in winter time the appearance
of almost a ghost-town with only a few permanent farmer and
fishermen residents.

Birżebbuġa is a class on its own, having grown in the
past few decades upon largely non-agricultural foundations
of the British and United States' bases, oil installations
and some small-scale industry.

128 Using this type of analytical approach, a classification
361 of the villages of Malta and Gozo on the basis of their
origin and socio-functional characteristics becomes possible
(Richardson (B/561) goes into greater detail concerning the
evolution of settlement in Malta itself and considers the
development of the present pattern in the light of population
growth and movement and other historical factors.)

712 (1) Medieval Capital Fortresses - Mdina in Malta and
175 the Castello in Gozo. Both occupy central eminences in
[361] their respective Islands and were used as capitals by the
Arabs (in Malta 870-1090) and by the various rulers of Malta
between 1090 and the coming of the Knights of St. John in
712 1530. The former is today a tranquil, residential

311 423 and west of Malta and the hard rock areas of Gozo many farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivators' point of view is useless". As to size "the range is enormous" but "it is clear that a reduction in the average size of the farms has taken place at all levels". Today "the great majority of holdings (83.5%) are seen to consist of dry land only. A very small proportion, less than half of one per cent, contain irrigated land only. The balance of 16% of all holdings are 'mixed'. The majority of the mixed holdings contain less than 5 tmien of irrigated and less than 20 tmien of dry land".

423 178 The past hundred years have shown "a general upward trend in the number of land-holders balancing a downward trend in the number of farm workers", while a "factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming".

This picture is made even more complex by the prevailing systems of land tenure and their wide ramifications. This sector has been investigated by Mitchell (B/525). He considers the various types of ownership (Government, Church, private ownership and owner occupation) and the systems of tenure (long and short lease and share cropping, etc.), and traces the land-holding history of one family back through four generations, in order to reveal the way in which the farm-holdings of the members of the various branches of the family have been assembled as the individual farmers have lived and built up their holdings and then dispersed upon death or retirement (in B/337). "Both the methods of acquiring new land and subdividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots".

311 423 Thus the Maltese farm is characterized by variety of size, tenure, composition and soil types. Moreover, one must distinguish holdings which are primarily livestock supporting, from those essentially arable in emphasis and also from the heterogeneous class which might be called [128] 'mixed farms'. The present discussion attempts to consider the Maltese farmer as an individual within the agricultural and rural scene and aims to demonstrate the contrasts between the illiterate and the educated, the old-fashioned and the modern, the prosperous and the poor.

THE PROBLEM.

128 This Section considers the dilemma of the Maltese farm today from the point of view of its technical management. The problem soon emerges essentially as the struggle by an uneconomic unit - the Maltese farm - for existence in the already unbalanced Total Maltese economy.

241 423 rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields, which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

241 464 433 This is the background to the present attempts to rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

(a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654] (b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

654 241 464 The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

178 462 [592] The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

562 462 178 In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p.80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

462 family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and
562 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment
●178 outside the home or even outside the village and insists on
a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been
proper for her mother.

462 The home and the care of the children remains the sphere
of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work
178 only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the
men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this
side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this
nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats
generalization.

178 Until recently it was customary for most women and girls
to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields,
462 especially when work was pressing as at harvest time.
288 Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of
464 its preparation (Section 1), while lace was almost entirely
the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity
excluded them from field work. Cotton is now of minor
importance and lace-working is confined to the older
178 generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now
464 partly being filled by young women and girls seeking
employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing,
teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers than was the case a generation ago. Yet there
remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to
suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of
the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude
that persists in labelling paid employment fo a girl as
somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case,
discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout Malta (B/598).

241 Some farming families still retain the traditional
462 pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI);
others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and
[178] girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In
the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and
picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled,
such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men
(v. Case I on the division of family labour).

241 In general it appears that as the younger age-groups
592 are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided.
[178] The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-money' donations and even these went to sons working full-
[465] time with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and not to daughters.
Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

241 592 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited, in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until they can find some paid employment away from the home farm, and

241 464 [461] [465] (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely to become scarcer and more costly.

241 [461] The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that as already suggested, the particular characeristics of Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 241 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so has the range of variety increased.

175 178 221 241 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of each month along with short articles on subjects of interest to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco, would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the [234] [233] Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178 241 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial' and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

978 241 modern calendar of events is considered.

As random sample illustrations three farmers' accounts of their own work during 1957-58 are analyzed[22]. At least they reveal something of the variety that now exists between one farmer and the next.

241 461 221 (1) A full-time field worker (Case X) usually working with his brother and a nephew and having some irrigable land. An analysis of the routine of this man is given (Case X; E, v. Work Analysis) and, from the same material, Mitchell has made a detailed study of time/labour utilization (B/529). A summary of this, which is on the basis of the ten hours per day worked by each of the three men over the year 1957-8, is also included in Case X.

(2) The second example relates to an arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce (Case XI; E, v. Work [592] Analysis). This man is helped in the fields by his wife and family. The analysis illustrates the main features of this 'irrigated' farmer's year (although in the year studied there was an exceptional loss of time in the Autumn due to storm damage) and should be compared with (1) above. Irrigation accounts for about a quarter of the months May-July but occupies a mere two afternoons in the period November-February. Cutting and reaping accounts for even more time in July than does irrigation: by October plowing is the largest single item apart from "No work (storms)". In November, planting and sowing account for slightly more time than "collecting greenery" and is by far the main work of December (potatoes). General cultivation work occupies much of the next two months but pruning and grafting of vines is the biggest single item of February. The parallel between this and (1) is clear, apart from the special emphasis, on fruit - largely apples - in the former case.

234 221 461 (3) A Goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping (Case II; E, v. Work Analysis) provides the third sample study. In 1957 - 58 this herdsman spent all but thirty afternoons "grazing the goats" - on only one Sunday or 'festa' day did he not go out with his animals. This illustrates an important feature. While Sundays and Holy Days are normally kept free of field-work, work with animals has to be allowed. The herdsman is consequently much more tied to his farm than is the predominantly arable farmer. He has a set daily schedule of feeding and milking the animals and cleaning out their stalls, etc., and can expect to have to adhere to this especially if he is working alone or with very little help. In fact the herdsman spends a considerable amount of his working year on

234 (i) the grazing mentioned,
221 (ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
461 (iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting milk receipts from the M.M.U., cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of every working day.

221 241 178 181 [731] The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of late, 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of these he is better acquainted.

241 461 178 181 This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate or recently-illiterate farming folk and is given further consideration (Section 4). Suffice it at this stage to emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no

241 461 178 181 direct result. The farmer in (1) spends more than a fortnight each summer gouging tree pests from his apple orchard, a tedious and monotonous task for which the cost would be enormous if any account were made of the labour involved. He has always accepted this task as one of the essential jobs in his fields, presenting itself each year as regularly as the seasons. Today he is wondering whether the same result might not be achieved within the space of a few hours by the application of some spray treatment (Case X).

241 461 [464] This is certainly not to suggest that the Maltese farmer has ever consciously wasted his time. The opposite is the case. Visitors to Malta and Gozo since the eighteenth century have been full of praise for the farmers of the Islands and for their diligent industry. The fact is that the physical limitations of the fields and farms are such that agriculture in the Islands has been maintained and developed only by the application by the farmer of meticulous hand-labour. Today a critical shortage of this very labour is producing a state of doubt and tension in the industry. The question is being posed as to whether some forms of mechanised development can replace traditional manual labour. In view of the characterisites of the rural landscape of the Islands possibilities seem limited.

241 461 178 The farmer's daily timetable, with its long hours of monotonous toil for comparatively little remuneration, is producing a younger farming generation embittered with their inability to do a day's work on the farm in eight hours only and frustrated because independence - in their terms - is denied them. They are tied to the farm and the animals and unable to take as much leisure as their counterparts in 'urban' jobs. Independence for them implies the freedom to take time off from the farm in which to make themselves socially as 'urbanate' as possible. Independence for their fathers' generation is not the same thing. Here is seen a vestige of the traditional peasant way of life which was essentially independent in its family and village self-sufficiency. Thus the old farmer's concept of independence is the ability to rule himself and to work his long hours as he inclines. The liberty to sit with his goats between siesta and sunset, with no foreman and no questions, is in fact part of the attraction which keeps the older farmer in farming at all. It is by no means the whole story because he knows well enough that in his case it is too late to think of acquiring any of the education which he sees as the key to things better than farming. The younger generation do not see things in this light at all and regard their education as a means of escape (Section 1).

000 except in one case (Case IX).

241 The evening meal is generally smaller than the lunch
234 although consisting of much the same elements - a thick stew
512 ('brodu' or 'minestra'), along with bread, cheese, fruit,
264 olives, tomatoes, etc. The consumption of meat and fish is
in part governed by religion and in part by price and
[262] availability, though meat certainly figures much more
prominently in the rural diet than formerly. The meal is
taken soon after the return from the fields, about 6.30 p.m.
and is followed, an hour or so later by the saying of a
family Rosary before retiring for the night about 8.0 p.m.
In Gozo there is a tendency for people to rise, eat, work
and retire to bed rather earlier than in the larger Island
and the smaller villages are usually dark and quiet by 7 p.m.

241 Apart, therefore, from external factors, such as M.M.U.
234 collection or Church service timings, the daily timetable of
512 the farmer and the herdsman depends to a large degree on his
own volition. He knows what work is outstanding and can
decide how and when he will do it within the limits imposed
by the season, demands of animals, and so on. Thus, at a
peak period of field-work, such as harvest, the farmer and
his assistants may work on until the late evening - even
through the night. During exceptionally heavy rains, as
in October 1957, work on anything approaching the normal
scale is, on the other hand, impossible and the farmer's day
becomes one of doing what he can and complaining copiously
meanwhile.

241 Miége (B/516, p.236), writing in 1840, was impressed by
512 the regular and assiduous labour of the Maltese farmer, even
461 during the heat of the summer sun. "Il semble impossible,
au premier abord, que le paysan maltais puisse résister
aux chaleurs intenses de l'été. Cependant, au milieu des
champs, dès le lever du soleil, on le voit, exposé a ses
brûlants rayons, continuer tout le jour ses pénibles travaux.
Il fait deux pauses: la première a huit heures; il se
repose alors une demi-heure pour déjeuner; la seconde à
onze heures; c'est l'instant de son dîner frugal, après
lequel il se repose de nouveau jusqu'à midi en hiver, et
jusqu'à une heure en été, tantôt à l'ombre d'un figuier,
tantôt au pied du petit mur qui entoure le champ, la tête
couverte d'un bonnet de laine, et le reste du corps exposé
au feux du jour. Il reprend ensuite ses travaux avec la
même vigueur, et ne se retire qu'au signal donné par la
cloche de son village, c'est à dire au coucher du soleil".

572 The essentials of the daily round of the farmer have
241 changed little since Miège wrote except in so far as the
234 tremendous increase in the importance of stock-rearing and
178

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
796 fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[241] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
[234] to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossiping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
517 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

178 241 farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

It is hoped that some at least of the answer to this problem will come from co-operation and mechanization. The first implies the pooling of labour resources of individual farmers while the latter includes the whole range of developments leading to a replacement of hand labour, as far as possible under Maltese conditions, by machinery or by more efficient implements.

CO-OPERATION

241 476 Co-operation in field work between farmers is not new in Malta[23]. It is either permanent, where two or more farmers combine with each other to work a single farm unit, sharing profits and expenses, or temporary, as when two or more farmers share the use of a threshing machine at harvest.

An example of the permanent type is a case (Case VIII) where five brothers work one farm-unit as a team with one of their number being something of a primus inter pares. This [234] is an efficient and profitable arrangement with a substantial income accruing from the herd of some thirty head and the 70 tmien of land worked by the partnership.

Another case (Case XI) is that of two unrelated farmers working one farm-unit as partners after a lifetime's friendship. So completely are their resources pooled that it is not always clear what belongs to the one and what to the other. With their respective eldest sons (teenagers) these [233] [234] two men operate a holding of some 100 tmien and have in recent years joined in the change-over from goats to cows. Their joint herd now numbers some forty head, but as an economic unit is in a much inferior position to that of the first example.

A third example (Case X) shows two brothers working the fields held by them together but maintaining clear distinctions as to which brother owns which plot. This association has also endured for decades and now includes the full-time assistance of the eldest son of the brother.

An example of a temporary association is that where two or more farmers combine to thresh the grain of each man in turn, six being the optimum number for a threshing team which normally includes the owner-operator of the hired [178] threshing machine himself working as one of the team. In the days when the traditional threshing floor with the mule and hand-winnowing was the standard method of threshing (as before the 1939-45 War) different farmers would also join and help each other at the harvest. (Today this threshing floor method is confined to cases where a long straw is required.)

000 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against

241 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against 494 exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly common, while a recent development has been the tractor co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

178 407 The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta in the 1930s (Case XV, XXII) but "at that time there was a general feeling against the use of such machines on the land and it was about five years before their value was acknow- [427] ledged and suspicions overcome"[12]. One of the earliest tractor-hire businesses (Case XV) began in 1935 and for a [422] decade there were comparatively few competitors. Since the 1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning agricultural tractos and mechanized implements[24] has increased to about thirty in Malta[25] and some twelve in Gozo (1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[26], made in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still increasing but the work available for them is decreasing. This is clear from a consideration of the points raised in Cases XV to XII (Section 6, Part 2).

The main points emerging were

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended (Case XVI), while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement (Case XXII).

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

(ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can [654] be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially since low-interest loans are now available from the Government.

(c) The limited area of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between asignments (Case - XVII).

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case · XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of
damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).
The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are
therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per
tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the
hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can them-
[461] selves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job
which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a
matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

(ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
407 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
461 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements
464 (Case · XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving
the problem of labour shortage.

427 For the contractor himself there is a social as well
554 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has
come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane
than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status
is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no
implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort*far
[221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main
disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three
summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines
and services to builders and others out of the plowing
season (Cases · XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing
machine which brings in further contracts in the summer
(Case XVII).

178 From what has been said it would appear that the large
407 tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese
427 farming, although it may bring considerable profit and
[434] advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The
present decline in this type of contracting has been noted.
Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be
greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to
the land in the near future. The small hand rotary
cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like
going much further along the way to enabling a time/money
conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with
little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly
limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming
landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it
can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

242 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for
654 advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming
community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial
insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in
the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud
(Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service
are outlined in B/252.

178 Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said
241 about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification
654 to bring it more closely into line with present conditions
both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic
181 conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4)
but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is
[234] not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the
guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space
of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the
Islands.

433 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk
654 surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee
remains he will continue to put every effort into selling
234 more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to
fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is
certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently,
having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

433
MONEY

In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was
434 a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale
178 subsistence farming with the help only of his family.
[175] Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family,
farm and village. There were very few wants which could
not be supplied at home, or at least within the village.
In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman
of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in
terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have
his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his
predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells
each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual
turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes
modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the
farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the
food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction
436 between the present 'commercialized' position and that which
437 prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century
ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they
465 were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when
compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for
comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal
Commissioners (B/184), Miège (B/516) and Price (B/556),
but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
454 this same report however, it is learnt that the farming
community had by that date become investment conscious and
had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day
where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited
eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field
work at all. The developments observed by the 1911
Commissioners were by no means general among the rural
population at that time. They were in fact merely the
first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
178 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
433 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
722 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
465 in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before.
He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce
- or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became
used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted
war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was
the feling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in
Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time,
the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the countryman.
The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was
content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the
change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his
social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered
needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a
variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

178 standards demanded have risen; and luxuries, once almost
511 unheard of, are now becoming part of the expected pattern
of the life of the countryman (Section 2). For most of
these new needs the farmer has required money. Hence
progress, to him, has become synonomous with the acquisition
178 of more money. Branches of banks have appeared in some
511 villages in both islands since 1945 and the countryman is
454 coming to accept this means of storing his accumulated
wealth. The concern for bigger interest, first noted by
[453] the 1911 Commissioners, is replacing the traditional mere
accumulation of wealth whether in money or in jewellery and
other valuables.

178 There is still, however, a very strong element of
181 accumulation rather than investment in the finances of the
454 farmer. This is particularly the case with the older
511 generation who, as always, cling to the ways of the past
because their lack of formal education makes them, apparently, unable to comprehend or adapt themselves to the workings of the present. Thus it is held that, while the younger generation have sought to urbanize themselves socially and economically with the money which now comes their way, many of the older generation, that is to say those who are tending to stay in farming today, have taken the 'new' money but have not changed their way of life or living standards to anything like the same extent. Thus dress, for example, is no sure indication of a farmer's wealth in terms of money and one hears of bare-foot, shabbily clothed countrymen with savings of £1000 or more. In traditional Maltese village society the uniformity which was the keynote (Section 1) encouraged the farmer to appear like his neighbour lest he be accused of deviationary tendencies: this feeling is often revealed today in the reluctance of the farmer to be the first to try a new method or crop in his fields for fear of becoming a laughing-stock.

Although the older generation do not strive to demonstrate their wealth in dress, habits, a new house, etc., and do not share the anxiety of the younger villager that he should look like a townsman and move to a 'good' - i.e. non-rural - district, their saving is not completely without aim. To resolve this point fully it would be necessary to consider the whole complex of traditional Maltese village society but for the present discussion some major features only will be outlined.

178 Dowry is one feature of traditional Maltese society
583 which is currently assuming different proportions to those
183 earlier held. It was regarded in the past as essential

178 for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as sub-
583 stantial a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind:
183 land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a
[554] girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position
and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent
sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there
were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the
past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among
the families of the same village and farming background.
[182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way
of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to
fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance
(B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption
in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts
of the Islands have increased and marriages between
individuals from different villages and also from differing
economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of
land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place
and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of
the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put
more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 Another development which has put money into an altogether
454 new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing
desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen
423 (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the
471 Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this
applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the
family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the
first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a
feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought
his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase
of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even
before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build
up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of
meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased
rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War,
and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much
greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable
cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient
and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese
654 farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for
capital. The Government added to this money consciousness
[426] with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to
keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest
loans for capital improvements of the farms and their
equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
654 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the
[234] maximum (Section 2).

Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
178 Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
511 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to
434 his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned.
These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

[464] (d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

178 Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
434 his farm the means of providing for the various needs of
[471] the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding,
his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make
the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is
the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very
small section of the farming community: one of the major
problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means
the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
426 position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial
434 status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem
emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

be suffering from economic near-strangulation because the working of his farm-unit is linked with a fluctuating but permanent element of debt. This is because the factors mentioned above as producing the need and demand for money are operating, but the farmer and his farm-unit are unable to hold their own in the present agricultural economy of Malta; this in spite of the artificial boosts of Government loans, guaranteed prices, free gifts, agricultural development schemes, information services, etc.,(Section 2).

There is a range therefore between the farmer who is
178 proving able to advance financially and he who is not, even
434 to the state of impoverishment. The problem of the latter may be considered from two view-points, the economic and the social. Economically, the difficulty is clear. Many farm units as they exist today cannot hope to provide an income, after expenses have been met, which will support the family and allow of expansion or even maintainance of the unit. The social problem is less easy to define. It would appear that many characteristics of the traditional peasant farming system of subsistence and independence of each farm unit still remain beneath an often thin veneer of
[212] commercialization and modernization. This is related in large part to the lack of education of the farmer himself. The farmer of today in Malta is an old man and ageing who has been but little affected by the developments in education, in its widest sense, which are turning the ambitions of the present younger generation of the farming community towards the towns and towards non-agricultural pursuits. At heart, the present Maltese farmer is still in very many cases thinking as a peasant, isolated and independent, in a farming system now essentially commercial, competitive yet inter-dependent. Financial profits and losses now rule his life but the farmer is, in a disturbingly large number of cases, partly unable and partly unwilling to adapt himself and his farm to the new conditions.

178 Something of the effect of the both the economic and
234 social aspects of the problem may be gathered from a study
434 of a number of sample cases:

426 (a) A goats' milk producer, living just within the boundary of the Urban area of Malta (Case V), operated during 1957 with a persistent debt on the maintainance of his animals, the basis of his livelihood. During the year, the milk production of his herd varied between 70 and 30 lbs per day. This was sold for the official guaranteed prices and to this extent may be seen as a constant element. Produce from the tomna of land held by the
[451] farmer was used in the home but made only a minor contribution to the food budget. This man keeps no accounts of the costs of maintainance of his herd and profits therefrom. He is operating in a perpetual state of debt. A table of

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
234 nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
434 the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
426 fully realizes that without the present Government guarantee
[654] (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt
is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together
as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a
total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for
the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that
the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize
their farm and herd as they woudl wish. For example,
while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing
calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in
fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would
otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the
cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding
to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them
reluctant to take on any further loan commitments;
nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are
definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be
able to increase the number in their herd and also
mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
234 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
434 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U
654 with as much milk as possible.

They have no thought or care as to what might happen
were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the
subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly
little appreciation of the total picture of which they
form part and will be content to grumble quietly and
ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate
(Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
434 which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
454 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
provision of dowries and wedding costs, etc., are met.
234 This farmer admits to having been able to save more than
£1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that
654 today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread".
[451] He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly
on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase
of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds
of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on
the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for
all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is
typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying,
today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to
making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported
market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
accounts of the working of his farm. His second employment
434 brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
241 weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
amount of his [illegible] and effort. In a normal year he
[511] reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a
third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc.
and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the
steady income from his other job farming has something
of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

178 434 241 because he has always been used to doing it and one which enables him to provide many of the food items needed by the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

156 241 426 The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies of farming from the economic point of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

472 511 It appears that MONEY is a variable but important factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household, as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear distinction made by the farmer between the finances pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its maintainance. The most common practice is for there to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it come the costs of running farm and household. As seen, the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as the labour of his family and himself is concerned
[451] (Case X). Similarly it is still the exception rather than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is making a loss, though of the details he has no notion. In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
571 is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
[651] tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
454 call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
[593] few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expences of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
178 accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[294] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family,
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
[656] Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

[p.48]

262 369 In respect of diet an important distinction between town and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially 'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily available; but in the country districts there is notably less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 273 262 511 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now established themselves as needs and, consequently, as demands on the family purse.

178 291 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy. Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made at home or at least within the village and were worn by the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest change is among the younger farming generation who want to dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly. especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the widespread use of military surplus material.

423 362 511 Housing is important in the present consideration because money is now being spent by the farmer both on buying his own house where he can but also on developing it and improving the furnishings.

[178] Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

178 511 There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of 'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and recreation all require money. Payments to the Church have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, can clearly only be met with cash.

451 511 [123] The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

000 and inertia of the traditional peasant.

STANDARD OF LIVING

178 511 [436] The past century and a half have seen the development from peasant to commercial farming, along with the adoption of money as the basis of exchange, and the appearance of a large range of new demands in diet, clothing, housing, luxuries, recreation, etc. Some observations on the living standards of the farming community during the period are now indicated.

175 511 369 178 Speaking of living standards in the Malta of the early nineteenth century Price considers that "an identity and cohesion prevailed not only in major economic trends but in the economic habits of the people" (B/556, p.8). Thus "In these circumstances it is possible to examine together the habits of rural labourers, urban labourers, artisans, small farmers and fishermen...." (B/556, p.9). Price holds that during the first half of the nineteenth century there was in fact little change in the living standards prevailing in the Maltese Islands despite the fluctuations evident within the national economy as a whole. "Years of prosperity may have brought a slight increase in the ratio of wheaten to barley bread or in the use of novel clothing such as straw hats. But, it seems clear, the chief effect of prosperity was to increase the consumption of oil, alcohol and tobacco; these, together with his religion, ranked first in the list of desirable and important things in the minds of the Maltese flush with surplus cash. Presumably these were the things he hoped society would give while his traditional diet, clothing and shelter were the things he expected society to provide" (B/556, p.9-10). 175 434 369 Among the unskilled urban and rural workers there was a notable uniformity in wage throughout the period. Price speaks of 6¾d for a day's work for a man (and about 1d only for a women) but observes that skilled workers, and especially those in dockyard employ, could expect very much more (B/556, p.9-10). For the mass of the labouring and farming community therefore income was of the order of a few pence per day but, as suggested, the prevailing self-sufficiency of the near-peasant farmer of the period made actual monetary income an inadequate indicator of standards of living. For the urban worker, on the other hand, lacking the farm basis, the low wage level meant poverty and hardship. More especially "Poverty..... pressed heavily on the under-employed" (B/556, p. 11).

175 288 The importance of cotton to the nineteenth century Maltese farmer has been discussed in Section 1. In 1839

In 1839

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The principa
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work,
175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
● 178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nineteenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on other crops while, socially, the change affected the family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commis-
735 sioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become
511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts, the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded saving but also led to begging and stealing which was "One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Miège in 1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167); reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874 (B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207); on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst description" while "It must also be admitted that the sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

175
511 The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence
[369] is that there existed a considerable gulf in general
[464] living standards between the people of the towns and those of the country. There was also an important
[458] contrast within the then rapidly expanding Urban area,

175 between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This
458 dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth
511 century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished
[468] from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which
[184] characterised the totality of economic life in Malta.
Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean
basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by
changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the
fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of
prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century.
[731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts,
epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean
in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable
Malta (B/556).

175 The major economic developments arising from the
184 growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the
511 Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various
178 stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic
life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the
chain of external events made their presence felt. In
all this the fortunes of one section of the population,
such as the farming community, could at no time stand
unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands
as a whole.

175 Malta remained sharply divided within itself by
178 class, district and education and the parallel differences
[184] of living standards between one section of society and
another were continued. But the later decades of the
[871] nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from
the economic plane, the beginnings of general education
which, during the present century, was to remove the
illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural
classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of
life and society outside the limits of the village.
[184] Improvements in transport and communication within the
[369] Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area
to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the
twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of
isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and
Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural
[621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been
a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little
contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages
in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the
forces indicated were beginning to modify the position
but it was not until the present century and particularly

178 [175] [511] [184] the years after 1939 that the cumulative effects of education, emancipation and communication were to produce a society very different from that which Maltese country folk had known for centuries (Section 1). It became different when the traditionally depressed sections of the community became restless and began to demand the improvements in their living standards which they came to believe should be theirs by right as well as need.

178 184 369 This is not to suggest that the present position of Maltese rural society is an 'end-product' of change. The opposite is true. The old and new exist side by side in agriculture and in the farming community of the Islands today. Some people, some places, and some features of life and work hold far more tenaciously to the old than do others where comparatively few years have seen considerable modifications of the traditional pattern.

175 458 464 511 By 1912, the Royal Commissioners were able to observe that the living standards of the labouring classes of Malta and Gozo compared well with those of other Mediterranean countries (B/186, p.25-6). "Building", they said. "is cheap and good and the country people are exceptionally well-housed". But, in their consideration of the economic state of the Islands as a whole, the Commissioners thought the picture much more gloomy. The depression which they found, though of only recent appearance, was being felt by the mass of the people, although "until the advent of the present depression, the condition of the people has been one of comparative comfort". To appreciate "The present distress, and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta.....it is necessary to recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former prosperity and employments, which depended to a large extent upon Imperial expenditure...." (B/186, p.12). Here did the Commissioners strike at the root of the problem which has grown to formidable proportions in the half-century since the report was made. They pointed to the position in which the economic structure of the country as a whole was based on the shifting sands of Imperial naval and military expenditure and in which the living standards of the Maltese population were therefore tied indirectly and directly to that Imperial expenditure. Moreover, within the Maltese population itself, it is not difficult to see that the first to be hit by a drop in Imperial expenditure (as happened between 1902 and 1911 and, again, in the post-1945 period) were and are the labouring and poorer classes generally lacking alternative employment in the Islands, in the event of their becoming redundant, and having often little or no capital reserves.

175 Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger
458 position than the townsman for he has had the land to which
464 he could return when no other work was available. Thus the
469 degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred
years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level
of prosperity in the Islands (Section 2).

178 The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be
241 related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the
464 higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural
pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold
[458] on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in
[554] some future period of major economic recession and
depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however
is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than
a minor part of the total population. As an economic
retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the
[554] problem goes further. The present younger generation in the
farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the
stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting
as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly.
Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who
might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The
estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of
reconciliation.

175 Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese
465 agriculture may be seen from that afore-mentioned index,
the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which
would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage
structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample
years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first
decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War,
a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average
labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is,
today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's
wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of
agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourer:

1826-42	6½d - 8d	(B/556, p.215)
1843-54	8d - 10d	"
1855-56	1s - 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d - 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d - 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s - 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s	(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s - 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s - 25s	(Personal Investigation)

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In a consideration of the standard of living of the Maltese population in general and of the farming section of it in particular during the present century it is seen that the two World Wars (1914-18 and 1939-45) saw tremendous upheavals in this aspect of Maltese life, as in so many others. In the case of the 1914-18 struggle "there is no doubt that the War first and principally and secondly the political events that have occurred since have completely altered and raised the standard of living of the working classes in Malta...." (B/130 - 1930, p.ix). A distinction is here infered between the working classes and the upper and professional or business classes whose previously higher standards were maintained unimpaired or even improved. The wage-rate index after the 1914-18 War gives only an intermittent picture as official statistics on wage rates in agriculture have been very limited. The Blue Books of the inter-War period observed that "No official information is available" regarding agricultural wages (B/165) but the Cost-of-Living investigations between 1943 and 1946 are little better for they are concerned almost exclusively with non-agricultural workers (B/213, 214, 217).

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It does emerge, however, that the 1914-18 War brought little change in Maltese living standards when compared with the effects of the 1939-45 War. In 1946 it was decided that "The war years have produced improvements in the standard of living and we may hope that the working class family will never revert to the pre-war standard" (B/217, para.5). Costs to the consumer of food, clothing and other items had doubled and trebled between 1939 and 1946 (B/217, Appendix I, II, IIA) but wages had also increased. In 1936 an average wage for labour in 'trade and manufacture' was put at an annual £82, or about 31/7d per week (B/165-1936, Section 23). Even by 1943 an average weekly wage for such workers had grown to £2.16s, plus an average 'other income' of a further 18/6d weekly. Against this was an average total weekly expenditure of £3.12.9d (B/213, Appendix R).

Farm work had shared in the increased wages. A 1936 estimate for agricultural labour put the weekly rate between 21/- and 24/- (B/165 - 1936, Section 23). The 1943 report quotes one farm labourer, among its sample 100 workers, as gaining a total of £2.16s per week, or the same as the average 'earned income' (without 'other income') of all the sample 100 workers (B/213, Appendix R, No.90).

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During the War years the farmer had been able to

162 The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom
9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as
735 a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the
511 whole population.

369 This pattern of comparatively low living standards in
rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the
problem with which this Section has been concerned. While
[178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in
the Islands the younger generation of the rural community
will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present
241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change
from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from
its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3).
The social background to this change is, however, no less
important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work,
thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little
removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of
commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and
illiterate sections of the farming community this question
of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any
efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be
seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and
Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to
Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta
the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate.
Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom
Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of
experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel
none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta
619 complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the
829 farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he
has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on
which he blames many of his economic and social problems.
In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear
distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities
and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is
allegiance to political parties very significant for person-
[648] ality is more important than party. Historically, this
attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the
tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign
British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid
hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two
and a half centuries in the Islands.

795 Another Malta-wide authority is the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the farmer than is 'Il-Gvern' for in the normal practice of his religion he leans directly on the local church and priests.

829 To the farmer 'Gvern' is synonomous with control. Illiteracy has, in the past, made it very difficult for him to view authority with anything but suspicion. This has not been made easier by incompetent and condescending elements within officialdom whose actions, if any, have confirmed the doubts of the small farmer striving to provide his family with a living despite the odds against him - of which 'Gvern' was one.

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654 Today the picture is changing. It is official policy to "encourage investment and to improve farming methods so as to raise the efficiency of the industry to a level where it can provide a decent livelihood for those engaged in it"[38].

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829 The farmers' reactions to efforts on his behalf are particularly important at this crucial stage in the progress of agriculture in the Islands. Essentially his outlook retains much of the traditional reserve and caution of the illiterate peasant, an attitude apparent also in two further contexts, the organization within farming itself (Unions, Co-Operatives, etc.), and the farmers' attitudes towards society in general and rural society in particular.

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156 The three aspects of the problem may be re-phrased as

(i) the farmer's attitudes to officialdom, espec- the Department of Agriculture, and 'Il-Gvern' generally,

(ii) his attitude towards other farmers and towards the industry as a whole,

(iii) his position as a member of a socially 'low' class within Malta.

[561] Within each of these the present gulf between the younger generation, with a degree of education and emancipation, and the older (including most of the Islands' full-time farmers) produces a further conflict of attitudes and aspirations.

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THE FARMER AND GOVERNMENT

Official interest in agricultural development has increased very rapidly during the present decade and now includes a wide variety of measures aimed at improving farming by financial support and investment. These have been outlined in Section 2. There has also been an attempt to educate the farmer in better suited techniques and to make him aware of improvements which, it is believed, will increase the profit from his farm or herd. The problem here is seen to be twofold:

TABLE 3

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Year	Purchased by M.M.U.		Surplus		Percentage cows' milk
1943-44	510,000	gallons			27
1948-49	776,000	"			
1950-51	1,298,000	"			35 (1951)
1952-53	1,795,000	"	99,000	gallons	44 (1951)
1954-55	2,390,000	"	275,000	"	48 (1955)
1956-57	3,542,000	"	391,000	"	57 (1956)

234 654 178 A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII (Section 6) shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production. [434] Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions (Section 2) but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

185 829 439 Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in time as far as the management of his farm is concerned so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this Section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricacies of the export market for Maltese agricul- 439 tural produce[42]. The fact that Maltese produce for export

439 suffers by being inadequately graded and packed does not concern him although the specialist working in Malta on marketing problems has stressed this as a primary weakness up to now (B/253). The farmer is further reluctant to
[178] change to the production of certain 'early' varieties of potato which would sell much more profitably on the overseas market than does the Arran Banner which has been the predominant variety in the Islands for several decades.

178 241 The argument returns, in fact, to the thesis put forward in a number of contexts in this report that the farmer is still thinking very much as a peasant subsistence producer although to outward appearances he has now become a fully commercial, cash-cropping farmer. This outlook, the product of illiteracy and confined experience, will have to be appreciated by those concerned with any kind of improvement and development in the Maltese agriculture. It is the younger, literate generation of the farming community who would be capable of education in these terms - if they stay in agriculture to be educated.

654 426 In the long run it would appear that the most satisfactory kind of financial help to farming is the loan at very low interest rate (Section 2). The basis of this was the Agriculture and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, No.11 of 1956, which authorized the loans for approved capital improvement projects at only 1% interest per annum. A major result of the loan system was that it made the farmer independent of money-lenders and money-lending middlemen. Previously many farmers had suffered near financial strangulation in the grip of these indivuals, particularly where they were operating under perpetual debt (v. Cases V and IX). A second great advantage of the loan is that the farmer is able to improve his farm and farming and at the same time preserve that independence of operation so dear to him. Many of the subsidies on seeds, rations, etc. have forced him to use his money in a certain way. He much prefers if possible to have the money and spend it as he chooses on machinery, livestock and fodder, buildings, cisterns, irrigation equipment, land reclamation, and repayment of previous debts, etc.

654 426 454 One disturbing feature of the loans is, however, that they are putting a lot of money into the hands of the farmer without necessarily ensuring that it is spent to the best advantage of agriculture or to the farmer himself in a long term view. For example much of the money loaned has been put towards the purchase of livestock and accommodation for animals in order to increase milk production, while the present regime of guaranteed milk price remains. To this extent the loans have helped the

000 matter.

474 While the farmer does not favour the co-operative
442 movement at present he is generally disatisfied also with
the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits
829 being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and trans-
178 porter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

208 The Government plan to centralize marketing on the
654 one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the
selling of produce on the other will not succeed without
474 a great deal of patient education of the farmer supple-
44 mented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and Co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

464 In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of
184 the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University
team stressed the crucial position of the younger gener-
178 ation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

464 184 178 lacking any education at all they took up farming as their natural calling" (B/387, p.9), but their sons are faced with a choice both between occupations and ways of life. Their education is enabling them to compete with other sections of society for industrial and other non-agricultural employment while their emancipation, in terms of access to the world outside the village, is leading them to think of escape from the lowly social status of their fathers. They have been brought up to appreciate the insecurity of farming with its inadequate and fluctuating income and have seen the technical limitations and the hard and monotonous schedule of work with which their fathers have had to contend in order to provide even the most frugal living standards for their families. In very many cases the younger generation have been actively discouraged by their elders from contemplating farming as a livelihood. Within society as a whole they see farming as something of a low 'caste' and one example of this is the opposition faced by many a young farmer if he wishes to marry into a non-farming family.

The importance of this revolt on the part of the younger generation is clear when one considers the topic of this Section. The current policy is to change the pattern of farming in the Islands and to raise the standards of living of the farmers by the variety of methods mentioned and these are, quite naturally, being aimed primarily at the present farmers, that is to say the older generation. But the future of farming depends on the future farmers who are, it would appear, leaving or have already left the industry. Many of them do not plan to stay in farming longer than the time necessary to find another occupation and they are consequently not concerned with loans, subsidies, lectures, and the work of the advisory service. The farming which they are anxious to leave will, it is hoped, change rapidly in response to the measure outlined. But, even if only a few years are needed to show substantial results and a better kind of farming is evolved, the younger generations may not be there to take over. Many of them will have emigrated from the Islands altogether and others will have left the villages for all manner of employment in the towns.

654 829 The official aid to farming policy may fail, one fears, on two accounts:

(i) The measures designed to assist the farmer and farming have not yet been as successful as was hoped because of the difficulties of having rapid and far-reaching changes accepted by a suspicious, conservative and largely illiterate body of farmers,

654 829 464 178 (ii) The younger generation are not interested in improving farming; they scarcely stop to think that any changes in the industry might be possible in their present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk of life. Thus they will probably not be available to take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise, from their fathers.

SECTION 5 : Conclusions.

369 In conclusion one may attempt to draw together the several general points raised in the previous four Sections. The most important of these may be listed as follows:

(1) The twentieth century is witnessing an accelerating process of the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo (Section 1). This comprises

- (a) material change (the development of electricity, roads, sewage, transport, and a variety of other amenities),
- (b) cultural change following general, elementary education - that is literacy, 'emancipation' and the emergence of a critical public awareness,
- [565] [793] (c) social and economic changes which have laid the foundations of a rural middle class, unknown in the traditional village scene. Along with this have come modifications in the pivotal rôle of the Parish Priest and other priests. Some of their traditional functions, notably teaching and caring for the sick, have been taken over by specialists in such fields.

369 829 The factors outlined under (a), (b), and (c) are tending to extend the horizon of the individual villager far beyond the limits of his own village. Whereas he used to work and think within his family and village he is now aware of Malta and beyond.

241 464 178 (2) The particular physical limitations on farming in the Islands have, in the past, made the industry dependent to a very considerable extent on the meticulous hand-labour of the industrious Maltese farmer. This has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance, and even construction, of the fields and terraces themselves (Section 2). The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involved. They have benefited from general elementary education, literacy, and contact with the world outside the villages to the extent of demanding work which seems to them economically and socially rewarding. The past twenty-five years have seen a rapid decline in the number of full-time farmers and farm-workers. Today the farmer, in most cases no longer assisted by his sons, finds hired labour both scarce and costly (Section 2).

178 (3) On account of those same physical limitations
241 mechanization of field-work cannot be expected to solve all
407 labour problems in Maltese agriculture. An initial, over-optimistic emphasis on large tractors and other heavy mach-
464 inery has given way to a rapid increase in the number and
popularity of the small rotary-cultivators. But even this cannot be expected to displace completely the wooden plow and hand implement working (Section 2).

However, mechanized farm implements, particularly the small, manoeuvrable rotary-cultivator type of hand tractor, have enabled a reduced number of farmers to work their fields more intensively, and, in some cases, to increase the area worked by a single individual.

The neglect of those aspects of farming where manual work is dominant and necessary have, nevertheless, accompanied this change with the bizarre result that intensification of effort and neglect are proceeding simultaneously (B/336).

178 (4) A basic factor in the present situation, in which
434 the young farmer is retreating from farming, has been the
emergence of a demand for money income (Section 3). The traditional pattern of peasant, subsistence farming in which the main object was the support of the farmer and his family has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook in farming. The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with which he can

(a) purchase those items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (clothing, bread etc., etc.),

(b) purchase items which have recently become part of his regular demands and for which money is a sine qua non (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.),

433 Food, as an item of family expenditure, nowadays figures
511 especially prominantly

(a) where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, to fodder,

(b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element of the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market prospects.

178 But of greater significance in the long-term view is the
434 fact that these new demands for monetary gain are a particu-
larly prominent feature among the present younger generation of the farming community. For them a substantially increased income is synonomous with social and economic betterment. Since they do not envisage such an increased income coming from farming they are all the more anxious to leave the

178 industry in search of it.

434 (5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the [511] fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture(Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

511 Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

[461] (a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

[454] (c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

829 (6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a 157 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same [178] time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, to Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

829 157 a policy of long term assurances for agriculture" (B/387, p.39). He claims that the Government "ought" to guarantee his prices, his markets, and "ought" to find the foreign export markets, and provide machinery, subsidies, etc. He also insists, incongruously, that farmers' needs could well be served by a strong and well-organized Union of Farmers and yet, in the next breath, he will reject outright any suggestions that he, individually, might take a prominent part in such a movement. The nature of this attitude emerges clearly from the collection of complaints and comments, made by farmers to Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team (B/387). On the one hand, the farmer demands Government support for farming but, on the other hand, he speaks even of his fellow farmers as "they". Conservative, cautious and usually illiterate, he is quick to speak but slow to act (v. Section 4).

829 The new awareness of horizons outside the village is consequently limited in extent and confined in nature. The farmer's son, however, with his education and emancipation and his ideas of social and economic emulation, has a clearer vision of the illogicality of his father's situation but is not yet sufficiently mentally liberated from the past to see for himself any right course of action.

554 367 (7) As a class, the farmer is low on the social scale. This arises partly from his illiteracy and the features outlined in (6) and is partly also the outcome of a tradition of wealth and education being confined to the cities and
[177] towns. Wealth and culture came easily to the urban section of Maltese society and both implied foreign contacts on a large scale. Meanwhile the Maltese farmer toiling in his fields remained cut off socially as well as economically.

•178 554 Today this felt inferiority puts him

(a) in a weak position for bargaining with Government and 'officials' and business men fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education,

(b) - if young and literate, in the position of being anxious to escape from his lowly class by leaving the village and farming as opportunity presents itself (v. Section 4).

654 178 (8) Official policy has been to assist farming in the Islands by means of a variety of subsidies and guarantees designed to protect the farmer from unfavourable competition and fluctuations in market demand (Sections 2 and 4). The industry has, in the past, received such attention only in time of siege of widespread unemployment. The basic intention today is therefore

[135] (a) to enable Malta's only basic industry - agriculture - to develop under protection for it is held that "In an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2).

654 (b) to encourage the members of the farming community to remain in their villages and in the industry.

(9) Following the official policy, outlined under (8)
654 particularly that relating to dairying in the Islands, and
234 the limited and short-sighted outlook of the average Maltese farmer (v.6), an irrational emphasis on milk production has emerged in recent years (v. Section 4). The dairy industry has grown to unprecedented size in the Islands and many herdsmen have seized eagerly upon the guaranteed price for milk sold to the M.M.U. as a source of a steady income. The fact that the dairy industry as a whole is over-producing and the continuation of the present conditions depend on a virtual Government subsidy does not deter them from concentrating all efforts into milk production to the neglect of other aspects of farming.

654 (10) The official policy, outlined in (8) and (9), seems
178 likely to fail or to come near to failure on two main accounts (Section 4):

(a) the difficulties facing current attempts to pursuade the farmer to accept new schemes, crops, equipment, methods, etc., and arising from
   (i) the outlook and attitudes of the farmer as discussed in (6),
   (ii) the use of unsuitable means of propaganda by the Advisory Service and others at present attempting to pursuade the farmer to accept new ideas and methods which would bring him cheaper working, a better profit and, thereby, contentment.

[208]

(b) the fact that the policy, outlined in (9), is directed, naturally enough, at the present farmers. This generation, however, illiterate and conservative, and with an average age in the late fifties, is, in the long-term view, the wrong one.
   The present younger generation in the farming community, whose literacy and awareness of the world beyond the village make them educable and more responsive to new ideas, are the individuals towards whom official effort should be directed if Maltese agriculture is not to be lost by default. Nothing, however, included in official policy (up to December, 1959), is aimed at them (there is nothing resembling a young farmers' club in the Islands and no institute or college where agriculture can be studied).

241 The younger generation is in fact, on account of the
178 whole complex of technical, economic and social reason (the strenuous work, the insecurity and the low social status involved) discussed in the four previous Sections, anxious to escape from farming as fast as opportunity to do so emerges.

The problem is clear, and its solution one of action.

*159 useless in my district" but Pawlu, who has at all times in
156 his life been conscious of education and a knowledge of
234 things outside his village, is prepared to consider sugges-
232 tions on their merits. This attitude pervades the working of his farm as a unit and has had important repercussions within his family. (v. Section 4).

*159 In spite of his own lack of advanced formal education,
156 Pawlu has in fact an awareness of its importance which is
829 still uncommon in rural Gozo. He is constantly stressing the need for education in its widest sense, both general and technical. He is anxious for his children to be educated to a standard far above his own, while, in the wider scene, he recognizes the importance of education for the farmer and farming. His attitude to the course of lectures for farmers (Section 4) is typical of the man. He observed that "attendances at the lectures have been big because the farmers are interested - they wouldn't go if they were not". The ideas put forward by the experts are weighed by the farmer and, if considered 'good ideas', are discussed at length in the villages or at the It-Tokk market on Sunday mornings. These lecture courses for farmers, and others like them such as the important McClement demonstrations and lectures on dairying technique (Section 4), fail for Pawlu in so far as they do not lead to individual contact between specialist and farmer. No farmer would dream of making comment or criticising 'officialdom' - with which he naturally associates ventures like those of Haesler and McClement[50]. "The Maltese back down much more easily than do the English in their relations with the authorities. In England you might complain to a Government Department and there would be argument for a day but in Malta such a complaint would mean petty victimization for years". The farmer blames "clerical inefficiency" in Valletta for what he considers has been the failure to follow up the McClement or other recommendations but no farmer would seriously consider complaining in person to officialdom. They just argue and become increasingly bitter with their lot.

*

Farming

for Pawlu means independence. He complains of the
159 inferior social position which the farmer holds in Maltese
178 society today and observes that the present generation of
829 young people demand the means to enable them to equal the
[554] people of the towns in appearance, leisure and other superficialities. The old farmer with little formal education is not troubled by these notions. His life is the only one he can comprehend - apart from which his daily round leaves
[464] him little time to think. The youngster, on the other hand, is desperate for an eight-hour job with steady income and leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

Pawlu admits nevertheless that much of the inferior condition of the farmer derives from his inability to unite with other farmers (Section 4). Illiteracy, ignorance and suspicion are the major causes of his fear. Only a few farmers are members of either of the two opposing Unions of Farmers while the situation regarding co-operatives is equally unpromising. Pawlu himself became one of the organisers of a special 'Tractor Co-Operative', initiated by C.A.R.E. at the end of 1958 (Section 2) for a group of farmers in his home village. The members paid £2 each on joining the co-operative and were thereafter able to hire one of the two tractors donated by C.A.R.E. at only 10/- per hour instead of the commercial 17s. The fact that Pawlu himself was among the organizers of such a novel venture reflects his progressive outlook, and his standing in the village.

*159 156 829 Politics interest Pawlu, to a more than average degree His concern is based on an informed intelligence. A supporter of the Labour Party, he considers the Nationalists as holding the masses in contempt and he points to their emphasis on the Italian language and the non-Maltese culture which it represented as evidence. He reads the local Maltese-language press but is sufficiently independent of mind to have cancelled his subscription to the 'Lehen is-Sewwa' (B/65) at the time of the 'Integration' referendum on the grounds that neither the Church nor the Paper would publish an 'official' statement on the attitude of the Church. Yet his religious devotion is without question and he has a respected place in Church and village life.

*159 156 829 593 [555] [167] **The Family.** Pawlu lives with his wife and six of his children. His eldest son and daughter are both working as teachers in Malta. Another daughter has emigrated.

Pawlu's wife speaks only Maltese and had as little formal education as her husband, but she has at all times nothing but encouragement for her family in their education In this case there is not the usual gulf in outlook between parents and children on account of the education of the latter - for the parents fully realize the need. Pawlu's wife used to work in the fields when young but now spends [462] her time in the house. Certain jobs remain her special concern however, notably cheese-making, care of lambs and chicks and egg-collection.

*159 156 178 593 [895] The eldest son, now working as a teacher, is one of the young 'intellectuals' who are currently making an appearance in Gozo. The ties of family and respect between him and his father are strong but he is out of touch with the

*159 farm and ignorant of many details of its history and operation.
156 He is "never likely to soil his hands with farming".
●178 He is moving away from farming and from the cultural
593 and social life of his village. He apologises for
the efforts of the villagers when they attempt to produce a play, he dismisses nick-names as "old-fashioned", and he decries the limitations on activity in his native Island (no dancing or bright lights). Yet he is still enough attached to Gozo to want to introduce changes to it and to make it more like the place his education has made him want to live in. He is typical of one important and growing element in the younger generation of rural Malta and Gozo. In his teens he used to help his father in the fields and took milk to the collection depot, but this stopped as soon as he found a full-time alternative occupation.

*159 Pawlu's eldest daughter, also a teacher, has left
156 farm-work far behind. For her this was never more than
593 casual assistance with vegetable picking and lifting during
holidays from school. It is not likely that she will be
46 a farmer's wife.

87 Pawlu's second daughter left school at twelve and
divided her time between house and field work until her marriage in her late teens. She was acknowledged as her father's main assistant with the animals.

Two daughters in their middle teens are academically inclined to the extent of staying at school as long as possible and speaking four languages. Both still do incidental farm work when not occupied with studies. Both would be probable 'sixth-form' and university candidates were there any liklihood of financial backing. Their education, especially in English language and culture, is giving them - and many others like them - an advancement which is not matched by opportunity. They are learning in an educational cul-de-sac.

A son in his middle teens works full-time in the fields with his father, having left school at twelve, while two more boys are still of compulsory school age and give their father only casual assistance with feeding the smaller animals out of school hours. A little girl of some ten years makes no economic contribution to the farm.

*159 The major feature to emerge from the above consider-
46 ation is that the bulk of the work of the farm, and the
full-time responsibility for all jobs, rests with Pawlu alone. The son who is old enough to deputise for his father has left farming: the only full-time help comes from a younger boy who may himself decide to follow his brother in a few years. Now Pawlu complains that "Labour is the main trouble if the farmer cannot cope with all the

*159 512 794 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his 592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they ●178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to *159 offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 423 427 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

A. Land.

[311]
- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 423 311 **B. Utilisation.**

	1956	1957	1958
House	¼	¼	¼
Vines	¼	¼	¼
Prickly pear	¼	¼	¼
Fodders	8¼	10¼	14⅜
Vegetables	8⅜	6¼	2⅜
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 231 **C. Livestock.** (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 491 [427] [456] **D. Capital.**

- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 433 [434] **F. Production and Sales.**

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
[246] to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
(he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
241 for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
433 the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
434 from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
[427] cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
[241] whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
[433] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
438 great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
443 paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

x
159 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
511 extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
829 yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
178 one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation.
In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following
in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is difficult
to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
241 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
•178 the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the
present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding
and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and
thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being
made available by the Government for farm development and of
"working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and
desserts for the children".

His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
*159 the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
362 £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
[427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a
new house and include near it accommodation for his animals.
For his large family of wife and eight children the house,
though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife
enable the family to carry on under limitations of both
home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer
to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
54 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
461 distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife
observes "these things are not missed by the people" who
have had little experience of them. She notes that in
Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the
bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family
and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can himself
operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
464 animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
654 when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution,
he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to
acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan)
because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked
with his present labour force. A larger area would mean
more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the
milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be
increased along with the provision of extra accommodation
(also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is
that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale
through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits
here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

244 *159 46] 465 available", and normally delegates most of the work to a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.

*159 43 [451] His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a 'cost'.

*159 511 178 Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

*159 461 Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

*159 178 234 His father was a labourer with the Services and had only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen and then gradually built up his own herd to its present size, particularly in the past few years when, in common with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his family) are actively discouraging the children from planning to follow their father. Their main objection to herding appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields you never go back...."

*159 423

CASE IV : Summary.

(A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. **Land.**

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

*159 452 off until mid-November but, in the intervening two and a half months, the purchase of fodder had been continued and the debt maintained. In that September he himself put his debt at £60 and said that at the previous Christmas (1956) it had been £100. Thus a debt of £60 in the flush milk season of highest total receipts from the M.M.U. would appear to be the best financial position he could achieve. Removal of the guaranteed milk price to the producer could result only in ruin for this herdsman and the many in the Islands like him.

*159 829 In spite of his own poverty Anġlu maintains that he is fully aware of the artificial economic picture of which the guaranteed price is a part. In the same breath however he complains that he could sell his milk for more than the M.M.U. gives him in the short season. Here he overlooks the obvious outcome of a removal of the guarantee during the annual glut.

*159 178 291 511 His financial hardships make it impossible for him to hire labour or to invest in any capital improvements to the farm or herd. Neither does it enable him to support his family as he aspires. This is especially evident in the case of clothing because the family lives in an urban area and therefore strives to appear as well dressed as their non-farming neighbours. Anġlu observes that there has been a change both in the types of clothing worn and in the occasions on which they are worn. He speaks of a Doctor of the district who used to go barefoot in the streets carrying a pair of shoes to put on before entering a house or Church. Nowadays, by contrast, children attend school with shoes and are generally well turned out. This is particularly true of an urban area, where Anġlu's children go to school and where his teenage children go to work - a son as an apprentice carpenter, one daughter as a shop assistant and another as a factory worker. None of his children is likely to contemplate farming as a way of life and means of earning a living, for, in their father's case they can see an extreme example of the problem facing many farmers throughout the Islands today, that is a man unable to make a living wage for himself and his family from a farm limited in possibilities by external factors and dependant on a guarantee which could be removed at a general election.

*159 427

CASE V : Summary.

(A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer)

A. Land.

Rents and grazes 1 tomna of wasteland.
Rents and works as a domestic garden 1 tomna of dry land, in the Urban area.

159 The family has occupied the present house for several
423 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
551 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the
village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
461 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
234 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially
to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
829 his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
544 He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public
234 lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He
178 thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique
interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese
farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which
cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods".
He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to
the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time
and labour thus expended would bring no additional return
to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he
employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and
therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases
some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures)
would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427] All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

CASE VII : Wenzu (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

* 159 234 Like Case VI, Wenzu has been a goat herder and is now anxious to concentrate on dairy cows. At present he holds 4 Friesians, belonging to himself and his sons, but he wants to import Ayrshires. This cow, says Wenzu, is better suited to Maltese conditions, needing less feed than the Friesian and standing up better to long periods of confinement in cramped stalls. 656 Wenzu became interested in cows when the Government forbade the selling of raw goats' milk in Valletta. For a time thereafter he sold bottled milk in the capital and then returned to selling raw goats' milk in still unclosed areas such as nearby Cospicua until that too came to an end with the evacuation in 1940. After the War he went back to cows' milk production and sold his output to the M.M.U. 654 He acquired the Friesians through an exchange for inferior quality and diseased goats organized by the Government (one cow for 13 goats). At present, he says, cows' milk production is the more profitable ("Six cows will support a small family") but that this would not be so were it possible to give goats good grazing land at low cost. He reckons that good grazing saves 15/- per day on the fodder bill.

* 159 829 ● 178 232 242 Wenzu's Case illustrates an important feature of the study of a predominantly illiterate section of society. This is the prominence of personality in the thoughts and actions of the individual. Unable to read and suspicious of what he may hear over Rediffusion, Wenzu relies on personal contact to a very considerable degree. This is clear from a brief survey of his life. He speaks nowadays of a certain Dr. MacFarlane whose veterinary skill and advice impressed him and who originally recommended him to keep Ayrshires. To listen to Wenzu talking of this "Scots Doctor" one gathers that Wenzu last spoke with him quite recently. In fact, however, Dr. A.M. MacFarlane was Superintendent Veterinary Surgeon in Malta some half a century ago! A Mr. Hurst gave him advice on bulls some 25 years ago while, much more recently, Mr. Ebejer Slythe of the Department of Agriculture gave him much valued information on lucerne as a fodder and, latest of all, Dr. Godfrey Alton, the veterinary expert, has become something of a help for the injections he has arranged. Evidently, therefore, any improvements in Maltese farming have a greater chance of success if this element of personal contact - particularly in the cases of illiterate farmers - can be established. One man who will argue with one farmer for a morning on a single topic stands a greater chance of general success than has the big public lecture or even the practical demonstration.

*
159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
[246] lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

*
159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

427
- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

*
159 **B. Utilisation.**

241
- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

*
159
231
234
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

*
159 **D. Capital.**

[454]
- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434]
[234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

*
G. Husbandry.

159 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is
231 said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

[427]
- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jun. to Aug.

[311]
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly 2 tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

[435]
[434]
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

*
H. General.

159
156
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

* K. General.

159 472 451 (i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndicate is not typical of Maltese farming systems. The partnership seems to derive historically from a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

*159 472 451 181 (ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organisation one may use this case-study as illustrating the practises and modes of thought of the most highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

- Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does no seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.
- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.
- *159 433 181 242 Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these are attained by the careful application of proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.
- *159 181 232 242 In spite of the fact that the syndicate's capital reserves and their practical abilities are considerable, the physical environment dominates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these there is a great mental gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

*159 472 464

CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.)

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

* 159 178 234 Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows' milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

159 178 234 substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however, show no inclination to stay in farming.

* 159 232 829 234 A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

* 159 234 231 In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Ingliżi type. As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Ingliżi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

* 159 234 433 [246] Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?"). The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

* 159 434 426 Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

*159 178 829 [454] Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming", although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

*159 423 (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows'milk production.)

A. Land.

[429] Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

*159 241

B. Utilisation.

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

*159 231

C. Livestock.

Shifting emphasis in recent years.

- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957: 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- Pigs 8.

*159 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġemri); (ii) the Friday
262 Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable
to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts.
785 These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of
Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain
occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The
emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary
and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of
permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between
the frugal meals.

*159 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in
262 Ġemri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his
264 wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school
time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of
bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or
so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields
Ġemri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs,
olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked
meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls.
Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks,
and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least
one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature
and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (espe-
cially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields).
[261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted.
Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the
boys occasionally" (Ġemri).

●198 The proportion of food purchased is now much greater
291 than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same
443 is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably
[432] both in style and variety since Ġemri's father was a young
[294] farmer when half the people in the village had looms and
many had spinning wheels to produce cotton garments for the
family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the
farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a
thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally
produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army
surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and
wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have
been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of
army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and
the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday
markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in
both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 With the increasing contact between town and country
369 the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief
178 leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no
longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like
townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

[P.117]

This increase in the

178 291 [511] range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of his children, both the infants and those attending school. [871] [702] The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been their practice before.

* Work and Labour

159 241 461 464] As seen, Ġamri's normal labour force consists of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit......	1740	man/hours
	- vines......	489	" "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437	" "
	- potatoes...	868	" "
	- other vegetables...	505	" "
(ii) on Ġamri's own holding	- vines....	444	" "
	- cereals & fodders..	222	" "
	- vegetables	65	
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage.................		160	" "
(d) Building of pig-sties..................		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous..........................		677	" "
		6816	man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analyzed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġamri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

OOO In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

*159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in contrast
231 to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

Ġamri and farming

*159 Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time conditions
[454] the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[729] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
[434] guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri himself,
*159 make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
181 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he believes
that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
181 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

*159 829 181 178 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.

Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

*159 423 427 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production.)
(Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

A. Land.

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9	tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9	"
Potatoes	6.2	"
Other vegetables	4.9	"
Fallow or unproductive or let 'bin-nofs'.	12.6	"
	62.5	tmien

*159 231 C. Livestock.

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

*159 423 454 D. Capital.

(i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.
(ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.
(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.

*159 407 427 (iv) - Equipment:
- Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
- Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding, Ġ

*159 241 for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna. Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c.½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

*159 [472] [423] [464] ●[178] [435] [451] [461] [157]

H. General.

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows G to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- G therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.
- G has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, G could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (beghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464 Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargha baghli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the
corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-
[406] house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-
driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
[343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils
tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
241 interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
433 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
434 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to culti-
829 vate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
[464] to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at
least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to
qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however
content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the
lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the
most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative
(Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first
suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having
the money than letting the Government get it. This belief
that the Government is behind everything is characteristic
(Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organiza-
tion distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
●178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility of achieving anything above low living standards.
Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet
clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case
among many of his generation and it may be that he will have
difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily
of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and
new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young
men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
[654] to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture to the full but it has done comparatively little for
the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at
least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to
stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

000 was taken for granted.
*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XII : Čenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

*159 Čenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
554 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra income
[463] which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Čenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation
to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
241 to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
[451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Ħalib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
●178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing
number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[794] the towns. Cenzu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 427 **A. Land.**

33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
  4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 231 234 **C. Livestock.**

Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 [423] [454] [407] **D. Capital.**

- No freehold land. Owns large village house.
- No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 464 [465] **E. Labour.**

- Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
  Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
  Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
- [422] [241] [407] Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

*159 433 451 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

- *159 134 241 some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
- deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melħ" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorċa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 157 626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159 241 434 An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 178 46 [159] Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic [369] feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agri- [162] culture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely
residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] Case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his
sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this
type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no
importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the
fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election
times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and
his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance.
He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily
- because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging
the younger farming generation from staying on the land and
struggling against rising costs to sell products which are
but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present
Government policy of assistance by both financial support in
various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods
and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieħa Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] - Soils: 1-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.

[241]
- Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.

459
422
423
- No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
- Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.

464
[465]
- Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 241 829 of these problems is without solution and he puts a great part of the blame on the Maltese farmer himself who is prevented says Ġ by his illiteracy and suspicion from uniting and from seeking to improve his own farming. He maintains that it is possible to make money in farming today in the Islands, but only with the right methods, ideas and facilities. This is where he himself comes in, for he believes his ideas on mechanization are the answer, leading to the elimination of hand labour as far as possible. He insists that a profitable farm must be a workable unit, that is a large patch of twenty, forty or more tmien capable of being worked by mechanical implements. Moreover, he insists that the farmer should, where possible, sell his own produce to the consumer in order to evade the 'middle-men' and thereby make a greater profit.

Ġanni himself talks vaguely of acquiring such a farm, although to date his contract-plowing has absorbed all his profit-making energies.

Ġanni's view of the farmer in Malta.

He lays a great deal of the blame for the present agricultural difficulties at the door of the farmers themselves. His view of his fellow farmers and villagers approaches cynicism: "The farmer's illiteracy prevents him from admitting that anything could be better than that which he knows. It also prevents him from trusting other farmers and prevents him from realizing the folly of putting bad-weight with produce for export. The young people who are far from illiterate and will listen to reason are not staying on the land long enough for this to be of lasting benefit to agriculture". He observes that the farmer is keen for a sure profit but not at all anxious to plunge his often considerable capital into
[178] a new venture such as buying a tractor. In fact he will not accept any new method or crop before he sees it a working success - preferably in a field near his own. This applied particularly to the 'outlandish' ideas on deep-plowing which Ġanni brought back from Australia. His fellow villagers regarded his 16" mould-board, three-furrow plows with great suspicion, and his ideas on potato-ridging, combine-harvesting and threshing met with no more approval initially.

[454] Ġanni insists that the farmer's saving is merely "an aimless accumulation of money: a man may look poor in dress and have £1000 tucked away". He says of an old lady in a nearby lonely house "She wears no shoes and has never been to Valletta but will die leaving thousands".

181 241 829 This conservatism and reluctance on the part of the illiterate farmer emerges, therefore, as a major difficulty in the way of improvement and modification. It is one which tends to be overlooked by well-meaning experts and officials who forget that, unlike themselves, the farmer is unable to

*159 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people
156 around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as
well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social
461 life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is
626 most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on
517 speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids
his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on
493 the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he
to plow on Sundays or fests days he would be "publically
ostracised and no villager would hire him and his plow".
His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at
high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than
farming".

*159 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical.
156 He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of
593 illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son
argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending
to assume that his education and wider experience entitles
him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments.
Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough
for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite
the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his
father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself
doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data')
156 system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni.
[583] He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle
without the older people of the village criticising him for
not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate
of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the
ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs
which his education and his knowledge of the world outside
the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he
is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs,
he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close
● [178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the
new methods and implements which he has brought to the
village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are
a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father
472 works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their
407 joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention.
Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago
and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta.
000 They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

*159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
472 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
407 contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
477 contractors like him going out of business in the near future.

CASE XIX

This farmer (working 35 tmien, including seven irrigable)
was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He
[178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of
the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule
or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years.
Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for
the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture
despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

x
159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
407 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they them-
241 selves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor
434 he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his
income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-
plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the
[178] area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by
local vintners).

CASE XXI

*159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
256 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
241 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
407 the sole such operator in his village and business grew. How-
ever in the present decade competition from new tractor oper-
472 ators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing
season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted
[477] him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted
all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are
still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

x
159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
441 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
472 these were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was intro-
407 duced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
[191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo,
especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary
cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led
to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing
tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island
some three or four are normally unused in the season. This
agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of
Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957
plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce
new implements. His father was the first to import motor
pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultiva-
tor in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of har-
vesting machines, but the very limited success of the first
ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any
more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for
mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a
lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be
collected for animal fodder.

[P. 141]

159 554 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. [871] This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14).

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 871 829 [014] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command [illegible]

000 can command.

226 463 654 178 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture, that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 103 621 361 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fishermen live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi. Socially this residential distribution is important since only in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 226 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is [484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only [443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of [512] their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 463 554 511 162 As a class the fishermen and their families are economically lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same basis, and the average for the total population was lower still at 8.2%.

226 463 554 178 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on the social scale. This, together with the generally depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite the present official financial assistance, is producing exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor the way of life based on it.

113 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in
195 Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the object of both propaganda and admiration.

191 As to language, it is clear the War finally killed the
197 greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confir-
177 med English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It
178 had been a language of government for more than a century but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under the Order and had maintained its position during British nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not replace Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since been a considerable increase in the number of books and periodicals appearing in the language, along with general education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese public. Over the same period the use of Italian has declined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the Church and the professional classes) and the demand for English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of
[204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for 1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920, p.333), 1933-34 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 - 1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English..............	1	1	2	2
Italian..............	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese..............	-	-	2	2

197 Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary
214 language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese
[212] themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly, or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this, it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant section of the population, generally the professional and business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write only one or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language dictionaries and works of a philological or etymological nature are obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistics

197 214 of Maltese, with its semitic sub-strata and immense Italian and other European accretions, have attracted much attention among students of comparative linguistics abroad.

The circulation of the Maltese daily "Il-Berqa" (B/55) reflects the position in the Islands, being limited to the working and rural classes. Many periodicals of a religious or occupational nature, or those produced by some towns and villages, now appear in Maltese; others are bi-lingual. [191] [198] But a knowledge of English is now so widespread among the younger generation that one would expect it to consolidate its growing importance as the language of government, education and culture, with the use of written Maltese declining relatively - though growing in absolute terms with the extension of literacy.

197 538 113 [217] Maltese language fiction and poetry exists today along with a great deal of religious writing. The present bibliography makes no attempt to cover this field although several of the Maltese writers concerned do appear in the general list (Part 8), while the principal store-houses of Maltese literature, the Royal Malta Library (B/16) and the Royal University (B/17), and others, are mentioned in Part 1. Neither is any systematic coverage attempted of the wealth of material concerning the Knights Hospitallers and their sojourn in Malta though some of the principal sources are included in Parts 2 and 8.

113 Maps, plans and charts of the Islands are not included. Many of the collections listed in Part 1 contain such items (B/1, 5, 6, 16, etc.), the Naval and Military authorities in the Islands have made surveys, maps and charts as required, while many private individuals have added to the list. Reference to the official 2" to one mile map (Geographical Section, General Staff, No.3859, War Office, 3rd Edition - 1953) is recommended at all points in the present volume. Sheet 1 covers Gozo and Comino and Sheet 2 Malta. For Malta, more detailed coverage is provided by the 6" (G.S.G.S., No.3852) and the 25" to the mile (G.S.G.S., No.3752) maps. A valuable land-use survey in Malta (1955) and Gozo (1957) have provided the Islands' first detailed coverage of this nature (B/5, 336, 337). Also valuable is the indexed and comprehensive 'Malta Street Guide' (B/489).

The bibliography which follows attempts only a very basic classification into eight sections

Part 1... List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands (B/1 - 17),

Part 2... List of some bibliographies on Maltese subjects (B/18 - 52),

Part 3... Sample list of some newspapers, periodicals and journals (B/53 - 85),

Part 4... Some almanacs, directories and year books (B/86 - 98),

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

NOWHERE has the legacy of antiquity so binding a force in the practice of to-day, nowhere is the saying "our forefathers did so" accepted as a sufficing and imperative reason for following, in most cases blindly, in the ancestral groove as in Malta, where the long memories of the ages stir darkly in the popular mind, and the associations of many centuries have accumulated, as it were, stratum above stratum, upon the soil.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, Normans, Germans, French, Spaniards, Aragonese & Knights of St. John have all been here, some for a short and some for a longer time, and they have nearly all left more or less their footprints on this Island and contributed their quota to the manners of the people.

The Maltese are as tenacious of the old usages and diversions, handed down to them from time immemorial, as any other people in the world. Although usage survives, motive, in most cases is forgotten, and as we will further observe the ideas of the older mythologies are sometimes altered to meet the exigencies of the new Creed.

796 offered during the year, for the purpose
794 either of decorating or repairing the
778 church or churches of the parish to
431 which they belong.
354

It is also customary for every parish priest—on this special day, or on the day following—to present both the Bishop and the Governor of the Island with a
[643] two lb. candle. It is to be observed, however, that the candle given to the Governor is only a blessed one when he happens to profess the Roman Catholic Religion.

• 178 This giving of candles to both the
796 Bishop and the Governor—a continuation
354 793 of a custom that prevailed in the
431 time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, when the Grand Master was annually presented with a blessed candle on this day—is meant as a token of respect to each of the highest Ecclesiastical and Civil dignitaries of the Island.

443 St. Anna, which are celebrated on the
527 24th, 25th, and 26th of July. These
[796] fairs, however, which were once very
● [178] popular, have now sunk into insignificance and most likely will before long entirely disappear.

443 Fairs have long been regularly held
171 in most parts of Europe and Asia, and they appear to have originated in the Church festivals, which were found to afford convenient opportunities for commercial transactions. The concourse of people being then so such greater than on other occasions.

USAGES

175 The ancient Maltese formerly kept
562 their wives in the strictest retirement. They held the opinion that women should never appear but twice in public,

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P.101]
[PP. 1-100 not processed]

VI

THE OLD THINGS

> "Little or no distinction can be drawn between classic Myth and popular Fairy-tale: Myth was obviously once Fairy-tale, and what is often supposed to be mere Fairy-tale proves in many instances to be unsuspected Theology."—HAROLD BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

". . . But what made the People of the Hills go away?" Una asked. "Different things . . ." said Puck. "Most of them were foreigners who couldn't stand our climate. The fact is they began as Gods. The Phoenicians brought some . . . and the Gauls and the Jutes and the Danes and the Frisians and the Angles."[1]

It was not quite fair of Puck to talk of the Old Things as "foreigners." They have no nation. They belong to all nations. Puck himself is the "Mikum-Wess" of the American Indians, Pan of the Greeks, Krishna of the Hindus. The stories that men tell of him, the clothes he wears, the language he talks, may differ, but he is still Puck. He only seems a native.

As with comparative religion, so is it with folklore. All returns, full circle, to a point where pagan faiths, myths, customs, are rooted in some Age of Beginnings when Man was a frightened, groping child.

"After a while men simply left the Old Things alone . . ." Puck goes on. "The roofs of their temples fell in, and the Old Things had to scuttle out and pick up a living as they could."[2] Malta had been Christian and the Temple of Bel a waste of stones for centuries when Weland still held sway in England. It seems, therefore, the more surprising that traces of the "Old Things" remain in islands so anciently and 178 ● 795

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[1] *Puck of Pook's Hill.*

[2] *Puck of Pook's Hill*

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 178 795 so fervently Christian. The reason lies, perhaps, in their Catholicism. The Faith has a tolerant and not unfriendly eye for many of the Old Things. It is hard to think of St. Francis being unkind to a leprechaun.

The savants make much argument about Malta's folklore. The wish being often father to their able reasoning, they will prove from it that the Maltese are Phoenician or Arab or Italian with equal conviction. Like the Cornishman who will tell you that the Hobby Horse was invented to frighten away the French, the people themselves know little if anything of the reasons why certain tales are told, certain things done; but, from birth to grave, the Old Things—often recognisable, but always with their peculiar Maltese twist—make intermittent appearances in the lives of Zeppu[1] and Grez.[1]

Some of them even have so far won the good opinion of Mother Church as to be granted a place in her own ceremonies.

ON GETTING BORN

1 844 824 The Maltese baby—boy or girl—gets born with very little fuss, and is always welcome. In Gozo, or in what remains of country, some friend of the mother will assist the arrival of the little one, bringing into the house with her the withered bud of a certain rose. The flower is placed in water and slowly opens. At the moment of its fullest opening the child is born. 844 824 171 Here is clearly a very ancient magic. The association of the rose with Motherhood, with Life, and indeed with Godhead itself, is as old as time. In the Litany of Loretto, the Virgin Mother is invoked as "Rosa Mystica"—"Mystical Rose." Dante saw the innermost circle of the heavenly spheres as a rose. The Brahmins, the Persians, and the Jews all attached 844 824 a high mystic symbolism to the rose. The simple peasant, setting her rosebud in water, little knows what forgotten gods

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[1] Popular personifications of the peasant and his wife.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

538 Before examining the shapes which the Old Things assume in the Maltese "fairy story," it may be well to examine the nature of the stories themselves. They are, like our own tales, an essential part of the national culture; but they differ from such classics as Little Red Riding Hood, The Three Bears, and The Arabian Nights. These latter belong to a literature. [178] The Maltese folk-tale is part of an oral tradition, ever changing as each succeeding generation has added its touch of contemporary colour and disguised some part of the original sense. Of the literature of the early Maltese, if, indeed, they possessed a literature, no trace remains. Thanks to some few patriots like Father Magri, collections of folk-tales in the vernacular have been made, and there has lately grown up some sort of Maltese literature. It is from collections such as Father Magri's that the literate peasant reads to the family. [177] The educated Maltese are all too ready to embrace a foreign culture, partly from necessity it is true, but also, because expediency has persuaded them that their own tongue, their own national culture, and their own folklore belong to "the lower orders." So for centuries the remnants of what may well be the oldest civilization in the West—linked with the lost Atlantis and with the dawn of human thought—have been left to peasants and to servants. These lowly folk have stubbornly maintained some life amongst embers which may yet be fanned into a bright flame.

The absence of a literature has one advantage. The folk-tales of a literature become standardized. They are, for that reason, no true mirror of the minds of a people. The people "grow up" but the story remains. "Once upon a time" means distinctly "a very long time ago"; but the *D'erba*—"on a time"—with which every Maltese story commences, might well be used equally of something which happened yesterday, last week, or in the days of King Suleiman. So stories which were once fraught with a religious significance have been

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the relatives and the staining of the doors. Provision was made for the deceased's comfort in the other life by the breaking of his pottery—thus releasing the *manes* to accompany him in death. 764 174

The wake was a death feast originally designed to provide a sort of communion with the departed. Similarly, the cutting of the mourner's hair was intended to furnish a ritual link with the dead. Primitive tribes express the same idea in cannibalism and in funeral mutilations. [302]

The cutting of the animals' tails was very probably a version of the sacrifice in expiation of the dead man's sins. 765

> ". . . Then they brought out a splendid white horse, and the priest cut some hair from its mane and tail and burned it on the altar, shouting 'A sacrifice!' . . . 'I saw poor Weland's face through the smoke, and I couldn't help laughing . . .' says Puck."[1]

Based on fear, as these "ancient fictions" were, they yet hid certain eternal truths.

The Old Things, with their complicated rituals, their theologies of terror, served their turn in leading mankind some distance on his upward march. Nowhere is their vague disembodied presence more felt than in Malta's rapidly dwindling countryside, where every stone may well have housed one of their altars. Not all of the Old Things were evil. The good ones have been adopted by Mother Church; but there remain those restless, evil ones who have never bowed down to the Nazarene. They hide in the shadows, angry and resentful. 771 178

THE HOUR OF THE OLD THINGS

Let us go out, at the third or fourth hour after midnight. Away from the clamorous ballrooms of the cramped city of 788 178

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[1] *Puck of Pook's Hill.*

788 palaces and "prairie oysters." Out into the still, shadowed
178 villages. Not those which fringe the military roads, but those lying in quiet hollows, away from the smell of petrol.

Let us sit for a while on some low wall and be silent.

It will seem that all the world sleeps. Only the darkness beneath walls and in windows and deep-cut doorways will be astir with a ghostly wakefulness. We shall see the little, sleeping houses and the quiet fields, stretching out in gentle waves of purple shadow and moonlit stone. There will be a wayside shrine, with an oil lamp burning fitfully in the light wind that heralds "Dawn's left hand." The sculptured saint will be deep in shadow save for the halo of yellow light painting strange meaning on the graven face, now smiling, now troubled.

Without warning the silence will be riven by the great shout of Musta's bell—like the voice of some titanic muezzin, calling from the minaret of heaven. The voices of all the bells will call, then, to each other. Some deep, manly baritones. Some high-pitched, boyish trebles. Some sweet and womanly, others cracked and querulous like the shrill chatter of crones.

The darkness will seem to stir ominously. The votive flame will flicker madly and die almost away. The protecting ox-horns above dim windows will seem to be shaken by an unseen hand. At last the bells will be silent, but there is no more stillness. All about us, from within every squat dwelling, there comes a murmuring—eerie, guttural, rising and falling in unfamiliar cadence—the voices of the peasants praying.

[776] It is "The Hour of the Departed," when every uneasy soul, every wandering sprite and *hares* is free to be abroad; when every devout peasant stirs restlessly at the sound of the bells, wakes and prays that the Restless Ones may be granted peace and that the Evil Ones be kept at bay.

The Old Things are awake. In every patch of darkness

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

they are lurking—Baal, Mithra, Astarte, and all their kind. 788
The very stones beneath us seem to move and groan at the 178●
memory of ancient power.

We are brave sceptics in the daylight and in the lamplit city. We shall not stand up here in this, Their Hour, and scoff at the Old Things.

[pp. 141-150 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

172 rocky surfaces of the island, the tram-lines of neolithic man;
493 and he will notice, if he is observant, that the dimensions of
the flat two-wheeled carts which, with their gaily caparisoned
[136] little ponies or donkeys, are the traditional vehicle of the
Maltese countryman of to-day correspond almost exactly
with those of the carts of his neolithic predecessor, as
136 deduced from the width of these ancient tracks. If he is
interested in strange animals that still survive but must be a
living link with hoary antiquity, he can study on the picturesque,
uninhabited islet of Filfla, now used only as a target
for gun practice, a remarkable lizard of the darkest green
spotted with red (*Lacerta muralis* var. *filfolensis*), which occurs
nowhere else in the world but on this tiny and diminishing
spit of rock.

341 The dominant architectural notes of the Maltese Islands are
megalithic and Baroque, and the gamut thus established can
217 scarcely be called a narrow one. So far as works of art are
172 concerned, the Museum in Valetta, housed before World
War II in the Auberge d'Italie and since 1958 in that of
Provence, contains a scientifically arranged exhibition of
[742] Stone Age culture unrivalled in any other country. This
collection, whose most bizarre items are the astonishing fat
female deities characteristic of Maltese neolithic sculpture,
was organized in chronological sequence by the Museum's
late learned Director, Sir Themistocles Zammit, who made
a second international reputation in the field of Maltese
archæology and excavation after having made an earlier one
in medical research in connexion with undulant, or Malta,
fever.

But the visitor is not obliged to study the activities of
241 these remote peoples solely in museums. If he wishes to see
501 how the distant forbears of the present population cultivated
178 their land he has only to watch the Maltese farmer of to-day
[532] ploughing his field; if he is a student of cultural survivals he
will note the eye of Osiris still painted on the bows of Malta's
ooo sturdy little schooners and characteristic "Gozo boats." If

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1970-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

346 As regards the ecclesiastical buildings, it is permissible to
● 178 regret the disappearance of all but one or two—the most notable survivor is Zejtun's "Old Parish Church" of S. Gregory—of the modest mediæval village churches, swept away to make room for the spacious, florid Baroque shrines that now raise their towers and domes high above the flat roofs of the casals. But we stand amazed at the architectural effort and achievement of the Knights in Malta in the days of their Order's greatness. Justly could they have said with Wren, "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*"

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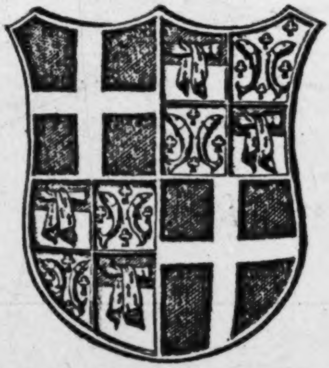

Arms of G. M. de L'Isle Adam above the Burial-place of his Entrails in Ta Ġiesu Church, Rabat

[PP. 57-64 not processed. Plates facing PP. 64 and 65 have been processed]

795 by one; as the names of their parishes are called out, advance
659 to the Governor's throne and present to him a large and
heavy wax candle, generally embellished with painted
796 decorations.

This Candlemas ceremony has been maintained uninterruptedly from the days when the State was the Order of S. John; and the Governor takes this occasion, as did his predecessors the Grand Masters, to address the assembly on the problems of the day, with particular emphasis on the manner in which Church and State can best co-operate for the benefit of the people. It gives the Governor of Malta the same sort of opportunity, *mutatis mutandis*, to make public pronouncements on matters of policy as the British Prime Minister is given at the Lord Mayor's Banquet. A collation brings this happy and useful function to a close.

Here it may be added that the Governor retains, as the successor of the Grand Masters, certain ecclesiastical patronage, such as the nomination to the post of Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Malta and the right of presentation to various benefices. A survival of another sort from the days of the Knights is the religious corporation known as the Collegiate Church of S. Paul's Grotto at Rabat, whose Canons still wear at their ceremonies the habit, *stolone* and cross of the Order.

The principal industry of the Maltese islands is agriculture,
241 and the Maltese, despite the stony nature of their land, are
433 skilful and industrious farmers with a wonderful knack of
extracting the utmost from the soil, despite methods
necessarily somewhat primitive since their fields are too
small for modern agricultural machinery. Maltese potatoes
and Maltese oranges have a high reputation. Vegetables
are good, especially tomatoes; wheat does well where there
[439] is room to grow it. But the islands can produce only a
fraction of their annual consumption of cereals, and much
251 has therefore to be imported from outside. Among the most
178 familiar features surviving from the era of the Knights are

the underground granaries, shaped like vast jars, beneath the 251
open space between Valetta and its suburb of Floriana and
beneath a few other places, sealed with round stone lids and 178
still in use for conserving Malta's stocks of imported grain.

There are other links in Malta with the rule of the Order
of S. John. There survives, for example, from the days of 326
the Grand Masters an official known as the Consul for 656
Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, who is the appraiser of the 647
Government and impresses on Maltese silver its own hall- [178]
mark, the Maltese Cross, and on gold the crown or the Maltese shield. The Consul's office is housed on the ground-floor of the Monte di Pietà building in Merchants' Street. Opposite to it is the handsome Public Registry, with a tablet commemorating its reconstruction by Grand Master Zondadari. As if to compensate for the defacement by the French Revolutionaries of the Sienese Grand Master's escutcheon, his inscription was subsequently surmounted by a bust of George III, topped by the Royal Arms of that day.

In connexion with the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silver- 436
smiths it may be mentioned that the coinage of the Order remained legal tender in Malta until 1886, when by a Government Notice there were called in all coins of "the late Government of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem." [1]
The principal denominations of the Maltese coinage were
the scudo, the tari, the carlino and the grano or grain, which [178]
in Maltese were called *skut*, *rbighi*, *karlin* and *habba*; and not only the country people but all Maltese use to this day the old names to denote certain values in our modern coinage. Thus 2½*d.* is described as *tliet karlinijet* (three carlini); half a crown as *tmintax rbighi*, meaning eighteen tari; 1*s.* 3*d.* is invariably *disa' rbghajja*—that is, nine tari.

Malta has no longer a separate coinage of its own, but small bronze coins of one-third of a farthing, still known locally as grains, were struck at the London Mint for use in

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[1] The standard work on this interesting coinage is Canon Calleja Schembri's *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 2nd edn., 1910). [113]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

436 Malta in the reigns of all the British sovereigns who have ruled in Malta from George IV to George V inclusive.

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● 178 Let this chapter end with another survival, perhaps the most ubiquitous of all, although its origin antedates the arrival of the Knights by more than four hundred years. It is the red-and-white Maltese flag which is flown throughout the islands side by side with the Union Jack. Long-established tradition has it that the red and white were the colours of the Norman House of Hauteville, and that the flag and the corresponding arms are one of the legacies of Roger de Hauteville, Count of Sicily, Lord of Malta, to this smallest of his dominions. When, between the World Wars, it was suggested to Malta by the English College of Arms that the Colony should regularize its arms by formally recording them at the College, Malta replied that it had borne those arms for nearly three centuries before the foundation of the College by Richard III.

The position was ultimately adjusted with the College in 1943, when Malta's coat-of-arms received the honourable augmentation of the George Cross.

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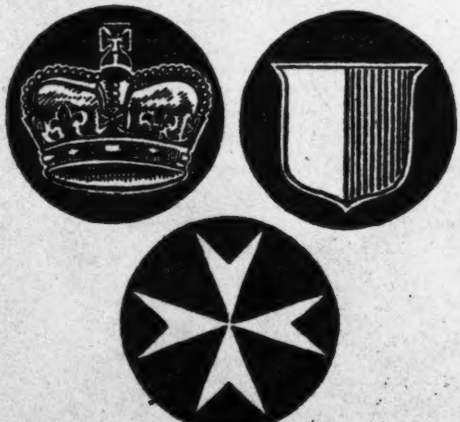

Malta Government Hall-marks for Gold and Silver

234 (i) the grazing mentioned,
221 (ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
461 (iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting milk receipts from the M.M.U., cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of every working day.

221 The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in
241 which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the
178 elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of
● 181 late, 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded
[731] fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the
normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of these he is better acquainted.

241 This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external
461 factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate
178 or recently-illiterate farming folk and is given further
181 consideration (Section 4). Suffice it at this stage to
emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no

241 461 178 181 direct result. The farmer in (1) spends more than a fortnight each summer gouging tree pests from his apple orchard, a tedious and monotonous task for which the cost would be enormous if any account were made of the labour involved. He has always accepted this task as one of the essential jobs in his fields, presenting itself each year as regularly as the seasons. Today he is wondering whether the same result might not be achieved within the space of a few hours by the application of some spray treatment (Case X).

241 461 This is certainly not to suggest that the Maltese farmer has ever consciously wasted his time. The opposite is the case. Visitors to Malta and Gozo since the eighteenth century have been full of praise for the farmers of the Islands and for their diligent industry. The fact is that the physical limitations of the fields and farms are such that agriculture in the Islands has been maintained and developed only by the application by the farmer of meticulous [464] hand-labour. Today a critical shortage of this very labour is producing a state of doubt and tension in the industry. The question is being posed as to whether some forms of mechanized development can replace traditional manual labour. In view of the characterisitcs of the rural landscape of the Islands possibilities seem limited.

241 461 178 The farmer's daily timetable, with its long hours of monotonous toil for comparatively little remuneration, is producing a younger farming generation embittered with their inability to do a day's work on the farm in eight hours only and frustrated because independence - in their terms - is denied them. They are tied to the farm and the animals and unable to take as much leisure as their counterparts in 'urban' jobs. Independence for them implies the freedom to take time off from the farm in which to make themselves socially as 'urbanate' as possible. Independence for their fathers' generation is not the same thing. Here is seen a vestige of the traditional peasant way of life which was essentially independent in its family and village self-sufficiency. Thus the old farmer's concept of independence is the ability to rule himself and to work his long hours as he inclines. The liberty to sit with his goats between siesta and sunset, with no foreman and no questions, is in fact part of the attraction which keeps the older farmer in farming at all. It is by no means the whole story because he knows well enough that in his case it is too late to think of acquiring any of the education which he sees as the key to things better than farming. The younger generation do not see things in this light at all and regard their education as a means of escape (section 1).

242 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for
654 advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming
community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial
insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in
the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud
(Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service
are outlined in B/252.

178 Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said
241 about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification
654 to bring it more closely into line with present conditions
both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic
181 conservation has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4)
but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is
[234] not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the
guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space
of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the
Islands.

433 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk
654 surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee
remains he will continue to put every effort into selling
234 more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to
fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is
certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently,
having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

433 MONEY

In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was
434 a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale
178 subsistence farming with the help only of his family.
[175] Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family,
farm and village. There were very few wants which could
not be supplied at home, or at least within the village.
In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese country-
man of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in
terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have
his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his
predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells
each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual
turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes
modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the
farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the
food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction
436 between the present 'commercialized' position and that which
437 prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century
ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 standards demanded have risen: and luxuries, once almost
511 unheard of, are now becoming part of the expected pattern
of the life of the countryman (Section 2). For most of
these new needs the farmer has required money. Hence
progress, to him, has become synonomous with the acquisition
178 of more money. Branches of banks have appeared in some
511 villages in both islands since 1945 and the countryman is
454 coming to accept this means of storing his accumulated
wealth. The concern for bigger interest, first noted by
[453] the 1911 Commissioners, is replacing the traditional mere
accumulation of wealth whether in money or in jewellery and
other valuables.

There is still, however, a very strong element of
178 accumulation rather than investment in the finances of the
181 farmer. This is particularly the case with the older
454 generation who, as always, cling to the ways of the past
511 because their lack of formal education makes them, apparently,
unable to comprehend or adapt themselves to the workings
of the present. Thus it is held that, while the younger
generation have sought to urbanize themselves socially and
economically with the money which now comes their way, many
of the older generation, that is to say those who are
tending to stay in farming today, have taken the 'new'
money but have not changed their way of life or living
standards to anything like the same extent. Thus dress,
for example, is no sure indication of a farmer's wealth
in terms of money and one hears of bare-foot, shabbily
clothed countrymen with savings of £1000 or more. In
traditional Maltese village society the uniformity which
was the keynote (Section 1) encouraged the farmer to appear
like his neighbour lest he be accused of deviationary
tendencies: this feeling is often revealed today in the
reluctance of the farmer to be the first to try a new
method or crop in his fields for fear of becoming a
laughing-stock.

Although the older generation do not strive to demonstrate their wealth in dress, habits, a new house, etc., and do not share the anxiety of the younger villager that he should look like a townsman and move to a 'good' - i.e. non-rural - district, their saving is not completely without aim. To resolve this point fully it would be necessary to consider the whole complex of traditional Maltese village society but for the present discussion some major features only will be outlined.

178 Dowry is one feature of traditional Maltese society
583 which is currently assuming different proportions to those
183 earlier held. It was regarded in the past as essential

457 lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm
511 and that spent on the household.

In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and
[593] co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the
average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate
and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and
expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating
to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that
his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of
time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where
they proved of major importance and benefit.

At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance
[454] of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen
to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X).
The period in question was financially atypical for this
man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd
of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe
storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for
any farmer like him is further complicated by the uncommercial approach which is made to the labour of the
farmer himself (and in this Case that of a brother and
nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed
because custom demands that they are done and a job is not
neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus
[511] the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure
as a cost in production (Section 2).

His income derives largely from the sale of fruit
434 (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable.
454 In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57
458 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only
£340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew
"receives something when a crop is sold". Other items
sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of
tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season
each of the brothers received a gross profit of about
£250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food
consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X)
nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57
from savings. This feature is crucial. Given the
normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result
of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer
is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on
the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he
expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far
[181] hence. This insecurity of his capital is important in
his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production
or farm management and in part also echoes the conservation
and inertia of the traditional peasant [illegible]

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An F.A.O. report on investigations in Malta and Gozo observes that "Progress in agriculture is fundamentally a human problem; it depends on knowledge and the intelligent application of knowledge" (B/243, p.9). Within the Islands themselves there is a certain awareness of the situation and [181] particularly of the need for an official policy designed to develop the agricultural industry to the best advantage of the total economy of the Islands and to assist the farmers who "are perhaps the most hard-working, honest and God-fearing section of the community and the country will be the loser if it were to let them down" (B/387, p.7).

It must be noted that the position in Gozo is even more intractable than in Malta.

From work done in the field two major lines of approach to the problem of Maltese farming emerge:

(a) Development policy must be related to the present and future position of her only basic industry - agriculture - within Malta's total economy. In this context one feels that at present there is some over-emphasis on the parts rather than the whole, that is the individual farmer qua economic unit and on the means whereby he may derive increased profit from his present - generally uneconomic - farm-unit. It is too easy to discuss minutiae of policy which are "good for agriculture", rather than to consider either men in villages or the fundamental national needs.

(b) The long-term improvement of Maltese agriculture as regards both the national economy and the fortunes of the individual farmers depends on the personnel of farming as much as on policy imposed from above. Policies must be tailored to fit the varying capabilities for absorption among the farmers, from the potato-grower who cannot see why a certain variety of potatoe is not selling on the export market to the dairyman unable to comprehend the artificially distorted basis of the industry which provides his livelihood. Moreover, up to now few development plans have been aimed specifically at the future farmers of Malta, the young, literate generation of the farming community. Before they have all left farming and village society this generation must be made aware of the possibilities and potential of agriculture in Malta and Gozo.

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FOOTNOTE: While this report was 'in print' it was announced that the milk producers had decided to withhold deliveries to the M.M.U. (B/59, 17th November, 1959, p.4). They argue that the guaranteed price given them should be increased to take into account current production costs - especially of fodder. The fact that they appear to have overlooked the £370,000 paid by the taxpayer in subsidizing the milk industry (1958) illuminates both the narrow outlook of the farmer and his failure to appreciate the uneconomic basis of his dairying industry today (v.9).

* **H. General.**

159 472 451 (i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndicate is not typical of Maltese farming systems. The partnership seems to derive historically from a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

*159 472 451 ● 181 (ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organisation one may use this case-study as illustrating the practises and modes of thought of the most highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

- Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does no seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.
- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.
- *159 433 181 242 Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these are attained by the careful application of proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.
- *159 181 232 242 In spite of the fact that the syndicate's capital reserves and their practical abilities are considerable, the physical environment dominates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these there is a great mental gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

*159 472 464 **CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu** (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.)

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

* 159 178 234 Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows' milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in contrast
231 to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

*159 Ġamri and farming Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time conditions
[454] the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[929] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
[434] guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

*159 His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
829 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
181 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he believes
that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
181 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

*159 829 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.

181 178 Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

*159 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production.)

423 (Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

427 **A. Land.**

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9	tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9	"
Potatoes	6.2	"
Other vegetables	4.9	"
Fallow or unproductive or lot 'bin-nofs'.	12.6	"
	62.5	tmien

*159 231 **C. Livestock.**

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

*159 423 454 **D. Capital.**

(i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.

(ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.

(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.

*159 407 427 (iv) - Equipment:

- Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
- Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding, Ġ

*159 241 829 of these problems is without solution and he puts a great part of the blame on the Maltese farmer himself who is prevented says Ġ by his illiteracy and suspicion from uniting and from seeking to improve his own farming. He maintains that it __is__ possible to make money in farming today in the Islands, but only with the right methods, ideas and facilities. This is where he himself comes in, for he believes his ideas on mechanization are the answer, leading to the elimination of hand labour as far as possible. He insists that a profitable farm must be a workable unit, that is a large patch of twenty, forty or more tmien capable of being worked by mechanical implements. Moreover, he insists that the farmer should, where possible, sell his own produce to the consumer in order to evade the 'middle-men' and thereby make a greater profit.

Ġanni himself talks vaguely of acquiring such a farm, although to date his contract-plowing has absorbed all his profit-making energies.

__Ġanni's view of the farmer in Malta.__

He lays a great deal of the blame for the present agricultural difficulties at the door of the farmers themselves. His view of his fellow farmers and villagers approaches cynicism: "The farmer's illiteracy prevents him from admitting that anything could be better than that which he knows. It also prevents him from trusting other farmers and prevents him from realizing the folly of putting bad-weight with produce for export. The young people who are far from illiterate and will listen to reason are not staying on the land long enough for this to be of lasting benefit to agriculture". He observes that the farmer is keen for a sure profit but not at all anxious to plunge his often considerable capital into [178] a new venture such as buying a tractor. In fact he will not accept any new method or crop before he sees it a working success - preferably in a field near his own. This applied particularly to the 'outlandish' ideas on deep-plowing which Ġanni brought back from Australia. His fellow villagers regarded his 16" mould-board, three-furrow plows with great suspicion, and his ideas on potato-ridging, combine-harvesting and threshing met with no more approval initially.

[454] Ġanni insists that the farmer's saving is merely "an aimless accumulation of money: a man may look poor in dress and have £1000 tucked away". He says of an old lady in a nearby lonely house "She wears no shoes and has never been to Valletta but will die leaving thousands".

181 241 829 This conservatism and reluctance on the part of the illiterate farmer emerges, therefore, as a major difficulty in the way of improvement and modification. It is one which tends to be overlooked by well-meaning experts and officials who forget that, unlike themselves, the farmer is unable to

181 241 829 road of successful experiments of one kind or another in a foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

*159 407 422 429 472 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They have (1958):

(i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board plow, the only one in the district,

(ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only slowly - Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", 465 but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

*159 156

Ġanni and the village.

Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

361 712 Corniche from heights as inaccessible as nature and man's ingenuity could make them. When the marauders from North Africa ceased to be a menace, the citadel was partly evacuated for the lower town, but happily was never abandoned completely. Even now it contains the cathedral of the diocese and the Law Court and Public Registry, formerly the residence of the Governors of Gozo; and, although many of its ancient houses are in ruins, a few are still inhabited.

175 717 341 654 One interesting little lane with façades of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was restored by the Government before the outbreak of the Second World War, as has been the handsome Renaissance building facing the entrance to the citadel latterly known as the Bondi Palace, as related at the end of Chapter XIII. One of the houses in the lane at one time belonged, as an inscription testifies, to the soldier Bernard, "*miles Bernardus*," who was killed at the capture of the citadel by the Turks under Sinan Pasha in 1551. When he saw that the fortress could hold out no longer this dauntless man took the lives of his wife and two daughters with his own hand to save them from being sold into captivity, and then fell, fighting to the end. The walls and fortifications of the citadel are happily well preserved.

101 Gozo was Ogygia or Gaulos to the Greeks, *gaulos* (γαῦλος) being the word the Greeks had for the round merchant-boats of their rivals, the Phœnicians. From Gaulos it became Gaulum to the Romans, then appears on Idrisi's map of 1154 as Ghudash, and in modern Maltese is known as Ghawdex (pronounced Audesh), its Bishop signing as
484 505 *Episcopus Gaudisiensis.* The shortest ferry-crossing between the two islands is only four miles, yet many Gozitans have never been to Malta while the overwhelming majority of Maltese have never been to Gozo.

181 186 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

sometimes regarded in England—in other words, as hard-headed folk whom nothing will keep out of the best jobs. 181 ● 186 It is certainly true to say that, loth as they may be to leave their own little island, when they do it is definitely to better themselves. They make excellent colonists in Australia and [167] elsewhere in the New World, while those who emigrate no farther than Malta frequently attain distinction. The story is told of a function in S. John's Co-Cathedral in Valetta at a time, not so many years ago, when the Gozitans who were leading personages in Church and State included the Archbishop of Malta, Mgr Pace.

"Well," said a Maltese worshipper, after watching the entry into the church of the procession ~~of Archbishop~~ and Canons and other dignitaries, mostly (or so it seemed to him) natives of the junior island, "I suppose we ought to be thankful that the sacristan is still a Maltese."

Byron may have had something similar in mind when he bracketed Malta with Gozo as

> Calypso's isles,
> The sister tenants of the middle deep,

instead of describing them as mother and daughter.

There is much to see in this small island of 27 square miles 172 and as many thousand inhabitants besides natural scenery and [131] the monuments alluded to above. Let me instance some [161] characteristic features of various widely different epochs of Gozo's long history. First must come the twin Stone Age temples of Ggantija, through their cyclopean construction—one block has the formidable dimensions of 12½ by 17½ feet—the most stupendous work of Neolithic man in the Maltese archipelago. Farther excavation by the Malta Museum is planned on and around their site when funds permit, and more wonders may yet come to light. Meanwhile the [133] visitor may enjoy from one of the most impressive architectural survivals of remote antiquity a comprehensive view of Gozo and of the north-western end of Malta, with

INTRODUCTION

114 121 The distinctive qualities of Malta first exerted their attraction on us over fifteen years ago. In 1954 an opportunity for closer study occurred and we developed the idea of undertaking some form of geographical survey.

When the authors made a preliminary survey of documentary source material, their first reaction was one of surprise at the relative paucity of literature available: although since that time there has been an improvement in the quality, extent and accessibility of studies relating to the Islands, this original impression persists. Smallness in overall area and in population numbers might be held responsible for such a limited degree of intellectual interest; and yet the true importance of Malta has been out of all proportion to mere size. The number of references quoted below might seem a rebuttal of these assertions. Indeed in total amount the material extant is superficially impressive. However, with certain significant exceptions, many studies prove to be unreliable either because of their uncritical acceptance of earlier dicta, or because analyses are relatively superficial in that they lack foundation upon direct observation and on the cross-checking given by comparative studies in related fields. These introductory remarks are intended not as complacent and destructive criticism but rather as a partial explanation and justification of the wide but not definitive range of our work. The research on which our book is based commenced as a sample study of land utilization. Because however of the difficulty of accepting other than very few statements as authoritative it became essential to undertake simultaneous inquiries in varied fields.

114 121 182 Equally important as a reason for attempting a relatively comprehensive coverage of affairs Maltese is the fact that in these strange, perhaps unique, islands the interweave of human and non-human elements is so close. Approach to a single isolated problem leads extraordinarily rapidly to all other parts of the complex, more quickly and completely than we have observed elsewhere. Whatever the starting point; micro-climate or semantics, hoe-types or constitutional history, any sustained investigation involves a mass of varied but inter-related problems.

114 The first simple project evolved for these reasons into a complex scheme carried out under the auspices of two Universities, two Governments, and in association with two Civil Services as well as other organizations, British, Maltese and international. We have therefore also experienced the need and received the opportunity of testing and experimenting with various techniques of geographical research. Circumstances allowed the participation of a relatively large number of workers of differing levels in experience. Besides full-time researchers at postgraduate level and a number of university teachers who made Malta a specific interest, there was scope for drawing upon the energy and enthusiasm of undergraduate members of the Department. In this way, the terrain could be fully covered and geography practised through the soles of the feet, with every part surveyed by personal observation on the ground. During the more or less parallel investigations therefore made necessary it has been possible to reconcile the methods of team research without restricting the freedom of the individuals concerned, whilst at the same time the Field Directors have been able to survey the whole of the work and take part in all of its constituent elements. It has been very reassuring to find that the checks provided by consequent overlapping have been consistently favourable.

121 As professional geographers, we welcome an opportunity of stating a belief that has lain in our minds throughout our work in Malta and elsewhere, and that experience has only served to confirm. This is that geography implies first, field observation of conditions relating to the way men live; secondly a willingness to trace a relationship through, and if necessary beyond the formal bounds normally assigned to a particular academic discipline. Thirdly, in order to give the whole process form and meaning, the operation must be rooted in a physical regional framework - this is what makes our approach 'geography' rather

SECTION IV

Chapter XI

An Assessment of the Cultural Landscape

In this book we have attempted to portray the Maltese Islands 'in the round'. 121
Deficiencies and omissions occur; the former unfortunate, the latter equally
unfortunate but also deliberate because of space limitations. Nevertheless, we 182
believe that our study, such as it is, has illustrated certain points of value. 311
First, and this is a geographical truism, the relationship between man and the land on which he lives is infinitely complex. In the case of Malta this relationship is also astoundingly complete and coherent, so that alteration in any one part may provoke repercussions on all the rest. Hence, under these circumstances, change of any kind should be introduced with extreme caution; it has been demonstrated that lines of action which seem apparently well-found and reasonable at the time of inception can have wholly unforeseen and unintentional consequences. This warning has a general as well as local validity. Further, and in the light of this situation, it becomes essential to have as full a knowledge as possible of local conditions before undertaking action. Such knowledge can only be acquired through observation, which must be as complete and detailed as financial resources allow.

Thirdly, investigation of the use man makes of his surroundings leads to the conclusion that, in a last analysis, it is not the actual physical conditions which control man's activities - it is the view that man himself takes of what can or cannot be done which really matters. From the physical standpoint Malta is a highly typical Mediterranean country, yet we still do not know why the vine and the olive, these most characteristic plants, have hitherto only made temporary invasions of Malta. We do however know that the factors behind this were not physical - e.g. climate or to do with soil. It would thus seem to be the way man actually estimates the physical potentialities of his home region that governs what takes place - put in another way, we may say that environment finally exists only in the minds of men. In such a form it can appear intractable, offering insuperable obstacles, and mysterious in its effects. Hence, resource use should not be thought of solely as a routine controlled by physical media, but as a process in which temperament and attitudes of mind are involved. Recognition of the human factor as indissolubly associated with the physical elements of geography underlies our approach: and it is in this sense that our subtitle 'Background to Development' should be interpreted.

Lastly, there is an opportunity to draw together some of the threads which we have unravelled from the general weave, and summarise the main themes.

The principal conclusion is that everything one sees in Malta, other than the major topographical features, is man-made and man-maintained in existence. For this reason there is an unstable equilibrium that eternally threatens to collapse.

Physical environment is fundamentally harsh. The component rocks consist 133
almost entirely of fissured and fractured Tertiary calcareous series, mostly of Miocene age; and natural accumulation of relatively insoluble inorganic soil aggregates is very slow everywhere except on the narrow outcrops of the Blue Clays. There is complete absence of surface water and subsurface moisture is small. Only in the western half of the Island do non-saline water-tables now rise near to ground level over appreciable areas, and only in one restricted area in the east - at Marsa - has this been even historically important. Malta has a highly accidented topography. The western half of the Island is heavily faulted and forms a region of scarpland and faulted basins. The eastern area has more subdued relief particularly in its central and eastern parts, but even here the legacy of gorge formation - the dry wieds of Malta - during the humid late Pleistocene, and the small scale erosional etching of all major and minor geological and structural junctions have resulted in there being very little land of low gradient.

241 palms and pomegranates alongside potatoes - but in no case are conditions optimal or yields very good. In the comparatively closed economies of the past this mattered little; in an era of world trade and world markets Malta has now been left behind. Large-scale cotton production has virtually ceased and that of citrus fruit is declining; viticulture is of low standard and the olive tree very rare. Cereals can now provide only a tiny fraction of local needs while fodder production is limited in season and type by water shortage.

178 The critical phase in the social and economic reactions to the physical situation has also been reached. In the simple peasant communities of the past, the creative manual effort was necessarily associated with a low valuation of individual human effort and an arduous and restricted life. Now, however, economic and social opportunities and desires have widened and with them has come impatience with the demands imposed by the artificial landscape.

182 241 Higher per capita productivity to assure more freedom and leisure is only quickly attainable by technical and mechanical innovation. It is just such innovation that is impossible on a large scale on the land of Malta.

311 [134] The slope analysis map (Fig. 28)[1] illustrates one aspect of the problem. Maltese soil 12 inches deep needs, as a minimum amount, terracing at horizontal intervals of about 20 feet. Anything wider in the way of fields or a deeper soil makes essential increasingly higher and stronger retaining walls. The problem is such that considerable control is exercised by dip as well as gradient. The amount of labour involved in maintenance is heartbreaking by modern standards and yet, without it, erosion is quickly followed by the complete stripping away of the soil down to bare rock. The scale of farming operations often has to be very small - the planting of single rows of beans, of single trees, the sowing of chick-peas in rock crevices. Power and tool application is severely restricted. Small and light implements and single draught animals or more recently 'rotavators' alone can negotiate this type of terrain and work very thin soils covering rock platforms. The dangerous effect of the abandonment of any land is obvious. The past has in fact enchained the present. If cultivation is to continue then in order to preserve the artificial ecological balance, created with such effort over the centuries, a social imbalance will become even stronger. Whatever the scale of farming the farmer will always have to grub for soil, build his terraces, carry his plough or manhandle his rotavator for long hours under conditions that will seem less attractive even than those of casual dockside and urban labour.

The first point then is that the landscape indicates how human effort is pinned down by the artificial environment and how restive man is becoming.

175 241 The second theme is concerned with the reasons for the historical process of what really amounts to landscape gardening, and with the underlying implications.

648 Malta's wealth, in historical times at least, has come from a large extra-territorially derived income which has resulted from the Island's positional value. It is possible that even in prehistoric times Malta was never self-sufficient. The great temple building cultures of Malta and Gozo may well have maintained their master masons on imported wealth. Certainly Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Normans all occupied Malta because of its strategic position and took wealth in rather than removed it. The Order of St. John held it as an outpost of Christendom maintained by the Knights' possessions on the European mainland. Britain has similarly supported the Island's economy in return for its use as a naval, military and more recently a strategic air centre. Because of Malta's positional importance its inhabitants found it necessary and worth while to create agricultural resources. Because Malta has usually been an outpost the society and its works have attained the unstable equilibrium of a siege life.

369 At least since Arab occupation a duality has appeared in the community. Earliest at Mdina, later in the Three Cities, then in Valletta and the whole Grand Harbour complex, and now around the naval, military and air bases, the garrisons have formed successive nuclei of a cosmopolitan and sophisticated community. This community, literate, trained in the professions and trades has

[1] [See pp. 98-B and 98-C -- Analyst]

369 formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial
Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically
indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European
loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place
[103] names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or
Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements -
Żebbuġ, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three
Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for
the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people.
Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament
still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who
helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the
coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants
from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially
Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship.
The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce,
the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical revolutions
178 of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the
369 first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available.
464 The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades
of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken
[166] up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such
as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual
and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought
the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years,
the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now
probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent.
178 of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service
●182 Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture.
This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also
[464] apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954
totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a
[167] steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has
slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons
have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields,
storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This
conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs
of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of
the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further
strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has
become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the
necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs
is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping
towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for
the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that
made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also
responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one
indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken
lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieħa, and even this, hidden
from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 80 years.
Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it commands.
Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the
individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

178 Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways.
182 Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always
454 flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 25 years ago, who would

have guaranteed that the United Kingdom would not have abandoned Malta in the event of war in the Mediterranean? Those Maltese possessing power and knowledge traditionally have had too much to lose by local investment. The inadequacy of commercial port handling facilities, the paucity of processing industries, the shortage of credit, all these are products of fear. 178 182 [954]

Moreover, the changing circumstances of Mediterranean life which have increased security have also deprived Malta of her most easily earned income from entrepôt trade and her value as a calling station. The old commercial and financial attitudes of the most sophisticated part of society have become anachronisms in a new age, but still remain locally very deadening in their encouragement of hand-to-mouth activity.

What of old Malta? There the problem is one of breaking down isolation and correcting mental indigestion. The farmers of Malta have been commercially minded and experimentally inclined for centuries. Production for sale and exchange is the rule rather than the exception. But in fact they have little knowledge of commercial possibilities nor are they able to deal on equal terms with merchants. Often prepared to try new crops and equipment, their ignorance concerning the processes involved produces unhappy results. In short, the rural community in its partial isolation has seized with avidity a few crumbs of opportunity and knowledge and has never properly assimilated them.

It is a divided Malta that has met the new challenge, each sector too burdened with its past to respond vigorously on its own initiative.

The historic creation of an artificial environment has imposed severe restrictions on methods of utilising land, both now and in the future. The historic reasons for that creation have produced an ambivalent society, one part hampered by fear, one part hampered by ignorance. The main need now is for political security and a certain amount of economic stability. With security and stability the extrovert community may plough in its wealth rather than keep it poised for flight. The introvert rural community can then in turn translate its traditional experience into scientific idiom. In a suitable socio-economic climate and in an undivided society, many things could flourish, export market gardening and horticulture, processing industries, tourism, entrepôt trade and even subtropical research and training. Without such development, as is already foreshadowed in the landscape, Malta will become stagnant, depending on war and rumours of war for anything more than starvation level existence, while the landscape itself will reveal more and more of those rocky bare bones so decently interred in the past.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

665 were transformed from propaganda and social centres into instruments of government. As the village branches of the party in power, they represented government in the eyes of the people, if not the civil servants. They transmitted and explained the policy of the administration and they channelled requests to the appropriate authorities. Ministers made use of the Local Committees [645] for business at the village level, since the Committees generally provided their only direct contact with the villages.

IV

● 182 64 665 795 The State, the Church and the political parties are thus the national organizations which affect the lives of the people at the village level. The State is highly centralized, and has no political representatives in the villages. In contrast to the State, the Church has its official representatives in every village and hamlet. They are firmly controlled from above. The structure of the Malta Labour Party also rests firmly on its village level organization. The differing structural frameworks of these organizations have a direct bearing on this study. While competition for power at the national level between the State, on the one hand, and the Church or political parties, on the other, can often lead to bitter disputes, such conflict rarely causes division at the village level. In contrast, disputes at the national level between the political parties, or between a political party and the Church are transmitted immediately through their respective structures to the level of the village. There they bring about a conflict of interest which reflects the struggle for power at the national level.

house to house, transform the streets into gaily lighted tunnels. The 796
pjazza is usually draped in flags, and all the clubs are also dressed 628
in their festal finery and their doors thrown open to the public.
Many bands are hired and the mountains of fireworks are fused [533]
and made ready. All this is done before the visitors from outside [389]
arrive, and involves a great deal of organization, time and money.

The festa is thus an occasion on which communal values are reaffirmed 796
and strengthened, as individuals and groups express their 182
loyalty to their patron saint and unite to defend and enhance the
reputation of their village. At the same time, the central position
which the Church occupies in the social structure is strongly
reinforced, for the parish church is the hub around which this
festive occasion turns.

A festa is also an occasion on which the bonds of kinship are 796
reinforced, for each family opens its doors to its relations, especially 182
to those who live in other villages. Grown sons and daughters 602
return to their parental home, forming, for a few hours, a grand
family with a depth of three or four generations. Because of this
influx of relatives, younger children learn to recognize more
distant relatives whom they might not see at any other time of the
year, and become aware of the network of kin relations that
stretches out from their home. As parents become momentarily [584]
more indulgent during the festa and relax their watchfulness, it is
also a favourite meeting time for courting couples and a traditional
occasion on which marriageable boys and girls are introduced
to one another.

The celebration of a village festa usually lasts three days. It 796
consists of religious ceremonies, which take place principally
within the church, and secular celebrations outside the church.
The Maltese themselves make a distinction between these two
elements in the festa: they call the former the 'internal feast' (*il-festa ta' gewwa*)
and the latter the 'external feast' (*il-festa ta' barra*).
These often take place simultaneously. The mixture of sacred and 123
profane which results was shown to me very vividly during one 796
of the first festas I attended. I was in the church during a particularly
solemn moment [illegible] the service of worship. Suddenly there
was a nerve-shattering burst of fireworks from the roof of the
church. Then, slowly, the sharp smell of burning gunpowder
began to drift in through the open doors and mingle with the
pungent odour of candles and incense. After that I ceased to be

178 for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as sub-
583 stantial a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind:
land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a
183 girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position
[554] and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent
sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there
were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the
past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among
the families of the same village and farming background.
[182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way
of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to
fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance
(B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption
in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts
of the Islands have increased and marriages between
individuals from different villages and also from differing
economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of
land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place
and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of
the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put
more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 Another development which has put money into an altogether
454 new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing
desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen
423 (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the
471 Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this
applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the
family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the
first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a
feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought
his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase
of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even
before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build
up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of
meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased
rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War,
and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much
greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable
cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient
and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese
654 farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for
capital. The Government added to this money consciousness
[426] with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to
keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest
loans for capital improvements of the farms and their
equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

178 standards demanded have risen; and luxuries, once almost
511 unheard of, are now becoming part of the expected pattern
of the life of the countryman (Section 2). For most of
those new needs the farmer has required money. Hence
progress, to him, has become synonomous with the acquisition
178 of more money. Branches of banks have appeared in some
511 villages in both islands since 1945 and the countryman is
454 coming to accept this means of storing his accumulated
wealth. The concern for bigger interest, first noted by
[453] the 1911 Commissioners, is replacing the traditional mere
accumulation of wealth whether in money or in jewellery and
other valuables.

178 There is still, however, a very strong element of
181 accumulation rather than investment in the finances of the
454 farmer. This is particularly the case with the older
511 generation who, as always, cling to the ways of the past
because their lack of formal education makes them, apparently,
unable to comprehend or adapt themselves to the workings
of the present. Thus it is held that, while the younger
generation have sought to urbanize themselves socially and
economically with the money which now comes their way, many
of the older generation, that is to say those who are
tending to stay in farming today, have taken the 'new'
money but have not changed their way of life or living
standards to anything like the same extent. Thus dress,
for example, is no sure indication of a farmer's wealth
in terms of money and one hears of bare-foot, shabbily
clothed countrymen with savings of £1000 or more. In
traditional Maltese village society the uniformity which
was the keynote (Section 1) encouraged the farmer to appear
like his neighbour lest he be accused of deviationary
tendencies: this feeling is often revealed today in the
reluctance of the farmer to be the first to try a new
method or crop in his fields for fear of becoming a
laughing-stock.

Although the older generation do not strive to demonstrate their wealth in dress, habits, a new house, etc., and do not share the anxiety of the younger villager that he should look like a townsman and move to a 'good' - i.e. non-rural - district, their saving is not completely without aim. To resolve this point fully it would be necessary to consider the whole complex of traditional Maltese village society but for the present discussion some major features only will be outlined.

178 Dowry is one feature of traditional Maltese society
583 which is currently assuming different proportions to those
183 earlier held. It was regarded in the past as essential

178 for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as substantial
a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind:
583 land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a
183 girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position
[554] and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent
sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there
were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the
past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among
the families of the same village and farming background.
[182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way
of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to
fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance
(B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption
in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts
of the Islands have increased and marriages between
individuals from different villages and also from differing
economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of
land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place
and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of
the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put
more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 Another development which has put money into an altogether
454 new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing
desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen
423 (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the
471 Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this
applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the
family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the
first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a
feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought
his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase
of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even
before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build
up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of
meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased
rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War,
and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much
greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable
cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient
and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese
farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for
654 capital. The Government added to this money consciousness
[426] with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to
keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest
loans for capital improvements of the farms and their
equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

312 A further 295 in the Main Sea Level Water Table produced 606,329 gallons, while 407 in the depressed parts of the Upper Coralline yielded 409,881 gallons, a total of 1,376,762 gallons from less than 3,000 pumped wells. The problem of salinity in sea-level water tables is illustrated by the Wied tal-I'wajes where in 1945 private wells yielded water with a salinity ranging from 22 to 142/100,000 while in 1953 the corresponding figures were 25 and 200/100,000 (10).

Finally, an accurate check has been kept on water obtained from those springs on the Rabat-Dingli Plateau which feed aqueducts for town supply. Over a period of years these have yielded an average of 251 million gallons annually, equivalent to 26.7 per cent. of the supply provided by an average yearly rainfall of 20.51 inches on a catchment area of 3.16 square miles (11).

A survey carried out by J. Baldacchino in 1942-45 provided some data on the amount of water used to irrigate various crops (12). There can be little doubt that much water is wastefully applied. The highest rate of application was that to summer marrows which received 30 waterings, 210,000 gallons per tomna, the equivalent of 33 inches of rain. The most striking fact, however, concerned the spring potato crop which took 15 waterings, 90,000 gallons per tomna, equivalent to 15 inches of rain. This was water applied from January to April, some of the wettest months of the year, and is perhaps an adequate comment on the suitability or otherwise of this crop to Maltese conditions - a question raised elsewhere in the present volume. Careless storage and prodigal application of water under conditions of intense isolation and evaporation indicate an uneconomic use of a limited resource.

Irrigation and the piped supply thus appear to make approximately equal demands on water resources - now, a probable 2,000 million gallons in the case of the former and a more certain 2,415 million gallons in the latter. This total of over 4,400 million gallons consumed annually may be compared with an annual supply from rainfall of 27,550 million gallons (assuming an average precipitation of 20 inches over an area of 95 square miles). What is not known is how much of this latter total percolates to the water tables and how much is lost at various stages of the water cycle by direct run-off, evaporation, transpiration and seepage into the Mediterranean. Some of the answers will be provided by the evapotranspirometer stations recently established in Malta.

184 312 Gozo has not thus far been mentioned and relatively little hydrological investigation has been carried out there. The general arrangement of water tables irrigation practice, etc., are little different in principle from those described for Malta. The lower population density, the absence of a large urban element and the generally lower standard of living in the material sense make the problem a good deal less acute. Consumption per head from the public supply is approximately half that of Malta.

312 369 There is in the Maltese Islands, and particularly in Malta itself, conflict between urban and rural uses of water just as there is in the use of labour, land and capital. When the resource is already limited as it is in the case of water, the conflict becomes more apparent and its resolution depends on economic as much as on purely physical factors. Water shortage is a background against which all plans for future development, including the industrial, must be viewed.

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(1) MORRIS, T. O.: The Water Supply Resources of Malta. Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1952.
(2) By common usage in Malta, the term 'water table' is applied to the whole body of water contained within the aquifer and not, as elsewhere, to its upper surface alone.
(3) MORRIS, op cit., para. 152, p. 62.
(4) ibid., para. 225, p. 109.
(5) ibid.
(6) Report on the Working of the Water and Electricity Department for the Year 1952-53; Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1954. Para. 11.
(7) MORRIS, op cit., footnote to table 15.
(8) Report on the Working of the Water and Electricity Department for the Year 1953-54; Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1955. Para. 2.
(9) Report...etc., for the Year 1955-56. Appendix IV.
(10) Report...etc., for the Year 1952-53. Appendix IV.
(11) MORRIS, op cit. Table 5.
(12) ibid. Table 14.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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Lower Coralline rocks. This correspondence may be noted at the tip of Qawra, in a narrow strip at tal-Qraj(86) where the Coralline plunges under the alluvial infill of Bur Marrad, and inland from Qala San Marku. On the more tractable Globigerina, as at Buġibba (32) and il-Qasam ta'San Ġorġ (88), big-field cultivation of cereals and sulla is the rule (see also p. 197). Degree of exposure to northerly winds is a second factor controlling the farming pattern. In the sheltered depression of il-Maghtab (91), this is reflected in the greater importance of potatoes and the larger amount of settlement. These two regions have until recently been remote from the main streams of life and the recent construction of a coastal road linking St. George's and Salina Bays has, as yet, had little effect on society and farming. 241* 311*

B.IX. WIED IL-GHASEL

In this large lowland, Lower Coralline and Globigerina rocks are covered by recent sediments of marine and alluvial origin which thin out west and south to expose the solid rock. Borings indicate a sediment depth of over 14 feet in the floor of the depression, at which level (approximately sea-level) a saline water-table occurs. Irrigation, in contrast to the practice in Wied tal-Pwales, is carried on only on the western side of the depression, where pumps tap water percolating from the Wardija Ridge catchment. Salinity prohibits irrigation at low levels. Consequently, below 25 feet, sub-divided, large fields carry a great acreage of vines flanked by belts of cereals and sulla on slightly higher levels. The storm-water course has itself been ploughed over, but in periods of heavy rainfall, e.g. October and November 1957, extensive flooding occurs and water has been known to lie for periods of several weeks. It is this low-lying area which bears the name Bur Marrad (44) literally meaning 'the sickly meadow' or 'the area where sickness occurs'.

Slightly above the 25-foot contour, where water-logging is less likely, a wider range of crops occurs. This is particularly marked at the junction of the two main watercourses - the Wied il-Ghasel and the Wied ta'Ghajn Rihana (Fig. 106) where vegetable cultivation becomes important. Artichokes, tomatoes, marrows and brassicas are irrigated by water led from the valley sides. On the marled slopes below the Victoria Lines, at Habel Ghendus il-Kbir (41), lie large fields of dry-farmed vines, cereals and sulla.

In the main lowland area, few trees or walls and no buildings break the flat landscape. Lines of farms lie along the tal-Qraj(86) edge, while small hamlets are growing up along the main road which follows the western break of slope. Deep-digger ploughs and caterpillar tractors make tillage activity in this zone most uncharacteristic of Malta as a whole. [184]

THE WESTERN SCARPLANDS (continued)

A.XI. BINĜEMMA BASIN

The Wied ta'Ghajn Rihana rises upstream over a low saddle which leads from the Wied il-Ghasel to the higher Bingemma Basin. The structural and topographic asymmetry of this basin is paralleled by crop zonation. Cereals and sulla are dominant on the lower, northern floor below Mgarr and iz-Żebbieh. Vines become more prominent on an east-west belt of higher slopes and these field crops become generally poorer with a southward increase in altitude. They are, however, diversified by several *fuica* embayments which lie beneath the Victoria Lines scarp which defines the southern edge of the basin. These areas include Santi Gap (57) (Fig. 107) and the Wied ta'Bingemma (58). Irrigation is confined to the use of spring water in these pockets.

owns no land or other property in common and its inhabitants 621
are rarely called upon or choose to work for a common end. At [186]
the same time, villagers are conscious of belonging to a distinct
social entity which is distinguished from other villages by a
collective nickname and a common sub-culture.

Many villages have a dialect quite distinct from that of their 184
neighbours, which the inhabitants, even those who have learned 197
to speak 'correctly' (*bil-pulit*), normally use to each other; 621
although they will invariably address strangers in their school
Maltese. There are also a number of minor variations of certain
customs between villages or districts. These may include the way
church bells are rung to announce a death or the way some aspects
of the festas are organized. Finally, each village has its own very
private body of gossip, stories, scandals and jokes, which makes
up a part of its history and tradition that is not shared with
outsiders.

As a congregation and a religious corporation, the village *qua* 421
parish owns land and other property, including the parish church. 423
It also has an appointed leader in the parish priest. The inhabitants 621
of the village meet regularly for worship, to take part in religious
processions and to carry out other devotional activities. Furthermore, 794
they act together to celebrate the annual festa of the patron 796
saint, who symbolizes the unity of the secular and religious aspects
of the village, for he is patron of both village and parish.

A village can also be regarded as a moral community. That is, 621
people who live there must conform to a certain code of conduct. 626
While the community cannot enforce this code with the type of
formal sanctions the police and the Church use to punish infractions
of secular and religious laws, public opinion can, and does,
exert great pressure for conformity. A person who flouts the
canons of convention becomes the object of malicious gossip and,
depending on the nature of the offence, he may also become the
target of overt hostile action and have his house front splashed
with paint, or his front door burned. The only way to escape
from the sanctions of public opinion is to move to one of the urban
areas or the expanding new suburbs, where licence can be
relatively anonymous.

Members of a village thus share a common body of custom and 186
tradition; they also display an intense loyalty to their place of 621
birth. This sense of loyalty is strongest during the annual festa of 796

369 differ from the villages. While only about sixteen per cent of the
591 adult population of an average Maltese village is not native born,
approximately two-thirds of the adults residing in the urban and suburban areas were born outside the communities in which they now live (see Table 2 below).

591 There is no rule of village endogamy or exogamy, and a bride and groom are free to choose where they wish to live and set up their household. The choice of residence is normally governed by available housing, place of work and the relative strength of the bride's and groom's ties with their respective families and villages. But in case of a conflict of interest, a wife is expected to follow the wishes of her husband. If housing is available in both the village of the wife and that of her husband, and the husband's place of work is in neither, there is a tendency for the couple to live in the wife's village. The Maltese themselves acknowledge that, all other things being equal, the ties between a wife and her family are stronger than those between her husband and his kin.

162 Thus in Farruġ and Kortin, I found that approximately half the
591 couples had married and settled within their respective villages.
Less than one in twenty (4 per cent) of the couples were strangers who had moved there because of the shortage of housing in their own villages; and all of these had relatives already living in the two villages. The outsiders who married or moved into Farruġ and Kortin formed one-fifth (21 per cent) of the adult population, or about 10 per cent of the total population of each. In slightly
591 over half (56 per cent) the marriages between people from these
● [184] two villages and other villages, the husband settled in his wife's
village. This is the general trend in Malta, where most men work
[369] outside their villages. In Gozo, where farming is the chief occupation, it is more usual for a woman to move to her husband's village, for that is his place of work. People from the towns who marry villagers are reluctant to move into the villages, and it is therefore fairly common to find villagers, especially women, moving to join their spouses in the towns.

The general principles regarding marriage residence are reflected in Table 2.

591 The number of outsiders resident in a village is an important
factor governing the degree to which its inhabitants consider
621 themselves a corporate group. As outsiders always retain strong
links with their place of birth, the solidarity of a village is inversely

575 The important officers of a band club are among the most influential people in the community, and are usually chosen from the village's leading citizens. The president is the figurehead of [574] the club. He greets distinguished visitors and handles many of the ceremonial and business relations the club has with other groups within and outside the community. He also presides over committee meetings and over the annual election of new officers. The day-to-day running of the club is in the hands of the secretary, who is registered with the police as the club's official representative. Much of the success of the club depends upon his ability to run its social activities and administrative affairs. Other important committee members are the vice-president, the treasurer and the bandmaster. The latter is very often an outsider who comes to the village only for the weekly rehearsal of the band.

575 Though the formal authority of the committee members 554 extends over the members of the association only while they are in the club, their position in the club occasionally gives them a voice in decisions which affect the entire community. This, in turn, gives them a measure of authority over persons who are not members of the club.

But not all villages have band clubs. The small villages of 575 Gharghur, Dingli and Safi have not been able to afford the luxury ● 184 of their own bands, though each has a social club that performs much the same function as a social and civic centre. A few villages, such as Kortin, have both social clubs and band clubs. But there are neither band clubs nor social clubs in the Maltese villages of [517] Marsaskala, Marsaxlokk and Mġarr. In Gozo, only Rabat, Xewkija and Xaghra have band clubs. All the villages without clubs are fishing or agricultural communities. This may be because the men of these villages do not dispose of the leisure time in the evening necessary for a club to be a success: the farmers are too tired, and the fishermen are off tending their nets.

575 There are also political and football clubs in most Maltese villages. In Gozo there are a few football clubs, but no political 665 clubs. These clubs are organized in much the same way as the [526] band clubs, and corresponding office holders have similar functions and authority over their members. These offices, however, [554] confer much less prestige. The football clubs, in particular, play only a small part in village affairs. The Malta Labour Party, as has already been noted, is the only political party which has clubs

CHAPTER V

The Church and Village Politics

Most Maltese regulate their lives by the daily and monthly cycle 796
of religious activities. The major divisions of the day are rung 805
from the bells of the village church. They first ring the Paternoster half an hour before the first Mass. Then the Angelus bell rings a call to prayer at eight in the morning, at noon and at sunset. The final bell of the day is rung two or three hours after sunset, and is a brief request for the living to remember the dead in their prayers. The call of the Angelus is observed by many. When it is rung, work and conversation stop whether in a government office or a village café, men remove their hats, and someone among them leads them in a short prayer. In Gozo I have seen a busy square become suddenly silent and many people kneel in the street as the Ave Maria was rung at sunset. People also often kneel in the streets when the bells announce the elevation of the Host during a sung Mass, and during Benediction in the evening. And finally, late in the evening, clusters of relatives and neighbours can be seen sitting in their open doorways reciting the Rosary together before they go to bed.

Most girls and women and many boys and men attend one of 184
the three or four daily Masses which are offered in all parish 796
churches between four and seven in the morning. Virtually every one in the village attends one of the five or six Masses offered on
Sundays. The few who do not attend are known to the village, [626]
and are the subject of gossip and other social pressure. Since the [659]
recent dispute between the MLP and the Church, however, their numbers are increasing.

As the church bells mark the important hours of the day, so the 796
principal divisions of the year are set out by the annual national
and parochial religious feasts and processions. Besides being major [541]
religious occasions, they are eagerly looked forward to as recrea- [655]
tional events. Though secular spectacles, such as political rallies,
the government-run Carnival procession and, above all, the [546]

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
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MALTESE DEATH, MOURNING, AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

764 SIR JAMES FRAZER's communication of a coroner's note about "Beliefs regarding Death in Cumberland"[1] has suggested to me that I might put on record Maltese funeral customs now extant, some of which are analogous to those noticed in Cumberland.

764 Amongst our middle and lower classes the practice still
263 lingers of placing a dish of salt on the stomach of the corpse,
[184] whether of a male or of a female. The popular belief in Malta
[565] is that the salt prevents early decomposition. Certeux and
[171] Carnoy[2] give the following interpretation of a practice by Arabs
in Algeria: "*Il est de convenance religieuse . . . de lui poser*
sur le ventre [of the dead person] *quelque chose de pesant, afin*
[539] *de prevenir le gonflement.*" One of our Maltese sayings runs:

> "*Imût il-ghani u jmut il-fqir*
> *It-tnejn jitmelhu ghal geũũa il-bîr.*"

i.e. "Both the rich man and the poor man die, and both are salted for the pit" (a common rock tomb). This may, however, refer to the pickling or preservation of bodies in a saline solution.

764 The covering over of looking-glasses in the room where the body is lying is also practised by several Maltese families. Some go so far as to remove furniture, and turn round or take down pictures, in the death chamber and passages.

764 The following are the most characteristic features of existing
171 Maltese practices, many of which are comparable to those of Sicily, while a few show some Eastern influence:—

(*a*) The washing of the dead body before shrouding. This is not a religious rite, and has no connection with that of Islam.

(*b*) The shutting of the eyelids, if open, and the raising of the chin by means of a band, usually a white kerchief, tied on the head.[3]

(*c*) The removal of door knockers and knobs; house doors are kept closed for several days; neighbours half-shut their own.

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[1] Vol. xxxi., p. 154.

[2] *L'Algerie Traditionelle*, p. 223.

[3] This is practised in Algeria. See Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

The belief still lingers that the
764 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul
775 of the departed remains above the flame.

764 (*g*) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of
735 the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in
171 both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled
wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to
the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were
continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on
All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom
has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the
Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century
178 passed through wide changes and, as in other European coun-
[177] tries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely
mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with
[192] Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The
vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the
Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the
292 fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700.
178 Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls
184 over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black
transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk
taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 Family mourning is generally observed as follows :—

178 I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being
affixed to the door.

(562) II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days,
after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 171
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 264
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these 516
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom 352
has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain from having their pastry and other food prepared in a
public oven for a period of some months after the death of a
member of the family.

184 ●
IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

5: Cremona 8-3, 4 (no date) 1923
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Bombazine (without lace) or silk faldettas are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *ċulqâna* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in
wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those
of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford
to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
764 extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the
period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian
influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *żuntier*, from
French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
[671] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural
interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it
was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public
cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required
that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a
coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
[534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the
church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing
of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which
in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases
to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the
Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important
that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the
corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was
laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
● [184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the
less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a pro-
fanation

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
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fanation. Wreaths are laid on the grave, and oil lamps are 764
lit on it for some days. The construction and decoration of [354]
the graves in the public cemetery is much the same as on the continent. Marble slabs with inscriptions are very common. Pillars with crosses on the top and sacred statues are also erected on bases of marble, or bronze reliefs symbolising Time and
Eternity. The higher class own vaults in the form of chapels, [565]
in which an altar is erected and requiem masses are said.

In the professional and educated classes cards expressing 765
sympathy are sent by friends to the mourning family, but in 184
some districts, especially in the country, people still follow the old etiquette of paying a mourning visit within nine days of the
death. Photographs of the deceased, with an inscription, are [215]
sent to friends and acquaintances.

A. Cremona.

It has faded very rapidly

369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give
241 way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
433 animals or animal products are sold for money.

By using the 1948 Census material (B/167 - 1948, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:

634 Table 1 (v. Map 2)

369 Urban (0-3%)

Urban (0-3%)	
Valletta [127]	0
Cospicua	0
Senglea	0
Vittoriosa	.008
Gżira	.11
Sliema	.24
Floriana	.43
Pawla	.8
Marsa	1.2
Hamrun	1.35
Msida	1.36
Kalkara	1.84
Pieta	2.6
St. Julian's	2.9

Fringe (3-10%)	
Balzan	5.48
Luqa	6.1
Birkirkara	6.16
Tarxien	6.43
St. Venera	6.46
Qormi	6.88
Birzebbuga	7.3
Żabbar	7.35
Żejtun	8.27
Lija	9.9

Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Mqabba	10.5
Marsaxlokk	10.6
Żurrieq	11.15
Għaxaq	11.29
Attard	11.53
*Victoria	13
Mdina	15.4
Mosta	16.56
Żebbuġ	18.41
*Għajnsielem	19.2
Gudja	19.91

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Għargħur	29.1
Mellieħa	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Kerċem	56.43
*Xagħra	64
*Għarb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Għasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Malta.................. 9.11%
Gozo.................. 41.78%
All Islands......... 12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an
369 increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the
464 Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
369 counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages

[i.e. peasant subsistence farming. -Analyst]

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities—
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
[544] appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

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794 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

[Village of Mġarr]
[Village of Gharghur]

000 settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4). Other characteristic features of rural Malta absent in Mġarr are the Band Club and the Football Club. The Band Club movement which spread rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of this became the major 'social' centre for men outside the Church itself (B/521). Similarly football has become a focus of extra-church activity in the Islands - more especially in Gozo where the Band Club has had only a limited extension outside the capital, Victoria. In the case of Mġarr one would expect the village to acquire these 'inter-stage' features as it develops in size and 621 social diversity. The writer holds that at present Mġarr is essentially very close to what has been called the traditional Maltese village. Incidentally also its agricultural bias (Map 2) is less removed from the traditional than is the case in the more urban-influenced villages. It is certainly the most rural Parish of Malta and yet does seem more 'urbanate' in terms of social life than is the case over much of Gozo.

121 184 Having enumerated the essential elements of Maltese village structure as exemplified in Mġarr, a brief comparative study of other villages of the archipelago, many of which are much larger, older and more complex, is indicated. From observation two basic premises have been established:

(i) Despite the regional differentiation customarily made, rural society in the Islands has a basic homogeneity:

(ii) The modern problem of this rural society, the problem of the individual who is now socially out of sympathy with the life of the community which bred him, is common to all the rural community of the Islands.

The final question is therefore whether or not there can be a standard type of working rapprochement between the new and the old.

121 621 Two villages which may be compared with Mġarr in an effort to answer this question are Gharghur, a settlement of very old foundation, predominantly agricultural as is Mġarr and of like size, and Żurrieq, much larger, more urbanate in character, containing certain socio-functional divisions within itself, and also possessing two small satellite villages.

36 Morphologically GHARGHUR (Map 6) and Mġarr have little in common on first inspection. The latter contains many new or recent detached and semi-detached buildings within the regular street pattern previously laid down. Many of the houses are quite modern by prevailing standards and

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
572 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

572 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[234] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
577 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

178 654 [234] (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.) has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the maximum (Section 2).

178 511 434 Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned. These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

[464] (d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

178 434 [471] [184] Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in his farm the means of providing for the various needs of the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding, his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very small section of the farming community: one of the major problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming population of the Islands. 178 426 434 If, having observed the present position of money and the demands upon which it is based, one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

175 between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This
458 dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth
511 century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished
[468] from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which
[184] characterized the totality of economic life in Malta.
Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean
basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by
changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the
fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of
prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century.
[731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts,
epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean
in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable
Malta (B/556).

175 The major economic developments arising from the
184 growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the
511 Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various
178 stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic
life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the
chain of external events made their presence felt. In
all this the fortunes of one section of the population,
such as the farming community, could at no time stand
unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands
as a whole.

175 Malta remained sharply divided within itself by
178 class, district and education and the parallel differences
[184] of living standards between one section of society and
another were continued. But the later decades of the
[871] nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from
the economic plane, the beginnings of general education
which, during the present century, was to remove the
illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural
classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of
life and society outside the limits of the village.
[184] Improvements in transport and communication within the
[369] Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area
to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the
twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of
isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and
Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural
[621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been
a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little
contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages
in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the
forces indicated were beginning to modify the position
but it was not until the present century and particularly

178 [175] the years after 1939 that the cumulative effects of education, emancipation and communication were to produce a society very different from that which Maltese country folk had known for centuries (Section 1). [511] [184] It became different when the traditionally depressed sections of the community became restless and began to demand the improvements in their living standards which they came to believe should be theirs by right as well as need.

178 184 369 This is not to suggest that the present position of Maltese rural society is an 'end-product' of change. The opposite is true. The old and new exist side by side in agriculture and in the farming community of the Islands today. Some people, some places, and some features of life and work hold far more tenaciously to the old than do others where comparatively few years have seen considerable modifications of the traditional pattern.

175 458 464 511 By 1912, the Royal Commissioners were able to observe that the living standards of the labouring classes of Malta and Gozo compared well with those of other Mediterranean countries (B/186, p.25-6). "Building", they said. "is cheap and good and the country people are exceptionally well-housed". But, in their consideration of the economic state of the Islands as a whole, the Commissioners thought the picture much more gloomy. The depression which they found, though of only recent appearance, was being felt by the mass of the people, although "until the advent of the present depression, the condition of the people has been one of comparative comfort". To appreciate "The present distress, and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta.....it is necessary to recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former prosperity and employments, which depended to a large extent upon Imperial expenditure...." (B/186, p.12). Here did the Commissioners strike at the root of the problem which has grown to formidable proportions in the half-century since the report was made. They pointed to the position in which the economic structure of the country as a whole was based on the shifting sands of Imperial naval and military expenditure and in which the living standards of the Maltese population were therefore tied indirectly and directly to that Imperial expenditure. Moreover, within the Maltese population itself, it is not difficult to see that the first to be hit by a drop in Imperial expenditure (as happened between 1902 and 1911 and, again, in the post-1945 period) were and are the labouring and poorer classes generally lacking alternative employment in the Islands, in the event of their becoming redundant, and having often little or no capital reserves.

000 matter.

494 442 829 178 While the farmer does not favour the co-operative movement at present he is generally dissatisfied also with the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

208 654 474 44 The Government plan to centralize marketing on the one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the selling of produce on the other will not succeed without a great deal of patient education of the farmer supplemented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and Co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

464 184 178 In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

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lacking any education at all they took up farming as their natural calling" (B/387, p.9), but their sons are faced with a choice both between occupations and ways of life. Their education is enabling them to compete with other sections of society for industrial and other non-agricultural employment while their emancipation, in terms of access to the world outside the village, is leading them to think of escape from the lowly social status of their fathers. They have been brought up to appreciate the insecurity of farming with its inadequate and fluctuating income and have seen the technical limitations and the hard and monotonous schedule of work with which their fathers have had to contend in order to provide even the most frugal living standards for their families. In very many cases the younger generation have been actively discouraged by their elders from contemplating farming as a livelihood. Within society as a whole they see farming as something of a low 'caste' and one example of this is the opposition faced by many a young farmer if he wishes to marry into a non-farming family.

The importance of this revolt on the part of the younger generation is clear when one considers the topic of this Section. The current policy is to change the pattern of farming in the Islands and to raise the standards of living of the farmers by the variety of methods mentioned and these are, quite naturally, being aimed primarily at the present farmers, that is to say the older generation. But the future of farming depends on the future farmers who are, it would appear, leaving or have already left the industry. Many of them do not plan to stay in farming longer than the time necessary to find another occupation and they are consequently not concerned with loans, subsidies, lectures, and the work of the advisory service. The farming which they are anxious to leave will, it is hoped, change rapidly in response to the measure outlined. But, even if only a few years are needed to show substantial results and a better kind of farming is evolved, the younger generations may not be there to take over. Many of them will have emigrated from the Islands altogether and others will have left the villages for all manner of employment in the towns.

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829
The official aid to farming policy may fail, one fears, on two accounts:

(i) The measures designed to assist the farmer and farming have not yet been as successful as was hoped because of the difficulties of having rapid and far-reaching changes accepted by a suspicious, conservative and largely illiterate body of farmers,

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Candle and the solemn chanting of the "*Gloria in Excelsis Deo*" which is the signal for the uncovering of the Church pictures, which had been covered during the two preceding weeks, and the simultaneous ringing of all the Church bells which were kept hushed in token of mourning during the two preceding days. 796

General rejoicings now commence, and Easter greetings are profusely exchanged amongst all classes of the people.

Peculiar custom prevails in Valletta and Vittoriosa on Easter Eve. Just at sunset, two or three men, one with a big drum and the others with fifes, playing a merry tune, go about the streets, followed by large crowds of men, among whom noisy bands of lads, who keep rushing and pushing wildly all 796 533 184.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 533 184 the time through the spectators, each adding his quota to the universal clamour. Everything, however, is done in perfect good humour and no one dreams either of giving or taking offence. (*)

EASTER

796 Very early on Easter Sunday, before daylight, there is, in each town and in some of the villages of Malta, a procession with the image representing the Resurrection of our Lord.

The most popular of these processions is undoubtedly that of Valletta.

Large crowds of people assemble, as

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[171] (*) The Greeks celebrate the feast of Easter with singing and shouting in honour of the Resurrection --with crakling of a large bonfire on Easter evening and on Easter morning before daybreak.

(Brand's " Popular Antiquities").

796 [543] [438] [265] tables, piled with the castellated erections of honey and almonds, tempt those crowds of country people to spend what they have purposely put by for this annual holiday.

After three or four hours of high revel the wheeled vehicles return home with their jolly occupants singing all along the road.

Sta. MARIA

796 • 184 On the 15th of August, the day dedicated to the Assumption of the B. V. Mary (Santa Maria), nearly all the Island of Malta is *en fête*.

[103] Seven of the twentyfour villages, that is:—Casals Musta, Dingli, Attard, Crendi, Micabiba, Asciak and Gudia celebrate on this day their titular feast with the usual illuminations, fireworks and processions.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

EZ6 Malta EZ6

This feast is also celebrated with great pomp at the Cathedral Church of città Vittoria, Gozo, and for this reason our sister Island is, on the occasion, an attraction for the Maltese people. In fact, several steamers and launches decorated with coloured flags, are employed on the eve of the festival, and sometimes for some days before, transporting the vast concourse of people who, influenced either by a spirit of devotion or a desire to enjoy a pleasant trip, a healthy change, and a little fresh air, embrace the opportunity of paying a visit to the famed Island of Calypso to behold the festivities which take place there at the festival of "Santa Maria." 796 484 184

On the evening of the 14th the illuminations and fireworks are very splendid; the religious ceremonies, on that, 796

527 541 776 755 796 195 These races were first held on St. Roque's Feast day in consequence of the working of miraculous cures of the plague by St. Roque who was specially invoked by persons afflicted, while stricken himself with the desease, at Piacenza, in Italy.

THE "VITTORIA"

527 *Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary*

[796] The 8th. of September, the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is no doubt the grandest and the most popular day for the people of these Islands.

Both the streets and church of Senglea—the town in which the feast is celebrated—present on this occasion a most lively appearance.

[184) The grand illumination and the

beautiful display of fireworks, on the eve 527
of the festival, attract thousands of 184
spectators not only from the towns and
villages of Malta but also from the
sister Island.

Hundreds of Gozitans flock to Malta 527
in order, as it were, to take part in 175
the general rejoicings held on this 184
special day of the anniversary of the 648
raising of the great siege of Malta,
which ended in the total repulse of
the Turks, after a most heroic defence
by the Knights of St. John, united
to the bravery of the Maltese, under
the intrepid Grand Master Jean La
Valette, in 1565.

In the afternoon of the feast (8th 527
Sept.) the grand harbour presents indeed 526
a very lively appearance, there being
boat racing and the *giostra* or greasy
pole, the prizes for which are given

galleys come sailing across the square, 527
on wires stretched over the people's 541
heads, towards the fort, they open fire
in great style. One after the other
they meet their fate, for the fort peppers
them cruelly and finally sets them on
fire, so that soon—hulls, sails, masts,
yards, crescent flags, and all the warlike
things about them are in few seconds
wrapped in flames and destroyed.

Before leaving the description of the 527
celebration of this National *fète* at Vit- 735
toriosa, I wish to mention that hundreds
of loaves are distributed to the needy
of that town on the morning of the
feast.

Worth mentioning is the custom 184
which prevails, on the 7th of Sept. 527
among the women residing at Rabato 533
(Notabile) and in the country surround-
ing it. These, to celebrate the com-

184 527 533 memoration of the Victory won by the Maltese in the great siege of 1565, instead of coming to take part in the amusements held in Valletta and in the other towns, meet in groups on the terraces, or flat tops of their houses, and keep singing merrily till very late at night.

ANOTHER NATIONAL FEAST

527 186 The celebration of the glorious victory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565 has been of good use to the Maltese, It has enabled them to comprehend more keenly the historic value of this Island.

[175] [648] In fact, some two years ago another national commemoration has originated at Città Vecchia, on the 3rd or 4th Sunday of September, to celebrate the

796 in companies to some one of their
574 friends, at whose house they amuse them-
262 selves eating honey cakes and pancakes
or fritters, and playing for nuts till the
church bells ring a little before or after
midnight.

At the conclusion of the service they come out again and devote the remainder of the night to amusements.

796 The approaching festival of Christmas
534 is heralded in some of the villages of
[184] Malta by the appearance of the "zakk"
and "tambur" players in the streets. (*)

[237] The *zakk* or bagpipe is a wind inst-
rument—one of the primitive instruments of sylvan music—formed of an inflated dog skin, which is held by the player under his left arm, with the legs

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[541] (*) The *Zakk* and tambourine are also in use amongst our lower classes on the days of Carnival.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

585 ered flowers upon them, also nuts and grains of wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.

[184] [535] [465] [431] At a village wedding the company danced during the feast; each dancer throwing a piece of money to the fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast.

[591] The bride always passed a week in her father's house, after which she was received with much pomp by her husband whose relations gave a great feast which was called il *hargia.*

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796
THE SWEETHEART'S BARGAIN

585 In the marriage contract, they have it for a pact,
675 That he takes her to the Feste and sets her on a wall.
[262] That he buys her cakes of sweetmeat, of the sort with hempseed
made.
For that's the kind of sweetmeat a bride likes best of all.

It is believed that such a clause used actually to be embodied in the written contract drawn up by the parents and the go-between.

796 [84] Each little hamlet has its own feast, in honour of its own particular patron. Each has its own peculiar forms. Of the national feasts that of St. John naturally occupies a place of considerable importance. Certain aspects of its celebration, however, indicate that the Order of St. John was not alone responsible for the enthusiasm which this saint inspires. Busuttil, who has already been quoted at some length, writes of the Feast of St. John as follows: 796 372

> "Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating the Nativity of St. John by kindling great fires in the public streets, and giving their children dolls to carry in their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist 'Multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt.'
>
> Days and even weeks before this festival groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs, and all sorts of other combustibles which they store up for St. John's Eve.
>
> On the night of June 23rd, the day before the festival of the Saint, great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the Island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking.
>
> These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being

102 Fig. 64 shows the distribution in Malta of Maltese Dockyard workers by
464 residence as a proportion of the total regional populations. The zones of con-
504 centration are centred on the Three Cities, and the great importance of Dock-
yard employment in the North-East as a whole, a phenomenon more than a
century old (19), is clear. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the much
[361] smaller association of Dockyard employment with the belt of urban settlement
which stretches from Valletta westwards to Lija. Conversely, the northern third
of the Island, most recently settled and still relatively sparsely populated, has
very little indeed to do with Grand Harbour. Gozo, still more remote, had but
25 Dockyard workers. Some 417 English workers were employed in the Dockyard
most of them living in the suburban residential areas west of Valletta, 75 per
cent. in contiguous Sliema, St. Julians and Gżira.

Thus we see the one part of the climax of that change in Malta which, com-
mencing in the sixteenth century, swung the economic centre of gravity from
the Centre to the North-East. During the last century the new conurbation
extended its grip on the rest of the Island. Police Traffic Records (20) show
[494] part of this effect; on the 5th February, 1958, a normal day, 28 special buses,
in addition to public transport, carried 930 Dockyard employees to work from
a zone extending to Birżebbuġa, Żurrieq, Siġġiewi, Dingli, Rabat, Mosta and
north-eastwards to St. Julians.

Here we have reason and space only for the briefest of notes on current
● 185 economic conditions. For more complete statements the reader is referred to
504 the recent publications of the Maltese Department of Trade and Industry. As
a result of Britain's reappraisal of her strategic needs, the old Naval Dockyard
was handed over to a civilian firm by April 1959. Some emotional reaction has

rather obscured the simultaneous mounting of a five-year Economic Development Plan. This is aimed at the establishment of manufacturing industries and envisages the expenditure of over £32,000,000, the bulk of which is to be contributed by the United Kingdom. Internal Legislation under the Aids to Industries Ordinance XXI of 1959 offers attractive terms to immigrant and local enterprises. At Marsa, an Industrial Estate is rapidly being built, public utilities are being extended and facilities for technical and craft training improved. Completion is expected in 1961 of the first commercial deep-water quays, complete with storage and handling facilities. Several British business interests have already responded to these new attractions. 185 504

However, the fundamental characteristics of the Maltese economy and society remain, and the whole complex of resources, appraisal of resources and social needs and demands must be appreciated before effective forces of change will appear.

As a last short study we turn to the development of communications and public transport in the Maltese Islands, which is of significance for two main reasons. First, in the pattern that has appeared we can see the interplay of all those forces, Imperial and indigenous, which have affected Maltese life. Secondly, although the Islands are small, distance and remoteness are everywhere measured mentally as well as physically, and the impact of modern transport has revolutionised Maltese life. The road pattern in Malta is complex and generally ancient (Fig. 68).[1] It is impossible to categorise past and present roads sufficiently precisely to show cartographically the changes that have taken place and description must necessarily be brief. As shown in Worsley's survey of 1824 (21), the main alignments were then concentrated in the central region. Away from the grid-plan streets of Valletta and the less geometrical Three Cities (22), cart and carriage roads ran out to the main casals (within the zone referred to above as now served by Dockyard special buses) and inter-connected most of the rural centres. That part of the Island north of the Victoria Lines was poorly served. In Gozo, country tracks connected the villages with the inland capital of Rabat which in turn had a carriage road to the port of Mgarr. 491

By 1911 (23) traffic had increased considerably, particularly within a four-mile radius of Valletta, and the Royal Commissioners of that year ventured to question on financial grounds the need for maintaining the very large mileage of the dense central and eastern network of roads, most of which as the result of long customary use and evolution were of equal status although often strictly unnecessary. The northern and southern coastlands were still served only by a few 'feeder lines' from interior settlements, but with the bridging of the Isperanza gorge at Mosta, that town had become a route focus for the whole of the northern territory and henceforward began to rival Rabat. Military needs had resulted in improvements being made to some roads but, more important still, had called into being in 1881 a railway running from Valletta to Rabat, and later extended expensively to the camp and hospital at Mtarfa. By 1911 the operating loss had become so great as to warrant special inquiry by the Commission. The failure was due partly to the fact that the system had not been designed on commercial lines, partly because the total demand for transport was still relatively small in the areas served, but mainly because a railway service could not be flexible enough to meet the particular demand that did exist. In 1905 a tramway system, less open to objection on all these grounds, was opened. First the area between Valletta, Marsa and Hamrun was served, and later lines were built to Żebbuġ. Designed for passenger rather than freight carrying, the tramways assisted in the extension of urban influence into the country. Then as now, however, that indented coastal configuration to which Malta owes her natural harbours, and around which resides the majority of the island's population, made land communication in the conurbation area tortuous and lengthy. Innumerable ferries and the *dghajjes* boats in Marsamxett and Grand Harbour offered more convenient carriage. 496 [505]

During and after World War I, motor vehicles made their appearance and the railroad and tramways rapidly disappeared leaving as sole traces of their 494

[1] [See P. 184- AnB-Analyst]

178 722 744 low levels. Earlier improvements probably supplied the basis for change but more important was the fact that, for the first time, the effective Garrison of Malta included the whole population. The new machinery for public information, the desperate need for reducing disease incidence and preventing epidemics, and even food rationing and shortage had cumulatively beneficial effects on the public mind. More than all, it would seem, the military control of the besieged islands with its conscription of many Maltese males and the increased contact of British troops with the people, together with that strange uniting exaltation in face of danger observed in other countries, all shocked Malta into new ways of thought (Fig. 66).

178 744 After the war this momentum was maintained during the period of reconstruction. The Malta Memorial District Nursing Association, Child Health Clinics, and U.N.-established ante-natal clinics have now been accepted and their services utilised. In 1959 the infantile mortality rate was 34.7 per 1,000, leaving the memory of the rate of 350 per 1,000 in 1942 far behind.

This revolutionary change is of particular revelance to this study. Many of its implications need no labouring. The demographic consequences, for instance, are obvious enough, as also the slowness with which traditional ways of life in Malta have changed. For us the most important consequence is that rising generations through a new awareness of causation and consequence, of scientific processes, are becoming vulnerable to new ideas in associated fields. There are no great steps between preventive human medicine, inoculation, livestock injections and an appreciation of plant pathology. One difficulty remains; the rural areas are the least affected by these recent changes and those individuals in the countryside who are mentally injected with new ideas and understanding are, for various reasons, the least likely to remain in agriculture. [369] [185]

178 234 744 [164] Exemplifying this continuing regional dichotomy, but unity in complexity, is the recent history of milk consumption and production (13). Traditionally in Malta, 'the entire milk supply has been delivered by the goat herself' (14). Sometimes living with their flocks in the *fossa* which surround Valletta, the herdsmen would wander the streets, milking the animals on demand. Bruce and Zammit in 1885 and 1905 showed that the bacillus of Undulant or Malta Fever was freely excreted in goats milk and that the high incidence in Malta of this debilitating, sometimes lethal, disease was a natural consequence of the general albeit low per capita consumption of fresh milk from predominantly diseased goats. After considerable investigation, a milk pasteurising plant was erected and the first pasteurised milk was distributed, Valletta, Floriana and Sliema being declared 'closed areas' within which the sale of raw milk became illegal. During World War II, further extension of this policy was prevented but, since most goats were slaughtered for meat because of fodder shortage and because consumption of tinned milk became normal, the incidence of Malta fever fell to record low levels. Post-war revival in goats' milk production resulted in general re-infection by brucellosis and in 1946 the incidence of undulant fever was the highest ever recorded. During the post-war period public health and welfare policies have encouraged the consumption of milk. Because of the incidence of Malta fever, this has entailed the provision of expensive pasteurising plant, the prevention of the sale of unpasteurised, and the official encouragement of production of cows' rather than goats' milk.

178 744 185 This particular development is examined at greater length in Chapter X but some main points of general import merit consideration here. First, Maltese society has recently been affected by social, dietetic and medical policies which profoundly affect the basis of social life. In general one might say that the Maltese way of life is being made more remote from the simple crudities of parochial experience. Secondly, in the field of health and social welfare, the criterion of scientifically measured need has been adopted as the basis of official policy and the question of availability of resources is regarded as of secondary importance. Thirdly, this increasing social sophistication has only very recently become operative in Maltese life and different scales of value exist in different generations and in different social groups. Lastly, it would be fair to say that, while the urban markets are still only relatively fastidious

about quality and as yet incompletely dominated by ideas of welfare economics,
178 the rural community is far less affected by change. While milk consumers in
185 the towns are often either not completely convinced of the need for milk process-
ing or at the other extreme will use only imported tinned milk where possible,
244 the producers are generally even less convinced of the need for care in the
production of clean milk. Unpasteurised goats' milk is still generally used in
those farming households where milk is consumed at all, and understanding of
the processes of infection is but slowly growing. Thus, in the field of public
health and personal hygiene and medical care, social changes have been rapid,
recent and uneven in incidence. Here, as in the economic sector, the mental
acceptance of new ideas is not yet complete and is least advanced in the most
rural and remote regions.

The examination already made of the demographic situation in the Maltese
163 Islands needs some brief consideration against the background of social
369 attitudes. The consensus of expert opinion is that in developing societies a falling
birth rate is the result not of an actual decline in fertility but of family
842 limitation. In most regions such a decline in family size is associated with
changed social attitudes, which have become accepted in many countries in which
795 Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion. Pope Pius XII himself condemned
irresponsible parenthood and said it is 'a mistake and a departure from moral
truth to exalt too highly the generative function even in its right moral setting
of married life' (15).

The insularity and historical experience of Malta have preserved there a more rigid and strict application of Catholic rules of conduct, in which, despite the inadequacy of the Islands' resources to provide for the economic welfare of the population, the virtues of the large family are still stressed. Archbishop Gonzi in 1958 reminded an audience of young people that, although large families entailed much sacrifice on the part of the parents, parents should be prepared for a life of sacrifice (16). Father Vella, the founder of the Cana movement has said: 'One of Malta's glories is her large families' (17).

In Malta therefore the weight of the Church tends to discourage the secular social trend towards smaller families, and still makes illegal any provision for family limitation. Where secularism is strongest, in the urban cosmopolis, family size declines most rapidly. In the rural communities, where the precepts of the Church are most conscientiously observed and where the effect of secular socio-economic desires is most restricted, large families are normal and admired.

This regional contrast in social behaviour, when superimposed upon purely
163 demographic variations in rates of population growth, becomes sometimes
emphasised and sometimes negated. In the northern third of Malta, inward
369 internal movement as a consequence of 'pioneer' agricultural settlement during
and after the mid-nineteenth century produced a 'young' population, high birth
842 rates and rates of natural increase. This region has remained almost entirely
rural in social character. The second main region of inward movement of
population, the suburban area, has experienced a recent decline in the early
high birth rates as a result of the impact of secular ideas.

The urban heart of Malta in Valletta and Floriana by contrast, has been both
traditionally a zone of outward movement of population and the district most
affected by changes in social attitudes to family propagation. The remaining
area, the heart and core of Maltese 'casal' life, illustrates clearly the delicate
balance between demographic and religious and secular social influences. From
[166] this central area have traditionally gone the migrants to the new towns and the
'new' northern farming areas. The efflux has counteracted the traditionally rural
and strongly religious tendency towards large families and a high rate of natural
increase. On the southern fringe of this zone however lies the Żurrieq group
of 'casals' and villages. From this until recently relatively isolated district,
emigration has never been high and, with a survival of traditional rural values,
this region has had in the 1950's the consistently highest birth rates - over 30
per 1,000 - of the *Maltese* population.

TABLE 3

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654

Year	Purchased by M.M.U.		Surplus		Percentage cows' milk	
1943-44	510,000	gallons			27	
1948-49	776,000	"				
1950-51	1,298,000	"			35	(1951)
1952-53	1,795,000	"	99,000	gallons	44	(1951)
1954-55	2,390,000	"	275,000	"	48	(1955)
1956-57	3,542,000	"	391,000	"	57	(1956)

234 654 178 A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII (Section 6) shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production. [434] Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions (Section 2) but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

185 829 439 Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in time as far as the management of his farm is concerned so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this Section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricacies of the export market for Maltese agricultural produce[42]. 439 The fact that Maltese produce for export

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
● 185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is difficult
to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
241 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
178 the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the present nevertheless Gużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
362 £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
[427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a new house and include near it accommodation for his animals. For his large family of wife and eight children the house, though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
54 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
461 distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can himself operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
464 animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
654 when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

659 A Papal Delegate visited Malta and concluded that the differences
between the government and the Church could best be
settled by means of a concordat. During most of the year following
the Papal Delegate's visit, Britain tried unsuccessfully to
negotiate a concordat and to get the Holy See to forbid the Maltese
clergy to take part in the general elections scheduled for May
1930. The Vatican, however, declared that Strickland was not
persona grata and that as long as he remained in power, a concordat
was not possible.

In Malta, the relations between the Strickland Government and
the Church went from bad to worse. In April 1930, two Constitutional
Party Ministers gathered many sworn statements that
Monsignor Gonzi, the Bishop of Gozo, had instructed priests to
preach against the Constitutional Party and to refuse absolution
666 to its supporters. This inquiry greatly angered the Church. On the
659 first of May, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo issued a joint
648 pastoral which forbade people to vote for Strickland or those candidates
[664] who supported him. In view of the spiritual sanctions that
[642] threatened people who voted for the candidates of one of the two
major parties, Britain had no option but to cancel the elections. It
subsequently suspended the constitution, but kept the Strickland
ministers on as advisers.

197 A Royal Commission went to Malta to investigate the trouble.
64 Following its report, Britain restored the constitution and
665 abolished the teaching of Italian in primary schools. In June 1932
666 the Nationalists defeated Strickland and his supporters in a bitterly
contested election in which 96 per cent of the electorate
voted. However, their period in office was very brief. The
Governor dismissed them in November 1933 for deliberately
evading the constitutional provisions regarding language, for they
had set about to re-establish the primacy of Italian in the educational
system and the civil service. Once again the administration
of the islands became the responsibility of the Governor.

● 186 During the fourteen years of Governor's rule which followed,
64 the deep wounds caused by the long, harsh political conflict
slowly healed. The first Italian bombs of the war finally killed the
language dispute. The united defence effort and the common
suffering caused by the prolonged bombardment further helped
to reunite political rivals and suppress parochial quarrels. Britain
awarded the people of Malta and Gozo the George Cross for

186 64 their heroism, and after the war restored representative government.

665 666 In the first election under the new constitution, the people voted overwhelmingly for the Labour Party, then led by Dr. Paul Boffa. But in 1949 a disagreement between Dr. Boffa and his Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction, Mr. Dom Mintoff, split the party. The Nationalists, with the support of Dr. Boffa's new Workers' Party, formed the next few governments. Dom Mintoff's Malta Labour Party gradually swallowed the Workers' Party and finally defeated the Nationalists in the 1955 general election.

659 There was almost constant friction between the Church and the Mintoff Government during the three years it was in office. From the outset, Mintoff showed himself reluctant to submit to the authority of the Church. His refusal to pay the traditional call on the Archbishop, Monsignor Gonzi, when he took office was symbolic of this independence. Many incidents contributed to the disagreement between the two, which grew more intense as both became more outspoken in their criticism of each other. Perhaps the most serious clash occurred over the Archbishop's stand on the Government's proposal to link Malta more closely with Britain. On the eve of a referendum concerning this proposal, Monsignor Gonzi made a broadcast in which he said that he could not support the integration proposal because Mintoff had failed (whether by design or circumstance is an open question) to secure adequate guarantees from Britain to protect the position of the Roman Catholic religion. In spite of this, the electorate supported Mintoff's proposal; but relations between the Labour Party and the Archbishop remained strained.

186 659 Then, shortly before he resigned, Mintoff sparked off a sharp dispute with the Church by hanging in the National Museum a painting taken from St. John's Co-Cathedral. Originally, the government had sent the painting, a Caravaggio, to Italy to be restored. But the government seized it when it returned and declared that since the Co-Cathedral was government property, the painting was a national treasure that should be properly cared for and displayed to the public. In the course of the acrimonious dispute which followed, Mintoff, who had appealed the matter to the Vatican, was ordered by the Holy See to return the painting. He finally returned it on the night before he resigned.

361 landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of
369 the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the
464 greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to
work in this area.

Differences in language, dress and education set many of the
369 villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be
so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in
contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries.
[565 The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so con-
177] sidered, have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of
these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth
century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who
struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen,
whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

177 There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants
and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the
19 English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of
369 whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also
differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken
in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English
words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their
preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema
the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*,
which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà*
(mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however,
are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged
to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

● 186 The social and cultural differences between town and country
have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was
369 often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who
829 goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe,
tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The
villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who
spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for
the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross
exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth.
But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices
369 in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary
871 level.

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[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barnett, 1615), p. 234.

owns no land or other property in common and its inhabitants 621
are rarely called upon or choose to work for a common end. At [186]
the same time, villagers are conscious of belonging to a distinct
social entity which is distinguished from other villages by a
collective nickname and a common sub-culture.

Many villages have a dialect quite distinct from that of their 184
neighbours, which the inhabitants, even those who have learned 197
to speak 'correctly' (*bil-pulit*), normally use to each other; 621
although they will invariably address strangers in their school
Maltese. There are also a number of minor variations of certain
customs between villages or districts. These may include the way
church bells are rung to announce a death or the way some aspects
of the festas are organized. Finally, each village has its own very
private body of gossip, stories, scandals and jokes, which makes
up a part of its history and tradition that is not shared with
outsiders.

As a congregation and a religious corporation, the village *qua* 421
parish owns land and other property, including the parish church. 423
It also has an appointed leader in the parish priest. The inhabitants 621
of the village meet regularly for worship, to take part in religious 794
processions and to carry out other devotional activities. Further- 796
more, they act together to celebrate the annual festa of the patron
saint, who symbolizes the unity of the secular and religious aspects
of the village, for he is patron of both village and parish.

A village can also be regarded as a moral community. That is, 621
people who live there must conform to a certain code of conduct. 626
While the community cannot enforce this code with the type of
formal sanctions the police and the Church use to punish infractions of secular and religious laws, public opinion can, and does,
exert great pressure for conformity. A person who flouts the
canons of convention becomes the object of malicious gossip and,
depending on the nature of the offence, he may also become the
target of overt hostile action and have his house front splashed
with paint, or his front door burned. The only way to escape
from the sanctions of public opinion is to move to one of the urban
areas or the expanding new suburbs, where licence can be
relatively anonymous.

Members of a village thus share a common body of custom and 186
tradition; they also display an intense loyalty to their place of 621
birth. This sense of loyalty is strongest during the annual festa of 796

● 186 the village, which draws in native sons and daughters from all over
621 the country, and often from as far away as Canada and Australia.
This loyalty is also evident at other times. Villagers like to think of
796 themselves as a united body, and they take care to protect the
appearance of unity before strangers. This is an attitude of which
186 anyone studying the social history of a village becomes keenly
aware. Strangers are thus treated with great reserve. The inhabitants
609 of the smaller villages are well known for their reluctance to
621 give any information about their neighbours to strangers. Inquiring
visitors are often referred to the parish priest, who, as
village spokesman, screens them and, if possible, deals with their
questions. The reserve of a village *vis-à-vis* a stranger is considerably
[627] more than just an expression of village loyalty. Present also
is the very real fear of vengeance should the answer to a stranger's
question lead to some unpleasantness for a neighbour. Social
relations in a small village are to a very considerable extent
governed by the proverb 'Don't make an enemy of your neighbour'
(*Tagħmilx għadu lil ġarek*).

In view of this loyalty, it is not surprising that people express
628 their solidarity with their native village by opposition to other
villages. A village's traditional rivals are usually those with which
it has the most frequent contact. I was almost invariably warned
by villagers that the inhabitants of the neighbouring village were
a treacherous and savage lot. There are many tales of hostility
between neighbouring villages, especially over the celebration of
the annual festa, which I dare say have lost nothing in retelling. I
was told a number of stories of how youths stampeded goats
through their rivals' festa processions, and of expeditions which
stole fireworks, attacked street decorations and performed other
daring escapades. Although most of these adventures are said to
have taken place many years ago, they are no more unusual than
some of the incidents that I witnessed.

If the intense inter-village rivalry of former times has abated
[178] somewhat, it is probably because increased education and contact
outside the villages have helped to break down ignorance and
[796] isolation. But this rivalry still lies dormant, and may flare up at the
slightest provocation from a traditional rival; I have seen a number
526 of fights over trivial incidents during festas and football
[712] matches. The number of police at village feasts and the quantity
and density of the barbed-wire entanglements at the Schreiber

club and a sports club. In Farrug, for instance, there are two band 575
clubs – one of which is dedicated to St. Martin, the other to St.
Roque – a football club and an active Labour Party committee;
while Kortin has a band club, a social club, a Labour club, a
football club and a troop of Boy Scouts. The term secular, used 575
in this context, requires a few words of qualification. Although 794
clubs and associations which I have called secular do not form part
of the Church, this does not necessarily mean that they are
opposed to it, or are cut off from it. Quite the contrary. Almost
every club has a chaplain who serves as a link between it and the
parish priest. Most clubs take part in certain religious functions,
especially during the week preceding Easter. Moreover, many of [778]
the clubs have dedicated themselves to the Sacred Heart of Jesus
and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary by means of special religious
ceremonies. Often this dedication is renewed annually. Only [665]
the clubs of the Malta Labour Party do not have any linkage with
the Church.

The band clubs are the most important secular societies. They 575
are formally constituted associations with elected committees,
premises of their own and a large body of dues-paying members
drawn from all occupational and social classes. The first band
clubs were established shortly after the middle of the last century
in order to organize the external celebrations and provide music
for the annual festas of village patron saints. The clubs multiplied
rapidly, and soon became civic and social centres. They have [536]
broadened their scope to include dramatic groups, reading rooms [525]
and places where members can gamble out of sight of the watchful
eyes of the law. Most clubs have large concert halls that can
be used for wedding receptions. Today, each club usually has a
well-stocked bar, a television set and a billiards table.

But a band club is more than just a social centre. As it usually
plays an important part in organizing the external celebration of
the annual festa, the men who run the club make decisions which
affect all the inhabitants. Furthermore, the club often represents 575
the community to the outside world. Not only is the club's brass 574
band considered as the village's band when it plays at other festas, [186]
but the club also provides a welcome to important visitors from
outside. Thus when the Governor or the Archbishop makes an
official visit, he normally calls on the band clubs, where he is
given a reception on behalf of the entire village.

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
795 of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
565 up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
[591] were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
197 were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutterals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential
independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

628 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gozo that a
186 man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to
point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some
comparatively recent date[13].

Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic
621 structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese
793 village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest,
795 and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely
an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church
by the new features and modifications of the old landscape
in the present.

175 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young
361 Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement
has acquired the essential features common to rural society
throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria
Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on
account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the
sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in
the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church
[172] in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1580[14]. Evidence, too,
of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat
(2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the
village.

However, in the early part of the nineteenth century,
175 farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now
361 the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of
793 the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell
795 (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general
movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an
independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual
needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from
Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of
St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918.
Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr
had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to
their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the
Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning
Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area per-
175 manently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a
346 full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and
[793] settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a
new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the popula-
tion of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911).
[463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect con-
cerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

Str. Reale, from Fort St. Elmo to 527
Porta Reale, is aglow with the red and 186
white colours of Malta and knights' flags; and at night is ablaze with thousands of variegated lights.

St. George's Square—opposite the 527
Governor's Palace—is ornamented with 186
splendid clusters of flags, pennons, gon- 543
falons, shields, battle axes, spears, captured cannons and some entire suits of armour, kindly lent from the Palace collection. These suits create great interest, being the original property of the knights, some of the pieces bearing the evidence of shots and sabre cuts.

From the various stands, selected 527
national bands fill the city with sweet [533]
music, and in the evening elaborate fire-works illustrate the figures and deeds of the knights.

In connection with this feast, horse 000

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The square is most tastefully got up with splendid trophies of arms and red and white flags. From each of the trophies broad red and white sashes are seen hanging, on which the names of those who distinguished themselves by some brave and noble deed in the memorable siege, are written in gold letters. 527 186

The decorations of the column of Victory, in the middle of the square, are simply magnificent. This column is surrounded by four figures, representing 4 Grand Masters in full armour, one of these is the immortal LA VALETTE, who at the head of his knights, and supported by the population of Malta—men, women, and children—succeeded in hurling back, discomfited and disgraced, the Moslem, that would from Malta have sallied forth to the conquest of Europe. 527 186 211

During the day the bands, playing 527 533

184 527 533 memoration of the Victory won by the Maltese in the great siege of 1565, instead of coming to take part in the amusements held in Valletta and in the other towns, meet in groups on the terraces, or flat tops of their houses, and keep singing merrily till very late at night.

ANOTHER NATIONAL FEAST

527 •186 The celebration of the glorious victory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565 has been of good use to the Maltese, It has enabled them to comprehend more keenly the historic value of this Island.

[175] [648] In fact, some two years ago another national commemoration has originated at Città Vecchia, on the 3rd or 4th Sunday of September, to celebrate the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

liberation of the Maltese from the yoke 527
of the Saracens by Count Roger of 186
Normandy in the year 1090. [175] [648]

A liberal programme is now annually arranged by the Committee embracing every kind of attraction at Notabile.

PILGRIMAGES TO MELLEHA (*) 778

On the last two Sundays of September, every year, the roads leading to 788
Melleha are alive with merry parties, especially country people, on their way to that village, in order to visit the

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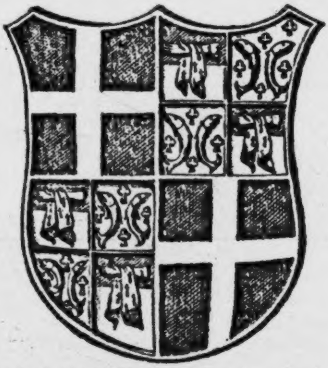
(*) Melleha is a village some 10½ miles distant [361]
from Valletta, and about an hour's ride from St. Paul's Bay. It is renowned for the very old, perhaps the oldest, Sanctuary in the world, dedicated to the
B. Virgin. This Sanctuary was founded by St. Paul, [776]
the great Apostle of the Gentiles, while he was in Malta (58 A. D.) for the convenience of the faithful
who lived in those neighbourhoods. Over the small [532]
altar is a picture of St. Mary, covering another old drawing of the same, executed by St. Luke.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

346 178 As regards the ecclesiastical buildings, it is permissible to regret the disappearance of all but one or two—the most notable survivor is Zejtun's "Old Parish Church" of S. Gregory—of the modest mediæval village churches, swept away to make room for the spacious, florid Baroque shrines that now raise their towers and domes high above the flat roofs of the casals. But we stand amazed at the architectural effort and achievement of the Knights in Malta in the days of their Order's greatness. Justly could they have said with Wren, "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*"

● 186



Arms of G. M. de L'Isle Adam above the Burial-place of his Entrails in Ta Ġiesu Church, Rabat

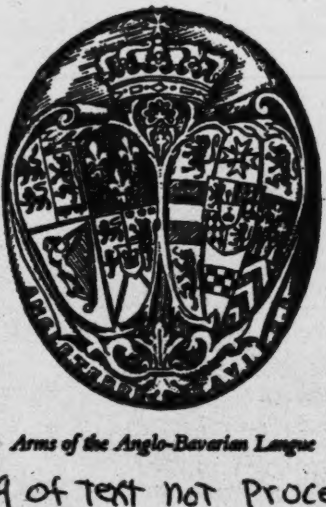
[pp. 57-64 not processed. Plates facing pp. 64 and 65 have been processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

hors-d'œuvres" of the rich mass of material available on the subject, which is all that the modest authoress allows herself to claim for her work.

113 Equally indispensable for the effect on Valetta, and Malta generally, of the Second World War is the admirably produced *Report to accompany the Outline Plan for the Region of Valletta and the Three Cities*, prepared for the Government of Malta by Austen St B. Harrison and R. Pearce Hubbard and published by that Government in 1945. Useful also is Hugh Braun's *Works of Art in Malta: Losses and Survivals in the War*, published by His Majesty's Stationery Office in 1946. The architecture of Malta during the period of the Order is fully dealt with in Dr Quentin Hughes's workmanlike study *The Building of Malta, 1530–1795*, published in 1956 by Tiranti.

● 186



Arms of the Anglo-Bavarian Langue

[pp. 69-109 of text not processed. Plates facing pp. 80, 81, 96, 97, 104 and 105 have been processed]

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MAIN GATE INTO MDINA, WITH ARMS OF GRAND MASTER MANOEL DE VILHENA

[*See p.* 89.]

INSIDE OF SAME, WITH ARMS OF INGUANEZ FAMILY

[*See p.* 92.]

THE LATE BARONESS INGUANEZ ALIGHTING FROM HER OLD FAMILY CALÈCHE, MDINA

291
493
342
373

STRADA
DEICELSI

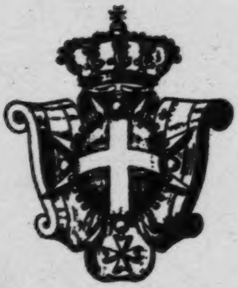
[facing p. 104, (A)]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

600 ears, a share of their own cosmopolitan culture, of their own standards of civilized life and manners.

They also, it would appear, taught the Maltese how to
262 cook if the origin of some of the more savoury Maltese
177 dishes—*imbuljuta* and *zalzett*, *pastizzi* and *kusksu*, has been correctly ascribed to the kitchens of the Grand Masters' palaces and Auberges of the Knights. One island speciality has even made its way into the *haute cuisine* of Europe as the perfect accompaniment of boiled turbot and similar fish. It is *Sauce Maltaise*—a *Hollandaise* encarnadined and additionally flavoured with the juice and finely shredded peel of the blood-orange, which can be of a deeper red in Malta than anywhere else in the world.

•186



Arms of the Order of S. John

[pp. 111–119 of Text have not been processed. plates facing p. 112, and 113 have been processed].

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 would have survived Tommasi as well. He died at Montpellier, a destitute and lonely exile, in May 1805, six months after the Emperor Napoleon had confirmed the annual pension of 300,000 francs which General Bonaparte had undertaken to pay him in 1798 by the Convention of the capitulation of Valetta.

Henry Harland closes one of his short stories with the reflection that while all good things come to him who waits, they sometimes come to him too late, and sometimes may come too early. True, no doubt; but the former is probably the commoner misfortune. At all events, the change in his luck came too late for poor Hompesch. When he died there was no money for the doctors or for the cost of the funeral, and he was buried by the Confraternity of the Blue Penitents of Montpellier under the altar of their chapel, in a plain unpainted coffin of soft wood. No inscription marked his obscure resting-place.[1]

He was spared the irony that it should bear his family's haughty motto: "*Frangor nec flector*—I may be broken, but I cannot be bent."

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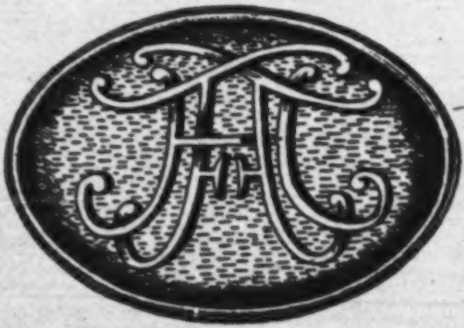
[1] *Cf.* De Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Monuments des Grands-Maîtres de l'Ordre de St Jean* (Paris, 1829, vol. ii, p. 322). One of Hompesch's personal standards is preserved in the Armoury of the Tower of London. Another is at St John's Gate.

•186



Monogram of G. M. Hompesch

From the mantelpiece of his bedroom (now the Governor's Office) in the Palace.

[PP. 121-141 of Text have not been Processed. Plates facing PP. 128, and 129 have been Processed].

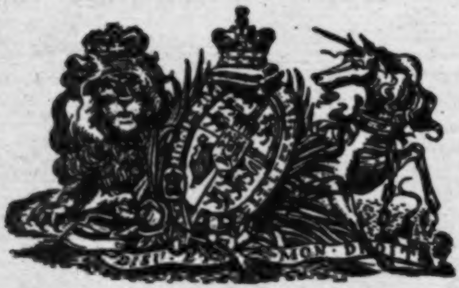
9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

masons have found it possible to comply with a suggestion of mine that the two originals should be pieced together and replaced, for the sake of continuity, in their original position.

Also, as regards the handsome carved stone balcony, crumbling fragments of the original balcony were found in sufficient quantity to make it possible for the entire design to be reconstituted.

2/7 The Bondi Palace, thus saved from disappearance, is destined to be the Museum of Gozo.

•/86



The British Royal Arms: 1801–16

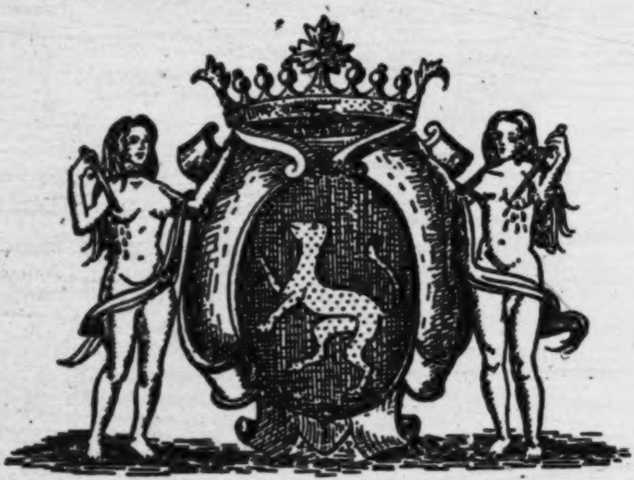
From the early numbers of "The Malta Government Gazette"

[pp. 143-196 of text not processed. Plates facing pp. 144, 145, 160, 161, 192 and 193 have been processed].

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

800 more outstanding examples, in Bulletin No. 1 of the Malta Institute of Historical Research by Sir Hannibal Scicluna, whose name is almost synonymous with that of the Library he so long and enthusiastically directed. Other "classifications" comprise the minutes of the Council of the Order,

•/186



Arms of Devalbelle Latour

800 the Council of State, Chapter-General and the Congregation of War, the Chancery registers, the records of the Order's Commanderies abroad, ecclesiastical affairs, the Inquisition, the administration of the Sacred Infirmary and of the Navy, the affairs of the several Langues. They include, in short, the multifarious matters with which a body that was not only a quasi-military, quasi-religious, militant and Hospitaller organization with property in every country in Christendom, but also the ruler of islands set in the midst of all the cross-currents of Europe, could be expected to be concerned. One interesting "classification" also includes Papal Bulls concerning two other Crusading Orders—the Teutonic Knights, who still exist, and the Knights Templar, whose dramatic

[pp. 198-201 of text not processed.]

is no sacrifice they will not gladly make for the greater 794
dignity and beauty of their churches. Take, for example, the case of Mġarr—one of the smallest and poorest of the parishes of Malta and the one most cherished by that great seaman and lover of Malta, the late Admiral Sir W. W. Fisher. Here between the two wars the inhabitants, nearly all hard-working peasants, under the enthusiastic leadership of their parish priest, Father (later Monsignor) Edgar Salomone, built a great new church by their own efforts, bringing their weekly contributions to the building fund in eggs and fowls and vegetables and whatever else they produce.

At street corners statues of saints, sometimes also of souls 532
enveloped in a purgatorial blaze, afford them ever-present 778
reminders, encouraging or minatory as the case may be, of 796
the next world; in this one they love the great ecclesiastical ceremonies, particularly the processions which are one of the features of Maltese life. These assume on Good Friday something of the character of a Passion Play, with members of lay confraternities staggering along Merchants' Street in Valetta beneath the weight of life-size groups of the Passion carved with gruesome realism. I have also seen these processions in Palermo, where I have been shocked at the flippancy and irreverence not so much of the onlookers as of the actual participants. The Maltese play their parts in these functions with profound and solemn devoutness. Indeed, [783]
some of them may be bearing their burden, whatever it is, in fulfilment of a self-imposed penance, concealing their features behind a hood with eye-holes that covers the head.

But on the annual *festa*, the local saint's day, of their 527
village they give themselves up wholeheartedly to rejoicings, which are definitely on the noisy side. For they are punctuated by the explosions of crackers, maroons and every procurable form of noise-producing apparatus, and they are illuminated by ingenious, locally made fireworks. On these days the casals are a brave sight as they fly [186]
from the top of every house of any importance the flag of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

•186 527 the Grand Master who was their founder or their patron,
gay with the rich heraldry and colouring of the last phase
of the age of chivalry. We have seen in Chapter XII that
643 Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch, inglorious but
186 Maltese-speaking and on excellent terms with the Maltese
527 country-folk, gave one of his names and his special patronage
103 to no fewer than three of the casals. Zabbar's subsidiary name was Città Hompesch, that of Siġġiewi Città Ferdinando, that of Zejtun Città Beland, the maiden name (Bylandt) of Hompesch's mother. Similarly, Curmi was known alternatively as Città Pinto, Zebbuġ as Città Rohan. In the cases of Senglea and Pawla the Grand Masters de la Sengle and de Paule were actually the founders.

It affords a pleasant and richly coloured glimpse into a romantic past, and happy evidence of the attachment of the Maltese to their unique historical traditions, to see the great square armorial flags of these Grand Masters in their proper tinctures waving on gala days over their casals.

527 July, August and September, the hottest months of the year, are Malta's *festa* season *par excellence*. At that period, and especially in August, there is an absolute orgy of what irreverent young officers are apt to call "festering," and the two islands resound from end to end with the detonations of petards and bombs. At night the parish church of whichever casal is celebrating its patronal feast is prettily illuminated, while elaborate set-pieces are displayed regardless of expense and other fireworks of a less stationary nature accomplish, or fail to accomplish, their destined trajectory. The amount spent annually by the population on fireworks and mere noise-making contrivances is positively staggering.

The first village *festa* I attended—I had arrived in Malta in the month of August—was in one of the smaller, more remote and more rustic casals. The church bells were clanging with no attempt at rhythm; rockets and Roman candles were going off in rapid succession in all directions; Catharine-wheels were rotating around one; the noise was

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

114 Classical authors as well as travellers of the Renaissance and later ages have praised Malta's fertility, the quality of its
137 corn, its fruit, its linen and its cotton,[1] the sweet scent of its roses,[2] the delicate aroma of the wild thyme that flavours its honey. Cicero, in fact, called Malta a land of honey and roses, and it was being described in similar terms nearly two thousand years later. "The fruits are of exquisite flavour," wrote Dr Meryon, Lady Hester Stanhope's sorely tried physician, companion and biographer. "Flowers are very fine, and I could not help fancying the roses more fragrant than in my own country. Malta honey is highly esteemed."
•[186] Elsewhere the Doctor remarks that "no people are more attached to their country than the Maltese to their barren rock"; and it is natural enough that the Maltese of to-day should like to refer to their island as "the flower of the world."

This phrase, if held to refer solely to scenery and vegetation, might appear to some to verge on the excessive. If it be taken to apply to the many-sidelines of Malta's interest and amenities it does not lack justification.

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[439] [1] During the era of sailing-ships Malta, and especially the casal of Zebbuġ, produced a heavy cotton sail-cloth which earned a wide reputation and was exported all over Europe.

[103] [2] The name Attard, the charming old casal half-way between Hamrun and Mdina, means "the village of roses."

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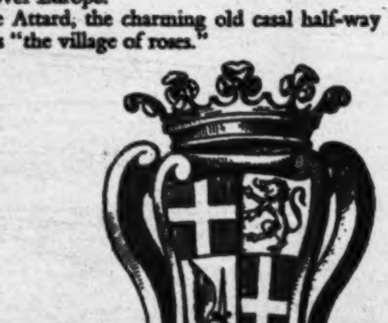

Arms of G. M. Manoel de Vilhena

436 Malta in the reigns of all the British sovereigns who have
ruled in Malta from George IV to George V inclusive.

•/186 Let this chapter end with another survival, perhaps the
most ubiquitous of all, although its origin antedates the
173 arrival of the Knights by more than four hundred years.
178 It is the red-and-white Maltese flag which is flown throughout the islands side by side with the Union Jack. Long-established tradition has it that the red and white were the colours of the Norman House of Hauteville, and that the flag and the corresponding arms are one of the legacies of Roger de Hauteville, Count of Sicily, Lord of Malta, to this smallest of his dominions. When, between the World Wars, it was suggested to Malta by the English College of Arms that the Colony should regularize its arms by formally recording them at the College, Malta replied that it had borne those arms for nearly three centuries before the foundation of the College by Richard III.

The position was ultimately adjusted with the College in 1943, when Malta's coat-of-arms received the honourable augmentation of the George Cross.

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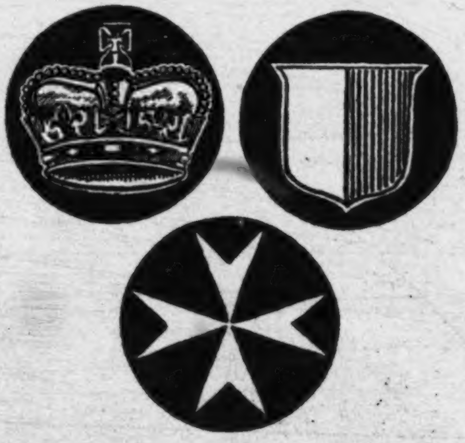
656



Malta Government Hall-marks for Gold and Silver

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

361 712 Corniche from heights as inaccessible as nature and man's ingenuity could make them. When the marauders from North Africa ceased to be a menace, the citadel was partly evacuated for the lower town, but happily was never abandoned completely. Even now it contains the cathedral of the diocese and the Law Court and Public Registry, formerly the residence of the Governors of Gozo; and, although many of its ancient houses are in ruins, a few are still inhabited.

175 717 341 654 One interesting little lane with façades of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was restored by the Government before the outbreak of the Second World War, as has been the handsome Renaissance building facing the entrance to the citadel latterly known as the Bondi Palace, as related at the end of Chapter XIII. One of the houses in the lane at one time belonged, as an inscription testifies, to the soldier Bernard, "*miles Bernardus*," who was killed at the capture of the citadel by the Turks under Sinan Pasha in 1551. When he saw that the fortress could hold out no longer this dauntless man took the lives of his wife and two daughters with his own hand to save them from being sold into captivity, and then fell, fighting to the end. The walls and fortifications of the citadel are happily well preserved.

101 Gozo was Ogygia or Gaulos to the Greeks, *gaulos* (γαῦλος) being the word the Greeks had for the round merchant-boats of their rivals, the Phœnicians. From Gaulos it became Gaulum to the Romans, then appears on Idrisi's map of 1154 as Ghudash, and in modern Maltese is known as Ghawdex (pronounced Audesh), its Bishop signing as 484 505 *Episcopus Gaudisiensis*. The shortest ferry-crossing between the two islands is only four miles, yet many Gozitans have never been to Malta while the overwhelming majority of Maltese have never been to Gozo.

181 186 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

sometimes regarded in England—in other words, as hard-headed folk whom nothing will keep out of the best jobs. It is certainly true to say that, loth as they may be to leave their own little island, when they do it is definitely to better themselves. They make excellent colonists in Australia and elsewhere in the New World, while those who emigrate no farther than Malta frequently attain distinction. The story is told of a function in S. John's Co-Cathedral in Valetta at a time, not so many years ago, when the Gozitans who were leading personages in Church and State included the Archbishop of Malta, Mgr Pace. 181 186● [167]

"Well," said a Maltese worshipper, after watching the entry into the church of the procession of Archbishop and Canons and other dignitaries, mostly (or so it seemed to him) natives of the junior island, "I suppose we ought to be thankful that the sacristan is still a Maltese."

Byron may have had something similar in mind when he bracketed Malta with Gozo as

> Calypso's isles,
> The sister tenants of the middle deep,

instead of describing them as mother and daughter.

There is much to see in this small island of 27 square miles and as many thousand inhabitants besides natural scenery and the monuments alluded to above. Let me instance some characteristic features of various widely different epochs of Gozo's long history. First must come the twin Stone Age temples of Ggantija, through their cyclopean construction—one block has the formidable dimensions of 12½ by 17½ feet—the most stupendous work of Neolithic man in the Maltese archipelago. Farther excavation by the Malta Museum is planned on and around their site when funds permit, and more wonders may yet come to light. Meanwhile the visitor may enjoy from one of the most impressive architectural survivals of remote antiquity a comprehensive view of Gozo and of the north-western end of Malta, with 172 [731] [161] [133]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

342 648 connexion with the invasion of Sicily and destined to be used only once.[1]

346 341 Lastly, to prove that Gozo lives not only in the past, let me mention the pilgrimage church of Ta Pinu, a lofty basilica in the beautiful white limestone of the island completed as recently as 1931. This shrine is impressive as an example of modern Romanesque no less than as proof of the active piety of a laborious and God-fearing people.

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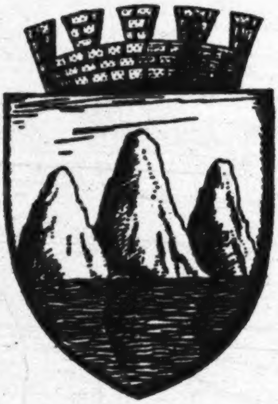
[1] A public-spirited citizen of Xewkija, Mr L. Zammit Haber, has piously preserved all the carved escutcheons, inscriptions and balcony stones of the Torri Gourgion.

● 186



Arms of Gozo

[PP. 228-232 have not been Processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

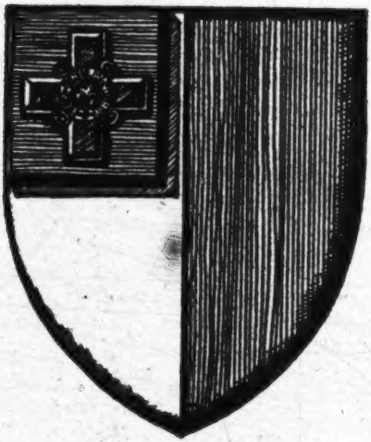
Oca "The Bulwark of the Faith" had become the bulwark of freedom in the Middle Sea. Justly had it merited its latest title of "Malta, George Cross."

The tenacity of the Maltese during their long ordeal recalls to me the epitaph written by Tymnes, a Greek poet of the second century B.C., on a Maltese dog:

> He came from Malta; and Eumelus says
> He had no better dog in all his days.
> We called him Bull.

Such might have been Great Britain's tribute after the second Siege of Malta to her watchdog-island in the Mediterranean.

•186



Arms of Malta, George Cross

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

186

ARMS AND
INSCRIPTION
ABOVE THE
MAIN GUARD,
VALETTA
[*See p.* 119.]

MAGNÆ ET INVICTÆ BRITANNIÆ
MELITENSIUM AMOR ET EUROPÆ VOX
HAS INSULAS CONFIRMAT A.D. 181

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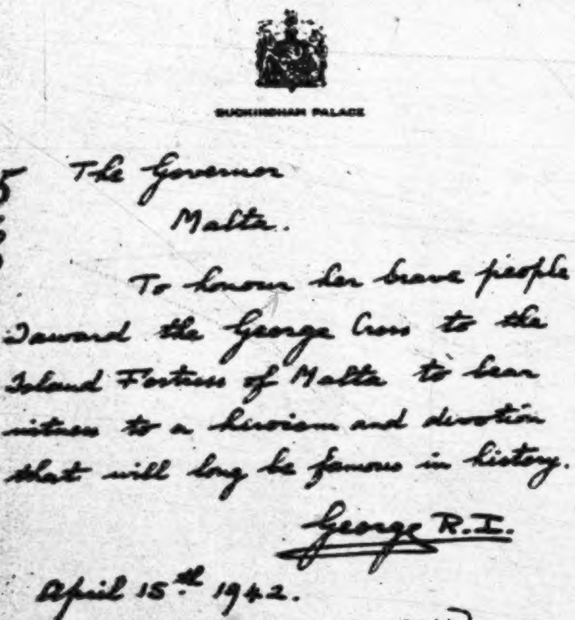

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

The Governor
Malta.

To honour her brave people I award the George Cross to the Island Fortress of Malta to bear witness to a heroism and devotion that will long be famous in history.

George R.I.

April 15th 1942.

KING GEORGE VI'S
LETTER AWARDING
THE GEORGE CROSS
[*See p.* 231]

[Facing p. 241]

361 landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of
369 the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the
464 greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to
work in this area.

Differences in language, dress and education set many of the
369 villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be
so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in
contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries.
565 The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so considered,
177 have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of
these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth
century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who
struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen,
whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

177 There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants
and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the
● 19 English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of
369 whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also
differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken
in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English
words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their
preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema
the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*,
which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà*
(mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however,
are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged
to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

186 The social and cultural differences between town and country
have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was
369 often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who
829 goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe,
tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The
villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who
spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for
the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross
exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth.
But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices
369 in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary
871 level.

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[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barnett, 1615), p. 234.

*175 744 urban growths of Hamrun and Sliema were centres of disease. The growth of urban and dockyard employment had not yet been accompanied by any striking educational improvements, and standards of personal hygiene barely tolerable in rural Malta became insupportable in the new towns. At the same time, the growing wealth and opportunities which made possible the new concentrations were not paralleled by similar rates of increase in Internal Revenue. The resulting shortage of capital available for public works delayed the construction of services until concern over conditions in the Garrison centres became acute. Between 1878 and 1886, a new system of drainage and flushing sewerage was constructed in Valletta, Floriana and the Three Cities, three-sevenths of the expenditure being provided by the military authorities. The 1897 sewerage extensions were similarly restricted to that area in which a financial vote could be subsidised by Imperial expenditure (Fig. 33). During this period also, the whole problem of water-supply first became acutely realised and under Chadwick (6) a water-use policy made an embryonic appearance. The 1909 proposals for island-wide sewerage were, significantly enough, for a sea-water flushing scheme, and in spite of depression-caused limitations public funds were made available for servicing the suburban areas of Hamrun and Birkirkara and the casal of Żejtun.

These and similar public works, limited in scale as they may now seem, were already having a controlling effect on epidemic disease by the end of World War I. In 1837 cholera killed 4,000 out of a population of c. 116,000; in 1917 fewer than a hundred people died out of a population which had doubled in size. Bubonic plague caused 4,600 deaths in 1813 but in 1917 only 3 mortalities followed a similar introduction of the disease. By the nature of her position and as a result of sea-borne contacts Malta has always been liable to the introduction of epidemic diseases. The nineteenth century intensification of urban and port activity which caused population concentration in a great conurbation, increased the external contact risk, made more acute the dangers of ignorance and low standards of hygiene but finally the associated expenditure of wealth derived from overseas, and improvements in domestic standards started a break-through into an epoch of adjusted and improved values placed on human life.

*175 658 In the educational field, progress was necessarily slower in that while public health measures were essentially a matter of providing physical services which previously did not exist, formal education had to be accepted *ab novo* by the great unlettered mass of the population, and secular public instruction had to meet the suspicions of the educated few associated with the Church-dominated, Italian-influenced University and academies (7).

British rule was followed by Government controlled education. The first elementary school was opened in 1819 and in 20 years' time there were 11. In 1842 the elementary school system was removed from the authority of the University, as recommended by the Royal Commissioners in 1838 (8), and its effectiveness was considerably increased. Even so, illiteracy was still high at mid-century (9) and the labouring classes still relied for information and guidance on the traditional sources - the Church and to a less extent the gentry.

The 1836 Commissioners noted a situation which is still not completely rectified (10). They blamed the educated classes for lack of initiative in permitting the continuance of an educational system which was geared to the training of priests, lawyers, doctors and civil servants and which virtually ignored wider social and technical needs. This same complaint was reiterated by Keenan in 1880 (11) and by Casolani, Director of Emigration in the 1930's (Chapter VI A). Through inertia rather than by deliberate act, the old social cleavage between the 'Two Nations', was being maintained.

*175 191 ● 658 A prime difficulty was that of language. The Census compilers of 1881 commented thus on the root of the trouble (12): 'The Maltese ... form part of the European family, however they speak the dialect of a language belonging to an oriental people with whom they have no social tie nor connection ... As the dialect is confined to the Islands of Malta consequently very few literary productions are published in the vernacular, a circumstance which evidently does not favour the diffusion of instruction among the lower classes of the people.

1754
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'The language ... is Oriental and the Education is given in English and in Italian.

'... the Boys and Girls attending the Elementary Schools belong generally to the poor Classes. Before these children can acquire a competent knowledge in any of the Languages taught to them, they are generally taken away by their parents in order to be apprenticed to some trade or employed in agricultural labour. Consequently the child ... forgets the Italian and English, foreign to him, owing to want of time and practice in reading and writing, and to his being also obliged to constantly speak and hear nothing but Maltese, the native dialect of kith and kin ...'.

Given this situation, a conflict was bound to rise between the claims of Italian and English, with, as we have seen, all that that implied in religious, constitutional and economic affairs. The measures advocated by Keenan and the policy of Savona, Director of Education at the crucial period, resulted in the consolidation of English as the language of instruction. Consequentially English, and more slowly Maltese, gained in importance as Italian declined. While Italian language and culture became the symbols of opposition to the Government, such opposition became less and less associated with general popular feeling. In 1842 less than 4,000 children attended all schools (13); by 1908 almost 18,000 attended the Government primary schools alone (14). In 1902 parents of school-children were asked which language they wished to have used for instruction; the results were striking (15):

Standards up to III - Questioned on basis of either Italian or English

	Malta	Gozo	Both
English	98.7%	87.5%	97.7%
Italian	1.3%	12.5%	2.3%

Standards V and VI - Questioned on basis of single or combined use of languages.

English only	71.2%
English and Italian	27.8%
Italian only	1.0%

By the end of the period under discussion, the policy of anglicisation was triumphant, misgivings regarding the position of the Church had been allayed, and the Maltese economy was firmly associated with the wealth and needs of the Garrison. The Constitutional impasse had no immediate relevance to the life of the people. That social life was still dichotomous, although on a less insular plane than it had previously been.

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level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advancement. 555

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same 212
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had 369
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same
period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to
17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment opportunities 464
during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 178
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 241
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 433
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the 464

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and [114]
1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school.

*159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
461 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in
231 contrast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

Ġamri and farming

*159 Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
[212] Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time
[454] conditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[729] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
[434] costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

*159 His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri himself,
make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
181 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he
believes that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
98 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

*159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
472 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
407 contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
contractors like him going out of business in the near future.

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CASE XIX

This farmer (working 35 tmien, including seven irrigable)
was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He
[178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of
the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule
or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years.
Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for
the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture
despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

x
159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
407 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they them-
241 selves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor
434 he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his
income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-
plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the
[178] area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by
local vintners).

CASE XXI

x
159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
256 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
241 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
407 the sole such operator in his village and business grew. How-
ever in the present decade competition from new tractor oper-
472 ators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing
[477] season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted
him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted
all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are
still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

x
159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
441 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
472 these were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was intro-
407 duced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
● [191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo,
especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary
cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led
to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing
tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island
some three or four are normally unused in the season. This
agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of
Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957
plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce
new implements. His father was the first to import motor
pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultiva-
tor in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of har-
vesting machines, but the very limited success of the first
ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any
more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for
mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a
lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be
collected for animal fodder.

113 195 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the object of both propaganda and admiration.

191 199 177 198 As to language, it is clear the War finally killed the greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confirmed English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It had been a language of government for more than a century but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under the Order and had maintained its position during British nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not replace Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since been a considerable increase in the number of books and periodicals appearing in the language, along with general education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese public. Over the same period the use of Italian has declined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the Church and the professional classes) and the demand for English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of [204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for 1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920, p.333), 1933-34 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 - 1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English..............	1	1	2	2
Italian..............	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese..............	-	-	2	2

197 214 [212] Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly, or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this, it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant section of the population, generally the professional and business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write only one or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language dictionaries and works of a philological or etymological nature are obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistics

197 of Maltese, with its semitic sub-strata and immense Italian
214 and other European accretions, have attracted much attention among students of comparative linguistics abroad.

The circulation of the Maltese daily "Il-Berqa" (B/55) reflects the position in the Islands, being limited to the working and rural classes. Many periodicals of a religious or occupational nature, or those produced by some towns and villages, now appear in Maltese; others are bi-lingual.
[191] But a knowledge of English is now so widespread among the younger generation that one would expect it to consolidate
[198] its growing importance as the language of government, education and culture, with the use of written Maltese declining relatively - though growing in absolute terms with the extension of literacy.

197 Maltese language fiction and poetry exists today along
538 with a great deal of religious writing. The present biblio-
113 graphy makes no attempt to cover this field although several
[217] of the Maltese writers concerned do appear in the general list (Part 8), while the principal store-houses of Maltese literature, the Royal Malta Library (B/16) and the Royal University (B/17), and others, are mentioned in Part 1. Neither is any systematic coverage attempted of the wealth of material concerning the Knights Hospitallers and their sojourn in Malta though some of the principal sources are included in Parts 2 and 8.

113 Maps, plans and charts of the Islands are not included. Many of the collections listed in Part 1 contain such items (B/1, 5, 6, 16, etc.), the Naval and Military authorities in the Islands have made surveys, maps and charts as required, while many private individuals have added to the list. Reference to the official 2" to one mile map (Geographical Section, General Staff, No.3859, War Office, 3rd Edition - 1953) is recommended at all points in the present volume. Sheet 1 covers Gozo and Comino and Sheet 2 Malta. For Malta, more detailed coverage is provided by the 6" (G.S.G.S., No.3852) and the 25" to the mile (G.S.G.S., No.3752) maps. A valuable land-use survey in Malta (1955) and Gozo (1957) have provided the Islands' first detailed coverage of this nature (B/5, 336, 337). Also valuable is the indexed and comprehensive 'Malta Street Guide' (B/489).

The bibliography which follows attempts only a very basic classification into eight sections

Part 1... List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands (B/1 - 17),

Part 2... List of some bibliographies on Maltese subjects (B/18 - 52),

Part 3... Sample list of some newspapers, periodicals and journals (B/53 - 85),

Part 4... Some almanacs, directories and year books (B/86 - 98),

[p.40]

CHAPTER IV

The Basis of Leadership

621 The Maltese word for leader, *mexxej*, is seldom heard, and then
[192] only in reference to the leader of a political party. I once asked a
parish priest who were the leaders of the village. He laughed and
[622] replied that there weren't any, because his parishioners did not like
[551] leaders. With the exception of the professionals and *il-puliti* from
the towns, all the inhabitants of a village usually call one another
by their Christian names and in general look upon each other as
equals. This egalitarian outlook is compounded of many factors,
of which the most important are similar occupation, standard of
living and values, the detailed knowledge of each other's personal
lives that comes with residence in a face-to-face community, and
178 jealousy. Any person who attempts to lead or to try to start
something new – such as a village playground – is derided. His
578 true motive is seen as self aggrandizement and his enemies and
621 envious neighbours are quick to point this out to others who may
[539] not have realized it. 'Envy follows the wise man like his shadow'
(*L-ghira titrot wara l-gharef bhal dellu mieghu*), goes the Maltese
[609] proverb. Professionals and outsiders, especially if they are from
the town, are occasionally able to start something new. Their
social distance from most of the community protects them from
the full impact of the envy and gossip which moulds so much of
village life.

554 But in spite of the absence of official lay leaders and the con-
servative pressure of envy and gossip, there are a number of
621 persons who have a greater say than others in the affairs of the
793 community. They are able to do this by virtue of their social
position, their occupation or office in one of the village associa-
tions or their influence with the parish priest. These persons,
together with the parish priest, form the aggregate which can be
[192] said to run the affairs of the community. While there is no generic
term for this aggregate, those who compose it are sometimes
referred to as *il-kbarat*, 'the big ones', or more derogatively as

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ir-rjus il-kbar, 'the big heads'. But if asked, a person will often 554 deny that such persons exist, and reply, 'Here we are all the same; 621 we are all from the village'. 793

II

The authority of the State is represented by the police, who are 625 formally responsible for law and order. Each village has a police station manned by a small contingent of constables under a sergeant. Several villages make up a police district under an inspector. In Malta most policemen live outside the villages in which they work. But it is usual for Gozitan constables stationed in Malta to be quartered in the police stations to which they are assigned.

In addition to their official duties of law enforcement, the police [659] distribute voting certificates, help conduct censuses and give out [657] the allotments of free food to old age pensioners and people on relief.[1] They also perform many favours for local residents. They help people fill out government forms, and occasionally allow the station telephone to be used for private calls. They are sometimes 625 able to mediate in local disputes. Disputants very often report each 627. other for insults, threats or some minor infraction of the law – throwing waste water and rubbish in the street is one of the most common – thus hoping to strangle their enemies in its due process. The police constable on duty is often able to reconcile the disputants and persuade them to withdraw the charges and counter-charges.

In general, the punitive role that the police are occasionally 625 forced to play is offset by their role as distributors of government assistance and by their general helpfulness. District inspectors try to avoid personal relations with the people in their districts since they must prosecute all criminal cases, and personal ties might prove awkward. Sergeants and constables, on the other hand, normally maintain friendly social contact with the local inhabitants. They are often invited for drinks during feasts and weddings, and quite a number marry local girls. The Maltese police thus play

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[1] The government has distributed surplus U.S. agricultural products to different groups of needy people since 1956. This food was first secured through the Co-operative for American Relief to Everywhere, Inc. (C.A.R.E., Inc.) and more recently through the Catholic Relief Services of America. The Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare, not the police, selects the beneficiaries.

CHAPTER VI

Festa Partiti

578 Village unity is an ideal, and all villages try to present a tightly
united front to the outside world. In spite of this, all are divided
621 internally by cleavages which cut across the community at various
levels. Some of these divisions are only temporary, and disappear
when the issues out of which they have arisen are resolved. Others,
which may have arisen out of temporary issues, have for one
reason or another become a permanent part of the social scene.
But regardless of their origin or duration, these divisions are painfully
real to the villagers. Persons made vulnerable through a network
of personal relations are often forced to commit themselves
to a particular division. In doing so, they become opposed to
neighbours and kinsmen who are committed to the other side.
[602] This is one of the characteristics of life in all small villages. It is
particularly true of communities, such as those in Malta, in which
the inhabitants are closely related through kinship and affinity.

The Maltese call these divisions *partiti* (sing., *partit*). The term
● 192 thus corresponds not only to groups of the order which we in
578 English would call 'parties', but also to those to which we would
621 apply the term 'factions'. Political parties are called partiti, and
[665] so are rival groups such as the two in Kortin which competed over
[794] the rebuilding of the church. Partiti are said to have *pika* between
them. *Pika* denotes relations of competition, ill-feeling, hostility.
There is little about the word which suggests the good-natured
competition that can exist between rival school football or cricket
teams. On the contrary, if there is *pika* between two groups, a
no-holds-barred competition is expected. Partiti are thus considered
to be a bad thing. They disrupt the harmony of the community
and make it more difficult to project the ideal image of
village unity to the outside world.

575 The oldest permanent division that exists in the villages is
578 between the supporters of rival band clubs. This division is related
621 to the cult of saints. In the previous chapter it was noted that
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Malta. He sees the patronage system in Spain as a pyramidal 171
structure incorporating both the natural and the spiritual worlds. 559
At the top is God, the supreme patron who is not dependent upon 771
anyone. At the base are the persons who have no clients. Between 776
these lowly clients and God there are many different ranks of
patrons, each of whom has his own small pyramid of clients.
They, in turn, are clients dependent upon other higher and more
influential persons. The patrons of each rank form a group which
asks favours from one another on behalf of their clients.

The intermediaries between man and God are the saints, who
are closer to God than man is. A person who seeks to influence the 557
decision of a higher authority similarly looks for a person who,
by virtue of his kin relation or social position, is closer to the
decision maker than he. In view of the functional similarity of [192]
saints to living patrons, it should not come as a surprise that the
word for patron in Maltese is 'saint' (*qaddis*; plural *qaddisin*).
Several proverbs underline the important role that patrons play in [539]
Maltese social life. Here are two: 'Without saints you can't get to
heaven' (*Minghajr qaddisin ma titlax il-ġenna*); and 'You can do
nothing without saints' (*Minghajr qaddisin ma taghmel xejn*).
Another points to the fact that any patron-client relationship is
not without obligation, even danger, for the client: 'He who
fattens you will kill you' (*Min semmnek joqtlok*).

Who are these 'saints', these men of influence? For the most
part they are people who have already been encountered, albeit in
a slightly different capacity. They are the professionals, the civil
servants and, in general, the wealthy and powerful. They are
persons, respected for their education and social standing in the
world outside the village, who can deal as equals with other
important people and decision-makers, many of whom are their
relatives and former classmates. Their patronage is sought by
individuals and groups alike. They are often asked to become god-
parents, and they are called on to handle the ceremonial, business
and political relations of clubs. They are also called on to help
secure employment, building permits, hawkers licences or a long-
delayed hearing at the law courts. Generally speaking, villagers
choose patrons from the circle of influential people with whom
they have the closest contact: the local professionals, the parish
priest and clergy, the important landlords, all of whom command [602]
respect outside the village. Some clients are related to their

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 on the morning of this day, was indeed very great.

When the procession was over, most of the country people repaired to the upper Barracca, which was then roofed over and consequently offered a very comfortable temporary asylum. Here they amused themselves till the evening eating, drinking, and singing.

St. PETER AND St. PAUL

796
527 One of the principal occasions of amusement for the Maltese is, no doubt, the popular feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, celebrated at Notabile or Città Vecchia on the 29th of June.

[192] This feast is known by the name of l' Imnaria which is a corruption of *luminaria* (illumination) from the illumination which takes place at the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Cathedral Church of Notabile on the eve of the said festival. 796 527 192

On the morning of the feast—as soon as the procession, which is led by the Bishop, enters the Cathedral Church—large crowds, especially of country people in their substantial holiday finery, and wearing their hoarded ornaments of massive gold, drive at a racing speed to Boschetto, where, careless of the excessive heat of a broiling sun, they divide into companies and under the shades of the leafy orange trees in the beautiful garden, they seem quite happy in eating their sumptuous dinners, consisting chiefly of stewed rabbit, ham, pies, cheese and an allowance of common wine, which they keep in large dark glass bottles, or in tin cans where the indispensable liquid is less liable to being spilt. 527 262 264 273 301 [796]

This yearly punishment is thought to have been inflicted, as our Saviour does not like any one to be born at the same time He was born ! ! 771 774

In order to give confirmation to this strange fancy, some of our silly females affirm that they frequently go in search of their husbands and children, and from midnight till about 4 a.m. they do not find them in the bed where they left them.

Others, who are still more superstitious, add to this foolish belief by saying that a person may get rid of this annual transformation by taking a sieve and spending from 11 o'clock at night till Christmas morning at dawn counting the holes.

We are unable to explain, goes on to say Vassalli, how this superstition got into the minds of our forefathers. We 771 774 192

771 only know that the word "Gaugau" is
774 derived from the Syrian word *hagogo*
• 192 which means a ghost and most probably
was introduced here by the Phoenicians.

BOGEY-MAN

776 The ancient Maltese thought, and insisted upon others believing, that the Bogey-man wanders about our streets during the winter nights.

The Bogey-man is described as a hideous animal partaking of the nature of an ox, a ram and a donkey, going about until it comes to the first house which has been unfairly possessed, in order that with its hideous cries it might frighten the inmates.

Parents and nurses are still in the habit of frightening the little ones with the Bogey-man in order to induce them to go to sleep.

The belief still lingers that the
764 775 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul of the departed remains above the flame.

764 735 171 (*g*) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 178 [177] [192] Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century passed through wide changes and, as in other European countries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 292 178 184 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700. Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 Family mourning is generally observed as follows :—

178 I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

[562] II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

5: Cremona 8-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Bombazine (without lace) or silk faldettas are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *čulqâna* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
764 extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *zyutier*, from French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
[671] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
[534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a profanation

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these transformed creatures return home towards dawn quite exhausted and awake in the morning quite unconscious of their nocturnal expedition."[1] The derivation of the word
[192]
Gaugau has been given as the Syrian *Hagogo*, a ghost; but surely the *Gaugau* is more than a simple ghost. His behaviour stamps him as a vampire. Busuttil says that "the yearly
[177]
punishment" is thought to be inflicted because Christ "does not like anyone to be born at the same time he was born," and then suggests that the *Gaugau* came into Malta with
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774
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the Phoenicians. The Phoenician origin and the popular explanation seem quite irreconcilable until it is recalled that—

> "It is well known that in the transition from paganry to Christianity the Christian clergy, finding it impossible to wean the populace from old customs or to eradicate primitive beliefs, discreetly met the situation by diverting pagan festivals to the honour of Christ. It is not so generally known that December 25th, the Christmas Day of Christendom, was necessarily thus fixed for the reason that this date was the birthday of Mithra, and that the obdurate heathen flatly refused to relinquish their cherished festival. It was not until A.D. 400 that the Church Fathers accepted the inevitable, and tactfully adopted the Birthday of Mithra as the official Birthday of Christianity. At the beginning of the fifth century, S. Chrysostom, referring to the festival of the pagan Sun god, wrote: 'On this day also the birthday of Christ *was lately fixed* at Rome in order that, while the heathens were busy with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their sacred rites undisturbed. They call this (December 25th) the birthday of the Invincible One (Mithra); but who is so invincible as the Lord? They call

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[1] BUSUTTIL, *Holiday Customs in Malta.*

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

538 the Arab domination. Jahan is merely a typically Maltese character placed in a series of foreign settings which have been changed to give an appearance of authenticity.

THE PEASANT AND THE SULTAN

539 From the familiar ground of Jahan's adventures it is a long step to the tale of "The Kaukam and the Kaukama." Here, again, is the typical Maltese hero who, by superior cunning, outwits the "Sultan"[1] who sets him, a poor peasant, a series of impossible tasks, but the atmosphere of the story is of the distant past.

> "Upon a time there was a peasant who loved his father as the light of his eyes. When the father became very old and decrepid, the son was obliged to do as everyone else did; he had to put his father into a cave-tomb; but he could not bring himself to block up the mouth of the cave. . . . He kept two holes. . . ."

The son then arranges to feed his father by leading his ewes to the cave, so that the old man may suck their milk through one of the holes.[2]

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It has been suggested that the burial of the aged father who is kept alive and his advice sought is nothing more than a tradition of oracular response from ancestral tombs. Although this is a reasonable enough theory, there seems no cause to doubt the possibility that the facts are exactly as stated. To this day primitive tribes get rid of their aged and infirm members, for obvious reasons. Respect for the wisdom and experience of the old men and women whose advice was sufficiently valuable

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●[192] [1] There is no Maltese word for "king," "ruler" or "governor." "Sultan" is used in folk-tales broadly to describe any person in authority. The Italian "re" is rarely used in the true vernacular.

[2] L. GALEA AND MARGARET A. MURRAY, *Maltese Folk Tales.*

197 seeing that they had no means of checking the facts for
648 themselves—what they wanted them to swallow. Even in the eighteenth century, as we shall see in Chapter XIII, an Italian visitor to Malta described the language of the Maltese as "their own perfidious idiom."

A case in point is the episode, recounted to the writer by one of His Majesty's Ambassadors to the Quirinal during the Fascist régime, concerning a Maltese football team on a visit to Italy. On their arrival in Rome the Maltese were met by the Italian team detailed to look after them, who had been well briefed to treat their visitors as 'unredeemed' blood-brothers. The Italians, knowing no reason to doubt the accuracy of their brief, greeted the Maltese footballers at the station in all good faith with a cordial address in eloquent Italian, of which their guests understood barely a word. Realizing, however, that they in their turn would be expected to say something, they replied with an equally friendly speech in Maltese, whereupon their hosts threw up their hands in mystified despair, crying, "*Ma che fratelli son' questi*—but what sort of brothers are these?"

A pleasant French contribution to Maltese is a word for
197 a train, *xmundifer* (*chemin de fer*), thought to have been
192 introduced by Maltese emigrants returning from Algeria
and Tunis. And, as has been said above, English words, too, have found their way into Malta's eclectic vocabulary, words for the most part of a technical kind or related to sport. Among these is the verb "to score" which, as Professor J. Aquilina has pointed out, is conjugated as *niskorja*, I score, *skorja*, *skorjat*, *skorjajna*, *skorjaw*—he, she, we, they have scored a goal, and so on.

But it is interesting to note that we appear to be witnessing
[576) the beginnings of a two-way traffic in this connexion. The
common Maltese form of greeting and farewell is *sahha*, literally "health," a word that springs easily and comfortably also to the lips of non-Maltese who have spent any time in the islands. Thanks, no doubt, to the habitual use of this

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

term by the numerous British Service men and women who 197
have been stationed in or have passed through Malta, *sahha* 192
has been admitted, in the form "sal a," into the more recent
editions of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* as an English word
for "good-bye," with due acknowledgment of its Maltese
origin. And perhaps "saha" is but the forerunner of others;
for in its issue of the 5th January 1945 the London *Spectator*
had this to say on the etymology of the word "spitchered,"
which occurs in one of the war books on Malta:

> The word clearly derives from the Maltese *spiċċa*, meaning "finished" or something similar. Naval opinion agrees with Air Force opinion on that. But naval opinion claims credit for embodying the word in the English language. And as naval opinion can point to its use as long ago as 1903, the Air Force does seem to be grounded or, indeed, spitchered on this particular point.

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In some parts of the Old World the visitor can select, 133
according to his tastes, the century that he prefers. It is no 172
exaggeration to say that in Malta he can choose the millennium
and more than the millennium. If he is a palæontologist
he may wander about the cave of Ghar Dalam
and study *in situ* the remains of the elephants and hippopotami
who left their bones there when the world was yet young,
and of giant swans who sailed on lakes that have long since
vanished. Advancing from these and from the Neanderthal 172
Man, of whom traces may have been found in Malta, many
thousands of years into the Stone Age, he will find in Malta
and Gozo a series of megalithic and neolithic sanctuaries—
Tarxien, the Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni, Haġiar Qim,
Mnajdra, Ġgantija, to mention only the most important—
unequalled in any other part of the world.

He will find other survivals of the Stone Age, of a different 172
sort, in the cart-tracks which traverse many of the barren 493
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SOME MALTESE WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

UNIT	EQUIVALENTS		
	Maltese	British	Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollice)	-	0.859 ins.	21.83 mm.
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10.312 ins.	26.19 cm.
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar*	2.292 yds.	2.095 m.
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	5.252 sq.yds.	4.391 sq.m.
Kejla	-	22.410 sq.yds.	18.735 sq.m.
Siegħ (mondello)	10 Kejliet*	224.100 sq.yds.	187.354 sq.m.
Tomna (tummolo)	6 Siegħan*	0.278 acre	0.112 ha.
Modd (salma)	16 Tmien*	4.444 acres (1 acre=3.6 tmien)	1.798 ha.
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0.933 oz.	0.026 kg.
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1.750 lbs.	0.793 kg.
Wiżna	5 Rtal*	8.750 lbs.	3.968 kg.
Qantar	20 Wiżna	175.000 lbs. (1 ton=12.8 Qantar)	79.378 kg. 1016.128 kg.
BUNDLE MEASURE			
Qatta, Xibka, Xkora, (sheaf of sulla, wheat, etc.)		-	-
Hemel (somma)	10 Qattiet* in Malta	-	-
	8 Qattiet in Gozo	-	-
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna (tummolo)		0.0625 qrs.	0.1818 hl.
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8.0 bushels	2.909 hl.
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Terz	-	0.281 quart	0.32 lit.
Nofs	2 Terzi*	0.562 quart	0.63 lit.
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	1.125 quart	1.27 lit.
Kwarta	4 Krateċ*	1.125 galls.	5.11 lit.
CAPACITY: BEER, WINE & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0.25 pint	0.142 lit.
Terz	2 Pinet*	0.50 pint	0.284 lit.
Nofs	2 Terzi*	1.00 pint	0.561 lit.
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	2.00 pints	1.136 lit.
Kwarta	4.75 Krateċ*	1.187 galls.	5.398 lit.
Garra	2 Kwarti*	2.375 galls.	10.797 lit.
Barmil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9.500 galls.	43.187 lit.

Note the following plural forms identified by an asterisk * in the table above:- [193]
Garar (s. Garra), Krateċ (s. Kartoċċ), Kejliet (s. Kejla), Kwarti (s. Kwarta) Nfas (s. Nofs), Pinet (s. Pinta), Qattiet (s. Qatta), Rtal (s. Ratal), Siegħan (s. Siegħ), Terzi (s. Terza), Tmien (s. Tomna), Xbar (s. Xiber), Wiżniet (s. Wiżna).

APPENDIX 5 : WEIGHTS and MEASURES

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UNIT	EQUIVALENTS Maltese	EQUIVALENTS British	EQUIVALENTS Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollice)	-	0,859 ins	21,83 mm
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10.312 ins	26.19 cm
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar*	2.292 yds	2,095 m
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	2.252 sq.yds	1.891 sq.m
Kejla	-	22.410 sq.yds	18.735 sq.m
Siegh (mondello)	10 Kejliet*	224.100 sq.yds	187.354 sq.m
Tomna (tummolo)	6 Sieghan*	0.278 acre	0,112 ha.
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	4.444 acres	1,798 ha.
		(1 acre - 3,6 tmien*)	
VOLUME			
Xiber Kubu	-	0.63 cu.ft	
Qasba Kubu	-	12.04 cu.yds	
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0.933 oz	0.026 kg
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1.750 lbs	0.793 kg
Wižna	5 Rtal*	8.750 lbs	3.968 kg
Qantar	20 Wižna	175.000 lbs	79.378 kg
		(1 ton - 12,8 qnatar* - 1016,128 kg)	
BUNDLE MEASURE			
Qatta, Xibka, Xkora (sheaf or bundle of sulla, wheat, etc.)			
Hemel (somma)	10 Qattiet* (8 Qattiet in Gozo)		
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna ([illegible]mmolo)	-	0.0825 qrs	0.1818 hectolitr
Jejba	4 Tmien*	2.0 bushels	0.7272 "
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8.0 "	2.909 "
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Terz	-	0.281 quart	0.32 litres
Nofs	2 Terzi*	0.562 "	0.63 "
Kartočč	2 Nfas*	1.125 "	1.27 "
Kwarta	4 Krateč*	1.125 gallons	5.11 "
CAPACITY: BEER, WINES & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0.25 pint	0.142 litres
Terz	2 Pinet*	0.50 "	0.284 "
Nofs	2 Terzi*	1.00 "	0.561 "
Kartočč	2 Nfas*	2.00 "	1.136 "
Kwarta	4.75 Krateč*	1.187 gallons	5.398 "
Garra	2 Karti*	2.375 "	10.797 "
Barmil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9.500 "	43.187 "

MONEY

436 Sterling is the official currency in Malta and Gozo but various old units are also retained in popular usage:

'Lira'........................	£1	'Sitta(6) rbghajja'......	10d
'Nofs Lira'....................	10s	'Sixpence'................	6d
'Tmintax(18) rbighi'..........	2s 6d	'Tlieta(3) rbghajja'.....	5d
'Skud'........................	1s 8d	'Sold'....................	1d
'Xelin'.......................	1s	'Sitt(6) habbiet'........	½d

(A 'habba' - grain - was one twelfth of a penny; twenty 'habbiet' equalled one 'tari' or 'rbighi'.)

193 NOTES (1) Plural forms, identified by an asterisk* in the table:
804 Garar (s.Garra); Habbiet (s.Habba); Krateč (s.Kartočč); Kejliet (s.Kejla); Kwarti (s.Kwarta); Nfas (s.Nofs); Pinet (s.Pinta); Qnatar (s.Qantar); Qattiet (s.Qatta); Rbghajja (s. Rbighi); Rtal (s.Ratal); Sieghan (s.Siegh); Skudi (s.Skud); Terzi (s.Terz); Tmien (s.Tomna); Xbar (s.Xiber); Wižniet (s.Wižna).

127 (2) The information in the table is based in part on that given
114 in B/98 - 1958-9, p.410, and in part on personal investigation.

CHAPTER III

The Villages and Their Inhabitants

The villages with which this essay deals are the communities 361
outside the densely populated built-up area which centres on [121]
Valletta. This area is contained in a rectangle formed by imaginary
lines running from St. Julians' and Lija, and thence to Tarxien and
Kalkara.[1] Many of these villages, however, are in reality rural
towns with populations of up to 15,000, as in the case of Qormi.
The Maltese do not distinguish linguistically between small [196] ●
villages and country towns, both are called 'villages' (*rħula*; sing.
raħal). These are contrasted to *Il-Belt*, the City of Valletta, and its
environs. Although I contrast town and country, it is worthwhile
pointing once again to Malta's small size. No village in Malta is
more than an hour's bus ride from Valletta, and Gozo is only
thirty minutes by ferry from its larger sister island. Moreover,
'rival' villages are often no more than a few hundred yards apart.

I am here concerned with abstracting certain principles of social 121
organization, and not with comparing the size and shape of residential 369
groupings, although these two ends are obviously not
completely unrelated. Consequently, the geographical limitations
which I have placed upon this study are somewhat arbitrary. It is,
perhaps, easier to think of the division between town and country
as a continuum, with Valletta or Sliema at one end, and small
villages such as Qrendi or Għarb at the other. Although much of
the description and analysis which follows holds true for both
town and village, I am here dealing specifically with the villages.

The separation between town and country corresponds to a 361
rough division of economic and political power, for villagers look 369
to the urban area for employment, income and patronage. First
of all, the seat of government is in Valletta, and most of the senior 464
civil servants live there or in Sliema, the sprawling residential
suburb that has grown up opposite Valletta during the last 100
years. Secondly, almost all the professionals, wealthy business men,

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[1] See the map of Malta and Gozo on page 2, above.

[p.x]

An Introductory Note on Maltese

197 Maltese is a distinct language, which is morphologically related to North African Arabic but draws much of its vocabulary, syntax and idiom from Sicilian.[1] This difficult language is spoken by all classes, but it did not become an official language of the law courts until 1934, when it replaced Italian. As it has only been a written language for little more than 100 years, it does not yet have a rich literature.

104 In order to help the reader with the Maltese names and words that appear in the text, the following is given as a short guide to their approximate pronunciation.[2] In general, vowels have much the same sound as they do in Italian. The following consonants are pronounced as indicated: *ċ*: *ch*air; *ġ*: *g*entle; *g*: *g*ift; *h*: silent; *ħ*: aspirate; *għ*: the *għajn*, is usually silent; *j*: *y*ear; *q*: glottal stop; *x*: *sh*ine; *ż*: *z*ebra; and *z*: boo*ts*.

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[1] Joseph Aquilina, *Papers in Maltese Linguistics* (Valletta, Royal University of Malta, 1961), p. 180.

[2] For the pronunciation of Maltese consult: Joseph Aquilina, *The Structure of Maltese* (Valletta, Royal University of Malta, 1959), pp. 1-17.

I did the fieldwork on which this study is based at this period in 642
Malta's constitutional history. A new constitution was promulgated 648
late in 1961, and elections took place in February 1962. In [114]
place of dyarchy, it provided for 'concurrent powers' on foreign
affairs and defence to be held by the Malta Government and a
United Kingdom Commissioner.

The first Maltese political parties were born out of the controversy 197
over language which followed the publication in 1880 of 665
the Keenan report on education. This recommended that English 668
should be taught in place of Italian in the primary schools, although students might later take Italian as an elective subject. In the Lyceum and the University, except for the Faculty of Theology, all work was to be done in English. These recommendations, which the government tried for many years to implement, weakened the dominant position which Italian had enjoyed in the educational system. As Italian was the language of the law courts, the clergy and the University, it was something of a class symbol. Most of the educated classes, and especially the lawyers and priests, strenuously resisted the move to downgrade it in favour of English. Many of the refugees from the Italian wars, who came to Malta after 1850, gave encouragement to the partisans of Italian. The Italian movement also whipped up considerable support amongst the clergy and their parishioners by declaring that English would certainly bring with it increased Protestant influences.

The dispute thus created interest groups which were to dominate Maltese politics for the next fifty years. On one side was the
pro-English, or *riformista*, party led first by Sigismondo Savona,
later the Director of Education, and subsequently by Count (later
Lord) Gerald Strickland. This party, which generally supported [648]
government policy, favoured close cultural and political ties with
Britain. By the 1920's, it became known as the Constitutional Party. Its successor, the Progressive Constitutional Party, is led by Strickland's daughter, Miss Mabel Strickland.

The *anti-riformista* or pro-Italian party was led by Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and later by his son, Dr. Enrico Mizzi. The Nationalist Party eventually emerged out of this group, and today, although the language issue is quite dead, it is still one of the two major political parties. Both parties campaigned for support in the villages and thus, for the first time, forcefully presented national political issues to the masses.

000 political issues to the masses. The pro-Italian group came to
197 dominate the elected members, and blocked the affairs of govern-
648 ment to such an extent that Britain re-established the official
668 majority.

[665] Britain did not succeed until many years later in implementing the recommendations of the Keenan Report. The language of instruction in the primary schools remained English or Italian, at the option of a student's parents – the so-called '*pari-passu*' system. In 1921, Britain attempted to remove language from the political arena by stipulating in the new constitution 'that nothing shall be done by way of legislation or administration which shall diminish or detract from the position of English as an official language or to reduce its use in education or in the public service.'[1]

197 For the first six years after the 1921 Constitution was promul-
665 gated, the government was in the hands of the political groups
which eventually merged into the Nationalist Party: Monsignor
668 Panzavecchia's 'Unione Maltese' and the 'Partito Democratico Nazionalista' led by Enrico Mizzi. The newly-formed Labour Party at first supported the Nationalists, but later became a firm ally of Strickland's Constitutional Party. Monsignor Michael Gonzi, now Archbishop of Malta, was a representative of the Labour Party until he became Bishop of Gozo in 1924. During this early period, the only serious political skirmish occurred, not surprisingly, over the 1923 Pari-Passu Bill by which the Nationalists introduced both English and Italian as compulsory subjects in the elementary schools. Strickland attacked the bill on the ground that it made no provision to teach Maltese, the language of the masses. He maintained that without a firm knowledge of their own language, children could never learn two foreign
[648] languages at the same time. Although the British at first declared that this act was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, it was allowed to become law.

665 The Constitutional Party, supported by the Labour Party, won
666 the 1927 general elections, and Strickland became Prime Minister. The elections, however, were marred by an incident which embittered the relations between Strickland's supporters and their opponents. On the day before the election, the Nationalists circulated thousands of copies of a perjured affidavit which declared that Strickland was a Freemason. Although the perjurer, a

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[1] Section 57.

659 A Papal Delegate visited Malta and concluded that the differences between the government and the Church could best be settled by means of a concordat. During most of the year following the Papal Delegate's visit, Britain tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a concordat and to get the Holy See to forbid the Maltese clergy to take part in the general elections scheduled for May 1930. The Vatican, however, declared that Strickland was not *persona grata* and that as long as he remained in power, a concordat was not possible.

In Malta, the relations between the Strickland Government and
the Church went from bad to worse. In April 1930, two Con-
stitutional Party Ministers gathered many sworn statements that
Monsignor Gonzi, the Bishop of Gozo, had instructed priests to
preach against the Constitutional Party and to refuse absolution
to its supporters. This inquiry greatly angered the Church. On the
666 first of May, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo issued a joint
659 pastoral which forbade people to vote for Strickland or those can-
648 didates who supported him. In view of the spiritual sanctions that
[664] threatened people who voted for the candidates of one of the two
[642] major parties, Britain had no option but to cancel the elections. It
subsequently suspended the constitution, but kept the Strickland
ministers on as advisers.

A Royal Commission went to Malta to investigate the trouble.
197 Following its report, Britain restored the constitution and
64 abolished the teaching of Italian in primary schools. In June 1932
665 the Nationalists defeated Strickland and his supporters in a bit-
666 terly contested election in which 96 per cent of the electorate
voted. However, their period in office was very brief. The
Governor dismissed them in November 1933 for deliberately
evading the constitutional provisions regarding language, for they
had set about to re-establish the primacy of Italian in the educa-
tional system and the civil service. Once again the administration
of the islands became the responsibility of the Governor.

186 During the fourteen years of Governor's rule which followed,
the deep wounds caused by the long, harsh political conflict
64 slowly healed. The first Italian bombs of the war finally killed the
language dispute. The united defence effort and the common
suffering caused by the prolonged bombardment further helped
to reunite political rivals and suppress parochial quarrels. Britain
awarded the people of Malta and Gozo the George Cross for

owns no land or other property in common and its inhabitants 621
are rarely called upon or choose to work for a common end. At [186]
the same time, villagers are conscious of belonging to a distinct
social entity which is distinguished from other villages by a
collective nickname and a common sub-culture.

Many villages have a dialect quite distinct from that of their 184
neighbours, which the inhabitants, even those who have learned 197
to speak 'correctly' (*bil-pulit*), normally use to each other; 621
although they will invariably address strangers in their school
Maltese. There are also a number of minor variations of certain
customs between villages or districts. These may include the way
church bells are rung to announce a death or the way some aspects
of the festas are organized. Finally, each village has its own very
private body of gossip, stories, scandals and jokes, which makes
up a part of its history and tradition that is not shared with
outsiders.

As a congregation and a religious corporation, the village *qua* 421
parish owns land and other property, including the parish church. 423
It also has an appointed leader in the parish priest. The inhabitants 621
of the village meet regularly for worship, to take part in religious
processions and to carry out other devotional activities. Further- 794
more, they act together to celebrate the annual festa of the patron 796
saint, who symbolizes the unity of the secular and religious aspects
of the village, for he is patron of both village and parish.

A village can also be regarded as a moral community. That is, 621
people who live there must conform to a certain code of conduct. 626
While the community cannot enforce this code with the type of
formal sanctions the police and the Church use to punish infractions of secular and religious laws, public opinion can, and does,
exert great pressure for conformity. A person who flouts the
canons of convention becomes the object of malicious gossip and,
depending on the nature of the offence, he may also become the
target of overt hostile action and have his house front splashed
with paint, or his front door burned. The only way to escape
from the sanctions of public opinion is to move to one of the urban
areas or the expanding new suburbs, where licence can be
relatively anonymous.

Members of a village thus share a common body of custom and 186
tradition; they also display an intense loyalty to their place of 621
birth. This sense of loyalty is strongest during the annual festa of 796

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of the villages in which they maintain their country seats and draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
795 of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote. There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
[591] were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals, but accepted stratification within the village went no further than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
197 were the limits of the village. Contact between villages, even where close together, was slight and invariably less than that between the individual village and Valletta. Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically broader vowels, harsher gutturals and fewer European words and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

113 175 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the object of both propaganda and admiration.

191 197 177 178 As to language, it is clear the War finally killed the greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confirmed English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It had been a language of government for more than a century but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under the Order and had maintained its position during British nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not replace Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since been a considerable increase in the number of books and periodicals appearing in the language, along with general education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese public. Over the same period the use of Italian has declined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the Church and the professional classes) and the demand for English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of [204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for 1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920, p.333), 1933-34 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 - 1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English...............	1	1	2	2
Italian...............	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese...............	-	-	2	2

197 214 [212] Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly, or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this, it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant section of the population, generally the professional and business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write only one or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language dictionaries and works of a philological or etymological nature are obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistics

197 214 of Maltese, with its semitic sub-strata and immense Italian and other European accretions, have attracted much attention among students of comparative linguistics abroad.

The circulation of the Maltese daily "Il-Berqa" (B/55) reflects the position in the Islands, being limited to the working and rural classes. Many periodicals of a religious or occupational nature, or those produced by some towns and villages, now appear in Maltese; others are bi-lingual. [191] [198] But a knowledge of English is now so widespread among the younger generation that one would expect it to consolidate its growing importance as the language of government, education and culture, with the use of written Maltese declining relatively - though growing in absolute terms with the extension of literacy.

197 538 113 [217] Maltese language fiction and poetry exists today along with a great deal of religious writing. The present bibliography makes no attempt to cover this field although several of the Maltese writers concerned do appear in the general list (Part 8), while the principal store-houses of Maltese literature, the Royal Malta Library (B/16) and the Royal University (B/17), and others, are mentioned in Part 1. Neither is any systematic coverage attempted of the wealth of material concerning the Knights Hospitallers and their sojourn in Malta though some of the principal sources are included in Parts 2 and 8.

113 Maps, plans and charts of the Islands are not included. Many of the collections listed in Part 1 contain such items (B/1, 5, 6, 16, etc.), the Naval and Military authorities in the Islands have made surveys, maps and charts as required, while many private individuals have added to the list. Reference to the official 2" to one mile map (Geographical Section, General Staff, No.3859~~, War Office~~, 3rd Edition - 1953) is recommended at all points in the present volume. Sheet 1 covers Gozo and Comino and Sheet 2 Malta. For Malta, more detailed coverage is provided by the 6" (G.S.G.S., No.3852) and the 25" to the mile (G.S.G.S., No.3752) maps. A valuable land-use survey in Malta (1955) and Gozo (1957) have provided the Islands' first detailed coverage of this nature (B/5, 336, 337). Also valuable is the indexed and comprehensive 'Malta Street Guide' (B/489).

The bibliography which follows attempts only a very basic classification into eight sections

Part 1... List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands (B/1 - 17),

Part 2... List of some bibliographies on Maltese subjects (B/18 - 52),

Part 3... Sample list of some newspapers, periodicals and journals (B/53 - 85),

Part 4... Some almanacs, directories and year books (B/86 - 98),

the "tempestuous wind called Euroclydon" that still whistles 172
across it during the winter months under its modern name 173
of *gregale*, the "Greek wind," drove S. Paul on to its shores
and brought it about that the "chief man" of the island, [132]
Publius, became its first Bishop. It was a centre of civilization,
as well as a centre of the religious life of the Western
Mediterranean, very much earlier, for Malta, in the words
of the lamented Sir Themistocles Zammit, "was the holy
island of neolithic faith, the half-way house of the early
mariners, who trusted themselves to their frail wooden craft,
full of hope in a protecting power."

Later, when we emerge from prehistory, we find the 175
position reversed: Malta, instead of extending supernatural 648
protection to peoples beyond its shores, comes under the
political protection of others. During the many centuries 197
of its recorded history Malta has had many rulers: the
Phœnicians and their offspring, the Carthaginians, then
Romans, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Aragonese and
Castilians, then for two and a half centuries the international
Order of S. John of Jerusalem, and, finally, at the invitation
of the Maltese people after a brief French occupation, the
British. But despite the impact of such cosmopolitan influences
this people has clung tenaciously to its ancient
tongue, which is unquestionably of Semitic structure and
has claims to descent from the speech of Dido and Hannibal.[1]
It was, in fact, from a bilingual inscription in Phœnician and [172]
Greek found in Malta in 1697, of which more will be said
in the following chapter, that the Phœnician alphabet was
reconstructed. Of this inscription Dr A. V. Laferla writes
in his *Story of Man in Malta*: "The construction and grammar
. . . are identical with those of modern Maltese and many of
the words (*lil*, *bin*, *tnejn*, *jisma*, *iberikom*) are still in use at the
present day." S. Luke in the Acts describes the Maltese as 101
"barbarians"—that is, as neither Greeks nor Romans—and 175

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[1] The name Hannibal is still met with in Malta as a Christian name. Its Maltese diminutive is Nibblu.

175 we may safely assume that S. Paul's Aramaic was as comprehensible to them as was their related Phœnician to him.

106 There seems to be no evidence that this Semitic speech of
•197 the Maltese "barbarians" had been replaced by some other language when the Arabs seized the Maltese islands in 870.
648 Many of the philologists therefore hold that on to this Punic
175 stock the Arabs grafted, during the two hundred and twenty years of their occupation, a vocabulary of contemporary Arabic which did not completely oust words of the older, kindred stratum. These scholars consider that the dialect received, in fact, a second, fresher infusion from the same reservoir and that the resulting blend is the core of the Maltese language of to-day.

197 Inevitably, in the course of ages, this language has borrowed words from the languages and dialects of the other countries with which Malta has been connected—from Sicilian, from Aragonese, from Italian, from French, even from English—but it has always fitted such words into its own Semitic framework, has governed them according to
167 the rules of its own Semitic grammar and mechanics. Thus the Maltese who have emigrated to Syria and to the north coast of Africa have no difficulty in making themselves understood by their Arabic-speaking neighbours, who for their part can make themselves readily understood in Malta.
197 539 Here is the Lord's Prayer in Maltese, which I quote so that the reader unfamiliar with the language may see for himself what it looks like:

Missierna li inti fis-smewwiet,
Jitqaddes ismek,
Tigi saltnatek,
Ikun li trid Int, kif fis-sema hekda fl-art.

Hobzna ta' kull jum aghtina l-lum,
Ahfrilna dnubietna, bhalma nahfru lil min hu hati ghalina.
U la ddahhalniex fit-tigrib,
Izda ehlisna mid-deni. Hekk ikun.

And here is another example, a translation by the late Sir 197
Augustus Bartolo, scholar, historian, orator, staunch 539
Imperialist and one of His Majesty's Judges in Malta, of the first verse of Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*, beginning with the familiar words "Tell me not, in mournful numbers":

Tghidulix li id-dinja hi holma,
Mhiex hlief frugha, u niket, u hemm;
Dak li jidher fil-wiċċ hu qarrieqi,
Ujekk torqod ir-ruh taghna tintemm.

The formal allocutions of the present Archbishop of Malta to his flock are headed as follows:

"MICHAEL GONZI
Ghall Grazzja t'Alla
U Tas-Sedi Apostolika
ARCISQOF TA' MALTA
SAHHA U BARKA"

(Michael Gonzi, by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See Archbishop of Malta, Greeting and Blessing.)

It doesn't really look much like a dialect of Italian, does 197
it? Yet that is the impression which Mussolini's unscrupulous 648
and efficient propaganda bureau determined to create in Italy. It set itself to convince the Italians that the Maltese were a branch of the Italian race and that their speech was an Italian dialect—a somewhat corrupt one, perhaps—which had absorbed during the Arab occupation of their islands a certain quantity of Arabic words. Fascist propaganda would draw a false and misleading analogy between Maltese and such Italian dialects as Sicilian, which, while Italian in grammar and structure, has incorporated Arabic words with its Italian vocabulary.

In point of fact Maltese is the converse of Sicilian, since it is an Oriental language that has absorbed non-Oriental words into its Semitic structure. But Mussolini and his agents, zealously directed by his son-in-law Ciano, succeeded in making large numbers of Italians believe quite honestly—

197 seeing that they had no means of checking the facts for
648 themselves—what they wanted them to swallow. Even in the eighteenth century, as we shall see in Chapter XIII, an Italian visitor to Malta described the language of the Maltese as "their own perfidious idiom."

A case in point is the episode, recounted to the writer by one of His Majesty's Ambassadors to the Quirinal during the Fascist régime, concerning a Maltese football team on a visit to Italy. On their arrival in Rome the Maltese were met by the Italian team detailed to look after them, who had been well briefed to treat their visitors as 'unredeemed' blood-brothers. The Italians, knowing no reason to doubt the accuracy of their brief, greeted the Maltese footballers at the station in all good faith with a cordial address in eloquent Italian, of which their guests understood barely a word. Realizing, however, that they in their turn would be expected to say something, they replied with an equally friendly speech in Maltese, whereupon their hosts threw up their hands in mystified despair, crying, "*Ma che fratelli son' questi*—but what sort of brothers are these?"

A pleasant French contribution to Maltese is a word for
197 a train, *xmundifer* (*chemin de fer*), thought to have been
192 introduced by Maltese emigrants returning from Algeria and Tunis. And, as has been said above, English words, too, have found their way into Malta's eclectic vocabulary, words for the most part of a technical kind or related to sport. Among these is the verb "to score" which, as Professor J. Aquilina has pointed out, is conjugated as *niskorja*, I score, *skorja*, *skorjat*, *skorjajna*, *skorjaw*—he, she, we, they have scored a goal, and so on.

But it is interesting to note that we appear to be witnessing
[576] the beginnings of a two-way traffic in this connexion. The common Maltese form of greeting and farewell is *sahha*, literally "health," a word that springs easily and comfortably also to the lips of non-Maltese who have spent any time in the islands. Thanks, no doubt, to the habitual use of this

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

term by the numerous British Service men and women who 197
have been stationed in or have passed through Malta, *sahha* 192
has been admitted, in the form "saha," into the more recent editions of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* as an English word for "good-bye," with due acknowledgment of its Maltese origin. And perhaps "saha" is but the forerunner of others; for in its issue of the 5th January 1945 the London *Spectator* had this to say on the etymology of the word "spitchered," which occurs in one of the war books on Malta:

> The word clearly derives from the Maltese *spicca*, meaning "finished" or something similar. Naval opinion agrees with Air Force opinion on that. But naval opinion claims credit for embodying the word in the English language. And as naval opinion can point to its use as long ago as 1903, the Air Force does seem to be grounded or, indeed, spitchered on this particular point.

4

In some parts of the Old World the visitor can select, 133
according to his tastes, the century that he prefers. It is no 172
exaggeration to say that in Malta he can choose the millennium and more than the millennium. If he is a palæontologist he may wander about the cave of Ghar Dalam and study *in situ* the remains of the elephants and hippopotami who left their bones there when the world was yet young, and of giant swans who sailed on lakes that have long since
vanished. Advancing from these and from the Neanderthal 172
Man, of whom traces may have been found in Malta, many thousands of years into the Stone Age, he will find in Malta and Gozo a series of megalithic and neolithic sanctuaries—Tarxien, the Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni, Haġiar Qim, Mnajdra, Ġgantija, to mention only the most important—unequalled in any other part of the world.

He will find other survivals of the Stone Age, of a different 172
sort, in the cart-tracks which traverse many of the barren 493
136

CHAPTER XVIII

Old Survivals in Modern Malta

MALTA OCCUPIES A PLACE OF ITS OWN IN THE OLD WORLD 101
not only by reason of the length and unusual character of its annals, not only by reason of the tremendous range of its architectural monuments. It does so because it combines with these features the circumstance that it is the home of a separate race, the smallest of European peoples.

There are, it is true, four independent states in Europe of lesser size than Malta, but the inhabitants of these states do not form distinct racial stocks, nor have they their own languages. The Maltese are the smallest nation with the longest history, and their islands are a microcosm, self-
contained. Not only has Malta its own tongue. It has its [197]
own University—the oldest in the British Commonwealth [873]
Overseas and granted the Royal patronage and the prefix "Royal" by King George VI in his coronation year—with seven faculties: Theology, Laws, Medicine and Surgery, Dental Surgery, Engineering and Architecture, Arts, Science.
It has, as we have seen, its own Nobility with their Committee [565]
of Privileges. It is an ecclesiastical Province whose Archbishop [793]
exercises jurisdiction since 1944 over the bishopric of Gozo, previously immediately subject to the Holy See since its formation in 1864. And in the history of this microcosm has been mirrored the life of the great world around it.

Viewed as a part of the British Commonwealth, Malta is 655
unique in two particulars. It is the only British possession 545
whose Government owns an Opera House and in normal times 368
maintains an annual opera season and conducts the pawnbroking of the nation in the manner of certain Continental states.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Easter, is celebrated by a general procession composed of the fraternities and Clergy of all the parishes of the Island, led by the Chapter of the Cathedral followed by His Grace the Bishop of the Diocese. 796 [793]

The solemn chiming of the bells of all the parishes in the Island at sunset, on the day before, and the lighting of a large fire on the top of Cathedral church at Notabile, about 10 at night, warns the faithful to gather early on the following morning (Wednesday) in their respective parish church to start for the annual procession. [262]

At about 7 o'clock in the morning, Casal Paula is literally thronged with thousands of people from all parts of the Island, awaiting instructions as to the marching and ordering of the grand procession.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

St. ROCCO RACES

The famous horse race which is annually run at Pietà on the 16th of August, the feast day of St. Roque, is a source of great excitement to the large crowds of people who flock thither from all parts of the Island. 527 541 [796]

Although the races do not commence before 6 p.m. yet, as early as 3 o'clock, the Pietà creek is all covered with hundreds of boats of every description, laden with people; and all along the Pietà quay, from the Bathing house — the place from which the competing animals start—to the winning post, at a little distance from "Portes des Bombes" — is always lined with thousands of spectators in order to witness the sport.

Some 5 minutes before 6 o'clock, a [202] gun is fired as a signal for the people to clear the way; a second report is

527 then heard, and some 10 or 12 donkeys
541 are seen running at full speed, driven
[202] by jockeys, amidst great shouts and
roars of laughter from the spectators, caused sometimes by the stubborness of some of the long eared quadrupeds, which instead of running keep kicking right and left, not being in humour perhaps on that day of being tormented by the constant goading of their merciless rider.

The donkey race is immediately followed by the horses first, and then that of the mares.

It is really grand to see the noble creatures, darting along the race course with neither saddles or bridles, and mounted barebacked by the gaily dressed jockeys.

When the Government prizes, which consist of gay stripes of richly brocaded

Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding. The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the *Haddara* closed the procession. 585

The arrival of the bridal procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was completed, everyone returned from church in the same order as before. [202] [793] [465]

As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies show-

584 her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which
[301] was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual
faith—together with bracelets, necklaces, and a gold
chain—she presenting him in return with a handkerchief
trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon.

This ceremony is called *il chelma*, which means the
engagement.

585 On the morning of the wedding day the most honoured
[292] personage among the husband's relations threw a fine
white veil over the bride's head—who wore a brocade
[301] or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain
rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells.

[533] The bridal procession then proceeded to the Church
for the ceremony, attended by musicians playing on
different instruments, and singers who sang stanzas in
praise of the young couple. These musicians were preceded
by three men, the first bearing on his head a basin
of white earth on which was placed a big cake with two
figures representing the bridegroom and the bride—the
[431] man who carried this basin wore also a scarf with a round
cake hanging from it. The second carried a basket filled
with sugar plums and candied nuts, which one of the
relations distributed among such acquaintances he happened
[532] to meet. In the middle of the basket was a handkerchief
folded in the form of a pyramid and ornamented
with the images of the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, and
the Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed
in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed,
walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried
by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding.
The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the
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was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating

793 letters. His high standing in the village, and his contacts with people of influence and power outside it, led people to turn to him for advice. He was asked to represent them in their relations with the outside world. In this capacity he served his parishioners as lawyer, banker and business adviser. He was also the traditional dispenser of charity.

[212] [278] [659] The increasing literacy of the people and their ever-widening range of contacts outside the limits of the parish has somewhat reduced their dependence upon the parish priest. The State's recent involvement in welfare and charity has further weakened it. But if this dependence has been reduced, it has most certainly not been eliminated. Many still call on him to divide inheritances, to argue their claims against the government or to plead with prospective employers, and not a few expect him to be able to secure better roads, new schools, sewerage and playgrounds.

203· 793 Thus the parish priest is the village's chief spokesman, and many still refer to him as *il-principal tar-raħal*, 'the head of the village'. The government has long recognized this, and makes use of him as a convenient contact with the people. Each Sunday morning, in addition to his own official announcements, the parish priest reads from the altar government notices advising the people of forthcoming elections, immunization campaigns, agricultural extension lectures and so on.

793 [626] But if the parish priest performs numerous services for his parishioners, both individually and collectively, he has also the power to refuse them. The sanctions with which he can punish disobedience are considerable. They range from declining to write a good conduct certificate to denying absolution in confession. On the other hand, he has the power to give rewards for services rendered. Aside from doing favours for people who have helped him, he can appoint them to offices which confer prestige and authority and, in some cases, are also financially rewarding. All this serves to underline and reinforce his position as a leader in the community.

Parish priests are usually outsiders, but the rest of the village clergy are natives of the communities in which they live. Unlike Catholic priests in Britain or the United States, who live in presbyteries, the diocesan clergy of Malta and Gozo live at home with their relatives. This means that they remain in constant contact with the village. They are often called on to take part in family

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
795 up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
[591] were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
197 even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutturals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential
independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

527 which time the Senators, as well as the
431 knights and other great men, brought
171 gifts to the Emperor, and in his absence
to the Capitol (1).

527 It is also the custom in some places
777 of Malta for men to go about strewing some lime in the door-ways on New Year's day. Some idea of good luck may perhaps be associated with the lime; there is no tradition, however, as far as is known, whence this custom arose.

527 New Year's greetings in the shape
203 of visiting cards, are very profusely exchanged on this occasion, especially among the better classes.

527 Groups of street musicians go from
431 house to house, either on the last day
533 of the old year or on the morning of

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(1) Capitol, the temple of Jupiter at Rome built on the top of a hill.

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the government. Since then it has been streamlined and hardened
by the Party's almost constant struggle with the Church. Frequent
meetings now keep the rank and file in close touch with the
national leaders. The Party's newspaper, which became a daily [204]
shortly after Mintoff resigned in 1958, disseminates propaganda [208]
and news of Labour activities as well as international news, and so
provides the leaders with an important contact with members.

The MLP is now organized in three tiers: at the national level, at
the level of the electoral district, and at the village level. The
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its village level organization. Virtually every village in Malta has
its own Local Committee, the members of which are elected
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At the apex of this pyramid is the National Executive of the Malta Labour Party. This is composed of representatives from all the District Committees, from the Parliamentary group and from the Labour League of Youth. The Party officers and additional members of the Executives are elected at an annual General Conference. All electoral candidates and major policy decisions are confirmed there. Conference delegates are representatives of the Local Committees of each village and town.

During the period the MLP was in power, the Local Committees

578 665 794 heard. The meeting was finally called off, and the large MLP delegation from Malta was literally routed. They had to return on foot from Rabat to the ferry, as the bus drivers refused them transport. During the long walk to the ferry, the Labour partisans were ambushed and rather badly mauled by groups of men, women and children from all over Gozo. The ardour of many Gozitans had been worked up by lay leaders who toured the villages for several days beforehand. But besides their religious fervour, there was a considerable element of parochial pride, and the feeling that 'we'll show these Maltese invaders a thing or two.' In all, forty persons were reported injured. The Gozitans were extremely proud of their victory, and the local branch of the Social Action Movement published a booklet to commemorate the occasion.[1]

665 The activity of Labour supporters centres on their local Party club or committee, which arranges for transportation to national MLP rallies and conducts lectures and classes on the political aims of the Party. It also organizes social evenings and outings for Labour supporters. The members of the Local Committee take charge of the preparations for national meetings held in their own village. Local Committees take the initiative in preparing floats, decorated carts and companies in costume for the annual MLP demonstration on the First of May. For the past few years the
[796] MLP Executive has also organized a carnival celebration for its supporters to induce them to boycott the official government-
[204] sponsored carnival.[2] Labour supporters read the Labour daily newspaper, *Il-Helsien* (Freedom), and the Sunday *Voice of Malta.* Since the condemnation, *Il-Helsien* has become a party badge. It is pasted on bus windows during MLP excursions, worn as an armband at rallies and in general used by Labour supporters to taunt their opponents. I have even seen some young men in Kortin swagger into church on Sunday morning with copies of it sticking out of their hip pockets.

578 665 All supporters of the Labour Party do not show their allegiance this openly, for many wish to avoid the break with a large section of the community which would follow such action. Some are teachers or civil servants who fear lest their open support for the

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[1] *Ghawdex Jiddefendi L-Knisja* [Gozo defends the Church] (Gozo: Social Action Movement, 1961).

[648] [2] The government at this time was administered by a British Chief Secretary, and the MLP ordered members to stay away from all events it organized.

MLP cost them their jobs.[1] Others have friends or relatives on the 578
other side with whom they do not wish to break. Yet others, 665
responsible for maintaining the unity of a neutral club, fear that
an open stand will bring about a crisis which would divide it.
Although most of these persons continue to read the condemned 204
papers, they do so discreetly, for reading them openly would 578
provoke incidents. There are also a large number of Labour 626
sympathizers who have been unwilling to forego the sacraments
of the Church. They no longer read the Labour papers or attend 665
MLP rallies, but they are bitter about having been forced to make
the choice.

The physical act of purchasing a Labour newspaper has in itself become a public statement of political allegiance. After the condemnation and the threat of a general Church boycott of their premises (which was carried out in Gozo) most vendors have refused to handle MLP publications. In the villages they can usually only be bought at the local MLP club. Thus the act of striding across the village square and into the stronghold of the devil, performed in front of many of the village elders, becomes an open declaration of sympathy with the Labour cause. In Kortin many wait until the square is empty, usually around midnight in the summer, and then scuttle into the club to get their papers.

III

There is a correlation between occupational class and support for 467
one of these two ideological divisions. In general, professionals, 665
white-collar workers and farmers support the Archbishop, and
industrial labourers the Labour Party. There are several reasons for this. To begin with, the Labour Party is a working-man's party, and there is ideological support for it on that account. Although the MLP has a definitely socialist ideology, and is a member of the Socialist International (points on which the Church attacks it regularly), it advocates few of the measures associated with doctrinaire Socialism, such as public ownership of transport and industry or the collectivization of farming. On the other hand, it does promise equal opportunity for all, and 'the right of the

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[1] The Malta Government Circular of 19 October 1960 prohibited most grades of civil [556]
servants from holding office in political organizations or publicly expressing their political
views. This regulation is something of a paradox in a small country in which most intellectuals work for the government in one capacity or another.

782 drinking from the spring of the grotto at Mellicha village where the Holy Virgin is
755 venerated; or placing some earth on the sick person from the tomb of a hermit reputed
to have died in odour of sanctity in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 16).

755 Sometimes the donation of an 'ex-voto' was coupled with the publication, in a
religious periodical, of the circumstances of the illness and its extraordinary cure. The
782 following are typical case-histories, translated from Maltese, culled at random from
214 such a periodical:

(i) Victoria Conti, who had been suffering from deafness in the right ear for
●[204] four years, was told by two doctors that her condition was incurable. She prayed to
the Holy Mary and as soon as she placed the oil from the sanctuary of Ta Pinu
(Gharb, Gozo) on her ear she regained her hearing.

(ii) A woman fell from the balcony of her house and, as a result, had a series of convulsions, lost the faculty of speech, and became moribund. She remained in this precarious state for fifteen days when her parents promised the offer of a silver 'ex-voto' to the Holy Virgin if their daughter recovered. The following night the patient began to regain consciousness and to talk. She made steady progress and was well within a short time.

(iii) Joseph Spiteri, from Zabbar, had a mentally sick brother who, in a fit of frenzy, cut his throat. The doctor declared the case a hopeless one but, following a vow to the Mother of Christ, the patient began to improve until he recovered from his wound and from his mental illness within nine weeks.

(iv) Clo. Montignier had measles and almost lost his eyesight as a complication. His mother vowed to the Virgin Mary that she would offer a silver 'ex-voto' in the shape of a pair of eyes if his sight was spared. Immediately this promise was made, the boy opened his eyes from which all the signs of disease had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1894–9).

Other published accounts deal with cases of throat infections, puerperal sepsis, hyperpyrexia (up to 107° F), and trachoma. To appreciate the seriousness of these diseases up to thirty years ago, it must be remembered that the sulphonamide and the antibiotic eras had not yet dawned and that no effective therapy was yet available with the result that many patients with sepsis lost their lives and cases of trachoma ended in permanent blindness. Stories of accidents, such as falls from heights, scalding and involvement in vehicular traffic are also recorded. At times medical certificates over the signatures of prominent doctors were published as evidence of the gravity of the injury or illness sustained and of recovery therefrom (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1887).

MEDICAL PAINTINGS

782 These are of various sizes ranging from 5 × 12 to 18 × 24 inches. They were much more
532 numerous in the past than they are to-day. Church walls, which are now bare, were
346 covered with these small canvases and wooden panels. A number of these 'ex-votos'
353 vanished many years ago as in the case of the Sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception
of Qala in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 13). In other churches these pictures still existed in great numbers up to about thirty years ago but have now dwindled considerably, instances being those of the Cave chapel of the Annunciation and St Leonard at Minsija (Birkirkara), the church of Tal Mirakli (Lija), and Tal Hlas (Qormi). One of the sanc-

113 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in
195 Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the
object of both propaganda and admiration.

191 As to language, it is clear the War finally killed the
greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confir-
197 med English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It
177 had been a language of government for more than a century
178 but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until
the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under
the Order and had maintained its position during British
nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not replace Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since been a considerable increase in the number of books and periodicals appearing in the language, along with general education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese public. Over the same period the use of Italian has declined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the Church and the professional classes) and the demand for English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of
[204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following
classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for 1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920, p.333), 1933-34 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 - 1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English...............	1	1	2	2
Italian...............	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese...............	-	-	2	2

197 Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary
214 language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese
[212] themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly,
or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this, it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant section of the population, generally the professional and business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write only one or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language dictionaries and works of a philological or etymological nature are obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistics

[p. 15]

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out 647
by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under
the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is
usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the [648]
interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation
from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads
were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants.
Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of
civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers
through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial
labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the govern- [464]
ment. They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This [162]
makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands.
Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the
principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open
competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration [621]
required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no
councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to
represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey
the wishes and commands of government to the people.
Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are
located in Valletta. Only the police represent government [625]
authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools [658]
for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most
villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a [744]
day under the supervision of a government District Medical
Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and [205]
branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour.
All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where [364]
it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the 578 office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only 654 the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social 665 order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has 795 strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as though he were bent on overthrowing the established social order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of countries which have fought successful battles against the Church. Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, [205] 'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the [656] Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose [668] by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

IV

But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly 578 united communities, life goes on and the social order does not 621 disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively 665 little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often 794 caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table
only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
366 by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension
of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised
shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops,
and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of
home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War,
the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly
to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The
petrolju van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on
paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
[262] addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free
distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
[797] by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation
distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

178 Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home
was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a stair-
342 case frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic
life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
[351] enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were
small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for
animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump
and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
[312] emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
[364] summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can
only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

[491] Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
[377] Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has
been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
[206] north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the
Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
[546] Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

241 Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent
family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the
village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese
agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the
village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have
improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now
greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them,
thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee.
Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village
have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction
not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and
functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community
has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113 1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 53.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1960.

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In terms of the social pattern of the rural village, this means that there is a very significant distinction to be made between the older generation of farmers proper and the younger generation whose direct attachment to the land and farming is weaker if not already broken. If one turns to a consideration of the way of life and living standards in the village community this gulf is apparent. Most spectacular perhaps are changes in clothing.

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The familiar working garb of the farmer has been the heavy woollen vest, cotton trousers, waistcoat, and cap. Recently, army-surplus shirts, denims, etc., have replaced the locally-made garment, often of home-grown cotton, while the cummerbund is now rare. Sandals are normally worn for walking but not for work. The farmer who works round the clock has never had a 'best suit'. He attends Mass in his working clothes before going to the fields and, on Sundays and holidays, ventures forth as on any other day with the possible addition of a woollen cardigan or more presentable waistcoat. For women, the use of the *faldetta* ribbed hood has declined rapidly in the last 20 years and is now only worn by the older women in the villages and by female members of the M.U.S.E.U.M. movement. The use of black generally by women is declining but most clothes are still made in the home even if from bought material rather than home-produced cotton or wool. The younger generation are not usually content to venture forth dressed in the manner of their parents but insist on making their own appearance as much like that of the average town-dweller among whom they aim to move socially. The white shirt, smart suit, shoes, socks, and well-oiled hair of the young men and the bright dresses, high-heeled shoes, nylons and cosmetics of the village maidens are regarded as the essential uniform of the seeker after the bright lights of Valletta and the towns. The schools have played a part in this with their demands on cleanliness, footwear and dress in the classroom. Occasionally a child goes bare-foot to a village school but no one would think of visiting Valletta shoe-less. The imitation of urban standards of dress is particularly apparent in the sub-urban districts where the farming minority are at pains to 'keep up with the Vellas' in dress - in spite of the expense involved.

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[262]

Diet in the traditional rural scene depended upon what could be produced by the fields and animals held by any family. The standard soups and stews (such as *minestra* and *brodu*) were consequently largely vegetable. Meat was rarer, fish seasonal and small birds might be added to a stew depending on the results of the hunting or, more correctly, shooting which was and is a popular Sunday and Holiday pastime in the countryside. The diet was rather less 'Italian' than that in Valletta and the towns, with potatoes in place of the various forms of farinaceous paste - spaghetti, macaroni, etc. As in the rest of the Islands before [272] the 1939-45 war, milk was taken fresh from goats and sheep and was not infrequently disease-carrying. Tinned milk is now popular in town and country but consumption of bottled, pasteurised milk is growing. Tea and coffee drinking have to some extent replaced local and home-made wines, especially in the many bars and small cafés which have become the leisure-time resorts of the men of the villages between strolls in the squares and streets. Even here change is [533] evidenced, for the traditional guitar-accompanied *ghana* of the Maltese peasant [207] has given way to *Radio e Televisione Italiana* as the basis of café entertainment.

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This very increase in leisure time is significant. The old farmer is content to spend the greater part of every day with his animals or in the fields for they are in fact his hobby as well as his livelihood. Cinemas and bright lights hold no attraction for him; but the young man insists on recreation as he sees it in the towns. The timetable of the farmer varies according to his type of farming. The herdsmen's life is ruled by the routine of feeding and attention demanded by his cows or goats and by the times of milk collection demanded by the Milk Marketing Undertaking. All this means an earlier daily start (sometimes 1 or 2 a.m.) than is usual for the field worker who begins his day with a 4 a.m. or 5 a.m. Mass and then stops for a light breakfast some three hours later. Lunch-time is 11 a.m. or noon and is followed by a *siesta* of some hours, depending on the season and the pressure of work to be completed before the sun goes down and the field-worker shoulders his hoes or his wooden plough and returns home

reinforced during the three years following 1955 when it formed 665 the government. Since then it has been streamlined and hardened by the Party's almost constant struggle with the Church. Frequent meetings now keep the rank and file in close touch with the national leaders. The Party's newspaper, which became a daily [204] shortly after Mintoff resigned in 1958, disseminates propaganda [208] and news of Labour activities as well as international news, and so provides the leaders with an important contact with members.

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17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic
Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedicated
787 to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
795 elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'.
621 After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
17 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
433 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
439 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
464 programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate
urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

CHAPTER VII

National Politics and the Village

578 665 668 795 In the last few years issues of national policy have taken an increasingly important place in the villages alongside the purely parochial ones we discussed in the preceding two chapters. Divisions based on opposed political ideologies are now reflected in the groups and associations in which people spend their time. The major division which cuts across all Maltese villages is based not so much upon rivalry between political parties, as upon the present conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. But as has been observed, conflict between the Church and a political party is not new to Malta. It also existed during the late 'twenties and early 'thirties.

578 665 795 [666] The dispute between the Labour Party and the Church is essentially a struggle for power. Dom Mintoff, the Labour leader, accuses the Archbishop Gonzi of siding with Britain to maintain Malta's colonial status, and with interfering in politics by attacking the Labour Party and its leaders. In its 1962 Electoral Manifesto the MLP proclaims the right of a person 'to fulfil his civic duty without pseudo-religious interference'; sees as a crime 'any interference with the right of a democratically elected majority to implement the people's mandate', and advocates the 'abolition of medieval privileges which have retarded [the country's] social and economic progress.'[1] The Church sees this not only as a direct attack on the basic right and duty of a bishop to teach and to guard the morals of his flock,[2] but also as a move to destroy its traditional position in Maltese society. In particular it fears that if the Labour Party were returned to power, it would enact legislation which would render the Archbishop liable to prosecution before the criminal court if he were to comment on the political issues of the day.

[208] These opposing views are expressed in the slogans written on

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[1] See Appendix B for the 1962 MLP Electoral Manifesto.

[2] Cf. William E. Addis and others, '*Bishop*', *A Catholic Dictionary*, pp. 80 ff.

● 208 walls and shouted at public meetings. Mintoff is portrayed as a
578 Socialist devil working to give the islands over to Communism
665 in the manner of Cuba's Castro. These are some typical examples
795 of the ones that appeared on the blackboard outside the Kortin
Catholic Action centre: 'Mintoff is the enemy of the Church',
'Nobody can serve both God and the Devil', '"The Bishops are
interfering in politics!" That is what Communists say,' and 'We
don't want Communists among us!' In stating their case, Mintoff
and his supporters did not mince words either, as the following
slogans that appeared on the blackboard of the Kortin Labour
Party club demonstrate: 'We want a chance in court about the
$60,000 lie',[1] 'With the Papal flag in their hands and shouting
for vengeance', 'A fish begins to stink from its head',[2] and 'In
Gozo they told the women that we have tails.'

208 The popular slogan 'Either with the Bishop or against the
578 Church!' sums up the uncompromising attitude of the Church.
665 Most of the sanctions it has imposed have presented that choice
794 to the people in unequivocal terms. Early in May 1961, shortly
795 after the Labour leaders were interdicted, all Church lay societies
were instructed to obtain from each member a pledge of his full
and unqualified support for the Archbishop. Those that declined
to give this were expelled from the society concerned and their
names reported to the national office of Catholic Action. But a
[793] more drastic sanction was imposed a few weeks later. After the
[626] Executive of the Labour Party had invited the Archbishop and the
Bishop of Gozo to debate their policy in public at a Labour rally
in Cospicua, the Bishops replied to this insult by issuing a circular
which declared it a mortal sin to print, write for, sell, buy,
distribute or read the Labour Party newspapers. All confessors
were instructed to put the necessary questions to their penitents.

578 Hence, to remain a Labour supporter, a person has to forego the
665 Church sacraments that he has been brought up to believe vital
794 to his happiness and spiritual salvation. This is a very serious
795 choice for a practising Catholic, and before these sanctions were
imposed, the Maltese were among the most devoutly Catholic
[851] [208] people in the world. It has also meant that MLP supporters cannot

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[1] This refers to the Archbishop's charge, made at a rally in March 1961, that Mintoff had received $61,000 from the allegedly Communist dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which the MLP had just joined.

[539] [2] A Maltese proverb meaning that corruption first becomes apparent among people in high places. This was presumably directed against the Archbishop.

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act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented 665
from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred 794
not to baptize their children. 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have [851]
stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything [608]
that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that [664]
there is nothing incompatible between support of their political
leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the
slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has
become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the [208]
Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it
does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue
to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have
been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized
their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for
personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does
not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This
attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters
who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the
military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist
and a practising Catholic at the same time.

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on
the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this
struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been
unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from
church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a [626]
confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone
to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very
difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to
live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people complained
about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour
Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some
extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role
for the non-practising Catholic.

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed 115
up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. 578
We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked
him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the 665
Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Communist 794
by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am 795
829

000 matter.

494 442 829 178 While the farmer does not favour the co-operative movement at present he is generally dissatisfied also with the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

208 654 474 44 The Government plan to centralize marketing on the one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the selling of produce on the other will not succeed without a great deal of patient education of the farmer supplemented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and Co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

464 184 178 In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

654 (b) to encourage the members of the farming community to remain in their villages and in the industry.

(9) Following the official policy, outlined under (8)

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234 particularly that relating to dairying in the Islands, and the limited and short-sighted outlook of the average Maltese farmer (v. 6), an irrational emphasis on milk production has emerged in recent years (v. Section 4). The dairy industry has grown to unprecedented size in the Islands and many herdsmen have seized eagerly upon the guaranteed price for milk sold to the M.M.U. as a source of a steady income. The fact that the dairy industry as a whole is over-producing and the continuation of the present conditions depend on a virtual Government subsidy does not deter them from concentrating all efforts into milk production to the neglect of other aspects of farming.

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178 (10) The official policy, outlined in (8) and (9), seems likely to fail or to come near to failure on two main accounts (Section 4):

(a) the difficulties facing current attempts to pursuade the farmer to accept new schemes, crops, equipment, methods, etc., and arising from

(i) the outlook and attitudes of the farmer as discussed in (6),

[208] (ii) the use of unsuitable means of propaganda by the Advisory Service and others at present attempting to pursuade the farmer to accept new ideas and methods which would bring him cheaper working, a better profit and, thereby, contentment.

(b) the fact that the policy, outlined in (8), is directed, naturally enough, at the present farmers. This generation, however, illiterate and conservative, and with an average age in the late fifties, is, in the long-term view, the wrong one.

The present younger generation in the farming community, whose literacy and awareness of the world beyond the village make them educable and more responsive to new ideas, are the individuals towards whom official effort should be directed if Maltese agriculture is not to be lost by default. Nothing, however, included in official policy (up to December, 1959, is aimed at them (there is nothing resembling a young farmers' club in the Islands and no institute or college where agriculture can be studied).

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178 The younger generation is in fact, on account of the whole complex of technical, economic and social reason (the strenuous work, the insecurity and the low social status involved) discussed in the four previous Sections, anxious to escape from farming as fast as opportunity to do so emerges.

The problem is clear, and its solution one of action.

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no pathology they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 532
'legs were offered for paralysis, congenital anomalies and chronic ulcers in the lower 755
limbs; 'arms' and 'hands' for fractures and threatened loss of fingers by injury or gangrene; 'ears' for deafness and otitis; and 'eyes' for a variety of ocular diseases. Sometimes, however, the association of illness and anatomical part is not so specific; thus 'trunks' were offered for such varied conditions as throat affections, hernias, and mental disorder; 'faces' for enlarged glands in the neck; and pairs of female 'breasts' for deficiency of milk in a lactating mother as well as disease of these organs.

They were made of wax or of raised work in gold and silver foil. Those met with at 782
present are the silver ones, the others having disappeared from the churches though 532
they were still being offered at the end of the last century if not later. There are records
of wax effigies of arms, legs, eyes, and babies and also of gold ones having been deposited [325]
at that period at Ta Pinu Church at Gharb in Gozo. A pair of gold legs cost £17 (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1890; Kerr 1893). Wax figures also existed until some thirty years ago
in the small church of Tal Mirakli at Lija (Tanti 1962). These objects were manufac- [439]
tured in Malta but some of them were imported from Sicily and North Africa. The gold [325]
and silver foil was hammered into the desired shape over dies of bronze by a silversmith (Plate 1, Fig. 3). They vary in size from 6 by 2½ inches to 1 by 3½ inches. Some of them bear hall-marks which help to date them and identify the source of manufacture. The
earliest met so far by the writer is a stylized silver model (in the writer's collection) of a pair [422]
of female breasts impressed with the hall-marks of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Em. de Rohan who ruled over the Maltese Islands from 1775 to 1797.

The deposition of anatomical 'ex-votos' in Maltese churches ceased in 1935. The
ecclesiastical council held in that year in Malta under the presidency of Cardinal H. 782
Lepicier disallowed the exhibition of 'votive offerings showing parts of the human body 532
except those in the shape of a heart', (*Concilium*, 1935, p. 60), so that the present-day 795
visitor will hardly see anything else except 'hearts' hanging by the statues of the saints to whom they were offered by grateful devotees. The more 'profane' models have been melted and converted into sacred utensils for the church service.

Very occasionally instead of an anatomical representation, we come across a silver 211 ●
tablet commemorating deliverance from illness. Here is a specimen inscribed in Latin: 164

P. Trapani cum suis / A. MDCCCLXXXVII / Ab Asiana Lue /
Incolumos (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1888).

that is P. Trapani and his family spared from the Asiatic Disease of the year 1887.

(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the [731]
last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of [165]
over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and 782
by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These 755
actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The square is most tastefully got up with splendid trophies of arms and red and white flags. From each of the trophies broad red and white sashes are seen hanging, on which the names of those who distinguished themselves by some brave and noble deed in the memorable siege, are written in gold letters. 527 186

The decorations of the column of Victory, in the middle of the square, are simply magnificent. This column is surrounded by four figures, representing 4 Grand Masters in full armour, one of these is the immortal La Valette, who at the head of his knights, and supported by the population of Malta—men, women, and children—succeeded in hurling back, discomfited and disgraced, the Moslem, that would from Malta have sallied forth to the conquest of Europe. 527 186 211

During the day the bands, playing 527 533

level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advancement. 555

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta 212
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same 369
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same
period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to
17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment oppor- 464
tunities during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 178
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 241
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 433
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the 464

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and [114]
1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing (Valletta, Central
Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable.
Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only
the number of people who never attended school.

625 a very different role from that of their Spanish counterparts, the Civil Guard, whom Kenny describes as 'the traditional enemy of the peasants'.[1]

III

795 The very considerable authority of the Church in Malta is derived not from law, but from the loyalty of a people who fervently practise their religion. Until recently, there had never been a separation in their minds between Church and State, between the religious and secular elements in their daily lives. The Church, as we have already observed, has occupied this position for many
[423] centuries. Its power is bolstered by its considerable wealth, for in Malta the rich property and lands of the Church have not been expropriated by the State, as they have in so many other Catholic countries.[2]

As the official representative of the Church, the parish priest
793 occupies a position of great importance in his community. He has authority in all religious matters affecting his parishioners. He ministers to their spiritual and often to their personal needs. He alone can arrange for the important ceremonies which mark the
[795] stages in their lives. These *rites de passage* include baptism, confirmation, marriage, death and burial. He also controls the many
[796] ritual activities of the village as a whole. These are the daily services of worship and the ceremonies, processions and feasts by which all Maltese, but above all the countrymen, regulate their days and mark the divisions of the year. Through his preaching and admonition he defines, interprets and enforces the moral code of the Church. He is also the official custodian of the richly decorated parish church.

Besides this dependence on the parish priest in the religious matters which are of such vital importance in the lives of a devoutly Catholic people, the country people have traditionally
● [212] looked to him for assistance in many secular fields. Until only a few decades ago, he was often one of the few literate persons in his parish. As such he was frequently asked to read and write letters.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 48.

[2] Mitchell estimates that the Church owns 22 per cent of the agricultural land in Malta and 12 per cent in Gozo. See Peter K. Mitchell, *The Maltese Farm*, vol. II of *Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta* (mimeographed; Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, 1959), p. 130.

793 letters. His high standing in the village, and his contacts with people of influence and power outside it, led people to turn to him for advice. He was asked to represent them in their relations with the outside world. In this capacity he served his parishioners as lawyer, banker and business adviser. He was also the traditional dispenser of charity.

[212] [178] [658] The increasing literacy of the people and their ever-widening range of contacts outside the limits of the parish has somewhat reduced their dependence upon the parish priest. The State's recent involvement in welfare and charity has further weakened it. But if this dependence has been reduced, it has most certainly not been eliminated. Many still call on him to divide inheritances, to argue their claims against the government or to plead with prospective employers, and not a few expect him to be able to secure better roads, new schools, sewerage and playgrounds.

203 793 Thus the parish priest is the village's chief spokesman, and many still refer to him as *il-principal tar-rahal*, 'the head of the village'. The government has long recognized this, and makes use of him as a convenient contact with the people. Each Sunday morning, in addition to his own official announcements, the parish priest reads from the altar government notices advising the people of forthcoming elections, immunization campaigns, agricultural extension lectures and so on.

793 [626] But if the parish priest performs numerous services for his parishioners, both individually and collectively, he has also the power to refuse them. The sanctions with which he can punish disobedience are considerable. They range from declining to write a good conduct certificate to denying absolution in confession. On the other hand, he has the power to give rewards for services rendered. Aside from doing favours for people who have helped him, he can appoint them to offices which confer prestige and authority and, in some cases, are also financially rewarding. All this serves to underline and reinforce his position as a leader in the community.

Parish priests are usually outsiders, but the rest of the village clergy are natives of the communities in which they live. Unlike Catholic priests in Britain or the United States, who live in presbyteries, the diocesan clergy of Malta and Gozo live at home with their relatives. This means that they remain in constant contact with the village. They are often called on to take part in family

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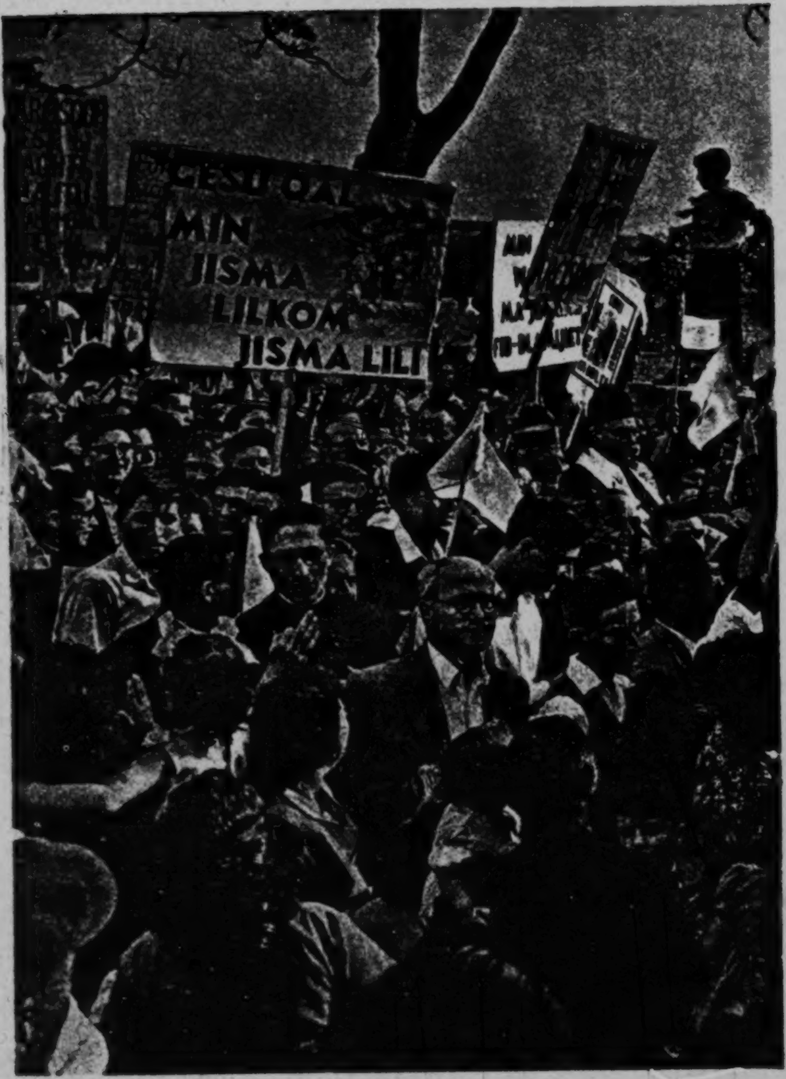

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7. Demonstrations of loyalty to the Archbishop

[facing P. 96]

'belonging', and to a certain extent has created for them a com- 665
munity of their own. These persons often make up the hard core
of Labour supporters in their villages, since they have nothing to
lose by openly fighting the Church.

A number of sociological explanations can be advanced to 463
account for the support professionals, white-collar workers and 467
farmers give to the Church. First of all, professionals generally lose
status in the eyes of their colleagues, if not the wider society, if 665
they join the Labour Party or sympathize with it. It is a working- [558]
class party, and they are professionals. There are a number of
notable exceptions to this, but the only professionals that I met
who sympathized with the MLP were either candidates for office
with it or members of the Executive. The political ideology of
their colleagues and the expectations of their clients combine to
make them look upon the Labour Party as the antithesis of every-
thing they have been brought up to believe in. They, through
their offices in parish associations and through their work as
doctors, lawyers, high civil servants, and so on, form part of the
establishment to which the Labour Party is opposed.

Much the same reasoning can be applied to the white-collar
workers. As teachers, clerks and other intermediate grade civil
servants they hold a relatively high position in the social hier-
archy of their villages. Many are anxious to identify themselves
with their social superiors, those in control of the village as well
as their employers, and thus look down upon the MLP as opposed
to their interests. Moreover most of them have been educated at
colleges run by the Church. There their teachers gave them addi- [873]
tional religious instruction and strengthened those values which [794]
make the anti-clerical tone of the Labour Party repugnant to them.

Farmers, on the other hand, are looked down upon by many
and are regarded as underprivileged by all. Why is it then that
they do not support the Labour Party? Farmers in most communi-
ties are very conservative, and those in Malta are no exception.
Their solitary occupation isolates them from the Labour Party
ideology which is so freely discussed among the industrial
workers of Malta. Not only that, but as we have seen, they are
among the most poorly educated section of the community.
Many are unable to read the propaganda which the MLP dis- [212]
seminates through its publications. This isolation from the secular
and materialistic ideologies which enter the country through the

critical to his election. Successful politicians repeatedly stressed to 666
me the importance of carefully cultivating secondary preferences.
As one put it, 'The first preferences keep you from being eliminated, but the secondary ones elect you.' The votes a candidate 662
gets on subsequent counts are the result of his ability (i) to bargain 666
with other candidates for the secondary preferences of their followers, and (ii) to set up a network of personal canvassers to secure these secondary preferences from the supporters of candidates who do not wish to release them to him. One technique that all candidates use is to encourage popular village figures to stand as mock candidates for vote-getting purposes. The understanding is that the politician is to receive their secondary preferences if they are defeated, as they usually are, since they are not generally known outside their villages. In exchange for these votes, the professional politician generally offers to pay the mock candidate's election expenses, or if elected to procure some favour for him, or both. This technique has resulted in an extraordinary number of candidates contesting every election. In 1955 a total of 140 candidates from three parties contested 40 seats; in 1962 there
were 302 for six parties and 50 seats. Thus voters, many of whom [212]
are illiterate, are faced with a bewildering choice of candidates arranged alphabetically on ballots that are sometimes three feet long.

Another way for a candidate to gather secondary votes is to exchange secondary preferences with a rival. Occasionally a candidate tries to play both ends against the middle. That is, he promises his second votes to more than one of his rivals in exchange for theirs. This works very well for him if his rivals are eliminated before he is, but if he goes first, the official record of the distribution of his votes soon shows up his duplicity.

While this system of voting assures representation to all shades of political opinion, it works in several ways against the development of a strong two-party system. To begin with, it is ideally suited to the needs of the traditional patron-politician with his own localized, semi-private political organization of canvassers, mock candidates and clients. The present system of voting in combination with this organization assures him that many votes will be funnelled in to him. In the past these personal organizations ensured the re-election of politicians even if they changed parties. In fact a politician's supporters sometimes encourage him

be suffering from economic near-strangulation because the working of his farm-unit is linked with a fluctuating but permanent element of debt. This is because the factors mentioned above as producing the need and demand for money are operating, but the farmer and his farm-unit are unable to hold their own in the present agricultural economy of Malta; this in spite of the artificial boosts of Government loans, guaranteed prices, free gifts, agricultural development schemes, information services, etc., (Section 2).

178 434 There is a range therefore between the farmer who is proving able to advance financially and he who is not, even to the state of impoverishment. The problem of the latter may be considered from two view-points, the economic and the social. Economically, the difficulty is clear. Many farm units as they exist today cannot hope to provide an income, after expenses have been met, which will support the family and allow of expansion or even maintainance of the unit. The social problem is less easy to define. It would appear that many characteristics of the traditional peasant farming system of subsistence and independence of each farm unit still remain beneath an often thin veneer of [212] commercialization and modernization. This is related in large part to the lack of education of the farmer himself. The farmer of today in Malta is an old man and ageing who has been but little affected by the developments in education, in its widest sense, which are turning the ambitions of the present younger generation of the farming community towards the towns and towards non-agricultural pursuits. At heart, the present Maltese farmer is still in very many cases thinking as a peasant, isolated and independent, in a farming system now essentially commercial, competitive yet inter-dependent. Financial profits and losses now rule his life but the farmer is, in a disturbingly large number of cases, partly unable and partly unwilling to adapt himself and his farm to the new conditions.

178 234 434 426 Something of the effect of the both the economic and social aspects of the problem may be gathered from a study of a number of sample cases:

(a) A goats' milk producer, living just within the boundary of the Urban area of Malta (Case V), operated during 1957 with a persistent debt on the maintainance of his animals, the basis of his livelihood. During the year, the milk production of his herd varied between 70 and 30 lbs per day. This was sold for the official guaranteed prices and to this extent may be seen as a constant element. Produce from the tomna of land held by the [457] farmer was used in the home but made only a minor contribution to the food budget. This man keeps no accounts of the costs of maintainance of his herd and profits therefrom. He is operating in a perpetual state of debt. A table of

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
234 nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
434 progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
426 the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
[654] the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
fully realizes that without the present Government guarantee
(through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt
is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together
as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a
total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for
the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that
the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize
their farm and herd as they woudl wish. For example,
while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing
calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in
fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would
otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the
cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding
to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them
reluctant to take on any further loan commitments;
nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are
definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be
able to increase the number in their herd and also
mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
234 that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
434 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
654 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U
with as much milk as possible.

They have no thought or care as to what might happen
were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the
subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly
little appreciation of the total picture of which they
form part and will be content to grumble quietly and
ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate
(Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
434 The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
454 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
provision of dowries and Wedding costs, etc., are met.
234 This farmer admits to having been able to save more than
654 £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that
today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread".
[451] He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly
on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase
of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds
of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on
the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for
all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is
typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying,
today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to
making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported
market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
434 accounts of the working of his farm. His second employment
241 brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
[511] weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he
reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a
third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc.
and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the
steady income from his other job farming has something
of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

*159 In The first Two cases The seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in con-
trast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
231 a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

Ġamri and farming

*159 Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
- which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
[722] in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
[454] ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[729] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
[434] guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
*159 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
18 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he bel-
ieves that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
98 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

113 175 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the object of both propaganda and admiration.

191 199 177 178 As to language, it is clear the War finally killed the greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confirmed English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It had been a language of government for more than a century but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under the Order and had maintained its position during British nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not replace Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since been a considerable increase in the number of books and periodicals appearing in the language, along with general education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese public. Over the same period the use of Italian has declined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the Church and the professional classes) and the demand for English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of [204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for 1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920, p.333), 1933-34 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 - 1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English...............	1	1	2	2
Italian...............	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese...............	-	-	2	2

197 214 [212] Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly, or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this, it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant section of the population, generally the professional and business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write only one or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language dictionaries and works of a philological or etymological nature are obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistics

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

There is a *Hares*, too, who guards all hidden treasure. 776
If you are a deserving person he will lead you to the treasure; but you must never, on pain of death by strangulation, tell anyone how you discovered it.

There are persistent tales in Malta of a priceless treasure, hidden by the builders of the prehistoric temples. This treasure is known as "The Golden Bull," and is guarded by a most terrible and powerful *Hares*. No one has ever found it because, though some few have been selected by the *Hares* to be led to its hiding place, they have been unable to keep his secret, and he has strangled them together with the friends in whom they have confided.

There seems little reason to doubt that the Golden Bull is [174]
a legacy of the old gods—possibly of Mithra or Osiris—and that the great snake-like *Hares* who guards the treasure is no other than Set, guardian of the underworld. Perhaps the Bull exists, hidden deep in one of Malta's many caves,

There may be peasants who know where it is. Amongst the moor-folk of Devon and the peasants of Ireland there are many who know the whereabouts of the "crocks of gold," buried by the Pixies and the leprechauns; but none would dare disturb "Fairy Gold." So it is with the Maltese peasant. He would be a bold man who had dealings with the "Golden Bull."

From a very tender age the little Maltese will be occupied 538
in learning his Catechism and the significance of the rites and [795]
ceremonies of his faith. Though busied in this way there will be time, in the long winter evenings, for "Fairy Tales."
Usually one member of the family will be able to read. If none [212]
can read someone will certainly know all the old tales and legends by heart, and will be expert in the correct way of recounting them. The family will gather round the story-teller and all, from grandmother to youngest grandchild, will listen with close attention to tales which many of them have heard hundreds of times.

782 drinking from the spring of the grotto at Mellicha village where the Holy Virgin is
755 venerated; or placing some earth on the sick person from the tomb of a hermit reputed
to have died in odour of sanctity in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 16).

Sometimes the donation of an 'ex-voto' was coupled with the publication, in a
755 religious periodical, of the circumstances of the illness and its extraordinary cure. The
782 following are typical case-histories, translated from Maltese, culled at random from
● 214 such a periodical:

[204] (i) Victoria Conti, who had been suffering from deafness in the right ear for four years, was told by two doctors that her condition was incurable. She prayed to the Holy Mary and as soon as she placed the oil from the sanctuary of Ta Pinu (Gharb, Gozo) on her ear she regained her hearing.

(ii) A woman fell from the balcony of her house and, as a result, had a series of convulsions, lost the faculty of speech, and became moribund. She remained in this precarious state for fifteen days when her parents promised the offer of a silver 'ex-voto' to the Holy Virgin if their daughter recovered. The following night the patient began to regain consciousness and to talk. She made steady progress and was well within a short time.

(iii) Joseph Spiteri, from Zabbar, had a mentally sick brother who, in a fit of frenzy, cut his throat. The doctor declared the case a hopeless one but, following a vow to the Mother of Christ, the patient began to improve until he recovered from his wound and from his mental illness within nine weeks.

(iv) Clo. Monsignier had measles and almost lost his eyesight as a complication. His mother vowed to the Virgin Mary that she would offer a silver 'ex-voto' in the shape of a pair of eyes if his sight was spared. Immediately this promise was made, the boy opened his eyes from which all the signs of disease had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1894–9).

Other published accounts deal with cases of throat infections, puerperal sepsis, hyperpyrexia (up to 107° F), and trachoma. To appreciate the seriousness of these diseases up to thirty years ago, it must be remembered that the sulphonamide and the antibiotic eras had not yet dawned and that no effective therapy was yet available with the result that many patients with sepsis lost their lives and cases of trachoma ended in permanent blindness. Stories of accidents, such as falls from heights, scalding and involvement in vehicular traffic are also recorded. At times medical certificates over the signatures of prominent doctors were published as evidence of the gravity of the injury or illness sustained and of recovery therefrom (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1887).

MEDICAL PAINTINGS

782 These are of various sizes ranging from 5 × 12 to 18 × 24 inches. They were much more
532 numerous in the past than they are to-day. Church walls, which are now bare, were
346 covered with these small canvases and wooden panels. A number of these 'ex-votos'
353 vanished many years ago as in the case of the Sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception
of Qala in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 13). In other churches these pictures still existed in great numbers up to about thirty years ago but have now dwindled considerably, instances being those of the Cave chapel of the Annunciation and St Leonard at Minsija (Birkirkara), the church of Tal Mirakli (Lija), and Tal Hlas (Qormi). One of the sanc-

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The circulation of the Maltese daily "Il-Berqa" (B/55) reflects the position in the Islands, being limited to the working and rural classes. Many periodicals of a religious or occupational nature, or those produced by some towns and villages, now appear in Maltese; others are bi-lingual.
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Part 4... Some almanacs, directories and year books (B/86 - 98),

fanation. Wreaths are laid on the grave, and oil lamps are 764
lit on it for some days. The construction and decoration of [354]
the graves in the public cemetery is much the same as on the
continent. Marble slabs with inscriptions are very common.
Pillars with crosses on the top and sacred statues are also erected
on bases of marble, or bronze reliefs symbolising Time and
Eternity. The higher class own vaults in the form of chapels, [565]
in which an altar is erected and requiem masses are said.

In the professional and educated classes cards expressing 765
sympathy are sent by friends to the mourning family, but in 184
some districts, especially in the country, people still follow the
old etiquette of paying a mourning visit within nine days of the
death. Photographs of the deceased, with an inscription, are [215]
sent to friends and acquaintances.

A. Cremona.

fireworkers, and without their expert help it was feared that the 578
feast would be a miserable failure. Many Labour supporters also 621
instructed their parents and wives not to contribute money to the 665
feast. This depressing state of affairs continued for some time. 794

Then one day, about three months before the festa, Pietru, the 796
young schoolteacher who is head of Catholic Action and treasurer
of the St. Martin club, came up to me looking very pleased. He
said that the feast was saved. Several events had combined to work
up interest in it. It seems that most of the people had attended a [216]
large and very successful titular festa in a neighbouring village;
the St. Roque fireworkers had shot off three extremely well-made
test rockets; and he himself had played his tape recording of
the St. Martin hymn, the anthem of the partit, over a loudspeaker
in the square. These events revived interest in the festa
and in the reputation of the partit. Immediately afterwards the
secretary of the club, a Labour supporter who has set politics
aside for the honour of the partit, called a committee meeting to
discuss the problem of making fireworks. After several speeches
urging members to keep their politics from spoiling the feast, the
committee voted to make fireworks. Though two skilled fireworkers [389]
crossed the floor and agreed to help, none of the many [463]
experts among the rank and file followed suit. But soon after this
political loyalty again began to smother the rekindled partit spirit,
and one of the fireworkers all but dropped out. Moreover, Pietru,
who is the village's most eloquent and outspoken enemy of the
Labour Party, began to preach so vehemently to those he calls the
'lost sheep' of the club, that he antagonized many. His fund-raising
suffered as a result.

About a month after this I met Toni at a festa in a neighbouring 578
village, and we had a long talk away from the interested eyes and 621
ears of Farruġ. Toni has been a member of the St. Martin Club 665
committee for nearly twenty years, and until some months ago
had been vice president. He was clearly very worried about the
club. People were already beginning to draw parallels between
the present situation and the events that led up to the split in
1930. He said he was doing his best to discourage such talk, and
had now begun working hard to avoid an open break.

He pointed out that he had experienced many crises in the partit
and favoured a less blunt approach to winning back the interest
of the MLP members than did the crusading Pietru. He felt that he

Stadium, where most village football matches are played, are in 628 themselves evidence that fights during these occasions are the rule [526] rather than the exception. [712]

Although there is little formal contact between villages, there is a considerable amount of informal coming and going between their inhabitants. Most inter-village marriages are between part- [582] ners from neighbouring villages, and the network of kin ties that these form helps to bind the villages of a district together. Inhabitants of neighbouring villages travel to and from work on the same buses, and see each other often at the annual feasts of the district. These multiple relations contribute to a certain district spirit. The most striking example is the unity of the Gozitans, although people from the south of Malta have something of the same spirit of belonging to a particular district. Nonetheless, the knowledge the inhabitants of the southern Maltese villages have of each other cannot be compared to that of the Gozitans, who, for the most part, not only recognize each other by face, name and nickname, but usually know a surprising (and often uncomfortable) amount of personal details about one another.

IV

A person becomes a member of a village by being born there, or 217 marrying or moving into it. The administrative details connected 591 with these acts are quite simple. Parents must register the birth of [621] a child at the local police station, and the parish priest enters the [851] child's name in his register when the baby is baptized, which usually takes place within a few days of its birth. If a man marries into a village, his name will be entered in the parish register, for under Church law the marriage must be performed by the parish priest of the bride, or his delegate. If the couple settles in the husband's village or in a strange village, their names will be recorded on the annual census there, the *status animarum*, which every parish priest prepares for his bishop. All changes of address are supposed to be given (but often are not) to the Rationing Office and, if the person is over twenty-one, to the Electoral Office. No other civil authorities are interested in a person's whereabouts.

In point of fact, however, most people live in the villages into 369 which they were born. This is another respect in which the towns 591

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172 rocky surfaces of the island, the tram-lines of neolithic man;
493 and he will notice, if he is observant, that the dimensions of
the flat two-wheeled carts which, with their gaily caparisoned
[136] little ponies or donkeys, are the traditional vehicle of the
Maltese countryman of to-day correspond almost exactly
with those of the carts of his neolithic predecessor, as
136 deduced from the width of these ancient tracks. If he is
interested in strange animals that still survive but must be a
living link with hoary antiquity, he can study on the picturesque,
uninhabited islet of Filfla, now used only as a target
for gun practice, a remarkable lizard of the darkest green
spotted with red (*Lacerta muralis* var. *filfolensis*), which occurs
nowhere else in the world but on this tiny and diminishing
spit of rock.

341 The dominant architectural notes of the Maltese Islands are
217 megalithic and Baroque, and the gamut thus established can
scarcely be called a narrow one. So far as works of art are
172 concerned, the Museum in Valetta, housed before World
War II in the Auberge d'Italie and since 1958 in that of
Provence, contains a scientifically arranged exhibition of
[742] Stone Age culture unrivalled in any other country. This
collection, whose most bizarre items are the astonishing fat
female deities characteristic of Maltese neolithic sculpture,
was organized in chronological sequence by the Museum's
late learned Director, Sir Themistocles Zammit, who made
a second international reputation in the field of Maltese
archæology and excavation after having made an earlier one
in medical research in connexion with undulant, or Malta,
fever.

But the visitor is not obliged to study the activities of
241 these remote peoples solely in museums. If he wishes to see
501 how the distant forbears of the present population cultivated
178 their land he has only to watch the Maltese farmer of to-day
[532] ploughing his field; if he is a student of cultural survivals he
will note the eye of Osiris still painted on the bows of Malta's
000 sturdy little schooners and characteristic "Gozo boats." If

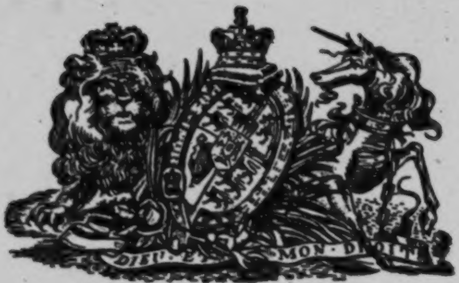
9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

masons have found it possible to comply with a suggestion of mine that the two originals should be pieced together and replaced, for the sake of continuity, in their original position.

Also, as regards the handsome carved stone balcony, crumbling fragments of the original balcony were found in sufficient quantity to make it possible for the entire design to be reconstituted.

● 2/7 The Bondi Palace, thus saved from disappearance, is destined to be the Museum of Gozo.

186



The British Royal Arms: 1801–16
From the early numbers of "The Malta Government Gazette"

[pp. 143-196 of text not processed. Plates facing pp. 144, 145, 160, 161, 192 and 193 have been processed].

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

172 133 Comino between them separated from the islet of Cominotto by a channel of the palest green.

172 Traversing thousands of years, let us next notice a reminder of the rule of Rome in the Latin inscription embedded in the entrance to the citadel, dating from the time when Gozo was a separate *municipium* of the Roman republic. Now for a glimpse of Islam, a legacy of the two centuries—from 870 to 1090—when the Arabs were the lords of these islands. Between the villages of Xewkija and Sannat on the road now called Ta Maimuna was discovered about three hundred years ago a slab of marble bearing an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters. This slab was the tombstone of an Arab girl named Maimuna, and the inscription is not only a fine piece of lapidary work but a human document from which I quote without apology:

> "Ask thyself," cries Maimuna from the grave, "if there is anything everlasting, anything that can repel or cast a spell upon death.
>
> "Alas, death has robbed me of my short life; neither my piety nor my modesty could save me from him. I was industrious in my work, and all that I did is reckoned and remains.
>
> "Oh, thou who lookest upon this grave in which I am enclosed, dust has covered my eyelids and the corners of my eyes.
>
> "On my couch and in my abode there is nought but tears; and [what will happen] when my Creator comes to me?
>
> "Oh, brother, take. . . ."

And here little Maimuna's pathetic message comes to an abrupt end.

873 175 The passage of a few more centuries brings us to the spacious days of the Knights of S. John, the study of whose rule in Gozo may be facilitated by reference to the archives of the island's "University," for Gozo had, like Malta, its own "University" until the beginning of British rule.[1] It

[217]

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[1] These archives were rescued from oblivion after the Second World War by the Commissioner of Gozo, Mr E. Montanaro, and are now preserved in the Commissioner's Office.

241 592 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited, in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until they can find some paid employment away from the home farm, and

241 464 [461] [465] (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely to become scarcer and more costly.

241 [461] The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that as already suggested, the particular characcristics of Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

●221 241 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so has the range of variety increased.

175 178 221 241 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of each month along with short articles on subjects of interest to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco, would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the [234] [233] Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178 241 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial' and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

178
241 modern calendar of events is considered.

As random sample illustrations three farmers' accounts of their own work during 1957-58 are analyzed[22]. At least they reveal something of the variety that now exists between one farmer and the next.

241 (1) A full-time field worker (Case X) usually working
461 with his brother and a nephew and having some irrigable land.
221 An analysis of the routine of this man is given (Case X;
E, v. Work Analysis) and, from the same material, Mitchell has made a detailed study of time/labour utilization (B/525). A summary of this, which is on the basis of the ten hours per day worked by each of the three men over the year 1957-8, is also included in Case X.

(2) The second example relates to an arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce (Case XI; E, v. Work
[592] Analysis). This man is helped in the fields by his wife and family. The analysis illustrates the main features of this 'irrigated' farmer's year (although in the year studied there was an exceptional loss of time in the Autumn due to storm damage) and should be compared with (1) above. Irrigation accounts for about a quarter of the months May-July but occupies a mere two afternoons in the period November-February. Cutting and reaping accounts for even more time in July than does irrigation: by October plowing is the largest single item apart from "No work (storms)". In November, planting and sowing account for slightly more time than "collecting greenery" and is by far the main work of December (potatoes). General cultivation work occupies much of the next two months but pruning and grafting of vines is the biggest single item of February. The parallel between this and (1) is clear, apart from the special emphasis, on fruit - largely apples - in the former case.

234 (3) A Goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping
221 (Case II; E, v. Work Analysis) provides the third
461 sample study. In 1957 - 58 this herdsman spent all but thirty afternoons "grazing the goats" - on only one Sunday or 'festa' day did he not go out with his animals. This illustrates an important feature. While Sundays and Holy Days are normally kept free of field-work, work with animals has to be allowed. The herdsman is consequently much more tied to his farm than is the predominantly arable farmer. He has a set daily schedule of feeding and milking the animals and cleaning out their stalls, etc., and can expect to have to adhere to this especially if he is working alone or with very little help. In fact the herdsman spends a considerable amount of his working year on

234 (i) the grazing mentioned,
221 (ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
461 (iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting milk receipts from the M.M.U., cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of every working day.

221 241 178 181 [931] The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of late, 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of those he is better acquainted.

241 461 178 181 This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate or recently-illiterate farming folk and is given further consideration (Section 4). Suffice it at this stage to emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case · XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of
damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).

The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are
therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per
tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the
hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can them-
[461] selves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job
which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a
matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

(ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
407 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
461 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements
464 (Case · XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving
the problem of labour shortage.

427 For the contractor himself there is a social as well
554 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has
come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane
than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status
is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no
implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far
[221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main
disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three
summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines
and services to builders and others out of the plowing
season (Cases · XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing
machine which brings in further contracts in the summer
(Case XVII).

178 From what has been said it would appear that the large
407 tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese
427 farming, although it may bring considerable profit and
[434] advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The
present decline in this type of contracting has been noted.
Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be
greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to
the land in the near future. The small hand rotary
cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like
going much further along the way to enabling a time/money
conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with
little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly
limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming
landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it
can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

TABLE 6.

CASE X : WORK ANALYSIS, 1957-58

ACTIVITY	AUG.		SEPT.		OCT.		NOV.		DEC.		JAN.		FEB.		MAR.		APR.		MAY		JUNE		JULY		YEAR	
	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM
A NON-FIELD WORK																										
Sundays, Feasts(1)	5	4½	5	4	4	4	6	6	6	8	6	6	5	5	6	6	4	4	6	6	7	5	4	4	64	64½
To Valletta or Kosta			1						1	1	2½		1		1										6½	1
Ill-health and resting(2)	½		½	½		1	1											1						1	2	3½
Too wet for field-work(2)					10½	8½	9	13	3	6	4	5	1	3	2	2	2½	1							32	39½
Too cold for field-work									1																1	
Pigs needing attention															1	1									1	1
Shooting birds			1				1½																		2½	
Repairing Storm Damage(2)										1					3	2									3	3
Other building Work(5)	1		½		4	5	4½	3	3	1½								2							13	8½
Implement maintainance												1				1										2
B FIELD WORK																										
Irrigating	1	11		5											1½	1½		4	2	5	2	11		11	6½	48½
Plowing, working(3)	1½		2		4½	6½	1	2½	1	2			7	4	2	2	6½	3							25½	20
Manure; refuse	2	1½	½															1			1½	1½	8	3	12	7
Threshing (grain & silla)			½																2	2	½	2	1½		4½	4
Transporting produce	1½	3	3½	2½	3	2	1			½											4	2	1	4	14	14
Sulphate spreading									1		1				½										2½	
Spraying(4)																1										1
"Among the trees" (general)(5)								1	1		2	2	7	5	6	7	3	2½	3						23	17½
APPLES(6) : GATHERING(6)	7	5																			2		14½	4½	23½	9½
" : "GOUGING"(6)	3½	4	7	11	1																				11½	15
VINES: GRAFTING											5½	5	1	1											6½	6
PRUNING											3½	3	2	2											5½	5
PICKING	1		4	3½																					5	3½
Making Wine			½	1																					½	1
TOMATOES: PLANTING																1		2		1						4
PICKING	½		1		1	1																			2½	1

continued.

[P.122]

6: Boeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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6: Boeley X-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

(Case X Table continued)

ACTIVITY		AUG.		SEPT.		OCT.		NOV.		DEC.		JAN.		FEB.		MAR.		APR.		MAY		JUNE		JULY		YEAR	
		AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM
POTATOES:	SOWING			1	1					1		4½	7	2	3											8½	11
	LIFTING							1		5	4									7	5			½	1½	13½	10½
BARLEY:	SOWING					2	2	1	1																	3	3
	REAPING																		1	1						1	1
WHEAT:	SOWING							3	2½	1	1															4	3½
	REAPING																			4	2	6	2			10	4
GATHERING ROUGH GREENSTUFF(7)									1		2		1	2	5		4½	2	3							4	16½
BEANS:	SOWING					1		1		4	2	1	1													7	3
	CUTTING															1		2	1½	2	1					5	2½
SULLA:	SOWING																							½	1	½	1
	REAPING																	6	1½	3	2					9	3½
	BINDING																		1				½	½		½	1½
OTHER FIELD WORK		6½	2	2	1½					3	2					1		4	1½		6	5½	5	½	1	22½	19
OTHER WORK - UNSPECIFIED																4	2			2	1	1½	2			7½	5
		31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(1) And other Church visits.
(2) The latter part of 1957 saw exceptionally heavy rain in Malta.
(3) Including weeding, hoeing, etc.
(4) A new venture - in conjunction with Dept. of Agriculture.
(5) Largely apple orchard, in Gnejna.
(6) A laborious process of removing larva from apple-tree trunks - with penknife and piece of wire.
(7) I.e. "Haxix" - including a variety of grasses, 'ingliża', and other greenery - for animal fodder.
(8) And "odd jobs" in the house.

TABLE 7

*159
●221
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	July[f] 57		Oct 57		Nov 57		Dec 57		Jan 58		Feb 58		May 57	
	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Sundays, Festas	4	4	4	4	6	6	7	7	6	6	5	5	7	7
Business, Valletta	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Repairs fields & buildings (storm)	.	.	2	4[l]	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No work (storms)	.	.	7	7[g]	6	3	3	3	6	7	2	2	.	.
Irrigation	8	6[j]	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8	5[j]
Plowing	3	2	5	3	.	.	.	.	3	3	1	1	2	2
Planting, sowing	.	.	4	3	6	6	12	11[a]	7	8[b]	4	1	7	2
Working[c], etc.	5	3[d]	4	2	3	5	1	2	4	4	5	3	.	3
Cutting, reaping	8	9	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3
Lifting potatoes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3[h]	3	5[i]
Threshing	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Loading, transporting	2	1	1	1	.	.	3	3	.	2	.	1	.	2
Vines, prune, graft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	7	.	.
Collecting kaxix[e]	1	1	1	4	5	5[k]	3	4	1	.	.	3	.	2
Collecting [illegible]			.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
	31	31	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31

Notes

a. all potatoes.
b. potatoes 3.5.
c. working, weeding, dressing, spraying, manuring, hoeing, etc.
d. wheat and barley 4.2.
e. kaxix - general greenery for animal fodder.
f. data for other months not available.
g. the latter part of 1957 saw exceptional storms in Malta & Gozo.
h. the winter crop a month late on account of damp conditions.
i. the spring crop.
j. irrigation in dry months.
k. kaxix gathering peak after 2 months of rain.
l. including 2.2 attending to animals (too wet to work fields).

E. Production and Sales.

*159
433
435

(i) Main cash-crop irrigated potatoes - Arran Banner. Two crops - winter and 'early' crop, the latter for export. Yields vary considerably in spite of irrigation - winter crop 1956 double the quantity of the winter crop 1957. Soil conditions for cultivation and for germination can vary critically between November and February. Prices similarly vary considerably. 1956 - maximum price obtained 30/- per qantar. 1957 - April maximum price obtain 25/- per qantar. 1957 - May maximum price obtained 15/- per qantar.

[442]

(ii) Tomatoes. Pickings from May to October with peak production in July. Prices vary inversely with production (E/253). Irrigated local varieties only are grown. The best tomatoes are kept for seed, the next grade carefully selected for sale through 'pitkal' middleman for local market, the third grade sold to the tomato paste ('Kunserva') factory. Prices range from 10d. to 1/6d. per wizna, but vary with quantity available rather than with quality. Regarded as preferable to potatoes since the farmer believes they are less expensive to produce.

(iii) Artichokes. Irrigated perennials producing for up to about 8 years. Best marketing period is during Lent. Great efforts made to raise a crop early in

(Case X Table continued)

ACTIVITY		AUG.		SEPT.		OCT.		NOV.		DEC.		JAN.		FEB.		MAR.		APR.		MAY		JUNE		JULY		YEAR	
		AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM
POTATOES:	SOWING			1	1					1		5½	7	2	3											9½	11
	LIFTING							1		5	4									7	5			½	1½	13½	10½
BARLEY:	SOWING					2	2	1	1																	3	3
	REAPING																		1	1						1	1
WHEAT:	SOWING							3	2½	1	1															4	3½
	REAPING																			4	2	6	2			10	4
GATHERING ROUGH GREENSTUFF(7)									1		2		1	2	5		4½	2	3							4	16½
BEANS:	SOWING					1		1		4	2	1	1													7	3
	CUTTING															1		2	1½	2	1					5	2½
SULLA:	SOWING																							½	1	½	1
	REAPING																	6	1½	3	2					9	3½
	BINDING																		1				½	½		½	1½
OTHER FIELD WORK		6½	2	2	1½					3	2					1		4	1½		6	5½	5	½	1	22½	19
OTHER WORK - UNSPECIFIED																4	2			2	1	1½	2			7½	5
		31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(1) And other Church visits.
(2) The latter part of 1957 saw exceptionally heavy rain in Malta.
(3) Including weeding, hoeing, etc.
(4) A new venture - in conjunction with Dept. of Agriculture.
(5) Largely apple orchard, in Gnejna.
(6) A laborious process of removing larva from apple-tree trunks - with penknife and piece of wire.
(7) I.e. "Haxix" - including a variety of grasses, 'ingliża', and other greenery - for animal fodder.
(8) And "odd jobs" in the house.

128 [226] PART 3. A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo is included because the economic position of this comparatively small group is in many ways similar to that of the farming community itself.

*159 234 654

PART 1. Maltese Farming - Case Studies I-XIII

CASE I: Pawlu. (A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.)

Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed [435] sale for milk produced. He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialization which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the official policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

*159 55 423 [463] Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (B/525).

*159 554 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 [871] Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14).

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 871 829 [014] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command [illegible]

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section V,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fisher-
361 men live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi.
Socially this residential distribution is important since only
in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
[512] their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economi-
463 cally lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
162 basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
178 the present official financial assistance, is producing
exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger
generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor
the way of life based on it.

at the wrong season and so set right his error. The blessing is 771
accompanied by the burning of leaves of the wild olive which 782
have been blessed in Holy Week. Blessing, accompanied by [226]
sacred "fumigation," is very widely used—by fishermen to
ensure a good catch, by newly married folk to ensure a happy [585]
house.

GETTING MARRIED

Zeppu and Grez will think long and seriously before they 584
get married. In an island where poverty is the rule rather than [735]
the exception, and there is no "dole," there can be no haphazard mating. Zeppu will wait until he has a sufficient competence and Grez will contribute her share of the common resources in the form of a "dot" which she, herself, has earned and saved. Until very recently all marriages were arranged by a professional "go-between"—an old woman wise in the ways of the world and in suitable matings. Even now there is little choice left to the girl.

In this matter of marriage, so hedged about with Christian 584
law and custom, the Old Things still command a place. Their 824
hands are perhaps more apparent than in the marriage customs of all other countries—themselves pagan enough in origin.

In the story which has been quoted the month of February is praised, amongst other reasons, because it is then that the "small-leaved basil" is tended and watered. The reference might be rendered "In the Spring a young man's fancy . . ." for the sweet basil is the sign and symbol that a marriageable girl awaits a suitor.

The small bush, either of basil or of the Madonna rose, is carefully tended and placed on the sill of an upper window.
A well-grown plant is an indication that the maiden will make [787]
a good wife and mother.

A suitor, seeing the "marriage bush" at an upper window,

433 458 The main relevant conclusion was unmistakably ominous: 'Government expenditure has more than made up for that of the Knights, and has diverted more of the labour of the population to the service, direct or indirect, of the foreign government which applied it to purposes entirely Imperial and unconnected with the special interests of the colony. Doubtless this expenditure has led to immediate prosperity... but the basis of this prosperity is artificial and precarious' (6). It is possible to argue the degree of validity of the third premiss of the first clause but the general truth is undeniable. This general picture is so clear that in this particular chapter attention will be focussed only on some aspects of the Maltese economy as it has developed during the last 50 years.

43 The changing character of Maltese Trade is well evidenced in the annual reports of the Customs and Port Department. Before World War I, Malta was still of some importance in Mediterranean transit trade, particularly for goods destined for North African and Levant ports. Between 1910 and 1922 the annual average weight of such merchandise handled was 17,000 tons (7). This activity almost disappeared during hostilities and after a short post-war boom settled down at a new low level handling only some 3,000 tons of merchandise. In part this was due to the elimination of the important German and Austrian connection which, in a Report published in 1919 (8), was the subject of much hostile Maltese comment. More important was the fact that the gap thus left was not filled by other foreign or local interests. The Maltese writers of the 1919 Report were not able to obtain their desire 'to have a company formed by a few merchants, who would thus teach Maltese capitalists that the investment of moneys in industries and especially in shipping is more profitable and better for the Islands and for the capitalists themselves, than the investment in doubtful securities [504] or in reckless speculation'. The fundamental difficulties of expanding port activity have remained. Malta, for all the grandiloquence of the name 'Grand Harbour', has until very recently possessed but poor physical facilities for handling shipping. All vessels of over 2,000 tons have had to be worked by lighter, and civil repair facilities as well as warehousing have been extremely limited. In that the needs of the Fleet have been paramount this is understandable; the consequences have been deplorable. The absence of enthusiasm for [454] local investment of Maltese capital has been equally inhibiting. There survives, even intensified during the 1930's, a traditional feeling of insecurity which was succinctly noted by a banker giving evidence before the 1911 Commission: 'There is plenty of money in the Island... there is not much trust, I think' (9). Even now, while the rate of saving in Malta is very high - c. 14 per cent. of total personal income, too large a proportion of the savings are invested abroad - some £70 millions. Given this basic insecurity, which still appears in conversations with business men and which is so deeply rooted as to be very difficult to [228] remove, development is difficult. Moreover, since the Maltese for an island people are singularly non-maritime in character, and, in conditions no more difficult than in many other parts of the Mediterranean, have almost ignored the fishery industry (10), there exists no traditional basis for marine affairs. In these circumstances the value of the handing over of the Naval base to British civilian firms, and the policy of attracting foreign (mainly British) manufacturing concerns, thus making available both facilities and most of the capital, is on economic grounds indisputable.

439 457 One other aspect of port and trading activities must be examined, the nature and balance of imports and exports. The changing character of world trade in the first place has vitally affected the nature of Malta's entrepôt activity. By 1956, the value of re-exports had reached over two and a half million pounds, of which one and a half million represented mineral fuels and lubricants, mainly aviation spirit and turbine fuel (11). This is still the pattern today. Of Malta's transit trade in re-exports, by far the biggest proportion is concerned with supplying the Garrison in its new and more mobile form. The imbalance between retained imports and domestic exports remains essentially similar to that observed very much earlier and is best examined in conjunction with other economic elements.

231 proved its superior adaptability. An interesting point is that, before 1914, Serbia
and Croatia exported to Malta large numbers of pigs for fattening, while Yugo-
232 slavia is today importing Large Whites as breeders from this country. It is now
[131] illegal to use other than pedigree boars for breeding, and the success of the
Agricultural Department and the relative enthusiasm of the Maltese farmer in
raising pig production standards have made Malta self-sufficient in this respect
at least. Local grain and imported beans form the basis of feeding stuffs given
by the best farmers. Animal slaughterings now average about 30,000 head per
annum.

23 Of the total cattle population of some 6,000 in Malta and 3,000 in Gozo, nearly
30 per cent. are milch cows. This proportion has increased steadily since the
first introduction of milch cows in the early years of British occupation. Before
1800, the indigenous Maltese breed, raised as general purpose stock in normal
[197] peasant tradition, alone was of importance. During the nineteenth century,
specialised breeds were slowly introduced, a process which culminated in trials
with Swiss Brown, Polish and Jersey cattle during the 1920's and '30's. By 1939,
the cattle were mainly of mixed blood with the older strains predominating, and
those still found are rapidly being displaced because of their low milk yields
of some 1 to 1¼ gallons a day. The only surviving registered Maltese bull is to
be seen on a farm at Binġemma Gap. In the post-war period, imported Ayrshires,
British Friesians and Durham Shorthorns have proved very successful and
popular. The Friesian strains in particular are very effective for crossing,
important in that most country herds are still of mixed blood. A typical compo-
sition was noted in a stockyard on Delimara Peninsula - 13 milk cows and three
heifers consisting of pure polled Maltese, Friesians, Friesian/Maltese crosses,
Ayrshire/Maltese crosses, together with seven Friesian and crossed Friesian
[439] calves. Store cattle, of which over 3,000 are annually imported for fattening,
are of various breeds, and come in the main from within the Mediterranean
region.

231 This cattle population, which supplies half of the total production of milk in
Malta, and approximately two-thirds in Gozo, as well as over 75 per cent. of
234 the beef consumed, is a very special element in Maltese agriculture. The
imported store cattle have but to be fattened for slaughtering. Trustworthy
statistics are lacking, but it would seem that over one-half of the imported
fodder is consumed for this purpose.

The milch cows are given a maintenance ration of sulla and other leguminous fodders, and a production ration of imported beans, grains and cake. Carob beans and chopped prickly pear are sometimes used, and *oxalis cernua* may also be fed in moderation.

231 This large demand for fodders has so far been met by maintaining at high
level the production of leguminous and grain crops. Only in recent years has it
234 become economic to add high protein feeds. For social and health reasons the
human consumption of high protein foods, milk in particular, has been
246 encouraged. It has therefore often been suggested that further concentration on
production of forage crops is necessary.

It is probable that such a policy would be both uneconomic and impracticable. In the first place, as long as it requires an average of 6 lb. weight of fodder protein to produce 1 lb. weight of animal food protein, then any country with restricted land resources has to look twice at the wastage involved. Such a country, having to import either animal products or vegetable products, or even both as in the case of Malta, has little to gain by specialising in a production technique in which over three-quarters of the crops grown and imported for feed merely go to maintaining livestock in existence. Thirdly, since that land now grazed by sheep and goats is virtually unusable in any other way, they cannot be simply replaced by cattle. More cattle would mean less arable farming of food crops and this would entail either the loss of potential vegetable exports from irrigated land or, more feasibly, the improvement of arable dry-farmed crops, e.g. sorghums in place of barley.

The impracticability of a policy designed vastly to increase forage production may be proved as follows. The growing of perennial fodder crops is out of the

*159 423
- 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. **Utilisation.**

*159 241 311 (i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 231 234 C. **Livestock.**

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. **Capital.**

*159 423 (i) No freehold land.

(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.[21]

[511] [426] (iii) Receives C.A.R.E. food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. **Labour.**

*159 464 (i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. **Production and Sales.**

*159 43 234 (i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day. Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon. Gross income from milk sales c.£1800. No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a. Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

*159 23 G. **Husbandry.**

(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957. No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*159 434 H. **General.**

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

D. SEABORNE AND AIRBORNE TRAFFIC 1958[3].

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	Total - Calling - British				Passengers (No.)			Freight (Tons)	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	In	Out	Transit	In	Out
Steam Vessels	1,792	2,006,803	458	1,346,923)	9,852	10,745	35,175	868,626	54,927
Sailing Vessels	267	22,836	13	122)					
Aircraft	3,283	91,061	3,116	87,897	30,233	31,501	29,848	888	238

E. AGRICULTURE[4]

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		Acreage	Yield-tons
(i)	Total Area cultivated	44,235	
(ii)	Wheat	5,000	3,000
	Barley and Mixta	4,083	2,158
	Forages (inc. sulla, vetches & Ferrana)	11,824	3,855
	Broad Beans	1,250	500
(iii)	Potatoes - Spring crop	4,763* (1957-6,000)	15,420
	- Winter crop	3,228	7,360
	Melons	1,837	1,939
	Onions	1,263	3,389
	Tomatoes	1,912	8,588
	Other vegetables	5,000	16,198
(iv)	Grapes	5,000	6,000**
	Citrus	160	500**
	Other fruit	1,000	6,000**
(v)	Cotton	3 (1956-187)	1
	Cumin Seed	8 (1952-518)	2

* Note. Abnormally low.
** Note. Acreage and yield of treecrops in particular should be treated as indicating only orders of magnitude.

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(vi)	Livestock (Enumeration)	
	Horses, Donkeys and Mules	6,575
	Goats	36,944 (1950-50,159)
	Sheep	15,011 (1950-20,148)
	Imported Store bulls	3,081
	Milk cows	4,173 (1950- 2,861)
	Other cattle	2,466
	Swine	16,382
(vii)	Number of holdings	12,192

423
407

Number of mechanized implements	- 2 wheeled	700
	- 3 & 4 wheeled	54
	- tracked	25
	- milking machines	7
	- threshers	23

[P.317]

Chapter X

THE PRACTICE OF FARMING

We have considered at some length the physical and social environments in 128 which Maltese farming exists, the distribution of crops and of agricultural regions, and examined some of the physical and legal characteristics of the land holdings in which the land is worked. There follows a more systematic statement and a tentative interpretation of farming practice, and studies of the Maltese countryfolk (Plate XVIII).

A. Livestock

Livestock in Malta, with the exception of the wandering, wasteland-feeding, 231 herds of sheep and goats, is rarely seen or heard. Cattle, pigs, poultry and rabbits are all kept in stockyards or enclosures, and horses, mules and donkeys, when not working in the fields, are stabled the whole time. Their near invisibility has caused us to omit mention of them in earlier sections. As noted in Chapter [246] VII, the Maltese farmer, faced with land shortage as a result of the high population density, has chosen to cultivate stall-fed fodders as short-rotation crops rather than to grow pastures or perennial forages. It is difficult to believe that he has not made the correct choice if the criterion adopted is that of intensive and continual use of difficult land resources and the minimising of waste. 231

Numerically, goats are by far the most important (Plate XVII)[a]. During the 234 past century, they increased tenfold in number, a fact which marks the amazingly 311 rapid increase in milk consumption, but in the last decade the trend has been reversed. The indigenous breeds, highly regarded in the Mediterranean up to [232] the close of the eighteenth century, have now almost entirely been replaced by crosses with introduced British Saanen types. These crosses, in which Saanen blood remains dominant to the third or fourth generation, are hardy and prolific milkers, considering the quality of feed. Goats have remained important not only because they still supply about 40 per cent. of returned milk sales (and a large amount produced domestically and sold illegally), but also because, together with sheep, they utilise the great extent of wasteland as natural pasture. Some feeding on field grown forages is practised - during the survey such [246] feeding was observed at Marnisi on broad beans and at Wied Babu on sulla, for example - but this is rare.

Land unusable for cultivation, and which makes up over 30 per cent. of the total area, provides the basic forage ration. Breeders and kids are given supplementary feeds of beans and hay crops. Although, therefore, goats are theoretically poor converters of fodder into milk, they cannot be displaced by milch cows without at once offending the tastes of most Maltese for goats' milk and cheese, and making the uncultivable land almost totally unproductive. Sheep, somewhat less numerous than pigs, and by far less valuable, occupy the same ecological niche as do goats. Used domestically in many areas for milking, and by far the cheapest meat animals, these predominantly hairy rather than woolled sheep, of a strong German strain, are one of the 'crops' of the barren lands. In the absence of statistics of fodder consumption, the only evidence available is that obtained in interview. It would certainly seem that sheep and goats use much uncultivated land in their demand for feed, and are almost the only media for obtaining any yield at all from one-third of the land of Malta and Gozo. (See also Chapter X C.)

Pigs, numerically the most important meat animals, are almost all of 231 recently introduced breeds, the English Large White in particular. Berkshire, 232 Wessex Saddleback and Middle White have been tried, but the Large White Yorkshire, even when bred for lean meat to an average weight of 180 lb., has

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[a] [See page 256 --Analyst]

231 232 [131] proved its superior adaptability. An interesting point is that, before 1914, Serbia and Croatia exported to Malta large numbers of pigs for fattening, while Yugoslavia is today importing Large Whites as breeders from this country. It is now illegal to use other than pedigree boars for breeding, and the success of the Agricultural Department and the relative enthusiasm of the Maltese farmer in raising pig production standards have made Malta self-sufficient in this respect at least. Local grain and imported beans form the basis of feeding stuffs given by the best farmers. Animal slaughterings now average about 30,000 head per annum.

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231 234 This cattle population, which supplies half of the total production of milk in Malta, and approximately two-thirds in Gozo, as well as over 75 per cent. of the beef consumed, is a very special element in Maltese agriculture. The imported store cattle have but to be fattened for slaughtering. Trustworthy statistics are lacking, but it would seem that over one-half of the imported fodder is consumed for this purpose.

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It is probable that such a policy would be both uneconomic and impracticable. In the first place, as long as it requires an average of 6 lb. weight of fodder protein to produce 1 lb. weight of animal food protein, then any country with restricted land resources has to look twice at the wastage involved. Such a country, having to import either animal products or vegetable products, or even both as in the case of Malta, has little to gain by specialising in a production technique in which over three-quarters of the crops grown and imported for feed merely go to maintaining livestock in existence. Thirdly, since that land now grazed by sheep and goats is virtually unusable in any other way, they cannot be simply replaced by cattle. More cattle would mean less arable farming of food crops and this would entail either the loss of potential vegetable exports from irrigated land or, more feasibly, the improvement of arable dry-farmed crops, e.g. sorghums in place of barley.

The impracticability of a policy designed vastly to increase forage production may be proved as follows. The growing of perennial fodder crops is out of the

231 234 246 question unless a complete agricultural revolution committed Maltese farming to thorough-going dairy farming specialisation. Such specialisation, given the climatic and physiological difficulties, would not be easy to justify. A very considerable seasonal glut of milk exists between May and August at present, and the Milk Marketing Undertaking cannot handle the flush. This degree of fluctuation could be lessened but not removed. Costs of production are such that not only would exports be uneconomic but imported tinned milk can and could considerably undercut home production. Local consumption of fresh cows' milk could not be expanded much more than 10 to 15 per cent. above the present level which is already the highest in the Mediterranean, as long as tinned milk is more easily preserved, and as long as the rural community keeps goats and sheep. The banning of milk imports and of the production of goat milk would hardly be in the consumer's economic or dietetic interests.

492 407 Horses, mules and donkeys, some 6,500 in number, are still very important as work animals. For farm transport, they can only be replaced by the internal combustion engine purchasable only by the more prosperous cultivators. Produce collection by merchants' lorries is increasing as also is the use of hired tractors for cultivation. The numbers of these animals is unlikely to decrease quickly outside the urban areas because of their usefulness in tilling difficult land.

231 235 Of the remaining small livestock, rabbits and poultry already make a very large although immeasurable contribution to food supplies. Improvements in quality could be obtained if farmers' interest was aroused. At present, mixed breeds of poor poultry are commercially uneconomic.

234 654 In conclusion, we must return to the vexed question of dairy-farming and milk production in Malta. In 1950, the Director of Agriculture (1) put the question: 'Under prevailing conditions in Malta and Gozo, which is the more profitable animal to keep? The cow or the goat?', and followed with the statement: '... no accurate answer backed by accurate scientific data has ever been given'. The same impasse had often been noted before, for example by Dawson Shepherd (2), and Stockdale (3). An unpublished report on Maltese Agriculture by a visiting F.A.O. commission (4) similarly found itself at sea in the absence of any firm information. In 1956, the complexity as well as the obscurity of the situation was manifested in a Report on the Dairy Industry by G. W. Ford (5). In this study, reference is made to the different conclusions reached by independent observers, and to intermediate suggestions made by Marshall (6), one of whose remarks: 'I simply cannot visualise hygienic milk production by the peasant farmer in Malta', our observations would endorse.

Milk-production in Malta is no longer a matter of economics but, as in many countries, is affected by social and dietetic policies. Brief mention was made in Chapter VI C of the problem of the incidence of undulant fever and its association with milk infected by *Brucellosis Melitensis*. Some 20 per cent. of Maltese goats are thus infected, and any dietetic campaign to encourage the drinking of milk, particularly important in child welfare, must take account of this. Few cows are thus far infected and elimination is easier. The problem that emerges is therefore both economic and social in character. It is felt by some that reliance on imported tinned milk is one solution but by others such a suggestion is regarded as humiliating. Another possible line of action is to replace goats with milch cows, and in 1956 a system by which herdsmen were offered one Dutch Friesian heifer in calf for 12 diseased goats actually came into operation. The third possibility is to accept the position as it exists at the moment, or slightly to modify it, and centralise milk distribution thus enabling pasteurisation. This too has been done. Even now however, the cost of tinned milk imports, the cost of producing cows' milk, the surplus of goats' milk, all these as well as the land use point mentioned earlier, still remain to be dealt with. As we shall see, the market for milk called into being as a social measure is now the mainstay of many farmers of all grades. The development of the centralised agency, the Milk Marketing Undertaking has been accompanied by a guaranteed price system. Some 80 per cent. of all milk producers have, as a result of this organising of wholesale purchases, formed their own union the K.M.H. - '*Kumpanija Maltija*

was that gross financial loss totalled £124,000 representing an equivalent 234
subsidy to consumers of M.M.U. products, while, if profits on imports were 435
subtracted the figure would rise to over £200,000. The commercial aspect of 441
milk marketing is thus completely artificial and dominated by welfare policies. Price policy, even so, has not been powerful enough to even out the immense seasonal fluctuation in production of goats' milk, roughly half the total, and the smaller but still considerable fluctuation of cows' milk.

Meat production is rather more crude. The Government abattoir slaughters 253
all the horned cattle, most of the swine and a considerable proportion of sheep 231
and goats. The commercial transaction between producer and butcher is usually direct. Here once more the small scale and the unspecialised nature of meat 441
production controls all else. The 1956 Census of Agriculture recorded only nine specialist cattle breeders and 94 breeders of swine as compared with over 700 engaged in sheep and goat breeding (in roughly equal numbers). Licensed importers bring in the store cattle which are then usually sold to non-specialist farmers. Feeding standards are as low as with milch cows. There is little incentive to improvement because of the low standard set by the widespread practice of milk producers selling old and diseased stock for butchering. Pig meat and store-bull meat do command a premium but, while some 15,320 horned cattle were slaughtered in 1957-58, the average import rate of stores is only some 3,000. In the same year, 5,000 sheep (of the indigenous poor breeds) and 8,400 goats (mainly those useless for milk production) as well as 7,800 lambs and kids, were slaughtered. The commercial side of meat and, for that matter, hides and skin production, like that of milk, can only be improved as and when the arable sector of agriculture is further developed.

Lastly, we must refer to exports. For some years, the most important 241
exported agricultural product has been the spring crop of potatoes. Some general
points concerning the production and sale of potatoes have already been made 439
(Chapter VII, pp. 205-206), but one or two points need expansion here. The
main market for pseudo-early potatoes grown in the Mediterranean (harvested 441
in April and May), lies in North-West Europe. During the earlier part of this century, Holland, Belgium and Germany were the most important buyers but, of recent years, the Arran Banner variety, which yields well as a pseudo-early in Malta, has only found favour in Glasgow. By 1955 this dependence on a single main market was appearing dangerous and since that time, as noted by Haesler in 1957 (8), more heed has been taken of consumer demand for other earlier varieties, yellow rather than white fleshed, such as the Eigenhemer. On the marketing side, some important problems remain. The virtual absence of good civilian port facilities and the dependence on lighterage puts up freight costs and discourages shippers. The middlemen and wholesale handling of produce for export is not above reproach while the only worthwhile markets expect good and consistent quality of graded merchandise. Here the deficiencies of even the most commercially sophisticated part of the community can partly negate improved efforts on the part of the producer. Standards set by the home market tend to affect the services rendered to foreign markets and before the latter can be expanded, the former will have to be improved. There is one sector in which a separate break-through has begun. Air freightage of high value for bulk [509]
merchandise (which does not include potatoes) can make distant markets accessible to medium-scale individual producers. Thus flowers, plants and seeds are to some small extent being traded by a few growers sufficiently skilled to bypass the mercantile system. This cannot be done by all but it might encourage emulation.

The whole of the marketing organisation is of course organically associated 241
with production and the commercial aspects of production need consideration.

One of the first points that strikes an observer in the islands is that the 433
production of the different commodities is altogether too concentrated in time. 435
In the case of milk, a traditional organic cycle imposed by crude goat husbandry
imposes great financial strains on the centralised agencies. With crops it would [234]
seem that traditional fear of risk-taking, rational enough in a peasant economy but antithetical to the whole nature of commercialism, is now hampering

E. The Farmers of Malta

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From survey work, farm interviews and detailed case-studies we have been able to distinguish certain characteristic types of Maltese farmer. The variety of practice and productivity within the pseudo-peasantry makes it impossible to take general treatment any further, therefore in this section are presented a cross-section of such types. For obvious reasons, we cannot present details which might lead to the identification of any farmer or his landholding.

1. THE PART-TIME FARMER

Numerically as important as full-time farmers this group, although heterogeneous, indicates the incompleteness of the recent 'flight from the land'. At the highest level, as in case-study (A), the stability given by a non-agricultural income encourages good land use.

A - A holding of c. 10 *tmien* in two blocks of 19 irrigable field plots in Region AII, Mellieħa Isthmus, produces c. 60 per cent. of the cultivator's net income. Irrigated market gardening produces potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, cucurbits, carrots, cauliflowers, garlic, lemons and table-grapes for sale, and beans, maize, celery and turnips for home consumption. Rents of reclaimed land on Government property are negligible. The farmer maintains that he holds the land partly to support the present family of three and to enable his eight adult emigrant sons to have some 'hobby' land when they return as expected to Malta. Nevertheless, his husbandry standards and commercial acumen are good, his yields high. This type of part-time farmer is neither common nor rare.

B - At the other extreme is a policeman who, in 1950, purchased 14 *tmien* of dry land in Region XVIIIb, ta'Qali, in order to have land to work after retirement. Of this, 10 *tmien* is let out on annual leases, both tenants' and landlord's responsibilities being ignored, and 6 *tmien* is 'cultivated' by the owner, carrying weed infested and diseased crops of wheat, sulla and broad beans. This is symptomatic of unhealthy economic and social conditions, viz. simple land hunger based on insecurity of urban occupations and inadequate pensions.

2. THE FULL-TIME ARABLE FARMER ON IRRIGATED LAND

The time-consuming nature of market gardening and the high value of irrigated *saqwi* land tend either to restrict the total size of holdings or to focus the farmer's attention on such land.

C - In Region XIV, two full-time farmer brothers with three dependants cultivate 7 *tmien* in one irrigated plot (Fig. 111A). One of the brothers returned from temporary migration to Canada in 1913 bringing some capital and ideas. Their equipment consists of hoes, an American windpump and an English diesel pump. There is a well graded irrigation system of three cisterns, overhead and ground level stone channelling. The diesel pump is used for filling the cisterns, the windpump for maintaining the water level. Both farmers share equally the cost of equipment and pumping and have a family arrangement for division of labour and produce. Surplus produce is sold in the Rabat market.

D - A full-time farmer with family of 11, six of whom are adults, working on holding of c. 30 *tmien* in Region A XV a The Blue Clay Basin (Fig. 141). Lives on a main plot of 14 *tmien* on Blue Clay and marl. On the main part of the holding are cultivated irrigated fruit and vegetable crops. The other plots consist mainly of rock, rough grazing and carobs with some vines. Intensive aboriculture is practised with peaches replacing plums and old apple stock being replaced by vines and peaches. [231]
Livestock - 1 horse, 9 sheep, 13 pigs and 3 goats.
Equipment - *moħriet* and hoes. The farmer borrows a 'rotavator' for sum- [407]
mer cultivation and has 'access' to lorry and jeep for marketing produce.
The dwelling has piped water supply. Irrigation water is obtained from [312]

241 433 464 [178] giant dockyard in Cospicua, or for one of the various British Service departments scattered over the island. Gozo is more dependent upon agriculture, but many Gozitan men work in Malta, returning to their families for the weekend. Though Maltese villages are populated mostly by industrial workers, they have nonetheless a decidedly rural atmosphere about them, for their inhabitants still have links with the agricultural economy of [231] [235] [262] the past. Many retain a patch or two of land which they plant with potatoes or some other cash crop to supplement their wages, and virtually all keep chickens and rabbits to supply them with eggs and fresh meat for special celebrations.

463 TABLE I. Occupational Classes in Farruġ and Kortin[1]
(Expressed as percentages of the total male working population)

Occupational Class	*Farruġ*	*Kortin*	*Islands*
Professional and Clerical	4	7	15
Service and Skilled	39	52	55
Semi- and Unskilled	42	27	20
Agricultural	15	14	10
Totals	100	100	100

[438] A hundred years ago, the inhabitants of Farruġ were mostly farmers, though many were also employed on a cottage-industry basis in the thriving cotton industry of the time. Today they are for the most part wage labourers. Of the total male working population, 42 per cent are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, 39 per cent work as skilled fitters and as service personnel (shopkeepers, drivers, policemen, etc.) and 15 per cent as farmers. Only 4 per cent are professionals and white-collar workers. Three-fourths travel outside the village to their places of employment, chiefly with the Malta Government and the British military departments.

The occupational structure of Kortin is much the same. The higher proportion of skilled and clerical workers is in part a reflection of its past importance as an administrative centre, for until early in this century it was the seat of the district court. Seven per cent of the men work in professional and white-collar

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[1] The figures for Farruġ and Kortin are based on surveys I conducted, and the national figures on the *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 45–55. The totals of the male working population in Farruġ, Kortin and the Maltese Islands are 296, 1,131 and 75,930 respectively.

The stay of the French in the island was too short to have any effect on the population. A social barrier has been built up between the British and the people of the land, and the general impression gained is that, though there are a certain number of mixed marriages, there cannot, even after three generations of a large, if floating, British element in Valletta, be more than a very thin British strain in the population. 144 563

We have shown, in dealing with the history of the island, how extremely difficult it is to account for the wholesale immigration of an Armenoid-like population at any period. We have also shown how, in spite of the continual immigration of people of the Mediterranean stock, the Maltese type (*i.e.* Malta second race, displaying Armenoid characters) appears to have persisted for a long period. It would seem, therefore, a point worthy of further consideration, whether the development of the Maltese along the lines they appear to have followed may not be due to certain definite geographical factors of whose influence we are as yet unaware. It is possible that if we had at our disposal a long unbroken series, instead of larger or smaller series from Neolithic, Mediæval, and modern ossuaries, we should not find such striking contrasts as we do at present. Anthropological data from various parts of the Mediterranean show that there is very often a significant difference between two villages in different valleys of the same mountain range. It is possible that even the few generations which have elapsed between the building of Hal Tarxien and 1921 may be the equivalent, in time, of such a journey in space, and certain big changes may have taken place owing to changing geographical conditions. There can be little doubt that the climate of Malta has changed very much, not only since the first terrace was cut in the Weid Dalam, but even since the formation of the second terrace. We have also suggested that the evidence from Professor Zammit's excavations at Hal Tarxien hints at a change in climate since Neolithic times. The change in the structure of the population may be due, therefore, partly to geographical as well as to historical causes. 144 174 132

Whether or no the development of the Maltese sub-race is due to particular geographical conditions, there can be little doubt that, in Malta at least, the strain is biologically remarkably successful and extremely fertile. In spite of the high infant mortality which has existed in the past, they have continued to increase, and the modern developments of hygiene and the care of infants are likely to make the increase still more rapid. If the overcrowding continues, in a comparatively short time we shall be faced with conditions in the island which would appear to be, biologically speaking, unsatisfactory. Sanitary conditions can be improved, food can be imported, but excessive overcrowding may bring its own remedy, either in disease or in a diminished fertility. The present fertility is quite possibly due to some underlying climatic condition. In spite of lack of water, Malta has long been extremely fertile botanically, and was famed for this in classical times. The Maltese goats, by far the most abundant large mammal of the island apart from 161 842 [165] [231]

161 man, are also unusually fertile, and the females possess remarkably developed
842 udders. Possibly similar causes make both man and the goats fertile. If this
231 is so, emigrants from the island will probably, after a short time, lose their fertility,[1]
whilst the only limiting factors on the island itself will be space and the food and water supply.

144 Summarizing our general conclusions, the race in Malta which is associated with
172 the period of great megalithic buildings—a cultural stage we have termed "Malta
Local Neolithic"—appears to be closely akin to the Mediterranean race. This is
174 our "Malta first race." At a later date, possibly towards the end of the Bronze
Age, but more probably during the Early Iron Age, Malta was peopled by a race with different characteristics, our "Malta second race." These people are of Armenoid type, but probably have an admixture of Mediterranean blood. Their origin appears to be the Eastern Mediterranean. They may have come to Malta either directly or by way of Carthage. They may have destroyed the previous inhabitants, or they may merely have pursued methods of peaceful penetration. This race has firmly established itself in Malta, and all subsequent introduction of foreign blood has failed to raise the variation. During the course of years certain changes have taken place; there are also certain local variations, but the differences between Malta and Gozo are not greater than the differences between the general population of Malta and at least one, and possibly more, of the more isolated villages.

APPENDIX I.

LITERATURE.

113 In writing this paper the following authorities have been consulted. Where specific reference
is made, the number is given in brackets in the text.

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[167] [1] Of interest in this connection is the fact that there is at present a Maltese colony in Detroit, U.S.A., and it will be instructive to observe whether, amid alien surroundings, the strain is able to perpetuate itself and to retain its fertility.

*159 311 The trend is clear from an analysis of the utilisation of his land holding:-

	1956			1957			1958		
	T	S	K[49]	T	S	K	T	S	K
House and adjacent roadway		2	0		2	0		2	0
Vines		3	0		3	0		3	0
Prickly Pear		3	0		3	0		3	0
Potatoes	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Vegetables, other than potato(a)	6	4	0	4	3	0		4	0
Fodder(b)	8	2	3	10	3	3	14	2	3
Rough grazing - and shooting			0	12	0	0	24	0	0
Unused		1	0		1	0		1	0
	18	3	3	30	3	3	42	3	3

(a) mainly tomatoes and melons (bittich and dulich)
(b) silla, wheat (qamh), barley (xghir), mixed wheat and barley (mahlut), beans.

*159 422 •231 **Livestock**

Pawlu's farm holding of slightly less than twelve acres is large by Gozitan standards. So also is the herd which it supports. Late in 1957 he had some 40 goats and 8 kids, two cows, a sheep, one horse, and about 100 poultry. "Goats are easier to handle than are cows" (Pawlu). For him, as for most herdsmen in the Islands, the dairy cow is still something of a novelty, and an expensive one, requiring considerable capital outlay for both the animal and its accommodation. The single sheep is quite typical, being kept mainly for the popular 'rikotta' cheese made from its milk. The large poultry element is also becoming a common feature in Gozo, though disease takes a very high toll. Pawlu's one horse provides the motive power for the cart which for him as for the rest of Gozo is still the prime mover of goods and produce.

*159 234 434 Pawlu's income derives mainly from the sale of milk to the M.M.U. This was also the case before 1958 when Gozo finally became a 'closed' area in which unpasteurised milk could not, legally, be sold. Thus the herdsman's cry of "Halib, halib" ('Milk, milk') as he took his goats from door to door and milked them to order on the customer's threshold is heard no more. The churned milk from the farms is collected and taken to the factory at Xewkija - before 1958 it had had to make the long journey to the Hamrun centre. Apart from the unpasteurised fresh milk used by the family, Pawlu sells, and sold, the milk his goats produce to the M.M.U. He pays no labour, hired or family, and does not consider his own time as a cost factor. Some idea of his income is therefore obtainable from an account of his receipts from the M.M.U. against the costs of the fodder.

423 234 *159 The amount of fodder bought in to supplement home production varies. In the case of sulla (silla), particularly, Pawlu is forced to buy in a large quantity when his own crop is poor. His purchases of wheat (qamh) and

*159 512 794 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

592 178 *159 Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 423 427 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

A. Land.

[311]

- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 423 311

B. Utilisation.

	1956	1957	1958
House	¼	¼	¼
Vines	¼	¼	¼
Prickly pear	¼	¼	¼
Fodders	8¼	10¼	14¾
Vegetables	8⅝	6⅛	2⅜
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 ● 231

C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 471 [422] [456]

D. Capital.

- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 464

E. Labour.

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 433 [434]

F. Production and Sales.

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed
443 annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

[423] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
[427] Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] - Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
[311] - Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. Livestock.

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] (i) No freehold land.
[454] (ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
[412] (iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cul-
[407] tivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.

[426] - Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
[427] - Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464] - No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

[234] (i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
[43] - Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
[231] - Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] (ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100.
[434] Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
[244] - Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245] (i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 [245] - Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233] [461] (ii) - Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii) - Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.

●[231] - Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

*159 829 241 H. General.

- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159 [434] [234] - Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.

[511] [454] [241] - Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.

[511] - Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

*159 Shopping is done in the local village Bur Nardu +
- 443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 A. **Land.**

423 30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 B. **Utilisation.**

241 Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
311 3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under Xofifa (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 C. **Livestock.**

● 231 During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital.**

[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
- Freehold village house.
[454] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[412] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc.
[407] No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 E. **Labour.**

464 - Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting.
During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
[427] - Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 F. **Production and Sales.**

433 - Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week

*159 G. **Husbandry.**

241 (1) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annua
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prev
the employment of the normal four-year rota

*159 24 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 ●231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments. Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land.)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields
supplying fodder for the animals together with some food
items for the family. His herd is however much larger and
in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 [656] The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This
meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk
from door to door - previously there had been some seven or
eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he
has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk
[433] for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons
or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin
434 strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly
however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk
*159 to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He
46 24 465 himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

*159 - 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien
423 (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. Utilisation.

*159 (i) At any one time about half the land - that of the
241 deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a
few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and
311 leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 C. Livestock.

231 90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
234 This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. Capital.

*159 (i) No freehold land.
423 (ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.[21]
[511] (iii) Receives C.A.R.E. food gifts but the family standard
[426] of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. Labour.

*159 (i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed else-
464 where and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 (i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of
43 c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day.
Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
234 Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

G. Husbandry.

*159 (i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans
23 and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*159 H. General.

434 An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 ● 231 234 **C. Livestock.**

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 42 **D. Capital.**

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[21] food gifts.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 434 234 [435] **F. Production and Sales.**

(v. Table 5)

(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p. .
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 232 234 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.
(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.
(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

* **H. General.**

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433
This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

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CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow."

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[451]
[651]

Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has very little appreciation of his profit. None of his labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax authorities each year.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 - 50 goats
- 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.

234 - Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159 **D. Capital.**

42 - The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).

454 - Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.

[407] - No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tomna when necessary.

E. Labour.

*159 - No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.

464 - Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

*159 **F. Production and Sales.**

43 - Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qanter respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.

These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

G. Husbandry.

*159 - Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention to holding.

231

234 - Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

H. General.

*159 - When asked whether he considered himself to be herdsman or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general dealer" in crops and animals.

433 - In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

102
342
351
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231
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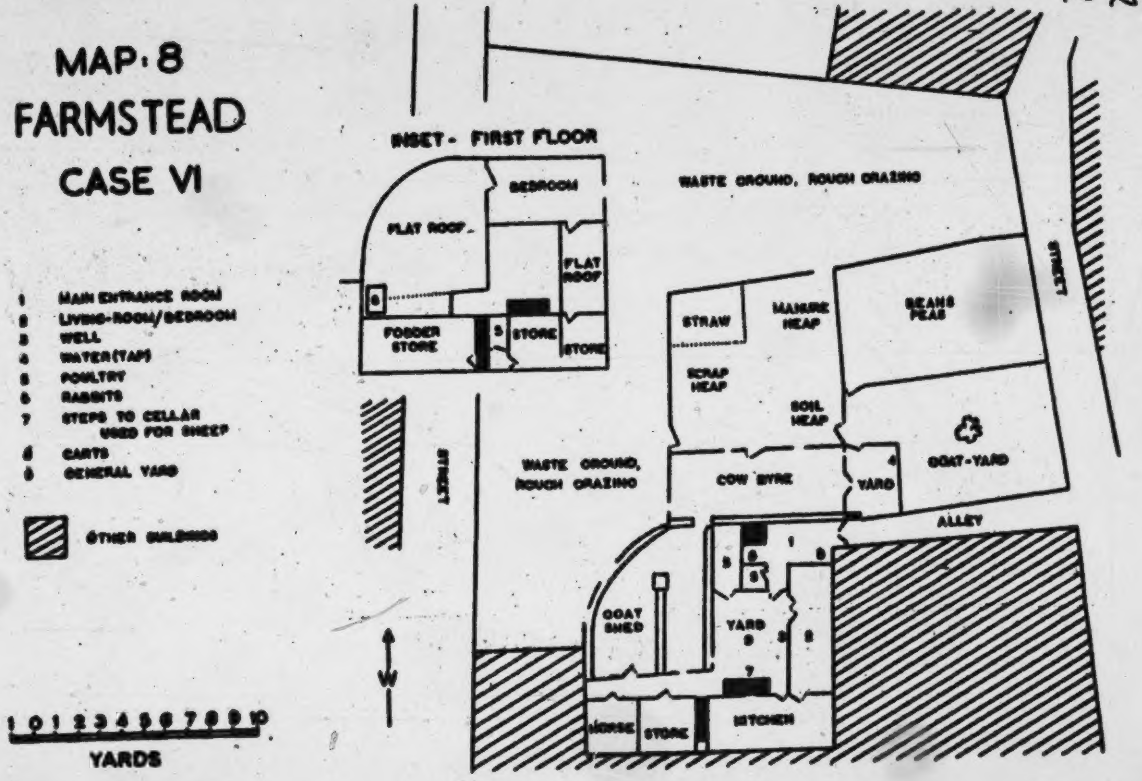
[following p. 102]

MAP 8
FARMSTEAD
CASE VI


INSET - FIRST FLOOR
BEDROOM
FLAT ROOF
FLAT ROOF
6
5
FODDER STORE
STORE
STORE
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
STRAW
MANURE HEAP
BEANS PEAS
SCRAP HEAP
SOIL HEAP
COW BYRE
4
YARD
GOAT-YARD
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
ALLEY
1
5
6
3
8
GOAT SHED
YARD
9
3
2
7
HORSE
STORE
KITCHEN
W
1 MAIN ENTRANCE ROOM
2 LIVING-ROOM/BEDROOM
3 WELL
4 WATER(TAP)
5 POULTRY
6 RABBITS
7 STEPS TO CELLAR USED FOR SHEEP
8 CARTS
9 GENERAL YARD
OTHER BUILDINGS
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
YARDS

* 159 829 178 [246] For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows. Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

* 159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 427 **A. Land.**

- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

* 159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

* 159 231 234

- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

* 159 [454] **D. Capital.**

- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]

- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] [234]

- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

* **G. Husbandry.**

159 231 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

[427] - Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.

[311] - This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.

- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly [illegible] tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.
- [435] Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- [434] Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

* **H. General.**

159 156

- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159 - Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
156 - Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit
●[231] will be greater.
- Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

*159 CASE VIII : Niklaws (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)

472 Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership of five brothers. [423] The syndicate farms some 70 tumien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. [234] There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' 472 milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 234 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day 433 - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says [232] Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a 407 mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth 458 year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing 234 machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on [429] the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and [435] the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 (i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

234 (ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

* **D. Capital.**

159 [472] (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[402] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

* **E. Labour.**

159 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

464 (ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

407 (iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

427 (iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

* **F. Production and Sales.**

159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

159
178 substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however,
234 show no inclination to stay in farming.

*159 A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in
232 quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that
829 they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd
234 of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again, blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

*
159 In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Ingliżi type.
234 As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a
231 larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Ingliżi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

*
159 Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount
234 they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of
433 producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?").
The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount
EZ46 of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

*
159 Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid
434 increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of
Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are
426 operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

*159 178 829 [454] Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming", although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

*159 423 (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows'milk production.)

A. Land.

Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. [429] 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

*159 241

B. Utilisation.

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

*159 ● 231

C. Livestock.

Shifting emphasis in recent years.

- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957; 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- Pigs 8.

159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Ingliżi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 426 D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property.

(ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[423] [454] [407] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools
- rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.
- [312] no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 464 E. Labour.

- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 434 435 F. Production and Sales.

- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 231 G. Husbandry.

(i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- [232] Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 234 829 H. General.

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect [426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
829 Gozitan milk producer, Case I.
234 The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle with-
in the current artificial economy of milk production. There
[433] is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
472 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġamri's father.

*159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
472 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let	13 tmien
Potatoes	6 tmien
Other vegetables	5 tmien

*159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
[435] at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

*159 245 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to quality as those for the table.

*159 245 231 451 In this move towards more vine production and the recent interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to emphasize the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made between money spent on the home and family, and money spent on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held "in one purse". [593] Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

*159 434 454 [511] At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400, less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30 for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957. During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income from pig sales and other items.

*159 434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit........	£340	-	£340
Grapes.......	49	£ 8	57
Sulla........	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons.......	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals.......	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 434 435 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between one year and the next is today more important to the arable farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more [454] accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

*159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in contrast
231 to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

*159 Ġamri and farming

Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
- which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
[722] in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time conditions
[454] the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[729] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
[434] guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri himself,
*159 make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
18 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he believes
that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
18 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

*
159 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously
829 and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.
181 Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community
178 in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

*
159 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production.)
423 (Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)
427 **A. Land.**

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

*
159 **B. Utilisation.**
241

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9 tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9 "
Potatoes	6.2 "
Other vegetables	4.9 "
Fallow or unproductive or let 'bin-nofs'.	12.6 "
	62.5 tmien

*
159 **C. Livestock.**
231

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

*
159 **D. Capital.**
423 (i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.
454 (ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.
(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.

*
159 (iv) - Equipment:
409 - Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
427 - Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding, Ġ

CASE XI : Summary.

(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

*159 423 427 **A. Land.**

(i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Mallicha District. 2 tmien freehold.
(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.
(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.
(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced as annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.** With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons. Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.
(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 ●231 **C. Livestock.** During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bejjem tax-xoghol').

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
[435] [454] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E.[27] Estimated possible total less than £100.
[406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.
[474] [241] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.
[464] - Rarely hires labour.
[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

*159 433 435

February when prices start at c.9d a head rather than later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241

(i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming. In 1956 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, leguminous fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land where vetches alternate with barley.

[461] (c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

[242] (d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953 Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:
Relies entirely on own plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Eigenheimer.

*159 ●231 (iii) Livestock:
Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

*159 241 433 435 [465]

(i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

*159 451 (ii) The farmers children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626) firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Ċensu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423
427

A. Land.

33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159
241

B. Utilisation.

Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

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C. Livestock.

Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159
[423]
[454]
[407]

D. Capital.

- No freehold land. Owns large village house.
- No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159
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[465]
[427]
[241]
[407]

E. Labour.

- Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
  Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
  Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
- Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely
residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his
sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this
type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no
importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the
fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election
times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and
his problems" because, it appears, of sucpicion and ignorance.
He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily
- because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging
the younger farming generation from staying on the land and
struggling against rising costs to sell products which are
but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present
Government policy of assistance by both financial support in
various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods
and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- Soils: 1-Iklin complex. [427]
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.

- Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables. [241]
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

● [231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.

- No freehold land, but owns a house in the village. 454
- Usual hand tools. 422
- Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired. 423
- Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.

- Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta. 464 [465]
- Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

APPENDIX 1 D : Agriculture (B/164-1957)

131 (i) AREAS

AREA of the Maltese Islands........... 276,429 tmien (77,400 ac)
Area of Malta..................... 217,143 tmien (60,800 ac)
Area of Gozo...................... 59,286 tmien (16,600 ac)

423 CULTIVABLE AREA of the Maltese Islands 156,211 tmien (12,484 hldngs)
Holdings of dry (baghli) land.... 116,460 tmien (10,517 ")
Holdings of irrigable (saqwi)land 700 tmien (88 holdings)
Holdings of both dry & irrigable. 39,051 tmien (1,879 ")

241 (ii) ACREAGE and PRODUCTION of CROPS. 1956-57

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CROP	ACREAGE	VALUE(£)	YIELD(Tons)	YIELD per Acre (tons)
Wheat	5,192	96,908	2,916	0.6
Barley & Meslin	4,836	68,339	2,738	0.6
Vetches	1,727	51,993	1,354	0.8
Forages	11,000	361,150(a)	32,000(a)	2.3
Broad Beans	1,000	15,233	356	3.5
Cumin Seed	14	180	3	0.2
Cotton	35	800	8	0.2
Locust Beans	500	20,000	1,500	3.0
Total	24,304	616,603	40,875	
Potatoes (spring)	6,000	350,000	21,000	3.5
Potatoes (autumn)	3,057	193,394	9,157	3.0
Melons	2,721	32,908	1,714	0.6
Onions	789	47,970	3,000	3.8
Tomatoes	3,000	146,000	12,000	4.0
Other vegetables	3,697	344,744	18,436	5.0
Total	19,259	1,115,016	65,307	
Grapes	5,204	171,102	5,347	1.0
Citrus	160	32,000	510	3.0
Other Fruit	1,000	105,000	4,000	2.0
Total	6,364	308,102	9,847	
Flowers & Seeds	250	100,000	..	
TOTAL	ac.50,177	£2,139,721	116,029 Tons	

(a) Including Straw.

231 (iii) CLASSIFICATION OF LIVESTOCK, 1957 (September)

	Malta (1957)	Gozo (1957)	TOTAL(1957)	TOTAL(1949)
Horses...............	1,688	369	2,057	2,753
Donkeys..............	1,732	1,107	2,839	3,335
Mules................	1,535	349	1,884	2,364
Goats................	21,630	10,428	32,058	
Billy Goats..........	417	177	594	50,877
Kids under 1 year...	3,564	3,121	6,685	
Sheep................	8,091	4,241	12,332	
Rams.................	98	43	141	21,237
Lambs under 1 year..	1,015	1,330	2,345	
Bulls................	377	294	671	
Heifers Pregnant....	339	195	534	
Heifers other........	731	363	1,091	
Milch Cows...........	2,536	953	3,402	2,833
Stud Bulls...........	111	26	137	
Maltese Draught-Cows	109	6	115	
Imported Store Bulls	2,860	824	3,684	
Breeding Sows........	2,783	598	3,381	
Boars................	214	87	301	
Sucking Pigs.........	935	367	1,302	20,015
Other Fatteners.....	6,561	1,753	8,314	
Hens.................	195,683	126,630	322,313	
Other Poultry........	5,145	1,364	6,509	
Rabbits..............	43,045	16,048	59,093	

[P317]

Chapter X

THE PRACTICE OF FARMING

We have considered at some length the physical and social environments in 128
which Maltese farming exists, the distribution of crops and of agricultural
regions, and examined some of the physical and legal characteristics of the
land holdings in which the land is worked. There follows a more systematic
statement and a tentative interpretation of farming practice, and studies of the
Maltese countryfolk (Plate XVIII).

A. Livestock

Livestock in Malta, with the exception of the wandering, wasteland-feeding, 231
herds of sheep and goats, is rarely seen or heard. Cattle, pigs, poultry and
rabbits are all kept in stockyards or enclosures, and horses, mules and donkeys,
when not working in the fields, are stabled the whole time. Their near invisibility
has caused us to omit mention of them in earlier sections. As noted in Chapter [246]
VII, the Maltese farmer, faced with land shortage as a result of the high population
density, has chosen to cultivate stall-fed fodders as short-rotation crops
rather than to grow pastures or perennial forages. It is difficult to believe that
he has not made the correct choice if the criterion adopted is that of intensive
and continual use of difficult land resources and the minimising of waste. 231

Numerically, goats are by far the most important (Plate XVII).² During the 234
past century, they increased tenfold in number, a fact which marks the amazingly
rapid increase in milk consumption, but in the last decade the trend has been 311
reversed. The indigenous breeds, highly regarded in the Mediterranean up to [232]
the close of the eighteenth century, have now almost entirely been replaced by
crosses with introduced British Saanen types. These crosses, in which Saanen
blood remains dominant to the third or fourth generation, are hardy and prolific
milkers, considering the quality of feed. Goats have remained important not
only because they still supply about 40 per cent. of returned milk sales (and a
large amount produced domestically and sold illegally), but also because,
together with sheep, they utilise the great extent of wasteland as natural pasture.
Some feeding on field grown forages is practised - during the survey such [246]
feeding was observed at Marnisi on broad beans and at Wied Babu on sulla, for
example - but this is rare.

Land unusable for cultivation, and which makes up over 30 per cent. of the total area, provides the basic forage ration. Breeders and kids are given supplementary feeds of beans and hay crops. Although, therefore, goats are theoretically poor converters of fodder into milk, they cannot be displaced by milch cows without at once offending the tastes of most Maltese for goats' milk and cheese, and making the uncultivable land almost totally unproductive. Sheep, somewhat less numerous than pigs, and by far less valuable, occupy the same ecological niche as do goats. Used domestically in many areas for milking, and by far the cheapest meat animals, these predominantly hairy rather than woolled sheep, of a strong German strain, are one of the 'crops' of the barren lands. In the absence of statistics of fodder consumption, the only evidence available is that obtained in interview. It would certainly seem that sheep and goats use much uncultivated land in their demand for feed, and are almost the only media for obtaining any yield at all from one-third of the land of Malta and Gozo. (See also Chapter X C.)

Pigs, numerically the most important meat animals, are almost all of 231
recently introduced breeds, the English Large White in particular. Berkshire, 232
Wessex Saddleback and Middle White have been tried, but the Large White
Yorkshire, even when bred for lean meat to an average weight of 150 lb., has

² [See page 256 -- Analyst]

231 proved its superior adaptability. An interesting point is that, before 1914, Serbia
and Croatia exported to Malta large numbers of pigs for fattening, while Yugo-
232 slavia is today importing Large Whites as breeders from this country. It is now
[431] illegal to use other than pedigree boars for breeding, and the success of the
Agricultural Department and the relative enthusiasm of the Maltese farmer in
raising pig production standards have made Malta self-sufficient in this respect
at least. Local grain and imported beans form the basis of feeding stuffs given
by the best farmers. Animal slaughterings now average about 30,000 head per
annum.

23 Of the total cattle population of some 6,000 in Malta and 3,000 in Gozo, nearly
30 per cent. are milch cows. This proportion has increased steadily since the
first introduction of milch cows in the early years of British occupation. Before
1800, the indigenous Maltese breed, raised as general purpose stock in normal
[177] peasant tradition, alone was of importance. During the nineteenth century,
specialised breeds were slowly introduced, a process which culminated in trials
with Swiss Brown, Polish and Jersey cattle during the 1920's and '30's. By 1939,
the cattle were mainly of mixed blood with the older strains predominating, and
those still found are rapidly being displaced because of their low milk yields
of some 1 to 1¼ gallons a day. The only surviving registered Maltese bull is to
be seen on a farm at Binġemma Gap. In the post-war period, imported Ayrshires,
British Friesians and Durham Shorthorns have proved very successful and
popular. The Friesian strains in particular are very effective for crossing,
important in that most country herds are still of mixed blood. A typical compo-
sition was noted in a stockyard on Delimara Peninsula - 13 milk cows and three
heifers consisting of pure polled Maltese, Friesians, Friesian/Maltese crosses,
Ayrshire/Maltese crosses, together with seven Friesian and crossed Friesian
[439] calves. Store cattle, of which over 3,000 are annually imported for fattening,
are of various breeds, and come in the main from within the Mediterranean
region.

231 This cattle population, which supplies half of the total production of milk in
Malta, and approximately two-thirds in Gozo, as well as over 75 per cent. of
234 the beef consumed, is a very special element in Maltese agriculture. The
imported store cattle have but to be fattened for slaughtering. Trustworthy
statistics are lacking, but it would seem that over one-half of the imported
fodder is consumed for this purpose.

The milch cows are given a maintenance ration of sulla and other leguminous fodders, and a production ration of imported beans, grains and cake. Carob beans and chopped prickly pear are sometimes used, and *oxalis cernua* may also be fed in moderation.

231 This large demand for fodders has so far been met by maintaining at high
level the production of leguminous and grain crops. Only in recent years has it
234 become economic to add high protein feeds. For social and health reasons the
human consumption of high protein foods, milk in particular, has been
246 encouraged. It has therefore often been suggested that further concentration on
production of forage crops is necessary.

It is probable that such a policy would be both uneconomic and impracticable. In the first place, as long as it requires an average of 6 lb. weight of fodder protein to produce 1 lb. weight of animal food protein, then any country with restricted land resources has to look twice at the wastage involved. Such a country, having to import either animal products or vegetable products, or even both as in the case of Malta, has little to gain by specialising in a production technique in which over three-quarters of the crops grown and imported for feed merely go to maintaining livestock in existence. Thirdly, since that land now grazed by sheep and goats is virtually unusable in any other way, they cannot be simply replaced by cattle. More cattle would mean less arable farming of food crops and this would entail either the loss of potential vegetable exports from irrigated land or, more feasibly, the improvement of arable dry-farmed crops, e.g. sorghums in place of barley.

The impracticability of a policy designed vastly to increase forage production may be proved as follows. The growing of perennial fodder crops is out of the

242 from December to September during each year, from seven or eight different plant strains.

On irrigated land, an even more intensive succession of vegetables, cucurbits, tomatoes and potatoes is seen. Further variants resulting from the addition to the crop range of tree-crops have been illustrated in Chapter VIII.

Accessibility to markets, as well as general environmental conditions, produce the regional variations already discussed. On a smaller scale still, minor distinctions of climatic and soil types produce minute differentiations which are all-important to the Maltese farmer. Land husbandry may then be said to be controlled by the following forces. First, and particularly affecting the older generations, is the survival of a primitive urge to control land and to maintain it as the basis of subsistence. This now implies that cultivators who normally rely on sales of their produce do in large measure base their husbandry on non-commercial standards. The social and economic background already examined in Section II is thus responsible for making Maltese cultivators a pseudo-peasantry. A recent compilation of farmers' opinions and attitudes shows this very clearly (9). Secondly, and superimposed on the first factor, are the commercial forces which, through the demands of the market, are breaking down the old inbreeding of ideas. Because the internal market for agricultural produce is still rather undiscriminating and because marketing systems are still crude, the new demands on husbandry are partly inconsistent and partly uneven in their effects (Chapter X E). Thirdly, and because of the characteristics of these first two elements, the physical environment still dominates husbandry practice. In some countries, such as the United Kingdom, within broad limits one can say that available techniques, readiness to use those techniques and the dominance of the profit motive all combine to neutralise many environmental variations. In Malta this is not true.

Maltese farming, having already developed so well from a simple peasant basis is now faced by a last hurdle before it can play a necessarily major role in the economy of Malta. Traditional experience has now to be translated into a scientific idiom, application of 'rules of thumb' replaced by an understanding of the processes involved. Without that idiom and without that understanding, imported ideas and techniques will not survive transplanting. Given such a mental renaissance, good husbandry is possible to cultivators already capable of careful hard work.

232 Livestock husbandry, faces the same sort of problems as does land husbandry. The main difference results from the more concentrated impact of new needs on traditional methods. Little is known of Maltese livestock during or before the nineteenth century. John Galt, in 1812 (10), asserted that the first milch cows were introduced by the British in 1809, a statement later re-affirmed by Macgill (11). Boisgelin (12) and Giacinto (13) in 1805 and 1811 do little more than comment on the high quality and repute of the indigenous breed of asses and goats and on the poor quality of the sheep. Even in 1911 (14), the Inspector of Agriculture, F. Debono, was able virtually to ignore milk production, note the near extinction of the Maltese ass, and remark that cheap meat imports allowed farmers to concentrate on non-fodder crops. In the 1920's and '30's changes were slowly occurring but they did not accelerate significantly until World War II.

The Maltese livestock farmer cast in traditional mould is still controlled by land shortage. Only in Gozo is there some grazing and exercise space for animals, and even there the practice of stall feeding is dominant. While animal needs have increased with the change in emphasis from goats and sheep to cattle and from general purpose cattle to dairy cows, the Maltese farmer has not been able, for reasons financial, mental, and of space, to meet these needs.

A preliminary sample survey of the feeding of milch cows and goats made by Charlton in 1956 brought out the following points (15). Of the total sample of goat-herders, 80 per cent. relied on wasteland *xagħra* grazing to supply forage, this proportion being higher in Gozo than in Malta. We also know that very few cattle-farmers have adequate exercise yards and none have real pasturage. Goat and cattle farmers further rely to an inordinate extent on *haxix hasin* - rough

232

weed greens pulled from wallsides and fallow or abandoned fields. Sulla, green barley and the minor legumes make up the remainder of the bulk feed, except for prickly pear which is used as a summer reserve fodder. Concentrates in the form of cake and beans are invariably fed to cattle but cake is rarely given to goats. There is considerable variation in the feeding of calves and kids. The most characteristic feature of livestock feeding is, however, the complete lack of uniformity and the virtual absence of any rational programme of feeding of cattle. At a relatively low level, most Maltese farmers are better acquainted with goats' needs and of course those needs are fairly elastic. With cattle, as the survey showed, every possible range and combination of diet is to be observed. 'Farmers seem to have little idea about the relative nutritive values of foodstuffs such as cake and beans' (16), so that over-feeding and unbalanced feeding are normal. An extreme example is that of a goatherd, newly possessed of a Friesian heifer in calf, through a Government exchange scheme (p. 310), who stall-fed it 15 lb. of cake, 3.5 lb. of beans, one bundle of green sulla and half a sack of barley straw daily. At the same time there exists a 'pedigree complex' and the possession of an animal with a known lineage and some Friesian blood is a matter of pride.

Animal diseases are prevalent, ranging from endemic infection by *brucellosis mellitensis* and pregnancy diseases in goats to contagious abortion and mastitis in cattle. Most of these result from unhygienic and inadequate accommodation. The Maltese livestock farmer, as noted later, operates on a small scale and with little capital. The provision of adequate facilities can only be done with borrowed money. Since 1956, Governmental loans and subsidies have been available for helping with the construction of stock houses, water supply systems, etc., as well as for purchases of machinery. Instruction in animal care and hygiene is also provided. Mental resistance to change is not as great in this sector as in crop-production because losses through disease are more catastrophic in their impact on individual farmers. Nevertheless, even here, the better the traditional practices, the more loth cultivators may be to accept advice. Thus in a case-study of a very efficient fraternal partnership holding some 70 *tmien* and practising mixed farming, a standard reaction was found. This partnership had no shortage of capital, and the production of an average of 50 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is high for Malta. Unfortunately, with livestock as with crops, the high degree of success attributable to their able application of traditional ideas seems to bar the way to future progress - 'A good cowman knows as much as a vet.'. At the other extreme lie the perpetually indebted small producers with insufficient land, money or even traditional expertise, for whom advice must be simple and fundamental. Here again, the Agricultural Advisory Service can only produce slow improvements. [E54]

With livestock, as with husbandry, the need for improving standards is obvious. The maximum efficiency in the utilisation of all possible resources is essential to Malta. Work is in hand, limited unfortunately by the perpetual shortage of revenue and trained personnel (a situation which is the result of Malta's peculiar evolution), in a variety of ways, from studies of balanced rations for livestock and improved crop strains even to a pilot survey of the seaweed resources of the Island (17). But, before any recommendations can be implemented, they must be accepted by the farmers of Malta and Gozo.

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pasteurized milk at about this same price to the general public, regardless of the administrative, collection and pasteurization costs involved and the losses on surplus milk wasted. The subsequent deficit is born by the Government exchequer and may therefore be regarded as a Government subsidy to the milk producer. Its effect in the past few years has been immense in that it has encouraged herdsmen all over the Islands to increase their production to the maximum at the expense of arable cash-crops (Cases I to IX).

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(b) As part of the general policy to improve farming in the Islands and, at the same time, to eradicate certain livestock diseases the Government has made available to herdsmen an exchange scheme whereby they may exchange diseased animals for newly imported stock. This has also included goats, some dozen of which could be exchanged for a cow. Along with this stock improvement policy has gone official limitation on the number of animals entering the Islands since the present overstocking is regarded as undesirable. Farmers have however not been slow to find ways round such limitations - one popular method of acquiring a cow having been, for example, for a farmer to buy in weak and ailing goats and effect an exchange of these for a healthy imported heifer.

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(c) Of considerable help to the arable farmer as well as the herdsman has been the programme of 'Loans and Grants' ('Self u Donazzjonijiet') by the Government to farmers for the purpose of making capital improvements in the farm and its operation. The low-interest loans have been particularly popular and have already enabled many farmers to buy, for example, their own rotary cultivators (Case II). One important limiting feature in these loans has been the ignorance on the part of many farmers of the system and the suspicion felt by others of something new and not clearly explained.

(d) Of particular concern to the arable farmer have been the various distributions of free or subsidized seeds, potatoes, tomatoes, etc. In some cases the aim has here been to popularize some new departure from custom such as a variety of early potato new to Malta or to introduce farmers to the 'Balanced Ration' ('Ghalf Bilanċjat') experiments of the agricultural authorities.

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(e) In this same category of aids to farming comes the recently-formed Agricultural Advisory Service, which has itself been responsible for many of the new moves mentioned and also for the series of public lectures to farmers (Section 4), which have been part of the effort to improve farming in the Islands by providing an up-to-date research

654 (a) to decide which crops, animals, feeding stuffs, machinery, methods of farm management, etc., are most likely to improve Maltese farming conditions, and

(b) to pass this information to a conservative and doubting farming public.

654 242 A central feature of official policy since 1956 has been the Agricultural Advisory Service (B/252), modelled on the parlel organization in the United Kingdom. In Malta this body has aimed to co-ordinate research and experiment with encouraging the farmer to adopt proven results. Within a short while of its inception the Service was concerned with detailed investigations into pig rearing, poultry feeding, dairying, potatoes, tomatoes, fertilizers and other agricultural topics in the Islands (B/252, pp.3-4). At the same time a great deal of importance was attached to demonstrations and lectures to farmers. In addition broadcasts were made over the Rediffusion system and these were supplemented by a certain amount of printed publicity.

654 242 544 232 The easiest part of the programme of lectures and demonstrations was to get farmers and others to attend the meetings. Those who stayed away did so either because they could not be available at the appointed time or, more usually, because they could not be persuaded that foreign experts could know anything applicable to farming in Malta which the local farmer did not know already. The attitudes of those who did attend was revealing. In many cases the novelty of the event was the attraction but there was also a large element of reasoned interest. Attendances varied from a few dozen farmers in some of the smaller villages to 200 in Xaghra and other large rural settlements, while, in January, 1958, no less than 700 people assembled in Rabat to be lectured by four of the specialists then working with the local Department of Agriculture, and to see a film on "Clean Milk". The reactions of this audience were typical of the response to the whole range of lectures and demonstrations and illustrate clearly the kind of problem which any would-be improver of agriculture can expect to have to face in Malta. There was, significantly, only one Maltese woman in the audience at Rabat of which some two or three hundred appeared to be non-farmers and concerned rather with free coffee in the interval than with the topics of the lectures. Of the rest, however, some farmers had made considerable journeys to attend while more than a few of these had never set foot in a meeting hall or attended anything in the nature of a lecture or lesson in their lives. For them it was a 'Sunday-best' outing. Even the bravest

654 242 544 232 of those present could not however be persuaded to ask any questions of the 'experts' or to develop any discussion, although everything not in Maltese was translated copiously. They were over-awed by the proceedings but were not slow to seize on topics raised by the speakers for future discussion among groups of farmers. The average age of those present was lower than that of the full-time farming population on account of the presence of large numbers of disinterested village youths and young men. But the true farmers themselves paid attention to what they were told and were especially impressed by the film.

Some of the points raised were dismissed as "not suitable for Malta". Some suggested measures were "interesting but unremunerative", notably the efforts, demonstrated in the film, to achieve cleanliness in milking. The farmer could not readily comprehend how he was to profit financially if he were to add what to him were needless tasks to an already heavy time-table. Yet, on the other hand, he was sceptical when told that many of the jobs which he is accustomed to performing could be replaced by more efficient methods. Being unable to read of farming outside Malta the illiterate believes that no methods could be better than those tried, tested and taught by his father and grand-father before him. Hence a major part of the work of an advisory service is "to create conditions which will give the farmer confidence in the advice given. The adviser must be above creed or party and honest in all his dealings. In addition, however, some inducement must be offered to the farmer to accept advice and the most powerful inducement that has yet been found is money - cash - a better price"[39].

654 232 One example of this inducement in practice was afforded by the study of pig feeding using balanced rations which was undertaken by the Agricultural Advisory Service early in its career. Haesler was able to show that "the high mortality rate in small pigs can be considerably reduced, and what is more important, losses in pig keeping have been turned into profits" (B/252, p.3). The farming public was assailed with Maltese-language leaflets[40] showing how the traditional pig feeding patterns were both wrongly balanced and generally excessive in quantity and encouraging pig breeders to invest in the prepared balanced rations ('Għalf Bilanċjat') then on the market. This improved diet would, it was claimed, not only produce a better pig but would result in reduced costs of feeding. This prospect appealed to the farmer, who hastened to purchase the balanced ration particularly as such rations were subsidized by the Government[40] in order to encourage

654 their adoption. Sales soared after the ration appeared
232 and the idea spread rapidly from farmer to farmer.
Unforeseen difficulties soon emerged however and threatened
to make the ration unpopular among pig breeders as quickly
as it had become popular a short while before. Partly on
account of ignorance and illiteracy and partly because of
the lack of the correct kind of propaganda farmers began to
find that the ration was not the magical remedy to their
pig problems. A sample investigation, by the writer, in
Gozo among farmers who had purchased the balanced ration
showed that some of them had understood it to be a kind of
medicine to be given in addition to the diet normally fed,
others treated it as one item of the feed and mixed it with
their normal ration to the pigs, while most common of all
was the complaint that "I've been feeding the balanced
ration for a week and there is no sign of the promised
improvement so I'm using no more". Individuals of this
latter inclination not only stopped purchasing the ration
themselves but spread ugly rumours about it among their
fellows. None of those with such complaints would consider
approaching the Officers of the Advisory Service - as they
had in fact been invited to do in the leaflet[40]. For them
the new pig feed was a failure.

654 Illiteracy produces a feeling of inferiority in most
cases which makes the farmer too timid to approach a
829 department or an official on some problem. Moreover the
242 written word is for them suspect. Therefore if they are
232 to be persuaded to adopt new techniques in their farming
the instruction will have to be personal and followed up
with further help and advice when difficulties and lack of
appreciation of what is intended emerge. For these
farmers lectures are too remote. Demonstrations of new
crops or cultivation methods, etc. are more likely to
succeed but are insufficient in themselves. Unfortunately
a large qualified staff of visiting advisers would be
necessary to supervise farmers at such an individual level.
In Malta this is not yet available. Even if it were the
farmers' trust would have to be gained and maintained at
every stage. In the past such trust has been conspicuous
but its absence with the farmer believing that everyone
with whom he comes in contact is anxious to take advantage
of his illiteracy for their own gain. There has been
no-one to give him professional, impartial advice on
farming and the new Advisory Service with its free information and other help to the farmer is still something
654 of an unknown quantity. The Agrarian Society (B/286) has
232 in the past been responsible for a certain amount of
242 research on agricultural topics in Malta but does not appear

654 to have made its presence felt among the farmers them-
232 selves.

242 When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in the Islands will depend, have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

241 In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the
829 Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in
[575] fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened
[874] younger farming generation might develop. Neither is there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

654 As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for
234 pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U. (Section 2). In short, official policy here has been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the
[433] cost of which is borne by the Government. The totals of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[41].

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159 barley (xghir) fluctuate but cake-feed is all bought from
432 fodder agents. Milk production varies with season, being
at its peak in the Spring. The price given by the M.M.U.
234 changes accordingly to the extent of a few pence per gallon.
On the basis of an average feed programme one can get some
idea of the gross profit margin on which Pawlu is working,
the absence of any allowance for labour costs being noted.

*
159 A sample feed programme with daily costs for one cow
234 yielding about three gallons:
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	s	d
3 rtal xghir (barley-bran)	1	4
8 rtal cake................	3	6
5 rtal sulla (silla).......	1	4
8 rtal beans (½ tomna)....	5	0
1 basket prickly pear.....	1	0
½ basket straw............		6
	12	8d

Selling the three gallons at 5s 6d per gallon (see above) brings in 16s 6d per day, leaving a profit on the one cow of 3s 10d.

A sample feed programme with daily costs for 46 goats yielding about ten gallons per day:

	£	s	d
3 tmien (48 rtal) beans....	1	10	0
1 tomna xghir (barley).....		6	0
4 bundles sulla (silla)....		5	0
Furrajna (green barley)....		5	0
	2	6	0

Selling ten gallons per day at some 6s per gallon thereby brings Pawlu a further profit of 60s minus 46s, or 16 shillings. This, together with the 3s 10d from each of his two cows, amounts to a net income of approximately 23/8d per day.

*159 Unlike most of his fellow herdsmen in both Islands,
156 Pawlu is fully aware of the relation between feed programmes
234 for livestock and milk yields (B/379). He does not share
232 the common view that "The more the feed the more the milk".
He is also well aware of the economics of his situation as described above and, as seen, his aim is to cut the costs of fodder by producing more on his own holding and thereby increase his profit margin on milk sold. This is a most widespread feature among Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen today. But Pawlu goes further than most in that he is conscious of the need for a 'balanced diet'. Not only does he carefully regulate the types and quantities of feed which he gives but he also follows the latest researches of the Department of Agriculture, especially that of Hassler (B/252) and others working on this and similar topics. The average illiterate Maltese farmer tends to dismiss the statements and efforts of such experts as "No good for Malta, and

*159 useless in my district" but Pawlu, who has at all times in
156 his life been conscious of education and a knowledge of
234 things outside his village, is prepared to consider sugges-
●232 tions on their merits. This attitude pervades the working
of his farm as a unit and has had important repercussions
within his family. (v. Section 4).

*159 In spite of his own lack of advanced formal education,
156 Pawlu has in fact an awareness of its importance which is
829 still uncommon in rural Gozo. He is constantly stressing
the need for education in its widest sense, both general and technical. He is anxious for his children to be educated to a standard far above his own, while, in the wider scene, he recognizes the importance of education for the farmer and farming. His attitude to the course of lectures for farmers (Section 4) is typical of the man. He observed that "attendances at the lectures have been big because the farmers are interested - they wouldn't go if they were not". The ideas put forward by the experts are weighed by the farmer and, if considered 'good ideas', are discussed at length in the villages or at the It-Tokk market on Sunday mornings. These lecture courses for farmers, and others like them such as the important McClement demonstrations and lectures on dairying technique (Section 4), fail for Pawlu in so far as they do not lead to individual contact between specialist and farmer. No farmer would dream of making comment or criticising 'officialdom' - with which he naturally associates ventures like those of Haesler and McClement[50]. "The Maltese back down much more easily than do the English in their relations with the authorities. In England you might complain to a Government Department and there would be argument for a day but in Malta such a complaint would mean petty victimization for years". The farmer blames "clerical inefficiency" in Valletta for what he considers has been the failure to follow up the McClement or other recommendations but no farmer would seriously consider complaining in person to officialdom. They just argue and become increasingly bitter with their lot.

Farming

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for Pawlu means independence. He complains of the
159 inferior social position which the farmer holds in Maltese
178 society today and observes that the present generation of
829 young people demand the means to enable them to equal the
[554] people of the towns in appearance, leisure and other super-
ficialities. The old farmer with little formal education is not troubled by these notions. His life is the only one he can comprehend - apart from which his daily round leaves
[464] him little time to think. The youngster, on the other hand, is desperate for an eight-hour job with steady income and leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 231 234 **C. Livestock.**

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 42 **D. Capital.**

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 434 234 [433] **F. Production and Sales.**

(v. Table 5)

(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p. .
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 ● 232 234 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.
(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.
(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

* H. General.

159 433 This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

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CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow."

* 159 234 [311] [246] [435] [464] Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has [451] very little appreciation of his profit. None of his labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written [651] statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax authorities each year.

CASE VII : Wenzu (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

* 159 Like Case VI, Wenzu has been a goat herder and is now
234 anxious to concentrate on dairy cows. At present he holds
4 Friesians, belonging to himself and his sons, but he wants
to import Ayrshires. This cow, says Wenzu, is better suited
to Maltese conditions, needing less feed than the
Friesian and standing up better to long periods of confine-
656 ment in cramped stalls. Wenzu became interested in cows
when the Government forbade the selling of raw goats' milk
in Valletta. For a time thereafter he sold bottled milk
in the capital and then returned to selling raw goats' milk
in still unclosed areas such as nearby Cospicua until that
too came to an end with the evacuation in 1940. After the
War he went back to cows' milk production and sold his out-
654 put to the M.M.U. He acquired the Friesians through an
exchange for inferior quality and diseased goats organized
by the Government (one cow for 13 goats). At present, he
says, cows' milk production is the more profitable ("Six
cows will support a small family") but that this would not
be so were it possible to give goats good grazing land at
low cost. He reckons that good grazing saves 15/- per day
on the fodder bill.

* 159 Wenzu's Case illustrates an important feature of the
829 study of a predominantly illiterate section of society.
This is the prominence of personality in the thoughts and
178 actions of the individual. Unable to read and suspicious
232 of what he may hear over Rediffusion, Wenzu relies on
242 personal contact to a very considerable degree. This is
clear from a brief survey of his life. He speaks nowadays
of a certain Dr. MacFarlane whose veterinary skill and
advice impressed him and who originally recommended him to
keep Ayrshires. To listen to Wenzu talking of this "Scots
Doctor" one gathers that Wenzu last spoke with him quite
recently. In fact, however, Dr. A.M. MacFarlane was
Superintendent Veterinary Surgeon in Malta some half a
century ago! A Mr. Hurst gave him advice on bulls some
25 years ago while, much more recently, Mr. Ebejer Slythe
of the Department of Agriculture gave him much valued infor-
mation on lucerne as a fodder and, latest of all, Dr. Godfrey
Alton, the veterinary expert, has become something of a hero
for the injections he has arranged. Evidently, therefore,
any improvements in Maltese farming have a greater chance
of success if this element of personal contact - particularly
in the cases of illiterate farmers - can be established.
One man who will argue with one farmer for a morning on a
single topic stands a greater chance of general success than
has the big public lecture or even the practical demonstration.

*159 156 [231]

- Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
- Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.
- Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

*159 472 [423] [234]

CASE VIII : Niklaws (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70 tumien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 472 234 433 [232]

The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 407 454 234 [427] [435]

Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

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(iv) Potatoes are grown regularly for the home market in spite of price variations - reported as ranging between 50/- per qantar in 1956 and 8/4 in 1957.

(v) Home grown fodder and forage makes up c.80% of non-concentrate feed. Other crops make members of the partnership self-sufficient in foodstuffs (at a high level of consumption).

(vi) Annual sales of wine-grapes c.40 qantar.

(vii) The response to general variations in yields and prices is to maintain the general pattern of production. The syndicate has enough capital to survive periodic losses and therefore deliberately ignores fluctuations. The only alterations made in a planned cropping sequence result from natural hazards e.g. if a late crop of sulla fails as a result of poor germination, a rapid switch may be made to black vetch.

G. Husbandry. General standards are good.

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(i) Soil maintaining rotations are carefully and consciously practised. Thus leguminous fodders are regarded as essential in arable farming.

(ii) Fertiliser application is heavy:
- Organic manure is applied for the first two years of a four year cycle at a rate of c.60 sacks per tomna.
- Sulphate of Ammonia is applied to all the fields each year at a rate of 15-20 sacks per tomna.
- They do not regard the idea of green manuring with any favour although they use dry vegetable refuse mixed with dung.

(iii) They are very conscious of minor regional differences in soil and climate and regard the parcellated holding of selected land much more important than convenience of working a consolidated holding e.g.
- 'earliness' is associated with coastal situations and "early tomatoes will not come up in Żebbuġ".
- soils are classified as follows:
  - 'ħamrija' (red) is good for all crops
  - 'abjad' (white) for cereals and tomatoes but not for potatoes.
  - 'sowdina' (grey) for sulla and tomatoes.
  - 'tafli' (clay) poor for green crops.
  - 'hirbi', an intermediate soil, easy to work.

The differences between these types and the presence or absence of nodule beds, saline layers etc. are held to be sufficient justification for rental differentiation as between fields and parts of fields.

This articulate consciousness of environmental variations even in this case reinforces conservatism and much more importance is attached to such natural 'controls' than to crop strains.

*159
●232

(iv) Cattle are well housed and fed according to yield. Very vague about balanced feeding and rely on traditional greens, beans, hay and cake. Nevertheless in the spokesman's own words they are aiming at 'better management of the cattle rather than more animals'.

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(v) In some ways, the high standards achieved using traditional techniques are proving a barrier to further technical advances, e.g. the cattle are relatively free from disease and therefore more trust is placed in the expertise of the syndicate than in the 'book-knowledge' of a vet., e.g. whatever experts may say, any crop innovation must be demonstrated successfully and in the immediate locality.

* **H. General.**

159 472 451 (i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndicate is not typical of Maltese farming systems. The partnership seems to derive historically from a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

*159 472 451 181 (ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organisation one may use this case-study as illustrating the practises and modes of thought of the most highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

- Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does no seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.
- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.
- *159 433 181 242 Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these are attained by the careful application of proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.
- *159 181 ●232 242 In spite of the fact that the syndicate's capital reserves and their practical abilities are considerable, the physical environment dominates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these there is a great mental gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

*159 472 464 **CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu** (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.)

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

*159 178 234 Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows' milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

159
178 substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however,
234 show no inclination to stay in farming.

* A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in
159 quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that
232 they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd
829 of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases
234 and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

*
159 In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Ingliżi type
234 As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a
231 larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Ingliżi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

*
159 Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount
234 they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of
433 producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?").
The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount
[246) of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

* Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid
159 increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of
434 Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are
426 operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Ingliżi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 D. Capital.

426 (i) No freehold property.

[423] (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[454] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools

[407] - rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.

- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.

[312] - no piped water until Feb. 1958.

E. Labour.

*159 464
- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 F. Production and Sales.

434 435
- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 G. Husbandry.

231 (i)
- The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- ●[232] Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 H. General.

234 829 The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect [426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 434 234 (i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957 c.£1350. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).
- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').
- About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production. [272]
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

*159 241 (ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
- 'Early' Crop - January to April.

[435] Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 23/4 per qanter for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.
- [433] Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

[433] (iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder production meets c.one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land

(a) On best land typical sequence would be.

Sept. (a) Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per tomna.
Sept.-Dec. (b) Winter crop of potatoes.
Jan. (c) Artifical fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April (d) Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug. (e) Summer fallow.
Sept.-April (f) Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug. (g) Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May (h) Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug. (i) Fallow.
Sept.-April (j) Sulla.

(b) More usual practice (which is not though of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.
- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as żofkfa and ġinġlin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassicas, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds
- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

*159 ●232 (iii) Livestock - Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.
- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

*159 433 451 (i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer. Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own

FALLOW AND ROUGH GRAZING - Gozo (Fig. 94)

As noted above, land classification in Gozo presents special problems. The widespread occurrence of self-seeded sulla, very often heavily weed-infested, and abandoned land still carrying (on the thicker soils) fairly dense herbaceous and gruminaceous vegetation, is not an indication of completely waste land. This intermediate category is a reflection of the lesser intensity of direct pressure on agricultural resources and the greater importance of field grazing in Gozo. 311* 241 [233]

WASTELAND

All areas in which a soil mantle has never been developed or from which it has been wholly or partially removed by erosion, together with land which has obviously not been cultivated for some years, have been classified as waste. Thus, karstland as on the Marfa Ridge, the clay badlands of Ghajn Tuffieha, the abandoned terraces of Wied il-Kbir and the more recently neglected fields of il-Wilġia in Wied tal-Pwales, all fall within this category. Earlier classifications of wasteland in the Islands have attempted to postulate completely unutilised barrenness. This, on the one hand, leads to an underestimate of the extent and rate of abandonment, a feature of crucial importance, and on the other overestimates the absence of value: much wasteland is in fact utilised for *xagħra* grazing. 311* [233]

Figs. 95[1] and 96[2] indicate the magnitude of wasteland in the Maltese Islands. Gradient as such has little effect, parent rock, water supply, accessibility and exposure all being a good deal more important. The Lower Coralline exposures are very largely waste, a result of the slow rate of physico-chemical disintegration of this massive series. The other major wasteland areas are associated with special conditions of aspect and altitude. The fact that they are largely developed on Upper Coralline rocks results not from any parent-rock intractability but from the great height at which the strata of this series generally lie and from shortage of water. As noted in Chapter III, Terra Rossa development can give very productive areas.

In Malta, the inter-relationship of aspect, topography, geology and soils is well exemplified in the northern part of the island. The structural and topographic grain is transverse to winds blowing from directions between north and west. As noted in Chapter II, these winds bring high humidity and low temperatures, during the winter season. Ecological conditions of relative bleakness inhibit vegetal growth and soil formation except in sheltered depressions. The effect on land use has been to bring the 'karst line' down to sea level on the exposed Marfa peninsula, from which it ascends south-eastwards towards the more sheltered interior ridges. The level of cultivation rises progressively higher until, on the Santi-Binġemma plateau, it extends over the whole upland area. Secondary controls are exerted by details of aspect, altitude and spring-line development. Thus Bajda Ridge, of intermediate height and lying in the lee of Mellieha Ridge, forms one of the most continuous belts of wasteland. Structurally an anticline, and too small to contain an appreciable body of water or to allow doline formation, the Bajda Ridge is unlikely ever to allow a more intensive form of land use than that provided by the experiments in afforestation now in progress.

Comino and Cominotto, which are fragments of a shattered Upper Coralline anticline, are almost entirely waste. A few patches of cultivation in sheltered positions are all that remain of a never very extensive tilled area. Remoteness and exposure are sufficient to explain the present condition of these small islands.

Dissection and consequent exposure of the Lower Coralline have been the major processes giving rise to wasteland in Gozo. This is clearly exemplified in the fault-shattered zone of Qawra, id-Dwejra and the Wied Ilma as well as in Wied ix-Xlendi. Along the north coast, steep cliffs fall to a Lower Coralline platform which is reflected in an analogous belt of wasteland, while the barren ta'Ċenċ hills are also developed on rocks of this series. In the north-east, wasteland covers the higher and more exposed *gorgin* areas and scattered stretches of waste occupy much of the steep and tectonically disrupted eastern

[1] [2] [See pp. 230 A&B and 231 -- Analyst)

[Text continues on p. 233]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

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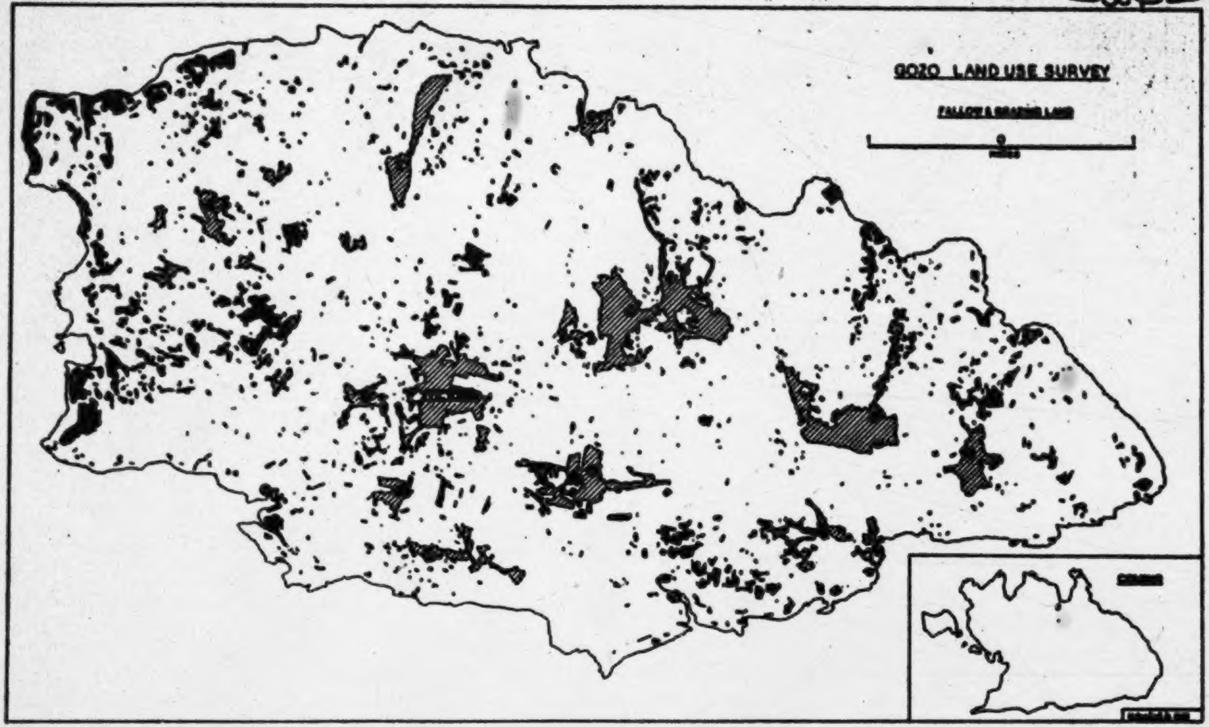
GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
FALLOW & GRAZING LAND
MILES

Fig. 94 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Fallow and Grazing.

[P.235]

Chapter VIII

AGRICULTURAL REGIONS

Individual crop distributions have been considered in the preceding chapter but 241* in order to understand the nature of Maltese agriculture, more complex analyses of spatial differentiation must be made. The method adopted is to identify areas 311* characterised by particular crop assemblages and thus to define agricultural regions.

Over the Islands as a whole may be observed a series of distinct farming landscapes which reflect a graduation in physical and socio-economic conditions. The lowest grade of land use is represented by marginal production of the hardiest fodders and legumes. Vetches and poor barley are cultivated in small pockets of soil lying between expanses of bare karst. The regions in which this [233] pattern is dominant, being primarily used as rough grazing land, are most suitably referred to as *xaghra*. Extensive dry farming covers much of the Islands, varying in quality particularly with variations in exposure, slope and water supply. The poorest type is restricted to low-grade cereals, sulla and the minor fodders and legumes. A medium grade of dry farming, occurring where conditions are more favourable, is characterised by crops of better quality and higher value. Potatoes become prominent and specialised production of certain vegetables such as *qaragh baghli* appears. On well watered but non-irrigated land, the crop assemblage is further enlarged by the addition of vines on an appreciable scale. Vegetables now include both spring- and summer-grown, field and garden types, notably brassicas. Where irrigation is possible, higher-value vegetable crops such as tomatoes, melons and artichokes become widespread, although the potato is dominant. Small-scale cultivation of fruit and table-grapes is also of some importance. Finally, the *gnien* and *rdum* lands, which are distinct although not everywhere the most intensively worked areas, are often characterised by much inter-cultivation and by the varying importance of all the high-value crops. It is here that fruit is most widely grown. These six types of crop assemblage are readily recognisable and provide the basic criteria for regional analysis of the rural landscapes of Malta and of Gozo.

Malta

In Malta, there is a marked correspondence between the physiographic regions as described in Chapter II and the agricultural regions. A major threefold division may be observed in both cases:-

A. The Western Scarplands.
B. The Wied-il Ghasel District.
C. The Hills and Plains of the Centre and East.

A. THE WESTERN SCARPLANDS

The physical characteristics of this major region have been outlined in Chapter I and their effect on the distribution of waste and cultivated land noted in Chapter VII B. The south-west to north-east graining of the land is the predominant physical control, but secondary controls are exerted by details of aspect, altitude, soil and water supply, so that many local deviations from the general pattern of wasteland ridge and cultivated basin may be observed. General points concerning settlements include the tendency for these to develop at the junction of the two types of landscape, though there are important exceptions to this arrangement. The alignment of roads further affects the degree to [491] which particular districts have been developed or neglected. The fact that road

[Text continues on p. 238]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Plate XVII. Roadside grazing of goats.

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Plate XVIII. A farming family.

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592 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited, in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until they can find some paid employment away from the home farm, and

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[461]
[465] (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely to become scarcer and more costly.

241
[461] The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that as already suggested, the particular characcristics of Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

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241 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so has the range of variety increased.

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241 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of each month along with short articles on subjects of interest to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco, would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the
[234] Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since
[233] 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178
241 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial' and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

178 farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

241 It is hoped that some at least of the answer to this problem will come from co-operation and mechanization. The first implies the pooling of labour resources of individual farmers while the latter includes the whole range of developments leading to a replacement of hand labour, as far as possible under Maltese conditions, by machinery or by more efficient implements.

CO-OPERATION

241 476 Co-operation in field work between farmers is not new in Malta[23]. It is either permanent, where two or more farmers combine with each other to work a single farm unit, sharing profits and expenses, or temporary, as when two or more farmers share the use of a threshing machine at harvest.

An example of the permanent type is a case (Case VIII) where five brothers work one farm-unit as a team with one of their number being something of a primus inter pares. This [234] is an efficient and profitable arrangement with a substantial income accruing from the herd of some thirty head and the 70 tmien of land worked by the partnership.

Another case (Case XI) is that of two unrelated farmers working one farm-unit as partners after a lifetime's friendship. So completely are their resources pooled that it is not always clear what belongs to the one and what to the other. With their respective oldest sons (teenagers) these [233] [234] two men operate a holding of some 100 tmien and have in recent years joined in the change-over from goats to cows. Their joint herd now numbers some forty head, but as an economic unit is in a much inferior position to that of the first example.

A third example (Case X) shows two brothers working the fields held by them together but maintaining clear distinctions as to which brother owns which plot. This association has also endured for decades and now includes the full-time assistance of the oldest son of the brother.

An example of a temporary association is that where two or more farmers combine to thresh the grain of each man in turn, six being the optimum number for a threshing team which normally includes the owner-operator of the hired [178] threshing machine himself working as one of the team. In the days when the traditional threshing floor with the mule and hand-winnowing was the standard method of threshing (as before the 1939-45 War) different farmers would also join and help each other at the harvest. (Today this threshing floor method is confined to cases where a long straw is required.)

000 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against

*159 [245]
- Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

●[233] [461] (ii)
- Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii)
- Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.

[231]
- Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

*159 829 241

H. General.

- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159 [434] [234]
- Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.

[511] [454] [241]
- Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.

[511]
- Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

low levels. Earlier improvements probably supplied the basis for change but more important was the fact that, for the first time, the effective Garrison of Malta included the whole population. The new machinery for public information, the desperate need for reducing disease incidence and preventing epidemics, and even food rationing and shortage had cumulatively beneficial effects on the public mind. More than all, it would seem, the military control of the besieged islands with its conscription of many Maltese males and the increased contact of British troops with the people, together with that strange uniting exaltation in face of danger observed in other countries, all shocked Malta into new ways of thought (Fig. 66).

178 722 744

After the war this momentum was maintained during the period of reconstruction. The Malta Memorial District Nursing Association, Child Health Clinics, and U.N.-established ante-natal clinics have now been accepted and their services utilised. In 1959 the infantile mortality rate was 34.7 per 1,000, leaving the memory of the rate of 350 per 1,000 in 1942 far behind.

178 744

This revolutionary change is of particular revelance to this study. Many of its implications need no labouring. The demographic consequences, for instance, are obvious enough, as also the slowness with which traditional ways of life in Malta have changed. For us the most important consequence is that rising generations through a new awareness of causation and consequence, of scientific processes, are becoming vulnerable to new ideas in associated fields. There are no great steps between preventive human medicine, inoculation, livestock injections and an appreciation of plant pathology. One difficulty remains; the rural areas are the least affected by these recent changes and those individuals in the countryside who are mentally injected with new ideas and understanding are, for various reasons, the least likely to remain in agriculture.

[369] [185]

Exemplifying this continuing regional dichotomy, but unity in complexity, is the recent history of milk consumption and production (13). Traditionally in Malta, 'the entire milk supply has been delivered by the goat herself' (14). Sometimes living with their flocks in the *fossa* which surround Valletta, the herdsmen would wander the streets, milking the animals on demand. Bruce and Zammit in 1885 and 1905 showed that the bacillus of Undulant or Malta Fever was freely excreted in goats milk and that the high incidence in Malta of this debilitating, sometimes lethal, disease was a natural consequence of the general albeit low per capita consumption of fresh milk from predominantly diseased goats. After considerable investigation, a milk pasteurising plant was erected and the first pasteurised milk was distributed, Valletta, Floriana and Sliema being declared 'closed areas' within which the sale of raw milk became illegal. During World War II, further extension of this policy was prevented but, since most goats were slaughtered for meat because of fodder shortage and because consumption of tinned milk became normal, the incidence of Malta fever fell to record low levels. Post-war revival in goats' milk production resulted in general re-infection by brucellosis and in 1946 the incidence of undulant fever was the highest ever recorded. During the post-war period public health and welfare policies have encouraged the consumption of milk. Because of the incidence of Malta fever, this has entailed the provision of expensive pasteurising plant, the prevention of the sale of unpasteurised, and the official encouragement of production of cows' rather than goats' milk.

178 234 744 [164] ●

This particular development is examined at greater length in Chapter X but some main points of general import merit consideration here. First, Maltese society has recently been affected by social, dietetic and medical policies which profoundly affect the basis of social life. In general one might say that the Maltese way of life is being made more remote from the simple crudities of parochial experience. Secondly, in the field of health and social welfare, the criterion of scientifically measured need has been adopted as the basis of official policy and the question of availability of resources is regarded as of secondary importance. Thirdly, this increasing social sophistication has only very recently become operative in Maltese life and different scales of value exist in different generations and in different social groups. Lastly, it would be fair to say that, while the urban markets are still only relatively fastidious

178 744 185

[P.317]

Chapter X

THE PRACTICE OF FARMING

We have considered at some length the physical and social environments in which Maltese farming exists, the distribution of crops and of agricultural regions, and examined some of the physical and legal characteristics of the land holdings in which the land is worked. There follows a more systematic statement and a tentative interpretation of farming practice, and studies of the Maltese countryfolk (Plate XVIII). 128

A. Livestock

Livestock in Malta, with the exception of the wandering, wasteland-feeding, herds of sheep and goats, is rarely seen or heard. Cattle, pigs, poultry and rabbits are all kept in stockyards or enclosures, and horses, mules and donkeys, when not working in the fields, are stabled the whole time. Their near invisibility has caused us to omit mention of them in earlier sections. As noted in Chapter VII, the Maltese farmer, faced with land shortage as a result of the high population density, has chosen to cultivate stall-fed fodders as short-rotation crops rather than to grow pastures or perennial forages. It is difficult to believe that he has not made the correct choice if the criterion adopted is that of intensive and continual use of difficult land resources and the minimising of waste. 231 [246] 231

Numerically, goats are by far the most important (Plate XVII)[2]. During the past century, they increased tenfold in number, a fact which marks the amazingly rapid increase in milk consumption, but in the last decade the trend has been reversed. The indigenous breeds, highly regarded in the Mediterranean up to the close of the eighteenth century, have now almost entirely been replaced by crosses with introduced British Saanen types. These crosses, in which Saanen blood remains dominant to the third or fourth generation, are hardy and prolific milkers, considering the quality of feed. Goats have remained important not only because they still supply about 40 per cent. of returned milk sales (and a large amount produced domestically and sold illegally), but also because, together with sheep, they utilise the great extent of wasteland as natural pasture. Some feeding on field grown forages is practised - during the survey such feeding was observed at Marnisi on broad beans and at Wied Babu on sulla, for example - but this is rare. 234 311 [232] [246]

Land unusable for cultivation, and which makes up over 30 per cent. of the total area, provides the basic forage ration. Breeders and kids are given supplementary feeds of beans and hay crops. Although, therefore, goats are theoretically poor converters of fodder into milk, they cannot be displaced by milch cows without at once offending the tastes of most Maltese for goats' milk and cheese, and making the uncultivable land almost totally unproductive. Sheep, somewhat less numerous than pigs, and by far less valuable, occupy the same ecological niche as do goats. Used domestically in many areas for milking, and by far the cheapest meat animals, these predominantly hairy rather than woolled sheep, of a strong German strain, are one of the 'crops' of the barren lands. In the absence of statistics of fodder consumption, the only evidence available is that obtained in interview. It would certainly seem that sheep and goats use much uncultivated land in their demand for feed, and are almost the only media for obtaining any yield at all from one-third of the land of Malta and Gozo. (See also Chapter X C.)

Pigs, numerically the most important meat animals, are almost all of recently introduced breeds, the English Large White in particular. Berkshire, Wessex Saddleback and Middle White have been tried, but the Large White Yorkshire, even when bred for lean meat to an average weight of 150 lb., has 231 232

[2] [See page 256 --Analyst]

231 proved its superior adaptability. An interesting point is that, before 1914, Serbia
and Croatia exported to Malta large numbers of pigs for fattening, while Yugo-
232 slavia is today importing Large Whites as breeders from this country. It is now
[439] illegal to use other than pedigree boars for breeding, and the success of the
Agricultural Department and the relative enthusiasm of the Maltese farmer in
raising pig production standards have made Malta self-sufficient in this respect
at least. Local grain and imported beans form the basis of feeding stuffs given
by the best farmers. Animal slaughterings now average about 30,000 head per
annum.

23 Of the total cattle population of some 6,000 in Malta and 3,000 in Gozo, nearly
30 per cent. are milch cows. This proportion has increased steadily since the
first introduction of milch cows in the early years of British occupation. Before
1800, the indigenous Maltese breed, raised as general purpose stock in normal
[199] peasant tradition, alone was of importance. During the nineteenth century,
specialised breeds were slowly introduced, a process which culminated in trials
with Swiss Brown, Polish and Jersey cattle during the 1920's and '30's. By 1939,
the cattle were mainly of mixed blood with the older strains predominating, and
those still found are rapidly being displaced because of their low milk yields
of some 1 to 1¼ gallons a day. The only surviving registered Maltese bull is to
be seen on a farm at Binġemma Gap. In the post-war period, imported Ayrshires,
British Friesians and Durham Shorthorns have proved very successful and
popular. The Friesian strains in particular are very effective for crossing,
important in that most country herds are still of mixed blood. A typical compo-
sition was noted in a stockyard on Delimara Peninsula - 13 milk cows and three
heifers consisting of pure polled Maltese, Friesians, Friesian/Maltese crosses,
Ayrshire/Maltese crosses, together with seven Friesian and crossed Friesian
[439] calves. Store cattle, of which over 3,000 are annually imported for fattening,
are of various breeds, and come in the main from within the Mediterranean
region.

231 This cattle population, which supplies half of the total production of milk in
Malta, and approximately two-thirds in Gozo, as well as over 75 per cent. of
234 the beef consumed, is a very special element in Maltese agriculture. The
imported store cattle have but to be fattened for slaughtering. Trustworthy
statistics are lacking, but it would seem that over one-half of the imported
fodder is consumed for this purpose.

The milch cows are given a maintenance ration of sulla and other leguminous fodders, and a production ration of imported beans, grains and cake. Carob beans and chopped prickly pear are sometimes used, and *oxalis cernua* may also be fed in moderation.

231 This large demand for fodders has so far been met by maintaining at high
level the production of leguminous and grain crops. Only in recent years has it
234 become economic to add high protein feeds. For social and health reasons the
human consumption of high protein foods, milk in particular, has been
246 encouraged. It has therefore often been suggested that further concentration on
production of forage crops is necessary.

It is probable that such a policy would be both uneconomic and impracticable. In the first place, as long as it requires an average of 6 lb. weight of fodder protein to produce 1 lb. weight of animal food protein, then any country with restricted land resources has to look twice at the wastage involved. Such a country, having to import either animal products or vegetable products, or even both as in the case of Malta, has little to gain by specialising in a production technique in which over three-quarters of the crops grown and imported for feed merely go to maintaining livestock in existence. Thirdly, since that land now grazed by sheep and goats is virtually unusable in any other way, they cannot be simply replaced by cattle. More cattle would mean less arable farming of food crops and this would entail either the loss of potential vegetable exports from irrigated land or, more feasibly, the improvement of arable dry-farmed crops, e.g. sorghums in place of barley.

The impracticability of a policy designed vastly to increase forage production may be proved as follows. The growing of perennial fodder crops is out of the

question unless a complete agricultural revolution committed Maltese farming 231
to thorough-going dairy farming specialisation. Such specialisation, given the
climatic and physiological difficulties, would not be easy to justify. A very con- 234
siderable seasonal glut of milk exists between May and August at present, and 246
the Milk Marketing Undertaking cannot handle the flush. This degree of fluctuation could be lessened but not removed. Costs of production are such that not only would exports be uneconomic but imported tinned milk can and could considerably undercut home production. Local consumption of fresh cows' milk could not be expanded much more than 10 to 15 per cent. above the present level which is already the highest in the Mediterranean, as long as tinned milk is more easily preserved, and as long as the rural community keeps goats and sheep. The banning of milk imports and of the production of goat milk would hardly be in the consumer's economic or dietetic interests.

Horses, mules and donkeys, some 6,500 in number, are still very important 492
as work animals. For farm transport, they can only be replaced by the internal
combustion engine purchasable only by the more prosperous cultivators. Produce 407
collection by merchants' lorries is increasing as also is the use of hired tractors for cultivation. The numbers of these animals is unlikely to decrease quickly outside the urban areas because of their usefulness in tilling difficult land.

Of the remaining small livestock, rabbits and poultry already make a very 231
large although immeasurable contribution to food supplies. Improvements in
quality could be obtained if farmers' interest was aroused. At present, mixed 235
breeds of poor poultry are commercially uneconomic.

In conclusion, we must return to the vexed question of dairy-farming and 234
milk production in Malta. In 1950, the Director of Agriculture (1) put the
question: 'Under prevailing conditions in Malta and Gozo, which is the more 654
profitable animal to keep? The cow or the goat?', and followed with the statement: '... no accurate answer backed by accurate scientific data has ever been given'. The same impasse had often been noted before, for example by Dawson Shepherd (2), and Stockdale (3). An unpublished report on Maltese Agriculture by a visiting F.A.O. commission (4) similarly found itself at sea in the absence of any firm information. In 1956, the complexity as well as the obscurity of the situation was manifested in a Report on the Dairy Industry by G. W. Ford (5). In this study, reference is made to the different conclusions reached by independent observers, and to intermediate suggestions made by Marshall (6), one of whose remarks: 'I simply cannot visualise hygienic milk production by the peasant farmer in Malta', our observations would endorse.

Milk-production in Malta is no longer a matter of economics but, as in many countries, is affected by social and dietetic policies. Brief mention was made in Chapter VI C of the problem of the incidence of undulant fever and its association with milk infected by *Brucellosis Melitensis*. Some 20 per cent. of Maltese goats are thus infected, and any dietetic campaign to encourage the drinking of milk, particularly important in child welfare, must take account of this. Few cows are thus far infected and elimination is easier. The problem that emerges is therefore both economic and social in character. It is felt by some that reliance on imported tinned milk is one solution but by others such a suggestion is regarded as humiliating. Another possible line of action is to replace goats with milch cows, and in 1956 a system by which herdsmen were offered one Dutch Friesian heifer in calf for 12 diseased goats actually came into operation. The third possibility is to accept the position as it exists at the moment, or slightly to modify it, and centralise milk distribution thus enabling pasteurisation. This too has been done. Even now however, the cost of tinned milk imports, the cost of producing cows' milk, the surplus of goats' milk, all these as well as the land use point mentioned earlier, still remain to be dealt with. As we shall see, the market for milk called into being as a social measure is now the mainstay of many farmers of all grades. The development of the centralised agency, the Milk Marketing Undertaking has been accompanied by a guaranteed price system. Some 80 per cent. of all milk producers have, as a result of this organising of wholesale purchases, formed their own union the K.M.H. - '*Kumpanija Maltija*

234 654 *ial-Halib'*. These bodies have introduced some constant elements into an otherwise chaotic situation but this has also implied a certain rigidity. Sonce the costs of milk production are not accurately known and the costs to the National Economy are ignored one now has an artificial market with artificial prices which must be maintained to prevent economic disaster on the farms. (For such information on production and marketing as is available, the reader is further referred to Chapters X D and X E.)

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113
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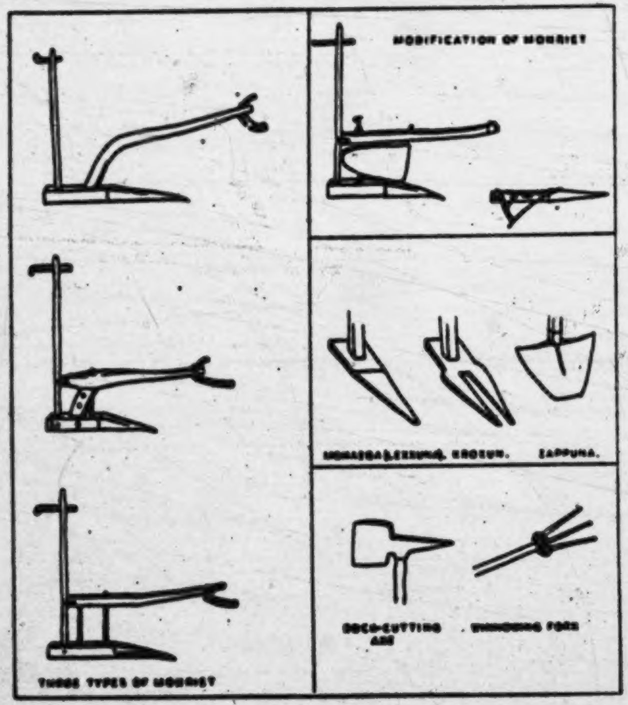

Fig. 140 Cultivation Equipment.

241 441 435 *pitkali* system is that the middlemen charged commission for negotiating sales but took no stock risks. Thus, when wholesalers and retailers had satisfied their requirements, playing for safety themselves, the *pitkali* merely informed some unfortunate producers that their product could not be sold. The prices attained for that which could be sold varied with the skill of the *pitkali*. Since many Maltese farmers need forward credit for various purposes, it was perfectly natural that the *pitkal* became not only a middleman but a supplier of credit and therefore to some extent a controller of production. The whole of this system resulted from two simple facts. First, the quantities of individual items that most farmers could daily offer for sale were so small as to make some concentrating agency a logical development. Secondly, the social legacy of dichotomy between town and country meant that the farmer was most often incapable of dealing directly with his market. Questions of literacy, language and social status still often put the farmer in a position of inferiority. The *pitkali* bridged that gap. In so doing they have sometimes exploited the farmers' ignorance. Many and vivid are the stories heard of their dishonesty; one such, told by several farmers, concerned the spring export crop of potatoes in 1955. They had been told by middlemen that the U.K. market had been depressed by competition from France and Spain and that therefore the prices offered would have to be low. In fact, shippers declared that the poor quality of the 1954 crops had discouraged some buyers but that the f.o.b. prices were still very much higher than reported by the middlemen. Most *pitkali* are no doubt honest but many farmers bypass them where possible and most others have suspicions - mostly born of their own ignorance.

During World War II, control of all agricultural produce had to be established and, since this time, the financial side of such transactions has been controlled by Government clerks at established *pitkali* markets although the middlemen still handle the actual sales. The intrusion of Governmental financial control has not removed suspicion although it has removed part of the cause of it at the cost of a higher commission charged to the producer. The annual cost of this protection and the controls mentioned below to individual farmers and to small co-operatives is almost £23,000 (5).

Another development has further confused the situation. Stemming from wartime controls, policies aimed at controlling prices for the benefit of the consumer have replaced the old attitude of *caveat emptor*. Various methods have been adopted but they are all based on regulating maximum retail prices, directly and by fixing maximum profit margins and percentages of profit. As noted by many observers, and effectively by an Adviser on Marketing (6), such controls cannot be strictly enforced and it is impossible to make them sufficiently flexible to encourage the production virtues of improved quality and evenness of supply in time. It must suffice here to say that the marketing side of commercial agriculture is not in a satisfactory state, being as it is costly, wasteful and very beneficial neither to consumer nor to producer judging by a great number of local statements.

234 435 441 [467] The local market for livestock products is very different. All milk (7) legally sold is bought by the Milk Marketing Undertaking which in practice accepts any quantity of milk delivered to the collecting depots dispersed through the Islands. There is a tendency to restrict goats' milk acceptances during the summer period of glut by relating summer and winter ratios. Many producers still have written contracts but more important than individual arrangements is the negotiating power of the K.M.H. (the union of milk producers already cited) which incorporates about half of the 600 or so registered producers in the island of Malta. The fixed and scheduled prices paid to producers bear no real relation to production costs since these are not known but rather result from M.M.U.-K.M.H. negotiations and political and welfare decisions by the Government. The M.M.U. takes full risk over wastage and excess production of liquid milk and processed milk products, but is partly able to offset losses by trading profits on imports of dried, evaporated and condensed milk which sales it handles. The M.M.U. now distributes all legally sold liquid milk, as well as its own milk products, and retail prices are fixed by announcement. In 1955-56 the result

was that gross financial loss totalled £124,000 representing an equivalent 234
subsidy to consumers of M.M.U. products, while, if profits on imports were 435
subtracted the figure would rise to over £200,000. The commercial aspect of
milk marketing is thus completely artificial and dominated by welfare policies. 441
Price policy, even so, has not been powerful enough to even out the immense
seasonal fluctuation in production of goats' milk, roughly half the total, and the
smaller but still considerable fluctuation of cows' milk.

Meat production is rather more crude. The Government abattoir slaughters 253
all the horned cattle, most of the swine and a considerable proportion of sheep
and goats. The commercial transaction between producer and butcher is usually 231
direct. Here once more the small scale and the unspecialised nature of meat 441
production controls all else. The 1956 Census of Agriculture recorded only nine
specialist cattle breeders and 94 breeders of swine as compared with over 700
engaged in sheep and goat breeding (in roughly equal numbers). Licensed
importers bring in the store cattle which are then usually sold to non-specialist
farmers. Feeding standards are as low as with milch cows. There is little
incentive to improvement because of the low standard set by the widespread
practice of milk producers selling old and diseased stock for butchering. Pig
meat and store-bull meat do command a premium but, while some 15,320 horned
cattle were slaughtered in 1957-58, the average import rate of stores is only
some 3,000. In the same year, 5,000 sheep (of the indigenous poor breeds) and
8,400 goats (mainly those useless for milk production) as well as 7,800 lambs
and kids, were slaughtered. The commercial side of meat and, for that matter,
hides and skin production, like that of milk, can only be improved as and when
the arable sector of agriculture is further developed.

Lastly, we must refer to exports. For some years, the most important 241
exported agricultural product has been the spring crop of potatoes. Some general
points concerning the production and sale of potatoes have already been made 439
(Chapter VII, pp. 205-206), but one or two points need expansion here. The
main market for pseudo-early potatoes grown in the Mediterranean (harvested 441
in April and May), lies in North-West Europe. During the earlier part of this
century, Holland, Belgium and Germany were the most important buyers but,
of recent years, the Arran Banner variety, which yields well as a pseudo-early
in Malta, has only found favour in Glasgow. By 1955 this dependence on a single
main market was appearing dangerous and since that time, as noted by Haesler
in 1957 (8), more heed has been taken of consumer demand for other earlier
varieties, yellow rather than white fleshed, such as the Eigenhemer. On the
marketing side, some important problems remain. The virtual absence of good
civilian port facilities and the dependence on lighterage puts up freight costs
and discourages shippers. The middlemen and wholesale handling of produce
for export is not above reproach while the only worthwhile markets expect good
and consistent quality of graded merchandise. Here the deficiencies of even the
most commercially sophisticated part of the community can partly negate
improved efforts on the part of the producer. Standards set by the home market
tend to affect the services rendered to foreign markets and before the latter
can be expanded, the former will have to be improved. There is one sector in
which a separate break-through has begun. Air freightage of high value for bulk
merchandise (which does not include potatoes) can make distant markets [509]
accessible to medium-scale individual producers. Thus flowers, plants and seeds
are to some small extent being traded by a few growers sufficiently skilled to
bypass the mercantile system. This cannot be done by all but it might encourage
emulation.

The whole of the marketing organisation is of course organically associated 241
with production and the commercial aspects of production need consideration.

One of the first points that strikes an observer in the Islands is that the 433
production of the different commodities is altogether too concentrated in time. 435
In the case of milk, a traditional organic cycle imposed by crude goat husbandry
imposes great financial strains on the centralised agencies. With crops it would [234]
seem that traditional fear of risk-taking, rational enough in a peasant economy
but antithetical to the whole nature of commercialism, is now hampering

Such dry land farmers need about 20 *imien* or more of cultivable land in order to make a reasonable living by rural standards. They and their families are necessarily expert in traditional ways of cultivating a considerably range of crops. Most of them rely on home raised seed except for spring potatoes and very few of them need very much liquid capital. Under normal conditions there is no debt problem. Production of individual items is generally small and, unless they have direct connections with wholesalers and retailers in nearby towns, they rely very much on the collection and sale of produce through middlemen. Their expertise is largely a matter of hard won experience of handling particular soils and crops and very limited in other ways. 241

4. THE SPECIALISED CROP PRODUCER

Lastly, there is the small group of highly specialised arable farmers. These are mainly producers of flowers or seeds and, at their highest stage of development, sell their high-value produce abroad. In practically all cases the only thing that distinguishes them from their neighbours is knowledge and initiative. The next example shows the type of indigenous development that is fairly easily attained. Here, and in the next stage of export marketing, lies one of the hopes for Malta's economic future and stability for Maltese agriculture. 247

H - This farmer and one adult son have 20 *imien* of land in Region C XVII. Seventeen *imien* are farmed under a relatively extensive cereal, sulla, catch-crop system, the remaining 3 *imien* (Fig. 142) intensively cultivated under flowers - 'More profitable than normal Maltese agriculture'. A rotational sequence is practised of flowers, vegetables and a 'resting crop' of wheat or sulla. Vines are grown on wallsides. This farmer occasionally hires contract ploughing but normally hand-hoes 12 to 18 inches deep *Terra* soils and regularly and heavily applies sulphate of ammonia as well as green manure. Flower seed is imported annually from the U.K. and Holland, since Maltese strains are poor and diseased, and imported strains rapidly degenerate. Produce is sold directly in the relatively wealthy suburb of Sliema. A characteristic range of flowers together with some nine different vegetables at Easter would be:-

Alliums
Anemones
Bluebells
Broom
Carnations
Dahlias
Freesias
Gladioli
Gypsophila
Larkspur
Love-in-a-mist
Marguerites
Marigolds
Narcissi
Roses
Iris
Tulips
Violets

5. MILK PRODUCERS

Another main group of farmers consists of milk producers. Differentiation between them is considerable depending as it does on the scale of production, the efficiency of production and on whether cows or goats are kept. At the lowest end of the scale come the virtually landless small-scale producers of goats' milk. These are the last survivors of a traditionally important class of urban herders who, before the control and pasteurisation of milk, delivered milk 'on the hoof' in towns and villages. Typical is case-study:- 234

I - This producer rents 2 *imien* of land in Hamrun, half of which is used for domestically consumed garden produce. The remainder gives some exercise space and grazing for a herd of goats varying between 50 and 30 in number. This herd, which includes some 25 milkers, is over-fed on purchased fodder, and gives an average daily milk production ranging from a winter minimum of c. 30 lb. per day to c. 70 lb. per day in summer. Individual yields are low in quantity and quality and the farmer and his eight surviving children only survive in debt-ridden existence because of the M.M.U's guaranteed prices. He has no capital or equipment and the family's food consumption comes half from the garden plot and is further supplemented by food gifts from C.A.R.E. (an American welfare organisation). There is no real future for this type of livestock farmer.

Higher in the scale come the goats' milk producers who are able to rely on fodder from their own lands. One such, in Gozo, Region I, The West, may be summarised thus:-

234 [427] [434] *J* - With a holding of over 42 *tmien* in 26 plots, half of which is rough grazing, and with 2 *tmien* permanently under potatoes, this farmer is able to supply most of the fodder requirements of his 46 goats and kids, and 100 head of poultry as well as a few cows, sheep and horses. This land costs some £23 in rent. This farmer obtains a gross profit (receipts minus fodder costs) of some 14s. a day from sales of milk. At this level he, like many of his type, is aware of the crude economics of the situation and of the need for relating feed to livestock needs. Even so, readiness to experiment is confined to those sectors in which the farmer is able to base production on traditional knowledge and his own and family's uncosted labour. In Gozo, remoteness from the main milk market in the Maltese conurbation strengthens the general herdsmen's reluctance to use relatively novel milch cows.

Farmers who are mainly producers of cows' milk are, *ipso facto*, economically more sophisticated than goat herdsmen. Even so, the range is considerable, particularly great since most of these 'dairy farmers' also rely on arable farming to a varying extent. Thus case-study:-

K - is of a working partnership of two friends who keep some 40 cattle in Regions C XX b, Luqa-Zejtun and C XX e, Delimara. Untypically, they hold some 100 *tmien* of land, much of which is wasteland grazing on Defence Department land. The complexity and obscurity of their claims to much of the land reflects the rather unorganised pattern of production. Since they have land, they grow the standard cash-crop - potatoes - and vegetable crops for domestic consumption. About two-thirds of the cultivated area is given over to fodder crops - wheat, barley and sulla. This, together with a truck-load of prickly pear each day and cake and beans fed to capacity, suffices for the cows. The cultivators' answer when questioned on production costs is *'Min jaf?'* - 'who knows?', and they are not at all convinced of the need for balanced feeding. Cows are served altogether at the season which would be suitable for goats so that production varies seasonally with a spring and early summer maximum of c. 50 gallons daily and a midwinter negligible minimum. This of course is in inverse relation to the Mediterranean plant growing season and, as noted earlier, accentuates the seasonal fluctuation normal with goats' milk. Significantly, the families drink goats' milk in preference to cows' although some of the former is sold. Such farmers, although operating on a fairly large scale, are almost perpetually in debt and rarely have much capital.

By contrast one may find the type of producer already referred to on p. 329, case-study:-

[434] *L* - This farmer, although with relatively few cattle, is an efficient and highly developed type by Maltese standards. The half of his cultivated land devoted to fodder crops supplies half of the fodder requirements of the 13 stall-fed cattle. The remainder, including beans and cakes, costs him some £1,000 per annum. Receipts from milk sales come to c. £1,350 per annum. This farmer, becoming interested in the possibilities of cattle-breeding, puts most of his not inconsiderable capital directly into the livestock. Arable crops, particularly potatoes and onions, bring in good gross returns but, as with fodder production, are becoming increasingly regarded as uneconomic. This in spite of the fact that the only financial records kept relate to milk sales, fodder purchases, land transactions and buildings. With farmers such as this, one finds an irrational blend of conservatism and a readiness to try new ideas such as artificial insemination and balanced feeding.

234 241

6. MIXED FARMERS

Lastly there are the mixed farmers, which in Malta and Gozo usually means farmers who for one reason or another have neither become very reliant on the 'milk-cheque' nor are able to grow irrigated or specialised crops. These farmers, usually middle-aged, have little capital, a modicum of enterprise and reasonable dry-land but the lack of agricultural interest shown by their sons discourages much development. They tend to be opportunist in outlook and fairly

efficient as judged by yields. This is the group mainly responsible for the fairly steady progress made during the last 30 years but their productivity is neither high enough for modern needs nor attractive enough to ensure family succession on the land. A typical example is a composite case-study:- 234 241

M - In Region C XVII, the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills, lies a holding of 40 *tmien* (Fig. 143). Two wells supply water except in high summer. The 60-year-old farmer and his wife live in a relatively new farmhouse, an older dwelling with byres now being used to house six Friesian cows, seven goats, a horse and a mule. The grown-up children have either emigrated or work in *'il-Belt'* and have no interest in the land. The farmer built up his herd in the period after World War II and would like to increase its size but realises that he could not handle any more stock. About 5 *tmien* of land is usually under potatoes, small plots carry vegetables for home use, and the remainder grows fodder. This allocation results partly from the swing towards milk production but also from the high cost of hired labour to work the land. Husbandry is fairly good but the farmer confesses his technical ignorance and has no younger generation on the farm to encourage him. He keeps no accounts since 'this is the way he lives'.

Many other examples of sub-types of Maltese farmer could be given, ranging from the highly organised syndicate of five brothers which practises successful mixed farming in Region C XVIII d, Siġġiewi but which, almost as a result, is highly resistant to change; to the fruit and vegetable farmers of Wied San Blas in Gozo (Region III, Northern). Those given represent a fairly comprehensive cross-section of the producers who, within their limitations, make a fairly efficient use of land resources. Unfortunately this is not enough. All but a very few are commercially limited to an appreciation of the local not very exacting markets. In no case have we found any appreciation of costing by profit but only a more or less vague knowledge of gross returns. Everywhere there is suspicion, not vicious or pathological but quietly ingrained. It is assumed that the only way to ensure fair purchase prices is personally to deliver the produce - even to the M.M.U. It is equally natural to be suspicious of bureaucracy - a not abnormal rural phenomenon - and also of the practical knowledge if not the learning of advisers. A great many farmers are also conscious of a helplessness, of being left behind by the cunning of the city. This too is a not abnormal country attitude but, seen in the context of the whole social nexus, it is dangerous. 241 829

Note: For a fuller consideration of some case-studies see P. K. Mitchell: 'Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta', Part II, 'The Maltese Farm'. Report to C.E.R.C., Durham, 1959, and B. W. Beeley: 'The Farmer and Rural Society in Malta'. Report to C.E.R.C., Durham, 1960. 113

241 592 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited, in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until they can find some paid employment away from the home farm, and

241 464 [461] [465] (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely to become scarcer and more costly.

241 [461] The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that as already suggested, the particular characeristics of Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 241 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so has the range of variety increased.

175 178 221 241 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of each month along with short articles on subjects of interest to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco, would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the
[234] Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since
[233] 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178 241 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial' and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

178
241 modern calendar of events is considered.

As random sample illustrations three farmers' accounts of their own work during 1957-58 are analyzed[22]. At least they reveal something of the variety that now exists between one farmer and the next.

241 (1) A full-time field worker (Case X) usually working
461 with his brother and a nephew and having some irrigable land.
221 An analysis of the routine of this man is given (Case X; E, v. Work Analysis) and, from the same material, Mitchell has made a detailed study of time/labour utilization (B/525). A summary of this, which is on the basis of the ten hours per day worked by each of the three men over the year 1957-8, is also included in Case X.

(2) The second example relates to an arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce (Case XI; E, v. Work
[592] Analysis). This man is helped in the fields by his wife and family. The analysis illustrates the main features of this 'irrigated' farmer's year (although in the year studied there was an exceptional loss of time in the Autumn due to storm damage) and should be compared with (1) above. Irrigation accounts for about a quarter of the months May-July but occupies a mere two afternoons in the period November-February. Cutting and reaping accounts for even more time in July than does irrigation: by October plowing is the largest single item apart from "No work (storms)". In November, planting and sowing account for slightly more time than "collecting greenery" and is by far the main work of December (potatoes). General cultivation work occupies much of the next two months but pruning and grafting of vines is the biggest single item of February. The parallel between this and (1) is clear, apart from the special emphasis, on fruit - largely apples - in the former case.

234 (3) A Goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping
221 (Case II; E, v. Work Analysis) provides the third
461 sample study. In 1957 - 58 this herdsman spent all but thirty afternoons "grazing the goats" - on only one Sunday or 'festa' day did he not go out with his animals. This illustrates an important feature. While Sundays and Holy Days are normally kept free of field-work, work with animals has to be allowed. The herdsman is consequently much more tied to his farm than is the predominantly arable farmer. He has a set daily schedule of feeding and milking the animals and cleaning out their stalls, etc., and can expect to have to adhere to this especially if he is working alone or with very little help. In fact the herdsman spends a considerable amount of his working year on

234 (i) the grazing mentioned,
221 (ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
461 (iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting milk receipts from the M.M.U., cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of every working day.

221 241 178 181 [731] The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of late 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of these he is better acquainted.

241 461 178 181 This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate or recently-illiterate farming folk and is given further consideration (Section 4). Suffice it at this stage to emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no

000 as a means of escape (Section 1).

512 The nature of the farmer's daily timetable depends on
241 (a) the type of farm-unit involved,
•234 (b) the labour force available,
(c) location,
(d) season.

The farmer's day begins, on average, between 4 a.m. and 4.30 a.m. Extremes are found in the case of herdsmen who often rise much earlier - at 2.30 a.m. in the case of the Gozitan with a large herd of cows and only a limited milking labour force, or after 5a.m. or 5.30 a.m. for a herdsman whose farm is close to an M.M.U. collection depôt. The M.M.U. require herdsmen to deliver their milk at such a depôt for transportation to the pasteurizing centre at Hamrun or, in Gozo (after 1958), to the new milk centre at Xewkija. Before this latter addition to the milk industry, which is expected to cope with all the Gozo-produced milk in both pasteurizing and other processes, it was possible for a herdsman (Case I) in north-western Gozo to have to rise as early as 12.30 a.m. Generally, in the summer, reveille for the field worker might be an hour or so earlier than in winter so that he and, even more, the herdsman might expect to begin most of his working days in darkness.

[991] The first event of the day for many country people is Mass. Some are regular attenders at one of the services between 4 and 6 a.m. Others, living further from a Church or having very heavy commitments of work, are less so. Field workers frequently take the Mass on their way to the work of the day (Case X).

[264] Breakfast is invariably a very light meal of little more than bread and tea or coffee. It is taken sometime between reveille and about 9 a.m. and does not constitute a major halt in the work of the farm. Milk producers in most cases do not breakfast until the animals are milked or even until they return with their carts from taking the churns to the M.M.U. collection depôt in the nearest village.

[264] [461] The main meal of the day is lunch, taken somewhere between 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. and followed by a siesta of up to three hours. The herdsman's siesta is less flexible than that of the farmer for a 1 p.m. afternoon milking limits the time available. The milking over, the goat-herder takes his animals out to graze on a suitable patch of waste ground or stubble until 5 or 6 pm. - or later in the summer (Case II). The milk is taken to the collection depôt with minimum loss of time especially in hot weather. In the case of the herdsman with cows there is clearly no question of grazing these animals (Case VI), except in one case (Case IX).

000 except in one case (Case IX).

241 The evening meal is generally smaller than the lunch
234 although consisting of much the same elements - a thick stew
512 ('brodu' or 'minestra'), along with bread, cheese, fruit,
264 olives, tomatoes, etc. The consumption of meat and fish is
[262] in part governed by religion and in part by price and availability, though meat certainly figures much more prominently in the rural diet than formerly. The meal is taken soon after the return from the fields, about 6.30 p.m. and is followed, an hour or so later by the saying of a family Rosary before retiring for the night about 8.0 p.m. In Gozo there is a tendency for people to rise, eat, work and retire to bed rather earlier than in the larger Island and the smaller villages are usually dark and quiet by 7 p.m.

241 Apart, therefore, from external factors, such as M.M.U.
234 collection or Church service timings, the daily timetable of
512 the farmer and the herdsman depends to a large degree on his own volition. He knows what work is outstanding and can decide how and when he will do it within the limits imposed by the season, demands of animals, and so on. Thus, at a peak period of field-work, such as harvest, the farmer and his assistants may work on until the late evening - even through the night. During exceptionally heavy rains, as in October 1957, work on anything approaching the normal scale is, on the other hand, impossible and the farmer's day becomes one of doing what he can and complaining copiously meanwhile.

241 Miége (B/516, p.236), writing in 1840, was impressed by
512 the regular and assiduous labour of the Maltese farmer, even
461 during the heat of the summer sun. "Il semble impossible, au premier abord, que le paysan maltais puisse résister aux chaleurs intenses de l'été. Cependant, au milieu des champs, dès le lever du soleil, on le voit, exposé a ses brûlants rayons, continuer tout le jour ses pénibles travaux. Il fait deux pauses: la première a huit heures; il se repose alors une demi-heure pour déjeuner; la seconde à onze heures; c'est l'instant de son dîner frugal, après lequel il se repose de nouveau jusqu'à midi en hiver, et jusqu'à une heure en été, tantôt à l'ombre d'un figuier, tantôt au pied du petit mur qui entoure le champ, la tête couverte d'un bonnet de laine, et le reste du corps exposé au feux du jour. Il reprend ensuite ses travaux avec la même vigueur, et ne se retire qu'au signal donné par la cloche de son village, c'est à dire au coucher du soleil".

572 The essentials of the daily round of the farmer have
241 changed little since Miège wrote except in so far as the
234 tremendous increase in the importance of stock-rearing and
178

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
[234] to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
577 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

178 farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.
241 It is hoped that some at least of the answer to this
problem will come from co-operation and mechanization. The
first implies the pooling of labour resources of individual
farmers while the latter includes the whole range of
developments leading to a replacement of hand labour, as far
as possible under Maltese conditions, by machinery or by
more efficient implements.

CO-OPERATION

241 Co-operation in field work between farmers is not new
476 in Malta[23]. It is either permanent, where two or more
farmers combine with each other to work a single farm unit,
sharing profits and expenses, or temporary, as when two or
more farmers share the use of a threshing machine at harvest.

An example of the permanent type is a case (Case VIII)
where five brothers work one farm-unit as a team with one of
their number being something of a primus inter pares. This
[234] is an efficient and profitable arrangement with a substantial
income accruing from the herd of some thirty head and the 70
tmien of land worked by the partnership.

Another case (Case XI) is that of two unrelated farmers
working one farm-unit as partners after a lifetime's friendship. So completely are their resources pooled that it is
not always clear what belongs to the one and what to the
other. With their respective oldest sons (teenagers) these
[233] two men operate a holding of some 100 tmien and have in
[234] recent years joined in the change-over from goats to cows.
Their joint herd now numbers some forty head, but as an
economic unit is in a much inferior position to that of the
first example.

A third example (Case X) shows two brothers working the
fields held by them together but maintaining clear distinctions
as to which brother owns which plot. This association has
also endured for decades and now includes the full-time
assistance of the oldest son of the brother.

An example of a temporary association is that where
two or more farmers combine to thresh the grain of each man
in turn, six being the optimum number for a threshing team
which normally includes the owner-operator of the hired
[178] threshing machine himself working as one of the team. In
the days when the traditional threshing floor with the mule
and hand-winnowing was the standard method of threshing
(as before the 1939-45 War) different farmers would also
join and help each other at the harvest. (Today this
threshing floor method is confined to cases where a long
straw is required.)

000 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against

407 with the setting up of co-operatives which would make
474 available to the farmer the services of a heavy tractor and
deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very
small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire the smaller
type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he
does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY and GUARANTEE

435 During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered
241 farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for
654 produce handed in to the collection centres in each district.
Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never
known before and were able to build up often considerable
financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

434 Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite
435 different conditions of competition from abroad, demands
a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and
241 milk production. He insists that responsibility for this
654 subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on
"Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his
produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign
goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys
his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and
marketing and gives him a substantial return.

654 The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties
which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus
confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the
consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible
foodstuffs (which would often mean imported goods rather
than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer
by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at
least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended
to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities
(bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows everyone
in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume
at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at
liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included four main types of help to agriculture.

234 (a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen
654 for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U.
This varies slightly with season and there is a difference
of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The
average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts
to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells

234
654 pasteurized milk at about this same price to the general public, regardless of the administrative, collection and pasteurization costs involved and the losses on surplus milk wasted. The subsequent deficit is born by the Government exchequer and may therefore be regarded as a Government subsidy to the milk producer. Its effect in the past few years has been immense in that it has encouraged herdsmen all over the Islands to increase their production to the maximum at the expense of arable cash-crops (Cases I to IX).

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654 (b) As part of the general policy to improve farming in the Islands and, at the same time, to eradicate certain livestock diseases the Government has made available to herdsmen an exchange scheme whereby they may exchange diseased animals for newly imported stock. This has also included goats, some dozen of which could be exchanged for a cow. Along with this stock improvement policy has gone official limitation on the number of animals entering the Islands since the present overstocking is regarded as undesirable. Farmers have however not been slow to find ways round such limitations - one popular method of acquiring a cow having been, for example, for a farmer to buy in weak and ailing goats and effect an exchange of these for a healthy imported heifer.

654 (c) Of considerable help to the arable farmer as well as the herdsman has been the programme of 'Loans and Grants' ('Self u Donazzjonijiet') by the Government to farmers for the purpose of making capital improvements in the farm and its operation. The low-interest loans have been particularly popular and have already enabled many farmers to buy, for example, their own rotary cultivators (Case II). One important limiting feature in these loans has been the ignorance on the part of many farmers of the system and the suspicion felt by others of something new and not clearly explained.

(d) Of particular concern to the arable farmer have been the various distributions of free or subsidized seeds, potatoes, tomatoes, etc. In some cases the aim has here been to popularise some new departure from custom such as a variety of early potato new to Malta or to introduce farmers to the 'Balanced Ration' ('Ghalf Bilanċjat') experiments of the agricultural authorities.

242
654 (e) In this same category of aids to farming comes the recently-formed Agricultural Advisory Service, which has itself been responsible for many of the new moves mentioned and also for the series of public lectures to farmers (Section 4), which have been part of the effort to improve farming in the Islands by providing an up-to-date research

242 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for
654 advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud (Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service are outlined in B/252.

178 Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said
241 about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification
654 to bring it more closely into line with present conditions
181 both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4) but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is
[234] not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the Islands.

433 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk
654 surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee
234 remains he will continue to put every effort into selling more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently, having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

MONEY

433 In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was
434 a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale
178 subsistence farming with the help only of his family.
[175] Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family, farm and village. There were very few wants which could not be supplied at home, or at least within the village. In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction
436 between the present 'commercialized' position and that which
437 prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
54 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the
[234] maximum (Section 2).

Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
178 Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
511 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to
434 his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned.
These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

[464] (d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

178 Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
434 his farm the means of providing for the various needs of
[471] the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding,
his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make
the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is
the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very
small section of the farming community: one of the major
problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means
the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
426 position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial
434 status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem
emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

be suffering from economic near-strangulation because the working of his farm-unit is linked with a fluctuating but permanent element of debt. This is because the factors mentioned above as producing the need and demand for money are operating, but the farmer and his farm-unit are unable to hold their own in the present agricultural economy of Malta; this in spite of the artificial boosts of Government loans, guaranteed prices, free gifts, agricultural development schemes, information services, etc.,(Section 2).

178 434 There is a range therefore between the farmer who is proving able to advance financially and he who is not, even to the state of impoverishment. The problem of the latter may be considered from two view-points, the economic and the social. Economically, the difficulty is clear. Many farm units as they exist today cannot hope to provide an income, after expenses have been met, which will support the family and allow of expansion or even maintainance of the unit. The social problem is less easy to define. It would appear that many characteristics of the traditional peasant farming system of subsistence and independence of each farm unit still remain beneath an often thin veneer of [212] commercialization and modernization. This is related in large part to the lack of education of the farmer himself. The farmer of today in Malta is an old man and ageing who has been but little affected by the developments in education, in its widest sense, which are turning the ambitions of the present younger generation of the farming community towards the towns and towards non-agricultural pursuits. At heart, the present Maltese farmer is still in very many cases *thinking* as a peasant, isolated and independent, in a farming system now essentially commercial, competitive yet inter-dependent. Financial profits and losses now rule his life but the farmer is, in a disturbingly large number of cases, partly unable and partly unwilling to adapt himself and his farm to the new conditions.

178 234 434 426 Something of the effect of the both the economic and social aspects of the problem may be gathered from a study of a number of sample cases:

(a) A goats' milk producer, living just within the boundary of the Urban area of Malta (Case V), operated during 1957 with a persistent debt on the maintainance of his animals, the basis of his livelihood. During the year, the milk production of his herd varied between 70 and 30 lbs per day. This was sold for the official guaranteed prices and to this extent may be seen as a constant element. Produce from the tomna of land held by the [451] farmer was used in the home but made only a minor contribution to the food budget. This man keeps no accounts of the costs of maintainance of his herd and profits therefrom. He is operating in a perpetual state of debt. A table of

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
234 nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
434 the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
426 poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
fully realizes that without the present Government guarantee
[654] (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize their farm and herd as they would wish. For example, while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them reluctant to take on any further loan commitments; nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be able to increase the number in their herd and also mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
234 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
434 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U
with as much milk as possible.
654

They have no thought or care as to what might happen were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly little appreciation of the total picture of which they form part and will be content to grumble quietly and ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate
(Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
434 The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
454 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
provision of dowries and Wedding costs, etc., are met.
234 This farmer admits to having been able to save more than
654 £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that
today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread".
[451] He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly
on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying, today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
accounts of the working of his farm. His second employment
434 brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
241 weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he
[511] reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a
third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc. and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the steady income from his other job farming has something of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

854 232 to have made its presence felt among the farmers themselves.

242 When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in the Islands will depend. have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

241 829 [575] [874] In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened younger farming generation might develop. Neither is there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

654 234 As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U. (Section 2). In short, official policy here has been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the
[433] cost of which is borne by the Government. The totals of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[41].

TABLE 3

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Year	Purchased by M.M.U.		Surplus		Percentage cows' milk
1943-44	510,000	gallons			27
1948-49	776,000	"			
1950-51	1,298,000	"			35 (1951)
1952-53	1,795,000	"	99,000	gallons	44 (1951)
1954-55	2,390,000	"	275,000	"	48 (1955)
1956-57	3,542,000	"	391,000	"	57 (1956)

234 654 178 A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII (Section 6) shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production. [434] Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions (Section 2) but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

185 829 439 Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in time as far as the management of his farm is concerned so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this Section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricacies of the export market for Maltese agricultural 439 produce[42]. The fact that Maltese produce for export

654 (b) to encourage the members of the farming community to remain in their villages and in the industry.

(9) Following the official policy, outlined under (8)
654 particularly that relating to dairying in the Islands, and
234 the limited and short-sighted outlook of the average Maltese farmer (v.6), an irrational emphasis on milk production has emerged in recent years (v. Section 4). The dairy industry has grown to unprecedented size in the Islands and many herdsmen have seized eagerly upon the guaranteed price for milk sold to the M.M.U. as a source of a steady income. The fact that the dairy industry as a whole is over-producing and the continuation of the present conditions depend on a virtual Government subsidy does not deter them from concentrating all efforts into milk production to the neglect of other aspects of farming.

654 (10) The official policy, outlined in (8) and (9), seems
178 likely to fail or to come near to failure on two main accounts (Section 4):

(a) the difficulties facing current attempts to pursuade the farmer to accept new schemes, crops, equipment, methods, etc., and arising from
  (i) the outlook and attitudes of the farmer as discussed in (6),
  [208] (ii) the use of unsuitable means of propaganda by the Advisory Service and others at present attempting to pursuade the farmer to accept new ideas and methods which would bring him cheaper working, a better profit and, thereby, contentment.

(b) the fact that the policy, outlined in (8), is directed, naturally enough, at the present farmers. This generation, however, illiterate and conservative, and with an average age in the late fifties, is, in the long-term view, the wrong one.

The present younger generation in the farming community, whose literacy and awareness of the world beyond the village make them educable and more responsive to new ideas, are the individuals towards whom official effort should be directed if Maltese agriculture is not to be lost by default. Nothing, however, included in official policy (up to December, 1959) is aimed at them (there is nothing resembling a young farmers' club in the Islands and no institute or college where agriculture can be studied).

241 The younger generation is in fact, on account of the
178 whole complex of technical, economic and social reason (the strenuous work, the insecurity and the low social status involved) discussed in the four previous Sections, anxious to escape from farming as fast as opportunity to do so emerges.

The problem is clear, and its solution one of action.

654 241 An F.A.O. report on investigations in Malta and Gozo observes
that "Progress in agriculture is fundamentally a human
problem; it depends on knowledge and the intelligent appli-
cation of knowledge" (B/243, p.9). Within the Islands
themselves there is a certain awareness of the situation and
[181] particularly of the need for an official policy designed to
develop the agricultural industry to the best advantage of
the total economy of the Islands and to assist the farmers
who "are perhaps the most hard-working, honest and God-
fearing section of the community and the country will be the
loser if it were to let them down" (B/387, p.7).

It must be noted that the position in Gozo is even more intractable than in Malta.

From work done in the field two major lines of approach to the problem of Maltese farming emerge:

(a) Development policy must be related to the present and future position of her only basic industry - agriculture - within Malta's total economy. In this context one feels that at present there is some over-emphasis on the parts rather than the whole, that is the individual farmer qua economic unit and on the means whereby he may derive increased profit from his present - generally uneconomic - farm-unit. It is too easy to discuss minutiae of policy which are "good for agriculture", rather than to consider either men in villages or the fundamental national needs.

(b) The long-term improvement of Maltese agriculture as regards both the national economy and the fortunes of the individual farmers depends on the personnel of farming as much as on policy imposed from above. Policies must be tailored to fit the varying capabilities for absorption among the farmers, from the potato-grower who cannot see why a certain variety of potatoe is not selling on the export market to the dairyman unable to comprehend the artificially distorted basis of the industry which provides his livelihood. Moreover, up to now few development plans have been aimed specifically at the future farmers of Malta, the young, literate generation of the farming community. Before they have all left farming and village society this generation must be made aware of the possibilities and potential of agriculture in Malta and Gozo.

468 FOOTNOTE: While this report was 'in print' it was
announced that the milk producers had decided to withhold
829 deliveries to the M.M.U.(B/59, 17th November, 1959, p.4).
They argue that the guaranteed price given them should be
increased to take into account current production costs -
234 especially of fodder. The fact that they appear to have over-
looked the £370,000 paid by the taxpayer in subsidizing the
milk industry (1958) illuminates both the narrow outlook of
the farmer and his failure to appreciate the uneconomic basis
of his dairying industry today (v.9).

128 [226] PART 3. A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo is included because the economic position of this comparatively small group is in many ways similar to that of the farming community itself.

*159 PART 1. Maltese Farming - Case Studies I-XIII

● 234 654 CASE I: Pawlu. (A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.)

Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed [435] sale for milk produced. He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialization which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the official policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

*159 55 423 [463] Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (B/325).

Pawlu's holding at Easter, 1958.

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Origin of TENURE	1958 T S K[49]	No longer held in 1959 T S K[49]
From own family on his marriage in 1935...	5-5-5	4-3-8
From own family since his marriage	7-4-5	
From his bride's family at marriage	5-0	16-0-0
From non-relatives, all since 1955	28-0-3	
	42-3-3	20-3-8

	OWNERSHIP of land held by Pawlu.		Plots		Plots
Church	Cathedral (Mdina)	3-4-0	5	16-0-0	var
	Gharb	1-0-3	4		
	Benefizzju (agent)	4-3-0	2		
Civil Government		3-5-0	2		
Other farmers		4-0-0	2		
Sinjur (a Xewkija Baron)		5-0	1	1-1-8	2
Owned by Pawlu himself		4-0	1	1-0-0	1
Sub-leased (4-yearly) from 8 farmers who hold on long lease, or own		24-0-0	var.adj.		
Military authorities		0		0	
No information				3-0	1
Notary (agent)				1-5-0	2
		42-3-3		20-3-8	

The details of the 20-3-8 relinquished by Pawlu are significant:

Sub-let because of small-size and inaccessibility	7-0
Sold because of inaccessibility	1-0-0
Abandoned because of distance & inaccessibility	1-0-0
Option declined because of distance	16-0-0
Exchanged	1-2-8
	20-3-8

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On sixteen of his twenty-six plots of land Pawlu pays annually about £24 in rent. On average this works out at about 4 shillings per tomna for rough grazing land and £1.1.6d per tomna of cultivable dry (baghli) land. Pawlu himself receives an income of 5s 6½d per annum as rent for two small patches (totalling slightly more than a tomna) which he sub-lets. He himself owns the pivotal centre of his farm, and four sighan on which stands his house, cattle byre, goat shed, store rooms and small enclosures.

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Pawlu's present policy is to expand fodder production in order to eliminate much of the very high cost of purchased fodder. Along with this he is keen to acquire the use of rough grazing land for his goats where he can do so cheaply. The large block of this type of rough grazing which Pawlu acquired piece-meal during 1957 and 1958 makes the supervision of the animals easier than would be the case if he had to graze them in small fields adjacent to land carrying standing crops. Pawlu is cutting down the quantity of vegetables produced for sale each year since he is without any guaranteed market or price. He aims nevertheless to produce as much of the family requirements as possible.

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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The trend is clear from an analysis of the utilisation of his land holding:-

	1956			1957			1958		
	T	S	K[49]	T	S	K	T	S	K
House and adjacent roadway		2	0		2	0		2	0
Vines		3	0		3	0		3	0
Prickly Pear		3	0		3	0		3	0
Potatoes	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Vegetables, other than potato(a)	6	4	0	4	3	0		4	0
Fodder(b)	8	2	3	10	3	3	14	2	3
Rough grazing - and shooting			0	12	0	0	24	0	0
Unused		1	0		1	0		1	0
	18	3	3	30	3	3	42	3	3

(a) mainly tomatoes and melons (bittich and dulich)
(b) silla, wheat (qamh), barley (xghir), mixed wheat and barley (mahlut), beans.

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Livestock Pawlu's farm holding of slightly less than twelve acres is large by Gozitan standards. So also is the herd which it supports. Late in 1957 he had some 40 goats and 8 kids, two cows, a sheep, one horse, and about 100 poultry. "Goats are easier to handle than are cows" (Pawlu). For him, as for most herdsmen in the Islands, the dairy cow is still something of a novelty, and an expensive one, requiring considerable capital outlay for both the animal and its accommodation. The single sheep is quite typical, being kept mainly for the popular 'rikotta' cheese made from its milk. The large poultry element is also becoming a common feature in Gozo, though disease takes a very high toll. Pawlu's one horse provides the motive power for the cart which for him as for the rest of Gozo is still the prime mover of goods and produce.

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Pawlu's income derives mainly from the sale of milk to the M.M.U. This was also the case before 1958 when Gozo finally became a 'closed' area in which unpasteurised milk could not, legally, be sold. Thus the herdsman's cry of "Halib, halib" ('Milk, milk') as he took his goats from door to door and milked them to order on the customer's threshold is heard no more. The churned milk from the farms is collected and taken to the factory at Xewkija - before 1958 it had had to make the long journey to the Hamrun centre. Apart from the unpasteurised fresh milk used by the family, Pawlu sells, and sold, the milk his goats produce to the M.M.U. He pays no labour, hired or family, and does not consider his own time as a cost factor. Some idea of his income is therefore obtainable from an account of his receipts from the M.M.U. against the costs of the fodder.

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The amount of fodder bought in to supplement home production varies. In the case of sulla (silla), particularly, Pawlu is forced to buy in a large quantity when his own crop is poor. His purchases of wheat (qamh) and

159 barley (xghir) fluctuate but cake-feed is all bought from
432 fodder agents. Milk production varies with season, being
at its peak in the Spring. The price given by the M.M.U.
234 changes accordingly to the extent of a few pence per gallon.
On the basis of an average feed programme one can get some
idea of the gross profit margin on which Pawlu is working,
the absence of any allowance for labour costs being noted.

*159 A sample feed programme with daily costs for one cow
234 yielding about three gallons:
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	s	d
3 rtal xghir (barley-bran)	1	- 4
8 rtal cake................	3	- 6
5 rtal sulla (silla).......	1	- 4
8 rtal beans (½ tomna)....	5	- 0
1 basket prickly pear.....	1	- 0
½ basket straw.............		6
	12	- 8d

Selling the three gallons at 5s 6d per gallon (see above) brings in 16s 6d per day, leaving a profit on the one cow of 3s 10d.

A sample feed programme with daily costs for 46 goats yielding about ten gallons per day:

	£	s	d
3 tmien (48 rtal) beans....	1 -	10 -	0
1 tomna xghir (barley).....		6 -	0
4 bundles sulla (silla)....		5 -	0
Furrajna (green barley)....		5 -	0
	2 -	6 -	0

Selling ten gallons per day at some 6s per gallon thereby brings Pawlu a further profit of 60s minus 46s, or 16 shillings. This, together with the 3s 10d from each of his two cows, amounts to a net income of approximately 23/8d per day.

*159 Unlike most of his fellow herdsmen in both Islands,
Pawlu is fully aware of the relation between feed programmes
156 for livestock and milk yields (B/379). He does not share
234 the common view that "The more the feed the more the milk"
232 He is also well aware of the economics of his situation as
described above and, as seen, his aim is to cut the costs of
fodder by producing more on his own holding and thereby
increase his profit margin on milk sold. This is a most
widespread feature among Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen today.
But Pawlu goes further than most in that he is conscious of
the need for a 'balanced diet'. Not only does he carefully
regulate the types and quantities of feed which he gives
but he also follows the latest researches of the Department
of Agriculture, especially that of Haesler (B/252) and
others working on this and similar topics. The average
illiterate Maltese farmer tends to dismiss the statements
and efforts of such experts as "No good for Malta, and

[P. 78]

*159 156 ●234 232 useless in my district" but Pawlu, who has at all times in his life been conscious of education and a knowledge of things outside his village, is prepared to consider suggestions on their merits. This attitude pervades the working of his farm as a unit and has had important repercussions within his family. (v. Section 4).

*159 156 829 In spite of his own lack of advanced formal education, Pawlu has in fact an awareness of its importance which is still uncommon in rural Gozo. He is constantly stressing the need for education in its widest sense, both general and technical. He is anxious for his children to be educated to a standard far above his own, while, in the wider scene, he recognizes the importance of education for the farmer and farming. His attitude to the course of lectures for farmers (Section 4) is typical of the man. He observed that "attendances at the lectures have been big because the farmers are interested - they wouldn't go if they were not". The ideas put forward by the experts are weighed by the farmer and, if considered 'good ideas', are discussed at length in the villages or at the It-Tokk market on Sunday mornings. These lecture courses for farmers, and others like them such as the important McClemont demonstrations and lectures on dairying technique (Section 4), fail for Pawlu in so far as they do not lead to individual contact between specialist and farmer. No farmer would dream of making comment or criticising 'officialdom' - with which he naturally associates ventures like those of Haesler and McClemont[50]. "The Maltese back down much more easily than do the English in their relations with the authorities. In England you might complain to a Government Department and there would be argument for a day but in Malta such a complaint would mean petty victimisation for years". The farmer blames "clerical inefficiency" in Valletta for what he considers has been the failure to follow up the McClemont or other recommendations but no farmer would seriously consider complaining in person to officialdom. They just argue and become increasingly bitter with their lot.

Farming

* 159 178 829 [554] [464] for Pawlu means independence. He complains of the inferior social position which the farmer holds in Maltese society today and observes that the present generation of young people demand the means to enable them to equal the people of the towns in appearance, leisure and other superficialities. The old farmer with little formal education is not troubled by these notions. His life is the only one he can comprehend - apart from which his daily round leaves him little time to think. The youngster, on the other hand, is desperate for an eight-hour job with steady income and leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

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3 ratal barley bran	1s. 4d.
8 " cake	3s. 6d.
5 " sulla	1s. 4d.
8 " beans	5s. 0d.
1 basket prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½ " straw	6d
	12s. 8d.

- Sample daily feed for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48 ratal bean	£1. 10s. 0d.
16 " barley	6s. 0d.
4 bundles sulla	5s. 0d.
Furrajna (green barley)	5s. 0d.
	£2. 6s. 0d.

[434] - Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit, making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d. daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

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G. Husbandry.

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".

- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
  - (a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.
  - (b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.
  - (c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

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(ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.

- Two rotations are in use,

(a) 1st yr: Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
2nd yr: Sulla
3rd yr: Wheat
4th yr: Fallow

(b) 1st yr: Wheat
2nd yr: Sulla and Beans
3rd yr: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor plowing.
4th yr: Fallow

H. General.

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- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gozitan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.
- [454] At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

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CASE II: Ġużepp (A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping.)

Like Pawlu (Case I) Ġużepp is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
● 234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
[246] to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
(he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 241 433 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 434 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
[427] cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
[241] [433] whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 438 443 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

*159 511 829 178 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation.
In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following
in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

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*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. Livestock.

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] [454] [412] [407]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.

[426] [427]
- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

●[234] [43] [231] (i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244] (ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245] (i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 [245]
- Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233 461] (ii)
- Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii)
- Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.

[231]
- Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

H. General.

*159 829 241
- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159 [434] [234]
- Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.

[511] [454 241]
- Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.

[511]
- Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

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TABLE 4. CASE II. Analysis of Work Record. 1957-58(a)

ACTIVITY		Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
		am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Sundays and feasts(b)		6		5		4		5		6		6		5		6		5	1	6		6		4		64	1
"Business", miscellaneous		1				1		2				1		2		1				1				1		10	-
Grazing Goats.(c)			29		28		30		29		30		30		25		20		28		30		29		28	-	336
Collecting money from M.M.U.		1		1		2		2				2		1		1		1		2		2		2		17	-
Goats' sheds - cleaning				1		3		2	1	4		2	1	2		1										15	2
" " - building, repairing		3						9		1																13	-
Pigs, illness and slaughtering				1		1								1										1	1	4	1
Potatoes	(Sowing			1								5														6	-
	(Weeding, hoeing															2		3								5	-
	(Lifting									6												2				8	-
Vines	Pruning											12		3												15	-
	Grafting											1		4		2										7	-
	Hoeing, plowing, spraying					1	1							1	1	6	1	3		9	1	1				21	4
	Picking			6		2																				8	-
Tomatoes	Planting out, hoeing															1				2				1		4	-
	Picking	1		8		4		1																2		16	-
Wheat	Sowing							1		10																11	-
	Reaping																					11				11	-
Barley	Sowing							3																		3	-
	Reaping																			5						5	-
Sulla	Sowing	2																						1		3	-
	Reaping	1												1		6		6						2		16	-
	Binding(d)																	5						5		10	-
Marrows, Melons, Pumpkins,														1				1		5		2		2		11	-
Onions and garlic						1				1																2	-
Beans, carob and Prickly Pear(e)		5		1		1						2				1		3								13	-
Gathering greenery (haxix)														1	1	1	2									2	3
Plowing (unspecified): Motor -			2	1		5		2		1				4			1	2								15	3
" " : Wood Plow. and hoeing				1		2										3	7			1						7	7
Threshing wheat & barley - (f)																						5		3		8	-

continued

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 E26 Malta E26

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Table 4 continued.

ACTIVITY	Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Manure spreading (g)	5		2						1												5		3		16	-
Repairing field storm damage					4		3						1												8	-
Other and unspecified (h)	6		2	2					1	1			1	1			1	1			1	1	2	2	14	8
TOTAL	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(a) From work record kept by farmer's wife. (Translated by the writer): originals in B/5).
(b) No work in the mornings - goats grazed as usual in afternoon.
(c) Occasionally the children relieve Guzepp of supervising the goats' grazing.
(d) Including transport and storage.
(e) Hoeing and cutting.
(f) Including preparations for threshing.
(g) Including moving, spreading, turning and selling.
(h) Including 6 mornings when Guzepp washed clothes (wife's confinement), and others when weather was too bad for work.

CASE III : Nardu (A goats' milk producer)

*159 157 Illiterate and suspicious, Nardu typifies the most conservative element in Maltese farming for whom nothing new can be worthy of consideration. It is probable that no amount of lecturing, demonstrations of improved methods, or capital loans from the Government, would persuade him to change the ways he knows. The prospect of machinery does not impress him although he thinks of acquiring a rotary cultivator (at about £245). His observation is, when freely translated, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" (he is aged 40).

*159 234 [425] His father was a mason with a few fields. Nardu's brother took over the family business and sold his share of the fields to Nardu, who also bought out the shares of his five sisters. He has since concentrated all his effort on his herd of goats, regarding his fields primarily as a source of fodder. During the fifteen months of study his herd varied in size from 34 to 50 animals. All the goats are of the local breed as he does "not like horned goats". He is more concerned with producing milk, under the current favourable regime of guaranteed sales to the M.M.U., than with breeding goats. Most of the kids born to his herd are sold for meat or for breeding to a dealer. Payment [426] seems to be made as money becomes available from the M.M.U every two weeks. Often however he admits to being up to two months behind with payment, settling one debt "when the next transaction is afoot".

In 1958, Nardu was talking at length about "getting two or three cows or calves". He "knows about cows from friends" but has not himself got the £300 capital necessary for two. Moreover he observes that "you can't graze cows" and their general upkeep is likely to clash with that of goats, especially where one man is working alone as in this case. There seems to be an element of prestige attached to the ownership of cows in a village such as Nardu's where the vast majority of herdsmen have only goats. Certainly his thinking is not guided by comparative costings of milk production from the cow and goat.

*159 434 [443] [511] Nardu's fields produce fodder and some food for the family so that they "will not have to buy in everything from the shops". He reckons to save between 15/- and £1 per week in this way. His wife spends £3 a week on purchased food and she looks back nostalgically to her youth when her mother spent some 30/- per week on food and clothing for a family with twelve children, while she has only three. The steady item of income in Nardu's budget is the money received from the M.M.U. for the goats' milk

600 sold. Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu

*159 241 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments.
Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'maxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 [656] The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". 433 431 In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. *159 46 241 465 He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

244 *159 461 465 available", and normally delegates most of the work to a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.

*159 43 [451] His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a 'cost'.

*159 511 178 Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

*159 461 Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

*159 159 178 ● 234 His father was a labourer with the Services and had only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen and then gradually built up his own herd to its present size, particularly in the past few years when, in common with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his family) are actively discouraging the children from planning to follow their father. Their main objection to herding appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields you never go back...."

*159 423

CASE IV : Summary.

(A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. Land.

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

*159 - 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien
423 (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. **Utilisation**.

*159 (i) At any one time about half the land - that of the
241 deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a
few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and
311 leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 C. **Livestock**.

231 90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
234 This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. **Capital**.

*159 (i) No freehold land.
423 (ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.
[511] (iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts but the family standard
[426] of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. **Labour**.

*159 (i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed else-
464 where and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. **Production and Sales**.

*159 (i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of
43 c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day. Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average
234 price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

*159 G. **Husbandry**.

(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans
23 and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*159 H. **General**.

434 An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

159 434 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anġlu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anġlu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

159 231 443 712 551 656 His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anġlu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

159 423 434 432 Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodder. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

159 452 Anġlu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anġlu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

*159 241

B. Utilisation.

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 231 ●234

C. Livestock.

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 42

D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts.

*159 464

E. Labour.

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 434 234 [433]

F. Production and Sales.

(v.Table 5)

(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p. .
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 232 234

G. Husbandry.

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.
(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.
(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

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H. General.

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This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

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CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

232 In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow."

x
159 Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of
234 land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis
[311] in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still
have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example
[246] in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for
[435] straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He
[464] feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean
that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding
animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder
for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has
[451] very little appreciation of his profit. None of his
labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps
no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets
receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate
himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written
[651] statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put
together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax
authorities each year.

000 authorities each year.

*159 474 ●234 434 [432] Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me". Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of [454] the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

*159 423 234 [427] Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old, and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop his own property since the war in order to qualify for the necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 342 351 423 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead off to the gound floor living rooms, to the goat shed and cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room, to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street. From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

*159 The family has occupied the present house for several
423 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
551 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the
village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
461 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
234 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially
to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
829 his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
544 He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public
234 lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He
178 thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique
interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese
farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which
cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods".
He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to
the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time
and labour thus expended would bring no additional return
to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he
employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and
therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases
some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures)
would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427) All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 - 50 goats
- 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.

● 234 - Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159 **D. Capital.**

42 - The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).

454 - Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.

[407] - No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plow~~ww~~ hired at £1 per tomna when necessary.

E. Labour.

*159 - No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.

464 - Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

*159 **F. Production and Sales.**

43 - Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qantar respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.

These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

G. Husbandry.

*159 - Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention to holding.

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234 - Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

H. General.

*159 - When asked whether he considered himself to be herdsman or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general dealer" in crops and animals.

433 - In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

CASE VII : Wenzu (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

* 159 Like Case VI, Wenzu has been a goat herder and is now ● 234 anxious to concentrate on dairy cows. At present he holds 4 Friesians, belonging to himself and his sons, but he wants to import Ayrshires. This cow, says Wenzu, is better suited to Maltese conditions, needing less feed than the Friesian and standing up better to long periods of confine- 656 ment in cramped stalls. Wenzu became interested in cows when the Government forbade the selling of raw goats' milk in Valletta. For a time thereafter he sold bottled milk in the capital and then returned to selling raw goats' milk in still unclosed areas such as nearby Cospicua until that too came to an end with the evacuation in 1940. After the War he went back to cows' milk production and sold his out- 654 put to the M.M.U. He acquired the Friesians through an exchange for inferior quality and diseased goats organized by the Government (one cow for 13 goats). At present, he says, cows' milk production is the more profitable ("Six cows will support a small family") but that this would not be so were it possible to give goats good grazing land at low cost. He reckons that good grazing saves 15/- per day on the fodder bill.

* 159 Wenzu's Case illustrates an important feature of the 829 study of a predominantly illiterate section of society. • This is the prominence of personality in the thoughts and 178 actions of the individual. Unable to read and suspicious 232 of what he may hear over Rediffusion, Wenzu relies on 242 personal contact to a very considerable degree. This is clear from a brief survey of his life. He speaks nowadays of a certain Dr. MacFarlane whose veterinary skill and advice impressed him and who originally recommended him to keep Ayrshires. To listen to Wenzu talking of this "Scots Doctor" one gathers that Wenzu last spoke with him quite recently. In fact, however, Dr. A.M. MacFarlane was Superintendent Veterinary Surgeon in Malta some half a century ago! A Mr. Hurst gave him advice on bulls some 25 years ago while, much more recently, Mr. Ebejer Slythe of the Department of Agriculture gave him much valued information on lucerne as a fodder and, latest of all, Dr. Godfrey Alton, the veterinary expert, has become something of a hero for the injections he has arranged. Evidently, therefore, any improvements in Maltese farming have a greater chance of success if this element of personal contact - particularly in the cases of illiterate farmers - can be established. One man who will argue with one farmer for a morning on a single topic stands a greater chance of general success than has the big public lecture or even the practical demonstration

* 159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
[244 lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great
success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow
to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

* 159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 A. Land.

427
- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

* 159 B. Utilisation.

241
- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

* 159
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.

231
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.

234
- Cattle: 4 Friesians; Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

* 159 D. Capital.

[454]
- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434]
[234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

* G. Husbandry.

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(1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

[427]
- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.

[311]
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly ½ tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

[435]
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.

[434]
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

* H. General.

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156
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159 - Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.

156 - Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.

[231] - Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.

- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

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CASE VIII : Niklaws (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent part-[423]nership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70 tmien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. [234] There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

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The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

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[427]

Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and [435] the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 231 234

C. Livestock.

(i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

(ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

*159 [472]

D. Capital.

(i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[402] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

*159 464 407 427

E. Labour.

(i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

(ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

(iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

(iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

* **H. General.**

159 472 451 (i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndicate is not typical of Maltese farming systems. The partnership seems to derive historically from a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

*159 472 451 181 (ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organisation one may use this case-study as illustrating the practises and modes of thought of the most highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

- Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does no seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.
- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.
- *159 433 181 242 Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these are attained by the careful application of proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.
- *159 181 232 242 In spite of the fact that the syndicate's capital reserves and their practical abilities are considerable, the physical environment dominates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these there is a great mental gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

*159 472 464

CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.)

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives - and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

* 159 178 234 Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows' milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

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substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however, show no inclination to stay in farming.

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A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

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In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Ingliżi type. As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Ingliżi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

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[246]
Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?"). The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

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Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Inglizi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 **D. Capital.**

426 (i) No freehold property.

[423] (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[454] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools
- [407] rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.
- [312] no piped water until Feb. 1958.

E. Labour.

*159 464
- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 434 435
- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 **G. Husbandry.**

231 (i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- [232] Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 **H. General.**

●234 829 The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

[426] The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
Gozitan milk producer, Case I.
829 The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle with-
234 in the current artificial economy of milk production. There
is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy
[433] were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
472 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two
brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġamri's father.

*159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
472 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present.
They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines........................	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders....................	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-lot.......	13 tmien
Potatoes...............................	6 tmien
Other vegetables.......................	5 tmien

*159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow
in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
[435] at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of
crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

000 was taken for granted.
*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
on the ground that "it is not used here".

* CASE XII : Ċenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

159 Ċenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
557 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra income
[463] which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Ċenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation
to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
434 In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
241 to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
474 discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
[451] This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district, His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status, He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increa-
sing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626) firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[199] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Ċensu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 A. Land.

427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 B. Utilisation.

241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 C. Livestock.

231 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
● 234 This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 D. Capital.

[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[409] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

E. Labour.

*159 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
464 - In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
[465] Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[422] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and
[241] threshing machine each year. Costs of contract
[409] plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

F. Production and Sales.

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● 234 (i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957 c.£1350. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).
- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').

[272] - About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production.
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

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[435] (ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
-'Early' Crop - January to April.
Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 23/4 per qantar for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.

[433] - Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

[433] (iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder production meets c.one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land

(a) On best land typical sequence would be.

Sept. (a) Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per tomna.
Sept.-Dec. (b) Winter crop of potatoes.
Jan. (c) Artifical fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April (d) Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug. (e) Summer fallow.
Sept.-April (f) Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug. (g) Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May (h) Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug. (i) Fallow.
Sept.-April (j) Sulla.

(b) More usual practice (which is not though of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.
- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as żofżfa and ġinġlin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassicas, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds
- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

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232 (iii) Livestock - Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.
- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

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451 (i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer. Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own

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50. Mr. J. McClemont, a Dairying Specialist visited Malta and Gozo from the United Kingdom in the summer of 1957, and, with his assistant Miss Faill, was responsible for much instruction and recommendation on the dairy industry in both Islands (v. Note 39).

000 51. The Agricultural and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, (No.11 of 1956).

question unless a complete agricultural revolution committed Maltese farming 231
to thorough-going dairy farming specialisation. Such specialisation, given the 234
climatic and physiological difficulties, would not be easy to justify. A very considerable seasonal glut of milk exists between May and August at present, and 246
the Milk Marketing Undertaking cannot handle the flush. This degree of fluctuation could be lessened but not removed. Costs of production are such that not only would exports be uneconomic but imported tinned milk can and could considerably undercut home production. Local consumption of fresh cows' milk could not be expanded much more than 10 to 15 per cent. above the present level which is already the highest in the Mediterranean, as long as tinned milk is more easily preserved, and as long as the rural community keeps goats and sheep. The banning of milk imports and of the production of goat milk would hardly be in the consumer's economic or dietetic interests.

Horses, mules and donkeys, some 6,500 in number, are still very important 492
as work animals. For farm transport, they can only be replaced by the internal
combustion engine purchasable only by the more prosperous cultivators. Produce 407
collection by merchants' lorries is increasing as also is the use of hired tractors for cultivation. The numbers of these animals is unlikely to decrease quickly outside the urban areas because of their usefulness in tilling difficult land.

Of the remaining small livestock, rabbits and poultry already make a very 231
large although immeasurable contribution to food supplies. Improvements in 235
quality could be obtained if farmers' interest was aroused. At present, mixed breeds of poor poultry are commercially uneconomic.

In conclusion, we must return to the vexed question of dairy-farming and 234
milk production in Malta. In 1950, the Director of Agriculture (1) put the
question: 'Under prevailing conditions in Malta and Gozo, which is the more 654
profitable animal to keep? The cow or the goat?', and followed with the statement: '... no accurate answer backed by accurate scientific data has ever been given'. The same impasse had often been noted before, for example by Dawson Shepherd (2), and Stockdale (3). An unpublished report on Maltese Agriculture by a visiting F.A.O. commission (4) similarly found itself at sea in the absence of any firm information. In 1956, the complexity as well as the obscurity of the situation was manifested in a Report on the Dairy Industry by G. W. Ford (5). In this study, reference is made to the different conclusions reached by independent observers, and to intermediate suggestions made by Marshall (6), one of whose remarks: 'I simply cannot visualise hygienic milk production by the peasant farmer in Malta', our observations would endorse.

Milk-production in Malta is no longer a matter of economics but, as in many countries, is affected by social and dietetic policies. Brief mention was made in Chapter VI C of the problem of the incidence of undulant fever and its association with milk infected by *Brucellosis Melitensis*. Some 20 per cent. of Maltese goats are thus infected, and any dietetic campaign to encourage the drinking of milk, particularly important in child welfare, must take account of this. Few cows are thus far infected and elimination is easier. The problem that emerges is therefore both economic and social in character. It is felt by some that reliance on imported tinned milk is one solution but by others such a suggestion is regarded as humiliating. Another possible line of action is to replace goats with milch cows, and in 1956 a system by which herdsmen were offered one Dutch Friesian heifer in calf for 12 diseased goats actually came into operation. The third possibility is to accept the position as it exists at the moment, or slightly to modify it, and centralise milk distribution thus enabling pasteurisation. This too has been done. Even now however, the cost of tinned milk imports, the cost of producing cows' milk, the surplus of goats' milk, all these as well as the land use point mentioned earlier, still remain to be dealt with. As we shall see, the market for milk called into being as a social measure is now the mainstay of many farmers of all grades. The development of the centralised agency, the Milk Marketing Undertaking has been accompanied by a guaranteed price system. Some 50 per cent. of all milk producers have, as a result of this organising of wholesale purchases, formed their own union the K.M.H. - '*Kumpanija Maltija*

241 giant dockyard in Cospicua, or for one of the various British
433 Service departments scattered over the island. Gozo is more
464 dependent upon agriculture, but many Gozitan men work in
[178] Malta, returning to their families for the weekend. Though
Maltese villages are populated mostly by industrial workers, they
have nonetheless a decidedly rural atmosphere about them, for
their inhabitants still have links with the agricultural economy of
[231 the past. Many retain a patch or two of land which they plant with
● 235 potatoes or some other cash crop to supplement their wages, and
262] virtually all keep chickens and rabbits to supply them with eggs
and fresh meat for special celebrations.

463 TABLE 1. Occupational Classes in Farruġ and Kortin[1]
(Expressed as percentages of the total male working population)

Occupational Class	*Farruġ*	*Kortin*	*Islands*
Professional and Clerical	4	7	15
Service and Skilled	39	52	55
Semi- and Unskilled	42	27	20
Agricultural	15	14	10
Totals	100	100	100

[438] A hundred years ago, the inhabitants of Farruġ were mostly farmers, though many were also employed on a cottage-industry basis in the thriving cotton industry of the time. Today they are for the most part wage labourers. Of the total male working population, 42 per cent are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, 39 per cent work as skilled fitters and as service personnel (shopkeepers, drivers, policemen, etc.) and 15 per cent as farmers. Only 4 per cent are professionals and white-collar workers. Three-fourths travel outside the village to their places of employment, chiefly with the Malta Government and the British military departments.

The occupational structure of Kortin is much the same. The higher proportion of skilled and clerical workers is in part a reflection of its past importance as an administrative centre, for until early in this century it was the seat of the district court. Seven per cent of the men work in professional and white-collar wastelands and roadside verges are occasionally turned on to sulla fields and on 311* to bastard fallow but that is all. This, too, is a necessary consequence of the 246 pressure on land resources mentioned above: land is too precious to be used as pasture or even as true fallow *vaine pâture*. A consequent disadvantage is [237] that, in the enforced absence of folding, dung is expensive and rarely applied.

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[1] The figures for Farruġ and Kortin are based on surveys I conducted, and the national figures on the 1957 *Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 45–55. The totals of the male working population in Farruġ, Kortin and the Maltese Islands are 296, 1,131 and 75,030 respectively.

Thirdly, much more than in other Mediterranean areas of dry farming, the Maltese cultivators are already alive to the necessity of raising cash crops which are also rotation crops, and are capable of choosing multi-purpose plants for catch-drop use. Broad beans, together with bread and *pasta*, form the basis of [262] the countryman's diet but are also used as horse and mule fodder, depending on crop quality and ruling prices. Chickpeas similarly have alternative uses as dry fodder, green vegetables or coffee substitutes. Fodder crop improvement or change is therefore not simply a matter of elevating standards of primitive farming, but implies an agricultural revolution.

Given this situation, it would seem that there are only two reasonable methods of increasing fodder production in the near future, assuming that such an increase is desired. The first is that of devoting more scarce irrigated land to leguminous fodder production. From the economic point of view, any diversion of land now producing irrigated vegetables to forage growing would be of doubtful value. Malta, even now, is not self-supporting in vegetable crops such as tomatoes, and dietetically would probably benefit from an even greater consumption of green vegetables. Though a net exporter of potatoes and onions, Malta has to import unnecessarily large quantities of these same products. Moreover, as examined in connection with Vegetables and Fruit Crops (pp. 213-219), the use of irrigated land for fodder growing would debar the development of Malta's only possible large-scale exports - fruits and early specialised vegetables. The loss of such an important export possibility would weigh heavily against the gain in the production of fodder.

The second possibility is that of the replacement of the poor wheats and barleys by new hybrid sorghums. Here too there are difficulties. Though sorghums generally have low transpiration rates, their large leaf areas make them more dependent on subsoil water than the short, local barleys. On the other hand, they survive early droughts better than most grains. A second possible danger lies in our ignorance concerning their vulnerability to indigenous insect pests. The third difficulty is social. The poor barley lands on which sorghums might be grown, as indicated earlier, are those in which terrain makes it most necessary for continuous and arduous manual labour to be applied. It is precisely these areas, vulnerable to soil erosion, which are most likely to be neglected or abandoned by a society with rising living standards and demands. Nevertheless, here may lie both an easy and efficient way of improving and increasing fodder production without mortgaging the future of the best lands.

SULLA - HEDYSARIUM CORONARIUM L.

Sulla, the most important fodder crop, is a perennial legume indigenous to the Mediterranean. The variety *Africa* or *Gaulilana*, erect, slightly branched and often growing 4 to 6 feet in height, is usually found, particularly in Gozo: the more prostrate and finer foliaged varieties such as *Diffusa* and *Prostrata* are more recently introduced and less common.

Matured seed is sown in late summer and it germinates after the first autumnal rains, flowering between March and May. It is then usually cut or pulled and either used as green fodder or, more commonly, sun-dried as hay. Little affected by pests and diseases, sulla develops luxuriant foliage and extensive root systems. It therefore provides good anti-erosion soil cover as well as possessing excellent powers of nitrogen fixation. Water requirements are lower than for any of the cultivated *Trifolium* or *Medicago* plants. In first flowering, its protein content is high, but some of the fodder quality is lost by the delaying of harvesting until the yield in volume is highest and also by poor storage. Much sulla is sold off the farm.

As Fig. 73 shows, the distribution of sulla in Malta corresponds in general with the distribution of cultivated land, but it is noticeably less important in

[Text continues on p. 203]

796 574 262 in companies to some one of their friends, at whose house they amuse themselves eating honey cakes and pancakes or fritters, and playing for nuts till the church bells ring a little before or after midnight.

At the conclusion of the service they come out again and devote the remainder of the night to amusements.

796 534 [184] The approaching festival of Christmas is heralded in some of the villages of Malta by the appearance of the "zakk" and "tambur" players in the streets. (*)

[237] The *zakk* or bagpipe is a wind instrument—one of the primitive instruments of sylvan music—formed of an inflated dog skin, which is held by the player under his left arm, with the legs

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[541] (*) The *Zakk* and tambourine are also in use amongst our lower classes on the days of Carnival.

directed upwards, and having a mouth piece by which the skin is filled, and a cane flute or pipe which is played with both hands. This the country people play at this time of the year to represent the shepherds of Bethlehem. 796 534 [237]

The decking out of the *presepiu*, a crib or representation of the Nativity of the Holy Child at Bethlehem, by a group of dolls with pasteboard scenery, furnishes amusement to the Maltese, both old and young. 796 778

Several of the houses have a crib more or less artistically arranged, and the better the arrangements of the crib, the greater is the concourse of people who come to see it.

The custom of decking our churches and habitations with evergreens at Christmas has existed from the very establishment of Christianity and was 796 174 824

INTRODUCTION

121 24 Contemporary agriculture can only be understood in terms of the whole nexus of environmental and human factors. Although a general truism this assertion continually needs to be emphasised in a study of Malta. In these Islands the observer will meet more puzzling features both major and minor in scale than it is conceivable would be found in any territory of similar size. The wider one's comparative experience, the more it appears necessary to discard general principles and to adopt a habit of querying the origin of every minor element in the landscape. The various problems are examined elsewhere but a brief statement of their type and range will serve to depict the complex nature of Maltese agriculture.

121 311 24 All visitors to Malta are invariably impressed by the vast extent of stone terrace walls which give to the ground-level observer an impression of rocky barrenness. The questions which arise, and which have not been satisfactorily answered, are manifold in their complexity. Do the terrace-walls merely serve to retain naturally-evolved soil and if so is the present density of enclosures strictly necessary? Are these walls, on the other hand, ramparts behind which man-made soil accumulations have been slowly built up to create artificial fields? If the latter, does normal pedological analysis provide a sufficient basis for soil husbandry? If the former, how far can enclosures be enlarged to permit a greater use of mechanised techniques?

121 132 24 The climate of Malta, as analysed in Chapter II, has some especial characteristics. How far do certain combinations of temperature, humidity and wind velocity in various topographic circumstances encourage the appearance and survival of the very many diseases and pests which afflict Maltese crops? To what extent may the climate-soil complex be held responsible for the virtual absence of the olive and the remarkable ignorance concerning viticulture which is only now being dispelled? Must the physical environment be regarded as the main reason for the fact that Maltese farmers have never produced important indigenous strains of crops or livestock but have relied entirely on breeds imported from their more productive neighbours?

121 24 Innumerable queries of this type result from even the most cursory visual survey, and any attempt to answer them brings in even more complex human questions. If the maintenance of man-made soil in artificial fields by arduous manual labour is essential for the ecological stability of many regions, how important is the conflict between the needs of production and the social desires of the cultivators? How far has poor husbandry been a product of rural isolation? How measurable is distance as it affects contact between producer and market, between village-dweller and *Il-Belt*? None of these and other questions is uniquely applicable to Malta, but *in toto* they present such a formidable array as to make one feel that these small islands have concentrated within them certain microcosmic qualities.

In this Section are considered some of the observable facts tha. directly concern the use and potentialities of agricultural resources. The main features of the economy and society in general have been described in previous sections; the basic elements of the agricultural sector may be summarised as follows.

24 311 The total area of the Maltese Islands is some 280,512 *imien* of which 152,343 *imien* are cultivated (54 per cent of the total) (1). The relationship between Malta and Gozo in these respects is remarkably constant, both islands having a similar proportion of worked land, Malta possessing 79 per cent. of the total area and of the cultivated land. Of the 7,272 *imien* of irrigated land, almost 80 per cent. is found in Malta where the only large irrigated zones also occur.

162 24 This cultivated land is worked in 12,215 registered farmholdings of which over 70 per cent. are in Malta. The rural community (i.e. persons living in dwellings registered as farms and including farmworkers' children and other members of the family otherwise employed) number 57,354 (72 per cent. in Malta), almost 18 per cent. of the total population. Of this rural community 34

per cent. are children under 14 years of age. The number of whole-time 162
farmers, 8,100, is now smaller than the group of part-time agriculturalists -
8,946, and in its age-composition differs significantly from the total population 24
- 48 per cent. are aged 50 years or more (1948 - 33.8 per cent.) as compared
with 31 per cent. for the Islands as a whole.

The relatively small and, until very recently, declining size of the full-time 178
farming population, and its rapid ageing, suggest a decline in the importance
and status of agriculture. The implications of these figures are discussed else- 24
where but it is worth noting that the agricultural areas are still inhabited by
over 126,000 persons most of whom draw some real income from the land in [434]
amounts which may often be small per capita but which observation suggests
are large in total.

The total value of the recorded crop product is estimated at some £2.27 24
millions. From observation in Malta and experience elsewhere one can suggest 43
that is under-estimated by a fraction of the order of 10 per cent. (See p. 10. -
Essential Statistics - for further information.)

The combined value of crop and livestock products is estimated at almost £6,000,000. The income accruing to the cultivators is distributed in such a multiplicity of ways in such varying amounts that no useful estimate of average per capita income can be made. Of the disbursements of some £3 millions, an amount of the order of £2½ millions is expended on imports, notably of fodder and store cattle. Earnings of foreign currency amount to approximately £500,000, almost half of which derived from potato exports. This imbalance between imports and exports in the agricultural sector appears even more striking when one remembers that F.D.T. imports of over £9,000,000 make up 35 per cent. of the total Maltese import bill.

The efforts of the 9 per cent. of the employed population engaged in agri- 121
culture are already considerable but the needs of Malta are great. With no known 24
physical resources of any size other than the land, it becomes of vital
importance that farming productivity should be raised even further and that
special effort is directed towards a legitimate degree of self-sufficiency in
agricultural products. Much of the analysis that follows this introduction must
be considered in the light of present and future needs.

REFERENCES 113

1. et passim Census of Agriculture, 1956, Malta. 1960.

1: Bowen-Jones et al.
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[For additional data on general aspects of agriculture, see category 116, pp. 235-288.]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

D. SEABORNE AND AIRBORNE TRAFFIC 1958[3].

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	Total - Calling		- British		Passengers (No.)			Freight (Tons)	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	In	Out	Transit	In	Out
Steam Vessels	1,792	2,808,803	458	1,348,923)	9,852	10,745	35,175	568,628	54,937
Sailing Vessels	267	22,636	15	122)					
Aircraft	3,283	91,661	3,116	87,897	20,222	21,501	25,848	588	228

E. AGRICULTURE[4]

		Acreage	Yield-tons
(i)	Total Area cultivated	44,235	
(ii)	Wheat	5,000	3,000
	Barley and Mixta	4,083	2,158
	Forages (inc. sulla, vetches & Ferrana)	11,824	3,855
	Broad Beans	1,250	500
(iii)	Potatoes - Spring crop	4,763* (1957-6,000)	15,420
	- Winter crop	3,228	7,360
	Melons	1,837	1,939
	Onions	1,263	3,389
	Tomatoes	1,912	8,588
	Other vegetables	5,000	16,198
(iv)	Grapes	5,000	6,000**
	Citrus	160	500**
	Other fruit	1,000	6,000**
(v)	Cotton	3 (1956-187)	1
	Cumin Seed	8 (1952-518)	2

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* Note. Abnormally low.
** Note. Acreage and yield of treecrops in particular should be treated as indicating only orders of magnitude.

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(vi)	Livestock (Enumeration)	
	Horses, Donkeys and Mules	6,575
	Goats	36,944 (1950-50,150)
	Sheep	15,011 (1950-20,148)
	Imported Store bulls	3,081
	Milk cows	4,178 (1950- 2,861)
	Other cattle	2,466
	Swine	16,382

(vii)	Number of holdings		12,192
	Number of mechanized implements	- 2 wheeled	700
		- 3 & 4 wheeled	54
		- tracked	25
		- milking machines	7
		- threshers	22

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407

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Plate 1. Wied ta l'Isperanza. North of Mosta the valley cuts through the Lower Coralline fault-scarp of the Victoria Lines.

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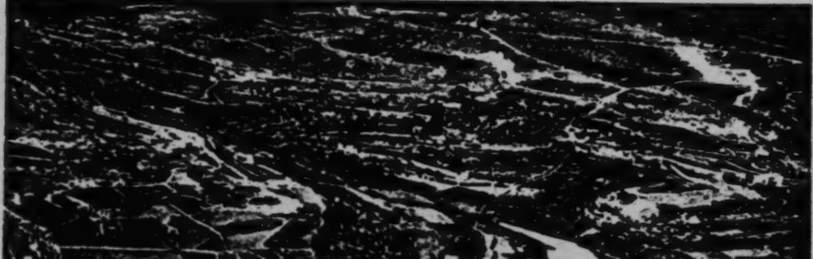

Plate II. Western edge of Upper Coralline Plateau. Spring.
Foreground: ramped fields on Blue Clay slopes. Middle distance: Girgenti orchards and gardens. Background: Upper Coralline karst.

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Plate III. The Central Plains. Summer.
Foreground: summer vegetable cultivation. Middle distance: carob trees on valley side.
Background: Wied is-Sewda and Qormi village.

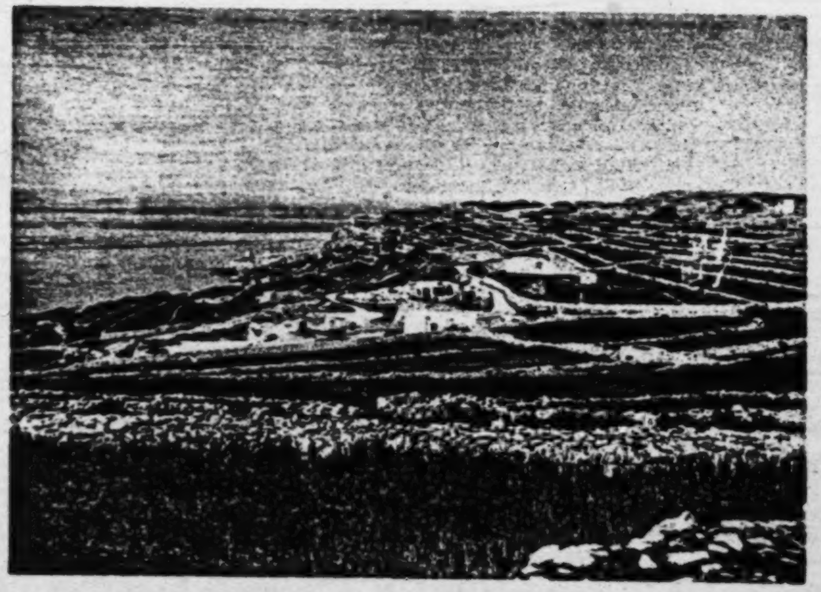

Plate IV. Cliffs south of Zurrieq. Spring. Narrow, terraced fields.

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In Table 13, corresponding data are given for the four years whose totals are nearest to the mean. Even here, monthly amounts deviate widely from monthly averages, there being only five occasions on which this deviation was less than 10 per cent. 1939 and 1952 display the greatest variability, 1888 and 1931 the nearest approach to average conditions throughout the year.

Theoretically, it would be possible to classify the rainfall of every year in terms of lateness and earliness as well as dryness and wetness. In practice, the variation is so great that any such classification would obscure rather than clarify the picture. Nevertheless, two types of rainy season may be distinguished. One involves a long wet spell lasting two or three months, broken by short spells of dry weather, as in 1927-28 and 1928-29. Generally, this type consists of many days of moderate rainfall, though a few outbursts of heavy rain do occur. Periods of heavy rain are, however, more typical of the second type of rainy season, exemplified by 1911-12 and 1919-20, which consists of a series of short wet spells with relatively long dry periods between. In all years, the rains are broken by spells of dry, sunny and often warm weather which are of great importance to the farmer, most of whose ploughing and sowing must be executed in the wetter, winter months. Such fine spells are also not without significance to any proposed expansion of the tourist industry. [241]

Emphasis has so far been laid on the extreme variability of the Maltese rainfall in time; in the following discussion of exceptionally heavy rainstorms, spatial variations are equally important.

STORM RAINFALL

The rainfall of the Maltese Islands is predominantly convectional, resulting from rising currents in turbulent air masses, the turbulence being the result of heating or of contact between masses of air at different temperatures. The orographic effect is also important. The presence of a land mass rising 800 feet out of the sea is sufficient to 'trigger off' precipitation in an air mass already unstable while, in summer, heating of the air above a lightly-coloured, dry, soil- and rock-covered surface will increase instability and encourage the development of thunderstorms.

The definition of 'storm rainfall' is necessarily subjective. Observation would suggest that a continuous fall amounting to 2 inches or more leads to significant run-off and physical damage and that such conditions are likely to occur on any day with 3 inches or more of rain. Accepting this definition, it follows that seven storms were recorded between 1901-02 and 1935-36.

Figures 12 and 13, illustrate two of these storms. In the first, eyewitness reports indicate that the rain continued for no longer than two hours, while the second, that of 22nd November, 1915, is described by Agius (22): 'A thunderstorm of exceptional intensity passed over the island in the early hours ... and the amount of rain registered was nearly equal to that recorded in another remarkable outburst ... some 40 years ago'. About the same time, there was much rain damage in Sicily, where 60 people lost their lives, and in Sardinia. During the period in which the number of rainfall stations was small, several major storms may have gone unrecorded, as would have been the case in one of the most recent, that of 12th October, 1957, had the Valletta record only (1.27 inches) been available. It is fortunate that the presence of one of the authors in Malta during the autumn of 1957 enabled him to study the storms of that period and their effects in some detail.

Early in August 1957, very localised rainfall caused some damage and flooding in the centre of the Island (23) but it was not until 22nd September that the first significant fall of the year took place at Valletta. Rain fell on several occasions in late September and early October and on 11th-13th October occurred some of the most violent storms of recent decades (Figs. 14 and 15).

During the 24 hours beginning at 0900 on 11th October, the heaviest falls occurred in the south-west of Malta. Figure 16 shows hourly rainfall at Mižieb and ta'Kandja where autographic records are available. The rainfall of the 11th/12th took place in three distinct phases, the first of which was barely felt at ta'Kandja, while at Mižieb the second phase was relatively unimportant. The sequence of events appears to have been as follows.

[Text continues on p. 66]

should be ascribed to the general wetness of the season rather than to these 132* storms alone. A general picture of the damage can be obtained from the local press (24) but certain aspects, of interest to the hydrologist and agriculturalist alike, are worthy of elaboration here. The notes which follow are based largely on the experiences of the farmers themselves.

There are some ways, perhaps, in which storms such as those of 11th-13th 132* October, 1957, may be beneficial, in filling the rock-cut cisterns, in clearing 241 debris from wied channels, in removing accumulated salts from irrigated land and in transporting soil from karstland on to the terraces below, but such 031 benefits, affecting relatively few farmers, would be more than offset by damage to the crops and lands of a far greater number.

Several types of damage can occur in times of torrential rain. Plants are damaged by direct impact, walls weakened by saturation of soil between the stones, clay masses slide downhill. Run-off causes sheet and gully erosion of the soil, washes away dams, walls and roadways and removes growing plants from the ground. In valley floors and low-lying areas, dams are silted up and water courses overflow to flood the more level land.

Fortunately, there were few standing crops to be damaged. The small part of the grape crop remaining to be picked was completely destroyed but cauliflowers and tomatoes were little affected. In many cases, however, sulla seed which had germinated was washed away and October was too late for re-planting. In some cases, vetches were sown as a replacement crop but, where the soil remained so wet as to prevent later ploughing, no crop could be raised until the following winter. Some farmers made fortuitous gains: one, near Kirkop, harvested more than nine hmiel of sulla from a vine field on to which seed had been washed. In the Wied tal-Pwales, melons, stored in the open were washed out to sea.

Farmers with flat land draining a large catchment area suffered severely from flooding. Very late tomatoes, grown to exploit improved marketing conditions, together with much of the autumn-sown potato crop were lost or severely damaged. This was particularly the case in Bur Marrad, where flood-waters stood for several weeks, and in the Wied tal-Pwales. Violent run-off caused extensive damage in several areas, despite the traditional careful terracing of steep slopes. Though sheet erosion in places removed an inch or more of the topsoil, the greatest damage was caused by gullying. Figure 17 illustrates one such case. The group of fields shown here lies on a natural terrace formed by the Upper Globigerina overlain with Blue Clay, above St. Paul's Bay. The damage to these fields is a product of the rain falling within them, since they stand on a spur and were not affected by run-off from higher areas. Similar damage occurred in other sample areas of steep slopes, clay soils and maximum storm rainfall; at Mġarr, Rabat and Wied ta'l-Isqof. Fields lying in the path of storm drainage suffered damage of a different type as shown in Fig. 18. Retaining walls built across a valley floor were swept away owing to the absence of any sort of drainage channel. Similar instances were noted at Mellieha, Mġarr, St. Paul's Bay and Mqabba.

The worst damage naturally occurred in areas where steep slopes coincided with maximum rainfall intensity, i.e. in north and west Malta. Four hundred farmers submitted damage claims, of which 262 were accepted as warranting financial assistance. The latter group included 10 per cent of all registered farmers in the parishes of Mell'eha, Mġarr, St. Paul's Bay and Rabat and just under 5 per cent. in Mosta and Għargħur. Damage in other parishes was not considered sufficient to merit assistance.

It would appear that, in many parts of the Islands, a day's rain amounting to 3 inches is almost certain to lead to damage of the kinds indicated and since such rainfall occurs, in one area or another, at least once in every five years, more efficient drainage would appear desirable. There are, however, several 132* conflicting factors to be taken into account. In drier years, the farmer wishes to limit drainage so as to obtain maximum soil moisture at the beginning of the 311 dry season, while the hydrologist wishes to encourage percolation into subterranean aquifers (see p. 43). At the same time, valley floors, where damage is

[Text continues on p. 69]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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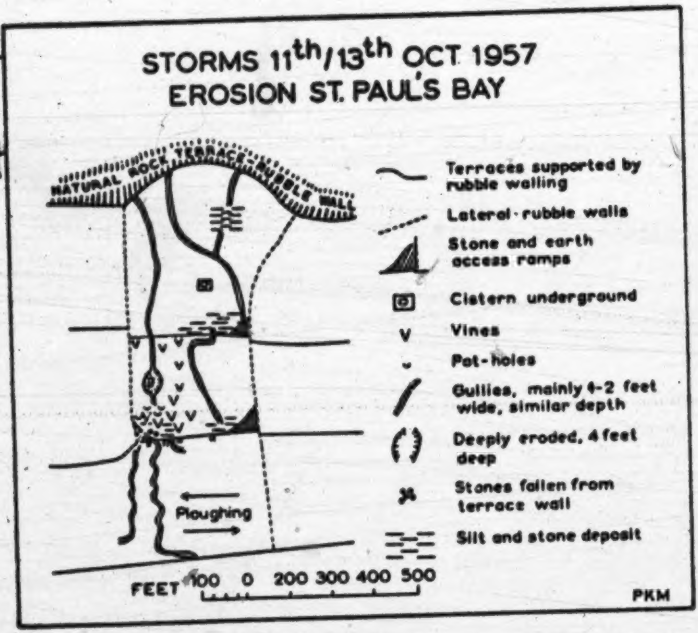

STORMS 11th/13th OCT 1957
EROSION ST. PAUL'S BAY
NATURAL ROCK TERRACE - RUBBLE WALL
Terraces supported by rubble walling
Lateral · rubble walls
Stone and earth access ramps
Cistern underground
V Vines
Pot-holes
Gullies, mainly 1-2 feet wide, similar depth
Deeply eroded, 4 feet deep
Stones fallen from terrace wall
Silt and stone deposit
Ploughing
FEET 100 0 200 300 400 500
PKM

Fig. 17 Storms of 11th/13th Oct. 1957, Erosion, St. Paul's Bay.

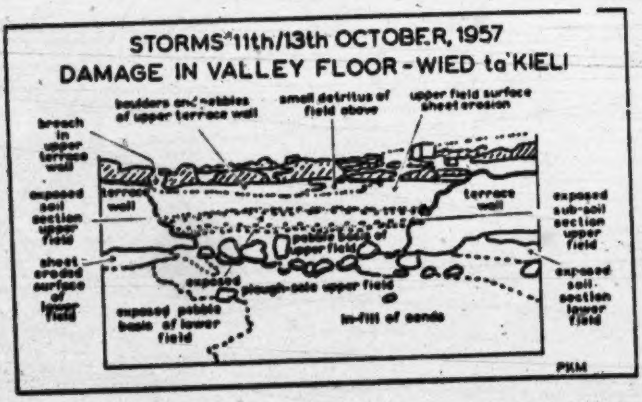

STORMS 11th/13th OCTOBER, 1957
DAMAGE IN VALLEY FLOOR - WIED ta'KIELI
boulders and pebbles of upper terrace wall
small detritus of field above
upper field surface sheet erosion
breach in upper terrace wall
terrace wall
terrace wall
exposed soil section upper field
exposed sub-soil section upper field
pebble basis of upper field
sheet eroded surface of lower field
exposed plough-sole upper field
exposed soil section lower field
exposed pebble basis of lower field
in-fill of sands
PKM

Fig. 18 Storms of 11th/13th Oct. 1957, Damage in Valley Floor, Wied ta' Kieli.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

132*
24 ●
312

THE MOISTURE REGIME OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS

The Maltese climate provides more moisture at the season when there is least demand for it, that is when the rate of plant growth is at its slowest. Conversely, when the potential for plant growth is highest, natural moisture is almost completely absent. Though winter temperature conditions allow the growth of a wide range of crops, some of the most valuable, e.g. tomatoes, would be unlikely to survive the winter season. Thus there have developed a number of types of crop management.

(1) Rain-fed crops are (a) planted before the onset of the autumn rains and watered artificially until adequate natural moisture is available, or (b) are sown mid-way through the rainy season when soil moisture is at a maximum. In all but the driest years, watering is unnecessary though, if applied, it can lead to higher yields.

(2) Crops dependent on soil moisture are generally planted late in the rainy season, when rainfall alone would be inadequate for their support. Land used in this way has generally been left fallow during the winter and repeatedly ploughed, thus keeping weeds down and reducing water loss from the bare soil. Even in average years, however, soil moisture will only support plant growth for a month or two and summer watering would be valuable but is not always possible.

(3) In irrigated areas, three crops a year are possible all depending to some extent on 'imported' water to supplement rainfall and soil moisture supplies. Areas in which this is possible, however efficient the methods used, are inevitably limited in extent.

Husbandry is largely controlled by considerations of this sort. Shallow ploughing is impossible until the onset of the rains has weakened hard surface crusts but is also difficult if the soil becomes excessively wet. The farmer thus hopes to cultivate and sow during the November dry spell (the Sajf ta'San Martin) which often follows earlier rains. In all but a few years, this traditionally hoped for dry period does in fact occur.

Ploughing is also carried out on a large scale in high summer when deep cultivation, with manuring, is carried out every fourth year. There seems to be no particular reason why this should be done in the summer months except that it is then that a large labour force is available. With mechanisation, labour supply is no longer a controlling factor but the practice persists. Certainly the movement of tractors and heavy ploughs about the countryside is most easy when the bulk of the land is fallow. The danger here is that deep-ploughed land may suffer soil erosion if there is an early onset of really heavy rain.

The timing and violence of the onset of the wet period are very uncertain. Generally the farmer aims at conservation of the early rains and does all he can to reduce run-off and to assist soil moisture recharge. If the autumn is wet, however, as in 1957, saturation of the soil and serious gullying may result from such traditional activities as the diversion of water from roads to fields by the construction of temporary earth dams and channels. A long term forecast of autumn weather would, if feasible, be of great value.

In the summer months, plant growth is often slow as a result of moisture deficiencies but there are obvious compensations. The ripening of vines continues unhindered, though the grapes may be damaged before harvest by early heavy showers. In spring and early summer, grains and legumes ripen and dry with little interruption.

There can be little doubt that current Maltese farming practices are adjusted to average conditions. It is the frequent occurrence of 'non-average' seasons which causes most damage (Figs. 25 and 26). Flexibility to cope with departures from mean conditions must be a major consideration in any plans for agricultural development.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

* 175
161
162
● 241
464

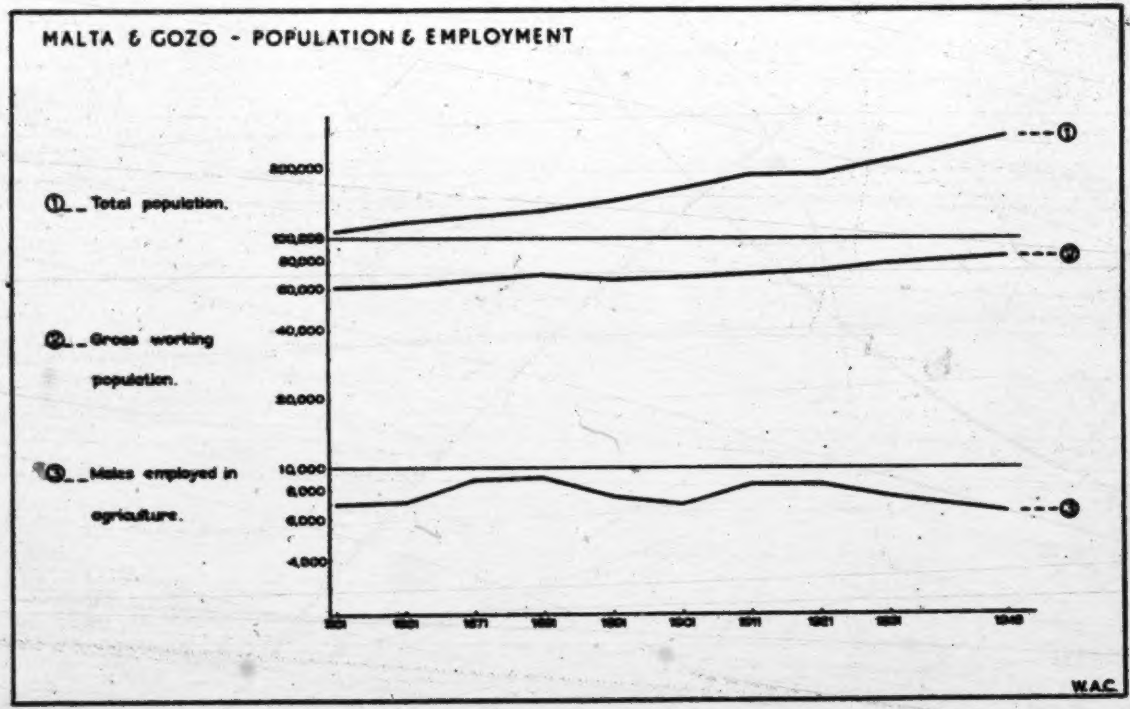


Fig. 31 Malta and Gozo, Population and Employment.

[p. 118-B]

175* 43 464

group. From 1851, when it composed 45 per cent. of the total, this element steadily decreased, absolutely and relatively. This general trend resulted from normal sociological changes consequent on a maturing of the whole economy and from the growing dominance of male employing service industries. At the same time, the preponderantly feminine cotton industry was steadily declining (see pp. 123 and 124).

175* 43 464 241 458

One of the most significant indicators of economic change is that of male employment in agriculture (Fig. 31). During the first century of British rule, agriculture played no part in the economic expansion which was in train. Agricultural prosperity became a function of general prosperity and therefore to a large extent mirrored external fortune. Employment in the industry on the other hand, except for the shortlived cotton growing boom of the 1860's during the American Civil War, varied inversely with general economic activity. In Malta, as in most countries, it would be true to say that rising profits in farming benefited existing producers but failed to attract net incomers. On the other hand, population growth, the cessation of employment elsewhere, obstacles to emigration or even forces producing a return of migrants all periodically forced some workers back on to the land. Thus in the years between 1851 and 1871 while the population was growing more quickly than the slow but accelerating commercial activity, sheer population pressure and migration trends (16) forced the level of male agricultural employment from c. 7,000 to c. 9,000. During the Golden Years and the subsequent period of large-scale dockyard and public works construction numbers fell once more to c. 7,000 in 1901. Later stagnation in commerce and a decline in constructional work culminating in a severe depression (necessitating a Royal Commission) were marked by an increase in the number of farmworkers to 8,500 in 1911. These general fluctuations can be corroborated by reference to farm family histories and by changes in the availability of land. Behind the overall absence of numerical change and of those of secular variations we may discern some of the fundamental features of Maltese agriculture. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the better land had already been occupied by as many farmworkers as contemporary productivity could properly support. This number remained more or less constant, first because the economic and social climate was not propitious to the labour saving innovations which were sweeping over Europe, and secondly because the intake of land from waste did little more than compensate for losses elsewhere. We have a picture of a technically static, status declining and credit starved industry which from time to time lost some of its most vigorous and enterprising young workers or gained a flood of generally poor and semi-skilled labourers.

175* 369 43

More true of Malta than of Gozo, this picture must be modified to accommodate regional differences and changes. Already in the eighteenth century, as we have noted, a cleavage existed in Malta between the *urbs* around Valletta, the Old City of Mdina-Rabat, and the rural communities. By the middle of the nineteenth century, this had developed into an embryonic form of the present division into urban, suburban and rural communities (Fig. 36). The social and demographic reasons for and implications of this are considered elsewhere (Chapter VI A) but the internal economic factors need present consideration.

[999]

Before the building of the railway in 1881, the tramways in 1905, and the later motorable roads, communication between villages and between country and town was relatively limited. Within those areas physically closest to what had now become the Grand Harbour the attraction/repulsion effects on agricultural employment were most strongly felt. On the eastern urban fringe, in the Żabbar area, these fluctuations were very violent and indicative of too complete reliance on two simple forms of economic activity, dockyard work and farming. On the western fringe the expanding economic and political functions of the nuclear *urbs* overwhelmed old villages such as Birkirkara and created new townships such as that of Hamrun in a more complex urbanisation (Figs. 32 and 39). Fluctuations in agricultural employment still occurred but these were less important than the steady decline in the total.

The changes outlined above proceeded slowly but at an accelerating rate during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. By 1871 popula-

[Text continues on p. 123]

Islands and could thus provide continuity in the interpretation of the records of 311* the many field workers. 114

The survey parties worked in the Islands during the months of March and April in each of the three years 1955, 1956, and 1957. In March-April and August-September 1958 the authors themselves carried out final checks. During the Spring periods, the use of fairly large teams of observers, between six and eight in number, enabled the work to be concentrated at a critical time when the widest range of crops and of activities are to be seen. Summer vegetables and cotton are the only major crops not then in the fields and this difficulty was overcome by the enlistment of the other Durham research workers permanently residing in the Islands and by a summer visit of one of the authors. Objection might be raised to the spreading of the survey work over more than one season. The difficulty of completing such work on such a scale during one short period of time is not a sufficient answer. The real answer is that the time spread did not matter. The miniscule field pattern and the further subdivision into separate plots, both amply illustrated in the examples shown here, mean that crop changes from year to year merely result in the re-shuffling of tiny pieces of an intricate mosaic. The variety of crops grown and identified (see below), the relative uniformity of crop sequences and the individuality possessed by the various regions, further remove any deficiencies apparently implied by this particular method. The spreading of the fieldwork over a number of years did in fact allow both the checking of methodological validity and the carrying out of subsidiary pieces of work. For example, sample areas were surveyed during each of the four years, thus giving an accurate picture of crop sequence and rotations, as well as a check on short term change.

The following crops were individually identified in the field: sulla, wheat, [241] barley, vines, fruit, olives, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, marrows, other vegetables, broad beans, peas and vetches. In addition, uncropped land was recorded as waste, fallow, rough grazing or tilled. In several cases, e.g. vegetables, fruit and vetches, a note was made of the actual variety of plant being grown, e.g. cauliflowers, artichokes, apples, peaches, lemons, *gilbiena*, 102 *zozfa*, *widna*, etc. Coloured maps on a 6-inch scale, showing the 18 different crops and uses of land have been prepared. Cost of publication prevents their 311* reproduction here, but they have been used in the preparation of this volume, particularly in Chapters VII B and VIII. 126 The Land Use Maps (Figs. 69 to 98) show the distribution of individual crops, though the range distinguished has been somewhat curtailed. Wheat and barley, tomatoes and marrows, the various vegetables, broad beans and peas, and vetches and minor fodders have respectively been combined into single maps although the accompanying text notes regional variations. These 14 distribution maps in black and white have been prepared by reduction from the coloured 6-inch series. They were originally prepared on a 2-inch scale, and were thus directly comparable with the standard 2-inch topographical sheets and with the 2-inch geology and soil maps. The distribution maps, together with the coloured 6-inch are at present stored in the Durham Geography Department and it is hoped that the former at least will eventually be published on a 2-inch scale. The amount of cartographic work involved has been at least as great as that done in the field, and, since it was carried out by the authors alone it has consumed a considerable amount of time. However, it is felt that the labour has been justified in that only by accurate cartographic representation and by deduction from the maps can easy generalities be avoided. The long term character of the project also made easier the establishment of friendly contacts with local individuals, both official and private, whose help is sincerely acknowledged, and at the same time allowed the authors to amass a background knowledge of the Maltese Islands which has been invaluable in their interpretation of the agricultural landscape.

Note. A preliminary report - 'Agriculture in Malta, a survey of land use', was produced 113 by H. Bowen-Jones and J. C. Dewdney, at Durham, in 1955.

B. Crop Distributions

FIELD CROPS

CEREALS - WHEAT and BARLEY *(Qamh and Xgħir)* 311* 243

As the land use maps show (Figs. 71 and 72), cereals are grown in all regions of the Islands. Of the grains, wheat and barley alone are of importance. Some maize and millets are still grown and a few fields of sown oats were observed. *Mixta* - a mixture of wheat and barley - is now rare, although self-seeding produces some mixtures difficult to distinguish except by close examination. The practice of sowing spoilt or 'bottom of the bag' grain on odd patches of soil that would otherwise bear nothing also produces unexpected results.

Many different varieties of wheat and barley are grown - naked and bearded, short and long-awned, with short, stiff and long, weak culms. So-called 'Maltese' varieties such as *Qamh ta'Susa* and *ta'Bla Sifa*, have little homogeneity except that the wheats are all hard, bearded types. Introductions are mainly of durums from Canada. The local barleys are poor in type - short-eared, small-grained, 'dry' varieties, although the poor results are obviously partly explained by their [197] use for cropping the harsher lands. The new barleys are also mainly of North American origin and selected for early maturation. This latter characteristic is especially of value in an environment in which barley may dry and shatter rather than ripen - this has been observed even as early as March. In so far as barley is a residual land crop, however, then innovated varieties would seem to be difficult to establish and popularise - especially since the farmers on the poorest land are the least able to indulge in experiment.

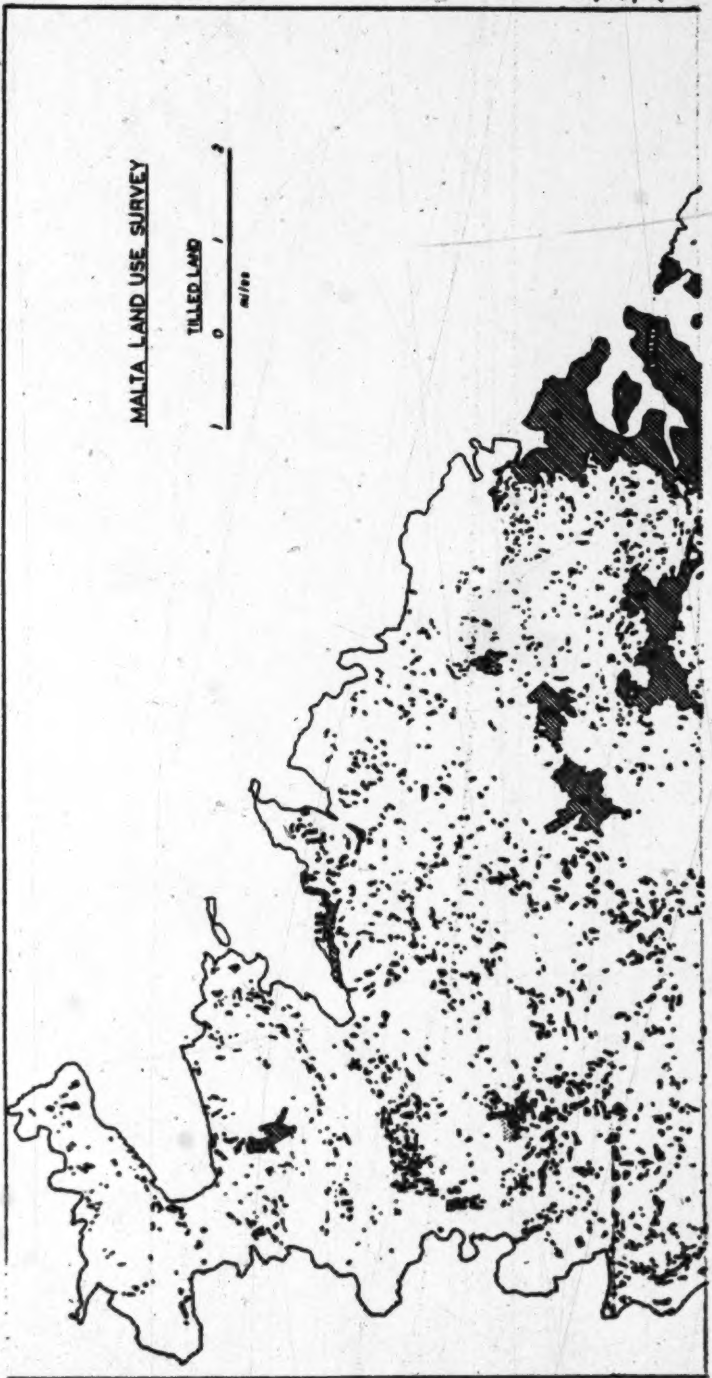
That the importance of cereal cultivation remains so great, in spite of growing dependence on imported bread grains, seems strange at first sight. Information supplied by local mills suggests that human consumption of local cereals is very small, but quantitative estimates cannot accurately be made at present. Little is known of the relative importance of domestic subsistence on the farmers' own grain crops. Davy, in 1842 (1), and witnesses before the Royal Commission of 1911 maintained that production was mainly for domestic consumption. This is still obviously true for some vegetable crops and poultry but, in the present period of continued transition from peasant farming towards commercial farming, is difficult to evaluate for cereal production. For general purposes we may however presume the validity of the assumption that Maltese-grown grains have become less important for human food. No significant amount, it is generally agreed, is used for distilling and brewing. The former is severely restricted by law, and the latter by the general unsuitability for malting - unevenness of sample is a major difficulty - of local barley. For use there then remains only production for livestock fodder - particularly for horses and cattle, although the value of a grain ration for pigs is becoming more apparent with the introduction of better breeds such as the Large White. Given this situation, the comparative ease of grain-growing in the usual rotations practised, and the difficulty of finding alternative crops for some hardland areas, results in the survival of what has been called *grande culture* - land use of which would seem to be, in many regions at least, unnecessarily extensive.

The matter of rotation is fairly simple. Debono (2), in 1911, pointed out that, 241 after previous manuring and vegetable growing - 'there is only the sowing and the crop comes by itself. So that whether there be duty or no duty, wheat will 242 always be cultivated here in Malta, unless there is a revaluation in the rotation of crops'. A contemporary example may be taken from a farm at tad-Dahla. On the poorer land, wheat is grown alternate years with sulla. On the better land, potatoes and vegetables are the main crops and wheat, sown incidentally as a rotation crop, then gives yields of 25-28 cwt. per acre - double that on the other fields. Any change in the proportion of wheat to other crops under this system of farming could only be a consequence of an agricultural revolution.

More complex is the importance of the grains as hardland crops. Basically, 243 wheat and barley are dry farming crops in Malta. Without irrigation, even away 311*

[TEXT Continues on P. 197]

*311
102
●241


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
TILLED LAND
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 224-A]

Fig. 91 Malta: Land Use Survey: Tilled Land.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
241 ●

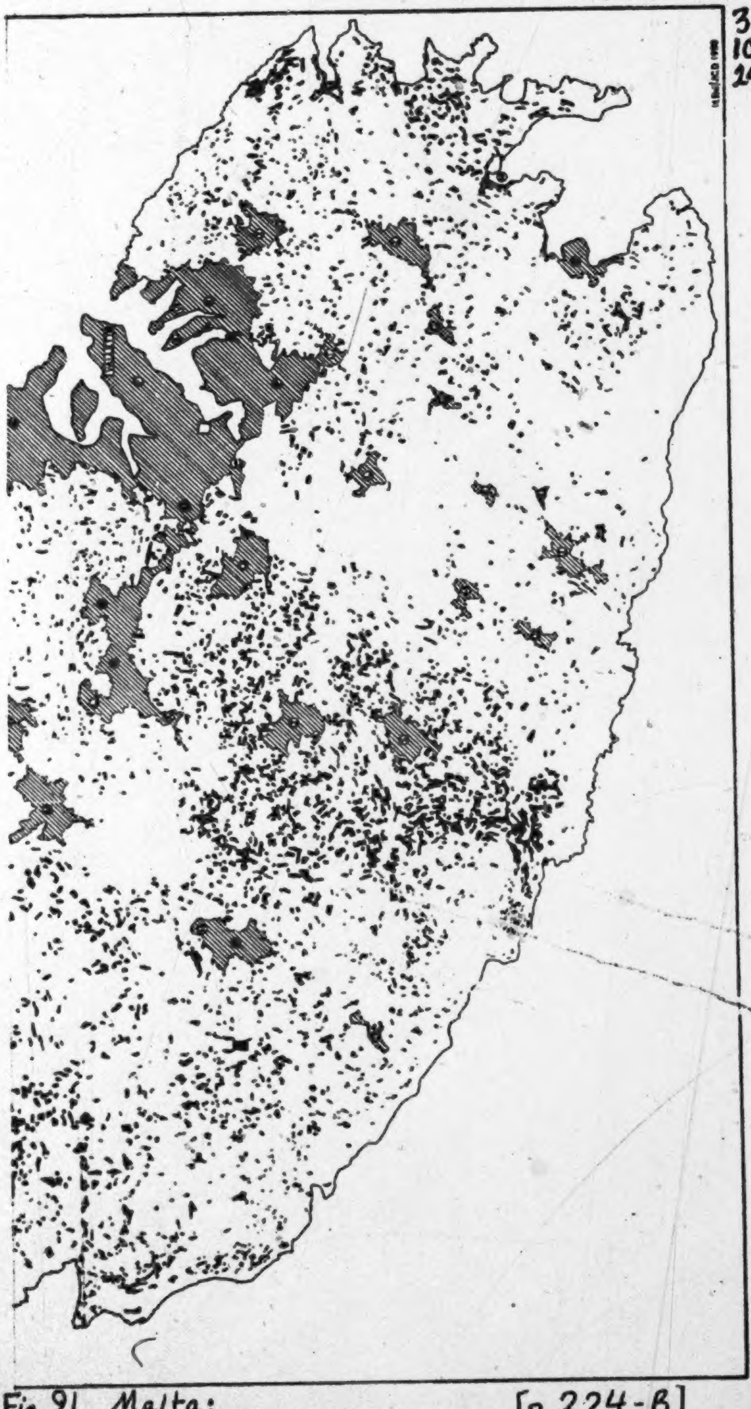


Fig. 91 Malta;
Land Use Survey: Tilled Land.

[p. 224-B]

311* 244 Various types of location may be observed. In Malta (Fig. 89) there are, first, the main irrigated vegetable zones of the Wied tal-Pwales and Wied tal-Mistra where cultivation is carried out on a commercial scale. A great variety of crops are raised, but artichokes assume a particular importance. Secondly, in the Bur Marrad district of the Wied il-Ghasel, there is considerable specialisation, particularly in artichokes and to a lesser extent in brassicas. Thirdly, there is the group of districts around certain settlements with urban-fringe market gardening. Near Żabbar, mixed vegetables, predominantly brassicas, are cultivated in many small plots, often worked by part-time farmers. Around Qormi, the possibility of irrigation has encouraged a very considerable spread of market gardening which further extends into Hamrun. Near Rabat, a similar, smaller zone is also of some importance for mainly non-brassica crops.

Lastly, a belt of vegetable cultivation occurs on the high central platforms between Żebbuġ-Siġġiewi and the Rabat-Dingli upland. In Fig. 89 the importance of this zone is not fully illustrated. Fig. 91, showing tilled land during the survey period, gives an indication of the considerable area which is, later in each year, devoted to summer vegetables. This is pre-eminently the area of brassica cultivation with cauliflowers of particular importance. The reasons for this are not completely known, but seem in the main to reflect climatic and soil advantages (see Chapter VIII).

In Gozo (Fig. 90) the range of vegetables grown is rather smaller than in Malta, and cultivation is much more closely confined to the settlement fringes. There are some exceptional districts, such as the Wied tal-Mistra in the north-east and the small depression lying north-west of Victoria, where good supplies of water have encouraged commercial specialisation.

TILLED LAND (Figs. 91 and 92)

311* 241 Land shown in this category is that which either had a prepared tilth in readiness for further sowing and planting or had been cleared for summer fallow. This would follow early harvesting of sulla, *ferrana* and potatoes or a long fallow period. Areas where tree-crop cultivation is widespread are obviously of little significance in this category. Classification problems arise in that cleared land unsuitable for summer cultivation (for reasons of environment or rotation) is, under Maltese conditions, difficult to distinguish from land about to be planted. However, it can be stated with some degree of certainty that in Malta the main belt of tilled land west of Siġġiewi and Żebbuġ represents land prepared for summer vegetable cultivation (see Chapter VIII). In Gozo, much of the tilled land of the west is prepared in readiness for summer cotton growing.

COTTON (*Qoton*)

311* 248 The cultivation of cotton, which was widespread in the Maltese Islands from Classical times to the mid-nineteenth century, has been slowly reviving in Gozo during the last few years.

This is only the annual crop of which the seasonal range fell completely outside the survey period. Cultivation is most considerable around Żebbuġ, Gharb and San Lawrenz. Environmental conditions are far from optimum and the future of cotton growing depends largely on the efforts and interest of one textile firm and of the Government.

FALLOW LAND - Malta (Fig. 93)

311* 241 Land classified under this head is that which neither carried a crop nor had a prepared tilth but which did not appear to have been unworked for more than about a year. Some such land is inevitably in the first stage of abandonment, but other areas have remained uncultivated for a variety of other reasons connected with quarrying, tenurial disputes, demands of the Defence Departments and various types of farming hazard.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
107
241

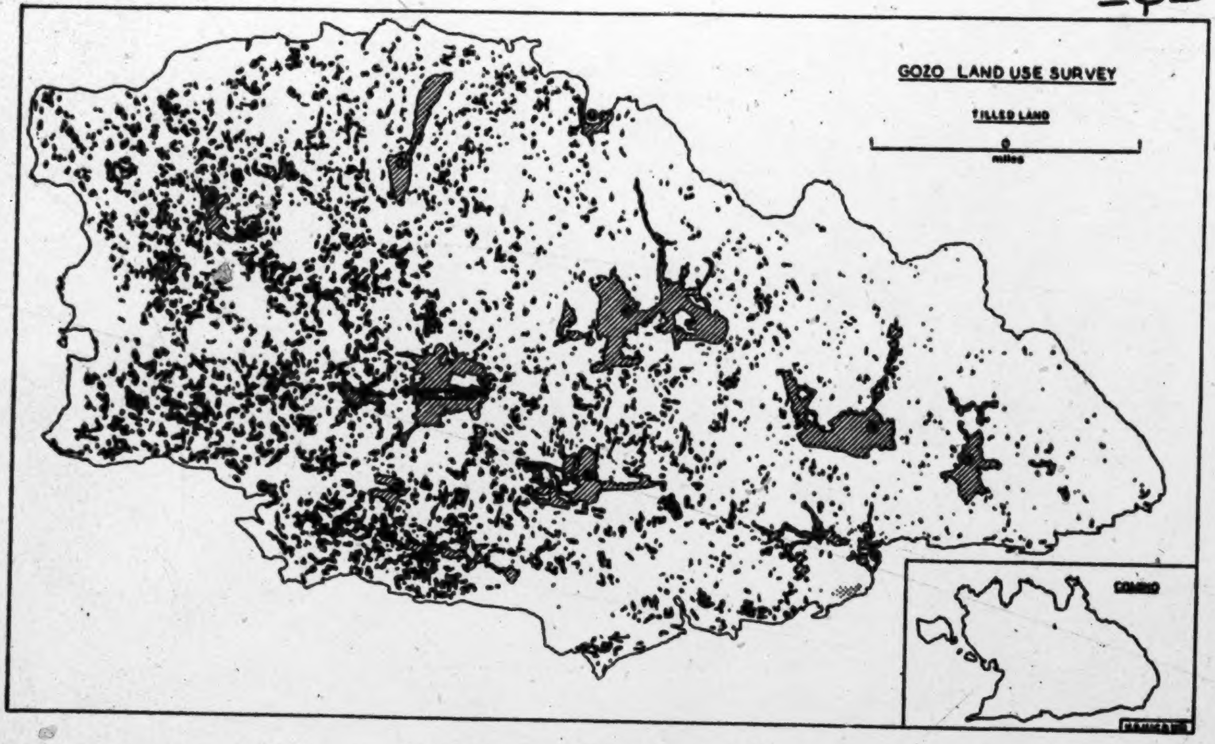

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
TILLED LAND
0
miles
COMINO

Fig. 92 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Tilled Land.

FALLOW AND ROUGH GRAZING - Gozo (Fig. 94)

311* 241 ● [233] As noted above, land classification in Gozo presents special problems. The widespread occurrence of self-seeded sulla, very often heavily weed-infested, and abandoned land still carrying (on the thicker soils) fairly dense herbaceous and graminaceous vegetation, is not an indication of completely waste land. This intermediate category is a reflection of the lesser intensity of direct pressure on agricultural resources and the greater importance of field grazing in Gozo.

WASTELAND

311* [233] All areas in which a soil mantle has never been developed or from which it has been wholly or partially removed by erosion, together with land which has obviously not been cultivated for some years, have been classified as waste. Thus, karstland as on the Marfa Ridge, the clay badlands of Ghajn Tuffieha, the abandoned terraces of Wied il-Kbir and the more recently neglected fields of il-Wilġia in Wied tal-Pwales, all fall within this category. Earlier classifications of wasteland in the Islands have attempted to postulate completely unutilised barrenness. This, on the one hand, leads to an underestimate of the extent and rate of abandonment, a feature of crucial importance, and on the other overestimates the absence of value: much wasteland is in fact utilised for *xagħra* grazing.

Figs. 95[1] and 96[2] indicate the magnitude of wasteland in the Maltese Islands. Gradient as such has little effect, parent rock, water supply, accessibility and exposure all being a good deal more important. The Lower Coralline exposures are very largely waste, a result of the slow rate of physico-chemical disintegration of this massive series. The other major wasteland areas are associated with special conditions of aspect and altitude. The fact that they are largely developed on Upper Coralline rocks results not from any parent-rock intractability but from the great height at which the strata of this series generally lie and from shortage of water. As noted in Chapter III, Terra Rossa development can give very productive areas.

In Malta, the inter-relationship of aspect, topography, geology and soils is well exemplified in the northern part of the island. The structural and topographic grain is transverse to winds blowing from directions between north and west. As noted in Chapter II, these winds bring high humidity and low temperatures, during the winter season. Ecological conditions of relative bleakness inhibit vegetal growth and soil formation except in sheltered depressions. The effect on land use has been to bring the 'karst line' down to sea level on the exposed Marfa peninsula, from which it ascends south-eastwards towards the more sheltered interior ridges. The level of cultivation rises progressively higher until, on the Santi-Binġemma plateau, it extends over the whole upland area. Secondary controls are exerted by details of aspect, altitude and spring-line development. Thus Bajda Ridge, of intermediate height and lying in the lee of Mellieha Ridge, forms one of the most continuous belts of wasteland. Structurally an anticline, and too small to contain an appreciable body of water or to allow doline formation, the Bajda Ridge is unlikely ever to allow a more intensive form of land use than that provided by the experiments in afforestation now in progress.

Comino and Cominotto, which are fragments of a shattered Upper Coralline anticline, are almost entirely waste. A few patches of cultivation in sheltered positions are all that remain of a never very extensive tilled area. Remoteness and exposure are sufficient to explain the present condition of these small islands.

Dissection and consequent exposure of the Lower Coralline have been the major processes giving rise to wasteland in Gozo. This is clearly exemplified in the fault-shattered zone of Qawra, id-Dwejra and the Wied Ilma as well as in Wied ix-Xlendi. Along the north coast, steep cliffs fall to a Lower Coralline platform which is reflected in an analogous belt of wasteland, while the barren ta'Ċenċ hills are also developed on rocks of this series. In the north-east, wasteland covers the higher and more exposed *gerżin* areas and scattered stretches of waste occupy much of the steep and tectonically disrupted eastern

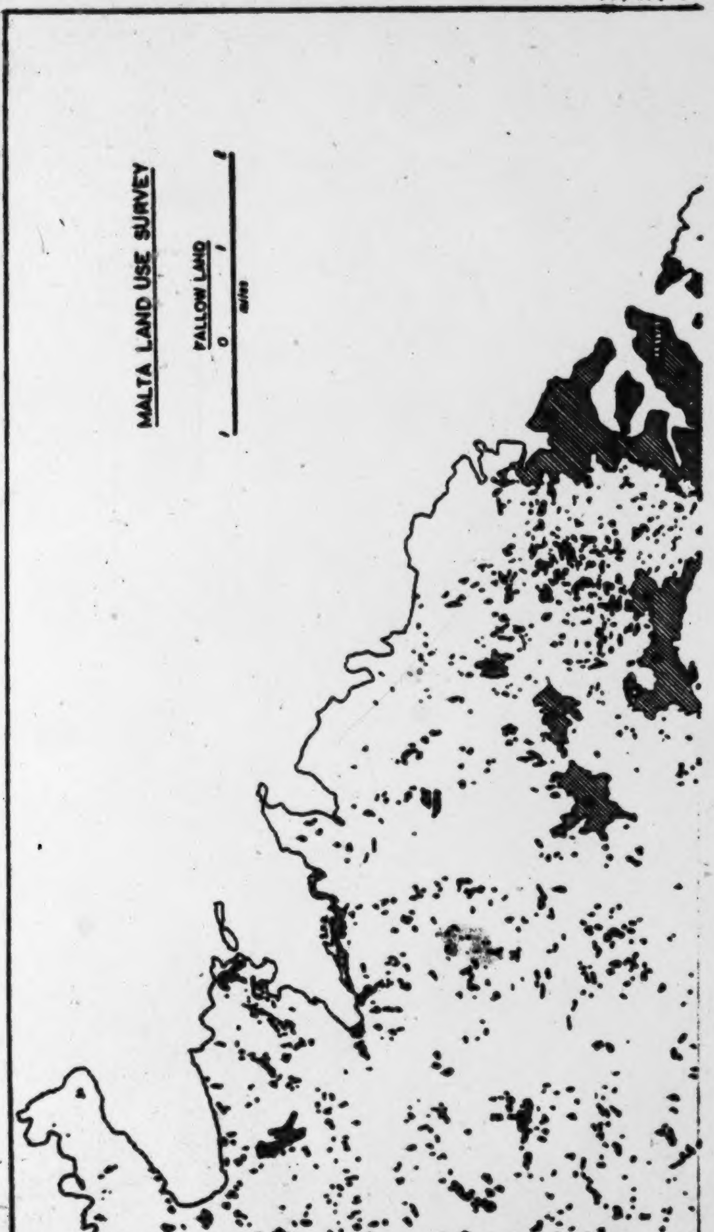
[1], [2] [See pp. 230 A&B and 231 -- Analyst)

[Text continues on p. 233]

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
241


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
FALLOW LAND
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 228-A]

Fig.93 Malta: Land Use
Survey: Fallow

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ8 Malta EZ8
Malta

311*
102
241 ●

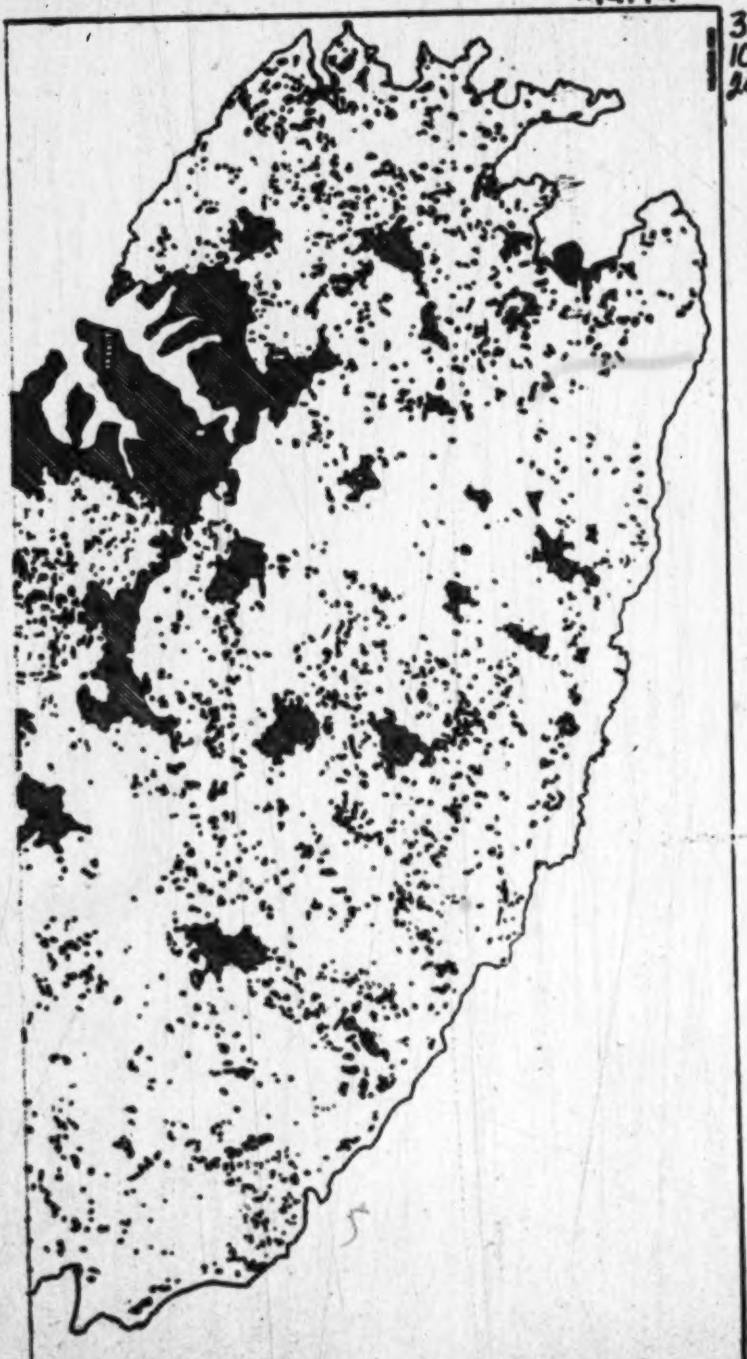


Fig. 93 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Fallow.

[p. 228-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo
*3111
1102
233
2471

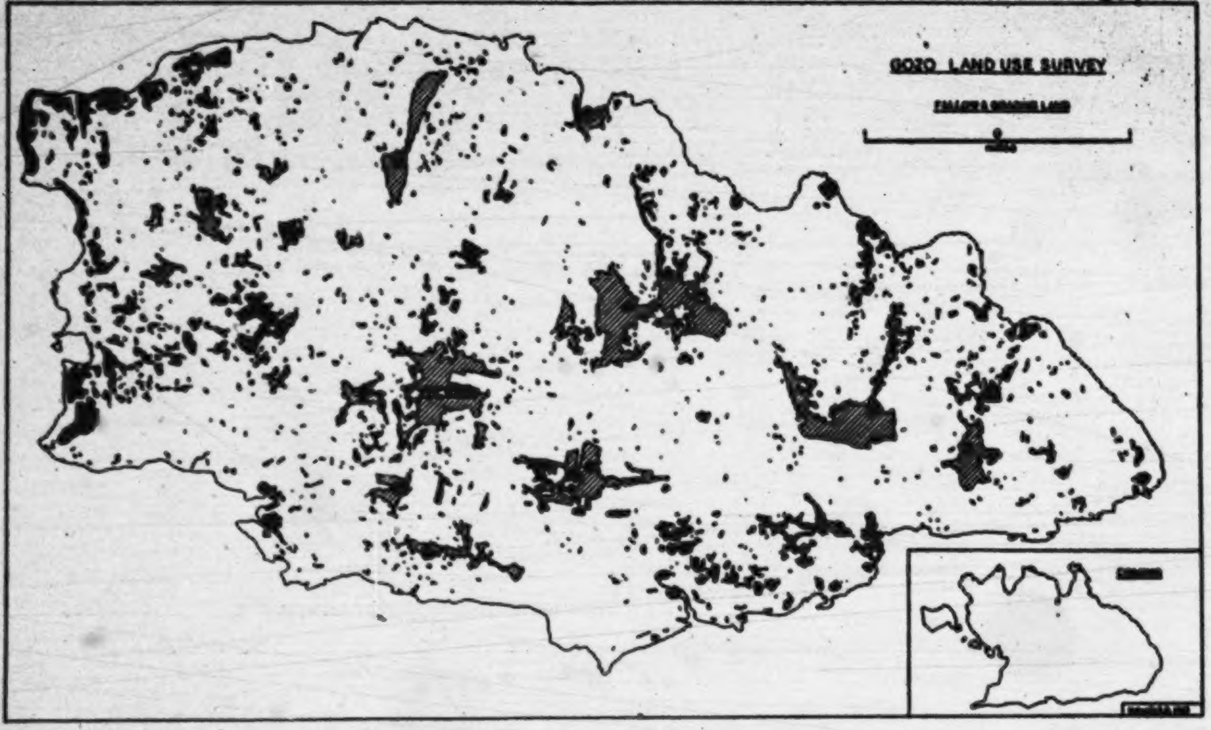

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
FALLOW & GRAZING LAND

Fig. 94 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Fallow and Grazing.

[P. 289]

Chapter IX

A. The Maltese Farmholding

For our purposes here we shall define a 'farmer' as 'the owner or holder of land which he cultivates', but will add the limiting clause, 'as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise'. There may be joint owners or holders but normally, even where a *'communio inter fratres'* has been established on the death of a parent landholder, one person will assume responsibility for the control of the enterprise. He is the farmer. His brothers, sisters, wife and children, if they assist in working the land, together with the non-family labour which he may employ are the farmworkers. The inter-relationships of family and work can, however, be much more complex than this simplification may imply. 423* 241 ● [464]

The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers we shall term the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners, and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer. Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact that a holding may contain freehold, as well as various types of leasehold land. Within each holding there exists a loosely-knit collection of plots, which, through accident or design, have come to be in the occupation of one individual or group. Because of the geographical isolation of the plots, most of the holdings might, descriptively, be termed 'fragmented holdings'. Such holdings need not necessarily have acquired this characteristic through the process of *parcellement*; that is by splitting up of a holding into a number of non-contiguous plots. No generic connotation, therefore, should be attached to the purely descriptive use of the term 'fragmented'. In the following examination of the Maltese farm, this distinction between descriptive statements and analyses of processes will be maintained. 423*

The physical size of a farm may be considered as the total area of land over which the farmer exercises sole rights of occupation for agricultural purposes. Fortunately, in the Maltese Islands, the matter is not complicated by problems of definition concerned with common land, as communal holding of land is effectively absent. But other problems do arise, since land is so variable in quality, ranging from fertile irrigated lands to soil-less karst, with many gradations in between. Most farms include land of more than one category and, especially in the north and west of Malta and the hard-rock areas of Gozo, many farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivator's point of view is useless.

The average size of farms has proved an elusive statistic for many writers. A figure of 3.7 acres was given to the Royal Commission of 1911-12. From 1921-36 the Blue Books continued to advertise the patent fallacy that only 236 holdings were in the 0-10 acre size range and that 10,864 holdings contained from 11-50 acres of land. However, in this context any average figure is very largely meaningless except for purely comparative purposes. The range is enormous; holdings less than 1 *tomna* are not considered as farms, but there are many holdings only slightly larger than this, while at the other end of the scale, farms of 200 *tmien* are not unknown.

Much of the record concerning farm sizes is incomplete and, although the present response rate of over 97 per cent. to the annual Agricultural Census conducted by the Central Office of Statistics is excellent under the conditions prevailing in the Maltese Islands, it seems probable that earlier returns lagged far behind in this respect. Of the various sources, the Farm Register is probably the most accurate. It began with a Census in 1943 and was checked against another in 1944; for several years its details were consolidated by field survey, 423* 127 659

[Text continues on P. 291]

*423

Table 34. Number of farm holdings.

	Malta	Gozo	Malta and Gozo
1891	6,307	2,965	9,272
1901	6,106	3,072	9,178
1950	9,600	4,000	13,600
1952	9,440	3,815	13,255
1955	9,011	3,674	12,690
1958	8,774	3,441	12,215

The fluctuations during the post-war period are not considered to be significant, since the 1950 figure was an estimate, and something like 750 farmers are known not to have co-operated in 1955.

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Some further indication of the long-term increase in the number of holdings is given by the Census statistics of Agricultural Occupations for the years 1842-1931. In those years, persons working on the land were grouped in the following categories:-

Table 35.

	1842	1851 1861		1871	1881		1891 1901 1911 1921 1931
A	Farmer	do. (Proprietor)	C	Farmer	Peasant Proprietor		Farmer, cultivator of land
B	Farmer	do. (Tenant)					
D	Labourer in the field					E	Farmer's relative assisting
						F	Agricultural Labourer

It would appear from the context in which they are used that the classes A and B of the earlier years were intended to comprise the same groups as class C, of 1871 onward; also that these represent the number of cultivators working land on their own account who have no other major occupation.

Class D was subdivided in 1891 and later years to take special account of those farm-workers who were close relatives of the land-holder. There is no close equivalent in the post-war material for this group, for the 1948 Census takes no heed of the family relationships, while the Departmental enquiries make inadequate reference to the admittedly small group of farm-workers who are not members of landholders' families.

If the classes A, B, C and D, E, F can be presumed to be comparable for the whole of the period, even to a wide degree of approximation, then a general upward trend in the numbers of landholders, balancing a downward trend in the number of farm-workers, is apparent (Table 36).

Short-term variations in these trends result, at least in part, from misclassification of persons as between the two groups, but of greater significance were the succeeding slump and boom conditions in Maltese agriculture, which in turn are to be related to contemporary, but opposite, fluctuations in the general economy of the Islands (Chapter V A). A fall in the number of full-time farmholders need not imply an absolute recession from the land, but rather that numbers of farmers are taking alternative employment, which, for a period, becomes their principal occupation. In the meantime the land is being worked on a part-time basis, or by the men's wives and families.

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Table 36. Agricultural occupations - male and female.

Farmholders, farm-workers, and total workers on land (excluding sheep and goat herders).

		1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders	%	27.2	19.7	17.1	30.2	19.1	37.4	36.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers	%	71.9	78.4	80.9	68.1	79.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	56.9	51.1
Total workers on land	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	000's	12.2	13.4	10.8	15.4	15.3	15.3	13.8	15.1	16.2	13.6

The general increase in the numbers of farmholders could have arisen entirely within the class itself, by the repeated re-allocation of land to succeeding and larger generations. Similarly the full decline in the numbers of farmworkers may be related to increased alternative employment or to emigration. However, case-study material seems to indicate that many families whose members had traditionally been landless labourers, working in fields, quarries or industry, as wages rose and fell began to acquire a direct interest in the land, thereby moving from one class to another without affecting the total agricultural labour force. Such a family history is examined in detail later in this chapter.

Another factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming. In this sector data is particularly limited and of dubious value. Table 37 consolidates all the relevant material.

Table 37.

	1891	1901		1956
'Farmers'	5,727	5,038	Full-time farmholders	4,706
'Part-time Farmers'	2,263	500	Part-time farmholders	5,337
			Other farmholders	1,368
Total	7,990	5,538	Total	11,411
Number of holdings	9,272	9,178	Number of holders	12,640

The discrepancies in the earlier two years between the numbers of farmholders and of farmholdings arise from the differing bases of the material, and because the number of holdings includes returns by the 'owners of fruit gardens and field labourers with very small amounts of land'. Similar explanations apply in 1956. These doubts notwithstanding, it is quite clear that a major part of the increase in holdings is made up of holdings farmed on a part-time basis; the number of farmholders principally dependent on agriculture having declined meanwhile.

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Earlier in this chapter, the point was made that most farms contain land of various types. Apart from virtually non-productive waste land, the main distinction is between dry land and irrigated land. The distinction is not always very clearly set between the two groups, since land can also be considered as 'semi-irrigated', as in the Farm Register. However, this type of land, watered from rain-filled cisterns perhaps twice or three times per season, cannot compare in output with the perennially irrigable land. The crops on this latter type of land will be watered at ten-day intervals for a period of six or more months. Semi-irrigated land is grouped by the farmers themselves with dry land as *raba baghli*, while perennially irrigated land they refer to as *raba saqwi*. So long as data is based on the agriculturalist's own criteria there seems little danger of confusion.

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Plate XIX. Tillage - traditional style.

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Plate XX. Tillage - new style.

B. Cultivation Equipment and Tillage

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Of the implements observed in Malta, the traditional types of plough, hoe, 407 sickle and harrow are of the same genera as those to be generally found in the 412 Mediterranean region (Fig. 140).

Ploughs are of the *Aratrum* or *Ard* type, steel tipped wooden wedges, devoid of cutting edges and having very restricted powers of furrow making or inversion 407 - *moħriet*. None of those observed had lateral 'ears' or 'wings' but apparently ards thus equipped are occasionally used. There are various sub-types with differing arrangements of beam, body and handle but no constant rational relationship between these sub-types and local environments could be observed. Prices range upwards of £4 10s. 0d. Iron or steel tips for the body cost about £1. One interesting modification of the plough is manufactured at Żurrieq. On top of the basic beam and body is fitted a movable double mouldboard of which either or both breasts can be brought into operation at any one time. Ridging and left and right furrow inversion are therefore made possible. For those areas where furrow inversion is practicable such a cheap, light multi-purpose implement would be very valuable, and the development of such improvements might well be encouraged by official approbation.

Hoes are manufactured in four main types. The heavy spade type, the 412 *Żappuna*, is generally used for soil trenching in preparation for manuring. The effort involved tends to restrict its use. The small, single tined, wedge-shaped hoe, the *Mgħazqa* or *Lexxuna*, is a general purpose implement that is replaced under damp and cohesive soil conditions by a forked, two-tined variety, the *Kroxun*. A three-tined hoe is often used, together with the ard, for potato lifting. In general, each cultivator possesses a selection of different types of hoe, necessitated by the variety of manual operations he usually has to perform and made possible by the reasonable prices of the implements (prices range from about 16s. for the single-tine, to 18s. to £1 for the spade hoe).

The sickle in general use is a small, smooth-edged type costing about 12s. 6d. The small number of sickle types observed may result from the widespread practice of pulling rather than cutting green fodder. Traditional harrows are 407 almost invariably of the Mediterranean and Asiatic type, harrows cum levellers and seed coverers. Those observed were triangular and stone weighted. When manufactured for the purpose they were usually constructed of ash and had removable tines. Without metal tines, the cost is about 50s.

These implements, of which illustrated examples are given (Fig. 140), have already to some extent been displaced by imported newer types. Most farmers [241] who possess fields which are at all accessible to tractors now periodically hire contractors to plough the land with mouldboard or disc ploughs and even, in some areas, with deep digger-ploughs. Where plots are small or the terrain difficult, then rotary cultivators are hired or purchased. These latter machines, in spite of their relatively high cost - usually over £200 in Malta - are amazingly popular and are more and more replacing the *ard* and the hoe. The reasons for, and implications of this popularity are examined below.

The spade proper is hardly ever used, and its absence is associated with [412] the reasons for the survival of the *ard* plough. Small, light, flexible, metal harrows are to be found. Entirely imported, their only advantages are their flexibility on rough ground and ease of draught. They are, on the other hand, more easily damaged and more difficult to repair than their wooden prototypes. Other equipment includes a great range of fixed and movable adjuncts to farming, all but one class of which are constructed rurally from local materials. The [406] exceptional group is that connected with irrigation and includes windpumps and small diesel engines. [243] Threshing and winnowing, traditional style, needs no more than a rock or *torba* (beaten earth) floor and asses or horses for trampling, [492] baskets constructed of local cane, and simple wooden winnowing forks. Of recent years, centralised threshing by contractors' machines has almost entirely displaced the older method in all but the more remote western regions. 241 Canes, grown in slightly marshy conditions in wied floors, provide the raw material 824 for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc.

000 for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc. Livestock harness is
492 simple in type consisting of head harness and collar. Working bullocks, now
rarely used, are also equipped with collars for traction but the guiding reins
are attached to the horns. Country carts are unsprung, wooden frames resting
493 directly on the metal axles. That the ruggedness of their construction is only
equalled by the toughness of the draught animals is evinced by their presence
on places such as Dingli Undercliff, or the cliffsides of the Wied il-Luq
(Buskett).

343 The solidly built stone huts or *orfa* that are to be found on most holdings may be regarded as part of the farmers' 'equipment' rather than his habitation. The simplest and most numerous are simple one-roomed cubes, some five yards square, strongly constructed, usually of worked stone blocks with wood and *torba* roofs. These 'blockhouses', for such they appear, serve as storehouses for implements and crops, for guns and birdcatching equipment, as well as for shelter during the 'siesta' hours and bad weather. Their cost in construction labour, and the pride that does into the simple furnishing of what is the farmers 'den', as well as the deceptive appearance of dispersed settlement that they give, suggests that further investigation into their origins might prove valuable. In general terms, they seem to be a natural response to the marked concentration of settlement in the casals. They are far less numerous in the western region of more recent and dispersed settlement. The larger, two-roomed and two-storied types are used mainly as summer working residences, when a whole family may move out of its casal to the main holding.

407 These implements and types of equipment are one facet of the complex of traditional cultivation techniques - techniques based on the intense and continuous application of uncosted hand labour. A brief examination of the working characteristics of some of the implements is a necessary introduction to a discussion of general cultivation techniques.

The *moħriet* (Plate XIX) is used as an animal-drawn hoe rather than as a plough proper. It is light and can be carried by the cultivator along narrow field paths and across rugged terrain. Its negotiability is limited only by the ease of access demanded by the draught animals. The 'rotavator' (Plate XX) alone of modern mechanical implements can rival it in this respect. On coarse soils, often only a few inches deep, cross tilling by hoe or *ard* seems perfectly satisfactory for tilth making. A vertically applied tool such as the true spade cannot be utilised in such soils, while all but the simplest mouldboard ploughs are too clumsy for use in small terraced fields. Both *ard* and hoe are used in garden rather than field style and their only disadvantages lie in the slowness of the work performed. Here lies the especial advantage of the rotavator that can, under reasonable conditions, be used for tilling six *tmien* of land a day as compared with about two or three for the *ard* and one for the hoe. (Figures are necessarily approximate averages.)

178 241 311 Cultivation techniques and the farming landscapes which they have produced are now in a critical stage of development. For millennia, a slowly increasing population has been utilising the natural land resources more and more intensively and also supplementing them by artificial works. Until the early nineteenth century, social and tenurial obstructions to full land use on the one hand, and wealth derived from the overseas possessions of the Knights of Malta on the other, little affected the basic land hunger of the rural community. During the period of British occupation, however, externally derived income has brought with it more and more non-agricultural activity. Opportunities for non-farm work have increased and so has socio-economic dissatisfaction with arduous and limited rural life. The stage has now been reached at which land reclamation and land abandonment, intensification of effort and neglect, are proceeding simultaneously. An examination of those landscape features which are products of farming techniques suggests that this stage is now critical.

242 311 Land reclamation and the extension of the cultivable area are still going on. At several points on the Delimara peninsula, material is being carried from the cliff foot and from old huts and dwellings and spread over the existing thin and discontinuous soil cover. On this, sulla as a soil building leguminous crop

[see page 306 -- Analyst]

242 311 the heads of Wied Babu (219) and in the Santi Gap (57) in Malta and in the West-Central Region of Gozo. In such topographical pockets, the building of soil trap walls is sometimes extended to form walled orchards as at id-Dahla and the head of the Wied ir Rum.

● 241 311 When we turn to observation and consideration of cultivation reactions to minor topographical and geological features we are further reminded of the special relationship between tillage techniques and the soil. Bearing in mind the points noted in Chapter III B and the picture we have drawn of the physical and social environment in which Maltese agriculture has developed, we are forced to the following conclusions.

The economic necessity for the utilisation of virtually all land resources and indeed for creating some of them, together with the physical need for basing all farming practice on soil and water conservation techniques, have until very recently rigidly controlled the details of tillage. Fragmentation, a perfectly rational response to circumstances, has intensified the physical sub-division of the land. The majority of fields in Malta and Gozo cannot easily be worked except by small highly mobile implements. In the conditions described above and in a climate which makes possible a great crop range, implements must also be capable of a great diversity of application. In order to keep up the terraces, work the fields and succeed in maintaining and even increasing the area of cultivable land, the cultivator has been committed to unremitting and arduous manual labour. His basic tool is the hoe, his natural development of it the non-soil-inverting *ard*-plough.

The recent removal, by the creation of new real and psychological opportunities, of part of the pressure that has long kept the farmers on the land has altered the traditional picture. Cartographic evidence of the 25-inch to the mile maps, surveyed in the 1880's and 1890's, shows that since that time little wasteland has been improved. The only known large-scale change in field patterns occurred during and after World War II in the central lowlands of Gozo as the result of airfield construction, but holding fragmentation has re-imposed subdivision on the landscape. Occupational statistics and case-study evidence all point the same way. As a result of this release of pressure, land neglect and abandonment are now irregularly removing the extremes of control of cultivation. Even more important, Malta has been affected by the new evaluation of tillage techniques which has characterised so much of the world. Under modern conditions, most improvements in cultivation techniques have been deliberately designed for the increase of productivity on the better and more easily worked lands. Rural depopulation of the hard lands which gained such momentum in nineteenth-century Europe is an inevitable concomitant of such increases in productivity and of the accompanying demands for higher standards of material consumption and an 'easier' life. In countries such as Malta, this means that a new equilibrium has to be established, existing and new techniques and implements have to be evaluated against established environments and actual or potential changes.

241 311 435 [242] [434] Three examples from case-studies (Key letters refer to Chapter X E) can illustrate what this means in farmer's terms. The first (A. p. 337) concerns a part-time farmer in Region A II, Mellieħa Isthmus. This cultivator corroborated other evidence that in the nineteenth century it was still common for 'dry' fields to be created out of wasteland. More recently it has only been economic to make irrigable fields. The method is virtually the same in either case. First a terrace is cut into the rock slope, and the stone rubble is then built outwards in 'made-ground' and held in place by a terrace wall. Soil, usually now from a building site, is then laid over the rock platform and stone infill. Such a field 2 *tmien* in extent in 1951 cost £150 in construction (almost entirely in labour) plus £50 for the transport of 20 truckloads of soil. The gross receipts from this irrigated *campe artificale* were £60 and £35 respectively for the first two seasons. A generation previously, such work would have been done more slowly by full-time farmers who themselves would have garnered the soil, but the market for irrigated vegetables would have been smaller. A generation hence, a cultivator will add to the costs of construction all the at present uncosted labour expended

by himself and will think of net profit on his sales rather than of gross receipts. 241

The second example is from a case-study (J. p. 342') of a full-time mixed 311 farmer holding 33 *tmien* of dry land (three blocks of six field plots) in Region C XX a, the Mqabba-Kirkop Plain. 435 During the last 20 years, this farmer has built up a herd of 13 Maltese Friesian cattle including ten milch cows from a flock of six goats. Before World War II he relied on crop-sales from arable land. Now approximately half the cultivated area is given over to fodder production. Although by Maltese standards this farmer is enterprising, knowledgeable and possessed of much more than average capital, he has no mechanised equipment for tillage but relies on contract work. Each year a tractor plough and rotary cultivator are hired at a cost of between 15s. and £1 per *tomna*. [427] The farmer still differentiates very clearly between the quality of different parts of his land, on the basis of a soil depth which varies from 8 inches to 2 feet, and on soil type distinguished by colour. Nevertheless, since he is now only really interested in livestock, and regards even fodder production as uneconomic, he has lost interest in arable farming and tends to neglect the poorer land and think of disposing of the other. This man is typical of many of the better class farmers in that the old niceties of tillage are forgotten as commercial considerations predominate, these latter a resultant of social and economic change in the Islands.

Lastly we may consider the extreme development, the farmer turned machine 177 contractor. Only half the age of the farmers already considered, this man is much more aware of general developments in the agricultural scene, partly as 241 a result of seven years spent as an 'emigrant' in Australia. Patrimonial land is left to the attention of other members of the family, and he is only concerned 407 with investment in machinery for hire. This contractor now possesses a lorry, a Ferguson hydraulic lift tractor, a hydraulic shovel, triple-disc and mouldboard ploughs, a rotavator as well as numerous accessories, and wants to purchase a thresher and a small combine harvester. The whole cultivation emphasis is put on mechanical effort and its ease of application. Deep-ploughing is advocated wherever possible even though he admits 'there may be drawbacks', no qualms are felt about knocking down walls to gain admittance to fields, and considerable impatience shown towards traditional agrarian and social values. This man even complained that he was not allowed to plough on Sundays. One of his ambitions is the quintessence of the new attitude towards cultivation. It is to have a farm of 30-40 *tmien*, all in one block with no patch smaller than about an acre, the whole to be workable by tractor, thus making hand labour unnecessary, and accessible to heavy machinery. The holding should have its own farmhouse and be near to a market such as Żabbar. In this man the mechanical revolution in cultivation in Malta is epitomised, contrasting strangely with an attitude met at Rabat that the wheelbarrow is too technically revolutionary to be acceptable - 'it is not used here!'

C. Husbandry

● 241 128 In this section, a brief examination is made of those elements in agricultural production not previously considered. A methodological problem arises from the fact that, as should be abundantly evident, farming in Malta is a complex in which it is most difficult to isolate the various elements. The method adopted here is to examine in general first arable farming, and then livestock. In the subsequent sections, an attempt is made to examine the general economic characteristics of Maltese farming and then to define the types of farms which exist in the Islands, with particular reference to the island of Malta.

242 As in all non-industrial countries with high population densities and limited resources, a paradoxical situation may be observed in Malta. The intensive application of manual labour and careful observances of the minutiae of traditional techniques are found alongside some instances of land neglect which offend all the canons of good husbandry. On the one hand are observed careful tillage sequences, a first shallow ploughing or hoeing to kill weeds, a second deeper ploughing one week later to break up the surface crust and 'stir' for aeration of the soil to a depth of some 6 to 9 inches, and a further ploughing just before sowing to produce a fine surface tilth. On the other hand can be seen hoeing and ploughing during periods of high wind during which steady and large-scale wind removal of the finer aggregates takes place. Similarly, single trees can be almost coddled, while orchards are most often neglected and, while village refuse and animal dung is carefully worked into the soil, little effort is made to discard inorganic rubbish or diseased and seeding crops and weeds.

This paradoxical situation is most clearly defined in the attitude to weed and pest infestation and to the use of artificial fertilisers. Weeds of many types occur everywhere, and their eradication is manifestly impossible as long as the areas of wasteland to be found in every region provide safe centres for propagation and diffusion. The very walls of Malta which line almost all the fields and roads shelter weeds and pests. Even if eradication is impossible control is not, and the inadequacy of present husbandry is a measure of difficulties both mental and monetary.

The most prevalent and damaging weeds are broomrape and *oxalis cernua*. The former is indigenous to Malta as a field weed, particularly in association with cereals and broad beans in the dry farming area. On the thin dry soils of these regions, broomrape competes, only too successfully, for the limited water available and for plant nutrient material. The total effect on yields and the negating of much of the effort put into leguminous crop rotations must be very serious. Chemical control seems unlikely, and the cultivators themselves are aggravating rather than ameliorating the position. One cultivator interviewed in Region C XVIIIa epitomised the situation. Complaining that 'the weeds are pushing us off the land' he pulled his sulla crop, carefully leaving his wild oats and broomrape to seed freely. It was not surprising that his immediate neighbour had given up farming.

Many similar situations may be observed. Partly they are to be explained by the diminished actual and psychological pressure on land resources. In the main however they imply a basic parochial ignorance left as a legacy from the more primitive past. A farmer interviewed in Region C XX e clearly illustrated the nature of the mental problem. On being remonstrated with, because while pulling his rust-infected broad beans he left the numerous broomrape plants to seed freely, he professed astonishment at our ignorance. Observation, he pointed out, showed that the root tissues of bean and broomrape were not only intermingled but conjoined. Obviously therefore *both* plants grew out of the planted bean and surface seeding had nothing to do with the weed infestation. The problem set is how to explain in a convincing manner to a medievally-minded farmer the following: 'The seeds (of broomrape) germinate in the soil if the fibrous roots of a congenial host plant are nearby. Otherwise they remain dormant . . . as long as 13 years. When the primary root or radicle of a germinating seed makes contact with a fibrous root of its host, it forms a nodule of tissue

D. Economic and Commercial Characteristics

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In 1956, Surridge (1) in a note on Co-operatives in Malta, endorsed the F.A.O. statement (2) that 'real progress in the co-operative field will be impossible so long as the essential connection between credit facilities and marketing remains unrecognised'.

Subsistence farming is not now practised in the Maltese Islands and all farmers are to a large extent controlled in their productive use of land by commercial markets. The application of capital and techniques to the land is much more than the simple provision of cheap credit.

Environmental conditions necessitate the continued and intensive use of hand labour in order to maintain in existence the artificially made fields and in order to utilise the maximum area of land. Therefore large-scale capital application is restricted to provision of better water supplies and similar public works projects. What is needed is the small scale use of capital in crops and livestock experimentation and for backing efforts in the export markets. Capital provision for land purchase should not be made until cultivators are less likely to indulge in speculative 'landgrabbing' which would result in greater problems of fragmentation, etc.

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The amount of hidden capital in the countryside must be very considerable. Estimates that 80 per cent. of Malta's National Income is derived directly and indirectly from the Defence Departments cannot take into account all the gross real income in kind of the countryside - real income which never appears long enough to be measured. Present expenditure on improved equipment and better breeds of plant and livestock as well as spectacular efforts such as the building of Mosta Church go to show that, given incentive and faith in the future, the rural communities can and will deploy some considerable hidden reserves. Before any such capital will be applied, some compulsive force must operate on the farmers.

For centuries past, production has been largely for subsistence except for cotton and cumin seed, both exported to other Mediterranean countries. From the sixteenth century onward, urbanisation slowly created a significantly sized indigenous market and, with the disappearance of the trade in cotton during the nineteenth century, the home market became completely dominant. Some 70 years ago, potatoes became profitably exportable, while at the same time rapid urbanisation increased the size and wealth of the home market. As already noted, the domestic market for milk is of very recent origin, while export possibilities for crops other than potatoes are now slowly being realised.

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Until World War II, marketing of produce was organised almost entirely by licensed but uncontrolled middlemen - the *pitkali* - who collected or accepted small lots, offered them for sale to wholesalers or retailers, and then paid the farmers the negotiated price less commission. (The details of organisation are well described in the 1911-12 Royal Commission Report (3).) During World War II, 'the evolution of Internal Marketing made a great stride forward during the exigency . . . (4)'. This statement really means that controls were imposed on prices and marketing, controls which have basically survived to the present day. As the economics of production have become more confused with welfare policies, so the complexity of the situation has increased. All that we can do here is to sketch and illustrate the nature of this complexity.

The first factor to be reckoned with is that cultivators in no case know their costs of production. They have some general idea of whether a proposed price is unprofitable or not but this is not necessarily trustworthy. Secondly, while the fodder crops are not very perishable, the vegetable and fruit products which find their way out of the rural economy into Maltese markets are extremely so. While the market for such produce in Malta is not a very selective one, this on the whole has the effect of encouraging the sending to market of produce which is very liable to deterioration. In the markets, therefore, any produce surplus to clear requirements is virtually valueless. One complaint concerning the

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pilkali system is that the middlemen charged commission for negotiating sales but took no stock risks. Thus, when wholesalers and retailers had satisfied their requirements, playing for safety themselves, the *pilkali* merely informed some unfortunate producers that their product could not be sold. The prices attained for that which could be sold varied with the skill of the *pilkali*. Since many Maltese farmers need forward credit for various purposes, it was perfectly natural that the *pilkal* became not only a middleman but a supplier of credit and therefore to some extent a controller of production. The whole of this system resulted from two simple facts. First, the quantities of individual items that most farmers could daily offer for sale were so small as to make some concentrating agency a logical development. Secondly, the social legacy of dichotomy between town and country meant that the farmer was most often incapable of dealing directly with his market. Questions of literacy, language and social status still often put the farmer in a position of inferiority. The *pilkali* bridged that gap. In so doing they have sometimes exploited the farmers' ignorance. Many and vivid are the stories heard of their dishonesty; one such, told by several farmers, concerned the spring export crop of potatoes in 1955. They had been told by middlemen that the U.K. market had been depressed by competition from France and Spain and that therefore the prices offered would have to be low. In fact, shippers declared that the poor quality of the 1954 crops had discouraged some buyers but that the f.o.b. prices were still very much higher than reported by the middlemen. Most *pilkali* are no doubt honest but many farmers bypass them where possible and most others have suspicions - mostly born of their own ignorance.

During World War II, control of all agricultural produce had to be established and, since this time, the financial side of such transactions has been controlled by Government clerks at established *pilkali* markets although the middlemen still handle the actual sales. The intrusion of Governmental financial control has not removed suspicion although it has removed part of the cause of it at the cost of a higher commission charged to the producer. The annual cost of this protection and the controls mentioned below to individual farmers and to small co-operatives is almost £23,000 (5).

Another development has further confused the situation. Stemming from wartime controls, policies aimed at controlling prices for the benefit of the consumer have replaced the old attitude of *caveat emplor*. Various methods have been adopted but they are all based on regulating maximum retail prices, directly and by fixing maximum profit margins and percentages of profit. As noted by many observers, and effectively by an Adviser on Marketing (6), such controls cannot be strictly enforced and it is impossible to make them sufficiently flexible to encourage the production virtues of improved quality and evenness of supply in time. It must suffice here to say that the marketing side of commercial agriculture is not in a satisfactory state, being as it is costly, wasteful and very beneficial neither to consumer nor to producer judging by a great number of local statements.

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The local market for livestock products is very different. All milk (7) legally sold is bought by the Milk Marketing Undertaking which in practice accepts any quantity of milk delivered to the collecting depots dispersed through the Islands. There is a tendency to restrict goats' milk acceptances during the summer period of glut by relating summer and winter ratios. Many producers still have written contracts but more important than individual arrangements is the negotiating power of the K.M.H. (the union of milk producers already cited) which incorporates about half of the 600 or so registered producers in the island of Malta. The fixed and scheduled prices paid to producers bear no real relation to production costs since these are not known but rather result from M.M.U.-K.M.H. negotiations and political and welfare decisions by the Government. The M.M.U. takes full risk over wastage and excess production of liquid milk and processed milk products, but is partly able to offset losses by trading profits on imports of dried, evaporated and condensed milk which sales it handles. The M.M.U. now distributes all legally sold liquid milk, as well as its own milk products, and retail prices are fixed by announcement. In 1955-56 the result

was that gross financial loss totalled £124,000 representing an equivalent 234
subsidy to consumers of M.M.U. products, while, if profits on imports were 435
subtracted the figure would rise to over £200,000. The commercial aspect of
milk marketing is thus completely artificial and dominated by welfare policies. 441
Price policy, even so, has not been powerful enough to even out the immense
seasonal fluctuation in production of goats' milk, roughly half the total, and the
smaller but still considerable fluctuation of cows' milk.

Meat production is rather more crude. The Government abattoir slaughters 253
all the horned cattle, most of the swine and a considerable proportion of sheep
and goats. The commercial transaction between producer and butcher is usually 231
direct. Here once more the small scale and the unspecialised nature of meat 441
production controls all else. The 1956 Census of Agriculture recorded only nine
specialist cattle breeders and 94 breeders of swine as compared with over 700
engaged in sheep and goat breeding (in roughly equal numbers). Licensed
importers bring in the store cattle which are then usually sold to non-specialist
farmers. Feeding standards are as low as with milch cows. There is little
incentive to improvement because of the low standard set by the widespread
practice of milk producers selling old and diseased stock for butchering. Pig
meat and store-bull meat do command a premium but, while some 15,320 horned
cattle were slaughtered in 1957-58, the average import rate of stores is only
some 3,000. In the same year, 5,000 sheep (of the indigenous poor breeds) and
8,400 goats (mainly those useless for milk production) as well as 7,800 lambs
and kids, were slaughtered. The commercial side of meat and, for that matter,
hides and skin production, like that of milk, can only be improved as and when
the arable sector of agriculture is further developed.

Lastly, we must refer to exports. For some years, the most important 241
exported agricultural product has been the spring crop of potatoes. Some general 241
points concerning the production and sale of potatoes have already been made 439
(Chapter VII, pp. 205-206), but one or two points need expansion here. The
main market for pseudo-early potatoes grown in the Mediterranean (harvested 441
in April and May), lies in North-West Europe. During the earlier part of this
century, Holland, Belgium and Germany were the most important buyers but,
of recent years, the Arran Banner variety, which yields well as a pseudo-early
in Malta, has only found favour in Glasgow. By 1955 this dependence on a single
main market was appearing dangerous and since that time, as noted by Haesler
in 1957 (8), more heed has been taken of consumer demand for other earlier
varieties, yellow rather than white fleshed, such as the Eigenhemer. On the
marketing side, some important problems remain. The virtual absence of good
civilian port facilities and the dependence on lighterage puts up freight costs
and discourages shippers. The middlemen and wholesale handling of produce
for export is not above reproach while the only worthwhile markets expect good
and consistent quality of graded merchandise. Here the deficiencies of even the
most commercially sophisticated part of the community can partly negate
improved efforts on the part of the producer. Standards set by the home market ?
tend to affect the services rendered to foreign markets and before the latter
can be expanded, the former will have to be improved. There is one sector in
which a separate break-through has begun. Air freightage of high value for bulk
merchandise (which does not include potatoes) can make distant markets [509]
accessible to medium-scale individual producers. Thus flowers, plants and seeds
are to some small extent being traded by a few growers sufficiently skilled to
bypass the mercantile system. This cannot be done by all but it might encourage
emulation.

The whole of the marketing organisation is of course organically associated 241
with production and the commercial aspects of production need consideration.

One of the first points that strikes an observer in the islands is that the 433
production of the different commodities is altogether too concentrated in time.
In the case of milk, a traditional organic cycle imposed by crude goat husbandry 435
imposes great financial strains on the centralised agencies. With crops it would [234]
seem that traditional fear of risk-taking, rational enough in a peasant economy
but antithetical to the whole nature of commercialism, is now hampering

241 433 435 development and straining even the existing pattern. In the first place, physical environment so dominates the mind of the Maltese farmer that he categorically asserts the virtues and deficiencies of various regions and does not realise that with the techniques and crop-strains at his disposal he now can negate some of these differentiations. Thus the case-study quoted on p. 329 is atypical rather than normal. The result is that in these Islands, which have a long thermal growing season, there are very marked seasonal fluctuations in production. With cauliflowers, tomatoes, carrots and some other vegetables the produce suddenly appears on the markets, prices soar through the fixed ceilings and then as suddenly slump with glut. For the rest of the year - January to September in the case of cauliflowers, and for all except June to September with tomatoes - good quality produce is not available. Prices to the producer range from very high to zero and such fluctuations, superimposed on those caused by climatic variations, both strain the farming economy and encourage poor production. Thus some winter grown Arran Banner sold for up to 50s. per *qantar* in 1956 but only 8s. 4d. in 1958; in January 1957, unsold cauliflowers could be bought from *pitkali* for fodder at 1s. a sack, while a year later they fetched almost 1s. a *wiżna* (8¾ lb. av.).

241 464 465 Secondly, the concentration in time of the various harvests causes severe fluctuations in the demand for labour. All farmers interviewed regard hired labour as poor in quality and expensive. This is a frequent grumble in many countries but in the Maltese context there are some special implications. The number of agricultural labourers, which declined in the nineteenth century as pressure on land resources diminished holding size and encouraged cultivation by occupiers, further declined as urban employment opportunities increased. That pool which is left to some extent sets its standards of wage demand by urban levels, but more important still is only urgently required at two seasons of the year. During the first of these, March to middle May, it is needed for the harvesting of cereals, sulla, potatoes and other winter crops and for the first of the summer cultivations. The second period, about September, coincides with the grape harvest which lasts but three weeks, and with autumn tillage. The result is to elevate day-wage rates to the point of discouragement for the farmer and to lower seasonal earnings so as to repel possible labourer recruits. Merchants, vintners, fodder and food consumers and producers all suffer, and suffer needlessly when one realises the climatic possibilities for extending production.

241 433 To sum up, one may say that the farmer, although largely producing for the market, is generally unable to cost his efforts, deal on equal terms with traders, or appreciate the needs of the market domestic or foreign. This inability must be corrected because the farmer and his land are potentially capable of supplying more of the Islands' agricultural needs than they do at present, and of making a considerable positive contribution to the balance of trade which at the moment they help to distort.

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E. The Farmers of Malta

From survey work, farm interviews and detailed case-studies we have been able to distinguish certain characteristic types of Maltese farmer. The variety of practice and productivity within the pseudo-peasantry makes it impossible to take general treatment any further, therefore in this section are presented a cross-section of such types. For obvious reasons, we cannot present details which might lead to the identification of any farmer or his landholding.

1. THE PART-TIME FARMER

Numerically as important as full-time farmers this group, although heterogeneous, indicates the incompleteness of the recent 'flight from the land'. At the highest level, as in case-study (A), the stability given by a non-agricultural income encourages good land use.

A - A holding of c. 10 *imien* in two blocks of 19 irrigable field plots in Region AII, Mellieha Isthmus, produces c. 60 per cent. of the cultivator's net income. Irrigated market gardening produces potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, cucurbits, carrots, cauliflowers, garlic, lemons and table-grapes for sale, and beans, maize, celery and turnips for home consumption. Rents of reclaimed land on Government property are negligible. The farmer maintains that he holds the land partly to support the present family of three and to enable his eight adult emigrant sons to have some 'hobby' land when they return as expected to Malta. Nevertheless, his husbandry standards and commercial acumen are good, his yields high. This type of part-time farmer is neither common nor rare.

B - At the other extreme is a policeman who, in 1950, purchased 14 *imien* of dry land in Region XVIIIb, ta'Qali, in order to have land to work after retirement. Of this, 10 *imien* is let out on annual leases, both tenants' and landlord's responsibilities being ignored, and 6 *imien* is 'cultivated' by the owner, carrying weed infested and diseased crops of wheat, sulla and broad beans. This is symptomatic of unhealthy economic and social conditions, viz. simple land hunger based on insecurity of urban occupations and inadequate pensions.

2. THE FULL-TIME ARABLE FARMER ON IRRIGATED LAND

The time-consuming nature of market gardening and the high value of irrigated *saqwi* land tend either to restrict the total size of holdings or to focus the farmer's attention on such land.

C - In Region XIV, two full-time farmer brothers with three dependants cultivate 7 *imien* in one irrigated plot (Fig. 111A). One of the brothers returned from temporary migration to Canada in 1913 bringing some capital and ideas. Their equipment consists of hoes, an American windpump and an English diesel pump. There is a well graded irrigation system of three cisterns, overhead and ground level stone channelling. The diesel pump is used for filling the cisterns, the windpump for maintaining the water level. Both farmers share equally the cost of equipment and pumping and have a family arrangement for division of labour and produce. Surplus produce is sold in the Rabat market.

D - A full-time farmer with family of 11, six of whom are adults, working on holding of c. 30 *imien* in Region A XV a The Blue Clay Basin (Fig. 141). Lives on a main plot of 14 *imien* on Blue Clay and marl. On the main part of the holding are cultivated irrigated fruit and vegetable crops. The other plots consist mainly of rock, rough grazing and carobs with some vines. Intensive aboriculture is practised with peaches replacing plums and old apple stock being replaced by vines and peaches. [231]
Livestock - 1 horse, 9 sheep, 13 pigs and 3 goats.
Equipment - *moħriet* and hoes. The farmer borrows a 'rotavator' for sum- [407]
mer cultivation and has 'access' to lorry and jeep for marketing produce.
The dwelling has piped water supply. Irrigation water is obtained from [312]

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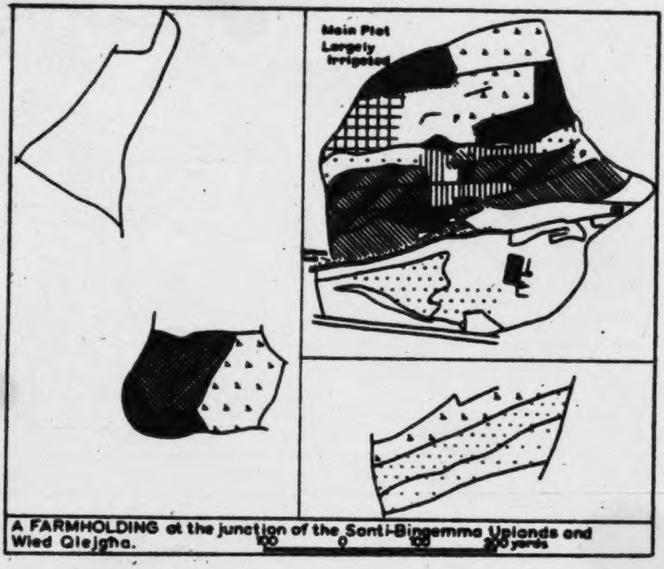
Main Plot
Largely
Irrigated
A FARMHOLDING at the junction of the Santi-Bingemma Uplands and Wied Qlejgha.
100
0
100
200 yards

Fig. 141 A farmholding at the junction of the Santi-Bingemma Uplands and Wied Qlejgha.

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312
Upper Coralline aquifers overlying outcropping Blue Clay. The main supply, from a fissured Coralline cave now piped into a cistern, has only failed once (1950) since 1921. Water needs conserving in summer and is then only applied to special crops. Minor supplies come from 'wet weather' springs on Blue Clay slope.

134
241
Soils - deep, weathered marls with thin clay beds, these latter being used for marling the Upper Coralline lands. In winter, the clay beds are too wet for most crops, e.g. during the 1953-54 season an attempt to grow wheat failed completely and, on 2nd April, 1955, drainage holes were necessary to hasten the percolation of surplus water in some fields. In summer, the clays need careful tilling in order to avoid caking. Produce is mainly for sale in Rabat market.

241 3. THE FULL-TIME DRYLAND ARÁBLE FARMER

This group is numerically and areally the most important. It also tends to set the general standard of farming.

E - The first example of this group works land in Region CXX, the Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin. A full-time farmer with two dependants with a fairly concentrated holding of 32 *tmien* (8.7 acres), used as follows in spring:-

3.6 *tmien* of Sulla
5 *tmien* of Potatoes
5 *tmien* of Wheat
5 *tmien* of Barley
.5 *tmien* of Broad Beans (vegetable)

19.1

The remainder is under onions, aniseed, cumin, fallow and forages. The best land has 30 inches of soil and is rented at 26s. per *tomna*. The poorer

land, with as little as 3 inches of soil, has rents as low as 10s.
Livestock - pigs and poultry.
Equipment - hoes and one *moħriet*. The farmer borrows a horse for ploughing and a contractor with tractor and single furrow steel plough is hired for cultivating the best land at a cost of 17s. per *tomna*.
Rotation
First Year - Manures soil with dung and sulphate of ammonia.
- Plants summer crop of potatoes for lifting in September.
- Plants a following crop of winter potatoes for lifting in December-January.

Second Year - Plants and sows onions, aniseed and melons in March-April for summer harvesting.
- Sows wheat and barley in the autumn.

Third Year - Harvest cereals in June-July.
- Sows sulla, broad beans and *Widna* in the autumn.

Fourth Year - Crop fodders in March-April.
Marketing - Sells *Widna* hay (cut after seeding) and sulla hay (cut when in bloom) to goat and sheep herders.
- Sells other crops direct to wholesalers, bypassing merchants in order to obtain higher prices.

F - The second example has land in the best dryland farming central region, in this case C XVIII d. A full-time farmer who lives in Siġġiewi itself with his family of eight. The very scattered fields lie between Siġġiewi and Buskett, making up the total holding of 24 *tmien* (6½ acres).

- at Buskett	- 8	*tmien* of Tomatoes
	- 3	*tmien* of Broad Beans
- at ta'Haxxiuq	- 1.5	*tmien* of Sulla
	- 2	*tmien* of Barley
	- 4	*tmien* of Potatoes
	- 1.5	*tmien* of Onions
	- 1.5	*tmien* of Broad Beans
	21.5	*tmien*

Remainder under vegetables, cumin and forages.
Livestock - 1 horse, 4 sheep, 4 goats, 1 pig, poultry.
Equipment - Hoes, two ploughs and cart.
Crop Sequence - Ploughs and manures after sulla crop.
- Plants potatoes in January.
- Lifts potatoes in April.
- Plants cabbages and cauliflowers in May.
- Harvests these in winter. Then cereals, potatoes and sulla.

If soil not manured then sequence - sulla, barley, one year of fallow, and then 'almost any' crop - usually potatoes.
Marketing - sells produce to Siġġiewi *Pitkali*.

Many dryland farmers in the western half of Malta also have relatively small but important *ġnien* plots. One such has already been considered from the point of view of holding evolution (Chapter IX B) and the relevant production facts may be summarised thus:-

G - The farmer, married with seven children, now works c. 63 *tmien* of dry and 2 *tmien* irrigable land in Region A XI, Binġemma Basin. Two-thirds of this is worked in partnership with a brother. The *ġnien* land is mainly under apples, the most important cash crop. Three fields, distant from the village farmhouse and with thin rocky soils of a maximum depth of 12 inches over a rock platform, carry vines of ages ranging from over 30 to 2 years. Plot 4, a narrow strip of good *terra* soil is planted under vines because neighbouring small parcels carry fruit trees making it impossible to grow sown crops successfully. Plots 5 and 6, on good 18 inches deep xerorendzina soils, are most suitable for tomatoes, wheat and sulla. Plot 7 carries self-sown sulla on heavy clay, plot 8 rotational sulla. All these plots are worked

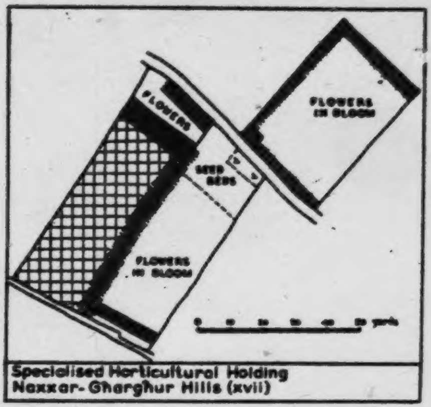
FLOWERS
FLOWERS IN BLOOM
SEED BEDS
FLOWERS IN BLOOM
0 10 20 30 40 50 yards
Specialised Horticultural Holding
Naxxar-Gharghur Hills (xvii)

Fig. 142 Specialised Horticultural Holding in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills.

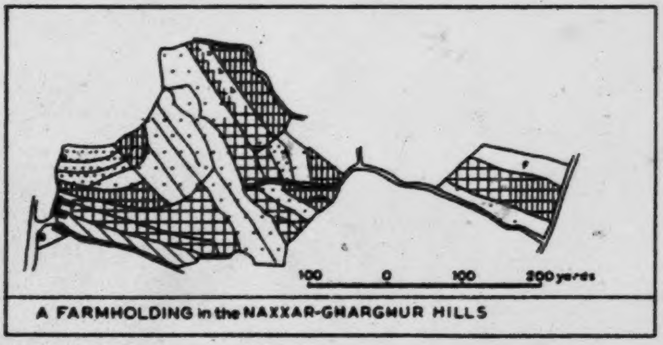
100 0 100 200 yards
A FARMHOLDING in the NAXXAR-GHARGHUR HILLS

Fig. 143 A Farmholding in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills.

by the cultivator for his wife who inherited control from her family. The remaining two-thirds of the land is held from several landlords in various customary partnership arrangements. On these field plots, very variable in quality, a typical land use pattern would be as follows:-

1½ plots, c. 3 *tmien*, under vines.
2 plots of six terraces, c. one-half rocky waste, one-quarter vetches and barley, one-quarter wheat and beans.
2 plots, c. 4 *tmien*, under wheat followed by melons.
½ plot intercultivated potatoes and melons.
2 plots, c. 2 tmien, under *ġilbiena* (black peas).

This farmer, like many of his kind, obtains the greatest single return from *ġnien* fruit farming and, although with very limited livestock interests, devotes much acreage to leguminous rotational fodder crops to be sold either by the field or by harvested volume. Working livestock is owned by the farmer and about half the land periodically worked by hired machinery. Produce is sold mainly through middlemen - the *pitkali*.

Such dry land farmers need about 20 *imien* or more of cultivable land in 241 order to make a reasonable living by rural standards. They and their families are necessarily expert in traditional ways of cultivating a considerably range of crops. Most of them rely on home raised seed except for spring potatoes and very few of them need very much liquid capital. Under normal conditions there is no debt problem. Production of individual items is generally small and, unless they have direct connections with wholesalers and retailers in nearby towns, they rely very much on the collection and sale of produce through middlemen. Their expertise is largely a matter of hard won experience of handling particular soils and crops and very limited in other ways.

4. THE SPECIALISED CROP PRODUCER

Lastly, there is the small group of highly specialised arable farmers. These 247 are mainly producers of flowers or seeds and, at their highest stage of development, sell their high-value produce abroad. In practically all cases the only thing that distinguishes them from their neighbours is knowledge and initiative. The next example shows the type of indigenous development that is fairly easily attained. Here, and in the next stage of export marketing, lies one of the hopes for Malta's economic future and stability for Maltese agriculture.

H - This farmer and one adult son have 20 *imien* of land in Region C XVII. Seventeen *imien* are farmed under a relatively extensive cereal, sulla, catch-crop system, the remaining 3 *imien* (Fig. 142) intensively cultivated under flowers - 'More profitable than normal Maltese agriculture'. A rotational sequence is practised of flowers, vegetables and a 'resting crop' of wheat or sulla. Vines are grown on wallsides. This farmer occasionally hires contract ploughing but normally hand-hoes 12 to 18 inches deep *Terra* soils and regularly and heavily applies sulphate of ammonia as well as green manure. Flower seed is imported annually from the U.K. and Holland, since Maltese strains are poor and diseased, and imported strains rapidly degenerate. Produce is sold directly in the relatively wealthy suburb of Sliema. A characteristic range of flowers together with some nine different vegetables at Easter would be:-

Alliums
Anemones
Bluebells
Broom
Carnations
Dahlias
Freesias
Gladioli
Gypsophila
Larkspur
Love-in-a-mist
Marguerites
Marigolds
Narcissi
Roses
Iris
Tulips
Violets

5. MILK PRODUCERS

Another main group of farmers consists of milk producers. Differentiation 234 between them is considerable depending as it does on the scale of production, the efficiency of production and on whether cows or goats are kept. At the lowest end of the scale come the virtually landless small-scale producers of goats' milk. These are the last survivors of a traditionally important class of urban herders who, before the control and pasteurisation of milk, delivered milk 'on the hoof' in towns and villages. Typical is case-study:-

I - This producer rents 2 *imien* of land in Hamrun, half of which is used for domestically consumed garden produce. The remainder gives some exercise space and grazing for a herd of goats varying between 50 and 30 in number. This herd, which includes some 25 milkers, is over-fed on purchased fodder, and gives an average daily milk production ranging from a winter minimum of c. 30 lb. per day to c. 70 lb. per day in summer. Individual yields are low in quantity and quality and the farmer and his eight surviving children only survive in debt-ridden existence because of the M.M.U's guaranteed prices. He has no capital or equipment and the family's food consumption comes half from the garden plot and is further supplemented by food gifts from C.A.R.E. (an American welfare organisation). There is no real future for this type of livestock farmer.

Higher in the scale come the goats' milk producers who are able to rely on fodder from their own lands. One such, in Gozo, Region I, The West, may be summarised thus:-

234 *J* - With a holding of over 42 *imien* in 26 plots, half of which is rough grazing, and with 2 *imien* permanently under potatoes, this farmer is able to supply most of the fodder requirements of his 46 goats and kids, and 100 head of poultry as well as a few cows, sheep and horses. This land costs some £23 [427] in rent. This farmer obtains a gross profit (receipts minus fodder costs) [434] of some 14s. a day from sales of milk. At this level he, like many of his type, is aware of the crude economics of the situation and of the need for relating feed to livestock needs. Even so, readiness to experiment is confined to those sectors in which the farmer is able to base production on traditional knowledge and his own and family's uncosted labour. In Gozo, remoteness from the main milk market in the Maltese conurbation strengthens the general herdsmen's reluctance to use relatively novel milch cows.

Farmers who are mainly producers of cows' milk are, *ipso facto*, economically more sophisticated than goat herdsmen. Even so, the range is considerable, particularly great since most of these 'dairy farmers' also rely on arable farming to a varying extent. Thus case-study:-

K - is of a working partnership of two friends who keep some 40 cattle in Regions C XX b, Luqa-Zejtun and C XX e, Delimara. Untypically, they hold some 100 *imien* of land, much of which is wasteland grazing on Defence Department land. The complexity and obscurity of their claims to much of the land reflects the rather unorganised pattern of production. Since they have land, they grow the standard cash-crop - potatoes - and vegetable crops for domestic consumption. About two-thirds of the cultivated area is given over to fodder crops - wheat, barley and sulla. This, together with a truck-load of prickly pear each day and cake and beans fed to capacity, suffices for the cows. The cultivators' answer when questioned on production costs is '*Min jaf?*' - 'who knows?', and they are not at all convinced of the need for balanced feeding. Cows are served altogether at the season which would be suitable for goats so that production varies seasonally with a spring and early summer maximum of c. 30 gallons daily and a midwinter negligible minimum. This of course is in inverse relation to the Mediterranean plant growing season and, as noted earlier, accentuates the seasonal fluctuation normal with goats' milk. Significantly, the families drink goats' milk in preference to cows' although some of the former is sold. Such farmers, although operating on a fairly large scale, are almost perpetually in debt and rarely have much capital.

By contrast one may find the type of producer already referred to on p. 329. case-study:-

L - This farmer, although with relatively few cattle, is an efficient and highly developed type by Maltese standards. The half of his cultivated land devoted to fodder crops supplies half of the fodder requirements of the 13 stall-fed [434] cattle. The remainder, including beans and cakes, costs him some £1,000 per annum. Receipts from milk sales come to c. £1,350 per annum. This farmer, becoming interested in the possibilities of cattle-breeding, puts most of his not inconsiderable capital directly into the livestock. Arable crops, particularly potatoes and onions, bring in good gross returns but, as with fodder production, are becoming increasingly regarded as uneconomic. This in spite of the fact that the only financial records kept relate to milk sales, fodder purchases, land transactions and buildings. With farmers such as this, one finds an irrational blend of conservatism and a readiness to try new ideas such as artificial insemination and balanced feeding.

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6. MIXED FARMERS

Lastly there are the mixed farmers, which in Malta and Gozo usually means farmers who for one reason or another have neither become very reliant on the 'milk-cheque' nor are able to grow irrigated or specialised crops. These farmers, usually middle-aged, have little capital, a modicum of enterprise and reasonable dry-land but the lack of agricultural interest shown by their sons discourages much development. They tend to be opportunist in outlook and fairly

efficient as judged by yields. This is the group mainly responsible for the fairly steady progress made during the last 30 years but their productivity is neither high enough for modern needs nor attractive enough to ensure family succession on the land. A typical example is a composite case-study:- 234 241

M - In Region C XVII, the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills, lies a holding of 40 *tmien* (Fig. 143). Two wells supply water except in high summer. The 60-year-old farmer and his wife live in a relatively new farmhouse, an older dwelling with byres now being used to house six Friesian cows, seven goats, a horse and a mule. The grown-up children have either emigrated or work in *'il-Belt'* and have no interest in the land. The farmer built up his herd in the period after World War II and would like to increase its size but realises that he could not handle any more stock. About 5 *tmien* of land is usually under potatoes, small plots carry vegetables for home use, and the remainder grows fodder. This allocation results partly from the swing towards milk production but also from the high cost of hired labour to work the land. Husbandry is fairly good but the farmer confesses his technical ignorance and has no younger generation on the farm to encourage him. He keeps no accounts since 'this is the way he lives'.

Many other examples of sub-types of Maltese farmer could be given, ranging from the highly organised syndicate of five brothers which practises successful mixed farming in Region C XVIII d, Siġġiewi but which, almost as a result, is highly resistant to change; to the fruit and vegetable farmers of Wied San Blas in Gozo (Region III, Northern). Those given represent a fairly comprehensive cross-section of the producers who, within their limitations, make a fairly efficient use of land resources. Unfortunately this is not enough. All but a very few are commercially limited to an appreciation of the local not very exacting markets. In no case have we found any appreciation of costing by profit but only a more or less vague knowledge of gross returns. Everywhere there is suspicion, not vicious or pathological but quietly ingrained. It is assumed that the only way to ensure fair purchase prices is personally to deliver the produce - even to the M.M.U. It is equally natural to be suspicious of bureaucracy - a not abnormal rural phenomenon - and also of the practical knowledge if not the learning of advisers. A great many farmers are also conscious of a helplessness, of being left behind by the cunning of the city. This too is a not abnormal country attitude but, seen in the context of the whole social nexus, it is dangerous. 241 829

Note: For a fuller consideration of some case-studies see P. K. Mitchell: 'Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta', Part II, 'The Maltese Farm'. Report to C.E.R.C., Durham, 1960, and B. W. Beeley: 'The Farmer and Rural Society in Malta'. Report to C.E.R.C., Durham, 1960. 113

F. The Farmer in Maltese Rural Society

241 571 A study of the Maltese farmer within the total of agriculture in the Islands must include a consideration of the individual as a member of the community in which he lives, works and thinks.

The total social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles - family, village, and 'Malta'.

To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old 241 619 countryman for whom Valletta is a foreign world, the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. But even for most of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for the countryman to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta complain. The 'National' unit is large enough for him to speak of *'Il-Gvern'* - the Government, of which he has heard frequently, though imprecisely, on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems with a characteristic disregard for logic or even fact. This concept of *Gvern* is of importance in an appreciation of rural thought in Malta. In it no very clear distinction is made between Maltese Government and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy. Neither is allegiance to one or other of the political parties very significant, for personality is always more important than party.

To give an historical perspective to this attitude of the remoteness of *Gvern* [178] one may see in it not only the product of foreign British rule since 1800 but also the legacy of the 'paternal' government of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands. Rural communities are characteristically conservative.

The other Malta-wide authority is that of the Church, but the summit of this 793 is scarcely less remote to the individual than is *Gvern*. In the normal practice of his Religion the countryman leans directly on his local priests, though the Curia and Archbishop in Malta and the Bishop in Gozo do represent, for him, the essential unity that is the Maltese Church.

Within the framework of 'Malta' the distinction between the conurbation of 241 178 369 towns, centred on Valletta, and the countryside is crucial. This 'conurbation' may be defined as those census districts with less than 3 per cent. of their working population engaged in farming. In 1948, this accounted for all districts bordering on either the Grand or Marsamxett Harbours together with the adjoining residential suburb of St. Julians (1). Outside this urban area, the farming element in the working population increases towards the west and north of Malta, although only in Mġarr does it pass 50 per cent. In Gozo, the scene is notably more 'rural', on the basis of this definition, with six of the 12 census districts having more than half their working population engaged in agriculture. [463] A survey of parallel information in censuses over the past 100 years shows a declining farming element along with a diversification of the occupational structure - especially in those villages regarded as traditional strongholds of agriculture.

This trend to economic diversification has been accompanied by a break away from the former social homogeneity of these rural villages. In fact, economic and social change cannot be considered each in isolation. In Malta, change - in its widest sense - has spread into the countryside from the conurbation. The tempo of this process has accelerated rapidly since the 1939-45 war, which brought town and country together more than ever before and shook the foundations of the cleavage between 'peasant villager' and 'urban townsman', a key feature in the social geography of the Maltese Islands. The appearance of schools, amenities - particularly transport, and a degree of occupational choice, have enabled the countryman to sample a more 'urban' way of life and culture and this has produced a dissatisfaction with rural society as it has been. Maltese countrymen knew they were regarded, as a class, as low in the social scale of urban opinion. They accepted this fatalistically and were in fact able to view

their designation with a certain tolerant wisdom. Not so the present young 178
generation in the farming community for whom education and material facilities 241
have presented the chance of escape from a social inferiority complex.

The village was traditionally the community-group in rural Malta. Contact 369
with the towns and Valletta was limited, especially for the villages of the west [628]
and in Gozo, until buses, press and rediffusion narrowed the gulf, but it was
hardly less than the contacts between the villages themselves. The village was
the group for most social interaction. Currently, the trend is towards a Malta-wide
community-group in which villages are losing much of their isolation,
although there is very little uniformity in this process. Sub-urban villages are
clearly absorbing non-rural characteristics much more quickly than is the case
in outlying parts of the Islands.

The nucleus of village life is the Church and the first citizen is the Parish 793
Priest. The Priest combined teaching and general advisory duties with his
spiritual role (see Chapter VI C). He was also the main link with the world outside
the village through his relaying of general news from his pulpit. Normally,
land transfers and a wide variety of matters connected with the agricultural
cycle were announced by the Priest. The Church was the social meeting place
and the basis of institutionalised activity. Even the village *festa*, that single day [796]
of wild exuberance, noise, fire-works, procession and carnivalesque has as its
pretext a religious observance such as the honouring of the particular Saint of
the village or the National Feast of the Shipwreck of St. Paul. In all this, the
link between Priest and people was often further cemented by wide kinship
connexions within the village. The son of an illiterate farmer might progress [555]
through Seminary and University to return to his home village as a priest and
to be claimed as a relative by many members of that static and much intermarried
community.

Such proximity, together with the very number of the priesthood in any parish
made for a familiarity with the personnel of the Church just as confession,
fasting, observance of Saints' and other special days, quite apart from the daily
Mass, made for close acquaintance with its practice.

It is convenient to use the past tense in the foregoing only because the picture 178
sketched has been modified in recent decades. It is however still the essential
basis of communal life, especially in the rural community which, as suggested,
holds to traditional custom longer than does the town. The modifications which
have appeared are important in this present consideration because they lie
behind the current social upheaval in which the individual countryman is being
faced with a clash of new against old. If, as seems possible, he leaps to the new
so completely as to relinquish the old entirely, then the traditional order of
society will disappear along with the agricultural system on which it is based.
This is the problem of the farmer in Maltese rural society.

An early non-religious movement was that of the Band Clubs; the first 575
appeared in Rabat in 1860. But even these came to be identified with particular
Churches and also with parish rivalries. The Band Club grew to become a major
feature of social life in both town and country in Malta, although in Gozo it has
had only a limited extension outside Victoria.

The Band Club is essentially a male organisation. Women have never been 562
more than tolerated spectators and, to this extent, the movement reflects the [575]
place of women in Maltese society. Emancipation of women has spread into the
countryside from the towns but even today women take an undemonstrative part [462]
in village activity and their movement outside the home is largely confined to
Church-going, shopping and possibly field-work. The modern young woman who
has had at least eight years schooling seeks paid employment beyond the house
and fields. In rural circles the tendency is still to frown mightily at such a
suggestion but it can only be a matter of a few years before what is now accepted
in Valletta becomes tolerated in rural Gozo.

Functional diversification has been the keynote of twentieth century village 178
society in the Maltese Islands. There is no evidence to show that there is any
challenge to the position of the Parish Priest in matters religious (the situation
has been less satisfactory from the point of view of the Church in urban Malta)

178 but there has been a delegation of his traditional secondary functions. The spread
of Government primary education, for example, has produced a literate younger
generation able to write - and think - for itself; rediffusion, cinemas, and
television have made their presence felt; the Maltese-language press has grown
in volume and scope; letters and visits from emigrated Maltese widen horizons
rapidly; cheap bus transport puts most of the Malta within easy reach; health
and social services have brought improvements; C.A.R.E. (2) and other relief
supplies have brought a new external influence; the changing pattern of work
with the new limited working day is giving the time for the novel activities made
possible by cultural and material advancement. The last 50 years have seen the
appearance and spread of the lay religious movements (see Chapter VI C) which
have attempted to relieve the Priest of some of the work with which he had
previously been able to contend unaided. The Society of Christian Doctrine
[575] (M.U.S.E.U.M.), founded in 1909, was the first of these but larger and more
comprehensive is Catholic Action whose four groups for men, women, young
men, and young women have been established throughout the Islands to provide
the modern Maltese parallel to the Village Institute, Youth Club and Church
Fellowship of other countries.

The rural family was traditionally the economic unit within the village. A
178 century ago, farming in Malta implied the self-sufficiency of the true subsistence
241 peasant rather than the crop- and milk-selling producer of today. The food for
the family came very largely from the fields worked by its members, milk from
654 their own goats or sheep and clothing from home-produced cotton and wool.

Money and matters financial now occupy a major part of the thoughts of the
Maltese farmer - even of the older generation, illiterate and cut off from more
cultural developments. Barter as a means of exchange is breathing its last.
Perhaps more than anything else did the 1939-45 war mark the change. During
the years of siege and shortage the farmer was able to get prices for produce
out of all proportion to anything before or since. With the return of conditions
to normal after the war this Golden Age of Maltese farming collapsed but the
farmer went on somehow expecting to make the same profits in peace as he had
in war. The fact that he has not been able to do this, even with recent Government
protective farming programmes of subsidies, guaranteed prices and other
artificial inducements, has increased the bitterness which the farmer has come
to feel for his lot. For its part, the Government has tried to keep the farming
community as contented as possible and at the same time has embarked on
attempts at dairy and general farming reforms of methods, varieties, marketing,
etc., in an attempt to stop the retreat from the land and from the way of life
based on it. The produce of the soil is, after all, Malta's only major locally-based
industry. This has seemed to prove to the farmer that *'Guvern'* ought to
do all that it has done for the farmer, and a lot more. The Government's recent
policy has been to educate the farmer to accept the new ideas and novel methods
and techniques and it has attempted to do this through lectures to farmers,
programmes on rediffusion, and pamphlets - along with the inducements of
subsidies and guarantees. But the limited success of this programme has
emphasised the basic problem in farming today which is that the 'Farmer' is
now the middle-aged or old man, whose lack of education and experience outside
the community of his village makes it most unlikely that he will accept information
and advice from those who are patently not *Maltese* farmers and lack the
lifetime's association with the alleged idiosyncracies of the Maltese environment.

178 The younger generation, which has benefited from a thorough primary
schooling, might have been the individuals to listen to lectures on farming but,
464 and here is the basic problem, as a group the sons and daughters of farmers
are desperate to leave the land and even more concerned to rid themselves of
241 what they see as the social inferiority attached to the calling of their fathers.
These young people have in fact been educated to an awareness of new possibilities
561 of economic and social life outside farming and also outside the village
community which bred them. So many of the younger generation have in fact
managed to make the break with the way of life of their fathers that the average
age of the Maltese farmer is now higher than only a few years ago, and is still
rising (see Section III Introduction).

In terms of the social pattern of the rural village, this means that there is 178
a very significant distinction to be made between the older generation of farmers 241
proper and the younger generation whose direct attachment to the land and 561
farming is weaker if not already broken. If one turns to a consideration of the
way of life and living standards in the village community this gulf is apparent.
Most spectacular perhaps are changes in clothing.

The familiar working garb of the farmer has been the heavy woollen vest, 178
cotton trousers, waistcoat, and cap. Recently, army-surplus shirts, denims, etc.,
have replaced the locally-made garment, often of home-grown cotton, while the 291
cummerbund is now rare. Sandals are normally worn for walking but not for work.
The farmer who works round the clock has never had a 'best suit'. He attends
Mass in his working clothes before going to the fields and, on Sundays and
holidays, ventures forth as on any other day with the possible addition of a
woollen cardigan or more presentable waistcoat. For women, the use of the
faldetta ribbed hood has declined rapidly in the last 20 years and is now only
worn by the older women in the villages and by female members of the
M.U.S.E.U.M. movement. The use of black generally by women is declining but
most clothes are still made in the home even if from bought material rather
than home-produced cotton or wool. The younger generation are not usually
content to venture forth dressed in the manner of their parents but insist on
making their own appearance as much like that of the average town-dweller
among whom they aim to move socially. The white shirt, smart suit, shoes,
socks, and well-oiled hair of the young men and the bright dresses, high-heeled
shoes, nylons and cosmetics of the village maidens are regarded as the essential
uniform of the seeker after the bright lights of Valletta and the towns. The
schools have played a part in this with their demands on cleanliness, footwear
and dress in the classroom. Occasionally a child goes bare-foot to a village
school but no one would think of visiting Valletta shoe-less. The imitation of
urban standards of dress is particularly apparent in the sub-urban districts
where the farming minority are at pains to 'keep up with the Vellas' in dress -
in spite of the expense involved.

Diet in the traditional rural scene depended upon what could be produced 178
by the fields and animals held by any family. The standard soups and stews (such
as *minestra* and *brodu*) were consequently largely vegetable. Meat was rarer, [262]
fish seasonal and small birds might be added to a stew depending on the results
of the hunting or, more correctly, shooting which was and is a popular Sunday
and Holiday pastime in the countryside. The diet was rather less 'Italian' than
that in Valletta and the towns, with potatoes in place of the various forms of
farinaceous paste - spaghetti, macaroni, etc. As in the rest of the islands before [272]
the 1939-45 war, milk was taken fresh from goats and sheep and was not
infrequently disease-carrying. Tinned milk is now popular in town and country
but consumption of bottled, pasteurised milk is growing. Tea and coffee drinking
have to some extent replaced local and home-made wines, especially in the many
bars and small cafés which have become the leisure-time resorts of the men
of the villages between strolls in the squares and streets. Even here change is [533]
evidenced, for the traditional guitar-accompanied *ghana* of the Maltese peasant [209]
has given way to *Radio e Televisione Italiana* as the basis of café entertainment.

This very increase in leisure time is significant. The old farmer is content 512
to spend the greater part of every day with his animals or in the fields for they
are in fact his hobby as well as his livelihood. Cinemas and bright lights hold
no attraction for him; but the young man insists on recreation as he sees it in
the towns. The timetable of the farmer varies according to his type of farming.
The herdsmen's life is ruled by the routine of feeding and attention demanded
by his cows or goats and by the times of milk collection demanded by the Milk
Marketing Undertaking. All this means an earlier daily start (sometimes 1 or
2 a.m.) than is usual for the field worker who begins his day with a 4 a.m. or
5 a.m. Mass and then stops for a light breakfast some three hours later. Lunch-
time is 11 a.m. or noon and is followed by a *siesta* of some hours, depending on
the season and the pressure of work to be completed before the sun goes down
and the field-worker shoulders his hoes or his wooden plough and returns home

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
366 by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops, and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War, the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The *petrolja* van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
[262] addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
[747] by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

178 Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a stair-
342 case frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
[351] enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
[312] emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
[369] summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

[491] Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
[371] Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
[206] north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
[546] Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

241 Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them, thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee. Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113
1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 33.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1959.

132 The Maltese climate is characterised by variability rather than by extremes. Most of the complex elemental combinations, as far as we can tell at the moment, tend to inhibit soil and plant development under natural conditions.

The annual precipitation average of 20.5 inches is largely meaningless - the variations from one year to another for each month in which there has been recorded any significant rainfall are all several times the mean values. Very high insolation and evaporation rates, from the end of April to the beginning of October, further reduce the effectiveness of scanty and variable precipitation. Much of the rainfall of spring and autumn is associated with violent frontal storms and is sufficiently concentrated in incidence to produce ephemeral torrents and cause considerable erosion.

Wind incidence is of peculiar importance. The maritime air streams are generally of high humidity and velocity. The dominant Northerlies, in particular the stormy *Majjistral*, with high humidity and relatively low temperatures, have a biological effect bleak enough to produce a very clear ecological pattern controlled by aspect and shelter. The soil line in the lee of the ridges which lie transverse to these North to West winds, rises higher to the south east with the cumulative sheltering effect. On a small scale, windbreaks of stones, wattle hurdles and even cereal hedges, become of importance. The *Xlokk* comes as a warm humid wind of usually sufficient velocity to force plant transpiration rates above the critical points. The occasional humid still air conditions in winter delay germination and encourage fungus diseases while all summer winds heighten evaporation rates and cause actual soil blowing.

One of the few biologically favourable climatic features is the absence of a thermal dormant season. Mean monthly temperatures are consistently above 50° Fahrenheit, frosts are very rare, and diurnal ranges small. On the other hand, the associated high summer temperatures even though ameliorated by sea breezes produce considerable physiological troubles in plants and livestock. It is significant that over 80 per cent. of the flora now found in Malta are of North African rather than European type.

133 In the absence of human interference Malta must have been, as it still is in many areas, largely a barren karstic waste relieved only by a few basins and plains such as the Wied tal-Pwales and the Wied il-Ghasel. On the hill and ridge tops Terra Rossa formation takes place in solution hollows. On all slopes with gradients greater than 5 per cent., and on all but the most wind sheltered flatlands corrasion and movement, often exposing great stretches of bare rock, are dominant. Only in a few basins, such as the erosional Wied ta'Mazza or the tectonic Bur Marrad in the Wied il-Ghasel, does deposition become important.

In this harsh environment man created the land on which he could live.

134 311 Malta has few true soils but, rather, laboriously garnered and transported inorganic material, carefully built up with humic additions, terraced and walled into place and irrigated wherever possible. For millennia this making of '*campi artificiale*' has gone on and may still be observed, so that some two-thirds of what Bernard Shaw called 'a heap of stones' is now cultivable land. This process of the extension first of hydroponics and then of true farming over bare rock and the reclamation of unhealthy lowland has meant the creation of new and precarious balances. The artificially produced thin pseudo-soil is not self perpetuating. The underlying rock must be regularly chipped away, the solution hollows periodically harvested. The texture must be maintained by the addition of organic matter and by frequent working. The level of nutrients must be kept up with dung and fertilisers and the water content supplemented by irrigation. The terrace walls need constant repair.

In each case there is a sharply critical point beyond which action spells danger. The use of refuse brings bacterial and virus infections, frequent tillage produces a clean surface vulnerable to erosion, the use of irrigation water and artificial fertilisers raises soil salinity. Extension of the soil cover decreases the rate of percolation replenishment of the subterranean aquifers by rain water. Malta is now in fact living on capital as far as water is concerned.

241 There have been similar critical points in crop values. When water is available, the potential crop range is large - bananas grow in barley patches, date-

palms and pomegranates alongside potatoes - but in no case are conditions 241
optimal or yields very good. In the comparatively closed economies of the past
this mattered little; in an era of world trade and world markets Malta has now
been left behind. Large-scale cotton production has virtually ceased and that
of citrus fruit is declining; viticulture is of low standard and the olive tree very
rare. Cereals can now provide only a tiny fraction of local needs while fodder
production is limited in season and type by water shortage.

The critical phase in the social and economic reactions to the physical 178
situation has also been reached. In the simple peasant communities of the past,
the creative manual effort was necessarily associated with a low valuation of
individual human effort and an arduous and restricted life. Now, however,
economic and social opportunities and desires have widened and with them has
come impatience with the demands imposed by the artificial landscape.

Higher per capita productivity to assure more freedom and leisure is only 182
quickly attainable by technical and mechanical innovation. It is just such innovation
that is impossible on a large scale on the land of Malta. 241

The slope analysis map (Fig. 28)[1] illustrates one aspect of the problem. 311
Maltese soil 12 inches deep needs, as a minimum amount, terracing at horizontal
intervals of about 20 feet. Anything wider in the way of fields or a deeper soil [134]
makes essential increasingly higher and stronger retaining walls. The problem
is such that considerable control is exercised by dip as well as gradient. The
amount of labour involved in maintenance is heartbreaking by modern standards
and yet, without it, erosion is quickly followed by the complete stripping away
of the soil down to bare rock. The scale of farming operations often has to be
very small - the planting of single rows of beans, of single trees, the sowing of
chick-peas in rock crevices. Power and tool application is severely restricted.
Small and light implements and single draught animals or more recently
'rotavators' alone can negotiate this type of terrain and work very thin soils
covering rock platforms. The dangerous effect of the abandonment of any land
is obvious. The past has in fact enchained the present. If cultivation is to
continue then in order to preserve the artificial ecological balance, created with
such effort over the centuries, a social imbalance will become even stronger.
Whatever the scale of farming the farmer will always have to grub for soil,
build his terraces, carry his plough or manhandle his rotavator for long hours
under conditions that will seem less attractive even than those of casual dockside
and urban labour.

The first point then is that the landscape indicates how human effort is pinned
down by the artificial environment and how restive man is becoming.

The second theme is concerned with the reasons for the historical process 175
of what really amounts to landscape gardening, and with the underlying
implications. 241

Malta's wealth, in historical times at least, has come from a large extra-territorially
derived income which has resulted from the Island's positional 648
value. It is possible that even in prehistoric times Malta was never self-sufficient.
The great temple building cultures of Malta and Gozo may well have
maintained their master masons on imported wealth. Certainly Carthaginians,
Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Normans all occupied Malta because of its
strategic position and took wealth in rather than removed it. The Order of St.
John held it as an outpost of Christendom maintained by the Knights' possessions
on the European mainland. Britain has similarly supported the Island's economy
in return for its use as a naval, military and more recently a strategic air
centre. Because of Malta's positional importance its inhabitants found it
necessary and worth while to create agricultural resources. Because Malta has
usually been an outpost the society and its works have attained the unstable
equilibrium of a siege life.

At least since Arab occupation a duality has appeared in the community. 369
Earliest at Mdina, later in the Three Cities, then in Valletta and the whole Grand
Harbour complex, and now around the naval, military and air bases, the
garrisons have formed successive nuclei of a cosmopolitan and sophisticated
community. This community, literate, trained in the professions and trades has

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[1] [See pp. 98-B and 98-C -- Analyst]

level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advancement. 555

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same 212
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had 369
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same
period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to
17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment opportunities 464
during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 178
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 241 ●
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 433
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the 464

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school. [114]

241 433 464 [178] giant dockyard in Cospicua, or for one of the various British Service departments scattered over the island. Gozo is more dependent upon agriculture, but many Gozitan men work in Malta, returning to their families for the weekend. Though Maltese villages are populated mostly by industrial workers, they have nonetheless a decidedly rural atmosphere about them, for their inhabitants still have links with the agricultural economy of [231 235 262] the past. Many retain a patch or two of land which they plant with potatoes or some other cash crop to supplement their wages, and virtually all keep chickens and rabbits to supply them with eggs and fresh meat for special celebrations.

463 TABLE I. Occupational Classes in Farruġ and Kortin[1]
(Expressed as percentages of the total male working population)

Occupational Class	*Farruġ*	*Kortin*	*Islands*
Professional and Clerical	4	7	15
Service and Skilled	39	52	55
Semi- and Unskilled	42	27	20
Agricultural	15	14	10
Totals	100	100	100

[438] A hundred years ago, the inhabitants of Farruġ were mostly farmers, though many were also employed on a cottage-industry basis in the thriving cotton industry of the time. Today they are for the most part wage labourers. Of the total male working population, 42 per cent are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, 39 per cent work as skilled fitters and as service personnel (shopkeepers, drivers, policemen, etc.) and 15 per cent as farmers. Only 4 per cent are professionals and white-collar workers. Three-fourths travel outside the village to their places of employment, chiefly with the Malta Government and the British military departments.

The occupational structure of Kortin is much the same. The higher proportion of skilled and clerical workers is in part a reflection of its past importance as an administrative centre, for until early in this century it was the seat of the district court. Seven per cent of the men work in professional and white-collar

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[1] The figures for Farruġ and Kortin are based on surveys I conducted, and the national figures on the *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 45–55. The totals of the male working population in Farruġ, Kortin and the Maltese Islands are 296, 1,131 and 75,930 respectively.

There is considerable difference in the social status ascribed to 156
various jobs. Non-manual occupations have the highest status, 463
manual occupations the lowest. The professionals – the priest, 554
doctor, lawyer, chemist or teacher – are at the top; while the
farmers are at the bottom. In many respects a government clerical
officer is also at the other end of the scale from the farmer. The
civil servant has a steady, relatively easy job with a good cash
income and comfortable pension at the end. He also has ready
access to influential persons in the government. His is a life of
security and relative independence. The farmer, on the other
hand, has been looked down on for centuries. He represents the
traditional life of dependence: dependence upon the weather, the
market, the *pitkal*, or middleman, for cash advances, the letter-writer
and the patron through whom established authority has to
be contacted. Education and wage labour have presented the [178]
farmer with a means of escape from that dependence and the
exhausting labour in his rocky fields. Where he has had the oppor- [871]
tunity, he has been quick to turn his back on the traditional [241]
occupation of his forefathers.

Wealth is another determinant of status. This is generally 156
related to occupation. There has always been a considerable 463
difference between the standard of living of the professionals and 511
that of the average countryman. But until the past war, there was 554
relatively little difference in the standard of living of most 556
villagers. True, the more affluent lived in the large houses on the
main square, and the poorer people lived in the alleys and streets
remote from the square. Most people ate similar food, dressed
alike and furnished their houses in the same way. But the increase
in the level of wages, which followed the war, has changed that
pattern. New houses, cars, fridges and transistor radios have
become a tangible index of success and status. People are now
being graded according to the number of these symbols they
own.

Education, occupation and wealth are thus the chief criteria by 156
which social position is differentiated. A person who has all these 554
attributes has high status. But a person with high status is not [577]
necessarily a leader; for he may not possess the innate qualities
required of a successful leader – courage, responsibility and willingness
to work. Where a person has both high status and
possesses these qualities – as well as ambition – he will undoubtedly

137 312 made of open stone pipes. On the rocks, in January, there was a wild profusion of flowering heath, of a species akin to our heather (*Erica*). Where the water overflows, there are tiny reed beds, but always smaller and less luxuriant than those of the Eastern Mediterranean. In some places on these cliffs the charlock appears to have competed successfully with *Oxalis cernua.*

133 The north coast is generally more shelving. There are no mountains, but the whole surface is cut by deep ravines, which are for the most part dry, but which may contain as much as three feet of water during a spate; the mouths of some of these valleys form small fiords. The western part of the island, which contains the upper coralline beds, contrasts strongly with the eastern. The hills are higher, the valleys bigger and more rounded, and the country is less parched, owing to the underlying marls. The scenery of Gozo resembles that of Western Malta, but the cliffs are higher and grander, the fields are larger, and the country is greener.

241 137 Owing to the large population every foot of soil is precious, and the whole of Malta is parcelled out into innumerable tiny fields, some hardly more than a few yards square, each being separated from the next by a stone wall. Olives and caribs grow as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, but for the most part they are limited to the courses of the streams; oranges flourish where there is sufficient water to irrigate them, but in Malta one looks in vain for the abundant orange groves of Sicily, or the pleasant tangled hillsides of Northern Cyprus. The myrtle is almost absent, the numbers of wild myrtle bushes can nearly be counted on the fingers of a man's hands. The flora (4) generally is most akin to that of Sicily; 94 per cent. of the Maltese species are found in that island, 91 per cent. in Africa, and 90·5 per cent. in the Levant (5). There are three things which are predominant in all the scenery of Malta: stone walls, goats, and the yellow flowers of the virulent *Oxalis cernua*, which not even the goats will eat.

132 Owing to the small size of Malta and the nature of its surface, the weather is dominated by two factors—the sea and the direction of the wind. The mean annual temperature is 66·6° F., the mean annual rainfall is 21·6 inches, precipitation normally occurring on 81 days. The mean relative humidity for seven years is 79·1 per cent. The coldest month is February (mean temperature 52·9° F.); the hottest August (77·9° F.). During June and July practically no rain falls, and in August the mean is only 0·13 mm. (6).

361 In working out constants, I have divided the islands into two areas—Urban and Rural. This is the division in the census (31), and corresponds very closely to a marked difference in the conditions under which the population lives. The former includes the fortified towns and suburbs, Valletta, Floriana, Cottoneria, Senglea, Conspicua, Sliema, St. Julian, Pieta Misida, Hamrum, Birchircara, Curmi, Paula, Tarxien, Zabbar, Calcara and Rabato; the latter, the more isolated villages in the country.

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and
villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to the physical arrangement of functional parts), these provide important evidence of the social and economic nature of society. The present report is concerned with rural society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These
creations have since expanded and merged to become the
[396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society
had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a
few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and
[464] Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended
on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment existing only in the larger settlements or in the little harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530 standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined in relative importance.

[161] Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
[396] a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
associated townships became dominant and the increase in the
population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if
not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the
largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

It has faded very rapidly
369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
241 animals or animal products are sold for money.

433 By using the 1946 Census material (B/167 - 1946, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:

634 Table 1 (v. Map 2)

369 Urban (0-3%)
[127]

Urban (0-3%)	
Valletta	0
Cospicua	0
Senglea	0
Vittoriosa	.008
Gžira	.11
Sliema	.24
Floriana	.43
Pawla	.8
Marsa	1.2
Hamrun	1.35
Msida	1.36
Kalkara	1.84
Pieta	2.6
St. Julian's	2.9

Fringe (3-10%)	
Balzan	5.48
Luqa	6.1
Birkirkara	6.16
Tarxien	6.43
St. Venera	6.46
Qormi	6.88
Birzebbuga	7.3
Żabbar	7.35
Żejtun	8.27
Lija	9.9

Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Mqabba	10.5
Marsaxlokk	10.6
Żurrieq	11.15
Ghaxaq	11.29
Attard	11.53
*Victoria	13
Mdina	15.4
Mosta	16.56
Żebbuġ	18.41
*Ghajnsielem	19.2
Gudja	19.91

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Kercem	56.43
*Xaghra	64
*Gharb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Ghasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Gharghur	29.1
Mellieha	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Malta.................	9.11%
Gozo...................	41.78%
All Islands..........	12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
369 but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the
464 Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages
369 [i.e. peasant subsistence farming, -Analyst]

178 which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming
element are the old settlements.[4] The non-agricultural
369 Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta
and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural
basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages
grew little in size and declined considerably in relative
importance.

178 A closer investigation of the declining relative impor-
tance of farming within the rural villages themselves over
241 the past hundred years (v. Appendix 1D, vii and Graph)
433 reveals that during some periods economic prosperity in
464 Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally,
166 that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a
return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared.
This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the
nineteenth and the first decade of the present century (B/381).
Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming
(v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the
Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land
have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked
this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers
who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the
nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land
upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions
declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a
foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the
land as he is with the community which it supported. If a
depression were to appear along with any limitation in
emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in
times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for
farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring
but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and
farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic
in character.

178 The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial
464 rather than total in that [illegible] bulk of farmers and farm-workers
241 who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or
'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper
(B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of
countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past
the availability of alternative employment has been the
governing factor. The earlier periods of economic prosperity
mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for
175 the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the
464 only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural
288 Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving. Even
here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and
manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth

175 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, particularly
288 after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports
464 of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is
today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective
monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century,
much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted
to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male
labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing
departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was
centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft,
so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from
home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton
production declined. This decline accelerated towards the
close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an
even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands.
The total decline was due to external economic factors but,
within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest
in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The
cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest -
where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing
178 work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end
241 of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of
369 this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first,
464 and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the
Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the
[288] harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton
[396] industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus
[504] appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater
break with home, farm and village than had been the case with
cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the
alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into
the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population
of the rural area became less and less dependent on agriculture
for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in
178 an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second,
241 considered later in more detail, is the social change which
369 has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager
241 through direct and indirect education and contact with the
433 people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two
forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had
happened before on a temporary basis and the other a
consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which
has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world,
have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he
has the new range of employment opportunities indicated,
while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
● 241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The
percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may
be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'.
Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed
as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the
heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three
Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of
south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for
Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant
that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
36 those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to
this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the
harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service
industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops,
cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public
utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the
162 most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to
which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census
distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix
3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would
expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but
even in the rural districts most people are seen to live
within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In
terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban
and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only
five districts show a built-up township area accounting for
more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this
nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for
1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern
(B/561).

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of the villages in which they maintain their country seats and draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always [793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part 795 of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or 565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote. There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and attended the same services at the same times each day of every [203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal, 621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held 565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator. 241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single 423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same [611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals, [591] but accepted stratification within the village went no further than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience 197 were the limits of the village. Contact between villages, even where close together, was slight and invariably less than that between the individual village and Valletta. Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically broader vowels, harsher gutturals and fewer European words and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential independence of the village within the traditional rural 628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish 186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs, [794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
[794] has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

361 Mellieha (1841), Mġarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
175 In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
103 Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kerċem (1885),
San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911),
Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

17 In the period reviewed the major development has been
361 the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the
369 Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth
and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2 · The Farmer and Farming

128

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525)
241 have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is
423 the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either
[114] individually or as the principal person of an agricultural
enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer.
311 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact
423 that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types
of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north

000 already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the
241 points of definition just made. This is the complex of
423 features which have produced the present landscape of tiny
field-plots covering the cultivable parts of the Islands with
a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely
scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The
farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception.
[433] Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large
the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over
55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than
9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in
many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the
family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or
fodder (Case V).

241 The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not
always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and
311 new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land
464 in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of
cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is
not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions.
Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of
rock in days when manual labour was readily available and
cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were
constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled,
tilled and irrigated. But while mechanization, particularly
[409] in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is
enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over
much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even
this kind of development on account of their small size,
tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are
neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the
soil which it held in place collapses over the terraces
below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated
flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

423 The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this
241 picture since they make for further divisions in an already
454 minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is
frequently deterred from making improvements on a piece of
land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates
any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either
owns himself or has on long lease and which show the
necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability
(Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building
(Case I).

241 Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature.
423 They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more

241 423 rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields, which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

241 464 433 This is the background to the present attempts to rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

(a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654] (b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

654 241 464 The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

178 462 [592] The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

562 462 178 In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p. 80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

462 family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and
562 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment
178 outside the home or even outside the village and insists on
a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been
proper for her mother.

462 The home and the care of the children remains the sphere
of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work
178 only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the
men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this
side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this
nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats
generalization.

178 Until recently it was customary for most women and girls
to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields,
462 especially when work was pressing as at harvest time.
288 Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of
464 its preparation (Section 1), while lace was almost entirely
the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity
excluded them from field work. Cotton is now of minor
importance and lace-working is confined to the older
178 generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now
464 partly being filled by young women and girls seeking
employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing,
teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers than was the case a generation ago. Yet there
remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to
suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of
the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude
that persists in labelling paid employment fo a girl as
somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case,
discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout Malta (B/598).

241 Some farming families still retain the traditional
462 pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI);
others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and
[178] girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In
the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and
picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled,
such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men
(v. Case I on the division of family labour).

241 In general it appears that as the younger age-groups
592 are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided.
[178] The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-money' donations and even these went to sons working full-time with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and not to daughters.
[465]
Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

241 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited,
592 in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned
to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until
they can find some paid employment away from the home farm,
and

241 (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between
464 £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family
[461] would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover
[465] the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily
available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a
return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely
to become scarcer and more costly.

241 The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that
[461] as already suggested, the particular characteristics of
Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual
labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious
fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail
of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable
of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of
activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and
241 varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to
distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual
calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming
conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree
of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so
has the range of variety increased.

175 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the
178 crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work
221 a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agri-
241 coltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of
each month along with short articles on subjects of interest
to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as
silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco,
would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the
[234] Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since
[233] 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely
mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to
first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be
241 expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village
and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese
farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial'
and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

178
241 modern calendar of events is considered.

As random sample illustrations three farmers' accounts of their own work during 1957-58 are analyzed[22]. At least they reveal something of the variety that now exists between one farmer and the next.

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221
(1) A full-time field worker (Case X) usually working with his brother and a nephew and having some irrigable land. An analysis of the routine of this man is given (Case X; E, v. Work Analysis) and, from the same material, Mitchell has made a detailed study of time/labour utilization (B/525). A summary of this, which is on the basic of the ten hours per day worked by each of the three men over the year 1957-8, is also included in Case X.

[592]
(2) The second example relates to an arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce (Case XI; E, v. Work Analysis). This man is helped in the fields by his wife and family. The analysis illustrates the main features of this 'irrigated' farmer's year (although in the year studied there was an exceptional loss of time in the Autumn due to storm damage) and should be compared with (1) above. Irrigation accounts for about a quarter of the months May-July but occupies a mere two afternoons in the period November-February. Cutting and reaping accounts for even more time in July than does irrigation: by October plowing is the largest single item apart from "No work (storms)". In November, planting and sowing account for slightly more time than "collecting greenery" and is by far the main work of December (potatoes). General cultivation work occupies much of the next two months but pruning and grafting of vines is the biggest single item of February. The parallel between this and (1) is clear, apart from the special emphasis, on fruit - largely apples - in the former case.

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(3) A Goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping (Case II; E, v. Work Analysis) provides the third sample study. In 1957 - 58 this herdsman spent all but thirty afternoons "grazing the goats" - on only one Sunday or 'festa' day did he not go out with his animals. This illustrates an important feature. While Sundays and Holy Days are normally kept free of field-work, work with animals has to be allowed. The herdsman is consequently much more tied to his farm than is the predominantly arable farmer. He has a set daily schedule of feeding and milking the animals and cleaning out their stalls, etc., and can expect to have to adhere to this especially if he is working alone or with very little help. In fact the herdsman spends a considerable amount of his working year on

234 (i) the grazing mentioned,
221 (ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
461 (iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting milk receipts from the M.M.U., cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of every working day.

221 ● 241 178 181 [731] The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of late, 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of these he is better acquainted.

241 461 178 181 This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate or recently-illiterate farming folk and is given further consideration (Section 4). Suffice it at this stage to emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no

241 461 178 181 direct result. The farmer in (1) spends more than a fortnight each summer gouging tree pests from his apple orchard, a tedious and monotonous task for which the cost would be enormous if any account were made of the labour involved. He has always accepted this task as one of the essential jobs in his fields, presenting itself each year as regularly as the seasons. Today he is wondering whether the same result might not be achieved within the space of a few hours by the application of some spray treatment (Case X).

241 461 This is certainly not to suggest that the Maltese farmer has ever consciously wasted his time. The opposite is the case. Visitors to Malta and Gozo since the eighteenth century have been full of praise for the farmers of the Islands and for their diligent industry. The fact is that the physical limitations of the fields and farms are such that agriculture in the Islands has been maintained and developed only by the application by the farmer of meticulous hand-labour. [464] Today a critical shortage of this very labour is producing a state of doubt and tension in the industry. The question is being posed as to whether some forms of mechanized development can replace traditional manual labour. In view of the characterisites of the rural landscape of the Islands possibilities seem limited.

241 461 178 The farmer's daily timetable, with its long hours of monotonous toil for comparatively little remuneration, is producing a younger farming generation embittered with their inability to do a day's work on the farm in eight hours only and frustrated because independence - in their terms - is denied them. They are tied to the farm and the animals and unable to take as much leisure as their counterparts in 'urban' jobs. Independence for them implies the freedom to take time off from the farm in which to make themselves socially as 'urbanate' as possible. Independence for their fathers' generation is not the same thing. Here is seen a vestige of the traditional peasant way of life which was essentially independent in its family and village self-sufficiency. Thus the old farmer's concept of independence is the ability to rule himself and to work his long hours as he inclines. The liberty to sit with his goats between siesta and sunset, with no foreman and no questions, is in fact part of the attraction which keeps the older farmer in farming at all. It is by no means the whole story because he knows well enough that in his case it is too late to think of acquiring any of the education which he sees as the key to things better than farming. The younger generation do not see things in this light at all and regard their education as a means of escape (section 1)

000 as a means of escape (Section 1).

The nature of the farmer's daily timetable depends on

512 (a) the type of farm-unit involved,
241 (b) the labour force available,
234 (c) location,
(d) season.

The farmer's day begins, on average, between 4 a.m. and 4.30 a.m. Extremes are found in the case of herdsmen who often rise much earlier - at 2.30 a.m. in the case of the Gozitan with a large herd of cows and only a limited milking labour force, or after 5a.m. or 5.30 a.m. for a herdsman whose farm is close to an M.M.U. collection depôt. The M.M.U. require herdsmen to deliver their milk at such a depôt for transportation to the pasteurizing centre at Hamrun or, in Gozo (after 1958), to the new milk centre at Xewkija. Before this latter addition to the milk industry, which is expected to cope with all the Gozo-produced milk in both pasteurizing and other processes, it was possible for a herdsman (Case I) in north-western Gozo to have to rise as early as 12.30 a.m. Generally, in the summer, reveille for the field worker might be an hour or so earlier than in winter so that he and, even more, the herdsman might expect to begin most of his working days in darkness.

[991] The first event of the day for many country people is Mass. Some are regular attenders at one of the services between 4 and 6 a.m. Others, living further from a Church or having very heavy commitments of work, are less so. Field workers frequently take the Mass on their way to the work of the day (Case X).

[264] Breakfast is invariably a very light meal of little more than bread and tea or coffee. It is taken sometime between reveille and about 9 a.m. and does not constitute a major halt in the work of the farm. Milk producers in most cases do not breakfast until the animals are milked or even until they return with their carts from taking the churns to the M.M.U. collection depôt in the nearest village.

[264] [461] The main meal of the day is lunch, taken somewhere between 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. and followed by a siesta of up to three hours. The herdsman's siesta is less flexible than that of the farmer for a 1 p.m. afternoon milking limits the time available. The milking over, the goat-herder takes his animals out to graze on a suitable patch of waste ground or stubble until 5 or 6 pm. - or later in the summer (Case II). The milk is taken to the collection depôt with minimum loss of time especially in hot weather. In the case of the herdsman with cows there is clearly no question of grazing these animals (Case VI), except in one case (Case IX).

000 except in one case (Case IX).

241 The evening meal is generally smaller than the lunch
234 although consisting of much the same elements - a thick stew
512 ('brodu' or 'minestra'), along with bread, cheese, fruit,
264 olives, tomatoes, etc. The consumption of meat and fish is
[262] in part governed by religion and in part by price and
availability, though meat certainly figures much more prominently in the rural diet than formerly. The meal is taken soon after the return from the fields, about 6.30 p.m. and is followed, an hour or so later by the saying of a family Rosary before retiring for the night about 8.0 p.m. In Gozo there is a tendency for people to rise, eat, work and retire to bed rather earlier than in the larger Island and the smaller villages are usually dark and quiet by 7 p.m.

241 Apart, therefore, from external factors, such as M.M.U.
234 collection or Church service timings, the daily timetable of
512 the farmer and the herdsman depends to a large degree on his
own volition. He knows what work is outstanding and can decide how and when he will do it within the limits imposed by the season, demands of animals, and so on. Thus, at a peak period of field-work, such as harvest, the farmer and his assistants may work on until the late evening - even through the night. During exceptionally heavy rains, as in October 1957, work on anything approaching the normal scale is, on the other hand, impossible and the farmer's day becomes one of doing what he can and complaining copiously meanwhile.

241 Miège (B/516, p.236), writing in 1840, was impressed by
512 the regular and assiduous labour of the Maltese farmer, even
461 during the heat of the summer sun. "Il semble impossible,
au premier abord, que le paysan maltais puisse résister aux chaleurs intenses de l'été. Cependant, au milieu des champs, dès le lever du soleil, on le voit, exposé a ses brûlants rayons, continuer tout le jour ses pénibles travaux. Il fait deux pauses: la première a huit heures; il se repose alors une demi-heure pour déjeuner; la seconde à onze heures; c'est l'instant de son dîner frugal, après lequel il se repose de nouveau jusqu'à midi en hiver, et jusqu'à une heure en été, tantôt à l'ombre d'un figuier, tantôt au pied du petit mur qui entoure le champ, la tête couverte d'un bonnet de laine, et le reste du corps exposé au feux du jour. Il reprend ensuite ses travaux avec la même vigueur, et ne se retire qu'au signal donné par la cloche de son village, c'est à dire au coucher du soleil".

572 The essentials of the daily round of the farmer have
241 changed little since Miège wrote except in so far as the
234 tremendous increase in the importance of stock-rearing and
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178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[234] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
517 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

178 farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

241 It is hoped that some at least of the answer to this problem will come from co-operation and mechanization. The first implies the pooling of labour resources of individual farmers while the latter includes the whole range of developments leading to a replacement of hand labour, as far as possible under Maltese conditions, by machinery or by more efficient implements.

CO-OPERATION

241 476 Co-operation in field work between farmers is not new in Malta[23]. It is either permanent, where two or more farmers combine with each other to work a single farm unit, sharing profits and expenses, or temporary, as when two or more farmers share the use of a threshing machine at harvest.

An example of the permanent type is a case (Case VIII) where five brothers work one farm-unit as a team with one of their number being something of a primus inter pares. This [234] is an efficient and profitable arrangement with a substantial income accruing from the herd of some thirty head and the 70 tmien of land worked by the partnership.

Another case (Case XI) is that of two unrelated farmers working one farm-unit as partners after a lifetime's friendship. So completely are their resources pooled that it is not always clear what belongs to the one and what to the other. With their respective eldest sons (teenagers) these [233] [234] two men operate a holding of some 100 tmien and have in recent years joined in the change-over from goats to cows. Their joint herd now numbers some forty head, but as an economic unit is in a much inferior position to that of the first example.

A third example (Case X) shows two brothers working the fields held by them together but maintaining clear distinctions as to which brother owns which plot. This association has also endured for decades and now includes the full-time assistance of the oldest son of the brother.

An example of a temporary association is that where two or more farmers combine to thresh the grain of each man in turn, six being the optimum number for a threshing team which normally includes the owner-operator of the hired [178] threshing machine himself working as one of the team. In the days when the traditional threshing floor with the mule and hand-winnowing was the standard method of threshing (as before the 1939-45 War) different farmers would also join and help each other at the harvest. (Today this threshing floor method is confined to cases where a long straw is required.)

000 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against

241 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against
494 exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly common, while a recent development has been the tractor co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

178 The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta
407 in the 1930s (Case XV, XXII) but "at that time there was a general feeling against the use of such machines on the land and it was about five years before their value was acknowledged and suspicions overcome"[12]. [427] One of the earliest tractor-hire businesses (Case XV) began in 1935 and for a [422] decade there were comparatively few competitors. Since the 1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning agricultural tractos and mechanized implements[24] has increased to about thirty in Malta[25] and some twelve in Gozo (1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[26], made in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still increasing but the work available for them is decreasing. This is clear from a consideration of the points raised in Cases XV to XII (Section 6, Part 2).

The main points emerging were

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended (Case XVI), while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement (Case XXII).

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

(ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can [654] be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially since low-interest loans are now available from the Government.

(c) The limited area of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between asignments (Case · XVII).

407 with the setting up of co-operatives which would make
474 available to the farmer the services of a heavy tractor and
deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire the smaller type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY and GUARANTEE

435 During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered
241 farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for
654 produce handed in to the collection centres in each district.
Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never known before and were able to build up often considerable financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

434 Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite
435 different conditions of competition from abroad, demands
a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and
241 milk production. He insists that responsibility for this
654 subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on
"Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and marketing and gives him a substantial return.

654 The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties
which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible foodstuffs (which would often mean imported goods rather than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities (bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows everyone in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included four main types of help to agriculture.

234 (a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen
654 for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U.
This varies slightly with season and there is a difference of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells

242 654 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud (Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service are outlined in B/252.

178 241 654 181 [234] Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification to bring it more closely into line with present conditions both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4) but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the Islands.

433 654 234 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee remains he will continue to put every effort into selling more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently, having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

MONEY

433 434 178 [175] In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale subsistence farming with the help only of his family. Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family, farm and village. There were very few wants which could not be supplied at home, or at least within the village. In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 436 437 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction between the present 'commercialized' position and that which prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
234 nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
434 the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
426 poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
fully realizes that without the present Government guarantee
[654] (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
He probably does realise this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt
is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together
as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a
total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for
the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that
the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize
their farm and herd as they woudl wish. For example,
while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing
calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in
fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would
otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the
cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding
to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them
reluctant to take on any further loan commitments:
nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are
definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be
able to increase the number in their herd and also
mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
234 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
434 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U
with as much milk as possible.
654

They have no thought or care as to what might happen
were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the
subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly
little appreciation of the total picture of which they
form part and will be content to grumble quietly and
ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate
(Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
434 The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
454 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
provision of dowries and Wedding costs, etc., are met.
234 This farmer admits to having been able to save more than
654 £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that
today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread".
[451] He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly
on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase
of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds
of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on
the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for
all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is
typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying,
today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to
making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported
market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
434 accounts of the working of his farm. His second employment
brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
241 weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he
[511] reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a
third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc.
and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the
steady income from his other job farming has something
of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

178 because he has always been used to doing it and one which
enables him to provide many of the food items needed by
434 the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who
emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return
241 to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of
life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece
of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

156 The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives
241 both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of
426 independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies
of farming from the economic point of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

472 It appears that MONEY is a variable but important
511 factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an
economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household, as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear distinction made by the farmer between the finances pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its maintainance. The most common practice is for there to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it come the costs of running farm and household. As seen, the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as the labour of his family and himself is concerned
[451] (Case X). Similarly it is still the exception rather
than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is making a loss, though of the details he has no notion. In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems

175 458 464 369 Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger position than the townsman for he has had the land to which he could return when no other work was available. Thus the degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level of prosperity in the Islands (Section 2).

178 241 464 [458] [554] The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in some future period of major economic recession and depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than a minor part of the total population. As an economic retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the [554] problem goes further. The present younger generation in the farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly. Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of reconciliation.

175 465 Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese agriculture may be seen from that afore-mentioned index, the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War, a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is, today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourer:

1826-42	6½d - 8d	(B/556, p.215)
1843-54	8d - 10d	"
1855-56	1s - 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d - 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d - 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s - 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s	(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s - 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s - 25s	(Personal Investigation)

162 The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom
9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as
735 a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the
511 whole population.

369 This pattern of comparatively low living standards in
rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the
problem with which this Section has been concerned. While
[178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in
the Islands the younger generation of the rural community
will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present
241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change
from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from
its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3).
The social background to this change is, however, no less
important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work,
thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little
removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of
commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and
illiterate sections of the farming community this question
of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any
efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be
seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and
Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to
Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta
the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate.
Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom
Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of
experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel
none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta
619 complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the
829 farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he
has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on
which he blames many of his economic and social problems.
In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear
distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities
and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is
allegiance to political parties very significant for person-
[648] ality is more important than party. Historically, this
attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the
tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign
British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid
hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two
and a half centuries in the Islands.

654 to have made its presence felt among the farmers themselves.
232

242 When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in the Islands will depend, have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

241 829 [575] [874] In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened younger farming generation might develop. Neither is there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

654 234 As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U. (Section 2). In short, official policy here has been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the cost of which is borne by the Government. [433] The totals of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[41].

439 suffers by being inadequately graded and packed does not
concern him although the specialist working in Malta on
marketing problems has stressed this as a primary weakness
up to now (B/253). The farmer is further reluctant to
[178] change to the production of certain 'early' varieties of
potato which would sell much more profitably on the over-
seas market than does the Arran Banner which has been the
predominant variety in the Islands for several decades.

178 The argument returns, in fact, to the thesis put for-
ward in a number of contexts in this report that the farmer
241 is still thinking very much as a peasant subsistence
producer although to outward appearances he has now become
a fully commercial, cash-cropping farmer. This outlook,
the product of illiteracy and confined experience, will
have to be appreciated by those concerned with any kind of
improvement and development in the Maltese agriculture.
It is the younger, literate generation of the farming
community who would be capable of education in these terms
- if they stay in agriculture to be educated.

654 In the long run it would appear that the most satis-
factory kind of financial help to farming is the loan at
426 very low interest rate (Section 2). The basis of this
was the Agriculture and Fishing Industries (Financial
Assistance) Act, No.11 of 1956, which authorized the loans
for approved capital improvement projects at only 1% interest
per annum. A major result of the loan system was that it
made the farmer independent of money-lenders and money-
lending middlemen. Previously many farmers had suffered
near financial strangulation in the grip of these indivuals,
particularly where they were operating under perpetual
debt (v. Cases V and IX). A second great advantage of the
loan is that the farmer is able to improve his farm and
farming and at the same time preserve that independence of
operation so dear to him. Many of the subsidies on seeds,
rations, etc. have forced him to use his money in a certain
way. He much prefers if possible to have the money and
spend it as he chooses on machinery, livestock and fodder,
buildings, cisterns, irrigation equipment, land reclamation,
and repayment of previous debts, etc.

654 One disturbing feature of the loans is, however, that
426 they are putting a lot of money into the hands of the
farmer without necessarily ensuring that it is spent to
454 the best advantage of agriculture or to the farmer himself
in a long term view. For example much of the money loaned
has been put towards the purchase of livestock and
accommodation for animals in order to increase milk
production, while the present regime of guaranteed milk
price remains. To this extent the loans have helped the

654 (ii) The younger generation are not interested in
829 improving farming; they scarcely stop to think that any
464 changes in the industry might be possible in their
178 present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk
of life. Thus they will probably not be available to
take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise,
from their fathers.

SECTION 5 : Conclusions.

369 In conclusion one may attempt to draw together the several general points raised in the previous four Sections. The most important of these may be listed as follows:

(1) The twentieth century is witnessing an accelerating process of the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo (Section 1). This comprises

(a) material change (the development of electricity, roads, sewage, transport, and a variety of other amenities),

(b) cultural change following general, elementary education - that is literacy, 'emancipation' and the emergence of a critical public awareness,

[565] [793] (c) social and economic changes which have laid the foundations of a rural middle class, unknown in the traditional village scene. Along with this have come modifications in the pivotal rôle of the Parish Priest and other priests. Some of their traditional functions, notably teaching and caring for the sick, have been taken over by specialists in such fields.

369 829 The factors outlined under (a), (b), and (c) are tending to extend the horizon of the individual villager far beyond the limits of his own village. Whereas he used to work and think within his family and village he is now aware of Malta and beyond.

241 464 178 (2) The particular physical limitations on farming in the Islands have, in the past, made the industry dependent to a very considerable extent on the meticulous hand-labour of the industrious Maltese farmer. This has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance, and even construction, of the fields and terraces themselves (Section 2). The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involved. They have benefited from general elementary education, literacy, and contact with the world outside the villages to the extent of demanding work which seems to them economically and socially rewarding. The past twenty-five years have seen a rapid decline in the number of full-time farmers and farm-workers. Today the farmer, in most cases no longer assisted by his sons, finds hired labour both scarce and costly (Section 2).

178 (3) On account of these same physical limitations
mechanization of field-work cannot be expected to solve all
241 labour problems in Maltese agriculture. An initial, over-
407 optimistic emphasis on large tractors and other heavy mach-
464 inery has given way to a rapid increase in the number and
popularity of the small rotary-cultivators. But even this
cannot be expected to displace completely the wooden plow
and hand implement working (Section 2).

However, mechanized farm implements, particularly the small, manoeuvrable rotary-cultivator type of hand tractor, have enabled a reduced number of farmers to work their fields more intensively, and, in some cases, to increase the area worked by a single individual.

The neglect of those aspects of farming where manual work is dominant and necessary have, nevertheless, accompanied this change with the bizarre result that intensification of effort and neglect are proceeding simultaneously (B/336).

178 (4) A basic factor in the present situation, in which
434 the young farmer is retreating from farming, has been the
emergence of a demand for money income (Section 3). The
traditional pattern of peasant, subsistence farming in which
the main object was the support of the farmer and his family
has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook in farming.
The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with
which he can

(a) purchase those items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (clothing, bread etc., etc.),

(b) purchase items which have recently become part of his regular demands and for which money is a sine qua non (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.),

433 Food, as an item of family expenditure, nowadays figures
511 especially prominently

(a) where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, to fodder,

(b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element of the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market prospects.

178 But of greater significance in the long-term view is the
434 fact that these new demands for monetary gain are a particu-
larly prominent feature among the present younger generation
of the farming community. For them a substantially increased
income is synonomous with social and economic betterment.
Since they do not envisage such an increased income coming
from farming they are all the more anxious to leave the

654 (b) to encourage the members of the farming community to remain in their villages and in the industry.

654
234 (9) Following the official policy, outlined under (8) - particularly that relating to dairying in the Islands, and the limited and short-sighted outlook of the average Maltese farmer (v.6), an irrational emphasis on milk production has emerged in recent years (v. Section 4). The dairy industry has grown to unprecedented size in the Islands and many herdsmen have seized eagerly upon the guaranteed price for milk sold to the M.M.U. as a source of a steady income. The fact that the dairy industry as a whole is over-producing and the continuation of the present conditions depend on a virtual Government subsidy does not deter them from concentrating all efforts into milk production to the neglect of other aspects of farming.

654
178 (10) The official policy, outlined in (8) and (9), seems likely to fail or to come near to failure on two main accounts (Section 4):

(a) the difficulties facing current attempts to pursuade the farmer to accept new schemes, crops, equipment, methods, etc., and arising from

(i) the outlook and attitudes of the farmer as discussed in (6),

[208] (ii) the use of unsuitable means of propaganda by the Advisory Service and others at present attempting to pursuade the farmer to accept new ideas and methods which would bring him cheaper working, a better profit and, thereby, contentment.

(b) the fact that the policy, outlined in (8), is directed, naturally enough, at the present farmers. This generation, however, illiterate and conservative, and with an average age in the late fifties, is, in the long-term view, the wrong one.

The present younger generation in the farming community, whose literacy and awareness of the world beyond the village make them educable and more responsive to new ideas, are the individuals towards whom official effort should be directed if Maltese agriculture is not to be lost by default. Nothing, however, included in official policy (up to December, 1959), is aimed at them (there is nothing resembling a young farmers' club in the Islands and no institute or college where agriculture can be studied).

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178 The younger generation is in fact, on account of the whole complex of technical, economic and social reason (the strenuous work, the insecurity and the low social status involved) discussed in the four previous Sections, anxious to escape from farming as fast as opportunity to do so emerges.

The problem is clear, and its solution one of action.

654 An F.A.O. report on investigations in Malta and Gozo observes
● 241 that "Progress in agriculture is fundamentally a human
problem; it depends on knowledge and the intelligent appli-
cation of knowledge" (B/243, p.9). Within the Islands
themselves there is a certain awareness of the situation and
[181] particularly of the need for an official policy designed to
develop the agricultural industry to the best advantage of
the total economy of the Islands and to assist the farmers
who "are perhaps the most hard-working, honest and God-
fearing section of the community and the country will be the
loser if it were to let them down" (B/387, p.7).

It must be noted that the position in Gozo is even more intractable than in Malta.

From work done in the field two major lines of approach to the problem of Maltese farming emerge:

(a) Development policy must be related to the present and future position of her only basic industry - agriculture - within Malta's total economy. In this context one feels that at present there is some over-emphasis on the parts rather than the whole, that is the individual farmer qua economic unit and on the means whereby he may derive increased profit from his present - generally uneconomic - farm-unit. It is too easy to discuss minutiae of policy which are "good for agriculture", rather than to consider either men in villages or the fundamental national needs.

(b) The long-term improvement of Maltese agriculture as regards both the national economy and the fortunes of the individual farmers depends on the personnel of farming as much as on policy imposed from above. Policies must be tailored to fit the varying capabilities for absorption among the farmers, from the potato-grower who cannot see why a certain variety of potatoe is not selling on the export market to the dairyman unable to comprehend the artificially distorted basis of the industry which provides his livelihood. Moreover, up to now few development plans have been aimed specifically at the future farmers of Malta, the young, literate generation of the farming community. Before they have all left farming and village society this generation must be made aware of the possibilities and potential of agriculture in Malta and Gozo.

468 FOOTNOTE: While this report was 'in print' it was
announced that the milk producers had decided to withhold
829 deliveries to the M.M.U. (B/59, 17th November, 1959, p.4).
They argue that the guaranteed price given them should be
increased to take into account current production costs -
234 especially of fodder. The fact that they appear to have over-
looked the £370,000 paid by the taxpayer in subsidizing the
milk industry (1958) illuminates both the narrow outlook of
the farmer and his failure to appreciate the uneconomic basis
of his dairying industry today (v.9).

*159
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3 ratal barley bran	1s. 4d.
8 " cake	3s. 6d.
5 " sulla	1s. 4d.
8 " beans	5s. 0d.
1 basket prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½ " straw	6d
	12s. 8d.

- Sample daily food for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48 ratal bean	£1. 10s. 0d.
16 " barley	6s. 0d.
4 bundles sulla	5s. 0d.
Furrajna (green	5s. 0d.
barley)	£2. 6s. 0d.

[434]

- Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit, making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d. daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

*159
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G. **Husbandry.**

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".
- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
  (a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.
  (b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.
  (c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

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●241

(ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.
- Two rotations are in use,

(a) 1st yr: Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
2nd yr: Sulla
3rd yr: Wheat
4th yr: Fallow

(b) 1st yr: Wheat
2nd yr: Sulla and Beans
3rd yr: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor plowing.
4th yr: Fallow

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H. **General.**

- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gozitan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.

[454]

- At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

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CASE II: Ġużepp (A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping.)

Like Pawlu (Case I) Ġużepp is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
[246] (he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
● 241 for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
433 the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
434 getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
[427] 1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
[241] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
[433] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
438 great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
443 paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

*
159 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
511 entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
829 yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
178 one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation.
In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following
in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is diffi-
cult to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
● 241 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
178 the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
362 the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought", £6.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
[427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a new house and include near it accommodation for his animals. For his large family of wife and eight children the house, though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
54 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
461 distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can himself operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
464 animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
654 when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

[P 86]

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. **Land.**

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. **Utilisation.**

● [241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. **Livestock.**

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. **Capital.**

[423] [454] [412] [407] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.
- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. **Labour.** (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. **Production and Sales.**

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. **Husbandry.**

[245]
(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 [245]
- Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233] [461] (ii)
- Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

● [241] (iii)
- Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.

[231]
- Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

H. General.

*159 829 241
- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159 [434] [234]
- Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.

[511] [454] [241]
- Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.

[511]
- Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

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TABLE 4. CASE II. Analysis of Work Record. 1957-58(a)

ACTIVITY		Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
		am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Sundays and feasts(b)		6		6		4		5		6		6		5		6		5	1	6		6		4		64	1
"Business", miscellaneous		1				1		2				1		2		1				1				1		10	–
Grazing Goats.(c)			29		28		30		29		30		30		25		20		28		30		29		28	–	336
Collecting money from H.R.U.		1		1		2		2				2		1		1		1		2		2		2		17	–
Goats' sheds - cleaning				1		3		2	1	4		2	1	2		1										15	2
" " - building, repairing		3						9		1																13	–
Pigs, illness and slaughtering				1		1								1										1	1	4	1
Potatoes	(Sowing			1								5														6	–
	(Weeding, hoeing															2		3								5	–
	(Lifting									6												2				8	–
Vines	Pruning											12		3												15	–
	Grafting											1		4		2										7	–
	Hoeing, plowing, spraying					1	1							1	1	6	1	3		9	1	1				21	4
	Picking			6		2																				8	–
Tomatoes	Planting out, hoeing															1				2				1		4	–
	Picking	1		8		4		1																2		16	–
Wheat	Sowing							1		10																11	–
	Reaping																					11				11	–
Barley	Sowing							3																		3	–
	Reaping																			5						5	–
Sulla	Sowing	2																						1		3	–
	Reaping	1												1		6		6						2		16	–
	Binding(d)																	5						5		10	–
Marrows, Melons, Pumpkins,														1				1		5		2		2		11	–
Onions and garlic						1				1																2	–
Beans, carob and Prickly Pear(e)		5		1		1						2				1		3								13	–
Gathering greenery (haxix)														1	1	1	2									2	3
Plowing (unspecified): Motor -			2	1		5		2		1				4			1	2								15	3
" " : Wood Plow, and hoeing				1		2										3	7			1						7	7
Threshing wheat & barley - (f)																						5		3		8	–

continued

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Table 4 continued.

ACTIVITY	Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Manure spreading (g)	5		2						1												6		3		17	-
Repairing field storm damage					4		3						1												8	-
Other and unspecified (h)	6		2	2					1	1			1	1			1	1			1	1	2	2	14	8
TOTAL	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(a) From work record kept by farmer's wife. (Translated by the writer): originals in B/S).
(b) No work in the mornings - goats grazed as usual in afternoon.
(c) Occasionally the children relieve Guzepp of supervising the goats' grazing.
(d) Including transport and storage.
(e) Hoeing and cutting.
(f) Including preparations for threshing.
(g) Including moving, spreading, turning and selling.
(h) Including 6 mornings when Guzepp washed clothes (wife's confinement), and others when weather was too bad for work.

G.

[P 91]

*159 shopping is done in the local village but Nardu
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Suq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 A. **Land**.
423 30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 B. **Utilisation**.
● 241 Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
311 3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under żofâfa.(bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 C. **Livestock**.
231 During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital**.
[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
- Freehold village house.
[454] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[412] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc.
[407] No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 E. **Labour**.
464 - Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting.
During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
[427] - Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 F. **Production and Sales**.
433 - Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week

*159 G. **Husbandry**.
241 (i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annu
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prov
the employment of the normal four-year rota

*159 241 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments.
Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpannija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 656 The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

433 434 *159 46 241 465

244
*159 available", and normally delegates most of the work to
461 a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.
465

*159 His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and other fodder "as it is needed". 43 He does not buy regularly nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. [451] In December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a 'cost'.

*159 511 178 Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

*159 461 Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

*159 178 234 His father was a labourer with the Services and had only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen and then gradually built up his own herd to its present size, particularly in the past few years when, in common with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his family) are actively discouraging the children from planning to follow their father. Their main objection to herding appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields you never go back...."

*159 423

CASE IV : Summary.

(A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. Land.

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

*159 423
- 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. Utilisation.

*159 241 311
(i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.
(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 231 234
C. Livestock.

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. Capital.

*159 423 511 426
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[21] food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. Labour.

*159 464
(i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.
(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 43 234
(i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day. Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.
(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.
(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

*159 23
G. Husbandry.

(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.
(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.
(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*159 434
H. General.

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 231 234 **C. Livestock.**

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 142 **D. Capital.**

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 434 234 [433] **F. Production and Sales.**

(v. Table 5)
(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p. .
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 232 234 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.
(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.
(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

*159 The family has occupied the present house for several
423 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
551 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v. B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the
village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
461 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
234 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially
to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
829 his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
544 He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public
234 lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He
178 thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique
interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese
farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which
cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods".
He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to
the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time
and labour thus expended would bring no additional return
to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he
employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and
therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases
some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures)
would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427] All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

●241 The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

* 159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
[249] lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great
success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow
to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

* 159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

427
- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

* 159 **B. Utilisation.**

241
- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

* 159
231
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- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

* 159 **D. Capital.**

[454]
- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434]
[234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

* **G. Husbandry.**

159 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

231
[429]
[311]
- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jun. to Aug.
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly ½ tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

[435]
[434]
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

* 159 **H. General.**

156
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

000 *159 241 731 the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

*159 829 442 464 472 The brothers also complain of the present marketing regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themsloves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

*159 423 [134]

A. Land.

c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region. 16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2½ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

*159 241

B. Utilisation. (i) Typical arrangement.

			Winter	Summer
Plot 1.	8⅔	tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 2.	1	tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot 3.	1⅓	tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot 4.	3	tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot 5.	2⅔	tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot 6.	1⅓	tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 7.	2	tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 8.	7⅔	tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
			Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot 9.	2	tmien	Vines	
Plot 10.	2⅔	tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 11.	21	tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
			Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
			Vetches	Fallow
Plot 12.	2¼	tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot 13.	1⅔	tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot 14.	2⅔	tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot 15.	5¼	tmien	Citrus Orchard	
				Tomatoes
Plot 16.	1⅔	tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

*159 24 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

23 (i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

234 (ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

*159 **D. Capital.**

[412] (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

*159 **E. Labour.**

464 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

407 (ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

427 (iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

(iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

*159 **F. Production and Sales.**

433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

*159 198 829 [454] Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming" although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

*159 423 (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows'milk production.)

A. Land.

Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. [429] 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

*159 231 C. Livestock.

Shifting emphasis in recent years.
- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957: 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- Pigs 8.

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Inglizi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 **D. Capital.**

426 (i) No freehold property.

[423] (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[454] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools

[407] - rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.

[312] - small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.

- no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 **E. Labour.**

464
- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 **F. Production and Sales.**

434 435
- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 **G. Husbandry.**

231 (i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)

- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.

[232] - Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

● [241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 **H. General.**

234 829 The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

[426] The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 829 234 [433] Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the Gozitan milk producer, Case I.

The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle within the current artificial economy of milk production. There is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 241 231 427 472 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is however centred on the land holding which he and his brother work in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġamri's father.

*159 472 464 241 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (bagħli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines........................	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders....................	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let.......	13 tmien
Potatoes...............................	6 tmien
Other vegetables.......................	5 tmien

*159 245 242 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall success of any year depends on them. They were introduced to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 245 [435] Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

This increase in the

178 range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-
291 produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged
[511] financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of his children, both the infants and those attending school.
[371] The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands
[702] has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been their practice before.

* **Work and Labour**

159 As seen, Ġamri's normal labour force consists
241 of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little.
461 This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural
464(4) year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit......	1740	man/hours
	- vines......	489	" "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437	" "
	- potatoes...	868	" "
	- other vegetables...	505	" "
(ii) on Ġamri's own holding	- vines....	444	" "
	- cereals & fodders..	222	" "
	- vegetables	65	
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage..............		160	" "
(d) Building of pig-sties...............		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous......................		677	" "
		6816	man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analysed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġamri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

OUD In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

*159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in contrast
231 to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

Ġamri and farming

*159 Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
[212] Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time conditions
[454] the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[929] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
[434] costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

*159 His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri himself,
make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
18 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he believes
that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
18 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

*
159 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously
829 and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.

181 Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community
178 in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

*
159 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production.)
423 (Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

427 **A. Land.**

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

*
159 **B. Utilisation.**
● 241

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9 tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9 "
Potatoes	6.2 "
Other vegetables	4.9 "
Fallow or unproductive or let 'bin-nofs'.	12.6 "
	62.5 tmien

*
159 **C. Livestock.**
231

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

*
159 **D. Capital.**
423
454

(i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.
(ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.
(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.

*
159
407 (iv) - Equipment:
427

- Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
- Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding, Ġ

159 407 427 paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on ♂'s personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tomna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tomna.

- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tomna.

E. Labour.

*159 464

- ♂'s 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:
  - (a) Joint holding worked by partners and ♂'s nephew.
  - (b) Land held by ♂, deriving from wife's family, farmed by ♂ and oldest nephew.
  - (c) Land held by ♂'s brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 461

- A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On ♂'s own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tomna.

*159 434 241

F. Production and Sales.

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From ♂'s land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13.	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
♂'s share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434

- This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from ££.10.0 to £15 per tomna, fruit £28 per tomna,

159 241 434 433 tomatoes £18.10.0 and grapes from £8 to £18.

- Measured yields include:-

Grapes:	4.2 tmien	11.4 qnatar
Winter sown potatoes (irrigated):	2.0 tmien	6.8 qnatar
Autumn sown potatoes (dry):	3.3 tmien	7.6 qnatar
Green beans in pod:	1.5 tmien	600 rtal
Wheat (threshed):	6.7 tmien	31.5 tmien
Sulla:	1.0 tomna	13 hmiel
	1.0 tomna	20 hmiel
	3.0 tmien	10 hmiel
Vetches:	0.7 tomna	6.5 hmiel
	2.0 tomna	7.0 hmiel

- Thus, comparing these figures with figures for labour applied, cash receipts per man-day were £2 for fruit, £1.10.0 for grapes and £1 for sulla. Were labour applied to be costed at prevailing rates of 20/- to 25/- per man-day, a large loss on the year's working would result.

*159 241 433 (2) A large proportion of the produce is retained for consumption by the family and by its small number of stock. In 1956/7 one quarter of joint holding and one third of G's own land produced entirely for home consumption.

*159 241 9. Husbandry.

(1)- Rotations not strictly adhered to, but common sequences are:
(a) on good land
1st Yr: Manuring followed by potatoes or by winter fallow and summer crop (tomatoes or melons).
2nd Yr: Potatoes or tomatoes.
3rd Yr: Sulla.
4th Yr: Wheat.
(b) on poorer dry land an alternation of sulla or vetches with cereals.
(c) best irrigated land may carry 2 crops of potatoes in each of several successive years but more usually tomatoes or melons follow winter-sown potatoes and autumn-sown potatoes are then omitted.
(d) fields may be irrigated in alternate years only, with dry land crops (cereals, beans, onions) in non-irrigated years.

(2)- Common cultivation methods:
(a) Vines: land worked 3 times with tined hoes during late winter and early spring. Ammonium sulphate worked in during second cultivation.
(b) Tomatoes: surface scattering of manure followed by deep plowing (summer). Worked four times with wooden plow in winter and subsequently reduced to fine tilth with hoe before planting seedlings.
(c) Wheat: land worked twice with wooden plow in October, seed scattered broadcast and plowed in immediately.
(d) Melons: land worked six times during autumn, winter and early spring, four times with wooden plow, twice with rotary cultivator. Seed sown and watered in early April.
(e) Beans: land deep-plowed during summer and worked twice with wooden plow. Hoed during planting.

(3)- Seeds. Average rates of application:-
(a) Sulla (new crop) c.10 tmien (weight) per tomna of land, seed obtained from previous year's crop.
(b) Wheat and barley 4 sighan (weight) per tomna, generally from previous crop but may be purchased at c.3/- per sighan.
(c) Beans. 1 tomna (weight) per tomna of land.
(d) Potatoes are the only seed regularly purchased, Arran Banner and other Scottish varieties bought (v. after Table 6)

[text continues on p.124]

TABLE 6.

CASE X : WORK ANALYSIS, 1957-58

ACTIVITY	AUG.		SEPT.		OCT.		NOV.		DEC.		JAN.		FEB.		MAR.		APR.		MAY		JUNE		JULY		YEAR	
	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM
A NON-FIELD WORK																										
Sundays, Feasts(1)	5	4½	5	4	4	4	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	6	6	4	4	6	6	7	5	4	4	64	64½
To Valletta or Kosta			1						1	1	2½		1		1										6½	1
Ill-health and resting(2)	½		½	½		1	1											1						1	2	3½
Too wet for field-work(2)					10½	8½	9	13	3	6	4	5	1	3	2	2	2½	1							32	38½
Too cold for field-work									1																1	
Pigs needing attention															1	1									1	1
Shooting birds			1				1½																		2½	
Repairing Storm Damage(2)										1					3	2									3	3
Other building Work(5)	1		½		4	5	4½	3	3	1½								2							13	9½
Implement maintainance												1				1										2
B FIELD WORK																										
Irrigating	1	11		5											1½	1½		4	2	5	2	11	-	11	6½	48½
Plowing, working(3)	1½		2		4½	6½	1	2½	1	2			7	4	2	2	6½	3							25½	20
Manure; refuse	2	1½	½															1			1½	1½	8	3	12	7
Threshing (grain & silla)			½																2	2	½	2	1½		4½	4
Transporting produce	1½	3	3½	2½	3	2	1			½											4	2	1	4	14	14
Sulphate spreading									1		1				½										2½	
Spraying(4)																1										1
"Among the trees" (general)(5)								1	1		2	2	7	5	8	7	3	2½	2						23	17½
APPLES(5): GATHERING	7	5																			2		14½	4½	23½	9½
" : "GOUGING"(6)	3½	4	7	11	1																				11½	15
VINES: GRAFTING											5½	5	1	1											6½	6
PRUNING											3½	3	2	2											5½	5
PICKING	1		4	3½																					5	3½
Making Wine			½	1																					½	1
TOMATOES: PLANTING																1		2		1						4
PICKING	½		1		1	1																			2½	1

continued.

[P.122]

*159 241 for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna. Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c.½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

*159 [472] [423] [464] [178] [435] [451] [461] [157]

H. General.

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows G to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- G therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.
- G has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, G could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (beghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464 Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
●241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargha baghli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the
corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-house
[406] also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-driven
[343] pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils
tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
241 interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
433 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
434 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to cultivate
on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
829 to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
[464] heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at
least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to
qualify for C.A.R.E.^{27} food distributions. He is however
content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the
lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the
most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative
(Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first
suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having
the money than letting the Government get it. This belief
that the Government is behind everything is characteristic
(Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization
distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility
of achieving anything above low living standards.
Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet
clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case
among many of his generation and it may be that he will have
difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily
of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and
new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance)
his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem
of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young
men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
[654] to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture
to the full but it has done comparatively little for
the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at
least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to
stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

CASE XI : Summary.

(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

*159 423 427 **A. Land.**

(i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Mellieha District. 2 tmien freehold.
(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.
(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.
(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced an annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 ● 241 **B. Utilisation.** With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons. Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.
(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 231 **C. Livestock.** During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bojjem tax-xoghol').

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
[435] [454] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E.[27] Estimated possible total less than £100.
[406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.
[474] [241] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.
[464] - Rarely hires labour.
[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

TABLE 7

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	July[f] 57		Oct 57		Nov 57		Dec 57		Jan 58		Feb 58		May 57	
	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm
Sundays, Festas	4	4	4	4	6	6	7	7	6	6	5	5	7	7
Business, Valletta	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Repairs fields & buildings (storm)	.	.	2	4[l]	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No work (storms)	.	.	7	7[g]	6	3	3	3	8	7	2	2	.	.
Irrigation	8	6[j]	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8	5[j]
Plowing	3	2	5	3	.	.	.	.	3	3	1	1	2	2
Planting, sowing	.	.	4	3	6	6	12	11[a]	7	8[b]	4	1	7	2
Working,[c] etc.	5	5	4	2	3	5	1	2	4	4	5	3	.	3
Cutting, reaping	8	9[d]	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3
Lifting potatoes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3[h]	3	5[i]
Threshing	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Loading, transporting	2	1	1	1	.	.	3	3	.	2	.	1	.	2
Vines, prune, graft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	7	.	.
Collecting kaxix[e]	1	1	1	4	5	5[k]	3	4	1	.	.	3	.	2
Collecting seaweed			.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
	31	31	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31

Notes

a. all potatoes.
b. potatoes 3.5.
c. working, weeding, dressing, spraying, manuring, hoeing, etc.
d. wheat and barley 4.2.
e. kaxix - general greenery for animal fodder.
f. data for other months not available.
g. the latter part of 1957 saw exceptional storms in Malta & Gozo.
h. the winter crop a month late on account of damp conditions.
i. the spring crop.
j. irrigation in dry months.
k. kaxix gathering peak after 2 months of rain.
l. including 2.2 attending to animals (too wet to work fields).

F. Production and Sales.

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(i) Main cash-crop irrigated potatoes - Arran Banner. Two crops - winter and 'early' crop, the latter for export. Yields vary considerably in spite of irrigation - winter crop 1956 double the quantity of the winter crop 1957. Soil conditions for cultivation and for germination can vary critically between November and February. Prices similarly vary considerably. 1956 - maximum price obtained 30/- per qantar. 1957 - April maximum price obtain 25/- per qantar. 1957 - May maximum price obtained 15/- per qantar.

[442]

(ii) Tomatoes. Pickings from May to October with peak production in July. Prices vary inversely with production (F/253). Irrigated local varieties only are grown. The best tomatoes are kept for seed, the next grade carefully selected for sale through 'pitkal' middleman for local market, the third grade sold to the tomato paste ('Kunserva') factory. Prices range from 10d. to 1/6d. per wizna, but vary with quantity available rather than with quality. Regarded as preferable to potatoes since the farmer believes they are less expensive to produce.

(iii) Artichokes. Irrigated perennials producing for up to about 8 years. Best marketing period is during Lent. Great efforts made to raise a crop early in

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February when prices start at c.9d a head rather than later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

*159
● 241

(i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming. In 1956 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, leguminous fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land where vetches alternate with barley.

[461]

(c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

[242]

(d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953 Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:

Relies entirely on own plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Eigenheimer.

*159
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(iii) Livestock:

Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

*159
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[465]

(i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

*159
451

(ii) The farmers children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

000 was taken for granted.

*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven in his district. 178 Not prepared to accept anything technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly 242 on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XII : Čenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

*159 Čenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in 557 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the 241 two occupations for his livlihood. 234 His work as licensed village weighman is important both because of the extra in- [463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and [454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to [362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45 War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local [727] standards and Čenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation to which he added a further £1200. This money was put towards the new house and towards the costs of building *159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The 234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic 434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale. 241 In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder [432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his 829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the 474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to [451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders. This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Consu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 A. Land.

427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 B. Utilisation.

● 241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 C. Livestock.

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234 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 D. Capital.

[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[407] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 E. Labour.

464 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
[465] - In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[427] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and
[241] threshing machine each year. Costs of contract
[407] plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 434 234 (i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957 c.£1350. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).
- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').
- [272] About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production.
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

*159 ●241 [435] (ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
- 'Early' Crop - January to April.

Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 23/4 per qantar for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.

[433]
- Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

[433] (iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder production meets c.one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land

(a) On best land typical sequence would be.

Sept.	(a)	Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per tomna.
Sept.-Dec.	(b)	Winter crop of potatoes.
Jan.	(c)	Artifical fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April	(d)	Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug.	(e)	Summer fallow.
Sept.-April	(f)	Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug.	(g)	Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May	(h)	Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug.	(i)	Fallow.
Sept.-April	(j)	Sulla.

(b) More usual practice (which is not though of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.
- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as żofxa and ġinġlin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassicas, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds
- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

*159 232 (iii) Livestock - Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.
- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

*159 433 451 (i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer. Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own

*159 433 451 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 134 ● 241
- some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
- deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorĉa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 157 626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159 241 434 An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 178 46 *[159] Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic [369] feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agri-[162]culture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely
residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] Case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his
sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this
type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no
importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the
fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election
times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and
his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance.
He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily
- because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging
the younger farming generation from staying on the land and
struggling against rising costs to sell products which are
but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present
Government policy of assistance by both financial support in
various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods
and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] Soils: l-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.

- [241] Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.

- 459 No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- 422 Usual hand tools.
- 423 Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.

- 464 Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- [465] Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434]
- Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.

[433] [251]
- Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43
(i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465]
An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451]
Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250

Value of produce consumed by family £30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve. [454]

*159 157 829

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

CASE XIV : Ĝanni (A young, progressive contract-ploughman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ĝanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanisation as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

*159 rojection of his village background, and his attitude to
159 agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark
829 him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At
the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

*159 He comes of a village family in which his father and
423 paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired
167 a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the
177 family but neither Ġanni nor his brother, a few years his
241 junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family
[441] butchering business held no more attraction for them and was
relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the brothers thought that neither butchering nor farming presented scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian pattern, with tractor-drawn, three-furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

*159 He returned home full of ideas of making money as a
177 contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers
241 and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities.
409 Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plowing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead, working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few *young* men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

*159 Ġanni's view of farming in Malta.

241 "Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical
829 because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and
because of the difficulties facing the mechanisation of field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither

*159 *241 829 of these problems is without solution and he puts a great part of the blame on the Maltese farmer himself who is prevented says Ġ by his illiteracy and suspicion from uniting and from seeking to improve his own farming. He maintains that it is possible to make money in farming today in the Islands, but only with the right methods, ideas and facilities. This is where he himself comes in, for he believes his ideas on mechanization are the answer, leading to the elimination of hand labour as far as possible. He insists that a profitable farm must be a workable unit, that is a large patch of twenty, forty or more tmien capable of being worked by mechanical implements. Moreover, he insists that the farmer should, where possible, sell his own produce to the consumer in order to evade the 'middle-men' and thereby make a greater profit.

Ġanni himself talks vaguely of acquiring such a farm, although to date his contract-plowing has absorbed all his profit-making energies.

Ġanni's view of the farmer in Malta.

He lays a great deal of the blame for the present agricultural difficulties at the door of the farmers themselves. His view of his fellow farmers and villagers approaches cynicism: "The farmer's illiteracy prevents him from admitting that anything could be better than that which he knows. It also prevents him from trusting other farmers and prevents him from realizing the folly of putting bad-weight with produce for export. The young people who are far from illiterate and will listen to reason are not staying on the land long enough for this to be of lasting benefit to agriculture". He observes that the farmer is keen for a sure profit but not at all anxious to plunge his often considerable capital into

[178] a new venture such as buying a tractor. In fact he will not accept any new method or crop before he sees it a working success - preferably in a field near his own. This applied particularly to the 'outlandish' ideas on deep-plowing which Ġanni brought back from Australia. His fellow villagers regarded his 16" mould-board, three-furrow plows with great suspicion, and his ideas on potato-ridging, combine-harvesting and threshing met with no more approval initially.

[454] Ġanni insists that the farmer's saving is merely "an aimless accumulation of money: a man may look poor in dress and have £1000 tucked away". He says of an old lady in a nearby lonely house "She wears no shoes and has never been to Valletta but will die leaving thousands".

181 241 829 This conservatism and reluctance on the part of the illiterate farmer emerges, therefore, as a major difficulty in the way of improvement and modification. It is one which tends to be overlooked by well-meaning experts and officials who forget that, unlike themselves, the farmer is unable to

181 241 829 read of successful experiments of one kind or another in a foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

*159 407 422 429 472 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They have (1958):

(i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board plow, the only one in the district,

(ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only [465] slowly - Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

Ġanni and the village.

*159 156 Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

x
159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
472 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
407 contractors like him going out of business in the near future.
477

CASE XIX

This farmer (working 35 tmien, including seven irrigable)
was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He
[178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of
the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule
or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years.
Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for
the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture
despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

x
159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
407 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they them-
241 selves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor
434 he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his
income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-
plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the
[178] area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by
local vintners).

CASE XXI

x
159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
256 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
241 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
407 the sole such operator in his village and business grew. How-
ever in the present decade competition from new tractor oper-
472 ators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing
[477] season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted
him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted
all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are
still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

x
159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
441 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
472 these were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
407 local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was intro-
duced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
[191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo,
especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary
cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led
to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing
tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island
some three or four are normally unused in the season. This
agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of
Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957
plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce
new implements. His father was the first to import motor
pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultiva-
tor in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of har-
vesting machines, but the very limited success of the first
ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any
more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for
mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a
lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be
collected for animal fodder.

APPENDIX 1 D : Agriculture (B/164-1957)

131 (i) **AREAS**

AREA of the Maltese Islands............ 276,429 tmien (77,400 ac)
Area of Malta....................... 217,143 tmien (60,800 ac)
Area of Gozo........................ 59,286 tmien (16,600 ac)

423 CULTIVABLE AREA of the Maltese Islands 155,211 tmien (12,484 hldngs)
Holdings of dry (baghli) land.... 116,460 tmien (10,517 ")
Holdings of irrigable (saqwi)land 700 tmien (88 holdings)
Holdings of both dry & irrigable. 38,051 tmien (1,879 ")

241 (ii) ACREAGE and PRODUCTION of CROPS, 1956-57

433
435

CROP	ACREAGE	VALUE(£)	YIELD(Tons)	YIELD per Acre (tons)
Wheat	5,192	96,908	2,916	0.6
Barley & Meslin	4,836	68,339	2,738	0.6
Vetches	1,727	51,993	1,354	0.8
Forages	11,000	361,150(a)	32,000(a)	2.3
Broad Beans	1,000	15,233	356	3.5
Cumin Seed	14	180	3	0.2
Cotton	35	800	8	0.2
Locust Beans	500	20,000	1,500	3.0
Total	24,304	616,603	40,875	
Potatoes (spring)	6,000	350,090	21,000	3.5
Potatoes (autumn)	3,057	183,384	9,157	3.0
Melons	2,721	32,908	1,714	0.6
Onions	780	47,970	3,000	3.8
Tomatoes	3,000	146,000	12,000	4.0
Other vegetables	3,687	344,744	18,436	5.0
Total	19,259	1,115,016	65,307	
Grapes	5,204	171,102	5,347	1.0
Citrus	160	32,000	510	3.0
Other Fruit	1,000	105,000	4,000	2.0
Total	6,364	308,102	9,857	
Flowers & Seeds	250	100,000	..	
TOTAL	ac.50,177	£2,139,721	116,039 Tons	

(a) Including Straw.

231 (iii) CLASSIFICATION OF LIVESTOCK, 1957 (September)

	Malta (1957)	Gozo (1957)	TOTAL (1957)	TOTAL (1949)
Horses................	1,688	369	2,057	2,763
Donkeys...............	1,732	1,107	2,839	3,335
Mules.................	1,535	349	1,884	2,364
Goats.................	21,630	10,426	32,056	50,077
Billy Goats...........	417	177	594	
Kids under 1 year...	3,564	3,121	6,685	
Sheep.................	8,091	4,241	12,332	21,237
Rams..................	98	43	141	
Lambs under 1 year..	1,016	1,330	2,346	
Bulls.................	377	294	671	2,633
Heifers Pregnant....	336	198	534	
Heifers other........	731	350	1,081	
Milch Cows...........	2,536	866	3,402	
Stud Bulls...........	111	26	137	
Maltese Draught-Cows	110	8	118	
Imported Store Bulls	2,860	824	3,684	
Breeding Sows........	2,763	598	3,361	20,016
Boars................	214	87	301	
Sucking Pigs.........	935	367	1,302	
Other Fatteners......	6,561	1,753	8,314	
Hens.................	186,083	120,630	322,313	
Other Poultry........	5,145	1,364	6,509	
Rabbits..............	43,045	16,048	59,093	

407 (iv) MECHANIZED IMPLEMENTS owned by farmers, 1956-57

IMPLEMENTS	MALTA	GOZO	TOTAL
Tractors - under 10 horse-power.....	15	11	26
Tractors - over 10 horse-power.....	24	8	32
Hand Cultivators - under 10 h-p.....	592	74	666
Hand Cultivators - over 10 h-p.....	54	19	73
Harvesting machines - under 10 h-p..	16	1	17
Harvesting machines - over 10 h-p..	1	-	1
Threshing machines - under 10 h-p...	2	-	2
Threshing machines - over 10 h-p...	13	4	17

162
241 (v) FARMING POPULATION. 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers............	6,512	1,301	7,813
Part-time farmers............	6,634	2,954	9,588
Farming population not in farming (over 14).....	5,777	14,694	20,471
Children (under 14)..........	10,246	9,795	20,041
Total............	29,169	28,744	57,913

46
241 (vi) DAYS WORKED on farms (in Man/days). 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers............	full	full	2,343,900
Part-time farmers............	part	part	340,221
Hired labour.................	158,515	28,401	186,916
Unpaid farmers' relatives...	43,718	5,718	49,388

162 (vii) FARMERS as PERCENTAGE of Total Population. 1871-1957 (v.A)

	FULL-TIME FARMERS					as % TOTAL POPULATION				
	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957
Urban	342	415	307	325	224	.55	.48	.27	.22	.17
Fringe	3923	2259	2181	1618	1150	13.7	5.9	4.25	2.1	1.37
Inner R.	5026	4224	3597	2404	1795	18.8	13.1	8.7	5.15	3.6
Rural	4856	4791	4602	4271	3133	27	21	15.6	10.8	7.8
Outer R.	1763	2200	3002	2805	1511	30	30	31	23	13.9
TOTAL	15910	13889	13689	11423	7813	11.3	7.5	5.18	3.7	2.46

NB: - Sources - 1957 full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957)
- 1957 Population (B/168)
- other data (B/167)
- See also Map 2, and Graph

162
46
241 (viii) PART-TIME FARMING (B/525, p.112)

	1901		1958
"Farmers".............	5038	Full-time Farmholders..	4706
"Part-time farmers"..	500	Part-time " ..	5337
		Other Farmholders......	1368
TOTAL.................	5538	....	11411
No. of Holdings......	9178	....	12640

(ix) FARM LABOURING (B/525, p.111): Farmholders, labourers, field workers as % total.

	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders %...	27.2	19.7	17.1	30.2	19.1	37.4	38.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers %...	71.9	78.4	80.9	68.1	79.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	56.9	51.1
Total workers %...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
On land (000's)...	12.6	13.4	10.8	15.9	19.0	15.6	13.9	15.2	16.3	13.7

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Maltese	*English*	821
"Red sky at evening, harness your mules. Red sky at morning, herd your beasts."	"Red sky at night, Shepherd's delight. Red sky in the morning Shepherd's warning."	171 539
"Ill weather comes, ahead or astern, when the cat sneezes."	"The cat washes herself before stormy weather."	[825]

Often it appears that sheer nonsense is mixed with sound 245
common sense. Typical of the mixed "sense" and "nonsense" 824
is the following: 242

> "The first autumnal produce of the wild fig is called by the Maltese *Barru*. A second crop which takes place in winter is supposed to be due to the outcome of the first produce. This is called *Carru*, and is supposed to bring forth the third outcrop which appears in spring time and is recognized as the *dukkar* or real fertilizer of the fig. This fruit is cut and hung up in pairs on the bough of the fig tree.
>
> "The male fruit (*dukkar*) is usually full of a colony [825]
> of minute winged insects by the produce of which, the Maltese husbandman identifies the real fertilizing fruit.
>
> "The pomegranate is supposed to be fertilized by the flowers of the wild parsnip, and for this purpose bunches of these flowers are thrown over the pomegranate tree when in flower. *Dakra*, probably from *dakar* = to fertilize, is the name given to the wild parsnip by the Maltese husbandman.
>
> "The male flowers of the wild carob-tree (*baghal*) are thrown over the branches of the female plant to favour impregnation.
>
> Small pieces of coarse stone are still hung up in the 241
> jujube-tree with a view to securing a good produce. 823

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

241 823 [171] Husbandmen would still consider that queer operation as a medium of impregnation (*Dukkar*). This strange usage may, however, be traced amongst the *fellahin* of Upper Egypt, where, as Professor Sayce points out in his contribution to the *Cairene and Upper Egypt Folklore* (Folklore, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1920, p. 200) phallic symbols are still hung up to protect the melons and sugar-cane. The old Maltese practice of hanging up stones to the jujube-tree may therefore be considered as a modification of this early phallic worship."[1]

The sense contained in these practices requires no elucidation. The horticulturist with his camel hair brush does no better than the peasant with the male carob flowers. The votive stones are a silent appeal to the oldest and greatest of the Old Things, to the All-Father, Giver of Life and Fertility, whose ancient and enduring image, from Drizzlecombe in Devon to the High Places of Melanesia, is the Rock or Stone without shape—the altar of "The Unknown God"—"Thou art Peter and upon this Rock. . . ."

[538] Traces of this rock-cult are plentiful enough in Maltese folklore. Children who throw stones into a well or into the sea will one day have to gather them up by their eyelashes. The "old stones" (i.e. *menhir*) resent being moved and are, for that reason, twice as heavy as ordinary stones.

751 825 776 "St. Paul's tongue"—a valuable amulet against the evil-eye and against all venoms—takes the form of fossilized teeth found in the ancient rocks. The blessed tongue which preached the gospel of the Redeemer is enshrined for ever in rock, the symbol of the Father.

776 823 St. Paul's rock-cell, in which he is reputed to have lived, has the miraculous property that no matter how much of the rock is cut away its bulk grows no less—a clear expression

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[1] Lecture by Mr. Cremona at the University of Malta in 1922.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

172 rocky surfaces of the island, the tram-lines of neolithic man;
493 and he will notice, if he is observant, that the dimensions of
the flat two-wheeled carts which, with their gaily caparisoned
[136] little ponies or donkeys, are the traditional vehicle of the
Maltese countryman of to-day correspond almost exactly
with those of the carts of his neolithic predecessor, as
136 deduced from the width of these ancient tracks. If he is
interested in strange animals that still survive but must be a
living link with hoary antiquity, he can study on the pictur-
esque, uninhabited islet of Filfla, now used only as a target
for gun practice, a remarkable lizard of the darkest green
spotted with red (*Lacerta muralis* var. *filfolensis*), which occurs
nowhere else in the world but on this tiny and diminishing
spit of rock.

341 The dominant architectural notes of the Maltese Islands are
megalithic and Baroque, and the gamut thus established can
217 scarcely be called a narrow one. So far as works of art are
172 concerned, the Museum in Valetta, housed before World
War II in the Auberge d'Italie and since 1958 in that of
Provence, contains a scientifically arranged exhibition of
[742] Stone Age culture unrivalled in any other country. This
collection, whose most bizarre items are the astonishing fat
female deities characteristic of Maltese neolithic sculpture,
was organized in chronological sequence by the Museum's
late learned Director, Sir Themistocles Zammit, who made
a second international reputation in the field of Maltese
archæology and excavation after having made an earlier one
in medical research in connexion with undulant, or Malta,
fever.

But the visitor is not obliged to study the activities of
241 these remote peoples solely in museums. If he wishes to see
501 how the distant forbears of the present population cultivated
178 their land he has only to watch the Maltese farmer of to-day
[532] ploughing his field; if he is a student of cultural survivals he
will note the eye of Osiris still painted on the bows of Malta's
ооо sturdy little schooners and characteristic "Gozo boats." If

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

795 by one, as the names of their parishes are called out, advance
659 to the Governor's throne and present to him a large and
heavy wax candle, generally embellished with painted
796 decorations.

This Candlemas ceremony has been maintained uninterruptedly from the days when the State was the Order of S. John; and the Governor takes this occasion, as did his predecessors the Grand Masters, to address the assembly on the problems of the day, with particular emphasis on the manner in which Church and State can best co-operate for the benefit of the people. It gives the Governor of Malta the same sort of opportunity, *mutatis mutandis*, to make public pronouncements on matters of policy as the British Prime Minister is given at the Lord Mayor's Banquet. A collation brings this happy and useful function to a close.

Here it may be added that the Governor retains, as the successor of the Grand Masters, certain ecclesiastical patronage, such as the nomination to the post of Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Malta and the right of presentation to various benefices. A survival of another sort from the days of the Knights is the religious corporation known as the Collegiate Church of S. Paul's Grotto at Rabat, whose Canons still wear at their ceremonies the habit, *stolone* and cross of the Order.

The principal industry of the Maltese islands is agriculture,
241 and the Maltese, despite the stony nature of their land, are
433 skilful and industrious farmers with a wonderful knack of
extracting the utmost from the soil, despite methods necessarily somewhat primitive since their fields are too small for modern agricultural machinery. Maltese potatoes and Maltese oranges have a high reputation. Vegetables are good, especially tomatoes; wheat does well where there
[439] is room to grow it. But the islands can produce only a
fraction of their annual consumption of cereals, and much
251 has therefore to be imported from outside. Among the most
178 familiar features surviving from the era of the Knights are

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

137 that would not disgrace Taormina, or in the summer, when its tangled mass of vegetation forms an almost solid screen of verdure from the blazing sun, it would seem a fitting lair for the daughter of Atlas if it did not rather conjure up, with its figs, its vines, its calamus and its pomegranates, a vision of the Song of Songs.

13 Certainly Gozo is more fertile, less rocky, more verdant than is Malta. Edward Lear called its scenery "pomskizillious and gromphiberous, being as no words can describe its magnificence." It is not broken up to anything like the same extent by the stone and rubble walls which in the larger island so provokingly conceal gardens and fields from all • [241] except aviators. In Gozo it is easy to enjoy wide vistas of green corn and purple clover, of terraced cultivation along the contours of its seven flat-topped hills.

13 341 Like Malta, Gozo ends on its south-western coast in sheer rock-faces that rise abruptly as much as 400 feet from the sea. But elsewhere its coast-line is more varied than Malta's, with its pleasant miniature fjords of Xlendi and Xini, the yellow sands of Ramla, the blue lagoon of Qala Dwejra, the mysterious landlocked bay of Kawra, the grim cliffs of Ta Ċenċ and Ras il Wardija. Its architecture, too, is highly characteristic, and although its villages bear a general resemblance to the casals of Malta, they can be distinguished from these by the handsome carved stone balconies which have happily remained one of Gozo's pleasantest and most live traditions. These balconies are a feature throughout the island but are to be seen at their best in the Manderaggio of Victoria, for Gozo, too, has its Manderaggio.

361 7/2 The capital of the island, Rabat or Victoria—Rabat because it is the suburb of the walled fortress above it—sprawls pleasantly at the foot of the great rock on which rises, like Edinburgh Castle, its bastioned and embattled citadel. This high place was designed as a stronghold, a place of refuge from the Barbary pirates, just as were the little hill-towns of the Riviera, Eze and many another, that look down on the

134 311 They seem to be largely devoted to cereals and potatoes, and in general give relatively poor crops. These soils are in several areas widely abandoned because they are uneconomic to work.

SOIL NEEDS

The needs of a soil, for the improvement of its fertility, are not simple to assess, and in the Maltese Islands at present they are not known. A fertile soil is considered as one which is in the optimum condition for the growth of crops, and this is dependent on a variety of factors, physical and biological as well as chemical. Air and water must be available, and man by cultivation and irrigation attempts to influence their disposition to favour his crops, just as by using fertilisers and weed or pest killers he attempts to influence the chemistry and biology of the soil.

PHYSICAL NEEDS

A soil which has a poor physical structure may be unable to support good crops, because water cannot be conducted to the plant easily enough, or because the soil aeration is poor. The heavy clay soils of the Fiddien series have poor structure, and it probably is the correlated difficulty of wetting the soil rather than the chemistry of the soil material (which often has a rather high concentration of exchangeable sodium and soluble salts) which causes it to be nearly useless for agriculture.

134 242 In the majority of cases the Maltese soils have a reasonably good structure, and the only other soils which appear to be ill-favoured are the heavy-textured soils of the Xaghra series. In this case the subsoil is often very compact indeed, and the separations between structural units are minimal. However, where such soils are well worked, and more particularly where they are irrigated, the structure seems to be much improved, partly no doubt because of the increased and active microfauna. While irrigation is probably difficult to extend, the use of improved cultural practices on these soils would probably produce an increase in the soil organic matter content and improvement of the structure. Among such practices the use of nitrogenous fertilisers, use of improved rotations, encouragement of root growth, avoidance of oxidation of root-derived organic matter through unnecessary turning over of the soil, and the avoidance of pulling cereals as a method of harvesting, might cause considerable improvement. The application of animal manure in irrigation water as already practised locally in Malta also appears to be effective in increasing organic matter content of the soil.

134 [312] One of the chief problems of all crops in the Maltese Islands, is water. Certain of the lighter textured soils are extremely dry, and conservation of rainwater rather than extension of irrigation must be the answer because domestic water needs are already difficult to satisfy. Apart from practices designed to diminish evaporation loss, especially early removal of weeds by hoeing, it is probable that increasing the organic matter content would considerably increase the ability of the soil to hold water. But another simple possible method would be to marl some of the lighter soils with the calcareous clay, e.g. Fiddien heavy clay, which is not in agricultural use. (This would in addition possibly make more nutrients available.)

As far as aeration is concerned, it seems unlikely that it is deficient in many soils at present; but use of a rototiller (common in Malta) is believed to decrease aeration, and this could be investigated quite simply. It is possible that an excess of soil CO_2 would be beneficial in calcareous soils, reducing the pH of the soil solution to a level at which there is greater availability of most nutrients; and particularly those, such as phosphorus, which are likely to be deficient.

CHEMICAL NEEDS

Despite some other possible deficiencies it seems likely that nutrient

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 97]

B. Crop Distributions

FIELD CROPS

CEREALS - WHEAT and BARLEY (*Qamh and Xgħir*)

311* 243 As the land use maps show (Figs. 71 and 72), cereals are grown in all regions of the Islands. Of the grains, wheat and barley alone are of importance. Some maize and millets are still grown and a few fields of sown oats were observed. *Mixta* - a mixture of wheat and barley - is now rare, although self-seeding produces some mixtures difficult to distinguish except by close examination. The practice of sowing spoilt or 'bottom of the bag' grain on odd patches of soil that would otherwise bear nothing also produces unexpected results.

Many different varieties of wheat and barley are grown - naked and bearded, short and long-awned, with short, stiff and long, weak culms. So-called 'Maltese' varieties such as *Qamh ta'Susa* and *ta'Bla Sifa*, have little homogeneity except that the wheats are all hard, bearded types. Introductions are mainly of durums from Canada. The local barleys are poor in type - short-eared, small-grained, 'dry' varieties, although the poor results are obviously partly explained by their use for cropping the harsher lands. [197] The new barleys are also mainly of North American origin and selected for early maturation. This latter characteristic is especially of value in an environment in which barley may dry and shatter rather than ripen - this has been observed even as early as March. In so far as barley is a residual land crop, however, then innovated varieties would seem to be difficult to establish and popularise - especially since the farmers on the poorest land are the least able to indulge in experiment.

That the importance of cereal cultivation remains so great, in spite of growing dependence on imported bread grains, seems strange at first sight. Information supplied by local mills suggests that human consumption of local cereals is very small, but quantitative estimates cannot accurately be made at present. Little is known of the relative importance of domestic subsistence on the farmers' own grain crops. Davy, in 1842 (1), and witnesses before the Royal Commission of 1911 maintained that production was mainly for domestic consumption. This is still obviously true for some vegetable crops and poultry but, in the present period of continued transition from peasant farming towards commercial farming, is difficult to evaluate for cereal production. For general purposes we may however presume the validity of the assumption that Maltese-grown grains have become less important for human food. No significant amount, it is generally agreed, is used for distilling and brewing. The former is severely restricted by law, and the latter by the general unsuitability for malting - unevenness of sample is a major difficulty - of local barley. For use there then remains only production for livestock fodder - particularly for horses and cattle, although the value of a grain ration for pigs is becoming more apparent with the introduction of better breeds such as the Large White. Given this situation, the comparative ease of grain-growing in the usual rotations practised, and the difficulty of finding alternative crops for some hardland areas, results in the survival of what has been called *grande culture* - land use of which would seem to be, in many regions at least, unnecessarily extensive.

241 242 The matter of rotation is fairly simple. Debono (2), in 1911, pointed out that, after previous manuring and vegetable growing - 'there is only the sowing and the crop comes by itself. So that whether there be duty or no duty, wheat will always be cultivated here in Malta, unless there is a revaluation in the rotation of crops'. A contemporary example may be taken from a farm at tad-Dahla. On the poorer land, wheat is grown alternate years with sulla. On the better land, potatoes and vegetables are the main crops and wheat, sown incidentally as a rotation crop, then gives yields of 25-28 cwt. per acre - double that on the other fields. Any change in the proportion of wheat to other crops under this system of farming could only be a consequence of an agricultural revolution.

243 311* More complex is the importance of the grains as hardland crops. Basically, wheat and barley are dry farming crops in Malta. Without irrigation, even away

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 197]

000 for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc. Livestock harness is
492 simple in type consisting of head harness and collar. Working bullocks, now
rarely used, are also equipped with collars for traction but the guiding reins
are attached to the horns. Country carts are unsprung, wooden frames resting
493 directly on the metal axles. That the ruggedness of their construction is only
equalled by the toughness of the draught animals is evinced by their presence
on places such as Dingli Undercliff, or the cliffsides of the Wied il-Luq
(Buskett).

343 The solidly built stone huts or *orfa* that are to be found on most holdings may be regarded as part of the farmers' 'equipment' rather than his habitation. The simplest and most numerous are simple one-roomed cubes, some five yards square, strongly constructed, usually of worked stone blocks with wood and *torba* roofs. These 'blockhouses', for such they appear, serve as storehouses for implements and crops, for guns and birdcatching equipment, as well as for shelter during the 'siesta' hours and bad weather. Their cost in construction labour, and the pride that does into the simple furnishing of what is the farmers 'den', as well as the deceptive appearance of dispersed settlement that they give, suggests that further investigation into their origins might prove valuable. In general terms, they seem to be a natural response to the marked concentration of settlement in the casals. They are far less numerous in the western region of more recent and dispersed settlement. The larger, two-roomed and two-storied types are used mainly as summer working residences, when a whole family may move out of its casal to the main holding.

407 These implements and types of equipment are one facet of the complex of traditional cultivation techniques - techniques based on the intense and continuous application of uncosted hand labour. A brief examination of the working characteristics of some of the implements is a necessary introduction to a discussion of general cultivation techniques.

The *moħriet* (Plate XIX) is used as an animal-drawn hoe rather than as a plough proper. It is light and can be carried by the cultivator along narrow field paths and across rugged terrain. Its negotiability is limited only by the ease of access demanded by the draught animals. The 'rotavator' (Plate XX) alone of modern mechanical implements can rival it in this respect. On coarse soils, often only a few inches deep, cross tilling by hoe or *ard* seems perfectly satisfactory for tilth making. A vertically applied tool such as the true spade cannot be utilised in such soils, while all but the simplest mouldboard ploughs are too clumsy for use in small terraced fields. Both *ard* and hoe are used in garden rather than field style and their only disadvantages lie in the slowness of the work performed. Here lies the especial advantage of the rotavator that can, under reasonable conditions, be used for tilling six *tmien* of land a day as compared with about two or three for the *ard* and one for the hoe. (Figures are necessarily approximate averages.)

178 241 311 Cultivation techniques and the farming landscapes which they have produced are now in a critical stage of development. For millennia, a slowly increasing population has been utilising the natural land resources more and more intensively and also supplementing them by artificial works. Until the early nineteenth century, social and tenurial obstructions to full land use on the one hand, and wealth derived from the overseas possessions of the Knights of Malta on the other, little affected the basic land hunger of the rural community. During the period of British occupation, however, externally derived income has brought with it more and more non-agricultural activity. Opportunities for non-farm work have increased and so has socio-economic dissatisfaction with arduous and limited rural life. The stage has now been reached at which land reclamation and land abandonment, intensification of effort and neglect, are proceeding simultaneously. An examination of those landscape features which are products of farming techniques suggests that this stage is now critical.

242 Land reclamation and the extension of the cultivable area are still going on.
At several points on the Delimara peninsula, material is being carried from
311 the cliff foot and from old huts and dwellings and spread over the existing thin
and discontinuous soil cover. On this, sulla as a soil building leguminous crop

[See page 306 -- Analyst]

242
311

is then sown. Much of the resultant poor crop is hoed in, and then the humus enrichened tilth ploughed and put under rotational farming. At ta'Denfila, on the Upper Coralline tablelands, terrace walls are constructed from the larger boulders, and soil garnered from crevices and hollows then packed along and above the new walls. Fruit trees are planted in this new soil zone so that root development will both hold the soil and accelerate disintegration of the underlying rock. Stones are cleared from the remaining area, the rock floor chipped away, and leguminous crops such as broad beans are sown. When chemical weathering has sufficiently deepened the thin soils, and the humus content has been increased then normal ploughing is introduced.

On a smaller scale may be observed the building up by hand of 'perched' fields which, as at the Wied Buqana (103)* north east of Mtarfa, may stand 6 or 8 feet above neighbouring fields and which, with their red soils, contrast markedly with the surrounding white and yellow lands. Here, the material is derived both from Wied Qlejgha silt and from town refuse. Not only in these areas but in many others as around the Wied il-Hallelin in the Southlands, on the interfluves of the Wieds Dalam (274) and Has-Saptan (285), and near Armier Bay (6) in the north-west, this age-old land making can still be observed. Less important but still practised, as near il-Marnisi (275), is the process of chipping small fields out of the solid rock, and the slow conversion of inorganic aggregates, capable only of hydroponic use, into real soil. (A European analogue can be found in Spanish Galicia.)

Distinct from these creative processes, are the techniques of laboriously utilising to the maximum the existing natural resources. First there is the practice of using soil pockets and crevices which for the most part would be quite uneconomic to work on any commercial evaluation of effort. On all the Upper Coralline lands small pockets of weathered material - Terra Rossa - lying between great rock platforms and boulders are remarkably well utilised. Barley, peas and broad beans are typical crops as at Xaghra tal-Buskett. At il-Wejdar peas are sown in karst crevices and give surprisingly good yields. Larger clefts and pockets are usually used for tree crops. Carefully tended peach trees may be observed in a 4-feet wide and 14-feet deep landslip cleft on the Upper Coralline cliff south of the School Mater Admirabilis (Rabat). On the Victoria Lines Scarp at Targa Gap (95) a solitary lemon tree can be seen, carefully sheltered by cane fences in a small soil pocket surrounded by a great area of karst.

These are minutiae, but they illustrate the high intensity of resource use. Larger depressions in the Upper Coralline as at Hofret ir-Rizz (75) (Fig. 111C) have been given special attention. Here, irrigated crops are intensively grown in the deep soils of what is mainly a shallow solution hollow cum collapsed cavern. Dry wied basins having subsoil water as at the eastern Wied Musa (Fig. 102A) form oases in barren karstland. On a still larger scale there are basins such as that of ta'Saliba (34) (measuring about 400 yards by 800 yards) in which dry and irrigated cultivated lands are inextricably intermingled with small karst hills.

A different type of utilisation is that which notes and takes advantage of minor differences in environment. Where wied channels are wet and marshy for most of the year, as in the Upper Wied ta'l-Isqof (128) and in lower Wied Has-Saptan (285) then canes, bullrushes and sward grasses are encouraged, tended, and cropped. Where, on the other hand, wied channels are wider and less well watered, then cultivation has spread down from the neighbouring terraces. Protection from storm-water is obtained by the building of longitudinal protective walls in the channel itself as in parts of the Wied is-Sewda (194) and the Wied ta'San Martin, and Wied ta'Ghajn Rihana (42). Occasionally, as in the Wied tal-Qlejgha (99), a further lower water channel has been artificially cut in the wied rock floor for extra protection.

Most of the storm water dams and soil traps are carefully sited at nick points in the long profiles. Examples of this conservation work may be found at

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*A number in brackets following a place name refers to Figs. 69 and 70. 1/A

1/A [See pp 192 and 194--Analyst]

242 311 the heads of Wied Babu (219) and in the Santi Gap (57) in Malta and in the West-Central Region of Gozo. In such topographical pockets, the building of soil trap walls is sometimes extended to form walled orchards as at id-Dahla and the head of the Wied ir Rum.

241 311 When we turn to observation and consideration of cultivation reactions to minor topographical and geological features we are further reminded of the special relationship between tillage techniques and the soil. Bearing in mind the points noted in Chapter III B and the picture we have drawn of the physical and social environment in which Maltese agriculture has developed, we are forced to the following conclusions.

The economic necessity for the utilisation of virtually all land resources and indeed for creating some of them, together with the physical need for basing all farming practice on soil and water conservation techniques, have until very recently rigidly controlled the details of tillage. Fragmentation, a perfectly rational response to circumstances, has intensified the physical sub-division of the land. The majority of fields in Malta and Gozo cannot easily be worked except by small highly mobile implements. In the conditions described above and in a climate which makes possible a great crop range, implements must also be capable of a great diversity of application. In order to keep up the terraces, work the fields and succeed in maintaining and even increasing the area of cultivable land, the cultivator has been committed to unremitting and arduous manual labour. His basic tool is the hoe, his natural development of it the non-soil-inverting *ard*-plough.

The recent removal, by the creation of new real and psychological opportunities, of part of the pressure that has long kept the farmers on the land has altered the traditional picture. Cartographic evidence of the 25-inch to the mile maps, surveyed in the 1880's and 1890's, shows that since that time little wasteland has been improved. The only known large-scale change in field patterns occurred during and after World War II in the central lowlands of Gozo as the result of airfield construction, but holding fragmentation has re-imposed subdivision on the landscape. Occupational statistics and case-study evidence all point the same way. As a result of this release of pressure, land neglect and abandonment are now irregularly removing the extremes of control of cultivation. Even more important, Malta has been affected by the new evaluation of tillage techniques which has characterised so much of the world. Under modern conditions, most improvements in cultivation techniques have been deliberately designed for the increase of productivity on the better and more easily worked lands. Rural depopulation of the hard lands which gained such momentum in nineteenth-century Europe is an inevitable concomitant of such increases in productivity and of the accompanying demands for higher standards of material consumption and an 'easier' life. In countries such as Malta, this means that a new equilibrium has to be established, existing and new techniques and implements have to be evaluated against established environments and actual or potential changes.

241 311 435 [242] [434] Three examples from case-studies (Key letters refer to Chapter X E) can illustrate what this means in farmer's terms. The first (A. p. 337) concerns a part-time farmer in Region A II, Mellieħa Isthmus. This cultivator corroborated other evidence that in the nineteenth century it was still common for 'dry' fields to be created out of wasteland. More recently it has only been economic to make irrigable fields. The method is virtually the same in either case. First a terrace is cut into the rock slope, and the stone rubble is then built outwards in 'made-ground' and held in place by a terrace wall. Soil, usually now from a building site, is then laid over the rock platform and stone infill. Such a field 2 *tmien* in extent in 1951 cost £150 in construction (almost entirely in labour) plus £50 for the transport of 20 truckloads of soil. The gross receipts from this irrigated *campe artificiale* were £60 and £35 respectively for the first two seasons. A generation previously, such work would have been done more slowly by full-time farmers who themselves would have garnered the soil, but the market for irrigated vegetables would have been smaller. A generation hence, a cultivator will add to the costs of construction all the at present uncosted labour expended

C. Husbandry

241 128 In this section, a brief examination is made of those elements in agricultural production not previously considered. A methodological problem arises from the fact that, as should be abundantly evident, farming in Malta is a complex in which it is most difficult to isolate the various elements. The method adopted here is to examine in general first arable farming, and then livestock. In the subsequent sections, an attempt is made to examine the general economic characteristics of Maltese farming and then to define the types of farms which exist in the Islands, with particular reference to the island of Malta.

242 As in all non-industrial countries with high population densities and limited resources, a paradoxical situation may be observed in Malta. The intensive application of manual labour and careful observances of the minutiae of traditional techniques are found alongside some instances of land neglect which offend all the canons of good husbandry. On the one hand are observed careful tillage sequences, a first shallow ploughing or hoeing to kill weeds, a second deeper ploughing one week later to break up the surface crust and 'stir' for aeration of the soil to a depth of some 6 to 9 inches, and a further ploughing just before sowing to produce a fine surface tilth. On the other hand can be seen hoeing and ploughing during periods of high wind during which steady and large-scale wind removal of the finer aggregates takes place. Similarly, single trees can be almost coddled, while orchards are most often neglected and, while village refuse and animal dung is carefully worked into the soil, little effort is made to discard inorganic rubbish or diseased and seeding crops and weeds.

This paradoxical situation is most clearly defined in the attitude to weed and pest infestation and to the use of artificial fertilisers. Weeds of many types occur everywhere, and their eradication is manifestly impossible as long as the areas of wasteland to be found in every region provide safe centres for propagation and diffusion. The very walls of Malta which line almost all the fields and roads shelter weeds and pests. Even if eradication is impossible control is not, and the inadequacy of present husbandry is a measure of difficulties both mental and monetary.

The most prevalent and damaging weeds are broomrape and *oxalis cernua*. The former is indigenous to Malta as a field weed, particularly in association with cereals and broad beans in the dry farming area. On the thin dry soils of these regions, broomrape competes, only too successfully, for the limited water available and for plant nutrient material. The total effect on yields and the negating of much of the effort put into leguminous crop rotations must be very serious. Chemical control seems unlikely, and the cultivators themselves are aggravating rather than ameliorating the position. One cultivator interviewed in Region C XVIIIa epitomised the situation. Complaining that 'the weeds are pushing us off the land' he pulled his sulla crop, carefully leaving his wild oats and broomrape to seed freely. It was not surprising that his immediate neighbour had given up farming.

Many similar situations may be observed. Partly they are to be explained by the diminished actual and psychological pressure on land resources. In the main however they imply a basic parochial ignorance left as a legacy from the more primitive past. A farmer interviewed in Region C XX e clearly illustrated the nature of the mental problem. On being remonstrated with, because while pulling his rust-infected broad beans he left the numerous broomrape plants to seed freely, he professed astonishment at our ignorance. Observation, he pointed out, showed that the root tissues of bean and broomrape were not only intermingled but conjoined. Obviously therefore *both* plants grew out of the planted bean and surface seeding had nothing to do with the weed infestation. The problem set is how to explain in a convincing manner to a medievally-minded farmer the following: 'The seeds (of broomrape) germinate in the soil if the fibrous roots of a congenial host plant are nearby. Otherwise they remain dormant . . . as long as 13 years. When the primary root or radicle of a germinating seed makes contact with a fibrous root of its host, it forms a nodule of tissue

which becomes fused with tissues of the host. New roots and a stem of the parasite develop at that point' (1). The monetary problem results from the fact that once broomrape, or for that matter *oxalis*, infestation is severe, eradication by sterilisation means considerable expense and temporary loss of land.

The position as regards other aspects of phyto-pathology is even more serious. 'An intolerably large proportion of the field crops is being destroyed by pests and diseases' (2). An unpublished interim report of a Plant Disease Survey showed that c. 150 different diseases were found in one season in 1957 (3). Recent work by the newly established Plant Protection Unit indicated in 1958 that not only were old established diseases still virulent but that new ones, virus types in particular, seem to spread to the Islands very rapidly. Thus a fungus infection of grapes observed in August had been identified for the first time less than six months before in France. Pests are numerous and damaging. The only place where the author has ever seen large-scale infestation of a cereal crop by snails was in a barley field near Munxar (Region V) Gozo. They are also very destructive in the environmentally attractive globe artichoke patches found in so many wied bottoms. The Maltese practice of trapping or shooting virtually anything that flies may be amusingly reminiscent of Tartarin of Tarascon, but it does limit the controlling effect of bird life on some pests. Insect pests are even more important, ranging from the lethal onion thrips to the less spectacular but qualitatively damaging Mediterranean fruit fly and tomato red mite.

While it is essential for the sake of the internal economy that quantitative loss of production should be avoided, it is equally important that agricultural produce which might now or potentially be exported should be unblemished and free from disease. Thus the only countries which can offer markets for high priced early potatoes are *ipso facto* those in which regulations governing the health of imported produce are most severe and in which competition is most keen. The Department of Agriculture and more recently the Agricultural Advisory Service are thus confronted by very serious problems. The first step, taken mainly since 1955, has been to establish scientifically observed fact. Thus the phyto-pathological surveys already cited have been made; in 1957 a preliminary report on the meteorological possibilities of operating a potato blight forecasting service was prepared by Mitchell (4), and a plant protection adviser appointed. As Hopkins (5) has pointed out some plant symptoms may be attributable to a 'wide range of conditions varying from soil exhaustion to root or virus diseases'. The soil survey carried out by Lang (6) has considerably increased our knowledge, but more needs to be done before deficiency troubles of all kinds can be overcome. Meteorologically, the obscurity may be illustrated by the confusion caused by the frequent use of the word '*ġlata*' to mean frost or frost damage as well as 'blight'. Sunscorch, particularly through dew globules, followed by moulds which find optimum conditions in the high humidities and temperatures in plant level micro-climates is probably responsible for much of the so-called '*ġlata*' damage. The removal of obscurity by scientific investigation is an essential step but it is one which, figuratively, takes the investigator away from the farmer.

The second type of action required is the examination of crop types and varieties at present grown and the consideration of the possibility of introducing exotic types, varieties and strains. Hypothetically, this is no great problem inasmuch as the farmers of the Islands have in the past apparently shown themselves ready to experiment and able to recognise a superficially 'good thing' when they see it. One has merely to look at the publications of the *Società Economico Agraria* to realise how much experimental work has been carried on by enthusiasts. In 1848, a work on barley and vine varieties was published together with a consideration of tobacco cultivation. So too in other years. In practice many difficulties arise, mainly from the non-traditional nature of the changes which farmers are now being asked to make. Up to the end of the nineteenth century Malta was famous for the production of bitter (Seville) and blood oranges. The decline in the U.K. market for these types has led to the extensive grafting of sweet orange varieties on to bitter orange stock. That change was possible in terms of Maltese traditional husbandry. But as Hopkins

242 has pointed out (7), any further advance through the introduction of exotic and specially bred more productive varieties needs careful examination in that since 'nearly all citrus . . . is budded on sour orange stock . . . there is a great danger of the total loss of all trees should the *tristeza* virus be introduced'. The expertise needed in this type of development is not present in traditional husbandry.

Apart from the ecological and technical problems, lie the economic and social questions. The Maltese farmer is prepared to take experimental risks only so far as he can understand their consequences. Potato cultivation, only developed on a large scale during the last century, is now a very important commercial element on most farms. Having attained a reasonable level of success with Arran Banner as a quasi-early potato, even the most enterprising cultivators are reluctant to extend further hostages to fortune by trying new varieties. The efforts of the Agricultural Advisory Service in the crop selection field (8) are meeting with some deserved success but the nature of indigenous conservatism needs to be realised. Many Maltese farmers achieve reasonable results by the proper use of traditional crops and techniques. In those regions of the world where the level of productivity is much and unreasonably lower, for example in the mountains of Tuscany, or the paddyfields of Vietnam, rapid improvements can be relatively easily demonstrated. When, as often in Malta, second stage development challenges a traditional husbandry which is giving not unprofitable results, then resistance to change is much stronger. From one of the case-studies the common type of social resistance may be thus illustrated. On an irrigated holding carrots proved a profitable cash crop. The farmer was told by a returned emigrant that paraffin spray was very suitable as a weed killer. He chose a small patch, in his own words, 'where no-one could see what I was doing and laugh' and tried the new treatment. Eventually convinced of its efficacy, this farmer was able to observe the slow visual impression made on his neighbours.

Fear of failure in neighbours' eyes has to be put alongside a strangely humble pride which will cause a group of farmers to listen with genuine respect to the suggestions of an expert, to raise no queries, but also to take no action since, although the adviser must be right in general, his knowledge cannot on *a priori* grounds be applicable to anywhere in particular. Thus another farmer, rather than confess to an outbreak of true blight in a field-trial plot of a new potato variety, dug up the crop, sold it and reported total failure.

242 439 Illuminating also is the attitude to fertilisers and chemical aids to husbandry. All artificials are at present imported and used in conjunction with animal manure and town refuse. In 1954, before the main programme of agricultural research and extension, the relative importance of imported fertilisers was as follows:-

IMPORTS OF FERTILISERS 1954

	Volume	Value
Sulphate of Ammonia	1,834,000 Kg.	£40,983
Sodium Nitrate	150,000 Kg.	3,550
Phosphatic fertilisers	2,032 Kg.	43
Potassic fertilisers	2,000 Kg.	51
Other chemical fertilisers	100 Kg.	6
Organic manures	382 Kg.	101
(Copper Sulphate-Bordeaux mixture	-	6,038)

242 The overwhelming reliance on nitrogenous fertilisers is a result not of their proven efficiency but of an incorrect reaction, by cultivators possessing practically no scientific understanding of the processes involved, to new ideas of soil feeding. It seems probable for instance, that most Maltese soils have a low potassic content. Nitrogenous fertilisers cannot give their best results under these conditions and their over-use may result in further impoverishment of

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

other plant nutrients. The Law of the Minimum is the ultimate control. Both sulphate of ammonia and sodium nitrate are extensively used on the potato crops although most of the added growth goes into production of foliage rather than of carbohydrate in the tubers. Lastly, under Maltese climatic conditions, the balance between the mineralisation of nitrogen and the maintenance of organic matter in the soil, judging from South African experience, seems hardly to be improved by the simple application of nitrates.

As noted in Chapter III, a great deal more work needs to be done on the problem of availability in the soil of plant nutrients and water before additive needs can be estimated. In the meantime the farmer just does not know, and uses fertilisers rather blindly, often extravagantly, in the same way that he administers the 'medicines' as he usually calls other chemicals. This is a highly dangerous situation because it can lead through disillusionment to even stronger resistance to new ideas. On many occasions we have met farmers who as a result of using Bordeaux mixture incorrectly and suffering accordingly have been inclined to doubt the value of the scientific approach as a whole. The moral, in so far as one may be discerned, is that any advice given must be overseen in its application and thoroughly understood by the farmer in order to prevent any failure due to misuse of that advice. Otherwise the situation will be worsened rather than improved.

Lastly, a consideration of the positive elements in land husbandry as at present practised. The crops grown in the Islands have already been considered in Chapter VII, and the physical environment for the growing of those crops in Chapters I-III. In general, Maltese farmers employ on non-irrigated land one basic crop-sequence which is, to a degree varying with the individual, regarded as a rotation of soil-building and soil-exhausting crops. A typical succession would be:-

First year - September heavy manuring followed by winter potato crop.
- April-July onions.
- Summer fallow followed by ploughing.
Second year - September-May vetches and/or beans followed by spring potato crop.
- Possibly a small catchcrop of legumes with summer fallow.
Third year - September-May cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
- Possibly a minor catchcrop of summer vegetables with summer fallow.
Fourth year - September-April cultivation and growing of sulla crop.

There are many variations on this pattern observable. For instance, near tal-Ġemma (222), a sequence observed on good land was:-

First year - September heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per *tomna*.
- September-December winter potato crop with dressing of sulphate of ammonia, 1 bag per *tomna*.
- January-April spring potato crop.
- May-August summer fallow.
Second year - September-April two crops of potatoes as in previous year.
- May-August onions on watered land.
Third year - September-May cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
- May-August summer fallow.
Fourth year - September-April sulla.
- April-September deep ploughing and heavy manuring.

On the other hand in the Central Region, C XVIII c, one farmer with 42 *tmien* of dry land has at least 20 at any one time under cauliflowers. He has no rotational system as such but rather an intensive catch- and cash-crop sequence supported by heavy manuring and by the rather mysterious soil virtues of this region. He is thus enabled to harvest a cauliflower crop almost continuously

242 from December to September during each year, from seven or eight different plant strains.

On irrigated land, an even more intensive succession of vegetables, cucurbits, tomatoes and potatoes is seen. Further variants resulting from the addition to the crop range of tree-crops have been illustrated in Chapter VIII.

Accessibility to markets, as well as general environmental conditions, produce the regional variations already discussed. On a smaller scale still, minor distinctions of climatic and soil types produce minute differentiations which are all-important to the Maltese farmer. Land husbandry may then be said to be controlled by the following forces. First, and particularly affecting the older generations, is the survival of a primitive urge to control land and to maintain it as the basis of subsistence. This now implies that cultivators who normally rely on sales of their produce do in large measure base their husbandry on non-commercial standards. The social and economic background already examined in Section II is thus responsible for making Maltese cultivators a pseudo-peasantry. A recent compilation of farmers' opinions and attitudes shows this very clearly (9). Secondly, and superimposed on the first factor, are the commercial forces which, through the demands of the market, are breaking down the old inbreeding of ideas. Because the internal market for agricultural produce is still rather undiscriminating and because marketing systems are still crude, the new demands on husbandry are partly inconsistent and partly uneven in their effects (Chapter X E). Thirdly, and because of the characteristics of these first two elements, the physical environment still dominates husbandry practice. In some countries, such as the United Kingdom, within broad limits one can say that available techniques, readiness to use those techniques and the dominance of the profit motive all combine to neutralise many environmental variations. In Malta this is not true.

Maltese farming, having already developed so well from a simple peasant basis is now faced by a last hurdle before it can play a necessarily major role in the economy of Malta. Traditional experience has now to be translated into a scientific idiom, application of 'rules of thumb' replaced by an understanding of the processes involved. Without that idiom and without that understanding, imported ideas and techniques will not survive transplanting. Given such a mental renaissance, good husbandry is possible to cultivators already capable of careful hard work.

232 Livestock husbandry, faces the same sort of problems as does land husbandry. The main difference results from the more concentrated impact of new needs on traditional methods. Little is known of Maltese livestock during or before the nineteenth century. John Galt, in 1812 (10), asserted that the first milch cows were introduced by the British in 1800, a statement later re-affirmed by Macgill (11). Boisgelin (12) and Giacinto (13) in 1805 and 1811 do little more than comment on the high quality and repute of the indigenous breed of asses and goats and on the poor quality of the sheep. Even in 1911 (14), the Inspector of Agriculture, F. Debono, was able virtually to ignore milk production, note the near extinction of the Maltese ass, and remark that cheap meat imports allowed farmers to concentrate on non-fodder crops. In the 1920's and '30's changes were slowly occurring but they did not accelerate significantly until World War II.

The Maltese livestock farmer cast in traditional mould is still controlled by land shortage. Only in Gozo is there some grazing and exercise space for animals, and even there the practice of stall feeding is dominant. While animal needs have increased with the change in emphasis from goats and sheep to cattle and from general purpose cattle to dairy cows, the Maltese farmer has not been able, for reasons financial, mental, and of space, to meet these needs.

A preliminary sample survey of the feeding of milch cows and goats made by Charlton in 1956 brought out the following points (15). Of the total sample of goat-herders, 80 per cent. relied on wasteland *xagħra* grazing to supply forage, this proportion being higher in Gozo than in Malta. We also know that very few cattle-farmers have adequate exercise yards and none have real pasturage. Goat and cattle farmers further rely to an inordinate extent on *haxix hażin* - rough

467 people to have the final say in the nation's vital means of production.'[1]
These policies have a general appeal to labourers and
665 are among the reasons for the party's popularity.

The Labour Party is closer to the worker than any of the other political parties. In this respect, its organization resembles that of the Church. As already noted, the MLP rests on its village and district organization. This has enabled the average worker to have a say of sorts, not only in his party's policy, but, when it was in power, also in the affairs of government. How he and his neighbours were able to manipulate the party structure to their advantage is a matter which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

657 During its period in office the Labour Party did much to
improve conditions for the workers and the poor. This is another
665 reason why many support it. It introduced many social benefits,
including the extension of medical services, regular allotments of
free food and social assistance allowances for the needy and aged.
[653] It also built many new schools, surfaced dusty roads and undertook other large public works projects which gave employment to many, besides benefiting the community. Moreover, the party
[242] did a great deal to improve agriculture by bringing in foreign experts who set up an advisory service and introduced new crops and techniques of cultivation. All these and the general atmosphere of activity which permeated the Labour Government, gained great popularity for the party and its leader.

665 There is yet another important way in which the MLP attracts many: it has attacked the established authority of Britain, the Church, the local captains of industry and the prosperous members of society. This outlook appeals not only to many poor and underprivileged persons, but also to the young and the uninfluential who are seeking to establish their personal independence and to make their mark on society. This opposition to authority and vested interests holds an attraction for many social 'misfits', such as the young 'Teddy Boy' element, the eccentrics and free thinkers. These find in the MLP a haven for their nonconformity to the social and moral teaching of the Church. Though social and religious stigma still attaches to them, many find it easier to bear in the company of others who have similar beliefs and problems. The Labour Party has thus provided social outcasts with a sense of

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[1] MLP manifesto. See Appendix B.

234 pasteurized milk at about this same price to the general
654 public, regardless of the administrative, collection and pasteurization costs involved and the losses on surplus milk wasted. The subsequent deficit is born by the Government exchequer and may therefore be regarded as a Government subsidy to the milk producer. Its effect in the past few years has been immense in that it has encouraged herdsmen all over the Islands to increase their production to the maximum at the expense of arable cash-crops (Cases I to IX).

232 (b) As part of the general policy to improve farming
654 in the Islands and, at the same time, to eradicate certain livestock diseases the Government has made available to herdsmen an exchange scheme whereby they may exchange diseased animals for newly imported stock. This has also included goats, some dozen of which could be exchanged for a cow. Along with this stock improvement policy has gone official limitation on the number of animals entering the Islands since the present overstocking is regarded as undesirable. Farmers have however not been slow to find ways round such limitations - one popular method of acquiring a cow having been, for example, for a farmer to buy in weak and ailing goats and effect an exchange of these for a healthy imported heifer.

654 (c) Of considerable help to the arable farmer as well as the herdsman has been the programme of 'Loans and Grants' ('Self u Donazzjonijiet') by the Government to farmers for the purpose of making capital improvements in the farm and its operation. The low-interest loans have been particularly popular and have already enabled many farmers to buy, for example, their own rotary cultivators (Case II). One important limiting feature in these loans has been the ignorance on the part of many farmers of the system and the suspicion felt by others of something new and not clearly explained.

(d) Of particular concern to the arable farmer have been the various distributions of free or subsidized seeds, potatoes, tomatoes, etc. In some cases the aim has here been to popularize some new departure from custom such as a variety of early potato new to Malta or to introduce farmers to the 'Balanced Ration' ('Ghalf Bilanċjat') experiments of the agricultural authorities.

242 (e) In this same category of aids to farming comes the
654 recently-formed Agricultural Advisory Service, which has itself been responsible for many of the new moves mentioned and also for the series of public lectures to farmers (Section 4), which have been part of the effort to improve farming in the Islands by providing an up-to-date research

242 654 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud (Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service are outlined in B/252.

178 241 654 181 [234] Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification to bring it more closely into line with present conditions both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4) but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the Islands.

433 654 234 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee remains he will continue to put every effort into selling more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently, having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

433 434 178 [175] MONEY

In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale subsistence farming with the help only of his family. Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family, farm and village. There were very few wants which could not be supplied at home, or at least within the village. In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 436 437 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction between the present 'commercialized' position and that which prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

654 (a) to decide which crops, animals, feeding stuffs, machinery, methods of farm management, etc., are most likely to improve Maltese farming conditions, and

(b) to pass this information to a conservative and doubting farming public.

654 242 A central feature of official policy since 1956 has been the Agricultural Advisory Service (B/252), modelled on the parallel organization in the United Kingdom. In Malta this body has aimed to co-ordinate research and experiment with encouraging the farmer to adopt proven results. Within a short while of its inception the Service was concerned with detailed investigations into pig rearing, poultry feeding, dairying, potatoes, tomatoes, fertilisers and other agricultural topics in the Islands (B/252, pp.3-4). At the same time a great deal of importance was attached to demonstrations and lectures to farmers. In addition broadcasts were made over the Rediffusion system and these were supplemented by a certain amount of printed publicity.

654 242 544 232 The easiest part of the programme of lectures and demonstrations was to get farmers and others to attend the meetings. Those who stayed away did so either because they could not be available at the appointed time or, more usually, because they could not be persuaded that foreign experts could know anything applicable to farming in Malta which the local farmer did not know already. The attitudes of those who did attend was revealing. In many cases the novelty of the event was the attraction but there was also a large element of reasoned interest. Attendances varied from a few dozen farmers in some of the smaller villages to 200 in Xaghra and other large rural settlements, while, in January, 1958, no less than 700 people assembled in Rabat to be lectured by four of the specialists then working with the local Department of Agriculture, and to see a film on "Clean Milk". The reactions of this audience were typical of the response to the whole range of lectures and demonstrations and illustrate clearly the kind of problem which any would-be improver of agriculture can expect to have to face in Malta. There was, significantly, only one Maltese woman in the audience at Rabat of which some two or three hundred appeared to be non-farmers and concerned rather with free coffee in the interval than with the topics of the lectures. Of the rest, however, some farmers had made considerable journeys to attend while more than a few of these had never set foot in a meeting hall or attended anything in the nature of a lecture or lesson in their lives. For them it was a 'Sunday-best' outing. Even the bravest

654 242 544 232 of those present could not however be persuaded to ask any questions of the 'experts' or to develop any discussion, although everything not in Maltese was translated copiously. They were over-awed by the proceedings but were not slow to seize on topics raised by the speakers for future discussion among groups of farmers. The average age of those present was lower than that of the full-time farming population on account of the presence of large numbers of disinterested village youths and young men. But the true farmers themselves paid attention to what they were told and were especially impressed by the film.

Some of the points raised were dismissed as "not suitable for Malta". Some suggested measures were "interesting but unremunerative", notably the efforts, demonstrated in the film, to achieve cleanliness in milking. The farmer could not readily comprehend how he was to profit financially if he were to add what to him were needless tasks to an already heavy time-table. Yet, on the other hand, he was sceptical when told that many of the jobs which he is accustomed to performing could be replaced by more efficient methods. Being unable to read of farming outside Malta the illiterate believes that no methods could be better than those tried, tested and taught by his father and grand-father before him. Hence a major part of the work of an advisory service is "to create conditions which will give the farmer confidence in the advice given. The adviser must be above creed or party and honest in all his dealings. In addition, however, some inducement must be offered to the farmer to accept advice and the most powerful inducement that has yet been found is money - cash - a better price"[39].

654 232 One example of this inducement in practice was afforded by the study of pig feeding using balanced rations which was undertaken by the Agricultural Advisory Service early in its career. Haesler was able to show that "the high mortality rate in small pigs can be considerably reduced, and what is more important, losses in pig keeping have been turned into profits" (B/252, p.3). The farming public was assailed with Maltese-language leaflets[40] showing how the traditional pig feeding patterns were both wrongly balanced and generally excessive in quantity and encouraging pig breeders to invest in the prepared balanced rations ('Għalf Bilanċjat') then on the market. This improved diet would, it was claimed, not only produce a better pig but would result in reduced costs of feeding. This prospect appealed to the farmer, who hastened to purchase the balanced ration particularly as such rations were subsidized by the Government[40] in order to encourage

654 their adoption. Sales soared after the ration appeared
232 and the idea spread rapidly from farmer to farmer.
Unforeseen difficulties soon emerged however and threatened
to make the ration unpopular among pig breeders as quickly
as it had become popular a short while before. Partly on
account of ignorance and illiteracy and partly because of
the lack of the correct kind of propaganda farmers began to
find that the ration was not the magical remedy to their
pig problems. A sample investigation, by the writer, in
Gozo among farmers who had purchased the balanced ration
showed that some of them had understood it to be a kind of
medicine to be given in addition to the diet normally fed,
others treated it as one item of the feed and mixed it with
their normal ration to the pigs, while most common of all
was the complaint that "I've been feeding the balanced
ration for a week and there is no sign of the promised
improvement so I'm using no more". Individuals of this
latter inclination not only stopped purchasing the ration
themselves but spread ugly rumours about it among their
fellows. None of those with such complaints would consider
approaching the Officers of the Advisory Service - as they
had in fact been invited to do in the leaflet[40]. For them
the new pig feed was a failure.

Illiteracy produces a feeling of inferiority in most
654 cases which makes the farmer too timid to approach a
829 department or an official on some problem. Moreover the
242 written word is for them suspect. Therefore if they are
232 to be persuaded to adopt new techniques in their farming
the instruction will have to be personal and followed up
with further help and advice when difficulties and lack of
appreciation of what is intended emerge. For these
farmers lectures are too remote. Demonstrations of new
crops or cultivation methods, etc. are more likely to
succeed but are insufficient in themselves. Unfortunately
a large qualified staff of visiting advisers would be
necessary to supervise farmers at such an individual level.
In Malta this is not yet available. Even if it were the
farmers' trust would have to be gained and maintained at
every stage. In the past such trust has been conspicuous
but its absence with the farmer believing that everyone
with whom he comes in contact is anxious to take advantage
of his illiteracy for their own gain. There has been
no-one to give him professional, impartial advice on
farming and the new Advisory Service with its free infor-
mation and other help to the farmer is still something
654 of an unknown quantity. The Agrarian Society (B/286) has
232 in the past been responsible for a certain amount of
242 research on agricultural topics in Malta but does not appear

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to have made its presence felt among the farmers themselves.

When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in the Islands will depend, have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

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In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened younger farming generation might develop. Neither is there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

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As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U. (Section 2). In short, official policy here has been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the

[433]
cost of which is borne by the Government. The totals of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[41].

CASE VII : Wenzu (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

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234 Like Case VI, Wenzu has been a goat herder and is now anxious to concentrate on dairy cows. At present he holds 4 Friesians, belonging to himself and his sons, but he wants to import Ayrshires. This cow, says Wenzu, is better suited to Maltese conditions, needing less feed than the Friesian and standing up better to long periods of confinement in cramped stalls.

656 Wenzu became interested in cows when the Government forbade the selling of raw goats' milk in Valletta. For a time thereafter he sold bottled milk in the capital and then returned to selling raw goats' milk in still unclosed areas such as nearby Cospicua until that too came to an end with the evacuation in 1940. After the War he went back to cows' milk production and sold his output to the M.M.U.

654 He acquired the Friesians through an exchange for inferior quality and diseased goats organized by the Government (one cow for 13 goats). At present, he says, cows' milk production is the more profitable ("Six cows will support a small family") but that this would not be so were it possible to give goats good grazing land at low cost. He reckons that good grazing saves 15/- per day on the fodder bill.

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242 Wenzu's Case illustrates an important feature of the study of a predominantly illiterate section of society. This is the prominence of personality in the thoughts and actions of the individual. Unable to read and suspicious of what he may hear over Rediffusion, Wenzu relies on personal contact to a very considerable degree. This is clear from a brief survey of his life. He speaks nowadays of a certain Dr. MacFarlane whose veterinary skill and advice impressed him and who originally recommended him to keep Ayrshires. To listen to Wenzu talking of this "Scots Doctor" one gathers that Wenzu last spoke with him quite recently. In fact, however, Dr. A.M. MacFarlane was Superintendent Veterinary Surgeon in Malta some half a century ago! A Mr. Hurst gave him advice on bulls some 25 years ago while, much more recently, Mr. Ebejer Slythe of the Department of Agriculture gave him much valued information on lucerne as a fodder and, latest of all, Dr. Godfrey Alton, the veterinary expert, has become something of a hero for the injections he has arranged. Evidently, therefore, any improvements in Maltese farming have a greater chance of success if this element of personal contact - particularly in the cases of illiterate farmers - can be established. One man who will argue with one farmer for a morning on a single topic stands a greater chance of general success than has the big public lecture or even the practical demonstration.

*159 43 (iv) Potatoes are grown regularly for the home market in spite of price variations - reported as ranging between 50/- per qantar in 1956 and 8/4 in 1957.

(v) Home grown fodder and forage makes up c.80% of non-concentrate feed. Other crops make members of the partnership self-sufficient in foodstuffs (at a high level of consumption).

(vi) Annual sales of wine-grapes c.40 qantar.

(vii) The response to general variations in yields and prices is to maintain the general pattern of production. The syndicate has enough capital to survive periodic losses and therefore deliberately ignores fluctuations. The only alterations made in a planned cropping sequence result from natural hazards e.g. if a late crop of sulla fails as a result of poor germination, a rapid switch may be made to balck vetch.

G. Husbandry. General Standards are good.

*159 ●242 (i) Soil maintaining rotations are carefully and consciously practised. Thus leguminous fodders are regarded as essential in arable farming.

(ii) Fertiliser application is heavy:
- Organic manure is applied for the first two years of a four year cycle at a rate of c.60 sacks per tomna.
- Sulphate of Ammonia is applied to all the fields each year at a rate of 15-20 sacks per tomna.
- They do not regard the idea of green manuring with any favour although they use dry vegetable refuse mixed with dung.

(iii) They are very conscious of minor regional differences in soil and climate and regard the parcellated holding of selected land much more important than convenience of working a consolidated holding e.g.
- 'earliness' is associated with coastal situations and "early tomatoes will not come up in Żebbug".
- soils are classified as follows:
  - 'hamrija' (red) is good for all crops
  - 'abjad' (white) for cereals and tomatoes but not for potatoes.
  - 'sowdina' (grey) for sulla and tomatoes.
  - 'tafli' (clay) poor for green crops.
  - 'hirbi', an intermediate soil, easy to work.

The differences between these types and the presence or absence of nodule beds, saline layers etc. are held to be sufficient justification for rental differentiation as between fields and parts of fields.

This articulate consciousness of environmental variations even in this case reinforces conservatism and much more importance is attached to such natural 'controls' than to crop strains.

*159 232 (iv) Cattle are well housed and fed according to yield. Very vague about balanced feeding and rely on traditional greens, beans, hay and cake. Nevertheless in the spokesman's own words they are aiming at 'better management of the cattle rather than more animals'.

*159 829 232 242 (v) In some ways, the high standards achieved using traditional techniques are proving a barrier to further technical advances, e.g. the cattle are relatively free from disease and therefore more trust is placed in the expertise of the syndicate than in the 'book-knowledge' of a vet., e.g. whatever experts may say, any crop innovation must be demonstrated successfully and in the immediate locality.

* **H. General.**

159 472 451 (i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndicate is not typical of Maltese farming systems. The partnership seems to derive historically from a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

*159 472 451 181 (ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organisation one may use this case-study as illustrating the practises and modes of thought of the most highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

- Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does no seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.
- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.
- *159 433 181 ●242 Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these are attained by the careful application of proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.
- *159 181 232 242 In spite of the fact that the syndicate's capital reserves and their practical abilities are considerable, the physical environment dominates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as those there is a great mental gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

*159 472 464 CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.)

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

* 159 178 234 Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows' milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
829 Gozitan milk producer, Case I.
The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle with-
234 in the current artificial economy of milk production. There
is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy
[433] were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

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159 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
472 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġamri's father.

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159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
472 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines	21	tmien
Cereals and fodders	18	tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let	13	tmien
Potatoes	6	tmien
Other vegetables	5	tmien

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159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

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159 Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
[435] at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

*159 433 435 February when prices start at c.9d a head rather than later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 (i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming. In 1956 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, leguminous fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land where vetches alternate with barley.

[461] (c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

[242] (d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953 Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:
Relies entirely on own plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Eigenheimer.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock:
Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

*159 241 433 435 [465] (i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

*159 451 (ii) The farmers children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

000 was taken for granted.
*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
●242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XII : Čenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

*159 Čenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
557 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is importent both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
[727] War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
standards and Čenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compen-
sation to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
241 In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to those and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
[451] This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.

[433] [251] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43

(i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable [454] capital reserve.

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829 CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-ploughman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdoms, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Maltese	*English*	
"Red sky at evening, harness your mules. Red sky at morning, herd your beasts."	"Red sky at night, Shepherd's delight. Red sky in the morning Shepherd's warning."	821 171 539
"Ill weather comes, ahead or astern, when the cat sneezes."	"The cat washes herself before stormy weather."	[825]

Often it appears that sheer nonsense is mixed with sound common sense. Typical of the mixed "sense" and "nonsense" is the following: 245 824 242

"The first autumnal produce of the wild fig is called by the Maltese *Barru*. A second crop which takes place in winter is supposed to be due to the outcome of the first produce. This is called *Carru*, and is supposed to bring forth the third outcrop which appears in spring time and is recognized as the *dukkar* or real fertilizer of the fig. This fruit is cut and hung up in pairs on the bough of the fig tree.

"The male fruit (*dukkar*) is usually full of a colony of minute winged insects by the produce of which, the Maltese husbandman identifies the real fertilizing fruit. [825]

"The pomegranate is supposed to be fertilized by the flowers of the wild parsnip, and for this purpose bunches of these flowers are thrown over the pomegranate tree when in flower. *Dakra*, probably from *dakar* = to fertilize, is the name given to the wild parsnip by the Maltese husbandman.

"The male flowers of the wild carob-tree (*baghal*) are thrown over the branches of the female plant to favour impregnation.

Small pieces of coarse stone are still hung up in the jujube-tree with a view to securing a good produce. 241 823

B. Crop Distributions

FIELD CROPS

CEREALS - WHEAT and BARLEY *(Qamħ and Xgħir)*

As the land use maps show (Figs. 71 and 72), cereals are grown in all 311* regions of the Islands. Of the grains, wheat and barley alone are of importance. 243 Some maize and millets are still grown and a few fields of sown oats were observed. *Mixla* - a mixture of wheat and barley - is now rare, although self-seeding produces some mixtures difficult to distinguish except by close examination. The practice of sowing spoilt or 'bottom of the bag' grain on odd patches of soil that would otherwise bear nothing also produces unexpected results.

Many different varieties of wheat and barley are grown - naked and bearded, short and long-awned, with short, stiff and long, weak culms. So-called 'Maltese' varieties such as *Qamh ta'Susa* and *ta'Bla Sifa*, have little homogeneity except that the wheats are all hard, bearded types. Introductions are mainly of durums from Canada. The local barleys are poor in type - short-eared, small-grained, 'dry' varieties, although the poor results are obviously partly explained by their [197] use for cropping the harsher lands. The new barleys are also mainly of North American origin and selected for early maturation. This latter characteristic is especially of value in an environment in which barley may dry and shatter rather than ripen - this has been observed even as early as March. In so far as barley is a residual land crop, however, then innovated varieties would seem to be difficult to establish and popularise - especially since the farmers on the poorest land are the least able to indulge in experiment.

That the importance of cereal cultivation remains so great, in spite of growing dependence on imported bread grains, seems strange at first sight. Information supplied by local mills suggests that human consumption of local cereals is very small, but quantitative estimates cannot accurately be made at present. Little is known of the relative importance of domestic subsistence on the farmers' own grain crops. Davy, in 1842 (1), and witnesses before the Royal Commission of 1911 maintained that production was mainly for domestic consumption. This is still obviously true for some vegetable crops and poultry but, in the present period of continued transition from peasant farming towards commercial farming, is difficult to evaluate for cereal production. For general purposes we may however presume the validity of the assumption that Maltese-grown grains have become less important for human food. No significant amount, it is generally agreed, is used for distilling and brewing. The former is severely restricted by law, and the latter by the general unsuitability for malting - unevenness of sample is a major difficulty - of local barley. For use there then remains only production for livestock fodder - particularly for horses and cattle, although the value of a grain ration for pigs is becoming more apparent with the introduction of better breeds such as the Large White. Given this situation, the comparative ease of grain-growing in the usual rotations practised, and the difficulty of finding alternative crops for some hardland areas, results in the survival of what has been called *grande culture* - land use of which would seem to be, in many regions at least, unnecessarily extensive.

The matter of rotation is fairly simple. Debono (2), in 1911, pointed out that, 241 after previous manuring and vegetable growing - 'there is only the sowing and the crop comes by itself. So that whether there be duty or no duty, wheat will 242 always be cultivated here in Malta, unless there is a revaluation in the rotation of crops'. A contemporary example may be taken from a farm at tad-Dahla. On the poorer land, wheat is grown alternate years with sulla. On the better land, potatoes and vegetables are the main crops and wheat, sown incidentally as a rotation crop, then gives yields of 25-28 cwt. per acre - double that on the other fields. Any change in the proportion of wheat to other crops under this system of farming could only be a consequence of an agricultural revolution.

More complex is the importance of the grains as hardland crops. Basically, 243 wheat and barley are dry farming crops in Malta. Without irrigation, even away 311*

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 197]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*311
102
243

[p.196-A]

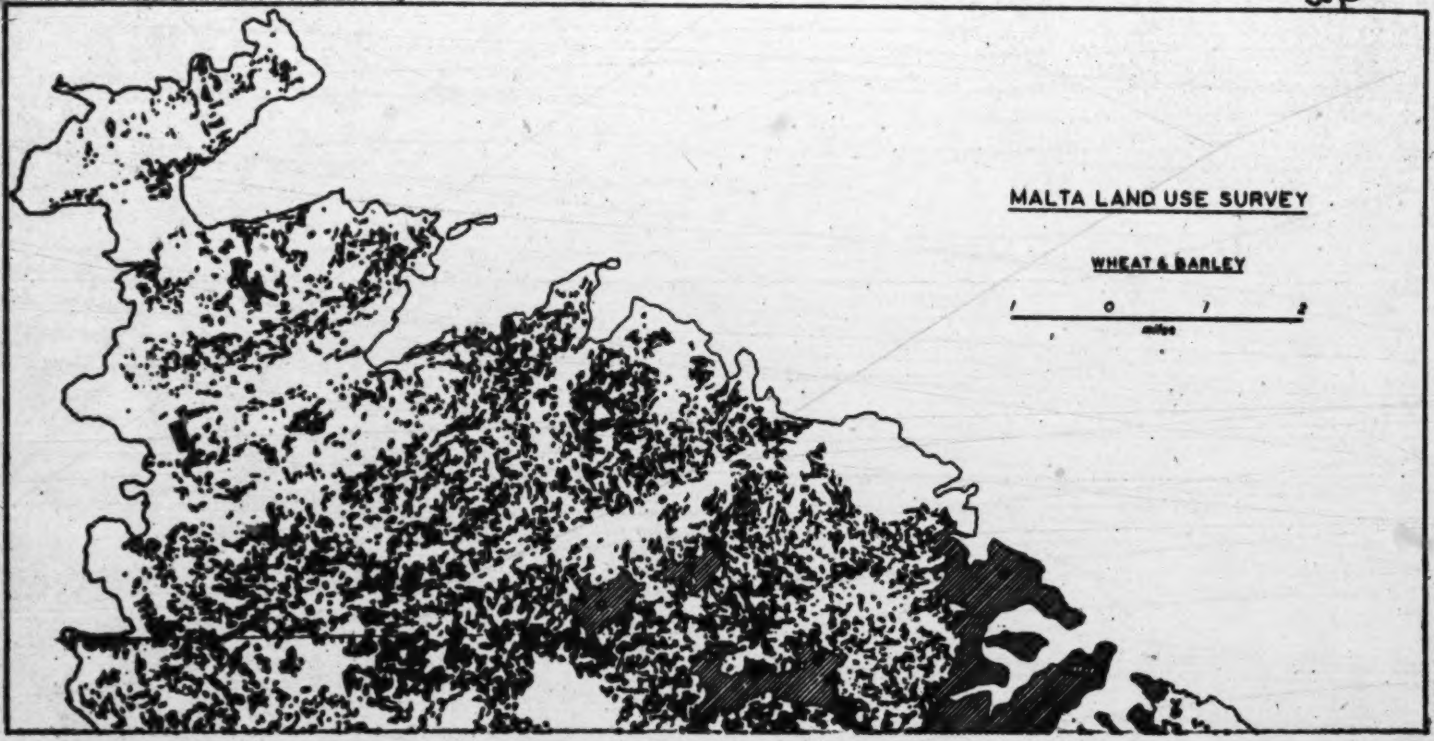
MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
WHEAT & BARLEY
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Fig. 71 Malta: Land Use Survey;

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
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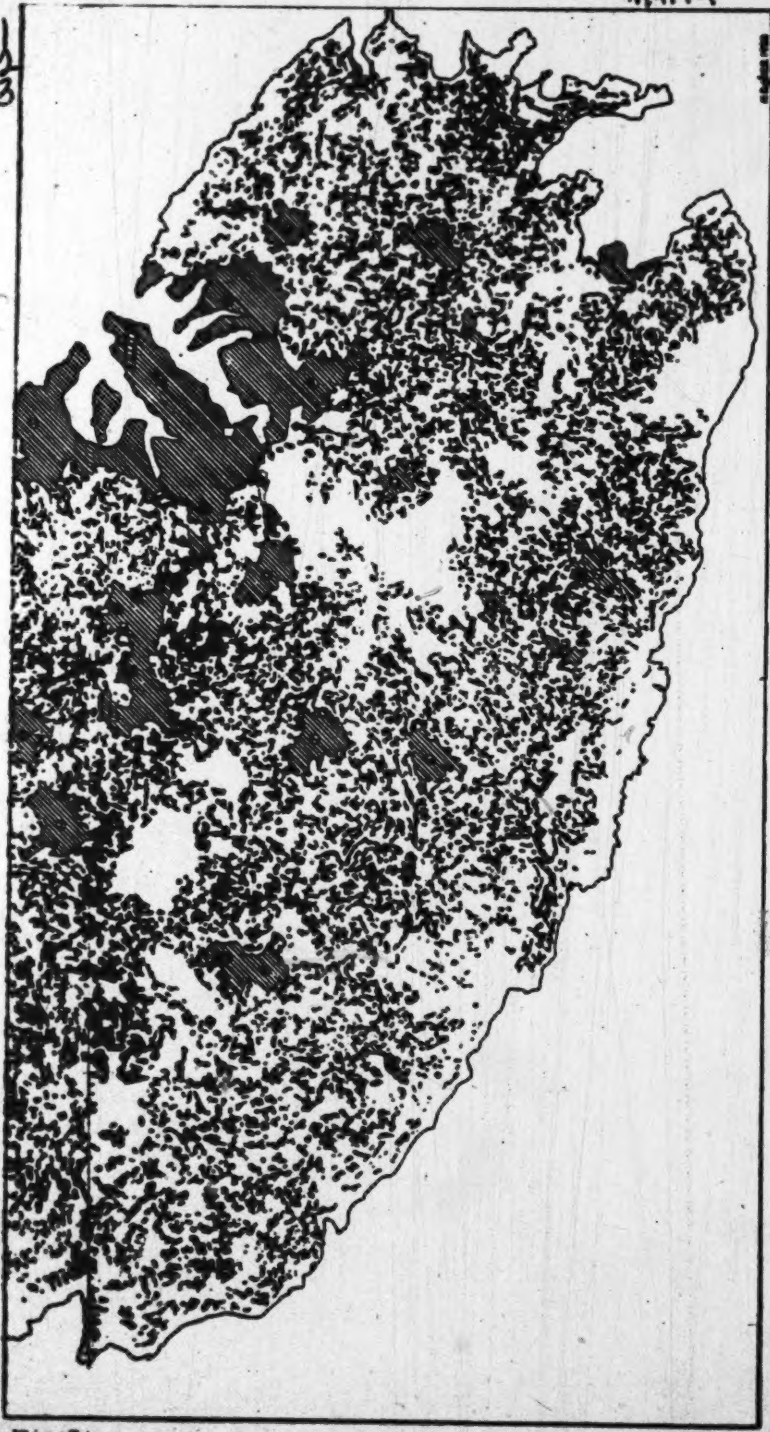


Fig. 71
Land Use Survey: Wheat and Barley

[p. 196-B]

311*
243

from the *terre accidentée* which borders the Wied Incita and the Wied il-Kbir, the light Globigerina soils can only well support the grains and sulla. Even more striking is the fact that both in areas where irrigation water is comparatively abundant, as in the Wied l-lemu (south-west of Rabat), and on the relatively deep and fertile soils of the Bingemma Lowlands and the Wied il-Ghasel, wheat and barley are treated as crops which make little demand on water, manure and tillage and therefore they are to be found in the same environments as intensive market gardening. On the bleaker or less well mantled hillsides, barley, patch sown between rock outcrops, or regarded as a catch crop gamble, usually becomes supreme. It is the more surprising therefore that average yields are relatively high (wheat and barley 22.4 bushels per acre for the decennial period 1949-58). It is doubtful however whether any but a small fraction of the hardland crop yields are represented in statistical returns, particularly since much of these crops are individually inter-cultivated with other crops such as peas and vetches. Even on good land, a considerable total acreage of cereals must avoid statistical measurements - the narrow boundary demarcation hedges of barley in the Wied tal-Pwales and the windbreak ridges of wheat near Ghajn Tuffieha.

Moreover, and here appears the crux of the matter, most of the poor grain crops and a large proportion of others are pulled green for fodder rather than threshed for grain. This is true not only of *Ferrana* - green barley - but also of much of the wheat. This use of the cereals as grain and 'hay' crops give them an extra value in that land under wheat and barley is not necessarily unusable for other crops for the full life cycle of the grains. The danger here lies in the deprivation of the soil of a great deal of organic matter that might be more profitably used for other crops given a revaluation of rotations, and in the encouragement of soil blowing, particularly in the windy Spring months, by the removal by pulling of the whole plant. Stubble-mulch farming so often associated with the 'Ard' is by no means general in Malta.

As shown in Fig. 71, in Malta, only in the high-value heavily irrigated Wied tal-Pwales are the cereals other than dominant. Other points of significance are best examined regionally (see Chapter VIII). In Gozo (Fig. 72), wheat and barley predominate on the most level Globigerina platforms lying below the sulla-clad clay slopes. They are unimportant only in the tree-crop zone north of Nadur.

The differentiation between cultivation of barley and wheat in general is essentially one between hardy and less hardy grain types.

FODDERS AND FORAGES

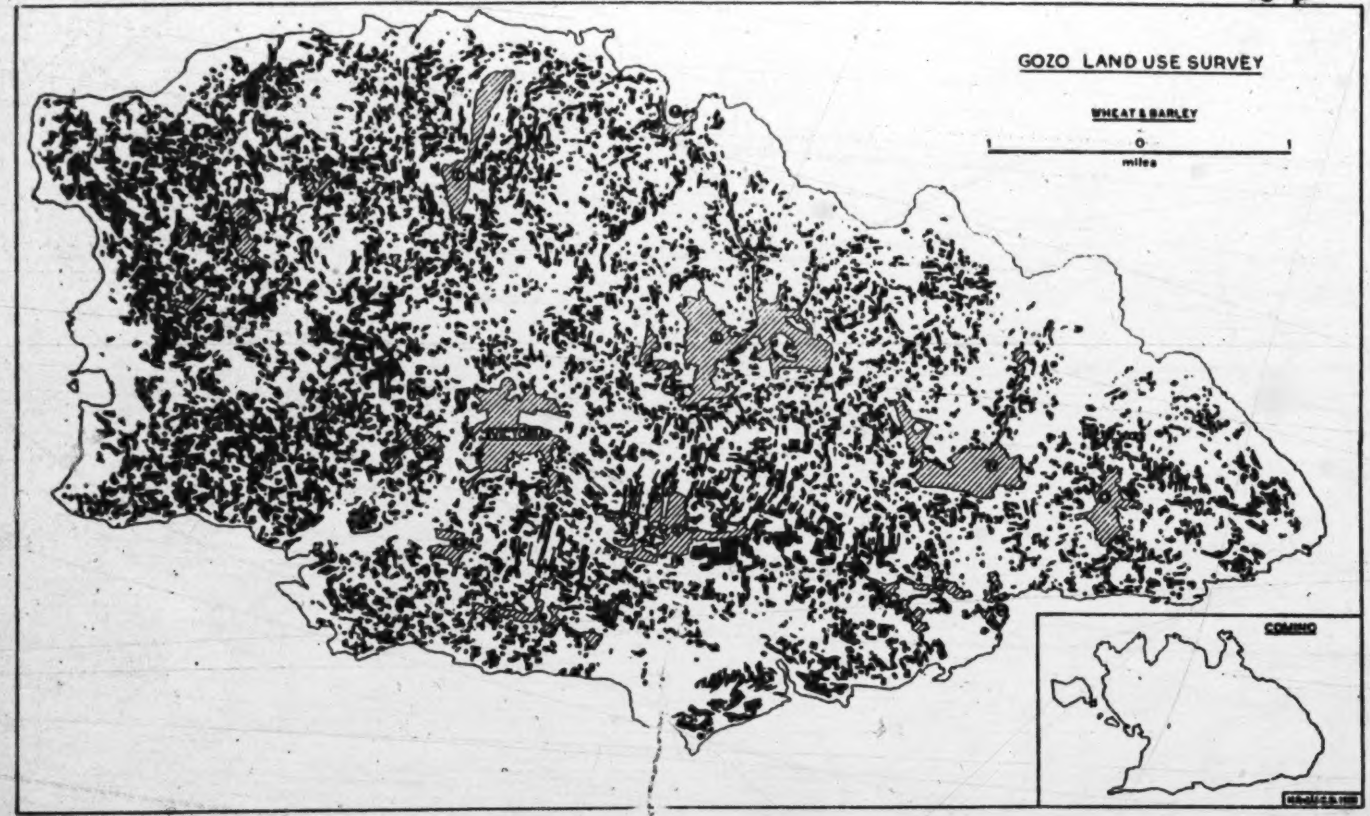
311*
246

Sulla, green barley, vetches, lucerne, chickpeas, the 'caterpillar plant' (*Widna*) and broad beans are the main forage crops. The leguminous character of all the forages, excepting barley, is worthy of note, and of the herbs gathered as 'wild' hay, by far the greatest number also are leguminous, including among their number many species of *Medicago*.

In the cultivation and use of these fodder crops, there are several features which are peculiar to the Maltese Islands and which deserve close attention. In the first place, all the forages, including sulla which is a true perennial, are grown strictly as annuals in close rotations of the types exemplified in the section on Husbandry (Chapter X C). They are all capable of rapid maturation into 'hay'. This situation is a natural consequence of the virtually unique historical *creation* of most of the tillable land in response to population pressure. All land which is cultivable has to bear at least three crops every two years, and in many cases five or six. Land which is not cultivable is karst; bare, calcareous rock interspersed with small soil pockets and crevices. There is very little land which can be put under perennial pastures or grasses that is not already carrying a close sequence of soil-building and soil-exhausting crops. The introduction of perennials into a system such that, even in the dry-farming regions, there is remarkable diversification would be as revolutionary as the displacement of leguminous forages by other types.

Secondly, fodders are almost invariably cut green or as hay crops and stall-fed to livestock. The peripatetic herds of goats and sheep which live on the rock

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 199]


GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
WHEAT & BARLEY
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miles
VICTORIA
COMINO

Fig. 72 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Wheat and Barley.

B. Cultivation Equipment and Tillage

171

Of the implements observed in Malta, the traditional types of plough, hoe, 407
sickle and harrow are of the same genera as those to be generally found in the 412
Mediterranean region (Fig. 140).

Ploughs are of the *Aratrum* or *Ard* type, steel tipped wooden wedges, devoid 407
of cutting edges and having very restricted powers of furrow making or inversion
- *moħriet*. None of those observed had lateral 'ears' or 'wings' but apparently
ards thus equipped are occasionally used. There are various sub-types with
differing arrangements of beam, body and handle but no constant rational
relationship between these sub-types and local environments could be observed.
Prices range upwards of £4 10s. 0d. Iron or steel tips for the body cost about
£1. One interesting modification of the plough is manufactured at Żurrieq. On
top of the basic beam and body is fitted a movable double mouldboard of which
either or both breasts can be brought into operation at any one time. Ridging and
left and right furrow inversion are therefore made possible. For those areas
where furrow inversion is practicable such a cheap, light multi-purpose
implement would be very valuable, and the development of such improvements
might well be encouraged by official approbation.

Hoes are manufactured in four main types. The heavy spade type, the 412
Żappuna, is generally used for soil trenching in preparation for manuring. The
effort involved tends to restrict its use. The small, single tined, wedge-shaped
hoe, the *Mgħazqa* or *Lexxuna*, is a general purpose implement that is replaced
under damp and cohesive soil conditions by a forked, two-tined variety, the
Kroxum. A three-tined hoe is often used, together with the ard, for potato lifting.
In general, each cultivator possesses a selection of different types of hoe,
necessitated by the variety of manual operations he usually has to perform and
made possible by the reasonable prices of the implements (prices range from
about 16s. for the single-tine, to 18s. to £1 for the spade hoe).

The sickle in general use is a small, smooth-edged type costing about 12s. 6d.
The small number of sickle types observed may result from the widespread
practice of pulling rather than cutting green fodder. Traditional harrows are 407
almost invariably of the Mediterranean and Asiatic type, harrows cum levellers
and seed coverers. Those observed were triangular and stone weighted. When
manufactured for the purpose they were usually constructed of ash and had
removable tines. Without metal tines, the cost is about 50s.

These implements, of which illustrated examples are given (Fig.140), have
already to some extent been displaced by imported newer types. Most farmers [241]
who possess fields which are at all accessible to tractors now periodically hire
contractors to plough the land with mouldboard or disc ploughs and even, in some
areas, with deep digger-ploughs. Where plots are small or the terrain difficult,
then rotary cultivators are hired or purchased. These latter machines, in spite
of their relatively high cost - usually over £200 in Malta - are amazingly
popular and are more and more replacing the *ard* and the hoe. The reasons for,
and implications of this popularity are examined below.

The spade proper is hardly ever used, and its absence is associated with [412]
the reasons for the survival of the *ard* plough. Small, light, flexible, metal
harrows are to be found. Entirely imported, their only advantages are their
flexibility on rough ground and ease of draught. They are, on the other hand,
more easily damaged and more difficult to repair than their wooden prototypes.
Other equipment includes a great range of fixed and movable adjuncts to farming,
all but one class of which are constructed rurally from local materials. The [406]
exceptional group is that connected with irrigation and includes windpumps and
small diesel engines. Threshing and winnowing, traditional style, needs no more 243
than a rock or *torba* (beaten earth) floor and asses or horses for trampling, [492]
baskets constructed of local cane, and simple wooden winnowing forks. Of recent
years, centralised threshing by contractors' machines has almost entirely displaced
the older method in all but the more remote western regions. Canes, 241
grown in slightly marshy conditions in wied floors, provide the raw material 824
for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc.

CHAPTER XVII

Casals and Countryside

311 656 342 OWING TO THE DENSITY AND RAPID GROWTH OF THE population, to the lack of soil and to the abundance of excellent building-stone, which not only takes on in the course of ages a beautiful patina but is easy to work, the proportion of Malta's built-up area to the area under cultivation is probably uniquely high. Unique is probably also the "Red Soil Law" whereby anyone about to erect a house is compelled to dig up and hand over to the Government (which removes it for him) any soil there may be on the site of the future structure, so that the precious earth may not be buried and lost for ever to the island's cultivators.

133 311. So precious is it that the smallest pockets, however inaccessibly they may be situated, are jealously conserved. Malta is low-lying—in the words of Tasso

giace Malta fra l'onde occulta, e bassa

—and only on the thyme-covered cliffs of the south-western stretch of coast does it rise as high as 800 feet. These cliffs are wild and rugged and sheer, but here and there, as they drop precipitously to the sea, narrow ledges of earth-covered rock cling precariously to their face. But even these *redums*, as
[342] they are termed—the like of which I have seen only on that hermit-inhabited spur of Mount Athos which is called Kerasia—are brought into use by the indomitable Maltese farmer of the locality, who sometimes lives in the caves beside them with his family and his animals as his Stone Age predecessor lived in them before him.

311 34 103 243 Thus every nook and cranny of these islands is eloquent of their past: towns; casals; little country chapels, farmhouses and isolated gateways, which are often adorned with

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

some sculptured escutcheon; the old stone *fougasses*[1] to be 311
encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny 34
Comino, from whose stony fields, where is cultivated the 103
cumin seed from which the island takes its name, there rises 243
one of the massive square keeps which the Knights scattered 243 ●
throughout their territory.[2]

The casals are, as has been said in an earlier chapter, not 361
villages, but compact stone townships of tall houses and 341
narrow streets, solidly built in good substantial Baroque 351
architecture. Their outskirts, as likely as not, are dignified
with some ancient country-house concealed behind high 346
walls amid charming gardens—the beauty and seclusion of the Maltese gardens are justly proverbial—while the focus of the casal, both literally and metaphorically, is the parish church. This is generally a great Baroque pile of golden sandstone flanked by two massive towers, but an exception is the Parish Church of Mosta, built in the classical style in the middle of the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts, both technical and financial, of the villagers themselves to the design of the ingenious Maltese architect Grognet de Vassé mentioned in Chapter II. It is topped by a dome that claims to be the third largest in the world, being surpassed in size only by those of S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Peter's in Rome, higher internally than the dome of the Roman Pantheon and exceeding by sixteen feet the diameter of that of S. Paul's in London.

[1] Patrick Brydone (*cf.* pp. 143–147) gives an interesting account of this little-known form of coastal defence; "For we found, to our no small amazement, that the rocks were not only cut into fortifications but likewise into artillery to defend these fortifications: being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air: and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel." [712] [713]

[2] An excellent companion for the exploration of the island is F. Weston's *Walks in Malta*, published in Valetta. Later booklets include Showell Styles, *Walks and Climbs in Malta* (Valetta, 2nd edn., 1952), and H. H. Hick, *Walks in Gozo* (Malta, 1953). [113]

POTATOES (*Patata*)

Potatoes have been for some years the most important commercial plants 311* raised in Malta. First introduced in the early nineteenth century, the acreage used for spring potatoes is now greater than that for any other crop, and the 344 value of potato exports has been exceeded only by that of scrap metal (during the abnormal post-war years of 1951 and 1952). Spring and winter crop acreages [439] combined take up 15 to 20 per cent. of the cultivable land.

The cultivation of potatoes varies with season and type of land available. The export crop is entirely raised from imported seed. This is planted in December or early January and the crop is ready for lifting from late March onwards, depending on weather conditions during the growing season. The seed, which accounts for most of the total potato imports, is necessary in order to ensure disease-free, good-yielding stock and its use is economic only as long as a high-price market for early potatoes can be found in Northern Europe. On dry soils which quickly warm up in the Spring and which give a fine yet loose tilth, and under climatic and soil conditions which on average are well-nigh optimum for tuber rather than leaf growth, yields are extremely good for the very short growing season. There are however certain hazards. Cool, wet winters delay sprouting and can both reduce and retard the harvest very severely, as in the seasons 1934-35 and 1950-51. Ground frosts in January may have similar effects as in 1936-37. Cool and humid weather during February and March encourages the appearance of blight and over-favours leaf growth - as, for example, in 1955. A more serious hazard is that of winter rainfall deficiency. As can be seen from the weather records (pp. 48 - 52 and Figs. 7, 19, 25), Malta rarely experiences 'average' weather and low winter precipitation can be expected at least once in every five years, e.g. 1957; rainfall: January 3.85 inches, February 0.25 inches, March 0.46 inches, April 0.41 inches. The thin, light soils, which otherwise are so suitable, are very quickly dried by strong winds and yields then decrease considerably. On non-irrigated land of medium quality, the yield is rarely more than fourfold and usually less. A reduction in yield of the order of 50 per cent. means considerable loss. For this reason, a very large amount of the best irrigated land is used for this crop in order to ensure good returns. Total yields are further depressed by the very short growing season, by local mineral deficiencies, by inadequate spraying treatment against fungus diseases, and by poor manuring. The general reliance on sulphate of ammonia is not only misplaced but may be positively dangerous.

The summer crop, unimportant in size and acreage, is obtained from the sowing of local seed in early summer and harvesting in September. This can only be done on irrigated or very fertile land and is entirely for the Maltese market. The winter crop, approximately half as important in bulk as that of the spring, is from local seed sown in early autumn and harvested in December and January. This supplies most of Maltese requirements. In these cases also, vagaries of weather result in great fluctuations in yield.

Potato cultivation on dry and irrigated land makes heavy demands on labour for sowing, tilling and lifting. Since climatic conditions on average give good sprouting ratios, the tubers are usually divided into thirds and quarters for reasons of economy. This economy becomes less marked when hand labour becomes as costly as at the present moment. The heavy water demands of the growing plant make continual hoeing essential, and, since the harvest is short and the crop value highest at the end of April, the demand for labour reaches a dangerously high peak at this time. Marketing of the export potato crop is equally [439] hazardous. The high-priced earlies can only be sold in the relatively wealthy markets of Northern Europe. Freightage is costly, averaging £5 10s. 0d. a ton Marsa to Glasgow.

Official policy is to encourage the replacement of varieties such as Arran 311* Banner by earlier varieties - 'scrapers' - of wider market appeal. The 344 economics of early potato growing are further complicated by the year-to-year 439 fluctuations in acreage. These variations correspond to a year's time-lag in reaction to changes in market price. Thus, in 1957, a glut, which resulted from market rather than producing conditions, was followed by a surplus of seed and

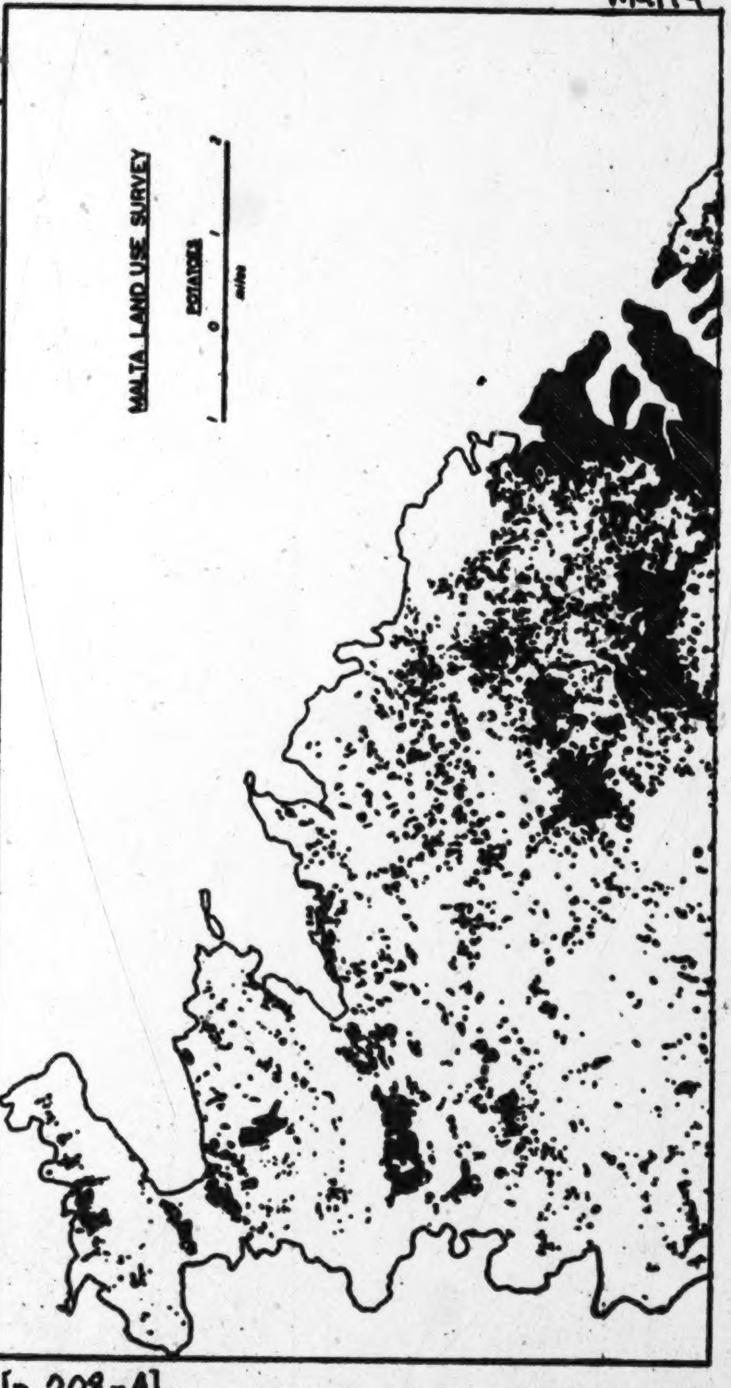
[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 211] <—

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*311
● 249
102


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
POTATOES
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[p. 208-A]

Fig. 70 Malta: Land Use Survey: Potatoes.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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Malta

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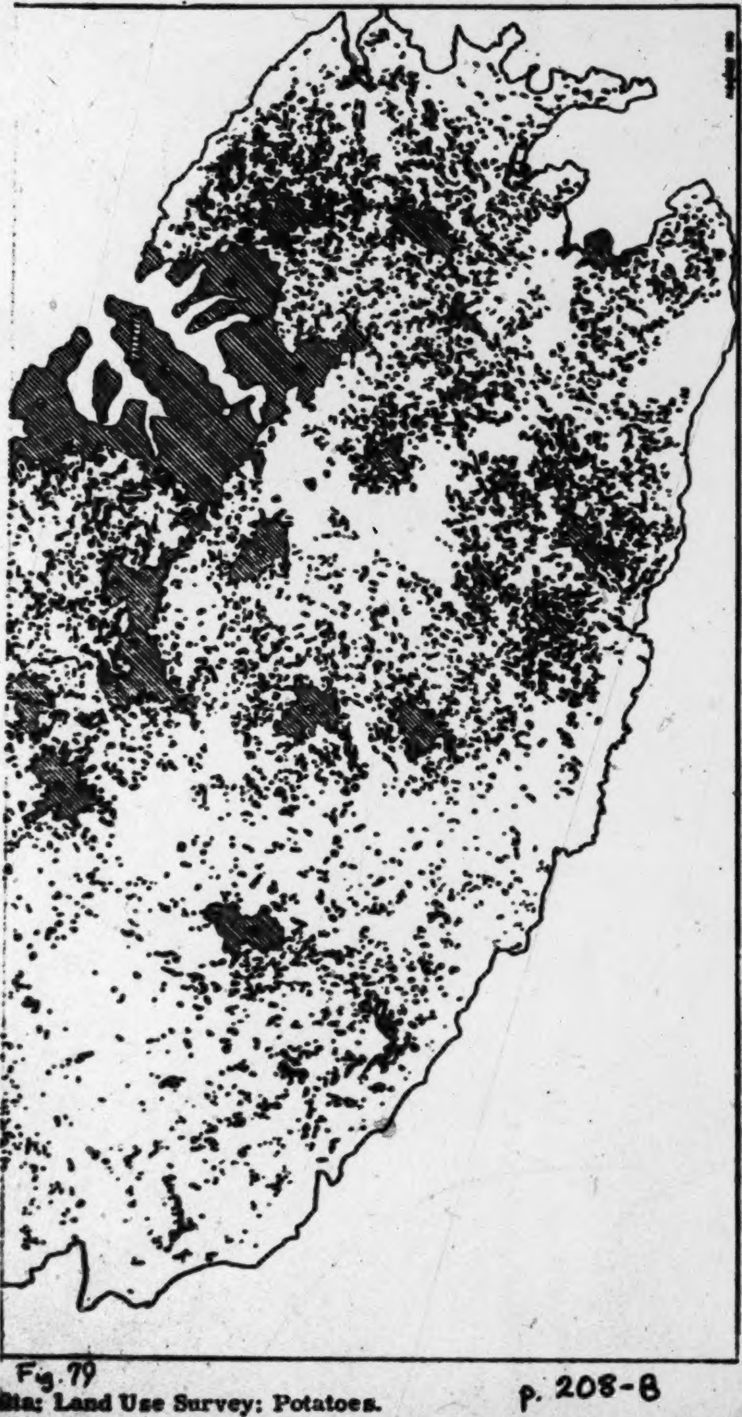

Fig. 79
Malta: Land Use Survey: Potatoes.

p. 208-8

*311
102
⑤344

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

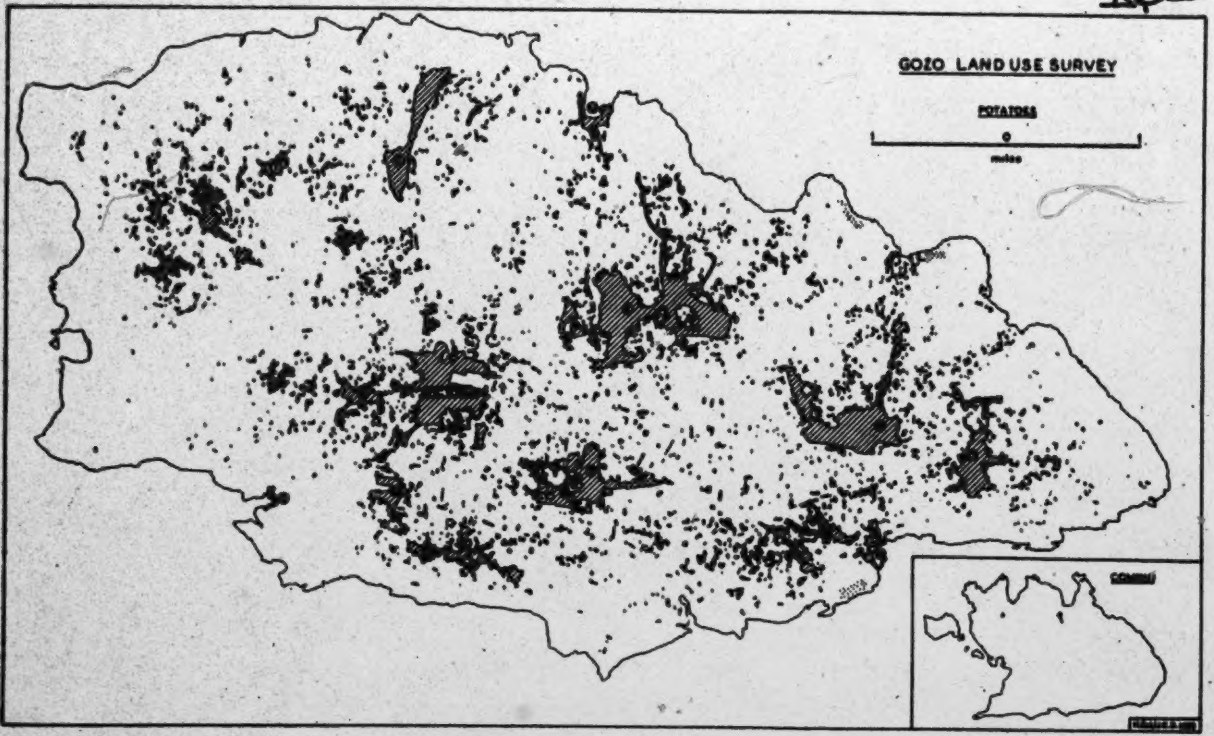
GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
POTATOES
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Fig. 80 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Potatoes.

a reduction in the acreage planted during the following winter. In spring 1958, 311* the export market could have absorbed more than the total production. Official 244 encouragement to re-expand cultivation followed. Moreover, the main importing countries are those in which regulations governing the health of imported crops [939] are most severe, and in which competition is most keen. When to these factors one must add two more, viz. the very high water demands of the crop and its comparatively low bulk value and high freight costs; then a very considerable doubt arises concerning the rationality of this sector of agriculture. On unirrigated land, a potato crop leaves the soil deprived of most of its water. On irrigated land it competes with crops of higher bulk value some of which are already cultivated on a smaller scale, such as strawberries, globe and Jerusalem artichokes, asparagus, sub-tropical fruits, etc. Potatoes require no less labour, no less fertiliser, and are much less amenable to handling by fast land or air transport. The impression left by the crop survey is that Malta has almost somnambulistically developed this specialisation and that the ecological and economic implications have never been seriously examined.

Figs. 79 and 80 show the extent of land under potatoes during March and April. In Malta, the main concentrations are to be found in three different types of region. First, cultivation is widespread on the Globigerina lands. Most intense around the 'casals' and villages of the east and south, it seems more to be associated with human rather than with physical factors (see Chapter VIII). A marked thinning out is noticeable on the higher central slopes rising westward to the Coralline uplands. Secondly, there exist the very important concentrations in the major irrigated basins of the west and north such as Wied tal-Pwales, the Mellieha isthmus and the Marfa oases. Lastly, potato cultivation is of considerable extent on the smaller and more dispersed irrigated plots of the Upper Coralline plateaux, e.g. Hofret ir-Riss. In the predominantly dry-farmed upland basins of Bingemma and Miżieb, the acreage is relatively small.

Early potato cultivation in Gozo is of much less importance, the island being one further step removed from the export market. Concentration is significantly greatest within easy reach of the settlements. In addition, potato growing is of importance in the tree-fruit and vegetable zones of the north-east. The crop is almost entirely absent from the more remote areas.

TREE CROPS

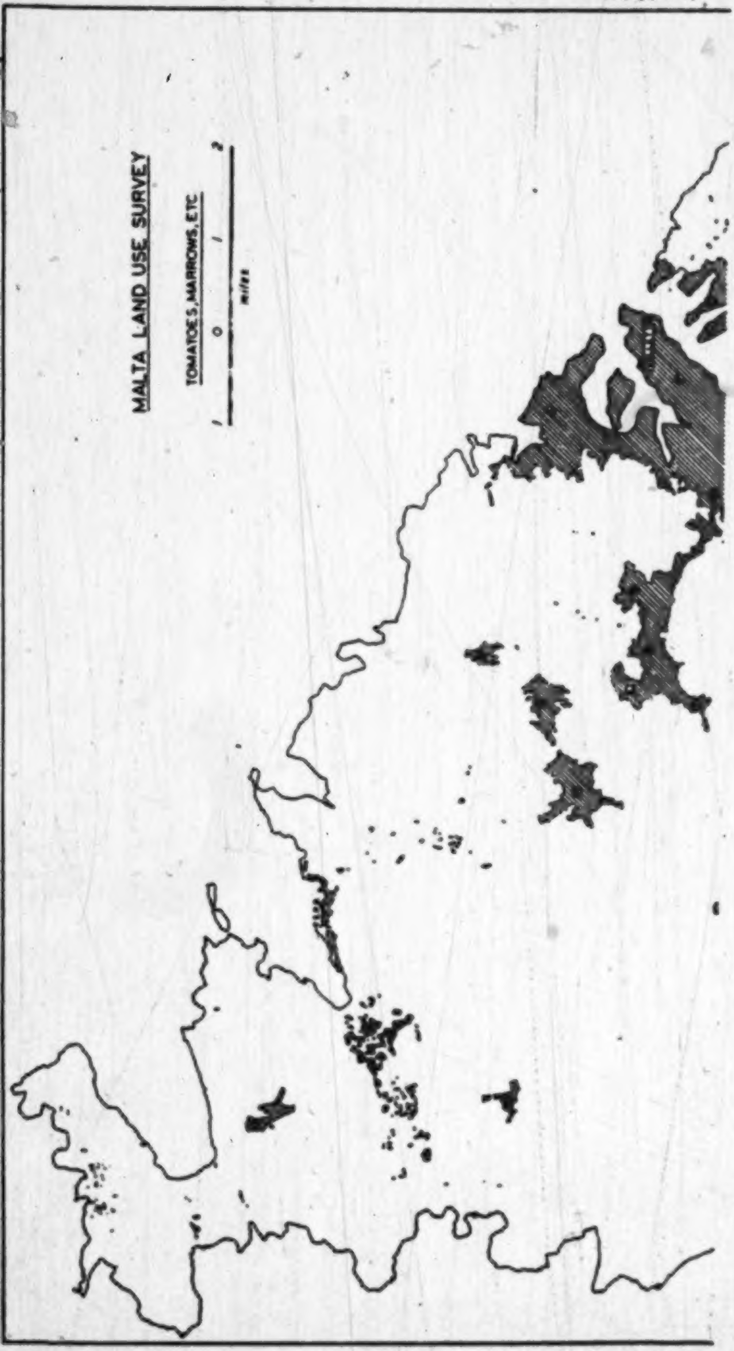
In the Maltese Islands are to be found a great variety of tree-crops of all 311* kinds on irrigated and non-irrigated land. This variety, exemplified in one field 245 in the Wied Qleigha which carries apples, peaches, loquats, pomegranates, citrus fruit and vines, is in some ways detrimental to cultivation standards. Only a very few regions are completely devoid of tree-crops. Thermal conditions make possible the growth of a crop range extending from the temperate pome fruits to sub-tropical and tropical types such as the date and banana (albeit with poor results in the latter cases). Low water availability in the soil is the main restrictive factor. Irrigation generally doubles the yields of fruit crops and is essential for citrus cultivation. It is, however, certain that yields could be considerably increased, even on unirrigated land, by improvement of stock quality, by reducing disease and pest infestation and by less intercultivation. One of the main problems in Malta and Gozo is that, as elsewhere in the world, farmers with a strong subsistence-farming streak in their makeup are apt to prefer the security of inter-cultivated poor crops to hazardous but rewarding specialisation.

One non-human factor which makes the arboriculturist's task more difficult [132] is the wind-humidity complex. As noted in Chapter II, the effects of high wind velocity on transpiration and in producing physiological drought are considerable. High humidity, even in summer, produces special problems of plant pathology. Successful competition with more sophisticated producers possessing greater natural advantages seems unlikely.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
244


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
TOMATOES, MARROWS, ETC
1
0
1
2
miles

[p.216-A]

Fig. 85 Malta: Land Use Survey:
Tomatoes, Marrows, etc.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
244

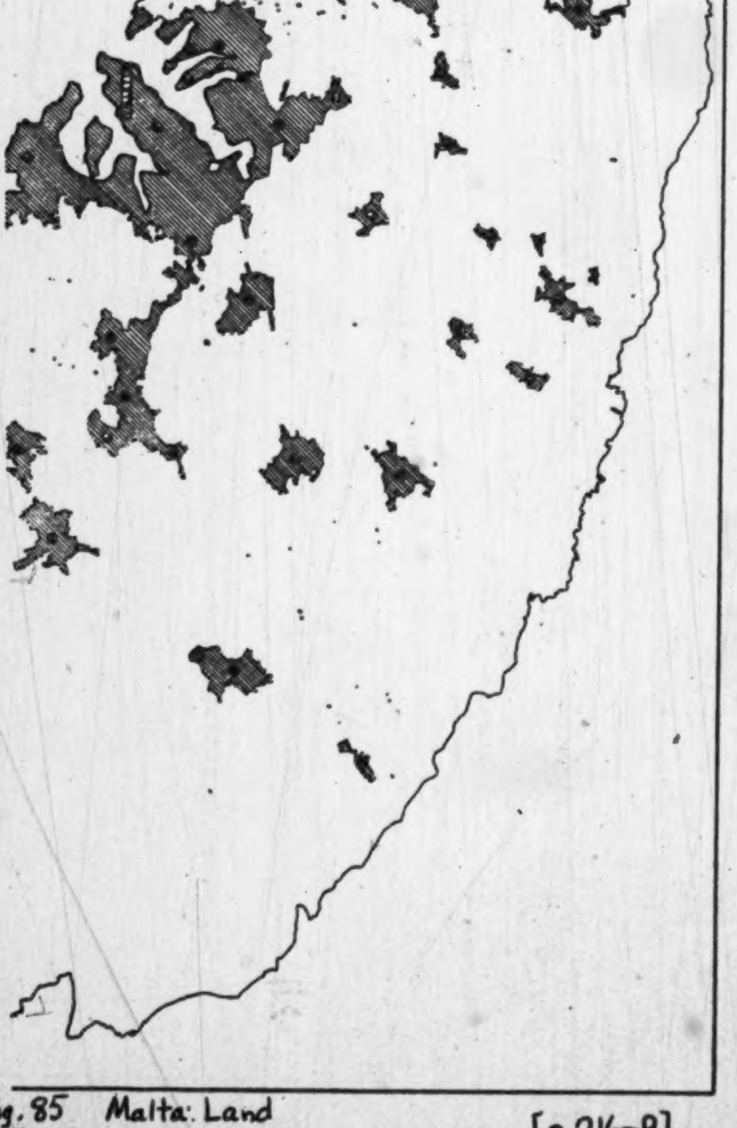


Fig. 85 Malta: Land
Use Survey: Tomatoes, Marrows, etc. [p. 216-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
102
244

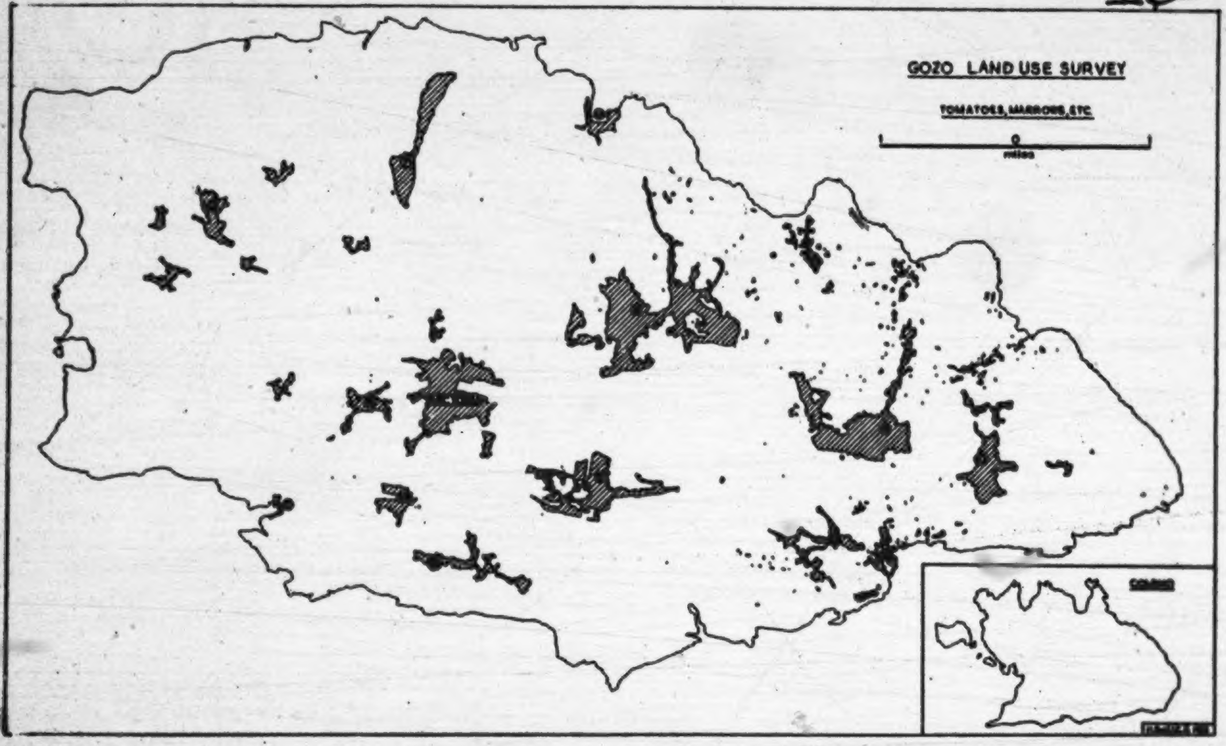

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
TOMATOES, MARROWS, ETC.
0
miles

Fig. 88 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Tomatoes, Marrows, etc.

VEGETABLES - TOMATOES AND CUCURBITS

The survey period, as noted previously, was largely confined to the spring season and thus coincided only with the earliest field plantings of these crops. Later in the agricultural year, the areas involved become more extensive (see below: Tilled Land), but the distributions here noted are indicative of special conditions for cultivation.

The distribution of these crops in Malta is shown in Fig. 85. Since 1957, the growing of tomatoes under glass has received official encouragement, but production by this means is as yet on a small scale and was previously all but non-existent. The planting of field tomatoes appears to take place later than climatic conditions make necessary and the harvest misses the main early markets in Europe. Export potentialities require further consideration as does the possibility of extending the areas of production. A small acreage of early tomatoes is planted out on non-irrigated land but the main districts correspond closely to the irrigation areas of the north and west. Particularly important is the Wied tal-Pwales, wherein there exist minor regional concentrations (see Chapter VIII). Other, smaller areas are found in the Marfa oases, Mellieħa isthmus and the Wied il-Għasel.

During the survey period, the cucurbits are represented mainly by the dry-land gourds *qargħ bagħli*, which are particularly associated with the Żabbar district. This regional specialisation is at the moment not fully explicable but is of some traditional standing. Water-melons, pumpkins, etc., are found in the irrigated zones, for example in the Wied tal-Pwales and near Mellieħa. In other regions, such as that around Mġarr, the seed is usually sown about the end of April. Such plots have been omitted from the distribution maps because of the critical time variation from year to year. Here, as elsewhere, much depends on the rotation and the availability of ground water.

In Gozo (Fig. 86) during March and April, tomatoes predominate over the other crops of this group. Wieds Ramla, San Blas and Daħlet Qorrot are the main areas of cultivation, mainly as the result of shelter and the availability of water from the mesa spring-lines. In Wied Ramla (see Chapter VIII) there is a special association with the warm, sandy soils of the eastern slopes. These crops are also of some importance around Mġarr and Għajnsielem, associated partly with special soil conditions but also with nearness to the harbour from which they are shipped to Malta.

ONIONS (*Basal*) (Figs. 87 and 88)

These are grown on the better dry soils as well as in irrigated areas. They have been distinguished from other vegetables because of their traditional and potential status as an export crop. Most holdings have an onion patch to supply domestic needs, but there is also a growing, though fluctuating export trade. The dark-skinned 'red' Spanish types are most suitable for Maltese climatic conditions and are also most in demand in overseas markets. This to some extent conflicts with the domestic demand for the flat, white types which do not store well.

In Malta, onions of all varieties are cultivated in small plots throughout the Globigerina lands. A belt of rather higher density stretches through the Central Region, extending from Attard to Qrendi. The Siġġiewi district is of especial importance, since here alone are grown considerable numbers of the red-skinned variety most suitable for export. A rather strange concentration is also found on the steep, terraced slopes of l-Imtaħleb.

In Gozo, onion cultivation is general around the villages. The only significant regional concentration is that on the southern flank of the Xewkija Ridge.

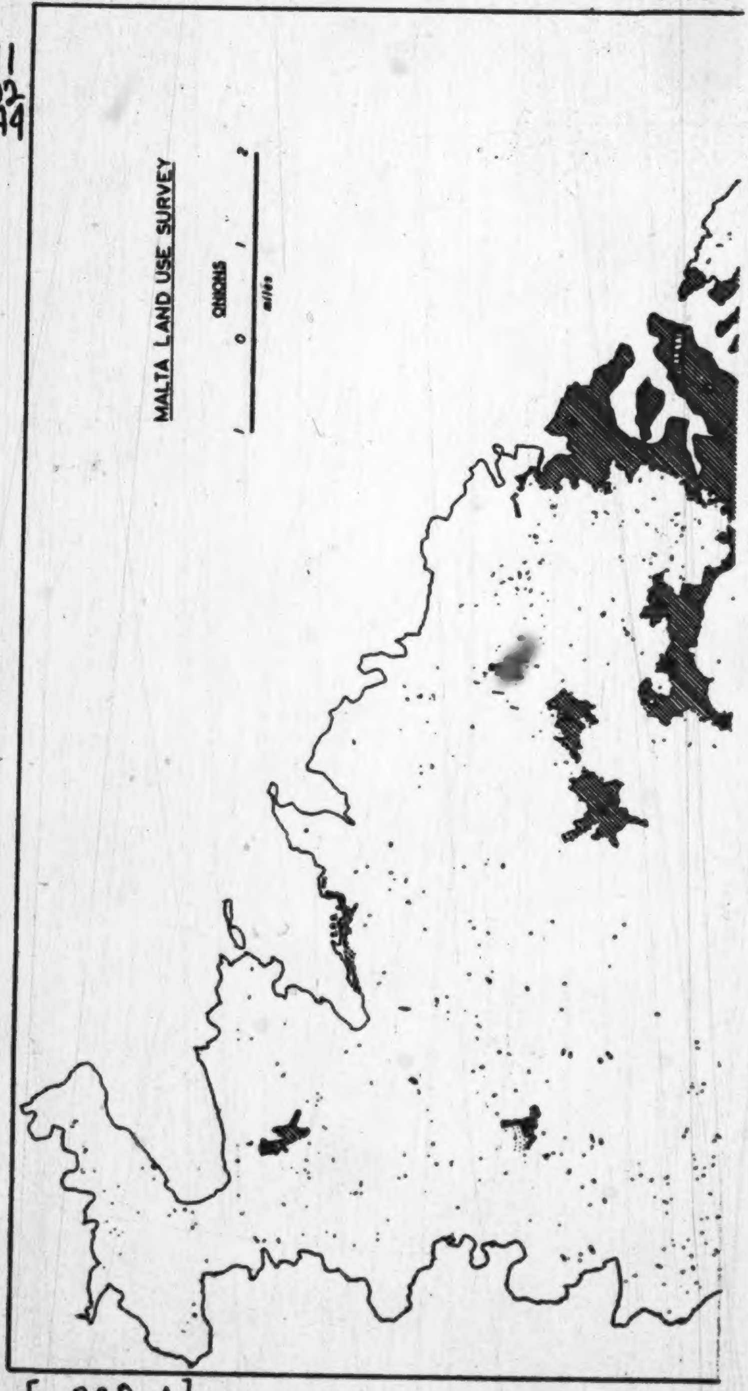
OTHER VEGETABLES

During March and April, field vegetables are confined to crops such as artichokes, particularly grown for Lenten consumption, early or seeding brassicas, garden crops including phaseolus beans and lettuce together with minor root vegetables such as carrot and kohl rabi.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
244


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
ONIONS
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 220-A]

Fig. 87 Malta: Land Use Survey: Onions.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
244

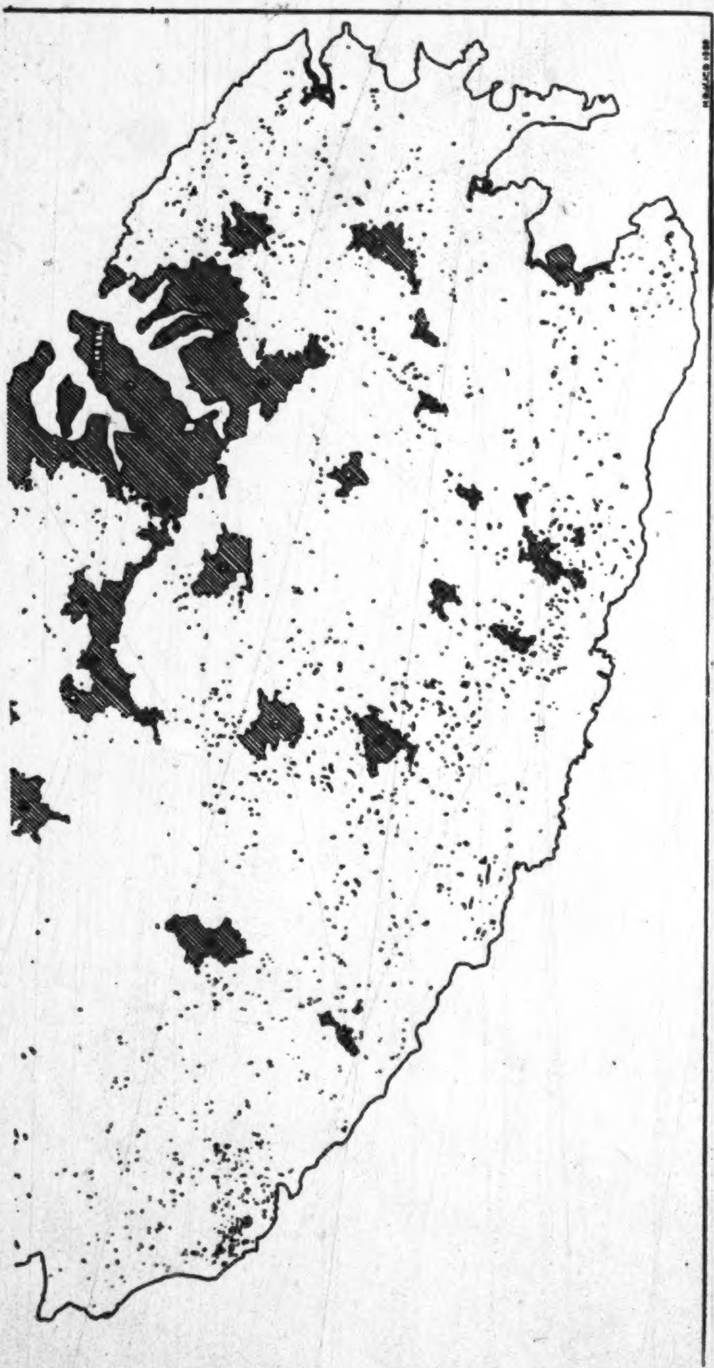


Fig. 87 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Onions.

[p. 220-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
109-244

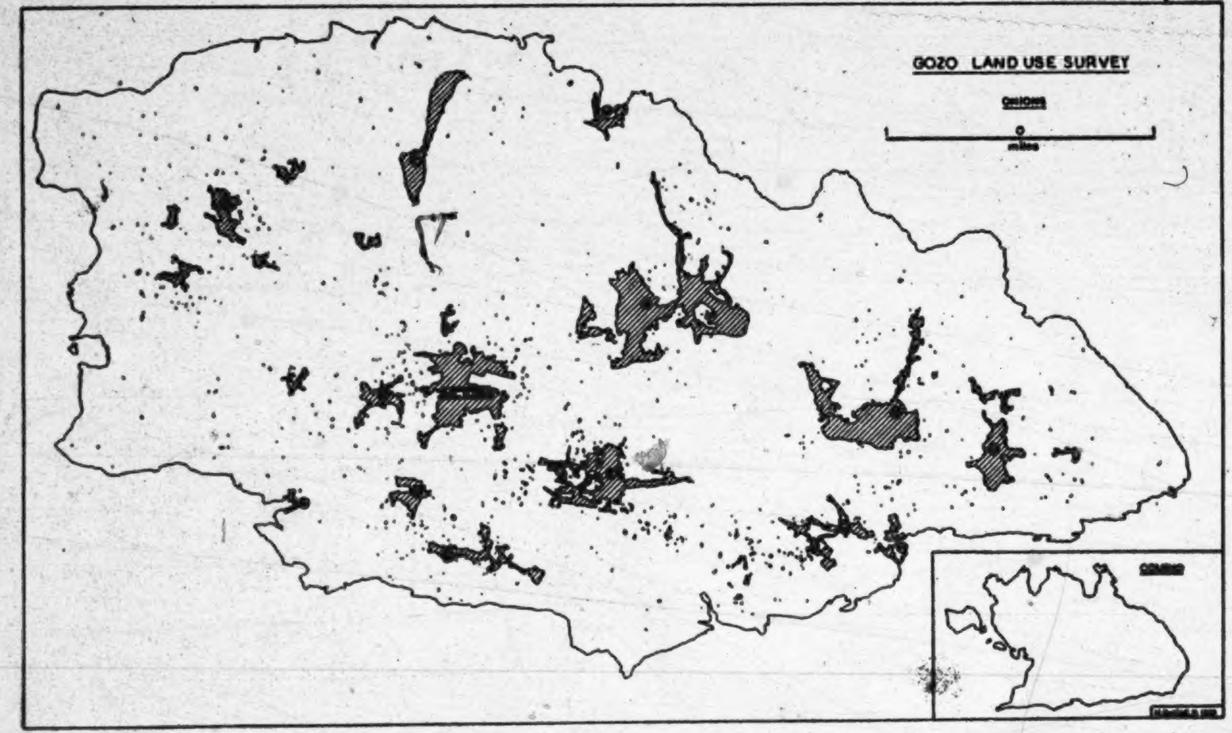
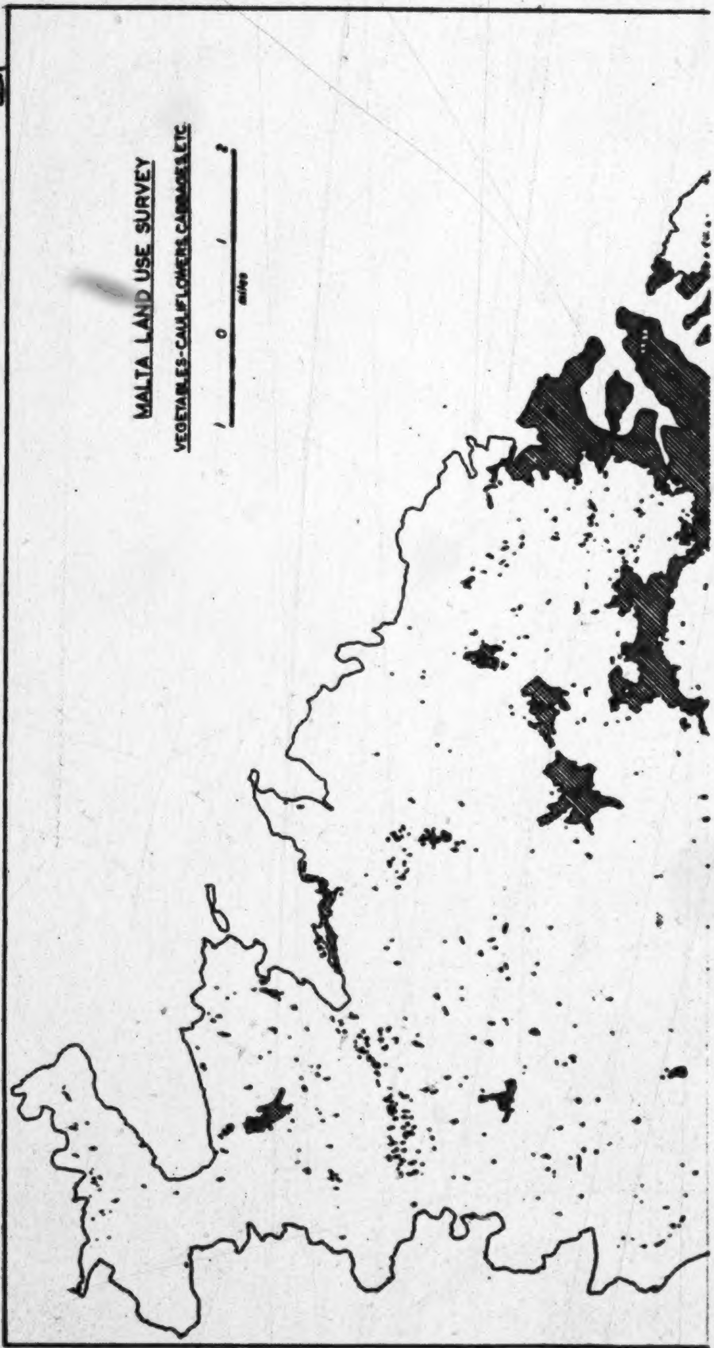

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
ONIONS
0
miles

Fig. 88 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Onions.

*311
102
●244


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
VEGETABLES-CAULIFLOWERS,CABBAGES,ETC.
1
0
1
2
miles

[p. 222-A]

Fig. 89 Malta: Land Use Survey; vegetables.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
107
249 ●

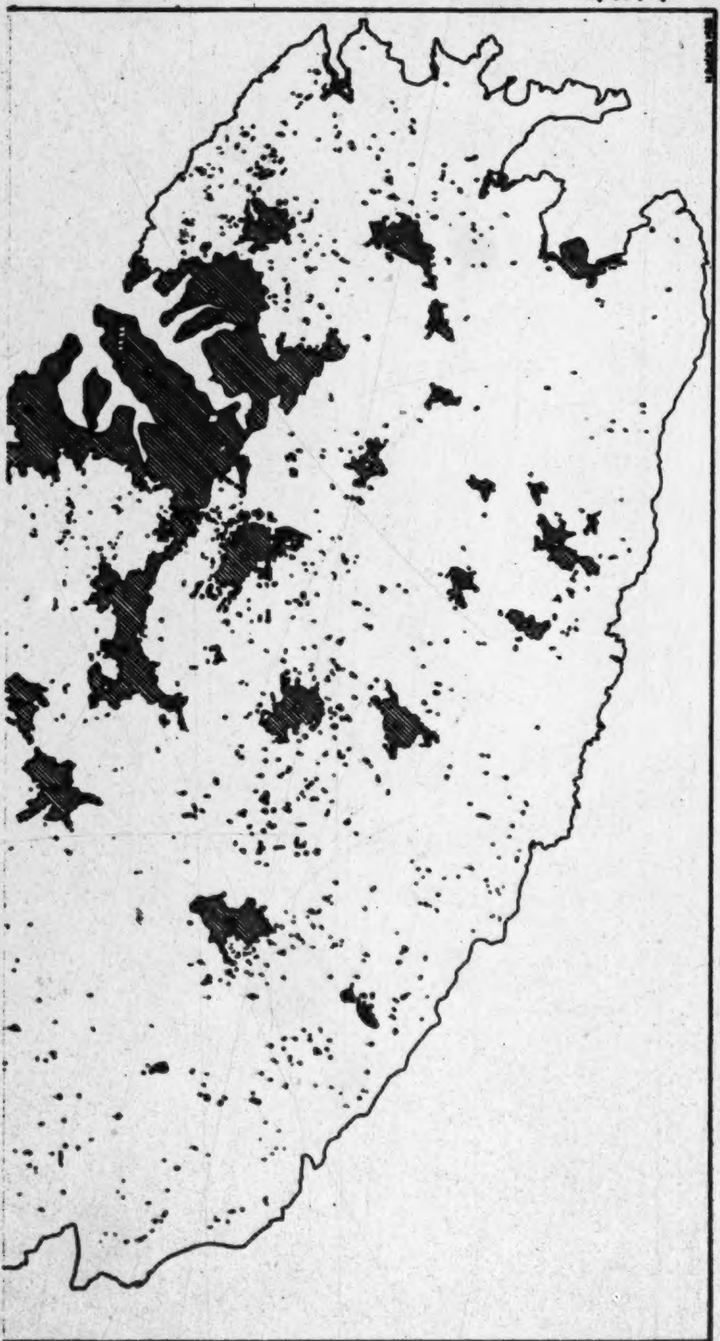


Fig. 89 Malta.
:: Land Use Survey: Vegetables.

[p.222-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
102
244

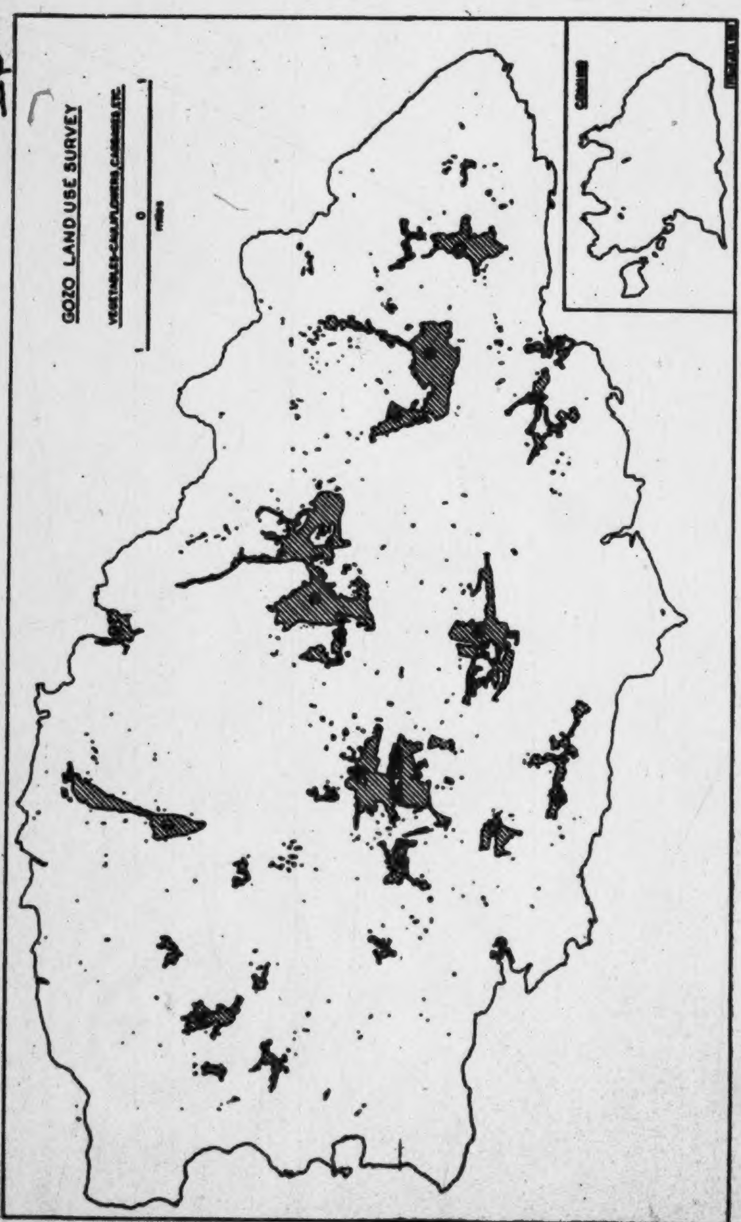

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
VEGETABLES-CAULIFLOWERS, CABBAGES, ETC.
1 0 1
miles

Fig. 90 Gozo: Land Use Survey; Vegetables.

Various types of location may be observed. In Malta (Fig. 89) there are, 311* first, the main irrigated vegetable zones of the Wied tal-Pwales and Wied tal- 244 Mistra where cultivation is carried out on a commercial scale. A great variety of crops are raised, but artichokes assume a particular importance. Secondly, in the Bur Marrad district of the Wied il-Ghasel, there is considerable specialisation, particularly in artichokes and to a lesser extent in brassicas. Thirdly, there is the group of districts around certain settlements with urban-fringe market gardening. Near Żabbar, mixed vegetables, predominantly brassicas, are cultivated in many small plots, often worked by part-time farmers. Around Qormi, the possibility of irrigation has encouraged a very considerable spread of market gardening which further extends into Hamrun. Near Rabat, a similar, smaller zone is also of some importance for mainly non-brassica crops.

Lastly, a belt of vegetable cultivation occurs on the high central platforms between Żebbuġ-Siġġiewi and the Rabat-Dingli upland. In Fig. 89 the importance of this zone is not fully illustrated. Fig. 91, showing tilled land during the survey period, gives an indication of the considerable area which is, later in each year, devoted to summer vegetables. This is pre-eminently the area of brassica cultivation with cauliflowers of particular importance. The reasons for this are not completely known, but seem in the main to reflect climatic and soil advantages (see Chapter VIII).

In Gozo (Fig. 90) the range of vegetables grown is rather smaller than in Malta, and cultivation is much more closely confined to the settlement fringes. There are some exceptional districts, such as the Wied tal-Mistra in the north-east and the small depression lying north-west of Victoria, where good supplies of water have encouraged commercial specialisation.

TILLED LAND (Figs. 91 and 92)

Land shown in this category is that which either had a prepared tilth in 311* readiness for further sowing and planting or had been cleared for summer 241 fallow. This would follow early harvesting of sulla, *ferrana* and potatoes or a long fallow period. Areas where tree-crop cultivation is widespread are obviously of little significance in this category. Classification problems arise in that cleared land unsuitable for summer cultivation (for reasons of environment or rotation) is, under Maltese conditions, difficult to distinguish from land about to be planted. However, it can be stated with some degree of certainty that in Malta the main belt of tilled land west of Siġġiewi and Żebbuġ represents land prepared for summer vegetable cultivation (see Chapter VIII). In Gozo, much of the tilled land of the west is prepared in readiness for summer cotton growing.

COTTON (*Qoton*)

The cultivation of cotton, which was widespread in the Maltese Islands from 311* Classical times to the mid-nineteenth century, has been slowly reviving in Gozo 248 during the last few years.

This is only the annual crop of which the seasonal range fell completely outside the survey period. Cultivation is most considerable around Żebbuġ, Gharb and San Lawrenz. Environmental conditions are far from optimum and the future of cotton growing depends largely on the efforts and interest of one textile firm and of the Government.

FALLOW LAND - Malta (Fig. 93)

Land classified under this head is that which neither carried a crop nor had 311* a prepared tilth but which did not appear to have been unworked for more than 241 about a year. Some such land is inevitably in the first stage of abandonment, but other areas have remained uncultivated for a variety of other reasons connected with quarrying, tenurial disputes, demands of the Defence Departments and various types of farming hazard.

*241
*311
● [244]
[102]

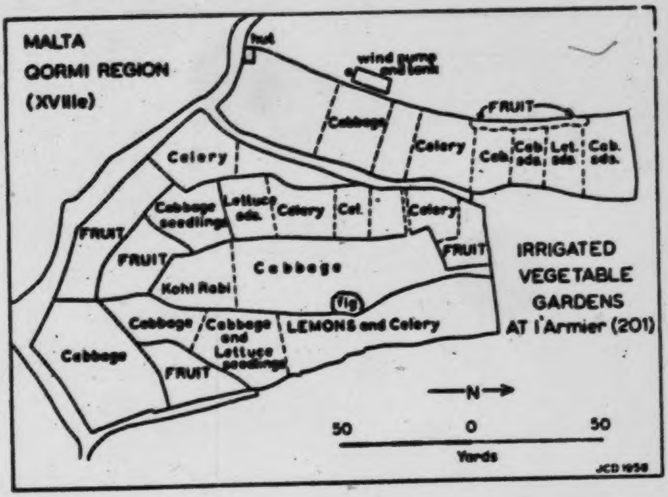

MALTA
QORMI REGION
(XVIIIe)
hut
wind pump and tank
FRUIT
Cabbage
Celery
Cab.
Cab. sds.
Let. sds.
Cab. sds.
Celery
Cabbage seedlings
Lettuce sds.
Celery
Cel.
Celery
FRUIT
FRUIT
FRUIT
Cabbage
Kohl Robi
fig
Cabbage
Cabbage and Lettuce seedlings
LEMONS and Celery
Cabbage
FRUIT
IRRIGATED VEGETABLE GARDENS AT l'Armier (201)
N
50
0
50
Yards
JCD 1958

Fig. 120 Malta: Qormi Region.

XIX (a). THE MQABBA - KIRKOP PLAIN

Relatively intensive cultivation of a wide range of crops shows few noteworthy special features. An inverse relationship between the amount of land cultivated for cereals and sulla on the one hand and under potatoes on the other is apparent. The unusually massive concentration of sulla and cereal fields between Mqabba and Żurrieq may be compared with an equally marked concentration on potatoes around Kirkop and Safi. There is otherwise an even scatter of the normal dry-farmed subsidiary crops.

As over the Globigerina lands as a whole, dispersed settlement, while by no means absent, is clearly secondary to concentration in casals and villages.

XIX (b). THE SOUTHERN HILLS

The ridge lands are distinguished from the plain by differences in altitude, exposure, gradient, field size and accessibility. Fig. 121 illustrates some of the contrasts. Nevertheless, the crop range is not markedly different from that of the plains, save that the hardier legumes assume a greater importance. Onion growing would seem to be associated with local markets and with the difficulty of raising other vegetables.

[361] The casals of Qrendi and Żurrieq lie at the junction of these hills with the interior plain. Their functions include marketing and contracting for both subregions as well as minor fishing activity. Żurrieq, the larger of the two, has become the chief centre of the region, incorporating within its extended built-up area the satellite villages of Nigret and Bubaqra.

C.XX. THE EASTERN REGION

As described in Chapter I B, this region is one of hill ridges and depressions. Although relief is subdued, there is little level land and relatively minor structural and topographic features have a disproportionately large influence on agriculture. The Main Water Table, which rises but slightly above sea level is nearly everywhere far beneath the surface. The need for dry farming restricts the crop range considerably, even vines being virtually absent. Variations in crop assemblage, which result from a variety of physical and human factors, produce six distinct sub-regions.

[Text continues on p. 269]

*159 423

Pawlu's holding at Easter, 1958.

Origin of TENURE	1958 T S K[49]	No longer held in 1959 T S K[49]
From own family on his marriage in 1955...	5-5-5	4-3-8
From own family since his marriage	7-4-5	
From his bride's family at marriage	5-0	16-0-0
From non-relatives, all since 1955	28-0-3	
	42-3-3	20-3-8

OWNERSHIP of land held by Pawlu.	1958	Plots	No longer held in 1959	Plots
Cathedral (Mdina)	3-4-0	5	16-0-0	var
Church Gharb	1-0-3	4		
Benefizzju (agent)	4-3-0	2		
Civil Government	3-5-0	2		
Other farmers	4-0-0	2		
Sinjur (a Xewkija Baron)	5-0	1	1-1-8	2
Owned by Pawlu himself	4-0	1	1-0-0	1
Sub-leased (4-yearly) from 8 farmers who hold on long lease, or own	24-0-0	var.adj.		
Military authorities	0		0	
No information			3-0	1
Notary (agent)			1-5-0	2
	42-3-3		20-3-8	

The details of the 20-3-8 relinquished by Pawlu are significant:

Sub-let because of small-size and inaccessibility	7-0
Sold because of inaccessibility	1-0-0
Abandoned because of distance & inaccessibility	1-0-0
Option declined because of distance	16-0-0
Exchanged	1-2-8
	20-3-8

*159 423 427 On sixteen of his twenty-six plots of land Pawlu pays annually about £24 in rent. On average this works out at about 4 shillings per tomna for rough grazing land and £1.1.6d per tomna of cultivable dry (baghli) land. Pawlu himself receives an income of 5s 6½d per annum as rent for two small patches (totalling slightly more than a tomna) which he sub-lets. He himself owns the pivotal centre of his farm, and four sighan on which stands his house, cattle byre, goat shed, store rooms and small enclosures.

*159 234 311 [246] Pawlu's present policy is to expand fodder production in order to eliminate much of the very high cost of purchased fodder. Along with this he is keen to acquire the use of rough grazing land for his goats where he can do so cheaply. The large block of this type of rough grazing which Pawlu acquired piece-meal during 1957 and 1958 makes the supervision of the animals easier than would be the case if he had to graze them in small fields adjacent to land carrying standing crops. [244] Pawlu is cutting down the quantity of vegetables produced for sale each year since he is without any guaranteed market or price. He aims nevertheless to produce as much of the family requirements as possible.

[R86]

*159 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed
443 annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. **Land.**

[423] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
[427] Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. **Utilisation.**

- [241] Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- [311] Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. **Livestock.**

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. **Capital.**

[423] (i) No freehold land.
[454] (ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
[412] (iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.
[409]

- [426] Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- [427] Borrows spray from brother.

E. **Labour.** (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

- [464] No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. **Production and Sales.**

[234] (i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
[43]
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- [231] Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] (ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
[434]
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- [244] Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

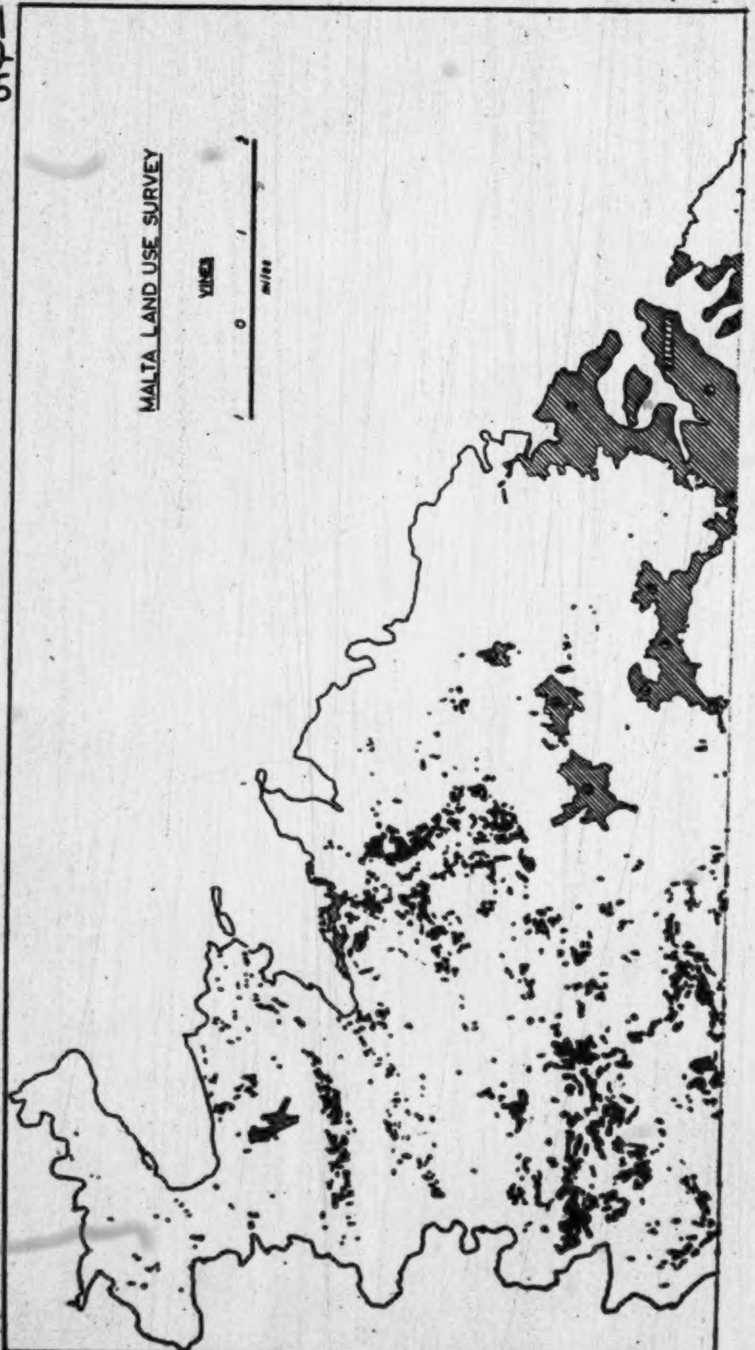
G. **Husbandry.**

[245] (i)
- Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shorts cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
295


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
VINES
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 210-A]

Fig. 81 Malta: Land Use
Survey: Vines

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
●245

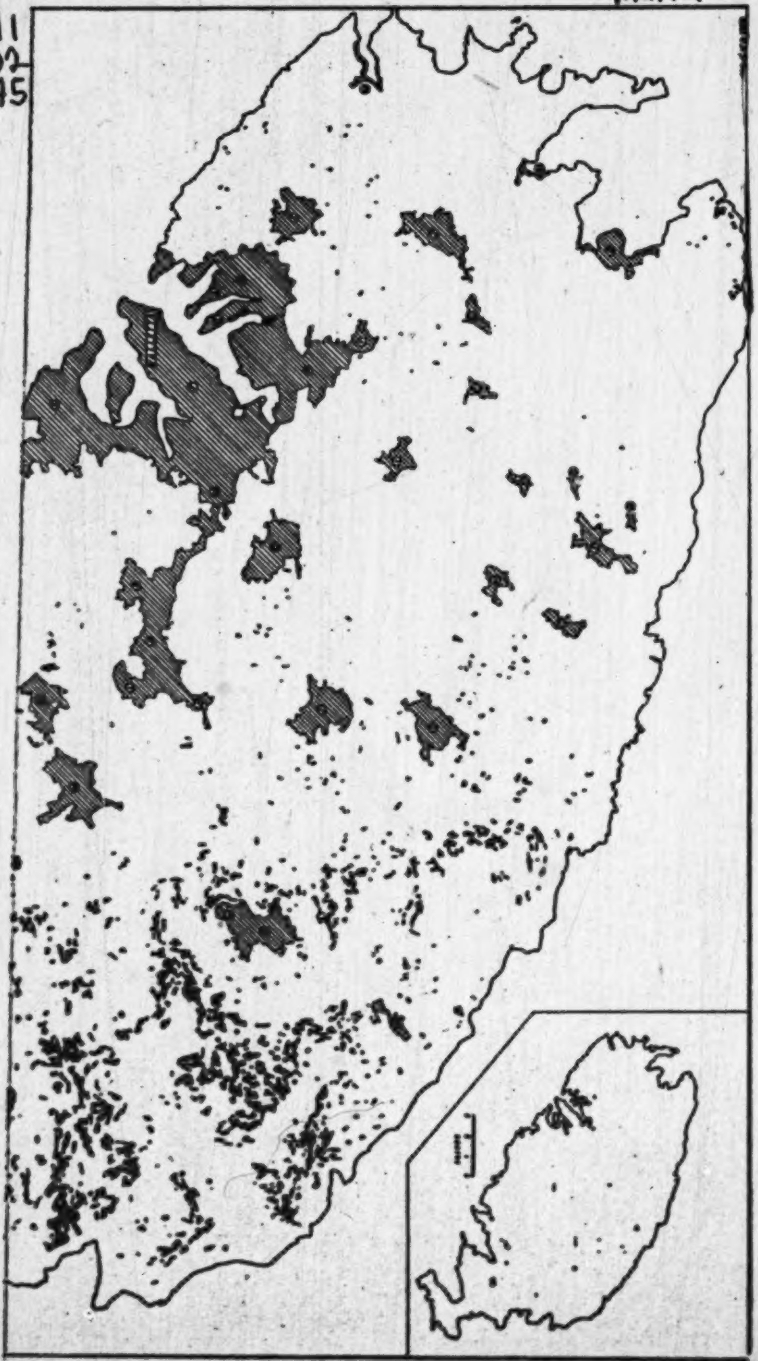


Fig. 81

[p. 210-B]

Malta: Land Use Survey: Vines

a reduction in the acreage planted during the following winter. In spring 1958, 311* the export market could have absorbed more than the total production. Official encouragement to re-expand cultivation followed. Moreover, the main importing 244 countries are those in which regulations governing the health of imported crops are most severe, and in which competition is most keen. When to these factors [439] one must add two more, viz. the very high water demands of the crop and its comparatively low bulk value and high freight costs; then a very considerable doubt arises concerning the rationality of this sector of agriculture. On unirrigated land, a potato crop leaves the soil deprived of most of its water. On irrigated land it competes with crops of higher bulk value some of which are already cultivated on a smaller scale, such as strawberries, globe and Jerusalem artichokes, asparagus, sub-tropical fruits, etc. Potatoes require no less labour, no less fertiliser, and are much less amenable to handling by fast land or air transport. The impression left by the crop survey is that Malta has almost somnambulistically developed this specialisation and that the ecological and economic implications have never been seriously examined.

Figs. 79 and 80 show the extent of land under potatoes during March and April. In Malta, the main concentrations are to be found in three different types of region. First, cultivation is widespread on the Globigerina lands. Most intense around the 'casals' and villages of the east and south, it seems more to be associated with human rather than with physical factors (see Chapter VIII). A marked thinning out is noticeable on the higher central slopes rising westward to the Coralline uplands. Secondly, there exist the very important concentrations in the major irrigated basins of the west and north such as Wied tal-Pwales, the Mellieha isthmus and the Marfa oases. Lastly, potato cultivation is of considerable extent on the smaller and more dispersed irrigated plots of the Upper Coralline plateaux, e.g. Hofret ir-Rizz. In the predominantly dry-farmed upland basins of Bingemma and Miżieb, the acreage is relatively small.

Early potato cultivation in Gozo is of much less importance, the island being one further step removed from the export market. Concentration is significantly greatest within easy reach of the settlements. In addition, potato growing is of importance in the tree-fruit and vegetable zones of the north-east. The crop is almost entirely absent from the more remote areas.

TREE CROPS

In the Maltese Islands are to be found a great variety of tree-crops of all 311* kinds on irrigated and non-irrigated land. This variety, exemplified in one field 245 in the Wied Qlejgħa which carries apples, peaches, loquats, pomegranates, citrus fruit and vines, is in some ways detrimental to cultivation standards. Only a very few regions are completely devoid of tree-crops. Thermal conditions make possible the growth of a crop range extending from the temperate pome fruits to sub-tropical and tropical types such as the date and banana (albeit with poor results in the latter cases). Low water availability in the soil is the main restrictive factor. Irrigation generally doubles the yields of fruit crops and is essential for citrus cultivation. It is, however, certain that yields could be considerably increased, even on unirrigated land, by improvement of stock quality, by reducing disease and pest infestation and by less intercultivation. One of the main problems in Malta and Gozo is that, as elsewhere in the world, farmers with a strong subsistence-farming streak in their makeup are apt to prefer the security of inter-cultivated poor crops to hazardous but rewarding specialisation.

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
102
245

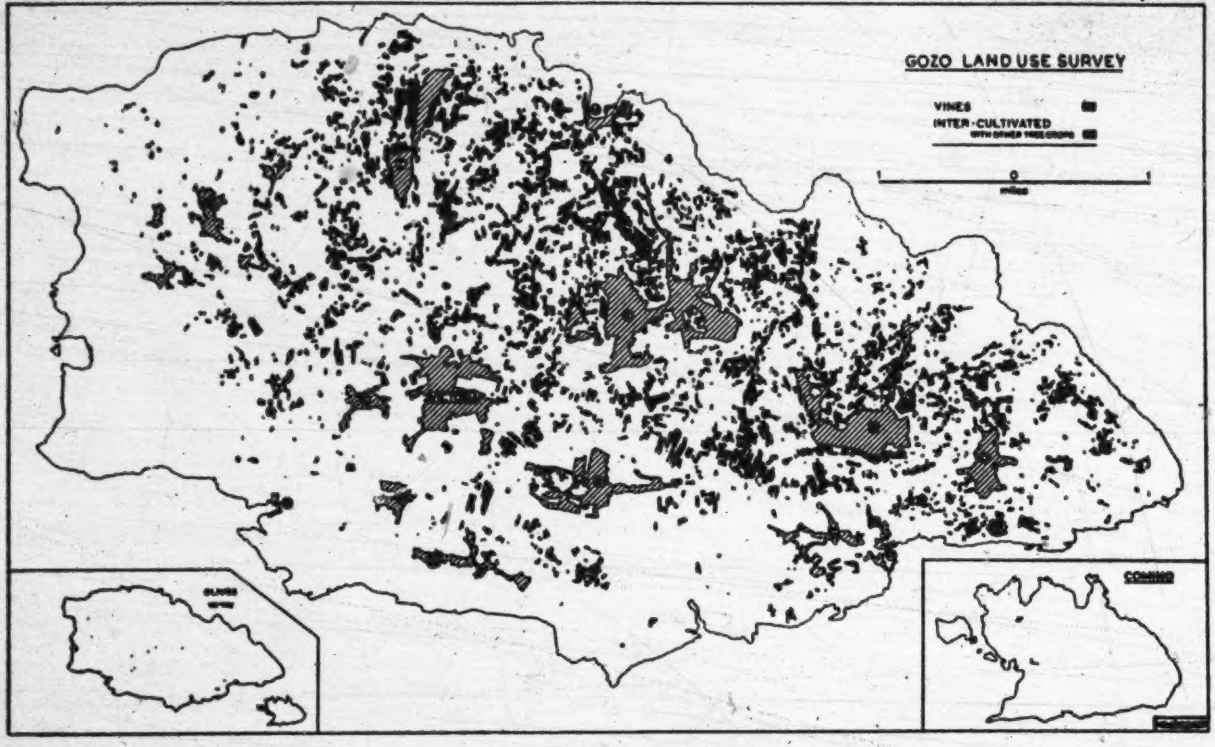

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
VINES ▨
INTER-CULTIVATED WITH OTHER TREE CROPS ▨
1
0
1
miles
COMINO

Fig. 82 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Vines.

VINES

Viticulture, has suffered many vicissitudes. Needing irrigation water only 311*
for the raising of scions, the vine would seem a crop plant eminently suitable 245
for all but the thinnest dry calcareous soils. No satisfactory reason has yet been
adduced for the present absence of 'expertise' in this field, and this unsatisfactory 101
state of affairs is a Mediterranean anachronism. Since Giacinto (3) wondered
at Maltese oenological ignorance various improvements have taken place. Stock
is American in origin imported during the Phylloxera epidemic in Europe. Scions
are officially imported for grafting and are mainly from France. On the whole,
too little specialisation is found, grapes being grown both for table use, fetching [435]
prices about £4 per qantar (175 lb. ave.), and for pressing - controlled prices
46s. to 48s. per qantar depending on quality. Commercial success in any other
than the home market will depend entirely on whether the viticulturalist can
now be weaned from quantity production to quality production. Products at
present, while being remarkably good value, are not suitable for profitable
export.

In Malta (Fig. 81), there is a striking concentration of viticulture in the western half of the island. In contrast to general Mediterranean practice, vines occupy much of the best watered heavy land of the Blue Clay slopes. Secondly, vines are of importance in the larger depressions with plentiful sub-soil water, for example the Wied il-Ghasel, the Bingemma Basin, and Mizieb. Those cultivated areas of the north and west which rely on pump irrigation - such as the Wied tal-Pwales, and the Rabat-Dingli upland pockets - have little land under vines. Over the remainder of the island, vines are mainly represented by wall- and house-side plants which, mainly for domestic use, are becoming of less importance as field cultivation is extended. This extension of acreage is taking place almost entirely in the traditional regions of the west.

As shown in Fig. 82, viticulture in Gozo, occurs in a great variety of conditions and there is a much greater extent of inter-cultivation with other tree-crops. Such inter-cultivation is particularly found in the *gnien* zones - the spring line belts lying below the Upper Coralline mesa cappings - as around Żebbuġ and Nadur. North of Nadur, it extends into the Wieds San Blas and Daħlet Qorrot. Except in the remote western lands and on the thin soils of the southern hills, vines are found everywhere; in the central mixed-soil lowlands, in the open northern valleys and on the eastern coastal slopes. This reflects the traditional self-sufficiency of the Gozitan farm economy, a point also brought out by the large number of vineries (see p. 213). The vine is also inter-cultivated with sulla which, undersown annually, is a useful soil-renewing and cleaning crop.

OLIVES

Inset maps, Figs. 81 and 82. Malta must be the only Mediterranean land
where the tradition of olive cultivation has almost disappeared. Vegetable oil [439]
consumption is high and has to be supplied by imports costing on average nearly
£300,000 per annum. Olive cultivation has been more extensive in the past as
attested by place names such as Żebbuġ - the place of the olive, and Żejtun -
olive tree, and is still perfectly feasible over a great deal of under-utilised
land. Various reasons for this strange situation have been mooted, ranging from
the completely invalid belief that the olive cannot stand sea-air to the inadequate
charge that tenurial security is insufficiently great. The matter is still a
mystery.

Recent extensions of planting, particularly at Salinas and on Bajda Ridge, [654]
have been Government-sponsored, and the latter case is basically a scheme
for the afforestation of a water catchment and percolation area.

CITRUS FRUITS

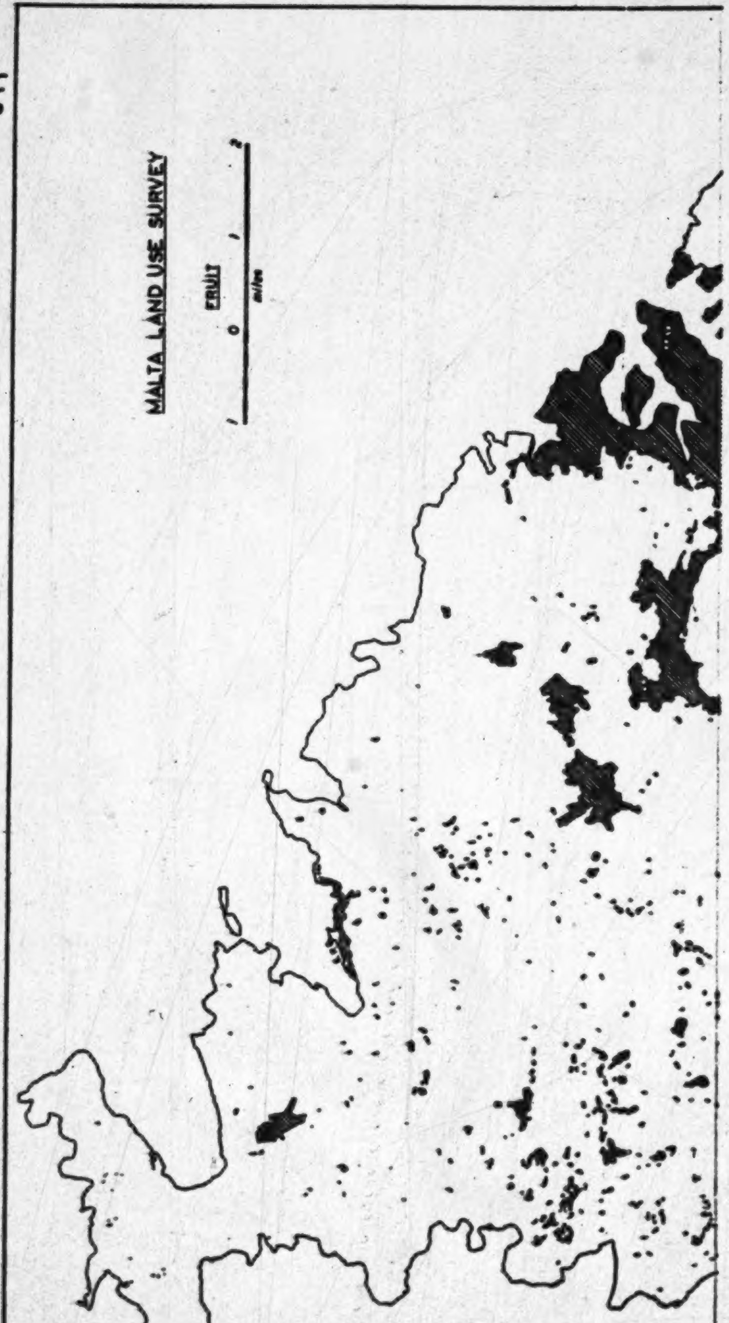
Because of their large water requirements, oranges and lemons are of orchard importance only along the Upper Coralline - Blue Clay springlines in Western Malta and Eastern Gozo. Scattered trees and very small plots are found in many districts, often in the most unlikely places. The Seville orange, once of considerable importance, is now rarely found and most of the old trees have

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 217]

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*311
102
245


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
FRUIT
1
0
1
2
miles

[p. 214-A]

Fig. 83 Malta: Land Use Survey: Fruit.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
245

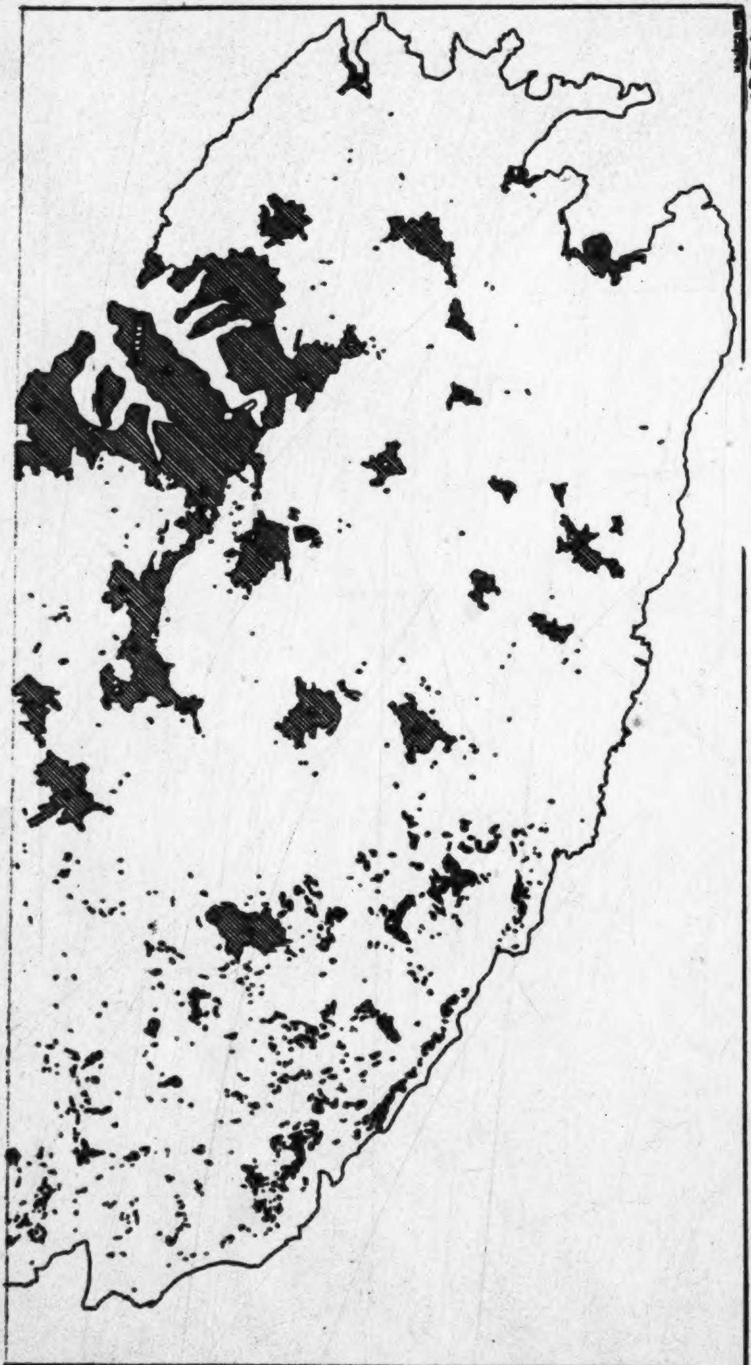


Fig. 83

[p. 214-B]

Malta: Land Use Survey: Fruit.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
• GOZO

*311
102
245

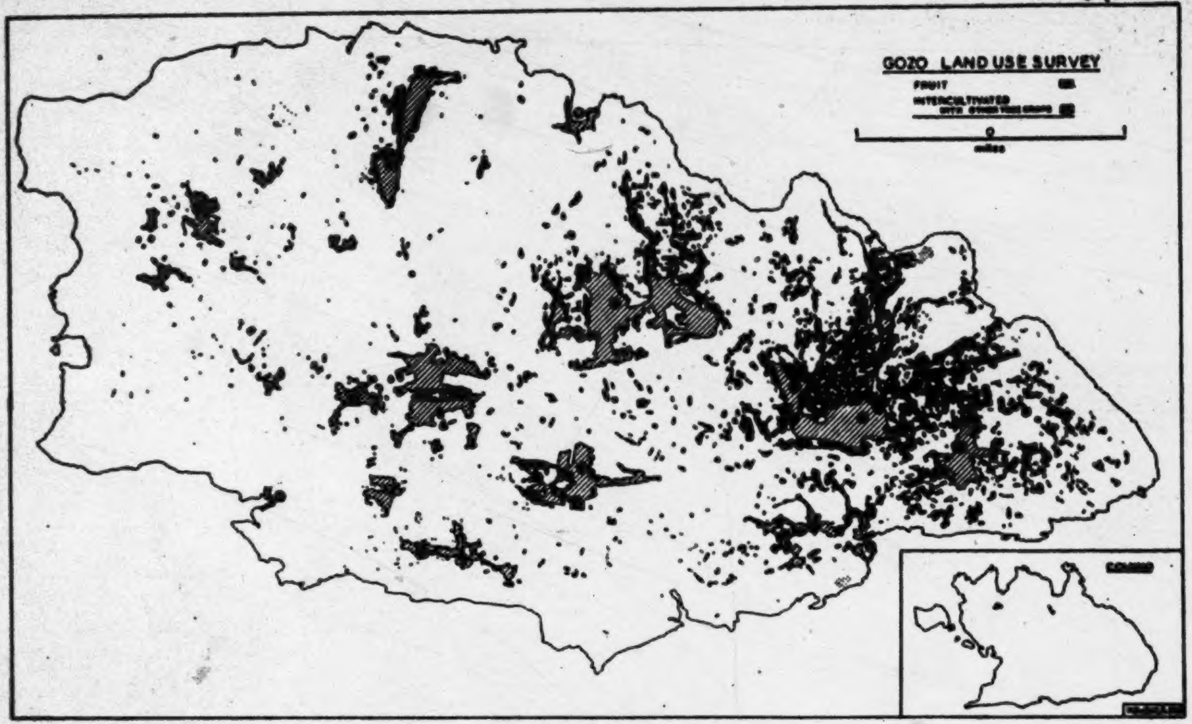

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
FRUIT
INTERCULTIVATED WITH OTHER TREE CROPS
0
miles

Fig. 84 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Fruit.

been used as stock on to which lemons and sweet oranges have been grafted. 311*
Too great a variety of strains is cultivated, and too little grading is done to make 245
citrus growing under difficult conditions a commercial proposition except in the home market.

STONE FRUITS

Peaches and plums are found as wall-side crops in many areas. Irrigation improves their yields less than those of most other fruits and, since the water needs of the peach in particular are fairly low and soils generally suitable, commercial production for export to Northern Europe is at least a possibility.

POME FRUITS

Apples and pears are the only important members of this group. Apart from the *Bombinelli*, the small hard pears, efficient production implies the use of irrigation water by which means yields can be doubled or trebled. Production, at present sufficient for the home market, could be expanded. However, since handling and transport of these fruit is comparatively expensive and the complex organisation of European supplies is already established, better marketing facilities as well as an improvement in the quality of the crop would be required before any export sale could be established.

OTHER FRUITS AND NUTS

These range from pomegranates, grown, for example, as windbreaks in the Wied tal-Pwales, to loquats, which need irrigation, and almonds which, grafted on to wild peaches are prolific and hardy. Strawberries are grown on a limited scale in some of the irrigated areas. All these varieties, though distinguished in the original survey, are undifferentiated in Figs. 83 and 84. The distribution is clearly related to spring lines, Blue Clay outcrops and irrigated districts, and regional variations in the character of fruit farming are brought out in Chapter VIII.

FIG, CAROB AND PRICKLY PEAR

Fig trees are found for the most part along field edges and around farmhouses. Only in very rare instances do they occur in plantations though they are at times found growing in groves of mixed fruit trees. Of some importance domestically and in rural areas, the fig occupies an ecological position midway between that of the other fruits on the one hand and the prickly pear on the other. Physiologically well suited to dry soil conditions, fig trees require more shelter than the prickly pear and are less profitable on good land than are the stone fruits.

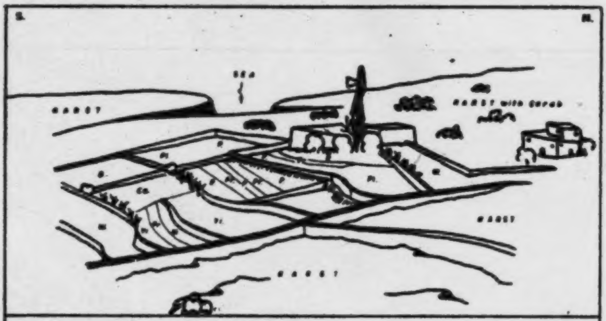
Prickly pear, of which only the spineless variety is grown, gives a poor fruit 311*
and serves as a reserve fodder. The young leaves are fed, chopped, to livestock
when other fodder is in short supply. The nutrition provided is small but the 245
water content is high. This plant is characteristically found on village and casal
outskirts and in Malta it disappears in open country. In Gozo, where the leaves 246
are often used to shelter growing vegetable plants, it is more widespread. Essentially a mark of primitive parochialism, the prickly pear sometimes occupies an unnecessarily large area of land and might occasionally be replaced by such plants as the sunflower, whose fodder value is much higher. A topic urgently in need of investigation is that of water extraction from neighbouring fields by wall crops of this kind.

The carob is the tree of rough land and is rarely found on level areas, whatever their altitude. It has often been planted as much to disintegrate rock and boulders as to supply fodder. The beans have a very high fat and protein content but require feeding in moderation. Most of the large clumps in which this tree typically occurs are neglected and untended and are less productive than they could be. The import of carob beans into Malta would be appreciably reduced by more attention to the native trees. Under present conditions the carob is the only wasteland tree crop and its presence elsewhere denotes under-utilisation of better land.

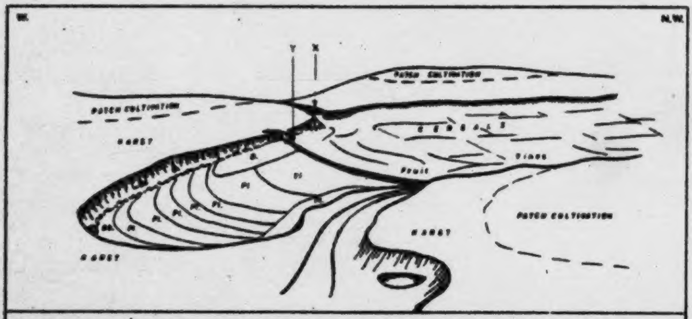
1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*241
*311
102
133


S.
N.
SEA
KARST
KARST with Carob
Pl.
P
Ca.
W
KARST
KARST

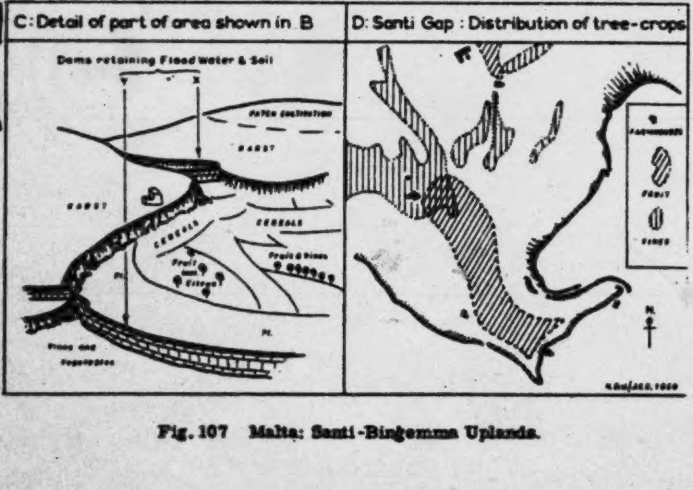
A: SANTI-BINĠEMMA UPLANDS (XIII) Cultivated pocket at 650ft, M.R. 412713


W.
N.W.
Y
X
PATCH CULTIVATION
PATCH CULTIVATION
KARST
CEREALS
Vines
Fruit
Pl.
PATCH CULTIVATION
KARST
KARST

B: SANTI-BINĠEMMA UPLANDS (XIII) Santi Gap (57) PT. of OBS. M.R. 423729, 720ft, VIEW W.

● [245] →

[312] ←


C: Detail of part of area shown in B

D: Santi Gap : Distribution of tree-crops

Dams retaining Flood Water & Soil
Y
X
PATCH CULTIVATION
KARST
KARST
CEREALS
CEREALS
Fruit and Citrus
Fruit & Vines
Pl.
Pl.
Vines and Vegetables
FARMHOUSES
FRUIT
VINES
N

Fig. 107 Malta: Santi-Binġemma Uplands.

The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically continuous 361
inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely [161]
overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding
lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the
village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here 114
that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as 245 ●
the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, 366
wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes.

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the 369
whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of 489
the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not 582
seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by the whole population.

III.—HISTORY.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further 133
evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, 172
has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of undercutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age. By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus. These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water.

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Neandertal 114
man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small 172
fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual characters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with

*159 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed
443 annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. **Land.**

[423] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
[427] Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. **Utilisation.**

[241]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.

[311]
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. **Livestock.**

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. **Capital.**

[423] (i) No freehold land.
[454] (ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
[412] (iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical
[409] equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.

[426]
- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.

[427]
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. **Labour.** (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. **Production and Sales.**

[234] (i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
[43]
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.

[231]
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

●[245] (ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100.
[434] Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
[244]
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. **Husbandry.**

[245] (i)
- Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 [245]
- Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233] [461] (ii)
- Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii)
- Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.

[231]
- Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

*159 829 241

H. **General.**

- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159 [434] [234]
- Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.

[511] [454] [241]
- Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.

[511]
- Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

*159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
829 Gozitan milk producer, Case I.
The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle with-
234 in the current artificial economy of milk production. There
[433] is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy
were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
472 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġamri's father.

*159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
472 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines........................	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders....................	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let.......	13 tmien
Potatoes...............................	6 tmien
Other vegetables.......................	5 tmien

*159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
[435] at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

*159 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to
245 quality as those for the table.

*159 In this move towards more vine production and the recent
245 interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to empha-
231 size the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for
451 Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most
farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how
business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his
brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally
Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his
brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position
is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made
between money spent on the home and family, and money spent
on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held
[593] "in one purse". Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual
practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount
for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a
high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

*159 At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400,
434 less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop
454 was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with
[511] several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30
for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual
field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage
wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957.
During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income
was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field
produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income
from pig sales and other items.

*159 434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit........	£340	-	£340
Grapes........	49	£ 8	57
Sulla.........	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons........	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals.......	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to
434 year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices
435 to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of
fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years
and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit
alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a
quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that
year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between
one year and the next is today more important to the arable
farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s
guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more
[454] accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

*159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
472 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
407 contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
477 contractors like him going out of business in the near future.

CASE XIX

This farmer (working 35 tmien, including seven irrigable)
was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He
[178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of
the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule
or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years.
Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for
the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture
despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

x
159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
407 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
241 farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they them-
selves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor
434 he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his
income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-
plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the
[178] area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by
local vintners).

CASE XXI

x
159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
256 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
241 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
407 the sole such operator in his village and business grew. How-
ever in the present decade competition from new tractor oper-
472 ators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing
season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted
[477] him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted
all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are
still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

x
159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
441 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
472 these were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
407 local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was intro-
duced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
[191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo,
especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary
cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led
to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing
tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island
some three or four are normally unused in the season. This
agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of
Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957
plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce
new implements. His father was the first to import motor
pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultiva-
tor in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of har-
vesting machines, but the very limited success of the first
ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any
more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for
mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a
lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be
collected for animal fodder.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Maltese	*English*	821
"Red sky at evening, harness your mules. Red sky at morning, herd your beasts."	"Red sky at night, Shepherd's delight. Red sky in the morning Shepherd's warning."	171 539
"Ill weather comes, ahead or astern, when the cat sneezes."	"The cat washes herself before stormy weather."	[825]

Often it appears that sheer nonsense is mixed with sound 245
common sense. Typical of the mixed "sense" and "nonsense" 824
is the following: 242

"The first autumnal produce of the wild fig is called by the Maltese *Barru*. A second crop which takes place in winter is supposed to be due to the outcome of the first produce. This is called *Carru*, and is supposed to bring forth the third outcrop which appears in spring time and is recognized as the *dukkar* or real fertilizer of the fig. This fruit is cut and hung up in pairs on the bough of the fig tree.

"The male fruit (*dukkar*) is usually full of a colony [825] of minute winged insects by the produce of which, the Maltese husbandman identifies the real fertilizing fruit.

"The pomegranate is supposed to be fertilized by the flowers of the wild parsnip, and for this purpose bunches of these flowers are thrown over the pomegranate tree when in flower. *Dakra*, probably from *dakar* = to fertilize, is the name given to the wild parsnip by the Maltese husbandman.

"The male flowers of the wild carob-tree (*baghal*) are thrown over the branches of the female plant to favour impregnation.

Small pieces of coarse stone are still hung up in the 241
jujube-tree with a view to securing a good produce. 823

311*
243

from the *terre accidentée* which borders the Wied Incita and the Wied il-Kbir, the light Globigerina soils can only well support the grains and sulla. Even more striking is the fact that both in areas where irrigation water is comparatively abundant, as in the Wied l-Iemu (south-west of Rabat), and on the relatively deep and fertile soils of the Bingemma Lowlands and the Wied il-Ghasel, wheat and barley are treated as crops which make little demand on water, manure and tillage and therefore they are to be found in the same environments as intensive market gardening. On the bleaker or less well mantled hillsides, barley, patch sown between rock outcrops, or regarded as a catch crop gamble, usually becomes supreme. It is the more surprising therefore that average yields are relatively high (wheat and barley 22.4 bushels per acre for the decennial period 1949-58). It is doubtful however whether any but a small fraction of the hardland crop yields are represented in statistical returns, particularly since much of these crops are individually inter-cultivated with other crops such as peas and vetches. Even on good land, a considerable total acreage of cereals must avoid statistical measurements - the narrow boundary demarcation hedges of barley in the Wied tal-Pwales and the windbreak ridges of wheat near Ghajn Tuffieha.

Moreover, and here appears the crux of the matter, most of the poor grain crops and a large proportion of others are pulled green for fodder rather than threshed for grain. This is true not only of *Ferrana* - green barley - but also of much of the wheat. This use of the cereals as grain and 'hay' crops give them an extra value in that land under wheat and barley is not necessarily unusable for other crops for the full life cycle of the grains. The danger here lies in the deprivation of the soil of a great deal of organic matter that might be more profitably used for other crops given a revaluation of rotations, and in the encouragement of soil blowing, particularly in the windy Spring months, by the removal by pulling of the whole plant. Stubble-mulch farming so often associated with the 'Ard' is by no means general in Malta.

As shown in Fig. 71, in Malta, only in the high-value heavily irrigated Wied tal-Pwales are the cereals other than dominant. Other points of significance are best examined regionally (see Chapter VIII). In Gozo (Fig. 72), wheat and barley predominate on the most level Globigerina platforms lying below the sulla-clad clay slopes. They are unimportant only in the tree-crop zone north of Nadur.

The differentiation between cultivation of barley and wheat in general is essentially one between hardy and less hardy grain types.

FODDERS AND FORAGES

311*
246

Sulla, green barley, vetches, lucerne, chickpeas, the 'caterpillar plant' (*Widna*) and broad beans are the main forage crops. The leguminous character of all the forages, excepting barley, is worthy of note, and of the herbs gathered as 'wild' hay, by far the greatest number also are leguminous, including among their number many species of *Medicago*.

In the cultivation and use of these fodder crops, there are several features which are peculiar to the Maltese Islands and which deserve close attention. In the first place, all the forages, including sulla which is a true perennial, are grown strictly as annuals in close rotations of the types exemplified in the section on Husbandry (Chapter X C). They are all capable of rapid maturation into 'hay'. This situation is a natural consequence of the virtually unique historical *creation* of most of the tillable land in response to population pressure. All land which is cultivable has to bear at least three crops every two years, and in many cases five or six. Land which is not cultivable is karst; bare, calcareous rock interspersed with small soil pockets and crevices. There is very little land which can be put under perennial pastures or grasses that is not already carrying a close sequence of soil-building and soil-exhausting crops. The introduction of perennials into a system such that, even in the dry-farming regions, there is remarkable diversification would be as revolutionary as the displacement of leguminous forages by other types.

Secondly, fodders are almost invariably cut green or as hay crops and stall-fed to livestock. The peripatetic herds of goats and sheep which live on the rock

[Text Continues on p. 199]

wastelands and roadside verges are occasionally turned on to sulla fields and on to bastard fallow but that is all. This, too, is a necessary consequence of the pressure on land resources mentioned above: land is too precious to be used as pasture or even as true fallow *vaine pâture*. A consequent disadvantage is that, in the enforced absence of folding, dung is expensive and rarely applied. 311* 246 [239]

Thirdly, much more than in other Mediterranean areas of dry farming, the Maltese cultivators are already alive to the necessity of raising cash crops which are also rotation crops, and are capable of choosing multi-purpose plants for catch-drop use. Broad beans, together with bread and *pasta*, form the basis of the countryman's diet but are also used as horse and mule fodder, depending on crop quality and ruling prices. Chickpeas similarly have alternative uses as dry fodder, green vegetables or coffee substitutes. Fodder crop improvement or change is therefore not simply a matter of elevating standards of primitive farming, but implies an agricultural revolution. [262]

Given this situation, it would seem that there are only two reasonable methods of increasing fodder production in the near future, assuming that such an increase is desired. The first is that of devoting more scarce irrigated land to leguminous fodder production. From the economic point of view, any diversion of land now producing irrigated vegetables to forage growing would be of doubtful value. Malta, even now, is not self-supporting in vegetable crops such as tomatoes, and dietetically would probably benefit from an even greater consumption of green vegetables. Though a net exporter of potatoes and onions, Malta has to import unnecessarily large quantities of these same products. Moreover, as examined in connection with Vegetables and Fruit Crops (pp.213-219), the use of irrigated land for fodder growing would debar the development of Malta's only possible large-scale exports - fruits and early specialised vegetables. The loss of such an important export possibility would weigh heavily against the gain in the production of fodder.

The second possibility is that of the replacement of the poor wheats and barleys by new hybrid sorghums. Here too there are difficulties. Though sorghums generally have low transpiration rates, their large leaf areas make them more dependent on subsoil water than the short, local barleys. On the other hand, they survive early droughts better than most grains. A second possible danger lies in our ignorance concerning their vulnerability to indigenous insect pests. The third difficulty is social. The poor barley lands on which sorghums might be grown, as indicated earlier, are those in which terrain makes it most necessary for continuous and arduous manual labour to be applied. It is precisely these areas, vulnerable to soil erosion, which are most likely to be neglected or abandoned by a society with rising living standards and demands. Nevertheless, here may lie both an easy and efficient way of improving and increasing fodder production without mortgaging the future of the best lands.

SULLA - HEDYSARIUM CORONARIUM L.

Sulla, the most important fodder crop, is a perennial legume indigenous to the Mediterranean. The variety *Africa* or *Gaulliana*, erect, slightly branched and often growing 4 to 6 feet in height, is usually found, particularly in Gozo: the more prostrate and finer foliaged varieties such as *Diffusa* and *Prostrata* are more recently introduced and less common.

Matured seed is sown in late summer and it germinates after the first autumnal rains, flowering between March and May. It is then usually cut or pulled and either used as green fodder or, more commonly, sun-dried as hay. Little affected by pests and diseases, sulla develops luxuriant foliage and extensive root systems. It therefore provides good anti-erosion soil cover as well as possessing excellent powers of nitrogen fixation. Water requirements are lower than for any of the cultivated *Trifolium* or *Medicago* plants. In first flowering, its protein content is high, but some of the fodder quality is lost by the delaying of harvesting until the yield in volume is highest and also by poor storage. Much sulla is sold off the farm.

As Fig. 73 shows, the distribution of sulla in Malta corresponds in general with the distribution of cultivated land, but it is noticeably less important in

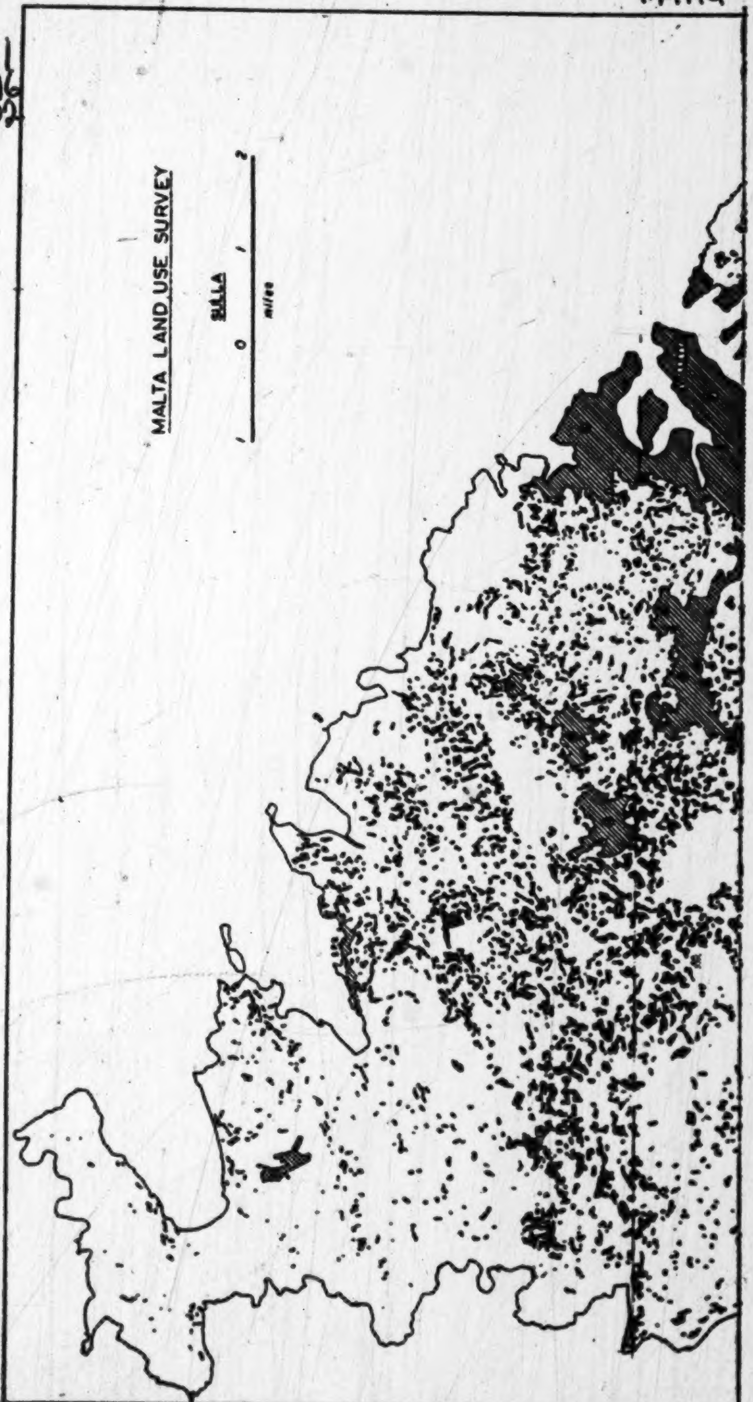
[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 203]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*311
● 246
102


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
SULLA
1
0
1
2
miles

[p. 200-A]

Fig. 73 Malta: Land Use Survey: Sulla.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
246

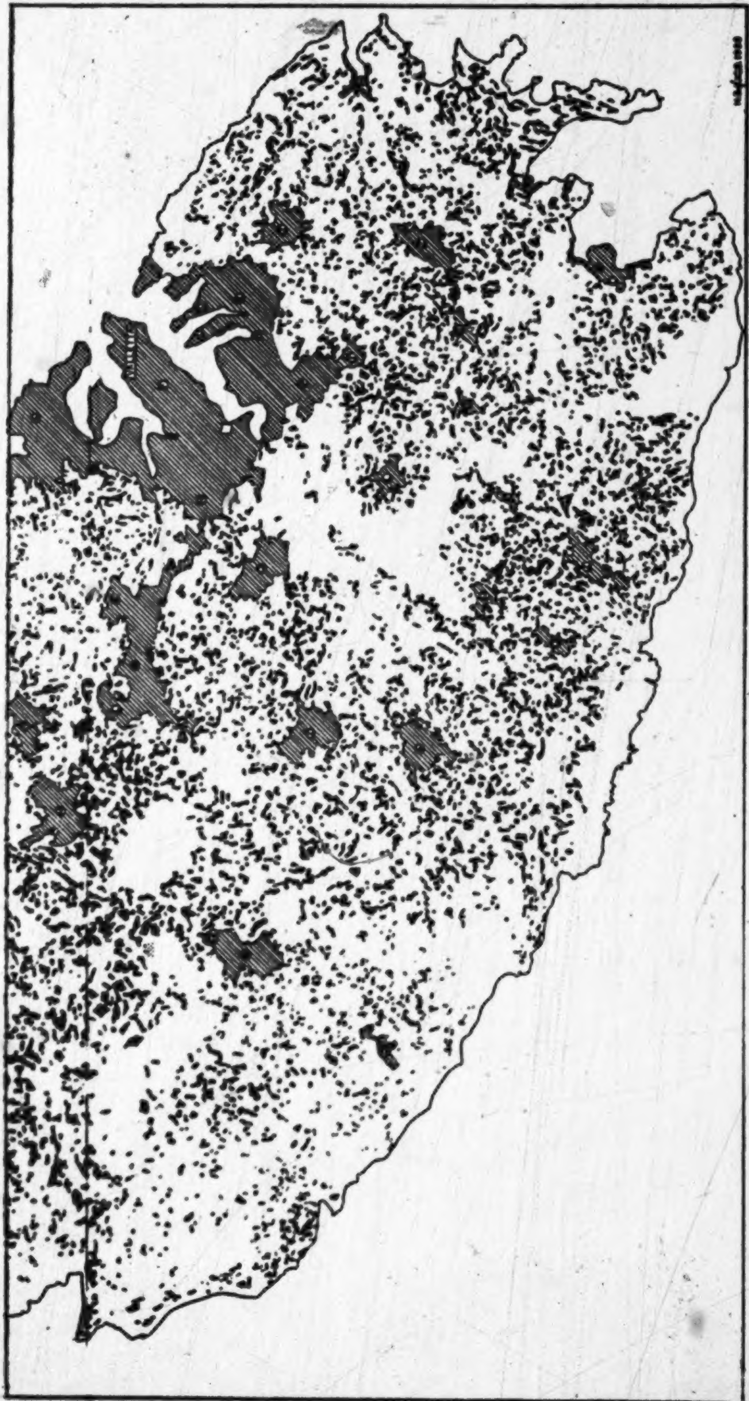


Fig. 73

[p. 200-B]

Malta: Land Use Survey: Sulla.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

* 311
102
● 246

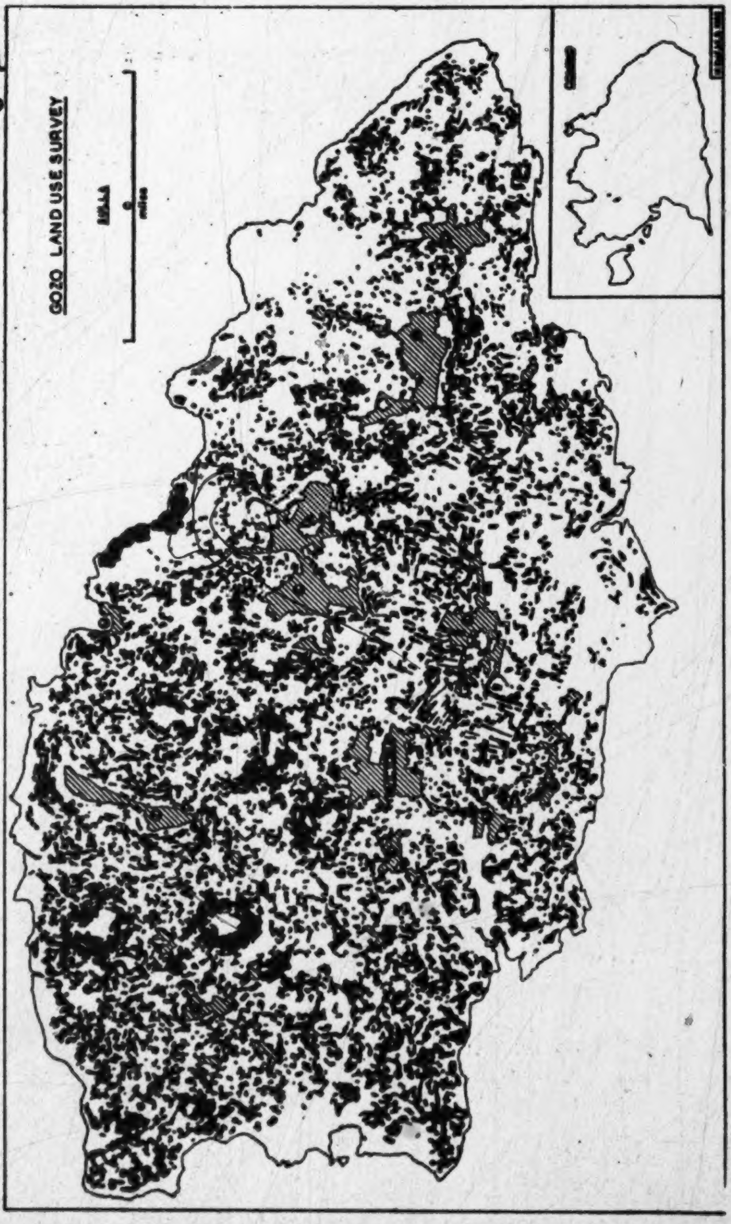

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
SULLA
0
miles

Fig. 74 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Sulla.

Malta

*311
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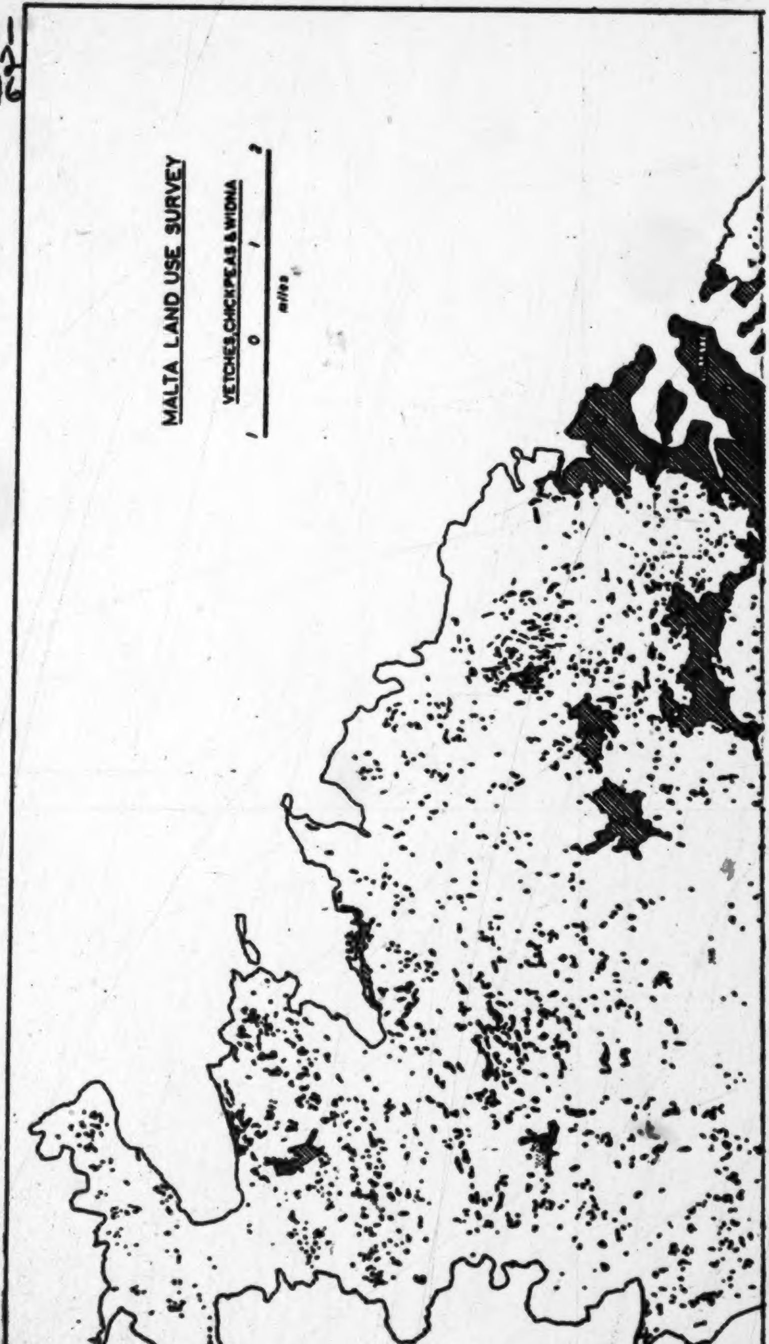
MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
VETCHES, CHICKPEAS & WIDNA
1
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1
2
miles

[p. 202-A]

Fig. 75. Malta: Land Use Survey: 1

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malt9

*311
102
● 246

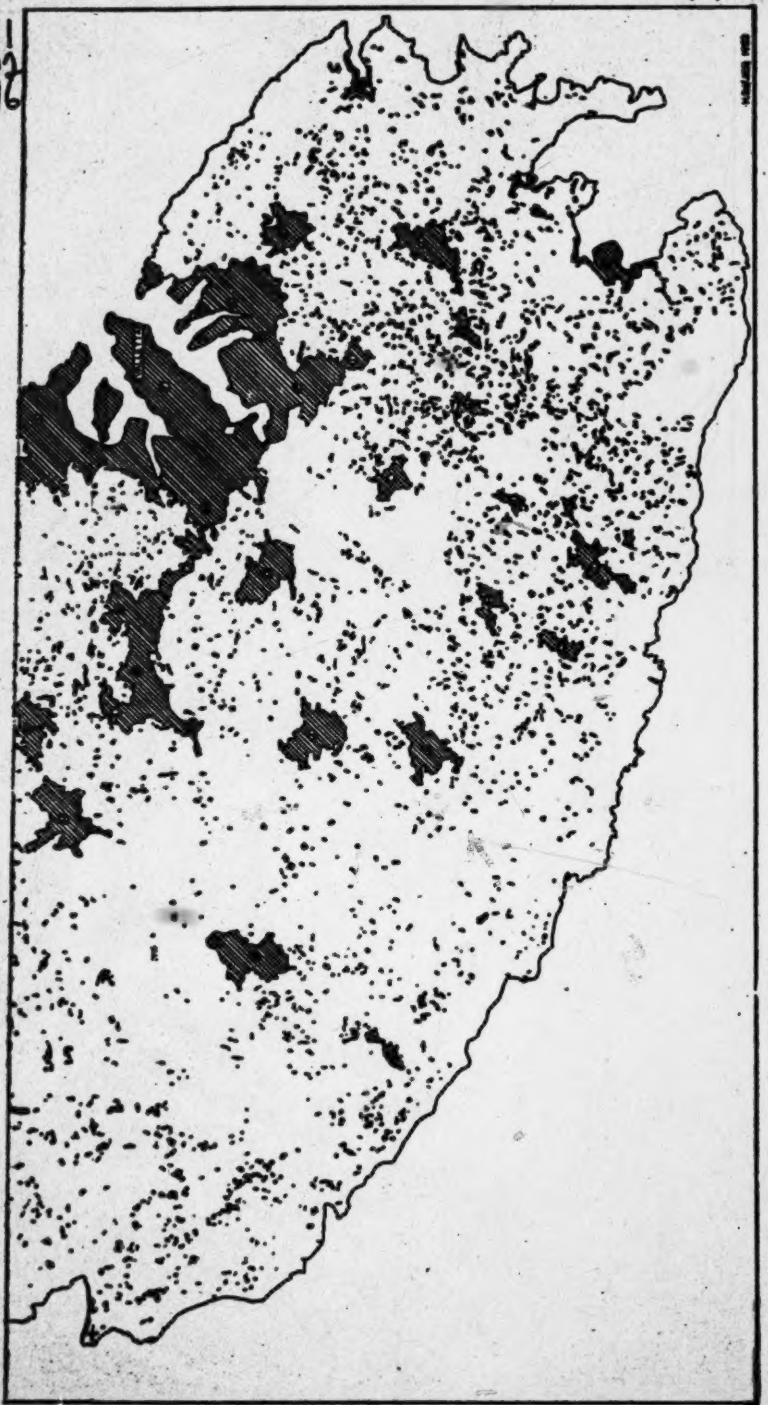


Fig. 75 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Vetches and Chickpeas.

[p. 202- B]

311*
246

well-watered areas. The clay slopes carry perceptibly less sulla than the Globigerina regions, while the crop is almost absent from the irrigated depressions of the Upper Coralline zone, i.e. Wied tal-Pwales and the Marfa oases. It is also fairly sparse on the higher and more exposed thin-soiled lands. Thus sulla may be said to be ubiquitous save that in extreme environmental conditions it is replaced either by poorer but hardier fodders or by higher value cash-crops.

Fig. 74, of sulla cultivation in Gozo shows some striking contrasts. The only area in which it is not of importance is the tree-crop zone lying north of Nadur. In the whole of the Western and Northern regions, sulla, annual or self-seeded perennial, almost completely mantles the sweeping clay slopes. Some difficulty has been experienced in attempting a differentiation between cultivated sulla and 'natural' rough pasture. Fig. 94,[a] was therefore devised (partly) to include this latter category of land which is almost absent in Malta.

The main reasons for the relatively great acreage of sulla of all kinds in Gozo are to be found, first, in the character of the land, secondly, and in part consequently, in the character of the economy. The Blue Clay slopes lying below the small surviving fragments of Upper Coralline Limestone are as a whole less well watered and make more intractable dry-farming land than those of Malta. Exceptional are the series of Wieds on the northern face of the Nadur upland which are given over to tree-crops and vegetables. Livestock plays a greater part in the farming economy of Gozo than in Malta and hence sulla ranks roughly equal in acreage with the cereals. Conversely, the absence of any large Gozitan urban market for vegetables, together with the relative difficulty of transporting such commodities regularly to Malta, reduces competition for the better land. (See also p. 287.)

VETCHES AND CHICKPEAS

Included in Figs. 75 and 76, are several other much less important fodders excluding lucerne. The minor forages and fodders are generally found in small fields and patches throughout the cultivated area. *Widna (Scorpiurus Muricatus* var. *Subvillosus L.*) is both cultivated and gathered wild for goats and rabbits and to a lesser, traditional, extent for fat cattle:-

> *'Il-fart li jiekol il-widna jaghmel il-laham bil wiżna'* ='Cattle which feed on widna put on flesh by the wiżna'.

Chickpea or *Gram* (*Cicer Arietinum*), because of the irritating toxicity of the juice, is best used as a dry fodder. Vetch (*Vicia Sativa*) is most often grown on small or exposed terraces of good soil. Bitter vetch, *'Żotfa'* (*Vicia Ervillia*), has some of the disadvantages of *Gram* but is more suitable a crop than sweet vetch for arid areas, and for land topographically difficult for successful sulla. Lucerne, in the Maltese islands, has ranked as a minor fodder because of its high water needs. The total acreage is still small and it is not cultivated except as a summer irrigated or watered crop.

In Malta, these minor fodders are most important in the Eastern regions where small holdings and part-time farming are most common. They are of considerable total significance on the Upper Coralline hills where they supplant sulla, broad beans and peas because of their greater resistance to exposure and tolerance of poor, thin soils. Similarly in Gozo they are most commonly found in areas of difficulty such as the eastern uplands and the hills south-west of Sannat.

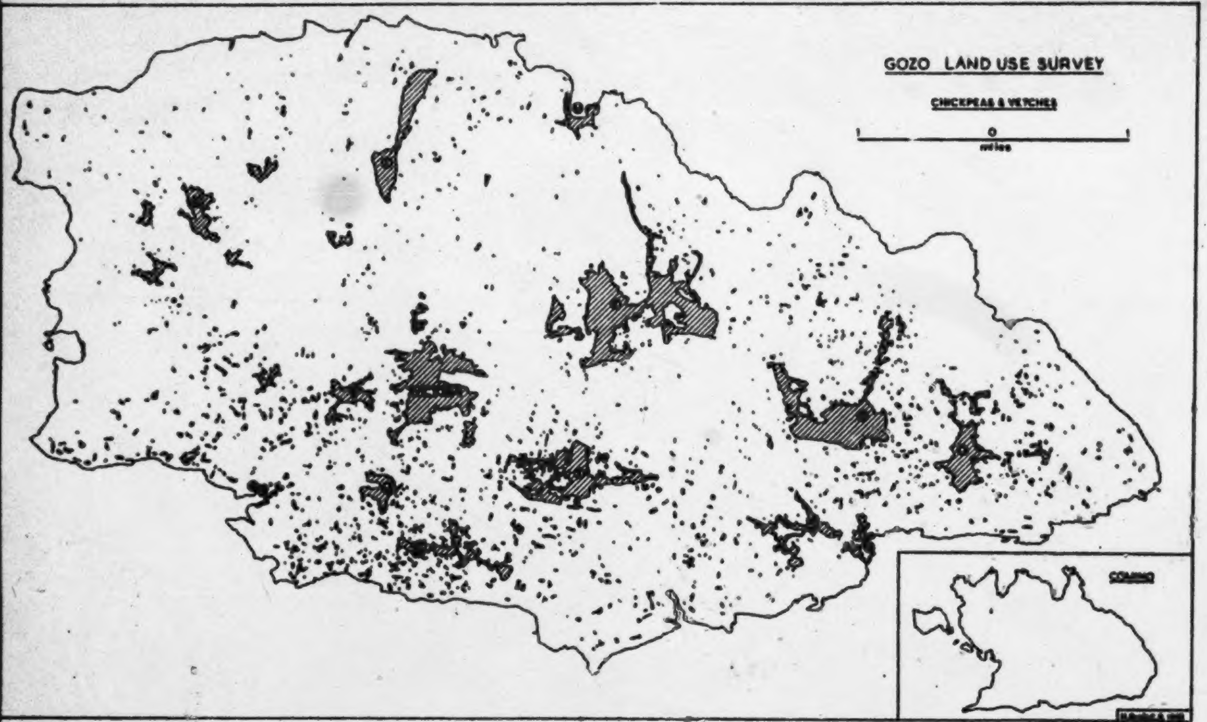
BROAD BEANS AND PEAS (*Ful* and *Piselli*)

As noted earlier, these two crops are undifferentiated in Figs. 77 and 78. No significant regional variations in the distribution of these crops is to be observed. They are grown in all cultivated areas, usually in small plots, the beans occasionally inter-rowed with barley in larger fields. This is a natural consequence of their tolerance of a wide range of conditions and of their dual use, already noted, as food and fodder.

[a] [See p. 229--Analyst]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
102
246


GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
CHICKPEAS & VETCHES
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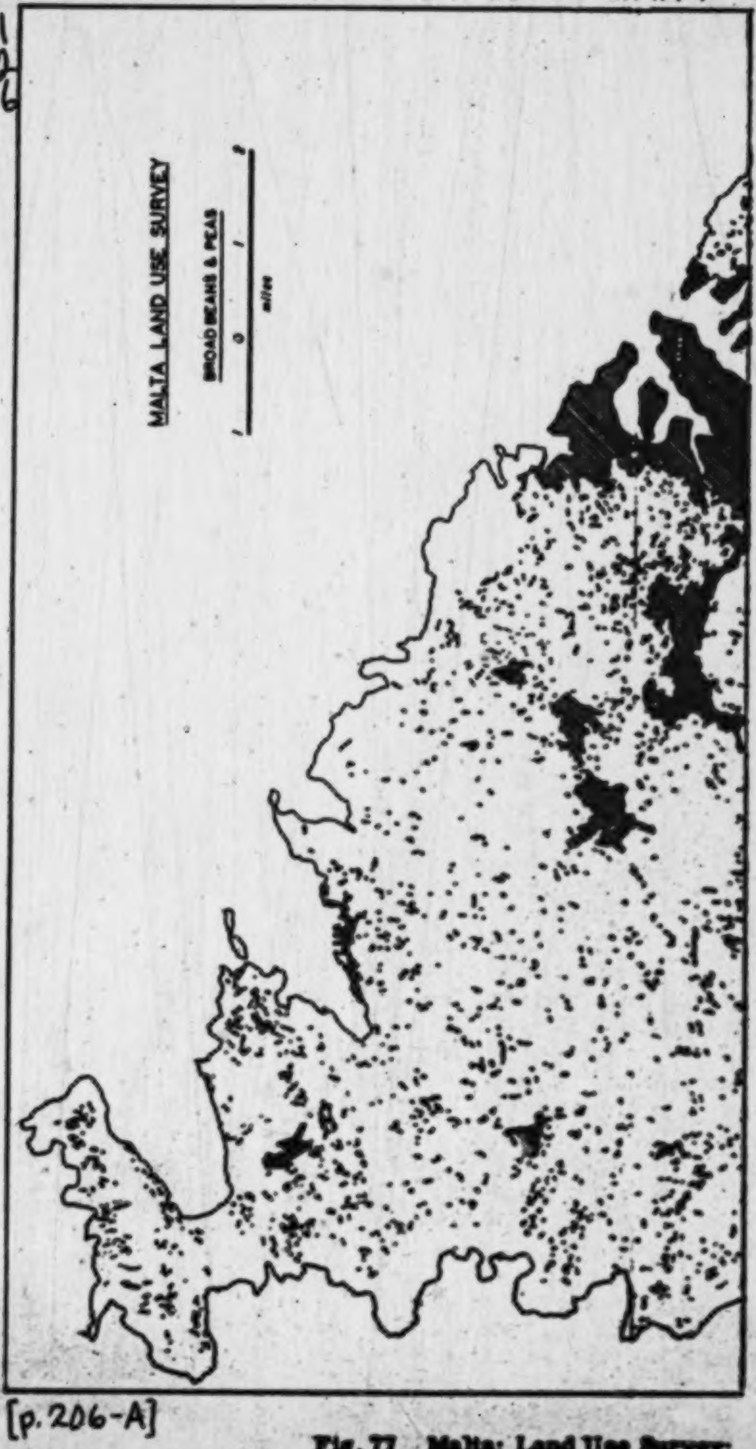
miles
COMINO

Fig. 76 Gozo: Land Use Survey: Vetches and Chickpeas.

*311
102
246


MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
BROAD BEANS & PEAS
1 0 1 2
miles

[p. 206-A]

Fig. 77 Malta: Land Use Survey:
Broad Beans & Peas.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

311*
102
246

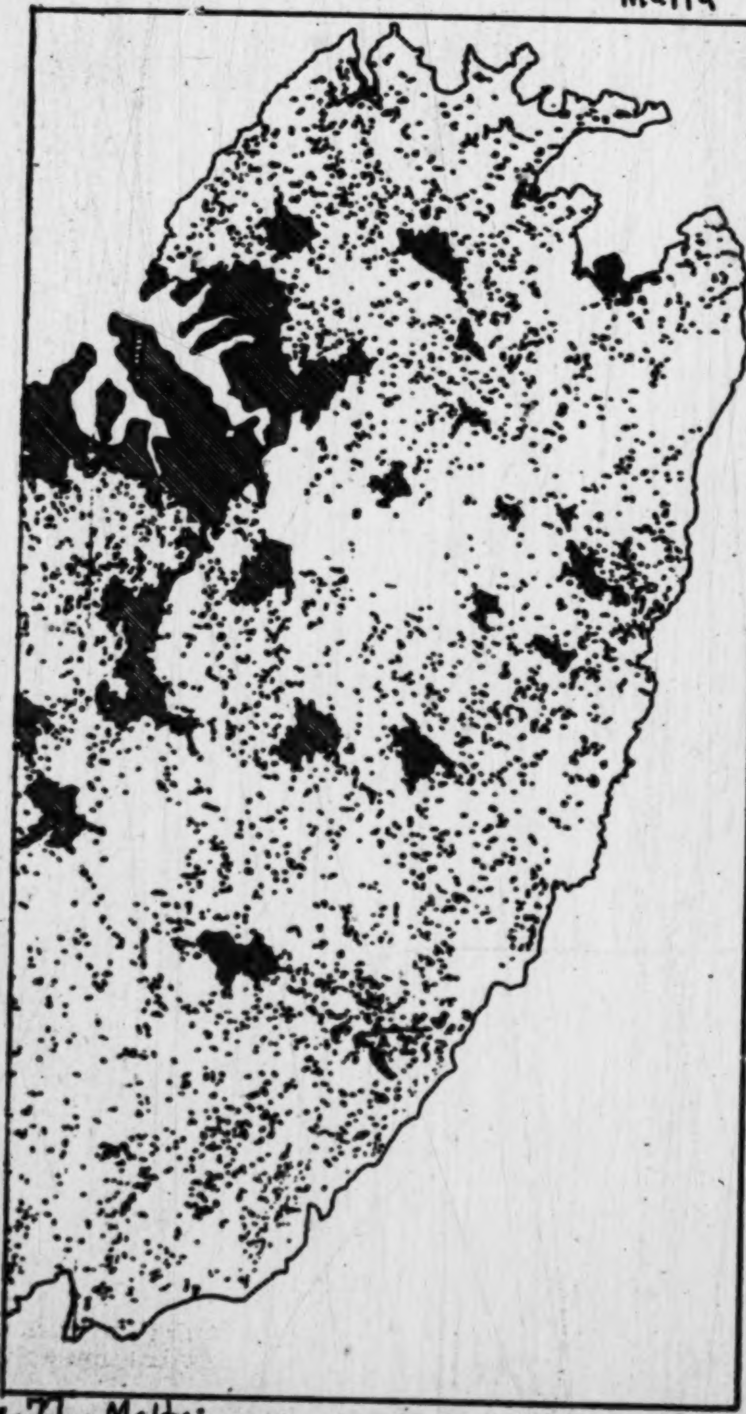


Fig. 71 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Broad Beans and Peas.

[p. 206-B]

*315
102
246

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

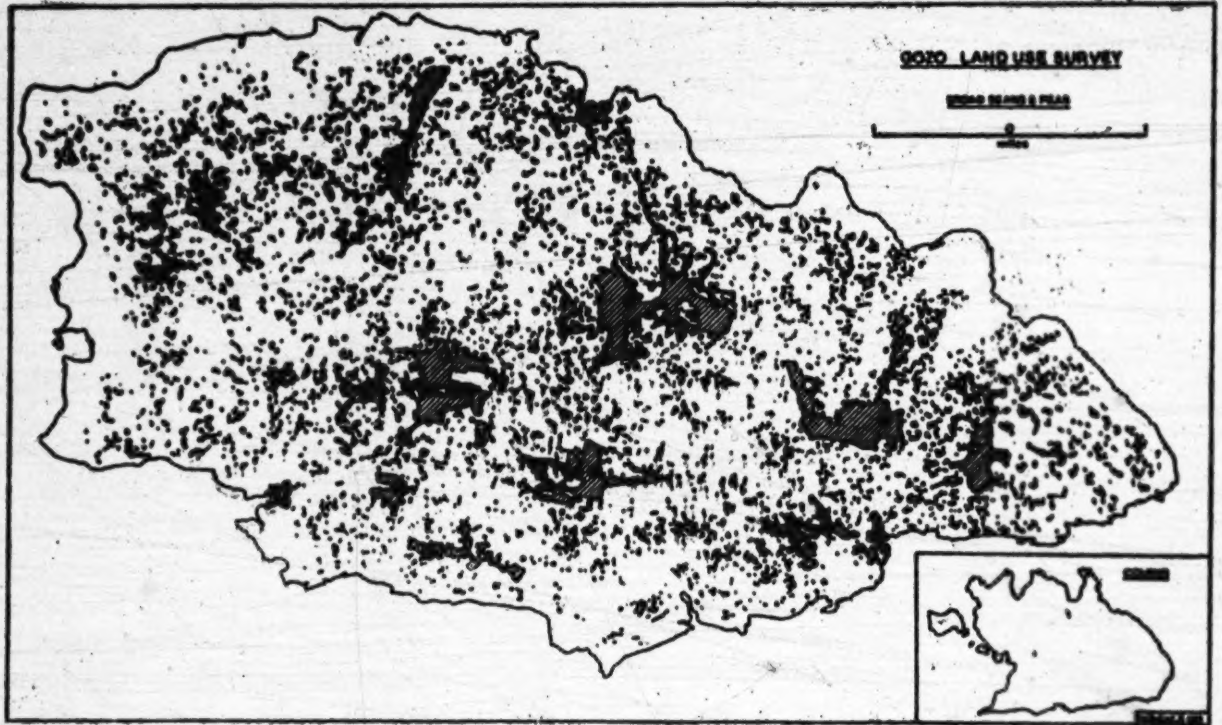

GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
BROAD BEANS & PEAS
0
miles

Fig. 78 Gozo: Land Use Survey; Broad Beans and Peas.

been used as stock on to which lemons and sweet oranges have been grafted. 311*
Too great a variety of strains is cultivated, and too little grading is done to make 245
citrus growing under difficult conditions a commercial proposition except in the home market.

STONE FRUITS

Peaches and plums are found as wall-side crops in many areas. Irrigation improves their yields less than those of most other fruits and, since the water needs of the peach in particular are fairly low and soils generally suitable, commercial production for export to Northern Europe is at least a possibility.

POME FRUITS

Apples and pears are the only important members of this group. Apart from the *Bombinelli*, the small hard pears, efficient production implies the use of irrigation water by which means yields can be doubled or trebled. Production, at present sufficient for the home market, could be expanded. However, since handling and transport of these fruit is comparatively expensive and the complex organisation of European supplies is already established, better marketing facilities as well as an improvement in the quality of the crop would be required before any export sale could be established.

OTHER FRUITS AND NUTS

These range from pomegranates, grown, for example, as windbreaks in the Wied tal-Pwales, to loquats, which need irrigation, and almonds which, grafted on to wild peaches are prolific and hardy. Strawberries are grown on a limited scale in some of the irrigated areas. All these varieties, though distinguished in the original survey, are undifferentiated in Figs. 83 and 84. The distribution is clearly related to spring lines, Blue Clay outcrops and irrigated districts, and regional variations in the character of fruit farming are brought out in Chapter VIII.

FIG, CAROB AND PRICKLY PEAR

Fig trees are found for the most part along field edges and around farmhouses. Only in very rare instances do they occur in plantations though they are at times found growing in groves of mixed fruit trees. Of some importance domestically and in rural areas, the fig occupies an ecological position midway between that of the other fruits on the one hand and the prickly pear on the other. Physiologically well suited to dry soil conditions, fig trees require more shelter than the prickly pear and are less profitable on good land than are the stone fruits.

Prickly pear, of which only the spineless variety is grown, gives a poor fruit 311*
and serves as a reserve fodder. The young leaves are fed, chopped, to livestock 245
when other fodder is in short supply. The nutrition provided is small but the 246
water content is high. This plant is characteristically found on village and casal outskirts and in Malta it disappears in open country. In Gozo, where the leaves are often used to shelter growing vegetable plants, it is more widespread. Essentially a mark of primitive parochialism, the prickly pear sometimes occupies an unnecessarily large area of land and might occasionally be replaced by such plants as the sunflower, whose fodder value is much higher. A topic urgently in need of investigation is that of water extraction from neighbouring fields by wall crops of this kind.

The carob is the tree of rough land and is rarely found on level areas, whatever their altitude. It has often been planted as much to disintegrate rock and boulders as to supply fodder. The beans have a very high fat and protein content but require feeding in moderation. Most of the large clumps in which this tree typically occurs are neglected and untended and are less productive than they could be. The import of carob beans into Malta would be appreciably reduced by more attention to the native trees. Under present conditions the carob is the only wasteland tree crop and its presence elsewhere denotes under-utilisation of better land.

[P.317]

Chapter X

THE PRACTICE OF FARMING

We have considered at some length the physical and social environments in 128 which Maltese farming exists, the distribution of crops and of agricultural regions, and examined some of the physical and legal characteristics of the land holdings in which the land is worked. There follows a more systematic statement and a tentative interpretation of farming practice, and studies of the Maltese countryfolk (Plate XVIII).

A. Livestock

Livestock in Malta, with the exception of the wandering, wasteland-feeding, 231 herds of sheep and goats, is rarely seen or heard. Cattle, pigs, poultry and rabbits are all kept in stockyards or enclosures, and horses, mules and donkeys, when not working in the fields, are stabled the whole time. Their near invisibility has caused us to omit mention of them in earlier sections. As noted in Chapter [246] VII, the Maltese farmer, faced with land shortage as a result of the high population density, has chosen to cultivate stall-fed fodders as short-rotation crops rather than to grow pastures or perennial forages. It is difficult to believe that he has not made the correct choice if the criterion adopted is that of intensive and continual use of difficult land resources and the minimising of waste. 231

Numerically, goats are by far the most important (Plate XVII).[2] During the 234 past century, they increased tenfold in number, a fact which marks the amazingly 311 rapid increase in milk consumption, but in the last decade the trend has been reversed. The indigenous breeds, highly regarded in the Mediterranean up to [232] the close of the eighteenth century, have now almost entirely been replaced by crosses with introduced British Saanen types. These crosses, in which Saanen blood remains dominant to the third or fourth generation, are hardy and prolific milkers, considering the quality of feed. Goats have remained important not only because they still supply about 40 per cent. of returned milk sales (and a large amount produced domestically and sold illegally), but also because, together with sheep, they utilise the great extent of wasteland as natural pasture. Some feeding on field grown forages is practised - during the survey such [246] feeding was observed at Marnisi on broad beans and at Wied Babu on sulla, for example - but this is rare.

Land unusable for cultivation, and which makes up over 30 per cent. of the total area, provides the basic forage ration. Breeders and kids are given supplementary feeds of beans and hay crops. Although, therefore, goats are theoretically poor converters of fodder into milk, they cannot be displaced by milch cows without at once offending the tastes of most Maltese for goats' milk and cheese, and making the uncultivable land almost totally unproductive. Sheep, somewhat less numerous than pigs, and by far less valuable, occupy the same ecological niche as do goats. Used domestically in many areas for milking, and by far the cheapest meat animals, these predominantly hairy rather than woolled sheep, of a strong German strain, are one of the 'crops' of the barren lands. In the absence of statistics of fodder consumption, the only evidence available is that obtained in interview. It would certainly seem that sheep and goats use much uncultivated land in their demand for feed, and are almost the only media for obtaining any yield at all from one-third of the land of Malta and Gozo. (See also Chapter X C.)

Pigs, numerically the most important meat animals, are almost all of 231 recently introduced breeds, the English Large White in particular. Berkshire, 232 Wessex Saddleback and Middle White have been tried, but the Large White Yorkshire, even when bred for lean meat to an average weight of 150 lb., has

[2] [See page 256--Analyst]

231 proved its superior adaptability. An interesting point is that, before 1914, Serbia
and Croatia exported to Malta large numbers of pigs for fattening, while Yugoslavia
232 is today importing Large Whites as breeders from this country. It is now
illegal to use other than pedigree boars for breeding, and the success of the
[439] Agricultural Department and the relative enthusiasm of the Maltese farmer in
raising pig production standards have made Malta self-sufficient in this respect
at least. Local grain and imported beans form the basis of feeding stuffs given
by the best farmers. Animal slaughterings now average about 30,000 head per
annum.

23 Of the total cattle population of some 6,000 in Malta and 3,000 in Gozo, nearly
30 per cent. are milch cows. This proportion has increased steadily since the
first introduction of milch cows in the early years of British occupation. Before
1800, the indigenous Maltese breed, raised as general purpose stock in normal
[199] peasant tradition, alone was of importance. During the nineteenth century,
specialised breeds were slowly introduced, a process which culminated in trials
with Swiss Brown, Polish and Jersey cattle during the 1920's and '30's. By 1939,
the cattle were mainly of mixed blood with the older strains predominating, and
those still found are rapidly being displaced because of their low milk yields
of some 1 to 1¼ gallons a day. The only surviving registered Maltese bull is to
be seen on a farm at Binġemma Gap. In the post-war period, imported Ayrshires,
British Friesians and Durham Shorthorns have proved very successful and
popular. The Friesian strains in particular are very effective for crossing,
important in that most country herds are still of mixed blood. A typical composition
was noted in a stockyard on Delimara Peninsula - 13 milk cows and three
heifers consisting of pure polled Maltese, Friesians, Friesian/Maltese crosses,
Ayrshire/Maltese crosses, together with seven Friesian and crossed Friesian
[439] calves. Store cattle, of which over 3,000 are annually imported for fattening,
are of various breeds, and come in the main from within the Mediterranean
region.

231 This cattle population, which supplies half of the total production of milk in
Malta, and approximately two-thirds in Gozo, as well as over 75 per cent. of
234 the beef consumed, is a very special element in Maltese agriculture. The
imported store cattle have but to be fattened for slaughtering. Trustworthy
statistics are lacking, but it would seem that over one-half of the imported
fodder is consumed for this purpose.

The milch cows are given a maintenance ration of sulla and other leguminous fodders, and a production ration of imported beans, grains ~~and cake~~. Carob beans and chopped prickly pear are sometimes used, and *oxalis cernua* may also be fed in moderation.

231 This large demand for fodders has so far been met by maintaining at high
level the production of leguminous and grain crops. Only in recent years has it
234 become economic to add high protein feeds. For social and health reasons the
human consumption of high protein foods, milk in particular, has been
246 encouraged. It has therefore often been suggested that further concentration on
production of forage crops is necessary.

It is probable that such a policy would be both uneconomic and impracticable. In the first place, as long as it requires an average of 6 lb. weight of fodder protein to produce 1 lb. weight of animal food protein, then any country with restricted land resources has to look twice at the wastage involved. Such a country, having to import either animal products or vegetable products, or even both as in the case of Malta, has little to gain by specialising in a production technique in which over three-quarters of the crops grown and imported for feed merely go to maintaining livestock in existence. Thirdly, since that land now grazed by sheep and goats is virtually unusable in any other way, they cannot be simply replaced by cattle. More cattle would mean less arable farming of food crops and this would entail either the loss of potential vegetable exports from irrigated land or, more feasibly, the improvement of arable dry-farmed crops, e.g. sorghums in place of barley.

The impracticability of a policy designed vastly to increase forage production may be proved as follows. The growing of perennial fodder crops is out of the

question unless a complete agricultural revolution committed Maltese farming 231
to thorough-going dairy farming specialisation. Such specialisation, given the 234
climatic and physiological difficulties, would not be easy to justify. A very con-
siderable seasonal glut of milk exists between May and August at present, and 246
the Milk Marketing Undertaking cannot handle the flush. This degree of fluctuation could be lessened but not removed. Costs of production are such that not only would exports be uneconomic but imported tinned milk can and could considerably undercut home production. Local consumption of fresh cows' milk could not be expanded much more than 10 to 15 per cent. above the present level which is already the highest in the Mediterranean, as long as tinned milk is more easily preserved, and as long as the rural community keeps goats and sheep. The banning of milk imports and of the production of goat milk would hardly be in the consumer's economic or dietetic interests.

Horses, mules and donkeys, some 6,500 in number, are still very important 492
as work animals. For farm transport, they can only be replaced by the internal
combustion engine purchasable only by the more prosperous cultivators. Produce 407
collection by merchants' lorries is increasing as also is the use of hired tractors for cultivation. The numbers of these animals is unlikely to decrease quickly outside the urban areas because of their usefulness in tilling difficult land.

Of the remaining small livestock, rabbits and poultry already make a very 231
large although immeasurable contribution to food supplies. Improvements in
quality could be obtained if farmers' interest was aroused. At present, mixed 235
breeds of poor poultry are commercially uneconomic.

In conclusion, we must return to the vexed question of dairy-farming and 234
milk production in Malta. In 1950, the Director of Agriculture (1) put the
question: 'Under prevailing conditions in Malta and Gozo, which is the more 654
profitable animal to keep? The cow or the goat?', and followed with the statement: '. . . no accurate answer backed by accurate scientific data has ever been given'. The same impasse had often been noted before, for example by Dawson Shepherd (2), and Stockdale (3). An unpublished report on Maltese Agriculture by a visiting F.A.O. commission (4) similarly found itself at sea in the absence of any firm information. In 1956, the complexity as well as the obscurity of the situation was manifested in a Report on the Dairy Industry by G. W. Ford (5). In this study, reference is made to the different conclusions reached by independent observers, and to intermediate suggestions made by Marshall (6), one of whose remarks: 'I simply cannot visualise hygienic milk production by the peasant farmer in Malta', our observations would endorse.

Milk-production in Malta is no longer a matter of economics but, as in many countries, is affected by social and dietetic policies. Brief mention was made in Chapter VI C of the problem of the incidence of undulant fever and its association with milk infected by *Brucellosis Melitensis*. Some 20 per cent. of Maltese goats are thus infected, and any dietetic campaign to encourage the drinking of milk, particularly important in child welfare, must take account of this. Few cows are thus far infected and elimination is easier. The problem that emerges is therefore both economic and social in character. It is felt by some that reliance on imported tinned milk is one solution but by others such a suggestion is regarded as humiliating. Another possible line of action is to replace goats with milch cows, and in 1956 a system by which herdsmen were offered one Dutch Friesian heifer in calf for 12 diseased goats actually came into operation. The third possibility is to accept the position as it exists at the moment, or slightly to modify it, and centralise milk distribution thus enabling pasteurisation. This too has been done. Even now however, the cost of tinned milk imports, the cost of producing cows' milk, the surplus of goats' milk, all these as well as the land use point mentioned earlier, still remain to be dealt with. As we shall see, the market for milk called into being as a social measure is now the mainstay of many farmers of all grades. The development of the centralised agency, the Milk Marketing Undertaking has been accompanied by a guaranteed price system. Some 50 per cent. of all milk producers have, as a result of this organising of wholesale purchases, formed their own union the K.M.H. - '*Kampanija Maltija*

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Pawlu's holding at Easter, 1958.

Origin of TENURE	1958 T S K[49]	No longer held in 1959 T S K[49]
From own family on his marriage in 1935...	5-5-5	4-3-8
From own family since his marriage	7-4-5	
From his bride's family at marriage	5-0	16-0-0
From non-relatives, all since 1955	28-0-3	
	42-3-3	20-3-8

OWNERSHIP of land held by Pawlu.			Plots		Plots
Church	Cathedral (Mdina)	3-4-0	5	16-0-0	var
	Gharb	1-0-3	4		
	Benefizzju (agent)	4-3-0	2		
Civil Government		3-5-0	2		
Other farmers		4-0-0	2		
Sinjur (a Xewkija Baron)		5-0	1	1-1-8	2
Owned by Pawlu himself		4-0	1	1-0-0	1
Sub-leased (4-yearly) from 8 farmers who hold on long lease, or own		24-0-0	var.adj.		
Military authorities		0		0	
No information				3-0	1
Notary (agent)				1-5-0	2
		42-3-3		20-3-8	

The details of the 20-3-8 relinquished by Pawlu are significant:

Sub-let because of small-size and inaccessibility	7-0
Sold because of inaccessibility	1-0-0
Abandoned because of distance & inaccessibility	1-0-0
Option declined because of distance	16-0-0
Exchanged	1-2-8
	20-3-8

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On sixteen of his twenty-six plots of land Pawlu pays annually about £24 in rent. On average this works out at about 4 shillings per tomna for rough grazing land and £1.1.6d per tomna of cultivable dry (baghli) land. Pawlu himself receives an income of 5s 6½d per annum as rent for two small patches (totalling slightly more than a tomna) which he sub-lets. He himself owns the pivotal centre of his farm, and four sighan on which stands his house, cattle byre, coat shed, store rooms and small enclosures.

*159
234
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[246]
[244]

Pawlu's present policy is to expand fodder production in order to eliminate much of the very high cost of purchased fodder. Along with this he is keen to acquire the use of rough grazing land for his goats where he can do so cheaply. The large block of this type of rough grazing which Pawlu acquired piece-meal during 1957 and 1958 makes the supervision of the animals easier than would be the case if he had to graze them in small fields adjacent to land carrying standing crops. Pawlu is cutting down the quantity of vegetables produced for sale each year since he is without any guaranteed market or price. He aims nevertheless to produce as much of the family requirements as possible.

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
● [246] (he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
241 for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
433 the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
434 getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
[427] 1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
[241] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
[433] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
438 great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
443 paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

*159 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
511 extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
829 yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
178 one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation. In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

* **H. General.**

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433
This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

*
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CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

232 In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow."

x
159 Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of
234 land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis
[311] in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still
have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example
[246] in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for
[435] straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He
[464] feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has
[451] very little appreciation of his profit. None of his labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written
[651] statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax authorities each year.

* 159 829 178 246 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his follows. Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

* 159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

427
- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

* 159 241 **B. Utilisation.**
- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

* 159 231 234
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

* 159 [454] **D. Capital.**
- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] [234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

* **G. Husbandry.**

159 231 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

[427]
- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jun. to Aug.

[311]
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly ½ tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

[435] [434]
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

* **H. General.**

159 156
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159
178 substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however,
234 show no inclination to stay in farming.

*
159 A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in quantity rather than quality.
232 They admit, moreover, that they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd
829 of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases
234 and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

*
159 In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Ingliżi type.
234 As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a
231 larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Ingliżi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

*
159 Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount
234 they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of
433 producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?"). The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount
● [246] of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

*
159 Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid
434 increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of
426 Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

(and where do they not exist?), his book gave a certain 114
amount of offence in the more sensitive quarters of the 357
island. None the less, it includes a chapter which should have atoned for any "causes of stumbling" created in those quarters. The chapter is entitled "Dolores" and concerns the Shepherds' Maltese maid-of-all-work and their baby's nurse. "Dolores" is not only a telling tribute to some of the salient virtues of the Maltese character; it is one of the most sensitive and moving descriptions of the personal devotion of a servant to her employers and her charge that I have had the good fortune to read.

4

A word has been said earlier in this chapter as to the 137
grandeur of the cliff scenery of Malta. Inland, on the other [133]
hand, the countryside can scarcely be called either grand or impressive, and during the dry summer months there is little colour to set against the brown aridity of the fields other than the sage of the olive, the carob and the fig-trees, and the pinks and whites of the oleanders beside the roads. But after [132]
the autumn rains have begun to refresh the parched earth the land rapidly assumes a mantle of young green, and the wild flowers appear shyly above ground, beginning with two lovely miniature blooms—the brilliantly blue *Iris minuta* and the even more ethereal, strongly scented "*satarina*" (*N. serotinus*). This, the tiniest of the narcissi, looks as if it had been called into being by a touch of the fairy's wand in Walt Disney's *Fantasia*.

Later, in March and April, Malta and Gozo alike seem to [246]
glow with the crimson, deepening into purple, of the *sulla*, the clover or sainfoin with which thousands of acres are sown for fodder. Among the most striking blends of colour are those produced by many varieties of Bougainvillæa (which flourishes exceedingly in Malta) and the purple-and-cream flowers of the wild caper, against the background of the rich gold of the fortifications.

o

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malt4

*241
*311
102
[134]

[247]
[316]

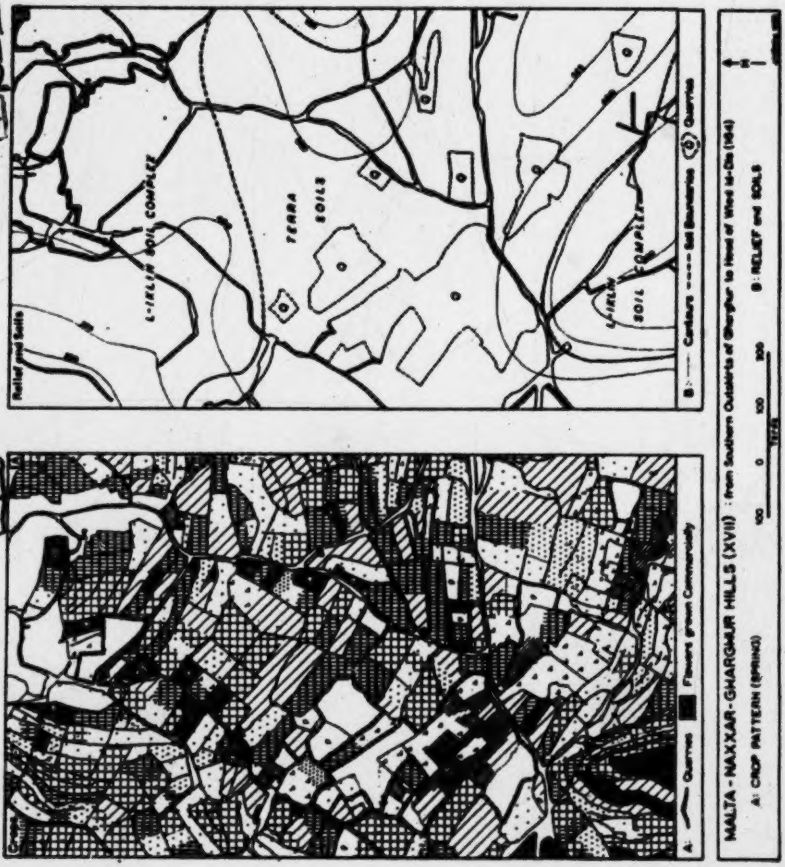
Relief and Soils
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
B: Contours ---- Soil Boundaries Quarries
Crops
A
A: Quarries Flowers grown Commercially
MALTA - NAXXAR - GHARGHUR HILLS (XVII) : from Southern Outskirts of Gharghur to Head of Wied id-Dis (164)
A: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards
B: RELIEF and SOILS
N

Fig. 115 Malta: Naxxar -Gharghur Hills.

Such dry land farmers need about 20 *tmien* or more of cultivable land in order to make a reasonable living by rural standards. They and their families are necessarily expert in traditional ways of cultivating a considerably range of crops. Most of them rely on home raised seed except for spring potatoes and very few of them need very much liquid capital. Under normal conditions there is no debt problem. Production of individual items is generally small and, unless they have direct connections with wholesalers and retailers in nearby towns, they rely very much on the collection and sale of produce through middlemen. Their expertise is largely a matter of hard won experience of handling particular soils and crops and very limited in other ways. 241

4. THE SPECIALISED CROP PRODUCER

Lastly, there is the small group of highly specialised arable farmers. These are mainly producers of flowers or seeds and, at their highest stage of development, sell their high-value produce abroad. In practically all cases the only thing that distinguishes them from their neighbours is knowledge and initiative. The next example shows the type of indigenous development that is fairly easily attained. Here, and in the next stage of export marketing, lies one of the hopes for Malta's economic future and stability for Maltese agriculture. 247

H - This farmer and one adult son have 20 *tmien* of land in Region C XVII. Seventeen *tmien* are farmed under a relatively extensive cereal, sulla, catch-crop system, the remaining 3 *tmien* (Fig. 142) intensively cultivated under flowers - 'More profitable than normal Maltese agriculture'. A rotational sequence is practised of flowers, vegetables and a 'resting crop' of wheat or sulla. Vines are grown on wallsides. This farmer occasionally hires contract ploughing but normally hand-hoes 12 to 18 inches deep *Terra* soils and regularly and heavily applies sulphate of ammonia as well as green manure. Flower seed is imported annually from the U.K. and Holland, since Maltese strains are poor and diseased, and imported strains rapidly degenerate. Produce is sold directly in the relatively wealthy suburb of Sliema. A characteristic range of flowers together with some nine different vegetables at Easter would be:-

Alliums
Anemones
Bluebells
Broom
Carnations
Dahlias
Freesias
Gladioli
Gypsophila
Larkspur
Love-in-a-mist
Marguerites
Marigolds
Narcissi
Roses
Iris
Tulips
Violets

5. MILK PRODUCERS

Another main group of farmers consists of milk producers. Differentiation between them is considerable depending as it does on the scale of production, the efficiency of production and on whether cows or goats are kept. At the lowest end of the scale come the virtually landless small-scale producers of goats' milk. These are the last survivors of a traditionally important class of urban herders who, before the control and pasteurisation of milk, delivered milk 'on the hoof' in towns and villages. Typical is case-study:- 234

I - This producer rents 2 *tmien* of land in Hamrun, half of which is used for domestically consumed garden produce. The remainder gives some exercise space and grazing for a herd of goats varying between 50 and 30 in number. This herd, which includes some 25 milkers, is over-fed on purchased fodder, and gives an average daily milk production ranging from a winter minimum of c. 30 lb. per day to c. 70 lb. per day in summer. Individual yields are low in quantity and quality and the farmer and his eight surviving children only survive in debt-ridden existence because of the M.M.U's guaranteed prices. He has no capital or equipment and the family's food consumption comes half from the garden plot and is further supplemented by food gifts from C.A.R.E. (an American welfare organisation). There is no real future for this type of livestock farmer.

Higher in the scale come the goats' milk producers who are able to rely on fodder from their own lands. One such, in Gozo, Region I, The West, may be summarised thus:-

Various types of location may be observed. In Malta (Fig. 89) there are, first, the main irrigated vegetable zones of the Wied tal-Pwales and Wied tal-Mistra where cultivation is carried out on a commercial scale. A great variety of crops are raised, but artichokes assume a particular importance. Secondly, in the Bur Marrad district of the Wied il-Għasel, there is considerable specialisation, particularly in artichokes and to a lesser extent in brassicas. Thirdly, there is the group of districts around certain settlements with urban-fringe market gardening. Near Żabbar, mixed vegetables, predominantly brassicas, are cultivated in many small plots, often worked by part-time farmers. Around Qormi, the possibility of irrigation has encouraged a very considerable spread of market gardening which further extends into Hamrun. Near Rabat, a similar, smaller zone is also of some importance for mainly non-brassica crops. 311* 244

Lastly, a belt of vegetable cultivation occurs on the high central platforms between Żebbuġ-Siġġiewi and the Rabat-Dingli upland. In Fig. 89 the importance of this zone is not fully illustrated. Fig. 91, showing tilled land during the survey period, gives an indication of the considerable area which is, later in each year, devoted to summer vegetables. This is pre-eminently the area of brassica cultivation with cauliflowers of particular importance. The reasons for this are not completely known, but seem in the main to reflect climatic and soil advantages (see Chapter VIII).

In Gozo (Fig. 90) the range of vegetables grown is rather smaller than in Malta, and cultivation is much more closely confined to the settlement fringes. There are some exceptional districts, such as the Wied tal-Mistra in the north-east and the small depression lying north-west of Victoria, where good supplies of water have encouraged commercial specialisation.

TILLED LAND (Figs. 91 and 92)

Land shown in this category is that which either had a prepared tilth in readiness for further sowing and planting or had been cleared for summer fallow. This would follow early harvesting of sulla, *ferrana* and potatoes or a long fallow period. Areas where tree-crop cultivation is widespread are obviously of little significance in this category. Classification problems arise in that cleared land unsuitable for summer cultivation (for reasons of environment or rotation) is, under Maltese conditions, difficult to distinguish from land about to be planted. However, it can be stated with some degree of certainty that in Malta the main belt of tilled land west of Siġġiewi and Żebbuġ represents land prepared for summer vegetable cultivation (see Chapter VIII). In Gozo, much of the tilled land of the west is prepared in readiness for summer cotton growing. 311* 241

COTTON (*Qoton*)

The cultivation of cotton, which was widespread in the Maltese Islands from Classical times to the mid-nineteenth century, has been slowly reviving in Gozo during the last few years. 311* 248

This is only the annual crop of which the seasonal range fell completely outside the survey period. Cultivation is most considerable around Żebbuġ, Gharb and San Lawrenz. Environmental conditions are far from optimum and the *future* of cotton growing depends largely on the efforts and interest of one textile firm and of the Government.

FALLOW LAND - Malta (Fig. 93)

Land classified under this head is that which neither carried a crop nor had a prepared tilth but which did not appear to have been unworked for more than about a year. Some such land is inevitably in the first stage of abandonment, but other areas have *remained* uncultivated for a variety of other reasons connected with quarrying, tenurial disputes, demands of the Defence Departments and various types of farming hazard. 311* 241

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

885

> "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children and thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee. . . ."

In all other things they remain children and "of such is the Kingdom. . . ."

So that the curse of Adam may lie less heavily upon these children of an unfertile rock, the Old Things have blessed them with an uncanny ability to make flowering fields out of nothing.[1]

THE SKY AND THE SOIL

821
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[369]

The weather and husbandry lore of the peasant has much to do with the success of his untiring hands. Much of this peasant wisdom is incomprehensible to the town-bred Maltese (too often they have lost touch or dismiss it—in hybrid Italian—as *ignuranza*); much of it has exact parallels in the lore of the English countryside, as for example the following:

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Maltese	*English*
"The Moon eats everything."	"Fair weather with a full moon."
"The stars wink at the coming wind."	"Twinkling stars foretell high winds."
"Sky like a turtle's back; heavy rains, fierce winds." "Clouds with heads of men and beasts bring in the thunder and the lightning."	"A rounded cloud with flattened base carries rainfall in its face."

[248]

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[1] During the early years of the last century Malta's cotton crop was valued at an average of one and a half millions sterling annually. The cotton industry, dating from Roman times and earlier, is now practically dead.

438 The many little shops
443 scattered about the village permit the women to do most of their
512 shopping near their own homes. Because of the long, hot summers
621 when food spoils quickly, they shop separately for each meal.
Their shopping trips begin on the way home from the early Mass,
[251] at about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, and continue until
[796] 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus, during the course of a day, a woman may make as many as a dozen trips to the shops as well as to the hawkers who pass through the neighbourhood. These trips are social occasions during which she comes in contact with friends and neighbours from all parts of the village, and in the process hears the village news.

275 The men are out of the village from 6 o'clock or so in the
512 morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, and
517 in the winter from about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock
621 in the evening. But summer or winter, in the late afternoon and the early evening the men gather in the clubs, wine shops and cafés. Besides the clubs and important cafés in the square, which draw men from all over the village, there are many small neighbourhood wine shops. Most have a regular clientele of friends and neighbours who spend hours together talking, playing cards and drinking tea, soft drinks or wine. Many cafés also have television. Thus, though most inhabitants of a village are in fairly frequent contact with each other, the gossip groups of the women and the wine shops of the men form local social centres which help bind neighbours more closely to one another. These neighbourhoods develop a certain group loyalty.

621 It often happens that some of the neighbourhoods in a town or
794 village are centred on small chapels. In times gone by there used
796 to be a certain amount of good-natured competition between the youngsters of these districts over the festas of the patron saints of their respective chapels. But, except on rare occasions, this rivalry never threatened the unity of the village during the annual festa of the patron saint of the parish. Frequent removals from house to house within the village have usually helped to prevent the development of disruptive sectional loyalties.

621 Since each village is also a separate parish it is not possible to
[771] consider a village entirely as a secular community. Religion per-
[794] meates the structure of Maltese society to an extent that makes it quite impossible to classify many institutions as either religious or secular. As a secular community, a village has no official leader, it

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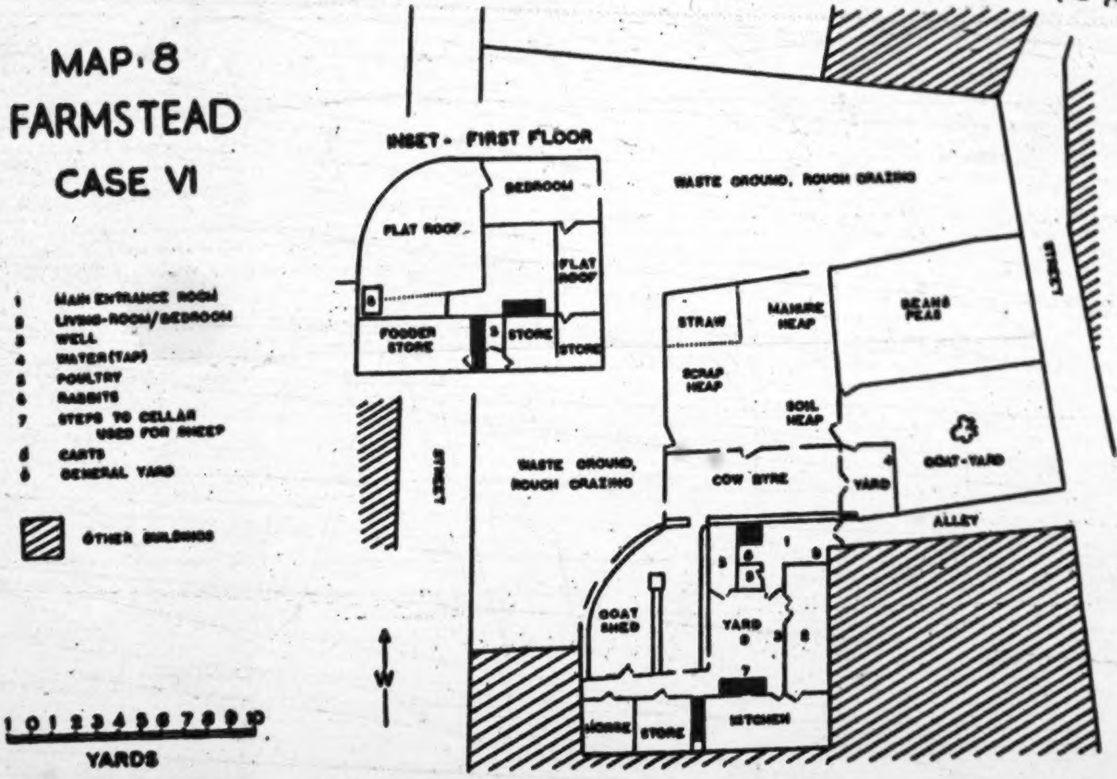
MAP·8
FARMSTEAD
CASE VI

[following p. 102]


INSET - FIRST FLOOR
BEDROOM
FLAT ROOF
FLAT ROOF
FODDER STORE
STORE
STORE
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
STRAW
MANURE HEAP
BEANS PEAS
SCRAP HEAP
SOIL HEAP
GOAT-YARD
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
COW BYRE
YARD
ALLEY
STREET
GOAT SHED
YARD
HORSE
STORE
KITCHEN
N
W
1 MAIN ENTRANCE ROOM
2 LIVING-ROOM/BEDROOM
3 WELL
4 WATER(TAP)
5 POULTRY
6 RABBITS
7 STEPS TO CELLAR USED FOR SHEEP
8 CARTS
9 GENERAL YARD
▨ OTHER BUILDINGS
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
YARDS

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.
[433] [251] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43
(i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

[454] His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve.

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829

CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdoms, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

341
251

OPENING ONE OF THE GRANARIES, FLORIANA
[*See p.* 217.]

SOUL IN PURGATORY
[*See p.* 205.]

IN A MALTESE GARDEN
[*See p.* 104.]

532

[facing p. 193]
[pp. 193-196 not processed]

795 by one, as the names of their parishes are called out, advance
659 to the Governor's throne and present to him a large and
heavy wax candle, generally embellished with painted
796 decorations.

This Candlemas ceremony has been maintained uninterruptedly from the days when the State was the Order of S. John; and the Governor takes this occasion, as did his predecessors the Grand Masters, to address the assembly on the problems of the day, with particular emphasis on the manner in which Church and State can best co-operate for the benefit of the people. It gives the Governor of Malta the same sort of opportunity, *mutatis mutandis*, to make public pronouncements on matters of policy as the British Prime Minister is given at the Lord Mayor's Banquet. A collation brings this happy and useful function to a close.

Here it may be added that the Governor retains, as the successor of the Grand Masters, certain ecclesiastical patronage, such as the nomination to the post of Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Malta and the right of presentation to various benefices. A survival of another sort from the days of the Knights is the religious corporation known as the Collegiate Church of S. Paul's Grotto at Rabat, whose Canons still wear at their ceremonies the habit, *stolone* and cross of the Order.

The principal industry of the Maltese islands is agriculture,
241 and the Maltese, despite the stony nature of their land, are
433 skilful and industrious farmers with a wonderful knack of
extracting the utmost from the soil, despite methods
necessarily somewhat primitive since their fields are too
small for modern agricultural machinery. Maltese potatoes
and Maltese oranges have a high reputation. Vegetables
are good, especially tomatoes; wheat does well where there
[439] is room to grow it. But the islands can produce only a
fraction of their annual consumption of cereals, and much
251 has therefore to be imported from outside. Among the most
178 familiar features surviving from the era of the Knights are

the underground granaries, shaped like vast jars, beneath the 251
open space between Valetta and its suburb of Floriana and
beneath a few other places, sealed with round stone lids and 178
still in use for conserving Malta's stocks of imported grain.

There are other links in Malta with the rule of the Order 326
of S. John. There survives, for example, from the days of
the Grand Masters an official known as the Consul for 656
Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, who is the appraiser of the 647
Government and impresses on Maltese silver its own hall- [178]
mark, the Maltese Cross, and on gold the crown or the Maltese shield. The Consul's office is housed on the ground-floor of the Monte di Pietà building in Merchants' Street. Opposite to it is the handsome Public Registry, with a tablet commemorating its reconstruction by Grand Master Zondadari. As if to compensate for the defacement by the French Revolutionaries of the Sienese Grand Master's escutcheon, his inscription was subsequently surmounted by a bust of George III, topped by the Royal Arms of that day.

In connexion with the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silver- 436
smiths it may be mentioned that the coinage of the Order
remained legal tender in Malta until 1886, when by a Government Notice there were called in all coins of "the late Government of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem."[1]
The principal denominations of the Maltese coinage were [178]
the scudo, the tari, the carlino and the grano or grain, which
in Maltese were called *skut*, *rbighi*, *karlin* and *habba*; and not only the country people but all Maltese use to this day the old names to denote certain values in our modern coinage. Thus 2½*d*. is described as *tliet karlinijet* (three carlini); half a crown as *tmintax rbighi*, meaning eighteen tari; 1*s*. 3*d*. is invariably *disa' rbghajja*—that is, nine tari.

Malta has no longer a separate coinage of its own, but small bronze coins of one-third of a farthing, still known locally as grains, were struck at the London Mint for use in

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[1] The standard work on this interesting coinage is Canon Calleja Schembri's
Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 2nd edn., 1910). [113]

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days,
after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern 171
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 264
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 516
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these 352
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom
has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain
from having their pastry and other food prepared in a
public oven for a period of some months after the death of a
member of the family. 184

IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

787 585 533 in a rage, and he could not be persuaded to go back to his wedding before the organist could be found and the organ played for the occasion.

PAYING VISITS

273 594 576 825 If a person goes to pay a visit, for the first time, to a party and is not treated with a sort of drink called *zambur* — made of aniseed—a mouse enters the chest of drawers and gnaws all the petticoats of the mistress of the house.

SENDING TO THE OVEN

252 562 Some people think it a great shame for a woman who sends dishes to be cooked in an oven when her husband is away from the Island.

was that gross financial loss totalled £124,000 representing an equivalent 234 subsidy to consumers of M.M.U. products, while, if profits on imports were subtracted the figure would rise to over £200,000. The commercial aspect of 435 milk marketing is thus completely artificial and dominated by welfare policies. 441 Price policy, even so, has not been powerful enough to even out the immense seasonal fluctuation in production of goats' milk, roughly half the total, and the smaller but still considerable fluctuation of cows' milk.

Meat production is rather more crude. The Government abattoir slaughters 253 all the horned cattle, most of the swine and a considerable proportion of sheep and goats. The commercial transaction between producer and butcher is usually 231 direct. Here once more the small scale and the unspecialised nature of meat 441 production controls all else. The 1956 Census of Agriculture recorded only nine specialist cattle breeders and 94 breeders of swine as compared with over 700 engaged in sheep and goat breeding (in roughly equal numbers). Licensed importers bring in the store cattle which are then usually sold to non-specialist farmers. Feeding standards are as low as with milch cows. There is little incentive to improvement because of the low standard set by the widespread practice of milk producers selling old and diseased stock for butchering. Pig meat and store-bull meat do command a premium but, while some 15,320 horned cattle were slaughtered in 1957-58, the average import rate of stores is only some 3,000. In the same year, 5,000 sheep (of the indigenous poor breeds) and 8,400 goats (mainly those useless for milk production) as well as 7,800 lambs and kids, were slaughtered. The commercial side of meat and, for that matter, hides and skin production, like that of milk, can only be improved as and when the arable sector of agriculture is further developed.

Lastly, we must refer to exports. For some years, the most important 241 exported agricultural product has been the spring crop of potatoes. Some general points concerning the production and sale of potatoes have already been made 439 (Chapter VII, pp. 205-206), but one or two points need expansion here. The main market for pseudo-early potatoes grown in the Mediterranean (harvested 441 in April and May), lies in North-West Europe. During the earlier part of this century, Holland, Belgium and Germany were the most important buyers but, of recent years, the Arran Banner variety, which yields well as a pseudo-early in Malta, has only found favour in Glasgow. By 1955 this dependence on a single main market was appearing dangerous and since that time, as noted by Haesler in 1957 (8), more heed has been taken of consumer demand for other earlier varieties, yellow rather than white fleshed, such as the Eigenhemer. On the marketing side, some important problems remain. The virtual absence of good civilian port facilities and the dependence on lighterage puts up freight costs and discourages shippers. The middlemen and wholesale handling of produce for export is not above reproach while the only worthwhile markets expect good and consistent quality of graded merchandise. Here the deficiencies of even the most commercially sophisticated part of the community can partly negate improved efforts on the part of the producer. Standards set by the home market tend to affect the services rendered to foreign markets and before the latter can be expanded, the former will have to be improved. There is one sector in which a separate break-through has begun. Air freightage of high value for bulk [509] merchandise (which does not include potatoes) can make distant markets accessible to medium-scale individual producers. Thus flowers, plants and seeds are to some small extent being traded by a few growers sufficiently skilled to bypass the mercantile system. This cannot be done by all but it might encourage emulation.

The whole of the marketing organisation is of course organically associated 241 with production and the commercial aspects of production need consideration.

One of the first points that strikes an observer in the Islands is that the 433 production of the different commodities is altogether too concentrated in time. 435 In the case of milk, a traditional organic cycle imposed by crude goat husbandry imposes great financial strains on the centralised agencies. With crops it would [234] seem that traditional fear of risk-taking, rational enough in a peasant economy but antithetical to the whole nature of commercialism, is now hampering

16A

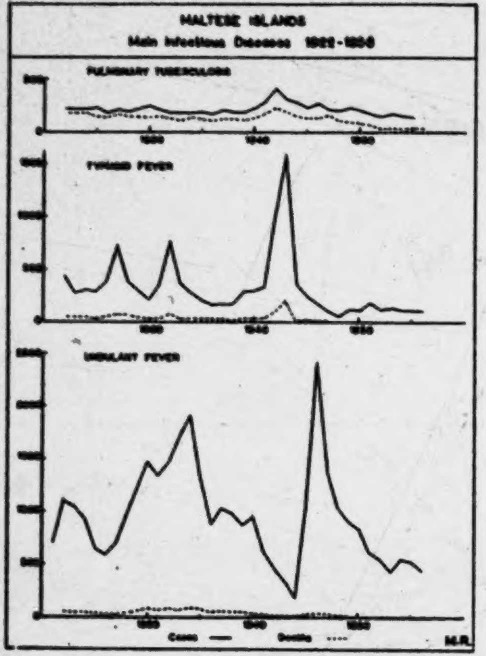

Fig. 66 Maltese Islands: Main Infectious Diseases.

102
256

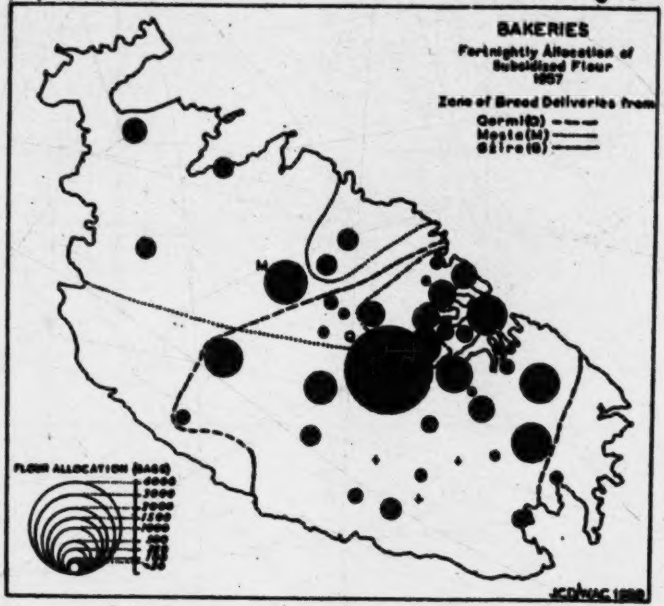
BAKERIES
Fortnightly Allocation of Subsidised Flour
1957
Zone of Bread Deliveries from
Qormi(Q) - - -
Mosta(M) ——
Żejtun(Ż) ——
M
FLOUR ALLOCATION (BAGS)
4000
3000
2000
1500
1000
500
250
100
50
JCD/WAC 1958

Fig. 67 Bakeries.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

178 79 tion can read, travel and make contact directly and vicariously with the world outside. Emigration too has tested the strength of the Faith. In consequence, we can now find in Malta a historical cross-section represented in spatial distribution. At one extreme one can meet in Sliema agnostic Maltese who never go near a church; at the other, in rural Gozo, one can find general obedience to the Bishop's instructions. All societies are heterogeneous in this respect but in Malta the strain of division within society is particularly great because of the existence of so many other cleavages. The reaction of the Church to this new situation has been dual in character. In the first place the Church itself has taken official action. Reform and correction, the imposition of rigorous film and book censorship, the series of edicts on dress and on behaviour have accompanied research, such as that of Abbé Houtart (22), into the needs of the people. Secondly, there have appeared the lay organisations with the avowed intent of redressing the balance. M.U.S.E.U.M. and Catholic Action before World War II, Cana, Legion of Mary, Social Action, the Holy Name Society and many others of foreign and indigenous origin since 1945 have developed in the conurbation where the challenge to the Church was strongest (23).

Financially the Church is still strong, owning as it does some 19 per cent. of the agricultural land of the Islands and an unverifiable total of urban property (24). Politically, the strength of the Church rests on its hold over the minds and hearts of the people. It is not necessary for the Church to take much overt action to demonstrate its power.

178 256 As a last vignette of the changing Maltese socio-economic complex we may consider some aspects of recent research on a useful indicator of social change, the bread baking industry (25).

655 722 The purchasing, distribution and processing of wheat and wheat flour, remains as it has been for centuries, Government controlled. When the Knights established their capital at Valletta and when the suburb-outwork of Floriana was built, great stone-chamber granaries were hewn out of the solid rock, developed versions of the much older 'bell-pits'. These underground granaries were stocked by the official organisation, the *Università*, and the grain periodically distributed at controlled prices. This siege-system, necessitated by dependence on imports, was abolished in the early nineteenth century, and the newly established Board of Trade contented itself with licensing importations. As a measure of agricultural protection and for the raising of revenue, duties were levied on these shipments. During the twentieth century, and culminating in the emergency measures of the beleaguered Islands during World War II, controls became tighter and grain prices heavily subsidised.

178 256 During the period of urbanisation and more especially during the last siege the general practice of home baking rapidly declined in Malta, although in Gozo it still persists. In the latter island there was in 1957 only one full-time and one part-time commercial bakery, while in Malta there were 201. All food grains produced for sale in the Island should legally be sent to licensed flour mills for blending. Imports, almost entirely of hard Canadian grain, are made by the Department of Trade and by the Victualling Yard in H.M. Dockyard. Ninety-seven per cent. of all flour issued for ration-bread making is subsidised, but local estimates suggest that up to 50 per cent. is used for making other products, this illegally used flour being sold at a discount.

102 178 256 Fig. 67* shows the distribution of bakeries in Malta, their importance and the main distribution areas as they existed in 1957. Only two villages in 1950 and one in 1957 - Safi - did not possess their own bakeries. This however is not indicative of closed fields of distribution but only of the multiplicity and the small-scale of the enterprises. Of the 35 districts, 32 imported bread from and 17 exported bread to other areas. Over half the 15,000 bags of subsidised flour issued in 1950 eventually found their way as bread outside the receiving districts. Of this inter-regional trade, Qormi supplied almost 80 per cent. Very briefly the points of interest are as follows. Qormi, which in 1957 had 48 bakeries, has always been the traditional baking centre, partly because of its central situation, but mainly as noted in Chapter VIII because of its situation in

* [See p. 198--Analyst]

a dry-farming cereal region. The other main centres are of more recent growth 107
and reflect a variety of factors, Mosta as a regional centre, Gżira and Msida 108
as suitably placed coastal sites within the conurbation. Secondly, the distribution
of bakeries does not correspond directly with variations in population density 256
but rather reflects those variations in an exaggerated form. If we omit Qormi from consideration, Fig. 67 indicates fairly accurately the strength or weakness of traditional society in inverse ratio to the strength of commercial bakery development. Thirdly, the inter-regional 'trade' in bread, together with evidence we have no space to consider such as the development of travelling shops, etc., shows the importance of the new mobility which is rapidly breaking down old parochialisms. Uniformity, homogeneity, openness to world ideas, these are the social virtues lauded in the twentieth century, which are being inculcated in Malta most effectively by the delivery vans of the new commercialism. The decline of local individualisms is aesthetically sad; it is also dangerous in that the smoother the appearance of the social emulsion the less heed is paid to the degree of real cohesion between its members.

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23. Source material concerning these religious activities ranges from the *Annario della Diocesi di Malta* before 1935; and the Catholic Directory of the Maltese Islands 1959, the Archbishop's Palace; to C.T.S. Publications and reports of Lay Organisations.
24. see Chapter IX.
25. CHARLTON, W. A.: *op. cit.*

*159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
472 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
407 contractors like him going out of business in the near future.

477

CASE XIX

This farmer (working 35 tmien, including seven irrigable)
was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He
[178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of
the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule
or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years.
Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for
the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture
despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

x

159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
407 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they them-
241 selves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor
434 he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his
income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-
plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the
[178] area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by
local vintners).

CASE XXI

*159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
256 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
241 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
407 the sole such operator in his village and business grew. How-
ever in the present decade competition from new tractor oper-
472 ators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing
season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted
[477] him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted
all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are
still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

x

159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
441 not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
472 His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
these were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
407 local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was intro-
duced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
[191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo,
especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary
cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led
to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing
tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island
some three or four are normally unused in the season. This
agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of
Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957
plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce
new implements. His father was the first to import motor
pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultiva-
tor in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of har-
vesting machines, but the very limited success of the first
ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any
more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for
mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a
lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be
collected for animal fodder.

*159 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday
262 Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable
262 to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts.
785 These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between the frugal meals.

*159 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in
262 Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his
264 wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs, olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls. Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks, and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (especially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields).
● [261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted. Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

198 The proportion of food purchased is now much greater
291 than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same
443 is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably
1432 both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young
294 farmer when half the people in the village had looms and many had spinning wheels to produce cotton garments for the family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 With the increasing contact between town and country
369 the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief
178 leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

wastelands and roadside verges are occasionally turned on to sulla fields and on 311*
to bastard fallow but that is all. This, too, is a necessary consequence of the 246
pressure on land resources mentioned above: land is too precious to be used
as pasture or even as true fallow *vaine pâture*. A consequent disadvantage is [237]
that, in the enforced absence of folding, dung is expensive and rarely applied.

Thirdly, much more than in other Mediterranean areas of dry farming, the Maltese cultivators are already alive to the necessity of raising cash crops which are also rotation crops, and are capable of choosing multi-purpose plants for catch-drop use. Broad beans, together with bread and *pasta*, form the basis of [262] the countryman's diet but are also used as horse and mule fodder, depending on crop quality and ruling prices. Chickpeas similarly have alternative uses as dry fodder, green vegetables or coffee substitutes. Fodder crop improvement or change is therefore not simply a matter of elevating standards of primitive farming, but implies an agricultural revolution.

Given this situation, it would seem that there are only two reasonable methods of increasing fodder production in the near future, assuming that such an increase is desired. The first is that of devoting more scarce irrigated land to leguminous fodder production. From the economic point of view, any diversion of land now producing irrigated vegetables to forage growing would be of doubtful value. Malta, even now, is not self-supporting in vegetable crops such as tomatoes, and dietetically would probably benefit from an even greater consumption of green vegetables. Though a net exporter of potatoes and onions, Malta has to import unnecessarily large quantities of these same products. Moreover, as examined in connection with Vegetables and Fruit Crops (pp.213-219), the use of irrigated land for fodder growing would debar the development of Malta's only possible large-scale exports - fruits and early specialised vegetables. The loss of such an important export possibility would weigh heavily against the gain in the production of fodder.

The second possibility is that of the replacement of the poor wheats and barleys by new hybrid sorghums. Here too there are difficulties. Though sorghums generally have low transpiration rates, their large leaf areas make them more dependent on subsoil water than the short, local barleys. On the other hand, they survive early droughts better than most grains. A second possible danger lies in our ignorance concerning their vulnerability to indigenous insect pests. The third difficulty is social. The poor barley lands on which sorghums might be grown, as indicated earlier, are those in which terrain makes it most necessary for continuous and arduous manual labour to be applied. It is precisely these areas, vulnerable to soil erosion, which are most likely to be neglected or abandoned by a society with rising living standards and demands. Nevertheless, here may lie both an easy and efficient way of improving and increasing fodder production without mortgaging the future of the best lands.

SULLA - HEDYSARIUM CORONARIUM L.

Sulla, the most important fodder crop, is a perennial legume indigenous to the Mediterranean. The variety *Africa* or *Gaulliana*, erect, slightly branched and often growing 4 to 6 feet in height, is usually found, particularly in Gozo; the more prostrate and finer foliaged varieties such as *Diffusa* and *Prostrata* are more recently introduced and less common.

Matured seed is sown in late summer and it germinates after the first autumnal rains, flowering between March and May. It is then usually cut or pulled and either used as green fodder or, more commonly, sun-dried as hay. Little affected by pests and diseases, sulla develops luxuriant foliage and extensive root systems. It therefore provides good anti-erosion soil cover as well as possessing excellent powers of nitrogen fixation. Water requirements are lower than for any of the cultivated *Trifolium* or *Medicago* plants. In first flowering, its protein content is high, but some of the fodder quality is lost by the delaying of harvesting until the yield in volume is highest and also by poor storage. Much sulla is sold off the farm.

As Fig. 73 shows, the distribution of sulla in Malta corresponds in general with the distribution of cultivated land, but it is noticeably less important in

[Text continues on p. 203]

178 241 561 In terms of the social pattern of the rural village, this means that there is a very significant distinction to be made between the older generation of farmers proper and the younger generation whose direct attachment to the land and farming is weaker if not already broken. If one turns to a consideration of the way of life and living standards in the village community this gulf is apparent. Most spectacular perhaps are changes in clothing.

178 291 The familiar working garb of the farmer has been the heavy woollen vest, cotton trousers, waistcoat, and cap. Recently, army-surplus shirts, denims, etc., have replaced the locally-made garment, often of home-grown cotton, while the cummerbund is now rare. Sandals are normally worn for walking but not for work. The farmer who works round the clock has never had a 'best suit'. He attends Mass in his working clothes before going to the fields and, on Sundays and holidays, ventures forth as on any other day with the possible addition of a woollen cardigan or more presentable waistcoat. For women, the use of the *faldetta* ribbed hood has declined rapidly in the last 20 years and is now only worn by the older women in the villages and by female members of the M.U.S.E.U.M. movement. The use of black generally by women is declining but most clothes are still made in the home even if from bought material rather than home-produced cotton or wool. The younger generation are not usually content to venture forth dressed in the manner of their parents but insist on making their own appearance as much like that of the average town-dweller among whom they aim to move socially. The white shirt, smart suit, shoes, socks, and well-oiled hair of the young men and the bright dresses, high-heeled shoes, nylons and cosmetics of the village maidens are regarded as the essential uniform of the seeker after the bright lights of Valletta and the towns. The schools have played a part in this with their demands on cleanliness, footwear and dress in the classroom. Occasionally a child goes bare-foot to a village school but no one would think of visiting Valletta shoe-less. The imitation of urban standards of dress is particularly apparent in the sub-urban districts where the farming minority are at pains to 'keep up with the Vellas' in dress - in spite of the expense involved.

178 [262] [272] [533] [207] Diet in the traditional rural scene depended upon what could be produced by the fields and animals held by any family. The standard soups and stews (such as *minestra* and *brodu*) were consequently largely vegetable. Meat was rarer, fish seasonal and small birds might be added to a stew depending on the results of the hunting or, more correctly, shooting which was and is a popular Sunday and Holiday pastime in the countryside. The diet was rather less 'Italian' than that in Valletta and the towns, with potatoes in place of the various forms of farinaceous paste - spaghetti, macaroni, etc. As in the rest of the Islands before the 1939-45 war, milk was taken fresh from goats and sheep and was not infrequently disease-carrying. Tinned milk is now popular in town and country but consumption of bottled, pasteurised milk is growing. Tea and coffee drinking have to some extent replaced local and home-made wines, especially in the many bars and small cafés which have become the leisure-time resorts of the men of the villages between strolls in the squares and streets. Even here change is evidenced, for the traditional guitar-accompanied *ghana* of the Maltese peasant has given way to *Radio e Televisione Italiana* as the basis of café entertainment.

512 This very increase in leisure time is significant. The old farmer is content to spend the greater part of every day with his animals or in the fields for they are in fact his hobby as well as his livelihood. Cinemas and bright lights hold no attraction for him; but the young man insists on recreation as he sees it in the towns. The timetable of the farmer varies according to his type of farming. The herdsmen's life is ruled by the routine of feeding and attention demanded by his cows or goats and by the times of milk collection demanded by the Milk Marketing Undertaking. All this means an earlier daily start (sometimes 1 or 2 a.m.) than is usual for the field worker who begins his day with a 4 a.m. or 5 a.m. Mass and then stops for a light breakfast some three hours later. Lunch-time is 11 a.m. or noon and is followed by a *siesta* of some hours, depending on the season and the pressure of work to be completed before the sun goes down and the field-worker shoulders his hoes or his wooden plough and returns home

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

178 366 Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops, and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War, the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The *petrolju* van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. [262] [749] Yet another addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

178 342 [351] Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a staircase frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming a compact economic and domestic unit. 178 [312] [364] [491] Water was carried from a village pump and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

[399] [206] [546] Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people. Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older Band Club buildings.

178 241 The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them, thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee. Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113
1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 52.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1958.

241 giant dockyard in Cospicua, or for one of the various British
433 Service departments scattered over the island. Gozo is more
464 dependent upon agriculture, but many Gozitan men work in
[178] Malta, returning to their families for the weekend. Though
Maltese villages are populated mostly by industrial workers, they
have nonetheless a decidedly rural atmosphere about them, for
their inhabitants still have links with the agricultural economy of
[231 the past. Many retain a patch or two of land which they plant with
235 potatoes or some other cash crop to supplement their wages, and
262 virtually all keep chickens and rabbits to supply them with eggs
● and fresh meat for special celebrations.]

463 TABLE I. Occupational Classes in Farruġ and Kortin[1]
(Expressed as percentages of the total male working population)

Occupational Class	*Farruġ*	*Kortin*	*Islands*
Professional and Clerical	4	7	15
Service and Skilled	39	52	55
Semi- and Unskilled	42	27	20
Agricultural	15	14	10
Totals	100	100	100

[438] A hundred years ago, the inhabitants of Farruġ were mostly farmers, though many were also employed on a cottage-industry basis in the thriving cotton industry of the time. Today they are for the most part wage labourers. Of the total male working population, 42 per cent are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, 39 per cent work as skilled fitters and as service personnel (shopkeepers, drivers, policemen, etc.) and 15 per cent as farmers. Only 4 per cent are professionals and white-collar workers. Three-fourths travel outside the village to their places of employment, chiefly with the Malta Government and the British military departments.

The occupational structure of Kortin is much the same. The higher proportion of skilled and clerical workers is in part a reflection of its past importance as an administrative centre, for until early in this century it was the seat of the district court. Seven per cent of the men work in professional and white-collar

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[1] The figures for Farruġ and Kortin are based on surveys I conducted, and the national figures on the 1957 *Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 45–55. The totals of the male working population in Farruġ, Kortin and the Maltese Islands are 296, 1,131 and 75,930 respectively.

000 except in one case (Case IX).

241 The evening meal is generally smaller than the lunch
234 although consisting of much the same elements - a thick stew
512 ('brodu' or 'minestra'), along with bread, cheese, fruit,
264 olives, tomatoes, etc. The consumption of meat and fish is
in part governed by religion and in part by price and
[262] availability, though meat certainly figures much more
prominently in the rural diet than formerly. The meal is
taken soon after the return from the fields, about 6.30 p.m.
and is followed, an hour or so later by the saying of a
family Rosary before retiring for the night about 8.0 p.m.
In Gozo there is a tendency for people to rise, eat, work
and retire to bed rather earlier than in the larger Island
and the smaller villages are usually dark and quiet by 7 p.m.

241 Apart, therefore, from external factors, such as M.M.U.
234 collection or Church service timings, the daily timetable of
512 the farmer and the herdsman depends to a large degree on his
own volition. He knows what work is outstanding and can
decide how and when he will do it within the limits imposed
by the season, demands of animals, and so on. Thus, at a
peak period of field-work, such as harvest, the farmer and
his assistants may work on until the late evening - even
through the night. During exceptionally heavy rains, as
in October 1957, work on anything approaching the normal
scale is, on the other hand, impossible and the farmer's day
becomes one of doing what he can and complaining copiously
meanwhile.

241 Miège (B/516, p.236), writing in 1840, was impressed by
512 the regular and assiduous labour of the Maltese farmer, even
during the heat of the summer sun. "Il semble impossible,
461 au premier abord, que le paysan maltais puisse résister
aux chaleurs intenses de l'été. Cependant, au milieu des
champs, dès le lever du soleil, on le voit, exposé a ses
brûlants rayons, continuer tout le jour ses pénibles travaux.
Il fait deux pauses: la première a huit heures; il se
repose alors une demi-heure pour déjeuner; la seconde à
onze heures; c'est l'instant de son dîner frugal, après
lequel il se repose de nouveau jusqu'à midi en hiver, et
jusqu'à une heure en été, tantôt à l'ombre d'un figuier,
tantôt au pied du petit mur qui entoure le champ, la tête
couverte d'un bonnet de laine, et le reste du corps exposé
au feux du jour. Il reprend ensuite ses travaux avec la
même vigueur, et ne se retire qu'au signal donné par la
cloche de son village, c'est à dire au coucher du soleil".

572 The essentials of the daily round of the farmer have
241 changed little since Miège wrote except in so far as the
234 tremendous increase in the importance of stock-rearing and
178

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
571 is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
[651] tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
454 normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
[593] few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expences of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
178 accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[294] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family,
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
438 farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
[656] killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

[p.44]

262 369 In respect of diet an important distinction between town and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially 'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily available; but in the country districts there is notably less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 273 262 511 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now established themselves as needs and, consequently, as demands on the family purse.

178 291 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy. Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made at home or at least within the village and were worn by the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest change is among the younger farming generation who want to dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly, especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the widespread use of military surplus material.

423 362 511. Housing is important in the present consideration because money is now being spent by the farmer both on buying his own house where he can but also on developing it and improving the furnishings.

[178] Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

178 511 There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of 'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and recreation all require money. Payments to the Church have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, can clearly only be met with cash.

451 511 [123] The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

In 1839

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The principal
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work,
175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nineteenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on other crops while, socially, the change affected the family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commis-
735 sioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become
511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts, the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded saving but also led to begging and stealing which was "One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Miège in 1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167); reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874 (B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207); on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst description" while "It must also be admitted that the sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

175
511 The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence
[369] is that there existed a considerable gulf in general
[464] living standards between the people of the towns and
those of the country. There was also an important
[458] ~~contrast within the then rapidly expanding urban area~~

*159 46 work of the farm and animals himself", and he can only cope with his own farm and animals if he follows a heavy and rigidly organized schedule of work. Hired labour is not a proposition, Pawlu avers, at £1 for an eight-hour day and this has apparently contributed to the emphasis which he has put on fodder and milk production in recent years. [433] High costs of hired labour for field-work together with the poor and unguaranteed returns for crop produce make field work on dry (baghli) land a poor prospect. Irrigable land presents a different picture but there is none available in Pawlu's district.

*159 512 Pawlu's timetable (in effect he runs the farm single-handed) centres on the animals. During the summer months the pressure is slightly less because the weather is easier, field-work is less pressing and he has the casual help of the younger children in school vacations. Daily time of rising for Pawlu depends on where and when the milk has to be taken for collection. At one stage, in 1957, he had to be up soon after midnight but, until the new milk factory was opened at Xewkija in 1958, a more usual reveille was at 2 or 3 a.m.

[264] [262] Breakfast, of coffee and bread, is taken when the family gets up or when they return from the Church nearby. Pawlu often has to take meals when he can fit them in between his jobs so that it is somewhat exceptional to find the whole family sitting together for food. The morning milking takes him some two hours after which the animals need feeding and attention before he can go to the fields. About six times a month his morning takes him to Rabat on shopping or business errands.

[264] ● [262] Lunch, the main meal of the day, consists every day of either minestra (thick soup) or farinaceous paste of some kind, together with bread, cheese, oil (żejt) and home-made tomato 'kunserva'. Lunch is usually over by noon when milking and the preparation of the afternoon feed begins. [264] The evening meal is normally similar to the lunch in content but less in amount. It is often taken immediately before retirement for the night which is early in the village. The farmer reckons to be in from the fields by sun-down but, when the evenings are longer, most of the village is quiet soon after 6 p.m. except where some conversation lingers in a paraffin-lit shop.

*159 512 794 Sundays and festa days are breaks from the normal routine, but Church-going is not confined to these days and in fact accounts for some two half-hour visits every day with extra attendances at the weekend. In this very rural community the 'social' aspect of church-going retains most of its traditional importance. In the absence of

[159 434 454] is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent. Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting his money into capital equipment for his fields. He has in [407] fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of 16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding, in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

* 159 511 262 Expenses within the household are difficult to determine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva), a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat and ham,, coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc), olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958) -butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (ghaġin). Ġamri observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually insufficient for the family so additional quantities of these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring [354] the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not considered essential even during the coldest part of the winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

* 159 262 [369] The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural Malta. In some details this differs from that found among urban working classes in the Islands but these differences are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm, where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An impor- [785] tant factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions. Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

*159 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday
262 Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable
to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts.
785 These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between the frugal meals.

*159 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in
262 Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his
264 wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs, olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls. Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks, and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (especially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields).
[261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted. Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

198 The proportion of food purchased is now much greater
291 than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same
443 is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably
[432] both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young
[294] farmer when half the people in the village had looms and many had spinning wheels to produce cotton garments for the family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 With the increasing contact between town and country
369 the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief
178 leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

796 times at different parts of the town; the best run, however, which is mostly enjoyed, both by the spectators and the carriers of the statue, is that which takes place at the lower end of Strada Reale on the hill opposite St. Catherine's Church and Convent.

Here large crowds of men are seen ready to help the bearers in the run with the heavy statue up the hill.

After traversing several other streets, the image is deposited in the same church from which it started.

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EASTER EGGS &c.

The custom of eating and presenting *figolli* and round cheese cakes *(kassatat)* is as prevalent in Malta, at Easter, as it is in any other town or country of Italy.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Maltese children look forward with great anxiety to get either from their parents, or from some friend or relative, a *figolla* at Easter. 796 262 431

The *figolla* consists of a bit of flat baked dough, cut in the shape of a woman, a turk, an eagle, a horse, a star, or a basket, with one or more eggs, having the shell stained red, or some other colour, embedded in its centre and fixed in position by cross bands of paste.

This characteristic rite of Paschal or Easter eggs is most widely diffused. 796 262 171 174

The universal connection of eggs with Eastertide does not seem to rest on any Christian symbolism. This popular observance is clearly of pagan origin.

In pagan imagery the egg was assigned to *Astarte*—the Phœnician Venus—as an emblem of the fructifying

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 forces of nature, and may thus have
• 262 come to be associated with April, the
171 174 month held sacred to *Aphroditis* (*), in
or near which Easter falls.

We are told that the Jews used eggs in the feast of the Passover, and that when the Persians keep the festival of the Solar New Year (in March) they mutually present each other with coloured eggs. There can be little doubt, however, that the use of eggs at this season was originally symbolical of the revivification of nature, that is, the springing forth of life in spring.

A writer, in the "Gentlemen's Magazine" for July 1783, supposes the Easter egg to be an emblem of the Resurrection of our Lord—in the same manner, as the chicken entombed, as

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(*) The Grecian name of Venus

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

it were, in the egg, in due time bursts its shell and springs forth to life. 796 262 174 171

Hutchinson (History of Northumberland) says: Eggs were held by the Egyptians as a sacred emblem of the renovation of mankind after the deluge.

The Jews adopted it to suit the circumstances of their History as a type of their departure from the land of Egypt, and it was used in the feast of Passover as a part of the furniture of the table with the Paschal Lamb.

The Christians have certainly used it on this day, containing as it does the elements of future life, as an emblem of the Resurrection. It seems that these eggs were decorated for a religious trophy after the days of lent, which are days of mortification and abstinence.

We know also that the Jews in ce-

796 lebrating their Passover, placed on the
•262 table two unleavened cakes called "pass-
171
174 over cakes" (*) with hard boiled eggs bound in with slips of paste cross ways on them (†)

Hyde, in his "Oriental Sports" says that the Christians buy eggs at Easter and stain them with a red colour, in memory of the blood of Christ shed for us at the time of the Crucifixion.

That the Roman Catholic Church has considered eggs as emblematical of the Resurrection may be gathered from the Ritual.

St. GREGORY'S DAY

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General procession

793 This very popular feast, which takes place on the first Wednesday after

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(*) The *figolla*.
(†) Brand's "Popular Antiquities."

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Grace's carriage to the commonest donkey cart, keep moving through the merry crowds, in search of their occupants. 796 [493]

Most of the people, however, who take part in this general procession, either stop at Zeitun, or proceed to Marsascirocco — a watering place at some distance from that village—where they spend the remainder of the day in merry making.

Round cheese cakes, *kassatât*, is the most common edible connected with this day, and from early morning, the whole day long, the shrill cries uttered by the innumerable vendors of the cakes may be heard throughout the village. 796 262 265

A few remarks about the origin of this procession will be interesting. 796 174

Many and various are the opinions as regards that origin.

Cathedral Church of Notabile on the 796 527 192
eve of the said festival.

On the morning of the feast—as 527
soon as the procession, which is led 262
by the Bishop, enters the Cathedral 264
Church—large crowds, especially of 273
country people in their substantial holi- 301
day finery, and wearing their hoarded [796]
ornaments of massive gold, drive at a racing speed to Boschetto, where, careless of the excessive heat of a broiling sun, they divide into companies and under the shades of the leafy orange trees in the beautiful garden, they seem quite happy in eating their sumptuous dinners, consisting chiefly of stewed rabbit, ham, pies, cheese and an allowance of common wine, which they keep in large dark glass bottles, or in tin cans where the indispensable liquid is less liable to being spilt.

SAINT MARTIN'S DAY

527 One of the greatest family feast-days, among the Maltese, is that of St. Martin's, which is held on the 2nd and 3rd Sunday of November.

Happiness and true enjoyment reign supreme in every household on this
593 special day. Pater and materfamilias entertain at dinner their married sons and daughters, with their respective consorts and children, besides nephews, nieces, and others allied by ties of consanguinity.

Every body enjoys his share of sweetmeats on St. Martin's day, with a due allowance of Marsala or some other sort of good Sicilian wine.

527 Children look forward with pleasure
262 to this day, being always regaled, by
857 either their parents or some other member of the family, with a small bag

crammed to the top with hazelnuts, 527
chestnuts, figs, sweets and other edibles, 262
besides a nice small roll studded with 857
hazelnut-kernels and covered all over with sesame.

With these bags and rolls the happy children come out walking along the streets, proud of what they were lucky to get, then they meet in groups or parties and indulge in games for the nuts.

The most favourite game for chil- 527
dren on this occasion is what they call 524
" ta 'l castell " which means hitting at 857
the castle. The castle consists of three nuts put near each other, topped by a fourth. They each arrange, say two or three of these castles in rows, and keep throwing by turns—every one wins the castle or castles he succeeds hitting and demolishing.

527 174 [171] No reason can be assigned for the origin or meaning of keeping St. Martin's feast as a day of merriment among the Maltese. The usage is persisted in without any association or tradition to account for it, but the merry making in the neighbouring island of Sicily at this time of the year, when the new wine is made use of for the first time.

527 262 273 Wine drinkers are of opinion that one can judge best of the flavour of wine after eating some nuts first—this perhaps is the reason why nuts are made so much use of on this merry day.

174 527 Moresin refers the great doings on this occasion to an ancient Athenian festival observed in honour of Bacchus, on the 11th, 12th, and 13th days of the month of *Anthesterion*, corresponding with our November.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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CHRISTMAS

The Maltese are not at all wanting in the religious fervour and the exhibition of hearty demonstrations of delight with which Christians welcome the anniversaries of the Nativity of our Blessed Redeemer. 796

This is made very apparent by the rich decorations and the illuminations which are to be seen in the churches on Christmas night.

Places of public resort and private residences are also richly decorated with floral emblems and devices on this occasion.

On the 24th December—Xmas eve—most of the inhabitants, especially young men, do not retire to bed at all but ramble about, some parading the streets playing sweet melodies to charm the ears of the people, and others going 796 574 262

796 in companies to some one of their
574 friends, at whose house they amuse them-
262 selves eating honey cakes and pancakes or fritters, and playing for nuts till the church bells ring a little before or after midnight.

At the conclusion of the service they come out again and devote the remainder of the night to amusements.

796 The approaching festival of Christmas
534 is heralded in some of the villages of
[184] Malta by the appearance of the "zakk" and "tambur" players in the streets. (*)

[237] The *zakk* or bagpipe is a wind instrument—one of the primitive instruments of sylvan music—formed of an inflated dog skin, which is held by the player under his left arm, with the legs

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[541] (*) The *Zakk* and tambourine are also in use amongst our lower classes on the days of Carnival.

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unquestionably derived from the like practice of our Pagan ancestors.

"Trimming of Temples," says Polydore Virgil "with hangings, flowers, boughs, and garlands was taken from the heathen people, who decked their idols and houses with such array.

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"Christmas," says Blount, "was called the feast of lights in the Western or Latin Church, from the many lights or candles that were lit at the feast, and this because Christ, the light of all lights, that true light, then came into the world. Hence the prevalent custom to have so many lights in our churches at Christmas midnight service.

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The custom of eating pancakes or fritters and honey cakes at Christmas in Malta is supposed to owe its origin to the cakes baked in honour of *Janus*, who presided over the beginning of the New Year.

585 The bridal procession then proceeded to the Church for the ceremony, attended by musicians playing on different instruments, and singers who sang stanzas in praise of the young couple. These musicians were proceeded by three men: the first bearing on his head a basin of white earth on which was placed a big cake with two figures, representing the bridegroom and the bride—the man who carried this basin wore also a scarf with a round cake hanging from it. The second carried a basket filled with sugar plums and candied nuts, which one of the relations distributed among such acquaintances he happened to meet. In the middle of the basket was a handkerchief folded in the form of a pyramid, and ornamented with the images of the B. Virgin, St. Joseph, and the

[262]
[431]

764 767 [292] their faces and black silk cloaks. (*) The room being stripped of all its furniture and hung with black cloth.

[302] The *neuwieha*, throwing themselves on their knees at the foot of the coffin, began singing the praises of the dead, and cut off handfuls of their hair which [262] [431] they spread over the coffin. On the same day, cakes and boiled wheat were distributed among all the relations, and the hair was cut off the tails of every horse at the stables belonging to the house of the deceased.

764 533 The funeral procession was always composed of the relations in mourning preceded by some boys playing the fifes or trumpets.

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[765] [822] [171] (*) The colours of the dress or habit. worn to signify grief are different in different countries. In Europe, the ordinary colour for mourning is black. *Black*, being the privation of light, is supposed to denote the privation of life.

PULLEYN *Origin & Inventions.*

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

NEW YEAR'S SUPERSTITIONS

A superstitious dread still attaches to some one of the family keeping absent at dinner time on New Year's day. He who doesn't dine with his family on New Year's day is expected to die at the end of that same year. 527 763 264

He who eats hotch-potch soup on New year's day is to gnaw the ham bones all the rest of the year. 527 262 787

Those who eat cabbages on New year's day groan for a whole year.

OIL, SALT AND WINE

The spilling of oil is considered a very unlucky omen by the Maltese. The spilling of salt or wine, however, betokens good luck. 777 787

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE SWEETHEART'S BARGAIN

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585 In the marriage contract, they have it for a pact,
675 That he takes her to the Feste and sets her on a wall.
[262] That he buys her cakes of sweetmeat, of the sort with hempseed made.
For that's the kind of sweetmeat a bride likes best of all.

It is believed that such a clause used actually to be embodied in the written contract drawn up by the parents and the go-between.

796 [184] Each little hamlet has its own feast, in honour of its own particular patron. Each has its own peculiar forms. Of the national feasts that of St. John naturally occupies a place of considerable importance. Certain aspects of its celebration, however, indicate that the Order of St. John was not alone responsible for the enthusiasm which this saint inspires. Busuttil, who has already been quoted at some length, writes of the Feast of St. John as follows: 796 372

> "Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating the Nativity of St. John by kindling great fires in the public streets, and giving their children dolls to carry in their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist 'Multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt.'
>
> Days and even weeks before this festival groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs, and all sorts of other combustibles which they store up for St. John's Eve.
>
> On the night of June 23rd, the day before the festival of the Saint, great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the Island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking.
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> These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The fratelli
763 —lay brethren of the congregation—hurry from their homes
794 to take their places in the procession of the Viatecum. Marching rapidly, like a company of soldiers, headed by a peasant ringing a staccato, commanding bell, some bearing tapers, some censers, all chanting the prayers for the dying, they pass
[793] quickly through the village street. Under a canopy, borne by two sturdy *fratelli*, goes the priest in his bright vestments, bearing God to the dying man.

The women hurry to place a light in their windows, kneel and pray as God passes.

So, with such poor pomp as these simple folk can muster,
764 the Prince of Peace comes to dying Zeppu. The funeral rites
[171] and customs differ hardly at all nowadays from those of other Catholic countries. But Zeppu's grandfather could remember a time when the Old Things were much in evidence.

764 There were the "Wailing Women" (whose name *newwicha*
767 survives in the sense of "one who constantly complains"). They wore long black robes, and chanted death-songs whose burden was a combination of praise for the deceased's virtues and rebuke for his having left them. They cut the vines from the courtyard, overturned the furniture, broke pottery, and mixed the fragments with soot and ashes, staining the doors
[302] of the bereaved house with the mixture. They cut pieces of their hair and scattered them over the coffin.

765 If the dead man possessed horses, cows, goats, all their tails
•[262] had pieces cut from them in token of mourning. There was a
[764] form of "wake" where funeral cakes and boiled wheat were eaten. A carpet was spread over the tomb to prevent the unware from treading on it.

[372] No fire was lit in the house for three days after the funeral.
[302] The women kept to the house for forty days. The men, having remained indoors for seven days, went unshaven.

764 Here are clear signs of the most primitive funeral rites
174 and *taboos*. Death was a pollution—hence the segregation of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 ears, a share of their own cosmopolitan culture, of their own standards of civilized life and manners.

They also, it would appear, taught the Maltese how to
●262 cook if the origin of some of the more savoury Maltese
177 dishes—*imbuljuta* and *zalzett*, *pastizzi* and *kusksu*, has been
correctly ascribed to the kitchens of the Grand Masters' palaces and Auberges of the Knights. One island speciality has even made its way into the *haute cuisine* of Europe as the perfect accompaniment of boiled turbot and similar fish. It is *Sauce Maltaise*—a *Hollandaise* encarnadined and additionally flavoured with the juice and finely shredded peel of the blood-orange, which can be of a deeper red in Malta than anywhere else in the world.

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Arms of the Order of S. John

[pp. 111-119 of Text have not been processed. Plates facing p. 112, and 113 have been processed].

Maltese Death, Mourning, and Funeral Customs.

764 Sir James Frazer's communication of a coroner's note about "Beliefs regarding Death in Cumberland"[1] has suggested to me that I might put on record Maltese funeral customs now extant, some of which are analogous to those noticed in Cumberland.

764 263 [184] [565] [171] [539] Amongst our middle and lower classes the practice still lingers of placing a dish of salt on the stomach of the corpse, whether of a male or of a female. The popular belief in Malta is that the salt prevents early decomposition. Certeux and Carnoy[2] give the following interpretation of a practice by Arabs in Algeria: "*Il est de convenance religieuse . . . de lui poser sur le ventre* [of the dead person] *quelque chose de pesant, afin de prevenir le gonflement.*" One of our Maltese sayings runs:

> "*Imût il-ghani u jmut il-fqir*
> *It-tnejn jitmelhu ghal geũũa il-bîr.*"

i.e. "Both the rich man and the poor man die, and both are salted for the pit" (a common rock tomb). This may, however, refer to the pickling or preservation of bodies in a saline solution.

764 The covering over of looking-glasses in the room where the body is lying is also practised by several Maltese families. Some go so far as to remove furniture, and turn round or take down pictures, in the death chamber and passages.

764 171 The following are the most characteristic features of existing Maltese practices, many of which are comparable to those of Sicily, while a few show some Eastern influence:—

(*a*) The washing of the dead body before shrouding. This is not a religious rite, and has no connection with that of Islam.

(*b*) The shutting of the eyelids, if open, and the raising of the chin by means of a band, usually a white kerchief, tied on the head.[3]

(*c*) The removal of door knockers and knobs; house doors are kept closed for several days; neighbours half-shut their own.

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[1] Vol. xxxi., p. 154.

[2] *L'Algerie Traditionelle*, p. 223.

[3] This is practised in Algeria. See Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

000 as a means of escape (Section 1).

The nature of the farmer's daily timetable depends on

512 (a) the type of farm-unit involved,
241 (b) the labour force available,
234 (c) location,
(d) season.

The farmer's day begins, on average, between 4 a.m. and 4.30 a.m. Extremes are found in the case of herdsmen who often rise much earlier - at 2.30 a.m. in the case of the Gozitan with a large herd of cows and only a limited milking labour force, or after 5a.m. or 5.30 a.m. for a herdsman whose farm is close to an M.M.U. collection depôt. The M.M.U. require herdsmen to deliver their milk at such a depôt for transportation to the pasteurizing centre at Hamrun or, in Gozo (after 1958), to the new milk centre at Xewkija. Before this latter addition to the milk industry, which is expected to cope with all the Gozo-produced milk in both pasteurizing and other processes, it was possible for a herdsman (Case I) in north-western Gozo to have to rise as early as 12.30 a.m. Generally, in the summer, reveille for the field worker might be an hour or so earlier than in winter so that he and, even more, the herdsman might expect to begin most of his working days in darkness.

[771] The first event of the day for many country people is Mass. Some are regular attenders at one of the services between 4 and 6 a.m. Others, living further from a Church or having very heavy commitments of work, are less so. Field workers frequently take the Mass on their way to the work of the day (Case X).

[264] Breakfast is invariably a very light meal of little more than bread and tea or coffee. It is taken sometime between reveille and about 9 a.m. and does not constitute a major halt in the work of the farm. Milk producers in most cases do not breakfast until the animals are milked or even until they return with their carts from taking the churns to the M.M.U. collection depôt in the nearest village.

[264] [461] The main meal of the day is lunch, taken somewhere between 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. and followed by a siesta of up to three hours. The herdsman's siesta is less flexible than that of the farmer for a 1 p.m. afternoon milking limits the time available. The milking over, the goat-herder takes his animals out to graze on a suitable patch of waste ground or stubble until 5 or 6 pm. - or later in the summer (Case II). The milk is taken to the collection depôt with minimum loss of time especially in hot weather. In the case of the herdsman with cows there is clearly no question of grazing these animals (Case VI), except in one case (Case IX).

000 except in one case (Case IX).

241 The evening meal is generally smaller than the lunch
234 although consisting of much the same elements - a thick stew
512 ('brodu' or 'minestra'), along with bread, cheese, fruit,
264 olives, tomatoes, etc. The consumption of meat and fish is
[262] in part governed by religion and in part by price and
availability, though meat certainly figures much more prominently in the rural diet than formerly. The meal is taken soon after the return from the fields, about 6.30 p.m. and is followed, an hour or so later by the saying of a family Rosary before retiring for the night about 8.0 p.m. In Gozo there is a tendency for people to rise, eat, work and retire to bed rather earlier than in the larger Island and the smaller villages are usually dark and quiet by 7 p.m.

241 Apart, therefore, from external factors, such as M.M.U.
234 collection or Church service timings, the daily timetable of
512 the farmer and the herdsman depends to a large degree on his
own volition. He knows what work is outstanding and can decide how and when he will do it within the limits imposed by the season, demands of animals, and so on. Thus, at a peak period of field-work, such as harvest, the farmer and his assistants may work on until the late evening - even through the night. During exceptionally heavy rains, as in October 1957, work on anything approaching the normal scale is, on the other hand, impossible and the farmer's day becomes one of doing what he can and complaining copiously meanwhile.

241 Miège (B/516, p.236), writing in 1840, was impressed by
512 the regular and assiduous labour of the Maltese farmer, even
461 during the heat of the summer sun. "Il semble impossible,
au premier abord, que le paysan maltais puisse résister aux chaleurs intenses de l'été. Cependant, au milieu des champs, dès le lever du soleil, on le voit, exposés a ses brûlants rayons, continuer tout le jour ses pénibles travaux. Il fait deux pauses: la première a huit heures; il se repose alors une demi-heure pour déjeuner; la seconde à onze heures; c'est l'instant de son dîner frugal, après lequel il se repose de nouveau jusqu'à midi en hiver, et jusqu'à une heure en été, tantôt à l'ombre d'un figuier, tantôt au pied du petit mur qui entoure le champ, la tête couverte d'un bonnet de laine, et le reste du corps exposé au feux du jour. Il reprend ensuite ses travaux avec la même vigueur, et ne se retire qu'au signal donné par la cloche de son village, c'est à dire au coucher du soleil".

572 The essentials of the daily round of the farmer have
241 changed little since Miège wrote except in so far as the
234 tremendous increase in the importance of stock-rearing and
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*159 46 work of the farm and animals himself", and he can only cope with his own farm and animals if he follows a heavy and rigidly organized schedule of work. Hired labour is not a proposition, Pawlu avers, at £1 for an eight-hour day and this has apparently contributed to the emphasis which he has put on fodder and milk production in recent years.
[433] High costs of hired labour for field-work together with the poor and unguaranteed returns for crop produce make field work on dry (baghli) land a poor prospect. Irrigable land presents a different picture but there is none available in Pawlu's district.

*159 512 Pawlu's timetable (in effect he runs the farm single-handed) centres on the animals. During the summer months the pressure is slightly less because the weather is easier, field-work is less pressing and he has the casual help of the younger children in school vacations. Daily time of rising for Pawlu depends on where and when the milk has to be taken for collection. At one stage, in 1957, he had to be up soon after midnight but, until the new milk factory was opened at Xewkija in 1958, a more usual reveille was at 2 or 3 a.m.

[264] [262] Breakfast, of coffee and bread, is taken when the family gets up or when they return from the Church nearby. Pawlu often has to take meals when he can fit them in between his jobs so that it is somewhat exceptional to find the whole family sitting together for food. The morning milking takes him some two hours after which the animals need feeding and attention before he can go to the fields. About six times a month his morning takes him to Rabat or shopping or business errands.

[264] [262] Lunch, the main meal of the day, consists every day of either minestra (thick soup) or farinaceous paste of some kind, together with bread, cheese, oil (żejt) and home-made tomato 'kunserva'. Lunch is usually over by noon when milking and the preparation of the afternoon feed begins.
[264] The evening meal is normally similar to the lunch in content but less in amount. It is often taken immediately before retirement for the night which is early in the village. The farmer reckons to be in from the fields by sun-down but, when the evenings are longer, most of the village is quiet soon after 6 p.m. except where some conversation lingers in a paraffin-lit shop.

*159 512 794 Sundays and festa days are breaks from the normal routine, but Church-going is not confined to these days and in fact accounts for some two half-hour visits every day with extra attendances at the weekend. In this very rural community the 'social' aspect of church-going retains most of its traditional importance. In the absence of

*159 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday
262 Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable
to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts.
785 These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of
Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain
occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The
emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary
and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of
permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between
thefrugal meals.

*159 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in
262 Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his
wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school
●264 time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of
bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or
so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields
Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs,
olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked
meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls.
Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks,
and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least
one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature
and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (espe-
cially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields).
[261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted.
Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the
boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

198 The proportion of food purchased is now much greater
291 than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same
443 is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably
[432] both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young
[294] farmer when half the people in the village had looms and
many had spinning wheels to produce cotton graments for the
family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the
farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a
thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally
produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army
surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and
wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have
been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of
army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and
the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday
markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in
both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 With the increasing contact between town and country
369 the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief
178 leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no
longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like
townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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In the afternoon of the Feast, the great harbour and the several creeks, especially that of Calcara, present indeed a very lively appearance. Yachts, boats, and small crafts plough the deep, the greater part sailing, with flags and streamers flying in the breeze, laden with people, mostly clad in gay summer costumes, which they put on for the first time on this day as a sign of the approaching hot season. 527 [291] [501]

Some of these gay parties keep on their crafts, singing and playing guitars and melodeons, whilst others disembark on some shady rock on the sea-shore, where they spread their table-cloths and sit down to enjoy the edibles which they bring with them. 527 264 534

A little after sunset, when the numerous and jolly picnic parties have emptied some bottles of wine, the boats 527 501

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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Cathedral Church of Notabile on the 796 527 192
eve of the said festival.

On the morning of the feast—as 527
soon as the procession, which is led 262 264
by the Bishop, enters the Cathedral 273
Church—large crowds, especially of 301
country people in their substantial holi- [796]
day finery, and wearing their hoarded ornaments of massive gold, drive at a racing speed to Boschetto, where, careless of the excessive heat of a broiling sun, they divide into companies and under the shades of the leafy orange trees in the beautiful garden, they seem quite happy in eating their sumptuous dinners, consisting chiefly of stewed rabbit, ham, pies, cheese and an allowance of common wine, which they keep in large dark glass bottles, or in tin cans where the indispensable liquid is less liable to being spilt.

or trumpets. Before the corpse was interred, a pillow filled with orange and laurel leaves (*) was placed under the head, and a carpet spread over the tomb, which was suffered to remain some days, to show that during that time it was forbidden to walk over it. 000 764 824

No fire was lighted for three days in the kitchen of the deceased, and either one of the relations or some most intimate friend sent a dinner to the inhabitants of the house, which they ate cross-legged on the floor. 765 372 264

Women on this occasion remained forty days in the house, but men went out on the seventh day, with their faces unshaven. (†) 765 302

(*) Orange trees were regarded by the Pagans as expiatory.

(†) Mourning among the ancients was expressed by very different signs; such as by rending of garments, wearing sack cloth, laying aside crowns &c. Thus Plutarch, in his life of Cato, relates, that from the time of his leaving the city with Pompey, he neither shaved his head, nor, as usual, wore his crown or garland.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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NEW YEAR'S SUPERSTITIONS

A superstitious dread still attaches to some one of the family keeping absent at dinner time on New Year's day. He who doesn't dine with his family on New Year's day is expected to die at the end of that same year. 527 763 264

He who eats hotch-potch soup on New year's day is to gnaw the ham bones all the rest of the year. 527 262 787

Those who eat cabbages on New year's day groan for a whole year.

OIL, SALT AND WINE

The spilling of oil is considered a very unlucky omen by the Maltese. The spilling of salt or wine, however, betokens good luck. 777 787

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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THROWING STONES IN A WELL

Our ancestors made children believe that if they threw stones in a well or into the sea they had to lift them up some day with their eyelashes. 787 823

THIRTEEN AT TABLE

Sitting down thirteen to dinner is considered very unlucky. 777 264 763

The notion is that one of the thirteen will die within the next twenty four hours. The origin popularly assigned to this widespread superstition is the fact that thirteen was the number at the Last Supper, Judas being the thirteenth.

SNEEZING

The custom of saying "Evviva" or "Sahha" to one who happens to sneeze 827

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
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the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days, after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern 171
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 264
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 516
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these 352
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain from having their pastry and other food prepared in a public oven for a period of some months after the death of a member of the family.

184
IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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541 174 spent in feastings and revelling of every kind.

FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT

796 783 In the afternoon of this day, which is known by the name of "Hadd in-nies" (the people's Sunday), immense crowds of people, from all parts of the Island, flock to casal Zabbar, in their best Sunday finery, for the purpose of saying some prayers before our Lady of Graces (tal Grazia) in the parish Church of the village, as an atonement of the follies committed on the Carnival days, After paying the visit the people go out of the church parading the streets.

796 265 The numerous shops of the said village are pretty well got up for this occasion. Stews, ham, cheesecakes, and other viands are profusely supplied for

those, who, either from the effect of the country walk, or from the smells emanating from the cooked rabbits and fried sausages, feel inclined to go in and partake of the tempting dishes. 796 265

The crowd of visitors keep on promenading along the streets of the village till little before sunset. At the *Angelus*, the Zabbar visitors are on their way home, and the inhabitants of the village, are left peacefully alone to remove the chairs and tables prepared for their friends and relations. 796

HOLY THURSDAY AND GOOD FRIDAY 796 785

These two days of Holy Week—the end of the Penitential season—are days of solemn and melancholy ceremonial in Malta and observed as days of rigid

Grace's carriage to the commonest 796
donkey cart, keep moving through [493]
the merry crowds, in search of their
occupants.

Most of the people, however, who take part in this general procession, either stop at Zeitun, or proceed to Marsascirocco — a watering place at some distance from that village—where they spend the remainder of the day in merry making.

Round cheese cakes, *kassatât*, is the 796
most common edible connected with 262
this day, and from early morning, the 265
whole day long, the shrill cries uttered by the innumerable vendors of the cakes may be heard throughout the village.

A few remarks about the origin of 796
this procession will be interesting. 174

Many and various are the opinions as regards that origin.

sembled, from a wooden pulpit in the 796 537
open air, near the small chapel. When 796
the sermon is over the jolly country 543
girls take a great delight in the fair [366]
which is held along the space in front
of the small church, which is blocked up
from end to end with temporary booths.

The wares offered for sale are of the 796
simplest description, consisting princi- 543
pally of scapulars, pictures, gay woollen 438
and cotton sashes and handkerchiefs,
cheep trinkets, and glass and china of
inferior quality; but there is enough
colour and glitter to produce a pretty
kaleidoscopic effect when touched by
the rays of the bright shining sun.

On this morning the scores of vendors [265]
of sweetmeats, lemonade, and iced water
seem endowed with extra power of
throat and lungs for vociferating these
refreshing compounds, and the set up

796 [543] [438] [265] tables, piled with the castellated erections of honey and almonds, tempt those crowds of country people to spend what they have purposely put by for this annual holiday.

After three or four hours of high revel the wheeled vehicles return home with their jolly occupants singing all along the road.

Sta. MARIA

796 184 On the 15th of August, the day dedicated to the Assumption of the B. V. Mary (Santa Maria), nearly all the Island of Malta is *en fête*.

[103] Seven of the twentyfour villages, that is:—Casals Musta, Dingli, Attard, Crendi, Micabiba, Asciak and Gudia celebrate on this day their titular feast with the usual illuminations, fireworks and processions.

178 241 561 In terms of the social pattern of the rural village, this means that there is a very significant distinction to be made between the older generation of farmers proper and the younger generation whose direct attachment to the land and farming is weaker if not already broken. If one turns to a consideration of the way of life and living standards in the village community this gulf is apparent. Most spectacular perhaps are changes in clothing.

178 291 The familiar working garb of the farmer has been the heavy woollen vest, cotton trousers, waistcoat, and cap. Recently, army-surplus shirts, denims, etc., have replaced the locally-made garment, often of home-grown cotton, while the cummerbund is now rare. Sandals are normally worn for walking but not for work. The farmer who works round the clock has never had a 'best suit'. He attends Mass in his working clothes before going to the fields and, on Sundays and holidays, ventures forth as on any other day with the possible addition of a woollen cardigan or more presentable waistcoat. For women, the use of the *faldetta* ribbed hood has declined rapidly in the last 20 years and is now only worn by the older women in the villages and by female members of the M.U.S.E.U.M. movement. The use of black generally by women is declining but most clothes are still made in the home even if from bought material rather than home-produced cotton or wool. The younger generation are not usually content to venture forth dressed in the manner of their parents but insist on making their own appearance as much like that of the average town-dweller among whom they aim to move socially. The white shirt, smart suit, shoes, socks, and well-oiled hair of the young men and the bright dresses, high-heeled shoes, nylons and cosmetics of the village maidens are regarded as the essential uniform of the seeker after the bright lights of Valletta and the towns. The schools have played a part in this with their demands on cleanliness, footwear and dress in the classroom. Occasionally a child goes bare-foot to a village school but no one would think of visiting Valletta shoe-less. The imitation of urban standards of dress is particularly apparent in the sub-urban districts where the farming minority are at pains to 'keep up with the Vellas' in dress - in spite of the expense involved.

178 [262] [272] [533] [209] Diet in the traditional rural scene depended upon what could be produced by the fields and animals held by any family. The standard soups and stews (such as *minestra* and *brodu*) were consequently largely vegetable. Meat was rarer, fish seasonal and small birds might be added to a stew depending on the results of the hunting or, more correctly, shooting which was and is a popular Sunday and Holiday pastime in the countryside. The diet was rather less 'Italian' than that in Valletta and the towns, with potatoes in place of the various forms of farinaceous paste - spaghetti, macaroni, etc. As in the rest of the Islands before the 1939-45 war, milk was taken fresh from goats and sheep and was not infrequently disease-carrying. Tinned milk is now popular in town and country but consumption of bottled, pasteurised milk is growing. Tea and coffee drinking have to some extent replaced local and home-made wines, especially in the many bars and small cafés which have become the leisure-time resorts of the men of the villages between strolls in the squares and streets. Even here change is evidenced, for the traditional guitar-accompanied *għana* of the Maltese peasant has given way to *Radio e Televisione Italiana* as the basis of café entertainment.

512 This very increase in leisure time is significant. The old farmer is content to spend the greater part of every day with his animals or in the fields for they are in fact his hobby as well as his livelihood. Cinemas and bright lights hold no attraction for him; but the young man insists on recreation as he sees it in the towns. The timetable of the farmer varies according to his type of farming. The herdsmen's life is ruled by the routine of feeding and attention demanded by his cows or goats and by the times of milk collection demanded by the Milk Marketing Undertaking. All this means an earlier daily start (sometimes 1 or 2 a.m.) than is usual for the field worker who begins his day with a 4 a.m. or 5 a.m. Mass and then stops for a light breakfast some three hours later. Lunch-time is 11 a.m. or noon and is followed by a *siesta* of some hours, depending on the season and the pressure of work to be completed before the sun goes down and the field-worker shoulders his hoes or his wooden plough and returns home

[p. 44]

262 In respect of diet an important distinction between town
369 and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially
'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other
pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily
available; but in the country districts there is notably
less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other
vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all
his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain
local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still
able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables
for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however
a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits
273 (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are
262 now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods
511 such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet
cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now
established themselves as needs and, consequently, as
demands on the family purse.

178 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from
291 which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This
in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy.
Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made
at home or at least within the village and were worn by
the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today
a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer
now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest
change is among the younger farming generation who want to
dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of
clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly.
especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the
widespread use of military surplus material.

423 Housing is important in the present consideration
362 because money is now being spent by the farmer both on
511 buying his own house where he can but also on developing
it and improving the furnishings.

[178] Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town
dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or
178 semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of
511 'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and
recreation all require money. Payments to the Church
have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and
taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, can
clearly only be met with cash.

451 The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the
511 typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The
[123] second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 434 234 (i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957 c.£1350. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).

- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').
- ●[272] About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production.
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

*159 241 [435] (ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
- 'Early' Crop - January to April.

Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 25/4 per qanter for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.

- [433] Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

[433] (iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder production meets c.one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land

(a) On best land typical sequence would be.

Sept.	(a)	Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuce per tomna.
Sept.-Dec.	(b)	Winter crop of potatoes.
Jan.	(c)	Artifical fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April	(d)	Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug.	(e)	Summer fallow.
Sept.-April	(f)	Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug.	(g)	Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May	(h)	Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug.	(i)	Fallow.
Sept.-April	(j)	Sulla.

(b) More usual practice (which is not though of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.

- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as żoffa and ġinġlin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassices, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds

- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

*159 232 (iii) Livestock - Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.

- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

*159 433 451 (i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer. Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own

796 aware of their separateness, and realized that both incense and
[123] gunpowder were ingredients basic to the celebration of a festa.

The actual celebration of the feast can be divided into three
parts: the Triduum or Novena – the three to nine days of spiritual
preparation which precede the feast day – the eve of the feast,
and the day of the feast. As the feast is usually celebrated on a
Sunday so that more people can come, the Triduum days are
Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. High Mass is offered on these
days, and in the evenings outside priests often come to preach
sermons on religious topics related to the life of the patron saint.
They are also days of preparation during which the elaborate
street decorations are hoisted into place. Throughout the day the
village is psychologically conditioned to the festa by salvoes of
aerial bombs which are often timed to coincide with the ringing
[533] of the Paternoster and the Angelus. On the last day of the Triduum,
after the final sermon, the village band marches through
the main streets. Often the band is preceded by a mass of dancing
and shouting enthusiasts of both sexes, who wave coloured
scarves, silver loving cups and other symbols of their loyalty to
[578] their band and their saint. In villages where there are competing
[575] band clubs, this demonstration often provokes fights between
rival supporters. These skirmishes are usually sparked off by the
bands of girls who hoarsely shout themselves into a frenzy proclaiming
the virtues of their saint and the shortcomings of their
rivals. There are no visitors during this part of the feast.

On Saturday, the eve of the feast, there is a High Mass and Te
Deum to mark the end of the Triduum. This is usually followed
by a barrage of aerial fireworks. The local band then often
marches through the village, stopping at all the clubs for drinks.
[273] This march is usually quite gay but in some villages it degenerates
into a drunken spree. During the day, outside priests are brought
[783] in specially for the festa to hear confessions in the church. In the
late afternoon, visitors begin to arrive to watch the Translation, a
ceremony during which the celebrant, usually the Bishop, takes a
relic of the saint on a short procession outside the church. After
[533] the Translation, the various guest bands march through the
village and then settle down to play selections from operas and
works composed by Maltese bandmasters. The many relatives and
friends of the bandsmen join the gaily dressed crowds who have
been streaming in by bus and car or on foot.

[P:44]

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Cathedral Church of Notabile on the 796 527
eve of the said festival. 192

On the morning of the feast—as 527
soon as the procession, which is led 262 264
by the Bishop, enters the Cathedral 273
Church—large crowds, especially of 301
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finery, and wearing their hoarded ornaments of massive gold, drive at a racing speed to Boschetto, where, careless of the excessive heat of a broiling sun, they divide into companies and under the shades of the leafy orange trees in the beautiful garden, they seem quite happy in eating their sumptuous dinners, consisting chiefly of stewed rabbit, ham, pies, cheese and an allowance of common wine, which they keep in large dark glass bottles, or in tin cans where the indispensable liquid is less liable to being spilt.

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527 174 [171] No reason can be assigned for the origin or meaning of keeping St. Martin's feast as a day of merriment among the Maltese. The usage is persisted in without any association or tradition to account for it, but the merry making in the neighbouring island of Sicily at this time of the year, when the new wine is made use of for the first time.

527 262 •273 Wine drinkers are of opinion that one can judge best of the flavour of wine after eating some nuts first—this perhaps is the reason why nuts are made so much use of on this merry day.

174 527 Moresin refers the great doings on this occasion to an ancient Athenian festival observed in honour of Bacchus, on the 11th, 12th, and 13th days of the month of *Anthesterion*, corresponding with our November.

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787 in a rage, and he could not be per-
585 suaded to go back to his wedding
533 before the organist could be found and
the organ played for the occasion.

PAYING VISITS

273 If a person goes to pay a visit, for
574 the first time, to a party and is not
576 treated with a sort of drink called
825 *zambur* — made of aniseed—a mouse enters the chest of drawers and gnaws all the petticoats of the mistress of the house.

SENDING TO THE OVEN

252 Some people think it a great shame
562 for a woman who sends dishes to be cooked in an oven when her husband is away from the Island.

438 The many little shops
443 scattered about the village permit the women to do most of their
512 shopping near their own homes. Because of the long, hot summers
621 when food spoils quickly, they shop separately for each meal.
[251] Their shopping trips begin on the way home from the early Mass,
[796] at about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, and continue until
7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus, during the course of a day, a woman may make as many as a dozen trips to the shops as well as to the hawkers who pass through the neighbourhood. These trips are social occasions during which she comes in contact with friends and neighbours from all parts of the village, and in the process hears the village news.

● 275 The men are out of the village from 6 o'clock or so in the
512 morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, and
517 in the winter from about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock
621 in the evening. But summer or winter, in the late afternoon and
the early evening the men gather in the clubs, wine shops and cafés. Besides the clubs and important cafés in the square, which draw men from all over the village, there are many small neighbourhood wine shops. Most have a regular clientele of friends and neighbours who spend hours together talking, playing cards and drinking tea, soft drinks or wine. Many cafés also have television. Thus, though most inhabitants of a village are in fairly frequent contact with each other, the gossip groups of the women and the wine shops of the men form local social centres which help bind neighbours more closely to one another. These neighbourhoods develop a certain group loyalty.

621 It often happens that some of the neighbourhoods in a town or
794 village are centred on small chapels. In times gone by there used
796 to be a certain amount of good-natured competition between the
youngsters of these districts over the festas of the patron saints of their respective chapels. But, except on rare occasions, this rivalry never threatened the unity of the village during the annual festa of the patron saint of the parish. Frequent removals from house to house within the village have usually helped to prevent the development of disruptive sectional loyalties.

621 Since each village is also a separate parish it is not possible to
[771] consider a village entirely as a secular community. Religion per-
[794] meates the structure of Maltese society to an extent that makes it
quite impossible to classify many institutions as either religious or secular. As a secular community, a village has no official leader, it

178 across the village and the clubs, and has brought about conflict
within many families. People lament the change that has come
578 over the village as a result. An old bachelor friend often used to
621 complain that had we come to live there just a few years ago,
'before politics came and spoiled everything', we would have
found the village a far happier place. Picnics and outings were
more frequent then, and groups of friends used to gather on hot
summer evenings and stroll outside the village to play guitars and
sing the lilting Maltese *għana* in the cool air away from the houses.
[575] There was also more life in the clubs. Both the Social Club and
the Band Club used to take part in the national carnival com-
[796] petition for the best decorated carts and costumed companies. But
as the political conflict has divided the island's carnival celebra-
tion in two, so it has also affected the clubs. They now celebrate
neither the government's carnival nor that of the MLP for fear the
question of which one to participate in would provoke a fight
that would cripple the club.

Dun Bert, the parish priest in Kortin, is of course the head of
578 the local group which supports the Archbishop and opposes the
665 MLP. His chief lieutenants in the fight are the local clergy and the
793 lay leaders of the religious associations. Pawlu and Anton, his two
794 faithful helpers, are also vocal partisans, as is old Manwel. Dr.
Farrugia, old Manwel's son, as a former member of the Legisla-
tive Assembly (MLA) and a leading member of one of the political
parties opposed to the MLP, also belongs to the pro-Church
division in the village, though he takes little part in its day-to-day
affairs. The main activity and support comes from the leaders of
275 the lay associations, especially of the Young Christian Workers,
578 the MUSEUM and the Sodality of Our Lady. These all meet regu-
665 larly in their respective premises. Many of the others, older men,
794 spend much of their free time in Kelinu's café. These include old
Manwel, Pawlu, Anton, the sacristan, the organist, and Dun
Mikiel and Dun Filip, respectively the chaplains of the female and
male sections of Catholic Action. This café, located right next to
Dr. Farrugia's house, is the nicest café on the square, or in the
village for that matter. It is the only one which the clergy, the
teachers and occasionally Dr. Farrugia himself, frequent. It is thus
the headquarters of the more influential village citizens who sup-
port the Archbishop. Most MLP supporters have stopped going to
[517] it, although a few still play cards there for an hour or so in the late
afternoon when they return from work.

275

afternoon when they return from work. Many Labour sym- 578
pathizers believe that the important anti-Labour demonstrations 665
and moves are plotted at Kelinu's. 794

The headquarters of the MLP group is the Labour Club, which is 575
situated just off the square and around the corner from Kelinu's. 665
Salvu, the ex-MLA who is the leader of the village Labour group,
spends his evenings there with his lieutenants, the officers of the
village Labour Committee. Salvu, a small building contractor, has
had little formal education, but he has an engaging personality, a
quick mind and is a persuasive speaker. He is also an excellent
comic actor, a playwright of sorts, and the author of most of the
slogans that appear on the club's blackboard. Smaller groups of [275]
Labour supporters meet at one of the other cafés on the square,
and at some of the wine shops near the chapel of St. Paul in the
poorer section of the village. Other groups of pro-Labour friends
often gather on the steps of the church or around a bench near the
Labour club. They rarely go into the club itself, for all are
anxious to avoid being marked as open Labour supporters by the
village, which, generally speaking, is strongly anti-Labour.

The supporters of the Archbishop and those of the Labour 575
Party rarely meet face to face as organized bodies. When they do, 665
it is the occasion for a good deal of ill-feeling and, sometimes, open 794
hostility. This occurs when a big rally is organized in the village.
Two such rallies were held in Kortin while we were living there.
The first was on the occasion of a visit of the Archbishop; the
second was a national MLP meeting. Dun Bert and his assistants
organized a huge demonstration in honour of the Archbishop
during his visit. It was a great success. The Labour club arranged
a social and musical gathering the evening before to work up
Party solidarity, but it closed its doors during the actual visit and
cleaned off its blackboard in order not to provoke incidents. With
but one exception, there were no incidents to spoil the enthusiastic
welcome the villagers accorded the Archbishop. Many Labour
supporters attended the demonstration, for the Archbishop was
visiting the village as head of the Church in Malta to bestow the
sacrament of confirmation on the children. But as the Archbishop 578
and his excited escort approached the church, a bitter Labour 665
supporter made an insulting gesture at him. (People were quick 673
to inform us that the man was an outsider married into the 688
village.) He was subsequently arrested and convicted, for as
794

[P: 133]

OMENS AND SUPERSTITIONS

ST. PAUL'S TONGUE

It was a popular belief among our 825
ancestors that the teeth of fish, which 133
we find embedded in some of the rocks, are St. Paul's *tongue*, which during his sermons penetrated even the solid rock. These fossils were pounded and the [278]
powder was held to possess a miraculous power in healing wounds.

Till recently it has been known that 825
some of our countryfolks used to carry 751
one of these teeth about with them, sometimes mounted on silver and hung about their necks, as an amulet against the bites of venomous vipers—at one time very abundant in Malta.

It
may also be combined with a tricky piece of rock-climbing— 133
how tricky the writer can testify from personal experience—
by anyone prepared to scale the precipitous islet known as
the Fungus Rock, which closes the entrance to the lagoon
of Qala Dwejra.

This impressive and now almost inaccessible rock takes its 133
name from the strange and repellent-looking black plant 278●
(*Fucus coccineus melitensis*) which grows on its summit and 655
in the days of the Order was regarded as a sovereign remedy [137]
against hæmorrhage and dysentery. The plant was a [757]
perquisite of the Grand Masters, and a guard was provided
in a tower on the mainland to keep away trespassers. Those 133
who came legitimately to take the fungus landed by means 417
of a basket suspended on ropes stretched between the rock 278
and the nearest point on the mainland; an old water-colour
in the Malta Museum depicts this means of transit, which
has long since disappeared. It was evidently of a somewhat
precarious nature, at all events to judge from the account of
a gentleman who effected the passage in 1815:[1]

> One object of curiosity on the south side of the island [*sc.* Gozo] is a rock, on which grows a kind of fungus, which is used as a styptic. The passage to this rock is rather curious, if not dangerous; two ropes are made fast on each shore, on which a box with grooves on its edges passes over. A Maltese first works his way across, then the person desirous to go over draws the box back and seats himself in it, when he is hauled over by the guide; in this manner as many as please can go, one at a time.
>
> It is not a very pleasant sensation to be suspended some hundred feet above the water, and if there is any wind, the movement of the box is anything but agreeable, and all that can be obtained are a few pieces of fungus. I was well pleased to be back again, and made a determination never to risk my precious carcase in that conveyance again. It seems very strange to be swinging up in the air between two rocks, with sea-gulls and other aquatics flying about below you.

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[1] From *Malta Sixty Years Ago*, by Claudius Shaw (London, 1875).

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catchment area of the port was extended to include most of the east and centre of the island.

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[114]

The decline in indigenously rooted economic activity is typified by the fortunes of the cotton industry, which after two millennia of regional fame finally succumbed to the stresses of the new world into which Malta had been introduced. Statistical information is limited to brief mention of employment in the industry in the Census Reports of 1851 and later. General material, often untrustworthy, may be gleaned from travellers reports. Field work (18) carried out during the last four years has given us the evidence of the few surviving cotton workers who can recall the character of the industry as it was in its moribund latter days.

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In 1861 there still remained almost 9,000 workers occupationally described as spinners and weavers and some 200 beaters and dyers. Ninety-six per cent. of the total were women, and male labour was generally used only in the final stages of cloth preparation. The industry included all processes from the growing of indigenous short staple annual cottons to the manufacture of cloth. The actual operations however were carried out almost entirely by individual workers in their own homes and were linked only by merchants specialising in this trade. In many cases merchants advanced seed to the farmers on a crop-sharing basis. In all cases they bought the picked lint and then distributed quantities by weight to 'out-work' spinners. These would return the yarn, which had been prepared by primitive traditional teasers and spinning wheels, and were paid by weight and fineness of the yarn. The village merchant would store the yarn until he received an order for cloth and would then make similar contracts with domestic weavers.

That this type of 'out-work', domestic industry survived late into the nineteenth century is a commentary on the social and economic needs of the poorer village and rural classes. Much of the female labour described as occupied in cotton-working was often only seasonally thus employed. The 1861 census taken in the autumn in contrast to the usual spring period clearly illustrates the seasonal change of work between spring harvesting and tillage in the fields, and the home use of the spinning wheel after the autumnal harvest. Tariffs and quotas on trade in lint and yarn were deliberately employed to protect in the domestic market this last employment reserve of the 'lower classes'.

Finally however tradition and protection proved powerless to prevent change. In the harbour area the decline was rapid after 1851, alternative employment and the impact of trade virtually killing the indigenous cotton industry by 1901. Away from the conurbation the same factors operated more slowly but still inexorably. Żebbuġ and Rabat, centres of old Malta, were the last to succumb. The former, a great centre of mercantile and ecclesiastical wealth derived from cotton, remained relatively important for weaving until 1914. In Rabat, the suburb of the old capital, a craft industry still survives. With the coming of new opportunities for wealth gaining, not in trade but in mass employment in the dockyards and towns, the last *raison d'être* of the cotton industry disappeared. It survived longest in the cotton growing regions of the west and in the most Maltese of the old villages of the Centre and South. With its disappearance died the last considerable skilled employment of traditional resource wealth.

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Changes such as these characterised the Maltese economy during the nineteenth century. World War I marked the end of an epoch during which the evaluation placed on Malta by Britain was sometimes questioned but never invalidated. The Maltese economy as it existed in the opening years of the twentieth century had reached the logical culmination of a specialised development which had been under way for centuries.

178 which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming
element are the old settlements.[4] The non-agricultural
369 Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta
and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural
basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages
grew little in size and declined considerably in relative
importance.

178 A closer investigation of the declining relative impor-
tance of farming within the rural villages themselves over
241 the past hundred years (v. Appendix 1D, vii and Graph)
433 reveals that during some periods economic prosperity in
464 Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally,
166 that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a
return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared.
This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the
nineteenth and the first decade of the present century (B/381).
Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming
(v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the
Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land
have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked
this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers
who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the
nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land
upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions
declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a
foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the
land as he is with the community which it supported. If a
depression were to appear along with any limitation in
emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in
times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for
farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring
but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and
farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic
in character.

178 The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial
464 rather than total in that the bulk of farmers and farm-workers
who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or
241 'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper
(B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of
countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past
the availability of alternative employment has been the
governing factor. The earlier periods of economic prosperity
mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for
175 the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the
464 only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural
288 Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving. Even
here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and
manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth

175 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, par-
288 ticularly after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports
464 of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is
today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective
monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century,
much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted
to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male
labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing
departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was
centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft,
so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from
home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton
production declined. This decline accelerated towards the
close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an
even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands.
The total decline was due to external economic factors but,
within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest
in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The
cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest -
where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing
178 work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end
241 of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of
369 this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first,
464 and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the
[288] Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the
[396] harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton
[504] industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus
appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater
break with home, farm and village than had been the case with
cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the
alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into
the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population
of the rural area became less and less dependent on agricul-
ture for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in
178 an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second,
241 considered later in more detail, is the social change which
369 has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager
241 through direct and indirect education and contact with the
433 people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two
forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had
happened before on a temporary basis and the other a
consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which
has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world,
have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he
has the new range of employment opportunities indicated,
while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

462 family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and
562 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment
178 outside the home or even outside the village and insists on
a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been
proper for her mother.

462 The home and the care of the children remains the sphere
of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work
178 only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the
men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this
side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this
nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats
generalization.

178 Until recently it was customary for most women and girls
462 to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields,
especially when work was pressing as at harvest time.
●288 Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of
464 its preparation (Section 1), while lace was almost entirely
the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity
excluded them from field work. Cotton is now of minor
importance and lace-working is confined to the older
178 generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now
464 partly being filled by young women and girls seeking
employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing,
teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers than was the case a generation ago. Yet there
remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to
suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of
the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude
that persists in labelling paid employment fo a girl as
somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case,
discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout Malta (B/598).

241 Some farming families still retain the traditional
462 pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI);
others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and
[178] girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In
the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and
picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled,
such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men
(v. Case I on the division of family labour).

241 In general it appears that as the younger age-groups
592 are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided.
[178] The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-money' donations and even these went to sons working full-
[465] time with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and not to daughters.
Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

000 and inertia of the traditional peasant.

STANDARD OF LIVING

178 The past century and a half have seen the develop-
511 ment from peasant to commercial farming, along with the
[436] adoption of money as the basis of exchange, and the
appearance of a large range of new demands in diet,
clothing, housing, luxuries, recreation, etc. Some
observations on the living standards of the farming comm-
unity during the period are now indicated.

175 Speaking of living standards in the Malta of the
511 early nineteenth century Price considers that "an identity
and cohesion prevailed not only in major economic trends
369 but in the economic habits of the people" (B/556, p.8).
178 Thus "In these circumstances it is possible to examine
together the habits of rural labourers, urban labourers,
artisans, small farmers and fishermen...." (B/556, p.9).
Price holds that during the first half of the nineteenth
century there was in fact little change in the living
standards prevailing in the Maltese Islands despite the
fluctuations evident within the national economy as a
whole. "Years of prosperity may have brought a slight
increase in the ratio of wheaten to barley bread or in
the use of novel clothing such as straw hats. But, it
seems clear, the chief effect of prosperity was to increase
the consumption of oil, alcohol and tobacco; these,
together with his religion, ranked first in the list of
desirable and important things in the minds of the Maltese
flush with surplus cash. Presumably these were the
things he *hoped* society would give while his traditional
diet, clothing and shelter were the things he *expected*
175 society to provide" (B/556, p.9-10). Among the unskilled
434 urban and rural workers there was a notable uniformity
369 in wage throughout the period. Price speaks of 6¾d for
a day's work for a man (and about 1d only for a women)
but observes that skilled workers, and especially those
in dockyard employ, could expect very much more
(B/556, p.9-10). For the mass of the labouring and
farming community therefore income was of the order of
a few pence per day but, as suggested, the prevailing
self-sufficiency of the near-peasant farmer of the period
made actual monetary income an inadequate indicator of
standards of living. For the urban worker, on the other
hand, lacking the farm basis, the low wage level meant
poverty and hardship. More especially "Poverty.....
pressed heavily on the under-employed" (B/556, p. 11).

175 The importance of cotton to the nineteenth century
288 Maltese farmer has been discussed in Section 1. In 1839

In 1839

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The principal
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-
wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is
the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing
by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work,
175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nine-
teenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on
other crops while, socially, the change affected the
family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commis-
735 sioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become
511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and
that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts,
the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded
saving but also led to begging and stealing which was
"One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty
and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Miège in 1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167); reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874 (B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207); on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on
mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great
as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the
bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country
districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst
description" while "It must also be admitted that the
sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not
so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late
175 years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

511 The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence
[369] is that there existed a considerable gulf in general
[464] living standards between the people of the towns and
those of the country. There was also an important
[458] contrast within the then rapidly expanding Urban area,

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Plate XVII. Roadside grazing of goats.

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Plate XVIII. A farming family.

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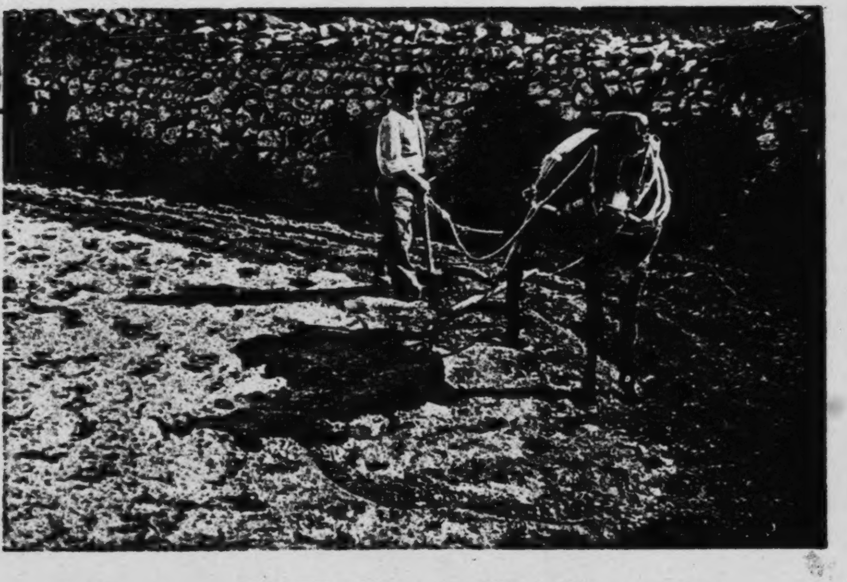

Plate XIX. Tillage - traditional style.

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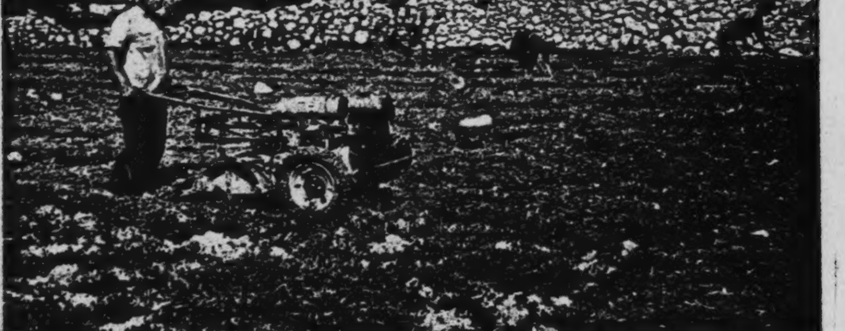

Plate XX. Tillage - new style.

178 241 561 In terms of the social pattern of the rural village, this means that there is a very significant distinction to be made between the older generation of farmers proper and the younger generation whose direct attachment to the land and farming is weaker if not already broken. If one turns to a consideration of the way of life and living standards in the village community this gulf is apparent. Most spectacular perhaps are changes in clothing.

178 291 The familiar working garb of the farmer has been the heavy woollen vest, cotton trousers, waistcoat, and cap. Recently, army-surplus shirts, denims, etc., have replaced the locally-made garment, often of home-grown cotton, while the cummerbund is now rare. Sandals are normally worn for walking but not for work. The farmer who works round the clock has never had a 'best suit'. He attends Mass in his working clothes before going to the fields and, on Sundays and holidays, ventures forth as on any other day with the possible addition of a woollen cardigan or more presentable waistcoat. For women, the use of the *faldetta* ribbed hood has declined rapidly in the last 20 years and is now only worn by the older women in the villages and by female members of the M.U.S.E.U.M. movement. The use of black generally by women is declining but most clothes are still made in the home even if from bought material rather than home-produced cotton or wool. The younger generation are not usually content to venture forth dressed in the manner of their parents but insist on making their own appearance as much like that of the average town-dweller among whom they aim to move socially. The white shirt, smart suit, shoes, socks, and well-oiled hair of the young men and the bright dresses, high-heeled shoes, nylons and cosmetics of the village maidens are regarded as the essential uniform of the seeker after the bright lights of Valletta and the towns. The schools have played a part in this with their demands on cleanliness, footwear and dress in the classroom. Occasionally a child goes bare-foot to a village school but no one would think of visiting Valletta shoe-less. The imitation of urban standards of dress is particularly apparent in the sub-urban districts where the farming minority are at pains to 'keep up with the Vellas' in dress - in spite of the expense involved.

178 [262] Diet in the traditional rural scene depended upon what could be produced by the fields and animals held by any family. The standard soups and stews (such as *minestra* and *brodu*) were consequently largely vegetable. Meat was rarer, fish seasonal and small birds might be added to a stew depending on the results of the hunting or, more correctly, shooting which was and is a popular Sunday and Holiday pastime in the countryside. The diet was rather less 'Italian' than that in Valletta and the towns, with potatoes in place of the various forms of [272] farinaceous paste - spaghetti, macaroni, etc. As in the rest of the Islands before the 1939-45 war, milk was taken fresh from goats and sheep and was not infrequently disease-carrying. Tinned milk is now popular in town and country but consumption of bottled, pasteurised milk is growing. Tea and coffee drinking have to some extent replaced local and home-made wines, especially in the many bars and small cafés which have become the leisure-time resorts of the men [533] of the villages between strolls in the squares and streets. Even here change is [207] evidenced, for the traditional guitar-accompanied *għana* of the Maltese peasant has given way to *Radio e Televisione Italiana* as the basis of café entertainment.

512 This very increase in leisure time is significant. The old farmer is content to spend the greater part of every day with his animals or in the fields for they are in fact his hobby as well as his livelihood. Cinemas and bright lights hold no attraction for him; but the young man insists on recreation as he sees it in the towns. The timetable of the farmer varies according to his type of farming. The herdsmen's life is ruled by the routine of feeding and attention demanded by his cows or goats and by the times of milk collection demanded by the Milk Marketing Undertaking. All this means an earlier daily start (sometimes 1 or 2 a.m.) than is usual for the field worker who begins his day with a 4 a.m. or 5 a.m. Mass and then stops for a light breakfast some three hours later. Lunch-time is 11 a.m. or noon and is followed by a *siesta* of some hours, depending on the season and the pressure of work to be completed before the sun goes down and the field-worker shoulders his hoes or his wooden plough and returns home

2:Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[facing P.80]

5. Fireworks for the feast of St Leonard

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6. 'Viva San Ġużepp!'

[facing p. 81]

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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● [291]

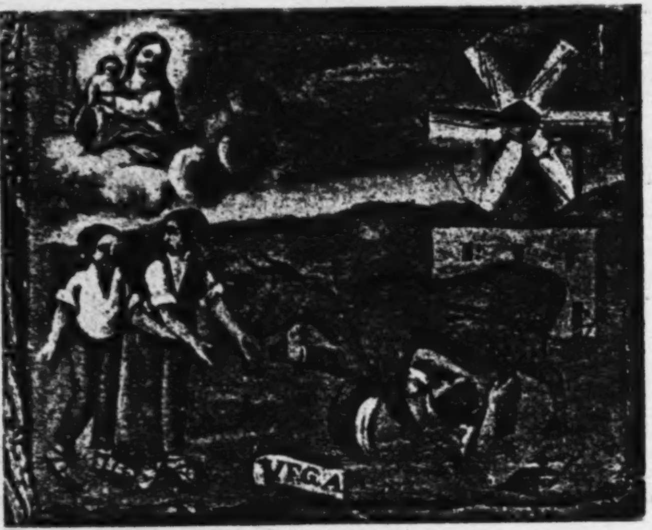

Figure 1

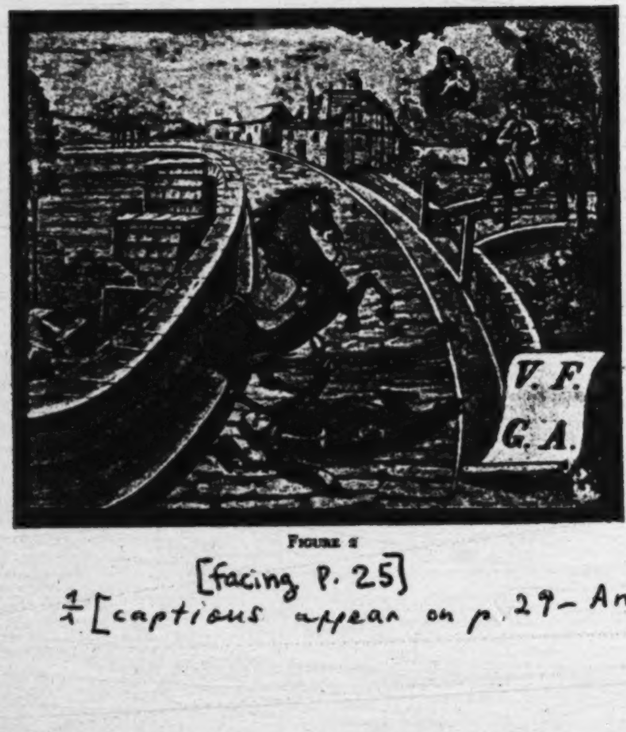

Figure 2

[facing p. 25]
1/1 [captions appear on p. 29 - An.]

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the Director of the National Museum, Valletta, Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A., and to Mr Jos. Spiteri of the same department for their kindness in taking the photographs; to the Rev. Jos. Tanti and the Rev. Canon Jos. Zammit, administrators of Tal Mirakli Church and of Tal Hlas Church, respectively, for allowing me to publish pictures of 'ex-votos' preserved in their churches. 128 126

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CAPTIONS TO PLATES [1]

Plate I

Fig. 1. Silver votive offerings representing various parts of the body. The model between the trunk and the ear is a stylized form of the female breasts. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782

Fig. 2. This leg of baked clay is from the Roman ruins at Ras-ir-Raheb to the north west of Bahria, Malta. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 3. Bronze dies of liver and lower limb used by Maltese silver smiths for the manufacture of the silver 'ex-votos'. Scale in centimetres and inches. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Plate II

Fig. 1. The picture tells the story so clearly that no inscription is attached to it. Note the Maltese type of windmill and the costumes of the peasants still in use during the last century. Tal Hlas Church, Qormi. (Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782 789

Fig. 2. The landscape is not Maltese. Presumably this 'ex-voto' was offered by a foreigner or else the donor was a Maltese who met with a riding accident abroad. The letters V.F.G.A. stand for 'Votum Fecit Gratiam Accepit' (A vow was made and a favour received). Tal Mirakli Church, Lija, Malta. (Photograph by Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A.) [402] [291] ●

[1] [plate I will be found facing p. 24; plate II faces p. 25. – An.]

[v. 44]

262 In respect of diet an important distinction between town
369 and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially 'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily available; but in the country districts there is notably less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits
273 (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are
262 now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods
511 such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now established themselves as needs and, consequently, as demands on the family purse.

178 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from
291 which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy. Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made at home or at least within the village and were worn by the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest change is among the younger farming generation who want to dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly, especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the widespread use of military surplus material.

423 Housing is important in the present consideration
362 because money is now being spent by the farmer both on
511 buying his own house where he can but also on developing it and improving the furnishings.

[178] Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

178 There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or
511 semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of 'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and recreation all require money. Payments to the Church have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, can clearly only be met with cash.

451 The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the
511 typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The
[123] second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

*159 452 off until mid-November but, in the intervening two and a half months, the purchase of fodder had been continued and the debt maintained. In that September he himself put his debt at £60 and said that at the previous Christmas (1956) it had been £100. Thus a debt of £60 in the flush milk season of highest total receipts from the M.M.U. would appear to be the best financial position he could achieve. Removal of the guaranteed milk price to the producer could result only in ruin for this herdsman and the many in the Islands like him.

*159 829 In spite of his own poverty Anĝlu maintains that he is fully aware of the artificial economic picture of which the guaranteed price is a part. In the same breath however he complains that he could sell his milk for more than the M.M.U. gives him in the short season. Here he overlooks the obvious outcome of a removal of the guarantee during the annual glut.

*159 178 291 511 His financial hardships make it impossible for him to hire labour or to invest in any capital improvements to the farm or herd. Neither does it enable him to support his family as he aspires. This is especially evident in the case of clothing because the family lives in an urban area and therefore strives to appear as well dressed as their non-farming neighbours. Anĝlu observes that there has been a change both in the types of clothing worn and in the occasions on which they are worn. He speaks of a Doctor of the district who used to go barefoot in the streets carrying a pair of shoes to put on before entering a house or Church. Nowadays, by contrast, children attend school with shoes and are generally well turned out. This is particularly true of an urban area, where Anĝlu's children go to school and where his teenage children go to work - a son as an apprentice carpenter, one daughter as a shop assistant and another as a factory worker. None of his children is likely to contemplate farming as a way of life and means of earning a living, for, in their father's case they can see an extreme example of the problem facing many farmers throughout the Islands today, that is a man unable to make a living wage for himself and his family from a farm limited in possibilities by external factors and dependant on a guarantee which could be removed at a general election.

*159 427

CASE V : Summary.

(A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer)

A. Land.

Rents and grazes 1 tomna of wasteland.
Rents and works as a domestic garden 1 tomna of dry land, in the Urban area.

*159 262 785 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts. These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between thefrugal meals.

*159 262 264 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs, olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls. Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks, and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (especially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields). [261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted. Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

198 ● 291 443 [432] [294] The proportion of food purchased is now much greater than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young farmer when half the people in the village had looms and many had spinning wheels to produce cotton graments for the family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 369 178 With the increasing contact between town and country the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

This increase in the

178 291 [511] range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of his children, both the infants and those attending school. [871] The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War [1102] of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been their practice before.

* Work and Labour

159 241 461 [464] As seen, Ġamri's normal labour force consists of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit......	1740 man/hours
	- vines......	489 " "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437 " "
	- potatoes...	868 " "
	- other vegetables...	505 " "
(ii) on Ġamri's own holding	- vines....	444 " "
	- cereals & fodders..	222 " "
	- vegetables	65
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109 " "
(c) Repair of storm damage...............		160 " "
(d) Building of pig-sties................		100 " "
(e) Miscellaneous........................		677 " "
		6816 man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analysed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġamri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

OUD In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

In the afternoon of the Feast, the great harbour and the several creeks, especially that of Calcara, present indeed a very lively appearance. Yachts, boats, and small crafts plough the deep, the greater part sailing, with flags and streamers flying in the breeze, laden with people, mostly clad in gay summer costumes, which they put on for the first time on this day as a sign of the approaching hot season. 527 [291] [501]

Some of these gay parties keep on their crafts, singing and playing guitars and melodeons, whilst others disembark on some shady rock on the sea-shore, where they spread their table-cloths and sit down to enjoy the edibles which they bring with them. 527 264 534

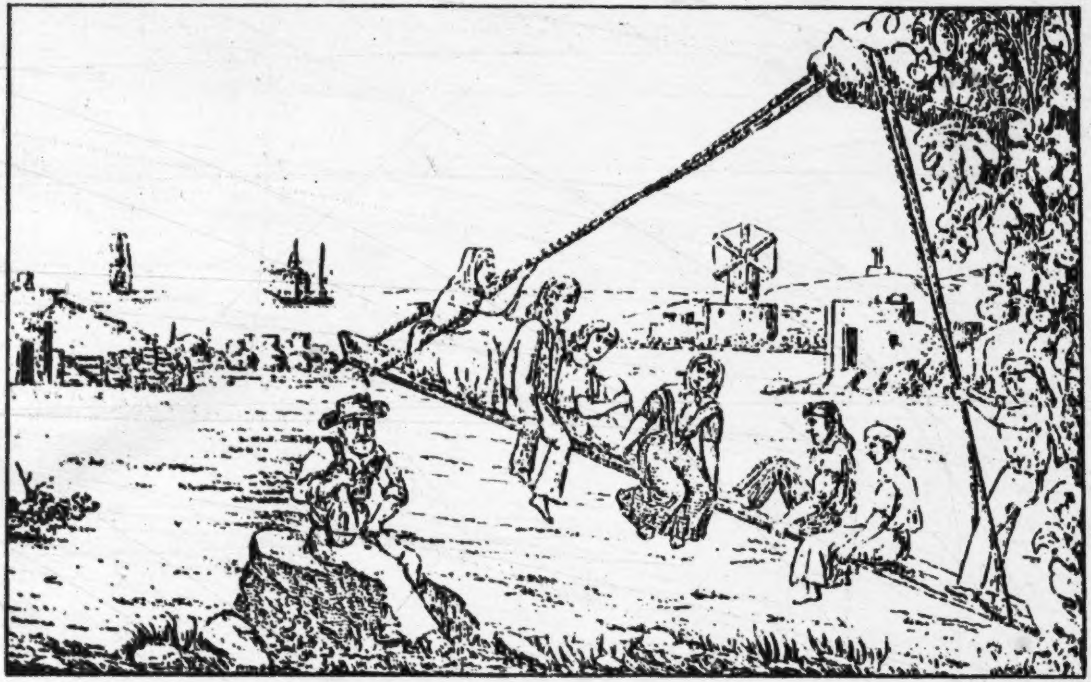
A little after sunset, when the numerous and jolly picnic parties have emptied some bottles of wine, the boats 527 501

the day they were married and when 175 562
they were buried. They were therefore 175 562
always employed within doors, and never went out, except at a very early 291 [794]
hour to church, when they were entirely covered by a long mantle. This [177]
costume came originally from Sicily, and reached from the head to the feet, the forehead and eyes alone being visible. The upper part of the mantle, covering the head, was cut in a different manner for unmarried women—these wearing it shaped round, while married women wore it pointed.

WEDDINGS

Marriages in Malta were always entirely arranged by the parents; who for the greater part consulted only their own interest, and the suitable- 584

[facing P. 128]



PEASANTS CELEBRATING "LAPSI"—FESTA OF THE ASCENSION

(From an old Maltese print)

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8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

527 would insist on the stipulation being inserted in their
173 marriage settlement, their *kitba taz-zwieġ*, that their husbands
should take them to the Mnarja every year.

584 The banners given in prizes to the present day are long
526 and narrow pieces of brocade of different colours called
361 *paliu*, which it is the custom of the fortunate winners to take
back to their casals to be used as the altar-cloth of the parish church for the ensuing year. The casals, it should be explained, are the 'villages' of Malta, if 'village' is the appropriate term, for they are stone-built compact townships with populations often running into five figures. The Maltese word for them is *hal*.

●291 Again, our visitor will learn that the *faldetta* or *ghonnella*—the true Maltese term is *stamina*—of the Maltese women does not owe its existence, as some people allege, to the need for defence against the excessive gallantry of Bonaparte's troops, but is of much more ancient origin. If proof were needed, there is in the Royal Malta Library a print of the year 1576 showing a Maltese lady wearing the national head-dress. The *ghonnella* is a voluminous hood of rich silk—black everywhere save in the villages of Zabbar and Zejtun, where it is blue and is called *xurqana*—stiffened inside the top edge by a piece of cardboard about a yard long, one end of which rests on the head, while the other end has to be held. Originally, it was really, like the Turkish *charshaf*, a skirt or petticoat (which is what the word *ghonnella* means) thrown up over the head. Later it was curtailed, for which reason it is sometimes called *nofs ghonnella*, a half skirt; but it is still cut to show the placket-hole—in point of fact, half the placket-hole—of the garment from which it has sprung.

[171] This striking and picturesque mode of female adornment or, rather, concealment constitutes Malta's one characteristic article of dress and is the local method of shrouding a woman's face and form, a custom common to southern latitudes from as far east as India to as far west as the Azores,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

although the Maltese form was probably dictated by the 291 need to cover the head when entering a church. Its one [171] drawback is that it takes up a lot of space, more space, [494] unfortunately, than is available in the motor-bus, modern Malta's form of land transport. Let it be hoped that it will survive these disabilities, for it is not only unique but also an asset if those of the younger generation who have abandoned it in favour of the banal dress of everywhere else would only realize the fact, enhancing beauty while discreetly veiling any imperfections. These young ladies should ponder the words of Monsieur André Maurois in his little sketch of Malta:

> When its wearer moves, the *faldetta* is filled with air, and the Maltese girls, tripping in twos and threes along the streets, look like flotillas of graceful barques with black sails, blown along their course by the wind of destiny.

Oddly enough another French visitor and Academician anticipated by just a century, and in almost the same terms, Monsieur Maurois's charming flight, or perhaps echo, of fancy. Monsieur de Lamartine, visiting Malta with his English wife in 1832, describes the *ghonnella* as

> a half-cloak of black silk . . . of a light texture caught by a breeze, suggesting the sail of a skiff whose capricious folds alternately conceal and reveal the mysterious figure of the wearer, which seems able to escape at will from its embrace.

In the Malta of an earlier age, when the lives of Maltese 562. women and girls were closely circumscribed, the *ghonnella* 291 was not the only aid to their seclusion. Those who wander about the country districts will notice here and there that the 342. older farmhouses have no windows giving on to the street; 584. the Maltese countrywoman, like her Spanish sister, had to 824. turn her face inward, not outward. But what the houses had, and some still retain, were stone brackets on the outer wall, made to hold the pots of sweet basil which showed that

562 a marriageable daughter lived within. One pot of basil to
342 each marriageable girl. So the potential swain could tell at a
glance whereabouts to loiter for a discreet preview and
584 what address, should he be interested, to give to the marriage-
824 broker.
● 291

[pp 31-55 of text not processed. Plates facing pp. 40, 41, 48 and 49 have been processed].

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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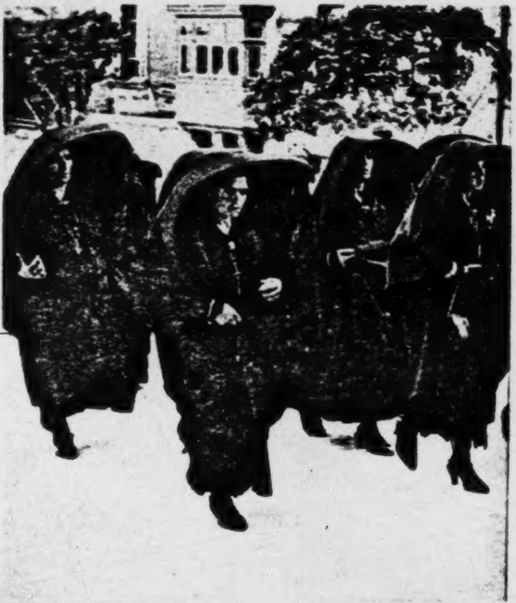

MALTESE WOMEN IN FALDETTAS
[*See pp.* 28–29.]

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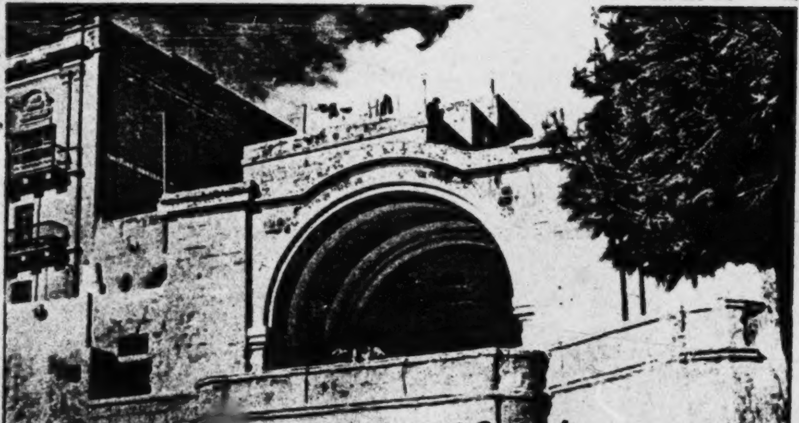

MNARJA RACES: THE GRAND MASTER'S (NOW THE GOVERNOR'S) BOX BELOW MDINA
[*See pp.* 27–28.]

[facing P. 41]
[pp. 41-48 not processed]

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MAIN GATE INTO MDINA, WITH ARMS OF GRAND MASTER MANOEL DE VILHENA

[*See p.* 89.]

INSIDE OF SAME, WITH ARMS OF INGUANEZ FAMILY

[*See p.* 92.]

THE LATE BARONESS INGUANEZ ALIGHTING FROM HER OLD FAMILY CALÈCHE, MDINA

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STRADA
DEICELSI

[facing p. 104, (A)]

hair short, are not allowed to wear neckties, and must wear jackets 785
in public. Female members are obliged to wear the traditional 794
Maltese *ghonella* (also *faldetta*). This is a black silk cowl which [292]
renders the wearer completely shapeless. Finally, all members are
tied by a promise of celibacy. Since members usually enter the [589]
society as children, and work up through grades until they
become full members, this promise ensures that all are either
bachelors or spinsters.

The male and female sections are completely separate. Each 794
meets daily under its respective superior in its own house. There [834]
the members hold devotional exercises, conduct study groups for
adults and also teach catechism to the children. The superiors are
normally elected for life; but if the members cannot agree, the
national superior general, after consultation with the parish
priest, appoints an acting superior, either from the village or from
outside groups.

The society is somewhat unusual among village religious [793]
associations, since no member of the village clergy is directly
involved in its activities, though priests are often invited in to give
lectures. This relatively independent status, and the close contact
that members maintain with their national headquarters, has led
some parish priests to look upon it as a potential threat to their
authority and consequently to oppose its establishment in their
parishes. Thus, although the society has spread to 40 (83 per cent)
of the Maltese parishes, it is only established in 6 (40 per cent) of
those in Gozo, Malta's conservative sister island. In point of fact,
wherever it has been established it has supported the authority of
the parish priest, and its members are now among the staunchest
opponents of the Labour Party.

In each parish there are usually several loosely organized groups
such as the Association of Christian Mothers and the Holy Name
Society which meet infrequently for special prayers and devotions.

Finally, there is at least one confraternity in each parish. A
confraternity is a lay religious society which is dedicated to a particular
saint and offers Masses for dead members. These societies,
called *fratellanzi*, are the oldest associations in Malta, and many
date back to the Middle Ages. Formerly certain confraternities in [467]
the larger villages and towns acted as trade guilds; others only
enrolled persons of the highest socio-economic class. Both men [292]
and women may enrol, as members; but only men may wear the

794 distinctive habit of the confraternity in processions, in which the
[292] *fratelli* play an important part. Entrance to a confraternity is by
means of a short religious ceremony and the payment of a small
fee. This entitles the newly professed member to share in the
indulgences, privileges and spiritual favours which have accrued to
the society.

Every confraternity is established independently in each parish,
and has nothing to do with confraternities of the same name in
other villages. Before the band clubs were established,
confraternities were the only formally constituted associations in rural
[554] parishes. Their officers enjoyed considerable prestige, and had a
voice in village affairs. But today the members seldom meet as a
[178] group and most confraternities have no premises of their own,
though they generally have an altar in the parish church. Aside
from the dozen or two who take part in all the parish
processions, members take no part in any activity. A few confraternities
[423] which own property are a notable exception. Their officers meet
occasionally to discuss the business affairs of the confraternity, and
the societies still play an active role in local affairs.

There are also a number of third orders. These societies are lay counterparts of certain religious orders. They are organized in much the same way as the confraternities. Members attend occasional spiritual exercises and have the right to take part in processions and to be buried in the habit of the order. Altogether there are 16 different confraternities and third orders. Among the most common are the confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, which is established in all parishes, the Holy Rosary, Our Lady of Consolation (*Ta' Ċintura*), St. Joseph and the Third Orders of the Franciscans and the Carmelites.

554 All groups and individuals that are tied to the Church are
ranked. Each parish, religious order and parish society has its fixed
79 position in the overall order. The same applies to the clerics who
constitute its personnel. Position in the hierarchy is determined by
seniority of foundation in the case of parishes and associations – or
date of ordination or appointment to present office, in the case of
the clergy – in combination with certain marks of honour
conferred by the Church authorities. Such honours carry with them a
claim to higher precedence than seniority by itself would give.
For example, any parish in which there is a Collegiate Chapter,
or whose church has the title of Basilica, ranks higher than one

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3. Confraternity members resting during procession

[facing p. 48]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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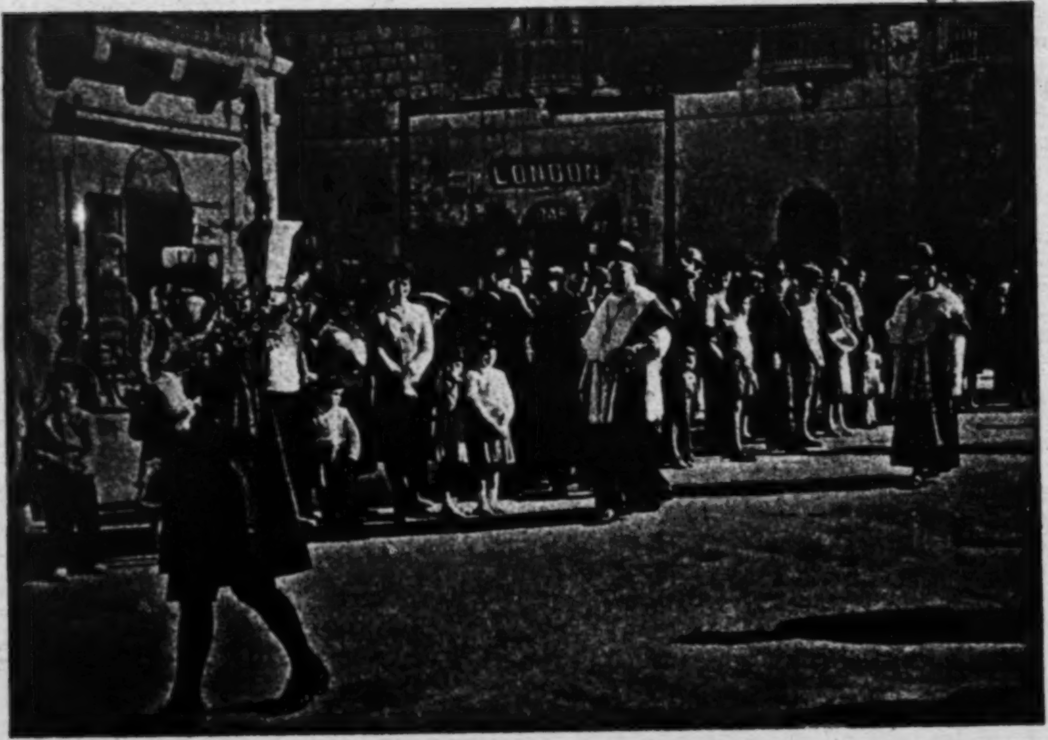
[facing p. 49]



4. Mace and canons of the Gozo Cathedral Chapter

796 competing for the attention of the crowd within a few yards of
[533] each other.

[292] [421] All the while, the procession, followed by a few black-clad penitents, solemnly passes through the main streets of the village. Often those carrying the saint move with a shuffling step that causes him to bob and turn as though he were dancing. As he passes under balconies his cheering and clapping admirers shower him with confetti. Then, as the procession nears the church, the final *kaxxa infernal*, this time of coloured rockets, is touched off. In some villages the saint is turned around so that he can see this barrage and the display of multi-staged rockets that follows it. The statue then enters the church and the Benediction is given. After this the crowd of visitors quickly disperses. Soon the inhabitants have the village to themselves again. As the women and girls wheel and pull the children off to bed, the men carry around from club to club the grimy, soot-stained men who made and fired the fireworks. They are the heroes of the hour. Other men seek out their clubs or usual cafés and toast one another and the success of their feast. So ends the festa for another year.

796 793 [794] [575] The organization of the annual festa requires a long period of planning and preparation. This work calls for a certain degree of centralization. In most villages the parish priest controls the organization of both the internal and the external feasts. In some villages, however, he delegates some of this work to a procurator, usually a priest, but occasionally to a committee of leading personalities of the village. In other villages, all the details of the external feast, including the fund raising, are handled by the band club committees. In any case, the parish priest always has the last word. Sometimes there is friction between him and other interested parties over organizational details.

796 794 435 The cost of these feasts varies considerably. It is naturally related to the size of the village and to the degree of enthusiasm with which the festa is celebrated. It ranges from a few shillings per family in a large urban parish to as much as £15 per family in a small rural parish celebrating a particularly important festa. The average cost to the community, however, is about £1,000. The organizers of the festa collect the necessary funds by means of lotteries, fairs, special appeals and a small weekly contribution of threepence or sixpence from each family. Most fund raisers also solicit pledges from leading citizens and enter their names and the

III

A previous chapter set out the hierarchical organization of the 79
Church. It was observed that rank was determined by seniority in 292
combination with certain marks of honour conferred by ecclesiastical 293
authorities in recognition of merit. Besides rank, these honours often bestow the right to certain external signs, which are much prized. The many religious processions and ceremonies provide occasions on which parishes can display their symbols of rank to outsiders. For example, the Canons of a Collegiate church wear distinctive ceremonial robes, and are permitted to carry a huge silver mace in processions as a sign of their church's rank. They add a great deal of colour and pageantry to the religious processions in which they are invited to participate. An old man once described Collegiate churches to me as 'the ornament of all other parish churches', and added, 'where there are no Canons, there is nothing in a procession.' The clergy of a church which has received the title of Basilica may carry in procession a huge red and gold damask umbrella. They are also permitted to carry a bell, to wear gold buckles on their shoes and, on certain occasions, to say Mass facing the congregation. As with the title Collegiate, the title Basilica can only be bestowed upon a church by Papal sanction. In Malta it has been given only to the Collegiate churches of Senglea and Birkirkara, to the churches of Mt. Carmel and St. Dominic in Valletta, and in Gozo to that of St. George in Rabat.

The bestowal of honours is not in fact determined by merit 79
alone. In view of their importance as symbols of excellence, they 626
become counters in the competition between parishes and between 628
parish associations. Their acquisition is thus a matter of
great concern to the entire community, and often becomes the 664
subject of political action. That is, persons and groups try to influence those who make the decisions in relation to their bestowal. Through their network of personal relations, leading village figures, including the priests, try to influence the Bishop and the monsignori who surround him. They also bargain with these authorities, and if an unfavourable decision is handed down, they may resort to an open show of disrespect towards the Bishop – by smashing his coat of arms, for example – to signal their dissatisfaction and so attempt to force him to reconsider their

5: Cremona ß-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

764 115 The belief still lingers that the lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul of the departed remains above the flame.

764 735 171 (g) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 178 [177] [192] Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century passed through wide changes and, as in other European countries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 292 178 184 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700. Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 Family mourning is generally observed as follows :—

178 I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

562) II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days,
after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 171
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 264
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these 516
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom 352
has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain from having their pastry and other food prepared in a public oven for a period of some months after the death of a member of the family.

IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 184 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

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292 the popular style. The vernacular *čulqâna* and *ghonnella* for
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765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
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[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
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764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a profanation

with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of rendering her affable and prudent. She was then conducted into the room where her future husband awaited her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual faith—together with bracelets, necklaces and a gold chain —she presenting him in return with a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon. 584 [789] [301]

This ceremony is called " il chelma " which means the engagement.

On the morning of the wedding-day the most honoured personage among the husband's relations threw a fine white veil over the bride's head—who wore a brocade or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells. 585 292 301

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

branches of such vines as formed arbours 764
in the courts, disturbed the furniture 767
&c. in all the apartments, overturned the flower pots in the windows, broke some of the ornamental furniture, and carrying the fragments to a retired spot, threw them in a cauldron of boiling water, in which they mixed soot and ashes. With this liquid they stained all the doors in the house howling and sobbing most dismally whilst performing the
operation. (*) The *neuuicha* then pro- [292] •
ceeded to the chamber of the deceased, already in his coffin, and surrounded by his female relations, wearing veils over

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(*) The custom of mourning for the dead in shrieks [171]
and howlings is of great antiquity, and prevails almost [152]
universally among the followers of Mahomet.

764 767 [292] their faces and black silk cloaks. (*) The room being stripped of all its furniture and hung with black cloth.

[302] The *neuuieha*, throwing themselves on their knees at the foot of the coffin, began singing the praises of the dead, and cut off handfuls of their hair which [262] [431] they spread over the coffin. On the same day, cakes and boiled wheat were distributed among all the relations, and the hair was cut off the tails of every horse at the stables belonging to the house of the deceased.

764 533 The funeral procession was always composed of the relations in mourning preceded by some boys playing the fifes or trumpets.

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[765] [822] [171] (*) The colours of the dress or habit. worn to signify grief are different in different countries. In Europe, the ordinary colour for mourning is black. *Black*, being the privation of light, is supposed to denote the privation of life.

PULLEYN *Origin & Inventions.*

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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[533] The bridal procession then proceeded to the Church for the ceremony, attended by musicians playing on different instruments, and singers who sang stanzas in praise of the young couple. These musicians were preceded by three men, the first bearing on his head a basin of white earth on which was placed a big cake with two figures representing the bridegroom and the bride—the [431] man who carried this basin wore also a scarf with a round cake hanging from it. The second carried a basket filled with sugar plums and candied nuts, which one of the relations distributed among such acquaintances he hap- [532] pened to meet. In the middle of the basket was a handkerchief folded in the form of a pyramid and ornamented with the images of the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, and the Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding. The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the *Haddara*, closed the procession.

[202] The arrival of the bridal procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating

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292
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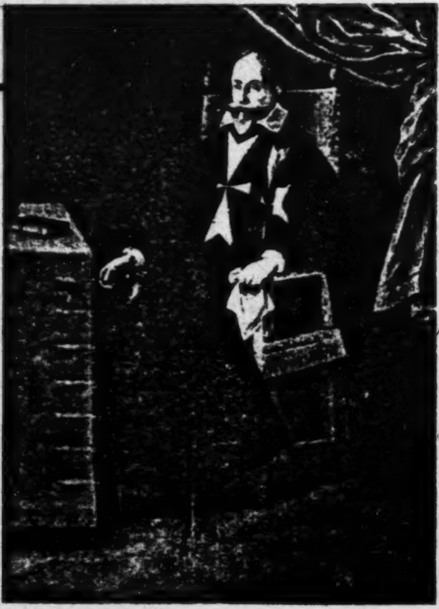
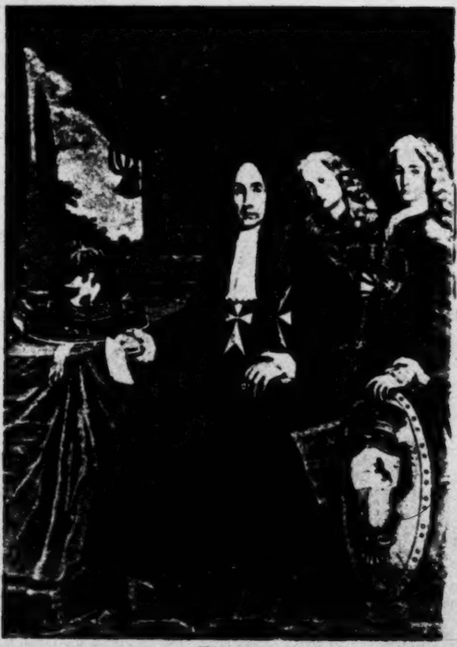


DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAND MASTER'S HABIT

G.M. Vasconcellos



G.M. de Vilhena
(with Stoc and Pilier)

[facing P.104, (B)]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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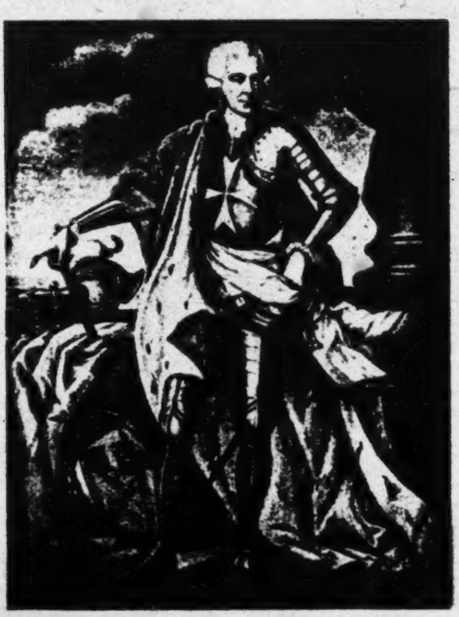
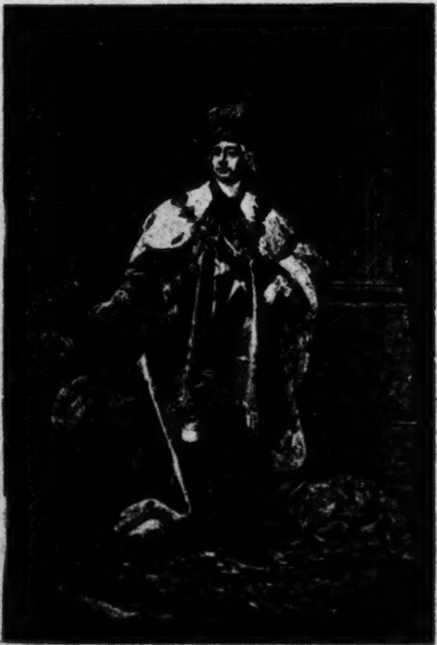


G.M. Hompesch



Emperor Paul of Russia as Grand Master

[facing p. 104, (c)]

647 many countries are carried out by village or municipal authorities, are in Malta centrally administered from Valletta.

[364] Gozo provides in some respects an exception to this picture. Though Gozo is administratively and economically dependent upon Malta, it has had for many years a certain measure of autonomy under a separate Commissioner. This appointment is dictated by the island's distance from Valletta in time and space. This isolation has not surprisingly resulted in a widely held belief that the Maltese administration, in which, incidentally, a large number of Gozitans have always held important posts, has systematically [653] neglected Gozo. That there is a certain justification for this belief can be seen by anyone who compares the condition of the roads and the extension of street lighting, water and drainage in the two islands.

623 Partly to still for ever complaints about neglect, and partly as an experiment with a concept of local government new to Malta, 653 the Gozo Civic Council was established in the summer of 1961. Each village in Gozo now has an elected committee of six councillors, one of whom represents the village on the Civic Council. The Council has the responsibility for the maintenance of roads, government buildings, cemeteries and public gardens, village dispensaries and the museum and public library. It can also construct new roads and extend drainage, water and street lighting. To [651] finance its work the Council receives the revenue from local taxes and from certain government property in Gozo. It also has the power to levy rates, but as all councillors made solemn promises to their constituents that they would not do so, this additional source of revenue must be discounted for the time being.

II

793 The Maltese Islands form a single province of the Catholic Church. This province is divided into the Archdiocese of Malta 795 and the Diocese of Gozo, which includes the small island of Comino. The Bishop of Gozo is suffragan to the Archbishop of Malta. As the senior or Metropolitan Bishop, the Archbishop has certain privileges and rights over his suffragan. These include the [293] right to visit his suffragan's diocese (with Papal authority), should the latter neglect to do so; the right to appoint a temporary vicar on the decease of the Bishop of Gozo, if the Cathedral Chapter of

the latter's diocese fails to appoint one within eight days; and the right to wear the insignia of his office which mark his superior dignity (the *pallium* and the double cross), throughout his province. Moreover, the Archbishop's court functions as a court of appeal for cases heard in the court of the Bishop of Gozo. In all other matters, however, the Bishop of Gozo has the same rights as the Archbishop. These include the right to make certain rules and dispensations for his diocese, to inflict penalties, interdictions and excommunication; and to determine who may be admitted to the priesthood.[1] 793 795 [243] [698]

Each Bishop is assisted by a number of advisers, who also run the Curia, or administrative headquarters of the diocese. In the Archdiocese of Malta the Curia is under the charge of the Vicar General, who has the title of Titular Bishop. These advisers are for the most part Monsignori, or Canons, of the Cathedral Chapter. The Cathedral Chapter is composed of the priests attached to a cathedral church who advise the Bishop, arrange for a more solemn celebration of divine worship, and, when the See is vacant, provide for the government of the diocese. Though the Archdiocese of Malta has both a Cathedral in Mdina, and a Co-Cathedral in Valletta, there is only one Chapter.

In addition to the Cathedral Chapters in Malta and Gozo, there are also a number of Collegiate churches. The clergy of a Collegiate Church form a Collegiate Chapter, and have the title of Canons. They perform no special duties in the diocese. The title of 'Collegiate' is an honour which can only be bestowed upon a church with Papal sanction. There are Collegiate Chapters in Senglea, Vittoriosa, Cospicua, Rabat, Birkirkara and Valletta in Malta, and in Għarb, Nadur and Xagħra in Gozo. [554]

The Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo are divided into 48 and 15 parishes respectively. A parish is the basic social and territorial unit of the Church. Every village in Malta and Gozo is a separate parish, though some towns are divided into two or more parishes. The limits of a parish are fixed by the Bishop. They often extend several miles beyond the compact villages that are so characteristic of the Maltese countryside. In most rural parishes there are also a few scattered farmsteads. The occupants of these isolated farms normally have houses in the village, to which they 621 794 795

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[1] Cf. William E. Addis and others, 'Archbishop', *A Catholic Dictionary* (16th ed. rev.; London, Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1960), pp. 44 f.

III

A previous chapter set out the hierarchical organization of the 79
Church. It was observed that rank was determined by seniority in 292
combination with certain marks of honour conferred by eccle- 293
siastical authorities in recognition of merit. Besides rank, these honours often bestow the right to certain external signs, which are much prized. The many religious processions and ceremonies provide occasions on which parishes can display their symbols of rank to outsiders. For example, the Canons of a Collegiate church wear distinctive ceremonial robes, and are permitted to carry a huge silver mace in processions as a sign of their church's rank. They add a great deal of colour and pageantry to the religious processions in which they are invited to participate. An old man once described Collegiate churches to me as 'the ornament of all other parish churches', and added, 'where there are no Canons, there is nothing in a procession.' The clergy of a church which has received the title of Basilica may carry in procession a huge red and gold damask umbrella. They are also permitted to carry a bell, to wear gold buckles on their shoes and, on certain occasions, to say Mass facing the congregation. As with the title Collegiate, the title Basilica can only be bestowed upon a church by Papal sanction. In Malta it has been given only to the Collegiate churches of Senglea and Birkirkara, to the churches of Mt. Carmel and St. Dominic in Valletta, and in Gozo to that of St. George in Rabat.

The bestowal of honours is not in fact determined by merit 79
alone. In view of their importance as symbols of excellence, they 626
become counters in the competition between parishes and be- 628
tween parish associations. Their acquisition is thus a matter of 664
great concern to the entire community, and often becomes the subject of political action. That is, persons and groups try to influence those who make the decisions in relation to their bestowal. Through their network of personal relations, leading village figures, including the priests, try to influence the Bishop and the monsignori who surround him. They also bargain with these authorities, and if an unfavourable decision is handed down, they may resort to an open show of disrespect towards the Bishop – by smashing his coat of arms, for example – to signal their dissatisfaction and so attempt to force him to reconsider their

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
571 is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
[651] tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
571 normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
454 call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
[593] few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expences of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
178 accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
[294] possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family,
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
438 farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
[656] killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

*159 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday
Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable
262 to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts.
785 These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of
Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain
occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The
emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary
and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of
permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between
the frugal meals.

*159 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in
262 Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his
wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school
264 time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of
bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or
so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields
Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs,
olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked
meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls.
Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks,
and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least
one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature
and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (especially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields).
[261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted.
Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the
boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

198 The proportion of food purchased is now much greater
291 than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same
443 is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably
1432 both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young
farmer when half the people in the village had looms and
● [294] many had spinning wheels to produce cotton garments for the
family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the
farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a
thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally
produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army
surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and
wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have
been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of
army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and
the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday
markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in
both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 With the increasing contact between town and country
369 the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief
178 leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no
longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like
townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

to it, their rivals invariably stage their own fair or, and this is 621 more usual, hire several buses and noisily leave the village for a 578 picnic or a pilgrimage to some shrine of their saint. Many other [575] incidents divide groups and associations along partit lines. For [543] example, a former head teacher of the Farruġ school told me that [301] he had once tried to get the girls to wear the dark blue hair ribbons which are supposed to be part of their school uniforms. He was astounded when half the girls flatly refused. It was then explained to him that blue is the colour of the St. Roque partit, so the St. Martin girls could not be expected to wear it.

Let us now look at some of the major skirmishes which have 578 taken place in Farruġ during the last ten years. During 1952 and 621 1953 there was a dispute over an attempt by the St. Roque procession 79 to pass along a street over which St. Martin's followers claimed exclusive rights. When the inexperienced new parish priest backed the St. Roque claim before the Archbishop, he brought violently into the open a dispute over which his predecessor had successfully procrastinated for years. The followers [626] of St. Martin not only refused to celebrate their feast, but also succeeded in frightening the unfortunate priest rather badly by exploding a huge rocket in the drainpipe under his house. Some St. Martin partisans gleefully recounted to me that the priest was soon transferred to another parish, and that during his last week in Farruġ he had asked the police to escort him between his house and the church. Relations between the Church and the St. Martin partit were restored when the Archbishop modified the St. Roque procession route.

In 1956 the St. Martin Band Club refused to celebrate the titular [575] festa because the Archbishop had given the Confraternity of St. Roque permission to renew the four bunches of artificial flowers which decorate the main altar during his feast. The following year the St. Roque Band Club refused to play at the installation ceremony of the new parish priest because the Curia had just turned down the confraternity's request for permission to hang a new picture over its altar. In 1960 the same priest angered the St. Roque partit by refusing to let it participate in the St. Martin centenary celebrations. The poor man's hands were tied, for the St. Martin club had declared that it would have nothing to do with the feast if its rival took any part in it. At the moment, there is another struggle in the offing. The Confraternity of St. Roque

5: Cremona 8-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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fanation

796
Cathedral Church of Notabile on the 527
eve of the said festival. 192

On the morning of the feast—as 527
soon as the procession, which is led 262
264
by the Bishop, enters the Cathedral 273
Church—large crowds, especially of 301
[796]
country people in their substantial holiday finery, and wearing their hoarded ornaments of massive gold, drive at a racing speed to Boschetto, where, careless of the excessive heat of a broiling sun, they divide into companies and under the shades of the leafy orange trees in the beautiful garden, they seem quite happy in eating their sumptuous dinners, consisting chiefly of stewed rabbit, ham, pies, cheese and an allowance of common wine, which they keep in large dark glass bottles, or in tin cans where the indispensable liquid is less liable to being spilt.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

was anciently used to represent the tying of Life with Spirit. 585
Its association with the "True Lovers' Knot" of our grandmothers is obvious. 801 There is Biblical authority, too, for the 171
separation of husband from wife, in the incident between Tobias and the Angel Raphael.

Tobias (or Tobit) is about to be wedded to the maiden whose former seven husbands have been slain on the bridal night by an evil spirit. The angel says, "For they who in such manner receive matrimony as to shut out God from themselves to their lust, as the horse and mule, which they have not understanding. Over them the devil hath power. . . . Keep thyself continent from her. . . ."[1]

So far the marriage customs which remain extant—only one or two generations separate Zeppu and Gretz from the more primitive customs. Here is what a Maltese writer has 584
to say of marriages in the not very distant past:

> "The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.
>
> The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.
>
> Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two [789]
> young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of rendering her affable and prudent. She was then con- [301]
> ducted into the room where her future husband awaited

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[1] *Tobias*, VI, 17–18.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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[202] The arrival of the bridal procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days, after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern 171
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 264
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 516
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these 352
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain from having their pastry and other food prepared in a public oven for a period of some months after the death of a member of the family.

184
IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 502
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

764 their faces and black silk cloaks. (*)
767 [292] The room being stripped of all its furniture
and hung with black cloth.

● [302] The *neuwieha*, throwing themselves on
their knees at the foot of the coffin,
began singing the praises of the dead,
and cut off handfuls of their hair which
[262] they spread over the coffin. On the same
[431] day, cakes and boiled wheat were distributed
among all the relations, and the
hair was cut off the tails of every horse
at the stables belonging to the house of
the deceased.

764 The funeral procession was always
533 composed of the relations in mourning
preceded by some boys playing the fifes
or trumpets.

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[765] (*) The colours of the dress or habit. worn to signify
[822] grief are different in different countries. In Europe,
[171] the ordinary colour for mourning is black. *Black*, being
the privation of light, is supposed to denote the privation
of life.

PULLEYN *Origin & Inventions.*

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

or trumpets. Before the corpse was interred, a pillow filled with orange and laurel leaves (*) was placed under the head, and a carpet spread over the tomb, which was suffered to remain some days, to show that during that time it was forbidden to walk over it. 000 764 824

No fire was lighted for three days in the kitchen of the deceased, and either one of the relations or some most intimate friend sent a dinner to the inhabitants of the house, which they ate cross-legged on the floor. 765 372 264

Women on this occasion remained forty days in the house, but men went out on the seventh day, with their faces unshaven. (†) 765 302

(*) Orange trees were regarded by the Pagans as expiatory.

(†) Mourning among the ancients was expressed by very different signs; such as by rending of garments, wearing sack cloth, laying aside crowns &c. Thus Plutarch, in his life of Cato, relates, that from the time of his leaving the city with Pompey, he neither shaved his head, nor, as usual, wore his crown or garland.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The fratelli
763 —lay brethren of the congregation—hurry from their homes
794 to take their places in the procession of the Viatecum. March-
ing rapidly, like a company of soldiers, headed by a peasant
ringing a staccato, commanding bell, some bearing tapers,
some censers, all chanting the prayers for the dying, they pass
[793] quickly through the village street. Under a canopy, borne
by two sturdy *fratelli*, goes the priest in his bright vestments,
bearing God to the dying man.

The women hurry to place a light in their windows, kneel
and pray as God passes.

So, with such poor pomp as these simple folk can muster,
764 the Prince of Peace comes to dying Zeppu. The funeral rites
[171] and customs differ hardly at all nowadays from those of other
Catholic countries. But Zeppu's grandfather could remember
a time when the Old Things were much in evidence.

764 There were the "Wailing Women" (whose name *neuuieha*
survives in the sense of "one who constantly complains").
767 They wore long black robes, and chanted death-songs whose
burden was a combination of praise for the deceased's virtues
and rebuke for his having left them. They cut the vines from
the courtyard, overturned the furniture, broke pottery, and
mixed the fragments with soot and ashes, staining the doors
[302] of the bereaved house with the mixture. They cut pieces of
their hair and scattered them over the coffin.

765 If the dead man possessed horses, cows, goats, all their tails
[262] had pieces cut from them in token of mourning. There was a
[764] form of "wake" where funeral cakes and boiled wheat were
eaten. A carpet was spread over the tomb to prevent the
unware from treading on it.

[372] No fire was lit in the house for three days after the funeral.
[302] The women kept to the house for forty days. The men, having
remained indoors for seven days, went unshaven.

764 Here are clear signs of the most primitive funeral rites
174 and *taboos*. Death was a pollution—hence the segregation of

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the relatives and the staining of the doors. Provision was made for the deceased's comfort in the other life by the breaking of his pottery—thus releasing the *manes* to accompany him in death. 764 174

The wake was a death feast originally designed to provide a sort of communion with the departed. Similarly, the cutting of the mourner's hair was intended to furnish a ritual link with the dead. Primitive tribes express the same idea in cannibalism and in funeral mutilations. [302]

The cutting of the animals' tails was very probably a version of the sacrifice in expiation of the dead man's sins. 765

> ". . . Then they brought out a splendid white horse, and the priest cut some hair from its mane and tail and burned it on the altar, shouting 'A sacrifice!' . . . 'I saw poor Weland's face through the smoke, and I couldn't help laughing . . .' says Puck."[1]

Based on fear, as these "ancient fictions" were, they yet hid certain eternal truths.

The Old Things, with their complicated rituals, their theologies of terror, served their turn in leading mankind some distance on his upward march. Nowhere is their vague disembodied presence more felt than in Malta's rapidly dwindling countryside, where every stone may well have housed one of their altars. Not all of the Old Things were evil. The good ones have been adopted by Mother Church; but there remain those restless, evil ones who have never bowed down to the Nazarene. They hide in the shadows, angry and resentful. 771 178

THE HOUR OF THE OLD THINGS

Let us go out, at the third or fourth hour after midnight. Away from the clamorous ballrooms or the cramped city of 788 178

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[1] *Puck of Pook's Hill.*

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[For additional data on land use, see category 116, pp. 190-288.]

should be ascribed to the general wetness of the season rather than to these storms alone. A general picture of the damage can be obtained from the local press (24) but certain aspects, of interest to the hydrologist and agriculturalist alike, are worthy of elaboration here. The notes which follow are based largely on the experiences of the farmers themselves. 132*

There are some ways, perhaps, in which storms such as those of 11th-13th October, 1957, may be beneficial, in filling the rock-cut cisterns, in clearing debris from wied channels, in removing accumulated salts from irrigated land and in transporting soil from karstland on to the terraces below, but such benefits, affecting relatively few farmers, would be more than offset by damage to the crops and lands of a far greater number. 132* 241 731

Several types of damage can occur in times of torrential rain. Plants are damaged by direct impact, walls weakened by saturation of soil between the stones, clay masses slide downhill. Run-off causes sheet and gully erosion of the soil, washes away dams, walls and roadways and removes growing plants from the ground. In valley floors and low-lying areas, dams are silted up and water courses overflow to flood the more level land.

Fortunately, there were few standing crops to be damaged. The small part of the grape crop remaining to be picked was completely destroyed but cauliflowers and tomatoes were little affected. In many cases, however, sulla seed which had germinated was washed away and October was too late for re-planting. In some cases, vetches were sown as a replacement crop but, where the soil remained so wet as to prevent later ploughing, no crop could be raised until the following winter. Some farmers made fortuitous gains: one, near Kirkop, harvested more than nine hmiel of sulla from a vine field on to which seed had been washed. In the Wied tal-Pwales, melons, stored in the open were washed out to sea.

Farmers with flat land draining a large catchment area suffered severely from flooding. Very late tomatoes, grown to exploit improved marketing conditions, together with much of the autumn-sown potato crop were lost or severely damaged. This was particularly the case in Bur Marrad, where flood-waters stood for several weeks, and in the Wied tal-Pwales. Violent run-off caused extensive damage in several areas, despite the traditional careful terracing of steep slopes. Though sheet erosion in places removed an inch or more of the topsoil, the greatest damage was caused by gullying. Figure 17 illustrates one such case. The group of fields shown here lies on a natural terrace formed by the Upper Globigerina overlain with Blue Clay, above St. Paul's Bay. The damage to these fields is a product of the rain falling within them, since they stand on a spur and were not affected by run-off from higher areas. Similar damage occurred in other sample areas of steep slopes, clay soils and maximum storm rainfall; at Mġarr, Rabat and Wied ta'l-Isqof. Fields lying in the path of storm drainage suffered damage of a different type as shown in Fig. 18. Retaining walls built across a valley floor were swept away owing to the absence of any sort of drainage channel. Similar instances were noted at Mellieħa, Mġarr, St. Paul's Bay and Mqabba.

The worst damage naturally occurred in areas where steep slopes coincided with maximum rainfall intensity, i.e. in north and west Malta. Four hundred farmers submitted damage claims, of which 262 were accepted as warranting financial assistance. The latter group included 10 per cent of all registered farmers in the parishes of Mellieħa, Mġarr, St. Paul's Bay and Rabat and just under 5 per cent. in Mosta and Għargħur. Damage in other parishes was not considered sufficient to merit assistance.

It would appear that, in many parts of the Islands, a day's rain amounting to 3 inches is almost certain to lead to damage of the kinds indicated and since such rainfall occurs, in one area or another, at least once in every five years, more efficient drainage would appear desirable. There are, however, several conflicting factors to be taken into account. In drier years, the farmer wishes to limit drainage so as to obtain maximum soil moisture at the beginning of the dry season, while the hydrologist wishes to encourage percolation into subterranean aquifers (see p. 43). At the same time, valley floors, where damage is 132* 311

[Text continues on p. 69]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

likely to result from rapid run-off, are highly desirable for cultivation in most 132*
years because of their deeper soils and longer-lasting water tables.

Statistical analysis suggests that storms of the type described must be [311]
accepted as recurrent and normal and provision made to counter their effects. Damage to crops and lands might be considered as part of the normal cost of better yields in other years, though this raises questions of profit and loss accounting which have not so far been faced. Similarly, the conflicting interests of agriculture and water supply, referred to elsewhere in this book, must somehow be reconciled. Such problems must be considered against the fullest possible background of factual data.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RAINFALL

Two conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing analysis of storm rainfall, namely that there are marked regional variations in the distribution of rainfall from any one storm and that certain areas are more subject to storms than others. This would suggest that total precipitation might show a distinct regional pattern an idea borne out by analysis of records from a number of stations. Figure 19 is based on the Schools rain gauge records (Series II) and, although these cover a period of only 15 years, they accord well with the results of Agius's calculations based on records for a number of stations from 1901 to 1910.

Most of the Islands' rainfall is brought by north-westerly winds, the convectional effect being strengthened by orographic uplift along the steep north-western coasts of Malta and Gozo. The distributional pattern of Fig. 19 is a product of these factors. Maxima in Gozo of over 24 inches are recorded where the northern plateaux lie directly in the path of prevailing winds. In Comino and the extreme north of Malta there are indications of a slight rain-shadow effect. The upland areas south of Ghajn Tuffieha, together with the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills, give the highest rainfall amounts in Malta. In the lee of these hill masses distinct rain-shadow areas occur, with annual totals below 20 inches.

Valletta, lying in the drier, eastern part of Malta, had a mean annual rainfall of 21.94 inches for the period 1924-39. This is 1.4 inches or 7 per cent. greater than the average obtained from the 116-year record; thus the isohyetal values of Fig. 19 should be reduced by that amount to give a truer picture of long-term means.

DEWFALL

Dew is the only other form of precipitation to occur in the Maltese Islands [114]
but this has not been measured by modern methods. Zammit's figures (25) (Table 14) would appear to be much too high, presumably because his method involved the use of a metal collecting pan (26).

Table 14. Zammit's measurements of Dewfall. Inches.

1854		1854		1854		1855	
April	0.75	July	0.81	October	0.70	January	0.24
May	0.62	August	0.30	November	0.34	February	0.56
June	1.12	September	0.78	December	0.16	March	0.08

Seasonal variations indicated by these figures are, however, reasonably reliable and it is interesting to note that 66 per cent. of Zammit's measured dewfall occurs in the period April-September inclusive, a seasonal rhythm similar to that observed by Duvdevani (27) on the Israeli littoral. The influence of dewfall on the growth of summer plants is obviously considerable and warrants investigation by more up-to-date methods.

thus of surface temperature regime. However, soil profiles show virtually no 132 difference between different sites, and it is only in exceptionally wet locations 134 that the normal pattern of aridity is sufficiently overcome to allow the development of noticeable humus horizons.

In the past there have been broad oscillations of climate responsible for the production at different times of widely differing soil materials such as the 'red soil' (red brown Terra clays), stoney calcareous debris and aeolian sands which are now the materials parent to the present soil. The present climate, however, is not a leaching climate.

This uniformly arid climate is in strong contrast with that of some other latitudes, for example, that of Britain, and suggests itself as the reason for the restricted range of soils found in Malta and Gozo.

PARENT MATERIAL

The rocks which are ancestors to the soils are all closely similar in type 133 chemically, and only moderately variable in physical characteristics. Thus only 134 a limited range of soil types is to be expected. However, the massive, well-jointed limestones have developed karst landscapes because they favour percolation and solution more than do the porous but nearly impervious finer-textured limestones. On the karstlands the red brown Terra clays have developed on almost completely de-calcified residues from the limestone, but on the other landscapes there has been a minimum of decalcification, and the soils are very like the rocks from which they have been formed. Thus, the composition of the impurities in the limestones from which they were originally weathered mainly decides the nature of the Terra soils (although inblown calcite has increased their calcium carbonate content). Similarly the texture and detailed composition of the carbonate raw soils and xerorendzinas is closely dependent on the parent material. The parent material type is therefore important for Maltese soils because it partly determines what pedological processes can take place and especially because the processes taking place now have little effect.

TOPOGRAPHY

Topography generally influences the development of the soil in a variety of ways, and chiefly through modifications of climate, variable conditions of drainage and effects on erosion and transportation processes. It has been noted that in Malta and Gozo the variations of topography produce sites with very different insolation conditions, but the effect on soil processes is negligible. It is only in the extremely freely-drained conditions of some hill tops, where lime crust yermas are simulated on parent materials of fine sandy loam texture that the effect of topography on drainage conditions can be thought to be sufficient to produce soil modifications. Flooding with sea water may be attributed to topography, and in the Alcol series at Salinas, for example, slight salinity is the result.

The effect of topography on erosion, transportation and deposition is more noticeable. Under former cooler climatic conditions, solifluction took place, and under the present conditions sheet or gully erosion occurs during the violent showers of late autumn. The result is that there are strikingly different eroded and alluvial phases of the same soil series in some locations. On the Blue Clay soils the alluvial, light clay type is more favourable to agriculture than the eroded heavy clay type which is in patches alkaline or saline-alkaline.

BIOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

Apart from man's activities, biotic factors are of relatively small import- 134 ance in the soils. Humus horizons are only developed under well grown and long 311 undisturbed vegetation, which is very rare. The organic-matter deficient humus forms of the surface horizons of the cultivated soils can only be seen easily under the microscope, and the soil fauna seems to be very limited in numbers.

The modifications of the soil pattern produced by man are, on the other hand most profound. Apart from the large area of Malta which has been covered by human habitations, factories, airfields and military installations, where the

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soil has been bulldozed or covered up and is unrecognisable, the pattern of soils in the agricultural land has been changed.

Firstly, nearly all the land in Gozo and most of the land in Malta has been terraced, on slopes so steep that the terraces must be very narrow, with very high retaining walls. The backwalls of the terrace are often cut into the solid rock and the resulting rockflour mixed with the soil material, while the floor of the terrace is quarried and made flat and then covered with rubble before the soil material is replaced on it.

Terracing of this type is very widespread on the cultivated areas except on alluvial parent materials, and gives rise in the karst lands to a complex of soils described as l-Iklin complex, ranging from carbonate raw soils to Terra-like soils, dependent on the amount of rockflour and rubble added to the original Terra soils during terracing.

Where quarries have been dug, the soil has been replaced in a similar way, with added rubble, refuse and rockflour in terraces which have been built up at several levels in the quarry. The resultant mixed soils have been referred to as tad-Dawl complex, which is rather similar to l-Iklin.

The use of inorganic town refuse on the soils and the large-scale carting of soil material away from building sites to wherever it may be desired adds to the generally rather confused nature of many of the soils, and since about 0.1 per cent. of the total soil cover is moved every three years in this way, the scale is quite large.

To summarise, the pattern which man modified was dependent mainly on parent material, time and the ineffectiveness of the climate in producing soil horizon development. The effects of utilisation by man have produced widespread and profound modifications of that pattern.

Table 21. Classification of the soils of Malta and Gozo according to the system of Kubiena (1953).

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Division	Class	Type	Sub-type	Variety	Series
A. Sub-aqueous					
B. Semi-terrestrial	BD Salt soils		Secondary salt soils		
C. Terrestrial	CA Terrestrial raw soils	Syrosem	Carbonate Syrosem (Carbonate Raw Soil)		Fiddien Nadur Ramla San Lawrenz
	CB Not represented in Malta				
	CC Rendsina-like soils	Rendsina	Xerorendsina		Alcol San Biagio tal-Barrani
	CD Not represented in Malta				
	CE Terrae Calxis	Terra	Terra fusca	Earthy terra fusca	tas-Sigra
			Terra rossa	Siallitic terra rossa	Xaghra
	CF CG CH CI CJ	Not represented in Malta			

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The soil is usually reddish in colour because of the small admixture of red sesquioxide material, but this is sometimes missing and then the soil is greyish or slightly yellowish, while the other soil characteristics are unchanged. A variant found on the glauconitic facies of the Greensand covers only a few acres - a deep greenish buff loamy sand.

Sometimes the fields occupied by the Nadur Series contain fallen blocks of Coralline Limestone, and often they are very small and strongly terraced. [311] Frequently they are abandoned, or devoted to flowers, but where in use, vines, and to a small extent, tree fruits are grown.

RAMLA SERIES

Parent material and location: The Ramla soils are formed on sands of contemporary dunes at Ramla in Gozo and sands from the Quaternary dunesand bed at Armier in North Malta, where they are mostly man-made having been excavated from the dunesand bed. Where blown sands have been deposited, a sequence of parent materials giving a complex of soils (The Armier complex) of Xaghra and Ramla series and intermediate types is also found; on Qortin tan-Nadur in Gozo and on Marfa Ridge, south of Armier.

Description of a Ramla Series soil not recently cultivated:

0 - ¼"	Oat grass emerging from a very thin A.F. layer composed of a dense mat of decaying grass leaves.
¼ - 2"	Brown sand; single grain structure, grains 'strung' on abundant grass roots; no stones; dry.
7 - 14"	Brown sand; single grain structure; slightly moist.
14 - 40" plus	Strong brown sand; single grain structure; no stones; moist.

In agricultural use without a grass cover, these soils show even less horizon differentiation; they are almost completely uniform, except where they have been 'marled' with other soil materials. [311]

These soils are generally terraced, but the fields are relatively large and the terrace walls are not high.

FIDDIEN SERIES

Parent material and location: The Fiddien Series is mainly developed from well-weathered calcareous Blue Clay but a heavy clay soil is found on the relatively unweathered (calcareous) Blue Clay which is sometimes saline or alkaline. In both cases the topsoil may show an admixture of downwashed red clay and sandy materials from the soils upslope on the scarps in which the Blue Clay is mainly found.

Usually the unweathered Blue Clay is near the surface at the head of the scarp slope so that the heavy clay is upslope from the lighter clay. On the gentler slopes the light clay is extensive, and in total area far exceeds the heavy type. The differentiation is important since the heavy type is occasionally alkaline or saline alkaline, because of the nature of its parent material.

Description:

	Medium or heavy clay type
0 - 10"	Olive clay (dry); moderately well developed fine to medium sub-angular blocky in large prisms; plastic and sticky.
10 - 30"	Olive clay (moist); massive; plastic and sticky.
30" plus	Dark blue green clay, unweathered. In field sloping 10 degrees with a 'slump-shoring' 4 feet high terrace wall at the front face.
	Clay loam and light clay type
0 - 16"	Grey brown gritty clay loam; weakly developed fine granular structure; sticky, moderately plastic; numerous glauconite particles.
16 - 30"	Grey brown gritty clay loam; better developed granular structure in angular blocky compound peds; more compact.
30" plus	Grey brown gritty clay loam; well developed coarse prismatic structure. In flat field 40 yards across with a 2-feet drop at one wall.

The fields in which this soil is found are usually either unterraced or have [311] minimal terracing as in the descriptions above. Frequently unterraced slopes

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of over 20 degrees which are worked can be seen, but at slopes over 30 degrees the soil development is very poor, there may be gullying and the land is unworked.

SAN LAWRENZ SERIES

Parent material and location: The soils of this series are related to those of the Fiddien having as parent material Blue Clay and Globigerina Limestone alluvium and colluvium overlying Globigerina rock. In the normal sequence of soils down a scarp slope the series lies below the Fiddien and above the San Biaġio.

Description:

0 - 1"	Brown clay loam; small granular structure; slightly stony; dry, powdery and loose.
1 - 13"	Brown fine sandy clay loam; weak medium granular structure; some gravel; very friable and slightly moist.
13 - 40"	Olive brown fine sandy clay loam to clay; well developed fine angular blocky structure; compact; plastic and sticky; moist.
40" plus	Pale brown fine sandy clay loam to clay; weak medium granular structure; gravelly, mostly decaying Globigerina rock.

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The fields in which the series is found are usually terraced, and sometimes have tall rock-face cuts at the back. The terraces are seldom very narrow, while those of the San Biaġio series often are.

XERORENDZINAS

According to Kubiena (1953), the xerorendzina, also called dry rendzina, is a 'rendzina, ash grey in colour, usually very loose, when dry in general very powdery, with extremely high chalk content often also of water soluble salts, particularly gypsum; occurring in dry regions'. This soil is very similar to the South Russian serosem or grey earth of the dry steppes.

General description: The xerorendzina has an AC profile. The grey, shallow, loose, calcareous A horizon, with mull or mull-like rendzina moder humus form usually passes through a well developed whitish Ca horizon into hard parent rock C. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish from a carbonate raw soil, differing in little but the humus form. In Malta and Gozo two series are classified as xerorendzinas, one of which is not typical but is most conveniently called by that name.

The organic matter content of the surface horizon averaged over 2 per cent. in five samples from the San Biaġio series, 1.7 per cent. in four samples of the Alcol series, but 3 per cent. in three samples of the tal-Barrani series rising to 6 per cent. in samples of uncultivated soil. The calcium carbonate content of these soils estimated from a small number of samples is 55 to 80 per cent. but some areas of the Alcol and tal-Barrani series probably contain less.

SAN BIAĠIO SERIES

Parent material and location: This soil is developed from the weathered Upper Globigerina Limestones, and intercalated thin beds of iron-rich and phosphatic nodules, that appear both in the tall scarps of Malta and Gozo and in relatively flat plateaux. Consequently the sites on which the soils are developed are quite varied, and eroded and alluvial-colluvial phases are as common as a normal phase.

Description:

Eroded phase

0 - 7"	Very pale brown, silt loam, some gravel; moderately well developed medium sub-angular blocky structure; sticky and slightly plastic.
7 - 10"	Pale brown slightly heavier silt loam; moderate fine angular blocky structure.
10" plus	Very pale brown, silty, soft laminated rock.

Alluvial-colluvial phase

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Surface just dry after recent rain has a thin, cracking, alluvium crust. 134

0 - 10"	Pale brown silt loam; weak medium sub-angular blocky to crumb structure; plastic, non-sticky.
10 - 28"	Pale brown, slightly heavier silt loam; slightly compact; with almost massive structure.
28 - 72"	Pale brown silty clay loam; massive.

The normal phase is between these two extremes in its characteristics, and is usually of the silt loam type. 311

The landscape appearance is very uniform, and the fields in which this soil is found are normally strongly terraced, with cut-rock faces at the back of the 134 terraces, from which fresh rock flour is derived during ploughing and is incorporated in the soil. Many fields have been partly produced by 'mining' in this manner, and some patches of soil are still carbonate raw soils. For agriculture in the islands this series is probably one of the most important since it is very extensive, and widely used.

ALCOL SERIES

Parent material and location: The Alcol series is developed on the valley 134 loams (Quaternary and Recent) which are partly alluvial and partly colluvial and occur in the broader valley bottoms. They are erosion products of Terra, rendzina and carbonate raw soils, they are often stratified and are generally, but not always, well sorted. In general the material parent to the present soil is deep and of heavy texture, but a few sandy types are found, and intercalated gravel or boulder horizons occur. The differentiation of the soil from the parent material is difficult, since there are no well developed horizons except those produced by tillage.

General description:

1. Uniform material

0 - 6"	Pale brown fine sandy clay loam; large to medium crumb structure; loose; very dry; numerous worm casts.
6 - 21"	Pale brown silty clay loam; weak medium sub-angular blocky structure; moist; worm casts found.
21 - 72"	Pale brown clay loam, passing to brown silty clay; weak medium sub-angular blocky structure becoming larger with depth.
72" plus	Dark yellowish brown, similar to above, but very wet and possibly partly gleyed.

2. Stratified material

0 - 13"	Reddish brown silty clay loam; moderately well developed medium granular structure; some worm casts.
13 - 16"	Strong brown fine sandy clay loam; structure becoming laminar.
16 - 21"	Reddish yellow very fine sandy loam; weak medium laminar structure; some gravel and cobbles; slightly moist.
22 - 45"	Reddish yellow very fine sandy loam with many boulders.
46 - 60"	Clay loam; very fine to fine angular blocky structure.

In general the fields in which this soil appears, are flat and consequently unterraced. [311]

In some places at the coast a saline ground water table is producing symptoms of salinity in the soil, but more usually the soils are merely strongly calcareous, neither saline or alkaline.

TAL-BARRANI SERIES

The tal-Barrani soils appear to be transitional between the San Biagio and Xaghra soils. They are developed mainly on Globigerina rocks of massive appearance and texture similar to the *Franka*, on which they are also occasionally found. The soils have been much disturbed and mixed in the making of terraces, and some have been artificially produced by man, by mixing rock flour and Terra soil material. [311]

Description:

0 - 10"	Brown gravelly silt loam; with a thin crust (in dry weather) and below, moderately well developed crumb structure.
10 - 18"	Brown gravelly clay loam becoming more gravelly towards the

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

base; weak fine sub-angular or angular blocky structure.

134 18 - 24" Brown gravelly loam or clay loam mixed with limestone rubble.

24" The formerly calcreted, broken surface of the Franka or similar rock.

[311] The fields in which the tal-Barrani soils are found are often strongly terraced, for example, in the dissected Globigerina Limestone Plateau of south east Malta.

The hill top fields are naturally relatively flat and unterraced, but often show evidence of profound alteration of the rock floor by man.

TERRA SOILS

The terra soils found in Malta are principally earthy terra fuscas, but soils similar to siallitic terra rossa have been found, and there are certainly forms transitional between these two varieties.

The Terrae Calxis to which group the Terra soils belong, are according to Kubiena (1953), 'very mature, extensively weathered usually completely chalk free soils with ochre yellow, ochre brown to red coloured (B) horizons which contain iron in the form of ferric hydroxide with varying water content . . . ' Terra fuscas are 'usually humus deficient loamy soils with ochre yellow . . . to reddish brown colour on limestone rocks, which contain ferric hydroxide in the form of limonite', and earthy terra fusca is described as 'in the top soil, loose to slightly compacted, usually dark matt brown coloured terra fusca with good crumb structure'. The earthy terra fusca usually has an A(B)C profile, with a humus deficient, thin grey brown A horizon in which the humus form is generally mull. This horizon overlies a thicker reddish brown ferruginous (B) horizon which usually lies directly on the parent rock C horizon. The soil has a marked tendency to form crumbs and very low plasticity.

Terra rossa is described by Kubiena as a red soil, usually humus deficient and decalcified, rich in inorganic colloids containing ferric hydroxide in water deficient compounds, the siallitic terra rossa being 'Terra rossa with high colloid content, when wet highly plastic, viscous, characterised by a dense ground mass rich in silicic acid'. In general terms the profile is similar to that of the earthy terra fusca, but the soil colour is red and the plasticity is strikingly greater due to the different colloids. The structure is consequently different also, the peds being angular fragments produced by drying and shrinkage.

These soils have an organic matter content in the surface horizon of 4.5 per cent. (average of six samples) rather more in the case of uncultivated soils, rather less in the case of cultivated soils. This is slightly higher than the organic matter content of the tal-Barrani soils and very noticeably greater than that of the other xerorendzinas, and the carbonate raw soils. They are atypical of the variety in that they are not completely decalcified, containing in two profiles sampled 2 to 15 per cent. calcium carbonate, although much of the calcite in these soils has been blown in. This is emphasised by the greater calcium carbonate content in the surface horizons. (Two to four times greater than just above the rock.)

In the Maltese Islands the terra soils are found on the karst landscapes of the more massive limestones, that is the Upper and Lower Coralline Limestone and the Franka. The dominant variety is earthy terra fusca, and the mapping units used are described as such, ignoring the local transitions to terra rossa.

The terra soils can be divided into mapping units in various ways and it was found most convenient to map those appearing as patches between limestone lapiés as one group and the partly alluvial types in valley bottoms, dolines and on flat land without lapiés as another group. In the map (Fig. 27) they are not separated, but their agricultural potentialities are very different, because while in one case rock occupies from 10 to 50 per cent. of the surface and the rock slope may be steep, in the other case neither rock nor slope restricts the use of implements. In other respects they differ but little as can be seen from the descriptions below.

Soil between lapiés

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Surface	A few limestone stones and an incomplete cover of xerophytic plants.
0 - ½"	Reddish brown gritty clay loam; moderately well developed medium crumb structure; hard.
½ - 24"	Reddish brown or dark red clay; well developed fine angular blocky structure; very dry and very hard.
24" plus.	Hard, white, semi-crystalline limestone with a calcreted surface.

Soil from site without lapiés

Surface	Bare after cultivation, a few stones.
0 - 15"	Dark yellowish red clay loam; medium crumb structure moderately well developed; dry.
15 - 36"	Yellowish red clay; moderate to well developed fine sub-angular blocky structure.
36"	Hard white crystalline limestone.

By definition of the mapping units these soils exist in fields which are unterraced and are often unenclosed. [311]

COMPLEXES

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The mapping units so far described are relatively simple, in that although they are not completely uniform the variations in the soils encompassed by each unit are small. However much of Malta has been very intensively used by man for a long period, and in some localities the effects on the soil are most pronounced - as described earlier. In such places the complication of the soil pattern is considerable and the mapping unit used is the complex. This denotes a fixed relation between a number of soil series alternating too rapidly to be separately delineated. The two units used covered: (1) the lands which have been quarried, where soil has subsequently been replaced in terraces below ground level; (2) the terraced terra soils (mainly karst-land). Both complexes are produced on land which formerly was covered by terra soils, and soils which it is possible to classify as terra are usually found to be most extensive now. However, in the quarrying and in the production of terraces by cutting away limestone lapiés, much rock flour and broken stone was produced, and much refuse and 'imported' soil was used to make up the soil. Consequently carbonate raw soils are to be found in many terraces, simulating the Nadur series, and the terra soils contain much material that is never found in the untilled soils of similar type. Between these extremes, soils which simulate the tal-Barrani Series are also to be found, presumably produced by the mixing of some terra soil with a great deal of rock flour.

134

These complexes are therefore dominantly disturbed terra soils with added matter, with numerous enclaves of xerorendzinas and carbonate raw soils. The alternation of the soils is so rapid that frequently within one small terrace 25 yards long by 8 yards wide all three types will appear, and the intensive terracing or quarrying is the distinguishing feature of these mapping units.

PROPERTIES AND UTILISATION OF THE SOILS

The interpretation of chemical analyses of calcareous soils is not always very clear. For example, the methods used for extracting exchangeable cations sometimes result in the extraction of calcium from calcium carbonate as well as from the exchange complex. Similarly figures given for readily available phosphate are of uncertain meaning, because the extractant cannot exactly simulate the ability of the plant to take up phosphorus which may be fixed by calcium carbonate. The figures given in Table 22 are therefore to be considered as a comparative guide. (It is thought that in this table there has probably not been much overestimation of calcium in the exchange complex because the highest measured values are correlated with the lowest values of calcium carbonate.) There is some difficulty of comparison with soils from other countries since the same analytical methods are not always used. Soils from

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

134 Spain, Sicily, Cyprus, Palestine and Australia of similar description, give roughly similar analyses, but it is not worthwhile to compare data obtained by methods of which the details are not closely standardised.

The carbonate raw soils have been divided into textural groups for convenience in describing properties and utilisation. 134 311 The sands, loamy sands and sandy loams are very dry, easily worked, rapidly warming soils which where practicable, are mainly devoted to vines (Nadur series) and fruit trees (Nadur and Ramla series). Because of their light texture they have relatively low values for nutrients; however, they appear to give satisfactory crops, and are probably quite satisfactory. The clay loams and light clays (San Lawrenz and Fiddien series) are sticky, water retentive soils, usually fairly well structured, but hard and dry in late summer, and with a tendency towards an alkaline condition locally. In some parts of Malta they are used for a wide variety of crops, vines, tomatoes, cereals, and potatoes, but are more often devoted to sulla, as in Ġnejna Valley and western Gozo. The Fiddien heavy clay, potentially valuable because of its high clay content, is usually alkaline, sometimes slightly saline and often has very bad water relations, so that it remains little used.

The carbonate raw soils, with one or two localities excepted, are terraced, or stand in steep slopes, so that there is little prospect of increasing the field unit size. Of the xerorendzinas, the San Biagio sandy loams and silty loams and the tal-Barrani loams are only unterraced on plateaux tops, while the Alcol clay loams and clays are almost never terraced. It is among these xerorendzinas, together with the level tas-Sigra soils in the karst areas that there is a chance of increasing field size sufficiently to allow mechanisation.

The San Biagio and Alcol series are, moreover, among the more easily worked soils, but appear, with the highest active calcium carbonate, low exchangeable bases, low organic matter and higher pH, to be among the chemically less-favoured soils. Observations of potash necrosis and iron chlorosis were made mainly on these soils. However, the reasonably satisfactory structure, easy tillage, and reasonably good water relations of these soils appear to compensate, for the soils are universally cultivated and appear to give satisfactory crops. Both series appear to be used for a wide range of crops, cereals, vines, rootcrops and market garden crops generally, the last mentioned particularly on irrigated land.

The tal-Barrani loams and clay loams, which comprise the brown rendzina soils, are found almost entirely in the heavily populated area of southern Malta, where they are intensively used, and almost universally terraced. They appear to be entirely devoted, apart from odd fruit trees along walls, to annual crops, principally cereals and potatoes. From the table (22) their chemical characteristics appear more favourable than those of most of the soils, and their structure and tillage properties appear to be fairly satisfactory. It is not known, however, whether they are more productive than, for example, the nearby San Biagio xerorendzinas.

The clay loams and clays of the Terra soils are all, potentially at least, rather fertile, as is revealed by the high figures for exchangeable bases, the rather unusually satisfactory figure (in Terra soils) for total phosphate, the relatively high organic matter content, lower pH and low active $CaCO_3$. However, where they occur as small soil puddles between lapiés the mode of working is problematic, and they are generally rather dry, compact, and difficult to cultivate. Here they are usually left uncultivated, and used for birdcatching and very rough grazing for sheep and goats, or occasionally very patchily for poor crops of cereals, prickly pear, fruits or flowers. The alluvial flats and flatter lands without surface lapiés are by contrast, usually heavily cultivated, bearing a wide variety of crops, especially in the damper valley bottoms, with potatoes most important on the non-alluvial flatlands. Where the land is worked intensively the depth of crumb-structured soil is greater, and in the valley bottoms, especially, the water relations seem to be improved.

The terraced Terra soils, that is, members of the various complexes, are usually very dry, and one of the unfavourable features of the carbonate raw soils, is the higher active calcium carbonate because of the incorporated rock flour.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

They seem to be largely devoted to cereals and potatoes, and in general give relatively poor crops. These soils are in several areas widely abandoned because they are uneconomic to work. 134 311

SOIL NEEDS

The needs of a soil, for the improvement of its fertility, are not simple to assess, and in the Maltese Islands at present they are not known. A fertile soil is considered as one which is in the optimum condition for the growth of crops, and this is dependent on a variety of factors, physical and biological as well as chemical. Air and water must be available, and man by cultivation and irrigation attempts to influence their disposition to favour his crops, just as by using fertilisers and weed or pest killers he attempts to influence the chemistry and biology of the soil.

PHYSICAL NEEDS

A soil which has a poor physical structure may be unable to support good crops, because water cannot be conducted to the plant easily enough, or because the soil aeration is poor. The heavy clay soils of the Fiddien series have poor structure, and it probably is the correlated difficulty of wetting the soil rather than the chemistry of the soil material (which often has a rather high concentration of exchangeable sodium and soluble salts) which causes it to be nearly useless for agriculture.

134 242 In the majority of cases the Maltese soils have a reasonably good structure, and the only other soils which appear to be ill-favoured are the heavy-textured soils of the Xaghra series. In this case the subsoil is often very compact indeed, and the separations between structural units are minimal. However, where such soils are well worked, and more particularly where they are irrigated, the structure seems to be much improved, partly no doubt because of the increased and active microfauna. While irrigation is probably difficult to extend, the use of improved cultural practices on these soils would probably produce an increase in the soil organic matter content and improvement of the structure. Among such practices the use of nitrogenous fertilisers, use of improved rotations, encouragement of root growth, avoidance of oxidation of root-derived organic matter through unnecessary turning over of the soil, and the avoidance of pulling cereals as a method of harvesting, might cause considerable improvement. The application of animal manure in irrigation water as already practised locally in Malta also appears to be effective in increasing organic matter content of the soil.

134 [312] One of the chief problems of all crops in the Maltese Islands, is water. Certain of the lighter textured soils are extremely dry, and conservation of rainwater rather than extension of irrigation must be the answer because domestic water needs are already difficult to satisfy. Apart from practices designed to diminish evaporation loss, especially early removal of weeds by hoeing, it is probable that increasing the organic matter content would considerably increase the ability of the soil to hold water. But another simple possible method would be to marl some of the lighter soils with the calcareous clay, e.g. Fiddien heavy clay, which is not in agricultural use. (This would in addition possibly make more nutrients available.)

As far as aeration is concerned, it seems unlikely that it is deficient in many soils at present; but use of a rototiller (common in Malta) is believed to decrease aeration, and this could be investigated quite simply. It is possible that an excess of soil CO_2 would be beneficial in calcareous soils, reducing the pH of the soil solution to a level at which there is greater availability of most nutrients; and particularly those, such as phosphorus, which are likely to be deficient.

CHEMICAL NEEDS

Despite some other possible deficiencies it seems likely that nutrient

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 97]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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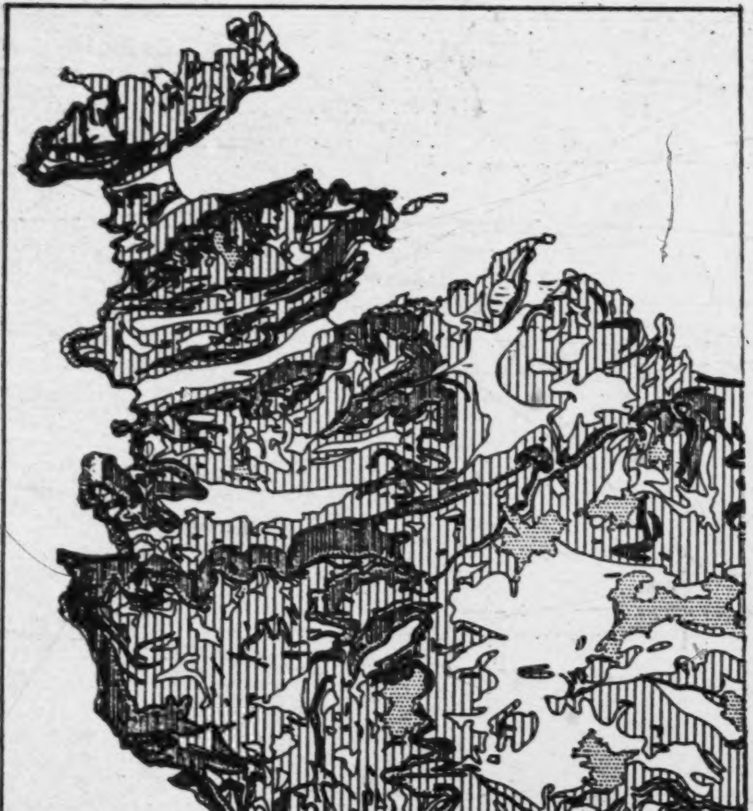

[p. 98-B]

Fig. 28 Steepness of Slope
(Malta).

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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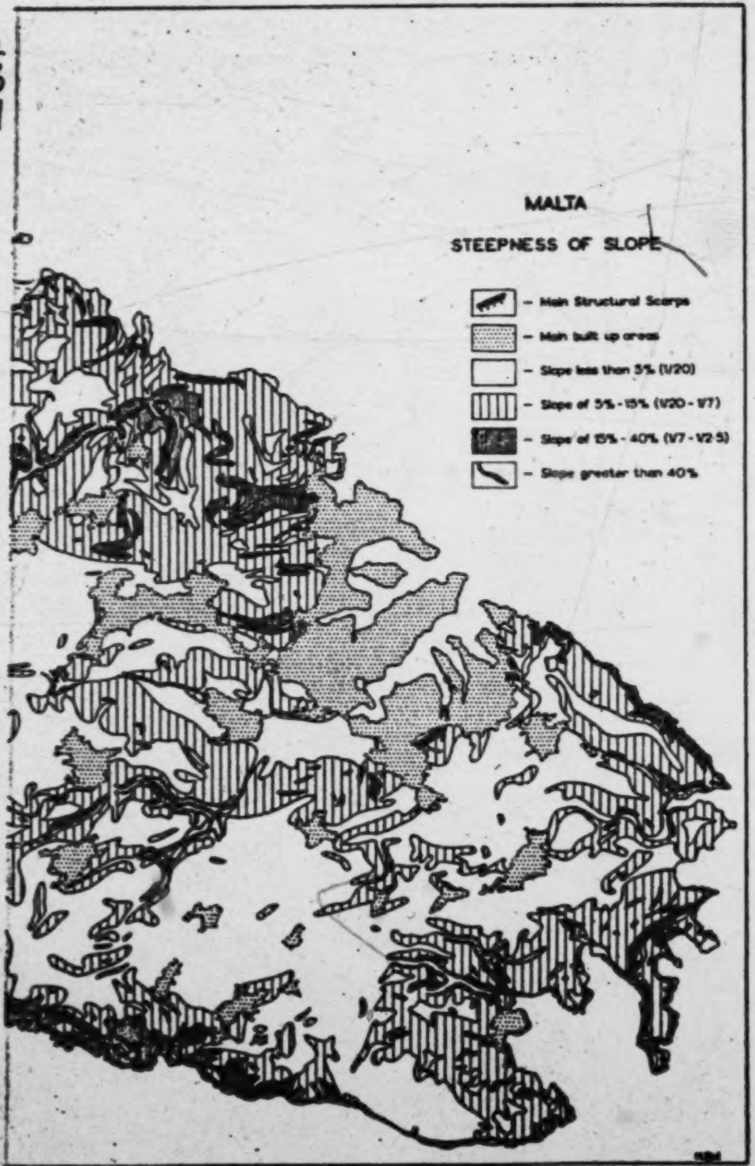
MALTA
STEEPNESS OF SLOPE
– Main Structural Scarps
– Main built up areas
– Slope less than 5% (1/20)
– Slope of 5% - 15% (1/20 - 1/7)
– Slope of 15% - 40% (1/7 - 1/2·5)
– Slope greater than 40%

Fig. 28

Steepness of Slope (Malta).

[p. 98-C]

B. Slope Analysis, Erosion and Tillage

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The slope map (Fig. 28) is a further illustration of the regional variations in the physical landscape which were described in some detail in Chapter I. The most clearly marked feature is the division into Western Scarplands and Central and Eastern Hills and Plains. In the former, gently sloping land (slopes less than 1 in 20) is confined to basins and to a few very limited parts of the plateau uplands. Sharply accidented topography and thus steep slopes are widely developed in this region, reflecting its complex structure. Slopes of gradients ranging from 1 in 7 to 1 in 2.5 occur along the faulted edges of all the plateau blocks as well as in the zone of Blue Clay outcrops which separates them from the Globigerina lands to the east. The various uplifted blocks themselves generally have undulating summits with slopes between 1 in 20 and 1 in 7. In the Central and Eastern Hills and Plains, the position is reversed. Over these parts of the Island gently sloping land (gradient less than 1 in 20) covers at least half the area and really steep slopes (greater than 1 in 7) are confined to coastal cliffs and a few valley incisions, the latter case being particularly widespread in the Naxxar-Gharghur hills.

There is, however, no simple correlation between steepness of slope and the presence or absence of cultivation. Indeed, the greater proportion of the land shown on the map as having a gradient greater than 1 in 7 is in fact still under the plough. The distribution of waste and abandoned land, occurring on plateau summit rather than scarp face, is a function of rock-type, exposure and various social and economic factors (see p. 227) rather than of gradient. That gradient only in extreme cases sets absolute limits to the extent of cultivation is illustrated by the Rdum zone of the south-west coast where, in the Rdum ta'Dingli and the Rdum tal-Lunzjata, intensive cultivation is maintained in land whose average gradient is greater than 1 in 2.5.

Though gradient has little direct effect on the pattern of farmland and waste, it obviously has much to do with the physical effort involved in maintaining a particular piece of land in cultivation. Even here, the control is by no means absolute. The problems of retaining a soil cover are much less serious in steeply sloping districts where thick, heavy soils are derived from the Blue Clay, than in areas of similar gradient where the parent rock is of Globigerina or Coralline Limestone. In the latter case, soils are thin and coarse, *'campi artificiale'* are frequently found and the soil, once removed, is not easily replaced either by natural or by human agencies.

The character of field boundaries illustrates this point. In Blue Clay areas they are generally low ramps rather than retaining walls, whereas in steeply sloping limestone areas, walls of great height and thickness are necessary to maintain a rudimentary soil cover. Field shape and size (see Fig. 68 and p.185) are also relevant. Long, narrow, ribbon-like fields are characteristic of steep slopes in limestone districts, while in Blue Clay areas fields are generally much larger, despite steep gradients.

The dangers consequent upon careless tillage and failure to maintain boundary walls are greatest on slopes steeper than 1 in 7, in areas where the soil cover is thin and is either artificial or derived from limestone rocks. The abandonment or neglect of a single field, the breaking down of a single wall quickly lead, in such areas, to damage above and below the neglected field and may eventually affect a whole flight of terraces, even driving away other cultivators who are unable to bear any increased load of maintenance work on their walls and fields. While outstandingly heavy storms can cause damage to land of all types (see p. 67), in areas falling within the category indicated above, constant vigilance is necessary at all times, both in the use of traditional methods of tillage and particularly in the introduction of new ones.

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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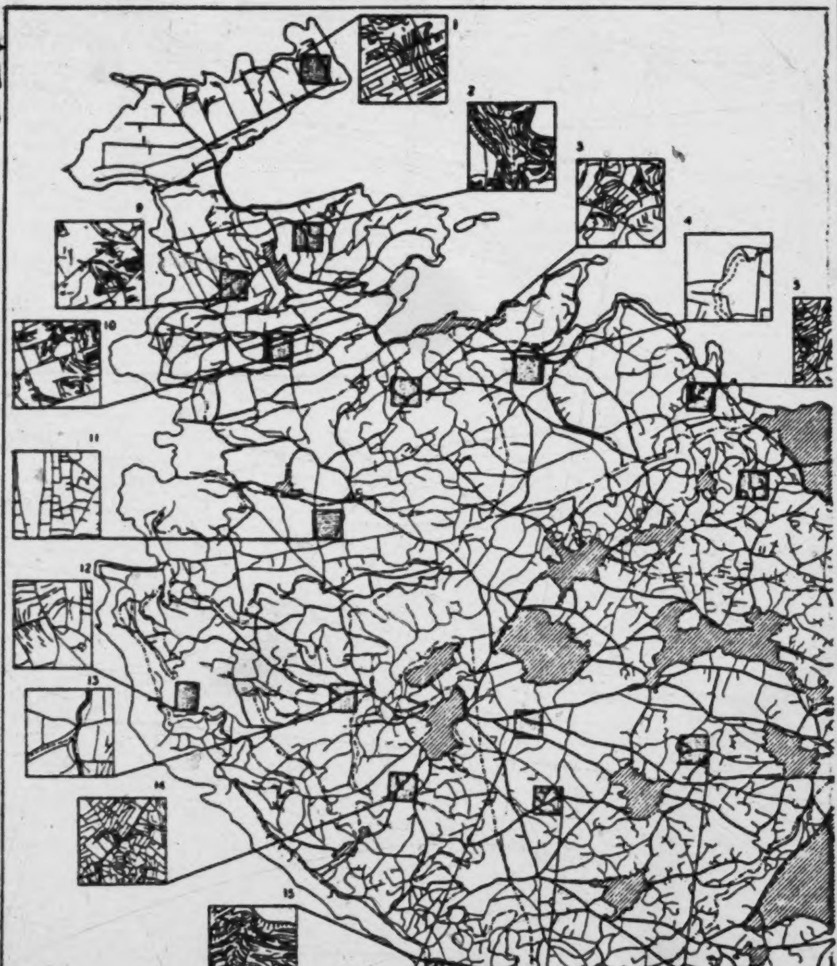
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[p. 184-A]

Fig. 68 Communications and Field Patterns

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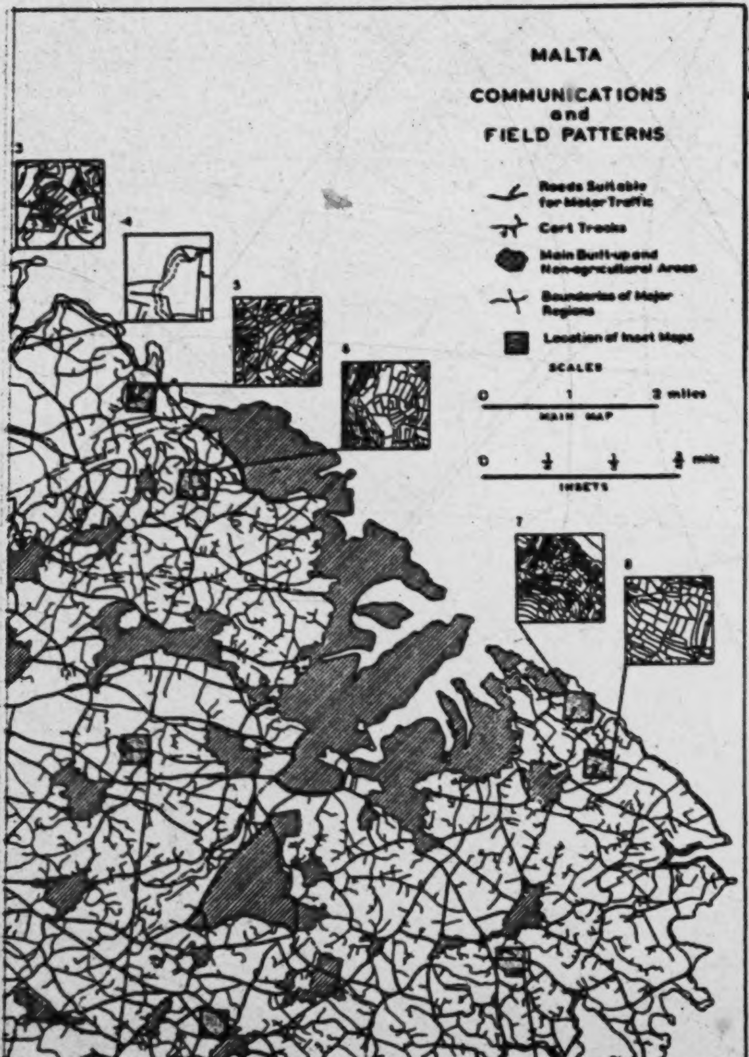
MALTA
COMMUNICATIONS and FIELD PATTERNS
Roads Suitable for Motor Traffic
Cart Tracks
Main Built-up and Non-agricultural Areas
Boundaries of Major Regions
Location of Inset Maps
SCALES
0 1 2 miles
MAIN MAP
0 1/8 1/4 3/8 mile
INSETS
3
4
5
6
7
8
16
19
20
21
JCD 1958

Fig.
[Communications and Field Patterns

[p. 184-B]

D. Note on Fig. 68

COMMUNICATIONS AND FIELD PATTERNS

Roads, tracks, stone walls and buildings are the human imprint on the surface of the land and the first three of these elements are illustrated in Fig. 68. The pattern of communications, while at first appearing quite devoid of plan, nevertheless shows distinct regional characteristics. On the Coralline Uplands, where cultivated land is often scattered among stretches of karst, there are few motorable roads, but numerous tracks appear to wander at will across the surface. In the Marfa, Mellieħa Ridge and Bajda Ridge districts, a grid-iron pattern of roads and tracks reflects mid-nineteenth century plans for the allocation of land. 102 311 491

Basins and lowlands such as Mikieb, Bingemma, Wied tal-Pwales, the Blue Clay Basin and Wied il-Għasel, are characterised by an open network which includes several important roads and a minimum of linking tracks, an arrangement also characteristic of the central plains west of Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi. In these areas, the gentle slopes obviate the necessity for cart access to every field, while the absence of terraces does away with the need for well-defined, walled tracks. 'Service tracks' leading off the main lines, are virtually absent. This is in complete contrast with the state of affairs prevailing throughout the bulk of central, southern and eastern Malta, where roads and connecting tracks form a denser web between the numerous settlements and their lands. Here, 'cul-de-sac' service tracks abound and few fields are more than a quarter of a mile from one of them. There is a marked tendency for the network to become closer in regions where steep slopes are common as in the Naxxur-Għargħur hills and around the Wied il-Kbir complex.

The inset maps, each covering an area of one-ninth square mile, illustrate the great variety of field size, shape and arrangement to be found in Malta. 102 311

1. Marfa. The rectilinear nineteenth-century pattern has been superimposed on older patterns which show a clear relationship to topography.
2. Mellieħa Upland - Wied Għajn Żejtuna. The narrow terraces of the sharply sloping valley sides contrast with the rather larger fields of the valley floor and with the open karst of the upland.
3. Wardija Uplands. An irregular pattern developed on the Coralline plateau summit.
4. Wied il-Għasel. Unusually large, open fields with only occasional walls. The wied channel (shown by broken lines) has been ploughed over.
5. Għallis Hills. Small, irregular enclosures on the hill tops; larger, more regular fields in the small valley seen in the south-east.
6. Naxxar-Għargħur Hills. Large fields on the smooth hill summits; extremely narrow terraces on the sharply incised valley sides.
7. Ricasoli-Zonkor Ridge. Minute enclosures, the smallest in Malta, on the seaward side of the ridge.
8. Larger more regular fields on the southerly, inland slopes of the same ridge.
9. Mellieħa Ridge. Fragments of an old, topographically-determined pattern remain, on which a few lines of more recent origin have been superimposed.
10. Bajda Ridge. A clear example of the superimposition already referred to.
11. Binġemma Basin. Large fields, often with a strip formation, are typical of down-faulted Upper Coralline basins.
12. Santi-Binġemma Uplands. Now almost entirely abandoned: the fragmentary character of the pattern is typical of such areas.
13. Blue Clay Basin, near Fiddien Bridge. Large, open fields.
14. Rabat-Dingli Uplands. A more intensively worked section of the Upper Coralline along the Rabat-Dingli road (shown by a double line). Contrast with number 12.
15. Western Rdum Lands. Part of the Rdum tal-Lanzjata showing the minute subdivision typical of such areas.
16. 16, 17, 18, illustrate variations within the central part of Malta. In example 16, the fields are particularly large. 17 shows greater subdivision, irregular in the north and approaching the rectilinear in the south. 18 illustrates the effects of steeper slopes, in this case on the southern side of the Wied is-Sewda.
19. A regular pattern on gentle slopes between Qrendi and Mqabba.
20. Minute terraces near the southern coast.
21. The effect of recent road building is illustrated here in the splitting up of no less than 14 fields, along a 600 yard stretch of road. In the process, a number of minute fields of little or no value have been formed.

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INTRODUCTION

121 24 Contemporary agriculture can only be understood in terms of the whole nexus of environmental and human factors. Although a general truism this assertion continually needs to be emphasised in a study of Malta. In these Islands the observer will meet more puzzling features both major and minor in scale than it is conceivable would be found in any territory of similar size. The wider one's comparative experience, the more it appears necessary to discard general principles and to adopt a habit of querying the origin of every minor element in the landscape. The various problems are examined elsewhere but a brief statement of their type and range will serve to depict the complex nature of Maltese agriculture.

121 ●311 24 All visitors to Malta are invariably impressed by the vast extent of stone terrace walls which give to the ground-level observer an impression of rocky barrenness. The questions which arise, and which have not been satisfactorily answered, are manifold in their complexity. Do the terrace-walls merely serve to retain naturally-evolved soil and if so is the present density of enclosures strictly necessary? Are these walls, on the other hand, ramparts behind which man-made soil accumulations have been slowly built up to create artificial fields? If the latter, does normal pedological analysis provide a sufficient basis for soil husbandry? If the former, how far can enclosures be enlarged to permit a greater use of mechanised techniques?

121 132 24 The climate of Malta, as analysed in Chapter II, has some especial characteristics. How far do certain combinations of temperature, humidity and wind velocity in various topographic circumstances encourage the appearance and survival of the very many diseases and pests which afflict Maltese crops? To what extent may the climate-soil complex be held responsible for the virtual absence of the olive and the remarkable ignorance concerning viticulture which is only now being dispelled? Must the physical environment be regarded as the main reason for the fact that Maltese farmers have never produced important indigenous strains of crops or livestock but have relied entirely on breeds imported from their more productive neighbours?

121 24 Innumerable queries of this type result from even the most cursory visual survey, and any attempt to answer them brings in even more complex human questions. If the maintenance of man-made soil in artificial fields by arduous manual labour is essential for the ecological stability of many regions, how important is the conflict between the needs of production and the social desires of the cultivators? How far has poor husbandry been a product of rural isolation? How measurable is distance as it affects contact between producer and market, between village-dweller and *Il-Belt*? None of these and other questions is uniquely applicable to Malta, but *in toto* they present such a formidable array as to make one feel that these small islands have concentrated within them certain microcosmic qualities.

In this Section are considered some of the observable facts that directly concern the use and potentialities of agricultural resources. The main features of the economy and society in general have been described in previous sections; the basic elements of the agricultural sector may be summarised as follows. the basic elements of the agricultural sector may be summarised as follows.

24 311 The total area of the Maltese Islands is some 280,512 *tmien* of which 152,343 *tmien* are cultivated (54 per cent of the total) (1). The relationship between Malta and Gozo in these respects is remarkably constant, both islands having a similar proportion of worked land, Malta possessing 79 per cent. of the total area and of the cultivated land. Of the 7,272 *tmien* of irrigated land, almost 89 per cent. is found in Malta where the only large irrigated zones also occur.

162 24 This cultivated land is worked in 12,215 registered farmholdings of which over 70 per cent. are in Malta. The rural community (i.e. persons living in dwellings registered as farms and including farmworkers' children and other members of the family otherwise employed) number 57,354 (72 per cent. in Malta), almost 18 per cent. of the total population. Of this rural community 34

and a small staff is still retained to endeavour to keep its material up to date. 423*
Quite apart from the varying accuracy of the censuses (and it is almost 127
impossible to assess the accuracy of the earlier ones), the analyst is faced with
other internal problems. In connection with the size of farms and the types of [659]
land within them, different criteria have been used at different times: in 1891 423*
and 1901, land was classed as cultivated and uncultivable; in the Farm Register,
irrigated, semi-irrigated, dry- and tree-covered land are classed as cultivated 127
and the balance as waste; the surveys of 1951-56 specify dry, irrigated and idle 311
land, together with waste. How far these groups are comparable from period to period it is difficult to say. The 1956 Abstract provides a better picture, for here in addition to the analyses of dry and irrigated land considered separately, there is also a simple size analysis of holdings according to the amount of dry and irrigated land taken together. More closely comparable with the earlier analyses it is yet not identical, since wasteland and, presumably, idle land are omitted. The full significance of the size characteristics of Maltese farms emerges only when the relative proportions of the two classes of land, dry and irrigable, are studied. This material is presented later, in Table 38. However, useful preliminary points can be made on the basis of the earlier, simple size-range tabulations.

The size-range data are presented in Figs. 133 and 134 and relating to Malta 423*
and Gozo respectively; they are directly comparable except for the 1956 curve in the Gozo diagram which relates to cultivated land only. However it is unlikely that this discrepancy will seriously upset the validity of the diagram as a whole. A 1956 curve for Malta, based on similar figures, differs only in detail from that produced here for the period c. 1945.

The content of these diagrams is largely self-explanatory: each curve illustrating the number of holdings above or below certain critical size limits. In Malta, in the year 1891, almost 80 per cent. of all holdings were smaller than 40 *tmien*. Also in that year the median figure was 18 *tmien*.(5 acres) in Malta but 13 *tmien* (3¼ acres) in Gozo. Farms were already smaller in both islands by 1901 and, at the end of World War II, Maltese farms had become smaller than were the farms of Gozo 55 years earlier. In 1906, the median figure for Gozo stood at the very low level of 8 *tmien* (2¼ acres). When it is realised that, for all except Gozo 1956, these data include some 5-7 per cent. uncultivated land, a major problem in Maltese agriculture has been outlined.

It might be held that the decrease in the size of holdings simply reflects a general reduction in the farmed area as a result of urban expansion. However, later evidence will show that the process of *morcellement* has probably been continuous for at least 100 years, and it is uncertain whether, over this longer period, there has been a net increase or decrease in the area of agricultural land. Certainly, in the period 1850-80 large areas of wasteland, mainly Government Land, were let on long improvement leases. Although it is clear that some of this land, for various reasons, never became productive, and yet more has remained marginal in character, a quantity unknown has been permanently added to the cultivated area of the island.

However, from Figs. 133 and 134, it is clear that the reduction in the average size of the farm has taken place at all levels: large farms have become two or more smaller farms, while smaller farms have been reduced in size. The process is thus an integral part of local agricultural development: small farm units are not merely the product of external encroachment, which, by reducing the area of agricultural land also reduces the average farm size (assuming a constant farm population). The extension of non-agricultural uses is obviously a factor to be considered, but the total farm population has not remained constant; indeed, despite considerable emigration and movement to the towns, it has increased (Chapter VIA). The precise number of holdings at any one time is not readily ascertainable, as most records are known to be incomplete and there is no means of knowing how many farmers failed to make returns. However, the following Table 34 indicates the general trend:-

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Table 36. Agricultural occupations - male and female.

Farmholders, farm-workers, and total workers on land (excluding sheep and goat herders).

		1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders	%	27.2	19.7	17.1	30.2	19.1	37.4	36.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers	%	71.9	78.4	80.9	68.1	79.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	56.9	51.1
Total workers on land	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	000's	12.2	13.4	10.8	15.4	15.3	15.3	13.8	15.1	16.2	13.6

The general increase in the numbers of farmholders could have arisen entirely within the class itself, by the repeated re-allocation of land to succeeding and larger generations. Similarly the full decline in the numbers of farmworkers may be related to increased alternative employment or to emigration. However, case-study material seems to indicate that many families whose members had traditionally been landless labourers, working in fields, quarries or industry, as wages rose and fell began to acquire a direct interest in the land, thereby moving from one class to another without affecting the total agricultural labour force. Such a family history is examined in detail later in this chapter.

Another factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming. In this sector data is particularly limited and of dubious value. Table 37 consolidates all the relevant material.

Table 37.

	1891	1901		1956
'Farmers'	5,727	5,038	Full-time farmholders	4,706
'Part-time Farmers'	2,263	500	Part-time farmholders	5,337
			Other farmholders	1,368
Total	7,990	5,538	Total	11,411
Number of holdings	9,272	9,178	Number of holders	12,640

The discrepancies in the earlier two years between the numbers of farmholders and of farmholdings arise from the differing bases of the material, and because the number of holdings includes returns by the 'owners of fruit gardens and field labourers with very small amounts of land'. Similar explanations apply in 1956. These doubts notwithstanding, it is quite clear that a major part of the increase in holdings is made up of holdings farmed on a part-time basis; the number of farmholders principally dependent on agriculture having declined meanwhile.

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Earlier in this chapter, the point was made that most farms contain land of various types. Apart from virtually non-productive waste land, the main distinction is between dry land and irrigated land. The distinction is not always very clearly set between the two groups, since land can also be considered as 'semi-irrigated', as in the Farm Register. However, this type of land, watered from rain-filled cisterns perhaps twice or three times per season, cannot compare in output with the perennially irrigable land. The crops on this latter type of land will be watered at ten-day intervals for a period of six or more months. Semi-irrigated land is grouped by the farmers themselves with dry land as *raba baghli*, while perennially irrigated land they refer to as *raba saqwi*. So long as data is based on the agriculturalist's own criteria there seems little danger of confusion.

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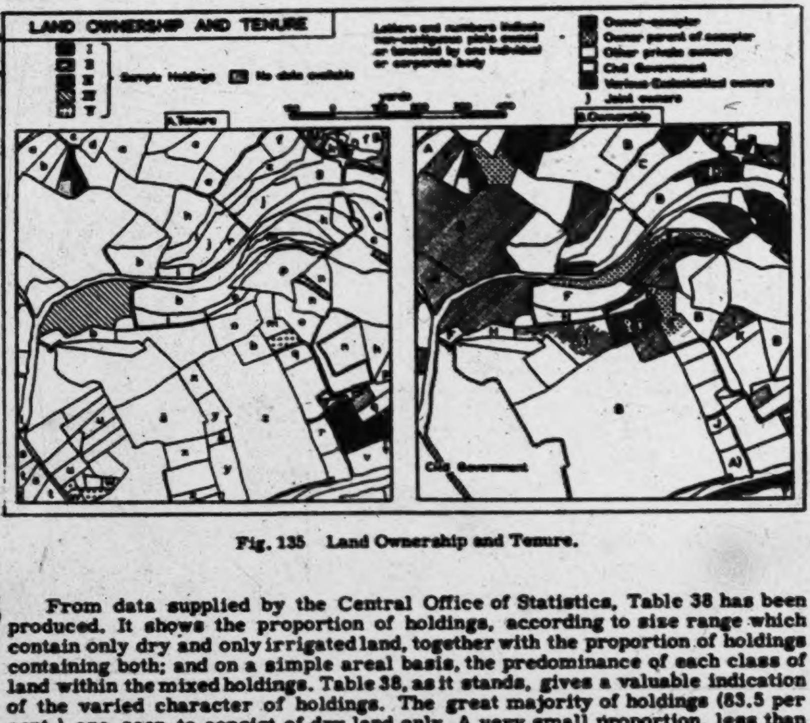
LAND OWNERSHIP AND TENURE
I
II
III
IV
V
Sample Holdings
No data available
Letters and numbers indicate non-contiguous plots owned or tenanted by one individual or corporate body
Owner-occupier
Owner parent of occupier
Other private owners
Civil Government
Various Ecclesiastical owners
Joint owners
yards
A.Tenure
B.Ownership
Civil Government

Fig. 135 Land Ownership and Tenure.

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From data supplied by the Central Office of Statistics, Table 38 has been produced. It shows the proportion of holdings, according to size range which contain only dry and only irrigated land, together with the proportion of holdings containing both; and on a simple areal basis, the predominance of each class of land within the mixed holdings. Table 38, as it stands, gives a valuable indication of the varied character of holdings. The great majority of holdings (83.5 per cent.) are seen to consist of dry land only. A very small proportion, less than half of 1 per cent., contain irrigated land only. The balance of 16 per cent. of all holdings are 'mixed'. The majority of these mixed holdings contain less than 5 *tmien* of irrigated and less than 20 *tmien* of dry land. It is clear that the additional productivity of the irrigated land will not affect a sufficiently large number of holdings, nor to a degree great enough, to upset the earlier conclusion that Maltese farms are extremely small.

The conclusions thus far drawn may now be summarised. Farm holdings of the Maltese Islands show wide variations in size, and their productivity is also very variable since farms consist of different classes of land held in varying proportions. Gozitan farms are smaller than those of the larger island, but everywhere the numbers of large and medium sized farms have been greatly reduced during the past 70 and probably 100 years; the residual holdings are mainly small. Encroachment on farmland by the expanding urban areas, roads and military installations may have been compensated in some degree over the long period by the development of former wastelands. *Morcellement* has been a characteristic internal process affecting the agricultural sector. It appears to have arisen partly through the sub-division of holdings amongst successive generations, but also through the acquisition of land by former landless families. Increasing, but uncertain urban employment has encouraged the growth of much part-time farming, which practice has in turn, contributed to the overall pattern of small holdings.

Table 38. Percentage of all holdings according to the amount of dry and/or irrigated land occupied.

Maltese Islands 1956.

Horizontally: quantity of dry land held.

Vertically: quantity of irrigated land held

Tm.	0	10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99	100	Total
0	+	51.06	18.63	7.29	3.25	1.50	0.71	0.30	0.11	0.05	0.03	-	83.53
5	0.31	4.83	4.26	1.75	0.97	0.39	0.21	0.08	0.02	0.04	-	0.01	12.83
5- 9	0.11	0.56	0.78	0.55	0.28	0.09	0.08	0.04	0.01	0.02	-	0.01	2.53
10-14	0.04	0.17	0.16	0.16	0.10	0.04	0.03	0.01	-	-	-	-	0.69
15-19	0.02	0.06	0.07	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.01	-	-	-	-	-	0.20
20-24	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.04	-	-	0.01	-	-	-	-	0.14
25-29	-	0.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03
30-34	-	-	0.01	0.02	0.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03
35	-	0.02	-	0.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03
Total	0.49	57.35	23.92	9.85	4.64	2.02	1.02	0.43	0.14	0.10	0.03	0.02	100.00

100% = 12,552 holdings.

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

*423 102 ●311 [133] [489] This small agricultural entity, the Maltese Farm, is further split into a number of non-contiguous plots or parcels, each of no great size. In illustration of this and other related points a small area in Malta, square in shape with a side half a mile long, has been examined in some detail (Fig. 135). The area lies in the Central Region, between Siġġiewi and Żebbuġ, and includes in its north-eastern corner, part of the latter settlement. It is dissected by two steep-sided valleys, that of the Wied il-Beqqiegħa crossing from south-west to north-east, and the Wied il-Hesri which appears in the south-east corner. Narrow, terraced fields follow the contours of the valley sides but, on the more rounded relief of the interfluve, the fields, although still terraced, become generally larger and more nearly square in shape. Apart from the valley-floors, used as foot- and cart-ways, with other accommodation roads and paths, non-agricultural lands are limited to a few house-sites in the outskirts of Żebbuġ. A few scattered patches of rock outcrop occur on the steeper slopes, but the only large patch of uncultivated land covers the north-eastern lobe of the large tenancy plot lying south of the area shaded black in map. The remaining land is devoted to dry farming crops characteristic of the region.

LAND TENURE (Fig. 135A)

The underlying topography, clearly influences the shape, and, to a lesser extent the size of the tenurial plots. This is most striking in the north-eastern quadrant, where long, narrow plots reflect the sinuous terraces of the Wied il-Beqqiegħa; on the slopes of the Wied il-Hesri, however, the relationship is scarcely apparent. Shallower gradients are covered by plots of fuller and more varied shape differing greatly in size. In the north-east corner small and oddly shaped tenancy parcels are clearly related to the nearby settlements and are mainly specialised garden plots. An anomalous area of small plots in the opposite corner breaks up the general tendency of increasing size away from the casal.

Tenancy units are small in size, but there is enormous variation. The average of the parcels shown here, including parts of parcels beyond the limits of the area mapped, is slightly less than 5 *imien* The smallest garden plot (*b*, north-east corner) contains about one-twentieth of a *imien* of land, while the large plot of fieldland in the south (*z*) is about 50 *imien* in extent. There may be a tendency for plots to be larger in areas where soils are thin and poor, but the two distributions can certainly not be equated.

Of the 129 plots, parts of which lie within the half mile square, 57 are held by farmers with no other land in the area. But the remaining 29 holdings each have two or more non-contiguous parcels. This relationship is indicated by the use of distinctive shading in the case of Sample Holdings II and V, and otherwise by the letter *a* to *z* and *d*. Holding *b* (six plots) scattered throughout the northern two-thirds of the area is an extreme example of the typical parcellation.

LAND OWNERSHIP (Fig. 135B)

*423 102 In general terms, within the area shown here, the distributions of ownership and of tenure are similar. As shown in Fig. 135B, there are many scattered plots belonging to the same owner, a characteristic which might be termed fragmented ownership. A similar cartographical convention to that used in Fig. 135A is adopted here. Plots owned by the same private owner are indicated by the letters A-J (I is excluded); the numbers 1-4 are used similarly for the various classes of ecclesiastical ownership. All plots, whether duplicated or not, belonging to the latter class, which includes monastic, episcopal, and parish land, as well as land owned by Charitable Institutions (a very small proportion in this area), are distinguished by a special system of shading as also are Civil or Government lands. The rather special cases of ownership by the occupier or by his parent are also distinguished from the bulk of the parcels which are owned by other private persons.

Looking at the distribution in its basic form, as a simple pattern of parcels, ignoring the various special relationships, several points emerge. As in the map of tenure, there is a complex network, but the weave is generally coarser,

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961 EZ6 Malta EZ6

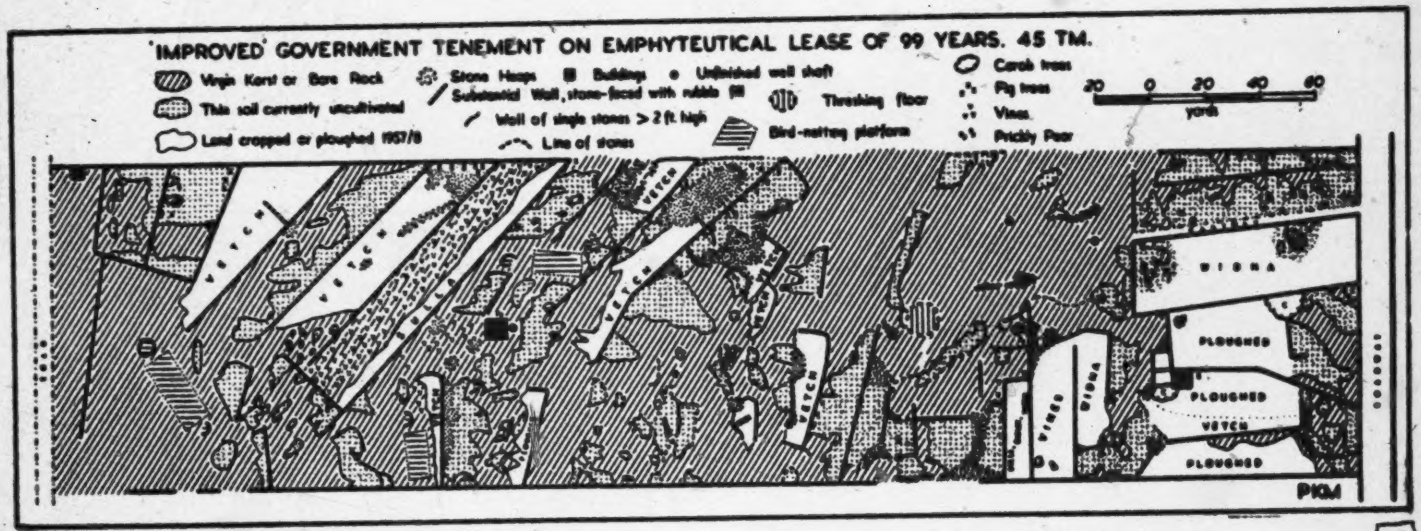
IMPROVED GOVERNMENT TENEMENT ON EMPHYTEUTICAL LEASE OF 99 YEARS. 45 TM.
Virgin Karst or Bare Rock
Thin soil currently uncultivated
Land cropped or ploughed 1957/8
Stone Heaps
Buildings
Unfinished well shaft
Substantial Wall, stone-faced with rubble fill
Wall of single stones > 2 ft. high
Line of stones
Threshing floor
Bird-netting platform
Carob trees
Fig trees
Vines
Prickly Pear
20 0 20 40 60
yards
VETCH
SULLA
WIDNA
PLOUGHED
VINES
PKM

Fig. 137 Improved Government Tenement on Emphyteutical Lease of 99 years.

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[p. 302-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

923*
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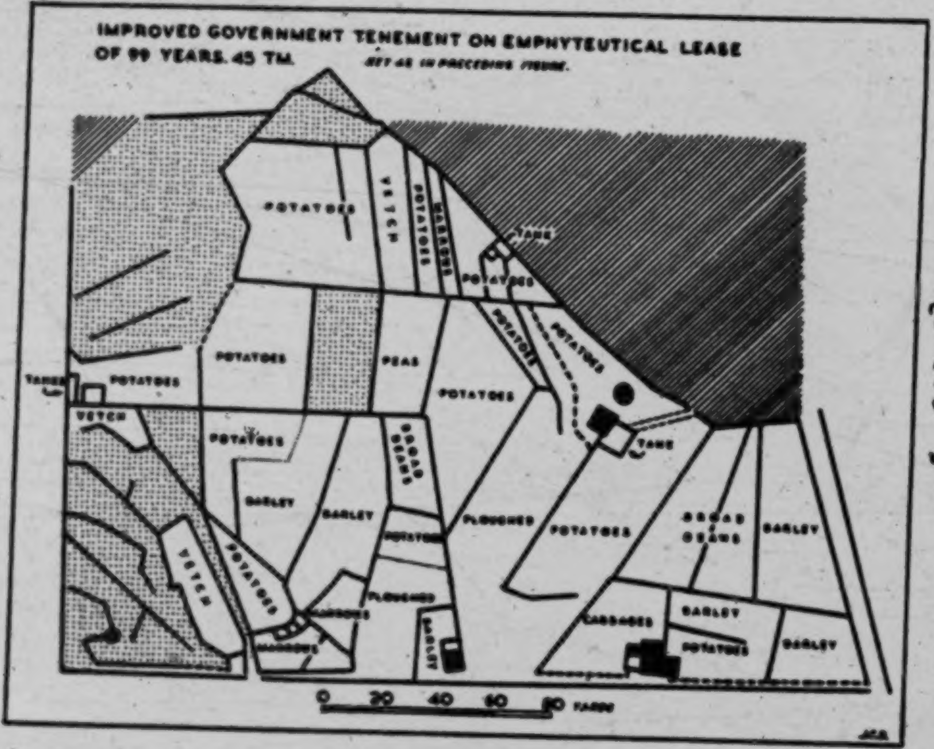
IMPROVED GOVERNMENT TENEMENT ON EMPHYTEUTICAL LEASE OF 99 YEARS. 45 TM.
KEY AS IN PRECEDING FIGURE.
POTATOES
VETCH
POTATOES
CABBAGES
TANK
POTATOES
POTATOES
POTATOES
TANKS
POTATOES
POTATOES
PEAS
POTATOES
VETCH
POTATOES
BROAD BEANS
TANK
BARLEY
BARLEY
PLOUGHED
POTATOES
BROAD BEANS
BARLEY
POTATOES
VETCH
POTATOES
PLOUGHED
MARROWS
MARROWS
BARLEY
CABBAGES
BARLEY
POTATOES
BARLEY
0 20 40 60 80 YARDS
J.C.B.

Fig. 138 Improved Government Tenement on Emphyteutical Lease of 99 years (second example).

[p. 302-B]

[For Key see Page 302-A]

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Table 41. Estimated percentages of total agricultural land owned by various groups, c. 1950.

	Civil Govt.	War Depts.	Church, etc.	Landlord	Farmer's Family	Farmer	Total
Malta	16	1	22	51	2	8	100
Gozo	23		12	54	2	9	100
Both Islands	19		19	52	2	8	100

be properly worked. This argument as a basis for encouraging owner-occupance must be treated with some suspicion. All the field evidence goes to show that, in recent years, land purchases by working farmers have been mainly of good and, if possible, irrigated land. The Maltese agriculturalist rarely makes a conscious assessment of his returns in terms of productivity of labour or capital but rather the emphasis is placed on gross production. Nevertheless, general productivity, security of harvest and even social status all make him buy the best land, even at inflated prices. Little of such freehold property is difficult to work and little of it therefore lies 'waste'.

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Historically there is further proof that the incentive of ownership is on its own of no great importance in increasing the proportion of worked land in any holding. Early nineteenth century writers both commented on the large areas of rock and other wasteland in the North of Malta, and on the age-old practice of building 'artificial fields' (see p. 324). There was a widespread belief that the whole of the cultivated land had been created in this way and that further extension was mainly a matter of encouraging the farmers to undertake the labour involved. A Commission of the *Società Economico Agraria* considered the question and made in their report of 1848 (3) the following points. First, any increase in agricultural production, particularly of grains, would be welcome. Secondly, there existed a pool of grossly under-employed labour and capital. Thirdly, although the physical extension of the cultivated area would be a slow process, the national advantage would be great. Fourthly, this end could be achieved by the granting of land in perpetual emphyteusis so that capital and labour could be securely applied to reclamation. In 1855 Schembri supported such a policy (4).

From 1850 onwards, much barren Crown land was distributed on this basis, frequently in parcels of 16 *imiex* and on 99-year emphyteutical leases. Subject to improvement (a clause that does not appear to have been enforced), the tenant had complete security of a tenure which could be renewed by his heirs on a preferential basis at low rents. During the first period rents could be as low as 1½d. per *tomna*.

Although some land was improved, the project as a whole was not a great success. Economic and social changes can be held responsible for some of the lack of response to these offers, for the second half of the nineteenth century was a dynamic period. In spite of much Crown expenditure on the laying out and construction of access roads, and the building of many field and terrace walls, some land was never taken up and more remained economically marginal. Of the leased land, a considerable proportion was later abandoned.

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The main factor making for local success or failure of the scheme was the availability or otherwise of water. Two contrasting examples illustrate this point. Fig. 137 shows an area of 16 *imiex* in the hands of one tenant. Small patches of vetch are the sole evidence of use. Figs and vines planted during early development no longer bear fruit. This long-lease land is virtually waste. The other example, illustrated in Fig. 138, has similar terrain and is more exposed to wind and seaspray. Here the presence of a shallow water-body has provided an incentive for the slow development of a soil cover and enabled intensive cultivation to succeed. Twenty-two heirs of the original lessee have each insisted on their right to work a portion of the holding.

*423 654 These are extreme cases but everywhere it is true that during the last century, continuity of tenure has not been enough in itself to produce land improvement.

*423 427 A variety of forms of tenure exists in the Islands. Emphyteutical leases, which must be documented, are legally all such that extend for a term longer than 16 years and have the proper content and conditions. On Crown land a period of 99 years has been favoured, but leases of 30 and 60 years are also found. The essence of such leases lies in their emphasis on tenant improvement of the land and on compensation for premature dispossession. Some of the implications of the official encouragement of emphyteusis have already been examined. In general the system is based on the supposition that the lease is long enough to reward the tenant for his development work, and that the land has been improved to a level at which short-term leases - first offered to the emphyteuta's heirs - become feasible.

Other leases are generally based on a four-year rotational cycle, in its turn based on the duration of the effects of intensive manuring on 'dry' land. Entry is normally on 15th August, in the 'dead' period of the year, and the most popular lease is for a duration of eight years with an option for renewal for a further similar term. On expiration the land is usually held on a yearly basis until a new satisfactory settlement is reached. Provisions for repairs usually divide responsibility between tenant and landlord on the basis of the scale of work and capital needed, the tenant being always responsible for wells and cisterns. Water derived from the holding should only be used thereon but in practice this is ignored. Regulation of husbandry is rarely mentioned except in general terms. Unless specifically revoked, legal provision exists for the remission of rents in the event of naturally caused crop-failure, although we have no knowledge of such a claim being made in recent years. After the flood damage of the autumn of 1957, the appeals were solely for Governmental aid.

The problem of compensation for improvement or for dispossession has in Malta as in other countries given rise to much disputation. Unless agreed by the landlord, any improvements to short-leased land can only be indirectly recovered either by removing impermanent fixtures or by the incoming tenant paying for items such as recent manuring or tillage. In the latter case, both parties regard the transaction in the light of a hand-over charge rather than as formal compensation.

Before 1940, the short-lease tenant had little legal security of continuity of tenure. On the termination of a lease the sitting tenant had preferential rights to renewal only if he were prepared to accept conditions equally or more onerous than would other applicants, provided the courts held these conditions to be reasonable. Such preference was negated if the land was needed by an owner or cousin or nearer relation of the owner. Theoretically, therefore, the ability of the tenant-farmer to resist rent increases or to prevent loss of investment was very limited. Wartime Emergency Regulations resulted in the creation of a special Board to consider problems of tenure where leases were shorter than for 15 years. Since that time preferential rights of renewal have been extended to cover immediate relations of a deceased tenant or to the equivalent of 'copyholders'. Rent increases must not be based on any increase in value accruing from any type of improvement, and their reasonableness is adjudged by comparable neighbouring rents. Greater freedom was afforded in sub-letting to a co-tenant or relation while the landlord's personal or family claim on land has now to be justified on the basis of a minimum four year use.

*423 ●311 427 The combination of short leases and absence of compensation for improvement has been held at one time or another to be responsible for virtually all the ills and defects of Maltese farming from a reluctance to plant tree-crops to the poorness of many local track and access roads. As with the relationship between freehold tenure and intensity of land use, such arguments are not fundamentally valid. Where physical economic conditions provide incentive to investment and improvement then the cultivator generally responds, no matter

what type of lease. However, many of the minor variations in land use which 423*
exist as between adjacent fields or parts of fields can be partially explained on 311
the basis of their legal position. Thus the wasteland of il-Wilġa in the Wied
tal-Pwales reflects both physical deterioration and a tenurial conflict. But, as 427
may be observed throughout the regional and distributional studies in this volume, the patterns observable in Maltese farming are resultants of many forces and influences, in which the legal element plays a very minor part.

A third type of tenure, that of share-cropping, appears in some rather 423*
specialised forms in the Maltese Islands. Between land-owner and occupier,
its main incidence seems to be as a working arrangement between aged parents 427
and their children. Between coevals it appears as a temporary form of sub-letting known as *bin nofs*. Some of the factors influencing the first type have already been examined. In the second case, share-cropping arrangements are a consequence of the growing tendency of farmers to leave the land for short trial periods to seek other employment or to emigrate. As a form of insurance, leased or owned land is then often let temporarily to relatives or friends on the understanding that should the farmer return, his land reverts to him or in the case of the time-limit (usually five years) elapsing before his return, the share-cropper takes over full rights. Although this is of doubtful legality in the case of rented land, landlords do not seem to object. In the north and west of Malta, over 6 per cent. of the cultivated area is held in this way, and the proportion is over 3 per cent. in Gozo. In other areas, share-cropping would seem to be of negligible importance. Because this system appears to be based on expediency, the details of owner-cropper relationship are more variable than in areas where *metayage* is more fully developed as an institution. The provision of land, materials and labour and the division of product vary greatly. One case exists of a whole community working the land under a tenant-in-chief who provides land, seed, manure and some machinery and then claims one-fifth of the value of the crops which he buys back in bulk.

The share-cropping tenures terminate with the death of either party. In all 423*
other cases the death of a tenant results in the leasehold becoming part of his
divisible estate and liable to fragmentation between the children, all of whom 427
have equal rights of inheritance. The importance of this element in the process 428
of *parcellement* has been regarded as very great, in Malta as elsewhere. Before considering an actual case-study of holding evolution, it is as well to note some of the general points.

First, the family group has strong powers to maintain its hold on land and to exclude others from it. In this they are supported by the action of landlords and by the legal codes as at present framed. On the other hand, little effort is made to prevent sub-division within the family group. Thus no analysis of the process of fragmentation can be made without a full understanding of the nature of the Maltese rural family.

In this chapter, the main elements in the physical and legal entity which 423*
constitutes the Maltese farm have been considered. As much as is feasible of
the legal and customary background to the farm unit has been considered. In
illustration of these points and in order to amplify them, a detailed analysis of
the lands of one Maltese family follows. It is appropriate here to record the [123]
great kindness, forbearance and co-operation shown by the members of that family without whose considerable assistance such an examination could not have been made.

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[P.317]

Chapter X

THE PRACTICE OF FARMING

We have considered at some length the physical and social environments in 128
which Maltese farming exists, the distribution of crops and of agricultural
regions, and examined some of the physical and legal characteristics of the
land holdings in which the land is worked. There follows a more systematic
statement and a tentative interpretation of farming practice, and studies of the
Maltese countryfolk (Plate XVIII).

A. Livestock

Livestock in Malta, with the exception of the wandering, wasteland-feeding, 231
herds of sheep and goats, is rarely seen or heard. Cattle, pigs, poultry and
rabbits are all kept in stockyards or enclosures, and horses, mules and donkeys,
when not working in the fields, are stabled the whole time. Their near invisibility
has caused us to omit mention of them in earlier sections. As noted in Chapter
VII, the Maltese farmer, faced with land shortage as a result of the high popula- [246]
tion density, has chosen to cultivate stall-fed fodders as short-rotation crops
rather than to grow pastures or perennial forages. It is difficult to believe that
he has not made the correct choice if the criterion adopted is that of intensive
and continual use of difficult land resources and the minimising of waste. 231

Numerically, goats are by far the most important (Plate XVII)² During the 234
past century, they increased tenfold in number, a fact which marks the amazingly
rapid increase in milk consumption, but in the last decade the trend has been 311
reversed. The indigenous breeds, highly regarded in the Mediterranean up to [232]
the close of the eighteenth century, have now almost entirely been replaced by
crosses with introduced British Saanen types. These crosses, in which Saanen
blood remains dominant to the third or fourth generation, are hardy and prolific
milkers, considering the quality of feed. Goats have remained important not
only because they still supply about 40 per cent. of returned milk sales (and a
large amount produced domestically and sold illegally), but also because,
together with sheep, they utilise the great extent of wasteland as natural pasture.
Some feeding on field grown forages is practised - during the survey such [246]
feeding was observed at Marnisi on broad beans and at Wied Babu on sulla, for
example - but this is rare.

Land unusable for cultivation, and which makes up over 30 per cent. of the total area, provides the basic forage ration. Breeders and kids are given supplementary feeds of beans and hay crops. Although, therefore, goats are theoretically poor converters of fodder into milk, they cannot be displaced by milch cows without at once offending the tastes of most Maltese for goats' milk and cheese, and making the uncultivable land almost totally unproductive. Sheep, somewhat less numerous than pigs, and by far less valuable, occupy the same ecological niche as do goats. Used domestically in many areas for milking, and by far the cheapest meat animals, these predominantly hairy rather than woolled sheep, of a strong German strain, are one of the 'crops' of the barren lands. In the absence of statistics of fodder consumption, the only evidence available is that obtained in interview. It would certainly seem that sheep and goats use much uncultivated land in their demand for feed, and are almost the only media for obtaining any yield at all from one-third of the land of Malta and Gozo. (See also Chapter X C.)

Pigs, numerically the most important meat animals, are almost all of 231
recently introduced breeds, the English Large White in particular. Berkshire, 232
Wessex Saddleback and Middle White have been tried, but the Large White
Yorkshire, even when bred for lean meat to an average weight of 180 lb., has

²[See page 256 -- Analyst]

000 for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc. Livestock harness is 492 simple in type consisting of head harness and collar. Working bullocks, now rarely used, are also equipped with collars for traction but the guiding reins are attached to the horns. Country carts are unsprung, wooden frames resting 493 directly on the metal axles. That the ruggedness of their construction is only equalled by the toughness of the draught animals is evinced by their presence on places such as Dingli Undercliff, or the cliffsides of the Wied il-Luq (Buskett).

343 The solidly built stone huts or *orfa* that are to be found on most holdings may be regarded as part of the farmers' 'equipment' rather than his habitation. The simplest and most numerous are simple one-roomed cubes, some five yards square, strongly constructed, usually of worked stone blocks with wood and *torba* roofs. These 'blockhouses', for such they appear, serve as storehouses for implements and crops, for guns and birdcatching equipment, as well as for shelter during the 'siesta' hours and bad weather. Their cost in construction labour, and the pride that does into the simple furnishing of what is the farmers 'den', as well as the deceptive appearance of dispersed settlement that they give, suggests that further investigation into their origins might prove valuable. In general terms, they seem to be a natural response to the marked concentration of settlement in the casals. They are far less numerous in the western region of more recent and dispersed settlement. The larger, two-roomed and two-storied types are used mainly as summer working residences, when a whole family may move out of its casal to the main holding.

407 These implements and types of equipment are one facet of the complex of traditional cultivation techniques - techniques based on the intense and continuous application of uncosted hand labour. A brief examination of the working characteristics of some of the implements is a necessary introduction to a discussion of general cultivation techniques.

The *moħriet* (Plate XIX) is used as an animal-drawn hoe rather than as a plough proper. It is light and can be carried by the cultivator along narrow field paths and across rugged terrain. Its negotiability is limited only by the ease of access demanded by the draught animals. The 'rotavator' (Plate XX) alone of modern mechanical implements can rival it in this respect. On coarse soils, often only a few inches deep, cross tilling by hoe or *ard* seems perfectly satisfactory for tilth making. A vertically applied tool such as the true spade cannot be utilised in such soils, while all but the simplest mouldboard ploughs are too clumsy for use in small terraced fields. Both *ard* and hoe are used in garden rather than field style and their only disadvantages lie in the slowness of the work performed. Here lies the especial advantage of the rotavator that can, under reasonable conditions, be used for tilling six *imien* of land a day as compared with about two or three for the *ard* and one for the hoe. (Figures are necessarily approximate averages.)

178 291 311 Cultivation techniques and the farming landscapes which they have produced are now in a critical stage of development. For millennia, a slowly increasing population has been utilising the natural land resources more and more intensively and also supplementing them by artificial works. Until the early nineteenth century, social and tenurial obstructions to full land use on the one hand, and wealth derived from the overseas possessions of the Knights of Malta on the other, little affected the basic land hunger of the rural community. During the period of British occupation, however, externally derived income has brought with it more and more non-agricultural activity. Opportunities for non-farm work have increased and so has socio-economic dissatisfaction with arduous and limited rural life. The stage has now been reached at which land reclamation and land abandonment, intensification of effort and neglect, are proceeding simultaneously. An examination of those landscape features which are products of farming techniques suggests that this stage is now critical.

242 311 Land reclamation and the extension of the cultivable area are still going on. At several points on the Delimara peninsula, material is being carried from the cliff foot and from old huts and dwellings and spread over the existing thin and discontinuous soil cover. On this, *sulla* as a soil building leguminous crop

[See page 306 -- Analyst]

242
311

is then sown. Much of the resultant poor crop is hoed in, and then the humus enrichened tilth ploughed and put under rotational farming. At ta'Denfila, on the Upper Coralline tablelands, terrace walls are constructed from the larger boulders, and soil garnered from crevices and hollows then packed along and above the new walls. Fruit trees are planted in this new soil zone so that root development will both hold the soil and accelerate disintegration of the underlying rock. Stones are cleared from the remaining area, the rock floor chipped away, and leguminous crops such as broad beans are sown. When chemical weathering has sufficiently deepened the thin soils, and the humus content has been increased then normal ploughing is introduced.

On a smaller scale may be observed the building up by hand of 'perched' fields which, as at the Wied Buqana (103)* north east of Mtarfa, may stand 6 or 8 feet above neighbouring fields and which, with their red soils, contrast markedly with the surrounding white and yellow lands. Here, the material is derived both from Wied Qlejgha silt and from town refuse. Not only in these areas but in many others as around the Wied il-Hallelin in the Southlands, on the interfluves of the Wieds Dalam (274) and Has-Saptan (285), and near Armier Bay (6) in the north-west, this age-old land making can still be observed. Less important but still practised, as near il-Marnisi (275), is the process of chipping small fields out of the solid rock, and the slow conversion of inorganic aggregates, capable only of hydroponic use, into real soil. (A European analogue can be found in Spanish Galicia.)

Distinct from these creative processes, are the techniques of laboriously utilising to the maximum the existing natural resources. First there is the practice of using soil pockets and crevices which for the most part would be quite uneconomic to work on any commercial evaluation of effort. On all the Upper Coralline lands small pockets of weathered material - Terra Rossa - lying between great rock platforms and boulders are remarkably well utilised. Barley, peas and broad beans are typical crops as at Xaghra tal-Buskett. At il-Wejdar peas are sown in karst crevices and give surprisingly good yields. Larger clefts and pockets are usually used for tree crops. Carefully tended peach trees may be observed in a 4-feet wide and 14-feet deep landslip cleft on the Upper Coralline cliff south of the School Mater Admirabilis (Rabat). On the Victoria Lines Scarp at Targa Gap (95) a solitary lemon tree can be seen, carefully sheltered by cane fences in a small soil pocket surrounded by a great area of karst.

These are minutiae, but they illustrate the high intensity of resource use. Larger depressions in the Upper Coralline as at Hofret ir-Rizz (73) (Fig. 111C) have been given special attention. Here, irrigated crops are intensively grown in the deep soils of what is mainly a shallow solution hollow cum collapsed cavern. Dry wied basins having subsoil water as at the eastern Wied Musa (Fig. 102A) form oases in barren karstland. On a still larger scale there are basins such as that of ta'Saliba (34) (measuring about 400 yards by 800 yards) in which dry and irrigated cultivated lands are inextricably intermingled with small karst hills.

A different type of utilisation is that which notes and takes advantage of minor differences in environment. Where wied channels are wet and marshy for most of the year, as in the Upper Wied ta'l-Isqof (128) and in lower Wied Has-Saptan (285) then canes, bullrushes and sward grasses are encouraged, tended, and cropped. Where, on the other hand, wied channels are wider and less well watered, then cultivation has spread down from the neighbouring terraces. Protection from storm-water is obtained by the building of longitudinal protective walls in the channel itself as in parts of the Wied is-Sewda (194) and the Wied ta'San Martin, and Wied ta'Ghajn Rihana (42). Occasionally, as in the Wied tal-Qlejgha (99), a further lower water channel has been artificially cut in the wied rock floor for extra protection.

Most of the storm water dams and soil traps are carefully sited at nick points in the long profiles. Examples of this conservation work may be found at

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*A number in brackets following a place name refers to Figs. 69 and 70.[A]

[A] [See pp 192 and 194--Analyst]

242 311 the heads of Wied Babu (219) and in the Santi Gap (57) in Malta and in the West-Central Region of Gozo. In such topographical pockets, the building of soil trap walls is sometimes extended to form walled orchards as at id-Dahla and the head of the Wied ir Rum.

241 311 When we turn to observation and consideration of cultivation reactions to minor topographical and geological features we are further reminded of the special relationship between tillage techniques and the soil. Bearing in mind the points noted in Chapter III B and the picture we have drawn of the physical and social environment in which Maltese agriculture has developed, we are forced to the following conclusions.

The economic necessity for the utilisation of virtually all land resources and indeed for creating some of them, together with the physical need for basing all farming practice on soil and water conservation techniques, have until very recently rigidly controlled the details of tillage. Fragmentation, a perfectly rational response to circumstances, has intensified the physical sub-division of the land. The majority of fields in Malta and Gozo cannot easily be worked except by small highly mobile implements. In the conditions described above and in a climate which makes possible a great crop range, implements must also be capable of a great diversity of application. In order to keep up the terraces, work the fields and succeed in maintaining and even increasing the area of cultivable land, the cultivator has been committed to unremitting and arduous manual labour. His basic tool is the hoe, his natural development of it the non-soil-inverting *ard*-plough.

The recent removal, by the creation of new real and psychological opportunities, of part of the pressure that has long kept the farmers on the land has altered the traditional picture. Cartographic evidence of the 25-inch to the mile maps, surveyed in the 1880's and 1890's, shows that since that time little waste-land has been improved. The only known large-scale change in field patterns occurred during and after World War II in the central lowlands of Gozo as the result of airfield construction, but holding fragmentation has re-imposed sub-division on the landscape. Occupational statistics and case-study evidence all point the same way. As a result of this release of pressure, land neglect and abandonment are now irregularly removing the extremes of control of cultivation. Even more important, Malta has been affected by the new evaluation of tillage techniques which has characterised so much of the world. Under modern conditions, most improvements in cultivation techniques have been deliberately designed for the increase of productivity on the better and more easily worked lands. Rural depopulation of the hard lands which gained such momentum in nineteenth-century Europe is an inevitable concomitant of such increases in productivity and of the accompanying demands for higher standards of material consumption and an 'easier' life. In countries such as Malta, this means that a new equilibrium has to be established, existing and new techniques and implements have to be evaluated against established environments and actual or potential changes.

241 311 435 [242] [434] Three examples from case-studies (Key letters refer to Chapter X E) can illustrate what this means in farmer's terms. The first (A, p. 337) concerns a part-time farmer in Region A II, Mellieħa Isthmus. This cultivator corroborated other evidence that in the nineteenth century it was still common for 'dry' fields to be created out of wasteland. More recently it has only been economic to make irrigable fields. The method is virtually the same in either case. First a terrace is cut into the rock slope, and the stone rubble is then built outwards in 'made-ground' and held in place by a terrace wall. Soil, usually now from a building site, is then laid over the rock platform and stone infill. Such a field 2 *tmien* in extent in 1951 cost £150 in construction (almost entirely in labour) plus £50 for the transport of 20 truckloads of soil. The gross receipts from this irrigated *campo artificiale* were £60 and £35 respectively for the first two seasons. A generation previously, such work would have been done more slowly by full-time farmers who themselves would have garnered the soil, but the market for irrigated vegetables would have been smaller. A generation hence, a cultivator will add to the costs of construction all the at present uncosted labour expended

by himself and will think of net profit on his sales rather than of gross receipts. 241

The second example is from a case-study (J. p. 342) of a full-time mixed farmer holding 33 *tmien* of dry land (three blocks of six field plots) in Region 311 C XX a, the Mqabba-Kirkop Plain. During the last 20 years, this farmer has 435 built up a herd of 13 Maltese Friesian cattle including ten milch cows from a flock of six goats. Before World War II he relied on crop-sales from arable land. Now approximately half the cultivated area is given over to fodder production. Although by Maltese standards this farmer is enterprising, knowledgeable and possessed of much more than average capital, he has no mechanised equipment for tillage but relies on contract work. Each year a tractor plough and rotary cultivator are hired at a cost of between 15s. and £1 per *tomna*. [427] The farmer still differentiates very clearly between the quality of different parts of his land, on the basis of a soil depth which varies from 8 inches to 2 feet, and on soil type distinguished by colour. Nevertheless, since he is now only really interested in livestock, and regards even fodder production as uneconomic, he has lost interest in arable farming and tends to neglect the poorer land and think of disposing of the other. This man is typical of many of the better class farmers in that the old niceties of tillage are forgotten as commercial considerations predominate, these latter a resultant of social and economic change in the Islands.

Lastly we may consider the extreme development, the farmer turned machine 177 contractor. Only half the age of the farmers already considered, this man is much more aware of general developments in the agricultural scene, partly as 241 a result of seven years spent as an 'emigrant' in Australia. Patrimonial land 407 is left to the attention of other members of the family, and he is only concerned with investment in machinery for hire. This contractor now possesses a lorry, a Ferguson hydraulic lift tractor, a hydraulic shovel, triple-disc and mouldboard ploughs, a rotavator as well as numerous accessories, and wants to purchase a thresher and a small combine harvester. The whole cultivation emphasis is put on mechanical effort and its ease of application. Deep-ploughing is advocated wherever possible even though he admits 'there may be drawbacks', no qualms are felt about knocking down walls to gain admittance to fields, and considerable impatience shown towards traditional agrarian and social values. This man even complained that he was not allowed to plough on Sundays. One of his ambitions is the quintessence of the new attitude towards cultivation. It is to have a farm of 30-40 *tmien*, all in one block with no patch smaller than about an acre, the whole to be workable by tractor, thus making hand labour unnecessary, and accessible to heavy machinery. The holding should have its own farmhouse and be near to a market such as Żabbar. In this man the mechanical revolution in cultivation in Malta is epitomised, contrasting strangely with an attitude met at Rabat that the wheelbarrow is too technically revolutionary to be acceptable - 'it is not used here!'

[P.349]

SECTION IV

Chapter XI

An Assessment of the Cultural Landscape

In this book we have attempted to portray the Maltese islands 'in the round'. 121
Deficiencies and omissions occur; the former unfortunate, the latter equally
unfortunate but also deliberate because of space limitations. Nevertheless, we 182
believe that our study, such as it is, has illustrated certain points of value. 311
First, and this is a geographical truism, the relationship between man and the land on which he lives is infinitely complex. In the case of Malta this relationship is also astoundingly complete and coherent, so that alteration in any one part may provoke repercussions on all the rest. Hence, under these circumstances, change of any kind should be introduced with extreme caution; it has been demonstrated that lines of action which seem apparently well-found and reasonable at the time of inception can have wholly unforeseen and unintentional consequences. This warning has a general as well as local validity. Further, and in the light of this situation, it becomes essential to have as full a knowledge as possible of local conditions before undertaking action. Such knowledge can only be acquired through observation, which must be as complete and detailed as financial resources allow.

Thirdly, investigation of the use man makes of his surroundings leads to the conclusion that, in a last analysis, it is not the actual physical conditions which control man's activities - it is the view that man himself takes of what can or cannot be done which really matters. From the physical standpoint Malta is a highly typical Mediterranean country, yet we still do not know why the vine and the olive, these most characteristic plants, have hitherto only made temporary invasions of Malta. We do however know that the factors behind this were not physical - e.g. climate or to do with soil. It would thus seem to be the way man actually estimates the physical potentialities of his home region that governs what takes place - put in another way, we may say that environment finally exists only in the minds of men. In such a form it can appear intractable, offering insuperable obstacles, and mysterious in its effects. Hence, resource use should not be thought of solely as a routine controlled by physical media, but as a process in which temperament and attitudes of mind are involved. Recognition of the human factor as indissolubly associated with the physical elements of geography underlies our approach: and it is in this sense that our subtitle 'Background to Development' should be interpreted.

Lastly, there is an opportunity to draw together some of the threads which we have unravelled from the general weave, and summarise the main themes.

The principal conclusion is that everything one sees in Malta, other than the major topographical features, is man-made and man-maintained in existence. For this reason there is an unstable equilibrium that eternally threatens to collapse.

Physical environment is fundamentally harsh. The component rocks consist 133
almost entirely of fissured and fractured Tertiary calcareous series, mostly of Miocene age; and natural accumulation of relatively insoluble inorganic soil aggregates is very slow everywhere except on the narrow outcrops of the Blue Clays. There is complete absence of surface water and subsurface moisture is small. Only in the western half of the Island do non-saline water-tables now rise near to ground level over appreciable areas, and only in one restricted area in the east - at Marsa - has this been even historically important. Malta has a highly accidented topography. The western half of the Island is heavily faulted and forms a region of scarpland and faulted basins. The eastern area has more subdued relief particularly in its central and eastern parts, but even here the legacy of gorge formation - the dry wieds of Malta - during the humid late Pleistocene, and the small scale erosional etching of all major and minor geological and structural junctions have resulted in there being very little land of low gradient.

132 The Maltese climate is characterised by variability rather than by extremes. Most of the complex elemental combinations, as far as we can tell at the moment, tend to inhibit soil and plant development under natural conditions.

The annual precipitation average of 20.5 inches is largely meaningless - the variations from one year to another for each month in which there has been recorded any significant rainfall are all several times the mean values. Very high insolation and evaporation rates, from the end of April to the beginning of October, further reduce the effectiveness of scanty and variable precipitation. Much of the rainfall of spring and autumn is associated with violent frontal storms and is sufficiently concentrated in incidence to produce ephemeral torrents and cause considerable erosion.

Wind incidence is of peculiar importance. The maritime air streams are generally of high humidity and velocity. The dominant Northerlies, in particular the stormy *Majjistral*, with high humidity and relatively low temperatures, have a biological effect bleak enough to produce a very clear ecological pattern controlled by aspect and shelter. The soil line in the lee of the ridges which lie transverse to these North to West winds, rises higher to the south east with the cumulative sheltering effect. On a small scale, windbreaks of stones, wattle hurdles and even cereal hedges, become of importance. The *Xlokk* comes as a warm humid wind of usually sufficient velocity to force plant transpiration rates above the critical points. The occasional humid still air conditions in winter delay germination and encourage fungus diseases while all summer winds heighten evaporation rates and cause actual soil blowing.

One of the few biologically favourable climatic features is the absence of a thermal dormant season. Mean monthly temperatures are consistently above 50° Fahrenheit, frosts are very rare, and diurnal ranges small. On the other hand, the associated high summer temperatures even though ameliorated by sea breezes produce considerable physiological troubles in plants and livestock. It is significant that over 80 per cent. of the flora now found in Malta are of North African rather than European type.

133 In the absence of human interference Malta must have been, as it still is in many areas, largely a barren karstic waste relieved only by a few basins and plains such as the Wied tal-Pwales and the Wied il-Ghasel. On the hill and ridge tops Terra Rossa formation takes place in solution hollows. On all slopes with gradients greater than 5 per cent., and on all but the most wind sheltered flatlands corrasion and movement, often exposing great stretches of bare rock, are dominant. Only in a few basins, such as the erosional Wied ta'Mazza or the tectonic Bur Marrad in the Wied il-Ghasel, does deposition become important.

134 311 In this harsh environment man created the land on which he could live. Malta has few true soils but, rather, laboriously garnered and transported inorganic material, carefully built up with humic additions, terraced and walled into place and irrigated wherever possible. For millennia this making of *'campi artificiale'* has gone on and may still be observed, so that some two-thirds of what Bernard Shaw called 'a heap of stones' is now cultivable land. This process of the extension first of hydroponics and then of true farming over bare rock and the reclamation of unhealthy lowland has meant the creation of new and precarious balances. The artificially produced thin pseudo-soil is not self perpetuating. The underlying rock must be regularly chipped away, the solution hollows periodically harvested. The texture must be maintained by the addition of organic matter and by frequent working. The level of nutrients must be kept up with dung and fertilisers and the water content supplemented by irrigation. The terrace walls need constant repair.

In each case there is a sharply critical point beyond which action spells danger. The use of refuse brings bacterial and virus infections, frequent tillage produces a clean surface vulnerable to erosion, the use of irrigation water and artificial fertilisers raises soil salinity. Extension of the soil cover decreases the rate of percolation replenishment of the subterranean aquifers by rain water. Malta is now in fact living on capital as far as water is concerned.

241 There have been similar critical points in crop values. When water is available, the potential crop range is large - bananas grow in barley patches, date-

241 palms and pomegranates alongside potatoes - but in no case are conditions optimal or yields very good. In the comparatively closed economies of the past this mattered little; in an era of world trade and world markets Malta has now been left behind. Large-scale cotton production has virtually ceased and that of citrus fruit is declining; viticulture is of low standard and the olive tree very rare. Cereals can now provide only a tiny fraction of local needs while fodder production is limited in season and type by water shortage.

178 The critical phase in the social and economic reactions to the physical situation has also been reached. In the simple peasant communities of the past, the creative manual effort was necessarily associated with a low valuation of individual human effort and an arduous and restricted life. Now, however, economic and social opportunities and desires have widened and with them has come impatience with the demands imposed by the artificial landscape.

182 Higher per capita productivity to assure more freedom and leisure is only quickly attainable by technical and mechanical innovation. It is just such innovation that is impossible on a large scale on the land of Malta. 241

311 [134] The slope analysis map (Fig. 28)[1] illustrates one aspect of the problem. Maltese soil 12 inches deep needs, as a minimum amount, terracing at horizontal intervals of about 20 feet. Anything wider in the way of fields or a deeper soil makes essential increasingly higher and stronger retaining walls. The problem is such that considerable control is exercised by dip as well as gradient. The amount of labour involved in maintenance is heartbreaking by modern standards and yet, without it, erosion is quickly followed by the complete stripping away of the soil down to bare rock. The scale of farming operations often has to be very small - the planting of single rows of beans, of single trees, the sowing of chick-peas in rock crevices. Power and tool application is severely restricted. Small and light implements and single draught animals or more recently 'rotavators' alone can negotiate this type of terrain and work very thin soils covering rock platforms. The dangerous effect of the abandonment of any land is obvious. The past has in fact enchained the present. If cultivation is to continue then in order to preserve the artificial ecological balance, created with such effort over the centuries, a social imbalance will become even stronger. Whatever the scale of farming the farmer will always have to grub for soil, build his terraces, carry his plough or manhandle his rotavator for long hours under conditions that will seem less attractive even than those of casual dockside and urban labour.

The first point then is that the landscape indicates how human effort is pinned down by the artificial environment and how restive man is becoming.

175 The second theme is concerned with the reasons for the historical process of what really amounts to landscape gardening, and with the underlying implications. 241

648 Malta's wealth, in historical times at least, has come from a large extra-territorially derived income which has resulted from the Island's positional value. It is possible that even in prehistoric times Malta was never self-sufficient. The great temple building cultures of Malta and Gozo may well have maintained their master masons on imported wealth. Certainly Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Normans all occupied Malta because of its strategic position and took wealth in rather than removed it. The Order of St. John held it as an outpost of Christendom maintained by the Knights' possessions on the European mainland. Britain has similarly supported the Island's economy in return for its use as a naval, military and more recently a strategic air centre. Because of Malta's positional importance its inhabitants found it necessary and worth while to create agricultural resources. Because Malta has usually been an outpost the society and its works have attained the unstable equilibrium of a siege life.

369 At least since Arab occupation a duality has appeared in the community. Earliest at Mdina, later in the Three Cities, then in Valletta and the whole Grand Harbour complex, and now around the naval, military and air bases, the garrisons have formed successive nuclei of a cosmopolitan and sophisticated community. This community, literate, trained in the professions and trades has

[1] [See pp. 98-B and 98-C -- Analyst]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965

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[P.2]

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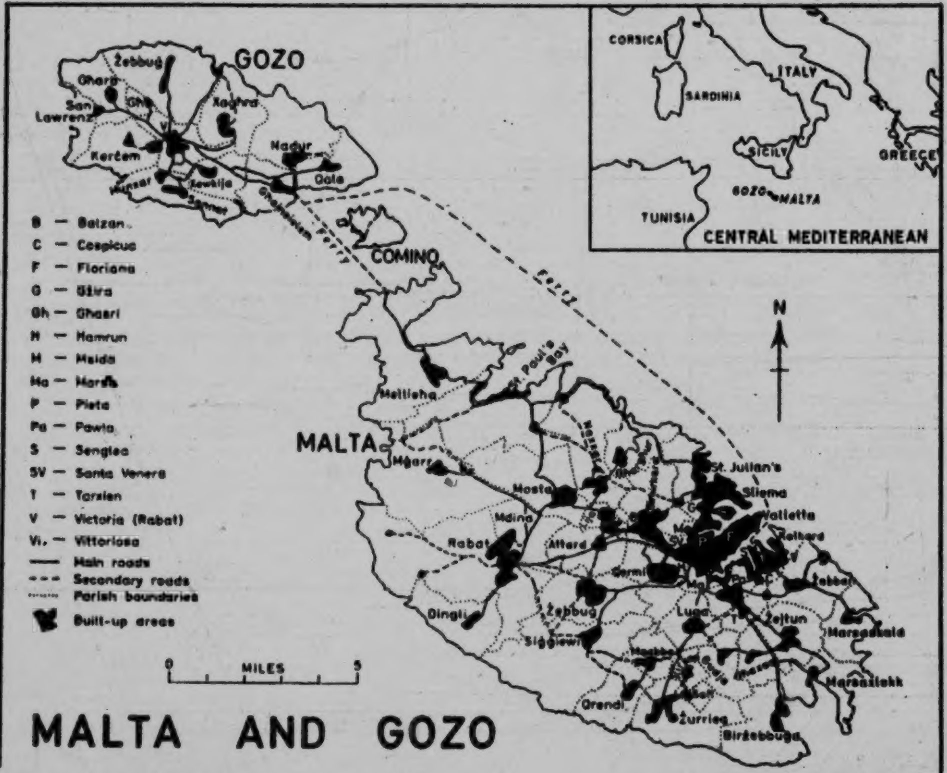
GOZO
Żebbuġ
Gharb
Għb
San Lawrenz
Xagħra
Kerċem
Nadur
Qala
Munxar
Sannat
Xewkija
Għajnsielem
Ferry
COMINO
MALTA
Mellieħa
St. Paul's Bay
Mġarr
Mosta
Mdina
Rabat
Attard
Dingli
Żebbuġ
Siġġiewi
Qormi
Luqa
Qrendi
Żurrieq
Birżebbuġa
St. Julian's
Sliema
Valletta
Kalkara
Żabbar
Żejtun
Marsaskala
Marsaxlokk
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ITALY
SICILY
GREECE
TUNISIA
GOZO
MALTA
CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN
N
B — Balzan
C — Cospicua
F — Floriana
G — Gżira
Gh — Ghasri
H — Hamrun
M — Msida
Ma — Marsa
P — Pieta
Pa — Paola
S — Senglea
SV — Santa Venera
T — Tarxien
V — Victoria (Rabat)
Vi. — Vittoriosa
Main roads
Secondary roads
Parish boundaries
Built-up areas
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MILES
5
MALTA AND GOZO

361 Mellieha (1841), Mġarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
175 Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kerċem (1885),
103 San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911),
Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

In the period reviewed the major development has been
17 the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the
361 Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth
369 and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2 · The Farmer and Farming

128

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525)
241 have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is
423 the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either
[114] individually or as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synohomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer.
311 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact
423 that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north

311 423 and west of Malta and the hard rock areas of Gozo many farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivators' point of view is useless". As to size "the range is enormous" but "it is clear that a reduction in the average size of the farms has taken place at all levels". Today "the great majority of holdings (83.5%) are seen to consist of dry land only. A very small proportion, less than half of one per cent, contain irrigated land only. The balance of 16% of all holdings are 'mixed'. The majority of the mixed holdings contain less than 5 tmien of irrigated and less than 20 tmien of dry land".

423 178 The past hundred years have shown "a general upward trend in the number of land-holders balancing a downward trend in the number of farm workers", while a "factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming".

This picture is made even more complex by the prevailing systems of land tenure and their wide ramifications. This sector has been investigated by Mitchell (B/525). He considers the various types of ownership (Government, Church, private ownership and owner occupation) and the systems of tenure (long and short lease and share cropping, etc.), and traces the land-holding history of one family back through four generations, in order to reveal the way in which the farm-holdings of the members of the various branches of the family have been assembled as the individual farmers have lived and built up their holdings and then dispersed upon death or retirement (in B/337). "Both the methods of acquiring new land and subdividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots".

311 423 Thus the Maltese farm is characterized by variety of size, tenure, composition and soil types. Moreover, one must distinguish holdings which are primarily livestock supporting, from those essentially arable in emphasis and also from the heterogeneous class which might be called [128] 'mixed farms'. The present discussion attempts to consider the Maltese farmer as an individual within the agricultural and rural scene and aims to demonstrate the contrasts between the illiterate and the educated, the old-fashioned and the modern, the prosperous and the poor.

THE PROBLEM.

128 This Section considers the dilemma of the Maltese farm today from the point of view of its technical management. The problem soon emerges essentially as the struggle by an uneconomic unit - the Maltese farm - for existence in the already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

000 already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

241 423 The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the points of definition just made. This is the complex of features which have produced the present landscape of tiny field-plots covering the cultivable parts of the Islands with a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception. [433] Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over 55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than 9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or fodder (Case V).

241 311 464 The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions. Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of rock in days when manual labour was readily available and cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled, tilled and irrigated. But while mechanization, particularly [409] in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even this kind of development on account of their small size, tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the soil which it hold in place collapses over the terraces below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

423 241 454 The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this picture since they make for further divisions in an already minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is frequently deterred from making improvements on a piece of land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either owns himself or has on long lease and which show the necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability (Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building (Case I).

241 423 Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature. They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more

*159
423

Pawlu's holding at Easter, 1958.

Origin of TENURE	1958 T S K[49]	No longer held in 1959 T S K[49]
From own family on his marriage in 1935...	5-5-5	4-3-8
From own family since his marriage	7-4-5	
From his bride's family at marriage	5-0	16-0-0
From non-relatives, all since 1955	28-0-3	
	42-3-3	20-3-8

	OWNERSHIP of land held by Pawlu.		Plots		Plots
Church	Cathedral (Mdina)..........	3-4-0	5	16-0-0	var
	Gharb....................	1-0-3	4		
	Benefizzju (agent).........	4-3-0	2		
	Civil Government.................	3-5-0	2		
	Other farmers....................	4-0-0	2		
	Sinjur (a Xewkija Baron)..........	5-0	1	1-1-8	2
	Owned by Pawlu himself............	4-0	1	1-0-0	1
	Sub-leased (4-yearly) from 8 farmers who hold on long lease, or own....................	24-0-0	var.adj.		
	Military authorities..............	0		0	
	No information....................			3-0	1
	Notary (agent)....................			1-5-0	2
		42-3-3		20-3-8	

The details of the 20-3-8 relinquished by Pawlu are significant:

Sub-let because of small-size and inaccessibility.....	7-0
Sold because of inaccessibility........................	1-0-0
Abandoned because of distance & inaccessibility.......	1-0-0
Option declined because of distance...................	16-0-0
Exchanged..	1-2-8
	20-3-8

*159 On sixteen of his twenty-six plots of land Pawlu pays
423 annually about £24 in rent. On average this works out at
427 about 4 shillings per tomna for rough grazing land and
£1.1.6d per tomna of cultivable dry (baghli) land. Pawlu himself receives an income of 5s 6½d per annum as rent for two small patches (totalling slightly more than a tomna) which he sub-lets. He himself owns the pivotal centre of his farm, and four sighan on which stands his house, cattle byre, coat shed, store rooms and small enclosures.

*159 Pawlu's present policy is to expand fodder production
234 in order to eliminate much of the very high cost of pur-
●311 chased fodder. Along with this he is keen to acquire the
use of rough grazing land for his goats where he can do so
[246] cheaply. The large block of this type of rough grazing which Pawlu acquired piece-meal during 1957 and 1958 makes the supervision of the animals easier than would be the case if he had to graze them in small fields adjacent to land carry-
[244] ing standing crops. Pawlu is cutting down the quantity of vegetables produced for sale each year since he is without any guaranteed market or price. He aims nevertheless to produce as much of the family requirements as possible.

*159 The trend is clear from an analysis of the utilisation of his land holdings:-
311

	1956			1957			1958		
	T	S	K[49]	T	S	K	T	S	K
House and adjacent roadway		2	0		2	0		2	0
Vines		3	0		3	0		3	0
Prickly Pear		3	0		3	0		3	0
Potatoes	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Vegetables, other than potato(a)	6	4	0	4	3	0		4	0
Fodder(b)	8	2	3	10	3	3	14	2	3
Rough grazing - and shooting			0	12	0	0	24	0	0
Unused		1	0		1	0		1	0
	18	3	3	30	3	3	42	3	3

(a) mainly tomatoes and melons (bittieh and dulieh)
(b) silla, wheat (qamh), barley (xghir), mixed wheat and barley (mahlut), beans.

*159 422 231 **Livestock** Pawlu's farm holding of slightly less than twelve acres is large by Gozitan standards. So also is the herd which it supports. Late in 1957 he had some 40 goats and 8 kids, two cows, a sheep, one horse, and about 100 poultry. "Goats are easier to handle than are cows" (Pawlu). For him, as for most herdsmen in the Islands, the dairy cow is still something of a novelty, and an expensive one, requiring considerable capital outlay for both the animal and its accommodation. The single sheep is quite typical, being kept mainly for the popular 'rikotta' cheese made from its milk. The large poultry element is also becoming a common feature in Gozo, though disease takes a very high toll. Pawlu's one horse provides the motive power for the cart which for him as for the rest of Gozo is still the prime mover of goods and produce.

*159 234 434 Pawlu's income derives mainly from the sale of milk to the M.M.U. This was also the case before 1958 when Gozo finally became a 'closed' area in which unpasteurized milk could not, legally, be sold. Thus the herdsman's cry of "Halib, halib" ('Milk, milk') as he took his goats from door to door and milked them to order on the customer's threshold is heard no more. The churned milk from the farms is collected and taken to the factory at Xewkija - before 1958 it had had to make the long journey to the Hamrun centre. Apart from the unpasteurised fresh milk used by the family, Pawlu sells, and sold, the milk his goats produce to the M.M.U. He pays no labour, hired or family, and does not consider his own time as a cost factor. Some idea of his income is therefore obtainable from an account of his receipts from the M.M.U. against the costs of the fodder.

423 234 *159 The amount of fodder bought in to supplement home production varies. In the case of sulla (silla), particularly, Pawlu is forced to buy in a large quantity when his own crop is poor. His purchases of wheat (qamh) and

*159 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs
512 and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.
794

Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his
592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they
178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to
offer their education and culture and no apparent opportun-
*159 ity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards.
They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a consider-
423 able land holding)

427 A. **Land.**

●[311] - Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.

- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159
423
311 B. **Utilisation.**

	1956	1957	1958
House	¼	¼	¼
Vines	¼	¼	¼
Prickly pear	¼	¼	¼
Fodders	8¼	10¼	14¼
Vegetables	8⅝	6½	2⅜
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159
231 C. **Livestock.** (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 D. **Capital.**

421 - Land all rented save one small plot.
[427] - Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
[456] - No specialised equipment.

*159 E. **Labour.**

464 - No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 F. **Production and Sales.**

433 - Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
[434] - Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

[P 86]

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. **Land.**

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. **Utilisation.**

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. **Livestock.**

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. **Capital.**

[423] [454] [412] [409] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.

- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. **Labour.** (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. **Production and Sales.**

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
  - Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
  - Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
  - Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
  - 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
  - In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
  - Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. **Husbandry.**

[245]
(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
  - Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
  - Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 A. **Land.**
423
30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 B. **Utilisation.**
241
●311
Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under zofzfa. (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[934] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 C. **Livestock.**
231
During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital.**
[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
[454] - Freehold village house.
[412] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[407] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc.
No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 E. **Labour.**
464
- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting.
During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
[427] - Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract)of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 F. **Production and Sales.**
433
- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

*159 G. **Husbandry.**
241
(1) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annu
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prot
the employment of the normal four-year rota

*159 423 - 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. Utilisation.

*159 241 ●311
(i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.
(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 231 234 C. Livestock.

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. Capital.

*159 423 [511 [426]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. Labour.

*159 464
(i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.
(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 43 234
(i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day. Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.
(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.
(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

G. Husbandry.

*159 23
(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.
(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.
(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*159 434 H. General.

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

* 159 433

H. General.

This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

* 159 231 232

CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

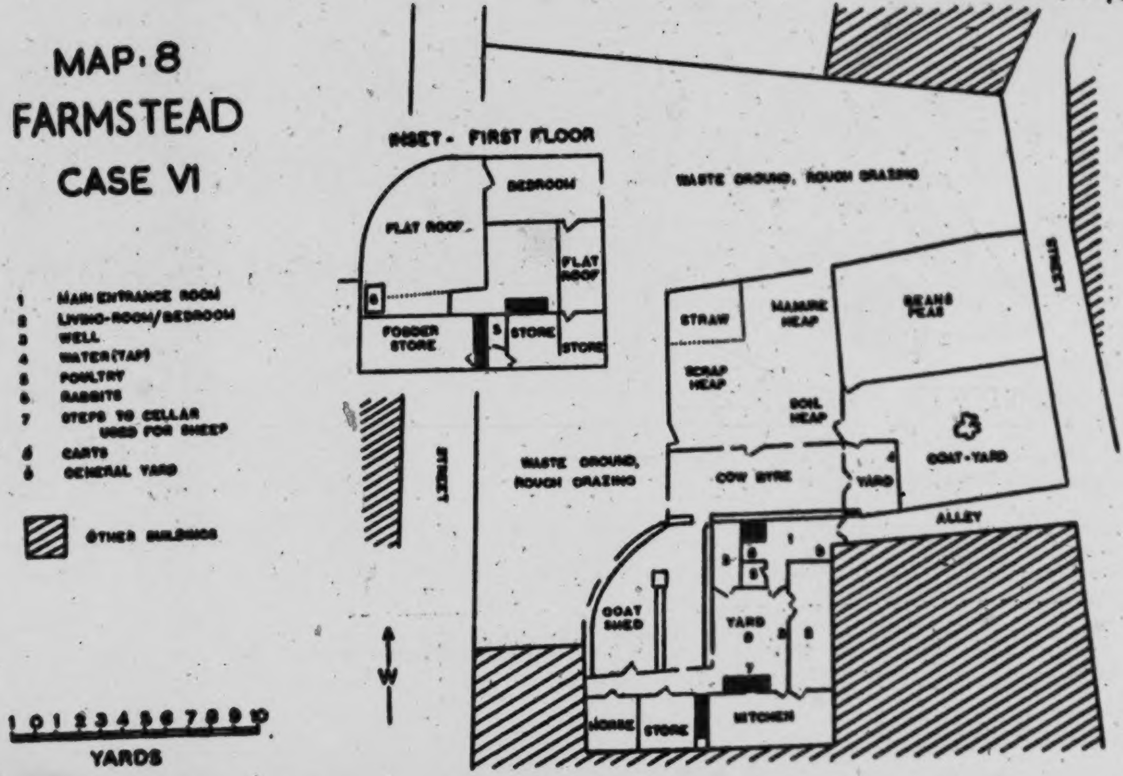
The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow."

*
159 Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of
234 land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis
[311] in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still
have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example
[246] in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for
[435] straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He
[464] feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean
that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding
animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder
for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has
[451] very little appreciation of his profit. None of his
labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps
no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets
receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate
himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written
[651] statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put
together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax
authorities each year.

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
342
351
312
231
251
363
311

MAP 8
FARMSTEAD
CASE VI


INSET - FIRST FLOOR
BEDROOM
FLAT ROOF
FLAT ROOF
6
5
FODDER STORE
STORE
STORE
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
STRAW
MANURE HEAP
BEANS PEAS
SCRAP HEAP
SOIL HEAP
GOAT-YARD
4
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
COW BYRE
YARD
ALLEY
STREET
1
2
3
5
5
GOAT SHED
YARD
8
2
5
7
HORSE
STORE
KITCHEN
W
1 MAIN ENTRANCE ROOM
2 LIVING-ROOM/BEDROOM
3 WELL
4 WATER (TAP)
5 POULTRY
6 RABBITS
7 STEPS TO CELLAR USED FOR SHEEP
8 CARTS
9 GENERAL YARD
▨ OTHER BUILDINGS
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
YARDS

[following p. 102]

*
159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
[249] lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great
success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow
to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

*
159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

427
- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

*
159 **B. Utilisation.**

241
- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

*
159 231 234
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

*
159 **D. Capital.**

[454]
- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] [234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

*
G. Husbandry.

159 231 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/-/a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.
- [427] Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jun. to Aug.
- ● [311] This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly ½ tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.
- [435] Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- [434] Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

*
H. General.

159
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- 156 Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

*159 829 234 [433] Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the Gozitan milk producer, Case I.

The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle within the current artificial economy of milk production. There is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 241 231 427 472 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is however centred on the land holding which he and his brother work in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġamri's father.

*159 472 464 241 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (bagħli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines..........................	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders......................	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-lot.......	13 tmien
Potatoes.................................	6 tmien
Other vegetables.........................	5 tmien

*159 245 242 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall success of any year depends on them. They were introduced to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 245 [435] Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa bagħli), and a variety
●311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the
corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a henhouse
[406] also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-driven
[343] pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils
tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
241 interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
433 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
434 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to cultivate
829 on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
[464] to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at
least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to
qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however
content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the
lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the
most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative
(Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first
suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having
the money than letting the Government get it. This belief
that the Government is behind everything is characteristic
(Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization
distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility
of achieving anything above low living standards.
Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet
clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case
among many of his generation and it may be that he will have
difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily
of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and
new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance)
his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem
of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young
men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
[654] the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture
to the full but it has done comparatively little for
the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at
least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to
stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

CHAPTER XVII

Casals and Countryside

● 311 656 342 OWING TO THE DENSITY AND RAPID GROWTH OF THE population, to the lack of soil and to the abundance of excellent building-stone, which not only takes on in the course of ages a beautiful patina but is easy to work, the proportion of Malta's built-up area to the area under cultivation is probably uniquely high. Unique is probably also the "Red Soil Law" whereby anyone about to erect a house is compelled to dig up and hand over to the Government (which removes it for him) any soil there may be on the site of the future structure, so that the precious earth may not be buried and lost for ever to the island's cultivators.

133 311. So precious is it that the smallest pockets, however inaccessibly they may be situated, are jealously conserved. Malta is low-lying—in the words of Tasso

> *giace Malta fra l'onde occulta, e bassa*

—and only on the thyme-covered cliffs of the south-western stretch of coast does it rise as high as 800 feet. These cliffs are wild and rugged and sheer, but here and there, as they drop precipitously to the sea, narrow ledges of earth-covered rock cling precariously to their face. But even these *redums*, as [342] they are termed—the like of which I have seen only on that hermit-inhabited spur of Mount Athos which is called Kerasia—are brought into use by the indomitable Maltese farmer of the locality, who sometimes lives in the caves beside them with his family and his animals as his Stone Age predecessor lived in them before him.

311 34 103 243 Thus every nook and cranny of these islands is eloquent of their past: towns; casals; little country chapels, farmhouses and isolated gateways, which are often adorned with

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

some sculptured escutcheon; the old stone *fougasses*[1] to be 311
encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny 34
Comino, from whose stony fields, where is cultivated the 103
cumin seed from which the island takes its name, there rises
one of the massive square keeps which the Knights scattered 243
throughout their territory.[2]

The casals are, as has been said in an earlier chapter, not 361
villages, but compact stone townships of tall houses and 341
narrow streets, solidly built in good substantial Baroque 351
architecture. Their outskirts, as likely as not, are dignified
with some ancient country-house concealed behind high 346
walls amid charming gardens—the beauty and seclusion of the Maltese gardens are justly proverbial—while the focus of the casal, both literally and metaphorically, is the parish church. This is generally a great Baroque pile of golden sandstone flanked by two massive towers, but an exception is the Parish Church of Mosta, built in the classical style in the middle of the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts, both technical and financial, of the villagers themselves to the design of the ingenious Maltese architect Grognet de Vassé mentioned in Chapter II. It is topped by a dome that claims to be the third largest in the world, being surpassed in size only by those of S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Peter's in Rome, higher internally than the dome of the Roman Pantheon and exceeding by sixteen feet the diameter of that of S. Paul's in London.

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[1] Patrick Brydone (*cf.* pp. 143–147) gives an interesting account of this little-known form of coastal defence; "For we found, to our no small amazement, that [712]
the rocks were not only cut into fortifications but likewise into artillery to defend [713]
these fortifications: being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air: and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel."

[2] An excellent companion for the exploration of the island is F. Weston's [113]
Walks in Malta, published in Valetta. Later booklets include Showell Styles, *Walks and Climbs in Malta* (Valetta, 2nd edn., 1952), and H. H. Hick, *Walks in Gozo* (Malta, 1953).

C. HYDROLOGY AND WATER SUPPLY

An adequate water supply being essential to all forms of economic activity, industrial as well as agricultural, it is not surprising that a great deal of attention has been paid to this topic in Malta where, as in so many regions of Mediterranean climate, a limited and erratic rainfall makes water supply a perennial problem. This has become increasingly serious and difficult of solution during the period of British rule. Rapid growth of population and a rising standard of living have been accompanied by increasing water consumption per head as well as overall. A long series of reports of varying worth and conflicting conclusions has appeared during the last 50 years of which the Morris Report (1) [114] published in 1952, is the most recent and most authoritative. This work is of interest not only for its thorough treatment of modern conditions but also for its critical appraisal of earlier published work. It forms the basis of current policy in the field of water supply development.

Climate in general and precipitation in particular are more fully dealt with elsewhere (Chapter II, p.48). Suffice it to say at this point that the heavy, often very localised downpours accompanied by rapid run-off, in which the bulk of the rainfall occurs, together with summer drought and intensive evaporation, are factors which greatly reduce the value of a by no means abundant precipitation.

Malta is fortunate in its stratigraphy (see Chapter IA, p.25) which provides particularly favourable conditions for the percolation and underground storage of rainwater. The most valuable aquifers are the Upper and Lower Coralline Limestones where, however, the presence of bedding planes, joints and fissures is of far more importance in controlling the underground movement of water than are the porosity and permeability of the rocks themselves. The Globigerina, though it contains important limestones, is composed largely of thick and relatively impervious marly beds, through which percolation is slow and from which run-off is correspondingly rapid.

Two distinct water tables (2) exist, one in the Upper Coralline and the other in the Lower Coralline and Globigerina formations. There is a further subdivision into water tables based on sea level and those developed above impermeable strata. Physical conditions and the history of development of the two sources are so distinct as to warrant their separate treatment at this stage. The Main Sea Level Water Table (or the Lower Water Table) so named to distinguish it from smaller sea level tables occurring in the Upper Coralline, has for the past hundred years been the main source of the public supply in Malta and now accounts for some 90 per cent, or more the water extracted by the Water Department. This water table 'is in bodily continuity with water of Mediterranean salinity marginally and at depth... It is not retained within the island by any impermeable base, but owes its existence to the simple fact that every winter the local rainfall adds more fresh water to the underground store than can be dissipated by (i) the direct discharge of its superficial portion around the coast in response to the head of water inland and (ii) the deterioration of its composition ... as the result of diffusion from the highly saline Mediterranean water around it and beneath it' (3).

The area occupied by this water table is bounded by (a) the coast where the Lower Coralline outcrops and (b) the line along which the junction of the Lower Coralline with the Globigerina lies at sea level (Fig. 6). The area thus defined occupies 37.5 square miles south of the Victoria Lines and 4.3 to the north, the most valuable parts being those where the salinity of the top water does not exceed 15 parts per 100,000. Such conditions are limited to an area of 22.8 square miles. The water body is replenished for the most part through the extremely limited outcrops of Lower Coralline since the Globigerina, especially where it is soil covered, forms a region of very slow percolation. Thus it is of particular importance that the Lower Coralline catchments should be preserved and protected from pollution. Such areas are rarely cultivated but it is unfortunate, though not unnatural, that they are often used for other purposes, in many

cases being built over (e.g. the Inċita Asylum, the Government Poultry Farm, St. Andrew's Barracks, etc.) and in others being used as refuse dumps (e.g. parts of the Wieds Qirda and Has-Saptan). The small section of the Lower Water Table which lies to the north of the Victoria Lines in the Wied il-Ghasel district is very limited in value. Deep fissures result in the mixing of salt water with fresh and development beyond that already undertaken privately is most unlikely to occur.

The Upper Water Table has been broken into a series of blocks by faulting and the Upper Coralline Limestone aquifers, in which water movement is controlled mainly by fissures, are often thin, so that storage possibilities are limited. However, there is considerable scope for further development. Upper Coralline sea-level water tables occur in Marfa, the Mellieħa Isthmus and Wied tal-Pwales, but these are already used to such an extent for agricultural purposes that salinity has become a serious problem (see Chapter VIII, pp. 240 and 243). It is the high-standing water tables, sealed off by the Blue Clay beneath, which are the most important though hitherto largely neglected sources, particularly in the Mizieb and Bingemma Basins, where perched synclines collect water from the neighbouring uplands.

Replenishment of the Upper Water Table, like that of the lower, depends largely on the character of the surface and it is here that a conflict of needs becomes apparent. Expansion of the rural population over the past hundred years has been accompanied in many districts by expansion of both soil cover and building on the Upper Coralline. The former reduces percolation and creates a bigger demand for irrigation water. Several areas in which over-pumping for agricultural purposes occurs have been noted during the present survey, e.g. the Rabat-Dingli Plateau. The growth of settlement inevitably increases both water consumption and pollution. As Morris points out, there is 'a clash of interests between the local agricultural communities and the much more numerous ... urban section of the population' (4). To suggest, however, that 'any further expansion (of soil cover) over the upland catchment areas should be prohibited' (5) appears unrealistic and favours the urban element at the expense of the cultivator. The towns must first make their contribution by restricting consumption which has recently increased at an unnecessarily rapid rate. Prohibition of building on Upper Coralline areas might, with more justice, be enforced.

PRESENT UTILISATION OF WATER SUPPLIES: That urgent action is required, not only to increase production from the Upper Water Table but also to regulate consumption is readily apparent, for extraction has now risen above the rate of replenishment in the Main Sea Level Table. Morris, writing in 1952, suggested that a total extraction rate per annum of 2,500 million gallons with an average salinity not exceeding 28 parts per 100,000 could be achieved. Of this, however, 1,500 million gallons with a salinity of 12 or less should come from the Upper Coralline, while 1,000 million gallons *only* would come from the Lower Water Table, even if the acceptable limit of salinity was to be set at 50 parts per 100,000. In fact, rapidly increasing consumption has already brought the total of extraction by the Water Department to a level very little below the suggested maximum and over 90 per cent. comes from the Main Sea Level Table. The amount of water drawn from this source has increased from 1,460 million gallons in the year 1945-46 to 2,106 million gallons in 1955-56, that is by over 40 per cent. in ten years. During the same period, the total consumption of piped water has risen by a similar proportion although the population has increased by only 4 per cent. Average salinity of water drawn from the Lower Table has fluctuated considerably during this period with an overall tendency to rise. The maximum recorded was 93.7/100,000 in 1947-48. The scale of longer term change is illustrated by a salinity figure in the region of 20 for the year 1900. Average salinity is in any case a somewhat artificial concept since the chloride content of the water varies both regionally and from one season to another. Regional variations in the average salinity are illustrated in Fig. 6 and are extremely important in their effects on agriculture. Seasonal variations are equally great and indicate the deterioration of the piped water supply. In order to keep up with the demand it has been necessary on occasions to pump water with a salinity as high as 245/100,000 (6).

Attention has been drawn on many occasions to the dangerous combination of increasing consumption and the associated rise in salinity. The point is most strongly made by Morris: 'The Main Sea Level Water Table is being grossly over-pumped. In a few years' time no water fit for human consumption will remain unless the present rate of extraction is reduced drastically' (7). This warning has been reiterated in the annual reports of the Water Department. A good deal is being done to implement suggestions for the development of the Upper Table, particularly at Miżieb, but also in the Binġemma Basin. As yet, however, there has been no reduction whatsoever in the rate of extraction from the Lower and, since Malta will necessarily depend primarily on the latter source for many years to come, rigid control of all uses, domestic, industrial and agricultural, must be maintained. Restrictions on consumption must be applied as a matter of principle and not confined to years of below-average rainfall when the problem is more readily apparent. An unsatisfactory attitude is, for example, illustrated in the Water Board Report for 1953-54 when a winter of plentiful precipitation was followed by a summer which 'went by without the usual economy campaign for saving water and without subjecting the consumer to drastic restrictions'. In fairness to the Board it should be pointed out that the Report made it clear that 'this might be construed to mean that the water situation... is no longer critical. Nothing could be further from the truth. The higher consumption... has had to be painfully met at the cost of higher salinity ... the present rate of over-pumping is suicidal' (8). However, sustained action rather than exhortation is required.

IRRIGATION: The foregoing paragraphs have been confined almost entirely to a consideration of the piped water supplies to towns and villages, a subject on which much information is readily available. Of greater relevance to the present study, however, are the demands of irrigation which, in one form or another, is carried on wherever conditions permit. Though sample studies have been made from time to time, there is as yet no really complete information on the amount of water used in this way but the quantity applied to the land is believed to be little less than that passing into the piped supply.

A few general remarks are appropriate at this stage. In the first place, though published agricultural data give figures for the areas of 'irrigated' and 'dry' land, it is by no means easy to draw a clear dividing line between the two, nor is it certain that the farmers' returns are exact on this point. Water is applied to the land in many ways. At the 'drier end of the scale' are the many areas in which crops are hand watered from cisterns cut into the rock. At least 10,000 of these are erroneously marked as 'wells' on the larger-scale maps and many more have no doubt been omitted. They are largely confined to the Globigerina lands. Secondly, innumerable pumps of various kinds; wind-, motor- and donkey-powered, tap all water tables. In some cases they are used to fill rock-cut or concrete tanks from which water is carried to the fields; in others, the tanks feed into stone channels or temporary earthen ditches. Wind-pumps are particularly important on the Upper Coralline plateaus, in many parts of which they have been sunk in excessive numbers thus lowering the level of water table. They are less numerous, though by no means unimportant in the Sea Level Water Tables whether these be developed in downfaulted Upper Coralline or in Lower Coralline and Globigerina. Here, pumping has often led to rapid increases in salinity and some such cases are commented upon in Chapter 8. Finally, the areas in which water is most plentiful are those fed from spring lines occurring where the Blue Clay outcrops from beneath the Upper Coralline Limestone.

It is believed that at least 2,000 million gallons a year are used for irrigation purposes. Various sample data are available to illustrate the scale of agricultural water consumption. An official survey of private wells in Malta is now under way and by March 1956, 2,912 of these had been recorded (9). 2,200 tapped the Upper Water Table and drew 360,583 gallons in the year 1955-56.

[Text continues on page 47]

A further 295 in the Main Sea Level Water Table produced 606,329 gallons, while 312
407 in the depressed parts of the Upper Coralline yielded 409,881 gallons, a total of 1,376,762 gallons from less than 3,000 pumped wells. The problem of salinity in sea-level water tables is illustrated by the Wied tal-P'wales where in 1945 private wells yielded water with a salinity ranging from 22 to 142/100,000 while in 1953 the corresponding figures were 25 and 200/100,000 (10).

Finally, an accurate check has been kept on water obtained from those springs on the Rabat-Dingli Plateau which feed aqueducts for town supply. Over a period of years these have yielded an average of 251 million gallons annually, equivalent to 26.7 per cent. of the supply provided by an average yearly rainfall of 20.51 inches on a catchment area of 3.16 square miles (11).

A survey carried out by J. Baldacchino in 1942-45 provides some data on the amount of water used to irrigate various crops (12). There can be little doubt that much water is wastefully applied. The highest rate of application was that to summer marrows which received 30 waterings, 210,000 gallons per tomna, the equivalent of 33 inches of rain. The most striking fact, however, concerned the spring potato crop which took 15 waterings, 90,000 gallons per tomna, equivalent to 15 inches of rain. This was water applied from January to April, some of the wettest months of the year, and is perhaps an adequate comment on the suitability or otherwise of this crop to Maltese conditions - a question raised elsewhere in the present volume. Careless storage and prodigal application of water under conditions of intense isolation and evaporation indicate an uneconomic use of a limited resource.

Irrigation and the piped supply thus appear to make approximately equal demands on water resources - now, a probable 2,000 million gallons in the case of the former and a more certain 2,415 million gallons in the latter. This total of over 4,400 million gallons consumed annually may be compared with an annual supply from rainfall of 27,550 million gallons (assuming an average precipitation of 20 inches over an area of 95 square miles). What is not known is how much of this latter total percolates to the water tables and how much is lost at various stages of the water cycle by direct run-off, evaporation, transpiration and seepage into the Mediterranean. Some of the answers will be provided by the evapotranspirometer stations recently established in Malta.

Gozo has not thus far been mentioned and relatively little hydrological 184
investigation has been carried out there. The general arrangement of water 312
tables irrigation practice, etc., are little different in principle from those described for Malta. The lower population density, the absence of a large urban element and the generally lower standard of living in the material sense make the problem a good deal less acute. Consumption per head from the public supply is approximately half that of Malta.

There is in the Maltese Islands, and particularly in Malta itself, conflict 312
between urban and rural uses of water just as there is in the use of labour, land 369
and capital. When the resource is already limited as it is in the case of water, the conflict becomes more apparent and its resolution depends on economic as much as on purely physical factors. Water shortage is a background against which all plans for future development, including the industrial, must be viewed.

REFERENCES 113

(1) MORRIS, T. O.: The Water Supply Resources of Malta. Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1952.
(2) By common usage in Malta, the term 'water table' is applied to the whole body of water contained within the aquifer and not, as elsewhere, to its upper surface alone.
(3) MORRIS, op cit., para. 152, p. 62.
(4) ibid., para. 225, p. 109.
(5) ibid.
(6) Report on the Working of the Water and Electricity Department for the Year 1952-53; Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1954. Para. 11.
(7) MORRIS, op cit., footnote to table 15.
(8) Report on the Working of the Water and Electricity Department for the Year 1953-54; Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1955. Para. 2.
(9) Report...etc., for the Year 1955-56. Appendix IV.
(10) Report...etc., for the Year 1952-53. Appendix IV.
(11) MORRIS, op cit. Table 5.
(12) ibid. Table 14.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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EVAPORATION AND EVAPO-TRANSPIRATION

In the foregoing pages, attention has been drawn to the great variety of rainfall conditions in the Maltese Islands and an attempt has been made to assess the character of 'wet' and 'dry' years and seasons. Such terms, however, can never be absolute in terms of rainfall amount, since 'wetness' and 'dryness' are the product of a variety of factors including run-off, percolation, subsurface drainage and soil-moisture conditions which, together with evaporation, all play their part in determining the effectiveness of a given amount of rainfall.

Little attention has been paid to the measurement of evaporation in Malta though some early work was done by Zammit (28) during 1845 and 1855 and at the University Observatory in 1878 (29). However, the results, as tabulated in Table 15, are far from satisfactory. No other records of evaporation in the Maltese Islands are available and Mitchell's field experiments in 1957-58 break practically untrodden ground.

Table 16. Open Water Evaporation in Inches.
Zammit's and University Measurements.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Zammit 1854/55	8.0	7.7	4.4	2.3	1.7	1.7	2.3	2.1	5.0	6.0	9.6	10.6	61.5
University 1878	10.4	7.8	6.0	5.3	4.6	3.6	3.8	6.5	6.8	10.0	11.6	12.8	89.2

The early experiments referred to above were concerned with evaporation from an open water surface. From the agricultural point of view, evapo-transpiration from soil with a vegetation cover is of much greater significance. If a plant cover is provided with an adequate moisture supply, it will transpire at the greatest possible rate and the water given off in this way will be taken into the surrounding air at the potential rate of evapo-transpiration for the particular plant under the weather conditions prevailing at the time. Thornethwaite (30) and Penman (31) have indicated that the study of potential evapo-transpiration through a grass-covered surface yields results which may be applied under a wide range of conditions and which provide basic data for controlled irrigation development.

As a first stage in the study of the water balance in the Maltese Islands, two potential evapo-transpirometers were installed during the early summer of 1957, the design and operation of the instruments being based on the practice of the U.K. Nature Conservancy (32) and on techniques developed and tested at Seabrook, NewJersey (33) and Ibadan, Nigeria (34). The sites chosen were at ta'Qali Pumping Station and at the Royal Naval Air Station, Hal Far (respectively the sites marked H, in the centre of the Island, and S in the south-west in Fig. 9). The local environments of these sites are sufficiently dissimilar to give a fair indication of the possible range of conditions in Malta. It is hoped that this pilot scheme will be developed by the installation of other instruments in various parts of the Islands.

It was found necessary to make adjustments to the crude data obtained from the ta'Qali and Hal Far. The methods used, together with the installations themselves and their sites, are fully described elsewhere (35). The adjusted monthly data are given at Table 17 and Fig. 20.

Table 17. Values of monthly potential evapo-transpiration from field-tank observations 1957-58. (Adjusted.)
Expressed in rainfall equivalent (inches).

		A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
ta'Qali	1956-57									4.1	5.0	4.9	6.5	
	1957-58	8.0	4.1	3.2	2.0	2.2	1.5	1.3	2.7	2.4	3.8	4.9	5.0	41.2
	1958-59	5.8												
Hal Far	1956-57									4.6	6.0	5.4	6.5	
	1957-58	8.3	6.6	4.8	5.4	3.1	2.5	3.0	3.3	3.9	6.2	6.5	7.0	60.9

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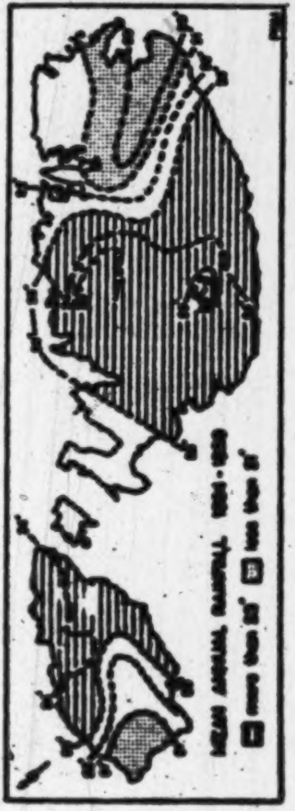
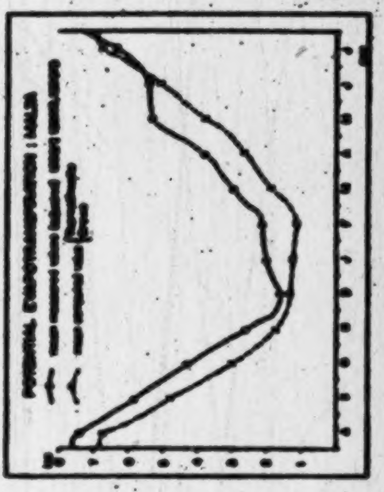
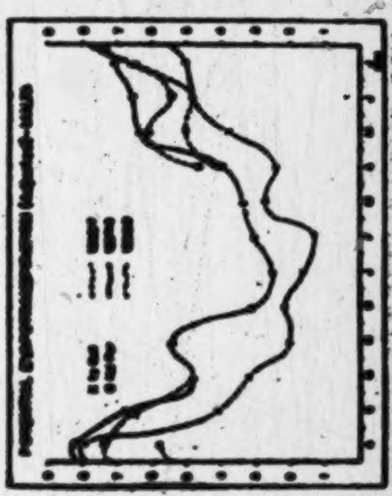

MEAN ANNUAL RAINFALL 1931-1960
more than 20"
less than 20"

Fig.10 Mean Annual Rainfall, 1931-60.





1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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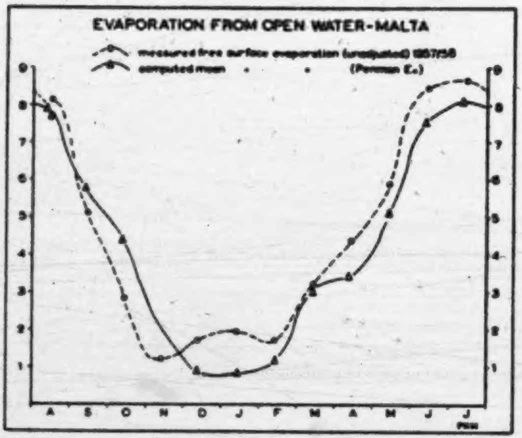

Fig. 22 Evaporation from open water, Malta.

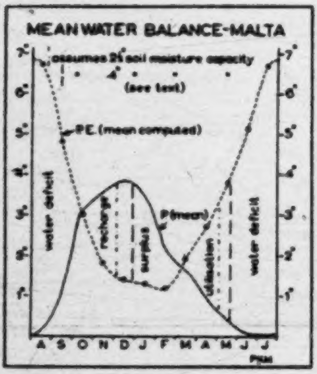

Fig. 23 Mean Water Balance, Malta.

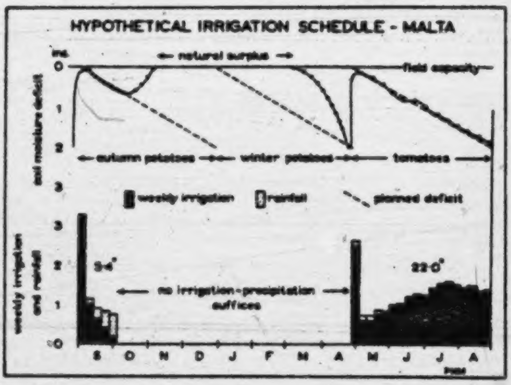

Fig. 24 Hypothetical Irrigation Schedule, Malta.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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Despite the considerable differences in the two totals for the full year 1957-58 which may largely be explained by differences in the exposure of the two instruments, the broad trend of potential evapo-transpiration is clearly evident (Fig. 20). The maximum occurs in August when the rate approaches a quarter-inch per day and falls off rapidly to a minimum of about 0.05 inch in December, thence rising slowly, and somewhat irregularly, to the August peak. Certain of the monthly figures appear inaccurate. May and June 1957 would seem to be too high and too low respectively. Settling of the soil may be responsible for the irregularity of these early values but can hardly explain a similar pattern in 1956. Difficulties experienced in maintaining a vegetation cover may be a further factor in distorting the values for these months. The high November reading at Hal Far is almost certainly due to the 'bushy' vegetation at the time.

Thornethwaite (36), Penman (37) and Crowe (38) have produced formulae for the calculation of P.E. from standard meteorological data. The application of these formulae to mean monthly data for Malta is shown in Table 18. Comparison with the ta'Qali and Hal Far figures is encouraging (Fig. 21). A further comparison is made in Fig. 22 between mean values computed according to Penman's formula for evaporation from an open water surface and the results of observations at the ta'Qali free surface evaporation tank, kindly made available by the Senior Water Engineer. Again, the two curves are tolerably close.

Table 18. Computed mean monthly evapo-transpiration. Inches.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Thornethwaite, P. F.	6.2	4.7	3.4	1.9	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.4	2.1	3.2	4.7	6.4	37.3
Crowe, P. F.	7.1	4.8	2.6	1.7	1.4	1.5	1.4	2.4	3.3	4.4	5.4	7.0	43.0
Penman, Fo.*	8.0	5.9	4.5	2.3	1.0	1.0	1.3	3.1	3.5	5.2	7.6	8.1	51.5

*Evaporation from open water.

It seems probable that Zammit's figures, appropriately adjusted, would provide reasonably correct results. The University data, however, are excessive owing to deficiencies in the apparatus (the pan was only 2 inches deep and back radiation from its base would have heated the water and speeded up its evaporation). The low August values of these early readings may well be related to this insolation effec., since their rhythm is more closely linked with insolation than with air temperature. It is the latter which normally controls deep water evaporation and potential evaporation, though, as Penman points out (39), atmospheric humidity, wind and insolation are also significant.

[114]

Clearly, further work is necessary before any final conclusions can be drawn. Observations made so far must be regarded as preliminary, though the results are sufficiently consistent to justify the following statements on the 'water balance' of the Maltese Islands.

THE WATER BALANCE OF THE MALTESE CLIMATE

The water balance is essentially the relationship between water requirements as expressed by potential evapo-transpiration (P.E.) rates and the availability of water from precipitation. Table 19 gives mean monthly values of P.E., computed according to the methods suggested by Thornethwaite and Crowe (40).

Table 19. Crude water balance - Malta. Inches.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Precipitation	0.2	1.1	3.1	3.6	3.8	3.5	2.2	1.6	0.9	0.4	0.1	0	20.5
Potential evapo-transpiration	6.7	4.8	3.0	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.9	2.7	3.8	5.1	6.7	40.1
Moisture surplus			0.1	1.8	2.4	2.2	1.0						7.5
Moisture deficiency	6.5	3.7						0.3	1.8	3.4	5.0	6.7	19.6

#132 134 312 The figures show that annual P.E. exceeds annual precipitation by nearly 100 per cent., a moisture surplus of 7.5 inches for the months of October to February inclusive being more than offset by a moisture deficiency of 19.6 inches, almost as great as the average rainfall, in the remaining seven months of the year. In practical terms this means that the maintenance of a herbaceous vegetation cover throughout the year would require a water supply equivalent to 40.1 inches of rainfall distributed according to the monthly P.E. values. Rainfall itself supplies only half this amount and the remainder must come from other sources as, for example, when irrigation is applied. In the latter case, water is brought in from elsewhere, during the limited growing season of cultivated plants, to supplement the supply from precipitation. However, the position is less simple than suggested by the foregoing statement. Application of water at the required rate can damage the soil by preventing proper aeration and may also cause disease in the growing crop. On the other hand, if the total amount of water supplied to a crop falls below the cumulative P.E. rate of the growing season by more than an inch or two, then full growth of the plant is prevented. Furthermore, surplus moisture will be stored in the soil from the wetter months to augment the supply in months of rainfall deficiency, the extent to which this takes place being dependent on such factors as type and depth of soil and the nature of the crop itself. Thornethwaite (41) has shown that, in humid areas, the majority of crops can only abstract 4 inches of water from the soil in this way but such a generalisation cannot apply to many of Malta's extremely thin soils, which are physically incapable of retaining so much water. The moisture-holding capacity of the soil is also significant in relation to run-off which will only occur once that capacity has been exceeded.

134 312 There are as yet, no data on the moisture-holding capacity of Maltese soils. In the computations which follow (Table 20), three values have been assumed - 2½ inches, 4 inches and 6 inches - of which the intermediate is the most likely average. These fuller figures give a truer picture of the water balance than that available from the moisture surplus and deficiency data of Table 19.

It will be observed that the whole moisture surplus of October and November is absorbed in soil moisture recharge, that is in the replacement of moisture removed from the soil during the dry summer months and that it is not until December that an actual water surplus occurs and that there are, in fact, only three months with such a surplus (two in soils with 6 inches storage capacity), which will be expressed in direct run-off and in percolation into the water table.

On the assumption made in the computation of Table 20 that evapo-transpiration will take place at the full potential rate so long as there is any moisture stored in the soil it will be seen that the length of the growing season depends on soil moisture storage capacity. Thus, at the 2½ inches level, full plant growth is possible from October to early May (Fig. 23), at the 4 inches level, the season is extended by some two weeks and, at the 6 inches level, it would continue into early June. Water surplus also varies with soil character; so does the date at which significant run-off begins.

If the average soil moisture storage capacity is assumed to be 4 inches, December-February water surplus is seen to be 3.5 inches. Since this is based on the Valletta rainfall data it would be wise to raise this figure to 4.2 inches for the Islands as a whole (see p 75). Making the further (erroneous) assumption that the land surface is completely covered with soil, the total available water, including both percolation and run-off, would be some 7,000 million gallons. We have already seen (p. 45) that some 2,000 million gallons are used for irrigation and a further 2,400 million in the public water supply. If it is further recalled that a good deal of the precipitation is lost by direct run-off or by sub-surface percolation into the sea (p. 43) it will be realised that the 'water balance' is in fact in a precarious state of unbalance.

There are several implications here for the agriculturalist. In the first place, there is little prospect of obtaining additional water for irrigation purposes in years of average rainfall. Secondly, it is essential that excessive amounts of irrigation water should never be applied. Some indication of irrigation requirements may be obtained from P.E. data and an attempt has been made (Fig. 24)

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Table 20. Water balance - Malta. Inches.
Assuming soil storage capacities of 2½ inches, 4 inches and 6 inches.

	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	Yr.
Moisture surplus			0.1	1.8	2.4	2.2	1.0						
Moisture deficiency	6.5	3.7						0.3	1.6	3.4	5.0	6.7	19.6
Soil storage capacity 2½ inches													
Soil m. recharge			0.1	1.8	0.6								2.5
Water surplus					1.8	2.2	1.0						5.0
Soil m. utilisation								0.3	1.6	0.6			2.5
Deficiency	6.5	3.7								2.8	5.0	6.7	
Soil moisture deficit	2.5	2.5	2.4	0.6	0	0	0	0.3	1.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	
Soil storage capacity 4 inches													
S.M.R.			0.1	1.8	2.1								4.0
W.S.					0.3	2.2	1.0						3.5
S.M.U.								0.3	1.6	2.1			4.0
D	6.5	3.7								1.3	5.0	6.7	
S.M.D.	4.0	4.0	3.9	2.1	0	0	0	0.3	1.9	4.0	4.0	4.0	
Soil storage capacity 6 inches													
S.M.R.			0.1	1.8	2.4	1.7							6.0
W.S.						0.5	1.0						1.5
S.M.U.								0.3	1.6	3.4	0.7		6.0
D	6.5	3.7									4.3	6.7	
S.M.D.	6.0	6.0	5.9	4.1	1.7	0	0	0.3	1.9	5.3	6.0	6.0	

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to prepare an irrigation schedule on the basis of the figures discussed in this chapter. The schedule is for a field in which potatoes, sown in September, are followed by further potato plantings in January and by the setting-out of tomatoes in late April. Regular P.E., rainfall and irrigation are assumed and soil moisture deficit of 2 inches at the end of each crop's growth is permitted (a figure allowed for shallow-rooted crops in U.K. Ministry of Agriculture experiments). The schedule indicates a maximum irrigation of 3.2 inches in the week of planting first-crop potatoes (when soil moisture deficit must be restored) and a similar amount is applied to the young tomatoes. The potatoes require less irrigation in subsequent weeks when soil moisture is near capacity and rainfall is increasing while P.E. is falling. A total of 5.4 inches of irrigation is required by this crop. Winter-sown potatoes need no irrigation but they deplete soil moisture reserves which must be restored when tomatoes are planted. During the growing season of the latter crop, soil moisture is allowed to decline but P.E. is increasing and irrigation rates rise from 0.6 inch per week in early May to 1.5 inches in July, the latter being equivalent to 9,450 gallons per tomna. The tomato crop requires a total of 22 inches.

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It must be emphasised that this schedule is based on average conditions and on an even distribution of rainfall within each month, conditions which rarely, if ever, occur. The method, however, might be more profitably applied on the basis of P.E. rates, rainfall and precise planting dates in particular seasons. When more information on P.E. rates in Malta becomes available, experiments in the application of the water balance technique to the problem of irrigation might well show a profit in a more efficient use of water supplies.

THE MOISTURE REGIME OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS

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The Maltese climate provides more moisture at the season when there is least demand for it, that is when the rate of plant growth is at its slowest. Conversely, when the potential for plant growth is highest, natural moisture is almost completely absent. Though winter temperature conditions allow the growth of a wide range of crops, some of the most valuable, e.g. tomatoes, would be unlikely to survive the winter season. Thus there have developed a number of types of crop management.

(1) Rain-fed crops are (a) planted before the onset of the autumn rains and watered artificially until adequate natural moisture is available, or (b) are sown mid-way through the rainy season when soil moisture is at a maximum. In all but the driest years, watering is unnecessary though, if applied, it can lead to higher yields.

(2) Crops dependent on soil moisture are generally planted late in the rainy season, when rainfall alone would be inadequate for their support. Land used in this way has generally been left fallow during the winter and repeatedly ploughed, thus keeping weeds down and reducing water loss from the bare soil. Even in average years, however, soil moisture will only support plant growth for a month or two and summer watering would be valuable but is not always possible.

(3) In irrigated areas, three crops a year are possible all depending to some extent on 'imported' water to supplement rainfall and soil moisture supplies. Areas in which this is possible, however efficient the methods used, are inevitably limited in extent.

Husbandry is largely controlled by considerations of this sort. Shallow ploughing is impossible until the onset of the rains has weakened hard surface crusts but is also difficult if the soil becomes excessively wet. The farmer thus hopes to cultivate and sow during the November dry spell (the *Sajf ta 'San Martin*) which often follows earlier rains. In all but a few years, this traditionally hoped for dry period does in fact occur.

Ploughing is also carried out on a large scale in high summer when deep cultivation, with manuring, is carried out every fourth year. There seems to be no particular reason why this should be done in the summer months except that it is then that a large labour force is available. With mechanisation, labour supply is no longer a controlling factor but the practice persists. Certainly the movement of tractors and heavy ploughs about the countryside is most easy when the bulk of the land is fallow. The danger here is that deep-ploughed land may suffer soil erosion if there is an early onset of really heavy rain.

The timing and violence of the onset of the wet period are very uncertain. Generally the farmer aims at conservation of the early rains and does all he can to reduce run-off and to assist soil moisture recharge. If the autumn is wet, however, as in 1957, saturation of the soil and serious gullying may result from such traditional activities as the diversion of water from roads to fields by the construction of temporary earth dams and channels. A long term forecast of autumn weather would, if feasible, be of great value.

In the summer months, plant growth is often slow as a result of moisture deficiencies but there are obvious compensations. The ripening of vines continues unhindered, though the grapes may be damaged before harvest by early heavy showers. In spring and early summer, grains and legumes ripen and dry with little interruption.

There can be little doubt that current Maltese farming practices are adjusted to average conditions. It is the frequent occurrence of 'non-average' seasons which causes most damage (Figs. 25 and 26). Flexibility to cope with departures from mean conditions must be a major consideration in any plans for agricultural development.

They seem to be largely devoted to cereals and potatoes, and in general give relatively poor crops. These soils are in several areas widely abandoned because they are uneconomic to work. 134 311

SOIL NEEDS

The needs of a soil, for the improvement of its fertility, are not simple to assess, and in the Maltese Islands at present they are not known. A fertile soil is considered as one which is in the optimum condition for the growth of crops, and this is dependent on a variety of factors, physical and biological as well as chemical. Air and water must be available, and man by cultivation and irrigation attempts to influence their disposition to favour his crops, just as by using fertilisers and weed or pest killers he attempts to influence the chemistry and biology of the soil.

PHYSICAL NEEDS

A soil which has a poor physical structure may be unable to support good crops, because water cannot be conducted to the plant easily enough, or because the soil aeration is poor. The heavy clay soils of the Fiddien series have poor structure, and it probably is the correlated difficulty of wetting the soil rather than the chemistry of the soil material (which often has a rather high concentration of exchangeable sodium and soluble salts) which causes it to be nearly useless for agriculture.

In the majority of cases the Maltese soils have a reasonably good structure, and the only other soils which appear to be ill-favoured are the heavy-textured soils of the Xaghra series. In this case the subsoil is often very compact indeed, and the separations between structural units are minimal. However, where such soils are well worked, and more particularly where they are irrigated, the structure seems to be much improved, partly no doubt because of the increased and active microfauna. While irrigation is probably difficult to extend, the use of improved cultural practices on these soils would probably produce an increase in the soil organic matter content and improvement of the structure. Among such practices the use of nitrogenous fertilisers, use of improved rotations, encouragement of root growth, avoidance of oxidation of root-derived organic matter through unnecessary turning over of the soil, and the avoidance of pulling cereals as a method of harvesting, might cause considerable improvement. The application of animal manure in irrigation water as already practised locally in Malta also appears to be effective in increasing organic matter content of the soil. 134 242

One of the chief problems of all crops in the Maltese Islands, is water. Certain of the lighter textured soils are extremely dry, and conservation of rainwater rather than extension of irrigation must be the answer because domestic water needs are already difficult to satisfy. Apart from practices designed to diminish evaporation loss, especially early removal of weeds by hoeing, it is probable that increasing the organic matter content would considerably increase the ability of the soil to hold water. But another simple possible method would be to marl some of the lighter soils with the calcareous clay, e.g. Fiddien heavy clay, which is not in agricultural use. (This would in addition possibly make more nutrients available.) 134 [312]

As far as aeration is concerned, it seems unlikely that it is deficient in many soils at present; but use of a rototiller (common in Malta) is believed to decrease aeration, and this could be investigated quite simply. It is possible that an excess of soil CO_2 would be beneficial in calcareous soils, reducing the pH of the soil solution to a level at which there is greater availability of most nutrients; and particularly those, such as phosphorus, which are likely to be deficient.

CHEMICAL NEEDS

Despite some other possible deficiencies it seems likely that nutrient

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 97]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

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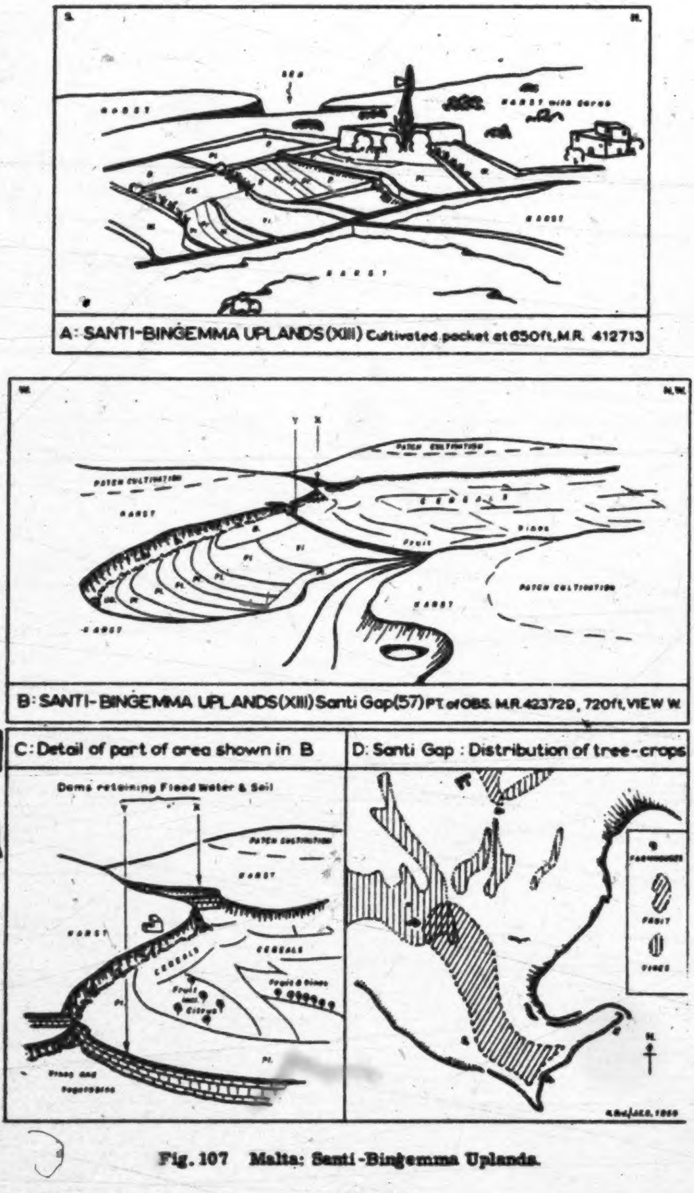
● [312] ←


S.
N.
SEA
KARST
KARST
KARST
W.
N.W.
Y
X
PATCH CULTIVATION
KARST
CEREALS
Fruit
Vines
Pl.
Dams retaining Flood Water & Soil
Y
X
PATCH CULTIVATION
KARST
KARST
CEREALS
CEREALS
Fruit & Vines
Fruit incl. Citrus
Pl.
Vines and Vegetables
FARMHOUSES
FRUIT
VINES
N.

A: SANTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS (XIII) Cultivated packet at 650ft, M.R. 412713

B: SANTI-BINGEMMA UPLANDS (XIII) Santi Gap (57) PT. of OBS. M.R. 423729, 720ft, VIEW W.

C: Detail of part of area shown in B

D: Santi Gap : Distribution of tree-crops

Fig. 107 Malta: Santi-Bingemma Uplands.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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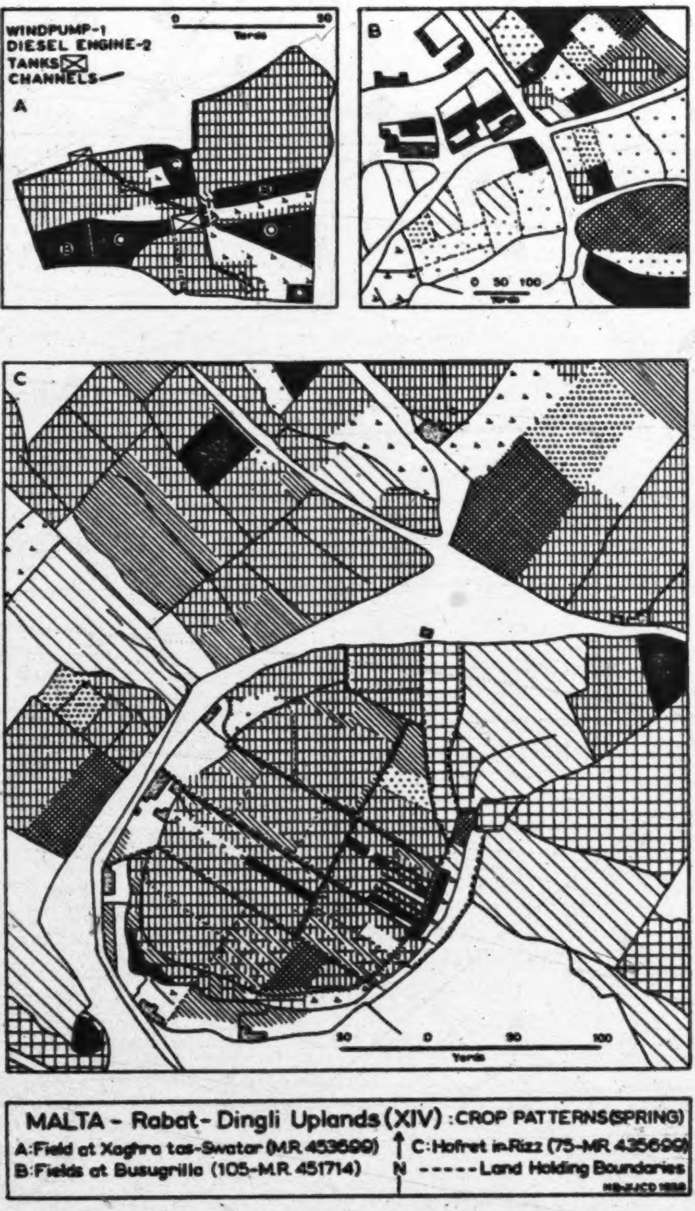
WINDPUMP-1
DIESEL ENGINE-2
TANKS ☒
CHANNELS
A
0 30 Yards
B
0 30 100 Yards
C
30 0 30 100 Yards
MALTA - Rabat- Dingli Uplands (XIV) : CROP PATTERNS(SPRING)
A: Field at Xaghra tas-Swatar (M.R. 453699)
B: Fields at Busugrilla (105-M.R. 451714)
N
C: Hofret in-Rizz (75-M.R. 435690)
----- Land Holding Boundaries
HB-JLJCD 1958

Fig. 111 Malta: Rabat-Dingli Uplands.

E. The Farmers of Malta

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From survey work, farm interviews and detailed case-studies we have been able to distinguish certain characteristic types of Maltese farmer. The variety of practice and productivity within the pseudo-peasantry makes it impossible to take general treatment any further, therefore in this section are presented a cross-section of such types. For obvious reasons, we cannot present details which might lead to the identification of any farmer or his landholding.

1. THE PART-TIME FARMER

Numerically as important as full-time farmers this group, although heterogeneous, indicates the incompleteness of the recent 'flight from the land'. At the highest level, as in case-study (A), the stability given by a non-agricultural income encourages good land use.

A - A holding of c. 10 *tmien* in two blocks of 19 irrigable field plots in Region AII, Mellieħa Isthmus, produces c. 60 per cent. of the cultivator's net income. Irrigated market gardening produces potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, cucurbits, carrots, cauliflowers, garlic, lemons and table-grapes for sale, and beans, maize, celery and turnips for home consumption. Rents of reclaimed land on Government property are negligible. The farmer maintains that he holds the land partly to support the present family of three and to enable his eight adult emigrant sons to have some 'hobby' land when they return as expected to Malta. Nevertheless, his husbandry standards and commercial acumen are good, his yields high. This type of part-time farmer is neither common nor rare.

B - At the other extreme is a policeman who, in 1950, purchased 14 *tmien* of dry land in Region XVIIIb, ta'Qali, in order to have land to work after retirement. Of this, 10 *tmien* is let out on annual leases, both tenants' and landlord's responsibilities being ignored, and 6 *tmien* is 'cultivated' by the owner, carrying weed infested and diseased crops of wheat, sulla and broad beans. This is symptomatic of unhealthy economic and social conditions, viz. simple land hunger based on insecurity of urban occupations and inadequate pensions.

2. THE FULL-TIME ARABLE FARMER ON IRRIGATED LAND

The time-consuming nature of market gardening and the high value of irrigated *saqwi* land tend either to restrict the total size of holdings or to focus the farmer's attention on such land.

C - In Region XIV, two full-time farmer brothers with three dependants cultivate 7 *tmien* in one irrigated plot (Fig. 111A). One of the brothers returned from temporary migration to Canada in 1913 bringing some capital and ideas. Their equipment consists of hoes, an American windpump and an English diesel pump. There is a well graded irrigation system of three cisterns, overhead and ground level stone channelling. The diesel pump is used for filling the cisterns, the windpump for maintaining the water level. Both farmers share equally the cost of equipment and pumping and have a family arrangement for division of labour and produce. Surplus produce is sold in the Rabat market.

D - A full-time farmer with family of 11, six of whom are adults, working on holding of c. 30 *tmien* in Region A XV a The Blue Clay Basin (Fig. 141). Lives on a main plot of 14 *tmien* on Blue Clay and marl. On the main part of the holding are cultivated irrigated fruit and vegetable crops. The other plots consist mainly of rock, rough grazing and carobs with some vines. Intensive aboriculture is practised with peaches replacing plums and old
apple stock being replaced by vines and peaches. [231]
Livestock - 1 horse, 9 sheep, 13 pigs and 3 goats.
Equipment - *moħriet* and hoes. The farmer borrows a 'rotavator' for sum- [407]
mer cultivation and has 'access' to lorry and jeep for marketing produce.
The dwelling has piped water supply. Irrigation water is obtained from [312]

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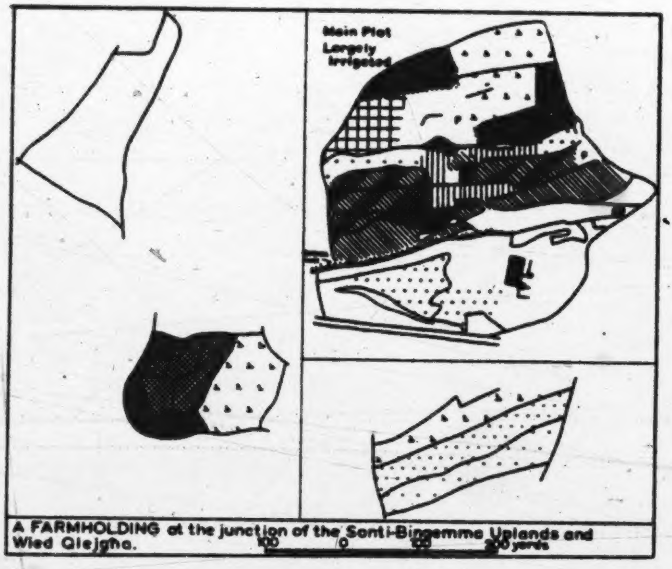
Main Plot
Largely
Irrigated
A FARMHOLDING at the junction of the Santi-Bingemma Uplands and Wied Qlejgha.
100
0
100
200 yards

Fig. 141 A farmholding at the junction of the Santi-Bingemma Uplands and Wied Qlejgha.

241 312 Upper Coralline aquifers overlying outcropping Blue Clay. The main supply, from a fissured Coralline cave now piped into a cistern, has only failed once (1950) since 1921. Water needs conserving in summer and is then only applied to special crops. Minor supplies come from 'wet weather' springs on Blue Clay slope.

134 241 Soils - deep, weathered marls with thin clay beds, these latter being used for marling the Upper Coralline lands. In winter, the clay beds are too wet for most crops, e.g. during the 1953-54 season an attempt to grow wheat failed completely and, on 2nd April, 1955, drainage holes were necessary to hasten the percolation of surplus water in some fields. In summer, the clays need careful tilling in order to avoid caking. Produce is mainly for sale in Rabat market.

241 3. THE FULL-TIME DRYLAND ARABLE FARMER

This group is numerically and areally the most important. It also tends to set the general standard of farming.

E - The first example of this group works land in Region CXX, the Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin. A full-time farmer with two dependants with a fairly concentrated holding of 32 *tmien* (8.7 acres), used as follows in spring:-

3.6	*tmien* of Sulla
5	*tmien* of Potatoes
5	*tmien* of Wheat
5	*tmien* of Barley
.5	*tmien* of Broad Beans (vegetable)
19.1	

The remainder is under onions, aniseed, cumin, fallow and forages. The best land has 30 inches of soil and is rented at 26s. per *tomna*. The poorer

7

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table
only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
366 by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension
of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised
shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops,
and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of
home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War,
the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly
to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The
petrolju van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on
paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
[262] addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free
distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
[749] by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation
distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home
178 was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a stair-
342 case frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic
life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
[351] enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were
small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for
animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump
and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
[312] emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
[364] summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can
only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

[491] Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has
[399] been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
[206] north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the
Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
[546] Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent
241 family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the
village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese
agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the
village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have
improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now
greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them,
thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee.
Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village
have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction
not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and
functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community
has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113 1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 53.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Besley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1960.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

In Oxford, Professor Arthur Thomson has set the resources of his Department, including a calculating machine, at my disposal, and has helped me continually with advice and kindly criticism. My former teachers—Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. Henry Balfour, Mr. E. T. Leeds, and Professor J. L. Myres—have accorded me in many conversations the combined privileges of a colleague and a pupil. I fear that I have, albeit unwittingly, often pirated their ideas. My colleague, Miss Blackwood, has devoted the greater part of a Long Vacation to helping to finish and prepare this paper for the press before my leaving England, and has performed the laborious task of looking over proofs in my absence. 12

II.—GEOGRAPHY.

The Maltese archipelago consists of the islands of Malta, Gozo, Comino, Cominetto and Filfola. The two latter are uninhabited, and Comino is practically untenanted. We are therefore only concerned with the islands of Malta and Gozo. 131 [10]

Malta lies about 60 miles south of Sicily and 180 miles north of the African coast. Its maximum length is 18½ miles, its maximum breadth 8¼ miles, and its area 95 square miles. Gozo is considerably smaller, and has an area of about 20 square miles.

Geologically, the islands are Late Eocene (3). The eastern and most thickly inhabited part of Malta consists of globigerina limestone, which overlies lower coralline limestone; in the western part these beds are covered with beds of greensand and blue clay or marl, over which lies the upper coralline limestone. The rock is everywhere extremely friable, and is perpetually disintegrating under the influence of wind and rain. Except in one or two places the soil is seldom more than a few inches deep. 133

The surrounding seas are warm and shallow; a rise of 50 fathoms would connect Malta and Sicily, and a rise of 200 fathoms would join North Africa and Europe and include Malta as a craggy bastion. The shallowest sea, however, lies more to the west. Malta should, therefore, be more correctly described as an outlying pier of an old land bridge rather than part of the land bridge itself. It seems probable that slow, tectonic movements are actually in progress to-day, and that the archipelago is sinking; but it is extremely unlikely that any men of whom we possess traces at present, with the doubtful exception of a few fragments from the Weid Dalam, came to Malta when it was still part of the mainland.

The island is tilted from south to north. The cliffs along the southern coast are high and precipitous, and some of the loftiest parts of the island are close to the shore.

The undercliff here forms a pleasant contrast to the less fertile parts of Malta. Carib trees are not uncommon, potatoes are cultivated on terraces, and the tiny fields are irrigated, as elsewhere in Malta, by little runlets conducted along channels 137 312

137 312 made of open stone pipes. On the rocks, in January, there was a wild profusion of flowering heath, of a species akin to our heather (*Erica*). Where the water overflows, there are tiny reed beds, but always smaller and less luxuriant than those of the Eastern Mediterranean. In some places on these cliffs the charlock appears to have competed successfully with *Oxalis cernua*.

133 The north coast is generally more shelving. There are no mountains, but the whole surface is cut by deep ravines, which are for the most part dry, but which may contain as much as three feet of water during a spate; the mouths of some of these valleys form small fiords. The western part of the island, which contains the upper coralline beds, contrasts strongly with the eastern. The hills are higher, the valleys bigger and more rounded, and the country is less parched, owing to the underlying marls. The scenery of Gozo resembles that of Western Malta, but the cliffs are higher and grander, the fields are larger, and the country is greener.

241 137 Owing to the large population every foot of soil is precious, and the whole of Malta is parcelled out into innumerable tiny fields, some hardly more than a few yards square, each being separated from the next by a stone wall. Olives and caribs grow as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, but for the most part they are limited to the courses of the streams; oranges flourish where there is sufficient water to irrigate them, but in Malta one looks in vain for the abundant orange groves of Sicily, or the pleasant tangled hillsides of Northern Cyprus. The myrtle is almost absent, the numbers of wild myrtle bushes can nearly be counted on the fingers of a man's hands. The flora (4) generally is most akin to that of Sicily; 94 per cent. of the Maltese species are found in that island, 91 per cent. in Africa, and 90·5 per cent. in the Levant (5). There are three things which are predominant in all the scenery of Malta: stone walls, goats, and the yellow flowers of the virulent *Oxalis cernua*, which not even the goats will eat.

132 Owing to the small size of Malta and the nature of its surface, the weather is dominated by two factors—the sea and the direction of the wind. The mean annual temperature is 66·6° F., the mean annual rainfall is 21·6 inches, precipitation normally occurring on 81 days. The mean relative humidity for seven years is 79·1 per cent. The coldest month is February (mean temperature 52·9° F.); the hottest August (77·9° F.). During June and July practically no rain falls, and in August the mean is only 0·13 mm. (6).

361 In working out constants, I have divided the islands into two areas—Urban and Rural. This is the division in the census (31), and corresponds very closely to a marked difference in the conditions under which the population lives. The former includes the fortified towns and suburbs, Valletta, Floriana, Cottoneria, Senglea, Conspicua, Sliema, St. Julian, Pieta Misida, Hamrum, Birchircara, Curmi, Paula, Tarxien, Zabbar, Calcara and Rabato; the latter, the more isolated villages in the country.

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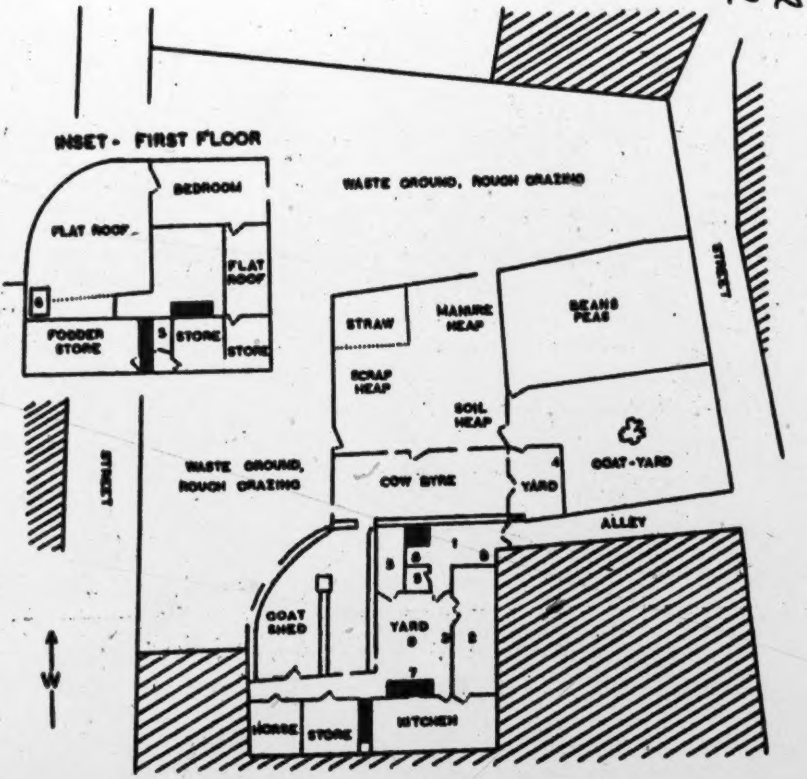
[Following p. 102]

MAP · 8
FARMSTEAD
CASE VI


INSET - FIRST FLOOR
BEDROOM
FLAT ROOF
FLAT ROOF
6
FODDER STORE
5
STORE
STORE
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
STRAW
MANURE HEAP
BEANS PEAS
SCRAP HEAP
SOIL HEAP
GOAT-YARD
4
YARD
COW BYRE
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
ALLEY
1
3
6
5
8
GOAT SHED
YARD
9
3
2
7
HORSE
STORE
KITCHEN
W

1 MAIN ENTRANCE ROOM
2 LIVING-ROOM/BEDROOM
3 WELL
4 WATER (TAP)
5 POULTRY
6 RABBITS
7 STEPS TO CELLAR USED FOR SHEEP
8 CARTS
9 GENERAL YARD

▨ OTHER BUILDINGS

1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
YARDS

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Ingliżi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 426 [423] [454] [407] [312]

D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property.

(ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

(iii) Equipment - usual hand tools
- rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.
- no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 464

E. Labour.

- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 434 435

F. Production and Sales.

- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 231

G. Husbandry.

(i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- [232] Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 234 829

H. General.

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect [426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

feet, is in southern Malta near Marsaxlokk (5965) and the thinnest, about 75 feet, is below Fort Chambray (3686) in southern Gozo. In general it is thinnest along a line passing north-south through the Comino Straits. 133

The Globigerina Limestone is a fine-grained white to buff calcarenite completely composed of calcareous tests of globigerinids, anomalinids, and other small foraminiferans. Within the formation are developed horizons of phosphatic nodules, usually very thin, and two of these extend throughout the islands and enable a subdivision to be made into lower, middle and upper divisions. These horizons are composed of individual nodules ranging from less than pea size to several inches in diameter. They range in colour from black through dark brown to green and are largely composed of collophane with up to 40 per cent. phosphate of lime in the lower beds.

One of the best exposures of the whole succession is seen near Fomm ir-Rih (4073) on the western coast of Malta. There the Middle and Lower Globigerina Limestone is best seen on the upthrown side of the Victoria Lines Fault at Fomm ir-Rih itself whilst the Upper Globigerina Limestone and the junction with the Blue Clay is seen 1,300 yards to the north-west. The succession is as follows:-

	Feet
3. Blue clay -	seen to 178
2. Globigerina Limestone	
(iii) Upper Globigerina Limestone	
Yellow-orange fine-grained and honeycomb-weathering limestone with abundant pteropods and scattered ferruginous nodules -	23
Light-grey/blue argillaceous marl -	25
Yellow, friable and jointed fine-grained limestone with scattered ferruginous nodules -	28
Yellow limestone as above but with several phosphatic seams (one is developed at Fomm ir-Rih and there forms a marked projecting cornice) -	9
(ii) Middle Globigerina Limestone	
Phosphatic nodule bed with limestone pebbles and abundant corals, fish teeth and other fossils, the whole passing irregularly down into the bed below -	3/4
Light grey to intensely white-weathering chalky limestone with khaki-hearted cherts in the middle portion: several thin nodule seams within it, two well marked ones lie 14 feet and 19 feet above the base -	129
(i) Lower Globigerina Limestone	
Phosphatic nodule bed forming a massive ledge with ferruginous and phosphatic nodules and abundant casts of fossils and fish teeth, etc. -	1
Fine grained yellow limestone with abundant *Pecten* spp. and Bryozoa -	3
Bryozoan and foraminiferan rock -	4
1. Lower Coralline Limestone	
Dense crystallised limestone forming sheer cliffs below -	100

The widespread *Scutella* graveyard, which is not well developed at Fomm ir-Rih, suggests that in upper Lower Coralline Limestone times the sea floor was nearly flat. During the deposition of the Lower and Middle Globigerina Limestone a zone of lesser sedimentation stretched through the Comino Straits while greater accumulation took place in a basin near Valletta and in western Gozo.

(i) Lower Globigerina Limestone: This division is typically a yellow, fine grained, occasionally fucoidal limestone, usually unbedded. It varies from a few feet in thickness, as at Fomm ir-Rih, to more than 300 feet near Valletta, 133
316

133 [316] Malta, and over 70 feet in western Malta. It provides the most important building stone on the islands, the 'franka', which is a very easily cut freestone which is worked in large, vertical sided quarries especially around Mqabba, Malta (5267), Sannat, Gozo (3186) and north of San Lawrenz (2891). The franka when used for exterior work weathers well. The stone develops a tough outer layer but in time this often exfoliates and weathers in a curious honeycomb manner. There are abundant fossils in this division the commonest being *Flabellipecten*, *Schizaster* and *Eupalagus*.

A ubiquitous phosphatic nodule bed, varying from a few inches to three feet in thickness, marks the upper limit of the division. Within the limestone there are other seams of phosphatic nodules of only local distribution. There are two such near Naxxar (4974) at 40 feet and 90 feet above the base. The upper phosphatic nodule bed (bed G of Cooke 1896, p. 502) yields abundant fossils including the teeth of a giant shark *Carcharodon megalodon* and of the seal *Phoca rugosidens* and also *Stereodon*, *Notidanus* and *Odontaspis*. There are also corals, *Trochocyathus* spp., pectens and echinoids.

(ii) Middle Globigerina Limestone: The white marly limestones of this division which follow above the nodule bed at the top of the Lower Globigerina Limestone are everywhere readily distinguishable from the beds below in colour and lithology. The division is absent in eastern Gozo but increases to 150 feet near Rabat, Malta, and 390 feet in Marsaxlokk Bay (5965) where the series is very well exposed. Within this rather monotonous series several minor horizons of dispersed phosphatic nodules occur locally in west and central Malta. Also khaki-hearted cherts are developed in the lower portion and these form a prominent feature inland one mile south-west of Siġġiewi, Malta (4967). A widespread phosphatic nodule bed marks the upper limit of this division and below this in western Gozo is a coarse yellow limestone unit.

The sparse fauna found within the Middle Globigerina Limestone includes the typical Langhian or Burdigalian nautiloid *Aturia aturi*. Also there are the echinoids *Brissopsis* and *Schizaster* and several pectens. Of particular interest are the remains of the turtle *Tryonx melitensis* and the crocodile *Tomistoma*.

(iii) Upper Globigerina Limestone: The upper nodule bed at the top of the Middle Globigerina Limestone is followed by a return to yellow and coarser beds similar in lithology to the Lower Globigerina Limestone. This division does not show the same pattern of thickness variation as the two lower divisions. Typically it is 70-80 feet thick but expands southwards and at Delimara Point in south Malta (6064) there is at least 140 feet.

This division can be farther divided in many places into three parts: a lower, yellow, fine grained limestone, a light blue marly and argillaceous division, and an upper, fine grained yellow limestone with common pteropod casts and honeycomb weathering. When well exposed, the junction with the Blue Clay above is always clearly seen and it is difficult to understand why a contrary view is so widespread in the literature. 317]

3. The Blue Clay

This formation, often called the 'Maltese Clays and Marls' or the 'Clays and Marls', lies conformably upon the Globigerina Limestone. It is a series of blue and yellow clays and marls, yielding selenite, up to 230 feet in thickness but at times thinning out completely. The clay is of considerable importance as a seal to the Upper Coralline Limestone and Greensand aquifer and has been used for pottery.

There has been considerable dispute as to the cause of the thinning of the Blue Clay. Murray and Cooke considered it was due to pressure of the Upper Coralline Limestone above leading to superficial 'bulging'. This is clearly a factor in most places, but in certain regions the Greensand and Upper Coralline Limestone may rest directly on the Middle and Lower Globigerina Limestone on a scale too vast to be interpreted as due either to 'bulging' or to removal by erosion of the intervening clay. In particular around San Anard (5970), two miles south-east of Valletta, the Upper Coralline Limestone transgresses northward over much of the Middle Globigerina Limestone and finally rests on the Lower Globigerina Limestone within half a mile.

Within the clay, rounded grains of quartz, augite, felspars and tourmaline have been recorded (Cooke 1893) and the fossils include pectens and *Aturia aturi*. These are of pelagic habit and similar to those typical of the true 'schlier' facies. 133

4. Greensand

The greensand is a coarse, orange-brown, thick bedded fragmental limestone which usually forms the base to the Upper Coralline Limestone cliffs. In the unweathered state an abundance of glauconite gives the rock a green colour. The thickness reaches a maximum of 50 feet in south-west Malta but it is usually about half this figure. In other places the formation is absent. The boundary with the Blue Clay below is very abrupt and, around the coasts, landslips commonly begin there. The upper boundary is often more difficult to define.

Frequently the rock is full of giant Foraminifera and has been termed a 'Heterostegina Rock' (Murray, 1890). Such developments are common on Gozo and near Dingli, Malta (4468). The formation has yielded a very rich echinoid fauna including *Clypeaster*, *Heteroclypeus* and *Echinolampas* together with shark teeth and the remains of dugongs, manatees, dolphins and whales.

5. Upper Coralline Limestone

This is the youngest Tertiary formation in the islands. Generally it caps the highest hills but, especially in northern Malta, faults bring it down to sea level. On Comino a thickness of some 250 feet is exposed and 530 feet was penetrated in a borehole near the centre of the Binġemma Syncline (4374) without reaching the bottom. Usually only about 100 feet is preserved on the high land. The rock varies considerably. Frequently it is composed of large growths of the coralline alga *Lithothamnium* with marly partings between the growths. In places it is a dense crystalline limestone and elsewhere there are thick marly seams rich in fossils. Compact limestone predominates, however, and it is usually poorly bedded. On Gozo the stone has been quarried as 'Gozo Marble' which is hard, red to yellow in colour and taking a good polish. Petrologically the formation is very similar to the Leithakalke of the Vienna Basin with which it has been correlated (Fuchs 1874). [316]

Fossils other than algae are locally abundant and they include the echinoids *Cidaris*, *Clypeaster*, *Schizaster*, *Echinus*, *Brissus* and *Echinolampas* together with abundant Foraminifera and large mollusca.

PLEISTOCENE AND RECENT DEPOSITS

These deposits may be conveniently divided into first, the valley loams and sands, second, the coastal conglomerates and breccias, third, the bone deposits in caves and fissures and finally the prehistoric remains.

The only widespread areas of valley deposits with stratified sands, loams and gravels of fluviatile origin are in the valley areas behind Mellieħa, St. Paul's, and Salina Bays.

Conglomerates and coastal breccias, often with Pleistocene Mollusca, occur in small patches around the Marfa Ridge, St. Paul's Bay, Mellieħa Bay, Għar Lapsi, Benġħisa Point (5863) and St. Thomas Bay (6067). They usually form a moderately cemented rock composed of local material (Trechman 1938).

The Pleistocene ossiferous deposits, filling caves and fissures in the limestones, have yielded numerous interesting animal remains. The Għar Dalam Cave (5765) is the most celebrated but there are others at Qrendi, Żebbuġ, Mellieħa and Malak. The oldest faunas include Pleistocene dwarf hippopotomi, pygmy elephants, dormice and swans and a later deposit has horse and deer.

Stone Age remains include 15 temples, the best of which is perhaps Tarxien, Malta (5669) which has provided vessels and amulets as well as statuettes of grotesquely fat divinities (Zammit 1930), but others are very fine, especially Ħaġar Qim, Malta (4965) and Ġgantija, Gozo (3489). There is also a three-storied Hypogeum at Pawla. The complex system of cart tracks, with cross roads and junctions, are probably also of neolithic age. A detailed cultural sequence based on potsherds has recently been described by Evans (1954, 1959). 172

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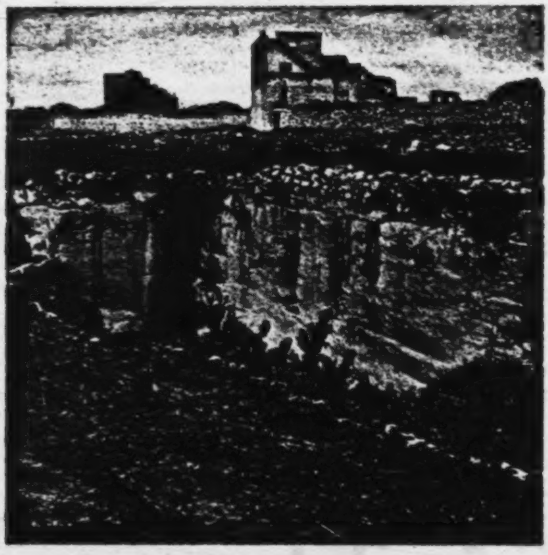

Plate XV. Worked-out quarry in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills. Spring. Vines cultivated at various levels.

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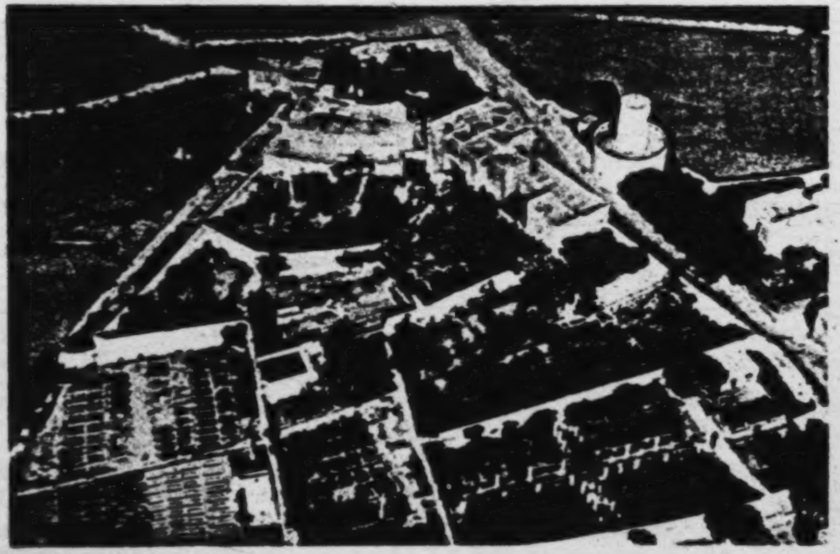

Plate XVI. Walled orchards and gardens south of Naxxar. Summer. The circular building in the middle distance is an old windmill.

Malt4

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*311
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[134]

[247]
[316]

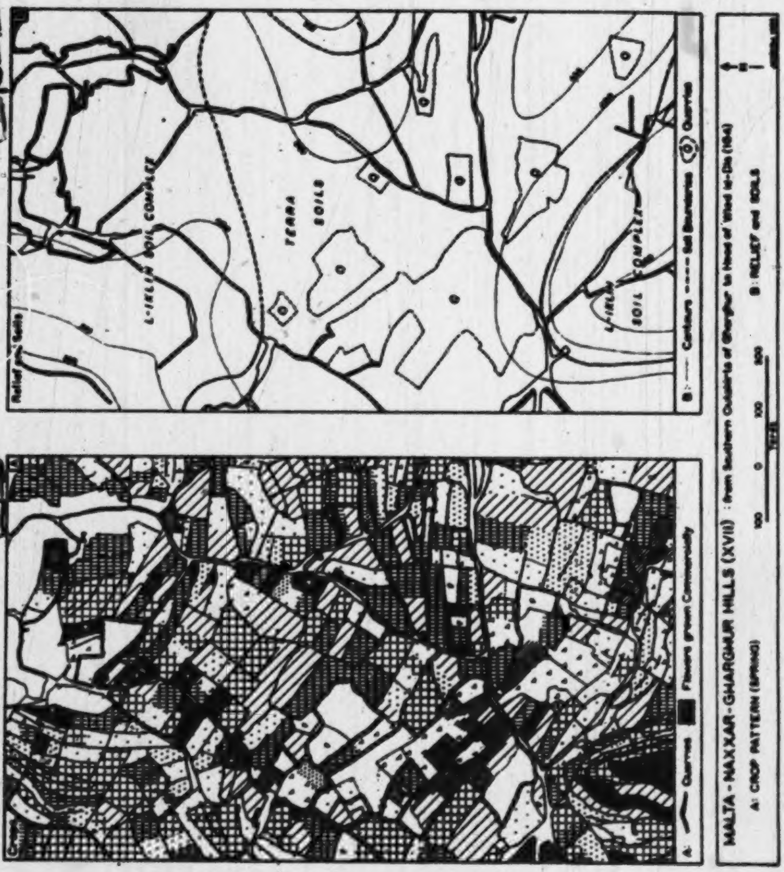
Relief and Soils
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
TERRA SOILS
L-IKLIN SOIL COMPLEX
B: —— Contours - - - - Soil Boundaries (O) Quarries
Crops
A: Quarries Flowers grown Commercially
MALTA - NAXXAR-GHARGHUR HILLS (XVII) : from Southern Outskirts of Gharghur to Head of Wied iz-Dis (164)
A: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards
B: RELIEF and SOILS
N

Fig. 115 Malta: Naxxar-Gharghur Hills.

On the spur of Ghar Ram (199) and tal-Ħandaq (200), the intensity of cultivation 241* decreases eastward, cereals and sulla becoming dominant. The even slopes 311* of tal-Ħlas (198) drop northward to the more level Ghammieri district of the Wied is-Sewda. Gradient has little effect on the selection of crops grown in these areas. Cereals and sulla dominant throughout although potatoes assume a greater importance than on the summit. In contrast the southern edge of the ridge is more abrupt, falling sharply to the Wied Qirda. Precipitous terraces, standing above a storm-water channel cut in Lower Coralline rocks are almost completely abandoned. The only pocket of fruit cultivation in this region lies in the Wied Qirda above the main incision and close to Żebbuġ.

Scattered settlement of farmsteads and a few small hamlets is generally [361] aligned along roads and tracks. The great majority of the land-holders, however, live in the casal of Żebbuġ which combines some urban functions with those of village settlement.

XVIII (d). THE SIĠĠIEWI REGION

In many ways this region is a counterpart of that of Żebbuġ. The high plains west of Siġġiewi sweep south from ta'Brija (133) to tal-Bajjada to merge with the open Rdum tal-Lunsjata. Intensive dry-farming of cereals, sulla and vegetables is characteristic. Onion cultivation is of particular importance here as throughout the region.

From this western platform, the ridges of tal-Bordin (135), tal-Ghaqba (205) and ta'Ħaxxluq carry relatively high land to the east. Tal-Bordin is noteworthy only for the absence of early potatoes, possibly because of its rather exposed position. The place-name element *nadur*, meaning a look-out point, is significantly [103] attached to the fields on this small ridge. The main ridge of tal-Ghaqba, carrying a variety of crops, is generally similar to tal-Ħandaq on the other side of Wied Qirda. The crop range is similar on ta'Ħaxxluq ridge, though the fields are generally smaller and the country more broken (see Fig. 119). In these eastern districts, the commercial farming element is most strongly represented by onion growing which is even more extensive here than around Żebbuġ.

Siġġiewi itself was established on the south-western edge of the central 311* settlement zone of Malta. The casal and outlying farmsteads were to some extent influenced 361 by the need for protection from corsair raids. Walled enclosures and a few defensive towers indicate past insecurity. Siġġiewi still lies off the busiest lines of communication and the south-western part of the region is one of the least accessible districts of the central lands of Malta. Here, small hamlets cluster around isolated churches as at tal-Providenza (150).

XVIII (e). THE QORMI REGION

The district around Qormi is atypical of the Central Region as a whole. A 241* considerable number of motor-driven pumps extract water from the fault-fissured Globigerina 311* beds and irrigable land constitutes a large proportion of the total area. Vegetable and fruit crops, the latter including citrus and even such exotics as the banana are grown intensively in this sheltered district (Fig. 120). The Qormi basin is a westward continuation of the Marsa lowland, an area of alluvial deposition (see Chapter III). Large farms with irrigated gardens surround the large casal (Fig. 117B).

C.XIX. THE SOUTHERN REGION

A highland ridge with an average altitude of more than 400 feet extends eastwards from the Upper Coralline scarp at Lunzjata along the southern coast as far as Bubaqra. Further east and towards the interior of the island, the land falls away in gentle slopes. Although true wasteland is confined to a coastal belt coinciding with outcrops of Lower and down-faulted Upper Coralline beds, much land has elsewhere been taken out of cultivation. [508] The airfields of Luqa and Hal Far, still in use and their as yet un-reclaimed wartime extensions, together with large-scale quarrying on either side of Mqabba, [316] have sterilised a great deal of land.

133 [316] Malta, and over 70 feet in western Malta. It provides the most important building stone on the islands, the 'franka', which is a very easily cut freestone which is worked in large, vertical sided quarries especially around Mqabba, Malta (5267), Sannat, Gozo (3186) and north of San Lawrenz (2891). The franka when used for exterior work weathers well. The stone develops a tough outer layer but in time this often exfoliates and weathers in a curious honeycomb manner. There are abundant fossils in this division the commonest being *Flabellipecten*, *Schizaster* and *Eupatagus*.

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body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no pathology
they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 532
'legs' were offered for paralysis, congenital anomalies and chronic ulcers in the lower 755
limbs; 'arms' and 'hands' for fractures and threatened loss of fingers by injury or gangrene; 'ears' for deafness and otitis; and 'eyes' for a variety of ocular diseases. Sometimes, however, the association of illness and anatomical part is not so specific; thus 'trunks' were offered for such varied conditions as throat affections, hernias, and mental disorder; 'faces' for enlarged glands in the neck; and pairs of female 'breasts' for deficiency of milk in a lactating mother as well as disease of these organs.

They were made of wax or of raised work in gold and silver foil. Those met with at 782
present are the silver ones, the others having disappeared from the churches though
they were still being offered at the end of the last century if not later. There are records 532
of wax effigies of arms, legs, eyes, and babies and also of gold ones having been deposited [325]
at that period at Ta Pinu Church at Gharb in Gozo. A pair of gold legs cost £17
(*Id-devot ta Maria* 1890; Kerr 1893). Wax figures also existed until some thirty years ago
in the small church of Tal Mirakli at Lija (Tanti 1962). These objects were manufac- [439]
tured in Malta but some of them were imported from Sicily and North Africa. The gold [325]
and silver foil was hammered into the desired shape over dies of bronze by a silversmith
(Plate 1, Fig. 3). They vary in size from 6 by 2½ inches to 1 by 3½ inches. Some of them
bear hall-marks which help to date them and identify the source of manufacture. The
earliest met so far by the writer is a stylized silver model (in the writer's collection) of a pair [422]
of female breasts impressed with the hall-marks of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Em. de Rohan who ruled over the Maltese Islands from 1775 to 1797.

The deposition of anatomical 'ex-votos' in Maltese churches ceased in 1935. The
ecclesiastical council held in that year in Malta under the presidency of Cardinal H. 782
Lepicier disallowed the exhibition of 'votive offerings showing parts of the human body 532
except those in the shape of a heart', (*Concilium*, 1935, p. 60), so that the present-day 795
visitor will hardly see anything else except 'hearts' hanging by the statues of the saints to whom they were offered by grateful devotees. The more 'profane' models have been melted and converted into sacred utensils for the church service.

Very occasionally instead of an anatomical representation, we come across a silver 211
tablet commemorating deliverance from illness. Here is a specimen inscribed in Latin: 164

P. Trapani cum suis / A. MDCCCLXXXVII / Ab Asiana Lue /
Incolumes (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1888).

that is P. Trapani and his family spared from the Asiatic Disease of the year 1887.

(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the [731]
last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of [165]
over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and 782
by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These 755
actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

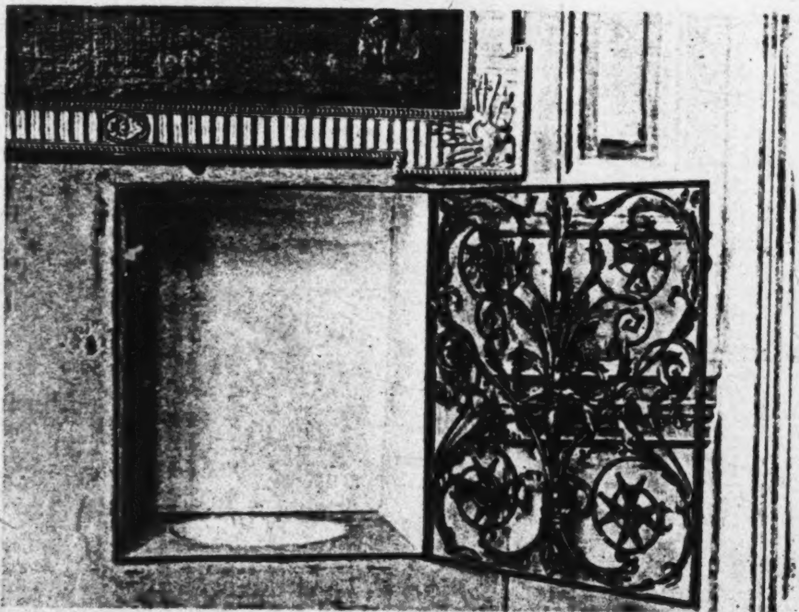
9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

351

IN THE GARDEN OF CASA LEONI (DAR IL-LYUNI)
[*See pp.* 191–193.]

GRILLE OF WELL IN THE PALACE, VALETTA
[*See p.* 181.]

• 326



[facing p. 161]
[pp. 161-192 not processed]

the underground granaries, shaped like vast jars, beneath the 251
open space between Valetta and its suburb of Floriana and
beneath a few other places, sealed with round stone lids and 178
still in use for conserving Malta's stocks of imported grain.

There are other links in Malta with the rule of the Order 326
of S. John. There survives, for example, from the days of
the Grand Masters an official known as the Consul for 656
Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, who is the appraiser of the 647
Government and impresses on Maltese silver its own hall- [178]
mark, the Maltese Cross, and on gold the crown or the
Maltese shield. The Consul's office is housed on the ground-floor of the Monte di Pietà building in Merchants' Street. Opposite to it is the handsome Public Registry, with a tablet commemorating its reconstruction by Grand Master Zondadari. As if to compensate for the defacement by the French Revolutionaries of the Sienese Grand Master's escutcheon, his inscription was subsequently surmounted by a bust of George III, topped by the Royal Arms of that day.

In connexion with the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silver- 436
smiths it may be mentioned that the coinage of the Order
remained legal tender in Malta until 1886, when by a
Government Notice there were called in all coins of "the
late Government of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem."[1]
The principal denominations of the Maltese coinage were
the scudo, the tari, the carlino and the grano or grain, which [178]
in Maltese were called *skut*, *rbighi*, *karlin* and *habba*; and not
only the country people but all Maltese use to this day the old names to denote certain values in our modern coinage. Thus 2½*d*. is described as *tliet karlinijet* (three carlini); half a crown as *tmintax rbighi*, meaning eighteen tari; 1*s*. 3*d*. is invariably *disa' rbghajja*—that is, nine tari.

Malta has no longer a separate coinage of its own, but small bronze coins of one-third of a farthing, still known locally as grains, were struck at the London Mint for use in

---

[1] The standard work on this interesting coinage is Canon Calleja Schembri's *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 2nd edn., 1910). [178]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

436 Malta in the reigns of all the British sovereigns who have ruled in Malta from George IV to George V inclusive.

186 173 178 Let this chapter end with another survival, perhaps the most ubiquitous of all, although its origin antedates the arrival of the Knights by more than four hundred years. It is the red-and-white Maltese flag which is flown throughout the islands side by side with the Union Jack. Long-established tradition has it that the red and white were the colours of the Norman House of Hauteville, and that the flag and the corresponding arms are one of the legacies of Roger de Hauteville, Count of Sicily, Lord of Malta, to this smallest of his dominions. When, between the World Wars, it was suggested to Malta by the English College of Arms that the Colony should regularize its arms by formally recording them at the College, Malta replied that it had borne those arms for nearly three centuries before the foundation of the College by Richard III.

The position was ultimately adjusted with the College in 1943, when Malta's coat-of-arms received the honourable augmentation of the George Cross.

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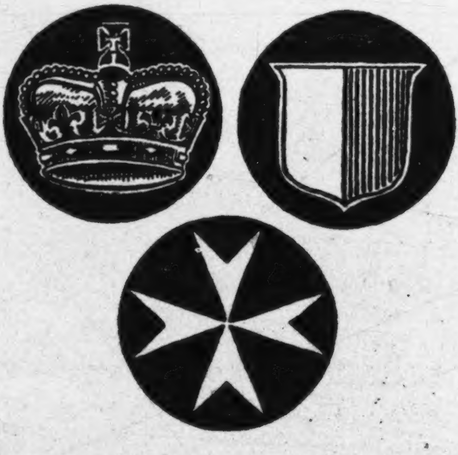

Malta Government Hall-marks for Gold and Silver

CHAPTER I

The Background

Malta and her sister islands, Gozo and Comino, lie midway 131
between Gibraltar and Lebanon, at almost the exact geographical
centre of the Mediterranean. Sicily lies just 58 miles to the north,
Tripoli 220 miles due south and Tunis slightly over 200 miles to
the west. The Maltese archipelago thus forms a port of call be-
tween Europe and North Africa, between the Christian and the
Moslem worlds. The Maltese have been in contact with both for [177]
centuries, and the cultures of both have contributed many traits
which the islanders have adapted to their own use.

Malta, the largest and southernmost island, is seventeen miles long and nine miles wide, and covers an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is only nine miles by five miles, with an area of 26 square miles. Finally, the little island of Comino, which lies in the three-mile-wide channel separating the two larger islands, has an area of one square mile.

The islands are composed entirely of tertiary limestone, and the 133
soil consists of clays and marls. Although the land rises to a
maximum of little more than 800 feet near Dingli, the terrain is [134]
varied, and often broken, with jagged escarpments falling into
narrow valleys, which run out to level fields. A visitor to the 133
islands, especially during the long dry summer, is struck at once 137
by the absence of vegetation and the rocky aspect of the country-
side. This is, in part, a false impression, for although there are few
trees, rubble retaining and boundary walls hide the network of
small cultivated fields. Occasionally, the dark green foliage of a
carob or olive tree reaches over these stone enclosures to add a
sudden splash of colour to the shimmering white-yellow of the
summer landscape.

The soft yellow limestone gives a continuity to the scenery. 133
Houses, villages and whole towns seem to grow up out of the 333
rocky matrix from which they are built, and from which they are
distinguished only by the regular outline of the buildings against

[text continues on p. 3]

the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a 133
gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely 333
populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square 161
miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population den-
sity of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated [137]
countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the
urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The 162
rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly
separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The popu-
lation of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very 16
limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems. The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged 8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000 women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. 175
The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality.
With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known pub-
lished sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to [121]
enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical
perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different [648]

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[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands*, 1960 (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–5.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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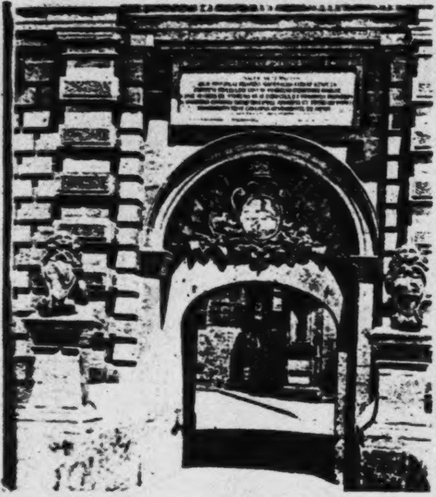
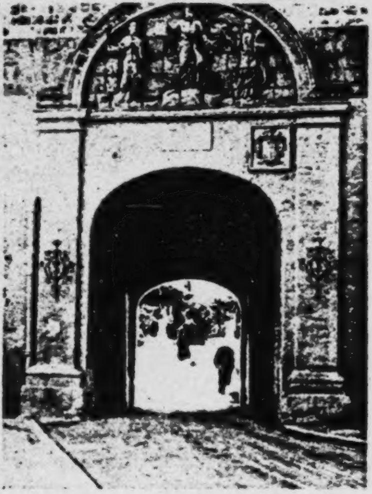


MAIN GATE INTO MDINA, WITH ARMS OF GRAND MASTER MANOEL DE VILHENA
[*See p.* 89.]



INSIDE OF SAME, WITH ARMS OF INGUANEZ FAMILY
[*See p.* 92.]

THE LATE BARONESS INGUANEZ ALIGHTING FROM HER OLD FAMILY CALÈCHE, MDINA

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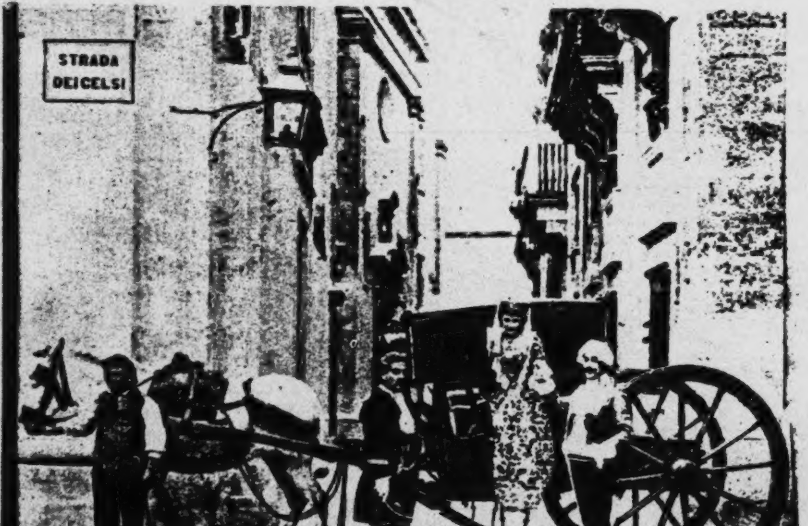

[facing p. 104, (A)]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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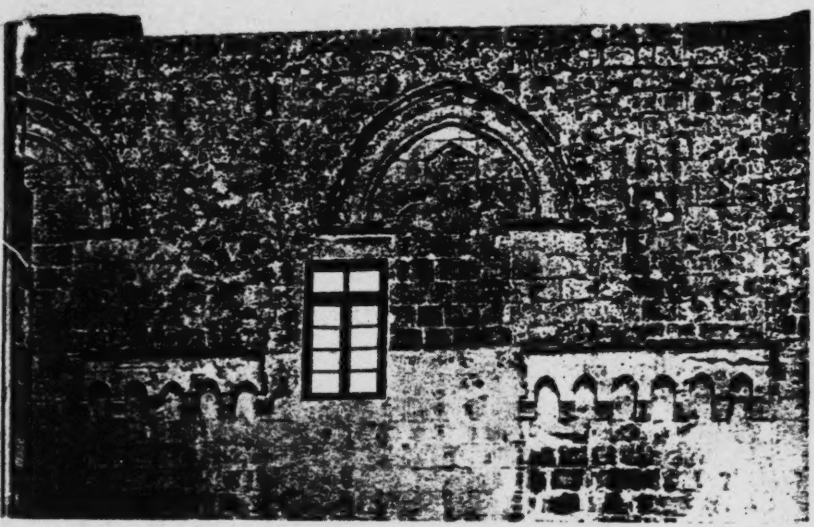
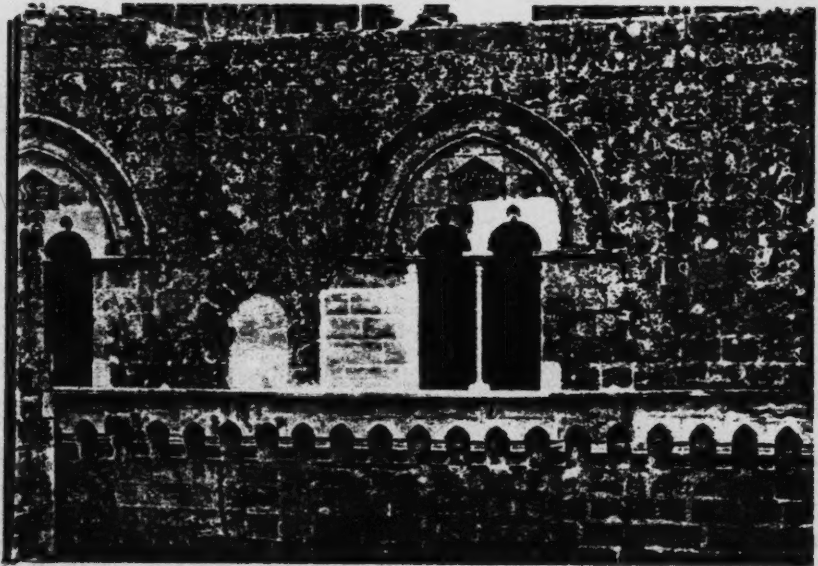


WALL OF GATTO-MURINA PALACE, MDINA, BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION

Observe the lamprey (*murina*) on arcade and arch.

[*See pp.* 93 *and* 141.]



[facing p. 112]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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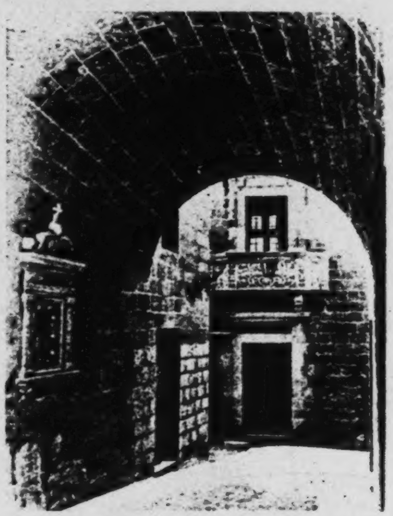

BALCONY OF THE RESTORED BONDI PALACE, GOZO, FROM THE ENTRANCE INTO THE CITADEL
[*See pp.* 141–142 *and* 222.]

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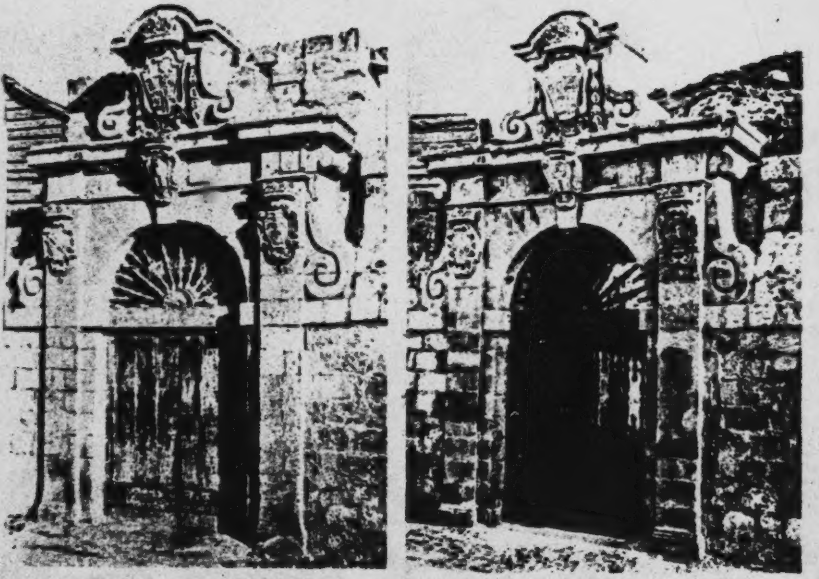

A MONTE DI REDENZIONE GATEWAY NEAR KALAMISTRA, BEFORE AND AFTER RECONDITIONING
[*See p.* 141.]

[facing p. 128]

CHAPTER XVII

Casals and Countryside

311 OWING TO THE DENSITY AND RAPID GROWTH OF THE
656 population, to the lack of soil and to the abundance of
excellent building-stone, which not only takes on in the
342 course of ages a beautiful patina but is easy to work, the
proportion of Malta's built-up area to the area under
cultivation is probably uniquely high. Unique is probably
also the "Red Soil Law" whereby anyone about to erect a
house is compelled to dig up and hand over to the Government
(which removes it for him) any soil there may be on
the site of the future structure, so that the precious earth
may not be buried and lost for ever to the island's cultivators.

133 So precious is it that the smallest pockets, however in-
311. accessibly they may be situated, are jealously conserved.
Malta is low-lying—in the words of Tasso

> *giace Malta fra l'onde occulta, e bassa*

—and only on the thyme-covered cliffs of the south-western
stretch of coast does it rise as high as 800 feet. These cliffs are
wild and rugged and sheer, but here and there, as they drop
precipitously to the sea, narrow ledges of earth-covered rock
cling precariously to their face. But even these *redums*, as
[342] they are termed—the like of which I have seen only on that
hermit-inhabited spur of Mount Athos which is called
Kerasia—are brought into use by the indomitable Maltese
farmer of the locality, who sometimes lives in the caves
beside them with his family and his animals as his Stone Age
predecessor lived in them before him.

311 Thus every nook and cranny of these islands is eloquent
34 of their past: towns; casals; little country chapels, farm-
103 houses and isolated gateways, which are often adorned with
243

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

some sculptured escutcheon; the old stone *fougasses*[1] to be 311
encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny 34
Comino, from whose stony fields, where is cultivated the 103
cumin seed from which the island takes its name, there rises 243
one of the massive square keeps which the Knights scattered
throughout their territory.[2]

The casals are, as has been said in an earlier chapter, not 361
villages, but compact stone townships of tall houses and 341
narrow streets, solidly built in good substantial Baroque 351
architecture. Their outskirts, as likely as not, are dignified
with some ancient country-house concealed behind high 346
walls amid charming gardens—the beauty and seclusion of the Maltese gardens are justly proverbial—while the focus of the casal, both literally and metaphorically, is the parish church. This is generally a great Baroque pile of golden sandstone flanked by two massive towers, but an exception is the Parish Church of Mosta, built in the classical style in the middle of the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts, both technical and financial, of the villagers themselves to the design of the ingenious Maltese architect Grognet de Vassé mentioned in Chapter II. It is topped by a dome that claims to be the third largest in the world, being surpassed in size only by those of S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Peter's in Rome, higher internally than the dome of the Roman Pantheon and exceeding by sixteen feet the diameter of that of S. Paul's in London.

---

[1] Patrick Brydone (*cf.* pp. 143–147) gives an interesting account of this little- [712]
known form of coastal defence; "For we found, to our no small amazement, that
the rocks were not only cut into fortifications but likewise into artillery to defend [713]
these fortifications: being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air: and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel."

[2] An excellent companion for the exploration of the island is F. Weston's [113]
Walks in Malta, published in Valetta. Later booklets include Showell Styles, *Walks and Climbs in Malta* (Valetta, 2nd edn., 1952), and H. H. Hick, *Walks in Gozo* (Malta, 1953).

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Plate XIII. The Grand Harbour, Malta.

Plate XIV. Mgarr Harbour, Gozo.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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[facing P. 32]

(*Courtesy H.M.S.* Falcon. *Crown copyright reserved*)

1. A Maltese Village

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● 341
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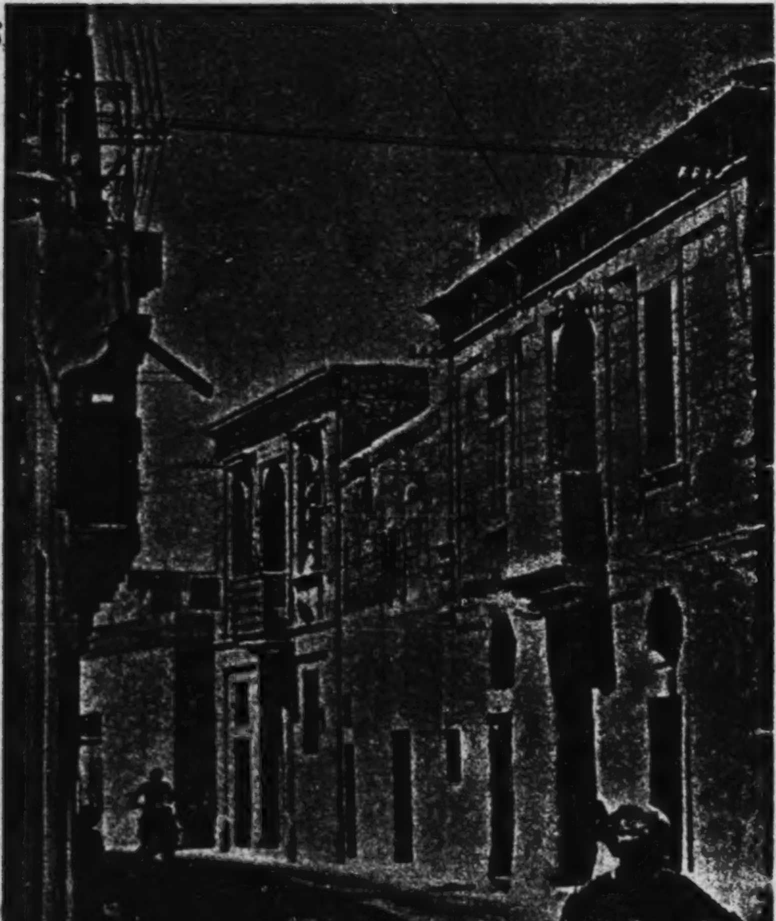

2. A village street

[facing p. 33]

172 rocky surfaces of the island, the tram-lines of neolithic man;
493 and he will notice, if he is observant, that the dimensions of
[136] the flat two-wheeled carts which, with their gaily caparisoned
little ponies or donkeys, are the traditional vehicle of the
Maltese countryman of to-day correspond almost exactly
with those of the carts of his neolithic predecessor, as
136 deduced from the width of these ancient tracks. If he is
interested in strange animals that still survive but must be a
living link with hoary antiquity, he can study on the picturesque,
uninhabited islet of Filfla, now used only as a target
for gun practice, a remarkable lizard of the darkest green
spotted with red (*Lacerta muralis* var. *filfolensis*), which occurs
nowhere else in the world but on this tiny and diminishing
spit of rock.

341. The dominant architectural notes of the Maltese Islands are
megalithic and Baroque, and the gamut thus established can
217. scarcely be called a narrow one. So far as works of art are
172 concerned, the Museum in Valetta, housed before World
War II in the Auberge d'Italie and since 1958 in that of
Provence, contains a scientifically arranged exhibition of
[742] Stone Age culture unrivalled in any other country. This
collection, whose most bizarre items are the astonishing fat
female deities characteristic of Maltese neolithic sculpture,
was organized in chronological sequence by the Museum's
late learned Director, Sir Themistocles Zammit, who made
a second international reputation in the field of Maltese
archæology and excavation after having made an earlier one
in medical research in connexion with undulant, or Malta,
fever.

But the visitor is not obliged to study the activities of
241. these remote peoples solely in museums. If he wishes to see
501 how the distant forbears of the present population cultivated
178 their land he has only to watch the Maltese farmer of to-day
[532] ploughing his field; if he is a student of cultural survivals he
will note the eye of Osiris still painted on the bows of Malta's
sturdy little schooners and characteristic "Gozo boats." If

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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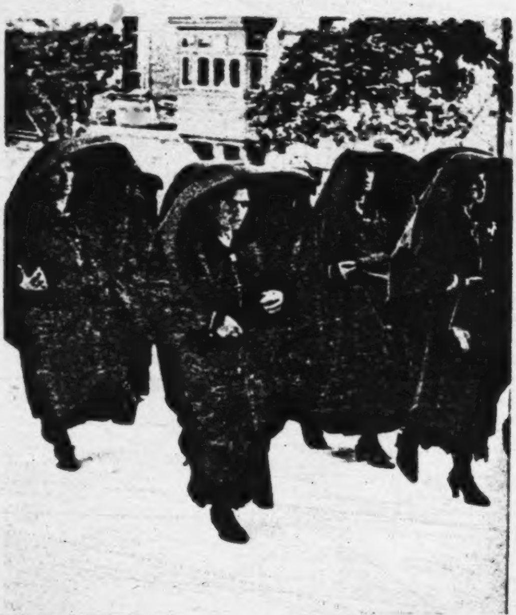

MALTESE WOMEN IN FALDETTAS

[*See pp.* 28-29.]

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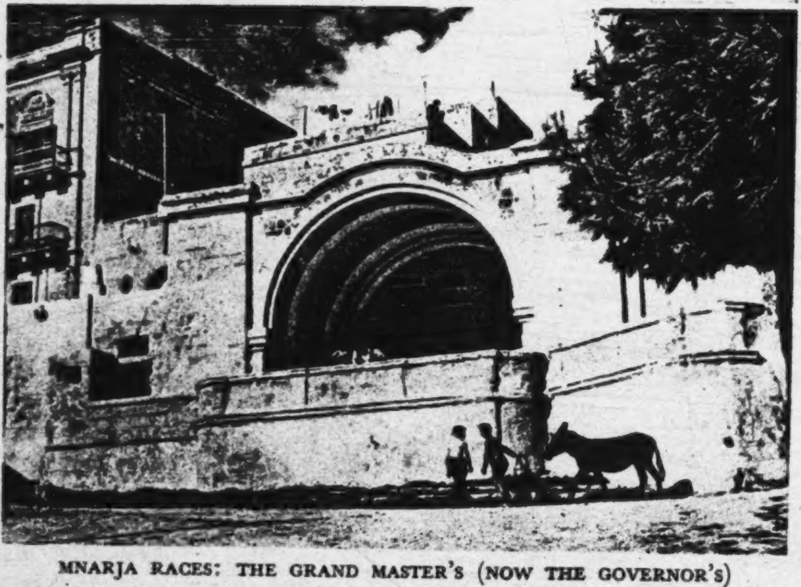

MNARJA RACES: THE GRAND MASTER'S (NOW THE GOVERNOR'S) BOX BELOW MDINA

[*See pp.* 27-28.]

[facing P. 41]

[pp. 41-48 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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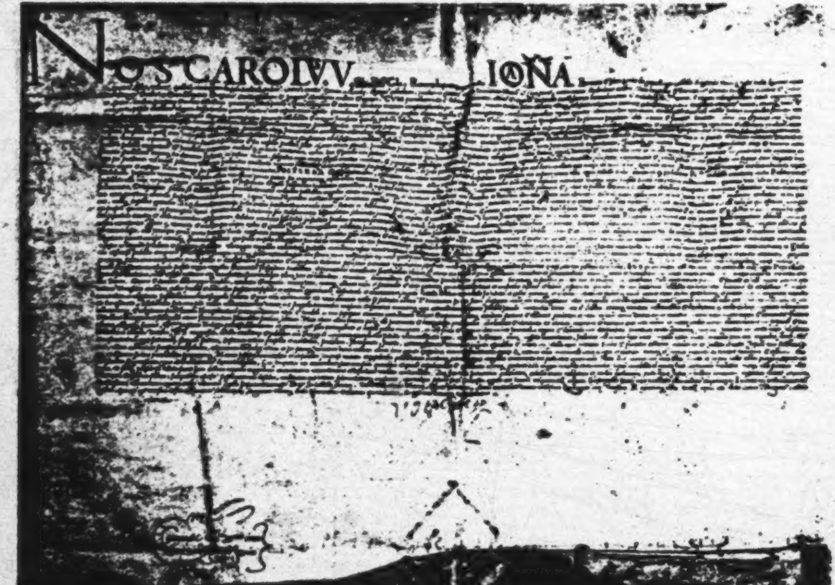
THE PALACE, VALETTA
[*See p.* 58]

GRANT OF MALTA TO THE KNIGHTS OF S. JOHN BY THE EMPEROR CHARLES V
[*See p.* 46.]

175



NOS CAROLV.V. IOÑA

[facing P. 64]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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648

JEWELLED HILT OF SWORD GIVEN BY PHILIP II TO GRAND MASTER LA VALETTE

In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

[*See pp.* 51–52.]

CRYPT OF S. JOHN'S

The tomb of La Valette is in the niche on the left.

[*See pp.* 53–54.]

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[facing p. 65]

[pp. 65-67 not processed]

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VALETTA: AUBERGE DE CASTILE
[*See p.* 60.]

MAIN ROOM OF THE AUBERGE DE PROVENCE (NOW THE MALTA NATIONAL MUSEUM) WHEN USED AS THE COFFEE-ROOM OF THE UNION CLUB
[*See pp.* 60 *and* 63.]

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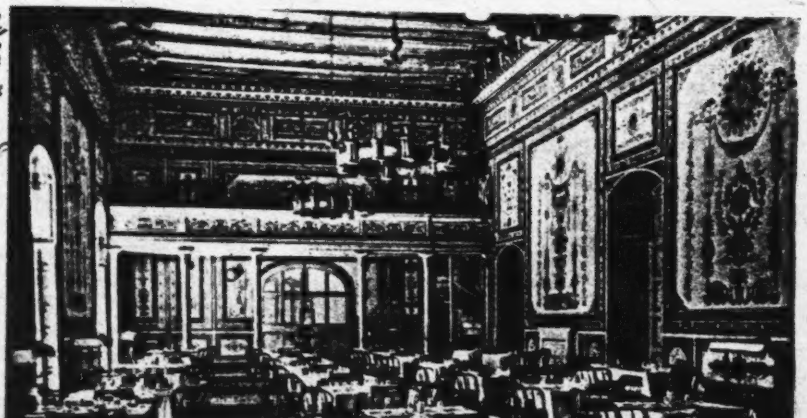

[facing p. 81]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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MDINA, "THE NOTABLE CITY"
In the background Mosta, with its domed church.
[*See pp.* 90 *and* 203.]

THE CATHEDRAL, MDINA, FLOODLIT FOR THE JUBILEE OF KING GEORGE V
[*See p.* 88.]

346
● 341

[facing p. 97]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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MAIN GATE INTO MDINA, WITH ARMS OF GRAND MASTER MANOEL DE VILHENA

[*See p.* 89.]

INSIDE OF SAME, WITH ARMS OF INGUANEZ FAMILY

[*See p.* 92.]

THE LATE BARONESS INGUANEZ ALIGHTING FROM HER OLD FAMILY CALÈCHE, MDINA

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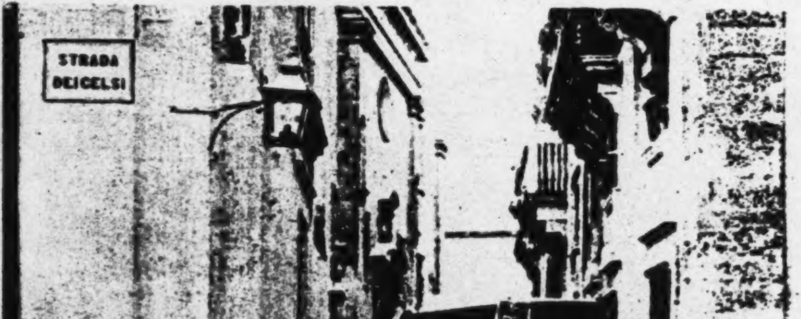

[facing p. 104, (A)]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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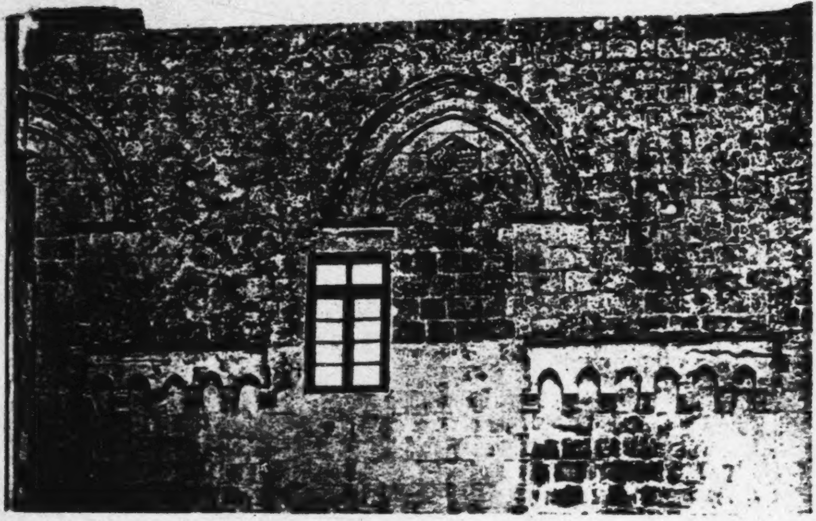

WALL OF GATTO-MURINA PALACE, MDINA, BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION

Observe the lamprey (*murina*) on arcade and arch.

[*See pp.* 93 *and* 141.]

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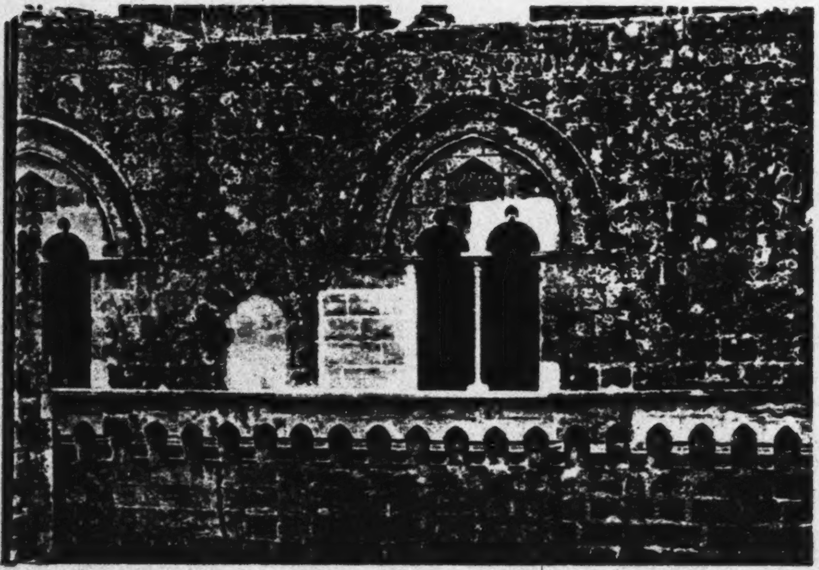

[facing p. 112]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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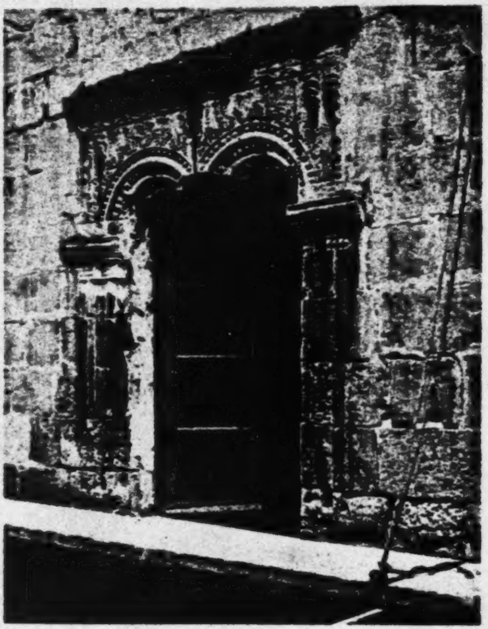
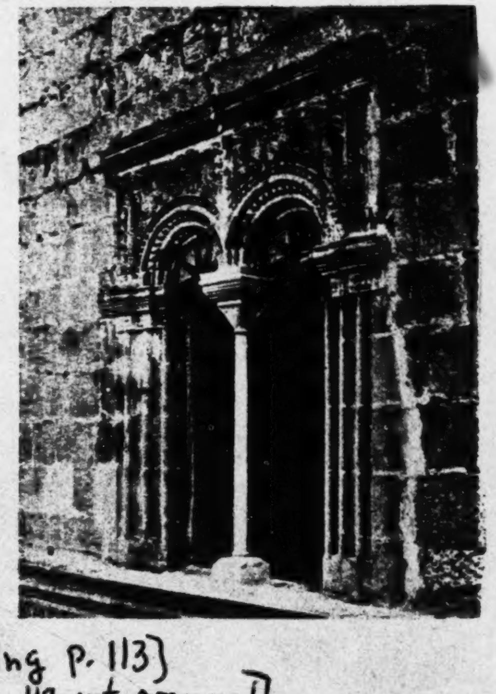


SICULO-NORMAN WINDOW, VITTORIOSA, BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION
[*See p.* 141.]



[facing p. 113]
[pp. 113- 119 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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BALCONY OF THE RESTORED BONDI PALACE, GOZO, FROM THE ENTRANCE INTO THE CITADEL
[*See pp.* 141–142 *and* 222.]

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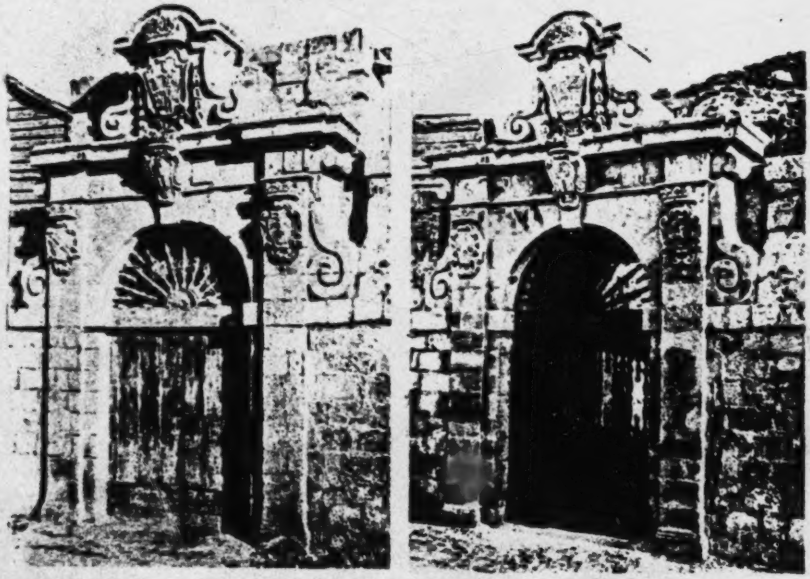

A MONTE DI REDENZIONE GATEWAY NEAR KALAMISTRA, BEFORE AND AFTER RECONDITIONING
[*See p.* 142.]

[facing p. 128]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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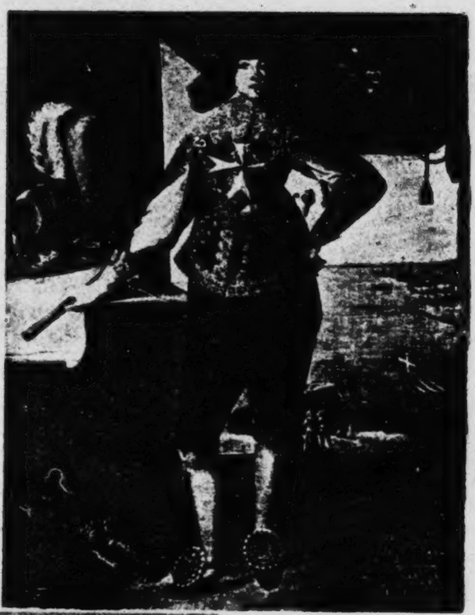

CARDINAL FREDERICK,
LANDGRAVE OF HESSE,
GENERAL OF THE GALLEYS
In the Palace, Valetta. Dated 1644.
[*See p.* 183.]

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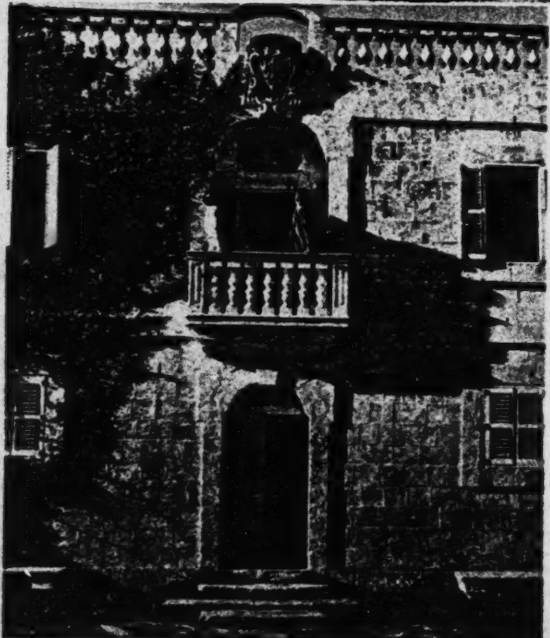


ENTRANCE TO
THE INQUISITOR'S
SUMMER PALACE
[*See pp.* 100-101.]

[facing p. 145]
[pp. 145-160 Not processed]

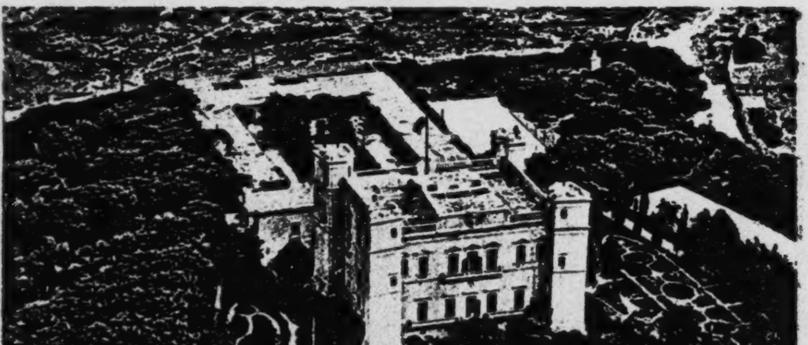
9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

532
793

BUST OF G.M. CARDINAL DE VERDALLE
[*See p.* 190.]

VERDALA CASTLE
[*See pp.* 187–191.]

344
●341



[facing p. 160]

0341
251

OPENING ONE OF THE GRANARIES, FLORIANA
[*See p.* 217.]

193

SOUL IN PURGATORY
[*See p.* 205.]

532

IN A MALTESE GARDEN
[*See p.* 104.]

[facing p. 193]

[pp. 193-196 not processed]

some sculptured escutcheon; the old stone *fougasses*[1] to be 311
encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny 34
Comino, from whose stony fields, where is cultivated the 103
cumin seed from which the island takes its name, there rises 243
one of the massive square keeps which the Knights scattered
throughout their territory.[2]

The casals are, as has been said in an earlier chapter, not
villages, but compact stone townships of tall houses and 361
narrow streets, solidly built in good substantial Baroque 341 ●
architecture. Their outskirts, as likely as not, are dignified 351
with some ancient country-house concealed behind high 346
walls amid charming gardens—the beauty and seclusion of the Maltese gardens are justly proverbial—while the focus of the casal, both literally and metaphorically, is the parish church. This is generally a great Baroque pile of golden sandstone flanked by two massive towers, but an exception is the Parish Church of Mosta, built in the classical style in the middle of the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts, both technical and financial, of the villagers themselves to the design of the ingenious Maltese architect Grognet de Vassé mentioned in Chapter II. It is topped by a dome that claims to be the third largest in the world, being surpassed in size only by those of S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Peter's in Rome, higher internally than the dome of the Roman Pantheon and exceeding by sixteen feet the diameter of that of S. Paul's in London.

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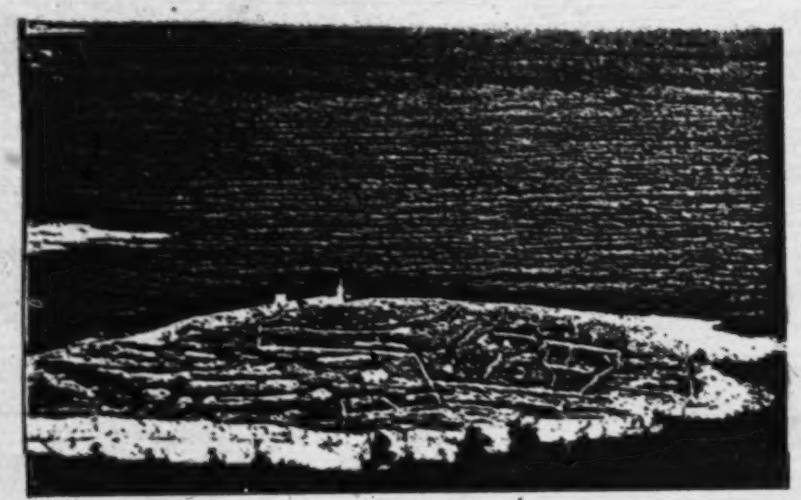
[1] Patrick Brydone (*cf.* pp. 143–147) gives an interesting account of this little- [712]
known form of coastal defence; "For we found, to our no small amazement, that [713]
the rocks were not only cut into fortifications but likewise into artillery to defend these fortifications: being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air: and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel."

[2] An excellent companion for the exploration of the island is F. Weston's [113]
Walks in Malta, published in Valetta. Later booklets include Showell Styles, *Walks and Climbs in Malta* (Valetta, 2nd edn., 1952), and H. H. Hick, *Walks in Gozo* (Malta, 1953).

133



S. PAUL'S ISLAND
[*See pp.* 21, 87 *and* 213.]

SELMUN PALACE
[*See p.* 213.]

• 341/344

[facing p. 208]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the Monte di Redenzione, a foundation established more 655
than three hundred years ago by one Father Rafael, a 175
Maltese Capuchin.

Preaching one day in the year 1607 in S. John's Con- 648
ventual Church, this good friar called upon his hearers to 655
inaugurate a fund for the redemption of the Christian captives 175
of the Barbary States, whose sufferings he depicted in terms of such realism that the Grand Master, Alof de Wignacourt, was able to set up the Monte di Redenzione with the offerings of the congregation and of members of the Order. Later, other charitable persons added or made bequests to the fund, which at first paid a ransom of 70 scudi for each Maltese slave and 150 scudi for a Knight of the Order. Subsequently these rates were raised to 200 and 500 scudi respectively; but, as the wars between the Order and the Barbary States ceased and the latter discontinued their raids on the island, the original object of the trust came to be fulfilled. So its properties were combined with those of the Monte di Pietà and administered by the Order, and thus continue to be administered to the present day by the Malta Government.

The most important property of the Monte di Redenzione 344
is Selmun Castle, which stands on a high eminence over- 341
looking S. Paul's Island and S. Paul's Bay. It is a clumsy replica of Verdala but is none the less impressive with its four towers and general air of a mediæval fortified stronghold. A balcony that completely encircles the castle, towers and all, is a pleasing feature of a building which might otherwise seem heavy and lacking in the gracefulness which Verdala, vast as it is, possesses in so marked a degree. Another attractive little property of the Redenzione is a handsome armorial ornamented gateway of the reign of Grand Master Pinto, standing below Selmun near the junction of the main road between S. Paul's Bay and Mellieha and the track to Kalamistra.

In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, the 000

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

137 that would not disgrace Taormina, or in the summer, when its tangled mass of vegetation forms an almost solid screen of verdure from the blazing sun, it would seem a fitting lair for the daughter of Atlas if it did not rather conjure up, with its figs, its vines, its calamus and its pomegranates, a vision of the Song of Songs.

13 Certainly Gozo is more fertile, less rocky, more verdant than is Malta. Edward Lear called its scenery "pomskizillious and gromphiberous, being as no words can describe its magnificence." It is not broken up to anything like the same extent by the stone and rubble walls which in the larger island so provokingly conceal gardens and fields from all [241] except aviators. In Gozo it is easy to enjoy wide vistas of green corn and purple clover, of terraced cultivation along the contours of its seven flat-topped hills.

13 Like Malta, Gozo ends on its south-western coast in sheer ● 341 rock-faces that rise abruptly as much as 400 feet from the sea. But elsewhere its coast-line is more varied than Malta's, with its pleasant miniature fjords of Xlendi and Xini, the yellow sands of Ramla, the blue lagoon of Qala Dwejra, the mysterious landlocked bay of Kawra, the grim cliffs of Ta Ċenċ and Ras il Wardija. Its architecture, too, is highly characteristic, and although its villages bear a general resemblance to the casals of Malta, they can be distinguished from these by the handsome carved stone balconies which have happily remained one of Gozo's pleasantest and most live traditions. These balconies are a feature throughout the island but are to be seen at their best in the Manderaggio of Victoria, for Gozo, too, has its Manderaggio.

361 7/2 The capital of the island, Rabat or Victoria—Rabat because it is the suburb of the walled fortress above it—sprawls pleasantly at the foot of the great rock on which rises, like Edinburgh Castle, its bastioned and embattled citadel. This high place was designed as a stronghold, a place of refuge from the Barbary pirates, just as were the little hill-towns of the Riviera, Eze and many another, that look down on the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

361 Corniche from heights as inaccessible as nature and man's
712 ingenuity could make them. When the marauders from
North Africa ceased to be a menace, the citadel was partly
evacuated for the lower town, but happily was never
abandoned completely. Even now it contains the cathedral
of the diocese and the Law Court and Public Registry,
formerly the residence of the Governors of Gozo; and,
although many of its ancient houses are in ruins, a few are
still inhabited.

175 One interesting little lane with façades of the thirteenth
717 and fourteenth centuries was restored by the Government
● 341 before the outbreak of the Second World War, as has been
654 the handsome Renaissance building facing the entrance to
the citadel latterly known as the Bondi Palace, as related at
the end of Chapter XIII. One of the houses in the lane at
one time belonged, as an inscription testifies, to the soldier
Bernard, "*miles Bernardus*," who was killed at the capture
of the citadel by the Turks under Sinan Pasha in 1551. When
he saw that the fortress could hold out no longer this dauntless
man took the lives of his wife and two daughters with his
own hand to save them from being sold into captivity, and
then fell, fighting to the end. The walls and fortifications
of the citadel are happily well preserved.

101 Gozo was Ogygia or Gaulos to the Greeks, *gaulos* (γαῦλος)
being the word the Greeks had for the round merchant-boats
of their rivals, the Phœnicians. From Gaulos it became
Gaulum to the Romans, then appears on Idrisi's map of
1154 as Ghudash, and in modern Maltese is known as
Ghawdex (pronounced Audesh), its Bishop signing as
484 *Episcopus Gaudisiensis*. The shortest ferry-crossing between
505 the two islands is only four miles, yet many Gozitans have
never been to Malta while the overwhelming majority of
Maltese have never been to Gozo.

181 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times
186 somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are
regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

●341
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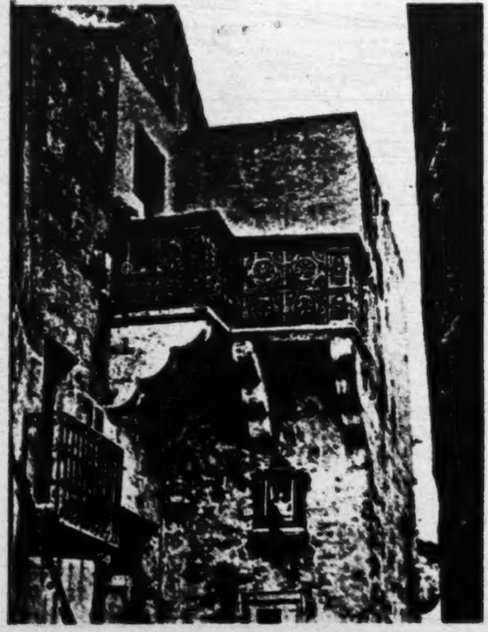

CHARACTERISTIC STONE BALCONY, VICTORIA, GOZO
[*See p.* 220.]

133

LANDLOCKED BAY OF KAWRA, GOZO
[*See p.* 220.]

224

[facing P. 224]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

712 Among the more accessible survivals of the Order is the
175 large and impressive Fort Chambray, which commands the
648 island's principal port of Mġarr. This stronghold was built,
as we have already seen, by Jacques de Chambray, one of the
last of the great Admirals of the Order, when he was
Governor[1] of Gozo in the middle of the eighteenth century
so that the island should no longer be at the mercy of every
raiding enemy. Not that Fort Chambray had ever to endure
a siege at the hands of the Barbary pirates. Its value in that
direction was mainly a prophylactic one. But it did serve a
military purpose during the death-pangs of the Order in
1798, when the Gozitans under their Governor and three
of the Knights shut themselves up within its walls, determined
to hold out as long as they could against the surprised French,
who had not expected any resistance.

344 Then there is the Banca Giuratale, a graceful, semicircular
●341 Baroque structure which Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena
erected at the end of the main square of Victoria as the offices
341 of the Jurats of Gozo. Another was until 1943—alas, that
342 the past tense has to be used here—the charming manor
outside Xewkija known as the Torri Gourgion. Although
it had fallen somewhat from its high estate and had been
reduced to the status of a farmhouse, this unspoiled piece of
seventeenth-century rural architecture, embellished by a
charming well, yet retained externally all the dignity of that
lordly epoch. Its stone drop-boxes alternating with elaborate
stone escutcheons, its tall staircase tower topped by a conspicuous
dome, its suggestion of the fortified country-house
—all these features made it the only structure of its kind in
the Maltese Islands.

342 It is indeed lamentable that it should have had to be razed
648 to the ground in 1943, not by enemy action but to make
room for a temporary American aerodrome required in

[643] [1] The Governor of Gozo, known in Maltese as the Hakem, lived in the house in the Citadel which, as has been said, is now the Law Court and Public Registry.

342 648 connexion with the invasion of Sicily and destined to be used only once.[1]

Lastly, to prove that Gozo lives not only in the past, let me mention the pilgrimage church of Ta Pinu, a lofty 346 basilica in the beautiful white limestone of the island com-
344 pleted as recently as 1931. This shrine is impressive as an example of modern Romanesque no less than as proof of the active piety of a laborious and God-fearing people.

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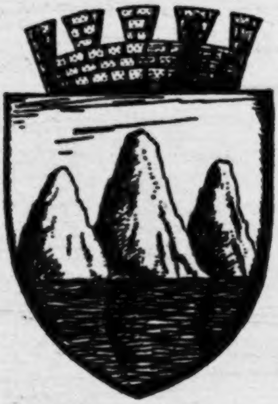
[1] A public-spirited citizen of Xewkija, Mr L. Zammit Haber, has piously preserved all the carved escutcheons, inscriptions and balcony stones of the Torri Gourgion.

186



Arms of Gozo

[PP. 228 – 232 have not been Processed]

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table
only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension
366 of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised
shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops,
and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of
home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War,
the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly
to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The
petrolju van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on
paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
[262] addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free
distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
[749] by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation
distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home
178 was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a stair-
342 case frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic
life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
[351] enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were
small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for
animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump
and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
[312] emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
[364] summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can
only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

[491] Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
[377] Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has
been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
[206] north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the
Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
[546] Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent
241 family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the
village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese
agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the
village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have
improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now
greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them,
thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee.
Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village
have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction
not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and
functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community
has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he
was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing
individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old
order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all,
a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a
changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113
1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 53.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Besley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1960.

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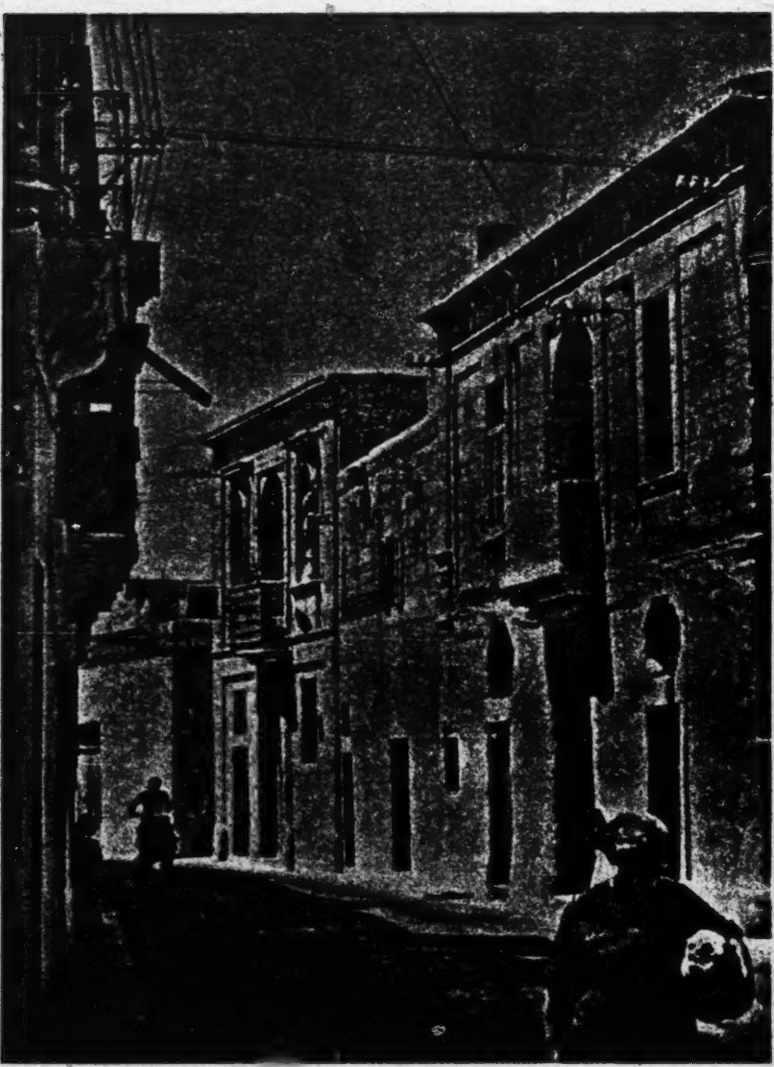
● 342



2. A village street

[facing p. 33]

000 authorities each year.

*159 Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since
474 its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the
234 present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work
434 of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In
[432] January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk
and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling
some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a
nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me".
Both his grandfather and father were herdsmam with goats but
it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in
[454] for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of
the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

*159 Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old,
423 and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise
234 yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop
[427] his own property since the war in order to qualify for the
necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household
● 342 is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead
351 off to the gound floor living rooms, to the goat shed and
cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room,
423 to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street.
From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

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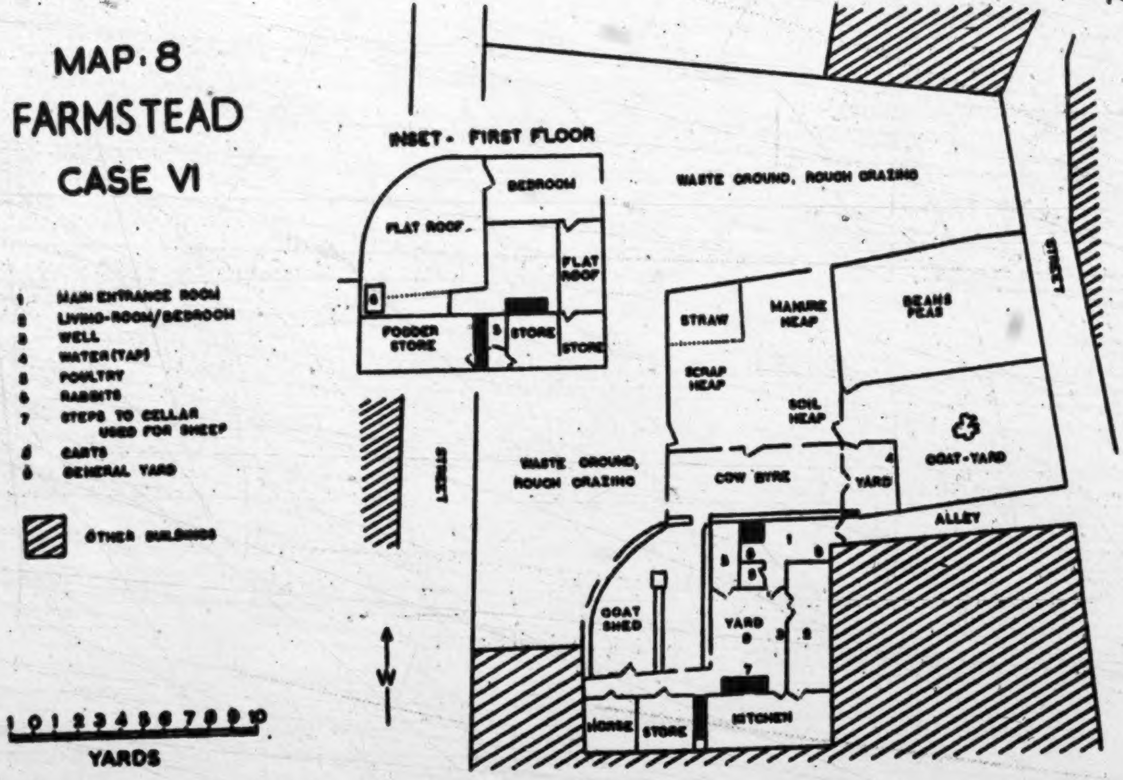
MAP · 8
FARMSTEAD
CASE VI

[following p. 102]


INSET - FIRST FLOOR
BEDROOM
FLAT ROOF
FLAT ROOF
FODDER STORE
STORE
STORE
6
5
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STRAW
MANURE HEAP
BEANS PEAS
SCRAP HEAP
SOIL HEAP
COW BYRE
YARD
GOAT-YARD
STREET
STREET
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
ALLEY
GOAT SHED
YARD
HORSE
STORE
KITCHEN
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
W
1 MAIN ENTRANCE ROOM
2 LIVING-ROOM/BEDROOM
3 WELL
4 WATER (TAP)
5 POULTRY
6 RABBITS
7 STEPS TO CELLAR USED FOR SHEEP
8 CARTS
9 GENERAL YARD
OTHER BUILDINGS
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
YARDS

NOTES

000 [103] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [127] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analyzed by Charlton (B/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Welts, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

● [342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

[527] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/266).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

[124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made (1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

although the Maltese form was probably dictated by the 291
need to cover the head when entering a church. Its one [171]
drawback is that it takes up a lot of space, more space, [494]
unfortunately, than is available in the motor-bus, modern Malta's form of land transport. Let it be hoped that it will survive these disabilities, for it is not only unique but also an asset if those of the younger generation who have abandoned it in favour of the banal dress of everywhere else would only realize the fact, enhancing beauty while discreetly veiling any imperfections. These young ladies should ponder the words of Monsieur André Maurois in his little sketch of Malta:

> When its wearer moves, the *faldetta* is filled with air, and the Maltese girls, tripping in twos and threes along the streets, look like flotillas of graceful barques with black sails, blown along their course by the wind of destiny.

Oddly enough another French visitor and Academician anticipated by just a century, and in almost the same terms, Monsieur Maurois's charming flight, or perhaps echo, of fancy. Monsieur de Lamartine, visiting Malta with his English wife in 1832, describes the *ghonnella* as

> a half-cloak of black silk . . . of a light texture caught by a breeze, suggesting the sail of a skiff whose capricious folds alternately conceal and reveal the mysterious figure of the wearer, which seems able to escape at will from its embrace.

In the Malta of an earlier age, when the lives of Maltese 562
women and girls were closely circumscribed, the *ghonnella* 291
was not the only aid to their seclusion. Those who wander 342
about the country districts will notice here and there that the 584
older farmhouses have no windows giving on to the street; 824
the Maltese countrywoman, like her Spanish sister, had to turn her face inward, not outward. But what the houses had, and some still retain, were stone brackets on the outer wall, made to hold the pots of sweet basil which showed that

562 a marriageable daughter lived within. One pot of basil to
●342 each marriageable girl. So the potential swain could tell at a
584 glance whereabouts to loiter for a discreet preview and
824 what address, should he be interested, to give to the marriage-
291 broker.

[pp 31–55 of text not processed. Plates facing pp. 40, 41, 48 and 49 have been processed].

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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SACRED INFIRMARY: PART OF LONG WARD AFTER REMOVAL OF PARTITION WALL

[*See pp.* 66 *and* 141.]

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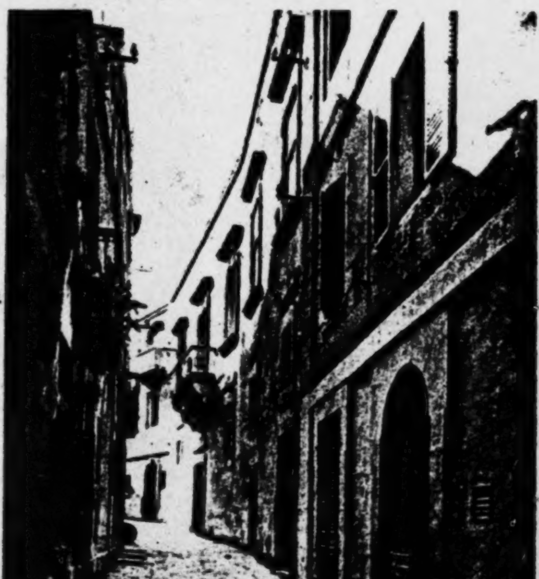
● 342



AUBERGE OF ENGLAND AND HOUSE OF SIR OLIVER STARKEY, VITTORIOSA (BIRGU)

[*See pp.* 69 *and* 140.]

[facing P. 96]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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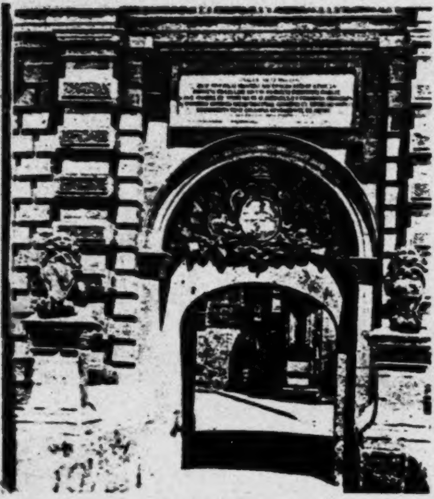
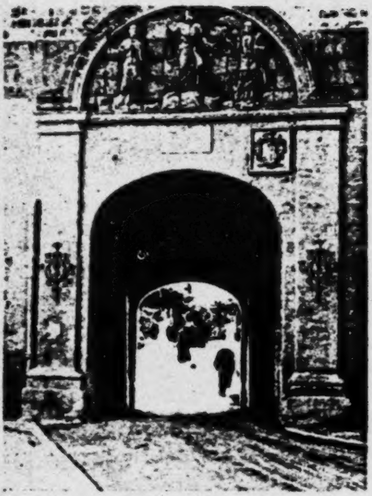


MAIN GATE INTO MDINA, WITH ARMS OF GRAND MASTER MANOEL DE VILHENA
[*See p.* 89.]



INSIDE OF SAME, WITH ARMS OF INGUANEZ FAMILY
[*See p.* 92.]

THE LATE BARONESS INGUANEZ ALIGHTING FROM HER OLD FAMILY CALÈCHE, MDINA

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● 342
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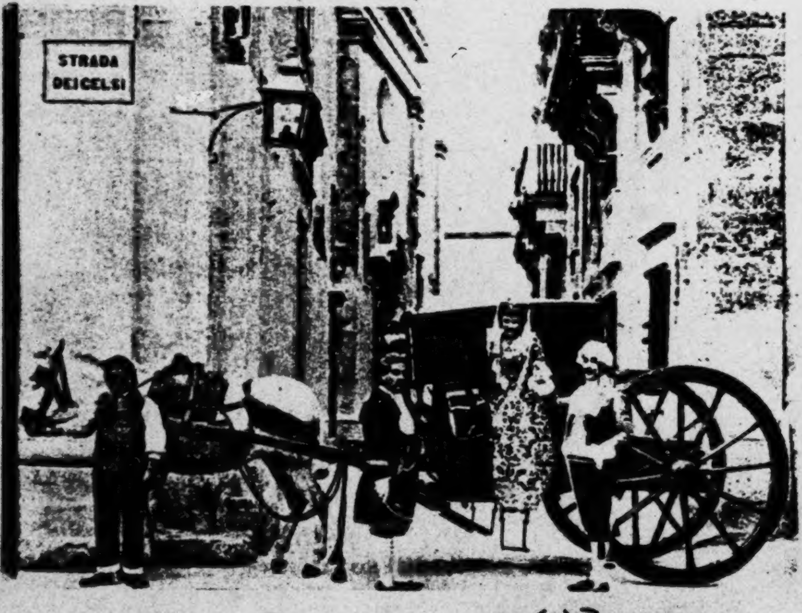

[facing p. 104, (A)]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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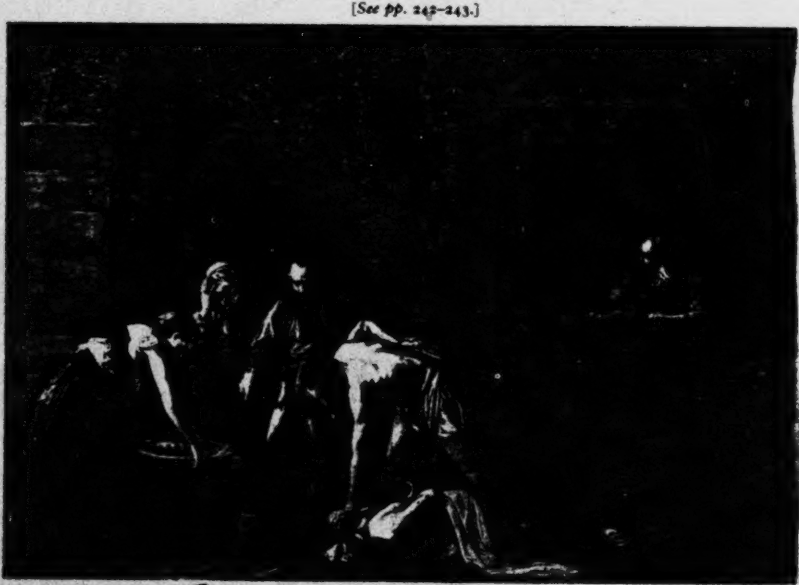
NAVE OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA, WITH ITS TAPESTRIES DISPLAYED
[*See pp.* 177–180.]

BEHEADING OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST, BY CARAVAGGIO, IN THE ORATORY OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA
[*See pp.* 242–243.]

532



[facing P. 129]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

341
346

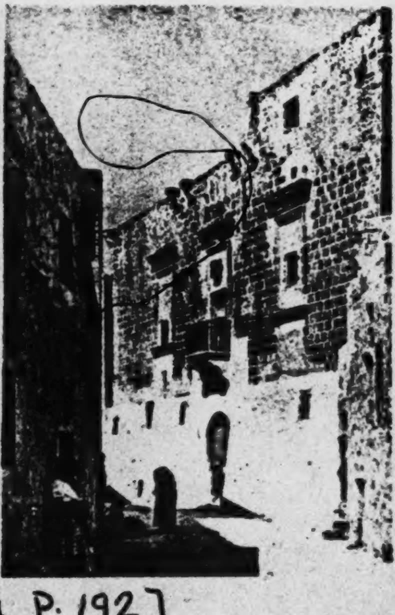
QUEEN SQUARE AND THE ROYAL LIBRARY, VALETTA
[*See pp.* 199-200.]

A PROCESSION EMERGING FROM
S. JOHN'S

796 ←

363
342 →

STREET IN SIGGIEWI
Note the "fat" mouldings.
[*See p* 67.]



[facing P. 192]

CHAPTER XVII

Casals and Countryside

311 OWING TO THE DENSITY AND RAPID GROWTH OF THE
656 population, to the lack of soil and to the abundance of excellent building-stone, which not only takes on in the
342 course of ages a beautiful patina but is easy to work, the proportion of Malta's built-up area to the area under cultivation is probably uniquely high. Unique is probably also the "Red Soil Law" whereby anyone about to erect a house is compelled to dig up and hand over to the Government (which removes it for him) any soil there may be on the site of the future structure, so that the precious earth may not be buried and lost for ever to the island's cultivators.

133 So precious is it that the smallest pockets, however in-
311. accessibly they may be situated, are jealously conserved. Malta is low-lying—in the words of Tasso

giace Malta fra l'onde occulta, e bassa

—and only on the thyme-covered cliffs of the south-western stretch of coast does it rise as high as 800 feet. These cliffs are wild and rugged and sheer, but here and there, as they drop precipitously to the sea, narrow ledges of earth-covered rock cling precariously to their face. But even these *redums*, as
[342] they are termed—the like of which I have seen only on that hermit-inhabited spur of Mount Athos which is called Kerasia—are brought into use by the indomitable Maltese farmer of the locality, who sometimes lives in the caves beside them with his family and his animals as his Stone Age predecessor lived in them before him.

311 Thus every nook and cranny of these islands is eloquent
34 of their past: towns; casals; little country chapels, farm-
103 houses and isolated gateways, which are often adorned with
243

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

36/ 363 342 There is nothing in the rest of the Old World quite like the casals of Malta. Mostly built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the older parts of them consist of narrow winding streets except for the square facing the parish church. The houses, of uniform height, present a front of uninterrupted masonry, the façades broken only by the boxed balconies typical of Malta. Here and there the sculptured porticoes and elaborately decorated windows and cornices of a nobleman's mansion interrupt the simplicity of the other houses, but the streets preserve that enchanting homogeneity of period which on a larger scale distinguishes Valetta from other cities of its size. They are vernacular architecture in the fullest sense of the term. The stonework bears the lovely patina of age; any patches of garden are out of sight. In the more densely inhabited parts of the island the growth of population may bring about a confluence of two or even three casals, as in the case of Attard, Lija and Balzan.

To wander about these great stone villages by full moon or on a night lit by the illuminations and fireworks of the annual *festa* is to experience a translation in time more realistic than any suggested by stage or screen.

643 Samuel Taylor Coleridge records that it was Sir Alexander Ball's "custom to visit each casal throughout the island once, if not twice, in the course of each summer: and during my residence there I had the honour of being his constant, and most often his only, companion in these rides; to which I owe some of the happiest and most instructive hours of my life." A mid-twentieth century Governor, Sir Charles Bonham-Carter, followed with success this practice of regular weekly visits to the casals.

2

794 The Maltese are among the most devoted sons and daughters of the Roman Catholic Church. They are, men and women alike, assiduous at their public devotions; there

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

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CHARACTERISTIC STONE BALCONY, VICTORIA, GOZO
[*See p.* 220.]

133

LANDLOCKED BAY OF KAWRA, GOZO
[*See p.* 220.]

224

[facing P. 224]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

712 175 648 Among the more accessible survivals of the Order is the large and impressive Fort Chambray, which commands the island's principal port of Mġarr. This stronghold was built, as we have already seen, by Jacques de Chambray, one of the last of the great Admirals of the Order, when he was Governor[1] of Gozo in the middle of the eighteenth century so that the island should no longer be at the mercy of every raiding enemy. Not that Fort Chambray had ever to endure a siege at the hands of the Barbary pirates. Its value in that direction was mainly a prophylactic one. But it did serve a military purpose during the death-pangs of the Order in 1798, when the Gozitans under their Governor and three of the Knights shut themselves up within its walls, determined to hold out as long as they could against the surprised French, who had not expected any resistance.

344 341 341 342 Then there is the Banca Giuratale, a graceful, semicircular Baroque structure which Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena erected at the end of the main square of Victoria as the offices of the Jurats of Gozo. Another was until 1943—alas, that the past tense has to be used here—the charming manor outside Xewkija known as the Torri Gourgion. Although it had fallen somewhat from its high estate and had been reduced to the status of a farmhouse, this unspoiled piece of seventeenth-century rural architecture, embellished by a charming well, yet retained externally all the dignity of that lordly epoch. Its stone drop-boxes alternating with elaborate stone escutcheons, its tall staircase tower topped by a conspicuous dome, its suggestion of the fortified country-house—all these features made it the only structure of its kind in the Maltese Islands.

342 648 It is indeed lamentable that it should have had to be razed to the ground in 1943, not by enemy action but to make room for a temporary American aerodrome required in

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[643] [1] The Governor of Gozo, known in Maltese as the Hakem, lived in the house in the Citadel which, as has been said, is now the Law Court and Public Registry.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

● 342 connexion with the invasion of Sicily and destined to be
648 used only once.[1]

Lastly, to prove that Gozo lives not only in the past, let
346 me mention the pilgrimage church of Ta Pinu, a lofty
basilica in the beautiful white limestone of the island com-
341 pleted as recently as 1931. This shrine is impressive as an
example of modern Romanesque no less than as proof
of the active piety of a laborious and God-fearing people.

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[1] A public-spirited citizen of Xewkija, Mr L. Zammit Habet, has piously preserved all the carved escutcheons, inscriptions and balcony stones of the Torri Gourgion.

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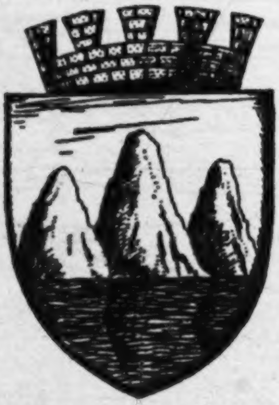

Arms of Gozo

[PP. 228 – 232 have not been Processed]

000 for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc. Livestock harness is
492 simple in type consisting of head harness and collar. Working bullocks, now
rarely used, are also equipped with collars for traction but the guiding reins
are attached to the horns. Country carts are unsprung, wooden frames resting
493 directly on the metal axles. That the ruggedness of their construction is only
equalled by the toughness of the draught animals is evinced by their presence
on places such as Dingli Undercliff, or the cliffsides of the Wied il-Luq
(Buskett).

343 The solidly built stone huts or *orfa* that are to be found on most holdings may be regarded as part of the farmers' 'equipment' rather than his habitation. The simplest and most numerous are simple one-roomed cubes, some five yards square, strongly constructed, usually of worked stone blocks with wood and *torba* roofs. These 'blockhouses', for such they appear, serve as storehouses for implements and crops, for guns and birdcatching equipment, as well as for shelter during the 'siesta' hours and bad weather. Their cost in construction labour, and the pride that does into the simple furnishing of what is the farmers 'den', as well as the deceptive appearance of dispersed settlement that they give, suggests that further investigation into their origins might prove valuable. In general terms, they seem to be a natural response to the marked concentration of settlement in the casals. They are far less numerous in the western region of more recent and dispersed settlement. The larger, two-roomed and two-storied types are used mainly as summer working residences, when a whole family may move out of its casal to the main holding.

407 These implements and types of equipment are one facet of the complex of traditional cultivation techniques - techniques based on the intense and continuous application of uncosted hand labour. A brief examination of the working characteristics of some of the implements is a necessary introduction to a discussion of general cultivation techniques.

The *moħriet* (Plate XIX) is used as an animal-drawn hoe rather than as a plough proper. It is light and can be carried by the cultivator along narrow field paths and across rugged terrain. Its negotiability is limited only by the ease of access demanded by the draught animals. The 'rotavator' (Plate XX) alone of modern mechanical implements can rival it in this respect. On coarse soils, often only a few inches deep, cross tilling by hoe or *ard* seems perfectly satisfactory for tilth making. A vertically applied tool such as the true spade cannot be utilised in such soils, while all but the simplest mouldboard ploughs are too clumsy for use in small terraced fields. Both *ard* and hoe are used in garden rather than field style and their only disadvantages lie in the slowness of the work performed. Here lies the especial advantage of the rotavator that can, under reasonable conditions, be used for tilling six *tmien* of land a day as compared with about two or three for the *ard* and one for the hoe. (Figures are necessarily approximate averages.)

178 241 311 Cultivation techniques and the farming landscapes which they have produced are now in a critical stage of development. For millennia, a slowly increasing population has been utilising the natural land resources more and more intensively and also supplementing them by artificial works. Until the early nineteenth century, social and tenurial obstructions to full land use on the one hand, and wealth derived from the overseas possessions of the Knights of Malta on the other, little affected the basic land hunger of the rural community. During the period of British occupation, however, externally derived income has brought with it more and more non-agricultural activity. Opportunities for non-farm work have increased and so has socio-economic dissatisfaction with arduous and limited rural life. The stage has now been reached at which land reclamation and land abandonment; intensification of effort and neglect, are proceeding simultaneously. An examination of those landscape features which are products of farming techniques suggests that this stage is now critical.

242 311 Land reclamation and the extension of the cultivable area are still going on. At several points on the Delimara peninsula, material is being carried from the cliff foot and from old huts and dwellings and spread over the existing thin and discontinuous soil cover. On this, sulla as a soil building leguminous crop

[see page 306 -- Analyst]

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 C. Livestock.

231 234 (i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

(ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

* D. Capital.

159 [472] (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

* E. Labour.

159 464 407 427 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

(ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

(iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

(iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

* F. Production and Sales.

159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa bagħli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the
corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-
[406] house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-
driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
●[343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils
tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
241 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
433 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to culti-
434 vate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
829 to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
[464] heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at
least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to
qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however
content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the
lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the
most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative
(Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first
suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having
the money than letting the Government get it. This belief
that the Government is behind everything is characteristic
(Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organiza-
tion distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossi-
bility of achieving anything above low living standards.
Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet
clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case
among many of his generation and it may be that he will have
difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily
of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and
new equipment with Government financial and advisory assis-
tance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The prob-
lem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young
men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
[654] to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agricul-
ture to the full but it has done comparatively little for
the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at
least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to
stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
794 themselves responsible for much of the labouring work. Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939); this in a parish which even ten years later had no more than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

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871 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor) Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was "sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
[671] elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

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759
175 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of 1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6). As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social, as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the village, and another of the traditional functions of the Priest passed to specialist hands.

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[435] After this, interest was turned again to building and the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers themselves were responsible for a great deal of the building work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[Frontispiece, facing Title Page]

● 344
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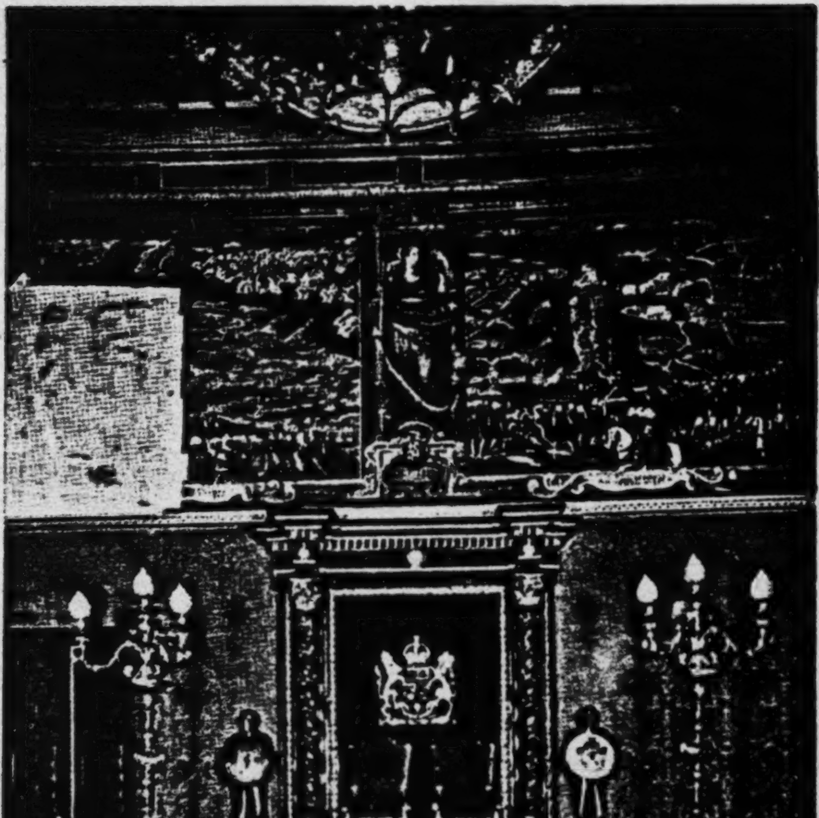

THE PALACE, VALETTA: THRONE IN HALL OF S. MICHAEL AND S. GEORGE

Above, portions of the frescoes depicting the Great Siege. The patch over the fresco to the left of the throne covers temporarily the portion of it damaged by bombing.

Fr.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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● 344

THE PALACE, VALETTA
[*See p.* 58]

64

GRANT OF MALTA TO THE KNIGHTS OF S. JOHN BY THE EMPEROR CHARLES V
[*See p.* 46.]

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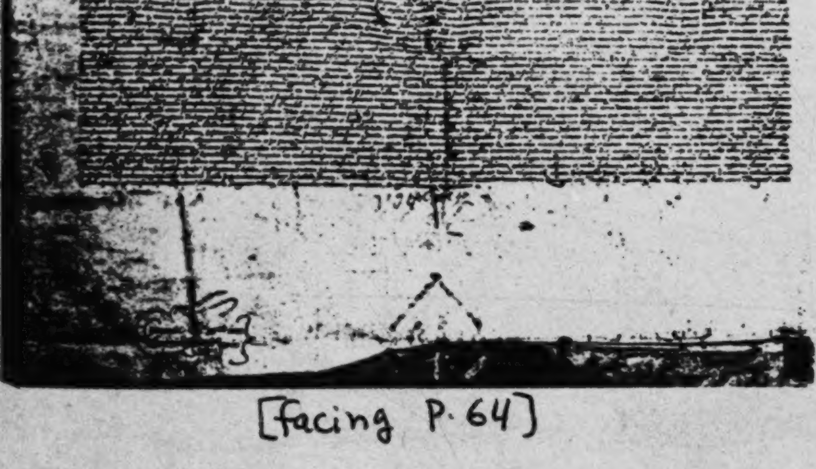

NOS CAROLVS
IONA.

[facing P. 64]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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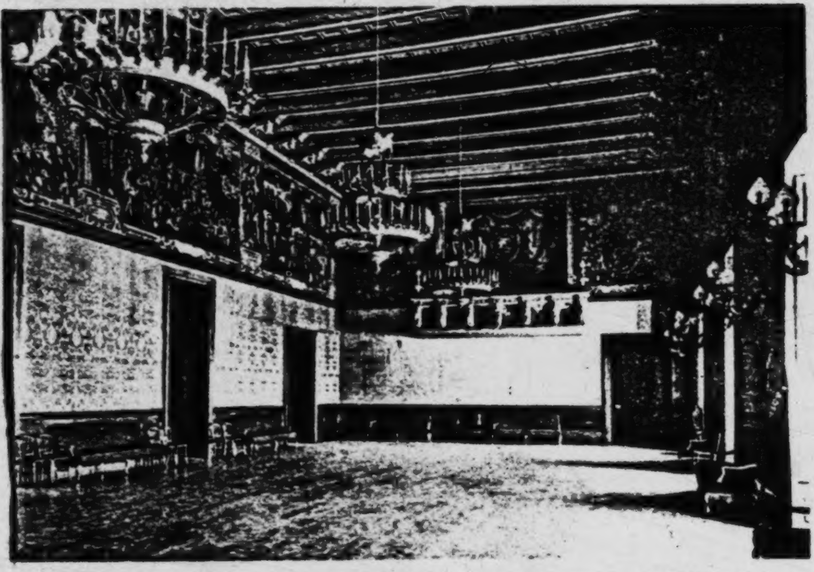

HALL OF S. MICHAEL AND S. GEORGE, SHOWING FRESCOES OF THE GREAT SIEGE AND MUSICIANS' GALLERY FROM THE GREAT CARRACK OF RHODES
[*See pp.* 48–49, 52 *and* 181.]

TOMB OF DRAGUT IN TRIPOLI (BARBARY)
[*See p.* 53.]

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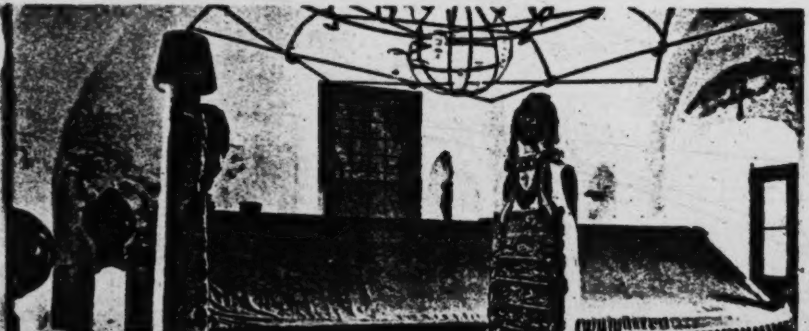

[facing p. 80]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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VALETTA: AUBERGE DE CASTILE

[*See p.* 60.]

MAIN ROOM OF THE AUBERGE DE PROVENCE (NOW THE MALTA NATIONAL MUSEUM) WHEN USED AS THE COFFEE-ROOM OF THE UNION CLUB

[*See pp.* 60 *and* 63.]

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● 344

[facing P. 81]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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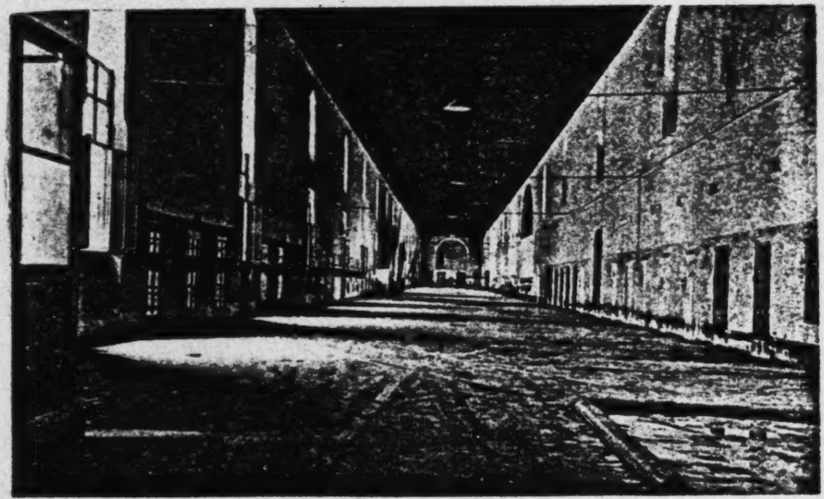

SACRED INFIRMARY: PART OF LONG WARD AFTER REMOVAL OF PARTITION WALL
[*See pp.* 66 *and* 141.]

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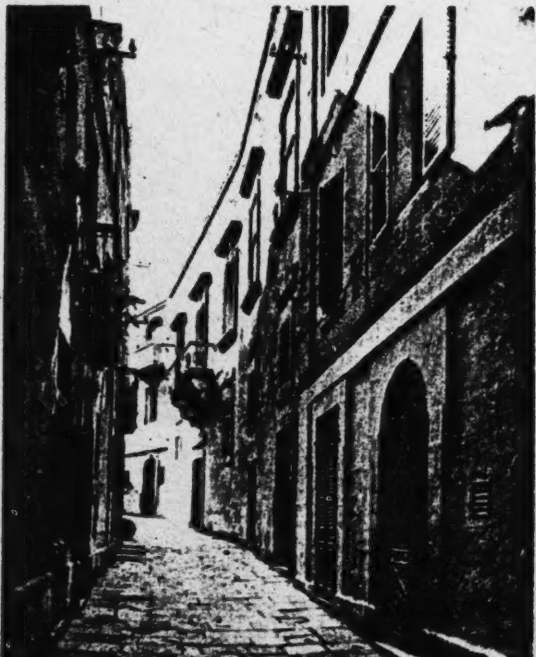
AUBERGE OF ENGLAND AND HOUSE OF SIR OLIVER STARKEY, VITTORIOSA (BIRGU)
[*See pp.* 69 *and* 140.]



[facing p. 96]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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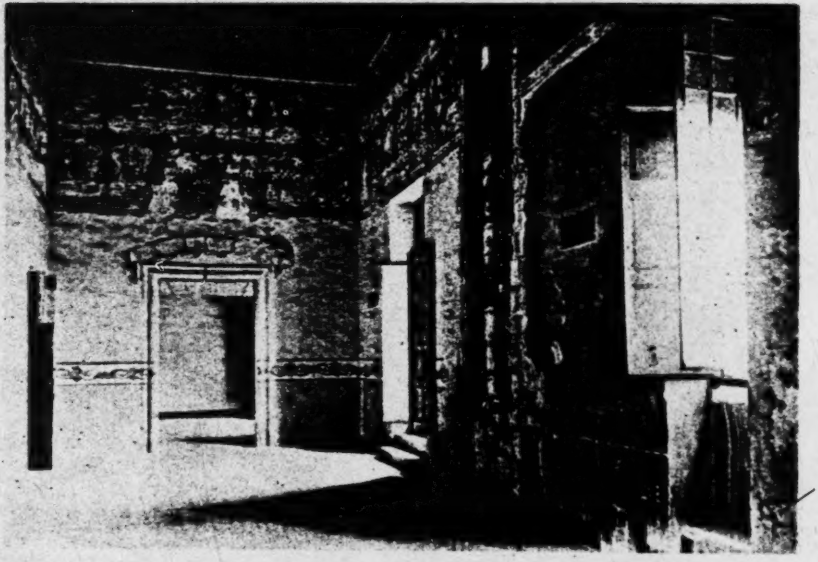
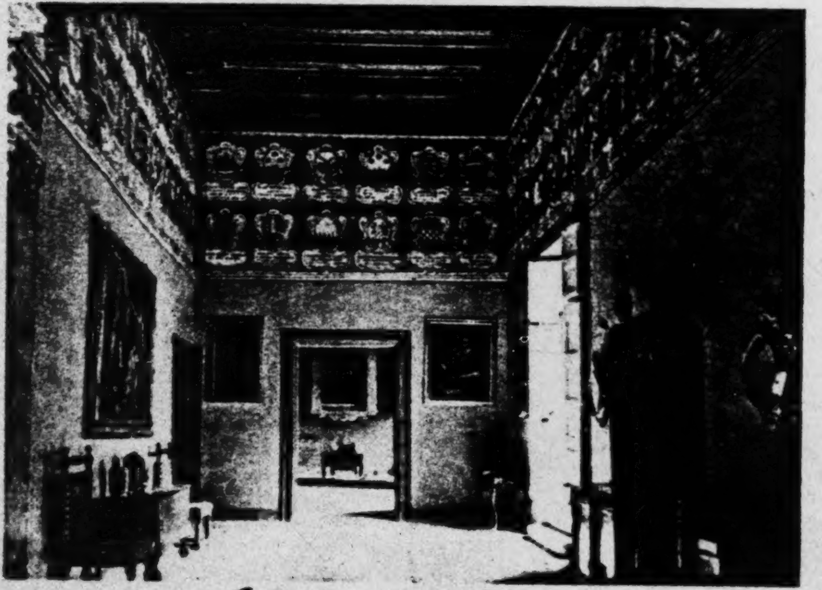


A ROOM IN THE INQUISITOR'S PALACE, VITTORIOSA, BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION

[*See pp.* 99 *and* 140.]



[facing p. 105]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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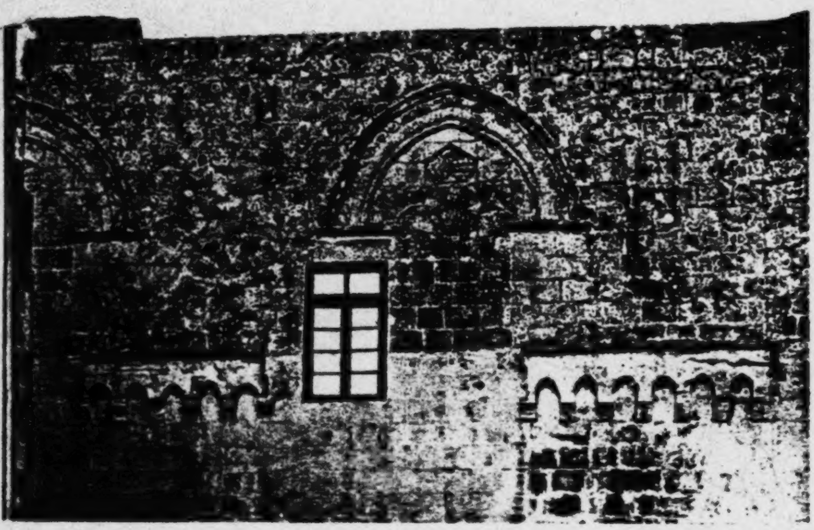
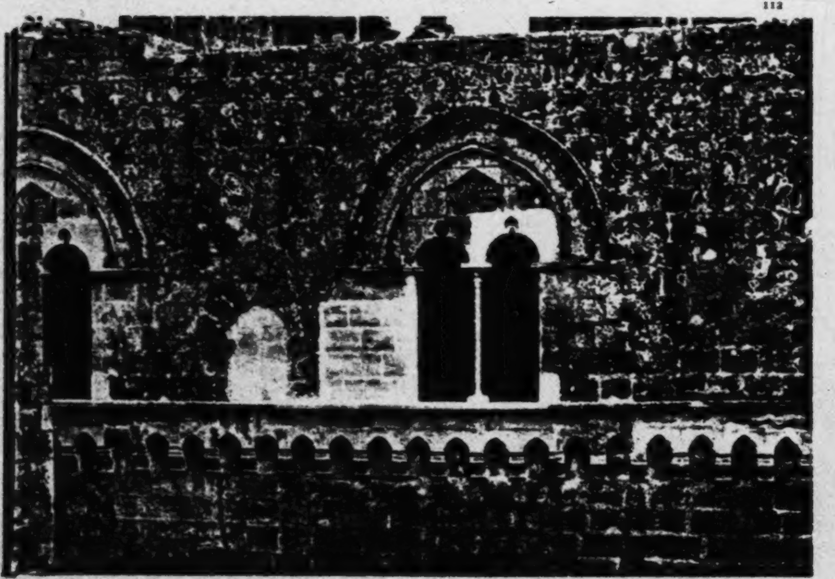


WALL OF GATTO-MURINA PALACE, MDINA, BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION

Observe the lamprey (*murina*) on arcade and arch.
[*See pp.* 93 *and* 141.]



[facing p. 112]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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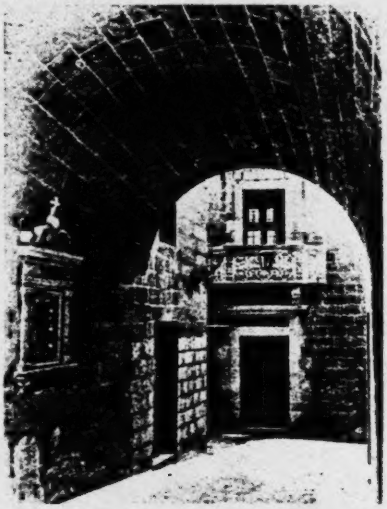

BALCONY OF THE RESTORED BONDI PALACE, GOZO, FROM THE ENTRANCE INTO THE CITADEL
[*See pp.* 141–142 *and* 222.]

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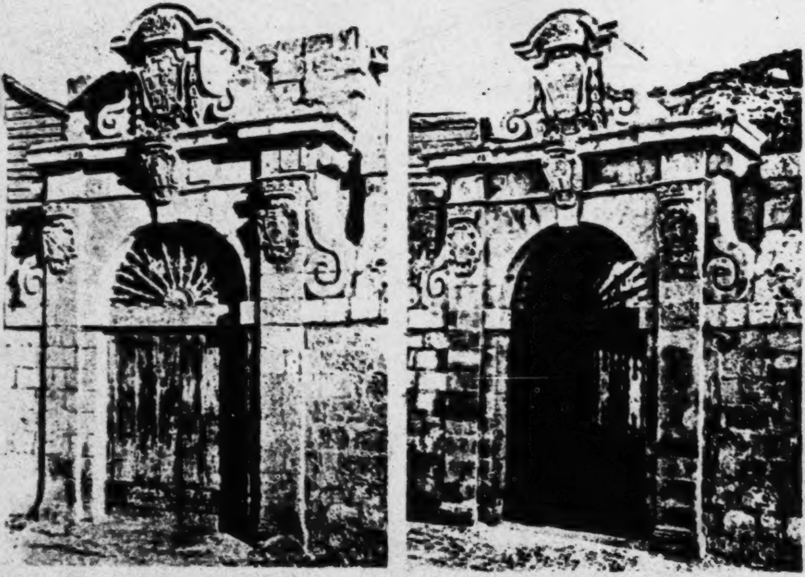

A MONTE DI REDENZIONE GATEWAY NEAR KALAMISTRA, BEFORE AND AFTER RECONDITIONING
[*See p.* 141.]

[facing p. 128]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 344
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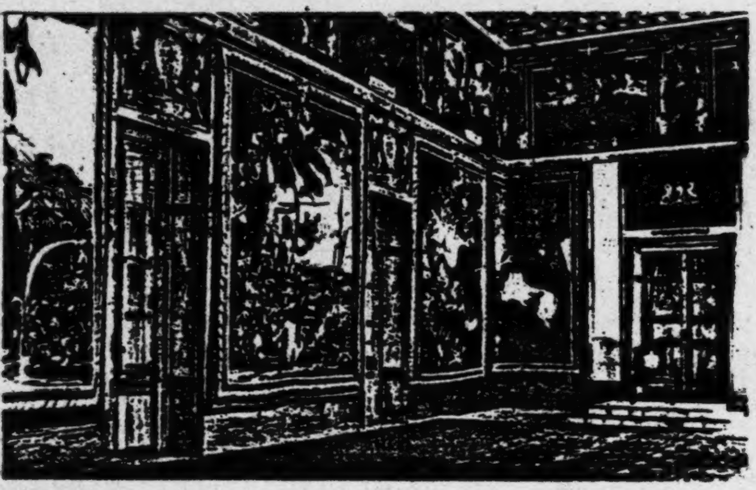

THE PALACE, VALETTA: A CORNER OF THE TAPESTRY CHAMBER
(FORMERLY THE COUNCIL CHAMBER)
[*See pp.* 182 *and* 184-186.]

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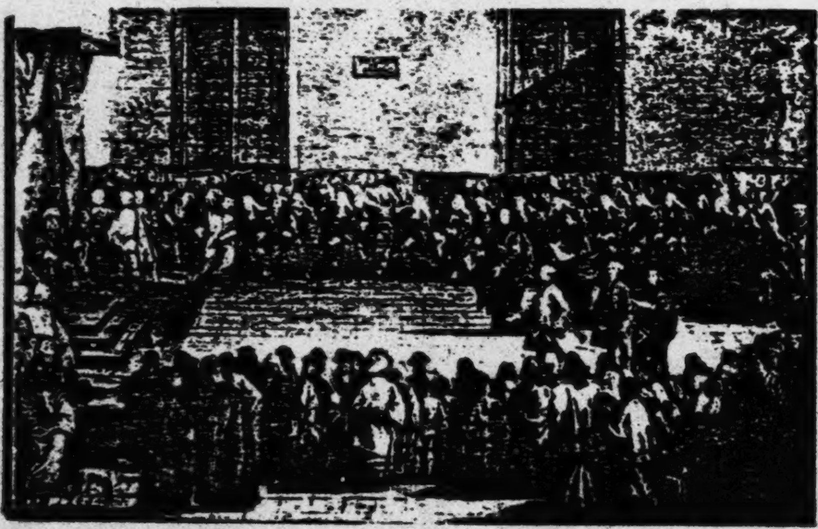

DEPUTATION OF THE PATRICIATE OF UDINE ARGUING BEFORE G.M. PINTO AND HIS CHAPTER-GENERAL IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER OF THE PALACE, VALETTA
By Giambattista Tiepolo.
[*See pp.* 181-182.]

[facing p. 144]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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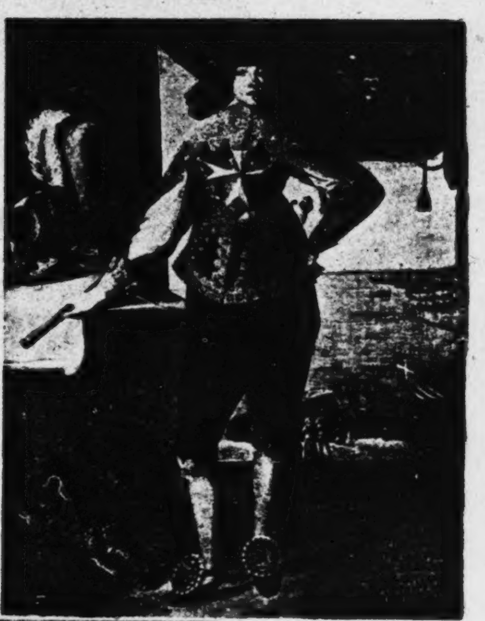

CARDINAL FREDERICK,
LANDGRAVE OF HESSE,
GENERAL OF THE GALLEYS
In the Palace, Valetta. Dated 1644.
[*See p.* 183.]

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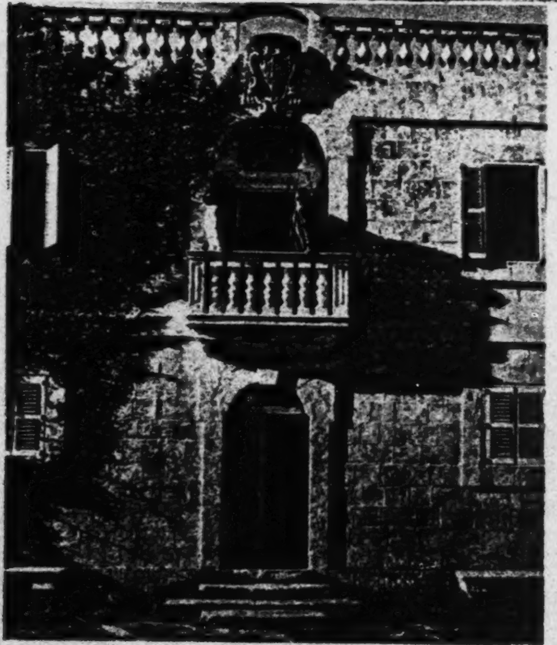

ENTRANCE TO
THE INQUISITOR'S
SUMMER PALACE
[*See pp.* 100–101.]

[facing p. 145]
[pp. 145-160 Not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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BUST OF G.M. CARDINAL DE VERDALLE
[*See p.* 190.]

VERDALA CASTLE
[*See pp.* 187–191.]

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[facing p. 160]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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QUEEN SQUARE AND THE ROYAL LIBRARY, VALETTA
[*See pp. 199–200.*]

A PROCESSION EMERGING FROM
S. JOHN'S

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STREET IN SIĠĠIEWI
Note the "fat" mouldings.
[*See p 67.*]

[facing P. 192]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

133

S. PAUL'S ISLAND
[*See pp.* 21, 87 *and* 213.]

SELMUN PALACE
[*See p.* 213.]

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[facing p. 208]

the Monte di Redenzione, a foundation established more 655
than three hundred years ago by one Father Rafael, a 175
Maltese Capuchin.

Preaching one day in the year 1607 in S. John's Conventual 648
Church, this good friar called upon his hearers to 655
inaugurate a fund for the redemption of the Christian captives 175
of the Barbary States, whose sufferings he depicted in terms of such realism that the Grand Master, Alof de Wignacourt, was able to set up the Monte di Redenzione with the offerings of the congregation and of members of the Order. Later, other charitable persons added or made bequests to the fund, which at first paid a ransom of 70 scudi for each Maltese slave and 150 scudi for a Knight of the Order. Subsequently these rates were raised to 200 and 500 scudi respectively; but, as the wars between the Order and the Barbary States ceased and the latter discontinued their raids on the island, the original object of the trust came to be fulfilled. So its properties were combined with those of the Monte di Pietà and administered by the Order, and thus continue to be administered to the present day by the Malta Government.

The most important property of the Monte di Redenzione 344
is Selmun Castle, which stands on a high eminence overlooking 341
S. Paul's Island and S. Paul's Bay. It is a clumsy replica of Verdala but is none the less impressive with its four towers and general air of a mediæval fortified stronghold. A balcony that completely encircles the castle, towers and all, is a pleasing feature of a building which might otherwise seem heavy and lacking in the gracefulness which Verdala, vast as it is, possesses in so marked a degree. Another attractive little property of the Redenzione is a handsome armorial ornamented gateway of the reign of Grand Master Pinto, standing below Selmun near the junction of the main road between S. Paul's Bay and Mellieha and the track to Kalamistra.

In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, the 000

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

712 175 648 Among the more accessible survivals of the Order is the large and impressive Fort Chambray, which commands the island's principal port of Mġarr. This stronghold was built, as we have already seen, by Jacques de Chambray, one of the last of the great Admirals of the Order, when he was Governor[1] of Gozo in the middle of the eighteenth century so that the island should no longer be at the mercy of every raiding enemy. Not that Fort Chambray had ever to endure a siege at the hands of the Barbary pirates. Its value in that direction was mainly a prophylactic one. But it did serve a military purpose during the death-pangs of the Order in 1798, when the Gozitans under their Governor and three of the Knights shut themselves up within its walls, determined to hold out as long as they could against the surprised French, who had not expected any resistance.

● 344 341 Then there is the Banca Giuratale, a graceful, semicircular Baroque structure which Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena erected at the end of the main square of Victoria as the offices of the Jurats of Gozo. 341 342 Another was until 1943—alas, that the past tense has to be used here—the charming manor outside Xewkija known as the Torri Gourgion. Although it had fallen somewhat from its high estate and had been reduced to the status of a farmhouse, this unspoiled piece of seventeenth-century rural architecture, embellished by a charming well, yet retained externally all the dignity of that lordly epoch. Its stone drop-boxes alternating with elaborate stone escutcheons, its tall staircase tower topped by a conspicuous dome, its suggestion of the fortified country-house—all these features made it the only structure of its kind in the Maltese Islands.

342 648 It is indeed lamentable that it should have had to be razed to the ground in 1943, not by enemy action but to make room for a temporary American aerodrome required in

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[643] [1] The Governor of Gozo, known in Maltese as the Hakem, lived in the house in the Citadel which, as has been said, is now the Law Court and Public Registry.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Plate IX. Mdina. Ramparts and Cathedral.

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Plate X. The Citadel, Rabat, Gozo.

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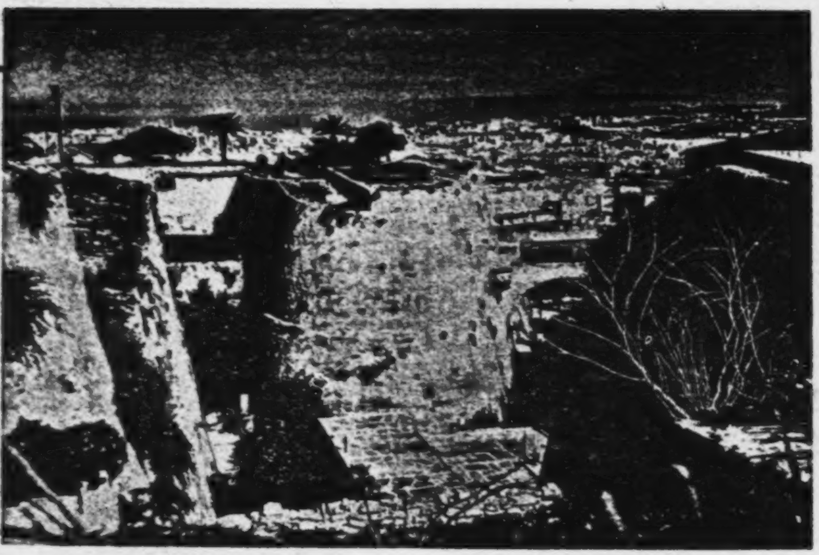

Plate XI. The Bastions, Valletta.

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Plate XII. The Church and Piazza, Żabbar.

Both boycotted the annual festa of St. George, and in 1961 some 79
hot-heads in Xagħra even erected a road block to prevent cars 626
from the village going to Rabat. The people of Nadur refused to 628
celebrate their own festa, or to take part in the St. Gregory pro- 664
cession. They also refused to allow the Bishop to administer the
sacrament of Confirmation in their parish. In Xagħra someone
exploded a bomb on the roof of the Archpriest's house because
many considered that he, an outsider, had not worked hard
enough to secure the Basilica. In 1960 Xagħra celebrated only the
internal festa, and even that was not without incident. Shortly
before the festa, the Bishop received an anonymous letter accusing
him of being an enemy of the village. Later, when he visited the
village to assist at the High Mass, he was given a hostile reception.
Then it was discovered that part of the throne that he was to sit
on during the service was missing. Furious at these insults, he
issued formal interdicts against the person or persons unknown
who had written the anonymous letter and 'stolen' his throne.

To date the dispute has not been settled. The people of Nadur 79
and Xagħra both say that peace cannot be restored until they 626
receive some other honour to compensate them for the lost 628
Basilica. To back up their claims, they have each spent tens of 664
thousands of pounds during the past few years decorating their
respective churches. In Nadur the new marble pulpit cost almost 346
£5,000, and the work of covering the walls with marble may cost
as much as £20,000 before it is completed.

This type of dispute, however, is not limited to Malta's sister island. The Collegiate Chapters of Birkirkara, Senglea and St. Paul's Shipwreck in Valletta have similar unresolved conflicts over precedence, and they refuse to take part in processions together. But not all their disputes are limited to matters of precedence. In 1949 the people of Birkirkara smashed the Archbishop's coat of arms and heaped rubble in the main door of their church, thereby symbolically denying him entrance. They were protesting because the Archbishop had abolished, among others, the right of the Chapter to choose as Canons only those priests born and baptized in Birkirkara. The Holy See was able to resolve the dispute, and a few years later it bestowed the title of Basilica on the town's church.

IV

346 Even when a parish is not competing with another for some
794 honour, the decoration of the parish church is a matter of great
concern to the village. As we have already observed, a parish
church is more than just a central place of worship; it is the centre
of most of the social life of a village and the repository of its col-
353 lective wealth. The building itself, with its gilded ceilings and
silver altar fronts, its damask tapestries and embroidered vestments, its precious votive offerings and ornate statues, represents a fortune amassed over centuries from the savings and bequests of countless inhabitants. The parish church is thus the embodiment of village history, a showpiece which all, even the most anti-clerical Labour supporters, point out with great pride to strangers.

793 The custodian of the church is the parish priest, who is respon-
794 sible for all alterations or improvements to it. He often delegates
346 much of this work, especially the fund-raising, to a local priest,
who then becomes procurator of the church. Many church procurators devote their lives to building and beautifying their churches, and every generation contributes thousands of pounds for its upkeep and embellishment. But regardless of who holds the procura of the church, the people regard it as their communal property, and all take an intense interest in its maintenance and decoration. Because of this proprietary interest, a difference of opinion over details of decoration, and especially over structural alterations to it, can divide a village into strongly opposed factions.

346 At the beginning of this century Kortin was divided on the
576 question whether to enlarge the existing church or to build a new
793 one. The stronger faction, which included the resident nobles and
794 the wealthy merchants, wished to build a new church. Their
leader was Sur Vinċenz, the grandfather of Sur Ġorġ. A wealthy merchant was thought to be willing to help finance the scheme. This group was opposed by most of the village clergy, including the parish priest, on the ground that the cost of a new church was beyond the resources of the village. Moreover, a benefactor had already bequeathed £2,000 for enlarging the church. The leader of this faction was Dun Batist, the senior local priest in the village.

The dispute raged from about 1880, when the plans of the new church were drawn up, to about 1913. In 1898 a number of people

addressed a petition to the Archbishop requesting permission to 346
build a new church. But a year and a half later he ruled in favour 578
of a counter-petition, and gave permission to begin reconstructing
the old church. Shortly after this a riot developed out of a meeting 793
called to urge the parish priest to permit the building of a new 794
church. During the commotion, the stone railing around the [579]
front of the church was damaged. Six days afterward forty-two
people were arrested for disturbing the peace and taken off to
prison. After three days the arrested men were released because of
insufficient evidence. The court assessed the total damage to the
church railing at twenty-two shillings. This incident aroused the
village. A month later the new church faction decided to begin
work without the permission of the Archbishop. Early the following
Sunday, a huge crowd led by Sur Vinċenz asked the parish
priest for permission to work on Sunday. When their request was
refused, they set off for the site and began to work anyway. That
afternoon, Sur Vinċenz hired a band to play for them, and the
music attracted people from many surrounding villages. The
following day Dun Batist and the parish priest laid the matter
before the Archbishop.

All through the month of October 1901 the leaders of the new
church faction went in delegations to argue their case before the
Archbishop, who was on holiday in Marsalforn, Gozo. The local
diarist, on whose account much of the above is based, notes
cynically that the Bishop listened with great attention, as he was
in debt to one of the leading members. Meanwhile, the parish
priest had been able to mediate between the factions. Dun Batist
and his followers agreed to stop their work on the old church
provided their opponents reimbursed them for their expenses to
date. This was arranged. Finally, in January 1902 the parish priest
announced that the Archbishop had given his permission for the
construction of the new church. That afternoon there was a great [527]
celebration in the village, with many fireworks and a guest band,
again paid for by Sur Ġorġ's grandfather.

But the construction of the new church soon ran into trouble. 346
Sur Vinċenz failed to raise the capital required. As Dun Batist had 793
foreseen, the cost of this grandiose scheme was far more than the 794
village could manage. After the foundations had been laid, the
work gradually came to a halt. The village did not begin to rebuild
the old church until the end of 1909, when the parish priest
set out to raise the extra £2,000 required.

346 set out to raise the extra £2,000 required. One of the fund-raisers
794 at the time was young Manwel, the father of Dr. Farrugia,
[875] who had then just begun to teach in the village school. The reconstruction
of the old church was finally completed in 1913.

Sur Vinċenz gradually dropped out of village activities. Many
794 people blamed him for the trouble in the community. In 1912 he
578 refused to allow the organizers of the festa to anchor one of the
major street decorations in its customary position against his
house. This action created more hostility towards him, and shortly
after the festa a bomb was thrown through his cellar window.
During the next six weeks he and his close relatives received
several threatening letters, and one night the front of his house was
smeared with red paint. But the rivalry between the factions
gradually died out, and today there is no trace of it left. The old
[887] men of Kortin who now spend their days in the shade of the huge
façade of the church, and their evenings on its cool steps, remember
the struggle clearly, for they were all deeply involved in it.
As they look back to the events of sixty years ago, they often
remark with wry smiles that the village was then a very lively
place.

This incident was exceptional because of the immense cost to
346 the village in money and labour that the construction of the new
578 church involved. Now that church-building is no longer in
794 vogue, new works usually take the form of decorations, such as
new paintings or candlesticks. These do not generally arouse
strong feelings, since all additions to the beauty and wealth of the
church are normally welcome. A wise priest, however, tries to
ensure that there is general agreement about them. It sometimes
happens that he forgets, or underestimates, the proprietary interest
of his parishioners in their church. When this occurs, there is
usually trouble.

Some years ago, the parish priest of Farruġ proposed to regild
346 the chancel. His parishioners welcomed the idea, and contributed
578 generously. But when the work was finally completed and the
793 scaffolding removed, his parishioners were shocked to find that
794 he had placed his personal coat of arms high over the chancel. He
was the first priest in the history of the parish to have put his coat
of arms inside their church; moreover, he had done so without
their consent. There was great indignation, but the arms remained
there. A year later he was promoted to a larger parish, and left

the village. People then began to ask the new parish priest to have 346
the coat of arms removed. He quite understandably declined to 578
do so. 793

One morning, less than two months after the old priest had left, 794
the village was startled by the news that the irksome coat of arms had been removed in the dead of night by persons unknown. In its place gleamed the freshly painted arms of the village. The job, which had involved at least three men, one of whom must have worked on top of a 60-foot ladder, had been skilfully executed. To add insult to injury, the nocturnal painters had telephoned the former parish priest after finishing their work and announced that he would find something of great interest in the church next time he visited Farrug. The following morning he came to the village, saw what had happened to his coat of arms, and immediately reported the matter to the police. The police interviewed many people, but did not find the culprits. They are still looking for them. The village is quite pleased that the arms were removed, although some deplored the rather crude way in which it had been done.

782 drinking from the spring of the grotto at Mellieha village where the Holy Virgin is
755 venerated; or placing some earth on the sick person from the tomb of a hermit reputed
to have died in odour of sanctity in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 16).

Sometimes the donation of an 'ex-voto' was coupled with the publication, in a
755 religious periodical, of the circumstances of the illness and its extraordinary cure. The
782 following are typical case-histories, translated from Maltese, culled at random from
214 such a periodical:

[204] (i) Victoria Conti, who had been suffering from deafness in the right ear for four years, was told by two doctors that her condition was incurable. She prayed to the Holy Mary and as soon as she placed the oil from the sanctuary of Ta Pinu (Gharb, Gozo) on her ear she regained her hearing.

(ii) A woman fell from the balcony of her house and, as a result, had a series of convulsions, lost the faculty of speech, and became moribund. She remained in this precarious state for fifteen days when her parents promised the offer of a silver 'ex-voto' to the Holy Virgin if their daughter recovered. The following night the patient began to regain consciousness and to talk. She made steady progress and was well within a short time.

(iii) Joseph Spiteri, from Zabbar, had a mentally sick brother who, in a fit of frenzy, cut his throat. The doctor declared the case a hopeless one but, following a vow to the Mother of Christ, the patient began to improve until he recovered from his wound and from his mental illness within nine weeks.

(iv) Clo. Monsignier had measles and almost lost his eyesight as a complication. His mother vowed to the Virgin Mary that she would offer a silver 'ex-voto' in the shape of a pair of eyes if his sight was spared. Immediately this promise was made, the boy opened his eyes from which all the signs of disease had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1894–9).

Other published accounts deal with cases of throat infections, puerperal sepsis, hyperpyrexia (up to 107° F), and trachoma. To appreciate the seriousness of these diseases up to thirty years ago, it must be remembered that the sulphonamide and the antibiotic eras had not yet dawned and that no effective therapy was yet available with the result that many patients with sepsis lost their lives and cases of trachoma ended in permanent blindness. Stories of accidents, such as falls from heights, scalding and involvement in vehicular traffic are also recorded. At times medical certificates over the signatures of prominent doctors were published as evidence of the gravity of the injury or illness sustained and of recovery therefrom (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1887).

MEDICAL PAINTINGS

782 These are of various sizes ranging from 5 × 12 to 18 × 24 inches. They were much more
532 numerous in the past than they are to-day. Church walls, which are now bare, were
• 346 covered with these small canvases and wooden panels. A number of these 'ex-votos'
353 vanished many years ago as in the case of the Sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception
of Qala in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 13). In other churches these pictures still existed in great numbers up to about thirty years ago but have now dwindled considerably, instances being those of the Cave chapel of the Annunciation and St Leonard at Minsija (Birkirkara), the church of Tal Mirakli (Lija), and Tal Hlas (Qormi). One of the sanc-

tuaries that remains particularly rich in painted 'ex-votos' is the church in the Tal 782
Herba district (Birkirkara) erected in 1640 and dedicated to the Birth of the Holy 532
Virgin. These panels are hung up, one above the other, almost up to the ceiling so that 346 ●
the following description written almost one hundred years ago still applies with regard
to this particular church: 'On the walls one sees a considerable number of small paint- 353
ings representing the favours received through the intercession of the Holy Virgin by
those devotees who had recourse to her in their calamities' (Ferres 1866, p. 322). As far
as could be ascertained the latest painting in this church is dated 1944.

On the whole these pictures are the work of self-taught anonymous folk who never 532
regarded themselves as artists but only as humble craftsmen. In fact their productions 789
often ignore the rules of perspective while the colours and the shading are poor; but in 782
viewing them one must take account of the fact that they were not intended to be decorative pieces. They were simply meant to be pictorial records of the occurrence of a medical emergency that was thought to be beyond human control and which ended happily in an extraordinary manner through a supernatural act. Indeed these pictures portray the moment in which the physician confesses that there is nothing that medical art and science can do to save the patient's life and the instant in which the Divine intervention occurs. Thus we behold the Holy Mary relieving a choking girl or rescuing a pedestrian from being crushed by the wheel of a carriage or see Our Lady stopping a run-away horse and saving its rider from harm (Plate 2, Fig. 2); or else softening the impact of the fall from a height of a stone-mason so that he reaches the ground uninjured; or sparing the life of a farmer from an enraged beast (Plate 2, Fig. 1). In this task of graphically reproducing an event, these paintings succeed very well.

OTHER VOTIVE OFFERINGS

Other things offered for medical reasons consist of: (i) Surgical and orthopaedic ap- 782
pliances such as crutches, plaster jackets, leather corsets, iron splints, metal sutures, etc. (ii) Foreign bodies removed from organs such as stones from the kidneys, needles from fingers, hair-clips from the throat, swallowed thimble, etc. (iii) Babies' dresses, some of them embroidered with gold thread, are a characteristic feature of the Mellicha sanctuary. This custom of offering the child's clothing as a token for recovery from illness prevailed also in connexion with the tomb of the Holy Hermit Kurraw at the Qala sanctuary in Gozo. The grateful mothers of sick children used to deposit the clothing of their offspring on the hermit's grave as a sign that the disease had been transferred from the children's bodies on to their clothing (Vella Haber 1946, p. 14). Babies' dresses are also offered in thanksgiving for an uneventful delivery and the birth of a normal infant. (iv) Wax tapers, decorated torches and bottles of olive oil for lighting the sanctuary lamp. (v) Sums of money. (vi) Jewellery is the most common 'ex-voto' to be seen to-day in Maltese churches. There are gold necklaces, finger-rings, brooches and other items of personal adornment. Apart from their intrinsic value, most of these gold ornaments represent the most prized possessions which the votary had to offer because they formed the most substantial part of a woman's dowry. To give an idea of the quantity of these valuable articles deposited in one single shrine during a month's time, here is a list, chosen at random from a religious periodical published in 1894: 'Sixteen gold rings, one pair of gold ear-rings with diamonds, two silver bracelets, a gold watch and a

1 ‸, 2 ‸ [see plate II, facing p. 25.–An.]

628 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gozo that a
186 man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to
point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some
comparatively recent date[13].

Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic
621 structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese
793 village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest,
795 and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely
an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church
by the new features and modifications of the old landscape
in the present.

175 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young
361 Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement
has acquired the essential features common to rural society
throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in
the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church
[172] in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1580[14]. Evidence, too,
of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat
(2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the
village.

175 However, in the early part of the nineteenth century,
farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now
361 the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of
793 the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell
795 (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918. Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area per-
175 manently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a
346 full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and
[793] settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a
new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the population of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911).
[463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect concerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
themselves responsible for much of the labouring work.
794 Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939); this in a parish which even ten years later had no more than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

175 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were
793 attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor)
Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became
871 Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was "sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this
[671] still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

744 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for
793 by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone
759 himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of
1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest
175 of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6). As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social, as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the village, and another of the traditional functions of the Priest passed to specialist hands.

175 After this, interest was turned again to building and
the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out
346 in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the
344 Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the
District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers them-
[435] selves were responsible for a great deal of the building work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

796 [541] There is also on each occasion a liberal display of fireworks on the evening before the feast day, with the usual amount of noise and glare, and several bands, civic and military, play choice selections of music to the great delight of the large concourse of persons assembled.

● [346] [353] [794] The interior of the churches is always most beautifully and gracefully decorated for the occasion of the festival, and the inhabitants of each town or village are always vying with each other in contributing large sums of money for the purpose of decorating the church of the parish to which they belong. In most cases the feast day closes with a procession followed by the image of the Blessed Virgin, or that of the Saint who is being honoured, carried on the shoulders of some eight or ten men.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 346 As regards the ecclesiastical buildings, it is permissible to
178 regret the disappearance of all but one or two—the most notable survivor is Zejtun's "Old Parish Church" of S. Gregory—of the modest mediæval village churches, swept away to make room for the spacious, florid Baroque shrines that now raise their towers and domes high above the flat roofs of the casals. But we stand amazed at the architectural effort and achievement of the Knights in Malta in the days of their Order's greatness. Justly could they have said with Wren, "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*"

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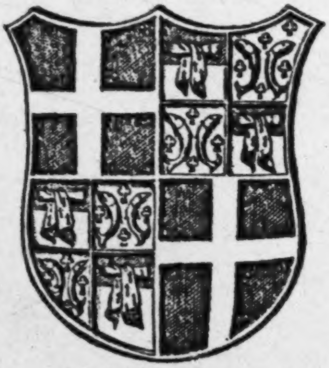

Arms of G. M. de L'Isle Adam above the Burial-place of his Entrails in Ta Ġiesu Church, Rabat

[pp. 57-64 not processed. Plates facing pp. 64 and 65 have been processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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MDINA, "THE NOTABLE CITY"
In the background Mosta, with its domed church.
[*See pp.* 90 *and* 203.]

THE CATHEDRAL, MDINA, FLOODLIT FOR THE JUBILEE OF KING GEORGE V
[*See p.* 88.]

346
341

[facing p. 97]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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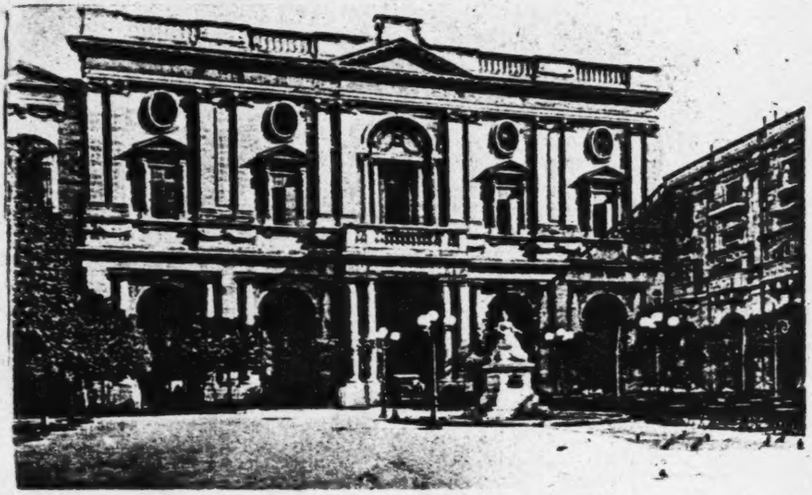

QUEEN SQUARE AND THE ROYAL LIBRARY, VALETTA
[*See pp.* 199–200.]

A PROCESSION EMERGING FROM S. JOHN'S

796 ←

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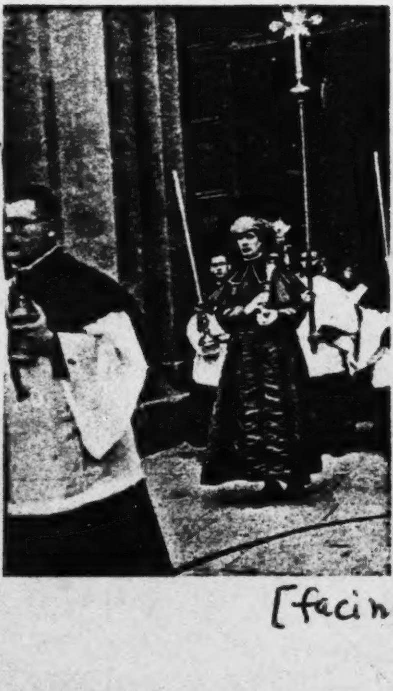
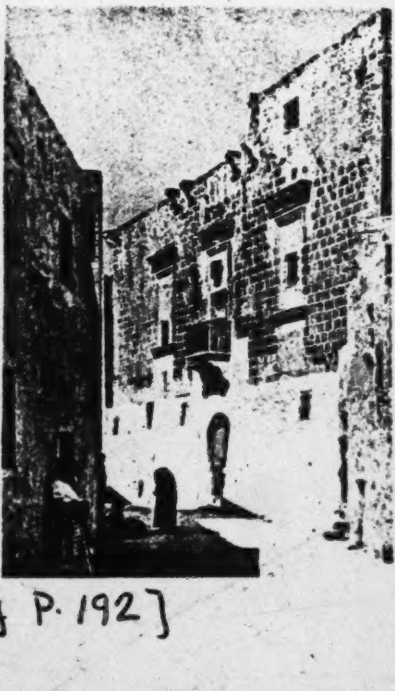


STREET IN SIGGIEWI
Note the "fat" mouldings.
[*See p* 67.]



[facing P. 192]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

some sculptured escutcheon; the old stone *fougasses*[1] to be 311
encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny 34
Comino, from whose stony fields, where is cultivated the 103
cumin seed from which the island takes its name, there rises 243
one of the massive square keeps which the Knights scattered
throughout their territory.[2]

The casals are, as has been said in an earlier chapter, not 361
villages, but compact stone townships of tall houses and 341
narrow streets, solidly built in good substantial Baroque 351
architecture. Their outskirts, as likely as not, are dignified
with some ancient country-house concealed behind high 346
walls amid charming gardens—the beauty and seclusion of the Maltese gardens are justly proverbial—while the focus of the casal, both literally and metaphorically, is the parish church. This is generally a great Baroque pile of golden sandstone flanked by two massive towers, but an exception is the Parish Church of Mosta, built in the classical style in the middle of the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts, both technical and financial, of the villagers themselves to the design of the ingenious Maltese architect Grognet de Vassé mentioned in Chapter II. It is topped by a dome that claims to be the third largest in the world, being surpassed in size only by those of S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Peter's in Rome, higher internally than the dome of the Roman Pantheon and exceeding by sixteen feet the diameter of that of S. Paul's in London.

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[1] Patrick Brydone (*cf.* pp. 143–147) gives an interesting account of this little- [712]
known form of coastal defence; "For we found, to our no small amazement, that [713]
the rocks were not only cut into fortifications but likewise into artillery to defend these fortifications: being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air: and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel."

[2] An excellent companion for the exploration of the island is F. Weston's [113]
Walks in Malta, published in Valetta. Later booklets include Showell Styles, *Walks and Climbs in Malta* (Valetta, 2nd edn., 1952), and H. H. Hick, *Walks in Gozo* (Malta, 1953).

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, The

●346 visitor will likewise notice, let into the external walls of
692 churches, small marble slabs bearing the inscription:
778

NON GODE
L'IMMUNITÀ
ECCLESIASTICA

The tablets meant that the churches and chapels in question did not enjoy the right of ecclesiastical sanctuary, and their explanation lay in the fact that until well after the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ecclesiastical Courts in Malta exercised temporal jurisdiction over the clergy. It followed that their jurisdiction extended over all consecrated buildings, in which the civil authority was unable to exercise its functions.

778
346 The next stage was reached when lay criminals sought refuge in these "extra-territorial" churches from the arm of
692 the civil law. When the abuse tended to become serious the
656 ecclesiastical authorities sought to minimize it by affixing the notice in question to various rural churches with the object of confining the right of sanctuary to the churches on which the inscription did not appear. But the right, even thus restricted, had clearly become an anachronism dangerous to the peace and good order of the country, and no longer tolerable. So in 1828 it was completely abolished by Governor Ponsonby by means of a Proclamation, whose preamble declares that:

> In consequence of certain privileges or immunities heretofore claimed as belonging to divers churches and other holy edifices and places in these islands, wicked and profligate men have often been tempted to commit murders, robberies and other atrocious crimes in the hope of escaping punishment by taking refuge in such places.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

CHAPTER XIX

Gozo

> All round the cave-mouth there flourished a luxuriant copse of alder trees and black poplars and rich-scented cypresses: therein roosted birds of long wing, owls and hawks and chattering hook-billed crows—birds of the sea whose livelihood was from the waters. A young strong vine loaded with bunches of grapes wreathed the opening of the cave. Four springs quite near together jetted out translucent water in separate rills ingeniously contrived, each to water its own garden-plot. The soft lawns were starred with parsley and violets. Even an immortal coming upon the nook would pause before its beauty and feel his heart made glad. 114/18

IT IS POSSIBLE—INDEED, PROBABLE—THAT THE MODERN visitor would fail to recognize from these words, taken from T. E. Lawrence's translation of the *Odyssey*, the cave of Calypso as it appears to-day, surmounting and overlooking the sandy bay of Ramla on the north coast of Gozo. Still less easily, perhaps, would he recognize it from the passage in *Télémaque* in which Fénelon describes the grotto in language even more exuberant. As Malta is S. Paul's island, so is Gozo Calypso's; and it may be that nothing but an earthly paradise was deemed meet for the entertainment by an immortal of so critical a guest as Odysseus.

True, there are corners of Gozo that fall not far short of the picture imagined by the great Archbishop of Cambrai: I have in mind especially the little Chapel of Lunzjata (the Annunziata) in a grove of ancient almond- and carob-trees between Victoria and the village of Kerchem, facing the munificent Perellos's graceful fountain at the head of the rich little *wied* (valley) that runs down to Xlendi. Whether this glade is seen in the spring, when it is a mass of blossom 346/137 137

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

342 connexion with the invasion of Sicily and destined to be
648 used only once.[1]

Lastly, to prove that Gozo lives not only in the past, let
•346 me mention the pilgrimage church of Ta Pinu, a lofty
basilica in the beautiful white limestone of the island com-
344 pleted as recently as 1931. This shrine is impressive as an
example of modern Romanesque no less than as proof
of the active piety of a laborious and God-fearing people.

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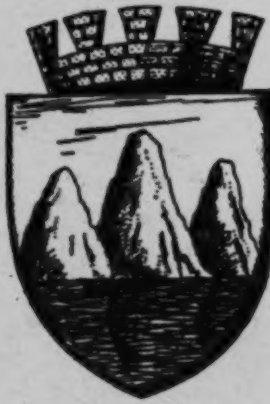
[1] A public-spirited citizen of Xewkija, Mr L. Zammit Haber, has piously preserved all the carved escutcheons, inscriptions and balcony stones of the Torri Gourgion.

186



Arms of Gozo

[PP. 228 – 232 have not been Processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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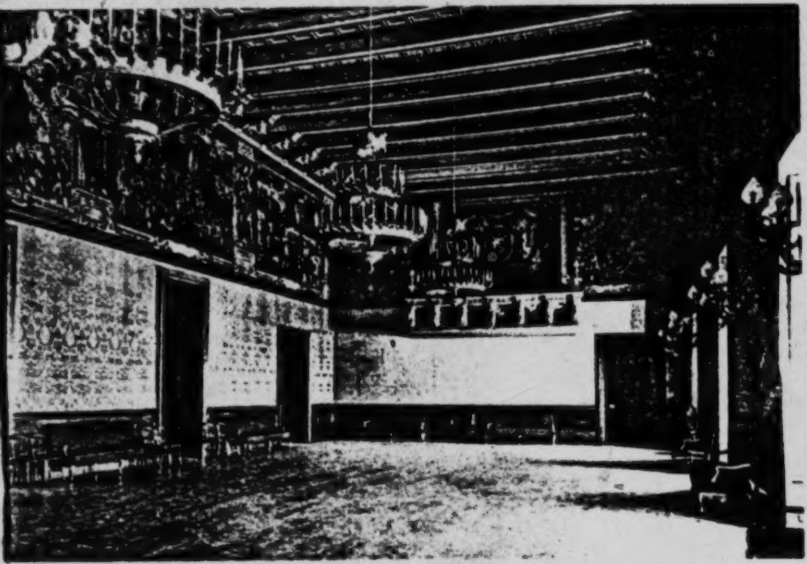
● 35



HALL OF S. MICHAEL AND S. GEORGE, SHOWING FRESCOES OF THE GREAT SIEGE AND MUSICIANS' GALLERY FROM THE GREAT CARRACK OF RHODES
[*See pp.* 48–49, 52 *and* 181.]

TOMB OF DRAGUT IN TRIPOLI (BARBARY)
[*See p.* 53.]

800

[facing p. 80]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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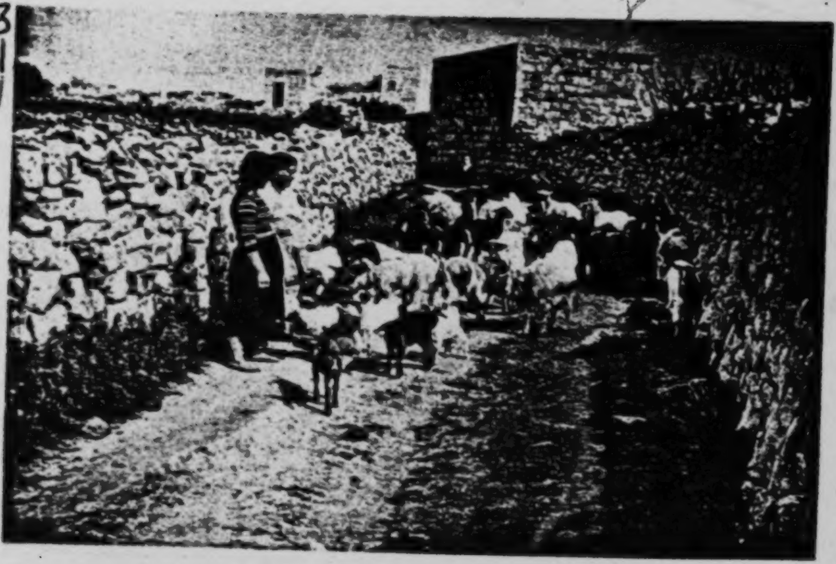

Plate XVII. Roadside grazing of goats.

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Plate XVIII. A farming family.

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Plate XIX. Tillage - traditional style.

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407
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Plate XX. Tillage - new style.

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table
only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension
366 of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised
shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops,
and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of
home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War,
the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly
to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The
petrolju van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on
paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
[262] addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free
distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
[749] by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation
distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

178 Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home
was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a stair-
342 case frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic
life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
[351] enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were
small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for
animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump
and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
[312] emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
[364] summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can
only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

[491] Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has
[399] been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the
[204] Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
[546] Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent
241 family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the
village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese
agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the
village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have
improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now
greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them,
thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee.
Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village
have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction
not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and
functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community
has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he
was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing
individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old
order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all,
a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a
changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113 1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 53.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.
Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1960.

600 authorities each year.

*159 494 234 434 [432] Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me". Both his grandfather and father were herdsmam with goats but it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in [454] for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

*159 423 234 [427] Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old, and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop his own property since the war in order to qualify for the necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 342 ●351 423 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead off to the gound floor living rooms, to the goat shed and cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room, to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street. From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 6).

6: Beeley - K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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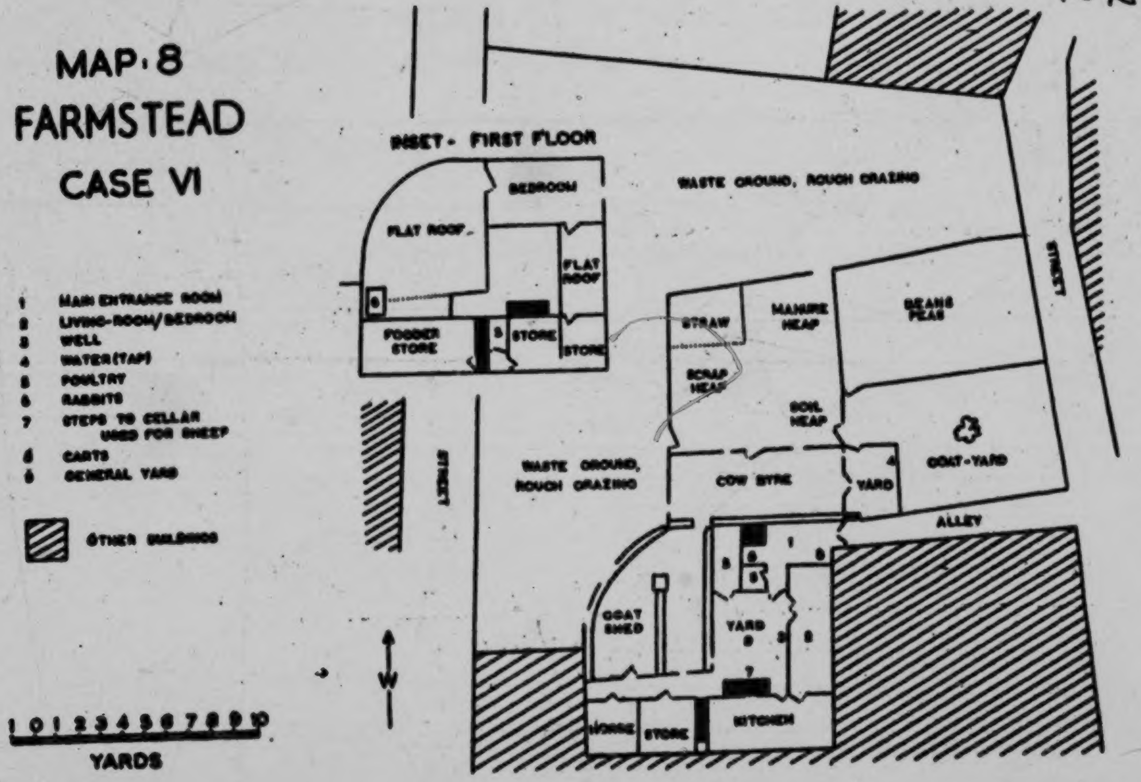
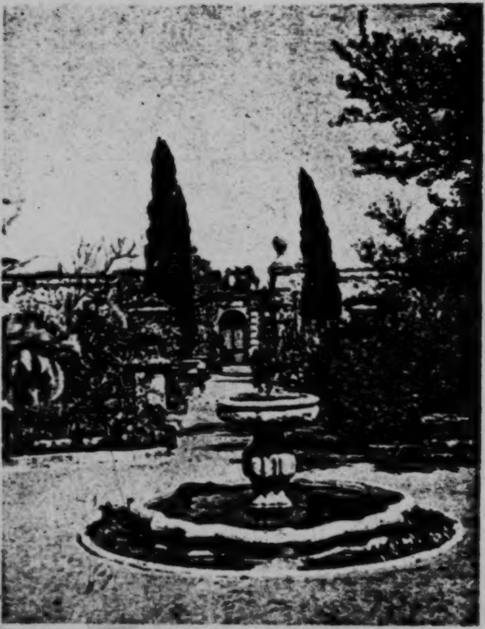
MAP·8
FARMSTEAD
CASE VI


INSET - FIRST FLOOR
BEDROOM
FLAT ROOF
FLAT ROOF
6
FODDER STORE
5
STORE
STORE
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
STRAW
MANURE HEAP
BEANS PEAS
SCRAP HEAP
SOIL HEAP
GOAT-YARD
4
YARD
COW BYRE
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
ALLEY
1
5
6
5
6
GOAT SHED
YARD
9
3
8
7
HORSE
STORE
KITCHEN
N
1 MAIN ENTRANCE ROOM
2 LIVING-ROOM/BEDROOM
3 WELL
4 WATER (TAP)
5 POULTRY
6 RABBITS
7 STEPS TO CELLAR USED FOR SHEEP
8 CARTS
9 GENERAL YARD
OTHER BUILDINGS
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
YARDS

[following p. 102]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

• 351



IN THE GARDEN OF CASA LEONI (DAR IL-LYUNI)
[*See pp.* 191–193.]

GRILLE OF WELL IN THE PALACE, VALETTA
[*See p.* 181.]

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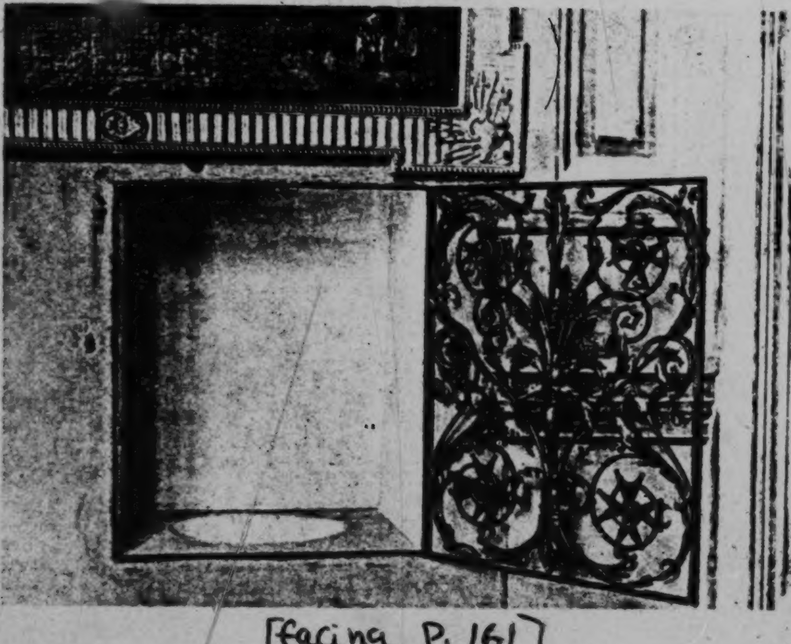

[facing P. 161]
[pp. 161-192 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny 34
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[1] Patrick Brydone (*cf.* pp. 143–147) gives an interesting account of this little- 712
known form of coastal defence; "For we found, to our no small amazement, that 713
the rocks were not only cut into fortifications but likewise into artillery to defend these fortifications: being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air: and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel."

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the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days, after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern 171
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 264
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 516
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom 352
has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain from having their pastry and other food prepared in a public oven for a period of some months after the death of a member of the family.

184
IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now-

[Frontispiece, facing Title Page]

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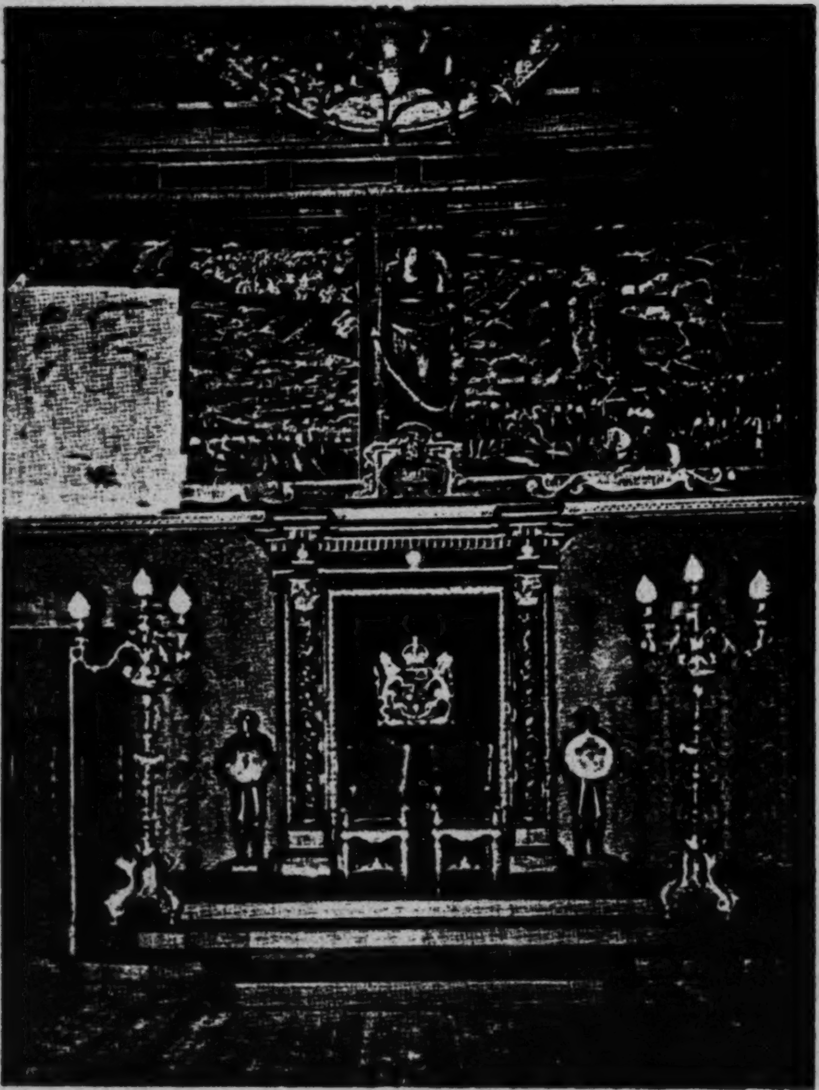

THE PALACE, VALETTA: THRONE IN HALL OF S. MICHAEL AND S. GEORGE

Above, portions of the frescoes depicting the Great Siege. The patch over the fresco to the left of the throne covers temporarily the portion of it damaged by bombing.

Fr.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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493

VALETTA: AUBERGE DE CASTILE
[See p. 60.]

81

MAIN ROOM OF THE AUBERGE DE PROVENCE (NOW THE MALTA NATIONAL MUSEUM) WHEN USED AS THE COFFEE-ROOM OF THE UNION CLUB
[See pp. 60 and 63.]

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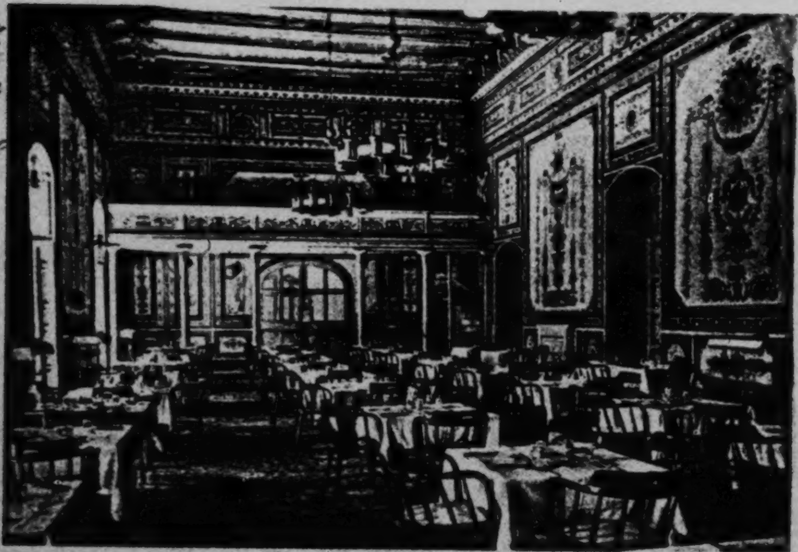

[facing P. 81]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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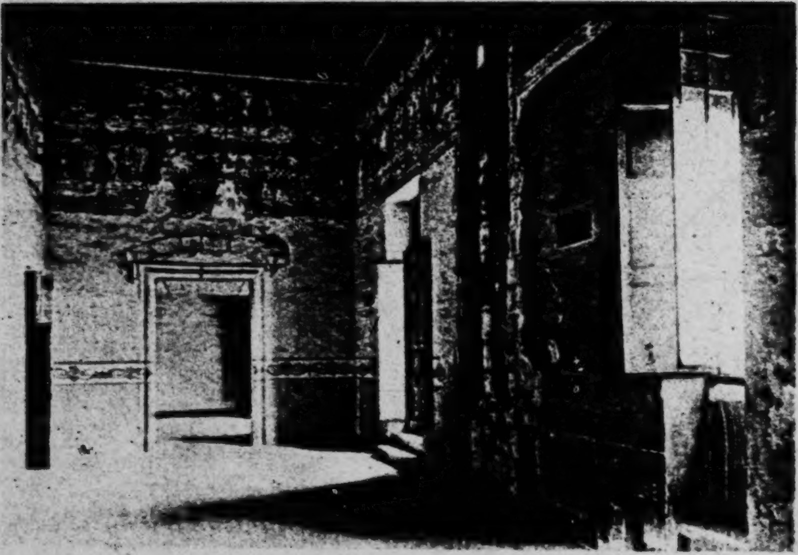
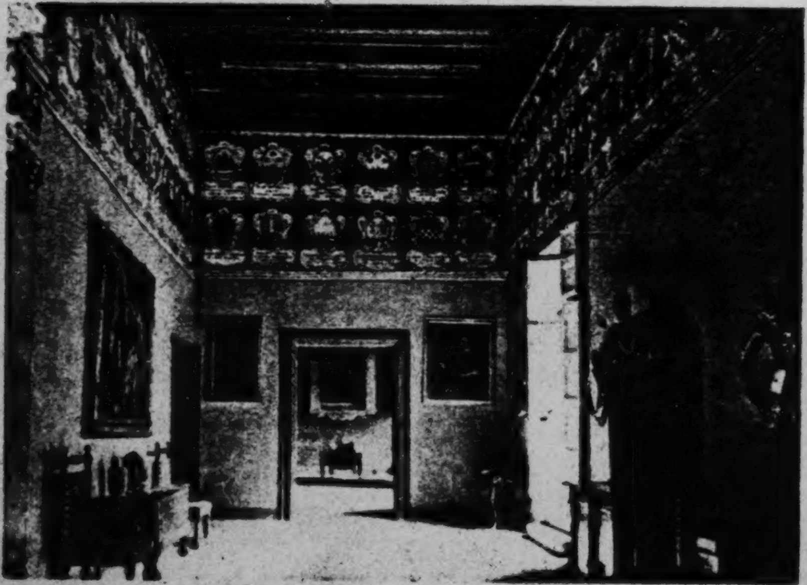


A ROOM IN THE INQUISITOR'S PALACE, VITTORIOSA, BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION

[*See pp.* 99 *and* 140.]



[facing p. 105]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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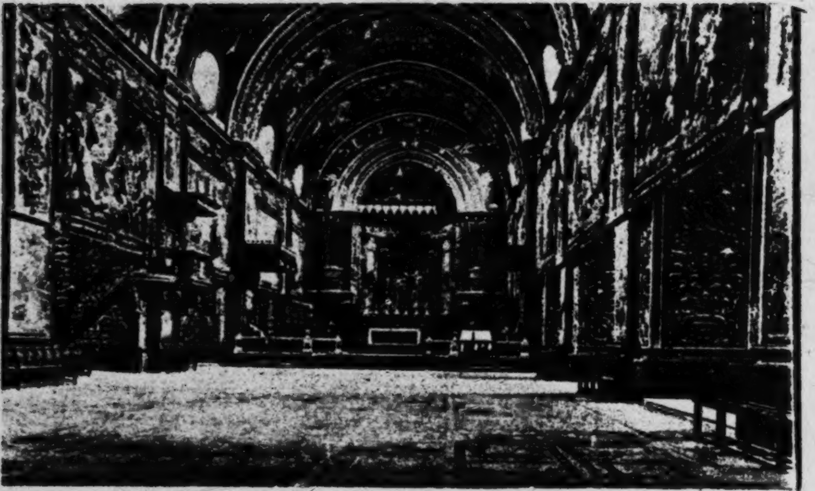
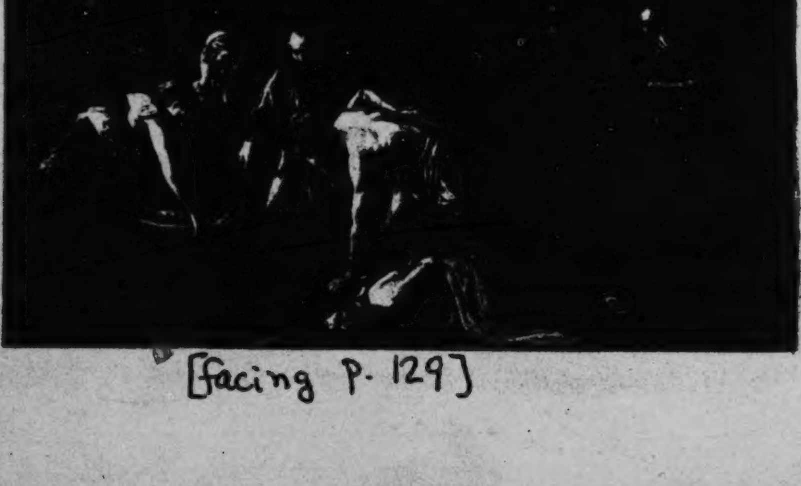


NAVE OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA, WITH ITS TAPESTRIES DISPLAYED
[*See pp.* 177–180.]

BEHEADING OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST, BY CARAVAGGIO, IN THE ORATORY OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA
[*See pp.* 242–243.]

532



[facing p. 129]

IV

346 Even when a parish is not competing with another for some
794 honour, the decoration of the parish church is a matter of great
concern to the village. As we have already observed, a parish
church is more than just a central place of worship; it is the centre
of most of the social life of a village and the repository of its collective
wealth. The building itself, with its gilded ceilings and
[353] silver altar fronts, its damask tapestries and embroidered vestments,
its precious votive offerings and ornate statues, represents
a fortune amassed over centuries from the savings and bequests of
countless inhabitants. The parish church is thus the embodiment
of village history, a showpiece which all, even the most anticlerical
Labour supporters, point out with great pride to strangers.

The custodian of the church is the parish priest, who is responsible
793 for all alterations or improvements to it. He often delegates
794 much of this work, especially the fund-raising, to a local priest,
346 who then becomes procurator of the church. Many church procurators
devote their lives to building and beautifying their
churches, and every generation contributes thousands of pounds
for its upkeep and embellishment. But regardless of who holds
the procura of the church, the people regard it as their communal
property, and all take an intense interest in its maintenance and
decoration. Because of this proprietary interest, a difference of
opinion over details of decoration, and especially over structural
alterations to it, can divide a village into strongly opposed
factions.

At the beginning of this century Kortin was divided on the
346 question whether to enlarge the existing church or to build a new
576 one. The stronger faction, which included the resident nobles and
793 the wealthy merchants, wished to build a new church. Their
794 leader was Sur Vinċenz, the grandfather of Sur Ġorġ. A wealthy
merchant was thought to be willing to help finance the scheme.
This group was opposed by most of the village clergy, including
the parish priest, on the ground that the cost of a new church was
beyond the resources of the village. Moreover, a benefactor had
already bequeathed £2,000 for enlarging the church. The leader
of this faction was Dun Batist, the senior local priest in the village.

The dispute raged from about 1880, when the plans of the new church were drawn up, to about 1913. In 1898 a number of people

782 drinking from the spring of the grotto at Mellieha village where the Holy Virgin is
755 venerated; or placing some earth on the sick person from the tomb of a hermit reputed
to have died in odour of sanctity in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 16).

Sometimes the donation of an 'ex-voto' was coupled with the publication, in a
755 religious periodical, of the circumstances of the illness and its extraordinary cure. The
782 following are typical case-histories, translated from Maltese, culled at random from
214 such a periodical:

[204] (i) Victoria Conti, who had been suffering from deafness in the right ear for four years, was told by two doctors that her condition was incurable. She prayed to the Holy Mary and as soon as she placed the oil from the sanctuary of Ta Pinu (Gharb, Gozo) on her ear she regained her hearing.

(ii) A woman fell from the balcony of her house and, as a result, had a series of convulsions, lost the faculty of speech, and became moribund. She remained in this precarious state for fifteen days when her parents promised the offer of a silver 'ex-voto' to the Holy Virgin if their daughter recovered. The following night the patient began to regain consciousness and to talk. She made steady progress and was well within a short time.

(iii) Joseph Spiteri, from Zabbar, had a mentally sick brother who, in a fit of frenzy, cut his throat. The doctor declared the case a hopeless one but, following a vow to the Mother of Christ, the patient began to improve until he recovered from his wound and from his mental illness within nine weeks.

(iv) Clo. Monsignier had measles and almost lost his eyesight as a complication. His mother vowed to the Virgin Mary that she would offer a silver 'ex-voto' in the shape of a pair of eyes if his sight was spared. Immediately this promise was made, the boy opened his eyes from which all the signs of disease had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1894–9).

Other published accounts deal with cases of throat infections, puerperal sepsis, hyperpyrexia (up to 107° F), and trachoma. To appreciate the seriousness of these diseases up to thirty years ago, it must be remembered that the sulphonamide and the antibiotic eras had not yet dawned and that no effective therapy was yet available with the result that many patients with sepsis lost their lives and cases of trachoma ended in permanent blindness. Stories of accidents, such as falls from heights, scalding and involvement in vehicular traffic are also recorded. At times medical certificates over the signatures of prominent doctors were published as evidence of the gravity of the injury or illness sustained and of recovery therefrom (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1887).

MEDICAL PAINTINGS

782 These are of various sizes ranging from 5 × 12 to 18 × 24 inches. They were much more
532 numerous in the past than they are to-day. Church walls, which are now bare, were
346 covered with these small canvases and wooden panels. A number of these 'ex-votos'
353 vanished many years ago as in the case of the Sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception
of Qala in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 13). In other churches these pictures still existed
in great numbers up to about thirty years ago but have now dwindled considerably,
instances being those of the Cave chapel of the Annunciation and St Leonard at Minsija
(Birkirkara), the church of Tal Mirakli (Lija), and Tal Hlas (Qormi). One of the sanc-

tuaries that remains particularly rich in painted 'ex-votos' is the church in the Tal 782
Herba district (Birkirkara) erected in 1640 and dedicated to the Birth of the Holy 532
Virgin. These panels are hung up, one above the other, almost up to the ceiling so that 346
the following description written almost one hundred years ago still applies with regard 353 ●
to this particular church: 'On the walls one sees a considerable number of small paintings representing the favours received through the intercession of the Holy Virgin by those devotees who had recourse to her in their calamities' (Ferres 1866, p. 322). As far as could be ascertained the latest painting in this church is dated 1944.

On the whole these pictures are the work of self-taught anonymous folk who never 532
regarded themselves as artists but only as humble craftsmen. In fact their productions 789
often ignore the rules of perspective while the colours and the shading are poor; but in 782
viewing them one must take account of the fact that they were not intended to be decorative pieces. They were simply meant to be pictorial records of the occurrence of a medical emergency that was thought to be beyond human control and which ended happily in an extraordinary manner through a supernatural act. Indeed these pictures portray the moment in which the physician confesses that there is nothing that medical art and science can do to save the patient's life and the instant in which the Divine intervention occurs. Thus we behold the Holy Mary relieving a choking girl or rescuing a pedestrian from being crushed by the wheel of a carriage or see Our Lady stopping a run-away horse and saving its rider from harm (Plate 2, Fig. 2); or else softening the impact of the fall from a height of a stone-mason so that he reaches the ground uninjured; or sparing the life of a farmer from an enraged beast (Plate 2, Fig. 1). In this task of graphically reproducing an event, these paintings succeed very well.

OTHER VOTIVE OFFERINGS

Other things offered for medical reasons consist of: (i) Surgical and orthopaedic appliances 782
such as crutches, plaster jackets, leather corsets, iron splints, metal sutures, etc. (ii) Foreign bodies removed from organs such as stones from the kidneys, needles from fingers, hair-clips from the throat, swallowed thimble, etc. (iii) Babies' dresses, some of them embroidered with gold thread, are a characteristic feature of the Mellieha sanctuary. This custom of offering the child's clothing as a token for recovery from illness prevailed also in connexion with the tomb of the Holy Hermit Kurraw at the Qala sanctuary in Gozo. The grateful mothers of sick children used to deposit the clothing of their offspring on the hermit's grave as a sign that the disease had been transferred from the children's bodies on to their clothing (Vella Haber 1946, p. 14). Babies' dresses are also offered in thanksgiving for an uneventful delivery and the birth of a normal infant. (iv) Wax tapers, decorated torches and bottles of olive oil for lighting the sanctuary lamp. (v) Sums of money. (vi) Jewellery is the most common 'ex-voto' to be seen to-day in Maltese churches. There are gold necklaces, finger-rings, brooches and other items of personal adornment. Apart from their intrinsic value, most of these gold ornaments represent the most prized possessions which the votary had to offer because they formed the most substantial part of a woman's dowry. To give an idea of the quantity of these valuable articles deposited in one single shrine during a month's time, here is a list, chosen at random from a religious periodical published in 1894: 'Sixteen gold rings, one pair of gold ear-rings with diamonds, two silver bracelets, a gold watch and a

1/A, 2/A [see plate II, facing p. 25.-An.]

796 [541] There is also on each occasion a liberal display of fireworks on the evening before the feast day, with the usual amount of noise and glare, and several bands, civic and military, play choice selections of music to the great delight of the large concourse of persons assembled.

[346] [353] [794] The interior of the churches is always most beautifully and gracefully decorated for the occasion of the festival, and the inhabitants of each town or village are always vying with each other in contributing large sums of money for the purpose of decorating the church of the parish to which they belong. In most cases the feast day closes with a procession followed by the image of the Blessed Virgin, or that of the Saint who is being honoured, carried on the shoulders of some eight or ten men.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[Frontispiece, facing Title Page]

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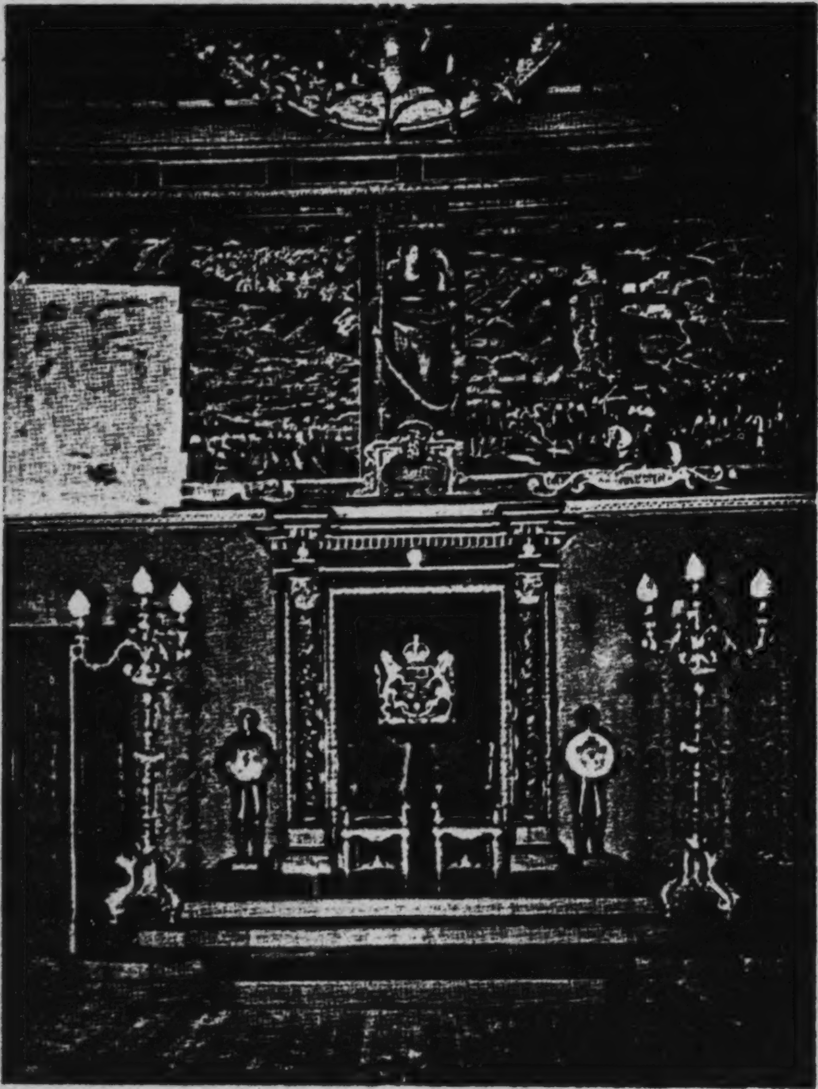

THE PALACE, VALETTA: THRONE IN HALL OF S. MICHAEL AND S. GEORGE

Above, portions of the frescoes depicting the Great Siege. The patch over the fresco to the left of the throne covers temporarily the portion of it damaged by bombing.

Fr.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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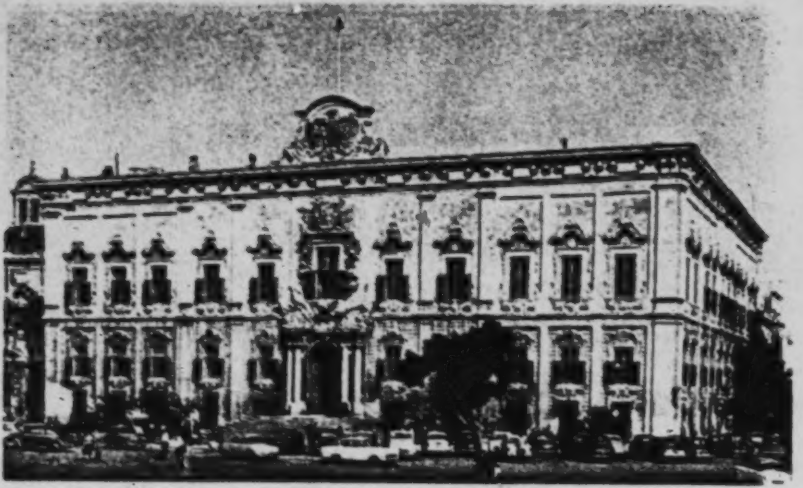

VALETTA: AUBERGE DE CASTILE
[*See p.* 60.]

MAIN ROOM OF THE AUBERGE DE PROVENCE (NOW THE MALTA NATIONAL MUSEUM) WHEN USED AS THE COFFEE-ROOM OF THE UNION CLUB
[*See pp.* 60 *and* 63.]

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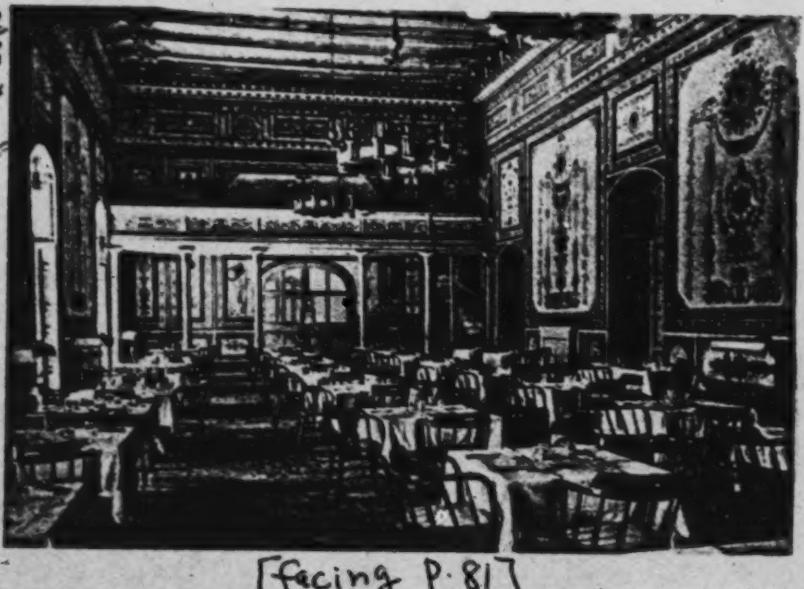

[facing P. 81]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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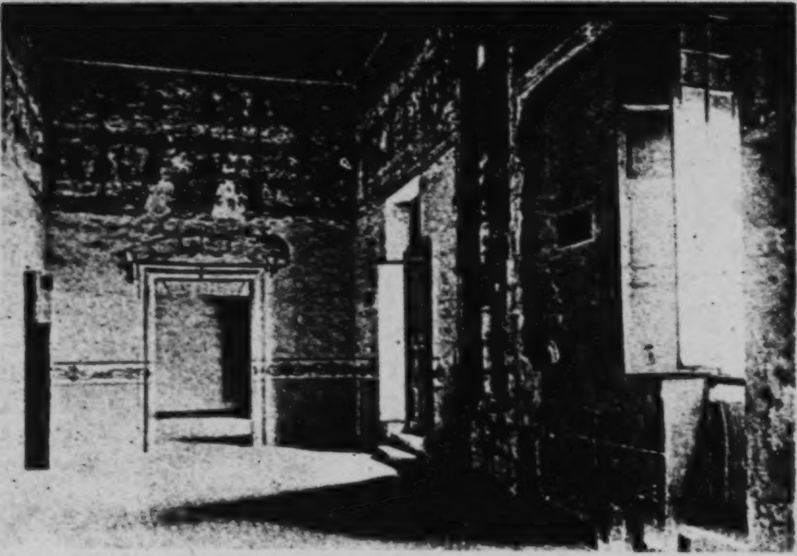
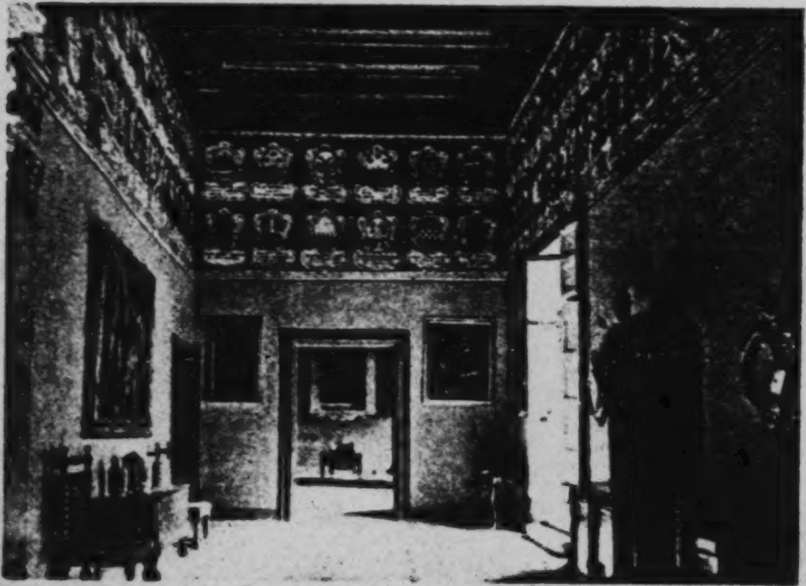


A ROOM IN THE INQUISITOR'S PALACE, VITTORIOSA, BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION

[*See pp.* 99 *and* 140.]



[facing p.105]

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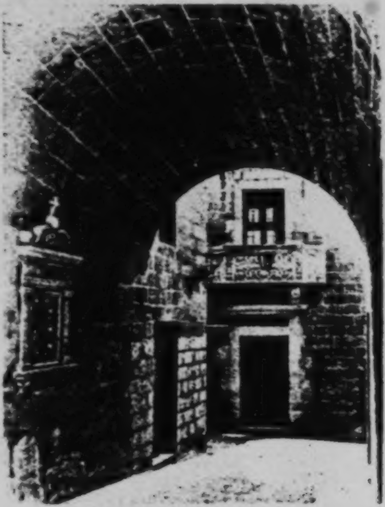
BALCONY OF THE
RESTORED BONDI
PALACE, GOZO,
FROM THE
ENTRANCE INTO
THE CITADEL
[*See pp.* 141–142 *and* 222.]



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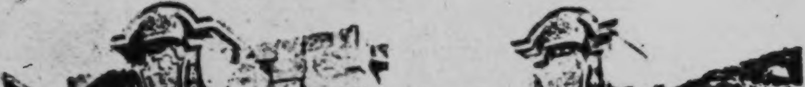

A MONTE DI REDENZIONE GATEWAY NEAR KALAMISTRA, BEFORE AND AFTER RECONDITIONING
[*See p.* 141.]

[facing p. 128]

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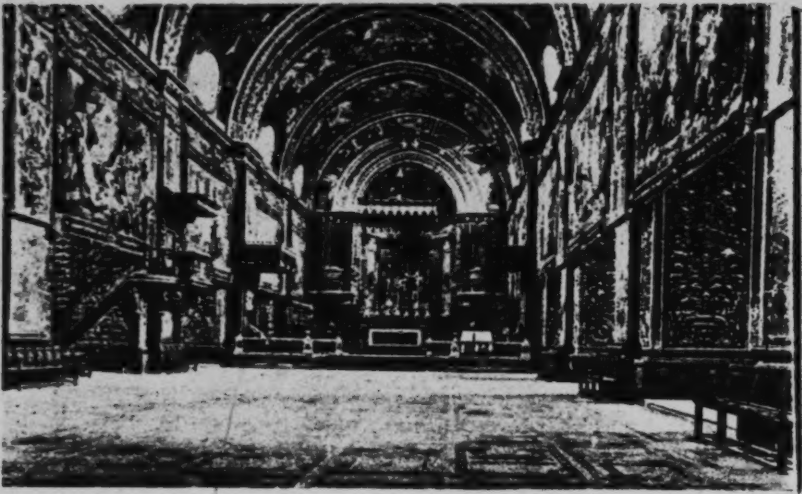

NAVE OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA, WITH ITS TAPESTRIES DISPLAYED
[*See pp.* 177-180.]

BEHEADING OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST, BY CARAVAGGIO, IN THE ORATORY OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA
[*See pp.* 242-243.]

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[facing p. 129]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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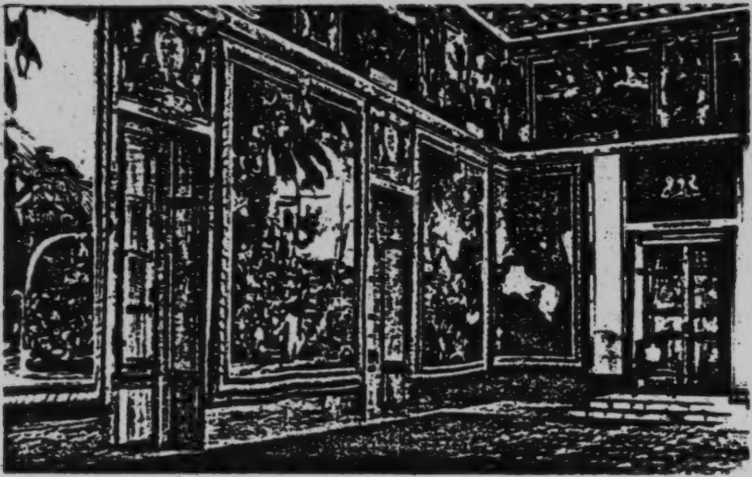

THE PALACE, VALETTA: A CORNER OF THE TAPESTRY CHAMBER (FORMERLY THE COUNCIL CHAMBER)

[*See pp.* 182 *and* 184–186.]

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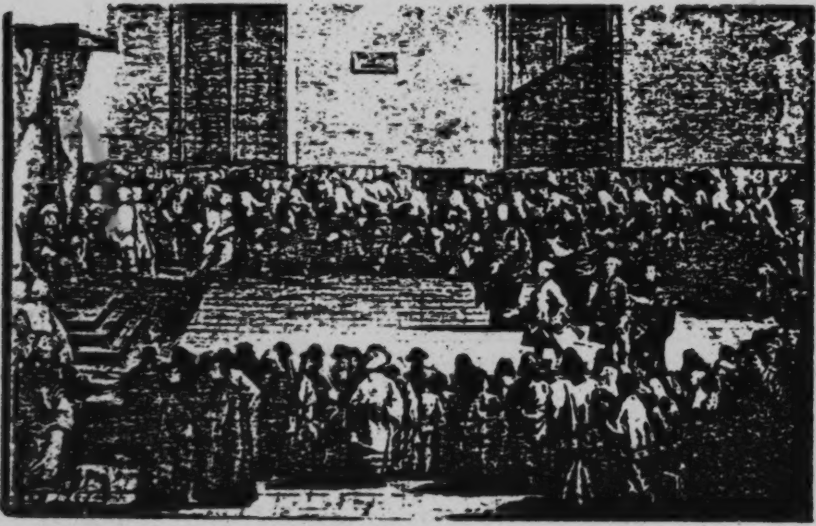

DEPUTATION OF THE PATRICIATE OF UDINE ARGUING BEFORE G.M. PINTO AND HIS CHAPTER-GENERAL IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER OF THE PALACE, VALETTA

By Giambattista Tiepolo.

[*See pp.* 181–182.]

[facing p. 144]

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black 764
crape.

(*d*) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(*e*) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and 764
watch the corpse for the whole night. This custom prevails 767
mostly in Gozo. In old days official female mourners, named
neħħieha (from *neħħah*, "to cry") were employed. The prac- [775]
tice was abolished in Malta during the plague of A.D. 1676.[1] [731]
Sicilians employed mourners called Praeficae or Reputatrices, [171]
a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish
until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the
Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese
female mourners is described by Abela as follows :—

They wore trailing veils (*kurkâr*), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their mourning. 764

(*f*) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the [354]
Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This [765]
is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is [775]
in this way prevented from haunting the house. In some of [728]
the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth, and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the

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[1] Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 794. [113]

5: Cremona E-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

fanation. Wreaths are laid on the grave, and oil lamps are 764 lit on it for some days. The construction and decoration of [354] the graves in the public cemetery is much the same as on the continent. Marble slabs with inscriptions are very common. Pillars with crosses on the top and sacred statues are also erected on bases of marble, or bronze reliefs symbolising Time and Eternity. The higher class own vaults in the form of chapels, [565] in which an altar is erected and requiem masses are said.

In the professional and educated classes cards expressing 765 sympathy are sent by friends to the mourning family, but in 184 some districts, especially in the country, people still follow the old etiquette of paying a mourning visit within nine days of the death. Photographs of the deceased, with an inscription, are [215] sent to friends and acquaintances.

A. Cremona.

* 159 434 454 is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent. Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting his money into capital equipment for his fields. [407] He has in fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of 16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding, in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

* 159 511 262 Expenses within the household are difficult to determine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva), a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat and ham,,coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc), olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958) -butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (ghaġin). Ġamri observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually insufficient for the family so additional quantities of these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring [354] the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not considered essential even during the coldest part of the winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

* 159 262 [369] The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural Malta. In some details this differs from that found among urban working classes in the Islands but these differences are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm, where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. [785] An important factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions. Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

CANDLEMAS DAY

This is a religious festival observed 796
not only in Malta but in all other Cath- 171
olic countries in honour of the Blessed
Virgin on the 2nd of February, the
40th day after the Nativity of our Lord.

The word Candlemas is evidently 796
derived from the benediction of the (778)
candles, followed by a procession, which
takes place in the churches on the
morning of this day.

Nearly every family in the Island is 796
presented with one or two of these bles- 794
sed candles—each having at the lower 778
end, the image of the Blessed Virgin 431
stamped in gold leaf, as a distinction 354
from other ordinary wax candles.

These they receive either from the priests, or from some other person attached to the church, as a sort of a slight recompense, for the contributions

796 offered during the year, for the purpose
794 either of decorating or repairing the
778 church or churches of the parish to
● 354 which they belong.

It is also customary for every parish priest—on this special day, or on the day following—to present both the Bishop and the Governor of the Island with a
[643] two lb. candle. It is to be observed, however, that the candle given to the Governor is only a blessed one when he happens to profess the Roman Catholic Religion.

178 This giving of candles to both the
796 Bishop and the Governor—a continua-
354
793 tion of a custom that prevailed in the
431 time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, when the Grand Master was annually presented with a blessed candle on this day—is meant as a token of respect to each of the highest Ecclesiastical and Civil dignitaries of the Island.

533 665 are populous enough to run to two bands these will as likely as not be identified with the opposing political parties.

3

357 No book about Malta, no chapter making mention of the country people, would be complete without reference to a class of Maltese largely drawn from the country-folk. In these days, when domestic service is shunned by potential employees and thought of more as a myth than as something that once existed by would-be employers, it is my pleasant duty to record that Maltese servants can be among the best in the world. Such, at all events, has been my experience and that of many of my friends in Malta. Where employer and employee have been able to establish a relationship of mutual esteem and respect (and few people are more ready to respond in this way than the Maltese domestic), the employer in Malta may confidently count not only upon receiving from members of the household staff faithful, efficient and loyal service but upon retaining, if he or she is only a sojourner in the island, their affectionate regard long after he or she has left its shores.

It is, however, regrettable but necessary to add that since these words were first written domestic servants are tending to become as rare in Malta as they are elsewhere.

114 357 Shortly after the First World War a gentleman named Eric Shepherd came to Malta as Professor of English Literature at the University, and remained there for three years. On his experiences during those three years Mr Shepherd subsequently wrote a book called *Malta and Me*,[1] which abounds in puckish humour and flashes of insight and is often extremely entertaining.

But partly because of its puckishness, partly because the author laid what might appear to some to be excessive emphasis on such drawbacks to life as may exist in Malta

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[1] Selwyn and Blount, 1926.

9[illegible]Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

(and where do they not exist?), his book gave a certain 114
amount of offence in the more sensitive quarters of the 357
island. None the less, it includes a chapter which should have atoned for any "causes of stumbling" created in those quarters. The chapter is entitled "Dolores" and concerns the Shepherds' Maltese maid-of-all-work and their baby's nurse. "Dolores" is not only a telling tribute to some of the salient virtues of the Maltese character; it is one of the most sensitive and moving descriptions of the personal devotion of a servant to her employers and her charge that I have had the good fortune to read.

4

A word has been said earlier in this chapter as to the 137
grandeur of the cliff scenery of Malta. Inland, on the other [133]
hand, the countryside can scarcely be called either grand or impressive, and during the dry summer months there is little colour to set against the brown aridity of the fields other than the sage of the olive, the carob and the fig-trees, and the
pinks and whites of the oleanders beside the roads. But after [132]
the autumn rains have begun to refresh the parched earth the land rapidly assumes a mantle of young green, and the wild flowers appear shyly above ground, beginning with two lovely miniature blooms—the brilliantly blue *Iris minuta* and the even more ethereal, strongly scented "*satarina*" (*N. serotinus*). This, the tiniest of the narcissi, looks as if it had been called into being by a touch of the fairy's wand in Walt Disney's *Fantasia*.

Later, in March and April, Malta and Gozo alike seem to [246]
glow with the crimson, deepening into purple, of the *sulla*, the clover or sainfoin with which thousands of acres are sown for fodder. Among the most striking blends of colour are those produced by many varieties of Bougainvillæa (which flourishes exceedingly in Malta) and the purple-and-cream flowers of the wild caper, against the background of the rich gold of the fortifications.

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The
percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'. Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for Santa Venera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to
36 this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the
harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops, cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public utilities and services.

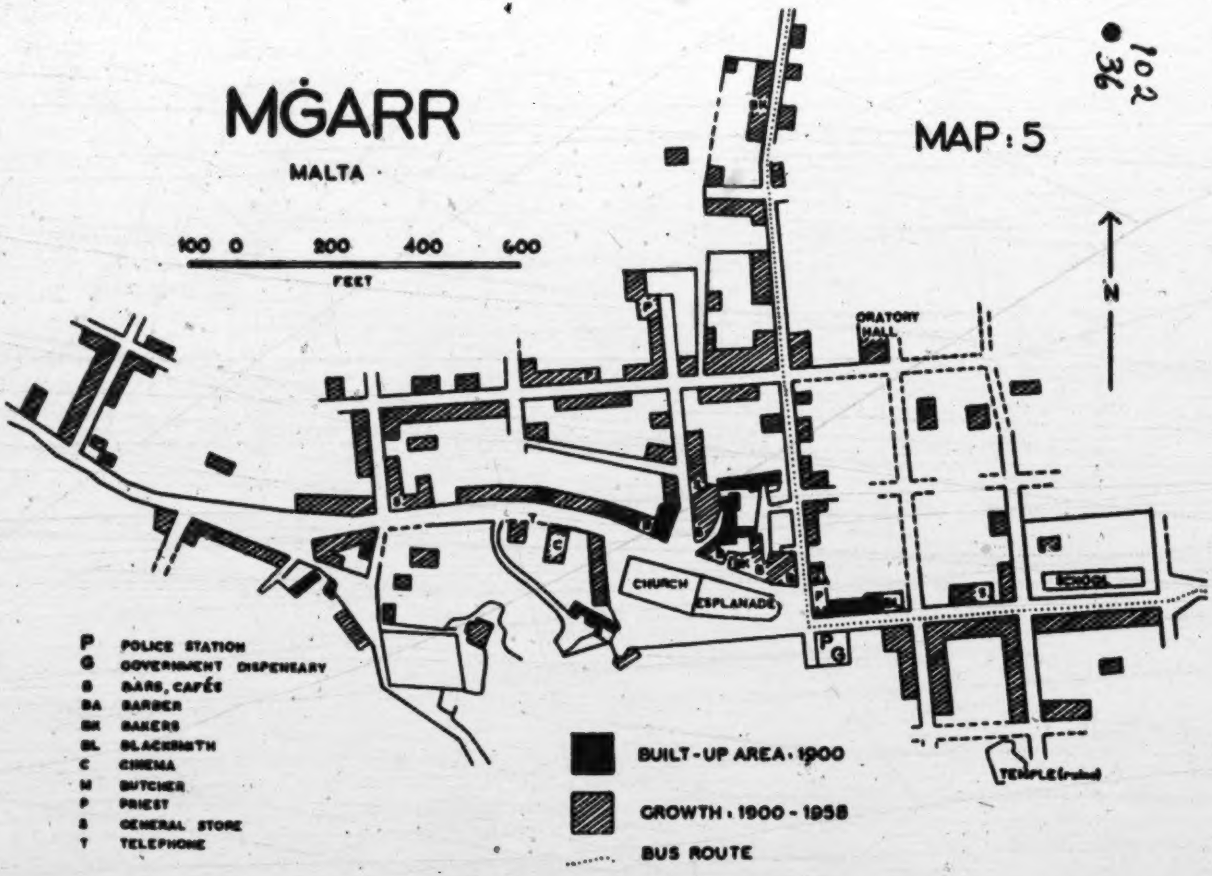
361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
162 dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the
most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix 3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but even in the rural districts most people are seen to live within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only five districts show a built-up township area accounting for more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for 1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern (B/561).

[following p. 7]

MĠARR

MALTA

MAP : 5


100 0 200 400 600
FEET
N
ORATORY HALL
CHURCH
ESPLANADE
SCHOOL
TEMPLE (ruins)
P
G
B
BK
T
C
S
P POLICE STATION
G GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY
B BARS, CAFÉS
BA BARBER
BK BAKERS
BL BLACKSMITH
C CINEMA
M BUTCHER
P PRIEST
S GENERAL STORE
T TELEPHONE
BUILT-UP AREA · 1900
GROWTH · 1900 - 1958
BUS ROUTE

102
● 36

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

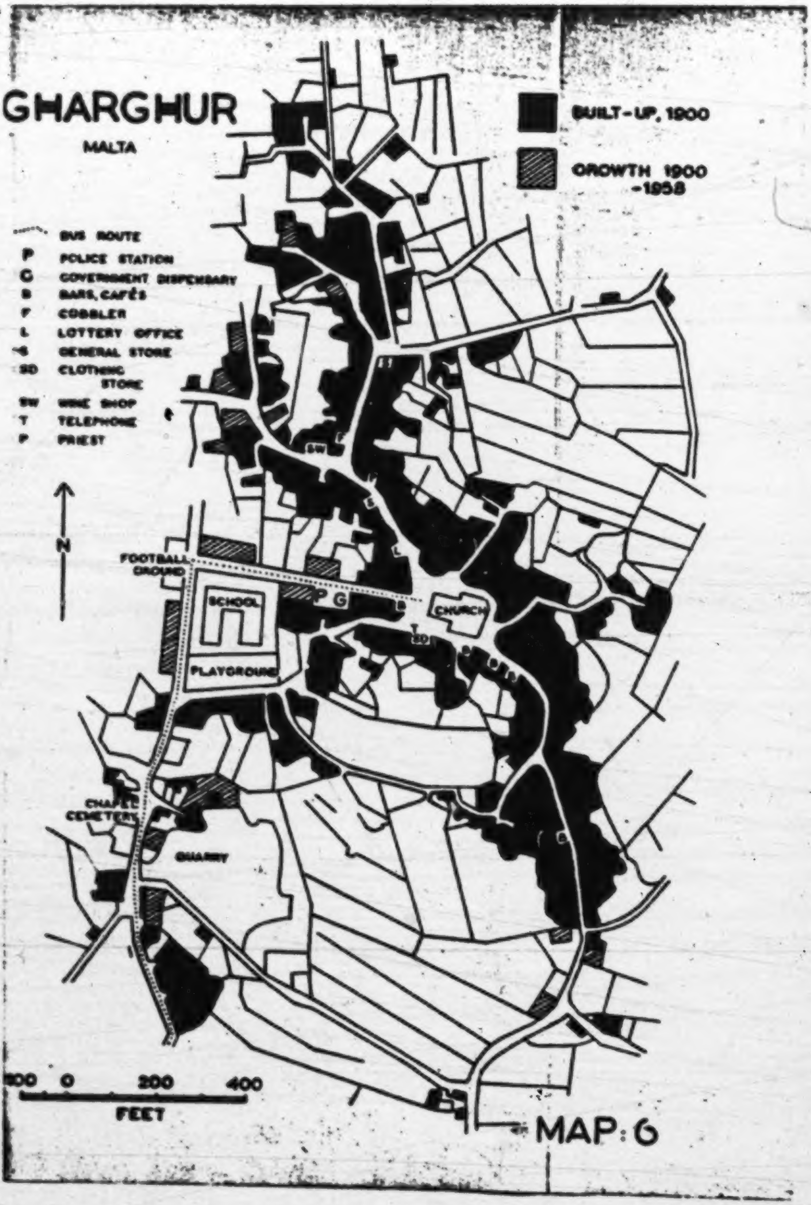
[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
[794] has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).


GHARGHUR
MALTA
BUILT-UP, 1900
GROWTH 1900 -1958
BUS ROUTE
P POLICE STATION
G GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY
B BARS, CAFÉS
C COBBLER
L LOTTERY OFFICE
GS GENERAL STORE
SD CLOTHING STORE
SW WINE SHOP
T TELEPHONE
P PRIEST
N
FOOTBALL GROUND
SCHOOL
PLAYGROUND
CHURCH
CHAPEL
CEMETERY
QUARRY
P G
SW
100 0 200 400
FEET

MAP: 6

[following p. 11]

[Village of Mġarr]
[Village of Gharghur]

000 settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4). Other characteristic features of rural Malta absent in Mġarr are the Band Club and the Football Club. The Band Club movement which spread rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of this became the major 'social' centre for men outside the Church itself (B/521). Similarly football has become a focus of extra-church activity in the Islands - more especially in Gozo where the Band Club has had only a limited extension outside the capital, Victoria. In the case of Mġarr one would expect the village to acquire these 'later-stage' features as it develops in size and 821 social diversity. The writer holds that at present Mġarr is essentially very close to what has been called the traditional Maltese village. Incidentally also its agricultural bias (Map 2) is less removed from the traditional than is the case in the more urban-influenced villages. It is certainly the most rural Parish of Malta and yet does seem more 'urbanate' in terms of social life than is the case over much of Gozo.

121 184 Having enumerated the essential elements of Maltese village structure as exemplified in Mġarr, a brief comparative study of other villages of the archipelago, many of which are much larger, older and more complex, is indicated. From observation two basic premises have been established:

(i) Despite the regional differentiation customarily made, rural society in the Islands has a basic homogeneity:

(ii) The modern problem of this rural society, the problem of the individual who is now socially out of sympathy with the life of the community which bred him, is common to all the rural community of the Islands.

The final question is therefore whether or not there can be a standard type of working rapprochement between the new and the old.

121 621 Two villages which may be compared with Mġarr in an effort to answer this question are Gharghur, a settlement of very old foundation, predominantly agricultural as is Mġarr and of like size, and Żurrieq, much larger, more urbanate in character, containing certain socio-functional divisions within itself, and also possessing two small satellite villages.

36 Morphologically GHARGHUR (Map 6) and Mġarr have little in common on first inspection. The latter contains many new or recent detached and semi-detached buildings within the regular street pattern previously laid down. Many of the houses are quite modern by prevailing standards and

[Village of Gharghur]
[Village of Zurrieq]

36 include such atypically rural features as ground-floor windows[16]. In Mġarr the Church and the Jubilee Esplanade are at the centre of village organization with most of the shops, police station and dispensary close by, and through this central area pass the bus routes from Ghajn Tuffieha, to the north, and Mosta to the east. Gharghur, on the other hand, is a village of many centuries standing. Its morphology is as irregular as that of Mġarr is regular. As [171] one expects of a Maltese village the great Parish Church stands in the centre of the houses and the narrow streets - just as the Faith of the people stands in the centre of their life and work. The old streets of Gharghur grew up without any town-planning. Narrow alleys lead off to quiet courts; goat-pens, tiny shops and houses within yards of each other break the monotony of the streets in which few windows appear at ground-floor level[16]. First floor windows are seen, along with decorative balcony work and other embellishments of the yellow limestone walls. Map 6 distinguishes those parts of the village which have undergone new development, largely since 1945. The main part [491] of the work has been the cutting of a section of new road through old buildings between the Church and the recent Government school. This road now carries the bus route [494] from the Church square, the terminus, to Naxxar, and also houses the police station and the Government dispensary. Here then is the core area of the village (Map 6)

(i) a main street, carrying a regular bus route,
(ii) Church, police station, dispensary and school,
(iii) shops and bars nearby.

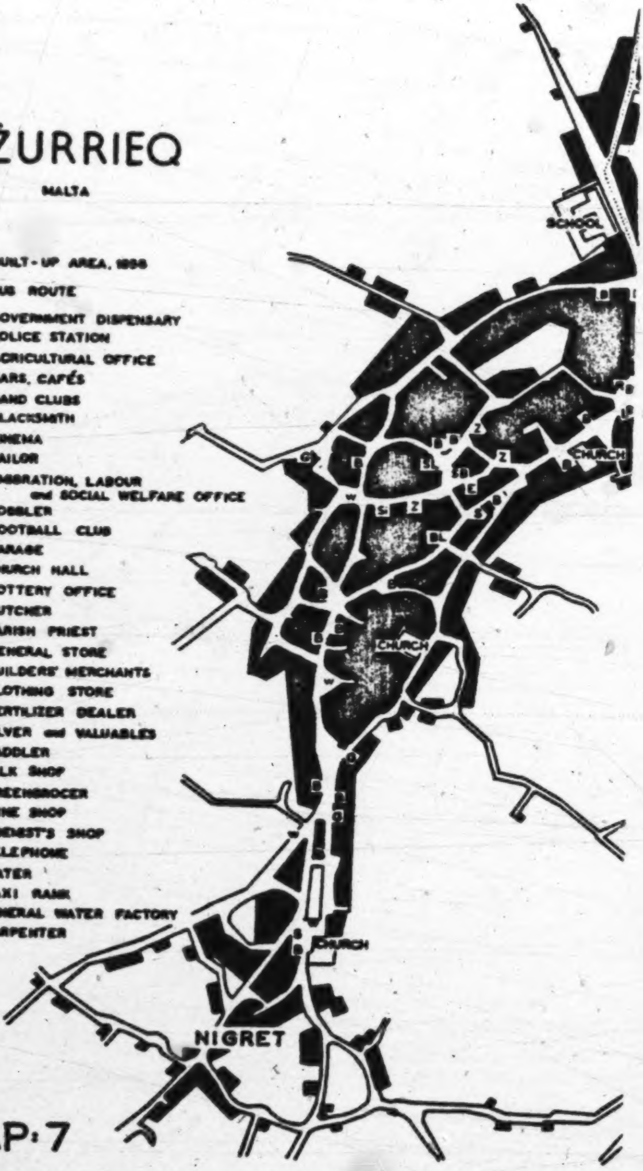
Turning again to Mġarr we now perceive the basic similarities of pattern (Maps 5 and 6).

In the case of ŻURRIEQ (Map 7) the same basic elements appear, though the built-up area of this village is much larger and there are additional, more urbanate, features. Bubaqra is an example of a dependent hamlet lacking the full complement of features of an independent village; it has no school, police station, etc. Żurrieq's morphological development follows the general pattern of the long-established Maltese villages with narrow, twisting streets and alleys delving seemingly at random into the built-up mass of houses, farm buildings, shops and work premises. The village is large enough to allow of secondary nuclei, particularly around churches or chapels, but the bulk of activity is focussed on the core area between Parish Church and School and in and near Churchill Square with its Band Club and Football Club premises, Lotto office[17], and shops.

102
36

ŻURRIEQ

MALTA



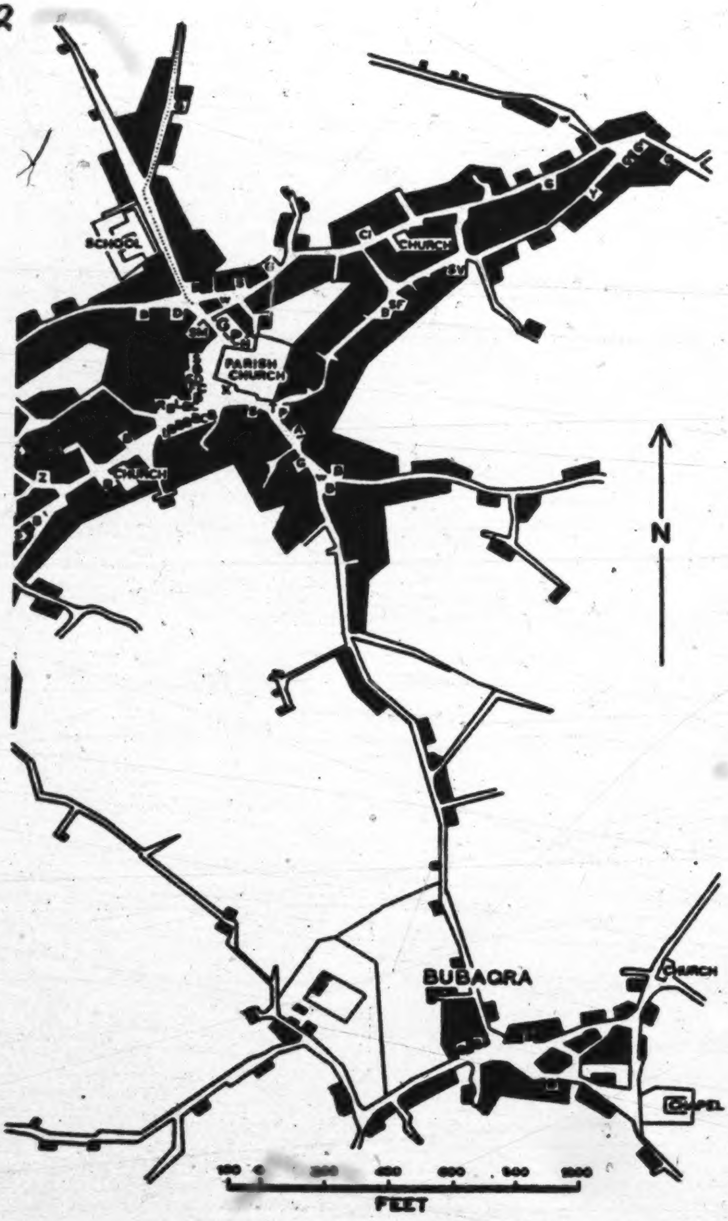
▰	BUILT-UP AREA, 1958
⁀	BUS ROUTE
G	GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY
P	POLICE STATION
A	AGRICULTURAL OFFICE
B	BARS, CAFÉS
BC	BAND CLUBS
BL	BLACKSMITH
CI	CINEMA
D	TAILOR
E	EMIGRATION, LABOUR and SOCIAL WELFARE OFFICE
F	COBBLER
FC	FOOTBALL CLUB
G	GARAGE
H	CHURCH HALL
L	LOTTERY OFFICE
M	BUTCHER
P	PARISH PRIEST
S	GENERAL STORE
SB	BUILDERS' MERCHANTS
SD	CLOTHING STORE
SF	FERTILIZER DEALER
SI	SILVER and VALUABLES
SL	SADDLER
SM	MILK SHOP
SV	GREENGROCER
SW	WINE SHOP
R	CHEMIST'S SHOP
T	TELEPHONE
W	WATER
X	TAXI RANK
Y	MINERAL WATER FACTORY
Z	CARPENTER

MAP·7

[following p. 13, A]

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
● 36


SCHOOL
CHURCH
PARISH CHURCH
CHURCH
N
BUBAQRA
CHURCH
CHAPEL
100 0 200 400 600 800 1000
FEET

[following p. 13, B]

36 This type of core area therefore, as defined in these examples is the basic pattern in all villages throughout Malta and Gozo.

103 361 178 In a consideration of the present scene within the Maltese village it is essential to be aware, at all stages of the argument, of the evolution of the settlements concerned. In the Żurrieq case it is clear that the main village block is extending in several directions, notably northward past the school and south-westward towards the small hamlet of Nigret. This latter is already linked by a continuous built-up stretch to the main village and thus contrasts with Bubaqra which remains morphologically [578] independent. In the case of some of the larger villages, Żebbuġ and Żejtun are two notable examples, the completion of this kind of merging of nuclei accounts for present intra-village sectionalism. Thus Żebbuġ (Malta) is a compound of three ancient village nuclei, Hal Muxi, Hal Mula and Hal Dwieli. The very title of 'Hal', or 'village', still given to these parts of what is now a single village reflects their original separate independence. They have grown together over the centuries and have been unified by the construction of a Parish Church and the appearance of a new 'township' core in the central area. Similarly Żejtun has three component parts, Ta'Fuq (Upper), Ta'Isfel (Lower), and Ta' Wara l-Knisja (Behind the Church): the present large Parish Church has been built in the space remaining between the merging older nuclei. The distinction here is clearly morphological rather than administrative but is nevertheless not to be ignored in a study of social structure and affiliation in a static and conservative community.

Merging between fully independent villages has also occurred. Balzan-Birkirkara and Pawla-Tarxien are examples, but here the administrative and affiliatory distinctions have been maintained. At a higher level still the merging of the settlements comprising the Urban area, begun in the nineteenth century but more rapid in the twentieth, is the major feature of modern settlement growth in Malta (B/561).

Rabat in Malta, and Rabat (Victoria) in Gozo, illustrate another aspect of settlement evolution where morphological [712] facts bear on social structure. In both cases the 'suburb of the citadel' ('Ir-Rabat tal-Indina') grew to large-village size outside the Walls [illegible] the central fortified stronghold of each Island. In Malta, Rabat remained as the main rural centre after the capital had moved to Valletta, with ancient Mdina itself remaining a quiet residential back-water.

000 In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an

361
712
346

Plate IX. Mdina. Ramparts and Cathedral.

361
712

Plate X. The Citadel, Rabat, Gozo.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

*175
107
361
●

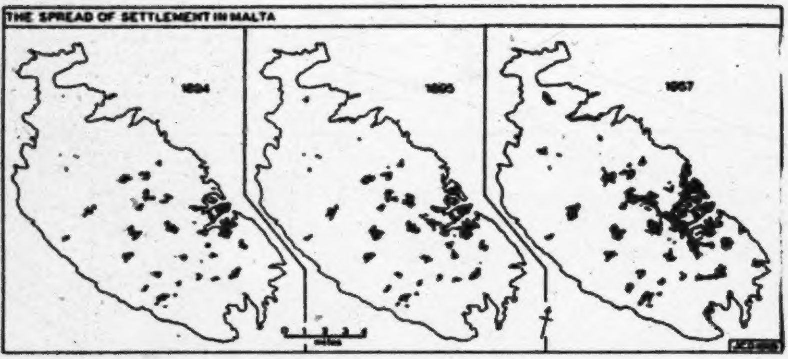

THE SPREAD OF SETTLEMENT IN MALTA
miles

Fig. 32 The Spread of Settlement in Malta.

107
364

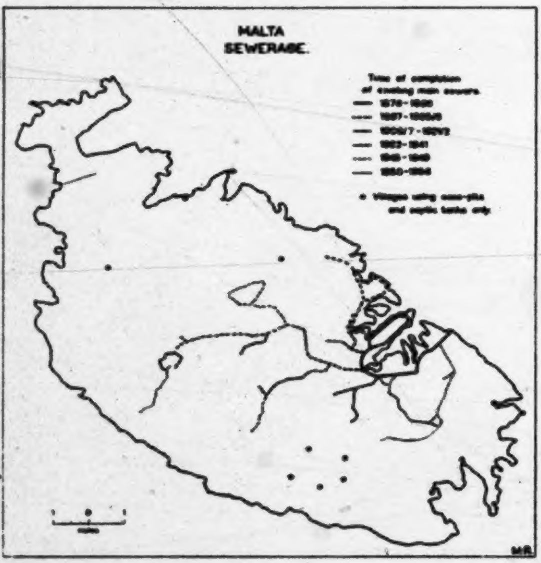

MALTA
SEWERAGE.
Time of completion
of existing main sewers.
Villages using cess-pits
and septic tanks only.
miles
MR

Fig. 33 Malta: Sewerage.

tion increase had overtaken economic growth, and in particular had forced an 175*
expansion of the cultivated area. As still evidenced in the landscape the farming 369
frontier moved into the more difficult lands of the north-western uplands and on 43
Mellieha Ridge and intensified effort on the floodable lands of Wied il-Ghasel.
The *Società-Economico-Agraria* in a series of reports and in the *Gazzetta*
Agraria Maltese expended much effort during this time in studying the possibility
of reclaiming land hitherto uncultivated (17).

From 1871 onward non-agricultural employment became absolutely 175*
dominant. The significance of this change lies in the fact that indigenously
rooted manufacturing, viz. cotton working, died completely and the largest sector 463
of National Production became entirely dependent on external wealth. A closer 369
examination of one of the crucial periods, the decade 1871-81, illustrates the
regional changes which were taking place. The male working population 464
increased suddenly from 40,699 to 46,116. The greatest rate of increase
occurred in the urban area where the number of male workers rose by 17 per 43
cent. while the population increased only by 9 per cent. The suburban trend was
intermediate between this and the rural situation where the employment rate
rose by only 8 per cent. - less than 800 men. The greatest suburban rise
occurred mainly in the following decade. Functionally the largest increase
occurred in the group of Porters, Carriers and Coalheavers - 100 per cent.,
while the commercial group increased by 27 per cent. and the numbers in the
building trade actually declined slightly. During this decade and most of the next
the greater part of economic growth resulted from increased port activity. At
one end of the social scale there would seem to have been an actual migration
of nobility and gentry from the 'unfashionable' old centres into Valletta, while
in the capital the number of 'gentry' increased rapidly with each census as
successful *nouveaux riches* acquired estates and a higher status. Bankers,
merchants and dealers increased by 8 per cent., and in ever descending and
widening social circles, shopkeepers by 11 per cent. and petty vendors by 25
per cent. The Transport group, an advanced stage to that of Porters, increased
in number even more astonishingly, by 129 per cent. in Malta as a whole and
by 318 per cent. in the rural areas.

As Table 23 indicates, the economic revolution was becoming more complex and the sphere of influence of Valletta and the port became more extensive.

Table 23. Percentage change in the male working population.

Location	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91
Urban	+8	+17	-4
Suburban	+0.7	+12	+5
Rural	+9	+8	+1

By 1891 the port boom was over but Government expenditure and Imperial military spending continued to rise. Commerce came more to mean retail trade and dockyard work more associated with bunkering and naval servicing. Coalheaving, civil and military, engaged 2,075 men by 1891. By 1905 over 9,000 men were employed by the Naval Establishments, half of these on constructional work. On the other hand, the build up of the garrison, naval and military ended in 1902 and the Royal Commissioners in 1911 estimated that 'the reduction of the garrison must mean a loss to the industries of Malta of not less than £400,000 a year'.

During the closing years of the nineteenth century there was finally established 175*
in Malta the complex economic pattern which still fundamentally underlies 43
life in the Islands. The greater integration of economic life, a high level of urban [361] ●
and dockyard activity and the improvement of internal communications resulted
not in continued movement into the *urbs* but in the growth of the suburbs and [369]
the strengthening of the non-agricultural element in the rural areas. Thus of
the coalheavers of 1891, 80 per cent. lived outside the port complex and [464]
44 per cent. in the outer ring of casals Qormi, Luqa and Żejtun. The labour

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712

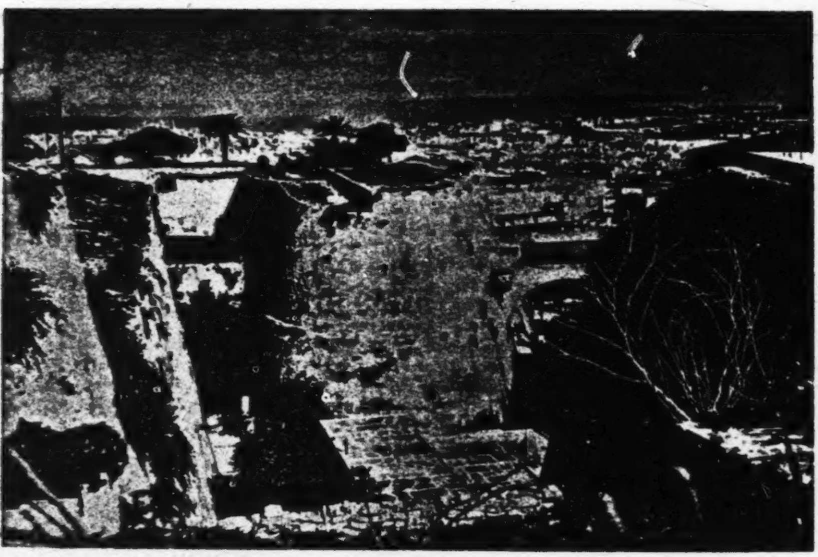


Plate XI. The Bastions, Valletta.

346
492
493

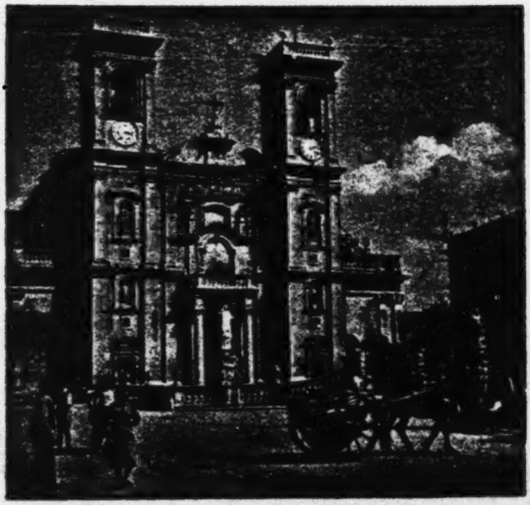
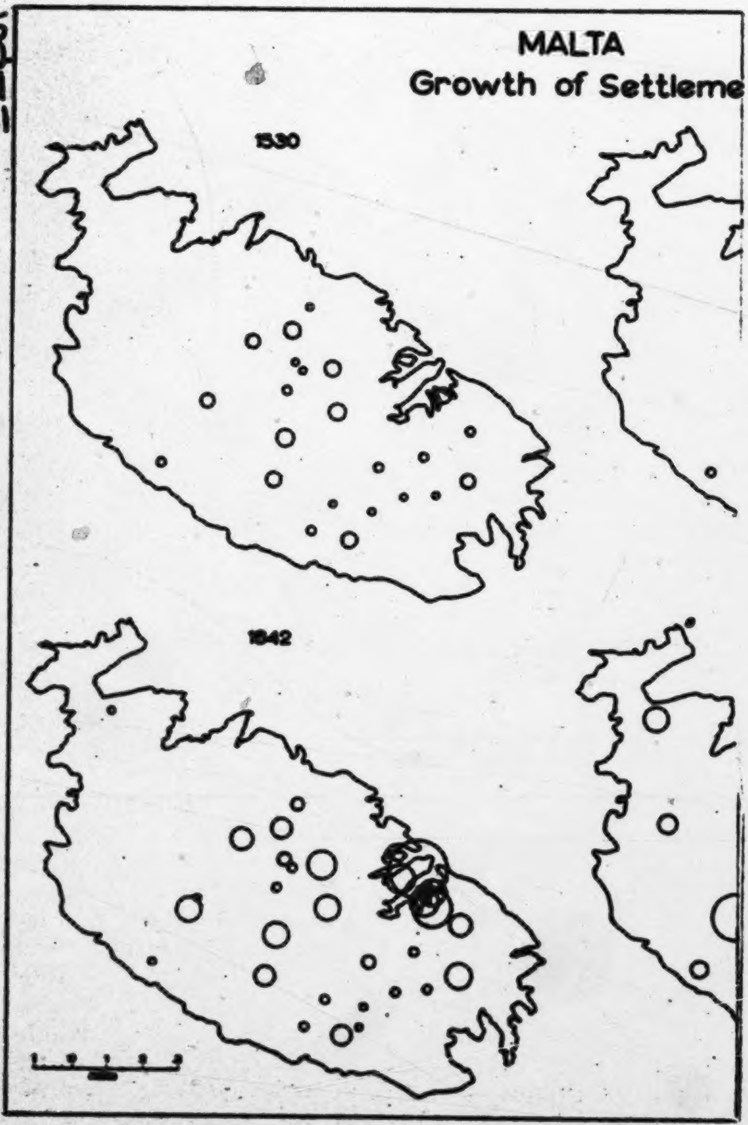


Plate XII. The Church and Piazza, Żabbar.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*175
102
161
361


MALTA
Growth of Settleme
1530
1842

[p139-A]

Fig. 30 Malta: Growth of Settlements

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

[139-B]

175*
102
161
361 ●

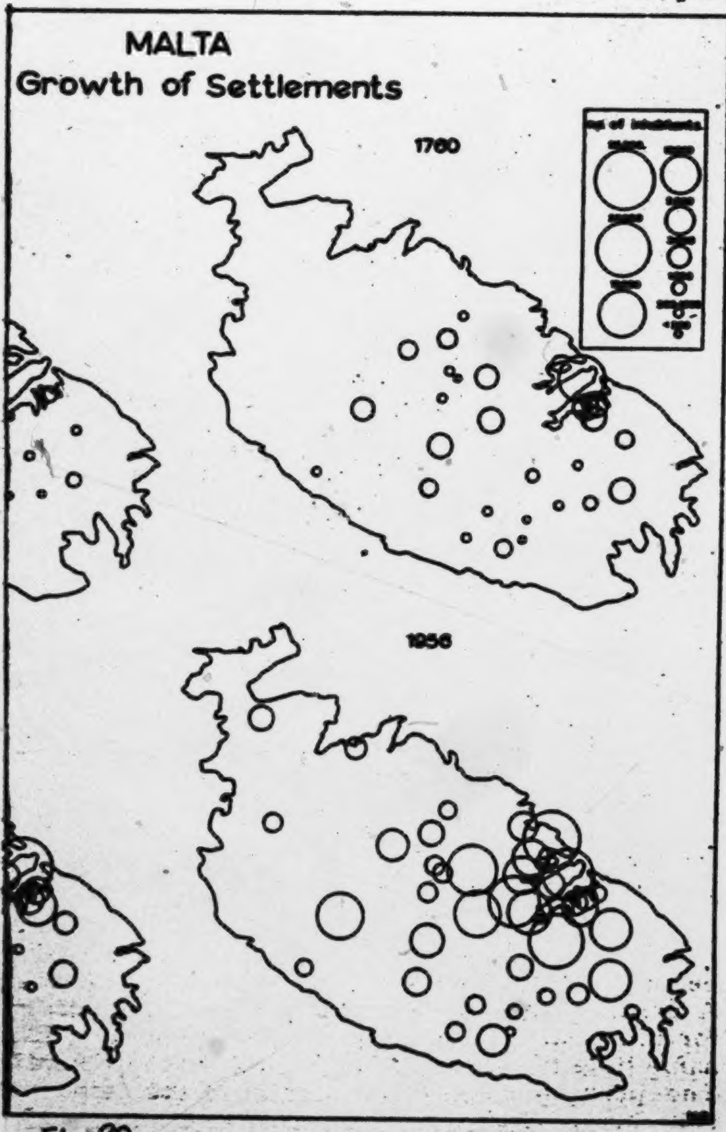

MALTA
Growth of Settlements
1760
1956

Fig. 39

Malta: Growth of Settlements.

[p. 139-B]

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

*175 The main changes in population distribution may be easily established.

161 Before the arrival of the Knights, the population of the Islands was clustered in small inland villages while in the centre of each island was a fortified town 361 where refuge could be sought in time of trouble. At the same time each island had its port. Thus, in Malta, Birgu (later renamed Vittoriosa) was the commercial centre while Mdina was the ecclesiastical and administrative capital. In 1436, there were 11 parishes in all: by the late seventeenth century the number had risen to 26 (Fig. 38). The establishment of these new parishes was largely confined to the central and southern parts of the Island; the north remained but sparsely peopled.

Under the Knights growth of population around the Grand Harbour and the vulnerability of Birgu to attack, as demonstrated in the Great Siege, led to the building of Bormla (Kospikwa) and Isla (Senglea) together with the new capital of Valletta on the previously barren Xibberas peninsula. The population of this city complex reached its high water mark in the early part of the nineteenth

[p. 139-C]

[TEXT continues on p. 140-C]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*175
107
161
● 361

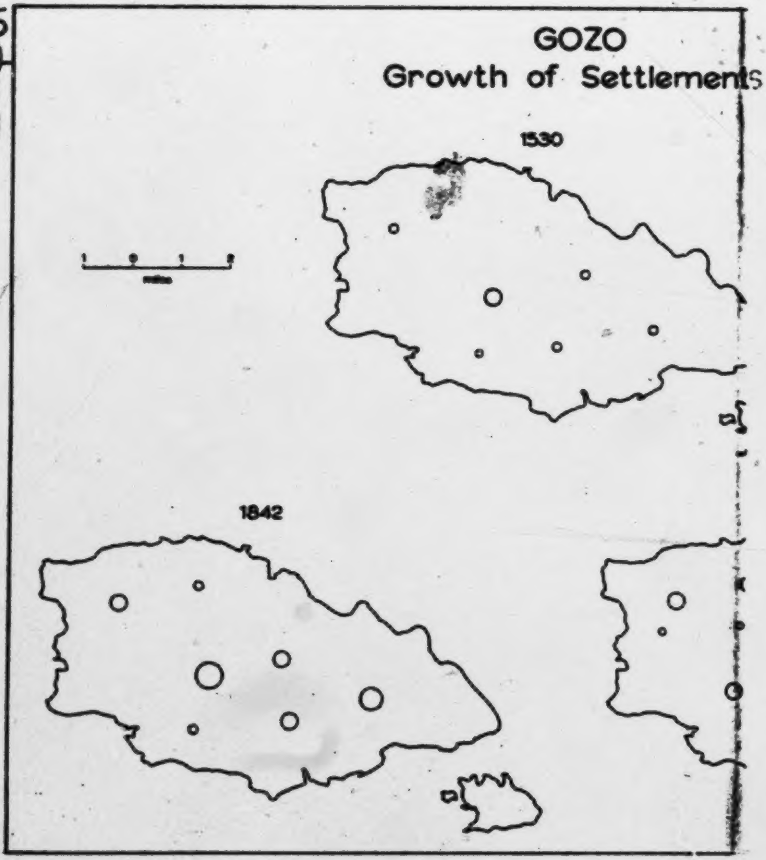

GOZO
Growth of Settlements
1530
1 0 1 2
miles
1842

Fig. 40 Gozo: Growth of Settlements

[p.140-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

175*
161
102
361

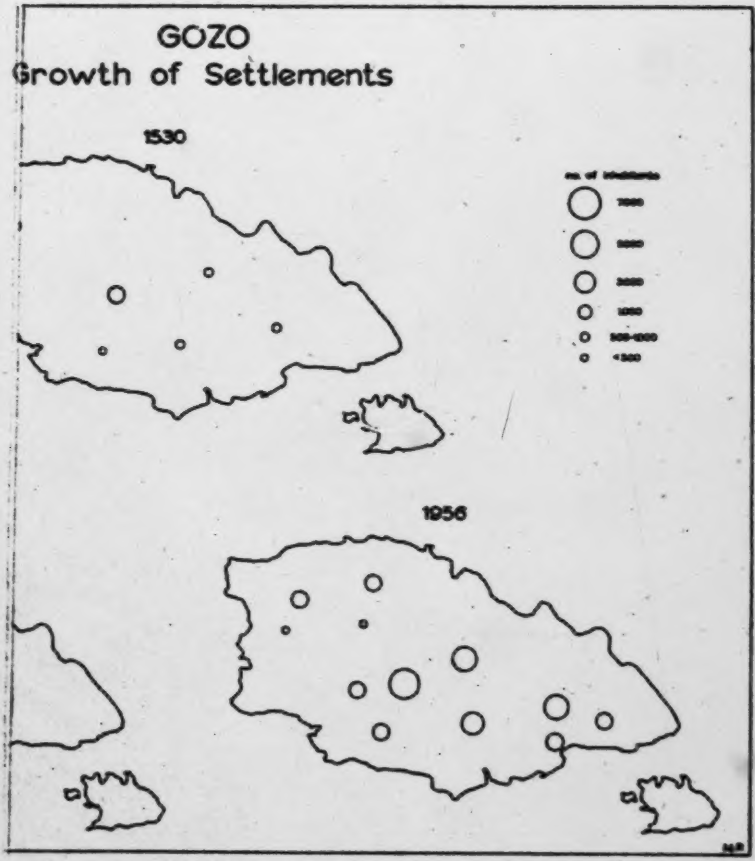

GOZO
Growth of Settlements
1530
no. of inhabitants
1956

Fig. 40 Gozo: Growth of Settlements.

[p. 140-B]

*175 161 361 century, since when the numbers living therein have declined appreciably. A parallel development has been the spread of 'fringe' settlements outside the fortifications accompanied by a transfer of population from the cities. At the same time there has been a persistent movement inwards from rural districts. The present century has also seen the establishment and growth of coastal settlement, notably around Marsaxlokk Bay, and the expansion of such northern villages as Mellieħa, St. Paul's Bay and Mġarr, previously of little importance (Fig. 39).

Changes in the distribution of population and the development of new settlements have also occurred in Gozo where the hill top villages have grown ever-larger and where such places as Għasri, San Lawrenz and Kerċem have become sufficiently important to warrant the establishment of new parishes. In contrast to Malta, however, the ancient citadel of Gozo with its suburbs in Rabat (Victoria) remains the capital and there has been no movement of the economic centre of gravity towards the coast (Fig. 40).

The difference between the rates of increase of the populations of Malta and Gozo, the former trebling between 1842 and 1956, the latter not quite doubling, is one indicator of the growing socio-economic differences between the two islands. A more useful distinction appears from a study of the functional and demographic characteristics of regional groups of settlement. By the mid-nineteenth century onward a conurbation with true urban functions had developed around the Grand Harbour, while to the west around Marsamxett and beyond, and on the southern and eastern city fringes were appearing suburban settlements in which non-rural residential development overwhelmed old village

[p.140-C]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.144]

Key to Abbreviations used in Figs. 41 - 45

*175
161
•361

Fig. 41
M = Malta
U = Urban
S = Suburban
R = Rural
G = Gozo

Fig. 42
Va = Valletta
C = Cospicua
F = Floriana
S = Senglea
V = Vittoriosa

Fig. 43
Bk = Birkirkara
Gz = Gżira
H = Hamrun
Ka = Kalkara
M = Marsa
Ms = Msida
Pa = Pawla
Pt = Pieta
Q = Qormi
SV = Santa Vennera
SJ = Saint Julian's
Sl = Sliema
T = Tarxien
Za = Żabbar

Fig. 44(a)
D = Dingli
Gg = Għargħur
Md = Mdina
Me = Mellieħa
Mg = Mġarr
Mo = Mosta
N = Naxxar
Rb = Rabat
SP = Saint Paul's Bay
Sg = Siggiewi
Zb = Żebbuġ

Fig. 44(b)
A = Attard
Ba = Balzan
Bb = Birżebbuġa
Gd = Gudja
Gx = Għaxaq
Kk = Kirkop
L = Lija
Lq = Luqa
Mq = Mqabba
Mx = Marsaxlokk
Qr = Qrendi
Sa = Safi
Zt = Żejtun
Zq = Żurrieq

Fig. 45
Gb = Għarb
GM = Għajnsielem and Mġarr
Gs = Għasri
Kc = Kercem
Nd = Nadur
Ql = Qala
Rb = Rabat
SM = Sannat and Munxar
SL = Santa Luċija
X = Xagħra
Xk = Xewkija
Zg = Żebbuġ

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

L

*175
161
361

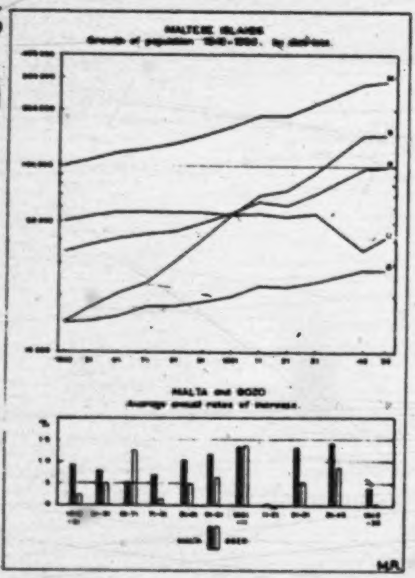


Fig. 41 Maltese Islands: Growth of Population, 1842-1956, by Districts.

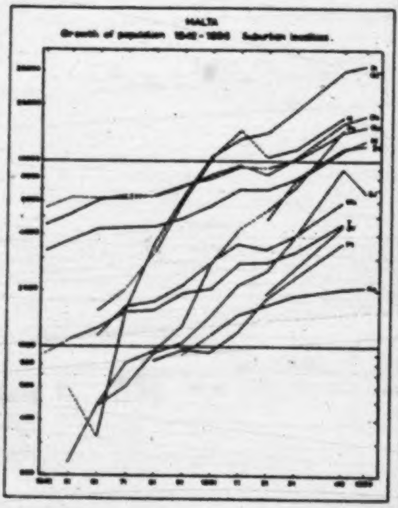


Fig. 43 Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Suburban Localities.

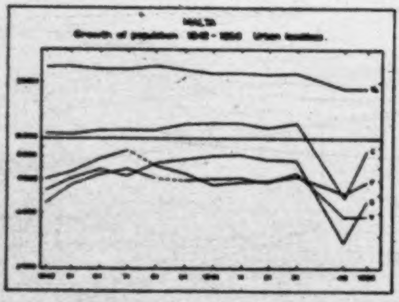
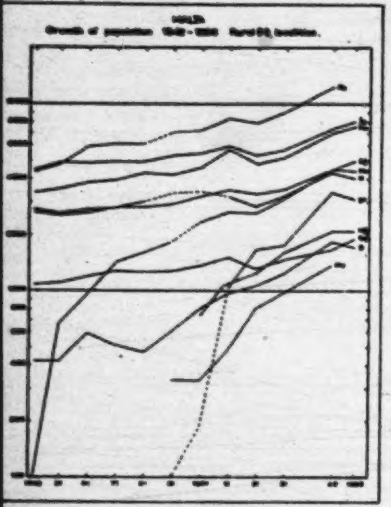


Fig. 42 Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Urban Localities.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

175*
161
361 ●



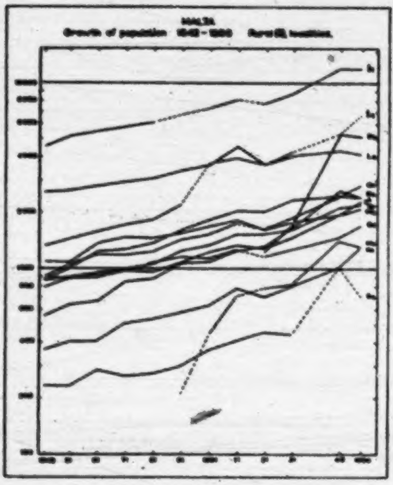


Fig. 44a Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Rural (N) Localities.

Fig. 44b Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Rural (S) Localities.

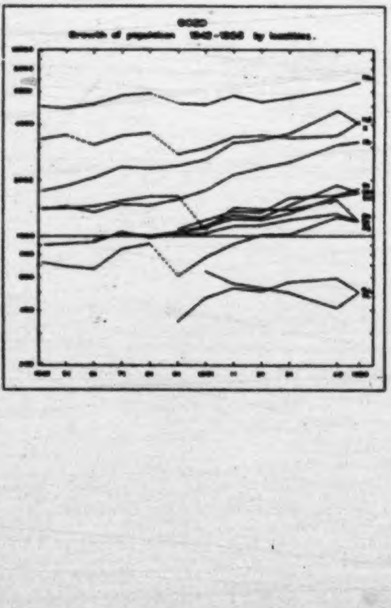


Fig. 45 Gozo: Growth of Population 1842-1956, by Districts.

*175 161 361 nuclei. Table 27 below shows how in numerical terms the regional population balance changed. It will be observed that the proportion of people living in the diminishing rural area remained remarkably constant, although as already noted in Chapter V, a growing number of these were not farmworkers. Equally noteworthy is the decline in residential importance of the urban nucleus compared with the rise of the suburbs, producing a complete proportional reversal between 1842 and 1956 (Fig. 41).

Table 27. Percentage distribution of population. Island of Malta.

	1842	1861	1881	1901	1921	1948	1956
Urban Districts	50.6	48.0	43.3	33.2	28.2	12.6	14.5
Suburban Districts	14.5	17.4	23.1	33.1	39.2	52.6	50.9
Rural Districts	34.9	34.6	33.6	33.7	32.6	34.8	34.6

Within this main pattern of distributional change, other small-scale but significant trends may be discerned. Among the urban areas (Fig. 42), Valletta's population was decreasing as early as 1842-51, but in other districts the decline did not set in until after 1871, while Senglea and Kospikwa continued to grow, albeit slowly, until 1911. During the Second World War, decline in numbers was most marked in the Three Cities while the population of Floriana actually increased. Since 1948, there has been a reversal of these trends, the populations of Senglea and Kospikwa growing more rapidly than that of Floriana, while Valletta and Vittoriosa showed little or no increase.

The most noteworthy distinction among suburban localities has been the differences between the older and newer centres (Fig. 43). Birkirkara, Qormi, Żabbar and Tarxien have all shown a slower rate of growth than the other nine localities, although in the case of Tarxien, now contiguous with the newer settlement of Pawla, increase has been quite rapid. The growth of Pawla, Hamrun, Sliema and St. Julian's has been the most striking feature of the period since the first Census. In 1842, these hamlets had less than 1,000 inhabitants while in 1956, they were the home of some 70,000 people, half the suburban population and one-quarter of that of the whole of Malta. The stagnation of Kalkara further illustrates the fact that second-stage suburban growth has been concentrated around and beyond Marsamxett Harbour rather than near the commercial and naval Grand Harbour.

Among rural areas too (Fig. 44) growth has been most rapid in the newer and largely non-agricultural settlements such as Marsaxlokk, Birżebbuġa and St. Paul's Bay. A few villages, including Żurrieq, Kirkop and Mosta, showed rapid gains between 1901 and 1911 but lost a great deal of ground in the following decade when their rate of growth was much smaller than that of the newer settlements mentioned above.

In Gozo (Fig. 45), the largest villages have grown least in recent years while smaller ones, such as Żebbuġ, have gained more rapidly. However, unlike Malta, Gozo shows no great gains among the newer centres. San Lawrenz, for example, was created a parish in 1901 but suffered a steady decline in population from that date until 1948.

SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

*175 162 167 From 1842 onward an excess of females over males has been characteristic of the population of the Islands (Fig. 46). Masculinity, as measured by the male: female ratio, has been consistently higher in Malta than in Gozo. All the evidence suggests that this is a result of the persistent character of male emigration from the smaller island, whether to Malta or further afield. Within Malta some characteristic trends are observable. The masculinity of the urban districts has closely followed, though at a lower level, that of Malta as a whole,

133
341
361

Plate XIII. The Grand Harbour, Malta.

Plate XIV. Mgarr Harbour, Gozo.

102 Fig. 64 shows the distribution in Malta of Maltese Dockyard workers by
464 residence as a proportion of the total regional populations. The zones of concentration are centred on the Three Cities, and the great importance of Dock-
504 yard employment in the North-East as a whole, a phenomenon more than a
century old (19), is clear. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the much
[361] smaller association of Dockyard employment with the belt of urban settlement
which stretches from Valletta westwards to Lija. Conversely, the northern third of the Island, most recently settled and still relatively sparsely populated, has very little indeed to do with Grand Harbour. Gozo, still more remote, had but 25 Dockyard workers. Some 417 English workers were employed in the Dockyard most of them living in the suburban residential areas west of Valletta, 75 per cent. in contiguous Sliema, St. Julians and Gżira.

Thus we see the one part of the climax of that change in Malta which, commencing in the sixteenth century, swung the economic centre of gravity from the Centre to the North-East. During the last century the new conurbation
extended its grip on the rest of the Island. Police Traffic Records (20) show
[494] part of this effect; on the 5th February, 1958, a normal day, 28 special buses,
in addition to public transport, carried 930 Dockyard employees to work from a zone extending to Birżebbuġa, Żurrieq, Siġġiewi, Dingli, Rabat, Mosta and north-eastwards to St. Julians.

185 Here we have reason and space only for the briefest of notes on current economic conditions. For more complete statements the reader is referred to
504 the recent publications of the Maltese Department of Trade and Industry. As a result of Britain's reappraisal of her strategic needs, the old Naval Dockyard was handed over to a civilian firm by April 1959. Some emotional reaction has

1: Bowen-Jones et al.   K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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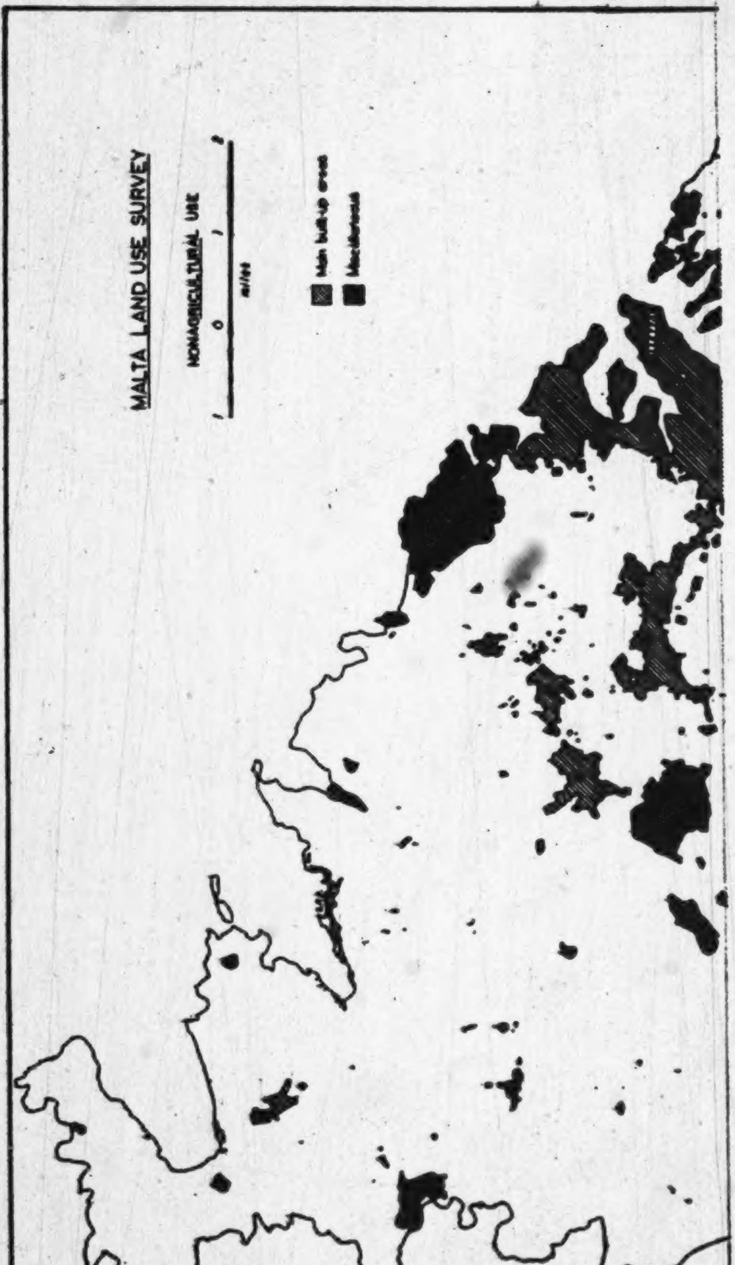
MALTA LAND USE SURVEY
NONAGRICULTURAL USE
1 0 1 2
miles
Main built-up areas
Miscellaneous

[p 232-A]

Fig. 87 Malta: Land Use Survey:
Non-agricultural use.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
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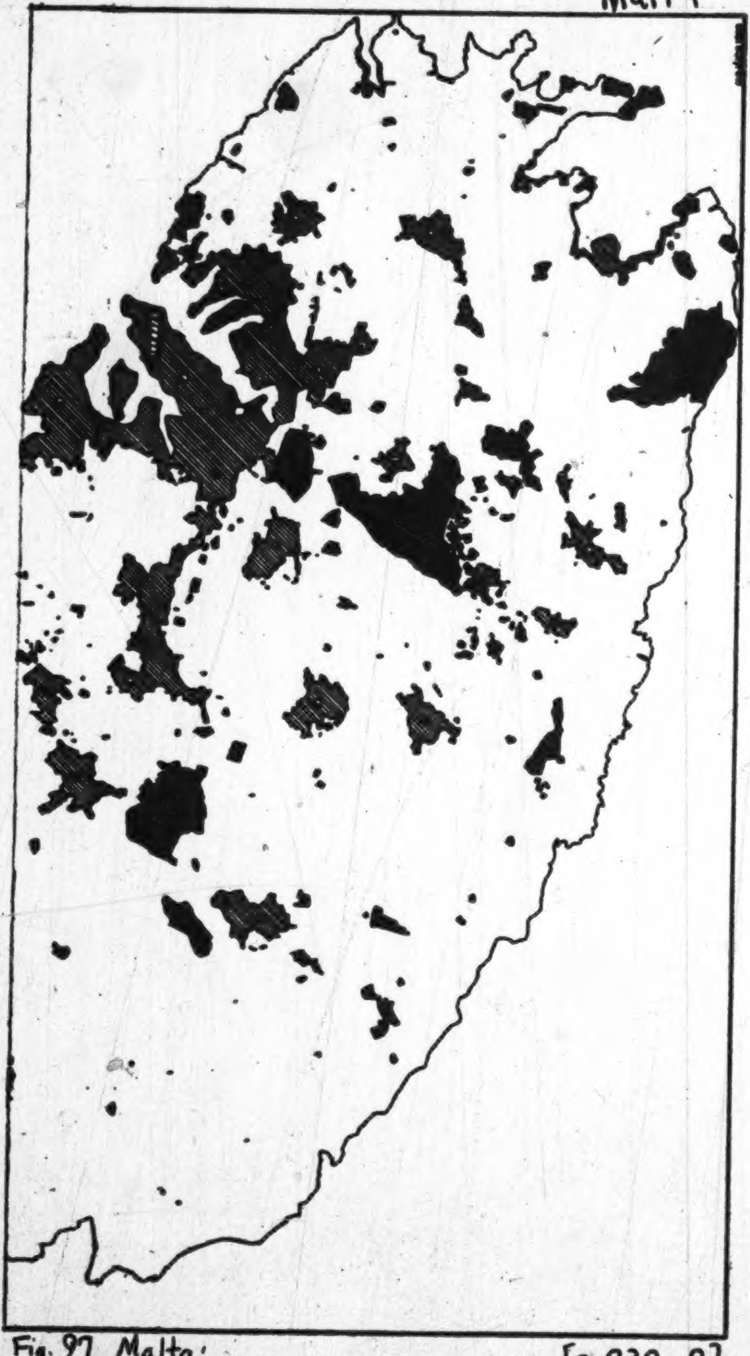

Fig. 97 Malta:
Land Use Survey: Non-agricultural Use.

[p. 232-B]

slopes. With the exception of ta'Ċenċ, these areas also correspond to the most remote and difficult lands. Lastly, the tops of the smaller mesas, too restricted in area for permanent settlement, form lesser patches of waste. 311*

NON-AGRICULTURAL USE (Figs. 97 and 98) 311*

This category covers a variety of uses of land. The major element here is land occupied by settlements. In Malta, this includes true urban development as in the Valletta conurbation, agro-towns (the *casals*) and a small number of village-hamlets such as Mġarr and Bubaqra. Their limits, plotted on a six-inch scale, were drawn to separate true farmland from house-gardens, orchards and stockyards associated with the settlements. As noted previously, this has resulted in some slight exaggeration of the areas defined as 'built-up'. 361

In Gozo, Victoria is the only true town. Żebbuġ, Xaghra, Nadur and Qala have small urban nuclei but otherwise consist of agglomerated farmsteads as also do the remaining villages. Field-work on a 25-inch scale has allowed a more precise delineation of the built-up areas and of dispersed settlement. The latter, as may be seen from the maps, bears a striking correspondence to the road pattern.

The 'Miscellaneous' category includes land used by the Defence Departments as airfields, barracks and other installations. For security reasons, a more detailed appraisal has not been made. Other types of land-use included here are quarries being worked at the time of the survey, as in the Naxxar-Gharghur and ta'Kandja districts of Malta, sportsgrounds (e.g. Marsa) and reservoirs as at ta'Ċenċ. In Malta, small groups of buildings outside the main settlements also fall within this category, whereas in Gozo only special cases such as that of ta'Pinu shrine and the Fort Chambray asylum are so marked.

The 15 different types of land use portrayed in the distribution maps are a striking illustration of the wide range of conditions, physical, human and economic, to be found within the Maltese Islands. A fuller picture emerges when the regional combinations of these elements are studied in detail and this is done in Chapter VIII, where different crop assemblages are used to define Agricultural Regions. 311* 128

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

*311
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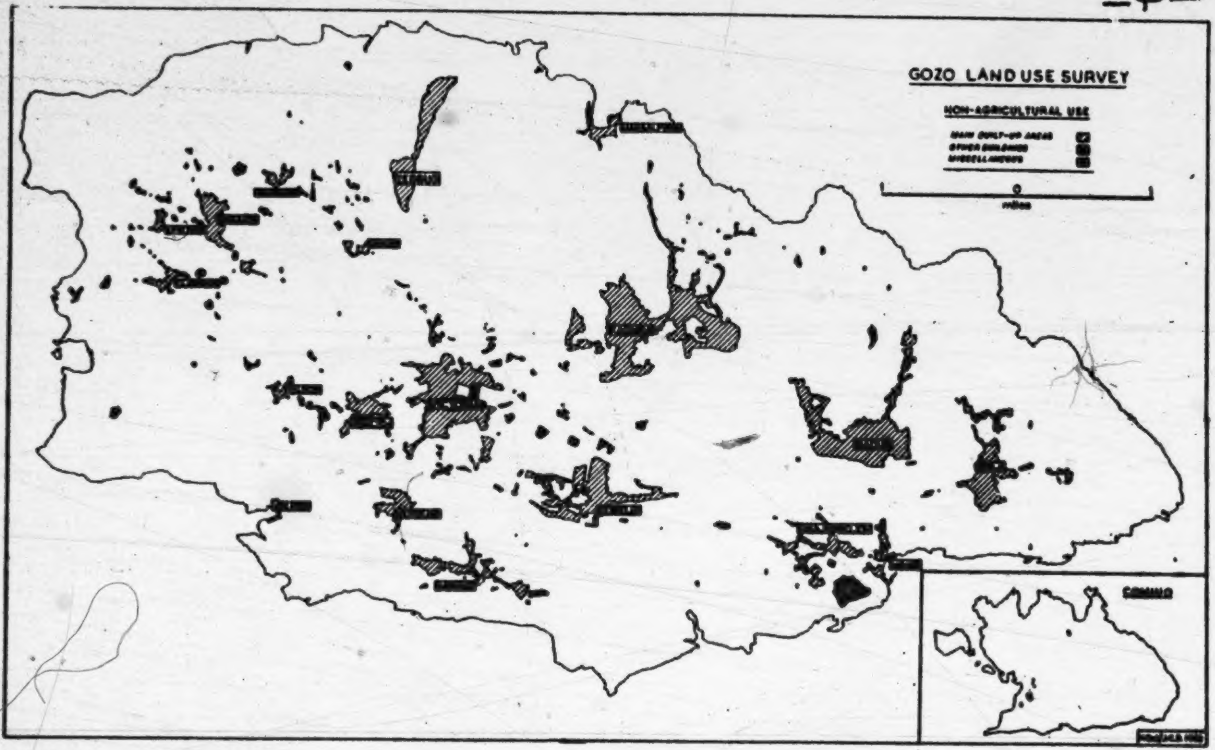
GOZO LAND USE SURVEY
NON-AGRICULTURAL USE
MAIN BUILT-UP AREAS
OTHER BUILDINGS
MISCELLANEOUS
0
miles
COMINO

Fig.98 Goso: Land Use Survey: Non-agricultural Use.

Malta

newer pattern is represented by a rectilinear arrangement of tracks and a few walls. This apparent attempt to develop the region may be approximately dated to the 1880's, the last period of agricultural expansion. Very little of the land then laid out can have been further developed. Since 1957, afforestation by olive planting is adding a third layer to the palimpsest that is the map of Bajda Ridge. 241* 311*

A.VI. WIED TAL-PWALES (Fig. 104)

This fault-controlled alluvial basin shows little topographic diversity. The differing character of the bordering areas (see Chapter I B) is, however, reflected in the agriculture and the abrupt cessation of cultivation along the low Coralline scarp which forms the northern boundary of the lowland contrasts with the long slope on the southern side, where a transitional belt of dry farming leads up to the Wardija Uplands.

The relatively recent discovery of plentiful sub-soil water at shallow depth has allowed the relegation of dry-farmed crops to the hill slopes, though some cereals and legumes are still grown in the lowland as wind breaks and rotation crops. Yields from the large but intensely subdivided and fragmented fields (Fig. 104) are among the highest in Malta. Tomatoes, melons and artichokes are unusually important in the eastern half of the depression while, on the slightly higher ground in the west, potatoes and vines predominate.

This specialised and prospering commercial agriculture, relying on numerous small diesel- and donkey-powered pumps, is not without its ecological dangers. Already, after less than half a century's use, too lavish use of water drawn from a sea-level water table (Chapter I C) in combination with artificial fertilisers has resulted in an increased concentration of soluble salts in the soil. Surface inflorescences may be noted in many places and it would seem that some land has deteriorated. Social factors too have played their part in reducing productivity; one large block of land, abandoned by some 30 tenants following a dispute over rentals, stands out sharply on the wasteland map (Fig. 95).

There are a few large farmsteads in the centre of the lowland, but settlement is for the most part aligned along its edges. [361]

A.VII. WARDIJA UPLANDS

These uplands have a diversity similar to that already noted in the case of Mellieħa, but expressed on a considerably larger scale. The main ridge is flanked by embayments to the north and south, and, in the east, is divided into two prongs by the Wied Qannotta complex.

The northern prong, extending from the lip of Ġnejna to Wardija Hill, forms an irregular belt of wasteland in which the cols (as at il Hotba ta'San Martin (36)) stand out as small cultivated zones. Patch cultivation in solution hollows further diminishes the apparent barrenness. On the northern slopes, between the Wied tal-Pwales and the broken Upper Coralline escarpment, lies a series of embayments.

In the west is the elongated depression of Wied Ghajn Tuffieħa (25). Tank-irrigated potato cultivation is particularly intensive near the valley-side hamlet though the crop range is generally diversified. Il-Palma (26) is a similar, although smaller pocket. Scattered settlement occurs in the wied bottom between an undercliff hamlet at the valley head and a lower hamlet at the valley-foot junction with Wied tal-Pwales. The Wied ta'San Martin (27) is much more linked with the plain to the north in that tomato cultivation is dominant even to the exclusion of many of the dry-farmed crops. The prosperity of this irrigated embayment is reflected in the large size of the several farmsteads. Il-Ballut (28) has more land devoted to cereals and vines. The more open embayment of the Wied Bufula (29) with its more extensive outcrop of Blue Clay possesses fewer *ġnien* characteristics. With a greater range of irrigated and dry crops, it is more akin to the Clay slope zones of other regions.

North of iż-Żebbieh, at ta'Saliba Crossroads (34), the southern limb of the Wardija Uplands diverges from the main ridge and extends eastward to Ġebel Ghawsara. Narrow, and much broken by small wieds, this southern ridge has only discontinuous stretches of wasteland, which are concentrated on the hill

A.XV (a and b). THE BLUE CLAY BASIN

Between the Santi-Bingemma and Rabat-Dingli Coralline uplands lies a 241* basin-inlier of the Blue Clay, drained by the upper Wied Qlejgha. In this region 311* has developed a distinctive physical and agricultural landscape otherwise to be found only on steeper and more restricted fringe-slopes of the Western Scarp-lands. This is by no means a homogeneous region. On the northern and eastern edges the basin is sharply defined by Upper Coralline cliffs, while to the west it rises more gently on to a low coralline platform, transitional towards the upland proper. A discontinuous spring-line marks the geological boundary of sub-region XV (a) and *gnien* farming is particularly well developed at the heads of the tributary wieds such as Ghemieri (69), l-Iemu (77) and id-Dahla (Fig. 112). At a lower level, wind-pump irrigation supports some fruit and vegetable cultivation among large, rich fields of wheat, sulla and vines. Here is the district of Fiddien, proverbially noted for its productivity: *'Mill-Fiddien il-qamh johrog bil-kejjiet u l-qoton johrog bil-wizzien'* - 'From Fiddien wheat is collected in huge quantities and cotton in great weight'. This proverb dates from a period when cotton was one of the most valuable crops and was widely cultivated in this district.

As may be seen in the case of Wied l-Iemu (Fig. 113), intensive land-use is confined to a relatively small total area, average intensity being reduced by the large acreage of lower value 'dry' crops. The use of irrigation water has merely extended the normal crop range by the addition of fruit and vegetables. Wied l-Iemu, in contrast with Wied tal-Pwales, has not been transformed by any commercial specialisation. The impression left with an observer is one of peasant insistence on diversity, which is surprising considering the possibilities of the area. This occurs despite the proximity of the Rabat market, the adequate communications, and the town-dwelling character of the cultivators. There is very little dispersed settlement within the region.

On the Upper Coralline platform of the western sub-region XV(b), smaller fields of peas, beans and vines are interspersed with irrigated plots of potatoes. The main difference between this area and the Blue Clay inlier appears in the smaller acreage devoted to wheat and sulla. Irrigation is invariably with wind- [361] pumps and wells even in the upper Wied il-Busbies (72). A further contrast is provided by the presence of farmsteads, both dispersed and clustered.

A.XV (c). THE PLATEAU-PLAIN TRANSITION ZONE

Along the eastern flanks of the Rabat-Dingli upland, extending from Mtarfa to tal-Bajjada (152) runs a continuous outcrop of Greensand and Blue Clay. From the Upper Coralline scarp, sweeping slopes fall to the Central plains developed on the Globigerina beds. Sharply incised wieds, separated by plateau promontories, carry this zone westward into the uplands. A spring-line zone occurs at the junction of Upper Coralline and Blue Clay and is particularly well-developed in the wied re-entrants.

In this zone, fruit cultivation of a specialised *gnien* type is more intensive than in any other region of Malta. At Girgenti (143) and Wied ix-Xaghri (142) below the Inquisitor's Palace, and at Buskett (140) near the old summer palace of the Grand Masters, Verdala, specialised fruit (especially citrus) and vine cultivation are carried on in dense orchards. In the former case and in the lower stretches of Buskett, much land is cultivated by Siggiewi farmers. (see also p. 200 and Fig. 135.) The grounds of Verdala palace, which also include a land-scaped garden of exotic trees (shown on the map of non-agricultural land, Fig. 97), are farmed directly by the Maltese Government particularly for vine products. Northward along the plateau edge the typical springwatered gnien crops become progressively less important through Wied ta'l'Isqof (128) (Fig. 117 A) to Mtarfa. It seems probable that this results from decreasing spring-water availability from the narrowing Coralline plateau.

Below the narrow *gnien* zones under the promontories and merging with the wied mouths lies a belt of superior dry-farming. In this downwash zone obscure soil changes and a downward decreasing plenitude of ground water mark a transition region between western and eastern Malta. This, although possessing

[Text continues on p. 257]

a but arbitrarily defined eastern limit is clearly distinguishable in the field by the large ramped rather than terraced fields of mixed good dry farming. 241* 311*

C. THE HILLS AND PLAINS OF THE CENTRE AND EAST

311* This area possesses a certain unity based on physical and human characteristics. As noted in Chapter I B, the landscape, although presenting a deceptively monotonous appearance to the eye, is in places emphatically dissected and the altitudinal range is fairly great (Fig. 1). The importance of minor relief features in this region is magnified by its relative uniformity; this in contrast to the scarplands of the west.

[132] There is also a less simple relationship between altitude, aspect and climate. Exposure to sea winds adversely affects many coastal districts. Away from the coast, land temperature conditions assume a greater importance in the development of local climates. Thus, even under insular conditions, regional contrasts between the interior and the periphery are marked (see Chapter II).

311* 361 In this eastern half of the island is found the core of Maltese life, both urban and rural, and links between town, village and country are everywhere close. There is no really widespread development of dispersed settlement. As noted in Chapter VI, Valletta (il-Belt) is the focus of a series of concentric zones of human activity. Around it lie, first, the residential and industrial towns of Sliema, Hamrun, Pawla and the Three Cities. Beyond these are large settlements in which urban and rural activities are intermingled but in which the former predominate. These include Birkirkara, Qormi, Tarxien and Żabbar. Clearly distinct, a third type of settlement, here termed *casal* or township, lies in an outer ring. This comprises Gharghur and Naxxar, Mosta, Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Qrendi and Żurrieq, Ghaxaq and Żejtun. Each of these forms an independent centre for rural life and each has developed some limited urban function.

Inside this zone lie smaller settlements of varying character. Lija and Attard are increasingly attached to the growing 'suburban' development spreading westwards from the Valletta conurbation. Kirkop, Safi and Gudja are country villages, while Mqabba and Luqa have some non-rural additions. Along the eastern coast, with its fine natural harbours, are to be found the old fishing villages of Marsaskala and Marsaxlokk. At Birżebbuġa and Kalafrana, this traditional function has been submerged by more modern developments.

311* 369 Communications are generally good and public transport services frequent, thus there are few areas of real remoteness. Throughout this part of the island, the attraction exerted by the Valletta conurbation affects all sectors of social and economic life. The larger casals have their own independent gravitational pulls. At either end of the rural-urban continuum, decline in rural life is taking place. The smallest villages such as Safi are losing population to their larger neighbours while on the fringe of the conurbation, part-time farming spreads over an ever-increasing area.

241* 311* Thus the character of cultivation in this part of Malta is the product of many interacting human and physical factors. These interactions combine in various ways to differentiate the five major and many minor regions considered below.

C.XVI. WIED QLEJGHA

From the Upper Coralline col at Ghajn Qajjet, Wied Qlejgha passes over a narrow outcrop of Blue Clay to become more open on the Globigerina beds, before entering the gorge of the Wied ta'l-Isperanza (101), cut in the Lower Coralline.

This is a transitional region between the West and Centre and suitably enough displays all the characteristic types of farming and crop assemblage. At Ghajn Qajjet, below Upper Coralline plateau *xaghra*, lies an intensively cultivated *gnien* zone, mirrored on a smaller scale on the Blue Clay slopes below Mtarfa. On the terraced wied floor flanking the Chadwick lakes, good dry farming including viticulture is practised. The intermediate slopes of the basin are dry-farmed in

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 258-B]

*241 *311 large ramped fields (Fig. 114). This last zone merges with the open lands on either side of the Wied ta'l-Isperanza at the line of transition with the Central Plains. To the west towards Falka (93) and Besbesija, cereal and sulla fields rise to the Lower Coralline cliff-edge waste of the Victoria Lines.

*311 361 At the junction of the Wied Qlejgħa Region (XVI) with the Naxxar-Għargħur Hills (XVII) stands the gap-town of Mosta. This settlement has grown rapidly over the last 60 or 70 years so that it is now, both in size and population, the largest of the casals. This development is undoubtedly connected with Mosta's position. Controlling as it does the lowest gap in the Victoria Lines and sited where central and northern parts of the island meet, the casal has benefited from the expansion of commercial farming in the latter region. Improvements in communications and particularly the great increase in the use of motor transport over the last 30 years have also had their effect. The bridging of the Wied ta'l-Isperanza on the northern outskirts of Mosta has opened up a relatively easy route to Wied il-Għasel and the north, a fact reflected in the way in which the more recent growth of the settlement has been mainly along its southeast-northwest axis in contrast with its previous alignment from northeast to southwest.

*241 *311 [133]

C.XVII. THE NAXXAR-GĦARGĦUR HILLS

These, the highest of the Globigerina hill-lands, rise to over 400 feet and are dissected by a series of radially arranged, deep wieds. Aspects and slope are the main controls on agriculture in this region, though man-made features, particularly quarries, considerably affect the details of utilisation. The distribution of wasteland is largely determined by outcrop and gradient although the inter-relationship is by no means a simple one. Steep gradients themselves do not inhibit cultivation as is shown by the contrast between Wied l-Iklin (164) and the gentler slopes below tal-Balal (174). Similarly, exposure to northerly winds is far from constant in its adverse effects on farming, witness the cultivated heights immediately north of Għargħur, contrasting with the much-abandoned, though more sheltered Wied Għomor (173). The most continuous belt of waste extends along the Victoria Lines, including the narrow northern scree slope and the wider ridge-top developed on Lower Coralline rocks. Viewed from the sea, the bare, grey cliffs at Madelena and Ġebel San Pietru (154) appear impressively stark. The southward discontinuous extension of wasteland between Mosta and Naxxar is closely coincident with the Lower Coralline outcrop. However, on these gentle, sheltered slopes, the close proximity of the two major casals has encouraged the maintenance of land in cultivation, potatoes being widespread. This is one of the very few districts in which a relatively high

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[Text continues on p. 261]

intensity of cultivation exists on soils derived from Lower Coralline rocks. 241*

On the rich, red loams of the summits, minor variations in topography and aspect influence the detailed distributions of a wide range of crops. Only vines 311* and fruit trees are generally absent. Potatoes, grown to some extent in all parts of the region, are least plentiful on the tops of the north-facing spurs where vetches, the hardiest legumes, are particularly important. On the saddle between Naxxar and Gharghur, there are large, level fields of wheat and sulla. At similar levels eastward towards the Wied Ghomor, the standard of cultivation declines and the incidence of waste and poor fallow increases. To some extent this reflects the widespread use of land for quarrying, which is particularly important in this area. Many farmers do not till land which is to be thus utilised in the near future while worked-out quarries are often reclaimed. These latter form well-watered and sheltered pits which may be used for fruit and vegetables in districts otherwise environmentally ill-suited to such crops (Plate XV).[1] Fig. 115 illustrates an area with quarries in different stages of use.

Defining the bluff on which Gharghur is situated are three north-facing wieds of differing physical and land-use character. Here, extremely narrow fields contrast with the large enclosures of the summits. Very steep slopes of gradients up to 1 in 2 have been terraced with walls often 10 or 12 feet high. Wied Anglu (158), although less steep than the other two, is largely wasteland, being floored by intractable Lower Coralline. The Wieds ta'Santa Marija ta'Żullieqa (155) and id-Dis (157) have much in common. Intensity of cultivation generally varies with distance from Gharghur. The crops represented are potatoes, cereals, sulla and vetches, and it is noteworthy that the first of these is most plentiful near the settlement.

One valley, the Wied l-Iklin (164) runs south from the main ridge. Southerly aspect and the availability of some spring-water make this a more productive valley than those of the north. Vines fill the wied-head pocket and potatoes, with a little fruit, are grown on the wied floor. The narrow valley-side terraces are given over almost entirely to barley.

The eastern slopes of the region are pierced by a series of wieds. The most striking feature of this district is the large amount of abandoned land occurring on hill-top, valley-side and wied-floor alike (Fig. 95). This district, lying as it does on the edge of the expanding conurbation, illustrates the effects of urban growth. In the first place, much land is sterilised by building operations and by the land transfers which precede them. Secondly, the urban growth which is eating into the farmland is itself a product of internal migration from country to town. Thirdly, this physically marginal land is especially vulnerable to such attack. The southern hill slopes, viewed from the south, present a superficially similar picture of abandonment. Such loss of agricultural land is most rapid above the Wied Ghollieqa (180) behind Gżira. Further west, away from the conurbation, most land is still tilled.

The eastern and southern flanks of the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills are intermediate in gradient between the summits and the wieds. Fields are generally small and are devoted to a wide range of crops. While potatoes, cereals and sulla are the leading elements, minor crops are in total as important as any one of these, a balance which is infrequent in Malta. There appears to be no factor favouring any single major or minor crop. Vetches, broad beans, peas and onions each occupy approximately the same amount of land. Occasional high-walled enclosures shelter orchards and gardens (Plate XVI).

While in the western part of this region settlement is generally concentrated [361] in the two main casals and the small village of San Pawl tat-Tarġa (160), to the east and south isolated farmsteads become dominant. Occasional small hamlets, e.g. l-Imsierah (178) have grown up at minor route junctions. Settlement and communications both tend to avoid the steep-sided valleys of the north and east.

C.XVIII. THE CENTRAL REGION

The east-west topographic grain to which attention is drawn in Chapter I B p. 36, is reflected in a similar arrangement of agricultural sub-regions as well as by the pattern of communications and settlement. There is, nevertheless,

[1] [See p. 190 -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 263]

within each sub-region, a gradation from west to east reflecting the successional outcropping of the various Globigerina beds. These outcrops give rise to minor breaks of slope so that the Central Region as a whole consists of a series of broad, stepped platforms. These become less distinct to the east where relief is diversified by deep wied incision. 24|* 31|*

XVIII (a). THE BIRKIRKARA REGION

A long tongue of urban settlement stretches westward from the main conurbation linking it to the previously independent villages of Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija and Attard. The built-up area occupies the shallow depression of the Birkirkara-Balzan valley and extends up the slopes on either side. Where this valley deepens eastward into the Wied Maida (130), settlement diverges on to the Santa Vennera Ridge. A few isolated farmsteads are dispersed throughout the region, but most of the land is worked by inhabitants of the several urban settlements. [361] ●

The northern slopes rise to the edge of Naxxar-Gharghur Hills, and the crops of this district have the same diversified balance of potatoes, cereals, fodders and minor legumes as was observed on the flanks of that region. Small, irregularly-shaped fields and scattered farmstead settlement further strengthen the similarity. On the edge of the built-up area, more intensive land use is associated with urban farming, particularly at Santa Vennera. At San Anton there is an enclave of irrigated gardens and orchards which is only in part directly associated with the Palace.

Maida Valley has a character of its own. In high-walled gardens on the floor of the upper wied some fruit cultivation is practised but the steep sides of this narrow defile have largely been abandoned. The silt-charged waters which frequently flow down the valley during periods of heavy rain bear witness to the soil erosion consequent upon such abandonment.

South of the built-up area lies the low upswelling of l-Imriehel (192) (Fig. 110). A narrow belt of buildings is slowly encroaching from the north on to land otherwise devoted almost entirely to cereals and sulla. The large, dry-farmed fields are on the whole poorly cultivated.

XVIII (b). THE TA'QALI REGION

This high and level Globigerina platform is largely occupied by an airfield which has destroyed the former unity of the region. Cereals and sulla occupy a particularly large proportion of the surviving farm land. Beneath the Mdina slopes, viticulture is of importance in the Wied il-Hemsija (115). On the other side of the airfield, towards Mosta and Attard, potatoes are the main secondary crop. Cultivation throughout is generally of a high standard. [508]

XVIII (c). THE ŻEBBUG REGION

Running east from the Rabat-Dingli uplands, this region is defined on the north by the Wied is-Sewda (194) and on the south by the Wied Qirda (202). In the west, where the wieds are shallow depressions rather than true valleys, there is no clear topographic break between the Żebbug Region and those to the north and south. To the east, however, though altitude decreases, the amplitude of relief becomes greater and a clearly defined spur stands between the deepening wieds.

On the high plains west of Żebbug (Fig. 117 C and D) is developed a particularly intensive type of dry farming. Cereals and sulla form the basis of rotations which include potatoes, vegetables and winter-fallowed land. Spring potatoes, mixed vegetables including summer brassicas, particularly cauliflowers, together with winter sulla and cereals are characteristic of this zone. The reasons for such an assemblage of crops are not altogether clear. The successional outcropping of Globigerina strata and intervening phosphatic nodule beds with consequent effects on soil development, the relatively high water table and distance from the sea would all seem to favour a highly productive form of dry farming but more investigation is required. Onion-growing is particularly characteristic of the environs of Żebbug, a lesser pitkal centre. Minor variations in crop assemblage are illustrated by Fig. 118.

241* 311* On the spur of Ghar Ram (199) and tal-Handaq (200), the intensity of cultivation decreases eastward, cereals and sulla becoming dominant. The even slopes of tal-Hlas (198) drop northward to the more level Ghammieri district of the Wied is-Sewda. Gradient has little effect on the selection of crops grown in these areas. Cereals and sulla dominant throughout although potatoes assume a greater importance than on the summit. In contrast the southern edge of the ridge is more abrupt, falling sharply to the Wied Qirda. Precipitous terraces, standing above a storm-water channel cut in Lower Coralline rocks are almost completely abandoned. The only pocket of fruit cultivation in this region lies in the Wied Qirda above the main incision and close to Żebbuġ.

[361] Scattered settlement of farmsteads and a few small hamlets is generally aligned along roads and tracks. The great majority of the land-holders, however, live in the casal of Żebbuġ which combines some urban functions with those of village settlement.

XVIII (d). THE SIĠĠIEWI REGION

In many ways this region is a counterpart of that of Żebbuġ. The high plains west of Siġġiewi sweep south from ta'Brija (133) to tal-Bajjada to merge with the open Rdum tal-Lunzjata. Intensive dry-farming of cereals, sulla and vegetables is characteristic. Onion cultivation is of particular importance here as throughout the region.

From this western platform, the ridges of tal-Bordin (135), tal-Ghaqba (205) and ta'Haxxluq carry relatively high land to the east. Tal-Bordin is noteworthy only for the absence of early potatoes, possibly because of its rather exposed position. The place-name element *nadur*, meaning a look-out point, is significantly [103] attached to the fields on this small ridge. The main ridge of tal-Ghaqba, carrying a variety of crops, is generally similar to tal-Handaq on the other side of Wied Qirda. The crop range is similar on ta'Haxxluq ridge, though the fields are generally smaller and the country more broken (see Fig. 119). In these eastern districts, the commercial farming element is most strongly represented by onion growing which is even more extensive here than around Żebbuġ.

311* 361 Siġġiewi itself was established on the south-western edge of the central settlement zone of Malta. The casal and outlying farmsteads were to some extent influenced by the need for protection from corsair raids. Walled enclosures and a few defensive towers indicate past insecurity. Siġġiewi still lies off the busiest lines of communication and the south-western part of the region is one of the least accessible districts of the central lands of Malta. Here, small hamlets cluster around isolated churches as at tal-Providenza (150).

XVIII (e). THE QORMI REGION

241* 311* The district around Qormi is atypical of the Central Region as a whole. A considerable number of motor-driven pumps extract water from the fault-fissured Globiġerina beds and irrigable land constitutes a large proportion of the total area. Vegetable and fruit crops, the latter including citrus and even such exotics as the banana are grown intensively in this sheltered district (Fig. 120). The Qormi basin is a westward continuation of the Marsa lowland, an area of alluvial deposition (see Chapter III). Large farms with irrigated gardens surround the large casal (Fig. 117B).

C.XIX. THE SOUTHERN REGION

A highland ridge with an average altitude of more than 400 feet extends eastwards from the Upper Coralline scarp at Lunzjata along the southern coast as far as Bubaqra. Further east and towards the interior of the island, the land falls away in gentle slopes. Although true wasteland is confined to a coastal belt coinciding with outcrops of Lower and down-faulted Upper Coralline beds, much land has elsewhere been taken out of cultivation. [508] The airfields of Luqa and Hal Far, still in use and their as yet un-reclaimed wartime extensions, together [316] with large-scale quarrying on either side of Mqabba, have sterilised a great deal of land.

*241
*311
[illegible]
[102]

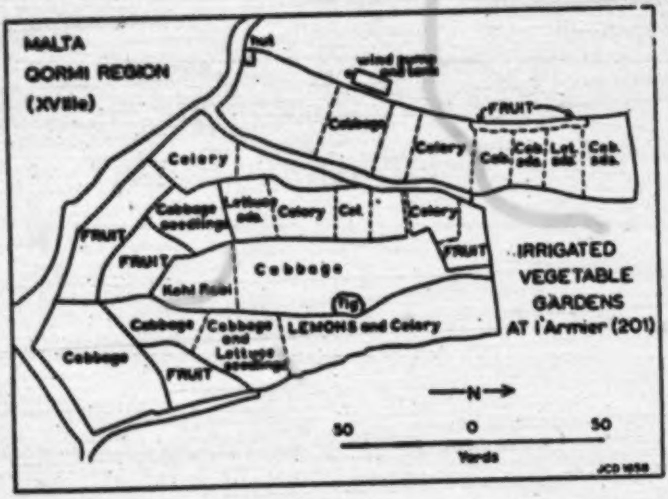
MALTA
QORMI REGION
(XVIIIe)
hut
wind pump and tank
FRUIT
Cabbage
Celery
Cab.
Cab. sds.
Let. sds.
Cab. sds.
Celery
Cabbage seedlings
Lettuce sds.
Celery
Cel.
Celery
FRUIT
FRUIT
Cabbage
FRUIT
Kohl Rabi
Fig
Cabbage
Cabbage and Lettuce seedlings
LEMONS and Celery
Cabbage
FRUIT
IRRIGATED VEGETABLE GARDENS AT l'Armier (201)
N
50
0
50
Yards
JCD 1958

Fig. 120 Malta: Qormi Region.

XIX (a). THE MQABBA - KIRKOP PLAIN

Relatively intensive cultivation of a wide range of crops shows few noteworthy special features. An inverse relationship between the amount of land cultivated for cereals and sulla on the one hand and under potatoes on the other is apparent. The unusually massive concentration of sulla and cereal fields between Mqabba and Żurrieq may be compared with an equally marked concentration on potatoes around Kirkop and Safi. There is otherwise an even scatter of the normal dry-farmed subsidiary crops.

As over the Globigerina lands as a whole, dispersed settlement, while by no means absent, is clearly secondary to concentration in casals and villages.

XIX (b). THE SOUTHERN HILLS

The ridge lands are distinguished from the plain by differences in altitude, exposure, gradient, field size and accessibility. Fig. 121 illustrates some of the contrasts. Nevertheless, the crop range is not markedly different from that of the plains, save that the hardier legumes assume a greater importance. Onion growing would seem to be associated with local markets and with the difficulty of raising other vegetables.

[361] The casals of Qrendi and Żurrieq lie at the junction of these hills with the interior plain. Their functions include marketing and contracting for both subregions as well as minor fishing activity. Żurrieq, the larger of the two, has become the chief centre of the region, incorporating within its extended built-up area the satellite villages of Nigret and Bubaqra.

C.XX. THE EASTERN REGION

As described in Chapter I B, this region is one of hill ridges and depressions. Although relief is subdued, there is little level land and relatively minor structural and topographic features have a disproportionately large influence on agriculture. The Main Water Table, which rises but slightly above sea level is nearly everywhere far beneath the surface. The need for dry farming restricts the crop range considerably, even vines being virtually absent. Variations in crop assemblage, which result from a variety of physical and human factors, produce six distinct sub-regions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 269]

XX (a). THE TARXIEN-GHAXAQ BASIN

This is the open upper section of the shallow Wied ta'Mazza which reaches the sea at Marsaskala. Rock weathering and slow soil formation on the periphery surround a central zone of deep soil accumulation. The deep-soiled district is one in which the upper surface of the Lower Coralline aquifers falls below sea-level and, compared with the remainder of the Eastern Region, ground water is of high salinity (see Chapter I B). The effect of this is to be seen primarily in the small area devoted to potato growing. This zone of large fields under cereals and sulla is surrounded by a belt of more intensive cultivation on the higher slopes, where fields are smaller and potatoes re-assume their normal importance in the crop range. Part of this latter zone, on the northern outskirts of Zejtun, is shown in Fig. 122. 241* 311*

Exceptional is an area of abandonment at il-Bur ta'Sufa (MR 573688), where it is believed that increasing soil salinity is primarily responsible. This small hill, once the site of the only clustered farm settlement in the sub-region, has also suffered from the attraction of the surrounding casals. Carob trees and crumbling terrace walls mark this out as the only area of difficulty in an otherwise tractable region.

XX (b). THE LUQA-ŻEJTUN RIDGE

A crescentic ridge, which separates the catchment areas of the Grand Harbour and Marsaxlokk Bay is crowned by a series of settlements. Near these, fairly intensive cultivation, best developed around Luqa, includes that of potatoes, onions and other spring vegetables. Where the soil mantle is thinnest and most subject to erosion, cultivation is poorer. For example, just north of Gudja, at ta'Salib (265), a harder bed in the Globigerina series has formed a small mesa as a result of differential erosion. The top and steep sides of this feature are marked by abandoned fields. [361] ●

Much of the better land in this sub-region is now being taken up by settlement extension and road building, a process most marked between Żejtun and Ghaxaq. [499]

XX (c). THE ŻABBAR REGION

The primary unity of this region is provided by general specialisation in the production of *qaragħ baghli* (dry-farmed marrows grown in spring: see Fig. 123 and p. 319). Subsidiary to this unifying feature are a number of diverse elements.

On the seaward slopes of the San Anard (244) - San Rokku (248) ridge, a belt of wasteland covers the barren shore and abandoned fields of minute size rising above it. North of San Rokku, abandonment is complete where these slopes coincide with a Lower Coralline outcrop. Near the growing village of ix-Xghajra, patches of poor cultivation have survived. The whole of this district is one of particular difficulty. Coastal alignment of the ridge and its pronounced relief accentuate the effects of northerly winds, which carry sea-spray some distance inland. The extreme smallness of the walled enclosures indicates the need for shelter and it is not surprising that this exposed and difficult area should have been left derelict. On the 6-inch maps is marked a rectilinear pattern of proposed road and building development. As yet, ix-Xghajra, a strange motley of farmhouses, suburban and sea-side villas, is the only realisation of the plan. It may well be that land speculation has here contributed to land abandonment. [361]

The ridge top and its sheltered southern flank, with their larger fields, form a vivid contrast. This richer-soiled area is given over to a diversity of crops, *qaragħ baghli*, potatoes and other spring vegetables occupying as large an area as that under all other crops combined. This type of farming is carried southward across the rise of tal-Plieri (251) and into the Wied ta'Mazza (257). South and west from the latter in the Bajda ta'Żejtun (260) and ta'Bulebel (256) districts, there is a transition to the less specialised farming typical of the Eastern Region as a whole.

XX (d). THE MARSÁSKALA REGION

The twin promontories of Żonqor (254) and il-Gżira (264) flank the bay of Marsaskala and a Lower Coralline exposure incised by the Wieds il-Għajn (252) and iż-Żiju (261). At Żonqòr, exposure restricts the crop range to cereals and sulla, although some vegetables appear on the sheltered southern side of the ridge. Land abandonment is more extensive on il-Gżira, where erosion has already removed much of the thin red soil. Cultivation has retreated to the flanking lower land. The small spur of il-Bidni (253), standing between the two wieds marks the west-east transition between the Żabbar and Marsaskala Regions. Wasteland occupies its eastern slopes while, to the west, *qaragħ bagħli* and potatoes mark a change to more favourable conditions. The wieds themselves are uncultivated and abandonment has progressed some distance up the valley sides. 241* 311*

The primary function of Marsaskala is that of a fishing village and it is developing into a minor seaside resort rather than into a rural centre. [361]

XX (e). THE TAS-SILĠ—DELIMARA REGION (Fig. 124)

The crenulated peninsula of Delimara runs south from its broad isthmic base in the tas-Silġ hills. The whole of this area is exposed to the *Xlokk*. The eastward-dipping Globigerina beds cover Lower Coralline aquifers which are everywhere below sea level. Thus water for crops can only be drawn from rain-fed cisterns cut into the surface rocks.

In consequence of water shortage and exposure to humid sea winds there is very little potato cultivation. In the valleys opening on to the bay of San Tumas and on the ridge between tas-Silġ (277) and tal-Lombardi (278) are large fields of sulla and cereals, together with the minor fodders and legumes. The absence of permanent agricultural settlement and the restricted crop range appear surprising when compared with neighbouring areas, although cultivation is by no means of low standard.

Delimara peninsula, an asymmetrical north-south ridge, has a generally similar assemblage of cròps in a restricted summit zone of cultivation. On the indented eastern coast, the many promontories between il-Munxar (MR. 614673) and Delimara Point have been affected by normal abandonment of difficult land and by the needs of the Defence Departments. A narrower band of wasteland marks the steep, concave western slopes. More open and sweeping slopes lie at the root of the peninsula below tas-Silġ and on a minor coastal plain to the east of Marsaxlokk fishponds sheltered conditions make possible a greater intensity of cultivation, the crops including potatoes and some early vegetables.

XX (f). THE BIRŻEBBUĠA REGION

Converging on Marsaxlokk Bay are a number of distinct physical and human sub-regions. The barren Wied ta'Marsaxlokk (276) is separated from Wied Dalam (274) by a low spur, on the higher slopes of which scattered farmsteads stand among gently terraced fields of mixed crops. Nearer the sea, on the promontory of ir-Ras (283), there is a good deal more uncultivated and non-agricultural land. Marsaxlokk itself has much the same limited range of functions as Marsaskala.

The Wieds Dalam (274) and Has-Saptan (285) form the only non-coastal region in the Eastlands with a rugged terrain of deep wied incision. On the interfluves, slow soil formation allows cultivation which, increasing in quality towards the west, concentrates on sulla, cereals, potatoes and minor legumes. Continued transporting of soil and silt from the wied channels to the upper terraces helps to maintain this rather low-grade form of land-use. The convex slopes running down to the valley floors are areas of rapid erosion and large-scale land abandonment. The wied floors in their upper sections are gentle depressions, part cultivated, part abandoned. Nick-points at heights of approximately 170 feet in Wied Dalam and 300 feet in Wied has-Saptan mark the heads of the incised, vertically-walled gorges in which Lower Coralline beds are exposed. Below the 50-foot contour, the stony, eroded channel with its covering of rough grass and weeds gives way to a zone of alluvial deposition. In the case of the Wied

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 273]

I. THE WEST

The western regions are composed of an undulating Globigerina platform occasionally deeply incised and bounded on its seaward side by precipitous cliffs. 241* 311*

A narrow belt of wasteland fringes the coast and extends inland in the complex, faulted depression of Qawra (8), Wied Ilma (10) and Wied id-Dwejra (9). Minor blocks of abandonment also occur on the Upper Coralline mesa summits, as at Ġordan (16), Ghammar (18) and Ghajn Abdul (12).

In the North-Western sub-region, the most intensive dry-farming is associated with the important village settlements of the Gharb - San Lawrenz plateau (7). Early potatoes, summer cotton and some viticulture differentiate this district from the remainder of the region. Further to the west, there is little difference to be observed between the crops grown in the shallow valleys of the Wieds il-Mielah (6) and ir-Raheb (2) and those on the higher lands of Birbuba (3). Il-Hotba tal-Qasam (1) (Fig. 126 C and D), remote and bleak, illustrates a general deterioration westward from the medium-grade dry farming typified by that near Santa Luċija (Fig. 126 A and B).

In the South-West, almost complete absence of settlement is associated with a crop range restricted to cereals, sulla and legumes. The promontory of Wardija (14) is the least intensively worked district.

The West as a whole is an epitome of dry farming. There is no irrigation and little watering of crops, and sulla, wheat and barley are vastly more important than all other crops. The clay slopes of the small mesas are almost entirely devoted to sulla, much of it self-seeded. Their coralline caps are too restricted in area to store any appreciable quantity of water and the clay soils are heavy and intractable. The retreat of cultivation from difficult and remote land is here marked by abandoned farmsteads as on the summit of Ghar Ilma (13). The coastland waste is not virgin karst but also exemplifies such degeneration.

II. THE WEST-CENTRAL REGION

This is a mixed region, both topographically and agriculturally, consisting as it does of open, wied-head basins, small mesas and the low Coralline platform on which Victoria stands, but it has a certain unity, based on the presence of the largest settlement in the island.

To the north and west of the town, in the Żebbuġ-Victoria and San Ġorġ districts (19 and 20), dry farming takes on a more intensive form than in the regions previously described. The several hamlets and small village settlements are associated with the growing of potatoes, brassicas, vines and even a little fruit, all of which however remain subsidiary to the predominant cereals and fodders. The land is well farmed and there is very little of the waste and low-grade fallow characteristic of parts of the West, although this does occur on the mesas as in the case of il-Ġelmus (21).

On the Victoria platform (23), the highest point of which is crowned by the Citadel, more intensive land use results from urban demands. Farmhouses, stock-yards and walled gardens carrying a great variety of crops form a southern, rural fringe to an otherwise essentially urban settlement. Kerċem has retained its village character in spite of, or possibly because of its close proximity to Victoria. [361]

The Wied tal-Lunzjata (25) (Fig. 130B) possesses some interesting agricultural characteristics, which derive from an especial combination of factors. Between the low Upper Coralline scarps which mark the edge of the central platform and above the incision of the Wied ix-Xlendi (70), where Lower Coralline rocks are exposed, is a spring-watered zone developed on clay and marled Globigerina. Below Ghajn il-Kbir (M.R. 313884: =the great spring) are small irrigated plots of vegetables and fruit. Away from this small pocket, cultivation deteriorates rapidly into the wasteland of Wied ix-Xlendi.

III. THE NORTHERN REGION

In this, the largest region of Gozo, unity is provided by the repetition of a few simple landscape elements. As noted in Chapter I.B, these comprise the

[Text continues on p. 277]

high Upper Coralline platforms, the sweeping Blue Clay slopes and, in the larger valleys, Globigerina beds, generally covered by down-washed material. Variations in the arrangement of these elements are reflected in important differences between the several sub-regions. 241* 311*

Żebbuġ, the most compact of the larger mesas, is flanked by the Wied il-Ghasri (26) (Fig. 128A) and the Wied tal-Qlejgha (29) on the west and east respectively. Immediately below a peripheral cliff on which stand lines of farm-houses, lies a *ġnien* zone of inter-cultivated fruit and vines. The Upper Coralline cap, unlike those of the smaller western mesas, is sufficiently extensive to hold a small perched water body. The demands of the settlement, however, restrict the quantity of water available for irrigation, this in part accounting for the narrowness of the *ġnien* belt. On the northern coastal slopes (28), such intensive cultivation survives precariously in defiance of exposure to violent northerly winds and sea spray. Some abandoned fields and farmhouses show that retreat is in progress.

On either side of the mesa, a similar gradation from *ġnien* zone to valley floor may be observed (Fig. 127 C and D). On both the higher Blue Clay slopes and the marled areas below, the crop range of vines, sulla and cereals, with some potatoes, indicates a productive type of dry farming common to all the valley slopes of the Northern region. These ramped fields on open, sweeping slopes, carrying good crops but, devoid of settlement, constitute the most widespread type of rural landscape in Gozo. It is the relatively limited development of this landscape in Malta which provides the most striking contrast between the two islands.

The restricted wied floors and the small size of their catchment areas militate against any development of irrigation. The lowest slopes are thus less intensively worked than those rising to Żebbuġ. The interfluves to the west of the Wied il-Ghasri and east of Wied tal-Qlejgha are marked by a discontinuous line of small mesas with waterless clay slopes. Dry farming laps over the low ridges to grade westward into still poorer land use and eastward into the more diversified Wied ta'Marsalforn (35).

In the latter valley, while the main clay and downwash slopes are similar in character to those of the Wied tal-Qlejgha, the more open valley is different. Towards the wied mouth there is a small alluvial lowland of good, stoneless soils, largely devoted to the growing of potatoes. Irrigation by water pumped from a small sea-level water body at the moment supports this higher intensity of cultivation, although increasing salinity, which already affects the water supply of Marsalforn itself, inevitably limits possibilities in this district.

The small settlement of Marsalforn is still primarily a fishing village but, like Marsaskala in Malta, is developing into a minor sea-side resort. Resulting improvements in communications have not as yet affected the pattern of farming. [361] ●

Further upstream, there is a slight lowering of farming intensity in the valley. Vines are most important in the centre of the depression while potatoes are most concentrated along the road to Victoria. Although the topographic map shows the Wied ta'Marsalforn opening out on to a low col north-east of Victoria, a fault-line, marked by a low cliff of upthrown Lower Coralline, clearly defines the southern limit of wied-type cultivation. Along this line, the effects of urban settlement on land use become apparent and there is also a sudden transition to the different field patterns and crop assemblage of the Central Plain.

On the eastern side of the Wied ta'Marsalforn, the ramped slopes of sulla, cereals and vines pass into embayments in the edge of the Xagħra Plateau (36). Around the tiny urban nucleus of Xagħra itself are clusters of farms, beyond which farmsteads are strung out in long lines along tracks and roads and around the plateau edge. The thin, red, stony soil of the plateau supports a scatter of cultivated fields. Some of these are intensively worked gardens, others carry patch cultivation of poor cereals, vegetables and fruits, while many are now waste. To the north, density of settlement and intensity of farming diminish on the exposed *gortin* lands, the Gortin ta'Ghajn Damma (37) being completely waste. The remote *rdum* areas are completely covered by sulla, much of it self-sown (Fig. 128C). The neglect of such undercliff areas which, in Malta, [361]

[Text Continues on P. 279]

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are among the most intensively worked, reflects the lower intensity of pressure 241*
on land in Gozo.

Topographically, the Wied ir-Ramla (42) (Fig. 128B) is similar in type to 311*
the Wied ta'Marsalforn. The wied channel becomes progressively more sharply incised downstream before opening out into the sandy, bay-head lowland (from which the valley takes its name: *Ramla* = sands). Tributary wied embayments cut into the Coralline plateaus on either side.

Below the mesa scarps there are the usual *gnien* zones and these give way downhill to a belt of sulla and cereals on the heavier, drier parts of the Blue Clay outcrop. On the eastern slopes lying below the Qortin tan-Nadur (48), recent and Quaternary sands, whose presence is marked by light, ochre-coloured soils, occurs a specialised zone of early tomato and cucurbit production and viticulture (Fig. 127 A and B). This relatively intensive pattern of land use extends from the scarp on to the eastern half of the lower valley floor. On the remainder of the main valley floor, mixed cultivation in which vines and sulla predominate is diversifed by relatively large scale potato-growing and some fruit production. The floors of the tributary wieds il-Ġgantija (43) and il-Hanaq (44) are characterised by particularly intensive viticulture which merges into flanking zones of cereals and sulla. The small mesa of in-Nuffara (45) has similar characteristics to those of the western Coralline fragments.

311*
The remaining part of the Northern Region is closely associated with the
village of Nadur. The plateau on which the latter stands (46) is composed of a 361●
series of flat-topped promontories (*Qortin*) which run north and north-eastward [133]
from the main ridge. These overlook the coast in a series of *Rdum* slopes and are separated by deeply incised wieds. The arrangement of physical features is reflected in the lay-out of settlement and communications. As in the case of Xaghra, a small urban nucleus gives way northwards to strings of farmsteads aligned along roads and tracks. The plateau top thus contrasts with the valleys, which have virtually no permanent settlement.

Land use on the main plateau ridge is semi-urban in character with gardens 241*
and stockyards. The *qortin* lands, though physically uniform, differ a good deal
from each other in land utilisation. The higher southerly part of the Qortin 311*
tan-Nadur (48) is largely waste, but the lower northern bluff is remarkably well cultivated under cereals and sulla with occasional small plots of vegetables and vines. The two promontories of the Qortin il-Kbir (51), on the other hand, form the most extensive areas of karst wasteland in the whole Northern Region of Gozo. Similar contrasts exist between the two rdum areas lying below the *qortin* lands. The Rdum tan-Nadur bears a scatter of small enclosures of vegetables, fruit and minor crops. In this case, cultivation is similar in type, though not in intensity, to that of the Maltese 'undercliff' areas. The Rdum tal-Mistra (53), by contrast, is a rugged wasteland, the greater part of which has never been cultivated.

Piercing the plateau on its northern side are three deep and sheltered [133]
valleys: Wied San Blas (50), Wied tal-Mistra (52) and Wied Dahlet Qorrot (54). These are characterised by the virtual absence of the common dry-farmed crops, which are replaced by a remarkably complex inter-cultivation pattern of fruit, vegetables and vines. This is the only area in Gozo completely devoted to intensive market gardening, the products of which are sold in Malta. The growing demand for early produce has resulted in the recent and continuing extension of the area under fruit and has encouraged experiments such as that of strawberry
growing. The difficulties of transporting produce out of these deep valleys is [489]
offset by the advantage of proximity to the harbour of Mgarr. Thus the *gnien* type of farming typical of plateau peripheries has here been extended downhill to the valley floors.

IV. THE EASTERN REGION

This comprises the Qala Uplands (85) and flanking coastlands (86) together with the narrow coastal strip which separates the East Central Region from the sea. Structure, topography and land use alike distinguish the Eastern Region from its neighbours. As a result of faulting, the pattern of rock outcrop is often

[Text Continues on P. 281]

The intractibility of the Lower Coralline rocks, a function of the extreme slowness with which they are attacked by the forces of weathering, is repeated on the ta'Ċenċ Upland (66). Most striking is the contrast with cultivated outliers of the softer Globigerina beds. Thus it is the spurs on either side of the Wied is-Sabbar (65) rather than the valley itself which are cultivated, mainly under cereals and sulla (Fig. 130A). At ta'Ċenċ, grey karst hills overlook the sea and contrast strikingly with the scarp foot basin to the interior. 241* 311*

The Sannat Uplands (67), also tectonically elevated, have retained a cover of Globigerina rocks and here cultivated fields extend to the edge of the high sea-cliff. South of Sannat village, these fields are geometrically laid out and are to be associated with enclosure accompanying the westward extension of village settlement on to the hills. A similar crop assemblage is to be found both here and in the less regular fields of the broken land to the west. These are districts of dry farming, cereals, sulla and legumes being the chief crops. In spring, following winter cropping and in preparation for some summer vegetable cultivation, many of the fields are newly tilled. A high water table is maintained in the shallow Globigerina beds by the underlying massive and relatively impervious Lower Coralline.

The western extremity of the Southern Region is marked by a return to barrenness. Incision along a shatterbelt exposes Lower Coralline rocks in the Wied ix-Xlendi (70) and the tributary wieds Munxar and tal-Bardan (69). Karst, usable only for *xagħra* grazing, is but rarely broken by patch cultivation. The compact agricultural village of Munxar is divided by a Coralline gorge, at the head of which lie dense thickets of neglected trees. Above the small fishing village of Xlendi there is a small alluvial pocket devoted almost entirely to legumes. These two small patches are exceptional in an otherwise rocky wasteland area.

VI. THE EAST CENTRAL REGION

This region, as viewed from the surrounding hills, appears as a single basin. In fact, a central ridge separates two main depressions, a topographic division strengthened by the east-west alignment of a fault zone. The southern depression, that of the Wied Hanżira (73), is bounded to the north by a minor cliff with a narrow exposure of Lower Coralline rocks. The Xewkija-Għajnsielem Ridge (71) is in turn demarcated on its northern side by a sharp break of slope coinciding with a resistant bed in the Globigerina. This latitudinal graining of the land becomes blurred between Xewjika and Victoria, where the Victoria-Mġarr Depression (72) swings southward to merge with that of the Wied Hanżira. These regional subdivisions and their topographic characteristics are reflected in the field patterns (Figs. 131 and 132). [133]

The sub-region identified as the Wied Hanzira Depression (73) includes the basin of the upper wied and the shelf which extends eastwards at the same level to Għajnsielem. In the west, between Sannat and Xewkija, lies a symmetrical, open basin of intensive dry farming. As shown in Fig. 131 A and B, there is a fairly regular arrangement of large but subdivided field. On the deep soils are grown a great variety of crops among which vines, cereals and sulla predominate. On the eastern shelf, the proportion of cultivated land diminishes, vines disappear and there is a great deal of fallow and grazing land. This change in crop assemblage is not associated with any topographic break but with a change in soil type and parent rock across a major fault. (See p. 31 and Fig. 2.) The only enrichment of the crop range which appears to result is seen in the greater importance of potatoes and onions. This may also result in part from the nearness of Għajnsielem and proximity to the main Mġarr highway.

On the central ridge, the poorest cultivation and the thinnest, least continuous soil cover are found at the western end and along the Lower Coralline exposure south-west of Xewkija. In general pattern, this village resembles the hill-top settlements of the North, with its farmsteads and gardens strung along a web of roads and tracks. South-east and east of the village, the ridge top is characterised by geometrically arranged, undivided fields, the largest seen in Gozo. Cereals, sulla and vines, grown in exceptionally large blocks, are the typical [361]

[Text continues on p. 287]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

241*
311*

crops of this dry-farmed area. A striking contrast is formed by the field patterns of the level area immediately north of Xewkija at il-Hamrija (Fig. 132), where the equally large fields are minutely subdivided into long, extremely narrow strip holdings. In spite of this contrast, the crop assemblage is much the same. Here, as elsewhere in the Islands, such differences in the man-made landscape can only be interpreted by a full investigation of land ownership and the evolution of tenures. Field investigation suggests that there is no valid ecological reason for such fragmentation.

The Victoria-Mġarr Depression (72) is the largest area of level land in Gozo. There is practically no permanent settlement in this sheltered zone of deep soils, though intensity of cultivation is everywhere high. Here again, large level fields are divided into minute strips. All the more important crops are represented in this area of high grade dry farming (Fig. 131 C and D). The viticultural standards are particularly high, the vines being better tended than in practically all other areas of the Maltese Islands.

[361]

Għajnsielem village lies at the eastern junction of the three major units of the East Central Region and stands above the lower lands of the Wieds Mġarr (74) and Biljan (75) which converge on Mġarr Bay. The elongated settlement of Għajnsielem itself is primarily an agricultural centre, consisting of a loosely-knit agglomeration of farmhouses. Along the roads, however, there are numerous small workshops and contractors' yards. These have appeared in response to the growing importance of traffic along the arteries which link the centre of the island with its only port. Here may be observed one of the inevitable results of economic progress, analogous in type to the much bigger development at Qormi in Malta. Eastwards, in the sheltered hollows of the Wied tal-Mġarr (74) and the Wied Biljan (75) specialised fruit growing predominates, although a full range of crops is to be found.

GENERAL

In Gozo there exists the same range of agricultural regions and crops as may be found in Malta, but the balance of importance is very different. The few areas of absolute waste are small and scattered and are confined almost entirely to outcrops of Lower Coralline rocks, while the Upper Coralline exposures are, with few exceptions, either built over or quite intensively worked. The defensive or refuge character of old settlement in Gozo has been mainly responsible for the agricultural exploitation of the Upper Coralline plateau tops which in Malta are often neglected. Retreat from such areas has been slower than in Malta, first because the presence of villages 'anchors' the farmers to their vicinity and secondly because of the lack of alternatives to the rural way of life in the predominantly agricultural Gozitan economy. On the other hand, the difficulties of export and the absence of large urban markets militate against commercial specialisation on the scale found in the most intensively farmed parts of Malta. Physical factors have also inhibited such development in that irrigation in Gozo is generally a matter of the utilisation of spring-line water and there are no known water bodies capable of easy exploitation such as that of the Maltese Wied tal-Pwales. Such specialisation as does exist is for the most part of recent origin and is based on the climatic advantage of early fruit and vegetable production. In the virtual absence of extremes, the Gozitan norm is good quality dry farming in its various forms.

CONCLUSION

The regional variations in farming landscape which may be observed in the Maltese Islands and are here described are significant in two main respects. In the first place they indicate the nature of the general forces which influence rural life. The fact that the lowest farming standards and most restricted crop assemblages are found in the remote as well as in the physically difficult areas emphasises how, even over small absolute distances, degrees of isolation and

[p.27]

CHAPTER III

The Villages and Their Inhabitants

The villages with which this essay deals are the communities 361
outside the densely populated built-up area which centres on [121]
Valletta. This area is contained in a rectangle formed by imaginary
lines running from St. Julians' and Lija, and thence to Tarxien and
Kalkara.[1] Many of these villages, however, are in reality rural
towns with populations of up to 15,000, as in the case of Qormi.
The Maltese do not distinguish linguistically between small [196]
villages and country towns, both are called 'villages' (*rħula*; sing.
raħal). These are contrasted to *Il-Belt*, the City of Valletta, and its
environs. Although I contrast town and country, it is worthwhile
pointing once again to Malta's small size. No village in Malta is
more than an hour's bus ride from Valletta, and Gozo is only
thirty minutes by ferry from its larger sister island. Moreover,
'rival' villages are often no more than a few hundred yards apart.

I am here concerned with abstracting certain principles of social 121
organization, and not with comparing the size and shape of resi- 369
dential groupings, although these two ends are obviously not
completely unrelated. Consequently, the geographical limitations
which I have placed upon this study are somewhat arbitrary. It is,
perhaps, easier to think of the division between town and country
as a continuum, with Valletta or Sliema at one end, and small
villages such as Qrendi or Għarb at the other. Although much of
the description and analysis which follows holds true for both
town and village, I am here dealing specifically with the villages.

The separation between town and country corresponds to a 361
rough division of economic and political power, for villagers look 369
to the urban area for employment, income and patronage. First 464
of all, the seat of government is in Valletta, and most of the senior
civil servants live there or in Sliema, the sprawling residential
suburb that has grown up opposite Valletta during the last 100
years. Secondly, almost all the professionals, wealthy business men,

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[1] See the map of Malta and Gozo on page 2, above.

361 landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of
369 the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the
464 greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to
work in this area.

Differences in language, dress and education set many of the
369 villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be
so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in
contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries.
565 The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so considered,
177 have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of
these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth
century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who
struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen,
whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

177 There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants
and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the
19 English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of
369 whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also
differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*, which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà* (mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however, are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

186 The social and cultural differences between town and country
have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was
369 often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who
829 goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe,
tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth. But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices
369 in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary
871 level.

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[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barnett, 1615), p. 234.

occupations, 52 per cent are service personnel and skilled workers, 463
27 per cent are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and 14 per cent
are engaged in agriculture. Just over two-thirds of the total are
employed outside the village. The majority of these, as in Farruġ,
work in the Grand Harbour industrial area. Those who work in
the village are for the most part self-employed. They are farmers,
shopkeepers, blacksmiths and carpenters.

In Table No. 1 I have compared the various occupational classes
in Kortin and Farruġ to each other and to the national figures.

III

Most villages look very much alike. Their magnificent baroque 361
churches provide a startling contrast to the low, flat-roofed houses
grouped tightly around them. As the parish church towers over
the village, so it dominates it socially, for the church is in every
sense the centre around which the life of the village revolves. In
front of the church there is usually a large square, the *misrah* or
pjazza, which is the social centre of the village. Various village
clubs and lay societies, as well as the police station, are situated on
the *pjazza*, or just off it, as are the principal wine shops, the
government dispensary and the finest houses of the village. As the [498]
square is usually the terminal point of the local bus line, it is the
point at which most people enter and leave the village. It is also [796]
the stage on which the principal events of village life take place:
the annual feast, or *festa*, of the patron saint, the many religious
processions and the occasional political rallies. On Sundays, and [517]
especially during the long summer evenings, the square teems
with groups of men, who sit about on steps and benches, talking
and arguing for hours on end. During weekday mornings, it [745]
belongs to the old men of the village, now freed by government [887]
old age pensions from the backbreaking toil in the fields that was
the lot of their forefathers.

Each village is first and foremost a community of neighbours. 621
Even the smallest of them have distinct residential groups, the
members of which are in closer contact with each other than with
people living in other parts of the village. This is, of course, particularly
true of the larger villages. But even in Farruġ, a village of
about 1,400, the extremities of the village and the various streets
and alleys form separate neighbourhoods. The many little shops 000

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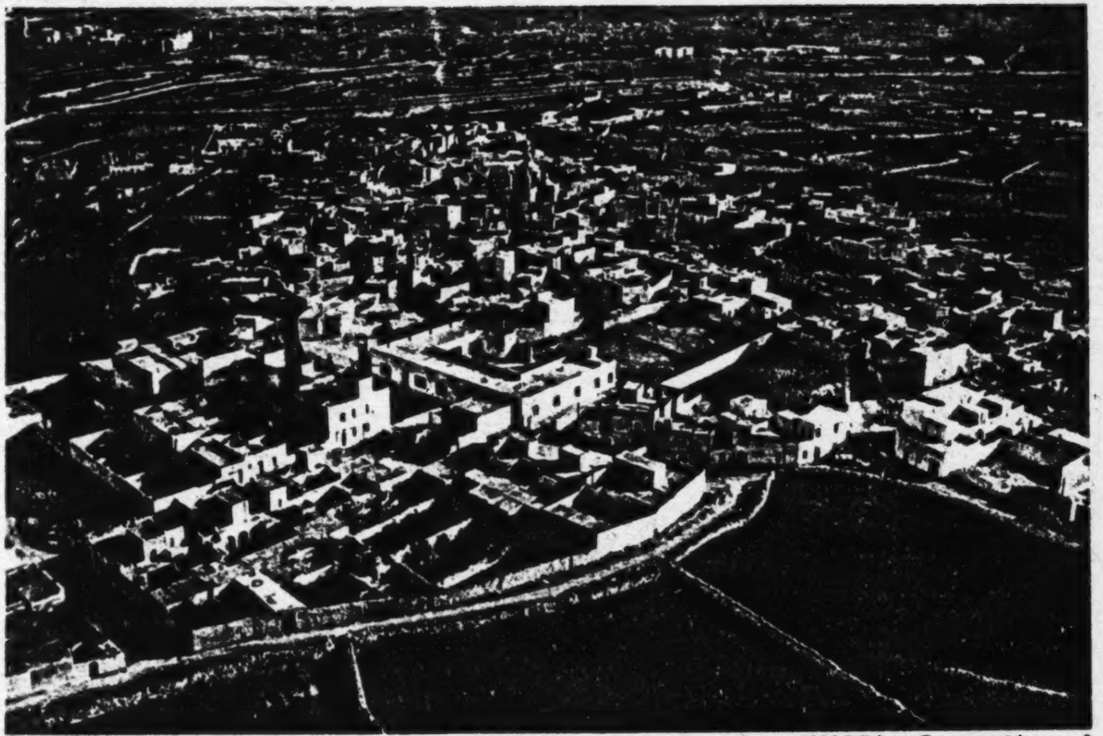
361
341

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[facing P. 32]



(*Courtesy* H.M.S. Falcon. *Crown copyright reserved*)

1. A Maltese Village

Children begin to express partit affiliation when they are between 621
twelve and fourteen years old. At this age they are old 794
enough to follow the processions and take part in the demonstrations 883
on their own. Fund raisers make demands on them, and they
are asked to help decorate the streets. At this age they also begin [533]
to play in the band. A youngster would jeopardize his social
standing with his elders and with his age mates if he failed to take [882]
a firm position with regard to one of the saints. This would remove him from much of the community's social life. Consequently, by the time a village boy has reached fifteen, he has usually selected his partit, thus accepting and becoming part of the fabric of partit rivalry which will hold him until he dies or leaves the village.

There is some relation between occupational class and partit 463
affiliation: in general, the supporters of titular saints belong to a 621
higher occupational class than their rivals. The reason for this will be discussed a little later. The data I gathered in Farruġ illustrate this correlation clearly. As shown in Table No. 6 below, 83 per cent of the village's professional and white-collar workers belong to the St. Martin partit, while only 38 per cent of those engaged in agriculture do so.

TABLE 6. Farruġ: Partit Affiliation and Occupational Class

OCCUPATION			PARTIT AFFILIATION	
	Number	*Percentage of Lab. Force*	*St. Martin*	*St. Roque*
Professional and clerical	12	4	83%	17%
Service and skilled	115	39	55	45
Semi- and unskilled	124	42	48	52
Agricultural	45	15	38	62
Total	296	100		

So much for the origin and social composition of the partiti. I 361
may just observe here that festa partiti are not usually based on 621
territorial divisions. Since upward mobility does not involve [555]
change of partit, but is often accompanied by a change of residence, all residential areas are mixed. Nonetheless, there is a tendency for supporters of the titular partiti to live in the better residential area near the church, and for their rivals to live in the poorer sections more remote from the central square. This is a reflection of the differing occupational class of the members. This

361 residence pattern is certainly true in Farruġ, and I observed much
the same thing in other villages divided by festa partiti. In Farruġ,
621 65 per cent of the people living on the main square and the four
streets leading into it supported St. Martin, but only 46 per cent
of those living in other parts of the village did so.

578 Disputes between partiti usually concern matters of precedence
or their ability to display devotion to their saints. Each partit has
621 certain rights, usually secured at the cost of clashes with its rival.
[575] These include the position and participation of the club and con-
[794] fraternity in Church processions and at other functions, the routes
over which these processions travel and the possession of certain
property and its display in the parish church. Any attempt to
[626] extend or reduce them is resisted by the partit affected, which
takes action to protect its interests by trying to influence the
Church authorities, who must make the final decisions.

The structural position of a partit determines the kind of
621 pressure that it can bring to bear upon the Church. Those of
626 titular saints are, in a sense, the establishment parties. As we have
794 seen, the Church seeks to build up their celebrations at the
796 expense of the secondary ones. Hence a titular partit can negotiate
from a strong position: its ultimate sanction is refusal to participate
in the feast of the village patron, an event which the Church is
anxious to see celebrated with great pomp. Secondary partiti, on
the other hand, are inherently opposed to the Church in matters
of festa policy. They try to increase the scale of their feasts, while
the Church tries to reduce them. They dare not cancel their feasts
for fear that the Church would accuse them of making trouble
and suppress them, as it did the secondary festas of Our Lady of
Lourdes in Qrendi, and St. Michael in Żabbar.

621 Their position in opposition to Church policy has given most
626 secondary partiti a certain *esprit de corps* and unity of purpose that
their rivals often lack. This has made them better able to with-
665 stand the divisive effects of the political factions which have
794 recently weakened many of their rivals. It has also generally
resulted in the emergence of stronger leaders. Secondary partiti
are often united around a single professional class leader who can
not only hold the partit together in the face of the attacks of its
opponents, but can also argue intricate points of Canon Law with
the monsignori at the Curia and, at times, with the Archbishop
621 himself. As we have observed, the secondary partiti generally have

137 312 made of open stone pipes. On the rocks, in January, there was a wild profusion of flowering heath, of a species akin to our heather (*Erica*). Where the water overflows, there are tiny reed beds, but always smaller and less luxuriant than those of the Eastern Mediterranean. In some places on these cliffs the charlock appears to have competed successfully with *Oxalis cernua*.

133 The north coast is generally more shelving. There are no mountains, but the whole surface is cut by deep ravines, which are for the most part dry, but which may contain as much as three feet of water during a spate; the mouths of some of these valleys form small fiords. The western part of the island, which contains the upper coralline beds, contrasts strongly with the eastern. The hills are higher, the valleys bigger and more rounded, and the country is less parched, owing to the underlying marls. The scenery of Gozo resembles that of Western Malta, but the cliffs are higher and grander, the fields are larger, and the country is greener.

241 137 Owing to the large population every foot of soil is precious, and the whole of Malta is parcelled out into innumerable tiny fields, some hardly more than a few yards square, each being separated from the next by a stone wall. Olives and caribs grow as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, but for the most part they are limited to the courses of the streams; oranges flourish where there is sufficient water to irrigate them, but in Malta one looks in vain for the abundant orange groves of Sicily, or the pleasant tangled hillsides of Northern Cyprus. The myrtle is almost absent, the numbers of wild myrtle bushes can nearly be counted on the fingers of a man's hands. The flora (4) generally is most akin to that of Sicily; 94 per cent. of the Maltese species are found in that island, 91 per cent. in Africa, and 90·5 per cent. in the Levant (5). There are three things which are predominant in all the scenery of Malta: stone walls, goats, and the yellow flowers of the virulent *Oxalis cernua*, which not even the goats will eat.

132 Owing to the small size of Malta and the nature of its surface, the weather is dominated by two factors—the sea and the direction of the wind. The mean annual temperature is 66·6° F., the mean annual rainfall is 21·6 inches, precipitation normally occurring on 81 days. The mean relative humidity for seven years is 79·1 per cent. The coldest month is February (mean temperature 52·9° F.); the hottest August (77·9° F.). During June and July practically no rain falls, and in August the mean is only 0·13 mm. (6).

● 361 In working out constants, I have divided the islands into two areas—Urban and Rural. This is the division in the census (31), and corresponds very closely to a marked difference in the conditions under which the population lives. The former includes the fortified towns and suburbs, Valletta, Floriana, Cottoneria, Senglea, Conspicua, Sliema, St. Julian, Pieta Misida, Hamrum, Birchircara, Curmi, Paula, Tarxien, Zabbar, Calcara and Rabato; the latter, the more isolated villages in the country.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically con- 361
tinuous inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely [161]
overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding
lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the
village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here 114
that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as 245
the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, 366
wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes.

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the 369
whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of 489
the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not 582
seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by the whole population.

III.—HISTORY.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further 133
evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, 172
has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of undercutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age. By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus. These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water.

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Nean- 114
dertal man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small 172
fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual characters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with

175 The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent
167 Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been
361 slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

175 It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it
161 does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is comparatively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in
361 some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

175 The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the
648 ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

175 During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported
433- from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the
464 King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

175 The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediæval
648 Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—Demography.

161 It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogeum
174 is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Miège (27) suggests a population of 20,659. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and
villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes
administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to
the physical arrangement of functional parts), these
provide important evidence of the social and economic nature
of society. The present report is concerned with rural
society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear
that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of
the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements
cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of
some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These
creations have since expanded and merged to become the
[396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society
had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a
few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and
[464] Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended
on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment
existing only in the larger settlements or in the little
harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta
on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island
as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530
standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined
in relative importance.

Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
[161] a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
[396] associated townships became dominant and the increase in the
population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if
not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the
largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been
based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the
past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence
farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs
of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which
money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

241 Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'. Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
464 those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to
36 this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops, cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
162 dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix 3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but even in the rural districts most people are seen to live within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only five districts show a built-up township area accounting for more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for 1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern (B/561).

361 Map 3, showing density of population by localities for 1957, closely reflects the built-up area pattern. Broadly-speaking it resembles Map 4 (residence of Dockyard workers) but here the emphasis on Valletta and Sliema, and all the northern part of the Urban zone, is notably less.

THE VILLAGE

621 [361] Maltese rural society is essentially composed of village communities each occupying a compact settlement[8]. There are some three dozen villages in the rural area of the Islands[9] among which there is considerable variation in site, date of foundation, morphology, population (B/561) and economic structure (B/381), but throughout the Islands there is a uniformity of function within the village as a community group. This makes it possible to speak of "the Maltese Village" from the point of view of social structure, and allows a qualifying classification into types on the basis of the features mentioned.

17 Maltese society as a whole, and particularly the rural part of it, is to some extent cut off from outside influences by virtue of the insular position of the country, cultural as well as geographical. Yet the Islands have clearly at no time in their history been independent of Europe to the north, Africa to the south and Asia to the east. Quite patently the opposite has been the case and Malta, as ever the mute pawn of great powers, has absorbed its material and moral culture from abroad just as it has received additions to its population whether coming as traders, invaders, or settlers, for four thousand years. But the Islands have put their own stamp on these arrivals so that a discussion such as this must take account of both autochthonous developments within the Islands, as well as those of wider origin.

17 621 The elements within the traditional Maltese village were, briefly, the Roman Catholic Church and clergy, the landed class, and the mass of the population - an illiterate peasantry. 'Traditional' here refers to rural society as it existed in Malta one, two or three centuries ago.

This is not to say that the traditional has been erased from the present scene but rather that recent moves towards literacy, emancipation and communication, and a greater range of amenities within the Islands, have diversified and modified the traditional aspects to produce a variety of different types in place of the social uniformity of the past. But the [793] [795] traditional nucleus within the village, the Parish Priest and the Parish Church retain their pivotal role. The modification of this role is very apparent but the place of the Church has been affected far less in the country districts

628 186 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gożo that a man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some comparatively recent date[13].

621 793 795 Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest, and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church by the new features and modifications of the old landscape in the present.

175 361 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement has acquired the essential features common to rural society throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church [172] in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1520[14]. Evidence, too, of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat (2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the village.

175 361 793 795 However, in the early part of the nineteenth century, farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918. Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area per- 175 346 [793] manently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the population of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911). [463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect concerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

36 This type of core area therefore, as defined in these examples is the basic pattern in all villages throughout Malta and Gozo.

103 361 178 In a consideration of the present scene within the Maltese village it is essential to be aware, at all stages of the argument, of the evolution of the settlements concerned. In the Żurrieq case it is clear that the main village block is extending in several directions, notably northward past the school and south-westward towards the small hamlet of Nigret. This latter is already linked by a continuous built-up stretch to the main village and thus contrasts with Bubaqra which remains morphologically independent. [578] In the case of some of the larger villages, Żebbuġ and Żejtun are two notable examples, the completion of this kind of merging of nuclei accounts for present intra-village sectionalism. Thus Żebbuġ (Malta) is a compound of three ancient village nuclei, Hal Muxi, Hal Mula and Hal Dwieli. The very title of 'Hal', or 'village', still given to these parts of what is now a single village reflects their original separate independence. They have grown together over the centuries and have been unified by the construction of a Parish Church and the appearance of a new 'township' core in the central area. Similarly Żejtun has three component parts, Ta'Fuq (Upper), Ta'Isfel (Lower), and Ta' Wara l-Knisja (Behind the Church): the present large Parish Church has been built in the space remaining between the merging older nuclei. The distinction here is clearly morphological rather than administrative but is nevertheless not to be ignored in a study of social structure and affiliation in a static and conservative community.

Merging between fully independent villages has also occurred. Balzan-Birkirkara and Pawla-Tarxien are examples, but here the administrative and affiliatory distinctions have been maintained. At a higher level still the merging of the settlements comprising the Urban area, begun in the nineteenth century but more rapid in the twentieth, is the major feature of modern settlement growth in Malta (R/561).

Rabat in Malta, and Rabat (Victoria) in Gozo, illustrate another aspect of settlement evolution where morphological [712] facts bear on social structure. In both cases the 'suburb of the citadel' ('Ir-Rabat tal-Imdina') grew to large-village size outside the Walls [illegible] the central fortified stronghold of each Island. In Malta, Rabat remained as the main rural centre after the capital had moved to Valletta, with ancient Mdina itself remaining a quiet residential back-water.

000 In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an

In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an
178 unofficial capital of the rural areas of his Island; markets
361 are still held there even though the main ones have
[443] gravitated to Valletta and the urban area. The annual
'Imnarja', traditionally one of the main events in the
farmers' social calendar, is held nearby[18], while the
ancient importance of the Church is reflected in the large
number of clergy, churches, confraternities and third orders
[712] found there (Appendix 4). In Gozo, Rabat is the administrative, cultural and economic capital with the old
fortified 'Castello' now in large part a deserted ruin.

369 The differing extent to which the villages of Malta and
178 Gozo have been influenced economically by the industrial and
urban developments of the dockyard areas and towns are paralleled in the social plane. Traditionally rural centres such as Qormi, Żabbar and Birkirkara have undergone increasing social and cultural attraction towards Valletta and the Urban area along with economic 'de-ruralization' by virtue of their proximity to the towns and harbours. The improvements in amenities and especially in transport facilities have tended to link these Fringe settlements to the Urban area rather than to the countryside which produced them (B/381).

361 A further type of village is exemplified by St. Paul's
178 Bay. This began as a summer-time resort for town and city
dwellers during the nineteenth century but attained a sufficient permanence and size to be granted full parochial status in 1905. The analogy in Gozo is Marsalforn though this settlement is perhaps half a century behind St. Paul's Bay in development and presents in winter time the appearance of almost a ghost-town with only a few permanent farmer and fishermen residents.

Birżebbuġa is a class on its own, having grown in the past few decades upon largely non-agricultural foundations of the British and United States' bases, oil installations and some small-scale industry.

128 Using this type of analytical approach, a classification
361 of the villages of Malta and Gozo on the basis of their
origin and socio-functional characteristics becomes possible (Richardson (B/561) goes into greater detail concerning the evolution of settlement in Malta itself and considers the development of the present pattern in the light of population growth and movement and other historical factors.)

712 (1) Medieval Capital Fortresses - Mdina in Malta and
175 the Castello in Gozo. Both occupy central eminences in
[361] their respective Islands and were used as capitals by the
Arabs (in Malta 870-1090) and by the various rulers of Malta
between 1090 and the coming of the Knights of St. John in
712 1530. The former is today a tranquil, residential

712 museum-piece; the latter ruined apart from the Cathedral and the Law Courts.

361/175 (2) Attached to each of the two fortresses there grew up at an early date suburbs which themselves achieved the status of independent settlements. Rabat is still an important locus for the farming community of rural Malta, while the Rabat in Gozo (or Victoria as it is now known) is the largest settlement in that Island and the only one with any urban features.

361/175/103 (3) The medieval town-villages of Malta, other than Rabat, were granted parochial status in 1436. This pattern of large agricultural villages formed the basis of the economic life of the times and even today they retain a strong flavour of the "Old Malta". They were Birkirkara, Qormi (split 1935), Żejtun, Żurrieq, Żebbuġ, Gudja, Naxxar and Siġġiewi. The parallel group of villages in Gozo included Xewkija (1678), Gharb (1679), and Żebbuġ, Xaghra, Nadur and Sannat (all 1688).

(4) Soon after the arrival of the Knights in 1530 building in the Three Cities and on the Xiberras Peninsula began. Thus Senglea (1581) and Cospicua (1584) were given parochial status (Vittoriosa had been one of the two 'parishes' of 1090) and the Valletta parishes of St. Paul and St. Dominic were established on the Peninsula in 1585 and 1587.

(5) Chronologically, the next development was the 'filling-in' of the rural scene with new village centres during the rule of the Knights. In all, thirteen such parishes were established in Malta and ten of these were in what are now the Fringe and Inner Rural areas. They were Tarxien and Kirkop (both 1592), Lija (1594), Gharghur, Safi and Mqabba (all 1598), Mosta (1608), Żabbar (1615), Qrendi (1618), Ghaxaq (1626), Luqa (1634), Balzan (1655), and Dingli (1678).

(6) After this spate of parish-building in the hundred years 1580-1680 there was a gap of a century and a half before any new parishes were created. The list then reflects very closely the growth of the Urban area under British rule after 1800 (v. Appendix 1A, and Map 3). Of the eighteen new parishes in Malta eleven were Urban and three in the Fringe zone. The new Urban settlements were Floriana (1844), Maida & Pieta (1867), Sliema (1878, 1918, and 1940), Hamrun (1881), St. Julian's (1891), Kalkara (1898) Pawla (1910), Marsa and Gżira (both 1913); in the Fringe zone came Birżebbuġa (1913), Santa Vennera (1918), and Marsaskala (1949). Other foundations in Malta were Marsaxlokk (1897) and the three new villages in the north -

361 Mellieha (1841), Mgarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
175 In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
103 Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kercem (1885),
San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911),
Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

17 In the period reviewed the major development has been
361 the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the
369 Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth
and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2. The Farmer and Farming

128

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525)
241 have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is
423 the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either
[114] individually or as the principal person of an agricultural
enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer.
311 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact
423 that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types
of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[51] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fisher-
361 men live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi.
Socially this residential distribution is important since only
in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
[512] gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economi-
463 cally lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
162 time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
178 the present official financial assistance, is producing
exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor the way of life based on it.

liberation of the Maltese from the yoke of the Saracens by Count Roger of Normandy in the year 1090. 527 186 [775] [648]

A liberal programme is now annually arranged by the Committee embracing every kind of attraction at Notabile.

PILGRIMAGES TO MELLEHA (*) 778 788

On the last two Sundays of September, every year, the roads leading to Melleha are alive with merry parties, especially country people, on their way to that village, in order to visit the

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(*) Melleha is a village some 10½ miles distant from Valletta, and about an hour's ride from St. Paul's Bay. It is renowned for the very old, perhaps the oldest, Sanctuary in the world, dedicated to the B. Virgin. This Sanctuary was founded by St. Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, while he was in Malta (58 A. D.) for the convenience of the faithful who lived in those neighbourhoods. Over the small altar is a picture of St. Mary, covering another old drawing of the same, executed by St. Luke. [361] [776] [532]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

527 would insist on the stipulation being inserted in their 173 marriage settlement, their *kitba taz-zwieġ*, that their husbands should take them to the Mnarja every year.

584 The banners given in prizes to the present day are long 526 and narrow pieces of brocade of different colours called ● 361 *paliu*, which it is the custom of the fortunate winners to take back to their casals to be used as the altar-cloth of the parish church for the ensuing year. The casals, it should be explained, are the 'villages' of Malta, if 'village' is the appropriate term, for they are stone-built compact townships with populations often running into five figures. The Maltese word for them is *hal*.

291 Again, our visitor will learn that the *faldetta* or *ghonnella*—the true Maltese term is *stamina*—of the Maltese women does not owe its existence, as some people allege, to the need for defence against the excessive gallantry of Bonaparte's troops, but is of much more ancient origin. If proof were needed, there is in the Royal Malta Library a print of the year 1576 showing a Maltese lady wearing the national head-dress. The *ghonnella* is a voluminous hood of rich silk—black everywhere save in the villages of Zabbar and Zejtun, where it is blue and is called *xurqana*—stiffened inside the top edge by a piece of cardboard about a yard long, one end of which rests on the head, while the other end has to be held. Originally, it was really, like the Turkish *charshaf*, a skirt or petticoat (which is what the word *ghonnella* means) thrown up over the head. Later it was curtailed, for which reason it is sometimes called *nofs ghonnella*, a half skirt; but it is still cut to show the placket-hole—in point of fact, half the placket-hole—of the garment from which it has sprung.

[191] This striking and picturesque mode of female adornment or, rather, concealment constitutes Malta's one characteristic article of dress and is the local method of shrouding a woman's face and form, a custom common to southern latitudes from as far east as India to as far west as the Azores,

9: Luke G-5 (ca..1920-ca.1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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MDINA, "THE NOTABLE CITY"
In the background Mosta, with its domed church.
[*See pp.* 90 *and* 203.]

THE CATHEDRAL, MDINA, FLOODLIT FOR THE JUBILEE OF KING GEORGE V
[*See p.* 88.]

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341

[facing p. 97]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

some sculptured escutcheon; the old stone *fougasses*[1] to be 311
encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny 34
Comino, from whose stony fields, where is cultivated the 103
cumin seed from which the island takes its name, there rises
one of the massive square keeps which the Knights scattered 243
throughout their territory.[2]

The casals are, as has been said in an earlier chapter, not 361 ●
villages, but compact stone townships of tall houses and 341
narrow streets, solidly built in good substantial Baroque 351
architecture. Their outskirts, as likely as not, are dignified
with some ancient country-house concealed behind high 346
walls amid charming gardens—the beauty and seclusion of the Maltese gardens are justly proverbial—while the focus of the casal, both literally and metaphorically, is the parish church. This is generally a great Baroque pile of golden sandstone flanked by two massive towers, but an exception is the Parish Church of Mosta, built in the classical style in the middle of the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts, both technical and financial, of the villagers themselves to the design of the ingenious Maltese architect Grognet de Vassé mentioned in Chapter II. It is topped by a dome that claims to be the third largest in the world, being surpassed in size only by those of S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Peter's in Rome, higher internally than the dome of the Roman Pantheon and exceeding by sixteen feet the diameter of that of S. Paul's in London.

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[1] Patrick Brydone (*cf.* pp. 143–147) gives an interesting account of this little-known form of coastal defence; "For we found, to our no small amazement, that the rocks were not only cut into fortifications but likewise into artillery to defend these fortifications: being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air: and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel." [712] [713]

[2] An excellent companion for the exploration of the island is F. Weston's *Walks in Malta*, published in Valetta. Later booklets include Showell Styles, *Walks and Climbs in Malta* (Valetta, 2nd edn., 1952), and H. H. Hick, *Walks in Gozo* (Malta, 1953). [113]

361 363 342 There is nothing in the rest of the Old World quite like the casals of Malta. Mostly built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the older parts of them consist of narrow winding streets except for the square facing the parish church. The houses, of uniform height, present a front of uninterrupted masonry, the façades broken only by the boxed balconies typical of Malta. Here and there the sculptured porticoes and elaborately decorated windows and cornices of a nobleman's mansion interrupt the simplicity of the other houses, but the streets preserve that enchanting homogeneity of period which on a larger scale distinguishes Valetta from other cities of its size. They are vernacular architecture in the fullest sense of the term. The stonework bears the lovely patina of age; any patches of garden are out of sight. In the more densely inhabited parts of the island the growth of population may bring about a confluence of two or even three casals, as in the case of Attard, Lija and Balzan.

To wander about these great stone villages by full moon or on a night lit by the illuminations and fireworks of the annual *festa* is to experience a translation in time more realistic than any suggested by stage or screen.

643 Samuel Taylor Coleridge records that it was Sir Alexander Ball's "custom to visit each casal throughout the island once, if not twice, in the course of each summer: and during my residence there I had the honour of being his constant, and most often his only, companion in these rides; to which I owe some of the happiest and most instructive hours of my life." A mid-twentieth century Governor, Sir Charles Bonham-Carter, followed with success this practice of regular weekly visits to the casals.

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794 The Maltese are among the most devoted sons and daughters of the Roman Catholic Church. They are, men and women alike, assiduous at their public devotions; there

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

137 that would not disgrace Taormina, or in the summer, when its tangled mass of vegetation forms an almost solid screen of verdure from the blazing sun, it would seem a fitting lair for the daughter of Atlas if it did not rather conjure up, with its figs, its vines, its calamus and its pomegranates, a vision of the Song of Songs.

13 Certainly Gozo is more fertile, less rocky, more verdant than is Malta. Edward Lear called its scenery "pomskizillious and gromphiberous, being as no words can describe its magnificence." It is not broken up to anything like the same extent by the stone and rubble walls which in the larger island so provokingly conceal gardens and fields from all [241] except aviators. In Gozo it is easy to enjoy wide vistas of green corn and purple clover, of terraced cultivation along the contours of its seven flat-topped hills.

13 341 Like Malta, Gozo ends on its south-western coast in sheer rock-faces that rise abruptly as much as 400 feet from the sea. But elsewhere its coast-line is more varied than Malta's, with its pleasant miniature fjords of Xlendi and Xini, the yellow sands of Ramla, the blue lagoon of Qala Dwejra, the mysterious landlocked bay of Kawra, the grim cliffs of Ta Ċenċ and Ras il Wardija. Its architecture, too, is highly characteristic, and although its villages bear a general resemblance to the casals of Malta, they can be distinguished from these by the handsome carved stone balconies which have happily remained one of Gozo's pleasantest and most live traditions. These balconies are a feature throughout the island but are to be seen at their best in the Manderaggio of Victoria, for Gozo, too, has its Manderaggio.

• 361 7/2 The capital of the island, Rabat or Victoria—Rabat because it is the suburb of the walled fortress above it—sprawls pleasantly at the foot of the great rock on which rises, like Edinburgh Castle, its bastioned and embattled citadel. This high place was designed as a stronghold, a place of refuge from the Barbary pirates, just as were the little hill-towns of the Riviera, Eze and many another, that look down on the

Gozo

●361 712 Corniche from heights as inaccessible as nature and man's ingenuity could make them. When the marauders from North Africa ceased to be a menace, the citadel was partly evacuated for the lower town, but happily was never abandoned completely. Even now it contains the cathedral of the diocese and the Law Court and Public Registry, formerly the residence of the Governors of Gozo; and, although many of its ancient houses are in ruins, a few are still inhabited.

175 717 341 654 One interesting little lane with façades of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was restored by the Government before the outbreak of the Second World War, as has been the handsome Renaissance building facing the entrance to the citadel latterly known as the Bondi Palace, as related at the end of Chapter XIII. One of the houses in the lane at one time belonged, as an inscription testifies, to the soldier Bernard, "*miles Bernardus*," who was killed at the capture of the citadel by the Turks under Sinan Pasha in 1551. When he saw that the fortress could hold out no longer this dauntless man took the lives of his wife and two daughters with his own hand to save them from being sold into captivity, and then fell, fighting to the end. The walls and fortifications of the citadel are happily well preserved.

101 Gozo was Ogygia or Gaulos to the Greeks, *gaulos* (γαῦλος) being the word the Greeks had for the round merchant-boats of their rivals, the Phœnicians. From Gaulos it became Gaulum to the Romans, then appears on Idrisi's map of 1154 as Ghudash, and in modern Maltese is known as Ghawdex (pronounced Audesh), its Bishop signing as 484 505 *Episcopus Gaudisiensis*. The shortest ferry-crossing between the two islands is only four miles, yet many Gozitans have never been to Malta while the overwhelming majority of Maltese have never been to Gozo.

181 186 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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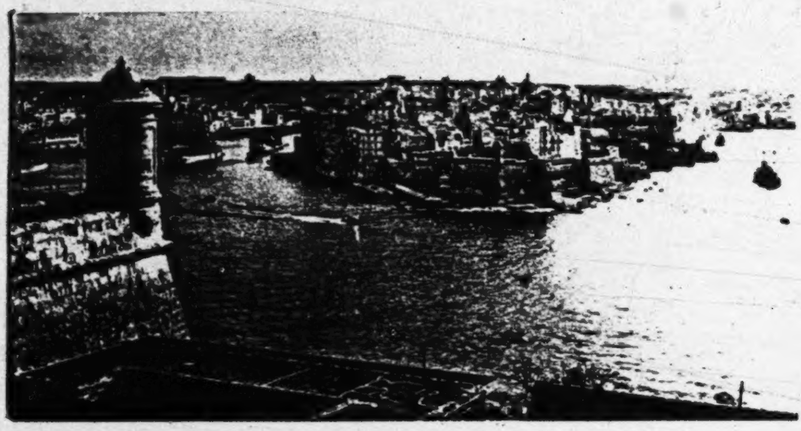

SENGLEA FROM THE VALETTA SIDE OF THE GRAND HARBOUR
[*See pp.* 55, 69.]

240

THE THREE CITIES AND PART OF THE DOCKYARD, LOOKING TOWARDS VALETTA
In between, Vittoriosa and Fort S. Angelo.
[*See pp.* 47, 240–41, 249 *and* 250.]

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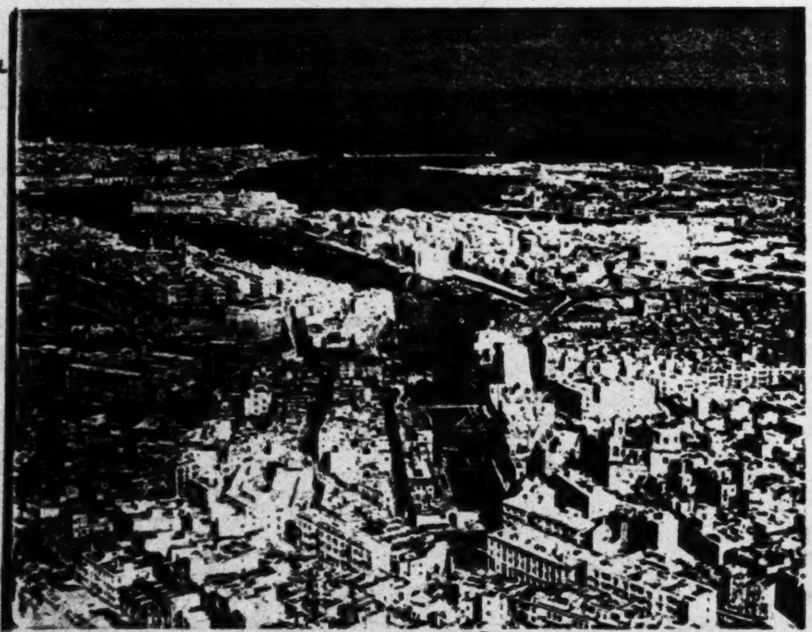


[facing p. 240]

[p. 44]

262 In respect of diet an important distinction between town
369 and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially
'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily available; but in the country districts there is notably less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits
273 (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are
262 now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods
such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet
511 cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now
established themselves as needs and, consequently, as demands on the family purse.

178 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from
291 which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This
in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy. Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made at home or at least within the village and were worn by the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest change is among the younger farming generation who want to dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly. especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the widespread use of military surplus material.

423 Housing is important in the present consideration
362 because money is now being spent by the farmer both on
511 buying his own house where he can but also on developing
it and improving the furnishings.

[178] Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town
dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

178 There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or
semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of
511 'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and
recreation all require money. Payments to the Church have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, could clearly only be met with cash.

451 The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the
511 typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The
[123] second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is difficult
241 to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
178 the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the
present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding
and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and
thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being
made available by the Government for farm development and of
"working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and
desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
362 the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
[427] £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a
new house and include near it accommodation for his animals.
For his large family of wife and eight children the house,
though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife
enable the family to carry on under limitations of both
home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer
to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
54 called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
461 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife
observes "these things are not missed by the people" who
have had little experience of them. She notes that in
Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the
bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family
and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can himself
464 operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
654 animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution,
he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to
acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan)
because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked
with his present labour force. A larger area would mean
more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the
milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be
increased along with the provision of extra accommodation
(also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is
that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale
through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits
here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

000 was taken for granted.

*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
on the ground that "it is not used here".

*

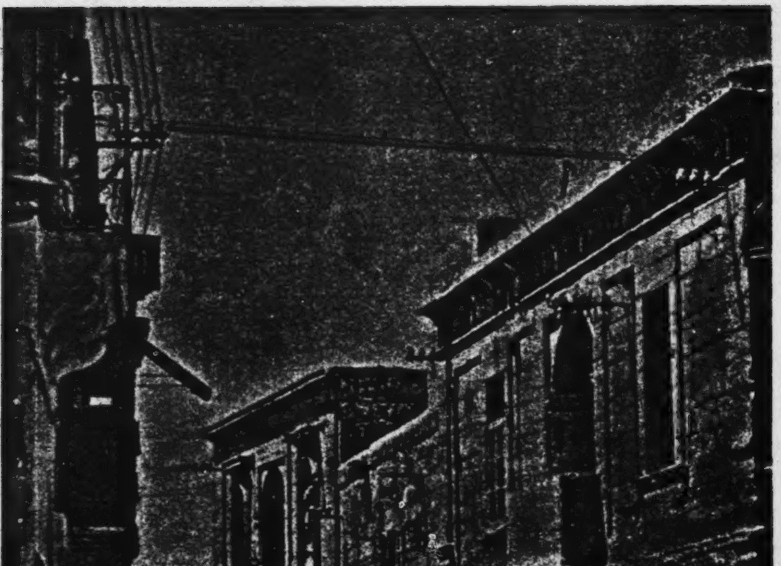
CASE XII : Ċenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

159 Ċenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
554 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Ċenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
241 to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
[451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

363
341
342



2. A village street

[facing p. 33]

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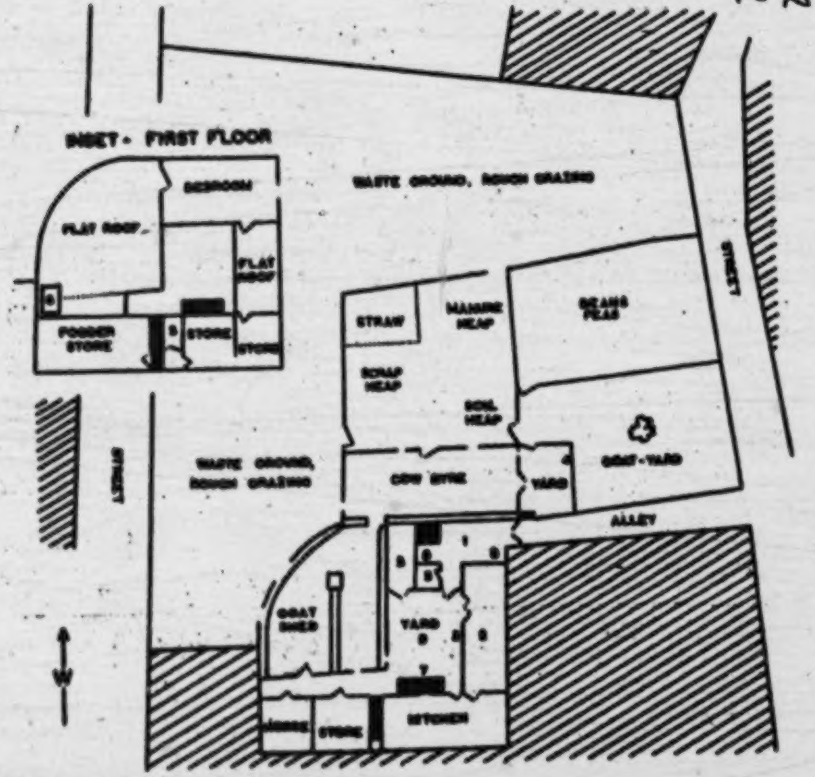
MAP · 8
FARMSTEAD
CASE VI

[following p. 102]


INSET - FIRST FLOOR
BEDROOM
FLAT ROOF
FLAT ROOF
FODDER STORE
STORE
STORE
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
STRAW
MANURE HEAP
BEANS PEAS
SCRAP HEAP
SOIL HEAP
GOAT-YARD
COW BYRE
YARD
WASTE GROUND, ROUGH GRAZING
STREET
ALLEY
GOAT SHED
YARD
KITCHEN
STORE
1 MAIN ENTRANCE ROOM
2 LIVING-ROOM/BEDROOM
3 WELL
4 WATER (TAP)
5 POULTRY
6 RABBITS
7 STEPS TO CELLAR USED FOR SHEEP
8 CARTS
9 GENERAL YARD
▨ OTHER BUILDINGS
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
YARDS

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

344
743

SACRED INFIRMARY: PART OF LONG WARD AFTER REMOVAL OF PARTITION WALL

[*See pp. 66 and 141.*]

363
342

AUBERGE OF ENGLAND AND HOUSE OF SIR OLIVER STARKEY, VITTORIOSA (BIRGU)

[*See pp. 69 and 140.*]

[facing p. 96]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

341
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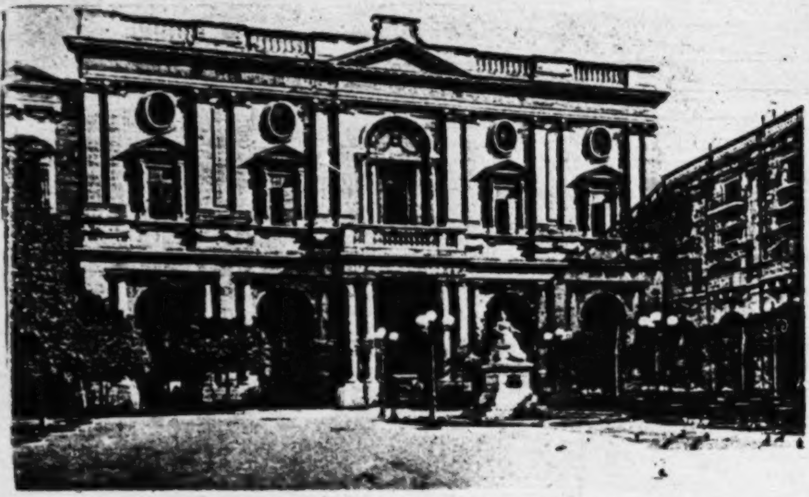


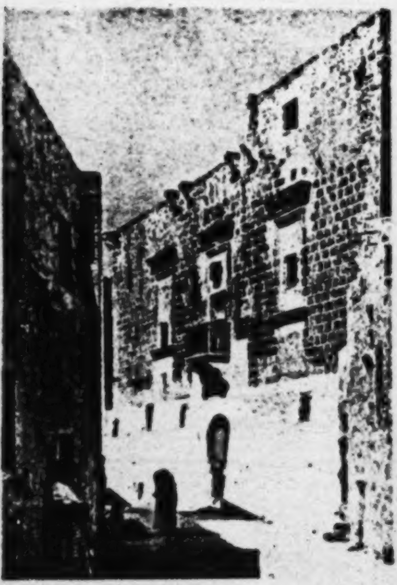
QUEEN SQUARE AND THE ROYAL LIBRARY, VALETTA
[*See pp.* 199–200.]

A PROCESSION EMERGING FROM
S. JOHN'S

796
←

● 363
342
→

STREET IN SIĠĠIEWI
Note the "fat" mouldings.
[*See p* 67.]



[facing P. 192]

361 •363 342 There is nothing in the rest of the Old World quite like the casals of Malta. Mostly built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the older parts of them consist of narrow winding streets except for the square facing the parish church. The houses, of uniform height, present a front of uninterrupted masonry, the façades broken only by the boxed balconies typical of Malta. Here and there the sculptured porticoes and elaborately decorated windows and cornices of a nobleman's mansion interrupt the simplicity of the other houses, but the streets preserve that enchanting homogeneity of period which on a larger scale distinguishes Valetta from other cities of its size. They are vernacular architecture in the fullest sense of the term. The stonework bears the lovely patina of age; any patches of garden are out of sight. In the more densely inhabited parts of the island the growth of population may bring about a confluence of two or even three casals, as in the case of Attard, Lija and Balzan.

To wander about these great stone villages by full moon or on a night lit by the illuminations and fireworks of the annual *festa* is to experience a translation in time more realistic than any suggested by stage or screen.

643 Samuel Taylor Coleridge records that it was Sir Alexander Ball's "custom to visit each casal throughout the island once, if not twice, in the course of each summer: and during my residence there I had the honour of being his constant, and most often his only, companion in these rides; to which I owe some of the happiest and most instructive hours of my life." A mid-twentieth century Governor, Sir Charles Bonham-Carter, followed with success this practice of regular weekly visits to the casals.

2

794 The Maltese are among the most devoted sons and daughters of the Roman Catholic Church. They are, men and women alike, assiduous at their public devotions; there

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*175
102
361

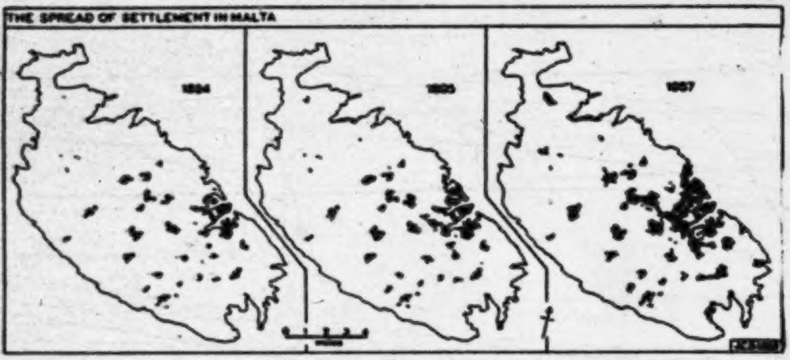

THE SPREAD OF SETTLEMENT IN MALTA
1957

Fig. 32 The Spread of Settlement in Malta.

102
364

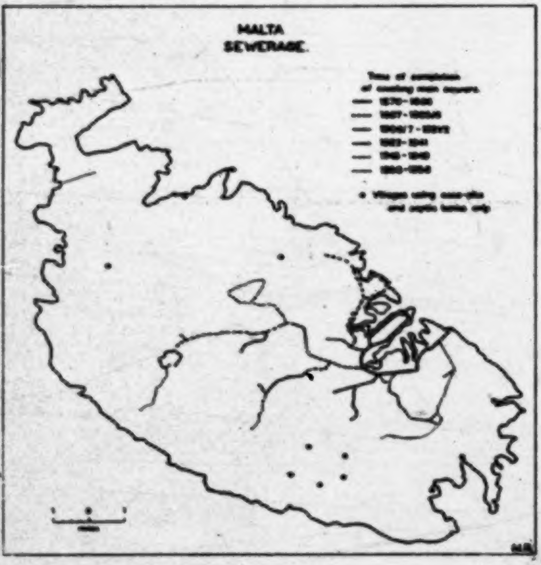

MALTA
SEWERAGE.

Fig. 33 Malta; Sewerage.

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table
only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension
366 of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised
shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops,
and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of
home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War,
the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly
to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The
petrolju van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on
paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
[262] addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free
distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
[749] by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation
distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

178 Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home
was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a stair-
342 case frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic
life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
[351] enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were
small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for
animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump
and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
[312] emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
[364] summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can
only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

[491] Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
[377] Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has
been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
[206] north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the
Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
[546] Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

241 Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent
family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the
village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese
agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the
village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have
improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now
greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them,
thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee.
Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village
have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction
not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and
functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community
has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he
was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappear-
ing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old
order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all,
a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a
changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113 1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 33.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: *For a fuller consideration see B. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1960.*

[p. 15]

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out 647
by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under
the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is
usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the [648]
interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation
from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads
were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants.
Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of
civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers
through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial
labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the govern- [464]
ment. They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This [162]
makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands.
Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the
principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open
competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration [621]
required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no
councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to
represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey
the wishes and commands of government to the people.
Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are
located in Valletta. Only the police represent government [625]
authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools [658]
for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most
villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a [744]
day under the supervision of a government District Medical
Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and [205]
branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour.
All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where [364]
it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

647 many countries are carried out by village or municipal authorities, are in Malta centrally administered from Valletta.

● [364] Gozo provides in some respects an exception to this picture. Though Gozo is administratively and economically dependent upon Malta, it has had for many years a certain measure of autonomy under a separate Commissioner. This appointment is dictated by the island's distance from Valletta in time and space. This isolation has not surprisingly resulted in a widely held belief that the Maltese administration, in which, incidentally, a large number of Gozitans have always held important posts, has systematically
[653] neglected Gozo. That there is a certain justification for this belief can be seen by anyone who compares the condition of the roads and the extension of street lighting, water and drainage in the two islands.

623 Partly to still for ever complaints about neglect, and partly as an experiment with a concept of local government new to Malta,
653 the Gozo Civic Council was established in the summer of 1961. Each village in Gozo now has an elected committee of six councillors, one of whom represents the village on the Civic Council. The Council has the responsibility for the maintenance of roads, government buildings, cemeteries and public gardens, village dispensaries and the museum and public library. It can also construct new roads and extend drainage, water and street lighting. To
[651] finance its work the Council receives the revenue from local taxes and from certain government property in Gozo. It also has the power to levy rates, but as all councillors made solemn promises to their constituents that they would not do so, this additional source of revenue must be discounted for the time being.

II

793 The Maltese Islands form a single province of the Catholic Church. This province is divided into the Archdiocese of Malta
795 and the Diocese of Gozo, which includes the small island of Comino. The Bishop of Gozo is suffragan to the Archbishop of Malta. As the senior or Metropolitan Bishop, the Archbishop has
[293] certain privileges and rights over his suffragan. These include the right to visit his suffragan's diocese (with Papal authority), should the latter neglect to do so; the right to appoint a temporary vicar on the decease of the Bishop of Gozo, if the Cathedral Chapter of

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
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theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
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443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
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each week from Mosta, the parent village.

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794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
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The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically con- 361
tinuous inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely [161]
overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding
lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the
village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here 114
that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as 245
the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, 366 ●
wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes.

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the 369
whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of 489
the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not 582
seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own
hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of
the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such
distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this
latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by
the whole population.

III.—History.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further 133
evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, 172
has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of undercutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age. By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus. These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water.

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Nean- 114
dertal man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small 172
fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual characters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with

[Village of Mġarr]

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in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
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settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

sembled, from a wooden pulpit in the 796 537
open air, near the small chapel. When 796
the sermon is over the jolly country 543
girls take a great delight in the fair [366]
which is held along the space in front of the small church, which is blocked up from end to end with temporary booths.

The wares offered for sale are of the 796
simplest description, consisting princi- 543
pally of scapulars, pictures, gay woollen 438
and cotton sashes and handkerchiefs, cheep trinkets, and glass and china of inferior quality; but there is enough colour and glitter to produce a pretty kaleidoscopic effect when touched by the rays of the bright shining sun.

On this morning the scores of vendors [265]
of sweetmeats, lemonade, and iced water seem endowed with extra power of throat and lungs for vociferating these refreshing compounds, and the set up

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XVIII

Old Survivals in Modern Malta

MALTA OCCUPIES A PLACE OF ITS OWN IN THE OLD WORLD 101
not only by reason of the length and unusual character
of its annals, not only by reason of the tremendous
range of its architectural monuments. It does so because
it combines with these features the circumstance that it
is the home of a separate race, the smallest of European
peoples.

There are, it is true, four independent states in Europe of
lesser size than Malta, but the inhabitants of these states do
not form distinct racial stocks, nor have they their own
languages. The Maltese are the smallest nation with the
longest history, and their islands are a microcosm, self-
contained. Not only has Malta its own tongue. It has its [197]
own University—the oldest in the British Commonwealth [873]
Overseas and granted the Royal patronage and the prefix
"Royal" by King George VI in his coronation year—with
seven faculties: Theology, Laws, Medicine and Surgery,
Dental Surgery, Engineering and Architecture, Arts, Science.
It has, as we have seen, its own Nobility with their Committee [565]
of Privileges. It is an ecclesiastical Province whose Archbishop [793]
exercises jurisdiction since 1944 over the bishopric of Gozo,
previously immediately subject to the Holy See since
its formation in 1864. And in the history of this
microcosm has been mirrored the life of the great world
around it.

Viewed as a part of the British Commonwealth, Malta is 655
unique in two particulars. It is the only British possession 545
whose Government owns an Opera House and in normal times 368
maintains an annual opera season and conducts the pawn-
broking of the nation in the manner of certain Continental
States.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 states. Alone with Gibraltar it runs a Lotto (with weekly
659 drawings) as a Government Department. Until 1866 Malta's
525 Opera House was the Manoel Theatre, a little gem of a play-
•368 house built as the Court Theatre by Grand Master Manoel
de Vilhena in 1731 and believed to be the oldest theatre in
368 Europe. It is easy enough to appreciate how daintily graceful
545 it must have looked when the audience, arrayed in the
brocades and perukes of the eighteenth century, was
assembled to witness some comedy of Molière or Goldoni.
Later used as a cinema, it is now being scientifically restored
to its original form and purpose.

368 In 1866 the new Opera House, officially called the Theatre Royal, was completed at a cost of £60,000 just within Kingsgate, partly on the site of a dilapidated old bakery which has been identified with the house of the Turcopilier, title of the Pillar or Head of the Langue of England. In 1873 this building, which was designed by Barry, the architect of the Covent Garden Theatre, in a style which while dignified was entirely out of harmony with Valetta's prevailing architectural character, was seriously damaged by fire and was reconstructed at a farther cost of £20,000. Before its destruction in the Second World War it was the only theatre known to the writer where it was the rule for male members of the audience to attend the evening performances either in mess dress or in evening dress with decorations.

655 The Monte di Pietà, the Government pawnbroking
175 Department, was established at the end of the sixteenth
century and was housed in its present handsome office in Merchants' Street by Ximenes, the last but two of Malta's Grand Masters. Connected with the Monte di Pietà is an institution known as the Monte di Redenzione. In wandering about the island the visitor will occasionally encounter a building of the seventeenth or eighteenth century adorned with a shield representing three cones surmounted by the letter "R". These buildings constitute the property, now administered by the Government of Malta under a trust, of

A further 203 in the Main Sea Level Water Table produced 606,329 gallons, while 312
407 in the depressed parts of the Upper Coralline yielded 409,881 gallons, a total of 1,376,762 gallons from less than 3,000 pumped wells. The problem of salinity in sea-level water tables is illustrated by the Wied tal-l'wales where in 1945 private wells yielded water with a salinity ranging from 22 to 142/100,000 while in 1953 the corresponding figures were 25 and 200/100,000 (10).

Finally, an accurate check has been kept on water obtained from those springs on the Rabat-Dingli Plateau which feed aqueducts for town supply. Over a period of years these have yielded an average of 251 million gallons annually, equivalent to 26,7 per cent. of the supply provided by an average yearly rainfall of 20,51 inches on a catchment area of 3,16 square miles (11).

A survey carried out by J. Baldacchino in 1942-45 provides some data on the amount of water used to irrigate various crops (12). There can be little doubt that much water is wastefully applied. The highest rate of application was that to summer marrows which received 30 waterings, 210,000 gallons per tomna, the equivalent of 33 inches of rain. The most striking fact, however, concerned the spring potato crop which took 15 waterings, 90,000 gallons per tomna, equivalent to 15 inches of rain. This was water applied from January to April, some of the wettest months of the year, and is perhaps an adequate comment on the suitability or otherwise of this crop to Maltese conditions - a question raised elsewhere in the present volume. Careless storage and prodigal application of water under conditions of intense isolation and evaporation indicate an uneconomic use of a limited resource.

Irrigation and the piped supply thus appear to make approximately equal demands on water resources - now, a probable 2,000 million gallons in the case of the former and a more certain 2,415 million gallons in the latter. This total of over 4,400 million gallons consumed annually may be compared with an annual supply from rainfall of 27,550 million gallons (assuming an average precipitation of 20 inches over an area of 95 square miles). What is not known is how much of this latter total percolates to the water tables and how much is lost at various stages of the water cycle by direct run-off, evaporation, transpiration and seepage into the Mediterranean. Some of the answers will be provided by the evapotranspirometer stations recently established in Malta. 184

Gozo has not thus far been mentioned and relatively little hydrological investigation has been carried out there. 312 The general arrangement of water tables irrigation practice, etc., are little different in principle from those described for Malta. The lower population density, the absence of a large urban element and the generally lower standard of living in the material sense make the problem a good deal less acute. Consumption per head from the public supply is approximately half that of Malta.

There is in the Maltese Islands, and particularly in Malta itself, conflict 312
between urban and rural uses of water just as there is in the use of labour, land and capital. 369 When the resource is already limited as it is in the case of water, the conflict becomes more apparent and its resolution depends on economic as much as on purely physical factors. Water shortage is a background against which all plans for future development, including the industrial, must be viewed.

REFERENCES

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(1) MORRIS, T. O.: The Water Supply Resources of Malta. Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1952.
(2) By common usage in Malta, the term 'water table' is applied to the whole body of water contained within the aquifer and not, as elsewhere, to its upper surface alone.
(3) MORRIS, op cit., para. 152, p. 62.
(4) Ibid., para. 223, p. 109.
(5) ibid.
(6) Report on the Working of the Water and Electricity Department for the Year 1952-53; Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1954. Para. 11.
(7) MORRIS, op cit., footnote to table 15.
(8) Report on the Working of the Water and Electricity Department for the Year 1953-54; Govt. Printing Office, Valletta, 1955. Para. 3.
(9) Report...etc., for the Year 1955-56. Appendix IV.
(10) Report...etc., for the Year 1952-53. Appendix IV.
(11) MORRIS, op cit. Table 8.
(12) ibid. Table 14.

group. From 1851, when it composed 45 per cent. of the total, this element 175*
steadily decreased, absolutely and relatively. This general trend resulted from 43
normal sociological changes consequent on a maturing of the whole economy
and from the growing dominance of male employing service industries. At the 464
same time, the preponderantly feminine cotton industry was steadily declining
(see pp. 123 and 124).

One of the most significant indicators of economic change is that of male 175*
employment in agriculture (Fig. 31). During the first century of British rule,
agriculture played no part in the economic expansion which was in train. 43
Agricultural prosperity became a function of general prosperity and therefore
to a large extent mirrored external fortune. Employment in the industry on the 464
other hand, except for the shortlived cotton growing boom of the 1860's during 441
the American Civil War, varied inversely with general economic activity. In
Malta, as in most countries, it would be true to say that rising profits in farming 458
benefited existing producers but failed to attract net incomers. On the other hand, population growth, the cessation of employment elsewhere, obstacles to emigration or even forces producing a return of migrants all periodically forced some workers back on to the land. Thus in the years between 1851 and 1871 while the population was growing more quickly than the slow but accelerating commercial activity, sheer population pressure and migration trends (16) forced the level of male agricultural employment from c. 7,000 to c. 9,000. During the Golden Years and the subsequent period of large-scale dockyard and public works construction numbers fell once more to c. 7,000 in 1901. Later stagnation in commerce and a decline in constructional work culminating in a severe depression (necessitating a Royal Commission) were marked by an increase in the number of farmworkers to 8,500 in 1911. These general fluctuations can be corroborated by reference to farm family histories and by changes in the availability of land. Behind the overall absence of numerical change and of those of secular variations we may discern some of the fundamental features of Maltese agriculture. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the better land had already been occupied by as many farmworkers as contemporary productivity could properly support. This number remained more or less constant, first because the economic and social climate was not propitious to the labour saving innovations which were sweeping over Europe, and secondly because the intake of land from waste did little more than compensate for losses elsewhere. We have a picture of a technically static, status declining and credit starved industry which from time to time lost some of its most vigorous and enterprising young workers or gained a flood of generally poor and semi-skilled labourers.

More true of Malta than of Gozo, this picture must be modified to accom- 175*
modate regional differences and changes. Already in the eighteenth century, as
we have noted, a cleavage existed in Malta between the *urbs* around Valletta, 369
the Old City of Mdina-Rabat, and the rural communities. By the middle of the
nineteenth century, this had developed into an embryonic form of the present 43
division into urban, suburban and rural communities (Fig. 36). The social and demographic reasons for and implications of this are considered elsewhere (Chapter VI A) but the internal economic factors need present consideration.

Before the building of the railway in 1881, the tramways in 1905, and the [499]
later motorable roads, communication between villages and between country and town was relatively limited. Within those areas physically closest to what had now become the Grand Harbour the attraction/repulsion effects on agricultural employment were most strongly felt. On the eastern urban fringe, in the Żabbar area, these fluctuations were very violent and indicative of too complete reliance on two simple forms of economic activity, dockyard work and farming. On the western fringe the expanding economic and political functions of the nuclear *urbs* overwhelmed old villages such as Birkirkara and created new townships such as that of Hamrun in a more complex urbanisation (Figs. 38 and 39). Fluctuations in agricultural employment still occurred but these were less important than the steady decline in the total.

The changes outlined above proceeded slowly but at an accelerating rate during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. By 1871 popula-

[Text Continues on p. 123]

tion increase had overtaken economic growth, and in particular had forced an 175*
expansion of the cultivated area. As still evidenced in the landscape the farming 369
frontier moved into the more difficult lands of the north-western uplands and on 43
Mellieha Ridge and intensified effort on the floodable lands of Wied il-Ghasel.
The *Società-Economico-Agraria* in a series of reports and in the *Gazzetta
Agraria Maltese* expended much effort during this time in studying the possibility
of reclaiming land hitherto uncultivated (17).

From 1871 onward non-agricultural employment became absolutely 175*
dominant. The significance of this change lies in the fact that indigenously
rooted manufacturing, viz. cotton working, died completely and the largest sector 463
of National Production became entirely dependent on external wealth. A closer
examination of one of the crucial periods, the decade 1871-81, illustrates the 369
regional changes which were taking place. The male working population 464
increased suddenly from 40,698 to 46,116. The greatest rate of increase
occurred in the urban area where the number of male workers rose by 17 per 43
cent. while the population increased only by 9 per cent. The suburban trend was
intermediate between this and the rural situation where the employment rate
rose by only 8 per cent. - less than 800 men. The greatest suburban rise
occurred mainly in the following decade. Functionally the largest increase
occurred in the group of Porters, Carriers and Coalheavers - 100 per cent.,
while the commercial group increased by 27 per cent. and the numbers in the
building trade actually declined slightly. During this decade and most of the next
the greater part of economic growth resulted from increased port activity. At
one end of the social scale there would seem to have been an actual migration
of nobility and gentry from the 'unfashionable' old centres into Valletta, while
in the capital the number of 'gentry' increased rapidly with each census as
successful *nouveaux riches* acquired estates and a higher status. Bankers,
merchants and dealers increased by 8 per cent., and in ever descending and
widening social circles, shopkeepers by 11 per cent. and petty vendors by 25
per cent. The Transport group, an advanced stage to that of Porters, increased
in number even more astonishingly, by 129 per cent. in Malta as a whole and
by 318 per cent. in the rural areas.

As Table 23 indicates, the economic revolution was becoming more complex and the sphere of influence of Valletta and the port became more extensive.

Table 23. Percentage change in the male working population.

Location	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91
Urban	+8	+17	-4
Suburban	+0.7	+12	+5
Rural	+9	+8	+1

By 1891 the port boom was over but Government expenditure and Imperial military spending continued to rise. Commerce came more to mean retail trade and dockyard work more associated with bunkering and naval servicing. Coal-heaving, civil and military, engaged 2,075 men by 1891. By 1905 over 9,000 men were employed by the Naval Establishments, half of these on constructional work. On the other hand, the build up of the garrison, naval and military ended in 1902 and the Royal Commissioners in 1911 estimated that 'the reduction of the garrison must mean a loss to the industries of Malta of not less than £400,000 a year'.

During the closing years of the nineteenth century there was finally estab- 175*
lished in Malta the complex economic pattern which still fundamentally underlies 43
life in the Islands. The greater integration of economic life, a high level of urban
and dockyard activity and the improvement of internal communications resulted [361]
not in continued movement into the *urbs* but in the growth of the suburbs and
the strengthening of the non-agricultural element in the rural areas. Thus of [369]
the coalheavers of 1891, 80 per cent. lived outside the port complex and
44 per cent. in the outer ring of casals Qormi, Luqa and Żejtun. The labour [464]

low levels. Earlier improvements probably supplied the basis for change but more important was the fact that, for the first time, the effective Garrison of Malta included the whole population. The new machinery for public information, the desperate need for reducing disease incidence and preventing epidemics, and even food rationing and shortage had cumulatively beneficial effects on the public mind. More than all, it would seem, the military control of the besieged islands with its conscription of many Maltese males and the increased contact of British troops with the people, together with that strange uniting exaltation in face of danger observed in other countries, all shocked Malta into new ways of thought (Fig. 66).

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After the war this momentum was maintained during the period of reconstruction. The Malta Memorial District Nursing Association, Child Health Clinics, and U.N.-established ante-natal clinics have now been accepted and their services utilised. In 1959 the infantile mortality rate was 34.7 per 1,000, leaving the memory of the rate of 350 per 1,000 in 1942 far behind.

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This revolutionary change is of particular revelance to this study. Many of its implications need no labouring. The demographic consequences, for instance, are obvious enough, as also the slowness with which traditional ways of life in Malta have changed. For us the most important consequence is that rising generations through a new awareness of causation and consequence, of scientific processes, are becoming vulnerable to new ideas in associated fields. There are no great steps between preventive human medicine, inoculation, livestock injections and an appreciation of plant pathology. One difficulty remains; the rural areas are the least affected by these recent changes and those individuals in the countryside who are mentally injected with new ideas and understanding are, for various reasons, the least likely to remain in agriculture.

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Exemplifying this continuing regional dichotomy, but unity in complexity, is the recent history of milk consumption and production (13). Traditionally in Malta, 'the entire milk supply has been delivered by the goat herself' (14). Sometimes living with their flocks in the *fossa* which surround Valletta, the herdsmen would wander the streets, milking the animals on demand. Bruce and Zammit in 1885 and 1905 showed that the bacillus of Undulant or Malta Fever was freely excreted in goats milk and that the high incidence in Malta of this debilitating, sometimes lethal, disease was a natural consequence of the general albeit low per capita consumption of fresh milk from predominantly diseased goats. After considerable investigation, a milk pasteurising plant was erected and the first pasteurised milk was distributed, Valletta, Floriana and Sliema being declared 'closed areas' within which the sale of raw milk became illegal. During World War II, further extension of this policy was prevented but, since most goats were slaughtered for meat because of fodder shortage and because consumption of tinned milk became normal, the incidence of Malta fever fell to record low levels. Post-war revival in goats' milk production resulted in general re-infection by brucellosis and in 1946 the incidence of undulant fever was the highest ever recorded. During the post-war period public health and welfare policies have encouraged the consumption of milk. Because of the incidence of Malta fever, this has entailed the provision of expensive pasteurising plant, the prevention of the sale of unpasteurised, and the official encouragement of production of cows' rather than goats' milk.

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This particular development is examined at greater length in Chapter X but some main points of general import merit consideration here. First, Maltese society has recently been affected by social, dietetic and medical policies which profoundly affect the basis of social life. In general one might say that the Maltese way of life is being made more remote from the simple crudities of parochial experience. Secondly, in the field of health and social welfare, the criterion of scientifically measured need has been adopted as the basis of official policy and the question of availability of resources is regarded as of secondary importance. Thirdly, this increasing social sophistication has only very recently become operative in Maltese life and different scales of value exist in different generations and in different social groups. Lastly, it would be fair to say that, while the urban markets are still only relatively fastidious

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about quality and as yet incompletely dominated by ideas of welfare economics,
178 the rural community is far less affected by change. While milk consumers in
the towns are often either not completely convinced of the need for milk processing
185 or at the other extreme will use only imported tinned milk where possible,
744 the producers are generally even less convinced of the need for care in the
production of clean milk. Unpasteurised goats' milk is still generally used in
those farming households where milk is consumed at all, and understanding of
the processes of infection is but slowly growing. Thus, in the field of public
health and personal hygiene and medical care, social changes have been rapid,
recent and uneven in incidence. Here, as in the economic sector, the mental
acceptance of new ideas is not yet complete and is least advanced in the most
rural and remote regions.

The examination already made of the demographic situation in the Maltese
163 Islands needs some brief consideration against the background of social
369 attitudes. The consensus of expert opinion is that in developing societies a falling
birth rate is the result not of an actual decline in fertility but of family
842 limitation. In most regions such a decline in family size is associated with
changed social attitudes, which have become accepted in many countries in which
795 Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion. Pope Pius XII himself condemned
irresponsible parenthood and said it is 'a mistake and a departure from moral
truth to exalt too highly the generative function even in its right moral setting
of married life' (15).

The insularity and historical experience of Malta have preserved there a more rigid and strict application of Catholic rules of conduct, in which, despite the inadequacy of the Islands' resources to provide for the economic welfare of the population, the virtues of the large family are still stressed. Archbishop Gonzi in 1958 reminded an audience of young people that, although large families entailed much sacrifice on the part of the parents, parents should be prepared for a life of sacrifice (16). Father Vella, the founder of the Cana movement has said: 'One of Malta's glories is her large families' (17).

In Malta therefore the weight of the Church tends to discourage the secular social trend towards smaller families, and still makes illegal any provision for family limitation. Where secularism is strongest, in the urban cosmopolis, family size declines most rapidly. In the rural communities, where the precepts of the Church are most conscientiously observed and where the effect of secular socio-economic desires is most restricted, large families are normal and admired.

This regional contrast in social behaviour, when superimposed upon purely
163 demographic variations in rates of population growth, becomes sometimes
369 emphasised and sometimes negated. In the northern third of Malta, inward
internal movement as a consequence of 'pioneer' agricultural settlement during
842 and after the mid-nineteenth century produced a 'young' population, high birth
rates and rates of natural increase. This region has remained almost entirely
rural in social character. The second main region of inward movement of
population, the suburban area, has experienced a recent decline in the early
high birth rates as a result of the impact of secular ideas.

The urban heart of Malta in Valletta and Floriana by contrast, has been both
traditionally a zone of outward movement of population and the district most
affected by changes in social attitudes to family propagation. The remaining
area, the heart and core of Maltese 'casal' life, illustrates clearly the delicate
balance between demographic and religious and secular social influences. From
[166] this central area have traditionally gone the migrants to the new towns and the
'new' northern farming areas. The efflux has counteracted the traditionally rural
and strongly religious tendency towards large families and a high rate of natural
increase. On the southern fringe of this zone however lies the Żurrieq group
of 'casals' and villages. From this until recently relatively isolated district,
emigration has never been high and, with a survival of traditional rural values,
this region has had in the 1950's the consistently highest birth rates - over 30
per 1,000 - of the *Maltese* population.

a but arbitrarily defined eastern limit is clearly distinguishable in the field by 241*
the large ramped rather than terraced fields of mixed good dry farming. 311*

C. THE HILLS AND PLAINS OF THE CENTRE AND EAST

This area possesses a certain unity based on physical and human characteristics. 311* As noted in Chapter I B, the landscape, although presenting a deceptively monotonous appearance to the eye, is in places emphatically dissected and the altitudinal range is fairly great (Fig. 1). The importance of minor relief features in this region is magnified by its relative uniformity; this in contrast to the scarplands of the west.

There is also a less simple relationship between altitude, aspect and climate. [132] Exposure to sea winds adversely affects many coastal districts. Away from the coast, land temperature conditions assume a greater importance in the development of local climates. Thus, even under insular conditions, regional contrasts between the interior and the periphery are marked (see Chapter II).

In this eastern half of the island is found the core of Maltese life, both urban 311* and rural, and links between town, village and country are everywhere close. 361 There is no really widespread development of dispersed settlement. As noted in Chapter VI, Valletta (il-Belt) is the focus of a series of concentric zones of human activity. Around it lie, first, the residential and industrial towns of Sliema, Hamrun, Pawla and the Three Cities. Beyond these are large settlements in which urban and rural activities are intermingled but in which the former predominate. These include Birkirkara, Qormi, Tarxien and Żabbar. Clearly distinct, a third type of settlement, here termed *casal* or township, lies in an outer ring. This comprises Għargħur and Naxxar, Mosta, Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Qrendi and Żurrieq, Għaxaq and Żejtun. Each of these forms an independent centre for rural life and each has developed some limited urban function.

Inside this zone lie smaller settlements of varying character. Lija and Attard are increasingly attached to the growing 'suburban' development spreading westwards from the Valletta conurbation. Kirkop, Safi and Gudja are country villages, while Mqabba and Luqa have some non-rural additions. Along the eastern coast, with its fine natural harbours, are to be found the old fishing villages of Marsaskala and Marsaxlokk. At Birżebbuġa and Kalafrana, this traditional function has been submerged by more modern developments.

Communications are generally good and public transport services frequent, 311* thus there are few areas of real remoteness. Throughout this part of the island, 369 the attraction exerted by the Valletta conurbation affects all sectors of social and economic life. The larger casals have their own independent gravitational pulls. At either end of the rural-urban *continuum*, *decline* in rural life is taking place. The smallest villages such as Safi are losing population to their larger neighbours while on the fringe of the conurbation, part-time farming spreads over an ever-increasing area.

Thus the character of cultivation in this part of Malta is the product of many 241* interacting human and physical factors. These interactions combine in various 311* ways to differentiate the five major and many minor regions considered below.

C.XVI. WIED QLEJGHA

From the Upper Coralline col at Għajn Qajjet, Wied Qlejgħa passes over a narrow outcrop of Blue Clay to become more open on the Globigerina beds, before entering the gorge of the Wied ta'l-Isperanza (101), cut in the Lower Coralline.

This is a transitional region between the West and Centre and suitably enough displays all the characteristic types of farming and crop assemblage. At Għajn Qajjet, below Upper Coralline plateau *xagħra*, lies an intensively cultivated *ġnien* zone, mirrored on a smaller scale on the Blue Clay slopes below Mtarfa. On the terraced wied floor flanking the Chadwick lakes, good dry farming including viticulture is practised. The intermediate slopes of the basin are dry-farmed in

[Text Continues on P. 258-B]

Dalam, a good deal of this better land has been sterilised by the construction of a large pumping station, but a small pocket of intensive potato-growing occurs before the sea is reached. In the Wied has-Saptan, the transition is marked by a belt of marshy land carrying canes, bullrushes and grasses which are tended and 'cropped'. Below this lies a second small alluvial area also largely under potatoes. This district as a whole possesses a greater variety of physical and land-use conditions than any other in Eastern Malta. 241* 311*

From Qala San Ġorġ to Bengħisa Point, a narrow coastal lowland has been completely taken out of cultivation by settlement growth and by commercial and military installations. The slopes behind this zone are traversed by a series of shallow wieds in which lie narrow strips of wasteland. All dry-farmed crops are represented in this hilly country, even to a few vines grown near the southern coast in a strangely exposed position.

In this small region is exemplified the major problem which besets the Maltese agricultural community and which complicates the patterns of land-use and farming practice in the island. New, well-surfaced roads serve Hal Far and Kalafrana, but between these arteries lies a neglected and relatively remote farming area. Distances involved are small, particularly when the attraction of non-rural life pulls people away from the land. However, as noted elsewhere, the same distances become exaggerated in their effect of isolating the country-dwellers who remain. The dichotomy of town and country is thus perpetuated. 369 491

GENERAL

The main facts underlying the regional differentiation of Maltese agriculture may be summarised as follows. While structure and topography control the general distribution of these cropping combinations, important regional differences result from variations in weather and micro-climate. Soil controls, in the main, coincide with those of structure and outcrop, but slope, as affecting removal and accumulation, together with the widespread traditional practice of transporting soil to artificial fields, break up the simple geological pattern. 241* 311*

Farming types in Malta must be identified against a background of socio-economic change. Commercial production is the rule, but considerable variations result from differing degrees of linkage with markets. Socially, this is paralleled by differences in the extent to which rural communities are affected by urban desires and emulations. Proximity to, or remoteness from town life are most important.

Wasteland is spreading most rapidly on the remote and physically hard lands. The flight from the land is slower where it is more productive. General deterioration is most widespread on lands of medium quality where the attraction of town life is strong. On the immediate fringes of the built-up areas, conditions are by no means uniform. While in some cases market gardening provides a particularly intensive form of land use, in others encroachment of roads and buildings produces a jumble of building sites, abandoned fields and a few surviving patches of cultivation. Around the main conurbation as delimited in Fig. 97, lie many pockets of true urban farming. In many of these, as in the case illustrated by Fig. 125, the jostling together of stock-yards and houses and fields, both abandoned and cropped, shows the town triumphant.

Agricultural Regions of Gozo

The physiographic divisions already indicated in Chapter 1 and shown in Fig. 4[a] are suitable for a regional analysis of agricultural practice in Gozo. Printed maps of Gozo bear few local place-names and thus it has been necessary to devise the special nomenclature used in the present section and illustrated in Fig. 70.[z] 241* 311* 102 104

[a] [See p. 39-A -- Analyst]
[z] [See p. 199 -- Analyst]

F. The Farmer in Maltese Rural Society

241 571 A study of the Maltese farmer within the total of agriculture in the Islands must include a consideration of the individual as a member of the community in which he lives, works and thinks.

The total social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles - family, village, and 'Malta'.

241 619 To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old countryman for whom Valletta is a foreign world, the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. But even for most of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for the countryman to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta complain. The 'National' unit is large enough for him to speak of *'Il-Gvern'* - the Government, of which he has heard frequently, though imprecisely, on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems with a characteristic disregard for logic or even fact. This concept of *Gvern* is of importance in an appreciation of rural thought in Malta. In it no very clear distinction is made between Maltese Government and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy. Neither is allegiance to one or other of the political parties very significant, for personality is always more important than party.

[178] To give an historical perspective to this attitude of the remoteness of *Gvern* one may see in it not only the product of foreign British rule since 1800 but also the legacy of the 'paternal' government of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands. Rural communities are characteristically conservative.

793 The other Malta-wide authority is that of the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the individual than is *Gvern*. In the normal practice of his Religion the countryman leans directly on his local priests, though the Curia and Archbishop in Malta and the Bishop in Gozo do represent, for him, the essential unity that is the Maltese Church.

241 178 369 Within the framework of 'Malta' the distinction between the conurbation of towns, centred on Valletta, and the countryside is crucial. This 'conurbation' may be defined as those census districts with less than 3 per cent. of their working population engaged in farming. In 1948, this accounted for all districts bordering on either the Grand or Marsamxett Harbours together with the adjoining residential suburb of St. Julians (1). Outside this urban area, the farming element in the working population increases towards the west and north of Malta, although only in Mġarr does it pass 50 per cent. In Gozo, the scene is notably more 'rural', on the basis of this definition, with six of the 12 census districts having more than half their working population engaged in agriculture. [463] A survey of parallel information in censuses over the past 100 years shows a declining farming element along with a diversification of the occupational structure - especially in those villages regarded as traditional strongholds of agriculture.

This trend to economic diversification has been accompanied by a break away from the former social homogeneity of these rural villages. In fact, economic and social change cannot be considered each in isolation. In Malta, change - in its widest sense - has spread into the countryside from the conurbation. The tempo of this process has accelerated rapidly since the 1939-45 war, which brought town and country together more than ever before and shook the foundations of the cleavage between 'peasant villager' and 'urban townsman', a key feature in the social geography of the Maltese Islands. The appearance of schools, amenities - particularly transport, and a degree of occupational choice, have enabled the countryman to sample a more 'urban' way of life and culture and this has produced a dissatisfaction with rural society as it has been. Maltese countrymen knew they were regarded, as a class, as low in the social scale of urban opinion. They accepted this fatalistically and were in fact able to view

178 241 their designation with a certain tolerant wisdom. Not so the present young generation in the farming community for whom education and material facilities have presented the chance of escape from a social inferiority complex.

369 [628] The village was traditionally the community-group in rural Malta. Contact with the towns and Valletta was limited, especially for the villages of the west and in Gozo, until buses, press and rediffusion narrowed the gulf, but it was hardly less than the contacts between the villages themselves. The village was the group for most social interaction. Currently, the trend is towards a Malta-wide community-group in which villages are losing much of their isolation, although there is very little uniformity in this process. Sub-urban villages are clearly absorbing non-rural characteristics much more quickly than is the case in outlying parts of the Islands.

793 [796] [555] The nucleus of village life is the Church and the first citizen is the Parish Priest. The Priest combined teaching and general advisory duties with his spiritual role (see Chapter VI C). He was also the main link with the world outside the village through his relaying of general news from his pulpit. Normally, land transfers and a wide variety of matters connected with the agricultural cycle were announced by the Priest. The Church was the social meeting place and the basis of institutionalised activity. Even the village *festa*, that single day of wild exuberance, noise, fire-works, procession and carnivalesque has as its pretext a religious observance such as the honouring of the particular Saint of the village or the National Feast of the Shipwreck of St. Paul. In all this, the link between Priest and people was often further cemented by wide kinship connexions within the village. The son of an illiterate farmer might progress through Seminary and University to return to his home village as a priest and to be claimed as a relative by many members of that static and much intermarried community.

Such proximity, together with the very number of the priesthood in any parish made for a familiarity with the personnel of the Church just as confession, fasting, observance of Saints' and other special days, quite apart from the daily Mass, made for close acquaintance with its practice.

178 It is convenient to use the past tense in the foregoing only because the picture sketched has been modified in recent decades. It is however still the essential basis of communal life, especially in the rural community which, as suggested, holds to traditional custom longer than does the town. The modifications which have appeared are important in this present consideration because they lie behind the current social upheaval in which the individual countryman is being faced with a clash of new against old. If, as seems possible, he leaps to the new so completely as to relinquish the old entirely, then the traditional order of society will disappear along with the agricultural system on which it is based. This is the problem of the farmer in Maltese rural society.

575 An early non-religious movement was that of the Band Clubs; the first appeared in Rabat in 1860. But even these came to be identified with particular Churches and also with parish rivalries. The Band Club grew to become a major feature of social life in both town and country in Malta, although in Gozo it has had only a limited extension outside Victoria.

562- [575] [962] The Band Club is essentially a male organisation. Women have never been more than tolerated spectators and, to this extent, the movement reflects the place of women in Maltese society. Emancipation of women has spread into the countryside from the towns but even today women take an undemonstrative part in village activity and their movement outside the home is largely confined to Church-going, shopping and possibly field-work. The modern young woman who has had at least eight years schooling seeks paid employment beyond the house and fields. In rural circles the tendency is still to frown mightily at such a suggestion but it can only be a matter of a few years before what is now accepted in Valletta becomes tolerated in rural Gozo.

178 Functional diversification has been the keynote of twentieth century village society in the Maltese Islands. There is no evidence to show that there is any challenge to the position of the Parish Priest in matters religious (the situation has been less satisfactory from the point of view of the Church in urban Malta)

palms and pomegranates alongside potatoes - but in no case are conditions 241
optimal or yields very good. In the comparatively closed economies of the past this mattered little; in an era of world trade and world markets Malta has now been left behind. Large-scale cotton production has virtually ceased and that of citrus fruit is declining; viticulture is of low standard and the olive tree very rare. Cereals can now provide only a tiny fraction of local needs while fodder production is limited in season and type by water shortage.

178 The critical phase in the social and economic reactions to the physical situation has also been reached. In the simple peasant communities of the past, the creative manual effort was necessarily associated with a low valuation of individual human effort and an arduous and restricted life. Now, however, economic and social opportunities and desires have widened and with them has come impatience with the demands imposed by the artificial landscape.

Higher per capita productivity to assure more freedom and leisure is only 182
quickly attainable by technical and mechanical innovation. It is just such innova-
tion that is impossible on a large scale on the land of Malta. 241

The slope analysis map (Fig. 28)[1] illustrates one aspect of the problem. 311
Maltese soil 12 inches deep needs, as a minimum amount, terracing at horizontal
intervals of about 20 feet. Anything wider in the way of fields or a deeper soil [134]
makes essential increasingly higher and stronger retaining walls. The problem is such that considerable control is exercised by dip as well as gradient. The amount of labour involved in maintenance is heartbreaking by modern standards and yet, without it, erosion is quickly followed by the complete stripping away of the soil down to bare rock. The scale of farming operations often has to be very small - the planting of single rows of beans, of single trees, the sowing of chick-peas in rock crevices. Power and tool application is severely restricted. Small and light implements and single draught animals or more recently 'rotavators' alone can negotiate this type of terrain and work very thin soils covering rock platforms. The dangerous effect of the abandonment of any land is obvious. The past has in fact enchained the present. If cultivation is to continue then in order to preserve the artificial ecological balance, created with such effort over the centuries, a social imbalance will become even stronger. Whatever the scale of farming the farmer will always have to grub for soil, build his terraces, carry his plough or manhandle his rotavator for long hours under conditions that will seem less attractive even than those of casual dockside and urban labour.

The first point then is that the landscape indicates how human effort is pinned down by the artificial environment and how restive man is becoming.

The second theme is concerned with the reasons for the historical process 175
of what really amounts to landscape gardening, and with the underlying
implications. 241

Malta's wealth, in historical times at least, has come from a large extra-
territorially derived income which has resulted from the Island's positional 648
value. It is possible that even in prehistoric times Malta was never self-sufficient. The great temple building cultures of Malta and Gozo may well have maintained their master masons on imported wealth. Certainly Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Normans all occupied Malta because of its strategic position and took wealth in rather than removed it. The Order of St. John held it as an outpost of Christendom maintained by the Knights' possessions on the European mainland. Britain has similarly supported the Island's economy in return for its use as a naval, military and more recently a strategic air centre. Because of Malta's positional importance its inhabitants found it necessary and worth while to create agricultural resources. Because Malta has usually been an outpost the society and its works have attained the unstable equilibrium of a siege life.

At least since Arab occupation a quality has appeared in the community. 369
Earliest at Mdina, later in the Three Cities, then in Valletta and the whole Grand Harbour complex, and now around the naval, military and air bases, the garrisons have formed successive nuclei of a cosmopolitan and sophisticated community. This community, literate, trained in the professions and trades has

[1] [See pp. 98-B and 98-C -- Analyst]

369 formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial
Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically
indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European
loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place
[103] names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or
Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements -
Żebbuġ, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three
Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for
the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people.
Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament
still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who
helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the
coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants
from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially
Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship.
The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce,
the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical revolutions
178 of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the
369 first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available.
464 The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades
of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken
up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such
[166] as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual
and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought
the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years,
the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now
probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent.
178 of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service
182 Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture.
This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also
[464] apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954
totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a
[169] steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has
slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons
have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields,
storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This
conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs
of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of
the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further
strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has
become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the
necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs
is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping
towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for
the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that
made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also
responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one
indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken
lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieħa, and even this, hidden
from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 80 years.
Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it commands.
Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the
individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

178 Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways.
182 Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always
454 flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 25 years ago, who would

[p.27]

CHAPTER III

The Villages and Their Inhabitants

The villages with which this essay deals are the communities 361 outside the densely populated built-up area which centres on [121] Valletta. This area is contained in a rectangle formed by imaginary lines running from St. Julians' and Lija, and thence to Tarxien and Kalkara.[1] Many of these villages, however, are in reality rural towns with populations of up to 15,000, as in the case of Qormi. The Maltese do not distinguish linguistically between small [196] villages and country towns, both are called 'villages' (*rhula*; sing. *rahal*). These are contrasted to *Il-Belt*, the City of Valletta, and its environs. Although I contrast town and country, it is worthwhile pointing once again to Malta's small size. No village in Malta is more than an hour's bus ride from Valletta, and Gozo is only thirty minutes by ferry from its larger sister island. Moreover, 'rival' villages are often no more than a few hundred yards apart.

I am here concerned with abstracting certain principles of social 121 organization, and not with comparing the size and shape of residential groupings, although these two ends are obviously not 369 completely unrelated. Consequently, the geographical limitations which I have placed upon this study are somewhat arbitrary. It is, perhaps, easier to think of the division between town and country as a continuum, with Valletta or Sliema at one end, and small villages such as Qrendi or Għarb at the other. Although much of the description and analysis which follows holds true for both town and village, I am here dealing specifically with the villages.

The separation between town and country corresponds to a 361 rough division of economic and political power, for villagers look 369 to the urban area for employment, income and patronage. First 464 of all, the seat of government is in Valletta, and most of the senior civil servants live there or in Sliema, the sprawling residential suburb that has grown up opposite Valletta during the last 100 years. Secondly, almost all the professionals, wealthy business men,

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[1] See the map of Malta and Gozo on page 2, above.

361 landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of
369 the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the
464 greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to
work in this area.

369 Differences in language, dress and education set many of the
villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be
so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in
contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries.
565 The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so considered,
177 have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of
these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth
century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who
struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen,
whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

177 There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants
and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the
19 English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of
369 whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also
differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken
in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English
words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their
preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema
the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*,
which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà*
(mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however,
are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged
to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

186 The social and cultural differences between town and country
have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was
369 often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who
829 goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe,
tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The
villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who
spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for
the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross
exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth.
But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices
369 in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary
871 level.

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[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barnett, 1615), p. 234.

080

level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advancement. 555

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta 212
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had 369
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same
period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to
17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment opportunities 464
during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 178
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 241
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 433
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the 464

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school. [114]

Stadium, where most village football matches are played, are in 628
themselves evidence that fights during these occasions are the rule [526]
rather than the exception. [712]

Although there is little formal contact between villages, there is a considerable amount of informal coming and going between
their inhabitants. Most inter-village marriages are between partners [582]
from neighbouring villages, and the network of kin ties that these form helps to bind the villages of a district together. Inhabitants of neighbouring villages travel to and from work on the same buses, and see each other often at the annual feasts of the district. These multiple relations contribute to a certain district spirit. The most striking example is the unity of the Gozitans, although people from the south of Malta have something of the same spirit of belonging to a particular district. Nonetheless, the knowledge the inhabitants of the southern Maltese villages have of each other cannot be compared to that of the Gozitans, who, for the most part, not only recognize each other by face, name and nickname, but usually know a surprising (and often uncomfortable) amount of personal details about one another.

IV

A person becomes a member of a village by being born there, or 217
marrying or moving into it. The administrative details connected 591
with these acts are quite simple. Parents must register the birth of [621]
a child at the local police station, and the parish priest enters the [851]
child's name in his register when the baby is baptized, which usually takes place within a few days of its birth. If a man marries into a village, his name will be entered in the parish register, for under Church law the marriage must be performed by the parish priest of the bride, or his delegate. If the couple settles in the husband's village or in a strange village, their names will be recorded on the annual census there, the *status animarum*, which every parish priest prepares for his bishop. All changes of address are supposed to be given (but often are not) to the Rationing Office and, if the person is over twenty-one, to the Electoral Office. No other civil authorities are interested in a person's whereabouts.

In point of fact, however, most people live in the villages into 369
which they were born. This is another respect in which the towns 591

369 differ from the villages. While only about sixteen per cent of the
591 adult population of an average Maltese village is not native born,
approximately two-thirds of the adults residing in the urban and
suburban areas were born outside the communities in which they
now live (see Table 2 below).

591 There is no rule of village endogamy or exogamy, and a bride and groom are free to choose where they wish to live and set up their household. The choice of residence is normally governed by available housing, place of work and the relative strength of the bride's and groom's ties with their respective families and villages. But in case of a conflict of interest, a wife is expected to follow the wishes of her husband. If housing is available in both the village of the wife and that of her husband, and the husband's place of work is in neither, there is a tendency for the couple to live in the wife's village. The Maltese themselves acknowledge that, all other things being equal, the ties between a wife and her family are stronger than those between her husband and his kin.

162 Thus in Farruġ and Kortin, I found that approximately half the
couples had married and settled within their respective villages.
591 Less than one in twenty (4 per cent) of the couples were strangers
who had moved there because of the shortage of housing in their
own villages; and all of these had relatives already living in the
two villages. The outsiders who married or moved into Farruġ
and Kortin formed one-fifth (21 per cent) of the adult population,
or about 10 per cent of the total population of each. In slightly
591 over half (56 per cent) the marriages between people from these
[184] two villages and other villages, the husband settled in his wife's
village. This is the general trend in Malta, where most men work
[369] outside their villages. In Gozo, where farming is the chief occupation,
it is more usual for a woman to move to her husband's
village, for that is his place of work. People from the towns who
marry villagers are reluctant to move into the villages, and it is
therefore fairly common to find villagers, especially women,
moving to join their spouses in the towns.

The general principles regarding marriage residence are reflected in Table 2.

591 The number of outsiders resident in a village is an important
621 factor governing the degree to which its inhabitants consider
themselves a corporate group. As outsiders always retain strong
links with their place of birth, the solidarity of a village is inversely

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically continuous 361
inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely [161]
overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding
lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the
village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here 114
that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as 245
the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, 366
wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes.

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the 369
whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of 489
the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not 582
seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by the whole population.

III.—History.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further 133
evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, 172
has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of undercutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age. By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus. These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water.

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Neandertal 114
man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small 172
fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual characters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and
villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to the physical arrangement of functional parts), these provide important evidence of the social and economic nature of society. The present report is concerned with rural society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These
creations have since expanded and merged to become the
[396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society
had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a
few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and
Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended
[464] on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment existing only in the larger settlements or in the little harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530 standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined in relative importance.

[161] Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
[396] associated townships became dominant and the increase in the
population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if
not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

It[1] has faded very rapidly
369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give
way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
241 animals or animal products are sold for money.

433 By using the 1948 Census material (B/167 - 1948, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:

634

Table 1 (v. Map 2)

369

[127]

Urban (0-3%)	
Valletta	0
Cospicua	0
Senglea	0
Vittoriosa	.008
Gżira	.11
Sliema	.24
Floriana	.43
Pawla	.8
Marsa	1.2
Hamrun	1.35
Msida	1.36
Kalkara	1.84
Pieta	2.6
St. Julian's	2.9

Fringe (3-10%)	
Balzan	5.48
Luqa	6.1
Birkirkara	6.16
Tarxien	6.43
St. Venera	6.46
Qormi	6.88
Birzebbuga	7.3
Żabbar	7.35
Żejtun	8.27
Lija	9.9

Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Mqabba	10.5
Marsaxlokk	10.6
Żurrieq	11.15
Ghaxaq	11.29
Attard	11.53
*Victoria	13
Mdina	15.4
Mosta	16.56
Żebbuġ	18.41
*Ghajnsielem	19.2
Gudja	19.91

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Korċem	56.43
*Xaghra	64
*Gharb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Ghasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Gharghur	29.1
Mellieha	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Malta.................	9.11%
Gozo..................	41.78%
All Islands.........	12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an
433 increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
369 but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the
464 Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the
most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo
the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of
this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the
Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages

369 1 [i.e. peasant subsistence farming, — [illegible]]

178 which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming •369 element are the old settlements.[4] The non-agricultural Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages grew little in size and declined considerably in relative importance.

178 A closer investigation of the declining relative importance of farming within the rural villages themselves over 241 the past hundred years (v. Appendix 1D, vii and Graph) 433 reveals that during some periods economic prosperity in 464 Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally, 166 that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared. This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the present century (B/381). Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming (v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the land as he is with the community which it supported. If a depression were to appear along with any limitation in emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic in character.

178 The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial 464 rather than total in that the bulk of farmers and farm-workers who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or 241 'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper (B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past the availability of alternative employment has been the governing factor. The earlier periods of economic prosperity mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for 175 the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the 464 only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural 288 Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving. Even here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth

175 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, par-
288 ticularly after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports
464 of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is
today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective
monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century, much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft, so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton production declined. This decline accelerated towards the close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands. The total decline was due to external economic factors but, within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest - where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing
178 work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end
241 of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of
● 369 this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first,
and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the
464 Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the
[288] harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton
[396] industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus
[504] appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater
break with home, farm and village than had been the case with cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population of the rural area became less and less dependent on agriculture for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in
178 an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second,
241 considered later in more detail, is the social change which
369 has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager
241 through direct and indirect education and contact with the
433 people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two
forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had happened before on a temporary basis and the other a consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world, have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he has the new range of employment opportunities indicated, while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The
percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may
be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'.
Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed
as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the
heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three
Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of
south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-
five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for
Santa Venera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant
that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to
36 this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the
harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service
industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops,
cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public
utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
162 dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the
most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to
which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census
distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix
3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would
expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but
even in the rural districts most people are seen to live
within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In
terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban
and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only
five districts show a built-up township area accounting for
more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this
nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for
1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern
(R/561).

In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an
178 unofficial capital of the rural areas of his Island; markets
are still held there even though the main ones have
361 gravitated to Valletta and the urban area. The annual
[443] 'Imnarja', traditionally one of the main events in the
farmers' social calendar, is held nearby[18], while the
ancient importance of the Church is reflected in the large
number of clergy, churches, confraternities and third orders
[712] found there (Appendix 4). In Gozo, Rabat is the administrative, cultural and economic capital with the old
fortified 'Castello' now in large part a deserted ruin.

● 369 The differing extent to which the villages of Malta and
178 Gozo have been influenced economically by the industrial and
urban developments of the dockyard areas and towns are
paralleled in the social plane. Traditionally rural centres
such as Qormi, Żabbar and Birkirkara have undergone increasing
social and cultural attraction towards Valletta and the Urban
area along with economic 'de-ruralization' by virtue of their
proximity to the towns and harbours. The improvements in
amenities and especially in transport facilities have tended
to link these Fringe settlements to the Urban area rather
than to the countryside which produced them (B/381).

361 A further type of village is exemplified by St. Paul's
178 Bay. This began as a summer-time resort for town and city
dwellers during the nineteenth century but attained a
sufficient permanence and size to be granted full parochial
status in 1905. The analogy in Gozo is Marsalforn though
this settlement is perhaps half a century behind St. Paul's
Bay in development and presents in winter time the appearance
of almost a ghost-town with only a few permanent farmer and
fishermen residents.

Birżebbuġa is a class on its own, having grown in the
past few decades upon largely non-agricultural foundations
of the British and United States' bases, oil installations
and some small-scale industry.

128 Using this type of analytical approach, a classification
361 of the villages of Malta and Gozo on the basis of their
origin and socio-functional characteristics becomes possible
(Richardson (B/361) goes into greater detail concerning the
evolution of settlement in Malta itself and considers the
development of the present pattern in the light of population
growth and movement and other historical factors.)

712 (1) Medieval Capital Fortresses - Mdina in Malta and
175 the Castello in Gozo. Both occupy central eminences in
[361] their respective Islands and were used as capitals by the
Arabs (in Malta 870-1090) and by the various rulers of Malta
between 1090 and the coming of the Knights of St. John in
712 1530. The former is today a tranquil, residential

361 Mellieħa (1841), Mġarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
175 Għajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kerċem (1885),
103 San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911),
Għasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

In the period reviewed the major development has been
17 the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the
361 Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth
● 369 and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval
Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were
eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally
and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic
'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the
Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the
countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the
towns. This has been accompanied by the education and
emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the
line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus
an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly
elusive.

SECTION 2 · The Farmer and Farming

128

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525)
241 have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is
423 the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either
[114] individually or as the principal person of an agricultural
enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group
of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'.
'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer,
and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic
'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining
a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one
hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held
by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a
legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer.
811 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact
423 that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types
of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include
land of more than one category, and especially in the north

[V:41]

262 369 In respect of diet an important distinction between town and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially 'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily available; but in the country districts there is notably less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 273 262 511 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now established themselves as needs and, consequently, as demands on the family purse.

178 291 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from which they are made) are' bought by the housewife. This in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy. Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made at home or at least within the village and were worn by the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest change is among the younger farming generation who want to dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly. especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the widespread use of military surplus material.

423 362 511 Housing is important in the present consideration because money is now being spent by the farmer both on buying his own house where he can but also on developing it and improving the furnishings.

[178] Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

178 511 There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of 'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and recreation all require money. Payments to the Church have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, can clearly only be met with cash.

451 511 [123] The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

000 and inertia of the traditional peasant.

STANDARD OF LIVING

178 The past century and a half have seen the develop-
511 ment from peasant to commercial farming, along with the
adoption of money as the basis of exchange, and the
[436] appearance of a large range of new demands in diet,
clothing, housing, luxuries, recreation, etc. Some
observations on the living standards of the farming comm-
unity during the period are now indicated.

175 Speaking of living standards in the Malta of the
511 early nineteenth century Price considers that "an identity
and cohesion prevailed not only in major economic trends
369 but in the economic habits of the people" (B/556, p.8).
178 Thus "In these circumstances it is possible to examine
together the habits of rural labourers, urban labourers,
artisans, small farmers and fishermen...." (B/556, p.9).
Price holds that during the first half of the nineteenth
century there was in fact little change in the living
standards prevailing in the Maltese Islands despite the
fluctuations evident within the national economy as a
whole. "Years of prosperity may have brought a slight
increase in the ratio of wheaten to barley bread or in
the use of novel clothing such as straw hats. But, it
seems clear, the chief effect of prosperity was to increase
the consumption of oil, alcohol and tobacco; these,
together with his religion, ranked first in the list of
desirable and important things in the minds of the Maltese
flush with surplus cash. Presumably these were the
things he hoped society would give while his traditional
diet, clothing and shelter were the things he expected
175 society to provide" (B/556, p.9-10). Among the unskilled
434 urban and rural workers there was a notable uniformity
369 in wage throughout the period. Price speaks of 6¾d for
a day's work for a man (and about 1d only for a women)
but observes that skilled workers, and especially those
in dockyard employ, could expect very much more
(B/556, p.9-10). For the mass of the labouring and
farming community therefore income was of the order of
a few pence per day but, as suggested, the prevailing
self-sufficiency of the near-peasant farmer of the period
made actual monetary income an inadequate indicator of
standards of living. For the urban worker, on the other
hand, lacking the farm basis, the low wage level meant
poverty and hardship. More especially "Poverty.....
pressed heavily on the under-employed" (B/556, p. 11).

175 The importance of cotton to the nineteenth century
288 Maltese farmer has been discussed in Section 1. In 1839

175 288 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The princip manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work, such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." 175 178 288 [462] But the industry was then much weaker than it had been two generations before and as it retreated during the nineteenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on other crops while, socially, the change affected the family as a working unit for cotton processing had been largely the work of women. 175 178 288 735 511 Even in 1839 a considerable amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commissioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts, the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded saving but also led to begging and stealing which was "One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Miège in 1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167); reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874 (B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207); on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with [262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst description" while "It must also be admitted that the sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

175 511 [369] [464] [458] The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence is that there existed a considerable gulf in general living standards between the people of the towns and those of the country. There was also an important contrast within the then rapidly expanding [illegible]

175 between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This
458 dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth
511 century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished
[464] from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which
[184] characterized the totality of economic life in Malta.
Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean
basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by
changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the
fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of
prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century.
[731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts,
epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean
in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable
Malta (B/556).

175 The major economic developments arising from the
184 growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the
511 Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various
178 stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic
life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the
chain of external events made their presence felt. In
all this the fortunes of one section of the population,
such as the farming community, could at no time stand
unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands
as a whole.

175 Malta remained sharply divided within itself by
178 class, district and education and the parallel differences
[184] of living standards between one section of society and
another were continued. But the later decades of the
[871] nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from
the economic plane, the beginnings of general education
which, during the present century, was to remove the
illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural
classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of
life and society outside the limits of the village.
[184] Improvements in transport and communication within the
[369] Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area
to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the
twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of
isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and
Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural
[621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been
a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little
contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages
in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the
forces indicated were beginning to modify the position
but it was not until the present century and particularly

178 [175] [511] [184] the years after 1939 that the cumulative effects of education, emancipation and communication were to produce a society very different from that which Maltese country folk had known for centuries (Section 1). It became different when the traditionally depressed sections of the community became restless and began to demand the improvements in their living standards which they came to believe should be theirs by right as well as need.

178 184 369 This is not to suggest that the present position of Maltese rural society is an 'end-product' of change. The opposite is true. The old and new exist side by side in agriculture and in the farming community of the Islands today. Some people, some places, and some features of life and work hold far more tenaciously to the old than do others where comparatively few years have seen considerable modifications of the traditional pattern.

175 458 464 511 By 1912, the Royal Commissioners were able to observe that the living standards of the labouring classes of Malta and Gozo compared well with those of other Mediterranean countries (B/186, p.25-6). "Building", they said "is cheap and good and the country people are exceptionally well-housed". But, in their consideration of the economic state of the Islands as a whole, the Commissioners thought the picture much more gloomy. The depression which they found, though of only recent appearance, was being felt by the mass of the people, although "until the advent of the present depression, the condition of the people has been one of comparative comfort". To appreciate "The present distress, and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta.....it is necessary to recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former prosperity and employments, which depended to a large extent upon Imperial expenditure...." (B/186, p.12). Here did the Commissioners strike at the root of the problem which has grown to formidable proportions in the half-century since the report was made. They pointed to the position in which the economic structure of the country as a whole was based on the shifting sands of Imperial naval and military expenditure and in which the living standards of the Maltese population were therefore tied indirectly and directly to that Imperial expenditure. Moreover, within the Maltese population itself, it is not difficult to see that the first to be hit by a drop in Imperial expenditure (as happened between 1902 and 1911 and, again, in the post-1945 period) were and are the labouring and poorer classes generally lacking alternative employment in the Islands, in the event of their becoming redundant, and having often little or no capital reserves.

175 Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger
458 position than the townsman for he has had the land to which
464 he could return when no other work was available. Thus the
369 degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred
years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level
of prosperity in the Islands (Section 2).

178 The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be
related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the
241 higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural
464 pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold
[458] on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in
[554] some future period of major economic recession and
depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however
is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than
a minor part of the total population. As an economic
retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the
[554] problem goes further. The present younger generation in the
farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the
stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting
as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly.
Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who
might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The
estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of
reconciliation.

175 Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese
465 agriculture may be seen from that afore-mentioned index,
the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War, a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is, today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourer:

1826-42	6½d - 8d	(B/556, p.215)
1843-54	8d - 10d	"
1855-56	1s - 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d - 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d - 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s - 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s	(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s - 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s - 25s	(Personal Investigation)

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital
improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows
and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in
post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to
'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living
above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt.
He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position
and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the
financial point of view, to his commanding position during
the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25,
although the average per capita income for the whole
country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing
and other essential items are often quite exorbitant,
especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954
survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of
northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of
£136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm
labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75
per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn
little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
labourer without field commitments of his own can demand
his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases,
markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who
stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
511 average, a standard of life still slightly below the
434 general level, although the disparity is by no means as
great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Above-average exceptions include those
farmers who have been able to profit from the present
regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large
herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings
or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

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648

735 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison.
747 The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth
434 and assets against family size. Thus a household of four
848 persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for the free food[32].

162 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the
735 above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which
434 the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in addition, also listed separately. The residential divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

	A	B	C	D	E
DISTRICT	POPULATION[35]	'Poor & Needy' as % Population	FARMERS[36]	'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	B/D
Urban Area	134,399	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.6	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	9	0.91

369 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living
735 standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as
511 has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta
162 and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural zone (most of Gozo, and Mġarr in Malta), however, the farmer is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this zone are one third below the general level as far as their standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

162 The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom
735 9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as
a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the
511 whole population.

369 This pattern of comparatively low living standards in
rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the
problem with which this Section has been concerned. While
[178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in
the Islands the younger generation of the rural community
will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present
241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change
from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from
its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3).
The social background to this change is, however, no less
important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work,
thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little
removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of
commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and
illiterate sections of the farming community this question
of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any
efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be
seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and
Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to
Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta
the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate.
Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom
Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of
experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel
none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta
619 complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the
829 farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he
has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on
which he blames many of his economic and social problems.
In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear
distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities
and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is
allegiance to political parties very significant for person-
[648] ality is more important than party. Historically, this
attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the
tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign
British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid
hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two
and a half centuries in the Islands.

654 829 464 178 (ii) The younger generation are not interested in improving farming; they scarcely stop to think that any changes in the industry might be possible in their present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk of life. Thus they will probably not be available to take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise, from their fathers.

SECTION 5 : Conclusions.

369 In conclusion one may attempt to draw together the several general points raised in the previous four Sections. The most important of these may be listed as follows:

(1) The twentieth century is witnessing an accelerating process of the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo (Section 1). This comprises

- (a) material change (the development of electricity, roads, sewage, transport, and a variety of other amenities),
- (b) cultural change following general, elementary education - that is literacy, 'emancipation' and the emergence of a critical public awareness,
- [565] [793] (c) social and economic changes which have laid the foundations of a rural middle class, unknown in the traditional village scene. Along with this have come modifications in the pivotal rôle of the Parish Priest and other priests. Some of their traditional functions, notably teaching and caring for the sick, have been taken over by specialists in such fields.

369 829 The factors outlined under (a), (b), and (c) are tending to extend the horizon of the individual villager far beyond the limits of his own village. Whereas he used to work and think within his family and village he is now aware of Malta and beyond.

241 464 178 (2) The particular physical limitations on farming in the Islands have, in the past, made the industry dependent to a very considerable extent on the meticulous hand-labour of the industrious Maltese farmer. This has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance, and even construction, of the fields and terraces themselves (Section 2). The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involved. They have benefited from general elementary education, literacy, and contact with the world outside the villages to the extent of demanding work which seems to them economically and socially rewarding. The past twenty-five years have seen a rapid decline in the number of full-time farmers and farm-workers. Today the farmer, in most cases no longer assisted by his sons, finds hired labour both scarce and costly (Section 2).

829 157 a policy of long term assurances for agriculture" (B/387, p.39). He claims that the Government "ought" to guarantee his prices, his markets, and "ought" to find the foreign export markets, and provide machinery, subsidies, etc. He also insists, incongruously, that farmers' needs could well be served by a strong and well-organized Union of Farmers and yet, in the next breath, he will reject outright any suggestions that he, individually, might take a prominent part in such a movement. The nature of this attitude emerges clearly from the collection of complaints and comments, made by farmers to Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team (B/387). On the one hand, the farmer demands Government support for farming but, on the other hand, he speaks even of his fellow farmers as "they". Conservative, cautious and usually illiterate, he is quick to speak but slow to act (v.Section 4).

829 The new awareness of horizons outside the village is consequently limited in extent and confined in nature. The farmer's son, however, with his education and emancipation and his ideas of social and economic emulation, has a clearer vision of the illogicality of his father's situation but is not yet sufficiently mentally liberated from the past to see for himself any right course of action.

554 364 [177] (7) As a class, the farmer is low on the social scale. This arises partly from his illiteracy and the features outlined in (6) and is partly also the outcome of a tradition of wealth and education being confined to the cities and towns. Wealth and culture came easily to the urban section of Maltese society and both implied foreign contacts on a large scale. Meanwhile the Maltese farmer toiling in his fields remained cut off socially as well as economically.

178 554 Today this felt inferiority puts him

(a) in a weak position for bargaining with Government and 'officials' and business men fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education,

(b) - if young and literate, in the position of being anxious to escape from his lowly class by leaving the village and farming as opportunity presents itself (v.Section 4).

654 178 (8) Official policy has been to assist farming in the Islands by means of a variety of subsidies and guarantees designed to protect the farmer from unfavourable competition and fluctuations in market demand (Sections 2 and 4). The industry has, in the past, received such attention only in time of siege of widespread unemployment. The basic intention today is therefore

[135] (a) to enable Malta's only basic industry - agriculture - to develop under protection for it is held that "In an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2).

*159 434 454 is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent. Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting his money into capital equipment for his fields. [407] He has in fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of 16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding, in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

*159 511 262 Expenses within the household are difficult to determine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva), a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat and ham,,coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc), olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958) -butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (ghaġin). Ġamri observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually insufficient for the family so additional quantities of these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring [354] the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not considered essential even during the coldest part of the winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

*159 262 [369] The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural Malta. In some details this differs from that found among urban working classes in the Islands but these differences are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm, where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An impor- [785] tant factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions. Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

*159 262 785 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts. These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between thefrugal meals.

*159 262 264 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs, olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls. Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks, and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (especially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields). [261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted. Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

198 291 443 1432 294 The proportion of food purchased is now much greater than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young farmer when half the people in the village had looms and many had spinning wheels to produce cotton garments for the family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 ●369 178 With the increasing contact between town and country the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

*159 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic
433 because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising
451 yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 - some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
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241 - deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.

- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorċa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

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626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

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829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

*159 **CASE XIII : Toni** (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

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434 An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming
178 for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter,
46 while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be
*[159] the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic
[369] feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agri-
[162] culture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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> "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children and thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee. . . ."

In all other things they remain children and "of such is the Kingdom. . . ."

So that the curse of Adam may lie less heavily upon these children of an unfertile rock, the Old Things have blessed them with an uncanny ability to make flowering fields out of nothing.[1]

THE SKY AND THE SOIL

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The weather and husbandry lore of the peasant has much to do with the success of his untiring hands. Much of this peasant wisdom is incomprehensible to the town-bred Maltese (too often they have lost touch or dismiss it—in hybrid Italian—as *ignuranza*); much of it has exact parallels in the lore of the English countryside, as for example the following:

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Maltese	*English*
"The Moon eats everything."	"Fair weather with a full moon."
"The stars wink at the coming wind."	"Twinkling stars foretell high winds."
"Sky like a turtle's back; heavy rains, fierce winds." "Clouds with heads of men and beasts bring in the thunder and the lightning."	"A rounded cloud with flattened base carries rainfall in its face."

[248]

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[1] During the early years of the last century Malta's cotton crop was valued at an average of one and a half millions sterling annually. The cotton industry, dating from Roman times and earlier, is now practically dead.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

527 501 are seen putting off the shore and steering their course homewards.

527 526 The custom of making swings on Ascension Day, is very common in Malta, especially among the country people. In almost every village, lots of women and children may be seen swinging together and singing merrily on the day of *Lapsi*.

527 173 No reason could perhaps be assigned by the Maltese for the practice of celebrating *Lapsi* by parties and picnics on the water, and for making swings, except that they follow the custom of their ancestors.

St. JOHN'S EVE

796 372 857 Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the Nativity of St. John by kindling great fires in the public streets, and giving their children dolls to carry in their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist "*Multi in nativitatae ejus gaudebunt*". 796 372 857

Days and even weeks before this festival, groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs and all sorts of other combustibles which they store up for St. John's eve.

On the night of the 23rd. of June, the day before the festival of the Saint, great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the Island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking. 796 372

796 372 These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being continually fed by the scores of by-standers who take great delight in throwing amidst the flames some old rickety piece of furniture which they consider as lumber in their houses. Lots of happy and reckless children, and very often men, are seen merrily leaping in succession over and through the crackling flames (*).

796 372 175 At the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Grand Master

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[194] (*) Leaping over the fires is mentioned among the superstitious rites used at the *Palilia* feasts, instituted in honour of *Pales* the goddess of shepherds, (in the calends of May) in Ovidius's Fasti.

> " Moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
> Traijcias celeri strenua membra pede "

The learned Moresin appears to have been of opinion that the custom of leaping over these fires is a vestige of the ordeal, where to be able to pass through fires with safety, was held to be an indication of innocence.

himself, soon after the *Angelus* used to leave his palace, accompanied by the Grand Prior, the Bishop, and two bailiffs, to set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred Hospital. 796 372 175

Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on, of the 8 casks, (*), by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

Various opinions are entertained by antiquarian writers with regard to the origin of these fires on St. John's eve. 796 372 171 174

From the account given by Jakob Grimm in his "Deutsche Mythologie" p. p. 583, 593, it would appear that

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(*) Eight being the languages of the Order.

796 the great blaze reserved for the eve
372 of the feast of the nativity of St.
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174 John the Baptist on the 23rd. of
June, is observed with similar rites in every country of Europe.

The kindling of the fire, the leaping over or through the flames clearly show that these rites are essentially of heathen origin. They are obviously connected with the worship of the sun, and were doubtless practised long before the Baptist was born. In old heathen times the summer and winter solstices were the two greatest and most widespread festivals in Europe.

These fires—says another writer—are evidently a remnant of the ancient Beal fires of the Druids, at the *Beil* time, which was at the beginning of May. But why do they chiefly occur on the night before the festival of the

Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* time which was the beginning of May? —I do not believe that a satisfactory explanation of these circumstances has yet been given by any of the antiquaries. It was perhaps to transfer the practice or custom of lighting these fires from a Pagan to a Christian object. 796 372 171 174 [114]

The Nativity of St. John the Baptist was a great and solemn festival of the Church, like those of the other great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in the early ages, commemorated with appropriated ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these was probably introduced a large and 796 372 [776] [074]

174 unusual exhibition of lights to typify
796 the Baptist who, in the Gospel, is called
•372 by the Saviour himself "A burning
[776] shining Light." What could have been more natural than that the early Christian Authorities would have directed the people to light their anniversary fires on the eve of this Saint, and thus give to the national custom a Christian instead of a Pagan significance? To this feeling, most likely is due the transfer of the fires to the 23rd. of June and, perhaps too, this perpetuation to this day amongst the people.

Gebelin, in his "Allegories Orientales" accounts in the following manner for the custom of making fires on Midsummer Eve.

"Can one" says he " omit to mention here the St. John's fires, those sacred fires kindled about midnight, on the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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very moment of the solstices, by the greatest part of ancient as well as of modern nations—a religious ceremony of the most remote antiquity which was observed for the prosperity of states and people and to dispel every kind of evil? The origin of this fire which is still retained by so many nations, though enveloped in the mist of antiquity, is very simple. It was a *Feu de joie,* kindled the very moment the year began; for the first of all years, and the most ancient that we know of, began at this month of June, hence the very name of this month, *Junior* meaning the youngest, which is renewed; while that of the preceding one is May, *Major,* meaning the ancient.

Thus the one was the month of young people whilst the other belonged to old men.

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174 These *feu de joie* were accompanied, at the same time, with vows and sacrifices for the prosperity of the people and the fruits of the earth.

They danced also round this fire, and the most active leaped over it. Each on departing took a fire brand, and the remains were scattered to the wind, which at the same time that it dispersed the ashes, was thought to expel every evil. When after a long train of years, the year ceased to commence at this solstice, the custom of making these fires, at this time, was still continued by force of habit. Besides it would have been a sad thing to have deprived the people of a day of joy in times when there were not many of them, thus the custom has been continued and handed down to us."

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Dr. Milner is of opinion that the 796
fires lighted up all over the continent, 372
on the eve of the 24th. of June, are not 174
intended as the idolatrous worship of 114
the sun or *Baal*, the Philistine God of fire, but in honour of Christ's precursor, as alluding to his character of bearing witness to the light (John i. 7) and of his being himself a bright and shining light (John V, 35).

In conclusion, it would appear as 796
certain, that the fires of St. John's 372
eve were intended to typify the Saint by an exhibition of light.

Formerly the feast of St. John (24th. 796
of June) was very popular in Malta. It ranked with that of SS. Peter and Paul, celebrated at Notabile on the 29th of the same month.

The number of people that flocked to Valletta from all parts of the Island,

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

or trumpets. Before the corpse was interred, a pillow filled with orange and laurel leaves (*) was placed under the head, and a carpet spread over the tomb, which was suffered to remain some days, to show that during that time it was forbidden to walk over it. 000 764 824

No fire was lighted for three days in the kitchen of the deceased, and either one of the relations or some most intimate friend sent a dinner to the inhabitants of the house, which they ate cross-legged on the floor. 765 372 264

Women on this occasion remained forty days in the house, but men went out on the seventh day, with their faces unshaven. (†) 765 302

(*) Orange trees were regarded by the Pagans as expiatory.

(†) Mourning among the ancients was expressed by very different signs; such as by rending of garments, wearing sack cloth, laying aside crowns &c. Thus Plutarch, in his life of Cato, relates, that from the time of his leaving the city with Pompey, he neither shaved his head, nor, as usual, wore his crown or garland.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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THE SWEETHEART'S BARGAIN

585 In the marriage contract, they have it for a pact,
675 That he takes her to the Feste and sets her on a wall.
[262] That he buys her cakes of sweetmeat, of the sort with hempseed made.
For that's the kind of sweetmeat a bride likes best of all.

It is believed that such a clause used actually to be embodied in the written contract drawn up by the parents and the go-between.

796 [184] Each little hamlet has its own feast, in honour of its own particular patron. Each has its own peculiar forms. Of the national feasts that of St. John naturally occupies a place of considerable importance. Certain aspects of its celebration, however, indicate that the Order of St. John was not alone responsible for the enthusiasm which this saint inspires. Busuttil, who has already been quoted at some length, writes of the Feast of St. John as follows:

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> "Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating the Nativity of St. John by kindling great fires in the public streets, and giving their children dolls to carry in their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist 'Multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt.'
>
> Days and even weeks before this festival groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs, and all sorts of other combustibles which they store up for St. John's Eve.
>
> On the night of June 23rd, the day before the festival of the Saint, great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the Island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking.
>
> These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being

continually fed by the scores of by-standers who take 796
great delight in throwing amidst the flames some old 372
rickety piece of furniture which they consider as lumber in their houses. Lots of happy and reckless children, and very often men, are seen merrily leaping in succession over and through the crackling flames."[1]

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At the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Grand Master himself, soon after the *Angelus*, used to leave his palace, accompanied by the Grand Prior, the Bishop and two bailiffs, to set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred hospital.

Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on, of the eight casks,[2] by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

Various opinions are entertained by antiquarian writers 796
with regard to the origin of these fires on St. John's Eve. 372

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From the account given by Jacob Grimm in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 583, 593, it would appear that the great blaze reserved for the eve of the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist on June 23rd is observed with similar rites in every country of Europe.

The kindling of the fire, the leaping over or through the flames clearly show that these rites are essentially of

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[1] Leaping over the fires is mentioned among the superstitious rites at the Palilia feasts, instituted in honour of *Pales*, the goddess of shepherds (in the calends of May) in Ovid's Fasti.

"Moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
traijcias celeri strenua membra pede."

The learned Moresin appears to have been of opinion that the custom of leaping over these fires is a vestige of the ordeal, where to be able to pass through fires with safety, was held to be an indication of innocence.

[2] Eight being the languages of the Order.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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heathen origin. They are obviously connected with the worship of the sun, and were doubtless practised long before the Baptist was born. In old heathen times the summer and winter solstices were the two greatest and most widespread festivals in Europe.

These fires (says another writer) are evidently a remnant of the ancient Bel fires of the Druids, at the *Beil* time, which was at the beginning of May. But why do they chiefly occur on the night before the festival of the Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* time which was the beginning of May? I do not believe that a satisfactory explanation of these circumstances has yet been given by any of the antiquaries. It was perhaps to transfer the practice or custom of lighting these fires from a pagan to a Christian object.

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The Nativity of St. John Baptist was a great and solemn festival of the Church, like those of the other great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in the early ages, commemorated with appropriate ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the Patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these was probably introduced a large and unusual exhibition of lights to typify the Baptist who, in the Gospel, is called by the Saviour himself 'A burning, shining light.' What could have been more natural than that the early Christian authorities would have directed the people to light their anniversary fires on the eve of this Saint, and thus give to the national custom a Christian instead of a pagan significance? To this feeling, most likely, is due the transfer of the fires to June 23rd, and perhaps, too, this perpetuation to this day amongst the people.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Gebelin, in his *Allegories Orientales*, accounts in the following manner for the custom of making fires on Midsummer Eve.

'Can one,' says he, 'omit to mention here the St. John fires, those sacred fires, kindled about midnight, in the very moment of the solstices, by the greatest part of ancient as well as of modern nations—a religious ceremony of the most remote antiquity which was observed for the prosperity of states and people and to dispel every kind of evil? The origin of this fire which is still retained by so many nations, though enveloped in the mist of antiquity, is very simple. It was a *feu de joie*, kindled the very moment the year began; for the first of all years, and the most ancient that we know of, began at this month of June, hence the very name of this month, *Junior*, meaning the youngest, which is renewed; while that of the preceding one is May, *Major*, meaning the ancient.

'Thus the one was the month of young people whilst the other belonged to old men.

'These *feu de joie* were accompanied, at the same time, with vows and sacrifices for the prosperity of the people and the fruits of the earth.

'They danced also round this fire, and the most active leaped over it. Each on departing took a fire brand, and the remains were scattered to the winds, which at the same time that it dispersed the ashes, was thought to expel every evil. When after a long train of years, the year ceased to commence at this solstice, the custom of making these fires, at this time, was still continued by force of habit. Besides, it would have deprived the people of a day of joy in times when there were not many of them; thus the custom has been continued and handed down to us.'

796 372 Dr. Milner is of opinion that the fires lighted up all over the continent, on the eve of June 24th, are not intended as the idolatrous worship of the sun or *Baal*, the Philistine God of Fire, but in honour of Christ's precursor, as alluding to his character of bearing witness to the light (John i. 7) and of his being himself a bright and shining light (John v. 35)."

796 171 It is of some interest to compare the Maltese account with the following notes on English Midsummer customs which appeared in the *Radio Times* recently under the signature of Felix Felton, compere of so many excellent folklore broadcasts:

> "Midsummer's Eve is also St. John's Eve. . . . Sermons on that day used to be preached out of doors in the quadrangle of Magdalen College, Oxford, 'that the preaching might more nearly resemble that of John the Baptist in the wilderness'; and bonfires were lighted in various parts of the country, 'betokennynge that Saint Johan was a lanterne of light to the people.' Then comes a collection of curious legends and superstitions connected with certain herbs. The legends attribute to these all kinds of magical powers; women, it is said, can tell by hempseed[1] who their husband is to be; and in Shropshire it was believed that those who failed to hang up St. John's Wort outside their doors would suffer by their cows going dry and their hens refusing to lay. Finally come the Midsummer's Eve revels and festivals—the old London processions, the revels at Penzance, the gatherings at Stonehenge, and the bonfire festivities still held to-day. . . .
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> As varied as the customs themselves are the possible

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[1] Compare the reference to hempseed in "The Sweetheart's Bargain."

explanations of them. Two kinds of explanations have 796
to be treated with some caution, the local one and the 171
Christian one . . . and we shall find ourselves going back for the true causes to the worship of the sun and of the seasons.

The revel, easily degenerating into the brawl, has always found opposition, as in the thunderous verse of an old poet who branded the Midsummer processions as

> Of Edinburgh the great idolatrie
> And manifest abomination.

Other forces have militated against them besides the disapproval of the austere. As another old writer has rather obscurely remarked: 'No suffimen is a greater fugator of phantosmes than gunpowder.' Other such fugators are periods of increased popular education and of quickened pace in national life. These forces have been active enough in our own times, and few Midsummer customs have survived them; but all of them were originally the spontaneous outcome of certain impulses in the make-up of human beings, and thus, past or present, they are of permanent interest to us."

There seems little doubt that the Night of Fires belongs 372
to that very early civilization of which, as has been suggested 796
elsewhere, the Maltese are amongst the direct descendants. 174
What more appropriate than the adaptation of these ancient fires to the honour of that Saint beneath whose banner there happened all that is most valiant in Maltese history?

In one form or another practically all the "seasonal" customs 796
familiar in other countries appear in Malta: All Fools' Day, [527]
with its affinity to the Hindu festival of Huli; May Day, when [171]
the children gather green bows in honour of Flora; New Year's Day, when lime is strewn on doorsteps in token of good luck; but Malta's most popular holiday is the period of Carnival. Its

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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The fratelli
763 —lay brethren of the congregation—hurry from their homes
794 to take their places in the procession of the Viatecum. Marching rapidly, like a company of soldiers, headed by a peasant ringing a staccato, commending bell, some bearing tapers, some censers, all chanting the prayers for the dying, they pass
[793] quickly through the village street. Under a canopy, borne by two sturdy *fratelli*, goes the priest in his bright vestments, bearing God to the dying man.

The women hurry to place a light in their windows, kneel and pray as God passes.

So, with such poor pomp as these simple folk can muster,
764 the Prince of Peace comes to dying Zeppu. The funeral rites
[171] and customs differ hardly at all nowadays from those of other Catholic countries. But Zeppu's grandfather could remember a time when the Old Things were much in evidence.

764 There were the "Wailing Women" (whose name *neuuicha*
767 survives in the sense of "one who constantly complains"). They wore long black robes, and chanted death-songs whose burden was a combination of praise for the deceased's virtues and rebuke for his having left them. They cut the vines from the courtyard, overturned the furniture, broke pottery, and mixed the fragments with soot and ashes, staining the doors
[302] of the bereaved house with the mixture. They cut pieces of their hair and scattered them over the coffin.

765 If the dead man possessed horses, cows, goats, all their tails
[262] had pieces cut from them in token of mourning. There was a
[764] form of "wake" where funeral cakes and boiled wheat were eaten. A carpet was spread over the tomb to prevent the unware from treading on it.

[372] No fire was lit in the house for three days after the funeral.
[302] The women kept to the house for forty days. The men, having remained indoors for seven days, went unshaven.

764 Here are clear signs of the most primitive funeral rites
174 and *taboos*. Death was a pollution—hence the segregation of

796 national and religious festival, which has been lately declared a general holiday.

796 173 This very popular feast is intended to commemorate the greatest and most important event in the whole history of these Islands: that is, the conversion of the Maltese from Paganism to Christianity by the Great Apostle of the Gentiles, after he was shipwrecked on the shores of this Island A.D. 58.

796 The taste displayed by the Maltese in their festive decorations amount almost to genius, and they effect with the simplest means, what the most elaborate mechanism is generally required to effect elsewhere.

796 373 The front of the church, and the principal streets leading to it, are always decorated with thousands of white and coloured lamps. Along the road large

flags are seen floating, either from poles 796 topped with evergreens, or from ropes 373 stretched from house to house across the street. The balconies, windows and terraces of the private houses are also bedecked with many coloured flags and festooned with garlands of fairy lamps.

After dark the aspect of the streets of the town or village in which the feast is being celebrated is rendered still more striking by the multitude of variegated lamps. These are merely tiny cups of tinted glass with some oil and wick hung across and along the streets in a maze of graceful curves, but the profusion with which they are used and the taste shown in their arrangement combine to produce a magical result, the innumerable points of coloured light combining to form an illumination that is singularly brilliant and effective.

796 unquestionably derived from the like
174 practice of our Pagan ancestors.
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"Trimming of Temples," says Polydore Virgil "with hangings, flowers, boughs, and garlands was taken from the heathen people, who decked their idols and houses with such array.

796 "Christmas," says Blount, "was
174 called the feast of lights in the Western
• 373 or Latin Church, from the many lights or candles that were lit at the feast, and this because Christ, the light of all lights, that true light, then came into the world. Hence the prevalent custom to have so many lights in our churches at Christmas midnight service.

796 The custom of eating pancakes or
174 fritters and honey cakes at Christmas
262 in Malta is supposed to owe its origin to the cakes baked in honour of *Janus*, who presided over the beginning of the New Year.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

LIGHT OMENS

If a woman wishes that either her husband or her son return from abroad, she is to light a lamp and leave it behind the entrance door. If the party expected does not return on the following morning, she is to light the lamp again on the following night and keep doing so until at last she sees her dear one entering the house. 789 373•

BALSAM

Those among the Maltese who wish to have a *balsam* that possesses the property of healing all kinds of wounds, take an egg that has been laid on the 25th of March, Lady Day, hide it within a cupboard or on a shelf, in a dark place, and at the end of a year they begin to use it as a sovereign and unfailing remedy. 755

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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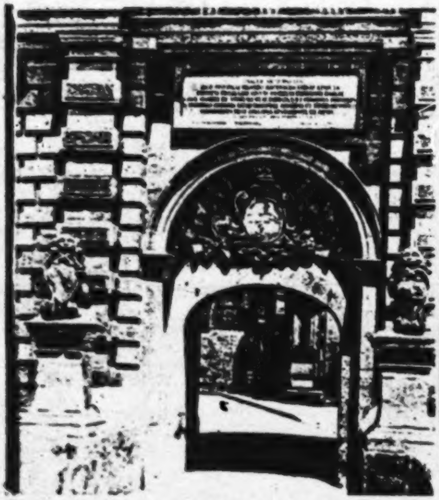
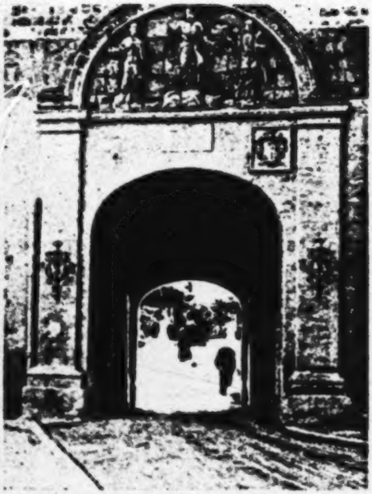


MAIN GATE INTO MDINA, WITH ARMS OF GRAND MASTER MANOEL DE VILHENA
[*See p.* 89.]



INSIDE OF SAME, WITH ARMS OF INGUANEZ FAMILY
[*See p.* 92.]

THE LATE BARONESS INGUANEZ ALIGHTING FROM HER OLD FAMILY CALÈCHE, MDINA

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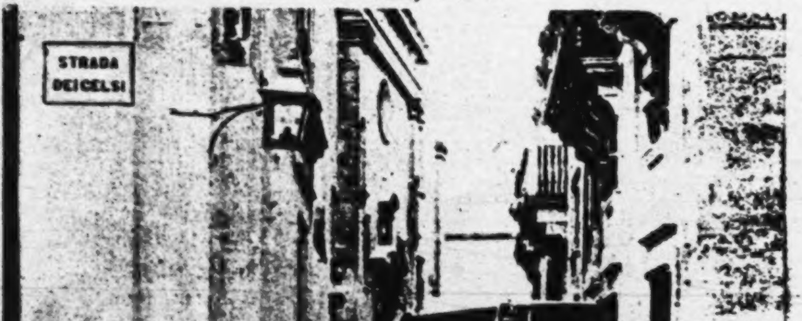

[facing P. 104, (A)]

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table
only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
366 by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension
of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised
shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops,
and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of
home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War,
the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly
to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The
petrolju van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on
paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
[262] addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free
distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
[747] by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation
distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home
178 was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a stair-
392 case frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic
[351] life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were
small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for
animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump
[312] and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
[364] summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can
[491] only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has
● [377] been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
[206] north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the
Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
[546] Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

241 Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent
family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the
village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese
agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the
village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have
improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now
greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them,
thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee.
Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village
have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction
not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and
functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community
has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113 1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 53.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1960.

house to house, transform the streets into gaily lighted tunnels. The 796
pjazza is usually draped in flags, and all the clubs are also dressed 628
in their festal finery and their doors thrown open to the public.
Many bands are hired and the mountains of fireworks are fused [533]
and made ready. All this is done before the visitors from outside [389]
arrive, and involves a great deal of organization, time and money.

The festa is thus an occasion on which communal values are reaffirmed 796
and strengthened, as individuals and groups express their 182
loyalty to their patron saint and unite to defend and enhance the reputation of their village. At the same time, the central position which the Church occupies in the social structure is strongly reinforced, for the parish church is the hub around which this festive occasion turns.

A festa is also an occasion on which the bonds of kinship are 796
reinforced, for each family opens its doors to its relations, especially 182
to those who live in other villages. Grown sons and daughters 602
return to their parental home, forming, for a few hours, a grand family with a depth of three or four generations. Because of this influx of relatives, younger children learn to recognize more distant relatives whom they might not see at any other time of the year, and become aware of the network of kin relations that
stretches out from their home. As parents become momentarily [584]
more indulgent during the festa and relax their watchfulness, it is also a favourite meeting time for courting couples and a traditional occasion on which marriageable boys and girls are introduced to one another.

The celebration of a village festa usually lasts three days. It 796
consists of religious ceremonies, which take place principally within the church, and secular celebrations outside the church. The Maltese themselves make a distinction between these two elements in the festa: they call the former the 'internal feast' (*il-festa ta' ġewwa*) and the latter the 'external feast' (*il-festa ta' barra*).
These often take place simultaneously. The mixture of sacred and 123
profane which results was shown to me very vividly during one 796
of the first festas I attended. I was in the church during a particularly solemn moment in the service of worship. Suddenly there was a nerve-shattering burst of fireworks from the roof of the church. Then, slowly, the sharp smell of burning gunpowder began to drift in through the open doors and mingle with the pungent odour of candles and incense. After that I ceased to be

For several hours they wander up and down the principal 796 streets, past the nougat vendors, past the dazzling houses with their doors and shutters thrown open to attract the eyes of all to festal drapes and carpets, gleaming cookers and new refrigerators. The crowd moves on past the packed bars and through the festooned clubs, their silver trophies all on show. Stopping now and then to eat and drink and talk with friends, they move into the church and past the banks of flowers that stand before the statue of the patron saint. From there, now surrounded by the red damask and the cut-glass crowns suspended from the golden ceilings, they pass before the silver altar-front and gaze at the jewel-encrusted reliquaries on display beside it. Now and then there is a soft discussion of price and craftsmanship as a new picture or silver candlestick reaches past the guttering candles for the attention of the crowd. Slowly, for many stop to kneel and say a prayer, the people move out through the door and past the bandstand, and on to make the round again.

The climax of the evening comes at eleven o'clock, when the forest of standing fireworks which have been planted in the square is lighted, and the second day of the festa closes in a shower of sparks and acrid smoke.

On the morning of the feast-day, there is a Solemn High Mass [537] during which some noted clerical orator delivers a lengthy and bombastic panegyric of the saint. After the service the committees of the various clubs make formal calls on each other and exchange hospitality. The parish priest and the village clergy also call on each of the clubs and associations. Following this, the people retire to their houses for huge luncheons with their close relatives. In the late afternoon the long procession with the statue of the saint slowly moves from the church. The saint, carried by white-robed members of the confraternities, stops on the threshold to take the salute of 21 petards and barrage of smaller rockets, the *haxxa infernal*, which often last up to twenty minutes.[1] As the saint at last leaves the church he is cheered on his way by groups of shouting devotees. The crowds are thicker than the night before, and amuse themselves in much the same way. There [533] are also more bands, and sometimes as many as five will be

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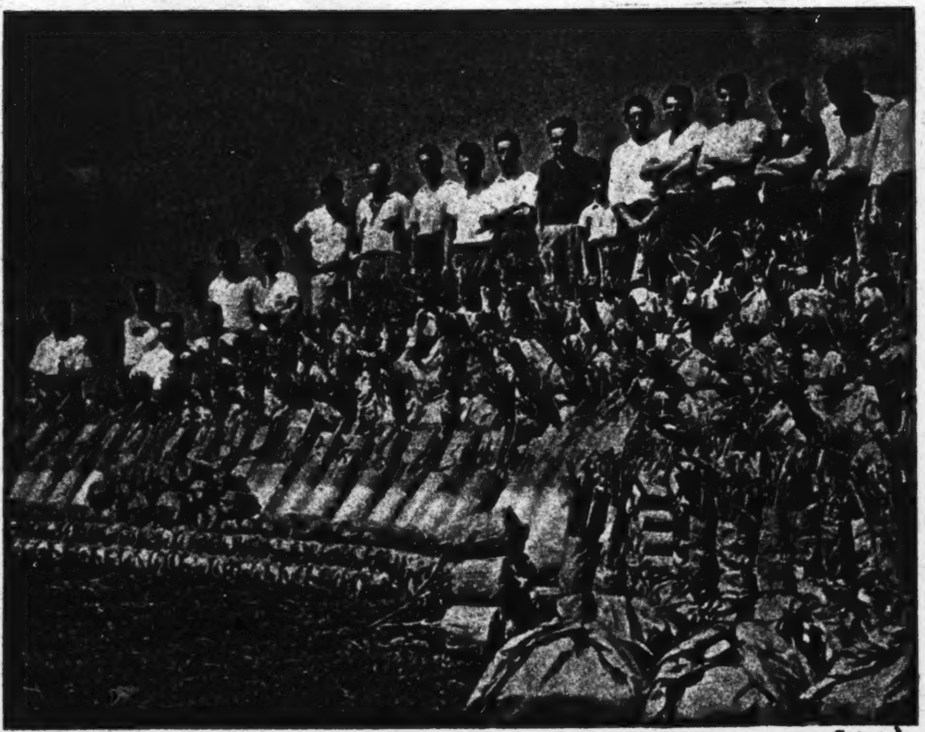
[1] These petards are usually immense. They are often made from half-gallon tins packed [389] with gelignite that is either stolen or extracted from dud shells and bombs fished up from military target areas by festa enthusiasts. Occasionally their explosions break windows.

794 In addition to the sums which the parish priest spent on fire-
796 works, another £472 was collected by six groups of enthusiasts
and spent on raw materials for the fireworks which they manu-
[435] factured. The total cost to the village was thus £1,212. In all
● [389] respects this was an average festa for a village of 5,000.

The festa in Kortin has not always been controlled by the parish
79 priest. Dun Bert, the present incumbent, had something of a
struggle to seize and hold the reins of authority. Until he took
over the parish eight years ago the external festa had been run by
a committee. Though the parish priest was *ex officio* head of this
committee, the actual affairs of the committee were run by old
Manwel and the father of the curate, who was general manager of
the festa for over thirty years. The committee also included the
[389] latter's wife's father and brother in its membership. His brother
[731] was killed twenty-five years ago in an explosion which wrecked
the village's officially licensed firework factory and killed four
others. This committee used to book the bands, repaint, erect and
store the decorations and collect all the funds for the external feast.
One of its major responsibilities was to run the two large fund-
raising fairs which were held every year in the school. Next to the
festa, these fairs were the favourite amusement of the village. Thus
when Dun Bert arrived in Kortin, he found his was only a nominal
role as far as the external festa was concerned. As he is a man who
likes to run things his own way, the arrangement did not suit him.
Moreover, he was concerned with the financial position of the
parish, and in particular with the interest on the £3,000 that his
predecessor had borrowed from the Curia to help finance the
unfinished parish hall. To be able to meet all the parish's financial
commitments, he felt that he had to have control of all its financial
resources. The first year, however, he did very little about it.

During his second year in Kortin, the newly elected Labour Government came to his assistance, albeit unwittingly. The new Minister of Education refused permission to the organizers of the Kortin festa to hold a public fair in the school. This deprived the organizers of their major source of income, and threatened the festa. Dun Bert quickly took over the financial management of the festa and made two house-to-house collections. These raised the necessary funds and saved the festa. He then gave to the Sodality of Our Lady the responsibility of collecting threepence a week from each household. But for six months of the year these

[facing p. 80]



5. Fireworks for the feast of St Leonard

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fireworkers, and without their expert help it was feared that the 578
feast would be a miserable failure. Many Labour supporters also 621
instructed their parents and wives not to contribute money to the 665
feast. This depressing state of affairs continued for some time. 794

Then one day, about three months before the festa, Pietru, the 796
young schoolteacher who is head of Catholic Action and treasurer
of the St. Martin club, came up to me looking very pleased. He
said that the feast was saved. Several events had combined to work
up interest in it. It seems that most of the people had attended a [216]
large and very successful titular festa in a neighbouring village;
the St. Roque fireworkers had shot off three extremely well-made test rockets; and he himself had played his tape recording of
the St. Martin hymn, the anthem of the partit, over a loudspeaker in the square. These events revived interest in the festa
and in the reputation of the partit. Immediately afterwards the
secretary of the club, a Labour supporter who has set politics
aside for the honour of the partit, called a committee meeting to
discuss the problem of making fireworks. After several speeches
urging members to keep their politics from spoiling the feast, the
committee voted to make fireworks. Though two skilled fire- [389.
workers crossed the floor and agreed to help, none of the many 463]
experts among the rank and file followed suit. But soon after this
political loyalty again began to smother the rekindled partit spirit,
and one of the fireworkers all but dropped out. Moreover, Pietru,
who is the village's most eloquent and outspoken enemy of the
Labour Party, began to preach so vehemently to those he calls the
'lost sheep' of the club, that he antagonized many. His fund-raising suffered as a result.

About a month after this I met Toni at a festa in a neighbouring 578
village, and we had a long talk away from the interested eyes and 621
ears of Farruġ. Toni has been a member of the St. Martin Club 665
committee for nearly twenty years, and until some months ago
had been vice president. He was clearly very worried about the
club. People were already beginning to draw parallels between
the present situation and the events that led up to the split in
1930. He said he was doing his best to discourage such talk, and
had now begun working hard to avoid an open break.

He pointed out that he had experienced many crises in the partit
and favoured a less blunt approach to winning back the interest
of the MLP members than did the crusading Pietru. He felt that he

578 621 665 had already had some success wooing members back on a personal basis by talking only of the honour of the partit and leaving politics out altogether. He stressed that the main problem was not so much the feast but the survival of the club. 'If we can just weather out the storm until after the election we can save it.' He went on to describe how it had taken years to heal the division after the seceding Strickland supporters had rejoined in 1935. 'We must avoid a split at all costs, and the only way we can do that is to bury our political differences.' His technique for doing this was to have as few formal committee meetings as possible, to avoid discussing controversial subjects and to vote in secret, for in these times 'an open vote divides the members'.

578 621 794 796. The wise counsel and efforts of the older members, who have set politics aside, has so far kept the younger hot-heads from splitting the club. In spite of all the obstacles in its way, the feast of St. Martin turned out to be a good show. Though many supporters did not contribute, others gave more than usual and there were enough funds for a good feast. About a dozen boys worked under the direction of the two adult fireworkers, and made most of the [389] [868] fireworks. They gave a very good account of themselves, though not one of them is old enough (18) to join the club as a formal member. All are Catholic Action members. In fact, except for a few St. Roque boys, they are the only ones left in the society. The Catholic Action group once numbered almost fifty. The others, the sons of Labour families, had been forced out by the vote of loyalty to the Archbishop which the association's national headquarters had demanded. But their enthusiasm could not quite make up for their youth or their lack of numbers. During the Friday demonstration for the saint some outsiders who were supporters of the guest band had to help them carry the statue of their patron part of the way. This was a great comedown from the previous year, when his followers were so numerous that they had to struggle for a turn to carry him. But the noise and the gay atmosphere of the celebration rekindled the interest of a number of the Labour supporters. Several helped to erect the decorations on Saturday; a few even joined in one of the band matches.

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and
villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes
administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to
the physical arrangement of functional parts), these
provide important evidence of the social and economic nature
of society. The present report is concerned with rural
society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear
that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of
the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements
cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of
some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These
creations have since expanded and merged to become the
● [396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society
had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a
few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and
Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended
[464] on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment
existing only in the larger settlements or in the little
harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta
on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island
as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530
standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined
in relative importance.

Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
[161] a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
[396] associated townships became dominant and the increase in the
population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if
not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the
largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been
based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the
past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence
farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs
of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which
money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

175 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, par-
288 ticularly after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports
464 of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is
today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective
monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century,
much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted
to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male
labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing
departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was
centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft,
so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from
home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton
production declined. This decline accelerated towards the
close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an
even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands.
The total decline was due to external economic factors but,
within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest
in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The
cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest -
where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing
178 work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end
241 of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of
369 this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first,
464 and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the
Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the
[288] harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton
● [396] industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus
[504] appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater
break with home, farm and village than had been the case with
cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the
alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into
the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population
of the rural area became less and less dependent on agricul-
ture for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in
178 an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second,
241 considered later in more detail, is the social change which
369 has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager
241 through direct and indirect education and contact with the
433 people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two
forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had
happened before on a temporary basis and the other a
consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which
has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world,
have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he
has the new range of employment opportunities indicated,
while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

241 Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfaully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The
percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'. Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to
36 this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the
harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops, cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the
162 most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to
which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix 3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but even in the rural districts most people are seen to live within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only five districts show a built-up township area accounting for more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for 1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern (B/561).

APPENDIX 2 B : The Malta Dockyard - Dates of major Extensions prior to 1910.

Admiralty House, Vittoriosa	Probably built	1670-1680
Superintendent Victualling Yard House	" "	1730
Captain Attendant's House	Built	1730
Admiralty House, Valletta	Re-built	1761-1763
Deputy Surgeon General's House, Bighi	Altered	1832
Officers' Residences	"	1832
Deputy Surgeon General's Office	Built	1832
Sea Baths, Bighi	"	1832 (extended in 1871, 1877, 1879 and 1886)
Dockyard in Galley Creek	Mainly built	1840-1850
Corradino Tank, No. 1	Built	1841
Naval Bakery	"	1844
Clock Tower	"	1844
Canine Tunnel	"	1845
Dockyard Terrace, Senglea	"	1846
No. 1 Dock (Outer)	"	1847
Bakery Tanks	"	1847-1848
Officers' Mess, Sheer Bastion	Altered	1848
Buildings round No. 1 Dock	Built	1848
Admiralty Bridge (Margherita)	"	1848
Master Miller, Baker Engineer's House	"	1848
Police Quarters	"	1848
(Late) Torpedo Store	"	1848
Main Gate	"	1849
Wharf by Sheer Bastion and Main Gate	"	1850
Foreman's Residence	"	1851
St. Helena Tank	"	1852
Slip in front of Margherita Arches	"	1852
St. Teresa Tunnel	"	1855
St. Lorenzo Tunnel	"	1858
Corradino Tank No.2	"	1861
No.1 Dock (Inner)	"	1862
Officers' Mess, Bighi	"	1863
Short Tunnel from Dockyard to French Creek	"	1865
Church Tunnel " " " " "	"	1866
Marsa Coal Stores, various	"	1869
No.3 Dock (Somerset)	"	1871
Hydraulic Dock	"	1871
Dockyard Chapel, over Tunnel	"	1882
Pumping House, No. 3 Dock	"	1884
Torpedo Depot, Sliema	"	1884
North Gate	"	1892
No. 2 Dock (Hamilton)	"	1892
South Gate	Re-built	1894
Scheme for increased accommodation for H.M. Ships	Approved	1901
Works Department Office	Built	1901
New Docks	"	1906
Burmola Gate	"	1906
Ghajn Dwieli Gate	Re-built	1906
Corradino Gate	Built	1907
Ricasoli Breakwater	"	1907
St. Elmo Breakwater	"	1909

NOTE Information from R/488, Appendix XI.

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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●[402]
[291]

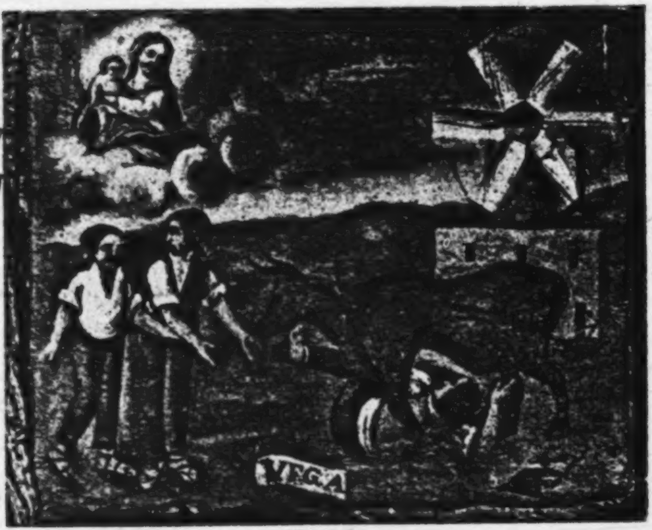

FIGURE 1

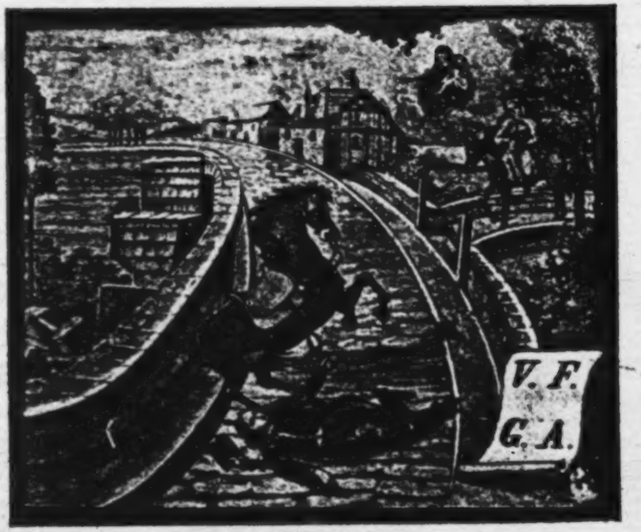

FIGURE 2

[facing p. 25]
1/1 [captions appear on p. 29 - An.]

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the Director of the National Museum, Valletta, Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A., and to Mr Jos. Spiteri of the same department for their kindness in taking the photographs; to the Rev. Jos. Tanti and the Rev. Canon Jos. Zammit, administrators of Tal Mirakli Church and of Tal Hlas Church, respectively, for allowing me to publish pictures of 'ex-votos' preserved in their churches.

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CAPTIONS TO PLATES [1]

Plate I

Fig. 1. Silver votive offerings representing various parts of the body. The model between the trunk and the ear is a stylized form of the female breasts. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782

Fig. 2. This leg of baked clay is from the Roman ruins at Ras-ir-Raheb to the north west of Bahria, Malta. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 3. Bronze dies of liver and lower limb used by Maltese silver smiths for the manufacture of the silver 'ex-votos'. Scale in centimetres and inches. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Plate II

Fig. 1. The picture tells the story so clearly that no inscription is attached to it. Note the Maltese type of windmill and the costumes of the peasants still in use during the last century. Tal Hlas Church, Qormi. (Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782 789

Fig. 2. The landscape is not Maltese. Presumably this 'ex-voto' was offered by a foreigner or else the donor was a Maltese who met with a riding accident abroad. The letters V.F.G.A. stand for 'Votum Fecit Gratiam Accepit' (A vow was made and a favour received). Tal Mirakli Church, Lija, Malta. (Photograph by Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A.) [402] ● [291]

[1] [plate I will be found facing p. 24; plate II faces p. 25. – An.]

B. Cultivation Equipment and Tillage

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Of the implements observed in Malta, the traditional types of plough, hoe, 407
sickle and harrow are of the same genera as those to be generally found in the 412
Mediterranean region (Fig. 140).

Ploughs are of the *Aratrum* or *Ard* type, steel tipped wooden wedges, devoid
of cutting edges and having very restricted powers of furrow making or inversion 407
- *moħriet*. None of those observed had lateral 'ears' or 'wings' but apparently
ards thus equipped are occasionally used. There are various sub-types with
differing arrangements of beam, body and handle but no constant rational
relationship between these sub-types and local environments could be observed.
Prices range upwards of £4 10s. 0d. Iron or steel tips for the body cost about
£1. One interesting modification of the plough is manufactured at Żurrieq. On
top of the basic beam and body is fitted a movable double mouldboard of which
either or both breasts can be brought into operation at any one time. Ridging and
left and right furrow inversion are therefore made possible. For those areas
where furrow inversion is practicable such a cheap, light multi-purpose
implement would be very valuable, and the development of such improvements
might well be encouraged by official approbation.

Hoes are manufactured in four main types. The heavy spade type, the 412
Żappuna, is generally used for soil trenching in preparation for manuring. The
effort involved tends to restrict its use. The small, single tined, wedge-shaped
hoe, the *Mgħazqa* or *Lexxuna*, is a general purpose implement that is replaced
under damp and cohesive soil conditions by a forked, two-tined variety, the
Kroxun. A three-tined hoe is often used, together with the ard, for potato lifting.
In general, each cultivator possesses a selection of different types of hoe,
necessitated by the variety of manual operations he usually has to perform and
made possible by the reasonable prices of the implements (prices range from
about 16s. for the single-tine, to 18s. to £1 for the spade hoe).

The sickle in general use is a small, smooth-edged type costing about 12s. 6d.
The small number of sickle types observed may result from the widespread
practice of pulling rather than cutting green fodder. Traditional harrows are 407
almost invariably of the Mediterranean and Asiatic type, harrows cum levellers
and seed coverers. Those observed were triangular and stone weighted. When
manufactured for the purpose they were usually constructed of ash and had
removable tines. Without metal tines, the cost is about 50s.

These implements, of which illustrated examples are given (Fig.140), have
already to some extent been displaced by imported newer types. Most farmers [241]
who possess fields which are at all accessible to tractors now periodically hire
contractors to plough the land with mouldboard or disc ploughs and even, in some
areas, with deep digger-ploughs. Where plots are small or the terrain difficult,
then rotary cultivators are hired or purchased. These latter machines, in spite
of their relatively high cost - usually over £200 in Malta - are amazingly
popular and are more and more replacing the *ard* and the hoe. The reasons for,
and implications of this popularity are examined below.

The spade proper is hardly ever used, and its absence is associated with [412]
the reasons for the survival of the *ard* plough. Small, light, flexible, metal
harrows are to be found. Entirely imported, their only advantages are their
flexibility on rough ground and ease of draught. They are, on the other hand,
more easily damaged and more difficult to repair than their wooden prototypes.
Other equipment includes a great range of fixed and movable adjuncts to farming,
all but one class of which are constructed rurally from local materials. The [406]
exceptional group is that connected with irrigation and includes windpumps and
small diesel engines. Threshing and winnowing, traditional style, needs no more [243]
than a rock or *torba* (beaten earth) floor and asses or horses for trampling, [492]
baskets constructed of local cane, and simple wooden winnowing forks. Of recent
years, centralised threshing by contractors' machines has almost entirely dis- 241
placed the older method in all but the more remote western regions. Canes,
grown in slightly marshy conditions in wied floors, provide the raw material 824
for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc.

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa baghli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-
[406] house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
[343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
241 interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
433 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to culti-
434 vate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
829 to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
[464] heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative (Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having the money than letting the Government get it. This belief that the Government is behind everything is characteristic (Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility of achieving anything above low living standards. Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case among many of his generation and it may be that he will have difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
[654] to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture to the full but it has done comparatively little for the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

CASE XI : Summary.

(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

*159 423 427 **A. Land.**

(i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Mellieha District. 2 tmien freehold.
(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.
(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.
(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced as annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 241 **B. Utilization.** With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons. Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.
(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 231 **C. Livestock.** During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bejjem tax-xoghol').

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] [435] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
[454] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E.[27] Estimated possible total less than £100.
● [406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.
[474] [241] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.
[464] - Rarely hires labour.
[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

D. SEABORNE AND AIRBORNE TRAFFIC 1958[3].

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	Total - Calling - British				Passengers (No.)			Freight (Tons)	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	In	Out	Transit	In	Out
Steam Vessels	1,792	2,008,803	458	1,346,925)	9,852	10,745	35,175	560,026	54,927
Sailing Vessels	267	22,826	15	122)					
Aircraft	3,283	91,661	3,116	87,897	20,232	31,501	28,048	588	238

E. AGRICULTURE[4]

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		Acreage	Yield-tons
(i)	Total Area cultivated	44,235	
(ii)	Wheat	5,000	3,000
	Barley and Mixta	4,083	2,158
	Forages (inc. sulla, vetches & Ferrana)	11,824	3,855
	Broad Beans	1,250	500
(iii)	Potatoes - Spring crop	4,763* (1957-6,000)	15,420
	- Winter crop	3,228	7,360
	Melons	1,837	1,939
	Onions	1,263	3,389
	Tomatoes	1,912	8,588
	Other vegetables	5,000	16,198
(iv)	Grapes	5,000	6,000**
	Citrus	160	500**
	Other fruit	1,000	6,000**
(v)	Cotton	3 (1956-187)	1
	Cumin Seed	8 (1952-518)	2

* Note. Abnormally low.
** Note. Acreage and yield of treecrops in particular should be treated as indicating only orders of magnitude.

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(vi)	Livestock (Enumeration)	
	Horses, Donkeys and Mules	6,575
	Goats	36,944(1950-50,159)
	Sheep	15,011(1950-20,148)
	Imported Store bulls	3,081
	Milk cows	4,178(1950- 2,861)
	Other cattle	2,466
	Swine	16,362
(vii)	Number of holdings	12,192

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Number of mechanized implements	- 2 wheeled	700
	- 3 & 4 wheeled	54
	- tracked	25
	- milking machines	7
	- threshers	22

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Plate XIX. Tillage - traditional style.

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Plate XX. Tillage - new style.

question unless a complete agricultural revolution committed Maltese farming 231
to thorough-going dairy farming specialisation. Such specialisation, given the 234
climatic and physiological difficulties, would not be easy to justify. A very considerable 246
seasonal glut of milk exists between May and August at present, and the Milk Marketing Undertaking cannot handle the flush. This degree of fluctuation could be lessened but not removed. Costs of production are such that not only would exports be uneconomic but imported tinned milk can and could considerably undercut home production. Local consumption of fresh cows' milk could not be expanded much more than 10 to 15 per cent. above the present level which is already the highest in the Mediterranean, as long as tinned milk is more easily preserved, and as long as the rural community keeps goats and sheep. The banning of milk imports and of the production of goat milk would hardly be in the consumer's economic or dietetic interests.

Horses, mules and donkeys, some 6,500 in number, are still very important 492
as work animals. For farm transport, they can only be replaced by the internal 407
combustion engine purchasable only by the more prosperous cultivators. Produce collection by merchants' lorries is increasing as also is the use of hired tractors for cultivation. The numbers of these animals is unlikely to decrease quickly outside the urban areas because of their usefulness in tilling difficult land.

Of the remaining small livestock, rabbits and poultry already make a very 231
large although immeasurable contribution to food supplies. Improvements in 235
quality could be obtained if farmers' interest was aroused. At present, mixed breeds of poor poultry are commercially uneconomic.

In conclusion, we must return to the vexed question of dairy-farming and 234
milk production in Malta. In 1950, the Director of Agriculture (1) put the 654
question: 'Under prevailing conditions in Malta and Gozo, which is the more profitable animal to keep? The cow or the goat?', and followed with the statement: '...no accurate answer backed by accurate scientific data has ever been given'. The same impasse had often been noted before, for example by Dawson Shepherd (2), and Stockdale (3). An unpublished report on Maltese Agriculture by a visiting F.A.O. commission (4) similarly found itself at sea in the absence of any firm information. In 1956, the complexity as well as the obscurity of the situation was manifested in a Report on the Dairy Industry by G. W. Ford (5). In this study, reference is made to the different conclusions reached by independent observers, and to intermediate suggestions made by Marshall (6), one of whose remarks: 'I simply cannot visualise hygienic milk production by the peasant farmer in Malta', our observations would endorse.

Milk-production in Malta is no longer a matter of economics but, as in many countries, is affected by social and dietetic policies. Brief mention was made in Chapter VI C of the problem of the incidence of undulant fever and its association with milk infected by *Brucellosis Melitensis*. Some 20 per cent. of Maltese goats are thus infected, and any dietetic campaign to encourage the drinking of milk, particularly important in child welfare, must take account of this. Few cows are thus far infected and elimination is easier. The problem that emerges is therefore both economic and social in character. It is felt by some that reliance on imported tinned milk is one solution but by others such a suggestion is regarded as humiliating. Another possible line of action is to replace goats with milch cows, and in 1956 a system by which herdsmen were offered one Dutch Friesian heifer in calf for 12 diseased goats actually came into operation. The third possibility is to accept the position as it exists at the moment, or slightly to modify it, and centralise milk distribution thus enabling pasteurisation. This too has been done. Even now however, the cost of tinned milk imports, the cost of producing cows' milk, the surplus of goats' milk, all these as well as the land use point mentioned earlier, still remain to be dealt with. As we shall see, the market for milk called into being as a social measure is now the mainstay of many farmers of all grades. The development of the centralised agency, the Milk Marketing Undertaking has been accompanied by a guaranteed price system. Some 50 per cent. of all milk producers have, as a result of this organising of wholesale purchases, formed their own union the K.M.H. - '*Kumpanija Maltija*

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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tal-Halib'. These bodies have introduced some constant elements into an otherwise chaotic situation but this has also implied a certain rigidity. Sonce the costs of milk production are not accurately known and the costs to the National Economy are ignored one now has an artificial market with artificial prices which must be maintained to prevent economic disaster on the farms. (For such information on production and marketing as is available, the reader is further referred to Chapters X D and X E.)

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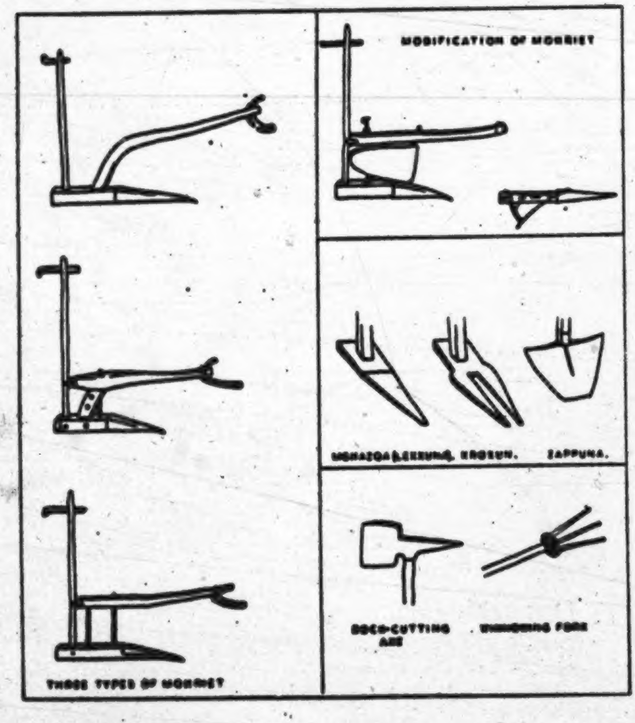

Fig. 140 Cultivation Equipment.

B: Cultivation Equipment and Tillage

171
Of the implements observed in Malta, the traditional types of plough, hoe, 407
sickle and harrow are of the same genera as those to be generally found in the 412
Mediterranean region (Fig. 140).

Ploughs are of the *Aratrum* or *Ard* type, steel tipped wooden wedges, devoid
of cutting edges and having very restricted powers of furrow making or inversion 407
- *moħriet*. None of those observed had lateral 'ears' or 'wings' but apparently
ards thus equipped are occasionally used. There are various sub-types with
differing arrangements of beam, body and handle but no constant rational
relationship between these sub-types and local environments could be observed.
Prices range upwards of £4 10s. 0d. Iron or steel tips for the body cost about
£1. One interesting modification of the plough is manufactured at Żurrieq. On
top of the basic beam and body is fitted a movable double mouldboard of which
either or both breasts can be brought into operation at any one time. Ridging and
left and right furrow inversion are therefore made possible. For those areas
where furrow inversion is practicable such a cheap, light multi-purpose
implement would be very valuable, and the development of such improvements
might well be encouraged by official approbation.

Hoes are manufactured in four main types. The heavy spade type, the 412
żappuna, is generally used for soil trenching in preparation for manuring. The
effort involved tends to restrict its use. The small, single tined, wedge-shaped
hoe, the *Mgħazqa* or *Lexxuna*, is a general purpose implement that is replaced
under damp and cohesive soil conditions by a forked, two-tined variety, the
Kroxm. A three-tined hoe is often used, together with the ard, for potato lifting.
In general, each cultivator possesses a selection of different types of hoe,
necessitated by the variety of manual operations he usually has to perform and
made possible by the reasonable prices of the implements (prices range from
about 16s. for the single-tine, to 18s. to £1 for the spade hoe).

The sickle in general use is a small, smooth-edged type costing about 12s. 6d.
The small number of sickle types observed may result from the widespread
practice of pulling rather than cutting green fodder. Traditional harrows are 407
almost invariably of the Mediterranean and Asiatic type, harrows cum levellers
and seed coverers. Those observed were triangular and stone weighted. When
manufactured for the purpose they were usually constructed of ash and had
removable tines. Without metal tines, the cost is about 50s.

These implements, of which illustrated examples are given (Fig.140), have
already to some extent been displaced by imported newer types. Most farmers [241]
who possess fields which are at all accessible to tractors now periodically hire
contractors to plough the land with mouldboard or disc ploughs and even, in some
areas, with deep digger-ploughs. Where plots are small or the terrain difficult,
then rotary cultivators are hired or purchased. These latter machines, in spite
of their relatively high cost - usually over £200 in Malta - are amazingly
popular and are more and more replacing the *ard* and the hoe. The reasons for,
and implications of this popularity are examined below.

The spade proper is hardly ever used, and its absence is associated with [412]
the reasons for the survival of the *ard* plough. Small, light, flexible, metal
harrows are to be found. Entirely imported, their only advantages are their
flexibility on rough ground and ease of draught. They are, on the other hand,
more easily damaged and more difficult to repair than their wooden prototypes.
Other equipment includes a great range of fixed and movable adjuncts to farming,
all but one class of which are constructed rurally from local materials. The [406]
exceptional group is that connected with irrigation and includes windpumps and
small diesel engines. Threshing and winnowing, traditional style, needs no more [243]
than a rock or *lorba* (beaten earth) floor and asses or horses for trampling, [492]
baskets constructed of local cane, and simple wooden winnowing forks. Of recent
years, centralised threshing by contractors' machines has almost entirely dis- 241
placed the older method in all but the more remote western regions. Canes,
grown in slightly marshy conditions in wied floors, provide the raw material 824
for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc.

000 for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc. Livestock harness is 492 simple in type consisting of head harness and collar. Working bullocks, now rarely used, are also equipped with collars for traction but the guiding reins are attached to the horns. Country carts are unsprung, wooden frames resting 493 directly on the metal axles. That the ruggedness of their construction is only equalled by the toughness of the draught animals is evinced by their presence on places such as Dingli Undercliff, or the cliffsides of the Wied il-Luq (Buskett).

343 The solidly built stone huts or *orfa* that are to be found on most holdings may be regarded as part of the farmers' 'equipment' rather than his habitation. The simplest and most numerous are simple one-roomed cubes, some five yards square, strongly constructed, usually of worked stone blocks with wood and *torba* roofs. These 'blockhouses', for such they appear, serve as storehouses for implements and crops, for guns and birdcatching equipment, as well as for shelter during the 'siesta' hours and bad weather. Their cost in construction labour, and the pride that does into the simple furnishing of what is the farmers 'den', as well as the deceptive appearance of dispersed settlement that they give, suggests that further investigation into their origins might prove valuable. In general terms, they seem to be a natural response to the marked concentration of settlement in the casals. They are far less numerous in the western region of more recent and dispersed settlement. The larger, two-roomed and two-storied types are used mainly as summer working residences, when a whole family may move out of its casal to the main holding.

407 These implements and types of equipment are one facet of the complex of traditional cultivation techniques - techniques based on the intense and continuous application of uncosted hand labour. A brief examination of the working characteristics of some of the implements is a necessary introduction to a discussion of general cultivation techniques.

The *moħriet* (Plate XIX) is used as an animal-drawn hoe rather than as a plough proper. It is light and can be carried by the cultivator along narrow field paths and across rugged terrain. Its negotiability is limited only by the ease of access demanded by the draught animals. The 'rotavator' (Plate XX) alone of modern mechanical implements can rival it in this respect. On coarse soils, often only a few inches deep, cross tilling by hoe or *ard* seems perfectly satisfactory for tilth making. A vertically applied tool such as the true spade cannot be utilised in such soils, while all but the simplest mouldboard ploughs are too clumsy for use in small terraced fields. Both *ard* and hoe are used in garden rather than field style and their only disadvantages lie in the slowness of the work performed. Here lies the especial advantage of the rotavator that can, under reasonable conditions, be used for tilling six *tmien* of land a day as compared with about two or three for the *ard* and one for the hoe. (Figures are necessarily approximate averages.)

178 241 311 Cultivation techniques and the farming landscapes which they have produced are now in a critical stage of development. For millennia, a slowly increasing population has been utilising the natural land resources more and more intensively and also supplementing them by artificial works. Until the early nineteenth century, social and tenurial obstructions to full land use on the one hand, and wealth derived from the overseas possessions of the Knights of Malta on the other, little affected the basic land hunger of the rural community. During the period of British occupation, however, externally derived income has brought with it more and more non-agricultural activity. Opportunities for non-farm work have increased and so has socio-economic dissatisfaction with arduous and limited rural life. The stage has now been reached at which land reclamation and land abandonment, intensification of effort and neglect, are proceeding simultaneously. An examination of those landscape features which are products of farming techniques suggests that this stage is now critical.

242 311 Land reclamation and the extension of the cultivable area are still going on. At several points on the Delimara peninsula, material is being carried from the cliff foot and from old huts and dwellings and spread over the existing thin and discontinuous soil cover. On this, sulla as a soil building leguminous crop

*[see page 306 -- Analyst]

by himself and will think of net profit on his sales rather than of *gross* receipts. 241

The second example is from a case-study (J. p. 342) of a full-time mixed farmer holding 33 *tmien* of dry land (three blocks of six field plots) in Region C XX a, the Mqabba-Kirkop Plain. During the last 20 years, this farmer has built up a herd of 13 Maltese Friesian cattle including ten milch cows from a flock of six goats. Before World War II he relied on crop-sales from arable land. Now approximately half the cultivated area is given over to fodder production. Although by Maltese standards this farmer is enterprising, knowledgeable and possessed of much more than average capital, he has no mechanised equipment for tillage but relies on contract work. Each year a tractor plough and rotary cultivator are hired at a cost of between 15s. and £1 per *tomna*. The farmer still differentiates very clearly between the quality of different parts of his land, on the basis of a soil depth which varies from 8 inches to 2 feet, and on soil type distinguished by colour. Nevertheless, since he is now only really interested in livestock, and regards even fodder production as uneconomic, he has lost interest in arable farming and tends to neglect the poorer land and think of disposing of the other. This man is typical of many of the better class farmers in that the old niceties of tillage are forgotten as commercial considerations predominate, these latter a resultant of social and economic change in the Islands. 311 435 [427]

Lastly we may consider the extreme development, the farmer turned machine contractor. Only half the age of the farmers already considered, this man is much more aware of general developments in the agricultural scene, partly as a result of seven years spent as an 'emigrant' in Australia. Patrimonial land is left to the attention of other members of the family, and he is only concerned with investment in machinery for hire. This contractor now possesses a lorry, a Ferguson hydraulic lift tractor, a hydraulic shovel, triple-disc and mouldboard ploughs, a rotavator as well as numerous accessories, and wants to purchase a thresher and a small combine harvester. The whole cultivation emphasis is put on mechanical effort and its ease of application. Deep-ploughing is advocated wherever possible even though he admits 'there may be drawbacks', no qualms are felt about knocking down walls to gain admittance to fields, and considerable impatience shown towards traditional agrarian and social values. This man even complained that he was not allowed to plough on Sundays. One of his ambitions is the quintessence of the new attitude towards cultivation. It is to have a farm of 30-40 *tmien*, all in one block with no patch smaller than about an acre, the whole to be workable by tractor, thus making hand labour unnecessary, and accessible to heavy machinery. The holding should have its own farmhouse and be near to a market such as Żabbar. In this man the mechanical revolution in cultivation in Malta is epitomised, contrasting strangely with an attitude met at Rabat that the wheelbarrow is too technically revolutionary to be acceptable - 'it is not used here!' 177 241 407

E. The Farmers of Malta

241

From survey work, farm interviews and detailed case-studies we have been able to distinguish certain characteristic types of Maltese farmer. The variety of practice and productivity within the pseudo-peasantry makes it impossible to take general treatment any further, therefore in this section are presented a cross-section of such types. For obvious reasons, we cannot present details which might lead to the identification of any farmer or his landholding.

1. THE PART-TIME FARMER

Numerically as important as full-time farmers this group, although heterogeneous, indicates the incompleteness of the recent 'flight from the land'. At the highest level, as in case-study (A), the stability given by a non-agricultural income encourages good land use.

A - A holding of c. 10 *tmien* in two blocks of 19 irrigable field plots in Region AII, Mellieha Isthmus, produces c. 60 per cent. of the cultivator's net income. Irrigated market gardening produces potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, cucurbits, carrots, cauliflowers, garlic, lemons and table-grapes for sale, and beans, maize, celery and turnips for home consumption. Rents of reclaimed land on Government property are negligible. The farmer main-tains that he holds the land partly to support the present family of three and to enable his eight adult emigrant sons to have some 'hobby' land when they return as expected to Malta. Nevertheless, his husbandry standards and commercial acumen are good, his yields high. This type of part-time farmer is neither common nor rare.

B - At the other extreme is a policeman who, in 1950, purchased 14 *tmien* of dry land in Region XVIIIb, ta'Qali, in order to have land to work after retirement. Of this, 10 *tmien* is let out on annual leases, both tenants' and landlord's responsibilities being ignored, and 6 *tmien* is 'cultivated' by the owner, carrying weed infested and diseased crops of wheat, sulla and broad beans. This is symptomatic of unhealthy economic and social conditions, viz. simple land hunger based on insecurity of urban occupations and inadequate pensions.

2. THE FULL-TIME ARABLE FARMER ON IRRIGATED LAND

The time-consuming nature of market gardening and the high value of irrigated *saqwi* land tend either to restrict the total size of holdings or to focus the farmer's attention on such land.

C - In Region XIV, two full-time farmer brothers with three dependants cultivate 7 *tmien* in one irrigated plot (Fig. 111A). One of the brothers returned from temporary migration to Canada in 1913 bringing some capital and ideas. Their equipment consists of hoes, an American windpump and an English diesel pump. There is a well graded irrigation system of three cisterns, overhead and ground level stone channelling. The diesel pump is used for filling the cisterns, the windpump for maintaining the water level. Both farmers share equally the cost of equipment and pumping and have a family arrangement for division of labour and produce. Surplus produce is sold in the Rabat market.

D - A full-time farmer with family of 11, six of whom are adults, working on holding of c. 30 *tmien* in Region A XV a The Blue Clay Basin (Fig. 141). Lives on a main plot of 14 *tmien* on Blue Clay and marl. On the main part of the holding are cultivated irrigated fruit and vegetable crops. The other plots consist mainly of rock, rough grazing and carobs with some vines. Intensive aboriculture is practised with peaches replacing plums and old apple stock being replaced by vines and peaches.

Livestock - 1 horse, 9 sheep, 13 pigs and 3 goats. [231]

Equipment - *mohriet* and hoes. The farmer borrows a 'rotavator' for sum- [407]

mer cultivation and has 'access' to lorry and jeep for marketing produce. [312]

The dwelling has piped water supply. Irrigation water is obtained from

000 already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

241 423 The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the points of definition just made. This is the complex of features which have produced the present landscape of tiny field-plots covering the cultivable parts of the Islands with a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception. [433] Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over 55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than 9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or fodder (Case V).

241 311 464 The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions. Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of rock in days when manual labour was readily available and cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled, tilled and irrigated. But while mechanization, particularly [409] in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even this kind of development on account of their small size, tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the soil which it held in place collapses over the terraces below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

423 241 454 The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this picture since they make for further divisions in an already minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is frequently deterred from making improvements on a piece of land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either owns himself or has on long lease and which show the necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability (Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building (Case I).

241 423 Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature. They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more

241 474 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly common, while a recent development has been the tractor co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

178 407 The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta in the 1930s (Case XV, XXII) but "at that time there was a general feeling against the use of such machines on the land and it was about five years before their value was acknowledged and suspicions overcome"[12]. [427] One of the earliest tractor-hire businesses (Case XV) began in 1935 and for a decade there were comparatively few competitors. [422] Since the 1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning agricultural tractos and mechanized implements[24] has increased to about thirty in Malta[25] and some twelve in Gozo (1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[26], made in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still increasing but the work available for them is decreasing. This is clear from a consideration of the points raised in Cases XV to XII (Section 6, Part 2).

The main points emerging were

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended (Case XVI), while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement (Case XXII).

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

(ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can [654] be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially since low-interest loans are now available from the Government.

(c) The limited area of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between asignments (Case · XVII).

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case · XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of
damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).
The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are
therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per
tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the
hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can them-
[461] selves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job
which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a
matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

(ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
407 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
461 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements
464 (Case · XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving
the problem of labour shortage.

427 For the contractor himself there is a social as well
554 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has
come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane
than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status
is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no
implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far
[221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main
disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three
summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines
and services to builders and others out of the plowing
season (Cases · XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing
machine which brings in further contracts in the summer
(Case XVII).

178 From what has been said it would appear that the large
tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese
407 farming, although it may bring considerable profit and
427 advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The
[434] present decline in this type of contracting has been noted.
Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be
greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to
the land in the near future. The small hand rotary
cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like
going much further along the way to enabling a time/money
conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with
little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly
limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming
landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it
can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

407 472 474 Many of the large tractor plowing concerns described above are run by two or more men, often brothers, in partnership. A much more recent development of this kind has been the 'tractor co-operative' in which a much larger number of farmers share the use and expenses of a cultivator of tractor. By the end of 1958 one such co-operative had been established in Mellieha in Malta, and another at Gharb, in Gozo.

407 474 648 These two projects are attempts which, if successful, may be followed by the setting up of other similar co-operatives. Two powerful hand cultivators were donated by C.A.R.E[27], the American relief organization, to a committee of farmers in Mellieha and two more to a similar group in Gharb. In each village farmers wishing to join [427] the co-operative paid a fee of some £2 after which they were entitled to hire the machine at a fraction of the prevailing commercial hire cost. In Gharb this was 10/- an hour where other private tractor operators were demanding 17/-. The C.A.R.E. gifts of tractors removed the need for the farmer himself to invest capital in something novel. He stood only to gain and not to lose and there was, consequently, fierce competition for the limited membership of the co-operative. Maintainance of the machines was in each case left to a full-time operator, while the running of the co-operative was in the hands of an executive committee of some half dozen farmers in each case who were elected from among the members concerned. This kind of organization in farm work is quite new to the Maltese farmer who has previously been incapable of uniting to any degree, whether in a marketing co-operative or farmers' union (Section 4). If the Mellieha and Gharb projects prove successful the principle of such co-operation may well extend to other branches of agriculture. The resulting financial economies would considerably strengthen the farmer's position.

407 474 A co-operative of any sort is, however, a somewhat unknown quantity among a largely illiterate and conservative farming population not far removed from traditional independent subsistence. Moreover, until recently, mechanical skill has been confined to the small number of farmers operating tractors themselves. In the Gharb co-operative only two men were available who could in fact operate the machines at all.

Although it is too early to judge the efficacy of this kind of co-operative in Malta its initial success would suggest that it has a future. The answer to the problem of shortage of labour discussed earlier in this section may then well be a combination of the widespread owner-use of one or other of the small rotary cultivators on the market along

407 474 with the setting up of co-operatives which would make available to the farmer the services of a heavy tractor and deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire the smaller type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY and GUARANTEE

435 241 654 During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for produce handed in to the collection centres in each district. Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never known before and were able to build up often considerable financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

434 435 241 654 Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite different conditions of competition from abroad, demands a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and milk production. He insists that responsibility for this subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on "Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and marketing and gives him a substantial return.

654 The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible foodstuffs (which would often mean imported goods rather than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities (bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows everyone in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included four main types of help to agriculture.

234 654 (a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U. This varies slightly with season and there is a difference of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells

178 241 407 464 (3) On account of those same physical limitations mechanization of field-work cannot be expected to solve all labour problems in Maltese agriculture. An initial, over-optimistic emphasis on large tractors and other heavy machinery has given way to a rapid increase in the number and popularity of the small rotary-cultivators. But even this cannot be expected to displace completely the wooden plow and hand implement working (Section 2).

However, mechanized farm implements, particularly the small, manoeuvrable rotary-cultivator type of hand tractor, have enabled a reduced number of farmers to work their fields more intensively, and, in some cases, to increase the area worked by a single individual.

The neglect of those aspects of farming where manual work is dominant and necessary have, nevertheless, accompanied this change with the bizarre result that intensification of effort and neglect are proceeding simultaneously (B/336).

178 434 (4) A basic factor in the present situation, in which the young farmer is retreating from farming, has been the emergence of a demand for money income (Section 3). The traditional pattern of peasant, subsistence farming in which the main object was the support of the farmer and his family has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook in farming. The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with which he can

- (a) purchase those items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (clothing, bread etc., etc.),
- (b) purchase items which have recently become part of his regular demands and for which money is a sine qua non (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.),

433 511 Food, as an item of family expenditure, nowadays figures especially prominently

- (a) where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, to fodder,
- (b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element of the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market prospects.

178 434 But of greater significance in the long-term view is the fact that these new demands for monetary gain are a particularly prominent feature among the present younger generation of the farming community. For them a substantially increased income is synonomous with social and economic betterment. Since they do not envisage such an increased income coming from farming they are all the more anxious to leave the

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. Livestock.

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] [454] [412] [407] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.

- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245]
(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

[P 91]

*159 shopping is done in the local village but Nardu
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 A. Land.
423
30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 B. Utilisation.
241
311
Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under wisna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under sofáfa (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 C. Livestock.
231
During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. Capital.
[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's.
[454] - Freehold village house.
[412] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[407] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc.
No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 E. Labour.
464
- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting.
During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
[427] - Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 F. Production and Sales.
433
- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

*159 G. Husbandry.
241
(i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annua
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prev
the employment of the normal four-year rota

*159 231 234

C. Livestock.

- 50 goats
- 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.
- Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159 42 454

D. Capital.

- The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).
- Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.
- [409] No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tomna when necessary.

*159 464

E. Labour.

- No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.
- Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

*159 43

F. Production and Sales.

- Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qantar respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.

These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

*159 231 234

G. Husbandry.

- Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention to holding.
- Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

*159 433

H. General.

- When asked whether he considered himself to be herdsman or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general dealer" in crops and animals.
- In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

- 159 Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
- 156 Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.
- [231] Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

*159 472 **CASE VIII : Niklaws** (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)

[423] [234] Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70 tmien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 472 234 433 [232] The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased food but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 407 454 234 [427] Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and [435] the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 234

(i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

(ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

* **D. Capital.**

159 [472] (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426) (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

* **E. Labour.**

159 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farmworkers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

464 (ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

407 (iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

427 (iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

* **F. Production and Sales.**

159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Ingliżi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 D. Capital.

426 (i) No freehold property.

[423] (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[454] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools

[407] - rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.

- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.

[312] - no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 E. Labour.

464
- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 F. Production and Sales.

434 435
- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 G. Husbandry.

231 (i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)

- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.

[232] - Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 H. General.

234 829 The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect continued Government assistance. [426]

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 434 454 is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital
in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent.
Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and
would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting
his money into capital equipment for his fields. He has in
• [407] fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a
rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of
16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No
charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding,
in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

* 159 511 262 Expenses within the household are difficult to determine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from
the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes
vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva),
a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in
this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family
with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for
babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not
bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most
of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is
caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as
tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family
table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as
quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably
the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat
and ham,,coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for
special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc),
olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958)
-butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (ghaġin). Ġamri
observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually
insufficient for the family so additional quantities of
these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for
example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring
[354] the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole
means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as
throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the
family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not
considered essential even during the coldest part of the
winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

* 159 262 [369] The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural
Malta. In some details this differs from that found among
urban working classes in the Islands but these differences
are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman
tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm,
where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet
[785] on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An important factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions.
Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

*159 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously
829 and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.
181 Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community
178 in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

*159 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production.)
423 (Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

427 **A. Land.**

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

*159
241 **B. Utilisation.**

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9	tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9	"
Potatoes	6.2	"
Other vegetables	4.9	"
Fallow or unproductive or let 'bin-nofs'.	12.6	"
	62.5	tmien

*159
231 **C. Livestock.**

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

*159
423
454 **D. Capital.**

(i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.
(ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.
(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.

*159
407
427
(iv) - Equipment;
- Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
- Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding, Ġ

159 407 427 ● paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on G̊'s personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tomna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tomna.

- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tomna.

E. Labour.

*159 464

- G̊'s 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:
    - (a) Joint holding worked by partners and G̊'s nephew.
    - (b) Land held by G̊, deriving from wife's family, farmed by G̊ and eldest nephew.
    - (c) Land held by G̊'s brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 461

- A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man	hours
	Vines	489	"	"
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	"	"
	Potatoes	868	"	"
	Other vegetables	505	"	"
(ii) On G̊'s own holding	Vines	444	"	"
	Cereals & Fodders	222	"	"
	Vegetables	65	"	"
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	"	"
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	"	"
(d) Building of pig sties		100	"	"
(e) Miscellaneous		677	"	"
	Total	6816	"	"

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tomna.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 434 241

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From G̊'s land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
G̊'s share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434

- This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from £c.10.0 to £15 per tomna, fruit £28 per tomna,

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as over it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Ċensu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423
427
A. Land.

33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159
241
B. Utilisation.

Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159
231
234
C. Livestock.

Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159
[423]
[454]
●[407]
D. Capital.

- No freehold land. Owns large village house.
- No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159
464
[465]
[427]
[241]
[407]
E. Labour.

- Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
  Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
  Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
- Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

*159 rejection of his village background, and his attitude to
157 agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark
829 him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At
the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and
impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

*159 He comes of a village family in which his father and
paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired
423 a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the
167 family but neither Ġanni nor his brother, a few years his
177 junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family
241 butchering business held no more attraction for them and was
[441] relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work
some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the
brothers thought that neither butchering nor farming presented
scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's
seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as
practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and
other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian
pattern, with tractor-drawn, three-furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the
only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

*159 He returned home full of ideas of making money as a
177 contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers
241 and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities.
Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plow-
● 407 ing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his
methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions
have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead,
working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few young men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

*159 Ġanni's view of farming in Malta.

241 "Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical
because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and
829 because of the difficulties facing the mechanization of
field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the
present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack
of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the
lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither

181 read of successful experiments of one kind or another in a
241 foreign land – he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof
829 before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard
to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor
on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit
of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in
his experience.

Mechanization.

*159 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting
●407 business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They
422 have (1958):
427 (i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board
plow, the only one in the district,
472 (ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy
ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only
[465] slowly – Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

Ġanni and the village.

*159 Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his
156 literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience
and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with
his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with
the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

*159 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people
156 around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as
well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social
461 life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is
626 most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on
517 speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids
his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on
493 the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he
to plow on Sundays or fests days he would be "publically
ostracised and no villager would hire him and his plow".
His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at
high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than
farming".

*159 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical.
156 He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of
593 illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending to assume that his education and wider experience entitles him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments. Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data')
156 system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni.
[583] He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle without the older people of the village criticising him for not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs which his education and his knowledge of the world outside the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs, he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close
[178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the new methods and implements which he has brought to the village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father
472 works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their
407 joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention.
Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago
and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta.
000 They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

*159 They appear to have been among the first in the tractor 'business' and note that when they started there were only
472 some half dozen large tractors already in use in Malta.

●407 When the original tractor was imported along with a
477 trailing plow it was found very difficult to negotiate the tortuous Maltese country tracks. They have since shortened the fitment and adapted it for carriage high above the ground in transit. Unlike CASE XIV these brothers maintain that the 'crawling' type of tractor is better suited to Maltese conditions than is the wheeled as it can cope more easily with rough ground and with mud.

Although they have no competitors in the immediate vicinity, they complain that:

(i) The introduction of the small hand rotary cultivator in recent years has caused a set-back in their business. It is clearly a less unwieldy implement for many small or narrow fields than is the large tractor and one which is cheap enough for a farmer to purchase fairly easily. However the brothers have increased the variety of special fitments which they can operate with their tractors and have thus to some extent retained their business.

(ii) There are at present too many large tractors for the work available. The brothers would be pleased if several of them would go out of business.

CASE XVI

Two brothers have three wheeled tractors, a threshing machine and two rotary cultivators. Holding only some three acres of land themselves they depend primarily on their tractor-hire business which they began, with a single tractor, shortly before the 1939-45 War. At present business is declining for the reasons mentioned in CASE XV. One of the brothers insists that the Government should prohibit the import of any more tractors into the Island in an effort to reduce the competition. As for rotary cultivators they observe that these implements can be used almost all the year round and are better suited for general cultivation work than is the tractor-drawn deep plow.

CASE XVII

A plowman with two large tractors (both 'caterpillar' tracked and one converted into a bulldozer), this Case illustrates some further points. He acquired his first machine early in the 1939-45 War and has built up his business so successfully that he now farms only a single acre himself relying for his income on the profits of the short plowing season and on his contract work throughout the year with his bull-dozer. His area of operation stretches from St. Paul's Bay in the north of Malta to Bongħajsa in the extreme south, where he works for at least two full weeks per year. He
[427] also hires his threshing machine in widely scattered parts of the Island. This occupies him for some two months each summer.

His major complaints are (i) the high price of diesel oil, and (ii) the fact that tractor operators are forbidden by law to drive their machines on public highways. On the question of 'over-lap' between contractors he wants the Government to delimate areas of operation for each man, an impracticable suggestion which would, he imagines, remove the necessity for his having to seek work at great distances from his village. His attitude on this point contrasts with his desire to import a new threshing machine as soon as possible.

CASE XVIII

In this case, a farmer works his tractor-hire business in conjunction with a friend. He bought a Chalmers tractor shortly before 1939 and has recently acquired a second machine - an Olivier. The area which he and his partner work with their tractors and 14" plow has become more limited of late on account of the increased use of rotary cultivators, especially as these are often user-owned.

x 159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
472 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
407 contractors like him going out of business in the near future.
477

CASE XIX

This farmer (working 35 tmien, including seven irrigable)
was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He
[178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of
the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule
or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years.
Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for
the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture
despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

x
159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
407 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they them-
241 selves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor
434 he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his
income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-
plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the
[178] area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by
local vintners).

CASE XXI

x
159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
256 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
241 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
407 the sole such operator in his village and business grew. How-
ever in the present decade competition from new tractor oper-
472 ators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing
season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted
[477] him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted
all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are
still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

x
159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
441 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
472 these were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was intro-
407 duced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
[191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo,
especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary
cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led
to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing
tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island
some three or four are normally unused in the season. This
agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of
Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957
plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce
new implements. His father was the first to import motor
pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultiva-
tor in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of har-
vesting machines, but the very limited success of the first
ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any
more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for
mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a
lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be
collected for animal fodder.

● 407 (iv) MECHANIZED IMPLEMENTS owned by farmers, 1956-57

IMPLEMENTS	MALTA	GOZO	TOTAL
Tractors - under 10 horse-power.....	15	11	26
Tractors - over 10 horse-power.....	26	6	32
Hand Cultivators - under 10 h-p.....	592	74	666
Hand Cultivators - over 10 h-p.....	54	19	73
Harvesting machines - under 10 h-p..	16	1	17
Harvesting machines - over 10 h-p..	1	-	1
Threshing machines - under 10 h-p...	2	-	2
Threshing machines - over 10 h-p...	13	4	17

162 241 (v) FARMING POPULATION. 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers...........	6,512	1,301	7,813
Part-time farmers...........	6,634	2,954	9,588
Farming population not in farming (over 14).....	5,777	14,694	20,471
Children (under 14)..........	10,246	9,795	20,041
Total............	29,169	28,744	57,913

46 241 (vi) DAYS WORKED on farms (in Man/days). 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers...........	full	full	2,343,900
Part-time farmers...........	part	part	340,221
Hired labour...................	158,515	28,401	186,916
Unpaid farmers' relatives...	43,718	5,718	49,388

162 (vii) FARMERS as PERCENTAGE of Total Population. 1871-1957 (v.A)

	FULL-TIME FARMERS					as % TOTAL POPULATION				
	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957
Urban	342	415	307	325	224	.56	.40	.27	.22	.17
Fringe	3923	2259	2181	1618	1150	13.7	5.9	4.25	2.1	1.37
Inner R.	5026	4224	3597	2404	1795	18.6	13.1	8.7	5.15	3.6
Rural	4856	4791	4602	4273	3133	27	21	15.6	10.6	7.6
Outer R.	1763	2200	3002	2805	1511	30	30	31	23	13.9
TOTAL	15910	13889	13689	11425	7813	11.3	7.5	5.15	3.7	2.49

NB: - Sources - 1957 full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957)
- 1957 Population (B/168)
- other data (B/167)
- See also Map 2, and Graph

162 46 241 (viii) PART-TIME FARMING (B/525, p.112)

	1901		1956
"Farmers".............	5038	Full-time Farmholders..	4706
"Part-time farmers"..	500	Part-time " ..	5337
		Other Farmholders......	1368
TOTAL.................	5538	....	11411
No. of Holdings......	9178	....	12640

(ix) FARM LABOURING (B/525, p.11[illegible] Farmholders, labourers, field workers as % total.

	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders %...	27.2	19.7	17.1	30.2	19.1	37.4	38.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers %...	71.9	78.4	80.9	68.1	79.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	56.9	51.1
Total workers %...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
On land (000's)...	12.6	13.4	10.8	15.9	18.0	15.6	13.9	15.2	10.3	13.7

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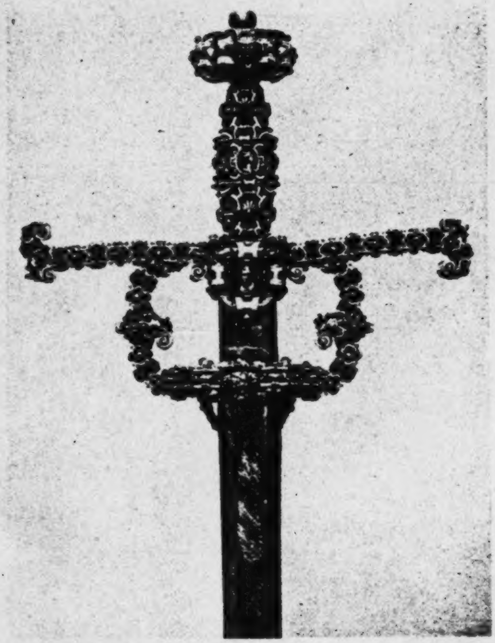

JEWELLED HILT OF SWORD GIVEN BY PHILIP II TO GRAND MASTER LA VALETTE

In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

[*See pp.* 51–52.]

CRYPT OF S. JOHN'S

The tomb of La Valette is in the niche on the left.

[*See pp.* 53–54.]

341
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531

[facing p. 65]

[pp. 65-67 Not processed]

234
654 *lal-Halib'*. These bodies have introduced some constant elements into an otherwise chaotic situation but this has also implied a certain rigidity. Sonce the costs of milk production are not accurately known and the costs to the National Economy are ignored one now has an artificial market with artificial prices which must be maintained to prevent economic disaster on the farms. (For such information on production and marketing as is available, the reader is further referred to Chapters X D and X E.)

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113
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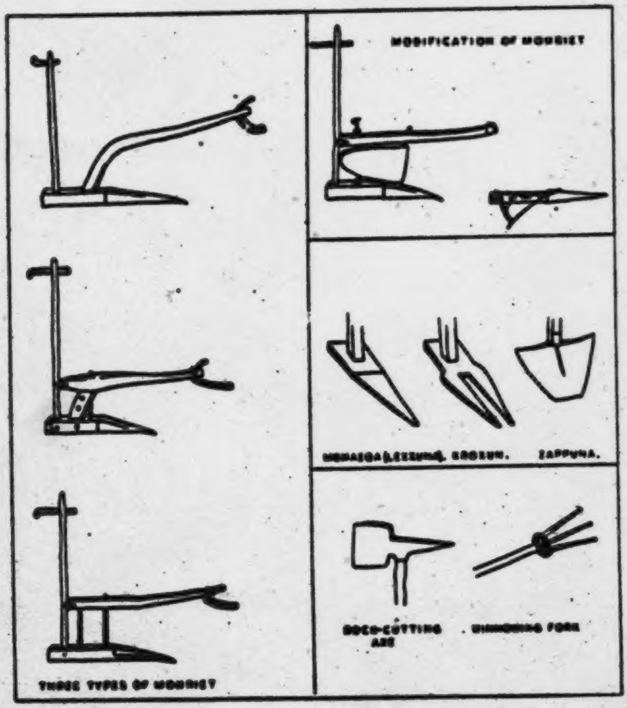

Fig. 140 Cultivation Equipment.

B. Cultivation Equipment and Tillage

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Of the implements observed in Malta, the traditional types of plough, hoe, sickle and harrow are of the same genera as those to be generally found in the Mediterranean region (Fig. 140).

407

Ploughs are of the *Aratrum* or *Ard* type, steel tipped wooden wedges, devoid of cutting edges and having very restricted powers of furrow making or inversion - *mohrict*. None of those observed had lateral 'ears' or 'wings' but apparently ards thus equipped are occasionally used. There are various sub-types with differing arrangements of beam, body and handle but no constant rational relationship between these sub-types and local environments could be observed. Prices range upwards of £4 10s. 0d. Iron or steel tips for the body cost about £1. One interesting modification of the plough is manufactured at Zurrieq. On top of the basic beam and body is fitted a movable double mouldboard of which either or both breasts can be brought into operation at any one time. Ridging and left and right furrow inversion are therefore made possible. For those areas where furrow inversion is practicable such a cheap, light multi-purpose implement would be very valuable, and the development of such improvements might well be encouraged by official approbation.

412

Hoes are manufactured in four main types. The heavy spade type, the *tappuna*, is generally used for soil trenching in preparation for manuring. The effort involved tends to restrict its use. The small, single tined, wedge-shaped hoe, the *Mghazqa* or *Lexxuna*, is a general purpose implement that is replaced under damp and cohesive soil conditions by a forked, two-tined variety, the *Kraxun*. A three-tined hoe is often used, together with the ard, for potato lifting. In general, each cultivator possesses a selection of different types of hoe, necessitated by the variety of manual operations he usually has to perform and made possible by the reasonable prices of the implements (prices range from about 16s. for the single-tine, to 18s. to £1 for the spade hoe).

407

The sickle in general use is a small, smooth-edged type costing about 12s. 6d. The small number of sickle types observed may result from the widespread practice of pulling rather than cutting green fodder. Traditional harrows are almost invariably of the Mediterranean and Asiatic type, harrows cum levellers and seed coverers. Those observed were triangular and stone weighted. When manufactured for the purpose they were usually constructed of ash and had removable tines. Without metal tines, the cost is about 50s.

[241]

These implements, of which illustrated examples are given (Fig. 140), have already to some extent been displaced by imported newer types. Most farmers who possess fields which are at all accessible to tractors now periodically hire contractors to plough the land with mouldboard or disc ploughs and even, in some areas, with deep digger-ploughs. Where plots are small or the terrain difficult, then rotary cultivators are hired or purchased. These latter machines, in spite of their relatively high cost - usually over £200 in Malta - are amazingly popular and are more and more replacing the *ard* and the hoe. The reasons for, and implications of this popularity are examined below.

[412]

The spade proper is hardly ever used, and its absence is associated with the reasons for the survival of the *ard* plough. Small, light, flexible, metal harrows are to be found. Entirely imported, their only advantages are their flexibility on rough ground and ease of draught. They are, on the other hand, more easily damaged and more difficult to repair than their wooden prototypes.

[406]
[243]
[392]
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Other equipment includes a great range of fixed and movable adjuncts to farming, all but one class of which are constructed rurally from local materials. The exceptional group is that connected with irrigation and includes windpumps and small diesel engines. Threshing and winnowing, traditional style, needs no more than a rock or *torba* (beaten earth) floor and asses or horses for trampling, baskets constructed of local cane, and simple wooden winnowing forks. Of recent years, centralised threshing by contractors' machines has almost entirely displaced the older method in all but the more remote western regions. Canes, grown in slightly marshy conditions in wied floors, provide the raw material for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc.

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

[423] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
[427] Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] - Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
[311] - Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. Livestock.

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] (i) No freehold land.
[454] (ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical
● [412] equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid
[407] at £62 p.a.

[426] - Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
[427] - Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464] - No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

[234] (i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
[43] - Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
[231] - Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] (ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100.
[434] Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
[244] - Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245] (i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

[P 91]

*159 443 484 521 shopping is done in the local village but Narbu -
makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti' Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 423 A. Land.

30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 241 311 B. Utilization.

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under żofāra (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 231 C. Livestock.

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. Capital.

- [423] Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's.
- Freehold village house.
- [454] According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
- ●[412] [407] Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc. No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 464 E. Labour.

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting. During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
- [427] Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 433 F. Production and Sales.

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

*159 241 G. Husbandry.

(1) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annu
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prov
the employment of the normal four-year rot

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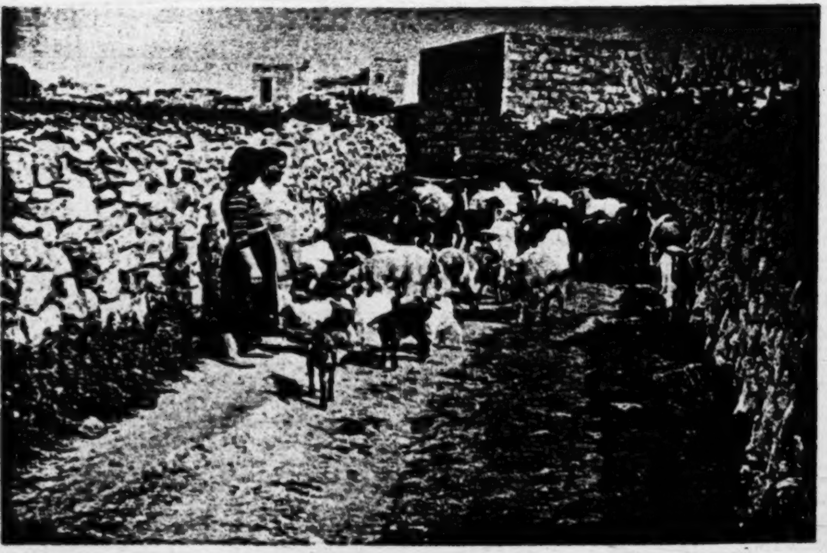

Plate XVII. Roadside grazing of goats.

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Plate XVIII. A farming family.

Gozo

It
may also be combined with a tricky piece of rock-climbing— 133
how tricky the writer can testify from personal experience—
by anyone prepared to scale the precipitous islet known as
the Fungus Rock, which closes the entrance to the lagoon
of Qala Dwejra.

This impressive and now almost inaccessible rock takes its 133
name from the strange and repellent-looking black plant 278
(*Fucus coccineus melitensis*) which grows on its summit and 655
in the days of the Order was regarded as a sovereign remedy [137]
against hæmorrhage and dysentery. The plant was a [757]
perquisite of the Grand Masters, and a guard was provided
in a tower on the mainland to keep away trespassers. Those 133
who came legitimately to take the fungus landed by means 417
of a basket suspended on ropes stretched between the rock 278
and the nearest point on the mainland; an old water-colour
in the Malta Museum depicts this means of transit, which
has long since disappeared. It was evidently of a somewhat
precarious nature, at all events to judge from the account of
a gentleman who effected the passage in 1815:[1]

> One object of curiosity on the south side of the island [*sc.* Gozo] is a rock, on which grows a kind of fungus, which is used as a styptic. The passage to this rock is rather curious, if not dangerous; two ropes are made fast on each shore, on which a box with grooves on its edges passes over. A Maltese first works his way across, then the person desirous to go over draws the box back and seats himself in it, when he is hauled over by the guide; in this manner as many as please can go, one at a time.
>
> It is not a very pleasant sensation to be suspended some hundred feet above the water, and if there is any wind, the movement of the box is anything but agreeable, and all that can be obtained are a few pieces of fungus. I was well pleased to be back again, and made a determination never to risk my precious carcase in that conveyance again. It seems very strange to be swinging up in the air between two rocks, with sea-gulls and other aquatics flying about below you.

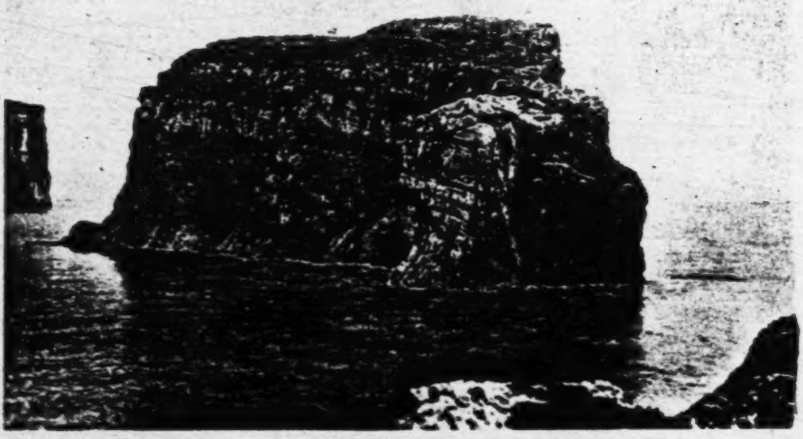
---

[1] From *Malta Sixty Years Ago*, by Claudius Shaw (London, 1875).

P

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

133



FUNGUS ROCK, GOZO

•417

THE SAME, SHOWING ANCIENT ROPEWAY
From an old water-colour in the Malta Museum.
[*See p.* 225.]

[facing p. 225]

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 231 234 **C. Livestock.**

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 ● 42 **D. Capital.**

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 434 234 [435] **F. Production and Sales.**

(v. Table 5)

(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p. .
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 232 234 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.
(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.
(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

- 50 goats
231 - 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.
234 - Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159 **D. Capital.**

42 - The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).
454 - Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.
[409] - No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tomna when necessary.

E. Labour.

*159 - No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of
464 the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.
- Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

*159 **F. Production and Sales.**

43 - Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qantar respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.

These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

G. Husbandry.

*159 - Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of
231 fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention to holding.
234 - Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

H. General.

*159 - When asked whether he considered himself to be herds-
433 man or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general dealer" in crops and animals.
- In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

owns no land or other property in common and its inhabitants 621
are rarely called upon or choose to work for a common end. At [186]
the same time, villagers are conscious of belonging to a distinct
social entity which is distinguished from other villages by a
collective nickname and a common sub-culture.

Many villages have a dialect quite distinct from that of their 184
neighbours, which the inhabitants, even those who have learned 197
to speak 'correctly' (*bil-pulit*), normally use to each other; 621
although they will invariably address strangers in their school
Maltese. There are also a number of minor variations of certain
customs between villages or districts. These may include the way
church bells are rung to announce a death or the way some aspects
of the festas are organized. Finally, each village has its own very
private body of gossip, stories, scandals and jokes, which makes
up a part of its history and tradition that is not shared with
outsiders.

As a congregation and a religious corporation, the village *qua* 421
parish owns land and other property, including the parish church. 423
It also has an appointed leader in the parish priest. The inhabitants 621
of the village meet regularly for worship, to take part in religious 794
processions and to carry out other devotional activities. Further- 796
more, they act together to celebrate the annual festa of the patron
saint, who symbolizes the unity of the secular and religious aspects
of the village, for he is patron of both village and parish.

A village can also be regarded as a moral community. That is, 621
people who live there must conform to a certain code of conduct. 626
While the community cannot enforce this code with the type of
formal sanctions the police and the Church use to punish infrac-
tions of secular and religious laws, public opinion can, and does,
exert great pressure for conformity. A person who flouts the
canons of convention becomes the object of malicious gossip and,
depending on the nature of the offence, he may also become the
target of overt hostile action and have his house front splashed
with paint, or his front door burned. The only way to escape
from the sanctions of public opinion is to move to one of the urban
areas or the expanding new suburbs, where licence can be
relatively anonymous.

Members of a village thus share a common body of custom and 186
tradition; they also display an intense loyalty to their place of 621
birth. This sense of loyalty is strongest during the annual festa of 796

body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no patho-
logy they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 532
'legs were offered for paralysis, congenital anomalies and chronic ulcers in the lower 755
limbs; 'arms' and 'hands' for fractures and threatened loss of fingers by injury or gan-
grene; 'ears' for deafness and otitis; and 'eyes' for a variety of ocular diseases. Some-
times, however, the association of illness and anatomical part is not so specific; thus
'trunks' were offered for such varied conditions as throat affections, hernias, and mental
disorder; 'faces' for enlarged glands in the neck; and pairs of female 'breasts' for defi-
ciency of milk in a lactating mother as well as disease of these organs.

They were made of wax or of raised work in gold and silver foil. Those met with at 782
present are the silver ones, the others having disappeared from the churches though
they were still being offered at the end of the last century if not later. There are records 532
of wax effigies of arms, legs, eyes, and babies and also of gold ones having been deposited [325]
at that period at Ta Pinu Church at Gharb in Gozo. A pair of gold legs cost £17
(*Id-devot ta Maria* 1890; Kerr 1893). Wax figures also existed until some thirty years ago
in the small church of Tal Mirakli at Lija (Tanti 1962). These objects were manufac- [439]
tured in Malta but some of them were imported from Sicily and North Africa. The gold
and silver foil was hammered into the desired shape over dies of bronze by a silversmith [325]
(Plate 1, Fig. 3). They vary in size from 6 by 2½ inches to 1 by 3½ inches. Some of them
bear hall-marks which help to date them and identify the source of manufacture. The
earliest met so far by the writer is a stylized silver model (in the writer's collection) of a pair [422] ●
of female breasts impressed with the hall-marks of the Grand Master of the Order of St.
John of Jerusalem, Em. de Rohan who ruled over the Maltese Islands from 1775 to 1797.

The deposition of anatomical 'ex-votos' in Maltese churches ceased in 1935. The
ecclesiastical council held in that year in Malta under the presidency of Cardinal H. 782
Lepicier disallowed the exhibition of 'votive offerings showing parts of the human body 532
except those in the shape of a heart', (*Concilium*, 1935, p. 60), so that the present-day 795
visitor will hardly see anything else except 'hearts' hanging by the statues of the saints to
whom they were offered by grateful devotees. The more 'profane' models have been
melted and converted into sacred utensils for the church service.

Very occasionally instead of an anatomical representation, we come across a silver 211
tablet commemorating deliverance from illness. Here is a specimen inscribed in Latin: 164

P. Trapani cum suis / A. MDCCCLXXXVII / Ab Asiana Luc /
Incolumos (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1888).

that is P. Trapani and his family spared from the Asiatic Disease of the year 1887.

(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the [731]
last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of [165]
over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and 782
by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These 755
actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from
the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in
which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

241 474 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly common, while a recent development has been the tractor co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

178 407 The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta in the 1930s (Case XV, XXII) but "at that time there was a general feeling against the use of such machines on the land and it was about five years before their value was acknowledged and suspicions overcome"[12]. [427] One of the earliest tractor-hire businesses (Case XV) began in 1935 and for a decade there were comparatively few competitors. [422] Since the 1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning agricultural tractos and mechanized implements[24] has increased to about thirty in Malta[25] and some twelve in Gozo (1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[26], made in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still increasing but the work available for them is decreasing. This is clear from a consideration of the points raised in Cases XV to XII (Section 6, Part 2).

The main points emerging were

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended (Case XVI), while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement (Case XXII).

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

(ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can [654] be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially since low-interest loans are now available from the Government.

(c) The limited area of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between asignments (Case - XVII).

*

159 The trend is clear from an analysis of the utilisation of
311 his land holding:-

	1956			1957			1958		
	T	S	K[49]	T	S	K	T	S	K
House and adjacent roadway		2	0		2	0		2	0
Vines		3	0		3	0		3	0
Prickly Pear		3	0		3	0		3	0
Potatoes	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Vegetables, other than potato(a)	6	4	0	4	3	0		4	0
Fodder(b)	8	2	3	10	3	3	14	2	3
Rough grazing - and shooting			0	12	0	0	24	0	0
Unused		1	0		1	0		1	0
	18	3	3	30	3	3	42	3	3

(a) mainly tomatoes and melons (bittich and dulich)
(b) silla, wheat (qamh), barley (xghir), mixed wheat and barley (mahlut), beans.

*159 **Livestock** Pawlu's farm holding of slightly less than twelve
●422 acres is large by Gozitan standards. So also is the herd
231 which it supports. Late in 1957 he had some 40 goats and 8 kids, two cows, a sheep, one horse, and about 100 poultry. "Goats are easier to handle than are cows" (Pawlu). For him, as for most herdsmen in the Islands, the dairy cow is still something of a novelty, and an expensive one, requiring considerable capital outlay for both the animal and its accommodation. The single sheep is quite typical, being kept mainly for the popular 'rikotta' cheese made from its milk. The large poultry element is also becoming a common feature in Gozo, though disease takes a very high toll. Pawlu's one horse provides the motive power for the cart which for him as for the rest of Gozo is still the prime mover of goods and produce.

*159 Pawlu's income derives mainly from the sale of milk to
234 the M.M.U. This was also the case before 1958 when Gozo
434 finally became a 'closed' area in which unpasteurized milk could not, legally, be sold. Thus the herdsman's cry of "Halib, halib" ('Milk, milk') as he took his goats from door to door and milked them to order on the customer's threshold is heard no more. The churned milk from the farms is collected and taken to the factory at Xewkija - before 1958 it had had to make the long journey to the Hamrun centre. Apart from the unpasteurised fresh milk used by the family, Pawlu sells, and sold, the milk his goats produce to the M.M.U. He pays no labour, hired or family, and does not consider his own time as a cost factor. Some idea of his income is therefore obtainable from an account of his receipts from the M.M.U. against the costs of the fodder.

423 The amount of fodder bought in to supplement home
234 production varies. In the case of sulla (silla), particu-
*159 larly, Pawlu is forced to buy in a large quantity when his own crop is poor. His purchases of wheat (qamh) and

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely
residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] Case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his
sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this
type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no
importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the
fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election
times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and
his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance.
He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily
- because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging
the younger farming generation from staying on the land and
struggling against rising costs to sell products which are
but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] - Soils: l-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.

[241]
- Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.

454
422
423
- No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
- Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.

464
[465]
- Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

181 read of successful experiments of one kind or another in a
241 foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof
829 before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

*159 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting
407 business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They
●422 have (1958):

427 (i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board plow, the only one in the district,

472 (ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only
[165] slowly - Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

*159 Ġanni and the village.

156 Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

1: Bowen-Jones, et al. EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 423

[For additional data on types and examples of land tenure, see category 116, pp. 289-316.]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

D. SEABORNE AND AIRBORNE TRAFFIC 1958[3].

505
509

	Total - Calling - British				Passengers (No.)			Freight (Tons)	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	In	Out	Transit	In	Out
Steam Vessels	1,792	2,006,003	458	1,346,925)	9,852	10,745	25,175	886,626	54,937
Sailing Vessels	267	22,836	15	123)					
Aircraft	3,283	91,681	3,116	87,897	30,232	31,301	28,948	586	238

E. AGRICULTURE[4]

241
433

		Acreage	Yield-tons
(i)	Total Area cultivated	44,235	
(ii)	Wheat	5,000	3,000
	Barley and Mixta	4,083	2,158
	Forages (inc. sulla, vetches & Ferrana)	11,824	3,855
	Broad Beans	1,250	500
(iii)	Potatoes - Spring crop	4,763* (1957-6,000)	15,420
	- Winter crop	3,228	7,360
	Melons	1,837	1,939
	Onions	1,263	3,389
	Tomatoes	1,912	8,588
	Other vegetables	5,000	16,198
(iv)	Grapes	5,000	6,000**
	Citrus	160	500**
	Other fruit	1,000	6,000**
(v)	Cotton	3 (1956-187)	1
	Cumin Seed	8 (1952-518)	2

* Note. Abnormally low.
** Note. Acreage and yield of treecrops in particular should be treated as indicating only orders of magnitude.

231

(vi)	Livestock (Enumeration)	
	Horses, Donkeys and Mules	6,575
	Goats	36,944 (1950-50,159)
	Sheep	15,011 (1950-20,148)
	Imported Store bulls	3,081
	Milk cows	4,178 (1950- 2,861)
	Other cattle	2,466
	Swine	16,363
(vii)	Number of holdings	12,192
	Number of mechanized implements - 2 wheeled	700
	- 3 & 4 wheeled	54
	- tracked	25
	- milking machines	7
	- threshers	23

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407

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961 EZ6
EZ6 Malta

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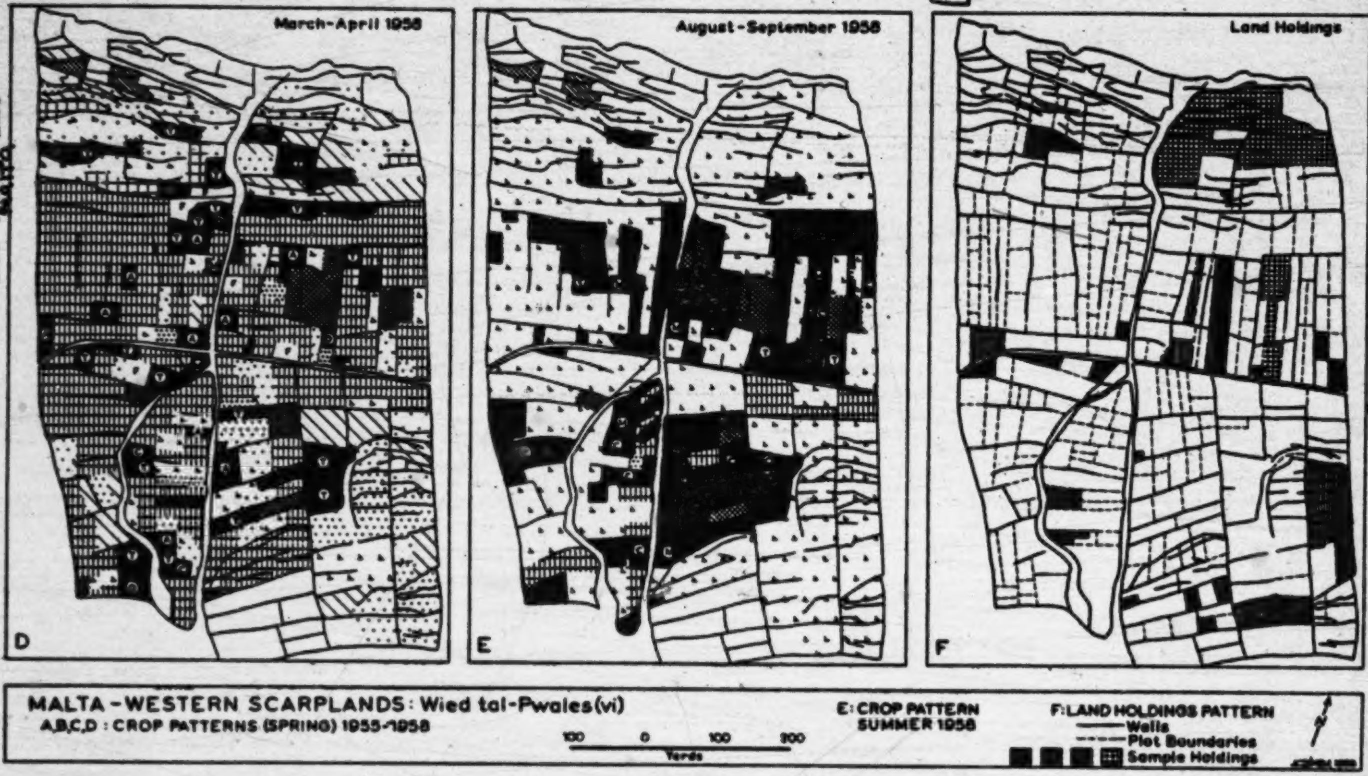
311*
102

[913]


March-April 1958
August-September 1958
Land Holdings
D
E
F
MALTA - WESTERN SCARPLANDS: Wied tal-Pwales(vi)
A,B,C,D : CROP PATTERNS (SPRING) 1955-1958
100 0 100 200
Yards
E: CROP PATTERN SUMMER 1958
F: LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Walls
Plot Boundaries
Sample Holdings
N

[p.242-B]

Fig. 104 Malta: Wied tal-Pwales.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

252
*241
*311
102
●423
[312]
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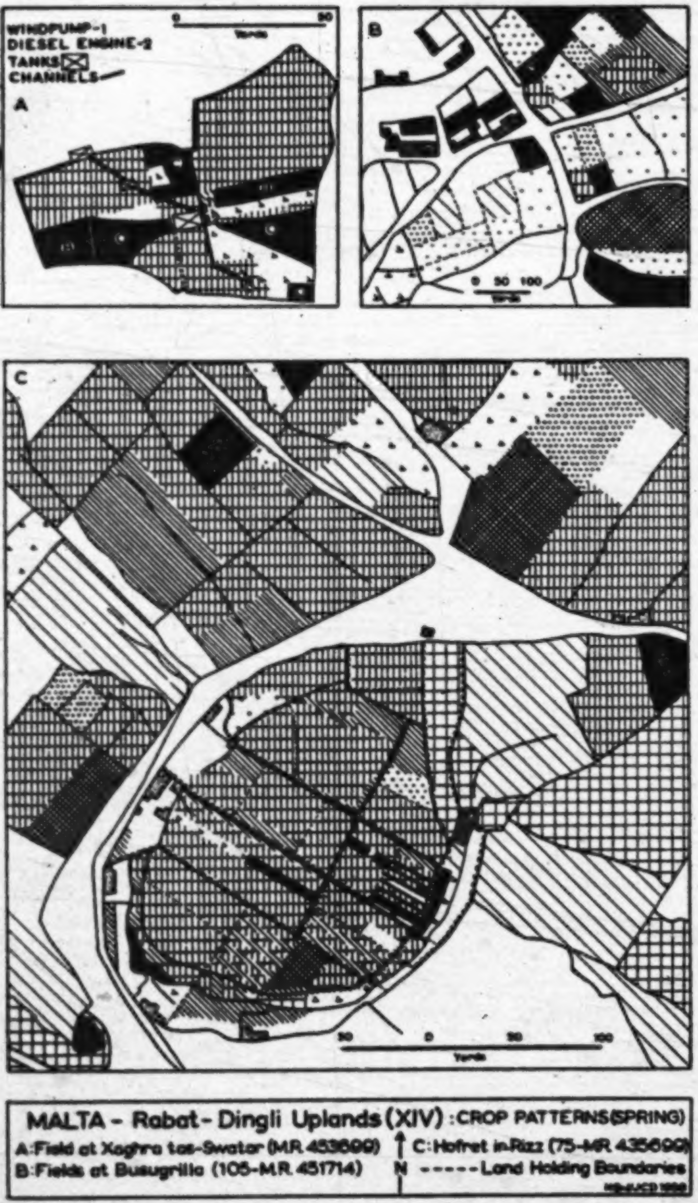

WINDPUMP-1
DIESEL ENGINE-2
TANKS ☒
CHANNELS
A
0 50
Yards
B
0 50 100
Yards
C
50 0 50 100
Yards
MALTA - Rabat - Dingli Uplands (XIV) : CROP PATTERNS (SPRING)
A: Field at Xaghra tas-Swatar (M.R. 453699)
B: Fields at Busugrilla (105-M.R. 451714)
N
C: Hofret in-Rizz (75-M.R. 435699)
----- Land Holding Boundaries

Fig. 111 Malta: Rabat-Dingli Uplands.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

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*241
*311
102
● 423

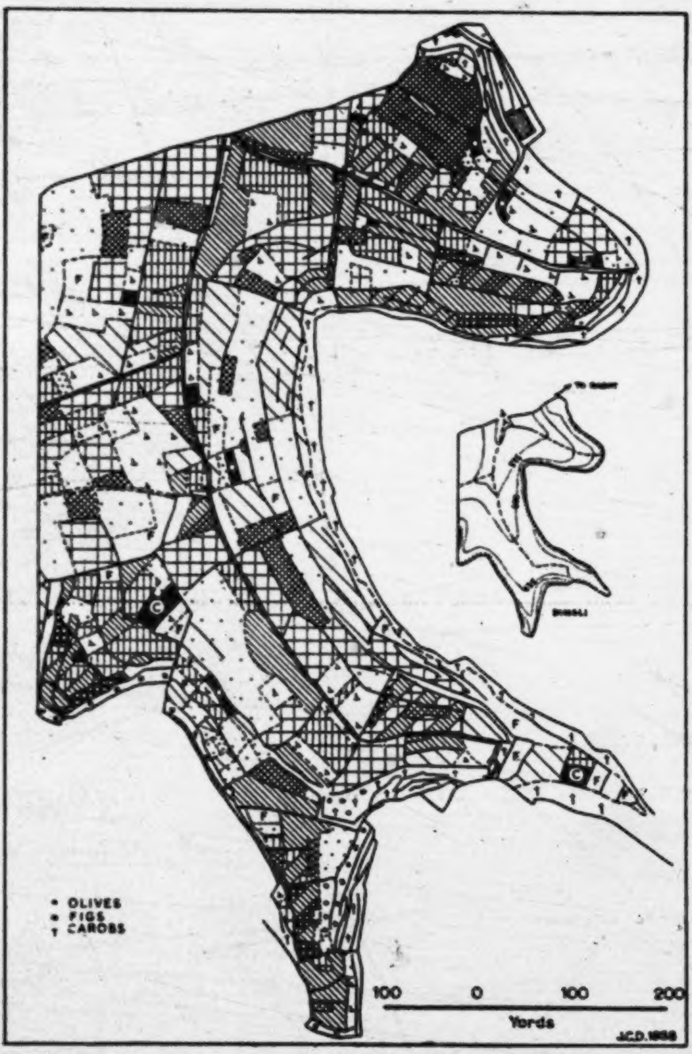
• OLIVES
• FIGS
† CAROBS
100
0
100
200
Yards
J.C.D.1958
MALTA - BLUE CLAY BASIN (XV) Wied I- Iemu (77)
CROP PATTERNS (SPRING) —— Walls ---- Plot Boundaries

Fig. 113 Malta: Blue Clay Basin: id-Dahla.

*241
*311
102

[423]
←

[134]
[133]
→

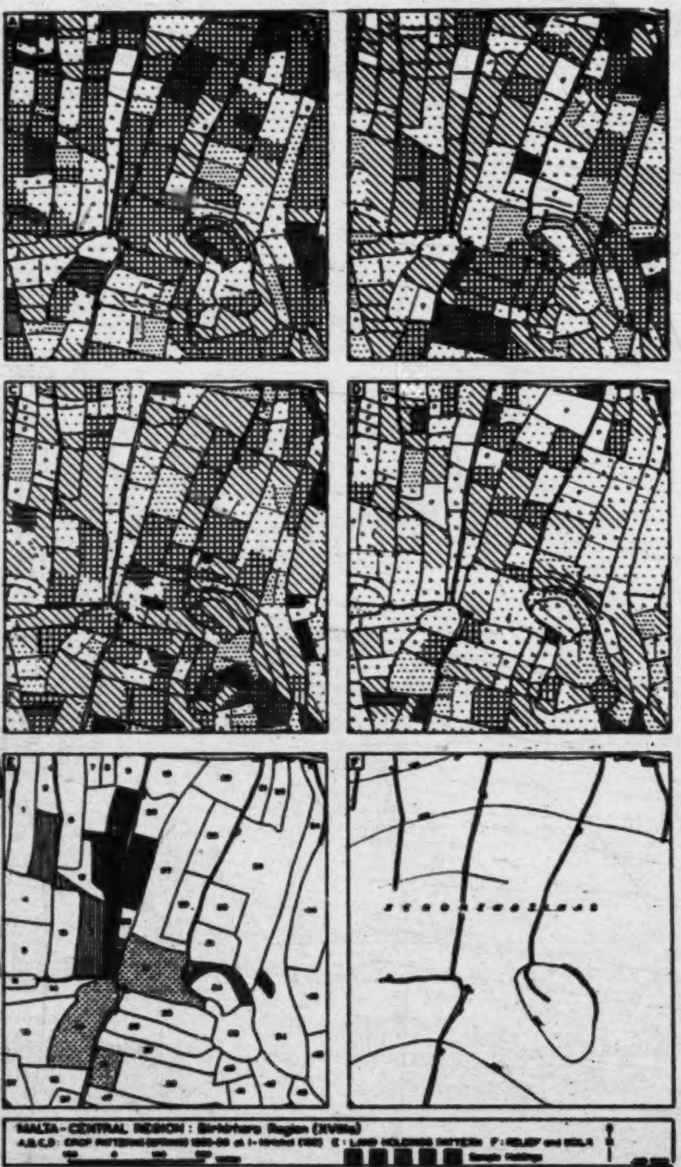
A
B
C
D
E
F
MALTA - CENTRAL REGION : Birkirkara Region (XVIIIa)
A,B,C,D : CROP PATTERNS
E : LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
F : RELIEF and SOILS
Sample Holdings

Fig. 116 Malta: Central Region: Birkirkara Region.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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*311
102
[133]
[134]
[423]

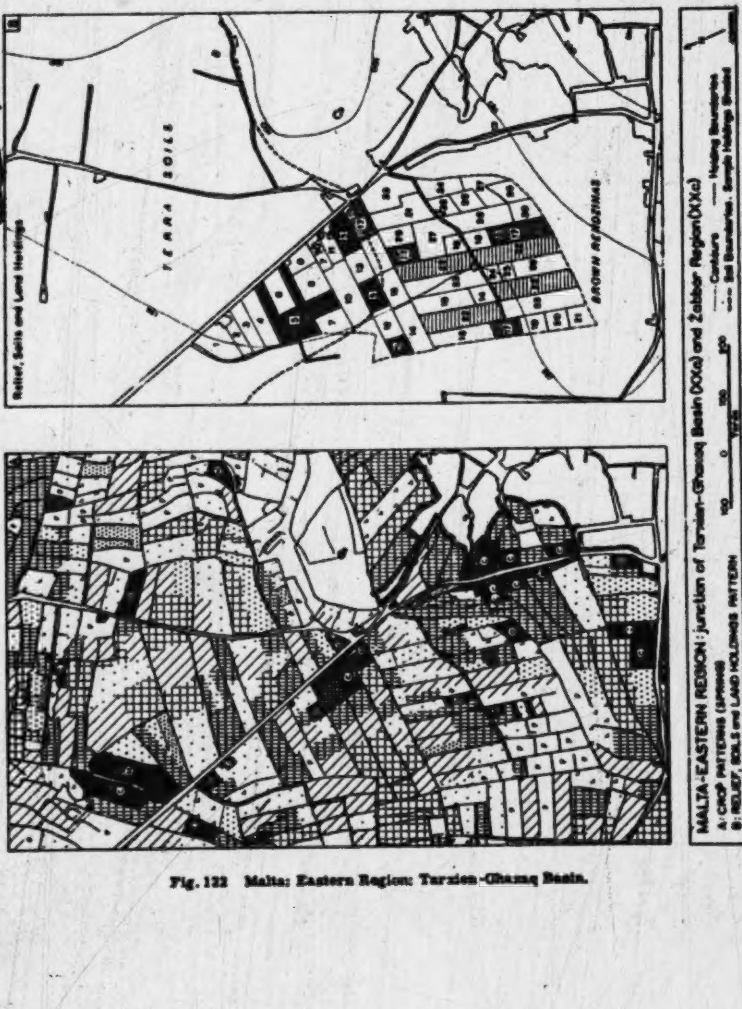
Relief, Soils and Land Holdings
TERRA SOILS
BROWN RENDZINAS
MALTA-EASTERN REGION: junction of Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin (XXa) and Żabbar Region (XXc)
A: CROP PATTERNS (SPRING)
B: RELIEF, SOILS and LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
100 0 100 200
Yards
Contours
Holding Boundaries
Soil Boundaries. Sample Holdings Shaded

Fig. 122 Malta: Eastern Region: Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Malta

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*311
102

● [423]
←

[133]
[134]
→

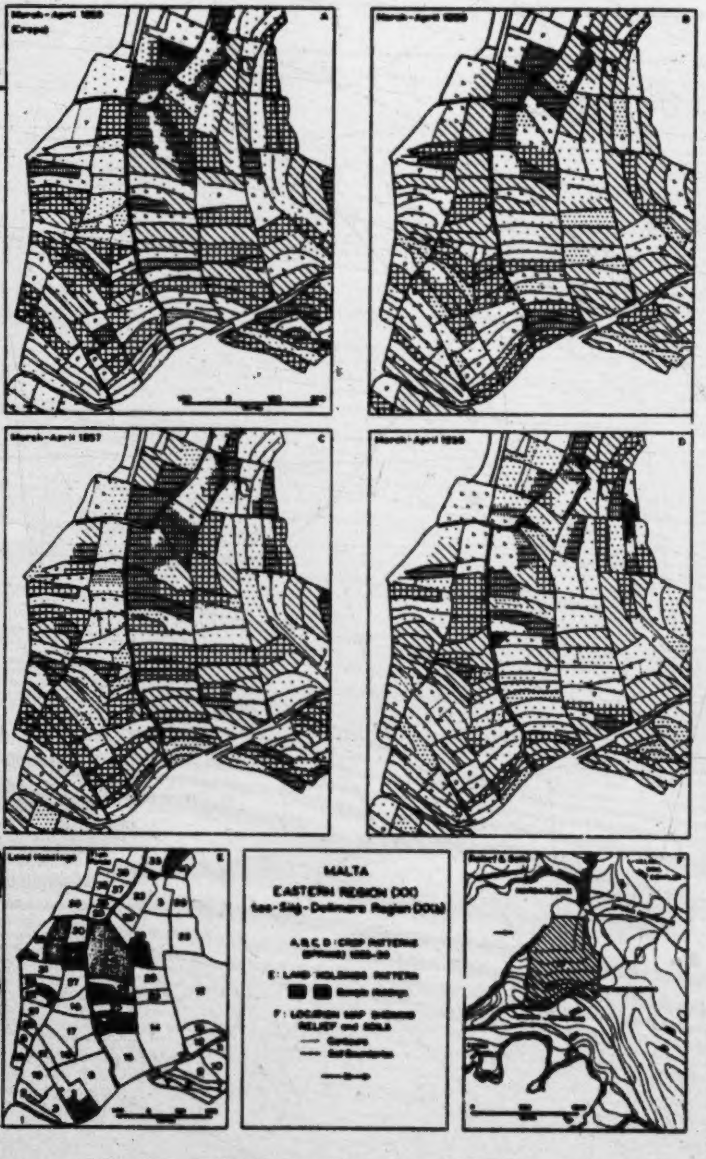
March-April 1955
(Crops)
A
March-April 1956
B
March-April 1957
C
March-April 1958
D
Land Holdings
E
Relief & Soils
F
MALTA
EASTERN REGION (XX)
tas-Silġ-Delimara Region (XXa)
A, B, C, D : CROP PATTERNS
(SPRING) 1955-58
E : LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Sample Holdings
F : LOCATION MAP SHOWING
RELIEF and SOILS
Contours
Soil Boundaries

Fig. 124 Malta: Eastern Region: tas-Silġ Delimara.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

*241
*311
102
[133]
[134]
[423]

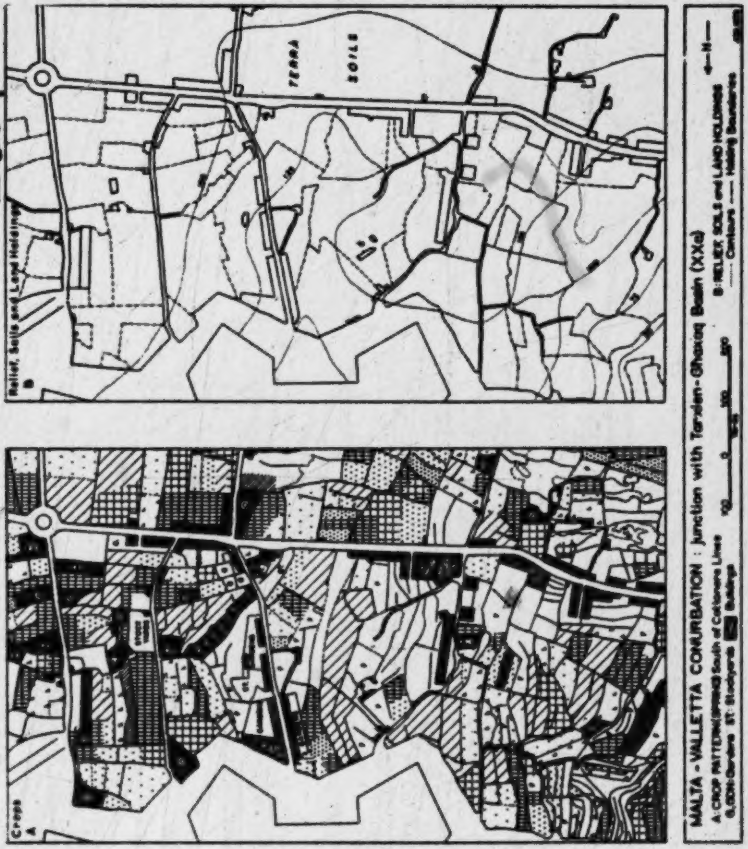
Relief, Soils and Land Holdings
B
TERRA
SOILS
Crops
A
STOCK YARDS
MALTA - VALLETTA CONURBATION : junction with Tarxien-Ghaxaq Basin (XXa)
A: CROP PATTERN(SPRING) South of Cottonera Lines
G,GDN: Gardens ST: Stockyards ▬ Buildings
100 0 100 200
B: RELIEF, SOILS and LAND HOLDINGS
...... Contours —— Holding Boundaries
← N —

Fig. 125 Malta: Valletta Conurbation.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

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*311
102
[133]
[134]
←
[423]
● →
[133]
[134]
←

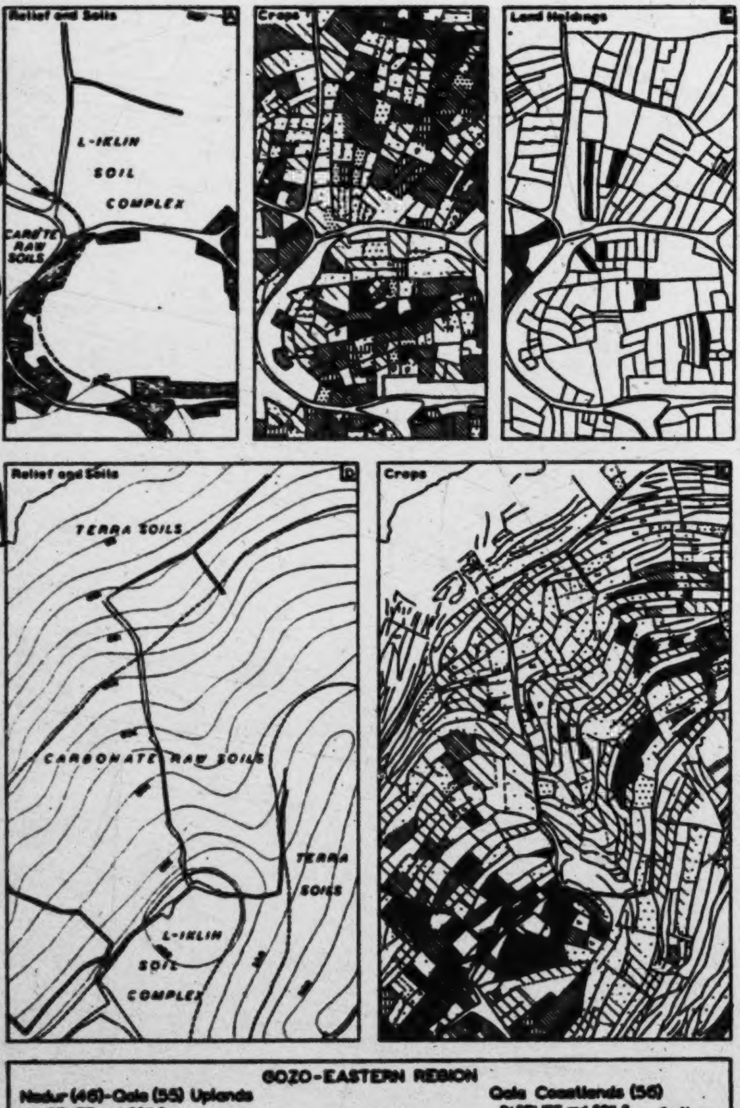
Relief and Soils
A
L-IKLIN
SOIL
COMPLEX
CARBONATE
RAW
SOILS
Crops
B
Land Holdings
C
Relief and Soils
D
TERRA SOILS
CARBONATE RAW SOILS
TERRA
SOILS
L-IKLIN
SOIL
COMPLEX
Crops
E
GOZO-EASTERN REGION
Nadur (46)-Qala (55) Uplands
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
C: LAND HOLDINGS PATTERN
Qala Coastlands (56)
D: RELIEF and SOILS
E: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100
0
100
200

Fig. 129   Gozo: Eastern Region.

[133]
[134]

*291
*311
102
[123]

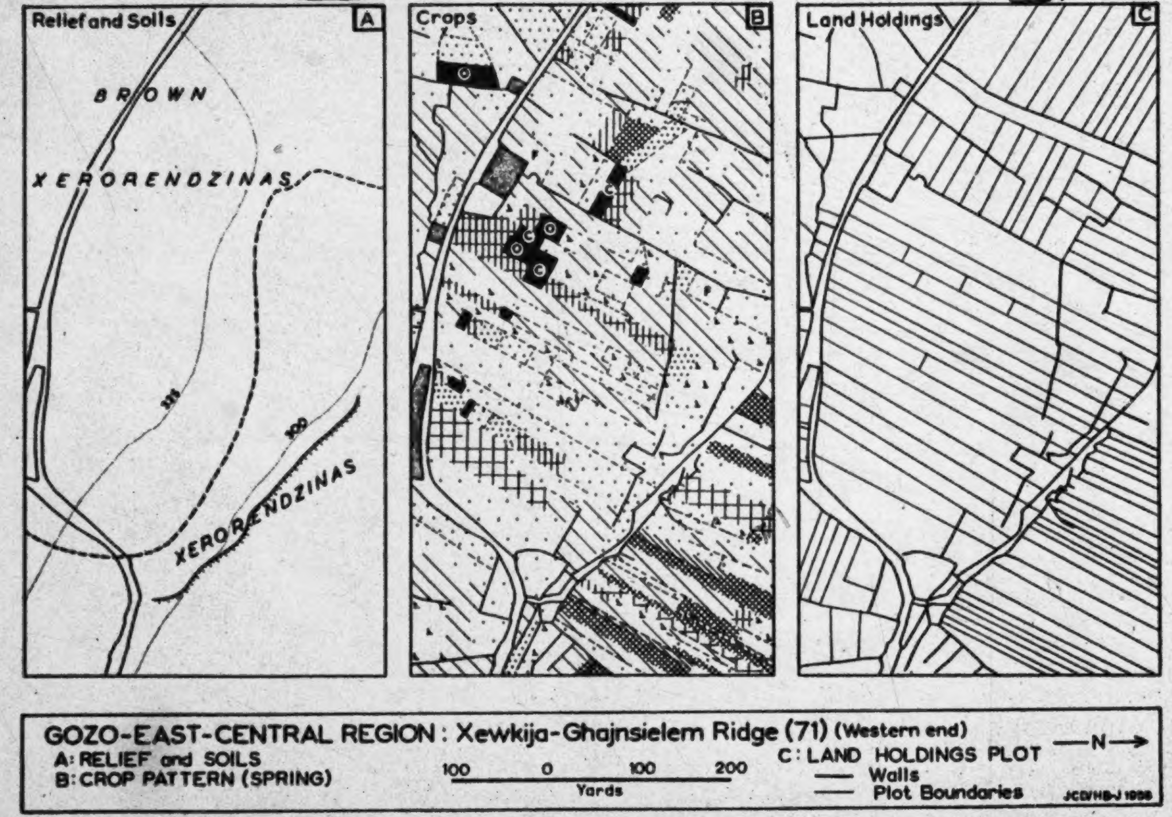
Relief and Soils
A
BROWN
XERORENDZINAS
133
100
XERORENDZINAS
Crops
B
Land Holdings
C
GOZO-EAST-CENTRAL REGION : Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge (71) (Western end)
A: RELIEF and SOILS
B: CROP PATTERN (SPRING)
100 0 100 200
Yards
C: LAND HOLDINGS PLOT
Walls
Plot Boundaries
—N→
JCD/HB-J 1958

Fig. 132 Gozo: East-Central Region: Xewkija-Ghajnsielem Ridge.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

794 distinctive habit of the confraternity in processions, in which the [292] *fratelli* play an important part. Entrance to a confraternity is by means of a short religious ceremony and the payment of a small fee. This entitles the newly professed member to share in the indulgences, privileges and spiritual favours which have accrued to the society.

Every confraternity is established independently in each parish, and has nothing to do with confraternities of the same name in other villages. Before the band clubs were established, confraternities were the only formally constituted associations in rural [554] parishes. Their officers enjoyed considerable prestige, and had a voice in village affairs. But today the members seldom meet as a [178] group and most confraternities have no premises of their own, though they generally have an altar in the parish church. Aside from the dozen or two who take part in all the parish processions, members take no part in any activity. A few confraternities ● [423] which own property are a notable exception. Their officers meet occasionally to discuss the business affairs of the confraternity, and the societies still play an active role in local affairs.

There are also a number of third orders. These societies are lay counterparts of certain religious orders. They are organized in much the same way as the confraternities. Members attend occasional spiritual exercises and have the right to take part in processions and to be buried in the habit of the order. Altogether there are 16 different confraternities and third orders. Among the most common are the confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, which is established in all parishes, the Holy Rosary, Our Lady of Consolation (*Ta' Ċintura*), St. Joseph and the Third Orders of the Franciscans and the Carmelites.

554 All groups and individuals that are tied to the Church are ranked. Each parish, religious order and parish society has its fixed 79 position in the overall order. The same applies to the clerics who constitute its personnel. Position in the hierarchy is determined by seniority of foundation in the case of parishes and associations – or date of ordination or appointment to present office, in the case of the clergy – in combination with certain marks of honour conferred by the Church authorities. Such honours carry with them a claim to higher precedence than seniority by itself would give. For example, any parish in which there is a Collegiate Chapter, or whose church has the title of Basilica, ranks higher than one

owns no land or other property in common and its inhabitants 621
are rarely called upon or choose to work for a common end. At [186]
the same time, villagers are conscious of belonging to a distinct
social entity which is distinguished from other villages by a
collective nickname and a common sub-culture.

Many villages have a dialect quite distinct from that of their 184
neighbours, which the inhabitants, even those who have learned 197
to speak 'correctly' (*bil-pulit*), normally use to each other; 621
although they will invariably address strangers in their school
Maltese. There are also a number of minor variations of certain customs between villages or districts. These may include the way church bells are rung to announce a death or the way some aspects of the festas are organized. Finally, each village has its own very private body of gossip, stories, scandals and jokes, which makes up a part of its history and tradition that is not shared with outsiders.

As a congregation and a religious corporation, the village *qua* 421
parish owns land and other property, including the parish church. 423 ●
It also has an appointed leader in the parish priest. The inhabitants 621
of the village meet regularly for worship, to take part in religious 794
processions and to carry out other devotional activities. Further- 796
more, they act together to celebrate the annual festa of the patron
saint, who symbolizes the unity of the secular and religious aspects of the village, for he is patron of both village and parish.

A village can also be regarded as a moral community. That is, 621
people who live there must conform to a certain code of conduct. 626
While the community cannot enforce this code with the type of formal sanctions the police and the Church use to punish infractions of secular and religious laws, public opinion can, and does, exert great pressure for conformity. A person who flouts the canons of convention becomes the object of malicious gossip and, depending on the nature of the offence, he may also become the target of overt hostile action and have his house front splashed with paint, or his front door burned. The only way to escape from the sanctions of public opinion is to move to one of the urban areas or the expanding new suburbs, where licence can be relatively anonymous.

Members of a village thus share a common body of custom and 186
tradition; they also display an intense loyalty to their place of 621
birth. This sense of loyalty is strongest during the annual festa of 796

625 a very different role from that of their Spanish counterparts, the Civil Guard, whom Kenny describes as 'the traditional enemy of the peasants'.[1]

III

795 The very considerable authority of the Church in Malta is derived not from law, but from the loyalty of a people who fervently practise their religion. Until recently, there had never been a separation in their minds between Church and State, between the religious and secular elements in their daily lives. The Church, as we have already observed, has occupied this position for many centuries. Its power is bolstered by its considerable wealth, for in [423] Malta the rich property and lands of the Church have not been expropriated by the State, as they have in so many other Catholic countries.[2]

As the official representative of the Church, the parish priest 793 occupies a position of great importance in his community. He has authority in all religious matters affecting his parishioners. He ministers to their spiritual and often to their personal needs. He alone can arrange for the important ceremonies which mark the [795] stages in their lives. These *rites de passage* include baptism, confirmation, marriage, death and burial. He also controls the many [796] ritual activities of the village as a whole. These are the daily services of worship and the ceremonies, processions and feasts by which all Maltese, but above all the countrymen, regulate their days and mark the divisions of the year. Through his preaching and admonition he defines, interprets and enforces the moral code of the Church. He is also the official custodian of the richly decorated parish church.

Besides this dependence on the parish priest in the religious matters which are of such vital importance in the lives of a devoutly Catholic people, the country people have traditionally [212] looked to him for assistance in many secular fields. Until only a few decades ago, he was often one of the few literate persons in his parish. As such he was frequently asked to read and write letters.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 48.

[2] Mitchell estimates that the Church owns 22 per cent of the agricultural land in Malta and 12 per cent in Gozo. See Peter K. Mitchell, *The Maltese Farm*, vol. II of *Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta* (mimeographed; Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, 1959), p. 130.

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
795 of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI, v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
[591] but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
197 even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutturals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential
independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

361 Mellieha (1841), Mġarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
175 Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kerċem (1885),
103 San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911),
Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

In the period reviewed the major development has been
17 the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the
361 Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth
369 and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2. The Farmer and Farming

128

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525)
241 have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is
423 the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either
[114] individually or as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer.
311 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact
423 that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north

311 423 and west of Malta and the hard rock areas of Gozo many farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivators' point of view is useless". As to size "the range is enormous" but "it is clear that a reduction in the average size of the farms has taken place at all levels". Today "the great majority of holdings (83.5%) are seen to consist of dry land only. A very small proportion, less than half of one per cent, contain irrigated land only. The balance of 16% of all holdings are 'mixed'. The majority of the mixed holdings contain less than 5 tmien of irrigated and less than 20 tmien of dry land".

423 178 The past hundred years have shown "a general upward trend in the number of land-holders balancing a downward trend in the number of farm workers", while a "factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming".

This picture is made even more complex by the prevailing systems of land tenure and their wide ramifications. This sector has been investigated by Mitchell (B/525). He considers the various types of ownership (Government, Church, private ownership and owner occupation) and the systems of tenure (long and short lease and share cropping, etc.), and traces the land-holding history of one family back through four generations, in order to reveal the way in which the farm-holdings of the members of the various branches of the family have been assembled as the individual farmers have lived and built up their holdings and then dispersed upon death or retirement (in B/337). "Both the methods of acquiring new land and subdividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots".

311 423 Thus the Maltese farm is characterized by variety of size, tenure, composition and soil types. Moreover, one must distinguish holdings which are primarily livestock supporting, from those essentially arable in emphasis and also from the heterogeneous class which might be called [128] 'mixed farms'. The present discussion attempts to consider the Maltese farmer as an individual within the agricultural and rural scene and aims to demonstrate the contrasts between the illiterate and the educated, the old-fashioned and the modern, the prosperous and the poor.

THE PROBLEM.

128 This Section considers the dilemma of the Maltese farm today from the point of view of its technical management. The problem soon emerges essentially as the struggle by an uneconomic unit - the Maltese farm - for existence in the already unbalanced Total Maltese economy.

000 already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

241 423 The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the points of definition just made. This is the complex of features which have produced the present landscape of tiny field-plots covering the cultivable parts of the Islands with a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception. [433] Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over 55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than 9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or fodder (Case V).

241 311 464 The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions. Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of rock in days when manual labour was readily available and cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled, tilled and irrigated. But while mechanization, particularly [409] in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even this kind of development on account of their small size, tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the soil which it held in place collapses over the terraces below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

423 241 454 The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this picture since they make for further divisions in an already minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is frequently deterred from making improvements on a piece of land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either owns himself or has on long lease and which show the necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability (Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building (Case I).

241 423 Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature. They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more

241 423 rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields, which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

241 464 433 This is the background to the present attempts to rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

(a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654] (b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

654 241 464 The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

178 462 [592] The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

562 462 178 In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p.80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

178 for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as sub-
583 stantial a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind:
183 land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a
[554] girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among the families of the same village and farming background.
[182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance (B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts of the Islands have increased and marriages between individuals from different villages and also from differing economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 Another development which has put money into an altogether
454 new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing
423 desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the
471 Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War, and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese
654 farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for capital. The Government added to this money consciousness
[426] with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest loans for capital improvements of the farms and their equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

262 In respect of diet an important distinction between town
369 and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially
'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other
pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily
available; but in the country districts there is notably
less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other
vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all
his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain
local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still
able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables
for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however
a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits
273 (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are
262 now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods
such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet
511 cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now
established themselves as needs and, consequently, as
demands on the family purse.

178 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from
291 which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This
in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy.
Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made
at home or at least within the village and were worn by
the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today
a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer
now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest
change is among the younger farming generation who want to
dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of
clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly.
especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the
widespread use of military surplus material.

423 Housing is important in the present consideration
362 because money is now being spent by the farmer both on
511 buying his own house where he can but also on developing
it and improving the furnishings.

[178] Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town
dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

178 There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or
511 semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of
'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and
recreation all require money. Payments to the Church
have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and
taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, can
clearly only be met with cash.

451 The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the
511 typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The
[123] second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

128 [226] PART 3. A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo is included because the economic position of this comparatively small group is in many ways similar to that of the farming community itself.

PART 1. Maltese Farming - Case Studies I-XIII

*159 234 654

CASE I: Pawlu. (A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.)

[435] Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed sale for milk produced. He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialization which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the official policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

*159 55 ● 423 [463] Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (B/525).

*159 ● 423

Pawlu's holding at Easter, 1958.

Origin of TENURE	1958 T S K[49]	No longer held in 1959 T S K[49]
From own family on his marriage in 1935...	5-5-5	}....... 4-3-8
From own family since his marriage	7-4-5	
From his bride's family at marriage	5-0	16-0-0
From non-relatives, all since 1955	28-0-3	
	42-3-3	20-3-8

OWNERSHIP of land held by Pawlu.		Plots		Plots
(Cathedral (Mdina)...........	3-4-0	5	16-0-0	var
Church (Gharb........................	1-0-3	4		
(Benefizzju (agent)..........	4-3-0	2		
Civil Government..................	3-5-0	2		
Other farmers.........................	4-0-0	2		
Sinjur (a Xewkija Baron)...........	5-0	1	1-1-8	2
Owned by Pawlu himself............	4-0	1	1-0-0	1
Sub-leased (4-yearly) from 8 farmers who hold on long lease, or own.....................	24-0-0	var.adj.		
Military authorities...............	0		0	
No information.........................			3-0	1
Notary (agent).........................			1-5-0	2
	42-3-3		20-3-8	

The details of the 20-3-8 relinquished by Pawlu are significant:

Sub-let because of small-size and inaccessibility.....	7-0
Sold because of inaccessibility..........................	1-0-0
Abandoned because of distance & inaccessibility.......	1-0-0
Option declined because of distance.....................	16-0-0
Exchanged..	1-2-5
	20-3-8

*159 423 427 On sixteen of his twenty-six plots of land Pawlu pays annually about £24 in rent. On average this works out at about 4 shillings per tomna for rough grazing land and £1.1.6d per tomna of cultivable dry (baghli) land. Pawlu himself receives an income of 5s 6½d per annum as rent for two small patches (totalling slightly more than a tomna) which he sub-lets. He himself owns the pivotal centre of his farm, and four sighan on which stands his house, cattle byre, goat shed, store rooms and small enclosures.

*159 234 311 [246] Pawlu's present policy is to expand fodder production in order to eliminate much of the very high cost of purchased fodder. Along with this he is keen to acquire the use of rough grazing land for his goats where he can do so cheaply. The large block of this type of rough grazing which Pawlu acquired piece-meal during 1957 and 1958 makes the supervision of the animals easier than would be the case if he had to graze them in small fields adjacent to land carrying standing crops. [244] Pawlu is cutting down the quantity of vegetables produced for sale each year since he is without any guaranteed market or price. He aims nevertheless to produce as much of the family requirements as possible.

*
159 311 The trend is clear from an analysis of the utilisation of his land holding:-

	1956			1957			1958		
	T	S	K[49]	T	S	K	T	S	K
House and adjacent roadway		2	0		2	0		2	0
Vines		3	0		3	0		3	0
Prickly Pear		3	0		3	0		3	0
Potatoes	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Vegetables, other than potato(a)	6	4	0	4	3	0		4	0
Fodder(b)	8	2	3	10	3	3	14	2	3
Rough grazing - and shooting			0	12	0	0	24	0	0
Unused		1	0		1	0		1	0
	18	3	3	30	3	3	42	3	3

(a) mainly tomatoes and melons (bittich and dulich)
(b) silla, wheat (qamh), barley (xghir), mixed wheat and barley (mahlut), beans.

*159 422 231 Livestock

Pawlu's farm holding of slightly less than twelve acres is large by Gozitan standards. So also is the herd which it supports. Late in 1957 he had some 40 goats and 8 kids, two cows, a sheep, one horse, and about 100 poultry. "Goats are easier to handle than are cows" (Pawlu). For him, as for most herdsmen in the Islands, the dairy cow is still something of a novelty, and an expensive one, requiring considerable capital outlay for both the animal and its accommodation. The single sheep is quite typical, being kept mainly for the popular 'rikotta' cheese made from its milk. The large poultry element is also becoming a common feature in Gozo, though disease takes a very high toll. Pawlu's one horse provides the motive power for the cart which for him as for the rest of Gozo is still the prime mover of goods and produce.

*159 234 434 Pawlu's income derives mainly from the sale of milk to the M.M.U. This was also the case before 1958 when Gozo finally became a 'closed' area in which unpasteurised milk could not, legally, be sold. Thus the herdsman's cry of "Halib, halib" ('Milk, milk') as he took his goats from door to door and milked them to order on the customer's threshold is heard no more. The churned milk from the farms is collected and taken to the factory at Xewkija - before 1958 it had had to make the long journey to the Hamrun centre. Apart from the unpasteurised fresh milk used by the family, Pawlu sells, and sold, the milk his goats produce to the M.M.U. He pays no labour, hired or family, and does not consider his own time as a cost factor. Some idea of his income is therefore obtainable from an account of his receipts from the M.M.U. against the costs of the fodder.

●423 234 *159 The amount of fodder bought in to supplement home production varies. In the case of sulla (silla), particularly, Pawlu is forced to buy in a large quantity when his own crop is poor. His purchases of wheat (qamh) and

*159 512 794 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his 592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they 178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to *159 offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 ● 423 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

427 **A. Land.**

[311]
- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 423 311 **B. Utilisation.**

	1956	1957	1958
House	¼	¼	¼
Vines	¼	¼	¼
Prickly pear	¼	¼	¼
Fodders	8¼	10¼	14¼
Vegetables	8⅝	6⅛	2⅝
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 231 **C. Livestock.** (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 471 [427] [456] **D. Capital.**

- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 433 [434] **F. Production and Sales.**

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

● [423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. Livestock.

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] [454] [412] [407] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.

- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding: piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245]
(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shorts cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 shopping is done in the local Village but Naxdu
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 A. **Land.**
423
30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 B. **Utilisation.**
241
311
Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under sofúfa (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 C. **Livestock.**
231
During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital.**
[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
- Freehold village house.
[454] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[412]
[407] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc.
No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 E. **Labour.**
464
- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting.
During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
[427] - Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 F. **Production and Sales.**
433
- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

*159 G. **Husbandry.**
241
(i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annua
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prev
the employment of the normal four-year rota

244 159 461 available", and normally delegates most of the work to a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.

465 His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a 'cost'.

X159 43 [451]

X/159 511 178 Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

*159 461 Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

*159 178 234 His father was a labourer with the Services and had only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen and then gradually built up his own herd to its present size, particularly in the past few years when, in common with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his family) are actively discouraging the children from planning to follow their father. Their main objection to herding appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields you never go back...."

*159 423

CASE IV : Summary.

(A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. Land.

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

*159 423
- 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. **Utilisation.**

*159 241 311

(i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 231 234

C. **Livestock.**

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. **Capital.**

*159 423 [511] [426]

(i) No freehold land.

(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.

(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[21] food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. **Labour.**

*159 464

(i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. **Production and Sales.**

*159 43 234

(i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day. Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

G. **Husbandry.**

*159 23

(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*159 434

H. **General.**

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

*159 434 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anġlu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anġlu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

*159 234 443 [912] [551] [656] His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anġlu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

*159 423 434 [432] Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodders. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

*159 452 Anġlu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anġlu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

000 authorities each year.

*159 Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since
494 its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the
234 present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work
434 of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In
January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk
[432] and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling
some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a
nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me".
Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but
it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in
[454] for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of
the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

*159 Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old,
●423 and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise
yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop
234 his own property since the war in order to qualify for the
[429] necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his
now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household
342 is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead
351 off to the gound floor living rooms, to the goat shed and
cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room,
423 to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street.
From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

*159 The family has occupied the present house for several
423 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
551 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the
village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
461 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
234 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially
to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
829 his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
544 He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public
234 lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He
178 thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique
interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese
farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which
cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods".
He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to
the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time
and labour thus expended would bring no additional return
to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he
employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and
therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases
some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures)
would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427] All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

*
159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
[246] lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great
success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow
to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

*
159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 A. Land.

427
- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

*
159 B. Utilisation.

241
- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

*
159 231 234
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

*
159 D. Capital.

[454]
- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] [234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

*
G. Husbandry.

159 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.
231
[427]
- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.
[311]
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly ½ tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.
[435]
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
[434]
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

*
H. General.

159 156
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

- 159 Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
- 156 [231] Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.
- Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

CASE VIII : Niklaws (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)

*159 472 [423] [234] Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70 tmien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 472 234 433 [232] The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 407 454 234 [427] [435] Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

000 the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming
159 depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957
241 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer
731 irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

*159 The brothers also complain of the present marketing
829 regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the
442 producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field
464 crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large
472 a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themsleves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

*159 **A. Land.**

159 423 [134] c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region. 16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2¼ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.** (i) Typical arrangement.

			Winter	Summer
Plot	1.	8⅜ tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot	2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot	3.	1⅓ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot	4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot	5.	2¼ tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot	6.	1⅓ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot	7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot	8.	7⅜ tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
			Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot	9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot	10.	2⅜ tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot	11.	21 tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
			Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
			Vetches	Fallow
Plot	12.	2¼ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot	13.	1¼ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot	14.	2⅜ tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot	15.	5½ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
				Tomatoes
Plot	16.	1⅓ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 (i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

234 (ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

*159 **D. Capital.**

[472] (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

* **E. Labour.**

159 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farmworkers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

464 (ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

407 (iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

427 (iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

*159 178 829 [454] Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming", although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

*159 423 (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows'milk production.)

A. Land.

[429] Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

*159 231 C. Livestock.

Shifting emphasis in recent years.

- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957: 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- Pigs 8.

159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Inglizi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 426 **D. Capital.**

(i) No freehold property.

[423] (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[454] [407] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools
- rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.
- [312] no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 434 435 **F. Production and Sales.**

- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 231 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- [232] Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 234 829 **H. General.**

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect [426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

* 159 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously
829 and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.
181 Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community
178 in Malta and Gozo which/has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

* 159 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production.)
423 (Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

427 A. Land.

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

* 159 B. Utilisation.

241
- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9 tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9 "
Potatoes	6.2 "
Other vegetables	4.9 "
Fallow or unproductive or lot 'bin-nofs'.	12.6 "
	62.5 tmien

* 159 C. Livestock.

231
- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

* 159 D. Capital.

423 (i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.
454 (ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.
(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.
* 159
409 (iv) - Equipment:
- Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
427 - Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding, Ġ

*159 241 for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna. Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c. ½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

*159 [472] [423] [464] [178] [435] [451] [461] [157]

H. General.

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows G to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- G therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.
- G has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, G could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (beghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464 Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

CASE XI : Summary.

*159 (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

A. Land.

423 (i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Wallicha District. 2 tmien freehold.
427 (ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.
(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.
(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced as annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 **B. Utilization.** With parcels of land so dispersed and so
241 variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes. Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons. Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs. Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.
(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 **C. Livestock.** During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are
231 only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bojjem tax-xoghol').

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] [435] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
[454] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E.[2] Estimated possible total less than £100.
[406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.
[474] [241] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.
[464] - Rarely hires labour.
[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626) firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Čenzu shares the still general view that money given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651) community". Money paid to the Government in the form of taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

● 423
427
A. Land.

33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159
241
B. Utilisation.

Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159
231
234
C. Livestock.

Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159
[423)
[454)
[407]
D. Capital.

- No freehold land. Owns large village house.
- No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159
464
[465]
E. Labour.

- Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
  Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
  Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.

[427]
[241]
[407]
- Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely
residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] Case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his
sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this
type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no
importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the
fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election
times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and
his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance.
He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily
- because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging
the younger farming generation from staying on the land and
struggling against rising costs to sell products which are
but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

●423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] Soils: l-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.

- [241] Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.

- 454 No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
- 422 Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- 423 Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.

- 464 Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- [465] Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 rojection of his village background, and his attitude to
157 agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark
829 him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

*159 He comes of a village family in which his father and
●423 paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired
167 a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the
177 family but neither Ġanni nor his brother, a few years his
241 junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family
[441] butchering business held no more attraction for them and was relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the brothers thought that neither butchering nor farming presented scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian pattern, with tractor-drawn, three-furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

*159 He returned home full of ideas of making money as a
177 contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers
241 and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities.
409 Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plowing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead, working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few young men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

*159 Ġanni's view of farming in Malta.

241 "Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical
829 because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and because of the difficulties facing the mechanization of field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither

APPENDIX 1 D : Agriculture (B/164-1957)

131 (i) AREAS

AREA of the Maltese Islands............ 276,429 tmien (77,400 ac)
Area of Malta...................... 217,143 tmien (60,800 ac)
Area of Gozo....................... 59,286 tmien (16,600 ac)

423 CULTIVABLE AREA of the Maltese Islands 158,211 tmien (12,484 hldngs)
Holdings of dry (baghli) land.... 118,460 tmien (10,517 ")
Holdings of irrigable (saqwi)land 700 tmien (88 holdings)
Holdings of both dry & irrigable. 39,051 tmien (1,879 ")

241 (ii) ACREAGE and PRODUCTION of CROPS. 1956-57

433
435

CROP	ACREAGE	VALUE(£)	YIELD(Tons)	YIELD per Acre (tons)
Wheat	5,192	96,908	2,916	0.6
Barley & Meslin	4,836	68,339	2,738	0.6
Vetches	1,727	51,993	1,354	0.8
Forages	11,000	381,150(a)	32,000(a)	2.3
Broad Beans	1,000	15,233	356	3.5
Cumin Seed	14	180	3	0.2
Cotton	35	800	8	0.2
Locust Beans	500	20,000	1,500	3.0
Total	24,304	616,603	40,875	
Potatoes (spring)	6,000	350,090	21,000	3.5
Potatoes (autumn)	3,057	193,394	9,157	3.0
Melons	2,721	32,908	1,714	0.6
Onions	788	47,970	3,000	3.8
Tomatoes	3,000	146,000	12,000	4.0
Other vegetables	3,697	344,744	18,438	5.0
Total	19,259	1,115,018	65,307	
Grapes	5,204	171,102	5,347	1.0
Citrus	160	32,000	510	3.0
Other Fruit	1,000	105,000	4,000	2.0
Total	6,364	308,102	9,847	
Flowers & Seeds	250	100,000	..	
TOTAL	ac. 50,177	£2,139,721	116,029 Tons	

(a) Including Straw.

231 (iii) CLASSIFICATION OF LIVESTOCK. 1957 (September)

	Malta (1957)	Gozo (1957)	TOTAL(1957)	TOTAL(1949)
Horses...............	1,688	369	2,057	2,753
Donkeys..............	1,732	1,107	2,839	3,335
Mules................	1,535	349	1,884	2,366
Goats................	21,630	10,428	32,058	
Billy Goats..........	417	177	594	50,877
Kids under 1 year...	3,564	3,121	6,685	
Sheep................	8,091	4,241	12,332	
Rams.................	98	43	141	21,237
Lambs under 1 year..	1,015	1,330	2,345	
Bulls................	377	294	671	
Heifers Pregnant....	336	198	534	
Heifers other........	731	360	1,091	
Milch Cows...........	2,536	866	3,402	2,633
Stud Bulls...........	111	26	137	
Maltese Draught-Cows	109	6	115	
Imported Store Bulls	2,860	824	3,684	
Breeding Sows........	2,793	588	3,381	
Boars................	214	87	301	30,015
Sucking Pigs.........	935	367	1,302	
Other Fatteners.....	6,561	1,753	8,314	
Hens.................	195,683	126,630	322,313	
Other Poultry.......	5,145	1,364	6,509	
Rabbits..............	43,645	16,048	59,693	

CASE III : Nardu (A goats' milk producer)

*159 157 Illiterate and suspicious, Nardu typifies the most conservative element in Maltese farming for whom nothing new can be worthy of consideration. It is probable that no amount of lecturing, demonstrations of improved methods, or capital loans from the Government, would persuade him to change the ways he knows. The prospect of machinery does not impress him although he thinks of acquiring a rotary cultivator (at about £245). His observation is, when freely translated, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" (he is aged 40).

*159 234 ●[425] His father was a mason with a few fields. Nardu's brother took over the family business and sold his share of the fields to Nardu, who also bought out the shares of his five sisters. He has since concentrated all his effort on his herd of goats, regarding his fields primarily as a source of fodder. During the fifteen months of study his herd varied in size from 34 to 50 animals. All the goats are of the local breed ~~as~~ he does "not like horned goats". He is more concerned with producing milk, under the current favourable regime of guaranteed sales to the M.M.U., than with breeding goats. Most of the kids born to his herd are sold for meat or for breeding to a dealer. Payment [426] seems to be made as money becomes available from the M.M.U every two weeks. Often however he admits to being up to two months behind with payment, settling one debt "when the next transaction is afoot".

In 1958, Nardu was talking at length about "getting two or three cows or calves". He "knows about cows from friends" but has not himself got the £300 capital necessary for two. Moreover he observes that "you can't graze cows" and their general upkeep is likely to clash with that of goats, especially where one man is working alone as in this case. There seems to be an element of prestige attached to the ownership of cows in a village such as Nardu's where the vast majority of herdsmen have only goats. Certainly his thinking is not guided by comparative costings of milk production from the cow and goat.

*159 434 [443] [511] Nardu's fields produce fodder and some food for the family so that they "will not have to buy in everything from the shops". He reckons to save between 15/- and £1 per week in this way. His wife spends £3 a week on purchased food and she looks back nostalgically to her youth when her mother spent some 30/- per week on food and clothing for a family with twelve children, while she has only three. The steady item of income in Nardu's budget is the money received from the M.M.U. for the goats' milk 600 sold. Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu

B. The Lands of a Maltese Family

423*

It has been found possible to trace the landholding history of a single family 173 back to its very beginning through four generations and slightly more than 100 427 years. Before about 1850, the family in question had no direct proprietary 596 interest in land. Its members were landless labourers working mainly in the fields of various farmers in the northern districts of the island. They appear to have moved from farm to farm as demands for labour arose. Frequently they worked as a team, occasionally as individuals but always they were paid on a daily basis. Their home was in the casal of Mosta, and there is still some attachment to that centre, although few members of the family continue to reside there.

This study is based, fundamentally, on the oral tradition of the family, [127] refined by studies of the Farm Register, Government Land Records and field identification. For ethical reasons, the family must remain anonymous; its members are therefore referred to by key numbers. The founder-father of our family and his five children are designated 0 to 5 as below. The progeny of each [128] son are numbered similarly, the digits suffixed to the parent's number and so throughout. In addition, the lineage groups stemming from the original five children are distinguished by the letter A to E. Final suffixes 0 denote husbands of the females of the family.

The history begins in the 1850's with a family of five children and their father (0). Four of the children (2-5) were sons and worked for some time with their father as farm labourers. At some stage, the daughter (1), married a farmer with land in the Manikata area, and from her springs branch A of the family. Later, one of the brothers (2) married the daughter of a farmer who held most of his land at Ġnejn Ghajn Tuffieħa, and lived nearby. On the death or retirement of his father-in-law, 2 acquired the tenancy of this land in the third year of an eight year lease which had commenced in 1862. Finding that he was unable to work this farm satisfactorily by himself he invited one of his brothers (3) to join him in the enterprise. When the eight year lease was renewed for a similar period, in 1870, both brothers became joint tenants. Their respective descendants form groups B and C of the genealogy. Another piece of land, which had been leased by 2's father-in-law for 99 years from 1861, passed to 2, neither 3 nor his descendants having any share in it.

Meanwhile, in 1857 or 1858, the father (0) and his two remaining sons (4 and 5) acquired the tenancy of an area of partially irrigable land at the head of the Ġnejna valley. Some 12 months earlier the land, with its terraces, had been severely damaged by floodwaters following very heavy rain. The landowner concerned was unwilling to assist the sitting tenant in the repair of severe storm damage to the extent which that tenant expected. Rather than bear alone the full cost, the latter attempted to sub-let outside his own family and was dispossessed by the owner. Our landless labourer (0) and his two sons (4 and 5) evidently felt themselves capable of tackling this reconstruction and, with the landowner's approval, took over the tenancy. It is uncertain whether the landlord gave them assistance in the form of reduced rent, whether they had some capital saved from their meagre wages which they could exploit here, or whether they depended for success entirely on their own labour. Some capital must have been available to them to cover the period of reconstruction and the sale of the first season's crop. It would be characteristic of the period if some financial help [926] was given by the *pilkali* merchants who functioned as the land bank of that day.

There is evidence that local opinion did not rate highly the chances of this landless group in restoring the valley to its former fertility. The story is told [522] of local comment that the family would not stay 'from Christmas Day to St. Stephen's' (25th-26th December). After 100 years of continuous occupation the story affords the family some considerable amusement, but serves to illustrate the shaky nature of the original enterprise.

178 for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as sub-
583 stantial a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind:
183 land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a
girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position
[554] and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent
sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there
were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the
past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among
the families of the same village and farming background.
[182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way
of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to
fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance
(B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption
in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts
of the Islands have increased and marriages between
individuals from different villages and also from differing
economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of
land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place
and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of
the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put
more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 Another development which has put money into an altogether
454 new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing
desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen
423 (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the
471 Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this
applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the
family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the
first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a
feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought
his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase
of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even
before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build
up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of
meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased
rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War,
and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much
greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable
cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient
and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese
654 farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for
capital. The Government added to this money consciousness
[426] with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to
keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest
loans for capital improvements of the farms and their
equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
654 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the
[234] maximum (Section 2).

178 Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
511 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to
434 his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned.
These factors basically underly the complex of socio-
economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved
living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of
demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

[464] (d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

178 Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
434 his farm the means of providing for the various needs of
[471] the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding,
his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make
the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is
the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very
small section of the farming community: one of the major
problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means
the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
426 one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial
434 status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem
emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

be suffering from economic near-strangulation because the working of his farm-unit is linked with a fluctuating but permanent element of debt. This is because the factors mentioned above as producing the need and demand for money are operating, but the farmer and his farm-unit are unable to hold their own in the present agricultural economy of Malta; this in spite of the artificial boosts of Government loans, guaranteed prices, free gifts, agricultural development schemes, information services, etc.,(Section 2).

There is a range therefore between the farmer who is 178 434 proving able to advance financially and he who is not, even to the state of impoverishment. The problem of the latter may be considered from two view-points, the economic and the social. Economically, the difficulty is clear. Many farm units as they exist today cannot hope to provide an income, after expences have been met, which will support the family and allow of expansion or even maintainance of the unit. The social problem is less easy to define. It would appear that many characteristics of the traditional peasant farming system of subsistence and independence of each farm unit still remain beneath an often thin veneer of [R12] commercialization and modernization. This is related in large part to the lack of education of the farmer himself. The farmer of today in Malta is an old man and ageing who has been but little affected by the developments in education, in its widest sense, which are turning the ambitions of the present younger generation of the farming community towards the towns and towards non-agricultural pursuits. At heart, the present Maltese farmer is still in very many cases thinking as a peasant, isolated and independent, in a farming system now essentially commercial, competitive yet inter-dependent. Financial profits and losses now rule his life but the farmer is, in a disturbingly large number of cases, partly unable and partly unwilling to adapt himself and his farm to the new conditions.

178 234 434 426 Something of the effect of the both the economic and social aspects of the problem may be gathered from a study of a number of sample cases:

(a) A goats' milk producer, living just within the boundary of the Urban area of Malta (Case V), operated during 1957 with a persistent debt on the maintainance of his animals, the basis of his livelihood. During the year, the milk production of his herd varied between 70 and 30 lbs per day. This was sold for the official guaranteed prices and to this extent may be seen as a constant element. Produce from the tomna of land held by the [451] farmer was used in the home but made only a minor contribution to the food budget. This man keeps no accounts of the costs of maintainance of his herd and profits therefrom. He is operating in a perpetual state of debt. A table of

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
234 progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
434 the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
426 poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
fully realizes that without the present Government guarantee
[654] (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize their farm and herd as they would wish. For example, while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them reluctant to take on any further loan commitments: nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be able to increase the number in their herd and also mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
234 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
434 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U
654 with as much milk as possible.

They have no thought or care as to what might happen were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly little appreciation of the total picture of which they form part and will be content to grumble quietly and ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate
(Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
434 which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
454 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
provision of dowries and wedding costs, etc., are met.
234 This farmer admits to having been able to save more than
654 £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that
today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread".
[451] He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly
on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying, today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
434 accounts of the working of his farm. His second employment
brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
241 weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he
[511] reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a
third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc. and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the steady income from his other job farming has something of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

178 because he has always been used to doing it and one which
enables him to provide many of the food items needed by
434 the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who
emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return
241 to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of
life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece
of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

156 The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives
241 both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of
●426 independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies
of farming from the economic point of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

472 It appears that MONEY is a variable but important
factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an
511 economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household,
as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear
distinction made by the farmer between the finances
pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its
maintainance. The most common practice is for there
to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all
profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it
come the costs of running farm and household. As seen,
the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most
cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the
farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as
the labour of his family and himself is concerned
[451] (Case X). Similarly it is still the exception rather
than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts
of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is
making a loss, though of the details he has no notion.
In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital
improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows
and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in
post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to
'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living
above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt.
He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position
and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the
financial point of view, to his commanding position during
the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25,
although the average per capita income for the whole
country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing
and other essential items are often quite exorbitant,
especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954
survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of
northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of
£136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm
labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75
per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn
little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
labourer without field commitments of his own can demand
his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases,
markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who
stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

511 Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
average, a standard of life still slightly below the
434 general level, although the disparity is by no means as
great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Above-average exceptions include those
farmers who have been able to profit from the present
regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large
herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings
or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

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648

[P.61]

439 suffers by being inadequately graded and packed does not concern him although the specialist working in Malta on marketing problems has stressed this as a primary weakness up to now (B/253). The farmer is further reluctant to [178] change to the production of certain 'early' varieties of potato which would sell much more profitably on the overseas market than does the Arran Banner which has been the predominant variety in the Islands for several decades.

178 241 The argument returns, in fact, to the thesis put forward in a number of contexts in this report that the farmer is still thinking very much as a peasant subsistence producer although to outward appearances he has now become a fully commercial, cash-cropping farmer. This outlook, the product of illiteracy and confined experience, will have to be appreciated by those concerned with any kind of improvement and development in the Maltese agriculture. It is the younger, literate generation of the farming community who would be capable of education in these terms - if they stay in agriculture to be educated.

654 426 In the long run it would appear that the most satisfactory kind of financial help to farming is the loan at very low interest rate (Section 2). The basis of this was the Agriculture and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, No.11 of 1956, which authorized the loans for approved capital improvement projects at only 1% interest per annum. A major result of the loan system was that it made the farmer independent of money-lenders and money-lending middlemen. Previously many farmers had suffered near financial strangulation in the grip of these indivuals, particularly where they were operating under perpetual debt (v. Cases V and IX). A second great advantage of the loan is that the farmer is able to improve his farm and farming and at the same time preserve that independence of operation so dear to him. Many of the subsidies on seeds, rations, etc. have forced him to use his money in a certain way. He much prefers if possible to have the money and spend it as he chooses on machinery, livestock and fodder, buildings, cisterns, irrigation equipment, land reclamation, and repayment of previous debts, etc.

654 426 454 One disturbing feature of the loans is, however, that they are putting a lot of money into the hands of the farmer without necessarily ensuring that it is spent to the best advantage of agriculture or to the farmer himself in a long term view. For example much of the money loaned has been put towards the purchase of livestock and accommodation for animals in order to increase milk production, while the present regime of guaranteed milk price remains. To this extent the loans have helped the

654 herdsman to produce a now over-grown dairy industry
426 (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses earlier in this
454 Section).

Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Section 2), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

829 The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has
467 been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly no less strained have been relations between one farmer and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has emerged on the administrative side of farming in the Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic
[474] co-operation (Section 2). The main outcome of this has been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed
[747] any importance. The very recent tractor co-operatives (Section 2) are proving successful but would probably not have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[29].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in it. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[43]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

829
474 It has also precluded the development of a substantial Co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading.

829 in three of the 7,813 full-time farmers in both Islands at
474 the time were even nominal members of either Union, one
467 of which could claim to represent 25% of the farming population and the other only 6%[43].

829
467 As long as the farmers' Unions continue to represent only a minority of producers and to be divided among themselves there is little likelihood of their being able to benefit those in the industry. But the writer maintains that the grievances of the farmer today are not of the kind in which Union action could effect fundamental improvements because the position of the industry at present and at least in the immediate future depends on a policy of official benevolence. More precisely, this includes the range of financial, material and advisory assistance discussed above.

829
474 The farmer does however stand to make real gains from an efficient and popular co-operative movement. The present limited appeal of the co-operative system is a major drawback. In his interim report on the attitudes of the farming community, Fr. Cirillo observes that "the indifference and open hostility of the majority of farmers towards co-operatives can be partially explained by the fact that they are not able to give farmers the services which are expected of them....they are not in a position to operate as true marketing societies" (B/387, p.18). Fr. Cirillo also points to the mistrust of local co-operative organizers on the part of many farmers who have, moreover, never completely overcome their suspicion of the Government initiative behind the movement.

829 It is clear that the system of marketing produce is
474 the main weakness at present. Up to now most farmers
442 have marketed their produce through a pitkal. This pitkal
is a selling middleman who maintains a stall at one of the
pitkali[44] centres at each of which is a Government-appointed
[426] clerk. The pitkal has also served a secondary function
as a money lender to farmers who regularly deal with him. Fr. Cirillo observes that "many farmers would not join a co-operative society because of the fear that they might lose their pitkal's friendship" and "the farmer's dependence on the pitkal makes him look at the pitkal with respect" (B/387, pp.17-18). In 1957 it was proposed to centralise the marketing of produce through a single centre for the whole Island (B/253), but at least one of the farmers' Unions was quick to announce its opposition to the plan (B/54 - 11.6.1957, p.4). As on many parallel occasions the farmer was here faced with a choice:- between trusting the Union or 'Il-Gvern'. In most cases he would not venture to make his own decision on the matter.

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is diffi-
cult to visualise their reconciling the limitations and
241 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
178 the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the
present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
*159 the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
362 £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
[427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a
new house and include near it accommodation for his animals.
For his large family of wife and eight children the house,
though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife
enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
*159 called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
54 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
461 distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife
observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can him-
*159 self operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
464 animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
654 when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contri-
bution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
●[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanise (i.e. to
acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is
that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale
through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. Livestock.

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] [454] [412] [409] ● [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.
- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding: piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245]
(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shorts cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

CASE III : Nardu (A goats' milk producer)

*159 157 Illiterate and suspicious, Nardu typifies the most conservative element in Maltese farming for whom nothing new can be worthy of consideration. It is probable that no amount of lecturing, demonstrations of improved methods, or capital loans from the Government, would persuade him to change the ways he knows. The prospect of machinery does not impress him although he thinks of acquiring a rotary cultivator (at about £245). His observation is, when freely translated, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" (he is aged 40).

*159 234 [425] His father was a mason with a few fields. Nardu's brother took over the family business and sold his share of the fields to Nardu, who also bought out the shares of his five sisters. He has since concentrated all his effort on his herd of goats, regarding his fields primarily as a source of fodder. During the fifteen months of study his herd varied in size from 34 to 50 animals. All the goats are of the local breed as he does "not like horned goats". He is more concerned with producing milk, under the current favourable regime of guaranteed sales to the M.M.U., than with breeding goats. Most of the kids born to his herd are sold for meat or for breeding to a dealer. Payment seems to be made as money becomes available from the M.M.U every two weeks. [426] Often however he admits to being up to two months behind with payment, settling one debt "when the next transaction is afoot".

In 1958, Nardu was talking at length about "getting two or three cows or calves". He "knows about cows from friends" but has not himself got the £300 capital necessary for two. Moreover he observes that "you can't graze cows' and their general upkeep is likely to clash with that of goats, especially where one man is working alone as in this case. There seems to be an element of prestige attached to the ownership of cows in a village such as Nardu's where the vast majority of herdsmen have only goats. Certainly his thinking is not guided by comparative costings of milk production from the cow and goat.

*159 434 [443] [511] Nardu's fields produce fodder and some food for the family so that they "will not have to buy in everything from the shops". He reckons to save between 15/- and £1 per week in this way. His wife spends £3 a week on purchased food and she looks back nostalgically to her youth when her mother spent some 30/- per week on food and clothing for a family with twelve children, while she has only three. The steady item of income in Nardu's budget is the money received from the M.M.U. for the goats' milk

000 sold. Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu

*159 423
- 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. Utilisation.

*159 241 311
(i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 231 234
C. Livestock.

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. Capital.

*159 423 [511] [426]
(i) No freehold land.

(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.

(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. Labour.

*159 464
(i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 43 234
(i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day. Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

G. Husbandry.

*159 23
(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*159 434
H. General.

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

TABLE 5.

(Case V : Accounts)

*159
434
435

Date	Dealer	Fodder	Rtol[1]	Shillings per rotol	Cost £ -s- d	Payment £ -s- d
7.12.56	B	Beans	287	70	10 - 0-10	
		Cake₂	201	50	5 - 0- 6	
		Corn²	113	50	2 -16-	
5. 1.57	B	Beans	285	71	10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	215	49	5 - 5- 3	
15. 1.57	B					5 - 0- 5
1. 2.57	B	Beans	255	71	9 - 0- 1	
		Cake	319	49	7 -16- 3	
						13 - 1- 7
15. 2.57	B	Beans	291	72	10 - 9- 0	
		Cake	186	48	4 - 9- 6	
						17
27. 2.57	B	Cake	638	47	15	
						15
16. 3.57	B	Beans	180	71	6 - 7- 9	
		Cake	365	47	8 -11- 6	
						15
1. 4.57	B	Beans	185	70	6 - 9- 6	
		Cake	278	45	6 - 4- 9	
						15
16. 4.57	B	Beans	218	69	7 -10- 0	
		Cake	282	45	6 - 6- 9	
						16
27. 4.57	A	Beans	282½	65	9 - 3- 9	
		Cake₂	266½	44	5 -17- 3	
		Corn²	95	58	2 -15- 3	
1. 5.57	B	Cake	582	45	13 - 2- 0	
		W.Potato³	206		2 - 1- 0	
						17 - 4
16. 5.57	A	Beans	76		2 - 9- 6	
17. 5.57	B	Beans	119	69	4 - 2- 0	
		Cake	474	45	10 -13- 6	
20. 5.57	B					15
21. 5.57	A	Beans	316		10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	323½	44	7 - 2- 6	
1. 6.57	B					16
3. 6.57	B	Beans	211	69	7 - 5- 6	
		Cake	290	45	6 -10- 6	
4. 6.57	A	Beans	303½	64	9 -14- 2	
		Cake	271½	44	5 -19- 6	
		Bran			6- 0	
12. 6.57	B					15
19. 6.57	B	Cake	621	45	13 -19- 5	
22. 6.57	A	Beans	330½	56	9 - 5- 0	
		Cake	261½	44	5 -15- 2	
2. 7.57	B	Beans	365	51	9 - 6- 3	
		Cake	325	45	7 - 6- 3	
						16
5. 7.57	A	Beans	338	50½	8 -10- 9	
		Cake	280½	44	6 - 3- 6	
1. 7.57	A					8
13. 7.57	A					15
16. 7.57	B	Cake	753	44	17 -11- 3	
						16
27. 7.57	A	Beans	371	48	8 -18- 6	
		Cake	298½	44	6 -11- 6	
1. 8.57	B	Beans	171	51	4 - 7- 3	
		Cake	383	45	8 -12- 3	
						15
2. 8.57	A					15
5. 8.57	A	Dari seed	96	52	2 -10- 0	
9. 8.57	A	Beans	344	51	8 -15- 6	
		Cake	288	44	6 - 6- 3	
16. 8.57	B					17
23. 8.57	A	Beans	390½	51	10 - 2- 9	
					£363 - 1- 8	£273 -14- 0

[426] 1. 9.57 Debt (to A) - £79.7.8d

(1 - see Appendix 5; 2 - qamh harun; 3 - patata tax-xitwa)

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 (i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

234 (ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

* **D. Capital.**

159 [472] (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

* **E. Labour.**

159 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

464 (ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

407 (iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

427 (iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

* **F. Production and Sales.**

159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

159 178 234 substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however, show no inclination to stay in farming.

*159 232 829 234 A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

*159 234 231 In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Ingliżi type. As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Ingliżi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

*159 234 433 EZ46 Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?"). The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

*159 434 426 Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Ingliżi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 426 D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property.

[423] (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[454] [407] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools
- rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.

[312] - no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 464 E. Labour.

- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 434 435 F. Production and Sales.

- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 231 G. Husbandry.

(i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- [232] Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 234 829 H. General.

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect [426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargha baghli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the
corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-house
[406] also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-driven
pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
[343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils
tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
241 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
433 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to cultivate
434 on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
829 to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
[464] heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at
least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to
qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however
content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the
lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the
most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative
(Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first
suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having
the money than letting the Government get it. This belief
that the Government is behind everything is characteristic
(Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization
distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility
of achieving anything above low living standards.
Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet
clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case
among many of his generation and it may be that he will have
difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily
of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and
new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance)
his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem
of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young
men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
[654] to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture
to the full but it has done comparatively little for
the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at
least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to
stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

*423 654 These are extreme cases but everywhere it is true that during the last century, continuity of tenure has not been enough in itself to produce land improvement.

*423 427 A variety of forms of tenure exists in the Islands. Emphyteutical leases, which must be documented, are legally all such that extend for a term longer than 16 years and have the proper content and conditions. On Crown land a period of 99 years has been favoured, but leases of 30 and 60 years are also found. The essence of such leases lies in their emphasis on tenant improvement of the land and on compensation for premature dispossession. Some of the implications of the official encouragement of emphyteusis have already been examined. In general the system is based on the supposition that the lease is long enough to reward the tenant for his development work, and that the land has been improved to a level at which short-term leases - first offered to the emphyteuta's heirs - become feasible.

Other leases are generally based on a four-year rotational cycle, in its turn based on the duration of the effects of intensive manuring on 'dry' land. Entry is normally on 15th August, in the 'dead' period of the year, and the most popular lease is for a duration of eight years with an option for renewal for a further similar term. On expiration the land is usually held on a yearly basis until a new satisfactory settlement is reached. Provisions for repairs usually divide responsibility between tenant and landlord on the basis of the scale of work and capital needed, the tenant being always responsible for wells and cisterns. Water derived from the holding should only be used thereon but in practice this is ignored. Regulation of husbandry is rarely mentioned except in general terms. Unless specifically revoked, legal provision exists for the remission of rents in the event of naturally caused crop-failure, although we have no knowledge of such a claim being made in recent years. After the flood damage of the autumn of 1957, the appeals were solely for Governmental aid.

The problem of compensation for improvement or for dispossession has in Malta as in other countries given rise to much disputation. Unless agreed by the landlord, any improvements to short-leased land can only be indirectly recovered either by removing impermanent fixtures or by the incoming tenant paying for items such as recent manuring or tillage. In the latter case, both parties regard the transaction in the light of a hand-over charge rather than as formal compensation.

Before 1940, the short-lease tenant had little legal security of continuity of tenure. On the termination of a lease the sitting tenant had preferential rights to renewal only if he were prepared to accept conditions equally or more onerous than would other applicants, provided the courts held these conditions to be reasonable. Such preference was negated if the land was needed by an owner or cousin or nearer relation of the owner. Theoretically, therefore, the ability of the tenant-farmer to resist rent increases or to prevent loss of investment was very limited. Wartime Emergency Regulations resulted in the creation of a special Board to consider problems of tenure where leases were shorter than for 16 years. Since that time preferential rights of renewal have been extended to cover immediate relations of a deceased tenant or to the equivalent of 'copyholders'. Rent increases must not be based on any increase in value accruing from any type of improvement, and their reasonableness is adjudged by comparable neighbouring rents. Greater freedom was afforded in sub-letting to a co-tenant or relation while the landlord's personal or family claim on land has now to be justified on the basis of a minimum four year use.

*423 311 427 The combination of short leases and absence of compensation for improvement has been held at one time or another to be responsible for virtually all the ills and defects of Maltese farming from a reluctance to plant tree-crops to the poorness of many local track and access roads. As with the relationship between freehold tenure and intensity of land use, such arguments are not fundamentally valid. Where physical economic conditions provide incentive to investment and improvement then the cultivator generally responds, no matter

what type of lease. However, many of the minor variations in land use which 423*
exist as between adjacent fields or parts of fields can be partially explained on 311
the basis of their legal position. Thus the wasteland of il-Wilga in the Wied
tal-Pwales reflects both physical deterioration and a tenurial conflict. But, as 427
may be observed throughout the regional and distributional studies in this volume, the patterns observable in Maltese farming are resultants of many forces and influences, in which the legal element plays a very minor part.

A third type of tenure, that of share-cropping, appears in some rather 423*
specialised forms in the Maltese Islands. Between land-owner and occupier,
its main incidence seems to be as a working arrangement between aged parents 427
and their children. Between coevals it appears as a temporary form of sub-letting known as *bin nofs*. Some of the factors influencing the first type have already been examined. In the second case, share-cropping arrangements are a consequence of the growing tendency of farmers to leave the land for short trial periods to seek other employment or to emigrate. As a form of insurance, leased or owned land is then often let temporarily to relatives or friends on the understanding that should the farmer return, his land reverts to him or in the case of the time-limit (usually five years) elapsing before his return, the share-cropper takes over full rights. Although this is of doubtful legality in the case of rented land, landlords do not seem to object. In the north and west of Malta, over 6 per cent. of the cultivated area is held in this way, and the proportion is over 3 per cent. in Gozo. In other areas, share-cropping would seem to be of negligible importance. Because this system appears to be based on expediency, the details of owner-cropper relationship are more variable than in areas where *metayage* is more fully developed as an institution. The provision of land, materials and labour and the division of product vary greatly. One case exists of a whole community working the land under a tenant-in-chief who provides land, seed, manure and some machinery and then claims one-fifth of the value of the crops which he buys back in bulk.

The share-cropping tenures terminate with the death of either party. In all 423*
other cases the death of a tenant results in the leasehold becoming part of his
divisible estate and liable to fragmentation between the children, all of whom 427
have equal rights of inheritance. The importance of this element in the process
of *parcellement* has been regarded as very great, in Malta as elsewhere. Before 428
considering an actual case-study of holding evolution, it is as well to note some of the general points.

First, the family group has strong powers to maintain its hold on land and to exclude others from it. In this they are supported by the action of landlords and by the legal codes as at present framed. On the other hand, little effort is made to prevent sub-division within the family group. Thus no analysis of the process of fragmentation can be made without a full understanding of the nature of the Maltese rural family.

In this chapter, the main elements in the physical and legal entity which 423*
constitutes the Maltese farm have been considered. As much as is feasible of the legal and customary background to the farm unit has been considered. In illustration of these points and in order to amplify them, a detailed analysis of the lands of one Maltese family follows. It is appropriate here to record the [123]
great kindness, forbearance and co-operation shown by the members of that family without whose considerable assistance such an examination could not have been made.

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B. The Lands of a Maltese Family

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It has been found possible to trace the landholding history of a single family 173 back to its very beginning through four generations and slightly more than 100 427 years. Before about 1850, the family in question had no direct proprietary interest in land. Its members were landless labourers working mainly in the 596 fields of various farmers in the northern districts of the island. They appear to have moved from farm to farm as demands for labour arose. Frequently they worked as a team, occasionally as individuals but always they were paid on a daily basis. Their home was in the casal of Mosta, and there is still some attachment to that centre, although few members of the family continue to reside there.

This study is based, fundamentally, on the oral tradition of the family, [127] refined by studies of the Farm Register, Government Land Records and field identification. For ethical reasons, the family must remain anonymous; its members are therefore referred to by key numbers. The founder-father of our family and his five children are designated 0 to 5 as below. The progeny of each [128] son are numbered similarly, the digits suffixed to the parent's number and so throughout. In addition, the lineage groups stemming from the original five children are distinguished by the letter A to E. Final suffixes 0 denote husbands of the females of the family.

The history begins in the 1850's with a family of five children and their father (0). Four of the children (2-5) were sons and worked for some time with their father as farm labourers. At some stage, the daughter (1), married a farmer with land in the Manikata area, and from her springs branch A of the family. Later, one of the brothers (2) married the daughter of a farmer who held most of his land at Ġnejn Għajn Tuffieħa, and lived nearby. On the death or retirement of his father-in-law, 2 acquired the tenancy of this land in the third year of an eight year lease which had commenced in 1862. Finding that he was unable to work this farm satisfactorily by himself he invited one of his brothers (3) to join him in the enterprise. When the eight year lease was renewed for a similar period, in 1870, both brothers became joint tenants. Their respective descendants form groups B and C of the genealogy. Another piece of land, which had been leased by 2's father-in-law for 99 years from 1861, passed to 2, neither 3 nor his descendants having any share in it.

Meanwhile, in 1857 or 1858, the father (0) and his two remaining sons (4 and 5) acquired the tenancy of an area of partially irrigable land at the head of the Ġnejna valley. Some 12 months earlier the land, with its terraces, had been severely damaged by floodwaters following very heavy rain. The landowner concerned was unwilling to assist the sitting tenant in the repair of severe storm damage to the extent which that tenant expected. Rather than bear alone the full cost, the latter attempted to sub-let outside his own family and was dispossessed by the owner. Our landless labourer (0) and his two sons (4 and 5) evidently felt themselves capable of tackling this reconstruction and, with the landowner's approval, took over the tenancy. It is uncertain whether the landlord gave them assistance in the form of reduced rent, whether they had some capital saved from their meagre wages which they could exploit here, or whether they depended for success entirely on their own labour. Some capital must have been available to them to cover the period of reconstruction and the sale of the first [426] season's crop. It would be characteristic of the period if some financial help was given by the *pitkali* merchants who functioned as the land bank of that day.

There is evidence that local opinion did not rate highly the chances of this landless group in restoring the valley to its former fertility. The story is told [522] of local comment that the family would not stay 'from Christmas Day to St. Stephen's' (25th-26th December). After 100 years of continuous occupation the story affords the family some considerable amusement, but serves to illustrate the shaky nature of the original enterprise.

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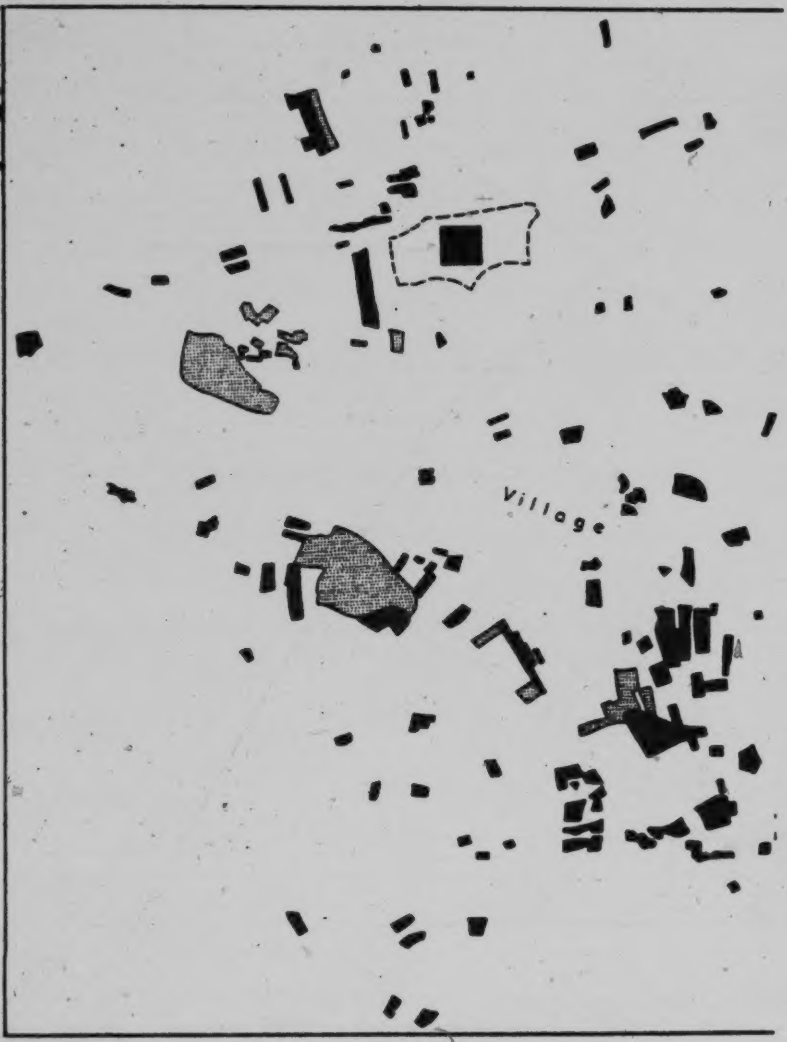

Fig. 139 The Landholdings of a Maltese Family

[p. 308-A]

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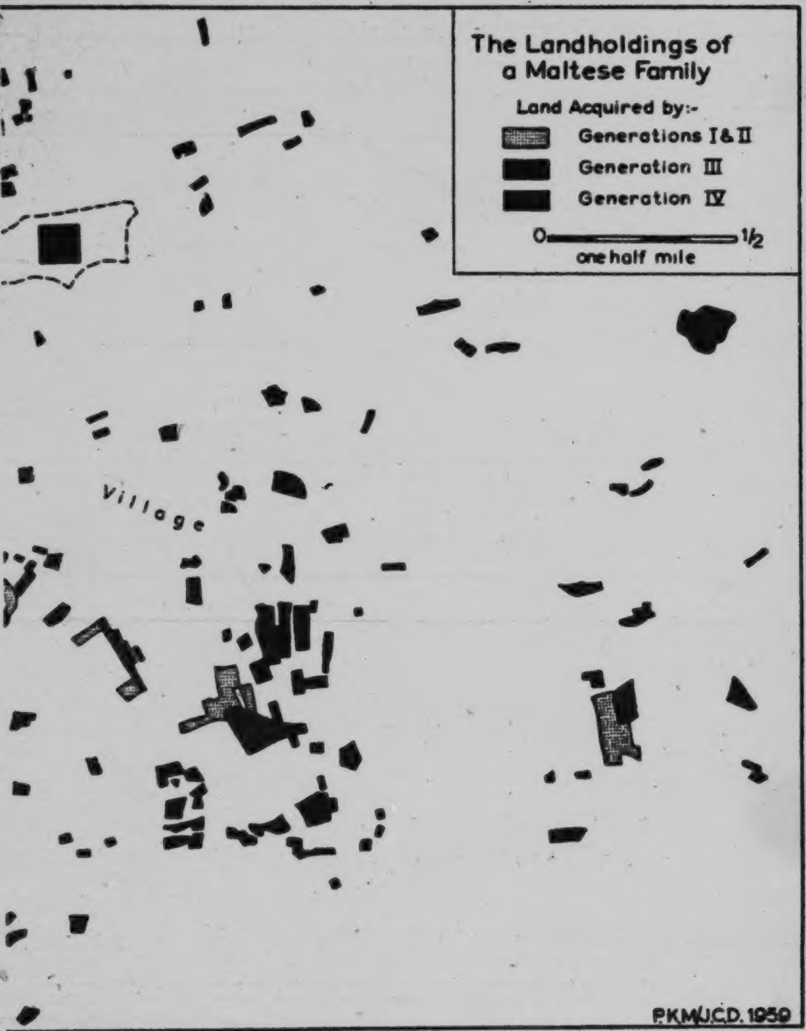
The Landholdings of a Maltese Family
Land Acquired by:-
▨ Generations I & II
■ Generation III
■ Generation IV
0
1/2
one half mile
Village
P.K.M./U.C.D. 1959

Fig. 139
The Landholdings of a Maltese Family.
[p. 308-B]

*423 This valley land, occupied by 0, 4 and 5, was not originally a single
continuous plot, for two other tenants occupied land within the perimeter. At some
173 date, the holdings of these tenants were absorbed by the family, for today the
●429 whole plot is held by members of groups D and E, the descendants of 4 and 5.
It has belonged, throughout, to a single owner and has been held for many years
596 on an annual lease. For many members of the family it still forms the nucleus
of their holdings, though each now works a relatively small portion of it.

Probably in 1880, 5 acquired the tenancy of two 4-*tmien* plots of a 29-*tmien* tenement near to this nucleus, on flat land to the east of the valley and the lease was later renewed, on similar terms, to one of 5's sons (54). On termination of the second lease, an increase of rent was mooted, to which 54 could not agree. After five months, no alternative tenant had been found and 54 therefore re-occupied at the old rent. He took two of the six portions into which the 29 *tmien* were divided, intending one for a brother, who however, did not require it. Both portions are retained by 54's descendants.

One year after this re-entry, 5 and his three brothers were approached by the agent to become tenants of another patch of less fertile land (75 *tmien* including rock). The division was uneven, 2 receiving a nominal 1½ *tmien* despite the plot's proximity to his home and other land. 5, perhaps as the principal tenant, acquired a lion's share (33 *tmien*).

The agent's inability to find alternative tenants for the 8 *tmien* of land and his soliciting of the family to occupy the larger plot, seem to indicate a marked

[p. 308-C]

absence of land hunger at this period, 1895 to 1896. Such a situation had probably existed for some years, since there is no information that other land taken over as a new tenancy, again by 5, at the beginning of that decade was 'lying idle', at the expiration of a long lease. The area concerned was again substantial and 5, unable or unwilling to tackle the whole plot, joined with two brothers from a nearby hamlet in making a successful bid for the tenement. The land, and also the rent which they had jointly agreed to pay, was then sub-divided, local conditions of soil and quality being taken into consideration.

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At some time, possibly during this period, the other brothers, 2 and 3, added to the land obtained by marriage at Għajn Tuffieħa (as a new tenancy and with strangers as co-tenants) another 35 *tmien* some two miles to the south-east, close to what is now the parish boundary in that direction. At a later date (c. 1910) 2 and his son, 21, entered on a new tenement of irrigated land in the Wied tal-Pwales to the north of Għajn Tuffieħa. This was immediately divided into two approximately equal portions, of which the father's was eventually shared only amongst his other children.

The land initially acquired by 2 (the founder of group B) from his wife's family was Government land, which was already at that date split into a number of separate plots, but the other lands acquired by this second generation as new tenancies were fairly large blocks of land, averaging 36 *tmien* in area, including the two 4-*tmien* plots of land leased to 5.

It is clear, therefore, that during the 50 years before 1910 quite large blocks of land in northern Malta were coming on to the leasehold market, and that a family without previous rights of any sort in that land could enter on to it, apply sufficient capital and industry to maintain its hold and, within limits, dictate the amount of rent which it was willing to pay for the use of that land. All the land leased for the first time during this period belonged to owners of large private or ecclesiastical estates and some at least had been surrendered on the termination of long leases. There is strong evidence from all branches of the family that all land leased during this period has stayed within the group, though some naturally has passed to daughters on their marriage. The land acquired in the male line by 0 and 2-5 in this early period is mapped at Fig. 139.

This area mapped in Fig. 139 totals 262 *tmien* and was held by the four brothers in the proportions shown in Table 42.

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Table 42. Maximum holdings of generation II. *Tmien*.

	Sons of Farmer 0				
	Son 2 (B)	Son 3 (C)	Son 4 (D)	Son 5 (E)	Total
Acquired by marriage	12¼	7⅛	-	-	19⅜
New tenancies	21¾	42⅜	56⅜	121⅞	242⅜
Total leasehold	34	49½	56⅜	121⅞	262
Freehold	-	-	-	-	-
Total area	34	49½	56⅜	121⅞	262
No. of non-contiguous plots	?	?	6	8	?

Even at this early stage, there is considerable disparity in the size of holdings, though this would partly disappear if the relative proportions of irrigated and waste land were taken into account. None of the brothers had any significant financial interests outside farming. 2 and 3 seem to have lived at Għejn Għajn Tuffieħa but the others remained at Mosta, though many week-nights were spent in rooms which they had in a building at the head of the Għejna valley.

*423 As the circumstances of land acquisition would indicate, these early holdings were not excessively 'fragmented' but the seeds of later more complex patterns
173 had been set by the lease of non-contiguous properties and the parcellation amongst themselves or with unrelated co-tenants of large tenements newly
● 427 leased. However, we must remember that, although the male line of the family held no land before c. 1860, this is certainly not true of all the families into
596 which 0's sons and their descendants married. Accordingly, 2's children and the children of later marriages were only partially descended from the landless
[428] strain. With the legal right of equality of division of all heritable property regardless of sex, the expectations of later scions would therefore be enhanced. It must also be remembered that all land held by the later descendants of 0, whether acquired by descent through the family, by marriage, new tenancy or purchase, may with equal validity be considered as the land of other families, whose sons and daughters marry into the family which we have chosen to study.
[621] It is a valid case of 'gaining a son, not losing a daughter'. In the present (fourth) generation the family is fully integrated into a complex web of relationships within the village. Indeed an informant has remarked that if someone in the village is not related to him, that person must be a stranger and newcomer to the area.

Notwithstanding these considerations, clarity can only be preserved by maintaining the idea of the family as a developing entity in terms of which land is gained, lost or divided. Division is the normal process by which lands may pass in effect into the hands of a single child, though siblings may be entitled to some form of compensation. Division to all the children need not take place at the same time; an elder child may even receive its share while a younger brother is still unborn. In these circumstances, 'shares' cannot be precise, though efforts may be made to re-adjust at a later stage. A share of parental land is normally the first which a young farmer begins to work as his own. If, as is usual, his departure from the family farm was occasioned by marriage, he may also obtain land from his father-in-law, but this is never *his* in the same sense and is only effectively consolidated with the land of his own family when his children, born of that wife, come to work it on their own behalf.

Generation 3

All the brothers of the second generation are now dead, the last having died c. 1936, and their landholdings split up. The pattern of acquisition of land by the third generation is shown in Fig. 139. Family land passed very unevenly to these groups. For example, in group C, although there were seven other children all land came ultimately to the husband of one daughter (3 to 35). Initially the farm was divided amongst the children.

Table 43. Holdings of Generation III: Group C. *Tmien.*

s = son; d = daughter.

	31s	32s	33s	34d	35/36d	37d	38d	Total
Division from parent: 3	⅔	⅔	⅔	⅔	45½	⅔	⅔	49½
Transfers among siblings	-⅔	-⅔	-⅔	-⅔	+4	-⅔	-⅔	4
Total land and max. holding	⅔	⅔	⅔	⅔	49½	⅔	⅔	-
Total land to be passed on	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½
Leasehold	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½

Note: Some of 35's siblings have a little land elsewhere.

In other groups, the demands of each child were more nearly equal, but in none was there a rigid egalitarian sub-division. Even in group B, where all the children received some land, its distribution seems to have been controlled by

need rather than any rigid adherence to the legal issues. All but one of 2's children remained fundamentally within the farming community. The exception (24) married a non-farmer, but even she was given a share of the irrigated land of her mother's portion, presumably to use as a vegetable garden.

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Table 44. Holdings of Generation III: Group B. *Tmien.*

s = son; d = daughter.

	21s	22s	23s	24d	25d	26d	27d	Total	Ex. 25d
Division from parent: 2	3	4⅙	5⅚	⅚	1⅓	11⅙	7⅔	34	
Acquired by marriage	7⅔	3½	-	-	*	2	2	15⅙	
New tenancies	†32⅔	11	5	-	n.d.	12⅙	8½	69⅓	
Purchase	7½	5	5	-	n.d.	-	-	17½	
Transfers among siblings	-	†22⅓	-15⅚	-⅚	-	-	-6	22⅓	
Transfers outside family	-	-	-	-	n.d.	-2	-2	-4	
Total land held	50⅚	46	15⅚	⅚	c. 66⅓	25⅓	18	c. 223⅙	156⅚
Maximum holding size	50⅚	46	10⅚	⅚	c. 66⅓	25⅓	18⅙	c. 218⅙	151⅚
Total land to be passed on	50⅚	46	-	-	c. 66⅓	23⅓	10⅙	c. 196⅔	130⅓
Leasehold	43⅙	41			n.d.	23⅓	10⅙		117⅔
Freehold	20⅓	5	-	-	n.d.	-	-		12⅓

*circa 65 *tmien* at Attard. †Of which 11 *tmien* later purchased.

Table 44 shows the distribution of 2's 34 tmien of land, and other data relating to group B. Analysis of this distribution is complicated by the diverse qualities of 2's land holding, especially with regard to irrigated and dry land. But even when allowance is made for this factor, shares cannot be considered equal. The shares of 26 and 27, which passed to their husbands 260 and 270, were inflated by the inclusion of much dry land, but 26 still had a disproportionately large share from her father, perhaps because 260 had little land in his own right (2 *tmien*); the same might also be said of 270. 21 had already halved a tenement with his father (10 *tmien* of his new tenancies) and therefore received only a share of his mother's land, and none of that later added by his father. His brother (22) had a relatively small holding initially but added to it substantially later in life, when he took over the land of some of his brothers and sisters. Similar divisions are apparent in groups D and E.

Of their generation, group B were the most assiduous in adding to land holdings by purchase and new tenancies. Had it not been for their low fertility (23, 24 and 26 had no children, though all were married) they would have dominated the family in later generations. It will have been noticed that much care was taken that 2's children should have a share in their mother's land, while land later added by the father was distributed more partially. The mother's land comes into the family essentially for the use of herself and her children and where there are no children it must be returned eventually to her family. Similar logic applies to land or use of land *inherited* by the father, as is exemplified by 260's 2 *tmien* which, when it became clear that 260 and his wife would not produce issue, was given to his sister for her children. In contrast to some of his brothers and sisters, 22 had a large, vigorous, agriculturally-minded family and this, no doubt, stimulated him into adding to his initially relatively small holding, for not only would his children's labour permit him to expand but also their future welfare would demand it.

by himself and will think of net profit on his sales rather than of gross receipts. 241

311 435 The second example is from a case-study (J. p. 342') of a full-time mixed farmer holding 33 *imien* of dry land (three blocks of six field plots) in Region C XX a, the Mqabba-Kirkop Plain. During the last 20 years, this farmer has built up a herd of 13 Maltese Friesian cattle including ten milch cows from a flock of six goats. Before World War II he relied on crop-sales from arable land. Now approximately half the cultivated area is given over to fodder production. Although by Maltese standards this farmer is enterprising, knowledgeable and possessed of much more than average capital, he has no mechanised equipment for tillage but relies on contract work. Each year a tractor plough and rotary cultivator are hired at a cost of between 15s. and £1 per *tomna*. [427] The farmer still differentiates very clearly between the quality of different parts of his land, on the basis of a soil depth which varies from 8 inches to 2 feet, and on soil type distinguished by colour. Nevertheless, since he is now only really interested in livestock, and regards even fodder production as uneconomic, he has lost interest in arable farming and tends to neglect the poorer land and think of disposing of the other. This man is typical of many of the better class farmers in that the old niceties of tillage are forgotten as commercial considerations predominate, these latter a resultant of social and economic change in the Islands.

177 241 407 Lastly we may consider the extreme development, the farmer turned machine contractor. Only half the age of the farmers already considered, this man is much more aware of general developments in the agricultural scene, partly as a result of seven years spent as an 'emigrant' in Australia. Patrimonial land is left to the attention of other members of the family, and he is only concerned with investment in machinery for hire. This contractor now possesses a lorry, a Ferguson hydraulic lift tractor, a hydraulic shovel, triple-disc and mouldboard ploughs, a rotavator as well as numerous accessories, and wants to purchase a thresher and a small combine harvester. The whole cultivation emphasis is put on mechanical effort and its ease of application. Deep-ploughing is advocated wherever possible even though he admits 'there may be drawbacks', no qualms are felt about knocking down walls to gain admittance to fields, and considerable impatience shown towards traditional agrarian and social values. This man even complained that he was not allowed to plough on Sundays. One of his ambitions is the quintessence of the new attitude towards cultivation. It is to have a farm of 30-40 *imien*, all in one block with no patch smaller than about an acre, the whole to be workable by tractor, thus making hand labour unnecessary, and accessible to heavy machinery. The holding should have its own farmhouse and be near to a market such as Żabbar. In this man the mechanical revolution in cultivation in Malta is epitomised, contrasting strangely with an attitude met at Rabat that the wheelbarrow is too technically revolutionary to be acceptable - 'it is not used here!'

234 *J* - With a holding of over 42 *tmien* in 26 plots, half of which is rough grazing, and with 2 *tmien* permanently under potatoes, this farmer is able to supply most of the fodder requirements of his 46 goats and kids, and 100 head of poultry as well as a few cows, sheep and horses. This land costs some £23 in rent. This farmer obtains a gross profit (receipts minus fodder costs) of some 14s. a day from sales of milk. At this level he, like many of his type, is aware of the crude economics of the situation and of the need for relating feed to livestock needs. Even so, readiness to experiment is confined to those sectors in which the farmer is able to base production on traditional knowledge and his own and family's uncosted labour. In Gozo, remoteness from the main milk market in the Maltese conurbation strengthens the general herdsmen's reluctance to use relatively novel milch cows. [427] [434]

Farmers who are mainly producers of cows' milk are, *ipso facto*, economically more sophisticated than goat herdsmen. Even so, the range is considerable, particularly great since most of these 'dairy farmers' also rely on arable farming to a varying extent. Thus case-study:-

K - is of a working partnership of two friends who keep some 40 cattle in Regions C XX b, Luqa-Zejtun and C XX e, Delimara. Untypically, they hold some 100 *tmien* of land, much of which is wasteland grazing on Defence Department land. The complexity and obscurity of their claims to much of the land reflects the rather unorganised pattern of production. Since they have land, they grow the standard cash-crop - potatoes - and vegetable crops for domestic consumption. About two-thirds of the cultivated area is given over to fodder crops - wheat, barley and sulla. This, together with a truck-load of prickly pear each day and cake and beans fed to capacity, suffices for the cows. The cultivators' answer when questioned on production costs is '*Min jaf?*' - 'who knows?', and they are not at all convinced of the need for balanced feeding. Cows are served altogether at the season which would be suitable for goats so that production varies seasonally with a spring and early summer maximum of c. 50 gallons daily and a midwinter negligible minimum. This of course is in inverse relation to the Mediterranean plant growing season and, as noted earlier, accentuates the seasonal fluctuation normal with goats' milk. Significantly, the families drink goats' milk in preference to cows' although some of the former is sold. Such farmers, although operating on a fairly large scale, are almost perpetually in debt and rarely have much capital.

By contrast one may find the type of producer already referred to on p. 329, case-study:-

L - This farmer, although with relatively few cattle, is an efficient and highly developed type by Maltese standards. The half of his cultivated land devoted to fodder crops supplies half of the fodder requirements of the 13 stall-fed cattle. The remainder, including beans and cakes, costs him some £1,000 per annum. Receipts from milk sales come to c. £1,350 per annum. This farmer, becoming interested in the possibilities of cattle-breeding, puts most of his not inconsiderable capital directly into the livestock. Arable crops, particularly potatoes and onions, bring in good gross returns but, as with fodder production, are becoming increasingly regarded as uneconomic. This in spite of the fact that the only financial records kept relate to milk sales, fodder purchases, land transactions and buildings. With farmers such as this, one finds an irrational blend of conservatism and a readiness to try new ideas such as artificial insemination and balanced feeding. [434]

234 241 6. MIXED FARMERS

Lastly there are the mixed farmers, which in Malta and Gozo usually means farmers who for one reason or another have neither become very reliant on the 'milk-cheque' nor are able to grow irrigated or specialised crops. These farmers, usually middle-aged, have little capital, a modicum of enterprise and reasonable dry-land but the lack of agricultural interest shown by their sons discourages much development. They tend to be opportunist in outlook and fairly

few years. In 1880 the new confraternity dedicated an altar in the 175
church to its patron, and by 1886 some persons were beginning 578
to grumble about having to pay for another feast. There was a 621
feeling of 'you collect for your feast, and we'll collect for ours.' 79

[427] In 1888 an incident occurred which changed the course of the rivalry between the supporters of the two saints, which until then appears to have been rather mild. Dun Rokku, who was the procurator of the parish church, tried to increase the rent on some of the local property it owned. There was an outcry, and some persons went to the Bishop to complain that not only had Dun Rokku been diverting parish funds to buy new street decorations for the feast of St. Roque, but he was also raising rents to continue this work. The complaints resulted in an investigation, following which the procura of the church was taken from Dun Rokku and given to a prominent member of the village, who favoured St. Martin. This action, not surprisingly, infuriated Dun Rokku. From that day onward, so the accounts relate, he threw his full support openly behind the feast of St. Roque.

Some time after this, the partiti each formed their own social 175
clubs. According to St. Martin supporters, their club grew out of 575
a pre-existing band club, but that of their rivals was not estab- 621
lished until after the First World War. They thus consider that they have seniority. St. Roque partisans, on the other hand, deny this seniority. They maintain that both clubs came into being out of the former club around the turn of the century. Consequently they have equal seniority. However, both clubs claim that the records crucial to the question of seniority were destroyed by enemy action during the last war. There is thus no documentary evidence for either claim, a fact which makes for deadlock whenever the issue of seniority is raised.

Dun Rokku was a strongminded priest, and he ruled the village 578
for fifty-six years. When he finally died in 1932 at the age of 90, he 621
was blind and deaf. During his many years in the parish he did 79
much to beautify the church. Unfortunately, so people recount, he also introduced the hated partiti that divided the village. Through a variety of means at the disposal of a parish priest, he succeeded in wooing or coercing three-fourths of the village into his partit. There are many stories about the old man and the methods he used to recruit supporters. One is that he would make it difficult for people to marry unless they were, or became, members of the

241 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against
474 exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly common, while a recent development has been the tractor co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

178 The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta
407 in the 1930s (Case XV, XXII) but "at that time there was a general feeling against the use of such machines on the land and it was about five years before their value was acknow-
[427] ledged and suspicions overcome"[12]. One of the earliest tractor-hire businesses (Case XV) began in 1935 and for a
[422] decade there were comparatively few competitors. Since the 1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning agricultural tractos and mechanized implements[24] has increased to about thirty in Malta[25] and some twelve in Gozo (1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[26], made in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still increasing but the work available for them is decreasing. This is clear from a consideration of the points raised in Cases XV to XII (Section 6, Part 2).

The main points emerging were

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended (Case XVI), while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement (Case XXII).

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

(ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can
[654] be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially since low-interest loans are now available from the Government.

(c) The limited area of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between asignments (Case XVII).

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case · XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).

The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
● 427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can themselves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job
[461] which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

(ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
407 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
461 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements
464 (Case · XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving the problem of labour shortage.

429 For the contractor himself there is a social as well
554 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far
[221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines and services to builders and others out of the plowing season (Cases · XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing machine which brings in further contracts in the summer (Case XVII).

178 From what has been said it would appear that the large
407 tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese farming, although it may bring considerable profit and
427 advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The
[434] present decline in this type of contracting has been noted. Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to the land in the near future. The small hand rotary cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like going much further along the way to enabling a time/money conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

407 472 474 Many of the large tractor plowing concerns described above are run by two or more men, often brothers, in partnership. A much more recent development of this kind has been the 'tractor co-operative' in which a much larger number of farmers share the use and expenses of a cultivator of tractor. By the end of 1958 one such co-operative had been established in Mellicha in Malta, and another at Gharb, in Gozo.

407 474 648 These two projects are attempts which, if successful, may be followed by the setting up of other similar co-operatives. Two powerful hand cultivators were donated by C.A.R.E[27], the American relief organization, to a committee of farmers in Mellicha and two more to a similar group in Gharb. In each village farmers wishing to join the co-operative paid a fee of some £2 after which they were [427] entitled to hire the machine at a fraction of the prevailing commercial hire cost. In Gharb this was 10/- an hour where other private tractor operators were demanding 17/-. The C.A.R.E. gifts of tractors removed the need for the farmer himself to invest capital in something novel. He stood only to gain and not to lose and there was, consequently, fierce competition for the limited membership of the co-operative. Maintainance of the machines was in each case left to a full-time operator, while the running of the co-operative was in the hands of an executive committee of some half dozen farmers in each case who were elected from among the members concerned. This kind of organization in farm work is quite new to the Maltese farmer who has previously been incapable of uniting to any degree, whether in a marketing co-operative or farmers' union (Section 4). If the Mellicha and Gharb projects prove successful the principle of such co-operation may well extend to other branches of agriculture. The resulting financial economies would considerably strengthen the farmer's position.

407 474 A co-operative of any sort is, however, a somewhat unknown quantity among a largely illiterate and conservative farming population not far removed from traditional independent subsistence. Moreover, until recently, mechanical skill has been confined to the small number of farmers operating tractors themselves. In the Gharb co-operative only two men were available who could in fact operate the machines at all.

Although it is too early to judge the efficacy of this kind of co-operative in Malta its initial success would suggest that it has a future. The answer to the problem of shortage of labour discussed earlier in this section may then well be a combination of the widespread owner-use of one or other of the small rotary cultivators on the market along

*159
423

Pawlu's holding at Easter, 1958.

Origin of TENURE	1958 T S K[49]	No longer held in 1959 T S K[49]
From own family on his marriage in 1935...	5-5-5	4-3-8
From own family since his marriage	7-4-5	
From his bride's family at marriage	5-0	16-0-0
From non-relatives, all since 1955	28-0-3	
	42-3-3	20-3-8

OWNERSHIP of land held by Pawlu.		Plots		Plots
Church (Cathedral (Mdina)	3-4-0	5	16-0-0	var
Church (Gharb	1-0-3	4		
Church (Benefizzju (agent)	4-3-0	2		
Civil Government	3-5-0	2		
Other farmers	4-0-0	2		
Sinjur (a Xewkija Baron)	5-0	1	1-1-8	2
Owned by Pawlu himself	4-0	1	1-0-0	1
Sub-leased (4-yearly) from 8 farmers who hold on long lease, or own	24-0-0	var.adj.		
Military authorities	0		0	
No information			3-0	1
Notary (agent)			1-5-0	2
	42-3-3		20-3-8	

The details of the 20-3-8 relinquished by Pawlu are significant:

Sub-let because of small-size and inaccessibility	7-0
Sold because of inaccessibility	1-0-0
Abandoned because of distance & inaccessibility	1-0-0
Option declined because of distance	16-0-0
Exchanged	1-2-8
	20-3-8

*159
423
427

On sixteen of his twenty-six plots of land Pawlu pays annually about £24 in rent. On average this works out at about 4 shillings per tomna for rough grazing land and £1.1.6d per tomna of cultivable dry (baghli) land. Pawlu himself receives an income of 5s 6½d per annum as rent for two small patches (totalling slightly more than a tomna) which he sub-lets. He himself owns the pivotal centre of his farm, and four sighan on which stands his house, cattle byre, goat shed, store rooms and small enclosures.

*159
234
311
[246]
[244]

Pawlu's present policy is to expand fodder production in order to eliminate much of the very high cost of purchased fodder. Along with this he is keen to acquire the use of rough grazing land for his goats where he can do so cheaply. The large block of this type of rough grazing which Pawlu acquired piece-meal during 1957 and 1958 makes the supervision of the animals easier than would be the case if he had to graze them in small fields adjacent to land carrying standing crops. Pawlu is cutting down the quantity of vegetables produced for sale each year since he is without any guaranteed market or price. He aims nevertheless to produce as much of the family requirements as possible.

*159 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs
512 and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.
794

Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his
592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they
178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to
*159 offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a consider-
423 able land holding.)

●427 A. **Land.**

[311]
- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 B. **Utilisation.**
423
311

	1956	1957	1958	
House	½	½	½	
Vines	½	½	½	
Prickly pear	½	½	½	
Fodders	8¼	10¼	14⅛	
Vegetables	8⅜	6¼	2⅜	
Rough Grazing	-	12	24	
Unused	½	½	½	
Total	18⅝	30½	42½	tmien

*159 C. **Livestock.** (Nov. 1957)
231

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 D. **Capital.**
471
[427]
[456]
- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 E. **Labour.**
464
- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 F. **Production and Sales.**
433
[434]
- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
[246] (he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
241 for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
433 the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
434 getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
● [427] 1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
[241] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
[433] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
438 great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
443 paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

× 159 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
511 entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
829 yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
178 one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation.
In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following
in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is diffi-
241 cult to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
178 the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
362 the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
£8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
● [427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a new house and include near it accommodation for his animals. For his large family of wife and eight children the house, though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
54 called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
461 distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can him-
self operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
464 animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
654 when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. **Land.**

[423] [427] ● Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. **Utilisation.**

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. **Livestock.**

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. **Capital.**

[423] [454] [412] [407] [426] [427]

(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.

- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. **Labour.** (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. **Production and Sales.**

[234] [43] [231]

(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
  - Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
  - Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
  - Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
  - 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding: piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]

(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
  - In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
  - Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. **Husbandry.**

[245]

(i)
  - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shorts cut back.
  - Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
  - Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 shopping is done in the local Village but Nardu
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Suq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 423 A. **Land.**

30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 241 311 B. **Utilisation.**

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under żofżfa. (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 231 C. **Livestock.**

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital.**

[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
[454] - Freehold village house.
[412] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[407] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc.
No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 464 E. **Labour.**

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting. During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
- ● [427] Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract)of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 433 F. **Production and Sales.**

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

*159 241 G. **Husbandry.**

(i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annua
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prov
the employment of the normal four-year rota

*159 452 off until mid-November but, in the intervening two and a half months, the purchase of fodder had been continued and the debt maintained. In that September he himself put his debt at £60 and said that at the previous Christmas (1956) it had been £100. Thus a debt of £60 in the flush milk season of highest total receipts from the M.M.U. would appear to be the best financial position he could achieve. Removal of the guaranteed milk price to the producer could result only in ruin for this herdsman and the many in the Islands like him.

*159 829 In spite of his own poverty Anglu maintains that he is fully aware of the artificial economic picture of which the guaranteed price is a part. In the same breath however he complains that he could sell his milk for more than the M.M.U. gives him in the short season. Here he overlooks the obvious outcome of a removal of the guarantee during the annual glut.

*159 178 291 511 His financial hardships make it impossible for him to hire labour or to invest in any capital improvements to the farm or herd. Neither does it enable him to support his family as he aspires. This is especially evident in the case of clothing because the family lives in an urban area and therefore strives to appear as well dressed as their non-farming neighbours. Anglu observes that there has been a change both in the types of clothing worn and in the occasions on which they are worn. He speaks of a Doctor of the district who used to go barefoot in the streets carrying a pair of shoes to put on before entering a house or Church. Nowadays, by contrast, children attend school with shoes and are generally well turned out. This is particularly true of an urban area, where Anglu's children go to school and where his teenage children go to work - a son as an apprentice carpenter, one daughter as a shop assistant and another as a factory worker. None of his children is likely to contemplate farming as a way of life and means of earning a living, for, in their father's case they can see an extreme example of the problem facing many farmers throughout the Islands today, that is a man unable to make a living wage for himself and his family from a farm limited in possibilities by external factors and dependant on a guarantee which could be removed at a general election.

*159 427

CASE V : Summary.

(A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer)

A. Land.

Rents and grazes 1 tomna of wasteland.
Rents and works as a domestic garden 1 tomna of dry land, in the Urban area.

600 authorities each year.

*159 474 234 434 [432] Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me". Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in [454] for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

*159 423 234 ● [429] Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old, and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop his own property since the war in order to qualify for the necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 342 351 423 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead off to the gound floor living rooms, to the goat shed and cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room, to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street. From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

159 The family has occupied the present house for several
423 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
551 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the
village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
461 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
234 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially
to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
829 his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
544 He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public
234 lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He
178 thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique
interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese
farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which
cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods".
He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to
the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time
and labour thus expended would bring no additional return
to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he
employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and
therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases
some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures)
would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

● [427] All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

* 159 829 178 [246] For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows. Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

* 159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 427 A. Land.

- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

* 159 241 B. Utilisation.

- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

* 159 231 234

- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

* 159 [454] D. Capital.

- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]

- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] [234]

- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

* G. Husbandry.

159 231 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

[427]
- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.

[311]
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly [illegible] tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

[435] [434]
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

* H. General.

159 156

- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159 - Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.

156 - Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit

[231] will be greater.
- Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

CASE VIII : Niklaws (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)

*159
472 Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent par-
[423] tnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70
[234] tmien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle.
There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows'
472 milk production. They retain only two goats. With about
234 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day
- Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained
433 while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons.
Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says
[232] Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear
in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a
407 mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth
454 year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing
234 machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators
and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on
[427] the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and
[435] the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949
and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 (i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

234 (ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

* **D. Capital.**

159 [472] (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

* **E. Labour.**

159 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

464 (ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

407 (iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

427 (iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

* **F. Production and Sales.**

159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

*159 198 829 [454] Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming" although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-biedja f'Malta spiččat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

*159 423 (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows'milk production.)

A. Land.

[429] Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

*159 231 C. Livestock.

Shifting emphasis in recent years.

- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957: 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- Pigs 8.

159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
829 Gozitan milk producer, Case I.
The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle with-
234 in the current artificial economy of milk production. There
is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy
[433] were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġemri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 Ġemri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
472 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two
brothers together while Ġemri himself rents a further ten
tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by
private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth
to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned
by Ġemri's father.

*159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
492 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present.
They share the common view that hired farm labour is both
uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inef-
ficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli)
apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was
utilised as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines........................	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders....................	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let.......	13 tmien
Potatoes...............................	6 tmien
Other vegetables.......................	5 tmien

*159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġemri's father some years ago and now grow
in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons,
oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits.
The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or
disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub.
Ġemri and his brother spend a large part of September and
October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected
trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this
time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But
of late Ġemri has been wondering whether the same result
might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the appli-
cation of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of
this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 Since 1953 Ġemri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
[435] at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of
crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

*
159 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously
829 and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.
181 Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community
178 in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

*
159 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production.)
423 (Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

427 **A. Land.**

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

*
159 **B. Utilisation.**
241

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9 tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9 "
Potatoes	6.2 "
Other vegetables	4.9 "
Fallow or unproductive or lot 'bin-nofs'.	12.6 "
	62.5 tmien

*
159 **C. Livestock.**
231

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

*
159 **D. Capital.**
423 (i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.
454 (ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.
(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.

*
159
407 (iv) - Equipment:
427
- Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
- Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding, Ġ

159 407 427 paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on ♂'s personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tomna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tomna.

- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tomna.

E. Labour.

*159 464
- ♂'s 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:
  - (a) Joint holding worked by partners and ♂'s nephew.
  - (b) Land held by ♂, deriving from wife's family, farmed by ♂ and oldest nephew.
  - (c) Land held by ♂'s brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 461
- A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.
- (a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On ♂'s own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tomna.

*159 F. Production and Sales.

434 241 (1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From ♂'s land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
♂'s share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434
- This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from ££.10.0 to £15 per tomna, fruit £28 per tomna,

CASE XI : Summary.

(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

*159 **A. Land.**

423 ●427 (i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Wallicha District. 2 tmien freehold.

(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.

(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.

(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced an annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 241 **B. Utilization.** With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons, Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.

(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 231 **C. Livestock.** During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bhejjem tax-xoghol').

*159 **D. Capital.**

- [423] 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
- [435] [454] No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E.[2] Estimated possible total less than £100.
- [406] Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

- [464] Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.
- [474] [241] A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.
- [464] Rarely hires labour.
- [461] An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increa-
sing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Ċensu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 A. Land.

● 427
33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

B. Utilisation.

*159
241
Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 C. Livestock.

231
234
Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 D. Capital.

[423]
[454]
[407]
- No freehold land. Owns large village house.
- No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

E. Labour.

*159
464
[465]
- Family labour - one, 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.

[427]
[241]
[407]
- Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely
residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] Case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his
sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this
type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no
importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the
fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election
times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and
his problems" because, it appears, of sucpicion and ignorance.
He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily
- because of the same factors. - This is itself discouraging
the younger farming generation from staying on the land and
struggling against rising costs to sell products which are
but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present
Government policy of assistance by both financial support in
various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods
and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)
423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- ●[427] Soils: 1-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.
[241]

- Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.
454
422
423

- No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
- Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.
464
[465]

- Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

181 read of successful experiments of one kind or another in a
241 foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof
829 before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard
to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

*159 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting
407 business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They
422 have (1958):

●427 (i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board plow, the only one in the district,

472 (ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only
[465] slowly - Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

Ġanni and the village.

*159 Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his
156 literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

*159 They appear to have been among the first in the Tractor 'business' and note that when they started there were only
472 some half dozen large tractors already in use in Malta.

407 When the original tractor was imported along with a
499 trailing plow it was found very difficult to negotiate the tortuous Maltese country tracks. They have since shortened the fitment and adapted it for carriage high above the ground in transit. Unlike CASE XIV these brothers maintain that the 'crawling' type of tractor is better suited to Maltese conditions than is the wheeled as it can cope more easily with rough ground and with mud.

Although they have no competitors in the immediate vicinity, they complain that:

(i) The introduction of the small hand rotary cultivator in recent years has caused a set-back in their business. It is clearly a less unwieldy implement for many small or narrow fields than is the large tractor and one which is cheap enough for a farmer to purchase fairly easily. However the brothers have increased the variety of special fitments which they can operate with their tractors and have thus to some extent retained their business.

(ii) There are at present too many large tractors for the work available. The brothers would be pleased if several of them would go out of business.

CASE XVI

Two brothers have three wheeled tractors, a threshing machine and two rotary cultivators. Holding only some three acres of land themselves they depend primarily on their tractor-hire business which they began, with a single tractor, shortly before the 1939-45 War. At present business is declining for the reasons mentioned in CASE XV. One of the brothers insists that the Government should prohibit the import of any more tractors into the Island in an effort to reduce the competition. As for rotary cultivators they observe that these implements can be used almost all the year round and are better suited for general cultivation work than is the tractor-drawn deep plow.

CASE XVII

A plowman with two large tractors (both 'caterpillar' tracked and one converted into a bulldozer), this Case illustrates some further points. He acquired his first machine early in the 1939-45 War and has built up his business so successfully that he now farms only a single acre himself relying for his income on the profits of the short plowing season and on his contract work throughout the year with his bull-dozer. His area of operation stretches from St. Paul's Bay in the north of Malta to Benghajsa in the extreme south, where he works for at least two full weeks per year. He also hires his threshing machine in widely scattered parts of the Island. This occupies him for some two months each summer. [427]

His major complaints are (i) the high price of diesel oil, and (ii) the fact that tractor operators are forbidden by law to drive their machines on public highways. On the question of 'over-lap' between contractors he wants the Government to delimate areas of operation for each man, an impracticable suggestion which would, he imagines, remove the necessity for his having to seek work at great distances from his village. His attitude on this point contrasts with his desire to import a new threshing machine as soon as possible.

CASE XVIII

In this case, a farmer works his tractor-hire business in conjunction with a friend. He bought a Chalmers tractor shortly before 1939 and has recently acquired a second machine - an Olivier. The area which he and his partner work with their tractors and 14" plow has become more limited of late on account of the increased use of rotary cultivators, especially as these are often user-owned.

what type of lease. However, many of the minor variations in land use which exist as between adjacent fields or parts of fields can be partially explained on the basis of their legal position. Thus the wasteland of il-Wilġa in the Wied tal-Pwales reflects both physical deterioration and a tenurial conflict. But, as may be observed throughout the regional and distributional studies in this volume, the patterns observable in Maltese farming are resultants of many forces and influences, in which the legal element plays a very minor part. 423* 311 427

A third type of tenure, that of share-cropping, appears in some rather specialised forms in the Maltese Islands. Between land-owner and occupier, its main incidence seems to be as a working arrangement between aged parents and their children. Between coevals it appears as a temporary form of subletting known as *bin nofs*. Some of the factors influencing the first type have already been examined. In the second case, share-cropping arrangements are a consequence of the growing tendency of farmers to leave the land for short trial periods to seek other employment or to emigrate. As a form of insurance, leased or owned land is then often let temporarily to relatives or friends on the understanding that should the farmer return, his land reverts to him or in the case of the time-limit (usually five years) elapsing before his return, the share-cropper takes over full rights. Although this is of doubtful legality in the case of rented land, landlords do not seem to object. In the north and west of Malta, over 6 per cent. of the cultivated area is held in this way, and the proportion is over 3 per cent. in Gozo. In other areas, share-cropping would seem to be of negligible importance. Because this system appears to be based on expediency, the details of owner-cropper relationship are more variable than in areas where *metayage* is more fully developed as an institution. The provision of land, materials and labour and the division of product vary greatly. One case exists of a whole community working the land under a tenant-in-chief who provides land, seed, manure and some machinery and then claims one-fifth of the value of the crops which he buys back in bulk. 423* 427

The share-cropping tenures terminate with the death of either party. In all other cases the death of a tenant results in the leasehold becoming part of his divisible estate and liable to fragmentation between the children, all of whom have equal rights of inheritance. The importance of this element in the process of *parcellement* has been regarded as very great, in Malta as elsewhere. Before considering an actual case-study of holding evolution, it is as well to note some of the general points. 423* 427 428

First, the family group has strong powers to maintain its hold on land and to exclude others from it. In this they are supported by the action of landlords and by the legal codes as at present framed. On the other hand, little effort is made to prevent sub-division within the family group. Thus no analysis of the process of fragmentation can be made without a full understanding of the nature of the Maltese rural family.

In this chapter, the main elements in the physical and legal entity which constitutes the Maltese farm have been considered. As much as is feasible of the legal and customary background to the farm unit has been considered. In illustration of these points and in order to amplify them, a detailed analysis of the lands of one Maltese family follows. It is appropriate here to record the great kindness, forbearance and co-operation shown by the members of that family without whose considerable assistance such an examination could not have been made. 423* [123]

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As the circumstances of land acquisition would indicate, these early holdings were not excessively 'fragmented' but the seeds of later more complex patterns had been set by the lease of non-contiguous properties and the parcellation amongst themselves or with unrelated co-tenants of large tenements newly leased. However, we must remember that, although the male line of the family held no land before c. 1860, this is certainly not true of all the families into which 0's sons and their descendants married. Accordingly, 2's children and the children of later marriages were only partially descended from the landless strain. With the legal right of equality of division of all heritable property regardless of sex, the expectations of later scions would therefore be enhanced. It must also be remembered that all land held by the later descendants of 0, whether acquired by descent through the family, by marriage, new tenancy or purchase, may with equal validity be considered as the land of other families, whose sons and daughters marry into the family which we have chosen to study. It is a valid case of 'gaining a son, not losing a daughter'. In the present (fourth) generation the family is fully integrated into a complex web of relationships within the village. Indeed an informant has remarked that if someone in the village is not related to him, that person must be a stranger and newcomer to the area.

Notwithstanding these considerations, clarity can only be preserved by maintaining the idea of the family as a developing entity in terms of which land is gained, lost or divided. Division is the normal process by which lands may pass in effect into the hands of a single child, though siblings may be entitled to some form of compensation. Division to all the children need not take place at the same time; an elder child may even receive its share while a younger brother is still unborn. In these circumstances, 'shares' cannot be precise, though efforts may be made to re-adjust at a later stage. A share of parental land is normally the first which a young farmer begins to work as his own. If, as is usual, his departure from the family farm was occasioned by marriage, he may also obtain land from his father-in-law, but this is never *his* in the same sense and is only effectively consolidated with the land of his own family when his children, born of that wife, come to work it on their own behalf.

Generation 3

All the brothers of the second generation are now dead, the last having died c. 1936, and their landholdings split up. The pattern of acquisition of land by the third generation is shown in Fig. 139. Family land passed very unevenly to these groups. For example, in group C, although there were seven other children all land came ultimately to the husband of one daughter (3 to 35). Initially the farm was divided amongst the children.

Table 43. Holdings of Generation III: Group C. *Tmien*.

s = son; d = daughter.

	31s	32s	33s	34d	35/36d	37d	38d	Total
Division from parent: 3	½	½	½	½	45½	½	½	49½
Transfers among siblings	-½	-½	-½	-½	+4	-½	-½	4
Total land and max. holding	½	½	½	½	49½	½	½	-
Total land to be passed on	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½
Leasehold	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½

Note: Some of 35's siblings have a little land elsewhere.

In other groups, the demands of each child were more nearly equal, but in none was there a rigid egalitarian sub-division. Even in group B, where all the children received some land, its distribution seems to have been controlled by

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Chapter V

MALTA A.D. 1800 to 1914

A. Economy and Trade

During the last years of administration by the Knights, bankruptcy threatened the Order. In so far as one may think in terms of a Maltese 'economy' for that period, one may also note the appearance, even then, of the fundamental economic problems of Malta. During the nineteenth century, a slow change from a considerable dependence on extra-territorially derived wealth to overwhelming reliance upon it made the overall instability of the economy obvious to all. Equally important in many ways, was the growing need for reconciling external economic balance with the claims of a rapidly rising internal demand. This latter problem, now sufficiently familiar to us all, was too novel to be recognised during the nineteenth century. Moreover, in the case of Malta it was, and to some extent still is, obscured by the nature of the invisible income so long drawn from outside.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Malta drew wealth from two major external sources. Some was derived from visible trade, but: 'the trade of Malta previously to the invasion of the French in the year 1798 was inconsiderable . . . (it) consisted chiefly in the exportation of cotton twist, the produce and manufacture of the Island' (1). Nevertheless Boisgelin (2) estimated that annual exports of spun cotton to France alone were worth in the same period 2,750,000 *livres*, while Ball (3) in 1801 valued exports of cotton twist and goods at £500,000. These exports, products of indigenous agriculture and manufacture, paid for only a fraction of the Islands' imports. These imports included basic supplies of timber, vegetable oils, simple manufactures and, above all, grain, the domestic production of which supplied only about one-third of the need. Over and above these staple commodities for general consumption were the imports of a great range of superior consumer goods for the Knights and of capital goods for the equipping and maintenance of the Garrison. These were paid for out of the second main source of wealth, the foreign income derived from the Order's mainland estates, from the taxation of the Commanderies, and from special grants by irregularly sympathetic Kingdoms and the Papacy.

A further part of what we may term 'Negotiable Wealth' went to the Order's 'Internal Revenue Account' to pay for administrative costs, for 'contract' services such as fortification building, and also for social and welfare services such as the Hospital, almhouses and medical care (4). This element may be considered in present-day terms to have been expended on the wages and salaries of Maltese employees of the Government and Defence Departments, and therefore indirectly contributed to payments overseas for basic imports. A third but very minor source of 'foreign currency' was that of civil port activity and mercantile profit. Shipping dues made a small contribution, partly in foreign currency, to the Internal Revenue.

Thus, even at this early date, a complex inter-relationship existed between various elements in the Maltese economy. During the whole of the subsequent period the real distinction between the three main elements of the economy, the Internal Revenue Account, the Balance of Payments or Negotiable Income, and the National Product, became greater but unfortunately not fully recognised. The essence of later change lies in the altering relative importance of these main elements and of their constituent parts.

By 1798, the Internal Revenue Account in so far as it can be isolated, was showing weaknesses resulting from increased 'administrative' expenditure. The Balance of Payments was showing a visible annual deficit of 4,000,000 *livres* (5), and this was becoming hard to meet from the income of the Order's non-Maltese estates. The National Product is impossible to assess except in the broadest terms but may be analysed as follows. First there was the production of agri-

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culture and fishing almost entirely, with the exception of the bulk of the cotton crop, for home consumption in the largely self-sufficient rural community. Secondly, cotton spinning and weaving on a domestic scale which contributed most of the manufacturing production. The third item was made up of wages and mercantile profit on services supplied to the small amount of civilian shipping. A fourth item of rents and profits may be presumed to be very small. Lastly and most important were the peculiar services rendered by the Order to Christian Europe, paid for in foreign income and finally dispersed in wages and salaries for goods and services supplied by the Maltese population, particularly by what we may term the *entourage* of the Garrison.

The last years of the eighteenth century witnessed the complete destruction of the old basis of Internal Revenue and Externally Derived Income, as well as wiping out that part of the National Product which was a consequence of the function of the Order. From 1792 onwards the Knights' estates in France and French-dominated Europe were confiscated and when, in 1798, French forces occupied the Islands, the Order died, in fact if not in name. In 1800, an abject Spain, at the behest of France, prohibited the importation of cotton yarn and in Catalonia the last important Maltese export market was lost.

The period of British occupation and rule which commenced in 1800 was therefore a period in which the existing basic economic situation had to be served by new processes of wealth-getting based on new values. The general economy revived rapidly in embryonically new forms but in the special economic circumstances of the Napoleonic Wars. Between 1800 and 1813 British official expenditure of some £433,000 replaced that part of the Order's foreign income which had been functionally expended. Other compensation came from a relatively new source of foreign income, the personal expenditure of a new type of garrison and a foreign element numbering up to 20,000 at peak. This particular contribution to Malta's need for 'foreign currency' was the germ from which was to grow the greatest single source of Negotiable Wealth. The differential between the value of this type of income derived from outside the Islands and the value of the commodities, increasingly imported in type, set against it, started to become one of the chief elements in National Product as mercantile profit, in Negotiable Wealth - when earned by service industries, and in Internal Revenue through taxation (6).

The decline in the export of cotton was never arrested and the statement in 1812 that cotton twist was a commodity unsaleable abroad was corroborated by time (7). This loss of the second traditional source of foreign income was largely made up by a boom in civil port activity and entrepôt trade. This replacement however implied a further swing towards dependence on external economic activity, and an increase in the proportion of the National Product concerned with services rather than with local material resources.

In 1801 Britain declared Malta a Free Port and, in a series of Orders in Council dating from 1807, the Islands were given an especially favoured status for trading in the Mediterranean. Conceived as strategic economic measures to break the Continental Blockade, these Orders had the incidental effect of stimulating activity at Valletta. Since Napoleon's economic measures were anachronistically mercantilist in operation, and since each addition to the politico-economic confusion, whether the American Embargo Act or war with Turkey, merely intensified the channelling of trade through British maritime controls, Malta flourished. After 1807, the island of Malta became the focal point of a trading system artificially warped and distorted by war. In 1808 two-thirds of cargoes consigned from Malta went to the Levant and Egypt, in 1809 over one-half to Trieste. By 1810 over three-quarters of them were destined for North Adriatic ports and this proportion was maintained for some years. These cargoes consisted almost entirely of British manufactures and Colonial goods. In return, from the Levant came commodities mainly for war-booming London; fruit, oil and wine, fine woods, drugs, carpets, etc. From the Adriatic came raw materials and naval stores such as timber, hemp, pitch and tar, flax, iron, linen, mercury and verdigris as well as glass, wine and tobacco (8). This flood of goods overwhelmed the limited warehouses of Malta and resulted in the springing up of 60 British and over 20 Maltese entrepreneurial businesses. It is not surprising that the Royal Commissioners were able to say in 1812: 'The Commercial part of the Community we found daily increasing in prosperity and opulence; fully sensible of the peculiar advantages derived from the protection of Great Britain; anxious only that this Protection shall on no future occasion be withdrawn' (9). Prophetic words these; from this time onwards, port activity of one sort or another rather than the *corsos* was to be of direct importance.

Internally also there was relative prosperity: 'the great mass and body of the People were happy and contented: warm in their professions of attachment to Great Britain' (10). External boom was associated with internal inflation. Many farmers turned from cotton growing to the production of grain and food-stuffs, the prices of which soared in prosperous Valletta. Many artisans, weavers and spinners found employment in the port services. The decay and near collapse of the old *Università*, the cheap grain agency, was obscured, except for the very needy, by the short-term benefits following commodity shortages, rising prices and unevenly increased incomes.

From this period onward, in the harbour areas, there developed mercantile enterprises and a large labour force, all concerned with entrepôt trade, with trans-shipping, handling and re-export of almost entirely non-Maltese goods. This port activity began to contribute directly, and on a significant scale, what may be termed foreign currency in the form of commercial profit. Secondly, the payment of tonnage dues almost entirely by foreign shipping introduced a special element of external contribution to the Internal Revenue of the Administration. Thirdly, the wages of the civil port labour-force were, directly or indirectly, also derived from non-Maltese sources.

The boom of the Napoleonic Wars, in this sector of the economy, was unstable and short-lived in that it owed its strength to distorted trading conditions. Nevertheless the new entrepreneurs attributed the post-war decline to a British Colonial policy adjudged to be both *laissez faire* and restrictionist in character rather than to the inevitable termination of artificially favourable wartime conditions (11). This point is of importance because throughout the later history of Malta the same error was repeatedly made. Wealth, and in this instance mainly foreign-derived wealth, based on entrepreneurial activity must always be fluctuating in fortune, but it was the booms which were assumed to be the rightful norms while the intervening lower levels of prosperity were regarded as 'outrageous fortune'. One of the tragedies of Malta is that this attitude was strengthened by periodic coincidences of favourable circumstances, and Malta has come to expect such benefits almost as of right. At this early period, we can see too the failure to seize opportunities during periods of prosperity for investment in improved port facilities and in the manufacturing and agricultural sectors.

A post-war decline in externally inflated commerce was accompanied by a drop in direct and indirect Imperial expenditure. Britain had been primarily concerned with the beating of Bonaparte and, with certain strategic and constitutional provisos, was concerned with a return to the *status quo*. The main garrison and fleet departed, leaving behind in 1813 Governor Maitland, his 35 English administrators and a small naval and military force. British economic interest became centred on balancing the Internal Revenue account. The Treasury was in a parlous state and the *Università* heavily in debt. The Government Revenue Account was soon put on a sound basis but the loss of much external wealth severely affected the Islands' population. The fall in commercial and urban prosperity pricked the bubble of internal inflation and also reduced the level of non-agricultural employment. The countryside suffered considerably. In 1836 (12) it was reported that agricultural commodity prices had fallen on average by one-half since 1827 but that rents, the level of which were kept up by competition for land, fell only by one-quarter. By the later date cotton spinning and weaving, almost entirely for a depressed local market, were the only significant manufactures. Others were small and localised; salt and pottery making at the village of Birkirkara, cane work in Siġġiewi and tanning in Tarxien. The fishing industry was so ill-developed as to make the Commissioners wonder whether fishing was even feasible.

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Part of the economic trouble resulted from the shortage of Maltese personnel capable or trained in the arts of public finance or in the exercise of private economic initiative, a natural result of the long period of paternal autocracy under the Knights. The position was improved neither by the lack of confidence felt by the British Administration in Maltese executive experience, nor by the attitude exemplified by Wellington's statement before the House of Lords (13): 'We hold it as an important post, as a great military and naval arsenal, and as nothing more'.

Nevertheless changes were in train. Paralleling the constitutional developments outlined in Section B of this chapter, and in symbiotic association with the demographic trends considered in Chapter VI A, the interplay of internal and external economic forces produced new economic patterns. In general, as the needs of British Imperial Policy, more variable than those of the strangely ossified Order, became greater, so Malta became more exposed to changes in world circumstances. Similarly, as commerce in its more rarified forms became dominant, world trade and business cycles were more and more closely reflected in the Maltese economy, evidence of growing integration into global conditions. An increased general sensitivity became characteristic of a more sophisticated but top-heavy structure. Under all lay the declining relative importance of that wealth based on indigenous resources and industries.

Between 1820 and 1854, the Maltese economy reflected slow world and regional adjustments to peace and to the growth of an international economy in which Britain led the way. Technological advances but slowly exerted economic effects. This was still the 'Iron Age' and of steampower in an embryonic form. Not until the 1850's, coinciding with a second phase of trade distortion and reawakening Imperial interest in the Mediterranean both associated with the Crimean War, came Bessemer's Convertor and the 'Steel Age'. The Maltese harbours still lay in a great inland lake, affairs on the shores of which alone were important. In 1827 (Battle of Navarino) the British fleet was based on Malta; in 1832 an Admiralty packet service was established and in 1839 the P. and O. and East India Companies used Malta as a calling port on their Egypt and Levant runs. The Crimean War itself demonstrated the regional limitation of Maltese shipping importance, and in the 1860's under one-half of shipping tonnage entered and cleared was extra-Mediterranean in character and most of that was British.

Even so, changes occurring before the middle of the nineteenth century were great enough to produce a sharpening of the old distinction between the 'Old Malta' of the villages, of the old nobility centred on Mdina, and the 'New Malta' of the harbours. The former was too parochially ignorant, the latter too centrifugally minded to allow of stable and regular development especially during a period of rapid external change.

In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened and the Mediterranean became a world highway. As the figures for shipping tonnages entered and cleared in Malta indicate (Fig. 30), and as also evidenced by the internal facts of migration and demography, land settlement and abandonment, employment and occupation, the Maltese economy entered a special phase after 1870.

Until this time, Malta's externally-based civil economy developed at average world rates rather than at the higher speeds found in Northern Europe. After 1870, shipping business and port activity in Malta increased more rapidly than did world trade and for two decades enjoyed a prosperity of which the Napoleonic and Crimean Wars had provided but a foretaste. Entrepôt trade with attendant commercial profits boomed and port employment benefited particularly from the increasing bunkering trade.

The Internal Revenue Account had remained based on the recommendations of specific and direct taxation made by the 1836 Royal Commission. Generally increasing commercial prosperity and the growing population, together with Imperial expenditure, so raised the level of consumption that import duties on food and drink made up over 40 per cent. of Government Revenue. Tonnage dues, and legal imports increased *pari passu* with port business. Only during two of the world slump years of the 1880's did rising expenditure produce current

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revenue deficits. In 1878 a report by Rowsell on the fiscal situation in Malta is particularly indicative of buoyant conditions, but also indicated the smallness of revenue reserves (14).

The superficially favourable Internal Revenue situation and the fall in unemployment and migration, particularly after 1870, were however paralleled by a growing unbalance in the National Product. Once again there occurred a fortuitous coincidence of favourable external circumstances. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and fleets of small steamships plying the new route to the Indian Ocean needed frequent bunkering. The Mediterranean littoral itself became the scene of increased economic activity. The same industrial surge in northern Europe, and in Britain in particular, which built the ships and the Canal, needed foodstuffs and raw materials and provided the capital and equipment for their production. Not only from the Mediterranean littoral, Australia and the Orient, but also from the Russian and Danubian Black Sea ports came the ships which converged on the Malta Straits. Many regions suffered from the downward movement of commodity prices which occurred after 1873. Malta was little affected by commodity price-changes in that her commercial activity was strictly concerned with services, and the Islands reaped the benefit of increased volume of traffic. By 1882, 80 per cent. of the recorded tonnage using the harbours dealt with extra-Mediterranean traffic. The same year witnessed the nineteenth century peak of British steel exports, the Black Sea grain trade was still building up and bunkering business in Malta reached its height. During the 1880's Britain was in virtual control of maritime affairs and the complicated pattern of a relevant part of tramp movement may be summarised thus (15):-

> '... steamers go a round voyage, part of which is in ballast, taking coal, say, to the Mediterranean and then grain from the Black Sea to Hamburg and home... The course of the export trade in coal is influenced in some degree by the return freight... modified by favourable harvests or otherwise in different parts of the world, and the consequent varying sources of our food supplies'.

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In this statement may be found an explanation both of the reason for Malta's Golden Era between 1870 and 1890 and for its impermanence. Before 1890 events conspired to produce commercial opportunity. After 1890 Europe turned more and more to the New World for grain and the volume of Black Sea trade slowly declined. Those ships still in the trade together with those using the through Mediterranean routes grew larger and more power-efficient and therefore less in need of frequent bunkering stops. Competition from other ports increased as the Mediterranean political pattern became simplified by effective French control of much of North Africa, by the enforcement of stability on Egypt and by Italian unification. The sheer momentum of nineteenth century economic progress carried centres such as Algiers, Naples, Alexandria and Barcelona, all with developing hinterlands and facilities, out of the class of ports pure and simple. By 1895 shipping activity in Malta had dropped back to the level of 1880 and thenceforward it developed at a slower rate than did world trade as a whole. The Maltese were once more sharply reminded that the possession of a good natural harbour was not enough in itself permanently to attract commercial interest.

Since detailed statistics of trade, other than that in dutiable goods, were not recorded before 1910 it is difficult to measure directly the real significance of port activity and trade either during the boom or in more normal conditions. The Blue Books are of some analytical aid, and that for 1891 suggests that the total value of what are termed re-exports was £35,000,000 of which only 3 per cent. by value were actually landed in Malta, the remainder proceeding to their ultimate destinations in the same bottoms. For further information we must turn to an analysis of the other elements in the National Product.

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The most useful records at our disposal are the Census recordings of occupations although even here there are considerable deficiencies. The gross working population (unemployment figures are not available before 1921) shows trends which conform to those of net population increase (Fig. 31) but particularly noteworthy is the numerical loss due to a decline in the female working group.

175* 43 464 group. From 1851, when it composed 45 per cent. of the total, this element steadily decreased, absolutely and relatively. This general trend resulted from normal sociological changes consequent on a maturing of the whole economy and from the growing dominance of male employing service industries. At the same time, the preponderantly feminine cotton industry was steadily declining (see pp. 123 and 124).

175* 43 464 241 458 One of the most significant indicators of economic change is that of male employment in agriculture (Fig. 31). During the first century of British rule, agriculture played no part in the economic expansion which was in train. Agricultural prosperity became a function of general prosperity and therefore to a large extent mirrored external fortune. Employment in the industry on the other hand, except for the shortlived cotton growing boom of the 1860's during the American Civil War, varied inversely with general economic activity. In Malta, as in most countries, it would be true to say that rising profits in farming benefited existing producers but failed to attract net incomers. On the other hand, population growth, the cessation of employment elsewhere, obstacles to emigration or even forces producing a return of migrants all periodically forced some workers back on to the land. Thus in the years between 1851 and 1871 while the population was growing more quickly than the slow but accelerating commercial activity, sheer population pressure and migration trends (16) forced the level of male agricultural employment from c. 7,000 to c. 9,000. During the Golden Years and the subsequent period of large-scale dockyard and public works construction numbers fell once more to c. 7,000 in 1901. Later stagnation in commerce and a decline in constructional work culminating in a severe depression (necessitating a Royal Commission) were marked by an increase in the number of farmworkers to 8,500 in 1911. These general fluctuations can be corroborated by reference to farm family histories and by changes in the availability of land. Behind the overall absence of numerical change and of those of secular variations we may discern some of the fundamental features of Maltese agriculture. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the better land had already been occupied by as many farmworkers as contemporary productivity could properly support. This number remained more or less constant, first because the economic and social climate was not propitious to the labour saving innovations which were sweeping over Europe, and secondly because the intake of land from waste did little more than compensate for losses elsewhere. We have a picture of a technically static, status declining and credit starved industry which from time to time lost some of its most vigorous and enterprising young workers or gained a flood of generally poor and semi-skilled labourers.

175* 369 43 More true of Malta than of Gozo, this picture must be modified to accommodate regional differences and changes. Already in the eighteenth century, as we have noted, a cleavage existed in Malta between the *urbs* around Valletta, the Old City of Mdina-Rabat, and the rural communities. By the middle of the nineteenth century, this had developed into an embryonic form of the present division into urban, suburban and rural communities (Fig. 36). The social and demographic reasons for and implications of this are considered elsewhere (Chapter VI A) but the internal economic factors need present consideration.

[499] Before the building of the railway in 1881, the tramways in 1905, and the later motorable roads, communication between villages and between country and town was relatively limited. Within those areas physically closest to what had now become the Grand Harbour the attraction/repulsion effects on agricultural employment were most strongly felt. On the eastern urban fringe, in the Żabbar area, these fluctuations were very violent and indicative of too complete reliance on two simple forms of economic activity, dockyard work and farming. On the western fringe the expanding economic and political functions of the nuclear *urbs* overwhelmed old villages such as Birkirkara and created new townships such as that of Hamrun in a more complex urbanisation (Figs. 32 and 39). Fluctuations in agricultural employment still occurred but these were less important than the steady decline in the total.

The changes outlined above proceeded slowly but at an accelerating rate during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. By 1871 popula-

[Text Continues on p. 123]

tion increase had overtaken economic growth, and in particular had forced an 175*
expansion of the cultivated area. As still evidenced in the landscape the farming 369
frontier moved into the more difficult lands of the north-western uplands and on
Mellieha Ridge and intensified effort on the floodable lands of Wied il-Ghasel. 43
The *Società-Economico-Agraria* in a series of reports and in the *Gazzetta*
Agraria Maltese expended much effort during this time in studying the possibility
of reclaiming land hitherto uncultivated (17).

From 1871 onward non-agricultural employment became absolutely 175*
dominant. The significance of this change lies in the fact that indigenously
rooted manufacturing, viz. cotton working, died completely and the largest sector 463
of National Production became entirely dependent on external wealth. A closer
examination of one of the crucial periods, the decade 1871-81, illustrates the 369
regional changes which were taking place. The male working population 464
increased suddenly from 40,598 to 46,116. The greatest rate of increase
occurred in the urban area where the number of male workers rose by 17 per 43
cent, while the population increased only by 9 per cent. The suburban trend was intermediate between this and the rural situation where the employment rate rose by only 8 per cent, - less than 800 men. The greatest suburban rise occurred mainly in the following decade. Functionally the largest increase occurred in the group of Porters, Carriers and Coalheavers - 100 per cent., while the commercial group increased by 27 per cent. and the numbers in the building trade actually declined slightly. During this decade and most of the next the greater part of economic growth resulted from increased port activity. At one end of the social scale there would seem to have been an actual migration of nobility and gentry from the 'unfashionable' old centres into Valletta, while in the capital the number of 'gentry' increased rapidly with each census as successful *nouveaux riches* acquired estates and a higher status. Bankers, merchants and dealers increased by 8 per cent., and in ever descending and widening social circles, shopkeepers by 11 per cent. and petty vendors by 25 per cent. The Transport group, an advanced stage to that of Porters, increased in number even more astonishingly, by 129 per cent. in Malta as a whole and by 318 per cent. in the rural areas.

As Table 23 indicates, the economic revolution was becoming more complex and the sphere of influence of Valletta and the port became more extensive.

Table 23. Percentage change in the male working population.

Location	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91
Urban	+6	+17	-4
Suburban	+0.7	+12	+5
Rural	+9	+8	+1

By 1891 the port boom was over but Government expenditure and Imperial military spending continued to rise. Commerce came more to mean retail trade and dockyard work more associated with bunkering and naval servicing. Coal-heaving, civil and military, engaged 2,075 men by 1891. By 1905 over 9,000 men were employed by the Naval Establishments, half of these on constructional work. On the other hand, the build up of the garrison, naval and military ended in 1902 and the Royal Commissioners in 1911 estimated that 'the reduction of the garrison must mean a loss to the industries of Malta of not less than £400,000 a year'.

During the closing years of the nineteenth century there was finally estab- 175*
lished in Malta the complex economic pattern which still fundamentally underlies 43
life in the Islands. The greater integration of economic life, a high level of urban
and dockyard activity and the improvement of internal communications resulted [361]
not in continued movement into the *urbs* but in the growth of the suburbs and
the strengthening of the non-agricultural element in the rural areas. Thus of [369]
the coalheavers of 1891, 80 per cent. lived outside the port complex and
44 per cent. in the outer ring of casals Qormi, Luqa and Zejtun. The labour [464]

*175 43 catchment area of the port was extended to include most of the east and centre of the island.

[464] The decline in indigenously rooted economic activity is typified by the fortunes of the cotton industry, which after two millennia of regional fame finally succumbed to the stresses of the new world into which Malta had been introduced. Statistical information is limited to brief mention of employment in the industry in the Census Reports of 1851 and later. General material, often [114] untrustworthy, may be gleaned from travellers reports. Field work (18) carried out during the last four years has given us the evidence of the few surviving cotton workers who can recall the character of the industry as it was in its moribund latter days.

*175 288 43 178 In 1861 there still remained almost 9,000 workers occupationally described as spinners and weavers and some 200 beaters and dyers. Ninety-six per cent. of the total were women, and male labour was generally used only in the final stages of cloth preparation. The industry included all processes from the growing of indigenous short staple annual cottons to the manufacture of cloth. The actual operations however were carried out almost entirely by individual workers in their own homes and were linked only by merchants specialising in this trade. In many cases merchants advanced seed to the farmers on a crop-sharing basis. In all cases they bought the picked lint and then distributed quantities by weight to 'out-work' spinners. These would return the yarn, which had been prepared by primitive traditional teasers and spinning wheels, and were paid by weight and fineness of the yarn. The village merchant would store the yarn until he received an order for cloth and would then make similar contracts with domestic weavers.

That this type of 'out-work', domestic industry survived late into the nineteenth century is a commentary on the social and economic needs of the poorer village and rural classes. Much of the female labour described as occupied in cotton-working was often only seasonally thus employed. The 1861 census taken in the autumn in contrast to the usual spring period clearly illustrates the seasonal change of work between spring harvesting and tillage in the fields, and the home use of the spinning wheel after the autumnal harvest. Tariffs and quotas on trade in lint and yarn were deliberately employed to protect in the domestic market this last employment reserve of the 'lower classes'.

Finally however tradition and protection proved powerless to prevent change. In the harbour area the decline was rapid after 1851, alternative employment and the impact of trade virtually killing the indigenous cotton industry by 1901. Away from the conurbation the same factors operated more slowly but still inexorably. Żebbuġ and Rabat, centres of old Malta, were the last to succumb. The former, a great centre of mercantile and ecclesiastical wealth derived from cotton, remained relatively important for weaving until 1914. In Rabat, the suburb of the old capital, a craft industry still survives. With the coming of new opportunities for wealth gaining, not in trade but in mass employment in the dockyards and towns, the last *raison d'être* of the cotton industry disappeared. It survived longest in the cotton growing regions of the west and in the most Maltese of the old villages of the Centre and South. With its disappearance died the last considerable skilled employment of traditional resource wealth.

*175 178 43 Changes such as these characterised the Maltese economy during the nineteenth century. World War I marked the end of an epoch during which the evaluation placed on Malta by Britain was sometimes questioned but never invalidated. The Maltese economy as it existed in the opening years of the twentieth century had reached the logical culmination of a specialised development which had been under way for centuries.

433 458 The main relevant conclusion was unmistakably ominous: 'Government expenditure has more than made up for that of the Knights, and has diverted more of the labour of the population to the service, direct or indirect, of the foreign government which applied it to purposes entirely Imperial and unconnected with the special interests of the colony. Doubtless this expenditure has led to immediate prosperity... but the basis of this prosperity is artificial and precarious' (6). It is possible to argue the degree of validity of the third premiss of the first clause but the general truth is undeniable. This general picture is so clear that in this particular chapter attention will be focussed only on some aspects of the Maltese economy as it has developed during the last 50 years.

43 The changing character of Maltese Trade is well evidenced in the annual reports of the Customs and Port Department. Before World War I, Malta was still of some importance in Mediterranean transit trade, particularly for goods destined for North African and Levant ports. Between 1910 and 1922 the annual average weight of such merchandise handled was 17,000 tons (7). This activity almost disappeared during hostilities and after a short post-war boom settled down at a new low level handling only some 3,000 tons of merchandise. In part this was due to the elimination of the important German and Austrian connection which, in a Report published in 1919 (8), was the subject of much hostile Maltese comment. More important was the fact that the gap thus left was not filled by other foreign or local interests. The Maltese writers of the 1919 Report were not able to obtain their desire 'to have a company formed by a few merchants, who would thus teach Maltese capitalists that the investment of moneys in industries and especially in shipping is more profitable and better for the Islands and for the capitalists themselves, than the investment in doubtful securities or in reckless speculation'. [504] The fundamental difficulties of expanding port activity have remained. Malta, for all the grandiloquence of the name 'Grand Harbour', has until very recently possessed but poor physical facilities for handling shipping. All vessels of over 2,000 tons have had to be worked by lighter, and civil repair facilities as well as warehousing have been extremely limited. In that the needs of the Fleet have been paramount this is understandable; the consequences have been deplorable. [454] The absence of enthusiasm for local investment of Maltese capital has been equally inhibiting. There survives, even intensified during the 1930's, a traditional feeling of insecurity which was succinctly noted by a banker giving evidence before the 1911 Commission: 'There is plenty of money in the Island... there is not much trust, I think' (9). Even now, while the rate of saving in Malta is very high - c. 14 per cent. of total personal income, too large a proportion of the savings are invested abroad - some £70 millions. Given this basic insecurity, which still appears in conversations with business men and which is so deeply rooted as to be very difficult to remove, development is difficult. [228] Moreover, since the Maltese for an island people are singularly non-maritime in character, and, in conditions no more difficult than in many other parts of the Mediterranean, have almost ignored the fishery industry (10), there exists no traditional basis for marine affairs. In these circumstances the value of the handing over of the Naval base to British civilian firms, and the policy of attracting foreign (mainly British) manufacturing concerns, thus making available both facilities and ~~most~~ of the capital, is on economic grounds indisputable.

439 457 One other aspect of port and trading activities must be examined, the nature and balance of imports and exports. The changing character of world trade in the first place has vitally affected the nature of Malta's entrepôt activity. By 1956, the value of re-exports had reached over two and a half million pounds, of which one and a half million represented mineral fuels and lubricants, mainly aviation spirit and turbine fuel (11). This is still the pattern today. Of Malta's transit trade in re-exports, by far the biggest proportion is concerned with supplying the Garrison in its new and more mobile form. The imbalance between retained imports and domestic exports remains essentially similar to that observed very much earlier and is best examined in conjunction with other economic elements.

per cent. are children under 14 years of age. The number of whole-time farmers, 8,100, is now smaller than the group of part-time agriculturalists - 8,946, and in its age-composition differs significantly from the total population - 48 per cent. are aged 50 years or more (1948 - 33,8 per cent.) as compared with 31 per cent. for the Islands as a whole. 162 24

The relatively small and, until very recently, declining size of the full-time farming population, and its rapid ageing, suggest a decline in the importance and status of agriculture. The implications of these figures are discussed elsewhere but it is worth noting that the agricultural areas are still inhabited by over 126,000 persons most of whom draw some real income from the land in amounts which may often be small per capita but which observation suggests are large in total. [178 24 [134]

The total value of the recorded crop product is estimated at some £2.27 millions. From observation in Malta and experience elsewhere one can suggest that is under-estimated by a fraction of the order of 10 per cent. (See p. 10, - Essential Statistics - for further information.) 24 43

The combined value of crop and livestock products is estimated at almost £6,000,000. The income accruing to the cultivators is distributed in such a multiplicity of ways in such varying amounts that no useful estimate of average per capita income can be made. Of the disbursements of some £3 millions, an amount of the order of £2½ millions is expended on imports, notably of fodder and store cattle. Earnings of foreign currency amount to approximately £800,000, almost half of which derived from potato exports. This imbalance between imports and exports in the agricultural sector appears even more striking when one remembers that F.D.T. imports of over £9,000,000 make up 35 per cent. of the total Maltese import bill.

The efforts of the 9 per cent. of the employed population engaged in agriculture are already considerable but the needs of Malta are great. With no known physical resources of any size other than the land, it becomes of vital importance that farming productivity should be raised even further and that special effort is directed towards a legitimate degree of self-sufficiency in agricultural products. Much of the analysis that follows this introduction must be considered in the light of present and future needs. 121 24

REFERENCES

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1. cf passim Census of Agriculture, 1956. Malta. 1958.

159 barley (xghir) fluctuate but cake-feed is all bought from
432 fodder agents. Milk production varies with season, being
at its peak in the Spring. The price given by the M.M.U.
234 changes accordingly to the extent of a few pence per gallon.
On the basis of an average feed programme one can get some
idea of the gross profit margin on which Pawlu is working,
the absence of any allowance for labour costs being noted.

*159 A sample feed programme with daily costs for one cow
234 yielding about three gallons:

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	s	d
3 rtal xghir (barley-bran)	1 -	4
8 rtal cake...............	3 -	6
5 rtal sulla (silla).......	1 -	4
8 rtal beans (½ tomna)....	5 -	0
1 basket prickly pear.....	1 -	0
½ basket straw............		6
	12 -	8d

Selling the three gallons at 5s 6d per gallon (see above) brings in 16s 6d per day, leaving a profit on the one cow of 3s 10d.

A sample feed programme with daily costs for 46 goats yielding about ten gallons per day:

	£	s	d
3 tmien (48 rtal) beans....	1 -	10 -	0
1 tomna xghir (barley).....		6 -	0
4 bundles sulla (silla)....		5 -	0
Furrajna (green barley)....		5 -	0
	2 -	6 -	0

Selling ten gallons per day at some 6s per gallon thereby brings Pawlu a further profit of 60s minus 46s, or 16 shillings. This, together with the 3s 10d from each of his two cows, amounts to a net income of approximately 23/8d per day.

*159 Unlike most of his fellow herdsmen in both Islands,
Pawlu is fully aware of the relation between feed programmes
156 for livestock and milk yields (B/379). He does not share
234 the common view that "The more the feed the more the milk".
232 He is also well aware of the economics of his situation as
described above and, as seen, his aim is to cut the costs of fodder by producing more on his own holding and thereby increase his profit margin on milk sold. This is a most widespread feature among Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen today. But Pawlu goes further than most in that he is conscious of the need for a 'balanced diet'. Not only does he carefully regulate the types and quantities of feed which he gives but he also follows the latest researches of the Department of Agriculture, especially that of Haesler (B/252) and others working on this and similar topics. The average illiterate Maltese farmer tends to dismiss the statements and efforts of such experts as "No good for Malta, and

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3 ratal barley bran	1s. 4d.
8 " cake	3s. 6d.
5 " sulla	1s. 4d.
8 " beans	5s. 0d.
1 basket prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½ " straw	6d
	12s. 8d.

- Sample daily feed for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48 ratal bean	£1. 10s. 0d.
16 " barley	6s. 0d.
4 bundles sulla	5s. 0d.
Furrajna (green barley)	5s. 0d.
	£2. 6s. 0d.

[434] - Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit, making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d. daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

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G. **Husbandry.**

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".
- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
  (a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.
  (b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.
  (c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

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(ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.
- Two rotations are in use,

(a)	1st yr:	Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
	2nd yr:	Sulla
	3rd yr:	Wheat
	4th yr:	Fallow
(b)	1st yr:	Wheat
	2nd yr:	Sulla and Beans
	3rd yr:	Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor plowing.
	4th yr:	Fallow

H. **General.**

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- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gozitan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.
- [454] At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

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CASE II: Ġużepp (A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping.)

Like Pawlu (Case I) Ġużepp is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his

[P 86]

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. **Land.**

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. **Utilisation.**

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. **Livestock.**

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. **Capital.**

[423] [454] [412] [407] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.

- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. **Labour.** (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. **Production and Sales.**

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding: piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. **Husbandry.**

[245]
(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

241 ×159 461 465 available", and normally delegates most of the work to a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.

×159 43 [451] His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a 'cost'.

×159 511 178 Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

*159 461 Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

*159 178 234 His father was a labourer with the Services and had only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen and then gradually built up his own herd to its present size, particularly in the past few years when, in common with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his family) are actively discouraging the children from planning to follow their father. Their main objection to herding appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields you never go back...."

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CASE IV : Summary.

(A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. Land.

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

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- 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. **Utilisation.**

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(i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

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C. **Livestock.**

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. **Capital.**

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(i) No freehold land.

(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.

[511]
[426]

(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. **Labour.**

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(i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. **Production and Sales.**

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(i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day.
Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

G. **Husbandry.**

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(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

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H. **General.**

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 - 50 goats
234 - 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.
- Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159 **D. Capital.**

42 - The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).
464 - Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.
[407] - No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tomna when necessary.

E. Labour.

*159 - No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed
464 at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.
- Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

*159 **F. Production and Sales.**

● 43 - Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qantar respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.

These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

G. Husbandry.

*159 - Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of
231 fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention to holding.
234 - Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

H. General.

*159 - When asked whether he considered himself to be herdsman or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as
433 a "general dealer" in crops and animals.
- In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

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C. Livestock.

(i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

(ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

*159 [472)

D. Capital.

(i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426) (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

*159 464 407 427

E. Labour.

(i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

(ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

(iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

(iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 ●43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

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(iv) Potatoes are grown regularly for the home market in spite of price variations - reported as ranging between 50/- per qantar in 1956 and 8/4 in 1957.

(v) Home grown fodder and forage makes up c.80% of non-concentrate feed. Other crops make members of the partnership self-sufficient in foodstuffs (at a high level of consumption).

(vi) Annual sales of wine-grapes c.40 qantar.

(vii) The response to general variations in yields and prices is to maintain the general pattern of production. The syndicate has enough capital to survive periodic losses and therefore deliberately ignores fluctuations. The only alterations made in a planned cropping sequence result from natural hazards e.g. if a late crop of sulla fails as a result of poor germination, a rapid switch may be made to balck vetch.

G. **Husbandry**. General standards are good.

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(i) Soil maintaining rotations are carefully and consciously practised. Thus leguminous fodders are regarded as essential in arable farming.

(ii) Fertiliser application is heavy:
- Organic manure is applied for the first two years of a four year cycle at a rate of c.60 sacks per tomna.
- Sulphate of Ammonia is applied to all the fields each year at a rate of 15-20 sacks per tomna.
- They do not regard the idea of green manuring with any favour although they use dry vegetable refuse mixed with dung.

(iii) They are very conscious of minor regional differences in soil and climate and regard the parcellated holding of selected land much more important than convenience of working a consolidated holding e.g.
- 'earliness' is associated with coastal situations and "early tomatoes will not come up in Żebbuġ".
- soils are classified as follows:
  - 'ħamrija' (red) is good for all crops
  - 'abjad' (white) for cereals and tomatoes but not for potatoes.
  - 'sewdina' (grey) for sulla and tomatoes.
  - 'tafli' (clay) poor for green crops.
  - 'hirbi', an intermediate soil, easy to work.

  The differences between these types and the presence or absence of nodule beds, saline layers etc. are held to be sufficient justification for rental differentiation as between fields and parts of fields.

This articulate consciousness of environmental variations even in this case reinforces conservatism and much more importance is attached to such natural 'controls' than to crop strains.

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(iv) Cattle are well housed and fed according to yield. Very vague about balanced feeding and rely on traditional greens, beans, hay and cake. Nevertheless in the spokesman's own words they are aiming at 'better management of the cattle rather than more animals'.

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(v) In some ways, the high standards achieved using traditional techniques are proving a barrier to further technical advances, e.g. the cattle are relatively free from disease and therefore more trust is placed in the expertise of the syndicate than in the 'book-knowledge' of a vet., e.g. whatever experts may say, any crop innovation must be demonstrated successfully and in the immediate locality.

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434]
- Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.

[433] [251]
- Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 ● 43

(i)
- Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii)
- Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as wood killer.

(iii)
- Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv)
- Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve. [454]

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829 CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

796 place during the year in the towns and villages on the day of the festival, held in honour of the titular or some other Saint, there are also other processions, such as that of Good Friday and St. Gregory's day, the origin and description of which will be given in another place.

Having thus glanced briefly at some local recreations of the Maltese which have connection with their religious ceremonies in celebrating the annual festivals in honour of the celestial patron of the town or village, we now come to the other usages and customs, which are observed by the Maltese during the year commencing from that of

NEW YEAR'S DAY.

527
431 Early on the morning of the 1st. of January, groups of children may be

seen perambulating the streets, throughout the towns and villages, each with a small oval-shaped wooden box in hand. 527 431

Every child you meet, in wishing you "Is-sena it-tajba" (a Happy New Year) implores the yearly mite, and this he does by shaking his cash, which no doubt consists of some few farthings or halfpennies, whose dulcet jingle, however, fills his little soul with joy.

The practice of giving "l' Istrina" (a small money gift) to these children, to domestic servants and to persons in an inferior position on New Year's Day is a recognised custom in this Island.

This making of presents on the first day of the year is no doubt of great antiquity, and innocent as is now the custom of giving money gifts to the children and servants on New Year's 527 431 171

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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431
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Day, it was in ancient times done by the heathen Romans as a form of homage to the two-faced *Janus*, the God of the year, especially honoured in that capacity in the first month (January), and the giving of "strina" in January was vehemently denounced by the early council of Auxerre, as an act of Pagan worship.

In the *Monthly Miscellany* for December 1592 there is an essay on New Year's gifts, which state that the Romans were great observers of the custom, even when their year began in March and consisted of 10 months of 36 days each, and also when January and February were added by Numa (*) to the other ten, the calends, or first of

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(*) **Numa**—a celebrated philosopher born at Cures, a village of the Sabines,on the day that Romulus laid the foundation of Rome.

January, was the time on which they 527 made presents, and even Romulus (1) and 431 Tatius (2) decreed that every year 171 *vervine* (3) should be brought as an offering to them with other gifts, as a token of good fortune for the New Year.

Tacitus (4) makes mention of an order of Tiberius (5) forbidding the giving or demanding of New Year's gifts unless it was in the calends of January, at

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(1) Romulus—the founder of Rome was the son of Mars, he was ranked by the Romans among the 12 great gods, being the founder of their city and Empire, and the son of the god of war.

(2) Tatius—king of Cures among the Sabines, made war against the Romans after the rape of the Sabines. He was murdered at Lanuvium B.C. 792.

(3) *Vervine*—a plant which has been connected with some of the superstitious rites of the Greeks & Romans.

(4) Tacitus—a celebrated historian born in the reign of Nero and was destroyed by the secret dagger of an assassin on the 13th of April in the 276th year of the Christian era.

(5) Tiberius—a Roman Emperor after the death of Augustus.

527 43 171 which time the Senators, as well as the knights and other great men, brought gifts to the Emperor, and in his absence to the Capitol (1).

527 777 It is also the custom in some places of Malta for men to go about strewing some lime in the door-ways on New Year's day. Some idea of good luck may perhaps be associated with the lime; there is no tradition, however, as far as is known, whence this custom arose.

527 203 New Year's greetings in the shape of visiting cards, are very profusely exchanged on this occasion, especially among the better classes.

527 431 533 Groups of street musicians go from house to house, either on the last day of the old year or on the morning of

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(1) Capitol, the temple of Jupiter at Rome built on the top of a hill.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the 1st of January playing popular pieces 527
of music, and this they do as a New 431
Year's greeting. These men will rarely 533
leave a house until some little gift of money is bestowed upon them as a remuneration for their trouble in paying their annual congratulations.

ST. ANTHONY'S DAY.

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Among the popular Maltese customs 825
in which animals play a leading part, that of the blessing of the quadrupeds of the equine species, in Valletta, on St. Anthony's day, is the most familiar.

On the morning of the 17th January (St. Anthony's day) a number of horses, mules, and donkeys, decked out in ribbons and tassels, are driven in procession in front of the Vittoria, a little

CANDLEMAS DAY

This is a religious festival observed 796
not only in Malta but in all other Catholic 171
countries in honour of the Blessed Virgin on the 2nd of February, the 40th day after the Nativity of our Lord.

The word Candlemas is evidently 796
derived from the benediction of the [778]
candles, followed by a procession, which takes place in the churches on the morning of this day.

Nearly every family in the Island is 796
presented with one or two of these bles- 794
sed candles—each having at the lower 778 431•
end, the image of the Blessed Virgin 354
stamped in gold leaf, as a distinction from other ordinary wax candles.

These they receive either from the priests, or from some other person attached to the church, as a sort of a slight recompense, for the contributions

796 offered during the year, for the purpose
794 either of decorating or repairing the
778 431 church or churches of the parish to
354 which they belong.

It is also customary for every parish priest—on this special day, or on the day following—to present both the Bishop and the Governor of the Island with a
[643] two lb. candle. It is to be observed, however, that the candle given to the Governor is only a blessed one when he happens to profess the Roman Catholic Religion.

178 This giving of candles to both the
796 Bishop and the Governor—a continua-
354 793 tion of a custom that prevailed in the
431 time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, when the Grand Master was annually presented with a blessed candle on this day—is meant as a token of respect to each of the highest Ecclesiastical and Civil dignitaries of the Island.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 times at different parts of the town; the best run, however, which is mostly enjoyed, both by the spectators and the carriers of the statue, is that which takes place at the lower end of Strada Reale on the hill opposite St. Catherine's Church and Convent.

Here large crowds of men are seen ready to help the bearers in the run with the heavy statue up the hill.

After traversing several other streets, the image is deposited in the same church from which it started.

EASTER EGGS &c.

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The custom of eating and presenting *figolli* and round cheese cakes *(kassatat)* is as prevalent in Malta, at Easter, as it is in any other town or country of Italy.

Maltese children look forward with great anxiety to get either from their parents, or from some friend or relative, a *figolla* at Easter. 796 262 431

The *figolla* consists of a bit of flat baked dough, cut in the shape of a woman, a turk, an eagle, a horse, a star, or a basket, with one or more eggs, having the shell stained red, or some other colour, embedded in its centre and fixed in position by cross bands of paste.

This characteristic rite of Paschal or Easter eggs is most widely diffused. 796 262 171 174
The universal connection of eggs with Eastertide does not seem to rest on any Christian symbolism. This popular observance is clearly of pagan origin.

In pagan imagery the egg was assigned to *Astarte*—the Phœnician Venus—as an emblem of the fructifying

584 ness of the connection, without at all consulting the inclinations of their children.

[675] [431] [583] The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.

The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.

[989] Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey

585 The bridal procession then proceeded to the Church for the ceremony, attended by musicians playing on different instruments, and singers who sang stanzas in praise of the young couple. These musicians were proceeded by three men: the first bearing on his head a basin of white earth on which was placed a big cake with two figures, representing the bridegroom and the bride—the man who carried this basin wore also a scarf with a round cake hanging from it. The second carried a basket filled with sugar plums and candied nuts, which one of the relations distributed among such acquaintances he happened to meet. In the middle of the basket was a handkerchief folded in the form of a pyramid, and ornamented with the images of the B. Virgin, St. Joseph, and the [262] [431]

585 ered flowers upon them, also nuts and grains of wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.

[184] [535] [465] [431] At a village wedding the company danced during the feast; each dancer throwing a piece of money to the fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast.

[591] The bride always passed a week in her father's house, after which she was received with much pomp by her husband whose relations gave a great feast which was called il *hargia.*

764 767 [292] their faces and black silk cloaks. (*) The room being stripped of all its furniture and hung with black cloth.

[302] The *neuwieha*, throwing themselves on
their knees at the foot of the coffin,
began singing the praises of the dead,
and cut off handfuls of their hair which
[262] they spread over the coffin. On the same
● [431] day, cakes and boiled wheat were distributed among all the relations, and the hair was cut off the tails of every horse at the stables belonging to the house of the deceased.

764 533 The funeral procession was always composed of the relations in mourning preceded by some boys playing the fifes or Trumpets.

[765] [822] [171] (*) The colours of the dress or habit. worn to signify grief are different in different countries. In Europe, the ordinary colour for mourning is black. *Black*, being the privation of light, is supposed to denote the privation of life.

PULLEYN *Origin & Inventions.*

584 [301] her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual faith—together with bracelets, necklaces, and a gold chain—she presenting him in return with a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon.

This ceremony is called *il chelma*, which means the engagement.

585 [292] [301] On the morning of the wedding day the most honoured personage among the husband's relations threw a fine white veil over the bride's head—who wore a brocade or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells.

[533] The bridal procession then proceeded to the Church for the ceremony, attended by musicians playing on different instruments, and singers who sang stanzas in praise of the young couple. These musicians were preceded by three men, the first bearing on his head a basin of white earth on which was placed a big cake with two figures representing the bridegroom and the bride—the ● [431] man who carried this basin wore also a scarf with a round cake hanging from it. The second carried a basket filled with sugar plums and candied nuts, which one of the relations distributed among such acquaintances he happened to meet. [532] In the middle of the basket was a handkerchief folded in the form of a pyramid and ornamented with the images of the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, and the Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding. The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the *Haddara*, closed the procession.

[202] The arrival of the bridal procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The officiating
priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, 585
a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee [793]
on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was [465]
completed, everyone returned from church in the same order as before.

As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies showered flowers upon them also nuts and grains and wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended, she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.

At a village wedding the company danced during the [535]
feast, each dancer throwing a piece of money to the [431]●
fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast. [465]

The bride always passed a week in her father's house, [591]
after which she was received with much pomp by her husband, whose relations gave a great feast which was called *il hargia*."[1]

The bridegroom's symbolic present of a fish is very likely 584
connected with fecundity, for the fish was regarded as an 174
emblem of fecundity by the Assyrians and the Phoenicians. 825
It is not, however, in this connection alone that the fish is a
potent symbol. Prudence (apparently a virtue highly prized [577].
in a Maltese wife—Salt, another symbol of prudence, is included in the ingredients with which the bride's lips are anointed), and Wisdom were anciently supposed to be the properties of numerous Sacred Fish. Finn M'Cull, in the Irish legend, "Happens upon the Salmon of Knowledge . . ."

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[1] BUSUTTIL, op. cit.

159 barley (xghir) fluctuate but cake-feed is all bought from
• 432 fodder agents. Milk production varies with season, being
at its peak in the Spring. The price given by the M.M.U.
234 changes accordingly to the extent of a few pence per gallon.
On the basis of an average feed programme one can get some idea of the gross profit margin on which Pawlu is working, the absence of any allowance for labour costs being noted.

*159 A sample feed programme with daily costs for one cow
234 yielding about three gallons:
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	s	d
3 rtal xghir (barley-bran)	1	4
8 rtal cake................	3	6
5 rtal sulla (silla).......	1	4
8 rtal beans (½ tomna)....	5	0
1 basket prickly pear.....	1	0
½ basket straw............		6
	12	8d

Selling the three gallons at 5s 6d per gallon (see above) brings in 16s 6d per day, leaving a profit on the one cow of 3s 10d.

A sample feed programme with daily costs for 46 goats yielding about ten gallons per day:

	£	s	d
3 tmien (48 rtal) beans....	1	10	0
1 tomna xghir (barley).....		6	0
4 bundles sulla (silla)....		5	0
Furrajna (green barley)....		5	0
	2	6	0

Selling ten gallons per day at some 6s per gallon thereby brings Pawlu a further profit of 60s minus 46s, or 16 shillings. This, together with the 3s 10d from each of his two cows, amounts to a net income of approximately 23/8d per day.

*159 Unlike most of his fellow herdsmen in both Islands,
Pawlu is fully aware of the relation between feed programmes
156 for livestock and milk yields (B/379). He does not share
234 the common view that "The more the feed the more the milk".
232 He is also well aware of the economics of his situation as
described above and, as seen, his aim is to cut the costs of fodder by producing more on his own holding and thereby increase his profit margin on milk sold. This is a most widespread feature among Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen today. But Pawlu goes further than most in that he is conscious of the need for a 'balanced diet'. Not only does he carefully regulate the types and quantities of feed which he gives but he also follows the latest researches of the Department of Agriculture, especially that of Haesler (B/252) and others working on this and similar topics. The average illiterate Maltese farmer tends to dismiss the statements and efforts of such experts as "No good for Malta, and

*159 434 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anġlu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anġlu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

*159 234 443 [712] [551] [656] His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anġlu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

*159 423 434 [432] Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodders. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

*159 452 Anġlu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anġlu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 231 234 **C. Livestock.**

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 142 **D. Capital.**

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 434 234 [435] **F. Production and Sales.**

(v. Table 5)

(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p. .
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

● [432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 232 234 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.
(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.
(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

600 authorities each year.

*159 Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since
494 its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the
234 present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work
434 of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In
January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk
● [432] and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling
some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a
nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me".
Both his grandfather and father were herdsman with goats but
it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in
[454] for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of
the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to
the accommodation for the animals.

*159 Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old,
423 and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise
234 yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop
[427] his own property since the war in order to qualify for the
necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his
now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the
Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family
and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of
buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village.
This is typical of the majority of farm units based on
livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts
with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be
housed at some distance from the family living quarters,
a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household
342 is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead
off to the gound floor living rooms, to the goat shed and
351 cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room,
423 to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street.
From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder
storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor
store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further
staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to
the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are
typical with their intensive use of available space and
maximum building development on the portion owned by the
farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate
enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small
patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of
continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

*159 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday
262 Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable
to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts.
785 These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of
Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain
occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The
emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary
and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of
permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between
the frugal meals.

*159 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in
262 Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his
wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school
264 time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of
bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or
so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields
Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs,
olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked
meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls.
Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks,
and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least
one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature
and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (especially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields).
[261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted.
Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the
boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

198 The proportion of food purchased is now much greater
291 than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same
443 is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably
● [432] both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young
[294] farmer when half the people in the village had looms and
many had spinning wheels to produce cotton garments for the
family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the
farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a
thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally
produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army
surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and
wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have
been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of
army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and
the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday
markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in
both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 With the increasing contact between town and country
369 the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief
178 leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no
longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like
townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

000 was taken for granted.

*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
on the ground that "it is not used here".

* **CASE XII : Ċenzu** (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

159 Ċenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
557 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Ċenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compen-
sation to which he added a further £1200. This money was
* put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
241 to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
●[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the form and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
[451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

ESSENTIAL STATISTICS

131 The Maltese Islands - Land Area 121.850 sq. miles. Population 323,667[1].
161 Malta - Land Area 94.876 sq. miles. Population 296,008[1].
Gozo and Comino - Land Area 26.974 sq. miles. Population 27,659[1].

162 A. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION[2]

463 (i)	Civil Government	17,050
	Service Departments	22,480
(ii)	Agriculture, Fishing and Quarrying	9,130
	Manufacturing	9,030
	Construction	7,220
(iii)	Wholesale and Retail Trades	10,920
	Transport and Communications	3,850
	Insurance, Banking, etc.	550
	Gas Service	90
(iv)	Recreation and Personal Services	7,250
	Community and Business Services	1,140
	Total	88,710

433 B. PRODUCTION[1]

Gross Domestic Product 1957	£ m.	36.1
Gross Industrial Production 1957	"	10.036
Gross Agricultural Product 1957	"	5.008

439 C. TRADE[3]

(i) Commodities (value in £ m)

	Imports	Exports	Re-exports
Food, Drink, Tobacco	9.411	.547	.549
Raw materials and materials mainly unmanufactured	3.227	.312	1.307
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	13.215	.132	.404
Miscellaneous and unspecified	2.862	.005	.339
Bullion and Specie	.104	-	-
	28.820	.995	2.600

(ii) Direction of Trade (%)

	Imports	Exports
Sterling Area	49.3	41.1
Dollar Area	7.2	.8
O. E. E. C.	33.5	10.4
Other	10.0	2.1
Ships and Aircraft Stores	-	45.6
	100	100

(iii) Balance of Trade

	Imports	Exports & Re-exports	Negative Balance
		Million £	
1949	15.312	1.038	14.274
1954	20.407	2.879	17.528
1958	28.820	3.595	25.225

(Since 1948 the adverse trade balance has increased by an average of 4.7% per annum)

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

D. SEABORNE AND AIRBORNE TRAFFIC 1958[3]. 505 509

	Total - Calling - British				Passengers (No.)			Freight (Tons)	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	In	Out	Transit	In	Out
Steam Vessels	1,792	2,808,803	458	1,346,925)	9,852	10,745	35,178	348,626	54,927
Sailing Vessels	267	22,836	15	122)					
Aircraft	3,283	91,661	3,110	87,897	30,232	31,501	28,848	588	238

E. AGRICULTURE[4]

		Acreage	Yield-tons	241
(i)	Total Area cultivated	44,235		
(ii)	Wheat	5,000	3,000	433
	Barley and Mixta	4,083	2,158	
	Forages (inc. sulla, vetches & Ferrana)	11,824	3,855	
	Broad Beans	1,250	500	
(iii)	Potatoes - Spring crop	4,763* (1957-6,000)	15,420	
	- Winter crop	1,228	7,360	
	Melons	1 837	1,939	
	Onions	1,263	3,389	
	Tomatoes	1,012	8,588	
	Other vegetables	5,000	16,198	
(iv)	Grapes	5,000	6,000**	
	Citrus	160	500**	
	Other fruit	1,000	6,000**	
(v)	Cotton	3 (1956-187)	1	
	Cumin Seed	8 (1952-518)	2	

* Note. Abnormally low.

** Note. Acreage and yield of treecrops in particular should be treated as indicating only orders of magnitude.

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(vi)	Livestock (Enumeration)	
	Horses, Donkeys and Mules	6,575
	Goats	36,944(1950-50,159)
	Sheep	15,011(1950-20,148)
	Imported Store bulls	3,081
	Milk cows	4,178(1950- 2,861)
	Other cattle	2,466
	Swine	16,362
(vii)	Number of holdings	12,192 423
	Number of mechanized implements - 2 wheeled	700 407
	- 3 & 4 wheeled	54
	- tracked	25
	- milking machines	7
	- threshers	22

8. Economy and Trade

In any schematic division of history into periods there must be dangers and difficulties. Nevertheless, some themes of significance to our present study, naturally as well as for reasons of convenience, are best treated in this way. It is impossible to be precise about the date of birth of modern Malta in that different land marks might well be used in pursuing different lines of thought. Thus, constitutionally the year 1921 is of most significance, while the Royal Commission of 1911 is in some ways an economic obsequy for nineteenth-century Malta. In the sections that follow, therefore, arguments cannot be chronologically in step. Moreover, this, our last period, is the most well-documented of all and the irregularity of coverage most considerable. Some of the arguments earlier developed need little further emphasis in that some conditions and attitudes firmly established by the beginning of the twentieth century need merely to have their survival confirmed and readers referred to relevant material. Henceforward, therefore, our treatment can legitimately be more selective. 128 433

This period of Modern British Malta must be further subdivided. The first phase drew slowly and uneasily to a close during our period of research. It was formally ended by the suspension of the constitution in 1958. The new constitutional proposals of 1960 mark the official beginning of a second phase. The interregnum was the period of the transference of the Naval Dockyard to a civilian firm of ship repairers. In that we attach the greatest importance to the study of the fundamental infrastructure on which Maltese life has and will be based, most of the following analysis is concerned with the first phase - the climacteric of British rule in Malta. Our comment on more recent happenings is therefore deliberately restricted.

The Census of 1912 noted that in the decennial period 1901-11 . . . 'productiveness has not risen in proportion to the increase of the population'. 162 433 464

The recorded Civil population in 1911 was 211,564. While in 1901, 28 per cent. of the female population was gainfully occupied, ten years later the proportion had fallen to 20 per cent. Henceforth male employment alone was of significance. The male labour force, which for analytical purposes was regarded as excluding only the age-group below five years of age, totalled 92,529. Of these almost 12,000 were engaged in agriculture, 19,489 in commerce and transport, and over 21,000 enumerated as having 'industrial' occupations. 31,385 were returned as unoccupied or unproductive.

The opening quotation is strictly an actuarial statement based on demographic facts. Behind the Census figures however we may perceive, by using various pieces of evidence, an economic basis for its sombreness. By comparing details of the 1911 enumeration with those for 1921, the first year in which unemployment within occupational groups was recorded, we may deduce that some 10 per cent. of the able male labour force was in fact without employment during the earlier year. By 1907, 10 per cent. of the ships cleared from Malta left in ballast (1). Between 1901 and 1911, the numbers of farmers and farmers' relatives assisting on the land increased by 3,000 and the number of labourers fell by 1,259 (2). Only once between 1906 and 1914, in 1908-09, did Government Revenue not show a deficit (3). In 1905, 9,175 men were employed in the Naval Establishments but this had fallen to 5,181 in 1906 (4). Many such facts could be quoted to prove the existence of an economic depression in Malta during the years following 1906, a situation which induced the setting up in 1911 of a Royal Commission to consider the financial situation. The array of evidence does more than this, it also shows that this was no simple secular trend but a sign of uneasy adjustment to new circumstances, an adjustment that is still in progress. This is why the Report of the 1911 Commission is of more than contemporary importance (5) and why its study is essential to any serious consideration of Maltese problems. 433 464 458 [654]

433 458 The main relevant conclusion was unmistakably ominous: 'Government expenditure has more than made up for that of the Knights, and has diverted more of the labour of the population to the service, direct or indirect, of the foreign government which applied it to purposes entirely Imperial and unconnected with the special interests of the colony. Doubtless this expenditure has led to immediate prosperity... but the basis of this prosperity is artificial and precarious' (6). It is possible to argue the degree of validity of the third premiss of the first clause but the general truth is undeniable. This general picture is so clear that in this particular chapter attention will be focussed only on some aspects of the Maltese economy as it has developed during the last 50 years.

43 The changing character of Maltese Trade is well evidenced in the annual reports of the Customs and Port Department. Before World War I, Malta was still of some importance in Mediterranean transit trade, particularly for goods destined for North African and Levant ports. Between 1910 and 1922 the annual average weight of such merchandise handled was 17,000 tons (7). This activity almost disappeared during hostilities and after a short post-war boom settled down at a new low level handling only some 3,000 tons of merchandise. In part this was due to the elimination of the important German and Austrian connection which, in a Report published in 1919 (8), was the subject of much hostile Maltese comment. More important was the fact that the gap thus left was not filled by other foreign or local interests. The Maltese writers of the 1919 Report were not able to obtain their desire 'to have a company formed by a few merchants, who would thus teach Maltese capitalists that the investment of moneys in industries and especially in shipping is more profitable and better for the Islands and for the capitalists themselves, than the investment in doubtful securities [504] or in reckless speculation'. The fundamental difficulties of expanding port activity have remained. Malta, for all the grandiloquence of the name 'Grand Harbour', has until very recently possessed but poor physical facilities for handling shipping. All vessels of over 2,000 tons have had to be worked by lighter, and civil repair facilities as well as warehousing have been extremely limited. In that the needs of the Fleet have been paramount this is understandable; the consequences have been deplorable. The absence of enthusiasm for [454] local investment of Maltese capital has been equally inhibiting. There survives, even intensified during the 1930's, a traditional feeling of insecurity which was succinctly noted by a banker giving evidence before the 1911 Commission: 'There is plenty of money in the Island... there is not much trust, I think' (9). Even now, while the rate of saving in Malta is very high - c. 14 per cent. of total personal income, too large a proportion of the savings are invested abroad - some £70 millions. Given this basic insecurity, which still appears in conversations with business men and which is so deeply rooted as to be very difficult to remove, development is difficult. Moreover, since the Maltese for an island [228] people are singularly non-maritime in character, and, in conditions no more difficult than in many other parts of the Mediterranean, have almost ignored the fishery industry (10), there exists no traditional basis for marine affairs. In these circumstances the value of the handing over of the Naval base to British civilian firms, and the policy of attracting foreign (mainly British) manufacturing concerns, thus making available both facilities and most of the capital, is on economic grounds indisputable.

One other aspect of port and trading activities must be examined, the nature 439 and balance of imports and exports. The changing character of world trade in 457 the first place has vitally affected the nature of Malta's entrepôt activity. By 1956, the value of re-exports had reached over two and a half million pounds, of which one and a half million represented mineral fuels and lubricants, mainly aviation spirit and turbine fuel (11). This is still the pattern today. Of Malta's transit trade in re-exports, by far the biggest proportion is concerned with supplying the Garrison in its new and more mobile form. The imbalance between retained imports and domestic exports remains essentially similar to that observed very much earlier and is best examined in conjunction with other economic elements.

For brevity's sake it must suffice to say here that, apart from the obvious effects of World War II, the Maltese economy during the last 50 years has developed along more or less uniform general lines. Trade statistics began to be compiled properly in 1909-10. By 1918, visible exports paid for only 10 per cent. of all imports while by 1956 this proportion had dropped to 5 per cent. For our present purpose the most recent specifically economic Report utilising normally unpublished source material, that of Balogh and Seers (13), may be used as a basis for discussion. Statistics for the year 1953-54 contained therein and in the original source material are here re-assembled and re-arranged in the same combinations used in Chapter V A, i.e. Negotiable Income or External Economic Balance, Internal Revenue and National Product. By no means all the facts are available and some of the elements in the computation are open to question, but this particular presentation has been adopted to bring out significant points of direct relevance to our work. 178 433 457 [127]

The first element, that of External Balance may be presented in tabular form thus:-

Table 31. External economic balance. 1954. 434 457

A. Negotiable Income - originating externally.	
(i) Services pay	£6.5 millions
(of which dockyard)	(3.6 ")
(ii) Direct expenditure by Services	2.2 "
(iii) Estimated spending by non-Maltese Service personnel	6.0 "
	£14.7 "
(iv) Imperial Grants	3.0 "
	£17.7 "
B. Negotiable Income - originating internally.	
(i) Merchandise exports	£1.5 millions
(ii) Invisible exports	2.9 "
	£4.4 "
C. Negotiable Income - Grand Total	£22.1 millions
D. Expenditure on Imports.	
(i) Merchandise imports	£18.6 millions
(ii) Invisible imports	1.9 "
	£20.5 "

The most obvious characteristic of Malta's economy in its external relationship is its amazing dependence for Negotiable Income, i.e. convertible wealth available for paying for imports, on factors outside domestic control.

In detail various significant points emerge. While part of this income resulted from the provision of industrial and labour services - A (i) and (ii), about 40 per cent. came through retail and domestic services to the Garrison - A (iii). Statistically, this is an item impossible to measure precisely, and in so far as it is a residual item a further question arises, to wit, how far may it be an over-estimate concealing an unrecorded inflow of foreign wealth through hidden channels to the civil population. In Sierra Leone, periodic upsurges of

434 471 by British actions) *ipso facto* suggests a decline in that value. Until recently, as suggested elsewhere, domination by a new metropolitan power has implied domination by a more enterprising and a wealthier power. The inevitability of this process has become held so strongly almost as an article of faith by some Maltese that to suggest that it may now come to an end may be regarded as heretical. There is, in fact, every reason to suppose that Malta's locational value has now become so marginally attractive as to render even more economically dubious foreign investment in the limited and difficult sectors available for its application. Without such foreign capital in large quantities, revenue will neither be available for investment in production and welfare nor for continuing existence. The internal as well as external economic demands of the situation are therefore for the seizing of all opportunities to attract investment rather than for historically impossible attempts to preserve an economic *status quo*. Further, it is obviously essential that agriculture as the only sector in which capital and labour can be deployed on domestically controlled natural resources, must be transformed from hitherto the most neglected into one of the most important and potentially fruitful elements in the islands' life.

Finally, in this general section, a consideration of the National Product serves to put the economic situation into perspective. The salient facts are these:-

433 **Table 33. National product 1954.**

434 **A. Wages and Salaries.**	
(i) Service Departments	**£6.7 millions**
(ii) Administration	**3.5 "**
(iii) Other	**5.8 "**
	£16.0 "
B. Incomes.	
(i) Farmers and Fishermen	**£1.3 millions**
(ii) Government Property	**1.2 "**
(iii) Private Receipts of Interest and Rents	**2.8 "**
	£5.3 "
C. Profits of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises	**£6.0 millions**
D. Net Indirect Taxation	**£3.6 millions**
Grand Total	**£30.9 millions**

Balogh and Sears in their interim report on economic conditions (14) computed that the total value of goods and services bought in 1954 amounted to over £51,400,000. Of this some £20,500,000 represented imports, leaving the total given in Table 33. More recent material, e.g. the 1955 Census of Production (15) which became available in 1958, would suggest the need for slight emendation of some items, particularly item C in Table 33. Further upward amendment to item B (i) is needed to cover that considerable part of agricultural production which, as field observation shows, never appears in measurable channels. Balogh's conclusion however remains absolutely valid (16): 'In the last resort nearly all the income and employment on the Island(s) are derived from the U.K. Government'. He does however go on to say that (17): 'This unbalanced

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely 433
based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate
help to the Islands in their present effort ' find alternative sources of employment'. 434
From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification,
while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more
violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain
it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate,
Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese
communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity.
The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this
dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic
stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that [511]
the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level
of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the
present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to
outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of
attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to production,
has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing
any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been
met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe
that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what
is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel.
Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes
manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived 162
from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In
December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta 464
having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of [161]
Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of
population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased.
The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of
the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per
cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government
revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service
Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial
Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in [435]
normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated
by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had [457]
increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2 [434]
millions.

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to
the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life
investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in 504
the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter
of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent 464
and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main characteristics
of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that
time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost
exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in
'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction.
In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction,
Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional
departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees,
most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a
considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well
as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus contained
the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most
important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil
'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled,
particularly in the building industry (18).

D. Economic and Commercial Characteristics

In 1956, Surridge (1) in a note on Co-operatives in Malta, endorsed the F.A.O. 241 statement (2) that 'real progress in the co-operative field will be impossible so long as the essential connection between credit facilities and marketing remains 433 unrecognised'.

Subsistence farming is not now practised in the Maltese Islands and all farmers are to a large extent controlled in their productive use of land by commercial markets. The application of capital and techniques to the land is much more than the simple provision of cheap credit.

Environmental conditions necessitate the continued and intensive use of hand labour in order to maintain in existence the artificially made fields and in order to utilise the maximum area of land. Therefore large-scale capital application is restricted to provision of better water supplies and similar public works projects. What is needed is the small scale use of capital in crops and livestock experimentation and for backing efforts in the export markets. Capital provision for land purchase should not be made until cultivators are less likely to indulge in speculative 'landgrabbing' which would result in greater problems of fragmentation, etc.

The amount of hidden capital in the countryside must be very considerable. [454] Estimates that 80 per cent. of Malta's National Income is derived directly and indirectly from the Defence Departments cannot take into account all the gross [434] real income in kind of the countryside - real income which never appears long enough to be measured. Present expenditure on improved equipment and better breeds of plant and livestock as well as spectacular efforts such as the building of Mosta Church go to show that, given incentive and faith in the future, the rural communities can and will deploy some considerable hidden reserves. Before any such capital will be applied, some compulsive force must operate on the farmers.

For centuries past, production has been largely for subsistence except for cotton and cumin seed, both exported to other Mediterranean countries. From the sixteenth century onward, urbanisation slowly created a significantly sized indigenous market and, with the disappearance of the trade in cotton during the nineteenth century, the home market became completely dominant. Some 70 years ago, potatoes became profitably exportable, while at the same time rapid urbanisation increased the size and wealth of the home market. As already noted, the domestic market for milk is of very recent origin, while export possibilities for crops other than potatoes are now slowly being realised.

Until World War II, marketing of produce was organised almost entirely by 241 licensed but uncontrolled middlemen - the *pitkali* - who collected or accepted 441 small lots, offered them for sale to wholesalers or retailers, and then paid the farmers the negotiated price less commission. (The details of organisation are 435 well described in the 1911-13 Royal Commission Report (3).) During World War II, 'the evolution of Internal Marketing made a great stride forward during the exigency . . . (4)'. This statement really means that controls were imposed on prices and marketing, controls which have basically survived to the present day. As the economics of production have become more confused with welfare policies, so the complexity of the situation has increased. All that we can do here is to sketch and illustrate the nature of this complexity.

The first factor to be reckoned with is that cultivators in no case know their costs of production. They have some general idea of whether a proposed price is unprofitable or not but this is not necessarily trustworthy. Secondly, while the fodder crops are not very perishable, the vegetable and fruit products which find their way out of the rural economy into Maltese markets are extremely so. While the market for such produce in Malta is not a very selective one, this on the whole has the effect of encouraging the sending to market of produce which is very liable to deterioration. In the markets, therefore, any produce surplus to clear requirements is virtually valueless. One complaint concerning the

was that gross financial loss totalled £124,000 representing an equivalent 234 subsidy to consumers of M.M.U. products, while, if profits on imports were 435 subtracted the figure would rise to over £200,000. The commercial aspect of milk marketing is thus completely artificial and dominated by welfare policies. 441 Price policy, even so, has not been powerful enough to even out the immense seasonal fluctuation in production of goats' milk, roughly half the total, and the smaller but still considerable fluctuation of cows' milk.

Meat production is rather more crude. The Government abattoir slaughters 253 all the horned cattle, most of the swine and a considerable proportion of sheep and goats. The commercial transaction between producer and butcher is usually 231 direct. Here once more the small scale and the unspecialised nature of meat 441 production controls all else. The 1956 Census of Agriculture recorded only nine specialist cattle breeders and 94 breeders of swine as compared with over 700 engaged in sheep and goat breeding (in roughly equal numbers). Licensed importers bring in the store cattle which are then usually sold to non-specialist farmers. Feeding standards are as low as with milch cows. There is little incentive to improvement because of the low standard set by the widespread practice of milk producers selling old and diseased stock for butchering. Pig meat and store-bull meat do command a premium but, while some 15,320 horned cattle were slaughtered in 1957-58, the average import rate of stores is only some 3,000. In the same year, 5,000 sheep (of the indigenous poor breeds) and 8,400 goats (mainly those useless for milk production) as well as 7,800 lambs and kids, were slaughtered. The commercial side of meat and, for that matter, hides and skin production, like that of milk, can only be improved as and when the arable sector of agriculture is further developed.

Lastly, we must refer to exports. For some years, the most important 241 exported agricultural product has been the spring crop of potatoes. Some general points concerning the production and sale of potatoes have already been made 439 (Chapter VII, pp. 205-206), but one or two points need expansion here. The main market for pseudo-early potatoes grown in the Mediterranean (harvested 441 in April and May), lies in North-West Europe. During the earlier part of this century, Holland, Belgium and Germany were the most important buyers but, of recent years, the Arran Banner variety, which yields well as a pseudo-early in Malta, has only found favour in Glasgow. By 1955 this dependence on a single main market was appearing dangerous and since that time, as noted by Haesler in 1957 (8), more heed has been taken of consumer demand for other earlier varieties, yellow rather than white fleshed, such as the Eigenhemer. On the marketing side, some important problems remain. The virtual absence of good civilian port facilities and the dependence on lighterage puts up freight costs and discourages shippers. The middlemen and wholesale handling of produce for export is not above reproach while the only worthwhile markets expect good and consistent quality of graded merchandise. Here the deficiencies of even the most commercially sophisticated part of the community can partly negate improved efforts on the part of the producer. Standards set by the home market tend to affect the services rendered to foreign markets and before the latter can be expanded, the former will have to be improved. There is one sector in which a separate break-through has begun. Air freightage of high value for bulk [509] merchandise (which does not include potatoes) can make distant markets accessible to medium-scale individual producers. Thus flowers, plants and seeds are to some small extent being traded by a few growers sufficiently skilled to bypass the mercantile system. This cannot be done by all but it might encourage emulation.

The whole of the marketing organisation is of course organically associated 241 with production and the commercial aspects of production need consideration.

One of the first points that strikes an observer in the Islands is that the 433 production of the different commodities is altogether too concentrated in time. 435 In the case of milk, a traditional organic cycle imposed by crude goat husbandry imposes great financial strains on the centralised agencies. With crops it would [234] seem that traditional fear of risk-taking, rational enough in a peasant economy but antithetical to the whole nature of commercialism, is now hampering

241 433 435 development and straining even the existing pattern. In the first place, physical environment so dominates the mind of the Maltese farmer that he categorically asserts the virtues and deficiencies of various regions and does not realise that with the techniques and crop-strains at his disposal he now can negate some of these differentiations. Thus the case-study quoted on p. 329 is atypical rather than normal. The result is that in these Islands, which have a long thermal growing season, there are very marked seasonal fluctuations in production. With cauliflowers, tomatoes, carrots and some other vegetables the produce suddenly appears on the markets, prices soar through the fixed ceilings and then as suddenly slump with glut. For the rest of the year - January to September in the case of cauliflowers, and for all except June to September with tomatoes - good quality produce is not available. Prices to the producer range from very high to zero and such fluctuations, superimposed on those caused by climatic variations, both strain the farming economy and encourage poor production. Thus some winter grown Arran Banner sold for up to 50s. per *qantar* in 1956 but only 8s. 4d. in 1958; in January 1957, unsold cauliflowers could be bought from *pitkali* for fodder at 1s. a sack, while a year later they fetched almost 1s. a *wizna* (8¾ lb. av.).

241 464 465 Secondly, the concentration in time of the various harvests causes severe fluctuations in the demand for labour. All farmers interviewed regard hired labour as poor in quality and expensive. This is a frequent grumble in many countries but in the Maltese context there are some special implications. The number of agricultural labourers, which declined in the nineteenth century as pressure on land resources diminished holding size and encouraged cultivation by occupiers, further declined as urban employment opportunities increased. That pool which is left to some extent sets its standards of wage demand by urban levels, but more important still is only urgently required at two seasons of the year. During the first of these, March to middle May, it is needed for the harvesting of cereals, sulla, potatoes and other winter crops and for the first of the summer cultivations. The second period, about September, coincides with the grape harvest which lasts but three weeks, and with autumn tillage. The result is to elevate day-wage rates to the point of discouragement for the farmer and to lower seasonal earnings so as to repel possible labourer recruits. Merchants, vintners, fodder and food consumers and producers all suffer, and suffer needlessly when one realises the climatic possibilities for extending production.

241 433 To sum up, one may say that the farmer, although largely producing for the market, is generally unable to cost his efforts, deal on equal terms with traders, or appreciate the needs of the market domestic or foreign. This inability must be corrected because the farmer and his land are potentially capable of supplying more of the Islands' agricultural needs than they do at present, and of making a considerable positive contribution to the balance of trade which at the moment they help to distort.

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level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advancement. 555

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same 212
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had 369
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to 17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment oppor- 464
tunities during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 178
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 241
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 433
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the 464

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school. [114]

241 giant dockyard in Cospicua, or for one of the various British
433 Service departments scattered over the island. Gozo is more
464 dependent upon agriculture, but many Gozitan men work in
Malta, returning to their families for the weekend. Though
[178] Maltese villages are populated mostly by industrial workers, they
have nonetheless a decidedly rural atmosphere about them, for
their inhabitants still have links with the agricultural economy of
[231] the past. Many retain a patch or two of land which they plant with
[235] potatoes or some other cash crop to supplement their wages, and
[262] virtually all keep chickens and rabbits to supply them with eggs
and fresh meat for special celebrations.

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TABLE I. Occupational Classes in Farruġ and Kortin[1]
(Expressed as percentages of the total male working population)

Occupational Class	*Farruġ*	*Kortin*	*Islands*
Professional and Clerical	4	7	15
Service and Skilled	39	52	55
Semi- and Unskilled	42	27	20
Agricultural	15	14	10
Totals	100	100	100

[438] A hundred years ago, the inhabitants of Farruġ were mostly farmers, though many were also employed on a cottage-industry basis in the thriving cotton industry of the time. Today they are for the most part wage labourers. Of the total male working population, 42 per cent are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, 39 per cent work as skilled fitters and as service personnel (shopkeepers, drivers, policemen, etc.) and 15 per cent as farmers. Only 4 per cent are professionals and white-collar workers. Three-fourths travel outside the village to their places of employment, chiefly with the Malta Government and the British military departments.

The occupational structure of Kortin is much the same. The higher proportion of skilled and clerical workers is in part a reflection of its past importance as an administrative centre, for until early in this century it was the seat of the district court. Seven per cent of the men work in professional and white-collar

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[1] The figures for Farruġ and Kortin are based on surveys I conducted, and the national figures on the *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 45–55. The totals of the male working population in Farruġ, Kortin and the Maltese Islands are 296, 1,131 and 75,930 respectively.

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catho-
lic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedi-
787 cated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
795 elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentle-
621 men'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to dis-
seminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[578] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

175 167 361 The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

175 161 361 It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is comparatively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

175 648 The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

175 ● 433-464 During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

175 648 The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediæval Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—DEMOGRAPHY.

161 174 It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogeum is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Miège (27) suggests a population of 20,659. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and
villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to the physical arrangement of functional parts), these provide important evidence of the social and economic nature of society. The present report is concerned with rural society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These
creations have since expanded and merged to become the
[396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society
had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a
few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and
Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended
[464] on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment existing only in the larger settlements or in the little harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530 standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined in relative importance.

Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
[161] a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
[396] associated townships became dominant and the increase in the
population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if
not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the
largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

It has faded very rapidly
369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give
241 way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
433 animals or animal products are sold for money.

[178] By using the 1948 Census material (B/167 - 1948, Table 53)
162 it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
463 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
634 occupied' section of the population as follows:

369

[127]

Table 1 (v. Map 2)

Urban (0-3%)	
Valletta	0
Cospicua	0
Senglea	0
Vittoriosa	.008
Gżira	.11
Sliema	.24
Floriana	.43
Pawla	.8
Marsa	1.2
Hamrun	1.35
Msida	1.36
Kalkara	1.84
Pieta	2.6
St. Julian's	2.9

Fringe (3-10%)	
Balzan	5.48
Luqa	6.1
Birkirkara	6.16
Tarxien	6.43
St.Venera	6.46
Qormi	6.88
Birzebbuga	7.3
Żabbar	7.35
Żejtun	8.27
Lija	9.9

Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Mqabba	10.5
Marsaxlokk	10.6
Żurrieq	11.15
Għaxaq	11.29
Attard	11.53
*Victoria	13
Mdina	15.4
Mosta	16.56
Żebbuġ	18.41
*Għajnsielem	19.2
Gudja	19.91

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Għargħur	29.1
Mellieħa	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Kerċem	56.43
*Xagħra	64
*Għarb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Għasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Malta................ 9.11%
Gozo................. 41.78%
All Islands.......... 12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an
369 increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
464 but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
369 counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages

x [i.e. peasant subsistence farming. - Analyst]

178 which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming
element are the old settlements.[4] The non-agricultural
369 Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta
and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural
basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages
grew little in size and declined considerably in relative
importance.

178 A closer investigation of the declining relative importance
of farming within the rural villages themselves over
241 the past hundred years (v. Appendix 1D, vii and Graph)
433 reveals that during some periods economic prosperity in
464 Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally,
166 that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a
return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared.
This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the
nineteenth and the first decade of the present century (B/381).
Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming
(v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the
Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land
have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked
this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers
who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the
nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land
upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions
declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a
foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the
land as he is with the community which it supported. If a
depression were to appear along with any limitation in
emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in
times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for
farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring
but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and
farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic
in character.

178 The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial
464 rather than total in that the bulk of farmers and farm-workers
who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or
241 'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper
(B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of
countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past
the availability of alternative employment has been the
governing factor. The earlier periods of economic prosperity
mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for
175 the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the
464 only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural
288 Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving. Even
here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and
manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth

175 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, particularly
288 after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports
464 of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is
today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective
monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century,
much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted
to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male
labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing
departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was
centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft,
so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from
home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton
production declined. This decline accelerated towards the
close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an
even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands.
The total decline was due to external economic factors but,
within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest
in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The
cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest -
where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing
178 work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end
241 of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of
369 this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first,
464 and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the
Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the
[288] harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton
[396] industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus
[504] appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater
break with home, farm and village than had been the case with
cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the
alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into
the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population
of the rural area became less and less dependent on agriculture
for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in
178 an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second,
241 considered later in more detail, is the social change which
369 has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager
241 through direct and indirect education and contact with the
433 people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two
forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had
happened before on a temporary basis and the other a
consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which
has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world,
have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he
has the new range of employment opportunities indicated,
while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfaully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The
percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'. Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to
36 this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the
harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops, cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
162 dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the
most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix 3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but even in the rural districts most people are seen to live within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only five districts show a built-up township area accounting for more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for 1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern (R/561).

000 already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

241 423 The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the points of definition just made. This is the complex of features which have produced the present landscape of tiny field-plots covering the cultivable parts of the Islands with a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception. [433] Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over 55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than 9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or fodder (Case V).

241 311 464 The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions. Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of rock in days when manual labour was readily available and cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled, tilled and irrigated. [409] But while mechanization, particularly in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even this kind of development on account of their small size, tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the soil which it held in place collapses over the terraces below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

423 241 454 The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this picture since they make for further divisions in an already minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is frequently deterred from making improvements on a piece of land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either owns himself or has on long lease and which show the necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability (Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building (Case I).

241 423 Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature. They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more

241 423 rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields, which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

241 464 This is the background to the present attempts to rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

433 (a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654] (b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

654 241 464 The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

178 462 [592] The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

562 462 178 In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p.80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

242 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for
654 advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud (Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service are outlined in B/252.

178 Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said
241 about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification
654 to bring it more closely into line with present conditions both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic
181 conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4) but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is
[234] not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the Islands.

433 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk
654 surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee remains he will continue to put every effort into selling
234 more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently, having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

MONEY

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434 In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale
178 subsistence farming with the help only of his family.
[175] Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family, farm and village. There were very few wants which could not be supplied at home, or at least within the village. In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction
436 between the present 'commercialized' position and that which
437 prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they
465 were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when
compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for
comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal
Commissioners (B/184), Miège (B/516) and Price (B/556),
but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
454 this same report however, it is learnt that the farming
community had by that date become investment conscious and
had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day
where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited
eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field
work at all. The developments observed by the 1911
Commissioners were by no means general among the rural
population at that time. They were in fact merely the
first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
178 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
433 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
722 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
465 in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before.
He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce
- or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became
used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted
war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was
the feling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in
Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time,
the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the country-
man. The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was
content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the
change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his
social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered
needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a
variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
571 is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
[65] tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
571 normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
454 call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
[593] few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expences of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
178 accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce). usually strives
to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
[294] possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family.
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
[656] killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

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to have made its presence felt among the farmers themselves.

When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in the Islands will depend, have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

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In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened younger farming generation might develop. Neither is there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

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As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U. (Section 2). In short, official policy here has been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the cost of which is borne by the Government. The totals [433] of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[41].

178 241 407 464 (3) On account of those same physical limitations mechanization of field-work cannot be expected to solve all labour problems in Maltese agriculture. An initial, over-optimistic emphasis on large tractors and other heavy machinery has given way to a rapid increase in the number and popularity of the small rotary-cultivators. But even this cannot be expected to displace completely the wooden plow and hand implement working (Section 2).

However, mechanized farm implements, particularly the small, manoeuvrable rotary-cultivator type of hand tractor, have enabled a reduced number of farmers to work their fields more intensively, and, in some cases, to increase the area worked by a single individual.

The neglect of those aspects of farming where manual work is dominant and necessary have, nevertheless, accompanied this change with the bizarre result that intensification of effort and neglect are proceeding simultaneously (B/336).

178 434 (4) A basic factor in the present situation, in which the young farmer is retreating from farming, has been the emergence of a demand for money income (Section 3). The traditional pattern of peasant, subsistence farming in which the main object was the support of the farmer and his family has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook in farming. The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with which he can

(a) purchase those items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (clothing, bread etc., etc.),

(b) purchase items which have recently become part of his regular demands and for which money is a sine qua non (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.),

433 511 Food, as an item of family expenditure, nowadays figures especially prominantly

(a) where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, to fodder,

(b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element of the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market prospects.

178 434 But of greater significance in the long-term view is the fact that these new demands for monetary gain are a particularly prominent feature among the present younger generation of the farming community. For them a substantially increased income is synonomous with social and economic betterment. Since they do not envisage such an increased income coming from farming they are all the more anxious to leave the

*159 46 work of the farm and animals himself", and he can only cope with his own farm and animals if he follows a heavy and rigidly organized schedule of work. Hired labour is not a proposition, Pawlu avers, at £1 for an eight-hour day and this has apparently contributed to the emphasis which he has put on fodder and milk production in recent years. [433] High costs of hired labour for field-work together with the poor and unguaranteed returns for crop produce make field work on dry (baghli) land a poor prospect. Irrigable land presents a different picture but there is none available in Pawlu's district.

*159 512 Pawlu's timetable (in effect he runs the farm single-handed) centres on the animals. During the summer months the pressure is slightly less because the weather is easier, field-work is less pressing and he has the casual help of the younger children in school vacations. Daily time of rising for Pawlu depends on where and when the milk has to be taken for collection. At one stage, in 1957, he had to be up soon after midnight but, until the new milk factory was opened at Xewkija in 1958, a more usual reveille was at 2 or 3 a.m.

[264] [262] Breakfast, of coffee and bread, is taken when the family gets up or when they return from the Church nearby. Pawlu often has to take meals when he can fit them in between his jobs so that it is somewhat exceptional to find the whole family sitting together for food. The morning milking takes him some two hours after which the animals need feeding and attention before he can go to the fields. About six times a month his morning takes him to Rabat on shopping or business errands.

[264] [262] Lunch, the main meal of the day, consists every day of either minestra (thick soup) or farinaceous paste of some kind, together with bread, cheese, oil (żejt) and home-made tomato 'kunserva'. Lunch is usually over by noon when milking and the preparation of the afternoon feed begins. [264] The evening meal is normally similar to the lunch in content but less in amount. It is often taken immediately before retirement for the night which is early in the village. The farmer reckons to be in from the fields by sun-down but, when the evenings are longer, most of the village is quiet soon after 6 p.m. except where some conversation lingers in a paraffin-lit shop.

*159 512 794 Sundays and festa days are breaks from the normal routine, but Church-going is not confined to these days and in fact accounts for some two half-hour visits every day with extra attendances at the weekend. In this very rural community the 'social' aspect of church-going retains most of its traditional importance. In the absence of

*159 512 794 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

592 178 *159 Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 423 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding)

427 A. **Land**.

[311]
- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 423 311 B. **Utilisation**.

	1956	1957	1958
House	½	½	½
Vines	½	½	½
Prickly pear	½	½	½
Fodders	8¼	10¼	14¼
Vegetables	8⅜	6⅛	2⅜
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 231 C. **Livestock**. (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 491 [427] [456] D. **Capital**.

- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 464 E. **Labour**.

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 433 [434] F. **Production and Sales**.

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

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3 ratal barley bran	1s. 4d.
8 " cake	3s. 6d.
5 " sulla	1s. 4d.
8 " beans	5s. 0d.
1 basket prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½ " straw	6d
	12s. 8d.

- Sample daily food for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48 ratal bean	£1. 10s. 0d.
16 " barley	6s. 0d.
4 bundles sulla	5s. 0d.
Furrajna (green barley)	5s. 0d.
	£2. 6s. 0d.

[434] - Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit, making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d. daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

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G. **Husbandry.**

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".
- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
  (a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.
  (b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.
  (c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

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(ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.
- Two rotations are in use,
  (a) 1st yr: Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
  2nd yr: Sulla
  3rd yr: Wheat
  4th yr: Fallow
  (b) 1st yr: Wheat
  2nd yr: Sulla and Beans
  3rd yr: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor plowing.
  4th yr: Fallow

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H. **General.**

- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gositan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.
- [454] At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

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CASE II: Ġużepp (A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping.)

Like Pawlu (Case I) Ġużepp is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
[246] to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
(he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
241 for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
● 433 the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
434 from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
[427] cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
[241] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
[433] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
438 great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
443 paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

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159 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
511 entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
829 yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
178 one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation. In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

*159 shopping is done in the local Village but Nardu ..
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Suq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 423 A. **Land.**

30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 241 311 B. **Utilisation.**

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under gofafa (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 231 C. **Livestock.**

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital.**

- [423] Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
- Freehold village house.
- [454] According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
- [412] [407] Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc. No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 464 E. **Labour.**

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting. During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
- [427] Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 ●433 F. **Production and Sales.**

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

*159 241 G. **Husbandry.**

(1) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annu
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prov the employment of the normal four-year rota

*159 241 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments.
Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 [656] The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons [433 434] or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk *159 46 241 465 to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

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B. Utilisation.

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 231 234

C. Livestock.

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 142

D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.

(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).

(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts.

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E. Labour.

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 434 234 ● [433]

F. Production and Sales.

(v. Table 5)

(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p. .
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

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G. Husbandry.

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.

(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.

(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

* 159 433

H. General.

This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

* 159 231 232

CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow."

* 159 234 [311] [246] [435] [464] [451] [651]

Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has very little appreciation of his profit. None of his labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax authorities each year.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 - 50 goats
- 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.

234 - Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159 **D. Capital.**

42 - The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).

454 - Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.

[407] - No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tomna when necessary.

E. Labour.

*159 - No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.

464 - Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

*159 **F. Production and Sales.**

43 - Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qantar respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.

These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

G. Husbandry.

*159 - Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention to holding.

231

234 - Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

H. General.

*159 - When asked whether he considered himself to be herdsman or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general dealer" in crops and animals.

● 433 - In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

159 156 [231]

- Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
- Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.
- Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

CASE VIII : Niklaws (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)

*159 472 [423] [234]

Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70 tumien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 472 234 433 [232]

The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 407 454 234 [427]

Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

[435]

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 (i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

234 (ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

*159 **D. Capital.**

[472] (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

*159 **E. Labour.**

(i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

464 (ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

407 (iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

427 (iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

*159 **F. Production and Sales.**

433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

* **H. General.**

159 (i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndi-
472 cate is not typical of Maltese farming systems.
451 The partnership seems to derive historically from
a line of large farmers and is now held together
by the drive and ability of one of their number.
(ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organ-
*159 isation one may use this case-study as illustrating
the practises and modes of thought of the most
highly developed type of Maltese farmer.
472 - Characteristically there is a marked reluctance
451 to give any financial information. Official
records and returns are even less accurate than
181 in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant
cultivators. Some records are certainly kept
by the group but individual shares in gross in-
come do not seem to be formally arranged. There
does no seem even here to be either a monetary
evaluation of their own labour or any assessment
of net profit as distinct from gross income.
Receipts appear to go into a central treasury
which is drawn on by agreement over each specific
case.
- Although there is present considerable financial
acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness
rather than any real commercial understanding.
*159 - Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar
● 433 per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these
are attained by the careful application of
181 proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of
better scientific understanding than their
242 neighbours.
- In spite of the fact that the syndicate's
*159 capital reserves and their practical abilities
are considerable, the physical environment dom-
181 inates their actions. They are not prepared to
232 experiment themselves and they look askance at
those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that
242 as already noted, their very success with
traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of
new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these
there is a great mental gulf between them and
typical farmers of Northern Europe and between
them and their advisers.

*
159 CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu (A long-established
472 partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in
cows' milk production.)

464 Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

*
159 Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By
178 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows'
234 milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

159

178 substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however,
234 show no inclination to stay in farming.

*159 A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in
quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that
232 they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd
829 of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases
234 and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

*159 In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Ingliżi type.
234 As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a
231 larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Ingliżi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

*159 Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount
234 they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of
433 producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?").
The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount
[246] of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

*159 Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid
434 increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of
Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are
426 operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

*159
231
The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Ingliżi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159
D. Capital.

426
(i) No freehold property.

[423]
(ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[454]
[407]
(iii) Equipment - usual hand tools
- rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.

[312]
- no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159
464
E. Labour.

- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159
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F. Production and Sales.

- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.

●[433]
- Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159
231
G. Husbandry.

(i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.

[232]
- Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241]
(ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*
159
234
829
H. General.

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

[426]
The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
829 Gozitan milk producer, Case I.
The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle with-
234 in the current artificial economy of milk production. There
is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy
[433] were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
472 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two
brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten
tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by
private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth
to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned
by Ġamri's father.

*159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
472 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present.
They share the common view that hired farm labour is both
uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inef-
ficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (bagħli)
apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was
utilized as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines........................	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders....................	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let.......	13 tmien
Potatoes...............................	6 tmien
Other vegetables.......................	5 tmien

*159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow
in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons,
oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits.
The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or
disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub.
Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and
October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected
trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this
time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But
of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result
might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the appli-
cation of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of
this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
[435] at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of
crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

*159 407 427 paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on ♂'s personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tomna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tomna.

- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tomna.

E. Labour.

*159 464

- ♂'s 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:
  - (a) Joint holding worked by partners and ♂'s nephew.
  - (b) Land held by ♂, deriving from wife's family, farmed by ♂ and eldest nephew.
  - (c) Land held by ♂'s brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 461

- A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.
  - (a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On ♂'s own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tomna.

*159 434 241

F. Production and Sales.

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From ♂'s land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
♂'s share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434

- This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from £€.10.0 to £15 per tomna, fruit £28 per tomna,

[P.121]

159 241 434 433

tomatoes £18.10.0 and grapes from £8 to £18.

- Measured yields include:-

Grapes:	4.2 tmien	11.4 qnatar
Winter sown potatoes (irrigated):	2.0 tmien	6.8 qnatar
Autumn sown potatoes (dry):	3.3 tmien	7.6 qnatar
Green beans in pod:	1.5 tmien	600 rtal
Wheat (threshed):	6.7 tmien	31.5 tmien
Sulla:	1.0 tomna	13 ħmiel
	1.0 tomna	20 ħmiel
	3.0 tmien	10 ħmiel
Vetches:	0.7 tomna	6.5 ħmiel
	2.0 tomna	7.0 ħmiel

- Thus, comparing these figures with figures for labour applied, cash receipts per man-day were £2 for fruit, £1.10.0 for grapes and £1 for sulla. Were labour applied to be costed at prevailing rates of 20/- to 25/- per man-day, a large loss on the year's working would result.

*159 241 433 (2). A large proportion of the produce is retained for consumption by the family and by its small number of stock. In 1956/7 one quarter of joint holding and one third of G's own land produced entirely for home consumption.

*159 241

G. Husbandry.

(1)- Rotations not strictly adhered to, but common sequences are:

- (a) on good land
  - 1st Yr: Manuring followed by potatoes or by winter fallow and summer crop (tomatoes or melons).
  - 2nd Yr: Potatoes or tomatoes.
  - 3rd Yr: Sulla.
  - 4th Yr: Wheat.
- (b) on poorer dry land an alternation of sulla or vetches with cereals.
- (c) best irrigated land may carry 2 crops of potatoes in each of several successive years but more usually tomatoes or melons follow winter-sown potatoes and autumn-sown potatoes are then omitted.
- (d) fields may be irrigated in alternate years only, with dry land crops (cereals, beans, onions) in non-irrigated years.

(2)- Common cultivation methods:

- (a) Vines: land worked 3 times with tined hoes during late winter and early spring. Ammonium sulphate worked in during second cultivation.
- (b) Tomatoes: surface scattering of manure followed by deep plowing (summer). Worked four times with wooden plow in winter and subsequently reduced to fine tilth with hoe before planting seedlings.
- (c) Wheat: land worked twice with wooden plow in October, seed scattered broadcast and plowed in immediately.
- (d) Melons: land worked six times during autumn, winter and early spring, four times with wooden plow, twice with rotary cultivator. Seed sown and watered in early April.
- (e) Beans: land deep-plowed during summer and worked twice with wooden plow. Hoed during planting.

(3)- Seeds. Average rates of application:-

- (a) Sulla (new crop) c.10 tmien (weight) per tomna of land, seed obtained from previous year's crop.
- (b) Wheat and barley 4 sighan (weight) per tomna, generally from previous crop but may be purchased at c.3/- per sighan.
- (c) Beans. 1 tomna (weight) per tomna of land.
- (d) Potatoes are the only seed regularly purchased, Arran Banner and other Scottish varieties bought (v. after Table 6)

[text continues on P.124]

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa bagħli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the
corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-
[406] house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-
driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
[343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils
tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
241 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
●433 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to culti-
434 vate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
829 to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
[464] heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at
least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to
qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however
content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the
lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the
most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative
(Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first
suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having
the money than letting the Government get it. This belief
that the Government is behind everything is characteristic
(Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organiza-
tion distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossi-
bility of achieving anything above low living standards.
Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet
clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case
among many of his generation and it may be that he will have
difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily
of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and
new equipment with Government financial and advisory assis-
tance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The prob-
lem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young
men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
[654] to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agricul-
ture to the full but it has done comparatively little for
the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at
least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to
stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

TABLE 7

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	July 57[f]		Oct 57		Nov 57		Dec 57		Jan 58		Feb 58		May 57	
	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm
Sundays, Festas	4	4	4	4	6	6	7	7	6	6	5	5	7	7
Business, Valletta	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Repairs fields & buildings (storm)	.	.	2	4[l]	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No work (storms)	.	.	7	7[g]	6	3	3	3	8	7	2	2	.	.
Irrigation	8	6[j]	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8	5[j]
Plowing	3	2	5	3	.	.	.	.	3	3	1	1	2	2
Planting, sowing	.	.	4	3	6	6	12	11[a]	7	8[b]	4	1	7	2
Working,[c] etc.	5	5	4	2	3	5	1	2	4	4	5	3	.	3
Cutting, reaping	8	9[d]	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3
Lifting potatoes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3[h]	3	5[i]
Threshing	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Loading, transporting	2	1	1	1	.	.	3	3	.	2	.	1	.	2
Vines, prune, graft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	7	.	.
Collecting kaxix[e]	1	1	1	4	5	5[k]	3	4	1	.	.	3	.	2
Collecting [illegible]			.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
	31	31	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31

Notes

a. all potatoes.
b. potatoes 3.5.
c. working, weeding, dressing, spraying, manuring, hoeing, etc.
d. wheat and barley 4.2.
e. kaxix - general greenery for animal fodder.
f. data for other months not available.
g. the latter part of 1957 saw exceptional storms in Malta & Gozo.
h. the winter crop a month late on account of damp conditions.
i. the spring crop.
j. irrigation in dry months.
k. kaxix gathering peak after 2 months of rain.
l. including 2.2 attending to animals (too wet to work fields).

F. Production and Sales.

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(i) Main cash-crop irrigated potatoes - Arran Banner. Two crops - winter and 'early' crop, the latter for export. Yields vary considerably in spite of irrigation - winter crop 1956 double the quantity of the winter crop 1957. Soil conditions for cultivation and for germination can vary critically between November and February. Prices similarly vary considerably. 1956 - maximum price obtained 30/- per qantar. 1957 - April maximum price obtain 25/- per qantar. 1957 - May maximum price obtained 15/- per qantar.

[442]

(ii) Tomatoes. Pickings from May to October with peak production in July. Prices vary inversely with production (E/253). Irrigated local varieties only are grown. The best tomatoes are kept for seed, the next grade carefully selected for sale through 'pitkal' middleman for local market, the third grade sold to the tomato paste ('Kunserva') factory. Prices range from 10d. to 1/6d. per wizna, but vary with quantity available rather than with quality. Regarded as preferable to potatoes since the farmer believes they are less expensive to produce.

(iii) Artichokes. Irrigated perennials producing for up to about 8 years. Best marketing period is during Lent. Great efforts made to raise a crop early in

*159 433 435 February when prices start at c.9d a head rather than later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 (i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming. In 1958 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, leguminous fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land where vetches alternate with barley.

[461] (c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

[242] (d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953 Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:

Relies entirely on own plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Eigenheimer.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock:

Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

*159 241 433 435 [465] (i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

*159 451 (ii) The farmers children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 434 234 (i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957 c.£1350. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).

- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').
- [272] About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production.
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

*159 241 [435] (ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
- 'Early' Crop - January to April.

Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 23/4 per qantar for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.

- [433] Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

[433] (iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder production meets c.one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land

(a) On best land typical sequence would be.

Sept. (a) Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per tomna.
Sept.-Dec. (b) Winter crop of potatoes.
Jan. (c) Artifical fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April (d) Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug. (e) Summer fallow.
Sept.-April (f) Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug. (g) Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May (h) Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug. (i) Fallow.
Sept.-April (j) Sulla.

(b) More usual practice (which is not though of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.
- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as żofżfa and ġinġlin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassicas, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds
- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

*159 232 (iii) Livestock - Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.
- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

*159 433 451 (i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer. Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own

*159 133 451 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 134 241
- some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
- deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - subsurface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorċa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 157 626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in checkweighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159 241 434 An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 178 461 *[159] [369] [162] Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agriculture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.

[433] [251] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43

(i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable [454] capital reserve.

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829

CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

APPENDIX 1 D : Agriculture (B/164-1957)

131 (i) AREAS

AREA of the Maltese Islands............	276,429 tumien	(77,400 ac)
Area of Malta......................	217,143 tumien	(60,800 ac)
Area of Gozo.......................	59,286 tumien	(16,600 ac)
423 CULTIVABLE AREA of the Maltese Islands	155,211 tumien	(12,484 hldngs)
Holdings of dry (baghli) land....	116,460 tumien	(10,517 ")
Holdings of irrigable (saqwi)land	700 tumien	(88 holdings)
Holdings of both dry & irrigable.	38,051 tumien	(1,879 ")

241 (ii) ACREAGE and PRODUCTION of CROPS, 1956-57

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CROP	ACREAGE	VALUE(£)	YIELD(Tons)	YIELD per Acre (tons)
Wheat	5,192	96,908	2,916	0.6
Barley & Bemlin	4,836	66,339	2,738	0.6
Vetches	1,727	51,993	1,354	0.8
Forages	11,000	361,150(a)	32,000(a)	2.3
Broad Beans	1,000	15,233	356	3.6
Cumin Seed	14	180	3	0.2
Cotton	35	800	8	0.2
Locust Beans	500	20,000	1,500	3.0
Total	24,304	616,603	40,875	
Potatoes (spring)	6,000	350,[illegible]70	21,000	3.5
Potatoes (autumn)	3,067	193,394	9,157	3.0
Melons	2,721	32,906	1,714	0.6
Onions	789	47,870	3,000	3.8
Tomatoes	3,000	146,000	12,000	4.0
Other vegetables	3,697	344,744	18,438	5.0
Total	19,259	1,115,016	65,307	
Grapes	5,204	171,102	5,347	1.0
Citrus	180	32,000	510	3.0
Other Fruit	1,000	105,000	4,000	2.0
Total	6,384	308,102	9,847	
Flowers & Seeds	350	100,000	..	
TOTAL	ac.50,177	£2,139,721	116,029 Tons	

(a) Including Straw.

231 (iii) CLASSIFICATION OF LIVESTOCK, 1957 (September)

	Malta (1957)	Gozo (1957)	TOTAL (1957)	TOTAL (1948)
Horses................	1,688	369	2,057	2,753
Donkeys...............	1,732	1,107	2,839	3,336
Mules.................	1,535	349	1,884	2,369
Goats.................	21,630	10,428	32,058	60,677
Billy Goats..........	417	177	594	
Kids under 1 year...	3,364	3,121	6,485	
Sheep.................	8,091	4,241	12,332	21,237
Rams..................	98	43	141	
Lambs under 1 year..	1,018	1,330	2,348	
Bulls.................	377	294	671	2,833
Heifers Pregnant....	339	195	534	
Heifers other.......	731	360	1,091	
Milch Cows..........	2,536	866	3,402	
Stud Bulls..........	111	26	137	
Maltese Draught-Cows	109	6	115	
Imported Store Bulls	2,860	824	3,684	
Breeding Sows.......	2,703	558	3,261	20,015
Boars................	214	87	301	
Suckling Pigs.......	935	367	1,302	
Other Fatteners.....	6,561	1,753	8,314	
Hens.................	195,683	126,630	322,313	
Other Poultry.......	5,145	1,264	6,409	
Rabbits..............	43,645	16,048	59,693	

795 by one; as the names of their parishes are called out, advance
659 to the Governor's throne and present to him a large and
heavy wax candle, generally embellished with painted
796 decorations.

This Candlemas ceremony has been maintained uninterruptedly from the days when the State was the Order of S. John; and the Governor takes this occasion, as did his predecessors the Grand Masters, to address the assembly on the problems of the day, with particular emphasis on the manner in which Church and State can best co-operate for the benefit of the people. It gives the Governor of Malta the same sort of opportunity, *mutatis mutandis*, to make public pronouncements on matters of policy as the British Prime Minister is given at the Lord Mayor's Banquet. A collation brings this happy and useful function to a close.

Here it may be added that the Governor retains, as the successor of the Grand Masters, certain ecclesiastical patronage, such as the nomination to the post of Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Malta and the right of presentation to various benefices. A survival of another sort from the days of the Knights is the religious corporation known as the Collegiate Church of S. Paul's Grotto at Rabat, whose Canons still wear at their ceremonies the habit, *stolone* and cross of the Order.

The principal industry of the Maltese islands is agriculture,
241 and the Maltese, despite the stony nature of their land, are
433 skilful and industrious farmers with a wonderful knack of
extracting the utmost from the soil, despite methods
necessarily somewhat primitive since their fields are too
small for modern agricultural machinery. Maltese potatoes
and Maltese oranges have a high reputation. Vegetables
are good, especially tomatoes; wheat does well where there
[439] is room to grow it. But the islands can produce only a
fraction of their annual consumption of cereals, and much
251 has therefore to be imported from outside. Among the most
178 familiar features surviving from the era of the Knights are

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

to the political parties and Her Majesty's Government. Farther 642
efforts must, of course, be made, and it is Her Majesty's 648
Government's intention to hold farther discussions in due 668
course with a view to reintroducing elected representative 668
government. In the meantime it is desirable that the present arrangements, under which the Governor is using his emergency powers under the present Constitution to govern the islands, should be terminated as soon as possible. Her Majesty's Government have accordingly no alternative but to revoke the present Constitution and to make special arrangements of an interim character for the government of Malta. This will necessitate legislation and a Bill will be introduced into Parliament after the House re-assembles. The form of government contemplated for this interim period is one in which the Governor will be assisted by a Council on which there will be Maltese representation.

7. During this interim period the Governor with the full 648
support of Her Majesty's Government will press on with 433
economic development. As was recognized in the 1955
Declaration to which the Maltese political leaders subscribe, 654
Malta depends very heavily on Services expenditure and every effort must be made to develop other sources of income. Much has already been done since 1955 in laying the foundation for future industrial development, to which end Malta has received assistance amounting to some £18,000,000 from Her Majesty's Government.

8. Her Majesty's Government's main aim in promoting economic development in Malta is to attract new industries. The 1955 Declaration recognized that this required a joint effort towards which the Maltese Government and people should make the best possible contribution from their own resources. A very important step in Malta's economic development has already been taken by the decision to convert the Naval Dockyard to a commercial ship repair yard and to develop associated industries. The construction of a deepwater harbour, the building of an industrial estate, the re-equipment of the Island's electricity supply and other public utilities, and the development of tourism are already going ahead. Plans for other development are now under examination. It is the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

654 Governor's intention to ask the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for advice from time to time on
433 current problems of the Maltese economy and on the plans for
648 Malta's economic development.

9. Private industrial development is to be assisted by the Aids to Industry legislation which the Governor intends to enact this month. This will offer substantial fiscal incentives to new industries to establish themselves in the Islands. New industries establishing themselves in Malta will also be eligible to apply for grants and loans. In administering these various incentives to industrial development the Governor will be assisted by an influential advisory body on which there will be Maltese representatives. This body will be under the chairmanship of Lord Hives, who is already familiar with Malta's problems.

Her Majesty's Government have now decided to contribute a sum of up to £29,000,000 over the next five years towards the cost of Malta's capital programme, the conversion of the dockyard to civil use and the encouragement of new industries.

642 The 1959 Constitution came into operation, as it happened,
654 on the 15th April, which is celebrated in Malta as George
648 Cross Day. It provides for the administration of the islands by the Governor with the aid of a part-official, part-nominated Executive Council with Maltese representation, an arrangement similar to that in force between 1936 and 1939. There was also enacted the Aids to Industry legislation foreshadowed in Mr Lennox-Boyd's Statement; Messrs Bailey successfully took over the Dockyard, which had been converted into a commercial undertaking with the financial help of the British Government; work was inaugurated on the construction of a new deep-water wharf in the Grand Harbour.

Sir Robert Laycock's term of office, while politically
744 frustrating, ended with a year of economic advance and new
73 hopes. It also saw an immense advance in social services such as District Nursing and the care of handicapped children, orphans and victims of infantile paralysis under the vigorous

For brevity's sake it must suffice to say here that, apart from the obvious effects of World War II, the Maltese economy during the last 50 years has developed along more or less uniform general lines. Trade statistics began to be compiled properly in 1909-10. By 1918, visible exports paid for only 10 per cent. of all imports while by 1956 this proportion had dropped to 5 per cent. For our present purpose the most recent specifically economic Report utilising normally unpublished source material, that of Balogh and Seers (13), may be used as a basis for discussion. Statistics for the year 1953-54 contained therein and in the original source material are here re-assembled and re-arranged in the same combinations used in Chapter V A, i.e. Negotiable Income or External Economic Balance, Internal Revenue and National Product. By no means all the facts are available and some of the elements in the computation are open to question, but this particular presentation has been adopted to bring out significant points of direct relevance to our work.

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The first element, that of External Balance may be presented in tabular form thus:-

Table 31. External economic balance, 1954.

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A. Negotiable Income - originating externally.		
(i) Services pay		£6.5 millions
	(of which dockyard)	(3.6 ")
(ii) Direct expenditure by Services		2.2 "
(iii) Estimated spending by non-Maltese Service personnel		6.0 "
		£14.7 "
(iv) Imperial Grants		3.0 "
		£17.7 "
B. Negotiable Income - originating internally.		
(i) Merchandise exports		£1.5 millions
(ii) Invisible exports		2.9 "
		£4.4 "
C. Negotiable Income - Grand Total		£22.1 millions
D. Expenditure on Imports.		
(i) Merchandise imports		£18.6 millions
(ii) Invisible imports		1.9 "
		£20.5 "

The most obvious characteristic of Malta's economy in its external relationship is its amazing dependence for Negotiable Income, i.e. convertible wealth available for paying for imports, on factors outside domestic control.

In detail various significant points emerge. While part of this income resulted from the provision of industrial and labour services - A (i) and (ii), about 40 per cent. came through retail and domestic services to the Garrison - A (iii). Statistically, this is an item impossible to measure precisely, and in so far as it is a residual item a further question arises, to wit, how far may it be an over-estimate concealing an unrecorded inflow of foreign wealth through hidden channels to the civil population. In Sierra Leone, periodic upsurges of

434 457 unrequited imports were indicative of illegal diamond smuggling. It may well be that, in Malta, a less spectacular movement of capital is similarly responsible for part of the residual items of foreign income. Even so, and considered in a later examination of Internal Revenue and National Product, the implications of a national reliance on this and other elements of income are manifestly significant.

439 If we turn to a consideration of the merchandise in trade, the instability of the situation becomes even more strikingly obvious. An analysis of trade of the Maltese Islands in 1953 (13), the year in which economic conditions for 1954 would be established, shows the following salient points. Britain and the Commonwealth supplied half of Malta's imports thus leaving some £10,000,000 of the remainder to be covered by British credit with other countries. Of the domestically originating exports of three-quarters of a million pounds, only £266,000 went to non-protected markets outside the Commonwealth. These and other details suggest that the Maltese Islands as a whole, not only the Garrison therein, represent a not inconsiderable drain on British reserves of foreign currency. This appears even more strongly from a consideration of the classes of imported merchandise. Imports of Food, Drink and Tobacco (F.D.T.), totalling £7,800,000 were of almost precisely the same value as imports of Manufactures. The Mediterranean Maltese islands naturally depend on imports for main supplies of dairy products. Almost all the £161,188 expended on butter went to the Commonwealth but nearly half of the value of cheese imports - £305,000 in all - came from Italy. Another £161,000 went on eggs, and £785,000 on processed milk. Alarmingly enough however even Mediterranean products were and still are imported in surprisingly large quantities. £130,000 on edible oils, and £353,000 on vegetables, one-third of the latter represented by tomato preparations, are such large sums as to need justification of local inability to produce these commodities. When one notes that, in a Class distinct from the F.D.T. group, a further £1,241,000 was expended on livestock fodder, then one begins to wonder whether agriculture is practised at all in the Islands. There seems no doubt that many of the fresh or processed food and fodder commodities now imported could properly be produced in Malta by better resource use. There remains one difficulty. It is probable that the Knights subsisted mainly on imported products of higher quality than those produced locally. Since 1800, and this is a sign of rising living standards, social emulation has been able to spread this effect through the greater part of the population. The trade figures for later years merely confirm what may be observed directly that most Maltese for one reason or another will deliberately choose foreign rather than domestic produce where possible. In 1956 this led to the consideration of quasi-sumptuary regulations; to us it is a factor in the social environment quite as important as many elements in the physical environment.

652 434 If we turn to a consideration of the Internal Revenue Account we see how deep-rooted and extensive are those characteristics of the economy already noted.

Thus of Government Revenue approximately one-third was derived directly from outside Malta (C) as a result of activities originating outside the control of the Maltese people. Of the remaining two-thirds (D), the largest part was *indirectly* also so obtained from activities dependent on expenditure by non-Maltese, in that it came from taxation of profits earned by mercantile services to the Garrison, taxation of wages, salaries and industrial profits earned by other services rendered to the Imperial power, and lastly from Customs levies on the goods paid for by external income. This revenue (D) was not in itself in any case large enough to cover ordinary expenditure (A) let alone supply capital for public investment.

434 471 Many other questions could be raised, e.g. is not the scale of Government expenditure on Administration rather large relative to total revenue?; but we must content ourselves with one last reflection. The paucity of material resources in the Islands is such that capital investment for raising production can only be applied to agriculture and to improving the productivity of labour in those industrial or commercial services called into being by the locational

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Table 32. Internal revenue account 1953-54.

A. Ordinary Expenditure.		
(i) Maltese Government Administration	£1.667 millions	£1.958 millions
Public Debt and Pensions	.291 "	
(ii) Medical, Health, Commodity Subsidies and other Social Expenditure		2.625 "
(iii) Public Works and Agriculture		.559 "
		£5.142 "
(iv) LESS Revenue Profit on self balancing services		0.441 "
Net Ordinary Expenditure		£4.701 "
B. Special Expenditure.		
(i) Emigration		£0.143 millions
(ii) Colonial Development Works and Services		0.460 "
(iii) Imperial Government Expenditure - Administration, etc.		0.292 "
(iv) Works Extraordinary		0.268 "
Total Special Expenditure		£1.163 "
Grand Total Expenditure		£5.864 "
C. Revenue Directly Derived From Outside Malta.		
(i) Imperial Government Grants for Special Expenditure		£0.814 millions
(ii) Estimated External Revenue from:-		
Customs and Excise	£1 million	£1.180 millions
Lotteries	£0.180 millions	
		£1.994 "
D. Revenue Directly Derived From Inside Malta.		
(i) Customs and Excise (see C (ii))		£2.217 millions
(ii) Income Tax, Succession and Donation Duties		0.662 "
(iii) Lotteries (estimated £400,000), Note Fund, Savings Bank, etc.		1.491 "
		£4.370 "
Grand Total Revenue		£6.364 "

value of the Islands. In the sector of welfare economics the field for investment is in a sense limitless including as it does all the elements of water-supply, public health, education and dietetics. In this sector, capital can only come either from a relatively benevolent foreign power - and here lies the case for continued Maltese existence as a dependency and also the case for 'integration' with the United Kingdom - or hypothetically come from a vastly increased economic turnover within Malta. This immediately leads one back to the field of production economics. If, fundamentally, the value of the Islands for the attraction of capital lies in their location, then any decline in such attractiveness (as recently evinced

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434 471 by British actions) *ipso facto* suggests a decline in that value. Until recently, as suggested elsewhere, domination by a new metropolitan power has implied domination by a more enterprising and a wealthier power. The inevitability of this process has become held so strongly almost as an article of faith by some Maltese that to suggest that it may now come to an end may be regarded as heretical. There is, in fact, every reason to suppose that Malta's locational value has now become so marginally attractive as to render even more economically dubious foreign investment in the limited and difficult sectors available for its application. Without such foreign capital in large quantities, revenue will neither be available for investment in production and welfare nor for continuing existence. The internal as well as external economic demands of the situation are therefore for the seizing of all opportunities to attract investment rather than for historically impossible attempts to preserve an economic *status quo*. Further, it is obviously essential that agriculture as the only sector in which capital and labour can be deployed on domestically controlled natural resources, must be transformed from hitherto the most neglected into one of the most important and potentially fruitful elements in the Islands' life.

Finally, in this general section, a consideration of the National Product serves to put the economic situation into perspective. The salient facts are these:-

433 Table 33. National product 1954.

434 A. Wages and Salaries.	
(i) Service Departments	£6.7 millions
(ii) Administration	3.5 "
(iii) Other	5.8 "
	£16.0 "
B. Incomes.	
(i) Farmers and Fishermen	£1.3 millions
(ii) Government Property	1.2 "
(iii) Private Receipts of Interest and Rents	2.8 "
	£5.3 "
C. Profits of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises	£6.0 millions
D. Net Indirect Taxation	£3.6 millions
Grand Total	£30.9 millions

Balogh and Sears in their interim report on economic conditions (14) computed that the total value of goods and services bought in 1954 amounted to over £51,400,000. Of this some £20,500,000 represented imports, leaving the total given in Table 33. More recent material, e.g. the 1955 Census of Production (15) which became available in 1958, would suggest the need for slight emendation of some items, particularly item C in Table 33. Further upward amendment to item B (i) is needed to cover that considerable part of agricultural production which, as field observation shows, never appears in measurable channels. Balogh's conclusion however remains absolutely valid (16): 'In the last resort nearly all the income and employment on the Island(s) are derived from the U.K. Government'. He does however go on to say that (17): 'This unbalanced

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely 433
based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate
help to the Islands in their present effort ' find alternative sources of employment'. 434
From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification,
while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more
violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain
it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate,
Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese
communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity.
The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this
dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic
stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that [511]
the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level
of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the
present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to
outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of
attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to production,
has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing
any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been
met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe
that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what
is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel.
Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes
manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived 162
from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In
December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta 464
having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of [161]
Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of
population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased.
The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of
the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per
cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government
revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service
Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial
Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in [433]
normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated
by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had [457]
increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2
millions. [434]

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to
the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life
investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in 504
the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter
of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent 464
and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main characteristics
of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that
time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost
exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in
'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction.
In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction,
Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional
departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees,
most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a
considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well
as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus contained
the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most
important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil
'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled,
particularly in the building industry (18).

per cent. are children under 14 years of age. The number of whole-time farmers, 8,100, is now smaller than the group of part-time agriculturalists - 8,946, and in its age-composition differs significantly from the total population - 48 per cent. are aged 50 years or more (1948 - 33,8 per cent.) as compared with 31 per cent. for the Islands as a whole. 162 24

The relatively small and, until very recently, declining size of the full-time farming population, and its rapid ageing, suggest a decline in the importance and status of agriculture. The implications of these figures are discussed elsewhere but it is worth noting that the agricultural areas are still inhabited by over 126,000 persons most of whom draw some real income from the land in amounts which may often be small per capita but which observation suggests are large in total. 178 24 [434]

The total value of the recorded crop product is estimated at some £2.27 millions. From observation in Malta and experience elsewhere one can suggest that is under-estimated by a fraction of the order of 10 per cent. (See p. 10, - Essential Statistics - for further information.) 24 43

The combined value of crop and livestock products is estimated at almost £6,000,000. The income accruing to the cultivators is distributed in such a multiplicity of ways in such varying amounts that no useful estimate of average per capita income can be made. Of the disbursements of some £3 millions, an amount of the order of £2½ millions is expended on imports, notably of fodder and store cattle. Earnings of foreign currency amount to approximately £500,000, almost half of which derived from potato exports. This imbalance between imports and exports in the agricultural sector appears even more striking when one remembers that F.D.T. imports of over £9,000,000 make up 35 per cent. of the total Maltese import bill.

The efforts of the 9 per cent. of the employed population engaged in agriculture are already considerable but the needs of Malta are great. With no known physical resources of any size other than the land, it becomes of vital importance that farming productivity should be raised even further and that special effort is directed towards a legitimate degree of self-sufficiency in agricultural products. Much of the analysis that follows this introduction must be considered in the light of present and future needs. 121 24

REFERENCES

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1. et passim Census of Agriculture, 1958, Malta, 1960.

242 311 the heads of Wied Babu (219) and in the Santi Gap (57) in Malta and in the West-Central Region of Gozo. In such topographical pockets, the building of soil trap walls is sometimes extended to form walled orchards as at id-Dahla and the head of the Wied ir Rum.

241 311 When we turn to observation and consideration of cultivation reactions to minor topographical and geological features we are further reminded of the special relationship between tillage techniques and the soil. Bearing in mind the points noted in Chapter III B and the picture we have drawn of the physical and social environment in which Maltese agriculture has developed, we are forced to the following conclusions.

The economic necessity for the utilisation of virtually all land resources and indeed for creating some of them, together with the physical need for basing all farming practice on soil and water conservation techniques, have until very recently rigidly controlled the details of tillage. Fragmentation, a perfectly rational response to circumstances, has intensified the physical sub-division of the land. The majority of fields in Malta and Gozo cannot easily be worked except by small highly mobile implements. In the conditions described above and in a climate which makes possible a great crop range, implements must also be capable of a great diversity of application. In order to keep up the terraces, work the fields and succeed in maintaining and even increasing the area of cultivable land, the cultivator has been committed to unremitting and arduous manual labour. His basic tool is the hoe, his natural development of it the non-soil-inverting *ard*-plough.

The recent removal, by the creation of new real and psychological opportunities, of part of the pressure that has long kept the farmers on the land has altered the traditional picture. Cartographic evidence of the 25-inch to the mile maps, surveyed in the 1880's and 1890's, shows that since that time little waste-land has been improved. The only known large-scale change in field patterns occurred during and after World War II in the central lowlands of Gozo as the result of airfield construction, but holding fragmentation has re-imposed sub-division on the landscape. Occupational statistics and case-study evidence all point the same way. As a result of this release of pressure, land neglect and abandonment are now irregularly removing the extremes of control of cultivation. Even more important, Malta has been affected by the new evaluation of tillage techniques which has characterised so much of the world. Under modern conditions, most improvements in cultivation techniques have been deliberately designed for the increase of productivity on the better and more easily worked lands. Rural depopulation of the hard lands which gained such momentum in nineteenth-century Europe is an inevitable concomitant of such increases in productivity and of the accompanying demands for higher standards of material consumption and an 'easier' life. In countries such as Malta, this means that a new equilibrium has to be established, existing and new techniques and implements have to be evaluated against established environments and actual or potential changes.

241 311 435 [242] [434] Three examples from case-studies (Key letters refer to Chapter X E) can illustrate what this means in farmer's terms. The first (A. p. 337) concerns a part-time farmer in Region A II, Mellieha Isthmus. This cultivator corroborated other evidence that in the nineteenth century it was still common for 'dry' fields to be created out of wasteland. More recently it has only been economic to make irrigable fields. The method is virtually the same in either case. First a terrace is cut into the rock slope, and the stone rubble is then built outwards in 'made-ground' and held in place by a terrace wall. Soil, usually now from a building site, is then laid over the rock platform and stone infill. Such a field 2 *tumien* in extent in 1951 cost £150 in construction (almost entirely in labour) plus £50 for the transport of 20 truckloads of soil. The gross receipts from this irrigated *campo artificale* were £60 and £35 respectively for the first two seasons. A generation previously, such work would have been done more slowly by full-time farmers who themselves would have garnered the soil, but the market for irrigated vegetables would have been smaller. A generation hence, a cultivator will add to the costs of construction all the at present uncosted labour expended

D. Economic and Commercial Characteristics

In 1956, Surridge (1) in a note on Co-operatives in Malta, endorsed the F.A.O. 241
statement (2) that 'real progress in the co-operative field will be impossible so 433
long as the essential connection between credit facilities and marketing remains unrecognised'.

Subsistence farming is not now practised in the Maltese Islands and all farmers are to a large extent controlled in their productive use of land by commercial markets. The application of capital and techniques to the land is much more than the simple provision of cheap credit.

Environmental conditions necessitate the continued and intensive use of hand labour in order to maintain in existence the artificially made fields and in order to utilise the maximum area of land. Therefore large-scale capital application is restricted to provision of better water supplies and similar public works projects. What is needed is the small scale use of capital in crops and livestock experimentation and for backing efforts in the export markets. Capital provision for land purchase should not be made until cultivators are less likely to indulge in speculative 'landgrabbing' which would result in greater problems of fragmentation, etc.

The amount of hidden capital in the countryside must be very considerable. [454]
Estimates that 80 per cent. of Malta's National Income is derived directly and [434]
indirectly from the Defence Departments cannot take into account all the gross real income in kind of the countryside - real income which never appears long enough to be measured. Present expenditure on improved equipment and better breeds of plant and livestock as well as spectacular efforts such as the building of Mosta Church go to show that, given incentive and faith in the future, the rural communities can and will deploy some considerable hidden reserves. Before any such capital will be applied, some compulsive force must operate on the farmers.

For centuries past, production has been largely for subsistence except for cotton and cumin seed, both exported to other Mediterranean countries. From the sixteenth century onward, urbanisation slowly created a significantly sized indigenous market and, with the disappearance of the trade in cotton during the nineteenth century, the home market became completely dominant. Some 70 years ago, potatoes became profitably exportable, while at the same time rapid urbanisation increased the size and wealth of the home market. As already noted, the domestic market for milk is of very recent origin, while export possibilities for crops other than potatoes are now slowly being realised.

Until World War II, marketing of produce was organised almost entirely by 241
licensed but uncontrolled middlemen - the *pitkali* - who collected or accepted 441
small lots, offered them for sale to wholesalers or retailers, and then paid the 435
farmers the negotiated price less commission. (The details of organisation are well described in the 1911-12 Royal Commission Report (3).) During World War II, 'the evolution of Internal Marketing made a great stride forward during the exigency . . . (4)'. This statement really means that controls were imposed on prices and marketing, controls which have basically survived to the present day. As the economics of production have become more confused with welfare policies, so the complexity of the situation has increased. All that we can do here is to sketch and illustrate the nature of this complexity.

The first factor to be reckoned with is that cultivators in no case know their costs of production. They have some general idea of whether a proposed price is unprofitable or not but this is not necessarily trustworthy. Secondly, while the fodder crops are not very perishable, the vegetable and fruit products which find their way out of the rural economy into Maltese markets are extremely so. While the market for such produce in Malta is not a very selective one, this on the whole has the effect of encouraging the sending to market of produce which is very liable to deterioration. In the markets, therefore, any produce surplus to clear requirements is virtually valueless. One complaint concerning the

234 *J* - With a holding of over 42 *tmien* in 26 plots, half of which is rough grazing, and with 2 *tmien* permanently under potatoes, this farmer is able to supply most of the fodder requirements of his 46 goats and kids, and 100 head of poultry as well as a few cows, sheep and horses. This land costs some £23 in rent. This farmer obtains a gross profit (receipts minus fodder costs) of some 14s. a day from sales of milk. At this level he, like many of his type, is aware of the crude economics of the situation and of the need for relating feed to livestock needs. Even so, readiness to experiment is confined to those sectors in which the farmer is able to base production on traditional knowledge and his own and family's uncosted labour. In Gozo, remoteness from the main milk market in the Maltese conurbation strengthens the general herdsmen's reluctance to use relatively novel milch cows. [427] [434]

Farmers who are mainly producers of cows' milk are, *ipso facto*, economically more sophisticated than goat herdsmen. Even so, the range is considerable, particularly great since most of these 'dairy farmers' also rely on arable farming to a varying extent. Thus case-study:-

K - is of a working partnership of two friends who keep some 40 cattle in Regions C XX b, Luqa-Zejtun and C XX e, Delimara. Untypically, they hold some 100 *tmien* of land, much of which is wasteland grazing on Defence Department land. The complexity and obscurity of their claims to much of the land reflects the rather unorganised pattern of production. Since they have land, they grow the standard cash-crop - potatoes - and vegetable crops for domestic consumption. About two-thirds of the cultivated area is given over to fodder crops - wheat, barley and sullá. This, together with a truck-load of prickly pear each day and cake and beans fed to capacity, suffices for the cows. The cultivators' answer when questioned on production costs is *'Min jaf?'* - 'who knows?', and they are not at all convinced of the need for balanced feeding. Cows are served altogether at the season which would be suitable for goats so that production varies seasonally with a spring and early summer maximum of c. 50 gallons daily and a midwinter negligible minimum. This of course is in inverse relation to the Mediterranean plant growing season and, as noted earlier, accentuates the seasonal fluctuation normal with goats' milk. Significantly, the families drink goats' milk in preference to cows' although some of the former is sold. Such farmers, although operating on a fairly large scale, are almost perpetually in debt and rarely have much capital.

By contrast one may find the type of producer already referred to on p. 320, case-study:-

L - This farmer, although with relatively few cattle, is an efficient and highly developed type by Maltese standards. The half of his cultivated land devoted to fodder crops supplies half of the fodder requirements of the 13 stall-fed cattle. The remainder, including beans and cakes, costs him some £1,000 per annum. Receipts from milk sales come to c. £1,350 per annum. This farmer, becoming interested in the possibilities of cattle-breeding, puts most of his not inconsiderable capital directly into the livestock. Arable crops, particularly potatoes and onions, bring in good gross returns but, as with fodder production, are becoming increasingly regarded as uneconomic. This in spite of the fact that the only financial records kept relate to milk sales, fodder purchases, land transactions and buildings. With farmers such as this, one finds an irrational blend of conservatism and a readiness to try new ideas such as artificial insemination and balanced feeding. [434]

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6. MIXED FARMERS

Lastly there are the mixed farmers, which in Malta and Gozo usually means farmers who for one reason or another have neither become very reliant on the 'milk-cheque' nor are able to grow irrigated or specialised crops. These farmers, usually middle-aged, have little capital, a modicum of enterprise and reasonable dry-land but the lack of agricultural interest shown by their sons discourages much development. They tend to be opportunist in outlook and fairly

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and
villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes
administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to
the physical arrangement of functional parts), these
provide important evidence of the social and economic nature
of society. The present report is concerned with rural
society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear
that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of
the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements
cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of
some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These
creations have since expanded and merged to become the
[396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society
had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a
few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and
[464] Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended
on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment
existing only in the larger settlements or in the little
harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta
on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island
as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530
standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined
in relative importance.

Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
[161] a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
[396] associated townships became dominant and the increase in the
population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if
not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the
largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been
based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the
past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence
farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs
of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which
money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
[794] has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

178 407 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case - XVII) and the frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX). The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 427 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can them-
[461] selves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

407 461 464 (ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator, make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements (Case - XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving the problem of labour shortage.

427 554 For the contractor himself there is a social as well as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort* far
[221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines and services to builders and others out of the plowing season (Cases - XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing machine which brings in further contracts in the summer (Case XVII).

178 407 427 From what has been said it would appear that the large tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese farming, although it may bring considerable profit and advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The
[434] present decline in this type of contracting has been noted. Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to the land in the near future. The small hand rotary cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like going much further along the way to enabling a time/money conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

407 474 with the setting up of co-operatives which would make available to the farmer the services of a heavy tractor and deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire the smaller type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY and GUARANTEE

435 241 654 During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for produce handed in to the collection centres in each district. Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never known before and were able to build up often considerable financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

434 435 241 654 Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite different conditions of competition from abroad, demands a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and milk production. He insists that responsibility for this subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on "Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and marketing and gives him a substantial return.

654 The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible foodstuffs (which would often mean imported goods rather than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities (bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows everyone in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included four main types of help to agriculture.

234 654 (a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U. This varies slightly with season and there is a difference of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells

242 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for
654 advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming
community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial
insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in
the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud
(Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service
are outlined in B/252.

178 Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said
241 about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification
to bring it more closely into line with present conditions
654 both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic
181 conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4)
but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is
[234] not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the
guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space
of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the
Islands.

433 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk
654 surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee
remains he will continue to put every effort into selling
234 more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to
fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is
certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently,
having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

MONEY

433 In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was
434 a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale
178 subsistence farming with the help only of his family.
[175] Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family,
farm and village. There were very few wants which could
not be supplied at home, or at least within the village.
In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese country-
man of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in
terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have
his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his
predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells
each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual
turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes
modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the
farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the
food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction
436 between the present 'commercialized' position and that which
437 prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century
ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
654 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the
[234] maximum (Section 2).

Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
178 Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
511 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to
434 his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned.
These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

[464] (d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

178 Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
434 his farm the means of providing for the various needs of
[471] the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding,
his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make
the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is
the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very
small section of the farming community: one of the major
problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means
the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
426 position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial
434 status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem
emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

be suffering from economic near-strangulation because the working of his farm-unit is linked with a fluctuating but permanent element of debt. This is because the factors mentioned above as producing the need and demand for money are operating, but the farmer and his farm-unit are unable to hold their own in the present agricultural economy of Malta; this in spite of the artificial boosts of Government loans, guaranteed prices, free gifts, agricultural development schemes, information services, etc., (Section 2).

There is a range therefore between the farmer who is 178 proving able to advance financially and he who is not, even 434 to the state of impoverishment. The problem of the latter may be considered from two view-points, the economic and the social. Economically, the difficulty is clear. Many farm units as they exist today cannot hope to provide an income, after expenses have been met, which will support the family and allow of expansion or even maintainance of the unit. The social problem is less easy to define. It would appear that many characteristics of the traditional peasant farming system of subsistence and independence of each farm unit still remain beneath an often thin veneer of [212] commercialization and modernization. This is related in large part to the lack of education of the farmer himself. The farmer of today in Malta is an old man and ageing who has been but little affected by the developments in education, in its widest sense, which are turning the ambitions of the present younger generation of the farming community towards the towns and towards non-agricultural pursuits. At heart, the present Maltese farmer is still in very many cases thinking as a peasant, isolated and independent, in a farming system now essentially commercial, competitive yet inter-dependent. Financial profits and losses now rule his life but the farmer is, in a disturbingly large number of cases, partly unable and partly unwilling to adapt himself and his farm to the new conditions.

178 Something of the effect of the both the economic and 234 social aspects of the problem may be gathered from a study 434 of a number of sample cases:

426 (a) A goats' milk producer, living just within the boundary of the Urban area of Malta (Case V), operated during 1957 with a persistent debt on the maintainance of his animals, the basis of his livelihood. During the year, the milk production of his herd varied between 70 and 30 lbs per day. This was sold for the official guaranteed prices and to this extent may be seen as a constant element. Produce from the tomna of land held by the farmer was used in the home but made only a minor contri- [451] bution to the food budget. This man keeps no accounts of the costs of maintainance of his herd and profits therefrom. He is operating in a perpetual state of debt. A table of

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
234 nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
434 the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
426 poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
fully realizes that without the present Government guaran-
[654] tee (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
He probably does realise this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt
is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together
as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a
total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for
the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that
the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize
their farm and herd as they woudl wish. For example,
while they fully realise the profit to be gained by rearing
calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in
fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would
otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the
cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding
to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them
reluctant to take on any further loan commitments;
nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are
definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be
able to increase the number in their herd and also
mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
234 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
434 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U
654 with as much milk as possible.

They have no thought or care as to what might happen
were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the
subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly
little appreciation of the total picture of which they
form part and will be content to grumble quietly and
ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate
(Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
434 The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
454 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
provision of dowries and wedding costs, etc., are met.
234 This farmer admits to having been able to save more than
654 £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that
today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread".
[451] He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly
on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase
of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds
of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on
the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for
all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is
typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying,
today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to
making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
accounts of the working of his farm. His second employ-
434 ment brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
241 weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he
[511] reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a
third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc.
and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the
steady income from his other job farming has something
of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

178 434 241 because he has always been used to doing it and one which enables him to provide many of the food items needed by the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

156 241 426 The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies of farming from the economic point of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

472 511 It appears that MONEY is a variable but important factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household, as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear distinction made by the farmer between the finances pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its maintainance. The most common practice is for there to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it come the costs of running farm and household. As seen, the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as the labour of his family and himself is concerned
[457] (Case X). Similarly it is still the exception rather than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is making a loss, though of the details he has no notion. In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems

457 lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm
511 and that spent on the household.

In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and
[593] co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the
average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate
and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and
expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating
to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that
his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of
time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where
they proved of major importance and benefit.

[454] At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X). The period in question was financially atypical for this man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for
any farmer like him is further complicated by the un-
commercial approach which is made to the labour of the
farmer himself (and in this Case that of a brother and
nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed
because custom demands that they are done and a job is not
neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus
[511] the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure
as a cost in production (Section 2).

His income derives largely from the sale of fruit
434 (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable.
454 In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57
458 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only
£340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew
"receives something when a crop is sold". Other items
sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of
tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season
each of the brothers received a gross profit of about
£250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food
consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X)
nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57
from savings. This feature is crucial. Given the
normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result
of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer
is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on
the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he
expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far
[181] hence. This insecurity of his capital is important in
his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production
or farm management and in part also echoes the conservation
and inertia of the traditional peasant [illegible]

000 and inertia of the traditional peasant.

STANDARD OF LIVING

178 511 [436] The past century and a half have seen the development from peasant to commercial farming, along with the adoption of money as the basis of exchange, and the appearance of a large range of new demands in diet, clothing, housing, luxuries, recreation, etc. Some observations on the living standards of the farming community during the period are now indicated.

175 511 369 178 Speaking of living standards in the Malta of the early nineteenth century Price considers that "an identity and cohesion prevailed not only in major economic trends but in the economic habits of the people" (B/556, p.8). Thus "In these circumstances it is possible to examine together the habits of rural labourers, urban labourers, artisans, small farmers and fishermen...." (B/556, p.9). Price holds that during the first half of the nineteenth century there was in fact little change in the living standards prevailing in the Maltese Islands despite the fluctuations evident within the national economy as a whole. "Years of prosperity may have brought a slight increase in the ratio of wheaten to barley bread or in the use of novel clothing such as straw hats. But, it seems clear, the chief effect of prosperity was to increase the consumption of oil, alcohol and tobacco; these, together with his religion, ranked first in the list of desirable and important things in the minds of the Maltese flush with surplus cash. Presumably these were the things he hoped society would give while his traditional diet, clothing and shelter were the things he expected
175 434 369 society to provide" (B/556, p.9-10). Among the unskilled urban and rural workers there was a notable uniformity in wage throughout the period. Price speaks of 6¾d for a day's work for a man (and about 1d only for a women) but observes that skilled workers, and especially those in dockyard employ, could expect very much more (B/556, p.9-10). For the mass of the labouring and farming community therefore income was of the order of a few pence per day but, as suggested, the prevailing self-sufficiency of the near-peasant farmer of the period made actual monetary income an inadequate indicator of standards of living. For the urban worker, on the other hand, lacking the farm basis, the low wage level meant poverty and hardship. More especially "Poverty..... pressed heavily on the under-employed" (B/556, p. 11).

175 288 The importance of cotton to the nineteenth century Maltese farmer has been discussed in Section 1. In 1839

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital
improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows
and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in
post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to
'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living
above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt.
He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position
and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the
financial point of view, to his commanding position during
the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25,
although the average per capita income for the whole
country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing
and other essential items are often quite exorbitant,
especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954
survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of
northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of
£136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm
labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75
per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn
little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
labourer without field commitments of his own can demand
his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases,
markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who
stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

511 Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
434 average, a standard of life still slightly below the
general level, although the disparity is by no means as
great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Above-average exceptions include those
farmers who have been able to profit from the present
regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large
herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings
or other accumulated reserves.

735
434 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

[747]
648

735 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison.
747 The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth
434 and assets against family size. Thus a household of four
848 persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for the free food[32].

162 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the
735 above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which
434 the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in addition, also listed separately. The residential divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

	A	B	C	D	E
DISTRICT	POPULATION[35]	'Poor & Needy' as % Population	FARMERS[36]	'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	B/D
Urban Area	134,399	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.8	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	9	0.9

369 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living
735 standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as
511 has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta
162 and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural zone (most of Gozo, and Mġarr in Malta), however, the farmer is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this zone are one third below the general level as far as their standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

TABLE 3

234
654

Year	Purchased by M.M.U.	Surplus	Percentage cows' milk
1943-44	510,000 gallons		27
1948-49	776,000 "		
1950-51	1,298,000 "		35 (1951)
1952-53	1,795,000 "	99,000 gallons	44 (1951)
1954-55	2,390,000 "	275,000 "	48 (1955)
1956-57	3,542,000 "	391,000 "	57 (1956)

234 654 178 A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII (Section 6) shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production. [434] Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions (Section 2) but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

185 829 439 Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in time as far as the management of his farm is concerned so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this Section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricacies of the export market for Maltese agricultural produce[42]. 439 The fact that Maltese produce for export

178 241 407 464 (3) On account of those same physical limitations mechanization of field-work cannot be expected to solve all labour problems in Maltese agriculture. An initial, over-optimistic emphasis on large tractors and other heavy machinery has given way to a rapid increase in the number and popularity of the small rotary-cultivators. But even this cannot be expected to displace completely the wooden plow and hand implement working (Section 2).

However, mechanized farm implements, particularly the small, manoeuvrable rotary-cultivator type of hand tractor, have enabled a reduced number of farmers to work their fields more intensively, and, in some cases, to increase the area worked by a single individual.

The neglect of those aspects of farming where manual work is dominant and necessary have, nevertheless, accompanied this change with the bizarre result that intensification of effort and neglect are proceeding simultaneously (B/336).

178 434 (4) A basic factor in the present situation, in which the young farmer is retreating from farming, has been the emergence of a demand for money income (Section 3). The traditional pattern of peasant, subsistence farming in which the main object was the support of the farmer and his family has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook in farming. The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with which he can

(a) purchase those items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (clothing, bread etc., etc.),

(b) purchase items which have recently become part of his regular demands and for which money is a sine qua non (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.),

433 511 Food, as an item of family expenditure, nowadays figures especially prominently

(a) where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, to fodder,

(b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element of the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market prospects.

178 434 But of greater significance in the long-term view is the fact that these new demands for monetary gain are a particularly prominent feature among the present younger generation of the farming community. For them a substantially increased income is synonomous with social and economic betterment. Since they do not envisage such an increased income coming from farming they are all the more anxious to leave the

178 industry in search of it.

434 [511] (5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture(Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

511 Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

[461] (a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

[454] (c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

829 157 [178] (6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, to Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

*

159 311 The trend is clear from an analysis of the utilisation of his land holding:-

	1956			1957			1958		
	T	S	K[49]	T	S	K	T	S	K
House and adjacent roadway		2	0		2	0		2	0
Vines		3	0		3	0		3	0
Prickly Pear		3	0		3	0		3	0
Potatoes	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Vegetables, other than potatoes(a)	6	4	0	4	3	0		4	0
Fodder(b)	8	2	3	10	3	3	14	2	3
Rough grazing - and shooting			0	12	0	0	24	0	0
Unused		1	0		1	0		1	0
	18	3	3	30	3	3	42	3	3

(a) mainly tomatoes and melons (bittich and dulick)
(b) silla, wheat (qamh), barley (xghir), mixed wheat and barley (mahlut), beans.

*159 422 231 **Livestock** Pawlu's farm holding of slightly less than twelve acres is large by Gozitan standards. So also is the herd which it supports. Late in 1957 he had some 40 goats and 8 kids, two cows, a sheep, one horse, and about 100 poultry. "Goats are easier to handle than are cows" (Pawlu). For him, as for most herdsmen in the Islands, the dairy cow is still something of a novelty, and an expensive one, requiring considerable capital outlay for both the animal and its accommodation. The single sheep is quite typical, being kept mainly for the popular 'rikotta' cheese made from its milk. The large poultry element is also becoming a common feature in Gozo, though disease takes a very high toll. Pawlu's one horse provides the motive power for the cart which for him as for the rest of Gozo is still the prime mover of goods and produce.

*159 234 ●434 Pawlu's income derives mainly from the sale of milk to the M.M.U. This was also the case before 1958 when Gozo finally became a 'closed' area in which unpasteurized milk could not, legally, be sold. Thus the herdsman's cry of "Halib, halib" ('Milk, milk') as he took his goats from door to door and milked them to order on the customer's threshold is heard no more. The churned milk from the farms is collected and taken to the factory at Xewkija - before 1958 it had had to make the long journey to the Hamrun centre. Apart from the unpasteurised fresh milk used by the family, Pawlu sells, and sold, the milk his goats produce to the M.M.U. He pays no labour, hired or family, and does not consider his own time as a cost factor. Some idea of his income is therefore obtainable from an account of his receipts from the M.M.U. against the costs of the fodder.

423 234 *159 The amount of fodder bought in to supplement home production varies. In the case of sulla (silla), particularly, Pawlu is forced to buy in a large quantity when his own crop is poor. His purchases of wheat (qamh) and

*159 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs
512 and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

794 Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his
592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they
178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to
*159 offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159
423
(A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding)

427 A. **Land.**

[311]
- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrens districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159
423
311
B. **Utilisation.**

	1956	1957	1958
House	¼	¼	¼
Vines	¾	¾	¾
Prickly pear	¾	¾	¾
Fodders	8⅜	10⅜	14¼
Vegetables	8⅜	6¼	2⅜
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159
231
C. **Livestock.** (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 D. **Capital.**

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[427]
[456]
- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159
464
E. **Labour.**

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159
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[434]
F. **Production and Sales.**

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159
433

3 ratal barley bran	1s. 4d.
8 " cake	3s. 6d.
5 " sulla	1s. 4d.
8 " beans	5s. 0d.
1 basket prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½ " straw	6d
	12s. 8d.

- Sample daily food for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48 ratal bean	£1. 10s. 0d.
16 " barley	6s. 0d.
4 bundles sulla	5s. 0d.
Furrajna (green barley)	5s. 0d.
	£2. 6s. 0d.

[434] - Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit, making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d. daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

*159
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G. **Husbandry.**

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".
- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
  - (a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.
  - (b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.
  - (c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

*159
241

(ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.
- Two rotations are in use,
  - (a) 1st yr: Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
    - 2nd yr: Sulla
    - 3rd yr: Wheat
    - 4th yr: Fallow
  - (b) 1st yr: Wheat
    - 2nd yr: Sulla and Beans
    - 3rd yr: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor ploughing.
    - 4th yr: Fallow

H. **General.**

*159
43
829

- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gozitan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.
- [454] At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

*159
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CASE II: Ġużepp (A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping.)

Like Pawlu (Case I) Ġużepp is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
[246] to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
(he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
241 for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
433 the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
●434 getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
[427] cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
[241] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
[433] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
438 great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
443 paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

×159 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
511 extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
829 yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
178 one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation.
In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following
in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. **Land.**

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. **Utilisation.**

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. **Livestock.**
- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. **Capital.**

[423] [454] [412] [407] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.
- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. **Labour.** (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. **Production and Sales.**

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. **Husbandry.**

[245]
(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shorts cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 [245]
- Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233 461] (ii)
- Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii)
- Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.

[231]
- Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

*159 H. General.

829 241
- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159 ● [434 234]
- Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.

[511] [454 241]
- Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.

[511]
- Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

CASE III : Nardu (A goats' milk producer)

*159 157 Illiterate and suspicious, Nardu typifies the most conservative element in Maltese farming for whom nothing new can be worthy of consideration. It is probable that no amount of lecturing, demonstrations of improved methods, or capital loans from the Government, would persuade him to change the ways he knows. The prospect of machinery does not impress him although he thinks of acquiring a rotary cultivator (at about £245). His observation is, when freely translated, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" (he is aged 40).

*159 234 [425] His father was a mason with a few fields. Nardu's brother took over the family business and sold his share of the fields to Nardu, who also bought out the shares of his five sisters. He has since concentrated all his effort on his herd of goats, regarding his fields primarily as a source of fodder. During the fifteen months of study his herd varied in size from 34 to 50 animals. All the goats are of the local breed as he does "not like horned goats". He is more concerned with producing milk, under the current favourable regime of guaranteed sales to the M.M.U., than with breeding goats. Most of the kids born to his herd are sold for meat or for breeding to a dealer. Payment [426] seems to be made as money becomes available from the M.M.U every two weeks. Often however he admits to being up to two months behind with payment, settling one debt "when the next transaction is afoot".

In 1958, Nardu was talking at length about "getting two or three cows or calves". He "knows about cows from friends" but has not himself got the £300 capital necessary for two. Moreover he observes that "you can't graze cows" and their general upkeep is likely to clash with that of goats, especially where one man is working alone as in this case. There seems to be an element of prestige attached to the ownership of cows in a village such as Nardu's where the vast majority of herdsmen have only goats. Certainly his thinking is not guided by comparative costings of milk production from the cow and goat.

*159 434 [443] [511] Nardu's fields produce fodder and some food for the family so that they "will not have to buy in everything from the shops". He reckons to save between 15/- and £1 per week in this way. His wife spends £3 a week on purchased food and she looks back nostalgically to her youth when her mother spent some 30/- per week on food and clothing for a family with twelve children, while she has only three. The steady item of income in Nardu's budget is the money received from the M.M.U. for the goats' milk

000 sold. Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu

*159 shopping is done in the local Village but Nardu
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 A. **Land.**
423
30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 B. **Utilisation.**
241 Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
311 3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under żofàfa (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 C. **Livestock.**
231 During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital.**
[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
[454] - Freehold village house.
[412] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[407] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc. No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 E. **Labour.**
464 - Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting. During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
[427] - Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 F. **Production and Sales.**
433 - Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week

*159 G. **Husbandry.**
241 (i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annu
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prov
the employment of the normal four-year rota

*159 24 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments.
Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land.)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpannija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 [656] The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurised milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". [433] [431] In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. *159 46 241 465 He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

*159 423
- 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. Utilisation.

*159 241 311
(i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 231 234
C. Livestock.

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. Capital.

*159 423
(i) No freehold land.

(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.

[511] [426]
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[21] food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. Labour.

*159 464
(i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 43 234
(i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day. Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

*159 23
G. Husbandry.

(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*159 434
H. General.

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

*159
434

Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anġlu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anġlu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

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[712]
[551]
[656]

His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurisation began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anġlu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

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[432]

Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodders. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

*159
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Anġlu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anġlu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
234 November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 **D. Capital.**

142 (i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.

(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).

(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts.

*159 **E. Labour.**

464 No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 **F. Production and Sales.**

(v.Table 5)

● 434 (i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
234 Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
[435] 2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p.a.
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 **G. Husbandry.**

232 (i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
234 50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.

(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.

(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

TABLE V.

(Case V : Accounts)

*
159
434
435

Date	Dealer	Fodder	Rtal[1]	Shillings per ratal	Cost £ -s- d	Payment £ -s- d
7.12.56	B	Beans	287	70	10 - 0-10	
		Cake	201	50	5 - 0- 6	
		Corn[2]	113	50	2 -16-	
5. 1.57	B	Beans	285	71	10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	215	49	5 - 5- 3	
15. 1.57	B					5 - 6- 6
1. 2.57	B	Beans	255	71	9 - 0- 1	
		Cake	319	49	7 -16- 3	
						13 - 1- 7
16. 2.57	B	Beans	291	72	10 - 9- 0	
		Cake	186	48	4 - 9- 6	
						17
27. 2.57	B	Cake	638	47	15	
						15
16. 3.57	B	Beans	180	71	6 - 7- 9	
		Cake	365	47	8 -11- 6	
						15
1. 4.57	B	Beans	185	70	6 - 9- 6	
		Cake	278	45	6 - 4- 9	
						15
15. 4.57	B	Beans	218	69	7 -10- 0	
		Cake	282	45	6 - 6- 9	
						15
27. 4.57	A	Beans	282½	65	9 - 3- 9	
		Cake	266½	44	5 -17- 3	
		Corn[2]	95	58	2 -15- 3	
1. 5.57	B	Cake	582	45	13 - 2- 0	
		W.Potato[3]	286		2 - 1- 0	
						17 - 4
16. 5.57	A	Beans	76		2 - 9- 6	
17. 5.57	B	Beans	119	69	4 - 2- 0	
		Cake	474	45	10 -13- 6	
20. 5.57	B					15
21. 5.57	A	Beans	316		10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	323½	44	7 - 2- 6	
1. 6.57	B					15
3. 6.57	B	Beans	211	69	7 - 5- 6	
		Cake	290	45	6 -10- 6	
4. 6.57	A	Beans	363½	54	9 -14- 2	
		Cake	271½	44	5 -19- 6	
		Bran			6- 0	
12. 6.57	B					15
19. 6.57	B	Cake	621	45	13 -19- 5	
22. 6.57	A	Beans	330½	56	9 - 5- 0	
		Cake	261½	44	5 -15- 2	
2. 7.57	B	Beans	365	51	9 - 6- 3	
		Cake	325	45	7 - 6- 3	
						15
5. 7.57	A	Beans	338	50½	8 -10- 9	
		Cake	280½	44	6 - 3- 6	
1. 7.57	A					8
15. 7.57	A					15
18. 7.57	B	Cake	753	44	17 -11- 3	
						16
27. 7.57	A	Beans	371	48	8 -18- 0	
		Cake	298½	44	6 -11- 6	
1. 8.57	B	Beans	171	51	4 - 7- 3	
		Cake	383	45	8 -12- 3	
						15
2. 8.57	A					15
8. 8.57	A	Dari seed	96	52	2 -10- 0	
9. 8.57	A	Beans	344	51	8 -15- 6	
		Cake	288	44	6 - 8- 3	
16. 8.57 18. 8.57	A B					17 18
23. 8.57	A	Beans	398½	51	10 - 3- 9	
					£363 - 1- 6	£273 -14- 0

[1426] 1. 9.57 Debt (to A) - £79.7.6d

(1 - see Appendix 5; 2 - qamh harun; 3 - patata tax-xitwa)

000 authorities each year.

*159 Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since
494 its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the
234 present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work
434 of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In
January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk
[432] and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling
some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a
nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me".
Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but
it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in
[454] for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of
the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to
the accommodation for the animals.

*159 Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old,
423 and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise
234 yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop
[427] his own property since the war in order to qualify for the
necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his
now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the
Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family
and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of
buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village.
This is typical of the majority of farm units based on
livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts
with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be
housed at some distance from the family living quarters,
a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household
342 is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead
off to the gound floor living rooms, to the goat shed and
351 cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room,
423 to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street.
From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder
storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor
store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further
staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to
the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are
typical with their intensive use of available space and
maximum building development on the portion owned by the
farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate
enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small
patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of
continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

*
159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
[246] lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great
success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow
to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

*
159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

427
- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

*
159 **B. Utilisation.**

241
- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

*
159
231
234
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

*
159 **D. Capital.**

[454]
- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

● [434]
[234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

*
G. Husbandry.

159
231
(1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

[427]
- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.

[311]
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly 3 tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

[435]
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per homel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.

[434]
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

*
H. General.

159
156
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159

178 substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however,
234 show no inclination to stay in farming.

*159 A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in
232 quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that
829 they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd
of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases
234 and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

*159 In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Ingliżi type.
234 As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a
231 larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Ingliżi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

*

159 Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount
234 they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of
433 producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?").
(E246) The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

*

159 Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid
●434 increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of
426 Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Ingliżi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 426 **D. Capital.**

(i) No freehold property.

[423] (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[454] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools
[407]
- rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.
- [312] no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 ●434 435
- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- [433] Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 231 **G. Husbandry.**

(i)
- The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- [232] Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 234 829 **H. General.**

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

[426] The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to
245 quality as those for the table.

*159 In this move towards more vine production and the recent
245 interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to empha-
231 size the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for
451 Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most
farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how
business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his
brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally
Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his
brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position
is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made
between money spent on the home and family, and money spent
on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held
[593] "in one purse". Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual
practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount
for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a
high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

*159 At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400,
434 less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop
454 was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with
[511] several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30
for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual
field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage
wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957.
During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income
was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field
produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income
from pig sales and other items.

*159 434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit........	£340	-	£340
Grapes.......	49	£ 8	57
Sulla........	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons.......	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals.......	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to
434 year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices
435 to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of
fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years
and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit
alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a
quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that
year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between
one year and the next is today more important to the arable
farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s
guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more
[494] accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

* [159 is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital
434 in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent.
454 Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and
would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting
his money into capital equipment for his fields. He has in
[409] fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a
rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of
16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No
charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding,
in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

*
159 Expenses within the household are difficult to deter-
511 mine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from
the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes
262 vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva),
a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in
this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family
with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for
babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not
bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most
of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is
caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as
tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family
table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as
quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-
made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably
the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat
and ham,, coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for
special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc),
olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958)
-butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (ghaġin). Ġamri
observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually
insufficient for the family so additional quantities of
these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for
example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring
[354] the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole
means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as
throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the
family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not
considered essential even during the coldest part of the
winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

*
159 The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural
262 Malta. In some details this differs from that found among
[369] urban working classes in the Islands but these differences
are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman
tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm,
where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet
[785] on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An impor-
tant factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions.
Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in con-
231 trast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

*159 Ġamri and farming

Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
[454] ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[722] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
[434] guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
*159 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
181 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he bel-
ieves that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
181 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

159 407 427 paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on G̊'s personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tomna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tomna.

- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tomna.

E. Labour.

*159 464
- G̊'s 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brrther, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:
  - (a) Joint holding worked by partners and G̊'s nephew.
  - (b) Land held by G̊, deriving from wife's family, farmed by G̊ and eldest nephew.
  - (c) Land held by G̊'s brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 461
- A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On G̊'s own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tomna.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 434 241
(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From G̊'s land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
G̊'s share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434
- This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from ££.10.0 to £15 per tomna, fruit £28 per tomna,

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433

tomatoes £18.10.0 and grapes from £8 to £18.

- Measured yields include:-

Grapes:	4.2 tmien	11.4 qnatar
Winter sown potatoes (irrigated):	2.0 tmien	6.8 qnatar
Autumn sown potatoes (dry):	3.3 tmien	7.6 qnatar
Green beans in pod:	1.5 tmien	600 rtal
Wheat (threshed):	6.7 tmien	31.5 tmien
Sulla:	1.0 tomna	13 hmiel
	1.0 tomna	20 hmiel
	3.0 tmien	10 hmiel
Vetches:	0.7 tomna	6.5 hmiel
	2.0 tomna	7.0 hmiel

- Thus, comparing these figures with figures for labour applied, cash receipts per man-day were £2 for fruit, £1.10.0 for grapes and £1 for sulla. Were labour applied to be costed at prevailing rates of 20/- to 25/- per man-day, a large loss on the year's working would result.

*159
241
433

(2) A large proportion of the produce is retained for consumption by the family and by its small number of stock. In 1956/7 one quarter of joint holding and one third of O's own land produced entirely for home consumption.

*159
241

G. Husbandry.

(1)- Rotations not strictly adhered to, but common sequences are:
- (a) on good land
  - 1st Yr: Manuring followed by potatoes or by winter fallow and summer crop (tomatoes or melons).
  - 2nd Yr: Potatoes or tomatoes.
  - 3rd Yr: Sulla.
  - 4th Yr: Wheat.
- (b) on poorer dry land an alternation of sulla or vetches with cereals.
- (c) best irrigated land may carry 2 crops of potatoes in each of several successive years but more usually tomatoes or melons follow winter-sown potatoes and autumn-sown potatoes are then omitted.
- (d) fields may be irrigated in alternate years only, with dry land crops (cereals, beans, onions) in non-irrigated years.

(2)- Common cultivation methods:
- (a) Vines: land worked 3 times with tined hoes during late winter and early spring. Ammonium sulphate worked in during second cultivation.
- (b) Tomatoes: surface scattering of manure followed by deep plowing (summer). Worked four times with wooden plow in winter and subsequently reduced to fine tilth with hoe before planting seedlings.
- (c) Wheat: land worked twice with wooden plow in October, seed scattered broadcast and plowed in immediately.
- (d) Melons: land worked six times during autumn, winter and early spring, four times with wooden plow, twice with rotary cultivator. Seed sown and watered in early April.
- (e) Beans: land deep-plowed during summer and worked twice with wooden plow. Hoed during planting.

(3)- Seeds. Average rates of application:-
- (a) Sulla (new crop) c.10 tmien (weight) per tomna of land, seed obtained from previous year's crop.
- (b) Wheat and barley 4 sighan (weight) per tomna, generally from previous crop but may be purchased at c.3/- per sighan.
- (c) Beans. 1 tomna (weight) per tomna of land.
- (d) Potatoes are the only seed regularly purchased, Arran Banner and other Scottish varieties bought (v. after Table 6)

[Text continues on P.124]

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa bagħli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-
[406] house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-
[343] driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his interest and attention.
241 He observes that they bring in a greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
433 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to cultivate on a more casual basis.
134 Nevertheless Pietru is not able
829 to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
[464] heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the lack of adequate remuneration. His attitude is to 'make the most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative (Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having the money than letting the Government get it. This belief that the Government is behind everything is characteristic (Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility of achieving anything above low living standards. Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case among many of his generation and it may be that he will have difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
[654] to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture to the full but it has done comparatively little for the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

000 was taken for granted.
(iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
*159 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
178 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
242 on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XII : Čenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

*
159 Čenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
554 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Čenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compen-
sation to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
● 434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
241 to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
[451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 ● 434 234 (i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957 c.£1350. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).

- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').
- [272] About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production.
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

*159 241 [435] (ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
-'Early' Crop - January to April.
Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 23/4 per qanter for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.

- [433] Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

[433] (iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder production meets c.one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land

(a) On best land typical sequence would be.

Sept.	(a)	Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per tomna.
Sept.-Dec.	(b)	Winter crop of potatoes.
Jan.	(c)	Artifical fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April	(d)	Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug.	(e)	Summer fallow.
Sept.-April	(f)	Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug.	(g)	Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May	(h)	Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug.	(i)	Fallow.
Sept.-April	(j)	Sulla.

(b) More usual practice (which is not though of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.
- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as żofifa and ġinġlin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassicas, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds
- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

*159 232 (iii) Livestock - Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.
- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

*159 433 451 (i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer. Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own

*159 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic
433 because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising
451 yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 - some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
134 - deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep
241 plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorċa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen
157 he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as
626 elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-
829 weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159
241 An example of part-time farming in which the field oper-
● 434 ations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming
178 for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter,
46 while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be
*[159] the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual
interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the
greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic
[369] feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent
increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agri-
[162] culture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time
farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of
full-time farming is significant in the present overall
retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

*159 to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
[464] - Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.
[433] [251] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 (i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
241 - Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
43 - Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable
[454] capital reserve.

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829 CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

x
159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
472 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
407 contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
477 contractors like him going out of business in the near future.

CASE XIX

This farmer (working 35 tmien, including seven irrigable)
was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He
[178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of
the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule
or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years.
Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for
the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture
despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

x
159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
407 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
241 farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they them-
selves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor
434 he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his
income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-
plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the
[178] area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by
local vintners).

CASE XXI

x
159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
256 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
241 contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
407 the sole such operator in his village and business grew. How-
ever in the present decade competition from new tractor oper-
472 ators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing
season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted
[477] him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted
all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are
still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

x
159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
441 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
472 these were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
407 local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was intro-
duced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
[191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo,
especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary
cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led
to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing
tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island
some three or four are normally unused in the season. This
agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of
Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957
plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce
new implements. His father was the first to import motor
pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultiva-
tor in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of har-
vesting machines, but the very limited success of the first
ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any
more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for
mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a
lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be
collected for animal fodder.

000 28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

[113) 30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No.259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

434
747
648
735

32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revized):

Family of 3 or 4 persons	....	maximum income	- £5
" " 5 to 7 "	....	" "	- £5 8s
" " 8 " 10 "	....	" "	- £5 15s
" " 11 " 13 "	....	" "	- £6 1s
" " 14 " 16 "	....	" "	- £6 6s
" " 17 or 18 "	....	" "	- £6 10s

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

[122] 34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Matla at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

000 35. (B/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

113 38. "Labour Government's Progress Report, 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClement in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Ghalf Bilanĉjat ghall-Majjali" by A.T. Hausler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

000 42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present trading position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but these registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (M.M.H.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

[114] 47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

[124] 48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tmien, Sighan and Kejliet : v. Appendix 5.

VINES

Viticulture, has suffered many vicissitudes. Needing irrigation water only 311*
for the raising of scions, the vine would seem a crop plant eminently suitable
for all but the thinnest dry calcareous soils. No satisfactory reason has yet been 245
adduced for the present absence of 'expertise' in this field, and this unsatisfactory 102
state of affairs is a Mediterranean anachronism. Since Giacinto (3) wondered
at Maltese oenological ignorance various improvements havetaken place. Stock
is American in origin imported during the Phylloxera epidemic in Europe. Scions
are officially imported for grafting and are mainly from France. On the whole,
too little specialisation is found, grapes being grown both for table use, fetching [435]
prices about £4 per qantar (175 lb. ave.), and for pressing - controlled prices
46s. to 48s. per qantar depending on quality. Commercial success in any other
than the home market will depend entirely on whether the viticulturalist can
now be weaned from quantity production to quality production. Products at
present, while being remarkably good value, are not suitable for profitable
export.

In Malta (Fig. 81), there is a striking concentration of viticulture in the western half of the island. In contrast to general Mediterranean practice, vines occupy much of the best watered heavy land of the Blue Clay slopes. Secondly, vines are of importance in the larger depressions with plentiful sub-soil water, for example the Wied il-Għasel, the Binġemma Basin, and Miżieb. Those cultivated areas of the north and west which rely on pump irrigation - such as the Wied tal-Pwales, and the Rabat-Dingli upland pockets - have little land under vines. Over the remainder of the island, vines are mainly represented by wall- and house-side plants which, mainly for domestic use, are becoming of less importance as field cultivation is extended. This extension of acreage is taking place almost entirely in the traditional regions of the west.

As shown in Fig. 82, viticulture in Gozo, occurs in a great variety of conditions and there is a much greater extent of inter-cultivation with other tree-crops. Such inter-cultivation is particularly found in the *gulen* zones - the spring line belts lying below the Upper Coralline mesa cappings - as around Żebbuġ and Nadur. North of Nadur, it extends into the Wieds San Blas and Daħlet Qorrot. Except in the remote western lands and on the thin soils of the southern hills, vines are found everywhere; in the central mixed-soil lowlands, in the open northern valleys and on the eastern coastal slopes. This reflects the traditional self-sufficiency of the Gozitan farm economy, a point also brought out by the large number of vineries (see p. 213). The vine is also inter-cultivated with sulla which, undersown annually, is a useful soil-renewing and cleaning crop.

OLIVES

Inset maps, Figs. 81 and 82. Malta must be the only Mediterranean land
where the tradition of olive cultivation has almost disappeared. Vegetable oil [439]
consumption is high and has to be supplied by imports costing on average nearly
£300,000 per annum. Olive cultivation has been more extensive in the past as
attested by place names such as Żebbuġ - the place of the olive, and Żejtun -
olive tree, and is still perfectly feasible over a great deal of under-utilised
land. Various reasons for this strange situation have been mooted, ranging from
the completely invalid belief that the olive cannot stand sea-air to the inadequate
charge that tenurial security is insufficiently great. The matter is still a
mystery.

Recent extensions of planting, particularly at Salinas and on Bajda Ridge, [454]
have been Government-sponsored, and the latter case is basically a scheme
for the afforestation of a water catchment and percolation area.

CITRUS FRUITS

Because of their large water requirements, oranges and lemons are of orchard importance only along the Upper Coralline - Blue Clay springlines in Western Malta and Eastern Gozo. Scattered trees and very small plots are found in many districts, often in the most unlikely places. The Seville orange, once of considerable importance, is now rarely found and most of the old trees have

[Text Continues on P. 217]

242 311 the heads of Wied Babu (219) and in the Santi Gap (57) in Malta and in the West-Central Region of Gozo. In such topographical pockets, the building of soil trap walls is sometimes extended to form walled orchards as at id-Dahla and the head of the Wied ir Rum.

241 311 When we turn to observation and consideration of cultivation reactions to minor topographical and geological features we are further reminded of the special relationship between tillage techniques and the soil. Bearing in mind the points noted in Chapter III B and the picture we have drawn of the physical and social environment in which Maltese agriculture has developed, we are forced to the following conclusions.

The economic necessity for the utilisation of virtually all land resources and indeed for creating some of them, together with the physical need for basing all farming practice on soil and water conservation techniques, have until very recently rigidly controlled the details of tillage. Fragmentation, a perfectly rational response to circumstances, has intensified the physical sub-division of the land. The majority of fields in Malta and Gozo cannot easily be worked except by small highly mobile implements. In the conditions described above and in a climate which makes possible a great crop range, implements must also be capable of a great diversity of application. In order to keep up the terraces, work the fields and succeed in maintaining and even increasing the area of cultivable land, the cultivator has been committed to unremitting and arduous manual labour. His basic tool is the hoe, his natural development of it the non-soil-inverting *ard*-plough.

The recent removal, by the creation of new real and psychological opportunities, of part of the pressure that has long kept the farmers on the land has altered the traditional picture. Cartographic evidence of the 25-inch to the mile maps, surveyed in the 1880's and 1890's, shows that since that time little wasteland has been improved. The only known large-scale change in field patterns occurred during and after World War II in the central lowlands of Gozo as the result of airfield construction, but holding fragmentation has re-imposed subdivision on the landscape. Occupational statistics and case-study evidence all point the same way. As a result of this release of pressure, land neglect and abandonment are now irregularly removing the extremes of control of cultivation. Even more important, Malta has been affected by the new evaluation of tillage techniques which has characterised so much of the world. Under modern conditions, most improvements in cultivation techniques have been deliberately designed for the increase of productivity on the better and more easily worked lands. Rural depopulation of the hard lands which gained such momentum in nineteenth-century Europe is an inevitable concomitant of such increases in productivity and of the accompanying demands for higher standards of material consumption and an 'easier' life. In countries such as Malta, this means that a new equilibrium has to be established, existing and new techniques and implements have to be evaluated against established environments and actual or potential changes.

241 311 435 [242] [434] Three examples from case-studies (Key letters refer to Chapter X E) can illustrate what this means in farmer's terms. The first (A, p. 337) concerns a part-time farmer in Region A II, Mellieha Isthmus. This cultivator corroborated other evidence that in the nineteenth century it was still common for 'dry' fields to be created out of wasteland. More recently it has only been economic to make irrigable fields. The method is virtually the same in either case. First a terrace is cut into the rock slope, and the stone rubble is then built outwards in 'made-ground' and held in place by a terrace wall. Soil, usually now from a building site, is then laid over the rock platform and stone infill. Such a field 2 *tmien* in extent in 1951 cost £150 in construction (almost entirely in labour) plus £50 for the transport of 20 truckloads of soil. The gross receipts from this irrigated *campo artificiale* were £60 and £35 respectively for the first two seasons. A generation previously, such work would have been done more slowly by full-time farmers who themselves would have garnered the soil, but the market for irrigated vegetables would have been smaller. A generation hence, a cultivator will add to the costs of construction all the at present uncosted labour expended

by himself and will think of net profit on his sales rather than of gross receipts. 241

The second example is from a case-study (J. p. 342') of a full-time mixed 311 farmer holding 33 *tmien* of dry land (three blocks of six field plots) in Region C XX a, the Mqabba-Kirkop Plain. During the last 20 years, this farmer has 435 built up a herd of 13 Maltese Friesian cattle including ten milch cows from a flock of six goats. Before World War II he relied on crop-sales from arable land. Now approximately half the cultivated area is given over to fodder production. Although by Maltese standards this farmer is enterprising, knowledgeable and possessed of much more than average capital, he has no mechanised equipment for tillage but relies on contract work. Each year a tractor plough [427] and rotary cultivator are hired at a cost of between 15s. and £1 per *tomna*. The farmer still differentiates very clearly between the quality of different parts of his land, on the basis of a soil depth which varies from 8 inches to 2 feet, and on soil type distinguished by colour. Nevertheless, since he is now only really interested in livestock, and regards even fodder production as uneconomic, he has lost interest in arable farming and tends to neglect the poorer land and think of disposing of the other. This man is typical of many of the better class farmers in that the old niceties of tillage are forgotten as commercial considerations predominate, these latter a resultant of social and economic change in the Islands.

Lastly we may consider the extreme development, the farmer turned machine 177 contractor. Only half the age of the farmers already considered, this man is much more aware of general developments in the agricultural scene, partly as 241 a result of seven years spent as an 'emigrant' in Australia. Patrimonial land is left to the attention of other members of the family, and he is only concerned 407 with investment in machinery for hire. This contractor now possesses a lorry, a Ferguson hydraulic lift tractor, a hydraulic shovel, triple-disc and mouldboard ploughs, a rotavator as well as numerous accessories, and wants to purchase a thresher and a small combine harvester. The whole cultivation emphasis is put on mechanical effort and its ease of application. Deep-ploughing is advocated wherever possible even though he admits 'there may be drawbacks', no qualms are felt about knocking down walls to gain admittance to fields, and considerable impatience shown towards traditional agrarian and social values. This man even complained that he was not allowed to plough on Sundays. One of his ambitions is the quintessence of the new attitude towards cultivation. It is to have a farm of 30-40 *tmien*, all in one block with no patch smaller than about an acre, the whole to be workable by tractor, thus making hand labour unnecessary, and accessible to heavy machinery. The holding should have its own farmhouse and be near to a market such as Żabbar. In this man the mechanical revolution in cultivation in Malta is epitomised, contrasting strangely with an attitude met at Rabat that the wheelbarrow is too technically revolutionary to be acceptable - 'it is not used here!'

D. Economic and Commercial Characteristics

In 1956, Surridge (1) in a note on Co-operatives in Malta, endorsed the F.A.O. statement (2) that 'real progress in the co-operative field will be impossible so long as the essential connection between credit facilities and marketing remains unrecognised'. 241 433

Subsistence farming is not now practised in the Maltese Islands and all farmers are to a large extent controlled in their productive use of land by commercial markets. The application of capital and techniques to the land is much more than the simple provision of cheap credit.

Environmental conditions necessitate the continued and intensive use of hand labour in order to maintain in existence the artificially made fields and in order to utilise the maximum area of land. Therefore large-scale capital application is restricted to provision of better water supplies and similar public works projects. What is needed is the small scale use of capital in crops and livestock experimentation and for backing efforts in the export markets. Capital provision for land purchase should not be made until cultivators are less likely to indulge in speculative 'landgrabbing' which would result in greater problems of fragmentation, etc.

The amount of hidden capital in the countryside must be very considerable. Estimates that 80 per cent. of Malta's National Income is derived directly and indirectly from the Defence Departments cannot take into account all the gross real income in kind of the countryside - real income which never appears long enough to be measured. Present expenditure on improved equipment and better breeds of plant and livestock as well as spectacular efforts such as the building of Mosta Church go to show that, given incentive and faith in the future, the rural communities can and will deploy some considerable hidden reserves. Before any such capital will be applied, some compulsive force must operate on the farmers. [454] [434]

For centuries past, production has been largely for subsistence except for cotton and cumin seed, both exported to other Mediterranean countries. From the sixteenth century onward, urbanisation slowly created a significantly sized indigenous market and, with the disappearance of the trade in cotton during the nineteenth century, the home market became completely dominant. Some 70 years ago, potatoes became profitably exportable, while at the same time rapid urbanisation increased the size and wealth of the home market. As already noted, the domestic market for milk is of very recent origin, while export possibilities for crops other than potatoes are now slowly being realised.

Until World War II, marketing of produce was organised almost entirely by licensed but uncontrolled middlemen - the *pitkali* - who collected or accepted small lots, offered them for sale to wholesalers or retailers, and then paid the farmers the negotiated price less commission. (The details of organisation are well described in the 1911-12 Royal Commission Report (3).) During World War II, 'the evolution of Internal Marketing made a great stride forward during the exigency... (4)'. This statement really means that controls were imposed on prices and marketing, controls which have basically survived to the present day. As the economics of production have become more confused with welfare policies, so the complexity of the situation has increased. All that we can do here is to sketch and illustrate the nature of this complexity. 241 441 435

The first factor to be reckoned with is that cultivators in no case know their costs of production. They have some general idea of whether a proposed price is unprofitable or not but this is not necessarily trustworthy. Secondly, while the fodder crops are not very perishable, the vegetable and fruit products which find their way out of the rural economy into Maltese markets are extremely so. While the market for such produce in Malta is not a very selective one, this on the whole has the effect of encouraging the sending to market of produce which is very liable to deterioration. In the markets, therefore, any produce surplus to clear requirements is virtually valueless. One complaint concerning the

241 *pitkali* system is that the middlemen charged commission for negotiating sales
but took no stock risks. Thus, when wholesalers and retailers had satisfied their
441 requirements, playing for safety themselves, the *pitkali* merely informed some
435 unfortunate producers that their product could not be sold. The prices attained for that which could be sold varied with the skill of the *pitkali*. Since many Maltese farmers need forward credit for various purposes, it was perfectly natural that the *pitkal* became not only a middleman but a supplier of credit and therefore to some extent a controller of production. The whole of this system resulted from two simple facts. First, the quantities of individual items that most farmers could daily offer for sale were so small as to make some concentrating agency a logical development. Secondly, the social legacy of dichotomy between town and country meant that the farmer was most often incapable of dealing directly with his market. Questions of literacy, language and social status still often put the farmer in a position of inferiority. The *pitkali* bridged that gap. In so doing they have sometimes exploited the farmers' ignorance. Many and vivid are the stories heard of their dishonesty; one such, told by several farmers, concerned the spring export crop of potatoes in 1955. They had been told by middlemen that the U.K. market had been depressed by competition from France and Spain and that therefore the prices offered would have to be low. In fact, shippers declared that the poor quality of the 1954 crops had discouraged some buyers but that the f.o.b. prices were still very much higher than reported by the middlemen. Most *pitkali* are no doubt honest but many farmers bypass them where possible and most others have suspicions - mostly born of their own ignorance.

During World War II, control of all agricultural produce had to be established and, since this time, the financial side of such transactions has been controlled by Government clerks at established *pitkali* markets although the middlemen still handle the actual sales. The intrusion of Governmental financial control has not removed suspicion although it has removed part of the cause of it at the cost of a higher commission charged to the producer. The annual cost of this protection and the controls mentioned below to individual farmers and to small co-operatives is almost £23,000 (5).

Another development has further confused the situation. Stemming from wartime controls, policies aimed at controlling prices for the benefit of the consumer have replaced the old attitude of *caveat emptor*. Various methods have been adopted but they are all based on regulating maximum retail prices, directly and by fixing maximum profit margins and percentages of profit. As noted by many observers, and effectively by an Adviser on Marketing (6), such controls cannot be strictly enforced and it is impossible to make them sufficiently flexible to encourage the production virtues of improved quality and evenness of supply in time. It must suffice here to say that the marketing side of commercial agriculture is not in a satisfactory state, being as it is costly, wasteful and very beneficial neither to consumer nor to producer judging by a great number of local statements.

234 The local market for livestock products is very different. All milk (7) legally
sold is bought by the Milk Marketing Undertaking which in practice accepts any
435 quantity of milk delivered to the collecting depots dispersed through the Islands.
There is a tendency to restrict goats' milk acceptances during the summer
441 period of glut by relating summer and winter ratios. Many producers still have
written contracts but more important than individual arrangements is the
[467] negotiating power of the K.M.H. (the union of milk producers already cited) which incorporates about half of the 600 or so registered producers in the island of Malta. The fixed and scheduled prices paid to producers bear no real relation to production costs since these are not known but rather result from M.M.U.-K.M.H. negotiations and political and welfare decisions by the Government. The M.M.U. takes full risk over wastage and excess production of liquid milk and processed milk products, but is partly able to offset losses by trading profits on imports of dried, evaporated and condensed milk which sales it handles. The M.M.U. now distributes all legally sold liquid milk, as well as its own milk products, and retail prices are fixed by announcement. In 1955-56 the result

234 435 441 was that gross financial loss totalled £124,000 representing an equivalent subsidy to consumers of M.M.U. products, while, if profits on imports were subtracted the figure would rise to over £200,000. The commercial aspect of milk marketing is thus completely artificial and dominated by welfare policies. Price policy, even so, has not been powerful enough to even out the immense seasonal fluctuation in production of goats' milk, roughly half the total, and the smaller but still considerable fluctuation of cows' milk.

253 231 441 Meat production is rather more crude. The Government abattoir slaughters all the horned cattle, most of the swine and a considerable proportion of sheep and goats. The commercial transaction between producer and butcher is usually direct. Here once more the small scale and the unspecialised nature of meat production controls all else. The 1956 Census of Agriculture recorded only nine specialist cattle breeders and 94 breeders of swine as compared with over 700 engaged in sheep and goat breeding (in roughly equal numbers). Licensed importers bring in the store cattle which are then usually sold to non-specialist farmers. Feeding standards are as low as with milch cows. There is little incentive to improvement because of the low standard set by the widespread practice of milk producers selling old and diseased stock for butchering. Pig meat and store-bull meat do command a premium but, while some 15,320 horned cattle were slaughtered in 1957-58, the average import rate of stores is only some 3,000. In the same year, 5,000 sheep (of the indigenous poor breeds) and 8,400 goats (mainly those useless for milk production) as well as 7,800 lambs and kids, were slaughtered. The commercial side of meat and, for that matter, hides and skin production, like that of milk, can only be improved as and when the arable sector of agriculture is further developed.

241 439 441 Lastly, we must refer to exports. For some years, the most important exported agricultural product has been the spring crop of potatoes. Some general points concerning the production and sale of potatoes have already been made (Chapter VII, pp. 205-206), but one or two points need expansion here. The main market for pseudo-early potatoes grown in the Mediterranean (harvested in April and May), lies in North-West Europe. During the earlier part of this century, Holland, Belgium and Germany were the most important buyers but, of recent years, the Arran Banner variety, which yields well as a pseudo-early in Malta, has only found favour in Glasgow. By 1955 this dependence on a single main market was appearing dangerous and since that time, as noted by Haesler in 1957 (8), more heed has been taken of consumer demand for other earlier varieties, yellow rather than white fleshed, such as the Eigenhemer. On the marketing side, some important problems remain. The virtual absence of good civilian port facilities and the dependence on lighterage puts up freight costs and discourages shippers. The middlemen and wholesale handling of produce for export is not above reproach while the only worthwhile markets expect good and consistent quality of graded merchandise. Here the deficiencies of even the most commercially sophisticated part of the community can partly negate improved efforts on the part of the producer. Standards set by the home market tend to affect the services rendered to foreign markets and before the latter can be expanded, the former will have to be improved. There is one sector in which a separate break-through has begun. [509] Air freightage of high value for bulk merchandise (which does not include potatoes) can make distant markets accessible to medium-scale individual producers. Thus flowers, plants and seeds are to some small extent being traded by a few growers sufficiently skilled to bypass the mercantile system. This cannot be done by all but it might encourage emulation.

241 The whole of the marketing organisation is of course organically associated with production and the commercial aspects of production need consideration.

433 435 [234] One of the first points that strikes an observer in the Islands is that the production of the different commodities is altogether too concentrated in time. In the case of milk, a traditional organic cycle imposed by crude goat husbandry imposes great financial strains on the centralised agencies. With crops it would seem that traditional fear of risk-taking, rational enough in a peasant economy but antithetical to the whole nature of commercialism, is now hampering

241 433 435 development and straining even the existing pattern. In the first place, physical environment so dominates the mind of the Maltese farmer that he categorically asserts the virtues and deficiencies of various regions and does not realise that with the techniques and crop-strains at his disposal he now can negate some of these differentiations. Thus the case-study quoted on p. 329 is atypical rather than normal. The result is that in these Islands, which have a long thermal growing season, there are very marked seasonal fluctuations in production. With cauliflowers, tomatoes, carrots and some other vegetables the produce suddenly appears on the markets, prices soar through the fixed ceilings and then as suddenly slump with glut. For the rest of the year - January to September in the case of cauliflowers, and for all except June to September with tomatoes - good quality produce is not available. Prices to the producer range from very high to zero and such fluctuations, superimposed on those caused by climatic variations, both strain the farming economy and encourage poor production. Thus some winter grown Arran Banner sold for up to 50s. per *qantar* in 1956 but only 8s. 4d. in 1958; in January 1957, unsold cauliflowers could be bought from *pitkali* for fodder at 1s. a sack, while a year later they fetched almost 1s. a *wiżna* (8¾ lb. av.).

241 464 465 Secondly, the concentration in time of the various harvests causes severe fluctuations in the demand for labour. All farmers interviewed regard hired labour as poor in quality and expensive. This is a frequent grumble in many countries but in the Maltese context there are some special implications. The number of agricultural labourers, which declined in the nineteenth century as pressure on land resources diminished holding size and encouraged cultivation by occupiers, further declined as urban employment opportunities increased. That pool which is left to some extent sets its standards of wage demand by urban levels, but more important still is only urgently required at two seasons of the year. During the first of these, March to middle May, it is needed for the harvesting of cereals, sulla, potatoes and other winter crops and for the first of the summer cultivations. The second period, about September, coincides with the grape harvest which lasts but three weeks, and with autumn tillage. The result is to elevate day-wage rates to the point of discouragement for the farmer and to lower seasonal earnings so as to repel possible labourer recruits. Merchants, vintners, fodder and food consumers and producers all suffer, and suffer needlessly when one realises the climatic possibilities for extending production.

241 433 To sum up, one may say that the farmer, although largely producing for the market, is generally unable to cost his efforts, deal on equal terms with traders, or appreciate the needs of the market domestic or foreign. This inability must be corrected because the farmer and his land are potentially capable of supplying more of the Islands' agricultural needs than they do at present, and of making a considerable positive contribution to the balance of trade which at the moment they help to distort.

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796 competing for the attention of the crowd within a few yards of
[533] each other.

All the while, the procession, followed by a few black-clad
[292] penitents, solemnly passes through the main streets of the village.
[481] Often those carrying the saint move with a shuffling step that
causes him to bob and turn as though he were dancing. As he passes under balconies his cheering and clapping admirers shower him with confetti. Then, as the procession nears the church, the final *kaxxa infernal*, this time of coloured rockets, is touched off. In some villages the saint is turned around so that he can see this barrage and the display of multi-staged rockets that follows it. The statue then enters the church and the Benediction is given. After this the crowd of visitors quickly disperses. Soon the inhabitants have the village to themselves again. As the women and girls wheel and pull the children off to bed, the men carry around from club to club the grimy, soot-stained men who made and fired the fireworks. They are the heroes of the hour. Other men seek out their clubs or usual cafés and toast one another and the success of their feast. So ends the festa for another year.

796 The organization of the annual festa requires a long period of
planning and preparation. This work calls for a certain degree of
793 centralization. In most villages the parish priest controls the
[794] organization of both the internal and the external feasts. In some
villages, however, he delegates some of this work to a procurator,
usually a priest, but occasionally to a committee of leading per-
[575] sonalities of the village. In other villages, all the details of the
external feast, including the fund raising, are handled by the band club committees. In any case, the parish priest always has the last word. Sometimes there is friction between him and other interested parties over organizational details.

The cost of these feasts varies considerably. It is naturally
796 related to the size of the village and to the degree of enthusiasm
794 with which the festa is celebrated. It ranges from a few shillings
● 435 per family in a large urban parish to as much as £15 per family in
a small rural parish celebrating a particularly important festa. The average cost to the community, however, is about £1,000. The organizers of the festa collect the necessary funds by means of lotteries, fairs, special appeals and a small weekly contribution of threepence or sixpence from each family. Most fund raisers also solicit pledges from leading citizens and enter their names and the

sums pledged on a long list. This method, called *l-arbural*, permits 796
donors to compare their contributions with those of others. Then 794
there may be several unofficial groups who raise funds for fire- 435 ●
works, which they manufacture and fire as their special contributions to the feast.

While I was living in Farruġ, the village celebrated the centenary of St. Martin, the titular saint of the parish. The festa cost a total of £1,465. Of this sum the parish priest raised and spent £302 for the elaborate internal feast, of which he took complete charge. The rest, some £1,163, was collected and spent on the external feast by the committee of the St. Martin Band Club. The fireworks, including most of the gunpowder, were made illegally by the members of the club in their houses and in sheds and abandoned quarries surrounding the village. The cost of the raw materials amounted to £712. Committee members divided the actual work among themselves, and set up sub-committees dealing with decoration, music, fireworks and fund-raising. With the exception of the extra lighting for the streets and the church, which was done by an outside contractor, all the work involved in the festa was done by local inhabitants.

In Kortin, on the other hand, the parish priest personally con- [793]
trols every aspect of the festa. With the assistance of the Sodality of Our Lady, he collects all the funds. Most of the street decoration is done by Anton and Pawlu, who get a number of people to help them. In the following table, I have summarized the rather complicated accounts of the 1961 festa in Kortin.

TABLE 3. Kortin 1961 Festa Accounts

INCOME	£	s.	EXPENSES	£	s.
Internal Feast			*Internal Feast*		
Collections	143	10	Music	150	0
Special gifts	121	10	Other	50	0
External Feast			*External Feast*		
Three collections	221	10	Decorations, programmes, etc.	39	14
Weekly 3d.	120	0	Fireworks: crackers and ground display only	105	16
Lotteries	90	0	Bands: 8 performances	224	10
'Arbural'	53	0	Lighting	170	0
			Balance	9	10
Total	£749	10	*Total*	£749	10

794 In addition to the sums which the parish priest spent on fire-
796 works, another £472 was collected by six groups of enthusiasts
[435] and spent on raw materials for the fireworks which they manu-
[389] factured. The total cost to the village was thus £1,212. In all
respects this was an average festa for a village of 5,000.

The festa in Kortin has not always been controlled by the parish
79 priest. Dun Bert, the present incumbent, had something of a
struggle to seize and hold the reins of authority. Until he took over the parish eight years ago the external festa had been run by a committee. Though the parish priest was *ex officio* head of this committee, the actual affairs of the committee were run by old Manwel and the father of the curate, who was general manager of
the festa for over thirty years. The committee also included the
389 latter's wife's father and brother in its membership. His brother
731 was killed twenty-five years ago in an explosion which wrecked
the village's officially licensed firework factory and killed four others. This committee used to book the bands, repaint, erect and store the decorations and collect all the funds for the external feast. One of its major responsibilities was to run the two large fund-raising fairs which were held every year in the school. Next to the festa, these fairs were the favourite amusement of the village. Thus when Dun Bert arrived in Kortin, he found his was only a nominal role as far as the external festa was concerned. As he is a man who likes to run things his own way, the arrangement did not suit him. Moreover, he was concerned with the financial position of the parish, and in particular with the interest on the £3,000 that his predecessor had borrowed from the Curia to help finance the unfinished parish hall. To be able to meet all the parish's financial commitments, he felt that he had to have control of all its financial resources. The first year, however, he did very little about it.

During his second year in Kortin, the newly elected Labour Government came to his assistance, albeit unwittingly. The new Minister of Education refused permission to the organizers of the Kortin festa to hold a public fair in the school. This deprived the organizers of their major source of income, and threatened the festa. Dun Bert quickly took over the financial management of the festa and made two house-to-house collections. These raised the necessary funds and saved the festa. He then gave to the Sodality of Our Lady the responsibility of collecting threepence a week from each household. But for six months of the year these

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
themselves responsible for much of the labouring work.
794 Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards
the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939);
this in a parish which even ten years later had no more
than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

175 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were
793 attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor)
871 Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became
Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest
not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way
in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features
possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the
Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration
and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was
"sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of
Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in
the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by
the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
[671] elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this
still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for
nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory
Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

744 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for
793 by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone
759 himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of
175 1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest
of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the
day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to
anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6).
As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in
difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social,
as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the
first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the
village, and another of the traditional functions of the
Priest passed to specialist hands.

175 After this, interest was turned again to building and
346 the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out
344 in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the
[435] Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the
District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers them-
selves were responsible for a great deal of the building
work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued
to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

407 474 with the setting up of co-operatives which would make available to the farmer the services of a heavy tractor and deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire the smaller type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY and GUARANTEE

435 241 654 During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for produce handed in to the collection centres in each district. Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never known before and were able to build up often considerable financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

434 435 241 654 Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite different conditions of competition from abroad, demands a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and milk production. He insists that responsibility for this subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on "Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and marketing and gives him a substantial return.

654 The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible foodstuffs (which would often mean imported goods rather than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities (bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows everyone in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included four main types of help to agriculture.

234 654 (a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U. This varies slightly with season and there is a difference of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells

128 [226] PART 3. A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo is included because the economic position of this comparatively small group is in many ways similar to that of the farming community itself.

*159 234 654

PART 1. Maltese Farming - Case Studies I-XIII

CASE I: Pawlu. (A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.)

Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed ● [435] sale for milk produced. He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialization which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the official policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

*159 55 423 [463] Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (B/525).

TABLE V.

(Case V : Accounts)

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Date	Dealer	Fodder	Rtal[1]	Shillings per rtal	Cost £ -s- d	Payment £ -s- d
7.12.56	B	Beans	287	70	10 - 0-10	
		Cake	201	50	5 - 0- 6	
		Corn[2]	113	58	2 -18-	
8. 1.57	B	Beans	285	71	10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	215	49	5 - 5- 3	
15. 1.57	B					5 - 8- 5
1. 2.57	B	Beans	255	71	9 - 0- 1	
		Cake	319	49	7 -16- 3	
						13 - 1- 7
15. 2.57	B	Beans	291	72	10 - 9- 0	
		Cake	186	48	4 - 9- 6	
						17
27. 2.57	B	Cake	638	47	15	
						15
18. 3.57	B	Beans	180	71	6 - 7- 9	
		Cake	365	47	8 -11- 6	
						15
1. 4.57	B	Beans	185	70	6 - 9- 6	
		Cake	278	48	6 - 4- 9	
						15
15. 4.57	B	Beans	218	69	7 -10- 0	
		Cake	282	46	6 - 9- 9	
						15
27. 4.57	A	Beans	282½	65	9 - 3- 9	
		Cake	266½	44	5 -17- 3	
		Corn[2]	95	58	2 -15- 3	
1. 5.57	B	Cake	582	45	13 - 2- 0	
		W.Potato[3]	205		2 - 1- 0	
						17 - 4
16. 5.57	A	Beans	76		2 - 9- 6	
17. 5.57	B	Beans	119	69	4 - 2- 0	
		Cake	474	45	10 -13- 6	
20. 5.57	B					15
21. 5.57	A	Beans	316		10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	323½	44	7 - 2- 6	
1. 6.57	B					15
3. 6.57	B	Beans	211	69	7 - 5- 6	
		Cake	290	45	6 -10- 6	
4. 6.57	A	Beans	303½	64	9 -14- 2	
		Cake	271½	44	5 -19- 6	
		Bran			6- 0	
12. 6.57	B					15
19. 6.57	B	Cake	621	45	13 -19- 5	
22. 6.57	A	Beans	330½	56	9 - 5- 0	
		Cake	261½	44	5 -15- 2	
2. 7.57	B	Beans	365	57	9 - 6- 3	
		Cake	325	45	7 - 6- 3	
						15
8. 7.57	A	Beans	338	50½	8 -10- 9	
		Cake	280½	44	6 - 3- 6	
1. 7.57	A					8
13. 7.57	A					15
16. 7.57	B	Cake	753	44	17 -11- 3	
						16
27. 7.57	A	Beans	371	48	8 -18- 0	
		Cake	298½	44	6 -11- 6	
1. 8.57	B	Beans	171	57	4 - 7- 3	
		Cake	383	45	8 -12- 3	
						15
2. 8.57	A					15
8. 8.57	A	Dari seed	96	52	2 -10- 0	
9. 8.57	A	Beans	344	51	8 -15- 6	
		Cake	288	44	6 - 8- 3	
14. 8.57	A					17
16. 8.57	B					15
23. 8.57	A	Beans	398½	51	10 - 3- 9	
					£363 - 1- 8	£273 -14- 0

[426] 1. 9.57 Debt (to A) - £79.7.8d

(1 - see Appendix 8; 2 - qamh harun; 3 - patata tas-zitna)

* 159 433

H. General.

This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

* 159 231 232

CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow."

X 159 234 [311] [246] [435] [464] [451] [651]

Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has very little appreciation of his profit. None of his labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax authorities each year.

* 159 829 178 [246] For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows. Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

* 159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 427 **A. Land.**

- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

* 159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

* 159 231 234
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

* 159 [454] **D. Capital.**

- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] [234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

* **G. Husbandry.**

159 231 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

[429]
- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.

[311]
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly ½ tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

● [435] [434]
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

* 159 156 **H. General.**

- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159 - Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
156 - Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit
[231] will be greater.
- Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

*159 **CASE VIII : Niklaws** (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

472 Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership
[423] of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70
tomien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle.
[234] There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows'
472 milk production. They retain only two goats. With about
20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day
234 - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained
433 while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons.
Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says
[232] Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a
407 mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth
454 year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing
234 machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators
and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on
[429] the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and
●[435] the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Ingliżi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 426 **D. Capital.**

[423] [454] [407] [312]

(i) No freehold property.

(ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

(iii) Equipment - usual hand tools
- rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.
- no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 434 ●435 **F. Production and Sales.**

- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 231 **G. Husbandry.**

(i)
- The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- [232] Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 234 829 **H. General.**

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect [426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
Gozitan milk producer, Case I.
829 The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle with-
234 in the current artificial economy of milk production. There
is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy
[433] were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
472 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two
brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten
tmien.* About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by
private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth
to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned
by Ġamri's father.

*159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
472 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present.
They share the common view that hired farm labour is both
uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-lot	13 tmien
Potatoes	6 tmien
Other vegetables	5 tmien

*159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow
in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons,
oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits.
The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
[435] at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of
crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

*159 245 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to quality as those for the table.

*159 245 231 451 In this move towards more vine production and the recent interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to emphasize the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made between money spent on the home and family, and money spent on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held "in one purse". Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual [593] practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

*159 434 454 [511] At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400, less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30 for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957. During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income from pig sales and other items.

*159 434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit........	£340	-	£340
Grapes.......	49	£ 8	57
Sulla........	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons.......	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals.......	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 434 435 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between one year and the next is today more important to the arable farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more [454] accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in contrast
231 to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

* Ġamri and farming

159 Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time conditions
[454] the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[929] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
[434] costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

* His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri himself,
159 make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
181 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he believes
that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
* approach to the 'Overn' (Government) of which he is so full
159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
181 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

*159 241

for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna. Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c.½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

*159 [472] [423] [464] [178] [435] [451] [461] [157]

H. General.

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows G to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- G therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.
- G has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, G could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (baghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464

Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

CASE XI : Summary.

*159 (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

423 **A. Land.**

429

(i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Mellieha District. 2 tmien freehold.

(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.

(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.

(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced an annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 **B. Utilization.** With parcels of land so dispersed and so

241 variable in quantity great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons. Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.

(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 **C. Livestock.** During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are

231 only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bojjem tax-xoghol').

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.

[435] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to

[454] statement made to C.A.R.E.[2] Estimated possible total less than £100.

[406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.

[474] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section

[241] 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving

[464] of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.

- Rarely hires labour.

[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

TABLE 7

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	July^f 57		Oct 57		Nov 57		Dec 57		Jan 58		Feb 58		May 57	
	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm
Sundays/Feasts	4	4	4	4	6	6	7	7	6	6	5	5	7	7
Business, Valletta	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Repairs fields & buildings (storm)	.	.	2	4^l	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No work (storms)	.	.	7	7^g	6	3	3	3	8	7	2	2	.	.
Irrigation	8	6^j	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8	5^j
Plowing	3	2	5	3	.	.	.	.	3	3	1	1	2	2
Planting, sowing	.	.	4	3	6	6	12	11^a	7	8^b	4	1	7	2
Working,^{c} etc.	5	5	4	2	3	5	1	2	4	4	5	3	.	3
Cutting, reaping	8	9^d	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3
Lifting potatoes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3^h	3	5^i
Threshing	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Loading, transporting	2	1	1	1	.	.	3	3	.	2	.	1	.	2
Vines, prune, graft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	7	.	.
Collecting kaxix^e	1	1	1	4	5	5^k	3	4	1	.	.	3	.	2
Collecting [illegible]			.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
	31	31	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31

Notes

a. all potatoes.
b. potatoes 3.5.
c. working, weeding, dressing, spraying, manuring, hoeing, etc.
d. wheat and barley 4.2.
e. kaxix - general greenery for animal fodder.
f. data for other months not available.
g. the latter part of 1957 saw exceptional storms in Malta & Gozo.
h. the winter crop a month late on account of damp conditions.
i. the spring crop.
j. irrigation in dry months.
k. kaxix gathering peak after 2 months of rain.
l. including 2.2 attending to animals (too wet to work fields).

F. Production and Sales.

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(i) Main cash-crop irrigated potatoes - Arran Banner. Two crops - winter and 'early' crop, the latter for export. Yields vary considerably in spite of irrigation - winter crop 1956 double the quantity of the winter crop 1957. Soil conditions for cultivation and for germination can vary critically between November and February. Prices similarly vary considerably. 1956 - maximum price obtained 30/- per qantar. 1957 - April maximum price obtain 25/- per qantar. 1957 - May maximum price obtained 15/- per qantar.

[442]

(ii) Tomatoes. Pickings from May to October with peak production in July. Prices vary inversely with production (E/253). Irrigated local varieties only are grown. The best tomatoes are kept for seed, the next grade carefully selected for sale through 'pitkal' middleman for local market, the third grade sold to the tomato paste ('Kunserva') factory. Prices range from 10d. to 1/6d. per wizna, but vary with quantity available rather than with quality. Regarded as preferable to potatoes since the farmer believes they are less expensive to produce.

(iii) Artichokes. Irrigated perennials producing for up to about 8 years. Best marketing period is during Lent. Great efforts made to raise a crop early in

*159 433 ● 435 February when prices start at c.9d a head rather than later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 (i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming. In 1958 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, leguminous fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land where vetches alternate with barley.

[461] (c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

[242] (d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953 Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:
Relies entirely on own plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Sigenheimer.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock:
Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

*159 241 433 435 [465] (i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

*159 451 (ii) The farmers children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 434 234 (i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957 c.£1350. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).

- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').
- [272] About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production.
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

*159 241 [435] (ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
- 'Early' Crop - January to April.

Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 23/4 per qanter for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.

- [433] Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

[433] (iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder production meets c.one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land

(a) On best land typical sequence would be.

Sept. (a) Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per tomna.
Sept.-Dec. (b) Winter crop of potatoes.
Jan. (c) Artifical fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April (d) Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug. (e) Summer fallow.
Sept.-April (f) Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug. (g) Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May (h) Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug. (i) Fallow.
Sept.-April (j) Sulla.

(b) More usual practice (which is not though of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.
- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as ħofħfa and ġinġlin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassicas, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds
- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

*159 232 (iii) Livestock - Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.
- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

*159 433 451 (i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer. Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own

APPENDIX 1 D : Agriculture (B/164-1957)

131 (i) AREAS

AREA of the Maltese Islands............ 276,429 tmien (77,400 ac)
Area of Malta...................... 217,143 tmien (60,800 ac)
Area of Gozo....................... 59,286 tmien (16,600 ac)

423 CULTIVABLE AREA of the Maltese Islands 156,211 tmien (12,484 hldngs)
Holdings of dry (baghli) land.... 116,460 tmien (10,517 ")
Holdings of irrigable (saqwi)land 700 tmien (88 holdings)
Holdings of both dry & irrigable. 39,051 tmien (1,879 ")

241 (ii) ACREAGE and PRODUCTION of CROPS, 1956-57

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CROP	ACREAGE	VALUE(£)	YIELD(Tons)	YIELD per Acre (tons)
Wheat	5,192	98,908	2,916	0.6
Barley & Meslin	4,836	68,339	2,738	0.6
Vetches	1,727	51,993	1,354	0.8
Forages	11,000	381,150(a)	32,000(a)	2.3
Broad Beans	1,000	15,233	356	3.5
Cumin Seed	14	180	3	0.2
Cotton	35	800	8	0.2
Locust Beans	500	20,000	1,500	3.0
Total	24,304	636,603	40,875	
Potatoes (spring)	6,000	350,000	21,000	3.5
Potatoes (autumn)	3,057	193,394	9,157	3.0
Melons	2,721	32,908	1,714	0.6
Onions	788	47,970	3,000	3.8
Tomatoes	3,000	148,000	12,000	4.0
Other vegetables	3,897	344,744	18,436	5.0
Total	19,259	1,115,016	65,307	
Grapes	5,204	171,102	5,347	1.0
Citrus	160	32,000	510	3.0
Other Fruit	1,000	106,000	4,000	2.0
Total	6,364	309,102	9,857	
Flowers & Seeds	250	100,000	..	
TOTAL	ac.50,177	£2,139,721	116,039 Tons	

(a) Including Straw.

231 (iii) CLASSIFICATION OF LIVESTOCK, 1957 (September)

	Malta (1957)	Gozo (1957)	TOTAL (1957)	TOTAL (1949)
Horses..............	1,688	369	2,057	2,783
Donkeys..............	1,732	1,107	2,839	3,335
Mules..............	1,535	349	1,884	2,358
Goats..............	21,630	10,428	32,058	50,877
Billy Goats.........	417	177	594	
Kids under 1 year...	3,564	3,121	6,685	
Sheep..............	8,091	4,241	12,332	21,257
Rams..............	98	43	141	
Lambs under 1 year..	1,015	1,330	2,345	
Bulls..............	377	294	671	
Heifers Pregnant....	339	195	534	
Heifers other.......	731	363	1,094	
Milch Cows..........	2,536	866	3,402	2,833
Stud Bulls..........	111	26	137	
Maltese Draught-Cows	109	6	115	
Imported Store Bulls	2,860	824	3,684	
Breeding Sows.......	2,763	618	3,381	
Boars..............	214	87	301	20,015
Sucking Pigs........	935	367	1,302	
Other Fatteners.....	6,561	1,753	8,314	
Hens..............	196,883	126,430	322,313	
Other Poultry.......	5,145	1,364	6,509	
Rabbits..............	43,845	16,848	60,693	

242 654 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud (Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service are outlined in B/252.

178 241 654 181 [234] Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification to bring it more closely into line with present conditions both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4) but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the Islands.

433 654 234 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee remains he will continue to put every effort into selling more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently, having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

MONEY

433 434 178 [175] In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale subsistence farming with the help only of his family. Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family, farm and village. There were very few wants which could not be supplied at home, or at least within the village. In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 436 437 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction between the present 'commercialized' position and that which prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
437 the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they
465 were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when
compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for
comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal
Commissioners (B/184), Miège (B/516) and Price (B/556),
but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
this same report however, it is learnt that the farming
454 community had by that date become investment conscious and
had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day
where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited
eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field
work at all. The developments observed by the 1911
Commissioners were by no means general among the rural
population at that time. They were in fact merely the
178 first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
433 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
722 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
465 in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before.
He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce
- or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became
used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted
war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was
the feling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in
Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time,
the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the countryman. The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was
content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the
change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his
social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered
needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a
variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

000 and inertia of the traditional peasant.

STANDARD OF LIVING

178 The past century and a half have seen the develop-
511 ment from peasant to commercial farming, along with the
[436] adoption of money as the basis of exchange, and the
appearance of a large range of new demands in diet, clothing, housing, luxuries, recreation, etc. Some observations on the living standards of the farming community during the period are now indicated.

175 Speaking of living standards in the Malta of the
511 early nineteenth century Price considers that "an identity
369 and cohesion prevailed not only in major economic trends
but in the economic habits of the people" (B/556, p.8).
178 Thus "In these circumstances it is possible to examine
together the habits of rural labourers, urban labourers, artisans, small farmers and fishermen...." (B/556, p.9). Price holds that during the first half of the nineteenth century there was in fact little change in the living standards prevailing in the Maltese Islands despite the fluctuations evident within the national economy as a whole. "Years of prosperity may have brought a slight increase in the ratio of wheaten to barley bread or in the use of novel clothing such as straw hats. But, it seems clear, the chief effect of prosperity was to increase the consumption of oil, alcohol and tobacco; these, together with his religion, ranked first in the list of desirable and important things in the minds of the Maltese flush with surplus cash. Presumably these were the things he hoped society would give while his traditional diet, clothing and shelter were the things he expected
175 society to provide" (B/556, p.9-10). Among the unskilled
434 urban and rural workers there was a notable uniformity
369 in wage throughout the period. Price speaks of 6¾d for
a day's work for a man (and about 1d only for a women) but observes that skilled workers, and especially those in dockyard employ, could expect very much more (B/556, p.9-10). For the mass of the labouring and farming community therefore income was of the order of a few pence per day but, as suggested, the prevailing self-sufficiency of the near-peasant farmer of the period made actual monetary income an inadequate indicator of standards of living. For the urban worker, on the other hand, lacking the farm basis, the low wage level meant poverty and hardship. More especially "Poverty..... pressed heavily on the under-employed" (B/556, p. 11).

175 The importance of cotton to the nineteenth century
288 Maltese farmer has been discussed in Section 1. In 1839

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6 [P.193]

APPENDIX 5 : WEIGHTS and MEASURES

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UNIT	EQUIVALENTS Maltese	British	Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollice)	-	0.859 ins	21.83 mm
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10.312 ins	26.19 cm
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar*	2.292 yds	2.095 m
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	2.252 sq.yds	1.881 sq.m
Kejla	-	22.410 sq.yds	18.735 sq.m
Siegh (mondello)	10 Kejliet*	224.100 sq.yds	187.354 sq.m
Tomna (tummolo)	6 Sieghan*	0.278 acre	0.112 ha.
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	4.444 acres	1.798 ha.
		(1 acre - 3.6 tmien*)	
VOLUME			
Xiber Kubu	-	0.63 cu.ft	
Qasba Kubu	-	12.04 cu.yds	
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0.933 oz	0.026 kg
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1.750 lbs	0.793 kg
Wižna	5 Rtal*	8.750 lbs	3.968 kg
Qantar	20 Wižna	175.000 lbs	79.378 kg
		(1 ton - 12.8 qnatar* - 1016.128 kg)	
BUNDLE MEASURE			
Qatta, Xibka, Xkora (sheaf or bundle of sulla, wheat, etc.)			
Hemel (somma)	10 Qattiet* (8 Qattiet in Gozo)		
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna (tummolo)	-	0.0625 qrs	0.1818 hectolitr
Wejba	4 Tmien*	2.0 bushels	0.7272 "
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8.0 "	2.909 "
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Terz	-	0.281 quart	0.32 litres
Nofs	2 Terzi*	0.562 "	0.63 "
Kartočč	2 Nfas*	1.125 "	1.27 "
Kwarta	4 Kratoč*	1.125 gallons	5.11 "
CAPACITY: BEER, WINES & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0.25 pint	0.142 litres
Terz	2 Pinet*	0.50 "	0.284 "
Nofs	2 Terzi*	1.00 "	0.561 "
Kartočč	2 Nfas*	2.00 "	1.136 "
Kwarta	4.75 Kratoč*	1.187 gallons	5.398 "
Garra	2 Kwarti*	2.375 "	10.797 "
Barmil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9.500 "	43.187 "

MONEY

• 436 Sterling is the official currency in Malta and Gozo but various old units are also retained in popular usage:

'Lira'.........................	£1	'Sitta(6) rbghajja'......	10d
'Nofs Lira'....................	10s	'Sixpence'................	6d
'Tmintax(18) rbighi'.........	2s 6d	'Tlieta(3) rbghajja'.....	5d
'Skud'.........................	1s 8d	'Sold'....................	1d
'Xelin'........................	1s	'Sitt(6) habbiet'........	½d

(A 'habba' - grain - was one twelfth of a penny; twenty 'habbiet' equalled one 'tari' or 'rbighi'.)

193 **NOTES** (1) Plural forms, identified by an asterisk* in the table:
804 Garar (s.Garra); Habbiet (s.Habba); Kratoč (s.Kartočč); Kejliet (s.Kejla); Kwarti (s.Kwarta); Nfas (s.Nofs); Pinet (s.Pinta); Qnatar (s.Qantar); Qattiet (s.Qatta); Rbghajja (s. Rbighi); Rtal (s.Ratal); Sieghan (s.Siegh); Skudi (s.Skud); Terzi (s.Terz); Tmien (s.Tomna); Xbar (s.Xiber); Wižniet (s.Wižna).

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114 (2) The information in the table is based in part on that given in B/BB - 1958-9, p.410, and in part on personal investigation.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the underground granaries, shaped like vast jars, beneath the 251
open space between Valetta and its suburb of Floriana and
beneath a few other places, sealed with round stone lids and 178
still in use for conserving Malta's stocks of imported grain.

There are other links in Malta with the rule of the Order
of S. John. There survives, for example, from the days of 326
the Grand Masters an official known as the Consul for 656
Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, who is the appraiser of the 647
Government and impresses on Maltese silver its own hall- [178]
mark, the Maltese Cross, and on gold the crown or the Maltese shield. The Consul's office is housed on the ground-floor of the Monte di Pietà building in Merchants' Street. Opposite to it is the handsome Public Registry, with a tablet commemorating its reconstruction by Grand Master Zondadari. As if to compensate for the defacement by the French Revolutionaries of the Sienese Grand Master's escutcheon, his inscription was subsequently surmounted by a bust of George III, topped by the Royal Arms of that day.

In connexion with the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silver- 436
smiths it may be mentioned that the coinage of the Order
remained legal tender in Malta until 1886, when by a
Government Notice there were called in all coins of "the
late Government of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem."[1]
The principal denominations of the Maltese coinage were
the scudo, the tari, the carlino and the grano or grain, which [178]
in Maltese were called *skut*, *rbighi*, *karlin* and *habba*; and not only the country people but all Maltese use to this day the old names to denote certain values in our modern coinage. Thus 2½*d.* is described as *tliet karlinijet* (three carlini); half a crown as *tmintax rbighi*, meaning eighteen tari; 1*s.* 3*d.* is invariably *disa' rbghajja*—that is, nine tari.

Malta has no longer a separate coinage of its own, but small bronze coins of one-third of a farthing, still known locally as grains, were struck at the London Mint for use in

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[1] The standard work on this interesting coinage is Canon Calleja Schembri's
Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 2nd edn., 1910). [113]

●436 Malta in the reigns of all the British sovereigns who have ruled in Malta from George IV to George V inclusive.

186 173 178 Let this chapter end with another survival, perhaps the most ubiquitous of all, although its origin antedates the arrival of the Knights by more than four hundred years. It is the red-and-white Maltese flag which is flown throughout the islands side by side with the Union Jack. Long-established tradition has it that the red and white were the colours of the Norman House of Hauteville, and that the flag and the corresponding arms are one of the legacies of Roger de Hauteville, Count of Sicily, Lord of Malta, to this smallest of his dominions. When, between the World Wars, it was suggested to Malta by the English College of Arms that the Colony should regularize its arms by formally recording them at the College, Malta replied that it had borne those arms for nearly three centuries before the foundation of the College by Richard III.

The position was ultimately adjusted with the College in 1943, when Malta's coat-of-arms received the honourable augmentation of the George Cross.

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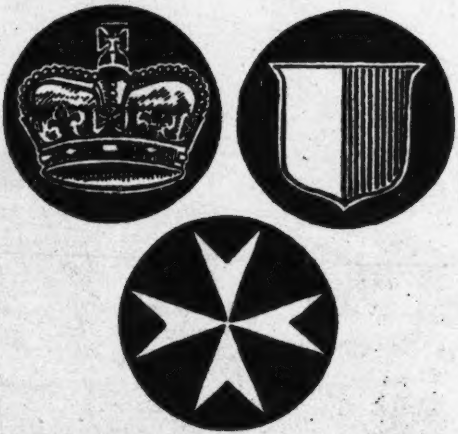

Malta Government Hall-marks for Gold and Silver

242 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for
654 advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming
community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial
insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in
the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud
(Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service
are outlined in B/252.

178 Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said
241 about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification
654 to bring it more closely into line with present conditions
181 both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic
conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4)
but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is
[234] not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the
guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space
of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the
Islands.

433 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk
654 surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee
remains he will continue to put every effort into selling
234 more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to
fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is
certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently,
having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

433 MONEY

434 In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was
a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale
178 subsistence farming with the help only of his family.
[175] Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family,
farm and village. There were very few wants which could
not be supplied at home, or at least within the village.
In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in
terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have
his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his
predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells
each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual
turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes
modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the
farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the
food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction
436 between the present 'commercialized' position and that which
437 prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century
ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they
465 were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when
compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for
comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal
Commissioners (B/184), Miège (B/516) and Price (B/556),
but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
454 this same report however, it is learnt that the farming
community had by that date become investment conscious and
had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day
where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited
eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field
work at all. The developments observed by the 1911
Commissioners were by no means general among the rural
population at that time. They were in fact merely the
first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
178 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
433 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
722 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
465 in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before.
He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce
- or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became
used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted
war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was
the feling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in
Malta ought still to produce in competitive peace-time,
the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the countryman. The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was
content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the
change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his
social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered
needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a
variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
511 is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
[651] tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

511 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
454 call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
[593] few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expences of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
178 Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[294] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family,
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
[656] Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

241 giant dockyard in Cospicua, or for one of the various British
433 Service departments scattered over the island. Gozo is more
464 dependent upon agriculture, but many Gozitan men work in
[178] Malta, returning to their families for the weekend. Though
Maltese villages are populated mostly by industrial workers, they
have nonetheless a decidedly rural atmosphere about them, for
their inhabitants still have links with the agricultural economy of
231 the past. Many retain a patch or two of land which they plant with
235 potatoes or some other cash crop to supplement their wages, and
262 virtually all keep chickens and rabbits to supply them with eggs
and fresh meat for special celebrations.

463 TABLE 1. Occupational Classes in Farruġ and Kortin[1]

(Expressed as percentages of the total male working population)

Occupational Class	*Farruġ*	*Kortin*	*Islands*
Professional and Clerical	4	7	15
Service and Skilled	39	52	55
Semi- and Unskilled	42	27	20
Agricultural	15	14	10
Totals	100	100	100

[438] A hundred years ago, the inhabitants of Farruġ were mostly farmers, though many were also employed on a cottage-industry basis in the thriving cotton industry of the time. Today they are for the most part wage labourers. Of the total male working population, 42 per cent are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, 39 per cent work as skilled fitters and as service personnel (shopkeepers, drivers, policemen, etc.) and 15 per cent as farmers. Only 4 per cent are professionals and white-collar workers. Three-fourths travel outside the village to their places of employment, chiefly with the Malta Government and the British military departments.

The occupational structure of Kortin is much the same. The higher proportion of skilled and clerical workers is in part a reflection of its past importance as an administrative centre, for until early in this century it was the seat of the district court. Seven per cent of the men work in professional and white-collar

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[1] The figures for Farruġ and Kortin are based on surveys I conducted, and the national figures on the 1957 *Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 43–55. The totals of the male working population in Farruġ, Kortin and the Maltese Islands are 296, 1,131 and 75,930 respectively.

438 The many little shops
443 scattered about the village permit the women to do most of their
512 shopping near their own homes. Because of the long, hot summers
621 when food spoils quickly, they shop separately for each meal.
Their shopping trips begin on the way home from the early Mass,
[251] at about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, and continue until
[796] 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus, during the course of a day, a woman may make as many as a dozen trips to the shops as well as to the hawkers who pass through the neighbourhood. These trips are social occasions during which she comes in contact with friends and neighbours from all parts of the village, and in the process hears the village news.

275 The men are out of the village from 6 o'clock or so in the
512 morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, and
517 in the winter from about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock
621 in the evening. But summer or winter, in the late afternoon and
the early evening the men gather in the clubs, wine shops and cafés. Besides the clubs and important cafés in the square, which draw men from all over the village, there are many small neighbourhood wine shops. Most have a regular clientele of friends and neighbours who spend hours together talking, playing cards and drinking tea, soft drinks or wine. Many cafés also have television. Thus, though most inhabitants of a village are in fairly frequent contact with each other, the gossip groups of the women and the wine shops of the men form local social centres which help bind neighbours more closely to one another. These neighbourhoods develop a certain group loyalty.

621 It often happens that some of the neighbourhoods in a town or
794 village are centred on small chapels. In times gone by there used
796 to be a certain amount of good-natured competition between the
youngsters of these districts over the festas of the patron saints of their respective chapels. But, except on rare occasions, this rivalry never threatened the unity of the village during the annual festa of the patron saint of the parish. Frequent removals from house to house within the village have usually helped to prevent the development of disruptive sectional loyalties.

621 Since each village is also a separate parish it is not possible to
[771] consider a village entirely as a secular community. Religion per-
[794] meates the structure of Maltese society to an extent that makes it
quite impossible to classify many institutions as either religious or secular. As a secular community, a village has no official leader, it

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endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
[246] (he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
241 for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
433 the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
434 getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
[427] cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
[241] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
[433] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
● 438 great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
443 paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

×159 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
511 extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
829 yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
178 one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation.
In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following
in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

sembled, from a wooden pulpit in the open air, near the small chapel. When the sermon is over the jolly country girls take a great delight in the fair which is held along the space in front of the small church, which is blocked up from end to end with temporary booths. 796 537 796 543 [366]

The wares offered for sale are of the simplest description, consisting principally of scapulars, pictures, gay woollen and cotton sashes and handkerchiefs, cheep trinkets, and glass and china of inferior quality; but there is enough colour and glitter to produce a pretty kaleidoscopic effect when touched by the rays of the bright shining sun. 796 543 438

On this morning the scores of vendors of sweetmeats, lemonade, and iced water seem endowed with extra power of throat and lungs for vociferating these refreshing compounds, and the set up [265]

796 [543] [438] [265] tables, piled with the castellated erections of honey and almonds, tempt those crowds of country people to spend what they have purposely put by for this annual holiday.

After three or four hours of high revel the wheeled vehicles return home with their jolly occupants singing all along the road.

Sta. MARIA

796 184 On the 15th of August, the day dedicated to the Assumption of the B. V. Mary (Santa Maria), nearly all the Island of Malta is *en fête*.

[103] Seven of the twentyfour villages, that is:— Casals Musta, Dingli, Attard, Crendi, Micabiba, Asciak and Gudia celebrate on this day their titular feast with the usual illuminations, fireworks and processions.

carries a certain spice of gambling, the 524
players of *Morra* congregate at some 525
street corner or a public house and indulge in a game for small stakes which the winner generally spent in assuaging the thirst of both parties, a proceeding to which the loser as a rule made no objection.

FAIRS

Every Sunday morning there is a 443
fair held along strada Mercanti, Val- 438
letta. The goods exposed for sale in 527
these weekly fairs are of all descriptions, and attract large crowds, especially of country people.

Besides these Sunday fairs there is 443
also another fair held annually at Flo- 527
riana on the mornings of the feast days 796
of St. Calcedonio, St. Giacomo, and

1 Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

ESSENTIAL STATISTICS

131 The Maltese Islands - Land Area 121.850 sq. miles, Population 323,667[1].
161 Malta - Land Area 94.876 sq. miles, Population 296,008[1].
Gozo and Comino - Land Area 26.974 sq. miles, Population 27,659[1].

162 A. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION[2]

463

(i)	Civil Government	17,050
	Service Departments	22,480
(ii)	Agriculture, Fishing and Quarrying	9,130
	Manufacturing	9,030
	Construction	7,220
(iii)	Wholesale and Retail Trades	10,920
	Transport and Communications	3,850
	Insurance, Banking, etc.	550
	Gas Service	90
(iv)	Recreation and Personal Services	7,250
	Community and Business Services	1,140
	Total	88,710

433 B. PRODUCTION[1]

Gross Domestic Product 1957	£ m.	36.1
Gross Industrial Production 1957	"	10.036
Gross Agricultural Product 1957	"	5.008

439 C. TRADE[3]

(i) Commodities (value in £ m)	Imports	Exports	Re-exports
Food, Drink, Tobacco	9.411	.547	.549
Raw materials and materials mainly unmanufactured	3.227	.312	1.307
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	13.215	.132	.404
Miscellaneous and unspecified	2.862	.005	.339
Bullion and Specie	.104	-	-
	28.820	.995	2.600

(ii) Direction of Trade (%)	Imports	Exports
Sterling Area	49.3	41.1
Dollar Area	7.2	.8
O. E. E. C.	33.5	10.4
Other	10.0	2.1
Ships and Aircraft Stores	-	45.6
	100	100

(iii) Balance of Trade	Imports	Exports & Re-exports	Negative Balance
		Million £	
1949	15.312	1.038	14.274
1954	20.407	2.879	17.528
1958	28.820	3.595	25.225

(Since 1948 the adverse trade balance has increased by an average of 4.7% per annum)

439

F. TRADE IN SOME AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND FARM MATERIALS 1958[3].

	Imports	Value £000	Exports & Re-Exports
Food grain and manufactured grain	1,862		18
Meat	1,048		23
Animal feeds	2,785		-
Potatoes	132(1957-99)		353(1957-104)
Fruit and vegetables	891		99
Milk	616		1
Butter, butter subs, and cheese	704		-
Edible vegetable oils	297		-
Eggs	263		-
Wines	74		15
Store bulls	528		-
Fertilisers	32		-
Agricultural implements & machinery	103		-

113

1. Report of the Central Office of Statistics 1958/59. Malta 1959.
2. Annual Report of the Dept. of Emigration and Labour 1958-59. Malta 1959.
3. The Trade of the Maltese Islands 1958. Malta 1959.
4. Report of the Census of Agriculture 1956. Malta 1960.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ8 Malta EZ8

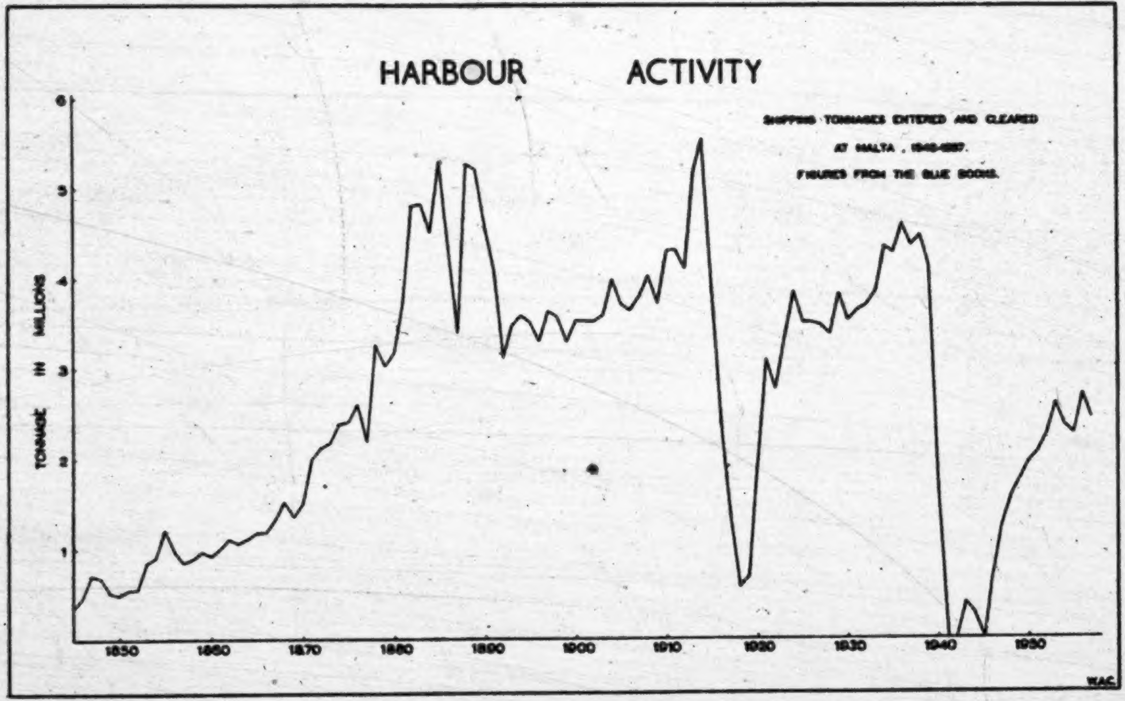

Fig. 30 Harbour Activity.

[p. 118-A]

* 175
● 439
505

The main relevant conclusion was unmistakably ominous: 'Government
433 expenditure has more than made up for that of the Knights, and has diverted
458 more of the labour of the population to the service, direct or indirect, of the
foreign government which applied it to purposes entirely Imperial and uncon-
nected with the special interests of the colony. Doubtless this expenditure has
led to immediate prosperity... but the basis of this prosperity is artificial and
precarious' (6). It is possible to argue the degree of validity of the third premiss
of the first clause but the general truth is undeniable. This general picture is
so clear that in this particular chapter attention will be focussed only on some
aspects of the Maltese economy as it has developed during the last 50 years.

The changing character of Maltese Trade is well evidenced in the annual
43 reports of the Customs and Port Department. Before World War I, Malta was
still of some importance in Mediterranean transit trade, particularly for goods
destined for North African and Levant ports. Between 1910 and 1922 the annual
average weight of such merchandise handled was 17,000 tons (7). This activity
almost disappeared during hostilities and after a short post-war boom settled
down at a new low level handling only some 3,000 tons of merchandise. In part
this was due to the elimination of the important German and Austrian connection
which, in a Report published in 1919 (8), was the subject of much hostile Maltese
comment. More important was the fact that the gap thus left was not filled by
other foreign or local interests. The Maltese writers of the 1919 Report were
not able to obtain their desire 'to have a company formed by a few merchants,
who would thus teach Maltese capitalists that the investment of moneys in
industries and especially in shipping is more profitable and better for the Islands
and for the capitalists themselves, than the investment in doubtful securities
or in reckless speculation'. The fundamental difficulties of expanding port
[504] activity have remained. Malta, for all the grandiloquence of the name 'Grand
Harbour', has until very recently possessed but poor physical facilities for
handling shipping. All vessels of over 2,000 tons have had to be worked by
lighter, and civil repair facilities as well as warehousing have been extremely
limited. In that the needs of the Fleet have been paramount this is understand-
able; the consequences have been deplorable. The absence of enthusiasm for
[454] local investment of Maltese capital has been equally inhibiting. There survives,
even intensified during the 1930's, a traditional feeling of insecurity which was
succinctly noted by a banker giving evidence before the 1911 Commission: 'There
is plenty of money in the Island... there is not much trust, I think' (9). Even
now, while the rate of saving in Malta is very high - c. 14 per cent. of total
personal income, too large a proportion of the savings are invested abroad -
some £70 millions. Given this basic insecurity, which still appears in conversa-
tions with business men and which is so deeply rooted as to be very difficult to
remove, development is difficult. Moreover, since the Maltese for an island
[228] people are singularly non-maritime in character, and, in conditions no more
difficult than in many other parts of the Mediterranean, have almost ignored
the fishery industry (10), there exists no traditional basis for marine affairs.
In these circumstances the value of the handing over of the Naval base to British
civilian firms, and the policy of attracting foreign (mainly British) manufacturing
concerns, thus making available both facilities and most of the capital, is on
economic grounds indisputable.

One other aspect of port and trading activities must be examined, the nature
● 439 and balance of imports and exports. The changing character of world trade in
the first place has vitally affected the nature of Malta's entrepôt activity. By
457 1956, the value of re-exports had reached over two and a half million pounds,
of which one and a half million represented mineral fuels and lubricants, mainly
aviation spirit and turbine fuel (11). This is still the pattern today. Of Malta's
transit trade in re-exports, by far the biggest proportion is concerned with
supplying the Garrison in its new and more mobile form. The imbalance between
retained imports and domestic exports remains essentially similar to that
observed very much earlier and is best examined in conjunction with other
economic elements.

434 457 unrequited imports were indicative of illegal diamond smuggling. It may well be that, in Malta, a less spectacular movement of capital is similarly responsible for part of the residual items of foreign income. Even so, and considered in a later examination of Internal Revenue and National Product, the implications of a national reliance on this and other elements of income are manifestly significant.

439 If we turn to a consideration of the merchandise in trade, the instability of the situation becomes even more strikingly obvious. An analysis of trade of the Maltese Islands in 1953 (13), the year in which economic conditions for 1954 would be established, shows the following salient points. Britain and the Commonwealth supplied half of Malta's imports thus leaving some £10,000,000 of the remainder to be covered by British credit with other countries. Of the domestically originating exports of three-quarters of a million pounds, only £266,000 went to non-protected markets outside the Commonwealth. These and other details suggest that the Maltese Islands as a whole, not only the Garrison therein, represent a not inconsiderable drain on British reserves of foreign currency. This appears even more strongly from a consideration of the classes of imported merchandise. Imports of Food, Drink and Tobacco (F.D.T.), totalling £7,800,000 were of almost precisely the same value as imports of Manufactures. The Mediterranean Maltese islands naturally depend on imports for main supplies of dairy products. Almost all the £161,188 expended on butter went to the Commonwealth but nearly half of the value of cheese imports - £305,000 in all - came from Italy. Another £161,000 went on eggs, and £785,000 on processed milk. Alarmingly enough however even Mediterranean products were and still are imported in surprisingly large quantities. £130,000 on edible oils, and £353,000 on vegetables, one-third of the latter represented by tomato preparations, are such large sums as to need justification of local inability to produce these commodities. When one notes that, in a Class distinct from the F.D.T. group, a further £1,241,000 was expended on livestock fodder, then one begins to wonder whether agriculture is practised at all in the Islands. There seems no doubt that many of the fresh or processed food and fodder commodities now imported could properly be produced in Malta by better resource use. There remains one difficulty. It is probable that the Knights subsisted mainly on imported products of higher quality than those produced locally. Since 1800, and this is a sign of rising living standards, social emulation has been able to spread this effect through the greater part of the population. The trade figures for later years merely confirm what may be observed directly that most Maltese for one reason or another will deliberately choose foreign rather than domestic produce where possible. In 1956 this led to the consideration of quasi-sumptuary regulations; to us it is a factor in the social environment quite as important as many elements in the physical environment.

652 434 If we turn to a consideration of the Internal Revenue Account we see how deep-rooted and extensive are those characteristics of the economy already noted.

Thus of Government Revenue approximately one-third was derived directly from outside Malta (C) as a result of activities originating outside the control of the Maltese people. Of the remaining two-thirds (D), the largest part was *indirectly* also so obtained from activities dependent on expenditure by non-Maltese, in that it came from taxation of profits earned by mercantile services to the Garrison, taxation of wages, salaries and industrial profits earned by other services rendered to the Imperial power, and lastly from Customs levies on the goods paid for by external income. This revenue (D) was not in itself in any case large enough to cover ordinary expenditure (A) let alone supply capital for public investment.

434 471 Many other questions could be raised, e.g. is not the scale of Government expenditure on Administration rather large relative to total revenue?; but we must content ourselves with one last reflection. The paucity of material resources in the Islands is such that capital investment for raising production can only be applied to agriculture and to improving the productivity of labour in those industrial or commercial services called into being by the locational

POTATOES (*Patata*)

Potatoes have been for some years the most important commercial plants raised in Malta. First introduced in the early nineteenth century, the acreage used for spring potatoes is now greater than that for any other crop, and the value of potato exports has been exceeded only by that of scrap metal (during the abnormal post-war years of 1951 and 1952). Spring and winter crop acreages combined take up 15 to 20 per cent. of the cultivable land. 311* 244 [939]

The cultivation of potatoes varies with season and type of land available. The export crop is entirely raised from imported seed. This is planted in December or early January and the crop is ready for lifting from late March onwards, depending on weather conditions during the growing season. The seed, which accounts for most of the total potato imports, is necessary in order to ensure disease-free, good-yielding stock and its use is economic only as long as a high-price market for early potatoes can be found in Northern Europe. On dry soils which quickly warm up in the Spring and which give a fine yet loose tilth, and under climatic and soil conditions which on average are well-nigh optimum for tuber rather than leaf growth, yields are extremely good for the very short growing season. There are however certain hazards. Cool, wet winters delay sprouting and can both reduce and retard the harvest very severely, as in the seasons 1934-35 and 1950-51. Ground frosts in January may have similar effects as in 1936-37. Cool and humid weather during February and March encourages the appearance of blight and over-favours leaf growth - as, for example, in 1955. A more serious hazard is that of winter rainfall deficiency. As can be seen from the weather records (pp. 48 - 52 and Figs. 7, 19, 25), Malta rarely experiences 'average' weather and low winter precipitation can be expected at least once in every five years, e.g. 1957; rainfall: January 3.85 inches, February 0.25 inches, March 0.46 inches, April 0.41 inches. The thin, light soils, which otherwise are so suitable, are very quickly dried by strong winds and yields then decrease considerably. On non-irrigated land of medium quality, the yield is rarely more than fourfold and usually less. A reduction in yield of the order of 50 per cent. means considerable loss. For this reason, a very large amount of the best irrigated land is used for this crop in order to ensure good returns. Total yields are further depressed by the very short growing season, by local mineral deficiencies, by inadequate spraying treatment against fungus diseases, and by poor manuring. The general reliance on sulphate of ammonia is not only misplaced but may be positively dangerous.

The summer crop, unimportant in size and acreage, is obtained from the sowing of local seed in early summer and harvesting in September. This can only be done on irrigated or very fertile land and is entirely for the Maltese market. The winter crop, approximately half as important in bulk as that of the spring, is from local seed sown in early autumn and harvested in December and January. This supplies most of Maltese requirements. In these cases also, vagaries of weather result in great fluctuations in yield.

Potato cultivation on dry and irrigated land makes heavy demands on labour for sowing, tilling and lifting. Since climatic conditions on average give good sprouting ratios, the tubers are usually divided into thirds and quarters for reasons of economy. This economy becomes less marked when hand labour becomes as costly as at the present moment. The heavy water demands of the growing plant make continual hoeing essential, and, since the harvest is short and the crop value highest at the end of April, the demand for labour reaches a dangerously high peak at this time. Marketing of the export potato crop is equally hazardous. The high-priced earlies can only be sold in the relatively wealthy markets of Northern Europe. Freightage is costly, averaging £5 10s. 0d. a ton Marsa to Glasgow. [939]

Official policy is to encourage the replacement of varieties such as Arran Banner by earlier varieties - 'scrapers' - of wider market appeal. The economics of early potato growing are further complicated by the year-to-year fluctuations in acreage. These variations correspond to a year's time-lag in reaction to changes in market price. Thus, in 1957, a glut, which resulted from market rather than producing conditions, was followed by a surplus of seed and 311* 244 439

[Text continues on p. 211]

311* 244 [439]

a reduction in the acreage planted during the following winter. In spring 1958, the export market could have absorbed more than the total production. Official encouragement to re-expand cultivation followed. Moreover, the main importing countries are those in which regulations governing the health of imported crops are most severe, and in which competition is most keen. When to these factors one must add two more, viz. the very high water demands of the crop and its comparatively low bulk value and high freight costs; then a very considerable doubt arises concerning the rationality of this sector of agriculture. On unirrigated land, a potato crop leaves the soil deprived of most of its water. On irrigated land it competes with crops of higher bulk value some of which are already cultivated on a smaller scale, such as strawberries, globe and Jerusalem artichokes, asparagus, sub-tropical fruits, etc. Potatoes require no less labour, no less fertiliser, and are much less amenable to handling by fast land or air transport. The impression left by the crop survey is that Malta has almost somnambulistically developed this specialisation and that the ecological and economic implications have never been seriously examined.

Figs. 79 and 80 show the extent of land under potatoes during March and April. In Malta, the main concentrations are to be found in three different types of region. First, cultivation is widespread on the Globigerina lands. Most intense around the 'casals' and villages of the east and south, it seems more to be associated with human rather than with physical factors (see Chapter VIII). A marked thinning out is noticeable on the higher central slopes rising westward to the Coralline uplands. Secondly, there exist the very important concentrations in the major irrigated basins of the west and north such as Wied tal-Pwales, the Mellieha isthmus and the Marfa oases. Lastly, potato cultivation is of considerable extent on the smaller and more dispersed irrigated plots of the Upper Coralline plateaux, e.g. Hofret ir-Rizz. In the predominantly dry-farmed upland basins of Bingemma and Miżieb, the acreage is relatively small.

Early potato cultivation in Gozo is of much less importance, the island being one further step removed from the export market. Concentration is significantly greatest within easy reach of the settlements. In addition, potato growing is of importance in the tree-fruit and vegetable zones of the north-east. The crop is almost entirely absent from the more remote areas.

TREE CROPS

311* 245

In the Maltese Islands are to be found a great variety of tree-crops of all kinds on irrigated and non-irrigated land. This variety, exemplified in one field in the Wied Qlejgha which carries apples, peaches, loquats, pomegranates, citrus fruit and vines, is in some ways detrimental to cultivation standards. Only a very few regions are completely devoid of tree-crops. Thermal conditions make possible the growth of a crop range extending from the temperate pome fruits to sub-tropical and tropical types such as the date and banana (albeit with poor results in the latter cases). Low water availability in the soil is the main restrictive factor. Irrigation generally doubles the yields of fruit crops and is essential for citrus cultivation. It is, however, certain that yields could be considerably increased, even on unirrigated land, by improvement of stock quality, by reducing disease and pest infestation and by less intercultivation. One of the main problems in Malta and Gozo is that, as elsewhere in the world, farmers with a strong subsistence-farming streak in their makeup are apt to prefer the security of inter-cultivated poor crops to hazardous but rewarding specialisation.

[[32]

One non-human factor which makes the arboriculturist's task more difficult is the wind-humidity complex. As noted in Chapter II, the effects of high wind velocity on transpiration and in producing physiological drought are considerable. High humidity, even in summer, produces special problems of plant pathology. Successful competition with more sophisticated producers possessing greater natural advantages seems unlikely.

VINES

Viticulture, has suffered many vicissitudes. Needing irrigation water only 311* for the raising of scions, the vine would seem a crop plant eminently suitable 245 for all but the thinnest dry calcareous soils. No satisfactory reason has yet been adduced for the present absence of 'expertise' in this field, and this unsatisfactory 102 state of affairs is a Mediterranean anachronism. Since Giacinto (3) wondered at Maltese oenological ignorance various improvements have taken place. Stock is American in origin imported during the Phylloxera epidemic in Europe. Scions are officially imported for grafting and are mainly from France. On the whole, [935] too little specialisation is found, grapes being grown both for table use, fetching prices about £4 per qantar (175 lb. ave.), and for pressing - controlled prices 46s. to 48s. per qantar depending on quality. Commercial success in any other than the home market will depend entirely on whether the viticulturalist can now be weaned from quantity production to quality production. Products at present, while being remarkably good value, are not suitable for profitable export.

In Malta (Fig. 81), there is a striking concentration of viticulture in the western half of the island. In contrast to general Mediterranean practice, vines occupy much of the best watered heavy land of the Blue Clay slopes. Secondly, vines are of importance in the larger depressions with plentiful sub-soil water, for example the Wied il-Għasel, the Binġemma Basin, and Miżieb. Those cultivated areas of the north and west which rely on pump irrigation - such as the Wied tal-Pwales, and the Rabat-Dingli upland pockets - have little land under vines. Over the remainder of the island, vines are mainly represented by wall- and house-side plants which, mainly for domestic use, are becoming of less importance as field cultivation is extended. This extension of acreage is taking place almost entirely in the traditional regions of the west.

As shown in Fig. 82, viticulture in Gozo, occurs in a great variety of conditions and there is a much greater extent of inter-cultivation with other tree-crops. Such inter-cultivation is particularly found in the *gnien* zones - the spring line belts lying below the Upper Coralline mesa cappings - as around Żebbuġ and Nadur. North of Nadur, it extends into the Wieds San Blas and Daħlet Qorrot. Except in the remote western lands and on the thin soils of the southern hills, vines are found everywhere; in the central mixed-soil lowlands, in the open northern valleys and on the eastern coastal slopes. This reflects the traditional self-sufficiency of the Gozitan farm economy, a point also brought out by the large number of vineries (see p. 213). The vine is also inter-cultivated with sulla which, undersown annually, is a useful soil-renewing and cleaning crop.

OLIVES

Inset maps, Figs. 81 and 82. Malta must be the only Mediterranean land where the tradition of olive cultivation has almost disappeared. Vegetable oil [939] consumption is high and has to be supplied by imports costing on average nearly £300,000 per annum. Olive cultivation has been more extensive in the past as attested by place names such as Żebbuġ - the place of the olive, and Żejtun - olive tree, and is still perfectly feasible over a great deal of under-utilised land. Various reasons for this strange situation have been mooted, ranging from the completely invalid belief that the olive cannot stand sea-air to the inadequate charge that tenurial security is insufficiently great. The matter is still a mystery.

Recent extensions of planting, particularly at Salinas and on Bajda Ridge, [654] have been Government-sponsored, and the latter case is basically a scheme for the afforestation of a water catchment and percolation area.

CITRUS FRUITS

Because of their large water requirements, oranges and lemons are of orchard importance only along the Upper Coralline - Blue Clay springlines in Western Malta and Eastern Gozo. Scattered trees and very small plots are found in many districts, often in the most unlikely places. The Seville orange, once of considerable importance, is now rarely found and most of the old trees have

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 217]

231 proved its superior adaptability. An interesting point is that, before 1914, Serbia
and Croatia exported to Malta large numbers of pigs for fattening, while Yugo-
232 slavia is today importing Large Whites as breeders from this country. It is now
[1939] illegal to use other than pedigree boars for breeding, and the success of the
Agricultural Department and the relative enthusiasm of the Maltese farmer in
raising pig production standards have made Malta self-sufficient in this respect
at least. Local grain and imported beans form the basis of feeding stuffs given
by the best farmers. Animal slaughterings now average about 30,000 head per
annum.

23 Of the total cattle population of some 6,000 in Malta and 3,000 in Gozo, nearly
30 per cent. are milch cows. This proportion has increased steadily since the
first introduction of milch cows in the early years of British occupation. Before
1800, the indigenous Maltese breed, raised as general purpose stock in normal
[177] peasant tradition, alone was of importance. During the nineteenth century,
specialised breeds were slowly introduced, a process which culminated in trials
with Swiss Brown, Polish and Jersey cattle during the 1920's and '30's. By 1939,
the cattle were mainly of mixed blood with the older strains predominating, and
those still found are rapidly being displaced because of their low milk yields
of some 1 to 1¼ gallons a day. The only surviving registered Maltese bull is to
be seen on a farm at Bingemma Gap. In the post-war period, imported Ayrshires,
British Friesians and Durham Shorthorns have proved very successful and
popular. The Friesian strains in particular are very effective for crossing,
important in that most country herds are still of mixed blood. A typical compo-
sition was noted in a stockyard on Delimara Peninsula - 13 milk cows and three
heifers consisting of pure polled Maltese, Friesians, Friesian/Maltese crosses,
Ayrshire/Maltese crosses, together with seven Friesian and crossed Friesian
[1939] calves. Store cattle, of which over 3,000 are annually imported for fattening,
are of various breeds, and come in the main from within the Mediterranean
region.

231 This cattle population, which supplies half of the total production of milk in
234 Malta, and approximately two-thirds in Gozo, as well as over 75 per cent. of
the beef consumed, is a very special element in Maltese agriculture. The
imported store cattle have but to be fattened for slaughtering. Trustworthy
statistics are lacking, but it would seem that over one-half of the imported
fodder is consumed for this purpose.

The milch cows are given a maintenance ration of sulla and other leguminous fodders, and a production ration of imported beans, grains and cake. Carob beans and chopped prickly pear are sometimes used, and *oxalis cernua* may also be fed in moderation.

This large demand for fodders has so far been met by maintaining at high
231 level the production of leguminous and grain crops. Only in recent years has it
234 become economic to add high protein feeds. For social and health reasons the
human consumption of high protein foods, milk in particular, has been
246 encouraged. It has therefore often been suggested that further concentration on
production of forage crops is necessary.

It is probable that such a policy would be both uneconomic and impracticable. In the first place, as long as it requires an average of 6 lb. weight of fodder protein to produce 1 lb. weight of animal food protein, then any country with restricted land resources has to look twice at the wastage involved. Such a country, having to import either animal products or vegetable products, or even both as in the case of Malta, has little to gain by specialising in a production technique in which over three-quarters of the crops grown and imported for feed merely go to maintaining livestock in existence. Thirdly, since that land now grazed by sheep and goats is virtually unusable in any other way, they cannot be simply replaced by cattle. More cattle would mean less arable farming of food crops and this would entail either the loss of potential vegetable exports from irrigated land or, more feasibly, the improvement of arable dry-farmed crops, e.g. sorghums in place of barley.

The impracticability of a policy designed vastly to increase forage production may be proved as follows. The growing of perennial fodder crops is out of the

242 has pointed out (7), any further advance through the introduction of exotic and specially bred more productive varieties needs careful examination in that since 'nearly all citrus ... is budded on sour orange stock ... there is a great danger of the total loss of all trees should the *tristeza* virus be introduced'. The expertise needed in this type of development is not present in traditional husbandry.

Apart from the ecological and technical problems, lie the economic and social questions. The Maltese farmer is prepared to take experimental risks only so far as he can understand their consequences. Potato cultivation, only developed on a large scale during the last century, is now a very important commercial element on most farms. Having attained a reasonable level of success with Arran Banner as a quasi-early potato, even the most enterprising cultivators are reluctant to extend further hostages to fortune by trying new varieties. The efforts of the Agricultural Advisory Service in the crop selection field (8) are meeting with some deserved success but the nature of indigenous conservatism needs to be realised. Many Maltese farmers achieve reasonable results by the proper use of traditional crops and techniques. In those regions of the world where the level of productivity is much and unreasonably lower, for example in the mountains of Tuscany, or the paddyfields of Vietnam, rapid improvements can be relatively easily demonstrated. When, as often in Malta, second stage development challenges a traditional husbandry which is giving not unprofitable results, then resistance to change is much stronger. From one of the case-studies the common type of social resistance may be thus illustrated. On an irrigated holding carrots proved a profitable cash crop. The farmer was told by a returned emigrant that paraffin spray was very suitable as a weed killer. He chose a small patch, in his own words, 'where no-one could see what I was doing and laugh' and tried the new treatment. Eventually convinced of its efficacy, this farmer was able to observe the slow visual impression made on his neighbours.

Fear of failure in neighbours' eyes has to be put alongside a strangely humble pride which will cause a group of farmers to listen with genuine respect to the suggestions of an expert, to raise no queries, but also to take no action since, although the adviser must be right in general, his knowledge cannot on *a priori* grounds be applicable to anywhere in particular. Thus another farmer, rather than confess to an outbreak of true blight in a field-trial plot of a new potato variety, dug up the crop, sold it and reported total failure.

242
439 Illuminating also is the attitude to fertilisers and chemical aids to husbandry. All artificials are at present imported and used in conjunction with animal manure and town refuse. In 1954, before the main programme of agricultural research and extension, the relative importance of imported fertilisers was as follows:-

IMPORTS OF FERTILISERS 1954

	Volume	Value
Sulphate of Ammonia	1,834,000 Kg.	£40,983
Sodium Nitrate	150,000 Kg.	3,550
Phosphatic fertilisers	2,032 Kg.	43
Potassic fertilisers	2,000 Kg.	51
Other chemical fertilisers	100 Kg.	6
Organic manures	382 Kg.	101
(Copper Sulphate-Bordeaux mixture	-	6,038)

242 The overwhelming reliance on nitrogenous fertilisers is a result not of their proven efficiency but of an incorrect reaction, by cultivators possessing practically no scientific understanding of the processes involved, to new ideas of soil feeding. It seems probable for instance, that most Maltese soils have a low potassic content. Nitrogenous fertilisers cannot give their best results under these conditions and their over-use may result in further impoverishment of

was that gross financial loss totalled £124,000 representing an equivalent 234
subsidy to consumers of M.M.U. products, while, if profits on imports were
subtracted the figure would rise to over £200,000. The commercial aspect of 435
milk marketing is thus completely artificial and dominated by welfare policies.
Price policy, even so, has not been powerful enough to even out the immense 441
seasonal fluctuation in production of goats' milk, roughly half the total, and the
smaller but still considerable fluctuation of cows' milk.

Meat production is rather more crude. The Government abattoir slaughters 253
all the horned cattle, most of the swine and a considerable proportion of sheep
and goats. The commercial transaction between producer and butcher is usually 231
direct. Here once more the small scale and the unspecialised nature of meat
production controls all else. The 1956 Census of Agriculture recorded only nine 441
specialist cattle breeders and 94 breeders of swine as compared with over 700 engaged in sheep and goat breeding (in roughly equal numbers). Licensed importers bring in the store cattle which are then usually sold to non-specialist farmers. Feeding standards are as low as with milch cows. There is little incentive to improvement because of the low standard set by the widespread practice of milk producers selling old and diseased stock for butchering. Pig meat and store-bull meat do command a premium but, while some 15,320 horned cattle were slaughtered in 1957-58, the average import rate of stores is only some 3,000. In the same year, 5,000 sheep (of the indigenous poor breeds) and 8,400 goats (mainly those useless for milk production) as well as 7,800 lambs and kids, were slaughtered. The commercial side of meat and, for that matter, hides and skin production, like that of milk, can only be improved as and when the arable sector of agriculture is further developed.

Lastly, we must refer to exports. For some years, the most important 241
exported agricultural product has been the spring crop of potatoes. Some general
points concerning the production and sale of potatoes have already been made 439
(Chapter VII, pp. 205-206), but one or two points need expansion here. The
main market for pseudo-early potatoes grown in the Mediterranean (harvested 441
in April and May), lies in North-West Europe. During the earlier part of this century, Holland, Belgium and Germany were the most important buyers but, of recent years, the Arran Banner variety, which yields well as a pseudo-early in Malta, has only found favour in Glasgow. By 1955 this dependence on a single main market was appearing dangerous and since that time, as noted by Haesler in 1957 (8), more heed has been taken of consumer demand for other earlier varieties, yellow rather than white fleshed, such as the Eigenhemer. On the marketing side, some important problems remain. The virtual absence of good civilian port facilities and the dependence on lighterage puts up freight costs and discourages shippers. The middlemen and wholesale handling of produce for export is not above reproach while the only worthwhile markets expect good and consistent quality of graded merchandise. Here the deficiencies of even the most commercially sophisticated part of the community can partly negate improved efforts on the part of the producer. Standards set by the home market tend to affect the services rendered to foreign markets and before the latter can be expanded, the former will have to be improved. There is one sector in
which a separate break-through has begun. Air freightage of high value for bulk
merchandise (which does not include potatoes) can make distant markets [509]
accessible to medium-scale individual producers. Thus flowers, plants and seeds are to some small extent being traded by a few growers sufficiently skilled to bypass the mercantile system. This cannot be done by all but it might encourage emulation.

The whole of the marketing organisation is of course organically associated 241
with production and the commercial aspects of production need consideration.

One of the first points that strikes an observer in the Islands is that the 439
production of the different commodities is altogether too concentrated in time.
In the case of milk, a traditional organic cycle imposed by crude goat husbandry 435
imposes great financial strains on the centralised agencies. With crops it would [234]
seem that traditional fear of risk-taking, rational enough in a peasant economy
but antithetical to the whole nature of commercialism, is now hampering

by the officials of the governing body, or *Università*. This body, 175
which met in Mdina, the old capital of the island, was composed 642
of representatives of the nobles, learned men, secular priests, 646
merchants and artisans elected by all the family heads in the towns
and villages of Malta and Gozo. The Knights of St. John, how- [439]
ever, severely limited the authority of the Università, and during their final years it was little more than a public corporation responsible for the importation of scarce foodstuffs.

The Order made itself responsible for local government. It con- 175
trolled and financed the local militia, police, courts, water supply, 642
public works, hospitals and charities. The government of the 701
Order was highly centralized, and all key posts were held by
Knights, though many of the lesser administrative offices were
given to Maltese nobles, lawyers and clerks. The authority of the [625]
Order was made effective in the rural areas through the police and the ten Captains who were in charge of military garrisons and arsenals, located at strategic points for internal security and defence against war parties and corsairs, and were also responsible for mobilizing the militia. This paternalistic system of administration came to an abrupt end when Napoleon drove the Knights from the islands. Their departure marked the end of an era.

Napoleon remained in Malta only eight days, but they were 175
busy days. According to Laferla, 'it is certain that no one in the 177
space of a few days attempted more, did more and upset the 648
Maltese more than he did.'[1] He set up a nominated council of Maltese to see to civil administration, remodelled the tribunals along French lines and established twelve municipal councils. He abolished the nobility. He closed the University, established a central technical college and founded fifteen government elementary schools. He also sent sixty sons of wealthy families off to study at republican colleges in Paris at their parents' expense.

'All this and probably much more would the Maltese have patiently tolerated,' says Laferla, 'had Napoleon not interfered with religion.'[2] For he set out to curtail the influence of the Church. He limited the jurisdiction of the Bishop to purely ecclesiastical affairs, ordered the expulsion from the islands of all non-Maltese clergy and reduced the number of clerics. He also instituted civil marriage, gave protection to the Jews and forbade

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[1] A. V. Laferla, *The Story of Man in Malta* (3rd ed.; Malta, A. C. Aquilina and Co., 1958), p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catho-
lic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedi-
787 cated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
795 elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentle-
621 men'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
● 439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
464 programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to dis-
seminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178 Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
875] 880 in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural

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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*.
He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no pathology
they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 532
'legs were offered for paralysis, congenital anomalies and chronic ulcers in the lower 755
limbs; 'arms' and 'hands' for fractures and threatened loss of fingers by injury or gangrene;
'ears' for deafness and otitis; and 'eyes' for a variety of ocular diseases. Sometimes,
however, the association of illness and anatomical part is not so specific; thus
'trunks' were offered for such varied conditions as throat affections, hernias, and mental
disorder; 'faces' for enlarged glands in the neck; and pairs of female 'breasts' for deficiency
of milk in a lactating mother as well as disease of these organs.

They were made of wax or of raised work in gold and silver foil. Those met with at 782
present are the silver ones, the others having disappeared from the churches though
they were still being offered at the end of the last century if not later. There are records 532
of wax effigies of arms, legs, eyes, and babies and also of gold ones having been deposited [325]
at that period at Ta Pinu Church at Gharb in Gozo. A pair of gold legs cost £17
(*Id-devot ta Maria* 1890; Kerr 1893). Wax figures also existed until some thirty years ago
in the small church of Tal Mirakli at Lija (Tanti 1962). These objects were manufac- [439]
tured in Malta but some of them were imported from Sicily and North Africa. The gold
and silver foil was hammered into the desired shape over dies of bronze by a silversmith [325]
(Plate 1; Fig. 3). They vary in size from 6 by 2½ inches to 1 by 3½ inches. Some of them
bear hall-marks which help to date them and identify the source of manufacture. The
earliest met so far by the writer is a stylized silver model (in the writer's collection) of a pair [422]
of female breasts impressed with the hall-marks of the Grand Master of the Order of St.
John of Jerusalem, Em. de Rohan who ruled over the Maltese Islands from 1775 to 1797.

The deposition of anatomical 'ex-votos' in Maltese churches ceased in 1935. The
ecclesiastical council held in that year in Malta under the presidency of Cardinal H. 782
Lepicier disallowed the exhibition of 'votive offerings showing parts of the human body 532
except those in the shape of a heart', (*Concilium*, 1935, p. 60), so that the present-day 795
visitor will hardly see anything else except 'hearts' hanging by the statues of the saints to
whom they were offered by grateful devotees. The more 'profane' models have been
melted and converted into sacred utensils for the church service.

Very occasionally instead of an anatomical representation, we come across a silver 211
tablet commemorating deliverance from illness. Here is a specimen inscribed in Latin: 164

P. Trapani cum suis / A. MDCCCLXXXVII / Ab Asiana Lue /
Incolumos (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1888).

that is P. Trapani and his family spared from the Asiatic Disease of the year 1887.

(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the [731]
last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of [165]
over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and 782
by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These
actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from 755
the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in
which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

TABLE 3

234
654

Year	Purchased by M.M.U.		Surplus		Percentage cows' milk
1943-44	510,000	gallons			27
1948-49	776,000	"			
1950-51	1,298,000	"			35 (1951)
1952-53	1,795,000	"	99,000	gallons	44 (1951)
1954-55	2,390,000	"	275,000	"	48 (1955)
1956-57	3,562,000	"	391,000	"	57 (1956)

234 654 178 A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII (Section 6) shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production. [434] Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions (Section 2) but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

185 829 439 Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in time as far as the management of his farm is concerned so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this Section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricacies of the export market for Maltese agricultural
439 produce[42]. The fact that Maltese produce for export

439 suffers by being inadequately graded and packed does not concern him although the specialist working in Malta on marketing problems has stressed this as a primary weakness up to now (B/253). The farmer is further reluctant to [178] change to the production of certain 'early' varieties of potato which would sell much more profitably on the overseas market than does the Arran Banner which has been the predominant variety in the Islands for several decades.

178 244 The argument returns, in fact, to the thesis put forward in a number of contexts in this report that the farmer is still thinking very much as a peasant subsistence producer although to outward appearances he has now become a fully commercial, cash-cropping farmer. This outlook, the product of illiteracy and confined experience, will have to be appreciated by those concerned with any kind of improvement and development in the Maltese agriculture. It is the younger, literate generation of the farming community who would be capable of education in these terms - if they stay in agriculture to be educated.

654 426 In the long run it would appear that the most satisfactory kind of financial help to farming is the loan at very low interest rate (Section 2). The basis of this was the Agriculture and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, No.11 of 1956, which authorized the loans for approved capital improvement projects at only 1% interest per annum. A major result of the loan system was that it made the farmer independent of money-lenders and money-lending middlemen. Previously many farmers had suffered near financial strangulation in the grip of these indivuals, particularly where they were operating under perpetual debt (v. Cases V and IX). A second great advantage of the loan is that the farmer is able to improve his farm and farming and at the same time preserve that independence of operation so dear to him. Many of the subsidies on seeds, rations, etc. have forced him to use his money in a certain way. He much prefers if possible to have the money and spend it as he chooses on machinery, livestock and fodder, buildings, cisterns, irrigation equipment, land reclamation, and repayment of previous debts, etc.

654 426 454 One disturbing feature of the loans is, however, that they are putting a lot of money into the hands of the farmer without necessarily ensuring that it is spent to the best advantage of agriculture or to the farmer himself in a long term view. For example much of the money loaned has been put towards the purchase of livestock and accommodation for animals in order to increase milk production, while the present regime of guaranteed milk price remains. To this extent the loans have helped the

6; Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

APPENDIX 1 C : Some Trade Statistics, 1957.

439

(i) **Principal Trading Partners**, 1957 (B/181-1957)

COUNTRY	IMPORTS^a. into Malta £	EXPORTS from Malta £	RE-EXPORTS from Malta £
United Kingdom	11,237,471	283,142	240,749
Canada	1,189,815	7,525	6
Australia	488,947	12,045	2,047
H.M.Ships & British merchants ships and aircraft	77,250	8,988	1,759,118
Rest of Commonwealth and Eire	641,083	43,710	23,391
Italy	3,334,315	254,164	181,519
Netherlands and Antilles	1,887,855	25,765	438
France	1,298,872	18,915	3,657
West Germany	1,099,727	19,089	9,368
United States	876,754	508	4,426
Denmark	641,390	3,938	1,317
Yugoslavia	607,583	9	100
Lebanon	598,647	2,009	3,079
Libya	418,087	193,436	158,382
other foreign countries except Eire	2,631,500	14,314	94,254
	£27,009,056	£887,535	£2,459,849

(ii) **Commodities**, 1957 (B/181-1957)

Article (£)	IMPORTS^a. into Malta	EXPORTS from Malta	RE-EXPORTS from Malta
Food, drink & tobacco	8,990,319	222,385	438,359
Raw material & articles mainly unmanufactured	3,576,170	494,503	1,507,631
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	11,836,029	165,054	176,261
Misc. & unclassified	2,606,538	5,593	337,598
	£27,009,056	£887,535	£2,459,849

a. excluding Gold.

(iii) **Customs Revenue on Imports**, 1957 (B/181-1957)

£ 3,846,620

(iv) **Trade in selected items of 'Food and Drink'**, 1957 (B/181-1957)

Article (£)	IMPORTED into Malta	EXPORTED from Malta	RE-EXPORTED from Malta
Meat - uncanned	303,991	-	8,672
Meat - canned	903,255	6	14,153
Milk - evaporated, dried, condensed	768,909	-	1,478
Butter	129,970	-	810
Cheese & Curd	400,557	-	378
Eggs	193,424	-	-
Fish & Preparations	171,333	97	1,578
Wheat - unmilled	1,391,807	-	-
Barley - unmilled	78,877	-	-
Fruit & Nuts - fresh	421,883	-	63
Fruit - fried & preserved	206,828	25,334	8,185
Potatoes - table	1,083	104,961	-
Potatoes - seed	87,742	-	-
Other vegetables	832,739	15,078	-
Animal feed	488,181	-	-
Alcoholic Beverages	373,036	28,810	80,380

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

114 Classical authors as well as travellers of the Renaissance
and later ages have praised Malta's fertility, the quality of its
137 corn, its fruit, its linen and its cotton,[1] the sweet scent of its
roses,[2] the delicate aroma of the wild thyme that flavours its
honey. Cicero, in fact, called Malta a land of honey and
roses, and it was being described in similar terms nearly two
thousand years later. "The fruits are of exquisite flavour,"
wrote Dr Meryon, Lady Hester Stanhope's sorely tried
physician, companion and biographer. "Flowers are very
fine, and I could not help fancying the roses more fragrant
than in my own country. Malta honey is highly esteemed."
[186] Elsewhere the Doctor remarks that "no people are more
attached to their country than the Maltese to their barren
rock"; and it is natural enough that the Maltese of to-day
should like to refer to their island as "the flower of the
world."

This phrase, if held to refer solely to scenery and vegetation, might appear to some to verge on the excessive. If it be taken to apply to the many-sidelines of Malta's interest and amenities it does not lack justification.

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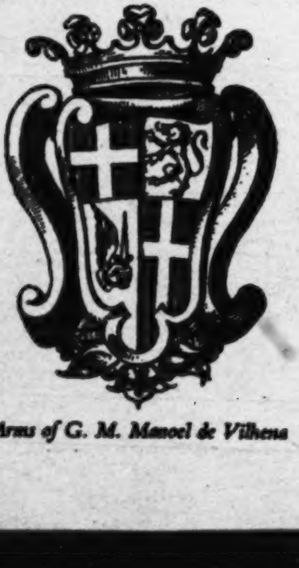
[439] [1] During the era of sailing-ships Malta, and especially the casal of Zebbug, produced a heavy cotton sail-cloth which earned a wide reputation and was exported all over Europe.

[103] [2] The name Attard, the charming old casal half-way between Hamrum and Mdina, means "the village of roses."

186



Arms of G. M. Manoel de Vilhena

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

795 by one, as the names of their parishes are called out, advance
659 to the Governor's throne and present to him a large and heavy wax candle, generally embellished with painted
796 decorations.

This Candlemas ceremony has been maintained uninterruptedly from the days when the State was the Order of S. John; and the Governor takes this occasion, as did his predecessors the Grand Masters, to address the assembly on the problems of the day, with particular emphasis on the manner in which Church and State can best co-operate for the benefit of the people. It gives the Governor of Malta the same sort of opportunity, *mutatis mutandis*, to make public pronouncements on matters of policy as the British Prime Minister is given at the Lord Mayor's Banquet. A collation brings this happy and useful function to a close.

Here it may be added that the Governor retains, as the successor of the Grand Masters, certain ecclesiastical patronage, such as the nomination to the post of Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Malta and the right of presentation to various benefices. A survival of another sort from the days of the Knights is the religious corporation known as the Collegiate Church of S. Paul's Grotto at Rabat, whose Canons still wear at their ceremonies the habit, *stolone* and cross of the Order.

The principal industry of the Maltese islands is agriculture,
241 and the Maltese, despite the stony nature of their land, are
433 skilful and industrious farmers with a wonderful knack of extracting the utmost from the soil, despite methods necessarily somewhat primitive since their fields are too small for modern agricultural machinery. Maltese potatoes and Maltese oranges have a high reputation. Vegetables are good, especially tomatoes; wheat does well where there
[439] is room to grow it. But the islands can produce only a fraction of their annual consumption of cereals, and much
251 has therefore to be imported from outside. Among the most
178 familiar features surviving from the era of the Knights are

000 matter. [P. 65]

494 While the farmer does not favour the co-operative
442 movement at present he is generally dissatisfied also with
829 the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits
178 being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

208 The Government plan to centralize marketing on the
654 one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the
selling of produce on the other will not succeed without
474 a great deal of patient education of the farmer supple-
44 mented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and Co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

464 In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of
184 the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University
team stressed the crucial position of the younger gener-
178 ation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

D. Economic and Commercial Characteristics

In 1956, Surridge (1) in a note on Co-operatives in Malta, endorsed the F.A.O. statement (2) that 'real progress in the co-operative field will be impossible so long as the essential connection between credit facilities and marketing remains unrecognised'. 241 433

Subsistence farming is not now practised in the Maltese Islands and all farmers are to a large extent controlled in their productive use of land by commercial markets. The application of capital and techniques to the land is much more than the simple provision of cheap credit.

Environmental conditions necessitate the continued and intensive use of hand labour in order to maintain in existence the artificially made fields and in order to utilise the maximum area of land. Therefore large-scale capital application is restricted to provision of better water supplies and similar public works projects. What is needed is the small scale use of capital in crops and livestock experimentation and for backing efforts in the export markets. Capital provision for land purchase should not be made until cultivators are less likely to indulge in speculative 'landgrabbing' which would result in greater problems of fragmentation, etc.

The amount of hidden capital in the countryside must be very considerable. Estimates that 80 per cent. of Malta's National Income is derived directly and indirectly from the Defence Departments cannot take into account all the gross real income in kind of the countryside - real income which never appears long enough to be measured. Present expenditure on improved equipment and better breeds of plant and livestock as well as spectacular efforts such as the building of Mosta Church go to show that, given incentive and faith in the future, the rural communities can and will deploy some considerable hidden reserves. Before any such capital will be applied, some compulsive force must operate on the farmers. [454] [434]

For centuries past, production has been largely for subsistence except for cotton and cumin seed, both exported to other Mediterranean countries. From the sixteenth century onward, urbanisation slowly created a significantly sized indigenous market and, with the disappearance of the trade in cotton during the nineteenth century, the home market became completely dominant. Some 70 years ago, potatoes became profitably exportable, while at the same time rapid urbanisation increased the size and wealth of the home market. As already noted, the domestic market for milk is of very recent origin, while export possibilities for crops other than potatoes are now slowly being realised.

Until World War II, marketing of produce was organised almost entirely by licensed but uncontrolled middlemen - the *pitkali* - who collected or accepted small lots, offered them for sale to wholesalers or retailers, and then paid the farmers the negotiated price less commission. (The details of organisation are well described in the 1911-12 Royal Commission Report (3).) During World War II, "the evolution of Internal Marketing made a great stride forward during the exigency . . . (4)'. This statement really means that controls were imposed on prices and marketing, controls which have basically survived to the present day. As the economics of production have become more confused with welfare policies, so the complexity of the situation has increased. All that we can do here is to sketch and illustrate the nature of this complexity. 241 441 435

The first factor to be reckoned with is that cultivators in no case know their costs of production. They have some general idea of whether a proposed price is unprofitable or not but this is not necessarily trustworthy. Secondly, while the fodder crops are not very perishable, the vegetable and fruit products which find their way out of the rural economy into Maltese markets are extremely so. While the market for such produce in Malta is not a very selective one, this on the whole has the effect of encouraging the sending to market of produce which is very liable to deterioration. In the markets, therefore, any produce surplus to clear requirements is virtually valueless. One complaint concerning the

241 441 435 *pilkali* system is that the middlemen charged commission for negotiating sales but took no stock risks. Thus, when wholesalers and retailers had satisfied their requirements, playing for safety themselves, the *pilkali* merely informed [illegible] unfortunate producers that their product could not be sold. The prices attained for that which could be sold varied with the skill of the *pilkali*. Since many Maltese farmers need forward credit for various purposes, it was perfectly natural that the *pilkal* became not only a middleman but a supplier of credit and therefore to some extent a controller of production. The whole of this system resulted from two simple facts. First, the quantities of individual items that most farmers could daily offer for sale were so small as to make some concentrating agency a logical development. Secondly, the social legacy of dichotomy between town and country meant that the farmer was most often incapable of dealing directly with his market. Questions of literacy, language and social status still often put the farmer in a position of inferiority. The *pilkali* bridged that gap. In so doing they have sometimes exploited the farmers' ignorance. Many and vivid are the stories heard of their dishonesty; one such, told by several farmers, concerned the spring export crop of potatoes in 1955. They had been told by middlemen that the U.K. market had been depressed by competition from France and Spain and that therefore the prices offered would have to be low. In fact, shippers declared that the poor quality of the 1954 crops had discouraged some buyers but that the f.o.b. prices were still very much higher than reported by the middlemen. Most *pilkali* are no doubt honest but many farmers bypass them where possible and most others have suspicions - mostly born of their own ignorance.

During World War II, control of all agricultural produce had to be established and, since this time, the financial side of such transactions has been controlled by Government clerks at established *pilkali* markets although the middlemen still handle the actual sales. The intrusion of Governmental financial control has not removed suspicion although it has removed part of the cause of it at the cost of a higher commission charged to the producer. The annual cost of this protection and the controls mentioned below to individual farmers and to small co-operatives is almost £23,000 (5).

Another development has further confused the situation. Stemming from wartime controls, policies aimed at controlling prices for the benefit of the consumer have replaced the old attitude of *caveat emptor*. Various methods have been adopted but they are all based on regulating maximum retail prices, directly and by fixing maximum profit margins and percentages of profit. As noted by many observers, and effectively by an Adviser on Marketing (6), such controls cannot be strictly enforced and it is impossible to make them sufficiently flexible to encourage the production virtues of improved quality and evenness of supply in time. It must suffice here to say that the marketing side of commercial agriculture is not in a satisfactory state, being as it is costly, wasteful and very beneficial neither to consumer nor to producer judging by a great number of local statements.

234 435 441 [467] The local market for livestock products is very different. All milk (7) legally sold is bought by the Milk Marketing Undertaking which in practice accepts any quantity of milk delivered to the collecting depots dispersed through the Islands. There is a tendency to restrict goats' milk acceptances during the summer period of glut by relating summer and winter ratios. Many producers still have written contracts but more important than individual arrangements is the negotiating power of the K.M.H. (the union of milk producers already cited) which incorporates about half of the 600 or so registered producers in the island of Malta. The fixed and scheduled prices paid to producers bear no real relation to production costs since these are not known but rather result from M.M.U.-K.M.H. negotiations and political and welfare decisions by the Government. The M.M.U. takes full risk over wastage and excess production of liquid milk and processed milk products, but is partly able to offset losses by trading profits on imports of dried, evaporated and condensed milk which sales it handles. The M.M.U. now distributes all legally sold liquid milk, as well as its own milk products, and retail prices are fixed by announcement. In 1955-56 the result

234 435 441 was that gross financial loss totalled £124,000 representing an equivalent subsidy to consumers of M.M.U. products, while, if profits on imports were subtracted the figure would rise to over £200,000. The commercial aspect of milk marketing is thus completely artificial and dominated by welfare policies. Price policy, even so, has not been powerful enough to even out the immense seasonal fluctuation in production of goats' milk, roughly half the total, and the smaller but still considerable fluctuation of cows' milk.

253 231 441 Meat production is rather more crude. The Government abattoir slaughters all the horned cattle, most of the swine and a considerable proportion of sheep and goats. The commercial transaction between producer and butcher is usually direct. Here once more the small scale and the unspecialised nature of meat production controls all else. The 1956 Census of Agriculture recorded only nine specialist cattle breeders and 94 breeders of swine as compared with over 700 engaged in sheep and goat breeding (in roughly equal numbers). Licensed importers bring in the store cattle which are then usually sold to non-specialist farmers. Feeding standards are as low as with milch cows. There is little incentive to improvement because of the low standard set by the widespread practice of milk producers selling old and diseased stock for butchering. Pig meat and store-bull meat do command a premium but, while some 15,320 horned cattle were slaughtered in 1957-58, the average import rate of stores is only some 3,000. In the same year, 5,000 sheep (of the indigenous poor breeds) and 8,400 goats (mainly those useless for milk production) as well as 7,800 lambs and kids, were slaughtered. The commercial side of meat and, for that matter, hides and skin production, like that of milk, can only be improved as and when the arable sector of agriculture is further developed.

241 439 441 Lastly, we must refer to exports. For some years, the most important exported agricultural product has been the spring crop of potatoes. Some general points concerning the production and sale of potatoes have already been made (Chapter VII, pp. 205-206), but one or two points need expansion here. The main market for pseudo-early potatoes grown in the Mediterranean (harvested in April and May), lies in North-West Europe. During the earlier part of this century, Holland, Belgium and Germany were the most important buyers but, of recent years, the Arran Banner variety, which yields well as a pseudo-early in Malta, has only found favour in Glasgow. By 1955 this dependence on a single main market was appearing dangerous and since that time, as noted by Haesler in 1957 (8), more heed has been taken of consumer demand for other earlier varieties, yellow rather than white fleshed, such as the Eigenhemer. On the marketing side, some important problems remain. The virtual absence of good civilian port facilities and the dependence on lighterage puts up freight costs and discourages shippers. The middlemen and wholesale handling of produce for export is not above reproach while the only worthwhile markets expect good and consistent quality of graded merchandise. Here the deficiencies of even the most commercially sophisticated part of the community can partly negate improved efforts on the part of the producer. Standards set by the home market tend to affect the services rendered to foreign markets and before the latter can be expanded, the former will have to be improved. There is one sector in which a separate break-through has begun. [509] Air freightage of high value for bulk merchandise (which does not include potatoes) can make distant markets accessible to medium-scale individual producers. Thus flowers, plants and seeds are to some small extent being traded by a few growers sufficiently skilled to bypass the mercantile system. This cannot be done by all but it might encourage emulation.

241 The whole of the marketing organisation is of course organically associated with production and the commercial aspects of production need consideration.

433 435 [234] One of the first points that strikes an observer in the Islands is that the production of the different commodities is altogether too concentrated in time. In the case of milk, a traditional organic cycle imposed by crude goat husbandry imposes great financial strains on the centralised agencies. With crops it would seem that traditional fear of risk-taking, rational enough in a peasant economy but antithetical to the whole nature of commercialism, is now hampering

*159 rojection of his village background, and his attitude to
159 agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark
829 him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

*159 He comes of a village family in which his father and
423 paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired
167 a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the
177 family but neither Ġanni nor his brother, a few years his
241 junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family
[241] butchering business held no more attraction for them and was
relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the brothers thought that neither butchering nor farming presented scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian pattern, with tractor-drawn, three-furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

*159 He returned home full of ideas of making money as a
177 contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers
241 and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities.
409 Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plowing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead, working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few young men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

*159 Ġanni's view of farming in Malta.

241 "Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical
829 because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and because of the difficulties facing the mechanization of field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither

*159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
472 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
407 contractors like him going out of business in the near future.
477

CASE XIX

This farmer (working 35 tumon, including seven irrigable)
was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He
[178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of
the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule
or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years.
Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for
the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture
despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

x
159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
407 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they them-
241 selves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor
434 he cultivates some 35 tumon single handed and supplements his
income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-
plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the
[178] area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by
local vintners).

CASE XXI

*159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
256 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
241 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
407 the sole such operator in his village and business grew. How-
ever in the present decade competition from new tractor oper-
472 ators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing
[477] season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted
him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted
all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are
still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

x
159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
441 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
472 these were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
407 local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was intro-
duced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
[191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo,
especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary
cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led
to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing
tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island
some three or four are normally unused in the season. This
agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of
Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957
plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce
new implements. His father was the first to import motor
pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultiva-
tor in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of har-
vesting machines, but the very limited success of the first
ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any
more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for
mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a
lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be
collected for animal fodder.

*159 554 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. [871] This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14).

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 871 829 [014] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command [illegible].

829 474 467 in three of the 7,813 full-time farmers in both Islands at the time were even nominal members of either Union, one of which could claim to represent 25% of the farming population and the other only 6%[43].

829 467 As long as the farmers' Unions continue to represent only a minority of producers and to be divided among themselves there is little likelihood of their being able to benefit those in the industry. But the writer maintains that the grievances of the farmer today are not of the kind in which Union action could effect fundamental improvements because the position of the industry at present and at least in the immediate future depends on a policy of official benevolence. More precisely, this includes the range of financial, material and advisory assistance discussed above.

829 474 The farmer does however stand to make real gains from an efficient and popular co-operative movement. The present limited appeal of the co-operative system is a major drawback. In his interim report on the attitudes of the farming community, Fr. Cirillo observes that "the indifference and open hostility of the majority of farmers towards co-operatives can be partially explained by the fact that they are not able to give farmers the services which are expected of them....they are not in a position to operate as true marketing societies" (B/387, p.18). Fr. Cirillo also points to the mistrust of local co-operative organizers on the part of many farmers who have, moreover, never completely overcome their suspicion of the Government initiative behind the movement.

829 474 442 [426] It is clear that the system of marketing produce is the main weakness at present. Up to now most farmers have marketed their produce through a pitkal. This pitkal is a selling middleman who maintains a stall at one of the pitkali[44] centres at each of which is a Government-appointed clerk. The pitkal has also served a secondary function as a money lender to farmers who regularly deal with him. Fr. Cirillo observes that "many farmers would not join a co-operative society because of the fear that they might lose their pitkal's friendship" and "the farmer's dependence on the pitkal makes him look at the pitkal with respect" (B/387, pp.17-18). In 1957 it was proposed to centralize the marketing of produce through a single centre for the whole Island (B/253), but at least one of the farmers' Unions was quick to announce its opposition to the plan (B/54 - 11.6.1957, p.4). As on many parallel occasions the farmer was here faced with a choice:- between trusting the Union or 'Il-Gvern'. In most cases he would not venture to make his own decision on the matter.

[P. 65]

000 matter.

474 442 829 178

While the farmer does not favour the co-operative movement at present he is generally disatisfied also with the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

208 654 474 44

The Government plan to centralize marketing on the one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the selling of produce on the other will not succeed without a great deal of patient education of the farmer supplemented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.B. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

464 184 178

In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

000 159 241 931 the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

*159 829 442 464 472 The brothers also complain of the present marketing regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themselves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

*159 423 **A. Land.**

[134] c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region. 16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2½ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.** (1) Typical arrangement.

		Winter	Summer
Plot 1.	8⅝ tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot 3.	1⅓ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot 4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot 5.	2¾ tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot 6.	1⅓ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 8.	7⅜ tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
		Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot 9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot 10.	2⅜ tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 11.	21 tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
		Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
		Vetches	Fallow
Plot 12.	2¼ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot 13.	1¼ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot 14.	2⅜ tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot 15.	5¼ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
		Tomatoes	
Plot 16.	1⅝ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

TABLE 7

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	July[f] 57		Oct 57		Nov 57		Dec 57		Jan 58		Feb 58		May 58	
	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm
Sundays, Festas	4	4	4	4	6	6	7	7	6	6	5	5	7	7
Business, Valletta	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Repairs fields & buildings (storm)	.	.	2	4[l]	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No work (storms)	.	.	7	7[g]	6	3	3	3	8	7	2	2	.	.
Irrigation	8	6[j]	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8	6[j]
Plowing	3	2	5	3	.	.	.	.	3	3	1	1	2	2
Planting, sowing	.	.	4	3	6	6	12	11[a]	7	8[b]	4	1	7	2
Working,[c] etc.	5	5	4	2	3	5	1	2	4	4	5	3	.	3
Cutting, reaping	8	9[d]	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3
Lifting potatoes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3[h]	3	5[i]
Threshing	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Loading, transporting	2	1	1	1	.	.	3	3	.	2	.	1	.	2
Vines, prune, graft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	7	.	.
Collecting kaxix[e]	1	1	1	4	5	5[k]	3	4	1	.	.	3	.	2
Collecting [illegible]			.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
	31	31	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31

Notes

a. all potatoes.
b. potatoes 3.5.
c. working, weeding, dressing, spraying, manuring, hoeing, etc.
d. wheat and barley 4.2.
e. kaxix - general greenery for animal fodder.
f. data for other months not available.
g. the latter part of 1957 saw exceptional storms in Malta & Gozo.
h. the winter crop a month late on account of damp conditions.
i. the spring crop.
j. irrigation in dry months.
k. kaxix gathering peak after 2 months of rain.
l. including 2.2 attending to animals (too wet to work fields).

F. Production and Sales.

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(i) Main cash-crop irrigated potatoes - Arran Banner. Two crops - winter and 'early' crop, the latter for export. Yields vary considerably in spite of irrigation - winter crop 1956 double the quantity of the winter crop 1957. Soil conditions for cultivation and for germination can vary critically between November and February. Prices similarly vary considerably. 1956 - maximum price obtained 30/- per qantar. 1957 - April maximum price obtain 25/- per qantar. 1957 - May maximum price obtained 15/- per qantar.

● [442]

(ii) Tomatoes. Pickings from May to October with peak production in July. Prices vary inversely with production (E/253). Irrigated local varieties only are grown. The best tomatoes are kept for seed, the next grade carefully selected for sale through 'pitkal' middleman for local market, the third grade sold to the tomato paste ('Kunsorva') factory. Prices range from 10d. to 1/6d. per wizna, but vary with quantity available rather than with quality. Regarded as preferable to potatoes since the farmer believes they are less expensive to produce.

(iii) Artichokes. Irrigated perennials producing for up to about 8 years. Best marketing period is during Lent. Great efforts made to raise a crop early in

438 The many little shops
443 scattered about the village permit the women to do most of their
512 shopping near their own homes. Because of the long, hot summers
621 when food spoils quickly, they shop separately for each meal.
Their shopping trips begin on the way home from the early Mass,
[251] at about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, and continue until
[796] 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus, during the course of a day, a woman may make as many as a dozen trips to the shops as well as to the hawkers who pass through the neighbourhood. These trips are social occasions during which she comes in contact with friends and neighbours from all parts of the village, and in the process hears the village news.

275 The men are out of the village from 6 o'clock or so in the
512 morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, and
in the winter from about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock
517 in the evening. But summer or winter, in the late afternoon and
621 the early evening the men gather in the clubs, wine shops and cafés. Besides the clubs and important cafés in the square, which draw men from all over the village, there are many small neighbourhood wine shops. Most have a regular clientele of friends and neighbours who spend hours together talking, playing cards and drinking tea, soft drinks or wine. Many cafés also have television. Thus, though most inhabitants of a village are in fairly frequent contact with each other, the gossip groups of the women and the wine shops of the men form local social centres which help bind neighbours more closely to one another. These neighbourhoods develop a certain group loyalty.

621 It often happens that some of the neighbourhoods in a town or
village are centred on small chapels. In times gone by there used
794 to be a certain amount of good-natured competition between the
796 youngsters of these districts over the festas of the patron saints of their respective chapels. But, except on rare occasions, this rivalry never threatened the unity of the village during the annual festa of the patron saint of the parish. Frequent removals from house to house within the village have usually helped to prevent the development of disruptive sectional loyalties.

621 Since each village is also a separate parish it is not possible to
[771] consider a village entirely as a secular community. Religion permeates the structure of Maltese society to an extent that makes it
[794] quite impossible to classify many institutions as either religious or secular. As a secular community, a village has no official leader, it

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-Thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (D/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
[544] appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

● 443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an
178 unofficial capital of the rural areas of his Island; markets
361 are still held there even though the main ones have
gravitated to Valletta and the urban area. The annual
●[443] 'Imnarja', traditionally one of the main events in the
farmers' social calendar, is held nearby[18], while the
ancient importance of the Church is reflected in the large
number of clergy, churches, confraternities and third orders
[712] found there (Appendix 4). In Gozo, Rabat is the administrative, cultural and economic capital with the old
fortified 'Castello' now in large part a deserted ruin.

369 The differing extent to which the villages of Malta and
178 Gozo have been influenced economically by the industrial and
urban developments of the dockyard areas and towns are paralleled in the social plane. Traditionally rural centres such as Qormi, Żabbar and Birkirkara have undergone increasing social and cultural attraction towards Valletta and the Urban area along with economic 'de-ruralization' by virtue of their proximity to the towns and harbours. The improvements in amenities and especially in transport facilities have tended to link these Fringe settlements to the Urban area rather than to the countryside which produced them (B/381).

361 A further type of village is exemplified by St. Paul's
178 Bay. This began as a summer-time resort for town and city
dwellers during the nineteenth century but attained a sufficient permanence and size to be granted full parochial status in 1905. The analogy in Gozo is Marsalforn though this settlement is perhaps half a century behind St. Paul's Bay in development and presents in winter time the appearance of almost a ghost-town with only a few permanent farmer and fishermen residents.

Birżebbuġa is a class on its own, having grown in the past few decades upon largely non-agricultural foundations of the British and United States' bases, oil installations and some small-scale industry.

128 Using this type of analytical approach, a classification
361 of the villages of Malta and Gozo on the basis of their
origin and socio-functional characteristics becomes possible (Richardson (B/561) goes into greater detail concerning the evolution of settlement in Malta itself and considers the development of the present pattern in the light of population growth and movement and other historical factors.)

712 (1) Medieval Capital Fortresses - Mdina in Malta and
175 the Castello in Gozo. Both occupy central eminences in
[361] their respective Islands and were used as capitals by the
Arabs (in Malta 870-1090) and by the various rulers of Malta
between 1090 and the coming of the Knights of St. John in
712 1530. The former is today a tranquil, residential

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
572 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

572 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[241] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
[234] to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
517 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
[246] (he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
241 for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
433 the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
434 getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
[427] 1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
[241] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
[433] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
438 great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
443 paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

*159 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
511 entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
829 yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
178 one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation. In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is diffi-
cult to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
241 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
178 the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the
present nevertheless Gużepp wants to expand his land hold-
ing and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and
thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being
made available by the Government for farm development and of
"working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and
desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
362 £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
[427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a
new house and include near it accommodation for his animals.
For his large family of wife and eight children the house,
though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife
enable the family to carry on under limitations of both
home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer
to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
54 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
461 distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife
observes "these things are not missed by the people" who
have had little experience of them. She notes that in
Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the
bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family
and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can him-
464 self operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
654 when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contri-
bution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to
acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan)
because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked
with his present labour force. A larger area would mean
more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the
milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be
increased along with the provision of extra accommodation
(also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is
that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale
through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits
here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

[P 86]

*159 @443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. Livestock.

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] [454] [412] [409] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.
- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245]
(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

CASE III : Nardu (A goats' milk producer)

*159 157 Illiterate and suspicious, Nardu typifies the most conservative element in Maltese farming for whom nothing new can be worthy of consideration. It is probable that no amount of lecturing, demonstrations of improved methods, or capital loans from the Government, would persuade him to change the ways he knows. The prospect of machinery does not impress him although he thinks of acquiring a rotary cultivator (at about £245). His observation is, when freely translated, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" (he is aged 40).

*159 234 [425] His father was a mason with a few fields. Nardu's brother took over the family business and sold his share of the fields to Nardu, who also bought out the shares of his five sisters. He has since concentrated all his effort on his herd of goats, regarding his fields primarily as a source of fodder. During the fifteen months of study his herd varied in size from 34 to 50 animals. All the goats are of the local breed as he does "not like horned goats". He is more concerned with producing milk, under the current favourable regime of guaranteed sales to the M.M.U., than with breeding goats. Most of the kids born to his herd are sold for meat or for breeding to a dealer. Payment [426] seems to be made as money becomes available from the M.M.U every two weeks. Often however he admits to being up to two months behind with payment, settling one debt "when the next transaction is afoot".

In 1958, Nardu was talking at length about "getting two or three cows or calves". He "knows about cows from friends" but has not himself got the £300 capital necessary for two. Moreover he observes that "you can't graze cows" and their general upkeep is likely to clash with that of goats, especially where one man is working alone as in this case. There seems to be an element of prestige attached to the ownership of cows in a village such as Nardu's where the vast majority of herdsmen have only goats. Certainly his thinking is not guided by comparative costings of milk production from the cow and goat.

*159 434 ●[443] [511] Nardu's fields produce fodder and some food for the family so that they "will not have to buy in everything from the shops". He reckons to save between 15/- and £1 per week in this way. His wife spends £3 a week on purchased food and she looks back nostalgically to her youth when her mother spent some 30/- per week on food and clothing for a family with twelve children, while she has only three. The steady item of income in Nardu's budget is the money received from the M.M.U. for the goats' milk 600 sold. Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu

*159 shopping is done in the local village but Nardu
● 443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Suq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 A. **Land.**
423 30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dwel and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 B. **Utilisation.**
241 Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 19
311 3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under sofafa. (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[934] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 C. **Livestock.**
231 During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital.**
[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
- Freehold village house.
[454] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[412]
[407] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc. No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 E. **Labour.**
464 - Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting. During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
[427] - Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 F. **Production and Sales.**
433 - Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week

*159 G. **Husbandry.**
241 (1) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annua
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prev
the employment of the normal four-year rota

*159 434 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anglu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anglu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

*159 231 443 [312] [551] [656] His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anglu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

*159 423 434 [432] Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodders. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

*159 452 Anglu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anglu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

*159 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday
262 Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable
to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts.
785 These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of
Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain
occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The
emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary
and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of
permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between
the frugal meals.

*159 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in
262 Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his
wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school
264 time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of
bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or
so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields
Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs,
olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked
meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls.
Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks,
and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least
one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature
and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (espe-
cially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields).
[261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted.
Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the
boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

198 The proportion of food purchased is now much greater
291 than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same
443 is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably
[432] both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young
[294] farmer when half the people in the village had looms and
many had spinning wheels to produce cotton graments for the
family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the
farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a
thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally
produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army
surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and
wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have
been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of
army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and
the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday
markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in
both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 With the increasing contact between town and country
369 the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief
178 leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no
longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like
townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fishermen
361 live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi.
Socially this residential distribution is important since only
in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population
for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities
for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
[512] their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economically
463 lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
162 basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
178 the present official financial assistance, is producing
exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger
generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor
the way of life based on it.

carries a certain spice of gambling, the players of *Morra* congregate at some street corner or a public house and indulge in a game for small stakes which the winner generally spent in assuaging the thirst of both parties, a proceeding to which the loser as a rule made no objection. 524 525

FAIRS

Every Sunday morning there is a fair held along strada Mercanti, Valletta. The goods exposed for sale in these weekly fairs are of all descriptions, and attract large crowds, especially of country people. 443 438 527

Besides these Sunday fairs there is also another fair held annually at Floriana on the mornings of the feast days of St. Calcedonio, St. Giacomo, and 443 527 796

443 St. Anna, which are celebrated on the
527 24th, 25th, and 26th of July. These
[796] fairs, however, which were once very
[178] popular, have now sunk into insignificance and most likely will before long entirely disappear.

443 Fairs have long been regularly held
171 in most parts of Europe and Asia, and they appear to have originated in the Church festivals, which were found to afford convenient opportunities for commercial transactions. The concourse of people being then so such greater than on other occasions.

USAGES

175 The ancient Maltese formerly kept
562 their wives in the strictest retirement. They held the opinion that women should never appear but twice in public,

be suffering from economic near-strangulation because the
working of his farm-unit is linked with a fluctuating but
permanent element of debt. This is because the factors
mentioned above as producing the need and demand for money
are operating, but the farmer and his farm-unit are unable
to hold their own in the present agricultural economy of
Malta; this in spite of the artificial boosts of Government
loans, guaranteed prices, free gifts, agricultural development
schemes, information services, etc., (Section 2).

There is a range therefore between the farmer who is
178 proving able to advance financially and he who is not, even
434 to the state of impoverishment. The problem of the latter
may be considered from two view-points, the economic and the
social. Economically, the difficulty is clear. Many
farm units as they exist today cannot hope to provide an
income, after expenses have been met, which will support
the family and allow of expansion or even maintainance of
the unit. The social problem is less easy to define.
It would appear that many characteristics of the traditional
peasant farming system of subsistence and independence of
each farm unit still remain beneath an often thin veneer of
[212] commercialization and modernization. This is related in
large part to the lack of education of the farmer himself.
The farmer of today in Malta is an old man and ageing who
has been but little affected by the developments in
education, in its widest sense, which are turning the
ambitions of the present younger generation of the farming
community towards the towns and towards non-agricultural
pursuits. At heart, the present Maltese farmer is still
in very many cases thinking as a peasant, isolated and
independent, in a farming system now essentially commercial,
competitive yet inter-dependent. Financial profits and
losses now rule his life but the farmer is, in a disturbingly
large number of cases, partly unable and partly
unwilling to adapt himself and his farm to the new
conditions.

178 Something of the effect of the both the economic and
234 social aspects of the problem may be gathered from a study
434 of a number of sample cases:

(a) A goats' milk producer, living just within the
426 boundary of the Urban area of Malta (Case V), operated
during 1957 with a persistent debt on the maintainance of
his animals, the basis of his livelihood. During the
year, the milk production of his herd varied between 70
and 30 lbs per day. This was sold for the official
guaranteed prices and to this extent may be seen as a constant
element. Produce from the tomna of land held by the
[457] farmer was used in the home but made only a minor contribution
to the food budget. This man keeps no accounts of
the costs of maintainance of his herd and profits therefrom.
He is operating in a perpetual state of debt. A table of

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
234 progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
434 the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
426 poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
fully realizes that without the present Government guarantee (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
[654] He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize their farm and herd as they woudl wish. For example, while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them reluctant to take on any further loan commitments: nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be able to increase the number in their herd and also mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
234 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
434 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U
654 with as much milk as possible.

They have no thought or care as to what might happen were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly little appreciation of the total picture of which they form part and will be content to grumble quietly and ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate
(Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
434 which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
454 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
provision of dowries and Wedding costs, etc., are met.
234 This farmer admits to having been able to save more than
654 £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that
today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread".
[451] He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly
on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying, today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported market for milk is maintained.

(d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
178 accounts of the working of his farm. His second employ-
434 ment brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
241 weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he
[511] reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a
third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc. and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the steady income from his other job farming has something of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

178 434 241 because he has always been used to doing it and one which enables him to provide many of the food items needed by the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

156 241 426 The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies of farming from the economic point of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

472 511 It appears that MONEY is a variable but important factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household, as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear distinction made by the farmer between the finances pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its maintainance. The most common practice is for there to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it come the costs of running farm and household. As seen, the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as the labour of his family and himself is concerned (Case X). [457] Similarly it is still the exception rather than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is making a loss, though of the details he has no notion. In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems

262 In respect of diet an important distinction between town
369 and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially
'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other
pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily
available; but in the country districts there is notably
less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other
vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all
his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain
local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still
able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables
for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however
a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits
273 (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are
now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods
262 such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet
511 cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now
established themselves as needs and, consequently, as
demands on the family purse.

178 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from
291 which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This
in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy.
Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made
at home or at least within the village and were worn by
the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today
a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer
now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest
change is among the younger farming generation who want to
dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of
clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly,
especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the
widespread use of military surplus material.

423 Housing is important in the present consideration
362 because money is now being spent by the farmer both on
511 buying his own house where he can but also on developing
it and improving the furnishings.

Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town
[178] dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or
178 semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of
511 'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and
recreation all require money. Payments to the Church
have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and
taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, could
clearly only be met with cash.

451 The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the
511 typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The
[123] second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

457 lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm
511 and that spent on the household.

In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and
[593] co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where they proved of major importance and benefit.

At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance
[454] of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X). The period in question was financially atypical for this man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for any farmer like him is further complicated by the uncommercial approach which is made to the labour of the farmer himself (and in this Case that of a brother and nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed because custom demands that they are done and a job is not neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus
[511] the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure as a cost in production (Section 2).

His income derives largely from the sale of fruit
434 (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable.
454 In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57
458 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only £340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew "receives something when a crop is sold". Other items sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season each of the brothers received a gross profit of about £250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X) nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57 from savings. This feature is crucial. Given the normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far
[181] hence. This insecurity of his capital is important in his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production or farm management and in part also echoes the conservatism and inertia of the traditional peasant.

244
x159 available", and normally delegates most of the work to
46 a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.
465 His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder
x159 required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and
other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly
43 nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In
451 December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder
other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the
previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk
he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a
'cost'.

x159 Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per
511 day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from
178 the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The
new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his
wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have
dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters
are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the
sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant
Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy
shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to
be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs
of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

*159 Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which
461 would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional
visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday
from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

*159 His father was a labourer with the Services and had
only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herds-
178 men and then gradually built up his own herd to its present
234 size, particularly in the past few years when, in common
with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden
on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his
children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is
clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who
has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his
family) are actively discouraging the children from planning
to follow their father. Their main objection to herding
appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin
is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he
has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest
among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields
you never go back...."

*159 CASE IV : Summary.
423 (A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. Land.

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

* **H. General.**

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This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

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159 **CASE VI : Gaetu** (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)
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232 In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the
* case of a cow."

159 Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tumoli of
234 land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis
[311] in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still
have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example
[246] in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for
[435] straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He
[464] feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean
that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding
animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder
for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has
[451] very little appreciation of his profit. None of his
labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps
no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets
receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate
himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written
[657] statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put
together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax
authorities each year.

* **E. General.**

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(i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndicate is not typical of Maltese farming systems. The partnership seems to derive historically from a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

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(ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organisation one may use this case-study as illustrating the practises and modes of thought of the most highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

- Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does no seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.
- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.

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- Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these are attained by the careful application of proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.

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- In spite of the fact that the syndicate's capital reserves and their practical abilities are considerable, the physical environment dominates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these there is a great mental gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

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CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.)

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

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Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows' milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

[P.114]

*159 245 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to quality as those for the table.

*159 245 231 451 In this move towards more vine production and the recent interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to emphasize the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made between money spent on the home and family, and money spent on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held "in one purse". [593] Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

*159 434 454 [511] At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400, less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30 for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957. During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income from pig sales and other items.

*159 434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit........	£340	-	£340
Grapes........	49	£ 8	57
Sulla........	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons........	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals........	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 434 435 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between one year and the next is today more important to the arable farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more [454] accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

*159 241 for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna.
Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from ♂'s stock.
- Vines receive c. ½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

*159 [472] [423] [464] [178] [435] ● [451] [461] [157]

H. General.

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows ♂ to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- ♂ therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.
- ♂ has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that ♂ is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, ♂ could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

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CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (baghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464 Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

*159 433 435 February when prices start at c.9d a head rather than later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 (i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming. In 1956 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, leguminous fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land where vetches alternate with barley.

[461] (c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

[242] (d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953 Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:

Relies entirely on own plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Eigenheimer.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock:

Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

*159 241 433 435 [465] (i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

*159 ● 451 (ii) The farmers children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

000 was taken for granted.
*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XII : Ċenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

*159 Ċenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
554 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Ċenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compen-
sation to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
241 to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
[451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

F. Production and Sales.

*159 (i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of
433 c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per
434 day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957
234 c.£1359. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).
- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').
[272] - About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production.
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

*159 (ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
241 - 'Early' Crop - January to April.
[435] Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 25/4 per qantar for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.
[433] - Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

[433] (iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder production meets c.one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land

(a) On best land typical sequence would be.

Sept. (a) Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per tomna.
Sept.-Dec. (b) Winter crop of potatoes.
Jan. (c) Artifical fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April (d) Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug. (e) Summer fallow.
Sept.-April (f) Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug. (g) Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May (h) Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug. (i) Fallow.
Sept.-April (j) Sulla.

(b) More usual practice (which is not though of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.
- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as żoffa and ġinglin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassicas, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds
- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

*159 (iii) Livestock - Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared
232 to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.
- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

*159 (i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer.
433 Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of
● 451 profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own

*159 433 ●451 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising yields any further.

*159 134 241 (iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

- some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
- deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - subsurface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorċa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 157 626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in checkweighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

*159 241 434 CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 178 461 *[159] [369] [162] Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agriculture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.

[433] [251] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43

(i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve. [454]

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829

CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-ploughman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

*159 434 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anġlu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anġlu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

*159 234 443 [712] [551] [656] His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anġlu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

*159 423 434 [432] Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodders. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

*159 452 Anġlu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anġlu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

*159 452 off until mid-November but, in the intervening two and a half months, the purchase of fodder had been continued and the debt maintained. In that September he himself put his debt at £60 and said that at the previous Christmas (1956) it had been £100. Thus a debt of £60 in the flush milk season of highest total receipts from the M.M.U. would appear to be the best financial position he could achieve. Removal of the guaranteed milk price to the producer could result only in ruin for this herdsman and the many in the Islands like him.

*159 829 In spite of his own poverty Anġlu maintains that he is fully aware of the artificial economic picture of which the guaranteed price is a part. In the same breath however he complains that he could sell his milk for more than the M.M.U. gives him in the short season. Here he overlooks the obvious outcome of a removal of the guarantee during the annual glut.

*159 178 291 511 His financial hardships make it impossible for him to hire labour or to invest in any capital improvements to the farm or herd. Neither does it enable him to support his family as he aspires. This is especially evident in the case of clothing because the family lives in an urban area and therefore strives to appear as well dressed as their non-farming neighbours. Anġlu observes that there has been a change both, in the types of clothing worn and in the occasions on which they are worn. He speaks of a Doctor of the district who used to go barefoot in the streets carrying a pair of shoes to put on before entering a house or Church. Nowadays, by contrast, children attend school with shoes and are generally well turned out. This is particularly true of an urban area, where Anġlu's children go to school and where his teenage children go to work - a son as an apprentice carpenter, one daughter as a shop assistant and another as a factory worker. None of his children is likely to contemplate farming as a way of life and means of earning a living, for, in their father's case they can see an extreme example of the problem facing many farmers throughout the Islands today, that is a man unable to make a living wage for himself and his family from a farm limited in possibilities by external factors and dependant on a guarantee which could be removed at a general election.

*159 429

CASE V : Summary.

(A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer)

A. Land.

Rents and grazes 1 tomna of wasteland.
Rents and works as a domestic garden 1 tomna of dry land, in the Urban area.

178 standards demanded have risen; and luxuries, once almost
511 unheard of, are now becoming part of the expected pattern
of the life of the countryman (Section 2). For most of
these new needs the farmer has required money. Hence
progress, to him, has become synonomous with the acquisition
178 of more money. Branches of banks have appeared in some
511 villages in both islands since 1945 and the countryman is
454 coming to accept this means of storing his accumulated
wealth. The concern for bigger interest, first noted by
[453] the 1911 Commissioners, is replacing the traditional mere
accumulation of wealth whether in money or in jewellery and
other valuables.

There is still, however, a very strong element of
178 accumulation rather than investment in the finances of the
181 farmer. This is particularly the case with the older
454 generation who, as always, cling to the ways of the past
511 because their lack of formal education makes them, apparently,
unable to comprehend or adapt themselves to the workings
of the present. Thus it is held that, while the younger
generation have sought to urbanize themselves socially and
economically with the money which now comes their way, many
of the older generation, that is to say those who are
tending to stay in farming today, have taken the 'new'
money but have not changed their way of life or living
standards to anything like the same extent. Thus dress,
for example, is no sure indication of a farmer's wealth
in terms of money and one hears of bare-foot, shabbily
clothed countrymen with savings of £1000 or more. In
traditional Maltese village society the uniformity which
was the keynote (Section 1) encouraged the farmer to appear
like his neighbour lest he be accused of deviationary
tendencies: this feeling is often revealed today in the
reluctance of the farmer to be the first to try a new
method or crop in his fields for fear of becoming a
laughing-stock.

Although the older generation do not strive to demonstrate their wealth in dress, habits, a new house, etc., and do not share the anxiety of the younger villager that he should look like a townsman and move to a 'good' – i.e. non-rural – district, their saving is not completely without aim. To resolve this point fully it would be necessary to consider the whole complex of traditional Maltese village society but for the present discussion some major features only will be outlined.

178 Dowry is one feature of traditional Maltese society
583 which is currently assuming different proportions to those
183 earlier held. It was regarded in the past as essential

433 The main relevant conclusion was unmistakably ominous: 'Government expenditure has more than made up for that of the Knights, and has diverted 458 more of the labour of the population to the service, direct or indirect, of the foreign government which applied it to purposes entirely Imperial and unconnected with the special interests of the colony. Doubtless this expenditure has led to immediate prosperity... but the basis of this prosperity is artificial and precarious' (6). It is possible to argue the degree of validity of the third premiss of the first clause but the general truth is undeniable. This general picture is so clear that in this particular chapter attention will be focussed only on some aspects of the Maltese economy as it has developed during the last 50 years.

The changing character of Maltese Trade is well evidenced in the annual 43 reports of the Customs and Port Department. Before World War I, Malta was still of some importance in Mediterranean transit trade, particularly for goods destined for North African and Levant ports. Between 1910 and 1922 the annual average weight of such merchandise handled was 17,000 tons (7). This activity almost disappeared during hostilities and after a short post-war boom settled down at a new low level handling only some 3,000 tons of merchandise. In part this was due to the elimination of the important German and Austrian connection which, in a Report published in 1919 (8), was the subject of much hostile Maltese comment. More important was the fact that the gap thus left was not filled by other foreign or local interests. The Maltese writers of the 1919 Report were not able to obtain their desire 'to have a company formed by a few merchants, who would thus teach Maltese capitalists that the investment of moneys in industries and especially in shipping is more profitable and better for the Islands and for the capitalists themselves, than the investment in doubtful securities [504] or in reckless speculation'. The fundamental difficulties of expanding port activity have remained. Malta, for all the grandiloquence of the name 'Grand Harbour', has until very recently possessed but poor physical facilities for handling shipping. All vessels of over 2,000 tons have had to be worked by lighter, and civil repair facilities as well as warehousing have been extremely limited. In that the needs of the Fleet have been paramount this is understandable; the consequences have been deplorable. The absence of enthusiasm for ● [454] local investment of Maltese capital has been equally inhibiting. There survives, even intensified during the 1930's, a traditional feeling of insecurity which was succinctly noted by a banker giving evidence before the 1911 Commission: 'There is plenty of money in the Island... there is not much trust, I think' (9). Even now, while the rate of saving in Malta is very high - c. 14 per cent. of total personal income, too large a proportion of the savings are invested abroad - some £70 millions. Given this basic insecurity, which still appears in conversations with business men and which is so deeply rooted as to be very difficult to remove, development is difficult. Moreover, since the Maltese for an island [228] people are singularly non-maritime in character, and, in conditions no more difficult than in many other parts of the Mediterranean, have almost ignored the fishery industry (10), there exists no traditional basis for marine affairs. In these circumstances the value of the handing over of the Naval base to British civilian firms, and the policy of attracting foreign (mainly British) manufacturing concerns, thus making available both facilities and most of the capital, is on economic grounds indisputable.

One other aspect of port and trading activities must be examined, the nature 439 and balance of imports and exports. The changing character of world trade in the first place has vitally affected the nature of Malta's entrepôt activity. By 457 1956, the value of re-exports had reached over two and a half million pounds, of which one and a half million represented mineral fuels and lubricants, mainly aviation spirit and turbine fuel (11). This is still the pattern today. Of Malta's transit trade in re-exports, by far the biggest proportion is concerned with supplying the Garrison in its new and more mobile form. The imbalance between retained imports and domestic exports remains essentially similar to that observed very much earlier and is best examined in conjunction with other economic elements.

Table 40. Land ownership and quality of land. Gozo.

Percentage of total agricultural land.

423*

	Civil Govnmt.	War Dept.	Church etc.	Private Landlord	Owner Occupier	Total %	Total 000 tm.
(a) Cultivated land							
1891	18.0		8.4	67.7		94.1	37
1901	21.1		11.3	62.8		95.2	32
1951	83.4				9.5	92.9	
1952	84.6				8.8	93.4	
(b) Uncultivated land							
1891	0.6		0.2	5.1	(1.1*)	5.9	2
1901	0.6		0.6	3.7		4.8	2
1951	6.6				0.5	7.1	
1952	6.2				0.2	6.4	
(c) Agricultural land							
1891	18.6		8.6	72.8		100	40
1901	21.6		11.8	66.5		99.9	33
1951	90.0				10.0	100	36
1952	91.1				8.9	100	38

*Ownership 'indefinite' - excluded from totals.

[454] [745]

time, ownership would change. Since 1947, the existence of savings amassed during the price boom of World War II and the granting of old-age pensions have together encouraged the farmer to retire at an earlier age from active management and, through various crop-sharing agreements, to divide the usufruct with heirs, relations and friends. New types of tenure ensuring security to the original owner and opportunity to others are of considerable significance. Thus, over a short period of time simple freehold may be replaced by other legal situations although the *de facto* position of owner-occupied land as a whole remains unchanged.

423* 127

Increasing accuracy of classification may correct these and other discrepancies but may in itself and as a result of such corrections introduce apparent fluctuations in general trends. Thus, because it is reasonable to assume that the most recent figures are most likely to be accurate, minor trends culminating in recent records should be ignored.

Thus it is that, in the absence of external evidence, we may say that increases in the actual or proportional areas of land owned by Church and State have been insignificant. Table 41 shows in round figures the probable proportions of land owned by the various groups, based on various sources and broadly correct for the years around 1950. We are satisfied that this gives a more accurate picture than that usually presented.

423*

The character of ownership and its effects on land use must also be related to the character of the land itself. Tables 39 and 40 show, among other features, the growing amount of 'wasteland' which now makes up some 15 per cent. of the so-called farmed area of Malta, and a lesser proportion of Gozo. This 'waste' is mainly marginal land which bears clear traces of earlier cultivation. True 'wasteland', virgin karst or long-abandoned, has always been excluded from the total figure.

It has been suggested that such figures show that *freehold* property (in which the *farmer* might be expected to have the greatest interest) is most likely to

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 303]

D. Economic and Commercial Characteristics

In 1956, Surridge (1) in a note on Co-operatives in Malta, endorsed the F.A.O. 241
statement (2) that 'real progress in the co-operative field will be impossible so long as the essential connection between credit facilities and marketing remains 433
unrecognised'.

Subsistence farming is not now practised in the Maltese Islands and all farmers are to a large extent controlled in their productive use of land by commercial markets. The application of capital and techniques to the land is much more than the simple provision of cheap credit.

Environmental conditions necessitate the continued and intensive use of hand labour in order to maintain in existence the artificially made fields and in order to utilise the maximum area of land. Therefore large-scale capital application is restricted to provision of better water supplies and similar public works projects. What is needed is the small scale use of capital in crops and livestock experimentation and for backing efforts in the export markets. Capital provision for land purchase should not be made until cultivators are less likely to indulge in speculative 'landgrabbing' which would result in greater problems of fragmentation, etc.

The amount of hidden capital in the countryside must be very considerable. [454]
Estimates that 80 per cent. of Malta's National Income is derived directly and
indirectly from the Defence Departments cannot take into account all the gross [434]
real income in kind of the countryside - real income which never appears long enough to be measured. Present expenditure on improved equipment and better breeds of plant and livestock as well as spectacular efforts such as the building of Mosta Church go to show that, given incentive and faith in the future, the rural communities can and will deploy some considerable hidden reserves. Before any such capital will be applied, some compulsive force must operate on the farmers.

For centuries past, production has been largely for subsistence except for cotton and cumin seed, both exported to other Mediterranean countries. From the sixteenth century onward, urbanisation slowly created a significantly sized indigenous market and, with the disappearance of the trade in cotton during the nineteenth century, the home market became completely dominant. Some 70 years ago, potatoes became profitably exportable, while at the same time rapid urbanisation increased the size and wealth of the home market. As already noted, the domestic market for milk is of very recent origin, while export possibilities for crops other than potatoes are now slowly being realised.

Until World War II, marketing of produce was organised almost entirely by 241
licensed but uncontrolled middlemen - the *pitkali* - who collected or accepted
small lots, offered them for sale to wholesalers or retailers, and then paid the 441
farmers the negotiated price less commission. (The details of organisation are
well described in the 1911-12 Royal Commission Report (3).) During World War 435
II, 'the evolution of Internal Marketing made a great stride forward during the exigency... (4)'. This statement really means that controls were imposed on prices and marketing, controls which have basically survived to the present day. As the economics of production have become more confused with welfare policies, so the complexity of the situation has increased. All that we can do here is to sketch and illustrate the nature of this complexity.

The first factor to be reckoned with is that cultivators in no case know their costs of production. They have some general idea of whether a proposed price is unprofitable or not but this is not necessarily trustworthy. Secondly, while the fodder crops are not very perishable, the vegetable and fruit products which find their way out of the rural economy into Maltese markets are extremely so. While the market for such produce in Malta is not a very selective one, this on the whole has the effect of encouraging the sending to market of produce which is very liable to deterioration. In the markets, therefore, any produce surplus to clear requirements is virtually valueless. One complaint concerning the

369 formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place [103] names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements - Żebbuġ, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people. Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship. The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce, the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

178 369 464 Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical revolutions of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available. The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such [166] as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years, the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

178 182 A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent. of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture. This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also [464] apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954 totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a [167] steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields, storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieħa, and even this, hidden from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 80 years. Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it commands. Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

178 182 454 Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways. Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 25 years ago, who would

have guaranteed that the United Kingdom would not have abandoned Malta in the 178
event of war in the Mediterranean? Those Maltese possessing power and 182
knowledge traditionally have had too much to lose by local investment. The
inadequacy of commercial port handling facilities, the paucity of processing [954]
industries, the shortage of credit, all these are products of fear.

Moreover, the changing circumstances of Mediterranean life which have increased security have also deprived Malta of her most easily earned income from entrepôt trade and her value as a calling station. The old commercial and financial attitudes of the most sophisticated part of society have become anachronisms in a new age, but still remain locally very deadening in their encouragement of hand-to-mouth activity.

What of old Malta? There the problem is one of breaking down isolation and correcting mental indigestion. The farmers of Malta have been commercially minded and experimentally inclined for centuries. Production for sale and exchange is the rule rather than the exception. But in fact they have little knowledge of commercial possibilities nor are they able to deal on equal terms with merchants. Often prepared to try new crops and equipment, their ignorance concerning the processes involved produces unhappy results. In short, the rural community in its partial isolation has seized with avidity a few crumbs of opportunity and knowledge and has never properly assimilated them.

It is a divided Malta that has met the new challenge, each sector too burdened with its past to respond vigorously on its own initiative.

The historic creation of an artificial environment has imposed severe restrictions on methods of utilising land, both now and in the future. The historic reasons for that creation have produced an ambivalent society, one part hampered by fear, one part hampered by ignorance. The main need now is for political security and a certain amount of economic stability. With security and stability the extrovert community may plough in its wealth rather than keep it poised for flight. The introvert rural community can then in turn translate its traditional experience into scientific idiom. In a suitable socio-economic climate and in an undivided society, many things could flourish, export market gardening and horticulture, processing industries, tourism, entrepôt trade and even sub-tropical research and training. Without such development, as is already foreshadowed in the landscape, Malta will become stagnant, depending on war and rumours of war for anything more than starvation level existence, while the landscape itself will reveal more and more of those rocky bare bones so decently interred in the past.

000 already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

241 The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the
points of definition just made. This is the complex of
423 features which have produced the present landscape of tiny
field-plots covering the cultivable parts of the Islands with
a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely
scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The
farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception.
[433] Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large
the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over
55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than
9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in
many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the
family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or
fodder (Case V).

241 The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not
always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and
311 new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land
464 in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of
cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is
not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions.
Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of
rock in days when manual labour was readily available and
cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were
constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled,
tilled and irrigated. But while mechanization, particularly
[409] in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is
enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over
much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even
this kind of development on account of their small size,
tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are
neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the
soil which it held in place collapses over the terraces
below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated
flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

423 The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this
241 picture since they make for further divisions in an already
454 minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is
frequently deterred from making improvements on a piece of
land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates
any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either
owns himself or has on long lease and which show the
necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability
(Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building
(Case I).

241 Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature.
423 They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they
465 were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when
compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for
comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal
Commissioners (B/184), Miège (B/516) and Price (B/556),
but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
this same report however, it is learnt that the farming
454 community had by that date become investment conscious and
had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day
where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited
eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field
work at all. The developments observed by the 1911
Commissioners were by no means general among the rural
population at that time. They were in fact merely the
first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
178 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
433 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
722 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
465 in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before.
He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce
- or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became
used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted
war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was
the feling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in
Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time,
the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the countryman.
The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was
content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the
change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his
social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered
needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a
variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

178 standards demanded have risen; and luxuries, once almost
571 unheard of, are now becoming part of the expected pattern of the life of the countryman (Section 2). For most of these new needs the farmer has required money. Hence progress, to him, has become synonomous with the acquisition
178 of more money. Branches of banks have appeared in some
511 villages in both islands since 1945 and the countryman is
454 coming to accept this means of storing his accumulated wealth. The concern for bigger interest, first noted by
[453] the 191. Commissioners, is replacing the traditional mere accumulation of wealth whether in money or in jewellery and other valuables.

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Although the older generation do not strive to demonstrate their wealth in dress, habits, a new house, etc., and do not share the anxiety of the younger villager that he should look like a townsman and move to a 'good' - i.e. non-rural - district, their saving is not completely without aim. To resolve this point fully it would be necessary to consider the whole complex of traditional Maltese village society but for the present discussion some major features only will be outlined.

178 Dowry is one feature of traditional Maltese society
583 which is currently assuming different proportions to those
183 earlier held. It was regarded in the past as essential

178 for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as substantial
a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind:
583 land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a
183 girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position
[554] and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent
sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there
were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the
past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among
the families of the same village and farming background.
[182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way
of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to
fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance
(B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption
in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts
of the Islands have increased and marriages between
individuals from different villages and also from differing
economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of
land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place
and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of
the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put
more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 Another development which has put money into an altogether
454 new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing
desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen
423 (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the
471 Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this
applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the
family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the
first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a
feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought
his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase
of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even
before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build
up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of
meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased
rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War,
and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much
greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable
cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient
and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese
454 farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for
capital. The Government added to this money consciousness
[426] with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to
keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest
loans for capital improvements of the farms and their
equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
234 nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
434 the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
426 poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
fully realizes that without the present Government guaran-
[654] tee (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize their farm and herd as they would wish. For example, while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them reluctant to take on any further loan commitments; nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be able to increase the number in their herd and also mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
234 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
434 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U
with as much milk as possible.
654

They have no thought or care as to what might happen were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly little appreciation of the total picture of which they form part and will be content to grumble quietly and ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate
(Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
434 The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
454 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
provision of dowries and wedding costs, etc., are met.
234 This farmer admits to having been able to save more than
654 £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that
today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread".
[451] He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly
on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying, today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
434 accounts of the working of his farm. His second employ-
ment brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
241 weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he
[511] reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a
third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc. and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the steady income from his other job farming has something of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
571 is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
[651] tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
454 normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
[593] few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expences of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
178 accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past,
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
[294] possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family,
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
[656] killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

457 lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm
511 and that spent on the household.

In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and
[593] co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the
average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate
and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and
expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating
to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that
his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of
time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where
they proved of major importance and benefit.

At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance
[454] of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen
to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X).
The period in question was financially atypical for this
man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd
of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe
storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for
any farmer like him is further complicated by the uncommercial
approach which is made to the labour of the
farmer himself (and in this Case that of a brother and
nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed
because custom demands that they are done and a job is not
neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus
[511] the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure
as a cost in production (Section 2).

His income derives largely from the sale of fruit
434 (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable.
454 In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57
458 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only
£340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew
"receives something when a crop is sold". Other items
sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of
tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season
each of the brothers received a gross profit of about
£250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food
consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X)
nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57
from savings. This feature is crucial. Given the
normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result
of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer
is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on
the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he
expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far
[181] hence. This insecurity of his capital is important in
his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production
or farm management and in part also echoes the conservatism
and inertia of the traditional peasant

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital
improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows
and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in
post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to
'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living
above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt.
He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position
and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the
financial point of view, to his commanding position during
the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25,
although the average per capita income for the whole
country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing
and other essential items are often quite exorbitant,
especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954
survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of
northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of
£136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm
labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75
per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn
little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
labourer without field commitments of his own can demand
his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases,
markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who
stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

511 Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
434 average, a standard of life still slightly below the
general level, although the disparity is by no means as
great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Above-average exceptions include those
farmers who have been able to profit from the present
regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large
herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings
or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

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439 suffers by being inadequately graded and packed does not
concern him although the specialist working in Malta on
marketing problems has stressed this as a primary weakness
up to now (B/253). The farmer is further reluctant to
[178] change to the production of certain 'early' varieties of
potato which would sell much more profitably on the over-
seas market than does the Arran Banner which has been the
predominant variety in the Islands for several decades.

178 The argument returns, in fact, to the thesis put for-
ward in a number of contexts in this report that the farmer
241 is still thinking very much as a peasant subsistence
producer although to outward appearances he has now become
a fully commercial, cash-cropping farmer. This outlook,
the product of illiteracy and confined experience, will
have to be appreciated by those concerned with any kind of
improvement and development in the Maltese agriculture.
It is the younger, literate generation of the farming
community who would be capable of education in these terms
- if they stay in agriculture to be educated.

654 In the long run it would appear that the most satis-
426 factory kind of financial help to farming is the loan at
very low interest rate (Section 2). The basis of this
was the Agriculture and Fishing Industries (Financial
Assistance) Act, No.11 of 1956, which authorized the loans
for approved capital improvement projects at only 1% interest
per annum. A major result of the loan system was that it
made the farmer independent of money-lenders and money-
lending middlemen. Previously many farmers had suffered
near financial strangulation in the grip of these indivuals,
particularly where they were operating under perpetual
debt (v. Cases V and IX). A second great advantage of the
loan is that the farmer is able to improve his farm and
farming and at the same time preserve that independence of
operation so dear to him. Many of the subsidies on seeds,
rations, etc. have forced him to use his money in a certain
way. He much prefers if possible to have the money and
spend it as he chooses on machinery, livestock and fodder,
buildings, cisterns, irrigation equipment, land reclamation,
and repayment of previous debts, etc.

654 One disturbing feature of the loans is, however, that
426 they are putting a lot of money into the hands of the
farmer without necessarily ensuring that it is spent to
454 the best advantage of agriculture or to the farmer himself
in a long term view. For example much of the money loaned
has been put towards the purchase of livestock and
accommodation for animals in order to increase milk
production, while the present regime of guaranteed milk
price remains. To this extent the loans have helped the

654 herdsman to produce a now over-grown dairy industry
426 (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses earlier in this
454 Section).

Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Section 2), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

829 The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has
467 been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly no less strained have been relations between one farmer and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has emerged on the administrative side of farming in the Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic
[474] co-operation (Section 2). The main outcome of this has been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed
[747] any importance. The very recent tractor co-operatives (Section 2) are proving successful but would probably not have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[29].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in it. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[43]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

829 It has also precluded the development of a substantial
474 Co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading.

178 434 [511] industry in search of it.

(5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture (Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

511 Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

[461] (a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

[454] (c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

829 157 [178] (6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, to Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

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3 ratal barley bran	1s. 4d.
8 " cake	3s. 6d.
5 " sulla	1s. 4d.
8 " beans	5s. 0d.
1 basket prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½ " straw	6d
	12s. 8d.

- Sample daily food for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48 ratal bean	£1. 10s. 0d.
16 " barley	6s. 0d.
4 bundles sulla	5s. 0d.
Furrajna (green barley)	5s. 0d.
	£2. 6s. 0d.

[434] - Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit, making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d. daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

*159
234
G. **Husbandry.**

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".
- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
  - (a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.
  - (b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.
  - (c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

*159
241
(ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.
- Two rotations are in use,
  - (a) 1st yr: Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
    2nd yr: Sulla
    3rd yr: Wheat
    4th yr: Fallow
  - (b) 1st yr: Wheat
    2nd yr: Sulla and Beans
    3rd yr: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor plowing.
    4th yr: Fallow

*159
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829
H. **General.**

- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gozitan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.
- [454] At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

*159
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CASE II: Ġużepp (A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping.)

Like Pawlu (Case I) Ġużepp is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his

*159 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed
443 annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. **Land.**

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. **Utilisation.**

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. **Livestock.**

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. **Capital.**

[423] [454] [412] [407] [426] [427]

(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.

- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. **Labour.** (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. **Production and Sales.**

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. **Husbandry.**

[245]
(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 [245]
- Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233] [461] (ii)
- Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii)
- Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.
- [231] Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

*159 829 241 H. General.

- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.
- *159 [434] [234] Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.
- [511] ● [454] [241] Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.
- [511] Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

*159 Shopping is done in the local Village but Nardu
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 A. **Land.**
423
30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 B. **Utilisation.**
241
311
Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under sofâfa (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 C. **Livestock.**
231
During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital.**
[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
- Freehold village house.
●[454] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[412] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc.
[407] - No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 E. **Labour.**
464
- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting.
During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
[427] - Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 F. **Production and Sales.**
433
- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

*159 G. **Husbandry.**
241
(i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annu
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prov
the employment of the normal four-year rota

000 authorities each year.

*159 Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since
494 its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the
234 present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work
434 of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In
January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk
[432] and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling
some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a
nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me".
Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but
it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in
[454] for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of
the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment
of his herd of cows, together with improvements to
the accommodation for the animals.

*159 Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old,
423 and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise
234 yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop
his own property since the war in order to qualify for the
[429] necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his
now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the
Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family
and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of
buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village.
This is typical of the majority of farm units based on
livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts
with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be
housed at some distance from the family living quarters,
a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household
342 is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead
351 off to the gound floor living rooms, to the goat shed and
423 cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room,
to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street.
From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder
storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor
store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further
staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to
the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are
typical with their intensive use of available space and
maximum building development on the portion owned by the
farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate
enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small
patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of
continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

*159 231 234 **C. Livestock.**

- 50 goats
- 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.
- Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159 42 ● 454 **D. Capital.**

- The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).
- Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.
- [407] No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tomna when necessary.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

- No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.
- Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

~ *159 43 **F. Production and Sales.**

- Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qanter respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.

These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

*159 231 234 **G. Husbandry.**

- Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention to holding.
- Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

*159 433 **H. General.**

- When asked whether he considered himself to be herdsman or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general dealer" in crops and animals.
- In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

* 159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
[246] lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great
success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow
to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

* 159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

427
- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

* 159 **B. Utilisation.**

241
- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

* 159 231 234
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

* 159 **D. Capital.**

[454]
- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] [234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

* **G. Husbandry.**

159 231 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.
[427]
- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.

[311]
- This land is good, cultivable land unattended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly 5 tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

[435]
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.

[434]
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

* **H. General.**

159 156
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159 - Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer
than facts warrant.
156 - Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since
[231] he assumes (with no factual background) that profit
will be greater.
- Much influenced by personalities and is willing to
accept advice uncritically if the person giving it
is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary
to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content
with present living conditions.

*159 **CASE VIII : Niklaws** (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)

472 Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent par-
[423] tnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70
tmien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle.
[234] There is some division of labour among the five, with one
being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most
about the fields", and a third the driver and general busin-
ess manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and
their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have con-
siderably added to the holding.

*159 The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows'
472 milk production. They retain only two goats. With about
20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day
234 - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained
433 while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons.
Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says
[232] Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear
in the summer months as supplements to the standard items
of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields
has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use
is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which
could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a
407 mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth
454 year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing
234 machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators
and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on
[429] the door. Currently much capital is being put into build-
ing a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The
brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to
have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present
their animals are divided among three widely separated byres,
although all of these are easily accessible by road - and
[435] the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949
and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present
building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests
that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a
loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low
interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent
the money being repaid."

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 (i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

234 (ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

*159 **D. Capital.**

[472] (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

*159 **E. Labour.**

464 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

407 (ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

427 (iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

(iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

*159 **F. Production and Sales.**

433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

*159 178 829 [454] Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming", although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

*159 423 (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows'milk production.)

A. Land.

Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. [429] 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

*159 231 C. Livestock.

Shifting emphasis in recent years.
- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957: 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- Pigs 8.

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Ingliżi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 D. Capital.

426 (i) No freehold property.

[423] (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[454] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools
- rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- [407] small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.
- [312] no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 E. Labour.

464
- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 F. Production and Sales.

434 435
- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and oak : 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 G. Husbandry.

231 (i)
- The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- [232] Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii)
- Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 H. General.

234 829 The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect [426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 245 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to quality as those for the table.

*159 245 231 451 In this move towards more vine production and the recent interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to emphasise the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made between money spent on the home and family, and money spent on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held "in one purse". [593] Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

*159 434 454 [511] At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400, less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30 for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957. During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income from pig sales and other items.

*159 434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit........	£340	-	£340
Grapes.......	49	£ 8	57
Sulla........	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons.......	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals.......	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 434 435 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between one year and the next is today more important to the arable farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more [454] accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

159 434 454 is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent. Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting his money into capital equipment for his fields. He has in [409] fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of 16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding, in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

* 159 511 262 Expenses within the household are difficult to determine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva), a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat and ham,, coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc), olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958) -butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (għaġin). Ġamri observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually insufficient for the family so additional quantities of these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring [354] the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not considered essential even during the coldest part of the winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

* 159 262 [369] The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural Malta. In some details this differs from that found among urban working classes in the Islands but these differences are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm, where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An impor- [785] tant factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions. Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in contrast
231 to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

*159 Ġamri and farming

Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
[454] ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[729] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
[434] guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
*159 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
181 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he believes
that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
181 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

* 159 829 181 178 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.

Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help _them_ to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

* 159 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production.)

423 (Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

427 A. Land.

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

* 159 241 B. Utilisation.

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9	tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9	"
Potatoes	6.2	"
Other vegetables	4.9	"
Fallow or unproductive or lot 'bin-nofs'.	12.6	"
	62.5	tmien

* 159 231 C. Livestock.

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

* 159 423 454 D. Capital.

(i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.

(ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.

(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.

* 159 407 427 (iv) - Equipment;

- Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
- Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding. Ġ

CASE XI : Summary.

(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

*159 423 429 **A. Land.**

(i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Mellieha District. 2 tmien freehold.
(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.
(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.
(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced ~~as~~ annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 241 **B. Utilization.** With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons. Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.
(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 231 **C. Livestock.** During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bojjem tax-xoghol').

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] [435] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
[454] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E.[27] Estimated possible total less than £100.
[406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.
[494] [241] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.
[464] - Rarely hires labour.
[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

000 was taken for granted.
*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XII : Čenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

*159 Čenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
554 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Čenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compen-
sation to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
241 In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
[451] This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Ċenzu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 **A. Land.**

427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves,
234 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[407] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 **E. Labour.**

464 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
[465] - In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[427] [241] [407] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 13/- to £1 a tmien.

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely
residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his
sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this
type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no
importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the
fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election
times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and
his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance.
He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily
- because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging
the younger farming generation from staying on the land and
struggling against rising costs to sell products which are
but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

423 **A. Land.**

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] Soils: l-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

- [241] Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] **C. Livestock.** 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 **D. Capital.**

- 454 No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- 422 Usual hand tools.
- 423 Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 **E. Labour.**

- 464 Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- [465] Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.

[433] [251] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43
(i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmion field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable ● [454] capital reserve.

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829

CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdoms, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

*159 241 829 of these problems is without solution and he puts a great part of the blame on the Maltese farmer himself who is prevented says Ġ by his illiteracy and suspicion from uniting and from seeking to improve his own farming. He maintains that it *is* possible to make money in farming today in the Islands, but only with the right methods, ideas and facilities. This is where he himself comes in, for he believes his ideas on mechanization are the answer, leading to the elimination of hand labour as far as possible. He insists that a profitable farm must be a workable unit, that is a large patch of twenty, forty or more tmien capable of being worked by mechanical implements. Moreover, he insists that the farmer should, where possible, sell his own produce to the consumer in order to evade the 'middle-men' and thereby make a greater profit.

Ġanni himself talks vaguely of acquiring such a farm, although to date his contract-plowing has absorbed all his profit-making energies.

Ġanni's view of the farmer in Malta.

He lays a great deal of the blame for the present agricultural difficulties at the door of the farmers themselves. His view of his fellow farmers and villagers approaches cynicism: "The farmer's illiteracy prevents him from admitting that anything could be better than that which he knows. It also prevents him from trusting other farmers and prevents him from realizing the folly of putting bad-weight with produce for export. The young people who are far from illiterate and will listen to reason are not staying on the land long enough for this to be of lasting benefit to agriculture". He observes that the farmer is keen for a sure profit but not at all anxious to plunge his often considerable capital into [178] a new venture such as buying a tractor. In fact he will not accept any new method or crop before he sees it a working success - preferably in a field near his own. This applied particularly to the 'outlandish' ideas on deep-plowing which Ġanni brought back from Australia. His fellow villagers regarded his 16" mould-board, three-furrow plows with great suspicion, and his ideas on potato-ridging, combine-harvesting and threshing met with no more approval initially.

● [454] Ġanni insists that the farmer's saving is merely "an aimless accumulation of money: a man may look poor in dress and have £1000 tucked away". He says of an old lady in a nearby lonely house "She wears no shoes and has never been to Valletta but will die leaving thousands".

181 241 829 This conservatism and reluctance on the part of the illiterate farmer emerges, therefore, as a major difficulty in the way of improvement and modification. It is one which tends to be overlooked by well-meaning experts and officials who forget that, unlike themselves, the farmer is unable to

*159 512 794 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

592 178 *159 Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 423 427 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

A. Land.

[311]
- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £[illegible]3.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 423 311 B. Utilisation.

	1956	1957	1958
House	⅛	⅛	⅛
Vines	¾	¾	¾
Prickly pear	¾	¾	¾
Fodders	8¼	10¼	14⅜
Vegetables	8⅝	6½	2⅜
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 231 C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 401 [427] [456] D. Capital.
- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 464 E. Labour.
- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 433 [434] F. Production and Sales.
- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

∴ Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

433 The main relevant conclusion was unmistakably ominous: 'Government expenditure has more than made up for that of the Knights, and has diverted 458 more of the labour of the population to the service, direct or indirect, of the foreign government which applied it to purposes entirely Imperial and unconnected with the special interests of the colony. Doubtless this expenditure has led to immediate prosperity... but the basis of this prosperity is artificial and precarious' (6). It is possible to argue the degree of validity of the third premiss of the first clause but the general truth is undeniable. This general picture is so clear that in this particular chapter attention will be focussed only on some aspects of the Maltese economy as it has developed during the last 50 years.

43 The changing character of Maltese Trade is well evidenced in the annual reports of the Customs and Port Department. Before World War I, Malta was still of some importance in Mediterranean transit trade, particularly for goods destined for North African and Levant ports. Between 1910 and 1922 the annual average weight of such merchandise handled was 17,000 tons (7). This activity almost disappeared during hostilities and after a short post-war boom settled down at a new low level handling only some 3,000 tons of merchandise. In part this was due to the elimination of the important German and Austrian connection which, in a Report published in 1919 (8), was the subject of much hostile Maltese comment. More important was the fact that the gap thus left was not filled by other foreign or local interests. The Maltese writers of the 1919 Report were not able to obtain their desire 'to have a company formed by a few merchants, who would thus teach Maltese capitalists that the investment of moneys in industries and especially in shipping is more profitable and better for the Islands and for the capitalists themselves, than the investment in doubtful securities [504] or in reckless speculation'. The fundamental difficulties of expanding port activity have remained. Malta, for all the grandiloquence of the name 'Grand Harbour', has until very recently possessed but poor physical facilities for handling shipping. All vessels of over 2,000 tons have had to be worked by lighter, and civil repair facilities as well as warehousing have been extremely limited. In that the needs of the Fleet have been paramount this is understandable; the consequences have been deplorable. The absence of enthusiasm for [454] local investment of Maltese capital has been equally inhibiting. There survives, even intensified during the 1930's, a traditional feeling of insecurity which was succinctly noted by a banker giving evidence before the 1911 Commission: 'There is plenty of money in the Island... there is not much trust, I think' (9). Even now, while the rate of saving in Malta is very high - c. 14 per cent. of total personal income, too large a proportion of the savings are invested abroad - some £70 millions. Given this basic insecurity, which still appears in conversations with business men and which is so deeply rooted as to be very difficult to remove, development is difficult. Moreover, since the Maltese for an island [228] people are singularly non-maritime in character, and, in conditions no more difficult than in many other parts of the Mediterranean, have almost ignored the fishery industry (10), there exists no traditional basis for marine affairs. In these circumstances the value of the handing over of the Naval base to British civilian firms, and the policy of attracting foreign (mainly British) manufacturing concerns, thus making available both facilities and most of the capital, is on economic grounds indisputable.

One other aspect of port and trading activities must be examined, the nature 439 and balance of imports and exports. The changing character of world trade in 457 the first place has vitally affected the nature of Malta's entrepôt activity. By 1956, the value of re-exports had reached over two and a half million pounds, of which one and a half million represented mineral fuels and lubricants, mainly aviation spirit and turbine fuel (11). This is still the pattern today. Of Malta's transit trade in re-exports, by far the biggest proportion is concerned with supplying the Garrison in its new and more mobile form. The imbalance between retained imports and domestic exports remains essentially similar to that observed very much earlier and is best examined in conjunction with other economic elements.

For brevity's sake it must suffice to say here that, apart from the obvious 178
effects of World War II, the Maltese economy during the last 50 years has 433
developed along more or less uniform general lines. Trade statistics began to
be compiled properly in 1909-10. By 1918, visible exports paid for only 10 per 457
cent. of all imports while by 1956 this proportion had dropped to 5 per cent.
For our present purpose the most recent specifically economic Report utilising [127]
normally unpublished source material, that of Balogh and Seers (13), may be
used as a basis for discussion. Statistics for the year 1953-54 contained therein
and in the original source material are here re-assembled and re-arranged in
the same combinations used in Chapter V A, i.e. Negotiable Income or External
Economic Balance, Internal Revenue and National Product. By no means all the
facts are available and some of the elements in the computation are open to
question, but this particular presentation has been adopted to bring out significant
points of direct relevance to our work.

The first element, that of External Balance may be presented in tabular form thus:-

Table 31. External economic balance, 1954. 434 457

A. Negotiable Income - originating externally.	
(i) Services pay	£6.5 millions
(of which dockyard)	(3.6 ")
(ii) Direct expenditure by Services	2.2 "
(iii) Estimated spending by non-Maltese Service personnel	6.0 "
	£14.7 "
(iv) Imperial Grants	3.0 "
	£17.7 "
B. Negotiable Income - originating internally.	
(i) Merchandise exports	£1.5 millions
(ii) Invisible exports	2.9 "
	£4.4 "
C. Negotiable Income - Grand Total	£22.1 millions
D. Expenditure on Imports.	
(i) Merchandise imports	£18.6 millions
(ii) Invisible imports	1.9 "
	£20.5 "

The most obvious characteristic of Malta's economy in its external relationship is its amazing dependence for Negotiable Income, i.e. convertible wealth available for paying for imports, on factors outside domestic control.

In detail various significant points emerge. While part of this income resulted from the provision of industrial and labour services - A (i) and (ii), about 40 per cent. came through retail and domestic services to the Garrison - A (iii). Statistically, this is an item impossible to measure precisely, and in so far as it is a residual item a further question arises, to wit, how far may it be an over-estimate concealing an unrecorded inflow of foreign wealth through hidden channels to the civil population. In Sierra Leone, periodic upsurges of

434 457 unrequited imports were indicative of illegal diamond smuggling. It may well be that, in Malta, a less spectacular movement of capital is similarly responsible for part of the residual items of foreign income. Even so, and considered in a later examination of Internal Revenue and National Product, the implications of a national reliance on this and other elements of income are manifestly significant.

439 If we turn to a consideration of the merchandise in trade, the instability of the situation becomes even more strikingly obvious. An analysis of trade of the Maltese Islands in 1953 (13), the year in which economic conditions for 1954 would be established, shows the following salient points. Britain and the Commonwealth supplied half of Malta's imports thus leaving some £10,000,000 of the remainder to be covered by British credit with other countries. Of the domestically originating exports of three-quarters of a million pounds, only £266,000 went to non-protected markets outside the Commonwealth. These and other details suggest that the Maltese Islands as a whole, not only the Garrison therein, represent a not inconsiderable drain on British reserves of foreign currency. This appears even more strongly from a consideration of the classes of imported merchandise. Imports of Food, Drink and Tobacco (F.D.T.), totalling £7,800,000 were of almost precisely the same value as imports of Manufactures. The Mediterranean Maltese islands naturally depend on imports for main supplies of dairy products. Almost all the £161,188 expended on butter went to the Commonwealth but nearly half of the value of cheese imports - £305,000 in all - came from Italy. Another £161,000 went on eggs, and £785,000 on processed milk. Alarmingly enough however even Mediterranean products were and still are imported in surprisingly large quantities. £130,000 on edible oils, and £353,000 on vegetables, one-third of the latter represented by tomato preparations, are such large sums as to need justification of local inability to produce these commodities. When one notes that, in a Class distinct from the F.D.T. group, a further £1,241,000 was expended on livestock fodder, then one begins to wonder whether agriculture is practised at all in the Islands. There seems no doubt that many of the fresh or processed food and fodder commodities now imported could properly be produced in Malta by better resource use. There remains one difficulty. It is probable that the Knights subsisted mainly on imported products of higher quality than those produced locally. Since 1800, and this is a sign of rising living standards, social emulation has been able to spread this effect through the greater part of the population. The trade figures for later years merely confirm what may be observed directly that most Maltese for one reason or another will deliberately choose foreign rather than domestic produce where possible. In 1956 this led to the consideration of quasi-sumptuary regulations; to us it is a factor in the social environment quite as important as many elements in the physical environment.

652 434 If we turn to a consideration of the Internal Revenue Account we see how deep-rooted and extensive are those characteristics of the economy already noted.

Thus of Government Revenue approximately one-third was derived directly from outside Malta (C) as a result of activities originating outside the control of the Maltese people. Of the remaining two-thirds (D), the largest part was *indirectly* also so obtained from activities dependent on expenditure by non-Maltese, in that it came from taxation of profits earned by mercantile services to the Garrison, taxation of wages, salaries and industrial profits earned by other services rendered to the Imperial power, and lastly from Customs levies on the goods paid for by external income. This revenue (D) was not in itself in any case large enough to cover ordinary expenditure (A) let alone supply capital for public investment.

434 471 Many other questions could be raised, e.g. is not the scale of Government expenditure on Administration rather large relative to total revenue?; but we must content ourselves with one last reflection. The paucity of material resources in the Islands is such that capital investment for raising production can only be applied to agriculture and to improving the productivity of labour in those industrial or commercial services called into being by the locational

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely 433
based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate
help to the Islands in their present effort ' find alternative sources of employ- 434
ment'. From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification,
while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more
violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain
it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate,
Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese
communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity.
The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this
dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic
stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that [511]
the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level
of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the
present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to
outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of
attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to pro-
duction, has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing
any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been
met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe
that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what
is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel.
Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes
manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived 162
from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In
December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta 464
having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of [161]
Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of
population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased.
The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of
the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per
cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government
revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service
Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial
Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in [433]
normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated
by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had [457]
increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2
millions. [434]

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to
the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life
investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in 504
the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter
of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent 464
and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main character-
istics of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that
time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost
exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in
'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction.
In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction,
Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional
departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees,
most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a
considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well
as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus con-
tained the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most
important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil
'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled,
particularly in the building industry (18).

group. From 1851, when it composed 45 per cent. of the total, this element 175*
steadily decreased, absolutely and relatively. This general trend resulted from
normal sociological changes consequent on a maturing of the whole economy 43
and from the growing dominance of male employing service industries. At the 464
same time, the preponderantly feminine cotton industry was steadily declining
(see pp. 123 and 124).

One of the most significant indicators of economic change is that of male 175*
employment in agriculture (Fig. 31). During the first century of British rule,
agriculture played no part in the economic expansion which was in train. 43
Agricultural prosperity became a function of general prosperity and therefore
to a large extent mirrored external fortune. Employment in the industry on the 464
other hand, except for the shortlived cotton growing boom of the 1860's during 841
the American Civil War, varied inversely with general economic activity. In
Malta, as in most countries, it would be true to say that rising profits in farming 458
benefited existing producers but failed to attract net incomers. On the other
hand, population growth, the cessation of employment elsewhere, obstacles to
emigration or even forces producing a return of migrants all periodically forced
some workers back on to the land. Thus in the years between 1851 and 1871 while
the population was growing more quickly than the slow but accelerating commercial
activity, sheer population pressure and migration trends (16) forced
the level of male agricultural employment from c. 7,000 to c. 9,000. During the
Golden Years and the subsequent period of large-scale dockyard and public
works construction numbers fell once more to c. 7,000 in 1901. Later stagnation
in commerce and a decline in constructional work culminating in a severe
depression (necessitating a Royal Commission) were marked by an increase in
the number of farmworkers to 8,500 in 1911. These general fluctuations can be
corroborated by reference to farm family histories and by changes in the availability
of land. Behind the overall absence of numerical change and of those of
secular variations we may discern some of the fundamental features of Maltese
agriculture. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the better land had already
been occupied by as many farmworkers as contemporary productivity could
properly support. This number remained more or less constant, first because
the economic and social climate was not propitious to the labour saving innovations
which were sweeping over Europe, and secondly because the intake of land
from waste did little more than compensate for losses elsewhere. We have a
picture of a technically static, status declining and credit starved industry which
from time to time lost some of its most vigorous and enterprising young workers
or gained a flood of generally poor and semi-skilled labourers.

More true of Malta than of Gozo, this picture must be modified to accommodate 175*
regional differences and changes. Already in the eighteenth century, as
we have noted, a cleavage existed in Malta between the *urbs* around Valletta, 369
the Old City of Mdina-Rabat, and the rural communities. By the middle of the
nineteenth century, this had developed into an embryonic form of the present 43
division into urban, suburban and rural communities (Fig. 36). The social and
demographic reasons for and implications of this are considered elsewhere
(Chapter VI A) but the internal economic factors need present consideration.

Before the building of the railway in 1881, the tramways in 1905, and the [999]
later motorable roads, communication between villages and between country
and town was relatively limited. Within those areas physically closest to what
had now become the Grand Harbour the attraction/repulsion effects on agricultural
employment were most strongly felt. On the eastern urban fringe, in
the Żabbar area, these fluctuations were very violent and indicative of too
complete reliance on two simple forms of economic activity, dockyard work
and farming. On the western fringe the expanding economic and political
functions of the nuclear *urbs* overwhelmed old villages such as Birkirkara
and created new townships such as that of Hamrun in a more complex urbanisation
(Figs. 33 and 39). Fluctuations in agricultural employment still occurred
but these were less important than the steady decline in the total.

The changes outlined above proceeded slowly but at an accelerating rate
during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. By 1871 popula-

[Text Continues on P. 123]

B. Economy and Trade

128 433

In any schematic division of history into periods there must be dangers and difficulties. Nevertheless, some themes of significance to our present study, naturally as well as for reasons of convenience, are best treated in this way. It is impossible to be precise about the date of birth of modern Malta in that different land marks might well be used in pursuing different lines of thought. Thus, constitutionally the year 1921 is of most significance, while the Royal Commission of 1911 is in some ways an economic obsequy for nineteenth-century Malta. In the sections that follow, therefore, arguments cannot be chronologically in step. Moreover, this, our last period, is the most well-documented of all and the irregularity of coverage most considerable. Some of the arguments earlier developed need little further emphasis in that some conditions and attitudes firmly established by the beginning of the twentieth century need merely to have their survival confirmed and readers referred to relevant material. Henceforward, therefore, our treatment can legitimately be more selective.

This period of Modern British Malta must be further subdivided. The first phase drew slowly and uneasily to a close during our period of research. It was formally ended by the suspension of the constitution in 1958. The new constitutional proposals of 1960 mark the official beginning of a second phase. The interregnum was the period of the transference of the Naval Dockyard to a civilian firm of ship repairers. In that we attach the greatest importance to the study of the fundamental infrastructure on which Maltese life has and will be based, most of the following analysis is concerned with the first phase - the climacteric of British rule in Malta. Our comment on more recent happenings is therefore deliberately restricted.

162 433 464

The Census of 1912 noted that in the decennial period 1901-11 ... 'productiveness has not risen in proportion to the increase of the population'.

The recorded Civil population in 1911 was 211,564. While in 1901, 28 per cent. of the female population was gainfully occupied, ten years later the proportion had fallen to 20 per cent. Henceforth male employment alone was of significance. The male labour force, which for analytical purposes was regarded as excluding only the age-group below five years of age, totalled 92,529. Of these almost 12,000 were engaged in agriculture, 19,489 in commerce and transport, and over 21,000 enumerated as having 'industrial' occupations. 31,385 were returned as unoccupied or unproductive.

433 464 458

The opening quotation is strictly an actuarial statement based on demographic facts. Behind the Census figures however we may perceive, by using various pieces of evidence, an economic basis for its sombreness. By comparing details of the 1911 enumeration with those for 1921, the first year in which unemployment within occupational groups was recorded, we may deduce that some 10 per cent. of the able male labour force was in fact without employment during the earlier year. By 1907, 10 per cent. of the ships cleared from Malta left in ballast (1). Between 1901 and 1911, the numbers of farmers and farmers' relatives assisting on the land increased by 3,000 and the number of labourers fell by 1,259 (2). Only once between 1906 and 1914, in 1908-09, did Government Revenue not show a deficit (3). In 1905, 9,175 men were employed in the Naval Establishments but this had fallen to 5,181 in 1906 (4). Many such facts could [654] be quoted to prove the existence of an economic depression in Malta during the years following 1906, a situation which induced the setting up in 1911 of a Royal Commission to consider the financial situation. The array of evidence does more than this, it also shows that this was no simple secular trend but a sign of uneasy adjustment to new circumstances, an adjustment that is still in progress. This is why the Report of the 1911 Commission is of more than contemporary importance (5) and why its study is essential to any serious consideration of Maltese problems.

433 458 The main relevant conclusion was unmistakably ominous: 'Government expenditure has more than made up for that of the Knights, and has diverted more of the labour of the population to the service, direct or indirect, of the foreign government which applied it to purposes entirely Imperial and unconnected with the special interests of the colony. Doubtless this expenditure has led to immediate prosperity . . . but the basis of this prosperity is artificial and precarious' (6). It is possible to argue the degree of validity of the third premiss of the first clause but the general truth is undeniable. This general picture is so clear that in this particular chapter attention will be focussed only on some aspects of the Maltese economy as it has developed during the last 50 years.

43 The changing character of Maltese Trade is well evidenced in the annual reports of the Customs and Port Department. Before World War I, Malta was still of some importance in Mediterranean transit trade, particularly for goods destined for North African and Levant ports. Between 1910 and 1922 the annual average weight of such merchandise handled was 17,000 tons (7). This activity almost disappeared during hostilities and after a short post-war boom settled down at a new low level handling only some 3,000 tons of merchandise. In part this was due to the elimination of the important German and Austrian connection which, in a Report published in 1919 (8), was the subject of much hostile Maltese comment. More important was the fact that the gap thus left was not filled by other foreign or local interests. The Maltese writers of the 1919 Report were not able to obtain their desire 'to have a company formed by a few merchants, who would thus teach Maltese capitalists that the investment of moneys in industries and especially in shipping is more profitable and better for the Islands and for the capitalists themselves, than the investment in doubtful securities or in reckless speculation'. The fundamental difficulties of expanding port [504] activity have remained. Malta, for all the grandiloquence of the name 'Grand Harbour', has until very recently possessed but poor physical facilities for handling shipping. All vessels of over 2,000 tons have had to be worked by lighter, and civil repair facilities as well as warehousing have been extremely limited. In that the needs of the Fleet have been paramount this is understandable; the consequences have been deplorable. The absence of enthusiasm for [454] local investment of Maltese capital has been equally inhibiting. There survives, even intensified during the 1930's, a traditional feeling of insecurity which was succinctly noted by a banker giving evidence before the 1911 Commission: 'There is plenty of money in the Island . . . there is not much trust, I think' (9). Even now, while the rate of saving in Malta is very high - c. 14 per cent. of total personal income, too large a proportion of the savings are invested abroad - some £70 millions. Given this basic insecurity, which still appears in conversations with business men and which is so deeply rooted as to be very difficult to remove, development is difficult. Moreover, since the Maltese for an island [228] people are singularly non-maritime in character, and, in conditions no more difficult than in many other parts of the Mediterranean, have almost ignored the fishery industry (10), there exists no traditional basis for marine affairs. In these circumstances the value of the handing over of the Naval base to British civilian firms, and the policy of attracting foreign (mainly British) manufacturing concerns, thus making available both facilities and most of the capital, is on economic grounds indisputable.

439 457 One other aspect of port and trading activities must be examined, the nature and balance of imports and exports. The changing character of world trade in the first place has vitally affected the nature of Malta's entrepôt activity. By 1956, the value of re-exports had reached over two and a half million pounds, of which one and a half million represented mineral fuels and lubricants, mainly aviation spirit and turbine fuel (11). This is still the pattern today. Of Malta's transit trade in re-exports, by far the biggest proportion is concerned with supplying the Garrison in its new and more mobile form. The imbalance between retained imports and domestic exports remains essentially similar to that observed very much earlier and is best examined in conjunction with other economic elements.

457 lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm
511 and that spent on the household.
In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and
[593] co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the
average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate
and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and
expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating
to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that
his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of
time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where
they proved of major importance and benefit.

At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance
[454] of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen
to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X).
The period in question was financially atypical for this
man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd
of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe
storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for
any farmer like him is further complicated by the un-
commercial approach which is made to the labour of the
farmer himself(and in this Case that of a brother and
nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed
because custom demands that they are done and a job is not
neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus
[511] the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure
as a cost in production (Section 2).

His income derives largely from the sale of fruit
434 (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable.
454 In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57
458 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only
£340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew
"receives something when a crop is sold". Other items
sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of
tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season
each of the brothers received a gross profit of about
£250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food
consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X)
nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57
from savings. This feature is crucial. Given the
normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result
of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer
is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on
the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he
expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far
[181] hence. This insecurity of his capital is important in
his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production
or farm management and in part also echoes the conservation
and inertia of the traditional peasant [illegible]

In 1839

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The princip
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-wheel,
or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is
the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing
by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work,
175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nineteenth
century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on
other crops while, socially, the change affected the
family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commissioners
735 reported that the prevalent poverty had become
511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and
that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts,
the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded
saving but also led to begging and stealing which was
"One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty
and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to
much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the
nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions
of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The
Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Miège in
1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made
in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167);
reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874
(B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207);
on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera
in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living
standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on
mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great
as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the
bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country
districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst
description" while "It must also be admitted that the
sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not
so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late
175 years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

511 The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence
[369] is that there existed a considerable gulf in general
[464] living standards between the people of the towns and
those of the country. There was also an important
[458] contrast within the then rapidly expanding Urban area.

175 between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This
458 dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth
511 century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished
[464] from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which
[184] characterized the totality of economic life in Malta.
Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean
basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by
changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the
fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of
prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century.
[731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts,
epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean
in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable
Malta (B/556).

175 The major economic developments arising from the
184 growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the
511 Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various
178 stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic
life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the
chain of external events made their presence felt. In
all this the fortunes of one section of the population,
such as the farming community, could at no time stand
unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands
as a whole.

175 Malta remained sharply divided within itself by
178 class, district and education and the parallel differences
[184] of living standards between one section of society and
another were continued. But the later decades of the
[871] nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from
the economic plane, the beginnings of general education
which, during the present century, was to remove the
illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural
classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of
life and society outside the limits of the village.
[184] Improvements in transport and communication within the
[369] Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area
to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the
twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of
isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and
Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural
[621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been
a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little
contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages
in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the forces indicated were beginning to modify the position but it was not until the present century and particularly

178 the years after 1939 that the cumulative effects of
[175] education, emancipation and communication were to produce
a society very different from that which Maltese country
[511] folk had known for centuries (Section 1). It became
[184] different when the traditionally depressed sections of the
community became restless and began to demand the improve-
ments in their living standards which they came to believe
should be theirs by right as well as need.

178 This is not to suggest that the present position of
184 Maltese rural society is an 'end-product' of change. The
369 opposite is true. The old and new exist side by side in
agriculture and in the farming community of the Islands today. Some people, some places, and some features of life and work hold far more tenaciously to the old than do others where comparatively few years have seen considerable modifications of the traditional pattern.

175 By 1912, the Royal Commissioners were able to observe
●458 that the living standards of the labouring classes of
464 Malta and Gozo compared well with those of other Mediter-
ranean countries (B/186, p.25-6). "Building", they said.
511 "is cheap and good and the country people are exceptionally
well-housed". But, in their consideration of the economic state of the Islands as a whole, the Commissioners thought the picture much more gloomy. The depression which they found, though of only recent appearance, was being felt by the mass of the people, although "until the advent of the present depression, the condition of the people has been one of comparative comfort". To appreciate "The present distress, and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta.....it is necessary to recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former prosperity and employments, which depended to a large extent upon Imperial expenditure...." (B/186, p.12). Here did the Commissioners strike at the root of the problem which has grown to formidable proportions in the half-century since the report was made. They pointed to the position in which the economic structure of the country as a whole was based on the shifting sands of Imperial naval and military expenditure and in which the living standards of the Maltese population were therefore tied indirectly and directly to that Imperial expenditure. Moreover, within the Maltese population itself, it is not difficult to see that the first to be hit by a drop in Imperial expenditure (as happened between 1902 and 1911 and, again, in the post-1945 period) were and are the labouring and poorer classes generally lacking alternative employment in the Islands, in the event of their becoming redundant, and having often little or no capital reserves.

175 Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger
458 position than the townsman for he has had the land to which
464 he could return when no other work was available. Thus the
369 degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred
years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level of prosperity in the Islands (Section 2).

178 The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be
related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the
241 higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural
464 pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold
[458] on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in
[554] some future period of major economic recession and
depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than a minor part of the total population. As an economic retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the
[554] problem goes further. The present younger generation in the
farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly. Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of reconciliation.

175 Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese
465 agriculture may be seen from that afore-mentioned index,
the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War, a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is, today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourer:

1826-42	6½d - 8d	(B/556, p.215)
1843-54	8d - 10d	"
1855-56	1s - 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d - 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d - 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s - 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s	(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s - 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s - 25s	(Personal Investigation)

*159 farm and ignorant of many details of its history and oper-
156 ation. He is "never likely to soil his hands with farm-
178 ing". He is moving away from farming and from the cul-
593 tural and social life of his village. He apologises for
the efforts of the villagers when they attempt to produce a play, he dismisses nick-names as "old-fashioned", and he decries the limitations on activity in his native Island (no dancing or bright lights). Yet he is still enough attached to Gozo to want to introduce changes to it and to make it more like the place his education has made him want to live in. He is typical of one important and growing element in the younger generation of rural Malta and Gozo. In his teens he used to help his father in the fields and took milk to the collection depot, but this stopped as soon as he found a full-time alternative occupation.

*159 Pawlu's eldest daughter, also a teacher, has left
156 farm-work far behind. For her this was never more than
593 casual assistance with vegetable picking and lifting during
holidays from school. It is not likely that she will be
● 46 a farmer's wife.

87 Pawlu's second daughter left school at twelve and divided her time between house and field work until her marriage in her late teens. She was acknowledged as her father's main assistant with the animals.

Two daughters in their middle teens are academically inclined to the extent of staying at school as long as possible and speaking four languages. Both still do incidental farm work when not occupied with studies. Both would be probable 'sixth-form' and university candidates were there any liklihood of financial backing. Their education, especially in English language and culture, is giving them - and many others like them - an advancement which is not matched by opportunity. They are learning in an educational cul-de-sac.

A son in his middle teens works full-time in the fields with his father, having left school at twelve, while two more boys are still of compulsory school age and give their father only casual assistance with feeding the smaller animals out of school hours. A little girl of some ten years makes no economic contribution to the farm.

*159 The major feature to emerge from the above consider-
46 ation is that the bulk of the work of the farm, and the
full-time responsibility for all jobs, rests with Pawlu alone. The son who is old enough to deputise for his father has left farming: the only full-time help comes from a younger boy who may himself decide to follow his brother in a few years. Now Pawlu complains that "Labour is the main trouble if the farmer cannot cope with all the

*159 •46 work of the farm and animals himself", and he can only cope with his own farm and animals if he follows a heavy and rigidly organized schedule of work. Hired labour is not a proposition, Pawlu avers, at £1 for an eight-hour day and this has apparently contributed to the emphasis which he has put on fodder and milk production in recent years. [433] High costs of hired labour for field-work together with the poor and unguaranteed returns for crop produce make field work on dry (baghli) land a poor prospect. Irrigable land presents a different picture but there is none available in Pawlu's district.

*159 512 Pawlu's timetable (in effect he runs the farm single-handed) centres on the animals.. During the summer months the pressure is slightly less because the weather is easier, field-work is less pressing and he has the casual help of the younger children in school vacations. Daily time of rising for Pawlu depends on where and when the milk has to be taken for collection. At one stage, in 1957, he had to be up soon after midnight but, until the new milk factory was opened at Xewkija in 1958, a more usual reveille was at 2 or 3 a.m.

[264] [262] Breakfast, of coffee and bread, is taken when the family gets up or when they return from the Church nearby. Pawlu often has to take meals when he can fit them in between his jobs so that it is somewhat exceptional to find the whole family sitting together for food. The morning milking takes him some two hours after which the animals need feeding and attention before he can go to the fields. About six times a month his morning takes him to Rabat on shopping or business errands.

[264] [262] Lunch, the main meal of the day, consists every day of either minestra (thick soup) or farinaceous paste of some kind, together with bread, cheese, oil (żejt) and home-made tomato 'kunserva'. Lunch is usually over by noon when milking and the preparation of the afternoon feed begins. [264] The evening meal is normally similar to the lunch in content but less in amount. It is often taken immediately before retirement for the night which is early in the village. The farmer reckons to be in from the fields by sun-down but, when the evenings are longer, most of the village is quiet soon after 6 p.m. except where some conversation lingers in a paraffin-lit shop.

*159 512 794 Sundays and festa days are breaks from the normal routine, but Church-going is not confined to these days and in fact accounts for some two half-hour visits every day with extra attendances at the weekend. In this very rural community the 'social' aspect of church-going retains most of its traditional importance. In the absence of

407 (iv) MECHANIZED IMPLEMENTS owned by farmers, 1956-57

IMPLEMENTS	MALTA	GOZO	TOTAL
Tractors - under 10 horse-power.....	15	11	26
Tractors - over 10 horse-power.....	26	6	32
Hand Cultivators - under 10 h-p.....	592	74	666
Hand Cultivators - over 10 h-p.....	54	19	73
Harvesting machines - under 10 h-p..	16	1	17
Harvesting machines - over 10 h-p..	1	-	1
Threshing machines - under 10 h-p...	2	-	2
Threshing machines - over 10 h-p...	13	4.	17

162
241 (v) FARMING POPULATION.1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers...........	6,512	1,301	7,813
Part-time farmers...........	6,634	2,954	9,588
Farming population not in farming (over 14).....	5,777	14,694	20,471
Children (under 14).........	10,246	9,795	20,041
Total...........	29,169	28,744	57,913

46
241 (vi) DAYS WORKED on farms (in Man/days). 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers...........	full	full	2,343,900
Part-time farmers...........	part	part	340,221
Hired labour................	158,515	28,401	186,916
Unpaid farmers' relatives...	43,718	5,718	49,386

162 (vii) FARMERS as PERCENTAGE of Total Population. 1871-1957 (v.A)

	FULL-TIME FARMERS					as % TOTAL POPULATION				
	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957
Urban	342	415	307	325	224	.55	.40	.27	.22	.17
Fringe	3023	2259	2181	1618	1150	13.7	5.9	4.25	2.1	1.37
Inner R.	5026	4224	3597	2404	1795	18.8	13.1	8.7	5.15	3.6
Rural	4856	4791	4602	4271	3133	27	21	15.6	10.8	7.8
Outer R.	1763	2200	3002	2805	1511	30	30	31	23	13.9
TOTAL	15910	13889	13689	11423	7813	11.3	7.5	5.15	3.7	2.48

NB: - Sources - 1957 full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957)
- 1957 Population (B/168)
- other data (B/167)
- See also Map 2, and Graph

162? (viii) PART-TIME FARMING (B/525, p.112)

	1901		1958
"Farmers".............	5038	Full-time Farmholders..	4706
"Part-time farmers"..	500	Part-time " ..	5337
		Other Farmholders......	1368
TOTAL.................	5538	....	11411
No. of Holdings......	9178	....	12640

(ix) FARM LABOURING (B/525, p.111): Farmholders, labourers, field workers as % total.

	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders %...	27.2	19.7	17.1	[illegible]0.2	19.1	37.4	36.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers %...	71.9	78.4	80.9	68.1	79.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	56.9	51.1
Total workers %...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
On land (000's)...	12.6	13.4	10.8	15.9	16.0	15.8	13.9	15.2	16.3	13.7

241 592 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited, in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until they can find some paid employment away from the home farm, and

241 464 [461] [465] (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely to become scarcer and more costly.

241 [461] The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that as already suggested, the particular characcristics of Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 241 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so has the range of variety increased.

175 178 221 241 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of each month along with short articles on subjects of interest to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco, would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the [234] Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since [233] 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178 241 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial' and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

178
241 modern calendar of events is considered.

As random sample illustrations three farmers' accounts of their own work during 1957-58 are analyzed[22]. At least they reveal something of the variety that now exists between one farmer and the next.

241 (1) A full-time field worker (Case X) usually working
461 with his brother and a nephew and having some irrigable land.
221 An analysis of the routine of this man is given (Case X; E, v. Work Analysis) and, from the same material, Mitchell has made a detailed study of time/labour utilization (B/525). A summary of this, which is on the basis of the ten hours per day worked by each of the three men over the year 1957-8, is also included in Case X.

(2) The second example relates to an arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce (Case XI; E, v. Work
[592] Analysis). This man is helped in the fields by his wife and family. The analysis illustrates the main features of this 'irrigated' farmer's year (although in the year studied there was an exceptional loss of time in the Autumn due to storm damage) and should be compared with (1) above. Irrigation accounts for about a quarter of the months May-July but occupies a mere two afternoons in the period November-February. Cutting and reaping accounts for even more time in July than does irrigation: by October plowing is the largest single item apart from "No work (storms)". In November, planting and sowing account for slightly more time than "collecting greenery" and is by far the main work of December (potatoes). General cultivation work occupies much of the next two months but pruning and grafting of vines is the biggest single item of February. The parallel between this and (1) is clear, apart from the special emphasis, on fruit - largely apples - in the former case.

234 (3) A Goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping
221 (Case II; E, v. Work Analysis) provides the third
461 sample study. In 1957 - 58 this herdsman spent all but thirty afternoons "grazing the goats" - on only one Sunday or 'festa' day did he not go out with his animals. This illustrates an important feature. While Sundays and Holy Days are normally kept free of field-work, work with animals has to be allowed. The herdsman is consequently much more tied to his farm than is the predominantly arable farmer. He has a set daily schedule of feeding and milking the animals and cleaning out their stalls, etc., and can expect to have to adhere to this especially if he is working alone or with very little help. In fact the herdsman spends a considerable amount of his working year on

234 (i) the grazing mentioned,
221 (ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
461 (iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting milk receipts from the M.M.U., cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of every working day.

221 241 178 181 [931] The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of late, 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of these he is better acquainted.

241 461 178 181 This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate or recently-illiterate farming folk and is given further consideration (Section 4). Suffice it at this stage to emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no

241 461 178 181 direct result. The farmer in (1) spends more than a fortnight each summer gouging tree pests from his apple orchard, a tedious and monotonous task for which the cost would be enormous if any account were made of the labour involved. He has always accepted this task as one of the essential jobs in his fields, presenting itself each year as regularly as the seasons. Today he is wondering whether the same result might not be achieved within the space of a few hours by the application of some spray treatment (Case X).

241 461 This is certainly not to suggest that the Maltese farmer has ever consciously wasted his time. The opposite is the case. Visitors to Malta and Gozo since the eighteenth century have been full of praise for the farmers of the Islands and for their diligent industry. The fact is that the physical limitations of the fields and farms are such that agriculture in the Islands has been maintained and developed only by the application by the farmer of meticulous hand-labour. [464] Today a critical shortage of this very labour is producing a state of doubt and tension in the industry. The question is being posed as to whether some forms of mechanized development can replace traditional manual labour. In view of the characterisites of the rural landscape of the Islands possibilities seem limited.

241 461 178 The farmer's daily timetable, with its long hours of monotonous toil for comparatively little remuneration, is producing a younger farming generation embittered with their inability to do a day's work on the farm in eight hours only and frustrated because independence - in their terms - is denied them. They are tied to the farm and the animals and unable to take as much leisure as their counterparts in 'urban' jobs. Independence for them implies the freedom to take time off from the farm in which to make themselves socially as 'urbanate' as possible. Independence for their fathers' generation is not the same thing. Here is seen a vestige of the traditional peasant way of life which was essentially independent in its family and village self-sufficiency. Thus the old farmer's concept of independence is the ability to rule himself and to work his long hours as he inclines. The liberty to sit with his goats between siesta and sunset, with no foreman and no questions, is in fact part of the attraction which keeps the older farmer in farming at all. It is by no means the whole story because he knows well enough that in his case it is too late to think of acquiring any of the education which he sees as the key to things better than farming. The younger generation do not see things in this light at all and regard their education as a means of escape (Section 1).

000 as a means of escape (Section 1).

512 The nature of the farmer's daily timetable depends on

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(a) the type of farm-unit involved,
(b) the labour force available,
(c) location,
(d) season.

The farmer's day begins, on average, between 4 a.m. and 4.30 a.m. Extremes are found in the case of herdsmen who often rise much earlier - at 2.30 a.m. in the case of the Gozitan with a large herd of cows and only a limited milking labour force, or after 5a.m. or 5.30 a.m. for a herdsman whose farm is close to an M.M.U. collection depôt. The M.M.U. require herdsmen to deliver their milk at such a depôt for transportation to the pasteurizing centre at Hamrun or, in Gozo (after 1958), to the new milk centre at Xewkija. Before this latter addition to the milk industry, which is expected to cope with all the Gozo-produced milk in both pasteurizing and other processes, it was possible for a herdsman (Case I) in north-western Gozo to have to rise as early as 12.30 a.m. Generally, in the summer, reveille for the field worker might be an hour or so earlier than in winter so that he and, even more, the herdsman might expect to begin most of his working days in darkness.

[791] The first event of the day for many country people is Mass. Some are regular attenders at one of the services between 4 and 6 a.m. Others, living further from a Church or having very heavy commitments of work, are less so. Field workers frequently take the Mass on their way to the work of the day (Case X).

[264] Breakfast is invariably a very light meal of little more than bread and tea or coffee. It is taken sometime between reveille and about 9 a.m. and does not constitute a major halt in the work of the farm. Milk producers in most cases do not breakfast until the animals are milked or even until they return with their carts from taking the churns to the M.M.U. collection depôt in the nearest village.

[264] [461] The main meal of the day is lunch, taken somewhere between 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. and followed by a siesta of up to three hours. The herdsman's siesta is less flexible than that of the farmer for a 1 p.m. afternoon milking limits the time available. The milking over, the goat-herder takes his animals out to graze on a suitable patch of waste ground or stubble until 5 or 6 pm. - or later in the summer (Case II). The milk is taken to the collection depôt with minimum loss of time especially in hot weather. In the case of the herdsman with cows there is clearly no question of grazing these animals (Case VI), except in one case (Case IX).

000 except in one case (Case IX).

241 234 512 264 [262] The evening meal is generally smaller than the lunch although consisting of much the same elements - a thick stew ('brodu' or 'minestra'), along with bread, cheese, fruit, olives, tomatoes, etc. The consumption of meat and fish is in part governed by religion and in part by price and availability, though meat certainly figures much more prominently in the rural diet than formerly. The meal is taken soon after the return from the fields, about 6.30 p.m. and is followed, an hour or so later by the saying of a family Rosary before retiring for the night about 8.0 p.m. In Gozo there is a tendency for people to rise, eat, work and retire to bed rather earlier than in the larger Island and the smaller villages are usually dark and quiet by 7 p.m.

241 234 512 Apart, therefore, from external factors, such as M.M.U. collection or Church service timings, the daily timetable of the farmer and the herdsman depends to a large degree on his own volition. He knows what work is outstanding and can decide how and when he will do it within the limits imposed by the season, demands of animals, and so on. Thus, at a peak period of field-work, such as harvest, the farmer and his assistants may work on until the late evening - even through the night. During exceptionally heavy rains, as in October 1957, work on anything approaching the normal scale is, on the other hand, impossible and the farmer's day becomes one of doing what he can and complaining copiously meanwhile.

241 512 461 Miège (B/516, p.236), writing in 1840, was impressed by the regular and assiduous labour of the Maltese farmer, even during the heat of the summer sun. "Il semble impossible, au premier abord, que le paysan maltais puisse résister aux chaleurs intenses de l'été. Cependant, au milieu des champs, dès le lever du soleil, on le voit, exposés a ses brûlants rayons, continuer tout le jour ses pénibles travaux. Il fait deux pauses: la première a huit heures; il se repose alors une demi-heure pour déjeuner; la seconde à onze heures; c'est l'instant de son dîner frugal, après lequel il se repose de nouveau jusqu'à midi en hiver, et jusqu'à une heure en été, tantôt à l'ombre d'un figuier, tantôt au pied du petit mur qui entoure le champ, la tête couverte d'un bonnet de laine, et le reste du corps exposé au feux du jour. Il reprend ensuite ses travaux avec la même vigueur, et ne se retire qu'au signal donné par la cloche de son village, c'est à dire au coucher du soleil".

572 241 234 178 The essentials of the daily round of the farmer have changed little since Miège wrote except in so far as the tremendous increase in the importance of stock-rearing and

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[234] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
● [461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
577 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case - XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of
damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).
The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are
therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per
tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the
hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can them-
[461] selves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job
which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a
matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

(ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
407 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
461 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements
464 (Case - XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving
the problem of labour shortage.

427 For the contractor himself there is a social as well
554 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has
come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane
than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status
is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no
implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far
[221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main
disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three
summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines
and services to builders and others out of the plowing
season (Cases - XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing
machine which brings in further contracts in the summer
(Case XVII).

178 From what has been said it would appear that the large
407 tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese
farming, although it may bring considerable profit and
427 advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The
[434] present decline in this type of contracting has been noted.
Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be
greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to
the land in the near future. The small hand rotary
cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like
going much further along the way to enabling a time/money
conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with
little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly
limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming
landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it
can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they
465 were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when
compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for
comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal
Commissioners (B/184), Miège (B/516) and Price (B/556),
but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
this same report however, it is learnt that the farming
454 community had by that date become investment conscious and
had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day
where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited
eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field
work at all. The developments observed by the 1911
Commissioners were by no means general among the rural
population at that time. They were in fact merely the
first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
178 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
433 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
722 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
465 in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before.
He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce
- or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became
used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted
war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was
the feling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in
Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time,
the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the countryman.
The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was
content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the
change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his
social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered
needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a
variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

178 434 [511] industry in search of it.

(5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture (Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

511 Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

[461] (a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

[454] (c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

829 157 [178] (6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, to Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is diffi-
cult to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
241 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
178 the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the
present nevertheless Gużepp wants to expand his land hold-
ing and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and
thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being
made available by the Government for farm development and of
"working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and
desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
362 £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
[427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a
new house and include near it accommodation for his animals.
For his large family of wife and eight children the house,
though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife
enable the family to carry on under limitations of both
home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer
to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
54 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
● 461 distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife
observes "these things are not missed by the people" who
have had little experience of them. She notes that in
Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the
bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family
and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can him-
464 self operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
654 when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contri-
bution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to
acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan)
because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked
with his present labour force. A larger area would mean
more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the
milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be
increased along with the provision of extra accommodation
(also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is
that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale
through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits
here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

*159 [245]
- Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233] [461] (ii)
- Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii)
- Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.

[231]
- Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

*159 829 241

H. General.

- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159 [434] [234]
- Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.

[511] [454] [241]
- Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.

[511]
- Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

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TABLE 4. CASE II. Analysis of Work Record. 1957-58(a)

ACTIVITY		Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
		am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Sundays and feasts(b)		6		5		4		5		6		6		5		6		5	1	6		6		4		64	1
"Business", miscellaneous		1				1		2				1		2		1				1				1		10	-
Grazing Goats.(c)			29		28		30		29		30		30		25		20		28		30		29		28	-	336
Collecting money from N.M.U.		1		1		2		2				2		1		1		1		2		2		2		17	-
Goats' sheds - cleaning				1		3		2	1	4		2	1	2		1										15	2
" " - building, repairing		3						9		1																13	-
Pigs, illness and slaughtering				1		1								1										1	1	4	1
Potatoes	(Sowing			1								5														6	-
	(Weeding, hoeing															2		3								5	-
	(Lifting									6												2				8	-
Vines	Pruning											12		3												15	-
	Grafting											1		4		2										7	-
	Hoeing, plowing, spraying					1	1							1	1	6	1	3		9	1	1				21	4
	Picking			6		2																				8	-
Tomatoes	Planting out, hoeing															1				2				1		4	-
	Picking	1		8		4		1																2		16	-
Wheat	Sowing							1		10																11	-
	Reaping																					11				11	-
Barley	Sowing							3																		3	-
	Reaping																			5						5	-
Sulla	Sowing	2																						1		3	-
	Reaping	1												1		8		6						2		18	-
	Binding(d)																	5						5		10	-
Marrows, Melons, Pumpkins,														1				1		5		2		2		11	-
Onions and garlic						1				1																2	-
Beans, carob and Prickly Pear(e)		5		1		1						2				1		3								13	-
Gathering greenery (haxix)														1	1	1	2									2	3
Plowing (unspecified): Motor -			2	1		5		2		1				4			1	2								15	3
" " : Wood Plow. and hoeing				1		2										3	7			1						7	7
Threshing wheat & barley - (f)																						5		3		8	-

continued

G:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 E26 Malta E26

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Table 4 continued.

ACTIVITY	Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Manure spreading (g)	5		2						1												5		3		16	-
Repairing field storm damage					4		3						1												8	-
Other and unspecified (h)	6		2	2					1	1			1	1			1	1			1	1	2	2	14	8
TOTAL	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(a) From work record kept by farmer's wife. (Translated by the writer): originals in B/8).
(b) No work in the mornings - goats grazed as usual in afternoon.
(c) Occasionally the children relieve Ġużepp of supervising the goats' grazing.
(d) Including transport and storage.
(e) Hoeing and cutting.
(f) Including preparations for threshing.
(g) Including moving, spreading, turning and selling.
(h) Including 6 mornings when Ġużepp washed clothes (wife's confinement), and others when weather was too bad for work.

6: Boissevain K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 E26 Malta E26

*159 24 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments. Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. **General.**

*159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 656 The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". 433 434 In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. 159 46 241 465 He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

244
*159 available", and normally delegates most of the work to
461 a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.

465 His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder
*159 required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and
other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly
43 nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In
[451] December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder
other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the
previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk
he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a
'cost'.

*159 Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per
511 day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from
the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The
178 new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his
wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have
dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters
are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the
sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant
Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy
shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to
be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs
of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

*159 Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which
461 would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional
visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday
from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

*159 His father was a labourer with the Services and had
only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen
178 and then gradually built up his own herd to its present
234 size, particularly in the past few years when, in common
with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden
on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his
children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is
clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who
has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his
family) are actively discouraging the children from planning
to follow their father. Their main objection to herding
appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin
is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he
has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest
among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields
you never go back...."

*159

CASE IV : Summary.

423 (A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. **Land**.

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

159 The family has occupied the present house for several
423 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
551 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the
village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
461 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
234 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially
to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
829 his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public
544 lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He
234 thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique
178 interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese
farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which
cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods".
He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to
the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time
and labour thus expended would bring no additional return
to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he
employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and
therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases
some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures)
would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427) All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

[P.117]

This increase in the —

178 range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-
291 produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged
financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The
[511] villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of
his children, both the infants and those attending school.
[871] The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands
[702] has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War
of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men
into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that
they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been
their practice before.

* Work and Labour

159 As seen, Ġamri's normal labour force consists
241 of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being
all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little.
● 461 This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural
464(4) year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit......	1740 man/hours
	- vines......	489 " "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437 " "
	- potatoes...	868 " "
	- other vegetables...	505 " "
(ii) on Ġamri's own holding	- vines....	444 " "
	- cereals & fodders..	222 " "
	- vegetables	65
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109 " "
(c) Repair of storm damage.................		160 " "
(d) Building of pig-sties...................		100 " "
(e) Miscellaneous...........................		677 " "
		6816 man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analysed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġamri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

OUD In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

*159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in con-
231 trast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

*159 Ġamri and farming

Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
[454] ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[729] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
[434] guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
*159 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
18 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he bel-
ieves that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
98 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
198 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

159 407 427 paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on ♂'s personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tomna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tomna.

- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tomna.

E. Labour.

*159 464

- ♂'s 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:
  - (a) Joint holding worked by partners and ♂'s nephew.
  - (b) Land held by ♂, deriving from wife's family, farmed by ♂ and oldest nephew.
  - (c) Land held by ♂'s brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 ● 461

- A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On ♂'s own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tomna.

*159 434 241

F. Production and Sales.

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From ♂'s land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
♂'s share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434

- This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from £€.10.0 to £15 per tomna, fruit £28 per tomna,

TABLE 6.

CASE X : WORK ANALYSIS. 1957-58

ACTIVITY	AUG.		SEPT.		OCT.		NOV.		DEC.		JAN.		FEB.		MAR.		APR.		MAY		JUNE		JULY		YEAR	
	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM
A NON-FIELD WORK																										
Sundays, Feasts(1)	5	4½	5	4	4	4	6	6	6	8	6	6	5	5	6	6	4	4	6	6	7	5	4	4	64	64½
To Valletta or Mosta			1						1	1	2½		1		1										6½	1
Ill-health and resting	½		½	½		1	1											1						1	2	3½
Too wet for field-work(2)					10½	9½	9	13	3	6	4	5	1	3	2	2	2½	1							32	39½
Too cold for field-work									1																1	
Pigs needing attention															1	1									1	1
Shooting birds			1				1½																		2½	
Repairing Storm Damage(2)										1					3	2									3	3
Other building Work(3)	1		½		4	5	4½	3	3	1½								2							13	8½
Implement maintainance												1				1										2
B FIELD WORK																										
Irrigating	1	11		5											1½	1½		4	2	5	2	11		11	6½	48½
Plowing, working(3)	1½		2		4½	6½	1	2½	1	2			7	4	2	2	6½	3							25½	20
Manure; refuse	2	1½	½															1			1½	1½	8	3	12	7
Threshing (grain & silla)			½																2	2	½	2	1½		4½	4
Transporting produce	1½	3	3½	2½	3	2	1			½											4	2	1	4	14	14
Sulphate spreading									1		1				½										2½	
Spraying(4)																1										1
"Among the trees" (general)(5)								1	1		2	2	7	5	8	7	3	2½	2						23	17½
APPLES(5) : GATHERING	7	5																			2		14½	4½	23½	9½
" : "GOUGING"(6)	3½	4	7	11	1																				11½	15
VINES: GRAFTING											3½	5	1	1											4½	6
PRUNING											3½	3	2	2											5½	5
PICKING	1		4	3½																					5	3½
Making Wine			½	1																					½	1
TOMATOES: PLANTING																1		2	1							4
PICKING	½		1		1	1																			2½	1

continued.

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6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

*159
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(Case X Table continued)

ACTIVITY		AUG.		SEPT.		OCT.		NOV.		DEC.		JAN.		FEB.		MAR.		APR.		MAY		JUNE		JULY		YEAR	
		AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM
POTATOES:	SOWING			1	1					1		5½	7	2	3											9½	11
	LIFTING							1		5	4									7	5			½	1½	13½	10½
BARLEY:	SOWING					2	2	1	1																	3	3
	REAPING																		1	1						1	1
WHEAT:	SOWING							3	2½	1	1															4	3½
	REAPING																			4	2	6	2			10	4
GATHERING ROUGH GREENSTUFF(7)									1		2		1	2	5		4½	2	3							4	16½
BEANS:	SOWING					1		1		4	2	1	1													7	3
	CUTTING															1		2	1½	2	1					5	2½
SULLA:	SOWING																							½	1	½	1
	REAPING																	6	1½	3	2					9	3½
	BINDING																		1				½	½		½	1½
OTHER FIELD WORK		6½	2	2	1½					3	2					1		4	1½		6	5½	5	½	1	22½	19
OTHER WORK - UNSPECIFIED																4	2			2	1	1½	2			7½	5
		31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(1) And other Church visits.
(2) The latter part of 1957 saw exceptionally heavy rain in Malta.
(3) Including weeding, hoeing, etc.
(4) A new venture - in conjunction with Dept. of Agriculture.
(5) Largely apple orchard, in Gnejna.
(6) A laborious process of removing larva from apple-tree trunks - with penknife and piece of wire.
(7) I.e. "Haxix" - including a variety of grasses, 'inglifa', and other greenery - for animal fodder.
(8) And "odd jobs" in the house.

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 E26 Malta E26

*159 241 for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna. Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c.½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

H. General.

*159 [472] [423] [464] [178] [435] [451] ● [461] [157]

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows G to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- G therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.
- G has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, G could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (baghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464 Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

CASE XI : Summary.

*159 (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

423 A. Land.

429

(i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Wallicha District. 2 tmien freehold.

(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.

(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.

(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced an annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 B. Utilization. With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be ob-

241 served.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons, Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.

(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 C. Livestock. During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are

231 only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bejjem tax-xoghol').

*159 D. Capital.

[423]

[435] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.

[454] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E.[27] Estimated possible total less than £100.

[406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.

[474]

[241] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.

[464] - Rarely hires labour.

●[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

TABLE 7

*159
221
241
●461

	July[f] 57		Oct 57		Nov 57		Dec 57		Jan 58		Feb 58		May 57	
	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm
Sundays, Festas	4	4	4	4	6	6	7	7	6	6	5	5	7	7
Business, Valletta	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Repairs fields & buildings (storm)	.	.	2	4[l]	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No work (storms)	.	.	7	7[g]	6	3	3	3	8	7	2	2	.	.
Irrigation	8	6[j]	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8	5[j]
Plowing	3	2	5	3	.	.	.	.	3	3	1	1	2	2
Planting, sowing	.	.	4	3	6	6	12	11[a]	7	8[b]	4	1	7	2
Working,[c] etc.	5	5	4	2	3	5	1	2	4	4	5	3	.	3
Cutting, reaping	8	9[d]	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3
Lifting potatoes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3[h]	3	5[i]
Threshing	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Loading, transporting	2	1	1	1	.	.	3	3	.	2	.	1	.	2
Vines, prune, graft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	7	.	.
Collecting kaxix[e]	1	1	1	4	5	5[k]	3	4	1	.	.	3	.	2
Collecting seaweed			.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
	31	31	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31

Notes

a. all potatoes.
b. potatoes 3.5.
c. working, weeding, dressing, spraying, manuring, hoeing, etc.
d. wheat and barley 4.2.
e. kaxix - general greenery for animal fodder.
f. data for other months not available.
g. the latter part of 1957 saw exceptional storms in Malta & Gozo.
h. the winter crop a month late on account of damp conditions.
i. the spring crop.
j. irrigation in dry months.
k. kaxix gathering peak after 2 months of rain.
l. including 2.2 attending to animals (too wet to work fields).

F. Production and Sales.

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(i) Main cash-crop irrigated potatoes - Arran Banner. Two crops - winter and 'early' crop, the latter for export. Yields vary considerably in spite of irrigation - winter crop 1956 double the quantity of the winter crop 1957. Soil conditions for cultivation and for germination can vary critically between November and February. Prices similarly vary considerably. 1956 - maximum price obtained 30/- per qantar. 1957 - April maximum price obtain 25/- per qantar. 1957 - May maximum price obtained 15/- per qantar.

[442]

(ii) Tomatoes. Pickings from May to October with peak production in July. Prices vary inversely with production (E/253). Irrigated local varieties only are grown. The best tomatoes are kept for seed, the next grade carefully selected for sale through 'pitkal' middleman for local market, the third grade sold to the tomato paste ('Kunserva') factory. Prices range from 10d. to 1/6d. per wizna, but vary with quantity available rather than with quality. Regarded as preferable to potatoes since the farmer believes they are less expensive to produce.

(iii) Artichokes. Irrigated perennials producing for up to about 8 years. Best marketing period is during Lent. Great efforts made to raise a crop early in

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February when prices start at c.9d a head rather than later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

*159
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(i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming. In 1956 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, leguminous fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land where vetches alternate with barley.

[461] (c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

[242] (d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953 Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:
Relies entirely on own plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Eigenheimer.

*159
231
(iii) Livestock:
Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

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[465]
(i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

*159
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(ii) The farmers children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

*159 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic
433 because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising
451 yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 - some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform
134 and these can only be worked by hand.
241 - deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathored layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorċa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen
157 he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as
626 elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social
rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-
829 weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159
241 An example of part-time farming in which the field oper-
434 ations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the
financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming
178 for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter,
●46 while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be
*[159] the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual
interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the
greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic
[369] feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent
increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agri-
[162] culture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time
farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
●461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] Case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
829 as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance. He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily - because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging the younger farming generation from staying on the land and struggling against rising costs to sell products which are but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] Soils: l-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.

- [241] Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.

- 454 No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
- 422 Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- 423 Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.

- 464 Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- [465] Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people
156 around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as
well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social
●461 life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is
626 most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on
517 speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids
his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on
493 the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he
to plow on Sundays or fests days he would be "publically
ostracised and no villager would hire him and his plow".
His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at
high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than
farming".

*159 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical.
156 He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of
593 illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son
argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending
to assume that his education and wider experience entitles
him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments.
Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough
for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite
the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his
father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself
doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data')
156 system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni.
[583] He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle
without the older people of the village criticising him for
not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate
of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the
ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs
which his education and his knowledge of the world outside
the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he
is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs,
he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close
[178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the
new methods and implements which he has brought to the
village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are
a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father
472 works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their
407 joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention.
Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago
and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta.
000 They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

their designation with a certain tolerant wisdom. Not so the present young 178
generation in the farming community for whom education and material facilities 241
have presented the chance of escape from a social inferiority complex.

The village was traditionally the community-group in rural Malta. Contact 369
with the towns and Valletta was limited, especially for the villages of the west [628]
and in Gozo, until buses, press and rediffusion narrowed the gulf, but it was
hardly less than the contacts between the villages themselves. The village was
the group for most social interaction. Currently, the trend is towards a Malta-
wide community-group in which villages are losing much of their isolation,
although there is very little uniformity in this process. Sub-urban villages are
clearly absorbing non-rural characteristics much more quickly than is the case
in outlying parts of the islands.

The nucleus of village life is the Church and the first citizen is the Parish 793
Priest. The Priest combined teaching and general advisory duties with his
spiritual role (see Chapter VI C). He was also the main link with the world out-
side the village through his relaying of general news from his pulpit. Normally,
land transfers and a wide variety of matters connected with the agricultural
cycle were announced by the Priest. The Church was the social meeting place
and the basis of institutionalised activity. Even the village *festa*, that single day [796]
of wild exuberance, noise, fire-works, procession and carnivalesque has as its
pretext a religious observance such as the honouring of the particular Saint of
the village or the National Feast of the Shipwreck of St. Paul. In all this, the
link between Priest and people was often further cemented by wide kinship
connexions within the village. The son of an illiterate farmer might progress [555]
through Seminary and University to return to his home village as a priest and
to be claimed as a relative by many members of that static and much inter-
married community.

Such proximity, together with the very number of the priesthood in any parish
made for a familiarity with the personnel of the Church just as confession,
fasting, observance of Saints' and other special days, quite apart from the daily
Mass, made for close acquaintance with its practice.

It is convenient to use the past tense in the foregoing only because the picture 178
sketched has been modified in recent decades. It is however still the essential
basis of communal life, especially in the rural community which, as suggested,
holds to traditional custom longer than does the town. The modifications which
have appeared are important in this present consideration because they lie
behind the current social upheaval in which the individual countryman is being
faced with a clash of new against old. If, as seems possible, he leaps to the new
so completely as to relinquish the old entirely, then the traditional order of
society will disappear along with the agricultural system on which it is based.
This is the problem of the farmer in Maltese rural society.

An early non-religious movement was that of the Band Clubs; the first 575
appeared in Rabat in 1860. But even these came to be identified with particular
Churches and also with parish rivalries. The Band Club grew to become a major
feature of social life in both town and country in Malta, although in Gozo it has
had only a limited extension outside Victoria.

The Band Club is essentially a male organization. Women have never been 562
more than tolerated spectators and, to this extent, the movement reflects the [575]
place of women in Maltese society. Emancipation of women has spread into the
countryside from the towns but even today women take an undemonstrative part [462]
in village activity and their movement outside the home is largely confined to
Church-going, shopping and possibly field-work. The modern young woman who
has had at least eight years schooling seeks paid employment beyond the house
and fields. In rural circles the tendency is still to frown mightily at such a
suggestion but it can only be a matter of a few years before what is now accepted
in Valletta becomes tolerated in rural Gozo.

Functional diversification has been the keynote of twentieth century village 178
society in the Maltese Islands. There is no evidence to show that there is any
challenge to the position of the Parish Priest in matters religious (the situation
has been less satisfactory from the point of view of the Church in urban Malta)

241 rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to
423 continue working unpracticable fields, which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

241 This is the background to the present attempts to
464 rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

433 (a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654] (b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

654 The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechani-
241 zation, along with the education of the farmer in the use of
464 better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

178 The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its
462 replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating
[592] group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

562 In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was
462 certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should
178 never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p.80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

462 family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and
562 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment
178 outside the home or even outside the village and insists on
a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been
proper for her mother.

462 The home and the care of the children remains the sphere
178 of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work
only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the
men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this
side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this
nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats
generalization.

178 Until recently it was customary for most women and girls
462 to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields,
288 especially when work was pressing as at harvest time.
464 Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of
its preparation (Section 1), while lace was almost entirely
the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity
excluded them from field work. Cotton is now of minor
importance and lace-working is confined to the older
178 generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now
464 partly being filled by young women and girls seeking
employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing,
teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers than was the case a generation ago. Yet there
remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to
suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of
the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude
that persists in labelling paid employment fo a girl as
somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case,
discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout Malta (B/598).

241 Some farming families still retain the traditional
462 pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI);
others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and
[178] girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In
the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and
picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled,
such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men
(v. Case I on the division of family labour).

241 In general it appears that as the younger age-groups
592 are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided.
[178] The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-money' donations and even those went to sons working full-
[465] time with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and not to daughters.
Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

In 1839

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The principal
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-
wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is
the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing
by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work,
175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nine-
teenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on
other crops while, socially, the change affected the
family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commis-
735 sioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become
511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and
that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts,
the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded
saving but also led to begging and stealing which was
"One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty
and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Miège in 1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167); reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874 (B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207); on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on
mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great
as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the
bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country
districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst
description" while "It must also be admitted that the
sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not
so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late
175 years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

511 The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence
[369] is that there existed a considerable gulf in general
[464] living standards between the people of the towns and
those of the country. There was also an important
[458] contrast within the then rapidly expanding Urban area,

000 leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

Pawlu admits nevertheless that much of the inferior condition of the farmer derives from his inability to unite with other farmers (Section 4). Illiteracy, ignorance and suspicion are the major causes of his fear. Only a few farmers are members of either of the two opposing Unions of Farmers while the situation regarding co-operatives is equally unpromising. Pawlu himself became one of the organizers of a special 'Tractor Co-Operative', initiated by C.A.R.E. at the end of 1958 (Section 2) for a group of farmers in his home village. The members paid £2 each on joining the co-operative and were thereafter able to hire one of the two tractors donated by C.A.R.E. at only 10/- per hour instead of the commercial 17s. The fact that Pawlu himself was among the organizers of such a novel venture reflects his progressive outlook, and his standing in the village.

*159 Politics interest Pawlu, to a more than average degree
156 His concern is based on an informed intelligence. A
829 supporter of the Labour Party, he considers the Nationalists as holding the masses in contempt and he points to their emphasis on the Italian language and the non-Maltese culture which it represented as evidence. He reads the local Maltese-language press but is sufficiently independent of mind to have cancelled his subscription to the 'Lehen is-Sewwa' (B/65) at the time of the 'Integration' referendum on the grounds that neither the Church nor the Paper would publish an 'official' statement on the attitude of the Church. Yet his religious devotion is without question and he has a respected place in Church and village life.

The Family.

*159 Pawlu lives with his wife and six of his child-
156 ren. His eldest son and daughter are both working as
829 teachers in Malta. Another daughter has emigrated.

593 Pawlu's wife speaks only Maltese and had as little
[555] formal education as her husband, but she has at all times nothing but encouragement for her family in their education.
[167] In this case there is not the usual gulf in outlook between parents and children on account of the education of the latter - for the parents fully realize the need. Pawlu's wife used to work in the fields when young but now spends
● [462] her time in the house. Certain jobs remain her special concern however, notably cheese-making, care of lambs and chicks and egg-collection.

*159 The eldest son, now working as a teacher, is one of the
156 young 'intellectuals' who are currently making an appear-
158 ance in Gozo. The ties of family and respect between him
593 and his father are strong but he is out of touch with the
[895]

ESSENTIAL STATISTICS

131 The Maltese Islands - Land Area 121.850 sq. miles. Population 323,667[1].
161 Malta - Land Area 94.876 sq. miles. Population 296,008[1].
Gozo and Comino - Land Area 26.974 sq. miles. Population 27,659[1].

162 463 A. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION[2]

(i)	Civil Government	17,050
	Service Departments	22,480
(ii)	Agriculture, Fishing and Quarrying	9,130
	Manufacturing	9,030
	Construction	7,220
(iii)	Wholesale and Retail Trades	10,920
	Transport and Communications	3,850
	Insurance, Banking, etc.	550
	Gas Service	90
(iv)	Recreation and Personal Services	7,250
	Community and Business Services	1,140
	Total	88,710

433 B. PRODUCTION[1]

Gross Domestic Product 1957	£ m.	36.1
Gross Industrial Production 1957	"	10.036
Gross Agricultural Product 1957	"	5.008

439 C. TRADE[3]

(i) Commodities (value in £ m)	Imports	Exports	Re-exports
Food, Drink, Tobacco	9.411	.547	.549
Raw materials and materials mainly unmanufactured	3.227	.312	1.307
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	13.215	.132	.404
Miscellaneous and unspecified	2.862	.005	.339
Bullion and Specie	.104	-	-
	28.820	.995	2.600

(ii) Direction of Trade (%)	Imports	Exports
Sterling Area	49.3	41.1
Dollar Area	7.2	.8
O. E. E. C.	33.5	10.4
Other	10.0	2.1
Ships and Aircraft Stores	-	45.6
	100	100

(iii) Balance of Trade	Imports	Exports & Re-exports	Negative Balance
		Million £	
1949	15.312	1.038	14.274
1954	20.407	2.879	17.528
1958	28.820	3.595	25.225

(Since 1948 the adverse trade balance has increased by an average of 4.7% per annum)

175* 369 43

tion increase had overtaken economic growth, and in particular had forced an expansion of the cultivated area. As still evidenced in the landscape the farming frontier moved into the more difficult lands of the north-western uplands and on Mellieha Ridge and intensified effort on the floodable lands of Wied il-Ghasel. The *Societá-Economico-Agraria* in a series of reports and in the *Gazzella Agraria Maltese* expended much effort during this time in studying the possibility of reclaiming land hitherto uncultivated (17).

175* 463 ● 369 464 43

From 1871 onward non-agricultural employment became absolutely dominant. The significance of this change lies in the fact that indigenously rooted manufacturing, viz. cotton working, died completely and the largest sector of National Production became entirely dependent on external wealth. A closer examination of one of the crucial periods, the decade 1871-81, illustrates the regional changes which were taking place. The male working population increased suddenly from 40,699 to 46,116. The greatest rate of increase occurred in the urban area where the number of male workers rose by 17 per cent, while the population increased only by 9 per cent. The suburban trend was intermediate between this and the rural situation where the employment rate rose by only 8 per cent. - less than 800 men. The greatest suburban rise occurred mainly in the following decade. Functionally the largest increase occurred in the group of Porters, Carriers and Coalheavers - 100 per cent., while the commercial group increased by 27 per cent. and the numbers in the building trade actually declined slightly. During this decade and most of the next the greater part of economic growth resulted from increased port activity. At one end of the social scale there would seem to have been an actual migration of nobility and gentry from the 'unfashionable' old centres into Valletta, while in the capital the number of 'gentry' increased rapidly with each census as successful *nouveaux riches* acquired estates and a higher status. Bankers, merchants and dealers increased by 8 per cent., and in ever descending and widening social circles, shopkeepers by 11 per cent. and petty vendors by 25 per cent. The Transport group, an advanced stage to that of Porters, increased in number even more astonishingly, by 129 per cent. in Malta as a whole and by 318 per cent. in the rural areas.

As Table 23 indicates, the economic revolution was becoming more complex and the sphere of influence of Valletta and the port became more extensive.

Table 23. Percentage change in the male working population.

Location	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91
Urban	+8	+17	-4
Suburban	+0.7	+12	+5
Rural	+9	+8	+1

By 1891 the port boom was over but Government expenditure and Imperial military spending continued to rise. Commerce came more to mean retail trade and dockyard work more associated with bunkering and naval servicing. Coal-heaving, civil and military, engaged 2,075 men by 1891. By 1905 over 9,000 men were employed by the Naval Establishments, half of these on constructional work. On the other hand, the build up of the garrison, naval and military ended in 1902 and the Royal Commissioners in 1911 estimated that 'the reduction of the garrison must mean a loss to the industries of Malta of not less than £400,000 a year'.

175* 43 [361] [369] [464]

During the closing years of the nineteenth century there was finally established in Malta the complex economic pattern which still fundamentally underlies life in the Islands. The greater integration of economic life, a high level of urban and dockyard activity and the improvement of internal communications resulted not in continued movement into the *urbs* but in the growth of the suburbs and the strengthening of the non-agricultural element in the rural areas. Thus of the coalheavers of 1891, 80 per cent. lived outside the port complex and 44 per cent. in the outer ring of casals Qormi, Luqa and Żejtun. The labour

F. The Farmer in Maltese Rural Society

241 571 A study of the Maltese farmer within the total of agriculture in the Islands must include a consideration of the individual as a member of the community in which he lives, works and thinks.

The total social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles - family, village, and 'Malta'.

241 619 To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old countryman for whom Valletta is a foreign world, the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. But even for most of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for the countryman to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta complain. The 'National' unit is large enough for him to speak of *'Il-Gvern'* - the Government, of which he has heard frequently, though imprecisely, on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems with a characteristic disregard for logic or even fact. This concept of *Gvern* is of importance in an appreciation of rural thought in Malta. In it no very clear distinction is made between Maltese Government and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy. Neither is allegiance to one or other of the political parties very significant, for personality is always more important than party.

[178] To give an historical perspective to this attitude of the remoteness of *Gvern* one may see in it not only the product of foreign British rule since 1800 but also the legacy of the 'paternal' government of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands. Rural communities are characteristically conservative.

793 The other Malta-wide authority is that of the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the individual than is *Gvern*. In the normal practice of his Religion the countryman leans directly on his local priests, though the Curia and Archbishop in Malta and the Bishop in Gozo do represent, for him, the essential unity that is the Maltese Church.

241 178 369 Within the framework of 'Malta' the distinction between the conurbation of towns, centred on Valletta, and the countryside is crucial. This 'conurbation' may be defined as those census districts with less than 3 per cent. of their working population engaged in farming. In 1948, this accounted for all districts bordering on either the Grand or Marsamxett Harbours together with the adjoining residential suburb of St. Julians (1). Outside this urban area, the farming element in the working population increases towards the west and north of Malta, although only in Mġarr does it pass 50 per cent. In Gozo, the scene is notably more 'rural', on the basis of this definition, with six of the 12 census districts having more than half their working population engaged in agriculture. [463] A survey of parallel information in censuses over the past 100 years shows a declining farming element along with a diversification of the occupational structure - especially in those villages regarded as traditional strongholds of agriculture.

This trend to economic diversification has been accompanied by a break away from the former social homogeneity of these rural villages. In fact, economic and social change cannot be considered each in isolation. In Malta, change - in its widest sense - has spread into the countryside from the conurbation. The tempo of this process has accelerated rapidly since the 1939-45 war, which brought town and country together more than ever before and shook the foundations of the cleavage between 'peasant villager' and 'urban townsman', a key feature in the social geography of the Maltese Islands. The appearance of schools, amenities - particularly transport, and a degree of occupational choice, have enabled the countryman to sample a more 'urban' way of life and culture and this has produced a dissatisfaction with rural society as it has been. Maltese countrymen knew they were regarded, as a class, as low in the social scale of urban opinion. They accepted this fatalistically and were in fact able to view

241 giant dockyard in Cospicua, or for one of the various British
433 Service departments scattered over the island. Gozo is more
464 dependent upon agriculture, but many Gozitan men work in
Malta, returning to their families for the weekend. Though
[178] Maltese villages are populated mostly by industrial workers, they
have nonetheless a decidedly rural atmosphere about them, for
their inhabitants still have links with the agricultural economy of
231 the past. Many retain a patch or two of land which they plant with
235 potatoes or some other cash crop to supplement their wages, and
262 virtually all keep chickens and rabbits to supply them with eggs
and fresh meat for special celebrations.

● 463

TABLE I. Occupational Classes in Farruġ and Kortin[1]
(Expressed as percentages of the total male working population)

Occupational Class	*Farruġ*	*Kortin*	*Islands*
Professional and Clerical	4	7	15
Service and Skilled	39	52	55
Semi- and Unskilled	42	27	20
Agricultural	15	14	10
Totals	100	100	100

[438] A hundred years ago, the inhabitants of Farruġ were mostly farmers, though many were also employed on a cottage-industry basis in the thriving cotton industry of the time. Today they are for the most part wage labourers. Of the total male working population, 42 per cent are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, 39 per cent work as skilled fitters and as service personnel (shopkeepers, drivers, policemen, etc.) and 15 per cent as farmers. Only 4 per cent are professionals and white-collar workers. Three-fourths travel outside the village to their places of employment, chiefly with the Malta Government and the British military departments.

The occupational structure of Kortin is much the same. The higher proportion of skilled and clerical workers is in part a reflection of its past importance as an administrative centre, for until early in this century it was the seat of the district court. Seven per cent of the men work in professional and white-collar

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[1] The figures for Farruġ and Kortin are based on surveys I conducted, and the national figures on the *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 45–55. The totals of the male working population in Farruġ, Kortin and the Maltese Islands are 296, 1,131 and 75,930 respectively.

occupations, 52 per cent are service personnel and skilled workers, 463
37 per cent are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and 14 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Just over two-thirds of the total are employed outside the village. The majority of these, as in Farruġ, work in the Grand Harbour industrial area. Those who work in the village are for the most part self-employed. They are farmers, shopkeepers, blacksmiths and carpenters.

In Table No. 1 I have compared the various occupational classes in Kortin and Farruġ to each other and to the national figures.

III

Most villages look very much alike. Their magnificent baroque 361
churches provide a startling contrast to the low, flat-roofed houses grouped tightly around them. As the parish church towers over the village, so it dominates it socially, for the church is in every sense the centre around which the life of the village revolves. In front of the church there is usually a large square, the *misrah* or *pjazza*, which is the social centre of the village. Various village clubs and lay societies, as well as the police station, are situated on the *pjazza*, or just off it, as are the principal wine shops, the
government dispensary and the finest houses of the village. As the [498]
square is usually the terminal point of the local bus line, it is the
point at which most people enter and leave the village. It is also [796]
the stage on which the principal events of village life take place: the annual feast, or *festa*, of the patron saint, the many religious
processions and the occasional political rallies. On Sundays, and [517]
especially during the long summer evenings, the square teems with groups of men, who sit about on steps and benches, talking
and arguing for hours on end. During weekday mornings, it [745]
belongs to the old men of the village, now freed by government [887]
old age pensions from the backbreaking toil in the fields that was the lot of their forefathers.

Each village is first and foremost a community of neighbours. 621
Even the smallest of them have distinct residential groups, the members of which are in closer contact with each other than with people living in other parts of the village. This is, of course, particularly true of the larger villages. But even in Farruġ, a village of about 1,400, the extremities of the village and the various streets and alleys form separate neighbourhoods. The many little shops

156 talked about' (*Miskin min jiġi f'ilsien in-nies*). This is especially
true for those persons whose social position does not permit them
577 to remain outside the circle in which criticism and gossip circulates. For these the esteem of neighbours is more important than office.

Social status is the fourth quality of leadership mentioned. High
156 status is a desirable and, in some cases, necessary quality for the
554 holders of certain offices. The president of a band club is required
575 to act as its ambassador and to handle its external relations; a person with high status is an obvious asset. He can meet visiting dignitaries and perform the required speech making without embarrassment to the club. Thus the president and vice-president of the clubs have often been invited to fill those offices because of their high status. Some clubs create the office of honorary patron for benefactors who are willing to lend their names – and status – to the clubs, although they take no part or interest in their actual running.

High social position is also an asset to the office of treasurer; for at some time or another he is almost sure to be accused by the village gossips of putting his hand into the purse. Considerable social distance between him and his critics renders him less vulnerable to their comments. It also makes potential critics less vocal. People are often willing to concede integrity to their superiors which they deny to their equals.

The secretary of the club does not need high status to carry out his work successfully, although it is certainly an asset. But he must have at least one of the attributes of high status, namely education; for as administrator of the club he is required to do a great deal of paper work. On the other hand, occupying one of the important offices in itself confers prestige upon a person. Thus the secretary is accorded a higher social status that he would have if he did not occupy that position, assuming for a moment that he had no other attributes which would confer status upon him.

Two important attributes of status are education and occupa-
156 tion. Education is the key that unlocks the world of the printed
463 word and frees people from dependence on patrons willing to
554 interpret it. Education also leads to better employment oppor-
871 tunities. Since entrance to the civil service, the professions and many commercial concerns is by competitive examination, the Maltese attach great importance to formal education.

There is considerable difference in the social status ascribed to 156
various jobs. Non-manual occupations have the highest status, 463
manual occupations the lowest. The professionals – the priest, 554
doctor, lawyer, chemist or teacher – are at the top; while the
farmers are at the bottom. In many respects a government clerical
officer is also at the other end of the scale from the farmer. The
civil servant has a steady, relatively easy job with a good cash
income and comfortable pension at the end. He also has ready
access to influential persons in the government. His is a life of
security and relative independence. The farmer, on the other
hand, has been looked down on for centuries. He represents the
traditional life of dependence: dependence upon the weather, the
market, the *pitkal*, or middleman, for cash advances, the letter-writer
and the patron through whom established authority has to
be contacted. Education and wage labour have presented the [178]
farmer with a means of escape from that dependence and the
exhausting labour in his rocky fields. Where he has had the opportunity, [871]
he has been quick to turn his back on the traditional [241]
occupation of his forefathers.

Wealth is another determinant of status. This is generally 156
related to occupation. There has always been a considerable 463
difference between the standard of living of the professionals and
that of the average countryman. But until the past war, there was 511
relatively little difference in the standard of living of most 554
villagers. True, the more affluent lived in the large houses on the 556
main square, and the poorer people lived in the alleys and streets
remote from the square. Most people ate similar food, dressed
alike and furnished their houses in the same way. But the increase
in the level of wages, which followed the war, has changed that
pattern. New houses, cars, fridges and transistor radios have
become a tangible index of success and status. People are now
being graded according to the number of these symbols they
own.

Education, occupation and wealth are thus the chief criteria by 156
which social position is differentiated. A person who has all these 554
attributes has high status. But a person with high status is not
necessarily a leader; for he may not possess the innate qualities [577]
required of a successful leader – courage, responsibility and willingness
to work. Where a person has both high status and
possesses these qualities – as well as ambition – he will undoubtedly

156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

156 Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xih żomm fih*). But
561 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where
schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to
their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard.
The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is
wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leadership
in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish
registers support the memories of the present generation of elders
that this has not always been the case.

Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
156 their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
[575] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it convenient
for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
[643] continue to practise in their native villages. But when they continue
to reside in their villages, even though their social life and
many of their business interests are oriented away from the community,
they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge
their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted
into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have
gone successfully into politics.

156 Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday procession.
693 Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter
of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football
and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he
has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a
successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
759 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

621 of government. While the parish priest in Malta is the official village representative of the Church and has authority to act for 625 it on most matters, the police represent only the law enforcement 793 function of government; all other functions and services of government are administered from Valletta. In this respect the villages of Malta are unique.

● .463 On the other hand, there is a relation between social status and 554 the functional requirements of the authority system. In any given community, the people with the highest status usually fill the most important offices, since such offices require the standing, skills and contacts which they possess. There is thus a rough grading of office holders in terms of their social status and the 463 authority and prestige attached to their offices. Upward mobility 554 through this structure is usually dependent upon factors such as 555 education and occupation rather than on having held other, and less important, offices. Once a person has become the president of his local band club, in other words has attained the highest secular office in the village, and has a social status which commands respect outside, he may be elected to political office.

Children begin to express partit affiliation when they are between twelve and fourteen years old. At this age they are old enough to follow the processions and take part in the demonstrations on their own. Fund raisers make demands on them, and they are asked to help decorate the streets. At this age they also begin to play in the band. A youngster would jeopardize his social standing with his elders and with his age mates if he failed to take a firm position with regard to one of the saints. This would remove him from much of the community's social life. Consequently, by the time a village boy has reached fifteen, he has usually selected his partit, thus accepting and becoming part of the fabric of partit rivalry which will hold him until he dies or leaves the village. 621 794 883 [533] [882]

There is some relation between occupational class and partit affiliation: in general, the supporters of titular saints belong to a higher occupational class than their rivals. The reason for this will be discussed a little later. The data I gathered in Farruġ illustrate this correlation clearly. As shown in Table No. 6 below, 83 per cent of the village's professional and white-collar workers belong to the St. Martin partit, while only 38 per cent of those engaged in agriculture do so. 463 621

TABLE 6. Farruġ: Partit Affiliation and Occupational Class

OCCUPATION			PARTIT AFFILIATION	
	Number	*Percentage of Lab. Force*	*St. Martin*	*St. Roque*
Professional and clerical	12	4	83%	17%
Service and skilled	115	39	55	45
Semi- and unskilled	124	42	48	52
Agricultural	45	15	38	62
Total	296	100		

So much for the origin and social composition of the partiti. I may just observe here that festa partiti are not usually based on territorial divisions. Since upward mobility does not involve change of partit, but is often accompanied by a change of residence, all residential areas are mixed. Nonetheless, there is a tendency for supporters of the titular partiti to live in the better residential area near the church, and for their rivals to live in the poorer sections more remote from the central square. This is a reflection of the differing occupational class of the members. This 361 621 [555]

communities where they became leaders, and the source of many 178
new ideas and customs. In Għaxaq, for example, I found that a 875
teacher born in Valletta had been the one to introduce the
custom of decorating the streets for the festa.

It is, of course, extremely difficult, if not impossible, to discover 174
the motives which prompted people to choose a particular 178
partit. The only possible clue to at least one set of reasons may well 463
lie in the correlation between occupational class and partit
affiliation. Apart from this class alignment, I found no evidence in 621
Farruġ, or any other village so divided, of any pre-existing structural
division out of which these festa partiti might have developed.
In view of the way membership is inherited, it would
appear that the position which members of the great-grandfather
generation occupied in the village class structure in some way
influenced their choice of partit. There is some evidence for this,
although not a great deal, to be found in the genealogies of the
present generation. Frequent marriages with outsiders, emigration
and the changing employment structure of the country over
the past six decades have blurred this picture considerably.

But it is certainly possible that the new cult appealed more to 174
those persons who held no office in the older confraternities and
who performed no official functions in connection with the celebration 178
of the annual festa of the village patron. Through the new 621
cult they could gain offices and perform functions which hitherto
had been monopolized by the circle of the village elite who
surrounded the parish priest. Some informants have also mentioned
that young men were particularly attracted to the new
cult. In this we can see the universal resistance of the young to the
authority of their elders, for by becoming active in the new cult,
they were asserting their independence from the controls of the
older generation. Were the secondary partiti then a form of
protest against the established authority, a sort of underdogs'
party?

Other facts appear to support the hypothesis that the foundation 174
of the secondary partiti was in some way related to a wider 476
working-class movement. Many of the partiti are dedicated to St. 621
Joseph, the patron saint of the working classes who were beginning 776
to organize themselves into formal associations throughout 794
Europe. In Malta there are many signs that this devotion was very
strong. In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to 580

In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to
103 him,[1] after 1850 (in Naxxar, Gharghur, Kirkop and Xaghra, for
175 example) he was chosen as patron of the new parish churches of
621, Kalkara, Qala and Msida. Moreover, four parishes have secondary
776 feasts dedicated to him (Rabat, Ghaxaq, Kirkop and Żebbuġ).
794 Besides these Gharghur and Siġġiewi had St. Joseph partiti which
796 succumbed to the 1935 Church regulations.

The identification of secondary partiti in general with St.
621 Joseph is also perhaps reflected in the colour most have chosen as
794 their symbol. It is blue, the colour of the banner of the Con-
822 fraternity of St. Joseph. The supporters of many secondary partiti, even if their saint is the Virgin Mary, wave blue scarves about to show their loyalty to it. Their rivals display red scarves, after the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose members support the titular saint.

● 463. The correlation between partiti and occupational class is also
621 shown in the high proportion of village priests who are sons of
793, families supporting the titular feasts. I once asked the leader of a
794 secondary partit why this was so. He replied that it was only natural since the families of the titular partiti were in much closer contact with the parish priest. Thus their sons, rather than those of rivals, more often became his young helpers and altar boys and received the necessary recommendations to the seminary and other church-run schools. From there, some became priests, and others assumed positions of leadership with the various associations. Other informants suggested it was because the 'best' families support the titular saints, and therefore can afford the additional school fees and loss of earning power that are involved in having their sons become priests.

Of the 41 priests born and now resident in Żurrieq, Kirkop, Qrendi, Mqabba, Luqa, Ghaxaq and Żebbuġ, 33 (80 per cent) are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. This percentage gains added importance by the fact that in each of these villages the secondary partit is either equal to or larger than the titular partit. The exception is Żebbuġ, where the secondary partit is decidedly smaller than the titular one. In Farruġ, though the local priest is from a St. Roque family, all the offices connected with the parish church, and 23 of the 30 key positions with Catholic Action, the Football Club and the Labour Committee, are in the hands of St. Martin supporters. Thus the members of titular partiti are not only closer to established authority, they often become part of it.

[1] [i.e. St. Joseph.-Analyst]

'belonging', and to a certain extent has created for them a community 665
of their own. These persons often make up the hard core
of Labour supporters in their villages, since they have nothing to
lose by openly fighting the Church.

A number of sociological explanations can be advanced to 463
account for the support professionals, white-collar workers and 467
farmers give to the Church. First of all, professionals generally lose
status in the eyes of their colleagues, if not the wider society, if 665
they join the Labour Party or sympathize with it. It is a working-class [558]
party, and they are professionals. There are a number of
notable exceptions to this, but the only professionals that I met
who sympathized with the MLP were either candidates for office
with it or members of the Executive. The political ideology of
their colleagues and the expectations of their clients combine to
make them look upon the Labour Party as the antithesis of everything
they have been brought up to believe in. They, through
their offices in parish associations and through their work as
doctors, lawyers, high civil servants, and so on, form part of the
establishment to which the Labour Party is opposed.

Much the same reasoning can be applied to the white-collar
workers. As teachers, clerks and other intermediate grade civil
servants they hold a relatively high position in the social hierarchy
of their villages. Many are anxious to identify themselves
with their social superiors, those in control of the village as well
as their employers, and thus look down upon the MLP as opposed
to their interests. Moreover most of them have been educated at
colleges run by the Church. There their teachers gave them additional [873]
religious instruction and strengthened those values which [794]
make the anti-clerical tone of the Labour Party repugnant to them.

Farmers, on the other hand, are looked down upon by many
and are regarded as underprivileged by all. Why is it then that
they do not support the Labour Party? Farmers in most communities
are very conservative, and those in Malta are no exception.
Their solitary occupation isolates them from the Labour Party
ideology which is so freely discussed among the industrial
workers of Malta. Not only that, but as we have seen, they are
among the most poorly educated section of the community.
Many are unable to read the propaganda which the MLP disseminates [212]
through its publications. This isolation from the secular
and materialistic ideologies which enter the country through the

● 463 Grand Harbour and first establish themselves in the conurbation
467 surrounding it has helped to keep the farmer devoutly tied to the
665 Church. For this reason the action of the MLP in challenging the authority of the Bishops is as abhorrent to him as it is difficult to understand.

463 The recent sanctions of the Church have increased the class alignment of those who support the Labour Party and those who
578 oppose it. This is largely because those with high social status have
665 more to lose than industrial workers, and are thus more vulner-
795 able to the pressure of public opinion and the Church. The increasingly heavy pressure of the Church has forced many of the
[626] young professionals and intellectuals to abandon the party for which they voted in 1955. But even when the MLP was in office, its policies began to alarm many in the professional and middle classes. They objected not only to Mintoff's attitude to the Church, but also to the somewhat abrupt way his government occasionally dealt with the professional and business communities. Many were disturbed by the MLP's rather sudden switch from advocating integration with Britain to demanding complete independence. As most of those who left the party or became inactive in it were moderates, both in their approach to the Church and to the economic and political problems facing Malta, the MLP has become more extreme in its outlook. This in turn
[656] induced others to leave it. This process was accelerated by the regulations which prohibited the better-educated civil servants from taking an active part in the political life of their country.

463 Table 7 below shows the rough correlation between occupational class and support of the Malta Labour Party. In particular,
665 it demonstrates that as the proportion of skilled workers decreases,
666 so does the proportion of voters who support Labour. Other variables are the number of professionals and farmers. The Second and Fourth Electoral Districts polled the highest number of Labour votes in the 1962 election, and the Sixth and Tenth the lowest. The MLP polled 56 per cent of the total votes in the Second Electoral District, where 45 per cent of the working population are classified as skilled labourers.

In contrast, it received only 6 per cent of the votes in Gozo, where only 16 per cent of the people are skilled labourers, but 38 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Another important variable is the number of clergy resident in a district. The relatively high

proportion of clerics and nuns in the Sixth Electoral District 463
helps to explain the relatively low Labour poll there. It is also a 665
significant factor in explaining the overwhelming defeat of the 666
MLP in Gozo. These two districts have the highest proportion of clerics in the country. The Fourth District, in contrast, has the lowest.

TABLE 7. 1962 Elections:
Occupational Class and Voting Behaviour[1]

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS[2]	SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (As percentage of total lab. force)			PERCENTAGE LABOUR VOTES
	Professional[3]	*Skilled*	*Agricultural*	
IInd (Senglea, etc.)	4 (3)	45	4	56
IVth (Żurrieq, etc.)	3 (2)	34	11	47
VIth (Birkirkara, etc.)	6 (4)	33	11	24
Xth (Gozo)	7 (6)	16	38	6
All Districts	5 (3)	32	11	34

IV

It will have been observed that there is a certain superficial 621
similarity between the reasons given here for belonging to the 665
MLP and those suggested in the preceding chapter for recruitment into the secondary festa partiti. One might expect therefore that in comparison with titular partiti, secondary partiti would have a higher proportion of Labour supporters among their members. Unfortunately, owing to the disturbed political situation prevailing at the time, I was not able to gather satisfactory systematic
data on this point. Almost all informants with whom I discussed [124]
the matter suggested that secondary partiti did in fact have more pro-Mintoff members than their rivals. But the situation is not quite as straightforward as it might appear. To begin with, the statements of informants varied according to their own political
beliefs and their position in relation to the festa partiti. Rivals [575]
generally tried to place each other in an unfavourable light. Thus [578]
an anti-MLP member of a band club supporting a titular feast

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[1] Source: *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 40–111; and *The Malta Government Gazette* (3 March 1962), pp. 385–94.

[2] *IInd* (Cospicua, Senglea, Victoriosa, Kalkara, Żabbar, M'skala), *IVth* (Żurrieq, Safi, [103]
Qrendi, Mqabba, Kirkop, B'bugia, Żejtun, M'xlokk), *VIth* (Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija, Attard, Naxxar, Gharghur).

[3] Percentage of priests, monks and nuns in parenthesis.

fireworkers, and without their expert help it was feared that the 578
feast would be a miserable failure. Many Labour supporters also 621
instructed their parents and wives not to contribute money to the 665
feast. This depressing state of affairs continued for some time. 794

Then one day, about three months before the festa, Pietru, the 796
young schoolteacher who is head of Catholic Action and treasurer
of the St. Martin club, came up to me looking very pleased. He
said that the feast was saved. Several events had combined to work
up interest in it. It seems that most of the people had attended a [216]
large and very successful titular festa in a neighbouring village;
the St. Roque fireworkers had shot off three extremely well-
made test rockets; and he himself had played his tape recording of
the St. Martin hymn, the anthem of the partit, over a loudspeaker
in the square. These events revived interest in the festa
and in the reputation of the partit. Immediately afterwards the
secretary of the club, a Labour supporter who has set politics
aside for the honour of the partit, called a committee meeting to
discuss the problem of making fireworks. After several speeches
urging members to keep their politics from spoiling the feast, the
committee voted to make fireworks. Though two skilled fireworkers [389.
crossed the floor and agreed to help, none of the many 463]
experts among the rank and file followed suit. But soon after this
political loyalty again began to smother the rekindled partit spirit,
and one of the fireworkers all but dropped out. Moreover, Pietru,
who is the village's most eloquent and outspoken enemy of the
Labour Party, began to preach so vehemently to those he calls the
'lost sheep' of the club, that he antagonized many. His fund-raising
suffered as a result.

About a month after this I met Toni at a festa in a neighbouring 578
village, and we had a long talk away from the interested eyes and 621
ears of Farrug. Toni has been a member of the St. Martin Club 665.
committee for nearly twenty years, and until some months ago
had been vice president. He was clearly very worried about the
club. People were already beginning to draw parallels between
the present situation and the events that led up to the split in
1930. He said he was doing his best to discourage such talk, and
had now begun working hard to avoid an open break.

He pointed out that he had experienced many crises in the partit
and favoured a less blunt approach to winning back the interest
of the MLP members than did the crusading Pietru. He felt that he

647 accused of being anti-clerical and against the Church because they
662 opposed the will of the parish priest.

665 Shortly after Mintoff took office, the Local Committee in
793 Kortin made plans to open a new avenue into the village. The
scheme, first projected by government planners over sixty years
578 before, was designed to ease the flow of traffic through the village
647 and provide a wide, tree-lined promenade leading to the main
653 square in front of the church. Unfortunately, the project required
665 the demolition of four buildings, two of which were small
793 chapels used as warehouses for the festa decorations. Because of
this Dun Bert, the parish priest, bitterly opposed the scheme, as had his predecessors. He claimed that most of the village supported him. The Labour Committee, on the other hand, felt that it had the backing of the village, and went ahead with the project. The road was finally opened, and it proved to be a great success. But the two small churches were destroyed, and the relations between the Labour group and the parish priest remained hostile. Six years later, Dun Bert and his supporters were still pointing to the avenue as positive proof that the Labour Party is fundamentally opposed to the Church.

IV

463 But if the political parties have modified the traditional system of
665 patronage somewhat by providing a new channel of influence for
the villager, the professional politician of today is by and large the same traditional patron. That is, the successful politicians are largely drawn from the professional classes; they are still the doctors, the lawyers, the architects and the chemists. Indeed, until recently the lists of candidates often read like directories of the professional classes. This situation prevailed until about the time of the Labour Party split in 1949, when virtually all the professional class Labour MLA's sided with Dr. Boffa and formed the Workers' Party, while most of the MLP Executive and the rank and file supported Mintoff. After this the Labour Party asked people from all classes to stand as candidates, and began to push up working-class leaders trained in union and club politics. But the politicians from the professional class still heavily outnumber their working-class colleagues, even in the Labour Party.

Table 8 below illustrates this. Of the fifty MLA's elected in the

1962 elections, three-fourths are members of the professional 463 ●
classes. The remainder are persons who, for the most part, have 665
risen to positions of influence through party and trade union hierarchies.

TABLE 8. Occupation of Candidates Elected to the 1962 Malta Legislative Assembly [162]

OCCUPATION	POLITICAL PARTY				
	Nationalist	*Labour*	*Other*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Professional	24	9	5	38	76
Administrative	1	4	2	7	14
Skilled Labour	—	3	2	5	10
Total	25	16	9	50	100

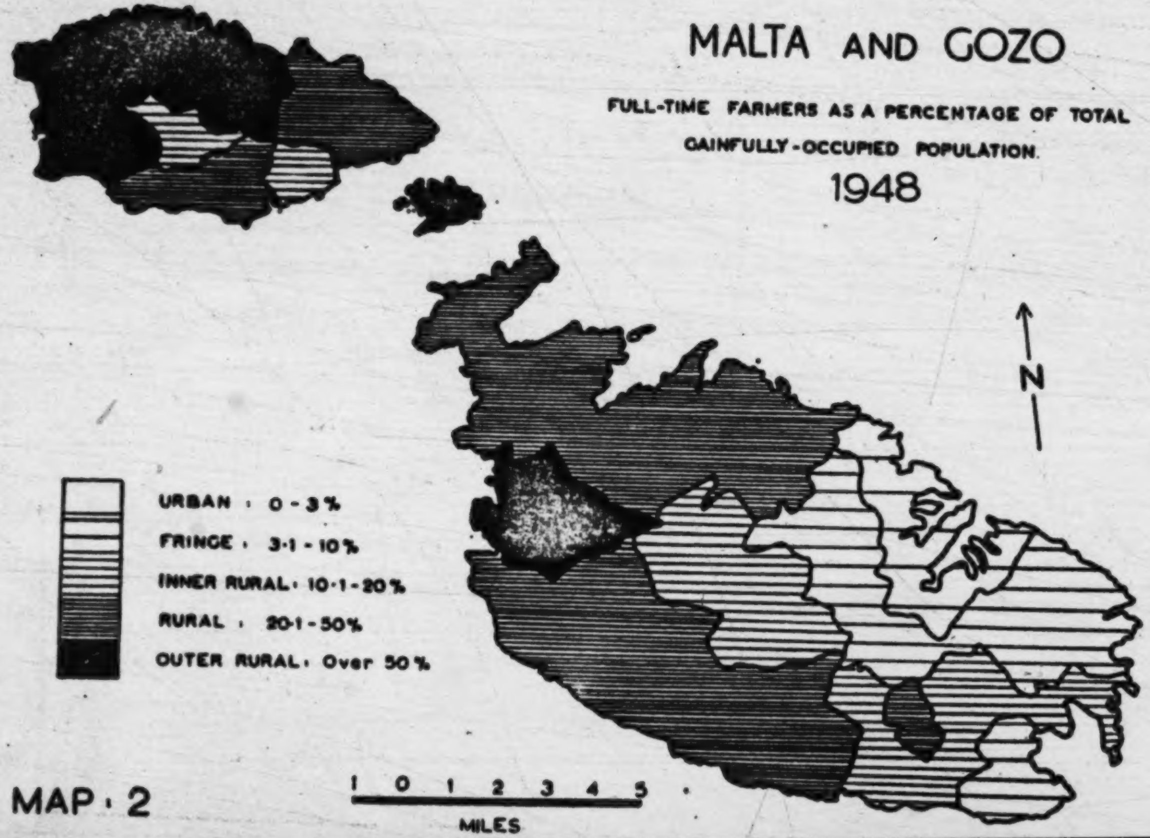
The way a political candidate recruits a following depends upon 666
his status and party. All candidates recruit support through their relatives and friends; and all usually have a following in their own villages outside this circle of relatives. To get this, they must usually be successful politicians at the village level. It is for this reason that so many politicians are also presidents of local band and social clubs, and even of some of the lay apostolate societies. Next, every candidate must establish contact with the people in his electoral district outside the village. Since there are usually at least five candidates from each party standing in every district, each normally concentrates his campaign on one part of the district. He does this by making frequent rounds of all the band and social clubs and important wine shops in his territory. There he listens to complaints and requests and, in general, tries to establish a reputation as a generous and approachable person without committing himself to do specific favours. But above all, it is important for him to meet many people, for the Maltese voter does not like to give his first vote to a person he, or at least some member of his immediate family, does not know personally. Finally, all candidates tour their districts just before the election and make speeches.

Candidates who are doctors, lawyers, notaries, architects and 557
so on, have a decided advantage. As professionals, they already 662
have close personal contact with a large number of clients, many
of whom are bound to them by debts, or obligated to them for 666
help and favours. These obligations are important, for the Maltese villager does not like to receive something for nothing, and he

MALTA AND GOZO

FULL-TIME FARMERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

1948


N
URBAN : 0 - 3%
FRINGE : 3·1 - 10%
INNER RURAL : 10·1 - 20%
RURAL : 20·1 - 50%
OUTER RURAL : Over 50%
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MAP · 2

[following p. viii]

102
463
162

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

It has faded very rapidly
369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
241 animals or animal products are sold for money.

433 By using the 1946 Census material (B/167 - 1946, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:

634 Table 1 (v. Map 2)

369

[127]

Urban (0-3%)	
Valletta	0
Cospicua	0
Senglea	0
Vittoriosa	.008
Gżira	.11
Sliema	.24
Floriana	.43
Pawla	.8
Marsa	1.2
Hamrun	1.35
Msida	1.36
Kalkara	1.84
Pieta	2.6
St. Julian's	2.9

Fringe (3-10%)	
Balzan	5.48
Luqa	6.1
Birkirkara	6.16
Tarxien	6.43
St. Venera	6.46
Qormi	6.88
Birzebbuga	7.3
Żabbar	7.35
Żejtun	8.27
Lija	9.9

Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Mqabba	10.5
Marsaxlokk	10.6
Żurrieq	11.15
Għaxaq	11.29
Attard	11.53
*Victoria	13
Mdina	15.4
Mosta	16.56
Żebbuġ	18.41
*Għajnsielem	19.2
Gudja	19.91

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Għargħur	29.1
Mellieha	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Kerċem	56.43
*Xagħra	64
*Għarb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Għasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Malta..............	9.11%
Gozo..............	41.78%
All Islands.........	12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
369 but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the
464 Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
369 counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages

[i.e. peasant subsistence farming. -[illegible]]

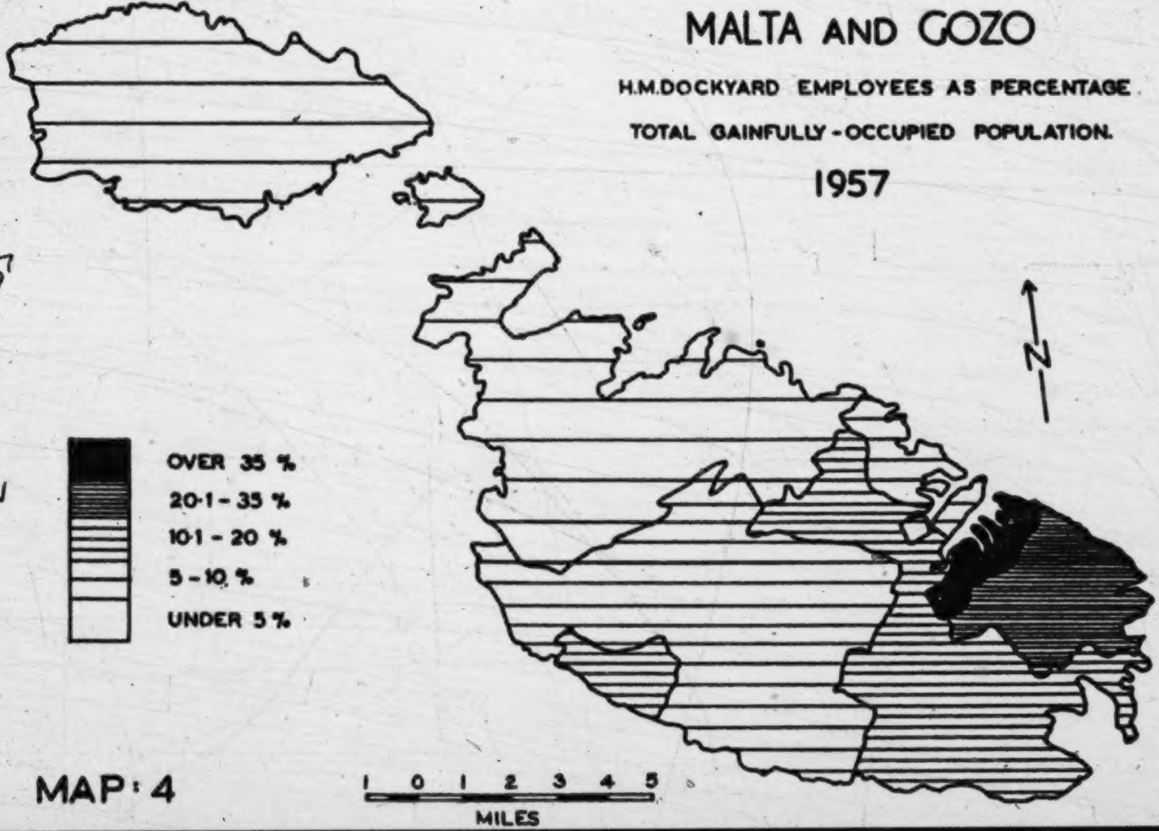
6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

102
463
162

MALTA AND GOZO

H.M.DOCKYARD EMPLOYEES AS PERCENTAGE TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

1957


N
■ OVER 35 %
▤ 20·1 - 35 %
▤ 10·1 - 20 %
▤ 5 - 10 %
☐ UNDER 5 %
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

MAP: 4

[Following p. 5]

628 186 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gożo that a man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some comparatively recent date[13].

621 793 795 Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest, and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church by the new features and modifications of the old landscape in the present.

175 361 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement has acquired the essential features common to rural society throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church [172] in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1580[14]. Evidence, too, of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat (2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the village.

175 361 793 795 However, in the early part of the nineteenth century, farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918. Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area per- 175 346 [793] manently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the population of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911). [463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect concerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

128 [226] PART 3. A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo is included because the economic position of this comparatively small group is in many ways similar to that of the farming community itself.

*159 PART 1. Maltese Farming - Case Studies I-XIII

234 CASE I: Pawlu. (A Gositan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.)

654 Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed [435] sale for milk produced. He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialisation which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the official policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

*159 55 423 ● [463] Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (B/525).

000 was taken for granted.
*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
on the ground that "it is not used here".

* CASE XII : Čenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

159 Čenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
554 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra income
[463] which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Čenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation
to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
241 to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
[451] This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434]
- Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.

[433] [251]
- Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43
(i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year.
Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465]
An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451]
Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve. [454]

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829

CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdoms, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

159 554 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. [871] This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14).

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 871 829 827 [014] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/257, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command.

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture, that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fisher-
361 men live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi. Socially this residential distribution is important since only in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
[512] gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economi-
463 cally lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
162 time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same basis, and the average for the total population was lower still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
178 the present official financial assistance, is producing exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor the way of life based on it.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

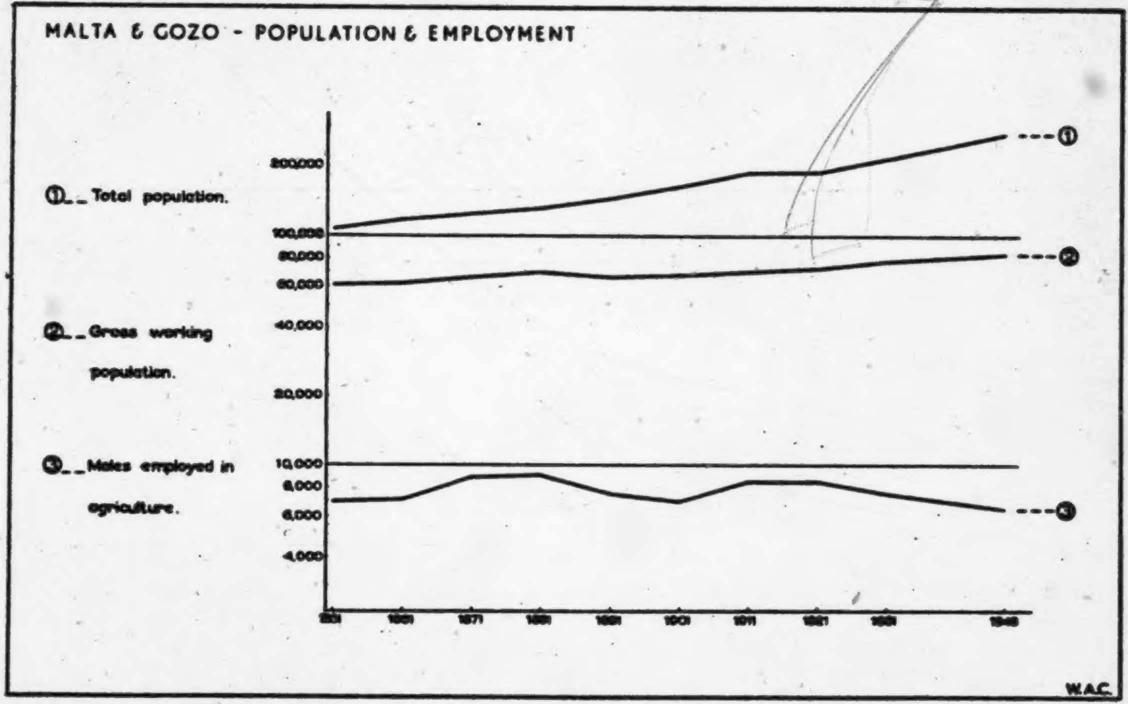


Fig. 31 Malta and Gozo, Population and Employment.

[p. 118-B]

*175
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241
464
●

*175 43 revenue deficits. In 1878 a report by Rowsell on the fiscal situation in Malta is particularly indicative of buoyant conditions, but also indicated the smallness of revenue reserves (14).

The superficially favourable Internal Revenue situation and the fall in unemployment and migration, particularly after 1870, were however paralleled by a growing unbalance in the National Product. Once again there occurred a fortuitous coincidence of favourable external circumstances. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and fleets of small steamships plying the new route to the Indian Ocean needed frequent bunkering. The Mediterranean littoral itself became the scene of increased economic activity. The same industrial surge in northern Europe, and in Britain in particular, which built the ships and the Canal, needed foodstuffs and raw materials and provided the capital and equipment for their production. Not only from the Mediterranean littoral, Australia and the Orient, but also from the Russian and Danubian Black Sea ports came the ships which converged on the Malta Straits. Many regions suffered from the downward movement of commodity prices which occurred after 1873. Malta was little affected by commodity price-changes in that her commercial activity was strictly concerned with services, and the Islands reaped the benefit of increased volume of traffic. By 1883, 80 per cent. of the recorded tonnage using the harbours dealt with extra-Mediterranean traffic. The same year witnessed the nineteenth century peak of British steel exports, the Black Sea grain trade was still building up and bunkering business in Malta reached its height. During the 1880's Britain was in virtual control of maritime affairs and the complicated pattern of a relevant part of tramp movement may be summarised thus (15):-

> '... steamers go a round voyage, part of which is in ballast, taking coal, say, to the Mediterranean and then grain from the Black Sea to Hamburg and home... The course of the export trade in coal is influenced in some degree by the return freight... modified by favourable harvests or otherwise in different parts of the world, and the consequent varying sources of our food supplies'.

*195 43 505 In this statement may be found an explanation both of the reason for Malta's Golden Era between 1870 and 1890 and for its impermanence. Before 1890 events conspired to produce commercial opportunity. After 1890 Europe turned more and more to the New World for grain and the volume of Black Sea trade slowly declined. Those ships still in the trade, together with those using the through Mediterranean routes grew larger and more power-efficient and therefore less in need of frequent bunkering stops. Competition from other ports increased as the Mediterranean political pattern became simplified by effective French control of much of North Africa, by the enforcement of stability on Egypt and by Italian unification. The sheer momentum of nineteenth century economic progress carried centres such as Algiers, Naples, Alexandria and Barcelona, all with developing hinterlands and facilities, out of the class of ports pure and simple. By 1895 shipping activity in Malta had dropped back to the level of 1880 and thenceforward it developed at a slower rate than did world trade as a whole. The Maltese were once more sharply reminded that the possession of a good natural harbour was not enough in itself permanently to attract commercial interest.

Since detailed statistics of trade, other than that in dutiable goods, were not recorded before 1910 it is difficult to measure directly the real significance of port activity and trade either during the boom or in more normal conditions. The Blue Books are of some analytical aid, and that for 1891 suggests that the total value of what are termed re-exports was £35,000,000 of which only 3 per cent. by value were actually landed in Malta, the remainder proceeding to their ultimate destinations in the same bottoms. For further information we must turn to an analysis of the other elements in the National Product.

*175 43 ●464 161 The most useful records at our disposal are the Census recordings of occupations although even here there are considerable deficiencies. The gross working population (unemployment figures are not available before 1921) shows trends which conform to those of net population increase (Fig. 31) but particularly noteworthy is the numerical loss due to a decline in the female working group.

8

175* 43 464

group. From 1851, when it composed 45 per cent. of the total, this element steadily decreased, absolutely and relatively. This general trend resulted from normal sociological changes consequent on a maturing of the whole economy and from the growing dominance of male employing service industries. At the same time, the preponderantly feminine cotton industry was steadily declining (see pp. 123 and 124).

175* 43 464 241 458

One of the most significant indicators of economic change is that of male employment in agriculture (Fig. 31). During the first century of British rule, agriculture played no part in the economic expansion which was in train. Agricultural prosperity became a function of general prosperity and therefore to a large extent mirrored external fortune. Employment in the industry on the other hand, except for the shortlived cotton growing boom of the 1860's during the American Civil War, varied inversely with general economic activity. In Malta, as in most countries, it would be true to say that rising profits in farming benefited existing producers but failed to attract net incomers. On the other hand, population growth, the cessation of employment elsewhere, obstacles to emigration or even forces producing a return of migrants all periodically forced some workers back on to the land. Thus in the years between 1851 and 1871 while the population was growing more quickly than the slow but accelerating commercial activity, sheer population pressure and migration trends (16) forced the level of male agricultural employment from c. 7,000 to c. 9,000. During the Golden Years and the subsequent period of large-scale dockyard and public works construction numbers fell once more to c. 7,000 in 1901. Later stagnation in commerce and a decline in constructional work culminating in a severe depression (necessitating a Royal Commission) were marked by an increase in the number of farmworkers to 8,500 in 1911. These general fluctuations can be corroborated by reference to farm family histories and by changes in the availability of land. Behind the overall absence of numerical change and of those of secular variations we may discern some of the fundamental features of Maltese agriculture. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the better land had already been occupied by as many farmworkers as contemporary productivity could properly support. This number remained more or less constant, first because the economic and social climate was not propitious to the labour saving innovations which were sweeping over Europe, and secondly because the intake of land from waste did little more than compensate for losses elsewhere. We have a picture of a technically static, status declining and credit starved industry which from time to time lost some of its most vigorous and enterprising young workers or gained a flood of generally poor and semi-skilled labourers.

175* 369 43

More true of Malta than of Gozo, this picture must be modified to accommodate regional differences and changes. Already in the eighteenth century, as we have noted, a cleavage existed in Malta between the *urbs* around Valletta, the Old City of Mdina-Rabat, and the rural communities. By the middle of the nineteenth century, this had developed into an embryonic form of the present division into urban, suburban and rural communities (Fig. 36). The social and demographic reasons for and implications of this are considered elsewhere (Chapter VI A) but the internal economic factors need present consideration.

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Before the building of the railway in 1881, the tramways in 1905, and the later motorable roads, communication between villages and between country and town was relatively limited. Within those areas physically closest to what had now become the Grand Harbour the attraction/repulsion effects on agricultural employment were most strongly felt. On the eastern urban fringe, in the Żabbar area, these fluctuations were very violent and indicative of too complete reliance on two simple forms of economic activity, dockyard work and farming. On the western fringe the expanding economic and political functions of the nuclear *urbs* overwhelmed old villages such as Birkirkara and created new townships such as that of Hamrun in a more complex urbanisation (Figs. 32 and 39). Fluctuations in agricultural employment still occurred but these were less important than the steady decline in the total.

The changes outlined above proceeded slowly but at an accelerating rate during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. By 1871 popula-

[Text Continues on p. 123]

tion increase had overtaken economic growth, and in particular had forced an expansion of the cultivated area. As still evidenced in the landscape the farming frontier moved into the more difficult lands of the north-western uplands and on Mellieha Ridge and intensified effort on the floodable lands of Wied il-Ghasel. The *Società-Economico-Agraria* in a series of reports and in the *Gazzetta Agraria Maltese* expended much effort during this time in studying the possibility of reclaiming land hitherto uncultivated (17). 175* 369 43

From 1871 onward non-agricultural employment became absolutely dominant. The significance of this change lies in the fact that indigenously rooted manufacturing, viz. cotton working, died completely and the largest sector of National Production became entirely dependent on external wealth. A clearer examination of one of the crucial periods, the decade 1871-81, illustrates the regional changes which were taking place. The male working population increased suddenly from 40,698 to 46,116. The greatest rate of increase occurred in the urban area where the number of male workers rose by 17 per cent. while the population increased only by 9 per cent. The suburban trend was intermediate between this and the rural situation where the employment rate rose by only 8 per cent. - less than 800 men. The greatest suburban rise occurred mainly in the following decade. Functionally the largest increase occurred in the group of Porters, Carriers and Coalheavers - 100 per cent., while the commercial group increased by 27 per cent. and the numbers in the building trade actually declined slightly. During this decade and most of the next the greater part of economic growth resulted from increased port activity. At one end of the social scale there would seem to have been an actual migration of nobility and gentry from the 'unfashionable' old centres into Valletta, while in the capital the number of 'gentry' increased rapidly with each census as successful *nouveaux riches* acquired estates and a higher status. Bankers, merchants and dealers increased by 8 per cent., and in ever descending and widening social circles, shopkeepers by 11 per cent. and petty vendors by 25 per cent. The Transport group, an advanced stage to that of Porters, increased in number even more astonishingly, by 129 per cent. in Malta as a whole and by 318 per cent. in the rural areas. 175* 463 369 464 43

As Table 23 indicates, the economic revolution was becoming more complex and the sphere of influence of Valletta and the port became more extensive.

Table 23. Percentage change in the male working population.

Location	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91
Urban	+8	+17	-4
Suburban	+0.7	+12	+5
Rural	+9	+8	+1

By 1891 the port boom was over but Government expenditure and Imperial military spending continued to rise. Commerce came more to mean retail trade and dockyard work more associated with bunkering and naval servicing. Coal-heaving, civil and military, engaged 2,075 men by 1891. By 1905 over 9,000 men were employed by the Naval Establishments, half of these on constructional work. On the other hand, the build up of the garrison, naval and military ended in 1902 and the Royal Commissioners in 1911 estimated that 'the reduction of the garrison must mean a loss to the industries of Malta of not less than £400,000 a year'.

During the closing years of the nineteenth century there was finally established in Malta the complex economic pattern which still fundamentally underlies life in the Islands. The greater integration of economic life, a high level of urban and dockyard activity and the improvement of internal communications resulted not in continued movement into the *urbs* but in the growth of the suburbs and the strengthening of the non-agricultural element in the rural areas. Thus of the coalheavers of 1891, 80 per cent. lived outside the port complex and 44 per cent. in the outer ring of casals Qormi, Luqa and Żejtun. The labour 175* 43 [361] [369] [464]

*175 43 catchment area of the port was extended to include most of the east and centre of the island.

[464] [114] The decline in indigenously rooted economic activity is typified by the fortunes of the cotton industry, which after two millennia of regional fame finally succumbed to the stresses of the new world into which Malta had been introduced. Statistical information is limited to brief mention of employment in the industry in the Census Reports of 1851 and later. General material, often untrustworthy, may be gleaned from travellers reports. Field work (18) carried out during the last four years has given us the evidence of the few surviving cotton workers who can recall the character of the industry as it was in its moribund latter days.

*175 288 43 178 In 1861 there still remained almost 9,000 workers occupationally described as spinners and weavers and some 200 beaters and dyers. Ninety-six per cent. of the total were women, and male labour was generally used only in the final stages of cloth preparation. The industry included all processes from the growing of indigenous short staple annual cottons to the manufacture of cloth. The actual operations however were carried out almost entirely by individual workers in their own homes and were linked only by merchants specialising in this trade. In many cases merchants advanced seed to the farmers on a crop-sharing basis. In all cases they bought the picked lint and then distributed quantities by weight to 'out-work' spinners. These would return the yarn, which had been prepared by primitive traditional teasers and spinning wheels, and were paid by weight and fineness of the yarn. The village merchant would store the yarn until he received an order for cloth and would then make similar contracts with domestic weavers.

That this type of 'out-work', domestic industry survived late into the nineteenth century is a commentary on the social and economic needs of the poorer village and rural classes. Much of the female labour described as occupied in cotton-working was often only seasonally thus employed. The 1861 census taken in the autumn in contrast to the usual spring period clearly illustrates the seasonal change of work between spring harvesting and tillage in the fields, and the home use of the spinning wheel after the autumnal harvest. Tariffs and quotas on trade in lint and yarn were deliberately employed to protect in the domestic market this last employment reserve of the 'lower classes'.

Finally however tradition and protection proved powerless to prevent change. In the harbour area the decline was rapid after 1851, alternative employment and the impact of trade virtually killing the indigenous cotton industry by 1901. Away from the conurbation the same factors operated more slowly but still inexorably. Żebbuġ and Rabat, centres of old Malta, were the last to succumb. The former, a great centre of mercantile and ecclesiastical wealth derived from cotton, remained relatively important for weaving until 1914. In Rabat, the suburb of the old capital, a craft industry still survives. With the coming of new opportunities for wealth gaining, not in trade but in mass employment in the dockyards and towns, the last *raison d'être* of the cotton industry disappeared. It survived longest in the cotton growing regions of the west and in the most Maltese of the old villages of the Centre and South. With its disappearance died the last considerable skilled employment of traditional resource wealth.

*175 178 43 Changes such as these characterised the Maltese economy during the nineteenth century. World War I marked the end of an epoch during which the evaluation placed on Malta by Britain was sometimes questioned but never invalidated. The Maltese economy as it existed in the opening years of the twentieth century had reached the logical culmination of a specialised development which had been under way for centuries.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

8. Economy and Trade

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In any schematic division of history into periods there must be dangers and difficulties. Nevertheless, some themes of significance to our present study, naturally as well as for reasons of convenience, are best treated in this way. It is impossible to be precise about the date of birth of modern Malta in that different land marks might well be used in pursuing different lines of thought. Thus, constitutionally the year 1921 is of most significance, while the Royal Commission of 1911 is in some ways an economic obsequy for nineteenth-century Malta. In the sections that follow, therefore, arguments cannot be chronologically in step. Moreover, this, our last period, is the most well-documented of all and the irregularity of coverage most considerable. Some of the arguments earlier developed need little further emphasis in that some conditions and attitudes firmly established by the beginning of the twentieth century need merely to have their survival confirmed and readers referred to relevant material. Henceforward, therefore, our treatment can legitimately be more selective.

This period of Modern British Malta must be further subdivided. The first phase drew slowly and uneasily to a close during our period of research. It was formally ended by the suspension of the constitution in 1958. The new constitutional proposals of 1960 mark the official beginning of a second phase. The interregnum was the period of the transference of the Naval Dockyard to a civilian firm of ship repairers. In that we attach the greatest importance to the study of the fundamental infrastructure on which Maltese life has and will be based, most of the following analysis is concerned with the first phase - the climacteric of British rule in Malta. Our comment on more recent happenings is therefore deliberately restricted.

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The Census of 1912 noted that in the decennial period 1901-11 ... 'productiveness has not risen in proportion to the increase of the population'.

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The recorded Civil population in 1911 was 211,564. While in 1901, 28 per cent. of the female population was gainfully occupied, ten years later the proportion had fallen to 20 per cent. Henceforth male employment alone was of significance. The male labour force, which for analytical purposes was regarded as excluding only the age-group below five years of age, totalled 92,520. Of these almost 12,000 were engaged in agriculture, 19,489 in commerce and transport, and over 21,000 enumerated as having 'industrial' occupations. 31,385 were returned as unoccupied or unproductive.

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The opening quotation is strictly an actuarial statement based on demographic facts. Behind the Census figures however we may perceive, by using various pieces of evidence, an economic basis for its sombreness. By comparing details of the 1911 enumeration with those for 1921, the first year in which unemployment within occupational groups was recorded, we may deduce that some 10 per cent. of the able male labour force was in fact without employment during the earlier year. By 1907, 10 per cent. of the ships cleared from Malta left in ballast (1). Between 1901 and 1911, the numbers of farmers and farmers' relatives assisting on the land increased by 3,000 and the number of labourers fell by 1,250 (2). Only once between 1906 and 1914, in 1908-09, did Government Revenue not show a deficit (3). In 1905, 9,175 men were employed in the Naval Establishments but this had fallen to 5,181 in 1906 (4). [654] Many such facts could be quoted to prove the existence of an economic depression in Malta during the years following 1906, a situation which induced the setting up in 1911 of a Royal Commission to consider the financial situation. The array of evidence does more than this, it also shows that this was no simple secular trend but a sign of uneasy adjustment to new circumstances, an adjustment that is still in progress. This is why the Report of the 1911 Commission is of more than contemporary importance (5) and why its study is essential to any serious consideration of Maltese problems.

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely 433
based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate
help to the Islands in their present effort ' find alternative sources of employ- 434
ment'. From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification,
while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more
violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain
it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate,
Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese
communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity.
The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this
dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic
stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that [511]
the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level
of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the
present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to
outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of
attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to pro-
duction, has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing
any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been
met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe
that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what
is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel.
Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes
manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived 162
from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In
December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta 464 ●
having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of [161]
Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of
population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased.
The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of
the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per
cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government
revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service
Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial
Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in [433]
normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated
by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had [457]
increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2 [434]
millions.

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to
the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life
investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in 504
the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter 464
of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent
and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main character-
istics of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that
time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost
exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in
'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction.
In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction,
Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional
departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees,
most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a
considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well
as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus con-
tained the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most
important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil
'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled,
particularly in the building industry (18).

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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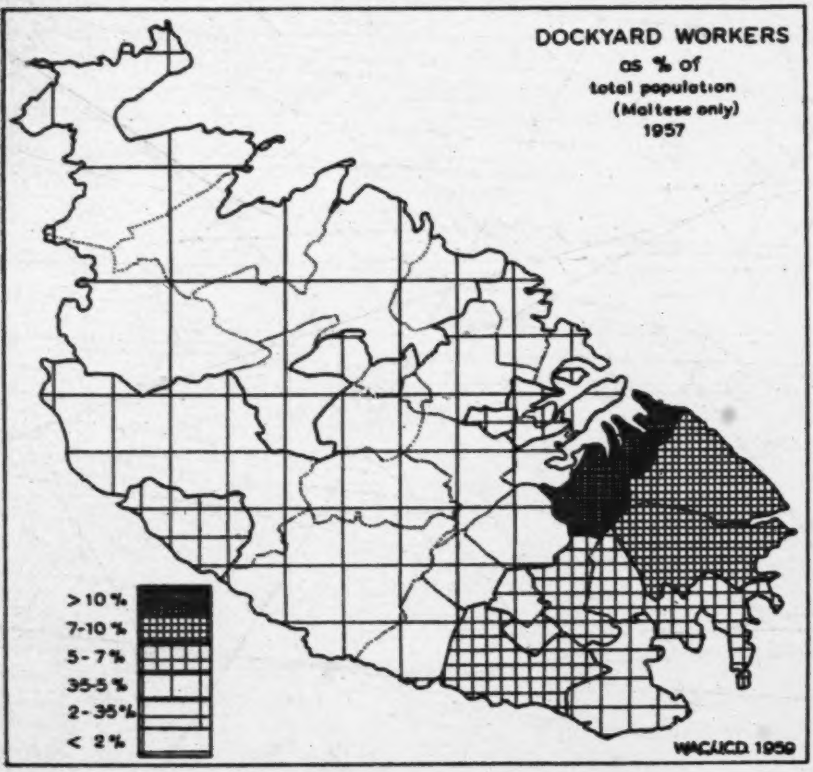
DOCKYARD WORKERS
as % of
total population
(Maltese only)
1957
>10%
7-10%
5-7%
3.5-5%
2-3.5%
< 2%
WAC/UCD 1959

Fig. 64 Dockyard Workers as % age of Total Population.

[p. 172-A]

102 Fig. 64 shows the distribution in Malta of Maltese Dockyard workers by
● 464 residence as a proportion of the total regional populations. The zones of concentration are centred on the Three Cities, and the great importance of Dock-
504 yard employment in the North-East as a whole, a phenomenon more than a
century old (19), is clear. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the much
[361] smaller association of Dockyard employment with the belt of urban settlement
which stretches from Valletta westwards to Lija. Conversely, the northern third of the Island, most recently settled and still relatively sparsely populated, has very little indeed to do with Grand Harbour. Gozo, still more remote, had but 25 Dockyard workers. Some 417 English workers were employed in the Dockyard most of them living in the suburban residential areas west of Valletta, 75 per cent. in contiguous Sliema, St. Julians and Gżira.

Thus we see the one part of the climax of that change in Malta which, commencing in the sixteenth century, swung the economic centre of gravity from the Centre to the North-East. During the last century the new conurbation
[894] extended its grip on the rest of the Island. Police Traffic Records (20) show
part of this effect; on the 5th February, 1958, a normal day, 28 special buses, in addition to public transport, carried 930 Dockyard employees to work from a zone extending to Birżebbuġa, Żurrieq, Siġġiewi, Dingli, Rabat, Mosta and north-eastwards to St. Julians.

185 Here we have reason and space only for the briefest of notes on current
economic conditions. For more complete statements the reader is referred to
504 the recent publications of the Maltese Department of Trade and Industry. As
a result of Britain's reappraisal of her strategic needs, the old Naval Dockyard was handed over to a civilian firm by April 1959. Some emotional reaction has

[P. 289]

Chapter IX

A. The Maltese Farmholding

For our purposes here we shall define a 'farmer' as 'the owner or holder 423*
of land which he cultivates', but will add the limiting clause, 'as the principal 241
person of an agricultural enterprise'. There may be joint owners or holders
but normally, even where a *'communio inter fratres'* has been established on
the death of a parent landholder, one person will assume responsibility for the
control of the enterprise. He is the farmer. His brothers, sisters, wife and [464]
children, if they assist in working the land, together with the non-family labour
which he may employ are the farmworkers. The inter-relationships of family
and work can, however, be much more complex than this simplification may
imply.

The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers we shall term the 423*
'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the
farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'.
There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners, and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer. Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact that a holding may contain freehold, as well as various types of leasehold land. Within each holding there exists a loosely-knit collection of plots, which, through accident or design, have come to be in the occupation of one individual or group. Because of the geographical isolation of the plots, most of the holdings might, descriptively, be termed 'fragmented holdings'. Such holdings need not necessarily have acquired this characteristic through the process of *parcellement*; that is by splitting up of a holding into a number of non-contiguous plots. No generic connotation, therefore, should be attached to the purely descriptive use of the term 'fragmented'. In the following examination of the Maltese farm, this distinction between descriptive statements and analyses of processes will be maintained.

The physical size of a farm may be considered as the total area of land over which the farmer exercises sole rights of occupation for agricultural purposes. Fortunately, in the Maltese Islands, the matter is not complicated by problems of definition concerned with common land, as communal holding of land is effectively absent. But other problems do arise, since land is so variable in quality, ranging from fertile irrigated lands to soil-less karst, with many gradations in between. Most farms include land of more than one category and, especially in the north and west of Malta and the hard-rock areas of Gozo, many farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivator's point of view is useless.

The average size of farms has proved an elusive statistic for many writers. A figure of 3.7 acres was given to the Royal Commission of 1911-12. From 1921-36 the Blue Books continued to advertise the patent fallacy that only 236 holdings were in the 0-10 acre size range and that 10,864 holdings contained from 11-50 acres of land. However, in this context any average figure is very largely meaningless except for purely comparative purposes. The range is enormous; holdings less than 1 *tomna* are not considered as farms, but there are many holdings only slightly larger than this, while at the other end of the scale, farms of 200 *tmien* are not unknown.

Much of the record concerning farm sizes is incomplete and, although the 423*
present response rate of over 97 per cent. to the annual Agricultural Census 127
conducted by the Central Office of Statistics is excellent under the conditions
prevailing in the Maltese Islands, it seems probable that earlier returns lagged 659
far behind in this respect. Of the various sources, the Farm Register is probably
the most accurate. It began with a Census in 1942 and was checked against
another in 1944; for several years its details were consolidated by field survey.

[Text continues on P. 291]

Table 34. Number of farm holdings.

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	Malta	Gozo	Malta and Gozo
1891	6,307	2,965	9,272
1901	6,106	3,072	9,178
1950	9,600	4,000	13,600
1952	9,440	3,815	13,255
1955	9,011	3,674	12,690
1958	8,774	3,441	12,215

The fluctuations during the post-war period are not considered to be significant, since the 1950 figure was an estimate, and something like 750 farmers are known not to have co-operated in 1955.

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Some further indication of the long-term increase in the number of holdings is given by the Census statistics of Agricultural Occupations for the years 1842-1931. In those years, persons working on the land were grouped in the following categories:-

Table 35.

	1842	1851 1861	1871	1881	1891 1901 1911 1921 1931
A	Farmer	do. (Proprietor)	C Farmer	Peasant Proprietor	Farmer, cultivator of land
B	Farmer	do. (Tenant)			
D	Labourer in the field				E Farmer's relative assisting
					F Agricultural Labourer

It would appear from the context in which they are used that the classes A and B of the earlier years were intended to comprise the same groups as class C, of 1871 onward; also that these represent the number of cultivators working land on their own account who have no other major occupation.

Class D was subdivided in 1891 and later years to take special account of those farm-workers who were close relatives of the land-holder. There is no close equivalent in the post-war material for this group, for the 1948 Census takes no heed of the family relationships, while the Departmental enquiries make inadequate reference to the admittedly small group of farm-workers who are not members of landholders' families.

If the classes A, B, C and D, E, F can be presumed to be comparable for the whole of the period, even to a wide degree of approximation, then a general upward trend in the numbers of landholders, balancing a downward trend in the number of farm-workers, is apparent (Table 36).

Short-term variations in these trends result, at least in part, from misclassification of persons as between the two groups, but of greater significance were the succeeding slump and boom conditions in Maltese agriculture, which in turn are to be related to contemporary, but opposite, fluctuations in the general economy of the Islands (Chapter V A). A fall in the number of full-time farmholders need not imply an absolute recession from the land, but rather that numbers of farmers are taking alternative employment, which, for a period, becomes their principal occupation. In the meantime the land is being worked on a part-time basis, or by the men's wives and families.

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Table 36. Agricultural occupations - male and female.

Farmholders, farm-workers, and total workers on land (excluding sheep and goat herders).

		1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders	%	27.2	19.7	17.1	30.2	19.1	37.4	36.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers	%	71.9	78.4	80.9	68.1	79.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	56.9	51.1
Total workers on land	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	000's	12.2	13.4	10.8	15.4	15.3	15.3	13.8	15.1	16.2	13.6

The general increase in the numbers of farmholders could have arisen entirely within the class itself, by the repeated re-allocation of land to succeeding and larger generations. Similarly the full decline in the numbers of farmworkers may be related to increased alternative employment or to emigration. However, case-study material seems to indicate that many families whose members had traditionally been landless labourers, working in fields, quarries or industry, as wages rose and fell began to acquire a direct interest in the land, thereby moving from one class to another without affecting the total agricultural labour force. Such a family history is examined in detail later in this chapter.

Another factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming. In this sector data is particularly limited and of dubious value. Table 37 consolidates all the relevant material.

Table 37.

	1891	1901		1956
'Farmers'	5,727	5,038	Full-time farmholders	4,706
'Part-time Farmers'	2,263	500	Part-time farmholders	5,337
			Other farmholders	1,368
Total	7,990	5,538	Total	11,411
Number of holdings	9,272	9,178	Number of holders	12,640

The discrepancies in the earlier two years between the numbers of farmholders and of farmholdings arise from the differing bases of the material, and because the number of holdings includes returns by the 'owners of fruit gardens and field labourers with very small amounts of land'. Similar explanations apply in 1956. These doubts notwithstanding, it is quite clear that a major part of the increase in holdings is made up of holdings farmed on a part-time basis; the number of farmholders principally dependent on agriculture having declined meanwhile.

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Earlier in this chapter, the point was made that most farms contain land of various types. Apart from virtually non-productive waste land, the main distinction is between dry land and irrigated land. The distinction is not always very clearly set between the two groups, since land can also be considered as 'semi-irrigated', as in the Farm Register. However, this type of land, watered from rain-filled cisterns perhaps twice or three times per season, cannot compare in output with the perennially irrigable land. The crops on this latter type of land will be watered at ten-day intervals for a period of six or more months. Semi-irrigated land is grouped by the farmers themselves with dry land as *raba baghli*, while perennially irrigated land they refer to as *raba saqwi*. So long as data is based on the agriculturalist's own criteria there seems little danger of confusion.

241 development and straining even the existing pattern. In the first place, physical
environment so dominates the mind of the Maltese farmer that he categorically
433 asserts the virtues and deficiencies of various regions and does not realise that
with the techniques and crop-strains at his disposal he now can negate some of
435 these differentiations. Thus the case-study quoted on p. 329 is atypical rather than normal. The result is that in these Islands, which have a long thermal growing season, there are very marked seasonal fluctuations in production. With cauliflowers, tomatoes, carrots and some other vegetables the produce suddenly appears on the markets, prices soar through the fixed ceilings and then as suddenly slump with glut. For the rest of the year - January to September in the case of cauliflowers, and for all except June to September with tomatoes - good quality produce is not available. Prices to the producer range from very high to zero and such fluctuations, superimposed on those caused by climatic variations, both strain the farming economy and encourage poor production. Thus some winter grown Arran Banner sold for up to 50s. per *qantar* in 1956 but only 8s. 4d. in 1958; in January 1957, unsold cauliflowers could be bought from *pitkali* for fodder at 1s. a sack, while a year later they fetched almost 1s. a *wizna* (8¾ lb. av.).

241 Secondly, the concentration in time of the various harvests causes severe
fluctuations in the demand for labour. All farmers interviewed regard hired
464 labour as poor in quality and expensive. This is a frequent grumble in many
countries but in the Maltese context there are some special implications. The
465 number of agricultural labourers, which declined in the nineteenth century as pressure on land resources diminished holding size and encouraged cultivation by occupiers, further declined as urban employment opportunities increased. That pool which is left to some extent sets its standards of wage demand by urban levels, but more important still is only urgently required at two seasons of the year. During the first of these, March to middle May, it is needed for the harvesting of cereals, sulla, potatoes and other winter crops and for the first of the summer cultivations. The second period, about September, coincides with the grape harvest which lasts but three weeks, and with autumn tillage. The result is to elevate day-wage rates to the point of discouragement for the farmer and to lower seasonal earnings so as to repel possible labourer recruits. Merchants, vintners, fodder and food consumers and producers all suffer, and suffer needlessly when one realises the climatic possibilities for extending production.

241 To sum up, one may say that the farmer, although largely producing for the
market, is generally unable to cost his efforts, deal on equal terms with traders,
433 or appreciate the needs of the market domestic or foreign. This inability must be corrected because the farmer and his land are potentially capable of supplying more of the Islands' agricultural needs than they do at present, and of making a considerable positive contribution to the balance of trade which at the moment they help to distort.

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178 but there has been a delegation of his traditional secondary functions. The spread of Government primary education, for example, has produced a literate younger generation able to write - and think - for itself; rediffusion, cinemas, and television have made their presence felt; the Maltese-language press has grown in volume and scope; letters and visits from emigrated Maltese widen horizons rapidly; cheap bus transport puts most of the Malta within easy reach; health and social services have brought improvements; C.A.R.E. (2) and other relief supplies have brought a new external influence; the changing pattern of work with the new limited working day is giving the time for the novel activities made possible by cultural and material advancement. The last 50 years have seen the appearance and spread of the lay religious movements (see Chapter VI C) which have attempted to relieve the Priest of some of the work with which he had [575] previously been able to contend unaided. The Society of Christian Doctrine (M.U.S.E.U.M.), founded in 1909, was the first of these but larger and more comprehensive is Catholic Action whose four groups for men, women, young men, and young women have been established throughout the Islands to provide the modern Maltese parallel to the Village Institute, Youth Club and Church Fellowship of other countries.

178 241 654 The rural family was traditionally the economic unit within the village. A century ago, farming in Malta implied the self-sufficiency of the true subsistence peasant rather than the crop- and milk-selling producer of today. The food for the family came very largely from the fields worked by its members, milk from their own goats or sheep and clothing from home-produced cotton and wool.

Money and matters financial now occupy a major part of the thoughts of the Maltese farmer - even of the older generation, illiterate and cut off from more cultural developments. Barter as a means of exchange is breathing its last. Perhaps more than anything else did the 1939-45 war mark the change. During the years of siege and shortage the farmer was able to get prices for produce out of all proportion to anything before or since. With the return of conditions to normal after the war this Golden Age of Maltese farming collapsed but the farmer went on somehow expecting to make the same profits in peace as he had in war. The fact that he has not been able to do this, even with recent Government protective farming programmes of subsidies, guaranteed prices and other artificial inducements, has increased the bitterness which the farmer has come to feel for his lot. For its part, the Government has tried to keep the farming community as contented as possible and at the same time has embarked on attempts at dairy and general farming reforms of methods, varieties, marketing, etc., in an attempt to stop the retreat from the land and from the way of life based on it. The produce of the soil is, after all, Malta's only major locally-based industry. This has seemed to prove to the farmer that *'Guvern'* ought to do all that it has done for the farmer, and a lot more. The Government's recent policy has been to educate the farmer to accept the new ideas and novel methods and techniques and it has attempted to do this through lectures to farmers, programmes on rediffusion, and pamphlets - along with the inducements of subsidies and guarantees. But the limited success of this programme has emphasised the basic problem in farming today which is that the 'Farmer' is now the middle-aged or old man, whose lack of education and experience outside the community of his village makes it most unlikely that he will accept information and advice from those who are patently not *Maltese* farmers and lack the lifetime's association with the alleged idiosyncracies of the Maltese environment.

178 464 241 561 The younger generation, which has benefited from a thorough primary schooling, might have been the individuals to listen to lectures on farming but, and here is the basic problem, as a group the sons and daughters of farmers are desperate to leave the land and even more concerned to rid themselves of what they see as the social inferiority attached to the calling of their fathers. These young people have in fact been educated to an awareness of new possibilities of economic and social life outside farming and also outside the village community which bred them. So many of the younger generation have in fact managed to make the break with the way of life of their fathers that the average age of the Maltese farmer is now higher than only a few years ago, and is still rising (see Section III Introduction).

369 formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial
Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically
indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European
loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place
[103] names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or
Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements -
Żebbuġ, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three
Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for
the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people.
Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament
still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who
helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the
coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants
from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially
Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship.
The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce,
the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical revo-
178 lutions of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the
369 first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available.
The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades
464 of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken
up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such
[166] as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual
and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought
the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years,
the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now
probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent.
178 of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service
Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture.
182 This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also
[464] apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954
totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a
[167] steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has
slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons
have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields,
storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This
conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs
of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of
the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further
strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has
become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the
necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs
is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping
towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieħa, and even this, hidden from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 80 years. Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it commands. Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

178 Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways.
182 Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always
454 flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 25 years ago, who would

[p. 15]

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out 647
by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under
the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is
usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the [648]
interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation
from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads
were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants.
Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of
civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers
through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial
labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the govern- [464]
ment. They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This [162]
makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands.
Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the
principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open
competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration [621]
required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no
councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to
represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey
the wishes and commands of government to the people.
Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are
located in Valletta. Only the police represent government [625]
authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools [658]
for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most
villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a [744]
day under the supervision of a government District Medical
Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and [205]
branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour.
All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where [364]
it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

CHAPTER III

The Villages and Their Inhabitants

The villages with which this essay deals are the communities 361
outside the densely populated built-up area which centres on [121]
Valletta. This area is contained in a rectangle formed by imaginary
lines running from St. Julians' and Lija, and thence to Tarxien and
Kalkara.[1] Many of these villages, however, are in reality rural
towns with populations of up to 15,000, as in the case of Qormi.
The Maltese do not distinguish linguistically between small [196]
villages and country towns, both are called 'villages' (*rħula*; sing.
raħal). These are contrasted to *Il-Belt*, the City of Valletta, and its
environs. Although I contrast town and country, it is worthwhile
pointing once again to Malta's small size. No village in Malta is
more than an hour's bus ride from Valletta, and Gozo is only
thirty minutes by ferry from its larger sister island. Moreover,
'rival' villages are often no more than a few hundred yards apart.

I am here concerned with abstracting certain principles of social 121
organization, and not with comparing the size and shape of residential 369
groupings, although these two ends are obviously not
completely unrelated. Consequently, the geographical limitations
which I have placed upon this study are somewhat arbitrary. It is,
perhaps, easier to think of the division between town and country
as a continuum, with Valletta or Sliema at one end, and small
villages such as Qrendi or Għarb at the other. Although much of
the description and analysis which follows holds true for both
town and village, I am here dealing specifically with the villages.

The separation between town and country corresponds to a 361
rough division of economic and political power, for villagers look 369
to the urban area for employment, income and patronage. First
of all, the seat of government is in Valletta, and most of the senior 464
civil servants live there or in Sliema, the sprawling residential
suburb that has grown up opposite Valletta during the last 100
years. Secondly, almost all the professionals, wealthy business men,

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[1] See the map of Malta and Gozo on page 2, above.

361 landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of
369 the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the
● 464 greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to
work in this area.

369 Differences in language, dress and education set many of the
villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be
so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in
contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries.
[565 The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so con-
177] sidered, have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of
these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth
century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who
struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen,
whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

177 There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants
and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the
19 English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of
369 whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also
differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken
in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English
words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their
preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema
the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*,
which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà*
(mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however,
are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged
to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

186 The social and cultural differences between town and country
have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was
369 often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who
829 goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe,
tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The
villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who
spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for
the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross
exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth.
But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices
369 in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary
871 level.

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[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barnett, 1615), p. 234.

080

level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advancement. 555

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta 212
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same 369
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same
period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to
17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment opportunities during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity. 464

II

178
The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 241
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 433
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 464
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school. [114]

241 giant dockyard in Cospicua, or for one of the various British
433 Service departments scattered over the island. Gozo is more
464 dependent upon agriculture, but many Gozitan men work in
[178] Malta, returning to their families for the weekend. Though
Maltese villages are populated mostly by industrial workers, they
have nonetheless a decidedly rural atmosphere about them, for
their inhabitants still have links with the agricultural economy of
[231] the past. Many retain a patch or two of land which they plant with
[235] potatoes or some other cash crop to supplement their wages, and
[262] virtually all keep chickens and rabbits to supply them with eggs
and fresh meat for special celebrations.

463 TABLE I. Occupational Classes in Farruġ and Kortin[1]
(Expressed as percentages of the total male working population)

Occupational Class	*Farruġ*	*Kortin*	*Islands*
Professional and Clerical	4	7	15
Service and Skilled	39	52	55
Semi- and Unskilled	42	27	20
Agricultural	15	14	10
Totals	100	100	100

[438] A hundred years ago, the inhabitants of Farruġ were mostly farmers, though many were also employed on a cottage-industry basis in the thriving cotton industry of the time. Today they are for the most part wage labourers. Of the total male working population, 42 per cent are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, 39 per cent work as skilled fitters and as service personnel (shopkeepers, drivers, policemen, etc.) and 15 per cent as farmers. Only 4 per cent are professionals and white-collar workers. Three-fourths travel outside the village to their places of employment, chiefly with the Malta Government and the British military departments.

The occupational structure of Kortin is much the same. The higher proportion of skilled and clerical workers is in part a reflection of its past importance as an administrative centre, for until early in this century it was the seat of the district court. Seven per cent of the men work in professional and white-collar

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[1] The figures for Farruġ and Kortin are based on surveys I conducted, and the national figures on the 1957 *Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 45–55. The totals of the male working population in Farruġ, Kortin and the Maltese Islands are 296, 1,131 and 75,930 respectively.

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catho-
787 lic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedi-
795 cated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs, especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentle-
621 men'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in 1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages. They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890, 'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations, fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
000

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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

575 would describe the rival club as a Mintoff stronghold, but suggested
578 that his own club had relatively few MLP members. In
621 contrast, a member of the rival club with the same political view
665 would often say just the opposite. Parish priests generally gave
very conservative estimates of the number of MLP supporters in
the clubs, but usually said that the secondary clubs had more.

Another factor which makes it difficult to be dogmatic about
621 the political alignment of the partiti is that most are located in the
665 southern villages. These communities are reservoirs of industrial
[464] labour and are generally strongly pro-Labour. For this reason,
unbiased informants generally estimated that Labour supporters made up between half and three-fourths of the membership of all clubs, but that secondary clubs had slightly more. My own experience in Farruġ confirms this. I found there that about 70 per cent of the members of each partit are pro-Labour, although the leaders of the village MLP group are almost all from the St. Martin partit. This I suggested was due more to the shallowness of the leadership resources of the St. Roque partit than to the political inclination of its members.

575 At the policy level, all clubs usually maintain strict political
621 neutrality. At least, all incorporate clauses to this effect in their
665 by-laws, and many prohibit party newspapers and political discussions
in the club. Nonetheless, some clubs are closely identified with a particular political party. Of the clubs that are aligned in this way, those that celebrate the titular feasts generally support one of the parties allied with the Church, usually the Nationalist Party; their rivals support the Labour Party. This alignment often comes about when a leading member of a club seeks political office. Where this occurs, members of the opposite festa partit, as a matter of course, give their votes to his chief opponent in another party, or to a rival in his own party. The political significance of the rivalry between festa partiti will be examined in the following chapter, together with some of the ways in which political candidates manipulate the partiti, and are, in their turn, manipulated by them.

But the tendency to political polarity of rival band clubs still does not explain why the leader of a secondary club, for example, supports the Labour Party, and not one of the rival parties. The chief reason for this, quite apart from the fact that he may have a personal preference for the party, is that the members of his own

557 patrons; others have established fairly close contact with them
602 through business relations.

The patronage of the parish priest has traditionally been im-
557 portant. Not only are all villagers his spiritual clients, but he is
793 also a source of charity and assistance in many fields. He serves his parishioners individually in the capacity of legal adviser, character reference and often also as letter-writer and banker. He frequently argues their claims against the government. He also represents the interests of the community at large, and attempts, often successfully, to obtain improved public amenities such as new roads, street lighting and so on. At least, this is the role that he occupied until the introduction of representative government.

III

557 Influence through the networks of personal relations and patrons
is the traditional method of handling contacts with authority. It
662 still operates when representative government is in abeyance. But the advent of elected government introduced a new set of relations, and provided a new focus of power. Political parties and professional politicians provided new and surer channels of influence and sources of patronage, though they have not replaced the old ones. The villager now uses both old and new channels, separately or together.

The organization of all parties, at least before Mintoff reorgan-
662 ized the Labour Party, was rather simple. Party interests were
665 represented in the villages by personal canvassers or party agents, as well as by the candidates themselves. The old Labour Party under Paul Boffa had a number of village party committees. When the party was returned to power, patronage and influence flowed abundantly, and brought the whole structure into vigorous life. The canvassers became important people who could pass along requests and schedule appointments with the local MLA's
[464] and even the Ministers. They also helped the local MLA's prepare the lists of people who were to be given jobs, for until 1955 most
[653] of the lower-grade industrial labourers with the Public Works Department were employed upon the recommendation of the local MLA's. Politicians who held office before 1955 often told me that making out the employment rosters and dealing with the daily queue of job-seekers were among their most difficult and

time-consuming tasks. To help as many as possible, they often 662
made up new job rosters every few months. 665

Canvassers would often expect presents for their work as intermediaries and for the favours they promised or secured. By and large, the party agents or canvassers were not popular figures, at least in retrospect. I came across many accounts of how they had exploited their positions to enrich themselves. The usual story was that they had accepted gifts – a rabbit, some chickens, a bottle of whisky or even cash – but had not assisted as they had promised. These tales may or may not be true; I had no way of checking. It is significant, however, that persons of all political colours, including former Ministers and MLA's, believe them to be true.

Mintoff's government did much to change the course of the 647
stream of political patronage. To begin with, shortly after it came 662
into office in 1955, the MLP passed a law which made it compul- 665
sory for those seeking employment with the government as
industrial labourers to register with the Department of Emigra- [656]
tion, Labour and Social Welfare.[1] There they had to wait their [653]
turn. This took away from MLA's a considerable source of patron- [464]
age. The MLP also established special sub-committees of the Labour Committees in each village to deal with the complaints and requests of the local inhabitants. A member of the sub-committee was generally available to the public for an hour or two every evening. All requests for assistance and complaints were discussed by the entire sub-committee, which would countersign the routine ones and send them along to the appropriate government department. More important matters were brought personally to the attention of the civil servant concerned by a member of the sub-committee. Complicated requests and serious complaints were forwarded to the District Committee, where they were discussed at the regular weekly meetings with the district MLA's, who might then take the matter up directly with the Minister. Civil servants, on the whole, handled complaints and requests for action from the Local Committees with much the same dispatch they would give a request from their Minister. Some Ministers even went so far as to instruct their Department Heads to ignore all complaints brought to them by private persons, especially parish priests. They were told only to act on those presented by the Local Committee.

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[1] Act No. XIV, 1955: 'An Act to Make Provisions for the Establishment and Regulation of an Employment Service.'

175 The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent
167 Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been
361 slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily
and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

175 It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it
161 does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is compara-
tively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in
361 some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less
continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

175 The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the
648 ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary
corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

175 During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported
433 from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the
464 King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between
the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

175 The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediæval
648 Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after
holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—Demography.

161 It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogeum
174 is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably
an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Miège (27) suggests a population of 20,659. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to the physical arrangement of functional parts), these provide important evidence of the social and economic nature of society. The present report is concerned with rural society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These creations have since expanded and merged to become the
[396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended
● [464] on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment existing only in the larger settlements or in the little harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530 standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined in relative importance.

Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
[161] a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
[396] associated townships became dominant and the increase in the population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

It^ has faded very rapidly
369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give
241 way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
433 animals or animal products are sold for money.

By using the 1948 Census material (B/167 - 1948, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:

634 Table 1 (v. Map 2)

369 Urban (0-3%)

[127]

Valletta	0
Cospicua	0
Senglea	0
Vittoriosa	.008
Gżira	.11
Sliema	.24
Floriana	.43
Pawla	.8
Marsa	1.2
Hamrun	1.35
Msida	1.36
Kalkara	1.84
Pieta	2.6
St. Julian's	2.9

Rural (20-50%)

Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Għargħur	29.1
Mellieħa	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Fringe (3-10%)

Balzan	5.48
Luqa	6.1
Birkirkara	6.16
Tarxien	6.43
St. Venera	6.46
Qormi	6.88
Birzebbuga	7.3
Żabbar	7.35
Żejtun	8.27
Lija	9.9

Outer Rural (above 50%)

*Korċem	56.43
*Xagħra	64
*Għarb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Għasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Inner Rural (10-20%)

Mqabba	10.5
Marsaxlokk	10.6
Żurrieq	11.15
Għaxaq	11.29
Attard	11.53
*Victoria	13
Mdina	15.4
Mosta	16.56
Żebbuġ	18.41
*Għajnsielem	19.2
Gudja	19.91

Malta.................	9.11%
Gozo..................	41.78%
All Islands..........	12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta , by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an
369 increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the
● 464 Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the
most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo
the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of
this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the
Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
369 counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages

^[i.e. peasant subsistence farming. - Analyst]

178 which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming
369 element are the old settlements.[4] The non-agricultural Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages grew little in size and declined considerably in relative importance.

178 A closer investigation of the declining relative importance of farming within the rural villages themselves over
241 the past hundred years (v. Appendix 1D, vii and Graph)
433 reveals that during some periods economic prosperity in
● 464 Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally,
166 that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared. This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the present century (B/381). Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming (v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the land as he is with the community which it supported. If a depression were to appear along with any limitation in emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic in character.

178 The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial
464 rather than total in that the bulk of farmers and farm-workers
241 who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or 'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper (B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past the availability of alternative employment has been the governing factor. The earlier periods of economic prosperity mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for
175 the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the
464 only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural
288 Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving. Even here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth

175 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, particularly
288 after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports
464 of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is
today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective
monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century,
much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted
to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male
labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing
departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was
centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft,
so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from
home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton
production declined. This decline accelerated towards the
close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an
even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands.
The total decline was due to external economic factors but,
within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest
in its traditional 'core area' of Rabàt and Żebbuġ. "The
cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest -
where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing
178 work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end
241 of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of
369 this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first,
464 and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the
Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the
[288] harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton
[396] industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus
[504] appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater
break with home, farm and village than had been the case with
cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the
alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into
the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population
of the rural area became less and less dependent on agriculture
for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in
178 an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second,
241 considered later in more detail, is the social change which
369 has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager
241 through direct and indirect education and contact with the
433 people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two
forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had
happened before on a temporary basis and the other a
consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which
has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world,
have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he
has the new range of employment opportunities indicated,
while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The
percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may
be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'.
Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed
as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the
heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three
Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of
south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-
five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for
Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant
that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to
36 this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the
harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service
industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops,
cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public
utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the
162 most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to
which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census
distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix
3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would
expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but
even in the rural districts most people are seen to live
within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In
terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban
and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only
five districts show a built-up township area accounting for
more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this
nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for
1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern
(B/561).

000 already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

241 The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the
points of definition just made. This is the complex of
423 features which have produced the present landscape of tiny
field-plots covering the cultivable parts of the Islands with
a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely
scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The
farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception.
[433] Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large
the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over
55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than
9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in
many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the
family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or
fodder (Case V).

241 The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not
always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and
311 new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land
464 in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of
cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is
not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions.
Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of
rock in days when manual labour was readily available and
cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were
constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled,
tilled and irrigated. But while mechanization, particularly
[409] in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is
enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over
much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even
this kind of development on account of their small size,
tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are
neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the
soil which it held in place collapses over the terraces
below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated
flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

423 The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this
241 picture since they make for further divisions in an already
454 minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is
frequently deterred from making improvements on a piece of
land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates
any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either
owns himself or has on long lease and which show the
necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability
(Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building
(Case I).

241 Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature.
423 They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more

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rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields, which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

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This is the background to the present attempts to rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

(a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654]
(b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

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The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

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[592]
The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

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In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p.80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

462 family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and
562 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment
178 outside the home or even outside the village and insists on
a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been
proper for her mother.

462 The home and the care of the children remains the sphere
of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work
178 only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the
men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this
side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this
nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats
generalization.

178 Until recently it was customary for most women and girls
to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields,
462 especially when work was pressing as at harvest time.
288 Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of
464 its preparation (Section 1), while lace was almost entirely
the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity
excluded them from field work. Cotton is now of minor
importance and lace-working is confined to the older
178 generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now
partly being filled by young women and girls seeking
464 employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing,
teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers than was the case a generation ago. Yet there
remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to
suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of
the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude
that persists in labelling paid employment fo a girl as
somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case,
discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout Malta (B/598).

241 Some farming families still retain the traditional
462 pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI);
others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and
[178] girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In
the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and
picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled,
such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men
(v. Case I on the division of family labour).

241 In general it appears that as the younger age-groups
592 are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided.
[178] The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-money' donations and even those went to sons working full-
[465] time with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and not to daughters.
Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

241 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited,
592 in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned
to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until
they can find some paid employment away from the home farm,
and

241 (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between
464 £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family
[461] would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover
[465] the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily
available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a
return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely
to become scarcer and more costly.

241 The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that
as already suggested, the particular characcristics of
[461] Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual
labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious
fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail
of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable
of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of
activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and
241 varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to
distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual
calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming
conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree
of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so
has the range of variety increased.

175 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the
178 crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work
221 a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agri-
241 coltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of
each month along with short articles on subjects of interest
to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as
silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco,
would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the
[234] Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since
[233] 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely
mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to
first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be
241 expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village
and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese
farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial'
and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

241 461 178 181 direct result. The farmer in (1) spends more than a fortnight each summer gouging tree pests from his apple orchard, a tedious and monotonous task for which the cost would be enormous if any account were made of the labour involved. He has always accepted this task as one of the essential jobs in his fields, presenting itself each year as regularly as the seasons. Today he is wondering whether the same result might not be achieved within the space of a few hours by the application of some spray treatment (Case X).

241 461 This is certainly not to suggest that the Maltese farmer has ever consciously wasted his time. The opposite is the case. Visitors to Malta and Gozo since the eighteenth century have been full of praise for the farmers of the Islands and for their diligent industry. The fact is that the physical limitations of the fields and farms are such that agriculture in the Islands has been maintained and developed only by the application by the farmer of meticulous hand-labour. Today a critical shortage of this very labour [464] is producing a state of doubt and tension in the industry. The question is being posed as to whether some forms of mechanized development can replace traditional manual labour. In view of the characterisites of the rural landscape of the Islands possibilities seem limited.

41 461 178 The farmer's daily timetable, with its long hours of monotonous toil for comparatively little remuneration, is producing a younger farming generation embittered with their inability to do a day's work on the farm in eight hours only and frustrated because independence - in their terms - is denied them. They are tied to the farm and the animals and unable to take as much leisure as their counterparts in 'urban' jobs. Independence for them implies the freedom to take time off from the farm in which to make themselves socially as 'urbanate' as possible. Independence for their fathers' generation is not the same thing. Here is seen a vestige of the traditional peasant way of life which was essentially independent in its family and village self-sufficiency. Thus the old farmer's concept of independence is the ability to rule himself and to work his long hours as he inclines. The liberty to sit with his goats between siesta and sunset, with no foreman and no questions, is in fact part of the attraction which keeps the older farmer in farming at all. It is by no means the whole story because he knows well enough that in his case it is too late to think of acquiring any of the education which he sees as the key to things better than farming. The younger generation do not see things in this light at all and regard their education as a means of escape (Section 1).

178 407 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case · XVII) and the frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX). The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 427 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can themselves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. [461] A job which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

(ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator, 407 461 464 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements (Case · XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving the problem of labour shortage.

427 554 For the contractor himself there is a social as well as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far [221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines and services to builders and others out of the plowing season (Cases · XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing machine which brings in further contracts in the summer (Case XVII).

178 407 427 [434] From what has been said it would appear that the large tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese farming, although it may bring considerable profit and advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The present decline in this type of contracting has been noted. Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to the land in the near future. The small hand rotary cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like going much further along the way to enabling a time/money conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
554 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the
[234] maximum (Section 2).

Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
178 Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
511 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to
434 his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned.
These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

[464] (d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

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434 Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
his farm the means of providing for the various needs of
[471] the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding,
his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make
the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is
the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very
small section of the farming community: one of the major
problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means
the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
426 position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial
434 status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem
emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

In 1839

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The princip
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-
wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is
the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing
by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work,
175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nine-
teenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on
other crops while, socially, the change affected the
family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commis-
735 sioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become
511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and
that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts,
the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded
saving but also led to begging and stealing which was
"One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty
and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to
much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the
nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions
of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The
Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Miège in
1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made
in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167);
reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874
(B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207);
on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera
in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living
standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on
mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great
as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the
bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country
districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst
description" while "It must also be admitted that the
sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not
so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late
175 years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

511 The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence
[369] is that there existed a considerable gulf in general
[464] living standards between the people of the towns and
those of the country. There was also an important
[458] contrast within the then rapidly expanding Urban area

175 between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This
458 dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth
511 century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished
[468] from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which
[184] characterized the totality of economic life in Malta.
Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean
basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by
changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the
fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of
prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century.
[731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts,
epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean
in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable
Malta (B/556).

175 The major economic developments arising from the
184 growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the
511 Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various
178 stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic
life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the
chain of external events made their presence felt. In
all this the fortunes of one section of the population,
such as the farming community, could at no time stand
unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands
as a whole.

175 Malta remained sharply divided within itself by
178 class, district and education and the parallel differences
[184] of living standards between one section of society and
another were continued. But the later decades of the
[871] nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from
the economic plane, the beginnings of general education
which, during the present century, was to remove the
illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural
classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of
life and society outside the limits of the village.
[184] Improvements in transport and communication within the
[369] Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area
to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the
twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of
isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and
Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural
[621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been
a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little
contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages
in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the forces indicated were beginning to modify the position but it was not until the present century and particularly

178 the years after 1939 that the cumulative effects of
[175] education, emancipation and communication were to produce
a society very different from that which Maltese country
[511] folk had known for centuries (Section 1). It became
[184] different when the traditionally depressed sections of the community became restless and began to demand the improvements in their living standards which they came to believe should be theirs by right as well as need.

178 This is not to suggest that the present position of
184 Maltese rural society is an 'end-product' of change. The
369 opposite is true. The old and new exist side by side in agriculture and in the farming community of the Islands today. Some people, some places, and some features of life and work hold far more tenaciously to the old than do others where comparatively few years have seen considerable modifications of the traditional pattern.

175 By 1912, the Royal Commissioners were able to observe
458 that the living standards of the labouring classes of
464 Malta and Gozo compared well with those of other Mediterranean
511 countries (B/186, p.25-6). "Building", they said, "is cheap and good and the country people are exceptionally well-housed". But, in their consideration of the economic state of the Islands as a whole, the Commissioners thought the picture much more gloomy. The depression which they found, though of only recent appearance, was being felt by the mass of the people, although "until the advent of the present depression, the condition of the people has been one of comparative comfort". To appreciate "The present distress, and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta.....it is necessary to recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former prosperity and employments, which depended to a large extent upon Imperial expenditure...." (B/186, p.12). Here did the Commissioners strike at the root of the problem which has grown to formidable proportions in the half-century since the report was made. They pointed to the position in which the economic structure of the country as a whole was based on the shifting sands of Imperial naval and military expenditure and in which the living standards of the Maltese population were therefore tied indirectly and directly to that Imperial expenditure. Moreover, within the Maltese population itself, it is not difficult to see that the first to be hit by a drop in Imperial expenditure (as happened between 1902 and 1911 and, again, in the post-1945 period) were and are the labouring and poorer classes generally lacking alternative employment in the Islands, in the event of their becoming redundant, and having often little or no capital reserves.

175 Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger
458 position than the townsman for he has had the land to which
464 he could return when no other work was available. Thus the
369 degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred
years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level of prosperity in the Islands (Section 2).

178 The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be
241 related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the
464 higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural
458 pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold
[554] on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in
some future period of major economic recession and depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than a minor part of the total population. As an economic retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the
[554] problem goes further. The present younger generation in the farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly. Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of reconciliation.

175 Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese
465 agriculture may be seen from that afore-mentioned index,
the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War, a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is, today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourer:

1826-42	6½d - 8d	(B/556, p.215)
1843-54	8d - 10d	"
1855-56	1s - 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d - 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d - 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s - 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s	(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s - 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s - 25s	(Personal Investigation)

178 464 511 In a consideration of the standard of living of the Maltese population in general and of the farming section of it in particular during the present century it is seen that the two World Wars (1914-18 and 1939-45) saw tremendous upheavals in this aspect of Maltese life, as in so many others. In the case of the 1914-18 struggle "there is no doubt that the War first and principally and secondly the political events that have occurred since have completely altered and raised the standard of living of the working classes in Malta...." (B/130 - 1930, p.ix). A distinction is here infered between the working classes and the upper and professional or business classes whose previously higher standards were maintained unimpaired or even improved. The wage-rate index after the 1914-18 War gives only an intermittent picture as official statistics on wage rates in agriculture have been very limited. The Blue Books of the inter-War period observed that "No official information is available" regarding agricultural wages (B/165) but the Cost-of-Living investigations between 1943 and 1946 are little better for they are concerned almost exclusively with non-agricultural workers (B/213, 214, 217).

178 464 465 511 It does emerge, however, that the 1914-18 War brought little change in Maltese living standards when compared with the effects of the 1939-45 War. In 1946 it was decided that "The war years have produced improvements in the standard of living and we may hope that the working class family will never revert to the pre-war standard" (B/217, para.5). Costs to the consumer of food, clothing and other items had doubled and trebled between 1939 and 1946 (B/217, Appendix I, II, IIA) but wages had also increased. In 1936 an average wage for labour in 'trade and manufacture' was put at an annual £82, or about 31/7d per week (B/165-1936, Section 23). Even by 1943 an average weekly wage for such workers had grown to £2.16s, plus an average 'other income' of a further 18/6d weekly. Against this was an average total weekly expenditure of £3.12.9d (B/213, Appendix R).

Farm work had shared in the increased wages. A 1936 estimate for agricultural labour put the weekly rate between 21/- and 24/- (B/165 - 1936, Section 23). The 1943 report quotes one farm labourer, among its sample 100 workers, as gaining a total of £2.16s per week, or the same as the average 'earned income' (without 'other income') of all the sample 100 workers (B/213, Appendix R, No.90).

000 During the War years the farmer had been able to

000 matter.

494 While the farmer does not favour the co-operative
442 movement at present he is generally dissatisfied also with
829 the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits
being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and trans-
178 porter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

208 The Government plan to centralize marketing on the
654 one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the selling of produce on the other will not succeed without
474 a great deal of patient education of the farmer supple-
44 mented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

464 In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of
184 the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University
178 team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

464 184 178 lacking any education at all they took up farming as their natural calling" (B/387, p.9), but their sons are faced with a choice both between occupations and ways of life. Their education is enabling them to compete with other sections of society for industrial and other non-agricultural employment while their emancipation, in terms of access to the world outside the village, is leading them to think of escape from the lowly social status of their fathers. They have been brought up to appreciate the insecurity of farming with its inadequate and fluctuating income and have seen the technical limitations and the hard and monotonous schedule of work with which their fathers have had to contend in order to provide even the most frugal living standards for their families. In very many cases the younger generation have been actively discouraged by their elders from contemplating farming as a livelihood. Within society as a whole they see farming as something of a low 'caste' and one example of this is the opposition faced by many a young farmer if he wishes to marry into a non-farming family.

The importance of this revolt on the part of the younger generation is clear when one considers the topic of this Section. The current policy is to change the pattern of farming in the Islands and to raise the standards of living of the farmers by the variety of methods mentioned and these are, quite naturally, being aimed primarily at the present farmers, that is to say the older generation. But the future of farming depends on the future farmers who are, it would appear, leaving or have already left the industry. Many of them do not plan to stay in farming longer than the time necessary to find another occupation and they are consequently not concerned with loans, subsidies, lectures, and the work of the advisory service. The farming which they are anxious to leave will, it is hoped, change rapidly in response to the measure outlined. But, even if only a few years are needed to show substantial results and a better kind of farming is evolved, the younger generations may not be there to take over. Many of them will have emigrated from the Islands altogether and others will have left the villages for all manner of employment in the towns.

654 829 The official aid to farming policy may fail, one fears, on two accounts:

(i) The measures designed to assist the farmer and farming have not yet been as successful as was hoped because of the difficulties of having rapid and far-reaching changes accepted by a suspicious, conservative and largely illiterate body of farmers,

654 (ii) The younger generation are not interested in
829 improving farming; they scarcely stop to think that any
464 changes in the industry might be possible in their
present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk
178 of life. Thus they will probably not be available to
take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise, from their fathers.

SECTION 5 : Conclusions.

369 In conclusion one may attempt to draw together the several general points raised in the previous four Sections. The most important of these may be listed as follows:

(1) The twentieth century is witnessing an accelerating process of the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo (Section 1). This comprises

- (a) material change (the development of electricity, roads, sewage, transport, and a variety of other amenities),
- (b) cultural change following general, elementary education - that is literacy, 'emancipation' and the emergence of a critical public awareness,
- [565] [793] (c) social and economic changes which have laid the foundations of a rural middle class, unknown in the traditional village scene. Along with this have come modifications in the pivotal rôle of the Parish Priest and other priests. Some of their traditional functions, notably teaching and caring for the sick, have been taken over by specialists in such fields.

369
829 The factors outlined under (a), (b), and (c) are tending to extend the horizon of the individual villager far beyond the limits of his own village. Whereas he used to work and think within his family and village he is now aware of Malta and beyond.

241
464
178 (2) The particular physical limitations on farming in the Islands have, in the past, made the industry dependent to a very considerable extent on the meticulous hand-labour of the industrious Maltese farmer. This has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance, and even construction, of the fields and terraces themselves (Section 2). The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involved. They have benefited from general elementary education, literacy, and contact with the world outside the villages to the extent of demanding work which seems to them economically and socially rewarding. The past twenty-five years have seen a rapid decline in the number of full-time farmers and farm-workers. Today the farmer, in most cases no longer assisted by his sons, finds hired labour both scarce and costly (Section 2).

178 241 407 464 (3) On account of these same physical limitations mechanization of field-work cannot be expected to solve all labour problems in Maltese agriculture. An initial, over-optimistic emphasis on large tractors and other heavy machinery has given way to a rapid increase in the number and popularity of the small rotary-cultivators. But even this cannot be expected to displace completely the wooden plow and hand implement working (Section 2).

However, mechanized farm implements, particularly the small, manoeuvrable rotary-cultivator type of hand tractor, have enabled a reduced number of farmers to work their fields more intensively, and, in some cases, to increase the area worked by a single individual.

The neglect of those aspects of farming where manual work is dominant and necessary have, nevertheless, accompanied this change with the bizarre result that intensification of effort and neglect are proceeding simultaneously (B/336).

178 434 (4) A basic factor in the present situation, in which the young farmer is retreating from farming, has been the emergence of a demand for money income (Section 3). The traditional pattern of peasant, subsistence farming in which the main object was the support of the farmer and his family has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook in farming. The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with which he can

(a) purchase those items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (clothing, bread etc., etc.),

(b) purchase items which have recently become part of his regular demands and for which money is a sine qua non (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.),

433 511 Food, as an item of family expenditure, nowadays figures especially prominently

(a) where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, to fodder,

(b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element of the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market prospects.

178 434 But of greater significance in the long-term view is the fact that these new demands for monetary gain are a particularly prominent feature among the present younger generation of the farming community. For them a substantially increased income is synonomous with social and economic betterment. Since they do not envisage such an increased income coming from farming they are all the more anxious to leave the

*159 156 234 232 useless in my district" but Pawlu, who has at all times in his life been conscious of education and a knowledge of things outside his village, is prepared to consider suggestions on their merits. This attitude pervades the working of his farm as a unit and has had important repercussions within his family. (v. Section 4).

*159 156 829 In spite of his own lack of advanced formal education, Pawlu has in fact an awareness of its importance which is still uncommon in rural Gozo. He is constantly stressing the need for education in its widest sense, both general and technical. He is anxious for his children to be educated to a standard far above his own, while, in the wider scene, he recognizes the importance of education for the farmer and farming. His attitude to the course of lectures for farmers (Section 4) is typical of the man. He observed that "attendances at the lectures have been big because the farmers are interested - they wouldn't go if they were not". The ideas put forward by the experts are weighed by the farmer and, if considered 'good ideas', are discussed at length in the villages or at the It-Tokk market on Sunday mornings. These lecture courses for farmers, and others like them such as the important McClemont demonstrations and lectures on dairying technique (Section 4), fail for Pawlu in so far as they do not lead to individual contact between specialist and farmer. No farmer would dream of making comment or criticising 'officialdom' - with which he naturally associates ventures like those of Haesler and McClemont[50]. "The Maltese back down much more easily than do the English in their relations with the authorities. In England you might complain to a Government Department and there would be argument for a day but in Malta such a complaint would mean petty victimization for years". The farmer blames "clerical inefficiency" in Valletta for what he considers has been the failure to follow up the McClemont or other recommendations but no farmer would seriously consider complaining in person to officialdom. They just argue and become increasingly bitter with their lot.

Farming

* 159 178 829 [554] for Pawlu means independence. He complains of the inferior social position which the farmer holds in Maltese society today and observes that the present generation of young people demand the means to enable them to equal the people of the towns in appearance, leisure and other superficialities. The old farmer with little formal education is not troubled by these notions. His life is the only one he can comprehend - apart from which his daily round leaves [464] him little time to think. The youngster, on the other hand, is desperate for an eight-hour job with steady income and leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

*159 512 794 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his 592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they 178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to *159 offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 423 427 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding)

A. Land.

[311] - Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.

- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 423 311 B. Utilisation.

	1956	1957	1958
House	½	½	½
Vines	½	½	½
Prickly pear	½	½	½
Fodders	8½	10½	14½
Vegetables	8½	6⅜	2⅜
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 231 C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 401 [422] [456] D. Capital.

- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 ●464 E. Labour.

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 433 [434] F. Production and Sales.

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159 185 241 178 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a few more years have made them money-conscious it is difficult to visualise their reconciling the limitations and lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the present nevertheless Gużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

*159 362 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought", £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer. [427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a new house and include near it accommodation for his animals. For his large family of wife and eight children the house, though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly [157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

*159 54 461 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 464 654 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can himself operate his small holding and care for his two dozen animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours [426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for *159 443 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

[P 86]

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. **Land.**

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. **Utilisation.**

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. **Livestock.**
- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. **Capital.**

[423] [454] [412] [409] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.
- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. **Labour.** (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

● [464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. **Production and Sales.**

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. **Husbandry.**

[245]
(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 shopping is done in the local Village but Nardu +
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 423 A. **Land.**

30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 241 311 B. **Utilisation.**

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under sofāfa (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[934] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 231 C. **Livestock.**

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital.**

- [423] Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
- [454] Freehold village house.
- [412] According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
- [407] Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc. No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 ●464 E. **Labour.**

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting. During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
- [427] Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 433 F. **Production and Sales.**

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week

*159 241 G. **Husbandry.**

(i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annua
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prev
the employment of the normal four-year rota

*159 - 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien
423 (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. **Utilisation**.

*159 (i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.
241
311 (ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 C. **Livestock**.
231 90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
234 This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. **Capital**.

*159 (i) No freehold land.
423 (ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.[21]
[511] (iii) Receives C.A.R.E. food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.
[426]

E. **Labour**.

*159 (i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.
464
(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools.
Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. **Production and Sales**.

*159 (i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day.
43 Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
234 Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.
(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.
(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

*) G. **Husbandry**.

*159 (i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.
23
(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.
(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*159 H. **General**.
434 An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

*159 241

B. Utilisation.

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 231 234

C. Livestock.

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 42

D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.

(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).

(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts.

*159 ● 464

E. Labour.

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 434 234 [433]

F. Production and Sales.

(v. Table 5)

(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p. .
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 232 234

G. Husbandry.

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.

(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.

(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

* **H. General.**

159 This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without
433 capital or land he derives from previous generations
of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on
the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell
his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for
pasteurisation he is protected from price decline
during the summer season of over-production but
prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character).
Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for
fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices
which are higher than those of other farmers. A
garden plot and the stock supplies about half the
family's food, without which increment the family
economy could not operate. There is no possible
future except on a low level for this type of
production.

*
159 CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)
231
232 In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats.
During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the
abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several
died "because they didn't want to go on living". In
November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed,
two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably
related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding).
The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being
limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building
(v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for
which he will be entitled to import replacements) has
profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He
maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the
loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the
case of a cow."

*
159 Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of
234 land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis
[311] in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still
have to buy in a considerable amount of food. For example
[246] in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for
[435] straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He
[464] feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean
that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding
animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder
for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has
[451] very little appreciation of his profit. None of his
labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps
no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets
receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate
himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written
[657] statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put
together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax
authorities each year.

*159
231
234

C. Livestock.

- 50 goats
- 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.
- Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159
112
434

D. Capital.

- The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).
- Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.
- [407] No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tomna when necessary.

E. Labour.

*159
464

- No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.
- Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

*159
43

F. Production and Sales.

- Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qantar respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.

These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

G. Husbandry.

*159
231
234

- Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention to holding.
- Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

H. General.

*159
433

- When asked whether he considered himself to be herdsman or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general dealer" in crops and animals.
- In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

*
159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
[246] lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great
success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow
to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

*
159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 A. Land.

427
- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

*
159 B. Utilisation.

241
- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

*
159
231
234
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

*
159 D. Capital.

[454]
- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

● [464]
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434]
[234]
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

*
G. Husbandry.

159
231
[427]
[311]
(1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.
- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly [illegible] tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

[435]
[434]
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

*
H. General.

159
156
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

000 the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming
159 depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957
241 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer
931 irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing
crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole
planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

*159 The brothers also complain of the present marketing
829 regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the
442 producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field
464 crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large
472 a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese
farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themselves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

*159 A. Land.
423
c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region.
16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2¼ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-
[134] Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

*159 B. Utilisation. (i) Typical arrangement.
241

		Winter	Summer
Plot 1.	8⅜ tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot 3.	1⅓ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot 4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot 5.	2¾ tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot 6.	1⅓ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 8.	7⅜ tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
		Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot 9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot 10.	2⅜ tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 11.	21 tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
		Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
		Vetches	Fallow
Plot 12.	2¼ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot 13.	1⅓ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot 14.	2⅜ tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot 15.	5¼ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
		Tomatoes	
Plot 16.	1⅜ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

*159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 231 234 **C. Livestock.**

(i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

(ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

*159 **D. Capital.**

[472] (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

*159 464 407 427 **E. Labour.**

(i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farmworkers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

(ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

(iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

(iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

*159 433 **F. Production and Sales.**

(i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales ? of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

* **H. General.**

159 472 451 (i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndicate is not typical of Maltese farming systems. The partnership seems to derive historically from a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

*159 472 451 181 (ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organisation one may use this case-study as illustrating the practises and modes of thought of the most highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

- Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does no seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.
- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.
- *159 433 181 242 Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these are attained by the careful application of proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.
- *159 181 232 242 In spite of the fact that the syndicate's capital reserves and their practical abilities are considerable, the physical environment dominates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these there is a great mental gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

* 159 472 464 **CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu** (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.)

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

* 159 178 234 Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows' milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

159
231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Inglizi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 D. Capital.

426 (i) No freehold property.

[423] (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[454] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools

[407] - rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.

- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.

[312] - no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 E. Labour.

● 464

- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 F. Production and Sales.

434
435

- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 G. Husbandry.

231 (i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)

- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.

[232] - Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 H. General.

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829

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect [426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
829 Gozitan milk producer, Case I.
234 The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle within the current artificial economy of milk production. There
[433] is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
472 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two
brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten
tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by
private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth
to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned
by Ġamri's father.

*159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
472 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present.
They share the common view that hired farm labour is both
uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inef-
ficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli)
apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was
utilized as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines........................	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders.....................	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let.......	13 tmien
Potatoes................................	6 tmien
Other vegetables........................	5 tmien

*159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow
in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons,
oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits.
The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or
disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub.
Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and
October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected
trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this
time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But
of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result
might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the appli-
cation of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of
this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
[435] at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of
crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

This increase in the —

178 range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-
291 produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged
financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The
[511] villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of
his children, both the infants and those attending school.
[871] The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands
[702] has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War
of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men
into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that
they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been
their practice before.

* **Work and Labour**

159 As seen, Ġamri's normal labour force consists
241 of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being
all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little.
461 This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural
● 464) year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit......	1740	man/hours
	- vines......	489	" "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437	" "
	- potatoes...	868	" "
	- other vegetables...	505	" "
(ii) on Ġamri's own holding	- vines....	444	" "
	- cereals & fodders..	222	" "
	- vegetables	65	
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage................		160	" "
(d) Building of pig-sties.................		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous.........................		677	" "
		6816	man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analysed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġamri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

OOD In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

*159 407 427 paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on ♂'s personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tomna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tomna.

- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tomna.

E. Labour.

*159 ●464

- ♂'s 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:
  - (a) Joint holding worked by partners and ♂'s nephew.
  - (b) Land held by ♂, deriving from wife's family, farmed by ♂ and oldest nephew.
  - (c) Land held by ♂'s brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 461

- A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On ♂'s own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tomna.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 434 241

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From ♂'s land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
♂'s share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434

- This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from £6.10.0 to £15 per tomna, fruit £28 per tomna,

*159 241 for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna. Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from Ġ's stock.
- Vines receive c.½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertilicer per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

H. General.

*159 [472] [423] ● [464] [178] [435] [451] [461] [157]

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows Ġ to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- Ġ therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.
- Ġ has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that Ġ is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, Ġ could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (bagkli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464 Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargha baghli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the
corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-
[406] driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
[343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils
tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
241 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
433 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to culti-
434 vate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
829 to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
[464] heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at
least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to
qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however
content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the
lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the
most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative
(Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first
suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having
the money than letting the Government get it. This belief
that the Government is behind everything is characteristic
(Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility of achieving anything above low living standards.
Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet
clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case
among many of his generation and it may be that he will have
difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily
of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and
new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young
men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
[654] to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture to the full but it has done comparatively little for
the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at
least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to
stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

CASE XI : Summary.

(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

*159 423 429 **A. Land.**

- (i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Mellieha District. 2 tmien freehold.
- (ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.
- (iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.
- (iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

Those lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced as annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 241 **B. Utilization.** With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

- (i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons. Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.
- (ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 231 **C. Livestock.** During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bojjem tax-xoghol').

*159 **D. Capital.**

- [423] [435] 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
- [454] No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E.[27] Estimated possible total less than £100.
- [406] Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

- ● [464] Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.
- [494] [241] A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.
- [464] Rarely hires labour.
- [461] An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

*159 A village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[993] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[794] the towns. Censu shares the still general view that money given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 **A. Land.**

427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves,
234 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[407] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

E. Labour.

*159 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
464 - In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
[465] Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[427] [241] [407] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

241 178 461 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a complete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this *[159] Case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 241 178 829 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and his problems" because, it appears, of sucpicion and ignorance. He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily - because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging the younger farming generation from staying on the land and struggling against rising costs to sell products which are but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieħa Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] Soils: 1-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.

- [241] Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.

- 454 No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- 422 Usual hand tools.
- 423 Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.

- 464 Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- [465] Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

- [434] Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.
- [433] [251] Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43
(i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve. [454]

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829

CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdoms, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

APPENDIX 2 A : The Malta Dockyard, Employees by Locality of Residence, March 1957.

103
162
464

LOCALITY	Maltese Workers	Gainfully-Occupied	%	United Kingdom Workers
Pawla	1,261	3115	38.8	20
Żejtun	995	3500	28.4	1
Żabbar	961	3461	31	1
Cospicua	960	2599	37	6
Hamrun	715	6594	11.25	5
Sliema	573	6660	8.6	232
Senglea	537	1408	38.1	17
Tarxien	467	2184	21.6	-
Vittoriosa	461	1216	38	4
Valletta	444	5927	7.5	2
Birkirkara	441	5128	11.8	5
Qormi	408	4401	9.3	-
Rabat	383	4293	8.7	1
Żurrieq	345	2154	16	-
Marsa	343	3023	11.4	-
Żebbuġ	248	2554	9.7	-
Msida	240	1725	13.9	15
Kalkara	218	616	35.4	3
Birżebbuġa	215	1285	16.7	1
Gżira	214	2214	9.6	26
Luqa	173	1263	13.7	-
Floriana	172	1755	9.75	5
Mosta	169	2412	7	1
St. Julian's	155	2153	7.2	44
Ghaxaq	154	836	18.5	-
Siġġiewi	148	1670	8.85	-
Gudja	104	514	19.9	-
Dingli	94	781	12	-
Marsaxlokk	83	484	17.2	-
Marsaskala	83	v.Żabbar		2
Pieta	79	1062	7.45	3
Balzan	76	761	10	10
Lija	75	685	11	4
Qrendi	73	768	9.5	-
Naxxar	72	1582	4.55	3
Mqabba	68	634	10.7	-
Attard	55	965	5.7	1
Mellieha	50	1279	3.9	-
Kirkop	50	372	13.4	-
Safi	29	257	11.3	-
Gharghur	28	608	4.55	-
St. Paul's Bay	27	1027	2.33	3
GOZO	25	7893	0.32	-
Santa Venera	25	v.Hamrun		1
Mġarr	24	784	3.06	-
Mdina	11	v.Rabat		1
not known	61			-
	12,572			417

Notes - The distribution of Maltese workers as a percentage of total gainfully-occupied population by localities is shown on Map 4.

- Sources; see Note (7). Gainfully-occupied figures from B/168.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

64 Government the Maltese people would be represented, if
666 they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at
Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative
668 Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a
single Maltese Government would take the place of the
existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly
concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain
the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government
[651] of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would
retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as
the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level
comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Government
642 and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with
648 fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and
668 financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial
464 difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equivalence"
which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his
supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration
and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government.
Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in
April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the
situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of
Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in
[504] British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence
expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest
single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the
reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future
war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last
one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over
464 13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard
668 out of a national working population of just under
504 83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable
proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has
always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

504

core of Malta." The average Dockyard hand did not know if 464
his job might not come to an end by the end of the year; and 668
representatives of all classes in the country, including the
parish priests, passed resolutions pressing for a guarantee of [793]
alternative employment if the Dockyard were to close down.

In the following month the Secretary of State for the
Colonies, Mr Lennox-Boyd, put forward a new proposal 668
to avert the threatened deadlock. 648 While adhering to the Integration policy, and to "equivalence" of the Maltese economy and standard of living as an ultimate aim, he proposed an experimental period or trial run of five years for the Maltese economy to approximate itself to that of the United Kingdom. During this period the British Government would afford economic assistance towards the attainment of this object, consisting of a grant of £25,000,000 over the five years; assistance with educational, health and other social services based on a percentage of what the Maltese were able to do for themselves; and an obligation to help if unemployment rose above the British level in consequence of Defence cuts. Meanwhile Maltese representation at Westminster would remain in abeyance.

Even so, Mr Mintoff was not satisfied. On the 14th December he tendered his resignation owing to a difference of opinion with a section of his supporters in the General Workers' Union but withdrew it three days later; and he then raised the cry of independence as the alternative if he failed to obtain Integration on his own financial terms. The Nationalist Opposition, which had combated Integration, proved ready to support the converse alternative, for on the 30th December 1957 their representatives in the Legislative Assembly voted for Mr Mintoff's Resolution threatening severance of the link with Britain, which was passed unanimously and with acclamation in the following terms:

> That, as the British Government is not prepared to honour the obligation assumed by that Government, in the declaration

241 433 435 development and straining even the existing pattern. In the first place, physical environment so dominates the mind of the Maltese farmer that he categorically asserts the virtues and deficiencies of various regions and does not realise that with the techniques and crop-strains at his disposal he now can negate some of these differentiations. Thus the case-study quoted on p. 329 is atypical rather than normal. The result is that in these Islands, which have a long thermal growing season, there are very marked seasonal fluctuations in production. With cauliflowers, tomatoes, carrots and some other vegetables the produce suddenly appears on the markets, prices soar through the fixed ceilings and then as suddenly slump with glut. For the rest of the year - January to September in the case of cauliflowers, and for all except June to September with tomatoes - good quality produce is not available. Prices to the producer range from very high to zero and such fluctuations, superimposed on those caused by climatic variations, both strain the farming economy and encourage poor production. Thus some winter grown Arran Banner sold for up to 50s. per *qantar* in 1956 but only 8s. 4d. in 1958; in January 1957, unsold cauliflowers could be bought from *pitkali* for fodder at 1s. a sack, while a year later they fetched almost 1s. a *wizna* (8¾ lb. av.).

241 464 465 Secondly, the concentration in time of the various harvests causes severe fluctuations in the demand for labour. All farmers interviewed regard hired labour as poor in quality and expensive. This is a frequent grumble in many countries but in the Maltese context there are some special implications. The number of agricultural labourers, which declined in the nineteenth century as pressure on land resources diminished holding size and encouraged cultivation by occupiers, further declined as urban employment opportunities increased. That pool which is left to some extent sets its standards of wage demand by urban levels, but more important still is only urgently required at two seasons of the year. During the first of these, March to middle May, it is needed for the harvesting of cereals, sulla, potatoes and other winter crops and for the first of the summer cultivations. The second period, about September, coincides with the grape harvest which lasts but three weeks, and with autumn tillage. The result is to elevate day-wage rates to the point of discouragement for the farmer and to lower seasonal earnings so as to repel possible labourer recruits. Merchants, vintners, fodder and food consumers and producers all suffer, and suffer needlessly when one realises the climatic possibilities for extending production.

241 433 To sum up, one may say that the farmer, although largely producing for the market, is generally unable to cost his efforts, deal on equal terms with traders, or appreciate the needs of the market domestic or foreign. This inability must be corrected because the farmer and his land are potentially capable of supplying more of the Islands' agricultural needs than they do at present, and of making a considerable positive contribution to the balance of trade which at the moment they help to distort.

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quarrels and village disputes, for their position in society makes
793 them important allies. These demands frequently place them in the difficult position of having to choose between acting as an impartial servant of God and acting as a good son and loyal friend, who can only be impartial at the cost of making enemies of friends and family.

While parish priests, in all save the smallest parishes, usually
793 receive an income sufficient for a reasonably comfortable life, few
•465 ordinary diocesan priests can live on their income as clerics. The average village priest gets only his daily Mass stipend of five shillings as compensation for his clerical services. If a priest is popular and gifted, he may be able to earn a bit extra by preaching, lecturing and taking part in religious functions in other parishes. Even so, most priests are forced to look to secular fields to be able to help support their parents and near relatives. Thus it is that most of the village clergy are part-time priests. That is, they spend most of the day away from their parish working at jobs that vary from farming to school teaching. Their pastoral work in their own parish is limited.

Of the eight priests born in Kortin and still living there, two are
793 retired, one is the parish curate, two work outside the village as teachers and three are clerks with various diocesan bodies. In the evening most help the parish priest in church, teach catechism to the children and take charge of the various lay associations for which the parish priest has asked them to be responsible. In Farruġ there is only one local priest in the village. He teaches in the village's elementary school, and assists the parish priest in the evening, on Sundays and on feast days.

In almost every village there is an infants' school run by one of the
794 female religious orders. The nuns are supported by donations of cash
[792] and produce from the local inhabitants. A few nuns earn something
[465] by doing elementary nursing among the sick of the community.

[872] There are a number of other officers connected with the parish. These include the procurators (administrators) of the smaller churches and chapels, the sacristan, the choirmaster, the organist, the prefect of the altar boys, and so on. All have certain responsi-
[793] bilities delegated to them by the parish priest. In those villages where the celebration of the annual festa is organized by a committee, its members have the authority to command the financial and manpower resources of the community while they prepare

for the feast. There are also the officers of the numerous religious associations.

In Farruġ, for example, there are two sections of the Catholic Action (youths and girls), a branch of the MUSEUM for men, and confraternities dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Rosary and St. Roque. There are considerably more in Kortin, which is a good bit larger. There are branches of MUSEUM for men and women, sections of Catholic Action for men, boys and girls, a section each of the Sodality of Our Lady and the Young Christian Workers, confraternities dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Rosary, St. Joseph and Our Lady of Sorrows, and sections of the Third Orders of St. Francis and Our Lady of Mount Carmel. There are also parish chapters of the Holy Name Society, the Christian Mothers Association and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, a small, exclusive group which in Kortin raises about £50 a year to buy clothing and medicines for the poor of the parish.

Though the officers of the societies all have certain *ex officio* authority over the members, few are able to exercise authority in the village. Many are chosen by the parish priest to fill particular offices because of their pliability, religious conviction, or occupational status, rather than their qualities of leadership. But there are some officers who organize activities of concern to the entire community, and who consequently have a measure of authority in the wider community. These are the procurators of the parish confraternities and festas.

While the rector of a confraternity is its titular head, the procurator is the only officer who has any real authority. He keeps the registers of the society, recruits and enrols new members and often makes the arrangements for the funeral services of dead members. He also collects for and supervises the maintenance and decoration of the altar and statue of the society's patron saint. Furthermore, he makes all the arrangements for its annual festa. These may include collecting money, decorating the streets, booking brass bands and inviting priests to conduct the religious services and take part in the processions. His duties give him the authority to direct the action of others. He holds this authority, to be sure, in the name of and at the pleasure of the parish priest. The Church allows every procurator – whether of a confraternity, church, or festa – a three per cent commission on the entries in his financial registers to compensate him for his services.

462 family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and
562 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment
178 outside the home or even outside the village and insists on
a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been
proper for her mother.

462 The home and the care of the children remains the sphere
of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work
178 only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the
men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this
side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this
nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats
generalization.

178 Until recently it was customary for most women and girls
to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields,
462 especially when work was pressing as at harvest time.
288 Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of
464 its preparation (Section 1), while lace was almost entirely
the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity
excluded them from field work. Cotton is now of minor
importance and lace-working is confined to the older
178 generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now
partly being filled by young women and girls seeking
464 employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing,
teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers
than was the case a generation ago. Yet there
remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated
far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to
suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of
the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude
that persists in labelling paid employment fo a girl as
somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case,
discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout
Malta (B/598).

241 Some farming families still retain the traditional
462 pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI);
others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and
[178] girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In
the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and
picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled,
such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men
(v. Case I on the division of family labour).

241 In general it appears that as the younger age-groups
592 are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided.
[178] The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-money'
[465] donations and even these went to sons working full-
time with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and not to daughters.
Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

241 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited,
592 in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until they can find some paid employment away from the home farm, and

241 (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between
464 £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family
[461] would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover
[465] the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely to become scarcer and more costly.

241 The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that
[461] as already suggested, the particular characcristics of Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and
241 varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so has the range of variety increased.

175 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the
178 crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work
221 a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of
241 each month along with short articles on subjects of interest to the farmer of the time. Many of those topics, such as silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco, would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the
[234] Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since
[233] 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be
241 expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial' and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they
465 were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when
compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for
comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal
Commissioners (B/184), Miège (B/516) and Price (B/556),
but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
this same report however, it is learnt that the farming
454 community had by that date become investment conscious and
had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day
where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited
eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field
work at all. The developments observed by the 1911
Commissioners were by no means general among the rural
population at that time. They were in fact merely the
first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
178 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
433 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
722 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
465 in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before.
He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce
- or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became
used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted
war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was
the feling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in
Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time,
the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the countryman. The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was
content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the
change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his
social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered
needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a
variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

175 Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger
458 position than the townsman for he has had the land to which
464 he could return when no other work was available. Thus the
369 degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred
years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level
of prosperity in the Islands (Section 2).

The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be
178 related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the
241 higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural
464 pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold
[458] on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in
[554] some future period of major economic recession and
depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however
is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than
a minor part of the total population. As an economic
retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the
[554] problem goes further. The present younger generation in the
farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the
stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting
as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly.
Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who
might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The
estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of
reconciliation.

175 Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese
465 agriculture may be seen from that afore-mentioned index,
the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War, a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is, today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourer:

1826-42	6½d - 8d	(B/556, p.215)
1843-54	8d - 10d	"
1855-56	1s - 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d - 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d - 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s - 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s	(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s - 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s - 25s	(Personal Investigation)

178 464 511 In a consideration of the standard of living of the Maltese population in general and of the farming section of it in particular during the present century it is seen that the two World Wars (1914-18 and 1939-45) saw tremendous upheavals in this aspect of Maltese life, as in so many others. In the case of the 1914-18 struggle "there is no doubt that the War first and principally and secondly the political events that have occurred since have completely altered and raised the standard of living of the working classes in Malta...." (B/130 - 1930, p.ix). A distinction is here infered between the working classes and the upper and professional or business classes whose previously higher standards were maintained unimpaired or even improved. The wage-rate index after the 1914-18 War gives only an intermittent picture as official statistics on wage rates in agriculture have been very limited. The Blue Books of the inter-War period observed that "No official information is available" regarding agricultural wages (B/165) but the Cost-of-Living investigations between 1943 and 1946 are little better for they are concerned almost exclusively with non-agricultural workers (B/213, 214, 217).

178 464 465 511 It does emerge, however, that the 1914-18 War brought little change in Maltese living standards when compared with the effects of the 1939-45 War. In 1946 it was decided that "The war years have produced improvements in the standard of living and we may hope that the working class family will never revert to the pre-war standard" (B/217, para.5). Costs to the consumer of food, clothing and other items had doubled and trebled between 1939 and 1946 (B/217, Appendix I, II, IIA) but wages had also increased. In 1936 an average wage for labour in 'trade and manufacture' was put at an annual £82, or about 31/7d per week (B/165-1936, Section 23). Even by 1943 an average weekly wage for such workers had grown to £2.16s, plus an average 'other income' of a further 18/6d weekly. Against this was an average total weekly expenditure of £3.12.9d (B/213, Appendix R).

Farm work had shared in the increased wages. A 1936 estimate for agricultural labour put the weekly rate between 21/- and 24/- (B/165 - 1936, Section 23). The 1943 report quotes one farm labourer, among its sample 100 workers, as gaining a total of £2.16s per week, or the same as the average 'earned income' (without 'other income') of all the sample 100 workers (B/213, Appendix R, No.90).

000 During the War years the farmer had been able to

*159 24 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments.
- Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 656 The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurised milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". 433 434 In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. *159 46 241 465 He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

244 239 x159 461 465 available", and normally delegates most of the work to a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.

x159 43 [451] His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a 'cost'.

x159 511 178 Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

*159 461 Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

*159 178 234 His father was a labourer with the Services and had only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen and then gradually built up his own herd to its present size, particularly in the past few years when, in common with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his family) are actively discouraging the children from planning to follow their father. Their main objection to herding appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields you never go back...."

*159 423

CASE IV : Summary.

(A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. Land.

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

*159 433 435 February when prices start at c.9d a head rather than later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 (i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming. In 1958 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, leguminous fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land where vetches alternate with barley.

[461] (c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

[242] (d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953 Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:

Relies entirely on own plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Eigenheimer.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock:

Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

*159 241 433 435 ● [465] (i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

*159 451 (ii) The farmers children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[993] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[994] the towns. Cenzu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 **A. Land.**

427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
- 4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.

All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £14 per annum.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats;
234 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[407] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 **E. Labour.**

464 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.

● [465] Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.

[429] [241] [407] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely
residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] Case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his
sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this
type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no
importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the
fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election
times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and
his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance.
He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily
- because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging
the younger farming generation from staying on the land and
struggling against rising costs to sell products which are
but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieħa Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] Soils: 1-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.

- [241] Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.

- 454 No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- 422 Usual hand tools.
- 423 Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.

- 464 Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- [465] Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.

[433] [251] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43

(i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmion field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable [454] capital reserve.

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829

CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

181 read of successful experiments of one kind or another in a
241 foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof
829 before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

*159 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting
407 business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They
[illegible] have (1958):

[illegible] (i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board
472 plow, the only one in the district,

(ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only
● 465 slowly - Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

*159 Ġanni and the village.

156 Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding. The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the *Haddara* closed the procession. 585

The arrival of the bridal procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was completed, everyone returned from church in the same order as before. [202] [793] [465]

As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies show-

585 ered flowers upon them, also nuts and grains of wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.

[184] [535] [465] [431] At a village wedding the company danced during the feast; each dancer throwing a piece of money to the fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast.

[591] The bride always passed a week in her father's house, after which she was received with much pomp by her husband whose relations gave a great feast which was called il *hargia.*

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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after which she was received with much pomp by her husband, whose relations gave a great feast which was called *il hargia.*"[1]

The bridegroom's symbolic present of a fish is very likely 584
connected with fecundity, for the fish was regarded as an 174
emblem of fecundity by the Assyrians and the Phoenicians. 825
It is not, however, in this connection alone that the fish is a
potent symbol. Prudence (apparently a virtue highly prized [577].
in a Maltese wife—Salt, another symbol of prudence, is included in the ingredients with which the bride's lips are anointed), and Wisdom were anciently supposed to be the properties of numerous Sacred Fish. Finn M'Cull, in the Irish legend, "Happens upon the Salmon of Knowledge . . ."

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[1] BUSUTTIL, op. cit.

291 441 435 *pitkali* system is that the middlemen charged commission for negotiating sales but took no stock risks. Thus, when wholesalers and retailers had satisfied their requirements, playing for safety themselves, the *pitkali* merely informed some unfortunate producers that their product could not be sold. The prices attained for that which could be sold varied with the skill of the *pitkali*. Since many Maltese farmers need forward credit for various purposes, it was perfectly natural that the *pitkal* became not only a middleman but a supplier of credit and therefore to some extent a controller of production. The whole of this system resulted from two simple facts. First, the quantities of individual items that most farmers could daily offer for sale were so small as to make some concentrating agency a logical development. Secondly, the social legacy of dichotomy between town and country meant that the farmer was most often incapable of dealing directly with his market. Questions of literacy, language and social status still often put the farmer in a position of inferiority. The *pitkali* bridged that gap. In so doing they have sometimes exploited the farmers' ignorance. Many and vivid are the stories heard of their dishonesty; one such, told by several farmers, concerned the spring export crop of potatoes in 1955. They had been told by middlemen that the U.K. market had been depressed by competition from France and Spain and that therefore the prices offered would have to be low. In fact, shippers declared that the poor quality of the 1954 crops had discouraged some buyers but that the f.o.b. prices were still very much higher than reported by the middlemen. Most *pitkali* are no doubt honest but many farmers bypass them where possible and most others have suspicions - mostly born of their own ignorance.

During World War II, control of all agricultural produce had to be established and, since this time, the financial side of such transactions has been controlled by Government clerks at established *pitkali* markets although the middlemen still handle the actual sales. The intrusion of Governmental financial control has not removed suspicion although it has removed part of the cause of it at the cost of a higher commission charged to the producer. The annual cost of this protection and the controls mentioned below to individual farmers and to small co-operatives is almost £23,000 (5).

Another development has further confused the situation. Stemming from wartime controls, policies aimed at controlling prices for the benefit of the consumer have replaced the old attitude of *caveat emptor*. Various methods have been adopted but they are all based on regulating maximum retail prices, directly and by fixing maximum profit margins and percentages of profit. As noted by many observers, and effectively by an Adviser on Marketing (6), such controls cannot be strictly enforced and it is impossible to make them sufficiently flexible to encourage the production virtues of improved quality and evenness of supply in time. It must suffice here to say that the marketing side of commercial agriculture is not in a satisfactory state, being as it is costly, wasteful and very beneficial neither to consumer nor to producer judging by a great number of local statements.

234 435 441 [467] The local market for livestock products is very different. All milk (7) legally sold is bought by the Milk Marketing Undertaking which in practice accepts any quantity of milk delivered to the collecting depots dispersed through the Islands. There is a tendency to restrict goats' milk acceptances during the summer period of glut by relating summer and winter ratios. Many producers still have written contracts but more important than individual arrangements is the negotiating power of the K.M.H. (the union of milk producers already cited) which incorporates about half of the 600 or so registered producers in the island of Malta. The fixed and scheduled prices paid to producers bear no real relation to production costs since these are not known but rather result from M.M.U.-K.M.H. negotiations and political and welfare decisions by the Government. The M.M.U. takes full risk over wastage and excess production of liquid milk and processed milk products, but is partly able to offset losses by trading profits on imports of dried, evaporated and condensed milk which sales it handles. The M.M.U. now distributes all legally sold liquid milk, as well as its own milk products, and retail prices are fixed by announcement. In 1955-56 the result

hair short, are not allowed to wear neckties, and must wear jackets 785
in public. Female members are obliged to wear the traditional 794
Maltese *għonella* (also *faldetta*). This is a black silk cowl which [292]
renders the wearer completely shapeless. Finally, all members are
tied by a promise of celibacy. Since members usually enter the [589]
society as children, and work up through grades until they
become full members, this promise ensures that all are either
bachelors or spinsters.

The male and female sections are completely separate. Each 794
meets daily under its respective superior in its own house. There [834]
the members hold devotional exercises, conduct study groups for
adults and also teach catechism to the children. The superiors are
normally elected for life; but if the members cannot agree, the
national superior general, after consultation with the parish
priest, appoints an acting superior, either from the village or from
outside groups.

The society is somewhat unusual among village religious [793]
associations, since no member of the village clergy is directly
involved in its activities, though priests are often invited in to give
lectures. This relatively independent status, and the close contact
that members maintain with their national headquarters, has led
some parish priests to look upon it as a potential threat to their
authority and consequently to oppose its establishment in their
parishes. Thus, although the society has spread to 40 (83 per cent)
of the Maltese parishes, it is only established in 6 (40 per cent) of
those in Gozo, Malta's conservative sister island. In point of fact,
wherever it has been established it has supported the authority of
the parish priest, and its members are now among the staunchest
opponents of the Labour Party.

In each parish there are usually several loosely organized groups
such as the Association of Christian Mothers and the Holy Name
Society which meet infrequently for special prayers and devotions.

Finally, there is at least one confraternity in each parish. A
confraternity is a lay religious society which is dedicated to a particular saint and offers Masses for dead members. These societies,
called *fratellanzi*, are the oldest associations in Malta, and many [467]
date back to the Middle Ages. Formerly certain confraternities in
the larger villages and towns acted as trade guilds; others only
enrolled persons of the highest socio-economic class. Both men [292]
and women may enrol, as members; but only men may wear the

MLP cost them their jobs.[1] Others have friends or relatives on the 578
other side with whom they do not wish to break. Yet others, 665
responsible for maintaining the unity of a neutral club, fear that
an open stand will bring about a crisis which would divide it.
Although most of these persons continue to read the condemned 204
papers, they do so discreetly, for reading them openly would 578
provoke incidents. There are also a large number of Labour 626
sympathizers who have been unwilling to forego the sacraments
of the Church. They no longer read the Labour papers or attend 665
MLP rallies, but they are bitter about having been forced to make
the choice.

The physical act of purchasing a Labour newspaper has in itself become a public statement of political allegiance. After the condemnation and the threat of a general Church boycott of their premises (which was carried out in Gozo) most vendors have refused to handle MLP publications. In the villages they can usually only be bought at the local MLP club. Thus the act of striding across the village square and into the stronghold of the devil, performed in front of many of the village elders, becomes an open declaration of sympathy with the Labour cause. In Kortin many wait until the square is empty, usually around midnight in the summer, and then scuttle into the club to get their papers.

III

There is a correlation between occupational class and support for 467
one of these two ideological divisions. In general, professionals, 665
white-collar workers and farmers support the Archbishop, and industrial labourers the Labour Party. There are several reasons for this. To begin with, the Labour Party is a working-man's party, and there is ideological support for it on that account. Although the MLP has a definitely socialist ideology, and is a member of the Socialist International (points on which the Church attacks it regularly), it advocates few of the measures associated with doctrinaire Socialism, such as public ownership of transport and industry or the collectivization of farming. On the other hand, it does promise equal opportunity for all, and 'the right of the

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[1] The Malta Government Circular of 19 October 1960 prohibited most grades of civil servants from holding office in political organizations or publicly expressing their political views. This regulation is something of a paradox in a small country in which most intellectuals work for the government in one capacity or another. E567

467 people to have the final say in the nation's vital means of pro-
duction.'[1] These policies have a general appeal to labourers and
665 are among the reasons for the party's popularity.

The Labour Party is closer to the worker than any of the other political parties. In this respect, its organization resembles that of the Church. As already noted, the MLP rests on its village and district organization. This has enabled the average worker to have a say of sorts, not only in his party's policy, but, when it was in power, also in the affairs of government. How he and his neighbours were able to manipulate the party structure to their advantage is a matter which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

657 During its period in office the Labour Party did much to
665 improve conditions for the workers and the poor. This is another
reason why many support it. It introduced many social benefits,
including the extension of medical services, regular allotments of
free food and social assistance allowances for the needy and aged.
[653] It also built many new schools, surfaced dusty roads and under-
took other large public works projects which gave employment
to many, besides benefiting the community. Moreover, the party
[242] did a great deal to improve agriculture by bringing in foreign
experts who set up an advisory service and introduced new crops
and techniques of cultivation. All these and the general atmo-
sphere of activity which permeated the Labour Government,
gained great popularity for the party and its leader.

665 There is yet another important way in which the MLP attracts many: it has attacked the established authority of Britain, the Church, the local captains of industry and the prosperous members of society. This outlook appeals not only to many poor and underprivileged persons, but also to the young and the uninfluential who are seeking to establish their personal independence and to make their mark on society. This opposition to authority and vested interests holds an attraction for many social 'misfits', such as the young 'Teddy Boy' element, the eccentrics and free thinkers. These find in the MLP a haven for their nonconformity to the social and moral teaching of the Church. Though social and religious stigma still attaches to them, many find it easier to bear in the company of others who have similar beliefs and problems. The Labour Party has thus provided social outcasts with a sense of

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[1] MLP manifesto. See Appendix B.

'belonging', and to a certain extent has created for them a community of their own. These persons often make up the hard core of Labour supporters in their villages, since they have nothing to lose by openly fighting the Church. 665

A number of sociological explanations can be advanced to account for the support professionals, white-collar workers and farmers give to the Church. First of all, professionals generally lose status in the eyes of their colleagues, if not the wider society, if they join the Labour Party or sympathize with it. It is a working-class party, and they are professionals. There are a number of notable exceptions to this, but the only professionals that I met who sympathized with the MLP were either candidates for office with it or members of the Executive. The political ideology of their colleagues and the expectations of their clients combine to make them look upon the Labour Party as the antithesis of everything they have been brought up to believe in. They, through their offices in parish associations and through their work as doctors, lawyers, high civil servants, and so on, form part of the establishment to which the Labour Party is opposed. 463 467 665 [558]

Much the same reasoning can be applied to the white-collar workers. As teachers, clerks and other intermediate grade civil servants they hold a relatively high position in the social hierarchy of their villages. Many are anxious to identify themselves with their social superiors, those in control of the village as well as their employers, and thus look down upon the MLP as opposed to their interests. Moreover most of them have been educated at colleges run by the Church. There their teachers gave them additional religious instruction and strengthened those values which make the anti-clerical tone of the Labour Party repugnant to them. [873] [794]

Farmers, on the other hand, are looked down upon by many and are regarded as underprivileged by all. Why is it then that they do not support the Labour Party? Farmers in most communities are very conservative, and those in Malta are no exception. Their solitary occupation isolates them from the Labour Party ideology which is so freely discussed among the industrial workers of Malta. Not only that, but as we have seen, they are among the most poorly educated section of the community. Many are unable to read the propaganda which the MLP disseminates through its publications. This isolation from the secular and materialistic ideologies which enter the country through the [212]

463 Grand Harbour and first establish themselves in the conurbation
● 467 surrounding it has helped to keep the farmer devoutly tied to the
665 Church. For this reason the action of the MLP in challenging the
authority of the Bishops is as abhorrent to him as it is difficult to understand.

463 The recent sanctions of the Church have increased the class
alignment of those who support the Labour Party and those who
578 oppose it. This is largely because those with high social status have
665 more to lose than industrial workers, and are thus more vulner-
795 able to the pressure of public opinion and the Church. The
increasingly heavy pressure of the Church has forced many of the
[626] young professionals and intellectuals to abandon the party for
which they voted in 1955. But even when the MLP was in office, its policies began to alarm many in the professional and middle classes. They objected not only to Mintoff's attitude to the Church, but also to the somewhat abrupt way his government occasionally dealt with the professional and business communities. Many were disturbed by the MLP's rather sudden switch from advocating integration with Britain to demanding complete independence. As most of those who left the party or became inactive in it were moderates, both in their approach to the Church and to the economic and political problems facing Malta, the MLP has become more extreme in its outlook. This in turn
[656] induced others to leave it. This process was accelerated by the
regulations which prohibited the better-educated civil servants
from taking an active part in the political life of their country.

463 Table 7 below shows the rough correlation between occupa-
tional class and support of the Malta Labour Party. In particular,
665 it demonstrates that as the proportion of skilled workers decreases,
666 so does the proportion of voters who support Labour. Other
variables are the number of professionals and farmers. The Second and Fourth Electoral Districts polled the highest number of Labour votes in the 1962 election, and the Sixth and Tenth the lowest. The MLP polled 56 per cent of the total votes in the Second Electoral District, where 45 per cent of the working population are classified as skilled labourers.

In contrast, it received only 6 per cent of the votes in Gozo, where only 16 per cent of the people are skilled labourers, but 38 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Another important variable is the number of clergy resident in a district. The relatively high

would therefore seem that as this need becomes more pronounced, and as the Maltese voter gains in sophistication, there will be increasing pressure to change the present system of voting to one which strengthens the national government rather than weakens it. 642 66

VI

In addition to personal kin ties, patrons, political parties and politicians, pressure groups provide yet another way by which the villager can influence authorities outside his community. By bringing interest groups from one village into contact with similar groups in other villages, they permit united action for the resolution of common problems. The band clubs and football clubs have active national associations. Village lay apostolate societies have their own national bodies as well as the Diocesan Coordinating Junta, a powerful body which has now become one of the strongest forces opposed to the MLP. In view of the important part it and the other Church societies played in defeating the Labour Party in the recent election, they will probably be able to provide a channel of contact with the Ministers and anti-Labour MLA's. Some have already begun to apply pressure to obtain playgrounds and public conveniences for their respective villages. 664 [575] [794]

Even the festa partiti have their associations. The Association of Secondary Feasts works to obtain new Church privileges for its members. It is opposed by the Association of Titular Feasts, which has formally advised the Archbishop that if he grants privileges to the secondary partiti, its members will stop celebrating the titular feasts. 621 664 794

Finally, there are also a number of trade unions. Though most have no village level organization or representatives, and play no direct part in village politics, some, in particular the General Workers Union and the Gozo Agricultural Co-operative Society, a large proportion of whose members live in the villages, play an important part in national politics. They thus provide another channel through which persons at the village level can influence decisions at the national level. 467 664

654 herdsman to produce a now over-grown dairy industry
426 (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses earlier in this
454 Section).

Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Section 2), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

829 The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has
467 been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly
no less strained have been relations between one farmer
and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has
emerged on the administrative side of farming in the
Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic
[474] co-operation (Section 2). The main outcome of this has
been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal
and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed
[747] any importance. The very recent tractor co-operatives
(Section 2) are proving successful but would probably not
have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[29].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in it. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[43]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

829 It has also precluded the development of a substantial
474 Co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading.

829 474 The details of the Co-operatives as they do exist merit a more detailed mention since it is likely that they will grow in importance in the future and concern a rather larger proportion of the farming population than at present.

474 In October, 1957, there were ten co-operatives in Malta concerned with the marketing of agricultural produce: Rabat (171 members), Żabbar (86), Dingli (78), Siġġiewi (59), St. Paul's Bay (52), Żebbuġ (37), Mellieha (33), Qormi (23). Gudja (22), and Mġarr (16). All but two of these were officially registered in 1947[44]. The ten societies are independent but have delegate representation in an eleventh body, the Farmers' Central Co-operative. In addition, there were in 1957 two other Co-operatives in Malta, one with only the minimum twelve members who clung to their complete independence, and the Co-operative Stores Malta with 80 members, the sole consumers' society. Of the four Co-operatives in Gozo at the time only one had any capital or was able to organize a market centre for Gozo farmers. All four were concerned with the distribution of fodder.

474 829 The two features of the Co-operative movement important in the present discussion are (i) the very small number of farmers who will have anything to do with it, and (ii) the fact that the movement was initiated not by farmers but by the Government, whose official policy is now to encourage the development of both consumer and producer co-operatives in the Islands[44].

The Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) is an independent and privately run body to be distinguished from the official Milk Marketing Undertaking (M.M.U.). The organization of the Company appears to depend entirely on one man who, as secretary and manager, claims to present the milk producers' grievances to the M.M.U. authorities. Numbers of herdsmen regard the Company as able to secure for them more favourable selling conditions than they could obtain as individuals. Being mostly illiterate they feel unable to speak for themselves on such matters and yet are not inclined to support one or other of the Unions. How the producer does in fact benefit from membership of the Company is not in fact clear and some at least of its status in their eyes appears to depend on the personality of the secretary-manager[45].

474 467 829 Whatever future developments the farming Unions and Co-operatives may produce it is clear that at present only a small part of the farming population is concerned in either. Of the 5,635 full-time farmers in Malta in 1957 (B/164) only 589, or some 10.5% were members of the eleven producer co-operatives in the Island[46]. Fewer than one

829 474 467 in three of the 7,813 full-time farmers in both Islands at the time were even nominal members of either Union, one of which could claim to represent 25% of the farming population and the other only 6%[43].

829 467 As long as the farmers' Unions continue to represent only a minority of producers and to be divided among themselves there is little likelihood of their being able to benefit those in the industry. But the writer maintains that the grievances of the farmer today are not of the kind in which Union action could effect fundamental improvements because the position of the industry at present and at least in the immediate future depends on a policy of official benevolence. More precisely, this includes the range of financial, material and advisory assistance discussed above.

829 474 The farmer does however stand to make real gains from an efficient and popular co-operative movement. The present limited appeal of the co-operative system is a major drawback. In his interim report on the attitudes of the farming community, Fr. Cirillo observes that "the indifference and open hostility of the majority of farmers towards co-operatives can be partially explained by the fact that they are not able to give farmers the services which are expected of them....they are not in a position to operate as true marketing societies" (B/387, p.18). Fr. Cirillo also points to the mistrust of local co-operative organizers on the part of many farmers who have, moreover, never completely overcome their suspicion of the Government initiative behind the movement.

829 474 442 It is clear that the system of marketing produce is the main weakness at present. Up to now most farmers have marketed their produce through a pitkal. This pitkal is a selling middleman who maintains a stall at one of the pitkalija centres at each of which is a Government-appointed [426] clerk. The pitkal has also served a secondary function as a money lender to farmers who regularly deal with him. Fr. Cirillo observes that "many farmers would not join a co-operative society because of the fear that they might lose their pitkal's friendship" and "the farmer's dependence on the pitkal makes him look at the pitkal with respect" (B/387, pp.17-18). In 1957 it was proposed to centralize the marketing of produce through a single centre for the whole Island (B/253), but at least one of the farmers' Unions was quick to announce its opposition to the plan (B/54 - 11.6.1957, p.4). As on many parallel occasions the farmer was here faced with a choice:- between trusting the Union or 'Il-Gvern'. In most cases he would not venture to make his own decision on the matter.

654 241 An F.A.O. report on investigations in Malta and Gozo observes that "Progress in agriculture is fundamentally a human problem; it depends on knowledge and the intelligent application of knowledge" (B/243, p.9). Within the Islands themselves there is a certain awareness of the situation and [181] particularly of the need for an official policy designed to develop the agricultural industry to the best advantage of the total economy of the Islands and to assist the farmers who "are perhaps the most hard-working, honest and God-fearing section of the community and the country will be the loser if it were to let them down" (B/387, p.7).

It must be noted that the position in Gozo is even more intractable than in Malta.

From work done in the field two major lines of approach to the problem of Maltese farming emerge:

(a) Development policy must be related to the present and future position of her only basic industry - agriculture - within Malta's total economy. In this context one feels that at present there is some over-emphasis on the parts rather than the whole, that is the individual farmer qua economic unit and on the means whereby he may derive increased profit from his present - generally uneconomic - farm-unit. It is too easy to discuss minutiae of policy which are "good for agriculture", rather than to consider either men in villages or the fundamental national needs.

(b) The long-term improvement of Maltese agriculture as regards both the national economy and the fortunes of the individual farmers depends on the personnel of farming as much as on policy imposed from above. Policies must be tailored to fit the varying capabilities for absorption among the farmers, from the potato-grower who cannot see why a certain variety of potatoe is not selling on the export market to the dairyman unable to comprehend the artificially distorted basis of the industry which provides his livelihood. Moreover, up to now few development plans have been aimed specifically at the future farmers of Malta, the young, literate generation of the farming community. Before they have all left farming and village society this generation must be made aware of the possibilities and potential of agriculture in Malta and Gozo.

468 829 234 FOOTNOTE: While this report was 'in print' it was announced that the milk producers had decided to withhold deliveries to the M.M.U. (B/59, 17th November, 1959, p.4). They argue that the guaranteed price given them should be increased to take into account current production costs - especially of fodder. The fact that they appear to have overlooked the £370,000 paid by the taxpayer in subsidising the milk industry (1958) illuminates both the narrow outlook of the farmer and his failure to appreciate the uneconomic basis of his dairying industry today (v.9).

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

A post-war phenomenon from which Malta is not
668 immune is the Teddy-Boy, whose long locks and bizarre
579 dress as he lounges about the capital faintly recall, if only in
656 caricature, the flowing curls and exotic clothes in which the
young Disraeli postured in the streets of Valetta in 1830.
•[468] A one-day general strike called for the 28th April by the
General Workers' Union as a "national protest" gave these
and the late Prime Minister's other lawless supporters the
opportunity for widespread rioting in which they demolished
walls to make barricades and road-blocks, dislocated traffic,
destroyed cars and other property and stoned the Police.
One of the mobs wrecked and set fire to Zabbar Police
Station. Nor was illegal action confined to the mobs. These
received encouragement from above; two members of the
Mintoff Ministry were convicted of intimidation and had
their sentences upheld on appeal. The Police, no longer
impeded in the performance of their duty by political
pressure, behaved magnificently and with great restraint in
the face of violent and sustained provocation.

In consequence of this disorder, whereby relatively small
but carefully organized gangs of hooligans interrupted the
lawful occasions of the vast majority of peaceful citizens, the
prohibition of the holding of public meetings and demon-
strations was extended for three months and applied to all
Malta and Gozo. Another Proclamation declared a state of
emergency which enabled the Governor to assume wider
[793] powers for the maintenance of public order and safety. The
Archbishop condemned violence in a timely broadcast.

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With the elimination of factors making for trouble the
642 country settled down under the Governor's direct adminis-
648 tration, and by November 1958 Mr Lennox-Boyd thought
668 the time had come to initiate fresh discussions in London
between himself, Sir Robert Laycock and the leaders

434 457 unrequited imports were indicative of illegal diamond smuggling. It may well be that, in Malta, a less spectacular movement of capital is similarly responsible for part of the residual items of foreign income. Even so, and considered in a later examination of Internal Revenue and National Product, the implications of a national reliance on this and other elements of income are manifestly significant.

439 If we turn to a consideration of the merchandise in trade, the instability of the situation becomes even more strikingly obvious. An analysis of trade of the Maltese Islands in 1953 (13), the year in which economic conditions for 1954 would be established, shows the following salient points. Britain and the Commonwealth supplied half of Malta's imports thus leaving some £10,000,000 of the remainder to be covered by British credit with other countries. Of the domestically originating exports of three-quarters of a million pounds, only £266,000 went to non-protected markets outside the Commonwealth. These and other details suggest that the Maltese Islands as a whole, not only the Garrison therein, represent a not inconsiderable drain on British reserves of foreign currency. This appears even more strongly from a consideration of the classes of imported merchandise. Imports of Food, Drink and Tobacco (F.D.T.), totalling £7,800,000 were of almost precisely the same value as imports of Manufactures. The Mediterranean Maltese islands naturally depend on imports for main supplies of dairy products. Almost all the £161,188 expended on butter went to the Commonwealth but nearly half of the value of cheese imports - £305,000 in all - came from Italy. Another £161,000 went on eggs, and £785,000 on processed milk. Alarmingly enough however even Mediterranean products were and still are imported in surprisingly large quantities. £130,000 on edible oils, and £353,000 on vegetables, one-third of the latter represented by tomato preparations, are such large sums as to need justification of local inability to produce these commodities. When one notes that, in a Class distinct from the F.D.T. group, a further £1,341,000 was expended on livestock fodder, then one begins to wonder whether agriculture is practised at all in the Islands. There seems no doubt that many of the fresh or processed food and fodder commodities now imported could properly be produced in Malta by better resource use. There remains one difficulty. It is probable that the Knights subsisted mainly on imported products of higher quality than those produced locally. Since 1800, and this is a sign of rising living standards, social emulation has been able to spread this effect through the greater part of the population. The trade figures for later years merely confirm what may be observed directly that most Maltese for one reason or another will deliberately choose foreign rather than domestic produce where possible. In 1956 this led to the consideration of quasi-sumptuary regulations; to us it is a factor in the social environment quite as important as many elements in the physical environment.

652 434 If we turn to a consideration of the Internal Revenue Account we see how deep-rooted and extensive are those characteristics of the economy already noted.

Thus of Government Revenue approximately one-third was derived directly from outside Malta (C) as a result of activities originating outside the control of the Maltese people. Of the remaining two-thirds (D), the largest part was *indirectly* also so obtained from activities dependent on expenditure by non-Maltese, in that it came from taxation of profits earned by mercantile services to the Garrison, taxation of wages, salaries and industrial profits earned by other services rendered to the Imperial power, and lastly from Customs levies on the goods paid for by external income. This revenue (D) was not in itself in any case large enough to cover ordinary expenditure (A) let alone supply capital for public investment.

434 471 Many other questions could be raised, e.g. is not the scale of Government expenditure on Administration rather large relative to total revenue?; but we must content ourselves with one last reflection. The paucity of material resources in the Islands is such that capital investment for raising production can only be applied to agriculture and to improving the productivity of labour in those industrial or commercial services called into being by the locational

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Table 32. Internal revenue account 1953-54.

A. Ordinary Expenditure.		
(i) Maltese Government Administration	£1.667 millions	£1.958 millions
Public Debt and Pensions	.291 "	
(ii) Medical, Health, Commodity Subsidies and other Social Expenditure		2.625 "
(iii) Public Works and Agriculture		.559 "
		£5.142 "
(iv) LESS Revenue Profit on self balancing services		0.441 "
Net Ordinary Expenditure		£4.701 "
B. Special Expenditure.		
(i) Emigration		£0.143 millions
(ii) Colonial Development Works and Services		0.460 "
(iii) Imperial Government Expenditure - Administration, etc.		0.292 "
(iv) Works Extraordinary		0.268 "
Total Special Expenditure		£1.163 "
Grand Total Expenditure		£5.864 "
C. Revenue Directly Derived From Outside Malta.		
(i) Imperial Government Grants for Special Expenditure		£0.814 millions
(ii) Estimated External Revenue from:-		
Customs and Excise	£1 million	£1.180 millions
Lotteries	£0.180 millions	
		£1.994 "
D. Revenue Directly Derived From Inside Malta.		
(i) Customs and Excise (see C (ii))		£2.217 millions
(ii) Income Tax, Succession and Donation Duties		0.662 "
(iii) Lotteries (estimated £400,000), Note Fund, Savings Bank, etc.		1.491 "
		£4.370 "
Grand Total Revenue		£6.364 "

value of the Islands. In the sector of welfare economics the field for investment is in a sense limitless including as it does all the elements of water-supply, public health, education and dietetics. In this sector, capital can only come either from a relatively benevolent foreign power - and here lies the case for continued Maltese existence as a dependency and also the case for 'integration' with the United Kingdom - or hypothetically come from a vastly increased economic turnover within Malta. This immediately leads one back to the field of production economics. If, fundamentally, the value of the Islands for the attraction of capital lies in their location, then any decline in such attractiveness (as recently evinced

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434 471 by British actions) *ipso facto* suggests a decline in that value. Until recently, as suggested elsewhere, domination by a new metropolitan power has implied domination by a more enterprising and a wealthier power. The inevitability of this process has become held so strongly almost as an article of faith by some Maltese that to suggest that it may now come to an end may be regarded as heretical. There is, in fact, every reason to suppose that Malta's locational value has now become so marginally attractive as to render even more economically dubious foreign investment in the limited and difficult sectors available for its application. Without such foreign capital in large quantities, revenue will neither be available for investment in production and welfare nor for continuing existence. The internal as well as external economic demands of the situation are therefore for the seizing of all opportunities to attract investment rather than for historically impossible attempts to preserve an economic *status quo*. Further, it is obviously essential that agriculture as the only sector in which capital and labour can be deployed on domestically controlled natural resources, must be transformed from hitherto the most neglected into one of the most important and potentially fruitful elements in the Islands' life.

Finally, in this general section, a consideration of the National Product serves to put the economic situation into perspective. The salient facts are these:-

433 434

Table 33. National product 1954.

A. Wages and Salaries.	
(i) Service Departments	£6.7 millions
(ii) Administration	3.5 "
(iii) Other	5.8 "
	£16.0 "
B. Incomes.	
(i) Farmers and Fishermen	£1.3 millions
(ii) Government Property	1.2 "
(iii) Private Receipts of Interest and Rents	2.8 "
	£5.3 "
C. Profits of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises	£6.0 millions
D. Net Indirect Taxation	£3.6 millions
Grand Total	£30.9 millions

Balogh and Sears in their interim report on economic conditions (14) computed that the total value of goods and services bought in 1954 amounted to over £51,400,000. Of this some £20,500,000 represented imports, leaving the total given in Table 33. More recent material, e.g. the 1955 Census of Production (15) which became available in 1958, would suggest the need for slight emendation of some items, particularly item C in Table 33. Further upward amendment to item B (i) is needed to cover that considerable part of agricultural production which, as field observation shows, never appears in measurable channels. Balogh's conclusion however remains absolutely valid (16): 'In the last resort nearly all the income and employment on the Island(s) are derived from the U.K. Government'. He does however go on to say that (17): 'This unbalanced

178 for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as substantial
a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind:
583 land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a
183 girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position
[554] and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent
sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there
were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the
past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among
the families of the same village and farming background.
[182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way
of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to
fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance
(B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption
in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts
of the Islands have increased and marriages between
individuals from different villages and also from differing
economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of
land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place
and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of
the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put
more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 Another development which has put money into an altogether
454 now perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing
desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen
423 (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the
471 Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this
applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the
family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the
first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a
feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought
his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase
of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even
before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build
up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of
meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased
rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War,
and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much
greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable
cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient
and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese
654 farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for
capital. The Government added to this money consciousness
[426] with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to
keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest
loans for capital improvements of the farms and their
equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
654 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the
[234] maximum (Section 2).

Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
178 Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
511 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to
434 his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned.
These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

(d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital
[464] improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

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Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
434 his farm the means of providing for the various needs of
[471] the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding,
his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make
the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is
the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very
small section of the farming community: one of the major
problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means
the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
426 position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial
434 status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem
emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

*159 512 794 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his
592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they
178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to
*159 offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 423 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

427 A. Land.

[311]
- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 423 311 B. Utilisation.

	1956	1957	1958
House	¼	¼	¼
Vines	¼	¼	¼
Prickly pear	¼	¼	¼
Fodders	8¼	10¼	14¼
Vegetables	8⅝	6½	2⅜
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 231 C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 471 [427] [456] D. Capital.

- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 464 E. Labour.

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 433 [434] F. Production and Sales.

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

407 472 474 Many of the large tractor plowing concerns described above are run by two or more men, often brothers, in partnership. A much more recent development of this kind has been the 'tractor co-operative' in which a much larger number of farmers share the use and expenses of a cultivator of tractor. By the end of 1958 one such co-operative had been established in Mellieha in Malta, and another at Gharb, in Gozo.

407 474 648 These two projects are attempts which, if successful, may be followed by the setting up of other similar co-operatives. Two powerful hand cultivators were donated by C.A.R.E[27], the American relief organization, to a committee of farmers in Mellieha and two more to a similar group in Gharb. In each village farmers wishing to join [427] the co-operative paid a fee of some £2 after which they were entitled to hire the machine at a fraction of the prevailing commercial hire cost. In Gharb this was 10/- an hour where other private tractor operators were demanding 17/-. The C.A.R.E. gifts of tractors removed the need for the farmer himself to invest capital in something novel. He stood only to gain and not to lose and there was, consequently, fierce competition for the limited membership of the co-operative. Maintainance of the machines was in each case left to a full-time operator, while the running of the co-operative was in the hands of an executive committee of some half dozen farmers in each case who were elected from among the members concerned. This kind of organization in farm work is quite new to the Maltese farmer who has previously been incapable of uniting to any degree, whether in a marketing co-operative or farmers' union (Section 4). If the Mellieha and Gharb projects prove successful the principle of such co-operation may well extend to other branches of agriculture. The resulting financial economies would considerably strengthen the farmer's position.

407 474 A co-operative of any sort is, however, a somewhat unknown quantity among a largely illiterate and conservative farming population not far removed from traditional independent subsistence. Moreover, until recently, mechanical skill has been confined to the small number of farmers operating tractors themselves. In the Gharb co-operative only two men were available who could in fact operate the machines at all.

Although it is too early to judge the efficacy of this kind of co-operative in Malta its initial success would suggest that it has a future. The answer to the problem of shortage of labour discussed earlier in this section may then well be a combination of the widespread owner-use of one or other of the small rotary cultivators on the market along

178 434 241 because he has always been used to doing it and one which enables him to provide many of the food items needed by the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

156 241 426 The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies of farming from the economic point of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

472 511 It appears that MONEY is a variable but important factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household, as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear distinction made by the farmer between the finances pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its maintainance. The most common practice is for there to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it come the costs of running farm and household. As seen, the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as the labour of his family and himself is concerned (Case X). [451] Similarly it is still the exception rather than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is making a loss, though of the details he has no notion. In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
571 to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
[65] tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
454 call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
[593] few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expences of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
178 accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[294] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family,
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
[656] Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

- 159 Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
- 156 Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.
- [231] Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

*159 CASE VIII : Niklaws (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)

472 [423] [234] Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70 tmien and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 472 234 433 [232] The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 407 454 234 [427] Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and [435] the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

000 the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming
*159 depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957
241 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer
731 irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

*159 The brothers also complain of the present marketing
829 regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the
442 producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field
464 crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese
472 farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themsleves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

*159 A. Land.

423 c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region. 16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2¼ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-
[134] Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

*159 B. Utilisation. (i) Typical arrangement.

241

		Winter	Summer
Plot 1.	8⅜ tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot 3.	1⅓ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot 4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot 5.	2¼ tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot 6.	1⅝ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 8.	7⅜ tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
		Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot 9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot 10.	2⅜ tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 11.	21 tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
		Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
		Vetches	Fallow
Plot 12.	2¼ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot 13.	1⅛ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot 14.	2⅜ tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot 15.	5½ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
			Tomatoes
Plot 16.	1⅝ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

*159
241
(ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 (i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.

234 (ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.

(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

* **D. Capital.**

159 (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise [472] is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

* **E. Labour.**

159 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).

464 (ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.

407 (iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

427 (iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

* **F. Production and Sales.**

159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

*159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

* **H. General.**

159 472 451 (i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndicate is not typical of Maltese farming systems. The partnership seems to derive historically from a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

*159 472 451 181 (ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organisation one may use this case-study as illustrating the practises and modes of thought of the most highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

- Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does no seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.
- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.
- *159 433 181 242 Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these are attained by the careful application of proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.
- *159 181 232 242 In spite of the fact that the syndicate's capital reserves and their practical abilities are considerable, the physical environment dominates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these there is a great mental gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

*159 472 464

CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.)

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

*159 178 234 Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows' milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

*159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
829 Gozitan milk producer, Case I.

The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle with-
234 in the current artificial economy of milk production. There
is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy
[433] were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
472 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġamri's father.

*159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
472 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines........................	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders....................	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let.......	13 tmien
Potatoes...............................	6 tmien
Other vegetables.......................	5 tmien

*159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
[435] at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of
crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

*159 241 for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna. Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c.½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

*159 [472] [423] [464] [178] [435] [451] [461] [157]

H. General.

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows G to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- G therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.
- G has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, G could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (baghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464 Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

181 241 829 read of successful experiments of one kind or another in a foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

*159 407 422 429 ● 472 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They have (1958):

(i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board plow, the only one in the district,

(ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only [465] slowly - Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

Ġanni and the village.

*159 156 Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

*159 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people
156 around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as
461 well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social
life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is
626 most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on
517 speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids
his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on
493 the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he
to plow on Sundays or festa days he would be "publically ostracized and no villager would hire him and his plow". His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than farming".

*159 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical.
156 He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of
593 illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending to assume that his education and wider experience entitles him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments. Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('dota')
156 system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni.
[583] He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle without the older people of the village criticising him for not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs which his education and his knowledge of the world outside the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs, he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close
[178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the new methods and implements which he has brought to the village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father
472 works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their
407 joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention.
Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta.
000 They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

F159 they appear to have been among the first in the tractor 'business' and note that when they started there were only
4712 some half dozen large tractors already in use in Malta.

407

477 When the original tractor was imported along with a trailing plow it was found very difficult to negotiate the tortuous Maltese country tracks. They have since shortened the fitment and adapted it for carriage high above the ground in transit. Unlike CASE XIV these brothers maintain that the 'crawling' type of tractor is better suited to Maltese conditions than is the wheeled as it can cope more easily with rough ground and with mud.

Although they have no competitors in the immediate vicinity, they complain that:

(i) The introduction of the small hand rotary cultivator in recent years has caused a set-back in their business. It is clearly a less unwieldy implement for many small or narrow fields than is the large tractor and one which is cheap enough for a farmer to purchase fairly easily. However the brothers have increased the variety of special fitments which they can operate with their tractors and have thus to some extent retained their business.

(ii) There are at present too many large tractors for the work available. The brothers would be pleased if several of them would go out of business.

CASE XVI

Two brothers have three wheeled tractors, a threshing machine and two rotary cultivators. Holding only some three acres of land themselves they depend primarily on their tractor-hire business which they began, with a single tractor, shortly before the 1939-45 War. At present business is declining for the reasons mentioned in CASE XV. One of the brothers insists that the Government should prohibit the import of any more tractors into the Island in an effort to reduce the competition. As for rotary cultivators they observe that these implements can be used almost all the year round and are better suited for general cultivation work than is the tractor-drawn deep plow.

CASE XVII

A plowman with two large tractors (both 'caterpillar' tracked and one converted into a bulldozer), this Case illustrates some further points. He acquired his first machine early in the 1939-45 War and has built up his business so successfully that he now farms only a single acre himself relying for his income on the profits of the short plowing season and on his contract work throughout the year with his bull-dozer. His area of operation stretches from St. Paul's Bay in the north of Malta to Benghajsa in the extreme south, where he works for at least two full weeks per year. He also hires his threshing machine in widely scattered parts of the Island. This occupies him for some two months each summer. [420]

His major complaints are (i) the high price of diesel oil, and (ii) the fact that tractor operators are forbidden by law to drive their machines on public highways. On the question of 'over-lap' between contractors he wants the Government to delimate areas of operation for each man, an impracticable suggestion which would, he imagines, remove the necessity for his having to seek work at great distances from his village. His attitude on this point contrasts with his desire to import a new threshing machine as soon as possible.

CASE XVIII

In this case, a farmer works his tractor-hire business in conjunction with a friend. He bought a Chalmers tractor shortly before 1939 and has recently acquired a second machine - an Olivier. The area which he and his partner work with their tractors and 14" plow has become more limited of late on account of the increased use of rotary cultivators, especially as these are often user-owned.

*159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
472 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
407 contractors like him going out of business in the near future.

477

CASE XIX

This farmer (working 35 tumlin, including seven irrigable)
was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He
[178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of
the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule
or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years.
Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for
the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture
despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

x
159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
407 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they them-
241 selves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor
434 he cultivates some 35 tumlin single handed and supplements his
income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-
plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the
[178] area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by
local vintners).

CASE XXI

*159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
256 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
241 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
407 the sole such operator in his village and business grew. How-
ever in the present decade competition from new tractor oper-
472 ators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing
[477] season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted
him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted
all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are
still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

x
159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
441 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
472 these were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was intro-
407 duced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
[191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo,
especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary
cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led
to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing
tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island
some three or four are normally unused in the season. This
agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of
Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957
plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce
new implements. His father was the first to import motor
pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultiva-
tor in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of har-
vesting machines, but the very limited success of the first
ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any
more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for
mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a
lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be
collected for animal fodder.

241 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against
474 exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly common, while a recent development has been the tractor co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

178 407 The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta in the 1930s (Case XV, XXII) but "at that time there was a general feeling against the use of such machines on the land and it was about five years before their value was acknowledged and suspicions overcome"[12]. [427] One of the earliest tractor-hire businesses (Case XV) began in 1935 and for a [422] decade there were comparatively few competitors. Since the 1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning agricultural tractos and mechanized implements[24] has increased to about thirty in Malta[25] and some twelve in Gozo (1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[26], made in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still increasing but the work available for them is decreasing. This is clear from a consideration of the points raised in Cases XV to XII (Section 6, Part 2).

The main points emerging were

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended (Case XVI), while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement (Case XXII).

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

(ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can [654] be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially since low-interest loans are now available from the Government.

(c) The limited arce of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between asignments (Case XVII).

407 472 474 Many of the large tractor plowing concerns described above are run by two or more men, often brothers, in partnership. A much more recent development of this kind has been the 'tractor co-operative' in which a much larger number of farmers share the use and expenses of a cultivator of tractor. By the end of 1958 one such co-operative had been established in Mellicha in Malta, and another at Gharb, in Gozo.

407 474 648 Those two projects are attempts which, if successful, may be followed by the setting up of other similar co-operatives. Two powerful hand cultivators were donated by C.A.R.E[27], the American relief organization, to a committee of farmers in Mellicha and two more to a similar group in Gharb. In each village farmers wishing to join [427] the co-operative paid a fee of some £2 after which they were entitled to hire the machine at a fraction of the prevailing commercial hire cost. In Gharb this was 10/- an hour where other private tractor operators were demanding 17/-. The C.A.R.E. gifts of tractors removed the need for the farmer himself to invest capital in something novel. He stood only to gain and not to lose and there was, consequently, fierce competition for the limited membership of the co-operative. Maintainance of the machines was in each case left to a full-time operator, while the running of the co-operative was in the hands of an executive committee of some half dozen farmers in each case who were elected from among the members concerned. This kind of organization in farm work is quite new to the Maltese farmer who has previously been incapable of uniting to any degree, whether in a marketing co-operative or farmers' union (Section 4). If the Mellicha and Gharb projects prove successful the principle of such co-operation may well extend to other branches of agriculture. The resulting financial economies would considerably strengthen the farmer's position.

407 474 A co-operative of any sort is, however, a somewhat unknown quantity among a largely illiterate and conservative farming population not far removed from traditional independent subsistence. Moreover, until recently, mechanical skill has been confined to the small number of farmers operating tractors themselves. In the Gharb co-operative only two men were available who could in fact operate the machines at all.

Although it is too early to judge the efficacy of this kind of co-operative in Malta its initial success would suggest that it has a future. The answer to the problem of shortage of labour discussed earlier in this section may then well be a combination of the widespread owner-use of one or other of the small rotary cultivators on the market along

407 with the setting up of co-operatives which would make
474 available to the farmer the services of a heavy tractor and
deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very
small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire the smaller
type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he
does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY and GUARANTEE

435 During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered
241 farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for
654 produce handed in to the collection centres in each district.
Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never
known before and were able to build up often considerable
financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

434 Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite
different conditions of competition from abroad, demands
435 a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and
241 milk production. He insists that responsibility for this
654 subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on
"Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his
produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign
goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys
his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and
marketing and gives him a substantial return.

654 The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties
which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus
confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the
consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible
foodstuffs (which would often mean imported goods rather
than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer
by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at
least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended
to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities
(bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows every-
one in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume
at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at
liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included four main types of help to agriculture.

234 (a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen
654 for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U.
This varies slightly with season and there is a difference
of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The
average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts
to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells

654 426 herdsman to produce a now over-grown dairy industry (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses earlier in this Section).

454 Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Section 2), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

829 467 The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly no less strained have been relations between one farmer and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has emerged on the administrative side of farming in the Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic [474] co-operation (Section 2). The main outcome of this has been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed [747] any importance. The very recent tractor co-operatives (Section 2) are proving successful but would probably not have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[29].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in it. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[43]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

829 474 It has also precluded the development of a substantial Co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading.

829 474 The details of the Co-operatives as they do exist merit a more detailed mention since it is likely that they will grow in importance in the future and concern a rather larger proportion of the farming population than at present.

474 In October, 1957, there were ten co-operatives in Malta concerned with the marketing of agricultural produce: Rabat (171 members), Żabbar (86), Dingli (78), Siġġiewi (59), St. Paul's Bay (52), Żebbuġ (37), Mellieha (33), Qormi (23), Gudja (22), and Mġarr (16). All but two of these were officially registered in 1947[44]. The ten societies are independent but have delegate representation in an eleventh body, the Farmers' Central Co-operative. In addition, there were in 1957 two other Co-operatives in Malta, one with only the minimum twelve members who clung to their complete independence, and the Co-operative Stores Malta with 80 members, the sole consumers' society. Of the four Co-operatives in Gozo at the time only one had any capital or was able to organize a market centre for Gozo farmers. All four were concerned with the distribution of fodder.

474 829 The two features of the Co-operative movement important in the present discussion are (i) the very small number of farmers who will have anything to do with it, and (ii) the fact that the movement was initiated not by farmers but by the Government, whose official policy is now to encourage the development of both consumer and producer co-operatives in the Islands[44].

The Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) is an independent and privately run body to be distinguished from the official Milk Marketing Undertaking (M.M.U.). The organization of the Company appears to depend entirely on one man who, as secretary and manager, claims to present the milk producers' grievances to the M.M.U. authorities. Numbers of herdsmen regard the Company as able to secure for them more favourable selling conditions than they could obtain as individuals. Being mostly illiterate they feel unable to speak for themselves on such matters and yet are not inclined to support one or other of the Unions. How the producer does in fact benefit from membership of the Company is not in fact clear and some at least of its status in their eyes appears to depend on the personality of the secretary-manager[45].

474 467 829 Whatever future developments the farming Unions and Co-operatives may produce it is clear that at present only a small part of the farming population is concerned in either. Of the 5,635 full-time farmers in Malta in 1957 (B/164) only 589, or some 10.5% were members of the eleven producer co-operatives in the Island[46]. Fewer than one

829 474 467 in three of the 7,813 full-time farmers in both Islands at the time were even nominal members of either Union, one of which could claim to represent 25% of the farming population and the other only 6%[43].

829 467 As long as the farmers' Unions continue to represent only a minority of producers and to be divided among themselves there is little likelihood of their being able to benefit those in the industry. But the writer maintains that the grievances of the farmer today are not of the kind in which Union action could effect fundamental improvements because the position of the industry at present and at least in the immediate future depends on a policy of official benevolence. More precisely, this includes the range of financial, material and advisory assistance discussed above.

829 474 The farmer does however stand to make real gains from an efficient and popular co-operative movement. The present limited appeal of the co-operative system is a major drawback. In his interim report on the attitudes of the farming community, Fr. Cirillo observes that "the indifference and open hostility of the majority of farmers towards co-operatives can be partially explained by the fact that they are not able to give farmers the services which are expected of them....they are not in a position to operate as true marketing societies" (B/387, p.18). Fr. Cirillo also points to the mistrust of local co-operative organizers on the part of many farmers who have, moreover, never completely overcome their suspicion of the Government initiative behind the movement.

829 474 442 [426] It is clear that the system of marketing produce is the main weakness at present. Up to now most farmers have marketed their produce through a pitkal. This pitkal is a selling middleman who maintains a stall at one of the pitkalija centres at each of which is a Government-appointed clerk. The pitkal has also served a secondary function as a money lender to farmers who regularly deal with him. Fr. Cirillo observes that "many farmers would not join a co-operative society because of the fear that they might lose their pitkal's friendship" and "the farmer's dependence on the pitkal makes him look at the pitkal with respect" (B/387, pp.17-18). In 1957 it was proposed to centralize the marketing of produce through a single centre for the whole Island (B/253), but at least one of the farmers' Unions was quick to announce its opposition to the plan (B/54 - 11.6.1957, p.4). As on many parallel occasions the farmer was here faced with a choice:- between trusting the Union or 'Il-Gvern'. In most cases he would not venture to make his own decision on the matter.

000 matter.

494 442 829 178 While the farmer does not favour the co-operative movement at present he is generally dissatisfied also with the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

208 654 474 44 The Government plan to centralize marketing on the one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the selling of produce on the other will not succeed without a great deal of patient education of the farmer supplemented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing ~~and~~ presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

464 184 178 In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

*159 241 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments. Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land.)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 [656 The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk
[433 434] for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk
*159 46 241 465 to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

000 authorities each year.

*159 Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since
● 494 its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the
234 present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work
of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In
434 January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk
[432] and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling
some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a
nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me".
Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but
it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in
[454] for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of
the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to
the accommodation for the animals.

*159 Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old,
423 and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise
234 yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop
[429] his own property since the war in order to qualify for the
necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his
now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the
Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family
and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of
buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village.
This is typical of the majority of farm units based on
livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts
with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be
housed at some distance from the family living quarters,
a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household
342 is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead
351 off to the gound floor living rooms, to the goat shed and
423 cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room,
to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street.
From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder
storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor
store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further
staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to
the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are
typical with their intensive use of available space and
maximum building development on the portion owned by the
farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate
enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small
patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of
continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa baghli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-house also manage to find space in odd corners. [406] Two machine-driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete [343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered [134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his interest and attention. 241 He observes that they bring in a greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields 433 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to cultivate on a more casual basis. 434 Nevertheless Pietru is not able 829 to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own [464] heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the most' of his farm within current limitations. [474] He was a founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative (Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having the money than letting the Government get it. This belief that the Government is behind everything is characteristic (Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 178 241 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility of achieving anything above low living standards. Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case among many of his generation and it may be that he will have difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to [426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort [654] to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture to the full but it has done comparatively little for the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

CASE XI : Summary.

(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

*159 423 427 A. Land.

(i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Mallieha District. 2 tmien freehold.
(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.
(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.
(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced as annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 241 B. Utilisation. With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons, Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.
(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 231 C. Livestock. During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bejjem tax-xoghol').

*159 D. Capital.

[423] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
[435] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E.[2] Estimated possible total less than £100.
[454] [406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.
● [474] [241] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.
[464] - Rarely hires labour.
[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

000 was taken for granted.
*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
242 on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XII : Čenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

*159 Čenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
554 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is importent both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Čenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compen-
sation to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
241 to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
[451] This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

communities where they became leaders, and the source of many 178
new ideas and customs. In Għaxaq, for example, I found that a 875
teacher born in Valletta had been the one to introduce the
custom of decorating the streets for the festa.

It is, of course, extremely difficult, if not impossible, to dis- 174
cover the motives which prompted people to choose a particular 178
partit. The only possible clue to at least one set of reasons may well 463
lie in the correlation between occupational class and partit
affiliation. Apart from this class alignment, I found no evidence in 621
Farruġ, or any other village so divided, of any pre-existing structural division out of which these festa partiti might have developed. In view of the way membership is inherited, it would appear that the position which members of the great-grandfather generation occupied in the village class structure in some way influenced their choice of partit. There is some evidence for this, although not a great deal, to be found in the genealogies of the present generation. Frequent marriages with outsiders, emigration and the changing employment structure of the country over the past six decades have blurred this picture considerably.

But it is certainly possible that the new cult appealed more to 174
those persons who held no office in the older confraternities and 178
who performed no official functions in connection with the cele-
bration of the annual festa of the village patron. Through the new 621
cult they could gain offices and perform functions which hitherto had been monopolized by the circle of the village elite who surrounded the parish priest. Some informants have also mentioned that young men were particularly attracted to the new cult. In this we can see the universal resistance of the young to the authority of their elders, for by becoming active in the new cult, they were asserting their independence from the controls of the older generation. Were the secondary partiti then a form of protest against the established authority, a sort of underdogs' party?

Other facts appear to support the hypothesis that the founda- 174
tion of the secondary partiti was in some way related to a wider 476
working-class movement. Many of the partiti are dedicated to St. 621
Joseph, the patron saint of the working classes who were begin- 776
ning to organize themselves into formal associations throughout 794
Europe. In Malta there are many signs that this devotion was very
strong. In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to 680

178 farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

241 It is hoped that some at least of the answer to this problem will come from co-operation and mechanization. The first implies the pooling of labour resources of individual farmers while the latter includes the whole range of developments leading to a replacement of hand labour, as far as possible under Maltese conditions, by machinery or by more efficient implements.

241 CO-OPERATION

476 Co-operation in field work between farmers is not new in Malta[23]. It is either permanent, where two or more farmers combine with each other to work a single farm unit, sharing profits and expenses, or temporary, as when two or more farmers share the use of a threshing machine at harvest.

An example of the permanent type is a case (Case VIII) where five brothers work one farm-unit as a team with one of their number being something of a primus inter pares. This is an efficient and profitable arrangement with a substantial income accruing from the herd of some thirty head and the 70 tmien of land worked by the partnership. [234]

Another case (Case XI) is that of two unrelated farmers working one farm-unit as partners after a lifetime's friendship. So completely are their resources pooled that it is not always clear what belongs to the one and what to the other. With their respective oldest sons (teenagers) these two men operate a holding of some 100 tmien and have in recent years joined in the change-over from goats to cows. Their joint herd now numbers some forty head, but as an economic unit is in a much inferior position to that of the first example. [233] [234]

A third example (Case X) shows two brothers working the fields held by them together but maintaining clear distinctions as to which brother owns which plot. This association has also endured for decades and now includes the full-time assistance of the oldest son of the brother.

An example of a temporary association is that where two or more farmers combine to thresh the grain of each man in turn, six being the optimum number for a threshing team which normally includes the owner-operator of the hired threshing machine himself working as one of the team. In the days when the traditional threshing floor with the mule and hand-winnowing was the standard method of threshing (as before the 1939-45 War) different farmers would also join and help each other at the harvest. (Today this threshing floor method is confined to cases where a long straw is required.) [178]

000 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against

#159 They appear to have been among the first in the tractor 'business' and note that when they started there were only 472 some half dozen large tractors already in use in Malta.

407 When the original tractor was imported along with a 477 trailing plow it was found very difficult to negotiate the tortuous Maltese country tracks. They have since shortened the fitment and adapted it for carriage high above the ground in transit. Unlike CASE XIV these brothers maintain that the 'crawling' type of tractor is better suited to Maltese conditions than is the wheeled as it can cope more easily with rough ground and with mud.

Although they have no competitors in the immediate vicinity, they complain that:

(i) The introduction of the small hand rotary cultivator in recent years has caused a set-back in their business. It is clearly a less unwieldy implement for many small or narrow fields than is the large tractor and one which is cheap enough for a farmer to purchase fairly easily. However the brothers have increased the variety of special fitments which they can operate with their tractors and have thus to some extent retained their business.

(ii) There are at present too many large tractors for the work available. The brothers would be pleased if several of them would go out of business.

CASE XVI

Two brothers have three wheeled tractors, a threshing machine and two rotary cultivators. Holding only some three acres of land themselves they depend primarily on their tractor-hire business which they began, with a single tractor, shortly before the 1939-45 War. At present business is declining for the reasons mentioned in CASE XV. One of the brothers insists that the Government should prohibit the import of any more tractors into the Island in an effort to reduce the competition. As for rotary cultivators they observe that these implements can be used almost all the year round and are better suited for general cultivation work than is the tractor-drawn deep plow.

CASE XVII

A plowman with two large tractors (both 'caterpillar' tracked and one converted into a bulldozer), this Case illustrates some further points. He acquired his first machine early in the 1939-45 War and has built up his business so successfully that he now farms only a single acre himself relying for his income on the profits of the short plowing season and on his contract work throughout the year with his bull-dozer. His area of operation stretches from St. Paul's Bay in the north of Malta to Bonghajsa in the extreme south, where he works for at least two full weeks per year. He (420) also hires his threshing machine in widely scattered parts of the Island. This occupies him for some two months each summer.

His major complaints are (i) the high price of diesel oil, and (ii) the fact that tractor operators are forbidden by law to drive their machines on public highways. On the question of 'over-lap' between contractors he wants the Government to delimate areas of operation for each man, an impracticable suggestion which would, he imagines, remove the necessity for his having to seek work at great distances from his village. His attitude on this point contrasts with his desire to import a new threshing machine as soon as possible.

CASE XVIII

In this case, a farmer works his tractor-hire business in conjunction with a friend. He bought a Chalmers tractor shortly before 1939 and has recently acquired a second machine - an Olivier. The area which he and his partner work with their tractors and 14" plow has become more limited of late on account of the increased use of rotary cultivators, especially as these are often user-owned.

*
159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
477 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
472 contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
407 contractors like him going out of business in the near future.

477

CASE XIX

This farmer (working 35 tmien, including seven irrigable)
was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He
[178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of
the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule
or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years.
Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for
the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture
despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

x
159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
407 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
241 farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they themselves
can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor
434 he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his
income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-plowing
in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the
[178] area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by
local vintners).

CASE XXI

*
159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-seller
256 but this business went to a brother shortly before the
1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
241 contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
407 the sole such operator in his village and business grew. However
in the present decade competition from new tractor operators
472 has "halved the work available in the summer plowing
[477] season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted
him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted
all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are
still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

x
159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
441 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
472 those were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was introduced
407 in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
[191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo,
especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary
cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led
to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing
tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island
some three or four are normally unused in the season. This
agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of
Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957
plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce
new implements. His father was the first to import motor
pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultivator
in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of harvesting
machines, but the very limited success of the first
ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any
more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for
mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a
lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be
collected for animal fodder.

796 [533] competing for the attention of the crowd within a few yards of each other.

[292] [481] All the while, the procession, followed by a few black-clad penitents, solemnly passes through the main streets of the village. Often those carrying the saint move with a shuffling step that causes him to bob and turn as though he were dancing. As he passes under balconies his cheering and clapping admirers shower him with confetti. Then, as the procession nears the church, the final *kaxxa infernal*, this time of coloured rockets, is touched off. In some villages the saint is turned around so that he can see this barrage and the display of multi-staged rockets that follows it. The statue then enters the church and the Benediction is given. After this the crowd of visitors quickly disperses. Soon the inhabitants have the village to themselves again. As the women and girls wheel and pull the children off to bed, the men carry around from club to club the grimy, soot-stained men who made and fired the fireworks. They are the heroes of the hour. Other men seek out their clubs or usual cafés and toast one another and the success of their feast. So ends the festa for another year.

796 793 [794] [575] The organization of the annual festa requires a long period of planning and preparation. This work calls for a certain degree of centralization. In most villages the parish priest controls the organization of both the internal and the external feasts. In some villages, however, he delegates some of this work to a procurator, usually a priest, but occasionally to a committee of leading personalities of the village. In other villages, all the details of the external feast, including the fund raising, are handled by the band club committees. In any case, the parish priest always has the last word. Sometimes there is friction between him and other interested parties over organizational details.

796 794 435 The cost of these feasts varies considerably. It is naturally related to the size of the village and to the degree of enthusiasm with which the festa is celebrated. It ranges from a few shillings per family in a large urban parish to as much as £15 per family in a small rural parish celebrating a particularly important festa. The average cost to the community, however, is about £1,000. The organizers of the festa collect the necessary funds by means of lotteries, fairs, special appeals and a small weekly contribution of threepence or sixpence from each family. Most fund raisers also solicit pledges from leading citizens and enter their names and the

~~142~~
291
482
516
666

6. 'Viva San Ġużepp!'

[facing P. 81]

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
[794] has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6 [P 91]

*159 shopping is done in the local village but Nardu
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Puq il-Monti'
● 484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 A. **Land.**
423
30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 B. **Utilisation.**
241
311
Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under żofâfa.(bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[934] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 C. **Livestock.**
231
During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. **Capital.**
[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
[454] - Freehold village house.
[412] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[407] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc.
No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 E. **Labour.**
464
- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting.
During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
[427] - Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract)of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator.
Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 F. **Production and Sales.**
433
- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

*159 G. **Husbandry.**
241
(1) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annua
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prov
the employment of the normal four-year rota

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fisher-
361 men live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi.
Socially this residential distribution is important since only
in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
[512] their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economi-
463 cally lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
162 basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
the present official financial assistance, is producing
178 exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger
generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor the way of life based on it.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

This feast is also celebrated with great pomp at the Cathedral Church of città Vittoria, Gozo, and for this reason our sister Island is, on the occasion, an attraction for the Maltese people. In fact, several steamers and launches decorated with coloured flags, are employed on the eve of the festival, and sometimes for some days before, transporting the vast concourse of people who, influenced either by a spirit of devotion or a desire to enjoy a pleasant trip, a healthy change, and a little fresh air, embrace the opportunity of paying a visit to the famed Island of Calypso to behold the festivities which take place there at the festival of "Santa Maria." 796 484 184

On the evening of the 14th the illuminations and fireworks are very splendid; the religious ceremonies, on that, 796

796 and the following day, are conducted with the usual solemnity and fervour.
547 There are also several races of quadrupeds in the afternoon of the day of the festival, similar to those which are held in Malta on the feast of S. S. Peter and Paul (L'Imnaria). These races bring the amusements to a close.

796 Worth mentioning is the custom which
484 prevails amongst some of our country
788 people on the 14th of August, the eve
of the feast of "Santa Maria."

Groups of country men and country women, actuated purely by religious motives and a desire to honour the Great Mother of God, start for a pilgrimage of more than 8 hours walk on the morning of that summer day, heedless of the excessive heat of the scorching sun, to visit the churches at the 7 above mentioned villages dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

361 Corniche from heights as inaccessible as nature and man's
712 ingenuity could make them. When the marauders from
North Africa ceased to be a menace, the citadel was partly
evacuated for the lower town, but happily was never
abandoned completely. Even now it contains the cathedral
of the diocese and the Law Court and Public Registry,
formerly the residence of the Governors of Gozo; and,
although many of its ancient houses are in ruins, a few are
still inhabited.

One interesting little lane with façades of the thirteenth
175 and fourteenth centuries was restored by the Government
717 before the outbreak of the Second World War, as has been
341 the handsome Renaissance building facing the entrance to
654 the citadel latterly known as the Bondi Palace, as related at
the end of Chapter XIII. One of the houses in the lane at
one time belonged, as an inscription testifies, to the soldier
Bernard, "*miles Bernardus,*" who was killed at the capture
of the citadel by the Turks under Sinan Pasha in 1551. When
he saw that the fortress could hold out no longer this dauntless
man took the lives of his wife and two daughters with his
own hand to save them from being sold into captivity, and
then fell, fighting to the end. The walls and fortifications
of the citadel are happily well preserved.

Gozo was Ogygia or Gaulos to the Greeks, *gaulos* (γαῦλος)
101 being the word the Greeks had for the round merchant-boats
of their rivals, the Phoenicians. From Gaulos it became
Gaulum to the Romans, then appears on Idrisi's map of
1154 as Ghudash, and in modern Maltese is known as
Ghawdex (pronounced Audesh), its Bishop signing as
● 484 *Episcopus Gaudisiensis.* The shortest ferry-crossing between
505 the two islands is only four miles, yet many Gozitans have
never been to Malta while the overwhelming majority of
Maltese have never been to Gozo.

181 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times
186 somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are
regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

*423 102 311 [133] [489]

This small agricultural entity, the Maltese Farm, is further split into a number of non-contiguous plots or parcels, each of no great size. In illustration of this and other related points a small area in Malta, square in shape with a side half a mile long, has been examined in some detail (Fig. 135). The area lies in the Central Region, between Siġġiewi and Żebbuġ, and includes in its north-eastern corner, part of the latter settlement. It is dissected by two steep-sided valleys, that of the Wied il-Beqqiegħa crossing from south-west to north-east, and the Wied il-Hesri which appears in the south-east corner. Narrow, terraced fields follow the contours of the valley sides but, on the more rounded relief of the interfluve, the fields, although still terraced, become generally larger and more nearly square in shape. Apart from the valley-floors, used as foot- and cart-ways, with other accommodation roads and paths, non-agricultural lands are limited to a few house-sites in the outskirts of Żebbuġ. A few scattered patches of rock outcrop occur on the steeper slopes, but the only large patch of uncultivated land covers the north-eastern lobe of the large tenancy plot lying south of the area shaded black in map. The remaining land is devoted to dry farming crops characteristic of the region.

LAND TENURE (Fig. 135A)

The underlying topography, clearly influences the shape, and, to a lesser extent the size of the tenurial plots. This is most striking in the north-eastern quadrant, where long, narrow plots reflect the sinuous terraces of the Wied il-Beqqiegħa; on the slopes of the Wied il-Hesri, however, the relationship is scarcely apparent. Shallower gradients are covered by plots of fuller and more varied shape differing greatly in size. In the north-east corner small and oddly shaped tenancy parcels are clearly related to the nearby settlements and are mainly specialised garden plots. An anomalous area of small plots in the opposite corner breaks up the general tendency of increasing size away from the casal.

Tenancy units are small in size, but there is enormous variation. The average of the parcels shown here, including parts of parcels beyond the limits of the area mapped, is slightly less than 5 *lmien* The smallest garden plot (*b*, north-east corner) contains about one-twentieth of a *lmien* of land, while the large plot of fieldland in the south (*z*) is about 50 *lmien* in extent. There may be a tendency for plots to be larger in areas where soils are thin and poor, but the two distributions can certainly not be equated.

Of the 129 plots, parts of which lie within the half mile square, 57 are held by farmers with no other land in the area. But the remaining 29 holdings each have two or more non-contiguous parcels. This relationship is indicated by the use of distinctive shading in the case of Sample Holdings II and V, and otherwise by the letter *a* to *z* and *d*. Holding *b* (six plots) scattered throughout the northern two-thirds of the area is an extreme example of the typical parcellation.

*423 102

LAND OWNERSHIP (Fig. 135B)

In general terms, within the area shown here, the distributions of ownership and of tenure are similar. As shown in Fig. 135B, there are many scattered plots belonging to the same owner, a characteristic which might be termed fragmented ownership. A similar cartographical convention to that used in Fig. 135A is adopted here. Plots owned by the same private owner are indicated by the letters A-J (I is excluded); the numbers 1-4 are used similarly for the various classes of ecclesiastical ownership. All plots, whether duplicated or not, belonging to the latter class, which includes monastic, episcopal, and parish land, as well as land owned by Charitable Institutions (a very small proportion in this area), are distinguished by a special system of shading as also are Civil Government lands. The rather special cases of ownership by the occupier or by his parent are also distinguished from the bulk of the parcels which are owned by other private persons.

Looking at the distribution in its basic form, as a simple pattern of parcels, ignoring the various special relationships, several points emerge. As in the map of tenure, there is a complex network, but the weave is generally coarser,

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P.2]

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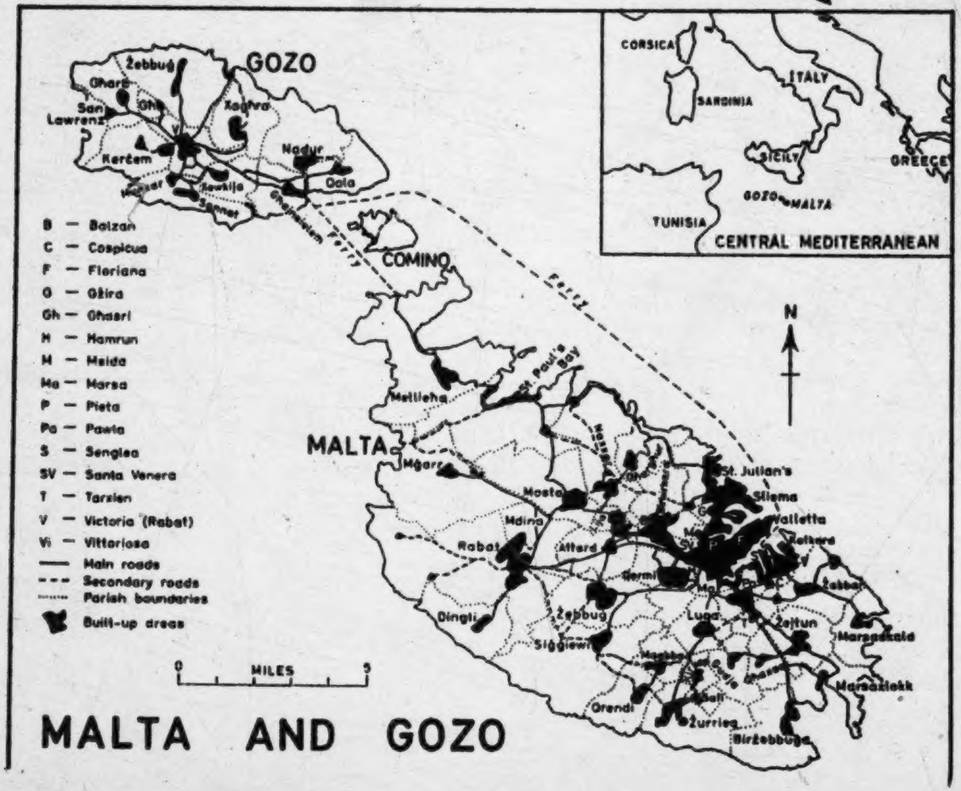
GOZO
Żebbuġ
Għarb
San Lawrenz
Għ
Xagħra
Kerċem
Nadur
Qala
Xewkija
Sannat
Munxar
Għajnsielem
Ferry
COMINO
MALTA
Mellieħa
St. Paul's Bay
Mġarr
Mosta
Mdina
Rabat
Attard
Dingli
Żebbuġ
Siġġiewi
Qormi
Luqa
Żejtun
St. Julian's
Sliema
Valletta
Kalkara
Żabbar
Marsaskala
Marsaxlokk
Orendi
Żurrieq
Birżebbuġa
Safi
Mqabba
Għaxaq
B — Balzan
C — Cospicua
F — Floriana
G — Gżira
Gh — Għargħur
H — Hamrun
M — Msida
Ma — Marsa
P — Pieta
Pa — Pawla
S — Senglea
SV — Santa Venera
T — Tarxien
V — Victoria (Rabat)
Vi — Vittoriosa
Main roads
Secondary roads
Parish boundaries
Built-up areas
0 MILES 5
N
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ITALY
SICILY
GREECE
TUNISIA
GOZO MALTA
CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN

MALTA AND GOZO

are among the most intensively worked, reflects the lower intensity of pressure 241*
on land in Gozo.

Topographically, the Wied ir-Ramla (42) (Fig. 128B) is similar in type to 311*
the Wied ta'Marsalforn. The wied channel becomes progressively more sharply
incised downstream before opening out into the sandy, bay-head lowland (from
which the valley takes its name: *Ramla* = sands). Tributary wied embayments
cut into the Coralline plateaus on either side.

Below the mesa scarps there are the usual *gnien* zones and these give way
downhill to a belt of sulla and cereals on the heavier, drier parts of the Blue
Clay outcrop. On the eastern slopes lying below the Qortin tan-Nadur (48), recent
and Quaternary sands, whose presence is marked by light, ochre-coloured soils,
occurs a specialised zone of early tomato and cucurbit production and
viticulture (Fig. 127 A and B). This relatively intensive pattern of land use
extends from the scarp on to the eastern half of the lower valley floor. On the
remainder of the main valley floor, mixed cultivation in which vines and sulla
predominate is diversifed by relatively large scale potato-growing and some
fruit production. The floors of the tributary wieds il-Ġgantija (43) and il-Hanaq
(44) are characterised by particularly intensive viticulture which merges into
flanking zones of cereals and sulla. The small mesa of in-Nuffara (45) has
similar characteristics to those of the western Coralline fragments.

The remaining part of the Northern Region is closely associated with the 311*
village of Nadur. The plateau on which the latter stands (46) is composed of a 361
series of flat-topped promontories (*Qortin*) which run north and north-eastward [133]
from the main ridge. These overlook the coast in a series of *Rdum* slopes and
are separated by deeply incised wieds. The arrangement of physical features
is reflected in the lay-out of settlement and communications. As in the case of
Xaghra, a small urban nucleus gives way northwards to strings of farmsteads
aligned along roads and tracks. The plateau top thus contrasts with the valleys,
which have virtually no permanent settlement.

Land use on the main plateau ridge is semi-urban in character with gardens 241*
and stockyards. The *qortin* lands, though physically uniform, differ a good deal 311*
from each other in land utilisation. The higher southerly part of the Qortin
tan-Nadur (48) is largely waste, but the lower northern bluff is remarkably well
cultivated under cereals and sulla with occasional small plots of vegetables and
vines. The two promontories of the Qortin il-Kbir (51), on the other hand, form
the most extensive areas of karst wasteland in the whole Northern Region of
Gozo. Similar contrasts exist between the two rdum areas lying below the *qortin*
lands. The Rdum tan-Nadur bears a scatter of small enclosures of vegetables,
fruit and minor crops. In this case, cultivation is similar in type, though not in
intensity, to that of the Maltese 'undercliff' areas. The Rdum tal-Mistra (53),
by contrast, is a rugged wasteland, the greater part of which has never been
cultivated.

Piercing the plateau on its northern side are three deep and sheltered [133]
valleys: Wied San Blas (50), Wied tal-Mistra (52) and Wied Daħlet Qorrot (54).
These are characterised by the virtual absence of the common dry-farmed
crops, which are replaced by a remarkably complex inter-cultivation pattern of
fruit, vegetables and vines. This is the only area in Gozo completely devoted to
intensive market gardening, the products of which are sold in Malta. The growing
demand for early produce has resulted in the recent and continuing extension of
the area under fruit and has encouraged experiments such as that of strawberry
growing. The difficulties of transporting produce out of these deep valleys is [489]
offset by the advantage of proximity to the harbour of Mġarr. Thus the *gnien*
type of farming typical of plateau peripheries has here been extended downhill
to the valley floors.

IV. THE EASTERN REGION

This comprises the Qala Uplands (55) and flanking coastlands (56) together
with the narrow coastal strip which separates the East Central Region from the
sea. Structure, topography and land use alike distinguish the Eastern Region
from its neighbours. As a result of faulting, the pattern of rock outcrop is often

[Text Continues on P. 281]

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically con- 361
tinuous inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely [161]
overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding
lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the
village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here 114
that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as 245
the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, 366
wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes.

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the 369
whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of 489
the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not 582
seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own
hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of
the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such
distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this
latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by
the whole population.

III.—History.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further 133
evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, 172
has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine
his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is
situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present
level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third
terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by
the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to
belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of under-
cutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut
out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume
of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more
than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier
part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age.
By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number
of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus.
These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water.

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Nean- 114
dertal man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small 172
fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones
really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual char-
acters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with

185 504 rather obscured the simultaneous mounting of a five-year Economic Development Plan. This is aimed at the establishment of manufacturing industries and envisages the expenditure of over £32,000,000, the bulk of which is to be contributed by the United Kingdom. Internal Legislation under the Aids to Industries Ordinance XXI of 1959 offers attractive terms to immigrant and local enterprises. At Marsa, an Industrial Estate is rapidly being built, public utilities are being extended and facilities for technical and craft training improved. Completion is expected in 1961 of the first commercial deep-water quays, complete with storage and handling facilities. Several British business interests have already responded to these new attractions.

However, the fundamental characteristics of the Maltese economy and society remain, and the whole complex of resources, appraisal of resources and social needs and demands must be appreciated before effective forces of change will appear.

491 As a last short study we turn to the development of communications and public transport in the Maltese Islands, which is of significance for two main reasons. First, in the pattern that has appeared we can see the interplay of all those forces, Imperial and indigenous, which have affected Maltese life. Secondly, although the Islands are small, distance and remoteness are everywhere measured mentally as well as physically, and the impact of modern transport has revolutionised Maltese life. The road pattern in Malta is complex and generally ancient (Fig. 68).¹ It is impossible to categorise past and present roads sufficiently precisely to show cartographically the changes that have taken place and description must necessarily be brief. As shown in Worsley's survey of 1824 (21), the main alignments were then concentrated in the central region. Away from the grid-plan streets of Valletta and the less geometrical Three Cities (22), cart and carriage roads ran out to the main casals (within the zone referred to above as now served by Dockyard special buses) and inter-connected most of the rural centres. That part of the Island north of the Victoria Lines was poorly served. In Gozo, country tracks connected the villages with the inland capital of Rabat which in turn had a carriage road to the port of Mgarr.

By 1911 (23) traffic had increased considerably, particularly within a four-mile radius of Valletta, and the Royal Commissioners of that year ventured to question on financial grounds the need for maintaining the very large mileage of the dense central and eastern network of roads, most of which as the result of long customary use and evolution were of equal status although often strictly unnecessary. The northern and southern coastlands were still served only by a few 'feeder lines' from interior settlements, but with the bridging of the Isperanza gorge at Mosta, that town had become a route focus for the whole of the northern territory and henceforward began to rival Rabat. Military needs 496 had resulted in improvements being made to some roads but, more important still, had called into being in 1881 a railway running from Valletta to Rabat, and later extended expensively to the camp and hospital at Mtarfa. By 1911 the operating loss had become so great as to warrant special inquiry by the Commission. The failure was due partly to the fact that the system had not been designed on commercial lines, partly because the total demand for transport was still relatively small in the areas served, but mainly because a railway service could not be flexible enough to meet the particular demand that did exist. In 1905 a tramway system, less open to objection on all these grounds, was opened. First the area between Valletta, Marsa and Hamrun was served, and later lines were built to Zebbug. Designed for passenger rather than freight carrying, the tramways assisted in the extension of urban influence into the country. Then as now, however, that indented coastal configuration to which Malta owes her natural harbours, and around which resides the majority of the island's population, made land communication in the conurbation area tortuous and lengthy. Innumerable ferries and the *dghajjes* boats in Marsamxett and Grand [505] Harbour offered more convenient carriage.

494 During and after World War I, motor vehicles made their appearance and the¹ railroad and tramways rapidly disappeared leaving as sole traces of their

¹ [See p. 184 - AnB - Analyst]

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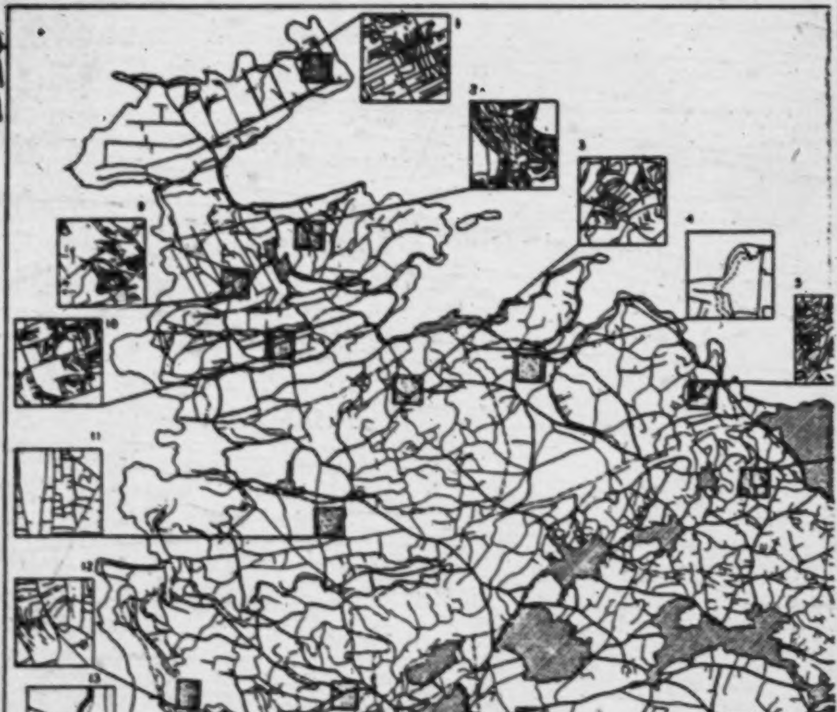
A91



[p.184-A]

Fig. 68 Communications and Field Patterns

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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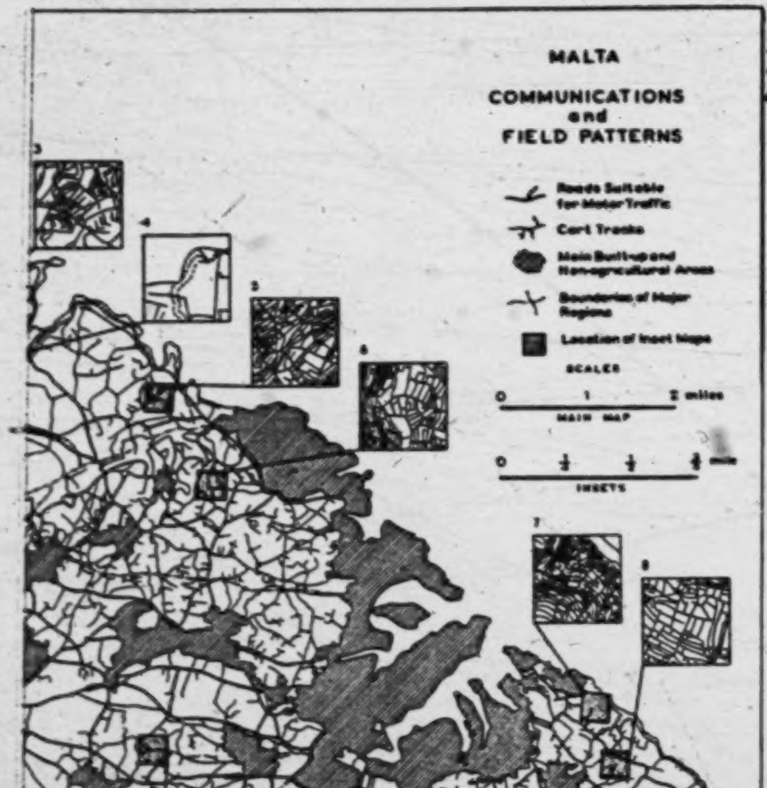
MALTA
COMMUNICATIONS and FIELD PATTERNS
Roads Suitable for Motor Traffic
Cart Tracks
Main Built-up and Nonagricultural Areas
Boundaries of Major Regions
Location of Inset Maps
SCALES
0
1
2 miles
MAIN MAP
0
mile
INSETS
3
4
5
6
7
8
18
19
20
21
JCD 1958

Fig. [illegible]
Communications and Field Patterns.

[p. 184-B]

D. Note on Fig. 68

COMMUNICATIONS AND FIELD PATTERNS

Roads, tracks, stone walls and buildings are the human imprint on the surface of the land and the first three of these elements are illustrated in Fig. 68. The pattern of communications, while at first appearing quite devoid of plan, nevertheless shows distinct regional characteristics. On the Coralline Uplands, where cultivated land is often scattered among stretches of karst, there are few motorable roads, but numerous tracks appear to wander at will across the surface. In the Marfa, Mellieħa Ridge and Bajda Ridge districts, a grid-iron pattern of roads and tracks reflects mid-nineteenth century plans for the allocation of land. 102 311 491

Basins and lowlands such as Miżieb, Bingemma, Wied tal-Pwales, the Blue Clay Basin and Wied il-Għasel, are characterised by an open network which includes several important roads and a minimum of linking tracks, an arrangement also characteristic of the central plains west of Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi. In these areas, the gentle slopes obviate the necessity for cart access to every field, while the absence of terraces does away with the need for well-defined, walled tracks. 'Service tracks' leading off the main lines, are virtually absent. This is in complete contrast with the state of affairs prevailing throughout the bulk of central, southern and eastern Malta, where roads and connecting tracks form a denser web between the numerous settlements and their lands. Here, 'cul-de-sac' service tracks abound and few fields are more than a quarter of a mile from one of them. There is a marked tendency for the network to become closer in regions where steep slopes are common as in the Naxxar-Għargħur hills and around the Wied il-Kbir complex.

The inset maps, each covering an area of one-ninth square mile, illustrate the great variety of field size, shape and arrangement to be found in Malta. 102 311

1. Marfa. The rectilinear nineteenth-century pattern has been superimposed on older patterns which show a clear relationship to topography.
2. Mellieħa Upland - Wied Għajn Żejtuna. The narrow terraces of the sharply sloping valley sides contrast with the rather larger fields of the valley floor and with the open karst of the upland.
3. Wardija Uplands. An irregular pattern developed on the Coralline plateau summit.
4. Wied il-Għasel. Unusually large, open fields with only occasional walls. The wied channel (shown by broken lines) has been ploughed over.
5. Għallis Hills. Small, irregular enclosures on the hill tops; larger, more regular fields in the small valley seen in the south-east.
6. Naxxar-Għargħur Hills. Large fields on the smooth hill summits; extremely narrow terraces on the sharply incised valley sides.
7. Ricasoli-Zonkor Ridge. Minute enclosures, the smallest in Malta, on the seaward side of the ridge.
8. Larger more regular fields on the southerly, inland slopes of the same ridge.
9. Mellieħa Ridge. Fragments of an old, topographically-determined pattern remain, on which a few lines of more recent origin have been superimposed.
10. Bajda Ridge. A clear example of the superimposition already referred to.
11. Bingemma Basin. Large fields, often with a strip formation, are typical of down-faulted Upper Coralline basins.
12. Santi-Bingemma Uplands. Now almost entirely abandoned: the fragmentary character of the pattern is typical of such areas.
13. Blue Clay Basin, near Fiddien Bridge. Large, open fields.
14. Rabat-Dingli Uplands. A more intensively worked section of the Upper Coralline along the Rabat-Dingli road (shown by a double line). Contrast with number 12.
15. Western Rdum Lands. Part of the Rdum tal-Lanzjata showing the minute subdivision typical of such areas.

16, 17, 18, illustrate variations within the central part of Malta. In example 16, the fields are particularly large. 17 shows greater subdivision, irregular in the north and approaching the rectilinear in the south. 18 illustrates the effects of steeper slopes, in this case on the southern side of the Wied is-Sewda.

19. A regular pattern on gentle slopes between Qrendi and Mqabba.
20. Minute terraces near the southern coast.
21. The effect of recent road building is illustrated here in the splitting up of no less than 14 fields, along a 600 yard stretch of road. In the process, a number of minute fields of little or no value have been formed.

[P. 186 is blank]

Malta

[P.235]

Chapter VIII

AGRICULTURAL REGIONS

Individual crop distributions have been considered in the preceding chapter but 241*
in order to understand the nature of Maltese agriculture, more complex analyses 311*
of spatial differentiation must be made. The method adopted is to identify areas characterised by particular crop assemblages and thus to define agricultural regions.

Over the Islands as a whole may be observed a series of distinct farming landscapes which reflect a graduation in physical and socio-economic conditions. The lowest grade of land use is represented by marginal production of the hardiest fodders and legumes. Vetches and poor barley are cultivated in small pockets of soil lying between expanses of bare karst. The regions in which this [233] pattern is dominant, being primarily used as rough grazing land, are most suitably referred to as *xagħra*. Extensive dry farming covers much of the Islands, varying in quality particularly with variations in exposure, slope and water supply. The poorest type is restricted to low-grade cereals, sulla and the minor fodders and legumes. A medium grade of dry farming, occurring where conditions are more favourable, is characterised by crops of better quality and higher value. Potatoes become prominent and specialised production of certain vegetables such as *qaragħ bagħli* appears. On well watered but non-irrigated land, the crop assemblage is further enlarged by the addition of vines on an appreciable scale. Vegetables now include both spring- and summer-grown, field and garden types, notably brassicas. Where irrigation is possible, higher-value vegetable crops such as tomatoes, melons and artichokes become widespread, although the potato is dominant. Small-scale cultivation of fruit and table-grapes is also of some importance. Finally, the *gnien* and *rdum* lands, which are distinct although not everywhere the most intensively worked areas, are often characterised by much inter-cultivation and by the varying importance of all the high-value crops. It is here that fruit is most widely grown. These six types of crop assemblage are readily recognisable and provide the basic criteria for regional analysis of the rural landscapes of Malta and of Gozo.

Malta

In Malta, there is a marked correspondence between the physiographic regions as described in Chapter II and the agricultural regions. A major threefold division may be observed in both cases:-

A. The Western Scarplands.
B. The Wied-il Ghasel District.
C. The Hills and Plains of the Centre and East.

A. THE WESTERN SCARPLANDS

The physical characteristics of this major region have been outlined in Chapter I and their effect on the distribution of waste and cultivated land noted in Chapter VII B. The south-west to north-east graining of the land is the predominant physical control, but secondary controls are exerted by details of aspect, altitude, soil and water supply, so that many local deviations from the general pattern of wasteland ridge and cultivated basin may be observed. General points concerning settlements include the tendency for these to develop at the junction of the two types of landscape, though there are important exceptions to this arrangement. The alignment of roads further affects the degree to [491] which particular districts have been developed or neglected. The fact that road

[Text continues on p. 238]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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*311
[102]

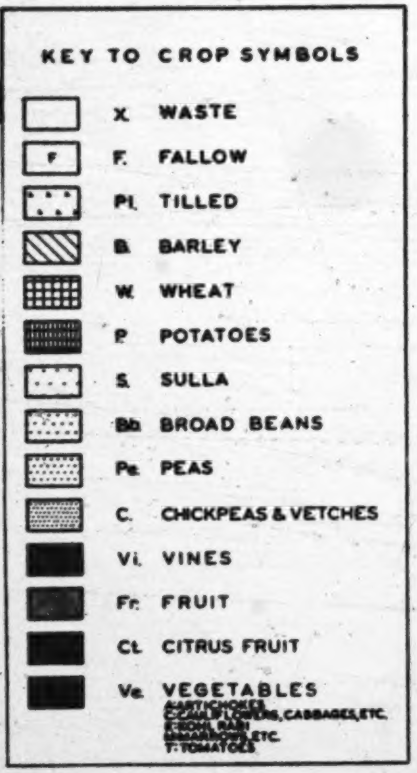
KEY TO CROP SYMBOLS
X. WASTE
F F. FALLOW
Pl. TILLED
B. BARLEY
W. WHEAT
P. POTATOES
S. SULLA
Bb. BROAD BEANS
Pe. PEAS
C. CHICKPEAS & VETCHES
Vi. VINES
Fr. FRUIT
Ct. CITRUS FRUIT
Ve. VEGETABLES
A: ARTICHOKES
C: CAULIFLOWERS, CABBAGES, ETC.
K: KOHL RABI
M: MARROWS, ETC.
T: TOMATOES

Fig. 101 Key to Crop Symbols as used in Figs. 102-132 inclusive.

● [991] building has been influenced not only by the needs of the farming community but also by military and, more recently, by tourist requirements adds a further element to an already complicated pattern. Isolation is a social and economic matter as well as a physical one. For all these reasons, detailed regional study is necessary before the full range of conditions present in this region can be appreciated.

A point of particular application to the Scarplands is their economically marginal character. It is here that development and neglect, advance and withdrawal of the 'cultivation frontier' have been most effective, reflecting changes in the economic and social position of agriculture and the rural community. Thus published maps of this region show a rectilinear pattern of roads, tracks and field boundaries which takes no account of topography, contrasting with the older field pattern on which it is often superimposed. This palimpsest of economic change appears mainly on land once Government owned and is most extensive in Marfa, the northern flanks of Mellieha Ridge and on Bajda Ridge (Fig. 68).

A.I. MARFA

Much of the peninsula is now *xaghra* land although a larger area has been cultivated in the past. Poor dry farming persists in a few areas such ta'Ramal

241* 311* Dalam, a good deal of this better land has been sterilised by the construction of a large pumping station, but a small pocket of intensive potato-growing occurs before the sea is reached. In the Wied has-Saptan, the transition is marked by a belt of marshy land carrying canes, bullrushes and grasses which are tended and 'cropped'. Below this lies a second small alluvial area also largely under potatoes. This district as a whole possesses a greater variety of physical and land-use conditions than any other in Eastern Malta.

From Qala San Ġorġ to Bengħisa Point, a narrow coastal lowland has been completely taken out of cultivation by settlement growth and by commercial and military installations. The slopes behind this zone are traversed by a series of shallow wieds in which lie narrow strips of wasteland. All dry-farmed crops are represented in this hilly country, even to a few vines grown near the southern coast in a strangely exposed position.

369 491 In this small region is exemplified the major problem which besets the Maltese agricultural community and which complicates the patterns of land-use and farming practice in the island. New, well-surfaced roads serve Ħal Far and Kalafrana, but between these arteries lies a neglected and relatively remote farming area. Distances involved are small, particularly when the attraction of non-rural life pulls people away from the land. However, as noted elsewhere, the same distances become exaggerated in their effect of isolating the country-dwellers who remain. The dichotomy of town and country is thus perpetuated.

GENERAL

241* 311* The main facts underlying the regional differentiation of Maltese agriculture may be summarised as follows. While structure and topography control the general distribution of these cropping combinations, important regional differences result from variations in weather and micro-climate. Soil controls, in the main, coincide with those of structure and outcrop, but slope, as affecting removal and accumulation, together with the widespread traditional practice of transporting soil to artificial fields, break up the simple geological pattern.

Farming types in Malta must be identified against a background of socio-economic change. Commercial production is the rule, but considerable variations result from differing degrees of linkage with markets. Socially, this is paralleled by differences in the extent to which rural communities are affected by urban desires and emulations. Proximity to, or remoteness from town life are most important.

Wasteland is spreading most rapidly on the remote and physically hard lands. The flight from the land is slower where it is more productive. General deterioration is most widespread on lands of medium quality where the attraction of town life is strong. On the immediate fringes of the built-up areas, conditions are by no means uniform. While in some cases market gardening provides a particularly intensive form of land use, in others encroachment of roads and buildings produces a jumble of building sites, abandoned fields and a few surviving patches of cultivation. Around the main conurbation as delimited in Fig. 97, lie many pockets of true urban farming. In many of these, as in the case illustrated by Fig. 125, the jostling together of stock-yards and houses and fields, both abandoned and cropped, shows the town triumphant.

Agricultural Regions of Gozo

241* 311* 102 10.4 The physiographic divisions already indicated in Chapter 1 and shown in Fig. 6[2] are suitable for a regional analysis of agricultural practice in Gozo. Printed maps of Gozo bear few local place-names and thus it has been necessary to devise the special nomenclature used in the present section and illustrated in Fig. 76.[7]

[2] [See p. 37-A -- Analyst]

[7] [See p. 199 -- Analyst]

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

178 366 Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops, and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War, the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The *petrolju* van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad. [262] [749]

178 342 [351] Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a staircase frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments. 178 [312] [364]

[491] [399] [206] [546] Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people. Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older Band Club buildings.

178 The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

241 Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them, thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee. Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113
1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 53.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1960.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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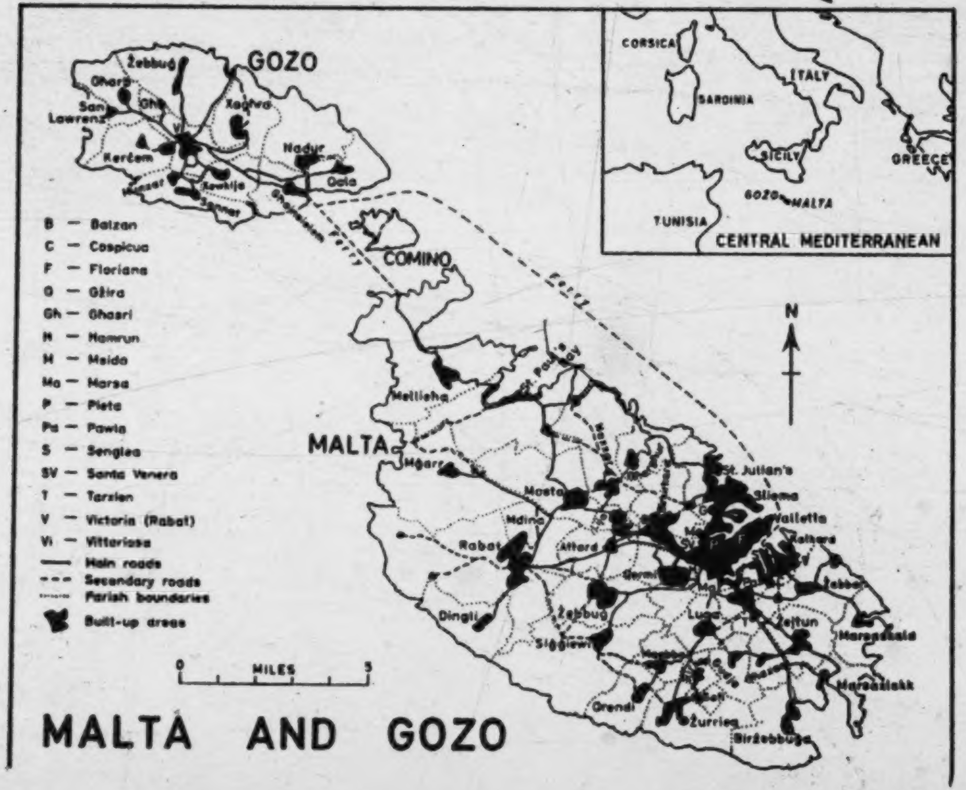

MALTA AND GOZO

GOZO
Żebbuġ
Għarb
Għs
San Lawrenz
Xagħra
V
Kerċem
Nadur
Qala
Xewkija
Munxar
Sannat
Għajnsielem
Ferry
COMINO
MALTA
Mellieħa
St. Paul's Bay
Mġarr
Mosta
Mdina
Rabat
Attard
Qormi
Dingli
Żebbuġ
Siġġiewi
Luqa
Orendi
Żurrieq
Birżebbuġa
Marsaxlokk
Marsaskala
Żejtun
Żabbar
Kalkara
Valletta
Sliema
St. Julian's
B — Balzan
C — Cospicua
F — Floriana
G — Gżira
Gh — Ghasri
H — Hamrun
M — Msida
Ma — Marsa
P — Pieta
Pa — Pawla
S — Senglea
SV — Santa Venera
T — Tarxien
V — Victoria (Rabat)
Vi — Vittoriosa
Main roads
Secondary roads
Parish boundaries
Built-up areas
0 MILES 5
N
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ITALY
SICILY
GREECE
TUNISIA
GOZO MALTA
CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
[544] appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

[Village of Gharghur]
[Village of Zurrieq]

36 include such atypically rural features as ground-floor windows[16]. In Mġarr the Church and the Jubilee Esplanade are at the centre of village organization with most of the shops, police station and dispensary close by, and through this central area pass the bus routes from Ghajn Tuffieha, to the north, and Mosta to the east. Gharghur, on the other hand, is a village of many centuries standing. Its morphology is as irregular as that of Mġarr is regular. As [171] one expects of a Maltese village the great Parish Church stands in the centre of the houses and the narrow streets - just as the Faith of the people stands in the centre of their life and work. The old streets of Gharghur grew up without any town-planning. Narrow alleys lead off to quiet courts; goat-pens, tiny shops and houses within yards of each other break the monotony of the streets in which few windows appear at ground-floor level[16]. First floor windows are seen, along with decorative balcony work and other embellishments of the yellow limestone walls. Map 6 distinguishes those parts of the village which have undergone new development, largely since 1945. The main part [491] of the work has been the cutting of a section of new road through old buildings between the Church and the recent [494] Government school. This road now carries the bus route from the Church square, the terminus, to Naxxar, and also houses the police station and the Government dispensary. Here then is the core area of the village (Map 6)

(i) a main street, carrying a regular bus route,
(ii) Church, police station, dispensary and school,
(iii) shops and bars nearby.

Turning again to Mġarr we now perceive the basic similarities of pattern (Maps 5 and 6).

In the case of ŻURRIEQ (Map 7) the same basic elements appear, though the built-up area of this village is much larger and there are additional, more urbanate, features. Bubaqra is an example of a dependent hamlet lacking the full complement of features of an independent village; it has no school, police station, etc. Żurrieq's morphological development follows the general pattern of the long-established Maltese villages with narrow, twisting streets and alleys delving seemingly at random into the built-up mass of houses, farm buildings, shops and work premises. The village is large enough to allow of secondary nuclei, particularly around churches or chapels, but the bulk of activity is focussed on the core area between Parish Church and School and in and near Churchill Square with its Band Club and Football Club premises, Lotto office[17], and shops.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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MDINA, "THE NOTABLE CITY"

In the background Mosta, with its domed church.

[*See pp.* 90 *and* 203.]

THE CATHEDRAL, MDINA, FLOODLIT FOR THE JUBILEE OF KING GEORGE V

[*See p.* 88.]

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[facing p. 97]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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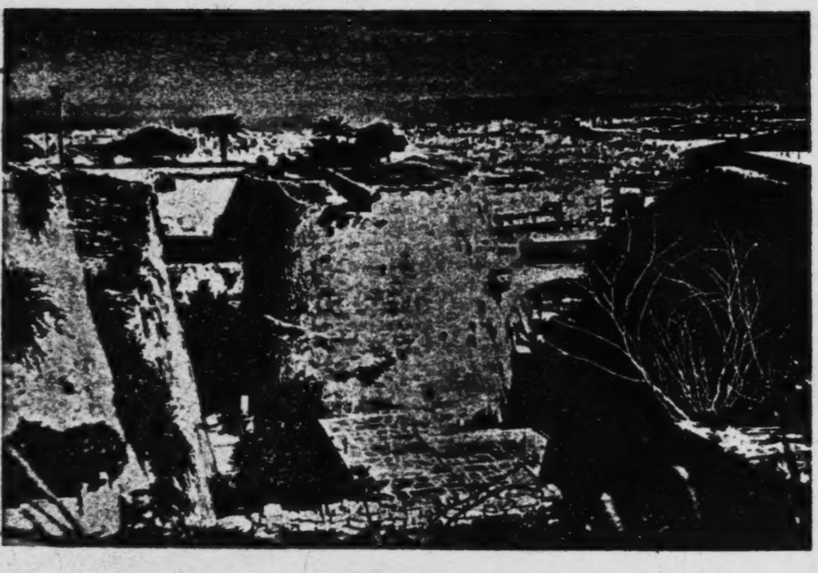

Plate XI. The Bastions, Valletta.

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Plate XII. The Church and Piazza, Żebbar.

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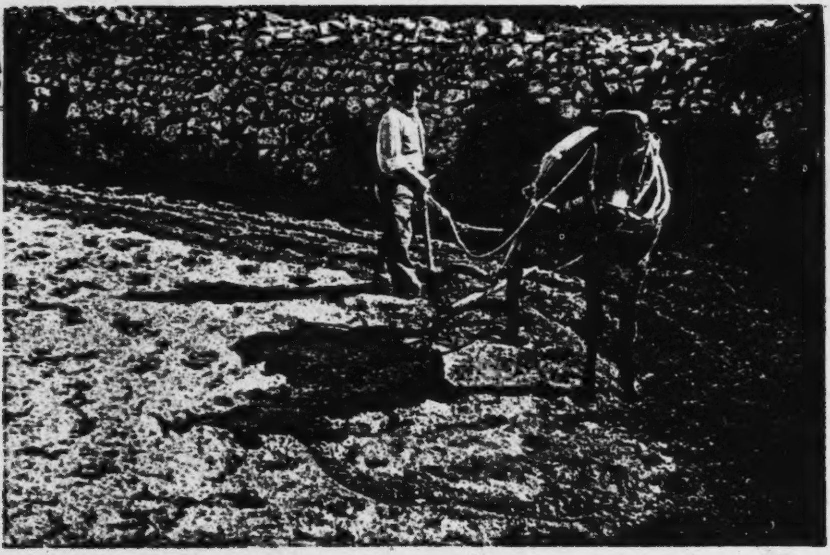

Plate XIX. Tillage - traditional style.

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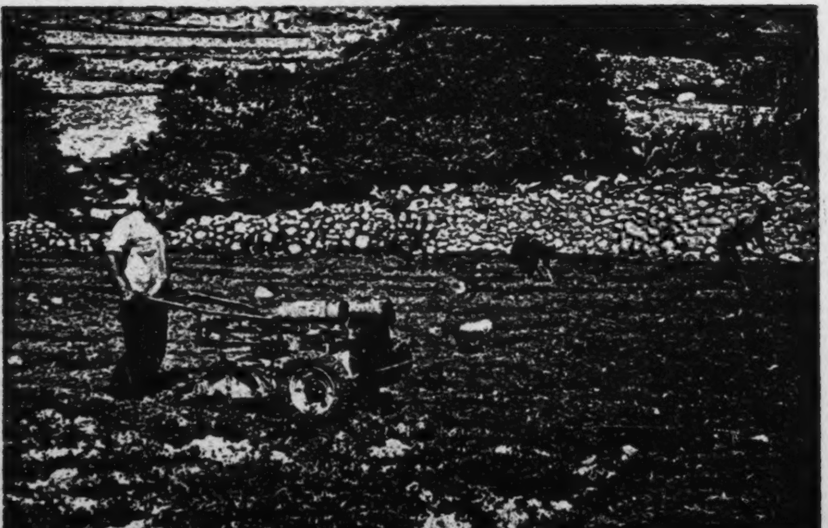

Plate XX. Tillage - new style.

question unless a complete agricultural revolution committed Maltese farming 231
to thorough-going dairy farming specialisation. Such specialisation, given the 234
climatic and physiological difficulties, would not be easy to justify. A very con-
siderable seasonal glut of milk exists between May and August at present, and 246
the Milk Marketing Undertaking cannot handle the flush. This degree of fluctuation could be lessened but not removed. Costs of production are such that not only would exports be uneconomic but imported tinned milk can and could considerably undercut home production. Local consumption of fresh cows' milk could not be expanded much more than 10 to 15 per cent. above the present level which is already the highest in the Mediterranean, as long as tinned milk is more easily preserved, and as long as the rural community keeps goats and sheep. The banning of milk imports and of the production of goat milk would hardly be in the consumer's economic or dietetic interests.

Horses, mules and donkeys, some 6,500 in number, are still very important 492
as work animals. For farm transport, they can only be replaced by the internal 407
combustion engine purchasable only by the more prosperous cultivators. Produce collection by merchants' lorries is increasing as also is the use of hired tractors for cultivation. The numbers of these animals is unlikely to decrease quickly outside the urban areas because of their usefulness in tilling difficult land.

Of the remaining small livestock, rabbits and poultry already make a very 231
large although immeasurable contribution to food supplies. Improvements in 235
quality could be obtained if farmers' interest was aroused. At present, mixed breeds of poor poultry are commercially uneconomic.

In conclusion, we must return to the vexed question of dairy-farming and 234
milk production in Malta. In 1950, the Director of Agriculture (1) put the
question: 'Under prevailing conditions in Malta and Gozo, which is the more 654
profitable animal to keep? The cow or the goat?', and followed with the statement: '... no accurate answer backed by accurate scientific data has ever been given'. The same impasse had often been noted before, for example by Dawson Shepherd (2), and Stockdale (3). An unpublished report on Maltese Agriculture by a visiting F.A.O. commission (4) similarly found itself at sea in the absence of any firm information. In 1956, the complexity as well as the obscurity of the situation was manifested in a Report on the Dairy Industry by G. W. Ford (5). In this study, reference is made to the different conclusions reached by independent observers, and to intermediate suggestions made by Marshall (6), one of whose remarks: 'I simply cannot visualise hygienic milk production by the peasant farmer in Malta', our observations would endorse.

Milk-production in Malta is no longer a matter of economics but, as in many countries, is affected by social and dietetic policies. Brief mention was made in Chapter VI C of the problem of the incidence of undulant fever and its association with milk infected by *Brucellosis Melitensis*. Some 20 per cent. of Maltese goats are thus infected, and any dietetic campaign to encourage the drinking of milk, particularly important in child welfare, must take account of this. Few cows are thus far infected and elimination is easier. The problem that emerges is therefore both economic and social in character. It is felt by some that reliance on imported tinned milk is one solution but by others such a suggestion is regarded as humiliating. Another possible line of action is to replace goats with milch cows, and in 1956 a system by which herdsmen were offered one Dutch Friesian heifer in calf for 12 diseased goats actually came into operation. The third possibility is to accept the position as it exists at the moment, or slightly to modify it, and centralise milk distribution thus enabling pasteurisation. This too has been done. Even now however, the cost of tinned milk imports, the cost of producing cows' milk, the surplus of goats' milk, all these as well as the land use point mentioned earlier, still remain to be dealt with. As we shall see, the market for milk called into being as a social measure is now the mainstay of many farmers of all grades. The development of the centralised agency, the Milk Marketing Undertaking has been accompanied by a guaranteed price system. Some 80 per cent. of all milk producers have, as a result of this organising of wholesale purchases, formed their own union the K.M.H. - '*Kumpanija Maltija*

B. Cultivation Equipment and Tillage

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Of the implements observed in Malta, the traditional types of plough, hoe, 407 sickle and harrow are of the same genera as those to be generally found in the 412 Mediterranean region (Fig. 140).

Ploughs are of the *Aratrum* or *Ard* type, steel tipped wooden wedges, devoid of cutting edges and having very restricted powers of furrow making or inversion 407 - *moħriet*. None of those observed had lateral 'ears' or 'wings' but apparently ards thus equipped are occasionally used. There are various sub-types with differing arrangements of beam, body and handle but no constant rational relationship between these sub-types and local environments could be observed. Prices range upwards of £4 10s. 0d. Iron or steel tips for the body cost about £1. One interesting modification of the plough is manufactured at Żurrieq. On top of the basic beam and body is fitted a movable double mouldboard of which either or both breasts can be brought into operation at any one time. Ridging and left and right furrow inversion are therefore made possible. For those areas where furrow inversion is practicable such a cheap, light multi-purpose implement would be very valuable, and the development of such improvements might well be encouraged by official approbation.

Hoes are manufactured in four main types. The heavy spade type, the 412 *żappuna*, is generally used for soil trenching in preparation for manuring. The effort involved tends to restrict its use. The small, single tined, wedge-shaped hoe, the *Mgħazqa* or *Lexxuna*, is a general purpose implement that is replaced under damp and cohesive soil conditions by a forked, two-tined variety, the *Kroxun*. A three-tined hoe is often used, together with the ard, for potato lifting. In general, each cultivator possesses a selection of different types of hoe, necessitated by the variety of manual operations he usually has to perform and made possible by the reasonable prices of the implements (prices range from about 16s. for the single-tine, to 18s. to £1 for the spade hoe).

The sickle in general use is a small, smooth-edged type costing about 12s. 6d. The small number of sickle types observed may result from the widespread practice of pulling rather than cutting green fodder. Traditional harrows are 407 almost invariably of the Mediterranean and Asiatic type, harrows cum levellers and seed coverers. Those observed were triangular and stone weighted. When manufactured for the purpose they were usually constructed of ash and had removable tines. Without metal tines, the cost is about 50s.

These implements, of which illustrated examples are given (Fig.140), have already to some extent been displaced by imported newer types. Most farmers [241] who possess fields which are at all accessible to tractors now periodically hire contractors to plough the land with mouldboard or disc ploughs and even, in some areas, with deep digger-ploughs. Where plots are small or the terrain difficult, then rotary cultivators are hired or purchased. These latter machines, in spite of their relatively high cost - usually over £200 in Malta - are amazingly popular and are more and more replacing the *ard* and the hoe. The reasons for, and implications of this popularity are examined below.

The spade proper is hardly ever used, and its absence is associated with [412] the reasons for the survival of the *ard* plough. Small, light, flexible, metal harrows are to be found. Entirely imported, their only advantages are their flexibility on rough ground and ease of draught. They are, on the other hand, more easily damaged and more difficult to repair than their wooden prototypes. Other equipment includes a great range of fixed and movable adjuncts to farming, all but one class of which are constructed rurally from local materials. The [406] exceptional group is that connected with irrigation and includes windpumps and small diesel engines. Threshing and winnowing, traditional style, needs no more [243] than a rock or *lorbe* (beaten earth) floor and asses or horses for trampling, [492] baskets constructed of local cane, and simple wooden winnowing forks. Of recent years, centralised threshing by contractors' machines has almost entirely displaced the older method in all but the more remote western regions. Canes, 241 grown in slightly marshy conditions in wied floors, provide the raw material 824 for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc.

000 for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc. Livestock harness is ● 492 simple in type consisting of head harness and collar. Working bullocks, now rarely used, are also equipped with collars for traction but the guiding reins are attached to the horns. Country carts are unsprung, wooden frames resting 493 directly on the metal axles. That the ruggedness of their construction is only equalled by the toughness of the draught animals is evinced by their presence on places such as Dingli Undercliff, or the cliffsides of the Wied il-Luq (Buskett).

343 The solidly built stone huts or *orfa* that are to be found on most holdings may be regarded as part of the farmers' 'equipment' rather than his habitation. The simplest and most numerous are simple one-roomed cubes, some five yards square, strongly constructed, usually of worked stone blocks with wood and *torba* roofs. These 'blockhouses', for such they appear, serve as storehouses for implements and crops, for guns and birdcatching equipment, as well as for shelter during the 'siesta' hours and bad weather. Their cost in construction labour, and the pride that goes into the simple furnishing of what is the farmers 'den', as well as the deceptive appearance of dispersed settlement that they give, suggests that further investigation into their origins might prove valuable. In general terms, they seem to be a natural response to the marked concentration of settlement in the casals. They are far less numerous in the western region of more recent and dispersed settlement. The larger, two-roomed and two-storied types are used mainly as summer working residences, when a whole family may move out of its casal to the main holding.

407 These implements and types of equipment are one facet of the complex of traditional cultivation techniques - techniques based on the intense and continuous application of uncosted hand labour. A brief examination of the working characteristics of some of the implements is a necessary introduction to a discussion of general cultivation techniques.

The *moħriet* (Plate XIX) is used as an animal-drawn hoe rather than as a plough proper. It is light and can be carried by the cultivator along narrow field paths and across rugged terrain. Its negotiability is limited only by the ease of access demanded by the draught animals. The 'rotavator' (Plate XX) alone of modern mechanical implements can rival it in this respect. On coarse soils, often only a few inches deep, cross tilling by hoe or *ard* seems perfectly satisfactory for tilth making. A vertically applied tool such as the true spade cannot be utilised in such soils, while all but the simplest mouldboard ploughs are too clumsy for use in small terraced fields. Both *ard* and hoe are used in garden rather than field style and their only disadvantages lie in the slowness of the work performed. Here lies the especial advantage of the rotavator that can, under reasonable conditions, be used for tilling six *tmien* of land a day as compared with about two or three for the *ard* and one for the hoe. (Figures are necessarily approximate averages.)

178 241 311 Cultivation techniques and the farming landscapes which they have produced are now in a critical stage of development. For millennia, a slowly increasing population has been utilising the natural land resources more and more intensively and also supplementing them by artificial works. Until the early nineteenth century, social and tenurial obstructions to full land use on the one hand, and wealth derived from the overseas possessions of the Knights of Malta on the other, little affected the basic land hunger of the rural community. During the period of British occupation, however, externally derived income has brought with it more and more non-agricultural activity. Opportunities for non-farm work have increased and so has socio-economic dissatisfaction with arduous and limited rural life. The stage has now been reached at which land reclamation and land abandonment, intensification of effort and neglect, are proceeding simultaneously. An examination of those landscape features which are products of farming techniques suggests that this stage is now critical.

242 311 Land reclamation and the extension of the cultivable area are still going on. At several points on the Delimara peninsula, material is being carried from the cliff foot and from old huts and dwellings and spread over the existing thin and discontinuous soil cover. On this, sulla as a soil building leguminous crop

* [See page 306 -- ANALYST]

belly, while with a thong in each hand 527
they keep urging the gaily bedecked 541
beasts to reach the goal first.

Soon after the races the merry parties 527
set out on their return to their dwel- 492
lings at quite a racing speed. Now you 493
see every description of vehicle vying
with its neighbour, and every driver
urging with whip and voice to a reckless
break-neck gallop his steed, adorned
with two or more rows of tinkling bells
hanging round the neck.

Flags and variegated silk handker-
chiefs are streaming from the carriages,
and ribbons from the horses' heads.
Every cart is crammed, as only the
Maltese can cram on anything on
wheels. The sun-burnt country women 527
are laughing and pelting the by-stand-
ers with apples, and waving tall green
reeds and poplar branches in their

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Plate XI. The Bastions, Valletta.

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Plate XII. The Church and Piazza, Żabbar.

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*[See page 306 -- Analyst]

*159 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people
156 around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as
461 well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social
626 life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is
517 most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on
493 speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids
his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on
the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he to plow on Sundays or festa days he would be "publically ostracised and no villager would hire him and his plow". His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than farming".

*159 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical.
156 He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of
593 illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending to assume that his education and wider experience entitles him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments. Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data')
156 system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni.
[583] He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle
without the older people of the village criticising him for not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs which his education and his knowledge of the world outside the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs, he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close
[178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the
new methods and implements which he has brought to the village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father
472 works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their
407 joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention.
Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta.
OUD They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 the Canons of the Cathedral then says mass and the ceremony is over.

At the conclusion of this procession there is a scene of general confusion throughout the whole village of Zeitun. Priests, friars, *fratelli*, cross and standard-bearers, men and women of all classes, especially country people, and of these unfailingly the most recently married couples—all in their best attire and with a grand display of jewels and gold (*)—are seen going to and fro, buying and eating sweetmeats
[493] and cheese cakes. Then again hundreds of all sorts of vehicles, from His

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[675] [584] (*) Till lately, young women residing in the country insisted before they were married on its being particularly stipulated in the marriage contract, that their husbands should take them to Casal Zeitun on St. Gregory's day, to Valletta on St. John's day, and to Boschetto on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, on the 29th of June.

Grace's carriage to the commonest 796
donkey cart, keep moving through [493] •
the merry crowds, in search of their
occupants.

Most of the people, however, who take part in this general procession, either stop at Zeitun, or proceed to Marsascirocco — a watering place at some distance from that village—where they spend the remainder of the day in merry making.

Round cheese cakes, *kassatât*, is the 796
most common edible connected with 262
265
this day, and from early morning, the
whole day long, the shrill cries uttered
by the innumerable vendors of the cakes
may be heard throughout the village.

A few remarks about the origin of 796
174
this procession will be interesting.

Many and various are the opinions as regards that origin.

belly, while with a thong in each hand 527
they keep urging the gaily bedecked 541
beasts to reach the goal first.

Soon after the races the merry parties 527
set out on their return to their dwel- 492
lings at quite a racing speed. Now you 493
see every description of vehicle vying with its neighbour, and every driver urging with whip and voice to a reckless break-neck gallop his steed, adorned with two or more rows of tinkling bells hanging round the neck.

Flags and variegated silk handkerchiefs are streaming from the carriages, and ribbons from the horses' heads. Every cart is crammed, as only the Maltese can cram on anything on
wheels. The sun-burnt country women 527
are laughing and pelting the by-standers with apples, and waving tall green reeds and poplar branches in their

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

term by the numerous British Service men and women who 197
have been stationed in or have passed through Malta, *sahha* 192
has been admitted, in the form "saha," into the more recent
editions of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* as an English word
for "good-bye," with due acknowledgment of its Maltese
origin. And perhaps "saha" is but the forerunner of others;
for in its issue of the 5th January 1945 the London *Spectator*
had this to say on the etymology of the word "spitchered,"
which occurs in one of the war books on Malta:

> The word clearly derives from the Maltese *spicca*, meaning "finished" or something similar. Naval opinion agrees with Air Force opinion on that. But naval opinion claims credit for embodying the word in the English language. And as naval opinion can point to its use as long ago as 1903, the Air Force does seem to be grounded or, indeed, spitchered on this particular point.

4

In some parts of the Old World the visitor can select, 133
according to his tastes, the century that he prefers. It is no 172
exaggeration to say that in Malta he can choose the millennium and more than the millennium. If he is a palæontologist he may wander about the cave of Ghar Dalam
and study *in situ* the remains of the elephants and hippopotami
who left their bones there when the world was yet young,
and of giant swans who sailed on lakes that have long since
vanished. Advancing from these and from the Neanderthal 172
Man, of whom traces may have been found in Malta, many
thousands of years into the Stone Age, he will find in Malta
and Gozo a series of megalithic and neolithic sanctuaries—
Tarxien, the Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni, Haġiar Qim,
Mnajdra, Ġgantija, to mention only the most important—
unequalled in any other part of the world.

He will find other survivals of the Stone Age, of a different 172
sort, in the cart-tracks which traverse many of the barren 493
136

172 rocky surfaces of the island, the tram-lines of neolithic man;
●493 and he will notice, if he is observant, that the dimensions of
the flat two-wheeled carts which, with their gaily caparisoned
[136] little ponies or donkeys, are the traditional vehicle of the
Maltese countryman of to-day correspond almost exactly
with those of the carts of his neolithic predecessor, as
136 deduced from the width of these ancient tracks. If he is
interested in strange animals that still survive but must be a
living link with hoary antiquity, he can study on the picturesque, uninhabited islet of Filfla, now used only as a target
for gun practice, a remarkable lizard of the darkest green
spotted with red (*Lacerta muralis* var. *filfolensis*), which occurs
nowhere else in the world but on this tiny and diminishing
spit of rock.

341: The dominant architectural notes of the Maltese Islands are
megalithic and Baroque, and the gamut thus established can
217 scarcely be called a narrow one. So far as works of art are
172 concerned, the Museum in Valetta, housed before World
War II in the Auberge d'Italie and since 1958 in that of
Provence, contains a scientifically arranged exhibition of
[742] Stone Age culture unrivalled in any other country. This
collection, whose most bizarre items are the astonishing fat
female deities characteristic of Maltese neolithic sculpture,
was organized in chronological sequence by the Museum's
late learned Director, Sir Themistocles Zammit, who made
a second international reputation in the field of Maltese
archæology and excavation after having made an earlier one
in medical research in connexion with undulant, or Malta,
fever.

But the visitor is not obliged to study the activities of
241 these remote peoples solely in museums. If he wishes to see
501 how the distant forbears of the present population cultivated
178 their land he has only to watch the Maltese farmer of to-day
[532] ploughing his field; if he is a student of cultural survivals he
will note the eye of Osiris still painted on the bows of Malta's
ooo sturdy little schooners and characteristic "Gozo boats." If

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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● 493

VALETTA: AUBERGE DE CASTILE
[*See p.* 60.]

MAIN ROOM OF THE AUBERGE DE PROVENCE (NOW THE MALTA NATIONAL MUSEUM) WHEN USED AS THE COFFEE-ROOM OF THE UNION CLUB
[*See pp.* 60 *and* 63.]

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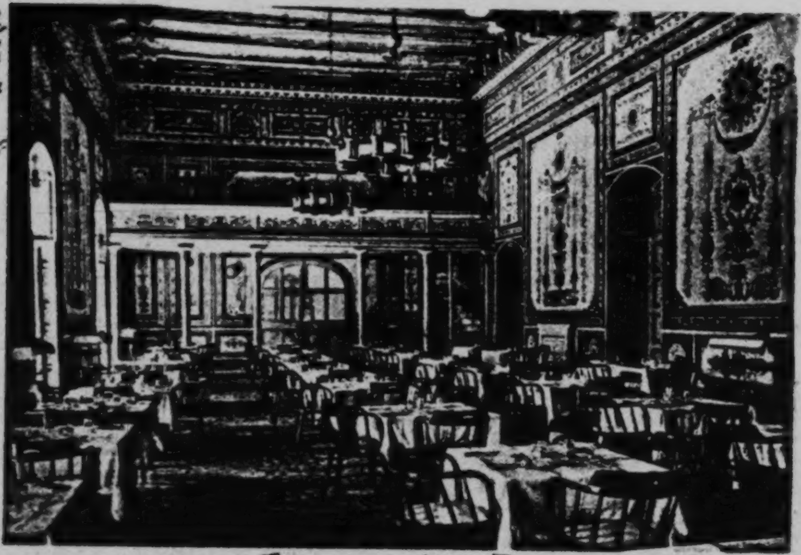

[facing P. 81]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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MAIN GATE INTO MDINA, WITH ARMS OF GRAND MASTER MANOEL DE VILHENA
[See p. 89.]

INSIDE OF SAME, WITH ARMS OF INGUANEZ FAMILY
[See p. 92.]

THE LATE BARONESS INGUANEZ ALIGHTING FROM HER OLD FAMILY CALÈCHE, MDINA

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STRADA
DEICELSI

[Facing p. 104, (A)]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

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102 Fig. 64 shows the distribution in Malta of Maltese Dockyard workers by
464 residence as a proportion of the total regional populations. The zones of con-
centration are centred on the Three Cities, and the great importance of Dock-
504 yard employment in the North-East as a whole, a phenomenon more than a
century old (19), is clear. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the much
[361] smaller association of Dockyard employment with the belt of urban settlement
which stretches from Valletta westwards to Lija. Conversely, the northern third of the Island, most recently settled and still relatively sparsely populated, has very little indeed to do with Grand Harbour. Gozo, still more remote, had but 25 Dockyard workers. Some 417 English workers were employed in the Dockyard most of them living in the suburban residential areas west of Valletta, 75 per cent. in contiguous Sliema, St. Julians and Gżira.

Thus we see the one part of the climax of that change in Malta which, commencing in the sixteenth century, swung the economic centre of gravity from the Centre to the North-East. During the last century the new conurbation
● [494] extended its grip on the rest of the Island. Police Traffic Records (20) show
part of this effect; on the 5th February, 1958, a normal day, 28 special buses, in addition to public transport, carried 930 Dockyard employees to work from a zone extending to Birżebbuġa, Żurrieq, Siġġiewi, Dingli, Rabat, Mosta and north-eastwards to St. Julians.

Here we have reason and space only for the briefest of notes on current
185 economic conditions. For more complete statements the reader is referred to
504 the recent publications of the Maltese Department of Trade and Industry. As
a result of Britain's reappraisal of her strategic needs, the old Naval Dockyard was handed over to a civilian firm by April 1959. Some emotional reaction has

[p. 172 -B]

rather obscured the simultaneous mounting of a five-year Economic Development Plan. This is aimed at the establishment of manufacturing industries and envisages the expenditure of over £32,000,000, the bulk of which is to be contributed by the United Kingdom. Internal Legislation under the Aids to Industries Ordinance XXI of 1959 offers attractive terms to immigrant and local enterprises. At Marsa, an Industrial Estate is rapidly being built, public utilities are being extended and facilities for technical and craft training improved. Completion is expected in 1961 of the first commercial deep-water quays, complete with storage and handling facilities. Several British business interests have already responded to these new attractions. 185 504

However, the fundamental characteristics of the Maltese economy and society remain, and the whole complex of resources, appraisal of resources and social needs and demands must be appreciated before effective forces of change will appear.

As a last short study we turn to the development of communications and public transport in the Maltese Islands, which is of significance for two main reasons. First, in the pattern that has appeared we can see the interplay of all those forces, Imperial and indigenous, which have affected Maltese life. Secondly, although the Islands are small, distance and remoteness are everywhere measured mentally as well as physically, and the impact of modern transport has revolutionised Maltese life. The road pattern in Malta is complex and generally ancient (Fig. 68).* It is impossible to categorise past and present roads sufficiently precisely to show cartographically the changes that have taken place and description must necessarily be brief. As shown in Worsley's survey of 1824 (21), the main alignments were then concentrated in the central region. Away from the grid-plan streets of Valletta and the less geometrical Three Cities (22), cart and carriage roads ran out to the main casals (within the zone referred to above as now served by Dockyard special buses) and inter-connected most of the rural centres. That part of the Island north of the Victoria Lines was poorly served. In Gozo, country tracks connected the villages with the inland capital of Rabat which in turn had a carriage road to the port of Mgarr. 491

By 1911 (23) traffic had increased considerably, particularly within a four-mile radius of Valletta, and the Royal Commissioners of that year ventured to question on financial grounds the need for maintaining the very large mileage of the dense central and eastern network of roads, most of which as the result of long customary use and evolution were of equal status although often strictly unnecessary. The northern and southern coastlands were still served only by a few 'feeder lines' from interior settlements, but with the bridging of the Isperanza gorge at Mosta, that town had become a route focus for the whole of the northern territory and henceforward began to rival Rabat. Military needs had resulted in improvements being made to some roads but, more important still, had called into being in 1881 a railway running from Valletta to Rabat, and later extended expensively to the camp and hospital at Mtarfa. By 1911 the operating loss had become so great as to warrant special inquiry by the Commission. The failure was due partly to the fact that the system had not been designed on commercial lines, partly because the total demand for transport was still relatively small in the areas served, but mainly because a railway service could not be flexible enough to meet the particular demand that did exist. In ~~1905~~ a tramway system, less open to objection on all these grounds, was opened. First the area between Valletta, Marsa and Hamrun was served, and later lines were built to Zebbug. Designed for passenger rather than freight carrying, the tramways assisted in the extension of urban influence into the country. Then as now, however, that indented coastal configuration to which Malta owes her natural harbours, and around which resides the majority of the island's population, made land communication in the conurbation area tortuous and lengthy. Innumerable ferries and the *dghajjes* boats in Marsamxett and Grand Harbour offered more convenient carriage. 496 [505]

During and after World War I, motor vehicles made their appearance and the railroad and tramways rapidly disappeared leaving as sole traces of their 494

*[See P. 184 - Anb- Analyst]

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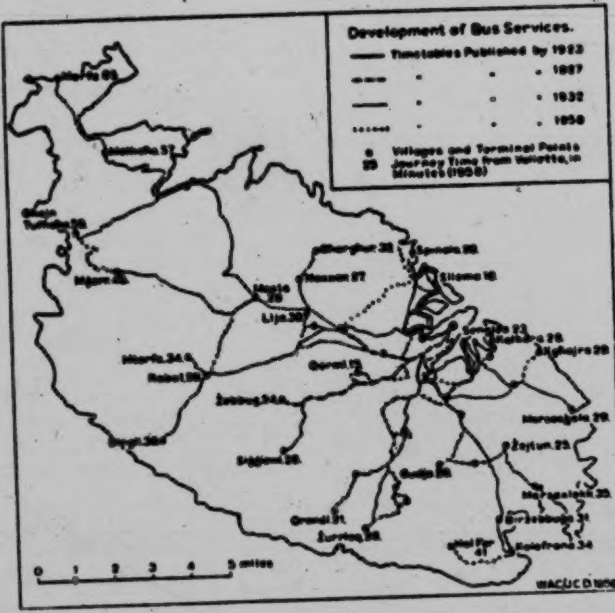
Development of Bus Services.
Timetables Published by 1923
" " " 1927
" " " 1932
" " " 1958
Villages and Terminal Points
29 Journey Time from Valletta, in Minutes (1958)
Mellieha 37
Mgarr 35
Mosta 29
Naxxar 27
Lija 30
Sliema 16
Rabat 33
Zebbug 34
Siggiewi 28
Marsascala 29
Zejtun 23
Qrendi 31
Zurrieq 36
Birzebbuga 31
Kalafrana 34
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles
WAC/UCD 1959

Fig. 65 Development of Bus Services.

494 existence field alignments, small bridges and 'permanent ways' soon absorbed into the weave of country lanes. With the coming of the car, lorry and bus there rapidly appeared differentials in the importance of the many roads. During the last 40 years, new motor roads have been built, such as that traversing Wied-tal-Pwales for military purposes, or the coast road between Salinas and St. Andrews for military and civil use, and recent alignment changes have been made to make more suitable for modern economic needs some old routes. In Gozo as in Malta this has led to the strengthening of importance of the capitals, and in the latter island to the appearance of true communication centres such as Mosta. At the same time the relative remoteness of those regions off the main highways has been increased.

The duality of the nature of these changes is well exemplified by the development of the public bus services (Fig. 65). In March 1959 there were 20,181 licensed vehicles of which over 13,000 were private cars and taxis, almost 4,000 lorries and vans and some 600 buses. These last play an essential part in Maltese life. In September 1922 (24), the first official recognition of the existence of buses plying for hire took the form of regulating tariffs by mileage. By September 1923 the boom in this new transport sector was such that further regulations had to be introduced. Operating permits were obligatory, certain minimum services required, and the order of departure of the competing buses regulated. At this time the recognised services only extended between Valletta and Sliema, making four stops in all, with a legal maximum of 50 buses a day. Later in 1923 this was extended to St. Julians, and until 1927 there is no mention of service extension outside this suburban zone, although by the latter date the number of buses per day had risen to over 120. In 1927, the first great extension

occurred, linking Zebbug, Birkirkara and Kospikwa with Valletta. Even so, and as detailed regulations make it clear, the bus services were still designed for commuters. Significantly enough, each route extension was largely pioneered by newcomers to the business, and to this day, public road transport remains a matter of so regulating traffic that many small independent units can just pay their way. There seems to be no inclination either to develop or to encourage the formation of larger economic units.

In 1930, timetables were published first for services between Valletta and Mellieħa via Mosta and St. Paul's Bay, and later between Kospikwa and Marsaskala. A separate Valletta-Mosta service also began operations. During the two following years, timetable recognition was given to other services which it seems were already operating and by the end of 1932 most of the services now in existence were then operating. Although the issue of timetables does not necessarily accurately date the commencement of services it does denote their firm establishment and as such is of considerable significance. As can be seen from Fig. 65, all routes lead to Valletta (see too p. 185) and Old Malta of the casals has become dominated by the conurbation. Not only are there few services inter-connecting the townships and villages but large areas in the West and North have either no bus service or have very limited services as, for example, Mġarr. The radial nature of the services is an obvious commentary on economy and society in Malta today; more than this it further exaggerates differences in accessibility as between regions and villages. It is no accident that Mġarr is the most agricultural of all settlements.

We can leave this brief selective examination of economic aspects of Maltese life with this last picture of the mechanically varied fleet of buses in their 15 vividly coloured regional liveries. As they pound noisily about the Island, they epitomise the uneasy mobility, the jerky breaking down of old parochialisms that is modern Malta.

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578
621

of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 793
political parties. 794

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro- 794
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the con-
fraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are mem-
bers neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
[794] has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

[Village of Gharghur]
[Village of Zurrieq]

36 include such atypically rural features as ground-floor windows[16]. In Mġarr the Church and the Jubilee Esplanade are at the centre of village organization with most of the shops, police station and dispensary close by, and through this central area pass the bus routes from Ghajn Tuffieha, to the north, and Mosta to the east. Gharghur, on the other hand, is a village of many centuries standing. Its morphology is as irregular as that of Mġarr is regular. As [171] one expects of a Maltese village the great Parish Church stands in the centre of the houses and the narrow streets - just as the Faith of the people stands in the centre of their life and work. The old streets of Gharghur grew up without any town-planning. Narrow alleys lead off to quiet courts; goat-pens, tiny shops and houses within yards of each other break the monotony of the streets in which few windows appear at ground-floor level[16]. First floor windows are seen, along with decorative balcony work and other embellishments of the yellow limestone walls. Map 6 distinguishes those parts of the village which have undergone new development, largely since 1945. The main part [491] of the work has been the cutting of a section of new road through old buildings between the Church and the recent Government school. This road now carries the bus route ● [494] from the Church square, the terminus, to Naxxar, and also houses the police station and the Government dispensary. Here then is the core area of the village (Map 6)

(i) a main street, carrying a regular bus route,
(ii) Church, police station, dispensary and school,
(iii) shops and bars nearby.

Turning again to Mġarr we now perceive the basic similarities of pattern (Maps 5 and 6).

In the case of ŻURRIEQ (Map 7) the same basic elements appear, though the built-up area of this village is much larger and there are additional, more urbanate, features. Bubaqra is an example of a dependent hamlet lacking the full complement of features of an independent village; it has no school, police station, etc. Żurrieq's morphological development follows the general pattern of the long-established Maltese villages with narrow, twisting streets and alleys delving seemingly at random into the built-up mass of houses, farm buildings, shops and work premises. The village is large enough to allow of secondary nuclei, particularly around churches or chapels, but the bulk of activity is focussed on the core area between Parish Church and School and in and near Churchill Square with its Band Club and Football Club premises, Lotto office[17], and shops.

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
[234] to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
577 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

although the Maltese form was probably dictated by the 291
need to cover the head when entering a church. Its one 771
drawback is that it takes up a lot of space, more space, 494
unfortunately, than is available in the motor-bus, modern Malta's form of land transport. Let it be hoped that it will survive these disabilities, for it is not only unique but also an asset if those of the younger generation who have abandoned it in favour of the banal dress of everywhere else would only realize the fact, enhancing beauty while discreetly veiling any imperfections. These young ladies should ponder the words of Monsieur André Maurois in his little sketch of Malta:

> When its wearer moves, the *faldetta* is filled with air, and the Maltese girls, tripping in twos and threes along the streets, look like flotillas of graceful barques with black sails, blown along their course by the wind of destiny.

Oddly enough another French visitor and Academician anticipated by just a century, and in almost the same terms, Monsieur Maurois's charming flight, or perhaps echo, of fancy. Monsieur de Lamartine, visiting Malta with his English wife in 1832, describes the *ghonnella* as

> a half-cloak of black silk . . . of a light texture caught by a breeze, suggesting the sail of a skiff whose capricious folds alternately conceal and reveal the mysterious figure of the wearer, which seems able to escape at will from its embrace.

In the Malta of an earlier age, when the lives of Maltese 562.
women and girls were closely circumscribed, the *ghonnella* 291
was not the only aid to their seclusion. Those who wander
about the country districts will notice here and there that the 342.
older farmhouses have no windows giving on to the street; 584.
the Maltese countrywoman, like her Spanish sister, had to 824.
turn her face inward, not outward. But what the houses had, and some still retain, were stone brackets on the outer wall, made to hold the pots of sweet basil which showed that

rather obscured the simultaneous mounting of a five-year Economic Development Plan. This is aimed at the establishment of manufacturing industries and 185 504 envisages the expenditure of over £32,000,000, the bulk of which is to be contributed by the United Kingdom. Internal Legislation under the Aids to Industries Ordinance XXI of 1959 offers attractive terms to immigrant and local enterprises. At Marsa, an Industrial Estate is rapidly being built, public utilities are being extended and facilities for technical and craft training improved. Completion is expected in 1961 of the first commercial deep-water quays, complete with storage and handling facilities. Several British business interests have already responded to these new attractions.

However, the fundamental characteristics of the Maltese economy and society remain, and the whole complex of resources, appraisal of resources and social needs and demands must be appreciated before effective forces of change will appear.

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494 During and after World War I, motor vehicles made their appearance and the railroad and tramways rapidly disappeared leaving as sole traces of their

[1] [See p. 184 - AtB - Analyst]

occupations, 52 per cent are service personnel and skilled workers, 463
27 per cent are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and 14 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Just over two-thirds of the total are employed outside the village. The majority of these, as in Farruġ, work in the Grand Harbour industrial area. Those who work in the village are for the most part self-employed. They are farmers, shopkeepers, blacksmiths and carpenters.

In Table No. 1 I have compared the various occupational classes in Kortin and Farruġ to each other and to the national figures.

III

Most villages look very much alike. Their magnificent baroque 361
churches provide a startling contrast to the low, flat-roofed houses grouped tightly around them. As the parish church towers over the village, so it dominates it socially, for the church is in every sense the centre around which the life of the village revolves. In front of the church there is usually a large square, the *misrah* or *pjazza*, which is the social centre of the village. Various village clubs and lay societies, as well as the police station, are situated on the *pjazza*, or just off it, as are the principal wine shops, the government dispensary and the finest houses of the village. As the [498]
square is usually the terminal point of the local bus line, it is the point at which most people enter and leave the village. It is also [796]
the stage on which the principal events of village life take place: the annual feast, or *festa*, of the patron saint, the many religious processions and the occasional political rallies. On Sundays, and [517]
especially during the long summer evenings, the square teems with groups of men, who sit about on steps and benches, talking and arguing for hours on end. During weekday mornings, it [745]
belongs to the old men of the village, now freed by government [887]
old age pensions from the backbreaking toil in the fields that was the lot of their forefathers.

Each village is first and foremost a community of neighbours. 621
Even the smallest of them have distinct residential groups, the members of which are in closer contact with each other than with people living in other parts of the village. This is, of course, particularly true of the larger villages. But even in Farruġ, a village of about 1,400, the extremities of the village and the various streets and alleys form separate neighbourhoods. The many little shops 000

175* 43 464 group. From 1851, when it composed 45 per cent. of the total, this element steadily decreased, absolutely and relatively. This general trend resulted from normal sociological changes consequent on a maturing of the whole economy and from the growing dominance of male employing service industries. At the same time, the preponderantly feminine cotton industry was steadily declining (see pp. 123 and 124).

175* 43 464 441 458 One of the most significant indicators of economic change is that of male employment in agriculture (Fig. 31). During the first century of British rule, agriculture played no part in the economic expansion which was in train. Agricultural prosperity became a function of general prosperity and therefore to a large extent mirrored external fortune. Employment in the industry on the other hand, except for the shortlived cotton growing boom of the 1860's during the American Civil War, varied inversely with general economic activity. In Malta, as in most countries, it would be true to say that rising profits in farming benefited existing producers but failed to attract net incomers. On the other hand, population growth, the cessation of employment elsewhere, obstacles to emigration or even forces producing a return of migrants all periodically forced some workers back on to the land. Thus in the years between 1851 and 1871 while the population was growing more quickly than the slow but accelerating commercial activity, sheer population pressure and migration trends (16) forced the level of male agricultural employment from c. 7,000 to c. 9,000. During the Golden Years and the subsequent period of large-scale dockyard and public works construction numbers fell once more to c. 7,000 in 1901. Later stagnation in commerce and a decline in constructional work culminating in a severe depression (necessitating a Royal Commission) were marked by an increase in the number of farmworkers to 8,500 in 1911. These general fluctuations can be corroborated by reference to farm family histories and by changes in the availability of land. Behind the overall absence of numerical change and of those of secular variations we may discern some of the fundamental features of Maltese agriculture. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the better land had already been occupied by as many farmworkers as contemporary productivity could properly support. This number remained more or less constant, first because the economic and social climate was not propitious to the labour saving innovations which were sweeping over Europe, and secondly because the intake of land from waste did little more than compensate for losses elsewhere. We have a picture of a technically static, status declining and credit starved industry which from time to time lost some of its most vigorous and enterprising young workers or gained a flood of generally poor and semi-skilled labourers.

175* 369 43 More true of Malta than of Gozo, this picture must be modified to accommodate regional differences and changes. Already in the eighteenth century, as we have noted, a cleavage existed in Malta between the *urbs* around Valletta, the Old City of Mdina-Rabat, and the rural communities. By the middle of the nineteenth century, this had developed into an embryonic form of the present division into urban, suburban and rural communities (Fig. 36). The social and demographic reasons for and implications of this are considered elsewhere (Chapter VI A) but the internal economic factors need present consideration.

[499] Before the building of the railway in 1881, the tramways in 1905, and the later motorable roads, communication between villages and between country and town was relatively limited. Within those areas physically closest to what had now become the Grand Harbour the attraction/repulsion effects on agricultural employment were most strongly felt. On the eastern urban fringe, in the Żabbar area, these fluctuations were very violent and indicative of too complete reliance on two simple forms of economic activity, dockyard work and farming. On the western fringe the expanding economic and political functions of the nuclear *urbs* overwhelmed old villages such as Birkirkara and created new townships such as that of Hamrun in a more complex urbanisation (Figs. 32 and 39). Fluctuations in agricultural employment still occurred but these were less important than the steady decline in the total.

The changes outlined above proceeded slowly but at an accelerating rate during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. By 1871 popula-

[Text Continues on p. 123]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

XX (a). THE TARXIEN-GHAXAQ BASIN

This is the open upper section of the shallow Wied ta'Mazza which reaches the sea at Marsaskala. Rock weathering and slow soil formation on the periphery surround a central zone of deep soil accumulation. The deep-soiled district is one in which the upper surface of the Lower Coralline aquifers falls below sea-level and, compared with the remainder of the Eastern Region, ground water is of high salinity (see Chapter I B). The effect of this is to be seen primarily in the small area devoted to potato growing. This zone of large fields under cereals and sulla is surrounded by a belt of more intensive cultivation on the higher slopes, where fields are smaller and potatoes re-assume their normal importance in the crop range. Part of this latter zone, on the northern outskirts of Zejtun, is shown in Fig. 122. 241* 31*

Exceptional is an area of abandonment at il-Bur ta'Sufa (MR 573688), where it is believed that increasing soil salinity is primarily responsible. This small hill, once the site of the only clustered farm settlement in the sub-region, has also suffered from the attraction of the surrounding casals. Carob trees and crumbling terrace walls mark this out as the only area of difficulty in an otherwise tractable region.

XX (b). THE LUQA-ŻEJTUN RIDGE

A crescentic ridge, which separates the catchment areas of the Grand Harbour and Marsaxlokk Bay is crowned by a series of settlements. Near these, fairly intensive cultivation, best developed around Luqa, includes that of potatoes, onions and other spring vegetables. Where the soil mantle is thinnest and most subject to erosion, cultivation is poorer. For example, just north of Gudja, at ta'Salib (265), a harder bed in the Globigerina series has formed a small mesa as a result of differential erosion. The top and steep sides of this feature are marked by abandoned fields. [361]

Much of the better land in this sub-region is now being taken up by settlement extension and road building, a process most marked between Żejtun and Ghaxaq. [499]

XX (c). THE ŻABBAR REGION

The primary unity of this region is provided by general specialisation in the production of *qaragħ bagħli* (dry-farmed marrows grown in spring: see Fig. 123 and p. 210). Subsidiary to this unifying feature are a number of diverse elements.

On the seaward slopes of the San Anard (244) - San Rokku (248) ridge, a belt of wasteland covers the barren shore and abandoned fields of minute size rising above it. North of San Rokku, abandonment is complete where these slopes coincide with a Lower Coralline outcrop. Near the growing village of ix-Xghajra, patches of poor cultivation have survived. The whole of this district is one of particular difficulty. Coastal alignment of the ridge and its pronounced relief accentuate the effects of northerly winds, which carry sea-spray some distance inland. The extreme smallness of the walled enclosures indicates the need for shelter and it is not surprising that this exposed and difficult area should have been left derelict. On the 6-inch maps is marked a rectilinear pattern of proposed road and building development. As yet, ix-Xghajra, a strange motley of farmhouses, suburban and sea-side villas, is the only realisation of the plan. It may well be that land speculation has here contributed to land abandonment. [361]

The ridge top and its sheltered southern flank, with their larger fields, form a vivid contrast. This richer-soiled area is given over to a diversity of crops, *qaragħ bagħli*, potatoes and other spring vegetables occupying as large an area as that under all other crops combined. This type of farming is carried southward across the rise of tal-Plieri (251) and into the Wied ta'Massa (257). South and west from the latter in the Bajda ta'Żejtun (260) and ta'Bulebel (256) districts, there is a transition to the less specialised farming typical of the Eastern Region as a whole.

172 rocky surfaces of the island, the tram-lines of neolithic man;
493 and he will notice, if he is observant, that the dimensions of
[136] the flat two-wheeled carts which, with their gaily caparisoned
little ponies or donkeys, are the traditional vehicle of the
Maltese countryman of to-day correspond almost exactly
with those of the carts of his neolithic predecessor, as
136 deduced from the width of these ancient tracks. If he is
interested in strange animals that still survive but must be a
living link with hoary antiquity, he can study on the picturesque,
uninhabited islet of Filfla, now used only as a target
for gun practice, a remarkable lizard of the darkest green
spotted with red (*Lacerta muralis* var. *filfolensis*), which occurs
nowhere else in the world but on this tiny and diminishing
spit of rock.

341 The dominant architectural notes of the Maltese Islands are
megalithic and Baroque, and the gamut thus established can
217 scarcely be called a narrow one. So far as works of art are
172 concerned, the Museum in Valetta, housed before World
War II in the Auberge d'Italie and since 1958 in that of
Provence, contains a scientifically arranged exhibition of
[742] Stone Age culture unrivalled in any other country. This
collection, whose most bizarre items are the astonishing fat
female deities characteristic of Maltese neolithic sculpture,
was organized in chronological sequence by the Museum's
late learned Director, Sir Themistocles Zammit, who made
a second international reputation in the field of Maltese
archæology and excavation after having made an earlier one
in medical research in connexion with undulant, or Malta,
fever.

But the visitor is not obliged to study the activities of
241 these remote peoples solely in museums. If he wishes to see
501 how the distant forbears of the present population cultivated
178 their land he has only to watch the Maltese farmer of to-day
[532] ploughing his field; if he is a student of cultural survivals he
will note the eye of Osiris still painted on the bows of Malta's
ooo sturdy little schooners and characteristic "Gozo boats." If

In the afternoon of the Feast, the 527
great harbour and the several creeks,
especially that of Calcara, present indeed
a very lively appearance. Yachts, boats, [291]
and small crafts plough the deep, the [501]
greater part sailing, with flags and
streamers flying in the breeze, laden
with people, mostly clad in gay summer
costumes, which they put on for the
first time on this day as a sign of
the approaching hot season.

Some of these gay parties keep on 527
their crafts, singing and playing guitars 264
and melodeons, whilst others disembark 534
on some shady rock on the sea-shore,
where they spread their table-cloths
and sit down to enjoy the edibles which
they bring with them.

A little after sunset, when the nu- 527
merous and jolly picnic parties have 501
emptied some bottles of wine, the boats

527 are seen putting off the shore and
501 steering their course homewards.

527 The custom of making swings on
526 Ascension Day, is very common in
Malta, especially among the country
people. In almost every village, lots
of women and children may be seen
swinging together and singing merrily
on the day of *Lapsi*.

527 No reason could perhaps be assigned
173 by the Maltese for the practice of ce-
lebrating *Lapsi* by parties and picnics
on the water, and for making swings,
except that they follow the custom of
their ancestors.

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372
857

St. JOHN'S EVE

Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

to the Custom house, the whole length 520
of which is always crowded with thou- 526
sands of picturesquely painted boats, yachts, and small crafts with living cargo.

The race course in the centre channel is always well kept clear by a couple of steam launches, and the Port Department gondolas.

The races consist of (1) four-oared fishing boats (2) double pair and single pair passage boats—that is boats employed for the conveyance of passengers —and (3) four-oared *cajjicchi*.

The boats used for racing, on this [501]
special day, are always very gaily painted and gilt, being also of a much lighter and sharper build than the others of the same kind, and the best stalwart men are always selected for rowing.

433 458 The main relevant conclusion was unmistakably ominous: 'Government expenditure has more than made up for that of the Knights, and has diverted more of the labour of the population to the service, direct or indirect, of the foreign government which applied it to purposes entirely Imperial and unconnected with the special interests of the colony. Doubtless this expenditure has led to immediate prosperity... but the basis of this prosperity is artificial and precarious' (6). It is possible to argue the degree of validity of the third premiss of the first clause but the general truth is undeniable. This general picture is so clear that in this particular chapter attention will be focussed only on some aspects of the Maltese economy as it has developed during the last 50 years.

43 The changing character of Maltese Trade is well evidenced in the annual reports of the Customs and Port Department. Before World War I, Malta was still of some importance in Mediterranean transit trade, particularly for goods destined for North African and Levant ports. Between 1910 and 1922 the annual average weight of such merchandise handled was 17,000 tons (7). This activity almost disappeared during hostilities and after a short post-war boom settled down at a new low level handling only some 3,000 tons of merchandise. In part this was due to the elimination of the important German and Austrian connection which, in a Report published in 1919 (8), was the subject of much hostile Maltese comment. More important was the fact that the gap thus left was not filled by other foreign or local interests. The Maltese writers of the 1919 Report were not able to obtain their desire 'to have a company formed by a few merchants, who would thus teach Maltese capitalists that the investment of moneys in industries and especially in shipping is more profitable and better for the Islands and for the capitalists themselves, than the investment in doubtful securities [504] or in reckless speculation'. The fundamental difficulties of expanding port activity have remained. Malta, for all the grandiloquence of the name 'Grand Harbour', has until very recently possessed but poor physical facilities for handling shipping. All vessels of over 2,000 tons have had to be worked by lighter, and civil repair facilities as well as warehousing have been extremely limited. In that the needs of the Fleet have been paramount this is understandable; the consequences have been deplorable. The absence of enthusiasm for [454] local investment of Maltese capital has been equally inhibiting. There survives, even intensified during the 1930's, a traditional feeling of insecurity which was succinctly noted by a banker giving evidence before the 1911 Commission: 'There is plenty of money in the Island... there is not much trust, I think' (9). Even now, while the rate of saving in Malta is very high - c. 14 per cent. of total personal income, too large a proportion of the savings are invested abroad - some £70 millions. Given this basic insecurity, which still appears in conversations with business men and which is so deeply rooted as to be very difficult to remove, development is difficult. Moreover, since the Maltese for an island [228] people are singularly non-maritime in character, and, in conditions no more difficult than in many other parts of the Mediterranean, have almost ignored the fishery industry (10), there exists no traditional basis for marine affairs. In these circumstances the value of the handing over of the Naval base to British civilian firms, and the policy of attracting foreign (mainly British) manufacturing concerns, thus making available both facilities and most of the capital, is on economic grounds indisputable.

439 457 One other aspect of port and trading activities must be examined, the nature and balance of imports and exports. The changing character of world trade in the first place has vitally affected the nature of Malta's entrepôt activity. By 1956, the value of re-exports had reached over two and a half million pounds, of which one and a half million represented mineral fuels and lubricants, mainly aviation spirit and turbine fuel (11). This is still the pattern today. Of Malta's transit trade in re-exports, by far the biggest proportion is concerned with supplying the Garrison in its new and more mobile form. The imbalance between retained imports and domestic exports remains essentially similar to that observed very much earlier and is best examined in conjunction with other economic elements.

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely 433 based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate help to the Islands in their present effort' find alternative sources of employ- 434 ment'. From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification, while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate, Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity. The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that [511] the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to production, has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel. Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived 162 from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta 464 having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of [161] Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased. The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in [433] normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had [457] increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2 millions. [434]

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in 504 the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent 464 and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main characteristics of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in 'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction. In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction, Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees, most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus contained the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil 'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled, particularly in the building industry (18).

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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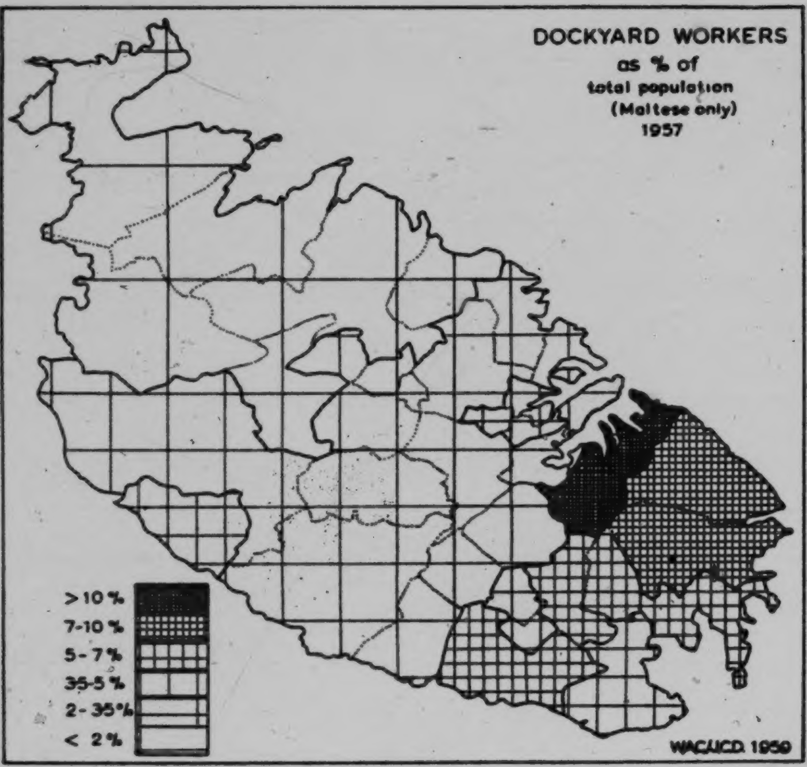
DOCKYARD WORKERS
as % of
total population
(Maltese only)
1957
>10 %
7-10 %
5-7 %
3.5-5 %
2-3.5 %
< 2 %
WAC/UCD 1959

Fig. 64 Dockyard Workers as % age of Total Population.

[p. 172-A]

102 Fig. 64 shows the distribution in Malta of Maltese Dockyard workers by
464 residence as a proportion of the total regional populations. The zones of concentration are centred on the Three Cities, and the great importance of Dock-
504 yard employment in the North-East as a whole, a phenomenon more than a
[361] century old (19), is clear. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the much smaller association of Dockyard employment with the belt of urban settlement which stretches from Valletta westwards to Lija. Conversely, the northern third of the Island, most recently settled and still relatively sparsely populated, has very little indeed to do with Grand Harbour. Gozo, still more remote, had but 25 Dockyard workers. Some 417 English workers were employed in the Dockyard most of them living in the suburban residential areas west of Valletta, 75 per cent. in contiguous Sliema, St. Julians and Gżira.

Thus we see the one part of the climax of that change in Malta which, commencing in the sixteenth century, swung the economic centre of gravity from the Centre to the North-East. During the last century the new conurbation
[494] extended its grip on the rest of the Island. Police Traffic Records (20) show part of this effect; on the 5th February, 1958, a normal day, 28 special buses, in addition to public transport, carried 930 Dockyard employees to work from a zone extending to Birżebbuġa, Żurrieq, Siġġiewi, Dingli, Rabat, Mosta and north-eastwards to St. Julians.

Here we have reason and space only for the briefest of notes on current
185 economic conditions. For more complete statements the reader is referred to
504 the recent publications of the Maltese Department of Trade and Industry. As a result of Britain's reappraisal of her strategic needs, the old Naval Dockyard was handed over to a civilian firm by April 1959. Some emotional reaction has

rather obscured the simultaneous mounting of a five-year Economic Development Plan. This is aimed at the establishment of manufacturing industries and envisages the expenditure of over £32,000,000, the bulk of which is to be contributed by the United Kingdom. Internal Legislation under the Aids to Industries Ordinance XXI of 1959 offers attractive terms to immigrant and local enterprises. At Marsa, an Industrial Estate is rapidly being built, public utilities are being extended and facilities for technical and craft training improved. Completion is expected in 1961 of the first commercial deep-water quays, complete with storage and handling facilities. Several British business interests have already responded to these new attractions. 185 504

However, the fundamental characteristics of the Maltese economy and society remain, and the whole complex of resources, appraisal of resources and social needs and demands must be appreciated before effective forces of change will appear.

As a last short study we turn to the development of communications and public transport in the Maltese Islands, which is of significance for two main reasons. First, in the pattern that has appeared we can see the interplay of all those forces, Imperial and indigenous, which have affected Maltese life. Secondly, although the Islands are small, distance and remoteness are everywhere measured mentally as well as physically, and the impact of modern transport has revolutionised Maltese life. The road pattern in Malta is complex and generally ancient (Fig. 68); it is impossible to categorise past and present roads sufficiently precisely to show cartographically the changes that have taken place and description must necessarily be brief. As shown in Worsley's survey of 1824 (21), the main alignments were then concentrated in the central region. Away from the grid-plan streets of Valletta and the less geometrical Three Cities (22), cart and carriage roads ran out to the main casals (within the zone referred to above as now served by Dockyard special buses) and inter-connected most of the rural centres. That part of the island north of the Victoria Lines was poorly served. In Gozo, country tracks connected the villages with the inland capital of Rabat which in turn had a carriage road to the port of Mgarr. 491

By 1911 (23) traffic had increased considerably, particularly within a four-mile radius of Valletta, and the Royal Commissioners of that year ventured to question on financial grounds the need for maintaining the very large mileage of the dense central and eastern network of roads, most of which as the result of long customary use and evolution were of equal status although often strictly unnecessary. The northern and southern coastlands were still served only by a few 'feeder lines' from interior settlements, but with the bridging of the Speranza gorge at Mosta, that town had become a route focus for the whole of the northern territory and henceforward began to rival Rabat. Military needs had resulted in improvements being made to some roads but, more important still, had called into being in 1881 a railway running from Valletta to Rabat, and later extended expensively to the camp and hospital at Mtarfa. By 1911 the operating loss had become so great as to warrant special inquiry by the Commission. The failure was due partly to the fact that the system had not been designed on commercial lines, partly because the total demand for transport was still relatively small in the areas served, but mainly because a railway service could not be flexible enough to meet the particular demand that did exist. In ~~1905~~ a tramway system, less open to objection on all these grounds, was opened. First the area between Valletta, Marsa and Hamrun was served, and later lines were built to Zebbug. Designed for passenger rather than freight carrying, the tramways assisted in the extension of urban influence into the country. Then as now, however, that indented coastal configuration to which Malta owes her natural harbours, and around which resides the majority of the island's population, made land communication in the conurbation area tortuous and lengthy. Innumerable ferries and the *dghajjes* boats in Marsamxett and Grand Harbour offered more convenient carriage. 496 [505]

During and after World War I, motor vehicles made their appearance and the railroad and tramways rapidly disappeared leaving as sole traces of their 494

*[See p. 184 - Anb-Analyst]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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GOZO

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confused and seldom bears any simple relation to topography. In this region, many minor factors of soil, aspect and water supply produce local variations in the landscape, human as well as physical (Fig. 129 A, B and C).

Around the village of Qala, the upland is generally poorly cultivated. Fields of cereals and sulla are interspersed with abandoned areas and karst patches. On the Qala coastlands to the east the pattern of cultivation is clearly related to the successive outcropping of the various rock formations which are here, in contrast to the rest of the region, quite simply arranged (Fig. 129 D and E). The whole sequence from Upper Coralline to Lower is displayed in this district but there are few well marked breaks of slope, the whole forming a single slope from 400 feet to sea level. Immediately below the Upper Coralline summits, vines and fruit trees occur on the Blue Clay. Nearer the sea, a band of Globigerina is largely under cereals, sulla and legumes, this being succeeded by Lower Coralline wasteland fringing the coast.

The complex structure of the lands to the south of Qala is reflected in broken topography and a great variety of outcrop. South facing valleys in which the Blue Clay is exposed give way on their seaward side to a fragmentary platform developed on Globigerina and Lower Coralline limestones. The distribution of wasteland is closely associated with the outcrops of the latter formation. With the exception of the upper Wied tal-Qala (58), where good, well watered soils carry fruit, this district is one in which small enclosures of the whole dry crop assemblage lie among rocky hill wastes. Standards of cultivation in this somewhat inaccessible part of the island are generally low and abandonment is proceeding. By contrast, the slopes above Mġarr Bay, extending eastwards to include ta'Zewwieqa (60) are, on the whole, more intensively worked. In this steeply sloping area, unusually small enclosures have been established for the cultivation of fruit and tomatoes, while somewhat larger fields carry cereals and sulla. These patches of cultivation alternate with barren scree slopes. In the immediate vicinity of Mġarr (61), ill-tended minor tree crops such as carobs, figs and olives give a spurious impression of luxuriance. Mġarr itself is a fishing harbour and commercial port. In its latter capacity it belongs to Gozo as a whole rather to its immediate hinterland and through it passes all the trade between the two islands. Port facilities are limited and have acted as a brake on the commercial development of Gozo. Mġarr has little or no agricultural function and is overshadowed in size by its immediate neighbour, the farming village of Ghajnsielem. South of Mġarr, below Fort Chambray, the Rdum it-Tafal (62) is a typical Gozitan undercliff area with small enclosures, all rather ill developed, which carry some tomatoes, potatoes and fruit crops, among which there are numerous islands of rocky, carob-clad wasteland. [504]

V. THE SOUTHERN REGION (Fig. 130)

The only unity possessed by this region is a result of its structural and topographical separation from the interior. The il-Hobż Coastlands (63) lie below a well-marked Upper Coralline scarp and are separated by the Wied Mġarr ix-Xini (64) from the Sannat and ta'Ċenċ Uplands (67 and 66). The latter are an upthrown block of Globigerina and Lower Coralline Limestone, the northern edge of which is a clearly defined, interior-facing fault-line scarp. In the extreme west, the sharp incision of the Wied ix-Xlendi (70) divides the Southern Region from the Globigerina platforms of the west. [133]

At il-Hobż (63) the karst edge of a low Upper Coralline cliff overlooks gentle slopes developed on Blue Clay and Globigerina. A narrow belt of spring-line fruit growing is succeeded downhill by open terraces and larger fields of cereals, sulla and other 'dry' crops. Much of the land is spring-tilled in preparation for summer vegetables. The seaward limit of these shelving slopes is marked by a break of slope below which lies a low Globigerina rock platform.

This simplicity of landform is abruptly terminated on the west by the fault-guided incision of the Wied Mġarr ix-Xini (64). Below the pumping station, steep slopes and exposure of the compact Lower Coralline beds have prevented cultivation. Coinciding with an upthrown block of the same rock type, wasteland extends into the lower Wied Hanżira and over the neighbouring, gentle slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 283]

175 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, par-
288 ticularly after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports
of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is
464 today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective
monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century,
much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted
to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male
labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing
departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was
centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft,
so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from
home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton
production declined. This decline accelerated towards the
close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an
even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands.
The total decline was due to external economic factors but,
within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest
in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The
cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest -
where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing
178 work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end
241 of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of
369 this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first,
464 and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the
Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the
[288] harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton
[396] industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus
[504] appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater
break with home, farm and village than had been the case with
cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the
alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into
the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population
of the rural area became less and less dependent on agricul-
ture for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in
178 an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second,
241 considered later in more detail, is the social change which
369 has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager
241 through direct and indirect education and contact with the
433 people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two
forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had
happened before on a temporary basis and the other a
consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which
has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world,
have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he
has the new range of employment opportunities indicated,
while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
● 504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The
percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'. Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
36 those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to
this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops, cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
162 dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the
most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix 3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but even in the rural districts most people are seen to live within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only five districts show a built-up township area accounting for more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for 1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern (B/561).

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

64 Government the Maltese people would be represented, if
666 they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at
668 Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative
Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a
single Maltese Government would take the place of the
existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly
concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain
the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government
[651] of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would
retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as
the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level
comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

642 Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Govern-
648 ment and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with
668 fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and
464 financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial
difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equivalence"[1] which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his
supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration
and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government.
Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in
April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the
situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of
Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in
[504] British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence
expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest
single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the
reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future
war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last
one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

464 The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over
668 13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard
504 out of a national working population of just under
83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable
proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has
always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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SENGLEA FROM THE VALETTA SIDE OF THE GRAND HARBOUR
[*See pp.* 55, 69.]

THE THREE CITIES AND PART OF THE DOCKYARD, LOOKING TOWARDS VALETTA
In between, Vittoriosa and Fort S. Angelo.
[*See pp.* 47, 240–41, 249 *and* 250.]

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[facing p. 240]

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core of Malta." The average Dockyard hand did not know if 464
his job might not come to an end by the end of the year; and 668
representatives of all classes in the country, including the
parish priests, passed resolutions pressing for a guarantee of [793]
alternative employment if the Dockyard were to close down.

In the following month the Secretary of State for the 668
Colonies, Mr Lennox-Boyd, put forward a new proposal
to avert the threatened deadlock. While adhering to the 648
Integration policy, and to "equivalence" of the Maltese economy and standard of living as an ultimate aim, he proposed an experimental period or trial run of five years for the Maltese economy to approximate itself to that of the United Kingdom. During this period the British Government would afford economic assistance towards the attainment of this object, consisting of a grant of £25,000,000 over the five years; assistance with educational, health and other social services based on a percentage of what the Maltese were able to do for themselves; and an obligation to help if unemployment rose above the British level in consequence of Defence cuts. Meanwhile Maltese representation at Westminster would remain in abeyance.

Even so, Mr Mintoff was not satisfied. On the 14th December he tendered his resignation owing to a difference of opinion with a section of his supporters in the General Workers' Union but withdrew it three days later; and he then raised the cry of independence as the alternative if he failed to obtain Integration on his own financial terms. The Nationalist Opposition, which had combated Integration, proved ready to support the converse alternative, for on the 30th December 1957 their representatives in the Legislative Assembly voted for Mr Mintoff's Resolution threatening severance of the link with Britain, which was passed unanimously and with acclamation in the following terms:

> That, as the British Government is not prepared to honour the obligation assumed by that Government, in the declaration

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

D. SEABORNE AND AIRBORNE TRAFFIC 1958[3].

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	Total - Calling - British				Passengers (No.)			Freight (Tons)	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	In	Out	Transit	In	Out
Steam Vessels	1,792	2,808,003	458	1,348,925)	9,852	10,745	35,175	568,626	34,927
Sailing Vessels	267	22,836	15	122)					
Aircraft	3,283	91,661	3,116	87,897	30,232	31,501	28,848	588	238

E. AGRICULTURE[4]

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		Acreage	Yield-tons
(i)	Total Area cultivated	44,235	
(ii)	Wheat	5,000	3,000
	Barley and Mixta	4,083	2,158
	Forages(inc. sulla, vetches & Ferrana)	11,824	3,855
	Broad Beans	1,250	500
(iii)	Potatoes - Spring crop	4,763* (1957-6,000)	15,420
	- Winter crop	3,228	7,360
	Melons	1,837	1,939
	Onions	1,263	3,389
	Tomatoes	1,912	8,588
	Other vegetables	5,000	16,198
(iv)	Grapes	5,000	6,000**
	Citrus	160	500**
	Other fruit	1,000	6,000**
(v)	Cotton	3 (1956-187)	1
	Cumin Seed	8 (1952-518)	2

* Note. Abnormally low.

** Note. Acreage and yield of treecrops in particular should be treated as indicating only orders of magnitude.

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(vi)	Livestock (Enumeration)	
	Horses, Donkeys and Mules	6,575
	Goats	36,944(1950-50,159)
	Sheep	15,011(1950-20,148)
	Imported Store bulls	3,081
	Milk cows	4,178(1950- 2,861)
	Other cattle	2,466
	Swine	16,362
(vii)	Number of holdings	12,192

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Number of mechanized implements	- 2 wheeled	700
	- 3 & 4 wheeled	54
	- tracked	25
	- milking machines	7
	- threshers	22

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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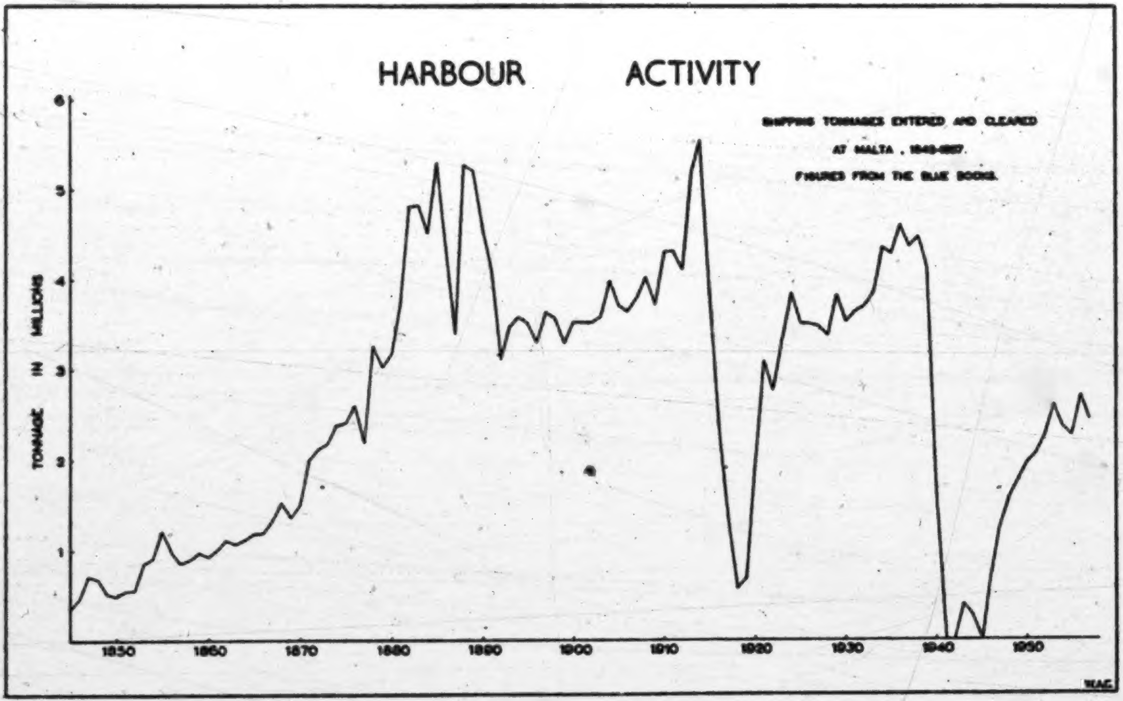

Fig. 30 Harbour Activity.

[p. 118-A]

*175 43 revenue deficits. In 1878 a report by Rowsell on the fiscal situation in Malta is particularly indicative of buoyant conditions, but also indicated the smallness of revenue reserves (14).

The superficially favourable Internal Revenue situation and the fall in unemployment and migration, particularly after 1870, were however paralleled by a growing unbalance in the National Product. Once again there occurred a fortuitous coincidence of favourable external circumstances. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and fleets of small steamships plying the new route to the Indian Ocean needed frequent bunkering. The Mediterranean littoral itself became the scene of increased economic activity. The same industrial surge in northern Europe, and in Britain in particular, which built the ships and the Canal, needed foodstuffs and raw materials and provided the capital and equipment for their production. Not only from the Mediterranean littoral, Australia and the Orient, but also from the Russian and Danubian Black Sea ports came the ships which converged on the Malta Straits. Many regions suffered from the downward movement of commodity prices which occurred after 1873. Malta was little affected by commodity price-changes in that her commercial activity was strictly concerned with services, and the Islands reaped the benefit of increased volume of traffic. By 1882, 80 per cent. of the recorded tonnage using the harbours dealt with extra-Mediterranean traffic. The same year witnessed the nineteenth century peak of British steel exports, the Black Sea grain trade was still building up and bunkering business in Malta reached its height. During the 1880's Britain was in virtual control of maritime affairs and the complicated pattern of a relevant part of tramp movement may be summarised thus (15):-

> '... steamers go a round voyage, part of which is in ballast, taking coal, say, to the Mediterranean and then grain from the Black Sea to Hamburg and home... The course of the export trade in coal is influenced in some degree by the return freight... modified by favourable harvests or otherwise in different parts of the world, and the consequent varying sources of our food supplies'.

*175 43 505 In this statement may be found an explanation both of the reason for Malta's Golden Era between 1870 and 1890 and for its impermanence. Before 1890 events conspired to produce commercial opportunity. After 1890 Europe turned more and more to the New World for grain and the volume of Black Sea trade slowly declined. Those ships still in the trade together with those using the through Mediterranean routes grew larger and more power-efficient and therefore less in need of frequent bunkering stops. Competition from other ports increased as the Mediterranean political pattern became simplified by effective French control of much of North Africa, by the enforcement of stability on Egypt and by Italian unification. The sheer momentum of nineteenth century economic progress carried centres such as Algiers, Naples, Alexandria and Barcelona, all with developing hinterlands and facilities, out of the class of ports pure and simple. By 1895 shipping activity in Malta had dropped back to the level of 1880 and thenceforward it developed at a slower rate than did world trade as a whole. The Maltese were once more sharply reminded that the possession of a good natural harbour was not enough in itself permanently to attract commercial interest.

Since detailed statistics of trade, other than that in dutiable goods, were not recorded before 1910 it is difficult to measure directly the real significance of port activity and trade either during the boom or in more normal conditions. The Blue Books are of some analytical aid, and that for 1891 suggests that the total value of what are termed re-exports was £35,000,000 of which only 3 per cent. by value were actually landed in Malta, the remainder proceeding to their ultimate destinations in the same bottoms. For further information we must turn to an analysis of the other elements in the National Product.

*175 43 464 161 The most useful records at our disposal are the Census recordings of occupations although even here there are considerable deficiencies. The gross working population (unemployment figures are not available before 1921) shows trends which conform to those of net population increase (Fig. 31) but particularly noteworthy is the numerical loss due to a decline in the female working group.

185 504 rather obscured the simultaneous mounting of a five-year Economic Development Plan. This is aimed at the establishment of manufacturing industries and envisages the expenditure of over £32,000,000, the bulk of which is to be contributed by the United Kingdom. Internal Legislation under the Aids to Industries Ordinance XXI of 1959 offers attractive terms to immigrant and local enterprises. At Marsa, an Industrial Estate is rapidly being built, public utilities are being extended and facilities for technical and craft training improved. Completion is expected in 1961 of the first commercial deep-water quays, complete with storage and handling facilities. Several British business interests have already responded to these new attractions.

However, the fundamental characteristics of the Maltese economy and society remain, and the whole complex of resources, appraisal of resources and social needs and demands must be appreciated before effective forces of change will appear.

491 As a last short study we turn to the development of communications and public transport in the Maltese Islands, which is of significance for two main reasons. First, in the pattern that has appeared we can see the interplay of all those forces, Imperial and indigenous, which have affected Maltese life. Secondly, although the Islands are small, distance and remoteness are everywhere measured mentally as well as physically, and the impact of modern transport has revolutionised Maltese life. The road pattern in Malta is complex and generally ancient (Fig. 68). It is impossible to categorise past and present roads sufficiently precisely to show cartographically the changes that have taken place and description must necessarily be brief. As shown in Worsley's survey of 1824 (21), the main alignments were then concentrated in the central region. Away from the grid-plan streets of Valletta and the less geometrical Three Cities (22), cart and carriage roads ran out to the main casals (within the zone referred to above as now served by Dockyard special buses) and inter-connected most of the rural centres. That part of the Island north of the Victoria Lines was poorly served. In Gozo, country tracks connected the villages with the inland capital of Rabat which in turn had a carriage road to the port of Mgarr.

By 1911 (23) traffic had increased considerably, particularly within a four-mile radius of Valletta, and the Royal Commissioners of that year ventured to question on financial grounds the need for maintaining the very large mileage of the dense central and eastern network of roads, most of which as the result of long customary use and evolution were of equal status although often strictly unnecessary. The northern and southern coastlands were still served only by a few 'feeder lines' from interior settlements, but with the bridging of the Isperanza gorge at Mosta, that town had become a route focus for the whole of the northern territory and henceforward began to rival Rabat. 496 Military needs had resulted in improvements being made to some roads but, more important still, had called into being in 1881 a railway running from Valletta to Rabat, and later extended expensively to the camp and hospital at Mtarfa. By 1911 the operating loss had become so great as to warrant special inquiry by the Commission. The failure was due partly to the fact that the system had not been designed on commercial lines, partly because the total demand for transport was still relatively small in the areas served, but mainly because a railway service could not be flexible enough to meet the particular demand that did exist. In 1905 a tramway system, less open to objection on all these grounds, was opened. First the area between Valletta, Marsa and Hamrun was served, and later lines were built to Zebbug. Designed for passenger rather than freight carrying, the tramways assisted in the extension of urban influence into the country. Then as now, however, that indented coastal configuration to which Malta owes her natural harbours, and around which resides the majority of the island's population, made land communication in the conurbation area tortuous and [505] lengthy. Innumerable ferries and the *dghajjes* boats in Marsamxett and Grand Harbour offered more convenient carriage.

494 During and after World War I, motor vehicles made their appearance and the railroad and tramways rapidly disappeared leaving as sole traces of their

[See P. 184- Anb-Analyst]

361 Corniche from heights as inaccessible as nature and man's
712 ingenuity could make them. When the marauders from North Africa ceased to be a menace, the citadel was partly evacuated for the lower town, but happily was never abandoned completely. Even now it contains the cathedral of the diocese and the Law Court and Public Registry, formerly the residence of the Governors of Gozo; and, although many of its ancient houses are in ruins, a few are still inhabited.

175 One interesting little lane with façades of the thirteenth
717 and fourteenth centuries was restored by the Government
341 before the outbreak of the Second World War, as has been
654 the handsome Renaissance building facing the entrance to the citadel latterly known as the Bondi Palace, as related at the end of Chapter XIII. One of the houses in the lane at one time belonged, as an inscription testifies, to the soldier Bernard, "*miles Bernardus*," who was killed at the capture of the citadel by the Turks under Sinan Pasha in 1551. When he saw that the fortress could hold out no longer this dauntless man took the lives of his wife and two daughters with his own hand to save them from being sold into captivity, and then fell, fighting to the end. The walls and fortifications of the citadel are happily well preserved.

101 Gozo was Ogygia or Gaulos to the Greeks, *gaulos* (γαῦλος) being the word the Greeks had for the round merchant-boats of their rivals, the Phœnicians. From Gaulos it became Gaulum to the Romans, then appears on Idrisi's map of 1154 as Ghudash, and in modern Maltese is known as Ghawdex (pronounced Audesh), its Bishop signing as
484 *Episcopus Gaudisiensis.* The shortest ferry-crossing between
505 the two islands is only four miles, yet many Gozitans have never been to Malta while the overwhelming majority of Maltese have never been to Gozo.

181 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times
186 somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta

within each sub-region, a gradation from west to east reflecting the successional outcropping of the various Globigerina beds. These outcrops give rise to minor breaks of slope so that the Central Region as a whole consists of a series of broad, stepped platforms. These become less distinct to the east where relief is diversified by deep wied incision. 241* 311*

XVIII (a). THE BIRKIRKARA REGION

A long tongue of urban settlement stretches westward from the main conurbation linking it to the previously independent villages of Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija and Attard. The built-up area occupies the shallow depression of the Birkirkara-Balzan valley and extends up the slopes on either side. Where this valley deepens eastward into the Wied Maida (130), settlement diverges on to the Santa Vennera Ridge. A few isolated farmsteads are dispersed throughout the region, but most of the land is worked by inhabitants of the several urban settlements. [361]

The northern slopes rise to the edge of Naxxar-Gharghur Hills, and the crops of this district have the same diversified balance of potatoes, cereals, fodders and minor legumes as was observed on the flanks of that region. Small, irregularly-shaped fields and scattered farmstead settlement further strengthen the similarity. On the edge of the built-up area, more intensive land use is associated with urban farming, particularly at Santa Vennera. At San Anton there is an enclave of irrigated gardens and orchards which is only in part directly associated with the Palace.

Maida Valley has a character of its own. In high-walled gardens on the floor of the upper wied some fruit cultivation is practised but the steep sides of this narrow defile have largely been abandoned. The silt-charged waters which frequently flow down the valley during periods of heavy rain bear witness to the soil erosion consequent upon such abandonment.

South of the built-up area lies the low upswelling of l-Imriehel (192) (Fig. 110). A narrow belt of buildings is slowly encroaching from the north on to land otherwise devoted almost entirely to cereals and sulla. The large, dry-farmed fields are on the whole poorly cultivated.

XVIII (b). THE TA'QALI REGION

This high and level Globigerina platform is largely occupied by an airfield which has destroyed the former unity of the region. Cereals and sulla occupy a particularly large proportion of the surviving farm land. Beneath the Mdina slopes, viticulture is of importance in the Wied il-Hemsija (113). On the other side of the airfield, towards Mosta and Attard, potatoes are the main secondary crop. Cultivation throughout is generally of a high standard. [508]

XVIII (c). THE ŻEBBUĠ REGION

Running east from the Rabat-Dingli uplands, this region is defined on the north by the Wied is-Sewda (194) and on the south by the Wied Qirda (202). In the west, where the wieds are shallow depressions rather than true valleys, there is no clear topographic break between the Żebbuġ Region and those to the north and south. To the east, however, though altitude decreases, the amplitude of relief becomes greater and a clearly defined spur stands between the deepening wieds.

On the high plains west of Żebbuġ (Fig. 117 C and D) is developed a particularly intensive type of dry farming. Cereals and sulla form the basis of rotations which include potatoes, vegetables and winter-fallowed land. Spring potatoes, mixed vegetables including summer brassicas, particularly cauliflowers, together with winter sulla and cereals are characteristic of this zone. The reasons for such an assemblage of crops are not altogether clear. The successional outcropping of Globigerina strata and intervening phosphatic nodule beds with consequent effects on soil development, the relatively high water table and distance from the sea would all seem to favour a highly productive form of dry farming but more investigation is required. Onion-growing is particularly characteristic of the environs of Żebbuġ, a lesser *pitkal* centre. Minor variations in crop assemblage are illustrated by Fig. 118.

On the spur of Ghar Ram (199) and tal-Ħandaq (200), the intensity of cultivation decreases eastward, cereals and sulla becoming dominant. The even slopes of tal-Ħlas (198) drop northward to the more level Ghammieri district of the Wied is-Sewda. Gradient has little effect on the selection of crops grown in these areas. Cereals and sulla dominant throughout although potatoes assume a greater importance than on the summit. In contrast the southern edge of the ridge is more abrupt, falling sharply to the Wied Qirda. Precipitous terraces, standing above a storm-water channel cut in Lower Coralline rocks are almost completely abandoned. The only pocket of fruit cultivation in this region lies in the Wied Qirda above the main incision and close to Żebbuġ. 241* 311*

Scattered settlement of farmsteads and a few small hamlets is generally aligned along roads and tracks. The great majority of the land-holders, however, live in the casal of Żebbuġ which combines some urban functions with those of village settlement. [361]

XVIII (d). THE SIĠĠIEWI REGION

In many ways this region is a counterpart of that of Żebbuġ. The high plains west of Siġġiewi sweep south from ta'Brija (133) to tal-Bajjada to merge with the open Rdum tal-Lunzjata. Intensive dry-farming of cereals, sulla and vegetables is characteristic. Onion cultivation is of particular importance here as throughout the region.

From this western platform, the ridges of tal-Bordin (135), tal-Għaqba (205) and ta'Ħaxxluq carry relatively high land to the east. Tal-Bordin is noteworthy only for the absence of early potatoes, possibly because of its rather exposed position. The place-name element *nadur*, meaning a look-out point, is significantly attached to the fields on this small ridge. The main ridge of tal-Għaqba, carrying a variety of crops, is generally similar to tal-Ħandaq on the other side of Wied Qirda. The crop range is similar on ta'Ħaxxluq ridge, though the fields are generally smaller and the country more broken (see Fig. 119). In these eastern districts, the commercial farming element is most strongly represented by onion growing which is even more extensive here than around Żebbuġ. [103]

Siġġiewi itself was established on the south-western edge of the central settlement zone of Malta. The casal and outlying farmsteads were to some extent influenced by the need for protection from corsair raids. Walled enclosures and a few defensive towers indicate past insecurity. Siġġiewi still lies off the busiest lines of communication and the south-western part of the region is one of the least accessible districts of the central lands of Malta. Here, small hamlets cluster around isolated churches as at tal-Providenza (150). 311* 361

XVIII (e). THE QORMI REGION

The district around Qormi is atypical of the Central Region as a whole. A considerable number of motor-driven pumps extract water from the fault-fissured Globiġerina beds and irrigable land constitutes a large proportion of the total area. Vegetable and fruit crops, the latter including citrus and even such exotics as the banana are grown intensively in this sheltered district (Fig. 120). The Qormi basin is a westward continuation of the Marsa lowland, an area of alluvial deposition (see Chapter III). Large farms with irrigated gardens surround the large casal (Fig. 117B). 241* 311*

C.XIX. THE SOUTHERN REGION

A highland ridge with an average altitude of more than 400 feet extends eastwards from the Upper Coralline scarp at Lunzjata along the southern coast as far as Bubaqra. Further east and towards the interior of the island, the land falls away in gentle slopes. Although true wasteland is confined to a coastal belt coinciding with outcrops of Lower and down-faulted Upper Coralline beds, much land has elsewhere been taken out of cultivation. The airfields of Luqa and Hal Far, still in use and their as yet un-reclaimed wartime extensions, together with large-scale quarrying on either side of Mqabba, have sterilised a great deal of land. [508] [316]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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D. SEABORNE AND AIRBORNE TRAFFIC 1958[3].

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	Total - Calling		- British		Passengers (No.)			Freight (Tons)	
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E. AGRICULTURE[4]

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		Acreage	Yield-tons
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(iv)	Grapes	5,000	6,000**
	Citrus	160	500**
	Other fruit	1,000	6,000**
(v)	Cotton	3 (1956-187)	1
	Cumin Seed	8 (1952-518)	2

* Note. Abnormally low.
** Note. Acreage and yield of treecrops in particular should be treated as indicating only orders of magnitude.

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(vi)	Livestock (Enumeration)	
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	Swine	16,362

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(vii)	Number of holdings		12,192
	Number of mechanized implements	- 2 wheeled	700
		- 3 & 4 wheeled	54
		- tracked	25
		- milking machines	7
		- threshers	22

234 435 441
was that gross financial loss totalled £124,000 representing an equivalent subsidy to consumers of M.M.U. products, while, if profits on imports were subtracted the figure would rise to over £200,000. The commercial aspect of milk marketing is thus completely artificial and dominated by welfare policies. Price policy, even so, has not been powerful enough to even out the immense seasonal fluctuation in production of goats' milk, roughly half the total, and the smaller but still considerable fluctuation of cows' milk.

253 231 441
Meat production is rather more crude. The Government abattoir slaughters all the horned cattle, most of the swine and a considerable proportion of sheep and goats. The commercial transaction between producer and butcher is usually direct. Here once more the small scale and the unspecialised nature of meat production controls all else. The 1956 Census of Agriculture recorded only nine specialist cattle breeders and 94 breeders of swine as compared with over 700 engaged in sheep and goat breeding (in roughly equal numbers). Licensed importers bring in the store cattle which are then usually sold to non-specialist farmers. Feeding standards are as low as with milch cows. There is little incentive to improvement because of the low standard set by the widespread practice of milk producers selling old and diseased stock for butchering. Pig meat and store-bull meat do command a premium but, while some 15,320 horned cattle were slaughtered in 1957-58, the average import rate of stores is only some 3,000. In the same year, 5,000 sheep (of the indigenous poor breeds) and 8,400 goats (mainly those useless for milk production) as well as 7,800 lambs and kids, were slaughtered. The commercial side of meat and, for that matter, hides and skin production, like that of milk, can only be improved as and when the arable sector of agriculture is further developed.

241 439 441
Lastly, we must refer to exports. For some years, the most important exported agricultural product has been the spring crop of potatoes. Some general points concerning the production and sale of potatoes have already been made (Chapter VII, pp. 205-206), but one or two points need expansion here. The main market for pseudo-early potatoes grown in the Mediterranean (harvested in April and May), lies in North-West Europe. During the earlier part of this century, Holland, Belgium and Germany were the most important buyers but, of recent years, the Arran Banner variety, which yields well as a pseudo-early in Malta, has only found favour in Glasgow. By 1955 this dependence on a single main market was appearing dangerous and since that time, as noted by Haesler in 1957 (8), more heed has been taken of consumer demand for other earlier varieties, yellow rather than white fleshed, such as the Eigenhemer. On the marketing side, some important problems remain. The virtual absence of good civilian port facilities and the dependence on lighterage puts up freight costs and discourages shippers. The middlemen and wholesale handling of produce for export is not above reproach while the only worthwhile markets expect good and consistent quality of graded merchandise. Here the deficiencies of even the most commercially sophisticated part of the community can partly negate improved efforts on the part of the producer. Standards set by the home market tend to affect the services rendered to foreign markets and before the latter can be expanded, the former will have to be improved. There is one sector in which a separate break-through has begun. [509] Air freightage of high value for bulk merchandise (which does not include potatoes) can make distant markets accessible to medium-scale individual producers. Thus flowers, plants and seeds are to some small extent being traded by a few growers sufficiently skilled to bypass the mercantile system. This cannot be done by all but it might encourage emulation.

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The whole of the marketing organisation is of course organically associated with production and the commercial aspects of production need consideration.

433 435 [234]
One of the first points that strikes an observer in the Islands is that the production of the different commodities is altogether too concentrated in time. In the case of milk, a traditional organic cycle imposed by crude goat husbandry imposes great financial strains on the centralised agencies. With crops it would seem that traditional fear of risk-taking, rational enough in a peasant economy but antithetical to the whole nature of commercialism, is now hampering

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely 433
based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate
help to the Islands in their present effort ' find alternative sources of employment'. 434
From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification,
while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more
violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain
it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate,
Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese
communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity.
The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this
dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic
stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that [511]
the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level
of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the
present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to
outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of
attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to production,
has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing
any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been
met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe
that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what
is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel.
Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes
manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived 162
from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In
December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta 464
having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of [161]
Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of
population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased.
The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of
the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per
cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government
revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service
Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial
Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in [433]
normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated
by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had [457]
increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2
millions. [434]

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to
the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life
investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in 504
the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter
of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent 464
and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main characteristics
of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that
time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost
exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in
'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction.
In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction,
Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional
departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees,
most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a
considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well
as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus contained
the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most
important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil
'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled,
particularly in the building industry (18).

There is considerable difference in the social status ascribed to 156
various jobs. Non-manual occupations have the highest status, 463
manual occupations the lowest. The professionals – the priest,
doctor, lawyer, chemist or teacher – are at the top; while the 554
farmers are at the bottom. In many respects a government clerical
officer is also at the other end of the scale from the farmer. The
civil servant has a steady, relatively easy job with a good cash
income and comfortable pension at the end. He also has ready
access to influential persons in the government. His is a life of
security and relative independence. The farmer, on the other
hand, has been looked down on for centuries. He represents the
traditional life of dependence: dependence upon the weather, the
market, the *pitkal*, or middleman, for cash advances, the letter-writer
and the patron through whom established authority has to
be contacted. Education and wage labour have presented the [178]
farmer with a means of escape from that dependence and the
exhausting labour in his rocky fields. Where he has had the oppor- [871]
tunity, he has been quick to turn his back on the traditional [241]
occupation of his forefathers.

Wealth is another determinant of status. This is generally 156
related to occupation. There has always been a considerable 463
difference between the standard of living of the professionals and
that of the average countryman. But until the past war, there was 511
relatively little difference in the standard of living of most 554
villagers. True, the more affluent lived in the large houses on the 556
main square, and the poorer people lived in the alleys and streets
remote from the square. Most people ate similar food, dressed
alike and furnished their houses in the same way. But the increase
in the level of wages, which followed the war, has changed that
pattern. New houses, cars, fridges and transistor radios have
become a tangible index of success and status. People are now
being graded according to the number of these symbols they
own.

Education, occupation and wealth are thus the chief criteria by 156
which social position is differentiated. A person who has all these
attributes has high status. But a person with high status is not 554
necessarily a leader; for he may not possess the innate qualities [577]
required of a successful leader – courage, responsibility and wil-lingness
to work. Where a person has both high status and
possesses these qualities – as well as ambition – he will undoubtedly

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they
465 were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when
compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for
comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal
Commissioners (B/184), Widge (B/516) and Price (B/556),
but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
454 this same report however, it is learnt that the farming
community had by that date become investment conscious and
had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day
where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited
eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field
work at all. The developments observed by the 1911
Commissioners were by no means general among the rural
population at that time. They were in fact merely the
first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
178 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
433 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
722 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
465 in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before.
He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce
- or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became
used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted
war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was
the feling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in
Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time,
the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the country-
man. The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was
content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the
change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his
social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered
needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a
variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

178 standards demanded have risen; and luxuries, once almost
511 unheard of, are now becoming part of the expected pattern
of the life of the countryman (Section 2). For most of
these new needs the farmer has required money. Hence
progress, to him, has become synonomous with the acquisition
178 of more money. Branches of banks have appeared in some
511 villages in both islands since 1945 and the countryman is
454 coming to accept this means of storing his accumulated
wealth. The concern for bigger interest, first noted by
[453] the 1911 Commissioners, is replacing the traditional mere
accumulation of wealth whether in money or in jewellery and
other valuables.

178 There is still, however, a very strong element of
accumulation rather than investment in the finances of the
181 farmer. This is particularly the case with the older
454 generation who, as always, cling to the ways of the past
511 because their lack of formal education makes them, apparently,
unable to comprehend or adapt themselves to the workings
of the present. Thus it is held that, while the younger
generation have sought to urbanize themselves socially and
economically with the money which now comes their way, many
of the older generation, that is to say those who are
tending to stay in farming today, have taken the 'new'
money but have not changed their way of life or living
standards to anything like the same extent. Thus dress,
for example, is no sure indication of a farmer's wealth
in terms of money and one hears of bare-foot, shabbily
clothed countrymen with savings of £1000 or more. In
traditional Maltese village society the uniformity which
was the keynote (Section 1) encouraged the farmer to appear
like his neighbour lest he be accused of deviationary
tendencies: this feeling is often revealed today in the
reluctance of the farmer to be the first to try a new
method or crop in his fields for fear of becoming a
laughing-stock.

Although the older generation do not strive to demonstrate their wealth in dress, habits, a new house, etc., and do not share the anxiety of the younger villager that he should look like a townsman and move to a 'good' - i.e. non-rural - district, their saving is not completely without aim. To resolve this point fully it would be necessary to consider the whole complex of traditional Maltese village society but for the present discussion some major features only will be outlined.

178 Dowry is one feature of traditional Maltese society
583 which is currently assuming different proportions to those
183 earlier held. It was regarded in the past as essential

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
654 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the
[234] maximum (Section 2).

Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
178 Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
511 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to
434 his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned.
These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

[464] (d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

178
Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
434 his farm the means of providing for the various needs of
[471] the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding,
his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make
the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is
the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very
small section of the farming community: one of the major
problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means
the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
426 position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial
434 status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem
emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
234 progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
434 the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
426 poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
fully realizes that without the present Government guaran-
[654] tee (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt
is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together
as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a
total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for
the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that
the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize
their farm and herd as they woudl wish. For example,
while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rear-
ing calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in
fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would
otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the
cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding
to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them
reluctant to take on any further loan commitments:
nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are
definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be
able to increase the number in their herd and also
mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
234 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
434 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U
654 with as much milk as possible.

They have no thought or care as to what might happen
were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the
subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly
little appreciation of the total picture of which they
form part and will be content to grumble quietly and
ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate
(Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
434 which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
454 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
provision of dowries and wedding costs, etc., are met.
234 This farmer admits to having been able to save more than
654 £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that
today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread".
[451] He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly
on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase
of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds
of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on
the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for
all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is
typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying,
today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to
making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-
supported market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
accounts of the working of his farm. His second employ-
434 ment brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
241 weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he
[511] reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a
third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc.
and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the
steady income from his other job farming has something
of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

178 434 241 because he has always been used to doing it and one which enables him to provide many of the food items needed by the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

156 241 426 The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies of farming from the economic point of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

472 511 It appears that MONEY is a variable but important factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household, as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear distinction made by the farmer between the finances pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its maintainance. The most common practice is for there to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it come the costs of running farm and household. As seen, the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as the labour of his family and himself is concerned
[451] (Case X). Similarly it is still the exception rather than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is making a loss, though of the details he has no notion. In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
571 to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
[65] is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
454 normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
[593] call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expenses of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
178 accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
[294] possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family,
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
[656] killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

262 In respect of diet an important distinction between town
369 and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially
'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other
pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily
available; but in the country districts there is notably
less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other
vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all
his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain
local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still
able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables
for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however
a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits
273 (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are
262 now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods
● 511 such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet
cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now
established themselves as needs and, consequently, as
demands on the family purse.

178 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from
291 which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This
in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy.
Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made
at home or at least within the village and were worn by
the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today
a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer
now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest
change is among the younger farming generation who want to
dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of
clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly.
especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the
widespread use of military surplus material.

423 Housing is important in the present consideration
362 because money is now being spent by the farmer both on
511 buying his own house where he can but also on developing
it and improving the furnishings.

[178] Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town
dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

178 There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or
semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of
511 'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and
recreation all require money. Payments to the Church
have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and
taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, can
clearly only be met with cash.

451 The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the
511 typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The
[123] second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

457 lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm and that spent on the household.

511 In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and [593] co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where they proved of major importance and benefit.

At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance [454] of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X). The period in question was financially atypical for this man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for any farmer like him is further complicated by the uncommercial approach which is made to the labour of the farmer himself(and in this Case that of a brother and nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed because custom demands that they are done and a job is not neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus [511] the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure as a cost in production (Section 2).

His income derives largely from the sale of fruit 434 (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable. 454 In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57 458 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only £340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew "receives something when a crop is sold". Other items sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season each of the brothers received a gross profit of about £250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X) nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57 from savings. This feature is crucial. Given the normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far [181] hence. This insecurity of his capital is important in his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production or farm management and in part also echoes the conservatism and inertia of the traditional peasant

000 and inertia of the traditional peasant.

STANDARD OF LIVING

178 The past century and a half have seen the develop-
511 ment from peasant to commercial farming, along with the
[436] adoption of money as the basis of exchange, and the
appearance of a large range of new demands in diet,
clothing, housing, luxuries, recreation, etc. Some
observations on the living standards of the farming comm-
unity during the period are now indicated.

175 Speaking of living standards in the Malta of the
511 early nineteenth century Price considers that "an identity
and cohesion prevailed not only in major economic trends
369 but in the economic habits of the people" (B/556, p.8).
178 Thus "In these circumstances it is possible to examine
together the habits of rural labourers, urban labourers,
artisans, small farmers and fishermen...." (B/556, p.9).
Price holds that during the first half of the nineteenth
century there was in fact little change in the living
standards prevailing in the Maltese Islands despite the
fluctuations evident within the national economy as a
whole. "Years of prosperity may have brought a slight
increase in the ratio of wheaten to barley bread or in
the use of novel clothing such as straw hats. But, it
seems clear, the chief effect of prosperity was to increase
the consumption of oil, alcohol and tobacco; these,
together with his religion, ranked first in the list of
desirable and important things in the minds of the Maltese
flush with surplus cash. Presumably these were the
things he hoped society would give while his traditional
diet, clothing and shelter were the things he expected
175 society to provide" (B/556, p.9-10). Among the unskilled
434 urban and rural workers there was a notable uniformity
369 in wage throughout the period. Price speaks of 6¾d for
a day's work for a man (and about 1d only for a women)
but observes that skilled workers, and especially those
in dockyard employ, could expect very much more
(B/556, p.9-10). For the mass of the labouring and
farming community therefore income was of the order of
a few pence per day but, as suggested, the prevailing
self-sufficiency of the near-peasant farmer of the period
made actual monetary income an inadequate indicator of
standards of living. For the urban worker, on the other
hand, lacking the farm basis, the low wage level meant
poverty and hardship. More especially "Poverty.....
pressed heavily on the under-employed" (B/556, p. 11).

175 The importance of cotton to the nineteenth century
288 Maltese farmer has been discussed in Section 1. In 1839

In 1839

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The principal
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-
wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is
the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing
by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work,
175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nine-
teenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on
other crops while, socially, the change affected the
family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commis-
735 sioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become
● 511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and
that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts,
the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded
saving but also led to begging and stealing which was
"One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty
and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to
much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the
nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions
of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The
Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Miège in
1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made
in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167);
reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874
(B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207);
on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera
in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living
standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on
mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great
as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the
bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country
districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst
description" while "It must also be admitted that the
sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not
so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late
175 years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

511 The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence
[369] is that there existed a considerable gulf in general
[464] living standards between the people of the towns and
those of the country. There was also an important
[458] contrast within the then rapidly expanding Urban area,

175 between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This
458 dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth
511 century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished
[464] from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which
[184] characterized the totality of economic life in Malta.
Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean
basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by
changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the
fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of
prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century.
[731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts,
epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean
in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable
Malta (B/556).

175 The major economic developments arising from the
184 growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the
511 Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various
178 stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic
life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the
chain of external events made their presence felt. In
all this the fortunes of one section of the population,
such as the farming community, could at no time stand
unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands
as a whole.

175 Malta remained sharply divided within itself by
178 class, district and education and the parallel differences
[184] of living standards between one section of society and
another were continued. But the later decades of the
[871] nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from
the economic plane, the beginnings of general education
which, during the present century, was to remove the
illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural
classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of
life and society outside the limits of the village.
[184] Improvements in transport and communication within the
[369] Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area
to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the
twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of
isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and
Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural
[621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been
a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little
contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages
in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the
forces indicated were beginning to modify the position
but it was not until the present century and particularly

178 the years after 1939 that the cumulative effects of
[175] education, emancipation and communication were to produce
a society very different from that which Maltese country
[511] folk had known for centuries (Section 1). It became
[184] different when the traditionally depressed sections of the
community became restless and began to demand the improvements in their living standards which they came to believe should be theirs by right as well as need.

178 This is not to suggest that the present position of
184 Maltese rural society is an 'end-product' of change. The
369 opposite is true. The old and new exist side by side in
agriculture and in the farming community of the Islands today. Some people, some places, and some features of life and work hold far more tenaciously to the old than do others where comparatively few years have seen considerable modifications of the traditional pattern.

175 By 1912, the Royal Commissioners were able to observe
458 that the living standards of the labouring classes of
464 Malta and Gozo compared well with those of other Mediterranean countries (B/186, p.25-6). "Building", they said.
511 "is cheap and good and the country people are exceptionally
well-housed". But, in their consideration of the economic state of the Islands as a whole, the Commissioners thought the picture much more gloomy. The depression which they found, though of only recent appearance, was being felt by the mass of the people, although "until the advent of the present depression, the condition of the people has been one of comparative comfort". To appreciate "The present distress, and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta.....it is necessary to recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former prosperity and employments, which depended to a large extent upon Imperial expenditure...." (B/186, p.12). Here did the Commissioners strike at the root of the problem which has grown to formidable proportions in the half-century since the report was made. They pointed to the position in which the economic structure of the country as a whole was based on the shifting sands of Imperial naval and military expenditure and in which the living standards of the Maltese population were therefore tied indirectly and directly to that Imperial expenditure. Moreover, within the Maltese population itself, it is not difficult to see that the first to be hit by a drop in Imperial expenditure (as happened between 1902 and 1911 and, again, in the post-1945 period) were and are the labouring and poorer classes generally lacking alternative employment in the Islands, in the event of their becoming redundant, and having often little or no capital reserves.

178 464 511 In a consideration of the standard of living of the Maltese population in general and of the farming section of it in particular during the present century it is seen that the two World Wars (1914-18 and 1939-45) saw tremendous upheavals in this aspect of Maltese life, as in so many others. In the case of the 1914-18 struggle "there is no doubt that the War first and principally and secondly the political events that have occurred since have completely altered and raised the standard of living of the working classes in Malta...." (B/130 - 1930, p.ix). A distinction is here infered between the working classes and the upper and professional or business classes whose previously higher standards were maintained unimpaired or even improved. The wage-rate index after the 1914-18 War gives only an intermittent picture as official statistics on wage rates in agriculture have been very limited. The Blue Books of the inter-War period observed that "No official information is available" regarding agricultural wages (B/165) but the Cost-of-Living investigations between 1943 and 1946 are little better for they are concerned almost exclusively with non-agricultural workers (B/213, 214, 217).

178 464 465 511 It does emerge, however, that the 1914-18 War brought little change in Maltese living standards when compared with the effects of the 1939-45 War. In 1946 it was decided that "The war years have produced improvements in the standard of living and we may hope that the working class family will never revert to the pre-war standard" (B/217, para.5). Costs to the consumer of food, clothing and other items had doubled and trebled between 1939 and 1946 (B/217, Appendix I, II, IIA) but wages had also increased. In 1936 an average wage for labour in 'trade and manufacture' was put at an annual £82, or about 31/7d per week (B/165-1936, Section 23). Even by 1943 an average weekly wage for such workers had grown to £2.16s, plus an average 'other income' of a further 18/6d weekly. Against this was an average total weekly expenditure of £3.12.9d (B/213, Appendix R).

Farm work had shared in the increased wages. A 1936 estimate for agricultural labour put the weekly rate between 21/- and 24/- (B/165 - 1936, Section 23). The 1943 report quotes one farm labourer, among its sample 100 workers, as gaining a total of £2.16s per week, or the same as the average 'earned income' (without 'other income') of all the sample 100 workers (B/213, Appendix R, No.90).

000 During the War years the farmer had been able to

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to 'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt. He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the financial point of view, to his commanding position during the siege.

Today the farmer's standard of living compares
434 unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25, although the average per capita income for the whole country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing and other essential items are often quite exorbitant, especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954 survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of £136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75 per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the labourer without field commitments of his own can demand his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases, markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
511 average, a standard of life still slightly below the
434 general level, although the disparity is by no means as great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Above-average exceptions include those farmers who have been able to profit from the present regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

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735 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison.
747 The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth
434 and assets against family size. Thus a household of four
848 persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or
a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for
the free food[32].

162 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the
735 above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by
place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which
434 the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in
addition, also listed separately. The residential
divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the
basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working
population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

	A	B	C	D	E
DISTRICT	POPULATION[35]	'Poor & Needy' as % Population	FARMERS[36]	'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	B/D
Urban Area	134,399	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.8	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	9	0.91

369 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living
735 standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as
has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta
511 and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect
162 the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of
Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural zone (most of Gozo, and Mġarr in Malta), however, the farmer is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this zone are one third below the general level as far as their standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

162 The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom
9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as
735 a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the
511 whole population.

369 This pattern of comparatively low living standards in
rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the
problem with which this Section has been concerned. While
[178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in
the Islands the younger generation of the rural community
will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present
241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change
from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from
its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3).
The social background to this change is, however, no less
important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work,
thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little
removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of
commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and
illiterate sections of the farming community this question
of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any
efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be
seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and
Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to
Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta
the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate.
Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom
Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of
experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel
none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta
619 complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the
829 farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he
has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on
which he blames many of his economic and social problems.
In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear
distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities
and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is
allegiance to political parties very significant for person-
[648] ality is more important than party. Historically, this
attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the
tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign
British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid
hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two
and a half centuries in the Islands.

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(3) On account of those same physical limitations mechanization of field-work cannot be expected to solve all labour problems in Maltese agriculture. An initial, over-optimistic emphasis on large tractors and other heavy machinery has given way to a rapid increase in the number and popularity of the small rotary-cultivators. But even this cannot be expected to displace completely the wooden plow and hand implement working (Section 2).

However, mechanized farm implements, particularly the small, manoeuvrable rotary-cultivator type of hand tractor, have enabled a reduced number of farmers to work their fields more intensively, and, in some cases, to increase the area worked by a single individual.

The neglect of those aspects of farming where manual work is dominant and necessary have, nevertheless, accompanied this change with the bizarre result that intensification of effort and neglect are proceeding simultaneously (B/336).

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(4) A basic factor in the present situation, in which the young farmer is retreating from farming, has been the emergence of a demand for money income (Section 3). The traditional pattern of peasant, subsistence farming in which the main object was the support of the farmer and his family has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook in farming. The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with which he can

(a) purchase those items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (clothing, bread etc., etc.),

(b) purchase items which have recently become part of his regular demands and for which money is a sine qua non (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.),

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Food, as an item of family expenditure, nowadays figures especially prominantly

(a) where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, to fodder,

(b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element of the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market prospects.

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But of greater significance in the long-term view is the fact that these new demands for monetary gain are a particularly prominent feature among the present younger generation of the farming community. For them a substantially increased income is synonomous with social and economic betterment. Since they do not envisage such an increased income coming from farming they are all the more anxious to leave the

[P. 69]

178 industry in search of it.

434 (5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the

[511] fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture (Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

511 Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

[461] (a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

[454] (c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

829 (6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a

157 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same

[178] time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, tc Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
[246] to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
(he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
241 for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
433 the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
434 from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
[427] cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
[241] whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
[433] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
438 great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
443 paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

x159 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
•511 extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
829 entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
178 yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation.
In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following
in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

*159 [245] - Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233] [461] (ii) - Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii) - Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.

[231] - Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

*159 829 241 H. General.

- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159 [434] [234] - Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.

[511] [454] [241] - Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.

[511] - Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

CASE III : Nardu (A goats' milk producer)

*159 157 Illiterate and suspicious, Nardu typifies the most conservative element in Maltese farming for whom nothing new can be worthy of consideration. It is probable that no amount of lecturing, demonstrations of improved methods, or capital loans from the Government, would persuade him to change the ways he knows. The prospect of machinery does not impress him although he thinks of acquiring a rotary cultivator (at about £245). His observation is, when freely translated, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" (he is aged 40).

*159 234 [425] His father was a mason with a few fields. Nardu's brother took over the family business and sold his share of the fields to Nardu, who also bought out the shares of his five sisters. He has since concentrated all his effort on his herd of goats, regarding his fields primarily as a source of fodder. During the fifteen months of study his herd varied in size from 34 to 50 animals. All the goats are of the local breed as he does "not like horned goats". He is more concerned with producing milk, under the current favourable regime of guaranteed sales to the M.M.U., than with breeding goats. Most of the kids born to his herd are sold for meat or for breeding to a dealer. Payment [426] seems to be made as money becomes available from the M.M.U every two weeks. Often however he admits to being up to two months behind with payment, settling one debt "when the next transaction is afoot".

In 1958, Nardu was talking at length about "getting two or three cows or calves". He "knows about cows from friends" but has not himself got the £300 capital necessary for two. Moreover he observes that "you can't graze cows" and their general upkeep is likely to clash with that of goats, especially where one man is working alone as in this case. There seems to be an element of prestige attached to the ownership of cows in a village such as Nardu's where the vast majority of herdsmen have only goats. Certainly his thinking is not guided by comparative costings of milk production from the cow and goat.

*159 434 [443] ● [511] Nardu's fields produce fodder and some food for the family so that they "will not have to buy in everything from the shops". He reckons to save between 15/- and £1 per week in this way. His wife spends £3 a week on purchased food and she looks back nostalgically to her youth when her mother spent some 30/- per week on food and clothing for a family with twelve children, while she has only three. The steady item of income in Nardu's budget is the money received from the M.M.U. for the goats' milk

600 sold. Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu

244 *159 46 465 available", and normally delegates most of the work to a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.

*159 43 [451] His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a 'cost'.

*159 511 178 Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

*159 461 Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

*159 178 234 His father was a labourer with the Services and had only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen and then gradually built up his own herd to its present size, particularly in the past few years when, in common with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his family) are actively discouraging the children from planning to follow their father. Their main objection to herding appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields you never go back...."

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CASE IV : Summary.

(A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. **Land.**

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

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- 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. Utilisation.

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(i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 C. Livestock.

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90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. Capital.

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(i) No freehold land.

(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.[21]

(iii) Receives C.A.R.E. food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. Labour.

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(i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. Production and Sales.

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(i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day. Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

G. Husbandry.

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(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*159 H. General.

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An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

*159 452 off until mid-November but, in the intervening two and a half months, the purchase of fodder had been continued and the debt maintained. In that September he himself put his debt at £60 and said that at the previous Christmas (1956) it had been £100. Thus a debt of £60 in the flush milk season of highest total receipts from the M.M.U. would appear to be the best financial position he could achieve. Removal of the guaranteed milk price to the producer could result only in ruin for this herdsman and the many in the Islands like him.

*159 829 In spite of his own poverty Anġlu maintains that he is fully aware of the artificial economic picture of which the guaranteed price is a part. In the same breath however he complains that he could sell his milk for more than the M.M.U. gives him in the short season. Here he overlooks the obvious outcome of a removal of the guarantee during the annual glut.

*159 178 291 511 His financial hardships make it impossible for him to hire labour or to invest in any capital improvements to the farm or herd. Neither does it enable him to support his family as he aspires. This is especially evident in the case of clothing because the family lives in an urban area and therefore strives to appear as well dressed as their non-farming neighbours. Anġlu observes that there has been a change both in the types of clothing worn and in the occasions on which they are worn. He speaks of a Doctor of the district who used to go barefoot in the streets carrying a pair of shoes to put on before entering a house or Church. Nowadays, by contrast, children attend school with shoes and are generally well turned out. This is particularly true of an urban area, where Anġlu's children go to school and where his teenage children go to work - a son as an apprentice carpenter, one daughter as a shop assistant and another as a factory worker. None of his children is likely to contemplate farming as a way of life and means of earning a living, for, in their father's case they can see an extreme example of the problem facing many farmers throughout the Islands today, that is a man unable to make a living wage for himself and his family from a farm limited in possibilities by external factors and dependant on a guarantee which could be removed at a general election.

*159 427

CASE V : Summary.

(A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer)

A. Land.

Rents and grazes 1 tomna of wasteland.
Rents and works as a domestic garden 1 tomna of dry land, in the Urban area.

*159 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to
245 quality as those for the table.

*159 In this move towards more vine production and the recent
245 interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to empha-
231 sise the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for
451 Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made between money spent on the home and family, and money spent on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held
[593] "in one purse". Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual
practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

*159 At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400,
434 less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop
454 was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with
[511] several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30
for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957. During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income from pig sales and other items.

*159
434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit........	£340	-	£340
Grapes.......	49	£ 8	57
Sulla........	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons.......	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals.......	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to
434 year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices
435 to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of
fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between one year and the next is today more important to the arable farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s
[454] guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more
accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

* 159 434 454 is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital
in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent.
Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and
would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting
his money into capital equipment for his fields. He has in
[407] fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a
rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of
16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No
charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding,
in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

* 159 ● 511 262 Expenses within the household are difficult to determine
since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from
the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes
vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva),
a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in
this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family
with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for
babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not
bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most
of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is
caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as
tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family
table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as
quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made
wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably
the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat
and ham,, coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for
special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc),
olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958)
-butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (ghaġin). Ġamri
observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually
insufficient for the family so additional quantities of
these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for
example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring
[354] the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole
means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as
throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the
family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not
considered essential even during the coldest part of the
winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

* 159 262 [369] The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural
Malta. In some details this differs from that found among
urban working classes in the Islands but these differences
are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman
tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm,
where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet
on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An important
[785] factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions.
Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

This increase in the

178 291 [511] range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of his children, both the infants and those attending school. [871] [702] The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been their practice before.

* **Work and Labour**

159 241 461 [464] As seen, Ġamri's normal labour force consists of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit......	1740	man/hours
	- vines......	489	" "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437	" "
	- potatoes...	868	" "
	- other vegetables...	505	" "
(ii) on Ġamri's ~~own~~ holding	- vines....	444	" "
	- cereals & fodders..	222	" "
	- vegetables	65	
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage.................		160	" "
(d) Building of pig-sties..................		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous..........................		677	" "
		6816	man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analysed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġamri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

OUD In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

*159 554 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14). [871]

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 871 829 [814] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fishermen
361 live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi.
Socially this residential distribution is important since only
in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population
for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities
for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
[512] gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economi-
463 cally lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
● 511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
162 time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
178 the present official financial assistance, is producing
exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger
generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor
the way of life based on it.

178 241 561

In terms of the social pattern of the rural village, this means that there is a very significant distinction to be made between the older generation of farmers proper and the younger generation whose direct attachment to the land and farming is weaker if not already broken. If one turns to a consideration of the way of life and living standards in the village community this gulf is apparent. Most spectacular perhaps are changes in clothing.

178 291

The familiar working garb of the farmer has been the heavy woollen vest, cotton trousers, waistcoat, and cap. Recently, army-surplus shirts, denims, etc., have replaced the locally-made garment, often of home-grown cotton, while the cummerbund is now rare. Sandals are normally worn for walking but not for work. The farmer who works round the clock has never had a 'best suit'. He attends Mass in his working clothes before going to the fields and, on Sundays and holidays, ventures forth as on any other day with the possible addition of a woollen cardigan or more presentable waistcoat. For women, the use of the *faldetta* ribbed hood has declined rapidly in the last 20 years and is now only worn by the older women in the villages and by female members of the M.U.S.E.U.M. movement. The use of black generally by women is declining but most clothes are still made in the home even if from bought material rather than home-produced cotton or wool. The younger generation are not usually content to venture forth dressed in the manner of their parents but insist on making their own appearance as much like that of the average town-dweller among whom they aim to move socially. The white shirt, smart suit, shoes, socks, and well-oiled hair of the young men and the bright dresses, high-heeled shoes, nylons and cosmetics of the village maidens are regarded as the essential uniform of the seeker after the bright lights of Valletta and the towns. The schools have played a part in this with their demands on cleanliness, footwear and dress in the classroom. Occasionally a child goes bare-foot to a village school but no one would think of visiting Valletta shoe-less. The imitation of urban standards of dress is particularly apparent in the sub-urban districts where the farming minority are at pains to 'keep up with the Vellas' in dress - in spite of the expense involved.

178 [262] [272]

Diet in the traditional rural scene depended upon what could be produced by the fields and animals held by any family. The standard soups and stews (such as *minestra* and *brodu*) were consequently largely vegetable. Meat was rarer, fish seasonal and small birds might be added to a stew depending on the results of the hunting or, more correctly, shooting which was and is a popular Sunday and Holiday pastime in the countryside. The diet was rather less 'Italian' than that in Valletta and the towns, with potatoes in place of the various forms of farinaceous paste - spaghetti, macaroni, etc. As in the rest of the Islands before the 1939-45 war, milk was taken fresh from goats and sheep and was not infrequently disease-carrying. Tinned milk is now popular in town and country but consumption of bottled, pasteurised milk is growing. Tea and coffee drinking have to some extent replaced local and home-made wines, especially in the many bars and small cafés which have become the leisure-time resorts of the men of the villages between strolls in the squares and streets. Even here change is evidenced, for the traditional guitar-accompanied *għana* of the Maltese peasant has given way to *Radio e Televisione Italiana* as the basis of café entertainment. [533] [207]

512

This very increase in leisure time is significant. The old farmer is content to spend the greater part of every day with his animals or in the fields for they are in fact his hobby as well as his livelihood. Cinemas and bright lights hold no attraction for him; but the young man insists on recreation as he sees it in the towns. The timetable of the farmer varies according to his type of farming. The herdsmen's life is ruled by the routine of feeding and attention demanded by his cows or goats and by the times of milk collection demanded by the Milk Marketing Undertaking. All this means an earlier daily start (sometimes 1 or 2 a.m.) than is usual for the field worker who begins his day with a 4 a.m. or 5 a.m. Mass and then stops for a light breakfast some three hours later. Lunch-time is 11 a.m. or noon and is followed by a *siesta* of some hours, depending on the season and the pressure of work to be completed before the sun goes down and the field-worker shoulders his hoes or his wooden plough and returns home

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table
only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
366 by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension
of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised
shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops,
and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of
home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War,
the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly
to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The
petrolju van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on
paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
[262] addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free
distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
[749] by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation
distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home
178 was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a stair-
342 case frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic
[351] life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were
small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for
animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump
and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
[312] emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
[369] summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can
only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

[491] Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
[399] Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has
been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
[206] north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the
Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
[546] Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent
241 family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the
village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese
agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the
village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have
improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now
greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them,
thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee.
Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village
have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction
not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and
functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community
has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113 1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 33.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1956.

438 The many little shops
443 scattered about the village permit the women to do most of their
● 512 shopping near their own homes. Because of the long, hot summers
621 when food spoils quickly, they shop separately for each meal.
Their shopping trips begin on the way home from the early Mass,
[251] at about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, and continue until
[796] 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus, during the course of a day, a
woman may make as many as a dozen trips to the shops as well
as to the hawkers who pass through the neighbourhood. These
trips are social occasions during which she comes in contact with
friends and neighbours from all parts of the village, and in the
process hears the village news.

276 The men are out of the village from 6 o'clock or so in the
512 morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, and
in the winter from about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock
517 in the evening. But summer or winter, in the late afternoon and
621 the early evening the men gather in the clubs, wine shops and
cafés. Besides the clubs and important cafés in the square, which
draw men from all over the village, there are many small neighbourhood wine shops. Most have a regular clientele of friends
and neighbours who spend hours together talking, playing cards
and drinking tea, soft drinks or wine. Many cafés also have
television. Thus, though most inhabitants of a village are in fairly
frequent contact with each other, the gossip groups of the women
and the wine shops of the men form local social centres which
help bind neighbours more closely to one another. These neighbourhoods develop a certain group loyalty.

621 It often happens that some of the neighbourhoods in a town or
village are centred on small chapels. In times gone by there used
794 to be a certain amount of good-natured competition between the
796 youngsters of these districts over the festas of the patron saints of
their respective chapels. But, except on rare occasions, this rivalry
never threatened the unity of the village during the annual festa
of the patron saint of the parish. Frequent removals from house to
house within the village have usually helped to prevent the
development of disruptive sectional loyalties.

621 Since each village is also a separate parish it is not possible to
[771] consider a village entirely as a secular community. Religion permeates the structure of Maltese society to an extent that makes it
[794] quite impossible to classify many institutions as either religious or
secular. As a secular community, a village has no official leader, it

000 as a means of escape (Section 1).

512 241 234 The nature of the farmer's daily timetable depends on

(a) the type of farm-unit involved,
(b) the labour force available,
(c) location,
(d) season.

The farmer's day begins, on average, between 4 a.m. and 4.30 a.m. Extremes are found in the case of herdsmen who often rise much earlier - at 2.30 a.m. in the case of the Gozitan with a large herd of cows and only a limited milking labour force, or after 5 a.m. or 5.30 a.m. for a herdsman whose farm is close to an M.M.U. collection depôt. The M.M.U. require herdsmen to deliver their milk at such a depôt for transportation to the pasteurizing centre at Hamrun or, in Gozo (after 1958), to the new milk centre at Xewkija. Before this latter addition to the milk industry, which is expected to cope with all the Gozo-produced milk in both pasteurizing and other processes, it was possible for a herdsman (Case I) in north-western Gozo to have to rise as early as 12.30 a.m. Generally, in the summer, reveille for the field worker might be an hour or so earlier than in winter so that he and, even more, the herdsman might expect to begin most of his working days in darkness.

[791] The first event of the day for many country people is Mass. Some are regular attenders at one of the services between 4 and 6 a.m. Others, living further from a Church or having very heavy commitments of work, are less so. Field workers frequently take the Mass on their way to the work of the day (Case X).

[264] Breakfast is invariably a very light meal of little more than bread and tea or coffee. It is taken sometime between reveille and about 9 a.m. and does not constitute a major halt in the work of the farm. Milk producers in most cases do not breakfast until the animals are milked or even until they return with their carts from taking the churns to the M.M.U. collection depôt in the nearest village.

[264] [461] The main meal of the day is lunch, taken somewhere between 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. and followed by a siesta of up to three hours. The herdsman's siesta is less flexible than that of the farmer for a 1 p.m. afternoon milking limits the time available. The milking over, the goat-herder takes his animals out to graze on a suitable patch of waste ground or stubble until 5 or 6 pm. - or later in the summer (Case II). The milk is taken to the collection depôt with minimum loss of time especially in hot weather. In the case of the herdsman with cows there is clearly no question of grazing these animals (Case VI), except in one case (Case IX).

000 except in one case (Case IX).

241 The evening meal is generally smaller than the lunch
234 although consisting of much the same elements - a thick stew
512 ('brodu' or 'minestra'), along with bread, cheese, fruit,
264 olives, tomatoes, etc. The consumption of meat and fish is
in part governed by religion and in part by price and
[262] availability, though meat certainly figures much more prominently in the rural diet than formerly. The meal is taken soon after the return from the fields, about 6.30 p.m. and is followed, an hour or so later by the saying of a family Rosary before retiring for the night about 8.0 p.m. In Gozo there is a tendency for people to rise, eat, work and retire to bed rather earlier than in the larger Island and the smaller villages are usually dark and quiet by 7 p.m.

241 Apart, therefore, from external factors, such as M.M.U.
234 collection or Church service timings, the daily timetable of
512 the farmer and the herdsman depends to a large degree on his own volition. He knows what work is outstanding and can decide how and when he will do it within the limits imposed by the season, demands of animals, and so on. Thus, at a peak period of field-work, such as harvest, the farmer and his assistants may work on until the late evening - even through the night. During exceptionally heavy rains, as in October 1957, work on anything approaching the normal scale is, on the other hand, impossible and the farmer's day becomes one of doing what he can and complaining copiously meanwhile.

244 Miège (B/516, p.236), writing in 1840, was impressed by
512 the regular and assiduous labour of the Maltese farmer, even
461 during the heat of the summer sun. "Il semble impossible, au premier abord, que le paysan maltais puisse résister aux chaleurs intenses de l'été. Cependant, au milieu des champs, dès le lever du soleil, on le voit, exposés a ses brûlants rayons, continuer tout le jour ses pénibles travaux. Il fait deux pauses: la première a huit heures; il se repose alors une demi-heure pour déjeuner; la seconde à onze heures; c'est l'instant de son dîner frugal, après lequel il se repose de nouveau jusqu'à midi en hiver, et jusqu'à une heure en été, tantôt à l'ombre d'un figuier, tantôt au pied du petit mur qui entoure le champ, la tête couverte d'un bonnet de laine, et le reste du corps exposé au feux du jour. Il reprend ensuite ses travaux avec la même vigueur, et ne se retire qu'au signal donné par la cloche de son village, c'est à dire au coucher du soleil".

572 The essentials of the daily round of the farmer have
241 changed little since Miège wrote except in so far as the
234 tremendous increase in the importance of stock-rearing and
178

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[234] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Suq il-Monti'
517 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating

*159 46 work of the farm and animals himself", and he can only cope with his own farm and animals if he follows a heavy and rigidly organized schedule of work. Hired labour is not a proposition, Pawlu avers, at £1 for an eight-hour day and this has apparently contributed to the emphasis which he has put on fodder and milk production in recent years. [433] High costs of hired labour for field-work together with the poor and unguaranteed returns for crop produce make field work on dry (baghli) land a poor prospect. Irrigable land presents a different picture but there is none available in Pawlu's district.

*159 512 Pawlu's timetable (in effect he runs the farm single-handed) centres on the animals. During the summer months the pressure is slightly less because the weather is easier, field-work is less pressing and he has the casual help of the younger children in school vacations. Daily time of rising for Pawlu depends on where and when the milk has to be taken for collection. At one stage, in 1957, he had to be up soon after midnight but, until the new milk factory was opened at Xewkija in 1958, a more usual reveille was at 2 or 3 a.m.

[264] [262] Breakfast, of coffee and bread, is taken when the family gets up or when they return from the Church nearby. Pawlu often has to take meals when he can fit them in between his jobs so that it is somewhat exceptional to find the whole family sitting together for food. The morning milking takes him some two hours after which the animals need feeding and attention before he can go to the fields. About six times a month his morning takes him to Rabat on shopping or business errands.

[264] [262] Lunch, the main meal of the day, consists every day of either minestra (thick soup) or farinaceous paste of some kind, together with bread, cheese, oil (żejt) and home-made tomato 'kunserva'. Lunch is usually over by noon when milking and the preparation of the afternoon feed begins. [264] The evening meal is normally similar to the lunch in content but less in amount. It is often taken immediately before retirement for the night which is early in the village. The farmer reckons to be in from the fields by sun-down but, when the evenings are longer, most of the village is quiet soon after 6 p.m. except where some conversation lingers in a paraffin-lit shop.

*159 512 794 Sundays and festa days are breaks from the normal routine, but Church-going is not confined to these days and in fact accounts for some two half-hour visits every day with extra attendances at the weekend. In this very rural community the 'social' aspect of church-going retains most of its traditional importance. In the absence of

*159 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs
● 512 and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.
794

Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his
592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they
178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to
*159 offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)
423
427 A. Land.

[311] - Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.

- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 B. Utilisation.
423
311

	1956	1957	1958
House	⅓	⅓	⅓
Vines	¼	¼	¼
Prickly pear	¼	¼	¼
Fodders	8¼	10¼	14¼
Vegetables	8⅝	6½	2⅝
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)
231

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 D. Capital.
471
[427] - Land all rented save one small plot.
[456] - Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 E. Labour.
464
- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 F. Production and Sales.
433
[434] - Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

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TABLE 4. CASE II. Analysis of Work Record. 1957-58[a]

ACTIVITY		Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
		am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Sundays and feasts[b]		6		5		4		5		6		6		5		6		5	1	6		6		4		64	1
"Business", miscellaneous		1				1		2				1		2		1				1				1		10	-
Grazing Goats.[c]			29		28		30		29		30		30		25		20		28		30		29		28	-	336
Collecting money from N.R.U.		1		1		2		2				2		1		1		1		2		2		2		17	-
Goats' sheds - cleaning				1		3		2	1	4		2	1	2		1										15	2
" " - building, repairing		3						9		1																13	-
Pigs, illness and slaughtering				1		1								1										1	1	4	1
Potatoes	(Sowing			1								5														6	-
	(Weeding, hoeing															2		3								5	-
	(Lifting									6												2				8	-
Vines	Pruning											12		3												15	-
	Grafting											1		4		2										7	-
	Hoeing, plowing, spraying					1	1							1	1	6	1	3		9	1	1				21	4
	Picking			6		2																				8	-
Tomatoes	Planting out, hoeing															1				2				1		4	-
	Picking	1		8		4		1																2		16	-
Wheat	Sowing							1		10																11	-
	Reaping																					11				11	-
Barley	Sowing							3																		3	-
	Reaping																			5						5	-
Sulla	Sowing	2																						1		3	-
	Reaping	1												1		6		6						2		16	-
	Binding(d)																	5						5		10	-
Marrows, Melons, Pumpkins,														1				1		5		2		2		11	-
Onions and garlic						1				1																2	-
Beans, carob and Prickly Pear(e)		5		1		1						2				1		3								13	-
Gathering greenery (haxix)														1	1	1	2									2	3
Plowing (unspecified): Motor -			2	1		5		2		1				4			1	2								15	3
" " : Wood Plow. and hoeing				1		2										3	7			1						7	7
Threshing wheat & barley - (f)																						5		3		8	-

continued

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 E26 Malta E26

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Table 4 continued.

ACTIVITY	Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Manure spreading (g)	5		2						1												8		3		19	-
Repairing field storm damage					4		3						1												8	-
Other and unspecified (h)	6		2	2					1	1			1	1			1	1			1	1	2	2	14	8
TOTAL	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(a) From work record kept by farmer's wife. (Translated by the writer): originals in M/S).
(b) No work in the mornings - goats grazed as usual in afternoon.
(c) Occasionally the children relieve Guzepp of supervising the goats' grazing.
(d) Including transport and storage.
(e) Hoeing and cutting.
(f) Including preparations for threshing.
(g) Including moving, spreading, turning and selling.
(h) Including 6 mornings when Guzepp washed clothes (wife's confinement), and others when weather was too bad for work.

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[54] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fisher-
361 men live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi.
Socially this residential distribution is important since only
in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
● [512] their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economi-
463 cally lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
162 basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
the present official financial assistance, is producing
178 exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger
generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor
the way of life based on it.

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● 516
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6. 'Viva San Ġużepp!'

[facing P. 81]

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days,
after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 171
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 264
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these 516 ●
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom 352
has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain
from having their pastry and other food prepared in a
public oven for a period of some months after the death of a
member of the family.

184
IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days -
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

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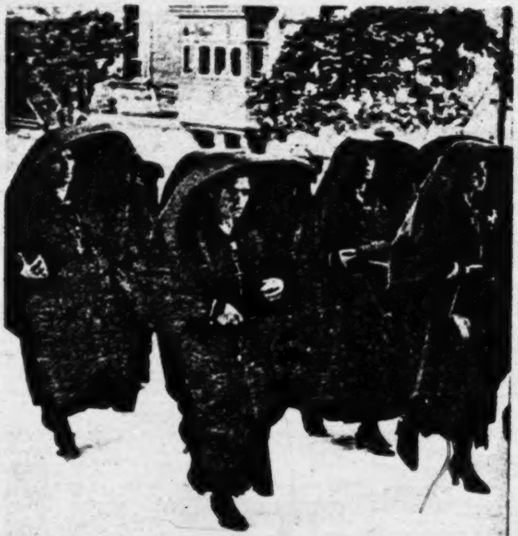

MALTESE WOMEN IN FALDETTAS
[*See pp.* 28–29.]

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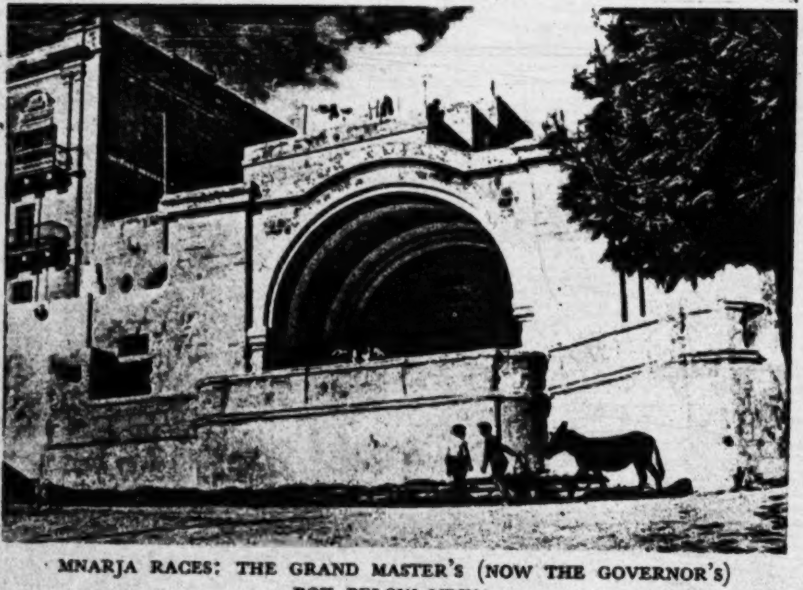

MNARJA RACES: THE GRAND MASTER'S (NOW THE GOVERNOR'S) BOX BELOW MDINA
[*See pp.* 27–28.]

[facing p. 41]
[pp. 41-48 not processed]

occupations, 52 per cent are service personnel and skilled workers, 463
27 per cent are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and 14 per cent
are engaged in agriculture. Just over two-thirds of the total are
employed outside the village. The majority of these, as in Farruġ,
work in the Grand Harbour industrial area. Those who work in
the village are for the most part self-employed. They are farmers,
shopkeepers, blacksmiths and carpenters.

In Table No. 1 I have compared the various occupational classes
in Kortin and Farruġ to each other and to the national figures.

III

Most villages look very much alike. Their magnificent baroque 361
churches provide a startling contrast to the low, flat-roofed houses
grouped tightly around them. As the parish church towers over
the village, so it dominates it socially, for the church is in every
sense the centre around which the life of the village revolves. In
front of the church there is usually a large square, the *misrah* or
pjazza, which is the social centre of the village. Various village
clubs and lay societies, as well as the police station, are situated on
the *pjazza*, or just off it, as are the principal wine shops, the
government dispensary and the finest houses of the village. As the [448]
square is usually the terminal point of the local bus line, it is the
point at which most people enter and leave the village. It is also [796]
the stage on which the principal events of village life take place:
the annual feast, or *festa*, of the patron saint, the many religious
processions and the occasional political rallies. On Sundays, and [517]
especially during the long summer evenings, the square teems
with groups of men, who sit about on steps and benches, talking
and arguing for hours on end. During weekday mornings, it [745]
belongs to the old men of the village, now freed by government
old age pensions from the backbreaking toil in the fields that was [887]
the lot of their forefathers.

Each village is first and foremost a community of neighbours. 621
Even the smallest of them have distinct residential groups, the
members of which are in closer contact with each other than with
people living in other parts of the village. This is, of course, par-
ticularly true of the larger villages. But even in Farruġ, a village of
about 1,400, the extremities of the village and the various streets
and alleys form separate neighbourhoods. The many little shops 600

438 The many little shops
443 scattered about the village permit the women to do most of their
512 shopping near their own homes. Because of the long, hot summers
621 when food spoils quickly, they shop separately for each meal.
Their shopping trips begin on the way home from the early Mass,
[251] at about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, and continue until
[796] 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus, during the course of a day, a woman may make as many as a dozen trips to the shops as well as to the hawkers who pass through the neighbourhood. These trips are social occasions during which she comes in contact with friends and neighbours from all parts of the village, and in the process hears the village news.

275 The men are out of the village from 6 o'clock or so in the
512 morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, and
in the winter from about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock
517 in the evening. But summer or winter, in the late afternoon and
621 the early evening the men gather in the clubs, wine shops and cafés. Besides the clubs and important cafés in the square, which draw men from all over the village, there are many small neighbourhood wine shops. Most have a regular clientele of friends and neighbours who spend hours together talking, playing cards and drinking tea, soft drinks or wine. Many cafés also have television. Thus, though most inhabitants of a village are in fairly frequent contact with each other, the gossip groups of the women and the wine shops of the men form local social centres which help bind neighbours more closely to one another. These neighbourhoods develop a certain group loyalty.

621 It often happens that some of the neighbourhoods in a town or
794 village are centred on small chapels. In times gone by there used
to be a certain amount of good-natured competition between the
796 youngsters of these districts over the festas of the patron saints of their respective chapels. But, except on rare occasions, this rivalry never threatened the unity of the village during the annual festa of the patron saint of the parish. Frequent removals from house to house within the village have usually helped to prevent the development of disruptive sectional loyalties.

621 Since each village is also a separate parish it is not possible to
consider a village entirely as a secular community. Religion per-
[771] meates the structure of Maltese society to an extent that makes it
[794] quite impossible to classify many institutions as either religious or
secular. As a secular community, a village has no official leader, it

575 The important officers of a band club are among the most
influential people in the community, and are usually chosen from
the village's leading citizens. The president is the figurehead of
[574] the club. He greets distinguished visitors and handles many of the
ceremonial and business relations the club has with other groups
within and outside the community. He also presides over committee
meetings and over the annual election of new officers. The
day-to-day running of the club is in the hands of the secretary,
who is registered with the police as the club's official representative.
Much of the success of the club depends upon his ability to
run its social activities and administrative affairs. Other important
committee members are the vice-president, the treasurer and the
bandmaster. The latter is very often an outsider who comes to the
village only for the weekly rehearsal of the band.

575 Though the formal authority of the committee members
554 extends over the members of the association only while they are
in the club, their position in the club occasionally gives them a
voice in decisions which affect the entire community. This, in
turn, gives them a measure of authority over persons who are
not members of the club.

But not all villages have band clubs. The small villages of
575 Gharghur, Dingli and Safi have not been able to afford the luxury
184 of their own bands; though each has a social club that performs
much the same function as a social and civic centre. A few villages,
such as Kortin, have both social clubs and band clubs. But there
are neither band clubs nor social clubs in the Maltese villages of
[517] Marsaskala, Marsaxlokk and Mġarr. In Gozo, only Rabat,
Xewkija and Xaghra have band clubs. All the villages without
clubs are fishing or agricultural communities. This may be because
the men of these villages do not dispose of the leisure time in the
evening necessary for a club to be a success: the farmers are too
tired, and the fishermen are off tending their nets.

575 There are also political and football clubs in most Maltese
665 villages. In Gozo there are a few football clubs, but no political
clubs. These clubs are organized in much the same way as the
[526] band clubs, and corresponding office holders have similar functions
and authority over their members. These offices, however,
[554] confer much less prestige. The football clubs, in particular, play
only a small part in village affairs. The Malta Labour Party, as
has already been noted, is the only political party which has clubs

178 across the village and the clubs, and has brought about conflict
within many families. People lament the change that has come
578 over the village as a result. An old bachelor friend often used to
621 complain that had we come to live there just a few years ago,
'before politics came and spoiled everything', we would have
found the village a far happier place. Picnics and outings were
more frequent then, and groups of friends used to gather on hot
summer evenings and stroll outside the village to play guitars and
sing the lilting Maltese *għana* in the cool air away from the houses.
[575] There was also more life in the clubs. Beth the Social Club and
the Band Club used to take part in the national carnival competition
[796] for the best decorated carts and costumed companies. But
as the political conflict has divided the island's carnival celebration
in two, so it has also affected the clubs. They now celebrate
neither the government's carnival nor that of the MLP for fear the
question of which one to participate in would provoke a fight
that would cripple the club.

Dun Bert, the parish priest in Kortin, is of course the head of
578 the local group which supports the Archbishop and opposes the
665 MLP. His chief lieutenants in the fight are the local clergy and the
793 lay leaders of the religious associations. Pawlu and Anton, his two
794 faithful helpers, are also vocal partisans, as is old Manwel. Dr.
Farrugia, old Manwel's son, as a former member of the Legislative
Assembly (MLA) and a leading member of one of the political
parties opposed to the MLP, also belongs to the pro-Church
division in the village, though he takes little part in its day-to-day
275 affairs. The main activity and support comes from the leaders of
the lay associations, especially of the Young Christian Workers,
578 the MUSEUM and the Sodality of Our Lady. These all meet regularly
665 in their respective premises. Many of the others, older men,
794 spend much of their free time in Kelinu's café. These include old
Manwel, Pawlu, Anton, the sacristan, the organist, and Dun
Mikiel and Dun Filip, respectively the chaplains of the female and
male sections of Catholic Action. This café, located right next to
Dr. Farrugia's house, is the nicest café on the square, or in the
village for that matter. It is the only one which the clergy, the
teachers and occasionally Dr. Farrugia himself, frequent. It is thus
the headquarters of the more influential village citizens who support
the Archbishop. Most MLP supporters have stopped going to
[517] it, although a few still play cards there for an hour or so in the late
afternoon when they return from work.

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
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241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
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is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

*159 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people
156 around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as
well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social
461 life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is
626 most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on
●517 speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids
his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on
493 the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he to plow on Sundays or festa days he would be "publically ostracised and no villager would hire him and his plow". His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than farming".

*159 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical.
156 He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of
593 illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending to assume that his education and wider experience entitles him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments. Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data')
156 system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni.
[583] He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle without the older people of the village criticising him for not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs which his education and his knowledge of the world outside the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs, he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close
[178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the new methods and implements which he has brought to the village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father
472 works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their
407 joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention.
Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta.
000 They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

575 578 621 793 The next day each delegation called separately on Dun Frangisk and told him that they had not been able to reach a decision. In fact, they had not met again. St. Martin supporters were very bitter about the whole affair, and said that since they could not play, they would also cancel the firework display they had been planning.

The installation ceremony took place three days later as planned. Neither band played, but each fired off a number of petards during the day, and each gave the newly installed priest a rousing salute of fire crackers on his return from the church. The leaders of both partiti attended his reception, separately to be sure, and they were very cordial in their congratulations. The skirmish was over. St. Martin leaders admitted to me that Dun Frangisk had handled himself well, and that he had taken the only sensible course open to him. They declared, however, that he should not have called in person to invite the St. Roque club, but should have sent the more usual printed invitation. The St. Roque leaders, on the other hand, were quite pleased with the way things had gone. They invited Dun Frangisk to a reception in his honour at their club the following week, and shortly afterwards asked him to support their request for a new platform for their saint.

This whole episode must be seen as an attempt by the St. Roque partit to unseat its rival from the position of pre-eminence it had enjoyed during the centenary celebration. It could do this by blocking the St. Martin club's plan to be the only band to play at the installation ceremony. The St. Roque leaders were able to make their first move when Dun Frangisk called in person at their club, thereby assuring them that they be given equal standing with the other, which they felt had been favoured by his predecessor. They would not have made their offer to play if there had been the slightest indication that Dun Frangisk was going to favour their rivals. In fact it is extremely unlikely that the St. Roque club was really planning to play. It had not done so for many years, it had no bandsmen and at the time it did not even have a bandmaster. Finally, it had made no collection to pay for a band. All these facts were known to the St. Martin supporters when they made their offer to play. Furthermore, they had heard indirectly
[521] from the St. Roque secretary – who told a policemen in a neighbouring town, who in turn mentioned it to the president of the

St. Martin club – that the St. Roque club was not planning to par- 575
ticipate in the ceremony in protest against the way they had been 578
treated during the centenary. Dun Frangisk's spontaneous move 621
upset their plans. 793

Although Dun Frangisk favoured the suggestions that the clubs [521]
draw lots, or hire outside bands, St. Martin rejected both because they implied that the clubs had equal status. The last time the St. Roque band had played was six years and four parish priests before, when the local police inspector had devised a compromise solution, and the St. Martin leaders had 'allowed' St. Roque to play the last march of the day, while their band escorted the new priest home. They believed any concession they made now would undo the advantage which they felt they had gained as the only functioning band in the village during the past six years.

Thus it came about that no band played at Dun Frangisk's installation ceremony. This greatly surprised the many visitors from the city and the suburbs, but the good people of the district found it quite in accordance with the way things should be, considering the issues involved. At no point in the series of events were the feelings of the young priest, whom all liked, ever considered. His installation had become the vehicle for a clash between the followers of St. Martin and St. Roque. They had been vying with each other for supremacy long before he was born, and would be at it long after he left. Any concessions made for his sake would have to be entered into the eighty-year-old ledger of credits and debits, and might have an important bearing on the outcome of the next series of encounters.

III

Two interesting problems remain to be considered: why festa 17
partiti arose during the fifty years or so after 1850, and what 621
reasons prompted people to join one partit rather than its rival. 787
The factors which caused the partiti to come into existence at this 795
particular period in Maltese history are necessarily complex, and they are dimmed by the time that has elapsed since their foundation. Nonetheless, one can discern several elements which would appear to be related to the general problem. To begin with, during this period there was a sudden increase in the devotion to the Virgin Mary following her apparition in 1858 at Lourdes, and the

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6 [P 91]

*159 shopping is done in the local village but Nardu
443 makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Puq il-Monti'
484 Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of
● 521 gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 423 A. Land.

30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold.
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 241 311 B. Utilisation.

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under żofûfa. (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 231 C. Livestock.

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 D. Capital.

- [423] Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's.
- [454] Freehold village house.
- [412] According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
- [407] Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc. No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 464 E. Labour.

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting. During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
- [427] Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 433 F. Production and Sales.

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and woo
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week

*159 241 G. Husbandry.

(1) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annua
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prov
the employment of the normal four-year rota

B. The Lands of a Maltese Family

423*
173
427
596

It has been found possible to trace the landholding history of a single family back to its very beginning through four generations and slightly more than 100 years. Before about 1850, the family in question had no direct proprietary interest in land. Its members were landless labourers working mainly in the fields of various farmers in the northern districts of the island. They appear to have moved from farm to farm as demands for labour arose. Frequently they worked as a team, occasionally as individuals but always they were paid on a daily basis. Their home was in the casal of Mosta, and there is still some attachment to that centre, although few members of the family continue to reside there.

[127] This study is based, fundamentally, on the oral tradition of the family, refined by studies of the Farm Register, Government Land Records and field identification. For ethical reasons, the family must remain anonymous; its members are therefore referred to by key numbers. The founder-father of our family and his five children are designated 0 to 5 as below. [128] The progeny of each son are numbered similarly, the digits suffixed to the parent's number and so throughout. In addition, the lineage groups stemming from the original five children are distinguished by the letter A to E. Final suffixes 0 denote husbands of the females of the family.

The history begins in the 1850's with a family of five children and their father (0). Four of the children (2-5) were sons and worked for some time with their father as farm labourers. At some stage, the daughter (1), married a farmer with land in the Manikata area, and from her springs branch A of the family. Later, one of the brothers (2) married the daughter of a farmer who held most of his land at Ġnejn Għajn Tuffieħa, and lived nearby. On the death or retirement of his father-in-law, 2 acquired the tenancy of this land in the third year of an eight year lease which had commenced in 1862. Finding that he was unable to work this farm satisfactorily by himself he invited one of his brothers (3) to join him in the enterprise. When the eight year lease was renewed for a similar period, in 1870, both brothers became joint tenants. Their respective descendants form groups B and C of the genealogy. Another piece of land, which had been leased by 2's father-in-law for 99 years from 1861, passed to 2, neither 3 nor his descendants having any share in it.

Meanwhile, in 1857 or 1858, the father (0) and his two remaining sons (4 and 5) acquired the tenancy of an area of partially irrigable land at the head of the Ġnejna valley. Some 12 months earlier the land, with its terraces, had been severely damaged by floodwaters following very heavy rain. The landowner concerned was unwilling to assist the sitting tenant in the repair of severe storm damage to the extent which that tenant expected. Rather than bear alone the full cost, the latter attempted to sub-let outside his own family and was dispossessed by the owner. Our landless labourer (0) and his two sons (4 and 5) evidently felt themselves capable of tackling this reconstruction and, with the landowner's approval, took over the tenancy. It is uncertain whether the landlord gave them assistance in the form of reduced rent, whether they had some capital saved from their meagre wages which they could exploit here, or whether they depended for success entirely on their own labour. Some capital must have been available to them to cover the period of reconstruction and the sale of the first season's crop. [426] It would be characteristic of the period if some financial help was given by the *pitkali* merchants who functioned as the land bank of that day.

There is evidence that local opinion did not rate highly the chances of this landless group in restoring the valley to its former fertility. [522] The story is told of local comment that the family would not stay 'from Christmas Day to St. Stephen's' (25th-26th December). After 100 years of continuous occupation the story affords the family some considerable amusement, but serves to illustrate the shaky nature of the original enterprise.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

ALL FOOLS' DAY

1st. April

This particular day has been selected for playing off little tricks whereby ridicule may be fixed upon unguarded persons, especially the younger sort. 527 522.

The favourite jest in Malta, on the 1st. day of April, is to send some one upon an errand for something grossly nonsensical, who is sent home in a state of bewilderment as to what the affair means. The joke is carried so far as to send letters making appointments in the name of persons who, it is well known, must be absent from the house at the time fixed upon, and the laugh is always in proportion to the trouble given.

When the person falls into the snare the term "Leuuel ta April" (the first

527 of April) which amounts to "April
522 fool" is applied with laughter.

527 The custom of sending one upon a
522 bootless errand on the 1st. of April is
174 perhaps a travesty of the sending hither and thither of our Lord from Annas to Caiphas, and from Pilate to Herod. It is possible, however, that it may be a relic of some old heathen festival.

It is conjectured that April day is celebrated as part of the festivity of the New Year. That day used to be kept on the 25th of March, and it is certain that the commencement of the New Year, at whatever time that was supposed to be, was always esteemed a high festival, and this was the case both amidst the ancient Romans and with us. Now great festivals were usually attended with an octave—that

is, they were wont to continue for 8 days, whereof the first and last were the principal; and you will find the 1st. of April the octave of the 25th of March, and the close or ending consequently of the feast. Hence it is supposed that the 1st. day of April became a day of extraordinary mirth and festivity, especially among the lower classes who are apt to pervert and make a bad use of institutions, which at first might have been very laudable in themselves. 527 522 174

A writer in "Poor Robin's Almanac" for 1760, gives the following metrical description of the modern fooleries on the 1st. of April, with the open avowal of being ignorant of their origin. 527 522

"The 1st. of April some do say
Is set apart for all Fools' day,
But why the people call it so [539]

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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527 Nor I nor they themselves do know.
● 522 But on this day are people sent,
539 On purpose for pure merriment,
And though the day is known before
Yet frequently there is great store
Of these forgetful to be found
Who are sent to dance *Moll*
Dixon's round.
And having tried each shop and stall
And disappointed at them all
At last some tells them of the cheat,
Then they return from the pursuit
And straight way home with shame they run
And others laugh at what is done,
But 'tis a thing to be disputed
Which is the greatest fool reputed,
The man that innocently went
Or he that him design'dly sent."

527 522 171 This custom of imposing upon each other on the 1st day of April, and sending one another upon frivolous, ridiculous and absurd errands, whatever be its origin, appears to be universal throughout Europe.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

In France one thus imposed upon, 527
on the 1st of April, is called "un 522
poisson d' Avril," in England such a 171
person is called an "April fool," in
Italy "un pesce d' Aprile" and in Scotland a "Gowk."

It is curious that the Hindoos practice precisely similar tricks on the 31st. of March, when they hold what is called the "Huli Festival."

During the "Huli festival" when mirth and festivity reign among the Hindoos of every class, one subject of diversion is to send people on errands and expeditions that are to end in disappointment and raise a laugh at the expense of the person sent.

The "Huli" is always in March and [114]
the last day is the general holiday.

Colonel Pearce in his "Asiatic Researches" proves this to have been a cus-

114 tom, from immemorial time, among the
171 522 Hindoos. The least inquiry, however, into
527 the ancient customs of Persia, or the
minutest acquaintance with the general astronomical mythology of Asia, would have told Colonel Pearce that the boundless hilarity and jocund sports, prevalent during the "Huli Festival" in India, have their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating with festival rites the period of the vernal equinox, or the day when the New Year of Persia anciently began (*)

527

ASCENSION DAY
Lapsi

The Maltese celebrate Ascension day by parties and picnics on the water.

(*) Maurice in his " Indian Antiquities."

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

EZ6 Malta EZ6

crammed to the top with hazelnuts, chestnuts, figs, sweets and other edibles, besides a nice small roll studded with hazelnut-kernels and covered all over with sesame. 527 262 857

With these bags and rolls the happy children come out walking along the streets, proud of what they were lucky to get, then they meet in groups or parties and indulge in games for the nuts.

The most favourite game for children on this occasion is what they call "ta 'l castell" which means hitting at the castle. The castle consists of three nuts put near each other, topped by a fourth. They each arrange, say two or three of these castles in rows, and keep throwing by turns—every one wins the castle or castles he succeeds hitting and demolishing. 527 524 ● 857 late round the *jack*, one of the adversaries' side, who is left for the purpose, is called by the skip (l' imghallem), whose duty is to direct each of the men of his side, to play straight at the jack with force, and this generally succeeds in hitting and carrying away the jack from the neighbourhood of his opponents' bowls. 526

When the game is finished the losers, as a rule, stand drinks to the winning side.

PLAYING AT *MORRA*

The Maltese of the lower class, especially boatmen and coal-heavers are very fond of playing at *Morra*. 524 [565]

The *Morra* is a game that keeps the two adversaries—between whom it is played—on the alert and which creates great excitement between them.

524 The game consists in presenting very suddenly to your adversary your right hand, keeping one, two, three, or four fingers shut, and in shouting at the same moment the number of fingers extended both by you and by your adversary.

The left hand serves to mark the the points gained.

The precipitate haste, the tensity of mind required, the rapidity of the turns, make both players cry their words in jerks, then their faces become glowing and contracted, while they speak with a guttural intonation the numbers cried: *Dui*, *erbgha*, *tlieta*, *ottu*, *ghaxra* or *collox* &c. (*)

525 Animated by this amusement, which

(*) Two, four, three, eight, ten or all—the player in this case extends the four fingers and thumb while expecting his adversary to do the same.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

carries a certain spice of gambling, the players of *Morra* congregate at some street corner or a public house and indulge in a game for small stakes which the winner generally spent in assuaging the thirst of both parties, a proceeding to which the loser as a rule made no objection. 524 525

FAIRS

Every Sunday morning there is a fair held along strada Mercanti, Valletta. The goods exposed for sale in these weekly fairs are of all descriptions, and attract large crowds, especially of country people. 443 438 527

Besides these Sunday fairs there is also another fair held annually at Floriana on the mornings of the feast days of St. Calcedonio, St. Giacomo, and 443 527 796

club and a sports club. In Farruġ, for instance, there are two band 575
clubs – one of which is dedicated to St. Martin, the other to St.
Roque – a football club and an active Labour Party committee;
while Kortin has a band club, a social club, a Labour club, a
football club and a troop of Boy Scouts. The term secular, used 575
in this context, requires a few words of qualification. Although 794
clubs and associations which I have called secular do not form part
of the Church, this does not necessarily mean that they are
opposed to it, or are cut off from it. Quite the contrary. Almost
every club has a chaplain who serves as a link between it and the
parish priest. Most clubs take part in certain religious functions,
especially during the week preceding Easter. Moreover, many of [778]
the clubs have dedicated themselves to the Sacred Heart of Jesus
and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary by means of special religious
ceremonies. Often this dedication is renewed annually. Only [665]
the clubs of the Malta Labour Party do not have any linkage with
the Church.

The band clubs are the most important secular societies. They 575
are formally constituted associations with elected committees,
premises of their own and a large body of dues-paying members
drawn from all occupational and social classes. The first band
clubs were established shortly after the middle of the last century
in order to organize the external celebrations and provide music
for the annual festas of village patron saints. The clubs multiplied
rapidly, and soon became civic and social centres. They have [536]
broadened their scope to include dramatic groups, reading rooms [525]
and places where members can gamble out of sight of the watchful
eyes of the law. Most clubs have large concert halls that can
be used for wedding receptions. Today, each club usually has a
well-stocked bar, a television set and a billiards table.

But a band club is more than just a social centre. As it usually
plays an important part in organizing the external celebration of
the annual festa, the men who run the club make decisions which
affect all the inhabitants. Furthermore, the club often represents 575
the community to the outside world. Not only is the club's brass 574
band considered as the village's band when it plays at other festas, [186]
but the club also provides a welcome to important visitors from
outside. Thus when the Governor or the Archbishop makes an
official visit, he normally calls on the band clubs, where he is
given a reception on behalf of the entire village.

NOTES

000 [103] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [127] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analysed by Charlton (b/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Welts, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

[342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

[527] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/226).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

[124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made .1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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88

527 In connection with this feast, horse
541 races take place at Sliema. The con-
•525 course of people and the excitement are not less, on this occasion, than they are on the St. Rocco festival, the events being always contested with great spirit, and large sums exchange hands in the bets laid upon the respective favourites.

527 The national Feast at Cospicua is celebrated on the hillside of Sta. Margherita which is, on this occasion, very tastefully decorated and illuminated with Venetian lights to the delectation of many thousands.

[541] At the Sliema celebration the fireworks are set off on barges on the water and thousands cheer the beautiful display.

At Vittoriosa—the very scene of the final victory on Sept. 8th 1565—the commemoration of this most glorious event in History is fitly celebrated.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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EZ6 Malta EZ6

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9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 states. Alone with Gibraltar it runs a Lotto (with weekly
659 drawings) as a Government Department. Until 1866 Malta's
● 525 Opera House was the Manoel Theatre, a little gem of a play-
368 house built as the Court Theatre by Grand Master Manoel
de Vilhena in 1731 and believed to be the oldest theatre in
368 Europe. It is easy enough to appreciate how daintily graceful
545 it must have looked when the audience, arrayed in the
brocades and perukes of the eighteenth century, was
assembled to witness some comedy of Molière or Goldoni.
Later used as a cinema, it is now being scientifically restored
to its original form and purpose.

368 In 1866 the new Opera House, officially called the Theatre
Royal, was completed at a cost of £60,000 just within
Kingsgate, partly on the site of a dilapidated old bakery which
has been identified with the house of the Turcopilier, title
of the Pillar or Head of the Langue of England. In 1873
this building, which was designed by Barry, the architect of
the Covent Garden Theatre, in a style which while dignified
was entirely out of harmony with Valetta's prevailing archi-
tectural character, was seriously damaged by fire and was
reconstructed at a farther cost of £20,000. Before its
destruction in the Second World War it was the only theatre
known to the writer where it was the rule for male members
of the audience to attend the evening performances either in
mess dress or in evening dress with decorations.

655 The Monte di Pietà, the Government pawnbroking
175 Department, was established at the end of the sixteenth
century and was housed in its present handsome office in
Merchants' Street by Ximenes, the last but two of Malta's
Grand Masters. Connected with the Monte di Pietà is an
institution known as the Monte di Redenzione. In wander-
ing about the island the visitor will occasionally encounter
a building of the seventeenth or eighteenth century adorned
with a shield representing three cones surmounted by the
letter "R". These buildings constitute the property, now
administered by the Government of Malta under a trust, of

186 the village, which draws in native sons and daughters from all over
621 the country, and often from as far away as Canada and Australia.
This loyalty is also evident at other times. Villagers like to think of
796 themselves as a united body, and they take care to protect the
appearance of unity before strangers. This is an attitude of which
186 anyone studying the social history of a village becomes keenly
609 aware. Strangers are thus treated with great reserve. The inhabitants of the smaller villages are well known for their reluctance to
621 give any information about their neighbours to strangers. Inquiring visitors are often referred to the parish priest, who, as
village spokesman, screens them and, if possible, deals with their
questions. The reserve of a village *vis-à-vis* a stranger is consider-
[627] ably more than just an expression of village loyalty. Present also
is the very real fear of vengeance should the answer to a stranger's
question lead to some unpleasantness for a neighbour. Social
relations in a small village are to a very considerable extent
governed by the proverb 'Don't make an enemy of your neighbour' (*Tagħmilx għadu lil ġarek*).

In view of this loyalty, it is not surprising that people express
628 their solidarity with their native village by opposition to other
villages. A village's traditional rivals are usually those with which
it has the most frequent contact. I was almost invariably warned
by villagers that the inhabitants of the neighbouring village were
a treacherous and savage lot. There are many tales of hostility
between neighbouring villages, especially over the celebration of
the annual festa, which I dare say have lost nothing in retelling. I
was told a number of stories of how youths stampeded goats
through their rivals' festa processions, and of expeditions which
stole fireworks, attacked street decorations and performed other
daring escapades. Although most of these adventures are said to
have taken place many years ago, they are no more unusual than
some of the incidents that I witnessed.

If the intense inter-village rivalry of former times has abated
[178] somewhat, it is probably because increased education and contact
outside the villages have helped to break down ignorance and
[796] isolation. But this rivalry still lies dormant, and may flare up at the
slightest provocation from a traditional rival; I have seen a num-
526 ber of fights over trivial incidents during festas and football
[712] matches. The number of police at village feasts and the quantity
and density of the barbed-wire entanglements at the Schreiber

Stadium, where most village football matches are played, are in 628
themselves evidence that fights during these occasions are the rule [526]
rather than the exception. [712]

Although there is little formal contact between villages, there is a considerable amount of informal coming and going between their inhabitants. Most inter-village marriages are between part- [582]
ners from neighbouring villages, and the network of kin ties that these form helps to bind the villages of a district together. Inhabitants of neighbouring villages travel to and from work on the same buses, and see each other often at the annual feasts of the district. These multiple relations contribute to a certain district spirit. The most striking example is the unity of the Gozitans, although people from the south of Malta have something of the same spirit of belonging to a particular district. Nonetheless, the knowledge the inhabitants of the southern Maltese villages have of each other cannot be compared to that of the Gozitans, who, for the most part, not only recognize each other by face, name and nickname, but usually know a surprising (and often uncomfortable) amount of personal details about one another.

IV

A person becomes a member of a village by being born there, or 217
marrying or moving into it. The administrative details connected 591
with these acts are quite simple. Parents must register the birth of [621]
a child at the local police station, and the parish priest enters the [851]
child's name in his register when the baby is baptized, which usually takes place within a few days of its birth. If a man marries into a village, his name will be entered in the parish register, for under Church law the marriage must be performed by the parish priest of the bride, or his delegate. If the couple settles in the husband's village or in a strange village, their names will be recorded on the annual census there, the *status animarum*, which every parish priest prepares for his bishop. All changes of address are supposed to be given (but often are not) to the Rationing Office and, if the person is over twenty-one, to the Electoral Office. No other civil authorities are interested in a person's whereabouts.

In point of fact, however, most people live in the villages into 369
which they were born. This is another respect in which the towns 591

575 [574] The important officers of a band club are among the most influential people in the community, and are usually chosen from the village's leading citizens. The president is the figurehead of the club. He greets distinguished visitors and handles many of the ceremonial and business relations the club has with other groups within and outside the community. He also presides over committee meetings and over the annual election of new officers. The day-to-day running of the club is in the hands of the secretary, who is registered with the police as the club's official representative. Much of the success of the club depends upon his ability to run its social activities and administrative affairs. Other important committee members are the vice-president, the treasurer and the bandmaster. The latter is very often an outsider who comes to the village only for the weekly rehearsal of the band.

575 554 Though the formal authority of the committee members extends over the members of the association only while they are in the club, their position in the club occasionally gives them a voice in decisions which affect the entire community. This, in turn, gives them a measure of authority over persons who are not members of the club.

575 184 [517] But not all villages have band clubs. The small villages of Gharghur, Dingli and Safi have not been able to afford the luxury of their own bands; though each has a social club that performs much the same function as a social and civic centre. A few villages, such as Kortin, have both social clubs and band clubs. But there are neither band clubs nor social clubs in the Maltese villages of Marsaskala, Marsaxlokk and Mġarr. In Gozo, only Rabat, Xewkija and Xaghra have band clubs. All the villages without clubs are fishing or agricultural communities. This may be because the men of these villages do not dispose of the leisure time in the evening necessary for a club to be a success: the farmers are too tired, and the fishermen are off tending their nets.

575 665 ● [526] [554] There are also political and football clubs in most Maltese villages. In Gozo there are a few football clubs, but no political clubs. These clubs are organized in much the same way as the band clubs, and corresponding office holders have similar functions and authority over their members. These offices, however, confer much less prestige. The football clubs, in particular, play only a small part in village affairs. The Malta Labour Party, as has already been noted, is the only political party which has clubs

527 are seen putting off the shore and
501 steering their course homewards.

527 The custom of making swings on
526 Ascension Day, is very common in Malta, especially among the country people. In almost every village, lots of women and children may be seen swinging together and singing merrily on the day of *Lapsi*.

527 No reason could perhaps be assigned
173 by the Maltese for the practice of celebrating *Lapsi* by parties and picnics on the water, and for making swings, except that they follow the custom of their ancestors.

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St. JOHN'S EVE

Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating

beautiful display of fireworks, on the eve 527
of the festival, attract thousands of 184
spectators not only from the towns and
villages of Malta but also from the
sister Island.

Hundreds of Gozitans flock to Malta 527
in order, as it were, to take part in 175
the general rejoicings held on this 184
special day of the anniversary of the 648
raising of the great siege of Malta,
which ended in the total repulse of
the Turks, after a most heroic defence
by the Knights of St. John, united
to the bravery of the Maltese, under
the intrepid Grand Master Jean La
Valette, in 1565.

In the afternoon of the feast (8th 527
Sept.) the grand harbour presents indeed 526
a very lively appearance, there being
boat racing and the *giostra* or greasy
pole, the prizes for which are given

?: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

522 526 by Government in commemoration of the defeat of the Turks (*)

The famous annual boat race of the 8th. of September draws as great a concourse of people, comparatively speaking, as the far-famed Oxford and Cambridge contest annually does along the banks of the Thames.

The Valletta harbour quays, from the new extension, right up to the old Barriera, and all the overlooking lines of walls and batteries, on both sides of the harbour, are early taken possession of by thousands of spectators who take great delight in this exciting annual regatta.

The course is from "Ras Hanzir"

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796 848 (*) Both the regatta and the *giostra* were formerly held on the 10th of August, St. Lawrence day—The Parochial feast of Vittoriosa, the principal seat during the memorable siege of 1565.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

to the Custom house, the whole length 520
of which is always crowded with thousands 526 ●
of picturesquely painted boats, yachts, and small crafts with living cargo.

The race course in the centre channel is always well kept clear by a couple of steam launches, and the Port Department gondolas.

The races consist of (1) four-oared fishing boats (2) double pair and single pair passage boats—that is boats employed for the conveyance of passengers —and (3) four-oared *cajjicchi.*

The boats used for racing, on this [501]
special day, are always very gaily painted and gilt, being also of a much lighter and sharper build than the others of the same kind, and the best stalwart men are always selected for rowing.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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When the victory prizes are awarded, the beaten racers return crest-fallen in silence to their creeks, whilst the victors, cheered by the immense crowds of spectators, keep ploughing the deep, with the prize flags tied up at the prow end of the boat, waving in the breeze.

The boat race is immediately followed by the *Giostra* or greasy pole, which adds not a little to the amusement of the crowds assembled to witness the sports.

The *Giostra* is a large barge, anchored opposite the Custom House buildings, in the centre of the port, having a long tapering pole, placed almost horizontally from the head, with a small white and red flag fixed on at the end, and made slippery with grease, soap, and other ingredients. At a given signal a number of boys first, then lads and men,

in their bathing costume, immediately 527
begin the task of endeavouring to seize 526
the flag, one after another they continue tumbling into the water and raising again to renew the attempt.

Gradually the greasy matter diminishes and the competitors are able to advance further. At last the winner with the prize flag in hand, amidst great shouts of "bravo," loud whistling, and clapping of hands announces the end of the National Feast for that day.

The 7th of September is also comme- 796
morated by a melancholy, and at the 769
same time imposing, ceremony at the Co-Cathedral Church of St. John in Valletta.

On the morning of this day the celebrant, preceded by the Chapter and Clergy, descend into the crypt beneath the High Altar, and while chanting

[P. 109]

ANCIENT AND MODERN
SPORTS, USAGES, CEREMONIES &c.
OF THE
MALTESE PEOPLE

THE MAY POLE

This is one of the most amusing outdoor diversions which at the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was kept annually on the 1st of May in the square facing the Grand Master's Palace in Valletta. 527

This popular amusement has been lately revived in Malta and is kept on some particular feast days.

The May Pole consists of a tall mast [526] erected in some open place or square

527 526 and different kinds of provisions are hung to a hoop fixed on the top of it.

The mast is rubbed with tallow from the bottom to about a third of its height, and on a given signal, from one of the Authorities, some young men, mostly of the lower class, run to the mast, where they form themselves into different parties, the nimblest one amongst them climbing on his comrades' shoulders who defend him from the others, and he who first reaches the flag, which waves on the top of the pinnacle, receives a money prize and carries off the provisions.

The art of mounting to the top consists in twisting successively linen or cotton bands and straw round the slippery part of the mast, so that while the foot rests on the band first knotted, the hands are employed in fixing a second and a third on which, being sus-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

pended by the hands, it is necessary to 527
untie the first knot with the feet, in 526
order to replace it a second time on the fourth step of this kind of ladder. The greasy part of the mast being once surmounted, the remaining part of the ascent is comparatively easy, and the adventurer, who has already overcome the greatest difficulty, is encouraged to proceed by repeated acclamations from the crowd.

When the pinnacle is reached the brave climber rests on a little seat made of ropes, and untying the provisions throws some of them amongst the people, whose eagerness to seize them always causes some laughable disputes.

houses. This, he observes, is a relic of 171
an ancient custom among the Heathens, 527
who observed the last 4 days of April, 824
and the 1st day of May in honour of the goddess *Flora* who was imagined to be the deity presiding over the fruits and flowers.

THE CUCCANJA

This is an entertainment which was 175
formerly given by the Grand Master to 527
the Maltese on Shrove Tuesday, the last day of the Carnival.

Long beams were fixed against the 527
guard house opposite the palace, and 526
between each of the beams, rope-ladders 175
were fastened, the whole being covered over with branches of trees in leaf, to which were tied, from top to bottom, live animals, baskets full of eggs, hams, sausages, and all kinds of provisions.

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This wooden edifice was crowned by a globe, made up of hoops and covered over with linen cloth, on which stood the figure of *Fame* holding a flag with the Grand Master's arms. Crowds of people assembled on the spacious square, and at a given signal commence to attack the *Cuccanja*, and the provisions became the property of those who, having seized them, were able to carry them off in safety through the crowd.

This lively proceeding was the cause of furious disturbances—the possessors of the various prizes having a rather rough time of it, before being allowed to retire with what they captured.

To the first enterprising individual who reached the figure of *Fame* was allotted some pecuniary remuneration which was well earned, considering the struggle he had gone through to attain

his object, and on the standard being taken to be returned to the Grand Master, the cloth covered globe burst open and out came a flight of pigeons. 527 526 175

The Maltese never allowed either foreigners or soldiers to share the profits of the *cuccanja.*

This entertainment which has been suppressed since the reign of the Grand Master De Rohan (1775-1797) was a a source of great delight to the Maltese people. [656]

BOWLS

A game of bowls is a favourite pastime in Malta. 562

The players arrange themselves in sides of three or four each, and each man is usually provided with three bowls, which he marks differently for distinction.

•526 The bowling ground selected by the players is either some country lane, a smooth flat piece of turf, or a ditch.

The game consists in sending first, by one of the players, a small round wooden ball called *lozzu* or *likk* (the jack) to a distance of some 5 or 6 yards, and the aim of the players is to send their bowls, from the same place, that may lie as near as possible to the jack.

The side whose bowls are nearest the *jack* reckon one point for each bowl so placed. 11, 12, 15 &c. points make game according to mutual arrangement before hand.

In each side there are always a player or two who are reputed the best for either sending or throwing their bowls with accuracy and skill.

When two or more bowls, belonging to the players of the same side, accumu-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

late round the *jack*, one of the adversaries' side, who is left for the purpose, is called by the skip (l'imghallem), whose duty is to direct each of the men of his side, to play straight at the jack with force, and this generally succeeds in hitting and carrying away the jack from the neighbourhood of his opponents' bowls. 526

When the game is finished the losers, as a rule, stand drinks to the winning side.

PLAYING AT *MORRA*

The Maltese of the lower class, especially boatmen and coal-heavers are very fond of playing at *Morra*. 524 [565]

The *Morra* is a game that keeps the two adversaries—between whom it is played—on the alert and which creates great excitement between them.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

If
he cares to attend the Cathedral of Mdina, the island's earliest 796
capital, on the 4th November, he will hear a Mass said for
the repose of the soul of Roger the Norman, Count of 175
Sicily, who ended the Arab occupation of Malta in 1090 and is there commemorated as "Deliverer of Malta and Founder of the *mensa* [table] of the Cathedral, the Bishop and the Canons." Should he chance to be in Malta before the beginning of Lent he will have the opportunity to witness in the carnival festivities not only the jollifications common to other Mediterranean carnivals but also features of more local interest, such as the Parata dance on the Palace Square, which takes its symbolism from the capture of a Maltese bride by a Moslem corsair.

If he prolongs his stay into the summer he will see on the 527.
29th June, the feast of S. Peter and S. Paul, one of the most 526
characteristic of Maltese popular functions in the densely thronged Mnarja races. These races, for horses and donkeys, are of unknown but undoubtedly great age. The course is a piece of straight, hard road leading uphill towards the big square in front of Mdina, a square known as the Saqqaja. Here, from his great stone box, the Grand Master in former days, in these days the Governor of Malta, hands the banners of victory down to the winning competitors, while interested spectators watch the proceedings from two smaller but similar boxes, flanking the Grand Master's and belonging to some of the leading families of the island.

The name Mnarja is a corruption of the Latin *luminaria* 527
(illumination), for it was the custom on that day to illuminate 173
the churches of Mdina and the adjacent Rabat in honour of 584
the two saints. A more picturesque if unfortunately less trustworthy tradition derives Mnarja from Hymen, the goddess of marriage, it being supposed that the young men of the island were formerly in the habit of choosing their wives from among the maidens crowding to watch the contest. This much, at all events, may be urged in support of the latter theory, that until modern times Maltese brides

527 would insist on the stipulation being inserted in their
173 marriage settlement, their *kitba taz-zwieġ*, that their husbands
584 should take them to the Mnarja every year.

The banners given in prizes to the present day are long
•526 and narrow pieces of brocade of different colours called
361 *paliu*, which it is the custom of the fortunate winners to take back to their casals to be used as the altar-cloth of the parish church for the ensuing year. The casals, it should be explained, are the 'villages' of Malta, if 'village' is the appropriate term, for they are stone-built compact townships with populations often running into five figures. The Maltese word for them is *hal*.

291 Again, our visitor will learn that the *faldetta* or *ghonnella*—the true Maltese term is *stamina*—of the Maltese women does not owe its existence, as some people allege, to the need for defence against the excessive gallantry of Bonaparte's troops, but is of much more ancient origin. If proof were needed, there is in the Royal Malta Library a print of the year 1576 showing a Maltese lady wearing the national head-dress. The *ghonnella* is a voluminous hood of rich silk—black everywhere save in the villages of Zabbar and Zejtun, where it is blue and is called *xurqana*—stiffened inside the top edge by a piece of cardboard about a yard long, one end of which rests on the head, while the other end has to be held. Originally, it was really, like the Turkish *charshaf*, a skirt or petticoat (which is what the word *ghonnella* means) thrown up over the head. Later it was curtailed, for which reason it is sometimes called *nofs ghonnella*, a half skirt; but it is still cut to show the placket-hole—in point of fact, half the placket-hole—of the garment from which it has sprung.

[171] This striking and picturesque mode of female adornment or, rather, concealment constitutes Malta's one characteristic article of dress and is the local method of shrouding a woman's face and form, a custom common to southern latitudes from as far east as India to as far west as the Azores,

addressed a petition to the Archbishop requesting permission to 346
build a new church. But a year and a half later he ruled in favour 578
of a counter-petition, and gave permission to begin reconstructing
the old church. Shortly after this a riot developed out of a meeting 793
called to urge the parish priest to permit the building of a new 794
church. During the commotion, the stone railing around the [579]
front of the church was damaged. Six days afterward forty-two people were arrested for disturbing the peace and taken off to prison. After three days the arrested men were released because of insufficient evidence. The court assessed the total damage to the church railing at twenty-two shillings. This incident aroused the village. A month later the new church faction decided to begin work without the permission of the Archbishop. Early the following Sunday, a huge crowd led by Sur Vinċenz asked the parish priest for permission to work on Sunday. When their request was refused, they set off for the site and began to work anyway. That afternoon, Sur Vinċenz hired a band to play for them, and the music attracted people from many surrounding villages. The following day Dun Batist and the parish priest laid the matter before the Archbishop.

All through the month of October 1901 the leaders of the new church faction went in delegations to argue their case before the Archbishop, who was on holiday in Marsalforn, Gozo. The local diarist, on whose account much of the above is based, notes cynically that the Bishop listened with great attention, as he was in debt to one of the leading members. Meanwhile, the parish priest had been able to mediate between the factions. Dun Batist and his followers agreed to stop their work on the old church provided their opponents reimbursed them for their expenses to date. This was arranged. Finally, in January 1902 the parish priest announced that the Archbishop had given his permission for the
construction of the new church. That afternoon there was a great [527]
celebration in the village, with many fireworks and a guest band, again paid for by Sur Gorġ's grandfather.

But the construction of the new church soon ran into trouble. 346
Sur Vinċenz failed to raise the capital required. As Dun Batist had 793
foreseen, the cost of this grandiose scheme was far more than the 794
village could manage. After the foundations had been laid, the work gradually came to a halt. The village did not begin to rebuild the old church until the end of 1909, when the parish priest set out to raise the extra £2,000 required.

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[234] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
517 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

NOTES

000 [103] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [127] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analyzed by Charlton (b/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Welts, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

[342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

● [527] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/266).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

[124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made (1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

FEAST DAYS.

Most of these are made the occasion of general rejoicings in Malta, celebrated either by illuminations, feastings, fireworks or some other open air amusement. 527 796

The greater number of the holidays in Malta are in connection with the religion of the people, and are held either in honour of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, or of some Saint—as the titular Saint of the Parish or the celestial Patron of the town or village whose day is always celebrated with special pomp in each district.

Of all these *festas*, which are celebrated throughout the year with more or less enthusiasm, we only mention that which is celebrated on the 10th February in honour of St. Paul. 796

Great preparations are made for this day, to adequately celebrate this truly

7: Busuttil 1, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 place during the year in the towns and villages on the day of the festival, held in honour of the titular or some other Saint, there are also other processions, such as that of Good Friday and St. Gregory's day, the origin and description of which will be given in another place.

Having thus glanced briefly at some local recreations of the Maltese which have connection with their religious ceremonies in celebrating the annual festivals in honour of the celestial patron of the town or village, we now come to the other usages and customs, which are observed by the Maltese during the year commencing from that of

NEW YEAR'S DAY.

527 431 Early on the morning of the 1st. of January, groups of children may be

seen perambulating the streets, throughout the towns and villages, each with a small oval-shaped wooden box in hand. 527 431

Every child you meet, in wishing you "Is-sena it-tajba" (a Happy New Year) implores the yearly mite, and this he does by shaking his cash, which no doubt consists of some few farthings or halfpennies, whose dulcet jingle, however, fills his little soul with joy.

The practice of giving "l' Istrina" (a small money gift) to these children, to domestic servants and to persons in an inferior position on New Year's Day is a recognised custom in this Island.

This making of presents on the first day of the year is no doubt of great antiquity, and innocent as is now the custom of giving money gifts to the children and servants on New Year's 527 431 171

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

•527 431 171 Day, it was in ancient times done by the heathen Romans as a form of homage to the two-faced *Janus*, the God of the year, especially honoured in that capacity in the first month (January), and the giving of "strina" in January was vehemently denounced by the early council of Auxerre, as an act of Pagan worship.

In the *Monthly Miscellany* for December 1592 there is an essay on New Year's gifts, which state that the Romans were great observers of the custom, even when their year began in March and consisted of 10 months of 36 days each, and also when January and February were added by Numa(*) to the other ten, the calends, or first of

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(*) **Numa**—a celebrated philosopher born at Cures, a village of the Sabines,on the day that Romulus laid the foundation of Rome.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

January, was the time on which they made presents, and even Romulus (1) and Tatius (2) decreed that every year *vervine* (3) should be brought as an offering to them with other gifts, as a token of good fortune for the New Year.

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Tacitus (4) makes mention of an order of Tiberius (5) forbidding the giving or demanding of New Year's gifts unless it was in the calends of January, at

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(1) Romulus—the founder of Rome was the son of Mars, he was ranked by the Romans among the 12 great gods, being the founder of their city and Empire, and the son of the god of war.

(2) Tatius—king of Cures among the Sabines, made war against the Romans after the rape of the Sabines. He was murdered at Lanuvium B.C. 792.

(3) *Vervine*—a plant which has been connected with some of the superstitious rites of the Greeks & Romans.

(4) Tacitus—a celebrated historian born in the reign of Nero and was destroyed by the secret dagger of an assassin on the 13th of April in the 276th year of the Christian era.

(5) Tiberius—a Roman Emperor after the death of Augustus.

•527 431 171 which time the Senators, as well as the knights and other great men, brought gifts to the Emperor, and in his absence to the Capitol (1).

527 777 It is also the custom in some places of Malta for men to go about strewing some lime in the door-ways on New Year's day. Some idea of good luck may perhaps be associated with the lime; there is no tradition, however, as far as is known, whence this custom arose.

527 203 New Year's greetings in the shape of visiting cards, are very profusely exchanged on this occasion, especially among the better classes.

527 431 533 Groups of street musicians go from house to house, either on the last day of the old year or on the morning of

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(1) Capitol, the temple of Jupiter at Rome built on the top of a hill.

the 1st of January playing popular pieces 527
of music, and this they do as a New 431
Year's greeting. These men will rarely 533
leave a house until some little gift of money is bestowed upon them as a remuneration for their trouble in paying their annual congratulations.

ST. ANTHONY'S DAY.

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Among the popular Maltese customs 825
in which animals play a leading part, that of the blessing of the quadrupeds of the equine species, in Valletta, on St. Anthony's day, is the most familiar.

On the morning of the 17th January (St. Anthony's day) a number of horses, mules, and donkeys, decked out in ribbons and tassels, are driven in procession in front of the Vittoria, a little

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ALL FOOLS' DAY

1st. April

This particular day has been selected for playing off little tricks whereby ridicule may be fixed upon unguarded persons, especially the younger sort. 527 522

The favourite jest in Malta, on the 1st. day of April, is to send some one upon an errand for something grossly nonsensical, who is sent home in a state of bewilderment as to what the affair means. The joke is carried so far as to send letters making appointments in the name of persons who, it is well known, must be absent from the house at the time fixed upon, and the laugh is always in proportion to the trouble given.

When the person falls into the snare the term "Leuuel ta April" (the first

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527 of April) which amounts to "April
522 fool" is applied with laughter.

527 The custom of sending one upon a
522 bootless errand on the 1st. of April is
174 perhaps a travesty of the sending hither and thither of our Lord from Annas to Caiphas, and from Pilate to Herod. It is possible, however, that it may be a relic of some old heathen festival.

It is conjectured that April day is celebrated as part of the festivity of the New Year. That day used to be kept on the 25th of March, and it is certain that the commencement of the New Year, at whatever time that was supposed to be, was always esteemed a high festival, and this was the case both amidst the ancient Romans and with us. Now great festivals were usually attended with an octave—that

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is, they were wont to continue for 8 days, whereof the first and last were the principal; and you will find the 1st. of April the octave of the 25th of March, and the close or ending consequently of the feast. Hence it is supposed that the 1st. day of April became a day of extraordinary mirth and festivity, especially among the lower classes who are apt to pervert and make a bad use of institutions, which at first might have been very laudable in themselves. 527• 522 174

A writer in "Poor Robin's Almanac" for 1760, gives the following metrical description of the modern fooleries on the 1st. of April, with the open avowal of being ignorant of their origin. 527 522

[539]

"The 1st. of April some do say
Is set apart for all Fools' day,
But why the people call it so

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Nor I nor they themselves do know.
But on this day are people sent,
On purpose for pure merriment,
And though the day is known before
Yet frequently there is great store
Of these forgetful to be found
Who are sent to dance *Moll*
Dixon's round.
And having tried each shop and stall
And disappointed at them all
At last some tells them of the cheat,
Then they return from the pursuit
And straight way home with shame they run
And others laugh at what is done,
But 'tis a thing to be disputed
Which is the greatest fool reputed,
The man that innocently went
Or he that him design'dly sent."

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This custom of imposing upon each other on the 1st day of April, and sending one another upon frivolous, ridiculous and absurd errands, whatever be its origin, appears to be universal throughout Europe.

In France one thus imposed upon, on the 1st of April, is called "un poisson d' Avril," in England such a person is called an "April fool," in Italy "un pesce d' Aprile" and in Scotland a "Gowk." 527 522 171

It is curious that the Hindoos practice precisely similar tricks on the 31st. of March, when they hold what is called the "Huli Festival."

During the "Huli festival" when mirth and festivity reign among the Hindoos of every class, one subject of diversion is to send people on errands and expeditions that are to end in disappointment and raise a laugh at the expense of the person sent.

The "Huli" is always in March and the last day is the general holiday. [114]

Colonel Pearce in his "Asiatic Researches" proves this to have been a cus-

114 tom, from immemorial time, among the
171 Hindoos. The least inquiry, however, into
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527 the ancient customs of Persia, or the minutest acquaintance with the general astronomical mythology of Asia, would have told Colonel Pearce that the boundless hilarity and jocund sports, prevalent during the "Huli Festival" in India, have their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating with festival rites the period of the vernal equinox, or the day when the New Year of Persia anciently began (*)

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ASCENSION DAY

Lapsi

The Maltese celebrate Ascension day by parties and picnics on the water.

(*) Maurice in his "Indian Antiquities."

In the afternoon of the Feast, the great harbour and the several creeks, especially that of Calcara, present indeed a very lively appearance. Yachts, boats, and small crafts plough the deep, the greater part sailing, with flags and streamers flying in the breeze, laden with people, mostly clad in gay summer costumes, which they put on for the first time on this day as a sign of the approaching hot season. 527 [291] [501]

Some of these gay parties keep on their crafts, singing and playing guitars and melodeons, whilst others disembark on some shady rock on the sea-shore, where they spread their table-cloths and sit down to enjoy the edibles which they bring with them. 527 264 534

A little after sunset, when the numerous and jolly picnic parties have emptied some bottles of wine, the boats 527 501

527 501 are seen putting off the shore and steering their course homewards.

527 526 The custom of making swings on Ascension Day, is very common in Malta, especially among the country people. In almost every village, lots of women and children may be seen swinging together and singing merrily on the day of *Lapsi*.

527 173 No reason could perhaps be assigned by the Maltese for the practice of celebrating *Lapsi* by parties and picnics on the water, and for making swings, except that they follow the custom of their ancestors.

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St. JOHN'S EVE

372 857 Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating

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796 on the morning of this day, was indeed very great.

When the procession was over, most of the country people repaired to the upper Barracca, which was then roofed over and consequently offered a very comfortable temporary asylum. Here they amused themselves till the evening eating, drinking, and singing.

St. PETER AND St. PAUL

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527 One of the principal occasions of amusement for the Maltese is, no doubt, the popular feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, celebrated at Notabile or Città Vecchia on the 29th of June.

[192] This feast is known by the name of l' Imnaria which is a corruption of *luminaria* (illumination) from the illumination which takes place at the

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Cathedral Church of Notabile on the 796 527
eve of the said festival. 192

On the morning of the feast—as 527
soon as the procession, which is led 262
by the Bishop, enters the Cathedral 273
Church—large crowds, especially of 264
country people in their substantial holi- 301
day finery, and wearing their hoarded [796]
ornaments of massive gold, drive at a racing speed to Boschetto, where, careless of the excessive heat of a broiling sun, they divide into companies and under the shades of the leafy orange trees in the beautiful garden, they seem quite happy in eating their sumptuous dinners, consisting chiefly of stewed rabbit, ham, pies, cheese and an allowance of common wine, which they keep in large dark glass bottles, or in tin cans where the indispensable liquid is less liable to being spilt.

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When the viands are fairly consumed and the wine commences to use its influence, the jolly parties amuse themselves in dancing, singing, and playing their guitars and melodeons.
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These gratifications are carried on up to 3 or 4 p.m., when the picnic-makers drive back to see the races which are held on this day just below the walls of the old City, where the stout swarthy country women, to secure a good view, occupy their seats on the field walls for hours until they get nearly broiled in the blaze of a midsummer sun.

The races commence at 6 p. m. and consist of mules, horses, and mares, which are entirely unharnessed, and the riders without any means of maintaining their position, except their legs which they fix under the animal's

belly, while with a thong in each hand they keep urging the gaily bedecked beasts to reach the goal first. 527 541

Soon after the races the merry parties set out on their return to their dwellings at quite a racing speed. Now you see every description of vehicle vying with its neighbour, and every driver urging with whip and voice to a reckless break-neck gallop his steed, adorned with two or more rows of tinkling bells hanging round the neck. 527 492 493

Flags and variegated silk handkerchiefs are streaming from the carriages, and ribbons from the horses' heads. Every cart is crammed, as only the Maltese can cram on anything on wheels. The sun-burnt country women are laughing and pelting the by-standers with apples, and waving tall green reeds and poplar branches in their 527

527 hands, whilst the men are either playing their favourite melodeons or singing, and from group after group the chorus of the gaily dressed young girls rises all along the roads leading to the respective villages.

543 Before leaving the description of this very popular amusement, I think it will not be amiss to say something about the famous *Imnaria* exhibition, which is held every year at Boschetto and is always thoroughly enjoyed by a very large attendance of visitors.

This agricultural show, which was instituted by Sir William Reid, Governor of Malta, in 1857, is held on the 28th and 29th of June, the eve and the feast day of St. Peter and St. Paul, under the auspices of the "Società Economico-Agraria" and under the patronage of H. E. the Governor of the Island.

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St. ROCCO RACES

The famous horse race which is annually run at Pietà on the 16th of August, the feast day of St. Roque, is a source of great excitement to the large crowds of people who flock thither from all parts of the Island. 527 541 [796]

Although the races do not commence before 6 p.m. yet, as early as 3 o'clock, the Pietà creek is all covered with hundreds of boats of every description, laden with people; and all along the Pietà quay, from the Bathing house — the place from which the competing animals start—to the winning post, at a little distance from "Portes des Bombes" — is always lined with thousands of spectators in order to witness the sport.

Some 5 minutes before 6 o'clock, a [202] gun is fired as a signal for the people to clear the way; a second report is

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[202]

then heard, and some 10 or 12 donkeys are seen running at full speed, driven by jockeys, amidst great shouts and roars of laughter from the spectators, caused sometimes by the stubborness of some of the long eared quadrupeds, which instead of running keep kicking right and left, not being in humour perhaps on that day of being tormented by the constant goading of their merciless rider.

The donkey race is immediately followed by the horses first, and then that of the mares.

It is really grand to see the noble creatures, darting along the race course with neither saddles or bridles, and mounted barebacked by the gaily dressed jockeys.

When the Government prizes, which consist of gay stripes of richly brocaded

silk and lama cloth of gold, are distributed, all the crowds disperse and the victorious champions, loaded with honours and caresses, and covered with garlands of flowers and ribbons, are conducted in triumph through the streets of the town amidst the deafening cheers and acclamations of the populace. 527 541

These races were instituted in 1593 during the reign of Grand Master Verdala, as popular rejoicings after that the plague, which was introduced in Malta through the carelessness of some of the authorities, had played great havoc for eighteen months amongst the inhabitants of the Island. 527 541 175 [731]

From this race all the other races which are held on different occasions during the year, both in Malta and in Gozo, owe their origin.

527 541 776 755 796 195 These races were first held on St. Roque's Feast day in consequence of the working of miraculous cures of the plague by St. Roque who was specially invoked by persons afflicted, while stricken himself with the desease, at Piacenza, in Italy.

THE "VITTORIA"

527 *Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary*

[796] The 8th. of September, the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is no doubt the grandest and the most popular day for the people of these Islands.

Both the streets and church of Senglea—the town in which the feast is celebrated—present on this occasion a most lively appearance.

[184) The grand illumination and the

beautiful display of fireworks, on the eve of the festival, attract thousands of spectators not only from the towns and villages of Malta but also from the sister Island. 527 184

Hundreds of Gozitans flock to Malta in order, as it were, to take part in the general rejoicings held on this special day of the anniversary of the raising of the great siege of Malta, which ended in the total repulse of the Turks, after a most heroic defence by the Knights of St. John, united to the bravery of the Maltese, under the intrepid Grand Master Jean La Valette, in 1565. 527 175 184 648

In the afternoon of the feast (8th Sept.) the grand harbour presents indeed a very lively appearance, there being boat racing and the *giostra* or greasy pole, the prizes for which are given 527 626

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527 546 by Government in commemoration of the defeat of the Turks (*)

The famous annual boat race of the 8th. of September draws as great a concourse of people, comparatively speaking, as the far-famed Oxford and Cambridge contest annually does along the banks of the Thames.

The Valletta harbour quays, from the new extension, right up to the old Barriera, and all the overlooking lines of walls and batteries, on both sides of the harbour, are early taken possession of by thousands of spectators who take great delight in this exciting annual regatta.

The course is from "Ras Hanzir"

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796 648 (*) Both the regatta and the *giostra* were formerly held on the 10th of August, St. Lawrence day—The Parochial feast of Vittoriosa, the principal seat during the memorable siege of 1565.

to the Custom house, the whole length 522 of which is always crowded with thou- 526 sands of picturesquely painted boats, yachts, and small crafts with living cargo.

The race course in the centre channel is always well kept clear by a couple of steam launches, and the Port Department gondolas.

The races consist of (1) four-oared fishing boats (2) double pair and single pair passage boats—that is boats employed for the conveyance of passengers —and (3) four-oared *cajjicchi*.

The boats used for racing, on this [501] special day, are always very gaily painted and gilt, being also of a much lighter and sharper build than the others of the same kind, and the best stalwart men are always selected for rowing.

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526 When the victory prizes are awarded, the beaten racers return crest-fallen in silence to their creeks, whilst the victors, cheered by the immense crowds of spectators, keep ploughing the deep, with the prize flags tied up at the prow end of the boat, waving in the breeze.

The boat race is immediately followed by the *Giostra* or greasy pole, which adds not a little to the amusement of the crowds assembled to witness the sports.

The *Giostra* is a large barge, anchored opposite the Custom House buildings, in the centre of the port, having a long tapering pole, placed almost horizontally from the head, with a small white and red flag fixed on at the end, and made slippery with grease, soap, and other ingredients. At a given signal a number of boys first, then lads and men,

in their bathing costume, immediately 527 begin the task of endeavouring to seize 526 the flag, one after another they continue tumbling into the water and raising again to renew the attempt.

Gradually the greasy matter diminishes and the competitors are able to advance further. At last the winner with the prize flag in hand, amidst great shouts of "bravo," loud whistling, and clapping of hands announces the end of the National Feast for that day.

The 7th of September is also commemorated 796 by a melancholy, and at the 769 same time imposing, ceremony at the Co-Cathedral Church of St. John in Valletta.

On the morning of this day the celebrant, preceded by the Chapter and Clergy, descend into the crypt beneath the High Altar, and while chanting

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796 *requiems* for the repose of the souls of
769 the knights interred there, and all the other dead who fell in the great siege, sprinkles holy water upon the tombs, while the great bells, in the towers above, peal mournfully the legend which the Maltese voice in the words " Il-libera tal Cavalieri " (the funeral of the Knights).

527 For some years past a purely civil commemoration of the glorious Victory of the 8th of Sept. (1565) when the Cross triumphed over the Crescent, has been celebrated, however, not on the 8th of September, but on the 1st Sunday after that date in Valletta, and the Sunday after that at Vittoriosa and Cospicua, while on the following Sunday the celebration takes place at Sliema and Zabbar.

In Valletta, the St. George's Square and Str. Reale, are worth seeing on this occasion.

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Str. Reale, from Fort St. Elmo to Porta Reale, is aglow with the red and white colours of Malta and knights' flags; and at night is ablaze with thousands of variegated lights. 527 186

St. George's Square — opposite the Governor's Palace—is ornamented with splendid clusters of flags, pennons, gonfalons, shields, battle axes, spears, captured cannons and some entire suits of armour, kindly lent from the Palace collection. These suits create great interest, being the original property of the knights, some of the pieces bearing the evidence of shots and sabre cuts. 527 186 543

From the various stands, selected national bands fill the city with sweet music, and in the evening elaborate fire-works illustrate the figures and deeds of the knights. 527 [533]

In connection with this feast, horse 000

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●527 541 525 In connection with this feast, horse races take place at Sliema. The concourse of people and the excitement are not less, on this occasion, than they are on the St. Rocco festival, the events being always contested with great spirit, and large sums exchange hands in the bets laid upon the respective favourites.

527 The national Feast at Cospicua is celebrated on the hillside of Sta. Margherita which is, on this occasion, very tastefully decorated and illuminated with Venetian lights to the delectation of many thousands.

[541] At the Sliema celebration the fireworks are set off on barges on the water and thousands cheer the beautiful display.

At Vittoriosa—the very scene of the final victory on Sept. 8th 1565—the commemoration of this most glorious event in History is fitly celebrated.

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The square is most tastefully got up 527 with splendid trophies of arms and 186 red and white flags. From each of the trophies broad red and white sashes are seen hanging, on which the names of those who distinguished themselves by some brave and noble deed in the memorable siege, are written in gold letters.

The decorations of the column of 527 Victory, in the middle of the square, are 186 simply magnificent. 211 This column is surrounded by four figures, representing 4 Grand Masters in full armour, one of these is the immortal La Valette, who at the head of his knights, and supported by the population of Malta—men, women, and children—succeeded in hurling back, discomfited and disgraced, the Moslem, that would from Malta have sallied forth to the conquest of Europe.

During the day the bands, playing 527 533

527 533 lively marches, parade the principal streets of the old town, preceded by large crowds of people with palm leaves and Maltese flags in their hands.

527 541 In the evening the enthusiasm in the beautifully illuminated square is intense and prolonged.

[533] Large crowds from all parts of the Island flock here to listen to the choice selections of music, played by the bands on the square, and to witness the grand display of fireworks.

These are indeed worth seeing, especially one set piece. This represents a real fort with the red and white cross banner of the knights at the top. This fort opens fire and is attacked by several Turkish men-of-war, with sails set and the crescent flying at the mast heads.

As these miniatures of old-fashioned

galleys come sailing across the square, on wires stretched over the people's heads, towards the fort, they open fire in great style. One after the other they meet their fate, for the fort peppers them cruelly and finally sets them on fire, so that soon—hulls, sails, masts, yards, crescent flags, and all the warlike things about them are in few seconds wrapped in flames and destroyed. 527 541

Before leaving the description of the celebration of this National *fète* at Vittoriosa, I wish to mention that hundreds of loaves are distributed to the needy of that town on the morning of the feast. 527 735

Worth mentioning is the custom which prevails, on the 7th of Sept. among the women residing at Rabato (Notabile) and in the country surrounding it. These, to celebrate the com- 184 527 533

184 527 533 memoration of the Victory won by the Maltese in the great siege of 1565, instead of coming to take part in the amusements held in Valletta and in the other towns, meet in groups on the terraces, or flat tops of their houses, and keep singing merrily till very late at night.

ANOTHER NATIONAL FEAST

527 186 The celebration of the glorious victory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565 has been of good use to the Maltese, It has enabled them to comprehend more keenly the historic value of this Island.

175 648 In fact, some two years ago another national commemoration has originated at Città Vecchia, on the 3rd or 4th Sunday of September, to celebrate the

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liberation of the Maltese from the yoke 527
of the Saracens by Count Roger of 186 [775]
Normandy in the year 1090. [648]

A liberal programme is now annually arranged by the Committee embracing every kind of attraction at Notabile.

PILGRIMAGES TO MELLEHA (*) 778

On the last two Sundays of Septem- 788
ber, every year, the roads leading to Melleha are alive with merry parties, especially country people, on their way to that village, in order to visit the

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(*) Melleha is a village some 10½ miles distant [361]
from Valletta, and about an hour's ride from St. Paul's Bay. It is renowned for the very old, perhaps the oldest, Sanctuary in the world, dedicated to the
B. Virgin. This Sanctuary was founded by St. Paul, [776]
the great Apostle of the Gentiles, while he was in Malta (58 A. D.) for the convenience of the faithful
who lived in those neighbourhoods. Over the small [532]
altar is a picture of St. Mary, covering another old drawing of the same, executed by St. Luke.

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778 788 Sanctuary dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

[782] [527] When the devout visitors recite their prayers in the venerated shrine of the Madonna, and leave behind their offerings, such as candles, oil to be burnt in the lamps before the image, waxen and silver limbs &c., they come out and devote the remainder of the day to amusements.

173 778 788 The annual pilgrimages to Melleha in September are supposed to have originated after the victory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565. The siege being raised on the 7th of Sept. —the eve of the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin—the Maltese, in token of gratitude for the help received from the Virgin, in those trying days, made pilgrimages to Melleha, to offer prayers before the mirac-

SAINT MARTIN'S DAY

527 One of the greatest family feast-days, among the Maltese, is that of St. Martin's, which is held on the 2nd and 3rd Sunday of November.

Happiness and true enjoyment reign supreme, in every household on this
[593] special day. Pater and materfamilias entertain at dinner their married sons and daughters, with their respective consorts and children, besides nephews, nieces, and others allied by ties of consanguinity.

Every body enjoys his share of sweetmeats on St. Martin's day, with a due allowance of Marsala or some other sort of good Sicilian wine.

527 Children look forward with pleasure
267 to this day, being always regaled, by
857 either their parents or some other member of the family, with a small bag

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crammed to the top with hazelnuts, chestnuts, figs, sweets and other edibles, besides a nice small roll studded with hazelnut-kernels and covered all over with sesame. 527 262 857

With these bags and rolls the happy children come out walking along the streets, proud of what they were lucky to get, then they meet in groups or parties and indulge in games for the nuts.

The most favourite game for children on this occasion is what they call "ta 'l castell" which means hitting at the castle. The castle consists of three nuts put near each other, topped by a fourth. They each arrange, say two or three of these castles in rows, and keep throwing by turns—every one wins the castle or castles he succeeds hitting and demolishing. 527 524 857

● 527 174 [171] No reason can be assigned for the origin or meaning of keeping St. Martin's feast as a day of merriment among the Maltese. The usage is persisted in without any association or tradition to account for it, but the merry making in the neighbouring island of Sicily at this time of the year, when the new wine is made use of for the first time.

527 262 273 Wine drinkers are of opinion that one can judge best of the flavour of wine after eating some nuts first—this perhaps is the reason why nuts are made so much use of on this merry day.

174 527 Moresin refers the great doings on this occasion to an ancient Athenian festival observed in honour of Bacchus, on the 11th, 12th, and 13th days of the month of *Anthesterion*, corresponding with our November.

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[P.109]

ANCIENT AND MODERN
SPORTS, USAGES, CEREMONIES &c.
OF THE
MALTESE PEOPLE

THE MAY POLE

This is one of the most amusing outdoor diversions which at the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was kept annually on the 1st of May in the square facing the Grand Master's Palace in Valletta. 527

This popular amusement has been lately revived in Malta and is kept on some particular feast days.

The May Pole consists of a tall mast erected in some open place or square [526]

527 526 and different kinds of provisions are hung to a hoop fixed on the top of it.

The mast is rubbed with tallow from the bottom to about a third of its height, and on a given signal, from one of the Authorities, some young men, mostly of the lower class, run to the mast, where they form themselves into different parties, the nimblest one amongst them climbing on his comrades' shoulders who defend him from the others, and he who first reaches the flag, which waves on the top of the pinnacle, receives a money prize and carries off the provisions.

The art of mounting to the top consists in twisting successively linen or cotton bands and straw round the slippery part of the mast, so that while the foot rests on the band first knotted, the hands are employed in fixing a second and a third on which, being sus-

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pended by the hands, it is necessary to untie the first knot with the feet, in order to replace it a second time on the fourth step of this kind of ladder. The greasy part of the mast being once surmounted, the remaining part of the ascent is comparatively easy, and the adventurer, who has already overcome the greatest difficulty, is encouraged to proceed by repeated acclamations from the crowd. 527 526

When the pinnacle is reached the brave climber rests on a little seat made of ropes, and untying the provisions throws some of them amongst the people, whose eagerness to seize them always causes some laughable disputes.

MAY DAY

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Historians mention that there was a time in Malta, during the Government of the Knights of St. John, when it was customary on the 1st of May to deck the Grand Master's palace balcony, and the doors of those who were invested with the Grand Cross, with branches [174] of trees. It appears that this sign of a holiday, which was introduced in Malta by the families from the island of Rhodes, was a remnant of the worship of the sun, formerly adored by the Rhodians.

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824
Bourne cites Polydor Virgil, as telling us that among the Italians the youth of both sexes were accustomed to go into the fields in the Calends of May, and bring thence branches of trees, singing all the way as they came, and to place them on the doors of their

houses. This, he observes, is a relic of 171
an ancient custom among the Heathens, 527
who observed the last 4 days of April, 824
and the 1st day of May in honour of the goddess *Flora* who was imagined to be the deity presiding over the fruits and flowers.

THE CUCCANJA

This is an entertainment which was 175
formerly given by the Grand Master to 527
the Maltese on Shrove Tuesday, the last day of the Carnival.

Long beams were fixed against the 527
guard house opposite the palace, and 526
between each of the beams, rope-ladders 175
were fastened, the whole being covered over with branches of trees in leaf, to which were tied, from top to bottom, live animals, baskets full of eggs, hams, sausages, and all kinds of provisions.

527
526
175

This wooden edifice was crowned by a globe, made up of hoops and covered over with linen cloth, on which stood the figure of *Fame* holding a flag with the Grand Master's arms. Crowds of people assembled on the spacious square, and at a given signal commence to attack the *Cuccanja*, and the provisions became the property of those who, having seized them, were able to carry them off in safety through the crowd.

This lively proceeding was the cause of furious disturbances—the possessors of the various prizes having a rather rough time of it, before being allowed to retire with what they captured.

To the first enterprising individual who reached the figure of *Fame* was allotted some pecuniary remuneration which was well earned, considering the struggle he had gone through to attain

his object, and on the standard being 527
taken to be returned to the Grand 526
Master, the cloth covered globe burst 175
open and out came a flight of pigeons.

The Maltese never allowed either foreigners or soldiers to share the profits of the *cuccanja*.

This entertainment which has been [656]
suppressed since the reign of the Grand Master De Rohan (1775-1797) was a a source of great delight to the Maltese people.

BOWLS

A game of bowls is a favourite pastime in Malta. 562

The players arrange themselves in sides of three or four each, and each man is usually provided with three bowls, which he marks differently for distinction.

carries a certain spice of gambling, the 524
players of *Morra* congregate at some 525
street corner or a public house and indulge in a game for small stakes which the winner generally spent in assuaging the thirst of both parties, a proceeding to which the loser as a rule made no objection.

FAIRS

Every Sunday morning there is a 443
fair held along strada Mercanti, Val- 438
letta. The goods exposed for sale in 527
these weekly fairs are of all descriptions, and attract large crowds, especially of country people.

Besides these Sunday fairs there is 443
also another fair held annually at Flo- 527
riana on the mornings of the feast days 796
of St. Calcedonio, St. Giacomo, and

443 527 [796] [178] St. Anna, which are celebrated on the 24th, 25th, and 26th of July. These fairs, however, which were once very popular, have now sunk into insignificance and most likely will before long entirely disappear.

443 171 Fairs have long been regularly held in most parts of Europe and Asia, and they appear to have originated in the Church festivals, which were found to afford convenient opportunities for commercial transactions. The concourse of people being then so such greater than on other occasions.

USAGES

175 562 The ancient Maltese formerly kept their wives in the strictest retirement. They held the opinion that women should never appear but twice in public,

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE ACACIA OR SPONGE-TREE

(Gazzïa)

824 Our ancestors had a strong aversion to introducing or bringing in the acacia or sponge-tree with the other flower-plants in the house.

[763] They believed that if the acacia were brought into the house the head thereof would die within twelve months.

THE NEWT

825 Our superstitiously inclined believe that when one kills a newt and leaves its tail contorting or wagging on the floor, that tail will be cursing the parents of its destroyer!

COAL-DUST AND SOOT

777
527 The throwing of coal-dust or soot instead of lime before a door on New year's day betokens gloom and bad luck.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

NEW YEAR'S SUPERSTITIONS

A superstitious dread still attaches to some one of the family keeping absent at dinner time on New Year's day. He who doesn't dine with his family on New Year's day is expected to die at the end of that same year. 527 763 264

He who eats hotch-potch soup on New year's day is to gnaw the ham bones all the rest of the year. 527 262 787

Those who eat cabbages on New year's day groan for a whole year.

OIL, SALT AND WINE

The spilling of oil is considered a very unlucky omen by the Maltese. The spilling of salt or wine, however, betokens good luck. 777 787

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

explanations of them. Two kinds of explanations have 796
to be treated with some caution, the local one and the 171
Christian one . . . and we shall find ourselves going back for the true causes to the worship of the sun and of the seasons.

The revel, easily degenerating into the brawl, has always found opposition, as in the thunderous verse of an old poet who branded the Midsummer processions as

> Of Edinburgh the great idolatrie
> And manifest abomination.

Other forces have militated against them besides the disapproval of the austere. As another old writer has rather obscurely remarked: 'No suffimen is a greater fugator of phantosmes than gunpowder.' Other such fugators are periods of increased popular education and of quickened pace in national life. These forces have been active enough in our own times, and few Midsummer customs have survived them; but all of them were originally the spontaneous outcome of certain impulses in the make-up of human beings, and thus, past or present, they are of permanent interest to us."

There seems little doubt that the Night of Fires belongs 372
to that very early civilization of which, as has been suggested 796
elsewhere, the Maltese are amongst the direct descendants. 174
What more appropriate than the adaptation of these ancient fires to the honour of that Saint beneath whose banner there happened all that is most valiant in Maltese history?

In one form or another practically all the "seasonal" customs 796
familiar in other countries appear in Malta: All Fools' Day, [527]
with its affinity to the Hindu festival of Huli; May Day, when [171]
the children gather green bows in honour of Flora; New Year's Day, when lime is strewn on doorsteps in token of good luck; but Malta's most popular holiday is the period of Carnival. Its

If
he cares to attend the Cathedral of Mdina, the island's earliest 796
capital, on the 4th November, he will hear a Mass said for
the repose of the soul of Roger the Norman, Count of 175
Sicily, who ended the Arab occupation of Malta in 1090 and
is there commemorated as "Deliverer of Malta and Founder
of the *mensa* [table] of the Cathedral, the Bishop and the
Canons." Should he chance to be in Malta before the
beginning of Lent he will have the opportunity to witness
in the carnival festivities not only the jollifications common
to other Mediterranean carnivals but also features of more
local interest, such as the Parata dance on the Palace Square,
which takes its symbolism from the capture of a Maltese
bride by a Moslem corsair.

If he prolongs his stay into the summer he will see on the 527 ●
29th June, the feast of S. Peter and S. Paul, one of the most 526
characteristic of Maltese popular functions in the densely
thronged Mnarja races. These races, for horses and donkeys,
are of unknown but undoubtedly great age. The course is
a piece of straight, hard road leading uphill towards the big
square in front of Mdina, a square known as the Saqqaja.
Here, from his great stone box, the Grand Master in former
days, in these days the Governor of Malta, hands the banners
of victory down to the winning competitors, while interested
spectators watch the proceedings from two smaller
but similar boxes, flanking the Grand Master's and belonging
to some of the leading families of the island.

The name Mnarja is a corruption of the Latin *luminaria* 527
(illumination), for it was the custom on that day to illuminate 173
the churches of Mdina and the adjacent Rabat in honour of
the two saints. A more picturesque if unfortunately less 584
trustworthy tradition derives Mnarja from Hymen, the
goddess of marriage, it being supposed that the young men
of the island were formerly in the habit of choosing their
wives from among the maidens crowding to watch the
contest. This much, at all events, may be urged in support
of the latter theory, that until modern times Maltese brides

527 would insist on the stipulation being inserted in their
173 marriage settlement, their *kitba taz-zwieġ*, that their husbands
should take them to the Mnarja every year.

584 The banners given in prizes to the present day are long
526 and narrow pieces of brocade of different colours called
361 *paliu*, which it is the custom of the fortunate winners to take
back to their casals to be used as the altar-cloth of the parish church for the ensuing year. The casals, it should be explained, are the 'villages' of Malta, if 'village' is the appropriate term, for they are stone-built compact townships with populations often running into five figures. The Maltese word for them is *hal*.

291 Again, our visitor will learn that the *faldetta* or *ghonnella*—the true Maltese term is *stamina*—of the Maltese women does not owe its existence, as some people allege, to the need for defence against the excessive gallantry of Bonaparte's troops, but is of much more ancient origin. If proof were needed, there is in the Royal Malta Library a print of the year 1576 showing a Maltese lady wearing the national head-dress. The *ghonnella* is a voluminous hood of rich silk—black everywhere save in the villages of Zabbar and Zejtun, where it is blue and is called *xurqana*—stiffened inside the top edge by a piece of cardboard about a yard long, one end of which rests on the head, while the other end has to be held. Originally, it was really, like the Turkish *charshaf*, a skirt or petticoat (which is what the word *ghonnella* means) thrown up over the head. Later it was curtailed, for which reason it is sometimes called *nofs ghonnella*, a half skirt; but it is still cut to show the placket-hole—in point of fact, half the placket-hole—of the garment from which it has sprung.

[171] This striking and picturesque mode of female adornment or, rather, concealment constitutes Malta's one characteristic article of dress and is the local method of shrouding a woman's face and form, a custom common to southern latitudes from as far east as India to as far west as the Azores,

is no sacrifice they will not gladly make for the greater 794
dignity and beauty of their churches. Take, for example, the
case of Mġarr—one of the smallest and poorest of the
parishes of Malta and the one most cherished by that great
seaman and lover of Malta, the late Admiral Sir W. W.
Fisher. Here between the two wars the inhabitants, nearly
all hard-working peasants, under the enthusiastic leadership
of their parish priest, Father (later Monsignor) Edgar
Salomone, built a great new church by their own efforts,
bringing their weekly contributions to the building fund in
eggs and fowls and vegetables and whatever else they produce.

At street corners statues of saints, sometimes also of souls 532
enveloped in a purgatorial blaze, afford them ever-present 778
reminders, encouraging or minatory as the case may be, of
the next world; in this one they love the great ecclesiastical 796
ceremonies, particularly the processions which are one of the
features of Maltese life. These assume on Good Friday
something of the character of a Passion Play, with members
of lay confraternities staggering along Merchants' Street in
Valetta beneath the weight of life-size groups of the Passion
carved with gruesome realism. I have also seen these
processions in Palermo, where I have been shocked at the
flippancy and irreverence not so much of the onlookers as of
the actual participants. The Maltese play their parts in these
functions with profound and solemn devoutness. Indeed, [783]
some of them may be bearing their burden, whatever it is,
in fulfilment of a self-imposed penance, concealing their
features behind a hood with eye-holes that covers the head.

But on the annual *festa*, the local saint's day, of their 527
village they give themselves up wholeheartedly to rejoicings,
which are definitely on the noisy side. For
they are punctuated by the explosions of crackers, maroons
and every procurable form of noise-producing apparatus,
and they are illuminated by ingenious, locally made fireworks.
On these days the casals are a brave sight as they fly [186]
from the top of every house of any importance the flag of

186
527 the Grand Master who was their founder or their patron,
gay with the rich heraldry and colouring of the last phase
of the age of chivalry. We have seen in Chapter XII that
643 Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch, inglorious but
186 Maltese-speaking and on excellent terms with the Maltese
527 country-folk, gave one of his names and his special patronage
103 to no fewer than three of the casals. Zabbar's subsidiary name was Città Hompesch, that of Siġġiewi Città Ferdinando, that of Zejtun Città Beland, the maiden name (Bylandt) of Hompesch's mother. Similarly, Curmi was known alternatively as Città Pinto, Zebbuġ as Città Rohan. In the cases of Senglea and Pawla the Grand Masters de la Sengle and de Paule were actually the founders.

It affords a pleasant and richly coloured glimpse into a romantic past, and happy evidence of the attachment of the Maltese to their unique historical traditions, to see the great square armorial flags of these Grand Masters in their proper tinctures waving on gala days over their casals.

527 July, August and September, the hottest months of the year, are Malta's *festa* season *par excellence*. At that period, and especially in August, there is an absolute orgy of what irreverent young officers are apt to call "festering," and the two islands resound from end to end with the detonations of petards and bombs. At night the parish church of whichever casal is celebrating its patronal feast is prettily illuminated, while elaborate set-pieces are displayed regardless of expense and other fireworks of a less stationary nature accomplish, or fail to accomplish, their destined trajectory. The amount spent annually by the population on fireworks and mere noise-making contrivances is positively staggering.

The first village *festa* I attended—I had arrived in Malta in the month of August—was in one of the smaller, more remote and more rustic casals. The church bells were clanging with no attempt at rhythm; rockets and Roman candles were going off in rapid succession in all directions; Catharine-wheels were rotating around one; the noise was

almost as varied and barbaric as at the Holy Fire in Jerusalem. 527
During the rare pauses between the bangs of the explosives and the splutterings of the pyrotechnical diversions one was just able to catch the sound of the chanting of an ecclesiastical procession, faintly audible reminder that the excuse for all this sound was a religious anniversary.

Nor was this by any means all. In an open space outside 527
the village a band was trying in the face of considerable 533
difficulties to play a secular air from some opera, all the bandsmen dressed in what might at a distance have passed for a naval Commander's white uniform, with aiguillettes of yellow cord. All, that is to say, except the *maestro*, whom I still see in my mind's eye as an elderly, worn-out, languid, apathetic cynic in a drooping Panama hat, with a cigarette hanging limply from his lower lip. Two hundred yards away another band was competing with an entirely different tune. Not that it mattered in the least. Nobody was paying the slightest attention to the music; and, even if they had been, neither band had a hope of making its output prevail over the other component parts of the general din.

Likewise do I recall a *festa* in Gozo, where the band, in this case not in uniform, was playing as it marched round the village square. But it afforded the pleasant sight of a man in a brown Homburg hat nonchalantly beating with his right hand the big drum which was being carried fore and aft by two small boys, while fanning himself with his music, which he held in his left.

These particular bands were professionals hired for the 533
occasion, for the villages in question were not large enough 665
to possess bands of their own. But in the large casals the band is a local institution of far wider significance than the specifically musical. Next to the parish church it is probably the most important social nucleus of the township, and influential personages regard it as a distinction to be offered the patronage or honorary Presidency of its organization. It may have even a political connotation. In the towns which

reinforced during the three years following 1955 when it formed the government. Since then it has been streamlined and hardened by the Party's almost constant struggle with the Church. Frequent meetings now keep the rank and file in close touch with the national leaders. The Party's newspaper, which became a daily shortly after Mintoff resigned in 1958, disseminates propaganda and news of Labour activities as well as international news, and so provides the leaders with an important contact with members. 665 [204] [208]

The MLP is now organized in three tiers: at the national level, at the level of the electoral district, and at the village level. The structure of the MLP, unlike that of its rivals, rests very firmly on its village level organization. Virtually every village in Malta has its own Local Committee, the members of which are elected annually by the formal, dues-paying members among the MLP supporters in the village. In most villages there is also a Party club, of which the Local Committee members are the officers. The Labour Club, which is usually equipped with a bar, a television set and a billiards table, serves as the social centre for the MLP group in the village. Its frequent activities keep the supporters united, as do the attacks of their enemies. The Club has become something of a refuge for MLP supporters who are now cut off from many village activities by the stigma which the Church has attached to them. A number of Local Committees have organized sub-committees for women and children. 575 665 [529]

Every Local Committee in each electoral district elects one member to sit on the District Committee. This Committee acts as a clearing house for propaganda and electoral tactics. During the three years that the Party formed the government, the District Committees were also points at which district-wide complaints, patronage and public works were discussed with the district MLA's. 665

At the apex of this pyramid is the National Executive of the Malta Labour Party. This is composed of representatives from all the District Committees, from the Parliamentary group and from the Labour League of Youth. The Party officers and additional members of the Executives are elected at an annual General Conference. All electoral candidates and major policy decisions are confirmed there. Conference delegates are representatives of the Local Committees of each village and town.

During the period the MLP was in power, the Local Committees

578 621

of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 793
political parties. 794

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro-
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active 794
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the con-
fraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are mem-
bers neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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527 53 When the viands are fairly consumed and the wine commences to use its influence, the jolly parties amuse themselves in dancing, singing, and playing their guitars and melodeons.

527 541 These gratifications are carried on up to 3 or 4 p.m., when the picnic-makers drive back to see the races which are held on this day just below the walls of the old City, where the stout swarthy country women, to secure a good view, occupy their seats on the field walls for hours until they get nearly broiled in the blaze of a midsummer sun.

The races commence at 6 p. m. and consist of mules, horses, and mares, which are entirely unharnessed, and the riders without any means of maintaining their position, except their legs which they fix under the animal's

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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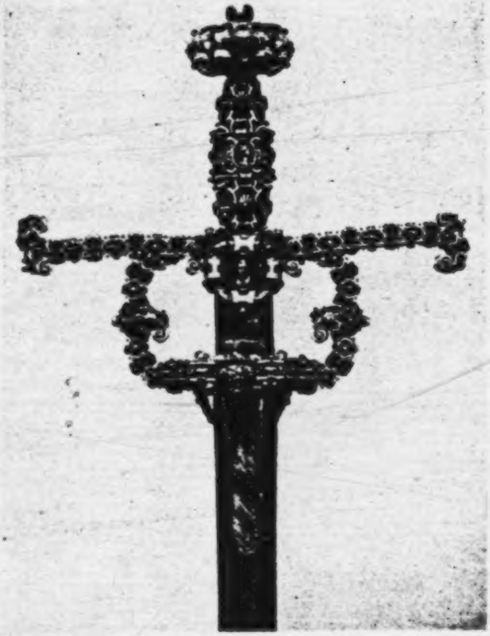

JEWELLED HILT OF SWORD GIVEN BY PHILIP II TO GRAND MASTER LA VALETTE
In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
[*See pp.* 51–52.]

CRYPT OF S. JOHN'S
The tomb of La Valette is in the niche on the left.
[*See pp.* 53–54.]

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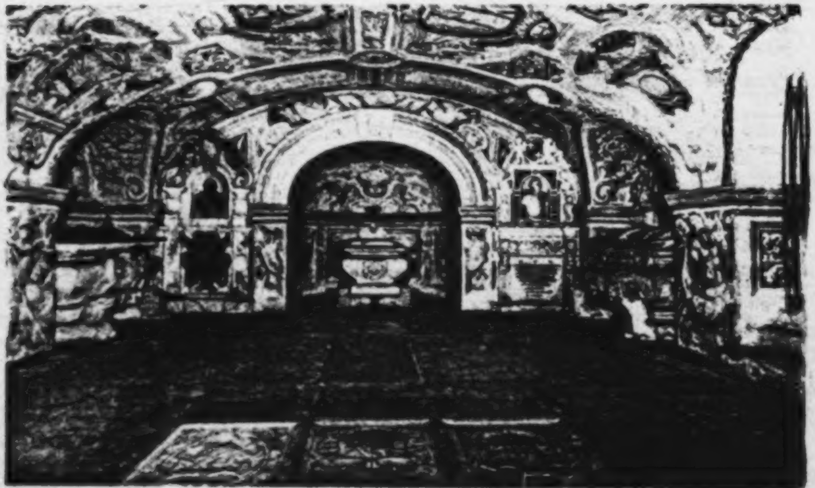

[facing p. 65]

[pp. 65-67 Not processed]

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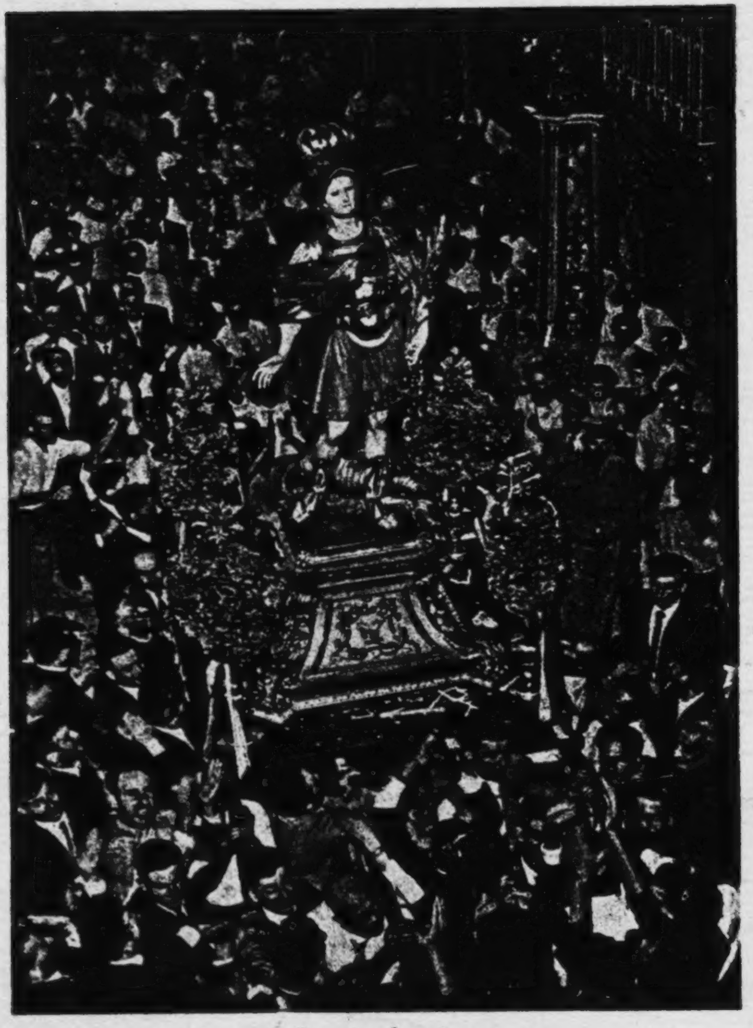
●532



St George and partisans

[Frontispiece, facing p.iii]

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[172]

1/1 [captions appear on p. 29. - An.)
[facing p. 24]

4: Cassar P-4,5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

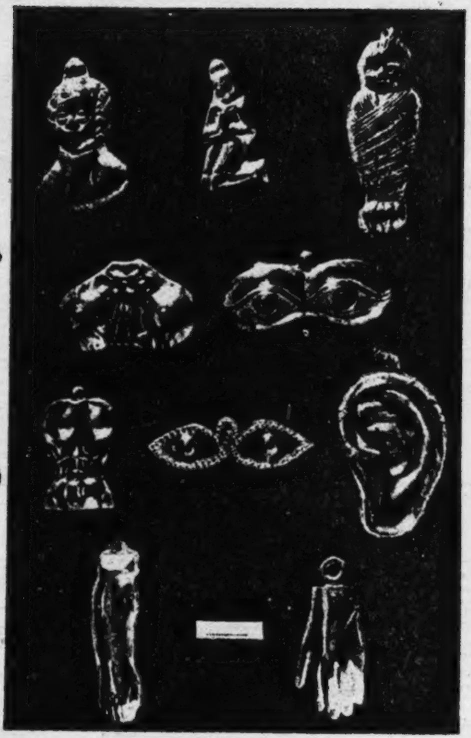

FIGURE 1

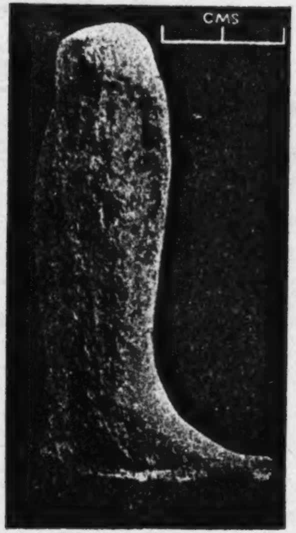

FIGURE 2

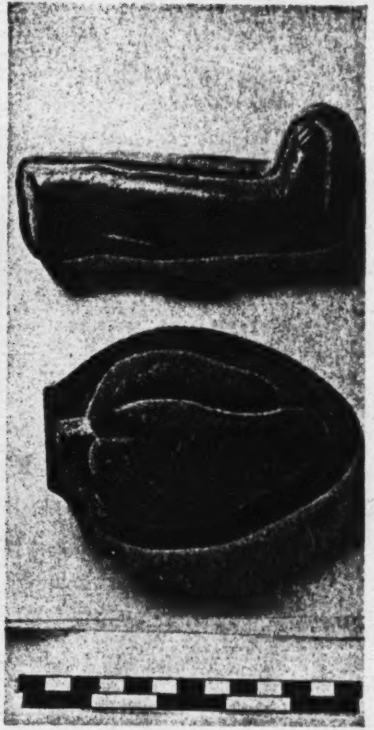

FIGURE 3

175 (iii) Giovanna Debrincat had been suffering from depression with religious
755 scruples for eight months. Her symptoms became acute one day in February with
extreme anxiety, agitation, and insomnia. This phase lasted for four consecutive
787 days and nights in spite of the efforts of the doctor and a priest to reassure her and
781 placate her. Finally her relatives annointed her with the sanctuary oil and appealed
to the Blessed Virgin to cure her. The patient immediately became tranquil and
had a peaceful sleep. When she woke up, all her symptoms had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1890).

● 532
NEOLITHIC VOTIVE OFFERINGS

172 The custom of offering 'ex-votos' to the deity for favours received is not limited to the
782 Maltese Islands and goes back to very remote times. The neolithic 'ex-votos' of Malta
are made of clay and limestone, and measure from 1¼ to 3¼ inches in height. No less
[171] than fifteen of them, consisting of the following anatomical forms, have been found:

- (i) Faces: 2.
- (ii) Hand: 1.
- (iii) Female torsos with large abdomen, pendulous breasts, and prominent genitalia: 4.
- (iv) Kneeling female (?) torso with arms folded on breast: 2.
- (v) Fragment of female statuette consisting of lower abdomen, both thighs, and right leg: 1.
- (vi) Female body cut short in the neck and upper parts of the thighs; the left arm is bent on the nape of the neck and the right upper limb points to the genitalia which are very clearly shown. The abdomen and breasts are very full and a swelling fills the left groin while pieces of white shells are stuck in the armpits, groins, umbilicus, mons veneris, and other parts.
- (vii) Female pelvis with upper parts of thighs and sexual triangle: 2.
- (viii) Legs: 2 (Zammit & Singer 1924, p. 67).

The Roman occupation of Malta (218 B.C.–A.D. 397) is represented by one solitary
17 'ex-voto' consisting of a clay model of the lateral view of a leg and foot. It was found
782 quite recently with other Roman objects in the north-west part of the island (Plate 1,
Fig. 2). The inhabitants of the Maltese Islands were converted to Christianity by St
[797] Paul in A.D. 60. No more 'ex-votos' can be traced for many hundreds of years until they
reappear in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Catholic Church. The
interruption in the time-sequence and the change of religious beliefs do not, however,
prevent us from perceiving that they have a common purpose and that the 'ex-votos' of
Stone Age and Roman times foreshadow the similar ones of later years. Indeed the same
ideational process links the ancient ones with those of our own times.

782 Anatomical 'ex-votos' are still preserved in many of the Catholic churches of Malta
and Gozo and in several wayside shrines in the countryside and in niches in the towns.
532 They are either figures of the complete human body or of parts of it. The former consist
755 of the front view of babies with the trunk and limbs swathed in bands like a mummy;
and of side views of men and women in a kneeling posture with their hands joined in
prayer over their breasts or else holding a symbolical heart. The men are turned towards
the left and the women look towards the right. The models representing parts of the

PAUL CASSAR MEDICAL VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN THE MALTESE ISLANDS PLATE II $\frac{1}{1}$

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[402]
[291]

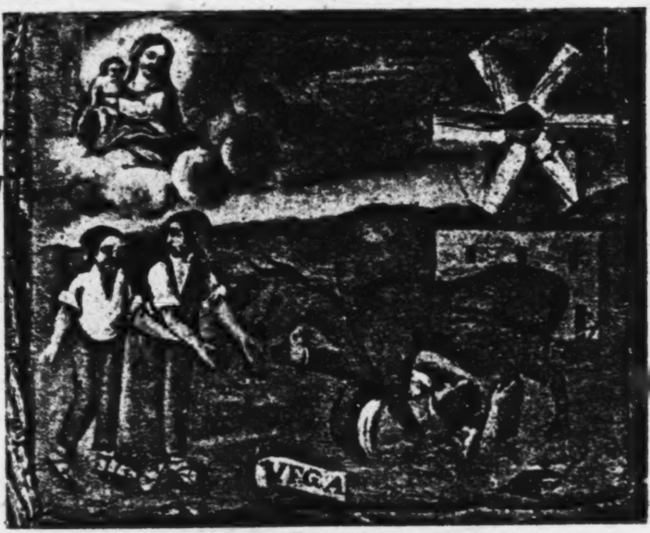

FIGURE 1

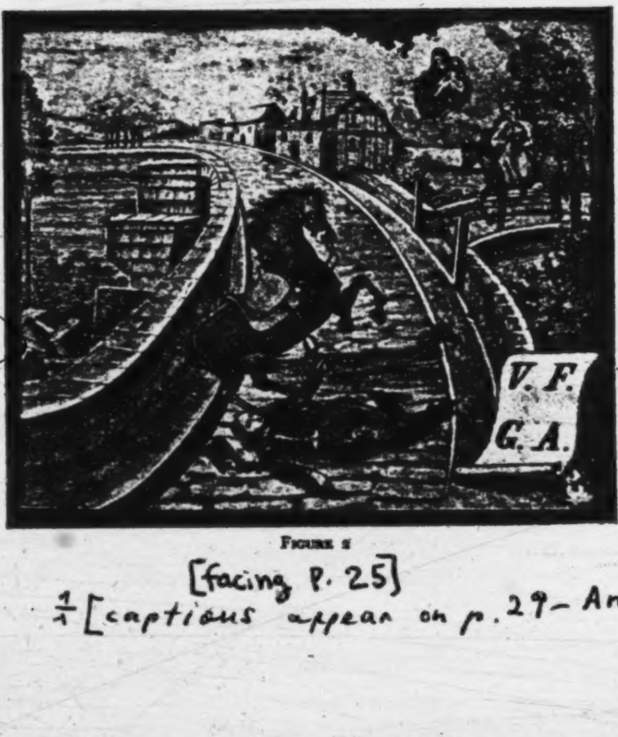

FIGURE 2

[facing p. 25]

$\frac{1}{1}$ [captions appear on p. 29 – An.]

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no pathology
they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 532
'legs were offered for paralysis, congenital anomalies and chronic ulcers in the lower 755
limbs; 'arms' and 'hands' for fractures and threatened loss of fingers by injury or gangrene; 'ears' for deafness and otitis; and 'eyes' for a variety of ocular diseases. Sometimes, however, the association of illness and anatomical part is not so specific; thus 'trunks' were offered for such varied conditions as throat affections, hernias, and mental disorder; 'faces' for enlarged glands in the neck; and pairs of female 'breasts' for deficiency of milk in a lactating mother as well as disease of these organs.

They were made of wax or of raised work in gold and silver foil. Those met with at 782
present are the silver ones, the others having disappeared from the churches though
they were still being offered at the end of the last century if not later. There are records 532
of wax effigies of arms, legs, eyes, and babies and also of gold ones having been deposited [325]
at that period at Ta Pinu Church at Gharb in Gozo. A pair of gold legs cost £17
(*Id-devot ta Maria* 1890; Kerr 1893). Wax figures also existed until some thirty years ago
in the small church of Tal Mirakli at Lija (Tanti 1962). These objects were manufactured [439]
in Malta but some of them were imported from Sicily and North Africa. The gold [325]
and silver foil was hammered into the desired shape over dies of bronze by a silversmith
(Plate 1, Fig. 3). They vary in size from 6 by 2½ inches to 1 by 3½ inches. Some of them
bear hall-marks which help to date them and identify the source of manufacture. The
earliest met so far by the writer is a stylized silver model (in the writer's collection) of a pair [422]
of female breasts impressed with the hall-marks of the Grand Master of the Order of St.
John of Jerusalem, Em. de Rohan who ruled over the Maltese Islands from 1775 to 1797.

The deposition of anatomical 'ex-votos' in Maltese churches ceased in 1935. The
ecclesiastical council held in that year in Malta under the presidency of Cardinal H. 782
Lepicier disallowed the exhibition of 'votive offerings showing parts of the human body 532
except those in the shape of a heart', (*Concilium*, 1935, p. 60), so that the present-day 795
visitor will hardly see anything else except 'hearts' hanging by the statues of the saints to whom they were offered by grateful devotees. The more 'profane' models have been melted and converted into sacred utensils for the church service.

Very occasionally instead of an anatomical representation, we come across a silver 211
tablet commemorating deliverance from illness. Here is a specimen inscribed in Latin: 164

P. Trapani cum suis / A. MDCCCLXXXVII / Ab Asiana Lue /
Incolumos (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1888).

that is P. Trapani and his family spared from the Asiatic Disease of the year 1887.

(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the [731]
last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of [165]
over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and 782
by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These
actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from 755
the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

782 drinking from the spring of the grotto at Mellieha village where the Holy Virgin is
755 venerated; or placing some earth on the sick person from the tomb of a hermit reputed
to have died in odour of sanctity in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 16).

Sometimes the donation of an 'ex-voto' was coupled with the publication, in a
755 religious periodical, of the circumstances of the illness and its extraordinary cure. The
782 following are typical case-histories, translated from Maltese, culled at random from
214 such a periodical:

[204] (i) Victoria Conti, who had been suffering from deafness in the right ear for
four years, was told by two doctors that her condition was incurable. She prayed to
the Holy Mary and as soon as she placed the oil from the sanctuary of Ta Pinu
(Gharb, Gozo) on her ear she regained her hearing.

(ii) A woman fell from the balcony of her house and, as a result, had a series of convulsions, lost the faculty of speech, and became moribund. She remained in this precarious state for fifteen days when her parents promised the offer of a silver 'ex-voto' to the Holy Virgin if their daughter recovered. The following night the patient began to regain consciousness and to talk. She made steady progress and was well within a short time.

(iii) Joseph Spiteri, from Zabbar, had a mentally sick brother who, in a fit of frenzy, cut his throat. The doctor declared the case a hopeless one but, following a vow to the Mother of Christ, the patient began to improve until he recovered from his wound and from his mental illness within nine weeks.

(iv) Clo. Monsignier had measles and almost lost his eyesight as a complication. His mother vowed to the Virgin Mary that she would offer a silver 'ex-voto' in the shape of a pair of eyes if his sight was spared. Immediately this promise was made, the boy opened his eyes from which all the signs of disease had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1894–9).

Other published accounts deal with cases of throat infections, puerperal sepsis, hyperpyrexia (up to 107° F), and trachoma. To appreciate the seriousness of these diseases up to thirty years ago, it must be remembered that the sulphonamide and the antibiotic eras had not yet dawned and that no effective therapy was yet available with the result that many patients with sepsis lost their lives and cases of trachoma ended in permanent blindness. Stories of accidents, such as falls from heights, scalding and involvement in vehicular traffic are also recorded. At times medical certificates over the signatures of prominent doctors were published as evidence of the gravity of the injury or illness sustained and of recovery therefrom (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1887).

MEDICAL PAINTINGS

782 These are of various sizes ranging from 5 × 12 to 18 × 24 inches. They were much more
532 numerous in the past than they are to-day. Church walls, which are now bare, were
346 covered with these small canvases and wooden panels. A number of these 'ex-votos'
353 vanished many years ago as in the case of the Sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception
of Qala in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 13). In other churches these pictures still existed
in great numbers up to about thirty years ago but have now dwindled considerably,
instances being those of the Cave chapel of the Annunciation and St Leonard at Minsija
(Birkirkara), the church of Tal Mirakli (Lija), and Tal Hlas (Qormi). One of the sanc-

tuaries that remains particularly rich in painted 'ex-votos' is the church in the Tal 782
Herba district (Birkirkara) erected in 1640 and dedicated to the Birth of the Holy 532 ●
Virgin. These panels are hung up, one above the other, almost up to the ceiling so that 346
the following description written almost one hundred years ago still applies with regard
to this particular church: 'On the walls one sees a considerable number of small paint- 353
ings representing the favours received through the intercession of the Holy Virgin by those devotees who had recourse to her in their calamities' (Ferres 1866, p. 322). As far as could be ascertained the latest painting in this church is dated 1944.

On the whole these pictures are the work of self-taught anonymous folk who never 532
regarded themselves as artists but only as humble craftsmen. In fact their productions 789
often ignore the rules of perspective while the colours and the shading are poor; but in 782
viewing them one must take account of the fact that they were not intended to be decorative pieces. They were simply meant to be pictorial records of the occurrence of a medical emergency that was thought to be beyond human control and which ended happily in an extraordinary manner through a supernatural act. Indeed these pictures portray the moment in which the physician confesses that there is nothing that medical art and science can do to save the patient's life and the instant in which the Divine intervention occurs. Thus we behold the Holy Mary relieving a choking girl or rescuing a pedestrian from being crushed by the wheel of a carriage or see Our Lady stopping a run-away horse and saving its rider from harm (Plate 2, Fig. 2); or else softening the impact of the fall from a height of a stone-mason so that he reaches the ground uninjured; or sparing the life of a farmer from an enraged beast (Plate 2, Fig. 1). In this task of graphically reproducing an event, these paintings succeed very well.

OTHER VOTIVE OFFERINGS

Other things offered for medical reasons consist of: (i) Surgical and orthopaedic ap- 782
pliances such as crutches, plaster jackets, leather corsets, iron splints, metal sutures, etc. (ii) Foreign bodies removed from organs such as stones from the kidneys, needles from fingers, hair-clips from the throat, swallowed thimble, etc. (iii) Babies' dresses, some of them embroidered with gold thread, are a characteristic feature of the Mellieha sanctuary. This custom of offering the child's clothing as a token for recovery from illness prevailed also in connexion with the tomb of the Holy Hermit Kurraw at the Qala sanctuary in Gozo. The grateful mothers of sick children used to deposit the clothing of their offspring on the hermit's grave as a sign that the disease had been transferred from the children's bodies on to their clothing (Vella Haber 1946, p. 14). Babies' dresses are also offered in thanksgiving for an uneventful delivery and the birth of a normal infant. (iv) Wax tapers, decorated torches and bottles of olive oil for lighting the sanctuary lamp. (v) Sums of money. (vi) Jewellery is the most common 'ex-voto' to be seen to-day in Maltese churches. There are gold necklaces, finger-rings, brooches and other items of personal adornment. Apart from their intrinsic value, most of these gold ornaments represent the most prized possessions which the votary had to offer because they formed the most substantial part of a woman's dowry. To give an idea of the quantity of these valuable articles deposited in one single shrine during a month's time, here is a list, chosen at random from a religious periodical published in 1894: 'Sixteen gold rings, one pair of gold ear-rings with diamonds, two silver bracelets, a gold watch and a

$\frac{1}{A}$, $\frac{2}{A}$ [see plate II, facing p. 25.-An.]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the Director of the National Museum, Valletta, Captain C. Zammit, 128
F.S.A., and to Mr Jos. Spiteri of the same department for their kindness in taking the 126
photographs; to the Rev. Jos. Tanti and the Rev. Canon Jos. Zammit, administrators of Tal Mirakli Church and of Tal Hlas Church, respectively, for allowing me to publish pictures of 'ex-votos' preserved in their churches.

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CAPTIONS TO PLATES [1]

PLATE I

Fig. 1. Silver votive offerings representing various parts of the body. The model between the trunk and the ear is a stylized form of the female breasts. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782

Fig. 2. This leg of baked clay is from the Roman ruins at Ras-ir-Raheb to the north west of Bahria, Malta. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 3. Bronze dies of liver and lower limb used by Maltese silver smiths for the manufacture of the silver 'ex-votos'. Scale in centimetres and inches. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

PLATE II

Fig. 1. The picture tells the story so clearly that no inscription is attached to it. Note the Maltese type of windmill and the costumes of the peasants still in use during the last century. Tal Hlas Church, Qormi. (Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782 789

Fig. 2. The landscape is not Maltese. Presumably this 'ex-voto' was offered by a foreigner or else the donor was a Maltese who met with a riding accident abroad. The letters V.F.G.A. stand for 'Votum Fecit Gratiam Accepit' (A vow was made and a favour received). Tal Mirakli Church, Lija, Malta. (Photograph by Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A.) [402] [291]

[1] [plate I will be found facing p. 24; plate II faces p. 25. - An.]

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

liberation of the Maltese from the yoke 527
of the Saracens by Count Roger of 186
Normandy in the year 1090. [775]
[648]

A liberal programme is now annually arranged by the Committee embracing every kind of attraction at Notabile.

PILGRIMAGES TO MELLEHA (*) 778

788

On the last two Sundays of September, every year, the roads leading to Melleha are alive with merry parties, especially country people, on their way to that village, in order to visit the

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(*) Melleha is a village some 10½ miles distant from Valletta, and about an hour's ride from St. Paul's Bay. It is renowned for the very old, perhaps the oldest, Sanctuary in the world, dedicated to the B. Virgin. This Sanctuary was founded by St. Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, while he was in Malta (58 A. D.) for the convenience of the faithful who lived in those neighbourhoods. Over the small altar is a picture of St. Mary, covering another old drawing of the same, executed by St. Luke. [361] [776] [532]

584 [301] her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual faith—together with bracelets, necklaces, and a gold chain—she presenting him in return with a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon.

This ceremony is called *il chelma*, which means the engagement.

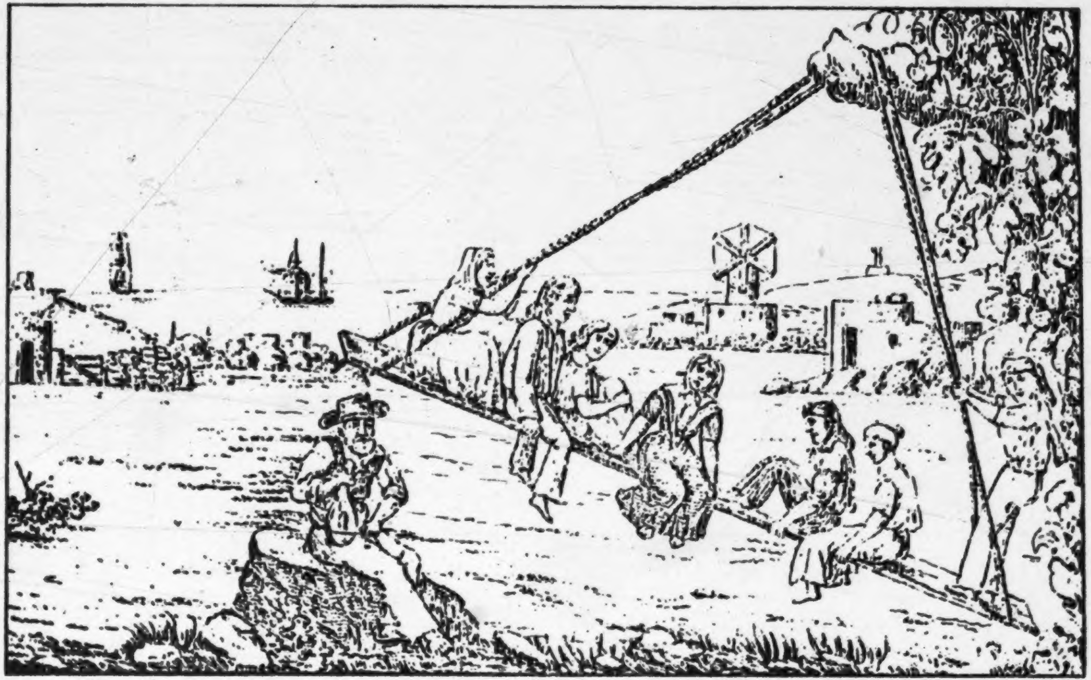
585 [292] [301] On the morning of the wedding day the most honoured personage among the husband's relations threw a fine white veil over the bride's head—who wore a brocade or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells.

[533] The bridal procession then proceeded to the Church for the ceremony, attended by musicians playing on different instruments, and singers who sang stanzas in praise of the young couple. These musicians were preceded by three men, the first bearing on his head a basin of white earth on which was placed a big cake with two figures representing the bridegroom and the bride—the [431] man who carried this basin wore also a scarf with a round cake hanging from it. The second carried a basket filled with sugar plums and candied nuts, which one of the relations distributed among such acquaintances he hap- [532] pened to meet. In the middle of the basket was a handkerchief folded in the form of a pyramid and ornamented with the images of the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, and the Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding. The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the *Haddara*, closed the procession.

[202] The arrival of the bridal procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[facing P. 128]



PEASANTS CELEBRATING "LAPSI"—FESTA OF THE ASCENSION
(From an old Maltese print)

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9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[Frontispiece, facing Title Page]

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● 532
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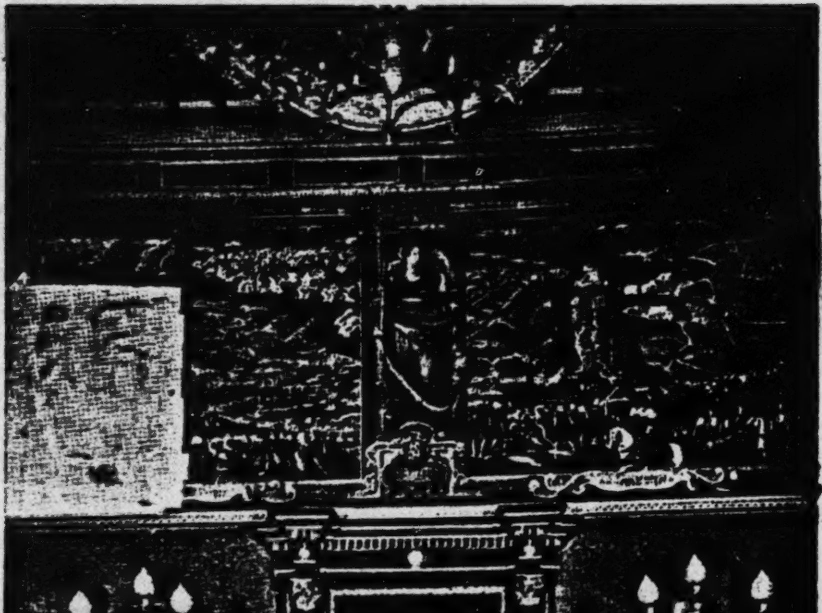

THE PALACE, VALETTA: THRONE IN HALL OF S. MICHAEL AND S. GEORGE

Above, portions of the frescoes depicting the Great Siege. The patch over the fresco to the left of the throne covers temporarily the portion of it damaged by bombing.

Fr.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

172 rocky surfaces of the island, the tram-lines of neolithic man;
493 and he will notice, if he is observant, that the dimensions of
the flat two-wheeled carts which, with their gaily caparisoned
[136] little ponies or donkeys, are the traditional vehicle of the
Maltese countryman of to-day correspond almost exactly
with those of the carts of his neolithic predecessor, as
136 deduced from the width of these ancient tracks. If he is
interested in strange animals that still survive but must be a
living link with hoary antiquity, he can study on the picturesque,
uninhabited islet of Filfla, now used only as a target
for gun practice, a remarkable lizard of the darkest green
spotted with red (*Lacerta muralis* var. *filfolensis*), which occurs
nowhere else in the world but on this tiny and diminishing
spit of rock.

341 The dominant architectural notes of the Maltese Islands are
217 megalithic and Baroque, and the gamut thus established can
scarcely be called a narrow one. So far as works of art are
172 concerned, the Museum in Valetta, housed before World
War II in the Auberge d'Italie and since 1958 in that of
Provence, contains a scientifically arranged exhibition of
[742] Stone Age culture unrivalled in any other country. This
collection, whose most bizarre items are the astonishing fat
female deities characteristic of Maltese neolithic sculpture,
was organized in chronological sequence by the Museum's
late learned Director, Sir Themistocles Zammit, who made
a second international reputation in the field of Maltese
archæology and excavation after having made an earlier one
in medical research in connexion with undulant, or Malta,
fever.

But the visitor is not obliged to study the activities of
241 these remote peoples solely in museums. If he wishes to see
501 how the distant forbears of the present population cultivated
178 their land he has only to watch the Maltese farmer of to-day
[532] ploughing his field; if he is a student of cultural survivals he
will note the eye of Osiris still painted on the bows of Malta's
sturdy little schooners and characteristic "Gozo boats." If

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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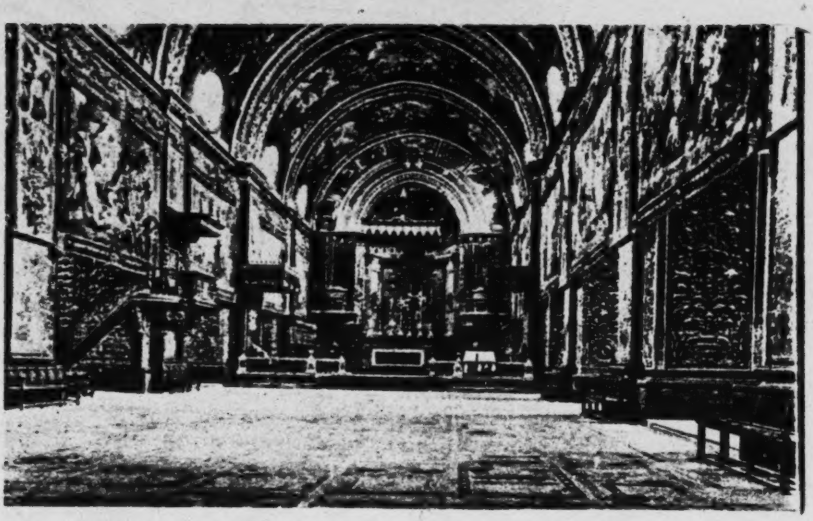

NAVE OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA, WITH ITS TAPESTRIES DISPLAYED
[*See pp.* 177-180.]

BEHEADING OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST, BY CARAVAGGIO, IN THE ORATORY OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA
[*See pp.* 242-243.]

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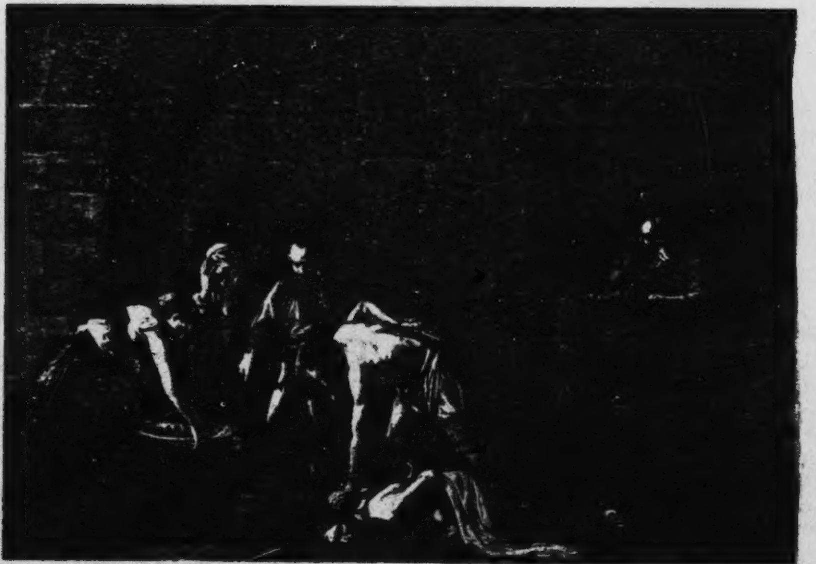

[facing p. 129]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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THE PALACE, VALETTA: A CORNER OF THE TAPESTRY CHAMBER (FORMERLY THE COUNCIL CHAMBER)

[*See pp.* 182 *and* 184–186.]

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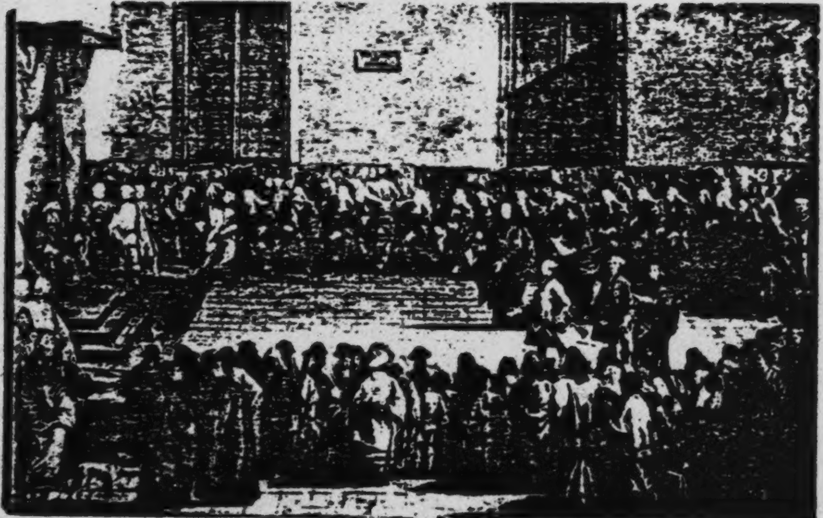

DEPUTATION OF THE PATRICIATE OF UDINE ARGUING BEFORE G.M. PINTO AND HIS CHAPTER-GENERAL IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER OF THE PALACE, VALETTA

By Giambattista Tiepolo.

[*See pp.* 181–182.]

[facing p. 144]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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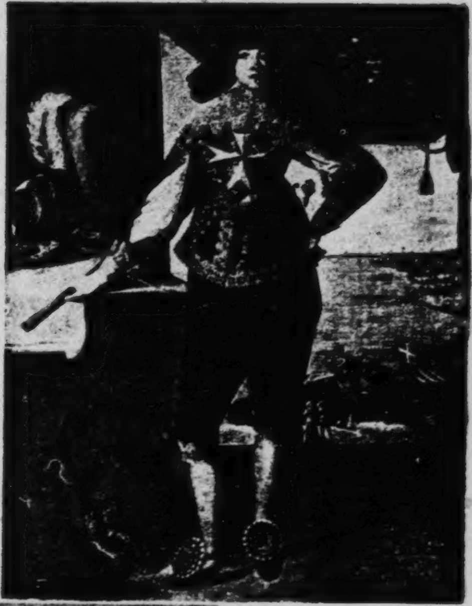

CARDINAL FREDERICK,
LANDGRAVE OF HESSE,
GENERAL OF THE GALLEYS
In the Palace, Valetta. Dated 1644.
[*See p.* 183.]

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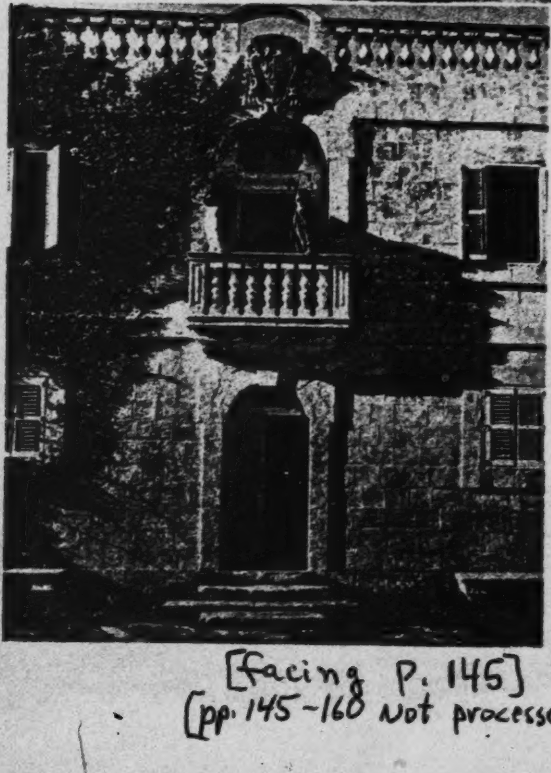

ENTRANCE TO
THE INQUISITOR'S
SUMMER PALACE
[*See pp.* 100–101.]

[facing p. 145]
[pp. 145-160 Not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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BUST OF G.M. CARDINAL DE VERDALLE
[*See p.* 190.]

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VERDALA CASTLE
[*See pp.* 187-191.]

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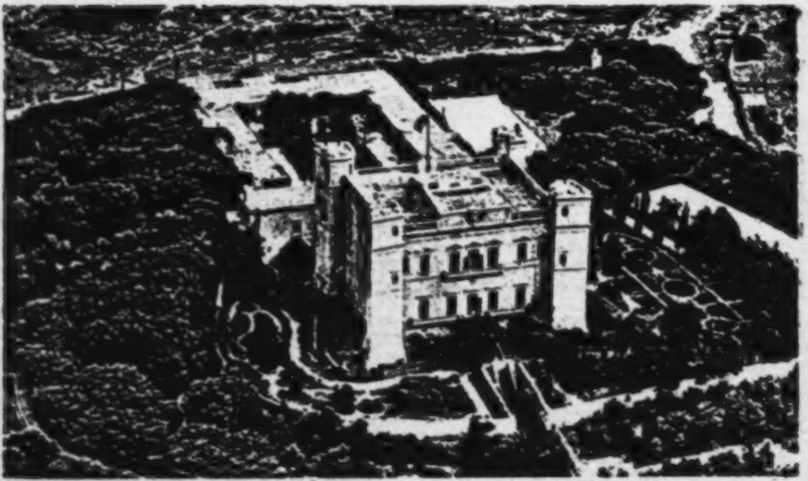

[Facing p. 160]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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OPENING ONE OF THE GRANARIES, FLORIANA
[*See p.* 217.]

SOUL IN PURGATORY
[*See p.* 203.]

•532

IN A MALTESE GARDEN
[*See p.* 104.]

[facing p. 193]
[pp. 193-196 not processed]

is no sacrifice they will not gladly make for the greater 794
dignity and beauty of their churches. Take, for example, the
case of Mġarr—one of the smallest and poorest of the
parishes of Malta and the one most cherished by that great
seaman and lover of Malta, the late Admiral Sir W. W.
Fisher. Here between the two wars the inhabitants, nearly
all hard-working peasants, under the enthusiastic leadership
of their parish priest, Father (later Monsignor) Edgar
Salomone, built a great new church by their own efforts,
bringing their weekly contributions to the building fund in
eggs and fowls and vegetables and whatever else they produce.

At street corners statues of saints, sometimes also of souls 532
enveloped in a purgatorial blaze, afford them ever-present 778
reminders, encouraging or minatory as the case may be, of
the next world; in this one they love the great ecclesiastical 796
ceremonies, particularly the processions which are one of the
features of Maltese life. These assume on Good Friday
something of the character of a Passion Play, with members
of lay confraternities staggering along Merchants' Street in
Valetta beneath the weight of life-size groups of the Passion
carved with gruesome realism. I have also seen these
processions in Palermo, where I have been shocked at the
flippancy and irreverence not so much of the onlookers as of
the actual participants. The Maltese play their parts in these
functions with profound and solemn devoutness. Indeed, [783]
some of them may be bearing their burden, whatever it is,
in fulfilment of a self-imposed penance, concealing their
features behind a hood with eye-holes that covers the head.

But on the annual *festa*, the local saint's day, of their 527
village they give themselves up wholeheartedly to re-
joicings, which are definitely on the noisy side. For
they are punctuated by the explosions of crackers, maroons
and every procurable form of noise-producing apparatus,
and they are illuminated by ingenious, locally made fire-
works. On these days the casals are a brave sight as they fly [186]
from the top of every house of any importance the flag of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

668 of July 1955, to avoid unemployment, the representatives of
the Maltese people, in Parliament assembled, declare themselves
648 absolved from their pacts and obligations towards the British
Government, and from those so far assumed towards the Allies of that Government—this position to obtain for so long as the British Government fails to guarantee that the number of persons employed by the said Government in Malta shall not decrease before there is "alternative employment" for those discharged.

On this inauspicious note ended the year 1957 despite the patient efforts of the Government in London and of Sir Robert Laycock and his advisers in Malta to bring the protracted and often vexatious negotiations to a happy issue. The latter's task thereafter was made no easier by a Circular issued in February 1958 to Heads of Departments and all other Malta Government employees forbidding them on pain of disciplinary action "to make any verbal or personal contacts on any official matter with any member of the other side of the Diarchy" without the personal permission of the Minister concerned. In April these words were extended to cover "any official matter *or otherwise*." Thereby was created the anomalous situation that the islands' officials subordinate to the Mintoff Administration had to boycott those of the Maltese Imperial Government not only officially but socially, even to the extent of declining the Governor's invitations to dinner. Be it added that the embargo was far from being universally observed, while Ministers continued to seek direct personal contacts with the Imperial side of the Diarchy whenever it suited them to do so.

3

643 In 1608 one of the greatest and most innovating painters
175 of the Seicento, that Michaelangelo Amerighi who was
better known from his birthplace as Caravaggio, spent some
•532 months of his short and disordered life in Malta, employed
659

by the splendid, vigorous and art-loving Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt. Notwithstanding the Grand Master's generous protection the 38-year-old artist soon made Malta too hot to hold him. He was put in prison, escaped and died in Italy within a year or so. But in the meantime Malta and the world had become the richer by two pictures which he painted for S. John's Conventual Church in Valetta, the great Beheading of S. John the Baptist and the smaller S. Jerome. In 1956 these pictures, which had never before left the walls for which they were painted except to be put in a place of safety during the Second World War, were sent to Italy in a British man-of-war for restoration and for display at the Exhibition of seventeenth-century art held in Rome during the winter of 1956–57. Of this Exhibition, indeed, the larger picture provided the central attraction. 175 643 532 659

At the close of the Exhibition the pictures were brought back to Malta, again in one of Her Majesty's ships, but to the general astonishment were forcibly impounded on arrival by the Maltese Government on Mr Mintoff's orders without previous notice and conveyed to the Museum despite vigorous protests from the ecclesiastical authorities. The Mintoff Government had clashed with the Church on other matters but there had been no inkling that its unpredictable leader had ever contemplated the transfer of these pictures to civil custody or the use of unilateral high-handed action to bring it about. 659

The state of tension with the Church created by this and other subjects of disagreement persisted for another year, that is to say until April 1958, by which time Mr Mintoff, now ready to break with the British Government, decided to clear the decks by making his peace with the Archbishop. As abruptly as he had seized the Caravaggios did he return them to S. John's, at the oddly chosen time of 1 A.M. on Sunday, the 20th April. On the following day statements were issued from the Archbishop's Palace and the Prime Minister's office declaring that good relations between the
Government and the Church had been restored.

● 533 Malta EZ6

/For the organization of musicians into Band Clubs, see category, 575./

In terms of the social pattern of the rural village, this means that there is 178 a very significant distinction to be made between the older generation of farmers 241 proper and the younger generation whose direct attachment to the land and farming is weaker if not already broken. If one turns to a consideration of the 561 way of life and living standards in the village community this gulf is apparent. Most spectacular perhaps are changes in clothing.

The familiar working garb of the farmer has been the heavy woollen vest, 178 cotton trousers, waistcoat, and cap. Recently, army-surplus shirts, denims, etc., have replaced the locally-made garment, often of home-grown cotton, while the 291 cummerbund is now rare. Sandals are normally worn for walking but not for work. The farmer who works round the clock has never had a 'best suit'. He attends Mass in his working clothes before going to the fields and, on Sundays and holidays, ventures forth as on any other day with the possible addition of a woollen cardigan or more presentable waistcoat. For women, the use of the *faldetta* ribbed hood has declined rapidly in the last 20 years and is now only worn by the older women in the villages and by female members of the M.U.S.E.U.M. movement. The use of black generally by women is declining but most clothes are still made in the home even if from bought material rather than home-produced cotton or wool. The younger generation are not usually content to venture forth dressed in the manner of their parents but insist on making their own appearance as much like that of the average town-dweller among whom they aim to move socially. The white shirt, smart suit, shoes, socks, and well-oiled hair of the young men and the bright dresses, high-heeled shoes, nylons and cosmetics of the village maidens are regarded as the essential uniform of the seeker after the bright lights of Valletta and the towns. The schools have played a part in this with their demands on cleanliness, footwear and dress in the classroom. Occasionally a child goes bare-foot to a village school but no one would think of visiting Valletta shoe-less. The imitation of urban standards of dress is particularly apparent in the sub-urban districts where the farming minority are at pains to 'keep up with the Vellas' in dress - in spite of the expense involved.

Diet in the traditional rural scene depended upon what could be produced 178 by the fields and animals held by any family. The standard soups and stews (such [262] as *minestra* and *brodu*) were consequently largely vegetable. Meat was rarer, fish seasonal and small birds might be added to a stew depending on the results of the hunting or, more correctly, shooting which was and is a popular Sunday and Holiday pastime in the countryside. The diet was rather less 'Italian' than that in Valletta and the towns, with potatoes in place of the various forms of farinaceous paste - spaghetti, macaroni, etc. As in the rest of the Islands before [272] the 1939-45 war, milk was taken fresh from goats and sheep and was not infrequently disease-carrying. Tinned milk is now popular in town and country but consumption of bottled, pasteurised milk is growing. Tea and coffee drinking have to some extent replaced local and home-made wines, especially in the many bars and small cafés which have become the leisure-time resorts of the men of the villages between strolls in the squares and streets. Even here change is [533] evidenced, for the traditional guitar-accompanied *għana* of the Maltese peasant [207] has given way to *Radio e Televisione Italiana* as the basis of café entertainment.

This very increase in leisure time is significant. The old farmer is content to spend the greater part of every day with his animals or in the fields for they 512 are in fact his hobby as well as his livelihood. Cinemas and bright lights hold no attraction for him; but the young man insists on recreation as he sees it in the towns. The timetable of the farmer varies according to his type of farming. The herdsmen's life is ruled by the routine of feeding and attention demanded by his cows or goats and by the times of milk collection demanded by the Milk Marketing Undertaking. All this means an earlier daily start (sometimes 1 or 2 a.m.) than is usual for the field worker who begins his day with a 4 a.m. or 5 a.m. Mass and then stops for a light breakfast some three hours later. Lunch-time is 11 a.m. or noon and is followed by a *siesta* of some hours, depending on the season and the pressure of work to be completed before the sun goes down and the field-worker shoulders his hoes or his wooden plough and returns home

house to house, transform the streets into gaily lighted tunnels. The 796
pjazza is usually draped in flags, and all the clubs are also dressed 628
in their festal finery and their doors thrown open to the public.
Many bands are hired and the mountains of fireworks are fused [533]
and made ready. All this is done before the visitors from outside [389]
arrive, and involves a great deal of organization, time and money.

The festa is thus an occasion on which communal values are reaffirmed and strengthened, as individuals and groups express their loyalty to their patron saint and unite to defend and enhance the reputation of their village. At the same time, the central position which the Church occupies in the social structure is strongly reinforced, for the parish church is the hub around which this festive occasion turns. 796 182

A festa is also an occasion on which the bonds of kinship are reinforced, for each family opens its doors to its relations, especially to those who live in other villages. Grown sons and daughters return to their parental home, forming, for a few hours, a grand family with a depth of three or four generations. Because of this influx of relatives, younger children learn to recognize more distant relatives whom they might not see at any other time of the year, and become aware of the network of kin relations that stretches out from their home. As parents become momentarily [584] more indulgent during the festa and relax their watchfulness, it is also a favourite meeting time for courting couples and a traditional occasion on which marriageable boys and girls are introduced to one another. 796 182 602

The celebration of a village festa usually lasts three days. It 796 consists of religious ceremonies, which take place principally within the church, and secular celebrations outside the church. The Maltese themselves make a distinction between these two elements in the festa: they call the former the 'internal feast' (*il-festa ta' ġewwa*) and the latter the 'external feast' (*il-festa ta' barra*). These often take place simultaneously. The mixture of sacred and 123 profane which results was shown to me very vividly during one 796 of the first festas I attended. I was in the church during a particularly solemn moment in the service of worship. Suddenly there was a nerve-shattering burst of fireworks from the roof of the church. Then, slowly, the sharp smell of burning gunpowder began to drift in through the open doors and mingle with the pungent odour of candles and incense. After that I ceased to be

796 aware of their separateness, and realized that both incense and
[123] gunpowder were ingredients basic to the celebration of a festa.

The actual celebration of the feast can be divided into three
parts: the Triduum or Novena – the three to nine days of spiri-
tual preparation which precede the feast day – the eve of the feast,
and the day of the feast. As the feast is usually celebrated on a
Sunday so that more people can come, the Triduum days are
Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. High Mass is offered on these
days, and in the evenings outside priests often come to preach
sermons on religious topics related to the life of the patron saint.
They are also days of preparation during which the elaborate
street decorations are hoisted into place. Throughout the day the
village is psychologically conditioned to the festa by salvoes of
aerial bombs which are often timed to coincide with the ringing
[533] of the Paternoster and the Angelus. On the last day of the Tri-
duum, after the final sermon, the village band marches through
the main streets. Often the band is preceded by a mass of dancing
and shouting enthusiasts of both sexes, who wave coloured
scarves, silver loving cups and other symbols of their loyalty to
[578] their band and their saint. In villages where there are competing
[575] band clubs, this demonstration often provokes fights between
rival supporters. These skirmishes are usually sparked off by the
bands of girls who hoarsely shout themselves into a frenzy pro-
claiming the virtues of their saint and the shortcomings of their
rivals. There are no visitors during this part of the feast.

On Saturday, the eve of the feast, there is a High Mass and Te
Deum to mark the end of the Triduum. This is usually followed
by a barrage of aerial fireworks. The local band then often
marches through the village, stopping at all the clubs for drinks.
[273] This march is usually quite gay but in some villages it degenerates
into a drunken spree. During the day, outside priests are brought
[783] in specially for the festa to hear confessions in the church. In the
late afternoon, visitors begin to arrive to watch the Translation, a
ceremony during which the celebrant, usually the Bishop, takes a
relic of the saint on a short procession outside the church. After
[533] the Translation, the various guest bands march through the
village and then settle down to play selections from operas and
works composed by Maltese bandmasters. The many relatives and
friends of the bandsmen join the gaily dressed crowds who have
been streaming in by bus and car or on foot.

For several hours they wander up and down the principal streets, past the nougat vendors, past the dazzling houses with their doors and shutters thrown open to attract the eyes of all to festal drapes and carpets, gleaming cookers and new refrigerators. The crowd moves on past the packed bars and through the festooned clubs, their silver trophies all on show. Stopping now and then to eat and drink and talk with friends, they move into the church and past the banks of flowers that stand before the statue of the patron saint. From there, now surrounded by the red damask and the cut-glass crowns suspended from the golden ceilings, they pass before the silver altar-front and gaze at the jewel-encrusted reliquaries on display beside it. Now and then there is a soft discussion of price and craftsmanship as a new picture or silver candlestick reaches past the guttering candles for the attention of the crowd. Slowly, for many stop to kneel and say a prayer, the people move out through the door and past the bandstand, and on to make the round again. 796

The climax of the evening comes at eleven o'clock, when the forest of standing fireworks which have been planted in the square is lighted, and the second day of the festa closes in a shower of sparks and acrid smoke.

On the morning of the feast-day, there is a Solemn High Mass during which some noted clerical orator delivers a lengthy and bombastic panegyric of the saint. After the service the committees of the various clubs make formal calls on each other and exchange hospitality. The parish priest and the village clergy also call on each of the clubs and associations. Following this, the people retire to their houses for huge luncheons with their close relatives. In the late afternoon the long procession with the statue of the saint slowly moves from the church. The saint, carried by white-robed members of the confraternities, stops on the threshold to take the salute of 21 petards and barrage of smaller rockets, the *kaxxa infernal*, which often last up to twenty minutes.[1] As the saint at last leaves the church he is cheered on his way by groups of shouting devotees. The crowds are thicker than the night before, and amuse themselves in much the same way. There are also more bands, and sometimes as many as five will be [537]

[533]

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[1] These petards are usually immense. They are often made from half-gallon tins packed with gelignite that is either stolen or extracted from dud shells and bombs fished up from military target areas by festa enthusiasts. Occasionally their explosions break windows. [389]

796 competing for the attention of the crowd within a few yards of
● [533] each other.

[292] All the while, the procession, followed by a few black-clad penitents, solemnly passes through the main streets of the village. [481] Often those carrying the saint move with a shuffling step that causes him to bob and turn as though he were dancing. As he passes under balconies his cheering and clapping admirers shower him with confetti. Then, as the procession nears the church, the final *kaxxa infernal*, this time of coloured rockets, is touched off. In some villages the saint is turned around so that he can see this barrage and the display of multi-staged rockets that follows it. The statue then enters the church and the Benediction is given. After this the crowd of visitors quickly disperses. Soon the inhabitants have the village to themselves again. As the women and girls wheel and pull the children off to bed, the men carry around from club to club the grimy, soot-stained men who made and fired the fireworks. They are the heroes of the hour. Other men seek out their clubs or usual cafés and toast one another and the success of their feast. So ends the festa for another year.

796 The organization of the annual festa requires a long period of planning and preparation. This work calls for a certain degree of 793 centralization. In most villages the parish priest controls the [794] organization of both the internal and the external feasts. In some villages, however, he delegates some of this work to a procurator, usually a priest, but occasionally to a committee of leading per- [575] sonalities of the village. In other villages, all the details of the external feast, including the fund raising, are handled by the band club committees. In any case, the parish priest always has the last word. Sometimes there is friction between him and other interested parties over organizational details.

796 The cost of these feasts varies considerably. It is naturally related to the size of the village and to the degree of enthusiasm 794 with which the festa is celebrated. It ranges from a few shillings 435 per family in a large urban parish to as much as £15 per family in a small rural parish celebrating a particularly important festa. The average cost to the community, however, is about £1,000. The organizers of the festa collect the necessary funds by means of lotteries, fairs, special appeals and a small weekly contribution of threepence or sixpence from each family. Most fund raisers also solicit pledges from leading citizens and enter their names and the

Children begin to express partit affiliation when they are be- 621
tween twelve and fourteen years old. At this age they are old 794
enough to follow the processions and take part in the demonstra- 883
tions on their own. Fund raisers make demands on them, and they
are asked to help decorate the streets. At this age they also begin [533]
to play in the band. A youngster would jeopardize his social
standing with his elders and with his age mates if he failed to take [882]
a firm position with regard to one of the saints. This would
remove him from much of the community's social life. Consequently, by the time a village boy has reached fifteen, he has usually selected his partit, thus accepting and becoming part of the fabric of partit rivalry which will hold him until he dies or leaves the village.

There is some relation between occupational class and partit 463
affiliation: in general, the supporters of titular saints belong to a 621
higher occupational class than their rivals. The reason for this will
be discussed a little later. The data I gathered in Farruġ illustrate this correlation clearly. As shown in Table No. 6 below, 83 per cent of the village's professional and white-collar workers belong to the St. Martin partit, while only 38 per cent of those engaged in agriculture do so.

TABLE 6. Farruġ: Partit Affiliation and Occupational Class

OCCUPATION			PARTIT AFFILIATION	
	Number	*Percentage of Lab. Force*	*St. Martin*	*St. Roque*
Professional and clerical	12	4	83%	17%
Service and skilled	115	39	55	45
Semi- and unskilled	124	42	48	52
Agricultural	45	15	38	62
Total	296	100		

So much for the origin and social composition of the partiti. I 361
may just observe here that festa partiti are not usually based on 621
territorial divisions. Since upward mobility does not involve [555]
change of partit, but is often accompanied by a change of residence, all residential areas are mixed. Nonetheless, there is a tendency for supporters of the titular partiti to live in the better residential area near the church, and for their rivals to live in the poorer sections more remote from the central square. This is a reflection of the differing occupational class of the members. This

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic
787 Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedicated
795 to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

17 During this period a conception of social organization new to
575 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
621 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'.
After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in 1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages. They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890, 'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
648 programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
653 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
658 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate
urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] 060 in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural

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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
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Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *ċulqâna* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
764 extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *żuntier*, from French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
[671] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
[534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
●[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a pro-
fanation

527 431 171 which time the Senators, as well as the knights and other great men, brought gifts to the Emperor, and in his absence to the Capitol (1).

527 777 It is also the custom in some places of Malta for men to go about strewing some lime in the door-ways on New Year's day. Some idea of good luck may perhaps be associated with the lime; there is no tradition, however, as far as is known, whence this custom arose.

527 203 New Year's greetings in the shape of visiting cards, are very profusely exchanged on this occasion, especially among the better classes.

527 431 533 Groups of street musicians go from house to house, either on the last day of the old year or on the morning of

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(1) Capitol, the temple of Jupiter at Rome built on the top of a hill.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the 1st of January playing popular pieces 527 of music, and this they do as a New 431 Year's greeting. 533 These men will rarely leave a house until some little gift of money is bestowed upon them as a remuneration for their trouble in paying their annual congratulations.

ST. ANTHONY'S DAY.

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Among the popular Maltese customs 825 in which animals play a leading part, that of the blessing of the quadrupeds of the equine species, in Valletta, on St. Anthony's day, is the most familiar.

On the morning of the 17th January (St. Anthony's day) a number of horses, mules, and donkeys, decked out in ribbons and tassels, are driven in procession in front of the Vittoria, a little

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Candle and the solemn chanting of the 796
"*Gloria in Excelsis Deo*" which is the signal for the uncovering of the Church pictures, which had been covered during the two preceding weeks, and the simultaneous ringing of all the Church bells which were kept hushed in token of mourning during the two preceding days.

General rejoicings now commence, and Easter greetings are profusely exchanged amongst all classes of the people.

Peculiar custom prevails in Valletta 796 533 184
and Vittoriosa on Easter Eve. Just at sunset, two or three men, one with a big drum and the others with fifes, playing a merry tune, go about the streets, followed by large crowds of men, among whom noisy bands of lads, who keep rushing and pushing wildly all

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 533 184 the time through the spectators, each adding his quota to the universal clamour. Everything, however, is done in perfect good humour and no one dreams either of giving or taking offence. (*)

EASTER

796 Very early on Easter Sunday, before daylight, there is, in each town and in some of the villages of Malta, a procession with the image representing the Resurrection of our Lord.

The most popular of these processions is undoubtedly that of Valletta.

Large crowds of people assemble, as

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[171] (*) The Greeks celebrate the feast of Easter with singing and shouting in honour of the Resurrection --with crakling of a large bonfire on Easter evening and on Easter morning before daybreak.

(Brand's " Popular Antiquities").

Str. Reale, from Fort St. Elmo to 527
Porta Reale, is aglow with the red and 186
white colours of Malta and knights' flags; and at night is ablaze with thousands of variegated lights.

St. George's Square—opposite the 527
Governor's Palace—is ornamented with 186
splendid clusters of flags, pennons, gon- 543
falons, shields, battle axes, spears, captured cannons and some entire suits of armour, kindly lent from the Palace collection. These suits create great interest, being the original property of the knights, some of the pieces bearing the evidence of shots and sabre cuts.

From the various stands, selected 527
national bands fill the city with sweet [533]
music, and in the evening elaborate fire-works illustrate the figures and deeds of the knights.

In connection with this feast, horse ooo

The square is most tastefully got up with splendid trophies of arms and red and white flags. From each of the trophies broad red and white sashes are seen hanging, on which the names of those who distinguished themselves by some brave and noble deed in the memorable siege, are written in gold letters. 527 186

The decorations of the column of Victory, in the middle of the square, are simply magnificent. This column is surrounded by four figures, representing 4 Grand Masters in full armour, one of these is the immortal LA VALETTE, who at the head of his knights, and supported by the population of Malta—men, women, and children—succeeded in hurling back, discomfited and disgraced, the Moslem, that would from Malta have sallied forth to the conquest of Europe. 527 186 211

During the day the bands, playing 527 533

527 533 lively marches, parade the principal streets of the old town, preceded by large crowds of people with palm leaves and Maltese flags in their hands.

527 541 In the evening the enthusiasm in the beautifully illuminated square is intense and prolonged.

[533] Large crowds from all parts of the Island flock here to listen to the choice selections of music, played by the bands on the square, and to witness the grand display of fireworks.

These are indeed worth seeing, especially one set piece. This represents a real fort with the red and white cross banner of the knights at the top. This fort opens fire and is attacked by several Turkish men-of-war, with sails set and the crescent flying at the mast heads.

As these miniatures of old-fashioned

galleys come sailing across the square, on wires stretched over the people's heads, towards the fort, they open fire in great style. One after the other they meet their fate, for the fort peppers them cruelly and finally sets them on fire, so that soon—hulls, sails, masts, yards, crescent flags, and all the warlike things about them are in few seconds wrapped in flames and destroyed. 527 541

Before leaving the description of the celebration of this National *fète* at Vittoriosa, I wish to mention that hundreds of loaves are distributed to the needy of that town on the morning of the feast. 527 735

Worth mentioning is the custom which prevails, on the 7th of Sept. among the women residing at Rabato (Notabile) and in the country surrounding it. These, to celebrate the com- 184 527 533

184 memoration of the Victory won by the
527 Maltese in the great siege of 1565,
633 instead of coming to take part in the amusements held in Valletta and in the other towns, meet in groups on the terraces, or flat tops of their houses, and keep singing merrily till very late at night.

ANOTHER NATIONAL FEAST

527 The celebration of the glorious vic-
186 tory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565 has been of good use to the Maltese, It has enabled them to comprehend more keenly the historic value of this Island.

[175] In fact, some two years ago another
[648] national commemoration has originated at Città Vecchia, on the 3rd or 4th Sunday of September, to celebrate the

852 it is a sign of a liberal character—if he
[787] picks out the inkstand it points towards
[828] inclination for trade or the bar—if he
takes the book, the rosary or the candle the assumption is that he intends to dedicate his life to the service of the church.

[574) When the baby makes his or her
selection, the guests are treated with refreshments, and they all drink the health and future prospects of the small individual in question.

FUNERALS

764 On the death of a Maltese, two or
767 three women called *Neuuieha*, hired for
• [533] the occasion, and attired in long mourning cloaks, immediately entered the house of the deceased singing in a low and dismal voice, some appropriate deathsong. These women cut away

764 767 [292] their faces and black silk cloaks. (*) The room being stripped of all its furniture and hung with black cloth.

[302] The *neuuieha*, throwing themselves on their knees at the foot of the coffin, began singing the praises of the dead, and cut off handfuls of their hair which [262] [431] they spread over the coffin. On the same day, cakes and boiled wheat were distributed among all the relations, and the hair was cut off the tails of every horse at the stables belonging to the house of the deceased.

764 •533 The funeral procession was always composed of the relations in mourning preceded by some boys playing the fifes or trumpets.

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[765] [822] [171] (*) The colours of the dress or habit. worn to signify grief are different in different countries. In Europe, the ordinary colour for mourning is black. *Black*, being the privation of light, is supposed to denote the privation of life.

PULLEYN *Origin & Inventions.*

777 lieve that those who get married during this month will be unfortunate.

THE CHURCH ORGAN

787 585 533 Many of our country people want the organ to be played during the mass which is celebrated at their wedding, for they believe that if it is not played the couple will not live long together. To show how much some of our country men believe in this superstition, my friend, Mr. P. P. Castagna, gives the following anecdote in his "Storia ta Malta."

Not long ago a young man went to church at Casal Chircop to get married. On finding, however, that the organist did not turn up to play during the mass, he took off his coat threw it on the floor and went out

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

787 585 • 533 in a rage, and he could not be persuaded to go back to his wedding before the organist could be found and the organ played for the occasion.

PAYING VISITS

273 574 576 825 If a person goes to pay a visit, for the first time, to a party and is not treated with a sort of drink called *zambur* — made of aniseed—a mouse enters the chest of drawers and gnaws all the petticoats of the mistress of the house.

SENDING TO THE OVEN

252 562 Some people think it a great shame for a woman who sends dishes to be cooked in an oven when her husband is away from the Island.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

584 [301] her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual faith—together with bracelets, necklaces, and a gold chain—she presenting him in return with a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon.

This ceremony is called *il chelma*, which means the engagement.

585 [292] [301] On the morning of the wedding day the most honoured personage among the husband's relations threw a fine white veil over the bride's head—who wore a brocade or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells.

● [533] The bridal procession then proceeded to the Church for the ceremony, attended by musicians playing on different instruments, and singers who sang stanzas in praise of the young couple. These musicians were preceded by three men, the first bearing on his head a basin of white earth on which was placed a big cake with two figures representing the bridegroom and the bride—the [431] man who carried this basin wore also a scarf with a round cake hanging from it. The second carried a basket filled with sugar plums and candied nuts, which one of the relations distributed among such acquaintances he hap- [532] pened to meet. In the middle of the basket was a handkerchief folded in the form of a pyramid and ornamented with the images of the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, and the Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding. The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the *Haddara*, closed the procession.

[202] The arrival of the bridal procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating

almost as varied and barbaric as at the Holy Fire in Jerusalem. 527
During the rare pauses between the bangs of the explosives and the splutterings of the pyrotechnical diversions one was just able to catch the sound of the chanting of an ecclesiastical procession, faintly audible reminder that the excuse for all this sound was a religious anniversary.

Nor was this by any means all. In an open space outside 527
the village a band was trying in the face of considerable 533
difficulties to play a secular air from some opera, all the bandsmen dressed in what might at a distance have passed for a naval Commander's white uniform, with aiguillettes of yellow cord. All, that is to say, except the *maestro*, whom I still see in my mind's eye as an elderly, worn-out, languid, apathetic cynic in a drooping Panama hat, with a cigarette hanging limply from his lower lip. Two hundred yards away another band was competing with an entirely different tune. Not that it mattered in the least. Nobody was paying the slightest attention to the music; and, even if they had been, neither band had a hope of making its output prevail over the other component parts of the general din.

Likewise do I recall a *festa* in Gozo, where the band, in this case not in uniform, was playing as it marched round the village square. But it afforded the pleasant sight of a man in a brown Homburg hat nonchalantly beating with his right hand the big drum which was being carried fore and aft by two small boys, while fanning himself with his music, which he held in his left.

These particular bands were professionals hired for the 533
occasion, for the villages in question were not large enough 665
to possess bands of their own. But in the large casals the band is a local institution of far wider significance than the specifically musical. Next to the parish church it is probably the most important social nucleus of the township, and influential personages regard it as a distinction to be offered the patronage or honorary Presidency of its organization. It may have even a political connotation. In the towns which

● 533 665 are populous enough to run to two bands these will as likely as not be identified with the opposing political parties.

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357 No book about Malta, no chapter making mention of the country people, would be complete without reference to a class of Maltese largely drawn from the country-folk. In these days, when domestic service is shunned by potential employees and thought of more as a myth than as something that once existed by would-be employers, it is my pleasant duty to record that Maltese servants can be among the best in the world. Such, at all events, has been my experience and that of many of my friends in Malta. Where employer and employee have been able to establish a relationship of mutual esteem and respect (and few people are more ready to respond in this way than the Maltese domestic), the employer in Malta may confidently count not only upon receiving from members of the household staff faithful, efficient and loyal service but upon retaining, if he or she is only a sojourner in the island, their affectionate regard long after he or she has left its shores.

It is, however, regrettable but necessary to add that since these words were first written domestic servants are tending to become as rare in Malta as they are elsewhere.

114 357 Shortly after the First World War a gentleman named Eric Shepherd came to Malta as Professor of English Literature at the University, and remained there for three years. On his experiences during those three years Mr Shepherd subsequently wrote a book called *Malta and Me*,[1] which abounds in puckish humour and flashes of insight and is often extremely entertaining.

But partly because of its puckishness, partly because the author laid what might appear to some to be excessive emphasis on such drawbacks to life as may exist in Malta

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[1] Selwyn and Blount, 1926.

5: Cremona 8-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Bombazine (without lace) or silk faldettas are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *ċulqâna* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
764 extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *żuntier*, from French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
[671] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
● [534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a pro-
fanation

In the afternoon of the Feast, the 527
great harbour and the several creeks,
especially that of Calcara, present indeed
a very lively appearance. Yachts, boats, [291]
and small crafts plough the deep, the [501]
greater part sailing, with flags and
streamers flying in the breeze, laden
with people, mostly clad in gay summer
costumes, which they put on for the
first time on this day as a sign of
the approaching hot season.

Some of these gay parties keep on 527
their crafts, singing and playing guitars 264
and melodeons, whilst others disembark 534
on some shady rock on the sea-shore,
where they spread their table-cloths
and sit down to enjoy the edibles which
they bring with them.

A little after sunset, when the numerous 527
and jolly picnic parties have 501
emptied some bottles of wine, the boats

796 574 262 in companies to some one of their friends, at whose house they amuse themselves eating honey cakes and pancakes or fritters, and playing for nuts till the church bells ring a little before or after midnight.

At the conclusion of the service they come out again and devote the remainder of the night to amusements.

796 534 [184] The approaching festival of Christmas is heralded in some of the villages of Malta by the appearance of the "zakk" and "tambur" players in the streets. (*)

[237] The *zakk* or bagpipe is a wind instrument—one of the primitive instruments of sylvan music—formed of an inflated dog skin, which is held by the player under his left arm, with the legs

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[541] (*) The *Zakk* and tambourine are also in use amongst our lower classes on the days of Carnival.

directed upwards, and having a mouth piece by which the skin is filled, and a cane flute or pipe which is played with both hands. This the country people play at this time of the year to represent the shepherds of Bethlehem. 796 534 [237]

The decking out of the *presepiu*, a crib or representation of the Nativity of the Holy Child at Bethlehem, by a group of dolls with pasteboard scenery, furnishes amusement to the Maltese, both old and young. 796 778

Several of the houses have a crib more or less artistically arranged, and the better the arrangements of the crib, the greater is the concourse of people who come to see it.

The custom of decking our churches and habitations with evergreens at Christmas has existed from the very establishment of Christianity and was 796 174 824

585 ered flowers upon them, also nuts and grains of wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.

[184] [535] [465] [431] At a village wedding the company danced during the feast; each dancer throwing a piece of money to the fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast.

[591] The bride always passed a week in her father's house, after which she was received with much pomp by her husband whose relations gave a great feast which was called il *hargia*.

The officiating
priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, 585
a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee [793]
on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was [465]
completed, everyone returned from church in the same
order as before.

As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies showered flowers upon them also nuts and grains and wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

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after which she was received with much pomp by her
husband, whose relations gave a great feast which was
called *il hargia*."[1]

The bridegroom's symbolic present of a fish is very likely 584
connected with fecundity, for the fish was regarded as an 174
emblem of fecundity by the Assyrians and the Phoenicians. 825
It is not, however, in this connection alone that the fish is a
potent symbol. Prudence (apparently a virtue highly prized [577].
in a Maltese wife—Salt, another symbol of prudence, is included in the ingredients with which the bride's lips are anointed), and Wisdom were anciently supposed to be the properties of numerous Sacred Fish. Finn M'Cull, in the Irish legend, "Happens upon the Salmon of Knowledge . . ."

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[1] BUSUTTIL, op. cit.

club and a sports club. In Farrug, for instance, there are two band 575
clubs – one of which is dedicated to St. Martin, the other to St.
Roque – a football club and an active Labour Party committee;
while Kortin has a band club, a social club, a Labour club, a
football club and a troop of Boy Scouts. The term secular, used 575
in this context, requires a few words of qualification. Although 794
clubs and associations which I have called secular do not form part
of the Church, this does not necessarily mean that they are
opposed to it, or are cut off from it. Quite the contrary. Almost
every club has a chaplain who serves as a link between it and the
parish priest. Most clubs take part in certain religious functions,
especially during the week preceding Easter. Moreover, many of [778]
the clubs have dedicated themselves to the Sacred Heart of Jesus
and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary by means of special
religious ceremonies. Often this dedication is renewed annually. Only [665]
the clubs of the Malta Labour Party do not have any linkage with
the Church.

The band clubs are the most important secular societies. They 575
are formally constituted associations with elected committees,
premises of their own and a large body of dues-paying members
drawn from all occupational and social classes. The first band
clubs were established shortly after the middle of the last century
in order to organize the external celebrations and provide music
for the annual festas of village patron saints. The clubs multiplied
rapidly, and soon became civic and social centres. They have [536]
broadened their scope to include dramatic groups, reading rooms [525]
and places where members can gamble out of sight of the
watchful eyes of the law. Most clubs have large concert halls that can
be used for wedding receptions. Today, each club usually has a
well-stocked bar, a television set and a billiards table.

But a band club is more than just a social centre. As it usually
plays an important part in organizing the external celebration of
the annual festa, the men who run the club make decisions which
affect all the inhabitants. Furthermore, the club often represents 575
the community to the outside world. Not only is the club's brass 574
band considered as the village's band when it plays at other festas, [186]
but the club also provides a welcome to important visitors from
outside. Thus when the Governor or the Archbishop makes an
official visit, he normally calls on the band clubs, where he is
given a reception on behalf of the entire village.

For several hours they wander up and down the principal 796 streets, past the nougat vendors, past the dazzling houses with their doors and shutters thrown open to attract the eyes of all to festal drapes and carpets, gleaming cookers and new refrigerators. The crowd moves on past the packed bars and through the festooned clubs, their silver trophies all on show. Stopping now and then to eat and drink and talk with friends, they move into the church and past the banks of flowers that stand before the statue of the patron saint. From there, now surrounded by the red damask and the cut-glass crowns suspended from the golden ceilings, they pass before the silver altar-front and gaze at the jewel-encrusted reliquaries on display beside it. Now and then there is a soft discussion of price and craftsmanship as a new picture or silver candlestick reaches past the guttering candles for the attention of the crowd. Slowly, for many stop to kneel and say a prayer, the people move out through the door and past the bandstand, and on to make the round again.

The climax of the evening comes at eleven o'clock, when the forest of standing fireworks which have been planted in the square is lighted, and the second day of the festa closes in a shower of sparks and acrid smoke.

On the morning of the feast-day, there is a Solemn High Mass [537] during which some noted clerical orator delivers a lengthy and bombastic panegyric of the saint. After the service the committees of the various clubs make formal calls on each other and exchange hospitality. The parish priest and the village clergy also call on each of the clubs and associations. Following this, the people retire to their houses for huge luncheons with their close relatives. In the late afternoon the long procession with the statue of the saint slowly moves from the church. The saint, carried by white-robed members of the confraternities, stops on the threshold to take the salute of 21 petards and barrage of smaller rockets, the *kaxxa infernal*, which often last up to twenty minutes.[1] As the saint at last leaves the church he is cheered on his way by groups of shouting devotees. The crowds are thicker than the night before, and amuse themselves in much the same way. There [533] are also more bands, and sometimes as many as five will be

[1] These petards are usually immense. They are often made from half-gallon tins packed with gelignite that is either stolen or extracted from dud shells and bombs fished up from military target areas by festa enthusiasts. Occasionally their explosions break windows. [389]

the Pope and the Archbishop, stopping now and then to shout 578
insults at the passing Labour supporters. The square on the other
side of the police cordon began to fill up with people returning 625
from the meeting and others who left their houses to see what the 665
excitement was about. Gradually the songs became louder and 794
more excited, and the shouts hoarser. By then it was getting
quite dark, but I could see Dun Mikiel in the front row, his hands
thrust tensely into the pockets of his cassock, scowling at the
passers-by while he smoked cigarette after cigarette. The tension
by this time was almost electric. Suddenly, one of the local MLP
supporters returning to the Labour club replied to a taunt by
making a threatening gesture. The crowd in front of the church
booed him loudly and surged forward. The police, anxious to
hurry the trouble-maker off the square, pushed him a bit too hard
and he stumbled and fell. This angered the crowd on the other
side of the square and it began to press through the police cordon.
At this point police reinforcements arrived and cleared the square
in a few moments. Their prompt action prevented an ugly situa-
tion from going further, for there had been well over a thousand
angry people facing each other, separated by less than two dozen
unarmed policemen.

Four days after the meeting, Dun Bert organized a pilgrimage 578
of reparation to atone for the insults of the MLP speakers. The 665
procession of some 1,200 people reciting the Rosary escorted the 794
statue of Our Lady of Sorrows through the area behind the church [789]
where the Labour meeting had been held. About 400 of the par- [783]
ticipants were outsiders who had come to Kortin from other parts
of the island for the occasion. After the procession the crowd
gathered in front of the church where a Mass was said. A noted [796]
Jesuit orator then rebutted the MLP speeches point by point. The [537]
whole affair had almost passed off without incident when a
number of stones and bottles were thrown from behind walls at
the buses and cars leaving the village.

But if there are relatively few face-to-face meetings of this kind 575
in Kortin or elsewhere, there are many disputes that divide and 578
weaken the clubs and associations. This matter has particularly 665
affected Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, who feels
responsible for preserving its unity in these difficult times. In
Kelinu's, where many of the influential regulars are members of
the Social Club, they say that it has become a Mintoff stronghold.

543 perhaps excites more interest to the visitors than the beautiful animals which are considered a great ornament to the show.

Sta. VENERA

796 A similar occasion as that of *Imnaria* is afforded to the never tired merry-makers country-women, on the 4th Sunday of July, the day dedicated to the festival of St. Anne.

As early as 4 o'clock in the morning of this day, scores of carts, loaded with gaily dressed country girls, leave their respective villages and proceed to Sta. Venera, a small church at Hamrun, which is very nicely decorated for the occasion.

[537] Here a sermon on the life of the great saint is preached to the people as-

sembled, from a wooden pulpit in the 796 537
open air, near the small chapel. When 796
the sermon is over the jolly country 543
girls take a great delight in the fair [366]
which is held along the space in front
of the small church, which is blocked up
from end to end with temporary booths.

The wares offered for sale are of the 796
simplest description, consisting princi- 543
pally of scapulars, pictures, gay woollen 438
and cotton sashes and handkerchiefs,
cheep trinkets, and glass and china of
inferior quality; but there is enough
colour and glitter to produce a pretty
kaleidoscopic effect when touched by
the rays of the bright shining sun.

On this morning the scores of vendors [265]
of sweetmeats, lemonade, and iced water
seem endowed with extra power of
throat and lungs for vociferating these
refreshing compounds, and the set up

Marriages between

621 [582] [586] [593] [538] members of rival partiti are regarded as undesirable. They occasionally take place, but the division of loyalty within the nuclear family which results often leads to quarrels and, occasionally, to temporary separations. (The favourite festa-time story of the wife who refuses to cook for her husband because he belongs to the other partit is based on fact!) Of the marriages contracted within Farruġ, 72 per cent took place between members of the same partit. Children of mixed marriages support the feast of their favourite parent: boys normally follow their fathers and girls their mothers.

578-621 I recorded only two cases in Farruġ of adults who changed their partit affiliation. Both occurred over fifty years ago. A leading member of the St. Roque partit left it after a heated quarrel with Dun Rokku over the design for new street decorations. He subsequently became one of the other partit's most honoured members, and even wrote a book on the life of St. Martin. The second man left St. Roque when he married the daughter of the president of the St. Martin club. I was told that the girl's father had insisted on the change before he gave his consent to the marriage. The young man went on to become president of the club, as did his only son. In another village a few young men left their partit after a quarrel with one of the leaders, but all returned after a year.

621 Although an outsider who marries into a village generally supports the partit of his spouse, a few of them, particularly the men, succeed in remaining neutral. Of the 122 outsiders who married into Farruġ,[1] 28 per cent of the men but only 8 per cent of the women remained uncommitted. A few even chose to support partiti opposed to those of their spouses. Thus a women from Qrendi who married a St. Martin supporter and moved to Farruġ became a follower of St. Roque because she had been a keen member of the secondary partit in her native village. Children of families in which one of the parents is an outsider, especially if the parent remains neutral, often support the partit of their friends rather than those of their parents or siblings. A case in point is that of the president of the St. Roque club, and his brother. Their father was an outsider who, because of his position as headmaster, made a point of remaining strictly neutral. Though his wife was from a St. Martin family, one son supported St. Martin, the other St. Roque.

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[162] [1] 61 men and 61 women. These marriages represent 34 per cent of the total in the village.

197 of Maltese, with its semitic sub-strata and immense Italian
214 and other European accretions, have attracted much attention
among students of comparative linguistics abroad.

The circulation of the Maltese daily "Il-Berqa" (B/55) reflects the position in the Islands, being limited to the working and rural classes. Many periodicals of a religious or occupational nature, or those produced by some towns and villages, now appear in Maltese; others are bi-lingual.
[191] But a knowledge of English is now so widespread among the
younger generation that one would expect it to consolidate
[198] its growing importance as the language of government, education and culture, with the use of written Maltese declining relatively - though growing in absolute terms with the extension of literacy.

197 Maltese language fiction and poetry exists today along
•538 with a great deal of religious writing. The present biblio-
113 graphy makes no attempt to cover this field although several
[217] of the Maltese writers concerned do appear in the general list (Part 8), while the principal store-houses of Maltese literature, the Royal Malta Library (B/16) and the Royal University (B/17), and others, are mentioned in Part 1. Neither is any systematic coverage attempted of the wealth of material concerning the Knights Hospitallers and their sojourn in Malta though some of the principal sources are included in Parts 2 and 8.

113 Maps, plans and charts of the Islands are not included. Many of the collections listed in Part 1 contain such items (B/1, 5, 6, 16, etc.), the Naval and Military authorities in the Islands have made surveys, maps and charts as required, while many private individuals have added to the list. Reference to the official 2" to one mile map (Geographical Section, General Staff, No.3859, War Office, 3rd Edition - 1953) is recommended at all points in the present volume. Sheet 1 covers Gozo and Comino and Sheet 2 Malta. For Malta, more detailed coverage is provided by the 6" (G.S.G.S., No.3852) and the 25" to the mile (G.S.G.S., No.3752) maps. A valuable land-use survey in Malta (1955) and Gozo (1957) have provided the Islands' first detailed coverage of this nature (B/5, 336, 337). Also valuable is the indexed and comprehensive 'Malta Street Guide' (B/489).

The bibliography which follows attempts only a very basic classification into eight sections

Part 1... List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands (B/1 - 17),

Part 2... List of some bibliographies on Maltese subjects (B/18 - 52),

Part 3... Sample list of some newspapers, periodicals and journals (B/53 - 85),

Part 4... Some almanacs, directories and year books (B/86 - 98),

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

There is a *Hares*, too, who guards all hidden treasure. 776 If you are a deserving person he will lead you to the treasure; but you must never, on pain of death by strangulation, tell anyone how you discovered it.

There are persistent tales in Malta of a priceless treasure, hidden by the builders of the prehistoric temples. This treasure is known as "The Golden Bull," and is guarded by a most terrible and powerful *Hares*. No one has ever found it because, though some few have been selected by the *Hares* to be led to its hiding place, they have been unable to keep his secret, and he has strangled them together with the friends in whom they have confided.

There seems little reason to doubt that the Golden Bull is [174] a legacy of the old gods—possibly of Mithra or Osiris—and that the great snake-like *Hares* who guards the treasure is no other than Set, guardian of the underworld. Perhaps the Bull exists, hidden deep in one of Malta's many caves.

There may be peasants who know where it is. Amongst the moor-folk of Devon and the peasants of Ireland there are many who know the whereabouts of the "crocks of gold," buried by the Pixies and the leprechauns; but none would dare disturb "Fairy Gold." So it is with the Maltese peasant. He would be a bold man who had dealings with the "Golden Bull."

From a very tender age the little Maltese will be occupied 538 in learning his Catechism and the significance of the rites and [795] ceremonies of his faith. Though busied in this way there will be time, in the long winter evenings, for "Fairy Tales." Usually one member of the family will be able to read. If none [212] can read someone will certainly know all the old tales and legends by heart, and will be expert in the correct way of recounting them. The family will gather round the story-teller and all, from grandmother to youngest grandchild, will listen with close attention to tales which many of them have heard hundreds of times.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

•538 Before examining the shapes which the Old Things assume in the Maltese "fairy story," it may be well to examine the nature of the stories themselves. They are, like our own tales, an essential part of the national culture; but they differ from such classics as Little Red Riding Hood, The Three Bears, and The Arabian Nights. These latter belong to a literature. [178] The Maltese folk-tale is part of an oral tradition, ever changing as each succeeding generation has added its touch of contemporary colour and disguised some part of the original sense. Of the literature of the early Maltese, if, indeed, they possessed a literature, no trace remains. Thanks to some few patriots like Father Magri, collections of folk-tales in the vernacular have been made, and there has lately grown up some sort of Maltese literature. It is from collections such as Father Magri's that the literate peasant reads to the family.

[177] The educated Maltese are all too ready to embrace a foreign culture, partly from necessity it is true, but also, because expediency has persuaded them that their own tongue, their own national culture, and their own folklore belong to "the lower orders." So for centuries the remnants of what may well be the oldest civilization in the West—linked with the lost Atlantis and with the dawn of human thought—have been left to peasants and to servants. These lowly folk have stubbornly maintained some life amongst embers which may yet be fanned into a bright flame.

The absence of a literature has one advantage. The folk-tales of a literature become standardized. They are, for that reason, no true mirror of the minds of a people. The people "grow up" but the story remains. "Once upon a time" means distinctly "a very long time ago"; but the *D'erba*—"on a time"—with which every Maltese story commences, might well be used equally of something which happened yesterday, last week, or in the days of King Suleiman. So stories which were once fraught with a religious significance have been

turned into childish burlesques. The battles of gods become the village squabbles of yesterday. Not much imagination is needed to trace, in one such story, the transition of the race from fierce, bloodthirsty pride to easily contented, peace-loving good humour, from the cruelty of a Tiglath-Pileser to the cruelty of a naughty child.

Sometimes in these peasants' tales the tracks of the Old Things are plain; but often they are hardly visible, because the very story-tellers themselves repeat slavishly words, phrases, and whole sentences which are completely meaningless. The story would be incomplete and the listeners would hotly protest were these scraps of apparent nonsense omitted. Who has not wondered who "Marjorie Daw" was? Yet "See-Saw, Dragon's claw"—is definitely not correct, while "Rumpel Stiltskin" will always be "Rumpel Stiltskin."[1] These are probably mere "jingles," put in for the sake of rhyme or rhythm, but they must not be changed. In the Maltese tale the whole essence of the story is often hidden in some such meaningless word.

So the Maltese child grows up, with Mother Church for Faith, Philosophy, and Art, and the strange old tales of his people for literature.

JAHAN

No reference to Maltese "fairy-tales" would be complete without Jahan. He is the child-hero of a thousand unlikely situations. Impish and cunning in character, he gets in and out of trouble with unfailing ease and regularity, circumvents authority, and makes a long-nose at the powers of evil. He is the embodiment of the spirit of mischief in the character of the race; but his adventures are almost all of comparatively recent importation. He is Ali-Baba, Aladdin, Baron Munchausen, a lovable little fellow, but probably no older than

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[1] "Rumpel Stiltschen"—? "Raggle-Taggle Spindleshanks."

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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● 538 the Arab domination. Jahan is merely a typically Maltese character placed in a series of foreign settings which have been changed to give an appearance of authenticity.

THE PEASANT AND THE SULTAN

539 From the familiar ground of Jahan's adventures it is a long step to the tale of "The Kaukam and the Kaukama." Here, again, is the typical Maltese hero who, by superior cunning, outwits the "Sultan"[1] who sets him, a poor peasant, a series of impossible tasks, but the atmosphere of the story is of the distant past.

> "Upon a time there was a peasant who loved his father as the light of his eyes. When the father became very old and decrepid, the son was obliged to do as everyone else did; he had to put his father into a cave-tomb; but he could not bring himself to block up the mouth of the cave. . . . He kept two holes. . . ."

The son then arranges to feed his father by leading his ewes to the cave, so that the old man may suck their milk through one of the holes.[2]

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888 It has been suggested that the burial of the aged father who is kept alive and his advice sought is nothing more than a tradition of oracular response from ancestral tombs. Although this is a reasonable enough theory, there seems no cause to doubt the possibility that the facts are exactly as stated. To this day primitive tribes get rid of their aged and infirm members, for obvious reasons. Respect for the wisdom and experience of the old men and women whose advice was sufficiently valuable

[192]

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[1] There is no Maltese word for "king," "ruler" or "governor." "Sultan" is used in folk-tales broadly to describe any person in authority. The Italian "re" is rarely used in the true vernacular.

[2] L. GALEA AND MARGARET A. MURRAY, *Maltese Folk Tales.*

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241 Husbandmen would still consider that queer operation
823 as a medium of impregnation (*Dukkar*). This strange
[171] usage may, however, be traced amongst the *fellahin* of
Upper Egypt, where, as Professor Sayce points out in his contribution to the *Cairene and Upper Egypt Folklore* (Folklore, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1920, p. 200) phallic symbols are still hung up to protect the melons and sugar-cane. The old Maltese practice of hanging up stones to the jujube-tree may therefore be considered as a modification of this early phallic worship."[1]

The sense contained in these practices requires no elucidation. The horticulturist with his camel hair brush does no better than the peasant with the male carob flowers. The votive stones are a silent appeal to the oldest and greatest of the Old Things, to the All-Father, Giver of Life and Fertility, whose ancient and enduring image, from Drizzlecombe in Devon to the High Places of Melanesia, is the Rock or Stone without shape—the altar of "The Unknown God"—"Thou art Peter and upon this Rock. . . ."

● [538] Traces of this rock-cult are plentiful enough in Maltese folklore. Children who throw stones into a well or into the sea will one day have to gather them up by their eyelashes. The "old stones" (i.e. *menhir*) resent being moved and are, for that reason, twice as heavy as ordinary stones.

751 "St. Paul's tongue"—a valuable amulet against the evil-
825 eye and against all venoms—takes the form of fossilized teeth
776 found in the ancient rocks. The blessed tongue which preached
the gospel of the Redeemer is enshrined for ever in rock, the symbol of the Father.

776 St. Paul's rock-cell, in which he is reputed to have lived,
823 has the miraculous property that no matter how much of
the rock is cut away its bulk grows no less—a clear expression

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[1] Lecture by Mr. Cremona at the University of Malta in 1922.

[p.vi]

● 539

Minghajr qaddisin ma titlax il-ġenna

You can't get to heaven without saints
Maltese proverb

CHAPTER IV

The Basis of Leadership

621 The Maltese word for leader, *mexxej*, is seldom heard, and then
[192] only in reference to the leader of a political party. I once asked a
parish priest who were the leaders of the village. He laughed and
[622] replied that there weren't any, because his parishioners did not like
[551] leaders. With the exception of the professionals and *il-puliti* from
the towns, all the inhabitants of a village usually call one another
by their Christian names and in general look upon each other as
equals. This egalitarian outlook is compounded of many factors,
of which the most important are similar occupation, standard of
living and values, the detailed knowledge of each other's personal
lives that comes with residence in a face-to-face community, and
178 jealousy. Any person who attempts to lead or to try to start
something new – such as a village playground – is derided. His
578 true motive is seen as self aggrandizement and his enemies and
621 envious neighbours are quick to point this out to others who may
[539] not have realized it. 'Envy follows the wise man like his shadow'
● (*L-għira titrot wara l-għaref bħal dellu miegħu*), goes the Maltese
[609] proverb. Professionals and outsiders, especially if they are from
the town, are occasionally able to start something new. Their
social distance from most of the community protects them from
the full impact of the envy and gossip which moulds so much of
village life.

554 But in spite of the absence of official lay leaders and the con-
servative pressure of envy and gossip, there are a number of
621 persons who have a greater say than others in the affairs of the
793 community. They are able to do this by virtue of their social
position, their occupation or office in one of the village associa-
tions or their influence with the parish priest. These persons,
together with the parish priest, form the aggregate which can be
[192] said to run the affairs of the community. While there is no generic
term for this aggregate, those who compose it are sometimes
referred to as *il-kbarat*, 'the big ones', or more derogatively as

156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
156 meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xiħ żomm fih*). But
561 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where
schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to
their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard.
The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is
wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leadership
in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish
registers support the memories of the present generation of elders
that this has not always been the case.

Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
156 their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
[575] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it convenient
for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
[693] continue to practise in their native villages. But when they continue
to reside in their villages, even though their social life and
many of their business interests are oriented away from the community,
they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge
their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted
into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have
gone successfully into politics.

Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
156 citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday procession.
693 Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter
of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football
and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he
has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a
successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
759 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

208 walls and shouted at public meetings. Mintoff is portrayed as a
Socialist devil working to give the islands over to Communism
578 in the manner of Cuba's Castro. These are some typical examples
665 of the ones that appeared on the blackboard outside the Kortin
795 Catholic Action centre: 'Mintoff is the enemy of the Church', 'Nobody can serve both God and the Devil', '"The Bishops are interfering in politics!" That is what Communists say,' and 'We don't want Communists among us!' In stating their case, Mintoff and his supporters did not mince words either, as the following slogans that appeared on the blackboard of the Kortin Labour Party club demonstrate: 'We want a chance in court about the $60,000 lie',[1] 'With the Papal flag in their hands and shouting for vengeance', 'A fish begins to stink from its head',[2] and 'In Gozo they told the women that we have tails.'

208 The popular slogan 'Either with the Bishop or against the
Church!' sums up the uncompromising attitude of the Church.
578 Most of the sanctions it has imposed have presented that choice
665 to the people in unequivocal terms. Early in May 1961, shortly
794 after the Labour leaders were interdicted, all Church lay societies
795 were instructed to obtain from each member a pledge of his full
and unqualified support for the Archbishop. Those that declined
to give this were expelled from the society concerned and their
names reported to the national office of Catholic Action. But a
more drastic sanction was imposed a few weeks later. After the
[783] Executive of the Labour Party had invited the Archbishop and the
[226] Bishop of Gozo to debate their policy in public at a Labour rally
in Cospicua, the Bishops replied to this insult by issuing a circular which declared it a mortal sin to print, write for, sell, buy, distribute or read the Labour Party newspapers. All confessors were instructed to put the necessary questions to their penitents.

578 Hence, to remain a Labour supporter, a person has to forego the
665 Church sacraments that he has been brought up to believe vital
794 to his happiness and spiritual salvation. This is a very serious
choice for a practising Catholic, and before these sanctions were
795 imposed, the Maltese were among the most devoutly Catholic
[851] people in the world. It has also meant that MLP supporters cannot
[608]

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[1] This refers to the Archbishop's charge, made at a rally in March 1961, that Mintoff had received $61,000 from the allegedly Communist dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which the MLP had just joined.

[539] [2] A Maltese proverb meaning that corruption first becomes apparent among people in high places. This was presumably directed against the Archbishop.

578 young, I cannot even vote in the next election. But I must think
665 of the future. I feel that Mintoff is doing what is right for Malta.
794 He helped the poor people when he made the government. The
795 Church fights Mintoff because she fears she will lose her privileges
795 and power if he wins, and that he will tax her property. The
829 Church is in favour of keeping people ignorant, and limiting their
[115] education. Why? Because when people are educated they think
for themselves and can judge. They no longer follow blindly. Besides, you should not take too seriously all this talk of Communism – they are products of this fight. In a fight, people use all means available.'

The street sweeper who was with us understood most of the conversation and shook his head in disagreement. His only com-
[539] ment was the proverb, 'A ship with two captains can't sail' (*Il-vapur biż-żewġ kaptani ma jimxiex*). At this every one in the shop nodded in agreement, for both Labour and Church supporters had different captains in mind. Those who support the Archbishop look to him as the leader of the Maltese people. They make little distinction between Church and State. Labour supporters, in contrast, make a clear distinction. Mintoff is their candidate for head of State, and since they see the Archbishop as interfering with their choice, they accuse him of reaching out to control both Church and State.

II

578 At the village level, this conflict has brought about a bitter
665 division. All societies and groups which are not formally identi-
665 fied with one side or the other, have been divided and weakened
794 by politically based factions. The parish priest is the leader of
[793] those who support the Archbishop. His most enthusiastic followers are the clergy and the members of the lay societies. This group, with the other prominent villagers who make up the parish priest's circle, provide the hard core of the active opposition to the MLP. Considering the offices that they occupy and the societies to which they belong, it could hardly be otherwise. They usually meet in the club houses of the societies, but sometimes the older members meet in a particular café.

The hard core of the Labour group is made up of the officers of the local MLP Committee and the members who openly frequent the club. There is very little contact between the leaders and

Malta. He sees the patronage system in Spain as a pyramidal 171
structure incorporating both the natural and the spiritual worlds. 557
At the top is God, the supreme patron who is not dependent upon 771
anyone. At the base are the persons who have no clients. Between 776
these lowly clients and God there are many different ranks of
patrons, each of whom has his own small pyramid of clients.
They, in turn, are clients dependent upon other higher and more
influential persons. The patrons of each rank form a group which
asks favours from one another on behalf of their clients.

The intermediaries between man and God are the saints, who
are closer to God than man is. A person who seeks to influence the 557
decision of a higher authority similarly looks for a person who,
by virtue of his kin relation or social position, is closer to the
decision maker than he. In view of the functional similarity of [192]
saints to living patrons, it should not come as a surprise that the
word for patron in Maltese is 'saint' (*qaddis*; plural *qaddisin*).
Several proverbs underline the important role that patrons play in [539]
Maltese social life. Here are two: 'Without saints you can't get to
heaven' (*Mingħajr qaddisin ma titlax il-ġenna*); and 'You can do
nothing without saints' (*Mingħajr qaddisin ma tagħmel xejn*).
Another points to the fact that any patron-client relationship is
not without obligation, even danger, for the client: 'He who
fattens you will kill you' (*Min semmnek joqtlok*).

Who are these 'saints', these men of influence? For the most
part they are people who have already been encountered, albeit in
a slightly different capacity. They are the professionals, the civil
servants and, in general, the wealthy and powerful. They are
persons, respected for their education and social standing in the
world outside the village, who can deal as equals with other
important people and decision-makers, many of whom are their
relatives and former classmates. Their patronage is sought by
individuals and groups alike. They are often asked to become god-
parents, and they are called on to handle the ceremonial, business
and political relations of clubs. They are also called on to help
secure employment, building permits, hawkers licences or a long-
delayed hearing at the law courts. Generally speaking, villagers
choose patrons from the circle of influential people with whom
they have the closest contact: the local professionals, the parish
priest and clergy, the important landlords, all of whom command [602]
respect outside the village. Some clients are related to their

5: Cremona *B*-3, 4 (no date) 1923
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MALTESE DEATH, MOURNING, AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

764 **SIR JAMES FRAZER's** communication of a coroner's note about "Beliefs regarding Death in Cumberland"[1] has suggested to me that I might put on record Maltese funeral customs now extant, some of which are analogous to those noticed in Cumberland.

764 263 [184] [565] [171) [539] Amongst our middle and lower classes the practice still lingers of placing a dish of salt on the stomach of the corpse, whether of a male or of a female. The popular belief in Malta is that the salt prevents early decomposition. Certeux and Carnoy[2] give the following interpretation of a practice by Arabs in Algeria: "*Il est de convenance religieuse . . . de lui poser sur le ventre* [of the dead person] *quelque chose de pesant, afin de prevenir le gonflement.*" One of our Maltese sayings runs:

> "*Imût il-ghani u jmut il-fqir*
> *It-tnejn jitmelhu ghal geũũa il-bîr.*"

i.e. "Both the rich man and the poor man die, and both are salted for the pit" (a common rock tomb). This may, however, refer to the pickling or preservation of bodies in a saline solution.

764 The covering over of looking-glasses in the room where the body is lying is also practised by several Maltese families. Some go so far as to remove furniture, and turn round or take down pictures, in the death chamber and passages.

764 (171 The following are the most characteristic features of existing Maltese practices, many of which are comparable to those of Sicily, while a few show some Eastern influence:—

(*a*) The washing of the dead body before shrouding. This is not a religious rite, and has no connection with that of Islam.

(*b*) The shutting of the eyelids, if open, and the raising of the chin by means of a band, usually a white kerchief, tied on the head.[3]

(*c*) The removal of door knockers and knobs; house doors are kept closed for several days; neighbours half-shut their own.

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[1] Vol. xxxi., p. 154.

[2] *L'Algerie Traditionelle*, p. 223.

[3] This is practised in Algeria. See Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

is, they were wont to continue for 8 days, whereof the first and last were the principal; and you will find the 1st. of April the octave of the 25th of March, and the close or ending consequently of the feast. Hence it is supposed that the 1st. day of April became a day of extraordinary mirth and festivity, especially among the lower classes who are apt to pervert and make a bad use of institutions, which at first might have been very laudable in themselves. 527 522 174

A *writer in "Poor Robin's Almanac"* for 1760, gives the following metrical description of the modern fooleries on the 1st. of April, with the open avowal of being ignorant of their origin. 527 522

[539]

"The 1st. of April some do say
Is set apart for all Fools' day,
But why the people call it so

527 Nor I nor they themselves do know.
522 But on this day are people sent,
•539 On purpose for pure merriment,
And though the day is known before
Yet frequently there is great store
Of these forgetful to be found
Who are sent to dance *Moll Dixon's round.*
And having tried each shop and stall
And disappointed at them all
At last some tells them of the cheat,
Then they return from the pursuit
And straight way home with shame they run
And others laugh at what is done,
But 'tis a thing to be disputed
Which is the greatest fool reputed,
The man that innocently went
Or he that him design'dly sent."

527 522 171 This custom of imposing upon each other on the 1st day of April, and sending one another upon frivolous, ridiculous and absurd errands, whatever be its origin, appears to be universal throughout Europe.

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THE PEASANT AND THE SULTAN

● 539 From the familiar ground of Jahan's adventures it is a long step to the tale of "The Kaukam and the Kaukama." Here, again, is the typical Maltese hero who, by superior cunning, outwits the "Sultan"[1] who sets him, a poor peasant, a series of impossible tasks, but the atmosphere of the story is of the distant past.

> "Upon a time there was a peasant who loved his father as the light of his eyes. When the father became very old and decrepid, the son was obliged to do as everyone else did; he had to put his father into a cave-tomb; but he could not bring himself to block up the mouth of the cave. . . . He kept two holes. . . ."

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[2] L. GALEA AND MARGARET A. MURRAY, *Maltese Folk Tales.*

to justify the inconvenience of caring for them is a lesson 539
which had to be learned. "Ghalec ma tridx tmut l'ghagiusa, 888
ghax actar ma ticber izjed titghallem"—"The old woman does not want to die for the older she grows the more she learns"—is a common saying. For further proof that the story of the "Kaukam" has come down from very early times, there is the only other context in which the word *ghagiusa* means "an old woman" or, more accurately, "the oldest woman hereabouts" (normally the word means "a crab").

> "We have an old custom in Malta," says Bussutil,[1] 539
> "to make children believe that the ghagiusa is killed at 796
> noon on Thursday, the middle of Lent. Mothers, after 785
> fasting the first twenty days of Lent, send their children 888
> to the door of the parish church, or of some convent to see the sexton or some friar throwing the old woman from the steeple. . . ."

That the destruction of the old woman should occur in 174
the middle of Lent—a period of fasting—is too much of a 796
coincidence not to indicate that, in times when food was 539
scarce, the aged folk were removed—either by being thrown 888
from a high place or, to save the guilt of actual murder, walled up in a rock tomb, as in the case of the peasant. The association of the Church with the destruction of the *ghagiusa* suggests that in primitive times the removal of the aged was the responsibility of the pagan priests who performed the "ritual murders." These murders may have developed from a practical necessity into a sacrificial propitiation.

The story of the Kaukam takes its name from the ancient's 539
first piece of advice to his perplexed son. Faced with the probability of losing his own crops while he cares for those of the Sultan, who has commanded that no man may plant his

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

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•539 own fields until he has planted an equal number for the Sultan, he is told, in rhyming verse:

> Buy the Kaukama and the Kaukam
> Count not the cost.
> Feed the field with clover and lucerne
> So the plough may bury them deep.
> At night till your fields, by day the Sultan's.
> Without the Kaukam and the two Kaukama
> Nought will remain but the strength of your hands.

539 There is no one now who can say what they were that
174 the peasant was to buy. The words have no longer any meaning. Can it be—for we have already seen that the story is of great antiquity—that the hero was the originator of draught oxen? Of the two words one would seem to be singular, the other plural. Perhaps the old man's advice to his son was to breed oxen for draught, known formerly only as food. The use of oxen for ploughing and threshing would have so lightened the peasant's labour as to make it possible for him to plant and tend the Sultan's fields as well as his own. That is what he succeeds in doing, with the aid of the mysterious "Kaukama and Kaukam," to the amazement and chagrin of the Sultan. "Without the Kaukam and the two Kaukama nought will remain but the strength of your hands" might reasonably read "Without the ox and the two she-oxen . . . ."

539 The Sultan is unwilling to be beaten by the peasant, and sets him more problems which place him repeatedly "within the onion" (Maltese for "the horns of a dilemma"). The old man, from his rock-tomb, furnishes the answer to every problem, and the peasant is at last forced to tell the Sultan his guilty secret.

> "The Sultan was highly delighted. . . . From this day forward no one shall bury either father or mother

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alive in a cave; for though the old man be useless for some things, yet they are always of use to give advice."[1] 539

THE DRAGON SLAYER

The fair princess carried off by the dragon appears in the tale called "Pietru Lagrimanti," or "The Eighth Son." The Princess is married, by her own wish, to a prince with golden teeth. In order to escape being married she has persuaded her father that only a young man whose teeth are all of gold shall have her. Perhaps it is as a punishment for her undutiful bargain that the Evil One himself appears in this unlikely shape, and having married her carries her off to his dwelling in the depths of a mountain. Here are his former wives bewitched into the shapes of beasts and fast imprisoned within seven doors of iron.

The Evil One changes into his proper shape and becomes "Dragun Draganti"—"The Serpent of Serpents." From one of the bewitched ladies the princess learns that there are seven brothers, sons of a Wise Woman in her father's kingdom, who are able to release her if they will carefully carry out certain instructions. A dove carries a message to the Sultan who immediately seeks out the Wise Woman and orders her to send her seven wonderful sons to the aid of his daughter. If they fail they will die disgraceful deaths—presumably having "their skins made into doormats," a favourite punishment in the Maltese folk-tale. If they succeed they will be made rich for life. Though armed each with his own magic power—one miraculously keen sighted, another equally keen of hearing, the third wonderfully strong, the fourth able "to steal the eggs from a sitting hen without her feeling anything," the fifth able "to lift up sleeping people without their waking," the sixth "able to build a tower of bronze in an instant"—the seven champions rescue the princess, only to be pursued by

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

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● 539 the "Dragun Draganti," captured, and turned into beasts. For they omit to pronounce the spell which will restore the bewitched prisoners to their human shape. The recaptured princess spends several more years in captivity. One day the Evil One, who is not unkind to her, for he "truly loves her," tells her:

> ". . . There is only one person who can deliver you, and he is not born yet. He will be called Pietru Lagrimanti (Peter of Tears), and he will be the brother of the seven men who are turned into mules. But after he has killed me and smashed me up, if he does not burn my body completely, I shall throw myself into the pool of the Water of Life, and I shall rise again from the dead. That accursed one shall come into the world from his mother's tears."

The princess contrives to convey this information to her father, who again seeks out the Wise Woman.

> "The widow was so divided between sorrow that her seven sons had been turned into mules and joy that another son of hers would deliver his brothers and give them their human form again, that she burst into a torrent of tears, so great that there never was anything like it. She cried and she cried and she cried, and the King caught her tears in a golden cup and made her drink them.
>
> "In time her eighth son was born. When he was born he was enormously powerful, and could speak, but he was deformed with a head larger than his whole body. As soon as he was born the widow went and told the King, and the King returned with her to see the baby.
>
> As soon as the baby saw the King, he said, 'Give me some clothes.'

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'I have nothing to give you to put on,' said the King.

'Give me one of your shirts,' said the baby.

'It will be much too big for you,' said the King.

'Never mind, I can hold it up,' said the baby. So the King gave him one of his shirts.

'Now,' said the baby, 'I am ready to go and fetch your daughter.'

'O yes!' cried the King. 'Only tell me what you need and I will give it to you.'

'All I want,' said the baby, 'is a hammer, just a bit of a thing.'

The King showed him two or three hammers.

'No, no,' said the baby. 'Those won't do at all; I must have a bigger one, about nine kantars (a kantar is about a hundredweight) in weight.'

The King sent him to the dockyard with the guards, ordering them to obey the baby's commands. Everybody was bursting with laughter at the sight of the baby with his head bigger than his body and holding up his long shirt lest he should trip over it.

The baby made the people of the Dockyard show him hammers of all kinds, but he liked none of them. He looked about, here, there, and everywhere, his eyes shining, and at last he spied a great block of iron weighing nine kantars. He ordered that a hole should be bored through it and a handle made to carry it by.

'What do you want the handle of?' they asked.

'Of iron, so that it will be strong,' said the baby.

As soon as it was made he threw it across both his shoulders and went to the King.

'I am ready to start now,' he said."[1]

The miraculous dwarf, needless to say, rescues the prin-

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

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539 cess and releases all the captives, including his seven elder brothers.

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171
This story bears traces of a number of legends. The princess may well be Summer, wedded to Autumn, the season with the golden teeth of ripe corn. Imprisoned throughout the winter, the failure of the seven brothers to rescue her may represent the brighter periods of the Maltese mid-winter, followed by the wild weather of early spring. The recurrence of the number seven, in the seven sons and the seven doors is interesting. Seven has always borne a sacred character. It is associated with Indra from whom the seven great rivers of Hindu mythology are supposed to flow. Ishtar or Astarte was clothed in seven garments and passed through seven gates when she descended into the Underworld. Certain details of ths Assyrian and Phoenician story of Ishtar's visit to the underworld suggest that the captive Princess is herself no other than that once powerful goddess whose temples are known to have existed in Malta. Ishtar, descending into the Land of Darkness is admitted on condition that at each of the seven gates she shall shed one of the seven mystic garments from which she draws her divine power. In the Maltese tale, the Evil One causes the princess to remove her shoes—for no reason that is now apparent. At last Ishtar stands before the Queen of the Underworld naked and helpless. She is stricken with all manner of diseases from which she recovers at last when a rescuer, created by her father, the God of Light, releases her and bathes her in the Waters of Life. In the Maltese version it is in connection with the serpent that the Waters of Life appear.

In detailing the attributes of Pietru's seven brothers, the story omits to give any special power to the seventh brother. It may be that there were originally only six brothers, making the monstrous child-hero one of those seven sons, world-renowned for their magic powers.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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Pietru Lagrimanti's strange birth has a parallel in Egyptian mythology, where a man is born of the tears of the deity Nu who personified the Celestial Ocean from which the life-force even of the gods themselves was drawn. 539 / 71

Armed with his great hammer, "Il Lagrimanti" resembles the Dragon Slayers of every mythology, from Bel-Marduk of the Assyrians to Thor of the Scandinavians and Finn M'Cull of the Celts; but he is sadly fallen from his high estate and become a figure of fun, with his huge head and his shirt too long for him. A primitive respect for deformity or else some modification of the monstrous shapes of a pagan Pantheon may account for the baby's misshapen figure. The long shirt has clearly been added to provide a comic figure of the sort dear to the Maltese sense of the ridiculous.

The stories of the Kaukam and of Pietru Lagrimanti are but two of many tales in which pursuit of the Old Things, through the labyrinth which time has built around them, is a fascinating pastime. Enough has been said to illustrate the way in which a tenacious handful of peasants has handed down, through the centuries, legends of great antiquity—in some cases nearly intact. 539

GROWN UP

The Maltese—a people as old as time—are a people who never grow up. In this lies their chief charm. For Zeppu the passing of childhood means only an understanding of the ancient price of manhood: 885

> "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the earth, out of which thou wast taken. . . ."

For Grez the flowering into womanhood brings only the divine command:

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938

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885

> "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children and thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee. . . ."

In all other things they remain children and "of such is the Kingdom. . . ."

So that the curse of Adam may lie less heavily upon these children of an unfertile rock, the Old Things have blessed them with an uncanny ability to make flowering fields out of nothing.[1]

THE SKY AND THE SOIL

821 171 [369] The weather and husbandry lore of the peasant has much to do with the success of his untiring hands. Much of this peasant wisdom is incomprehensible to the town-bred Maltese (too often they have lost touch or dismiss it—in hybrid Italian—as *ignuranza*); much of it has exact parallels in the lore of the English countryside, as for example the following:

821 171 539

Maltese	*English*
"The Moon eats everything."	"Fair weather with a full moon."
"The stars wink at the coming wind."	"Twinkling stars foretell high winds."
"Sky like a turtle's back; heavy rains, fierce winds." "Clouds with heads of men and beasts bring in the thunder and the lightning."	"A rounded cloud with flattened base carries rainfall in its face."

248] [1] During the early years of the last century Malta's cotton crop was valued at an average of one and a half millions sterling annually. The cotton industry, dating from Roman times and earlier, is now practically dead.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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Maltese	*English*	821
"Red sky at evening, harness your mules. Red sky at morning, herd your beasts."	"Red sky at night, Shepherd's delight. Red sky in the morning Shepherd's warning."	171 539●
"Ill weather comes, ahead or astern, when the cat sneezes."	"The cat washes herself before stormy weather."	[825]

Often it appears that sheer nonsense is mixed with sound common sense. Typical of the mixed "sense" and "nonsense" is the following: 245 824 242

> "The first autumnal produce of the wild fig is called by the Maltese *Barru*. A second crop which takes place in winter is supposed to be due to the outcome of the first produce. This is called *Carru*, and is supposed to bring forth the third outcrop which appears in spring time and is recognized as the *dukkar* or real fertilizer of the fig. This fruit is cut and hung up in pairs on the bough of the fig tree.
>
> "The male fruit (*dukkar*) is usually full of a colony of minute winged insects by the produce of which, the Maltese husbandman identifies the real fertilizing fruit. [825]
>
> "The pomegranate is supposed to be fertilized by the flowers of the wild parsnip, and for this purpose bunches of these flowers are thrown over the pomegranate tree when in flower. *Dakra*, probably from *dakar* = to fertilize, is the name given to the wild parsnip by the Maltese husbandman.
>
> "The male flowers of the wild carob-tree (*baghal*) are thrown over the branches of the female plant to favour impregnation.
>
> Small pieces of coarse stone are still hung up in the jujube-tree with a view to securing a good produce. 241 823

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of the eternal and immutable nature of the All-Father whose 776
symbol the rock is. 823

THE MONTHS

The Maltese, like the Scandinavians and the Russians, 539
personify the months, giving to each a human character in 805
keeping with its weather. A delightful little story called "The 821
Gifts of the Months" serves the dual purpose of impressing the qualities of each month upon the listener, while stressing the importance of accepting the best qualities in every season without complaining about the disadvantages. Two brothers, one a poor peasant, the other a rich merchant, each meet the twelve months. On being questioned as to what people say about the months in his part of the country, the peasant recites a number of couplets in praise of each month:

> " 'Friend,' said January, 'what do people say about January in your part of the world?'[1]
>
> The poor man answered, 'It is a month of rain and of plenty. Vegetables grow and all that your heart can desire.'
>
> 'Do you know any rhymes about it?' asked January.
>
> 'Just imagine asking!' cried the poor man. 'As many as ever you like.'
>
> 'Tell me some, please,' said January.
>
> The poor man then repeated the three following: 'January sits in the cosiest nook in the house. A warm January makes full barns in the summer. The January moon brings the girls out of the caves for they think it is daylight.'
>
> January smiled and the others laughed. Then February took up the running. 'Friend, what do they say about February?'

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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'He is January's own brother, bless him,' said the poor man. 'Quantities of rain and everyone satisfied, for February fills up all and brings riches to the peasant's house. In the month of February all mistakes are discovered. In February sow, water, and tend the small-leaved basil.'

'What a lot you know!' they all cried.

'Friend,' said March, 'what about March?'

'Days long and beautiful,' answered the peasant. 'The cold braces you like iron, and a little wind is always desirable.'

The poor man answered in this way each question of the rest of the months, letting his tongue wag in their honour, praising each one up to the skies."

The merchant, in reply to the same set of questions, complains bitterly about each month. The peasant is given a magic cloth of the sort used to cover bread, which provides him and his family with food and drink in plenty. The rich merchant receives a stick which beats him and his wife unmercifully every time it is addressed.

821
787
Apart from the expected, usual characters of the twelve months, there is a method whereby the year's weather may be foretold. The twelve days preceding Christmas Eve are known as "presages." Each day foretells the weather of its corresponding month during the forthcoming year. Here, again, is seen the shadow of Mithra—the "Great Fecundator"—no period could be more ominous than the sacred twelve days preceding his feast.

FAITH

771
782
Where knowledge fails or some error in complying with the traditional rules is made, Faith steps in. A farmer will send for the village priest to bless his fields when he has sown

175 we may safely assume that S. Paul's Aramaic was as compre-
106 hensible to them as was their related Phœnician to him.

There seems to be no evidence that this Semitic speech of
197 the Maltese "barbarians" had been replaced by some other
language when the Arabs seized the Maltese islands in 870.
648 Many of the philologists therefore hold that on to this Punic
175 stock the Arabs grafted, during the two hundred and twenty years of their occupation, a vocabulary of contemporary Arabic which did not completely oust words of the older, kindred stratum. These scholars consider that the dialect received, in fact, a second, fresher infusion from the same reservoir and that the resulting blend is the core of the Maltese language of to-day.

197 Inevitably, in the course of ages, this language has borrowed words from the languages and dialects of the other countries with which Malta has been connected—from Sicilian, from Aragonese, from Italian, from French, even from English—but it has always fitted such words into its own Semitic framework, has governed them according to
[167] the rules of its own Semitic grammar and mechanics. Thus
the Maltese who have emigrated to Syria and to the north coast of Africa have no difficulty in making themselves understood by their Arabic-speaking neighbours, who for their part can make themselves readily understood in Malta.
197 Here is the Lord's Prayer in Maltese, which I quote so that
539 the reader unfamiliar with the language may see for himself
what it looks like:

Missierna li inti fis-smewwiet,
Jitqaddes ismek,
Tigi saltnatek,
Ikun li trid Int, kif fis-sema hekda fl-art.

Hobzna ta' kull jum aghtina l-lum,
Ahfrilna dnubietna, bhalma nahfru lil min hu hati ghalina.
U la ddahhalnlex fit-tigrib,
Izda ehlisna mid-deni. Hekk ikun.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

And here is another example, a translation by the late Sir Augustus Bartolo, scholar, historian, orator, staunch Imperialist and one of His Majesty's Judges in Malta, of the first verse of Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*, beginning with the familiar words "Tell me not, in mournful numbers": 197 539

Tghidulix li id-dinja hi holma,
Mhiex hlief frugha, u niket, u hemm;
Dak li jidher fil-wiċċ hu qarrieqi,
Ujekk torqod ir-ruh taghna tintemm.

The formal allocutions of the present Archbishop of Malta to his flock are headed as follows:

"MICHAEL GONZI
Ghall Grazzja t'Alla
U Tas-Sedi Apostolika
ARCISQOF TA' MALTA
SAHHA U BARKA"

(Michael Gonzi, by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See Archbishop of Malta, Greeting and Blessing.)

It doesn't really look much like a dialect of Italian, does it? Yet that is the impression which Mussolini's unscrupulous and efficient propaganda bureau determined to create in Italy. It set itself to convince the Italians that the Maltese were a branch of the Italian race and that their speech was an Italian dialect—a somewhat corrupt one, perhaps—which had absorbed during the Arab occupation of their islands a certain quantity of Arabic words. Fascist propaganda would draw a false and misleading analogy between Maltese and such Italian dialects as Sicilian, which, while Italian in grammar and structure, has incorporated Arabic words with its Italian vocabulary. 197 648

In point of fact Maltese is the converse of Sicilian, since it is an Oriental language that has absorbed non-Oriental words into its Semitic structure. But Mussolini and his agents, zealously directed by his son-in-law Ciano, succeeded in making large numbers of Italians believe quite honestly—

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is diffi-
cult to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
241 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
178 the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the
present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land hold-
ing and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and
thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being
made available by the Government for farm development and of
"working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and
desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
362 £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
[427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a
new house and include near it accommodation for his animals.
For his large family of wife and eight children the house,
though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife
enable the family to carry on under limitations of both
home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer
to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
● 54 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
461 distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife
observes "these things are not missed by the people" who
have had little experience of them. She notes that in
Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the
bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family
and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can him-
464 self operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
654 when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contri-
bution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to
acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan)
because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked
with his present labour force. A larger area would mean
more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the
milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be
increased along with the provision of extra accommodation
(also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is
that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale
through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits
here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

[p. 55]

CHAPTER V

The Church and Village Politics

Most Maltese regulate their lives by the daily and monthly cycle 796
of religious activities. The major divisions of the day are rung 805
from the bells of the village church. They first ring the Paternoster
half an hour before the first Mass. Then the Angelus bell
rings a call to prayer at eight in the morning, at noon and at sunset.
The final bell of the day is rung two or three hours after
sunset, and is a brief request for the living to remember the dead
in their prayers. The call of the Angelus is observed by many.
When it is rung, work and conversation stop whether in a
government office or a village café, men remove their hats, and
someone among them leads them in a short prayer. In Gozo I
have seen a busy square become suddenly silent and many people
kneel in the street as the Ave Maria was rung at sunset. People
also often kneel in the streets when the bells announce the elevation
of the Host during a sung Mass, and during Benediction in
the evening. And finally, late in the evening, clusters of relatives
and neighbours can be seen sitting in their open doorways
reciting the Rosary together before they go to bed.

Most girls and women and many boys and men attend one of 184
the three or four daily Masses which are offered in all parish 796
churches between four and seven in the morning. Virtually every
one in the village attends one of the five or six Masses offered on
Sundays. The few who do not attend are known to the village, [626]
and are the subject of gossip and other social pressure. Since the [659]
recent dispute between the MLP and the Church, however, their
numbers are increasing.

As the church bells mark the important hours of the day, so the 796
principal divisions of the year are set out by the annual national
and parochial religious feasts and processions. Besides being major [541]
religious occasions, they are eagerly looked forward to as recreational [655]
events. Though secular spectacles, such as political rallies,
the government-run Carnival procession and, above all, the [546]

796 cinema, are becoming increasingly important, the principal
541 amusements of the Maltese still generally have some connection
546 with their religious ceremonies. The French Consul in Malta at
655 the beginning of the last century described this enjoyment of
religion with great eloquence:

> Le Maltais a de la religion au fond de l'âme; cette religion, dont il remplit les devoirs sans ostentation, il l'aime autant plus qu'elle prend sa source, non seulement dans une foi sincère, mais encore dans cette habitude, contractée dès l'enfance, de chercher au sein des cérémonies religieuses un délassement, que les autres peuples trouvent dans les spectacles et les réjouissances publiques.[1]

People from all parishes come to take part in the diocesan celebrations of St. Joseph the Worker, Corpus Christi and Christ the King. These rallies and processions are usually held in Valletta and Floriana. The national festival of St. Paul's Shipwreck in February, which is also the titular feast of a Valletta parish, draws many people into the city. Another national feast commemorates the lifting of the great Turkish siege in 1565. This feast coincides with that of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary on September 8, and is celebrated with boat races and other aquatic competitions in the Grand Harbour. But the traditional national festivals for the country people are the feasts of St. Gregory in April and SS. Peter and Paul (*L-Imnarja*) in June. Though most of the pageantry of the former has been abolished, the custom of going for a picnic to Marsaxlokk, the little village just beyond the terminal point of the procession in Żejtun, lingers on. On the occasion of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, thousands proceed to
the Buskett, Malta's only wood, where they spend most of the
543 night before the feast eating, drinking and singing. On the feast
541 day they throng to see the agricultural show in the Buskett, the
religious procession in Mdina and the bareback horse races that take place just outside Rabat. While these two feasts are the occasions for special outings for the villagers, they are generally looked upon as very low affairs by many from the professional and middle classes.

The principal religious spectacles, however, are those which are organized at the village level. During the course of a year in Kortin, for example, there are fourteen major celebrations and

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[1] M. Miège, *Histoire de Malte* (3 vols., Paris, Paulin, 1840), III, 168.

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic
787 Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedicated
795 to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'.
621 After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
648 programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
653 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
658 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate
urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[540] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[578] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[975] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), passim. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 103 ff.

796 There is also on each occasion a
• [541] liberal display of fireworks on the evening before the feast day, with the usual amount of noise and glare, and several bands, civic and military, play choice selections of music to the great delight of the large concourse of persons assembled.

[346] The interior of the churches is always
[353] most beautifully and gracefully decorated
[794] for the occasion of the festival, and the inhabitants of each town or village are always vying with each other in contributing large sums of money for the purpose of decorating the church of the parish to which they belong. In most cases the feast day closes with a procession followed by the image of the Blessed Virgin, or that of the Saint who is being honoured, carried on the shoulders of some eight or ten men.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CARNIVAL

• 541 Among the several sources of popular amusements in Malta, the Carnival no doubt ranks first.

When the Carnival is about to make its usual visit, the dancing season, dinner parties and amusing entertainments begin.

541
175 This amusement, which affords a harmless outlet for the spirit of merry-making, was introduced in Malta during the Grandmastership of Peter Del Ponte in the year 1535. (*)

(*) Grand Master Lascaris, at the request, it is supposed, of some Jesuit fathers, gave orders in 1639 that no woman was to be allowed to mask herself, or to assist at any dramatic entertainment, on the 3 days of Carnival under penalty of being whipped. This order gave rise to serious disturbances and the Grand Master deemed it prudent not to interfere again.

Sir Patrick Stuart, Governor of Malta, determined in 1846 to reduce the Carnival by one day, not allowing any masqueraders on Sunday, the first day. This, however, led to a collision between the police and the people. The Governor, seeing that serious consequences would follow, let things take their usual course.

Carnival commences on the Saturday 54/ preceding lent, and ends on the Tuesday following.

On Saturday morning the "Parata" opens the Carnival diversions. This consists of about 30 men of the lower classes dressed up, some in gay Turkish costumes and others as European warriors, all armed with wooden swords.

These men meet first opposite the Governor's palace, where they commence dancing and striking their wooden swords with great dexterity to the sound of music. The dance is concluded by lifting up a little girl, splendidly arrayed, and girded with a small dagger which she is taught to wave with one hand, whilst with the other she throws kisses in a very graceful manner. The companies then range through the city, stopping to perform their

•541 evolutions before the doors of the wealthy, to whom the little girl, who is called "Il gharusa tal parata" (the bride), is taken after the performance to receive some money as a remuneration for the trouble taken by the men, who employ the money they collect in defraying the expenses of the band, and the buying or hiring of the costumes they wear. (*)

541 175 648 The parata is a commemoration of the famous victory which the Maltese gained over the Musulmans in 1565.

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[171] (*) In Dr. Chandler's "Travels in Greece" page 133, we read the following passage which bears great resemblance to our "Parata":

"Some Arabian and black slaves who had obtained their freedom and were settled at Athens had a feast on the performance of the rite of circumcision. The women danced in a ring with sticks in their hands, and turning in pairs, clashed them over their heads at intervals, singing wildly to the music."

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

In the afternoon of this first day of the Carnival an extraordinary charivari takes place, especially in the streets of the towns of the Island. Troops of boys with their face besmeared, and clad in all kind of incongruous garment, parade through the streets with all sorts of instruments of noise, such as trumpets, drums, whistles and empty petroleum tin cans.

During the other three days of Carnival—Sunday, Monday and Tuesday—the streets of Valletta, of the three Cities and also those of the other populous villages, are, on the afternoon (that being the principal time of the amusement) always densely crowded with people to see the masqueraders walking and dancing about.

The rich dresses and costly costumes are no doubt to be best seen in Valletta.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

• 54| Here are always some well got up companies and perfectly appointed perambulating satires. Every description of wheeled vehicle follow in a regular train through Str.Reale, Mezzodì, Mercanti and Cristoforo. The occupants of these hired vehicles engage mostly in pelting the bystanders, who will enter the list with them. The balconies of the houses are crowded with numerously gaily dressed spectators; the streets below are thronged with gay parties of pedestrians mingled with those clad in every variety of costume that fancy can suggest, and one and all play every imaginable sort of prank. The throwing of confits in the three days of Carnival has greatly increased lately especially in Valletta. Groups of ladies, and gentlemen engage in a warfare with a tiny sort of *confetti*; it is not uncommon, however, that some

big confits are thrown by some evil disposed person, and in such a manner, as to cause injury; in fact the Police authorities issue, every year, notifications warning persons against the throwing of hard substances. 541

On Monday the Governor of the Island gives a fancy dress ball at the Palace, which is always very numerously attended. Some of the costumes worn on this night are indeed magnificent, and the noble marble palace halls and corridors, once thronged by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, present a truly picturesque appearance. A list of the persons present and the costumes worn is annually published in some of the local papers. 541 643

The Carnival is supposed to have been originally instituted in imitation of the Sigillaria or festival days added 541 173 177

541 to the ancient Saturnalia (*) and was
173 condemned by the Synod of Trullus,
177 where it was decreed that the days called the Calends should entirely be stripped of their ceremonies, and that the faithful should no longer observe them; that the public dancing of women should cease as being the occasion of much harm and ruin, and as being invented and observed in honour of the Gods of the heathens and therefore quite averse to the Christian life.

541 The author of "Convivial Antiquities"
174 speaking about the ancient Saturnalia,
177 says: that on this occasion there were

(*) Saturnalia, festivals in honour of *Saturno*, celebrated in Rome about the middle of December. The celebration, which continued for 3 or more days, was remarkable for the liberty which universally prevailed. The slaves were permitted to ridicule their masters and to speak with freedom upon every subject.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

frequent and luxurious feastings amongst friends, and changes of dress made, and the Christians have adopted the same customs.

He added, that as the heathens had their Saturnalia in December, Lupercalia and Baccanalia (*) in February, so amongst Christians three months are

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(*) Lupercalia, a yearly festival observed at Rome on the 15th of February in honour of *Pan* the God of Shepherds. It was usual to sacrifice two goats and a dog. The skins of the victims were cut into throngs, with which whips were made for the youths. With these whips the youths ran about the streets, almost naked, and whipped freely all those whom they met.

Baccanalia, festivals in honour of *Bacchus* (God of vintage,and of wine drinkers)at Rome—during the time of the celebration, the Romans clothed themselves in fawns' skins, fine linen and mitres; they carried " thyrsi " drums, pipes and flutes and crowned themselves with garlands of ivy, vine, fir &c. In this manner both sexes joined in the solemnity and ran about the streets nodding their heads dancing in ridiculous postures, and filling the air with hideous shrieks and shouts.

541 174 spent in feastings and revelling of every kind.

FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT

796 783 In the afternoon of this day, which is known by the name of "Hadd in-nies" (the people's Sunday), immense crowds of people, from all parts of the Island, flock to casal Zabbar, in their best Sunday finery, for the purpose of saying some prayers before our Lady of Graces (tal Grazia) in the parish Church of the village, as an atonement of the follies committed on the Carnival days, After paying the visit the people go out of the church parading the streets.

796 265 The numerous shops of the said village are pretty well got up for this occasion. Stews, ham, cheesecakes, and other viands are profusely supplied for

527 53 When the viands are fairly consumed and the wine commences to use its influence, the jolly parties amuse themselves in dancing, singing, and playing their guitars and melodeons. 527 541 These gratifications are carried on up to 3 or 4 p.m., when the picnic-makers drive back to see the races which are held on this day just below the walls of the old City, where the stout swarthy country women, to secure a good view, occupy their seats on the field walls for hours until they get nearly broiled in the blaze of a midsummer sun.

The races commence at 6 p. m. and consist of mules, horses, and mares, which are entirely unharnessed, and the riders without any means of maintaining their position, except their legs which they fix under the animal's

belly, while with a thong in each hand 527
they keep urging the gaily bedecked 541 •
beasts to reach the goal first.

Soon after the races the merry parties 527
set out on their return to their dwel- 492
lings at quite a racing speed. Now you 493
see every description of vehicle vying with its neighbour, and every driver urging with whip and voice to a reckless break-neck gallop his steed, adorned with two or more rows of tinkling bells hanging round the neck.

Flags and variegated silk handkerchiefs are streaming from the carriages, and ribbons from the horses' heads. Every cart is crammed, as only the Maltese can cram on anything on
wheels. The sun-burnt country women 527
are laughing and pelting the by-standers with apples, and waving tall green reeds and poplar branches in their

796 and the following day, are conducted with the usual solemnity and fervour.
541 There are also several races of quadrupeds in the afternoon of the day of the festival, similar to those which are held in Malta on the feast of S. S. Peter and Paul (L'Imnaria). These races bring the amusements to a close.

796 484 788 Worth mentioning is the custom which prevails amongst some of our country people on the 14th of August, the eve of the feast of "Santa Maria."

Groups of country men and country women, actuated purely by religious motives and a desire to honour the Great Mother of God, start for a pilgrimage of more than 8 hours walk on the morning of that summer day, heedless of the excessive heat of the scorching sun, to visit the churches at the 7 above mentioned villages dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

St. ROCCO RACES

The famous horse race which is annually run at Pietà on the 16th of August, the feast day of St. Roque, is a source of great excitement to the large crowds of people who flock thither from all parts of the Island. 527 541 [796]

Although the races do not commence before 6 p.m. yet, as early as 3 o'clock, the Pietà creek is all covered with hundreds of boats of every description, laden with people; and all along the Pietà quay, from the Bathing house — the place from which the competing animals start—to the winning post, at a little distance from "Portes des Bombes" — is always lined with thousands of spectators in order to witness the sport.

Some 5 minutes before 6 o'clock, a gun is fired as a signal for the people to clear the way; a second report is [202]

577
541
[202]

then heard, and some 10 or 12 donkeys are seen running at full speed, driven by jockeys, amidst great shouts and roars of laughter from the spectators, caused sometimes by the stubborness of some of the long eared quadrupeds, which instead of running keep kicking right and left, not being in humour perhaps on that day of being tormented by the constant goading of their merciless rider.

The donkey race is immediately followed by the horses first, and then that of the mares.

It is really grand to see the noble creatures, darting along the race course with neither saddles or bridles, and mounted barebacked by the gaily dressed jockeys.

When the Government prizes, which consist of gay stripes of richly brocaded

silk and lama cloth of gold, are distributed, all the crowds disperse and the victorious champions, loaded with honours and caresses, and covered with garlands of flowers and ribbons, are conducted in triumph through the streets of the town amidst the deafening cheers and acclamations of the populace. 527 541

These races were instituted in 1593 during the reign of Grand Master Verdala, as popular rejoicings after that the plague, which was introduced in Malta through the carelessness of some of the authorities, had played great havoc for eighteen months amongst the inhabitants of the Island. 527 541 175 [731]

From this race all the other races which are held on different occasions during the year, both in Malta and in Gozo, owe their origin.

527 541 776 755 796 175 These races were first held on St. Roque's Feast day in consequence of the working of miraculous cures of the plague by St. Roque who was specially invoked by persons afflicted, while stricken himself with the desease, at Piacenza,. in Italy.

THE "VITTORIA"

527 *Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary*

[796] The 8th. of September, the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is no doubt the grandest and the most popular day for the people of these Islands.

Both the streets and church of Senglea—the town in which the feast is celebrated—present on this occasion a most lively appearance.

[184] The grand illumination and the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

88

527 541 525 In connection with this feast, horse races take place at Sliema. The concourse of people and the excitement are not less, on this occasion, than they are on the St. Rocco festival, the events being always contested with great spirit, and large sums exchange hands in the bets laid upon the respective favourites.

527 The national Feast at Cospicua is celebrated on the hillside of Sta. Margherita which is, on this occasion, very tastefully decorated and illuminated with Venetian lights to the delectation of many thousands.

[541] At the Sliema celebration the fireworks are set off on barges on the water and thousands cheer the beautiful display.

At Vittoriosa—the very scene of the final victory on Sept. 8th 1565—the commemoration of this most glorious event in History is fitly celebrated.

527 533 lively marches, parade the principal streets of the old town, preceded by large crowds of people with palm leaves and Maltese flags in their hands.

527 541 In the evening the enthusiasm in the beautifully illuminated square is intense and prolonged.

[533] Large crowds from all parts of the Island flock here to listen to the choice selections of music, played by the bands on the square, and to witness the grand display of fireworks.

These are indeed worth seeing, especially one set piece. This represents a real fort with the red and white cross banner of the knights at the top. This fort opens fire and is attacked by several Turkish men-of-war, with sails set and the crescent flying at the mast heads.

As these miniatures of old-fashioned

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

galleys come sailing across the square, 527
on wires stretched over the people's 541
heads, towards the fort, they open fire
in great style. One after the other
they meet their fate, for the fort peppers
them cruelly and finally sets them on
fire, so that soon—hulls, sails, masts,
yards, crescent flags, and all the warlike
things about them are in few seconds
wrapped in flames and destroyed.

Before leaving the description of the 527
celebration of this National *fète* at Vittoriosa, 735
I wish to mention that hundreds
of loaves are distributed to the needy
of that town on the morning of the
feast.

Worth mentioning is the custom 184
which prevails, on the 7th of Sept. 527
among the women residing at Rabato 533
(Notabile) and in the country surrounding
it. These, to celebrate the com-

796 574 262 in companies to some one of their friends, at whose house they amuse themselves eating honey cakes and pancakes or fritters, and playing for nuts till the church bells ring a little before or after midnight.

At the conclusion of the service they come out again and devote the remainder of the night to amusements.

796 534 [184] The approaching festival of Christmas is heralded in some of the villages of Malta by the appearance of the "zakk" and "tambur" players in the streets. (*)

[237] The *zakk* or bagpipe is a wind instrument—one of the primitive instruments of sylvan music—formed of an inflated dog skin, which is held by the player under his left arm, with the legs

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[541] (*) The *Zakk* and tambourine are also in use amongst our lower classes on the days of Carnival.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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MALTESE WOMEN IN
FALDETTAS
[*See pp. 28-29.*]

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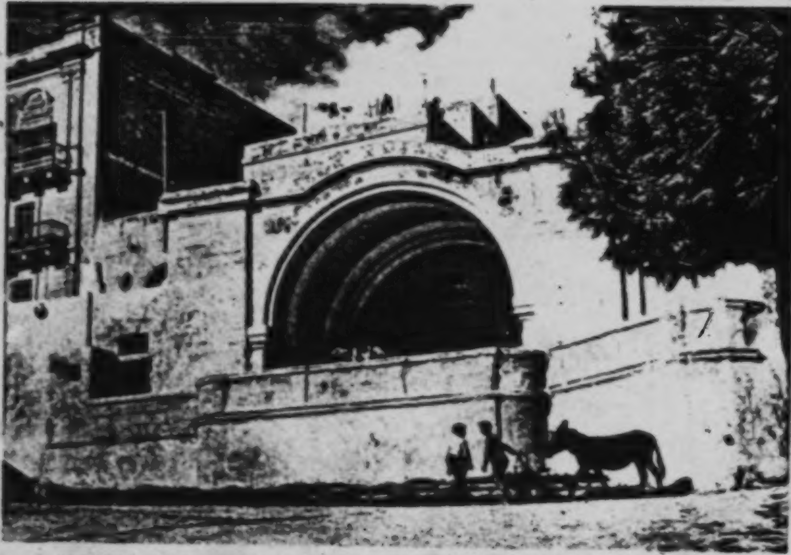

MNARJA RACES: THE GRAND MASTER'S (NOW THE GOVERNOR'S)
BOX BELOW MDINA
[*See pp. 27-28.*]

[facing P. 41]
[pp. 41-48 not processed]

796 cinema, are becoming increasingly important, the principal
541 amusements of the Maltese still generally have some connection
with their religious ceremonies. The French Consul in Malta at
546 the beginning of the last century described this enjoyment of
655 religion with great eloquence:

> Le Maltais a de la religion au fond de l'âme; cette religion, dont il remplit les devoirs sans ostentation, il l'aime autant plus qu'elle prend sa source, non seulement dans une foi sincère, mais encore dans cette habitude, contractée dès l'enfance, de chercher au sein des cérémonies religieuses un délassement, que les autres peuples trouvent dans les spectacles et les réjouissances publiques.[1]

People from all parishes come to take part in the diocesan celebrations of St. Joseph the Worker, Corpus Christi and Christ the King. These rallies and processions are usually held in Valletta and Floriana. The national festival of St. Paul's Shipwreck in February, which is also the titular feast of a Valletta parish, draws many people into the city. Another national feast commemorates the lifting of the great Turkish siege in 1565. This feast coincides with that of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary on September 8, and is celebrated with boat races and other aquatic competitions in the Grand Harbour. But the traditional national festivals for the country people are the feasts of St. Gregory in April and SS. Peter and Paul (*L-Imnarja*) in June. Though most of the pageantry of the former has been abolished, the custom of going for a picnic to Marsaxlokk, the little village just beyond the terminal point of the procession in Żejtun, lingers on. On the occasion of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, thousands proceed to the Buskett, Malta's only wood, where they spend most of the
543 night before the feast eating, drinking and singing. On the feast
541 day they throng to see the agricultural show in the Buskett, the
religious procession in Mdina and the bareback horse races that take place just outside Rabat. While these two feasts are the occasions for special outings for the villagers, they are generally looked upon as very low affairs by many from the professional and middle classes.

The principal religious spectacles, however, are those which are organized at the village level. During the course of a year in Kortin, for example, there are fourteen major celebrations and

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[1] M. Miège, *Histoire de Malte* (3 vols., Paris, Paulin, 1840), III, 168.

79 each association, including the religious ones.[1] The committee
forwarded the names of the representatives of its three constitu-
575 ent clubs to Dun Bert. After some time, when they had received
578 no reply from him, they wrote to the Archbishop. Finally, some
two months later, Dun Bert wrote back that he could not accept
any member of a political party committee on the parish council.
This was clearly aimed at the secretary of the band club, who was
a very active member of the Labour Party committee, the only
political committee in the village. He was not willing to step down,
and the other members of the committee supported his decision.
The rest of the village slowly lost interest in the matter. The parish
priest thus had his way, and is still in full control of the feast.

Many are still bitter about the manner in which their request to
79 take a more active part in the organization of their feast was
578 suppressed, but most have accepted it. They miss not so much the
old festa committee, the members of which most people criticized
freely, as the feeling they had had of all working together for the
greater glory of the village. The members of the old committee
at least had the virtue of being from the village, and were as
anxious as the next person to celebrate the biggest and best feast
in Malta, or so I was often told. Although no one suggested that
the parish priest is anything but scrupulously honest, they con-
sider that as an outsider, he does not have the same keen interest
in their feast, and in the reputation of the village. Others, less
charitable, accuse him of being hungry for power and anxious to
178 enrich himself with his fees as procurator of the festa. Many also
spoke to me with regret of the passing of the annual fairs, which
543 the parish priest has not attempted to run on his own. The fairs
794 were exciting occasions on which young and old, rich and poor,
[793] competed against each other in games of chance and raffles to win
back the rabbits and chickens which they had previously donated
to the festa. They say they miss the sense of unity that the fairs
brought them. 'In those days we knew each other better,' one
priest remarked. 'With the fair some of the poetry of the village
was destroyed.' Perhaps, without expressing it in quite this
fashion, the organizers of the committee, in their own way, were
also seeking this lost poetry.

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[1] Such parish councils have from time to time been established in some of the larger villages and towns, but most of them came to threaten the authority of the parish priests, who therefore disbanded them.

578 621 793 794 Curia trying to persuade all concerned, from the Bishop down, to think the way they do. This may go on for years, for the Curia, knowing the trouble that lies ahead, is usually in no hurry to give its decision. When the final decision is handed down, it is usually favourable, and the design for a set of flowers less beautiful and costly than the corresponding set of the titular partit is furnished. The secondary partit then instructs the craftsmen to begin work. The titular partit announces to everyone that it will cancel its next feast.

It often happens, however, that just before the new bouquets (or whatever *objets d'art* are concerned) are inaugurated during the secondary festa, the parish priest discovers that most of the Curia's specifications have been ignored. The new flowers are far more beautiful than they were supposed to be. He is furious. The guilty leaders of the secondary partit apologize profusely and take immediate steps to make them less beautiful. Occasionally, the priest may discipline the partit by temporarily reducing the scale of its feast. The secondary partit then holds its feast, and the flowers are admired by all visitors. Strong police reinforcements usually prevent trouble from occurring. Relations between the parish priest and the titular partit are gradually re-established and it agrees, usually for some concessions on his part, to celebrate its feast again. But in a year or so, a new dispute occurs, and the process starts all over again.

578 621 625 793 794 [626] Sometimes relations between a parish priest and a partit reach a deadlock that can be broken only by an outside peacemaker, frequently an officer of the police. The police in any case have a vital interest in the degree of rivalry existing in the villages, as it is their business to keep order during the feast. The number of police on duty at these times ranges from a dozen or so in villages such as Siġġiewi and Naxxar, where there are no partiti, to around 100 in those where there are strong ones, such as Mqabba and Żurrieq. Occasionally a parish priest is threatened, frightened by a home-made bomb, or attacked; he then often requests, and generally receives, a transfer to another parish.

543 576, 578 621 So far only the more important encounters between partiti have been discussed. There are many other events to keep their rivalry alive throughout the year. The numerous fund-raising fairs of the band clubs are occasions for the village to divide along festa partit lines. While supporters of the partit running the fair flock

to it, their rivals invariably stage their own fair or, and this is 621
more usual, hire several buses and noisily leave the village for a 578
picnic or a pilgrimage to some shrine of their saint. Many other [575]
incidents divide groups and associations along partit lines. For [543]
example, a former head teacher of the Farruġ school told me that [301]
he had once tried to get the girls to wear the dark blue hair ribbons which are supposed to be part of their school uniforms. He was astounded when half the girls flatly refused. It was then explained to him that blue is the colour of the St. Roque partit, so the St. Martin girls could not be expected to wear it.

Let us now look at some of the major skirmishes which have 578
taken place in Farruġ during the last ten years. During 1952 and 621
1953 there was a dispute over an attempt by the St. Roque pro- 79
cession to pass along a street over which St. Martin's followers claimed exclusive rights. When the inexperienced new parish priest backed the St. Roque claim before the Archbishop, he brought violently into the open a dispute over which his predecessor had successfully procrastinated for years. The followers [626]
of St. Martin not only refused to celebrate their feast, but also succeeded in frightening the unfortunate priest rather badly by exploding a huge rocket in the drainpipe under his house. Some St. Martin partisans gleefully recounted to me that the priest was soon transferred to another parish, and that during his last week in Farruġ he had asked the police to escort him between his house and the church. Relations between the Church and the St. Martin partit were restored when the Archbishop modified the St. Roque procession route.

In 1956 the St. Martin Band Club refused to celebrate the titular [575]
festa because the Archbishop had given the Confraternity of St. Roque permission to renew the four bunches of artificial flowers which decorate the main altar during his feast. The following year the St. Roque Band Club refused to play at the installation ceremony of the new parish priest because the Curia had just turned down the confraternity's request for permission to hang a new picture over its altar. In 1960 the same priest angered the St. Roque partit by refusing to let it participate in the St. Martin centenary celebrations. The poor man's hands were tied, for the St. Martin club had declared that it would have nothing to do with the feast if its rival took any part in it. At the moment, there is another struggle in the offing. The Confraternity of St. Roque

527 hands, whilst the men are either playing their favourite melodeons or singing, and from group after group the chorus of the gaily dressed young girls rises all along the roads leading to the respective villages.

• 543 Before leaving the description of this very popular amusement, I think it will not be amiss to say something about the famous *Imnaria* exhibition, which is held every year at Boschetto and is always thoroughly enjoyed by a very large attendance of visitors.

This agricultural show, which was instituted by Sir William Reid, Governor of Malta, in 1857, is held on the 28th and 29th of June, the eve and the feast day of St. Peter and St. Paul, under the auspices of the "Società Economico-Agraria" and under the patronage of H. E. the Governor of the Island.

543

When the gentlemen appointed as judges in the different sections carry out their duties, the exhibition receives the benediction of the church, and the show is then opened to the public.

His Excellency visits the exhibition and is received by the President and other officers of the Agricultural Society.

After making a tour round the different sections, the Governor proceeds to the stand where he at once commences the distribution of prizes to the successful exhibitors.

The show is generally a very good one — animals, fruits, grains, cereals, honey, poultry, and vegetables are exhibited. Some of the bulls and cows of Maltese and English breeds cannot but be greatly admired, being truly superb animals.

Of all the objects exhibited none

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

543 perhaps excites more interest to the visitors than the beautiful animals which are considered a great ornament to the show.

Sta. VENERA

796 A similar occasion as that of *Imnaria* is afforded to the never tired merry-makers country-women, on the 4th Sunday of July, the day dedicated to the festival of St. Anne.

As early as 4 o'clock in the morning of this day, scores of carts, loaded with gaily dressed country girls, leave their respective villages and proceed to Sta. Venera, a small church at Hamrun, which is very nicely decorated for the occasion.

[537] Here a sermon on the life of the great saint is preached to the people as-

sembled, from a wooden pulpit in the 796 537
open air, near the small chapel. When 796
the sermon is over the jolly country 543 •
girls take a great delight in the fair [366]
which is held along the space in front
of the small church, which is blocked up
from end to end with temporary booths.

The wares offered for sale are of the 796
simplest description, consisting princi- 543
pally of scapulars, pictures, gay woollen 438
and cotton sashes and handkerchiefs,
cheep trinkets, and glass and china of
inferior quality; but there is enough
colour and glitter to produce a pretty
kaleidoscopic effect when touched by
the rays of the bright shining sun.

On this morning the scores of vendors [265]
of sweetmeats, lemonade, and iced water
seem endowed with extra power of
throat and lungs for vociferating these
refreshing compounds, and the set up

796 [543] tables, piled with the castellated erec-
[438] tions of honey and almonds, tempt
[265] those crowds of country people to spend
what they have purposely put by for this
annual holiday.

After three or four hours of high revel the wheeled vehicles return home with their jolly occupants singing all along the road.

Sta. MARIA

796 184 On the 15th of August, the day dedicated to the Assumption of the B. V. Mary (Santa Maria), nearly all the Island of Malta is *en fête*.

[103] Seven of the twentyfour villages, that is:— Casals Musta, Dingli, Attard, Crendi, Micabiba, Asciak and Gudia celebrate on this day their titular feast with the usual illuminations, fireworks and processions.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

EZ6 Malta EZ6

87

Str. Reale, from Fort St. Elmo to Porta Reale, is aglow with the red and white colours of Malta and knights' flags; and at night is ablaze with thousands of variegated lights. 527 186

St. George's Square — opposite the Governor's Palace—is ornamented with splendid clusters of flags, pennons, gonfalons, shields, battle axes, spears, captured cannons and some entire suits of armour, kindly lent from the Palace collection. These suits create great interest, being the original property of the knights, some of the pieces bearing the evidence of shots and sabre cuts. 527 186 543•

From the various stands, selected national bands fill the city with sweet music, and in the evening elaborate fire-works illustrate the figures and deeds of the knights. 527 [533]

In connection with this feast, horse- 200

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

654 (a) to decide which crops, animals, feeding stuffs, machinery, methods of farm management, etc., are most likely to improve Maltese farming conditions, and

(b) to pass this information to a conservative and doubting farming public.

654 242 A central feature of official policy since 1956 has been the Agricultural Advisory Service (B/252), modelled on the parallel organization in the United Kingdom. In Malta this body has aimed to co-ordinate research and experiment with encouraging the farmer to adopt proven results. Within a short while of its inception the Service was concerned with detailed investigations into pig rearing, poultry feeding, dairying, potatoes, tomatoes, fertilizers and other agricultural topics in the Islands (B/252, pp.3-4). At the same time a great deal of importance was attached to demonstrations and lectures to farmers. In addition broadcasts were made over the Rediffusion system and these were supplemented by a certain amount of printed publicity.

654 242 544 232 The easiest part of the programme of lectures and demonstrations was to get farmers and others to attend the meetings. Those who stayed away did so either because they could not be available at the appointed time or, more usually, because they could not be persuaded that foreign experts could know anything applicable to farming in Malta which the local farmer did not know already. The attitudes of those who did attend was revealing. In many cases the novelty of the event was the attraction but there was also a large element of reasoned interest. Attendances varied from a few dozen farmers in some of the smaller villages to 200 in Xaghra and other large rural settlements, while, in January, 1958, no less than 700 people assembled in Rabat to be lectured by four of the specialists then working with the local Department of Agriculture, and to see a film on "Clean Milk". The reactions of this audience were typical of the response to the whole range of lectures and demonstrations and illustrate clearly the kind of problem which any would-be improver of agriculture can expect to have to face in Malta. There was, significantly, only one Maltese woman in the audience at Rabat of which some two or three hundred appeared to be non-farmers and concerned rather with free coffee in the interval than with the topics of the lectures. Of the rest, however, some farmers had made considerable journeys to attend while more than a few of these had never set foot in a meeting hall or attended anything in the nature of a lecture or lesson in their lives. For them it was a 'Sunday-best' outing. Even the bravest

654 242 544 232 of those present could not however be pursuaded to ask any questions of the 'experts' or to develop any discussion, although everything not in Maltese was translated copiously. They were over-awed by the proceedings but were not slow to seize on topics raised by the speakers for future discussion among groups of farmers. The average age of those present was lower than that of the full-time farming population on account of the presence of large numbers of disinterested village youths and young men. But the true farmers themselves paid attention to what they were told and were especially impressed by the film.

Some of the points raised were dismissed as "not suitable for Malta". Some suggested measures were "interesting but unremunerative", notably the efforts, demonstrated in the film, to achieve cleanliness in milking. The farmer could not readily comprehend how he was to profit financially if he were to add what to him were needless tasks to an already heavy time-table. Yet, on the other hand, he was sceptical when told that many of the jobs which he is accustomed to performing could be replaced by more efficient methods. Being unable to read of farming outside Malta the illiterate believes that no methods could be better than those tried, tested and taught by his father and grand-father before him. Hence a major part of the work of an advisory service is "to create conditions which will give the farmer confidence in the advice given. The adviser must be above creed or party and honest in all his dealings. In addition, however, some inducement must be offered to the farmer to accept advice and the most powerful inducement that has yet been found is money - cash - a better price"[39].

654 232 One example of this inducement in practice was afforded by the study of pig feeding using balanced rations which was undertaken by the Agricultural Advisory Service early in its career. Haesler was able to show that "the high mortality rate in small pigs can be considerably reduced, and what is more important, losses in pig keeping have been turned into profits" (B/252, p.3). The farming public was assailed with Maltese-language leaflets[40] showing how the traditional pig feeding patterns were both wrongly balanced and generally excessive in quantity and encouraging pig breeders to invest in the prepared balanced rations ('Għalf Bilanċjat') then on the market. This improved diet would, it was claimed, not only produce a better pig but would result in reduced costs of feeding. This prospect appealed to the farmer, who hastened to purchase the balanced ration particularly as such rations were subsidized by the Government[40] in order to encourage

159 The family has occupied the present house for several
423 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
551 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the
village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
461 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
234 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially
to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
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178 interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese
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cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods".
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would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

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423 A. Land.

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427] All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 B. Utilisation.

241 The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
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Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
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9: Luke G-5 (ca.1920-ca.1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XVIII

Old Survivals in Modern Malta

MALTA OCCUPIES A PLACE OF ITS OWN IN THE OLD WORLD 101 not only by reason of the length and unusual character of its annals, not only by reason of the tremendous range of its architectural monuments. It does so because it combines with these features the circumstance that it is the home of a separate race, the smallest of European peoples.

There are, it is true, four independent states in Europe of lesser size than Malta, but the inhabitants of these states do not form distinct racial stocks, nor have they their own languages. The Maltese are the smallest nation with the longest history, and their islands are a microcosm, self-contained. Not only has Malta its own tongue. It has its [197] own University—the oldest in the British Commonwealth [873] Overseas and granted the Royal patronage and the prefix "Royal" by King George VI in his coronation year—with seven faculties: Theology, Laws, Medicine and Surgery, Dental Surgery, Engineering and Architecture, Arts, Science. It has, as we have seen, its own Nobility with their Committee [565] of Privileges. It is an ecclesiastical Province whose Archbishop [793] exercises jurisdiction since 1944 over the bishopric of Gozo, previously immediately subject to the Holy See since its formation in 1864. And in the history of this microcosm has been mirrored the life of the great world around it.

Viewed as a part of the British Commonwealth, Malta is 655 unique in two particulars. It is the only British possession 545 whose Government owns an Opera House and in normal times 368 maintains an annual opera season and conducts the pawnbroking of the nation in the manner of certain Continental states.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 states. Alone with Gibraltar it runs a Lotto (with weekly
659 drawings) as a Government Department. Until 1866 Malta's
525 Opera House was the Manoel Theatre, a little gem of a play-
368 house built as the Court Theatre by Grand Master Manoel
de Vilhena in 1731 and believed to be the oldest theatre in
368 Europe. It is easy enough to appreciate how daintily graceful
545 it must have looked when the audience, arrayed in the
brocades and perukes of the eighteenth century, was
assembled to witness some comedy of Molière or Goldoni.
Later used as a cinema, it is now being scientifically restored
to its original form and purpose.

368 In 1866 the new Opera House, officially called the Theatre
Royal, was completed at a cost of £60,000 just within
Kingsgate, partly on the site of a dilapidated old bakery which
has been identified with the house of the Turcopilier, title
of the Pillar or Head of the Langue of England. In 1873
this building, which was designed by Barry, the architect of
the Covent Garden Theatre, in a style which while dignified
was entirely out of harmony with Valetta's prevailing archi-
tectural character, was seriously damaged by fire and was
reconstructed at a farther cost of £20,000. Before its
destruction in the Second World War it was the only theatre
known to the writer where it was the rule for male members
of the audience to attend the evening performances either in
mess dress or in evening dress with decorations.

655 The Monte di Pietà, the Government pawnbroking
175 Department, was established at the end of the sixteenth
century and was housed in its present handsome office in
Merchants' Street by Ximenes, the last but two of Malta's
Grand Masters. Connected with the Monte di Pietà is an
institution known as the Monte di Redenzione. In wander-
ing about the island the visitor will occasionally encounter
a building of the seventeenth or eighteenth century adorned
with a shield representing three cones surmounted by the
letter "R". These buildings constitute the property, now
administered by the Government of Malta under a trust, of

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table
only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
366 by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension
of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised
shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops,
and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of
home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War,
the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly
to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The
petrolju van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on
paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free
262 distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
749 by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation
distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home
178 was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a staircase
342 frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic
life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
351 enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were
small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for
animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump
and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
312 emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
364 summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can
only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

491 Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has
379 been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
206 north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the
Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
546 Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

241 Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent
family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the
village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them, thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee. Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113 1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948. Table 53.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see B. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1960.

CHAPTER V

The Church and Village Politics

Most Maltese regulate their lives by the daily and monthly cycle 796 of religious activities. The major divisions of the day are rung 805 from the bells of the village church. They first ring the Paternoster half an hour before the first Mass. Then the Angelus bell rings a call to prayer at eight in the morning, at noon and at sunset. The final bell of the day is rung two or three hours after sunset, and is a brief request for the living to remember the dead in their prayers. The call of the Angelus is observed by many. When it is rung, work and conversation stop whether in a government office or a village café, men remove their hats, and someone among them leads them in a short prayer. In Gozo I have seen a busy square become suddenly silent and many people kneel in the street as the Ave Maria was rung at sunset. People also often kneel in the streets when the bells announce the elevation of the Host during a sung Mass, and during Benediction in the evening. And finally, late in the evening, clusters of relatives and neighbours can be seen sitting in their open doorways reciting the Rosary together before they go to bed.

Most girls and women and many boys and men attend one of 184 the three or four daily Masses which are offered in all parish 796 churches between four and seven in the morning. Virtually every one in the village attends one of the five or six Masses offered on Sundays. The few who do not attend are known to the village, [626] and are the subject of gossip and other social pressure. Since the [659] recent dispute between the MLP and the Church, however, their numbers are increasing.

As the church bells mark the important hours of the day, so the 796 principal divisions of the year are set out by the annual national and parochial religious feasts and processions. Besides being major [541] religious occasions, they are eagerly looked forward to as recreational [655] events. Though secular spectacles, such as political rallies, the government-run Carnival procession and, above all, the [546]

796 cinema, are becoming increasingly important, the principal
[541] amusements of the Maltese still generally have some connection
with their religious ceremonies. The French Consul in Malta at
[546] the beginning of the last century described this enjoyment of
[655] religion with great eloquence:

> Le Maltais a de la religion au fond de l'âme; cette religion, dont il remplit les devoirs sans ostentation, il l'aime autant plus qu'elle prend sa source, non seulement dans une foi sincère, mais encore dans cette habitude, contractée dès l'enfance, de chercher au sein des cérémonies religieuses un délassement, que les autres peuples trouvent dans les spectacles et les réjouissances publiques.[1]

People from all parishes come to take part in the diocesan celebrations of St. Joseph the Worker, Corpus Christi and Christ the King. These rallies and processions are usually held in Valletta and Floriana. The national festival of St. Paul's Shipwreck in February, which is also the titular feast of a Valletta parish, draws many people into the city. Another national feast commemorates the lifting of the great Turkish siege in 1565. This feast coincides with that of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary on September 8, and is celebrated with boat races and other aquatic competitions in the Grand Harbour. But the traditional national festivals for the country people are the feasts of St. Gregory in April and SS. Peter and Paul (*L-Imnarja*) in June. Though most of the pageantry of the former has been abolished, the custom of going for a picnic to Marsaxlokk, the little village just beyond the terminal point of the procession in Żejtun, lingers on. On the occasion of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, thousands proceed to the Buskett, Malta's only wood, where they spend most of the
[543] night before the feast eating, drinking and singing. On the feast
day they throng to see the agricultural show in the Buskett, the
[541] religious procession in Mdina and the bareback horse races that
take place just outside Rabat. While these two feasts are the occasions for special outings for the villagers, they are generally looked upon as very low affairs by many from the professional and middle classes.

The principal religious spectacles, however, are those which are organized at the village level. During the course of a year in Kortin, for example, there are fourteen major celebrations and

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[1] M. Miège, *Histoire de Malte* (3 vols., Paris, Paulin, 1840), III, 168.

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most
[491] construction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

128 [226] PART 3. A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo is included because the economic position of this comparatively small group is in many ways similar to that of the farming community itself.

PART 1. Maltese Farming - Case Studies I-XIII

*159 234 654 CASE I: Pawlu. (A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.)

Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed sale for milk produced. [435] He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialization which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the official policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

*159 55 423 [463] Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (B/525).

proportional to the number of outsiders resident in it. Not only 591 does loyalty to friends and relations in a man's village of birth 621 often take precedence over new ties established by his marriage into a strange village, but it is not unusual for a man married into another village to continue to play an active part in the social life of his native village. Conversely, an outsider is seldom called upon or attempts to join the clubs and associations of his wife's village. Thus, only 3 per cent of the committee members of the fifteen band and social clubs in the sample villages I studied were outsiders, although about 18 per cent of the adult male population resident in these villages were born elsewhere. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the committee members were now living outside the villages in which they were born and hold office.

TABLE 2. Adults Born Outside their Place of Residence[1] [162]

Place of Residence	*Percentage born elsewhere*	*Males*	*Females*
Urban/Suburban	66%	45%	55%
Maltese Villages	16	52	48
Gozitan Villages	15	39	61

Because of the many ties which bind people to their villages of birth, an adult who moves into his wife's village remains an outsider for many years. The village will probably not give him a [551] distinctive village nickname, and he will be known simply as the husband of his wife, or perhaps by the name of his native village. Although the village may ignore his outside origin for much of the time, his place of birth is certain to be remembered and held against him by his enemies, should be become involved in a dispute. The children of an outsider, however, become full [851] members of the village by virtue of their birth there, and their connection with the community through the family of their mother (or father). By the time his children begin to grow up and get married, the outsider is usually firmly established as a full member of the community.

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[1] This table was compiled from data made available to me by the Principal Government Electoral Officer. It covers a random sample drawn from a sample of two suburban communities (Sliema and Balzan), seven Maltese villages (Żebbuġ, Gharghur, Gudja, Mosta, Qrendi, Dingli and Żurrieq) and three Gozitan villages (Qala, Xaghra and Gharb). [103] [127]

CHAPTER IV

The Basis of Leadership

621 The Maltese word for leader, *mexxej*, is seldom heard, and then
[192] only in reference to the leader of a political party. I once asked a
parish priest who were the leaders of the village. He laughed and
[622] replied that there weren't any, because his parishioners did not like
● [551] leaders. With the exception of the professionals and *il-puliti* from
the towns, all the inhabitants of a village usually call one another
by their Christian names and in general look upon each other as
equals. This egalitarian outlook is compounded of many factors,
of which the most important are similar occupation, standard of
living and values, the detailed knowledge of each other's personal
lives that comes with residence in a face-to-face community, and
178 jealousy. Any person who attempts to lead or to try to start
something new – such as a village playground – is derided. His
578 true motive is seen as self aggrandizement and his enemies and
621 envious neighbours are quick to point this out to others who may
[539] not have realized it. 'Envy follows the wise man like his shadow'
(*L-ghira titrot wara l-gharef bhal dellu mieghu*), goes the Maltese
[609] proverb. Professionals and outsiders, especially if they are from
the town, are occasionally able to start something new. Their
social distance from most of the community protects them from
the full impact of the envy and gossip which moulds so much of
village life.

But in spite of the absence of official lay leaders and the con-
554 servative pressure of envy and gossip, there are a number of
621 persons who have a greater say than others in the affairs of the
793 community. They are able to do this by virtue of their social
position, their occupation or office in one of the village associa-
tions or their influence with the parish priest. These persons,
together with the parish priest, form the aggregate which can be
[192] said to run the affairs of the community. While there is no generic
term for this aggregate, those who compose it are sometimes
referred to as *il-kbarat*, 'the big ones', or more derogatively as

*159 434 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anġlu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anġlu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

*159 234 443 [712] [551] [656] His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anġlu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

*159 423 434 [432] Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodders. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

*159 452 Anġlu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anġlu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

*159 The family has occupied the present house for several
423 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
551 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the
village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
461 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
234 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially
to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
829 his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
544 He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public
234 lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He
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farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which
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the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time
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some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures)
would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

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*159 **B. Utilisation.**

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Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
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Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

she honours and calls upon in her sister's hour of need. The 844
tale is told of the birth-rose which was forgotten. Triplets 824
were born. Later the rose was found, having grown on its
withered stem three healthy branches bearing fresh, green
leaves. Whatever deep significance attached originally to the
birth-rose, the custom has a beauty of its own.

The next thought is for the little one's future. A gold ring 844
or some other golden object is placed in the water in which 823
he or she is washed, in order, they say, that riches will not be
lacking. At one time, it may be, something of more value than
the dross of riches was sought, for gold was the symbol of
wisdom and a bright understanding long before it had value
as currency.

It will be well if the baby is not red-headed, for the red- 826
headed child will inevitably be known as "Son of the Wind," [551]
"Daughter of the alcove," or even more scurrilously, "Child
of the priest." This readiness to doubt the paternity of poor
little "Copper-knob" seems to indicate that, in spite of the
blue or grey eyes of the peasants, the Maltese have always
been an essentially brunette people. The slur may be no older
than the occupation of the priestly knights, when celibacy
must frequently have proved too much for the young
"Aryans" of the Teutonic Langues. It may date back to the
much earlier time of red-bearded Ullyses. It may, again, be [822]
nothing more than a rendering of "love-child"—for red has
always been the colour of Love—sacred to Astoreth, Isis, and
Venus.

Yet another of the Old Things has a hand in birth. Even 774
to-day it is accounted by some a serious matter for a child 777
to be born on Christmas Eve. Such a child is in danger of
becoming a *Gaugau*—one whose spirit will leave its body
every Christmas Eve—"They then go out and wander all
over the island frightening people with their groanings.
After thus performing these ghostly pranks for some hours,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of 1936, which superseded the original self-governing 642
Constitution of 1921. In 1946 Sir Harold MacMichael, a
distinguished retired administrator in the Middle East, was 646
invited by the British Government to formulate detailed proposals for constitutional reform after consultation with the National Assembly. His recommendations[1] provided for a Legislative Assembly of forty members elected on a system of proportional representation and led to the re-establishment of self-government in September 1947.[2] But some responsible elements regretted that they made no provision for the Second Chamber or Senate which had existed under the Constitution of 1921.

The elections gave Malta the first Labour Government in 665
its parliamentary history, under Dr (later Sir) Paul Boffa; 642
this made way in 1950 for one formed by the Nationalists, whose earlier dismissal had led to the suspension of the Constitution in 1933.[3] The new Government was headed—for such are the vicissitudes of politics—by the veteran pro-Italian Enrico Mizzi, who had been interned in East Africa during the war and died in December 1950, three months after taking office. In 1951 his successor, the Nationalist Dr G. Borg Olivier, formed a Coalition with Dr Boffa's "Malta Workers' Party"; this Coalition remained in power until defeated in 1955 by the Left-Wing Labour Leader, Mr Dominic Mintoff,[4] a former Rhodes Scholar who had been Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction in the Boffa Ministry but seceded from his former chief in 1950.

Already in the time of Dr Borg Olivier there had been 642
inaugurated a series of talks in London between the Secretary 648
of State for the Colonies and the Maltese Prime Minister 668
and Leader of the Opposition on proposed changes in Malta's

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[1] Published in 1947 as Colonial No. 207 and analysed in the White Paper "Malta; Statement on Constitutional Reform (Comd. 7014) of Jan. 1947." [113]

[2] See p. 137.

[3] See pp. 135–137.

[4] Mintoff is a variation of the name usually spelled Mintaf, which is the Maltese word meaning 'plucked.' [557]

last remnants of the power of the *Giurali*, the Maltese Civil Magistrates, but at the same time revived the nominal ceremony of receiving the keys of Città Vecchia from the same body. In 1749, the Moslem slaves of the Order made an unsuccessful revolt. De Pinto and his successor, de Rohan (1775-1797) bestowed numerous titles of nobility and of the 26 Maltese title-holders of today 12 derive their status from these two Grand Masters. Ximenes abolished the essential *Consiglio Popolare* (as distinct from the *Università*) in 1775. Diplomacy and court appearances in the capitals of Europe consumed more treasure than the *corsos*, the raids against the Infidel, brought in. Indeed, some of the seafaring exploits were essentially piratical in nature. 175* [554]

Insolvency, dissension and an absence of purpose, together with growing unpopularity in Malta; to these were added the embarrassments of Revolutionary abolition of the Order in France and seizure of the Commanderies in 1792. By 1800, the Malta of the Knights had crumbled under the Napoleonic touch.

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the latter's diocese fails to appoint one within eight days; and the 793
right to wear the insignia of his office which mark his superior 795
dignity (the *pallium* and the double cross), throughout his province. [293]
Moreover, the Archbishop's court functions as a court of
appeal for cases heard in the court of the Bishop of Gozo. In all [698]
other matters, however, the Bishop of Gozo has the same rights as
the Archbishop. These include the right to make certain rules and dispensations for his diocese, to inflict penalties, interdictions and excommunication; and to determine who may be admitted to the priesthood.[1]

Each Bishop is assisted by a number of advisers, who also run the Curia, or administrative headquarters of the diocese. In the Archdiocese of Malta the Curia is under the charge of the Vicar General, who has the title of Titular Bishop. These advisers are for the most part Monsignori, or Canons, of the Cathedral Chapter. The Cathedral Chapter is composed of the priests attached to a cathedral church who advise the Bishop, arrange for a more solemn celebration of divine worship, and, when the See is vacant, provide for the government of the diocese. Though the Archdiocese of Malta has both a Cathedral in Mdina, and a Co-Cathedral in Valletta, there is only one Chapter.

In addition to the Cathedral Chapters in Malta and Gozo, there are also a number of Collegiate churches. The clergy of a Collegiate Church form a Collegiate Chapter, and have the title of
Canons. They perform no special duties in the diocese. The title [554]
of 'Collegiate' is an honour which can only be bestowed upon a church with Papal sanction. There are Collegiate Chapters in Senglea, Vittoriosa, Cospicua, Rabat, Birkirkara and Valletta in Malta, and in Għarb, Nadur and Xagħra in Gozo.

The Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo are divided 621
into 48 and 15 parishes respectively. A parish is the basic social and 794
territorial unit of the Church. Every village in Malta and Gozo is 795
a separate parish, though some towns are divided into two or more parishes. The limits of a parish are fixed by the Bishop. They often extend several miles beyond the compact villages that are so characteristic of the Maltese countryside. In most rural parishes there are also a few scattered farmsteads. The occupants of these isolated farms normally have houses in the village, to which they

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[1] Cf. William E. Addis and others, 'Archbishop', *A Catholic Dictionary* (16th ed. rev.; London, Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1960), pp. 44 f.

They must live together in specially designated premises under 792
the discipline of their order, and they are subject to the authority 793
of their provincial or superior. As we shall see, the position that [162]
the clergy occupy in society and the nature of their work is to a
very considerable extent determined by their sheer numbers. In [554]
1957 there were 1,229 diocesan priests, friars and monks and 1,588
nuns in Malta and Gozo.[1] In addition to these, in 1958 there were
approximately 220 friars and monks and 200 nuns studying
abroad or working as missionaries or chaplains to communities of
migrants.[2]

There are a number of associations which occupy important 664
positions in the structure of both the diocese and its constituent 793
parishes. At the diocesan level the most important of these are the
College of Archpriests and Parish Priests, which acts as a pressure 794
group in the interest of its members; the Cana Movement, which runs courses for engaged couples, a marriage advisory council and a clinic; and the Social Action Movement, which is trying to establish trade unions. There is also the Diocesan Junta, or Diocesan Council of Catholic Lay Organizations. This body, on which most of the diocesan and parochial societies are represented, is an important pressure group. As already noted, it played a leading part in bringing about the defeat of the Malta Labour Party in the 1962 elections.

Many associations, though organized at the diocesan level, have 794
semi-autonomous branches at the parish level. These can be roughly divided into the lay apostolate associations and the devotional societies. The lay apostolate groups have been organized so that 'the Church will be able to exercise its direct and indirect action in all the fields: religious, cultural, technical, family, workers' movements and others.'[3] These societies are usually divided by age and sex, and except for the Society of Christian Doctrine, all are run by village priests who are responsible to the parish priest. These chaplains and the lay leaders generally work out an active programme of lectures, good works and outings. Many of them take part in religious processions and, in general, support the work of the parish priest. Together with the clergy,

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[1] *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Economic Activities* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), p. 45.

[2] Charles G. Vella, ed., *The Catholic Directory of Malta and Gozo* (Valletta, Archbishop's Palace, 1958), pp. 273–308.

[3] François H. Houtart, *in* Vella, p. 311.

794 distinctive habit of the confraternity in processions, in which the
[292] *fratelli* play an important part. Entrance to a confraternity is by
means of a short religious ceremony and the payment of a small
fee. This entitles the newly professed member to share in the indulgences, privileges and spiritual favours which have accrued to the society.

Every confraternity is established independently in each parish,
and has nothing to do with confraternities of the same name in
other villages. Before the band clubs were established, confraternities were the only formally constituted associations in rural
[554] parishes. Their officers enjoyed considerable prestige, and had a
voice in village affairs. But today the members seldom meet as a
[178] group and most confraternities have no premises of their own,
though they generally have an altar in the parish church. Aside
from the dozen or two who take part in all the parish processions, members take no part in any activity. A few confraternities
[423] which own property are a notable exception. Their officers meet
occasionally to discuss the business affairs of the confraternity, and
the societies still play an active role in local affairs.

There are also a number of third orders. These societies are lay counterparts of certain religious orders. They are organized in much the same way as the confraternities. Members attend occasional spiritual exercises and have the right to take part in processions and to be buried in the habit of the order. Altogether there are 16 different confraternities and third orders. Among the most common are the confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, which is established in all parishes, the Holy Rosary, Our Lady of Consolation (*Ta' Ċintura*), St. Joseph and the Third Orders of the Franciscans and the Carmelites.

554 All groups and individuals that are tied to the Church are
79 ranked. Each parish, religious order and parish society has its fixed
position in the overall order. The same applies to the clerics who constitute its personnel. Position in the hierarchy is determined by seniority of foundation in the case of parishes and associations – or date of ordination or appointment to present office, in the case of the clergy – in combination with certain marks of honour conferred by the Church authorities. Such honours carry with them a claim to higher precedence than seniority by itself would give. For example, any parish in which there is a Collegiate Chapter, or whose church has the title of Basilica, ranks higher than one

which does not have these honours. Other honours are the right 554 to perform rituals, indulgence to persons visiting the church, and particular ecclesiastical offices. To a considerable extent these are 79 rewards for meritorious conduct, measured by contributions to the decorations of the church, or the number of vocations, or special devotions performed in a parish.

During certain religious processions and ceremonies this ranking becomes an important determinant of the order in which the participants take part. Formerly, during the annual St. Gregory procession, virtually the entire hierarchy of Malta could be seen lined up on the ground. But this procession of parishes was abolished and the ceremony modified in 1927, among other reasons because of a dispute between the Canons of Senglea and Birkirkara over a question of precedence. But the St. Gregory procession in Gozo is still held every March. Then it is possible to see parish following parish in order of precedence, and the confraternities of each, in their turn, ranked according to their position in their own parish hierarchy. At the front of the procession is the youngest parish, the one with the lowest rank. It is followed by parishes in ascending order of seniority until the oldest Collegiate Chapter. Then come the religious orders. These are followed by the clergy of the Cathedral and the Monsignori of the Cathedral Chapter. The celebrant or Bishop brings up the end of the procession. This inverted order of precedence is an important organizational principle, which operates in the secular as well as the religious sphere, and it is one of the basic causes of disputes between villages and band clubs.

III

At present there are six political parties in Malta. Of these, only 665 three contested the 1955 elections: the Nationalist Party (NP), led by Dr. Giorgio Borg Olivier; the Malta Labour Party (MLP), whose leader is Dom Mintoff; and Miss Mabel Strickland's Progressive Constitutional Party (PCP). The election resulted in 23 [666] seats for the MLP, 17 for the NP and none for the PCP. Three new parties have emerged since the resignation from office of the MLP in 1958: the Democratic Nationalist Party (DNP), led by Dr. Herbert Ganado, split from the Nationalist Party; Anthony Pellegrini, a former Secretary of the Labour Party, founded the

[p.40]

CHAPTER IV

The Basis of Leadership

621 The Maltese word for leader, *mexxej*, is seldom heard, and then [192] only in reference to the leader of a political party. I once asked a parish priest who were the leaders of the village. He laughed and [622] replied that there weren't any, because his parishioners did not like [551] leaders. With the exception of the professionals and *il-puliti* from the towns, all the inhabitants of a village usually call one another by their Christian names and in general look upon each other as equals. This egalitarian outlook is compounded of many factors, of which the most important are similar occupation, standard of living and values, the detailed knowledge of each other's personal lives that comes with residence in a face-to-face community, and 178 jealousy. Any person who attempts to lead or to try to start something new – such as a village playground – is derided. His 578 true motive is seen as self aggrandizement and his enemies and 621 envious neighbours are quick to point this out to others who may [539] not have realized it. 'Envy follows the wise man like his shadow' (*L-ghira titrot wara l-gharef bhal dellu mieghu*), goes the Maltese [609] proverb. Professionals and outsiders, especially if they are from the town, are occasionally able to start something new. Their social distance from most of the community protects them from the full impact of the envy and gossip which moulds so much of village life.

● 554 But in spite of the absence of official lay leaders and the conservative pressure of envy and gossip, there are a number of 621 persons who have a greater say than others in the affairs of the 793 community. They are able to do this by virtue of their social position, their occupation or office in one of the village associations or their influence with the parish priest. These persons, together with the parish priest, form the aggregate which can be [192] said to run the affairs of the community. While there is no generic term for this aggregate, those who compose it are sometimes referred to as *il-kbarat*, 'the big ones', or more derogatively as

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ir-rjus il-kbar, 'the big heads'. But if asked, a person will often 554
deny that such persons exist, and reply, 'Here we are all the same; 621
we are all from the village'. 793

II

The authority of the State is represented by the police, who are 625
formally responsible for law and order. Each village has a police
station manned by a small contingent of constables under a
sergeant. Several villages make up a police district under an
inspector. In Malta most policemen live outside the villages in
which they work. But it is usual for Gozitan constables stationed
in Malta to be quartered in the police stations to which they are
assigned.

In addition to their official duties of law enforcement, the police [659]
distribute voting certificates, help conduct censuses and give out [657]
the allotments of free food to old age pensioners and people on
relief.[1] They also perform many favours for local residents. They
help people fill out government forms, and occasionally allow the
station telephone to be used for private calls. They are sometimes 625
able to mediate in local disputes. Disputants very often report each 627
other for insults, threats or some minor infraction of the law –
throwing waste water and rubbish in the street is one of the most
common – thus hoping to strangle their enemies in its due process.
The police constable on duty is often able to reconcile the
disputants and persuade them to withdraw the charges and
counter-charges.

In general, the punitive role that the police are occasionally 625
forced to play is offset by their role as distributors of government
assistance and by their general helpfulness. District inspectors try
to avoid personal relations with the people in their districts since
they must prosecute all criminal cases, and personal ties might
prove awkward. Sergeants and constables, on the other hand,
normally maintain friendly social contact with the local inhabitants.
They are often invited for drinks during feasts and weddings,
and quite a number marry local girls. The Maltese police thus play

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[1] The government has distributed surplus U.S. agricultural products to different groups of needy people since 1956. This food was first secured through the Co-operative for American Relief to Everywhere, Inc. (C.A.R.E., Inc.) and more recently through the Catholic Relief Services of America. The Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare, not the police, selects the beneficiaries.

557 Most of the procuratorships and offices in the associations connected
793 with the Church are conferred upon members of the circle of persons
794 who figuratively, and often physically, surround the parish priest. They become his favourites by doing some of the hundred and one odd jobs for which he depends on volunteers. These include running messages, carrying chairs, arranging meetings and decorating the streets for feasts and other important occasions, such as the visit of the Archbishop. Acceptance into the circle and the rewards meted out vary, of course, according to the capabilities of the individuals concerned, and the character of the parish priest. Advancement is most rapid and the rewards most interesting where the parish priest is open to influence, and the job-seeker has the qualities of leadership discussed below. But people are loath to see their parish priest delegate too much of his authority to their fellows. Those who pursue power in the community by attaching themselves to the parish priest often incur a good measure of hostility. Most frequently they are accused by the village gossips of lining their pockets with their neighbour's money.

794 The most important member of the circle surrounding the
[796] parish priest in Kortin is old Manwel, a retired school teacher. As procurator of the Confraternity of our Lady of Sorrows, he collects funds for and organizes the elaborate Good Friday procession. This is an event which attracts visitors from all over the island. He is also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Joseph, the village cemetery and the Mass legacies of the parish. He is one of the founders and a former vice-president and secretary of the Social Club, and a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.
[575] Though no longer in the Band Club, he was once on its committee. For many years he was also on the committee which organized the annual festa. All these offices give him a greater voice in the administration of the parish and its ceremonial affairs than anyone except the parish priest.

IV

575 The officers of the secular associations in a village generally enjoy
[554] high standing and wield considerable influence. The secular associations, though they vary, generally include a men's social club (usually a brass band club), a political party committee or

575 The important officers of a band club are among the most
influential people in the community, and are usually chosen from
the village's leading citizens. The president is the figurehead of
[574] the club. He greets distinguished visitors and handles many of the
ceremonial and business relations the club has with other groups
within and outside the community. He also presides over committee
meetings and over the annual election of new officers. The
day-to-day running of the club is in the hands of the secretary,
who is registered with the police as the club's official representative.
Much of the success of the club depends upon his ability to
run its social activities and administrative affairs. Other important
committee members are the vice-president, the treasurer and the
bandmaster. The latter is very often an outsider who comes to the
village only for the weekly rehearsal of the band.

575 Though the formal authority of the committee members
554 extends over the members of the association only while they are
in the club, their position in the club occasionally gives them a
voice in decisions which affect the entire community. This, in
turn, gives them a measure of authority over persons who are
not members of the club.

But not all villages have band clubs. The small villages of
575 Gharghur, Dingli and Safi have not been able to afford the luxury
184 of their own bands; though each has a social club that performs
much the same function as a social and civic centre. A few villages,
such as Kortin, have both social clubs and band clubs. But there
are neither band clubs nor social clubs in the Maltese villages of
[517] Marsaskala, Marsaxlokk and Mġarr. In Gozo, only Rabat,
Xewkija and Xaghra have band clubs. All the villages without
clubs are fishing or agricultural communities. This may be because
the men of these villages do not dispose of the leisure time in the
evening necessary for a club to be a success: the farmers are too
tired, and the fishermen are off tending their nets.

575 There are also political and football clubs in most Maltese
villages. In Gozo there are a few football clubs, but no political
665 clubs. These clubs are organized in much the same way as the
[526] band clubs, and corresponding office holders have similar functions
and authority over their members. These offices, however,
[554] confer much less prestige. The football clubs, in particular, play
only a small part in village affairs. The Malta Labour Party, as
has already been noted, is the only political party which has clubs

156 talked about' (*Miskin min jiġi f'ilsien in-nies*). This is especially
true for those persons whose social position does not permit them
577 to remain outside the circle in which criticism and gossip circulates.
For these the esteem of neighbours is more important than office.

156 Social status is the fourth quality of leadership mentioned. High
status is a desirable and, in some cases, necessary quality for the
● 554 holders of certain offices. The president of a band club is required
575 to act as its ambassador and to handle its external relations; a
person with high status is an obvious asset. He can meet visiting dignitaries and perform the required speech making without embarrassment to the club. Thus the president and vice-president of the clubs have often been invited to fill those offices because of their high status. Some clubs create the office of honorary patron for benefactors who are willing to lend their names – and status – to the clubs, although they take no part or interest in their actual running.

High social position is also an asset to the office of treasurer; for at some time or another he is almost sure to be accused by the village gossips of putting his hand into the purse. Considerable social distance between him and his critics renders him less vulnerable to their comments. It also makes potential critics less vocal. People are often willing to concede integrity to their superiors which they deny to their equals.

The secretary of the club does not need high status to carry out his work successfully, although it is certainly an asset. But he must have at least one of the attributes of high status, namely education; for as administrator of the club he is required to do a great deal of paper work. On the other hand, occupying one of the important offices in itself confers prestige upon a person. Thus the secretary is accorded a higher social status that he would have if he did not occupy that position, assuming for a moment that he had no other attributes which would confer status upon him.

156 Two important attributes of status are education and occupation.
Education is the key that unlocks the world of the printed
463 word and frees people from dependence on patrons willing to
554 interpret it. Education also leads to better employment opportunities.
871 Since entrance to the civil service, the professions and
many commercial concerns is by competitive examination, the Maltese attach great importance to formal education.

There is considerable difference in the social status ascribed to 156
various jobs. Non-manual occupations have the highest status,
manual occupations the lowest. The professionals – the priest, 463
doctor, lawyer, chemist or teacher – are at the top; while the 554
farmers are at the bottom. In many respects a government clerical
officer is also at the other end of the scale from the farmer. The
civil servant has a steady, relatively easy job with a good cash
income and comfortable pension at the end. He also has ready
access to influential persons in the government. His is a life of
security and relative independence. The farmer, on the other
hand, has been looked down on for centuries. He represents the
traditional life of dependence: dependence upon the weather, the
market, the *pitkal*, or middleman, for cash advances, the letter-writer
and the patron through whom established authority has to
be contacted. Education and wage labour have presented the [178]
farmer with a means of escape from that dependence and the
exhausting labour in his rocky fields. Where he has had the opportunity, [871]
he has been quick to turn his back on the traditional [241]
occupation of his forefathers.

Wealth is another determinant of status. This is generally 156
related to occupation. There has always been a considerable 463
difference between the standard of living of the professionals and
that of the average countryman. But until the past war, there was 511
relatively little difference in the standard of living of most 554
villagers. True, the more affluent lived in the large houses on the 556
main square, and the poorer people lived in the alleys and streets
remote from the square. Most people ate similar food, dressed
alike and furnished their houses in the same way. But the increase
in the level of wages, which followed the war, has changed that
pattern. New houses, cars, fridges and transistor radios have
become a tangible index of success and status. People are now
being graded according to the number of these symbols they
own.

Education, occupation and wealth are thus the chief criteria by 156
which social position is differentiated. A person who has all these 554
attributes has high status. But a person with high status is not
necessarily a leader; for he may not possess the innate qualities [577]
required of a successful leader – courage, responsibility and willingness
to work. Where a person has both high status and
possesses these qualities – as well as ambition – he will undoubtedly

156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
156 meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xih żomm fih*). But
561 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where
schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to
their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard.
The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is
wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leadership
in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish
registers support the memories of the present generation of elders
that this has not always been the case.

Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
156 their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
[575] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it convenient
for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
[693] continue to practise in their native villages. But when they continue
to reside in their villages, even though their social life and
many of their business interests are oriented away from the community,
they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge
their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted
into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have
gone successfully into politics.

Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
156 citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday procession.
693 Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter
of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football
and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he
has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a
successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
759 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

Partly because of the temporary nature of their assignments, but also because they are usually city-bred, they generally keep themselves aloof from the people amongst whom they work. With but few exceptions, they take little or no part in the social life of the communities to which they are assigned. But they are nevertheless respected figures. Where they are tolerant of village customs, not too mercenary, and take a patronal interest in the personal problems of their clients, they will have, in addition to prestige, a large personal following. This has enabled a number of former District Medical Officers to stand successfully for elected office. 554 759

School teachers are another group of people with high prestige. Every village and almost every hamlet in Malta and Gozo now has a government school. Headmasters usually live outside the villages in which they work. They begin their careers in the small rural villages and move into the larger and more important schools as they gain experience and seniority. They are rarely in a village long enough to be asked to take part in its social life. Village-born teachers, on the other hand, normally teach in their home villages, where they often occupy important offices in the associations. But even where he no longer resides in his place of birth the teacher or headmaster, as a village son with high prestige, is often asked to take an active part in its social life. The president of the St. Roque Band Club in Farrug, for example, is headmaster of the primary school in a neighbouring village, where he has lived since he married there more than forty years ago. He has been a member of the club's committee for most of that time, and its president for the last twenty years. Until two years ago he was also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Roque. 554 875 554 575 875 [794]

VI

The structure of authority in the villages of Malta and Gozo, because of the importance of offices and associations which are either focused on or articulated with the Church, bears a certain superficial resemblance to the civil/religious hierarchy which has been described in Mexican villages.[1] But it differs significantly; it is neither a hierarchy, nor is it formally related to the structure of government. 621 795

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[1] See, for instance, Fernando Camara, 'Religious and Political Oganization', in *Heritage of Conquest*, Sol Tax, ed. (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), *passim*. [113]

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621 625 793 of government. While the parish priest in Malta is the official village representative of the Church and has authority to act for it on most matters, the police represent only the law enforcement function of government; all other functions and services of government are administered from Valletta. In this respect the villages of Malta are unique.

463 ● 554 On the other hand, there is a relation between social status and the functional requirements of the authority system. In any given community, the people with the highest status usually fill the most important offices, since such offices require the standing, skills and contacts which they possess. There is thus a rough grading of office holders in terms of their social status and the authority and prestige attached to their offices. 463 554 555 Upward mobility through this structure is usually dependent upon factors such as education and occupation rather than on having held other, and less important, offices. Once a person has become the president of his local band club, in other words has attained the highest secular office in the village, and has a social status which commands respect outside, he may be elected to political office.

contributions would be used for the general needs of the church. 79
The festa committee was dismissed.

The following year he ran the festa himself. It was quite a 79
success, although there was some grumbling that there was not 578
the same spirit in the festa as before. But following the festa the year after that, the grumblers became more vocal and began to take action. Their main criticism was that without the committee to whip up enthusiasm for the festa, the village was becoming apathetic about its celebration. Moreover, with no committee there was no one to paint and care for the festa furnishings – which they considered to be the finest in Malta, if not the world – and
they would soon be spoiled. Consequently, a few days after the 79
festa, the ringleaders gathered in the football club and formed a 575
committee with Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, as
chairman. Sur Ġorġ,[1] a wealthy middle-aged bachelor, is the last 578
descendant in the village of a family which has played a leading role in the community for almost a century. The committee was composed of members of the band club, the social club and the football club. Representatives then went to Dun Bert and told him that many people wished to have the old festa committee restored, with the power of raising funds. They also suggested that this committee should control the collection of threepence a week. Dun Bert replied that while he was not opposed in principle to the idea of such a committee, he would have to consider it. In any event, he could not approve of their financial proposals. When the spokesman told him that a committee was already in existence and working for the good of the village, he became somewhat alarmed. The following Sunday he defended his position before the village from the altar, citing relevant portions of Canon Law and describing the parish's financial situation.

Sur Ġorġ's group then distributed leaflets to each house asking for a vote of confidence. This divided the village into two factions, for there were many who would not consider going against the wishes of their spiritual shepherd, no matter what their views on the festa were. Dun Bert eventually agreed to the formation of a parish council, to comprise two representatives from

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[1] The title *sur* (from *sinjur*, sir, gentleman) is a mark of respect bestowed by villagers [576]
upon all educated outsiders who have no other title. It also marks social distance. Very [554]
few persons are addressed this way by their fellow villagers. Sur Gorġ, though born in Kortin, was addressed this way because of his high social status and university education.

578 621 79 hold. This is the accepted pattern of behaviour, not only in villages divided by festa partiti, but also in others which have disputes with the Church. But it is only in the villages with festa partiti that these disputes, and the related anti-clerical action, take place on a regularly recurring basis. In these villages, though people are devout in observing many details of their religion, constant opposition to the parish priest in matters connected with festas has led them to look upon a measure of anti-clericalism as part of their way of life.

578 621 554 793 The relative lack of respect for the clergy in these villages has been partly responsible for a rather high turnover of parish priests. It has been shown how uncomfortable festa partiti can make the life of a parish priest. This, plus the meagre living in the smaller parishes, prompts priests to look for openings in wealthier and less troublesome villages. The Church itself regards the small rural parishes as training or 'stepping-stone parishes', as a monsignor from the Curia once described them to me. But even as such, they are unpopular, and the Archbishop often has difficulty finding priests willing to take charge of them. Farruġ, for example, has had six parish priests since 1953. The lack of continuity of Church leadership in these small, divided villages has tended to weaken its influence there and to foster a lack of respect for its authority.

578 621 665 795 [626] In this social climate the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party fits without great difficulty. Labour supporters have already had experience as festa partisans in ignoring the commands of the Church, and in enduring the taunts and disapproval of their rivals in the other partit. For them anti-clericalism is nothing new, and they are thus not as vulnerable to public opinion and the sanctions of the Church as persons in villages which do not have this tradition of opposition to the Church.

But if there is a certain similarity between the anti-clerical behaviour of many festa enthusiasts and that of MLP supporters, most persons make a distinction between the two. The anti-clerical actions of the festa partiti are usually directed against particular clerics in connection with specific decisions. In contrast, the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party is directed at the Archbishop in particular and often at all priests in general. This difference stems from the fact that basically their challenge to the authority of the Church differs significantly. Where the festa partisan does

forwarding the requests and complaints of the villagers to govern- 647
ment had greatly increased their strength, and that of the party 662
they represented. As the members operated as a formal com-
mittee and not as individuals, they had the esteem and respect of 665
most of the community. They also had considerable power in
local affairs. In fact, for three years the leaders of the Labour [554]
group in the village ranked alongside the parish priest and the
professionals as the most prominent and influential citizens of the
village. The canvassers of the rival parties had perhaps had power,
but they had never had respect. Theirs was always rather an
underhanded operation, that was often disowned by MLA's
when they were confronted with it. The MLP, on the other hand,
delegated responsibility to Local Committees, and the Ministers
legitimized them by openly working through them in all their
relations with the villages. Villagers were also openly encouraged
to work through them. These committees thus served the ends of
the Labour Party most successfully. It is quite likely, therefore,
that in the future other parties will find it politically as well as
administratively expedient to develop and work through village
committees patterned on the model so successfully tested by the
Labour Party.

The party system has come into direct conflict with the tradi- 578
tional relations between patron and client at relatively few points. 647
This is largely because most patrons who desired to were able to 662
move successfully into the new field of party politics. A notable
exception are priests, who are no longer permitted by their 665
Bishops to stand for national political office. Their power to 793
influence authority has thus been weakened by the new source of
patronage and influence open to their parishioners. In particular,
parish priests came into open conflict with the village MLP com-
mittees during the Labour Party's time in power after 1955. Not
surprisingly, their clash at the village level mirrored the dispute
between the Archbishop and the MLP at the national level. That
is, it was a conflict between the religious authority of the Church
and the secular authority of the State, represented in the villages
by the Local Committees of the Labour Party. Both the parish
priest and the Local Committee claimed to represent the village,
and both sought by mobilizing their supporters to advance their
claim at the expense of their opponents. This invariably resulted
in a struggle for power during which the Labour supporters were

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case · XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).
The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can them-
[461] selves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

(ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
407 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
461 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements
464 (Case · XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving the problem of labour shortage.

427 For the contractor himself there is a social as well
554 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far
[221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines and services to builders and others out of the plowing season (Cases · XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing machine which brings in further contracts in the summer (Case XVII).

178 From what has been said it would appear that the large tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese
407 farming, although it may bring considerable profit and
427 advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The
[434] present decline in this type of contracting has been noted. Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to the land in the near future. The small hand rotary cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like going much further along the way to enabling a time/money conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

178 583 183 [554] for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as substantial a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind: land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among the families of the same village and farming background. [182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance (B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts of the Islands have increased and marriages between individuals from different villages and also from differing economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 454 423 471 Another development which has put money into an altogether new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War, and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 654 [426] Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for capital. The Government added to this money consciousness with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest loans for capital improvements of the farms and their equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

175 Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger
458 position than the townsman for he has had the land to which
464 he could return when no other work was available. Thus the
369 degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred
years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level of prosperity in the Islands (Section 2).

178 The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be
241 related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the
464 higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural
pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold
[458] on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in
[554] some future period of major economic recession and
depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than a minor part of the total population. As an economic retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the
[554] problem goes further. The present younger generation in the
farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly. Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of reconciliation.

175 Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese
465 agriculture may be seen from that afore-mentioned index,
the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War, a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is, today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourer:

1826-42	6½d - 8d	(B/556, p.215)
1843-54	8d - 10d	"
1855-56	1s - 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d - 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d - 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s - 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s	(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s - 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s - 25s	(Personal Investigation)

829 157 a policy of long term assurances for agriculture" (B/387, p.39). He claims that the Government "ought" to guarantee his prices, his markets, and "ought" to find the foreign export markets, and provide machinery, subsidies, etc. He also insists, incongruously, that farmers' needs could well be served by a strong and well-organized Union of Farmers and yet, in the next breath, he will reject outright any suggestions that he, individually, might take a prominent part in such a movement. The nature of this attitude emerges clearly from the collection of complaints and comments, made by farmers to Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team (B/387). On the one hand, the farmer demands Government support for farming but, on the other hand, he speaks even of his fellow farmers as "they". Conservative, cautious and usually illiterate, he is quick to speak but slow to act (v.Section 4).

829 The new awareness of horizons outside the village is consequently limited in extent and confined in nature. The farmer's son, however, with his education and emancipation and his ideas of social and economic emulation, has a clearer vision of the illogicality of his father's situation but is not yet sufficiently mentally liberated from the past to see for himself any right course of action.

554 367 [177] (7) As a class, the farmer is low on the social scale. This arises partly from his illiteracy and the features outlined in (6) and is partly also the outcome of a tradition of wealth and education being confined to the cities and towns. Wealth and culture came easily to the urban section of Maltese society and both implied foreign contacts on a large scale. Meanwhile the Maltese farmer toiling in his fields remained cut off socially as well as economically.

178 554 Today this felt inferiority puts him

- (a) in a weak position for bargaining with Government and 'officials' and business men fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education,
- (b) - if young and literate, in the position of being anxious to escape from his lowly class by leaving the village and farming as opportunity presents itself (v. Section 4).

654 178 (8) Official policy has been to assist farming in the Islands by means of a variety of subsidies and guarantees designed to protect the farmer from unfavourable competition and fluctuations in market demand (Sections 2 and 4). The industry has, in the past, received such attention only in time of siege of widespread unemployment. The basic intention today is therefore

[135]
- (a) to enable Malta's only basic industry - agriculture - to develop under protection for it is held that "In an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2).

*159 useless in my district" but Pawlu, who has at all times in
156 his life been conscious of education and a knowledge of
234 things outside his village, is prepared to consider sugges-
232 tions on their merits. This attitude pervades the working of his farm as a unit and has had important repercussions within his family. (v. Section 4).

*159 In spite of his own lack of advanced formal education.
156 Pawlu has in fact an awareness of its importance which is
829 still uncommon in rural Gozo. He is constantly stressing the need for education in its widest sense, both general and technical. He is anxious for his children to be educated to a standard far above his own, while, in the wider scene, he recognizes the importance of education for the farmer and farming. His attitude to the course of lectures for farmers (Section 4) is typical of the man. He observed that "attendances at the lectures have been big because the farmers are interested - they wouldn't go if they were not". The ideas put forward by the experts are weighed by the farmer and, if considered 'good ideas', are discussed at length in the villages or at the It-Tokk market on Sunday mornings. These lecture courses for farmers, and others like them such as the important McClement demonstrations and lectures on dairying technique (Section 4), fail for Pawlu in so far as they do not lead to individual contact between specialist and farmer. No farmer would dream of making comment or criticising 'officialdom' - with which he naturally associates ventures like those of Haesler and McClement[50]. "The Maltese back down much more easily than do the English in their relations with the authorities. In England you might complain to a Government Department and there would be argument for a day but in Malta such a complaint would mean petty victimization for years". The farmer blames "clerical inefficiency" in Valletta for what he considers has been the failure to follow up the McClement or other recommendations but no farmer would seriously consider complaining in person to officialdom. They just argue and become increasingly bitter with their lot.

*
Farming for Pawlu means independence. He complains of the
159 inferior social position which the farmer holds in Maltese
178 society today and observes that the present generation of
829 young people demand the means to enable them to equal the
[554] people of the towns in appearance, leisure and other superficialities. The old farmer with little formal education is not troubled by these notions. His life is the only one he can comprehend - apart from which his daily round leaves
[464] him little time to think. The youngster, on the other hand, is desperate for an eight-hour job with steady income and leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

159 The family has occupied the present house for several
423 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
551 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the
village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
461 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
234 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially
to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
829 his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public
544 lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He
234 thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique
178 interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese
farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which
cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods".
He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to
the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time
and labour thus expended would bring no additional return
to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he
employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and
therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases
some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures)
would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427] All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

000 was taken for granted.

*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
242 on the ground that "it is not used here".

*
159 CASE XII : Čenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

Čenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
●557 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is importent both because of the extra income
[463] which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Čenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation
to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
241 to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
[451] This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
● [554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increa-
sing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Ċensu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 **A. Land.**

427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats;
234 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[407] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 **E. Labour.**

464 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
[465] Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[427] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and
[241] threshing machine each year. Costs of contract
[407] plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

*159 554 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. [871) This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14).

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 871 869 [014] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command [illegible].

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fisher-
361 men live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi.
Socially this residential distribution is important since only
in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
[512] gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economi-
463 cally lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
162 basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
178 the present official financial assistance, is producing
exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger
generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor
the way of life based on it.

If the Church in Malta thus lost its right of granting asylum, 793
its Head acquired at an even earlier stage of the British occupa- 659
tion another right which is carefully preserved to the present 554
day. In 1801 Major-General Pigot, then in charge of the administration and in command of the troops, issued the following Standing Order to the "Garrison of La Valette and its Dependencies":

> His Eminence the Bishop of Malta is to receive from all guards honour due to a Brigadeer [*sic*] General.

When, after the First World War, the rank of Brigadier-General was abolished, the Archbishop of Malta was promoted, from the point of view of military compliments, to be a Major-General; and the guard never fails to turn out to him every day that he crosses the Palace Square.

It is sometimes said that the privilege was granted in recognition of the military services of Bishop Francis Xavier Caruana, who as Canon Caruana played a leading rôle in the rising against the French in 1798–1800. But this story is picturesque rather than probable, seeing that the salute to the Bishop was ordered in 1801 and Canon Caruana did not become Bishop of Malta until thirty years later. Its origin lay no doubt in the wish of the Occupying Power to demonstrate in a public manner its respect for the Church of Malta and its Head.

For the Roman Catholic Church is in Malta by law 795
established; its canon law is, as in Quebec, the law of the 659
land. It follows that contact between Church and State is 796
close, and this contact is not confined, on the part of the representatives of the State, to relations with the hierarchy but is maintained equally with the parish clergy. The link finds its formal and public expression on the 2nd February of each year, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the ceremony of Candlemas, the "Candelora." On the morning of this day all the parish priests, wearing their best cassocks, repair to the Palace in Valetta, and one

their designation with a certain tolerant wisdom. Not so the present young 178 generation in the farming community for whom education and material facilities 241 have presented the chance of escape from a social inferiority complex.

The village was traditionally the community-group in rural Malta. Contact 369 with the towns and Valletta was limited, especially for the villages of the west [628] and in Gozo, until buses, press and rediffusion narrowed the gulf, but it was hardly less than the contacts between the villages themselves. The village was the group for most social interaction. Currently, the trend is towards a Malta-wide community-group in which villages are losing much of their isolation, although there is very little uniformity in this process. Sub-urban villages are clearly absorbing non-rural characteristics much more quickly than is the case in outlying parts of the Islands.

The nucleus of village life is the Church and the first citizen is the Parish 793 Priest. The Priest combined teaching and general advisory duties with his spiritual role (see Chapter VI C). He was also the main link with the world outside the village through his relaying of general news from his pulpit. Normally, land transfers and a wide variety of matters connected with the agricultural cycle were announced by the Priest. The Church was the social meeting place and the basis of institutionalised activity. Even the village *festa*, that single day [796] of wild exuberance, noise, fire-works, procession and carnivalesque has as its pretext a religious observance such as the honouring of the particular Saint of the village or the National Feast of the Shipwreck of St. Paul. In all this, the link between Priest and people was often further cemented by wide kinship connexions within the village. The son of an illiterate farmer might progress [555] through Seminary and University to return to his home village as a priest and to be claimed as a relative by many members of that static and much intermarried community.

Such proximity, together with the very number of the priesthood in any parish made for a familiarity with the personnel of the Church just as confession, fasting, observance of Saints' and other special days, quite apart from the daily Mass, made for close acquaintance with its practice.

It is convenient to use the past tense in the foregoing only because the picture 178 sketched has been modified in recent decades. It is however still the essential basis of communal life, especially in the rural community which, as suggested, holds to traditional custom longer than does the town. The modifications which have appeared are important in this present consideration because they lie behind the current social upheaval in which the individual countryman is being faced with a clash of new against old. If, as seems possible, he leaps to the new so completely as to relinquish the old entirely, then the traditional order of society will disappear along with the agricultural system on which it is based. This is the problem of the farmer in Maltese rural society.

An early non-religious movement was that of the Band Clubs; the first 575 appeared in Rabat in 1860. But even these came to be identified with particular Churches and also with parish rivalries. The Band Club grew to become a major feature of social life in both town and country in Malta, although in Gozo it has had only a limited extension outside Victoria.

The Band Club is essentially a male organisation. Women have never been 562 more than tolerated spectators and, to this extent, the movement reflects the [575] place of women in Maltese society. Emancipation of women has spread into the countryside from the towns but even today women take an undemonstrative part [462] in village activity and their movement outside the home is largely confined to Church-going, shopping and possibly field-work. The modern young woman who has had at least eight years schooling seeks paid employment beyond the house and fields. In rural circles the tendency is still to frown mightily at such a suggestion but it can only be a matter of a few years before what is now accepted in Valletta becomes tolerated in rural Gozo.

Functional diversification has been the keynote of twentieth century village 178 society in the Maltese Islands. There is no evidence to show that there is any challenge to the position of the Parish Priest in matters religious (the situation has been less satisfactory from the point of view of the Church in urban Malta)

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level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advance- 555 ●
ment.

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same 212
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had 369
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same
period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to
17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment oppor- 464
tunities during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 178
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 241
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 433
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the 464

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and [114]
1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing (Valletta, Central
Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable.
Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only
the number of people who never attended school.

621 of government. While the parish priest in Malta is the official
625 village representative of the Church and has authority to act for
793 it on most matters, the police represent only the law enforcement
function of government; all other functions and services of
government are administered from Valletta. In this respect the
villages of Malta are unique.

463 On the other hand, there is a relation between social status and
554 the functional requirements of the authority system. In any given
community, the people with the highest status usually fill the
most important offices, since such offices require the standing,
skills and contacts which they possess. There is thus a rough
grading of office holders in terms of their social status and the
463 authority and prestige attached to their offices. Upward mobility
554 through this structure is usually dependent upon factors such as
555 education and occupation rather than on having held other, and
less important, offices. Once a person has become the president of
his local band club, in other words has attained the highest secular
office in the village, and has a social status which commands
respect outside, he may be elected to political office.

Children begin to express partit affiliation when they are between 621
twelve and fourteen years old. At this age they are old 794
enough to follow the processions and take part in the demonstrations 883
on their own. Fund raisers make demands on them, and they
are asked to help decorate the streets. At this age they also begin [533]
to play in the band. A youngster would jeopardize his social
standing with his elders and with his age mates if he failed to take [882]
a firm position with regard to one of the saints. This would
remove him from much of the community's social life. Consequently,
by the time a village boy has reached fifteen, he has
usually selected his partit, thus accepting and becoming part of the
fabric of partit rivalry which will hold him until he dies or leaves
the village.

There is some relation between occupational class and partit 463
affiliation: in general, the supporters of titular saints belong to a 621
higher occupational class than their rivals. The reason for this will
be discussed a little later. The data I gathered in Farruġ illustrate
this correlation clearly. As shown in Table No. 6 below, 83 per
cent of the village's professional and white-collar workers belong
to the St. Martin partit, while only 38 per cent of those engaged
in agriculture do so.

TABLE 6. Farruġ: Partit Affiliation and Occupational Class

OCCUPATION			PARTIT AFFILIATION	
	Number	*Percentage of Lab. Force*	*St. Martin*	*St. Roque*
Professional and clerical	12	4	83%	17%
Service and skilled	115	39	55	45
Semi- and unskilled	124	42	48	52
Agricultural	45	15	38	62
Total	296	100		

So much for the origin and social composition of the partiti. I 361
may just observe here that festa partiti are not usually based on 621
territorial divisions. Since upward mobility does not involve [555]
change of partit, but is often accompanied by a change of residence,
all residential areas are mixed. Nonetheless, there is a tendency
for supporters of the titular partiti to live in the better
residential area near the church, and for their rivals to live in the
poorer sections more remote from the central square. This is a
reflection of the differing occupational class of the members. This

880 leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

Pawlu admits nevertheless that much of the inferior condition of the farmer derives from his inability to unite with other farmers (Section 4). Illiteracy, ignorance and suspicion are the major causes of his fear. Only a few farmers are members of either of the two opposing Unions of Farmers while the situation regarding co-operatives is equally unpromising. Pawlu himself became one of the organizers of a special 'Tractor Co-Operative', initiated by C.A.R.E. at the end of 1958 (Section 2) for a group of farmers in his home village. The members paid £2 each on joining the co-operative and were thereafter able to hire one of the two tractors donated by C.A.R.E. at only 10/- per hour instead of the commercial 17s. The fact that Pawlu himself was among the organizers of such a novel venture reflects his progressive outlook, and his standing in the village.

*159 Politics interest Pawlu, to a more than average degree
156 His concern is based on an informed intelligence. A
829 supporter of the Labour Party, he considers the Nationalists
as holding the masses in contempt and he points to their emphasis on the Italian language and the non-Maltese culture which it represented as evidence. He reads the local Maltese-language press but is sufficiently independent of mind to have cancelled his subscription to the 'Lehen is-Sewwa' (B/65) at the time of the 'Integration' referendum on the grounds that neither the Church nor the Paper would publish an 'official' statement on the attitude of the Church. Yet his religious devotion is without question and he has a respected place in Church and village life.

*159 The Family. Pawlu lives with his wife and six of his child-
156 ren. His eldest son and daughter are both working as
829 teachers in Malta. Another daughter has emigrated.
593 Pawlu's wife speaks only Maltese and had as little
●[555] formal education as her husband, but she has at all times
nothing but encouragement for her family in their education.
[167] In this case there is not the usual gulf in outlook between
parents and children on account of the education of the latter - for the parents fully realize the need. Pawlu's wife used to work in the fields when young but now spends
[462] her time in the house. Certain jobs remain her special
concern however, notably cheese-making, care of lambs and chicks and egg-collection.

*159 The eldest son, now working as a teacher, is one of the
156 young 'intellectuals' who are currently making an appear-
[178] ance in Gozo. The ties of family and respect between him
593 and his father are strong but he is out of touch with the
[875]

There is considerable difference in the social status ascribed to 156
various jobs. Non-manual occupations have the highest status,
manual occupations the lowest. The professionals – the priest, 463
doctor, lawyer, chemist or teacher – are at the top; while the 554
farmers are at the bottom. In many respects a government clerical
officer is also at the other end of the scale from the farmer. The
civil servant has a steady, relatively easy job with a good cash
income and comfortable pension at the end. He also has ready
access to influential persons in the government. His is a life of
security and relative independence. The farmer, on the other
hand, has been looked down on for centuries. He represents the
traditional life of dependence: dependence upon the weather, the
market, the *pitkal*, or middleman, for cash advances, the letter-writer
and the patron through whom established authority has to
be contacted. Education and wage labour have presented the [178]
farmer with a means of escape from that dependence and the
exhausting labour in his rocky fields. Where he has had the opportunity, [871]
he has been quick to turn his back on the traditional [241]
occupation of his forefathers.

Wealth is another determinant of status. This is generally 156
related to occupation. There has always been a considerable 463
difference between the standard of living of the professionals and
that of the average countryman. But until the past war, there was 511
relatively little difference in the standard of living of most 554
villagers. True, the more affluent lived in the large houses on the 556
main square, and the poorer people lived in the alleys and streets
remote from the square. Most people ate similar food, dressed
alike and furnished their houses in the same way. But the increase
in the level of wages, which followed the war, has changed that
pattern. New houses, cars, fridges and transistor radios have
become a tangible index of success and status. People are now
being graded according to the number of these symbols they
own.

Education, occupation and wealth are thus the chief criteria by 156
which social position is differentiated. A person who has all these 554
attributes has high status. But a person with high status is not
necessarily a leader; for he may not possess the innate qualities [577]
required of a successful leader – courage, responsibility and willingness
to work. Where a person has both high status and
possesses these qualities – as well as ambition – he will undoubtedly

602 persons with political or economic influence. Once a kin relationship is made known, it establishes a special tie between the two parties, and preferential treatment often follows; for kin are expected to help each other.

608 The ties of kinship can also be extended artificially by asking non-kin to become godparents or marriage witnesses. Although parents normally choose persons to fill these offices from among their parents, uncles and aunts, thus reinforcing already existing kin ties, they quite often ask influential non-kin to perform this function. While the obligations created by godparenthood in [601] Malta, as in Italy, are not as demanding as they are in Spain, and [171] Spanish America,[1] the godparent (*parrinu*) is expected to favour his godchild (*filjozz*), if not the child's father.[2] Thus the institution of godparenthood plays a part in the system of patronage. Influential persons, however, are more often asked to become marriage witnesses. This relationship is not enduring. When [557] influential non-kin are asked to fill this office it is done as much to increase the prestige of the families of the couple getting married as it is to honour a patron.

602 There is constant informal contact between relatives living in the same village. These informal meetings strengthen kin ties and ensure that people have a wide knowledge of their kin. Thus a friend in Farrug was able to name 49 households in the village (20 per cent of the total) whose members were descended from his father's six siblings. Although the spread of this old man's family was unusual, no one in the village did not have some relatives living there. The many cross-cutting bonds of kinship [621] thus reinforce the multiplex ties created by neighbourhood, common culture and shared devotion to common symbols, and bind together the inhabitants of a village into the tightly united community which outsiders see.

[1] See Gallatin Anderson, *A Survey of Italian God-parenthood* (The Kroeber Anthropo- [113] logical Society Papers, No. 15; Berkeley, 1956), J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954), pp. 107 f.; and Sidney W. Mintz and Eric R. Wolf, 'An Analysis of Ritual Co-parenthood (Compadrazgo),' *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI (1950), 341–68.

[2] The reciprocal term *xbin* is used between a godparent and the father of his godchild. Friends and even strangers often use it to address one another; it is a way of reducing social distance and making possible a more intimate association. Michael Kenny in his book, *A Spanish Tapestry* (London, Cohen and West, 1961), p. 72, notes that this is also an Andalusian custom.

● 557 Most of the procuratorships and offices in the associations con-
793 nected with the Church are conferred upon members of the circle
794 of persons who figuratively, and often physically, surround the
parish priest. They become his favourites by doing some of the hundred and one odd jobs for which he depends on volunteers. These include running messages, carrying chairs, arranging meetings and decorating the streets for feasts and other important occasions, such as the visit of the Archbishop. Acceptance into the circle and the rewards meted out vary, of course, according to the capabilities of the individuals concerned, and the character of the parish priest. Advancement is most rapid and the rewards most interesting where the parish priest is open to influence, and the job-seeker has the qualities of leadership discussed below. But people are loath to see their parish priest delegate too much of his authority to their fellows. Those who pursue power in the community by attaching themselves to the parish priest often incur a good measure of hostility. Most frequently they are accused by the village gossips of lining their pockets with their neighbour's money.

794 The most important member of the circle surrounding the
[796] parish priest in Kortin is old Manwel, a retired school teacher. As
procurator of the Confraternity of our Lady of Sorrows, he collects funds for and organizes the elaborate Good Friday procession. This is an event which attracts visitors from all over the island. He is also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Joseph, the village cemetery and the Mass legacies of the parish. He is one of the founders and a former vice-president and secretary of the Social Club, and a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.
[575] Though no longer in the Band Club, he was once on its committee. For many years he was also on the committee which organized the annual festa. All these offices give him a greater voice in the administration of the parish and its ceremonial affairs than anyone except the parish priest.

IV

575 The officers of the secular associations in a village generally enjoy
[554] high standing and wield considerable influence. The secular
associations, though they vary, generally include a men's social club (usually a brass band club), a political party committee or

CHAPTER VIII

The Village and the Outside World

● 557 Every Maltese is at the centre of a large network of kin relations.
Thus, when the need arises, many people are able to move along
602. the intricate channels of consanguinity and affinity to establish
personal contact with influential persons. It has also been noted
that this network of kin can be extended artificially. Important
persons, such as politicians, police officers, high civil servants and
professionals are often invited to become godparents, marriage
witnesses and confirmation sponsors. These relationships are constantly manipulated to bring individuals in touch with decision
makers. This gives a personal content to many official decisions.
Since most people honour the obligations of kinship, friendship
and neighbourhood, requests which appeal to these values stand
a good chance of a favourable reply. But a large network of kins-
557 men can also be a liability to a civil servant, for the favourable
602 treatment he is expected to give a kinsman often conflicts with
647. the civil service ethic of impartiality. This can place persons in
authority in awkward positions, since the refusal of a request may
seriously affect either their personal relations or their professional
integrity. Maltese civil servants thus work under pressure which is
quite unfamiliar to their counterparts in larger, less intimately
related societies.

II

171. Another method of handling contacts with authority is through
influential patrons. By 'patron' I mean a person who uses his
557 influence to assist and protect some other person, who then
771. becomes his 'client'. In a Catholic society there is a strong ideo-
776 logical basis for a system of patronage, for there is great similarity
between the function of saints and mortal patrons. Michael
Kenny points to this correspondence in his study of patronage in
Spain[1] and, in general terms, his analysis is equally applicable to

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[1] 'Patterns of Patronage in Spain', *Anthropological Quarterly*, XXXIII (January 1960), pp. 14-23.

Malta. He sees the patronage system in Spain as a pyramidal 171
structure incorporating both the natural and the spiritual worlds. 557 ●
At the top is God, the supreme patron who is not dependent upon
anyone. At the base are the persons who have no clients. Between 771
these lowly clients and God there are many different ranks of 776
patrons, each of whom has his own small pyramid of clients.
They, in turn, are clients dependent upon other higher and more
influential persons. The patrons of each rank form a group which
asks favours from one another on behalf of their clients.

The intermediaries between man and God are the saints, who
are closer to God than man is. A person who seeks to influence the 557
decision of a higher authority similarly looks for a person who,
by virtue of his kin relation or social position, is closer to the
decision maker than he. In view of the functional similarity of [192]
saints to living patrons, it should not come as a surprise that the
word for patron in Maltese is 'saint' (*qaddis*; plural *qaddisin*).
Several proverbs underline the important role that patrons play in [539]
Maltese social life. Here are two: 'Without saints you can't get to
heaven' (*Minghajr qaddisin ma titlax il-ġenna*); and 'You can do
nothing without saints' (*Minghajr qaddisin ma taghmel xejn*).
Another points to the fact that any patron-client relationship is
not without obligation, even danger, for the client: 'He who
fattens you will kill you' (*Min semmnek joqtlok*).

Who are these 'saints', these men of influence? For the most part they are people who have already been encountered, albeit in a slightly different capacity. They are the professionals, the civil servants and, in general, the wealthy and powerful. They are persons, respected for their education and social standing in the world outside the village, who can deal as equals with other important people and decision-makers, many of whom are their relatives and former classmates. Their patronage is sought by individuals and groups alike. They are often asked to become godparents, and they are called on to handle the ceremonial, business and political relations of clubs. They are also called on to help secure employment, building permits, hawkers licences or a long-delayed hearing at the law courts. Generally speaking, villagers choose patrons from the circle of influential people with whom they have the closest contact: the local professionals, the parish
priest and clergy, the important landlords, all of whom command [602]
respect outside the village. Some clients are related to their

557 602 patrons; others have established fairly close contact with them through business relations.

The patronage of the parish priest has traditionally been im-
557 793 portant. Not only are all villagers his spiritual clients, but he is also a source of charity and assistance in many fields. He serves his parishioners individually in the capacity of legal adviser, character reference and often also as letter-writer and banker. He frequently argues their claims against the government. He also represents the interests of the community at large, and attempts, often successfully, to obtain improved public amenities such as new roads, street lighting and so on. At least, this is the role that he occupied until the introduction of representative government.

III

557 662 Influence through the networks of personal relations and patrons is the traditional method of handling contacts with authority. It still operates when representative government is in abeyance. But the advent of elected government introduced a new set of relations, and provided a new focus of power. Political parties and professional politicians provided new and surer channels of influence and sources of patronage, though they have not replaced the old ones. The villager now uses both old and new channels, separately or together.

662 665 The organization of all parties, at least before Mintoff reorganized the Labour Party, was rather simple. Party interests were represented in the villages by personal canvassers or party agents, as well as by the candidates themselves. The old Labour Party under Paul Boffa had a number of village party committees. When the party was returned to power, patronage and influence flowed abundantly, and brought the whole structure into vigorous life. The canvassers became important people who could pass along requests and schedule appointments with the local MLA's and even the Ministers. They also helped the local MLA's prepare [464 653] the lists of people who were to be given jobs, for until 1955 most of the lower-grade industrial labourers with the Public Works Department were employed upon the recommendation of the local MLA's. Politicians who held office before 1955 often told me that making out the employment rosters and dealing with the daily queue of job-seekers were among their most difficult and

1962 elections, three-fourths are members of the professional 463
classes. The remainder are persons who, for the most part, have 665
risen to positions of influence through party and trade union hierarchies.

TABLE 8. Occupation of Candidates Elected to the 1962 Malta Legislative Assembly [162]

OCCUPATION	POLITICAL PARTY				
	Nationalist	*Labour*	*Other*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Professional	24	9	5	38	76
Administrative	1	4	2	7	14
Skilled Labour	—	3	2	5	10
Total	25	16	9	50	100

The way a political candidate recruits a following depends upon 666
his status and party. All candidates recruit support through their relatives and friends; and all usually have a following in their own villages outside this circle of relatives. To get this, they must usually be successful politicians at the village level. It is for this reason that so many politicians are also presidents of local band and social clubs, and even of some of the lay apostolate societies. Next, every candidate must establish contact with the people in his electoral district outside the village. Since there are usually at least five candidates from each party standing in every district, each normally concentrates his campaign on one part of the district. He does this by making frequent rounds of all the band and social clubs and important wine shops in his territory. There he listens to complaints and requests and, in general, tries to establish a reputation as a generous and approachable person without committing himself to do specific favours. But above all, it is important for him to meet many people, for the Maltese voter does not like to give his first vote to a person he, or at least some member of his immediate family, does not know personally. Finally, all candidates tour their districts just before the election and make speeches.

Candidates who are doctors, lawyers, notaries, architects and 557
so on, have a decided advantage. As professionals, they already 662
have close personal contact with a large number of clients, many 666
of whom are bound to them by debts, or obligated to them for help and favours. These obligations are important, for the Maltese villager does not like to receive something for nothing, and he

557 662 666 does not rest easily until he has repaid it. This is as true of corporate groups such as the band clubs as it is of individuals Frequently the financial circumstances of the client, or the very nature of the favour, make it difficult or impossible for him to meet his obligation. His vote, and those of his family, provide the logical and accepted means to this end. This extends the relationship between patron and client to include that between politician and constituent.

66 Candidates who do not have the professional qualifications or high status necessary to recruit a following in this way are at a disadvantage. This is especially true for many of the Labour Party candidates, whose education and social standing at times compare unfavourably with those of their rivals. It was principally to overcome this handicap that the Labour Party sought to strengthen the party at the expense of individual candidates. It did this by limiting the system of political patronage which prevailed under previous governments and curbing the influence of the canvassers. In fact, the MLP officially forbade its candidates to employ canvassers. (Though, of course, many candidates have informal canvassers in their friends, relatives and clients.) At the same time, the party directed its propaganda at building up the image of the party and its leader. Labour supporters were constantly urged to vote for the party and not for individuals. By and large its campaign has been most successful. Its sympathizers not only vote for candidates who do not conform to the traditional image of the professional patron-politician, but they also vote across class lines, i.e. the teacher voting for an ex-dockyard fitter.

578 621 665 666 All candidates have to take into account the parochial rivalries which often cut across their districts. This is particularly true of the rivalry between the festa partiti. It has been noted that there is often a political polarity between festa partiti in the same village, and that sometimes the rivalry is so strong that partisans vote against a political party simply because a leading member of the rival partit is a candidate for it. But the number of people who place loyalty to their festa partit before support of a political party is declining. Nonetheless, if parochial rivalry no longer determines which party will get the votes, it very often decides which of the candidates within the party will. Many people have assured me that it is almost unheard of for a member of a festa partit to vote for a member of the rival partit, even though both support the

'belonging', and to a certain extent has created for them a community 665
of their own. These persons often make up the hard core
of Labour supporters in their villages, since they have nothing to
lose by openly fighting the Church.

A number of sociological explanations can be advanced to 463
account for the support professionals, white-collar workers and 467
farmers give to the Church. First of all, professionals generally lose
status in the eyes of their colleagues, if not the wider society, if 665
they join the Labour Party or sympathize with it. It is a working-class [558]
party, and they are professionals. There are a number of
notable exceptions to this, but the only professionals that I met
who sympathized with the MLP were either candidates for office
with it or members of the Executive. The political ideology of
their colleagues and the expectations of their clients combine to
make them look upon the Labour Party as the antithesis of everything
they have been brought up to believe in. They, through
their offices in parish associations and through their work as
doctors, lawyers, high civil servants, and so on, form part of the
establishment to which the Labour Party is opposed.

Much the same reasoning can be applied to the white-collar
workers. As teachers, clerks and other intermediate grade civil
servants they hold a relatively high position in the social hierarchy
of their villages. Many are anxious to identify themselves
with their social superiors, those in control of the village as well
as their employers, and thus look down upon the MLP as opposed
to their interests. Moreover most of them have been educated at
colleges run by the Church. There their teachers gave them additional [873]
religious instruction and strengthened those values which [794]
make the anti-clerical tone of the Labour Party repugnant to them.

Farmers, on the other hand, are looked down upon by many
and are regarded as underprivileged by all. Why is it then that
they do not support the Labour Party? Farmers in most communities
are very conservative, and those in Malta are no exception.
Their solitary occupation isolates them from the Labour Party
ideology which is so freely discussed among the industrial
workers of Malta. Not only that, but as we have seen, they are
among the most poorly educated section of the community.
Many are unable to read the propaganda which the MLP disseminates [212]
through its publications. This isolation from the secular
and materialistic ideologies which enter the country through the

178 but there has been a delegation of his traditional secondary functions. The spread of Government primary education, for example, has produced a literate younger generation able to write - and think - for itself; rediffusion, cinemas, and television have made their presence felt; the Maltese-language press has grown in volume and scope; letters and visits from emigrated Maltese widen horizons rapidly; cheap bus transport puts most of the Malta within easy reach; health and social services have brought improvements; C.A.R.E. (2) and other relief supplies have brought a new external influence; the changing pattern of work with the new limited working day is giving the time for the novel activities made possible by cultural and material advancement. The last 50 years have seen the appearance and spread of the lay religious movements (see Chapter VI C) which have attempted to relieve the Priest of some of the work with which he had
[575] previously been able to contend unaided. The Society of Christian Doctrine (M.U.S.E.U.M.), founded in 1909, was the first of these but larger and more comprehensive is Catholic Action whose four groups for men, women, young men, and young women have been established throughout the Islands to provide the modern Maltese parallel to the Village Institute, Youth Club and Church Fellowship of other countries.

178 241 654 The rural family was traditionally the economic unit within the village. A century ago, farming in Malta implied the self-sufficiency of the true subsistence peasant rather than the crop- and milk-selling producer of today. The food for the family came very largely from the fields worked by its members, milk from their own goats or sheep and clothing from home-produced cotton and wool.

Money and matters financial now occupy a major part of the thoughts of the Maltese farmer - even of the older generation, illiterate and cut off from more cultural developments. Barter as a means of exchange is breathing its last. Perhaps more than anything else did the 1939-45 war mark the change. During the years of siege and shortage the farmer was able to get prices for produce out of all proportion to anything before or since. With the return of conditions to normal after the war this Golden Age of Maltese farming collapsed but the farmer went on somehow expecting to make the same profits in peace as he had in war. The fact that he has not been able to do this, even with recent Government protective farming programmes of subsidies, guaranteed prices and other artificial inducements, has increased the bitterness which the farmer has come to feel for his lot. For its part, the Government has tried to keep the farming community as contented as possible and at the same time has embarked on attempts at dairy and general farming reforms of methods, varieties, marketing, etc., in an attempt to stop the retreat from the land and from the way of life based on it. The produce of the soil is, after all, Malta's only major locally-based industry. This has seemed to prove to the farmer that *'Gvern'* ought to do all that it has done for the farmer, and a lot more. The Government's recent policy has been to educate the farmer to accept the new ideas and novel methods and techniques and it has attempted to do this through lectures to farmers, programmes on rediffusion, and pamphlets - along with the inducements of subsidies and guarantees. But the limited success of this programme has emphasised the basic problem in farming today which is that the 'Farmer' is now the middle-aged or old man, whose lack of education and experience outside the community of his village makes it most unlikely that he will accept information and advice from those who are patently not *Maltese* farmers and lack the lifetime's association with the alleged idiosyncracies of the Maltese environment.

178 464 241 561 The younger generation, which has benefited from a thorough primary schooling, might have been the individuals to listen to lectures on farming but, and here is the basic problem, as a group the sons and daughters of farmers are desperate to leave the land and even more concerned to rid themselves of what they see as the social inferiority attached to the calling of their fathers. These young people have in fact been educated to an awareness of new possibilities of economic and social life outside farming and also outside the village community which bred them. So many of the younger generation have in fact managed to make the break with the way of life of their fathers that the average age of the Maltese farmer is now higher than only a few years ago, and is still rising (see Section III Introduction).

178 241 561

In terms of the social pattern of the rural village, this means that there is a very significant distinction to be made between the older generation of farmers proper and the younger generation whose direct attachment to the land and farming is weaker if not already broken. If one turns to a consideration of the way of life and living standards in the village community this gulf is apparent. Most spectacular perhaps are changes in clothing.

178 291

The familiar working garb of the farmer has been the heavy woollen vest, cotton trousers, waistcoat, and cap. Recently, army-surplus shirts, denims, etc., have replaced the locally-made garment, often of home-grown cotton, while the cummerbund is now rare. Sandals are normally worn for walking but not for work. The farmer who works round the clock has never had a 'best suit'. He attends Mass in his working clothes before going to the fields and, on Sundays and holidays, ventures forth as on any other day with the possible addition of a woollen cardigan or more presentable waistcoat. For women, the use of the *faldetta* ribbed hood has declined rapidly in the last 20 years and is now only worn by the older women in the villages and by female members of the M.U.S.E.U.M. movement. The use of black generally by women is declining but most clothes are still made in the home even if from bought material rather than home-produced cotton or wool. The younger generation are not usually content to venture forth dressed in the manner of their parents but insist on making their own appearance as much like that of the average town-dweller among whom they aim to move socially. The white shirt, smart suit, shoes, socks, and well-oiled hair of the young men and the bright dresses, high-heeled shoes, nylons and cosmetics of the village maidens are regarded as the essential uniform of the seeker after the bright lights of Valletta and the towns. The schools have played a part in this with their demands on cleanliness, footwear and dress in the classroom. Occasionally a child goes bare-foot to a village school but no one would think of visiting Valletta shoe-less. The imitation of urban standards of dress is particularly apparent in the sub-urban districts where the farming minority are at pains to 'keep up with the Vellas' in dress - in spite of the expense involved.

178 [262]

Diet in the traditional rural scene depended upon what could be produced by the fields and animals held by any family. The standard soups and stews (such as *minestra* and *brodu*) were consequently largely vegetable. Meat was rarer, fish seasonal and small birds might be added to a stew depending on the results of the hunting or, more correctly, shooting which was and is a popular Sunday and Holiday pastime in the countryside. The diet was rather less 'Italian' than that in Valletta and the towns, with potatoes in place of the various forms of farinaceous paste - spaghetti, macaroni, etc. [272] As in the rest of the Islands before the 1939-45 war, milk was taken fresh from goats and sheep and was not infrequently disease-carrying. Tinned milk is now popular in town and country but consumption of bottled, pasteurised milk is growing. Tea and coffee drinking have to some extent replaced local and home-made wines, especially in the many bars and small cafés which have become the leisure-time resorts of the men of the villages between strolls in the squares and streets. [533] [207] Even here change is evidenced, for the traditional guitar-accompanied *għana* of the Maltese peasant has given way to *Radio e Televisione Italiana* as the basis of café entertainment.

512

This very increase in leisure time is significant. The old farmer is content to spend the greater part of every day with his animals or in the fields for they are in fact his hobby as well as his livelihood. Cinemas and bright lights hold no attraction for him; but the young man insists on recreation as he sees it in the towns. The timetable of the farmer varies according to his type of farming. The herdsmen's life is ruled by the routine of feeding and attention demanded by his cows or goats and by the times of milk collection demanded by the Milk Marketing Undertaking. All this means an earlier daily start (sometimes 1 or 2 a.m.) than is usual for the field worker who begins his day with a 4 a.m. or 5 a.m. Mass and then stops for a light breakfast some three hours later. Lunch-time is 11 a.m. or noon and is followed by a *siesta* of some hours, depending on the season and the pressure of work to be completed before the sun goes down and the field-worker shoulders his hoes or his wooden plough and returns home

156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

156 Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xiħ żomm fih*). But
561 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where
schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to
their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard.
The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is
wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leader-
ship in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish
registers support the memories of the present generation of elders
that this has not always been the case.

156 Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
[575] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it con-
venient for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
[693] continue to practise in their native villages. But when they con-
tinue to reside in their villages, even though their social life and
many of their business interests are oriented away from the com-
munity, they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge
their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted
into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have
gone successfully into politics.

156 Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday proces-
693 sion. Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter
of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football
and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he
has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a
successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
757 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

795 Another Malta-wide authority is the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the farmer than is 'Il-Gvern' for in the normal practice of his religion he leans directly on the local church and priests.

829 To the farmer 'Gvern' is synonomous with control. Illiteracy has, in the past, made it very difficult for him to view authority with anything but suspicion. This has not been made easier by incompetent and condescending elements within officialdom whose actions, if any, have confirmed the doubts of the small farmer striving to provide his family with a living despite the odds against him - of which 'Gvern' was one.

178
654 Today the picture is changing. It is official policy to "encourage investment and to improve farming methods so as to raise the efficiency of the industry to a level where it can provide a decent livelihood for those engaged in it"[38].

178
156
829 The farmers' reactions to efforts on his behalf are particularly important at this crucial stage in the progress of agriculture in the Islands. Essentially his outlook retains much of the traditional reserve and caution of the illiterate peasant, an attitude apparent also in two further contexts, the organization within farming itself (Unions, Co-Operatives, etc.), and the farmers' attitudes towards society in general and rural society in particular.

829
156 The three aspects of the problem may be re-phrased as

(i) the farmer's attitudes to officialdom, espec- the Department of Agriculture, and 'Il-Gvern' generally,

(ii) his attitude towards other farmers and towards the industry as a whole,

(iii) his position as a member of a socially 'low' class within Malta.

[561] Within each of these the present gulf between the younger generation, with a degree of education and emancipation, and the older (including most of the Islands' full-time farmers) produces a further conflict of attitudes and aspirations.

654

THE FARMER AND GOVERNMENT

Official interest in agricultural development has increased very rapidly during the present decade and now includes a wide variety of measures aimed at improving farming by financial support and investment. These have been outlined in Section 2. There has also been an attempt to educate the farmer in better suited techniques and to make him aware of improvements which, it is believed, will increase the profit from his farm or herd. The problem here is seen to be twofold:

their designation with a certain tolerant wisdom. Not so the present young 178
generation in the farming community for whom education and material facilities 241
have presented the chance of escape from a social inferiority complex.

The village was traditionally the community-group in rural Malta. Contact 369
with the towns and Valletta was limited, especially for the villages of the west [628]
and in Gozo, until buses, press and rediffusion narrowed the gulf, but it was hardly less than the contacts between the villages themselves. The village was the group for most social interaction. Currently, the trend is towards a Malta-wide community-group in which villages are losing much of their isolation, although there is very little uniformity in this process. Sub-urban villages are clearly absorbing non-rural characteristics much more quickly than is the case in outlying parts of the Islands.

The nucleus of village life is the Church and the first citizen is the Parish 793
Priest. The Priest combined teaching and general advisory duties with his spiritual role (see Chapter VI C). He was also the main link with the world outside the village through his relaying of general news from his pulpit. Normally, land transfers and a wide variety of matters connected with the agricultural cycle were announced by the Priest. The Church was the social meeting place and the basis of institutionalised activity. Even the village *festa*, that single day [796]
of wild exuberance, noise, fire-works, procession and carnivalesque has as its pretext a religious observance such as the honouring of the particular Saint of the village or the National Feast of the Shipwreck of St. Paul. In all this, the link between Priest and people was often further cemented by wide kinship connexions within the village. The son of an illiterate farmer might progress [555]
through Seminary and University to return to his home village as a priest and to be claimed as a relative by many members of that static and much intermarried community.

Such proximity, together with the very number of the priesthood in any parish made for a familiarity with the personnel of the Church just as confession, fasting, observance of Saints' and other special days, quite apart from the daily Mass, made for close acquaintance with its practice.

It is convenient to use the past tense in the foregoing only because the picture 178
sketched has been modified in recent decades. It is however still the essential basis of communal life, especially in the rural community which, as suggested, holds to traditional custom longer than does the town. The modifications which have appeared are important in this present consideration because they lie behind the current social upheaval in which the individual countryman is being faced with a clash of new against old. If, as seems possible, he leaps to the new so completely as to relinquish the old entirely, then the traditional order of society will disappear along with the agricultural system on which it is based. This is the problem of the farmer in Maltese rural society.

An early non-religious movement was that of the Band Clubs; the first 575
appeared in Rabat in 1860. But even these came to be identified with particular Churches and also with parish rivalries. The Band Club grew to become a major feature of social life in both town and country in Malta, although in Gozo it has had only a limited extension outside Victoria.

The Band Club is essentially a male organisation. Women have never been 562
more than tolerated spectators and, to this extent, the movement reflects the [575]
place of women in Maltese society. Emancipation of women has spread into the countryside from the towns but even today women take an undemonstrative part [462]
in village activity and their movement outside the home is largely confined to Church-going, shopping and possibly field-work. The modern young woman who has had at least eight years schooling seeks paid employment beyond the house and fields. In rural circles the tendency is still to frown mightily at such a suggestion but it can only be a matter of a few years before what is now accepted in Valletta becomes tolerated in rural Gozo.

Functional diversification has been the keynote of twentieth century village 178
society in the Maltese Islands. There is no evidence to show that there is any challenge to the position of the Parish Priest in matters religious (the situation has been less satisfactory from the point of view of the Church in urban Malta)

The belief still lingers that the
764 775 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul of the departed remains above the flame.

764 735 171 (*g*) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 178 [177] [192] Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century passed through wide changes and, as in other European countries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 292 178 184 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700. Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 Family mourning is generally observed as follows:—

178 I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

[562] II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days,
after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern 171
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 264
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 516
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these 352
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain from having their pastry and other food prepared in a public oven for a period of some months after the death of a member of the family.

184
IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark ~~sash~~ round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

241 423 rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields, which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

241 464 433 This is the background to the present attempts to rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

(a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654] (b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

654 241 464 The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

178 462 [592] The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

562 462 178 In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p.80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

462 family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and
562 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment
178 outside the home or even outside the village and insists on
a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been
proper for her mother.

462 The home and the care of the children remains the sphere
of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work
178 only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the
men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this
side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this
nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats
generalization.

178 Until recently it was customary for most women and girls
to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields,
462 especially when work was pressing as at harvest time.
288 Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of
464 its preparation (Section 1), while lace was almost entirely
the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity
excluded them from field work. Cotton is now of minor
importance and lace-working is confined to the older
178 generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now
partly being filled by young women and girls seeking
464 employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing,
teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers
than was the case a generation ago. Yet there
remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated
far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to
suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of
the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude
that persists in labelling paid employment fo a girl as
somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case,
discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout
Malta (B/598).

241 Some farming families still retain the traditional
462 pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI);
others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and
[178] girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In
the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and
picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled,
such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men
(v. Case I on the division of family labour).

241 In general it appears that as the younger age-groups
592 are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided.
[178] The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-money'
[465] donations and even these went to sons working full-time
with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and not to daughters.
Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[234] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossiping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
517 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

his object, and on the standard being taken to be returned to the Grand Master, the cloth covered globe burst open and out came a flight of pigeons. 527 526 175

The Maltese never allowed either foreigners or soldiers to share the profits of the *cuccanja.*

This entertainment which has been suppressed since the reign of the Grand Master De Rohan (1775-1797) was a a source of great delight to the Maltese people. [656]

BOWLS

A game of bowls is a favourite pastime in Malta. 562

The players arrange themselves in sides of three or four each, and each man is usually provided with three bowls, which he marks differently for distinction.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

443 527 [796] [178] St. Anna, which are celebrated on the 24th, 25th, and 26th of July. These fairs, however, which were once very popular, have now sunk into insignificance and most likely will before long entirely disappear.

443 171 Fairs have long been regularly held in most parts of Europe and Asia, and they appear to have originated in the Church festivals, which were found to afford convenient opportunities for commercial transactions. The concourse of people being then so such greater than on other occasions.

USAGES

175 562 The ancient Maltese formerly kept their wives in the strictest retirement. They held the opinion that women should never appear but twice in public,

the day they were married and when 175
they were buried. They were therefore 562
always employed within doors, and ne- 175 562
ver went out, except at a very early 291 [794]
hour to church, when they were en-
tirely covered by a long mantle. This [177]
costume came originally from Sicily, and reached from the head to the feet, the forehead and eyes alone being visible. The upper part of the mantle, covering the head, was cut in a different manner for unmarried women—these wearing it shaped round, while married women wore it pointed.

WEDDINGS

Marriages in Malta were always en- 584
tirely arranged by the parents; who for the greater part consulted only their own interest, and the suitable-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

787 585 533 in a rage, and he could not be persuaded to go back to his wedding before the organist could be found and the organ played for the occasion.

PAYING VISITS

273 594 576 825 If a person goes to pay a visit, for the first time, to a party and is not treated with a sort of drink called *zambur* — made of aniseed—a mouse enters the chest of drawers and gnaws all the petticoats of the mistress of the house.

SENDING TO THE OVEN

252 562 Some people think it a great shame for a woman who sends dishes to be cooked in an oven when her husband is away from the Island.

although the Maltese form was probably dictated by the 291
need to cover the head when entering a church. Its one
drawback is that it takes up a lot of space, more space, [171]
unfortunately, than is available in the motor-bus, modern [494]
Malta's form of land transport. Let it be hoped that it will survive these disabilities, for it is not only unique but also an asset if those of the younger generation who have abandoned it in favour of the banal dress of everywhere else would only realize the fact, enhancing beauty while discreetly veiling any imperfections. These young ladies should ponder the words of Monsieur André Maurois in his little sketch of Malta:

> When its wearer moves, the *faldetta* is filled with air, and the Maltese girls, tripping in twos and threes along the streets, look like flotillas of graceful barques with black sails, blown along their course by the wind of destiny.

Oddly enough another French visitor and Academician anticipated by just a century, and in almost the same terms, Monsieur Maurois's charming flight, or perhaps echo, of fancy. Monsieur de Lamartine, visiting Malta with his English wife in 1832, describes the *ghonnella* as

> a half-cloak of black silk . . . of a light texture caught by a breeze, suggesting the sail of a skiff whose capricious folds alternately conceal and reveal the mysterious figure of the wearer, which seems able to escape at will from its embrace.

In the Malta of an earlier age, when the lives of Maltese 562.
women and girls were closely circumscribed, the *ghonnella* 291
was not the only aid to their seclusion. Those who wander
about the country districts will notice here and there that the 342.
older farmhouses have no windows giving on to the street; 584.
the Maltese countrywoman, like her Spanish sister, had to 824.
turn her face inward, not outward. But what the houses had, and some still retain, were stone brackets on the outer wall, made to hold the pots of sweet basil which showed that

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

●562 a marriageable daughter lived within. One pot of basil to
342 each marriageable girl. So the potential swain could tell at a
584 glance whereabouts to loiter for a discreet preview and
824 what address, should he be interested, to give to the marriage-
broker.
291

[pp 31-55 of text not processed. Plates facing pp. 40, 41, 48 and 49 have been processed].

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE POPULATION AFTER 1842

Manuscripts of the unofficial census of 1828 are no longer extant and details of this enumeration are available only at second hand in Miège's *'Histoire de Malte'* published in 1840. The first regular Census of the Maltese Islands was taken in 1842 and the second in 1851, to be followed by decennial censuses until 1931. The war prevented any enumeration in 1941, and the eleventh Census took place in 1948.

175*
161
659

Widespread illiteracy and the absence of penalties for non-compliance were obvious hindrances to accurate census-taking in nineteenth-century Malta. Thus the coverage of earlier censuses is unlikely to have been complete. The information asked for (20) has also been an extremely variable quantity (Table 26).

Table 26. Subjects covered in the censuses from 1861 to 1948.

Subject	Number of tables on each subject								
	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1948
Total Population			1	3	3	3	3	8	
Non-civilian Element			1	6	4	8	4		
Civilian Population									
Distribution and Increase	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	4
Ages	3	3	2	9	9	11	9	10	4
Marital Status	2	2	3	8	8	6	6	7	7
Occupations	2	2	3	5	5	4	4	4	32
Birthplace and Residence	3	2	7	10	10	9	9	10	11
Religion			2	2	2	1	1	1	
Housing of Families. Dwellings	2		2	5	4	4	4	5	16
Health and Vital Statistics	8	2	3	4	4	5	5	2	2
Asylums and Penal Institutions	1		6	4	4	4	4	2	
Maltese Abroad			1	1	1	1	1	1	
Miscellaneous	6[a]			10[b]	14[b]				16[c]
TOTAL Number of Tables[d]	19	4	30	80	83	67	61	62	96

a. Including four tables on the Judicial Courts.
b. All on Agriculture.
c. Including ten summary tables of all aspects.
d. This may not be the same as the total of the tables on each subject, since some tables cover more than one subject but have only been included under one heading.

The number of subjects dealt with has progressively increased, but few of the tabulations are strictly comparable for all censuses. In the nine censuses taken between 1861 and 1948, it is remarkable that not one tabulation has been preserved unchanged over the whole period. Apart from these variations in the scope of the census, there have been frequent changes in the number and grouping of the territorial units under which the figures are given (Fig. 30).

When considering population trends in the Maltese Islands, a good deal of confusion is also occasioned by the presence of a considerable non-Maltese element which produces fluctuations and changes in the pattern of population growth which are not characteristic of the Maltese people. This must always be borne in mind when considering the Census Reports which do not always make clear the distinction between the two groups. [563]

144 [567] population does not appear to be very great. Slaves were, we know, introduced in large numbers by the Knights of St. John, and a fine old building still remains in Valletta as a witness to the number of Negroes kept in captivity, but yet there appears to have been great segregation. The Turk in Cyprus seems to have been more merciful to his slaves than the Christian in Malta, possibly because of the difference in the social systems. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the Negro element is more than a negligible factor in Maltese ethnology.

Cases certainly occur, in all periods, of extremely long skulls of the hypsistenocephalic type of Giuffrida Ruggeri. Some of these specimens appeared on a careful examination to present Negroid characters; the majority seemed to be well within the range of normal variation of the ordinary Mediterranean type. If mixing with Alpines immediately raises the standard deviation of Mediterranean man, it is to be expected that a mixture with Negro or Proto-Ethiopic would have the same effect; without definitely denying the possibility of this type in Malta, it would seem a more reasonable hypothesis to suggest that those crania which present a combination of the characters of a long head with considerable prognathism and a wide nasal aperture probably belonged either to actually imported Negroes or to their descendants.

Although the census figures show a different result, it is of interest to note that among the people who presented themselves for measurement in villages or institutions, practically all the foreigners came from the Barbary coast.

[563] There can be little doubt that there has been considerable Italian influence in the island for a long period, and we have already shown that at the present day the largest resident foreign element apart from the garrison is Italian. It seems possible that the same influences, whatever they were, which made it possible for the early population to be swamped by the present type, have also made the latter immigrants, of a type similar to the Neolithic people, unable to stand against the domination of the sub-race (Malta second race) now established in the island.

144 563 A question of considerable importance from the practical point of view is whether there is any essential difference between the Maltese and the nations of Western Europe, who, either singly or collectively, have occupied the island since the Middle Ages. Social distinctions have operated during the whole time, but there is evidence to suggest that the Knights may have considerably affected the population, especially that of Valletta. Some of the people of Rhodes, who followed the fortunes of the Knights when the latter were driven from the Eastern Mediterranean, settled in Malta. Mercenaries were employed by the Order, and in some cases never returned home. In later times also, the Knights' vows of chastity, never very strictly adhered to, were entirely neglected, and their illegitimate children, whose fathers were predominantly French, contributed a considerable element to the population (28, p. 46). It is probably to such influences that we owe those crania in the Chapel of Bones which appear to show Nordic affinities.

The stay of the French in the island was too short to have any effect on the 144
population. A social barrier has been built up between the British and the people 563
of the land, and the general impression gained is that, though there are a certain
number of mixed marriages, there cannot, even after three generations of a large,
if floating, British element in Valletta, be more than a very thin British strain in
the population.

We have shown, in dealing with the history of the island, how extremely difficult 144
it is to account for the wholesale immigration of an Armenoid-like population at 174
any period. We have also shown how, in spite of the continual immigration of 132
people of the Mediterranean stock, the Maltese type (*i.e.* Malta second race,
displaying Armenoid characters) appears to have persisted for a long period. It
would seem, therefore, a point worthy of further consideration, whether the
development of the Maltese along the lines they appear to have followed may not
be due to certain definite geographical factors of whose influence we are as yet
unaware. It is possible that if we had at our disposal a long unbroken series,
instead of larger or smaller series from Neolithic, Mediæval, and modern ossuaries,
we should not find such striking contrasts as we do at present. Anthropological
data from various parts of the Mediterranean show that there is very often a
significant difference between two villages in different valleys of the same mountain
range. It is possible that even the few generations which have elapsed between the
building of Hal Tarxien and 1921 may be the equivalent, in time, of such a journey in
space, and certain big changes may have taken place owing to changing geographical
conditions. There can be little doubt that the climate of Malta has changed very
much, not only since the first terrace was cut in the Weid Dalam, but even since
the formation of the second terrace. We have also suggested that the evidence
from Professor Zammit's excavations at Hal Tarxien hints at a change in climate
since Neolithic times. The change in the structure of the population may be due,
therefore, partly to geographical as well as to historical causes.

Whether or no the development of the Maltese sub-race is due to particular 161
geographical conditions, there can be little doubt that, in Malta at least, the strain 842
is biologically remarkably successful and extremely fertile. In spite of the high [165]
infant mortality which has existed in the past, they have continued to increase,
and the modern developments of hygiene and the care of infants are likely to make
the increase still more rapid. If the overcrowding continues, in a comparatively
short time we shall be faced with conditions in the island which would appear to be,
biologically speaking, unsatisfactory. Sanitary conditions can be improved, food
can be imported, but excessive overcrowding may bring its own remedy, either in
disease or in a diminished fertility. The present fertility is quite possibly due to
some underlying climatic condition. In spite of lack of water, Malta has long been
extremely fertile botanically, and was famed for this in classical times. The [231]
Maltese goats, by far the most abundant large mammal of the island apart from

361 landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of
369 the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the
464 greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to
work in this area.

369 Differences in language, dress and education set many of the
villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be
so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in
contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries.
● [565] The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so con-
[177] sidered, have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of
these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth
century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who
struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen,
whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

177 There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants
and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the
19 English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of
369 whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also
differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken
in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English
words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their
preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema
the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*,
which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà*
(mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however,
are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged
to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

186 The social and cultural differences between town and country
369 have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was
829 often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who
goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe,
tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The
villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who
spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for
the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross
exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth.
But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices
369 in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary
871 level.

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[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barnett, 1615), p. 234.

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Maltese Death, Mourning, and Funeral Customs.

764 Sir James Frazer's communication of a coroner's note about "Beliefs regarding Death in Cumberland"[1] has suggested to me that I might put on record Maltese funeral customs now extant, some of which are analogous to those noticed in Cumberland.

764 263 [184] [565] [171] Amongst our middle and lower classes the practice still lingers of placing a dish of salt on the stomach of the corpse, whether of a male or of a female. The popular belief in Malta is that the salt prevents early decomposition. Certeux and Carnoy[2] give the following interpretation of a practice by Arabs in Algeria: "*Il est de convenance religieuse . . . de lui poser sur le ventre* [of the dead person] *quelque chose de pesant, afin* [539] *de prevenir le gonflement.*" One of our Maltese sayings runs:

> "*Imût il-ghani u jmut il-fqir*
> *It-tnejn jitmelhu ghal geũũa il-bîr.*"

i.e. "Both the rich man and the poor man die, and both are salted for the pit" (a common rock tomb). This may, however, refer to the pickling or preservation of bodies in a saline solution.

764 The covering over of looking-glasses in the room where the body is lying is also practised by several Maltese families. Some go so far as to remove furniture, and turn round or take down pictures, in the death chamber and passages.

764 (171 The following are the most characteristic features of existing Maltese practices, many of which are comparable to those of Sicily, while a few show some Eastern influence:—

(*a*) The washing of the dead body before shrouding. This is not a religious rite, and has no connection with that of Islam.

(*b*) The shutting of the eyelids, if open, and the raising of the chin by means of a band, usually a white kerchief, tied on the head.[3]

(*c*) The removal of door knockers and knobs; house doors are kept closed for several days; neighbours half-shut their own.

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[1] Vol. xxxi., p. 154.

[2] *L'Algerie Traditionelle*, p. 223.

[3] This is practised in Algeria. See Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days,
after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern 171
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 264
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 516
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these 352
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom
has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain
from having their pastry and other food prepared in a
public oven for a period of some months after the death of a
member of the family. 184

IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

5: Cremona S-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

fanation. Wreaths are laid on the grave, and oil lamps are 764
lit on it for some days. The construction and decoration of [354]
the graves in the public cemetery is much the same as on the continent. Marble slabs with inscriptions are very common. Pillars with crosses on the top and sacred statues are also erected on bases of marble, or bronze reliefs symbolising Time and
Eternity. The higher class own vaults in the form of chapels, [565]
in which an altar is erected and requiem masses are said.

In the professional and educated classes cards expressing 765
sympathy are sent by friends to the mourning family, but in 184
some districts, especially in the country, people still follow the old etiquette of paying a mourning visit within nine days of the
death. Photographs of the deceased, with an inscription, are [215]
sent to friends and acquaintances.

A. Cremona.

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
795 of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
[591] but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
197 even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutterals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquiline,J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential
independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

654 829 464 178 (ii) The younger generation are not interested in improving farming; they scarcely stop to think that any changes in the industry might be possible in their present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk of life. Thus they will probably not be available to take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise, from their fathers.

SECTION 5 : Conclusions.

369 In conclusion one may attempt to draw together the several general points raised in the previous four Sections. The most important of these may be listed as follows:

(1) The twentieth century is witnessing an accelerating process of the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo (Section 1). This comprises

(a) material change (the development of electricity, roads, sewage, transport, and a variety of other amenities),

(b) cultural change following general, elementary education - that is literacy, 'emancipation' and the emergence of a critical public awareness,

● [565] [793] (c) social and economic changes which have laid the foundations of a rural middle class, unknown in the traditional village scene. Along with this have come modifications in the pivotal rôle of the Parish Priest and other priests. Some of their traditional functions, notably teaching and caring for the sick, have been taken over by specialists in such fields.

369 829 The factors outlined under (a), (b), and (c) are tending to extend the horizon of the individual villager far beyond the limits of his own village. Whereas he used to work and think within his family and village he is now aware of Malta and beyond.

241 464 178 (2) The particular physical limitations on farming in the Islands have, in the past, ~~made the industry~~ dependent to a very considerable extent on the meticulous hand-labour of the industrious Maltese farmer. This has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance, and even construction, of the fields and terraces themselves (Section 2). The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involved. They have benefited from general elementary education, literacy, and contact with the world outside the villages to the extent of demanding work which seems to them economically and socially rewarding. The past twenty-five years have seen a rapid decline in the number of full-time farmers and farm-workers. Today the farmer, in most cases no longer assisted by his sons, finds hired labour both scarce and costly (Section 2).

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

late round the *jack,* one of the adversaries' side, who is left for the purpose, is called by the skip (l'imghallem), whose duty is to direct each of the men of his side, to play straight at the jack with force, and this generally succeeds in hitting and carrying away the jack from the neighbourhood of his opponents' bowls. 526

When the game is finished the losers, as a rule, stand drinks to the winning side.

PLAYING AT *MORRA*

The Maltese of the lower class, especially boatmen and coal-heavers are very fond of playing at *Morra.* 524 [565].

The *Morra* is a game that keeps the two adversaries—between whom it is played—on the alert and which creates great excitement between them.

CHAPTER XVIII

Old Survivals in Modern Malta

MALTA OCCUPIES A PLACE OF ITS OWN IN THE OLD WORLD 101
not only by reason of the length and unusual character of its annals, not only by reason of the tremendous range of its architectural monuments. It does so because it combines with these features the circumstance that it is the home of a separate race, the smallest of European peoples.

There are, it is true, four independent states in Europe of lesser size than Malta, but the inhabitants of these states do not form distinct racial stocks, nor have they their own languages. The Maltese are the smallest nation with the longest history, and their islands are a microcosm, self-contained. Not only has Malta its own tongue. It has its [197]
own University—the oldest in the British Commonwealth [873]
Overseas and granted the Royal patronage and the prefix "Royal" by King George VI in his coronation year—with seven faculties: Theology, Laws, Medicine and Surgery, Dental Surgery, Engineering and Architecture, Arts, Science. It has, as we have seen, its own Nobility with their Committee [565]
of Privileges. It is an ecclesiastical Province whose Archbishop [793]
exercises jurisdiction since 1944 over the bishopric of Gozo, previously immediately subject to the Holy See since its formation in 1864. And in the history of this microcosm has been mirrored the life of the great world around it.

Viewed as a part of the British Commonwealth, Malta is 655
unique in two particulars. It is the only British possession 545
whose Government owns an Opera House and in normal times 368
maintains an annual opera season and conducts the pawnbroking of the nation in the manner of certain Continental
states.

small handful of Knights, took over Malta in 1090. The islands became part of the 175
kingdom of Sicily, and shared its varying fortunes till they were ceded to the Knights 648
of St. John by the Emperor Charles V in 1530.

For the next three centuries the history of the Knights is so intimately concerned with the history of Malta that we must at least briefly consider the general position of the Order.

The Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem were finally ejected from the coast of Syria at the end of the thirteenth century. They occupied Rhodes in 1308. This island formed their home for over two hundred years. Early in 1523 they were driven from Rhodes, taking with them 4000 Rhodians. Given a temporary home at Viterbo by Pope Clement VII, a member of their own Order, they finally received the island of Malta from the Emperor Charles V under conditions of nominal feudal submission, to wit, the Grand Master to send a falcon to the Viceroy of Sicily every All Souls' Day.

The Order had an international character, and in the sixteenth century was divided into eight "Languages" or "Langues," according to the origin of the Knights, namely, Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, England, Germany and Castile. The English "Language" was suppressed in 1540, previous to which time many of the Knights who had been in England (the Grand Priory was situated in Clerkenwell) had either fled to Malta or been executed. The fiction of an English "Language" was, however, kept, and as late as 1782, on the foundation of a Bavarian "Language," this latter was united to the old English "Langue," which of course in reality no longer existed, and called the Anglo-Bavarian. The dominant element in the population of the Knights was certainly French, and the three French "Langues"—Provence, Auvergne and France—were certainly, both ethnologically and politically, the most important. The latter aspect was reflected in the great number of French Grand Masters.

For a generation after the occupation of the island by the Knights, Malta gradually succeeded in establishing an important position in the Mediterranean.
There seems little doubt that men like Strozzi, La Vallette, Charles of Lorraine, and [567]
de Romegas were practically pirates, at least as far as their treatment of the Turk was concerned, and at this time a very large number of Turkish slaves, presumably chiefly of Negro origin, were introduced into the island. In 1564 Suliman the Magnificent decided to attack Malta. The story of the siege of Malta in 1565 is a magnificent passage in the history of this very distinguished Order of Chivalry. It only concerns us so far as it resulted in a reorganization of the fortifications of the island and the building of the great city of Valletta, called after the Grand Master of the Order, Jean Parisot de la Vallette. It is important for our purpose to remember that when the Turks were eventually driven from the island, the Order had only 600 men capable of bearing arms who had survived the struggle.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

144 population does not appear to be very great. Slaves were, we know, introduced [567] in large numbers by the Knights of St. John, and a fine old building still remains in Valletta as a witness to the number of Negroes kept in captivity, but yet there appears to have been great segregation. The Turk in Cyprus seems to have been more merciful to his slaves than the Christian in Malta, possibly because of the difference in the social systems. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the Negro element is more than a negligible factor in Maltese ethnology.

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Although the census figures show a different result, it is of interest to note that among the people who presented themselves for measurement in villages or institutions, practically all the foreigners came from the Barbary coast.

[563] There can be little doubt that there has been considerable Italian influence in the island for a long period, and we have already shown that at the present day the largest resident foreign element apart from the garrison is Italian. It seems possible that the same influences, whatever they were, which made it possible for the early population to be swamped by the present type, have also made the latter immigrants, of a type similar to the Neolithic people, unable to stand against the domination of the sub-race (Malta second race) now established in the island.

144 563 A question of considerable importance from the practical point of view is whether there is any essential difference between the Maltese and the nations of Western Europe, who, either singly or collectively, have occupied the island since the Middle Ages. Social distinctions have operated during the whole time, but there is evidence to suggest that the Knights may have considerably affected the population, especially that of Valletta. Some of the people of Rhodes, who followed the fortunes of the Knights when the latter were driven from the Eastern Mediterranean, settled in Malta. Mercenaries were employed by the Order, and in some cases never returned home. In later times also, the Knights' vows of chastity, never very strictly adhered to, were entirely neglected, and their illegitimate children, whose fathers were predominantly French, contributed a considerable element to the population (28, p. 46). It is probably to such influences that we owe those crania in the Chapel of Bones which appear to show Nordic affinities.

F. The Farmer in Maltese Rural Society

241 A study of the Maltese farmer within the total of agriculture in the Islands
571 must include a consideration of the individual as a member of the community in which he lives, works and thinks.

The total social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles - family, village, and 'Malta'.

To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old
241 countryman for whom Valletta is a foreign world, the concept of 'Malta' is some-
619 thing large and indeterminate. But even for most of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for the countryman to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta complain. The 'National' unit is large enough for him to speak of *'Il-Gvern'* - the Government, of which he has heard frequently, though imprecisely, on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems with a characteristic disregard for logic or even fact. This concept of *Gvern* is of importance in an appreciation of rural thought in Malta. In it no very clear distinction is made between Maltese Government and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy. Neither is allegiance to one or other of the political parties very significant, for personality is always more important than party.

To give an historical perspective to this attitude of the remoteness of *Gvern*
[178] one may see in it not only the product of foreign British rule since 1800 but also the legacy of the 'paternal' government of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands. Rural communities are characteristically conservative.

The other Malta-wide authority is that of the Church, but the summit of this
793 is scarcely less remote to the individual than is *Gvern*. In the normal practice of his Religion the countryman leans directly on his local priests, though the Curia and Archbishop in Malta and the Bishop in Gozo do represent, for him, the essential unity that is the Maltese Church.

Within the framework of 'Malta' the distinction between the conurbation of
241 towns, centred on Valletta, and the countryside is crucial. This 'conurbation'
178 may be defined as those census districts with less than 3 per cent. of their working population engaged in farming. In 1948, this accounted for all districts
369 bordering on either the Grand or Marsamxett Harbours together with the adjoining residential suburb of St. Julians (1). Outside this urban area, the farming element in the working population increases towards the west and north of Malta, although only in Mġarr does it pass 50 per cent. In Gozo, the scene is notably more 'rural', on the basis of this definition, with six of the 12 census districts having more than half their working population engaged in agriculture. A survey of parallel information in censuses over the past 100 years shows a
[463] declining farming element along with a diversification of the occupational structure - especially in those villages regarded as traditional strongholds of agriculture.

This trend to economic diversification has been accompanied by a break away from the former social homogeneity of these rural villages. In fact, economic and social change cannot be considered each in isolation. In Malta, change - in its widest sense - has spread into the countryside from the conurbation. The tempo of this process has accelerated rapidly since the 1939-45 war, which brought town and country together more than ever before and shook the foundations of the cleavage between 'peasant villager' and 'urban townsman', a key feature in the social geography of the Maltese Islands. The appearance of schools, amenities - particularly transport, and a degree of occupational choice, have enabled the countryman to sample a more 'urban' way of life and culture and this has produced a dissatisfaction with rural society as it has been. Maltese countrymen knew they were regarded, as a class, as low in the social scale of urban opinion. They accepted this fatalistically and were in fact able to view

Whatever the reasons for their beginnings in particular villages, 575
there are today festa partiti or at least competing band clubs in 578
nineteen villages and towns. Ten communities are divided by the
type of rivalry described above. Of these Gudja has partiti which 621
compete only over two secondary feasts and another, Żebbuġ, has 794
three rival band clubs, two of which compete over the titular feast. Besides these ten, another four towns are divided by rivalry between their constituent parishes, five more are divided by rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, although the band clubs in one of them, Żabbar, were once allied to festa partiti.

The competition between rival parishes of the same town is very similar to that between festa partiti. In fact the division of Qormi and Rabat (Gozo) into two parishes each came about partly because of the rivalry between festa partiti. Since each parish has its own church and is not limited by the 1935 regulations, the competition between them is even keener than between festa partiti within the same parish. For this reason the feasts of St. Mary and St. George in Rabat (Gozo) and St. George and St. Sebastian in Qormi are probably the most spectacular in the country. Competition between rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, in contrast, is not as fierce as that between festa partiti. It is, nonetheless, a considerable force in the communities where it exists. Disputes between these band clubs usually involve questions of precedence, such as those which arise over their positions and role during the titular festa or at an installation ceremony of a new parish priest. Failure to reach agreement may mean that one or both boycott the celebration.

Finally, weak festa partiti once existed in another seven villages. But as they were not aligned with band or social clubs, they were not well enough organized to resist the firm pressure the Church began to exert after 1935. Today there is scarcely a trace of their former existence. All festa partiti and rival band clubs, both present and past, are listed in Appendix A.^1

IV

Implicit throughout this examination of the various types of 571
competing groups described in this chapter and in the previous 578
one, has been the highly formal nature of their interaction. Their
disputes are like war games. The action between them takes place 621

^1 [see p. 142.—Analyst]

● 571 within a framework bounded by the decrees of the Church, the laws of the State and the appropriate body of custom. New pic- 578 tures are not hung in churches and new procession routes are not 621 followed unless permission has first been obtained from the Church. Action without this permission could result in the suppression of the feast, the desecration of the church or the interdiction of the ringleaders. In the same way, the threats and insults of demonstrating partisans rarely result in physical violence because of the swift penalties that the ever-vigilant police would impose. Permanent truce or peace between the partiti and competing parishes is impossible to achieve owing to the inherent nature of the rivalry which exists between them. It is this state of continuous one-upmanship that provides the driving force behind much of the village politics in Malta. At least it did until the increasing involvement of the people in national politics created a new set of conflicting loyalties that cut deeply across many older ones.

V

611 The Maltese have large families and reckon kin relationship equally through males and females. Each person is thus at the centre of a wide network of cognates and affines. All these relatives 602 do not have equal importance; a person normally makes a distinction between his immediate family (*qraba tal-familja*), his close relatives (*qraba ta' ġewwa*) and his distant relatives (*qraba fil-boghod*). A man's immediate family consists of his parents and his siblings and their fiancées, wives and children. This set of relatives normally sees each other at least once a week, and would be invited for a baptismal or betrothal celebration. The close relatives usually include grandparents, parents' siblings and their ● [574] wives and children – his first cousins. These relatives all expect to be invited to a wedding, if not to a baptism. If they live in different villages they will also exchange visits during their annual festas. Distant relatives include the siblings of grandparents and great-grandparents and their descendants. A person normally has no formal contact with this set, but he recognizes his relationship to them if it is known to him.

Upon marriage, a person extends the range of his immediate family to include the corresponding set of his spouse. He may meet more frequently with his wife's immediate family than with his own, especially if they live equidistant from both sets (or in his wife's village).

It should be noted, however, that these sets of kin are not fixed or bounded groups; a person is relatively free to invite whom he wishes to any given ceremony. Physical as well as genealogical distance combines with sentiment to determine the actual relatives who are placed in these rough categories by an individual. Thus a person may be on closer terms with a second cousin who lives next door than with a first cousin living in another village. [578] Normally, however, certain relatives *expect* to be invited to particular ceremonies, and failure to do so leads to friction, or may be a reflection of an existing conflict. Thus, while a first cousin does not expect to be invited to a baptismal or betrothal party, he does expect an invitation to a wedding. A second cousin does not expect to be invited to either, although he often is. These sets of kin relations are thus flexible; long dormant links can be manipulated for special purposes, such as to arrange introductions to

club and a sports club. In Farrug, for instance, there are two band 575
clubs – one of which is dedicated to St. Martin, the other to St.
Roque – a football club and an active Labour Party committee;
while Kortin has a band club, a social club, a Labour club, a
football club and a troop of Boy Scouts. The term secular, used 575
in this context, requires a few words of qualification. Although 794
clubs and associations which I have called secular do not form part
of the Church, this does not necessarily mean that they are
opposed to it, or are cut off from it. Quite the contrary. Almost
every club has a chaplain who serves as a link between it and the
parish priest. Most clubs take part in certain religious functions,
especially during the week preceding Easter. Moreover, many of [778]
the clubs have dedicated themselves to the Sacred Heart of Jesus
and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary by means of special reli-
gious ceremonies. Often this dedication is renewed annually. Only [665]
the clubs of the Malta Labour Party do not have any linkage with
the Church.

The band clubs are the most important secular societies. They 575
are formally constituted associations with elected committees,
premises of their own and a large body of dues-paying members
drawn from all occupational and social classes. The first band
clubs were established shortly after the middle of the last century
in order to organize the external celebrations and provide music
for the annual festas of village patron saints. The clubs multiplied
rapidly, and soon became civic and social centres. They have [536]
broadened their scope to include dramatic groups, reading rooms [525]
and places where members can gamble out of sight of the watch-
ful eyes of the law. Most clubs have large concert halls that can
be used for wedding receptions. Today, each club usually has a
well-stocked bar, a television set and a billiards table.

But a band club is more than just a social centre. As it usually
plays an important part in organizing the external celebration of
the annual festa, the men who run the club make decisions which
affect all the inhabitants. Furthermore, the club often represents 575
the community to the outside world. Not only is the club's brass 574
band considered as the village's band when it plays at other festas, [186]
but the club also provides a welcome to important visitors from
outside. Thus when the Governor or the Archbishop makes an
official visit, he normally calls on the band clubs, where he is
given a reception on behalf of the entire village.

575 The important officers of a band club are among the most
influential people in the community, and are usually chosen from
the village's leading citizens. The president is the figurehead of
[574] the club. He greets distinguished visitors and handles many of the
ceremonial and business relations the club has with other groups
within and outside the community. He also presides over committee
meetings and over the annual election of new officers. The
day-to-day running of the club is in the hands of the secretary,
who is registered with the police as the club's official representative.
Much of the success of the club depends upon his ability to
run its social activities and administrative affairs. Other important
committee members are the vice-president, the treasurer and the
bandmaster. The latter is very often an outsider who comes to the
village only for the weekly rehearsal of the band.

575 Though the formal authority of the committee members
554 extends over the members of the association only while they are
in the club, their position in the club occasionally gives them a
voice in decisions which affect the entire community. This, in
turn, gives them a measure of authority over persons who are
not members of the club.

But not all villages have band clubs. The small villages of
575 Gharghur, Dingli and Safi have not been able to afford the luxury
184 of their own bands; though each has a social club that performs
much the same function as a social and civic centre. A few villages,
such as Kortin, have both social clubs and band clubs. But there
are neither band clubs nor social clubs in the Maltese villages of
[517] Marsaskala, Marsaxlokk and Mġarr. In Gozo, only Rabat,
Xewkija and Xaghra have band clubs. All the villages without
clubs are fishing or agricultural communities. This may be because
the men of these villages do not dispose of the leisure time in the
evening necessary for a club to be a success: the farmers are too
tired, and the fishermen are off tending their nets.

There are also political and football clubs in most Maltese
575 villages. In Gozo there are a few football clubs, but no political
665 clubs. These clubs are organized in much the same way as the
[526] band clubs, and corresponding office holders have similar functions
and authority over their members. These offices, however,
[554] confer much less prestige. The football clubs, in particular, play
only a small part in village affairs. The Malta Labour Party, as
has already been noted, is the only political party which has clubs

575 578 665 Many of them have stopped going there. In point of fact, Sur Ġorġ and the secretary are strongly opposed to the Labour Party, though many of the younger men and some of the most active older members support it. A number of people living nearby have complained that members praise Mintoff in loud voices. There is growing pressure on Sur Ġorġ to ban all political conversation there. He has so far resisted the pressure, for he believes that if he were to give in, he would drive away the very members who form the backbone of the club. His chief problem, as he described it to me, is how to focus the attention of the members on something other than politics. He is therefore doing his best to obtain the permits necessary to open the theatre for which they have been planning and saving for years. He feels that in the excitement of building, the members will forget their political differences and reunite, and thus the club will pass safely through this crisis. But the permits have been slow in coming and meanwhile the pressure on him is building up. Two important members of the committee have already resigned, 'under the influence of those busy-bodies in Kelinu's', as some members described it.

The men in charge of the St. Martin Band Club in Farruġ face much the same problem. As has already been noted, most of the leaders of the two political blocs in the village are members of the St. Martin club, and several of them are on its committee. This difference of political loyalty often provokes quarrels over matters
[574] of policy. During the centenary, for example, the committee were sharply divided over whether to salute the Archbishop with the customary barrage of fireworks when he entered the village to take part in the ceremony. The matter was put to a vote, and the MLP faction won. The disgruntled losers began talking about firing off their own salute of welcome. But the crisis that this action would have brought about was avoided when the Vicar-General officiated in place of the Archbishop, who was indisposed. As the MLP supporters had nothing against him, he received the full barrage of aerial bombs and fire crackers. The rift was thus healed, and all joined in to celebrate a rousing feast.

578 621 665 794 796 The following year the festa again brought a crisis with it. This time it was a far more serious one. Most of the young Labour supporters, in retaliation for the way the Church had attacked their party and its leaders, flatly refused to have anything to do with the feast. These young men included virtually all the partit's

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHRISTMAS

The Maltese are not at all wanting in the religious fervour and the exhibition of hearty demonstrations of delight with which Christians welcome the anniversaries of the Nativity of our Blessed Redeemer. 796

This is made very apparent by the rich decorations and the illuminations which are to be seen in the churches on Christmas night.

Places of public resort and private residences are also richly decorated with floral emblems and devices on this occasion.

On the 24th December—Xmas eve—most of the inhabitants, especially young men, do not retire to bed at all but ramble about, some parading the streets playing sweet melodies to charm the ears of the people, and others going 796 574 262

796 in companies to some one of their
574 friends, at whose house they amuse them-
262 selves eating honey cakes and pancakes or fritters, and playing for nuts till the church bells ring a little before or after midnight.

At the conclusion of the service they come out again and devote the remainder of the night to amusements.

796 The approaching festival of Christmas
534 is heralded in some of the villages of
[184] Malta by the appearance of the "zakk" and "tambur" players in the streets. (*)

[237] The *zakk* or bagpipe is a wind instrument—one of the primitive instruments of sylvan music—formed of an inflated dog skin, which is held by the player under his left arm, with the legs

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[541] (*) The *Zakk* and tambourine are also in use amongst our lower classes on the days of Carnival.

852 [787] [828] it is a sign of a liberal character—if he picks out the inkstand it points towards inclination for trade or the bar—if he takes the book, the rosary or the candle the assumption is that he intends to dedicate his life to the service of the church.

• [574) When the baby makes his or her selection, the guests are treated with refreshments, and they all drink the health and future prospects of the small individual in question.

FUNERALS

764 767 [533] On the death of a Maltese, two or three women called *Neuuieha*, hired for the occasion, and attired in long mourning cloaks, immediately entered the house of the deceased singing in a low and dismal voice, some appropriate deathsong. These women cut away

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

787 585 533 in a rage, and he could not be persuaded to go back to his wedding before the organist could be found and the organ played for the occasion.

PAYING VISITS

273 • 574 576 825 If a person goes to pay a visit, for the first time, to a party and is not treated with a sort of drink called *zambur* — made of aniseed—a mouse enters the chest of drawers and gnaws all the petticoats of the mistress of the house.

SENDING TO THE OVEN

252 562 Some people think it a great shame for a woman who sends dishes to be cooked in an oven when her husband is away from the Island.

their designation with a certain tolerant wisdom. Not so the present young 178 generation in the farming community for whom education and material facilities 241 have presented the chance of escape from a social inferiority complex.

The village was traditionally the community-group in rural Malta. Contact 369 with the towns and Valletta was limited, especially for the villages of the west [628] and in Gozo, until buses, press and rediffusion narrowed the gulf, but it was hardly less than the contacts between the villages themselves. The village was the group for most social interaction. Currently, the trend is towards a Malta-wide community-group in which villages are losing much of their isolation, although there is very little uniformity in this process. Sub-urban villages are clearly absorbing non-rural characteristics much more quickly than is the case in outlying parts of the Islands.

The nucleus of village life is the Church and the first citizen is the Parish 793 Priest. The Priest combined teaching and general advisory duties with his spiritual role (see Chapter VI C). He was also the main link with the world outside the village through his relaying of general news from his pulpit. Normally, land transfers and a wide variety of matters connected with the agricultural cycle were announced by the Priest. The Church was the social meeting place and the basis of institutionalised activity. Even the village *festa*, that single day [796] of wild exuberance, noise, fire-works, procession and carnivalesque has as its pretext a religious observance such as the honouring of the particular Saint of the village or the National Feast of the Shipwreck of St. Paul. In all this, the link between Priest and people was often further cemented by wide kinship connexions within the village. The son of an illiterate farmer might progress [555] through Seminary and University to return to his home village as a priest and to be claimed as a relative by many members of that static and much intermarried community.

Such proximity, together with the very number of the priesthood in any parish made for a familiarity with the personnel of the Church just as confession, fasting, observance of Saints' and other special days, quite apart from the daily Mass, made for close acquaintance with its practice.

It is convenient to use the past tense in the foregoing only because the picture 178 sketched has been modified in recent decades. It is however still the essential basis of communal life, especially in the rural community which, as suggested, holds to traditional custom longer than does the town. The modifications which have appeared are important in this present consideration because they lie behind the current social upheaval in which the individual countryman is being faced with a clash of new against old. If, as seems possible, he leaps to the new so completely as to relinquish the old entirely, then the traditional order of society will disappear along with the agricultural system on which it is based. This is the problem of the farmer in Maltese rural society.

An early non-religious movement was that of the Band Clubs; the first 575 appeared in Rabat in 1860. But even these came to be identified with particular Churches and also with parish rivalries. The Band Club grew to become a major feature of social life in both town and country in Malta, although in Gozo it has had only a limited extension outside Victoria.

The Band Club is essentially a male organisation. Women have never been 562 more than tolerated spectators and, to this extent, the movement reflects the [575] place of women in Maltese society. Emancipation of women has spread into the countryside from the towns but even today women take an undemonstrative part [462] in village activity and their movement outside the home is largely confined to Church-going, shopping and possibly field-work. The modern young woman who has had at least eight years schooling seeks paid employment beyond the house and fields. In rural circles the tendency is still to frown mightily at such a suggestion but it can only be a matter of a few years before what is now accepted in Valletta becomes tolerated in rural Gozo.

Functional diversification has been the keynote of twentieth century village 178 society in the Maltese Islands. There is no evidence to show that there is any challenge to the position of the Parish Priest in matters religious (the situation has been less satisfactory from the point of view of the Church in urban Malta)

178 but there has been a delegation of his traditional secondary functions. The spread of Government primary education, for example, has produced a literate younger generation able to write - and think - for itself; rediffusion, cinemas, and television have made their presence felt; the Maltese-language press has grown in volume and scope; letters and visits from emigrated Maltese widen horizons rapidly; cheap bus transport puts most of the Malta within easy reach; health and social services have brought improvements; C.A.R.E. (2) and other relief supplies have brought a new external influence; the changing pattern of work with the new limited working day is giving the time for the novel activities made possible by cultural and material advancement. The last 50 years have seen the appearance and spread of the lay religious movements (see Chapter VI C) which have attempted to relieve the Priest of some of the work with which he had
[575] previously been able to contend unaided. The Society of Christian Doctrine (M.U.S.E.U.M.), founded in 1909, was the first of these but larger and more comprehensive is Catholic Action whose four groups for men, women, young men, and young women have been established throughout the Islands to provide the modern Maltese parallel to the Village Institute, Youth Club and Church Fellowship of other countries.

178 241 654 The rural family was traditionally the economic unit within the village. A century ago, farming in Malta implied the self-sufficiency of the true subsistence peasant rather than the crop- and milk-selling producer of today. The food for the family came very largely from the fields worked by its members, milk from their own goats or sheep and clothing from home-produced cotton and wool.

Money and matters financial now occupy a major part of the thoughts of the Maltese farmer - even of the older generation, illiterate and cut off from more cultural developments. Barter as a means of exchange is breathing its last. Perhaps more than anything else did the 1939-45 war mark the change. During the years of siege and shortage the farmer was able to get prices for produce out of all proportion to anything before or since. With the return of conditions to normal after the war this Golden Age of Maltese farming collapsed but the farmer went on somehow expecting to make the same profits in peace as he had in war. The fact that he has not been able to do this, even with recent Government protective farming programmes of subsidies, guaranteed prices and other artificial inducements, has increased the bitterness which the farmer has come to feel for his lot. For its part, the Government has tried to keep the farming community as contented as possible and at the same time has embarked on attempts at dairy and general farming reforms of methods, varieties, marketing, etc., in an attempt to stop the retreat from the land and from the way of life based on it. The produce of the soil is, after all, Malta's only major locally-based industry. This has seemed to prove to the farmer that *'Gvern'* ought to do all that it has done for the farmer, and a lot more. The Government's recent policy has been to educate the farmer to accept the new ideas and novel methods and techniques and it has attempted to do this through lectures to farmers, programmes on rediffusion, and pamphlets - along with the inducements of subsidies and guarantees. But the limited success of this programme has emphasised the basic problem in farming today which is that the 'Farmer' is now the middle-aged or old man, whose lack of education and experience outside the community of his village makes it most unlikely that he will accept information and advice from those who are patently not *Maltese* farmers and lack the lifetime's association with the alleged idiosyncracies of the Maltese environment.

178 464 241 561 The younger generation, which has benefited from a thorough primary schooling, might have been the individuals to listen to lectures on farming but, and here is the basic problem, as a group the sons and daughters of farmers are desperate to leave the land and even more concerned to rid themselves of what they see as the social inferiority attached to the calling of their fathers. These young people have in fact been educated to an awareness of new possibilities of economic and social life outside farming and also outside the village community which bred them. So many of the younger generation have in fact managed to make the break with the way of life of their fathers that the average age of the Maltese farmer is now higher than only a few years ago, and is still rising (see Section III Introduction).

665 Christian Workers' Party (CWP); and Chev. George Ransley started up the Democratic Christian Party (DCP).

665 Of these six parties, only one, the Malta Labour Party, incorporates the villages on a permanent basis in its organizational
666 framework. The other five parties are loosely organized. Their structure can be seen most clearly just before an election. At the top of each there is the party executive. Below that are the candidates from the electoral districts. (Under the 1947 Constitution there were eight electoral districts each returning five representatives; the 1961 Constitution increased the number to ten.) The candidates from the various electoral districts work out their campaign strategy with their national executives. Each candidate, in his turn, tries to appoint canvassers or agents in each important village in his district. Some canvassers are paid, and have represented other candidates and parties before. Thus at the village level it is pretty much every candidate for himself. This is particularly true when there are several candidates from a single party canvassing votes in the same village. If the party is successful, the chain from canvasser, through the local member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA), to Cabinet Minister, serves as a channel for requests and patronage. The party structure is thus strengthened and given a degree of permanence. But if the party is defeated or, if elected, it resigns, or the constitution is suspended, it ceases to be an operative organization at the village level. None of these parties have permanently organized village committees or clubs, though there are Nationalist Party clubs in a few towns. In the past, a few band clubs became identified with specific parties and
[575] served as local centres for the party. This often occurred when prominent band club members became successful party politicians. But the linkage between a village band club and a particular party was coincidental. Moreover, only rarely did all the members of such a band club support the political party with which its leaders were aligned. The above, in rather general terms, is a rough description of the structure of five of the six Maltese political parties in 1961. The Labour Party is the exception.

665 The Labour Party was the first to reorganize itself immediately after the war. During the period between 1949 and 1955, when the Nationalists and Dr. Boffa's Workers' Party carried on a coalition government, Dom Mintoff further reorganized and strengthened the Malta Labour Party. Its structure was greatly

reinforced during the three years following 1955 when it formed 665
the government. Since then it has been streamlined and hardened
by the Party's almost constant struggle with the Church. Frequent
meetings now keep the rank and file in close touch with the
national leaders. The Party's newspaper, which became a daily [204]
shortly after Mintoff resigned in 1958, disseminates propaganda [208]
and news of Labour activities as well as international news, and so
provides the leaders with an important contact with members.

The MLP is now organized in three tiers: at the national level, at
the level of the electoral district, and at the village level. The
structure of the MLP, unlike that of its rivals, rests very firmly on
its village level organization. Virtually every village in Malta has
its own Local Committee, the members of which are elected
annually by the formal, dues-paying members among the MLP
supporters in the village. In most villages there is also a Party 575
club, of which the Local Committee members are the officers. 665
The Labour Club, which is usually equipped with a bar, a tele-
vision set and a billiards table, serves as the social centre for the [529]
MLP group in the village. Its frequent activities keep the supporters
united, as do the attacks of their enemies. The Club has become
something of a refuge for MLP supporters who are now cut off
from many village activities by the stigma which the Church has
attached to them. A number of Local Committees have organized
sub-committees for women and children.

Every Local Committee in each electoral district elects one 665
member to sit on the District Committee. This Committee acts
as a clearing house for propaganda and electoral tactics. During
the three years that the Party formed the government, the Dis-
trict Committees were also points at which district-wide com-
plaints, patronage and public works were discussed with the
district MLA's.

At the apex of this pyramid is the National Executive of the Malta Labour Party. This is composed of representatives from all the District Committees, from the Parliamentary group and from the Labour League of Youth. The Party officers and additional members of the Executives are elected at an annual General Conference. All electoral candidates and major policy decisions are confirmed there. Conference delegates are representatives of the Local Committees of each village and town.

During the period the MLP was in power, the Local Committees

557 793 794 Most of the procuratorships and offices in the associations connected with the Church are conferred upon members of the circle of persons who figuratively, and often physically, surround the parish priest. They become his favourites by doing some of the hundred and one odd jobs for which he depends on volunteers. These include running messages, carrying chairs, arranging meetings and decorating the streets for feasts and other important occasions, such as the visit of the Archbishop. Acceptance into the circle and the rewards meted out vary, of course, according to the capabilities of the individuals concerned, and the character of the parish priest. Advancement is most rapid and the rewards most interesting where the parish priest is open to influence, and the job-seeker has the qualities of leadership discussed below. But people are loath to see their parish priest delegate too much of his authority to their fellows. Those who pursue power in the community by attaching themselves to the parish priest often incur a good measure of hostility. Most frequently they are accused by the village gossips of lining their pockets with their neighbour's money.

794 [796] The most important member of the circle surrounding the parish priest in Kortin is old Manwel, a retired school teacher. As procurator of the Confraternity of our Lady of Sorrows, he collects funds for and organizes the elaborate Good Friday procession. This is an event which attracts visitors from all over the island. He is also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Joseph, the village cemetery and the Mass legacies of the parish. He is one of the founders and a former vice-president and secretary of the Social Club, and a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. [575] Though no longer in the Band Club, he was once on its committee. For many years he was also on the committee which organized the annual festa. All these offices give him a greater voice in the administration of the parish and its ceremonial affairs than anyone except the parish priest.

IV

575 [554] The officers of the secular associations in a village generally enjoy high standing and wield considerable influence. The secular associations, though they vary, generally include a men's social club (usually a brass band club), a political party committee or

club and a sports club. In Farrug, for instance, there are two band 575
clubs – one of which is dedicated to St. Martin, the other to St.
Roque – a football club and an active Labour Party committee;
while Kortin has a band club, a social club, a Labour club, a
football club and a troop of Boy Scouts. The term secular, used 575
in this context, requires a few words of qualification. Although 794
clubs and associations which I have called secular do not form part
of the Church, this does not necessarily mean that they are
opposed to it, or are cut off from it. Quite the contrary. Almost
every club has a chaplain who serves as a link between it and the
parish priest. Most clubs take part in certain religious functions,
especially during the week preceding Easter. Moreover, many of [778]
the clubs have dedicated themselves to the Sacred Heart of Jesus
and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary by means of special religious
ceremonies. Often this dedication is renewed annually. Only [665]
the clubs of the Malta Labour Party do not have any linkage with
the Church.

The band clubs are the most important secular societies. They 575
are formally constituted associations with elected committees,
premises of their own and a large body of dues-paying members
drawn from all occupational and social classes. The first band
clubs were established shortly after the middle of the last century
in order to organize the external celebrations and provide music
for the annual festas of village patron saints. The clubs multiplied
rapidly, and soon became civic and social centres. They have [536]
broadened their scope to include dramatic groups, reading rooms [525]
and places where members can gamble out of sight of the watchful
eyes of the law. Most clubs have large concert halls that can
be used for wedding receptions. Today, each club usually has a
well-stocked bar, a television set and a billiards table.

But a band club is more than just a social centre. As it usually
plays an important part in organizing the external celebration of
the annual festa, the men who run the club make decisions which
affect all the inhabitants. Furthermore, the club often represents 575
the community to the outside world. Not only is the club's brass 574
band considered as the village's band when it plays at other festas, [186]
but the club also provides a welcome to important visitors from
outside. Thus when the Governor or the Archbishop makes an
official visit, he normally calls on the band clubs, where he is
given a reception on behalf of the entire village.

575 The important officers of a band club are among the most
influential people in the community, and are usually chosen from
the village's leading citizens. The president is the figurehead of
[574] the club. He greets distinguished visitors and handles many of the
ceremonial and business relations the club has with other groups
within and outside the community. He also presides over committee meetings and over the annual election of new officers. The day-to-day running of the club is in the hands of the secretary, who is registered with the police as the club's official representative. Much of the success of the club depends upon his ability to run its social activities and administrative affairs. Other important committee members are the vice-president, the treasurer and the bandmaster. The latter is very often an outsider who comes to the village only for the weekly rehearsal of the band.

575 554 Though the formal authority of the committee members extends over the members of the association only while they are in the club, their position in the club occasionally gives them a voice in decisions which affect the entire community. This, in turn, gives them a measure of authority over persons who are not members of the club.

575 184 But not all villages have band clubs. The small villages of
Gharghur, Dingli and Safi have not been able to afford the luxury
of their own bands; though each has a social club that performs
much the same function as a social and civic centre. A few villages,
such as Kortin, have both social clubs and band clubs. But there
are neither band clubs nor social clubs in the Maltese villages of
[517] Marsaskala, Marsaxlokk and Mġarr. In Gozo, only Rabat,
Xewkija and Xaghra have band clubs. All the villages without clubs are fishing or agricultural communities. This may be because the men of these villages do not dispose of the leisure time in the evening necessary for a club to be a success: the farmers are too tired, and the fishermen are off tending their nets.

575 665 There are also political and football clubs in most Maltese
villages. In Gozo there are a few football clubs, but no political
clubs. These clubs are organized in much the same way as the
[526] band clubs, and corresponding office holders have similar functions and authority over their members. These offices, however,
[554] confer much less prestige. The football clubs, in particular, play only a small part in village affairs. The Malta Labour Party, as has already been noted, is the only political party which has clubs

at the village level. While there are Labour committees in almost 575
all villages in Malta, not all of them have been successful in finding 665
club premises. Where clubs have not been opened, the active
members usually meet in a café or a private house.

The role of the Labour committee or club in the social life of 575
a village is rather complex. The Labour club at all times is the 659
centre of the local Labour supporters. During the past few years
it has also been the centre of agitation against the established 665
authority of the Church, especially in so far as it touches on secular matters. During the three years following 1955 when the Labour Government was in office, these village committees were backed by the government. Committee members thus wielded considerable power, for they provided a direct link with the established authority of the State at the national level. The same was true, but to a lesser extent, of the agents of the Nationalist Party during its period in government.

V

The qualities which the Maltese themselves consider important 156
for a person to have in order to hold office are, of course, ideal 577
ones. As such, they may not all be present in the same person. The leader of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ summed these up for me as responsibility, willingness to work, courage and social status (*pozizzjoni*). Responsibility and willingness to work are self-explanatory.

Courage is a necessary quality since any person in a position to exercise some control over the action of others (especially in a society which stresses equality) is bound to be criticized by those over whom he exercises it, as well as by those who envy his position. Courage may be based on a desire to acquire power, and insensitivity to or failure to perceive criticism, or on an idealism which places the ultimate ends above the criticism of the means employed to attain them. I have known various village leaders whose courage was based upon one or more of these attributes. I have also met people who resigned from their offices because their motivation or insensitivity was not sufficiently strong to prompt them to carry on in spite of criticism. A former secretary of the social club in Kortin once summed up the reasons for his resignation with the proverb, 'Unfortunate is the one who gets

156 577 talked about' (*Miskin min jiġi f'ilsien in-nies*). This is especially true for those persons whose social position does not permit them to remain outside the circle in which criticism and gossip circulates. For these the esteem of neighbours is more important than office.

156 554 575 Social status is the fourth quality of leadership mentioned. High status is a desirable and, in some cases, necessary quality for the holders of certain offices. The president of a band club is required to act as its ambassador and to handle its external relations; a person with high status is an obvious asset. He can meet visiting dignitaries and perform the required speech making without embarrassment to the club. Thus the president and vice-president of the clubs have often been invited to fill those offices because of their high status. Some clubs create the office of honorary patron for benefactors who are willing to lend their names – and status – to the clubs, although they take no part or interest in their actual running.

High social position is also an asset to the office of treasurer; for at some time or another he is almost sure to be accused by the village gossips of putting his hand into the purse. Considerable social distance between him and his critics renders him less vulnerable to their comments. It also makes potential critics less vocal. People are often willing to concede integrity to their superiors which they deny to their equals.

The secretary of the club does not need high status to carry out his work successfully, although it is certainly an asset. But he must have at least one of the attributes of high status, namely education; for as administrator of the club he is required to do a great deal of paper work. On the other hand, occupying one of the important offices in itself confers prestige upon a person. Thus the secretary is accorded a higher social status that he would have if he did not occupy that position, assuming for a moment that he had no other attributes which would confer status upon him.

156 463 554 871 Two important attributes of status are education and occupation. Education is the key that unlocks the world of the printed word and frees people from dependence on patrons willing to interpret it. Education also leads to better employment opportunities. Since entrance to the civil service, the professions and many commercial concerns is by competitive examination, the Maltese attach great importance to formal education.

156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

156 Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xiħ żomm fih*). But
561 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where
schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to
their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard.
The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is
wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leadership in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish
registers support the memories of the present generation of elders
that this has not always been the case.

156 Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
● [575] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it convenient for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
[693] continue to practise in their native villages. But when they continue to reside in their villages, even though their social life and
many of their business interests are oriented away from the community, they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge
their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted
into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have
gone successfully into politics.

156 Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday procession. Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter
693 of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football
and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he
has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a
successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
759 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

Partly because of the temporary nature of their assignments, but 554
also because they are usually city-bred, they generally keep 759
themselves aloof from the people amongst whom they work. With but few exceptions, they take little or no part in the social life of the communities to which they are assigned. But they are nevertheless respected figures. Where they are tolerant of village customs, not too mercenary, and take a patronal interest in the personal problems of their clients, they will have, in addition to prestige, a large personal following. This has enabled a number of former District Medical Officers to stand successfully for elected office.

School teachers are another group of people with high pres- 554
tige. Every village and almost every hamlet in Malta and Gozo
now has a government school. Headmasters usually live outside 875
the villages in which they work. They begin their careers in the small rural villages and move into the larger and more important
schools as they gain experience and seniority. They are rarely in a 554
village long enough to be asked to take part in its social life. 575
Village-born teachers, on the other hand, normally teach in their 875
home villages, where they often occupy important offices in the associations. But even where he no longer resides in his place of birth the teacher or headmaster, as a village son with high prestige, is often asked to take an active part in its social life. The president of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ, for example, is headmaster of the primary school in a neighbouring village, where he has lived since he married there more than forty years ago. He has been a member of the club's committee for most of that time,
and its president for the last twenty years. Until two years ago he [794]
was also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Roque.

VI

The structure of authority in the villages of Malta and Gozo, 621
because of the importance of offices and associations which are 795
either focused on or articulated with the Church, bears a certain superficial resemblance to the civil/religious hierarchy which has been described in Mexican villages.[1] But it differs significantly; it is neither a hierarchy, nor is it formally related to the structure
of government.

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[1] See, for instance, Fernando Camara, 'Religious and Political Organization', in *Heritage of Conquest*, Sol Tax, ed. (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), *passim*.

796 aware of their separateness, and realized that both incense and
[123] gunpowder were ingredients basic to the celebration of a festa.

The actual celebration of the feast can be divided into three parts: the Triduum or Novena – the three to nine days of spiritual preparation which precede the feast day – the eve of the feast, and the day of the feast. As the feast is usually celebrated on a Sunday so that more people can come, the Triduum days are Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. High Mass is offered on these days, and in the evenings outside priests often come to preach sermons on religious topics related to the life of the patron saint. They are also days of preparation during which the elaborate street decorations are hoisted into place. Throughout the day the village is psychologically conditioned to the festa by salvoes of aerial bombs which are often timed to coincide with the ringing
[533] of the Paternoster and the Angelus. On the last day of the Triduum, after the final sermon, the village band marches through the main streets. Often the band is preceded by a mass of dancing and shouting enthusiasts of both sexes, who wave coloured scarves, silver loving cups and other symbols of their loyalty to
[578] their band and their saint. In villages where there are competing
[575] band clubs, this demonstration often provokes fights between rival supporters. These skirmishes are usually sparked off by the bands of girls who hoarsely shout themselves into a frenzy proclaiming the virtues of their saint and the shortcomings of their rivals. There are no visitors during this part of the feast.

On Saturday, the eve of the feast, there is a High Mass and Te Deum to mark the end of the Triduum. This is usually followed by a barrage of aerial fireworks. The local band then often marches through the village, stopping at all the clubs for drinks.
[273] This march is usually quite gay but in some villages it degenerates into a drunken spree. During the day, outside priests are brought
[783] in specially for the festa to hear confessions in the church. In the late afternoon, visitors begin to arrive to watch the Translation, a ceremony during which the celebrant, usually the Bishop, takes a relic of the saint on a short procession outside the church. After
[533] the Translation, the various guest bands march through the village and then settle down to play selections from operas and works composed by Maltese bandmasters. The many relatives and friends of the bandsmen join the gaily dressed crowds who have been streaming in by bus and car or on foot.

796 competing for the attention of the crowd within a few yards of
[533] each other.

[292] All the while, the procession, followed by a few black-clad penitents, solemnly passes through the main streets of the village.
[481] Often those carrying the saint move with a shuffling step that causes him to bob and turn as though he were dancing. As he passes under balconies his cheering and clapping admirers shower him with confetti. Then, as the procession nears the church, the final *kaxxa infernal*, this time of coloured rockets, is touched off. In some villages the saint is turned around so that he can see this barrage and the display of multi-staged rockets that follows it. The statue then enters the church and the Benediction is given. After this the crowd of visitors quickly disperses. Soon the inhabitants have the village to themselves again. As the women and girls wheel and pull the children off to bed, the men carry around from club to club the grimy, soot-stained men who made and fired the fireworks. They are the heroes of the hour. Other men seek out their clubs or usual cafés and toast one another and the success of their feast. So ends the festa for another year.

796 The organization of the annual festa requires a long period of planning and preparation. This work calls for a certain degree of
793 centralization. In most villages the parish priest controls the
[794] organization of both the internal and the external feasts. In some villages, however, he delegates some of this work to a procurator, usually a priest, but occasionally to a committee of leading per-
●[575] sonalities of the village. In other villages, all the details of the external feast, including the fund raising, are handled by the band club committees. In any case, the parish priest always has the last word. Sometimes there is friction between him and other interested parties over organizational details.

796 The cost of these feasts varies considerably. It is naturally related to the size of the village and to the degree of enthusiasm
794 with which the festa is celebrated. It ranges from a few shillings
435 per family in a large urban parish to as much as £15 per family in a small rural parish celebrating a particularly important festa. The average cost to the community, however, is about £1,000. The organizers of the festa collect the necessary funds by means of lotteries, fairs, special appeals and a small weekly contribution of threepence or sixpence from each family. Most fund raisers also solicit pledges from leading citizens and enter their names and the

contributions would be used for the general needs of the church. 79
The festa committee was dismissed.

The following year he ran the festa himself. It was quite a 79
success, although there was some grumbling that there was not 578
the same spirit in the festa as before. But following the festa the
year after that, the grumblers became more vocal and began to
take action. Their main criticism was that without the committee
to whip up enthusiasm for the festa, the village was becoming
apathetic about its celebration. Moreover, with no committee
there was no one to paint and care for the festa furnishings – which
they considered to be the finest in Malta, if not the world – and
they would soon be spoiled. Consequently, a few days after the 79
festa, the ringleaders gathered in the football club and formed a 575
committee with Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, as
chairman. Sur Ġorġ,[1] a wealthy middle-aged bachelor, is the last 578
descendant in the village of a family which has played a leading
role in the community for almost a century. The committee was
composed of members of the band club, the social club and the
football club. Representatives then went to Dun Bert and told
him that many people wished to have the old festa committee
restored, with the power of raising funds. They also suggested that
this committee should control the collection of threepence a week.
Dun Bert replied that while he was not opposed in principle to
the idea of such a committee, he would have to consider it. In any
event, he could not approve of their financial proposals. When the
spokesman told him that a committee was already in existence
and working for the good of the village, he became somewhat
alarmed. The following Sunday he defended his position before
the village from the altar, citing relevant portions of Canon Law
and describing the parish's financial situation.

Sur Ġorġ's group then distributed leaflets to each house asking
for a vote of confidence. This divided the village into two
factions, for there were many who would not consider going
against the wishes of their spiritual shepherd, no matter what their
views on the festa were. Dun Bert eventually agreed to the formation of a parish council, to comprise two representatives from

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[1] The title *sur* (from *sinjur*, sir, gentleman) is a mark of respect bestowed by villagers [576]
upon all educated outsiders who have no other title. It also marks social distance. Very [554]
few persons are addressed this way by their fellow villagers. Sur Ġorġ, though born in
Kortin, was addressed this way because of his high social status and university education.

79 575 578 each association, including the religious ones.[1] The committee forwarded the names of the representatives of its three constituent clubs to Dun Bert. After some time, when they had received no reply from him, they wrote to the Archbishop. Finally, some two months later, Dun Bert wrote back that he could not accept any member of a political party committee on the parish council. This was clearly aimed at the secretary of the band club, who was a very active member of the Labour Party committee, the only political committee in the village. He was not willing to step down, and the other members of the committee supported his decision. The rest of the village slowly lost interest in the matter. The parish priest thus had his way, and is still in full control of the feast.

79 578 Many are still bitter about the manner in which their request to take a more active part in the organization of their feast was suppressed, but most have accepted it. They miss not so much the old festa committee, the members of which most people criticized freely, as the feeling they had had of all working together for the greater glory of the village. The members of the old committee at least had the virtue of being from the village, and were as anxious as the next person to celebrate the biggest and best feast in Malta, or so I was often told. Although no one suggested that the parish priest is anything but scrupulously honest, they consider that as an outsider, he does not have the same keen interest in their feast, and in the reputation of the village. Others, less charitable, accuse him of being hungry for power and anxious to
178 543 794 [793] enrich himself with his fees as procurator of the festa. Many also spoke to me with regret of the passing of the annual fairs, which the parish priest has not attempted to run on his own. The fairs were exciting occasions on which young and old, rich and poor, competed against each other in games of chance and raffles to win back the rabbits and chickens which they had previously donated to the festa. They say they miss the sense of unity that the fairs brought them. 'In those days we knew each other better,' one priest remarked. 'With the fair some of the poetry of the village was destroyed.' Perhaps, without expressing it in quite this fashion, the organizers of the committee, in their own way, were also seeking this lost poetry.

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[1] Such parish councils have from time to time been established in some of the larger villages and towns, but most of them came to threaten the authority of the parish priests, who therefore disbanded them.

CHAPTER VI

Festa Partiti

578 Village unity is an ideal, and all villages try to present a tightly
united front to the outside world. In spite of this, all are divided
621 internally by cleavages which cut across the community at various
levels. Some of these divisions are only temporary, and disappear
when the issues out of which they have arisen are resolved. Others,
which may have arisen out of temporary issues, have for one
reason or another become a permanent part of the social scene.
But regardless of their origin or duration, these divisions are painfully real to the villagers. Persons made vulnerable through a network of personal relations are often forced to commit themselves
to a particular division. In doing so, they become opposed to
neighbours and kinsmen who are committed to the other side.
[602] This is one of the characteristics of life in all small villages. It is
particularly true of communities, such as those in Malta, in which
the inhabitants are closely related through kinship and affinity.

192 The Maltese call these divisions *partiti* (sing., *partit*). The term
578 thus corresponds not only to groups of the order which we in
English would call 'parties', but also to those to which we would
621 apply the term 'factions'. Political parties are called partiti, and
[665] so are rival groups such as the two in Kortin which competed over
[794] the rebuilding of the church. Partiti are said to have *pika* between
them. *Pika* denotes relations of competition, ill-feeling, hostility.
There is little about the word which suggests the good-natured
competition that can exist between rival school football or cricket
teams. On the contrary, if there is *pika* between two groups, a
no-holds-barred competition is expected. Partiti are thus considered to be a bad thing. They disrupt the harmony of the community and make it more difficult to project the ideal image of
village unity to the outside world.

● 575 The oldest permanent division that exists in the villages is
578 between the supporters of rival band clubs. This division is related
621 to the cult of saints. In the previous chapter it was noted that
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besides the patron saint, parishes celebrate many other saints. The 575
feasts of these secondary saints are normally not as lavish as the 578
annual festa of the patron. But many villages celebrate two large 621
festas: one for the titular saint of the parish, and the other for a 794
secondary saint who has assumed almost equal social importance. 796
Where this occurs, a village is divided into two partiti, each of which has its own band club and celebrates one of the saints. The partiti compete over almost every aspect of the festa, including the decoration of the streets, the adornment of the statue, the number of guest bands and, above all, the fireworks. Even the exact number of communicants, the size of candles and the quantity of light bulbs illuminating the façade of the church often become the subject of dispute. Farruġ is divided by this type of rivalry. One partit is dedicated to St. Martin, the titular of the parish, the other to St. Roque.

The origins of these festa partiti, where they can be traced, are 17
very much alike. Most of them came into existence sometime 578
between 1850 and the turn of the century, and most arose out of 621
disputes between persons concerned with the celebration of the 796
titular festa and those interested in the cult of some lesser saint. [794]
The latter were usually members of the confraternity dedicated to [575]
that saint.[1] These factions in time became centred on separate social clubs, and eventually acquired brass bands. The clubs provided a permanent institutional basis for the rivalry. As time went on, the partiti became more violent in their disputes and in the pressure they put upon individuals to support them. Finally in 578
1935, the Church, long alarmed at the extremes to which the 621
devotion to some saints had been carried in certain villages, took 79
steps to eliminate the competition. It promulgated a series of regulations designed to reduce the scale on which secondary feasts could be celebrated. These stipulated that for secondary feasts there [575]
was to be no Translation of Holy Relics on the eve of the feast, that only the church and the area immediately adjacent to it could

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[1] Cf. Rob. Mifsud Bonnici, *Ġrajja Tal-Mużika F'Malta u Għawdex* (Malta, Giov. Muscat, 1954), pp. 38 f. He suggests that these partiti developed out of a dispute between persons who wanted to play sacred music by the Maltese composer Vincenzo Bugeja (1806–60) and those who preferred that of his rival, Paolo Nani (1814–1904). As far as I could determine, however, the only partiti which arose directly out of this dispute are those in Żebbuġ. On the other hand, many rival partiti, once established, played the music of either Bugeja or Nani during their feasts. The former took a star as their symbol, the latter an eagle. Today partiti in many villages are still nicknamed either *tal-istilla* or *tal-ajkla* after this once-important division. [113] [114] [575]

578 be illuminated and that only one band on the eve and one on the
621 day of the feast would be allowed. Although they are now
79 ignored, the regulations also placed limits upon the variety,
quantity and duration of firework displays. Finally, they drew
[575] attention to the already existing regulations that church decorations and new works of art introduced for secondary feasts should be less costly and beautiful than those for titular feasts.[1]

Parish priests were expected to insist on the observance of these regulations, and they succeeded so well that some secondary feasts were reduced to minor celebrations. Moreover, the *pika* between the partiti in Żabbar and Qrendi was so violent that the secondary feasts there were suppressed completely.[2] This served as a stern warning to others.

II

175 The story of the origin and development of the festa partiti in
621 Farrug is in many respects similar to the accounts which I col-
79 lected about festa partiti in other villages. It might, therefore, be helpful to examine it in some detail. Before 1877 there were no festa partiti in the village; everyone co-operated in the celebration of the feast of St. Martin, the patron of the parish. By all accounts it was a humble one, and lasted only one day. This period is described as an idyllic time during which the village was happy and united. But in 1876 a new parish priest arrived, and after that the scene began to change. Dun Rokku, the new priest, not only had a strong personal devotion to the saint after whom he had been named, but he was also from a village where there was a strong secondary partit devoted to St. Roque. Within a year he established a confraternity dedicated to St. Roque in order to 'inject some more life into this rural parish', according to the president of the St. Roque Band Club. The first feast in honour of St. Roque was celebrated in October 1878 to mark the establishment of the confraternity. Although the new secondary feast was at first a simple affair, it and the titular feast grew during the next few years.

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[1] Concilium Regionale Melitense (1935). *Decreta* (Malta, Empire Press, 1936), p. 91.

[178] [2] In Żabbar the devotion to St. Michael, the secondary patron, died out almost completely, though the *pika* between the bands has persisted. But in Qrendi the devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes, the secondary patron, has continued as strong as ever. In 1958 the Archbishop reinstated the confraternity dedicated to her, which his predecessor suppressed in 1935, but the partit band is still not allowed to play for her feast.

few years. In 1880 the new confraternity dedicated an altar in the 175
church to its patron, and by 1886 some persons were beginning 578
to grumble about having to pay for another feast. There was a 621
feeling of 'you collect for your feast, and we'll collect for ours.' 79

In 1888 an incident occurred which changed the course of the rivalry between the supporters of the two saints, which until then
appears to have been rather mild. Dun Rokku, who was the pro- [427]
curator of the parish church, tried to increase the rent on some of the local property it owned. There was an outcry, and some persons went to the Bishop to complain that not only had Dun Rokku been diverting parish funds to buy new street decorations for the feast of St. Roque, but he was also raising rents to continue this work. The complaints resulted in an investigation, following which the procura of the church was taken from Dun Rokku and given to a prominent member of the village, who favoured St. Martin. This action, not surprisingly, infuriated Dun Rokku. From that day onward, so the accounts relate, he threw his full support openly behind the feast of St. Roque.

Some time after this, the partiti each formed their own social 175
clubs. According to St. Martin supporters, their club grew out of 575
a pre-existing band club, but that of their rivals was not estab- 621
lished until after the First World War. They thus consider that they have seniority. St. Roque partisans, on the other hand, deny this seniority. They maintain that both clubs came into being out of the former club around the turn of the century. Consequently they have equal seniority. However, both clubs claim that the records crucial to the question of seniority were destroyed by enemy action during the last war. There is thus no documentary evidence for either claim, a fact which makes for deadlock whenever the issue of seniority is raised.

Dun Rokku was a strongminded priest, and he ruled the village 578
for fifty-six years. When he finally died in 1932 at the age of 90, he 621
was blind and deaf. During his many years in the parish he did 79
much to beautify the church. Unfortunately, so people recount, he also introduced the hated partiti that divided the village. Through a variety of means at the disposal of a parish priest, he succeeded in wooing or coercing three-fourths of the village into his partit. There are many stories about the old man and the methods he used to recruit supporters. One is that he would make it difficult for people to marry unless they were, or became, members of the

578
621

of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 793
political parties. 784

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro- 794
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the con-
fraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are mem-
bers neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

575 these groups is the loyalty of the people to the partit and its patron,
shown by supporting the many activities that the leaders organize,
621 and by boycotting similar activities of their rivals. These
794 include fund-raising lotteries and fairs, weekly collections and
796 partit picnics and pilgrimages. During the festa, supporters march
with the statue, dress themselves and their houses up and in
general celebrate their patron. Their rivals often walk about unshaven
and glowering, and do not normally decorate their houses.

Although most people in a village divided by this type of
578 rivalry will choose, or be forced, to take sides, a few are able to
621 avoid this commitment, or at least say they have. These are often
794 priests and teachers, who sometimes find it to their advantage to
796 remain neutral, as do outsiders who have married into the village.
MUSEUM members are not permitted to maintain partit affiliation
though, of course, many do. Neutral people contribute to both
feasts. A true partisan would never contribute to the external feast
of his rival, although he might give something to the parish
priest for the internal feast. During periods of intense rivalry, even
these contributions cease. Thus, virtually the entire £1,465 which
St. Martin's centenary cost was contributed by his supporters
alone. Six months later their rivals spent £600 on the feast of St.
Roque.

The band club is the organizational and social centre of a partit.
575 All members of the club are supporters of the partit, but not all
621 supporters of the partit are members of the club, though nonmembers
are normally welcome to come and use its facilities. To
a certain extent, membership of the club depends upon the availability
of ready cash, for many men are reluctant to part with the
subscription fee as long as they can make use of the club's premises.
Though the confraternities are open to all adults without
621 regard to partit affiliation, there is normally a positive correlation
794 between partit and confraternity membership. Generally speaking,
the supporters of the titular feast enrol in the older confraternities
of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary. These
confraternities are established in all parishes, and play an important
part in many religious ceremonies. Supporters of the secondary
patron enrol in the confraternity dedicated to him, if they feel
inclined to join one.

162 These general principles can be illustrated by data collected in
621 Farruġ. Table No. 4 below shows the relative strengths of the two

361 residence pattern is certainly true in Farruġ, and I observed much
the same thing in other villages divided by festa partiti. In Farruġ,
621 65 per cent of the people living on the main square and the four
streets leading into it supported St. Martin, but only 46 per cent
of those living in other parts of the village did so.

Disputes between partiti usually concern matters of precedence
578 or their ability to display devotion to their saints. Each partit has
621 certain rights, usually secured at the cost of clashes with its rival.
● [575] These include the position and participation of the club and con-
[794] fraternity in Church processions and at other functions, the routes
over which these processions travel and the possession of certain
property and its display in the parish church. Any attempt to
[626] extend or reduce them is resisted by the partit affected, which
takes action to protect its interests by trying to influence the
Church authorities, who must make the final decisions.

The structural position of a partit determines the kind of
621 pressure that it can bring to bear upon the Church. Those of
626 titular saints are, in a sense, the establishment parties. As we have
794 seen, the Church seeks to build up their celebrations at the
796 expense of the secondary ones. Hence a titular partit can negotiate
from a strong position: its ultimate sanction is refusal to participate
in the feast of the village patron, an event which the Church is
anxious to see celebrated with great pomp. Secondary partiti, on
the other hand, are inherently opposed to the Church in matters
of festa policy. They try to increase the scale of their feasts, while
the Church tries to reduce them. They dare not cancel their feasts
for fear that the Church would accuse them of making trouble
and suppress them, as it did the secondary festas of Our Lady of
Lourdes in Qrendi, and St. Michael in Żabbar.

621 Their position in opposition to Church policy has given most
secondary partiti a certain *esprit de corps* and unity of purpose that
626 their rivals often lack. This has made them better able to with-
665 stand the divisive effects of the political factions which have
794 recently weakened many of their rivals. It has also generally
resulted in the emergence of stronger leaders. Secondary partiti
are often united around a single professional class leader who can
not only hold the partit together in the face of the attacks of its
opponents, but can also argue intricate points of Canon Law with
the monsignori at the Curia and, at times, with the Archbishop
621 himself. As we have observed, the secondary partiti generally have

fewer professional class members. Consequently competition for 621
the role of leader does not occur so often, and there is a longer
tenure of office. In the partit of a titular saint, with its better-educated
members, there are more men with the necessary qualities
of leadership, and accordingly more competition for office
and a high turnover of office holders. The competition both [578]
creates and results from internal factions which weaken the group.
In Farrug, for example, the President of the St. Roque Band Club 575
has led the St. Roque partit more or less continuously since Dun 621
Rokku died thirty years ago. He is also just about the only member
of the partit with the educational qualifications and social
position required of a leader. The key positions of the St. Martin
Band Club, in contrast, constantly pass between about half a
dozen educated persons. This divided leadership has weakened the
club; and on one occasion it even split in two. The strong leadership
and internal unity of the secondary partiti, plus the fact that
they rarely present claims that are not well founded, has enabled
them to score many successes in spite of their apparently unfavourable
position in relation to the Church.

Disputes between festa partiti are all very much alike. A typical 578
dispute begins when leaders of a secondary partit petition the 621
parish priest for some new privilege, for example the right to 793
renew the bouquets of artificial flowers which adorn the statue of 794
their saint. The parish priest normally refuses at first, and tells
them that he thinks the old flowers are quite serviceable. His policy
is to let sleeping dogs lie. Moreover, he has to take into account
the rule that decorations for secondary feasts must not be more
beautiful than those for titular ones. But the saint's supporters
continue to bring influence to bear on him. In the meantime,
members of the titular partit have learned of their rivals' move
and rush to the parish priest to point out that the old flowers are
more than adequate. They threaten to cancel their feast if he [626]
gives in on this matter. The priest is now caught in a vice, and the
pressure on him builds up. Finally, he agrees to refer the whole
case to the Curia and passes the matter upwards, usually with a
feeling of relief. Relations between him and the partiti return to
normal, as the scene of the struggle shifts to the Curia.

The Curia normally appoints experts to re-investigate the merits of the case, including the proposed design of the flowers. Leaders from both partiti spend a great deal of their time at the

578 Curia trying to persuade all concerned, from the Bishop down, to
think the way they do. This may go on for years, for the Curia,
621 knowing the trouble that lies ahead, is usually in no hurry to give
793 its decision. When the final decision is handed down, it is usually
794 favourable, and the design for a set of flowers less beautiful and
costly than the corresponding set of the titular partit is furnished.
The secondary partit then instructs the craftsmen to begin work.
The titular partit announces to everyone that it will cancel its
next feast.

It often happens, however, that just before the new bouquets (or whatever *objets d'art* are concerned) are inaugurated during the secondary festa, the parish priest discovers that most of the Curia's specifications have been ignored. The new flowers are far more beautiful than they were supposed to be. He is furious. The guilty leaders of the secondary partit apologize profusely and take immediate steps to make them less beautiful. Occasionally, the priest may discipline the partit by temporarily reducing the scale of its feast. The secondary partit then holds its feast, and the flowers are admired by all visitors. Strong police reinforcements usually prevent trouble from occurring. Relations between the parish priest and the titular partit are gradually re-established and it agrees, usually for some concessions on his part, to celebrate its feast again. But in a year or so, a new dispute occurs, and the process starts all over again.

578 Sometimes relations between a parish priest and a partit reach
621 a deadlock that can be broken only by an outside peacemaker,
frequently an officer of the police. The police in any case have a
625 vital interest in the degree of rivalry existing in the villages, as it is
793 their business to keep order during the feast. The number of
794 police on duty at these times ranges from a dozen or so in villages
such as Siġġiewi and Naxxar, where there are no partiti, to around
100 in those where there are strong ones, such as Mqabba and
[626] Żurrieq. Occasionally a parish priest is threatened, frightened by
a home-made bomb, or attacked; he then often requests, and
generally receives, a transfer to another parish.

543 So far only the more important encounters between partiti have
575, been discussed. There are many other events to keep their rivalry
578 alive throughout the year. The numerous fund-raising fairs of
621 the band clubs are occasions for the village to divide along festa
partit lines. While supporters of the partit running the fair flock

to it, their rivals invariably stage their own fair or, and this is 621 more usual, hire several buses and noisily leave the village for a 578 picnic or a pilgrimage to some shrine of their saint. Many other [575] incidents divide groups and associations along partit lines. For [543] example, a former head teacher of the Farruġ school told me that [301] he had once tried to get the girls to wear the dark blue hair ribbons which are supposed to be part of their school uniforms. He was astounded when half the girls flatly refused. It was then explained to him that blue is the colour of the St. Roque partit, so the St. Martin girls could not be expected to wear it.

Let us now look at some of the major skirmishes which have 578 taken place in Farruġ during the last ten years. During 1952 and 621 1953 there was a dispute over an attempt by the St. Roque pro- 79 cession to pass along a street over which St. Martin's followers claimed exclusive rights. When the inexperienced new parish priest backed the St. Roque claim before the Archbishop, he brought violently into the open a dispute over which his predecessor had successfully procrastinated for years. The followers [626] of St. Martin not only refused to celebrate their feast, but also succeeded in frightening the unfortunate priest rather badly by exploding a huge rocket in the drainpipe under his house. Some St. Martin partisans gleefully recounted to me that the priest was soon transferred to another parish, and that during his last week in Farruġ he had asked the police to escort him between his house and the church. Relations between the Church and the St. Martin partit were restored when the Archbishop modified the St. Roque procession route.

In 1956 the St. Martin Band Club refused to celebrate the titular [575] festa because the Archbishop had given the Confraternity of St. Roque permission to renew the four bunches of artificial flowers which decorate the main altar during his feast. The following year the St. Roque Band Club refused to play at the installation ceremony of the new parish priest because the Curia had just turned down the confraternity's request for permission to hang a new picture over its altar. In 1960 the same priest angered the St. Roque partit by refusing to let it participate in the St. Martin centenary celebrations. The poor man's hands were tied, for the St. Martin club had declared that it would have nothing to do with the feast if its rival took any part in it. At the moment, there is another struggle in the offing. The Confraternity of St. Roque

578 recently petitioned the Archbishop for permission to renew the
platform on which their saint stands during the feast. St. Martin
621 supporters have threatened to cancel their feast if permission is
79 granted, as it probably will be, for the present platform is old and
falling to pieces.

While I was in the village, there was also a dispute over pre-
575 cedence between the two band clubs on the occasion of the
578 installation ceremony of Dun Frangisk, the present parish priest.
621 This is a good example of a dispute over precedence, and it is one
793 which recurs in some form every time a new parish priest is
appointed to a village where there are two band clubs. The band which has precedence has the right to march last and to escort the priest from the church to his house after the ceremony. The other club escorts him from his house to the church before the ceremony. Quite straightforward, but clubs rarely agree on which one has precedence. The dispute thus presents a knotty problem that brings a new priest abruptly up against the realities of parish politics within a few days after his arrival. His handling of the matter may well govern his relations with the partiti during the rest of his time in the village.

On the evening when Dun Frangisk moved into the parish, the St. Martin Band Club gave a party to welcome him and to bid farewell to his predecessor, who had been its strong ally. The party was a great success. The departing priest received a huge coloured portrait of St. Martin as a farewell gift, and Dun Frangisk met all the St. Martin leaders and blessed the club's new television set. A few days later, the St. Martin leaders called on the new priest and offered to provide a musical escort to and from the church for his installation ceremony. This was to be followed by a concert in the square and a firework display. The offer pleased him and he accepted. During the next few days the St. Martin club went about collecting the £25 the band programme would cost, thus advising the village of its plans.

Until then Dun Frangisk had heard nothing from the St. Roque club, a fact which rather disturbed him.

Two days later he called in person at both clubs to invite them to attend his installation ceremony and the reception following it. But he found the clubs deserted. The members of the St. Martin committee were away offering their congratulations to the old parish priest, who that night was holding his installation ceremony

in his new parish. Most of the St. Roque leaders, for their part, 575
were off supervising a fund-raising fair which they had hastily 578
organized to help ensure that no St. Roque supporter would be
tempted to attend the lavish reception of their former antagonist. 621
Finding no one of importance at the clubs, Dun Franġisk left the 793
invitations with the bar-keepers.

Two days later a group of St. Roque leaders called to thank him for his invitation, at the same time informing him that they were looking forward to escorting him to and from the church with their band. Dun Franġisk had been warned by his predecessor that this might happen, so he asked them to meet him the next evening to discuss the details of the programme with the other club.

Next morning the members of the St. Martin partit were furious over this move of their rivals. They grumbled to me that now only a miracle could save the band programme they had been planning. It was the main topic of conversation in the village that day. Many people were on hand to watch the St. Martin committee members enter the parish priest's house that afternoon. Soon after, the rival delegation, headed by the vice-president, the secretary and the treasurer of the St. Roque Band Club, joined the meeting. The first session lasted two hours. I saw the young priest shortly afterwards. He looked rather stunned, and exclaimed, 'They can't agree. They both want to escort me to my house! It's like a U.N. session. Nothing is settled and we meet again in an hour.' I learned later that he had had a difficult time preventing the rivals from coming to blows.

They met again, but the deadlock remained unbroken. The St. Martin delegates maintained that their club had the right to escort the priest to his house because it was the oldest, it represented the official patron saint of the village and it had been the only one to play during the past two installation ceremonies. Their rivals rejected all these claims, and suggested that they draw lots for the privilege of playing last, or hire outside bands to play, and let them decide. The St. Martin representatives rejected these suggestions. Finally, at midnight, the parish priest put an end to the wrangle. He told them that unless they could decide the matter among themselves, he would have to decline their offers to play for him. He asked them to let him have their decision by the following evening.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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575 The next day each delegation called separately on Dun Fran-
ġisk and told him that they had not been able to reach a decision.
578 In fact, they had not met again. St. Martin supporters were very
621 bitter about the whole affair, and said that since they could not
793 play, they would also cancel the firework display they had been
planning.

The installation ceremony took place three days later as planned. Neither band played, but each fired off a number of petards during the day, and each gave the newly installed priest a rousing salute of fire crackers on his return from the church. The leaders of both partiti attended his reception, separately to be sure, and they were very cordial in their congratulations. The skirmish was over. St. Martin leaders admitted to me that Dun Franġisk had handled himself well, and that he had taken the only sensible course open to him. They declared, however, that he should not have called in person to invite the St. Roque club, but should have sent the more usual printed invitation. The St. Roque leaders, on the other hand, were quite pleased with the way things had gone. They invited Dun Franġisk to a reception in his honour at their club the following week, and shortly afterwards asked him to support their request for a new platform for their saint.

This whole episode must be seen as an attempt by the St. Roque partit to unseat its rival from the position of pre-eminence it had enjoyed during the centenary celebration. It could do this by blocking the St. Martin club's plan to be the only band to play at the installation ceremony. The St. Roque leaders were able to make their first move when Dun Franġisk called in person at their club, thereby assuring them that they be given equal standing with the other, which they felt had been favoured by his predecessor. They would not have made their offer to play if there had been the slightest indication that Dun Franġisk was going to favour their rivals. In fact it is extremely unlikely that the St. Roque club was really planning to play. It had not done so for many years, it had no bandsmen and at the time it did not even have a bandmaster. Finally, it had made no collection to pay for a band. All these facts were known to the St. Martin supporters when they
[521] made their offer to play. Furthermore, they had heard indirectly from the St. Roque secretary – who told a policemen in a neighbouring town, who in turn mentioned it to the president of the

St. Martin club – that the St. Roque club was not planning to 575
participate in the ceremony in protest against the way they had been 578
treated during the centenary. Dun Frangisk's spontaneous move 621
upset their plans. 793

Although Dun Frangisk favoured the suggestions that the clubs [521]
draw lots, or hire outside bands, St. Martin rejected both because they implied that the clubs had equal status. The last time the St. Roque band had played was six years and four parish priests before, when the local police inspector had devised a compromise solution, and the St. Martin leaders had 'allowed' St. Roque to play the last march of the day, while their band escorted the new priest home. They believed any concession they made now would undo the advantage which they felt they had gained as the only functioning band in the village during the past six years.

Thus it came about that no band played at Dun Frangisk's installation ceremony. This greatly surprised the many visitors from the city and the suburbs, but the good people of the district found it quite in accordance with the way things should be, considering the issues involved. At no point in the series of events were the feelings of the young priest, whom all liked, ever considered. His installation had become the vehicle for a clash between the followers of St. Martin and St. Roque. They had been vying with each other for supremacy long before he was born, and would be at it long after he left. Any concessions made for his sake would have to be entered into the eighty-year-old ledger of credits and debits, and might have an important bearing on the outcome of the next series of encounters.

III

Two interesting problems remain to be considered: why festa 17
partiti arose during the fifty years or so after 1850, and what 621
reasons prompted people to join one partit rather than its rival. 787
The factors which caused the partiti to come into existence at this
particular period in Maltese history are necessarily complex, and 795
they are dimmed by the time that has elapsed since their foundation. Nonetheless, one can discern several elements which would appear to be related to the general problem. To begin with, during this period there was a sudden increase in the devotion to the Virgin Mary following her apparition in 1858 at Lourdes, and the

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic
787 Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedicated
795 to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

17 During this period a conception of social organization new to
Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'.
621 After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate
urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*.
He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

Whatever the reasons for their beginnings in particular villages, 575
there are today festa partiti or at least competing band clubs in 578
nineteen villages and towns. Ten communities are divided by the 621
type of rivalry described above. Of these Gudja has partiti which 794
compete only over two secondary feasts and another, Żebbuġ, has three rival band clubs, two of which compete over the titular feast. Besides these ten, another four towns are divided by rivalry between their constituent parishes, five more are divided by rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, although the band clubs in one of them, Żabbar, were once allied to festa partiti.

The competition between rival parishes of the same town is very similar to that between festa partiti. In fact the division of Qormi and Rabat (Gozo) into two parishes each came about partly because of the rivalry between festa partiti. Since each parish has its own church and is not limited by the 1935 regulations, the competition between them is even keener than between festa partiti within the same parish. For this reason the feasts of St. Mary and St. George in Rabat (Gozo) and St. George and St. Sebastian in Qormi are probably the most spectacular in the country. Competition between rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, in contrast, is not as fierce as that between festa partiti. It is, nonetheless, a considerable force in the communities where it exists. Disputes between these band clubs usually involve questions of precedence, such as those which arise over their positions and role during the titular festa or at an installation ceremony of a new parish priest. Failure to reach agreement may mean that one or both boycott the celebration.

Finally, weak festa partiti once existed in another seven villages. But as they were not aligned with band or social clubs, they were not well enough organized to resist the firm pressure the Church began to exert after 1935. Today there is scarcely a trace of their former existence. All festa partiti and rival band clubs, both present and past, are listed in Appendix A.[1]

IV

Implicit throughout this examination of the various types of 571
competing groups described in this chapter and in the previous 578
one, has been the highly formal nature of their interaction. Their
disputes are like war games. The action between them takes place 621

[1] [see p. 142. —Analyst]

proportion of clerics and nuns in the Sixth Electoral District 463
helps to explain the relatively low Labour poll there. It is also a 665
significant factor in explaining the overwhelming defeat of the
MLP in Gozo. These two districts have the highest proportion of 666
clerics in the country. The Fourth District, in contrast, has the
lowest.

TABLE 7. 1962 Elections:
Occupational Class and Voting Behaviour[1]

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS[2]	SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (As percentage of total lab. force)			PERCENTAGE LABOUR VOTES
	Professional[3]	*Skilled*	*Agricultural*	
IInd (Senglea, etc.)	4 (3)	45	4	56
IVth (Żurrieq, etc.)	3 (2)	34	11	47
VIth (Birkirkara, etc.)	6 (4)	33	11	24
Xth (Gozo)	7 (6)	16	38	6
All Districts	5 (3)	32	11	34

IV

It will have been observed that there is a certain superficial 621
similarity between the reasons given here for belonging to the 665
MLP and those suggested in the preceding chapter for recruitment
into the secondary festa partiti. One might expect therefore that
in comparison with titular partiti, secondary partiti would have a
higher proportion of Labour supporters among their members.
Unfortunately, owing to the disturbed political situation prevailing
at the time, I was not able to gather satisfactory systematic
data on this point. Almost all informants with whom I discussed [124]
the matter suggested that secondary partiti did in fact have more
pro-Mintoff members than their rivals. But the situation is not
quite as straightforward as it might appear. To begin with, the
statements of informants varied according to their own political
beliefs and their position in relation to the festa partiti. Rivals [575]
generally tried to place each other in an unfavourable light. Thus [578]
an anti-MLP member of a band club supporting a titular feast

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[1] Source: *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 40–111; and *The Malta Government Gazette* (3 March 1962), pp. 585–94.

[2] *IInd* (Cospicua, Senglea, Vittoriosa, Kalkara, Żabbar, M'skala), *IVth* (Żurrieq, Safi, Qrendi, Mqabba, Kirkop, B'bugia, Żejtun, M'xlokk), *VIth* (Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija, Attard, Naxxar, Gharghur). [103]

[3] Percentage of priests, monks and nuns in parenthesis.

575 578 621 665 would describe the rival club as a Mintoff stronghold, but suggested that his own club had relatively few MLP members. In contrast, a member of the rival club with the same political view would often say just the opposite. Parish priests generally gave very conservative estimates of the number of MLP supporters in the clubs, but usually said that the secondary clubs had more.

621 665 [464] Another factor which makes it difficult to be dogmatic about the political alignment of the partiti is that most are located in the southern villages. These communities are reservoirs of industrial labour and are generally strongly pro-Labour. For this reason, unbiased informants generally estimated that Labour supporters made up between half and three-fourths of the membership of all clubs, but that secondary clubs had slightly more. My own experience in Farruġ confirms this. I found there that about 70 per cent of the members of each partit are pro-Labour, although the leaders of the village MLP group are almost all from the St. Martin partit. This I suggested was due more to the shallowness of the leadership resources of the St. Roque partit than to the political inclination of its members.

575 621 665 At the policy level, all clubs usually maintain strict political neutrality. At least, all incorporate clauses to this effect in their by-laws, and many prohibit party newspapers and political discussions in the club. Nonetheless, some clubs are closely identified with a particular political party. Of the clubs that are aligned in this way, those that celebrate the titular feasts generally support one of the parties allied with the Church, usually the Nationalist Party; their rivals support the Labour Party. This alignment often comes about when a leading member of a club seeks political office. Where this occurs, members of the opposite festa partit, as a matter of course, give their votes to his chief opponent in another party, or to a rival in his own party. The political significance of the rivalry between festa partiti will be examined in the following chapter, together with some of the ways in which political candidates manipulate the partiti, and are, in their turn, manipulated by them.

But the tendency to political polarity of rival band clubs still does not explain why the leader of a secondary club, for example, supports the Labour Party, and not one of the rival parties. The chief reason for this, quite apart from the fact that he may have a personal preference for the party, is that the members of his own

festa partit form the nucleus of his political following. It is not 575 ●
surprising therefore that he should support the party they favour. 621

There is another interesting way in which festa partiti in general, 665
and secondary partiti in particular, are related to support for the
Labour Party. In all villages divided by these partiti, people have 621
become conditioned to opposing the authority of the Church in 578
connection with matters dealing with the celebration of feasts. 665
This, I suggest, has enabled them to accept the anti-clerical outlook 795
of the Labour Party more easily than the people of villages not so divided. An old stone-cutter in Kortin, who was procurator of one of the small chapels in the village, once unconsciously pointed to the structural similarity of the MLP and secondary festa partiti. We were discussing the resemblance of the Strickland crisis of thirty years ago to the present political dispute, when he pointed to the parish church and remarked, 'I've always been against them. I was for Strickland. I'm for Mintoff, and if we had partiti here, I would support the secondary feast.' There is, of course, a difference between the opposition of a secondary partit and that of the MLP. Nonetheless, both oppose the authority of the Church and both resort to attacks on the clergy to drive home their points of view. This is anti-clericalism. Both the festa partiti and the Labour Party make a distinction between the person and the office of the cleric they attack, and they appear to attack the former rather than the latter. But repeated attacks upon the person holding an office may weaken the office itself. Thus prolonged anti-clericalism can lead to anti-religious sentiment, or at least prepare the way for it. This, I feel, has happened in the case of the festa partiti.

In challenging the decisions of the Church relating to matters of 578
festa policy a festa partisan often resorts to violence. He frightens 621
the priest with home-made bombs to show his displeasure, to try 79
and change the decision and even to compel him to leave the [626]
village. But he never attacks the ultimate right of the Church or its ministers to make those decisions. Indeed, some friends in Farruġ were quite shocked when I suggested that they were doing just this. On the other hand, this constant rebellion against the authority of the Church has accustomed people to being at odds for long periods with their parish priests as well as with the Archbishop. During these times, they often ignore what the Church has to say if it does not agree with the point of view they

178 across the village and the clubs, and has brought about conflict
within many families. People lament the change that has come
578 over the village as a result. An old bachelor friend often used to
621 complain that had we come to live there just a few years ago,
'before politics came and spoiled everything', we would have
found the village a far happier place. Picnics and outings were
more frequent then, and groups of friends used to gather on hot
summer evenings and stroll outside the village to play guitars and
sing the lilting Maltese *għana* in the cool air away from the houses.
[575] There was also more life in the clubs. Both the Social Club and
the Band Club used to take part in the national carnival competition
[796] for the best decorated carts and costumed companies. But
as the political conflict has divided the island's carnival celebration
in two, so it has also affected the clubs. They now celebrate
neither the government's carnival nor that of the MLP for fear the
question of which one to participate in would provoke a fight
that would cripple the club.

Dun Bert, the parish priest in Kortin, is of course the head of
578 the local group which supports the Archbishop and opposes the
665 MLP. His chief lieutenants in the fight are the local clergy and the
793 lay leaders of the religious associations. Pawlu and Anton, his two
794 faithful helpers, are also vocal partisans, as is old Manwel. Dr.
Farrugia, old Manwel's son, as a former member of the Legislative
Assembly (MLA) and a leading member of one of the political
parties opposed to the MLP, also belongs to the pro-Church
division in the village, though he takes little part in its day-to-day
275 affairs. The main activity and support comes from the leaders of
the lay associations, especially of the Young Christian Workers,
578 the MUSEUM and the Sodality of Our Lady. These all meet regularly
665 in their respective premises. Many of the others, older men,
794 spend much of their free time in Kelinu's café. These include old
Manwel, Pawlu, Anton, the sacristan, the organist, and Dun
Mikiel and Dun Filip, respectively the chaplains of the female and
male sections of Catholic Action. This café, located right next to
Dr. Farrugia's house, is the nicest café on the square, or in the
village for that matter. It is the only one which the clergy, the
teachers and occasionally Dr. Farrugia himself, frequent. It is thus
the headquarters of the more influential village citizens who support
[517] the Archbishop. Most MLP supporters have stopped going to
it, although a few still play cards there for an hour or so in the late
afternoon when they return from work.

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afternoon when they return from work. Many Labour sym- 578
pathizers believe that the important anti-Labour demonstrations 665
and moves are plotted at Kelinu's. 794

The headquarters of the MLP group is the Labour Club, which is 575
situated just off the square and around the corner from Kelinu's. 665
Salvu, the ex-MLA who is the leader of the village Labour group,
spends his evenings there with his lieutenants, the officers of the
village Labour Committee. Salvu, a small building contractor, has
had little formal education, but he has an engaging personality, a
quick mind and is a persuasive speaker. He is also an excellent
comic actor, a playwright of sorts, and the author of most of the
slogans that appear on the club's blackboard. Smaller groups of [275]
Labour supporters meet at one of the other cafés on the square,
and at some of the wine shops near the chapel of St. Paul in the
poorer section of the village. Other groups of pro-Labour friends
often gather on the steps of the church or around a bench near the
Labour club. They rarely go into the club itself, for all are
anxious to avoid being marked as open Labour supporters by the
village, which, generally speaking, is strongly anti-Labour.

The supporters of the Archbishop and those of the Labour 575
Party rarely meet face to face as organized bodies. When they do, 665
it is the occasion for a good deal of ill-feeling and, sometimes, open 794
hostility. This occurs when a big rally is organized in the village.
Two such rallies were held in Kortin while we were living there.
The first was on the occasion of a visit of the Archbishop; the
second was a national MLP meeting. Dun Bert and his assistants
organized a huge demonstration in honour of the Archbishop
during his visit. It was a great success. The Labour club arranged
a social and musical gathering the evening before to work up
Party solidarity, but it closed its doors during the actual visit and
cleaned off its blackboard in order not to provoke incidents. With
but one exception, there were no incidents to spoil the enthusiastic
welcome the villagers accorded the Archbishop. Many Labour
supporters attended the demonstration, for the Archbishop was
visiting the village as head of the Church in Malta to bestow the
sacrament of confirmation on the children. But as the Archbishop 578
and his excited escort approached the church, a bitter Labour 665
supporter made an insulting gesture at him. (People were quick 673
to inform us that the man was an outsider married into the 688
village.) He was subsequently arrested and convicted, for as 794

the Pope and the Archbishop, stopping now and then to shout 578
insults at the passing Labour supporters. The square on the other 625
side of the police cordon began to fill up with people returning 665
from the meeting and others who left their houses to see what the 794
excitement was about. Gradually the songs became louder and
more excited, and the shouts hoarser. By then it was getting
quite dark, but I could see Dun Mikiel in the front row, his hands
thrust tensely into the pockets of his cassock, scowling at the
passers-by while he smoked cigarette after cigarette. The tension
by this time was almost electric. Suddenly, one of the local MLP
supporters returning to the Labour club replied to a taunt by
making a threatening gesture. The crowd in front of the church
booed him loudly and surged forward. The police, anxious to
hurry the trouble-maker off the square, pushed him a bit too hard
and he stumbled and fell. This angered the crowd on the other
side of the square and it began to press through the police cordon.
At this point police reinforcements arrived and cleared the square
in a few moments. Their prompt action prevented an ugly situation
from going further, for there had been well over a thousand
angry people facing each other, separated by less than two dozen
unarmed policemen.

Four days after the meeting, Dun Bert organized a pilgrimage 578.
of reparation to atone for the insults of the MLP speakers. The 665
procession of some 1,200 people reciting the Rosary escorted the 794
statue of Our Lady of Sorrows through the area behind the church [789]
where the Labour meeting had been held. About 400 of the participants
were outsiders who had come to Kortin from other parts [783]
of the island for the occasion. After the procession the crowd
gathered in front of the church where a Mass was said. A noted [796]
Jesuit orator then rebutted the MLP speeches point by point. The [537]
whole affair had almost passed off without incident when a
number of stones and bottles were thrown from behind walls at
the buses and cars leaving the village.

But if there are relatively few face-to-face meetings of this kind 575
in Kortin or elsewhere, there are many disputes that divide and 578
weaken the clubs and associations. This matter has particularly 665
affected Sur Gorg, the president of the Social Club, who feels
responsible for preserving its unity in these difficult times. In
Kelinu's, where many of the influential regulars are members of
the Social Club, they say that it has become a Mintoff stronghold.

575 Many of them have stopped going there. In point of fact, Sur
Gorġ and the secretary are strongly opposed to the Labour Party,
578 though many of the younger men and some of the most active
665 older members support it. A number of people living nearby have complained that members praise Mintoff in loud voices. There is growing pressure on Sur Gorġ to ban all political conversation there. He has so far resisted the pressure, for he believes that if he were to give in, he would drive away the very members who form the backbone of the club. His chief problem, as he described it to me, is how to focus the attention of the members on something other than politics. He is therefore doing his best to obtain the permits necessary to open the theatre for which they have been planning and saving for years. He feels that in the excitement of building, the members will forget their political differences and reunite, and thus the club will pass safely through this crisis. But the permits have been slow in coming and meanwhile the pressure on him is building up. Two important members of the committee have already resigned, 'under the influence of those busy-bodies in Kelinu's', as some members described it.

The men in charge of the St. Martin Band Club in Farruġ face much the same problem. As has already been noted, most of the leaders of the two political blocs in the village are members of the St. Martin club, and several of them are on its committee. This difference of political loyalty often provokes quarrels over matters
[574] of policy. During the centenary, for example, the committee were sharply divided over whether to salute the Archbishop with the customary barrage of fireworks when he entered the village to take part in the ceremony. The matter was put to a vote, and the MLP faction won. The disgruntled losers began talking about firing off their own salute of welcome. But the crisis that this action would have brought about was avoided when the Vicar-General officiated in place of the Archbishop, who was indisposed. As the MLP supporters had nothing against him, he received the full barrage of aerial bombs and fire crackers. The rift was thus healed, and all joined in to celebrate a rousing feast.

578 The following year the festa again brought a crisis with it. This
621 time it was a far more serious one. Most of the young Labour
665 supporters, in retaliation for the way the Church had attacked
their party and its leaders, flatly refused to have anything to do
794 with the feast. These young men included virtually all the partit's
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would therefore seem that as this need becomes more pronounced, 642
and as the Maltese voter gains in sophistication, there will be 66
increasing pressure to change the present system of voting to one
which strengthens the national government rather than weakens it.

VI

In addition to personal kin ties, patrons, political parties and 664
politicians, pressure groups provide yet another way by which the
villager can influence authorities outside his community. By
bringing interest groups from one village into contact with
similar groups in other villages, they permit united action for the
resolution of common problems. The band clubs and football [575]
clubs have active national associations. Village lay apostolate [794]
societies have their own national bodies as well as the Diocesan
Coordinating Junta, a powerful body which has now become one
of the strongest forces opposed to the MLP. In view of the important part it and the other Church societies played in defeating
the Labour Party in the recent election, they will probably be able
to provide a channel of contact with the Ministers and anti-Labour MLA's. Some have already begun to apply pressure to
obtain playgrounds and public conveniences for their respective
villages.

Even the festa partiti have their associations. The Association 621
of Secondary Feasts works to obtain new Church privileges for its 664
members. It is opposed by the Association of Titular Feasts, which
has formally advised the Archbishop that if he grants privileges to 794
the secondary partiti, its members will stop celebrating the titular
feasts.

Finally, there are also a number of trade unions. Though most 467
have no village level organization or representatives, and play no 664
direct part in village politics, some, in particular the General
Workers Union and the Gozo Agricultural Co-operative Society,
a large proportion of whose members live in the villages, play an
important part in national politics. They thus provide another
channel through which persons at the village level can influence
decisions at the national level.

[p.141]

Appendix A

Festa and Band Club Partiti

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	Titular Feast	*Band Club*	*Secondary Feast*	*Band Club*
A. FESTA AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
GHAXAQ	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
GUDJA[1]	O/L of the Rosary	'La Stella'	O/L of Consolation	'O/L of Consolation'
KIRKOP	St. Leonard	'St. Leonard'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
LUQA	St. Andrew	'St. Andrew'	O/L of Consolation	'Union'
MQABBA	The Assumption	'King George V'	O/L of the Lily	'Lily'
QRENDI	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	O/L of Lourdes	'Lourdes'
RABAT	St. Paul	'Count Roger'	St. Joseph[2] (Franciscans)	'L'Isle Adam'
VITTORIOSA	St. Lawrence	'Duke of Edinburgh'	St. Dominic[2] (Dominicans)	'Prince of Wales'
ŻEBBUĠ	St. Philip	'St. Philip' 'St. Philip's Festivities and Social Club'	St. Joseph	'De Rohan'
ŻURRIEQ	St. Catherine	'St. Catherine'	O/L of Mount Carmel	'Queen Victoria'
B. INTER PARISH AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
QORMI	St. George	'St. George'	St. Sebastian	'Pinto'
RABAT, GOZO	The Assumption	'Leone'	St. George	'La Stella'
SLIEMA	Stella Maris	'Stella Maris'	Sacred Heart	'Sliema'
VALLETTA	St. Paul	'La Vallette'	St. Dominic[3] (Dominicans)	'King's Own'

[776]

[1] Both saints are secondary; the titular is the Assumption of Our Lady.

[2] The devotion is centred on a church in the parish that is run by regular clergy. The rivalry is thus classified midway between A and B.

[3] Though this is the main feast, the titular of the parish is Our Lady of Porto Salvo.

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C. BAND CLUB RIVALRY ONLY

BIRKIRKARA	St. Helen	'St. Helen'	X	'Duke of Connaught'
HAMRUN	St. Gajetan	'St. Gajetan'	X	'St. Joseph'
MELLIEHA	Nativity of Our Lady	'La Vittoria'	X	'Imperial'
ŻABBAR[1]	O/L of Grace	'Maria M. Gratiae'	(St. Michael)	'St. Michael'
ŻEJTUN	St. Catherine	'Beland'	X	'Żejtun'

D. FESTA RIVALRY EXISTED FORMERLY

BALZAN	The Annunciation	'St. Gabriel'	St. Valentine	X
DINGLI	The Assumption	X	National Feast on September 8	'Dingli Club'[2]
GHARGHUR	St. Bartholomew	'St. Bartholomew'[2]	St. Joseph	X
LIJA	Transfiguration of Our Lord	'Pius X'	St. Aloysius	X
NAXXAR	Nativity of Our Lady	'Peace'	O/L of Doctrine	X
SAFI	The Conversion of St. Paul	'St. Paul'[2]	O/L of the Rosary	X
SIĠĠIEWI	St. Nicholas	'St. Nicholas'	St. Joseph	X

[1] The external feast of the secondary saint was suppressed.
[2] Social and festa club without a band.

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[234] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
577 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the Bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people),
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

654 232 242 to have made its presence felt among the farmers themselves.

When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in the Islands will depend, have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

241 829 [575] [874] In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened younger farming generation might develop. Neither is there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

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654 234 As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U. (Section 2). In short, official policy here has been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the [433] cost of which is borne by the Government. The totals of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[41].

contributions would be used for the general needs of the church. 79
The festa committee was dismissed.

The following year he ran the festa himself. It was quite a 79
success, although there was some grumbling that there was not 578
the same spirit in the festa as before. But following the festa the
year after that, the grumblers became more vocal and began to
take action. Their main criticism was that without the committee
to whip up enthusiasm for the festa, the village was becoming
apathetic about its celebration. Moreover, with no committee
there was no one to paint and care for the festa furnishings – which
they considered to be the finest in Malta, if not the world – and
they would soon be spoiled. Consequently, a few days after the 79
festa, the ringleaders gathered in the football club and formed a 575
committee with Sur Gorġ, the president of the Social Club, as
chairman. Sur Gorġ,[1] a wealthy middle-aged bachelor, is the last 578
descendant in the village of a family which has played a leading
role in the community for almost a century. The committee was
composed of members of the band club, the social club and the
football club. Representatives then went to Dun Bert and told
him that many people wished to have the old festa committee
restored, with the power of raising funds. They also suggested that
this committee should control the collection of threepence a week.
Dun Bert replied that while he was not opposed in principle to
the idea of such a committee, he would have to consider it. In any
event, he could not approve of their financial proposals. When the
spokesman told him that a committee was already in existence
and working for the good of the village, he became somewhat
alarmed. The following Sunday he defended his position before
the village from the altar, citing relevant portions of Canon Law
and describing the parish's financial situation.

Sur Gorġ's group then distributed leaflets to each house asking for a vote of confidence. This divided the village into two factions, for there were many who would not consider going against the wishes of their spiritual shepherd, no matter what their views on the festa were. Dun Bert eventually agreed to the formation of a parish council, to comprise two representatives from

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[1] The title *sur* (from *sinjur*, sir, gentleman) is a mark of respect bestowed by villagers [576]
upon all educated outsiders who have no other title. It also marks social distance. Very [554]
few persons are addressed this way by their fellow villagers. Sur Gorġ, though born in
Kortin, was addressed this way because of his high social status and university education.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

787 585 533 in a rage, and he could not be persuaded to go back to his wedding before the organist could be found and the organ played for the occasion.

PAYING VISITS

273 574 • 576 825 If a person goes to pay a visit, for the first time, to a party and is not treated with a sort of drink called *zambur* — made of aniseed—a mouse enters the chest of drawers and gnaws all the petticoats of the mistress of the house.

SENDING TO THE OVEN

252 562 Some people think it a great shame for a woman who sends dishes to be cooked in an oven when her husband is away from the Island.

197 648 seeing that they had no means of checking the facts for themselves—what they wanted them to swallow. Even in the eighteenth century, as we shall see in Chapter XIII, an Italian visitor to Malta described the language of the Maltese as "their own perfidious idiom."

A case in point is the episode, recounted to the writer by one of His Majesty's Ambassadors to the Quirinal during the Fascist régime, concerning a Maltese football team on a visit to Italy. On their arrival in Rome the Maltese were met by the Italian team detailed to look after them, who had been well briefed to treat their visitors as 'unredeemed' blood-brothers. The Italians, knowing no reason to doubt the accuracy of their brief, greeted the Maltese footballers at the station in all good faith with a cordial address in eloquent Italian, of which their guests understood barely a word. Realizing, however, that they in their turn would be expected to say something, they replied with an equally friendly speech in Maltese, whereupon their hosts threw up their hands in mystified despair, crying, "*Ma che fratelli son' questi*—but what sort of brothers are these?"

197 192 A pleasant French contribution to Maltese is a word for a train, *xmundifer* (*chemin de fer*), thought to have been introduced by Maltese emigrants returning from Algeria and Tunis. And, as has been said above, English words, too, have found their way into Malta's eclectic vocabulary, words for the most part of a technical kind or related to sport. Among these is the verb "to score" which, as Professor J. Aquilina has pointed out, is conjugated as *niskorja*, I score, *skorja*, *skorjat*, *skorjajna*, *skorjaw*—he, she, we, they have scored a goal, and so on.

[576] But it is interesting to note that we appear to be witnessing the beginnings of a two-way traffic in this connexion. The common Maltese form of greeting and farewell is *sahha*, literally "health," a word that springs easily and comfortably also to the lips of non-Maltese who have spent any time in the islands. Thanks, no doubt, to the habitual use of this

at the village level. While there are Labour committees in almost 575
all villages in Malta, not all of them have been successful in finding 665
club premises. Where clubs have not been opened, the active members usually meet in a café or a private house.

The role of the Labour committee or club in the social life of 575
a village is rather complex. The Labour club at all times is the 659
centre of the local Labour supporters. During the past few years
it has also been the centre of agitation against the established 665
authority of the Church, especially in so far as it touches on secular matters. During the three years following 1955 when the Labour Government was in office, these village committees were backed by the government. Committee members thus wielded considerable power, for they provided a direct link with the established authority of the State at the national level. The same was true, but to a lesser extent, of the agents of the Nationalist Party during its period in government.

V

The qualities which the Maltese themselves consider important 156
for a person to have in order to hold office are, of course, ideal 577
ones. As such, they may not all be present in the same person. The leader of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ summed these up for me as responsibility, willingness to work, courage and social status (*pozizzjoni*). Responsibility and willingness to work are self-explanatory.

Courage is a necessary quality since any person in a position to exercise some control over the action of others (especially in a society which stresses equality) is bound to be criticized by those over whom he exercises it, as well as by those who envy his position. Courage may be based on a desire to acquire power, and insensitivity to or failure to perceive criticism, or on an idealism which places the ultimate ends above the criticism of the means employed to attain them. I have known various village leaders whose courage was based upon one or more of these attributes. I have also met people who resigned from their offices because their motivation or insensitivity was not sufficiently strong to prompt them to carry on in spite of criticism. A former secretary of the social club in Kortin once summed up the reasons for his resignation with the proverb, 'Unfortunate is the one who gets

156 talked about' (*Miskin min jiġi f'ilsien in-nies*). This is especially
true for those persons whose social position does not permit them
● 577 to remain outside the circle in which criticism and gossip circulates. For these the esteem of neighbours is more important than office.

156 Social status is the fourth quality of leadership mentioned. High
status is a desirable and, in some cases, necessary quality for the
554 holders of certain offices. The president of a band club is required
575 to act as its ambassador and to handle its external relations; a person with high status is an obvious asset. He can meet visiting dignitaries and perform the required speech making without embarrassment to the club. Thus the president and vice-president of the clubs have often been invited to fill those offices because of their high status. Some clubs create the office of honorary patron for benefactors who are willing to lend their names – and status – to the clubs, although they take no part or interest in their actual running.

High social position is also an asset to the office of treasurer; for at some time or another he is almost sure to be accused by the village gossips of putting his hand into the purse. Considerable social distance between him and his critics renders him less vulnerable to their comments. It also makes potential critics less vocal. People are often willing to concede integrity to their superiors which they deny to their equals.

The secretary of the club does not need high status to carry out his work successfully, although it is certainly an asset. But he must have at least one of the attributes of high status, namely education; for as administrator of the club he is required to do a great deal of paper work. On the other hand, occupying one of the important offices in itself confers prestige upon a person. Thus the secretary is accorded a higher social status that he would have if he did not occupy that position, assuming for a moment that he had no other attributes which would confer status upon him.

Two important attributes of status are education and occupa-
156 tion. Education is the key that unlocks the world of the printed
463 word and frees people from dependence on patrons willing to
554 interpret it. Education also leads to better employment oppor-
871 tunities. Since entrance to the civil service, the professions and many commercial concerns is by competitive examination, the Maltese attach great importance to formal education.

There is considerable difference in the social status ascribed to 156
various jobs. Non-manual occupations have the highest status, 463
manual occupations the lowest. The professionals – the priest, 554
doctor, lawyer, chemist or teacher – are at the top; while the
farmers are at the bottom. In many respects a government clerical
officer is also at the other end of the scale from the farmer. The
civil servant has a steady, relatively easy job with a good cash
income and comfortable pension at the end. He also has ready
access to influential persons in the government. His is a life of
security and relative independence. The farmer, on the other
hand, has been looked down on for centuries. He represents the
traditional life of dependence: dependence upon the weather, the
market, the *pitkal*, or middleman, for cash advances, the letter-writer
and the patron through whom established authority has to
be contacted. Education and wage labour have presented the [178]
farmer with a means of escape from that dependence and the
exhausting labour in his rocky fields. Where he has had the oppor- [871]
tunity, he has been quick to turn his back on the traditional [241]
occupation of his forefathers.

Wealth is another determinant of status. This is generally 156
related to occupation. There has always been a considerable 463
difference between the standard of living of the professionals and
that of the average countryman. But until the past war, there was 511
relatively little difference in the standard of living of most 554
villagers. True, the more affluent lived in the large houses on the 556
main square, and the poorer people lived in the alleys and streets
remote from the square. Most people ate similar food, dressed
alike and furnished their houses in the same way. But the increase
in the level of wages, which followed the war, has changed that
pattern. New houses, cars, fridges and transistor radios have
become a tangible index of success and status. People are now
being graded according to the number of these symbols they
own.

Education, occupation and wealth are thus the chief criteria by 156
which social position is differentiated. A person who has all these 554
attributes has high status. But a person with high status is not
necessarily a leader; for he may not possess the innate qualities [577]
required of a successful leader – courage, responsibility and willingness
to work. Where a person has both high status and
possesses these qualities – as well as ambition – he will undoubtedly

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The officiating priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, 585
a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee [793]
on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was [465]
completed, everyone returned from church in the same order as before.

As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies showered flowers upon them also nuts and grains and wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended, she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.

At a village wedding the company danced during the [535]
feast, each dancer throwing a piece of money to the [431]
fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast. [465]

The bride always passed a week in her father's house, [591]
after which she was received with much pomp by her husband, whose relations gave a great feast which was called *il hargia*."[1]

The bridegroom's symbolic present of a fish is very likely 584
connected with fecundity, for the fish was regarded as an 174
emblem of fecundity by the Assyrians and the Phoenicians. 825
It is not, however, in this connection alone that the fish is a
potent symbol. Prudence (apparently a virtue highly prized [577].
in a Maltese wife—Salt, another symbol of prudence, is included in the ingredients with which the bride's lips are anointed), and Wisdom were anciently supposed to be the properties of numerous Sacred Fish. Finn M'Cull, in the Irish legend, "Happens upon the Salmon of Knowledge . . ."

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[1] BUSUTTIL, op. cit.

121 which divide the villages. I have therefore presented the current political and religious issues in Malta as concisely as possible, and have made no attempt to evaluate or to pass judgement on the policies of State, Church or political party. Consequently, any attempt to put the facts contained herein to polemical use is likely to distort them.

114 [122] Though I lived in Malta during 1957 and 1958, this study is based on the research I carried out there from July 1960 to September 1961 under a grant from the Colonial Social Science Research Council, to whom I am most grateful. The terms of reference on which the research was based, and the form this final report has assumed, were dictated solely by my personal interests; my work was neither carried out on behalf of, nor a report to, a government.

114 128 [123] My wife and daughters were with me during the entire period of fieldwork, and their encouragement and interest as well as the many friends they made were a great asset. We spent our first five months in Farruġ and the last eight months in Kortin. These are not the real names of the villages, for the inhabitants of neither seek recognition. Indeed, throughout this study I have been at pains to avoid any indiscretion which would repay most shamefully our special debt of gratitude to friends and neighbours for their hospitality and good humour in the face of our ignorance of their customs. For the same reason, the names of many of the persons and saints who figure in this account have been altered.

121 [578] [162] I chose to work in Farruġ because it is one of the villages divided by competing band clubs, and among other things I was particularly interested in the part this unusual rivalry plays in village politics. With a population of approximately 1,400, it is one of the smaller Maltese villages. We later moved to Kortin, a village of almost 5,000, since its size and the fact that it is not divided by band club rivalry provided an interesting contrast to Farruġ. Available housing determined the choice of these particular two villages from among the many that would have met my requirements. Besides detailed research in these villages, I carried out comparative studies into the general organization, leadership and patterns of conflict of 12 other communities. In this work Mr. Edward Micallef was my very able research assistant for three months. I chose 11 of these villages by stratifying all villages in Malta and Gozo according to population and then drawing out a

578 665 795 The relations between the Labour Party and the Church continued to deteriorate after the resignation; finally, in 1961, they gave way to open hostility. Both sides abused each other in the course of the election campaign. On 9th April the Church placed Mintoff and many of the Labour leaders under an interdict for their disrespect to the Bishop. A little over a month later, the Bishops issued a circular condemning the Labour papers. These sanctions intensified the conflict. Finally, just six weeks before the election, the Church, through the Diocesan Joint Council of Catholic Lay Associations, launched a massive campaign to persuade the people to vote against the Labour Party. The campaign was successful: the parties which the Church supported defeated the Labour Party at the polls, and the Nationalist Party took office.

578 659 665 795 The reader will have noted the similarity between the course of the conflicts of Strickland and Mintoff with the Church. Both took place after relatively long (for Malta) periods of representative government. Both involved a series of rather petty disputes which became progressively more bitter and divided the country. Both culminated in the Church imposing sanctions which ultimately led to the electoral defeat of its opponents. In each case, approximately one-third of the population chose to face Church sanctions rather than abandon its political leaders. Most of the actual incidents which provoked the disputes were quite out of proportion to the conflict they created. To my mind, these incidents were symptomatic of the inherent conflict between an elected government and a Church which has long exercised great authority in both secular and religious spheres.

It is not my intention to make a detailed analysis here of the complex causes underlying the present conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. At this point it is sufficient to know that the dispute exists. In later chapters I shall be concerned with tracing its effects on the social organization of the villages. In the course of this study, it will also become apparent that there are conflicts between secular and religious interests in the villages which are quite unrelated to national political issues.

621 move for religious feasts and family celebrations. Sometimes a
number of these farms are clustered around a chapel or small
794 church dependent upon the parish church. In time, these hamlets
795 may disappear; historical sources cite many which have long since
vanished.[1] On the other hand, a hamlet may grow to the point
where its inhabitants can afford to build a larger church and in
other ways successfully press their claim to become a separate
parish. Most rural parishes in Malta and Gozo have come into
632 being in this way. Some towns have been divided into two or
794 more parishes for administrative reasons. In Malta, Qormi and
795 Valletta are each divided into two parishes, and Sliema into three.
[578] Rabat in Gozo is currently being divided into two parishes. But
because of fierce rivalry between the residents of the territories
concerned, the exact boundary line is disputed and the territorial
division will probably take another generation to complete.

79 The parish priest, who in all but the smallest parishes is assisted
by a curate or more, is responsible to the Church for the care of
[609] the souls of all Catholics resident in his parish. Except where
foreign service personnel live with their families – notably in
Rabat, Naxxar, Mosta, St. Paul's Bay, Luqa and Birżebbuġa – all
villagers are Catholic, and are thus the priest's parishioners. These
parishioners also form part of the corporate body of the Church.

The clergy in Malta, as in all other Catholic countries, are
793 divided into two main groups: the secular or diocesan clergy, and
the regular clergy. Diocesan priests are trained in the Bishop's
Seminary and are directly subject to the authority of the Bishop.
A further distinction is made between those diocesan priests whose
families or patrons have been able to provide them with a benefice – either property or cash deposited at the Curia bank – yielding a minimum of £10 annually, and those who have received
their benefices from their Bishop. After the first five years the
former, who are by far the most numerous, are free to serve
where they wish. The latter always remain at the service of their
Bishop. Most parishes are run by diocesan priests, and the clergy
[792] resident in the villages belong to this group. The friars and monks
of the regular clergy are members of religious orders. They have
been trained in the seminaries and houses of their particular orders.

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[1] An interesting study of villages which have disappeared is given in M. Richardson, *Aspects of the Demography of Modern Malta* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1960), pp. 243 ff.

V

611 The Maltese have large families and reckon kin relationship
equally through males and females. Each person is thus at the
centre of a wide network of cognates and affines. All these rela-
602 tives do not have equal importance; a person normally makes a
distinction between his immediate family (*qraba tal-familja*), his
close relatives (*qraba ta' gewwa*) and his distant relatives (*qraba
fil-boghod*). A man's immediate family consists of his parents and
his siblings and their fiancées, wives and children. This set of
relatives normally sees each other at least once a week, and would
be invited for a baptismal or betrothal celebration. The close
relatives usually include grandparents, parents' siblings and their
[574] wives and children – his first cousins. These relatives all expect to
be invited to a wedding, if not to a baptism. If they live in differ-
ent villages they will also exchange visits during their annual
festas. Distant relatives include the siblings of grandparents and
great-grandparents and their descendants. A person normally has
no formal contact with this set, but he recognizes his relationship
to them if it is known to him.

Upon marriage, a person extends the range of his immediate family to include the corresponding set of his spouse. He may meet more frequently with his wife's immediate family than with his own, especially if they live equidistant from both sets (or in his wife's village).

It should be noted, however, that these sets of kin are not fixed
or bounded groups; a person is relatively free to invite whom he
wishes to any given ceremony. Physical as well as genealogical
distance combines with sentiment to determine the actual rela-
tives who are placed in these rough categories by an individual.
Thus a person may be on closer terms with a second cousin who
lives next door than with a first cousin living in another village.
Normally, however, certain relatives *expect* to be invited to par-
[578] ticular ceremonies, and failure to do so leads to friction, or may be
a reflection of an existing conflict. Thus, while a first cousin does
not expect to be invited to a baptismal or betrothal party, he does
expect an invitation to a wedding. A second cousin does not
expect to be invited to either, although he often is. These sets of
kin relations are thus flexible; long dormant links can be mani-
pulated for special purposes, such as to arrange introductions to

CHAPTER IV
The Basis of Leadership

621 The Maltese word for leader, *mexxej*, is seldom heard, and then
[192] only in reference to the leader of a political party. I once asked a
[622] parish priest who were the leaders of the village. He laughed and
replied that there weren't any, because his parishioners did not like
[551] leaders. With the exception of the professionals and *il-puliti* from
the towns, all the inhabitants of a village usually call one another
by their Christian names and in general look upon each other as
equals. This egalitarian outlook is compounded of many factors,
of which the most important are similar occupation, standard of
living and values, the detailed knowledge of each other's personal
lives that comes with residence in a face-to-face community, and
178 jealousy. Any person who attempts to lead or to try to start
something new – such as a village playground – is derided. His
● 578 true motive is seen as self aggrandizement and his enemies and
621 envious neighbours are quick to point this out to others who may
[539] not have realized it. 'Envy follows the wise man like his shadow'
(*L-għira titrot wara l-għaref bħal dellu miegħu*), goes the Maltese
[609] proverb. Professionals and outsiders, especially if they are from
the town, are occasionally able to start something new. Their
social distance from most of the community protects them from
the full impact of the envy and gossip which moulds so much of
village life.

But in spite of the absence of official lay leaders and the
554 conservative pressure of envy and gossip, there are a number of
621 persons who have a greater say than others in the affairs of the
793 community. They are able to do this by virtue of their social
position, their occupation or office in one of the village
associations or their influence with the parish priest. These persons,
together with the parish priest, form the aggregate which can be
[192] said to run the affairs of the community. While there is no generic
term for this aggregate, those who compose it are sometimes
referred to as *il-kbarat*, 'the big ones', or more derogatively as

796 aware of their separateness, and realized that both incense and [123] gunpowder were ingredients basic to the celebration of a festa.

The actual celebration of the feast can be divided into three parts: the Triduum or Novena – the three to nine days of spiritual preparation which precede the feast day – the eve of the feast, and the day of the feast. As the feast is usually celebrated on a Sunday so that more people can come, the Triduum days are Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. High Mass is offered on these days, and in the evenings outside priests often come to preach sermons on religious topics related to the life of the patron saint. They are also days of preparation during which the elaborate street decorations are hoisted into place. Throughout the day the village is psychologically conditioned to the festa by salvoes of aerial bombs which are often timed to coincide with the ringing [533] of the Paternoster and the Angelus. On the last day of the Triduum, after the final sermon, the village band marches through the main streets. Often the band is preceded by a mass of dancing and shouting enthusiasts of both sexes, who wave coloured scarves, silver loving cups and other symbols of their loyalty to [578] their band and their saint. In villages where there are competing [575] band clubs, this demonstration often provokes fights between rival supporters. These skirmishes are usually sparked off by the bands of girls who hoarsely shout themselves into a frenzy proclaiming the virtues of their saint and the shortcomings of their rivals. There are no visitors during this part of the feast.

On Saturday, the eve of the feast, there is a High Mass and Te Deum to mark the end of the Triduum. This is usually followed by a barrage of aerial fireworks. The local band then often marches through the village, stopping at all the clubs for drinks. [273] This march is usually quite gay but in some villages it degenerates into a drunken spree. During the day, outside priests are brought [783] in specially for the festa to hear confessions in the church. In the late afternoon, visitors begin to arrive to watch the Translation, a ceremony during which the celebrant, usually the Bishop, takes a relic of the saint on a short procession outside the church. After [533] the Translation, the various guest bands march through the village and then settle down to play selections from operas and works composed by Maltese bandmasters. The many relatives and friends of the bandsmen join the gaily dressed crowds who have been streaming in by bus and car or on foot.

contributions would be used for the general needs of the church. 79
The festa committee was dismissed.

The following year he ran the festa himself. It was quite a 79
success, although there was some grumbling that there was not 578
the same spirit in the festa as before. But following the festa the year after that, the grumblers became more vocal and began to take action. Their main criticism was that without the committee to whip up enthusiasm for the festa, the village was becoming apathetic about its celebration. Moreover, with no committee there was no one to paint and care for the festa furnishings – which they considered to be the finest in Malta, if not the world – and they would soon be spoiled. Consequently, a few days after the 79
festa, the ringleaders gathered in the football club and formed a 575
committee with Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, as chairman. Sur Ġorġ,[1] a wealthy middle-aged bachelor, is the last 578
descendant in the village of a family which has played a leading role in the community for almost a century. The committee was composed of members of the band club, the social club and the football club. Representatives then went to Dun Bert and told him that many people wished to have the old festa committee restored, with the power of raising funds. They also suggested that this committee should control the collection of threepence a week. Dun Bert replied that while he was not opposed in principle to the idea of such a committee, he would have to consider it. In any event, he could not approve of their financial proposals. When the spokesman told him that a committee was already in existence and working for the good of the village, he became somewhat alarmed. The following Sunday he defended his position before the village from the altar, citing relevant portions of Canon Law and describing the parish's financial situation.

Sur Ġorġ's group then distributed leaflets to each house asking for a vote of confidence. This divided the village into two factions, for there were many who would not consider going against the wishes of their spiritual shepherd, no matter what their views on the festa were. Dun Bert eventually agreed to the formation of a parish council, to comprise two representatives from

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[1] The title *sur* (from *sinjur*, sir, gentleman) is a mark of respect bestowed by villagers [576]
upon all educated outsiders who have no other title. It also marks social distance. Very [554]
few persons are addressed this way by their fellow villagers. Sur Ġorġ, though born in Kortin, was addressed this way because of his high social status and university education.

79 each association, including the religious ones.[1] The committee
forwarded the names of the representatives of its three constitu-
575 ent clubs to Dun Bert. After some time, when they had received
● 578 no reply from him, they wrote to the Archbishop. Finally, some
two months later, Dun Bert wrote back that he could not accept
any member of a political party committee on the parish council.
This was clearly aimed at the secretary of the band club, who was
a very active member of the Labour Party committee, the only
political committee in the village. He was not willing to step down,
and the other members of the committee supported his decision.
The rest of the village slowly lost interest in the matter. The parish
priest thus had his way, and is still in full control of the feast.

Many are still bitter about the manner in which their request to
79 take a more active part in the organization of their feast was
578 suppressed, but most have accepted it. They miss not so much the
old festa committee, the members of which most people criticized
freely, as the feeling they had had of all working together for the
greater glory of the village. The members of the old committee
at least had the virtue of being from the village, and were as
anxious as the next person to celebrate the biggest and best feast
in Malta, or so I was often told. Although no one suggested that
the parish priest is anything but scrupulously honest, they con-
sider that as an outsider, he does not have the same keen interest
in their feast, and in the reputation of the village. Others, less
charitable, accuse him of being hungry for power and anxious to
178 enrich himself with his fees as procurator of the festa. Many also
spoke to me with regret of the passing of the annual fairs, which
543 the parish priest has not attempted to run on his own. The fairs
794 were exciting occasions on which young and old, rich and poor,
[793] competed against each other in games of chance and raffles to win
back the rabbits and chickens which they had previously donated
to the festa. They say they miss the sense of unity that the fairs
brought them. 'In those days we knew each other better,' one
priest remarked. 'With the fair some of the poetry of the village
was destroyed.' Perhaps, without expressing it in quite this
fashion, the organizers of the committee, in their own way, were
also seeking this lost poetry.

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[1] Such parish councils have from time to time been established in some of the larger villages and towns, but most of them came to threaten the authority of the parish priests, who therefore disbanded them.

IV

346 Even when a parish is not competing with another for some
794 honour, the decoration of the parish church is a matter of great concern to the village. As we have already observed, a parish church is more than just a central place of worship; it is the centre of most of the social life of a village and the repository of its collective wealth. The building itself, with its gilded ceilings and
[353] silver altar fronts, its damask tapestries and embroidered vestments, its precious votive offerings and ornate statues, represents a fortune amassed over centuries from the savings and bequests of countless inhabitants. The parish church is thus the embodiment of village history, a showpiece which all, even the most anti-clerical Labour supporters, point out with great pride to strangers.

793 The custodian of the church is the parish priest, who is responsible for all alterations or improvements to it. He often delegates
794 much of this work, especially the fund-raising, to a local priest,
346 who then becomes procurator of the church. Many church procurators devote their lives to building and beautifying their churches, and every generation contributes thousands of pounds for its upkeep and embellishment. But regardless of who holds the procura of the church, the people regard it as their communal property, and all take an intense interest in its maintenance and decoration. Because of this proprietary interest, a difference of opinion over details of decoration, and especially over structural alterations to it, can divide a village into strongly opposed factions.

346 At the beginning of this century Kortin was divided on the question whether to enlarge the existing church or to build a new
578 one. The stronger faction, which included the resident nobles and
793 the wealthy merchants, wished to build a new church. Their
794 leader was Sur Vinċenz, the grandfather of Sur Ġorġ. A wealthy merchant was thought to be willing to help finance the scheme. This group was opposed by most of the village clergy, including the parish priest, on the ground that the cost of a new church was beyond the resources of the village. Moreover, a benefactor had already bequeathed £2,000 for enlarging the church. The leader of this faction was Dun Batist, the senior local priest in the village.

The dispute raged from about 1880, when the plans of the new church were drawn up, to about 1913. In 1898 a number of people

addressed a petition to the Archbishop requesting permission to 346
build a new church. But a year and a half later he ruled in favour 578
of a counter-petition, and gave permission to begin reconstructing
the old church. Shortly after this a riot developed out of a meeting 793
called to urge the parish priest to permit the building of a new 794
church. During the commotion, the stone railing around the [579]
front of the church was damaged. Six days afterward forty-two
people were arrested for disturbing the peace and taken off to
prison. After three days the arrested men were released because of
insufficient evidence. The court assessed the total damage to the
church railing at twenty-two shillings. This incident aroused the
village. A month later the new church faction decided to begin
work without the permission of the Archbishop. Early the following
Sunday, a huge crowd led by Sur Vinċenz asked the parish
priest for permission to work on Sunday. When their request was
refused, they set off for the site and began to work anyway. That
afternoon, Sur Vinċenz hired a band to play for them, and the
music attracted people from many surrounding villages. The
following day Dun Batist and the parish priest laid the matter
before the Archbishop.

All through the month of October 1901 the leaders of the new
church faction went in delegations to argue their case before the
Archbishop, who was on holiday in Marsalforn, Gozo. The local
diarist, on whose account much of the above is based, notes
cynically that the Bishop listened with great attention, as he was
in debt to one of the leading members. Meanwhile, the parish
priest had been able to mediate between the factions. Dun Batist
and his followers agreed to stop their work on the old church
provided their opponents reimbursed them for their expenses to
date. This was arranged. Finally, in January 1902 the parish priest
announced that the Archbishop had given his permission for the
construction of the new church. That afternoon there was a great [527]
celebration in the village, with many fireworks and a guest band,
again paid for by Sur Ġorġ's grandfather.

But the construction of the new church soon ran into trouble. 346
Sur Vinċenz failed to raise the capital required. As Dun Batist had 793
foreseen, the cost of this grandiose scheme was far more than the 794
village could manage. After the foundations had been laid, the
work gradually came to a halt. The village did not begin to rebuild
the old church until the end of 1909, when the parish priest
set out to raise the extra £2,000 required.

346 set out to raise the extra £2,000 required. One of the fund-
794 raisers at the time was young Manwel, the father of Dr. Farrugia,
[875] who had then just begun to teach in the village school. The recon-
struction of the old church was finally completed in 1913.

Sur Vincenz gradually dropped out of village activities. Many
794 people blamed him for the trouble in the community. In 1912 he
578 refused to allow the organizers of the festa to anchor one of the
major street decorations in its customary position against his
house. This action created more hostility towards him, and shortly
after the festa a bomb was thrown through his cellar window.
During the next six weeks he and his close relatives received
several threatening letters, and one night the front of his house was
smeared with red paint. But the rivalry between the factions
gradually died out, and today there is no trace of it left. The old
[887] men of Kortin who now spend their days in the shade of the huge
façade of the church, and their evenings on its cool steps, remem-
ber the struggle clearly, for they were all deeply involved in it.
As they look back to the events of sixty years ago, they often
remark with wry smiles that the village was then a very lively
place.

This incident was exceptional because of the immense cost to
346 the village in money and labour that the construction of the new
578 church involved. Now that church-building is no longer in
794 vogue, new works usually take the form of decorations, such as
new paintings or candlesticks. These do not generally arouse
strong feelings, since all additions to the beauty and wealth of the
church are normally welcome. A wise priest, however, tries to
ensure that there is general agreement about them. It sometimes
happens that he forgets, or underestimates, the proprietary inter-
est of his parishioners in their church. When this occurs, there is
usually trouble.

Some years ago, the parish priest of Farrug proposed to regild
346 the chancel. His parishioners welcomed the idea, and contributed
578 generously. But when the work was finally completed and the
793 scaffolding removed, his parishioners were shocked to find that
794 he had placed his personal coat of arms high over the chancel. He
was the first priest in the history of the parish to have put his coat
of arms inside their church; moreover, he had done so without
their consent. There was great indignation, but the arms remained
there. A year later he was promoted to a larger parish, and left

the village. People then began to ask the new parish priest to have the coat of arms removed. He quite understandably declined to do so. 346 578 ●

One morning, less than two months after the old priest had left, the village was startled by the news that the irksome coat of arms had been removed in the dead of night by persons unknown. In its place gleamed the freshly painted arms of the village. The job, which had involved at least three men, one of whom must have worked on top of a 60-foot ladder, had been skilfully executed. To add insult to injury, the nocturnal painters had telephoned the former parish priest after finishing their work and announced that he would find something of great interest in the church next time he visited Farrug. The following morning he came to the village, saw what had happened to his coat of arms, and immediately reported the matter to the police. The police interviewed many people, but did not find the culprits. They are still looking for them. The village is quite pleased that the arms were removed, although some deplored the rather crude way in which it had been done. 793 794

CHAPTER VI

Festa Partiti

578 Village unity is an ideal, and all villages try to present a tightly
united front to the outside world. In spite of this, all are divided
621 internally by cleavages which cut across the community at various
levels. Some of these divisions are only temporary, and disappear
when the issues out of which they have arisen are resolved. Others,
which may have arisen out of temporary issues, have for one
reason or another become a permanent part of the social scene.
But regardless of their origin or duration, these divisions are painfully
real to the villagers. Persons made vulnerable through a network
of personal relations are often forced to commit themselves
to a particular division. In doing so, they become opposed to
neighbours and kinsmen who are committed to the other side.
[602] This is one of the characteristics of life in all small villages. It is
particularly true of communities, such as those in Malta, in which
the inhabitants are closely related through kinship and affinity.

192 The Maltese call these divisions *partiti* (sing., *partit*). The term
578 thus corresponds not only to groups of the order which we in
English would call 'parties', but also to those to which we would
621 apply the term 'factions'. Political parties are called partiti, and
[665] so are rival groups such as the two in Kortin which competed over
[794] the rebuilding of the church. Partiti are said to have *pika* between
them. *Pika* denotes relations of competition, ill-feeling, hostility.
There is little about the word which suggests the good-natured
competition that can exist between rival school football or cricket
teams. On the contrary, if there is *pika* between two groups, a
no-holds-barred competition is expected. Partiti are thus considered
to be a bad thing. They disrupt the harmony of the community
and make it more difficult to project the ideal image of
village unity to the outside world.

575 The oldest permanent division that exists in the villages is
578 between the supporters of rival band clubs. This division is related
621 to the cult of saints. In the previous chapter it was noted that
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besides the patron saint, parishes celebrate many other saints. The 575
feasts of these secondary saints are normally not as lavish as the 578
annual festa of the patron. But many villages celebrate two large 621
festas: one for the titular saint of the parish, and the other for a
secondary saint who has assumed almost equal social importance. 794
Where this occurs, a village is divided into two partiti, each of 796
which has its own band club and celebrates one of the saints. The partiti compete over almost every aspect of the festa, including the decoration of the streets, the adornment of the statue, the number of guest bands and, above all, the fireworks. Even the exact number of communicants, the size of candles and the quantity of light bulbs illuminating the façade of the church often become the subject of dispute. Farruġ is divided by this type of rivalry. One partit is dedicated to St. Martin, the titular of the parish, the other to St. Roque.

The origins of these festa partiti, where they can be traced, are 17
very much alike. Most of them came into existence sometime 578
between 1850 and the turn of the century, and most arose out of 621
disputes between persons concerned with the celebration of the 796
titular festa and those interested in the cult of some lesser saint. [794]
The latter were usually members of the confraternity dedicated to [575]
that saint.[1] These factions in time became centred on separate social clubs, and eventually acquired brass bands. The clubs provided a permanent institutional basis for the rivalry. As time went on, the partiti became more violent in their disputes and in the
pressure they put upon individuals to support them. Finally in 578
1935, the Church, long alarmed at the extremes to which the 621
devotion to some saints had been carried in certain villages, took 79
steps to eliminate the competition. It promulgated a series of regulations designed to reduce the scale on which secondary feasts
could be celebrated. These stipulated that for secondary feasts there [575]
was to be no Translation of Holy Relics on the eve of the feast, that only the church and the area immediately adjacent to it could

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[1] Cf. Rob. Mifsud Bonnici, *Ġrajja Tal-Mużika F'Malta u Għawdex* (Malta, Giov. [113]
Muscat, 1954), pp. 38 f. He suggests that these partiti developed out of a dispute between [114]
persons who wanted to play sacred music by the Maltese composer Vincenzo Bugeja (1806–60) and those who preferred that of his rival, Paolo Nani (1814–1904). As far as
I could determine, however, the only partiti which arose directly out of this dispute [575]
are those in Żebbuġ. On the other hand, many rival partiti, once established, played the music of either Bugeja or Nani during their feasts. The former took a star as their symbol, the latter an eagle. Today partiti in many villages are still nicknamed either *tal-istilla* or *tal-ajkla* after this once-important division.

578 be illuminated and that only one band on the eve and one on the
621 day of the feast would be allowed. Although they are now
79 ignored, the regulations also placed limits upon the variety,
quantity and duration of firework displays. Finally, they drew
[575] attention to the already existing regulations that church decorations and new works of art introduced for secondary feasts should be less costly and beautiful than those for titular feasts.[1]

Parish priests were expected to insist on the observance of these regulations, and they succeeded so well that some secondary feasts were reduced to minor celebrations. Moreover, the *pika* between the partiti in Żabbar and Qrendi was so violent that the secondary feasts there were suppressed completely.[2] This served as a stern warning to others.

II

175 The story of the origin and development of the festa partiti in
621 Farruġ is in many respects similar to the accounts which I col-
79 lected about festa partiti in other villages. It might, therefore, be helpful to examine it in some detail. Before 1877 there were no festa partiti in the village; everyone co-operated in the celebration of the feast of St. Martin, the patron of the parish. By all accounts it was a humble one, and lasted only one day. This period is described as an idyllic time during which the village was happy and united. But in 1876 a new parish priest arrived, and after that the scene began to change. Dun Rokku, the new priest, not only had a strong personal devotion to the saint after whom he had been named, but he was also from a village where there was a strong secondary partit devoted to St. Roque. Within a year he established a confraternity dedicated to St. Roque in order to 'inject some more life into this rural parish', according to the president of the St. Roque Band Club. The first feast in honour of St. Roque was celebrated in October 1878 to mark the establishment of the confraternity. Although the new secondary feast was at first a simple affair, it and the titular feast grew during the next
few years.

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[1] Concilium Regionale Melitense (1935). *Decreta* (Malta, Empire Press, 1936), p. 91.

[178] [2] In Żabbar the devotion to St. Michael, the secondary patron, died out almost completely, though the *pika* between the bands has persisted. But in Qrendi the devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes, the secondary patron, has continued as strong as ever. In 1958 the Archbishop reinstated the confraternity dedicated to her, which his predecessor suppressed in 1935, but the partit band is still not allowed to play for her feast.

175 578 621 79 few years. In 1880 the new confraternity dedicated an altar in the church to its patron, and by 1886 some persons were beginning to grumble about having to pay for another feast. There was a feeling of 'you collect for your feast, and we'll collect for ours.'

[427] In 1888 an incident occurred which changed the course of the rivalry between the supporters of the two saints, which until then appears to have been rather mild. Dun Rokku, who was the procurator of the parish church, tried to increase the rent on some of the local property it owned. There was an outcry, and some persons went to the Bishop to complain that not only had Dun Rokku been diverting parish funds to buy new street decorations for the feast of St. Roque, but he was also raising rents to continue this work. The complaints resulted in an investigation, following which the procura of the church was taken from Dun Rokku and given to a prominent member of the village, who favoured St. Martin. This action, not surprisingly, infuriated Dun Rokku. From that day onward, so the accounts relate, he threw his full support openly behind the feast of St. Roque.

175 575 621 Some time after this, the partiti each formed their own social clubs. According to St. Martin supporters, their club grew out of a pre-existing band club, but that of their rivals was not established until after the First World War. They thus consider that they have seniority. St. Roque partisans, on the other hand, deny this seniority. They maintain that both clubs came into being out of the former club around the turn of the century. Consequently they have equal seniority. However, both clubs claim that the records crucial to the question of seniority were destroyed by enemy action during the last war. There is thus no documentary evidence for either claim, a fact which makes for deadlock whenever the issue of seniority is raised.

578 621 79 Dun Rokku was a strongminded priest, and he ruled the village for fifty-six years. When he finally died in 1932 at the age of 90, he was blind and deaf. During his many years in the parish he did much to beautify the church. Unfortunately, so people recount, he also introduced the hated partiti that divided the village. Through a variety of means at the disposal of a parish priest, he succeeded in wooing or coercing three-fourths of the village into his partit. There are many stories about the old man and the methods he used to recruit supporters. One is that he would make it difficult for people to marry unless they were, or became, members of the

578 Confraternity of St. Roque. Unfortunately, at this point, it is not
621 possible to distinguish fact from myth. The tales are accepted as
79 reality, and so help to formulate the attitude of St. Martin supporters toward their rivals. However, when the old priest died, it was discovered that most of the festal finery of the parish church had been purchased in the name of the Confraternity of St. Roque. St. Martin supporters were in the humiliating position of having to beg their rivals for the use of the church valuables in order to decorate the church for the feast of the parish patron. Moreover, while the old priest had controlled the celebration of St. Martin, he had allowed the lay leaders of the St. Roque partit a free hand in planning their feast.

At this time the St. Martin club was split over national politics,
578 and a faction composed of Strickland supporters left and founded
621 a new club. Though both clubs remained loyal to St. Martin,
665 there was trouble between them. Older St. Roque partisans recount with amusement how a report to the police by the secretary of the parent club resulted in twenty members of the new club being arrested and fined for gambling. But the hostility between these two factions declined when Strickland made his peace with the Church, and in 1934 they reunited.

578 The burden of redressing the balance between the partiti fell
621 upon the old priest's successor, and upon those who followed him.
793 There were many incidents between these priests and the St.
794 Roque partit, and on several occasions the former had to send for police protection. In spite of the 1935 regulations, the St. Roque partit retained its numerical superiority as well as the church decorations during the 'thirties. It was not until 1942 that a shrewd parish priest succeeded in bringing the silver altar front out of the St. Roque strongroom into that of the parish church, where it has remained ever since.

The rivalry between the partiti lay dormant during the Second World War, as the people united to fight for survival. But it flared up again immediately after the war, as did similar rivalry in other villages. Both clubs organized musical bands for the first time. After a series of incidents which culminated in the parish priest again having to send for police protection, this time against angry St. Martin supporters, the rivalry began to decline somewhat. This decline was brought about chiefly by the effects of emigration, improvements in local transport, the establishment of a number

of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 578 621 793
political parties. 794

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro- 794
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the con-
fraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are mem-
bers neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

575 these groups is the loyalty of the people to the partit and its patron,
shown by supporting the many activities that the leaders organize,
621 and by boycotting similar activities of their rivals. These
794 include fund-raising lotteries and fairs, weekly collections and
796 partit picnics and pilgrimages. During the festa, supporters march
with the statue, dress themselves and their houses up and in general celebrate their patron. Their rivals often walk about unshaven and glowering, and do not normally decorate their houses.

Although most people in a village divided by this type of
578 rivalry will choose, or be forced, to take sides, a few are able to
621 avoid this commitment, or at least say they have. These are often
794 priests and teachers, who sometimes find it to their advantage to
remain neutral, as do outsiders who have married into the village.
796 Museum members are not permitted to maintain partit affiliation though, of course, many do. Neutral people contribute to both feasts. A true partisan would never contribute to the external feast of his rival, although he might give something to the parish priest for the internal feast. During periods of intense rivalry, even these contributions cease. Thus, virtually the entire £1,465 which St. Martin's centenary cost was contributed by his supporters alone. Six months later their rivals spent £600 on the feast of St. Roque.

575 The band club is the organizational and social centre of a partit.
All members of the club are supporters of the partit, but not all
621 supporters of the partit are members of the club, though non-members are normally welcome to come and use its facilities. To a certain extent, membership of the club depends upon the availability of ready cash, for many men are reluctant to part with the subscription fee as long as they can make use of the club's premises. Though the confraternities are open to all adults without
621 regard to partit affiliation, there is normally a positive correlation
794 between partit and confraternity membership. Generally speaking, the supporters of the titular feast enrol in the older confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary. These confraternities are established in all parishes, and play an important part in many religious ceremonies. Supporters of the secondary patron enrol in the confraternity dedicated to him, if they feel inclined to join one.

162 These general principles can be illustrated by data collected in
621 Farruġ. Table No. 4 below shows the relative strengths of the two

Marriages between
621 members of rival partiti are regarded as undesirable. They occa-
[582] sionally take place, but the division of loyalty within the nuclear
[586] family which results often leads to quarrels and, occasionally, to
temporary separations. (The favourite festa-time story of the wife
[593] who refuses to cook for her husband because he belongs to the
[538] other partit is based on fact!) Of the marriages contracted within
Farruġ, 72 per cent took place between members of the same partit. Children of mixed marriages support the feast of their favourite parent: boys normally follow their fathers and girls their mothers.

● 578-621 I recorded only two cases in Farruġ of adults who changed their partit affiliation. Both occurred over fifty years ago. A leading member of the St. Roque partit left it after a heated quarrel with Dun Rokku over the design for new street decorations. He subsequently became one of the other partit's most honoured members, and even wrote a book on the life of St. Martin. The second man left St. Roque when he married the daughter of the president of the St. Martin club. I was told that the girl's father had insisted on the change before he gave his consent to the marriage. The young man went on to become president of the club, as did his only son. In another village a few young men left their partit after a quarrel with one of the leaders, but all returned after a year.

621 Although an outsider who marries into a village generally supports the partit of his spouse, a few of them, particularly the men, succeed in remaining neutral. Of the 122 outsiders who married into Farruġ,[1] 28 per cent of the men but only 8 per cent of the women remained uncommitted. A few even chose to support partiti opposed to those of their spouses. Thus a women from Qrendi who married a St. Martin supporter and moved to Farruġ became a follower of St. Roque because she had been a keen member of the secondary partit in her native village. Children of families in which one of the parents is an outsider, especially if the parent remains neutral, often support the partit of their friends rather than those of their parents or siblings. A case in point is that of the president of the St. Roque club, and his brother. Their father was an outsider who, because of his position as headmaster, made a point of remaining strictly neutral. Though his wife was from a St. Martin family, one son supported St. Martin, the other St. Roque.

[162] [1] 61 men and 61 women. These marriages represent 34 per cent of the total in the village.

residence pattern is certainly true in Farruġ, and I observed much
361 the same thing in other villages divided by festa partiti. In Farruġ,
621 65 per cent of the people living on the main square and the four
streets leading into it supported St. Martin, but only 46 per cent
of those living in other parts of the village did so.

● 578 Disputes between partiti usually concern matters of precedence
or their ability to display devotion to their saints. Each partit has
621 certain rights, usually secured at the cost of clashes with its rival.
[575] These include the position and participation of the club and con-
[794] fraternity in Church processions and at other functions, the routes
over which these processions travel and the possession of certain
property and its display in the parish church. Any attempt to
[626] extend or reduce them is resisted by the partit affected, which
takes action to protect its interests by trying to influence the
Church authorities, who must make the final decisions.

The structural position of a partit determines the kind of
621 pressure that it can bring to bear upon the Church. Those of
626 titular saints are, in a sense, the establishment parties. As we have
794 seen, the Church seeks to build up their celebrations at the
796 expense of the secondary ones. Hence a titular partit can negotiate
from a strong position: its ultimate sanction is refusal to participate
in the feast of the village patron, an event which the Church is
anxious to see celebrated with great pomp. Secondary partiti, on
the other hand, are inherently opposed to the Church in matters
of festa policy. They try to increase the scale of their feasts, while
the Church tries to reduce them. They dare not cancel their feasts
for fear that the Church would accuse them of making trouble
and suppress them, as it did the secondary festas of Our Lady of
Lourdes in Qrendi, and St. Michael in Żabbar.

621 Their position in opposition to Church policy has given most
secondary partiti a certain *esprit de corps* and unity of purpose that
626 their rivals often lack. This has made them better able to with-
665 stand the divisive effects of the political factions which have
794 recently weakened many of their rivals. It has also generally
resulted in the emergence of stronger leaders. Secondary partiti
are often united around a single professional class leader who can
not only hold the partit together in the face of the attacks of its
opponents, but can also argue intricate points of Canon Law with
the monsignori at the Curia and, at times, with the Archbishop
621 himself. As we have observed, the secondary partiti generally have

fewer professional class members. Consequently competition for 621 the role of leader does not occur so often, and there is a longer tenure of office. In the partit of a titular saint, with its better-educated members, there are more men with the necessary qualities of leadership, and accordingly more competition for office and a high turnover of office holders. The competition both [578] creates and results from internal factions which weaken the group. In Farrug, for example, the President of the St. Roque Band Club 575 has led the St. Roque partit more or less continuously since Dun 621 Rokku died thirty years ago. He is also just about the only member of the partit with the educational qualifications and social position required of a leader. The key positions of the St. Martin Band Club, in contrast, constantly pass between about half a dozen educated persons. This divided leadership has weakened the club; and on one occasion it even split in two. The strong leadership and internal unity of the secondary partiti, plus the fact that they rarely present claims that are not well founded, has enabled them to score many successes in spite of their apparently unfavourable position in relation to the Church.

Disputes between festa partiti are all very much alike. A typical 578 dispute begins when leaders of a secondary partit petition the 621 parish priest for some new privilege, for example the right to 793 renew the bouquets of artificial flowers which adorn the statue of 794 their saint. The parish priest normally refuses at first, and tells them that he thinks the old flowers are quite serviceable. His policy is to let sleeping dogs lie. Moreover, he has to take into account the rule that decorations for secondary feasts must not be more beautiful than those for titular ones. But the saint's supporters continue to bring influence to bear on him. In the meantime, members of the titular partit have learned of their rivals' move and rush to the parish priest to point out that the old flowers are more than adequate. They threaten to cancel their feast if he [626] gives in on this matter. The priest is now caught in a vice, and the pressure on him builds up. Finally, he agrees to refer the whole case to the Curia and passes the matter upwards, usually with a feeling of relief. Relations between him and the partiti return to normal, as the scene of the struggle shifts to the Curia.

The Curia normally appoints experts to re-investigate the merits of the case, including the proposed design of the flowers. Leaders from both partiti spend a great deal of their time at the

578 Curia trying to persuade all concerned, from the Bishop down, to
621 think the way they do. This may go on for years, for the Curia,
knowing the trouble that lies ahead, is usually in no hurry to give
793 its decision. When the final decision is handed down, it is usually
794 favourable, and the design for a set of flowers less beautiful and
costly than the corresponding set of the titular partit is furnished. The secondary partit then instructs the craftsmen to begin work. The titular partit announces to everyone that it will cancel its next feast.

It often happens, however, that just before the new bouquets (or whatever *objets d'art* are concerned) are inaugurated during the secondary festa, the parish priest discovers that most of the Curia's specifications have been ignored. The new flowers are far more beautiful than they were supposed to be. He is furious. The guilty leaders of the secondary partit apologize profusely and take immediate steps to make them less beautiful. Occasionally, the priest may discipline the partit by temporarily reducing the scale of its feast. The secondary partit then holds its feast, and the flowers are admired by all visitors. Strong police reinforcements usually prevent trouble from occurring. Relations between the parish priest and the titular partit are gradually re-established and it agrees, usually for some concessions on his part, to celebrate its feast again. But in a year or so, a new dispute occurs, and the process starts all over again.

Sometimes relations between a parish priest and a partit reach
578 a deadlock that can be broken only by an outside peacemaker,
621 frequently an officer of the police. The police in any case have a
625 vital interest in the degree of rivalry existing in the villages, as it is
793 their business to keep order during the feast. The number of
794 police on duty at these times ranges from a dozen or so in villages
such as Siġġiewi and Naxxar, where there are no partiti, to around
100 in those where there are strong ones, such as Mqabba and
[626] Żurrieq. Occasionally a parish priest is threatened, frightened by
a home-made bomb, or attacked; he then often requests, and generally receives, a transfer to another parish.

So far only the more important encounters between partiti have
543 been discussed. There are many other events to keep their rivalry
575 alive throughout the year. The numerous fund-raising fairs of
578 the band clubs are occasions for the village to divide along festa
621 partit lines. While supporters of the partit running the fair flock

to it, their rivals invariably stage their own fair or, and this is 621
more usual, hire several buses and noisily leave the village for a 578
picnic or a pilgrimage to some shrine of their saint. Many other [575]
incidents divide groups and associations along partit lines. For [543]
example, a former head teacher of the Farruġ school told me that [301]
he had once tried to get the girls to wear the dark blue hair
ribbons which are supposed to be part of their school uniforms. He
was astounded when half the girls flatly refused. It was then
explained to him that blue is the colour of the St. Roque partit, so
the St. Martin girls could not be expected to wear it.

Let us now look at some of the major skirmishes which have 578
taken place in Farruġ during the last ten years. During 1952 and 621
1953 there was a dispute over an attempt by the St. Roque procession 79
to pass along a street over which St. Martin's followers
claimed exclusive rights. When the inexperienced new parish
priest backed the St. Roque claim before the Archbishop, he
brought violently into the open a dispute over which his predecessor
had successfully procrastinated for years. The followers [626]
of St. Martin not only refused to celebrate their feast, but also
succeeded in frightening the unfortunate priest rather badly by
exploding a huge rocket in the drainpipe under his house. Some
St. Martin partisans gleefully recounted to me that the priest was
soon transferred to another parish, and that during his last week
in Farruġ he had asked the police to escort him between his house
and the church. Relations between the Church and the St. Martin
partit were restored when the Archbishop modified the St.
Roque procession route.

In 1956 the St. Martin Band Club refused to celebrate the titular [575]
festa because the Archbishop had given the Confraternity of St.
Roque permission to renew the four bunches of artificial flowers
which decorate the main altar during his feast. The following year
the St. Roque Band Club refused to play at the installation ceremony
of the new parish priest because the Curia had just turned
down the confraternity's request for permission to hang a new
picture over its altar. In 1960 the same priest angered the St.
Roque partit by refusing to let it participate in the St. Martin
centenary celebrations. The poor man's hands were tied, for the
St. Martin club had declared that it would have nothing to do
with the feast if its rival took any part in it. At the moment, there
is another struggle in the offing. The Confraternity of St. Roque

578 recently petitioned the Archbishop for permission to renew the
platform on which their saint stands during the feast. St. Martin
621 supporters have threatened to cancel their feast if permission is
79 granted, as it probably will be, for the present platform is old and
falling to pieces.

While I was in the village, there was also a dispute over pre-
575 cedence between the two band clubs on the occasion of the
578 installation ceremony of Dun Franġisk, the present parish priest.
621 This is a good example of a dispute over precedence, and it is one
793 which recurs in some form every time a new parish priest is
appointed to a village where there are two band clubs. The band which has precedence has the right to march last and to escort the priest from the church to his house after the ceremony. The other club escorts him from his house to the church before the ceremony. Quite straightforward, but clubs rarely agree on which one has precedence. The dispute thus presents a knotty problem that brings a new priest abruptly up against the realities of parish politics within a few days after his arrival. His handling of the matter may well govern his relations with the partiti during the rest of his time in the village.

On the evening when Dun Franġisk moved into the parish, the St. Martin Band Club gave a party to welcome him and to bid farewell to his predecessor, who had been its strong ally. The party was a great success. The departing priest received a huge coloured portrait of St. Martin as a farewell gift, and Dun Franġisk met all the St. Martin leaders and blessed the club's new television set. A few days later, the St. Martin leaders called on the new priest and offered to provide a musical escort to and from the church for his installation ceremony. This was to be followed by a concert in the square and a firework display. The offer pleased him and he accepted. During the next few days the St. Martin club went about collecting the £25 the band programme would cost, thus advising the village of its plans.

Until then Dun Franġisk had heard nothing from the St. Roque club, a fact which rather disturbed him.

Two days later he called in person at both clubs to invite them to attend his installation ceremony and the reception following it. But he found the clubs deserted. The members of the St. Martin committee were away offering their congratulations to the old parish priest, who that night was holding his installation ceremony

in his new parish. Most of the St. Roque leaders, for their part, 575
were off supervising a fund-raising fair which they had hastily 578
organized to help ensure that no St. Roque supporter would be 621
tempted to attend the lavish reception of their former antagonist. 793
Finding no one of importance at the clubs, Dun Frangisk left the
invitations with the bar-keepers.

Two days later a group of St. Roque leaders called to thank him for his invitation, at the same time informing him that they were looking forward to escorting him to and from the church with their band. Dun Frangisk had been warned by his predecessor that this might happen, so he asked them to meet him the next evening to discuss the details of the programme with the other club.

Next morning the members of the St. Martin partit were furious over this move of their rivals. They grumbled to me that now only a miracle could save the band programme they had been planning. It was the main topic of conversation in the village that day. Many people were on hand to watch the St. Martin committee members enter the parish priest's house that afternoon. Soon after, the rival delegation, headed by the vice-president, the secretary and the treasurer of the St. Roque Band Club, joined the meeting. The first session lasted two hours. I saw the young priest shortly afterwards. He looked rather stunned, and exclaimed, 'They can't agree. They both want to escort me to my house! It's like a U.N. session. Nothing is settled and we meet again in an hour.' I learned later that he had had a difficult time preventing the rivals from coming to blows.

They met again, but the deadlock remained unbroken. The St. Martin delegates maintained that their club had the right to escort the priest to his house because it was the oldest, it represented the official patron saint of the village and it had been the only one to play during the past two installation ceremonies. Their rivals rejected all these claims, and suggested that they draw lots for the privilege of playing last, or hire outside bands to play, and let them decide. The St. Martin representatives rejected these suggestions. Finally, at midnight, the parish priest put an end to the wrangle. He told them that unless they could decide the matter among themselves, he would have to decline their offers to play for him. He asked them to let him have their decision by the following evening.

575 The next day each delegation called separately on Dun Fran-
578 ġisk and told him that they had not been able to reach a decision.
578 In fact, they had not met again. St. Martin supporters were very
621 bitter about the whole affair, and said that since they could not
743 play, they would also cancel the firework display they had been
planning.

The installation ceremony took place three days later as planned. Neither band played, but each fired off a number of petards during the day, and each gave the newly installed priest a rousing salute of fire crackers on his return from the church. The leaders of both partiti attended his reception, separately to be sure, and they were very cordial in their congratulations. The skirmish was over. St. Martin leaders admitted to me that Dun Franġisk had handled himself well, and that he had taken the only sensible course open to him. They declared, however, that he should not have called in person to invite the St. Roque club, but should have sent the more usual printed invitation. The St. Roque leaders, on the other hand, were quite pleased with the way things had gone. They invited Dun Franġisk to a reception in his honour at their club the following week, and shortly afterwards asked him to support their request for a new platform for their saint.

This whole episode must be seen as an attempt by the St. Roque partit to unseat its rival from the position of pre-eminence it had enjoyed during the centenary celebration. It could do this by blocking the St. Martin club's plan to be the only band to play at the installation ceremony. The St. Roque leaders were able to make their first move when Dun Franġisk called in person at their club, thereby assuring them that they be given equal standing with the other, which they felt had been favoured by his predecessor. They would not have made their offer to play if there had been the slightest indication that Dun Franġisk was going to favour their rivals. In fact it is extremely unlikely that the St. Roque club was really planning to play. It had not done so for many years, it had no bandsmen and at the time it did not even have a bandmaster. Finally, it had made no collection to pay for a band. All these facts were known to the St. Martin supporters when they
[521] made their offer to play. Furthermore, they had heard indirectly from the St. Roque secretary – who told a policemen in a neighbouring town, who in turn mentioned it to the president of the

St. Martin club – that the St. Roque club was not planning to participate 575
in the ceremony in protest against the way they had been 578
treated during the centenary. Dun Franġisk's spontaneous move 621
upset their plans. 793

Although Dun Franġisk favoured the suggestions that the clubs [521]
draw lots, or hire outside bands, St. Martin rejected both because they implied that the clubs had equal status. The last time the St. Roque band had played was six years and four parish priests before, when the local police inspector had devised a compromise solution, and the St. Martin leaders had 'allowed' St. Roque to play the last march of the day, while their band escorted the new priest home. They believed any concession they made now would undo the advantage which they felt they had gained as the only functioning band in the village during the past six years.

Thus it came about that no band played at Dun Franġisk's installation ceremony. This greatly surprised the many visitors from the city and the suburbs, but the good people of the district found it quite in accordance with the way things should be, considering the issues involved. At no point in the series of events were the feelings of the young priest, whom all liked, ever considered. His installation had become the vehicle for a clash between the followers of St. Martin and St. Roque. They had been vying with each other for supremacy long before he was born, and would be at it long after he left. Any concessions made for his sake would have to be entered into the eighty-year-old ledger of credits and debits, and might have an important bearing on the outcome of the next series of encounters.

III

Two interesting problems remain to be considered: why festa 17
partiti arose during the fifty years or so after 1850, and what 621
reasons prompted people to join one partit rather than its rival. 787
The factors which caused the partiti to come into existence at this 795
particular period in Maltese history are necessarily complex, and they are dimmed by the time that has elapsed since their foundation. Nonetheless, one can discern several elements which would appear to be related to the general problem. To begin with, during this period there was a sudden increase in the devotion to the Virgin Mary following her apparition in 1858 at Lourdes, and the

Whatever the reasons for their beginnings in particular villages, 575
there are today festa partiti or at least competing band clubs in 578
nineteen villages and towns. Ten communities are divided by the 621
type of rivalry described above. Of these Gudja has partiti which 794
compete only over two secondary feasts and another, Żebbuġ, has three rival band clubs, two of which compete over the titular feast. Besides these ten, another four towns are divided by rivalry between their constituent parishes, five more are divided by rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, although the band clubs in one of them, Żabbar, were once allied to festa partiti.

The competition between rival parishes of the same town is very similar to that between festa partiti. In fact the division of Qormi and Rabat (Gozo) into two parishes each came about partly because of the rivalry between festa partiti. Since each parish has its own church and is not limited by the 1935 regulations, the competition between them is even keener than between festa partiti within the same parish. For this reason the feasts of St. Mary and St. George in Rabat (Gozo) and St. George and St. Sebastian in Qormi are probably the most spectacular in the country. Competition between rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, in contrast, is not as fierce as that between festa partiti. It is, nonetheless, a considerable force in the communities where it exists. Disputes between these band clubs usually involve questions of precedence, such as those which arise over their positions and role during the titular festa or at an installation ceremony of a new parish priest. Failure to reach agreement may mean that one or both boycott the celebration.

Finally, weak festa partiti once existed in another seven villages. But as they were not aligned with band or social clubs, they were not well enough organized to resist the firm pressure the Church began to exert after 1935. Today there is scarcely a trace of their former existence. All festa partiti and rival band clubs, both present and past, are listed in Appendix A.[1]

IV

Implicit throughout this examination of the various types of 571
competing groups described in this chapter and in the previous 578
one, has been the highly formal nature of their interaction. Their 621
disputes are like war games. The action between them takes place

[1] [see p. 142. –Analyst]

571 within a framework bounded by the decrees of the Church, the
laws of the State and the appropriate body of custom. New pic-
● 578 tures are not hung in churches and new procession routes are not
621 followed unless permission has first been obtained from the Church. Action without this permission could result in the suppression of the feast, the desecration of the church or the interdiction of the ringleaders. In the same way, the threats and insults of demonstrating partisans rarely result in physical violence because of the swift penalties that the ever-vigilant police would impose. Permanent truce or peace between the partiti and competing parishes is impossible to achieve owing to the inherent nature of the rivalry which exists between them. It is this state of continuous one-upmanship that provides the driving force behind much of the village politics in Malta. At least it did until the increasing involvement of the people in national politics created a new set of conflicting loyalties that cut deeply across many older ones.

CHAPTER VII

National Politics and the Village

In the last few years issues of national policy have taken an 578
increasingly important place in the villages alongside the purely 665
parochial ones we discussed in the preceding two chapters. Divi- 668
sions based on opposed political ideologies are now reflected in 795
the groups and associations in which people spend their time. The major division which cuts across all Maltese villages is based not so much upon rivalry between political parties, as upon the present conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. But as has been observed, conflict between the Church and a political party is not new to Malta. It also existed during the late 'twenties and early 'thirties.

The dispute between the Labour Party and the Church is 578
essentially a struggle for power. Dom Mintoff, the Labour leader,
accuses the Archbishop Gonzi of siding with Britain to maintain 665
Malta's colonial status, and with interfering in politics by attack- 795
ing the Labour Party and its leaders. In its 1962 Electoral Mani-
festo the MLP proclaims the right of a person 'to fulfil his civic duty [666]
without pseudo-religious interference'; sees as a crime 'any interference with the right of a democratically elected majority to implement the people's mandate', and advocates the 'abolition of medieval privileges which have retarded [the country's] social and economic progress.'[1] The Church sees this not only as a direct attack on the basic right and duty of a bishop to teach and to guard the morals of his flock,[2] but also as a move to destroy its traditional position in Maltese society. In particular it fears that if the Labour Party were returned to power, it would enact legislation which would render the Archbishop liable to prosecution before the criminal court if he were to comment on the political issues of the day.

These opposing views are expressed in the slogans written on [208]

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[1] See Appendix B for the 1962 MLP Electoral Manifesto.

[2] Cf. William E. Addis and others, '*Bishop*', *A Catholic Dictionary*, pp. 80 ff.

208 walls and shouted at public meetings. Mintoff is portrayed as a
Socialist devil working to give the islands over to Communism
578 in the manner of Cuba's Castro. These are some typical examples
665 of the ones that appeared on the blackboard outside the Kortin
795 Catholic Action centre: 'Mintoff is the enemy of the Church',
'Nobody can serve both God and the Devil', '"The Bishops are
interfering in politics!" That is what Communists say,' and 'We
don't want Communists among us!' In stating their case, Mintoff
and his supporters did not mince words either, as the following
slogans that appeared on the blackboard of the Kortin Labour
Party club demonstrate: 'We want a chance in court about the
$60,000 lie',[1] 'With the Papal flag in their hands and shouting
for vengeance', 'A fish begins to stink from its head',[2] and 'In
Gozo they told the women that we have tails.'

208 The popular slogan 'Either with the Bishop or against the
Church!' sums up the uncompromising attitude of the Church.
578 Most of the sanctions it has imposed have presented that choice
665 to the people in unequivocal terms. Early in May 1961, shortly
794 after the Labour leaders were interdicted, all Church lay societies
795 were instructed to obtain from each member a pledge of his full
and unqualified support for the Archbishop. Those that declined
to give this were expelled from the society concerned and their
names reported to the national office of Catholic Action. But a
more drastic sanction was imposed a few weeks later. After the
[793] Executive of the Labour Party had invited the Archbishop and the
[626] Bishop of Gozo to debate their policy in public at a Labour rally
in Cospicua, the Bishops replied to this insult by issuing a circular
which declared it a mortal sin to print, write for, sell, buy,
distribute or read the Labour Party newspapers. All confessors
were instructed to put the necessary questions to their penitents.

578 Hence, to remain a Labour supporter, a person has to forego the
665 Church sacraments that he has been brought up to believe vital
794 to his happiness and spiritual salvation. This is a very serious
795 choice for a practising Catholic, and before these sanctions were
imposed, the Maltese were among the most devoutly Catholic
[851] people in the world. It has also meant that MLP supporters cannot

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[608] [1] This refers to the Archbishop's charge, made at a rally in March 1961, that Mintoff had received $61,000 from the allegedly Communist dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which the MLP had just joined.

[539] [2] A Maltese proverb meaning that corruption first becomes apparent among people in high places. This was presumably directed against the Archbishop.

578

act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented 665
from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred 794
not to baptize their children. 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have [851]
stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything [608]
that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that [664]
there is nothing incompatible between support of their political
leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the
slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has
become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the [208]
Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it
does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue
to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have
been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized
their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for
personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does
not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This
attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters
who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the
military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist
and a practising Catholic at the same time.

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on
the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this
struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been
unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from
church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a [626]
confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone
to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very
difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to
live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people complained about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour
Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some
extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role
for the non-practising Catholic.

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed 115
up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. 578
We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked 665
him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the 794
Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Communist 795
by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am 829

578 665 794 795 829 [115] young, I cannot even vote in the next election. But I must think of the future. I feel that Mintoff is doing what is right for Malta. He helped the poor people when he made the government. The Church fights Mintoff because she fears she will lose her privileges and power if he wins, and that he will tax her property. The Church is in favour of keeping people ignorant, and limiting their education. Why? Because when people are educated they think for themselves and can judge. They no longer follow blindly. Besides, you should not take too seriously all this talk of Communism – they are products of this fight. In a fight, people use all means available.'

[539] The street sweeper who was with us understood most of the conversation and shook his head in disagreement. His only comment was the proverb, 'A ship with two captains can't sail' (*Il-vapur biż-żewġ kaptani ma jimxiex*). At this every one in the shop nodded in agreement, for both Labour and Church supporters had different captains in mind. Those who support the Archbishop look to him as the leader of the Maltese people. They make little distinction between Church and State. Labour supporters, in contrast, make a clear distinction. Mintoff is their candidate for head of State, and since they see the Archbishop as interfering with their choice, they accuse him of reaching out to control both Church and State.

II

578 665 794 [793] At the village level, this conflict has brought about a bitter division. All societies and groups which are not formally identified with one side or the other, have been divided and weakened by politically based factions. The parish priest is the leader of those who support the Archbishop. His most enthusiastic followers are the clergy and the members of the lay societies. This group, with the other prominent villagers who make up the parish priest's circle, provide the hard core of the active opposition to the MLP. Considering the offices that they occupy and the societies to which they belong, it could hardly be otherwise. They usually meet in the club houses of the societies, but sometimes the older members meet in a particular café.

The hard core of the Labour group is made up of the officers of the local MLP Committee and the members who openly frequent the club. There is very little contact between the leaders and

active members of the two sides. But there are a number of persons 578
who would like to avoid having to make a break with either
side. For the most part they keep quiet about their political views. 665
But the Church sanctions and the pressure exerted by relatives, 794
friends and workmates is slowly reducing their numbers.

Affiliation is expressed in very much the same way as with the festa partiti. That is, supporters participate in their side's activities and boycott those of their opponents. The activities of those who support the Archbishop centre on the lay apostolate societies. The leaders of these groups, with the parish priest, usually organize the buses that take villagers to the rallies of the Diocesan Junta, which are usually held in front of the Floriana parish church. More recently, separate parishes have organized rallies and pilgrimages of reparation a few days after the Labour Party has held a meeting in the village. An official visit of the Archbishop to a village also provides an occasion for a big demonstration by his supporters in his honour. Bus-loads of colleagues from other parishes often swell the ranks of the local lay societies during their demonstrations. They in turn attend similar meetings in other parishes. Occasionally they unite and act in opposition to MLP meetings in their own and other parishes. More often though, they organize picnics or pilgrimages to take supporters out of the village when their opponents have arranged an event. Supporters of the Archbishop show their allegiance by decorating their houses with pictures of him and with yellow and white Papal flags. Many also buy the newspapers of Catholic Action and the Young Christian Workers.

Enthusiasm for the struggle, which had assumed something of
the character of a Holy War when I left Malta, has gripped both
young and old. For example, at an MLP meeting in Birkirkara in
May 1961 I saw a black-cowled MUSEUM woman herding a group
of youngsters up against a police cordon. All were blowing
whistles as loudly as they could. A little later a scuffle broke out [579]
between MLP supporters and organized parties from the lay
religious societies who had surrounded the meeting. But a police
water cannon promptly dampened their enthusiasm. In another
village, opponents of the MLP rang the bells of the parish church to
drown out the Labour voices. This technique, in fact, was first
used in Gozo at a big MLP rally there in April, where it proved so
successful that not one of the speakers was able to make himself

578 heard. The meeting was finally called off, and the large MLP
665 delegation from Malta was literally routed. They had to return on
foot from Rabat to the ferry, as the bus drivers refused them
794 transport. During the long walk to the ferry, the Labour partisans were ambushed and rather badly mauled by groups of men, women and children from all over Gozo. The ardour of many Gozitans had been worked up by lay leaders who toured the villages for several days beforehand. But besides their religious fervour, there was a considerable element of parochial pride, and the feeling that 'we'll show these Maltese invaders a thing or two.' In all, forty persons were reported injured. The Gozitans were extremely proud of their victory, and the local branch of the Social Action Movement published a booklet to commemorate the occasion.[1]

665 The activity of Labour supporters centres on their local Party club or committee, which arranges for transportation to national MLP rallies and conducts lectures and classes on the political aims of the Party. It also organizes social evenings and outings for Labour supporters. The members of the Local Committee take charge of the preparations for national meetings held in their own village. Local Committees take the initiative in preparing floats, decorated carts and companies in costume for the annual MLP demonstration on the First of May. For the past few years the
[796] MLP Executive has also organized a carnival celebration for its supporters to induce them to boycott the official government-
[204] sponsored carnival.[2] Labour supporters read the Labour daily newspaper, *Il-Helsien* (Freedom), and the Sunday *Voice of Malta*. Since the condemnation, *Il-Helsien* has become a party badge. It is pasted on bus windows during MLP excursions, worn as an armband at rallies and in general used by Labour supporters to taunt their opponents. I have even seen some young men in Kortin swagger into church on Sunday morning with copies of it sticking out of their hip pockets.

578 All supporters of the Labour Party do not show their allegiance
665 this openly, for many wish to avoid the break with a large section of the community which would follow such action. Some are teachers or civil servants who fear lest their open support for the

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[1] *Ghawdex Jiddefendi L-Knisja* [Gozo defends the Church] (Gozo: Social Action Movement, 1961).

[648] [2] The government at this time was administered by a British Chief Secretary, and the MLP ordered members to stay away from all events it organized.

MLP cost them their jobs.[1] Others have friends or relatives on the 578
other side with whom they do not wish to break. Yet others, 665
responsible for maintaining the unity of a neutral club, fear that
an open stand will bring about a crisis which would divide it.
Although most of these persons continue to read the condemned 204
papers, they do so discreetly, for reading them openly would 578
provoke incidents. There are also a large number of Labour 626
sympathizers who have been unwilling to forego the sacraments
of the Church. They no longer read the Labour papers or attend 665
MLP rallies, but they are bitter about having been forced to make
the choice.

The physical act of purchasing a Labour newspaper has in itself become a public statement of political allegiance. After the condemnation and the threat of a general Church boycott of their premises (which was carried out in Gozo) most vendors have refused to handle MLP publications. In the villages they can usually only be bought at the local MLP club. Thus the act of striding across the village square and into the stronghold of the devil, performed in front of many of the village elders, becomes an open declaration of sympathy with the Labour cause. In Kortin many wait until the square is empty, usually around midnight in the summer, and then scuttle into the club to get their papers.

III

There is a correlation between occupational class and support for 467
one of these two ideological divisions. In general, professionals, 665
white-collar workers and farmers support the Archbishop, and
industrial labourers the Labour Party. There are several reasons for this. To begin with, the Labour Party is a working-man's party, and there is ideological support for it on that account. Although the MLP has a definitely socialist ideology, and is a member of the Socialist International (points on which the Church attacks it regularly), it advocates few of the measures associated with doctrinaire Socialism, such as public ownership of transport and industry or the collectivization of farming. On the other hand, it does promise equal opportunity for all, and 'the right of the

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[1] The Malta Government Circular of 19 October 1960 prohibited most grades of civil servants from holding office in political organizations or publicly expressing their political views. This regulation is something of a paradox in a small country in which most intellectuals work for the government in one capacity or another. E56

463 Grand Harbour and first establish themselves in the conurbation
467 surrounding it has helped to keep the farmer devoutly tied to the
665 Church. For this reason the action of the MLP in challenging the
authority of the Bishops is as abhorrent to him as it is difficult
to understand.

463 The recent sanctions of the Church have increased the class
alignment of those who support the Labour Party and those who
578 oppose it. This is largely because those with high social status have
665 more to lose than industrial workers, and are thus more vulnerable
795 to the pressure of public opinion and the Church. The
increasingly heavy pressure of the Church has forced many of the
[626] young professionals and intellectuals to abandon the party for
which they voted in 1955. But even when the MLP was in office,
its policies began to alarm many in the professional and middle
classes. They objected not only to Mintoff's attitude to the
Church, but also to the somewhat abrupt way his government
occasionally dealt with the professional and business communities.
Many were disturbed by the MLP's rather sudden switch from
advocating integration with Britain to demanding complete
independence. As most of those who left the party or became
inactive in it were moderates, both in their approach to the
Church and to the economic and political problems facing Malta,
the MLP has become more extreme in its outlook. This in turn
[656] induced others to leave it. This process was accelerated by the
regulations which prohibited the better-educated civil servants
from taking an active part in the political life of their country.

463 Table 7 below shows the rough correlation between occupational
665 class and support of the Malta Labour Party. In particular,
666 it demonstrates that as the proportion of skilled workers decreases,
so does the proportion of voters who support Labour. Other
variables are the number of professionals and farmers. The
Second and Fourth Electoral Districts polled the highest number
of Labour votes in the 1962 election, and the Sixth and Tenth the
lowest. The MLP polled 56 per cent of the total votes in the
Second Electoral District, where 45 per cent of the working
population are classified as skilled labourers.

In contrast, it received only 6 per cent of the votes in Gozo, where only 16 per cent of the people are skilled labourers, but 38 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Another important variable is the number of clergy resident in a district. The relatively high

proportion of clerics and nuns in the Sixth Electoral District 463
helps to explain the relatively low Labour poll there. It is also a 665
significant factor in explaining the overwhelming defeat of the 666
MLP in Gozo. These two districts have the highest proportion of
clerics in the country. The Fourth District, in contrast, has the
lowest.

TABLE 7. 1962 Elections:
Occupational Class and Voting Behaviour[1]

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS[2]	SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (As percentage of total lab. force)			PERCENTAGE LABOUR VOTES
	Professional[3]	*Skilled*	*Agricultural*	
IInd (Senglea, etc.)	4 (3)	45	4	56
IVth (Żurrieq, etc.)	3 (2)	34	11	47
VIth (Birkirkara, etc.)	6 (4)	33	11	24
Xth (Gozo)	7 (6)	16	38	6
All Districts	5 (3)	32	11	34

IV

It will have been observed that there is a certain superficial 621
similarity between the reasons given here for belonging to the 665
MLP and those suggested in the preceding chapter for recruitment
into the secondary festa partiti. One might expect therefore that
in comparison with titular partiti, secondary partiti would have a
higher proportion of Labour supporters among their members.
Unfortunately, owing to the disturbed political situation prevailing at the time, I was not able to gather satisfactory systematic
data on this point. Almost all informants with whom I discussed [124]
the matter suggested that secondary partiti did in fact have more
pro-Mintoff members than their rivals. But the situation is not
quite as straightforward as it might appear. To begin with, the
statements of informants varied according to their own political
beliefs and their position in relation to the festa partiti. Rivals [575]
generally tried to place each other in an unfavourable light. Thus [578]
an anti-MLP member of a band club supporting a titular feast

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[1] Source: *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 40–111; and *The Malta Government Gazette* (3 March 1962), pp. 585–94.

[2] *IInd* (Cospicua, Senglea, Vittoriosa, Kalkara, Żabbar, M'skala), *IVth* (Żurrieq, Safi, Qrendi, Mqabba, Kirkop, B'bugia, Żejtun, M'xlokk), *VIth* (Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija, Attard, Naxxar, Gharghur). [103]

[3] Percentage of priests, monks and nuns in parenthesis.

575 would describe the rival club as a Mintoff stronghold, but suggested
578 that his own club had relatively few MLP members. In
contrast, a member of the rival club with the same political view
621 would often say just the opposite. Parish priests generally gave
665 very conservative estimates of the number of MLP supporters in
the clubs, but usually said that the secondary clubs had more.

Another factor which makes it difficult to be dogmatic about
621 the political alignment of the partiti is that most are located in the
665 southern villages. These communities are reservoirs of industrial
[464] labour and are generally strongly pro-Labour. For this reason, unbiased informants generally estimated that Labour supporters made up between half and three-fourths of the membership of all clubs, but that secondary clubs had slightly more. My own experience in Farruġ confirms this. I found there that about 70 per cent of the members of each partit are pro-Labour, although the leaders of the village MLP group are almost all from the St. Martin partit. This I suggested was due more to the shallowness of the leadership resources of the St. Roque partit than to the political inclination of its members.

575 At the policy level, all clubs usually maintain strict political
neutrality. At least, all incorporate clauses to this effect in their
621 by-laws, and many prohibit party newspapers and political discussions
665 in the club. Nonetheless, some clubs are closely identified with a particular political party. Of the clubs that are aligned in this way, those that celebrate the titular feasts generally support one of the parties allied with the Church, usually the Nationalist Party; their rivals support the Labour Party. This alignment often comes about when a leading member of a club seeks political office. Where this occurs, members of the opposite festa partit, as a matter of course, give their votes to his chief opponent in another party, or to a rival in his own party. The political significance of the rivalry between festa partiti will be examined in the following chapter, together with some of the ways in which political candidates manipulate the partiti, and are, in their turn, manipulated by them.

But the tendency to political polarity of rival band clubs still does not explain why the leader of a secondary club, for example, supports the Labour Party, and not one of the rival parties. The chief reason for this, quite apart from the fact that he may have a personal preference for the party, is that the members of his own

festa partit form the nucleus of his political following. It is not 575
surprising therefore that he should support the party they favour. 621

There is another interesting way in which festa partiti in general, 665
and secondary partiti in particular, are related to support for the
Labour Party. In all villages divided by these partiti, people have 621
become conditioned to opposing the authority of the Church in 578
connection with matters dealing with the celebration of feasts. 665
This, I suggest, has enabled them to accept the anti-clerical out- 795
look of the Labour Party more easily than the people of villages
not so divided. An old stone-cutter in Kortin, who was procurator
of one of the small chapels in the village, once unconsciously
pointed to the structural similarity of the MLP and secondary festa
partiti. We were discussing the resemblance of the Strickland
crisis of thirty years ago to the present political dispute, when he
pointed to the parish church and remarked, 'I've always been
against them. I was for Strickland. I'm for Mintoff, and if we had
partiti here, I would support the secondary feast.' There is, of
course, a difference between the opposition of a secondary partit
and that of the MLP. Nonetheless, both oppose the authority of the
Church and both resort to attacks on the clergy to drive home
their points of view. This is anti-clericalism. Both the festa partiti
and the Labour Party make a distinction between the person and
the office of the cleric they attack, and they appear to attack the
former rather than the latter. But repeated attacks upon the person
holding an office may weaken the office itself. Thus prolonged
anti-clericalism can lead to anti-religious sentiment, or at least
prepare the way for it. This, I feel, has happened in the case of
the festa partiti.

In challenging the decisions of the Church relating to matters of 578
festa policy a festa partisan often resorts to violence. He frightens 621
the priest with home-made bombs to show his displeasure, to try 79
and change the decision and even to compel him to leave the [626]
village. But he never attacks the ultimate right of the Church or
its ministers to make those decisions. Indeed, some friends in
Farrug were quite shocked when I suggested that they were
doing just this. On the other hand, this constant rebellion against
the authority of the Church has accustomed people to being at
odds for long periods with their parish priests as well as with the
Archbishop. During these times, they often ignore what the
Church has to say if it does not agree with the point of view they

● 578 hold. This is the accepted pattern of behaviour, not only in
villages divided by festa partiti, but also in others which have dis-
621 putes with the Church. But it is only in the villages with festa
79 partiti that these disputes, and the related anti-clerical action, take
place on a regularly recurring basis. In these villages, though
people are devout in observing many details of their religion,
constant opposition to the parish priest in matters connected with
festas has led them to look upon a measure of anti-clericalism as
part of their way of life.

The relative lack of respect for the clergy in these villages has
578 been partly responsible for a rather high turnover of parish
621 priests. It has been shown how uncomfortable festa partiti can
554 make the life of a parish priest. This, plus the meagre living in the
793 smaller parishes, prompts priests to look for openings in wealthier
and less troublesome villages. The Church itself regards the small rural parishes as training or 'stepping-stone parishes', as a monsignor from the Curia once described them to me. But even as such, they are unpopular, and the Archbishop often has difficulty finding priests willing to take charge of them. Farruġ, for example, has had six parish priests since 1953. The lack of continuity of Church leadership in these small, divided villages has tended to weaken its influence there and to foster a lack of respect for its authority.

In this social climate the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party
578 fits without great difficulty. Labour supporters have already had
621 experience as festa partisans in ignoring the commands of the
665 Church, and in enduring the taunts and disapproval of their rivals
795 in the other partit. For them anti-clericalism is nothing new, and
[626] they are thus not as vulnerable to public opinion and the sanctions
of the Church as persons in villages which do not have this
tradition of opposition to the Church.

But if there is a certain similarity between the anti-clerical behaviour of many festa enthusiasts and that of MLP supporters, most persons make a distinction between the two. The anti-clerical actions of the festa partiti are usually directed against particular clerics in connection with specific decisions. In contrast, the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party is directed at the Archbishop in particular and often at all priests in general. This difference stems from the fact that basically their challenge to the authority of the Church differs significantly. Where the festa partisan does

not rationalize the distinction he makes between the person and 578
the office of the cleric he attacks, though his behaviour shows that 621
he does make one, the Labour supporter often proclaims that he 665
makes such a distinction, when in fact he does not. The MLP not 795
only challenges the statements of the Archbishop which apply to the political scene, but often questions his right to make them. This explains the difference in the reaction of the Church to the two forms of anti-clericalism.

I have suggested that the one prepares the way for the other. The rebellious atmosphere created by the disputes between the festa partiti is, I believe, as important a factor as occupational class in explaining the relatively high degree of open support the Labour Party has in the southern villages. The extent of this support, especially in the smaller villages, in spite of the sanctions of the Church, came as a surprise to some of the leaders of the MLP, who had always thought of them as dominated by their parish priests, like the small villages in Gozo. But in the spring of 1961, the small villages of Kirkop, Dingli and Gudja were placed first, second and third in an MLP competition to find the community which had the greatest proportion of new Party members. I suggest that the support for the MLP in these three villages is due not so much to their proportion of industrial labourers, which in any case is not particularly high (23, 20 and 35 per cent respectively),[1] as to their strong tradition of rebellion against the authority of the Church. Kirkop and Gudja both have active festa partiti of long standing, and while Dingli has no festa partiti now, the village has a long history of opposition to its parish priests. For example, shortly after the First World War, the Dingli Social Club had an argument with the parish priest, and for many years after, members celebrated the national feast on 8 September, instead of the patronal feast of the Assumption, simply to annoy him.

V

But whatever complex and diverse reasons people have for taking 178
sides, the division has given rise to conflict in most villages. In 578
this respect Kortin is no different, as the slogans displayed during
the battle of the blackboards indicated. The division has cut right 621

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[1] *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 41–2.

across the village and the clubs, and has brought about conflict
178 within many families. People lament the change that has come
● 578 over the village as a result. An old bachelor friend often used to
621 complain that had we come to live there just a few years ago,
'before politics came and spoiled everything', we would have
found the village a far happier place. Picnics and outings were
more frequent then, and groups of friends used to gather on hot
summer evenings and stroll outside the village to play guitars and
sing the lilting Maltese *għana* in the cool air away from the houses.
[575] There was also more life in the clubs. Both the Social Club and
the Band Club used to take part in the national carnival competition
[796] for the best decorated carts and costumed companies. But
as the political conflict has divided the island's carnival celebration
in two, so it has also affected the clubs. They now celebrate
neither the government's carnival nor that of the MLP for fear the
question of which one to participate in would provoke a fight
that would cripple the club.

Dun Bert, the parish priest in Kortin, is of course the head of
578 the local group which supports the Archbishop and opposes the
665 MLP. His chief lieutenants in the fight are the local clergy and the
793 lay leaders of the religious associations. Pawlu and Anton, his two
794 faithful helpers, are also vocal partisans, as is old Manwel. Dr.
Farrugia, old Manwel's son, as a former member of the Legislative
Assembly (MLA) and a leading member of one of the political
parties opposed to the MLP, also belongs to the pro-Church
division in the village, though he takes little part in its day-to-day
275 affairs. The main activity and support comes from the leaders of
the lay associations, especially of the Young Christian Workers,
578 the MUSEUM and the Sodality of Our Lady. These all meet regularly
665 in their respective premises. Many of the others, older men,
794 spend much of their free time in Kelinu's café. These include old
Manwel, Pawlu, Anton, the sacristan, the organist, and Dun
Mikiel and Dun Filip, respectively the chaplains of the female and
male sections of Catholic Action. This café, located right next to
Dr. Farrugia's house, is the nicest café on the square, or in the
village for that matter. It is the only one which the clergy, the
teachers and occasionally Dr. Farrugia himself, frequent. It is thus
the headquarters of the more influential village citizens who support
[517] the Archbishop. Most MLP supporters have stopped going to
it, although a few still play cards there for an hour or so in the late
afternoon when they return from work.

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afternoon when they return from work. Many Labour sym- 578.
pathizers believe that the important anti-Labour demonstrations 665
and moves are plotted at Kelinu's. 794

The headquarters of the MLP group is the Labour Club, which is 575
situated just off the square and around the corner from Kelinu's. 665
Salvu, the ex-MLA who is the leader of the village Labour group,
spends his evenings there with his lieutenants, the officers of the
village Labour Committee. Salvu, a small building contractor, has
had little formal education, but he has an engaging personality, a
quick mind and is a persuasive speaker. He is also an excellent
comic actor, a playwright of sorts, and the author of most of the
slogans that appear on the club's blackboard. Smaller groups of [275]
Labour supporters meet at one of the other cafés on the square,
and at some of the wine shops near the chapel of St. Paul in the
poorer section of the village. Other groups of pro-Labour friends
often gather on the steps of the church or around a bench near the
Labour club. They rarely go into the club itself, for all are
anxious to avoid being marked as open Labour supporters by the
village, which, generally speaking, is strongly anti-Labour.

The supporters of the Archbishop and those of the Labour 575
Party rarely meet face to face as organized bodies. When they do, 665.
it is the occasion for a good deal of ill-feeling and, sometimes, open 794.
hostility. This occurs when a big rally is organized in the village.
Two such rallies were held in Kortin while we were living there.
The first was on the occasion of a visit of the Archbishop; the
second was a national MLP meeting. Dun Bert and his assistants
organized a huge demonstration in honour of the Archbishop
during his visit. It was a great success. The Labour club arranged
a social and musical gathering the evening before to work up
Party solidarity, but it closed its doors during the actual visit and
cleaned off its blackboard in order not to provoke incidents. With
but one exception, there were no incidents to spoil the enthusiastic
welcome the villagers accorded the Archbishop. Many Labour
supporters attended the demonstration, for the Archbishop was
visiting the village as head of the Church in Malta to bestow the
sacrament of confirmation on the children. But as the Archbishop 578
and his excited escort approached the church, a bitter Labour 665.
supporter made an insulting gesture at him. (People were quick 673.
to inform us that the man was an outsider married into the 688
village.) He was subsequently arrested and convicted, for as 794

665 already noted, in Malta, it is a criminal offence to insult a minister
673 of religion. There were no other disturbances.

688 The Labour rally was rather a different story. The leader of the
694 MLP and the thousands of his supporters who came to Kortin to
hear him speak received a decidedly hostile reception. Though
578 Dun Bert did not organize a counter-demonstration for the
665 occasion, he did arrange a mass protest meeting the evening
794 before. The following day rival groups were out decorating. A
number of MUSEUM lads under the direction of one of the older
members pasted anti-MLP slogans all over the façade of the
church. At the same time, a group of men were busy hanging
posters and flags from the Labour club to welcome Dom Mintoff
to the village.

At 4 p.m. buses and cars began to stream into the village with
[796] thousands of MLP supporters from all over the island. At about the
same time the church bells began to call the faithful to a religious
procession in honour of Our Lady of Fatima which Dun Bert had
scheduled to take place during the Labour meeting. He himself
stood in the square watching the faithful gather in the church. He
also carefully observed those who passed by on their way to the
Labour meeting, which was being held right behind the church.
Most of the villagers who sympathized with the Labour Party
but who did not support it openly did not attend the meeting.
[783] They were anxious to avoid the open break with the rest of the
community which attending would have entailed. Besides, several
mentioned that their confessors had told them that they would
commit a mortal sin if they attended MLP meetings. All the open
supporters of the MLP in the village went to the meeting.

[796] The meeting began at about 4.30 p.m. and lasted for two hours.
Shortly after it had started, Dun Bert's procession of nearly a
thousand men, women and children slowly wound its way
through the village and returned to the church for a period of
prayer and worship. When the Labour meeting finally broke up,
most of the outside supporters departed quickly, though a number
were delayed because villagers had deflated the tyres of about
578 a dozen of their cars. At this time people also began to leave the
625 church. But the police, who were trying to keep a passage clear in
665 the centre of the square for the stream of departing Labour supporters,
kept them on the steps of the church. They waited there
794 for a while and then began singing hymns and songs in honour of

the Pope and the Archbishop, stopping now and then to shout 578
insults at the passing Labour supporters. The square on the other 625
side of the police cordon began to fill up with people returning
from the meeting and others who left their houses to see what the 665
excitement was about. Gradually the songs became louder and 794
more excited, and the shouts hoarser. By then it was getting
quite dark, but I could see Dun Mikiel in the front row, his hands
thrust tensely into the pockets of his cassock, scowling at the
passers-by while he smoked cigarette after cigarette. The tension
by this time was almost electric. Suddenly, one of the local MLP
supporters returning to the Labour club replied to a taunt by
making a threatening gesture. The crowd in front of the church
booed him loudly and surged forward. The police, anxious to
hurry the trouble-maker off the square, pushed him a bit too hard
and he stumbled and fell. This angered the crowd on the other
side of the square and it began to press through the police cordon.
At this point police reinforcements arrived and cleared the square
in a few moments. Their prompt action prevented an ugly situation
from going further, for there had been well over a thousand
angry people facing each other, separated by less than two dozen
unarmed policemen.

Four days after the meeting, Dun Bert organized a pilgrimage 578
of reparation to atone for the insults of the MLP speakers. The 665
procession of some 1,200 people reciting the Rosary escorted the 794
statue of Our Lady of Sorrows through the area behind the church [785]
where the Labour meeting had been held. About 400 of the participants [783]
were outsiders who had come to Kortin from other parts
of the island for the occasion. After the procession the crowd
gathered in front of the church where a Mass was said. A noted [796]
Jesuit orator then rebutted the MLP speeches point by point. The [537]
whole affair had almost passed off without incident when a
number of stones and bottles were thrown from behind walls at
the buses and cars leaving the village.

But if there are relatively few face-to-face meetings of this kind 575
in Kortin or elsewhere, there are many disputes that divide and 578
weaken the clubs ~~and associations.~~ This matter has particularly 665
affected Sur Gorg, the president of the Social Club, who feels
responsible for preserving its unity in these difficult times. In
Kelinu's, where many of the influential regulars are members of
the Social Club, they say that it has become a Mintoff stronghold.

575 Many of them have stopped going there. In point of fact, Sur
Gorġ and the secretary are strongly opposed to the Labour Party,
578 though many of the younger men and some of the most active
665 older members support it. A number of people living nearby have complained that members praise Mintoff in loud voices. There is growing pressure on Sur Gorġ to ban all political conversation there. He has so far resisted the pressure, for he believes that if he were to give in, he would drive away the very members who form the backbone of the club. His chief problem, as he described it to me, is how to focus the attention of the members on something other than politics. He is therefore doing his best to obtain the permits necessary to open the theatre for which they have been planning and saving for years. He feels that in the excitement of building, the members will forget their political differences and reunite, and thus the club will pass safely through this crisis. But the permits have been slow in coming and meanwhile the pressure on him is building up. Two important members of the committee have already resigned, 'under the influence of those busy-bodies in Kelinu's', as some members described it.

The men in charge of the St. Martin Band Club in Farruġ face much the same problem. As has already been noted, most of the leaders of the two political blocs in the village are members of the St. Martin club, and several of them are on its committee. This difference of political loyalty often provokes quarrels over matters
[574] of policy. During the centenary, for example, the committee were sharply divided over whether to salute the Archbishop with the customary barrage of fireworks when he entered the village to take part in the ceremony. The matter was put to a vote, and the MLP faction won. The disgruntled losers began talking about firing off their own salute of welcome. But the crisis that this action would have brought about was avoided when the Vicar-General officiated in place of the Archbishop, who was indisposed. As the MLP supporters had nothing against him, he received the full barrage of aerial bombs and fire crackers. The rift was thus healed, and all joined in to celebrate a rousing feast.

578 The following year the festa again brought a crisis with it. This
624 time it was a far more serious one. Most of the young Labour
665 supporters, in retaliation for the way the Church had attacked
their party and its leaders, flatly refused to have anything to do
794 with the feast. These young men included virtually all the partit's
796

fireworkers, and without their expert help it was feared that the 578
feast would be a miserable failure. Many Labour supporters also 621
instructed their parents and wives not to contribute money to the 665
feast. This depressing state of affairs continued for some time. 794

Then one day, about three months before the festa, Pietru, the 796
young schoolteacher who is head of Catholic Action and treasurer
of the St. Martin club, came up to me looking very pleased. He
said that the feast was saved. Several events had combined to work
up interest in it. It seems that most of the people had attended a [216]
large and very successful titular festa in a neighbouring village;
the St. Roque fireworkers had shot off three extremely well-made test rockets; and he himself had played his tape recording of
the St. Martin hymn, the anthem of the partit, over a loud-speaker in the square. These events revived interest in the festa
and in the reputation of the partit. Immediately afterwards the
secretary of the club, a Labour supporter who has set politics
aside for the honour of the partit, called a committee meeting to
discuss the problem of making fireworks. After several speeches
urging members to keep their politics from spoiling the feast, the
committee voted to make fireworks. Though two skilled fire- [389.
workers crossed the floor and agreed to help, none of the many [463]
experts among the rank and file followed suit. But soon after this
political loyalty again began to smother the rekindled partit spirit,
and one of the fireworkers all but dropped out. Moreover, Pietru,
who is the village's most eloquent and outspoken enemy of the
Labour Party, began to preach so vehemently to those he calls the
'lost sheep' of the club, that he antagonized many. His fund-raising suffered as a result.

About a month after this I met Toni at a festa in a neighbouring 578
village, and we had a long talk away from the interested eyes and 621
ears of Farrug. Toni has been a member of the St. Martin Club 665.
committee for nearly twenty years, and until some months ago
had been vice president. He was clearly very worried about the
club. People were already beginning to draw parallels between
the present situation and the events that led up to the split in
1930. He said he was doing his best to discourage such talk, and
had now begun working hard to avoid an open break.

He pointed out that he had experienced many crises in the partit and favoured a less blunt approach to winning back the interest of the MLP members than did the crusading Pietru. He felt that he

● 578 had already had some success wooing members back on a personal
621 basis by talking only of the honour of the partit and leaving
665 politics out altogether. He stressed that the main problem was not so much the feast but the survival of the club. 'If we can just weather out the storm until after the election we can save it.' He went on to describe how it had taken years to heal the division after the seceding Strickland supporters had rejoined in 1935. 'We must avoid a split at all costs, and the only way we can do that is to bury our political differences.' His technique for doing this was to have as few formal committee meetings as possible, to avoid discussing controversial subjects and to vote in secret, for in these times 'an open vote divides the members'.

578 The wise counsel and efforts of the older members, who have set politics aside, has so far kept the younger hot-heads from splitting
621 the club. In spite of all the obstacles in its way, the feast of
794 St. Martin turned out to be a good show. Though many supporters
796 did not contribute, others gave more than usual and there were enough funds for a good feast. About a dozen boys worked under the direction of the two adult fireworkers, and made most of the
[389] fireworks. They gave a very good account of themselves, though
[868] not one of them is old enough (18) to join the club as a formal member. All are Catholic Action members. In fact, except for a few St. Roque boys, they are the only ones left in the society. The Catholic Action group once numbered almost fifty. The others, the sons of Labour families, had been forced out by the vote of loyalty to the Archbishop which the association's national headquarters had demanded. But their enthusiasm could not quite make up for their youth or their lack of numbers. During the Friday demonstration for the saint some outsiders who were supporters of the guest band had to help them carry the statue of their patron part of the way. This was a great comedown from the previous year, when his followers were so numerous that they had to struggle for a turn to carry him. But the noise and the gay atmosphere of the celebration rekindled the interest of a number of the Labour supporters. Several helped to erect the decorations on Saturday; a few even joined in one of the band matches.

VI

It is of course an open question how much longer the intense 178
partit spirit can survive in the face of the political division now 578
cutting across all festa partiti. In Farruġ the division between the 621
festa partiti, such a strong force in the past, is now of less importance
as a principle of social organization than the rivalry
between the supporters and opponents of the MLP. The relative 178
importance in Farruġ, as everywhere, of this latter division is
directly related to the intensity of the conflict at the national level 578
between the MLP and the Church. If it decreases, so will that at the 665
village level. But the longer it lasts, the more difficult it will be to 795
remove it completely from the social scene. Both the Church and
the Labour Party, through their respective societies, committees
and social clubs, are building up an institutional framework that is
incorporating this political opposition on a permanent basis in all
villages. This is taking place in much the same way as the confraternities
and social clubs a hundred years ago made permanent
the conflict between rival factions competing over the celebration
of saints.

The rivalry between the Church and the MLP, as well as that between competing political parties, reflects the increasing involvement of the villager in the political life of his country. It was perhaps only due to Malta's peculiar position as a colony and an island fortress, a role which effectively prevented the development of an active internal political life of the more conventional kind, that competition over church privileges and saints was able to assume the importance it has. It is not surprising that the changing nature of Malta's strategic and constitutional position should alter the tempo and character of its internal political life. [621]
In the villages, this change is reflected in the weakening of the festa partiti by national political issues.

653 Another very important function the Local Committees performed during the period the MLP was in power was to obtain 665. improvements for the village. Requests for drainage, new roads, street lighting and, above all, new schools, were submitted to the District Committees. There the proposals were screened and given priority ratings by the committee members and the district MLA's. When these projects were implemented, and a large number were, the Local Committees naturally received credit for them. This added to their claim to represent their villages, and strengthened the formal structure of the party.

647 This system of handling patronage and complaints gave the villager a direct contact with authority. It was a fairly simple 662. procedure, and many considered it reasonably impartial, though 665 of course it did help to be a member of the Labour Party in good standing. Moreover, the complainant, even though he might not succeed in his cause, had the satisfaction that it had received attention, and it did not cost him a nice fat rabbit. This does not ● 578 mean that there was no abuse. Civil servants complained that they 647. were often intimidated by zealous MLP members who threatened to report them to their Ministers if they did not comply as 66. requested. This friction was particularly keen between the Local Committee members and the village police, street sweepers and teachers. One head teacher I knew was particularly bitter about his caretaker, who was a member of the village MLP committee. The caretaker would stroll into the head teacher's office if he disagreed with the disciplining of a child, for example, and threaten to report him to the Minister if he did not lighten the punishment.

647 But on the whole, the MLP made a concerted effort to take 665- patronage out of the hands of canvassers and MLA's alike and channel it through the various committees of the party apparatus. 662 This not only strengthened the party, it also won it considerable popularity. Moreover, it relieved MLA's and Ministers of a heavy administrative load; they were only called in on the more complicated matters. In short, the Local Committees came to function as branches of the government.

When the Labour Government resigned in 1958, the MLP clubs and committees lost the influence they had with government. They once more became merely propaganda and social centres. But the role they had played for three years in representing the interests of government at the village level and in

forwarding the requests and complaints of the villagers to government had greatly increased their strength, and that of the party they represented. As the members operated as a formal committee and not as individuals, they had the esteem and respect of most of the community. They also had considerable power in local affairs. In fact, for three years the leaders of the Labour group in the village ranked alongside the parish priest and the professionals as the most prominent and influential citizens of the village. The canvassers of the rival parties had perhaps had power, but they had never had respect. Theirs was always rather an underhanded operation, that was often disowned by MLA's when they were confronted with it. The MLP, on the other hand, delegated responsibility to Local Committees, and the Ministers legitimized them by openly working through them in all their relations with the villages. Villagers were also openly encouraged to work through them. These committees thus served the ends of the Labour Party most successfully. It is quite likely, therefore, that in the future other parties will find it politically as well as administratively expedient to develop and work through village committees patterned on the model so successfully tested by the Labour Party. 647 662 665 [554]

The party system has come into direct conflict with the traditional relations between patron and client at relatively few points. This is largely because most patrons who desired to were able to move successfully into the new field of party politics. A notable exception are priests, who are no longer permitted by their Bishops to stand for national political office. Their power to influence authority has thus been weakened by the new source of patronage and influence open to their parishioners. In particular, parish priests came into open conflict with the village MLP committees during the Labour Party's time in power after 1955. Not surprisingly, their clash at the village level mirrored the dispute between the Archbishop and the MLP at the national level. That is, it was a conflict between the religious authority of the Church and the secular authority of the State, represented in the villages by the Local Committees of the Labour Party. Both the parish priest and the Local Committee claimed to represent the village, and both sought by mobilizing their supporters to advance their claim at the expense of their opponents. This invariably resulted in a struggle for power during which the Labour supporters were 578 647 662 665 793

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647 accused of being anti-clerical and against the Church because they
662 opposed the will of the parish priest.

665 Shortly after Mintoff took office, the Local Committee in
793 Kortin made plans to open a new avenue into the village. The
scheme, first projected by government planners over sixty years
578 before, was designed to ease the flow of traffic through the village
647 and provide a wide, tree-lined promenade leading to the main
square in front of the church. Unfortunately, the project required
653 the demolition of four buildings, two of which were small
665 chapels used as warehouses for the festa decorations. Because of
793 this Dun Bert, the parish priest, bitterly opposed the scheme, as had his predecessors. He claimed that most of the village supported him. The Labour Committee, on the other hand, felt that it had the backing of the village, and went ahead with the project. The road was finally opened, and it proved to be a great success. But the two small churches were destroyed, and the relations between the Labour group and the parish priest remained hostile. Six years later, Dun Bert and his supporters were still pointing to the avenue as positive proof that the Labour Party is fundamentally opposed to the Church.

IV

463 But if the political parties have modified the traditional system of
665 patronage somewhat by providing a new channel of influence for the villager, the professional politician of today is by and large the same traditional patron. That is, the successful politicians are largely drawn from the professional classes; they are still the doctors, the lawyers, the architects and the chemists. Indeed, until recently the lists of candidates often read like directories of the professional classes. This situation prevailed until about the time of the Labour Party split in 1949, when virtually all the professional class Labour MLA's sided with Dr. Boffa and formed the Workers' Party, while most of the MLP Executive and the rank and file supported Mintoff. After this the Labour Party asked people from all classes to stand as candidates, and began to push up working-class leaders trained in union and club politics. But the politicians from the professional class still heavily outnumber their working-class colleagues, even in the Labour Party.

Table 8 below illustrates this. Of the fifty MLA's elected in the

557 does not rest easily until he has repaid it. This is as true of
662 corporate groups such as the band clubs as it is of individuals
662 Frequently the financial circumstances of the client, or the very
666 nature of the favour, make it difficult or impossible for him to meet his obligation. His vote, and those of his family, provide the logical and accepted means to this end. This extends the relationship between patron and client to include that between politician and constituent.

66 Candidates who do not have the professional qualifications or high status necessary to recruit a following in this way are at a disadvantage. This is especially true for many of the Labour Party candidates, whose education and social standing at times compare unfavourably with those of their rivals. It was principally to overcome this handicap that the Labour Party sought to strengthen the party at the expense of individual candidates. It did this by limiting the system of political patronage which prevailed under previous governments and curbing the influence of the canvassers. In fact, the MLP officially forbade its candidates to employ canvassers. (Though, of course, many candidates have informal canvassers in their friends, relatives and clients.) At the same time, the party directed its propaganda at building up the image of the party and its leader. Labour supporters were constantly urged to vote for the party and not for individuals. By and large its campaign has been most successful. Its sympathizers not only vote for candidates who do not conform to the traditional image of the professional patron-politician, but they also vote across class lines, i.e. the teacher voting for an ex-dockyard fitter.

● 578 All candidates have to take into account the parochial rivalries
which often cut across their districts. This is particularly true of
621 the rivalry between the festa partiti. It has been noted that there
665 is often a political polarity between festa partiti in the same village,
666 and that sometimes the rivalry is so strong that partisans vote against a political party simply because a leading member of the rival partit is a candidate for it. But the number of people who place loyalty to their festa partit before support of a political party is declining. Nonetheless, if parochial rivalry no longer determines which party will get the votes, it very often decides which of the candidates within the party will. Many people have assured me that it is almost unheard of for a member of a festa partit to vote for a member of the rival partit, even though both support the

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same political party. Thus a politician who is also a leading 621
member of a festa partit always asks a rival candidate from his 665
party to come to his village and canvass the party votes from the 666
opposite festa partit.

Most people believe that politicians trade promises to assist
festa partiti in return for votes. One well-known Labour politician 621
who is the leader of the secondary festa partit in his own village, 66
made such a promise to gain the support of a neighbouring secondary partit that was facing eviction. In return for the votes of the partit, he offered to introduce a bill into the Legislative Assembly which would prevent landlords from evicting band
clubs. The proposition appealed to the partit and the bill, which [671]
gained a great deal of support for the Labour Party from other clubs as well, became law.[1] In fact, it was one of the first laws the MLP enacted after it was returned to office in 1955. Partly as a result of his promise of assistance, but also because of his keen interest in the problems of secondary festa partiti, this candidate became so identified with this neighbouring partit that he had to ask MLP candidates from the other side of the electoral district to bid for the Labour votes of the members of the opposite partit. He naturally asked them to canvass the Labour votes of the titular partit in his own village as well.

But perhaps the most famous case of this kind, and certainly the most conspicuous, took place in Gozo. For many years the supporters of the Leone partit in Rabat had been embarrassed by the fact that the statue of their beloved patron could not be taken in processions from the cathedral. There was simply no way for her to pass through the walls of the old citadel in which the cathedral was situated. The members of the partit wished to remedy this by breaching the wall and making a large gate, but the Antiquities Board strongly opposed the idea. Finally, an ambitious MLP candidate came to their rescue. He is alleged to have promised them help if they voted for him. Whether the deal for votes is true I do not know. I do know, however, that the politician was elected and succeeded in having a huge new gate torn in the historic
citadel. That he did this at public expense, against the orders of his [626]
Ministers and in defiance of the Antiquities Board, is evidence of his ingenuity and single-mindedness. Of course, it might also have

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[1] Act V, 1955: 'An Act to Amend the Reletting of Urban Property (Regulation) Ordinance.'

662 to switch to the party with best chance of success, for they know
666 that if he is elected, he will channel patronage to them, often at
the expense of the rest of his electoral district.

This system of voting also encourages contests between can-
578 didates from the same party. Such contests, carried out in public
66 and in the heat of a campaign, often create hostility among the
leaders of the party, and weaken its solidarity.

Finally, because this proportional system makes it possible for
popular minority candidates to be elected, it encourages dissident
factions to hive off from the major parties and found new ones.
This seriously weakens the parent parties. Thus, although the only
665 political division of real importance is that between the supporters
666 of the Archbishop and those who favour Mintoff, there are now
six political parties in Malta. It is not surprising therefore that the minority parties, and Miss Strickland's Progressive Constitutional Party in particular, are strongly in favour of retaining the present electoral system. Without it they would not be represented. The Malta Labour Party, which favours a strong two-party system, would prefer to see substituted an electoral system which would eliminate the smaller parties and strengthen the major parties. The Nationalist Party, although it would benefit from a change in the electoral system which would eliminate many of its rivals, has remained relatively silent on this point. This is because most of its leading members are patron-politicians of the old school. They owe their political life and the influence they command to the electoral system which has enabled them to build their own personal political organizations. The Nationalist Party is a party of respected and influential men, but in their strength lies its weakness. It is a party of politicians, rather than a politician's party. Dr. Borg Olivier, the Nationalist Prime Minister, is a first among equals; he does not lead his party in the sense that Mintoff leads the Malta Labour Party.

In short the Maltese system of proportional representation
[578] facilitates the emergence of minority parties. It also weakens the
major parties by promoting intra-party rivalry and helping to
keep alive the tradition of local patron-politicians. These factors
642 militate against the development of a strong central government.
It can be argued forcefully that Malta, which is facing a critical
66 period in its economic and constitutional development, is now in
greater need of a strong central government than ever before. It

none of these things. This study of village politics has thus been 795
largely concerned with parish politics. In this field the Church is the arbiter of all issues of policy. It is therefore the authority that hands down decisions on matters which concern the community; it is also the authority against which disappointed petitioners rebel.

II

At the national level, the picture is similar. Since the Church for 578
so long has represented the interests of a solidly Catholic people 654
vis-à-vis the State, it has always exercised considerable influence, if 665
not authority, in matters of national policy. Hence some groups
have often disagreed with its decisions. Both during the late 795
'twenties and early 'thirties and more recently, political parties have rebelled against its authority. Their rebellions have given rise to conflicts that have divided the country.

Though the Maltese do not regard this conflict as permanent, it would seem from its recurrence during Malta's only two periods of sustained representative government that it is, in fact, inherent in the social system. That is, it has followed almost inevitably upon the introduction of elected government into a society linked as closely with the Church as Malta is. Issues of national policy, which in countries where the Church is not such an integral part of society would be regarded as purely political and devoid of religious content, in Malta become matters on which the Church feels obliged to make known its views. Disputes arise when the views of a political party differ from those held by the Church. The party then accuses the Church of interfering in politics, and is in turn charged by the Church with being anti-clerical. Political issues become religious ones, or, seen from another point of view, religious ones become political. But in the dispute which follows, people from all walks of life are forced to make a choice between Church and political party. The resulting conflict divides the islands into bitterly opposed factions.

The persistence of this conflict, of course, is partly dependent upon the continuing survival of a political party at variance with the Church. In the past this was Strickland's Constitutional Party; at present it is the Malta Labour Party; in the future it may be yet another. The conflict which divided the country thirty years ago diminished after Strickland made peace with the Church; it

578 disappeared when the old Constitutional Party died out in the long
period of Governor's rule and the war that followed. At present,
659 however, the MLP shows no signs of weakening. On the contrary,
665 it is as tightly united and strong today as it has ever been. Thus
795 this conflict will in all probability continue to divide Malta and
Gozo in the foreseeable future, though its intensity may fluctuate.

It is well to remember that this study was carried out at a time
114 when the hostility between these two camps was at its peak. Some
578 of the examples that have been given, therefore, are extreme cases
659 which would have been quite inconceivable even ten years ago.
665 It is also possible that ten years hence they will appear equally
795 strange. But this does not detract from the relevance of the
analysis, for if the examples given are ephemeral, the principles
which they illustrate are permanent.

III

578 In many respects the rebellion of a political party against the
659 authority of the Bishop is similar to that of a festa partit against its
665 parish priest. There is an important difference, however; the festa
795 partit can appeal an unfavourable decision of its parish priest to
the Archbishop. If the latter rules against the partit, it can bring
pressure to bear that may result in the transfer of the parish priest.
[626] A political party, on the other hand, cannot appeal the unfavourable decisions of the Bishop to any local authority, for in his diocese his word is law. Though in theory such disputes can be referred to the Holy See, in practice, as in the case of Strickland's conflict with the Church, they fester for so long that by the time Rome is brought in reconciliation is difficult, if not impossible. If in practice a political party cannot appeal to a higher authority, it can even less agitate for the replacement of the Bishop. Thus disputes remain unresolved and the supporters of the political party become progressively more anti-clerical. Finally, their anticlericalism is equated with anti-Catholicism, and their rebellion against authority with revolt against the social order.

But is it in fact a revolution? It is important to draw a clear distinction between rebellion and revolution.[1] In the case of the former, people may turn against a leader personally, and may

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[1] Cf. Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 28.

even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the 578
office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only 654
the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social 665
order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has 795
strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in
insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration
scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never
suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the
Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as
though he were bent on overthrowing the established social
order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The
extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP
and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill
the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is
in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt
against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour
supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of
countries which have fought successful battles against the Church.
Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still
like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are
beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, 205
'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the 656
Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose 668
by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its
way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number
of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A
few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

IV

But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly 578
united communities, life goes on and the social order does not 621
disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively 665
little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the 794
Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often
caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married
into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion
from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the
Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

● 578 621 665 794 there have been remarkably few of the overtly hostile attacks, common when festa partiti are registering disagreement. What accounts for the qualitative difference in the violence between the groups involved in these two types of conflict? What prevents the national political conflict from degenerating into widespread violence, from destroying normal relations, thus making shambles of the social order? Is it merely the presence of a large, efficient police force?

578 621 626 665 795 In point of fact, there are many institutions and ties that operate to exert pressure on the opponents to reach a settlement, and so prevent the dispute from destroying the social system. The most important of the factors that inhibit the spread of conflict is the existence of persons whose loyalties are divided between the conflicting sides. Such persons have a vested interest in the maintenance of peace and limitation of the area of conflict.[1]

The considerable difference between the disputes of festa partiti with the Church, and the conflict between the Church and the Labour Party, has been stressed. The disputes involving festa partiti are localized, their course is highly formalized, there are acknowledged peace-makers: they are clearly rebellions in the sense that Gluckman uses. These disputes are also tightly circumscribed by customary safeguards which keep them from spreading and channel them through set stages until they have been resolved. It is patterned action which, in spite of its occasional violence, does not threaten the position of the Church. In contrast, the conflict between the MLP and the Church is not localized, it is not circumscribed by a body of custom which keeps it from spreading, and there are no acknowledged peace-makers who can mediate between the disputants. Not only is it inherent, it is irresoluble. There is an air of revolt about it and if it were allowed to run to the violence of some of the clashes between festa partiti and the Church, it could throw the country into civil war. The violence of the festa partiti does not threaten the social order, that between supporters of the Church and the MLP would.

What keeps the conflict from becoming more violent are the thousands of persons who have their allegiances divided between the Church and the Labour Party. All these people work to keep the conflict from spreading, if not actually to make peace. Who are they? They are the countless persons whose families have been

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[1] *Ibid., passim.*

divided by the conflict, the office-holders who have laid politics 578
aside to preserve the unity of the clubs for which they are responsible, 621
the many who have sought to avoid open commitments to
either side, and to remain in contact with both. They are the 626
people who, in spite of all that has been preached and said against 665
them by both sides, still look to both the Archbishop and Mintoff as their leaders, the one in the religious sphere, the other in the political. They see nothing inconsistent in hanging pictures of the two side by side in their houses. All have a vested interest in peace; and all work in their own way to keep the conflict from spreading and destroying completely their customary way of life.

At one time the entire civil service worked to prevent the 578
spread of conflict in much the same way. When the Labour 626
Party took over the government many civil servants, forced by 647
the nature of their office to carry out the orders of the party in 665
power, were obliged to administer policies which were contrary
to the declared interests of the Church. Their loyalties were thus 795
often divided between the two. Some of the higher civil servants carried messages between the two sides. Others called at the Curia merely to assure the Church that they implemented unwillingly the controversial policies. Yet others acted quietly in their own various ways to reduce the tension between government and Church that made their own positions so uncomfortable. Civil servants at all levels thus worked to keep the Church and the Labour Government in touch with each other and exerted considerable pressure to prevent the relations between the two from deteriorating even more. But their conciliatory influence came to an end when the Labour Party resigned. It is not surprising, therefore, that with the removal of this bridge between the MLP and the Church, the conflict became more intense almost immediately.

The two sides are now linked together only by the many persons 578
with conflicting allegiances. Yet their ability to keep the 626
conflict from spreading is slowly being reduced by the uncompromising 665
position of the Church which is forcing them to take
sides openly. As these persons reluctantly do so, the important 795
cross links that tie the two combatants together are snapped off one by one, and the conflict becomes progressively more intense.

V

● 578 What of the future? It would seem likely that the present con-
665 flict will continue. The dispute between the Church and the
Labour Party has become institutionalized in many villages
795 through their respective associations and social clubs. The major
political activity at the village level will thus most likely continue
to be a reflection of that at the national level. It will be a dispute
between those who wish to preserve the identity of the village as
a parish, with the dependence upon the Church that it implies,
and the secular elements who wish to establish the village as a
political unit apart from the Church. But there will also be other
578 conflicting groups, such as the festa partiti, which will continue
621 to manipulate this political division to their own advantage. The
665 leader of one of the secondary festa partiti indicated to me how
795 this may take place. He was discussing the recent attempts of the
[626] Association of Secondary Feasts to increase the scale of its mem-
bers' feasts, and concluded by remarking, 'If the Archbishop
doesn't increase our feast this year, ninety per cent of the club will
vote for Mintoff in the coming election.' Thus in the future, as in
the past, the Church will continue to be one of the central actors
in the drama of Maltese village politics.

[p.141]

Appendix A

Festa and Band Club Partiti

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	Titular Feast	*Band Club*	*Secondary Feast*	*Band Club*
A. FESTA AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
GHAXAQ	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
GUDJA[1]	O/L of the Rosary	'La Stella'	O/L of Consolation	'O/L of Consolation'
KIRKOP	St. Leonard	'St. Leonard'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
LUQA	St. Andrew	'St. Andrew'	O/L of Consolation	'Union'
MQABBA	The Assumption	'King George V'	O/L of the Lily	'Lily'
QRENDI	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	O/L of Lourdes	'Lourdes'
RABAT	St. Paul	'Count Roger'	St. Joseph[2] (Franciscans)	'L'Isle Adam'
VITTORIOSA	St. Lawrence	'Duke of Edinburgh'	St. Dominic[2] (Dominicans)	'Prince of Wales'
ŻEBBUĠ	St. Philip	'St. Philip' 'St. Philip's Festivities and Social Club'	St. Joseph	'De Rohan'
ŻURRIEQ	St. Catherine	'St. Catherine'	O/L of Mount Carmel	'Queen Victoria'
B. INTER PARISH AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
QORMI	St. George	'St. George'	St. Sebastian	'Pinto'
RABAT, GOZO	The Assumption	'Leone'	St. George	'La Stella'
SLIEMA	Stella Maris	'Stella Maris'	Sacred Heart	'Sliema'
VALLETTA	St. Paul	'La Vallette'	St. Dominic[3] (Dominicans)	'King's Own'

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[1] Both saints are secondary; the titular is the Assumption of Our Lady.

[2] The devotion is centred on a church in the parish that is run by regular clergy. The rivalry is thus classified midway between A and B.

[3] Though this is the main feast, the titular of the parish is Our Lady of Porto Salvo.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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C. BAND CLUB RIVALRY ONLY

BIRKIRKARA	St. Helen	'St. Helen'	X	'Duke of Connaught'
HAMRUN	St. Gajetan	'St. Gajetan'	X	'St. Joseph'
MELLIEHA	Nativity of Our Lady	'La Vittoria'	X	'Imperial'
ŻABBAR[1]	O/L of Grace	'Maria M. Gratiae'	(St. Michael)	'St. Michael'
ŻEJTUN	St. Catherine	'Beland'	X	'Żejtun'

D. FESTA RIVALRY EXISTED FORMERLY

BALZAN	The Annunciation	'St. Gabriel'	St. Valentine	X
DINGLI	The Assumption	X	National Feast on September 8	'Dingli Club'[2]
GHARGHUR	St. Bartholomew	'St. Bartholomew'[2]	St. Joseph	X
LIJA	Transfiguration of Our Lord	'Pius X'	St. Aloysius	X
NAXXAR	Nativity of Our Lady	'Peace'	O/L of Doctrine	X
SAFI	The Conversion of St. Paul	'St. Paul'[2]	O/L of the Rosary	X
SIĠĠIEWI	St. Nicholas	'St. Nicholas'	St. Joseph	X

[1] The external feast of the secondary saint was suppressed.
[2] Social and festa club without a band.

36 This type of core area therefore, as defined in these examples is the basic pattern in all villages throughout Malta and Gozo.

103 361 178 In a consideration of the present scene within the Maltese village it is essential to be aware, at all stages of the argument, of the evolution of the settlements concerned. In the Żurrieq case it is clear that the main village block is extending in several directions, notably northward past the school and south-westward towards the small hamlet of Nigret. This latter is already linked by a continuous built-up stretch to the main village and thus contrasts with Bubaqra which remains morphologically
[578] independent. In the case of some of the larger villages, Żebbuġ and Żejtun are two notable examples, the completion of this kind of merging of nuclei accounts for present intra-village sectionalism. Thus Żebbuġ (Malta) is a compound of three ancient village nuclei, Hal Muxi, Hal Mula and Hal Dwieli. The very title of 'Hal', or 'village', still given to these parts of what is now a single village reflects their original separate independence. They have grown together over the centuries and have been unified by the construction of a Parish Church and the appearance of a new 'township' core in the central area. Similarly Żejtun has three component parts, Ta'Fuq (Upper), Ta'Isfel (Lower), and Ta' Wara l-Knisja (Behind the Church): the present large Parish Church has been built in the space remaining between the merging older nuclei. The distinction here is clearly morphological rather than administrative but is nevertheless not to be ignored in a study of social structure and affiliation in a static and conservative community.

Merging between fully independent villages has also occurred. Balzan-Birkirkara and Pawla-Tarxien are examples, but here the administrative and affiliatory distinctions have been maintained. At a higher level still the merging of the settlements comprising the Urban area, begun in the nineteenth century but more rapid in the twentieth, is the major feature of modern settlement growth in Malta (B/561).

Rabat in Malta, and Rabat (Victoria) in Gozo, illustrate another aspect of settlement evolution where morphological
[712] facts bear on social structure. In both cases the 'suburb of the citadel' ('Ir-Rabat tal-Imdina') grew to large-village size outside the Walls [illegible] the central fortified stronghold of each Island. In Malta, Rabat remained as the main rural centre after the capital had moved to Valletta, with ancient Mdina itself remaining a quiet residential back-water.

000 In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an

642 648 more, because Imperial strategic interests limited the terms of reference of these councils, the constitutions permitted only the most rudimentary form of government. Only under the 1887 Constitution did elected members outnumber official members. But this elected majority had no effective power and finally proved so awkward that in 1903 a new constitution reinstated an official majority.

64 [579] After the First World War, there was popular agitation for a more liberal form of government. In 1919, the social unrest culminated in an anti-British riot during which British troops killed four demonstrators. Later that year, Britain announced that Malta would receive a more liberal constitution. The new constitution, which eventually came into force in 1921, attempted to reconcile two conflicting principles: continued British control over her strategic island-fortress, and Maltese self-government. The complicated solution which Britain adopted was dyarchy, under which effective legislative and executive power was divided between the Governor and the representatives of the Maltese people. This created two separate governments.

The Imperial Government dealt with 'Reserved Matters', which included defence, foreign relations, immigration and coinage. The Malta Government consisted of a seventeen-member Senate and a Legislative Assembly of 32 members. The Senate was composed of representatives of the clergy, the nobility, the University, the Chamber of Commerce and the Trade Union Council. [666] The members of the Legislative Assembly and seven members of the Senate were elected by adult males, subject to certain minimal property or educational restrictions.

The 1921 Constitution was suspended in 1930 and again in 1933, and finally revoked in 1936. In spite of a new constitution in 1939, the islands remained effectively under Governor's rule until representative government was restored after the war. The 1947 Constitution again provided dyarchy, but it did not resurrect the cumbersome Senate. The new Legislative Assembly consisted of forty members elected by universal suffrage from eight electoral districts. In 1958, the government resigned following the collapse of talks with Britain over a proposal to 'integrate' Malta more closely with the United Kingdom. As the leader of the opposition refused to form a new government, the Governor suspended and then revoked the constitution.

addressed a petition to the Archbishop requesting permission to 346
build a new church. But a year and a half later he ruled in favour 578
of a counter-petition, and gave permission to begin reconstructing
the old church. Shortly after this a riot developed out of a meeting 793
called to urge the parish priest to permit the building of a new 794
church. During the commotion, the stone railing around the [579]
front of the church was damaged. Six days afterward forty-two
people were arrested for disturbing the peace and taken off to
prison. After three days the arrested men were released because of
insufficient evidence. The court assessed the total damage to the
church railing at twenty-two shillings. This incident aroused the
village. A month later the new church faction decided to begin
work without the permission of the Archbishop. Early the following
Sunday, a huge crowd led by Sur Vinċenz asked the parish
priest for permission to work on Sunday. When their request was
refused, they set off for the site and began to work anyway. That
afternoon, Sur Vinċenz hired a band to play for them, and the
music attracted people from many surrounding villages. The
following day Dun Batist and the parish priest laid the matter
before the Archbishop.

All through the month of October 1901 the leaders of the new
church faction went in delegations to argue their case before the
Archbishop, who was on holiday in Marsalforn, Gozo. The local
diarist, on whose account much of the above is based, notes
cynically that the Bishop listened with great attention, as he was
in debt to one of the leading members. Meanwhile, the parish
priest had been able to mediate between the factions. Dun Batist
and his followers agreed to stop their work on the old church
provided their opponents reimbursed them for their expenses to
date. This was arranged. Finally, in January 1902 the parish priest
announced that the Archbishop had given his permission for the
construction of the new church. That afternoon there was a great [527]
celebration in the village, with many fireworks and a guest band,
again paid for by Sur Gorg's grandfather.

But the construction of the new church soon ran into trouble. 346
Sur Vinċenz failed to raise the capital required. As Dun Batist had 793
foreseen, the cost of this grandiose scheme was far more than the 794
village could manage. After the foundations had been laid, the
work gradually came to a halt. The village did not begin to rebuild
the old church until the end of 1909, when the parish priest
set out to raise the extra £2,000 required.

active members of the two sides. But there are a number of per- 578
sons who would like to avoid having to make a break with either
side. For the most part they keep quiet about their political views. 665
But the Church sanctions and the pressure exerted by relatives, 794
friends and workmates is slowly reducing their numbers.

Affiliation is expressed in very much the same way as with the festa partiti. That is, supporters participate in their side's activities and boycott those of their opponents. The activities of those who support the Archbishop centre on the lay apostolate societies. The leaders of these groups, with the parish priest, usually organize the buses that take villagers to the rallies of the Diocesan Junta, which are usually held in front of the Floriana parish church. More recently, separate parishes have organized rallies and pilgrimages of reparation a few days after the Labour Party has held a meeting in the village. An official visit of the Archbishop to a village also provides an occasion for a big demonstration by his supporters in his honour. Bus-loads of colleagues from other parishes often swell the ranks of the local lay societies during their demonstrations. They in turn attend similar meetings in other parishes. Occasionally they unite and act in opposition to MLP meetings in their own and other parishes. More often though, they organize picnics or pilgrimages to take supporters out of the village when their opponents have arranged an event. Supporters of the Archbishop show their allegiance by decorating their houses with pictures of him and with yellow and white Papal flags. Many also buy the newspapers of Catholic Action and the Young Christian Workers.

Enthusiasm for the struggle, which had assumed something of the character of a Holy War when I left Malta, has gripped both young and old. For example, at an MLP meeting in Birkirkara in May 1961 I saw a black-cowled MUSEUM woman herding a group of youngsters up against a police cordon. All were blowing
whistles as loudly as they could. A little later a scuffle broke out [579]
between MLP supporters and organized parties from the lay religious societies who had surrounded the meeting. But a police water cannon promptly dampened their enthusiasm. In another village, opponents of the MLP rang the bells of the parish church to drown out the Labour voices. This technique, in fact, was first used in Gozo at a big MLP rally there in April, where it proved so successful that not one of the speakers was able to make himself

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

A post-war phenomenon from which Malta is not
668 immune is the Teddy-Boy, whose long locks and bizarre
● 579 dress as he lounges about the capital faintly recall, if only in
656 caricature, the flowing curls and exotic clothes in which the
young Disraeli postured in the streets of Valetta in 1830.
[468] A one-day general strike called for the 28th April by the
General Workers' Union as a "national protest" gave these
and the late Prime Minister's other lawless supporters the
opportunity for widespread rioting in which they demolished
walls to make barricades and road-blocks, dislocated traffic,
destroyed cars and other property and stoned the Police.
One of the mobs wrecked and set fire to Zabbar Police
Station. Nor was illegal action confined to the mobs. These
received encouragement from above; two members of the
Mintoff Ministry were convicted of intimidation and had
their sentences upheld on appeal. The Police, no longer
impeded in the performance of their duty by political
pressure, behaved magnificently and with great restraint in
the face of violent and sustained provocation.

In consequence of this disorder, whereby relatively small
but carefully organized gangs of hooligans interrupted the
lawful occasions of the vast majority of peaceful citizens, the
prohibition of the holding of public meetings and demonstrations
was extended for three months and applied to all
Malta and Gozo. Another Proclamation declared a state of
emergency which enabled the Governor to assume wider
[793] powers for the maintenance of public order and safety. The
Archbishop condemned violence in a timely broadcast.

4

With the elimination of factors making for trouble the
642 country settled down under the Governor's direct administration,
648 and by November 1958 Mr Lennox-Boyd thought
668 the time had come to initiate fresh discussions in London
between himself, Sir Robert Laycock and the leaders

161 variety of diseases, among which smallpox and cholera were important, assumed epidemic proportions after several years in which sickness had been prevalent. In 1942, war casualties, malnutrition and disease were responsible for an excess of deaths over births.

CONJUGAL CONDITION (Fig. 56)

162 The proportions of single, married and widowed persons has remained virtually the same since 1901. The great disparity between the numbers of married men and married women resident in the Islands, a feature of the inter-war period, reduced the number of effective marriages, but the discrepancy was considerably reduced by 1948, when there were 97 married men to every 100 married women, as against 92 in 1921 and 1931.

162 582 Comparison with other countries indicates that a smaller proportion of the Maltese people marry than is the case in, for example, Britain, Ireland or Australia but the age of marriage in Malta is much lower than in most other countries. Nearly 80 per cent. of the men who marry do so before they are 30 and, in 1955, 90 per cent. of brides were below that age. (In England and Wales the comparative figures are 74 per cent. and 81 per cent.) Furthermore, 26.2 per cent. of Maltese brides are less than 20 years of age. In Gozo, marriages are fewer, proportionally, than in Malta, and take place later: although there is a higher proportion of brides below 20, the proportion of women married by the time they are 25 is similar in the two islands. The commonest age at which men are married is 25 in Gozo compared with 22 in Malta.

MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

162 582 163 While the proportion of the population which is married is relatively low, the resulting depressing effect on fertility rates is more than neutralised by the early age at which women are married. Crude fertility rates alone form an insufficient basis for detailed demographic analysis. Changes in the sex ratio, in migration, and in marriage rates as well as the underlying socio-economic attitudes to family size all must be examined.

The marriage rate has declined since the early nineteenth century. In 1831-40 it was 8 per 1,000 of the total population, while in 1951-56 it was 6.4, having fallen below 7 in the 1850's and remaining below that level with the exception of the two post-war periods (Fig. 54). Annual variations have followed changes in economic conditions as was the case in the rising marriage rate soon after 1900. Plagues, epidemics and wars have generally been followed by a sharp rise, as was the case after World War II.

A high marriage rate, maintained for several years, is generally an indication of prosperity. This was so in the first five years of the present century, while the depression which culminated in the arrival of the Royal Commission in 1911 was accompanied by a fall to less than 5 per 1,000. The high marriage rate of the years immediately following the Second World War soon fell away, but since 1950 there has been an unexpected recovery which has not been matched by a comparable rise in the number of births.

It is possible to assess the fertility of the population by a comparison of the Censuses with Vital Statistics and by relating the number of births either to the number of women of childbearing age (crude fertility rate) or to the number of married women of childbearing age (nuptial fertility rate). Crude and nuptial fertilities are shown in Fig. 57 and in both cases comparisons made with British and Australian equivalents. It will be seen that, in the Maltese Islands, between 1881 and 1948 the crude fertility rate only fell below 130 once (in 1931) and generally fluctuated between 140 and 170. In 1948 it was 175, the second highest figure recorded, but by 1950 it had declined to 130 despite a slight increase in the marriage rate. This would seem to indicate that nuptial fertility is now on the decline, though this cannot be demonstrated statistically.

163 The comparison of nuptial fertility rates is more valid than that of crude rates since it makes allowances for differences in the marriage rates between various countries. By this type of assessment, the outstandingly high fertility of the Maltese population is even more strongly emphasised. Only once, in 1931,

[Text continues on P. 157]

Stadium, where most village football matches are played, are in 628
themselves evidence that fights during these occasions are the rule [526]
rather than the exception. [712]

Although there is little formal contact between villages, there is a considerable amount of informal coming and going between their inhabitants. Most inter-village marriages are between partners [582] from neighbouring villages, and the network of kin ties that these form helps to bind the villages of a district together. Inhabitants of neighbouring villages travel to and from work on the same buses, and see each other often at the annual feasts of the district. These multiple relations contribute to a certain district spirit. The most striking example is the unity of the Gozitans, although people from the south of Malta have something of the same spirit of belonging to a particular district. Nonetheless, the knowledge the inhabitants of the southern Maltese villages have of each other cannot be compared to that of the Gozitans, who, for the most part, not only recognize each other by face, name and nickname, but usually know a surprising (and often uncomfortable) amount of personal details about one another.

IV

A person becomes a member of a village by being born there, or 217
marrying or moving into it. The administrative details connected 591
with these acts are quite simple. Parents must register the birth of [621]
a child at the local police station, and the parish priest enters the [851]
child's name in his register when the baby is baptized, which usually takes place within a few days of its birth. If a man marries into a village, his name will be entered in the parish register, for under Church law the marriage must be performed by the parish priest of the bride, or his delegate. If the couple settles in the husband's village or in a strange village, their names will be recorded on the annual census there, the *status animarum*, which every parish priest prepares for his bishop. All changes of address are supposed to be given (but often are not) to the Rationing Office and, if the person is over twenty-one, to the Electoral Office. No other civil authorities are interested in a person's whereabouts.

In point of fact, however, most people live in the villages into 369
which they were born. This is another respect in which the towns 591

Marriages between
621 members of rival partiti are regarded as undesirable. They occa-
[582] sionally take place, but the division of loyalty within the nuclear
[586] family which results often leads to quarrels and, occasionally, to
temporary separations. (The favourite festa-time story of the wife
[593] who refuses to cook for her husband because he belongs to the
[538] other partit is based on fact!) Of the marriages contracted within
Farruġ, 72 per cent took place between members of the same partit. Children of mixed marriages support the feast of their favourite parent: boys normally follow their fathers and girls their mothers.

I recorded only two cases in Farruġ of adults who changed
578-621 their partit affiliation. Both occurred over fifty years ago. A lead-
ing member of the St. Roque partit left it after a heated quarrel with Dun Rokku over the design for new street decorations. He subsequently became one of the other partit's most honoured members, and even wrote a book on the life of St. Martin. The second man left St. Roque when he married the daughter of the president of the St. Martin club. I was told that the girl's father had insisted on the change before he gave his consent to the marriage. The young man went on to become president of the club, as did his only son. In another village a few young men left their partit after a quarrel with one of the leaders, but all returned after a year.

621 Although an outsider who marries into a village generally supports the partit of his spouse, a few of them, particularly the men, succeed in remaining neutral. Of the 122 outsiders who married into Farruġ,[1] 28 per cent of the men but only 8 per cent of the women remained uncommitted. A few even chose to support partiti opposed to those of their spouses. Thus a women from Qrendi who married a St. Martin supporter and moved to Farruġ became a follower of St. Roque because she had been a keen member of the secondary partit in her native village. Children of families in which one of the parents is an outsider, especially if the parent remains neutral, often support the partit of their friends rather than those of their parents or siblings. A case in point is that of the president of the St. Roque club, and his brother. Their father was an outsider who, because of his position as headmaster, made a point of remaining strictly neutral. Though his wife was from a St. Martin family, one son supported St. Martin, the other St. Roque.

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[162] [1] 61 men and 61 women. These marriages represent 34 per cent of the total in the village.

The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically continuous 361
inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely [161]
overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding
lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the
village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here 114
that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as 245
the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, 366
wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes.

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the 369
whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of 489
the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not 582 ●
seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by the whole population.

III.—History.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further 133
evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, 172
has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of undercutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age. By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus. These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water.

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Neandertal 114
man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small 172
fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual characters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with

178 standards demanded have risen: and luxuries, once almost
511 unheard of, are now becoming part of the expected pattern
of the life of the countryman (Section 2). For most of
these new needs the farmer has required money. Hence
progress, to him, has become synonomous with the acquisition
178 of more money. Branches of banks have appeared in some
511 villages in both islands since 1945 and the countryman is
454 coming to accept this means of storing his accumulated
wealth. The concern for bigger interest, first noted by
[453] the 1911 Commissioners, is replacing the traditional mere
accumulation of wealth whether in money or in jewellery and
other valuables.

178 There is still, however, a very strong element of
181 accumulation rather than investment in the finances of the
454 farmer. This is particularly the case with the older
511 generation who, as always, cling to the ways of the past
because their lack of formal education makes them, apparently, unable to comprehend or adapt themselves to the workings of the present. Thus it is held that, while the younger generation have sought to urbanize themselves socially and economically with the money which now comes their way, many of the older generation, that is to say those who are tending to stay in farming today, have taken the 'new' money but have not changed their way of life or living standards to anything like the same extent. Thus dress, for example, is no sure indication of a farmer's wealth in terms of money and one hears of bare-foot, shabbily clothed countrymen with savings of £1000 or more. In traditional Maltese village society the uniformity which was the keynote (Section 1) encouraged the farmer to appear like his neighbour lest he be accused of deviationary tendencies: this feeling is often revealed today in the reluctance of the farmer to be the first to try a new method or crop in his fields for fear of becoming a laughing-stock.

Although the older generation do not strive to demonstrate their wealth in dress, habits, a new house, etc., and do not share the anxiety of the younger villager that he should look like a townsman and move to a 'good' - i.e. non-rural - district, their saving is not completely without aim. To resolve this point fully it would be necessary to consider the whole complex of traditional Maltese village society but for the present discussion some major features only will be outlined.

178 Dowry is one feature of traditional Maltese society
583 which is currently assuming different proportions to those
183 earlier held. It was regarded in the past as essential

178 for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as sub-
583 stantial a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind:
183 land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a
[554] girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position
and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among the families of the same village and farming background.
[182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance (B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts of the Islands have increased and marriages between individuals from different villages and also from differing economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 Another development which has put money into an altogether
454 new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing
423 desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen
471 (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the
Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War, and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese
654 farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for
capital. The Government added to this money consciousness
[426] with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to
keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest loans for capital improvements of the farms and their equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

*159 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people
156 around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as
461 well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social
626 life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is
517 most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on
493 speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids
his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on
the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he
to plow on Sundays or feats days he would be "publically
ostracised and no villager would hire him and his plow".
His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at
high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than
farming".

*159 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical.
156 He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of
593 illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son
argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending
to assume that his education and wider experience entitles
him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments.
Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough
for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite
the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his
father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself
doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data')
156 system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni.
He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle
● [583] without the older people of the village criticising him for
not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate
of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the
ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs
which his education and his knowledge of the world outside
the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he
is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs,
he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close
[178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the
new methods and implements which he has brought to the
village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are
a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father
472 works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their
407 joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention.
Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago
and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta.
000 They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

584 ness of the connection, without at all consulting the inclinations of their children.

[675] [431] ●[583] The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.

The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.

[989] Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey

house to house, transform the streets into gaily lighted tunnels. The 796
pjazza is usually draped in flags, and all the clubs are also dressed 628
in their festal finery and their doors thrown open to the public.
Many bands are hired and the mountains of fireworks are fused [533]
and made ready. All this is done before the visitors from outside [389]
arrive, and involves a great deal of organization, time and money.

The festa is thus an occasion on which communal values are reaffirmed 796
and strengthened, as individuals and groups express their 182
loyalty to their patron saint and unite to defend and enhance the
reputation of their village. At the same time, the central position
which the Church occupies in the social structure is strongly
reinforced, for the parish church is the hub around which this
festive occasion turns.

A festa is also an occasion on which the bonds of kinship are 796
reinforced, for each family opens its doors to its relations, especially 182
to those who live in other villages. Grown sons and daughters 602
return to their parental home, forming, for a few hours, a grand
family with a depth of three or four generations. Because of this
influx of relatives, younger children learn to recognize more
distant relatives whom they might not see at any other time of the
year, and become aware of the network of kin relations that
stretches out from their home. As parents become momentarily [584] ●
more indulgent during the festa and relax their watchfulness, it is
also a favourite meeting time for courting couples and a traditional
occasion on which marriageable boys and girls are introduced
to one another.

The celebration of a village festa usually lasts three days. It 796
consists of religious ceremonies, which take place principally
within the church, and secular celebrations outside the church.
The Maltese themselves make a distinction between these two
elements in the festa: they call the former the 'internal feast' (*il-festa ta' ġewwa*)
and the latter the 'external feast' (*il-festa ta' barra*).
These often take place simultaneously. The mixture of sacred and 123
profane which results was shown to me very vividly during one 796
of the first festas I attended. I was in the church during a particularly
solemn moment in the service of worship. Suddenly there
was a nerve-shattering burst of fireworks from the roof of the
church. Then, slowly, the sharp smell of burning gunpowder
began to drift in through the open doors and mingle with the
pungent odour of candles and incense. After that I ceased to be

796 the Canons of the Cathedral then says mass and the ceremony is over.

At the conclusion of this procession there is a scene of general confusion throughout the whole village of Zeitun. Priests, friars, *fratelli*, cross and standard-bearers, men and women of all classes, especially country people, and of these unfailingly the most recently married couples—all in their best attire and with a grand display of jewels and gold (*)—are seen going to and fro, buying and eating sweetmeats [493] and cheese cakes. Then again hundreds of all sorts of vehicles, from His

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[675] [584] (*) Till lately, young women residing in the country insisted before they were married on its being particularly stipulated in the marriage contract, that their husbands should take them to Casal Zeitun on St. Gregory's day, to Valletta on St. John's day, and to Boschetto on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, on the 29th of June.

the day they were married and when 175
they were buried. They were therefore 562
always employed within doors, and ne- 175 562
ver went out, except at a very early 291
hour to church, when they were en- [794]
tirely covered by a long mantle. This [177]
costume came originally from Sicily,
and reached from the head to the
feet, the forehead and eyes alone being
visible. The upper part of the mantle,
covering the head, was cut in a dif-
ferent manner for unmarried women—
these wearing it shaped round, while
married women wore it pointed.

WEDDINGS

Marriages in Malta were always entirely arranged by the parents; who for the greater part consulted only their own interest, and the suitable- 584 •

•584 ness of the connection, without at all consulting the inclinations of their children.

[675] [431] [583] The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.

The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.

[989] Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey

with which they rubbed the bride's lips, 584
with the idea of rendering her affable [789]
and prudent. She was then conducted [301]
into the room where her future husband awaited her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual faith—together with bracelets, necklaces and a gold chain—she presenting him in return with a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon.

This ceremony is called "il chelma" which means the engagement.

On the morning of the wedding-day 585
the most honoured personage among 292
the husband's relations threw a fine 301
white veil over the bride's head—who wore a brocade or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells.

at the wrong season and so set right his error. The blessing is 771
accompanied by the burning of leaves of the wild olive which 782
have been blessed in Holy Week. Blessing, accompanied by [226]
sacred "fumigation," is very widely used—by fishermen to [585]
ensure a good catch, by newly married folk to ensure a happy
house.

GETTING MARRIED

Zeppu and Grez will think long and seriously before they 584
get married. In an island where poverty is the rule rather than [735]
the exception, and there is no "dole," there can be no haphazard mating. Zeppu will wait until he has a sufficient competence and Grez will contribute her share of the common resources in the form of a "dot" which she, herself, has earned and saved. Until very recently all marriages were arranged by a professional "go-between"—an old woman wise in the ways of the world and in suitable matings. Even now there is little choice left to the girl.

In this matter of marriage, so hedged about with Christian 584
law and custom, the Old Things still command a place. Their 824
hands are perhaps more apparent than in the marriage customs of all other countries—themselves pagan enough in origin.

In the story which has been quoted the month of February is praised, amongst other reasons, because it is then that the "small-leaved basil" is tended and watered. The reference might be rendered "In the Spring a young man's fancy . . ." for the sweet basil is the sign and symbol that a marriageable girl awaits a suitor.

The small bush, either of basil or of the Madonna rose, is carefully tended and placed on the sill of an upper window.
A well-grown plant is an indication that the maiden will make [787]
a good wife and mother.

A suitor, seeing the "marriage bush" at an upper window,

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 584
824
will walk up and down the village street wearing a red carnation behind his right ear and a red handkerchief thrown over his left shoulder. The shy maiden will be peeping from behind the latticed window, probably accompanied by one or two giggling, curious younger sisters.

The symbolic bush has about it something of the atmosphere of the Song of Solomon:

> My beloved is unto me as a
> cluster of camphire in the vineyards of En-Gedi . . .
>
> I am the Rose of Sharon and
> the lily of the valleys. . . .
>
> A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse . . .
>
> Awake, O North Wind; and come, thou south;
> blow upon my garden that the spices
> thereof may flow out.
> Let my beloved come into his garden,
> and eat his pleasant fruits.

[822]
[171]
The red carnation and the red handkerchief, badges of the lover, are of that colour which is sacred to Venus. The wearing of the flower has its parallel amongst the Polynesians, to whom a red flower behind the right ear means "I am looking for a sweetheart."

584 Official "courting" will not begin until the "go-between" and the parents have arranged matters to everybody's satisfaction.

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801
171
After the religious ceremony the young folk separate, returning to their homes for a period of eight days before setting up house. The reason for the choice of the number "eight" may not be without significance; for eight, it is said, was one of the signs of the goddess Astoreth, while the ancient Egyptians had a company of eight gods who were the Fathers and Mothers of the World. The double form of the figure "8"

was anciently used to represent the tying of Life with Spirit. 585
Its association with the "True Lovers' Knot" of our grand- 801
mothers is obvious. There is Biblical authority, too, for the 171
separation of husband from wife, in the incident between Tobias and the Angel Raphael.

Tobias (or Tobit) is about to be wedded to the maiden whose former seven husbands have been slain on the bridal night by an evil spirit. The angel says, "For they who in such manner receive matrimony as to shut out God from themselves to their lust, as the horse and mule, which they have not understanding. Over them the devil hath power. . . . Keep thyself continent from her. . . ."[1]

So far the marriage customs which remain extant—only one or two generations separate Zeppu and Gretz from the
more primitive customs. Here is what a Maltese writer has 584
to say of marriages in the not very distant past:

> "The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.
>
> The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.
>
> Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two [789]
> young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of
> rendering her affable and prudent. She was then con- [301]
> ducted into the room where her future husband awaited

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[1] *Tobias*, VI, 17–18.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 584 her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which
[301] was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual
faith—together with bracelets, necklaces, and a gold
chain—she presenting him in return with a handkerchief
trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon.

This ceremony is called *il chelma*, which means the engagement.

585 On the morning of the wedding day the most honoured
[292] personage among the husband's relations threw a fine
white veil over the bride's head—who wore a brocade
[301] or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain
rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells.

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[1] BUSUTTIL, op. cit.

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> And o'er her breast floated the Sacred Fish.

The Saviour Himself was symbolized by the early Christians as a fish. Julius Africanus, an early Christian writer, said of Christ that He was the Great Fish, caught by the Hook of God, whose flesh nourishes the whole world.[1]

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584 The anointing of the bride's lips is yet another custom
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828 able girl, recalls the Canticle of Canticles:

> Thy lips my spouse are as a dropping honeycomb,
> honey and milk are under thy tongue. . . .[2]

585 The whole of this marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the
174 old Fertility cults—the cakes, sweetmeats, nuts, grain, all in
honour of the fertile Mother whose bountiful Earth is carried in a bowl bearing effigies of the bride and bridegroom whom it is hoped she will bless with her own fecundity and riches.

EVERYDAY HABITS

771 Grez, the housewife, will go about her daily tasks carefully
788 following a thousand small rules, most of which have their
English parallels. She will never cut a loaf without first making the Sign of the Cross on it with forefinger or knife. If the loaf falls to the ground, she will kiss it by way of asking pardon. She will not sweep her house after sunset for fear of
[754] sweeping away good fortune. She will take care not to throw
her "combings" out of doors. Should anyone wish her ill it

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[1] *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

[2] *Song of Solomon*, IV, ii.

If

he cares to attend the Cathedral of Mdina, the island's earliest 796
capital, on the 4th November, he will hear a Mass said for 175
the repose of the soul of Roger the Norman, Count of Sicily, who ended the Arab occupation of Malta in 1090 and is there commemorated as "Deliverer of Malta and Founder of the *mensa* [table] of the Cathedral, the Bishop and the Canons." Should he chance to be in Malta before the beginning of Lent he will have the opportunity to witness in the carnival festivities not only the jollifications common to other Mediterranean carnivals but also features of more local interest, such as the Parata dance on the Palace Square, which takes its symbolism from the capture of a Maltese bride by a Moslem corsair.

If he prolongs his stay into the summer he will see on the 527
29th June, the feast of S. Peter and S. Paul, one of the most 526
characteristic of Maltese popular functions in the densely thronged Mnarja races. These races, for horses and donkeys, are of unknown but undoubtedly great age. The course is a piece of straight, hard road leading uphill towards the big square in front of Mdina, a square known as the Saqqaja. Here, from his great stone box, the Grand Master in former days, in these days the Governor of Malta, hands the banners of victory down to the winning competitors, while interested spectators watch the proceedings from two smaller but similar boxes, flanking the Grand Master's and belonging to some of the leading families of the island.

The name Mnarja is a corruption of the Latin *luminaria* 527
(illumination), for it was the custom on that day to illuminate 173
the churches of Mdina and the adjacent Rabat in honour of 584
the two saints. A more picturesque if unfortunately less trustworthy tradition derives Mnarja from Hymen, the goddess of marriage, it being supposed that the young men of the island were formerly in the habit of choosing their wives from among the maidens crowding to watch the contest. This much, at all events, may be urged in support of the latter theory, that until modern times Maltese brides

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

527 would insist on the stipulation being inserted in their
173 marriage settlement, their *kitba taz-zwieġ*, that their husbands
should take them to the Mnarja every year.

●584 The banners given in prizes to the present day are long
526 and narrow pieces of brocade of different colours called
361 *paliu*, which it is the custom of the fortunate winners to take back to their casals to be used as the altar-cloth of the parish church for the ensuing year. The casals, it should be explained, are the 'villages' of Malta, if 'village' is the appropriate term, for they are stone-built compact townships with populations often running into five figures. The Maltese word for them is *hal*.

291 Again, our visitor will learn that the *faldetta* or *ghonnella*—the true Maltese term is *stamina*—of the Maltese women does not owe its existence, as some people allege, to the need for defence against the excessive gallantry of Bonaparte's troops, but is of much more ancient origin. If proof were needed, there is in the Royal Malta Library a print of the year 1576 showing a Maltese lady wearing the national head-dress. The *ghonnella* is a voluminous hood of rich silk—black everywhere save in the villages of Zabbar and Zejtun, where it is blue and is called *xurqana*—stiffened inside the top edge by a piece of cardboard about a yard long, one end of which rests on the head, while the other end has to be held. Originally, it was really, like the Turkish *charshaf*, a skirt or petticoat (which is what the word *ghonnella* means) thrown up over the head. Later it was curtailed, for which reason it is sometimes called *nofs ghonnella*, a half skirt; but it is still cut to show the placket-hole—in point of fact, half the placket-hole—of the garment from which it has sprung.

[191] This striking and picturesque mode of female adornment or, rather, concealment constitutes Malta's one characteristic article of dress and is the local method of shrouding a woman's face and form, a custom common to southern latitudes from as far east as India to as far west as the Azores,

although the Maltese form was probably dictated by the 291
need to cover the head when entering a church. Its one [171]
drawback is that it takes up a lot of space, more space, [494]
unfortunately, than is available in the motor-bus, modern Malta's form of land transport. Let it be hoped that it will survive these disabilities, for it is not only unique but also an asset if those of the younger generation who have abandoned it in favour of the banal dress of everywhere else would only realize the fact, enhancing beauty while discreetly veiling any imperfections. These young ladies should ponder the words of Monsieur André Maurois in his little sketch of Malta:

> When its wearer moves, the *faldetta* is filled with air, and the Maltese girls, tripping in twos and threes along the streets, look like flotillas of graceful barques with black sails, blown along their course by the wind of destiny.

Oddly enough another French visitor and Academician anticipated by just a century, and in almost the same terms, Monsieur Maurois's charming flight, or perhaps echo, of fancy. Monsieur de Lamartine, visiting Malta with his English wife in 1832, describes the *ghonnella* as

> a half-cloak of black silk . . . of a light texture caught by a breeze, suggesting the sail of a skiff whose capricious folds alternately conceal and reveal the mysterious figure of the wearer, which seems able to escape at will from its embrace.

In the Malta of an earlier age, when the lives of Maltese 562
women and girls were closely circumscribed, the *ghonnella* 291
was not the only aid to their seclusion. Those who wander 342
about the country districts will notice here and there that the 584
older farmhouses have no windows giving on to the street; 824
the Maltese countrywoman, like her Spanish sister, had to turn her face inward, not outward. But what the houses had, and some still retain, were stone brackets on the outer wall, made to hold the pots of sweet basil which showed that

562 a marriageable daughter lived within. One pot of basil to
342 each marriageable girl. So the potential swain could tell at a
584 glance whereabouts to loiter for a discreet preview and
824 what address, should he be interested, to give to the marriage-broker.
291

[PP 31-55 of text not processed. Plates facing PP. 40, 41, 48 and 49 have been processed].

with which they rubbed the bride's lips, 584
with the idea of rendering her affable [789]
and prudent. She was then conducted [301]
into the room where her future husband awaited her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual faith—together with bracelets, necklaces and a gold chain —she presenting him in return with a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon.

This ceremony is called " il chelma " which means the engagement.

On the morning of the wedding-day 585
the most honoured personage among 292
the husband's relations threw a fine 301
white veil over the bride's head—who wore a brocade or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

585 The bridal procession then proceeded to the Church for the ceremony, attended by musicians playing on different instruments, and singers who sang stanzas in praise of the young couple. These musicians were proceeded by three men: the first bearing on his head a basin of white earth on which was placed a big cake with two figures, representing the bridegroom and the bride—the man who carried this basin wore also a scarf with a round cake hanging from it. The second carried a basket filled with sugar plums and candied nuts, which one of the relations distributed among such acquaintances he happened to meet. In the middle of the basket was a handkerchief folded in the form of a pyramid, and ornamented with the images of the B. Virgin, St. Joseph, and the

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Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed in burning perfumes. 585 The bride and bridegroom followed, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding. The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the *Haddara* closed the procession.

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[184] [535] [465] [431] At a village wedding the company danced during the feast; each dancer throwing a piece of money to the fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast.

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7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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• 585 Both Weddings and Funerals are in
764 our days celebrated in Malta in the
171 same manner as in any other civilized part of the world.

lieve that those who get married during this month will be unfortunate. 777

THE CHURCH ORGAN

Many of our country people want the organ to be played during the mass which is celebrated at their wedding, for they believe that if it is not played the couple will not live long together. To show how much some of our country men believe in this superstition, my friend, Mr. P. P. Castagna, gives the following anecdote in his "Storia ta Malta." 787 585 533

Not long ago a young man went to church at Casal Chircop to get married. On finding, however, that the organist did not turn up to play during the mass, he took off his coat threw it on the floor and went out

787 in a rage, and he could not be per-
585 suaded to go back to his wedding
533 before the organist could be found and
the organ played for the occasion.

PAYING VISITS

273 If a person goes to pay a visit, for
574 the first time, to a party and is not
576 treated with a sort of drink called
825 *zambur* — made of aniseed—a mouse
enters the chest of drawers and gnaws
all the petticoats of the mistress of
the house.

SENDING TO THE OVEN

252
562 Some people think it a great shame
for a woman who sends dishes to be
cooked in an oven when her husband
is away from the Island.

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EZ6 Malta EZ6

at the wrong season and so set right his error. The blessing is 771
accompanied by the burning of leaves of the wild olive which 782
have been blessed in Holy Week. Blessing, accompanied by [226]
sacred "fumigation," is very widely used—by fishermen to
ensure a good catch, by newly married folk to ensure a happy [585]
house.

GETTING MARRIED

Zeppu and Grez will think long and seriously before they 584
get married. In an island where poverty is the rule rather than [735]
the exception, and there is no "dole," there can be no haphazard mating. Zeppu will wait until he has a sufficient competence and Grez will contribute her share of the common resources in the form of a "dot" which she, herself, has earned and saved. Until very recently all marriages were arranged by a professional "go-between"—an old woman wise in the ways of the world and in suitable matings. Even now there is little choice left to the girl.

In this matter of marriage, so hedged about with Christian 584
law and custom, the Old Things still command a place. Their 824
hands are perhaps more apparent than in the marriage customs of all other countries—themselves pagan enough in origin.

In the story which has been quoted the month of February is praised, amongst other reasons, because it is then that the "small-leaved basil" is tended and watered. The reference might be rendered "In the Spring a young man's fancy . . ." for the sweet basil is the sign and symbol that a marriageable girl awaits a suitor.

The small bush, either of basil or of the Madonna rose, is carefully tended and placed on the sill of an upper window.
A well-grown plant is an indication that the maiden will make [787]
a good wife and mother.

A suitor, seeing the "marriage bush" at an upper window,

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will walk up and down the village street wearing a red carnation behind his right ear and a red handkerchief thrown over his left shoulder. The shy maiden will be peeping from behind the latticed window, probably accompanied by one or two giggling, curious younger sisters.

The symbolic bush has about it something of the atmosphere of the Song of Solomon:

> My beloved is unto me as a
> cluster of camphire in the vineyards of En-Gedi . . .
>
> I am the Rose of Sharon and
> the lily of the valleys. . . .
>
> A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse . . .
>
> Awake, O North Wind; and come, thou south;
> blow upon my garden that the spices
> thereof may flow out.
> Let my beloved come into his garden,
> and eat his pleasant fruits.

[822]
[171]
The red carnation and the red handkerchief, badges of the lover, are of that colour which is sacred to Venus. The wearing of the flower has its parallel amongst the Polynesians, to whom a red flower behind the right ear means "I am looking for a sweetheart."

584
Official "courting" will not begin until the "go-between" and the parents have arranged matters to everybody's satisfaction.

● 585
801
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After the religious ceremony the young folk separate, returning to their homes for a period of eight days before setting up house. The reason for the choice of the number "eight" may not be without significance; for eight, it is said, was one of the signs of the goddess Astoreth, while the ancient Egyptians had a company of eight gods who were the Fathers and Mothers of the World. The double form of the figure "8"

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was anciently used to represent the tying of Life with Spirit. 585
Its association with the "True Lovers' Knot" of our grandmothers is obvious. There is Biblical authority, too, for the separation of husband from wife, in the incident between Tobias and the Angel Raphael. 801 171

Tobias (or Tobit) is about to be wedded to the maiden whose former seven husbands have been slain on the bridal night by an evil spirit. The angel says, "For they who in such manner receive matrimony as to shut out God from themselves to their lust, as the horse and mule, which they have not understanding. Over them the devil hath power. . . . Keep thyself continent from her. . . ."[1]

So far the marriage customs which remain extant—only one or two generations separate Zeppu and Gretz from the more primitive customs. Here is what a Maltese writer has to say of marriages in the not very distant past: 584

> "The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.
>
> The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.
>
> Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of rendering her affable and prudent. She was then conducted into the room where her future husband awaited [789] [301]

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[1] *Tobias*, VI, 17–18.

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[1] BUSUTTIL, op. cit.

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[1] *The Lost Language of Symbolism.* [2] *Song of Solomon*, IV, ii.

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will only be necessary for a "wise woman" or witch to spit on the hair while uttering a curse to bring misfortune upon the head which nourished it. 771 788 [754]

Grez will be careful not to laugh too heartily on a Friday—when the memory of the Crucifixion should make all sad. She will make the Sign of the Cross on leaving her house, on entering any vehicle or boat for no matter how short a journey, on cutting a piece of new cloth, before her baby's mouth when it yawns—so that evil spirits may not enter. On meeting a deformed or maimed person she will sign her corresponding limb or part of her body with the Cross. [826]

When she brings flowers into her house she will be as careful to exclude the acacia as any West-country woman to avoid "may" or whitethorn, for the spiky Maltese acacia is the "thorn" of Palestine wherewith the Saviour was crowned. 771 [824]

These are but a few of the small ways in which the peasant woman pays a somewhat mixed homage to the Old Things as well as to the tenets of her Faith. In her favour it may be said that her "superstitions" are more logical than those of such folk who habitually "touch wood" or object to a third cigarette from one match.

THE FESTAS

The Festa, primarily a religious festival and a Holy Day of Obligation, provides the only relaxation for a hardworking and frugal people. Such simple pleasures as a meal of unaccustomed meat, a little wine, processions, and fireworks give full rein to the most lovable, childlike side of the national character. The importance attaching to these periodical holidays is well illustrated by an old rhyme: 796 [585] [675]

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THE SWEETHEART'S BARGAIN

796
● 585 In the marriage contract, they have it for a pact,
675 That he takes her to the Feste and sets her on a wall.
[262] That he buys her cakes of sweetmeat, of the sort with hempseed made.
For that's the kind of sweetmeat a bride likes best of all.

It is believed that such a clause used actually to be embodied in the written contract drawn up by the parents and the go-between.

796 [184] Each little hamlet has its own feast, in honour of its own particular patron. Each has its own peculiar forms. Of the national feasts that of St. John naturally occupies a place of considerable importance. Certain aspects of its celebration, however, indicate that the Order of St. John was not alone responsible for the enthusiasm which this saint inspires. Busuttil, who has already been quoted at some length, writes 796 372 of the Feast of St. John as follows:

> "Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating the Nativity of St. John by kindling great fires in the public streets, and giving their children dolls to carry in their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist 'Multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt.'
>
> Days and even weeks before this festival groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs, and all sorts of other combustibles which they store up for St. John's Eve.
>
> On the night of June 23rd, the day before the festival of the Saint, great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the Island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking.
>
> These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being

621 [582] [586] [593] [538] Marriages between members of rival partiti are regarded as undesirable. They occasionally take place, but the division of loyalty within the nuclear family which results often leads to quarrels and, occasionally, to temporary separations. (The favourite festa-time story of the wife who refuses to cook for her husband because he belongs to the other partit is based on fact!) Of the marriages contracted within Farruġ, 72 per cent took place between members of the same partit. Children of mixed marriages support the feast of their favourite parent: boys normally follow their fathers and girls their mothers.

578-621 I recorded only two cases in Farruġ of adults who changed their partit affiliation. Both occurred over fifty years ago. A leading member of the St. Roque partit left it after a heated quarrel with Dun Rokku over the design for new street decorations. He subsequently became one of the other partit's most honoured members, and even wrote a book on the life of St. Martin. The second man left St. Roque when he married the daughter of the president of the St. Martin club. I was told that the girl's father had insisted on the change before he gave his consent to the marriage. The young man went on to become president of the club, as did his only son. In another village a few young men left their partit after a quarrel with one of the leaders, but all returned after a year.

621 Although an outsider who marries into a village generally supports the partit of his spouse, a few of them, particularly the men, succeed in remaining neutral. Of the 122 outsiders who married into Farruġ,[1] 28 per cent of the men but only 8 per cent of the women remained uncommitted. A few even chose to support partiti opposed to those of their spouses. Thus a women from Qrendi who married a St. Martin supporter and moved to Farruġ became a follower of St. Roque because she had been a keen member of the secondary partit in her native village. Children of families in which one of the parents is an outsider, especially if the parent remains neutral, often support the partit of their friends rather than those of their parents or siblings. A case in point is that of the president of the St. Roque club, and his brother. Their father was an outsider who, because of his position as headmaster, made a point of remaining strictly neutral. Though his wife was from a St. Martin family, one son supported St. Martin, the other St. Roque.

[162] [1] 61 men and 61 women. These marriages represent 54 per cent of the total in the village.

hair short, are not allowed to wear neckties, and must wear jackets 785
in public. Female members are obliged to wear the traditional 794
Maltese *ghonella* (also *faldetta*). This is a black silk cowl which [292]
renders the wearer completely shapeless. Finally, all members are
tied by a promise of celibacy. Since members usually enter the [589]
society as children, and work up through grades until they
become full members, this promise ensures that all are either
bachelors or spinsters.

The male and female sections are completely separate. Each 794
meets daily under its respective superior in its own house. There [834]
the members hold devotional exercises, conduct study groups for
adults and also teach catechism to the children. The superiors are
normally elected for life; but if the members cannot agree, the
national superior general, after consultation with the parish
priest, appoints an acting superior, either from the village or from
outside groups.

The society is somewhat unusual among village religious [793]
associations, since no member of the village clergy is directly
involved in its activities, though priests are often invited in to give
lectures. This relatively independent status, and the close contact
that members maintain with their national headquarters, has led
some parish priests to look upon it as a potential threat to their
authority and consequently to oppose its establishment in their
parishes. Thus, although the society has spread to 40 (83 per cent)
of the Maltese parishes, it is only established in 6 (40 per cent) of
those in Gozo, Malta's conservative sister island. In point of fact,
wherever it has been established it has supported the authority of
the parish priest, and its members are now among the staunchest
opponents of the Labour Party.

In each parish there are usually several loosely organized groups such as the Association of Christian Mothers and the Holy Name Society which meet infrequently for special prayers and devotions.

Finally, there is at least one confraternity in each parish. A
confraternity is a lay religious society which is dedicated to a particular saint and offers Masses for dead members. These societies,
called *fratellanzi*, are the oldest associations in Malta, and many
date back to the Middle Ages. Formerly certain confraternities in [467]
the larger villages and towns acted as trade guilds; others only
enrolled persons of the highest socio-economic class. Both men [292]
and women may enrol, as members; but only men may wear the

Stadium, where most village football matches are played, are in 628
themselves evidence that fights during these occasions are the rule [526]
rather than the exception. [712]

Although there is little formal contact between villages, there is a considerable amount of informal coming and going between their inhabitants. Most inter-village marriages are between partners from neighbouring villages, and the network of kin ties that these form helps to bind the villages of a district together. Inhabitants of neighbouring villages travel to and from work on the same buses, and see each other often at the annual feasts of the district. These multiple relations contribute to a certain district spirit. The most striking example is the unity of the Gozitans, although people from the south of Malta have something of the same spirit of belonging to a particular district. Nonetheless, the knowledge the inhabitants of the southern Maltese villages have of each other cannot be compared to that of the Gozitans, who, for the most part, not only recognize each other by face, name and nickname, but usually know a surprising (and often uncomfortable) amount of personal details about one another. [582]

IV

A person becomes a member of a village by being born there, or 217
marrying or moving into it. The administrative details connected 591
with these acts are quite simple. Parents must register the birth of [621]
a child at the local police station, and the parish priest enters the [851]
child's name in his register when the baby is baptized, which usually takes place within a few days of its birth. If a man marries into a village, his name will be entered in the parish register, for under Church law the marriage must be performed by the parish priest of the bride, or his delegate. If the couple settles in the husband's village or in a strange village, their names will be recorded on the annual census there, the *status animarum*, which every parish priest prepares for his bishop. All changes of address are supposed to be given (but often are not) to the Rationing Office and, if the person is over twenty-one, to the Electoral Office. No other civil authorities are interested in a person's whereabouts.

In point of fact, however, most people live in the villages into 369
which they were born. This is another respect in which the towns 591

369 differ from the villages. While only about sixteen per cent of the
● 591 adult population of an average Maltese village is not native born, approximately two-thirds of the adults residing in the urban and suburban areas were born outside the communities in which they now live (see Table 2 below).

591 There is no rule of village endogamy or exogamy, and a bride and groom are free to choose where they wish to live and set up their household. The choice of residence is normally governed by available housing, place of work and the relative strength of the bride's and groom's ties with their respective families and villages. But in case of a conflict of interest, a wife is expected to follow the wishes of her husband. If housing is available in both the village of the wife and that of her husband, and the husband's place of work is in neither, there is a tendency for the couple to live in the wife's village. The Maltese themselves acknowledge that, all other things being equal, the ties between a wife and her family are stronger than those between her husband and his kin.

162 Thus in Farruġ and Kortin, I found that approximately half the couples had married and settled within their respective villages.
591 Less than one in twenty (4 per cent) of the couples were strangers who had moved there because of the shortage of housing in their own villages; and all of these had relatives already living in the two villages. The outsiders who married or moved into Farruġ and Kortin formed one-fifth (21 per cent) of the adult population, or about 10 per cent of the total population of each. In slightly
591 over half (56 per cent) the marriages between people from these
[184] two villages and other villages, the husband settled in his wife's village. This is the general trend in Malta, where most men work
[369] outside their villages. In Gozo, where farming is the chief occupation, it is more usual for a woman to move to her husband's village, for that is his place of work. People from the towns who marry villagers are reluctant to move into the villages, and it is therefore fairly common to find villagers, especially women, moving to join their spouses in the towns.

The general principles regarding marriage residence are reflected in Table 2.

591
621 The number of outsiders resident in a village is an important factor governing the degree to which its inhabitants consider themselves a corporate group. As outsiders always retain strong links with their place of birth, the solidarity of a village is inversely

proportional to the number of outsiders resident in it. Not only 541
does loyalty to friends and relations in a man's village of birth 621
often take precedence over new ties established by his marriage into a strange village, but it is not unusual for a man married into another village to continue to play an active part in the social life of his native village. Conversely, an outsider is seldom called upon or attempts to join the clubs and associations of his wife's village. Thus, only 3 per cent of the committee members of the fifteen band and social clubs in the sample villages I studied were outsiders, although about 18 per cent of the adult male population resident in these villages were born elsewhere. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the committee members were now living outside the villages in which they were born and hold office.

TABLE 2. Adults Born Outside their Place of Residence[1] [162]

Place of Residence	*Percentage born elsewhere*	*Males*	*Females*
Urban/Suburban	66%	45%	55%
Maltese Villages	16	52	48
Gozitan Villages	15	39	61

Because of the many ties which bind people to their villages of birth, an adult who moves into his wife's village remains an outsider for many years. The village will probably not give him a [551] distinctive village nickname, and he will be known simply as the husband of his wife, or perhaps by the name of his native village. Although the village may ignore his outside origin for much of the time, his place of birth is certain to be remembered and held against him by his enemies, should be become involved in a dispute. The children of an outsider, however, become full [851] members of the village by virtue of their birth there, and their connection with the community through the family of their mother (or father). By the time his children begin to grow up and get married, the outsider is usually firmly established as a full member of the community.

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[1] This table was compiled from data made available to me by the Principal Government Electoral Officer. It covers a random sample drawn from a sample of two suburban communities (Sliema and Balzan), seven Maltese villages (Żebbuġ, Gharghur, Gudja, Mosta, Qrendi, Dingli and Żurrieq) and three Gozitan villages (Qala, Xagħra and Gharb). [103] [127]

156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

156 Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xih żomm fih*). But
561 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where
schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to
their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard.
The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is
wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leadership
in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish
registers support the memories of the present generation of elders
that this has not always been the case.

Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
156 their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
[575] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it convenient
for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
[693] continue to practise in their native villages. But when they continue
to reside in their villages, even though their social life and
many of their business interests are oriented away from the community,
they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge
their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted
into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have
gone successfully into politics.

Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
156 citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday procession.
693 Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter
of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football
and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he
has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a
successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
759 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
[793] squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
795 of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI, v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
[591] but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
197 even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutterals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquilina, J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential
independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

585 ered flowers upon them, also nuts and grains of wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.

[184] [535] [465] [431] At a village wedding the company danced during the feast; each dancer throwing a piece of money to the fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast.

● [591] The bride always passed a week in her father's house, after which she was received with much pomp by her husband whose relations gave a great feast which was called il *hargia.*

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The officiating
priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, 585
a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee [793]
on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was [465]
completed, everyone returned from church in the same
order as before.

As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies showered flowers upon them also nuts and grains and wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

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after which she was received with much pomp by her
husband, whose relations gave a great feast which was
called *il hargia*."[1]

The bridegroom's symbolic present of a fish is very likely 584
connected with fecundity, for the fish was regarded as an 174
emblem of fecundity by the Assyrians and the Phoenicians. 825
It is not, however, in this connection alone that the fish is a
potent symbol. Prudence (apparently a virtue highly prized [577].
in a Maltese wife—Salt, another symbol of prudence, is included in the ingredients with which the bride's lips are anointed), and Wisdom were anciently supposed to be the properties of numerous Sacred Fish. Finn M'Cull, in the Irish legend, "Happens upon the Salmon of Knowledge . . ."

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[1] BUSUTTIL, op. cit.

241 423 rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields, which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

241 464 433 This is the background to the present attempts to rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

(a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654] (b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

654 241 464 The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

178 462 [592] The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

562 462 178 In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p. 80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

462 family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and
562 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment
178 outside the home or even outside the village and insists on
a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been
proper for her mother.

462 The home and the care of the children remains the sphere
of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work
178 only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the
men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this
side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this
nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats
generalization.

178 Until recently it was customary for most women and girls
462 to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields,
especially when work was pressing as at harvest time.
288 Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of
464 its preparation (Section 1), while lace was almost entirely
the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity
excluded them from field work. Cotton is now of minor
importance and lace-working is confined to the older
178 generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now
464 partly being filled by young women and girls seeking
employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing,
teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers
than was the case a generation ago. Yet there
remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated
far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to
suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of
the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude
that persists in labelling paid employment fo a girl as
somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case,
discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout
Malta (B/598).

241 Some farming families still retain the traditional
462 pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI);
others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and
[178] girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In
the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and
picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled,
such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men
(v. Case I on the division of family labour).

241 In general it appears that as the younger age-groups
592 are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided.
[178] The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-
[465] money' donations and even those went to sons working full-time
with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and not to daughters.
Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

241 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited,
592 in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned
to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until
they can find some paid employment away from the home farm,
and

241 (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between
464 £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family
[461] would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover
[465] the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily
available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a
return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement
in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely
to become scarcer and more costly.

241 The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that
[461] as already suggested, the particular characeristics of
Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual
labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious
fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail
of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable
of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of
activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and
241 varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to
distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual
calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming
conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree
of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so
has the range of variety increased.

175 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the
178 crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work
221 a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore"
241 (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of
each month along with short articles on subjects of interest
to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as
silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco,
would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the
[234] Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since
[233] 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely
mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to
first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be
241 expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village
and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese
farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial'
and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

178 241 modern calendar of events is considered.

As random sample illustrations three farmers' accounts of their own work during 1957-58 are analyzed[22]. At least they reveal something of the variety that now exists between one farmer and the next.

241 461 221 (1) A full-time field worker (Case X) usually working with his brother and a nephew and having some irrigable land. An analysis of the routine of this man is given (Case X; E, v. Work Analysis) and, from the same material, Mitchell has made a detailed study of time/labour utilization (B/525). A summary of this, which is on the basis of the ten hours per day worked by each of the three men over the year 1957-8, is also included in Case X.

(2) The second example relates to an arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce (Case XI; E, v. Work
[592] Analysis). This man is helped in the fields by his wife and family. The analysis illustrates the main features of this 'irrigated' farmer's year (although in the year studied there was an exceptional loss of time in the Autumn due to storm damage) and should be compared with (1) above. Irrigation accounts for about a quarter of the months May-July but occupies a mere two afternoons in the period November-February. Cutting and reaping accounts for even more time in July than does irrigation: by October plowing is the largest single item apart from "No work (storms)". In November, planting and sowing account for slightly more time than "collecting greenery" and is by far the main work of December (potatoes). General cultivation work occupies much of the next two months but pruning and grafting of vines is the biggest single item of February. The parallel between this and (1) is clear, apart from the special emphasis, on fruit - largely apples - in the former case.

234 221 461 (3) A Goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping (Case II; E, v. Work Analysis) provides the third sample study. In 1957 - 58 this herdsman spent all but thirty afternoons "grazing the goats" - on only one Sunday or 'festa' day did he not go out with his animals. This illustrates an important feature. While Sundays and Holy Days are normally kept free of field-work, work with animals has to be allowed. The herdsman is consequently much more tied to his farm than is the predominantly arable farmer. He has a set daily schedule of feeding and milking the animals and cleaning out their stalls, etc., and can expect to have to adhere to this especially if he is working alone or with very little help. In fact the herdsman spends a considerable amount of his working year on

*159 512 794 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

●592 178 *159 Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 423 427 [311] (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding)

A. Land.

- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42¼ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 423 311 B. Utilisation.

	1956	1957	1958
House	½	½	½
Vines	¼	¼	¼
Prickly pear	¼	¼	¼
Fodders	8¼	10½	14⅜
Vegetables	8⅝	6½	2⅜
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42¼ tmien

*159 231 C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 D. Capital.

- 421 Land all rented save one small plot.
- [427] Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- [456] No specialised equipment.

*159 464 E. Labour.

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 433 [434] F. Production and Sales.

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

Marriages between
621 members of rival partiti are regarded as undesirable. They occa-
[582] sionally take place, but the division of loyalty within the nuclear
[586] family which results often leads to quarrels and, occasionally, to
temporary separations. (The favourite festa-time story of the wife
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578- their partit affiliation. Both occurred over fifty years ago. A lead-
621 ing member of the St. Roque partit left it after a heated quarrel with Dun Rokku over the design for new street decorations. He subsequently became one of the other partit's most honoured members, and even wrote a book on the life of St. Martin. The second man left St. Roque when he married the daughter of the president of the St. Martin club. I was told that the girl's father had insisted on the change before he gave his consent to the marriage. The young man went on to become president of the club, as did his only son. In another village a few young men left their partit after a quarrel with one of the leaders, but all returned after a year.

621 Although an outsider who marries into a village generally supports the partit of his spouse, a few of them, particularly the men, succeed in remaining neutral. Of the 122 outsiders who married into Farruġ,[1] 28 per cent of the men but only 8 per cent of the women remained uncommitted. A few even chose to support partiti opposed to those of their spouses. Thus a women from Qrendi who married a St. Martin supporter and moved to Farruġ became a follower of St. Roque because she had been a keen member of the secondary partit in her native village. Children of families in which one of the parents is an outsider, especially if the parent remains neutral, often support the partit of their friends rather than those of their parents or siblings. A case in point is that of the president of the St. Roque club, and his brother. Their father was an outsider who, because of his position as headmaster, made a point of remaining strictly neutral. Though his wife was from a St. Martin family, one son supported St. Martin, the other St. Roque.

[162] [1] 61 men and 61 women. These marriages represent 54 per cent of the total in the village.

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
511 [651] is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

511 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
454 call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
[593] few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expences of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
178 accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[294] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family.
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
438 farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
[656] Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

457 lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm
511 and that spent on the household.

In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and
[593] co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the
average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate
and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and
expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating
to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that
his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of
time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where
they proved of major importance and benefit.

At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance
[454] of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen
to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X).
The period in question was financially atypical for this
man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd
of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe
storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for
any farmer like him is further complicated by the un-
commercial approach which is made to the labour of the
farmer himself(and in this Case that of a brother and
nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed
because custom demands that they are done and a job is not
neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus
[511] the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure
as a cost in production (Section 2).

His income derives largely from the sale of fruit
434 (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable.
454 In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57
458 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only
£340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew
"receives something when a crop is sold". Other items
sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of
tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season
each of the brothers received a gross profit of about
£250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food
consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X)
nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57
from savings. This feature is crucial. Given the
normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result
of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer
is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on
the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he
expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far
[181] hence. This insecurity of his capital is important in
his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production
or farm management and in part also echoes the conservatism
and inertia of the traditional peasant

200 leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

Pawlu admits nevertheless that much of the inferior condition of the farmer derives from his inability to unite with other farmers (Section 4). Illiteracy, ignorance and suspicion are the major causes of his fear. Only a few farmers are members of either of the two opposing Unions of Farmers while the situation regarding co-operatives is equally unpromising. Pawlu himself became one of the organisers of a special 'Tractor Co-Operative', initiated by C.A.R.E. at the end of 1958 (Section 2) for a group of farmers in his home village. The members paid £2 each on joining the co-operative and were thereafter able to hire one of the two tractors donated by C.A.R.E. at only 10/- per hour instead of the commercial 17s. The fact that Pawlu himself was among the organisers of such a novel venture reflects his progressive outlook, and his standing in the village.

*159 156 829 Politics interest Pawlu, to a more than average degree His concern is based on an informed intelligence. A supporter of the Labour Party, he considers the Nationalists as holding the masses in contempt and he points to their emphasis on the Italian language and the non-Maltese culture which it represented as evidence. He reads the local Maltese-language press but is sufficiently independent of mind to have cancelled his subscription to the 'Lehen is-Sewwa' (B/65) at the time of the 'Integration' referendum on the grounds that neither the Church nor the Paper would publish an 'official' statement on the attitude of the Church. Yet his religious devotion is without question and he has a respected place in Church and village life.

*159 156 829 593 [555] [167] __The Family.__ Pawlu lives with his wife and six of his children. His eldest son and daughter are both working as teachers in Malta. Another daughter has emigrated.

Pawlu's __wife__ speaks only Maltese and had as little formal education as her husband, but she has at all times nothing but encouragement for her family in their education In this case there is not the usual gulf in outlook between parents and children on account of the education of the latter - for the parents fully realize the need. Pawlu's wife used to work in the fields when young but now spends [462] her time in the house. Certain jobs remain her special concern however, notably cheese-making, care of lambs and chicks and egg-collection.

*159 156 128 593 [875] The eldest son, now working as a teacher, is one of the young 'intellectuals' who are currently making an appearance in Gozo. The ties of family and respect between him and his father are strong but he is out of touch with the

*159 156 178 ●593 farm and ignorant of many details of its history and operation. He is "never likely to soil his hands with farming". He is moving away from farming and from the cultural and social life of his village. He apologizes for the efforts of the villagers when they attempt to produce a play, he dismisses nick-names as "old-fashioned", and he decries the limitations on activity in his native Island (no dancing or bright lights). Yet he is still enough attached to Gozo to want to introduce changes to it and to make it more like the place his education has made him want to live in. He is typical of one important and growing element in the younger generation of rural Malta and Gozo. In his teens he used to help his father in the fields and took milk to the collection depot, but this stopped as soon as he found a full-time alternative occupation.

*159 156 593 46 Pawlu's eldest daughter, also a teacher, has left farm-work far behind. For her this was never more than casual assistance with vegetable picking and lifting during holidays from school. It is not likely that she will be a farmer's wife.

87 Pawlu's second daughter left school at twelve and divided her time between house and field work until her marriage in her late teens. She was acknowledged as her father's main assistant with the animals.

Two daughters in their middle teens are academically inclined to the extent of staying at school as long as possible and speaking four languages. Both still do incidental farm work when not occupied with studies. Both would be probable 'sixth-form' and university candidates were there any liklihood of financial backing. Their education, especially in English language and culture, is giving them - and many others like them - an advancement which is not matched by opportunity. They are learning in an educational cul-de-sac.

A son in his middle teens works full-time in the fields with his father, having left school at twelve, while two more boys are still of compulsory school age and give their father only casual assistance with feeding the smaller animals out of school hours. A little girl of some ten years makes no economic contribution to the farm.

*159 46 The major feature to emerge from the above consideration is that the bulk of the work of the farm, and the full-time responsibility for all jobs, rests with Pawlu alone. The son who is old enough to deputise for his father has left farming: the only full-time help comes from a younger boy who may himself decide to follow his brother in a few years. Now Pawlu complains that "Labour is the main trouble if the farmer cannot cope with all the

*159 245 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to quality as those for the table.

*159 245 231 451 In this move towards more vine production and the recent interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to emphasize the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made between money spent on the home and family, and money spent on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held "in one purse". [593] Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

*159 434 454 [511] At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400, less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30 for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957. During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income from pig sales and other items.

*159 434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit........	£340	-	£340
Grapes.......	49	£ 8	57
Sulla........	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons.......	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals.......	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 434 435 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between one year and the next is today more important to the arable farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more [454] accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

*159 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people
156 around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as
well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social
461 life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is
626 most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on
517 speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids
his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on
493 the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he to plow on Sundays or fests days he would be "publically ostracized and no villager would hire him and his plow". His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than farming".

*159 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical.
156 He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of
● 593 illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending to assume that his education and wider experience entitles him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments. Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data')
156 system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni.
[583] He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle without the older people of the village criticising him for not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs which his education and his knowledge of the world outside the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs, he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close
[178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the new methods and implements which he has brought to the village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159
472 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father
407 works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention. Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta.
OUD They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

SAINT MARTIN'S DAY

527 One of the greatest family feast-days, among the Maltese, is that of St. Martin's, which is held on the 2nd and 3rd Sunday of November.

Happiness and true enjoyment reign
supreme in every household on this
[593] special day. Pater and materfamilias
entertain at dinner their married sons and daughters, with their respective consorts and children, besides nephews, nieces, and others allied by ties of consanguinity.

Every body enjoys his share of sweetmeats on St. Martin's day, with a due allowance of Marsala or some other sort of good Sicilian wine.

527 Children look forward with pleasure
267 to this day, being always regaled, by
857 either their parents or some other member of the family, with a small bag

B. The Lands of a Maltese Family

423*

It has been found possible to trace the landholding history of a single family 173 back to its very beginning through four generations and slightly more than 100 427 years. Before about 1850, the family in question had no direct proprietary 596 interest in land. Its members were landless labourers working mainly in the fields of various farmers in the northern districts of the island. They appear to have moved from farm to farm as demands for labour arose. Frequently they worked as a team, occasionally as individuals but always they were paid on a daily basis. Their home was in the casal of Mosta, and there is still some attachment to that centre, although few members of the family continue to reside there.

[127] This study is based, fundamentally, on the oral tradition of the family, refined by studies of the Farm Register, Government Land Records and field identification. For ethical reasons, the family must remain anonymous; its members are therefore referred to by key numbers. The founder-father of our family and his five children are designated 0 to 5 as below. [128] The progeny of each son are numbered similarly, the digits suffixed to the parent's number and so throughout. In addition, the lineage groups stemming from the original five children are distinguished by the letter A to E. Final suffixes 0 denote husbands of the females of the family.

The history begins in the 1850's with a family of five children and their father (0). Four of the children (2-5) were sons and worked for some time with their father as farm labourers. At some stage, the daughter (1), married a farmer with land in the Manikata area, and from her springs branch A of the family. Later, one of the brothers (2) married the daughter of a farmer who held most of his land at Ġnejn Għajn Tuffieħa, and lived nearby. On the death or retirement of his father-in-law, 2 acquired the tenancy of this land in the third year of an eight year lease which had commenced in 1862. Finding that he was unable to work this farm satisfactorily by himself he invited one of his brothers (3) to join him in the enterprise. When the eight year lease was renewed for a similar period, in 1870, both brothers became joint tenants. Their respective descendants form groups B and C of the genealogy. Another piece of land, which had been leased by 2's father-in-law for 99 years from 1861, passed to 2, neither 3 nor his descendants having any share in it.

Meanwhile, in 1857 or 1858, the father (0) and his two remaining sons (4 and 5) acquired the tenancy of an area of partially irrigable land at the head of the Ġnejna valley. Some 12 months earlier the land, with its terraces, had been severely damaged by floodwaters following very heavy rain. The landowner concerned was unwilling to assist the sitting tenant in the repair of severe storm damage to the extent which that tenant expected. Rather than bear alone the full cost, the latter attempted to sub-let outside his own family and was dispossessed by the owner. Our landless labourer (0) and his two sons (4 and 5) evidently felt themselves capable of tackling this reconstruction and, with the landowner's approval, took over the tenancy. It is uncertain whether the landlord gave them assistance in the form of reduced rent, whether they had some capital saved from their meagre wages which they could exploit here, or whether they depended for success entirely on their own labour. Some capital must have been available to them to cover the period of reconstruction and the sale of the first [426] season's crop. It would be characteristic of the period if some financial help was given by the *pilkali* merchants who functioned as the land bank of that day.

There is evidence that local opinion did not rate highly the chances of this landless group in restoring the valley to its former fertility. The story is told [522] of local comment that the family would not stay 'from Christmas Day to St. Stephen's' (25th-26th December). After 100 years of continuous occupation the story affords the family some considerable amusement, but serves to illustrate the shaky nature of the original enterprise.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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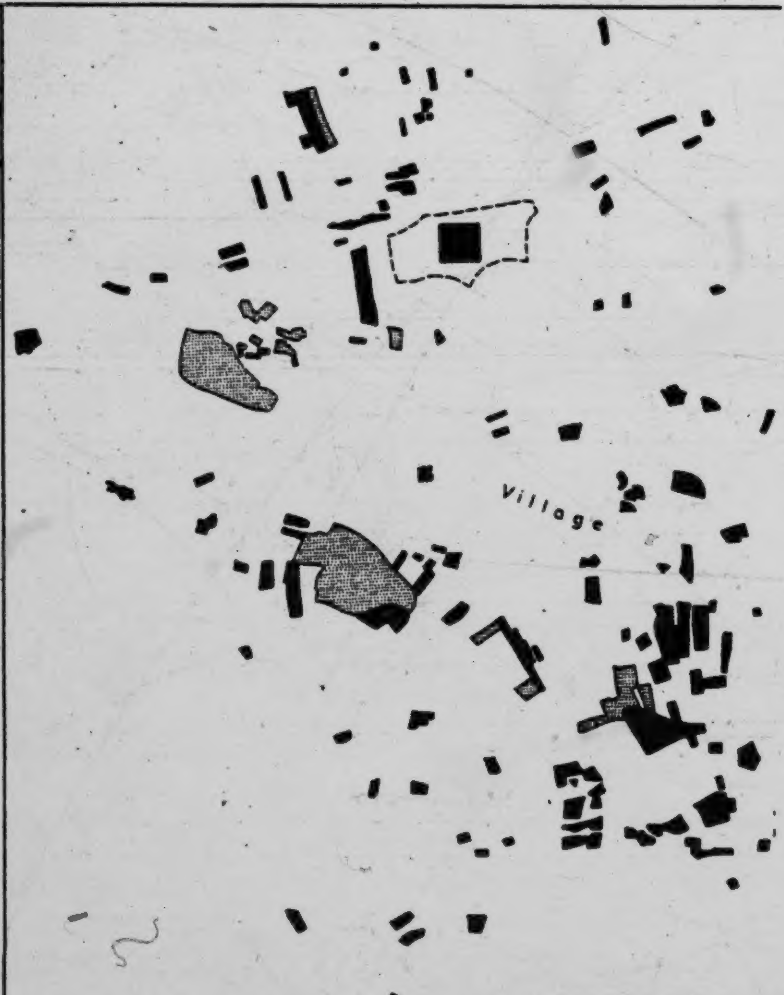

Fig. 139 The Landholdings of a Maltese Family

[p. 308-A]

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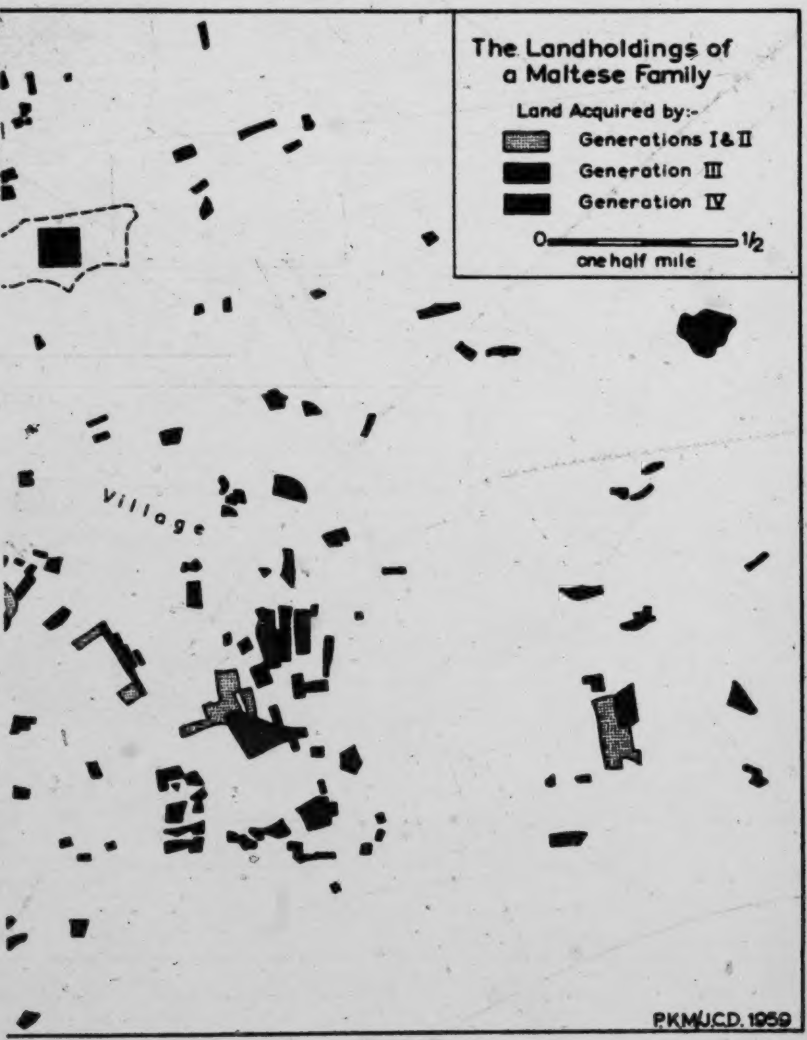
The Landholdings of a Maltese Family
Land Acquired by:-
▨ Generations I & II
■ Generation III
■ Generation IV
0 — 1/2
one half mile
Village
PKM/UCD. 1959

Fig. 139
The Landholdings of a Maltese Family.
[p. 308-B]

*423 This valley land, occupied by 0, 4 and 5, was not originally a single continuous
173 plot, for two other tenants occupied land within the perimeter. At some date, the holdings of these tenants were absorbed by the family, for today the
427 whole plot is held by members of groups D and E, the descendants of 4 and 5. It has belonged, throughout, to a single owner and has been held for many years
●596 on an annual lease. For many members of the family it still forms the nucleus of their holdings, though each now works a relatively small portion of it.

Probably in 1880, 5 acquired the tenancy of two 4-*tmien* plots of a 29-*tmien* tenement near to this nucleus, on flat land to the east of the valley and the lease was later renewed, on similar terms, to one of 5's sons (54). On termination of the second lease, an increase of rent was mooted, to which 54 could not agree. After five months, no alternative tenant had been found and 54 therefore re-occupied at the old rent. He took two of the six portions into which the 29 *tmien* were divided, intending one for a brother, who however, did not require it. Both portions are retained by 54's descendants.

One year after this re-entry, 5 and his three brothers were approached by the agent to become tenants of another patch of less fertile land (75 *tmien* including rock). The division was uneven, 2 receiving a nominal 1½ *tmien* despite the plot's proximity to his home and other land. 5, perhaps as the principal tenant, acquired a lion's share (33 *tmien*).

The agent's inability to find alternative tenants for the 8 *tmien* of land and his soliciting of the family to occupy the larger plot, seem to indicate a marked

absence of land hunger at this period, 1895 to 1896. Such a situation had probably existed for some years, since there is no information that other land taken over as a new tenancy, again by 5, at the beginning of that decade was 'lying idle', at the expiration of a long lease. The area concerned was again substantial and 5, unable or unwilling to tackle the whole plot, joined with two brothers from a nearby hamlet in making a successful bid for the tenement. The land, and also the rent which they had jointly agreed to pay, was then sub-divided, local conditions of soil and quality being taken into consideration.

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At some time, possibly during this period, the other brothers, 2 and 3, added to the land obtained by marriage at Għajn Tuffieħa (as a new tenancy and with strangers as co-tenants) another 35 *tmien* some two miles to the south-east, close to what is now the parish boundary in that direction. At a later date (c. 1910) 2 and his son, 21, entered on a new tenement of irrigated land in the Wied tal-Pwales to the north of Għajn Tuffieħa. This was immediately divided into two approximately equal portions, of which the father's was eventually shared only amongst his other children.

The land initially acquired by 2 (the founder of group B) from his wife's family was Government land, which was already at that date split into a number of separate plots, but the other lands acquired by this second generation as new tenancies were fairly large blocks of land, averaging 36 *tmien* in area, including the two 4-*tmien* plots of land leased to 5.

It is clear, therefore, that during the 50 years before 1910 quite large blocks of land in northern Malta were coming on to the leasehold market, and that a family without previous rights of any sort in that land could enter on to it, apply sufficient capital and industry to maintain its hold and, within limits, dictate the amount of rent which it was willing to pay for the use of that land. All the land leased for the first time during this period belonged to owners of large private or ecclesiastical estates and some at least had been surrendered on the termination of long leases. There is strong evidence from all branches of the family that all land leased during this period has stayed within the group, though some naturally has passed to daughters on their marriage. The land acquired in the male line by 0 and 2-5 in this early period is mapped at Fig. 139.

This area mapped in Fig. 139 totals 262 *tmien* and was held by the four brothers in the proportions shown in Table 42.

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Table 42. Maximum holdings of generation II. *Tmien.*

	Sons of Farmer 0				
	Son 2 (B)	Son 3 (C)	Son 4 (D)	Son 5 (E)	Total
Acquired by marriage	12½	7¼	-	-	19¾
New tenancies	21½	42¼	56⅝	121⅞	242¼
Total leasehold	34	49½	56⅝	121⅞	262
Freehold	-	-	-	-	-
Total area	34	49½	56⅝	121⅞	262
No. of non-contiguous plots	?	?	6	8	?

Even at this early stage, there is considerable disparity in the size of holdings, though this would partly disappear if the relative proportions of irrigated and waste land were taken into account. None of the brothers had any significant financial interests outside farming. 2 and 3 seem to have lived at Għejn Għajn Tuffieħa but the others remained at Mosta, though many week-nights were spent in rooms which they had in a building at the head of the Għejna valley.

*423 173 427 •596 [428] [621]

As the circumstances of land acquisition would indicate, these early holdings were not excessively 'fragmented' but the seeds of later more complex patterns had been set by the lease of non-contiguous properties and the parcellation amongst themselves or with unrelated co-tenants of large tenements newly leased. However, we must remember that, although the male line of the family held no land before c. 1860, this is certainly not true of all the families into which 0's sons and their descendants married. Accordingly, 2's children and the children of later marriages were only partially descended from the landless strain. With the legal right of equality of division of all heritable property regardless of sex, the expectations of later scions would therefore be enhanced. It must also be remembered that all land held by the later descendants of 0, whether acquired by descent through the family, by marriage, new tenancy or purchase, may with equal validity be considered as the land of other families, whose sons and daughters marry into the family which we have chosen to study. It is a valid case of 'gaining a son, not losing a daughter'. In the present (fourth) generation the family is fully integrated into a complex web of relationships within the village. Indeed an informant has remarked that if someone in the village is not related to him, that person must be a stranger and newcomer to the area.

Notwithstanding these considerations, clarity can only be preserved by maintaining the idea of the family as a developing entity in terms of which land is gained, lost or divided. Division is the normal process by which lands may pass in effect into the hands of a single child, though siblings may be entitled to some form of compensation. Division to all the children need not take place at the same time; an elder child may even receive its share while a younger brother is still unborn. In these circumstances, 'shares' cannot be precise, though efforts may be made to re-adjust at a later stage. A share of parental land is normally the first which a young farmer begins to work as his own. If, as is usual, his departure from the family farm was occasioned by marriage, he may also obtain land from his father-in-law, but this is never *his* in the same sense and is only effectively consolidated with the land of his own family when his children, born of that wife, come to work it on their own behalf.

Generation 3

All the brothers of the second generation are now dead, the last having died c. 1936, and their landholdings split up. The pattern of acquisition of land by the third generation is shown in Fig. 139. Family land passed very unevenly to these groups. For example, in group C, although there were seven other children all land came ultimately to the husband of one daughter (3 to 35). Initially the farm was divided amongst the children.

Table 43. Holdings of Generation III: Group C. *Tmien.*

s = son; d = daughter.

	31s	32s	33s	34d	35/36d	37d	38d	Total
Division from parent: 3	⅔	⅔	⅔	⅔	45½	⅔	⅔	49½
Transfers among siblings	-⅔	-⅔	-⅔	-⅔	+4	-⅔	-⅔	4
Total land and max. holding	⅔	⅔	⅔	⅔	49½	⅔	⅔	-
Total land to be passed on	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½
Leasehold	-	-	-	-	48½	-	-	49½

Note: Some of 35's siblings have a little land elsewhere.

In other groups, the demands of each child were more nearly equal, but in none was there a rigid egalitarian sub-division. Even in group B, where all the children received some land, its distribution seems to have been controlled by

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need rather than any rigid adherence to the legal issues. All but one of 2's children remained fundamentally within the farming community. The exception (24) married a non-farmer, but even she was given a share of the irrigated land of her mother's portion, presumably to use as a vegetable garden.

Table 44. Holdings of Generation III: Group B. *Tmien.*

s = son; d = daughter.

	21s	22s	23s	24d	25d	26d	27d	Total	Ex. 25d
Division from parent: 2	3	4⅛	5⅜	⅝	1⅛	11⅛	7⅝	34	
Acquired by marriage	7⅝	3½	-	-	*	2	2	15⅛	
New tenancies	†32⅝	11	5	-	n.d.	12⅛	8½	69¼	
Purchase	7½	5	5	-	n.d.	-	-	17½	
Transfers among siblings	-	†22½	-15⅛	-⅝	-	-	-6	22½	
Transfers outside family	-	-	-	-	n.d.	-2	-2	-4	
Total land held	50⅜	46	15⅛	⅝	c. 66⅜	25¼	18	c. 223⅝	156⅛
Maximum holding size	50⅜	46	10⅛	⅝	c. 66⅜	25¼	18⅛	c. 218⅝	151⅜
Total land to be passed on	50⅜	46	-	-	c. 66⅜	23¼	10⅛	c. 196⅞	130¾
Leasehold	43¾	41			n.d.	23¼	10⅛		117⅝
Freehold	20¾	5	-		n.d.	-	-		12½

*circa 65 *tmien* at Attard. †Of which 11 *tmien* later purchased.

Table 44 shows the distribution of 2's 34 tmien of land, and other data relating to group B. Analysis of this distribution is complicated by the diverse qualities of 2's land holding, especially with regard to irrigated and dry land. But even when allowance is made for this factor, shares cannot be considered equal. The shares of 26 and 27, which passed to their husbands 260 and 270, were inflated by the inclusion of much dry land, but 26 still had a disproportionately large share from her father, perhaps because 260 had little land in his own right (2 *tmien*); the same might also be said of 270. 21 had already halved a tenement with his father (10 *tmien* of his new tenancies) and therefore received only a share of his mother's land, and none of that later added by his father. His brother (22) had a relatively small holding initially, but added to it substantially later in life, when he took over the land of some of his brothers and sisters. Similar divisions are apparent in groups D and E.

Of their generation, group B were the most assiduous in adding to land holdings by purchase and new tenancies. Had it not been for their low fertility (23, 24 and 26 had no children, though all were married) they would have dominated the family in later generations. It will have been noticed that much care was taken that 2's children should have a share in their mother's land, while land later added by the father was distributed more partially. The mother's land comes into the family essentially for the use of herself and her children and where there are no children it must be returned eventually to her family. Similar logic applies to land or use of land *inherited* by the father, as is exemplified by 260's 2 *tmien* which, when it became clear that 260 and his wife would not produce issue, was given to his sister for her children. In contrast to some of his brothers and sisters, 22 had a large, vigorous, agriculturally-minded family and this, no doubt, stimulated him into adding to his initially relatively small holding, for not only would his children's labour permit him to expand but also their future welfare would demand it.

*423 The basic pattern is thus one of more or less unequal division amongst those children who wish to take up their rights of pre-emption on land, with greatest 173 emphasis on the equality of division of land coming ultimately from a grand-parent. At a later stage, 'family' land tends to become concentrated into the 596 hands of the more interested children (e.g. 350 and 22), and along with it some land added by their siblings. The volume of lands added other than by marriage New tenancies, which totalled 242¼ is very much less than during generation II. in the holdings of their children amounted *tmien* of the holdings of 2, 3, 4 and 5, although there were at this latter stage 11 individuals actively to only 93¾ *tmien*, Sixteen new tenements were entered by interested in farming in the district. (c.f. Generation II: 35 tmien). this generation and the average size was 7¼ *tmien* and in both cases tenancy was shared Of these, two were outstandingly large The smaller (20¾ *tmien*) was occupied by with members of other generations. while the other (30 *tmien*) was a co-tenancy 21 and his father (2) in c. 1910, generation IV) and a stranger, taken up between 21, 54, 5410 (54's son-in-law, or perhaps a little more, three in 1916. Thus, within a short space of six years, this being some measure of the con-generations were actively acquiring land, siderable interdigitation of the generations which makes it impossible to refer any one generation to any specific period in Malta's economic history. Where precise dates are known the evidence is thus the more valuable.

An example of the circumstances in which these new tenancies were added is illuminating. In 1916, the sitting tenant of the 30-*tmien* plot mentioned above attempted to sub-let the land to a non-relative. Not only was this done without the owner's permission but he also attempted to exact a premium from his proposed sub-tenant. The landlord was informed and the tenant evicted. Agree-ment was almost reached between the owner and a prospective new tenant, 410's father, when it was suggested by the owner's lawyer that a higher rent might be obtained on the open market. The tenancy was therefore published, in the traditional way - at Mass in the parish church - and, the joint bid of 21, 54 and 5410 being the highest, they were offered the tenement. The defeated applicant asked if he might share in the tenancy and, in view of the earlier negotiations, all parties agreed to this. This transaction, with the relatively small size of the other new tenancies, would seem to indicate that considerable competition for land had developed since the larger acquisitions of the previous generation. There is here certainly no evidence of land lying idle for five months as had happened in 1895.

The average size of plot added by marriage during this generation was also small, some 5¼ *tmien*. A small size is to be expected since these are all sub-divisions of other families' land. The increase in total marriage land over the previous generation is roughly proportional to the increase in the number of marriages. As previously, 50 per cent. of the marriages in which the partners continue as agriculturalists involve no exchange of land, but in at least one of these cases (41) land passed from the wife's family directly to the children at a time when they were already independent of their father. Similarly, parts of the marriage lands of 210, 510 and 530 were also passed in this way directly from grandparent or uncle or aunt to the child. This process further emphasises that the land in question is not a dowry in the normal sense of the word, but essentially a settlement on the expected issue of the marriage.

A clear illustration of the economic advance of the family lies in its acquisition, during the third generation, of freehold land. It is doubly significant that only 1¾ *tmien* of the 35½ *tmien* freehold came into the family by marriage, the rest was actually purchased by members of a family which, one or two generations earlier, were not even the occupiers of rented land. Most of this freehold land came into group B, where 21 and his brothers purchased 28¼ *tmien*.

In these different ways 167½ *tmien* near the old nucleus and some 100 *tmien* elsewhere have been added to the 262 *tmien* handed down from generation II. In contrast, only 4 tmien has passed out of family control during the period. The distribution of this additional land is shown in Fig. 139 where its increased 'scatter' and the smaller size of the unit pieces makes a contrast with the earlier distributions.

By the time this generation[1] was at its prime, the village had grown both in size and facilities and achieved parish status. Gradually houses were built and the old attachment to Mosta was at least partially broken, but some of the farmers retain a house in the casal, now often rented to British Service families from ta'Qali airfield. Saved the need to travel to and from the casal, and increased dispersal of plots will matter much less to the farmer than if that journey still had to be made. 423* 173 596

More directly of concern to him will be the size of his holding. As there are now 13 farmers where formerly there were only four and since the total local area has been increased by appreciably less than 100 per cent., the farmer of generation III must, on the average, have a smaller holding than did his parent or parent-in-law. 350, holding all his father-in-law's land is one exception, and there is considerable diversity from individual to individual and group to group.

Many of the third generation are still alive, some retain control of land and one or two are still actively farming small remnants of their holdings. Therefore it would not be possible to examine the transmission of all their land to the succeeding generation. Nor indeed would this be necessary to the present study since the distribution, so far as it has taken place, has followed the same pattern as that from generation II. However, one aspect of the inheritance of land can best be studied at this stage, an aspect scarcely touched upon earlier. That concerns the physical division of a father's holding when it passes to his children. For example, is a holding of ten plots belonging to a farmer with five sons split into five components each with ten plots, every original plot being divided equally to each son - or, if all the plots are of uniform size will each son receive two plots only? This question is clearly of importance to the whole problem of *parcellement* and *morcellement*. That the true position lies somewhere between the two hypotheses given above is evidenced by the subsequent history of 54's holding outlined below. 423* 596

At its maximum, 54's holding comprised 142 plots in six localities, a total area of 74 *imien*, distributed as shown in Table 45.

Table 45. Holdings of 54. Locality, number of plots and area.

Locality	No. of plots	Size of plots				Total
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	
A	2	4 tm.	4 tm.	-		8 tm.
B	2	30 tm.	½ tm.	-		30½ tm.
C	3	3¾ tm.	1 tm.	3 tm.		7¾ tm.
D	4	8½ tm.	2¼ tm.	2¾ tm.	4 tm.	17½ tm.
E	1	7½ tm.				7½ tm.
F	1	3 tm.				3 tm.

He had six children (541-546) equally divided among the sexes and the amount of land given to each child varied enormously (Table 46), the daughters receiving small portions, the eldest son somewhat more, while the two younger brothers received two-thirds of the total land, which they work in partnership. The two elder daughters each married men with substantial land holdings. Their sister married a butcher who normally takes no part in farming but did work on the land during the recent war. At present the butcher's land is worked by 543 on a profit-sharing basis. 543 became independent of his father at an early age and has acquired a not inconsiderable farm (52 *imien*) by purchase from his wife's family as well as from his father either direct or through siblings. These facts doubtless explain the inequality of the father's sub-division, and 173 423* 596

[1] [i.e., The third generation of the family under discussion -- Analyst]

* 423
173
596

the portion which 544 and 546 work jointly represents the remnant holding which they and their father worked jointly after the other children had received land. Some of it is still held by the father who takes a nominal share of the profits.

Table 46. Allotments to each of 54's children, showing plot number and areas which each received.

541 d	542 d	543 s	545 d	544 s/546 s
pt. C(a) 1t.	A(a) 4t.	pt. B(a) ⅓t.	pt. D(a) 3⅓t.	pt. A(b) 4t.
D(d) 4t.	pt. B(a) ⅓t.	pt. C(a) 1t.		pt. B(a) 29⅓t.
		pt. D(a) 1⅔t.		B(b) ⅓t.
		E 7⅔t.		pt. C(a) 1⅔t.
				C(b) 1t.
				C(c) 3t.
				pt. D(a) 3⅓t.
				D(b) 2⅓t.
				D(c) 2⅔t.
				F 3t.
5t.	4⅓t.	10⅔t.	3⅓t.	50⅔t.

Table 46 shows the extent to which plots have been sub-divided. On the whole the smaller plots have passed unbroken to the children (e.g. A(a) and (b), C(b) and (c), and D(b), (c) and (d)) but so has E(a) which is a fairly large fertile plot. Plot B, also, is little broken, though 542 and 543 each have a small portion for the supply of fruit to their respective family tables.

The fourth generation received paternal land according to the same patterns as the preceding one, and a similar generalisation applies to their acquisition of new land.

Table 47. Acquisition of new land by generation IV.

Groups	B	C	D	E	Total
From grandparent	4⅔		3⅔	17⅙	25½
Marriage	34⅙	26⅓	72⅙	151⅙	183⅚
New tenancy	35⅔	3⅚	5⅚	20	65⅓
Purchase	7			51⅓	58⅓
Miscellaneous*				5⅙	5⅙
Total	81½	30⅙	81⅔	244⅚	338⅙

*In trust for step-son.

The proportions acquired in the different ways have however changed substantially. Some indication of the extent to which the family are now integrated into the local community may be had from the amount of land now acquired by

marriage (60 per cent. of the total), but there are now a greater number of 423* family members interested in land - 31 in all, though only 22 have holdings of 173 a size likely to produce an adequate family income. The net per capita change over the generation is a significant reduction in the area added, especially in 596 the area added by new tenancies which in generation III resulted in an increase of 93½ *tmien*. Further, the increase indicated in Table 47 is significantly influenced by a tenement newly entered by one member of the family (2130) which, in one large block of land, amounted to 28½ *tmien*. All other new tenancies were relatively small pieces of land. The same applies, in fact, to all the land added at this time and, while land held by the family is gradually becoming an increasingly significant proportion of the total land in the locality, the outer spatial limit of new acquisitions is becoming increasingly wider (Fig. 139).

Naturally, generation V, some of whom are still babes-in-arms, has not yet been long enough active in the field for any clear patterns to show, but some transfers of land have take place. There does however seem to be evidence of an increasing proportion of children receiving only small garden plots from their parents, their major source of income being clearly outside farming. Throughout the period considered, 'garden land' of this sort has increased, though the pattern is obscured by overlapping generations (e.g. group C, generation III was somewhat younger and therefore later developing than other groups).

In the foregoing section, the landholding history of a family has been examined in historical depth. Both the methods of acquiring new land and the means of sub-dividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots. Although all children have pre-emptions to their parents' land, by no means all such rights are in fact taken up. In general, sons receive more land than daughters, while dowry land, so-called, is seen to have rather a more special function than that term implies. Although the availability of land has varied from period to period, energetic individuals seem always to have been able to build up their holdings to a viable size, partly perhaps by judicious choice of a marriage partner. Nevertheless, since c. 1870 there has been a general decrease in the size of farm.

Much of this evidence confirms and in part explains the trends observed in 423* the general statistical material and the study of the Żebbuġ-Siġġiewi area. The legal evidence, which as was shown earlier allowed for the possibility of extreme 178 sub-division, is only relevant so far as individuals and economic conditions enforce such extremes. In so far as law and custom support the maintenance of a family's control over land, field evidence suggests that law and custom prevail, for very little land entering the family is subsequently lost. On the other hand, attempts to sub-let outside a family group are seen again and again to result in forfeiture of land which our expanding family were quick to seize upon.

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that, although fragmentation has not proceeded to a degree made possible in law, it has developed with fair rapidity during the period of this survey. Had fragmentation proceeded everywhere in the Island at the same speed in longer-established farming families, it would certainly have reached a more critical phase than it patently has. There seem to be three possible explanations of this apparent contradiction. Firstly there may have been some factor, as yet unknown, which inhibited considerable general fragmentation and which ceased to operate as from 70 or 80 years ago. The nineteenth century development of Government Lands, or some element in the emigrating pattern may be involved. Secondly, there may be a socio-economic limit to the process which our family has just reached, bringing it into line with conditions in older families - extensive inter-marriage may be a factor here. Or finally, there may be special forces within a developing family unit, perhaps not unrelated to the spirit of determination which led G and his sons with little capital to take upon themselves the task of restoring 100 *tmien* of storm-ravaged land, which would not apply to other groups. Certainly some individual members of the family studied display a peasant-like devotion to the soil which is becoming increasingly rare in Malta.

persons with political or economic influence. Once a kin relationship is made known, it establishes a special tie between the two parties, and preferential treatment often follows; for kin are expected to help each other. 602

The ties of kinship can also be extended artificially by asking non-kin to become godparents or marriage witnesses. Although parents normally choose persons to fill these offices from among their parents, uncles and aunts, thus reinforcing already existing kin ties, they quite often ask influential non-kin to perform this function. While the obligations created by godparenthood in Malta, as in Italy, are not as demanding as they are in Spain, and Spanish America,[1] the godparent (*parrinu*) is expected to favour his godchild (*filjozz*), if not the child's father.[2] Thus the institution of godparenthood plays a part in the system of patronage. Influential persons, however, are more often asked to become marriage witnesses. This relationship is not enduring. When influential non-kin are asked to fill this office it is done as much to increase the prestige of the families of the couple getting married as it is to honour a patron. 608 [601] [171] [557]

There is constant informal contact between relatives living in the same village. These informal meetings strengthen kin ties and ensure that people have a wide knowledge of their kin. Thus a friend in Farrug was able to name 49 households in the village (20 per cent of the total) whose members were descended from his father's six siblings. Although the spread of this old man's family was unusual, no one in the village did not have some relatives living there. The many cross-cutting bonds of kinship thus reinforce the multiplex ties created by neighbourhood, common culture and shared devotion to common symbols, and bind together the inhabitants of a village into the tightly united community which outsiders see. 602 [621]

[1] See Gallatin Anderson, *A Survey of Italian God-parenthood* (The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 15; Berkeley, 1956), J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954), pp. 107 f.; and Sidney W. Mintz and Eric R. Wolf, 'An Analysis of Ritual Co-parenthood (Compadrazgo),' *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI (1950), 341–68. [113]

[2] The reciprocal term *xbin* is used between a godparent and the father of his godchild. Friends and even strangers often use it to address one another; it is a way of reducing social distance and making possible a more intimate association. Michael Kenny in his book, *A Spanish Tapestry* (London, Cohen and West, 1961), p. 72, notes that this is also an Andalusian custom.

V

611 The Maltese have large families and reckon kin relationship
equally through males and females. Each person is thus at the
centre of a wide network of cognates and affines. All these
602 relatives do not have equal importance; a person normally makes a
distinction between his immediate family (*qraba tal-familja*), his
close relatives (*qraba ta' gewwa*) and his distant relatives (*qraba
fil-boghod*). A man's immediate family consists of his parents and
his siblings and their fiancées, wives and children. This set of
relatives normally sees each other at least once a week, and would
be invited for a baptismal or betrothal celebration. The close
relatives usually include grandparents, parents' siblings and their
[574] wives and children – his first cousins. These relatives all expect to
be invited to a wedding, if not to a baptism. If they live in
different villages they will also exchange visits during their annual
festas. Distant relatives include the siblings of grandparents and
great-grandparents and their descendants. A person normally has
no formal contact with this set, but he recognizes his relationship
to them if it is known to him.

Upon marriage, a person extends the range of his immediate family to include the corresponding set of his spouse. He may meet more frequently with his wife's immediate family than with his own, especially if they live equidistant from both sets (or in his wife's village).

It should be noted, however, that these sets of kin are not fixed
or bounded groups; a person is relatively free to invite whom he
wishes to any given ceremony. Physical as well as genealogical
distance combines with sentiment to determine the actual
relatives who are placed in these rough categories by an individual.
Thus a person may be on closer terms with a second cousin who
lives next door than with a first cousin living in another village.
[578] Normally, however, certain relatives *expect* to be invited to
particular ceremonies, and failure to do so leads to friction, or may be
a reflection of an existing conflict. Thus, while a first cousin does
not expect to be invited to a baptismal or betrothal party, he does
expect an invitation to a wedding. A second cousin does not
expect to be invited to either, although he often is. These sets of
kin relations are thus flexible; long dormant links can be
manipulated for special purposes, such as to arrange introductions to

persons with political or economic influence. Once a kin relation- 602
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parties, and preferential treatment often follows; for kin are
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The ties of kinship can also be extended artificially by asking 608
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2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

house to house, transform the streets into gaily lighted tunnels. The 796
pjazza is usually draped in flags, and all the clubs are also dressed 628
in their festal finery and their doors thrown open to the public.
Many bands are hired and the mountains of fireworks are fused [533]
and made ready. All this is done before the visitors from outside [389]
arrive, and involves a great deal of organization, time and money.

The festa is thus an occasion on which communal values are reaffirmed 796
and strengthened, as individuals and groups express their 182
loyalty to their patron saint and unite to defend and enhance the reputation of their village. At the same time, the central position which the Church occupies in the social structure is strongly reinforced, for the parish church is the hub around which this festive occasion turns.

A festa is also an occasion on which the bonds of kinship are 796
reinforced, for each family opens its doors to its relations, especially 182
to those who live in other villages. Grown sons and daughters 602
return to their parental home, forming, for a few hours, a grand family with a depth of three or four generations. Because of this influx of relatives, younger children learn to recognize more distant relatives whom they might not see at any other time of the year, and become aware of the network of kin relations that
stretches out from their home. As parents become momentarily [584]
more indulgent during the festa and relax their watchfulness, it is also a favourite meeting time for courting couples and a traditional occasion on which marriageable boys and girls are introduced to one another.

The celebration of a village festa usually lasts three days. It 796
consists of religious ceremonies, which take place principally within the church, and secular celebrations outside the church. The Maltese themselves make a distinction between these two elements in the festa: they call the former the 'internal feast' (*il-festa ta' ġewwa*) and the latter the 'external feast' (*il-festa ta' barra*).
These often take place simultaneously. The mixture of sacred and 123
profane which results was shown to me very vividly during one 796
of the first festas I attended. I was in the church during a particularly solemn moment in the service of worship. Suddenly there was a nerve-shattering burst of fireworks from the roof of the church. Then, slowly, the sharp smell of burning gunpowder began to drift in through the open doors and mingle with the pungent odour of candles and incense. After that I ceased to be

CHAPTER VI

Festa Partiti

578 Village unity is an ideal, and all villages try to present a tightly
united front to the outside world. In spite of this, all are divided
621 internally by cleavages which cut across the community at various
levels. Some of these divisions are only temporary, and disappear
when the issues out of which they have arisen are resolved. Others,
which may have arisen out of temporary issues, have for one
reason or another become a permanent part of the social scene.
But regardless of their origin or duration, these divisions are painfully
real to the villagers. Persons made vulnerable through a network
of personal relations are often forced to commit themselves
to a particular division. In doing so, they become opposed to
neighbours and kinsmen who are committed to the other side.
[602] This is one of the characteristics of life in all small villages. It is
particularly true of communities, such as those in Malta, in which
the inhabitants are closely related through kinship and affinity.

The Maltese call these divisions *partiti* (sing., *partit*). The term
192 thus corresponds not only to groups of the order which we in
578 English would call 'parties', but also to those to which we would
621 apply the term 'factions'. Political parties are called partiti, and
[665] so are rival groups such as the two in Kortin which competed over
[794] the rebuilding of the church. Partiti are said to have *pika* between
them. *Pika* denotes relations of competition, ill-feeling, hostility.
There is little about the word which suggests the good-natured
competition that can exist between rival school football or cricket
teams. On the contrary, if there is *pika* between two groups, a
no-holds-barred competition is expected. Partiti are thus considered
to be a bad thing. They disrupt the harmony of the community
and make it more difficult to project the ideal image of
village unity to the outside world.

575 The oldest permanent division that exists in the villages is
578 between the supporters of rival band clubs. This division is related
621 to the cult of saints. In the previous chapter it was noted that
794
796

[p.120]

CHAPTER VIII

The Village and the Outside World

557 Every Maltese is at the centre of a large network of kin relations.
Thus, when the need arises, many people are able to move along
● 602 the intricate channels of consanguinity and affinity to establish
personal contact with influential persons. It has also been noted
that this network of kin can be extended artificially. Important
persons, such as politicians, police officers, high civil servants and
professionals are often invited to become godparents, marriage
witnesses and confirmation sponsors. These relationships are constantly
manipulated to bring individuals in touch with decision
makers. This gives a personal content to many official decisions.
Since most people honour the obligations of kinship, friendship
and neighbourhood, requests which appeal to these values stand
a good chance of a favourable reply. But a large network of kinsmen
557 can also be a liability to a civil servant, for the favourable
602 treatment he is expected to give a kinsman often conflicts with
647. the civil service ethic of impartiality. This can place persons in
authority in awkward positions, since the refusal of a request may
seriously affect either their personal relations or their professional
integrity. Maltese civil servants thus work under pressure which is
quite unfamiliar to their counterparts in larger, less intimately
related societies.

II

171 Another method of handling contacts with authority is through
influential patrons. By 'patron' I mean a person who uses his
557 influence to assist and protect some other person, who then
771 becomes his 'client'. In a Catholic society there is a strong ideological
776 basis for a system of patronage, for there is great similarity
between the function of saints and mortal patrons. Michael
Kenny points to this correspondence in his study of patronage in
Spain[1] and, in general terms, his analysis is equally applicable to

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[1] 'Patterns of Patronage in Spain', *Anthropological Quarterly*, XXXIII (January 1960), pp. 14–23.

Malta. He sees the patronage system in Spain as a pyramidal 171
structure incorporating both the natural and the spiritual worlds. 557
At the top is God, the supreme patron who is not dependent upon
anyone. At the base are the persons who have no clients. Between 771
these lowly clients and God there are many different ranks of 776
patrons, each of whom has his own small pyramid of clients.
They, in turn, are clients dependent upon other higher and more
influential persons. The patrons of each rank form a group which
asks favours from one another on behalf of their clients.

The intermediaries between man and God are the saints, who
are closer to God than man is. A person who seeks to influence the 557
decision of a higher authority similarly looks for a person who,
by virtue of his kin relation or social position, is closer to the
decision maker than he. In view of the functional similarity of [192]
saints to living patrons, it should not come as a surprise that the
word for patron in Maltese is 'saint' (*qaddis*; plural *qaddisin*).
Several proverbs underline the important role that patrons play in [539]
Maltese social life. Here are two: 'Without saints you can't get to
heaven' (*Minghajr qaddisin ma titlax il-ġenna*); and 'You can do
nothing without saints' (*Minghajr qaddisin ma taghmel xejn*).
Another points to the fact that any patron-client relationship is
not without obligation, even danger, for the client: 'He who
fattens you will kill you' (*Min semmnek joqtlok*).

Who are these 'saints', these men of influence? For the most
part they are people who have already been encountered, albeit in
a slightly different capacity. They are the professionals, the civil
servants and, in general, the wealthy and powerful. They are
persons, respected for their education and social standing in the
world outside the village, who can deal as equals with other
important people and decision-makers, many of whom are their
relatives and former classmates. Their patronage is sought by
individuals and groups alike. They are often asked to become god-
parents, and they are called on to handle the ceremonial, business
and political relations of clubs. They are also called on to help
secure employment, building permits, hawkers licences or a long-
delayed hearing at the law courts. Generally speaking, villagers
choose patrons from the circle of influential people with whom
they have the closest contact: the local professionals, the parish
priest and clergy, the important landlords, all of whom command [602]
respect outside the village. Some clients are related to their

557 patrons; others have established fairly close contact with them
● 602 through business relations.

The patronage of the parish priest has traditionally been important.
557 Not only are all villagers his spiritual clients, but he is
793 also a source of charity and assistance in many fields. He serves his
parishioners individually in the capacity of legal adviser, character
reference and often also as letter-writer and banker. He frequently
argues their claims against the government. He also represents the
interests of the community at large, and attempts, often successfully,
to obtain improved public amenities such as new roads,
street lighting and so on. At least, this is the role that he occupied
until the introduction of representative government.

III

557 Influence through the networks of personal relations and patrons
is the traditional method of handling contacts with authority. It
662 still operates when representative government is in abeyance. But
the advent of elected government introduced a new set of relations,
and provided a new focus of power. Political parties and
professional politicians provided new and surer channels of
influence and sources of patronage, though they have not replaced
the old ones. The villager now uses both old and new channels,
separately or together.

The organization of all parties, at least before Mintoff reorganized
662 the Labour Party, was rather simple. Party interests were
665 represented in the villages by personal canvassers or party agents,
as well as by the candidates themselves. The old Labour Party
under Paul Boffa had a number of village party committees.
When the party was returned to power, patronage and influence
flowed abundantly, and brought the whole structure into vigorous
life. The canvassers became important people who could pass
along requests and schedule appointments with the local MLA's
[464] and even the Ministers. They also helped the local MLA's prepare
the lists of people who were to be given jobs, for until 1955 most
[653] of the lower-grade industrial labourers with the Public Works
Department were employed upon the recommendation of the
local MLA's. Politicians who held office before 1955 often told me
that making out the employment rosters and dealing with the
daily queue of job-seekers were among their most difficult and

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

persons with political or economic influence. Once a kin relationship 602 is made known, it establishes a special tie between the two parties, and preferential treatment often follows; for kin are expected to help each other.

The ties of kinship can also be extended artificially by asking 608 ● non-kin to become godparents or marriage witnesses. Although parents normally choose persons to fill these offices from among their parents, uncles and aunts, thus reinforcing already existing kin ties, they quite often ask influential non-kin to perform this function. While the obligations created by godparenthood in [601] Malta, as in Italy, are not as demanding as they are in Spain, and [171] Spanish America,[1] the godparent (*parrinu*) is expected to favour his godchild (*filjozz*), if not the child's father.[2] Thus the institution of godparenthood plays a part in the system of patronage. Influential persons, however, are more often asked to become marriage witnesses. This relationship is not enduring. When [557] influential non-kin are asked to fill this office it is done as much to increase the prestige of the families of the couple getting married as it is to honour a patron.

There is constant informal contact between relatives living in 602 the same village. These informal meetings strengthen kin ties and ensure that people have a wide knowledge of their kin. Thus a friend in Farruġ was able to name 49 households in the village (20 per cent of the total) whose members were descended from his father's six siblings. Although the spread of this old man's family was unusual, no one in the village did not have some relatives living there. The many cross-cutting bonds of kinship [621] thus reinforce the multiplex ties created by neighbourhood, common culture and shared devotion to common symbols, and bind together the inhabitants of a village into the tightly united community which outsiders see.

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[1] See Gallatin Anderson, *A Survey of Italian God-parenthood* (The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 15; Berkeley, 1956), J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954), pp. 107 f.; and Sidney W. Mintz and Eric R. Wolf, 'An Analysis of Ritual Co-parenthood (Compadrazgo),' *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI (1950), 341–68. [113]

[2] The reciprocal term *xbin* is used between a godparent and the father of his godchild. Friends and even strangers often use it to address one another; it is a way of reducing social distance and making possible a more intimate association. Michael Kenny in his book, *A Spanish Tapestry* (London, Cohen and West, 1961), p. 72, notes that this is also an Andalusian custom.

208 walls and shouted at public meetings. Mintoff is portrayed as a
578 Socialist devil working to give the islands over to Communism
665 in the manner of Cuba's Castro. These are some typical examples
795 of the ones that appeared on the blackboard outside the Kortin
Catholic Action centre: 'Mintoff is the enemy of the Church', 'Nobody can serve both God and the Devil', '"The Bishops are interfering in politics!" That is what Communists say,' and 'We don't want Communists among us!' In stating their case, Mintoff and his supporters did not mince words either, as the following slogans that appeared on the blackboard of the Kortin Labour Party club demonstrate: 'We want a chance in court about the $60,000 lie',[1] 'With the Papal flag in their hands and shouting for vengeance', 'A fish begins to stink from its head',[2] and 'In Gozo they told the women that we have tails.'

208 The popular slogan 'Either with the Bishop or against the
578 Church!' sums up the uncompromising attitude of the Church.
665 Most of the sanctions it has imposed have presented that choice
794 to the people in unequivocal terms. Early in May 1961, shortly
795 after the Labour leaders were interdicted, all Church lay societies
were instructed to obtain from each member a pledge of his full and unqualified support for the Archbishop. Those that declined to give this were expelled from the society concerned and their names reported to the national office of Catholic Action. But a
[793] more drastic sanction was imposed a few weeks later. After the
[226] Executive of the Labour Party had invited the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo to debate their policy in public at a Labour rally in Cospicua, the Bishops replied to this insult by issuing a circular which declared it a mortal sin to print, write for, sell, buy, distribute or read the Labour Party newspapers. All confessors were instructed to put the necessary questions to their penitents.

578 Hence, to remain a Labour supporter, a person has to forego the
665 Church sacraments that he has been brought up to believe vital
794 to his happiness and spiritual salvation. This is a very serious
795 choice for a practising Catholic, and before these sanctions were
[851] imposed, the Maltese were among the most devoutly Catholic
[608] people in the world. It has also meant that MLP supporters cannot

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[1] This refers to the Archbishop's charge, made at a rally in March 1961, that Mintoff had received $61,000 from the allegedly Communist dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which the MLP had just joined.

[539] [2] A Maltese proverb meaning that corruption first becomes apparent among people in high places. This was presumably directed against the Archbishop.

578

act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented 665
from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred 794
not to baptize their children. 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have [851]
stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything [608]
that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that [664]
there is nothing incompatible between support of their political
leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the
slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has
become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the [208]
Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist and a practising Catholic at the same time.

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from
church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a [626]
confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people complained about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role for the non-practising Catholic.

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed 115
up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. 578
We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked 665
him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the 794
Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Com- 795
munist by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am
829

621 move for religious feasts and family celebrations. Sometimes a
number of these farms are clustered around a chapel or small
794 church dependent upon the parish church. In time, these hamlets
795 may disappear; historical sources cite many which have long since
vanished.[1] On the other hand, a hamlet may grow to the point
where its inhabitants can afford to build a larger church and in
other ways successfully press their claim to become a separate
parish. Most rural parishes in Malta and Gozo have come into
632 being in this way. Some towns have been divided into two or
794 more parishes for administrative reasons. In Malta, Qormi and
795 Valletta are each divided into two parishes, and Sliema into three.
[578] Rabat in Gozo is currently being divided into two parishes. But
because of fierce rivalry between the residents of the territories
concerned, the exact boundary line is disputed and the territorial
division will probably take another generation to complete.

79 The parish priest, who in all but the smallest parishes is assisted
by a curate or more, is responsible to the Church for the care of
● [609] the souls of all Catholics resident in his parish. Except where
foreign service personnel live with their families – notably in
Rabat, Naxxar, Mosta, St. Paul's Bay, Luqa and Birżebbuġa – all
villagers are Catholic, and are thus the priest's parishioners. These
parishioners also form part of the corporate body of the Church.

The clergy in Malta, as in all other Catholic countries, are
793 divided into two main groups: the secular or diocesan clergy, and
the regular clergy. Diocesan priests are trained in the Bishop's
Seminary and are directly subject to the authority of the Bishop.
A further distinction is made between those diocesan priests whose
families or patrons have been able to provide them with a benefice
– either property or cash deposited at the Curia bank – yielding
a minimum of £10 annually, and those who have received
their benefices from their Bishop. After the first five years the
former, who are by far the most numerous, are free to serve
where they wish. The latter always remain at the service of their
Bishop. Most parishes are run by diocesan priests, and the clergy
[792] resident in the villages belong to this group. The friars and monks
of the regular clergy are members of religious orders. They have
been trained in the seminaries and houses of their particular orders.

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[1] An interesting study of villages which have disappeared is given in M. Richardson, *Aspects of the Demography of Modern Malta* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1960), pp. 243 ff.

186 the village, which draws in native sons and daughters from all over
621 the country, and often from as far away as Canada and Australia.
This loyalty is also evident at other times. Villagers like to think of
796 themselves as a united body, and they take care to protect the
appearance of unity before strangers. This is an attitude of which
186 anyone studying the social history of a village becomes keenly
aware. Strangers are thus treated with great reserve. The inhabitants
609 of the smaller villages are well known for their reluctance to
621 give any information about their neighbours to strangers. Inquiring
visitors are often referred to the parish priest, who, as
village spokesman, screens them and, if possible, deals with their
questions. The reserve of a village *vis-à-vis* a stranger is considerably
[627] more than just an expression of village loyalty. Present also
is the very real fear of vengeance should the answer to a stranger's
question lead to some unpleasantness for a neighbour. Social
relations in a small village are to a very considerable extent
governed by the proverb 'Don't make an enemy of your neighbour'
(*Tagħmilx għadu lil ġarek*).

In view of this loyalty, it is not surprising that people express
628 their solidarity with their native village by opposition to other
villages. A village's traditional rivals are usually those with which
it has the most frequent contact. I was almost invariably warned
by villagers that the inhabitants of the neighbouring village were
a treacherous and savage lot. There are many tales of hostility
between neighbouring villages, especially over the celebration of
the annual festa, which I dare say have lost nothing in retelling. I
was told a number of stories of how youths stampeded goats
through their rivals' festa processions, and of expeditions which
stole fireworks, attacked street decorations and performed other
daring escapades. Although most of these adventures are said to
have taken place many years ago, they are no more unusual than
some of the incidents that I witnessed.

If the intense inter-village rivalry of former times has abated
[178] somewhat, it is probably because increased education and contact
outside the villages have helped to break down ignorance and
[796] isolation. But this rivalry still lies dormant, and may flare up at the
slightest provocation from a traditional rival; I have seen a number
526 of fights over trivial incidents during festas and football
712 matches. The number of police at village feasts and the quantity
and density of the barbed-wire entanglements at the Schreiber

CHAPTER IV

The Basis of Leadership

621 The Maltese word for leader, *mexxej*, is seldom heard, and then
[192] only in reference to the leader of a political party. I once asked a
[622] parish priest who were the leaders of the village. He laughed and
[551] replied that there weren't any, because his parishioners did not like
leaders. With the exception of the professionals and *il-puliti* from
the towns, all the inhabitants of a village usually call one another
by their Christian names and in general look upon each other as
equals. This egalitarian outlook is compounded of many factors,
of which the most important are similar occupation, standard of
living and values, the detailed knowledge of each other's personal
lives that comes with residence in a face-to-face community, and
178 jealousy. Any person who attempts to lead or to try to start
something new – such as a village playground – is derided. His
578 true motive is seen as self aggrandizement and his enemies and
621 envious neighbours are quick to point this out to others who may
[539] not have realized it. 'Envy follows the wise man like his shadow'
(*L-ghira titrot wara l-gharef bhal dellu mieghu*), goes the Maltese
● [609] proverb. Professionals and outsiders, especially if they are from
the town, are occasionally able to start something new. Their
social distance from most of the community protects them from
the full impact of the envy and gossip which moulds so much of
village life.

But in spite of the absence of official lay leaders and the con-
554 servative pressure of envy and gossip, there are a number of
621 persons who have a greater say than others in the affairs of the
793 community. They are able to do this by virtue of their social
position, their occupation or office in one of the village associa-
tions or their influence with the parish priest. These persons,
together with the parish priest, form the aggregate which can be
[192] said to run the affairs of the community. While there is no generic
term for this aggregate, those who compose it are sometimes
referred to as *il-kbarat*, 'the big ones', or more derogatively as

V

● 611 The Maltese have large families and reckon kin relationship equally through males and females. Each person is thus at the centre of a wide network of cognates and affines. All these 602 relatives do not have equal importance; a person normally makes a distinction between his immediate family (*qraba tal-familja*), his close relatives (*qraba ta' ġewwa*) and his distant relatives (*qraba fil-bogħod*). A man's immediate family consists of his parents and his siblings and their fiancées, wives and children. This set of relatives normally sees each other at least once a week, and would be invited for a baptismal or betrothal celebration. The close relatives usually include grandparents, parents' siblings and their [574] wives and children – his first cousins. These relatives all expect to be invited to a wedding, if not to a baptism. If they live in different villages they will also exchange visits during their annual festas. Distant relatives include the siblings of grandparents and great-grandparents and their descendants. A person normally has no formal contact with this set, but he recognizes his relationship to them if it is known to him.

Upon marriage, a person extends the range of his immediate family to include the corresponding set of his spouse. He may meet more frequently with his wife's immediate family than with his own, especially if they live equidistant from both sets (or in his wife's village).

It should be noted, however, that these sets of kin are not fixed or bounded groups; a person is relatively free to invite whom he wishes to any given ceremony. Physical as well as genealogical distance combines with sentiment to determine the actual relatives who are placed in these rough categories by an individual. Thus a person may be on closer terms with a second cousin who lives next door than with a first cousin living in another village. [578] Normally, however, certain relatives *expect* to be invited to particular ceremonies, and failure to do so leads to friction, or may be a reflection of an existing conflict. Thus, while a first cousin does not expect to be invited to a baptismal or betrothal party, he does expect an invitation to a wedding. A second cousin does not expect to be invited to either, although he often is. These sets of kin relations are thus flexible; long dormant links can be manipulated for special purposes, such as to arrange introductions to

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
795 of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
[591] were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
197 were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutterals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential
independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

F. The Farmer in Maltese Rural Society

241 A study of the Maltese farmer within the total of agriculture in the Islands
571 must include a consideration of the individual as a member of the community
in which he lives, works and thinks.

The total social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles - family, village, and 'Malta'.

241 To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old
countryman for whom Valletta is a foreign world, the concept of 'Malta' is some-
619 thing large and indeterminate. But even for most of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for the countryman to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta complain. The 'National' unit is large enough for him to speak of *'Il-Gvern'* - the Government, of which he has heard frequently, though imprecisely, on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems with a characteristic disregard for logic or even fact. This concept of *Gvern* is of importance in an appreciation of rural thought in Malta. In it no very clear distinction is made between Maltese Government and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy. Neither is allegiance to one or other of the political parties very significant, for personality is always more important than party.

To give an historical perspective to this attitude of the remoteness of *Gvern*
[178] one may see in it not only the product of foreign British rule since 1800 but
also the legacy of the 'paternal' government of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands. Rural communities are characteristically conservative.

The other Malta-wide authority is that of the Church, but the summit of this
793 is scarcely less remote to the individual than is *Gvern*. In the normal practice of his Religion the countryman leans directly on his local priests, though the Curia and Archbishop in Malta and the Bishop in Gozo do represent, for him, the essential unity that is the Maltese Church.

Within the framework of 'Malta' the distinction between the conurbation of
241 towns, centred on Valletta, and the countryside is crucial. This 'conurbation'
178 may be defined as those census districts with less than 3 per cent. of their
working population engaged in farming. In 1948, this accounted for all districts
369 bordering on either the Grand or Marsamxett Harbours together with the
adjoining residential suburb of St. Julians (1). Outside this urban area, the farming element in the working population increases towards the west and north of Malta, although only in Mġarr does it pass 50 per cent. In Gozo, the scene is notably more 'rural', on the basis of this definition, with six of the 12 census districts having more than half their working population engaged in agriculture.
A survey of parallel information in censuses over the past 100 years shows a
[463] declining farming element along with a diversification of the occupational
structure - especially in those villages regarded as traditional strongholds of agriculture.

This trend to economic diversification has been accompanied by a break away from the former social homogeneity of these rural villages. In fact, economic and social change cannot be considered each in isolation. In Malta, change - in its widest sense - has spread into the countryside from the conurbation. The tempo of this process has accelerated rapidly since the 1939-45 war, which brought town and country together more than ever before and shook the foundations of the cleavage between 'peasant villager' and 'urban townsman', a key feature in the social geography of the Maltese Islands. The appearance of schools, amenities - particularly transport, and a degree of occupational choice, have enabled the countryman to sample a more 'urban' way of life and culture and this has produced a dissatisfaction with rural society as it has been. Maltese countrymen knew they were regarded, as a class, as low in the social scale of urban opinion. They accepted this fatalistically and were in fact able to view

162 The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom
735 9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as
a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the
511 whole population.

369 This pattern of comparatively low living standards in rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the problem with which this Section has been concerned. While
[178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in the Islands the younger generation of the rural community will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present
241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3). The social background to this change is, however, no less important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work, thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and illiterate sections of the farming community this question of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta
619 complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the
829 farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems. In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is allegiance to political parties very significant for person-
[648] ality is more important than party. Historically, this attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

648 desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty
175 years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But
he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of
blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant:
he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval
base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean.
Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the
point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the
naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean
but a vital link in the route to a farther East than
Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither
William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn
on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

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161 At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an
[162] estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls
(exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which
Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to
say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile,
which makes it one of the most densely populated geographical
[167] units in the world. The figure would have been
higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia
161 and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by
619 the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small
for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto
themselves, with their own language, their own traditions,
their own physical characteristics and a history that is one
of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

172 For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and
173 Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days
reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in
other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta
[132] was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

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[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

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[428]
[621]

As the circumstances of land acquisition would indicate, these early holdings were not excessively 'fragmented' but the seeds of later more complex patterns had been set by the lease of non-contiguous properties and the parcellation amongst themselves or with unrelated co-tenants of large tenements newly leased. However, we must remember that, although the male line of the family held no land before c. 1860, this is certainly not true of all the families into which 0's sons and their descendants married. Accordingly, 2's children and the children of later marriages were only partially descended from the landless strain. With the legal right of equality of division of all heritable property regardless of sex, the expectations of later scions would therefore be enhanced. It must also be remembered that all land held by the later descendants of 0, whether acquired by descent through the family, by marriage, new tenancy or purchase, may with equal validity be considered as the land of other families, whose sons and daughters marry into the family which we have chosen to study. It is a valid case of 'gaining a son, not losing a daughter'. In the present (fourth) generation the family is fully integrated into a complex web of relationships within the village. Indeed an informant has remarked that if someone in the village is not related to him, that person must be a stranger and newcomer to the area.

Notwithstanding these considerations, clarity can only be preserved by maintaining the idea of the family as a developing entity in terms of which land is gained, lost or divided. Division is the normal process by which lands may pass in effect into the hands of a single child, though siblings may be entitled to some form of compensation. Division to all the children need not take place at the same time; an elder child may even receive its share while a younger brother is still unborn. In these circumstances, 'shares' cannot be precise, though efforts may be made to re-adjust at a later stage. A share of parental land is normally the first which a young farmer begins to work as his own. If, as is usual, his departure from the family farm was occasioned by marriage, he may also obtain land from his father-in-law, but this is never *his* in the same sense and is only effectively consolidated with the land of his own family when his children, born of that wife, come to work it on their own behalf.

Generation 3

All the brothers of the second generation are now dead, the last having died c. 1936, and their landholdings split up. The pattern of acquisition of land by the third generation is shown in Fig. 139. Family land passed very unevenly to these groups. For example, in group C, although there were seven other children all land came ultimately to the husband of one daughter (3 to 35). Initially the farm was divided amongst the children.

Table 43. Holdings of Generation III: Group C. *Tmien.*

s = son; d = daughter.

	31s	32s	33s	34d	35/36d	37d	38d	Total
Division from parent: 3	⅔	⅔	⅔	⅔	45½	⅔	⅔	49½
Transfers among siblings	-⅔	-⅔	-⅔	-⅔	+4	-⅔	-⅔	4
Total land and max. holding	⅔	⅔	⅔	⅔	49½	⅔	⅔	-
Total land to be passed on	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½
Leasehold	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½

Note: Some of 35's siblings have a little land elsewhere.

In other groups, the demands of each child were more nearly equal, but in none was there a rigid egalitarian sub-division. Even in group B, where all the children received some land, its distribution seems to have been controlled by

[p.vii]

Preface

This study was carried out and written shortly before Malta became an independent nation. Its purpose is to present a descriptive analysis of Maltese village politics. In many respects these are quite unusual, for in Malta, which has been administered as a fortress for the last four centuries, there are no village headmen, mayors or councillors to serve as links between their villages and the central government. But in spite of the highly centralized administration certain activities in the villages do play a part in the decision of both local and national issues, though at first sight they may not seem to be closely connected with politics as this is usually conceived. These are political activities, for as Prof. Lucy Mair has observed, politics is concerned with the ways persons and groups compete to influence the outcome of disputes and community decisions in accordance with their own interests.[1] The central problem can thus be divided into three major parts: first, to explore the relations between competing persons and groups; second, to examine the nature of the issues which concern them and the community; and third, to trace the channels through which they bring influence to bear on those who make the decisions. 121 [621] 121 621 66

After a brief sketch of Malta in time and space, I examine successively the articulation of the State, the Church and the political parties with the villages, the ties of neighbourhood and family, the social composition of the villages, and the basis of leadership. Against this background I show how issues which originate within the Church, and in particular over the cult of saints, affect village social organization. I then look at the effects of disputes arising out of issues of national policy. Finally, I examine the channels of influence open to the villagers. 121

Throughout this study I have been exclusively concerned with describing and analysing the political life of the villages of Malta and Gozo. But it has occasionally been necessary for me to make brief excursions into the field of national politics, for because of Malta's smallness, national political disputes swiftly become issues

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[1] Lucy Mair, *Primitive Government* (London, Penguin Books, 1962), p. 10.

175 the clergy to charge for their services. Finally, he decreed that no
177 foreign power, even the Pope, might interfere in local religious
648 administration.

By these acts, the French attacked values that were at the very
175 foundation of the Maltese social structure. Moreover, the new
government aggravated the discontent by its failure to meet its
648 financial commitments. Less than two months later, the suppressed
669 hostility flared into savage revolt when the authorities
tried to auction off the property of the Carmelite church in Mdina. The citizens rose, massacred the town's garrison and burned their bodies. Then, led by Notary Vitale and Canon Caruana, a powerful cotton merchant who later became Bishop, they penned up the main French force under General Vaubois behind the fortifications of Valletta and the Three Cities. Two years later the French surrendered to the British force which had come to assist the Maltese.

Under British rule, Malta changed from a theocracy ruled by a
175 religious order, to a self-governing colony with an active internal
177 political life. Administrative posts gradually passed to Maltese
64 hands, and today the civil service, apart from a few foreign
69 experts, is completely Maltese. But in spite of a long flirtation with
● [621] various forms of local and regional government, there are still no
village mayors or councillors. The new civic committee in Gozo is an exception which will be discussed in the following chapter. Early in their rule, the British abolished the Università. To appease the wounded dignity of the nobles, they divided Malta into six districts under the nominal authority of Lords Lieutenant, chosen from the nobility. These officers were in charge of civil affairs, and presided over district courts. Each was assisted by syndics, deputies with magisterial powers, who lived in the villages. In 1839, this system of local government was abandoned as inefficient and costly, and district magistrates, also called syndics, were appointed from the class of advocates. Later, the government established district consultative committees to advise it on local needs and to coordinate health measures during epidemics. These committees were only partly successful, and were also abandoned. In 1896 the government finally abolished the office of syndic, and, in the interest of economy, closed the last district courts in 1913. After that, except for the Magistrate's Court in Gozo, the administration of justice remained centralized in Valletta.

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out 647
by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under
the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is
usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the [648]
interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation
from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads
were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants.
Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of
civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers
through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial
labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the government. [464]
They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This [162]
makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands.
Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the
principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open
competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration [621]
required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no
councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to
represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey
the wishes and commands of government to the people.
Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are
located in Valletta. Only the police represent government [625]
authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools [658]
for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most
villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a [744]
day under the supervision of a government District Medical
Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and [205]
branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour.
All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where [364]
it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

the latter's diocese fails to appoint one within eight days; and the 793
right to wear the insignia of his office which mark his superior 795
dignity (the *pallium* and the double cross), throughout his pro- [293]
vince. Moreover, the Archbishop's court functions as a court of
appeal for cases heard in the court of the Bishop of Gozo. In all [698]
other matters, however, the Bishop of Gozo has the same rights as
the Archbishop. These include the right to make certain rules and dispensations for his diocese, to inflict penalties, interdictions and excommunication; and to determine who may be admitted to the priesthood.[1]

Each Bishop is assisted by a number of advisers, who also run the Curia, or administrative headquarters of the diocese. In the Archdiocese of Malta the Curia is under the charge of the Vicar General, who has the title of Titular Bishop. These advisers are for the most part Monsignori, or Canons, of the Cathedral Chapter. The Cathedral Chapter is composed of the priests attached to a cathedral church who advise the Bishop, arrange for a more solemn celebration of divine worship, and, when the See is vacant, provide for the government of the diocese. Though the Archdiocese of Malta has both a Cathedral in Mdina, and a Co-Cathedral in Valletta, there is only one Chapter.

In addition to the Cathedral Chapters in Malta and Gozo, there
are also a number of Collegiate churches. The clergy of a Col-
legiate Church form a Collegiate Chapter, and have the title of
Canons. They perform no special duties in the diocese. The title [554]
of 'Collegiate' is an honour which can only be bestowed upon
a church with Papal sanction. There are Collegiate Chapters in
Senglea, Vittoriosa, Cospicua, Rabat, Birkirkara and Valletta in
Malta, and in Għarb, Nadur and Xagħra in Gozo.

The Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo are divided 621
into 48 and 15 parishes respectively. A parish is the basic social and 794
territorial unit of the Church. Every village in Malta and Gozo is 795
a separate parish, though some towns are divided into two or
more parishes. The limits of a parish are fixed by the Bishop. They often extend several miles beyond the compact villages that are so characteristic of the Maltese countryside. In most rural parishes there are also a few scattered farmsteads. The occupants of these isolated farms normally have houses in the village, to which they

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[1] Cf. William E. Addis and others, 'Archbishop', *A Catholic Dictionary* (16th ed. rev.; London, Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1960), pp. 44 f.

621 move for religious feasts and family celebrations. Sometimes a
number of these farms are clustered around a chapel or small
794 church dependent upon the parish church. In time, these hamlets
795 may disappear; historical sources cite many which have long since
vanished.[1] On the other hand, a hamlet may grow to the point
where its inhabitants can afford to build a larger church and in
other ways successfully press their claim to become a separate
parish. Most rural parishes in Malta and Gozo have come into
632 being in this way. Some towns have been divided into two or
794 more parishes for administrative reasons. In Malta, Qormi and
795 Valletta are each divided into two parishes, and Sliema into three.
[578] Rabat in Gozo is currently being divided into two parishes. But
because of fierce rivalry between the residents of the territories
concerned, the exact boundary line is disputed and the territorial
division will probably take another generation to complete.

79 The parish priest, who in all but the smallest parishes is assisted
by a curate or more, is responsible to the Church for the care of
[609] the souls of all Catholics resident in his parish. Except where
foreign service personnel live with their families – notably in
Rabat, Naxxar, Mosta, St. Paul's Bay, Luqa and Birżebbuġa – all
villagers are Catholic, and are thus the priest's parishioners. These
parishioners also form part of the corporate body of the Church.

793 The clergy in Malta, as in all other Catholic countries, are
divided into two main groups: the secular or diocesan clergy, and
the regular clergy. Diocesan priests are trained in the Bishop's
Seminary and are directly subject to the authority of the Bishop.
A further distinction is made between those diocesan priests whose
families or patrons have been able to provide them with a benefice – either property or cash deposited at the Curia bank – yielding a minimum of £10 annually, and those who have received
their benefices from their Bishop. After the first five years the
former, who are by far the most numerous, are free to serve
where they wish. The latter always remain at the service of their
Bishop. Most parishes are run by diocesan priests, and the clergy
[792] resident in the villages belong to this group. The friars and monks
of the regular clergy are members of religious orders. They have
been trained in the seminaries and houses of their particular orders.

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[1] An interesting study of villages which have disappeared is given in M. Richardson, *Aspects of the Demography of Modern Malta* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1960), pp. 243 ff.

occupations, 52 per cent are service personnel and skilled workers, 463
27 per cent are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and 14 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Just over two-thirds of the total are employed outside the village. The majority of these, as in Farruġ, work in the Grand Harbour industrial area. Those who work in the village are for the most part self-employed. They are farmers, shopkeepers, blacksmiths and carpenters.

In Table No. 1 I have compared the various occupational classes in Kortin and Farruġ to each other and to the national figures.

III

Most villages look very much alike. Their magnificent baroque 361
churches provide a startling contrast to the low, flat-roofed houses grouped tightly around them. As the parish church towers over the village, so it dominates it socially, for the church is in every sense the centre around which the life of the village revolves. In front of the church there is usually a large square, the *misrah* or *pjazza*, which is the social centre of the village. Various village clubs and lay societies, as well as the police station, are situated on the *pjazza*, or just off it, as are the principal wine shops, the
government dispensary and the finest houses of the village. As the [498]
square is usually the terminal point of the local bus line, it is the
point at which most people enter and leave the village. It is also [796]
the stage on which the principal events of village life take place: the annual feast, or *festa*, of the patron saint, the many religious
processions and the occasional political rallies. On Sundays, and [517]
especially during the long summer evenings, the square teems with groups of men, who sit about on steps and benches, talking
and arguing for hours on end. During weekday mornings, it [745]
belongs to the old men of the village, now freed by government
old age pensions from the backbreaking toil in the fields that was [887]
the lot of their forefathers.

Each village is first and foremost a community of neighbours. 621 ●
Even the smallest of them have distinct residential groups, the members of which are in closer contact with each other than with people living in other parts of the village. This is, of course, particularly true of the larger villages. But even in Farruġ, a village of about 1,400, the extremities of the village and the various streets
and alleys form separate neighbourhoods. The many little shops 000

438 The many little shops
443 scattered about the village permit the women to do most of their
512 shopping near their own homes. Because of the long, hot summers
● 621 when food spoils quickly, they shop separately for each meal.
Their shopping trips begin on the way home from the early Mass,
[251] at about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, and continue until
[796] 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus, during the course of a day, a woman may make as many as a dozen trips to the shops as well as to the hawkers who pass through the neighbourhood. These trips are social occasions during which she comes in contact with friends and neighbours from all parts of the village, and in the process hears the village news.

276 The men are out of the village from 6 o'clock or so in the
512 morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, and
517 in the winter from about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock
621 in the evening. But summer or winter, in the late afternoon and
the early evening the men gather in the clubs, wine shops and cafés. Besides the clubs and important cafés in the square, which draw men from all over the village, there are many small neighbourhood wine shops. Most have a regular clientele of friends and neighbours who spend hours together talking, playing cards and drinking tea, soft drinks or wine. Many cafés also have television. Thus, though most inhabitants of a village are in fairly frequent contact with each other, the gossip groups of the women and the wine shops of the men form local social centres which help bind neighbours more closely to one another. These neighbourhoods develop a certain group loyalty.

621 It often happens that some of the neighbourhoods in a town or
794 village are centred on small chapels. In times gone by there used
796 to be a certain amount of good-natured competition between the
youngsters of these districts over the festas of the patron saints of their respective chapels. But, except on rare occasions, this rivalry never threatened the unity of the village during the annual festa of the patron saint of the parish. Frequent removals from house to house within the village have usually helped to prevent the development of disruptive sectional loyalties.

621 Since each village is also a separate parish it is not possible to
[771] consider a village entirely as a secular community. Religion per-
[794] meates the structure of Maltese society to an extent that makes it
quite impossible to classify many institutions as either religious or secular. As a secular community, a village has no official leader, it

owns no land or other property in common and its inhabitants 621
are rarely called upon or choose to work for a common end. At [186]
the same time, villagers are conscious of belonging to a distinct
social entity which is distinguished from other villages by a
collective nickname and a common sub-culture.

Many villages have a dialect quite distinct from that of their 184
neighbours, which the inhabitants, even those who have learned 197
to speak 'correctly' (*bil-pulit*), normally use to each other; 621
although they will invariably address strangers in their school
Maltese. There are also a number of minor variations of certain customs between villages or districts. These may include the way church bells are rung to announce a death or the way some aspects of the festas are organized. Finally, each village has its own very private body of gossip, stories, scandals and jokes, which makes up a part of its history and tradition that is not shared with outsiders.

As a congregation and a religious corporation, the village *qua* 421
parish owns land and other property, including the parish church. 423
It also has an appointed leader in the parish priest. The inhabitants 621
of the village meet regularly for worship, to take part in religious 794
processions and to carry out other devotional activities. Further- 796
more, they act together to celebrate the annual festa of the patron saint, who symbolizes the unity of the secular and religious aspects of the village, for he is patron of both village and parish.

A village can also be regarded as a moral community. That is, 621
people who live there must conform to a certain code of conduct. 626
While the community cannot enforce this code with the type of formal sanctions the police and the Church use to punish infractions of secular and religious laws, public opinion can, and does, exert great pressure for conformity. A person who flouts the canons of convention becomes the object of malicious gossip and, depending on the nature of the offence, he may also become the target of overt hostile action and have his house front splashed with paint, or his front door burned. The only way to escape from the sanctions of public opinion is to move to one of the urban areas or the expanding new suburbs, where licence can be relatively anonymous.

Members of a village thus share a common body of custom and 186
tradition; they also display an intense loyalty to their place of 621
birth. This sense of loyalty is strongest during the annual festa of 796

186 the village, which draws in native sons and daughters from all over
the country, and often from as far away as Canada and Australia.
621 This loyalty is also evident at other times. Villagers like to think of
796 themselves as a united body, and they take care to protect the
appearance of unity before strangers. This is an attitude of which
186 anyone studying the social history of a village becomes keenly
aware. Strangers are thus treated with great reserve. The inhabitants
609 of the smaller villages are well known for their reluctance to
621 give any information about their neighbours to strangers. Inquiring
visitors are often referred to the parish priest, who, as
village spokesman, screens them and, if possible, deals with their
questions. The reserve of a village *vis-à-vis* a stranger is considerably
[627] more than just an expression of village loyalty. Present also
is the very real fear of vengeance should the answer to a stranger's
question lead to some unpleasantness for a neighbour. Social
relations in a small village are to a very considerable extent
governed by the proverb 'Don't make an enemy of your neighbour'
(*Taghmilx ghadu lil ġarek*).

628 In view of this loyalty, it is not surprising that people express
their solidarity with their native village by opposition to other
villages. A village's traditional rivals are usually those with which
it has the most frequent contact. I was almost invariably warned
by villagers that the inhabitants of the neighbouring village were
a treacherous and savage lot. There are many tales of hostility
between neighbouring villages, especially over the celebration of
the annual festa, which I dare say have lost nothing in retelling. I
was told a number of stories of how youths stampeded goats
through their rivals' festa processions, and of expeditions which
stole fireworks, attacked street decorations and performed other
daring escapades. Although most of these adventures are said to
have taken place many years ago, they are no more unusual than
some of the incidents that I witnessed.

[178] If the intense inter-village rivalry of former times has abated
somewhat, it is probably because increased education and contact
outside the villages have helped to break down ignorance and
[796] isolation. But this rivalry still lies dormant, and may flare up at the
526 slightest provocation from a traditional rival; I have seen a number
of fights over trivial incidents during festas and football
[112] matches. The number of police at village feasts and the quantity
and density of the barbed-wire entanglements at the Schreiber

Stadium, where most village football matches are played, are in 628
themselves evidence that fights during these occasions are the rule [526]
rather than the exception. [712]

Although there is little formal contact between villages, there
is a considerable amount of informal coming and going between
their inhabitants. Most inter-village marriages are between partners [582]
from neighbouring villages, and the network of kin ties that
these form helps to bind the villages of a district together. Inhabitants
of neighbouring villages travel to and from work on the
same buses, and see each other often at the annual feasts of the
district. These multiple relations contribute to a certain district
spirit. The most striking example is the unity of the Gozitans,
although people from the south of Malta have something of the
same spirit of belonging to a particular district. Nonetheless, the
knowledge the inhabitants of the southern Maltese villages have
of each other cannot be compared to that of the Gozitans, who,
for the most part, not only recognize each other by face, name and
nickname, but usually know a surprising (and often uncomfortable)
amount of personal details about one another.

IV

A person becomes a member of a village by being born there, or 217
marrying or moving into it. The administrative details connected 591
with these acts are quite simple. Parents must register the birth of [621]
a child at the local police station, and the parish priest enters the [851]
child's name in his register when the baby is baptized, which
usually takes place within a few days of its birth. If a man marries
into a village, his name will be entered in the parish register, for
under Church law the marriage must be performed by the parish
priest of the bride, or his delegate. If the couple settles in the
husband's village or in a strange village, their names will be
recorded on the annual census there, the *status animarum*, which
every parish priest prepares for his bishop. All changes of address
are supposed to be given (but often are not) to the Rationing
Office and, if the person is over twenty-one, to the Electoral
Office. No other civil authorities are interested in a person's
whereabouts.

In point of fact, however, most people live in the villages into 369
which they were born. This is another respect in which the towns 591

369 differ from the villages. While only about sixteen per cent of the
591 adult population of an average Maltese village is not native born,
approximately two-thirds of the adults residing in the urban and
suburban areas were born outside the communities in which they
now live (see Table 2 below).

591 There is no rule of village endogamy or exogamy, and a bride and groom are free to choose where they wish to live and set up their household. The choice of residence is normally governed by available housing, place of work and the relative strength of the bride's and groom's ties with their respective families and villages. But in case of a conflict of interest, a wife is expected to follow the wishes of her husband. If housing is available in both the village of the wife and that of her husband, and the husband's place of work is in neither, there is a tendency for the couple to live in the wife's village. The Maltese themselves acknowledge that, all other things being equal, the ties between a wife and her family are stronger than those between her husband and his kin.

162 Thus in Farruġ and Kortin, I found that approximately half the
591 couples had married and settled within their respective villages.
Less than one in twenty (4 per cent) of the couples were strangers
who had moved there because of the shortage of housing in their
own villages; and all of these had relatives already living in the
two villages. The outsiders who married or moved into Farruġ
and Kortin formed one-fifth (21 per cent) of the adult population,
or about 10 per cent of the total population of each. In slightly
591 over half (56 per cent) the marriages between people from these
[184] two villages and other villages, the husband settled in his wife's
village. This is the general trend in Malta, where most men work
[369] outside their villages. In Gozo, where farming is the chief occupation, it is more usual for a woman to move to her husband's village, for that is his place of work. People from the towns who marry villagers are reluctant to move into the villages, and it is therefore fairly common to find villagers, especially women, moving to join their spouses in the towns.

The general principles regarding marriage residence are reflected in Table 2.

591 The number of outsiders resident in a village is an important
factor governing the degree to which its inhabitants consider
● 621 themselves a corporate group. As outsiders always retain strong
links with their place of birth, the solidarity of a village is inversely

proportional to the number of outsiders resident in it. Not only 591
does loyalty to friends and relations in a man's village of birth 621
often take precedence over new ties established by his marriage into a strange village, but it is not unusual for a man married into another village to continue to play an active part in the social life of his native village. Conversely, an outsider is seldom called upon or attempts to join the clubs and associations of his wife's village. Thus, only 3 per cent of the committee members of the fifteen band and social clubs in the sample villages I studied were outsiders, although about 18 per cent of the adult male population resident in these villages were born elsewhere. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the committee members were now living outside the villages in which they were born and hold office.

TABLE 2. Adults Born Outside their Place of Residence[1] [162]

Place of Residence	*Percentage born elsewhere*	*Males*	*Females*
Urban/Suburban	66%	45%	55%
Maltese Villages	16	52	48
Gozitan Villages	15	39	61

Because of the many ties which bind people to their villages of birth, an adult who moves into his wife's village remains an outsider for many years. The village will probably not give him a [551]
distinctive village nickname, and he will be known simply as the husband of his wife, or perhaps by the name of his native village. Although the village may ignore his outside origin for much of the time, his place of birth is certain to be remembered and held against him by his enemies, should be become involved in a dispute. The children of an outsider, however, become full [851]
members of the village by virtue of their birth there, and their connection with the community through the family of their mother (or father). By the time his children begin to grow up and get married, the outsider is usually firmly established as a full member of the community.

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[1] This table was compiled from data made available to me by the Principal Government Electoral Officer. It covers a random sample drawn from a sample of two suburban [103] [127]
communities (Sliema and Balzan), seven Maltese villages (Żebbuġ, Gharghur, Gudja, Mosta, Qrendi, Dingli and Żurrieq) and three Gozitan villages (Qala, Xaghra and Gharb).

persons with political or economic influence. Once a kin relationship 602 is made known, it establishes a special tie between the two parties, and preferential treatment often follows; for kin are expected to help each other.

The ties of kinship can also be extended artificially by asking 608 non-kin to become godparents or marriage witnesses. Although parents normally choose persons to fill these offices from among their parents, uncles and aunts, thus reinforcing already existing kin ties, they quite often ask influential non-kin to perform this function. While the obligations created by godparenthood in [601] Malta, as in Italy, are not as demanding as they are in Spain, and [171] Spanish America,[1] the godparent (*parrinu*) is expected to favour his godchild (*filjozz*), if not the child's father.[2] Thus the institution of godparenthood plays a part in the system of patronage. Influential persons, however, are more often asked to become marriage witnesses. This relationship is not enduring. When [557] influential non-kin are asked to fill this office it is done as much to increase the prestige of the families of the couple getting married as it is to honour a patron.

There is constant informal contact between relatives living in 602 the same village. These informal meetings strengthen kin ties and ensure that people have a wide knowledge of their kin. Thus a friend in Farrug was able to name 49 households in the village (20 per cent of the total) whose members were descended from his father's six siblings. Although the spread of this old man's family was unusual, no one in the village did not have some relatives living there. The many cross-cutting bonds of kinship [621] thus reinforce the multiplex ties created by neighbourhood, common culture and shared devotion to common symbols, and bind together the inhabitants of a village into the tightly united community which outsiders see.

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[1] See Gallatin Anderson, *A Survey of Italian God-parenthood* (The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 15; Berkeley, 1956). J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954), pp. 107 f.; and Sidney W. Mintz and Eric R. Wolf, 'An Analysis of Ritual Co-parenthood (Compadrazgo),' *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI (1950), 341–68. [113]

[2] The reciprocal term *xbin* is used between a godparent and the father of his godchild. Friends and even strangers often use it to address one another; it is a way of reducing social distance and making possible a more intimate association. Michael Kenny in his book, *A Spanish Tapestry* (London, Cohen and West, 1961), p. 72, notes that this is also an Andalusian custom.

CHAPTER IV

The Basis of Leadership

621 The Maltese word for leader, *mexxej*, is seldom heard, and then
[192] only in reference to the leader of a political party. I once asked a
parish priest who were the leaders of the village. He laughed and
[622] replied that there weren't any, because his parishioners did not like
[551] leaders. With the exception of the professionals and *il-puliti* from
the towns, all the inhabitants of a village usually call one another
by their Christian names and in general look upon each other as
equals. This egalitarian outlook is compounded of many factors,
of which the most important are similar occupation, standard of
living and values, the detailed knowledge of each other's personal
lives that comes with residence in a face-to-face community, and
jealousy. Any person who attempts to lead or to try to start
178 something new – such as a village playground – is derided. His
578 true motive is seen as self aggrandizement and his enemies and
621 envious neighbours are quick to point this out to others who may
[539] not have realized it. 'Envy follows the wise man like his shadow'
(*L-ghira titrot wara l-gharef bhal dellu mieghu*), goes the Maltese
[609] proverb. Professionals and outsiders, especially if they are from
the town, are occasionally able to start something new. Their
social distance from most of the community protects them from
the full impact of the envy and gossip which moulds so much of
village life.

But in spite of the absence of official lay leaders and the con-
554 servative pressure of envy and gossip, there are a number of
621 persons who have a greater say than others in the affairs of the
793 community. They are able to do this by virtue of their social
position, their occupation or office in one of the village associations
or their influence with the parish priest. These persons,
together with the parish priest, form the aggregate which can be
[192] said to run the affairs of the community. While there is no generic
term for this aggregate, those who compose it are sometimes
referred to as *il-kbarat*, 'the big ones', or more derogatively as

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ir-rjus il-kbar, 'the big heads'. But if asked, a person will often 554
deny that such persons exist, and reply, 'Here we are all the same; 621 ●
we are all from the village'. 793

II

The authority of the State is represented by the police, who are 625
formally responsible for law and order. Each village has a police station manned by a small contingent of constables under a sergeant. Several villages make up a police district under an inspector. In Malta most policemen live outside the villages in which they work. But it is usual for Gozitan constables stationed in Malta to be quartered in the police stations to which they are assigned.

In addition to their official duties of law enforcement, the police [659]
distribute voting certificates, help conduct censuses and give out [657]
the allotments of free food to old age pensioners and people on relief.[1] They also perform many favours for local residents. They help people fill out government forms, and occasionally allow the
station telephone to be used for private calls. They are sometimes 625
able to mediate in local disputes. Disputants very often report each 627.
other for insults, threats or some minor infraction of the law – throwing waste water and rubbish in the street is one of the most common – thus hoping to strangle their enemies in its due process. The police constable on duty is often able to reconcile the disputants and persuade them to withdraw the charges and counter-charges.

In general, the punitive role that the police are occasionally 625
forced to play is offset by their role as distributors of government assistance and by their general helpfulness. District inspectors try to avoid personal relations with the people in their districts since they must prosecute all criminal cases, and personal ties might prove awkward. Sergeants and constables, on the other hand, normally maintain friendly social contact with the local inhabitants. They are often invited for drinks during feasts and weddings, and quite a number marry local girls. The Maltese police thus play

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[1] The government has distributed surplus U.S. agricultural products to different groups of needy people since 1956. This food was first secured through the Co-operative for American Relief to Everywhere, Inc. (C.A.R.E., Inc.) and more recently through the Catholic Relief Services of America. The Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare, not the police, selects the beneficiaries.

Partly because of the temporary nature of their assignments, but 554
also because they are usually city-bred, they generally keep 759
themselves aloof from the people amongst whom they work.
With but few exceptions, they take little or no part in the social
life of the communities to which they are assigned. But they are
nevertheless respected figures. Where they are tolerant of village
customs, not too mercenary, and take a patronal interest in the
personal problems of their clients, they will have, in addition to
prestige, a large personal following. This has enabled a number of
former District Medical Officers to stand successfully for elected
office.

School teachers are another group of people with high pres- 554
tige. Every village and almost every hamlet in Malta and Gozo
now has a government school. Headmasters usually live outside 875
the villages in which they work. They begin their careers in the
small rural villages and move into the larger and more important
schools as they gain experience and seniority. They are rarely in a 554
village long enough to be asked to take part in its social life. 575
Village-born teachers, on the other hand, normally teach in their 875.
home villages, where they often occupy important offices in the
associations. But even where he no longer resides in his place of
birth the teacher or headmaster, as a village son with high pres-
tige, is often asked to take an active part in its social life. The
president of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ, for example, is
headmaster of the primary school in a neighbouring village, where
he has lived since he married there more than forty years ago. He
has been a member of the club's committee for most of that time,
and its president for the last twenty years. Until two years ago he [794]
was also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Roque.

VI

The structure of authority in the villages of Malta and Gozo, 621
because of the importance of offices and associations which are 795
either focused on or articulated with the Church, bears a certain
superficial resemblance to the civil/religious hierarchy which has
been described in Mexican villages.[1] But it differs significantly;
it is neither a hierarchy, nor is it formally related to the structure
of government.

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[1] See, for instance, Fernando Camara, 'Religious and Political Organization', in *Heritage of Conquest*, Sol Tax, ed. (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), *passim*. [113]

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621 of government. While the parish priest in Malta is the official
village representative of the Church and has authority to act for
625 it on most matters, the police represent only the law enforcement
793 function of government; all other functions and services of
government are administered from Valletta. In this respect the
villages of Malta are unique.

463 On the other hand, there is a relation between social status and
the functional requirements of the authority system. In any given
554 community, the people with the highest status usually fill the
most important offices, since such offices require the standing,
skills and contacts which they possess. There is thus a rough
grading of office holders in terms of their social status and the
463 authority and prestige attached to their offices. Upward mobility
554 through this structure is usually dependent upon factors such as
555 education and occupation rather than on having held other, and
less important, offices. Once a person has become the president of
his local band club, in other words has attained the highest secular
office in the village, and has a social status which commands
respect outside, he may be elected to political office.

CHAPTER VI

Festa Partiti

578 Village unity is an ideal, and all villages try to present a tightly
united front to the outside world. In spite of this, all are divided
621 internally by cleavages which cut across the community at various
levels. Some of these divisions are only temporary, and disappear
when the issues out of which they have arisen are resolved. Others,
which may have arisen out of temporary issues, have for one
reason or another become a permanent part of the social scene.
But regardless of their origin or duration, these divisions are painfully real to the villagers. Persons made vulnerable through a network of personal relations are often forced to commit themselves
to a particular division. In doing so, they become opposed to
neighbours and kinsmen who are committed to the other side.
[602] This is one of the characteristics of life in all small villages. It is
particularly true of communities, such as those in Malta, in which
the inhabitants are closely related through kinship and affinity.

192 The Maltese call these divisions *partiti* (sing., *partit*). The term
578 thus corresponds not only to groups of the order which we in
English would call 'parties', but also to those to which we would
621 apply the term 'factions'. Political parties are called partiti, and
[665] so are rival groups such as the two in Kortin which competed over
[794] the rebuilding of the church. Partiti are said to have *pika* between
them. *Pika* denotes relations of competition, ill-feeling, hostility.
There is little about the word which suggests the good-natured
competition that can exist between rival school football or cricket
teams. On the contrary, if there is *pika* between two groups, a
no-holds-barred competition is expected. Partiti are thus considered to be a bad thing. They disrupt the harmony of the community and make it more difficult to project the ideal image of
village unity to the outside world.

575 The oldest permanent division that exists in the villages is
578 between the supporters of rival band clubs. This division is related
621 to the cult of saints. In the previous chapter it was noted that
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besides the patron saint, parishes celebrate many other saints. The 575
feasts of these secondary saints are normally not as lavish as the 578
annual festa of the patron. But many villages celebrate two large 621
festas: one for the titular saint of the parish, and the other for a 794
secondary saint who has assumed almost equal social importance. 796
Where this occurs, a village is divided into two partiti, each of
which has its own band club and celebrates one of the saints. The
partiti compete over almost every aspect of the festa, including the
decoration of the streets, the adornment of the statue, the number
of guest bands and, above all, the fireworks. Even the exact number of communicants, the size of candles and the quantity of light
bulbs illuminating the façade of the church often become the
subject of dispute. Farruġ is divided by this type of rivalry. One
partit is dedicated to St. Martin, the titular of the parish, the other
to St. Roque.

The origins of these festa partiti, where they can be traced, are 17
very much alike. Most of them came into existence sometime 578
between 1850 and the turn of the century, and most arose out of 621
disputes between persons concerned with the celebration of the 796
titular festa and those interested in the cult of some lesser saint. [794]
The latter were usually members of the confraternity dedicated to [575]
that saint.[1] These factions in time became centred on separate
social clubs, and eventually acquired brass bands. The clubs provided a permanent institutional basis for the rivalry. As time went
on, the partiti became more violent in their disputes and in the
pressure they put upon individuals to support them. Finally in 578
1935, the Church, long alarmed at the extremes to which the 621
devotion to some saints had been carried in certain villages, took 79
steps to eliminate the competition. It promulgated a series of
regulations designed to reduce the scale on which secondary feasts [575]
could be celebrated. These stipulated that for secondary feasts there
was to be no Translation of Holy Relics on the eve of the feast,
that only the church and the area immediately adjacent to it could

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[1] Cf. Rob. Mifsud Bonnici, *Ġrajja Tal-Mużika F'Malta u Għawdex* (Malta, Giov. [113]
Muscat, 1954), pp. 38 f. He suggests that these partiti developed out of a dispute between [114]
persons who wanted to play sacred music by the Maltese composer Vinċenzo Bugeja
(1806–60) and those who preferred that of his rival, Paolo Nani (1814–1904). As far as [575]
I could determine, however, the only partiti which arose directly out of this dispute
are those in Żebbuġ. On the other hand, many rival partiti, once established, played the
music of either Bugeja or Nani during their feasts. The former took a star as their symbol,
the latter an eagle. Today partiti in many villages are still nicknamed either *tal-istilla* or
tal-ajkla after this once-important division.

578 be illuminated and that only one band on the eve and one on the
621 day of the feast would be allowed. Although they are now
79 ignored, the regulations also placed limits upon the variety,
[575] quantity and duration of firework displays. Finally, they drew attention to the already existing regulations that church decorations and new works of art introduced for secondary feasts should be less costly and beautiful than those for titular feasts.[1]

Parish priests were expected to insist on the observance of these regulations, and they succeeded so well that some secondary feasts were reduced to minor celebrations. Moreover, the *pika* between the partiti in Żabbar and Qrendi was so violent that the secondary feasts there were suppressed completely.[2] This served as a stern warning to others.

II

175 The story of the origin and development of the festa partiti in
621 Farruġ is in many respects similar to the accounts which I col-
79 lected about festa partiti in other villages. It might, therefore, be helpful to examine it in some detail. Before 1877 there were no festa partiti in the village; everyone co-operated in the celebration of the feast of St. Martin, the patron of the parish. By all accounts it was a humble one, and lasted only one day. This period is described as an idyllic time during which the village was happy and united. But in 1876 a new parish priest arrived, and after that the scene began to change. Dun Rokku, the new priest, not only had a strong personal devotion to the saint after whom he had been named, but he was also from a village where there was a strong secondary partit devoted to St. Roque. Within a year he established a confraternity dedicated to St. Roque in order to 'inject some more life into this rural parish', according to the president of the St. Roque Band Club. The first feast in honour of St. Roque was celebrated in October 1878 to mark the establishment of the confraternity. Although the new secondary feast was at first a simple affair, it and the titular feast grew during the next few years.

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[1] Concilium Regionale Melitense (1935), *Decreta* (Malta, Empire Press, 1936), p. 91.

[178] [2] In Żabbar the devotion to St. Michael, the secondary patron, died out almost completely, though the *pika* between the bands has persisted. But in Qrendi the devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes, the secondary patron, has continued as strong as ever. In 1958 the Archbishop reinstated the confraternity dedicated to her, which his predecessor suppressed in 1935, but the partit band is still not allowed to play for her feast.

few years. In 1880 the new confraternity dedicated an altar in the 175
church to its patron, and by 1886 some persons were beginning 578
to grumble about having to pay for another feast. There was a 621
feeling of 'you collect for your feast, and we'll collect for ours.' 79

In 1888 an incident occurred which changed the course of the
rivalry between the supporters of the two saints, which until then
appears to have been rather mild. Dun Rokku, who was the procurator [427]
of the parish church, tried to increase the rent on some of the local property it owned. There was an outcry, and some persons went to the Bishop to complain that not only had Dun Rokku been diverting parish funds to buy new street decorations for the feast of St. Roque, but he was also raising rents to continue this work. The complaints resulted in an investigation, following which the procura of the church was taken from Dun Rokku and given to a prominent member of the village, who favoured St. Martin. This action, not surprisingly, infuriated Dun Rokku. From that day onward, so the accounts relate, he threw his full support openly behind the feast of St. Roque.

Some time after this, the partiti each formed their own social 175
clubs. According to St. Martin supporters, their club grew out of 575
a pre-existing band club, but that of their rivals was not established
until after the First World War. They thus consider that 621
they have seniority. St. Roque partisans, on the other hand, deny this seniority. They maintain that both clubs came into being out of the former club around the turn of the century. Consequently they have equal seniority. However, both clubs claim that the records crucial to the question of seniority were destroyed by enemy action during the last war. There is thus no documentary evidence for either claim, a fact which makes for deadlock whenever the issue of seniority is raised.

Dun Rokku was a strongminded priest, and he ruled the village 578
for fifty-six years. When he finally died in 1932 at the age of 90, he 621
was blind and deaf. During his many years in the parish he did 79
much to beautify the church. Unfortunately, so people recount, he also introduced the hated partiti that divided the village. Through a variety of means at the disposal of a parish priest, he succeeded in wooing or coercing three-fourths of the village into his partit. There are many stories about the old man and the methods he used to recruit supporters. One is that he would make it difficult for people to marry unless they were, or became, members of the

578 Confraternity of St. Roque. Unfortunately, at this point, it is not
621 possible to distinguish fact from myth. The tales are accepted as
79 reality, and so help to formulate the attitude of St. Martin supporters toward their rivals. However, when the old priest died, it was discovered that most of the festal finery of the parish church had been purchased in the name of the Confraternity of St. Roque. St. Martin supporters were in the humiliating position of having to beg their rivals for the use of the church valuables in order to decorate the church for the feast of the parish patron. Moreover, while the old priest had controlled the celebration of St. Martin, he had allowed the lay leaders of the St. Roque partit a free hand in planning their feast.

At this time the St. Martin club was split over national politics,
578 and a faction composed of Strickland supporters left and founded
621 a new club. Though both clubs remained loyal to St. Martin,
665 there was trouble between them. Older St. Roque partisans recount with amusement how a report to the police by the secretary of the parent club resulted in twenty members of the new club being arrested and fined for gambling. But the hostility between these two factions declined when Strickland made his peace with the Church, and in 1934 they reunited.

The burden of redressing the balance between the partiti fell
578 upon the old priest's successor, and upon those who followed him.
621 There were many incidents between these priests and the St.
783 Roque partit, and on several occasions the former had to send for
784 police protection. In spite of the 1935 regulations, the St. Roque partit retained its numerical superiority as well as the church decorations during the 'thirties. It was not until 1942 that a shrewd parish priest succeeded in bringing the silver altar front out of the St. Roque strongroom into that of the parish church, where it has remained ever since.

The rivalry between the partiti lay dormant during the Second World War, as the people united to fight for survival. But it flared up again immediately after the war, as did similar rivalry in other villages. Both clubs organized musical bands for the first time. After a series of incidents which culminated in the parish priest again having to send for police protection, this time against angry St. Martin supporters, the rivalry began to decline somewhat. This decline was brought about chiefly by the effects of emigration, improvements in local transport, the establishment of a number

578 621

of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 793
political parties. 794

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro- 794
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the con-
fraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are mem-
bers neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

575 these groups is the loyalty of the people to the partit and its patron,
shown by supporting the many activities that the leaders organ-
621 ize, and by boycotting similar activities of their rivals. These
794 include fund-raising lotteries and fairs, weekly collections and
796 partit picnics and pilgrimages. During the festa, supporters march
with the statue, dress themselves and their houses up and in
general celebrate their patron. Their rivals often walk about un-
shaven and glowering, and do not normally decorate their houses.

Although most people in a village divided by this type of
578 rivalry will choose, or be forced, to take sides, a few are able to
621 avoid this commitment, or at least say they have. These are often
priests and teachers, who sometimes find it to their advantage to
794 remain neutral, as do outsiders who have married into the village.
796 MUSEUM members are not permitted to maintain partit affiliation
though, of course, many do. Neutral people contribute to both
feasts. A true partisan would never contribute to the external feast
of his rival, although he might give something to the parish
priest for the internal feast. During periods of intense rivalry, even
these contributions cease. Thus, virtually the entire £1,465 which
St. Martin's centenary cost was contributed by his supporters
alone. Six months later their rivals spent £600 on the feast of St.
Roque.

The band club is the organizational and social centre of a partit.
575 All members of the club are supporters of the partit, but not all
621 supporters of the partit are members of the club, though non-
members are normally welcome to come and use its facilities. To
a certain extent, membership of the club depends upon the avail-
ability of ready cash, for many men are reluctant to part with the
subscription fee as long as they can make use of the club's prem-
ises. Though the confraternities are open to all adults without
621 regard to partit affiliation, there is normally a positive correlation
794 between partit and confraternity membership. Generally speak-
ing, the supporters of the titular feast enrol in the older con-
fraternities of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary. These
confraternities are established in all parishes, and play an important
part in many religious ceremonies. Supporters of the secondary
patron enrol in the confraternity dedicated to him, if they feel
inclined to join one.

162 These general principles can be illustrated by data collected in
621 Farruġ. Table No. 4 below shows the relative strengths of the two

partiti. Of the 617 inhabitants of both sexes over twenty-one 162
years old, 48 per cent support St. Martin, 42 per cent St. Roque, 621
and 10 per cent are uncommitted. Although the numerical strength of the partiti is almost the same, each claims two-thirds of the total population. Of those who claim to be neutral, 63 per cent were born outside the village.

TABLE 4. Farruġ: Festa Partit Affiliation and Place of Birth

PARTIT	PLACE OF BIRTH *Village*	*Outside*	*Total*	*Percentage*
St. Martin	250	47	297	48
St. Roque	219	42	261	42
Uncommitted	22	37	59	10
Total	491	126	617	100

Table 5 shows the relation between partit affiliation and mem- 162
bership in one of the three confraternities in Farruġ. Of the mem-
bers of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary who belong 621
to no other confraternity 84 and 64 per cent respectively belong 794
to the St. Martin partit. Ninety-five per cent of the members of the Confraternity of St. Roque belong to his partit. It is interesting to observe that 83 per cent of those who declare that they are not committed to either partit have also avoided confraternity membership.

TABLE 5. Farruġ: Festa Partit Affiliation and Confraternity Membership

CONFRATERNITY	PARTIT *St. Martin*	*St. Roque*	*None*	*Total*
B/Sacrament	57	8	3	68
St. Roque	5	87	-	92
Holy Rosary	20	8	5	33
Mixed	24	23	2	49
None	191	135	49	375
Total	297	261	59	617

Recruitment to a partit is quite straightforward, for members do 621
not now change sides, although this occasionally occurred in the generation following their establishment. Today a person is either born into a partit, or marries into it. Children support the partit of their parents, and an outsider marrying into the village generally supports that of his (or her) spouse. Marriages between

Marriages between

621 members of rival partiti are regarded as undesirable. They occa-
[582] sionally take place, but the division of loyalty within the nuclear
[586] family which results often leads to quarrels and, occasionally, to
[593] temporary separations. (The favourite festa-time story of the wife
who refuses to cook for her husband because he belongs to the
[538] other partit is based on fact!) Of the marriages contracted within
Farruġ, 72 per cent took place between members of the same partit. Children of mixed marriages support the feast of their favourite parent: boys normally follow their fathers and girls their mothers.

I recorded only two cases in Farruġ of adults who changed
578- their partit affiliation. Both occurred over fifty years ago. A lead-
621 ing member of the St. Roque partit left it after a heated quarrel
with Dun Rokku over the design for new street decorations. He subsequently became one of the other partit's most honoured members, and even wrote a book on the life of St. Martin. The second man left St. Roque when he married the daughter of the president of the St. Martin club. I was told that the girl's father had insisted on the change before he gave his consent to the marriage. The young man went on to become president of the club, as did his only son. In another village a few young men left their partit after a quarrel with one of the leaders, but all returned after a year.

621 Although an outsider who marries into a village generally sup-
ports the partit of his spouse, a few of them, particularly the men, succeed in remaining neutral. Of the 122 outsiders who married into Farruġ,[1] 28 per cent of the men but only 8 per cent of the women remained uncommitted. A few even chose to support partiti opposed to those of their spouses. Thus a women from Qrendi who married a St. Martin supporter and moved to Farruġ became a follower of St. Roque because she had been a keen member of the secondary partit in her native village. Children of families in which one of the parents is an outsider, especially if the parent remains neutral, often support the partit of their friends rather than those of their parents or siblings. A case in point is that of the president of the St. Roque club, and his brother. Their father was an outsider who, because of his position as headmaster, made a point of remaining strictly neutral. Though his wife was from a St. Martin family, one son supported St. Martin, the other St. Roque.

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[162] [1] 61 men and 61 women. These marriages represent 54 per cent of the total in the village.

Children begin to express partit affiliation when they are between twelve and fourteen years old. 621 At this age they are old enough to follow the processions and take part in the demonstrations 794 on their own. 883 Fund raisers make demands on them, and they are asked to help decorate the streets. At this age they also begin to play in the band. [533] A youngster would jeopardize his social standing with his elders and with his age mates if he failed to take [882] a firm position with regard to one of the saints. This would remove him from much of the community's social life. Consequently, by the time a village boy has reached fifteen, he has usually selected his partit, thus accepting and becoming part of the fabric of partit rivalry which will hold him until he dies or leaves the village.

There is some relation between occupational class and partit 463 affiliation: in general, the supporters of titular saints belong to a 621 higher occupational class than their rivals. The reason for this will be discussed a little later. The data I gathered in Farruġ illustrate this correlation clearly. As shown in Table No. 6 below, 83 per cent of the village's professional and white-collar workers belong to the St. Martin partit, while only 38 per cent of those engaged in agriculture do so.

TABLE 6. Farruġ: Partit Affiliation and Occupational Class

OCCUPATION			PARTIT AFFILIATION	
	Number	*Percentage of Lab. Force*	*St. Martin*	*St. Roque*
Professional and clerical	12	4	83%	17%
Service and skilled	115	39	55	45
Semi- and unskilled	124	42	48	52
Agricultural	45	15	38	62
Total	296	100		

So much for the origin and social composition of the partiti. I 361 may just observe here that festa partiti are not usually based on 621 territorial divisions. Since upward mobility does not involve [555] change of partit, but is often accompanied by a change of residence, all residential areas are mixed. Nonetheless, there is a tendency for supporters of the titular partiti to live in the better residential area near the church, and for their rivals to live in the poorer sections more remote from the central square. This is a reflection of the differing occupational class of the members. This

361 residence pattern is certainly true in Farruġ, and I observed much
● 621 the same thing in other villages divided by festa partiti. In Farruġ,
65 per cent of the people living on the main square and the four
streets leading into it supported St. Martin, but only 46 per cent
of those living in other parts of the village did so.

578 Disputes between partiti usually concern matters of precedence
or their ability to display devotion to their saints. Each partit has
621 certain rights, usually secured at the cost of clashes with its rival.
[575] These include the position and participation of the club and con-
[794] fraternity in Church processions and at other functions, the routes
over which these processions travel and the possession of certain
[626] property and its display in the parish church. Any attempt to
extend or reduce them is resisted by the partit affected, which
takes action to protect its interests by trying to influence the
Church authorities, who must make the final decisions.

The structural position of a partit determines the kind of
621 pressure that it can bring to bear upon the Church. Those of
626 titular saints are, in a sense, the establishment parties. As we have
794 seen, the Church seeks to build up their celebrations at the
796 expense of the secondary ones. Hence a titular partit can negotiate
from a strong position: its ultimate sanction is refusal to participate
in the feast of the village patron, an event which the Church is
anxious to see celebrated with great pomp. Secondary partiti, on
the other hand, are inherently opposed to the Church in matters
of festa policy. They try to increase the scale of their feasts, while
the Church tries to reduce them. They dare not cancel their feasts
for fear that the Church would accuse them of making trouble
and suppress them, as it did the secondary festas of Our Lady of
Lourdes in Qrendi, and St. Michael in Żabbar.

621 Their position in opposition to Church policy has given most
626 secondary partiti a certain *esprit de corps* and unity of purpose that
their rivals often lack. This has made them better able to with-
665 stand the divisive effects of the political factions which have
794 recently weakened many of their rivals. It has also generally
resulted in the emergence of stronger leaders. Secondary partiti
are often united around a single professional class leader who can
not only hold the partit together in the face of the attacks of its
opponents, but can also argue intricate points of Canon Law with
the monsignori at the Curia and, at times, with the Archbishop
621 himself. As we have observed, the secondary partiti generally have

fewer professional class members. Consequently competition for 621
the role of leader does not occur so often, and there is a longer
tenure of office. In the partit of a titular saint, with its better-
educated members, there are more men with the necessary qualities
of leadership, and accordingly more competition for office
and a high turnover of office holders. The competition both [578]
creates and results from internal factions which weaken the group.
In Farrug, for example, the President of the St. Roque Band Club 575
has led the St. Roque partit more or less continuously since Dun 621
Rokku died thirty years ago. He is also just about the only member
of the partit with the educational qualifications and social
position required of a leader. The key positions of the St. Martin
Band Club, in contrast, constantly pass between about half a
dozen educated persons. This divided leadership has weakened the
club; and on one occasion it even split in two. The strong leadership
and internal unity of the secondary partiti, plus the fact that
they rarely present claims that are not well founded, has enabled
them to score many successes in spite of their apparently unfavourable
position in relation to the Church.

Disputes between festa partiti are all very much alike. A typical 578
dispute begins when leaders of a secondary partit petition the 621
parish priest for some new privilege, for example the right to
renew the bouquets of artificial flowers which adorn the statue of 793
their saint. The parish priest normally refuses at first, and tells 794
them that he thinks the old flowers are quite serviceable. His policy
is to let sleeping dogs lie. Moreover, he has to take into account
the rule that decorations for secondary feasts must not be more
beautiful than those for titular ones. But the saint's supporters
continue to bring influence to bear on him. In the meantime,
members of the titular partit have learned of their rivals' move
and rush to the parish priest to point out that the old flowers are
more than adequate. They threaten to cancel their feast if he [626]
gives in on this matter. The priest is now caught in a vice, and the
pressure on him builds up. Finally, he agrees to refer the whole
case to the Curia and passes the matter upwards, usually with a
feeling of relief. Relations between him and the partiti return to
normal, as the scene of the struggle shifts to the Curia.

The Curia normally appoints experts to re-investigate the
merits of the case, including the proposed design of the flowers.
Leaders from both partiti spend a great deal of their time at the

578 Curia trying to persuade all concerned, from the Bishop down, to
think the way they do. This may go on for years, for the Curia,
621 knowing the trouble that lies ahead, is usually in no hurry to give
793 its decision. When the final decision is handed down, it is usually
794 favourable, and the design for a set of flowers less beautiful and
costly than the corresponding set of the titular partit is furnished. The secondary partit then instructs the craftsmen to begin work. The titular partit announces to everyone that it will cancel its next feast.

It often happens, however, that just before the new bouquets (or whatever *objets d'art* are concerned) are inaugurated during the secondary festa, the parish priest discovers that most of the Curia's specifications have been ignored. The new flowers are far more beautiful than they were supposed to be. He is furious. The guilty leaders of the secondary partit apologize profusely and take immediate steps to make them less beautiful. Occasionally, the priest may discipline the partit by temporarily reducing the scale of its feast. The secondary partit then holds its feast, and the flowers are admired by all visitors. Strong police reinforcements usually prevent trouble from occurring. Relations between the parish priest and the titular partit are gradually re-established and it agrees, usually for some concessions on his part, to celebrate its feast again. But in a year or so, a new dispute occurs, and the process starts all over again.

Sometimes relations between a parish priest and a partit reach
578 a deadlock that can be broken only by an outside peacemaker,
621 frequently an officer of the police. The police in any case have a
625 vital interest in the degree of rivalry existing in the villages, as it is
793 their ~~business to keep~~ order during the feast. The number of
794 police on duty at these times ranges from a dozen or so in villages
such as Siġġiewi and Naxxar, where there are no partiti, to around
100 in those where there are strong ones, such as Mqabba and
[626] Żurrieq. Occasionally a parish priest is threatened, frightened by
a home-made bomb, or attacked; he then often requests, and
generally receives, a transfer to another parish.

543 So far only the more important encounters between partiti have
576 been discussed. There are many other events to keep their rivalry
alive throughout the year. The numerous fund-raising fairs of
578 the band clubs are occasions for the village to divide along festa
621 partit lines. While supporters of the partit running the fair flock

to it, their rivals invariably stage their own fair or, and this is 621
more usual, hire several buses and noisily leave the village for a 578
picnic or a pilgrimage to some shrine of their saint. Many other [575]
incidents divide groups and associations along partit lines. For [543]
example, a former head teacher of the Farruġ school told me that [301]
he had once tried to get the girls to wear the dark blue hair
ribbons which are supposed to be part of their school uniforms. He
was astounded when half the girls flatly refused. It was then
explained to him that blue is the colour of the St. Roque partit, so
the St. Martin girls could not be expected to wear it.

Let us now look at some of the major skirmishes which have 578
taken place in Farruġ during the last ten years. During 1952 and 621
1953 there was a dispute over an attempt by the St. Roque pro- 79
cession to pass along a street over which St. Martin's followers
claimed exclusive rights. When the inexperienced new parish
priest backed the St. Roque claim before the Archbishop, he
brought violently into the open a dispute over which his pre-
decessor had successfully procrastinated for years. The followers [626]
of St. Martin not only refused to celebrate their feast, but also
succeeded in frightening the unfortunate priest rather badly by
exploding a huge rocket in the drainpipe under his house. Some
St. Martin partisans gleefully recounted to me that the priest was
soon transferred to another parish, and that during his last week
in Farruġ he had asked the police to escort him between his house
and the church. Relations between the Church and the St. Martin
partit were restored when the Archbishop modified the St.
Roque procession route.

In 1956 the St. Martin Band Club refused to celebrate the titular [575]
festa because the Archbishop had given the Confraternity of St.
Roque permission to renew the four bunches of artificial flowers
which decorate the main altar during his feast. The following year
the St. Roque Band Club refused to play at the installation cere-
mony of the new parish priest because the Curia had just turned
down the confraternity's request for permission to hang a new
picture over its altar. In 1960 the same priest angered the St.
Roque partit by refusing to let it participate in the St. Martin
centenary celebrations. The poor man's hands were tied, for the
St. Martin club had declared that it would have nothing to do
with the feast if its rival took any part in it. At the moment, there
is another struggle in the offing. The Confraternity of St. Roque

578 recently petitioned the Archbishop for permission to renew the
platform on which their saint stands during the feast. St. Martin
● 621 supporters have threatened to cancel their feast if permission is
79 granted, as it probably will be, for the present platform is old and
falling to pieces.

While I was in the village, there was also a dispute over pre-
575 cedence between the two band clubs on the occasion of the
578 installation ceremony of Dun Franġisk, the present parish priest.
621 This is a good example of a dispute over precedence, and it is one
793 which recurs in some form every time a new parish priest is appointed to a village where there are two band clubs. The band which has precedence has the right to march last and to escort the priest from the church to his house after the ceremony. The other club escorts him from his house to the church before the ceremony. Quite straightforward, but clubs rarely agree on which one has precedence. The dispute thus presents a knotty problem that brings a new priest abruptly up against the realities of parish politics within a few days after his arrival. His handling of the matter may well govern his relations with the partiti during the rest of his time in the village.

On the evening when Dun Franġisk moved into the parish, the St. Martin Band Club gave a party to welcome him and to bid farewell to his predecessor, who had been its strong ally. The party was a great success. The departing priest received a huge coloured portrait of St. Martin as a farewell gift, and Dun Franġisk met all the St. Martin leaders and blessed the club's new television set. A few days later, the St. Martin leaders called on the new priest and offered to provide a musical escort to and from the church for his installation ceremony. This was to be followed by a concert in the square and a firework display. The offer pleased him and he accepted. During the next few days the St. Martin club went about collecting the £25 the band programme would cost, thus advising the village of its plans.

Until then Dun Franġisk had heard nothing from the St. Roque club, a fact which rather disturbed him.

Two days later he called in person at both clubs to invite them to attend his installation ceremony and the reception following it. But he found the clubs deserted. The members of the St. Martin committee were away offering their congratulations to the old parish priest, who that night was holding his installation ceremony

in his new parish. Most of the St. Roque leaders, for their part, 575
were off supervising a fund-raising fair which they had hastily 578
organized to help ensure that no St. Roque supporter would be
tempted to attend the lavish reception of their former antagonist. 621
Finding no one of importance at the clubs, Dun Frangisk left the 793
invitations with the bar-keepers.

Two days later a group of St. Roque leaders called to thank him for his invitation, at the same time informing him that they were looking forward to escorting him to and from the church with their band. Dun Frangisk had been warned by his predecessor that this might happen, so he asked them to meet him the next evening to discuss the details of the programme with the other club.

Next morning the members of the St. Martin partit were furious over this move of their rivals. They grumbled to me that now only a miracle could save the band programme they had been planning. It was the main topic of conversation in the village that day. Many people were on hand to watch the St. Martin committee members enter the parish priest's house that afternoon. Soon after, the rival delegation, headed by the vice-president, the secretary and the treasurer of the St. Roque Band Club, joined the meeting. The first session lasted two hours. I saw the young priest shortly afterwards. He looked rather stunned, and exclaimed, 'They can't agree. They both want to escort me to my house! It's like a U.N. session. Nothing is settled and we meet again in an hour.' I learned later that he had had a difficult time preventing the rivals from coming to blows.

They met again, but the deadlock remained unbroken. The St. Martin delegates maintained that their club had the right to escort the priest to his house because it was the oldest, it represented the official patron saint of the village and it had been the only one to play during the past two installation ceremonies. Their rivals rejected all these claims, and suggested that they draw lots for the privilege of playing last, or hire outside bands to play, and let them decide. The St. Martin representatives rejected these suggestions. Finally, at midnight, the parish priest put an end to the wrangle. He told them that unless they could decide the matter among themselves, he would have to decline their offers to play for him. He asked them to let him have their decision by the following evening.

575 The next day each delegation called separately on Dun Fran-
578 ġisk and told him that they had not been able to reach a decision.
In fact, they had not met again. St. Martin supporters were very
● 621 bitter about the whole affair, and said that since they could not
743 play, they would also cancel the firework display they had been
planning.

The installation ceremony took place three days later as planned. Neither band played, but each fired off a number of petards during the day, and each gave the newly installed priest a rousing salute of fire crackers on his return from the church. The leaders of both partiti attended his reception, separately to be sure, and they were very cordial in their congratulations. The skirmish was over. St. Martin leaders admitted to me that Dun Franġisk had handled himself well, and that he had taken the only sensible course open to him. They declared, however, that he should not have called in person to invite the St. Roque club, but should have sent the more usual printed invitation. The St. Roque leaders, on the other hand, were quite pleased with the way things had gone. They invited Dun Franġisk to a reception in his honour at their club the following week, and shortly afterwards asked him to support their request for a new platform for their saint.

This whole episode must be seen as an attempt by the St. Roque partit to unseat its rival from the position of pre-eminence it had enjoyed during the centenary celebration. It could do this by blocking the St. Martin club's plan to be the only band to play at the installation ceremony. The St. Roque leaders were able to make their first move when Dun Franġisk called in person at their club, thereby assuring them that they be given equal standing with the other, which they felt had been favoured by his predecessor. They would not have made their offer to play if there had been the slightest indication that Dun Franġisk was going to favour their rivals. In fact it is extremely unlikely that the St. Roque club was really planning to play. It had not done so for many years, it had no bandsmen and at the time it did not even have a bandmaster. Finally, it had made no collection to pay for a band. All these facts were known to the St. Martin supporters when they
[521] made their offer to play. Furthermore, they had heard indirectly
from the St. Roque secretary – who told a policemen in a neighbouring town, who in turn mentioned it to the president of the

St. Martin club – that the St. Roque club was not planning to par- 575
ticipate in the ceremony in protest against the way they had been 578
treated during the centenary. Dun Frangisk's spontaneous move 621 ●
upset their plans. 793

Although Dun Frangisk favoured the suggestions that the clubs [521]
draw lots, or hire outside bands, St. Martin rejected both because they implied that the clubs had equal status. The last time the St. Roque band had played was six years and four parish priests before, when the local police inspector had devised a compromise solution, and the St. Martin leaders had 'allowed' St. Roque to play the last march of the day, while their band escorted the new priest home. They believed any concession they made now would undo the advantage which they felt they had gained as the only functioning band in the village during the past six years.

Thus it came about that no band played at Dun Frangisk's installation ceremony. This greatly surprised the many visitors from the city and the suburbs, but the good people of the district found it quite in accordance with the way things should be, considering the issues involved. At no point in the series of events were the feelings of the young priest, whom all liked, ever considered. His installation had become the vehicle for a clash between the followers of St. Martin and St. Roque. They had been vying with each other for supremacy long before he was born, and would be at it long after he left. Any concessions made for his sake would have to be entered into the eighty-year-old ledger of credits and debits, and might have an important bearing on the outcome of the next series of encounters.

III

Two interesting problems remain to be considered: why festa 17
partiti arose during the fifty years or so after 1850, and what 621
reasons prompted people to join one partit rather than its rival. 787
The factors which caused the partiti to come into existence at this 795
particular period in Maltese history are necessarily complex, and they are dimmed by the time that has elapsed since their foundation. Nonetheless, one can discern several elements which would appear to be related to the general problem. To begin with, during this period there was a sudden increase in the devotion to the Virgin Mary following her apparition in 1858 at Lourdes, and the

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
● 624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic
787 Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedicated
795 to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

17 During this period a conception of social organization new to
575 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
621 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'.
After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
648 programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
653 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
658 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate
urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178 Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
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[1] See Appendix A.

[2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca*
[113] *delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*.
He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry
between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

communities where they became leaders, and the source of many 178
new ideas and customs. In Għaxaq, for example, I found that a 875
teacher born in Valletta had been the one to introduce the
custom of decorating the streets for the festa.

It is, of course, extremely difficult, if not impossible, to dis- 174
cover the motives which prompted people to choose a particular 178
partit. The only possible clue to at least one set of reasons may well 463
lie in the correlation between occupational class and partit
affiliation. Apart from this class alignment, I found no evidence in 621
Farruġ, or any other village so divided, of any pre-existing struc-
tural division out of which these festa partiti might have deve-
loped. In view of the way membership is inherited, it would
appear that the position which members of the great-grandfather
generation occupied in the village class structure in some way
influenced their choice of partit. There is some evidence for this,
although not a great deal, to be found in the genealogies of the
present generation. Frequent marriages with outsiders, emigra-
tion and the changing employment structure of the country over
the past six decades have blurred this picture considerably.

But it is certainly possible that the new cult appealed more to 174
those persons who held no office in the older confraternities and 178
who performed no official functions in connection with the cele-
bration of the annual festa of the village patron. Through the new 621
cult they could gain offices and perform functions which hither-
to had been monopolized by the circle of the village elite who
surrounded the parish priest. Some informants have also men-
tioned that young men were particularly attracted to the new
cult. In this we can see the universal resistance of the young to the
authority of their elders, for by becoming active in the new cult,
they were asserting their independence from the controls of the
older generation. Were the secondary partiti then a form of
protest against the established authority, a sort of underdogs'
party?

Other facts appear to support the hypothesis that the founda- 174
tion of the secondary partiti was in some way related to a wider 476
working-class movement. Many of the partiti are dedicated to St. 621
Joseph, the patron saint of the working classes who were begin- 776
ning to organize themselves into formal associations throughout 794
Europe. In Malta there are many signs that this devotion was very
strong. In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to 580

In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to
103 him,[1] after 1850 (in Naxxar, Għargħur, Kirkop and Xagħra, for
175 example) he was chosen as patron of the new parish churches of
621, Kalkara, Qala and Msida. Moreover, four parishes have secondary
776 feasts dedicated to him (Rabat, Għaxaq, Kirkop and Żebbuġ).
794 Besides these Għargħur and Siġġiewi had St. Joseph partiti which
796 succumbed to the 1935 Church regulations.

The identification of secondary partiti in general with St.
621 Joseph is also perhaps reflected in the colour most have chosen as
794 their symbol. It is blue, the colour of the banner of the Con-
822 fraternity of St. Joseph. The supporters of many secondary partiti, even if their saint is the Virgin Mary, wave blue scarves about to show their loyalty to it. Their rivals display red scarves, after the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose members support the titular saint.

463 The correlation between partiti and occupational class is also
621 shown in the high proportion of village priests who are sons of
793, families supporting the titular feasts. I once asked the leader of a
794 secondary partit why this was so. He replied that it was only natural since the families of the titular partiti were in much closer contact with the parish priest. Thus their sons, rather than those of rivals, more often became his young helpers and altar boys and received the necessary recommendations to the seminary and other church-run schools. From there, some became priests, and others assumed positions of leadership with the various associations. Other informants suggested it was because the 'best' families support the titular saints, and therefore can afford the additional school fees and loss of earning power that are involved in having their sons become priests.

Of the 41 priests born and now resident in Żurrieq, Kirkop, Qrendi, Mqabba, Luqa, Għaxaq and Żebbuġ, 33 (80 per cent) are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. This percentage gains added importance by the fact that in each of these villages the secondary partit is either equal to or larger than the titular partit. The exception is Żebbuġ, where the secondary partit is decidedly smaller than the titular one. In Farruġ, though the local priest is from a St. Roque family, all the offices connected with the parish church, and 23 of the 30 key positions with Catholic Action, the Football Club and the Labour Committee, are in the hands of St. Martin supporters. Thus the members of titular partiti are not only closer to established authority, they often become part of it.

[1] [i.e. St. Joseph.-Analyst]

Whatever the reasons for their beginnings in particular villages, 575
there are today festa partiti or at least competing band clubs in 578
nineteen villages and towns. Ten communities are divided by the 621
type of rivalry described above. Of these Gudja has partiti which 794
compete only over two secondary feasts and another, Żebbuġ, has three rival band clubs, two of which compete over the titular feast. Besides these ten, another four towns are divided by rivalry between their constituent parishes, five more are divided by rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, although the band clubs in one of them, Żabbar, were once allied to festa partiti.

The competition between rival parishes of the same town is very similar to that between festa partiti. In fact the division of Qormi and Rabat (Gozo) into two parishes each came about partly because of the rivalry between festa partiti. Since each parish has its own church and is not limited by the 1935 regulations, the competition between them is even keener than between festa partiti within the same parish. For this reason the feasts of St. Mary and St. George in Rabat (Gozo) and St. George and St. Sebastian in Qormi are probably the most spectacular in the country. Competition between rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, in contrast, is not as fierce as that between festa partiti. It is, nonetheless, a considerable force in the communities where it exists. Disputes between these band clubs usually involve questions of precedence, such as those which arise over their positions and role during the titular festa or at an installation ceremony of a new parish priest. Failure to reach agreement may mean that one or both boycott the celebration.

Finally, weak festa partiti once existed in another seven villages. But as they were not aligned with band or social clubs, they were not well enough organized to resist the firm pressure the Church began to exert after 1935. Today there is scarcely a trace of their former existence. All festa partiti and rival band clubs, both present and past, are listed in Appendix A.^1^

IV

Implicit throughout this examination of the various types of 571
competing groups described in this chapter and in the previous 578
one, has been the highly formal nature of their interaction. Their 621
disputes are like war games. The action between them takes place

^1^ [see p. 142, -Analyst]

571 within a framework bounded by the decrees of the Church, the
laws of the State and the appropriate body of custom. New pic-
578 tures are not hung in churches and new procession routes are not
621 followed unless permission has first been obtained from the
Church. Action without this permission could result in the suppression of the feast, the desecration of the church or the interdiction of the ringleaders. In the same way, the threats and insults of demonstrating partisans rarely result in physical violence because of the swift penalties that the ever-vigilant police would impose. Permanent truce or peace between the partiti and competing parishes is impossible to achieve owing to the inherent nature of the rivalry which exists between them. It is this state of continuous one-upmanship that provides the driving force behind much of the village politics in Malta. At least it did until the increasing involvement of the people in national politics created a new set of conflicting loyalties that cut deeply across many older ones.

proportion of clerics and nuns in the Sixth Electoral District 463
helps to explain the relatively low Labour poll there. It is also a 665
significant factor in explaining the overwhelming defeat of the
MLP in Gozo. These two districts have the highest proportion of 666
clerics in the country. The Fourth District, in contrast, has the
lowest.

TABLE 7. 1962 Elections:
Occupational Class and Voting Behaviour[1]

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS[2]	SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (As percentage of total lab. force)			PERCENTAGE LABOUR VOTES
	Professional[3]	*Skilled*	*Agricultural*	
IInd (Senglea, etc.)	4 (3)	45	4	56
IVth (Żurrieq, etc.)	3 (2)	34	11	47
VIth (Birkirkara, etc.)	6 (4)	33	11	24
Xth (Gozo)	7 (6)	16	38	6
All Districts	5 (3)	32	11	34

IV

It will have been observed that there is a certain superficial 621
similarity between the reasons given here for belonging to the 665
MLP and those suggested in the preceding chapter for recruitment
into the secondary festa partiti. One might expect therefore that
in comparison with titular partiti, secondary partiti would have a
higher proportion of Labour supporters among their members.
Unfortunately, owing to the disturbed political situation prevailing
at the time, I was not able to gather satisfactory systematic
data on this point. Almost all informants with whom I discussed [124]
the matter suggested that secondary partiti did in fact have more
pro-Mintoff members than their rivals. But the situation is not
quite as straightforward as it might appear. To begin with, the
statements of informants varied according to their own political
beliefs and their position in relation to the festa partiti. Rivals [575]
generally tried to place each other in an unfavourable light. Thus [578]
an anti-MLP member of a band club supporting a titular feast

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[1] Source: *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 40–111; and *The Malta Government Gazette* (3 March 1962), pp. 385–94.

[2] *IInd* (Cospicua, Senglea, Vittoriosa, Kalkara, Żabbar, M'skala), *IVth* (Żurrieq, Safi, Qrendi, Mqabba, Kirkop, B'buġia, Żejtun, M'xlokk), *VIth* (Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija, Attard, Naxxar, Gharghur). [103]

[3] Percentage of priests, monks and nuns in parenthesis.

575 578 621 665 would describe the rival club as a Mintoff stronghold, but suggested that his own club had relatively few MLP members. In contrast, a member of the rival club with the same political view would often say just the opposite. Parish priests generally gave very conservative estimates of the number of MLP supporters in the clubs, but usually said that the secondary clubs had more.

621 665 [464] Another factor which makes it difficult to be dogmatic about the political alignment of the partiti is that most are located in the southern villages. These communities are reservoirs of industrial labour and are generally strongly pro-Labour. For this reason, unbiased informants generally estimated that Labour supporters made up between half and three-fourths of the membership of all clubs, but that secondary clubs had slightly more. My own experience in Farruġ confirms this. I found there that about 70 per cent of the members of each partit are pro-Labour, although the leaders of the village MLP group are almost all from the St. Martin partit. This I suggested was due more to the shallowness of the leadership resources of the St. Roque partit than to the political inclination of its members.

575 621 665 At the policy level, all clubs usually maintain strict political neutrality. At least, all incorporate clauses to this effect in their by-laws, and many prohibit party newspapers and political discussions in the club. Nonetheless, some clubs are closely identified with a particular political party. Of the clubs that are aligned in this way, those that celebrate the titular feasts generally support one of the parties allied with the Church, usually the Nationalist Party; their rivals support the Labour Party. This alignment often comes about when a leading member of a club seeks political office. Where this occurs, members of the opposite festa partit, as a matter of course, give their votes to his chief opponent in another party, or to a rival in his own party. The political significance of the rivalry between festa partiti will be examined in the following chapter, together with some of the ways in which political candidates manipulate the partiti, and are, in their turn, manipulated by them.

But the tendency to political polarity of rival band clubs still does not explain why the leader of a secondary club, for example. supports the Labour Party, and not one of the rival parties. The chief reason for this, quite apart from the fact that he may have a personal preference for the party, is that the members of his own

festa partit form the nucleus of his political following. It is not 575
surprising therefore that he should support the party they favour. 621

There is another interesting way in which festa partiti in general, 665
and secondary partiti in particular, are related to support for the
Labour Party. In all villages divided by these partiti, people have 621
become conditioned to opposing the authority of the Church in 578
connection with matters dealing with the celebration of feasts. 665
This, I suggest, has enabled them to accept the anti-clerical out- 795
look of the Labour Party more easily than the people of villages
not so divided. An old stone-cutter in Kortin, who was procurator
of one of the small chapels in the village, once unconsciously
pointed to the structural similarity of the MLP and secondary festa
partiti. We were discussing the resemblance of the Strickland
crisis of thirty years ago to the present political dispute, when he
pointed to the parish church and remarked, 'I've always been
against them. I was for Strickland. I'm for Mintoff, and if we had
partiti here, I would support the secondary feast.' There is, of
course, a difference between the opposition of a secondary partit
and that of the MLP. Nonetheless, both oppose the authority of the
Church and both resort to attacks on the clergy to drive home
their points of view. This is anti-clericalism. Both the festa partiti
and the Labour Party make a distinction between the person and
the office of the cleric they attack, and they appear to attack the
former rather than the latter. But repeated attacks upon the person
holding an office may weaken the office itself. Thus prolonged
anti-clericalism can lead to anti-religious sentiment, or at least
prepare the way for it. This, I feel, has happened in the case of
the festa partiti.

In challenging the decisions of the Church relating to matters of 578
festa policy a festa partisan often resorts to violence. He frightens 621
the priest with home-made bombs to show his displeasure, to try 79
and change the decision and even to compel him to leave the [626]
village. But he never attacks the ultimate right of the Church or
its ministers to make those decisions. Indeed, some friends in
Farruġ were quite shocked when I suggested that they were
doing just this. On the other hand, this constant rebellion against
the authority of the Church has accustomed people to being at
odds for long periods with their parish priests as well as with the
Archbishop. During these times, they often ignore what the
Church has to say if it does not agree with the point of view they

578 hold. This is the accepted pattern of behaviour, not only in villages divided by festa partiti, but also in others which have ● 621 disputes with the Church. But it is only in the villages with festa 79 partiti that these disputes, and the related anti-clerical action, take place on a regularly recurring basis. In these villages, though people are devout in observing many details of their religion, constant opposition to the parish priest in matters connected with festas has led them to look upon a measure of anti-clericalism as part of their way of life.

578 The relative lack of respect for the clergy in these villages has been partly responsible for a rather high turnover of parish 621 priests. It has been shown how uncomfortable festa partiti can 554 make the life of a parish priest. This, plus the meagre living in the 793 smaller parishes, prompts priests to look for openings in wealthier and less troublesome villages. The Church itself regards the small rural parishes as training or 'stepping-stone parishes', as a monsignor from the Curia once described them to me. But even as such, they are unpopular, and the Archbishop often has difficulty finding priests willing to take charge of them. Farruġ, for example, has had six parish priests since 1953. The lack of continuity of Church leadership in these small, divided villages has tended to weaken its influence there and to foster a lack of respect for its authority.

In this social climate the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party 578 fits without great difficulty. Labour supporters have already had 621 experience as festa partisans in ignoring the commands of the 665 Church, and in enduring the taunts and disapproval of their rivals 795 in the other partit. For them anti-clericalism is nothing new, and [626] they are thus not as vulnerable to public opinion and the sanctions of the Church as persons in villages which do not have this tradition of opposition to the Church.

But if there is a certain similarity between the anti-clerical behaviour of many festa enthusiasts and that of MLP supporters, most persons make a distinction between the two. The anti-clerical actions of the festa partiti are usually directed against particular clerics in connection with specific decisions. In contrast, the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party is directed at the Archbishop in particular and often at all priests in general. This difference stems from the fact that basically their challenge to the authority of the Church differs significantly. Where the festa partisan does

not rationalize the distinction he makes between the person and 578
the office of the cleric he attacks, though his behaviour shows that 621
he does make one, the Labour supporter often proclaims that he
makes such a distinction, when in fact he does not. The MLP not 665
only challenges the statements of the Archbishop which apply to 795
the political scene, but often questions his right to make them. This explains the difference in the reaction of the Church to the two forms of anti-clericalism.

I have suggested that the one prepares the way for the other. The rebellious atmosphere created by the disputes between the festa partiti is, I believe, as important a factor as occupational class in explaining the relatively high degree of open support the Labour Party has in the southern villages. The extent of this support, especially in the smaller villages, in spite of the sanctions of the Church, came as a surprise to some of the leaders of the MLP, who had always thought of them as dominated by their parish priests, like the small villages in Gozo. But in the spring of 1961, the small villages of Kirkop, Dingli and Gudja were placed first, second and third in an MLP competition to find the community which had the greatest proportion of new Party members. I suggest that the support for the MLP in these three villages is due not so much to their proportion of industrial labourers, which in any case is not particularly high (23, 20 and 35 per cent respectively),[1] as to their strong tradition of rebellion against the authority of the Church. Kirkop and Gudja both have active festa partiti of long standing, and while Dingli has no festa partiti now, the village has a long history of opposition to its parish priests. For example, shortly after the First World War, the Dingli Social Club had an argument with the parish priest, and for many years after, members celebrated the national feast on 8 September, instead of the patronal feast of the Assumption, simply to annoy him.

V

But whatever complex and diverse reasons people have for taking 178
sides, the division has given rise to conflict in most villages. In 578
this respect Kortin is no different, as the slogans displayed during
the battle of the blackboards indicated. The division has cut right 621

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[1] *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 41–2.

178 across the village and the clubs, and has brought about conflict
578 within many families. People lament the change that has come
● 621 over the village as a result. An old bachelor friend often used to
complain that had we come to live there just a few years ago,
'before politics came and spoiled everything', we would have
found the village a far happier place. Picnics and outings were
more frequent then, and groups of friends used to gather on hot
summer evenings and stroll outside the village to play guitars and
sing the lilting Maltese *ghana* in the cool air away from the houses.
[575] There was also more life in the clubs. Both the Social Club and
[796] the Band Club used to take part in the national carnival com-
petition for the best decorated carts and costumed companies. But
as the political conflict has divided the island's carnival celebra-
tion in two, so it has also affected the clubs. They now celebrate
neither the government's carnival nor that of the MLP for fear the
question of which one to participate in would provoke a fight
that would cripple the club.

Dun Bert, the parish priest in Kortin, is of course the head of
578 the local group which supports the Archbishop and opposes the
665 MLP. His chief lieutenants in the fight are the local clergy and the
793 lay leaders of the religious associations. Pawlu and Anton, his two
794 faithful helpers, are also vocal partisans, as is old Manwel. Dr.
Farrugia, old Manwel's son, as a former member of the Legisla-
tive Assembly (MLA) and a leading member of one of the political
parties opposed to the MLP, also belongs to the pro-Church
division in the village, though he takes little part in its day-to-day
275 affairs. The main activity and support comes from the leaders of
the lay associations, especially of the Young Christian Workers,
578 the MUSEUM and the Sodality of Our Lady. These all meet regu-
665 larly in their respective premises. Many of the others, older men,
794 spend much of their free time in Kelinu's café. These include old
Manwel, Pawlu, Anton, the sacristan, the organist, and Dun
Mikiel and Dun Filip, respectively the chaplains of the female and
male sections of Catholic Action. This café, located right next to
Dr. Farrugia's house, is the nicest café on the square, or in the
village for that matter. It is the only one which the clergy, the
teachers and occasionally Dr. Farrugia himself, frequent. It is thus
the headquarters of the more influential village citizens who sup-
[517] port the Archbishop. Most MLP supporters have stopped going to
it, although a few still play cards there for an hour or so in the late
afternoon when they return from work.

575 Many of them have stopped going there. In point of fact, Sur
578 Gorġ and the secretary are strongly opposed to the Labour Party, though many of the younger men and some of the most active
665 older members support it. A number of people living nearby have complained that members praise Mintoff in loud voices. There is growing pressure on Sur Gorġ to ban all political conversation there. He has so far resisted the pressure, for he believes that if he were to give in, he would drive away the very members who form the backbone of the club. His chief problem, as he described it to me, is how to focus the attention of the members on something other than politics. He is therefore doing his best to obtain the permits necessary to open the theatre for which they have been planning and saving for years. He feels that in the excitement of building, the members will forget their political differences and reunite, and thus the club will pass safely through this crisis. But the permits have been slow in coming and meanwhile the pressure on him is building up. Two important members of the committee have already resigned, 'under the influence of those busy-bodies in Kelinu's', as some members described it.

The men in charge of the St. Martin Band Club in Farruġ face much the same problem. As has already been noted, most of the leaders of the two political blocs in the village are members of the St. Martin club, and several of them are on its committee. This difference of political loyalty often provokes quarrels over matters
[574] of policy. During the centenary, for example, the committee were sharply divided over whether to salute the Archbishop with the customary barrage of fireworks when he entered the village to take part in the ceremony. The matter was put to a vote, and the MLP faction won. The disgruntled losers began talking about firing off their own salute of welcome. But the crisis that this action would have brought about was avoided when the Vicar-General officiated in place of the Archbishop, who was indisposed. As the MLP supporters had nothing against him, he received the full barrage of aerial bombs and fire crackers. The rift was thus healed, and all joined in to celebrate a rousing feast.

578 The following year the festa again brought a crisis with it. This
621 time it was a far more serious one. Most of the young Labour
665 supporters, in retaliation for the way the Church had attacked their party and its leaders, flatly refused to have anything to do
794 with the feast. These young men included virtually all the partit's
796

fireworkers, and without their expert help it was feared that the 578
feast would be a miserable failure. Many Labour supporters also 621
instructed their parents and wives not to contribute money to the 665
feast. This depressing state of affairs continued for some time. 794

Then one day, about three months before the festa, Pietru, the 796
young schoolteacher who is head of Catholic Action and treasurer of the St. Martin club, came up to me looking very pleased. He said that the feast was saved. Several events had combined to work up interest in it. It seems that most of the people had attended a [216]
large and very successful titular festa in a neighbouring village; the St. Roque fireworkers had shot off three extremely well-made test rockets; and he himself had played his tape recording of the St. Martin hymn, the anthem of the partit, over a loudspeaker in the square. These events revived interest in the festa and in the reputation of the partit. Immediately afterwards the secretary of the club, a Labour supporter who has set politics aside for the honour of the partit, called a committee meeting to discuss the problem of making fireworks. After several speeches urging members to keep their politics from spoiling the feast, the committee voted to make fireworks. Though two skilled fire- [389]
workers crossed the floor and agreed to help, none of the many [463]
experts among the rank and file followed suit. But soon after this political loyalty again began to smother the rekindled partit spirit, and one of the fireworkers all but dropped out. Moreover, Pietru, who is the village's most eloquent and outspoken enemy of the Labour Party, began to preach so vehemently to those he calls the 'lost sheep' of the club, that he antagonized many. His fund-raising suffered as a result.

About a month after this I met Toni at a festa in a neighbouring 578
village, and we had a long talk away from the interested eyes and 621
ears of Farruġ. Toni has been a member of the St. Martin Club 665
committee for nearly twenty years, and until some months ago had been vice president. He was clearly very worried about the club. People were already beginning to draw parallels between the present situation and the events that led up to the split in 1930. He said he was doing his best to discourage such talk, and had now begun working hard to avoid an open break.

He pointed out that he had experienced many crises in the partit and favoured a less blunt approach to winning back the interest of the MLP members than did the crusading Pietru. He felt that he

578 621 665 had already had some success wooing members back on a personal basis by talking only of the honour of the partit and leaving politics out altogether. He stressed that the main problem was not so much the feast but the survival of the club. 'If we can just weather out the storm until after the election we can save it.' He went on to describe how it had taken years to heal the division after the seceding Strickland supporters had rejoined in 1935. 'We must avoid a split at all costs, and the only way we can do that is to bury our political differences.' His technique for doing this was to have as few formal committee meetings as possible, to avoid discussing controversial subjects and to vote in secret, for in these times 'an open vote divides the members'.

578 621 794 796 [389 868] The wise counsel and efforts of the older members, who have set politics aside, has so far kept the younger hot-heads from splitting the club. In spite of all the obstacles in its way, the feast of St. Martin turned out to be a good show. Though many supporters did not contribute, others gave more than usual and there were enough funds for a good feast. About a dozen boys worked under the direction of the two adult fireworkers, and made most of the fireworks. They gave a very good account of themselves, though not one of them is old enough (18) to join the club as a formal member. All are Catholic Action members. In fact, except for a few St. Roque boys, they are the only ones left in the society. The Catholic Action group once numbered almost fifty. The others, the sons of Labour families, had been forced out by the vote of loyalty to the Archbishop which the association's national headquarters had demanded. But their enthusiasm could not quite make up for their youth or their lack of numbers. During the Friday demonstration for the saint some outsiders who were supporters of the guest band had to help them carry the statue of their patron part of the way. This was a great comedown from the previous year, when his followers were so numerous that they had to struggle for a turn to carry him. But the noise and the gay atmosphere of the celebration rekindled the interest of a number of the Labour supporters. Several helped to erect the decorations on Saturday; a few even joined in one of the band matches.

VI

It is of course an open question how much longer the intense 178
partit spirit can survive in the face of the political division now 578
cutting across all festa partiti. In Farruġ the division between the 621
festa partiti, such a strong force in the past, is now of less im-
portance as a principle of social organization than the rivalry
between the supporters and opponents of the MLP. The relative 178
importance in Farruġ, as everywhere, of this latter division is
directly related to the intensity of the conflict at the national level 578
between the MLP and the Church. If it decreases, so will that at the 665
village level. But the longer it lasts, the more difficult it will be to 795
remove it completely from the social scene. Both the Church and
the Labour Party, through their respective societies, committees
and social clubs, are building up an institutional framework that is
incorporating this political opposition on a permanent basis in all
villages. This is taking place in much the same way as the con-
fraternities and social clubs a hundred years ago made permanent
the conflict between rival factions competing over the celebration
of saints.

The rivalry between the Church and the MLP, as well as that
between competing political parties, reflects the increasing in-
volvement of the villager in the political life of his country. It was
perhaps only due to Malta's peculiar position as a colony and an
island fortress, a role which effectively prevented the develop-
ment of an active internal political life of the more conventional
kind, that competition over church privileges and saints was able
to assume the importance it has. It is not surprising that the
changing nature of Malta's strategic and constitutional position
should alter the tempo and character of its internal political life. [621]
In the villages, this change is reflected in the weakening of the
festa partiti by national political issues.

557 does not rest easily until he has repaid it. This is as true of
662 corporate groups such as the band clubs as it is of individuals
666 Frequently the financial circumstances of the client, or the very
nature of the favour, make it difficult or impossible for him to meet his obligation. His vote, and those of his family, provide the logical and accepted means to this end. This extends the relationship between patron and client to include that between politician and constituent.

66 Candidates who do not have the professional qualifications or high status necessary to recruit a following in this way are at a disadvantage. This is especially true for many of the Labour Party candidates, whose education and social standing at times compare unfavourably with those of their rivals. It was principally to overcome this handicap that the Labour Party sought to strengthen the party at the expense of individual candidates. It did this by limiting the system of political patronage which prevailed under previous governments and curbing the influence of the canvassers. In fact, the MLP officially forbade its candidates to employ canvassers. (Though, of course, many candidates have informal canvassers in their friends, relatives and clients.) At the same time, the party directed its propaganda at building up the image of the party and its leader. Labour supporters were constantly urged to vote for the party and not for individuals. By and large its campaign has been most successful. Its sympathizers not only vote for candidates who do not conform to the traditional image of the professional patron-politician, but they also vote across class lines, i.e. the teacher voting for an ex-dockyard fitter.

578 All candidates have to take into account the parochial rivalries
621 which often cut across their districts. This is particularly true of
665 the rivalry between the festa partiti. It has been noted that there
666 is often a political polarity between festa partiti in the same village,
and that sometimes the rivalry is so strong that partisans vote against a political party simply because a leading member of the rival partit is a candidate for it. But the number of people who place loyalty to their festa partit before support of a political party is declining. Nonetheless, if parochial rivalry no longer determines which party will get the votes, it very often decides which of the candidates within the party will. Many people have assured me that it is almost unheard of for a member of a festa partit to vote for a member of the rival partit, even though both support the

same political party. Thus a politician who is also a leading 578 621 member of a festa partit always asks a rival candidate from his 665 party to come to his village and canvass the party votes from the 666 opposite festa partit.

Most people believe that politicians trade promises to assist 621 festa partiti in return for votes. One well-known Labour politician who is the leader of the secondary festa partit in his own village, 66 made such a promise to gain the support of a neighbouring secondary partit that was facing eviction. In return for the votes of the partit, he offered to introduce a bill into the Legislative Assembly which would prevent landlords from evicting band clubs. The proposition appealed to the partit and the bill, which [671] gained a great deal of support for the Labour Party from other clubs as well, became law.[1] In fact, it was one of the first laws the MLP enacted after it was returned to office in 1955. Partly as a result of his promise of assistance, but also because of his keen interest in the problems of secondary festa partiti, this candidate became so identified with this neighbouring partit that he had to ask MLP candidates from the other side of the electoral district to bid for the Labour votes of the members of the opposite partit. He naturally asked them to canvass the Labour votes of the titular partit in his own village as well.

But perhaps the most famous case of this kind, and certainly the most conspicuous, took place in Gozo. For many years the supporters of the Leone partit in Rabat had been embarrassed by the fact that the statue of their beloved patron could not be taken in processions from the cathedral. There was simply no way for her to pass through the walls of the old citadel in which the cathedral was situated. The members of the partit wished to remedy this by breaching the wall and making a large gate, but the Antiquities Board strongly opposed the idea. Finally, an ambitious MLP candidate came to their rescue. He is alleged to have promised them help if they voted for him. Whether the deal for votes is true I do not know. I do know, however, that the politician was elected and succeeded in having a huge new gate torn in the historic citadel. That he did this at public expense, against the orders of his [626] Ministers and in defiance of the Antiquities Board, is evidence of his ingenuity and single-mindedness. Of course, it might also have

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[1] Act V, 1955: 'An Act to Amend the Reletting of Urban Property (Regulation) Ordinance.'

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been due to the amount of pressure that the partit brought to bear on him.

V

666 But popularity, close contact with the electorate and the support of his party and festa partit are not always enough to assure the success of a candidate. In order to understand why this is so, it is necessary to examine the electoral process. The system of voting which has been used in Malta since 1921 is proportional representation with the single transferable vote. The country is divided into ten electoral districts, each of which returns five representatives to the Legislative Assembly. The districts are based on population density, and each averages about 15,000 registered voters. A candidate need not be resident in a district in order to stand for election there, and he can stand in two districts at the same time. If he is successful in both, he relinquishes one seat, which is then filled by a member of his party chosen in a by-election. At the polling booth each voter is given a ballot paper listing all the candidates standing in the district, and is required to rank them by placing a number against the name of each, to indicate the order of preference. After the polling is finished, all the ballot boxes from a district are opened simultaneously and the ballot papers mixed. The votes are then counted. As each paper is opened, a single vote is credited to the candidate to whom the voter has given first preference. This is the first count. A candidate is declared elected if he receives a certain proportion of the total number of votes cast.[1] After the first count the candidate with the lowest number of votes is eliminated, and his votes are redistributed in accordance with the second preferences. The votes are then retotalled for the second count. The candidate with the lowest number of votes is again eliminated, and his votes are redistributed for the third count. The elimination of candidates and the redistribution of their votes continues until five candidates receive the required quota of votes.

Few candidates are elected on the first count, for the first preferences of the voters are generally distributed among a large number. First preferences reflect the popularity of a candidate and the size of his following, but the secondary votes he receives are

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[1] This quota, the Droop quota, is one plus the total number of votes cast, divided by the number of seats (5) plus one.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

would therefore seem that as this need becomes more pronounced, 642
and as the Maltese voter gains in sophistication, there will be 66
increasing pressure to change the present system of voting to one
which strengthens the national government rather than weakens it.

VI

In addition to personal kin ties, patrons, political parties and 664
politicians, pressure groups provide yet another way by which the
villager can influence authorities outside his community. By
bringing interest groups from one village into contact with
similar groups in other villages, they permit united action for the
resolution of common problems. The band clubs and football [575]
clubs have active national associations. Village lay apostolate [794]
societies have their own national bodies as well as the Diocesan
Coordinating Junta, a powerful body which has now become one
of the strongest forces opposed to the MLP. In view of the important part it and the other Church societies played in defeating
the Labour Party in the recent election, they will probably be able
to provide a channel of contact with the Ministers and anti-Labour MLA's. Some have already begun to apply pressure to
obtain playgrounds and public conveniences for their respective
villages.

Even the festa partiti have their associations. The Association 621
of Secondary Feasts works to obtain new Church privileges for its 664
members. It is opposed by the Association of Titular Feasts, which
has formally advised the Archbishop that if he grants privileges to 794
the secondary partiti, its members will stop celebrating the titular
feasts.

Finally, there are also a number of trade unions. Though most 467
have no village level organization or representatives, and play no 664
direct part in village politics, some, in particular the General
Workers Union and the Gozo Agricultural Co-operative Society,
a large proportion of whose members live in the villages, play an
important part in national politics. They thus provide another
channel through which persons at the village level can influence
decisions at the national level.

even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the 578
office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only
the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social 654
order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has 665
strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in 795
insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration
scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never
suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the
Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as
though he were bent on overthrowing the established social
order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The
extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP
and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill
the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is
in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt
against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour
supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of
countries which have fought successful battles against the Church.
Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still
like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are
beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, 205
'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the 656
Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose 668
by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its
way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number
of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A
few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

IV

But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly 578
united communities, life goes on and the social order does not 621
disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively 665
little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the 794
Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often
caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married
into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion
from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the
Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

578 there have been remarkably few of the overtly hostile attacks,
common when festa partiti are registering disagreement. What
● 621 accounts for the qualitative difference in the violence between the
665 groups involved in these two types of conflict? What prevents the
794 national political conflict from degenerating into widespread
violence, from destroying normal relations, thus making
shambles of the social order? Is it merely the presence of a large,
efficient police force?

In point of fact, there are many institutions and ties that operate
578 to exert pressure on the opponents to reach a settlement, and so
621 prevent the dispute from destroying the social system. The most
626 important of the factors that inhibit the spread of conflict is the
existence of persons whose loyalties are divided between the con-
665 flicting sides. Such persons have a vested interest in the main-
795 tenance of peace and limitation of the area of conflict.[1]

The considerable difference between the disputes of festa partiti with the Church, and the conflict between the Church and the Labour Party, has been stressed. The disputes involving festa partiti are localized, their course is highly formalized, there are acknowledged peace-makers: they are clearly rebellions in the sense that Gluckman uses. These disputes are also tightly circumscribed by customary safeguards which keep them from spreading and channel them through set stages until they have been resolved. It is patterned action which, in spite of its occasional violence, does not threaten the position of the Church. In contrast, the conflict between the MLP and the Church is not localized, it is not circumscribed by a body of custom which keeps it from spreading, and there are no acknowledged peace-makers who can mediate between the disputants. Not only is it inherent, it is irresoluble. There is an air of revolt about it and if it were allowed to run to the violence of some of the clashes between festa partiti and the Church, it could throw the country into civil war. The violence of the festa partiti does not threaten the social order, that between supporters of the Church and the MLP would.

What keeps the conflict from becoming more violent are the thousands of persons who have their allegiances divided between the Church and the Labour Party. All these people work to keep the conflict from spreading, if not actually to make peace. Who are they? They are the countless persons whose families have been

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[1] *Ibid., passim.*

divided by the conflict, the office-holders who have laid politics 578
aside to preserve the unity of the clubs for which they are responsible, 621
the many who have sought to avoid open commitments to 626
either side, and to remain in contact with both. They are the
people who, in spite of all that has been preached and said against 665
them by both sides, still look to both the Archbishop and Mintoff
as their leaders, the one in the religious sphere, the other in the
political. They see nothing inconsistent in hanging pictures of the
two side by side in their houses. All have a vested interest in
peace; and all work in their own way to keep the conflict from
spreading and destroying completely their customary way of life.

At one time the entire civil service worked to prevent the 578
spread of conflict in much the same way. When the Labour 626
Party took over the government many civil servants, forced by
the nature of their office to carry out the orders of the party in 647
power, were obliged to administer policies which were contrary 665
to the declared interests of the Church. Their loyalties were thus 795
often divided between the two. Some of the higher civil servants
carried messages between the two sides. Others called at the Curia
merely to assure the Church that they implemented unwillingly
the controversial policies. Yet others acted quietly in their own
various ways to reduce the tension between government and
Church that made their own positions so uncomfortable. Civil
servants at all levels thus worked to keep the Church and the
Labour Government in touch with each other and exerted considerable
pressure to prevent the relations between the two from
deteriorating even more. But their conciliatory influence came to
an end when the Labour Party resigned. It is not surprising, therefore,
that with the removal of this bridge between the MLP and
the Church, the conflict became more intense almost immediately.

The two sides are now linked together only by the many persons 578
with conflicting allegiances. Yet their ability to keep the 626
conflict from spreading is slowly being reduced by the uncompromising 665
position of the Church which is forcing them to take
sides openly. As these persons reluctantly do so, the important 795
cross links that tie the two combatants together are snapped off
one by one, and the conflict becomes progressively more intense.

V

578 What of the future? It would seem likely that the present con-
665 flict will continue. The dispute between the Church and the
Labour Party has become institutionalized in many villages
795 through their respective associations and social clubs. The major
political activity at the village level will thus most likely continue
to be a reflection of that at the national level. It will be a dispute
between those who wish to preserve the identity of the village as
a parish, with the dependence upon the Church that it implies,
and the secular elements who wish to establish the village as a
578 political unit apart from the Church. But there will also be other
conflicting groups, such as the festa partiti, which will continue
621 to manipulate this political division to their own advantage. The
665 leader of one of the secondary festa partiti indicated to me how
795 this may take place. He was discussing the recent attempts of the
Association of Secondary Feasts to increase the scale of its mem-
[626] bers' feasts, and concluded by remarking, 'If the Archbishop
doesn't increase our feast this year, ninety per cent of the club will
vote for Mintoff in the coming election.' Thus in the future, as in
the past, the Church will continue to be one of the central actors
in the drama of Maltese village politics.

[p.141]

Appendix A

Festa and Band Club Partiti

575
578
621 ●
796

	Titular Feast	*Band Club*	*Secondary Feast*	*Band Club*
A. FESTA AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
GHAXAQ	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
GUDJA[1]	O/L of the Rosary	'La Stella'	O/L of Consolation	'O/L of Consolation'
KIRKOP	St. Leonard	'St. Leonard'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
LUQA	St. Andrew	'St. Andrew'	O/L of Consolation	'Union'
MQABBA	The Assumption	'King George V'	O/L of the Lily	'Lily'
QRENDI	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	O/L of Lourdes	'Lourdes'
RABAT	St. Paul	'Count Roger'	St. Joseph[2] (Franciscans)	'L'Isle Adam'
VITTORIOSA	St. Lawrence	'Duke of Edinburgh'	St. Dominic[2] (Dominicans)	'Prince of Wales'
ŻEBBUĠ	St. Philip	'St. Philip' 'St. Philip's Festivities and Social Club'	St. Joseph	'De Rohan'
ŻURRIEQ	St. Catherine	'St. Catherine'	O/L of Mount Carmel	'Queen Victoria'
B. INTER PARISH AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
QORMI	St. George	'St. George'	St. Sebastian	'Pinto'
RABAT, GOZO	The Assumption	'Leone'	St. George	'La Stella'
SLIEMA	Stella Maris	'Stella Maris'	Sacred Heart	'Sliema'
VALLETTA	St. Paul	'La Vallette'	St. Dominic[3] (Dominicans)	'King's Own'

[776]

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[1] Both saints are secondary; the titular is the Assumption of Our Lady.

[2] The devotion is centred on a church in the parish that is run by regular clergy. The rivalry is thus classified midway between A and B.

[3] Though this is the main feast, the titular of the parish is Our Lady of Porto Salvo.

575 C. BAND CLUB RIVALRY ONLY

578	BIRKIRKARA	St. Helen	'St. Helen'	X	'Duke of Connaught'
● 621	HAMRUN	St. Gajetan	'St. Gajetan'	X	'St. Joseph'
796	MELLIEHA	Nativity of Our Lady	'La Vittoria'	X	'Imperial'
	ŻABBAR[1]	O/L of Grace	'Maria M. Gratiae'	(St. Michael)	'St. Michael'
	ŻEJTUN	St. Catherine	'Beland'	X	'Żejtun'

D. FESTA RIVALRY EXISTED FORMERLY

BALZAN	The Annunciation	'St. Gabriel'	St. Valentine	X
DINGLI	The Assumption	X	National Feast on September 8	'Dingli Club'[2]
GHARGHUR	St. Bartholomew	'St. Bartholomew'[2]	St. Joseph	X
LIJA	Transfiguration of Our Lord	'Pius X'	St. Aloysius	X
NAXXAR	Nativity of Our Lady	'Peace'	O/L of Doctrine	X
SAFI	The Conversion of St. Paul	'St. Paul'[2]	O/L of the Rosary	X
SIĠĠIEWI	St. Nicholas	'St. Nicholas'	St. Joseph	X

[1] The external feast of the secondary saint was suppressed.

[2] Social and festa club without a band.

361 Map 3, showing density of population by localities for 1957, closely reflects the built-up area pattern. Broadly-speaking it resembles Map 4 (residence of Dockyard workers) but here the emphasis on Valletta and Sliema, and all the northern part of the Urban zone, is notably less.

THE VILLAGE

● 621 [361] Maltese rural society is essentially composed of village communities each occupying a compact settlement[8]. There are some three dozen villages in the rural area of the Islands[9] among which there is considerable variation in site, date of foundation, morphology, population (B/561) and economic structure (B/381), but throughout the Islands there is a uniformity of function within the village as a community group. This makes it possible to speak of "the Maltese Village" from the point of view of social structure, and allows a qualifying classification into types on the basis of the features mentioned.

17 Maltese society as a whole, and particularly the rural part of it, is to some extent cut off from outside influences by virtue of the insular position of the country, cultural as well as geographical. Yet the Islands have clearly at no time in their history been independent of Europe to the north, Africa to the south and Asia to the east. Quite patently the opposite has been the case and Malta, as ever the mute pawn of great powers, has absorbed its material and moral culture from abroad just as it has received additions to its population whether coming as traders, invaders, or settlers, for four thousand years. But the Islands have put their own stamp on these arrivals so that a discussion such as this must take account of both autochthonous developments within the Islands, as well as those of wider origin.

17 621 The elements within the traditional Maltese village were, briefly, the Roman Catholic Church and clergy, the landed class, and the mass of the population - an illiterate peasantry. 'Traditional' here refers to rural society as it existed in Malta one, two or three centuries ago.

This is not to say that the traditional has been erased from the present scene but rather that recent moves towards literacy, emancipation and communication, and a greater range of amenities within the Islands, have diversified and modified the traditional aspects to produce a variety of different types in place of the social uniformity of the past. [793] [795] But the traditional nucleus within the village, the Parish Priest and the Parish Church retain their pivotal role. The modification of this role is very apparent but the place of the Church has been affected far less in the country districts

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard develop-
621 ments and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the
rural districts where change has to date been slower than in
the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along
with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisors as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education
as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The
clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the popula-
tion was not. This concentration of learning produced a sit-
uation in which only the clergy were able to step forward to
take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might
have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
[669] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolution-
[648] ary leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino
Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising
against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands
by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both
village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the
[874] University came strongly under the influence of the Church,
for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long stan-
[178] ding, was and still is best known for its Theology. However,
during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the
Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative
details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of
the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth.
The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the
separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociologi-
cal importance during the present century has been the growth
of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban
areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces
which are today tending to detract from the traditional
omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before
the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will
loom much larger than at present in the country districts
and in Gozo[11].

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

● 621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
795 of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivater.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
[591] but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
197 even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutturals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential
independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

628 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gozo that a
186 man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to
point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some
comparatively recent date[13].

● 621 Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic
structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese
793 village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest,
795 and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely
an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church
by the new features and modifications of the old landscape
in the present.

175 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young
361 Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement
has acquired the essential features common to rural society
throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria
Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on
account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the
sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in
the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church
[172] in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1580[14]. Evidence, too,
of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat
(2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the
village.

175 However, in the early part of the nineteenth century,
farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now
361 the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of
793 the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell
795 (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general
movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an
independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual
needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from
Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of
St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918.
Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr
had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to
their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the
Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning
Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area per-
175 manently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a
346 full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and
[793] settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a
new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the popula-
tion of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911).
[463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect con-
cerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

[Village of Mġarr]
[Village of Gharghur]

000 settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4). Other characteristic features of rural Malta absent in Mġarr are the Band Club and the Football Club. The Band Club movement which spread rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of this became the major 'social' centre for men outside the Church itself (B/521). Similarly football has become a focus of extra-church activity in the Islands - more especially in Gozo where the Band Club has had only a limited extension outside the capital, Victoria. In the case of Mġarr one would expect the village to acquire these 'later-stage' features as it develops in size and 121 social diversity. The writer holds that at present Mġarr is essentially very close to what has been called the traditional Maltese village. Incidentally also its agricultural bias (Map 2) is less removed from the traditional than is the case in the more urban-influenced villages. It is certainly the most rural Parish of Malta and yet does seem more 'urbanate' in terms of social life than is the case over much of Gozo.

121 184 Having enumerated the essential elements of Maltese village structure as exemplified in Mġarr, a brief comparative study of other villages of the archipelago, many of which are much larger, older and more complex, is indicated. From observation two basic premises have been established:

(i) Despite the regional differentiation customarily made, rural society in the Islands has a basic homogeneity:

(ii) The modern problem of this rural society, the problem of the individual who is now socially out of sympathy with the life of the community which bred him, is common to all the rural community of the Islands.

The final question is therefore whether or not there can be a standard type of working rapprochement between the new and the old.

121 621 Two villages which may be compared with Mġarr in an effort to answer this question are Gharghur, a settlement of very old foundation, predominantly agricultural as is Mġarr and of like size, and Żurrieq, much larger, more urbanate in character, containing certain socio-functional divisions within itself, and also possessing two small satellite villages.

36 Morphologically GHARGHUR (Map 6) and Mġarr have little in common on first inspection. The latter contains many new or recent detached and semi-detached buildings within the regular street pattern previously laid down. Many of the houses are quite modern by prevailing standards and

175 between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This
458 dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth
511 century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished
[464] from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which
[184] characterized the totality of economic life in Malta.
Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean
basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by
changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the
fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of
prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century.
[731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts,
epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean
in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable
Malta (B/556).

175 The major economic developments arising from the
184 growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the
511 Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various
178 stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic
life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the
chain of external events made their presence felt. In
all this the fortunes of one section of the population,
such as the farming community, could at no time stand
unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands
as a whole.

175 Malta remained sharply divided within itself by
178 class, district and education and the parallel differences
[184] of living standards between one section of society and
another were continued. But the later decades of the
[871] nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from
the economic plane, the beginnings of general education
which, during the present century, was to remove the
illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural
classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of
life and society outside the limits of the village.
[184] Improvements in transport and communication within the
[369] Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area
to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the
twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of
isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and
Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural
[621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been
a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little
contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages
in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the forces indicated were beginning to modify the position but it was not until the present century and particularly

159 The family has occupied the present house for several
423 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
551 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the
village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
461 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
234 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially
to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
829 his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
544 He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public
234 lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He
178 thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique
interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese
farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which
cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods".
He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to
the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time
and labour thus expended would bring no additional return
to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he
employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and
therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases
some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures)
would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427] All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fisher-
361 men live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi.
Socially this residential distribution is important since only
in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population
for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities
for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
[512] their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economi-
463 cally lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
162 basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
178 the present official financial assistance, is producing
exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger
generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor
the way of life based on it.

[p.40]

CHAPTER IV

The Basis of Leadership

621 The Maltese word for leader, *mexxej*, is seldom heard, and then
[192] only in reference to the leader of a political party. I once asked a
parish priest who were the leaders of the village. He laughed and
[622] replied that there weren't any, because his parishioners did not like
[551] leaders. With the exception of the professionals and *il-puliti* from
the towns, all the inhabitants of a village usually call one another
by their Christian names and in general look upon each other as
equals. This egalitarian outlook is compounded of many factors,
of which the most important are similar occupation, standard of
living and values, the detailed knowledge of each other's personal
lives that comes with residence in a face-to-face community, and
178 jealousy. Any person who attempts to lead or to try to start
something new – such as a village playground – is derided. His
578 true motive is seen as self aggrandizement and his enemies and
621 envious neighbours are quick to point this out to others who may
[539] not have realized it. 'Envy follows the wise man like his shadow'
(*L-ghira titrot wara l-gharef bhal dellu mieghu*), goes the Maltese
[609] proverb. Professionals and outsiders, especially if they are from
the town, are occasionally able to start something new. Their
social distance from most of the community protects them from
the full impact of the envy and gossip which moulds so much of
village life.

But in spite of the absence of official lay leaders and the con-
554 servative pressure of envy and gossip, there are a number of
621 persons who have a greater say than others in the affairs of the
793 community. They are able to do this by virtue of their social
position, their occupation or office in one of the village associa-
tions or their influence with the parish priest. These persons,
together with the parish priest, form the aggregate which can be
[192] said to run the affairs of the community. While there is no generic
term for this aggregate, those who compose it are sometimes
referred to as *il-kbarat*, 'the big ones', or more derogatively as

647 many countries are carried out by village or municipal authorities,
are in Malta centrally administered from Valletta.

[364] Gozo provides in some respects an exception to this picture.
Though Gozo is administratively and economically dependent
upon Malta, it has had for many years a certain measure of autonomy
under a separate Commissioner. This appointment is dictated
by the island's distance from Valletta in time and space. This
isolation has not surprisingly resulted in a widely held belief that
the Maltese administration, in which, incidentally, a large number
of Gozitans have always held important posts, has systematically
[653] neglected Gozo. That there is a certain justification for this belief
can be seen by anyone who compares the condition of the roads
and the extension of street lighting, water and drainage in the two
islands.

● 623 Partly to still for ever complaints about neglect, and partly as
an experiment with a concept of local government new to Malta,
653 the Gozo Civic Council was established in the summer of 1961.
Each village in Gozo now has an elected committee of six councillors,
one of whom represents the village on the Civic Council.
The Council has the responsibility for the maintenance of roads,
government buildings, cemeteries and public gardens, village dispensaries
and the museum and public library. It can also construct
new roads and extend drainage, water and street lighting. To
[651] finance its work the Council receives the revenue from local taxes
and from certain government property in Gozo. It also has the
power to levy rates, but as all councillors made solemn promises
to their constituents that they would not do so, this additional
source of revenue must be discounted for the time being.

II

793 The Maltese Islands form a single province of the Catholic
795 Church. This province is divided into the Archdiocese of Malta
and the Diocese of Gozo, which includes the small island of
Comino. The Bishop of Gozo is suffragan to the Archbishop of
Malta. As the senior or Metropolitan Bishop, the Archbishop has
[293] certain privileges and rights over his suffragan. These include the
right to visit his suffragan's diocese (with Papal authority), should
the latter neglect to do so; the right to appoint a temporary vicar
on the decease of the Bishop of Gozo, if the Cathedral Chapter of

by the officials of the governing body, or *Università*. This body, 175
which met in Mdina, the old capital of the island, was composed 642
of representatives of the nobles, learned men, secular priests, 646
merchants and artisans elected by all the family heads in the towns
and villages of Malta and Gozo. The Knights of St. John, how- [439]
ever, severely limited the authority of the Università, and during
their final years it was little more than a public corporation
responsible for the importation of scarce foodstuffs.

The Order made itself responsible for local government. It con- 175
trolled and financed the local militia, police, courts, water supply, 642
public works, hospitals and charities. The government of the 701
Order was highly centralized, and all key posts were held by
Knights, though many of the lesser administrative offices were
given to Maltese nobles, lawyers and clerks. The authority of the [625]
Order was made effective in the rural areas through the police and
the ten Captains who were in charge of military garrisons and
arsenals, located at strategic points for internal security and defence
against war parties and corsairs, and were also responsible for
mobilizing the militia. This paternalistic system of administration
came to an abrupt end when Napoleon drove the Knights from
the islands. Their departure marked the end of an era.

Napoleon remained in Malta only eight days, but they were 175
busy days. According to Laferla, 'it is certain that no one in the 177
space of a few days attempted more, did more and upset the 648
Maltese more than he did.'[1] He set up a nominated council of
Maltese to see to civil administration, remodelled the tribunals
along French lines and established twelve municipal councils. He
abolished the nobility. He closed the University, established a
central technical college and founded fifteen government elementary schools. He also sent sixty sons of wealthy families off to
study at republican colleges in Paris at their parents' expense.

'All this and probably much more would the Maltese have patiently tolerated,' says Laferla, 'had Napoleon not interfered with religion.'[2] For he set out to curtail the influence of the Church. He limited the jurisdiction of the Bishop to purely ecclesiastical affairs, ordered the expulsion from the islands of all non-Maltese clergy and reduced the number of clerics. He also instituted civil marriage, gave protection to the Jews and forbade

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[1] A. V. Laferla, *The Story of Man in Malta* (3rd ed.; Malta, A. C. Aquilina and Co., 1958), p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out 647
by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under
the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is
usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the [648]
interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation
from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads
were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants.
Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of
civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers
through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial
labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the govern- [464]
ment. They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This [162]
makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands.
Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the
principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open
competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration [621]
required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no
councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to
represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey
the wishes and commands of government to the people.
Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are
located in Valletta. Only the police represent government [625]
authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools [658]
for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most
villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a [744]
day under the supervision of a government District Medical
Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and [205]
branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour.
All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where [364]
it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

192
ir-rjus il-kbar, 'the big heads'. But if asked, a person will often 554
deny that such persons exist, and reply, 'Here we are all the same; 621
we are all from the village'. 793

II

The authority of the State is represented by the police, who are 625
formally responsible for law and order. Each village has a police station manned by a small contingent of constables under a sergeant. Several villages make up a police district under an inspector. In Malta most policemen live outside the villages in which they work. But it is usual for Gozitan constables stationed in Malta to be quartered in the police stations to which they are assigned.

In addition to their official duties of law enforcement, the police [659]
distribute voting certificates, help conduct censuses and give out [657]
the allotments of free food to old age pensioners and people on relief.[1] They also perform many favours for local residents. They help people fill out government forms, and occasionally allow the
station telephone to be used for private calls. They are sometimes 625
able to mediate in local disputes. Disputants very often report each 627.
other for insults, threats or some minor infraction of the law – throwing waste water and rubbish in the street is one of the most common – thus hoping to strangle their enemies in its due process. The police constable on duty is often able to reconcile the disputants and persuade them to withdraw the charges and counter-charges.

In general, the punitive role that the police are occasionally 625
forced to play is offset by their role as distributors of government assistance and by their general helpfulness. District inspectors try to avoid personal relations with the people in their districts since they must prosecute all criminal cases, and personal ties might prove awkward. Sergeants and constables, on the other hand, normally maintain friendly social contact with the local inhabitants. They are often invited for drinks during feasts and weddings, and quite a number marry local girls. The Maltese police thus play

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[1] The government has distributed surplus U.S. agricultural products to different groups of needy people since 1956. This food was first secured through the Co-operative for American Relief to Everywhere, Inc. (C.A.R.E., Inc.) and more recently through the Catholic Relief Services of America. The Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare, not the police, selects the beneficiaries.

625 a very different role from that of their Spanish counterparts, the
Civil Guard, whom Kenny describes as 'the traditional enemy of
the peasants'.[1]

III

795 The very considerable authority of the Church in Malta is derived
not from law, but from the loyalty of a people who fervently
practise their religion. Until recently, there had never been a
separation in their minds between Church and State, between the
religious and secular elements in their daily lives. The Church, as
we have already observed, has occupied this position for many
[423] centuries. Its power is bolstered by its considerable wealth, for in
Malta the rich property and lands of the Church have not been
expropriated by the State, as they have in so many other Catholic
countries.[2]

As the official representative of the Church, the parish priest
793 occupies a position of great importance in his community. He has
authority in all religious matters affecting his parishioners. He
ministers to their spiritual and often to their personal needs. He
alone can arrange for the important ceremonies which mark the
[795] stages in their lives. These *rites de passage* include baptism, con-
firmation, marriage, death and burial. He also controls the many
[796] ritual activities of the village as a whole. These are the daily ser-
vices of worship and the ceremonies, processions and feasts by
which all Maltese, but above all the countrymen, regulate their
days and mark the divisions of the year. Through his preaching
and admonition he defines, interprets and enforces the moral code
of the Church. He is also the official custodian of the richly
decorated parish church.

Besides this dependence on the parish priest in the religious
matters which are of such vital importance in the lives of a
devoutly Catholic people, the country people have traditionally
[212] looked to him for assistance in many secular fields. Until only a
few decades ago, he was often one of the few literate persons in
his parish. As such he was frequently asked to read and write
letters.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 48.

[2] Mitchell estimates that the Church owns 22 per cent of the agricultural land in Malta and 12 per cent in Gozo. See Peter K. Mitchell, *The Maltese Farm*, vol. II of *Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta* (mimeographed; Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, 1959), p. 130.

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621 625 793 of government. While the parish priest in Malta is the official village representative of the Church and has authority to act for it on most matters, the police represent only the law enforcement function of government; all other functions and services of government are administered from Valletta. In this respect the villages of Malta are unique.

463 554 On the other hand, there is a relation between social status and the functional requirements of the authority system. In any given community, the people with the highest status usually fill the most important offices, since such offices require the standing, skills and contacts which they possess. There is thus a rough grading of office holders in terms of their social status and the authority and prestige attached to their offices. 463 554 555 Upward mobility through this structure is usually dependent upon factors such as education and occupation rather than on having held other, and less important, offices. Once a person has become the president of his local band club, in other words has attained the highest secular office in the village, and has a social status which commands respect outside, he may be elected to political office.

578 Curia trying to persuade all concerned, from the Bishop down, to
621 think the way they do. This may go on for years, for the Curia,
knowing the trouble that lies ahead, is usually in no hurry to give
793 its decision. When the final decision is handed down, it is usually
794 favourable, and the design for a set of flowers less beautiful and
costly than the corresponding set of the titular partit is furnished. The secondary partit then instructs the craftsmen to begin work. The titular partit announces to everyone that it will cancel its next feast.

It often happens, however, that just before the new bouquets (or whatever *objets d'art* are concerned) are inaugurated during the secondary festa, the parish priest discovers that most of the Curia's specifications have been ignored. The new flowers are far more beautiful than they were supposed to be. He is furious. The guilty leaders of the secondary partit apologize profusely and take immediate steps to make them less beautiful. Occasionally, the priest may discipline the partit by temporarily reducing the scale of its feast. The secondary partit then holds its feast, and the flowers are admired by all visitors. Strong police reinforcements usually prevent trouble from occurring. Relations between the parish priest and the titular partit are gradually re-established and it agrees, usually for some concessions on his part, to celebrate its feast again. But in a year or so, a new dispute occurs, and the process starts all over again.

578 Sometimes relations between a parish priest and a partit reach
621 a deadlock that can be broken only by an outside peacemaker,
frequently an officer of the police. The police in any case have a
● 625 vital interest in the degree of rivalry existing in the villages, as it is
793 their business to keep order during the feast. The number of
794 police on duty at these times ranges from a dozen or so in villages
such as Siġġiewi and Naxxar, where there are no partiti, to around
100 in those where there are strong ones, such as Mqabba and
[626] Żurrieq. Occasionally a parish priest is threatened, frightened by
a home-made bomb, or attacked; he then often requests, and generally receives, a transfer to another parish.

543 So far only the more important encounters between partiti have
576 been discussed. There are many other events to keep their rivalry
578 alive throughout the year. The numerous fund-raising fairs of
621 the band clubs are occasions for the village to divide along festa
partit lines. While supporters of the partit running the fair flock

665 already noted, in Malta, it is a criminal offence to insult a minister
673 of religion. There were no other disturbances.

688 The Labour rally was rather a different story. The leader of the
694. MLP and the thousands of his supporters who came to Kortin to
hear him speak received a decidedly hostile reception. Though
578 Dun Bert did not organize a counter-demonstration for the
665. occasion, he did arrange a mass protest meeting the evening
794. before. The following day rival groups were out decorating. A
number of MUSEUM lads under the direction of one of the older
members pasted anti-MLP slogans all over the façade of the
church. At the same time, a group of men were busy hanging
posters and flags from the Labour club to welcome Dom Mintoff
to the village.

At 4 p.m. buses and cars began to stream into the village with
[796] thousands of MLP supporters from all over the island. At about the
same time the church bells began to call the faithful to a religious
procession in honour of Our Lady of Fatima which Dun Bert had
scheduled to take place during the Labour meeting. He himself
stood in the square watching the faithful gather in the church. He
also carefully observed those who passed by on their way to the
Labour meeting, which was being held right behind the church.
Most of the villagers who sympathized with the Labour Party
but who did not support it openly did not attend the meeting.
[783] They were anxious to avoid the open break with the rest of the
community which attending would have entailed. Besides, several
mentioned that their confessors had told them that they would
commit a mortal sin if they attended MLP meetings. All the open
supporters of the MLP in the village went to the meeting.

[796] The meeting began at about 4.30 p.m. and lasted for two hours.
Shortly after it had started, Dun Bert's procession of nearly a
thousand men, women and children slowly wound its way
through the village and returned to the church for a period of
prayer and worship. When the Labour meeting finally broke up,
most of the outside supporters departed quickly, though a number were delayed because villagers had deflated the tyres of about
578 a dozen of their cars. At this time people also began to leave the
625. church. But the police, who were trying to keep a passage clear in
665 the centre of the square for the stream of departing Labour sup-
794 porters, kept them on the steps of the church. They waited there
for a while and then began singing hymns and songs in honour of

the Pope and the Archbishop, stopping now and then to shout 578
insults at the passing Labour supporters. The square on the other 625
side of the police cordon began to fill up with people returning 665
from the meeting and others who left their houses to see what the 794
excitement was about. Gradually the songs became louder and
more excited, and the shouts hoarser. By then it was getting
quite dark, but I could see Dun Mikiel in the front row, his hands
thrust tensely into the pockets of his cassock, scowling at the
passers-by while he smoked cigarette after cigarette. The tension
by this time was almost electric. Suddenly, one of the local MLP
supporters returning to the Labour club replied to a taunt by
making a threatening gesture. The crowd in front of the church
booed him loudly and surged forward. The police, anxious to
hurry the trouble-maker off the square, pushed him a bit too hard
and he stumbled and fell. This angered the crowd on the other
side of the square and it began to press through the police cordon.
At this point police reinforcements arrived and cleared the square
in a few moments. Their prompt action prevented an ugly situation
from going further, for there had been well over a thousand
angry people facing each other, separated by less than two dozen
unarmed policemen.

Four days after the meeting, Dun Bert organized a pilgrimage 578
of reparation to atone for the insults of the MLP speakers. The 665
procession of some 1,200 people reciting the Rosary escorted the 794
statue of Our Lady of Sorrows through the area behind the church [789]
where the Labour meeting had been held. About 400 of the participants [783]
were outsiders who had come to Kortin from other parts
of the island for the occasion. After the procession the crowd
gathered in front of the church where a Mass was said. A noted [796]
Jesuit orator then rebutted the MLP speeches point by point. The [537]
whole affair had almost passed off without incident when a
number of stones and bottles were thrown from behind walls at
the buses and cars leaving the village.

But if there are relatively few face-to-face meetings of this kind 575
in Kortin or elsewhere, there are many disputes that divide and 578
weaken the clubs and associations. This matter has particularly 665
affected Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, who feels
responsible for preserving its unity in these difficult times. In
Kelinu's, where many of the influential regulars are members of
the Social Club, they say that it has become a Mintoff stronghold.

owns no land or other property in common and its inhabitants 621
are rarely called upon or choose to work for a common end. At [186]
the same time, villagers are conscious of belonging to a distinct
social entity which is distinguished from other villages by a
collective nickname and a common sub-culture.

Many villages have a dialect quite distinct from that of their 184
neighbours, which the inhabitants, even those who have learned 197
to speak 'correctly' (*bil-pulit*), normally use to each other; 621
although they will invariably address strangers in their school
Maltese. There are also a number of minor variations of certain
customs between villages or districts. These may include the way
church bells are rung to announce a death or the way some aspects
of the festas are organized. Finally, each village has its own very
private body of gossip, stories, scandals and jokes, which makes
up a part of its history and tradition that is not shared with
outsiders.

As a congregation and a religious corporation, the village *qua* 421
parish owns land and other property, including the parish church. 423
It also has an appointed leader in the parish priest. The inhabitants 621
of the village meet regularly for worship, to take part in religious 794
processions and to carry out other devotional activities. Further- 796
more, they act together to celebrate the annual festa of the patron
saint, who symbolizes the unity of the secular and religious aspects
of the village, for he is patron of both village and parish.

A village can also be regarded as a moral community. That is, 621
people who live there must conform to a certain code of conduct. 626
While the community cannot enforce this code with the type of
formal sanctions the police and the Church use to punish infractions of secular and religious laws, public opinion can, and does,
exert great pressure for conformity. A person who flouts the
canons of convention becomes the object of malicious gossip and,
depending on the nature of the offence, he may also become the
target of overt hostile action and have his house front splashed
with paint, or his front door burned. The only way to escape
from the sanctions of public opinion is to move to one of the urban
areas or the expanding new suburbs, where licence can be
relatively anonymous.

Members of a village thus share a common body of custom and 186
tradition; they also display an intense loyalty to their place of 621
birth. This sense of loyalty is strongest during the annual festa of 796

letters. His high standing in the village, and his contacts with 793 people of influence and power outside it, led people to turn to him for advice. He was asked to represent them in their relations with the outside world. In this capacity he served his parishioners as lawyer, banker and business adviser. He was also the traditional dispenser of charity.

The increasing literacy of the people and their ever-widening [212] range of contacts outside the limits of the parish has somewhat [178] reduced their dependence upon the parish priest. The State's recent involvement in welfare and charity has further weakened [658] it. But if this dependence has been reduced, it has most certainly not been eliminated. Many still call on him to divide inheritances, to argue their claims against the government or to plead with prospective employers, and not a few expect him to be able to secure better roads, new schools, sewerage and playgrounds.

Thus the parish priest is the village's chief spokesman, and many 203 still refer to him as *il-principal tar-rahal*, 'the head of the village'. 793 The government has long recognized this, and makes use of him as a convenient contact with the people. Each Sunday morning, in addition to his own official announcements, the parish priest reads from the altar government notices advising the people of forthcoming elections, immunization campaigns, agricultural extension lectures and so on.

But if the parish priest performs numerous services for his 793 parishioners, both individually and collectively, he has also the power to refuse them. The sanctions with which he can punish [626] disobedience are considerable. They range from declining to write a good conduct certificate to denying absolution in confession. On the other hand, he has the power to give rewards for services rendered. Aside from doing favours for people who have helped him, he can appoint them to offices which confer prestige and authority and, in some cases, are also financially rewarding. All this serves to underline and reinforce his position as a leader in the community.

Parish priests are usually outsiders, but the rest of the village clergy are natives of the communities in which they live. Unlike Catholic priests in Britain or the United States, who live in presbyteries, the diocesan clergy of Malta and Gozo live at home with their relatives. This means that they remain in constant contact with the village. They are often called on to take part in family

CHAPTER V

The Church and Village Politics

Most Maltese regulate their lives by the daily and monthly cycle 796
of religious activities. The major divisions of the day are rung 805
from the bells of the village church. They first ring the Paternoster half an hour before the first Mass. Then the Angelus bell rings a call to prayer at eight in the morning, at noon and at sunset. The final bell of the day is rung two or three hours after sunset, and is a brief request for the living to remember the dead in their prayers. The call of the Angelus is observed by many. When it is rung, work and conversation stop whether in a government office or a village café, men remove their hats, and someone among them leads them in a short prayer. In Gozo I have seen a busy square become suddenly silent and many people kneel in the street as the Ave Maria was rung at sunset. People also often kneel in the streets when the bells announce the elevation of the Host during a sung Mass, and during Benediction in the evening. And finally, late in the evening, clusters of relatives and neighbours can be seen sitting in their open doorways reciting the Rosary together before they go to bed.

Most girls and women and many boys and men attend one of 184
the three or four daily Masses which are offered in all parish 796
churches between four and seven in the morning. Virtually every
one in the village attends one of the five or six Masses offered on
Sundays. The few who do not attend are known to the village, [626]
and are the subject of gossip and other social pressure. Since the [659]
recent dispute between the MLP and the Church, however, their
numbers are increasing.

As the church bells mark the important hours of the day, so the 796
principal divisions of the year are set out by the annual national
and parochial religious feasts and processions. Besides being major [541]
religious occasions, they are eagerly looked forward to as recreational [655]
events. Though secular spectacles, such as political rallies,
the government-run Carnival procession and, above all, the [546]

III

A previous chapter set out the hierarchical organization of the 79
Church. It was observed that rank was determined by seniority in 292
combination with certain marks of honour conferred by eccle- 293
siastical authorities in recognition of merit. Besides rank, these honours often bestow the right to certain external signs, which are much prized. The many religious processions and ceremonies provide occasions on which parishes can display their symbols of rank to outsiders. For example, the Canons of a Collegiate church wear distinctive ceremonial robes, and are permitted to carry a huge silver mace in processions as a sign of their church's rank. They add a great deal of colour and pageantry to the religious processions in which they are invited to participate. An old man once described Collegiate churches to me as 'the ornament of all other parish churches', and added, 'where there are no Canons, there is nothing in a procession.' The clergy of a church which has received the title of Basilica may carry in procession a huge red and gold damask umbrella. They are also permitted to carry a bell, to wear gold buckles on their shoes and, on certain occasions, to say Mass facing the congregation. As with the title Collegiate, the title Basilica can only be bestowed upon a church by Papal sanction. In Malta it has been given only to the Collegiate churches of Senglea and Birkirkara, to the churches of Mt. Carmel and St. Dominic in Valletta, and in Gozo to that of St. George in Rabat.

The bestowal of honours is not in fact determined by merit 79
alone. In view of their importance as symbols of excellence, they 626
become counters in the competition between parishes and be- 628
tween parish associations. Their acquisition is thus a matter of 664
great concern to the entire community, and often becomes the subject of political action. That is, persons and groups try to influence those who make the decisions in relation to their bestowal. Through their network of personal relations, leading village figures, including the priests, try to influence the Bishop and the monsignori who surround him. They also bargain with these authorities, and if an unfavourable decision is handed down, they may resort to an open show of disrespect towards the Bishop – by smashing his coat of arms, for example – to signal their dissatisfaction and so attempt to force him to reconsider their

79 claim. The final decision is thus made in response to a great many
● 626 pressures. The honour usually goes to the contender who can
628 present the best case and apply the strongest pressure. This is
normally the largest and most influential of the groups competing
664 for the honour. Thus the number and degree of honours bestowed
on any group are roughly equal to its social importance to the
community of which it forms part.

The current dispute in Gozo over the bestowal of the title of Basilica on the church of St. George provides an excellent illustration of the length to which the pursuit of such honours may be carried. For many years the Collegiate Chapters of Nadur and Xagħra unsuccessfully sought to obtain this title for their respective churches. During that time the Bishop had been able to avoid having to commit himself. In Nadur many believed that their church would be the next in Gozo to become a Basilica as a compensation for certain privileges which were modified some thirty years ago. The people of Xagħra, for their part, were also under the impression that their church would become the first Basilica in Gozo.

The claims of Nadur and Xaghra were not the only ones. There was also that of the new parish which the Bishop had created around the church of St. George in Rabat. Many argued that this new parish should take the lowest position in the diocesan table of precedence. But the new parish was located in the island's capital, and many of Gozo's most influential citizens had been instrumental in bringing about its creation. Moreover, the church of St. George was one of the oldest in the diocese. In brief, the thought of their parish having an inferior rank to that of the small rural parish of Munxar, hitherto the lowest-ranking parish, was distasteful to the townsmen. As a Basilica the church of St. George would take precedence over all other parishes and occupy a place immediately before the Collegiate Chapters. The partisans of St. George were in an excellent position to make their voices heard in the Curia, and late in 1958 the title was formally bestowed upon their church. The people of Nadur and Xagħra, led by their disappointed Canons, reacted with great vigour. The abuse and violent action that resulted were as insulting to the Bishop as anything that the Labour Party has been accused of directing at him or at the Archbishop of Malta.

Nadur and Xagħra all but severed relations with the Curia.

Both boycotted the annual festa of St. George, and in 1961 some 79
hot-heads in Xagħra even erected a road block to prevent cars 626
from the village going to Rabat. The people of Nadur refused to 628
celebrate their own festa, or to take part in the St. Gregory pro- 664
cession. They also refused to allow the Bishop to administer the sacrament of Confirmation in their parish. In Xagħra someone exploded a bomb on the roof of the Archpriest's house because many considered that he, an outsider, had not worked hard enough to secure the Basilica. In 1960 Xagħra celebrated only the internal festa, and even that was not without incident. Shortly before the festa, the Bishop received an anonymous letter accusing him of being an enemy of the village. Later, when he visited the village to assist at the High Mass, he was given a hostile reception. Then it was discovered that part of the throne that he was to sit on during the service was missing. Furious at these insults, he issued formal interdicts against the person or persons unknown who had written the anonymous letter and 'stolen' his throne.

To date the dispute has not been settled. The people of Nadur 79
and Xagħra both say that peace cannot be restored until they 626
receive some other honour to compensate them for the lost 628
Basilica. To back up their claims, they have each spent tens of 664
thousands of pounds during the past few years decorating their 346
respective churches. In Nadur the new marble pulpit cost almost £5,000, and the work of covering the walls with marble may cost as much as £20,000 before it is completed.

This type of dispute, however, is not limited to Malta's sister island. The Collegiate Chapters of Birkirkara, Senglea and St. Paul's Shipwreck in Valletta have similar unresolved conflicts over precedence, and they refuse to take part in processions together. But not all their disputes are limited to matters of precedence. In 1949 the people of Birkirkara smashed the Archbishop's coat of arms and heaped rubble in the main door of their church, thereby symbolically denying him entrance. They were protesting because the Archbishop had abolished, among others, the right of the Chapter to choose as Canons only those priests born and baptized in Birkirkara. The Holy See was able to resolve the dispute, and a few years later it bestowed the title of Basilica on the town's church.

361 residence pattern is certainly true in Farruġ, and I observed much
the same thing in other villages divided by festa partiti. In Farruġ,
621 65 per cent of the people living on the main square and the four
streets leading into it supported St. Martin, but only 46 per cent
of those living in other parts of the village did so.

Disputes between partiti usually concern matters of precedence
578 or their ability to display devotion to their saints. Each partit has
621 certain rights, usually secured at the cost of clashes with its rival.
[575] These include the position and participation of the club and con-
[794] fraternity in Church processions and at other functions, the routes
over which these processions travel and the possession of certain
property and its display in the parish church. Any attempt to
● [626] extend or reduce them is resisted by the partit affected, which
takes action to protect its interests by trying to influence the
Church authorities, who must make the final decisions.

The structural position of a partit determines the kind of
621 pressure that it can bring to bear upon the Church. Those of
626 titular saints are, in a sense, the establishment parties. As we have
794 seen, the Church seeks to build up their celebrations at the
796 expense of the secondary ones. Hence a titular partit can negotiate
from a strong position: its ultimate sanction is refusal to participate
in the feast of the village patron, an event which the Church is
anxious to see celebrated with great pomp. Secondary partiti, on
the other hand, are inherently opposed to the Church in matters
of festa policy. They try to increase the scale of their feasts, while
the Church tries to reduce them. They dare not cancel their feasts
for fear that the Church would accuse them of making trouble
and suppress them, as it did the secondary festas of Our Lady of
Lourdes in Qrendi, and St. Michael in Żabbar.

621 Their position in opposition to Church policy has given most
secondary partiti a certain *esprit de corps* and unity of purpose that
626 their rivals often lack. This has made them better able to with-
665 stand the divisive effects of the political factions which have
794 recently weakened many of their rivals. It has also generally
resulted in the emergence of stronger leaders. Secondary partiti
are often united around a single professional class leader who can
not only hold the partit together in the face of the attacks of its
opponents, but can also argue intricate points of Canon Law with
the monsignori at the Curia and, at times, with the Archbishop
621 himself. As we have observed, the secondary partiti generally have

fewer professional class members. Consequently competition for 621
the role of leader does not occur so often, and there is a longer
tenure of office. In the partit of a titular saint, with its better-educated
members, there are more men with the necessary qualities
of leadership, and accordingly more competition for office
and a high turnover of office holders. The competition both [578]
creates and results from internal factions which weaken the group.
In Farruġ, for example, the President of the St. Roque Band Club 575
has led the St. Roque partit more or less continuously since Dun 621
Rokku died thirty years ago. He is also just about the only member of the partit with the educational qualifications and social position required of a leader. The key positions of the St. Martin Band Club, in contrast, constantly pass between about half a dozen educated persons. This divided leadership has weakened the club; and on one occasion it even split in two. The strong leadership and internal unity of the secondary partiti, plus the fact that they rarely present claims that are not well founded, has enabled them to score many successes in spite of their apparently unfavourable position in relation to the Church.

Disputes between festa partiti are all very much alike. A typical 578
dispute begins when leaders of a secondary partit petition the 621
parish priest for some new privilege, for example the right to
renew the bouquets of artificial flowers which adorn the statue of 793
their saint. The parish priest normally refuses at first, and tells 794
them that he thinks the old flowers are quite serviceable. His policy is to let sleeping dogs lie. Moreover, he has to take into account the rule that decorations for secondary feasts must not be more beautiful than those for titular ones. But the saint's supporters continue to bring influence to bear on him. In the meantime, members of the titular partit have learned of their rivals' move and rush to the parish priest to point out that the old flowers are
more than adequate. They threaten to cancel their feast if he [626]
gives in on this matter. The priest is now caught in a vice, and the pressure on him builds up. Finally, he agrees to refer the whole case to the Curia and passes the matter upwards, usually with a feeling of relief. Relations between him and the partiti return to normal, as the scene of the struggle shifts to the Curia.

The Curia normally appoints experts to re-investigate the merits of the case, including the proposed design of the flowers. Leaders from both partiti spend a great deal of their time at the

578 Curia trying to persuade all concerned, from the Bishop down, to
621 think the way they do. This may go on for years, for the Curia,
knowing the trouble that lies ahead, is usually in no hurry to give
793 its decision. When the final decision is handed down, it is usually
794 favourable, and the design for a set of flowers less beautiful and
costly than the corresponding set of the titular partit is furnished.
The secondary partit then instructs the craftsmen to begin work.
The titular partit announces to everyone that it will cancel its
next feast.

It often happens, however, that just before the new bouquets (or whatever *objets d'art* are concerned) are inaugurated during the secondary festa, the parish priest discovers that most of the Curia's specifications have been ignored. The new flowers are far more beautiful than they were supposed to be. He is furious. The guilty leaders of the secondary partit apologize profusely and take immediate steps to make them less beautiful. Occasionally, the priest may discipline the partit by temporarily reducing the scale of its feast. The secondary partit then holds its feast, and the flowers are admired by all visitors. Strong police reinforcements usually prevent trouble from occurring. Relations between the parish priest and the titular partit are gradually re-established and it agrees, usually for some concessions on his part, to celebrate its feast again. But in a year or so, a new dispute occurs, and the process starts all over again.

Sometimes relations between a parish priest and a partit reach
578 a deadlock that can be broken only by an outside peacemaker,
621 frequently an officer of the police. The police in any case have a
625 vital interest in the degree of rivalry existing in the villages, as it is
793 their business to keep order during the feast. The number of
794 police on duty at these times ranges from a dozen or so in villages
such as Siġġiewi and Naxxar, where there are no partiti, to around
100 in those where there are strong ones, such as Mqabba and
● [626] Żurricq. Occasionally a parish priest is threatened, frightened by
a home-made bomb, or attacked; he then often requests, and
generally receives, a transfer to another parish.

So far only the more important encounters between partiti have
543 been discussed. There are many other events to keep their rivalry
575 alive throughout the year. The numerous fund-raising fairs of
578 the band clubs are occasions for the village to divide along festa
621 partit lines. While supporters of the partit running the fair flock

to it, their rivals invariably stage their own fair or, and this is 621
more usual, hire several buses and noisily leave the village for a 578-
picnic or a pilgrimage to some shrine of their saint. Many other [575]
incidents divide groups and associations along partit lines. For [543]
example, a former head teacher of the Farruġ school told me that [301]
he had once tried to get the girls to wear the dark blue hair ribbons which are supposed to be part of their school uniforms. He was astounded when half the girls flatly refused. It was then explained to him that blue is the colour of the St. Roque partit, so the St. Martin girls could not be expected to wear it.

Let us now look at some of the major skirmishes which have 578
taken place in Farruġ during the last ten years. During 1952 and 621
1953 there was a dispute over an attempt by the St. Roque pro- 79'
cession to pass along a street over which St. Martin's followers claimed exclusive rights. When the inexperienced new parish priest backed the St. Roque claim before the Archbishop, he brought violently into the open a dispute over which his pre-
decessor had successfully procrastinated for years. The followers [626]
of St. Martin not only refused to celebrate their feast, but also succeeded in frightening the unfortunate priest rather badly by exploding a huge rocket in the drainpipe under his house. Some St. Martin partisans gleefully recounted to me that the priest was soon transferred to another parish, and that during his last week in Farruġ he had asked the police to escort him between his house and the church. Relations between the Church and the St. Martin partit were restored when the Archbishop modified the St. Roque procession route.

In 1956 the St. Martin Band Club refused to celebrate the titular [575]
festa because the Archbishop had given the Confraternity of St. Roque permission to renew the four bunches of artificial flowers which decorate the main altar during his feast. The following year the St. Roque Band Club refused to play at the installation ceremony of the new parish priest because the Curia had just turned down the confraternity's request for permission to hang a new picture over its altar. In 1960 the same priest angered the St. Roque partit by refusing to let it participate in the St. Martin centenary celebrations. The poor man's hands were tied, for the St. Martin club had declared that it would have nothing to do with the feast if its rival took any part in it. At the moment, there is another struggle in the offing. The Confraternity of St. Roque

208 walls and shouted at public meetings. Mintoff is portrayed as a
Socialist devil working to give the islands over to Communism
578 in the manner of Cuba's Castro. These are some typical examples
665 of the ones that appeared on the blackboard outside the Kortin
795 Catholic Action centre: 'Mintoff is the enemy of the Church', 'Nobody can serve both God and the Devil', '"The Bishops are interfering in politics!" That is what Communists say,' and 'We don't want Communists among us!' In stating their case, Mintoff and his supporters did not mince words either, as the following slogans that appeared on the blackboard of the Kortin Labour Party club demonstrate: 'We want a chance in court about the $60,000 lie',[1] 'With the Papal flag in their hands and shouting for vengeance', 'A fish begins to stink from its head',[2] and 'In Gozo they told the women that we have tails.'

208 The popular slogan 'Either with the Bishop or against the
Church!' sums up the uncompromising attitude of the Church.
578 Most of the sanctions it has imposed have presented that choice
665 to the people in unequivocal terms. Early in May 1961, shortly
794 after the Labour leaders were interdicted, all Church lay societies
795 were instructed to obtain from each member a pledge of his full and unqualified support for the Archbishop. Those that declined to give this were expelled from the society concerned and their names reported to the national office of Catholic Action. But a more drastic sanction was imposed a few weeks later. After the
[783] Executive of the Labour Party had invited the Archbishop and the
[226] Bishop of Gozo to debate their policy in public at a Labour rally
in Cospicua, the Bishops replied to this insult by issuing a circular which declared it a mortal sin to print, write for, sell, buy, distribute or read the Labour Party newspapers. All confessors were instructed to put the necessary questions to their penitents.

578 Hence, to remain a Labour supporter, a person has to forego the
665 Church sacraments that he has been brought up to believe vital
794 to his happiness and spiritual salvation. This is a very serious
795 choice for a practising Catholic, and before these sanctions were
imposed, the Maltese were among the most devoutly Catholic
[851] people in the world. It has also meant that MLP supporters cannot
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[1] This refers to the Archbishop's charge, made at a rally in March 1961, that Mintoff had received $61,000 from the allegedly Communist dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which the MLP had just joined.

[539] [2] A Maltese proverb meaning that corruption first becomes apparent among people in high places. This was presumably directed against the Archbishop.

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act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented 665
from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred 794
not to baptize their children. 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have [851]
stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything [608]
that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that [664]
there is nothing incompatible between support of their political
leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the
slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has
become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the [208]
Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it
does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue
to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have
been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized
their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for
personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does
not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This
attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters
who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the
military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist
and a practising Catholic at the same time.

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on
the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this
struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been
unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from
church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a [626]
confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone
to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very
difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to
live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people complained about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour
Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some
extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role
for the non-practising Catholic.

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed 115
up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. 578
We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked 665
him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the 794
Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Com- 795
munist by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am 829

MLP cost them their jobs.[1] Others have friends or relatives on the 578
other side with whom they do not wish to break. Yet others, 665
responsible for maintaining the unity of a neutral club, fear that
an open stand will bring about a crisis which would divide it.
Although most of these persons continue to read the condemned 204
papers, they do so discreetly, for reading them openly would 578
provoke incidents. There are also a large number of Labour 626
sympathizers who have been unwilling to forego the sacraments
of the Church. They no longer read the Labour papers or attend 665
MLP rallies, but they are bitter about having been forced to make
the choice.

The physical act of purchasing a Labour newspaper has in itself become a public statement of political allegiance. After the condemnation and the threat of a general Church boycott of their premises (which was carried out in Gozo) most vendors have refused to handle MLP publications. In the villages they can usually only be bought at the local MLP club. Thus the act of striding across the village square and into the stronghold of the devil, performed in front of many of the village elders, becomes an open declaration of sympathy with the Labour cause. In Kortin many wait until the square is empty, usually around midnight in the summer, and then scuttle into the club to get their papers.

III

There is a correlation between occupational class and support for 467
one of these two ideological divisions. In general, professionals, 665
white-collar workers and farmers support the Archbishop, and
industrial labourers the Labour Party. There are several reasons
for this. To begin with, the Labour Party is a working-man's party, and there is ideological support for it on that account. Although the MLP has a definitely socialist ideology, and is a member of the Socialist International (points on which the Church attacks it regularly), it advocates few of the measures associated with doctrinaire Socialism, such as public ownership of transport and industry or the collectivization of farming. On the other hand, it does promise equal opportunity for all, and 'the right of the

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[1] The Malta Government Circular of 19 October 1960 prohibited most grades of civil servants from holding office in political organizations or publicly expressing their political views. This regulation is something of a paradox in a small country in which most intellectuals work for the government in one capacity or another. E56

463 Grand Harbour and first establish themselves in the conurbation
467 surrounding it has helped to keep the farmer devoutly tied to the
665 Church. For this reason the action of the MLP in challenging the
authority of the Bishops is as abhorrent to him as it is difficult
to understand.

463 The recent sanctions of the Church have increased the class
alignment of those who support the Labour Party and those who
578 oppose it. This is largely because those with high social status have
665 more to lose than industrial workers, and are thus more vulnerable
795 to the pressure of public opinion and the Church. The
increasingly heavy pressure of the Church has forced many of the
● [626] young professionals and intellectuals to abandon the party for
which they voted in 1955. But even when the MLP was in office,
its policies began to alarm many in the professional and middle
classes. They objected not only to Mintoff's attitude to the
Church, but also to the somewhat abrupt way his government
occasionally dealt with the professional and business communities.
Many were disturbed by the MLP's rather sudden switch from
advocating integration with Britain to demanding complete
independence. As most of those who left the party or became
inactive in it were moderates, both in their approach to the
Church and to the economic and political problems facing Malta,
the MLP has become more extreme in its outlook. This in turn
[656] induced others to leave it. This process was accelerated by the
regulations which prohibited the better-educated civil servants
from taking an active part in the political life of their country.

463 Table 7 below shows the rough correlation between occupational
class and support of the Malta Labour Party. In particular,
665 it demonstrates that as the proportion of skilled workers decreases,
666 so does the proportion of voters who support Labour. Other
variables are the number of professionals and farmers. The
Second and Fourth Electoral Districts polled the highest number
of Labour votes in the 1962 election, and the Sixth and Tenth the
lowest. The MLP polled 56 per cent of the total votes in the
Second Electoral District, where 45 per cent of the working
population are classified as skilled labourers.

In contrast, it received only 6 per cent of the votes in Gozo, where only 16 per cent of the people are skilled labourers, but 38 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Another important variable is the number of clergy resident in a district. The relatively high

festa partit form the nucleus of his political following. It is not 575
surprising therefore that he should support the party they favour. 621

There is another interesting way in which festa partiti in general, 665
and secondary partiti in particular, are related to support for the
Labour Party. In all villages divided by these partiti, people have 621
become conditioned to opposing the authority of the Church in 578
connection with matters dealing with the celebration of feasts. 665
This, I suggest, has enabled them to accept the anti-clerical outlook 795
of the Labour Party more easily than the people of villages not so divided. An old stone-cutter in Kortin, who was procurator of one of the small chapels in the village, once unconsciously pointed to the structural similarity of the MLP and secondary festa partiti. We were discussing the resemblance of the Strickland crisis of thirty years ago to the present political dispute, when he pointed to the parish church and remarked, 'I've always been against them. I was for Strickland. I'm for Mintoff, and if we had partiti here, I would support the secondary feast.' There is, of course, a difference between the opposition of a secondary partit and that of the MLP. Nonetheless, both oppose the authority of the Church and both resort to attacks on the clergy to drive home their points of view. This is anti-clericalism. Both the festa partiti and the Labour Party make a distinction between the person and the office of the cleric they attack, and they appear to attack the former rather than the latter. But repeated attacks upon the person holding an office may weaken the office itself. Thus prolonged anti-clericalism can lead to anti-religious sentiment, or at least prepare the way for it. This, I feel, has happened in the case of the festa partiti.

In challenging the decisions of the Church relating to matters of 578
festa policy a festa partisan often resorts to violence. He frightens 621
the priest with home-made bombs to show his displeasure, to try 79
and change the decision and even to compel him to leave the [626]
village. But he never attacks the ultimate right of the Church or its ministers to make those decisions. Indeed, some friends in Farruġ were quite shocked when I suggested that they were doing just this. On the other hand, this constant rebellion against the authority of the Church has accustomed people to being at odds for long periods with their parish priests as well as with the Archbishop. During these times, they often ignore what the Church has to say if it does not agree with the point of view they

578 hold. This is the accepted pattern of behaviour, not only in
villages divided by festa partiti, but also in others which have disputes
621 with the Church. But it is only in the villages with festa
79 partiti that these disputes, and the related anti-clerical action, take
place on a regularly recurring basis. In these villages, though
people are devout in observing many details of their religion,
constant opposition to the parish priest in matters connected with
festas has led them to look upon a measure of anti-clericalism as
part of their way of life.

The relative lack of respect for the clergy in these villages has
578 been partly responsible for a rather high turnover of parish
621 priests. It has been shown how uncomfortable festa partiti can
554 make the life of a parish priest. This, plus the meagre living in the
793 smaller parishes, prompts priests to look for openings in wealthier
and less troublesome villages. The Church itself regards the small
rural parishes as training or 'stepping-stone parishes', as a monsignor
from the Curia once described them to me. But even as
such, they are unpopular, and the Archbishop often has difficulty
finding priests willing to take charge of them. Farruġ, for
example, has had six parish priests since 1953. The lack of continuity
of Church leadership in these small, divided villages has
tended to weaken its influence there and to foster a lack of respect
for its authority.

In this social climate the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party
578 fits without great difficulty. Labour supporters have already had
621 experience as festa partisans in ignoring the commands of the
665 Church, and in enduring the taunts and disapproval of their rivals
795 in the other partit. For them anti-clericalism is nothing new, and
[626] they are thus not as vulnerable to public opinion and the sanctions
of the Church as persons in villages which do not have this
tradition of opposition to the Church.

But if there is a certain similarity between the anti-clerical behaviour of many festa enthusiasts and that of MLP supporters, most persons make a distinction between the two. The anti-clerical actions of the festa partiti are usually directed against particular clerics in connection with specific decisions. In contrast, the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party is directed at the Archbishop in particular and often at all priests in general. This difference stems from the fact that basically their challenge to the authority of the Church differs significantly. Where the festa partisan does

same political party. Thus a politician who is also a leading 578 621
member of a festa partit always asks a rival candidate from his 665
party to come to his village and canvass the party votes from the
opposite festa partit. 666

Most people believe that politicians trade promises to assist
festa partiti in return for votes. One well-known Labour politician 621
who is the leader of the secondary festa partit in his own village, 66
made such a promise to gain the support of a neighbouring
secondary partit that was facing eviction. In return for the votes of
the partit, he offered to introduce a bill into the Legislative
Assembly which would prevent landlords from evicting band
clubs. The proposition appealed to the partit and the bill, which [671]
gained a great deal of support for the Labour Party from other
clubs as well, became law.[1] In fact, it was one of the first laws the
MLP enacted after it was returned to office in 1955. Partly as a result
of his promise of assistance, but also because of his keen interest in
the problems of secondary festa partiti, this candidate became so
identified with this neighbouring partit that he had to ask MLP
candidates from the other side of the electoral district to bid for
the Labour votes of the members of the opposite partit. He
naturally asked them to canvass the Labour votes of the titular
partit in his own village as well.

But perhaps the most famous case of this kind, and certainly the
most conspicuous, took place in Gozo. For many years the supporters
of the Leone partit in Rabat had been embarrassed by the
fact that the statue of their beloved patron could not be taken in
processions from the cathedral. There was simply no way for her
to pass through the walls of the old citadel in which the cathedral
was situated. The members of the partit wished to remedy this by
breaching the wall and making a large gate, but the Antiquities
Board strongly opposed the idea. Finally, an ambitious MLP candidate
came to their rescue. He is alleged to have promised them
help if they voted for him. Whether the deal for votes is true I
do not know. I do know, however, that the politician was elected
and succeeded in having a huge new gate torn in the historic
citadel. That he did this at public expense, against the orders of his [626]
Ministers and in defiance of the Antiquities Board, is evidence of
his ingenuity and single-mindedness. Of course, it might also have

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[1] Act V, 1955: 'An Act to Amend the Reletting of Urban Property (Regulation) Ordinance.'

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been due to the amount of pressure that the partit brought to bear on him.

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But popularity, close contact with the electorate and the support of his party and festa partit are not always enough to assure the success of a candidate. In order to understand why this is so, it is necessary to examine the electoral process. The system of voting which has been used in Malta since 1921 is proportional representation with the single transferable vote. The country is divided into ten electoral districts, each of which returns five representatives to the Legislative Assembly. The districts are based on population density, and each averages about 15,000 registered voters. A candidate need not be resident in a district in order to stand for election there, and he can stand in two districts at the same time. If he is successful in both, he relinquishes one seat, which is then filled by a member of his party chosen in a by-election. At the polling booth each voter is given a ballot paper listing all the candidates standing in the district, and is required to rank them by placing a number against the name of each, to indicate the order of preference. After the polling is finished, all the ballot boxes from a district are opened simultaneously and the ballot papers mixed. The votes are then counted. As each paper is opened, a single vote is credited to the candidate to whom the voter has given first preference. This is the first count. A candidate is declared elected if he receives a certain proportion of the total number of votes cast.[1] After the first count the candidate with the lowest number of votes is eliminated, and his votes are redistributed in accordance with the second preferences. The votes are then retotalled for the second count. The candidate with the lowest number of votes is again eliminated, and his votes are redistributed for the third count. The elimination of candidates and the redistribution of their votes continues until five candidates receive the required quota of votes.

Few candidates are elected on the first count, for the first preferences of the voters are generally distributed among a large number. First preferences reflect the popularity of a candidate and the size of his following, but the secondary votes he receives are

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[1] This quota, the Droop quota, is one plus the total number of votes cast, divided by the number of seats (5) plus one.

578 disappeared when the old Constitutional Party died out in the long
period of Governor's rule and the war that followed. At present,
659 however, the MLP shows no signs of weakening. On the contrary,
665 it is as tightly united and strong today as it has ever been. Thus
795 this conflict will in all probability continue to divide Malta and
Gozo in the foreseeable future, though its intensity may fluctuate.

It is well to remember that this study was carried out at a time
114 when the hostility between these two camps was at its peak. Some
578 of the examples that have been given, therefore, are extreme cases
659 which would have been quite inconceivable even ten years ago.
It is also possible that ten years hence they will appear equally
665 strange. But this does not detract from the relevance of the
795 analysis, for if the examples given are ephemeral, the principles
which they illustrate are permanent.

III

578 In many respects the rebellion of a political party against the
659 authority of the Bishop is similar to that of a festa partit against its
parish priest. There is an important difference, however; the festa
665 partit can appeal an unfavourable decision of its parish priest to
795 the Archbishop. If the latter rules against the partit, it can bring
pressure to bear that may result in the transfer of the parish priest.
● [626] A political party, on the other hand, cannot appeal the unfavourable decisions of the Bishop to any local authority, for in his diocese his word is law. Though in theory such disputes can be referred to the Holy See, in practice, as in the case of Strickland's conflict with the Church, they fester for so long that by the time Rome is brought in reconciliation is difficult, if not impossible. If in practice a political party cannot appeal to a higher authority, it can even less agitate for the replacement of the Bishop. Thus disputes remain unresolved and the supporters of the political party become progressively more anti-clerical. Finally, their anti-clericalism is equated with anti-Catholicism, and their rebellion against authority with revolt against the social order.

But is it in fact a revolution? It is important to draw a clear distinction between rebellion and revolution.[1] In the case of the former, people may turn against a leader personally, and may

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[1] Cf. Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 28.

578 there have been remarkably few of the overtly hostile attacks,
common when festa partiti are registering disagreement. What
621 accounts for the qualitative difference in the violence between the
665 groups involved in these two types of conflict? What prevents the
794 national political conflict from degenerating into widespread
violence, from destroying normal relations, thus making
shambles of the social order? Is it merely the presence of a large,
efficient police force?

In point of fact, there are many institutions and ties that operate
578 to exert pressure on the opponents to reach a settlement, and so
621 prevent the dispute from destroying the social system. The most
important of the factors that inhibit the spread of conflict is the
626 existence of persons whose loyalties are divided between the conflicting
665 sides. Such persons have a vested interest in the maintenance
795 of peace and limitation of the area of conflict.[1]

The considerable difference between the disputes of festa partiti with the Church, and the conflict between the Church and the Labour Party, has been stressed. The disputes involving festa partiti are localized, their course is highly formalized, there are acknowledged peace-makers: they are clearly rebellions in the sense that Gluckman uses. These disputes are also tightly circumscribed by customary safeguards which keep them from spreading and channel them through set stages until they have been resolved. It is patterned action which, in spite of its occasional violence, does not threaten the position of the Church. In contrast, the conflict between the MLP and the Church is not localized, it is not circumscribed by a body of custom which keeps it from spreading, and there are no acknowledged peace-makers who can mediate between the disputants. Not only is it inherent, it is irresoluble. There is an air of revolt about it and if it were allowed to run to the violence of some of the clashes between festa partiti and the Church, it could throw the country into civil war. The violence of the festa partiti does not threaten the social order, that between supporters of the Church and the MLP would.

What keeps the conflict from becoming more violent are the thousands of persons who have their allegiances divided between the Church and the Labour Party. All these people work to keep the conflict from spreading, if not actually to make peace. Who are they? They are the countless persons whose families have been

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[1] *Ibid., passim.*

divided by the conflict, the office-holders who have laid politics 578
aside to preserve the unity of the clubs for which they are responsible, 621
the many who have sought to avoid open commitments to
either side, and to remain in contact with both. They are the 626
people who, in spite of all that has been preached and said against 665
them by both sides, still look to both the Archbishop and Mintoff as their leaders, the one in the religious sphere, the other in the political. They see nothing inconsistent in hanging pictures of the two side by side in their houses. All have a vested interest in peace; and all work in their own way to keep the conflict from spreading and destroying completely their customary way of life.

At one time the entire civil service worked to prevent the 578
spread of conflict in much the same way. When the Labour 626
Party took over the government many civil servants, forced by
the nature of their office to carry out the orders of the party in 647
power, were obliged to administer policies which were contrary 665
to the declared interests of the Church. Their loyalties were thus 795
often divided between the two. Some of the higher civil servants carried messages between the two sides. Others called at the Curia merely to assure the Church that they implemented unwillingly the controversial policies. Yet others acted quietly in their own various ways to reduce the tension between government and Church that made their own positions so uncomfortable. Civil servants at all levels thus worked to keep the Church and the Labour Government in touch with each other and exerted considerable pressure to prevent the relations between the two from deteriorating even more. But their conciliatory influence came to an end when the Labour Party resigned. It is not surprising, therefore, that with the removal of this bridge between the MLP and the Church, the conflict became more intense almost immediately.

The two sides are now linked together only by the many persons 578
with conflicting allegiances. Yet their ability to keep the 626
conflict from spreading is slowly being reduced by the uncompromising 665
position of the Church which is forcing them to take
sides openly. As these persons reluctantly do so, the important 795
cross links that tie the two combatants together are snapped off one by one, and the conflict becomes progressively more intense.

V

578 What of the future? It would seem likely that the present con-
665 flict will continue. The dispute between the Church and the
795 Labour Party has become institutionalized in many villages
through their respective associations and social clubs. The major
political activity at the village level will thus most likely continue
to be a reflection of that at the national level. It will be a dispute
between those who wish to preserve the identity of the village as
a parish, with the dependence upon the Church that it implies,
and the secular elements who wish to establish the village as a
political unit apart from the Church. But there will also be other
578 conflicting groups, such as the festa partiti, which will continue
621 to manipulate this political division to their own advantage. The
665 leader of one of the secondary festa partiti indicated to me how
795 this may take place. He was discussing the recent attempts of the
Association of Secondary Feasts to increase the scale of its mem-
[626] bers' feasts, and concluded by remarking, 'If the Archbishop
doesn't increase our feast this year, ninety per cent of the club will
vote for Mintoff in the coming election.' Thus in the future, as in
the past, the Church will continue to be one of the central actors
in the drama of Maltese village politics.

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[794] the towns. Ċenzu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 **A. Land.**

427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 **C. Livestock.**

231 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats;
234 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 **D. Capital.**

[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[407] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

E. Labour.

*159 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
464 - In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
[465] Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[422] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and
[241] threshing machine each year. Costs of contract
[407] plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

*159 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic
433 because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising
451 yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 - some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
134 241 - deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorĉa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 157 ● 626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159 241 434 An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming
178 for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter,
46 while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be
*[159] the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual
interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the
greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic
[369] feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent
increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agri-
[162] culture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time
farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of
full-time farming is significant in the present overall
retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

*159 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people
156 around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as
well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social
461 life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is
626 most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on
517 speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids
his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on
493 the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he
to plow on Sundays or festa days he would be "publically
ostracised and no villager would hire him and his plow".
His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at
high speed from time to time along with others of his generation
who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than
farming".

*159 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical.
156 He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of
593 illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism
of the past and the traditional. Father and son
argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending
to assume that his education and wider experience entitles
him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments.
Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough
for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite
the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his
father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself
doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data')
156 system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni.
[583] He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle
without the older people of the village criticising him for
not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate
of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the
ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs
which his education and his knowledge of the world outside
the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he
is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs,
he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close
[178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the
new methods and implements which he has brought to the
village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are
a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father
472 works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their
407 joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention.
Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago
and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta.
000 They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

186 the village, which draws in native sons and daughters from all over
the country, and often from as far away as Canada and Australia.
621 This loyalty is also evident at other times. Villagers like to think of
796 themselves as a united body, and they take care to protect the
appearance of unity before strangers. This is an attitude of which
186 anyone studying the social history of a village becomes keenly
609 aware. Strangers are thus treated with great reserve. The inhabi-
tants of the smaller villages are well known for their reluctance to
621 give any information about their neighbours to strangers. In-
quiring visitors are often referred to the parish priest, who, as
village spokesman, screens them and, if possible, deals with their
questions. The reserve of a village *vis-à-vis* a stranger is consider-
[627] ably more than just an expression of village loyalty. Present also
is the very real fear of vengeance should the answer to a stranger's
question lead to some unpleasantness for a neighbour. Social
relations in a small village are to a very considerable extent
governed by the proverb 'Don't make an enemy of your neigh-
bour' (*Tagħmilx għadu lil ġarek*).

In view of this loyalty, it is not surprising that people express
628 their solidarity with their native village by opposition to other
villages. A village's traditional rivals are usually those with which
it has the most frequent contact. I was almost invariably warned
by villagers that the inhabitants of the neighbouring village were
a treacherous and savage lot. There are many tales of hostility
between neighbouring villages, especially over the celebration of
the annual festa, which I dare say have lost nothing in retelling. I
was told a number of stories of how youths stampeded goats
through their rivals' festa processions, and of expeditions which
stole fireworks, attacked street decorations and performed other
daring escapades. Although most of these adventures are said to
have taken place many years ago, they are no more unusual than
some of the incidents that I witnessed.

[178] If the intense inter-village rivalry of former times has abated
somewhat, it is probably because increased education and contact
outside the villages have helped to break down ignorance and
[796] isolation. But this rivalry still lies dormant, and may flare up at the
slightest provocation from a traditional rival; I have seen a num-
[526] ber of fights over trivial incidents during festas and football
[112] matches. The number of police at village feasts and the quantity
and density of the barbed-wire entanglements at the Schreiber

192
ir-rjus il-kbar, 'the big heads'. But if asked, a person will often 554
deny that such persons exist, and reply, 'Here we are all the same; 621
we are all from the village'. 793

II

The authority of the State is represented by the police, who are 625
formally responsible for law and order. Each village has a police
station manned by a small contingent of constables under a
sergeant. Several villages make up a police district under an
inspector. In Malta most policemen live outside the villages in
which they work. But it is usual for Gozitan constables stationed
in Malta to be quartered in the police stations to which they are
assigned.

In addition to their official duties of law enforcement, the police [659]
distribute voting certificates, help conduct censuses and give out [657]
the allotments of free food to old age pensioners and people on
relief.[1] They also perform many favours for local residents. They
help people fill out government forms, and occasionally allow the
station telephone to be used for private calls. They are sometimes 625
able to mediate in local disputes. Disputants very often report each 627.
other for insults, threats or some minor infraction of the law –
throwing waste water and rubbish in the street is one of the most
common – thus hoping to strangle their enemies in its due process.
The police constable on duty is often able to reconcile the
disputants and persuade them to withdraw the charges and
counter-charges.

In general, the punitive role that the police are occasionally 625
forced to play is offset by their role as distributors of government
assistance and by their general helpfulness. District inspectors try
to avoid personal relations with the people in their districts since
they must prosecute all criminal cases, and personal ties might
prove awkward. Sergeants and constables, on the other hand,
normally maintain friendly social contact with the local inhabitants.
They are often invited for drinks during feasts and weddings,
and quite a number marry local girls. The Maltese police thus play

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[1] The government has distributed surplus U.S. agricultural products to different groups of needy people since 1956. This food was first secured through the Co-operative for American Relief to Everywhere, Inc. (C.A.R.E., Inc.) and more recently through the Catholic Relief Services of America. The Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare, not the police, selects the beneficiaries.

their designation with a certain tolerant wisdom. Not so the present young 178
generation in the farming community for whom education and material facilities 241
have presented the chance of escape from a social inferiority complex.

The village was traditionally the community-group in rural Malta. Contact 369
with the towns and Valletta was limited, especially for the villages of the west [628]
and in Gozo, until buses, press and rediffusion narrowed the gulf, but it was hardly less than the contacts between the villages themselves. The village was the group for most social interaction. Currently, the trend is towards a Malta-wide community-group in which villages are losing much of their isolation, although there is very little uniformity in this process. Sub-urban villages are clearly absorbing non-rural characteristics much more quickly than is the case in outlying parts of the Islands.

The nucleus of village life is the Church and the first citizen is the Parish 793
Priest. The Priest combined teaching and general advisory duties with his spiritual role (see Chapter VI C). He was also the main link with the world outside the village through his relaying of general news from his pulpit. Normally, land transfers and a wide variety of matters connected with the agricultural cycle were announced by the Priest. The Church was the social meeting place and the basis of institutionalised activity. Even the village *festa*, that single day [796]
of wild exuberance, noise, fire-works, procession and carnivalesque has as its pretext a religious observance such as the honouring of the particular Saint of the village or the National Feast of the Shipwreck of St. Paul. In all this, the link between Priest and people was often further cemented by wide kinship connexions within the village. The son of an illiterate farmer might progress [555]
through Seminary and University to return to his home village as a priest and to be claimed as a relative by many members of that static and much intermarried community.

Such proximity, together with the very number of the priesthood in any parish made for a familiarity with the personnel of the Church just as confession, fasting, observance of Saints' and other special days, quite apart from the daily Mass, made for close acquaintance with its practice.

It is convenient to use the past tense in the foregoing only because the picture 178
sketched has been modified in recent decades. It is however still the essential basis of communal life, especially in the rural community which, as suggested, holds to traditional custom longer than does the town. The modifications which have appeared are important in this present consideration because they lie behind the current social upheaval in which the individual countryman is being faced with a clash of new against old. If, as seems possible, he leaps to the new so completely as to relinquish the old entirely, then the traditional order of society will disappear along with the agricultural system on which it is based. This is the problem of the farmer in Maltese rural society.

An early non-religious movement was that of the Band Clubs; the first 575
appeared in Rabat in 1860. But even these came to be identified with particular Churches and also with parish rivalries. The Band Club grew to become a major feature of social life in both town and country in Malta, although in Gozo it has had only a limited extension outside Victoria.

The Band Club is essentially a male organisation. Women have never been 562
more than tolerated spectators and, to this extent, the movement reflects the [575]
place of women in Maltese society. Emancipation of women has spread into the countryside from the towns but even today women take an undemonstrative part [462]
in village activity and their movement outside the home is largely confined to Church-going, shopping and possibly field-work. The modern young woman who has had at least eight years schooling seeks paid employment beyond the house and fields. In rural circles the tendency is still to frown mightily at such a suggestion but it can only be a matter of a few years before what is now accepted in Valletta becomes tolerated in rural Gozo.

Functional diversification has been the keynote of twentieth century village 178
society in the Maltese Islands. There is no evidence to show that there is any challenge to the position of the Parish Priest in matters religious (the situation has been less satisfactory from the point of view of the Church in urban Malta)

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the country, and often from as far away as Canada and Australia.
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matches. The number of police at village feasts and the quantity
and density of the barbed-wire entanglements at the Schreiber

Stadium, where most village football matches are played, are in 628
themselves evidence that fights during these occasions are the rule [526]
rather than the exception. [712]

Although there is little formal contact between villages, there
is a considerable amount of informal coming and going between
their inhabitants. Most inter-village marriages are between part- [582]
ners from neighbouring villages, and the network of kin ties that
these form helps to bind the villages of a district together. Inhabitants of neighbouring villages travel to and from work on the same buses, and see each other often at the annual feasts of the district. These multiple relations contribute to a certain district spirit. The most striking example is the unity of the Gozitans, although people from the south of Malta have something of the same spirit of belonging to a particular district. Nonetheless, the knowledge the inhabitants of the southern Maltese villages have of each other cannot be compared to that of the Gozitans, who, for the most part, not only recognize each other by face, name and nickname, but usually know a surprising (and often uncomfortable) amount of personal details about one another.

IV

A person becomes a member of a village by being born there, or 217
marrying or moving into it. The administrative details connected 591
with these acts are quite simple. Parents must register the birth of [621]
a child at the local police station, and the parish priest enters the [851]
child's name in his register when the baby is baptized, which usually takes place within a few days of its birth. If a man marries into a village, his name will be entered in the parish register, for under Church law the marriage must be performed by the parish priest of the bride, or his delegate. If the couple settles in the husband's village or in a strange village, their names will be recorded on the annual census there, the *status animarum*, which every parish priest prepares for his bishop. All changes of address are supposed to be given (but often are not) to the Rationing Office and, if the person is over twenty-one, to the Electoral Office. No other civil authorities are interested in a person's whereabouts.

In point of fact, however, most people live in the villages into 369
which they were born. This is another respect in which the towns 591

794 repair and improve the statue and its pedestal. The procession also
796 includes a dozen or so masked penitents who walk barefooted or
crawl the length of the procession route dragging heavy chains
[785] behind them. It is a most solemn and impressive spectacle.

Very early on Easter morning the bells ring out the announcement of the Resurrection, and the sacristan, helped by Anton and Pawlu, removes the black damask from the church walls and sacred pictures. Later in the morning the procession with the statue of the Risen Christ passes through the village.

II

796 Of all the village feasts, the most important is always that of the patron saint of the parish church. The patron or titular saint of a church is the saint under whose special protection its founders have placed it. The titular of the parish church thus becomes the patron saint and protector of the village. In addition to the more usual religious ceremonies and processions, the people express their devotion to their patron with band marches and tremendous displays of fireworks. These celebrations provide the chief public entertainment of the countryside.

796 But the annual festa is more than a superior religious feast and
a time of amusement for the village; it is also an event upon which
628 village prestige depends. During the feast thousands of people crowd in from every part of the island. All these visitors have definite ideas on how a good festa should be run, and nothing they see or hear escapes their critical attention. The decoration of the church, the lighting of the streets, the quantity and firing rhythm of the exploding rockets are compared with those of their own and other feasts. The reputation of the village depends upon their judgement. This is a matter which concerns everyone, and the village draws together to display itself to the outsiders in the most favourable light. House fronts are repainted and new clothes are bought or made. The church is illuminated, the interior is hung with red damask and its treasures are placed on display. Every year the village tries to acquire at least one new work of art for this display. The principal streets and the square are lined with vividly painted papier mâché statues of prophets and saints, interspersed with urns from which sprout dazzling branches of electric light. Overhead, scores of colourful arches, strung from

house to house, transform the streets into gaily lighted tunnels. The 796
pjazza is usually draped in flags, and all the clubs are also dressed 628 ●
in their festal finery and their doors thrown open to the public.
Many bands are hired and the mountains of fireworks are fused [533]
and made ready. All this is done before the visitors from outside [389]
arrive, and involves a great deal of organization, time and money.

The festa is thus an occasion on which communal values are re- 796
affirmed and strengthened, as individuals and groups express their 182
loyalty to their patron saint and unite to defend and enhance the
reputation of their village. At the same time, the central position
which the Church occupies in the social structure is strongly
reinforced, for the parish church is the hub around which this
festive occasion turns.

A festa is also an occasion on which the bonds of kinship are 796
reinforced, for each family opens its doors to its relations, especi- 182
ally to those who live in other villages. Grown sons and daughters 602
return to their parental home, forming, for a few hours, a grand
family with a depth of three or four generations. Because of this
influx of relatives, younger children learn to recognize more
distant relatives whom they might not see at any other time of the
year, and become aware of the network of kin relations that
stretches out from their home. As parents become momentarily [584]
more indulgent during the festa and relax their watchfulness, it is
also a favourite meeting time for courting couples and a tradi-
tional occasion on which marriageable boys and girls are intro-
duced to one another.

The celebration of a village festa usually lasts three days. It 796
consists of religious ceremonies, which take place principally
within the church, and secular celebrations outside the church.
The Maltese themselves make a distinction between these two
elements in the festa: they call the former the 'internal feast' (*il-*
festa ta' ġewwa) and the latter the 'external feast' (*il-festa ta' barra*).
These often take place simultaneously. The mixture of sacred and 123
profane which results was shown to me very vividly during one 796
of the first festas I attended. I was in the church during a particu-
larly solemn moment in the service of worship. Suddenly there
was a nerve-shattering burst of fireworks from the roof of the
church. Then, slowly, the sharp smell of burning gunpowder
began to drift in through the open doors and mingle with the
pungent odour of candles and incense. After that I ceased to be

III

A previous chapter set out the hierarchical organization of the 79
Church. It was observed that rank was determined by seniority in 292
combination with certain marks of honour conferred by eccle- 293
siastical authorities in recognition of merit. Besides rank, these honours often bestow the right to certain external signs, which are much prized. The many religious processions and ceremonies provide occasions on which parishes can display their symbols of rank to outsiders. For example, the Canons of a Collegiate church wear distinctive ceremonial robes, and are permitted to carry a huge silver mace in processions as a sign of their church's rank. They add a great deal of colour and pageantry to the religious processions in which they are invited to participate. An old man once described Collegiate churches to me as 'the ornament of all other parish churches', and added, 'where there are no Canons, there is nothing in a procession.' The clergy of a church which has received the title of Basilica may carry in procession a huge red and gold damask umbrella. They are also permitted to carry a bell, to wear gold buckles on their shoes and, on certain occasions, to say Mass facing the congregation. As with the title Collegiate, the title Basilica can only be bestowed upon a church by Papal sanction. In Malta it has been given only to the Collegiate churches of Senglea and Birkirkara, to the churches of Mt. Carmel and St. Dominic in Valletta, and in Gozo to that of St. George in Rabat.

The bestowal of honours is not in fact determined by merit 79
alone. In view of their importance as symbols of excellence, they 626
become counters in the competition between parishes and be- 628
tween parish associations. Their acquisition is thus a matter of 664
great concern to the entire community, and often becomes the subject of political action. That is, persons and groups try to influence those who make the decisions in relation to their bestowal. Through their network of personal relations, leading village figures, including the priests, try to influence the Bishop and the monsignori who surround him. They also bargain with these authorities, and if an unfavourable decision is handed down, they may resort to an open show of disrespect towards the Bishop – by smashing his coat of arms, for example – to signal their dissatisfaction and so attempt to force him to reconsider their

79 claim. The final decision is thus made in response to a great many
626 pressures. The honour usually goes to the contender who can
● 628 present the best case and apply the strongest pressure. This is
664 normally the largest and most influential of the groups competing for the honour. Thus the number and degree of honours bestowed on any group are roughly equal to its social importance to the community of which it forms part.

The current dispute in Gozo over the bestowal of the title of Basilica on the church of St. George provides an excellent illustration of the length to which the pursuit of such honours may be carried. For many years the Collegiate Chapters of Nadur and Xagħra unsuccessfully sought to obtain this title for their respective churches. During that time the Bishop had been able to avoid having to commit himself. In Nadur many believed that their church would be the next in Gozo to become a Basilica as a compensation for certain privileges which were modified some thirty years ago. The people of Xagħra, for their part, were also under the impression that their church would become the first Basilica in Gozo.

The claims of Nadur and Xagħra were not the only ones. There was also that of the new parish which the Bishop had created around the church of St. George in Rabat. Many argued that this new parish should take the lowest position in the diocesan table of precedence. But the new parish was located in the island's capital, and many of Gozo's most influential citizens had been instrumental in bringing about its creation. Moreover, the church of St. George was one of the oldest in the diocese. In brief, the thought of their parish having an inferior rank to that of the small rural parish of Munxar, hitherto the lowest-ranking parish, was distasteful to the townsmen. As a Basilica the church of St. George would take precedence over all other parishes and occupy a place immediately before the Collegiate Chapters. The partisans of St. George were in an excellent position to make their voices heard in the Curia, and late in 1958 the title was formally bestowed upon their church. The people of Nadur and Xagħra, led by their disappointed Canons, reacted with great vigour. The abuse and violent action that resulted were as insulting to the Bishop as anything that the Labour Party has been accused of directing at him or at the Archbishop of Malta.

Nadur and Xagħra all but severed relations with the Curia.

Both boycotted the annual festa of St. George, and in 1961 some 79
hot-heads in Xagħra even erected a road block to prevent cars 626
from the village going to Rabat. The people of Nadur refused to
celebrate their own festa, or to take part in the St. Gregory procession. 628
They also refused to allow the Bishop to administer the 664
sacrament of Confirmation in their parish. In Xagħra someone exploded a bomb on the roof of the Archpriest's house because many considered that he, an outsider, had not worked hard enough to secure the Basilica. In 1960 Xagħra celebrated only the internal festa, and even that was not without incident. Shortly before the festa, the Bishop received an anonymous letter accusing him of being an enemy of the village. Later, when he visited the village to assist at the High Mass, he was given a hostile reception. Then it was discovered that part of the throne that he was to sit on during the service was missing. Furious at these insults, he issued formal interdicts against the person or persons unknown who had written the anonymous letter and 'stolen' his throne.

To date the dispute has not been settled. The people of Nadur 79
and Xagħra both say that peace cannot be restored until they 626
receive some other honour to compensate them for the lost 628
Basilica. To back up their claims, they have each spent tens of 664
thousands of pounds during the past few years decorating their 346
respective churches. In Nadur the new marble pulpit cost almost £5,000, and the work of covering the walls with marble may cost as much as £20,000 before it is completed.

This type of dispute, however, is not limited to Malta's sister island. The Collegiate Chapters of Birkirkara, Senglea and St. Paul's Shipwreck in Valletta have similar unresolved conflicts over precedence, and they refuse to take part in processions together. But not all their disputes are limited to matters of precedence. In 1949 the people of Birkirkara smashed the Archbishop's coat of arms and heaped rubble in the main door of their church, thereby symbolically denying him entrance. They were protesting because the Archbishop had abolished, among others, the right of the Chapter to choose as Canons only those priests born and baptized in Birkirkara. The Holy See was able to resolve the dispute, and a few years later it bestowed the title of Basilica on the town's church.

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
795 up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
[591] but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
197 even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutterals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

628 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gożo that a
186 man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to
point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some
comparatively recent date[13].

Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic
621 structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese
793 village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest,
795 and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely
an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church
by the new features and modifications of the old landscape
in the present.

175 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young
361 Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement
has acquired the essential features common to rural society
throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria
Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on
account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the
sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in
the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church
[172] in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1580[14]. Evidence, too,
of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat
(2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the
village.

175 However, in the early part of the nineteenth century,
farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now
361 the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of
793 the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell
795 (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general
movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an
independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual
needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from
Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of
St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918.
Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr
had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to
their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the
Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning
Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area per-
175 manently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a
346 full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and
[793] settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a
new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the popula-
tion of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911).
[463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect con-
cerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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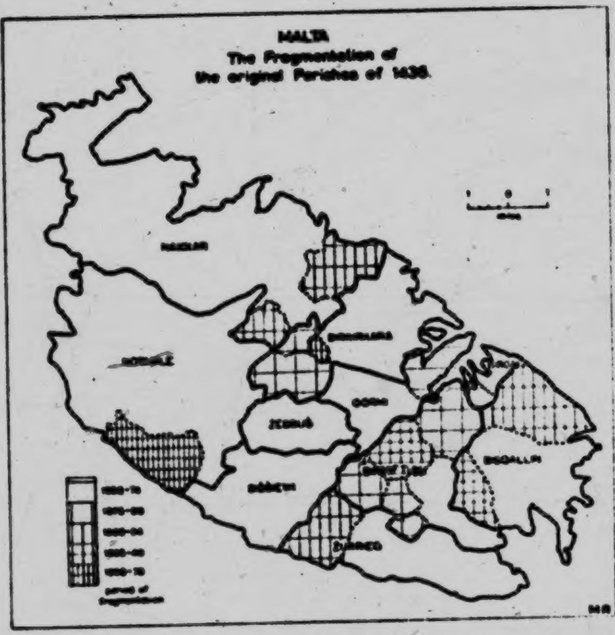

Fig. 38 The Fragmentation of the Original Parishes of 1436.

As early as 1836, a member of a Royal Commission was able to say that 'the real grievance of the Maltese lies beyond the reach of Commissioners and Governments, namely the excessive population'. At this date, as we have already seen, a steady increase of population had been maintained for some 300 years. During the nineteenth century, advances in medicine and sanitation together with increasing economic prosperity were reflected in a falling death rate and an accelerating natural increase. Thus between 1842 and 1956, numbers nearly trebled, rising from 114,000 to 316,000 and the overall density increased from 935 to 2,511 per square mile. While the rate of growth has in most European countries declined during the present century, that of Malta has remained at or above the levels of the nineteenth century. Only in the last few years has the Maltese crude birth rate begun to decline and only in the post-war period has emigration been on a large enough scale to act as a check on numerical growth. As will appear, neither of these simple facts gives any ground for optimism.

Fig. 37 shows the absolute growth of population in the Islands. In Malta, the rate of increase has been cumulatively high although during three past periods, first between 1861 and 1881, and later during the two World Wars, it declined to relatively low levels. Since 1948 the rate of growth has been consistently low and occasionally changed into absolute decrease. In Gozo, total increase has been smaller and fluctuations both larger and differently timed. Between 1861 and 1871 population increased remarkably rapidly, while between 1911 and 1921 there was an absolute decrease. Since 1948 trends have conformed with those of Malta.

Such absolute figures need consideration from several aspects. The economic background has already been considered. Details of distribution and structure of the population must now be examined.

621 move for religious feasts and family celebrations. Sometimes a
number of these farms are clustered around a chapel or small
794 church dependent upon the parish church. In time, these hamlets
795 may disappear; historical sources cite many which have long since
vanished.[1] On the other hand, a hamlet may grow to the point
where its inhabitants can afford to build a larger church and in
other ways successfully press their claim to become a separate
● 632 parish. Most rural parishes in Malta and Gozo have come into
being in this way. Some towns have been divided into two or
794 more parishes for administrative reasons. In Malta, Qormi and
795 Valletta are each divided into two parishes, and Sliema into three.
[578] Rabat in Gozo is currently being divided into two parishes. But
because of fierce rivalry between the residents of the territories
concerned, the exact boundary line is disputed and the territorial
division will probably take another generation to complete.

79 The parish priest, who in all but the smallest parishes is assisted
by a curate or more, is responsible to the Church for the care of
[609] the souls of all Catholics resident in his parish. Except where
foreign service personnel live with their families – notably in
Rabat, Naxxar, Mosta, St. Paul's Bay, Luqa and Birżebbuġa – all
villagers are Catholic, and are thus the priest's parishioners. These
parishioners also form part of the corporate body of the Church.

793 The clergy in Malta, as in all other Catholic countries, are
divided into two main groups: the secular or diocesan clergy, and
the regular clergy. Diocesan priests are trained in the Bishop's
Seminary and are directly subject to the authority of the Bishop.
A further distinction is made between those diocesan priests whose
families or patrons have been able to provide them with a benefice
– either property or cash deposited at the Curia bank – yielding
a minimum of £10 annually, and those who have received
their benefices from their Bishop. After the first five years the
former, who are by far the most numerous, are free to serve
where they wish. The latter always remain at the service of their
Bishop. Most parishes are run by diocesan priests, and the clergy
[792] resident in the villages belong to this group. The friars and monks
of the regular clergy are members of religious orders. They have
been trained in the seminaries and houses of their particular orders.

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[1] An interesting study of villages which have disappeared is given in M. Richardson, *Aspects of the Demography of Modern Malta* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1960), pp. 243 ff.

[P. 180]

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APPENDIX 3 : THE BUILT-UP AREA

"A Township is the definite urban-type built-up nucleus of a census locality" (v. B/188, p.38). On this basis the 'township' area and population within each census locality may be distinguished:

	LOCALITIES		"TOWNSHIPS"	
CENSUS LOCALITIES	LAND AREA. sq. miles A	POPULATION. B	LAND AREA, as % of A.	POPULATION. as % of B.
Valletta	0.281	18,202	100	100
Cospicua	0.241	9,095	100	100
Senglea	0.057	5,085	100	100
Vittoriosa	0.205	4,242	100	100
Gżira	0.411	8,545	38.9	99.3
Sliema	0.485	23,399	100	100
Floriana	0.341	5,811	100	100
Pawla	1.068	11,424	24.8	100
Marsa	0.863	10,672	39.6	100
Hamrun	0.360	16,895	73.1	100
Msida	0.368	6,587	53.3	98.9
Kalkara	0.471	2,101	28.9	92.9
Pieta	0.200	4,076	78.5	100
St. Julians	1,635	8,285	17.9	70.8
Balzan	0.236	2,734	68.6	100
Luqa	1.812	5,382	5.6	91.2
Birkirkara	2.736	16,987	15.2	90.5
Tarxien	0.850	7,708	12.5	56.2
St. Venera	0.415	5,248	34.9	75.1
Qormi	2.412	14,889	9.9	95.6
Biržebbuġa	2,994	5,297	4.7	88.1
Żabbar & M'skala	3.2[illegible]	11,893	9.5	61.3
Żejtun	3.777	11,865	5.9	87.2
Lija	0.547	2,119	24.1	98.3
Mqabba	1.242	2,088	5	97.5
Marsaxlokk	1.952	1,469	1.9	92.9
Żurrieq	3.538	6,837	4.3	92.8
Ghaxaq	1.121	2,830	6.8	96.5
Attard	2.090	2,863	7.2	97.2
Victoria	1.835	6,357	19.8	97
Mdina	2.473	823	1.1	100
Mosta	1.900	7,377	14	97.9
Żebbuġ	3.167	7,989	10.2	99.7
Ghajnsielem	1.414	1,830	6.9	98
Gudja	1.709	1,712	2.8	97.4
Qrendi	2.587	2,155	2.2	97.7
Kirkop	0.717	1,204	8.3	100
Naxxar	6.538	4,688	2.7	83
Rabat	8.048	12,792	2.9	82
Xewkija	1.288	3,281	12.9	99.9
Gharghur	2.023	1,813	2	87.3
Mellieha	7.808	4,290	0.9	71.9
Siġġiewi	6.230	5,055	2.4	96.4
Sannat & Munxar	2.167	1,858	4.9	99.6
Nadur	2.487	4,138	7.8	96.7
Safi	0.447	708	10.1	97.7
Dingli	3.874	2,041	1.7	68.5
Qala	2.218	1,818	3.8	95.8
St. Paul's Bay	5.820	3,040	2.1	72.5
Kerčem & St.Lucia	2.442	1,272	4	100
Xaghra	4.654	4,066	5.8	87.9
Gharb	2.043	1,269	2.2	67.3
San Lawrenz	1.355	428	3.4	69.2
Żebbuġ	2.778	1,199	4.4	88.1
Mġarr	5.958	2,167	0.8	31.2
Ghasri	1.423	471	3	41.2
Comino	1,078	30	0	0
Maltese Islands	121.850	319,620	7.6	91.1
Malta	95.876	292,019	8	90.9
Gozo	25.974	27,601	5.9	93.6

NB: - Information from B/188. Table P/IIIb).

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

MALTA – GROUPING of LOCALITIES into CENSUS DISTRICTS

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LOCALITY	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1948
VALLETTA				Valletta District							
FLORIANA	Floriana District										
KOSPIKWA	Cottonera District						East District		Urban		
SENGLEA											
VITTORIOSA											
HAMRUN											
STA. VENNERA											
MARSA					Valletta District						
SLIEMA	Third District										
GŻIRA											
ST. JULIAN'S											
MSIDA											
PIETA									Suburban		
BIRKIRKARA							Central District				
QORMI											
PAWLA	Fifth District						East District				
TARXIEN											
ŻABBAR	Seventh District										
KALKARA											
MDINA											
RABAT	First District						West District				
DINGLI											
MĠARR											
SIĠĠIEWI	Second District										
ŻEBBUĠ						Country Districts	Central West District				
MOSTA											
MELLIEHA	Fourth District										
ST. PAUL'S BAY											
NAXXAR											
GHARGHUR							Central District				
LIJA											
ATTARD	Third District								Rural		
BALZAN											
LUQA	Fifth District										
ŻEJTUN											
MARSAXLOKK											
BIRŻEBBUĠA											
GUDJA	Seventh District						East District				
GHAXAQ											
ŻURRIEQ											
SAFI											
KIRKOP	Sixth District										
QRENDI											
MQABBA											

M.R/J.C.D.1958

Fig. 36 Malta: Grouping of Localities into Census Districts.

[p. 134-C]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

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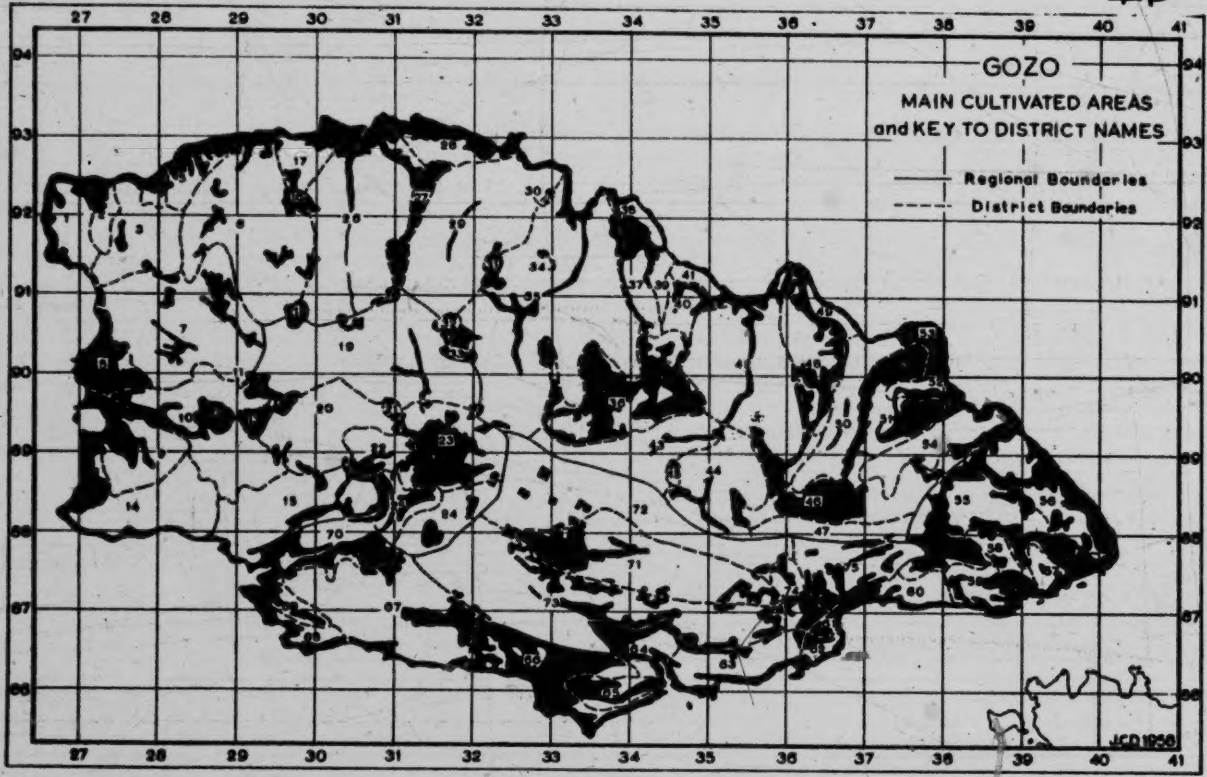
GOZO
MAIN CULTIVATED AREAS
and KEY TO DISTRICT NAMES
Regional Boundaries
District Boundaries
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JCD 1958

Fig. 70 Main Cultivated Areas and Key to District Names: Gozo.

It ^ has faded very rapidly

369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
241 animals or animal products are sold for money.
433

By using the 1948 Census material (B/167 - 1948, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:
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Table 1 (v. Map 2)

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[127]

Urban (0-3%)	
Valletta	0
Cospicua	0
Senglea	0
Vittoriosa	.008
Gżira	.11
Sliema	.24
Floriana	.43
Pawla	.8
Marsa	1.2
Hamrun	1.35
Msida	1.36
Kalkara	1.84
Pieta	2.6
St. Julian's	2.9

Fringe (3-10%)	
Balzan	5.48
Luqa	6.1
Birkirkara	6.16
Tarxien	6.43
St. Venera	6.46
Qormi	6.88
Birzebbuga	7.3
Żabbar	7.35
Żejtun	8.27
Lija	9.9

Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Mqabba	10.5
Marsaxlokk	10.6
Żurrieq	11.15
Ghaxaq	11.29
Attard	11.53
*Victoria	13
Mdina	15.4
Mosta	16.56
Żebbuġ	18.41
*Ghajnsielem	19.2
Gudja	19.91

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Ghargħur	29.1
Mellieha	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Kerċem	56.43
*Xaghra	64
*Gharb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Ghasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Malta.................. 9.11%
Gozo.................. 41.78%
All Islands.......... 12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
369 but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the
464 Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
369 counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages

^[i.e. peasant subsistence farming. -Analyst]

B. Constitutional and Social

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As well as those aspects of economic and commercial life examined in Chapter V A, other elements of recent historical experience in Malta need to be considered before we can begin to understand the contemporary scene. Of these other elements, only a few can be mentioned here, some 'institutional' in character such as problems of Government, Public Health, Education, and the Church; others more individual - consisting of the factors other than institutional that govern human choice - are considered in Chapters VI and X F.

First a brief survey of constitutional developments in Malta. One main theme runs through the whole history of government in Malta, a theme which illustrates the close parallelism of social and economic developments. In so far as Malta exists mainly in terms of her locational value to non-Maltese powers, any system of government is forced to subordinate local interests to those of the metropolitan power. This can always be justified by the valid assertion that the survival of even a residual part of the former depends on the strength of the latter.

Before 1798, government was naturally conceived of in strictly feudal terms. The Order of St. John exercised immediate sovereignty, the indigenous territorial nobility maintaining a certain precarious status by courtesy of the Order. Two assemblages existed, also mainly by courtesy of the Knights, the *Consiglio Popolare* a self-nominating body of squires and clergy which appears to have had very limited nominal functions, and the *Consiglio dell Università* the body controlling the central grain monopoly and which to some extent overlapped with the *Consiglio Popolare*. The municipalities, an over-elaborate name for the towns and villages, were headed by *giurati*, essentially village headmen, and selected nobles. All power, as distinct from position, resided in the hands of the Grand Master and his Council, this necessitated by the function of the Order.

Between 1798 and 1802 British intervention was based purely on military needs as then conceived. During and after French occupation the vacuum left by the *de facto* departure of the Order was to some extent filled by the spontaneous formation of a rather amorphous *Congresso* of local leaders. This body in 1802 declared its refusal to submit either to the return of the Order or to rule by the Kingdom of the Sicilies, but was prepared to become subject to the British Crown. Such a declaration together with claims for acknowledgment of special rights for the *Congresso* and the *Consiglio Popolare* and of the Church, could not be simply accepted in wartime conditions, but provided the basis for later development.

Until the Royal Commission of 1812 (1) made its recommendations for Direct Rule, recommendations followed by the appointment of the first Governor Sir Thomas Maitland in 1813, there was considerable confusion concerning the constitutional position. Briefly we may say that then as later the issue was complicated by three main issues. In the first place, the claims advanced by the Maltese nobility were not consistent with their lack of experience of governing. Secondly, as the 1812 Commissioners found, the old assemblies were neither representative or experienced. Thirdly, the needs of the British Crown were functionally similar to those of the Order in that paramount consideration had to be given to operational security for military and naval forces. Given a largely illiterate and inarticulate indigenous population and an extremely undeveloped feudal society in Malta the final decision was contemporarily valid.

In 1835 Gubernatorial rule was modified by the creation of an advisory 'Council of Government'. By this time certain changes had begun to take place in Malta. As noted in section A port activity and trade had flourished during the closing years of the Napoleonic War, and the new entrepreneurs sought both compensation for the later depression and acknowledgment of the existence of a small but growing *bourgeoisie* in political agitation. The Maltese nobility had continued to press their claims for recognition and power, and negotiations concerning the status of the Church *vis-a-vis* the Metropolitan Court at Palermo, the Papacy, and the Maltese Juridical System, had been held. The 1835 Constitution was regarded through Maltese eyes as unsatisfactory but no real body of Maltese as opposed to sectional opinion had yet developed.

Letters-patent were issued in 1849 for the reconstitution of the Council, on more liberal lines. Of the ten ex-officio members of the administration, half were Maltese, and eight other members were to be elected on a qualified franchise limited by age, financial and literacy qualifications. This development reflected growing liberalism in England and a decline in the emphasis placed on the fortress function of the Islands. In Malta the uneasy relationship between Church and State absorbed more direct attention than did the political situation, but in the issues involved one may perceive the crystallisation of later conflicting elements. Education, an integral part of the activities of the Roman Catholic Church, could not easily be interfered with by a constitutionally Anglican Imperial Government. The natural links between the Maltese Church and Italy reinforced old literary and political connections, and, in the absence of anything other than a vernacular and rural manifestation of indigenous culture, a division between pro-English and pro-Italian groups started to appear. Judicial problems which derived from the great differences between the English legal system and the complex and unique Maltese codes, were further excarbated by the stand taken by the Church. Press censorship, discriminatory libel laws, and privileges for the clergy were all modified only in the face of ecclesiastical opposition (2). Within six years of the promulgation of the new constitution, the reserve of Royal Power had to be used in Council to make it effective. Harrison-Smith (3) maintains that out of it all 'whether dominant or not, the Church emerged *protected* by the Government'.

During and after the Crimean War the issues involved became clearer. The revival of British strategic interest in Malta eventually resulted in, among other things, a reversion to the practice of appointing as Governor the Commander of the Imperial Forces. During Le Marchant's tenure of office (1858 to 1864) in particular, the differences of interest between the appointed and elected members of Council began to produce a permanent division of that body. The exclusion of clergy, religious and judicial officials from the Council between 1857 and 1870 is rather difficult to assess in its consequences. The Council might have become less secularily factional if ecclesiastical opinion which was then not much concerned with purely political matters had been directly represented. Such a course might on the other hand have drawn the Church into the political maelstrom; Malta has been fortunate in that the Church in the event has been able to represent itself as above politics. The main contemporary consequence was that the elected portion of the Council became almost entirely composed of professional men, mainly from Valletta and largely of Italian-Maltese sympathies. The events taking place on the Italian mainland, the immigration into Malta of a number of Italian families, affected in particular the sympathies and feelings of the two and a half thousand electors, who, by the nature of franchise limitations, were already in language and culture quite distinct from the great mass of people.

In 1864 the strength of local articulate feeling was acknowledged by Imperial instructions that 'great consideration should be shown to the opinions of Elected Members . . . above all, no vote of money should be pressed against the majority of the elected members except under very special circumstances . . . ' (4). The problem however remained. Public Works expenditure was soon to rise, touched off by the Cholera Epidemic of 1865, the appointment of a Commission of Public Health in 1874, and the appearance of the Keenan Report on Education in 1880. Such expenditure very often had to be 'pressed against the majority' opinion because of suspicions felt regarding the effects of development policies. It would be quite wrong to present a picture of a consistently benevolent and far-sighted administration forcing progressive measures upon conservative and bigoted elected members; nevertheless it is nearer the truth than a reversed presentation would be. Until 1887, political and constitutional dispute too often resolved itself into trials of strength, with little regard to the merits of the issues concerned, between the Governor and the Council majority. More serious causes of trouble were the Council's claim of Parliamentary privilege for its members,

[P.128]

*175 and in 1877, the first use by the Elected Members of the tactic of absenting themselves on occasion of disagreement with the Governor-as-President.

64 During the 1870's and 80's commercial boom, the associated rise of the *bourgeoisie*, together with the example of party politics in England, and the *Risorgimento* in Italy, all produced a headiness in Maltese political thinking *175 64 665 and a clear division of interests. In 1883 the Governor reported that government was now being obstructed by the appearance in the Council of two groups, apart from that of the appointed members. The first, the *riformista* group was essentially a pro-English language faction, the second the *anti-riformista* was pro-Italian, that is favouring the old dominance of Italian language and culture. From this time onward political parties were born, to English eyes in strange and not easily recognisable forms. In Malta as in other countries in which such parties were sudden products of factional conflict rather than as in England slow crystallisations of attitudes, the names, the labels, such as 'Nationalist', 'Constitutionalist', 'Labour', 'Progressive', 'Workers' are misleading rather than illuminating. To English legislators, then and since, the difficulty of recognising lines of cleavage other than those with which they are by experience familiar can be very dangerous.

*175 64 As noted later (p. 130) the greatest part of the population was little affected through education by the many developments that were taking place. This group, the Maltese-speaking rustics and labourers, was usually illiterate. In the new liberal constitution promulgated in 1887 this element of the population further restricted by age, financial and legal qualifications was to be represented on the Council of Government by ten members themselves selected by rigorous financial and literacy qualifications. The remaining four elected members, even more rigorously selected by financial criteria, were to be chosen by special electors, viz. ecclesiastics, nobles, large landowners, senior members of the University, and members of the *Bourse*. This system of representation, logically defensible at all points, was to have two tragic results of particular relevance to our present study. The first was to ensure that a great deal of power without either the privilege or steadying influence of responsibility was given to the most cosmopolitan and the least Maltese of the Islands' people. Secondly that the cleavage of interests within this largely professional class, although stemming from differing legitimate interpretations of their own ideas of Maltese welfare, soon led to rarefied and rather sterile contentiousness in which little reference was made to the facts of real life in Malta. The old dichotomy between the Maltese and the Knights became perpetuated in a division between the upper middle-class Europeanised Maltese, and the remainder. It would be permissible to suggest that the bridging of this gulf often appeared more important to Englishmen than to the Maltese themselves, although there are of course notable exceptions.

The allocation of power provided for the supremacy of the executive over what had now become a legislature, even although the appointed members were as a group in minority, but it made the wielding of such supremacy a more delicate matter than had been previously the case. No dyarchical division between imperial and local interests was made. For our purposes, however, these and other details of the 44 constitutional articles, are of less significance than the fact that Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and Count Strickland, who in 1886 together led the agitation which led to the new Constitution, were in open disagreement two years later.

*175 64 665 Externally this was a period in which England, France, and to some extent Germany were entering on a contest for naval supremacy, and in which the short burst of conscious European desires for imperial aggrandisement produced many tensions. Increased naval and dockyard activity in Malta was paralleled by a rising tide of secular education, anglicisation and pro-Italian, pro-bourgeoisie reaction. The Maltese and Catholic Strickland, President of the Committee of Privileges of the Maltese Nobility, became Chief Secretary to the Government in 1889, and in his support of Maltese development on English rather than Italian lines, carried on the policy of the equally Maltese and Catholic Savona, one-time Director of Education.

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By the end of the century the struggle had resolved itself into extremes. Mizzi and his followers resorted to continuous legislative obstruction as the only but rather unworthy weapon left for what they maintained was a fight for responsible government. Strickland as Chief Secretary pointed correctly to the damaging effects such tactics were having on all policies including those of education, public health, etc., but conducted an offensive/defensive battle on equally intransigeant lines. Meanwhile British, Imperial as opposed to economic, effort was at its climacteric and Malta as a fortress, whose only value was as a fortress, had to 'suffer' the consequences; a necessary qualification must be made that this really entailed only subordination in status and was accompanied by great advances in all that the mid-twentieth century would term 'welfare services'.

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In 1903 Anglo-Italian relations were good and improving, the Crown and the Vatican, Governor and Archbishop all in amity, while in Malta, 180,000 people had 10,000 enfranchised electors of whom less than 4,000 ever voted. In the Legislative Council, however, tempers were at blazing point and obstruction produced deadlock. Followed Chamberlain's bombshell abrogating the constitution. With effect from 3rd June the Governor's Executive Council and the official group within the Council of Government were given majority power and complete control over policy and action. The reserve powers were re-invoked in all their strength. Malta entered the Modern Age in an unhappy political state, a state vocally resented by a few, ignored by the apathetic majority and a cause of unhappy puzzlement to Westminster.

In retrospect, to the writer at least, the most amazing feature of these developments appears to be their inevitability. Judged in isolation, it may appear facile to suggest that with the stage as set in preceding centuries, with players such natural 'typecast' products of past experience, no other play could have been produced. Judged along with the other evidence, the unity, the cohesion of all things Maltese do make it rather difficult to subscribe here to a doctrine of free-will.

Of the elements in Maltese social life most affected by institutional forces two are of very relevant interest to us, viz. public health and education. Some brief consideration is therefore given to the main developments of these sectors.

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As noted in Chapter VI A the death rate in the Maltese Islands fluctuated considerably but showed a slowly accelerating decline. During the century that elapsed between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the beginning of World War I, the main health improvements resulted from public works construction of a piped water-supply and sewerage systems in the most populated parts of the island of Malta. Developments in preventive remedial medicine and in disease control were slower mainly because of their greater dependence on trained medical staff and on public acceptance of new ideas.

At the mid-nineteenth century conditions were not very propitious for the consideration of suggestions for reducing mortality. Forecasts of impending Malthusian catastrophe were combined with diatribes on the improvidence of early marriage in many surveys by articulate Maltese of a presumed state of overpopulation. The inarticulate members of society continued to regard as normal conditions of which Sutherland (5) said: 'I have very seldom met with conditions so obviously injurious to health, and so likely to determine outbreaks of epidemic disease as those presented by many houses'. In Valletta the Knights had built a sewerage system and a piped water supply but pollution of the latter by the former was common. In the villages, the deficiency of water, refuse accumulation and the use of 'ordure rooms' were a product of ignorance and a cause of ill-health.

The Cholera epidemic of 1865 which slew 2,000 people eventually forced action upon the Government and after much general discussion a Commission of Public Health was appointed in 1874. Significantly enough, attention was focussed on the high rate of child mortality: in that same year, of over 4,000 recorded deaths, more than 2,000 were of children under five years of age. Between 1874 and the end of the century a series of reports [illegible] the blame on a series of associated factors. The ancient Three Cities and the new unrestricted

175 the clergy to charge for their services. Finally, he decreed that no
177 foreign power, even the Pope, might interfere in local religious
648 administration.

By these acts, the French attacked values that were at the very
175 foundation of the Maltese social structure. Moreover, the new
government aggravated the discontent by its failure to meet its
648 financial commitments. Less than two months later, the suppressed
669 hostility flared into savage revolt when the authorities
tried to auction off the property of the Carmelite church in
Mdina. The citizens rose, massacred the town's garrison and
burned their bodies. Then, led by Notary Vitale and Canon
Caruana, a powerful cotton merchant who later became Bishop,
they penned up the main French force under General Vaubois
behind the fortifications of Valletta and the Three Cities. Two
years later the French surrendered to the British force which had
come to assist the Maltese.

Under British rule, Malta changed from a theocracy ruled by a
175 religious order, to a self-governing colony with an active internal
177 political life. Administrative posts gradually passed to Maltese
● 64 hands, and today the civil service, apart from a few foreign
69 experts, is completely Maltese. But in spite of a long flirtation with
[621] various forms of local and regional government, there are still no
village mayors or councillors. The new civic committee in Gozo
is an exception which will be discussed in the following chapter.
Early in their rule, the British abolished the Università. To appease
the wounded dignity of the nobles, they divided Malta into six
districts under the nominal authority of Lords Lieutenant, chosen
from the nobility. These officers were in charge of civil affairs, and
presided over district courts. Each was assisted by syndics, deputies
with magisterial powers, who lived in the villages. In 1839, this
system of local government was abandoned as inefficient and
costly, and district magistrates, also called syndics, were appointed
from the class of advocates. Later, the government
established district consultative committees to advise it on local
needs and to coordinate health measures during epidemics. These
committees were only partly successful, and were also abandoned.
In 1896 the government finally abolished the office of syndic, and,
in the interest of economy, closed the last district courts in 1913.
After that, except for the Magistrate's Court in Gozo, the administration
of justice remained centralized in Valletta.

642 648 more, because Imperial strategic interests limited the terms of reference of these councils, the constitutions permitted only the most rudimentary form of government. Only under the 1887 Constitution did elected members outnumber official members. But this elected majority had no effective power and finally proved so awkward that in 1903 a new constitution reinstated an official majority.

64 [579] After the First World War, there was popular agitation for a more liberal form of government. In 1919, the social unrest culminated in an anti-British riot during which British troops killed four demonstrators. Later that year, Britain announced that Malta would receive a more liberal constitution. The new constitution, which eventually came into force in 1921, attempted to reconcile two conflicting principles: continued British control over her strategic island-fortress, and Maltese self-government. The complicated solution which Britain adopted was dyarchy, under which effective legislative and executive power was divided between the Governor and the representatives of the Maltese people. This created two separate governments.

The Imperial Government dealt with 'Reserved Matters', which included defence, foreign relations, immigration and coinage. The Malta Government consisted of a seventeen-member Senate and a Legislative Assembly of 32 members. The Senate was composed of representatives of the clergy, the nobility, the University, the Chamber of Commerce and the Trade Union Council. [666] The members of the Legislative Assembly and seven members of the Senate were elected by adult males, subject to certain minimal property or educational restrictions.

The 1921 Constitution was suspended in 1930 and again in 1933, and finally revoked in 1936. In spite of a new constitution in 1939, the islands remained effectively under Governor's rule until representative government was restored after the war. The 1947 Constitution again provided dyarchy, but it did not resurrect the cumbersome Senate. The new Legislative Assembly consisted of forty members elected by universal suffrage from eight electoral districts. In 1958, the government resigned following the collapse of talks with Britain over a proposal to 'integrate' Malta more closely with the United Kingdom. As the leader of the opposition refused to form a new government, the Governor suspended and then revoked the constitution.

659 A Papal Delegate visited Malta and concluded that the differences between the government and the Church could best be settled by means of a concordat. During most of the year following the Papal Delegate's visit, Britain tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a concordat and to get the Holy See to forbid the Maltese clergy to take part in the general elections scheduled for May 1930. The Vatican, however, declared that Strickland was not *persona grata* and that as long as he remained in power, a concordat was not possible.

In Malta, the relations between the Strickland Government and
the Church went from bad to worse. In April 1930, two Constitutional
Party Ministers gathered many sworn statements that
Monsignor Gonzi, the Bishop of Gozo, had instructed priests to
preach against the Constitutional Party and to refuse absolution
to its supporters. This inquiry greatly angered the Church. On the
666 first of May, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo issued a joint
659 pastoral which forbade people to vote for Strickland or those candidates
648 who supported him. In view of the spiritual sanctions that
[664] threatened people who voted for the candidates of one of the two
[642] major parties, Britain had no option but to cancel the elections. It
subsequently suspended the constitution, but kept the Strickland
ministers on as advisers.

197 A Royal Commission went to Malta to investigate the trouble.
Following its report, Britain restored the constitution and
● 64 abolished the teaching of Italian in primary schools. In June 1932
665 the Nationalists defeated Strickland and his supporters in a bitterly
666 contested election in which 96 per cent of the electorate
voted. However, their period in office was very brief. The Governor dismissed them in November 1933 for deliberately evading the constitutional provisions regarding language, for they had set about to re-establish the primacy of Italian in the educational system and the civil service. Once again the administration of the islands became the responsibility of the Governor.

186 During the fourteen years of Governor's rule which followed,
the deep wounds caused by the long, harsh political conflict
64 slowly healed. The first Italian bombs of the war finally killed the language dispute. The united defence effort and the common suffering caused by the prolonged bombardment further helped to reunite political rivals and suppress parochial quarrels. Britain awarded the people of Malta and Gozo the George Cross for

their heroism, and after the war restored representative government. 186 64

665 666 In the first election under the new constitution, the people voted overwhelmingly for the Labour Party, then led by Dr. Paul Boffa. But in 1949 a disagreement between Dr. Boffa and his Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction, Mr. Dom Mintoff, split the party. The Nationalists, with the support of Dr. Boffa's new Workers' Party, formed the next few governments. Dom Mintoff's Malta Labour Party gradually swallowed the Workers' Party and finally defeated the Nationalists in the 1955 general election.

659 There was almost constant friction between the Church and the Mintoff Government during the three years it was in office. From the outset, Mintoff showed himself reluctant to submit to the authority of the Church. His refusal to pay the traditional call on the Archbishop, Monsignor Gonzi, when he took office was symbolic of this independence. Many incidents contributed to the disagreement between the two, which grew more intense as both became more outspoken in their criticism of each other. Perhaps the most serious clash occurred over the Archbishop's stand on the Government's proposal to link Malta more closely with Britain. On the eve of a referendum concerning this proposal, Monsignor Gonzi made a broadcast in which he said that he could not support the integration proposal because Mintoff had failed (whether by design or circumstance is an open question) to secure adequate guarantees from Britain to protect the position of the Roman Catholic religion. In spite of this, the electorate supported Mintoff's proposal; but relations between the Labour Party and the Archbishop remained strained.

186 659 Then, shortly before he resigned, Mintoff sparked off a sharp dispute with the Church by hanging in the National Museum a painting taken from St. John's Co-Cathedral. Originally, the government had sent the painting, a Caravaggio, to Italy to be restored. But the government seized it when it returned and declared that since the Co-Cathedral was government property, the painting was a national treasure that should be properly cared for and displayed to the public. In the course of the acrimonious dispute which followed, Mintoff, who had appealed the matter to the Vatican, was ordered by the Holy See to return the painting. He finally returned it on the night before he resigned.

665 were transformed from propaganda and social centres into instruments
of government. As the village branches of the party in
power, they represented government in the eyes of the people, if
not the civil servants. They transmitted and explained the policy
of the administration and they channelled requests to the appropriate
[645] authorities. Ministers made use of the Local Committees
for business at the village level, since the Committees generally
provided their only direct contact with the villages.

IV

182 The State, the Church and the political parties are thus the
national organizations which affect the lives of the people at the
● 64 village level. The State is highly centralized, and has no political
665 representatives in the villages. In contrast to the State, the Church
795 has its official representatives in every village and hamlet. They
are firmly controlled from above. The structure of the Malta
Labour Party also rests firmly on its village level organization.
The differing structural frameworks of these organizations have a
direct bearing on this study. While competition for power at the
national level between the State, on the one hand, and the Church
or political parties, on the other, can often lead to bitter disputes,
such conflict rarely causes division at the village level. In contrast,
disputes at the national level between the political parties, or
between a political party and the Church are transmitted immediately
through their respective structures to the level of the
village. There they bring about a conflict of interest which reflects
the struggle for power at the national level.

642 constitutional status. The British Government had felt
648 unable to accept the Nationalists' request for Dominion
668 status and the transfer of responsibility for Malta from the Colonial to the Commonwealth Relations Office; but neither Party regarded as adequate the British counter-proposal for the removal of Maltese affairs from the Colonial to the Home Office. In 1954 the British Government suggested all-party talks, to be held in London, and Mr Mintoff accepted the suggestion on assuming office in February 1955.

64 Mr Mintoff now put forward the novel proposal that
668 Malta, while retaining its local autonomy and local Parliament (with power to legislate on all matters other than defence and external affairs), should be "integrated" with the United Kingdom and be represented in the House of Commons at Westminster by not fewer than three Members elected in accordance with United Kingdom electoral laws. The British Parliament's reaction to this interesting suggestion proving generally sympathetic, the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, announced in July 1955 that a Round Table Conference consisting of representatives of all political parties at Westminster would be convened for its consideration. The Round Table Conference of seventeen members (including Lord Attlee, Mr A. Bevan and Mr Clement Davies) under the Chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, held twelve plenary sessions in London and three in Malta. Its Report was published in December 1955.[1] The Conference concluded that Maltese representation at Westminster was "practicable and reasonable" and recommended its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government and Parliament if also accepted by the people of Malta.

64 A referendum to ascertain the wishes of the Maltese was
666 held—somewhat prematurely as was thought by some—on
668 the 11th and 12th February 1956. The figures of the referendum showed:

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[1] As Command 9657.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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in favour of integration	67,607	64 ●
against	20,177	666
invalid votes	2,559	668
votes cast	90,343	

As the names on the Electoral Register totalled 152,583 the number of those who refrained from voting was 62,240; [795] and it was assumed that most of the abstentions were due to the misgivings of the Church, which, if not openly hostile to the plan, was certainly not articulate in its favour. Obviously, too, the implications of the proposal far transcended purely constitutional issues: the entire Maltese economy was involved, with inevitable changes in the standard of living and economic consequences for good or ill difficult to forecast. Such terms as "parity" and "equivalence" were added to the slogans of the day.

Those opposed, for one reason or another, to Integration as propounded by Mr Mintoff argued that the poll, although showing a majority *of those voting* as in favour of the proposal, had certainly not resulted in the clear, unmistakable overall majority envisaged as necessary by the Round Table Conference. Her Majesty's Government shared this view to the extent of deciding that the Maltese electors should have another opportunity to pronounce themselves on the subject. On the 28th March 1956, after a debate in the House of Commons, Sir Anthony Eden announced the Government's intention of implementing the Round Table Conference Report in a Bill to be drafted in two parts, the first to contain a new Constitution for Malta, the second to deal with Maltese representation at Westminster. But the Maltese people would be enabled once more to declare their views on Integration at a General Election, to be held in Malta before the United Kingdom Bill finally became law.

The position, then, by the middle of 1956 was that under the constitutional arrangements proposed by the Round Table Conference and accepted by Her Majesty's

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

64 Government the Maltese people would be represented, if
666 they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at
Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative
668 Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a
single Maltese Government would take the place of the
existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly
concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain
the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government
[651] of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would
retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as
the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level
comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Govern-
642 ment and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with
648 fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and
668 financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial
464 difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equivalence" which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his
supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration
and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government.
Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in
April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the
situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of
Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in
[504] British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence
expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest
single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the
reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future
war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last
one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over
464 13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard
668 out of a national working population of just under
504 83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable
proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has
always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

Government and the Church had been restored. That evening, the 21st,[1] Mr Mintoff handed his resignation and that of his Cabinet to the Governor.

The dramatic events of the next three days were described to the people of Malta in the following broadcast made by Sir Robert Laycock on the 24th April:

> "A constitutional crisis has arisen in Malta and I want to tell you how this situation came about and what it means.
>
> "Last Monday evening, Mr Mintoff tendered to me his resignation. He refused to form a caretaker Government but agreed to remain in office until I had tried to find an alternative Government.
>
> "But before Mr Mintoff came to see me, he had already told the people of Malta over the Rediffusion that he and his colleagues no longer wanted to remain responsible for public peace and order in Malta.
>
> "Yet in spite of this statement Mr Mintoff remained Minister of Police. In other words, he remained the Minister responsible for law and order. As such he issued certain orders to the Commissioner of Police during the disturbances last night.
>
> "If these orders had been carried out the Police would have found it very difficult to do their duty. They would have been at a grave disadvantage. Now the Commissioner of Police knows that I alone as Governor am ultimately responsible for your safety. He told me what Mr Mintoff had ordered and he said that, if these orders were carried out, his men would not have been able to do their job.
>
> "The Commissioner of Police asked me what he should do. I had not the slightest doubt that Mr Mintoff's orders were a threat to the public safety and might bring innocent people into danger, and so I told the Commissioner of Police not to carry out those orders.
>
> "This morning Mr Mintoff recommended to me that the Commissioner of Police, Mr Vivian de Gray, should be dismissed. To this I refused to give my approval.
>
> "Last evening, as you know, I consulted Dr Borg Olivier and he informed me that he was not prepared to form a Government. This afternoon, I asked Mr Mintoff to see me

[1] [i.e. April 21, 1958--Analyst]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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again. He came with all his Ministers and we spent two hours together. He failed to convince me that he was prepared to give the proper assurances that he would maintain law and order and I therefore accepted his resignation.

"So the people of Malta are now without an elected Government, and I, the Governor, am without Ministers. I have been forced into a position where I have had to take over control of the Administration, and I want to tell you now just what this means.

"First of all the Legislative Assembly will be dissolved and there will be a General Election at the earliest possible moment.

"Secondly, the Commissioner of Police, Mr Vivian de Gray, remains in command of the Police Force. I can tell you now that everything will be done to ensure the preservation of law and order and public safety in Valetta and indeed throughout these Islands. I trust that there will be no more disturbances and that the elections will be held in complete freedom as they should be in a law-abiding community.

"Thirdly, I want to make it quite clear that the salaries of civil servants and Government employees will continue to be paid without interruption. There will be no crisis over finance or employment.

"I appeal to you, therefore, to remain calm, to maintain law and order, and to go about your day-to-day business as usual.

"Once again I want to say with all the emphasis I can that I am determined to get things back to normal without delay. I want to repeat that free elections will be held at the first possible moment.

"Finally, I want to assure you all that the British Government and people have nothing but goodwill for the people of Malta and will do everything they can to see that you have a peaceful, happy and secure future. As Her Majesty the Queen's Representative in Malta I make that statement without reservations of any kind."

The same day were issued Proclamations dissolving the Legislative Assembly and prohibiting for a fortnight the holding of public meetings and demonstrations in Valetta and Floriana. [656]

C. Constitutional and Social

175 642 During World War I the political situation in the Islands remained amazingly stable. The re-imposition of bureaucratic rule by the Governor removed at least some of the opportunities for dispute. The departure from the political scene of Mizzi and Strickland also removed some of the personal animus that had appeared in the political conflict. During the war, the Maltese manpower contribution in labour battalions and on ship was considerable, and the security of the naval base was never questioned. After the cessation of hostilities there followed economic dislocation and in 1918 15,000 Dockyard workers were discharged, only 5,000 of whom had been re-engaged by 1920. Partly as an ameliorative measure accompanying others more directly valuable, and partly as a liberalist appreciation of services rendered, a new constitution was established in 1921 and further liberalised in 1928.

The 1921 constitution provided for bicameral representative and responsible government. The Governor in Council retained limited but reserve powers although no very clear separation was made between domestic and imperial affairs. For some years relative stability was maintained and political parties, major and minor, began to crystallise. Unfortunately for Malta the issues that had already developed (see Chapter V B) survived and, with the resurgence of nationalism in Italy and the logical extension of the process of anglicisation, all the old suspicions and enmities reappeared. The party which was to become termed 'Nationalist' became the protagonist of the still dominant upper middle-class and professional group and of those who saw the position of the Church threatened by the waning of Italian cultural supremacy. In 1920 a permanent Board of Education was created and in 1924 the Compulsory Attendance Act ensured a certain minimum of attendance once a pupil was registered. Although the Church schools remained independent, the growing dominance of English and to a lesser extent Maltese, and of secular education finally sparked off that antagonism to change which existed. In 1927 Lord Strickland returned to lead a party committed to hasten such change. Once again conflict of interests became acute and after a temporary suspension of the constitution in 1930, it was finally revoked, legally in 1936, in fact with effect from 1933 when Italian finally lost its position as one of the official languages (1). To an outsider, now as then, the period appears tragic in that it is characterised by pre-occupation with affairs of little relevance to the needs of most Maltese. The social and cultural dichotomy within the Islands was maintained.

An attempt to restart constitutional development was made in 1939 by the creation of a representative council but World War II forced a return to centralised government particularly during the state of siege. After hostilities had ceased a fresh approach to the problem was made, much in the spirit of 1920, and in 1947 the Constitution which was in force until 1958 was promulgated. It provided for single chamber Legislative Assembly of 40 members. Party government through an Executive Council advised the Governor. He, as head of the Imperial Government, alone had executive and legislative power in those reserved 'matters touching the public safety or defence', advised by a Nominated Council. In practice, this 'dyarchical' system depended on a logically impossible understanding and appreciation of the division of interests between reserved and non-reserved, imperial and domestic, affairs. Nevertheless, and as realised by the subscribers to the Report on the Round Table Conference in 1955 (2), some reservation of power to the Imperial Government is inevitably necessary.

642 664 Since 1947, the cumulative effects of economic change have transformed the local political scene. There are now over 150,000 enfranchised voters and political power has slipped out of the hands of the upper middle-class. The most succinct statement of the platforms of the various modern political parties as they were before 1958 and probably still are in essence may be found in the Round Table Conference Report (3). To us, the most important feature of the contemporary political scene is the way in which the modern political cleavage

is uneasily superimposed on the traditional pattern. The part played by the 642
Church during the 1956 Referendum on integration with the United Kingdom was 664
most complicated. During the disturbances following the breakdown of Government in the spring of 1958, town and country, proletariat and bourgeoisie, Maltese Malta and Latinised Malta, all reacted differently. Over all responsible actions looms the knowledge that Malta is not a viable independency (4).

As we have seen, education and language have been inextricably involved in 658
politics (5). More directly important is the educational effect on the people as 178
a whole of the system of public instruction. Under the leadership of Dr. Albert Laferla public education became vastly improved in all ways (6), and from his tutelage, more particularly after the Compulsory Attendance Act of 1924, came the generation of Maltese which now forms economically and socially the most important part of the population. After 1933, Italian ceased to be used as a medium of instruction, a standard Maltese orthography came into use (7), and the school system was expanded to meet the most obvious and immediate needs. Education was sadly disrupted by World War II but since that time has continued to improve in quality and range of facilities (8). Compulsory Education as distinct from compulsory attendance came into force in 1946, and in 1955 full-time education became the rule. Some 22 per cent. of children of school age still receive education in private, usually Church run, schools.

It is vital to realise the extent of the social and economic revolution implied in these developments. In the rural areas the change has been one from illiteracy to education within one generation. Even in the towns, and this is particularly true for the new growths associated with dockyard, manufacturing and service industry employment, thoughts and activities are being fundamentally affected by education for the first time in Maltese history. Contrasts between the levels of awareness of the value of formal education are considerable, and the full impact of technical education has yet to be felt - the first Government Technical School was opened in 1934. The chief contrast observable in the field however is between the two age groups, over and under 30 to 35 years of age. The former still contains many illiterate and therefore conservative people; the latter by reason of training as well as age is radical and impatient. The latter attitude is largely responsible for the drift from the land which encourages the domination of agriculture by residual conservatism.

In the field of public health, skeletal public works services had been con- 744
structed before World War I. Recent developments may be regarded as logical 178
extensions both in the sector of public works and in the field of medicine. As late as 1936 the judgment of the Chief Government Medical Officer was 'no scheme of sanitary reform ever met with greater opposition than the establishment of the modern sewer system in Malta' (9), but by 1955, about 270,000 or over 90 per cent. of the Maltese population lived in sewered dwellings, Żurrieq alone among the large villages remaining unserved. In parts of the countryside and in the smaller villages, dispersion of settlement renders prohibitive the cost of connection of each dwelling with the public sewers. The more isolated and the more rural areas are now the regions of lowest standards (Fig. 33).

Medical services, particularly in their relevance to the problem of high infant mortality, developed late and slowly (10). The most serious obstacles were those rooted in Maltese social life (11). The strength of the matriarchal tradition in Maltese household has meant that the ignorance of the oldest generation persists in imposing itself on the life of the youngest. Dirt, over-clothing and under-feeding, the indiscriminate and early use of farinaceous foods, all these were difficult to eradicate in overcrowded and grandmother-dominated conditions (12). The difficulty of educating in hygiene and personal health an indifferent and tradition-bound population proved insuperable and in 1939 the infantile mortality rate was as high as the average for the preceding 20 years.

The final breakthrough occurred paradoxically during World War II. In 1943 178
and 1944 housing conditions and diet were worse than any experienced in peace- 722
time but the death rate and the infantile mortality rate began to fall to record 744

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 179]

175 648 [701] rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans successively occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–1283), the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. In 1530, Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their protesting inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800 Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then they have remained a British possession.

175 776 795 [797] [796] The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the people to Christianity. Whether he converted many is a moot point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor, Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. The Maltese are intensely proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the principal patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

175 793 795 The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, re-established and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of Maltese bishops dates from this period.

175 642 646 Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered

[1] Acts 27 and 28.

by the officials of the governing body, or *Università*. This body, 175
which met in Mdina, the old capital of the island, was composed 642
of representatives of the nobles, learned men, secular priests, 646
merchants and artisans elected by all the family heads in the towns
and villages of Malta and Gozo. The Knights of St. John, however, [439]
severely limited the authority of the Università, and during
their final years it was little more than a public corporation
responsible for the importation of scarce foodstuffs.

The Order made itself responsible for local government. It con- 175
trolled and financed the local militia, police, courts, water supply, 642
public works, hospitals and charities. The government of the 701
Order was highly centralized, and all key posts were held by
Knights, though many of the lesser administrative offices were
given to Maltese nobles, lawyers and clerks. The authority of the [625]
Order was made effective in the rural areas through the police and
the ten Captains who were in charge of military garrisons and
arsenals, located at strategic points for internal security and defence
against war parties and corsairs, and were also responsible for
mobilizing the militia. This paternalistic system of administration
came to an abrupt end when Napoleon drove the Knights from
the islands. Their departure marked the end of an era.

Napoleon remained in Malta only eight days, but they were 175
busy days. According to Laferla, 'it is certain that no one in the 177
space of a few days attempted more, did more and upset the 648
Maltese more than he did.'[1] He set up a nominated council of
Maltese to see to civil administration, remodelled the tribunals
along French lines and established twelve municipal councils. He
abolished the nobility. He closed the University, established a
central technical college and founded fifteen government elementary schools. He also sent sixty sons of wealthy families off to
study at republican colleges in Paris at their parents' expense.

'All this and probably much more would the Maltese have patiently tolerated,' says Laferla, 'had Napoleon not interfered with religion.'[2] For he set out to curtail the influence of the Church. He limited the jurisdiction of the Bishop to purely ecclesiastical affairs, ordered the expulsion from the islands of all non-Maltese clergy and reduced the number of clerics. He also instituted civil marriage, gave protection to the Jews and forbade

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[1] A. V. Laferla, *The Story of Man in Malta* (3rd ed.; Malta, A. C. Aquilina and Co., 1958), p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

In the early years of its rule, Britain moved slowly but firmly to 175
restrict the authority of the Church. As one of its first steps, it 177
imposed a mortmain law which forced the Church to sell off 648
bequests of immovable property within one year. In 1828, it 659
abolished the right of sanctuary and restricted the jurisdiction of 795
the ecclesiastical courts to purely spiritual matters. Shortly afterwards, the Diocese of Malta, until then subject to the Metropolitan of Palermo, was made directly dependent on the Holy See.

In spite of the inroads Britain made on the power of the Church, the relations between the two have, on the whole, remained extremely cordial. This friendliness has been due very largely to the considerable protection which Britain has given to the Church in Malta. To begin with, it is protected from the competition of other religions. The missionary activities of groups such as the Bible Society and the Salvation Army have been severely restricted. Moreover, the government reserves the right to ban public religious ceremonies by non-Catholics if they threaten to disturb the peace. Catholic precepts regarding education and marriage are also safeguarded, for education is on Catholic religious principles, and divorce and civil marriage are not possible under Maltese law. Furthermore, the Archbishop is accorded high honour, and in the jealously guarded order of precedence he is second only to the Governor. Both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo are exempt from the jurisdiction of the criminal courts.

In addition, the first Maltese elected government passed a law in 659
1922, declaring the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the 795
country. Article 161 of the Malta Criminal Code makes it a criminal 671
offence to vilify in public the Catholic religion or its ministers.[1]

Constitutional development in Malta has been a painful and 642
slow process; for it is not a simple matter to give representative 648
government to a fortress. The first constitution in 1835 provided for a council of government composed of five office holders, including the Governor and the Bishop, and three nominated dignitaries. Since then, there have been no less than nine different constitutions. Those promulgated before the First World War established an oligarchical system. Property restrictions on those allowed to vote and hold office resulted in elections by and for members of the landed, professional and merchant classes. Further-

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[1] Act XVIII, 1933.

642 648 more, because Imperial strategic interests limited the terms of reference of these councils, the constitutions permitted only the most rudimentary form of government. Only under the 1887 Constitution did elected members outnumber official members. But this elected majority had no effective power and finally proved so awkward that in 1903 a new constitution reinstated an official majority.

64 [579] After the First World War, there was popular agitation for a more liberal form of government. In 1919, the social unrest culminated in an anti-British riot during which British troops killed four demonstrators. Later that year, Britain announced that Malta would receive a more liberal constitution. The new constitution, which eventually came into force in 1921, attempted to reconcile two conflicting principles: continued British control over her strategic island-fortress, and Maltese self-government. The complicated solution which Britain adopted was dyarchy, under which effective legislative and executive power was divided between the Governor and the representatives of the Maltese people. This created two separate governments.

The Imperial Government dealt with 'Reserved Matters', which included defence, foreign relations, immigration and coinage. The Malta Government consisted of a seventeen-member Senate and a Legislative Assembly of 32 members. The Senate was composed of representatives of the clergy, the nobility, the University, the Chamber of Commerce and the Trade Union Council. [666] The members of the Legislative Assembly and seven members of the Senate were elected by adult males, subject to certain minimal property or educational restrictions.

The 1921 Constitution was suspended in 1930 and again in 1933, and finally revoked in 1936. In spite of a new constitution in 1939, the islands remained effectively under Governor's rule until representative government was restored after the war. The 1947 Constitution again provided dyarchy, but it did not resurrect the cumbersome Senate. The new Legislative Assembly consisted of forty members elected by universal suffrage from eight electoral districts. In 1958, the government resigned following the collapse of talks with Britain over a proposal to 'integrate' Malta more closely with the United Kingdom. As the leader of the opposition refused to form a new government, the Governor suspended and then revoked the constitution.

I did the fieldwork on which this study is based at this period in 642
Malta's constitutional history. A new constitution was promul- 648
gated late in 1961, and elections took place in February 1962. In [114]
place of dyarchy, it provided for 'concurrent powers' on foreign
affairs and defence to be held by the Malta Government and a
United Kingdom Commissioner.

The first Maltese political parties were born out of the con- 197
troversy over language which followed the publication in 1880 of 665
the Keenan report on education. This recommended that English
should be taught in place of Italian in the primary schools, al- 668
though students might later take Italian as an elective subject. In the Lyceum and the University, except for the Faculty of Theology, all work was to be done in English. These recommendations, which the government tried for many years to implement, weakened the dominant position which Italian had enjoyed in the educational system. As Italian was the language of the law courts, the clergy and the University, it was something of a class symbol. Most of the educated classes, and especially the lawyers and priests, strenuously resisted the move to downgrade it in favour of English. Many of the refugees from the Italian wars, who came to Malta after 1850, gave encouragement to the partisans of Italian. The Italian movement also whipped up considerable support amongst the clergy and their parishioners by declaring that English would certainly bring with it increased Protestant influences.

The dispute thus created interest groups which were to dominate Maltese politics for the next fifty years. On one side was the pro-English, or *riformista*, party led first by Sigismondo Savona, later the Director of Education, and subsequently by Count (later
Lord) Gerald Strickland. This party, which generally supported [648]
government policy, favoured close cultural and political ties with Britain. By the 1920's, it became known as the Constitutional Party. Its successor, the Progressive Constitutional Party, is led by Strickland's daughter, Miss Mabel Strickland.

The *anti-riformista* or pro-Italian party was led by Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and later by his son, Dr. Enrico Mizzi. The Nationalist Party eventually emerged out of this group, and today, although the language issue is quite dead, it is still one of the two major political parties. Both parties campaigned for support in the villages and thus, for the first time, forcefully presented national
political issues to the masses.

659 A Papal Delegate visited Malta and concluded that the differences between the government and the Church could best be settled by means of a concordat. During most of the year following the Papal Delegate's visit, Britain tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a concordat and to get the Holy See to forbid the Maltese clergy to take part in the general elections scheduled for May 1930. The Vatican, however, declared that Strickland was not *persona grata* and that as long as he remained in power, a concordat was not possible.

In Malta, the relations between the Strickland Government and
the Church went from bad to worse. In April 1930, two Con-
stitutional Party Ministers gathered many sworn statements that
Monsignor Gonzi, the Bishop of Gozo, had instructed priests to
preach against the Constitutional Party and to refuse absolution
to its supporters. This inquiry greatly angered the Church. On the
666 first of May, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo issued a joint
659 pastoral which forbade people to vote for Strickland or those can-
648 didates who supported him. In view of the spiritual sanctions that
[664] threatened people who voted for the candidates of one of the two
major parties, Britain had no option but to cancel the elections. It
[642] subsequently suspended the constitution, but kept the Strickland
ministers on as advisers.

197 A Royal Commission went to Malta to investigate the trouble.
Following its report, Britain restored the constitution and
64 abolished the teaching of Italian in primary schools. In June 1932
665 the Nationalists defeated Strickland and his supporters in a bit-
666 terly contested election in which 96 per cent of the electorate
voted. However, their period in office was very brief. The
Governor dismissed them in November 1933 for deliberately
evading the constitutional provisions regarding language, for they
had set about to re-establish the primacy of Italian in the educa-
tional system and the civil service. Once again the administration
of the islands became the responsibility of the Governor.

186 During the fourteen years of Governor's rule which followed,
the deep wounds caused by the long, harsh political conflict
64 slowly healed. The first Italian bombs of the war finally killed the
language dispute. The united defence effort and the common
suffering caused by the prolonged bombardment further helped
to reunite political rivals and suppress parochial quarrels. Britain
awarded the people of Malta and Gozo the George Cross for

662 to switch to the party with best chance of success, for they know
666 that if he is elected, he will channel patronage to them, often at
the expense of the rest of his electoral district.

This system of voting also encourages contests between can-
578 didates from the same party. Such contests, carried out in public
66 and in the heat of a campaign, often create hostility among the
leaders of the party, and weaken its solidarity.

Finally, because this proportional system makes it possible for
popular minority candidates to be elected, it encourages dissident
factions to hive off from the major parties and found new ones.
This seriously weakens the parent parties. Thus, although the only
665 political division of real importance is that between the supporters
666 of the Archbishop and those who favour Mintoff, there are now
six political parties in Malta. It is not surprising therefore that the
minority parties, and Miss Strickland's Progressive Constitutional
Party in particular, are strongly in favour of retaining the present
electoral system. Without it they would not be represented. The
Malta Labour Party, which favours a strong two-party system,
would prefer to see substituted an electoral system which would
eliminate the smaller parties and strengthen the major parties. The
Nationalist Party, although it would benefit from a change in the
electoral system which would eliminate many of its rivals, has
remained relatively silent on this point. This is because most of its
leading members are patron-politicians of the old school. They
owe their political life and the influence they command to the
electoral system which has enabled them to build their own per-
sonal political organizations. The Nationalist Party is a party of
respected and influential men, but in their strength lies its weak-
ness. It is a party of politicians, rather than a politician's party. Dr.
Borg Olivier, the Nationalist Prime Minister, is a first among
equals; he does not lead his party in the sense that Mintoff leads
the Malta Labour Party.

In short the Maltese system of proportional representation
[578] facilitates the emergence of minority parties. It also weakens the
major parties by promoting intra-party rivalry and helping to
keep alive the tradition of local patron-politicians. These factors
642 militate against the development of a strong central government.
It can be argued forcefully that Malta, which is facing a critical
66 period in its economic and constitutional development, is now in
greater need of a strong central government than ever before. It

would therefore seem that as this need becomes more pronounced, and as the Maltese voter gains in sophistication, there will be increasing pressure to change the present system of voting to one which strengthens the national government rather than weakens it. 642 66

VI

In addition to personal kin ties, patrons, political parties and politicians, pressure groups provide yet another way by which the villager can influence authorities outside his community. By bringing interest groups from one village into contact with similar groups in other villages, they permit united action for the resolution of common problems. The band clubs and football clubs have active national associations. Village lay apostolate societies have their own national bodies as well as the Diocesan Coordinating Junta, a powerful body which has now become one of the strongest forces opposed to the MLP. In view of the important part it and the other Church societies played in defeating the Labour Party in the recent election, they will probably be able to provide a channel of contact with the Ministers and anti-Labour MLA's. Some have already begun to apply pressure to obtain playgrounds and public conveniences for their respective villages. 664 [575] [794]

Even the festa partiti have their associations. The Association of Secondary Feasts works to obtain new Church privileges for its members. It is opposed by the Association of Titular Feasts, which has formally advised the Archbishop that if he grants privileges to the secondary partiti, its members will stop celebrating the titular feasts. 621 664 794

Finally, there are also a number of trade unions. Though most have no village level organization or representatives, and play no direct part in village politics, some, in particular the General Workers Union and the Gozo Agricultural Co-operative Society, a large proportion of whose members live in the villages, play an important part in national politics. They thus provide another channel through which persons at the village level can influence decisions at the national level. 467 664

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

600 be incomplete without some record of these events. It is a complex story but I will endeavour to tell it as succinctly as possible.

● 642 648 On the 7th July 1943, while the war was yet raging and Malta still in jeopardy, the British Government had made a Declaration from which I quote the following paragraphs:

> His Majesty's Government have had under consideration certain representations which have been made by the elected members of the Council of Government in Malta, who have asked for an announcement regarding their intentions in relation to farther constitutional development. Since the present Constitution of Malta was inaugurated in 1939 the fortress has successfully withstood a siege of two and a half years. During the siege the Island was subjected to heavy and sustained attacks from the air and to a food shortage of increasing gravity. By their steadfastness and fortitude under the severe hardships thus occasioned, the people of Malta together with its gallant garrison rendered services of incalculable value to the allied cause. . . .
>
> For more than ten years, between 1921 and 1933, the people of Malta enjoyed full legislative and administrative responsibility under the Crown in the conduct of their national affairs, the control of naval and military Services and of all matters appertaining to the position of Malta as an imperial fortress, or otherwise affecting imperial interests or policy, being reserved to the Imperial Government. It is the policy of His Majesty's Government that responsible government in the same sphere should again be granted to Malta after the war.

642 646 After the conclusion of hostilities no time was lost in taking the first steps to implement this undertaking. In 1944 a National Congress representative of all the constituted bodies recognized by the Government of Malta prepared the way for a National Assembly, summoned to consider plans for a new Constitution to replace the so-called "MacDonald Constitution" of 1939. This in its turn had followed one

of 1936, which superseded the original self-governing Constitution of 1921. In 1946 Sir Harold MacMichael, a distinguished retired administrator in the Middle East, was invited by the British Government to formulate detailed proposals for constitutional reform after consultation with the National Assembly. His recommendations[1] provided for a Legislative Assembly of forty members elected on a system of proportional representation and led to the re-establishment of self-government in September 1947.[2] But some responsible elements regretted that they made no provision for the Second Chamber or Senate which had existed under the Constitution of 1921. 642 646

The elections gave Malta the first Labour Government in its parliamentary history, under Dr (later Sir) Paul Boffa; this made way in 1950 for one formed by the Nationalists, whose earlier dismissal had led to the suspension of the Constitution in 1933.[3] The new Government was headed—for such are the vicissitudes of politics—by the veteran pro-Italian Enrico Mizzi, who had been interned in East Africa during the war and died in December 1950, three months after taking office. In 1951 his successor, the Nationalist Dr G. Borg Olivier, formed a Coalition with Dr Boffa's "Malta Workers' Party"; this Coalition remained in power until defeated in 1955 by the Left-Wing Labour Leader, Mr Dominic Mintoff,[4] a former Rhodes Scholar who had been Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction in the Boffa Ministry but seceded from his former chief in 1950. 665 642

Already in the time of Dr Borg Olivier there had been inaugurated a series of talks in London between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Maltese Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition on proposed changes in Malta's 642 648 668

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[1] Published in 1947 as Colonial No. 207 and analysed in the White Paper "Malta; Statement on Constitutional Reform (Comd. 7014) of Jan. 1947." [113]

[2] See p. 137.

[3] See pp. 135–137.

[4] Mintoff is a variation of the name usually spelled Mintuf, which is the Maltese word meaning 'plucked.' [557]

642 648 668 constitutional status. The British Government had felt unable to accept the Nationalists' request for Dominion status and the transfer of responsibility for Malta from the Colonial to the Commonwealth Relations Office; but neither Party regarded as adequate the British counter-proposal for the removal of Maltese affairs from the Colonial to the Home Office. In 1954 the British Government suggested all-party talks, to be held in London, and Mr Mintoff accepted the suggestion on assuming office in February 1955.

64 668 Mr Mintoff now put forward the novel proposal that Malta, while retaining its local autonomy and local Parliament (with power to legislate on all matters other than defence and external affairs), should be "integrated" with the United Kingdom and be represented in the House of Commons at Westminster by not fewer than three Members elected in accordance with United Kingdom electoral laws. The British Parliament's reaction to this interesting suggestion proving generally sympathetic, the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, announced in July 1955 that a Round Table Conference consisting of representatives of all political parties at Westminster would be convened for its consideration. The Round Table Conference of seventeen members (including Lord Attlee, Mr A. Bevan and Mr Clement Davies) under the Chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, held twelve plenary sessions in London and three in Malta. Its Report was published in December 1955.[1] The Conference concluded that Maltese representation at Westminster was "practicable and reasonable" and recommended its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government and Parliament if also accepted by the people of Malta.

64 666 668 A referendum to ascertain the wishes of the Maltese was held—somewhat prematurely as was thought by some—on the 11th and 12th February 1956. The figures of the referendum showed:

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[1] As Command 9657.

64 Government the Maltese people would be represented, if
666 they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at
Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative
668 Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a
single Maltese Government would take the place of the
existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly
concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain
the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government
[651] of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would
retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as
the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level
comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Govern-
● 642 ment and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with
648 fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and
668 financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial
464 difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equival-
ence" which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his
supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration
and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government.
Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in
April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the
situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of
Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in
[504] British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence
expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest
single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the
reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future
war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last
one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over
464 13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard
668 out of a national working population of just under
504 83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable
proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has
always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

A post-war phenomenon from which Malta is not
668 immune is the Teddy-Boy, whose long locks and bizarre
579 dress as he lounges about the capital faintly recall, if only in
656 caricature, the flowing curls and exotic clothes in which the
young Disraeli postured in the streets of Valetta in 1830.
[468] A one-day general strike called for the 28th April by the
General Workers' Union as a "national protest" gave these and the late Prime Minister's other lawless supporters the opportunity for widespread rioting in which they demolished walls to make barricades and road-blocks, dislocated traffic, destroyed cars and other property and stoned the Police. One of the mobs wrecked and set fire to Zabbar Police Station. Nor was illegal action confined to the mobs. These received encouragement from above; two members of the Mintoff Ministry were convicted of intimidation and had their sentences upheld on appeal. The Police, no longer impeded in the performance of their duty by political pressure, behaved magnificently and with great restraint in the face of violent and sustained provocation.

In consequence of this disorder, whereby relatively small but carefully organized gangs of hooligans interrupted the lawful occasions of the vast majority of peaceful citizens, the prohibition of the holding of public meetings and demonstrations was extended for three months and applied to all Malta and Gozo. Another Proclamation declared a state of emergency which enabled the Governor to assume wider
[793] powers for the maintenance of public order and safety. The
Archbishop condemned violence in a timely broadcast.

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● 642 With the elimination of factors making for trouble the
country settled down under the Governor's direct adminis-
648 tration, and by November 1958 Mr Lennox-Boyd thought
668 the time had come to initiate fresh discussions in London
between himself, Sir Robert Laycock and the leaders

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

respectively of the Maltese Labour, Nationalist and Progressive Constitutionalist Parties, Mr Mintoff, Dr Borg Olivier and Miss Mabel Strickland. The negotiations were unsuccessful. If I now reproduce the text of another official document, it is because the Colonial Secretary's statement of the 5th January 1959, made after the talks had broken down, is the authoritative pronouncement on the chain of events which led the British Government to repeal the 1947 Constitution and promulgate a new interim Constitution to fill the gap pending the return to self-government.

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CONSTITUTIONAL AND ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS FOR MALTA

Her Majesty's Government's Plans for the Future

1. Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered the views put forward during the constitutional discussions between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the delegations representing the Malta Labour Party, the Nationalist Party and the Progressive Constitutional Party, which were held in London between the 19th November and the 21st December 1958. Because these talks failed to reach agreement on a new constitution Her Majesty's Government have now had to decide on constitutional arrangements for an interim period.

2. It will be recalled that Malta has been without an elected government since April 1958, when Mr Mintoff resigned and Dr Borg Olivier declined to form a government. At the same time disturbances threatening public safety broke out, which necessitated the proclamation of an emergency. Since then the Governor has had to use his emergency powers to govern Malta. In the situation created by these events, the Secretary of State decided to invite the three political parties to London last November to discuss future constitutional arrangements.

3. In their approach to these discussions Her Majesty's Government naturally had regard to the negotiations which had taken place over the past three years for the integration of Malta with the United Kingdom. Although the integration negotiations have not borne fruit, and none of the Maltese

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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political parties now accepts integration as an aim of policy, Her Majesty's Government felt that the far-reaching self-government which Malta would have enjoyed under integration provided a suitable basis for discussion of any new constitutional plan. The Secretary of State was accordingly prepared to discuss with the Maltese delegations at the talks a new constitution drawing its inspiration from those constitutional arrangements under integration on which there had been a substantial measure of agreement. This new constitution would give Malta self-government in most fields. Her Majesty's Government would have retained responsibility for defence and external affairs, for assuring the independence of the Police and the Public Service and for their protection from victimization. This constitution was based on the continuing close association between the United Kingdom and Malta, which Her Majesty's Government firmly believe corresponds to the wishes and interests of both countries.

4. The Secretary of State hoped that after an initial meeting with each of the delegations there could be a plenary Conference with all three delegations. That proved to be impossible.

5. The Labour Party delegation, at the two meetings held with them, and in correspondence between Mr Mintoff and the Secretary of State, took the view that any constitutional arrangements for the future must be on the basis of immediate independence or independence by 1962. They persisted in that view after it had been pointed out to them that the people of Malta would suffer mass unemployment and serious economic hardship if Malta were to become independent now or in the near future. The attitude of the Labour Party delegation made it fruitless to attempt to discuss any detailed constitutional arrangements with them.

There was a valuable general discussion on future constitutional arrangements with the Nationalist Party delegation but the Party required more precise assurances on Malta's eventual position in the Commonwealth than Her Majesty's Government were in a position to give. There was also a useful exchange of views with the Progressive Constitutional Party.

6. There is evidently no prospect at present of devising a Constitution for Malta which would be generally acceptable

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

to the political parties and Her Majesty's Government. Farther efforts must, of course, be made, and it is Her Majesty's Government's intention to hold farther discussions in due course with a view to reintroducing elected representative government. In the meantime it is desirable that the present arrangements, under which the Governor is using his emergency powers under the present Constitution to govern the islands, should be terminated as soon as possible. Her Majesty's Government have accordingly no alternative but to revoke the present Constitution and to make special arrangements of an interim character for the government of Malta. This will necessitate legislation and a Bill will be introduced into Parliament after the House re-assembles. The form of government contemplated for this interim period is one in which the Governor will be assisted by a Council on which there will be Maltese representation. 642 648 668

7. During this interim period the Governor with the full support of Her Majesty's Government will press on with economic development. As was recognized in the 1955 Declaration to which the Maltese political leaders subscribe, Malta depends very heavily on Services expenditure and every effort must be made to develop other sources of income. Much has already been done since 1955 in laying the foundation for future industrial development, to which end Malta has received assistance amounting to some £18,000,000 from Her Majesty's Government. 648 433 654

8. Her Majesty's Government's main aim in promoting economic development in Malta is to attract new industries. The 1955 Declaration recognized that this required a joint effort towards which the Maltese Government and people should make the best possible contribution from their own resources. A very important step in Malta's economic development has already been taken by the decision to convert the Naval Dockyard to a commercial ship repair yard and to develop associated industries. The construction of a deepwater harbour, the building of an industrial estate, the re-equipment of the Island's electricity supply and other public utilities, and the development of tourism are already going ahead. Plans for other development are now under examination. It is the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

654 Governor's intention to ask the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for advice from time to time on 433 current problems of the Maltese economy and on the plans for 648 Malta's economic development.

9. Private industrial development is to be assisted by the Aids to Industry legislation which the Governor intends to enact this month. This will offer substantial fiscal incentives to new industries to establish themselves in the Islands. New industries establishing themselves in Malta will also be eligible to apply for grants and loans. In administering these various incentives to industrial development the Governor will be assisted by an influential advisory body on which there will be Maltese representatives. This body will be under the chairmanship of Lord Hives, who is already familiar with Malta's problems.

Her Majesty's Government have now decided to contribute a sum of up to £29,000,000 over the next five years towards the cost of Malta's capital programme, the conversion of the dockyard to civil use and the encouragement of new industries.

● 642 The 1959 Constitution came into operation, as it happened, 654 on the 15th April, which is celebrated in Malta as George Cross Day. It provides for the administration of the islands 648 by the Governor with the aid of a part-official, part-nominated Executive Council with Maltese representation, an arrangement similar to that in force between 1936 and 1939. There was also enacted the Aids to Industry legislation foreshadowed in Mr Lennox-Boyd's Statement; Messrs Bailey successfully took over the Dockyard, which had been converted into a commercial undertaking with the financial help of the British Government; work was inaugurated on the construction of a new deep-water wharf in the Grand Harbour.

Sir Robert Laycock's term of office, while politically 744 frustrating, ended with a year of economic advance and new 73 hopes. It also saw an immense advance in social services such as District Nursing and the care of handicapped children, orphans and victims of infantile paralysis under the vigorous

796 offered during the year, for the purpose
794 either of decorating or repairing the
778 church or churches of the parish to
354 which they belong.

It is also customary for every parish priest—on this special day, or on the day following—to present both the Bishop and the Governor of the Island with a
● [643] two lb. candle. It is to be observed, however, that the candle given to the Governor is only a blessed one when he happens to profess the Roman Catholic Religion.

178 This giving of candles to both the
796 Bishop and the Governor—a continua-
354
793 tion of a custom that prevailed in the
431 time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, when the Grand Master was annually presented with a blessed candle on this day—is meant as a token of respect to each of the highest Ecclesiastical and Civil dignitaries of the Island.

big confits are thrown by some evil 541
disposed person, and in such a manner, as to cause injury; in fact the Police authorities issue, every year, notifications warning persons against the throwing of hard substances.

On Monday the Governor of the 541
Island gives a fancy dress ball at the 643
Palace, which is always very numerously attended. Some of the costumes worn on this night are indeed magnificent, and the noble marble palace halls and corridors, once thronged by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, present a truly picturesque appearance. A list of the persons present and the costumes worn is annually published in some of the local papers.

The Carnival is supposed to have 541
been originally instituted in imitation 173
of the Sigillaria or festival days added 177

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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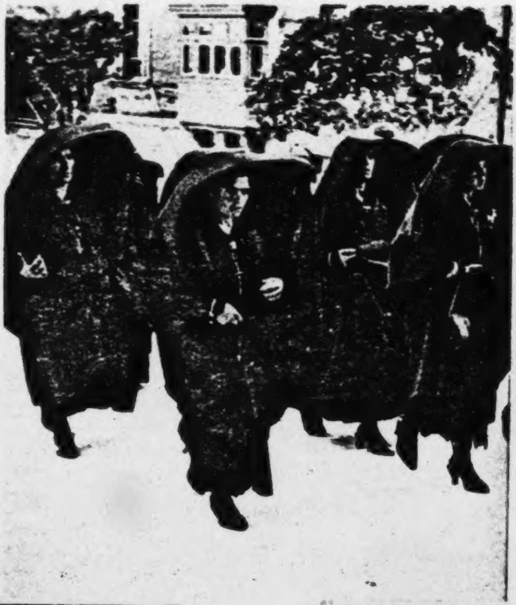

MALTESE WOMEN IN FALDETTAS
[*See pp.* 28–29.]

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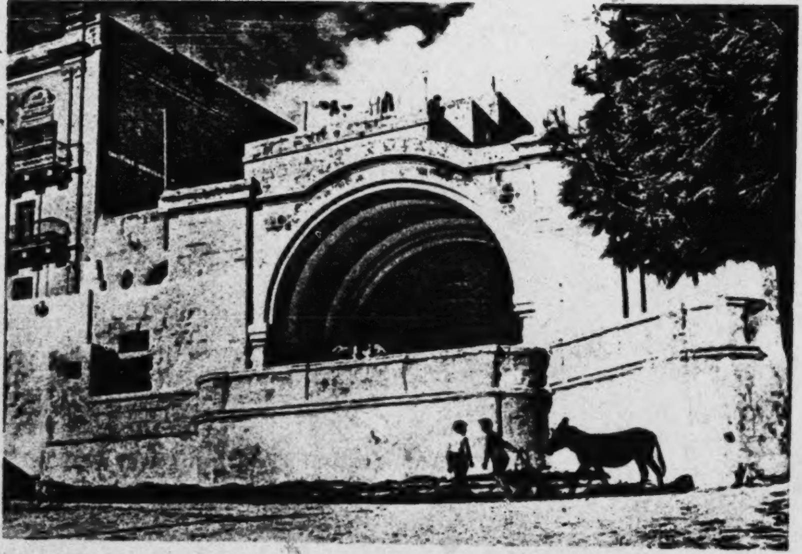

MNARJA RACES: THE GRAND MASTER'S (NOW THE GOVERNOR'S) BOX BELOW MDINA
[*See pp.* 27–28.]

[facing P. 41]
[pp. 41-48 not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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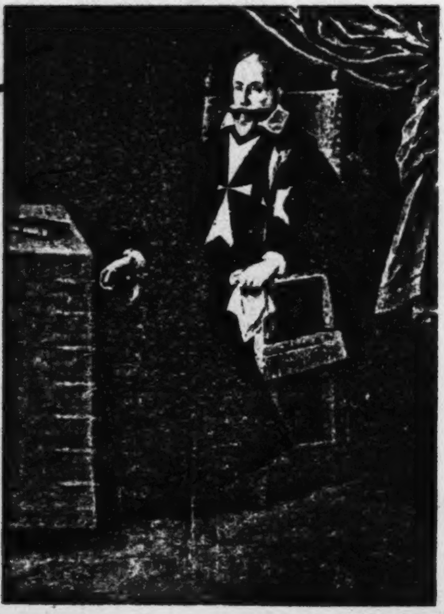
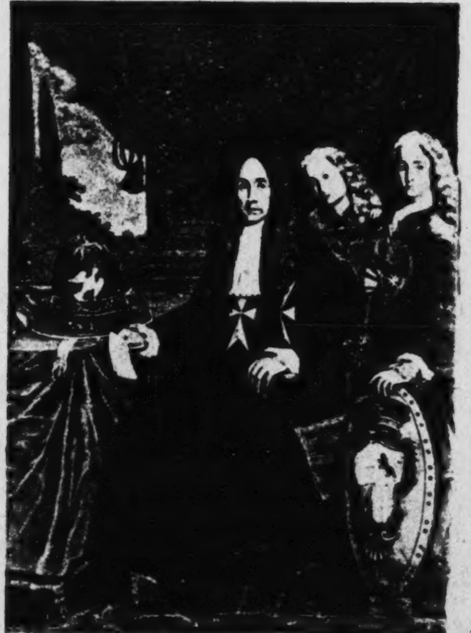


DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAND MASTER'S HABIT

G.M. Vasconcellos



G.M. de Vilhena
(with Stoc and Pilier)

[facing p.104, (B)]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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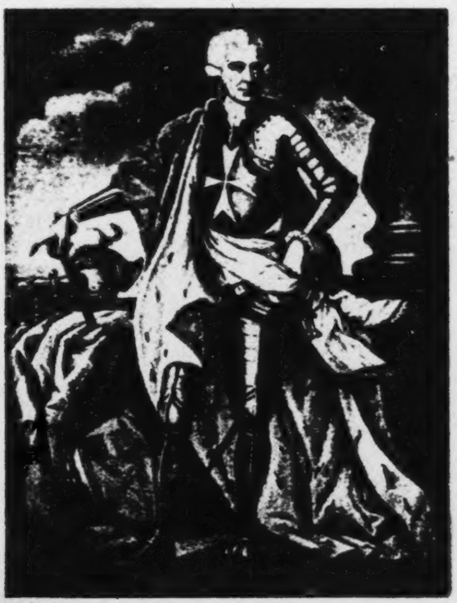
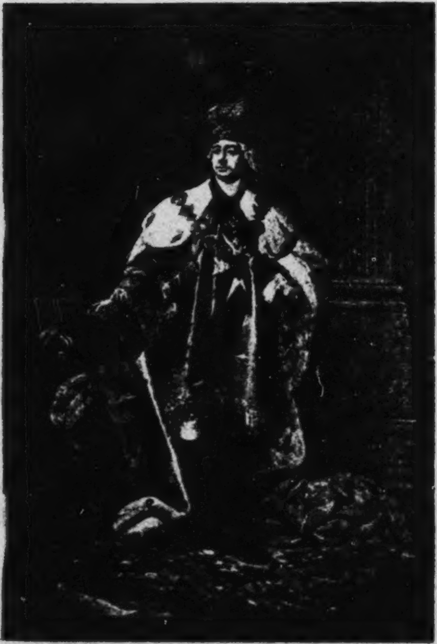


G.M. Hompesch



Emperor Paul of Russia as Grand Master

[facing p. 104, (c)]

361 363 342 There is nothing in the rest of the Old World quite like the casals of Malta. Mostly built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the older parts of them consist of narrow winding streets except for the square facing the parish church. The houses, of uniform height, present a front of uninterrupted masonry, the façades broken only by the boxed balconies typical of Malta. Here and there the sculptured porticoes and elaborately decorated windows and cornices of a nobleman's mansion interrupt the simplicity of the other houses, but the streets preserve that enchanting homogeneity of period which on a larger scale distinguishes Valetta from other cities of its size. They are vernacular architecture in the fullest sense of the term. The stonework bears the lovely patina of age; any patches of garden are out of sight. In the more densely inhabited parts of the island the growth of population may bring about a confluence of two or even three casals, as in the case of Attard, Lija and Balzan.

To wander about these great stone villages by full moon or on a night lit by the illuminations and fireworks of the annual *festa* is to experience a translation in time more realistic than any suggested by stage or screen.

643 Samuel Taylor Coleridge records that it was Sir Alexander Ball's "custom to visit each casal throughout the island once, if not twice, in the course of each summer: and during my residence there I had the honour of being his constant, and most often his only, companion in these rides; to which I owe some of the happiest and most instructive hours of my life." A mid-twentieth century Governor, Sir Charles Bonham-Carter, followed with success this practice of regular weekly visits to the casals.

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794 The Maltese are among the most devoted sons and daughters of the Roman Catholic Church. They are, men and women alike, assiduous at their public devotions; there

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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186 527 the Grand Master who was their founder or their patron, gay with the rich heraldry and colouring of the last phase of the age of chivalry. We have seen in Chapter XII that
643 Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch, inglorious but
186 527 103 Maltese-speaking and on excellent terms with the Maltese country-folk, gave one of his names and his special patronage to no fewer than three of the casals. Zabbar's subsidiary name was Città Hompesch, that of Siġġiewi Città Ferdinando, that of Zejtun Città Beland, the maiden name (Bylandt) of Hompesch's mother. Similarly, Curmi was known alternatively as Città Pinto, Zebbuġ as Città Rohan. In the cases of Senglea and Pawla the Grand Masters de la Sengle and de Paule were actually the founders.

It affords a pleasant and richly coloured glimpse into a romantic past, and happy evidence of the attachment of the Maltese to their unique historical traditions, to see the great square armorial flags of these Grand Masters in their proper tinctures waving on gala days over their casals.

527 July, August and September, the hottest months of the year, are Malta's *festa* season *par excellence*. At that period, and especially in August, there is an absolute orgy of what irreverent young officers are apt to call "festering," and the two islands resound from end to end with the detonations of petards and bombs. At night the parish church of whichever casal is celebrating its patronal feast is prettily illuminated, while elaborate set-pieces are displayed regardless of expense and other fireworks of a less stationary nature accomplish, or fail to accomplish, their destined trajectory. The amount spent annually by the population on fireworks and mere noise-making contrivances is positively staggering.

The first village *festa* I attended—I had arrived in Malta in the month of August—was in one of the smaller, more remote and more rustic casals. The church bells were clanging with no attempt at rhythm; rockets and Roman candles were going off in rapid succession in all directions; Catharine-wheels were rotating around one; the noise was

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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Gozo

712 175 648 Among the more accessible survivals of the Order is the large and impressive Fort Chambray, which commands the island's principal port of Mġarr. This stronghold was built, as we have already seen, by Jacques de Chambray, one of the last of the great Admirals of the Order, when he was Governor[1] of Gozo in the middle of the eighteenth century so that the island should no longer be at the mercy of every raiding enemy. Not that Fort Chambray had ever to endure a siege at the hands of the Barbary pirates. Its value in that direction was mainly a prophylactic one. But it did serve a military purpose during the death-pangs of the Order in 1798, when the Gozitans under their Governor and three of the Knights shut themselves up within its walls, determined to hold out as long as they could against the surprised French, who had not expected any resistance.

344 341 Then there is the Banca Giuratale, a graceful, semicircular Baroque structure which Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena erected at the end of the main square of Victoria as the offices of the Jurats of Gozo. 341 342 Another was until 1943—alas, that the past tense has to be used here—the charming manor outside Xewkija known as the Torri Gourgion. Although it had fallen somewhat from its high estate and had been reduced to the status of a farmhouse, this unspoiled piece of seventeenth-century rural architecture, embellished by a charming well, yet retained externally all the dignity of that lordly epoch. Its stone drop-boxes alternating with elaborate stone escutcheons, its tall staircase tower topped by a conspicuous dome, its suggestion of the fortified country-house —all these features made it the only structure of its kind in the Maltese Islands.

342 648 It is indeed lamentable that it should have had to be razed to the ground in 1943, not by enemy action but to make room for a temporary American aerodrome required in

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[649] [1] The Governor of Gozo, known in Maltese as the Hakem, lived in the house in the Citadel which, as has been said, is now the Law Court and Public Registry.

CHAPTER XXI

After the Second World War

727 795 TO THE STORM AND STRESS OF THE WAR YEARS SUCCEEDED other activities imposed by other pressures. Urgent was the need to repair the bombed areas; to stabilize an economy disturbed by war and post-war conditions; to speed up emigration from the world's most heavily overcrowded political unit; to take into consideration the ferment in men's minds which prolonged wars on a major scale have never yet failed to generate. The circumstance that the ferment took less unsettling forms in Malta than in some other parts of a war-distracted world may be ascribed to the steadying influence of the Church.

727 648 652 Britain herself, though bowing beneath the weight of unprecedented taxation, did not fail to recognize the needs and deserts of her Maltese bulwark. "There will be general agreement," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons in 1942, "that the outstanding gallantry shown by the people of Malta in the face of enemy attacks of unprecedented length and severity calls for some special recognition." A first free gift of ten million pounds, made there and then by the British Government for restoration of war damage and reconstruction, was followed by an additional grant of twenty millions for the same purposes. To these were added substantial and still continuing annual grants of several millions a year in aid of the local revenue.

643 701 From 1813 to 1946, except for one four-year interval, the Governors of Malta had been distinguished serving soldiers—Field-Marshals and Generals on the Active List of the Army and Commanders-in-Chief, not only in name but in effect,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of the islands' military forces. The exception was the Right Honourable Richard More O'Ferrall, an Irish Roman 643 Catholic Member of Parliament who had been a junior 701 Minister in Lord Melbourne's Administration and was Governor of Malta from 1847 to 1851. O'Ferrall was sensitive, high-minded, well-intentioned and an indefatigable reformer; a Liberal by instinct, he gave Malta its first part- [646] elected Legislative Council. But his very reforming zeal laid him open to bitter attacks and misrepresentation, which led to his premature resignation.

The experiment of placing a civilian and a politician in 643 charge of Malta was held to have failed and was not repeated until 1946, when the Labour Government appointed a Socialist Member of Parliament in the person of Mr F. Douglas (later Lord Douglas of Barloch) as Malta's second civilian Governor. A new departure was made when Douglas was succeeded in 1949 by Sir Gerald Creasy, the first regular member of the Colonial Service to hold the appointment; yet another, when Creasy was succeeded in 1954 by Major-General Sir Robert Laycock. Although General Laycock is a distinguished soldier whose military career culminated in the post of Chief of Combined Operations during and after the Second World War, he had already retired from the Army before coming to Malta; his appointment was a civil one, not a revival of the military Governorship. So was that of Admiral Sir Guy Grantham, a former Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Station, who retired from the Navy immediately before succeeding Sir Robert Laycock in 1959.

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Sections 2 to 4 of this chapter may be skipped by the 000 reader not interested in Malta's constitutional vicissitudes between the restoration of self-government in 1947 and its temporary withdrawal in 1959. The book would, however,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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668 648 of July 1955, to avoid unemployment, the representatives of the Maltese people, in Parliament assembled, declare themselves absolved from their pacts and obligations towards the British Government, and from those so far assumed towards the Allies of that Government—this position to obtain for so long as the British Government fails to guarantee that the number of persons employed by the said Government in Malta shall not decrease before there is "alternative employment" for those discharged.

On this inauspicious note ended the year 1957 despite the patient efforts of the Government in London and of Sir Robert Laycock and his advisers in Malta to bring the protracted and often vexatious negotiations to a happy issue. The latter's task thereafter was made no easier by a Circular issued in February 1958 to Heads of Departments and all other Malta Government employees forbidding them on pain of disciplinary action "to make any verbal or personal contacts on any official matter with any member of the other side of the Diarchy" without the personal permission of the Minister concerned. In April these words were extended to cover "any official matter *or otherwise*." Thereby was created the anomalous situation that the islands' officials subordinate to the Mintoff Administration had to boycott those of the Maltese Imperial Government not only officially but socially, even to the extent of declining the Governor's invitations to dinner. Be it added that the embargo was far from being universally observed, while Ministers continued to seek direct personal contacts with the Imperial side of the Diarchy whenever it suited them to do so.

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643 175 532 659 In 1608 one of the greatest and most innovating painters of the Seicento, that Michaelangelo Amerighi who was better known from his birthplace as Caravaggio, spent some months of his short and disordered life in Malta, employed

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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by the splendid, vigorous and art-loving Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt. Notwithstanding the Grand Master's generous protection the 38-year-old artist soon made Malta too hot to hold him. He was put in prison, escaped and died in Italy within a year or so. But in the meantime Malta and the world had become the richer by two pictures which he painted for S. John's Conventual Church in Valetta, the great Beheading of S. John the Baptist and the smaller S. Jerome. In 1956 these pictures, which had never before left the walls for which they were painted except to be put in a place of safety during the Second World War, were sent to Italy in a British man-of-war for restoration and for display at the Exhibition of seventeenth-century art held in Rome during the winter of 1956–57. Of this Exhibition, indeed, the larger picture provided the central attraction. 175 643 532 659

At the close of the Exhibition the pictures were brought back to Malta, again in one of Her Majesty's ships, but to the general astonishment were forcibly impounded on arrival by the Maltese Government on Mr Mintoff's orders without previous notice and conveyed to the Museum despite vigorous protests from the ecclesiastical authorities. The Mintoff Government had clashed with the Church on other matters but there had been no inkling that its unpredictable leader had ever contemplated the transfer of these pictures to civil custody or the use of unilateral high-handed action to bring it about. 659

The state of tension with the Church created by this and other subjects of disagreement persisted for another year, that is to say until April 1958, by which time Mr Mintoff, now ready to break with the British Government, decided to clear the decks by making his peace with the Archbishop. As abruptly as he had seized the Caravaggios did he return them to S. John's, at the oddly chosen time of 1 A.M. on Sunday, the 20th April. On the following day statements were issued from the Archbishop's Palace and the Prime Minister's office declaring that good relations between the

Government and the Church had been restored.

665 were transformed from propaganda and social centres into instru-
ments of government. As the village branches of the party in
power, they represented government in the eyes of the people, if
not the civil servants. They transmitted and explained the policy
of the administration and they channelled requests to the appro-
● [645] priate authorities. Ministers made use of the Local Committees
for business at the village level, since the Committees generally
provided their only direct contact with the villages.

IV

182 The State, the Church and the political parties are thus the
national organizations which affect the lives of the people at the
64 village level. The State is highly centralized, and has no political
665 representatives in the villages. In contrast to the State, the Church
795 has its official representatives in every village and hamlet. They
are firmly controlled from above. The structure of the Malta
Labour Party also rests firmly on its village level organization.
The differing structural frameworks of these organizations have a
direct bearing on this study. While competition for power at the
national level between the State, on the one hand, and the Church
or political parties, on the other, can often lead to bitter disputes,
such conflict rarely causes division at the village level. In contrast,
disputes at the national level between the political parties, or
between a political party and the Church are transmitted imme-
diately through their respective structures to the level of the
village. There they bring about a conflict of interest which reflects
the struggle for power at the national level.

175 rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural
harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans successively
648 occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that
Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually
nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the
Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were
replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of
the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed
successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–1283),
the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. In 1530,
[701] Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their protesting
inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military
Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles
vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on
Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800
Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to
Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then
they have remained a British possession.

175 The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was
the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he
776 stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the
795 people to Christianity. Whether he converted many is a moot
[797] point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor,
Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. The Maltese are intensely
proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna*
[796] *San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the principal
patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a
national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local
legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his
gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there
was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during
175 the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, reestablished
793 and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to
795 arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed
while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of
Maltese bishops dates from this period.

175 Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the
Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered
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● 646

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[1] Acts 27 and 28.

by the officials of the governing body, or *Università*. This body, 175
which met in Mdina, the old capital of the island, was composed 642
of representatives of the nobles, learned men, secular priests, 646
merchants and artisans elected by all the family heads in the towns
and villages of Malta and Gozo. The Knights of St. John, how- [439]
ever, severely limited the authority of the Università, and during their final years it was little more than a public corporation responsible for the importation of scarce foodstuffs.

The Order made itself responsible for local government. It con- 175
trolled and financed the local militia, police, courts, water supply, 642
public works, hospitals and charities. The government of the 701
Order was highly centralized, and all key posts were held by Knights, though many of the lesser administrative offices were
given to Maltese nobles, lawyers and clerks. The authority of the [625]
Order was made effective in the rural areas through the police and the ten Captains who were in charge of military garrisons and arsenals, located at strategic points for internal security and defence against war parties and corsairs, and were also responsible for mobilizing the militia. This paternalistic system of administration came to an abrupt end when Napoleon drove the Knights from the islands. Their departure marked the end of an era.

Napoleon remained in Malta only eight days, but they were 175
busy days. According to Laferla, 'it is certain that no one in the 177
space of a few days attempted more, did more and upset the 648
Maltese more than he did.'[1] He set up a nominated council of Maltese to see to civil administration, remodelled the tribunals along French lines and established twelve municipal councils. He abolished the nobility. He closed the University, established a central technical college and founded fifteen government elementary schools. He also sent sixty sons of wealthy families off to study at republican colleges in Paris at their parents' expense.

'All this and probably much more would the Maltese have patiently tolerated,' says Laferla, 'had Napoleon not interfered with religion.'[2] For he set out to curtail the influence of the Church. He limited the jurisdiction of the Bishop to purely ecclesiastical affairs, ordered the expulsion from the islands of all non-Maltese clergy and reduced the number of clerics. He also instituted civil marriage, gave protection to the Jews and forbade

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[1] A. V. Laferla, *The Story of Man in Malta* (3rd ed.; Malta, A. C. Aquilina and Co., 1958), p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of the islands' military forces. The exception was the Right Honourable Richard More O'Ferrall, an Irish Roman Catholic Member of Parliament who had been a junior Minister in Lord Melbourne's Administration and was Governor of Malta from 1847 to 1851. O'Ferrall was sensitive, high-minded, well-intentioned and an indefatigable reformer; a Liberal by instinct, he gave Malta its first part-elected Legislative Council. But his very reforming zeal laid him open to bitter attacks and misrepresentation, which led to his premature resignation. 643 701 [646]

The experiment of placing a civilian and a politician in charge of Malta was held to have failed and was not repeated until 1946, when the Labour Government appointed a Socialist Member of Parliament in the person of Mr F. Douglas (later Lord Douglas of Barloch) as Malta's second civilian Governor. A new departure was made when Douglas was succeeded in 1949 by Sir Gerald Creasy, the first regular member of the Colonial Service to hold the appointment; yet another, when Creasy was succeeded in 1954 by Major-General Sir Robert Laycock. Although General Laycock is a distinguished soldier whose military career culminated in the post of Chief of Combined Operations during and after the Second World War, he had already retired from the Army before coming to Malta; his appointment was a civil one, not a revival of the military Governorship. So was that of Admiral Sir Guy Grantham, a former Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Station, who retired from the Navy immediately before succeeding Sir Robert Laycock in 1959. 643

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Sections 2 to 4 of this chapter may be skipped by the reader not interested in Malta's constitutional vicissitudes between the restoration of self-government in 1947 and its temporary withdrawal in 1959. The book would, however, 000

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

600 be incomplete without some record of these events. It is a complex story but I will endeavour to tell it as succinctly as possible.

642 648 On the 7th July 1943, while the war was yet raging and Malta still in jeopardy, the British Government had made a Declaration from which I quote the following paragraphs:

> His Majesty's Government have had under consideration certain representations which have been made by the elected members of the Council of Government in Malta, who have asked for an announcement regarding their intentions in relation to farther constitutional development. Since the present Constitution of Malta was inaugurated in 1939 the fortress has successfully withstood a siege of two and a half years. During the siege the Island was subjected to heavy and sustained attacks from the air and to a food shortage of increasing gravity. By their steadfastness and fortitude under the severe hardships thus occasioned, the people of Malta together with its gallant garrison rendered services of incalculable value to the allied cause. . . .
>
> For more than ten years, between 1921 and 1933, the people of Malta enjoyed full legislative and administrative responsibility under the Crown in the conduct of their national affairs, the control of naval and military Services and of all matters appertaining to the position of Malta as an imperial fortress, or otherwise affecting imperial interests or policy, being reserved to the Imperial Government. It is the policy of His Majesty's Government that responsible government in the same sphere should again be granted to Malta after the war.

642 646 After the conclusion of hostilities no time was lost in taking the first steps to implement this undertaking. In 1944 a National Congress representative of all the constituted bodies recognized by the Government of Malta prepared the way for a National Assembly, summoned to consider plans for a new Constitution to replace the so-called "MacDonald Constitution" of 1939. This in its turn had followed one

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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of 1936, which superseded the original self-governing 642
Constitution of 1921. In 1946 Sir Harold MacMichael, a
distinguished retired administrator in the Middle East, was 646
invited by the British Government to formulate detailed proposals for constitutional reform after consultation with the National Assembly. His recommendations[1] provided for a Legislative Assembly of forty members elected on a system of proportional representation and led to the re-establishment of self-government in September 1947.[2] But some responsible elements regretted that they made no provision for the Second Chamber or Senate which had existed under the Constitution of 1921.

The elections gave Malta the first Labour Government in 665
its parliamentary history, under Dr (later Sir) Paul Boffa; 642
this made way in 1950 for one formed by the Nationalists, whose earlier dismissal had led to the suspension of the Constitution in 1933.[3] The new Government was headed—for such are the vicissitudes of politics—by the veteran pro-Italian Enrico Mizzi, who had been interned in East Africa during the war and died in December 1950, three months after taking office. In 1951 his successor, the Nationalist Dr G. Borg Olivier, formed a Coalition with Dr Boffa's "Malta Workers' Party"; this Coalition remained in power until defeated in 1955 by the Left-Wing Labour Leader, Mr Dominic Mintoff,[4] a former Rhodes Scholar who had been Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction in the Boffa Ministry but seceded from his former chief in 1950.

Already in the time of Dr Borg Olivier there had been 642
inaugurated a series of talks in London between the Secretary 648
of State for the Colonies and the Maltese Prime Minister 668
and Leader of the Opposition on proposed changes in Malta's

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[1] Published in 1947 as Colonial No. 207 and analysed in the White Paper "Malta; Statement on Constitutional Reform (Comd. 7014) of Jan. 1947." [113]

[2] See p. 137.

[3] See pp. 135–137.

[4] Mintoff is a variation of the name usually spelled Mintuf, which is the Maltese word meaning 'plucked.' [557]

167 [128] A graph covering the last hundred years (Fig. 58) shows inter-censal net migrations and annual variations in the scale of movement as indicated by passports issued and by the Customs and Port Department records. The latter are adjusted for each decade to make the sum of annual totals comparable with the inter-censal net totals shown in Table 30 (see also Fig. 59).

In the nineteenth century, the principal factors affecting the scale of migration were economic. Periods of poverty at home sometimes drove the Maltese overseas while at other times they were attracted by boom conditions elsewhere in the Mediterranean. During the Crimean War, not even prosperity at home could counteract the cotton and building boom in Egypt and emigration rose to record heights (24). But the end of the Egyptian boom coincided with depression in Barbary and the two resulted in returns to Malta which more than compensated for the outward movement of the 50's and 60's. In the 1870's, recovery in Barbary coincided with slight recession in Malta and the number of emigrants again increased only to diminish again in 1875-80, reflecting bankrupt conditions in Egypt (25). The economic position of the receiving countries therefore played an important part in determining the volume of emigration at any given moment.

An outstanding feature of nineteenth century movement was a series of attempts to organise emigration from the Maltese Islands. The first of these ended with the failure of the Guiana and Granada experiments of 1831-41 when plantation settlement in these areas was attempted (26). Subsequent plans to settle colonies in Cyprus, Australia and the Americas collapsed and various other attempts to establish Maltese communities overseas each failed in turn. As a result, over 90 per cent. of nineteenth century emigrants moved no further than the coasts of North Africa and the Levant.

[829] The restricted scope of movement and the choice of the Mediterranean seaboard for settlement was influenced by three main non-economic factors: 'the belief that America and Australia were the permanent homes of strange and deadly diseases; the belief that it was necessary to settle in a country near enough to Malta to allow easy and frequent return to the beloved homeland; and the belief that similarity of language and custom marked out North Africa as the divinely appointed region for Maltese settlement abroad' (27).

The annexation of Tunis by the French in 1881 was an indication that the Maltese would no longer find North Africa an open field and the competition in business and commerce from the French and Italians became severe. Moreover, the standard of living in Malta from the 1860's onwards was higher than in most other parts of the Mediterranean so that there was little incentive for the Maltese to go there. Furthermore, the 80's saw the expansion of employment opportunities at home with the introduction of a number of schemes involving large scale public expenditure. As a result of such developments, the period from the late 1880's until 1905 was one in which there was a net inward movement. All thoughts of migration were abandoned and in 1905 the labour shortage was so acute that 300 workers were brought in from Sicily, Italy and Spain. 1906 saw the completion of major harbour and dockyard works and unemployment then became a serious problem which was partially responsible for the visit of the Royal Commission in 1911 (28). Since French and Italian control of North Africa was then complete, attention had to be paid to movement further afield.

In 1907, on the basis of experience already gained and during the period of depression, a voluntary organisation known as the Malta Emigration Committee was formed. In spite of the approval shown by the 1912 Royal Commissioners, this body was neither given any official status nor superseded by any official organisation. Partly as a result of the difficulties confronting the Committee, a Brazilian venture failed miserably in 1912, and in 1916 an unhappy combination of circumstances provoked such Australian antagonism to migration to that continent that an embargo on future movement was established which prevailed until 1920.

167 647 In 1918 the need for adjustment to post-war conditions became sufficiently great to force the establishment of an Emigration Department charged with the control of movement and the selection of personnel (Fig. 60). The social aspects

of the Selective System were of considerable importance. The main receiving 167 countries were formulating restrictive laws and imposing quotas on entry. The physical, educational and social backgrounds of intending emigrants therefore 647 needed considerable attention. Of the prospective emigrants in the early 1920's, 90 per cent. were illiterate and apart from apprenticeship schemes in the Dockyard there existed no opportunities for vocational or technical training. It can be assumed that only an infinitesimal number of migrants possessed any capital. Casolani, the Superintendent of Emigration between 1918 and 1930 claimed that the sudden realisation of the need for educating and training [871] intending emigrants was most salutary in that it clearly showed how the existing educational system had - 'for a century been absolutely unrelated to the present needs of the people' (29). Since 1920, vocational training courses have been developed, a Migrants Training Centre opened in 1927, and more recently an Industrial Training Centre. In 1956 nearly 1,000 students were attending evening classes and many utilising other schemes. Ironically enough, by the 1950's the burden of expenditure incurred in the training of people who were to use their skills elsewhere, now began to prove in itself a major problem.

The direction of emigration since 1920 is illustrated in Figs. 60, 61, 62. 167 Briefly, the major trends may be outlined as follows. Short-distance migration to Europe and North Africa declined rapidly and returns increased during the 1920's of economic dislocation and increasingly restrictionist policies in the receiving countries. The United States, Canada and Australia by various quota schemes reduced the inflow from Europe and that part of Maltese long-distance movement via the mainland as well as direct was struck a final blow by the 1930-31 world slump. The most rapid revival took place in movement to the United Kingdom where Maltese status as British subjects ensured preferential treatment. Economic conditions in all other areas other than Australia prevented any other revival before World War II destroyed all possibility of movement.

During the war, continued population growth and obvious hardships and insecurity pointed to emigration as a desirable action and led to official preparation for a post-war exodus. By the end of December 1946 nearly 12,000 prospective emigrants had been registered of whom over 10,000 wished to go to the U.S.A. and Australia (in roughly equal numbers). Until 1948 shipping shortages, administrative difficulties and the presence of a housing problem in Australia, together with a boom in domestic demand for labour in reconstruction work, slowed down the actual rate of movement. At the same time pressure kept building up and by March 1949 there were 42,120 registered prospective migrants.

In that same year financial assistance to would-be emigrants was made available on a significant scale. As from 1947 the Maltese Government contributed to a Passage Assistance Scheme whereby 75 per cent. of the cost of passage would be provided to 'suitable, necessitous and deserving cases with good prospects of employment abroad', a scheme more generous in its coverage than that available in 1946 from the Emergency Unemployment Loan Scheme. With effect from the beginning of 1949 the Passage Assistance Agreement concluded between Malta and Australia made available more capital than Malta alone could supply but, in that the equal grants made by both Governments were each limited to £30 per capita, a greater onus was placed on the migrant. Even so during 1949 nearly three and a half thousand people left for Australia under passage assistance schemes and in 1950 this rose to nearly 5,000, a proportion in each case of over 80 per cent. of all assisted emigrants. Between 1951 and 1953 economic difficulties in Australia reduced the strength of attraction to that country and a relatively greater proportion of movement was direct towards Canada.

By 1953, Australian economic revival and a firm acceptance of an emigration policy by the Maltese Government foreshadowed an impending increase in emigration and the United Kingdom Government agreed to alleviate the personal and Budgetary strains in Malta by making a contributory grant of up to £200,000 towards the Passage Assistance Scheme. By 1956, 60 per cent. of all expenditure on assistance was being borne by the United Kingdom Government, 10 per cent.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 160-C]

[p. 15]

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out 647
by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under
the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is
usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the [648]
interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation
from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads
were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants.
Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of
civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers
through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial
labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the government. [464]
They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This [162]
makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands.
Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the
principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open
competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration [621]
required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no
councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to
represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey
the wishes and commands of government to the people.
Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are
located in Valletta. Only the police represent government [625]
authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools [658]
for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most
villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a [744]
day under the supervision of a government District Medical
Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and [205]
branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour.
All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where [364]
it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

647 many countries are carried out by village or municipal authorities, are in Malta centrally administered from Valletta.

[364] Gozo provides in some respects an exception to this picture. Though Gozo is administratively and economically dependent upon Malta, it has had for many years a certain measure of autonomy under a separate Commissioner. This appointment is dictated by the island's distance from Valletta in time and space. This isolation has not surprisingly resulted in a widely held belief that the Maltese administration, in which, incidentally, a large number of Gozitans have always held important posts, has systematically [653] neglected Gozo. That there is a certain justification for this belief can be seen by anyone who compares the condition of the roads and the extension of street lighting, water and drainage in the two islands.

623 Partly to still for ever complaints about neglect, and partly as an experiment with a concept of local government new to Malta, 653 the Gozo Civic Council was established in the summer of 1961. Each village in Gozo now has an elected committee of six councillors, one of whom represents the village on the Civic Council. The Council has the responsibility for the maintenance of roads, government buildings, cemeteries and public gardens, village dispensaries and the museum and public library. It can also construct new roads and extend drainage, water and street lighting. To [651] finance its work the Council receives the revenue from local taxes and from certain government property in Gozo. It also has the power to levy rates, but as all councillors made solemn promises to their constituents that they would not do so, this additional source of revenue must be discounted for the time being.

II

793 The Maltese Islands form a single province of the Catholic 795 Church. This province is divided into the Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo, which includes the small island of Comino. The Bishop of Gozo is suffragan to the Archbishop of Malta. As the senior or Metropolitan Bishop, the Archbishop has [293] certain privileges and rights over his suffragan. These include the right to visit his suffragan's diocese (with Papal authority), should the latter neglect to do so; the right to appoint a temporary vicar on the decease of the Bishop of Gozo, if the Cathedral Chapter of

CHAPTER VIII

The Village and the Outside World

557 Every Maltese is at the centre of a large network of kin relations.
Thus, when the need arises, many people are able to move along
602. the intricate channels of consanguinity and affinity to establish
personal contact with influential persons. It has also been noted
that this network of kin can be extended artificially. Important
persons, such as politicians, police officers, high civil servants and
professionals are often invited to become godparents, marriage
witnesses and confirmation sponsors. These relationships are constantly
manipulated to bring individuals in touch with decision
makers. This gives a personal content to many official decisions.
Since most people honour the obligations of kinship, friendship
and neighbourhood, requests which appeal to these values stand
a good chance of a favourable reply. But a large network of kinsmen
557 men can also be a liability to a civil servant, for the favourable
602 treatment he is expected to give a kinsman often conflicts with
●647. the civil service ethic of impartiality. This can place persons in
authority in awkward positions, since the refusal of a request may
seriously affect either their personal relations or their professional
integrity. Maltese civil servants thus work under pressure which is
quite unfamiliar to their counterparts in larger, less intimately
related societies.

II

171 Another method of handling contacts with authority is through
influential patrons. By 'patron' I mean a person who uses his
557 influence to assist and protect some other person, who then
771. becomes his 'client'. In a Catholic society there is a strong ideo-
776 logical basis for a system of patronage, for there is great similarity
between the function of saints and mortal patrons. Michael
Kenny points to this correspondence in his study of patronage in
Spain[1] and, in general terms, his analysis is equally applicable to

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[1] 'Patterns of Patronage in Spain', *Anthropological Quarterly*, XXXIII (January 1960), pp. 14-23.

time-consuming tasks. To help as many as possible, they often 662
made up new job rosters every few months. 665

Canvassers would often expect presents for their work as intermediaries and for the favours they promised or secured. By and large, the party agents or canvassers were not popular figures, at least in retrospect. I came across many accounts of how they had exploited their positions to enrich themselves. The usual story was that they had accepted gifts – a rabbit, some chickens, a bottle of whisky or even cash – but had not assisted as they had promised. These tales may or may not be true; I had no way of checking. It is significant, however, that persons of all political colours, including former Ministers and MLA's, believe them to be true.

Mintoff's government did much to change the course of the 647
stream of political patronage. To begin with, shortly after it came 662
into office in 1955, the MLP passed a law which made it compulsory 665
for those seeking employment with the government as
industrial labourers to register with the Department of Emigration, [656]
Labour and Social Welfare.[1] There they had to wait their [653]
turn. This took away from MLA's a considerable source of patronage. [464]
The MLP also established special sub-committees of the Labour Committees in each village to deal with the complaints and requests of the local inhabitants. A member of the sub-committee was generally available to the public for an hour or two every evening. All requests for assistance and complaints were discussed by the entire sub-committee, which would countersign the routine ones and send them along to the appropriate government department. More important matters were brought personally to the attention of the civil servant concerned by a member of the sub-committee. Complicated requests and serious complaints were forwarded to the District Committee, where they were discussed at the regular weekly meetings with the district MLA's, who might then take the matter up directly with the Minister. Civil servants, on the whole, handled complaints and requests for action from the Local Committees with much the same dispatch they would give a request from their Minister. Some Ministers even went so far as to instruct their Department Heads to ignore all complaints brought to them by private persons, especially parish priests. They were told only to act on those presented by the Local Committee.

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[1] Act No. XIV, 1955: 'An Act to Make Provisions for the Establishment and Regulation of an Employment Service.'

653 Another very important function the Local Committees performed during the period the MLP was in power was to obtain
665. improvements for the village. Requests for drainage, new roads, street lighting and, above all, new schools, were submitted to the District Committees. There the proposals were screened and given priority ratings by the committee members and the district MLA's. When these projects were implemented, and a large number were, the Local Committees naturally received credit for them. This added to their claim to represent their villages, and strengthened the formal structure of the party.

647 This system of handling patronage and complaints gave the villager a direct contact with authority. It was a fairly simple
662 procedure, and many considered it reasonably impartial, though
665 of course it did help to be a member of the Labour Party in good standing. Moreover, the complainant, even though he might not succeed in his cause, had the satisfaction that it had received attention, and it did not cost him a nice fat rabbit. This does not
578 mean that there was no abuse. Civil servants complained that they
647. were often intimidated by zealous MLP members who threatened to report them to their Ministers if they did not comply as
66. requested. This friction was particularly keen between the Local Committee members and the village police, street sweepers and teachers. One head teacher I knew was particularly bitter about his caretaker, who was a member of the village MLP committee. The caretaker would stroll into the head teacher's office if he disagreed with the disciplining of a child, for example, and threaten to report him to the Minister if he did not lighten the punishment.

647 But on the whole, the MLP made a concerted effort to take
665- patronage out of the hands of canvassers and MLA's alike and channel it through the various committees of the party apparatus.
662 This not only strengthened the party, it also won it considerable popularity. Moreover, it relieved MLA's and Ministers of a heavy administrative load; they were only called in on the more complicated matters. In short, the Local Committees came to function as branches of the government.

When the Labour Government resigned in 1958, the MLP clubs and committees lost the influence they had with government. They once more became merely propaganda and social centres. But the role they had played for three years in representing the interests of government at the village level and in

forwarding the requests and complaints of the villagers to govern- 647
ment had greatly increased their strength, and that of the party 662
they represented. As the members operated as a formal com- 665
mittee and not as individuals, they had the esteem and respect of
most of the community. They also had considerable power in
local affairs. In fact, for three years the leaders of the Labour [554]
group in the village ranked alongside the parish priest and the professionals as the most prominent and influential citizens of the village. The canvassers of the rival parties had perhaps had power, but they had never had respect. Theirs was always rather an underhanded operation, that was often disowned by MLA's when they were confronted with it. The MLP, on the other hand, delegated responsibility to Local Committees, and the Ministers legitimized them by openly working through them in all their relations with the villages. Villagers were also openly encouraged to work through them. These committees thus served the ends of the Labour Party most successfully. It is quite likely, therefore, that in the future other parties will find it politically as well as administratively expedient to develop and work through village committees patterned on the model so successfully tested by the Labour Party.

The party system has come into direct conflict with the tradi- 578
tional relations between patron and client at relatively few points. 647
This is largely because most patrons who desired to were able to 662
move successfully into the new field of party politics. A notable 665
exception are priests, who are no longer permitted by their 793
Bishops to stand for national political office. Their power to influence authority has thus been weakened by the new source of patronage and influence open to their parishioners. In particular, parish priests came into open conflict with the village MLP committees during the Labour Party's time in power after 1955. Not surprisingly, their clash at the village level mirrored the dispute between the Archbishop and the MLP at the national level. That is, it was a conflict between the religious authority of the Church and the secular authority of the State, represented in the villages by the Local Committees of the Labour Party. Both the parish priest and the Local Committee claimed to represent the village, and both sought by mobilizing their supporters to advance their claim at the expense of their opponents. This invariably resulted in a struggle for power during which the Labour supporters were

647 accused of being anti-clerical and against the Church because they
662 opposed the will of the parish priest.

665 Shortly after Mintoff took office, the Local Committee in
793 Kortin made plans to open a new avenue into the village. The
scheme, first projected by government planners over sixty years
578 before, was designed to ease the flow of traffic through the village
and provide a wide, tree-lined promenade leading to the main
647 square in front of the church. Unfortunately, the project required
653 the demolition of four buildings, two of which were small
665 chapels used as warehouses for the festa decorations. Because of
793 this Dun Bert, the parish priest, bitterly opposed the scheme, as
had his predecessors. He claimed that most of the village supported
him. The Labour Committee, on the other hand, felt that it had
the backing of the village, and went ahead with the project. The
road was finally opened, and it proved to be a great success. But
the two small churches were destroyed, and the relations between
the Labour group and the parish priest remained hostile. Six years
later, Dun Bert and his supporters were still pointing to the
avenue as positive proof that the Labour Party is fundamentally
opposed to the Church.

IV

463 But if the political parties have modified the traditional system of
665 patronage somewhat by providing a new channel of influence for
the villager, the professional politician of today is by and large the same traditional patron. That is, the successful politicians are largely drawn from the professional classes; they are still the doctors, the lawyers, the architects and the chemists. Indeed, until recently the lists of candidates often read like directories of the professional classes. This situation prevailed until about the time of the Labour Party split in 1949, when virtually all the professional class Labour MLA's sided with Dr. Boffa and formed the Workers' Party, while most of the MLP Executive and the rank and file supported Mintoff. After this the Labour Party asked people from all classes to stand as candidates, and began to push up working-class leaders trained in union and club politics. But the politicians from the professional class still heavily outnumber their working-class colleagues, even in the Labour Party.

Table 8 below illustrates this. Of the fifty MLA's elected in the

divided by the conflict, the office-holders who have laid politics 578
aside to preserve the unity of the clubs for which they are respon- 621
sible, the many who have sought to avoid open commitments to
either side, and to remain in contact with both. They are the 626
people who, in spite of all that has been preached and said against 665
them by both sides, still look to both the Archbishop and Mintoff
as their leaders, the one in the religious sphere, the other in the
political. They see nothing inconsistent in hanging pictures of the
two side by side in their houses. All have a vested interest in
peace; and all work in their own way to keep the conflict from
spreading and destroying completely their customary way of life.

At one time the entire civil service worked to prevent the 578
spread of conflict in much the same way. When the Labour 626
Party took over the government many civil servants, forced by
the nature of their office to carry out the orders of the party in 647
power, were obliged to administer policies which were contrary 665
to the declared interests of the Church. Their loyalties were thus 795
often divided between the two. Some of the higher civil servants
carried messages between the two sides. Others called at the Curia
merely to assure the Church that they implemented unwillingly
the controversial policies. Yet others acted quietly in their own
various ways to reduce the tension between government and
Church that made their own positions so uncomfortable. Civil
servants at all levels thus worked to keep the Church and the
Labour Government in touch with each other and exerted con-
siderable pressure to prevent the relations between the two from
deteriorating even more. But their conciliatory influence came to
an end when the Labour Party resigned. It is not surprising, there-
fore, that with the removal of this bridge between the MLP and
the Church, the conflict became more intense almost immediately.

The two sides are now linked together only by the many per- 578
sons with conflicting allegiances. Yet their ability to keep the 626
conflict from spreading is slowly being reduced by the uncom-
promising position of the Church which is forcing them to take 665
sides openly. As these persons reluctantly do so, the important 795
cross links that tie the two combatants together are snapped off
one by one, and the conflict becomes progressively more intense.

the underground granaries, shaped like vast jars, beneath the 251
open space between Valetta and its suburb of Floriana and
beneath a few other places, sealed with round stone lids and 178
still in use for conserving Malta's stocks of imported grain.

There are other links in Malta with the rule of the Order 326
of S. John. There survives, for example, from the days of
the Grand Masters an official known as the Consul for 656
Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, who is the appraiser of the 647
Government and impresses on Maltese silver its own hall- [178)
mark, the Maltese Cross, and on gold the crown or the
Maltese shield. The Consul's office is housed on the ground-floor of the Monte di Pietà building in Merchants' Street. Opposite to it is the handsome Public Registry, with a tablet commemorating its reconstruction by Grand Master Zondadari. As if to compensate for the defacement by the French Revolutionaries of the Sienese Grand Master's escutcheon, his inscription was subsequently surmounted by a bust of George III, topped by the Royal Arms of that day.

In connexion with the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silver- 436
smiths it may be mentioned that the coinage of the Order remained legal tender in Malta until 1886, when by a Government Notice there were called in all coins of "the late Government of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem."[1]
The principal denominations of the Maltese coinage were [178]
the scudo, the tari, the carlino and the grano or grain, which in Maltese were called *skut*, *rbighi*, *karlin* and *habba*; and not only the country people but all Maltese use to this day the old names to denote certain values in our modern coinage. Thus 2½*d*. is described as *tliet karlinijet* (three carlini); half a crown as *tmintax rbighi*, meaning eighteen tari; 1*s*. 3*d*. is invariably *disa' rbghajja*—that is, nine tari.

Malta has no longer a separate coinage of its own, but small bronze coins of one-third of a farthing, still known locally as grains, were struck at the London Mint for use in

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[1] The standard work on this interesting coinage is Canon Calleja Schembri's *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 2nd edn., 1910). [1/3]

241 palms and pomegranates alongside potatoes - but in no case are conditions optimal or yields very good. In the comparatively closed economies of the past this mattered little; in an era of world trade and world markets Malta has now been left behind. Large-scale cotton production has virtually ceased and that of citrus fruit is declining; viticulture is of low standard and the olive tree very rare. Cereals can now provide only a tiny fraction of local needs while fodder production is limited in season and type by water shortage.

178 The critical phase in the social and economic reactions to the physical situation has also been reached. In the simple peasant communities of the past, the creative manual effort was necessarily associated with a low valuation of individual human effort and an arduous and restricted life. Now, however, economic and social opportunities and desires have widened and with them has come impatience with the demands imposed by the artificial landscape.

182 Higher per capita productivity to assure more freedom and leisure is only quickly attainable by technical and mechanical innovation. It is just such innovation that is impossible on a large scale on the land of Malta. 241

311 [134] The slope analysis map (Fig. 28)[1] illustrates one aspect of the problem. Maltese soil 12 inches deep needs, as a minimum amount, terracing at horizontal intervals of about 20 feet. Anything wider in the way of fields or a deeper soil makes essential increasingly higher and stronger retaining walls. The problem is such that considerable control is exercised by dip as well as gradient. The amount of labour involved in maintenance is heartbreaking by modern standards and yet, without it, erosion is quickly followed by the complete stripping away of the soil down to bare rock. The scale of farming operations often has to be very small - the planting of single rows of beans, of single trees, the sowing of chick-peas in rock crevices. Power and tool application is severely restricted. Small and light implements and single draught animals or more recently 'rotavators' alone can negotiate this type of terrain and work very thin soils covering rock platforms. The dangerous effect of the abandonment of any land is obvious. The past has in fact enchained the present. If cultivation is to continue then in order to preserve the artificial ecological balance, created with such effort over the centuries, a social imbalance will become even stronger. Whatever the scale of farming the farmer will always have to grub for soil, build his terraces, carry his plough or manhandle his rotavator for long hours under conditions that will seem less attractive even than those of casual dockside and urban labour.

The first point then is that the landscape indicates how human effort is pinned down by the artificial environment and how restive man is becoming.

175 The second theme is concerned with the reasons for the historical process of what really amounts to landscape gardening, and with the underlying implications. 241

648 Malta's wealth, in historical times at least, has come from a large extra-territorially derived income which has resulted from the Island's positional value. It is possible that even in prehistoric times Malta was never self-sufficient. The great temple building cultures of Malta and Gozo may well have maintained their master masons on imported wealth. Certainly Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Normans all occupied Malta because of its strategic position and took wealth in rather than removed it. The Order of St. John held it as an outpost of Christendom maintained by the Knights' possessions on the European mainland. Britain has similarly supported the Island's economy in return for its use as a naval, military and more recently a strategic air centre. Because of Malta's positional importance its inhabitants found it necessary and worth while to create agricultural resources. Because Malta has usually been an outpost the society and its works have attained the unstable equilibrium of a siege life.

369 At least since Arab occupation a duality has appeared in the community. Earliest at Mdina, later in the Three Cities, then in Valletta and the whole Grand Harbour complex, and now around the naval, military and air bases, the garrisons have formed successive nuclei of a cosmopolitan and sophisticated community. This community, literate, trained in the professions and trades has

[1] [See pp. 98-B and 98-C -- Analyst]

the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a 133
gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely 333
populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square 161
miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population den-
sity of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated [131]
countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the
urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The 162
rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly
separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The popu-
lation of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very 16
limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems.
The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been
encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large
families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recog-
nized the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service
for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged
8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual in-
crease was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period
was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual
rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off
many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there
were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000
women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. 175
The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality.
With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known pub-
lished sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to [121]
enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical
perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different [648]

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[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands*, 1960 (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–5.

175 rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans ● 648 successively occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–1283), the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. In 1530, [701] Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their protesting inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800 Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then they have remained a British possession.

175 The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was 776 the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he 795 stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the people to Christianity. Whether he converted many is a moot [797] point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor, Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. The Maltese are intensely proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. [796] *Missierna San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the principal patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

175 The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during 793 the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, reestablished and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to 795 arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of Maltese bishops dates from this period.

175 Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the 642 Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered
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[1] Acts 27 and 28.

by the officials of the governing body, or *Università*. This body, 175
which met in Mdina, the old capital of the island, was composed 642
of representatives of the nobles, learned men, secular priests, 646
merchants and artisans elected by all the family heads in the towns
and villages of Malta and Gozo. The Knights of St. John, however, [439] severely limited the authority of the Università, and during their final years it was little more than a public corporation responsible for the importation of scarce foodstuffs.

The Order made itself responsible for local government. It con- 175
trolled and financed the local militia, police, courts, water supply, 642
public works, hospitals and charities. The government of the 701
Order was highly centralized, and all key posts were held by Knights, though many of the lesser administrative offices were given to Maltese nobles, lawyers and clerks. The authority of the [625] Order was made effective in the rural areas through the police and the ten Captains who were in charge of military garrisons and arsenals, located at strategic points for internal security and defence against war parties and corsairs, and were also responsible for mobilizing the militia. This paternalistic system of administration came to an abrupt end when Napoleon drove the Knights from the islands. Their departure marked the end of an era.

Napoleon remained in Malta only eight days, but they were 175
busy days. According to Laferla, 'it is certain that no one in the 177
space of a few days attempted more, did more and upset the 648
Maltese more than he did.'[1] He set up a nominated council of Maltese to see to civil administration, remodelled the tribunals along French lines and established twelve municipal councils. He abolished the nobility. He closed the University, established a central technical college and founded fifteen government elementary schools. He also sent sixty sons of wealthy families off to study at republican colleges in Paris at their parents' expense.

'All this and probably much more would the Maltese have patiently tolerated,' says Laferla, 'had Napoleon not interfered with religion.'[2] For he set out to curtail the influence of the Church. He limited the jurisdiction of the Bishop to purely ecclesiastical affairs, ordered the expulsion from the islands of all non-Maltese clergy and reduced the number of clerics. He also instituted civil marriage, gave protection to the Jews and forbade

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[1] A. V. Laferla, *The Story of Man in Malta* (3rd ed.; Malta, A. C. Aquilina and Co., 1958), p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

175 the clergy to charge for their services. Finally, he decreed that no
177 foreign power, even the Pope, might interfere in local religious
● 648 administration.

By these acts, the French attacked values that were at the very
175 foundation of the Maltese social structure. Moreover, the new
government aggravated the discontent by its failure to meet its
648 financial commitments. Less than two months later, the sup-
669 pressed hostility flared into savage revolt when the authorities tried to auction off the property of the Carmelite church in Mdina. The citizens rose, massacred the town's garrison and burned their bodies. Then, led by Notary Vitale and Canon Caruana, a powerful cotton merchant who later became Bishop, they penned up the main French force under General Vaubois behind the fortifications of Valletta and the Three Cities. Two years later the French surrendered to the British force which had come to assist the Maltese.

Under British rule, Malta changed from a theocracy ruled by a
175 religious order, to a self-governing colony with an active internal
177 political life. Administrative posts gradually passed to Maltese
64 hands, and today the civil service, apart from a few foreign
69 experts, is completely Maltese. But in spite of a long flirtation with
[621] various forms of local and regional government, there are still no village mayors or councillors. The new civic committee in Gozo is an exception which will be discussed in the following chapter. Early in their rule, the British abolished the Università. To appease the wounded dignity of the nobles, they divided Malta into six districts under the nominal authority of Lords Lieutenant, chosen from the nobility. These officers were in charge of civil affairs, and presided over district courts. Each was assisted by syndics, deputies with magisterial powers, who lived in the villages. In 1839, this system of local government was abandoned as inefficient and costly, and district magistrates, also called syndics, were appointed from the class of advocates. Later, the government established district consultative committees to advise it on local needs and to coordinate health measures during epidemics. These committees were only partly successful, and were also abandoned. In 1896 the government finally abolished the office of syndic, and, in the interest of economy, closed the last district courts in 1913. After that, except for the Magistrate's Court in Gozo, the administration of justice remained centralized in Valletta.

In the early years of its rule, Britain moved slowly but firmly to 175
restrict the authority of the Church. As one of its first steps, it 177
imposed a mortmain law which forced the Church to sell off 648
bequests of immovable property within one year. In 1828, it
abolished the right of sanctuary and restricted the jurisdiction of 659
the ecclesiastical courts to purely spiritual matters. Shortly after- 795
wards, the Diocese of Malta, until then subject to the Metropolitan
of Palermo, was made directly dependent on the Holy See.

In spite of the inroads Britain made on the power of the Church, the relations between the two have, on the whole, remained extremely cordial. This friendliness has been due very largely to the considerable protection which Britain has given to the Church in Malta. To begin with, it is protected from the competition of other religions. The missionary activities of groups such as the Bible Society and the Salvation Army have been severely restricted. Moreover, the government reserves the right to ban public religious ceremonies by non-Catholics if they threaten to disturb the peace. Catholic precepts regarding education and marriage are also safeguarded, for education is on Catholic religious principles, and divorce and civil marriage are not possible under Maltese law. Furthermore, the Archbishop is accorded high honour, and in the jealously guarded order of precedence he is second only to the Governor. Both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo are exempt from the jurisdiction of the criminal courts.

In addition, the first Maltese elected government passed a law in 659
1922, declaring the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the 795
country. Article 161 of the Malta Criminal Code makes it a criminal 671
offence to vilify in public the Catholic religion or its ministers.[1]

Constitutional development in Malta has been a painful and 642
slow process; for it is not a simple matter to give representative 648
government to a fortress. The first constitution in 1835 provided
for a council of government composed of five office holders, including the Governor and the Bishop, and three nominated dignitaries. Since then, there have been no less than nine different constitutions. Those promulgated before the First World War established an oligarchical system. Property restrictions on those allowed to vote and hold office resulted in elections by and for members of the landed, professional and merchant classes. Further-

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[1] Act XVIII, 1933.

642 more, because Imperial strategic interests limited the terms of reference of these councils, the constitutions permitted only the
648 most rudimentary form of government. Only under the 1887 Constitution did elected members outnumber official members. But this elected majority had no effective power and finally proved so awkward that in 1903 a new constitution reinstated an official majority.

64 After the First World War, there was popular agitation for a
[579] more liberal form of government. In 1919, the social unrest culminated in an anti-British riot during which British troops killed four demonstrators. Later that year, Britain announced that Malta would receive a more liberal constitution. The new constitution, which eventually came into force in 1921, attempted to reconcile two conflicting principles: continued British control over her strategic island-fortress, and Maltese self-government. The complicated solution which Britain adopted was dyarchy, under which effective legislative and executive power was divided between the Governor and the representatives of the Maltese people. This created two separate governments.

The Imperial Government dealt with 'Reserved Matters', which included defence, foreign relations, immigration and coinage. The Malta Government consisted of a seventeen-member Senate and a Legislative Assembly of 32 members. The Senate was composed of representatives of the clergy, the nobility, the University, the Chamber of Commerce and the Trade Union Coun-
[666] cil. The members of the Legislative Assembly and seven members of the Senate were elected by adult males, subject to certain minimal property or educational restrictions.

The 1921 Constitution was suspended in 1930 and again in 1933, and finally revoked in 1936. In spite of a new constitution in 1939, the islands remained effectively under Governor's rule until representative government was restored after the war. The 1947 Constitution again provided dyarchy, but it did not resurrect the cumbersome Senate. The new Legislative Assembly consisted of forty members elected by universal suffrage from eight electoral districts. In 1958, the government resigned following the collapse of talks with Britain over a proposal to 'integrate' Malta more closely with the United Kingdom. As the leader of the opposition refused to form a new government, the Governor suspended and then revoked the constitution.

I did the fieldwork on which this study is based at this period in 642
Malta's constitutional history. A new constitution was promul- 648
gated late in 1961, and elections took place in February 1962. In [114]
place of dyarchy, it provided for 'concurrent powers' on foreign
affairs and defence to be held by the Malta Government and a
United Kingdom Commissioner.

The first Maltese political parties were born out of the con- 197
troversy over language which followed the publication in 1880 of 665
the Keenan report on education. This recommended that English
should be taught in place of Italian in the primary schools, al- 668
though students might later take Italian as an elective subject. In the Lyceum and the University, except for the Faculty of Theology, all work was to be done in English. These recommendations, which the government tried for many years to implement, weakened the dominant position which Italian had enjoyed in the educational system. As Italian was the language of the law courts, the clergy and the University, it was something of a class symbol. Most of the educated classes, and especially the lawyers and priests, strenuously resisted the move to downgrade it in favour of English. Many of the refugees from the Italian wars, who came to Malta after 1850, gave encouragement to the partisans of Italian. The Italian movement also whipped up considerable support amongst the clergy and their parishioners by declaring that English would certainly bring with it increased Protestant influences.

The dispute thus created interest groups which were to dominate Maltese politics for the next fifty years. On one side was the pro-English, or *riformista*, party led first by Sigismondo Savona, later the Director of Education, and subsequently by Count (later
Lord) Gerald Strickland. This party, which generally supported [648]
government policy, favoured close cultural and political ties with Britain. By the 1920's, it became known as the Constitutional Party. Its successor, the Progressive Constitutional Party, is led by Strickland's daughter, Miss Mabel Strickland.

The *anti-riformista* or pro-Italian party was led by Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and later by his son, Dr. Enrico Mizzi. The Nationalist Party eventually emerged out of this group, and today, although the language issue is quite dead, it is still one of the two major political parties. Both parties campaigned for support in the villages and thus, for the first time, forcefully presented national
political issues to the masses.

000 political issues to the masses. The pro-Italian group came to
197 dominate the elected members, and blocked the affairs of govern-
● 648 ment to such an extent that Britain re-established the official
668 majority.

[665] Britain did not succeed until many years later in implementing the recommendations of the Keenan Report. The language of instruction in the primary schools remained English or Italian, at the option of a student's parents – the so-called '*pari-passu*' system. In 1921, Britain attempted to remove language from the political arena by stipulating in the new constitution 'that nothing shall be done by way of legislation or administration which shall diminish or detract from the position of English as an official language or to reduce its use in education or in the public service.'[1]

197 For the first six years after the 1921 Constitution was promul-
gated, the government was in the hands of the political groups
665 which eventually merged into the Nationalist Party: Monsignor
668 Panzavecchia's 'Unione Maltese' and the 'Partito Democratico Nazionalista' led by Enrico Mizzi. The newly-formed Labour Party at first supported the Nationalists, but later became a firm ally of Strickland's Constitutional Party. Monsignor Michael Gonzi, now Archbishop of Malta, was a representative of the Labour Party until he became Bishop of Gozo in 1924. During this early period, the only serious political skirmish occurred, not surprisingly, over the 1923 Pari-Passu Bill by which the Nationalists introduced both English and Italian as compulsory subjects in the elementary schools. Strickland attacked the bill on the ground that it made no provision to teach Maltese, the language of the masses. He maintained that without a firm knowledge of their own language, children could never learn two foreign
[648] languages at the same time. Although the British at first declared that this act was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, it was allowed to become law.

665 The Constitutional Party, supported by the Labour Party, won the 1927 general elections, and Strickland became Prime Minister.
666 The elections, however, were marred by an incident which embittered the relations between Strickland's supporters and their opponents. On the day before the election, the Nationalists circulated thousands of copies of a perjured affidavit which declared that Strickland was a Freemason. Although the perjurer, a

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[1] Section 57.

659 A Papal Delegate visited Malta and concluded that the differences between the government and the Church could best be settled by means of a concordat. During most of the year following the Papal Delegate's visit, Britain tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a concordat and to get the Holy See to forbid the Maltese clergy to take part in the general elections scheduled for May 1930. The Vatican, however, declared that Strickland was not *persona grata* and that as long as he remained in power, a concordat was not possible.

In Malta, the relations between the Strickland Government and
the Church went from bad to worse. In April 1930, two Con-
stitutional Party Ministers gathered many sworn statements that
Monsignor Gonzi, the Bishop of Gozo, had instructed priests to
preach against the Constitutional Party and to refuse absolution
to its supporters. This inquiry greatly angered the Church. On the
666 first of May, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo issued a joint
659 pastoral which forbade people to vote for Strickland or those can-
648 didates who supported him. In view of the spiritual sanctions that
[664] threatened people who voted for the candidates of one of the two
[642] major parties, Britain had no option but to cancel the elections. It
subsequently suspended the constitution, but kept the Strickland
ministers on as advisers.

197 A Royal Commission went to Malta to investigate the trouble.
Following its report, Britain restored the constitution and
64 abolished the teaching of Italian in primary schools. In June 1932
665 the Nationalists defeated Strickland and his supporters in a bit-
666 terly contested election in which 96 per cent of the electorate
voted. However, their period in office was very brief. The
Governor dismissed them in November 1933 for deliberately
evading the constitutional provisions regarding language, for they
had set about to re-establish the primacy of Italian in the educa-
tional system and the civil service. Once again the administration
of the islands became the responsibility of the Governor.

186 During the fourteen years of Governor's rule which followed,
the deep wounds caused by the long, harsh political conflict
64 slowly healed. The first Italian bombs of the war finally killed the
language dispute. The united defence effort and the common
suffering caused by the prolonged bombardment further helped
to reunite political rivals and suppress parochial quarrels. Britain
awarded the people of Malta and Gozo the George Cross for

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out 647
by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under
the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is
usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the [648]
interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation
from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads
were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants.
Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of
civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers
through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial
labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the government. [464]
They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This [162]
makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands.
Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the
principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open
competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration [621]
required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no
councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to
represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey
the wishes and commands of government to the people.
Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are
located in Valletta. Only the police represent government [625]
authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools [658]
for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most
villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a [744]
day under the supervision of a government District Medical
Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and [205]
branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour.
All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where [364]
it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic
787 Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedicated
to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
795 elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'.
621 After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
● 648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate
urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178 Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

578 665 794 heard. The meeting was finally called off, and the large MLP delegation from Malta was literally routed. They had to return on foot from Rabat to the ferry, as the bus drivers refused them transport. During the long walk to the ferry, the Labour partisans were ambushed and rather badly mauled by groups of men, women and children from all over Gozo. The ardour of many Gozitans had been worked up by lay leaders who toured the villages for several days beforehand. But besides their religious fervour, there was a considerable element of parochial pride, and the feeling that 'we'll show these Maltese invaders a thing or two.' In all, forty persons were reported injured. The Gozitans were extremely proud of their victory, and the local branch of the Social Action Movement published a booklet to commemorate the occasion.[1]

665 The activity of Labour supporters centres on their local Party club or committee, which arranges for transportation to national MLP rallies and conducts lectures and classes on the political aims of the Party. It also organizes social evenings and outings for Labour supporters. The members of the Local Committee take charge of the preparations for national meetings held in their own village. Local Committees take the initiative in preparing floats, decorated carts and companies in costume for the annual MLP demonstration on the First of May. For the past few years the
[796] MLP Executive has also organized a carnival celebration for its supporters to induce them to boycott the official government-
[204] sponsored carnival.[2] Labour supporters read the Labour daily newspaper, *Il-Helsien* (Freedom), and the Sunday *Voice of Malta*. Since the condemnation, *Il-Helsien* has become a party badge. It is pasted on bus windows during MLP excursions, worn as an armband at rallies and in general used by Labour supporters to taunt their opponents. I have even seen some young men in Kortin swagger into church on Sunday morning with copies of it sticking out of their hip pockets.

578 665 All supporters of the Labour Party do not show their allegiance this openly, for many wish to avoid the break with a large section of the community which would follow such action. Some are teachers or civil servants who fear lest their open support for the

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[1] *Għawdex Jiddefendi L-Knisja* [Gozo defends the Church] (Gozo: Social Action Movement, 1961).

[648] [2] The government at this time was administered by a British Chief Secretary, and the MLP ordered members to stay away from all events it organized.

665 of Co-operative and Social ownership should therefore be encouraged in order to curb the excesses of unbridled capitalism.

666 (5) Charter of the United Nations and the equality of all the human races – black, white or coloured. In particular Maltese Labour believe in the right of every nation to choose the method of government and the social system most consonant with its economic environment and its special political and social stage of development. The division of the world into two huge power blocs, the one intent on destroying the other, militates against world peace and the brotherhood of man. Whilst therefore communism with its anti-democratic suppression of freedom of conscience, freedom of association and other restrictive human rights earns Labour's unequivocal condemnation, the means chosen so far to combat it – namely nuclear weapons and military alliances are equally reprehensible. Labour believe in a reinvigorated United Nation's Organization able to enforce the principles embodied in the Charter through an international police force.

II. INDEPENDENCE

648. 665 666 Since time immemorial our islands have been dominated by foreign powers. Our people have not therefore been the custodians of these fundamental human rights. On the contrary our social, political and economic institutions have been at the mercy of foreign masters who have fashioned them to suit their own requirements. . . .

172 of metals to the island. Bronze Age pottery is less highly finished than the Neolithic ware, but although the two are certainly distinct, there are transitional forms.

From an ethnological point of view it would appear that the Bronze Age, or the end of the Neolithic Age, was in many places a crucial period. It is difficult, however, to parallel this in Malta by linking up the osteological and the archæological material. As we shall hope to show later, the Megalithic people in Malta appear to be very distinct from the later inhabitants, and to present certain Armenoid characteristics. Sir Arthur Evans[1] has pointed out that there was a western colonial movement from the mainland of Greece towards the close of the period which he has termed Late Minoan III. There is evidence of such a movement in cemeteries near Syracuse. Up to the present, however, there is no evidence of Malta being connected with the East at so early a date. It has further been suggested that at some period in the early history of the island a complete destruction of the old population took place.

The sherds from Kallilia appear to be similar in fabric and design to those of the Hal Tarxien Bronze Age. During the so-called "Phœnician" period we have cultural evidence of connection with the Ægean and North Africa, and it would appear that then, if not earlier, the final shaping of the present population was taking place, and that the mixed "island people" of the Eastern Mediterranean were sufficiently firmly established to swamp any further immigration of invaders belonging to a pure Mediterranean strain.

[144] The Punic influence, though culturally no doubt of importance, does not seem to have altered the population physically, and though at this time the connection with North Africa was undoubtedly close, it was not sufficiently strong to counteract the change wrought by the sea rovers from the islands, and to restore a type similar to that of Neolithic times.

175 Until the Roman occupation at the end of the third century B.C. Malta appears
● 648 to have been closely connected with North Africa. Rome held the islands as a military or semi-military outpost until nearly the end of the second century A.D. The period usually known as "Roman" in Malta should be more correctly described as Romano-Maltese; although Rome was the ruling power and much Roman culture was introduced, there are few references to Malta in Roman literature, and from an ethnological point of view the island was certainly working out its own salvation.

The archipelago was given practical autonomy and made a municipium about A.D. 177. On the division of the Empire, in A.D. 395, the islands were taken over by the Eastern Empire, to which they were certainly ethnologically akin. Invasions of barbarians may possibly have occurred, but when the Arabs captured the islands in 870 they found a Byzantine garrison in occupation. Robert of Sicily, with a

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[1] "Prehistoric Tombs of Cnossos," *Archæologia*, LIX, p. 107.

small handful of Knights, took over Malta in 1090. The islands became part of the 175
kingdom of Sicily, and shared its varying fortunes till they were ceded to the Knights 648
of St. John by the Emperor Charles V in 1530.

For the next three centuries the history of the Knights is so intimately concerned with the history of Malta that we must at least briefly consider the general position of the Order.

The Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem were finally ejected from the coast of Syria at the end of the thirteenth century. They occupied Rhodes in 1308. This island formed their home for over two hundred years. Early in 1523 they were driven from Rhodes, taking with them 4000 Rhodians. Given a temporary home at Viterbo by Pope Clement VII, a member of their own Order, they finally received the island of Malta from the Emperor Charles V under conditions of nominal feudal submission, to wit, the Grand Master to send a falcon to the Viceroy of Sicily every All Souls' Day.

The Order had an international character, and in the sixteenth century was divided into eight "Languages" or "Langues," according to the origin of the Knights, namely, Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, England, Germany and Castile. The English "Language" was suppressed in 1540, previous to which time many of the Knights who had been in England (the Grand Priory was situated in Clerkenwell) had either fled to Malta or been executed. The fiction of an English "Language" was, however, kept, and as late as 1782, on the foundation of a Bavarian "Language," this latter was united to the old English "Langue," which of course in reality no longer existed, and called the Anglo-Bavarian. The dominant element in the population of the Knights was certainly French, and the three French "Langues"—Provence, Auvergne and France—were certainly, both ethnologically and politically, the most important. The latter aspect was reflected in the great number of French Grand Masters.

For a generation after the occupation of the island by the Knights, Malta gradually succeeded in establishing an important position in the Mediterranean.
There seems little doubt that men like Strozzi, La Vallette, Charles of Lorraine, and [567]
de Romegas were practically pirates, at least as far as their treatment of the Turk was concerned, and at this time a very large number of Turkish slaves, presumably chiefly of Negro origin, were introduced into the island. In 1564 Suliman the Magnificent decided to attack Malta. The story of the siege of Malta in 1565 is a magnificent passage in the history of this very distinguished Order of Chivalry. It only concerns us so far as it resulted in a reorganization of the fortifications of the island and the building of the great city of Valletta, called after the Grand Master of the Order, Jean Parisot de la Vallette. It is important for our purpose to remember that when the Turks were eventually driven from the island, the Order had only 600 men capable of bearing arms who had survived the struggle.

175 167 361 The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

175 161 361 It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is comparatively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

175 648 The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

175 433-464 During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

175 648 The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediaeval Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—DEMOGRAPHY.

161 174 It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogeum is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Miege (27) suggests a population of 20,659. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard develop-
621 ments and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the rural districts where change has to date been slower than in the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisors as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the population was not. This concentration of learning produced a situation in which only the clergy were able to step forward to take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
[669] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolution-
[648] ary leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the
[874] University came strongly under the influence of the Church, for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long stan-
[178] ding, was and still is best known for its Theology. However, during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth. The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociological importance during the present century has been the growth of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces which are today tending to detract from the traditional omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will loom much larger than at present in the country districts and in Gozo[11].

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
[794] has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

407 472 474 Many of the large tractor plowing concerns described above are run by two or more men, often brothers, in partnership. A much more recent development of this kind has been the 'tractor co-operative' in which a much larger number of farmers share the use and expenses of a cultivator of tractor. By the end of 1958 one such co-operative had been established in Mellicha in Malta, and another at Gharb, in Gozo.

407 474 648 These two projects are attempts which, if successful, may be followed by the setting up of other similar co-operatives. Two powerful hand cultivators were donated by C.A.R.E[27], the American relief organization, to a committee of farmers in Mellieha and two more to a similar group in Gharb. In each village farmers wishing to join [427] the co-operative paid a fee of some £2 after which they were entitled to hire the machine at a fraction of the prevailing commercial hire cost. In Gharb this was 10/- an hour where other private tractor operators were demanding 17/-. The C.A.R.E. gifts of tractors removed the need for the farmer himself to invest capital in something novel. He stood only to gain and not to lose and there was, consequently, fierce competition for the limited membership of the co-operative. Maintainance of the machines was in each case left to a full-time operator, while the running of the co-operative was in the hands of an executive committee of some half dozen farmers in each case who were elected from among the members concerned. This kind of organization in farm work is quite new to the Maltese farmer who has previously been incapable of uniting to any degree, whether in a marketing co-operative or farmers' union (Section 4). If the Mellicha and Gharb projects prove successful the principle of such co-operation may well extend to other branches of agriculture. The resulting financial economies would considerably strengthen the farmer's position.

407 474 A co-operative of any sort is, however, a somewhat unknown quantity among a largely illiterate and conservative farming population not far removed from traditional independent subsistence. Moreover, until recently, mechanical skill has been confined to the small number of farmers operating tractors themselves. In the Gharb co-operative only two men were available who could in fact operate the machines at all.

Although it is too early to judge the efficacy of this kind of co-operative in Malta its initial success would suggest that it has a future. The answer to the problem of shortage of labour discussed earlier in this section may then well be a combination of the widespread owner-use of one or other of the small rotary cultivators on the market along

During the war years the farmer has been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital
improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows
and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in
post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to
'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living
above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt.
He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position
and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the
financial point of view, to his commanding position during
the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25,
although the average per capita income for the whole
country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing
and other essential items are often quite exorbitant,
especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954
survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of
northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of
£136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm
labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75
per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn
little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
labourer without field commitments of his own can demand
his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases,
markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who
stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

511 Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
434 average, a standard of life still slightly below the
general level, although the disparity is by no means as
great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Above-average exceptions include those
farmers who have been able to profit from the present
regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large
herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings
or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

[747]
648

735 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison.
747 The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth
434 and assets against family size. Thus a household of four
848 persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or
a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for
the free food[32].

162 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the
735 above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by
place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which
434 the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in
addition, also listed separately. The residential
divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the
basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working
population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

	A	B	C	D	E
DISTRICT	POPULATION[35]	'Poor & Needy' as % Population	FARMERS[36]	'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	B/D
Urban Area	134,309	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.8	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	9	0.9:

369 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living
735 standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as
has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta
511 and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect
162 the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of
Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the
farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less
poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone
they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural
zone (most of Gozo, and Mġarr in Malta), however, the farmer
is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general
average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most
dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this
zone are one third below the general level as far as their
standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

162 The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom
735 9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as
a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the
511 whole population.

369 This pattern of comparatively low living standards in
rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the
problem with which this Section has been concerned. While
[178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in
the Islands the younger generation of the rural community
will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present
241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change
from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from
its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3).
The social background to this change is, however, no less
important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work,
thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little
removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of
commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and
illiterate sections of the farming community this question
of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any
efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be
seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and
Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to
Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta
the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate.
Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom
Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of
experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel
none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta
619 complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the
829 farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he
has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on
which he blames many of his economic and social problems.
In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear
distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities
and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is
allegiance to political parties very significant for person-
[648] ality is more important than party. Historically, this
attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the
tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign
British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid
hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two
and a half centuries in the Islands.

000 28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

[113) 30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No. 259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

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747
648
735

32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revized):

Family of	3 or 4	persons	....maximum	income	-	£5
" "	5 to 7	"	....	" "	-	£5 8s
" "	8 " 10	"	....	" "	-	£5 15s
" "	11 " 13	"	....	" "	-	£6 1s
" "	14 " 16	"	....	" "	-	£6 6s
" "	17 or 18	"	....	" "	-	£6 10s

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

[122] 34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Matla at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

000 35. (B/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

113 38. "Labour Government's Progress Report. 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClement in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Ghalf Bilanċjat ghall-Majjali" by A.T. Hausler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

000 42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present traiing position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but these registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.H.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

[114] 47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dowdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

[124] 48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tmien, Sighan and Kejliet : v. Appendix 5.

541 evolutions before the doors of the wealthy, to whom the little girl, who is called "Il gharusa tal parata" (the bride), is taken after the performance to receive some money as a remuneration for the trouble taken by the men, who employ the money they collect in defraying the expenses of the band, and the buying or hiring of the costumes they wear. (*)

541 175 648 The parata is a commemoration of the famous victory which the Maltese gained over the Musulmans in 1565.

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[171] (*) In Dr. Chandler's "Travels in Greece" page 133, we read the following passage which bears great resemblance to our "Parata":

"Some Arabian and black slaves who had obtained their freedom and were settled at Athens had a feast on the performance of the rite of circumcision. The women danced in a ring with sticks in their hands, and turning in pairs, clashed them over their heads at intervals, singing wildly to the music."

796 174 [931] Abela, in his "History of Malta" says: that it was instituted as a vow to St. Gregory, to whose intercession the Maltese had recourse in 1519, when the Island was visited by an epidemic disease.

Ciantar, the celebrated Historian, assures us, however, that the procession was instituted in 1400 long before the epidemic mentioned by Abela.

[648] Others again say: that it was held about the year 1429 whilst the Island was being besieged by some 18000 Moors, but this could not possibly be the case in as much as the people who were besieged within the walls of the town could not join in the cry "Misericordia" at Zeitun.

[731] Again some say that the procession took place for the first time in Malta in thanksgiving to the Almighty after

the deliverance from a large swarm of locusts that once caused a dreadful havoc in the Island. 796 174 [731]

Monsignor Duzina, the Apostolic Visitor, who visited Malta in February 1575, having found that the origin of this procession was involved in great obscurity, caused the most aged men of the Island to be brought before him, and on asking them about the origin of the institution of this general procession, he was informed that the tradition was "That the procession was founded by a general vow of the Maltese after their deliverance from the Turks, whose fleet was dispersed by a terrible storm at Marsascirocco,(*) just when the Moslems were on the point 796 174 782 648

(*) This is probably the reason that the general procession goes to the churches of St. Catherine and St. Gregory, those being the nearest churches to Marsascirocco.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 of effecting a landing on the shores of
174 the Island.

[648]
[782] It is an undeniable fact that the procession has been instituted in commemoration of some signal public deliverance. Of all the traditions, however, the most generally received is that which we read in the acts of the said Mons. Duzina's visit in 1575.

796 This procession used formerly to take place in lent, on St. Gregory's day, which falls on the 12th of March. That day was selected not because the above mentioned invasion occurred on that particular day, but because lent being the time of penance, our faithful forefathers thought that the vow would be more acceptable to God in lent. And the day of St. Gregory was chosen, that Saint being the founder of all processions which are solemnized by the Roman Catholic Church.

beautiful display of fireworks, on the eve of the festival, attract thousands of spectators not only from the towns and villages of Malta but also from the sister Island. 527 184

Hundreds of Gozitans flock to Malta in order, as it were, to take part in the general rejoicings held on this special day of the anniversary of the raising of the great siege of Malta, which ended in the total repulse of the Turks, after a most heroic defence by the Knights of St. John, united to the bravery of the Maltese, under the intrepid Grand Master Jean La Valette, in 1565. 527 175 184 648

In the afternoon of the feast (8th Sept.) the grand harbour presents indeed a very lively appearance, there being boat racing and the *giostra* or greasy pole, the prizes for which are given 527 526

527/526 by Government in commemoration of the defeat of the Turks (*)

The famous annual boat race of the 8th. of September draws as great a concourse of people, comparatively speaking, as the far-famed Oxford and Cambridge contest annually does along the banks of the Thames.

The Valletta harbour quays, from the new extension, right up to the old Barriera, and all the overlooking lines of walls and batteries, on both sides of the harbour, are early taken possession of by thousands of spectators who take great delight in this exciting annual regatta.

The course is from "Ras Hanzir"

796/648 (*) Both the regatta and the *giostra* were formerly held on the 10th of August, St. Lawrence day—The Parochial feast of Vittoriosa, the principal seat during the memorable siege of 1565.

184 memoration of the Victory won by the
527 Maltese in the great siege of 1565,
533 instead of coming to take part in the amusements held in Valletta and in the other towns, meet in groups on the terraces, or flat tops of their houses, and keep singing merrily till very late at night.

ANOTHER NATIONAL FEAST

527 The celebration of the glorious vic-
186 tory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565 has been of good use to the Maltese, It has enabled them to comprehend more keenly the historic value of this Island.

[175] In fact, some two years ago another
[648] national commemoration has originated at Città Vecchia, on the 3rd or 4th Sunday of September, to celebrate the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

liberation of the Maltese from the yoke 527
186
of the Saracens by Count Roger of [775]
Normandy in the year 1090. [648]

A liberal programme is now annually arranged by the Committee embracing every kind of attraction at Notabile.

PILGRIMAGES TO MELLEHA (*) 778

788
On the last two Sundays of September, every year, the roads leading to Melleha are alive with merry parties, especially country people, on their way to that village, in order to visit the

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(*) Melleha is a village some 10½ miles distant [361]
from Valletta, and about an hour's ride from St. Paul's Bay. It is renowned for the very old, perhaps the oldest, Sanctuary in the world, dedicated to the B. Virgin. This Sanctuary was founded by St. Paul, [776]
the great Apostle of the Gentiles, while he was in Malta (58 A. D.) for the convenience of the faithful who lived in those neighbourhoods. Over the small [532]
altar is a picture of St. Mary, covering another old drawing of the same, executed by St. Luke.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER II

Where and What is Malta?

133 SEVENTEEN MILES IN LENGTH AND NINE MILES ACROSS AT ITS widest, with its long axis running north-west and south-east, Malta is the principal island of one of the smallest archipelagoes in the world, a survival from those remote days when continents were differently shaped and the Mediterranean was a cluster of fresh-water lakes, divided by land bridges that connected Europe with Africa. Of one of these bridges the Maltese archipelago is to-day the sole existing pier, the one remaining fragment of a causeway along which prehistoric pachyderms and ruminants groped their puzzled way to the African warmth when driven from Europe by its increasing glaciation. Some of these mighty beasts lingered too long on the Maltese pier, and the cave of Ghar Dalam, "the Cave of Darkness," near Bir Zebbuġa at the southern extremity of the island, is a storehouse of their remains, converted in the course of ages into layers of fossil deposits as important as any of their kind in the world.

• 648 175 [133] This position midway between two continents has at times created doubts in the minds of scientists no less than of administrators as to the one to which Malta should properly belong, just as doubts have been expressed whether Cyprus should be held to belong to Europe or to Asia. These doubts were set at rest, from the legal point of view at all events, soon after the British Occupation. For in 1801 the Parliament of the United Kingdom gravely enacted, in clause 3 of 41 Geo. III cap. 103—or, to give the law its full title, "An Act to empower His Majesty to regulate the trade and commerce to and from the isle of Malta until the signing of a definitive Treaty of Peace, and from thence until six weeks

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 18]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

648 after the next meeting of Parliament; and to declare the isle
175 of Malta to be part of Europe"—

> that the said Island of Malta and dependencies thereof shall be deemed, taken and construed to be part of Europe for all purposes, and as to all matters and things whatever; any law or laws, usage or custom, or act or acts, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

114
175 But this enactment, although it satisfied the administrators, did not wholly silence the men of science, who produced, in addition to Europe and Africa, yet a third continental claimant to the geographical ownership of the Maltese Islands. In the middle of the nineteenth century a Maltese architect and engineer named Grognet de Vassé, best known as the designer of the great Parish Church of Mosta, propounded the theory that the submerged continent of Atlantis lay between Cyrenaica in the east and Tunis in the west, almost filling the indentations in the coast of North Africa which the Romans called Syrtes Major and Syrtes Minor and we know to-day as the Gulfs of Sidra and Gabes. Of this continent, said Grognet, the Maltese archipelago formed the north-western corner; and he published a learned treatise in support of his theory, which he based on ample references to mythology, etymology and classical geography.

It is an ingenious piece of imaginative reasoning whereby the author places the Elysian Fields and the lower world of the ancients in Atlantis, the mouths of the rivers Acheron and Phlegethon in that part of Atlantis which is Malta—namely, in the Grand Harbour and the harbour of Marsa Mxett—and an outlet of the river Styx in one of the springs of the gardens of the Villa Frere, for many years the beautiful residence and garden in Pietà of the distinguished scholar, man of letters, diplomatist and friend of Sir Walter Scott, the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere.

137
132 Nevertheless the legislators of 1801 were rightly inspired, for in climate and vegetation no less than in the works of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

man Malta is essentially European, a projection of Europe 137
into the south. Its vegetation is of the Mediterranean type, [132]
similar to that of Southern Spain, the Riviera, Sicily and the islands of the Ægean although, strangely enough, it lacks among its wild flowers the cyclamen which so delightfully and characteristically, in springtime, carpets the ground in Cyprus and the Isles of Greece. Here and there, it is true, there rises above its pines and cypresses and carob-trees an occasional stately date-palm, suggesting a garden-escape from the groves of Tunis. And Tunis, whence come the best dates in the world, lies, be it noted, to the north of Malta. But the fruit on the date-palms of Malta practically never ripens. Malta is too European for that.

2

If anything shaped as differently from a circle as the 131
Mediterranean can be said to have a centre, that centre is 175
Malta. The Maltese archipelago is equidistant from the 648
Mediterranean's western and eastern extremities; it is its half-way house between Occident and Orient, historically no less than geographically; it has been its nerve-centre—and more than its nerve-centre, its magnet—from the "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." All the people of the Middle Sea have possessed, influenced or coveted Malta at one time or another, the first to do so of whom we have definite knowledge being a small seafaring, trading and colonizing tribe from its easternmost shores. "The twin islands of Melita and Gaulos," wrote Professor Freeman, "lay immediately in the way of Phœnician adventurers" and became, and remained for centuries, a Phœnician settlement. It was the all-absorbing power of Rome that first brought them into the European fold.

As the nerve-centre, as the magnet, of the Mediterranean 175
Malta was all but snatched back from the European fold 648 ●
when the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent sought

648 desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty
175 years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But
he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of
blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant:
he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval
base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean.
Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the
point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the
naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean
but a vital link in the route to a farther East than
Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither
William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn
on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

3

161- At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an
[162] estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls
(exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which
Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to
say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile,
which makes it one of the most densely populated geo-
[167] graphical units in the world. The figure would have been
higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia
161 and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by
619, the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small
for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto
themselves, with their own language, their own traditions,
their own physical characteristics and a history that is one
of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

172 For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and
173 Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days
reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in
other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta
[132] was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

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[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

9:. Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the "tempestuous wind called Euroclydon" that still whistles 172
across it during the winter months under its modern name 173
of *gregale*, the "Greek wind," drove S. Paul on to its shores
and brought it about that the "chief man" of the island, [132]
Publius, became its first Bishop. It was a centre of civilization,
as well as a centre of the religious life of the Western
Mediterranean, very much earlier, for Malta, in the words
of the lamented Sir Themistocles Zammit, "was the holy
island of neolithic faith, the half-way house of the early
mariners, who trusted themselves to their frail wooden craft,
full of hope in a protecting power."

Later, when we emerge from prehistory, we find the 175
position reversed: Malta, instead of extending supernatural 648
protection to peoples beyond its shores, comes under the
political protection of others. During the many centuries 197
of its recorded history Malta has had many rulers: the
Phœnicians and their offspring, the Carthaginians, then
Romans, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Aragonese and
Castilians, then for two and a half centuries the international
Order of S. John of Jerusalem, and, finally, at the invitation
of the Maltese people after a brief French occupation, the
British. But despite the impact of such cosmopolitan influences
this people has clung tenaciously to its ancient
tongue, which is unquestionably of Semitic structure and
has claims to descent from the speech of Dido and Hannibal.[1]
It was, in fact, from a bilingual inscription in Phœnician and [172]
Greek found in Malta in 1697, of which more will be said
in the following chapter, that the Phœnician alphabet was
reconstructed. Of this inscription Dr A. V. Laferla writes
in his *Story of Man in Malta*: "The construction and grammar
. . . are identical with those of modern Maltese and many of
the words (*lil*, *bin*, *tnejn*, *jisma*, *iberikom*) are still in use at the
present day." S. Luke in the Acts describes the Maltese as 101
"barbarians"—that is, as neither Greeks nor Romans—and 175

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[1] The name Hannibal is still met with in Malta as a Christian name. Its Maltese diminutive is Nibbla.

175 we may safely assume that S. Paul's Aramaic was as compre-
hensible to them as was their related Phœnician to him.

101 There seems to be no evidence that this Semitic speech of
197 the Maltese "barbarians" had been replaced by some other
language when the Arabs seized the Maltese islands in 870.
648 Many of the philologists therefore hold that on to this Punic
175 stock the Arabs grafted, during the two hundred and twenty
years of their occupation, a vocabulary of contemporary
Arabic which did not completely oust words of the older,
kindred stratum. These scholars consider that the dialect
received, in fact, a second, fresher infusion from the same
reservoir and that the resulting blend is the core of the
Maltese language of to-day.

197 Inevitably, in the course of ages, this language has
borrowed words from the languages and dialects of the other
countries with which Malta has been connected—from
Sicilian, from Aragonese, from Italian, from French, even
from English—but it has always fitted such words into its
own Semitic framework, has governed them according to
[167] the rules of its own Semitic grammar and mechanics. Thus
the Maltese who have emigrated to Syria and to the north
coast of Africa have no difficulty in making themselves
understood by their Arabic-speaking neighbours, who for
their part can make themselves readily understood in Malta.
197 Here is the Lord's Prayer in Maltese, which I quote so that
539 the reader unfamiliar with the language may see for himself
what it looks like:

Missierna li inti fis-smewwiet,
Jitqaddes ismek,
Tigi saltnatek,
Ikun li trid Int, kif fis-sema hekda fl-art.

Hobzna ta' kull jum aghtina l-lum,
Ahfrilna dnubietna, bhalma nahfru lil min hu hati ghalina.
U la ddahhalniex fit-tigrib,
Izda ehlisna mid-deni. Hekk ikun.

And here is another example, a translation by the late Sir Augustus Bartolo, scholar, historian, orator, staunch Imperialist and one of His Majesty's Judges in Malta, of the first verse of Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*, beginning with the familiar words "Tell me not, in mournful numbers": 197 539.

Tghidulix li id-dinja hi holma,
Mhiex hlief frugha, u niket, u hemm;
Dak li jidher fil-wiċċ hu qarrieqi,
Ujekk torqod ir-ruh taghna tintemm.

The formal allocutions of the present Archbishop of Malta to his flock are headed as follows:

"MICHAEL GONZI
Ghall Grazzja t'Alla
U Tas-Sedi Apostolika
ARCISQOF TA' MALTA
SAHHA U BARKA"

(Michael Gonzi, by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See Archbishop of Malta, Greeting and Blessing.)

It doesn't really look much like a dialect of Italian, does it? Yet that is the impression which Mussolini's unscrupulous and efficient propaganda bureau determined to create in Italy. It set itself to convince the Italians that the Maltese were a branch of the Italian race and that their speech was an Italian dialect—a somewhat corrupt one, perhaps—which had absorbed during the Arab occupation of their islands a certain quantity of Arabic words. Fascist propaganda would draw a false and misleading analogy between Maltese and such Italian dialects as Sicilian, which, while Italian in grammar and structure, has incorporated Arabic words with its Italian vocabulary. 197 648

In point of fact Maltese is the converse of Sicilian, since it is an Oriental language that has absorbed non-Oriental words into its Semitic structure. But Mussolini and his agents, zealously directed by his son-in-law Ciano, succeeded in making large numbers of Italians believe quite honestly—

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

197 seeing that they had no means of checking the facts for
648 themselves—what they wanted them to swallow. Even in the eighteenth century, as we shall see in Chapter XIII, an Italian visitor to Malta described the language of the Maltese as "their own perfidious idiom."

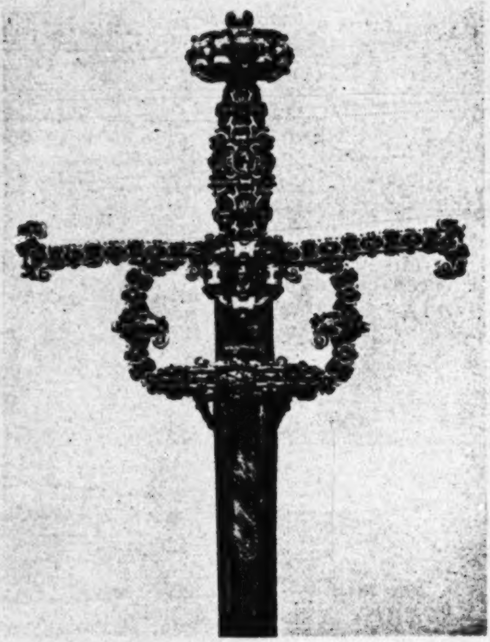
A case in point is the episode, recounted to the writer by one of His Majesty's Ambassadors to the Quirinal during the Fascist régime, concerning a Maltese football team on a visit to Italy. On their arrival in Rome the Maltese were met by the Italian team detailed to look after them, who had been well briefed to treat their visitors as 'unredeemed' blood-brothers. The Italians, knowing no reason to doubt the accuracy of their brief, greeted the Maltese footballers at the station in all good faith with a cordial address in eloquent Italian, of which their guests understood barely a word. Realizing, however, that they in their turn would be expected to say something, they replied with an equally friendly speech in Maltese, whereupon their hosts threw up their hands in mystified despair, crying, "*Ma che fratelli son' questi*—but what sort of brothers are these?"

A pleasant French contribution to Maltese is a word for
197 a train, *xmundifer* (*chemin de fer*), thought to have been
192 introduced by Maltese emigrants returning from Algeria and Tunis. And, as has been said above, English words, too, have found their way into Malta's eclectic vocabulary, words for the most part of a technical kind or related to sport. Among these is the verb "to score" which, as Professor J. Aquilina has pointed out, is conjugated as *niskorja*, I score, *skorja*, *skorjat*, *skorjajna*, *skorjaw*—he, she, we, they have scored a goal, and so on.

But it is interesting to note that we appear to be witnessing
[576) the beginnings of a two-way traffic in this connexion. The common Maltese form of greeting and farewell is *sahha*, literally "health," a word that springs easily and comfortably also to the lips of non-Maltese who have spent any time in the islands. Thanks, no doubt, to the habitual use of this

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

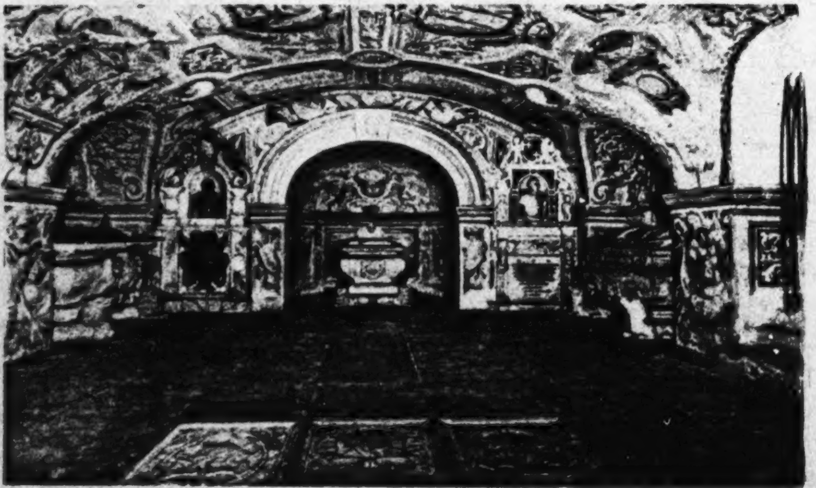
411
648



JEWELLED HILT OF SWORD
GIVEN BY PHILIP II TO GRAND
MASTER LA VALETTE
In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
[*See pp.* 51–52.]

CRYPT OF S. JOHN'S
The tomb of La Valette is in the niche on the left.
[*See pp.* 53–54.]

341
764
531



[facing p. 65]

[pp. 65-67 Not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the Monte di Redenzione, a foundation established more 655
than three hundred years ago by one Father Rafael, a 175
Maltese Capuchin.

Preaching one day in the year 1607 in S. John's Con- 648
ventual Church, this good friar called upon his hearers to 655
inaugurate a fund for the redemption of the Christian captives 175
of the Barbary States, whose sufferings he depicted in terms of such realism that the Grand Master, Alof de Wignacourt, was able to set up the Monte di Redenzione with the offerings of the congregation and of members of the Order. Later, other charitable persons added or made bequests to the fund, which at first paid a ransom of 70 scudi for each Maltese slave and 150 scudi for a Knight of the Order. Subsequently these rates were raised to 200 and 500 scudi respectively; but, as the wars between the Order and the Barbary States ceased and the latter discontinued their raids on the island, the original object of the trust came to be fulfilled. So its properties were combined with those of the Monte di Pietà and administered by the Order, and thus continue to be administered to the present day by the Malta Government.

The most important property of the Monte di Redenzione 344
is Selmun Castle, which stands on a high eminence over- 341
looking S. Paul's Island and S. Paul's Bay. It is a clumsy replica of Verdala but is none the less impressive with its four towers and general air of a mediæval fortified stronghold. A balcony that completely encircles the castle, towers and all, is a pleasing feature of a building which might otherwise seem heavy and lacking in the gracefulness which Verdala, vast as it is, possesses in so marked a degree. Another attractive little property of the Redenzione is a handsome armorial ornamented gateway of the reign of Grand Master Pinto, standing below Selmun near the junction of the main road between S. Paul's Bay and Mellicha and the track to Kalamistra.

In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, the 000

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

712 175 648 Among the more accessible survivals of the Order is the large and impressive Fort Chambray, which commands the island's principal port of Mġarr. This stronghold was built, as we have already seen, by Jacques de Chambray, one of the last of the great Admirals of the Order, when he was Governor[1] of Gozo in the middle of the eighteenth century so that the island should no longer be at the mercy of every raiding enemy. Not that Fort Chambray had ever to endure a siege at the hands of the Barbary pirates. Its value in that direction was mainly a prophylactic one. But it did serve a military purpose during the death-pangs of the Order in 1798, when the Gozitans under their Governor and three of the Knights shut themselves up within its walls, determined to hold out as long as they could against the surprised French, who had not expected any resistance.

344 341 Then there is the Banca Giuratale, a graceful, semicircular Baroque structure which Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena erected at the end of the main square of Victoria as the offices of the Jurats of Gozo. 341 342 Another was until 1943—alas, that the past tense has to be used here—the charming manor outside Xewkija known as the Torri Gourgion. Although it had fallen somewhat from its high estate and had been reduced to the status of a farmhouse, this unspoiled piece of seventeenth-century rural architecture, embellished by a charming well, yet retained externally all the dignity of that lordly epoch. Its stone drop-boxes alternating with elaborate stone escutcheons, its tall staircase tower topped by a conspicuous dome, its suggestion of the fortified country-house—all these features made it the only structure of its kind in the Maltese Islands.

342 648 It is indeed lamentable that it should have had to be razed to the ground in 1943, not by enemy action but to make room for a temporary American aerodrome required in

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[649] [1] The Governor of Gozo, known in Maltese as the Hakem, lived in the house in the Citadel which, as has been said, is now the Law Court and Public Registry.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

342 connexion with the invasion of Sicily and destined to be
●648 used only once.[1]

Lastly, to prove that Gozo lives not only in the past, let me mention the pilgrimage church of Ta Pinu, a lofty
346 basilica in the beautiful white limestone of the island com-
341 pleted as recently as 1931. This shrine is impressive as an example of modern Romanesque no less than as proof of the active piety of a laborious and God-fearing people.

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[1] A public-spirited citizen of Xewkija, Mr L. Zammit Haber, has piously preserved all the carved escutcheons, inscriptions and balcony stones of the Torri Gourgion.

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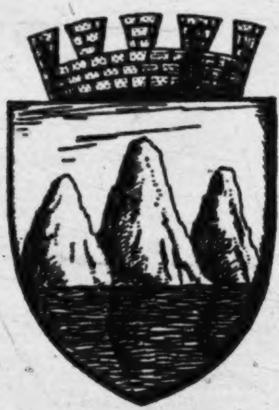

Arms of Gozo

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9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XXI

After the Second World War

727 795 To the storm and stress of the war years succeeded other activities imposed by other pressures. Urgent was the need to repair the bombed areas; to stabilize an economy disturbed by war and post-war conditions; to speed up emigration from the world's most heavily overcrowded political unit; to take into consideration the ferment in men's minds which prolonged wars on a major scale have never yet failed to generate. The circumstance that the ferment took less unsettling forms in Malta than in some other parts of a war-distracted world may be ascribed to the steadying influence of the Church.

727 648 652 Britain herself, though bowing beneath the weight of unprecedented taxation, did not fail to recognize the needs and deserts of her Maltese bulwark. "There will be general agreement," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons in 1942, "that the outstanding gallantry shown by the people of Malta in the face of enemy attacks of unprecedented length and severity calls for some special recognition." A first free gift of ten million pounds, made there and then by the British Government for restoration of war damage and reconstruction, was followed by an additional grant of twenty millions for the same purposes. To these were added substantial and still continuing annual grants of several millions a year in aid of the local revenue.

643 701 From 1813 to 1946, except for one four-year interval, the Governors of Malta had been distinguished serving soldiers—Field-Marshals and Generals on the Active List of the Army and Commanders-in-Chief, not only in name but in effect,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

600 be incomplete without some record of these events. It is a complex story but I will endeavour to tell it as succinctly as possible.

642 648 On the 7th July 1943, while the war was yet raging and Malta still in jeopardy, the British Government had made a Declaration from which I quote the following paragraphs:

> His Majesty's Government have had under consideration certain representations which have been made by the elected members of the Council of Government in Malta, who have asked for an announcement regarding their intentions in relation to farther constitutional development. Since the present Constitution of Malta was inaugurated in 1939 the fortress has successfully withstood a siege of two and a half years. During the siege the Island was subjected to heavy and sustained attacks from the air and to a food shortage of increasing gravity. By their steadfastness and fortitude under the severe hardships thus occasioned, the people of Malta together with its gallant garrison rendered services of incalculable value to the allied cause. . . .
>
> For more than ten years, between 1921 and 1933, the people of Malta enjoyed full legislative and administrative responsibility under the Crown in the conduct of their national affairs, the control of naval and military Services and of all matters appertaining to the position of Malta as an imperial fortress, or otherwise affecting imperial interests or policy, being reserved to the Imperial Government. It is the policy of His Majesty's Government that responsible government in the same sphere should again be granted to Malta after the war.

642 646 After the conclusion of hostilities no time was lost in taking the first steps to implement this undertaking. In 1944 a National Congress representative of all the constituted bodies recognized by the Government of Malta prepared the way for a National Assembly, summoned to consider plans for a new Constitution to replace the so-called "MacDonald Constitution" of 1939. This in its turn had followed one

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of 1936, which superseded the original self-governing 642
Constitution of 1921. In 1946 Sir Harold MacMichael, a 646
distinguished retired administrator in the Middle East, was invited by the British Government to formulate detailed proposals for constitutional reform after consultation with the National Assembly. His recommendations[1] provided for a Legislative Assembly of forty members elected on a system of proportional representation and led to the re-establishment of self-government in September 1947.[2] But some responsible elements regretted that they made no provision for the Second Chamber or Senate which had existed under the Constitution of 1921.

The elections gave Malta the first Labour Government in 665
its parliamentary history, under Dr (later Sir) Paul Boffa; 642
this made way in 1950 for one formed by the Nationalists, whose earlier dismissal had led to the suspension of the Constitution in 1933.[3] The new Government was headed—for such are the vicissitudes of politics—by the veteran pro-Italian Enrico Mizzi, who had been interned in East Africa during the war and died in December 1950, three months after taking office. In 1951 his successor, the Nationalist Dr G. Borg Olivier, formed a Coalition with Dr Boffa's "Malta Workers' Party"; this Coalition remained in power until defeated in 1955 by the Left-Wing Labour Leader, Mr Dominic Mintoff,[4] a former Rhodes Scholar who had been Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction in the Boffa Ministry but seceded from his former chief in 1950.

Already in the time of Dr Borg Olivier there had been 642
inaugurated a series of talks in London between the Secretary 648●
of State for the Colonies and the Maltese Prime Minister
and Leader of the Opposition on proposed changes in Malta's 668

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[1] Published in 1947 as Colonial No. 207 and analysed in the White Paper "Malta; Statement on Constitutional Reform (Comd. 7014) of Jan. 1947." [113]

[2] See p. 137.

[3] See pp. 135–137.

[4] Mintoff is a variation of the name usually spelled Mintuf, which is the Maltese word meaning 'plucked.' [557]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

642 constitutional status. The British Government had felt
648 unable to accept the Nationalists' request for Dominion
668 status and the transfer of responsibility for Malta from the
Colonial to the Commonwealth Relations Office; but neither Party regarded as adequate the British counter-proposal for the removal of Maltese affairs from the Colonial to the Home Office. In 1954 the British Government suggested all-party talks, to be held in London, and Mr Mintoff accepted the suggestion on assuming office in February 1955.

64 Mr Mintoff now put forward the novel proposal that
668 Malta, while retaining its local autonomy and local Parliament (with power to legislate on all matters other than defence and external affairs), should be "integrated" with the United Kingdom and be represented in the House of Commons at Westminster by not fewer than three Members elected in accordance with United Kingdom electoral laws. The British Parliament's reaction to this interesting suggestion proving generally sympathetic, the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, announced in July 1955 that a Round Table Conference consisting of representatives of all political parties at Westminster would be convened for its consideration. The Round Table Conference of seventeen members (including Lord Attlee, Mr A. Bevan and Mr Clement Davies) under the Chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, held twelve plenary sessions in London and three in Malta. Its Report was published in December 1955.[1] The Conference concluded that Maltese representation at Westminster was "practicable and reasonable" and recommended its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government and Parliament if also accepted by the people of Malta.

64 A referendum to ascertain the wishes of the Maltese was
666 held—somewhat prematurely as was thought by some—on
668 the 11th and 12th February 1956. The figures of the referendum showed:

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[1] As Command 9657.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

64 Government the Maltese people would be represented, if
666 they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at
Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative
668 Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a
single Maltese Government would take the place of the
existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly
concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain
the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government
[651] of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would
retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as
the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level
comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Government
642 and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with
● 648 fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and
668 financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial
464 difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equivalence"
which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his
supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration
and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government.
Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in
April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the
situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of
Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in
[504] British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence
expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest
single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the
reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future
war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last
one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over
464 13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard
668 out of a national working population of just under
504 83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable
proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has
always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

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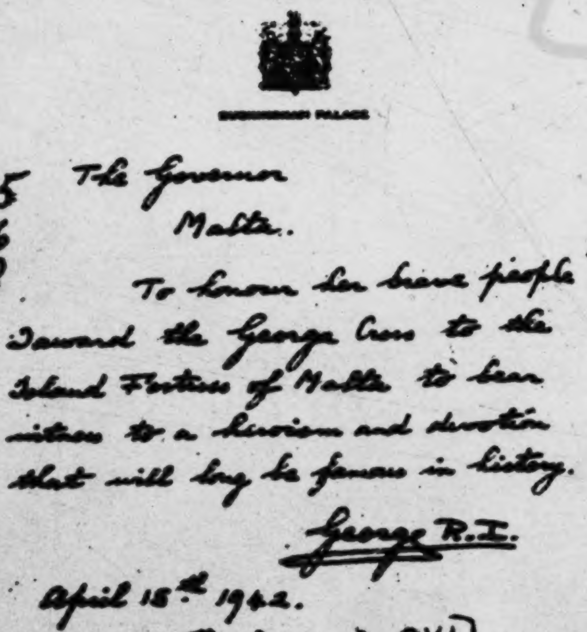
ARMS AND INSCRIPTION ABOVE THE MAIN GUARD, VALETTA
[See p. 119.]



BUCKINGHAM PALACE

The Governor
Malta.

To honour her brave people I award the George Cross to the Island Fortress of Malta to bear witness to a heroism and devotion that will long be famous in history.

George R.I.

April 15th 1942.

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KING GEORGE VI's LETTER AWARDING THE GEORGE CROSS
[See p. 231]

[Facing p. 241]

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core of Malta." The average Dockyard hand did not know if 464
his job might not come to an end by the end of the year; and 668
representatives of all classes in the country, including the
parish priests, passed resolutions pressing for a guarantee of [793]
alternative employment if the Dockyard were to close down.

In the following month the Secretary of State for the
Colonies, Mr Lennox-Boyd, put forward a new proposal 668
to avert the threatened deadlock. While adhering to the 648
Integration policy, and to "equivalence" of the Maltese economy and standard of living as an ultimate aim, he proposed an experimental period or trial run of five years for the Maltese economy to approximate itself to that of the United Kingdom. During this period the British Government would afford economic assistance towards the attainment of this object, consisting of a grant of £25,000,000 over the five years; assistance with educational, health and other social services based on a percentage of what the Maltese were able to do for themselves; and an obligation to help if unemployment rose above the British level in consequence of Defence cuts. Meanwhile Maltese representation at Westminster would remain in abeyance.

Even so, Mr Mintoff was not satisfied. On the 14th December he tendered his resignation owing to a difference of opinion with a section of his supporters in the General Workers' Union but withdrew it three days later; and he then raised the cry of independence as the alternative if he failed to obtain Integration on his own financial terms. The Nationalist Opposition, which had combated Integration, proved ready to support the converse alternative, for on the 30th December 1957 their representatives in the Legislative Assembly voted for Mr Mintoff's Resolution threatening severance of the link with Britain, which was passed unanimously and with acclamation in the following terms:

> That, as the British Government is not prepared to honour the obligation assumed by that Government, in the declaration

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

668 648 of July 1955, to avoid unemployment, the representatives of the Maltese people, in Parliament assembled, declare themselves absolved from their pacts and obligations towards the British Government, and from those so far assumed towards the Allies of that Government—this position to obtain for so long as the British Government fails to guarantee that the number of persons employed by the said Government in Malta shall not decrease before there is "alternative employment" for those discharged.

On this inauspicious note ended the year 1957 despite the patient efforts of the Government in London and of Sir Robert Laycock and his advisers in Malta to bring the protracted and often vexatious negotiations to a happy issue. The latter's task thereafter was made no easier by a Circular issued in February 1958 to Heads of Departments and all other Malta Government employees forbidding them on pain of disciplinary action "to make any verbal or personal contacts on any official matter with any member of the other side of the Diarchy" without the personal permission of the Minister concerned. In April these words were extended to cover "any official matter *or otherwise*." Thereby was created the anomalous situation that the islands' officials subordinate to the Mintoff Administration had to boycott those of the Maltese Imperial Government not only officially but socially, even to the extent of declining the Governor's invitations to dinner. Be it added that the embargo was far from being universally observed, while Ministers continued to seek direct personal contacts with the Imperial side of the Diarchy whenever it suited them to do so.

3

643 175 532 659 In 1608 one of the greatest and most innovating painters of the Seicento, that Michaelangelo Amerighi who was better known from his birthplace as Caravaggio, spent some months of his short and disordered life in Malta, employed

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

A post-war phenomenon from which Malta is not
668 immune is the Teddy-Boy, whose long locks and bizarre
579 dress as he lounges about the capital faintly recall, if only in
656 caricature, the flowing curls and exotic clothes in which the
young Disraeli postured in the streets of Valetta in 1830.
[468] A one-day general strike called for the 28th April by the
General Workers' Union as a "national protest" gave these and the late Prime Minister's other lawless supporters the opportunity for widespread rioting in which they demolished walls to make barricades and road-blocks, dislocated traffic, destroyed cars and other property and stoned the Police. One of the mobs wrecked and set fire to Zabbar Police Station. Nor was illegal action confined to the mobs. These received encouragement from above; two members of the Mintoff Ministry were convicted of intimidation and had their sentences upheld on appeal. The Police, no longer impeded in the performance of their duty by political pressure, behaved magnificently and with great restraint in the face of violent and sustained provocation.

In consequence of this disorder, whereby relatively small but carefully organized gangs of hooligans interrupted the lawful occasions of the vast majority of peaceful citizens, the prohibition of the holding of public meetings and demonstrations was extended for three months and applied to all Malta and Gozo. Another Proclamation declared a state of emergency which enabled the Governor to assume wider
[793] powers for the maintenance of public order and safety. The
Archbishop condemned violence in a timely broadcast.

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With the elimination of factors making for trouble the
642 country settled down under the Governor's direct adminis-
● 648 tration, and by November 1958 Mr Lennox-Boyd thought
668 the time had come to initiate fresh discussions in London
between himself, Sir Robert Laycock and the leaders

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

respectively of the Maltese Labour, Nationalist and Progressive Constitutionalist Parties, Mr Mintoff, Dr Borg Olivier and Miss Mabel Strickland. The negotiations were unsuccessful. If I now reproduce the text of another official document, it is because the Colonial Secretary's statement of the 5th January 1959, made after the talks had broken down, is the authoritative pronouncement on the chain of events which led the British Government to repeal the 1947 Constitution and promulgate a new interim Constitution to fill the gap pending the return to self-government.

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CONSTITUTIONAL AND ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS FOR MALTA

Her Majesty's Government's Plans for the Future

1. Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered the views put forward during the constitutional discussions between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the delegations representing the Malta Labour Party, the Nationalist Party and the Progressive Constitutional Party, which were held in London between the 19th November and the 21st December 1958. Because these talks failed to reach agreement on a new constitution Her Majesty's Government have now had to decide on constitutional arrangements for an interim period.

2. It will be recalled that Malta has been without an elected government since April 1958, when Mr Mintoff resigned and Dr Borg Olivier declined to form a government. At the same time disturbances threatening public safety broke out, which necessitated the proclamation of an emergency. Since then the Governor has had to use his emergency powers to govern Malta. In the situation created by these events, the Secretary of State decided to invite the three political parties to London last November to discuss future constitutional arrangements.

3. In their approach to these discussions Her Majesty's Government naturally had regard to the negotiations which had taken place over the past three years for the integration of Malta with the United Kingdom. Although the integration negotiations have not borne fruit, and none of the Maltese

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political parties now accepts integration as an aim of policy, Her Majesty's Government felt that the far-reaching self-government which Malta would have enjoyed under integration provided a suitable basis for discussion of any new constitutional plan. The Secretary of State was accordingly prepared to discuss with the Maltese delegations at the talks a new constitution drawing its inspiration from those constitutional arrangements under integration on which there had been a substantial measure of agreement. This new constitution would give Malta self-government in most fields. Her Majesty's Government would have retained responsibility for defence and external affairs, for assuring the independence of the Police and the Public Service and for their protection from victimization. This constitution was based on the continuing close association between the United Kingdom and Malta, which Her Majesty's Government firmly believe corresponds to the wishes and interests of both countries.

4. The Secretary of State hoped that after an initial meeting with each of the delegations there could be a plenary Conference with all three delegations. That proved to be impossible.

5. The Labour Party delegation, at the two meetings held with them, and in correspondence between Mr Mintoff and the Secretary of State, took the view that any constitutional arrangements for the future must be on the basis of immediate independence or independence by 1962. They persisted in that view after it had been pointed out to them that the people of Malta would suffer mass unemployment and serious economic hardship if Malta were to become independent now or in the near future. The attitude of the Labour Party delegation made it fruitless to attempt to discuss any detailed constitutional arrangements with them.

There was a valuable general discussion on future constitutional arrangements with the Nationalist Party delegation but the Party required more precise assurances on Malta's eventual position in the Commonwealth than Her Majesty's Government were in a position to give. There was also a useful exchange of views with the Progressive Constitutional Party.

6. There is evidently no prospect at present of devising a Constitution for Malta which would be generally acceptable

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9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

to the political parties and Her Majesty's Government. Farther efforts must, of course, be made, and it is Her Majesty's Government's intention to hold farther discussions in due course with a view to reintroducing elected representative government. In the meantime it is desirable that the present arrangements, under which the Governor is using his emergency powers under the present Constitution to govern the islands, should be terminated as soon as possible. Her Majesty's Government have accordingly no alternative but to revoke the present Constitution and to make special arrangements of an interim character for the government of Malta. This will necessitate legislation and a Bill will be introduced into Parliament after the House re-assembles. The form of government contemplated for this interim period is one in which the Governor will be assisted by a Council on which there will be Maltese representation.

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7. During this interim period the Governor with the full support of Her Majesty's Government will press on with economic development. As was recognized in the 1955 Declaration to which the Maltese political leaders subscribe, Malta depends very heavily on Services expenditure and every effort must be made to develop other sources of income. Much has already been done since 1955 in laying the foundation for future industrial development, to which end Malta has received assistance amounting to some £18,000,000 from Her Majesty's Government.

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8. Her Majesty's Government's main aim in promoting economic development in Malta is to attract new industries. The 1955 Declaration recognized that this required a joint effort towards which the Maltese Government and people should make the best possible contribution from their own resources. A very important step in Malta's economic development has already been taken by the decision to convert the Naval Dockyard to a commercial ship repair yard and to develop associated industries. The construction of a deepwater harbour, the building of an industrial estate, the re-equipment of the Island's electricity supply and other public utilities, and the development of tourism are already going ahead. Plans for other development are now under examination. It is the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

654 433 648 Governor's intention to ask the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for advice from time to time on current problems of the Maltese economy and on the plans for Malta's economic development.

9. Private industrial development is to be assisted by the Aids to Industry legislation which the Governor intends to enact this month. This will offer substantial fiscal incentives to new industries to establish themselves in the Islands. New industries establishing themselves in Malta will also be eligible to apply for grants and loans. In administering these various incentives to industrial development the Governor will be assisted by an influential advisory body on which there will be Maltese representatives. This body will be under the chairmanship of Lord Hives, who is already familiar with Malta's problems.

Her Majesty's Government have now decided to contribute a sum of up to £29,000,000 over the next five years towards the cost of Malta's capital programme, the conversion of the dockyard to civil use and the encouragement of new industries.

642 654 648 The 1959 Constitution came into operation, as it happened, on the 15th April, which is celebrated in Malta as George Cross Day. It provides for the administration of the islands by the Governor with the aid of a part-official, part-nominated Executive Council with Maltese representation, an arrangement similar to that in force between 1936 and 1939. There was also enacted the Aids to Industry legislation foreshadowed in Mr Lennox-Boyd's Statement; Messrs Bailey successfully took over the Dockyard, which had been converted into a commercial undertaking with the financial help of the British Government; work was inaugurated on the construction of a new deep-water wharf in the Grand Harbour.

744 73 Sir Robert Laycock's term of office, while politically frustrating, ended with a year of economic advance and new hopes. It also saw an immense advance in social services such as District Nursing and the care of handicapped children, orphans and victims of infantile paralysis under the vigorous

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

leadership and in some cases on the initiative of Lady Laycock, who worked in close association with the Archbishop of Malta and voluntary helpers clerical and lay. 744 73

5

History tends to repeat itself, not least in Malta. In the times of the Knights the flags of eight Langues or Nations waved over their respective sectors of the island's defences. To-day, from the Headquarters of the Allied Forces, Mediterranean (HAFMED) beside the ancient granaries of Floriana, there fly the flags of six of the NATO Nations, Great Britain, France, Greece, Italy, Turkey and the U.S.A. There is only one change since the days when the banners of the Langues symbolized a League of Christian Nations banded against a common foe and a common danger. In the Malta of the Knights the common foe had been the Turk; to-day the star and crescent of Turkey fly over the walls of Malta beside the flags of Turkey's allies in NATO, emblematic of a common defensive partnership against a very different foe. Christian and Moslem are now linked in alliance against an ideology whose enemies are God and freedom. 648

The cosmopolitan impact of NATO officers and their wives and daughters on the Island's society has made Malta once more what the traveller Patrick Brydone called it in the reign of Grand Master Pinto, "the epitome of all Europe."

* * *

[pp. 252-286 not processed]

647 many countries are carried out by village or municipal authorities, are in Malta centrally administered from Valletta.

[364] Gozo provides in some respects an exception to this picture. Though Gozo is administratively and economically dependent upon Malta, it has had for many years a certain measure of autonomy under a separate Commissioner. This appointment is dictated by the island's distance from Valletta in time and space. This isolation has not surprisingly resulted in a widely held belief that the Maltese administration, in which, incidentally, a large number of Gozitans have always held important posts, has systematically [653] neglected Gozo. That there is a certain justification for this belief can be seen by anyone who compares the condition of the roads and the extension of street lighting, water and drainage in the two islands.

623 653 Partly to still for ever complaints about neglect, and partly as an experiment with a concept of local government new to Malta, the Gozo Civic Council was established in the summer of 1961. Each village in Gozo now has an elected committee of six councillors, one of whom represents the village on the Civic Council. The Council has the responsibility for the maintenance of roads, government buildings, cemeteries and public gardens, village dispensaries and the museum and public library. It can also construct new roads and extend drainage, water and street lighting. To [651] finance its work the Council receives the revenue from local taxes and from certain government property in Gozo. It also has the power to levy rates, but as all councillors made solemn promises to their constituents that they would not do so, this additional source of revenue must be discounted for the time being.

II

793 795 The Maltese Islands form a single province of the Catholic Church. This province is divided into the Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo, which includes the small island of Comino. The Bishop of Gozo is suffragan to the Archbishop of Malta. As the senior or Metropolitan Bishop, the Archbishop has [293] certain privileges and rights over his suffragan. These include the right to visit his suffragan's diocese (with Papal authority), should the latter neglect to do so; the right to appoint a temporary vicar on the decease of the Bishop of Gozo, if the Cathedral Chapter of

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
571 [65] is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
454 call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
[593] few cases was it found that she was making any detailed
attempt at budgeting for the expenses of her home and
family. As with the operation of the farm so with the
home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time
the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the
saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital
equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of
the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
178 Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the
Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past
as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the
basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[294] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
possible, though the provision of the family's clothing,
as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven
to make clothes for the members of the grower's family.
is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife include.
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and
farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and
evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
[656] Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas,
pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes,
endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges,
apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

* 159 433

H. General.

This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

* 159 231 232

CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow."

* 159 234 [511] [246] [435] [464] [451] [651]

Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has very little appreciation of his profit. None of his labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax authorities each year.

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing
number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Ċenzu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
●[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

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A. Land.

33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

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B. Utilisation.

Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

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C. Livestock.

Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

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[423]
[454]
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D. Capital.

- No freehold land. Owns large village house.
- No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

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[465]
[427]
[241]
[407]
E. Labour.

- Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
  Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
  Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
- Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

64 Government the Maltese people would be represented, if
666 they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at
Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative
668 Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a
single Maltese Government would take the place of the
existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly
concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain
the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government
• [651] of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would
retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as
the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level
comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Government
642 and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with
648 fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and
668 financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial
464 difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equivalence"
which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his
supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration
and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government.
Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in
April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the
situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of
Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in
[504] British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence
expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest
single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the
reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future
war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last
one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

464 The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over
13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard
668 out of a national working population of just under
504 83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable
proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has
always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

434 unrequited imports were indicative of illegal diamond smuggling. It may well
be that, in Malta, a less spectacular movement of capital is similarly responsible
457 for part of the residual items of foreign income. Even so, and considered in a
later examination of Internal Revenue and National Product, the implications
of a national reliance on this and other elements of income are manifestly
significant.

If we turn to a consideration of the merchandise in trade, the instability of
439 the situation becomes even more strikingly obvious. An analysis of trade of the
Maltese Islands in 1953 (13), the year in which economic conditions for 1954
would be established, shows the following salient points. Britain and the Commonwealth
supplied half of Malta's imports thus leaving some £10,000,000 of
the remainder to be covered by British credit with other countries. Of the
domestically originating exports of three-quarters of a million pounds, only
£266,000 went to non-protected markets outside the Commonwealth. These and
other details suggest that the Maltese Islands as a whole, not only the Garrison
therein, represent a not inconsiderable drain on British reserves of foreign
currency. This appears even more strongly from a consideration of the classes
of imported merchandise. Imports of Food, Drink and Tobacco (F.D.T.), totalling
£7,800,000 were of almost precisely the same value as imports of Manufactures.
The Mediterranean Maltese islands naturally depend on imports for main
supplies of dairy products. Almost all the £161,188 expended on butter went
to the Commonwealth but nearly half of the value of cheese imports - £305,000
in all - came from Italy. Another £161,000 went on eggs, and £785,000 on
processed milk. Alarmingly enough however even Mediterranean products were
and still are imported in surprisingly large quantities. £130,000 on edible oils,
and £353,000 on vegetables, one-third of the latter represented by tomato
preparations, are such large sums as to need justification of local inability to
produce these commodities. When one notes that, in a Class distinct from the
F.D.T. group, a further £1,241,000 was expended on livestock fodder, then one
begins to wonder whether agriculture is practised at all in the Islands. There
seems no doubt that many of the fresh or processed food and fodder commodities
now imported could properly be produced in Malta by better resource use. There
remains one difficulty. It is probable that the Knights subsisted mainly on
imported products of higher quality than those produced locally. Since 1800,
and this is a sign of rising living standards, social emulation has been able to
spread this effect through the greater part of the population. The trade figures
for later years merely confirm what may be observed directly that most Maltese
for one reason or another will deliberately choose foreign rather than domestic
produce where possible. In 1956 this led to the consideration of quasi-sumptuary
regulations; to us it is a factor in the social environment quite as important as
many elements in the physical environment.

652 If we turn to a consideration of the Internal Revenue Account we see how
deep-rooted and extensive are those characteristics of the economy already
434 noted.

Thus of Government Revenue approximately one-third was derived directly
from outside Malta (C) as a result of activities originating outside the control
of the Maltese people. Of the remaining two-thirds (D), the largest part was
indirectly also so obtained from activities dependent on expenditure by non-Maltese,
in that it came from taxation of profits earned by mercantile services
to the Garrison, taxation of wages, salaries and industrial profits earned by
other services rendered to the Imperial power, and lastly from Customs levies
on the goods paid for by external income. This revenue (D) was not in itself in
any case large enough to cover ordinary expenditure (A) let alone supply capital
for public investment.

Many other questions could be raised, e.g. is not the scale of Government
434 expenditure on Administration rather large relative to total revenue?; but we
471 must content ourselves with one last reflection. The paucity of material
resources in the Islands is such that capital investment for raising production
can only be applied to agriculture and to improving the productivity of labour
in those industrial or commercial services called into being by the locational

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Table 32. Internal revenue account 1953-54.

A. Ordinary Expenditure.		
(i) Maltese Government Administration	£1.667 millions	£1.958 millions
Public Debt and Pensions	.291 "	
(ii) Medical, Health, Commodity Subsidies and other Social Expenditure		2.625 "
(iii) Public Works and Agriculture		.559 "
		£5.142 "
(iv) LESS Revenue Profit on self balancing services		0.441 "
Net Ordinary Expenditure		£4.701 "
B. Special Expenditure.		
(i) Emigration		£0.143 millions
(ii) Colonial Development Works and Services		0.460 "
(iii) Imperial Government Expenditure - Administration, etc.		0.292 "
(iv) Works Extraordinary		0.268 "
Total Special Expenditure		£1.163 "
Grand Total Expenditure		£5.864 "
C. Revenue Directly Derived From Outside Malta.		
(i) Imperial Government Grants for Special Expenditure		£0.814 millions
(ii) Estimated External Revenue from:-		
Customs and Excise	£1 million	£1.180 millions
Lotteries	£0.180 millions	
		£1.994 "
D. Revenue Directly Derived From Inside Malta.		
(i) Customs and Excise (see C (ii))		£2.217 millions
(ii) Income Tax, Succession and Donation Duties		0.662 "
(iii) Lotteries (estimated £400,000), Note Fund, Savings Bank, etc.		1.491 "
		£4.370 "
Grand Total Revenue		£6.364 "

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value of the Islands. In the sector of welfare economics the field for investment is in a sense limitless including as it does all the elements of water-supply, public health, education and dietetics. In this sector, capital can only come either from a relatively benevolent foreign power - and here lies the case for continued Maltese existence as a dependency and also the case for 'integration' with the United Kingdom - or hypothetically come from a vastly increased economic turnover within Malta. This immediately leads one back to the field of production economics. If, fundamentally, the value of the Islands for the attraction of capital lies in their location, then any decline in such attractiveness (as recently evinced

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XXI

After the Second World War

727 795 TO THE STORM AND STRESS OF THE WAR YEARS SUCCEEDED other activities imposed by other pressures. Urgent was the need to repair the bombed areas; to stabilize an economy disturbed by war and post-war conditions; to speed up emigration from the world's most heavily overcrowded political unit; to take into consideration the ferment in men's minds which prolonged wars on a major scale have never yet failed to generate. The circumstance that the ferment took less unsettling forms in Malta than in some other parts of a war-distracted world may be ascribed to the steadying influence of the Church.

727 648 •652 Britain herself, though bowing beneath the weight of unprecedented taxation, did not fail to recognize the needs and deserts of her Maltese bulwark. "There will be general agreement," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons in 1942, "that the outstanding gallantry shown by the people of Malta in the face of enemy attacks of unprecedented length and severity calls for some special recognition." A first free gift of ten million pounds, made there and then by the British Government for restoration of war damage and reconstruction, was followed by an additional grant of twenty millions for the same purposes. To these were added substantial and still continuing annual grants of several millions a year in aid of the local revenue.

643 701 From 1813 to 1946, except for one four-year interval, the Governors of Malta had been distinguished serving soldiers—Field-Marshals and Generals on the Active List of the Army and Commanders-in-Chief, not only in name but in effect,

647 many countries are carried out by village or municipal authorities, are in Malta centrally administered from Valletta.

[364] Gozo provides in some respects an exception to this picture. Though Gozo is administratively and economically dependent upon Malta, it has had for many years a certain measure of autonomy under a separate Commissioner. This appointment is dictated by the island's distance from Valletta in time and space. This isolation has not surprisingly resulted in a widely held belief that the Maltese administration, in which, incidentally, a large number of Gozitans have always held important posts, has systematically ● [653] neglected Gozo. That there is a certain justification for this belief can be seen by anyone who compares the condition of the roads and the extension of street lighting, water and drainage in the two islands.

623 653 Partly to still for ever complaints about neglect, and partly as an experiment with a concept of local government new to Malta, the Gozo Civic Council was established in the summer of 1961. Each village in Gozo now has an elected committee of six councillors, one of whom represents the village on the Civic Council. The Council has the responsibility for the maintenance of roads, government buildings, cemeteries and public gardens, village dispensaries and the museum and public library. It can also construct new roads and extend drainage, water and street lighting. To [651] finance its work the Council receives the revenue from local taxes and from certain government property in Gozo. It also has the power to levy rates, but as all councillors made solemn promises to their constituents that they would not do so, this additional source of revenue must be discounted for the time being.

II

793 795 The Maltese Islands form a single province of the Catholic Church. This province is divided into the Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo, which includes the small island of Comino. The Bishop of Gozo is suffragan to the Archbishop of Malta. As the senior or Metropolitan Bishop, the Archbishop has [293] certain privileges and rights over his suffragan. These include the right to visit his suffragan's diocese (with Papal authority), should the latter neglect to do so; the right to appoint a temporary vicar on the decease of the Bishop of Gozo, if the Cathedral Chapter of

17 624 787 795 [533] [796] definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedicated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints, including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian [208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs, especially in the urban areas.

17 575 621 During this period a conception of social organization new to Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in 1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages. They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890, 'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city without three or five.'[3]

17 433 439 464 648 ● 653 658 [541] [178 875] 880 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War; the sharp expansion in government spending on public works programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations, fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands. Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural

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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 103 ff.

467 people to have the final say in the nation's vital means of production.'[1] These policies have a general appeal to labourers and
665 are among the reasons for the party's popularity.

The Labour Party is closer to the worker than any of the other political parties. In this respect, its organization resembles that of the Church. As already noted, the MLP rests on its village and district organization. This has enabled the average worker to have a say of sorts, not only in his party's policy, but, when it was in power, also in the affairs of government. How he and his neighbours were able to manipulate the party structure to their advantage is a matter which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

657 During its period in office the Labour Party did much to
665 improve conditions for the workers and the poor. This is another reason why many support it. It introduced many social benefits, including the extension of medical services, regular allotments of free food and social assistance allowances for the needy and aged.
● [653] It also built many new schools, surfaced dusty roads and undertook other large public works projects which gave employment to many, besides benefiting the community. Moreover, the party
[242] did a great deal to improve agriculture by bringing in foreign experts who set up an advisory service and introduced new crops and techniques of cultivation. All these and the general atmosphere of activity which permeated the Labour Government, gained great popularity for the party and its leader.

There is yet another important way in which the MLP attracts
665 many: it has attacked the established authority of Britain, the Church, the local captains of industry and the prosperous members of society. This outlook appeals not only to many poor and underprivileged persons, but also to the young and the uninfluential who are seeking to establish their personal independence and to make their mark on society. This opposition to authority and vested interests holds an attraction for many social 'misfits', such as the young 'Teddy Boy' element, the eccentrics and free thinkers. These find in the MLP a haven for their nonconformity to the social and moral teaching of the Church. Though social and religious stigma still attaches to them, many find it easier to bear in the company of others who have similar beliefs and problems. The Labour Party has thus provided social outcasts with a sense of

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[1] MLP manifesto. See Appendix B.

557 patrons; others have established fairly close contact with them
602 through business relations.

The patronage of the parish priest has traditionally been important.
557 Not only are all villagers his spiritual clients, but he is
793 also a source of charity and assistance in many fields. He serves his
parishioners individually in the capacity of legal adviser, character reference and often also as letter-writer and banker. He frequently argues their claims against the government. He also represents the interests of the community at large, and attempts, often successfully, to obtain improved public amenities such as new roads, street lighting and so on. At least, this is the role that he occupied until the introduction of representative government.

III

557 Influence through the networks of personal relations and patrons
is the traditional method of handling contacts with authority. It
662 still operates when representative government is in abeyance. But the advent of elected government introduced a new set of relations, and provided a new focus of power. Political parties and professional politicians provided new and surer channels of influence and sources of patronage, though they have not replaced the old ones. The villager now uses both old and new channels, separately or together.

The organization of all parties, at least before Mintoff reorganized
662 the Labour Party, was rather simple. Party interests were
665 represented in the villages by personal canvassers or party agents,
as well as by the candidates themselves. The old Labour Party under Paul Boffa had a number of village party committees. When the party was returned to power, patronage and influence flowed abundantly, and brought the whole structure into vigorous life. The canvassers became important people who could pass along requests and schedule appointments with the local MLA's
[464] and even the Ministers. They also helped the local MLA's prepare
the lists of people who were to be given jobs, for until 1955 most
[653] of the lower-grade industrial labourers with the Public Works
Department were employed upon the recommendation of the local MLA's. Politicians who held office before 1955 often told me that making out the employment rosters and dealing with the daily queue of job-seekers were among their most difficult and

time-consuming tasks. To help as many as possible, they often 662
made up new job rosters every few months. 665

Canvassers would often expect presents for their work as intermediaries and for the favours they promised or secured. By and large, the party agents or canvassers were not popular figures, at least in retrospect. I came across many accounts of how they had exploited their positions to enrich themselves. The usual story was that they had accepted gifts – a rabbit, some chickens, a bottle of whisky or even cash – but had not assisted as they had promised. These tales may or may not be true; I had no way of checking. It is significant, however, that persons of all political colours, including former Ministers and MLA's, believe them to be true.

Mintoff's government did much to change the course of the 647
stream of political patronage. To begin with, shortly after it came 662
into office in 1955, the MLP passed a law which made it compul- 665
sory for those seeking employment with the government as
industrial labourers to register with the Department of Emigra- [656]
tion, Labour and Social Welfare.[1] There they had to wait their [653]
turn. This took away from MLA's a considerable source of patron- [464]
age. The MLP also established special sub-committees of the Labour Committees in each village to deal with the complaints and requests of the local inhabitants. A member of the sub-committee was generally available to the public for an hour or two every evening. All requests for assistance and complaints were discussed by the entire sub-committee, which would countersign the routine ones and send them along to the appropriate government department. More important matters were brought personally to the attention of the civil servant concerned by a member of the sub-committee. Complicated requests and serious complaints were forwarded to the District Committee, where they were discussed at the regular weekly meetings with the district MLA's, who might then take the matter up directly with the Minister. Civil servants, on the whole, handled complaints and requests for action from the Local Committees with much the same dispatch they would give a request from their Minister. Some Ministers even went so far as to instruct their Department Heads to ignore all complaints brought to them by private persons, especially parish priests. They were told only to act on those presented by the Local Committee.

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[1] Act No. XIV, 1955: 'An Act to Make Provisions for the Establishment and Regulation of an Employment Service.'

● 653 Another very important function the Local Committees per-
formed during the period the MLP was in power was to obtain
665. improvements for the village. Requests for drainage, new roads,
street lighting and, above all, new schools, were submitted to the
District Committees. There the proposals were screened and given
priority ratings by the committee members and the district
MLA's. When these projects were implemented, and a large num-
ber were, the Local Committees naturally received credit for
them. This added to their claim to represent their villages, and
strengthened the formal structure of the party.

647 This system of handling patronage and complaints gave the
villager a direct contact with authority. It was a fairly simple
662. procedure, and many considered it reasonably impartial, though
665 of course it did help to be a member of the Labour Party in good
standing. Moreover, the complainant, even though he might
not succeed in his cause, had the satisfaction that it had received
attention, and it did not cost him a nice fat rabbit. This does not
578 mean that there was no abuse. Civil servants complained that they
647. were often intimidated by zealous MLP members who threatened
to report them to their Ministers if they did not comply as
66. requested. This friction was particularly keen between the Local
Committee members and the village police, street sweepers and
teachers. One head teacher I knew was particularly bitter about
his caretaker, who was a member of the village MLP committee.
The caretaker would stroll into the head teacher's office if he dis-
agreed with the disciplining of a child, for example, and threaten
to report him to the Minister if he did not lighten the punishment.

647 But on the whole, the MLP made a concerted effort to take
665- patronage out of the hands of canvassers and MLA's alike and chan-
nel it through the various committees of the party apparatus.
662 This not only strengthened the party, it also won it considerable
popularity. Moreover, it relieved MLA's and Ministers of a heavy
administrative load; they were only called in on the more com-
plicated matters. In short, the Local Committees came to function
as branches of the government.

When the Labour Government resigned in 1958, the MLP clubs and committees lost the influence they had with government. They once more became merely propaganda and social centres. But the role they had played for three years in representing the interests of government at the village level and in

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647 accused of being anti-clerical and against the Church because they
662 opposed the will of the parish priest.

665 Shortly after Mintoff took office, the Local Committee in
793 Kortin made plans to open a new avenue into the village. The
scheme, first projected by government planners over sixty years
578 before, was designed to ease the flow of traffic through the village
647 and provide a wide, tree-lined promenade leading to the main
square in front of the church. Unfortunately, the project required
653 the demolition of four buildings, two of which were small
665 chapels used as warehouses for the festa decorations. Because of
793 this Dun Bert, the parish priest, bitterly opposed the scheme, as had his predecessors. He claimed that most of the village supported him. The Labour Committee, on the other hand, felt that it had the backing of the village, and went ahead with the project. The road was finally opened, and it proved to be a great success. But the two small churches were destroyed, and the relations between the Labour group and the parish priest remained hostile. Six years later, Dun Bert and his supporters were still pointing to the avenue as positive proof that the Labour Party is fundamentally opposed to the Church.

IV

463 But if the political parties have modified the traditional system of
665 patronage somewhat by providing a new channel of influence for
the villager, the professional politician of today is by and large the same traditional patron. That is, the successful politicians are largely drawn from the professional classes; they are still the doctors, the lawyers, the architects and the chemists. Indeed, until recently the lists of candidates often read like directories of the professional classes. This situation prevailed until about the time of the Labour Party split in 1949, when virtually all the professional class Labour MLA's sided with Dr. Boffa and formed the Workers' Party, while most of the MLP Executive and the rank and file supported Mintoff. After this the Labour Party asked people from all classes to stand as candidates, and began to push up working-class leaders trained in union and club politics. But the politicians from the professional class still heavily outnumber their working-class colleagues, even in the Labour Party.

Table 8 below illustrates this. Of the fifty MLA's elected in the

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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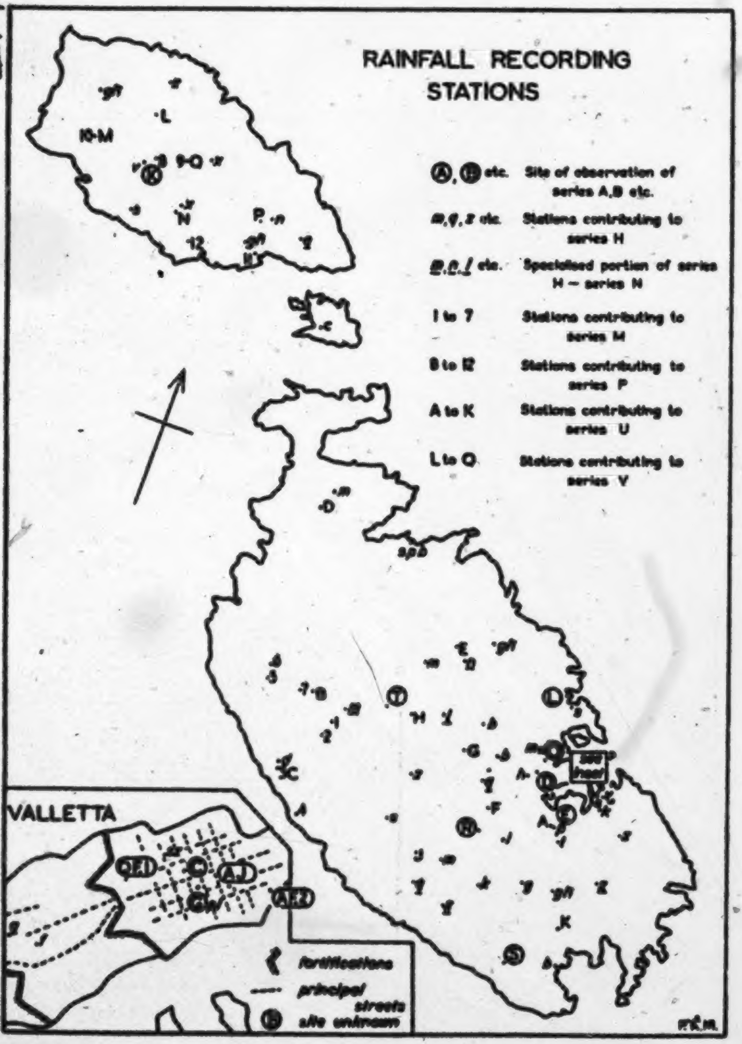
RAINFALL RECORDING STATIONS
Ⓐ, Ⓑ etc. Site of observation of series A,B etc.
m,q,z etc. Stations contributing to series H
m.c.j etc. Specialised portion of series H – series N
1 to 7 Stations contributing to series M
8 to 12 Stations contributing to series P
A to K Stations contributing to series U
L to Q Stations contributing to series V
VALLETTA
QEI
C
AJ
AE2
GW
fortifications
principal streets
site unknown
L
10-M
9-O
N
P
12
D
E
H
G
F
J
K
A
C
see inset

Fig. 9 Rainfall Recording Stations.

[p. 57-A]

*132
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[P.57-B]

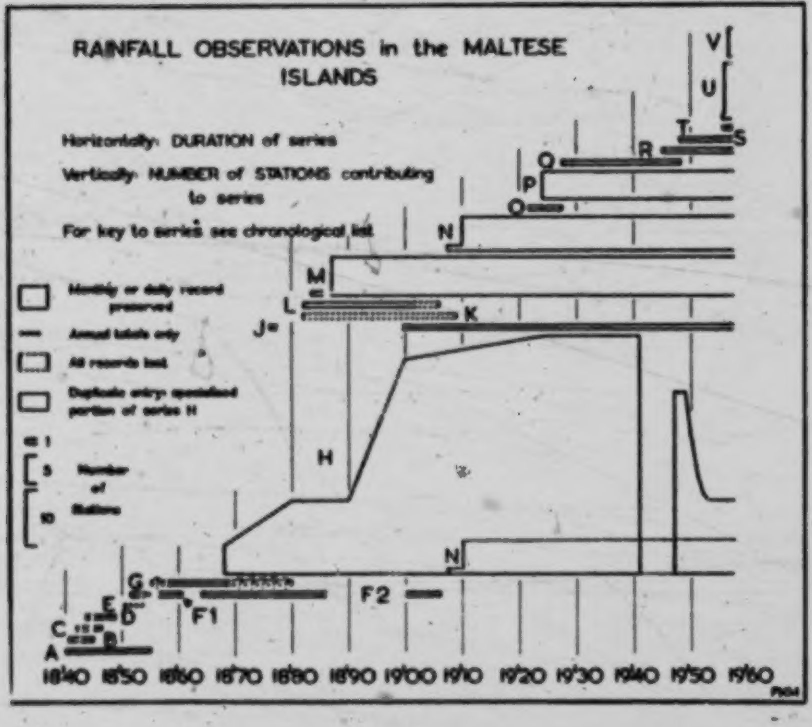

Fig. 10 Rainfall Observations in the Maltese Islands.

B. Economy and Trade

In any schematic division of history into periods there must be dangers and 128
difficulties. Nevertheless, some themes of significance to our present study, 433
naturally as well as for reasons of convenience, are best treated in this way.
It is impossible to be precise about the date of birth of modern Malta in that
different land marks might well be used in pursuing different lines of thought.
Thus, constitutionally the year 1921 is of most significance, while the Royal
Commission of 1911 is in some ways an economic obsequy for nineteenth-
century Malta. In the sections that follow, therefore, arguments cannot be
chronologically in step. Moreover, this, our last period, is the most well-
documented of all and the irregularity of coverage most considerable. Some of
the arguments earlier developed need little further emphasis in that some con-
ditions and attitudes firmly established by the beginning of the twentieth century
need merely to have their survival confirmed and readers referred to relevant
material. Henceforward, therefore, our treatment can legitimately be more
selective.

This period of Modern British Malta must be further subdivided. The first
phase drew slowly and uneasily to a close during our period of research. It was
formally ended by the suspension of the constitution in 1958. The new constitu-
tional proposals of 1960 mark the official beginning of a second phase. The
interregnum was the period of the transference of the Naval Dockyard to a
civilian firm of ship repairers. In that we attach the greatest importance to the
study of the fundamental infrastructure on which Maltese life has and will be
based, most of the following analysis is concerned with the first phase - the
climacteric of British rule in Malta. Our comment on more recent happenings
is therefore deliberately restricted.

The Census of 1912 noted that in the decennial period 1901-11 ... 'produc- 162
tiveness has not risen in proportion to the increase of the population'. 433
The recorded Civil population in 1911 was 211,564. While in 1901, 28 per 464
cent. of the female population was gainfully occupied, ten years later the
proportion had fallen to 20 per cent. Henceforth male employment alone was of
significance. The male labour force, which for analytical purposes was regarded
as excluding only the age-group below five years of age, totalled 92,529. Of these
almost 13,000 were engaged in agriculture, 19,489 in commerce and transport,
and over 21,000 enumerated as having 'industrial' occupations. 31,385 were
returned as unoccupied or unproductive.

The opening quotation is strictly an actuarial statement based on demographic 433
facts. Behind the Census figures however we may perceive, by using various 464
pieces of evidence, an economic basis for its sombreness. By comparing details 458
of the 1911 enumeration with those for 1921, the first year in which unemploy-
ment within occupational groups was recorded, we may deduce that some 10 per
cent. of the able male labour force was in fact without employment during the
earlier year. By 1907, 10 per cent. of the ships cleared from Malta left in
ballast (1). Between 1901 and 1911, the numbers of farmers and farmers'
relatives assisting on the land increased by 3,000 and the number of labourers
fell by 1,258 (2). Only once between 1906 and 1914, in 1908-09, did Government
Revenue not show a deficit (3). In 1905, 9,175 men were employed in the Naval
Establishments but this had fallen to 5,181 in 1906 (4). Many such facts could [654]
be quoted to prove the existence of an economic depression in Malta during the
years following 1906, a situation which induced the setting up in 1911 of a Royal
Commission to consider the financial situation. The array of evidence does more
than this, it also shows that this was no simple secular trend but a sign of uneasy
adjustment to new circumstances, an adjustment that is still in progress. This
is why the Report of the 1911 Commission is of more than contemporary import-
ance (5) and why its study is essential to any serious consideration of Maltese
problems.

VINES

Viticulture, has suffered many vicissitudes. Needing irrigation water only 311* for the raising of scions, the vine would seem a crop plant eminently suitable 245 for all but the thinnest dry calcareous soils. No satisfactory reason has yet been adduced for the present absence of 'expertise' in this field, and this unsatisfactory 102 state of affairs is a Mediterranean anachronism. Since Giacinto (3) wondered at Maltese oenological ignorance various improvements havetaken place. Stock is American in origin imported during the Phylloxera epidemic in Europe. Scions are officially imported for grafting and are mainly from France. On the whole, too little specialisation is found, grapes being grown both for table use, fetching [435] prices about £4 per qantar (175 lb. ave.), and for pressing - controlled prices 46s. to 48s. per qantar depending on quality. Commercial success in any other than the home market will depend entirely on whether the viticulturalist can now be weaned from quantity production to quality production. Products at present, while being remarkably good value, are not suitable for profitable export.

In Malta (Fig. 81), there is a striking concentration of viticulture in the western half of the island. In contrast to general Mediterranean practice, vines occupy much of the best watered heavy land of the Blue Clay slopes. Secondly, vines are of importance in the larger depressions with plentiful sub-soil water, for example the Wied il-Għasel, the Bingemma Basin, and Miżieb. Those cultivated areas of the north and west which rely on pump irrigation - such as the Wied tal-Pwales, and the Rabat-Dingli upland pockets - have little land under vines. Over the remainder of the island, vines are mainly represented by wall- and house-side plants which, mainly for domestic use, are becoming of less importance as field cultivation is extended. This extension of acreage is taking place almost entirely in the traditional regions of the west.

As shown in Fig. 82, viticulture in Gozo, occurs in a great variety of conditions and there is a much greater extent of inter-cultivation with other tree-crops. Such inter-cultivation is particularly found in the *gnien* zones - the spring line belts lying below the Upper Coralline mesa cappings - as around Żebbuġ and Nadur. North of Nadur, it extends into the Wieds San Blas and Daħlet Qorrot. Except in the remote western lands and on the thin soils of the southern hills, vines are found everywhere; in the central mixed-soil lowlands, in the open northern valleys and on the eastern coastal slopes. This reflects the traditional self-sufficiency of the Gozitan farm economy, a point also brought out by the large number of vineries (see p. 213). The vine is also inter-cultivated with sulla which, undersown annually, is a useful soil-renewing and cleaning crop.

OLIVES

Inset maps, Figs. 81 and 82. Malta must be the only Mediterranean land where the tradition of olive cultivation has almost disappeared. Vegetable oil consumption is high and has to be supplied by imports costing on average nearly [439] £300,000 per annum. Olive cultivation has been more extensive in the past as attested by place names such as Żebbuġ - the place of the olive, and Żejtun - olive tree, and is still perfectly feasible over a great deal of under-utilised land. Various reasons for this strange situation have been mooted, ranging from the completely invalid belief that the olive cannot stand sea-air to the inadequate charge that tenurial security is insufficiently great. The matter is still a mystery.

Recent extensions of planting, particularly at Salinas and on Bajda Ridge, [454] have been Government-sponsored, and the latter case is basically a scheme for the afforestation of a water catchment and percolation area.

CITRUS FRUITS

Because of their large water requirements, oranges and lemons are of orchard importance only along the Upper Coralline - Blue Clay springlines in Western Malta and Eastern Gozo. Scattered trees and very small plots are found in many districts, often in the most unlikely places. The Seville orange, once of considerable importance, is now rarely found and most of the old trees have

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 217]

Table 41. Estimated percentages of total agricultural land owned by various groups. c. 1950.

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	Civil Govt.	War Depts.	Church, etc.	Landlord	Farmer's Family	Farmer	Total
Malta	16	1	22	51	2	8	100
Gozo	23		12	54	2	9	100
Both Islands	19		19	52	2	8	100

be properly worked. This argument as a basis for encouraging owner-occupance must be treated with some suspicion. All the field evidence goes to show that, in recent years, land purchases by working farmers have been mainly of good and, if possible, irrigated land. The Maltese agriculturalist rarely makes a conscious assessment of his returns in terms of productivity of labour or capital but rather the emphasis is placed on gross production. Nevertheless, general productivity, security of harvest and even social status all make him buy the best land, even at inflated prices. Little of such freehold property is difficult to work and little of it therefore lies 'waste'.

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Historically there is further proof that the incentive of ownership is on its own of no great importance in increasing the proportion of worked land in any holding. Early nineteenth century writers both commented on the large areas of rock and other wasteland in the North of Malta, and on the age-old practice of building 'artificial fields' (see p. 324). There was a widespread belief that the whole of the cultivated land had been created in this way and that further extension was mainly a matter of encouraging the farmers to undertake the labour involved. A Commission of the *Società Economico Agraria* considered the question and made in their report of 1848 (3) the following points. First, any increase in agricultural production, particularly of grains, would be welcome. Secondly, there existed a pool of grossly under-employed labour and capital. Thirdly, although the physical extension of the cultivated area would be a slow process, the national advantage would be great. Fourthly, this end could be achieved by the granting of land in perpetual emphyteusis so that capital and labour could be securely applied to reclamation. In 1855 Schembri supported such a policy (4).

From 1850 onwards, much barren Crown land was distributed on this basis, frequently in parcels of 16 *tmien* and on 99-year emphyteutical leases. Subject to improvement (a clause that does not appear to have been enforced), the tenant had complete security of a tenure which could be renewed by his heirs on a preferential basis at low rents. During the first period rents could be as low as 1¼d. per *tomna*.

Although some land was improved, the project as a whole was not a great success. Economic and social changes can be held responsible for some of the lack of response to these offers, for the second half of the nineteenth century was a dynamic period. In spite of much Crown expenditure on the laying out and construction of access roads, and the building of many field and terrace walls, some land was never taken up and more remained economically marginal. Of the leased land, a considerable proportion was later abandoned.

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The main factor making for local success or failure of the scheme was the availability or otherwise of water. Two contrasting examples illustrate this point. Fig. 137 shows an area of 16 *tmien* in the hands of one tenant. Small patches of vetch are the sole evidence of use. Figs and vines planted during early development no longer bear fruit. This long-lease land is virtually waste. The other example, illustrated in Fig. 138, has similar terrain and is more exposed to wind and seaspray. Here the presence of a shallow water-body has provided an incentive for the slow development of a soil cover and enabled intensive cultivation to succeed. Twenty-two heirs of the original lessee have each insisted on their right to work a portion of the holding.

*423 ● 654 These are extreme cases but everywhere it is true that during the last century, continuity of tenure has not been enough in itself to produce land improvement.

*423 427 A variety of forms of tenure exists in the Islands. Emphyteutical leases, which must be documented, are legally all such that extend for a term longer than 16 years and have the proper content and conditions. On Crown land a period of 99 years has been favoured, but leases of 30 and 60 years are also found. The essence of such leases lies in their emphasis on tenant improvement of the land and on compensation for premature dispossession. Some of the implications of the official encouragement of emphyteusis have already been examined. In general the system is based on the supposition that the lease is long enough to reward the tenant for his development work, and that the land has been improved to a level at which short-term leases - first offered to the emphyteuta's heirs - become feasible.

Other leases are generally based on a four-year rotational cycle, in its turn based on the duration of the effects of intensive manuring on 'dry' land. Entry is normally on 15th August, in the 'dead' period of the year, and the most popular lease is for a duration of eight years with an option for renewal for a further similar term. On expiration the land is usually held on a yearly basis until a new satisfactory settlement is reached. Provisions for repairs usually divide responsibility between tenant and landlord on the basis of the scale of work and capital needed, the tenant being always responsible for wells and cisterns. Water derived from the holding should only be used thereon but in practice this is ignored. Regulation of husbandry is rarely mentioned except in general terms. Unless specifically revoked, legal provision exists for the remission of rents in the event of naturally caused crop-failure, although we have no knowledge of such a claim being made in recent years. After the flood damage of the autumn of 1957, the appeals were solely for Governmental aid.

The problem of compensation for improvement or for dispossession has in Malta as in other countries given rise to much disputation. Unless agreed by the landlord, any improvements to short-leased land can only be indirectly recovered either by removing impermanent fixtures or by the incoming tenant paying for items such as recent manuring or tillage. In the latter case, both parties regard the transaction in the light of a hand-over charge rather than as formal compensation.

Before 1940, the short-lease tenant had little legal security of continuity of tenure. On the termination of a lease the sitting tenant had preferential rights to renewal only if he were prepared to accept conditions equally or more onerous than would other applicants, provided the courts held these conditions to be reasonable. Such preference was negated if the land was needed by an owner or cousin or nearer relation of the owner. Theoretically, therefore, the ability of the tenant-farmer to resist rent increases or to prevent loss of investment was very limited. Wartime Emergency Regulations resulted in the creation of a special Board to consider problems of tenure where leases were shorter than for 16 years. Since that time preferential rights of renewal have been extended to cover immediate relations of a deceased tenant or to the equivalent of 'copyholders'. Rent increases must not be based on any increase in value accruing from any type of improvement, and their reasonableness is adjudged by comparable neighbouring rents. Greater freedom was afforded in sub-letting to a co-tenant or relation while the landlord's personal or family claim on land has now to be justified on the basis of a minimum four year use.

*423 311 427 The combination of short leases and absence of compensation for improvement has been held at one time or another to be responsible for virtually all the ills and defects of Maltese farming from a reluctance to plant tree-crops to the poorness of many local track and access roads. As with the relationship between freehold tenure and intensity of land use, such arguments are not fundamentally valid. Where physical economic conditions provide incentive to investment and improvement then the cultivator generally responds, no matter

question unless a complete agricultural revolution committed Maltese farming 231
to thorough-going dairy farming specialisation. Such specialisation, given the 234
climatic and physiological difficulties, would not be easy to justify. A very considerable 246
seasonal glut of milk exists between May and August at present, and the Milk Marketing Undertaking cannot handle the flush. This degree of fluctuation could be lessened but not removed. Costs of production are such that not only would exports be uneconomic but imported tinned milk can and could considerably undercut home production. Local consumption of fresh cows' milk could not be expanded much more than 10 to 15 per cent. above the present level which is already the highest in the Mediterranean, as long as tinned milk is more easily preserved, and as long as the rural community keeps goats and sheep. The banning of milk imports and of the production of goat milk would hardly be in the consumer's economic or dietetic interests.

Horses, mules and donkeys, some 6,500 in number, are still very important 492
as work animals. For farm transport, they can only be replaced by the internal 407
combustion engine purchasable only by the more prosperous cultivators. Produce collection by merchants' lorries is increasing as also is the use of hired tractors for cultivation. The numbers of these animals is unlikely to decrease quickly outside the urban areas because of their usefulness in tilling difficult land.

Of the remaining small livestock, rabbits and poultry already make a very 231
large although immeasurable contribution to food supplies. Improvements in 235
quality could be obtained if farmers' interest was aroused. At present, mixed breeds of poor poultry are commercially uneconomic.

In conclusion, we must return to the vexed question of dairy-farming and 234
milk production in Malta. In 1950, the Director of Agriculture (1) put the 654
question: 'Under prevailing conditions in Malta and Gozo, which is the more profitable animal to keep? The cow or the goat?', and followed with the statement: '... no accurate answer backed by accurate scientific data has ever been given'. The same impasse had often been noted before, for example by Dawson Shepherd (2), and Stockdale (3). An unpublished report on Maltese Agriculture by a visiting F.A.O. commission (4) similarly found itself at sea in the absence of any firm information. In 1956, the complexity as well as the obscurity of the situation was manifested in a Report on the Dairy Industry by G. W. Ford (5). In this study, reference is made to the different conclusions reached by independent observers, and to intermediate suggestions made by Marshall (6), one of whose remarks: 'I simply cannot visualise hygienic milk production by the peasant farmer in Malta', our observations would endorse.

Milk-production in Malta is no longer a matter of economics but, as in many countries, is affected by social and dietetic policies. Brief mention was made in Chapter VI C of the problem of the incidence of undulant fever and its association with milk infected by *Brucellosis Melitensis*. Some 20 per cent. of Maltese goats are thus infected, and any dietetic campaign to encourage the drinking of milk, particularly important in child welfare, must take account of this. Few cows are thus far infected and elimination is easier. The problem that emerges is therefore both economic and social in character. It is felt by some that reliance on imported tinned milk is one solution but by others such a suggestion is regarded as humiliating. Another possible line of action is to replace goats with milch cows, and in 1956 a system by which herdsmen were offered one Dutch Friesian heifer in calf for 12 diseased goats actually came into operation. The third possibility is to accept the position as it exists at the moment, or slightly to modify it, and centralise milk distribution thus enabling pasteurisation. This too has been done. Even now however, the cost of tinned milk imports, the cost of producing cows' milk, the surplus of goats' milk, all these as well as the land use point mentioned earlier, still remain to be dealt with. As we shall see, the market for milk called into being as a social measure is now the mainstay of many farmers of all grades. The development of the centralised agency, the Milk Marketing Undertaking has been accompanied by a guaranteed price system. Some 50 per cent. of all milk producers have, as a result of this organising of wholesale purchases, formed their own union the K.M.H. - '*Kumpanija Mallija*

234 *ial-Halib'.* These bodies have introduced some constant elements into an other-
654 wise chaotic situation but this has also implied a certain rigidity. Sonce the costs of milk production are not accurately known and the costs to the National Economy are ignored one now has an artificial market with artificial prices which must be maintained to prevent economic disaster on the farms. (For such information on production and marketing as is available, the reader is further referred to Chapters X D and X E.)

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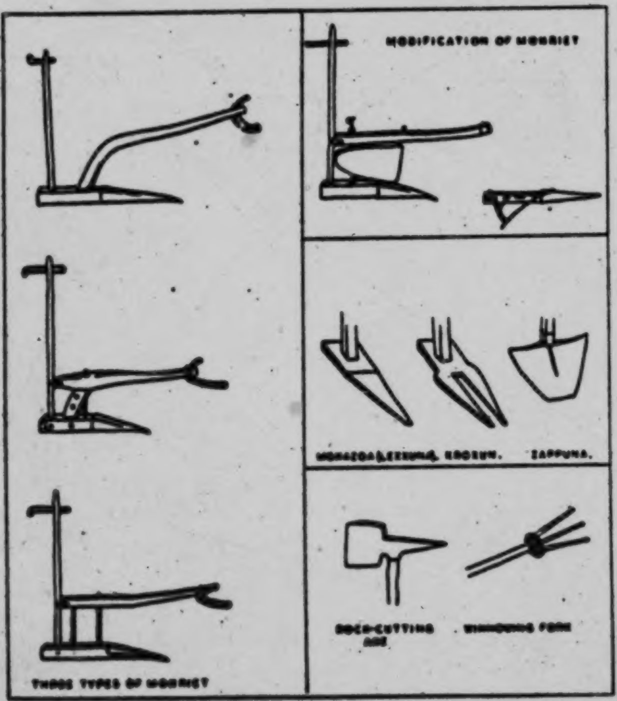

Fig. 140 Cultivation Equipment.

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weed greens pulled from wallsides and fallow or abandoned fields. Sulla, green barley and the minor legumes make up the remainder of the bulk feed, except for prickly pear which is used as a summer reserve fodder. Concentrates in the form of cake and beans are invariably fed to cattle but cake is rarely given to goats. There is considerable variation in the feeding of calves and kids. The most characteristic feature of livestock feeding is, however, the complete lack of uniformity and the virtual absence of any rational programme of feeding of cattle. At a relatively low level, most Maltese farmers are better acquainted with goats' needs and of course those needs are fairly elastic. With cattle, as the survey showed, every possible range and combination of diet is to be observed. 'Farmers seem to have little idea about the relative nutritive values of foodstuffs such as cake and beans' (16), so that over-feeding and unbalanced feeding are normal. An extreme example is that of a goatherd, newly possessed of a Friesian heifer in calf, through a Government exchange scheme (p. 310), who stall-fed it 15 lb. of cake, 3.5 lb. of beans, one bundle of green sulla and half a sack of barley straw daily. At the same time there exists a 'pedigree complex' and the possession of an animal with a known lineage and some Friesian blood is a matter of pride.

Animal diseases are prevalent, ranging from endemic infection by *brucellosis melitensis* and pregnancy diseases in goats to contagious abortion and mastitis in cattle. Most of these result from unhygienic and inadequate accommodation. The Maltese livestock farmer, as noted later, operates on a small scale and with little capital. The provision of adequate facilities can only be done with borrowed money. Since 1956, Governmental loans and subsidies have been available for helping with the construction of stock houses, water supply systems etc., as well as for purchases of machinery. Instruction in animal care and hygiene is also provided. Mental resistance to change is not as great in this sector as in crop-production because losses through disease are more catastrophic in their impact on individual farmers. Nevertheless, even here, the better the traditional practices, the more loth cultivators may be to accept advice. Thus in a case-study of a very efficient fraternal partnership holding some 70 *imien* and practising mixed farming, a standard reaction was found. This partnership had no shortage of capital, and the production of an average of 50 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is high for Malta. Unfortunately, with livestock as with crops, the high degree of success attributable to their able application of traditional ideas seems to bar the way to future progress - 'A good cowman knows as much as a vet.'. At the other extreme lie the perpetually indebted small producers with insufficient land, money or even traditional expertise, for whom advice must be simple and fundamental. Here again, the Agricultural Advisory Service can only produce slow improvements. [654]

With livestock, as with husbandry, the need for improving standards is obvious. The maximum efficiency in the utilisation of all possible resources is essential to Malta. Work is in hand, limited unfortunately by the perpetual shortage of revenue and trained personnel (a situation which is the result of Malta's peculiar evolution), in a variety of ways, from studies of balanced rations for livestock and improved crop strains even to a pilot survey of the seaweed resources of the Island (17). But, before any recommendations can be implemented, they must be accepted by the farmers of Malta and Gozo.

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178 but there has been a delegation of his traditional secondary functions. The spread of Government primary education, for example, has produced a literate younger generation able to write - and think - for itself; rediffusion, cinemas, and television have made their presence felt; the Maltese-language press has grown in volume and scope; letters and visits from emigrated Maltese widen horizons rapidly; cheap bus transport puts most of the Malta within easy reach; health and social services have brought improvements; C.A.R.E. (2) and other relief supplies have brought a new external influence; the changing pattern of work with the new limited working day is giving the time for the novel activities made possible by cultural and material advancement. The last 50 years have seen the appearance and spread of the lay religious movements (see Chapter VI C) which have attempted to relieve the Priest of some of the work with which he had previously been able to contend unaided. The Society of Christian Doctrine [575] (M.U.S.E.U.M.), founded in 1909, was the first of these but larger and more comprehensive is Catholic Action whose four groups for men, women, young men, and young women have been established throughout the Islands to provide the modern Maltese parallel to the Village Institute, Youth Club and Church Fellowship of other countries.

The rural family was traditionally the economic unit within the village. A 178 century ago, farming in Malta implied the self-sufficiency of the true subsistence peasant rather than the crop- and milk-selling producer of today. The food for 241 the family came very largely from the fields worked by its members, milk from 654 their own goats or sheep and clothing from home-produced cotton and wool.

Money and matters financial now occupy a major part of the thoughts of the Maltese farmer - even of the older generation, illiterate and cut off from more cultural developments. Barter as a means of exchange is breathing its last. Perhaps more than anything else did the 1939-45 war mark the change. During the years of siege and shortage the farmer was able to get prices for produce out of all proportion to anything before or since. With the return of conditions to normal after the war this Golden Age of Maltese farming collapsed but the farmer went on somehow expecting to make the same profits in peace as he had in war. The fact that he has not been able to do this, even with recent Government protective farming programmes of subsidies, guaranteed prices and other artificial inducements, has increased the bitterness which the farmer has come to feel for his lot. For its part, the Government has tried to keep the farming community as contented as possible and at the same time has embarked on attempts at dairy and general farming reforms of methods, varieties, marketing, etc., in an attempt to stop the retreat from the land and from the way of life based on it. The produce of the soil is, after all, Malta's only major locally-based industry. This has seemed to prove to the farmer that *'Gvern'* ought to do all that it has done for the farmer, and a lot more. The Government's recent policy has been to educate the farmer to accept the new ideas and novel methods and techniques and it has attempted to do this through lectures to farmers, programmes on rediffusion, and pamphlets - along with the inducements of subsidies and guarantees. But the limited success of this programme has emphasised the basic problem in farming today which is that the 'Farmer' is now the middle-aged or old man, whose lack of education and experience outside the community of his village makes it most unlikely that he will accept information and advice from those who are patently not *Maltese* farmers and lack the lifetime's association with the alleged idiosyncracies of the Maltese environment.

The younger generation, which has benefited from a thorough primary 178 schooling, might have been the individuals to listen to lectures on farming but, 464 and here is the basic problem, as a group the sons and daughters of farmers 241 are desperate to leave the land and even more concerned to rid themselves of 561 what they see as the social inferiority attached to the calling of their fathers. These young people have in fact been educated to an awareness of new possibilities of economic and social life outside farming and also outside the village community which bred them. So many of the younger generation have in fact managed to make the break with the way of life of their fathers that the average age of the Maltese farmer is now higher than only a few years ago, and is still rising (see Section III Introduction).

241 423 rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields, which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

241 464 433 This is the background to the present attempts to rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

(a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654] (b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

654 241 464 The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

178 462 [592] The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

562 462 178 In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p.80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

241 474 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly common, while a recent development has been the tractor co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

178 407 The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta in the 1930s (Case XV, XXII) but "at that time there was a general feeling against the use of such machines on the land and it was about five years before their value was acknowledged and suspicions overcome"[12]. [427] One of the earliest tractor-hire businesses (Case XV) began in 1935 and for a decade there were comparatively few competitors. [422] Since the 1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning agricultural tractos and mechanized implements[24] has increased to about thirty in Malta[25] and some twelve in Gozo (1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[26], made in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still increasing but the work available for them is decreasing. This is clear from a consideration of the points raised in Cases XV to XII (Section 6, Part 2).

The main points emerging were

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended (Case XVI), while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement (Case XXII).

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

[654] (ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially since low-interest loans are now available from the Government.

(c) The limited area of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between asignments (Case - XVII).

407 474 with the setting up of co-operatives which would make available to the farmer the services of a heavy tractor and deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire the smaller type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY and GUARANTEE

435 241 654 During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for produce handed in to the collection centres in each district. Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never known before and were able to build up often considerable financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

434 435 241 654 Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite different conditions of competition from abroad, demands a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and milk production. He insists that responsibility for this subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on "Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and marketing and gives him a substantial return.

654 The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible foodstuffs (which would often mean imported goods rather than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities (bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows everyone in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included four main types of help to agriculture.

234 654 (a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U. This varies slightly with season and there is a difference of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells

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234 654 pasteurized milk at about this same price to the general public, regardless of the administrative, collection and pasteurization costs involved and the losses on surplus milk wasted. The subsequent deficit is born by the Government exchequer and may therefore be regarded as a Government subsidy to the milk producer. Its effect in the past few years has been immense in that it has encouraged herdsmen all over the Islands to increase their production to the maximum at the expense of arable cash-crops (Cases I to IX).

232 654 (b) As part of the general policy to improve farming in the Islands and, at the same time, to eradicate certain livestock diseases the Government has made available to herdsmen an exchange scheme whereby they may exchange diseased animals for newly imported stock. This has also included goats, some dozen of which could be exchanged for a cow. Along with this stock improvement policy has gone official limitation on the number of animals entering the Islands since the present overstocking is regarded as undesirable. Farmers have however not been slow to find ways round such limitations - one popular method of acquiring a cow having been, for example, for a farmer to buy in weak and ailing goats and effect an exchange of these for a healthy imported heifer.

654 (c) Of considerable help to the arable farmer as well as the herdsman has been the programme of 'Loans and Grants' ('Self u Donazzjonijiet') by the Government to farmers for the purpose of making capital improvements in the farm and its operation. The low-interest loans have been particularly popular and have already enabled many farmers to buy, for example, their own rotary cultivators (Case II). One important limiting feature in these loans has been the ignorance on the part of many farmers of the system and the suspicion felt by others of something new and not clearly explained.

(d) Of particular concern to the arable farmer have been the various distributions of free or subsidized seeds, potatoes, tomatoes, etc. In some cases the aim has here been to popularize some new departure from custom such as a variety of early potato new to Malta or to introduce farmers to the 'Balanced Ration' ('Ghalf Bilanċjat') experiments of the agricultural authorities.

242 654 (e) In this same category of aids to farming comes the recently-formed Agricultural Advisory Service, which has itself been responsible for many of the new moves mentioned and also for the series of public lectures to farmers (Section 4), which have been part of the effort to improve farming in the Islands by providing an up-to-date research

242 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for
654 advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming
community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial
insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in
the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud
(Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service
are outlined in B/252.

178 Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said
241 about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification
654 to bring it more closely into line with present conditions
181 both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic
conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4)
but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is
[234] not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the
guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space
of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the
Islands.

433 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk
654 surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee
234 remains he will continue to put every effort into selling
more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to
fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is
certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently,
having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

MONEY

433 In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was
434 a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale
178 subsistence farming with the help only of his family.
[175] Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family,
farm and village. There were very few wants which could
not be supplied at home, or at least within the village.
In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in
terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have
his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his
predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells
each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual
turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes
modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the
farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the
food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction
436 between the present 'commercialized' position and that which
437 prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century
ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as sub-
stantial a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind:
583 land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a
183 girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position
[554] and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent
sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there
were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the
past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among
the families of the same village and farming background.
[182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way
of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to
fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance
(B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption
in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts
of the Islands have increased and marriages between
individuals from different villages and also from differing
economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of
land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place
and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of
the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put
more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 Another development which has put money into an altogether
454 new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing
desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen
423 (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the
471 Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this
applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the
family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the
first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a
feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought
his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase
of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even
before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build
up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of
meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased
rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War,
and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much
greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable
cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient
and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese
654 farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for
capital. The Government added to this money consciousness
[426] with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to
keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest
loans for capital improvements of the farms and their
equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
654 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the
[234] maximum (Section 2).

178 Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
511 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to
434 his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned. These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

(d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital [464] improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

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[471] Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in his farm the means of providing for the various needs of the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding, his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very small section of the farming community: one of the major problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
426 position of money and the demands upon which it is based, one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial
434 status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
234 nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
434 the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
426 poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
fully realizes that without the present Government guarantee
[654] (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt
is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together
as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a
total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for
the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that
the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize
their farm and herd as they woudl wish. For example,
while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing
calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in
fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would
otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the
cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding
to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them
reluctant to take on any further loan commitments;
nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are
definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be
able to increase the number in their herd and also
mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
234 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
434 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U
654 with as much milk as possible.

They have no thoughtor care as to what might happen
were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the
subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly
little appreciation of the total picture of which they
form part and will be content to grumble quietly and
ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate
(Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
434 which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
454 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
provision of dowries and Wedding costs, etc., are met.
234 This farmer admits to having been able to save more than
654 £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that
today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread".
[451] He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly
on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase
of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds
of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on
the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for
all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is
typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying,
today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to
making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported
market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
accounts of the working of his farm. His second employment
434 brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
241 weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he
[511] reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a
third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc.
and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the
steady income from his other job farming has something
of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

795 Another Malta-wide authority is the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the farmer than is 'Il-Gvern' for in the normal practice of his religion he leans directly on the local church and priests.

829 To the farmer 'Gvern' is synonomous with control. Illiteracy has, in the past, made it very difficult for him to view authority with anything but suspicion. This has not been made easier by incompetent and condescending elements within officialdom whose actions, if any, have confirmed the doubts of the small farmer striving to provide his family with a living despite the odds against him - of which 'Gvern' was one.

178 654 Today the picture is changing. It is official policy to "encourage investment and to improve farming methods so as to raise the efficiency of the industry to a level where it can provide a decent livelihood for those engaged in it"[38].

178 156 829 The farmers' reactions to efforts on his behalf are particularly important at this crucial stage in the progress of agriculture in the Islands. Essentially his outlook retains much of the traditional reserve and caution of the illiterate peasant, an attitude apparent also in two further contexts, the organization within farming itself (Unions, Co-Operatives, etc.), and the farmers' attitudes towards society in general and rural society in particular.

829 156 The three aspects of the problem may be re-phrased as

(i) the farmer's attitudes to officialdom, especially the Department of Agriculture, and 'Il-Gvern' generally,

(ii) his attitude towards other farmers and towards the industry as a whole,

(iii) his position as a member of a socially 'low' class within Malta.

[561] Within each of these the present gulf between the younger generation, with a degree of education and emancipation, and the older (including most of the Islands' full-time farmers) produces a further conflict of attitudes and aspirations.

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THE FARMER AND GOVERNMENT

Official interest in agricultural development has increased very rapidly during the present decade and now includes a wide variety of measures aimed at improving farming by financial support and investment. These have been outlined in Section 2. There has also been an attempt to educate the farmer in better suited techniques and to make him aware of improvements which, it is believed, will increase the profit from his farm or herd. The problem here is seen to be twofold:

654 (a) to decide which crops, animals, feeding stuffs, machinery, methods of farm management, etc., are most likely to improve Maltese farming conditions, and

(b) to pass this information to a conservative and doubting farming public.

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A central feature of official policy since 1956 has been the Agricultural Advisory Service (B/252), modelled on the parallel organization in the United Kingdom. In Malta this body has aimed to co-ordinate research and experiment with encouraging the farmer to adopt proven results. Within a short while of its inception the Service was concerned with detailed investigations into pig rearing, poultry feeding, dairying, potatoes, tomatoes, fertilizers and other agricultural topics in the Islands (B/252, pp.3-4). At the same time a great deal of importance was attached to demonstrations and lectures to farmers. In addition broadcasts were made over the Rediffusion system and these were supplemented by a certain amount of printed publicity.

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The easiest part of the programme of lectures and demonstrations was to get farmers and others to attend the meetings. Those who stayed away did so either because they could not be available at the appointed time or, more usually, because they could not be persuaded that foreign experts could know anything applicable to farming in Malta which the local farmer did not know already. The attitudes of those who did attend was revealing. In many cases the novelty of the event was the attraction but there was also a large element of reasoned interest. Attendances varied from a few dozen farmers in some of the smaller villages to 200 in Xaghra and other large rural settlements, while, in January, 1958, no less than 700 people assembled in Rabat to be lectured by four of the specialists then working with the local Department of Agriculture, and to see a film on "Clean Milk". The reactions of this audience were typical of the response to the whole range of lectures and demonstrations and illustrate clearly the kind of problem which any would-be improver of agriculture can expect to have to face in Malta. There was, significantly, only one Maltese woman in the audience at Rabat of which some two or three hundred appeared to be non-farmers and concerned rather with free coffee in the interval than with the topics of the lectures. Of the rest, however, some farmers had made considerable journeys to attend while more than a few of these had never set foot in a meeting hall or attended anything in the nature of a lecture or lesson in their lives. For them it was a 'Sunday-best' outing. Even the bravest

654 242 544 232 of those present could not however be persuaded to ask any questions of the 'experts' or to develop any discussion, although everything not in Maltese was translated copiously. They were over-awed by the proceedings but were not slow to seize on topics raised by the speakers for future discussion among groups of farmers. The average age of those present was lower than that of the full-time farming population on account of the presence of large numbers of disinterested village youths and young men. But the true farmers themselves paid attention to what they were told and were especially impressed by the film.

Some of the points raised were dismissed as "not suitable for Malta". Some suggested measures were "interesting but unremunerative", notably the efforts, demonstrated in the film, to achieve cleanliness in milking. The farmer could not readily comprehend how he was to profit financially if he were to add what to him were needless tasks to an already heavy time-table. Yet, on the other hand, he was sceptical when told that many of the jobs which he is accustomed to performing could be replaced by more efficient methods. Being unable to read of farming outside Malta the illiterate believes that no methods could be better than those tried, tested and taught by his father and grand-father before him. Hence a major part of the work of an advisory service is "to create conditions which will give the farmer confidence in the advice given. The adviser must be above creed or party and honest in all his dealings. In addition, however, some inducement must be offered to the farmer to accept advice and the most powerful inducement that has yet been found is money - cash - a better price"[39].

657 232 One example of this inducement in practice was afforded by the study of pig feeding using balanced rations which was undertaken by the Agricultural Advisory Service early in its career. Haesler was able to show that "the high mortality rate in small pigs can be considerably reduced, and what is more important, losses in pig keeping have been turned into profits" (B/252, p.3). The farming public was assailed with Maltese-language leaflets[40] showing how the traditional pig feeding patterns were both wrongly balanced and generally excessive in quantity and encouraging pig breeders to invest in the prepared balanced rations ('Ghalf Bilančjat') then on the market. This improved diet would, it was claimed, not only produce a better pig but would result in reduced costs of feeding. This prospect appealed to the farmer, who hastened to purchase the balanced ration particularly as such rations were subsidized by the Government[40] in order to encourage

654 their adoption. Sales soared after the ration appeared
232 and the idea spread rapidly from farmer to farmer.
Unforeseen difficulties soon emerged however and threatened
to make the ration unpopular among pig breeders as quickly
as it had become popular a short while before. Partly on
account of ignorance and illiteracy and partly because of
the lack of the correct kind of propaganda farmers began to
find that the ration was not the magical remedy to their
pig problems. A sample investigation, by the writer, in
Gozo among farmers who had purchased the balanced ration
showed that some of them had understood it to be a kind of
medicine to be given in addition to the diet normally fed,
others treated it as one item of the feed and mixed it with
their normal ration to the pigs, while most common of all
was the complaint that "I've been feeding the balanced
ration for a week and there is no sign of the promised
improvement so I'm using no more". Individuals of this
latter inclination not only stopped purchasing the ration
themselves but spread ugly rumours about it among their
fellows. None of those with such complaints would consider
approaching the Officers of the Advisory Service - as they
had in fact been invited to do in the leaflet[40]. For them
the new pig feed was a failure.

654 Illiteracy produces a feeling of inferiority in most
829 cases which makes the farmer too timid to approach a
242 department or an official on some problem. Moreover the
232 written word is for them suspect. Therefore if they are
to be persuaded to adopt new techniques in their farming
the instruction will have to be personal and followed up
with further help and advice when difficulties and lack of
appreciation of what is intended emerge. For those
farmers lectures are too remote. Demonstrations of new
crops or cultivation methods, etc. are more likely to
succeed but are insufficient in themselves. Unfortunately
a large qualified staff of visiting advisers would be
necessary to supervise farmers at such an individual level.
In Malta this is not yet available. Even if it were the
farmers' trust would have to be gained and maintained at
every stage. In the past such trust has been conspicuous
but its absence with the farmer believing that everyone
with whom he comes in contact is anxious to take advantage
of his illiteracy for their own gain. There has been
no-one to give him professional, impartial advice on
farming and the new Advisory Service with its free infor-
mation and other help to the farmer is still something
654 of an unknown quantity. The Agrarian Society (B/286) has
232 in the past been responsible for a certain amount of
242 research on agricultural topics in Malta but does not appear

854 to have made its presence felt among the farmers them-
232 selves.

242 When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in the Islands will depend, have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

241 In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the
829 Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in
[575] fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened younger farming generation might develop. Neither is
[874] there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

654 As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for
234 pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U. (Section 2). In short, official policy here has been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the
[433] cost of which is borne by the Government. The totals of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[41].

TABLE 3

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Year	Purchased by M.M.U.		Surplus		Percentage cows' milk	
1943-44	510,000	gallons			27	
1948-49	776,000	"				
1950-51	1,298,000	"			35	(1951)
1952-53	1,795,000	"	99,000	gallons	44	(1951)
1954-55	2,390,000	"	275,000	"	48	(1955)
1956-57	3,542,000	"	391,000	"	57	(1956)

234 A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII (Section 6)
654 shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands
178 has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production.
[434] Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions (Section 2) but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

185 Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in
829 time as far as the management of his farm is concerned
439 so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this Section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricacies of the export market for Maltese agricul-
439 tural produce[42]. The fact that Maltese produce for export

[P.61]

439 suffers by being inadequately graded and packed does not concern him although the specialist working in Malta on marketing problems has stressed this as a primary weakness up to now (B/253). The farmer is further reluctant to [178] change to the production of certain 'early' varieties of potato which would sell much more profitably on the overseas market than does the Arran Banner which has been the predominant variety in the Islands for several decades.

178 241 The argument returns, in fact, to the thesis put forward in a number of contexts in this report that the farmer is still thinking very much as a peasant subsistence producer although to outward appearances he has now become a fully commercial, cash-cropping farmer. This outlook, the product of illiteracy and confined experience, will have to be appreciated by those concerned with any kind of improvement and development in the Maltese agriculture. It is the younger, literate generation of the farming community who would be capable of education in these terms - if they stay in agriculture to be educated.

654 426 In the long run it would appear that the most satisfactory kind of financial help to farming is the loan at very low interest rate (Section 2). The basis of this was the Agriculture and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, No.11 of 1956, which authorized the loans for approved capital improvement projects at only 1% interest per annum. A major result of the loan system was that it made the farmer independent of money-lenders and money-lending middlemen. Previously many farmers had suffered near financial strangulation in the grip of these indivuals, particularly where they were operating under perpetual debt (v. Cases V and IX). A second great advantage of the loan is that the farmer is able to improve his farm and farming and at the same time preserve that independence of operation so dear to him. Many of the subsidies on seeds, rations, etc. have forced him to use his money in a certain way. He much prefers if possible to have the money and spend it as he chooses on machinery, livestock and fodder, buildings, cisterns, irrigation equipment, land reclamation, and repayment of previous debts, etc.

654 426 454 One disturbing feature of the loans is, however, that they are putting a lot of money into the hands of the farmer without necessarily ensuring that it is spent to the best advantage of agriculture or to the farmer himself in a long term view. For example much of the money loaned has been put towards the purchase of livestock and accommodation for animals in order to increase milk production, while the present regime of guaranteed milk price remains. To this extent the loans have helped the

654 herdsman to produce a now over-grown dairy industry
426 (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses earlier in this
454 Section).

Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Section 2), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

829 The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has
467 been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly no less strained have been relations between one farmer and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has emerged on the administrative side of farming in the Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic
[474] co-operation (Section 2). The main outcome of this has been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed
[747] any importance. The very recent tractor co-operatives (Section 2) are proving successful but would probably not have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[29].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in it. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[43]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

829 It has also precluded the development of a substantial
474 Co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading.

000 matter.

474 442 829 178 While the farmer does not favour the co-operative movement at present he is generally disatisfied also with the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

208 654 474 44 The Government plan to centralize marketing on the one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the selling of produce on the other will not succeed without a great deal of patient education of the farmer supplemented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and Co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

464 184 178 In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

464 lacking any education at all they took up farming as their
184 natural calling" (B/387, p.9), but their sons are faced
with a choice both between occupations and ways of life.
178 Their education is enabling them to compete with other sections of society for industrial and other non-agricultural employment while their emancipation, in terms of access to the world outside the village, is leading them to think of escape from the lowly social status of their fathers. They have been brought up to appreciate the insecurity of farming with its inadequate and fluctuating income and have seen the technical limitations and the hard and monotonous schedule of work with which their fathers have had to contend in order to provide even the most frugal living standards for their families. In very many cases the younger generation have been actively discouraged by their elders from contemplating farming as a livelihood. Within society as a whole they see farming as something of a low 'caste' and one example of this is the opposition faced by many a young farmer if he wishes to marry into a non-farming family.

The importance of this revolt on the part of the younger generation is clear when one considers the topic of this Section. The current policy is to change the pattern of farming in the Islands and to raise the standards of living of the farmers by the variety of methods mentioned and these are, quite naturally, being aimed primarily at the present farmers, that is to say the older generation. But the future of farming depends on the future farmers who are, it would appear, leaving or have already left the industry. Many of them do not plan to stay in farming longer than the time necessary to find another occupation and they are consequently not concerned with loans, subsidies, lectures, and the work of the advisory service. The farming which they are anxious to leave will, it is hoped, change rapidly in response to the measure outlined. But, even if only a few years are needed to show substantial results and a better kind of farming is evolved, the younger generations may not be there to take over. Many of them will have emigrated from the Islands altogether and others will have left the villages for all manner of employment in the towns.

654 The official aid to farming policy may fail, one
829 fears, on two accounts:

(i) The measures designed to assist the farmer and farming have not yet been as successful as was hoped because of the difficulties of having rapid and far-reaching changes accepted by a suspicious, conservative and largely illiterate body of farmers,

654 829 464 178 (ii) The younger generation are not interested in improving farming; they scarcely stop to think that any changes in the industry might be possible in their present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk of life. Thus they will probably not be available to take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise, from their fathers.

SECTION 5 : Conclusions.

369 In conclusion one may attempt to draw together the several general points raised in the previous four Sections. The most important of these may be listed as follows:

(1) The twentieth century is witnessing an accelerating process of the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo (Section 1). This comprises

- (a) material change (the development of electricity, roads, sewage, transport, and a variety of other amenities),
- (b) cultural change following general, elementary education - that is literacy, 'emancipation' and the emergence of a critical public awareness,
- [565] [793) (c) social and economic changes which have laid the foundations of a rural middle class, unknown in the traditional village scene. Along with this have come modifications in the pivotal rôle of the Parish Priest and other priests. Some of their traditional functions, notably teaching and caring for the sick, have been taken over by specialists in such fields.

369 829 The factors outlined under (a), (b), and (c) are tending to extend the horizon of the individual villager far beyond the limits of his own village. Whereas he used to work and think within his family and village he is now aware of Malta and beyond.

241 464 178 (2) The particular physical limitations on farming in the Islands have, in the past, made the industry dependent to a very considerable extent on the meticulous hand-labour of the industrious Maltese farmer. This has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance, and even construction, of the fields and terraces themselves (Section 2). The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involved. They have benefited from general elementary education, literacy, and contact with the world outside the villages to the extent of demanding work which seems to them economically and socially rewarding. The past twenty-five years have seen a rapid decline in the number of full-time farmers and farm-workers. Today the farmer, in most cases no longer assisted by his sons, finds hired labour both scarce and costly (Section 2).

829 157 a policy of long term assurances for agriculture" (B/387, p.39). He claims that the Government "ought" to guarantee his prices, his markets, and "ought" to find the foreign export markets, and provide machinery, subsidies, etc. He also insists, incongruously, that farmers' needs could well be served by a strong and well-organized Union of Farmers and yet, in the next breath, he will reject outright any suggestions that he, individually, might take a prominent part in such a movement. The nature of this attitude emerges clearly from the collection of complaints and comments, made by farmers to Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team (B/387). On the one hand, the farmer demands Government support for farming but, on the other hand, he speaks even of his fellow farmers as "they". Conservative, cautious and usually illiterate, he is quick to speak but slow to act (v. Section 4).

829 The new awareness of horizons outside the village is consequently limited in extent and confined in nature. The farmer's son, however, with his education and emancipation and his ideas of social and economic emulation, has a clearer vision of the illogicality of his father's situation but is not yet sufficiently mentally liberated from the past to see for himself any right course of action.

554 369 [177] (7) As a class, the farmer is low on the social scale. This arises partly from his illiteracy and the features outlined in (6) and is partly also the outcome of a tradition of wealth and education being confined to the cities and towns. Wealth and culture came easily to the urban section of Maltese society and both implied foreign contacts on a large scale. Meanwhile the Maltese farmer toiling in his fields remained cut off socially as well as economically.

178 554 Today this felt inferiority puts him

(a) in a weak position for bargaining with Government and 'officials' and business men fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education,

(b) - if young and literate, in the position of being anxious to escape from his lowly class by leaving the village and farming as opportunity presents itself (v. Section 4).

● 654 178 (8) Official policy has been to assist farming in the Islands by means of a variety of subsidies and guarantees designed to protect the farmer from unfavourable competition and fluctuations in market demand (Sections 2 and 4). The industry has, in the past, received such attention only in time of siege of widespread unemployment. The basic intention today is therefore

[135] (a) to enable Malta's only basic industry - agriculture - to develop under protection for it is held that "In an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2).

654 (b) to encourage the members of the farming community to remain in their villages and in the industry.

654 234 (9) Following the official policy, outlined under (8) particularly that relating to dairying in the Islands, and the limited and short-sighted outlook of the average Maltese farmer (v.6), an irrational emphasis on milk production has emerged in recent years (v. Section 4). The dairy industry has grown to unprecedented size in the Islands and many herdsmen have seized eagerly upon the guaranteed price for milk sold to the M.M.U. as a source of a steady income. The fact that the dairy industry as a whole is over-producing and the continuation of the present conditions depend on a virtual Government subsidy does not deter them from concentrating all efforts into milk production to the neglect of other aspects of farming.

654 178 (10) The official policy, outlined in (8) and (9), seems likely to fail or to come near to failure on two main accounts (Section 4):

(a) the difficulties facing current attempts to pursuade the farmer to accept new schemes, crops, equipment, methods, etc., and arising from
  - (i) the outlook and attitudes of the farmer as discussed in (6),
  - [208] (ii) the use of unsuitable means of propaganda by the Advisory Service and others at present attempting to pursuade the farmer to accept new ideas and methods which would bring him cheaper working, a better profit and, thereby, contentment.

(b) the fact that the policy, outlined in (8), is directed, naturally enough, at the present farmers. This generation, however, illiterate and conservative, and with an average age in the late fifties, is, in the long-term view, the wrong one.

The present younger generation in the farming community, whose literacy and awareness of the world beyond the village make them educable and more responsive to new ideas, are the individuals towards whom official effort should be directed if Maltese agriculture is not to be lost by default. Nothing, however, included in official policy (up to December, 1959, is aimed at them (there is nothing resembling a young farmers' club in the Islands and no institute or college where agriculture can be studied).

241 178 The younger generation is in fact, on account of the whole complex of technical, economic and social reason (the strenuous work, the insecurity and the low social status involved) discussed in the four previous Sections, anxious to escape from farming as fast as opportunity to do so emerges.

The problem is clear, and its solution one of action.

654 An F.A.O. report on investigations in Malta and Gozo observes
241 that "Progress in agriculture is fundamentally a human
problem; it depends on knowledge and the intelligent application of knowledge" (B/243, p.9). Within the Islands
themselves there is a certain awareness of the situation and
[181] particularly of the need for an official policy designed to
develop the agricultural industry to the best advantage of
the total economy of the Islands and to assist the farmers
who "are perhaps the most hard-working, honest and God-fearing section of the community and the country will be the
loser if it were to let them down" (B/387, p.7).

It must be noted that the position in Gozo is even more intractable than in Malta.

From work done in the field two major lines of approach to the problem of Maltese farming emerge:

(a) Development policy must be related to the present and future position of her only basic industry - agriculture - within Malta's total economy. In this context one feels that at present there is some over-emphasis on the parts rather than the whole, that is the individual farmer qua economic unit and on the means whereby he may derive increased profit from his present - generally uneconomic - farm-unit. It is too easy to discuss minutiae of policy which are "good for agriculture", rather than to consider either men in villages or the fundamental national needs.

(b) The long-term improvement of Maltese agriculture as regards both the national economy and the fortunes of the individual farmers depends on the personnel of farming as much as on policy imposed from above. Policies must be tailored to fit the varying capabilities for absorption among the farmers, from the potato-grower who cannot see why a certain variety of potatoe is not selling on the export market to the dairyman unable to comprehend the artificially distorted basis of the industry which provides his livelihood. Moreover, up to now few development plans have been aimed specifically at the future farmers of Malta, the young, literate generation of the farming community. Before they have all left farming and village society this generation must be made aware of the possibilities and potential of agriculture in Malta and Gozo.

468 FOOTNOTE: While this report was 'in print' it was
announced that the milk producers had decided to withhold
829 deliveries to the M.M.U. (B/59, 17th November, 1959, p.4).
They argue that the guaranteed price given them should be
234 increased to take into account current production costs -
especially of fodder. The fact that they appear to have overlooked the £370,000 paid by the taxpayer in subsidizing the
milk industry (1958) illuminates both the narrow outlook of
the farmer and his failure to appreciate the uneconomic basis
of his dairying industry today (v.9).

128 [226] PART 3. A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo is included because the economic position of this comparatively small group is in many ways similar to that of the farming community itself.

*159 PART 1. Maltese Farming - Case Studies I-XIII

234 CASE I: Pawlu. (A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.)

654 Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed [435] sale for milk produced. He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialization which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the official policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

*159 55 423 [463] Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (B/325).

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is diffi-
241 cult to visualise their reconciling the limitations and
178 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards
the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the
present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land hold-
ing and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and
thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being
made available by the Government for farm development and of
"working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and
desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
362 the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
£8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer.
[427] Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a
new house and include near it accommodation for his animals.
For his large family of wife and eight children the house,
though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife
enable the family to carry on under limitations of both
home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer
to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
54 called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
461 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long
distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife
observes "these things are not missed by the people" who
have had little experience of them. She notes that in
Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the
bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family
and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can him-
464 self operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields
654 when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contri-
bution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to
acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan)
because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked
with his present labour force. A larger area would mean
more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the
milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be
increased along with the provision of extra accommodation
(also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is
that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale
through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits
here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

CASE VII : Wenzu (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

* 159 234 Like Case VI, Wenzu has been a goat herder and is now anxious to concentrate on dairy cows. At present he holds 4 Friesians, belonging to himself and his sons, but he wants to import Ayrshires. This cow, says Wenzu, is better suited to Maltese conditions, needing less feed than the Friesian and standing up better to long periods of confinement in cramped stalls. 656 Wenzu became interested in cows when the Government forbade the selling of raw goats' milk in Valletta. For a time thereafter he sold bottled milk in the capital and then returned to selling raw goats' milk in still unclosed areas such as nearby Cospicua until that too came to an end with the evacuation in 1940. After the War he went back to cows' milk production and sold his output to the M.M.U. 654 He acquired the Friesians through an exchange for inferior quality and diseased goats organized by the Government (one cow for 13 goats). At present, he says, cows' milk production is the more profitable ("Six cows will support a small family") but that this would not be so were it possible to give goats good grazing land at low cost. He reckons that good grazing saves 15/- per day on the fodder bill.

* 159 829 178 232 242 Wenzu's Case illustrates an important feature of the study of a predominantly illiterate section of society. * This is the prominence of personality in the thoughts and actions of the individual. Unable to read and suspicious of what he may hear over Rediffusion, Wenzu relies on personal contact to a very considerable degree. This is clear from a brief survey of his life. He speaks nowadays of a certain Dr. MacFarlane whose veterinary skill and advice impressed him and who originally recommended him to keep Ayrshires. To listen to Wenzu talking of this "Scots Doctor" one gathers that Wenzu last spoke with him quite recently. In fact, however, Dr. A.M. MacFarlane was Superintendent Veterinary Surgeon in Malta some half a century ago! A Mr. Hurst gave him advice on bulls some 25 years ago while, much more recently, Mr. Ebejer Slythe of the Department of Agriculture gave him much valued information on lucerne as a fodder and, latest of all, Dr. Godfrey Alton, the veterinary expert, has become something of a help for the injections he has arranged. Evidently, therefore, any improvements in Maltese farming have a greater chance of success if this element of personal contact - particularly in the cases of illiterate farmers - can be established. One man who will argue with one farmer for a morning on a single topic stands a greater chance of general success than has the big public lecture or even the practical demonstration

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargha baghli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the
corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-
[406] house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-
driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
[343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils
tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
241 interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
433 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
434 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to culti-
829 vate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
[464] to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at
least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to
qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however
content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the
lack of adequate remuneration. His attitude is to 'make the
most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative
(Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first
suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having
the money than letting the Government get it. This belief
that the Government is behind everything is characteristic
(Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organiza-
tion distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossi-
bility of achieving anything above low living standards.
Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet
clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case
among many of his generation and it may be that he will have
difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily
of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and
new equipment with Government financial and advisory assis-
tance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The prob-
lem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young
men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
[654] to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agricul-
ture to the full but it has done comparatively little for
the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at
least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to
stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

000 can command.

226 There has, however, been material help to fishing in the
463 form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a
654 Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F,
178 p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture,
that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

226 Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands
103 while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes
621 second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fishermen
361 live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away
from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi.
Socially this residential distribution is important since only
in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population
for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

361 Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the
226 village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as
cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities
for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is
[484] primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only
[443] for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen
gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of
[512] their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

226 As a class the fishermen and their families are economically
463 lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about
554 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to
511 qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same
time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same
162 basis, and the average for the total population was lower
still at 8.2%.

226 The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on
463 the social scale. This, together with the generally
554 depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite
178 the present official financial assistance, is producing
exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger
generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor
the way of life based on it.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

361 Corniche from heights as inaccessible as nature and man's
712 ingenuity could make them. When the marauders from North Africa ceased to be a menace, the citadel was partly evacuated for the lower town, but happily was never abandoned completely. Even now it contains the cathedral of the diocese and the Law Court and Public Registry, formerly the residence of the Governors of Gozo; and, although many of its ancient houses are in ruins, a few are still inhabited.

175 One interesting little lane with façades of the thirteenth
717 and fourteenth centuries was restored by the Government
341 before the outbreak of the Second World War, as has been
•654 the handsome Renaissance building facing the entrance to the citadel latterly known as the Bondi Palace, as related at the end of Chapter XIII. One of the houses in the lane at one time belonged, as an inscription testifies, to the soldier Bernard, "*miles Bernardus*," who was killed at the capture of the citadel by the Turks under Sinan Pasha in 1551. When he saw that the fortress could hold out no longer this dauntless man took the lives of his wife and two daughters with his own hand to save them from being sold into captivity, and then fell, fighting to the end. The walls and fortifications of the citadel are happily well preserved.

101 Gozo was Ogygia or Gaulos to the Greeks, *gaulos* (γαῦλος) being the word the Greeks had for the round merchant-boats of their rivals, the Phœnicians. From Gaulos it became Gaulum to the Romans, then appears on Idrisi's map of 1154 as Ghudash, and in modern Maltese is known as Ghawdex (pronounced Audesh), its Bishop signing as
484 *Episcopus Gaudisiensis.* The shortest ferry-crossing between
505 the two islands is only four miles, yet many Gozitans have never been to Malta while the overwhelming majority of Maltese have never been to Gozo.

181 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times
186 somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

to the political parties and Her Majesty's Government. Farther efforts must, of course, be made, and it is Her Majesty's Government's intention to hold farther discussions in due course with a view to reintroducing elected representative government. In the meantime it is desirable that the present arrangements, under which the Governor is using his emergency powers under the present Constitution to govern the islands, should be terminated as soon as possible. Her Majesty's Government have accordingly no alternative but to revoke the present Constitution and to make special arrangements of an interim character for the government of Malta. This will necessitate legislation and a Bill will be introduced into Parliament after the House re-assembles. The form of government contemplated for this interim period is one in which the Governor will be assisted by a Council on which there will be Maltese representation. 642 648 668

7. During this interim period the Governor with the full support of Her Majesty's Government will press on with economic development. As was recognized in the 1955 Declaration to which the Maltese political leaders subscribe, Malta depends very heavily on Services expenditure and every effort must be made to develop other sources of income. Much has already been done since 1955 in laying the foundation for future industrial development, to which end Malta has received assistance amounting to some £18,000,000 from Her Majesty's Government. 648 433 654

8. Her Majesty's Government's main aim in promoting economic development in Malta is to attract new industries. The 1955 Declaration recognized that this required a joint effort towards which the Maltese Government and people should make the best possible contribution from their own resources. A very important step in Malta's economic development has already been taken by the decision to convert the Naval Dockyard to a commercial ship repair yard and to develop associated industries. The construction of a deepwater harbour, the building of an industrial estate, the re-equipment of the Island's electricity supply and other public utilities, and the development of tourism are already going ahead. Plans for other development are now under examination. It is the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

• 654 Governor's intention to ask the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for advice from time to time on
433 current problems of the Maltese economy and on the plans for
648 Malta's economic development.

9. Private industrial development is to be assisted by the Aids to Industry legislation which the Governor intends to enact this month. This will offer substantial fiscal incentives to new industries to establish themselves in the Islands. New industries establishing themselves in Malta will also be eligible to apply for grants and loans. In administering these various incentives to industrial development the Governor will be assisted by an influential advisory body on which there will be Maltese representatives. This body will be under the chairmanship of Lord Hives, who is already familiar with Malta's problems.

Her Majesty's Government have now decided to contribute a sum of up to £29,000,000 over the next five years towards the cost of Malta's capital programme, the conversion of the dockyard to civil use and the encouragement of new industries.

642 The 1959 Constitution came into operation, as it happened,
654 on the 15th April, which is celebrated in Malta as George
648 Cross Day. It provides for the administration of the islands by the Governor with the aid of a part-official, part-nominated Executive Council with Maltese representation, an arrangement similar to that in force between 1936 and 1939. There was also enacted the Aids to Industry legislation foreshadowed in Mr Lennox-Boyd's Statement; Messrs Bailey successfully took over the Dockyard, which had been converted into a commercial undertaking with the financial help of the British Government; work was inaugurated on the construction of a new deep-water wharf in the Grand Harbour.

Sir Robert Laycock's term of office, while politically
744 frustrating, ended with a year of economic advance and new
73 hopes. It also saw an immense advance in social services such as District Nursing and the care of handicapped children, orphans and victims of infantile paralysis under the vigorous

178 79 tion can read, travel and make contact directly and vicariously with the world outside. Emigration too has tested the strength of the Faith. In consequence, we can now find in Malta a historical cross-section represented in spatial distribution. At one extreme one can meet in Sliema agnostic Maltese who never go near a church; at the other, in rural Gozo, one can find general obedience to the Bishop's instructions. All societies are heterogeneous in this respect but in Malta the strain of division within society is particularly great because of the existence of so many other cleavages. The reaction of the Church to this new situation has been dual in character. In the first place the Church itself has taken official action. Reform and correction, the imposition of rigorous film and book censorship, the series of edicts on dress and on behaviour have accompanied research, such as that of Abbé Houtart (22), into the needs of the people. Secondly, there have appeared the lay organisations with the avowed intent of redressing the balance. M.U.S.E.U.M. and Catholic Action before World War II, Cana, Legion of Mary, Social Action, the Holy Name Society and many others of foreign and indigenous origin since 1945 have developed in the conurbation where the challenge to the Church was strongest (23).

Financially the Church is still strong, owning as it does some 19 per cent. of the agricultural land of the Islands and an unverifiable total of urban property (24). Politically, the strength of the Church rests on its hold over the minds and hearts of the people. It is not necessary for the Church to take much overt action to demonstrate its power.

178 256 As a last vignette of the changing Maltese socio-economic complex we may consider some aspects of recent research on a useful indicator of social change, the bread baking industry (25).

655 722 The purchasing, distribution and processing of wheat and wheat flour, remains as it has been for centuries, Government controlled. When the Knights established their capital at Valletta and when the suburb-outwork of Floriana was built, great stone-chamber granaries were hewn out of the solid rock, developed versions of the much older 'bell-pits'. These underground granaries were stocked by the official organisation, the *Università*, and the grain periodically distributed at controlled prices. This siege-system, necessitated by dependence on imports, was abolished in the early nineteenth century, and the newly established Board of Trade contented itself with licensing importations. As a measure of agricultural protection and for the raising of revenue, duties were levied on these shipments. During the twentieth century, and culminating in the emergency measures of the beleaguered Islands during World War II, controls became tighter and grain prices heavily subsidised.

178 256 During the period of urbanisation and more especially during the last siege the general practice of home baking rapidly declined in Malta, although in Gozo it still persists. In the latter island there was in 1957 only one full-time and one part-time commercial bakery, while in Malta there were 201. All food grains produced for sale in the Island should legally be sent to licensed flour mills for blending. Imports, almost entirely of hard Canadian grain, are made by the Department of Trade and by the Victualling Yard in H.M. Dockyard. Ninety-seven per cent. of all flour issued for ration-bread making is subsidised, but local estimates suggest that up to 50 per cent. is used for making other products, this illegally used flour being sold at a discount.

102 178 256 Fig. 67[3] shows the distribution of bakeries in Malta, their importance and the main distribution areas as they existed in 1957. Only two villages in 1950 and one in 1957 - Safi - did not possess their own bakeries. This however is not indicative of closed fields of distribution but only of the multiplicity and the small-scale of the enterprises. Of the 35 districts, 32 imported bread from and 17 exported bread to other areas. Over half the 15,000 bags of subsidised flour issued in 1950 eventually found their way as bread outside the receiving districts. Of this inter-regional trade, Qormi supplied almost 80 per cent. Very briefly the points of interest are as follows. Qormi, which in 1957 had 48 bakeries, has always been the traditional baking centre, partly because of its central situation, but mainly as noted in Chapter VIII because of its situation in

[3] [See p. 198--Analyst]

CHAPTER V

The Church and Village Politics

Most Maltese regulate their lives by the daily and monthly cycle 796
of religious activities. The major divisions of the day are rung 805
from the bells of the village church. They first ring the Paternoster
half an hour before the first Mass. Then the Angelus bell
rings a call to prayer at eight in the morning, at noon and at sunset.
The final bell of the day is rung two or three hours after
sunset, and is a brief request for the living to remember the dead
in their prayers. The call of the Angelus is observed by many.
When it is rung, work and conversation stop whether in a
government office or a village café, men remove their hats, and
someone among them leads them in a short prayer. In Gozo I
have seen a busy square become suddenly silent and many people
kneel in the street as the Ave Maria was rung at sunset. People
also often kneel in the streets when the bells announce the elevation
of the Host during a sung Mass, and during Benediction in
the evening. And finally, late in the evening, clusters of relatives
and neighbours can be seen sitting in their open doorways
reciting the Rosary together before they go to bed.

Most girls and women and many boys and men attend one of 184
the three or four daily Masses which are offered in all parish 796
churches between four and seven in the morning. Virtually every
one in the village attends one of the five or six Masses offered on
Sundays. The few who do not attend are known to the village, [626]
and are the subject of gossip and other social pressure. Since the [659]
recent dispute between the MLP and the Church, however, their
numbers are increasing.

As the church bells mark the important hours of the day, so the 796
principal divisions of the year are set out by the annual national
and parochial religious feasts and processions. Besides being major [541]
religious occasions, they are eagerly looked forward to as recreational [655]
events. Though secular spectacles, such as political rallies,
the government-run Carnival procession and, above all, the [546]

796 cinema, are becoming increasingly important, the principal
541 amusements of the Maltese still generally have some connection
with their religious ceremonies. The French Consul in Malta at
546 the beginning of the last century described this enjoyment of
655 religion with great eloquence:

> Le Maltais a de la religion au fond de l'âme; cette religion, dont il remplit les devoirs sans ostentation, il l'aime autant plus qu'elle prend sa source, non seulement dans une foi sincère, mais encore dans cette habitude, contractée dès l'enfance, de chercher au sein des cérémonies religieuses un délassement, que les autres peuples trouvent dans les spectacles et les réjouissances publiques.[1]

People from all parishes come to take part in the diocesan
celebrations of St. Joseph the Worker, Corpus Christi and Christ
the King. These rallies and processions are usually held in Valletta
and Floriana. The national festival of St. Paul's Shipwreck in
February, which is also the titular feast of a Valletta parish, draws
many people into the city. Another national feast commemo-
rates the lifting of the great Turkish siege in 1565. This feast
coincides with that of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary on Sep-
tember 8, and is celebrated with boat races and other aquatic
competitions in the Grand Harbour. But the traditional national
festivals for the country people are the feasts of St. Gregory in
April and SS. Peter and Paul (*L-Imnarja*) in June. Though most
of the pageantry of the former has been abolished, the custom of
going for a picnic to Marsaxlokk, the little village just beyond the
terminal point of the procession in Żejtun, lingers on. On the
occasion of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, thousands proceed to
the Buskett, Malta's only wood, where they spend most of the
543 night before the feast eating, drinking and singing. On the feast
541 day they throng to see the agricultural show in the Buskett, the
religious procession in Mdina and the bareback horse races that
take place just outside Rabat. While these two feasts are the
occasions for special outings for the villagers, they are generally
looked upon as very low affairs by many from the professional
and middle classes.

The principal religious spectacles, however, are those which are organized at the village level. During the course of a year in Kortin, for example, there are fourteen major celebrations and

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[1] M. Miège, *Histoire de Malte* (3 vols., Paris, Paulin, 1840), III, 168.

9: Luke G-5 (ca.1920-ca.1960) 1960
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CHAPTER XVIII

Old Survivals in Modern Malta

MALTA OCCUPIES A PLACE OF ITS OWN IN THE OLD WORLD 101.
not only by reason of the length and unusual character
of its annals, not only by reason of the tremendous
range of its architectural monuments. It does so because
it combines with these features the circumstance that it
is the home of a separate race, the smallest of European
peoples.

There are, it is true, four independent states in Europe of
lesser size than Malta, but the inhabitants of these states do
not form distinct racial stocks, nor have they their own
languages. The Maltese are the smallest nation with the
longest history, and their islands are a microcosm, self-
contained. Not only has Malta its own tongue. It has its [197]
own University—the oldest in the British Commonwealth [873]
Overseas and granted the Royal patronage and the prefix
"Royal" by King George VI in his coronation year—with
seven faculties; Theology, Laws, Medicine and Surgery,
Dental Surgery, Engineering and Architecture, Arts, Science.
It has, as we have seen, its own Nobility with their Committee [565]
of Privileges. It is an ecclesiastical Province whose Archbishop [793]
exercises jurisdiction since 1944 over the bishopric of Gozo,
previously immediately subject to the Holy See since
its formation in 1864. And in the history of this
microcosm has been mirrored the life of the great world
around it.

Viewed as a part of the British Commonwealth, Malta is 655
unique in two particulars. It is the only British possession 545
whose Government owns an Opera House and in normal times 368
maintains an annual opera season and conducts the pawn-
broking of the nation in the manner of certain Continental
states.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 states. Alone with Gibraltar it runs a Lotto (with weekly
659 drawings) as a Government Department. Until 1866 Malta's
525 Opera House was the Manoel Theatre, a little gem of a playhouse
368 built as the Court Theatre by Grand Master Manoel
de Vilhena in 1731 and believed to be the oldest theatre in
368 Europe. It is easy enough to appreciate how daintily graceful
545 it must have looked when the audience, arrayed in the
brocades and perukes of the eighteenth century, was
assembled to witness some comedy of Molière or Goldoni.
Later used as a cinema, it is now being scientifically restored
to its original form and purpose.

368 In 1866 the new Opera House, officially called the Theatre
Royal, was completed at a cost of £60,000 just within
Kingsgate, partly on the site of a dilapidated old bakery which
has been identified with the house of the Turcopilier, title
of the Pillar or Head of the Langue of England. In 1873
this building, which was designed by Barry, the architect of
the Covent Garden Theatre, in a style which while dignified
was entirely out of harmony with Valetta's prevailing architectural
character, was seriously damaged by fire and was
reconstructed at a farther cost of £20,000. Before its
destruction in the Second World War it was the only theatre
known to the writer where it was the rule for male members
of the audience to attend the evening performances either in
mess dress or in evening dress with decorations.

• 655 The Monte di Pietà, the Government pawnbroking
175 Department, was established at the end of the sixteenth
century and was housed in its present handsome office in
Merchants' Street by Ximenes, the last but two of Malta's
Grand Masters. Connected with the Monte di Pietà is an
institution known as the Monte di Redenzione. In wandering
about the island the visitor will occasionally encounter
a building of the seventeenth or eighteenth century adorned
with a shield representing three cones surmounted by the
letter "R". These buildings constitute the property, now
administered by the Government of Malta under a trust, of

the Monte di Redenzione, a foundation established more 655
than three hundred years ago by one Father Rafael, a 175
Maltese Capuchin.

Preaching one day in the year 1607 in S. John's Con- 648
ventual Church, this good friar called upon his hearers to 655
inaugurate a fund for the redemption of the Christian captives 175
of the Barbary States, whose sufferings he depicted in terms of such realism that the Grand Master, Alof de Wignacourt, was able to set up the Monte di Redenzione with the offerings of the congregation and of members of the Order. Later, other charitable persons added or made bequests to the fund, which at first paid a ransom of 70 scudi for each Maltese slave and 150 scudi for a Knight of the Order. Subsequently these rates were raised to 200 and 500 scudi respectively; but, as the wars between the Order and the Barbary States ceased and the latter discontinued their raids on the island, the original object of the trust came to be fulfilled. So its properties were combined with those of the Monte di Pietà and administered by the Order, and thus continue to be administered to the present day by the Malta Government.

The most important property of the Monte di Redenzione 344
is Selmun Castle, which stands on a high eminence over- 341
looking S. Paul's Island and S. Paul's Bay. It is a clumsy replica of Verdala but is none the less impressive with its four towers and general air of a mediæval fortified stronghold. A balcony that completely encircles the castle, towers and all, is a pleasing feature of a building which might otherwise seem heavy and lacking in the gracefulness which Verdala, vast as it is, possesses in so marked a degree. Another attractive little property of the Redenzione is a handsome armorial ornamented gateway of the reign of Grand Master Pinto, standing below Selmun near the junction of the main road between S. Paul's Bay and Mellicha and the track to Kalamistra.

In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, the 000

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960

EZ6 Malta EZ6

Gozo

IT

may also be combined with a tricky piece of rock-climbing— 133
how tricky the writer can testify from personal experience—
by anyone prepared to scale the precipitous islet known as
the Fungus Rock, which closes the entrance to the lagoon
of Qala Dwejra.

This impressive and now almost inaccessible rock takes its 133
name from the strange and repellent-looking black plant 278
(*Fucus coccineus melitensis*) which grows on its summit and 655
in the days of the Order was regarded as a sovereign remedy [137]
against hæmorrhage and dysentery. The plant was a [157]
perquisite of the Grand Masters, and a guard was provided
in a tower on the mainland to keep away trespassers. Those 133
who came legitimately to take the fungus landed by means 417
of a basket suspended on ropes stretched between the rock 278
and the nearest point on the mainland; an old water-colour
in the Malta Museum depicts this means of transit, which
has long since disappeared. It was evidently of a somewhat
precarious nature, at all events to judge from the account of
a gentleman who effected the passage in 1815:[1]

> One object of curiosity on the south side of the island [*sc.* Gozo] is a rock, on which grows a kind of fungus, which is used as a styptic. The passage to this rock is rather curious, if not dangerous; two ropes are made fast on each shore, on which a box with grooves on its edges passes over. A Maltese first works his way across, then the person desirous to go over draws the box back and seats himself in it, when he is hauled over by the guide; in this manner as many as please can go, one at a time.
>
> It is not a very pleasant sensation to be suspended some hundred feet above the water, and if there is any wind, the movement of the box is anything but agreeable, and all that can be obtained are a few pieces of fungus. I was well pleased to be back again, and made a determination never to risk my precious carcase in that conveyance again. It seems very strange to be swinging up in the air between two rocks, with sea-gulls and other aquatics flying about below you.

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[1] From *Malta Sixty Years Ago*, by Claudius Shaw (London, 1875).

P

MLP cost them their jobs.[1] Others have friends or relatives on the 578
other side with whom they do not wish to break. Yet others, 665
responsible for maintaining the unity of a neutral club, fear that
an open stand will bring about a crisis which would divide it.
Although most of these persons continue to read the condemned 204
papers, they do so discreetly, for reading them openly would 578
provoke incidents. There are also a large number of Labour 626
sympathizers who have been unwilling to forego the sacraments
of the Church. They no longer read the Labour papers or attend 665
MLP rallies, but they are bitter about having been forced to make
the choice.

The physical act of purchasing a Labour newspaper has in itself become a public statement of political allegiance. After the condemnation and the threat of a general Church boycott of their premises (which was carried out in Gozo) most vendors have refused to handle MLP publications. In the villages they can usually only be bought at the local MLP club. Thus the act of striding across the village square and into the stronghold of the devil, performed in front of many of the village elders, becomes an open declaration of sympathy with the Labour cause. In Kortin many wait until the square is empty, usually around midnight in the summer, and then scuttle into the club to get their papers.

III

There is a correlation between occupational class and support for 467
one of these two ideological divisions. In general, professionals, 665
white-collar workers and farmers support the Archbishop, and
industrial labourers the Labour Party. There are several reasons for this. To begin with, the Labour Party is a working-man's party, and there is ideological support for it on that account. Although the MLP has a definitely socialist ideology, and is a member of the Socialist International (points on which the Church attacks it regularly), it advocates few of the measures associated with doctrinaire Socialism, such as public ownership of transport and industry or the collectivization of farming. On the other hand, it does promise equal opportunity for all, and 'the right of the

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[1] The Malta Government Circular of 19 October 1960 prohibited most grades of civil
servants from holding office in political organizations or publicly expressing their political [56]
views. This regulation is something of a paradox in a small country in which most
intellectuals work for the government in one capacity or another.

463 Grand Harbour and first establish themselves in the conurbation
467 surrounding it has helped to keep the farmer devoutly tied to the
665 Church. For this reason the action of the MLP in challenging the
authority of the Bishops is as abhorrent to him as it is difficult
to understand.

463 The recent sanctions of the Church have increased the class
alignment of those who support the Labour Party and those who
578 oppose it. This is largely because those with high social status have
665 more to lose than industrial workers, and are thus more vulner-
795 able to the pressure of public opinion and the Church. The
increasingly heavy pressure of the Church has forced many of the
[626] young professionals and intellectuals to abandon the party for
which they voted in 1955. But even when the MLP was in office,
its policies began to alarm many in the professional and middle
classes. They objected not only to Mintoff's attitude to the
Church, but also to the somewhat abrupt way his government
occasionally dealt with the professional and business communities.
Many were disturbed by the MLP's rather sudden switch from
advocating integration with Britain to demanding complete
independence. As most of those who left the party or became
inactive in it were moderates, both in their approach to the
Church and to the economic and political problems facing Malta,
the MLP has become more extreme in its outlook. This in turn
induced others to leave it. This process was accelerated by the
● [656] regulations which prohibited the better-educated civil servants
from taking an active part in the political life of their country.

463 Table 7 below shows the rough correlation between occupa-
tional class and support of the Malta Labour Party. In particular,
665 it demonstrates that as the proportion of skilled workers decreases,
666 so does the proportion of voters who support Labour. Other
variables are the number of professionals and farmers. The
Second and Fourth Electoral Districts polled the highest number
of Labour votes in the 1962 election, and the Sixth and Tenth the
lowest. The MLP polled 56 per cent of the total votes in the
Second Electoral District, where 45 per cent of the working
population are classified as skilled labourers.

In contrast, it received only 6 per cent of the votes in Gozo, where only 16 per cent of the people are skilled labourers, but 38 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Another important variable is the number of clergy resident in a district. The relatively high

time-consuming tasks. To help as many as possible, they often 662
made up new job rosters every few months. 665

Canvassers would often expect presents for their work as intermediaries and for the favours they promised or secured. By and large, the party agents or canvassers were not popular figures, at least in retrospect. I came across many accounts of how they had exploited their positions to enrich themselves. The usual story was that they had accepted gifts – a rabbit, some chickens, a bottle of whisky or even cash – but had not assisted as they had promised. These tales may or may not be true; I had no way of checking. It is significant, however, that persons of all political colours, including former Ministers and MLA's, believe them to be true.

Mintoff's government did much to change the course of the 647
stream of political patronage. To begin with, shortly after it came 662
into office in 1955, the MLP passed a law which made it compul- 665
sory for those seeking employment with the government as
industrial labourers to register with the Department of Emigra- 656
tion, Labour and Social Welfare.[1] There they had to wait their 653
turn. This took away from MLA's a considerable source of patron- 464
age. The MLP also established special sub-committees of the Labour Committees in each village to deal with the complaints and requests of the local inhabitants. A member of the sub-committee was generally available to the public for an hour or two every evening. All requests for assistance and complaints were discussed by the entire sub-committee, which would countersign the routine ones and send them along to the appropriate government department. More important matters were brought personally to the attention of the civil servant concerned by a member of the sub-committee. Complicated requests and serious complaints were forwarded to the District Committee, where they were discussed at the regular weekly meetings with the district MLA's, who might then take the matter up directly with the Minister. Civil servants, on the whole, handled complaints and requests for action from the Local Committees with much the same dispatch they would give a request from their Minister. Some Ministers even went so far as to instruct their Department Heads to ignore all complaints brought to them by private persons, especially parish priests. They were told only to act on those presented by the Local Committee.

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[1] Act No. XIV, 1955: 'An Act to Make Provisions for the Establishment and Regulation of an Employment Service.'

even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the 578
office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only
the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social 654
order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has 665
strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in 795
insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as though he were bent on overthrowing the established social order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of countries which have fought successful battles against the Church. Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are
beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, [205
'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the [656
Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose [668
by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

IV

But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly 578
united communities, life goes on and the social order does not 621
disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively
little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the 665
Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often 794
caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
571 to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
[651] is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion
[157] makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details
of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
454 normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
[593] call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a
few cases was it found that she was making any detailed attempt at budgeting for the expences of her home and family. As with the operation of the farm so with the home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an
[178] insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite
the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
178 Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully
accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its
basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[294] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as
possible, though the provision of the family's clothing, as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven to make clothes for the members of the grower's family, is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home
farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
[656] Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has
killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does
aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas, pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes, endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges, apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

*159 24 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments. Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 [656] The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". [433] [434] In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. *159 461 24 465 He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

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434
Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anglu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anglu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

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[712]
[551]
[656]
His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anglu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

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[432]
Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodders. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

*159
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Anglu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anglu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

CASE VII : Wenzu (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

* 159 Like Case VI, Wenzu has been a goat herder and is now
234 anxious to concentrate on dairy cows. At present he holds
4 Friesians, belonging to himself and his sons, but he wants
to import Ayrshires. This cow, says Wenzu, is better suited
to Maltese conditions, needing less feed than the
Friesian and standing up better to long periods of confinement
656 in cramped stalls. Wenzu became interested in cows
when the Government forbade the selling of raw goats' milk
in Valletta. For a time thereafter he sold bottled milk
in the capital and then returned to selling raw goats' milk
in still unclosed areas such as nearby Cospicua until that
too came to an end with the evacuation in 1940. After the
War he went back to cows' milk production and sold his output
654 to the M.M.U. He acquired the Friesians through an
exchange for inferior quality and diseased goats organized
by the Government (one cow for 13 goats). At present, he
says, cows' milk production is the more profitable ("Six
cows will support a small family") but that this would not
be so were it possible to give goats good grazing land at
low cost. He reckons that good grazing saves 15/- per day
on the fodder bill.

* 159 Wenzu's Case illustrates an important feature of the
829 study of a predominantly illiterate section of society.
This is the prominence of personality in the thoughts and
178 actions of the individual. Unable to read and suspicious
232 of what he may hear over Rediffusion, Wenzu relies on
242 personal contact to a very considerable degree. This is
clear from a brief survey of his life. He speaks nowadays
of a certain Dr. MacFarlane whose veterinary skill and
advice impressed him and who originally recommended him to
keep Ayrshires. To listen to Wenzu talking of this "Scots
Doctor" one gathers that Wenzu last spoke with him quite
recently. In fact, however, Dr. A.M. MacFarlane was
Superintendent Veterinary Surgeon in Malta some half a
century ago! A Mr. Hurst gave him advice on bulls some
25 years ago while, much more recently, Mr. Ebejer Slythe
of the Department of Agriculture gave him much valued information
on lucerne as a fodder and, latest of all, Dr. Godfrey
Alton, the veterinary expert, has become something of a help
for the injections he has arranged. Evidently, therefore,
any improvements in Maltese farming have a greater chance
of success if this element of personal contact - particularly
in the cases of illiterate farmers - can be established.
One man who will argue with one farmer for a morning on a
single topic stands a greater chance of general success than
has the big public lecture or even the practical demonstration.

his object, and on the standard being taken to be returned to the Grand Master, the cloth covered globe burst open and out came a flight of pigeons. 527 526 175

The Maltese never allowed either foreigners or soldiers to share the profits of the *cuccanja*.

This entertainment which has been suppressed since the reign of the Grand Master De Rohan (1775-1797) was a a source of great delight to the Maltese people. [656]

BOWLS

A game of bowls is a favourite pastime in Malta. 562

The players arrange themselves in sides of three or four each, and each man is usually provided with three bowls, which he marks differently for distinction.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

> 796 taught to wave, while the band plays the national anthem, 'God Save the King.' In the time of the Order they proceeded to the palace to receive permission for the celebration of the Carnival. Their request was signified to the Grand Master by one of the knights, and upon the boon being granted, they immediately performed a dance in front of the palace, and afterwards before the door of any other person, whom they thought would pay them for their trouble.
>
> 796 171 The origin of this amusement must be sought for in the annals of pagan rites, which Christianity has not succeeded in abolishing in several countries of Europe. In a work on Malta, *Par un voyageur François*, the author ranks it with a popular feast very ancient in Thessaly, the *Salzea* of the Babylonians, the *Chronia* of the Athenians, and the *Saturnalia* of Rome, which many of the early Christians continued, notwithstanding the zealous efforts which were made by the Church to abolish them."

796 656 [669] It will be noted that the public "masque" was regarded as "an absurd and foolish diversion." The "diversion" must at some time have proved rather more dangerous than absurd, for the wearing of masks after sunset is now forbidden by law. It is of interest also to note that an attempt on the part of a strict Sabbatarian Governor who hailed from north of the Tweed to abolish the merrymaking on the Sunday of Carnival led to a major civil disturbance which could only be quelled at bayonet point, and which is still remembered by those who are, for one cause or another, "agin' the Government!"

DYING

763 Zeppu's tired hands are at rest. They lie, brown and calloused, upon the coverlet. The village bell tolls urgently. The *fratelli*

CHAPTER XVII

Casals and Countryside

311 •656 342 OWING TO THE DENSITY AND RAPID GROWTH OF THE population, to the lack of soil and to the abundance of excellent building-stone, which not only takes on in the course of ages a beautiful patina but is easy to work, the proportion of Malta's built-up area to the area under cultivation is probably uniquely high. Unique is probably also the "Red Soil Law" whereby anyone about to erect a house is compelled to dig up and hand over to the Government (which removes it for him) any soil there may be on the site of the future structure, so that the precious earth may not be buried and lost for ever to the island's cultivators.

133 311. So precious is it that the smallest pockets, however inaccessibly they may be situated, are jealously conserved. Malta is low-lying—in the words of Tasso

> *giace Malta fra l'onde occulta, e bassa*

—and only on the thyme-covered cliffs of the south-western stretch of coast does it rise as high as 800 feet. These cliffs are wild and rugged and sheer, but here and there, as they drop precipitously to the sea, narrow ledges of earth-covered rock cling precariously to their face. But even these *redums*, as [342] they are termed—the like of which I have seen only on that hermit-inhabited spur of Mount Athos which is called Kerasia—are brought into use by the indomitable Maltese farmer of the locality, who sometimes lives in the caves beside them with his family and his animals as his Stone Age predecessor lived in them before him.

311 34 103 243 Thus every nook and cranny of these islands is eloquent of their past: towns; casals; little country chapels, farmhouses and isolated gateways, which are often adorned with

In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, The
346 visitor will likewise notice, let into the external walls of
692 churches, small marble slabs bearing the inscription:
778

NON GODE
L'IMMUNITÀ
ECCLESIASTICA

The tablets meant that the churches and chapels in question did not enjoy the right of ecclesiastical sanctuary, and their explanation lay in the fact that until well after the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ecclesiastical Courts in Malta exercised temporal jurisdiction over the clergy. It followed that their jurisdiction extended over all consecrated buildings, in which the civil authority was unable to exercise its
778 functions.
346 The next stage was reached when lay criminals sought
692 refuge in these "extra-territorial" churches from the arm of
● 656 the civil law. When the abuse tended to become serious the ecclesiastical authorities sought to minimize it by affixing the notice in question to various rural churches with the object of confining the right of sanctuary to the churches on which the inscription did not appear. But the right, even thus restricted, had clearly become an anachronism dangerous to the peace and good order of the country, and no longer tolerable. So in 1828 it was completely abolished by Governor Ponsonby by means of a Proclamation, whose preamble declares that:

> In consequence of certain privileges or immunities heretofore claimed as belonging to divers churches and other holy edifices and places in these islands, wicked and profligate men have often been tempted to commit murders, robberies and other atrocious crimes in the hope of escaping punishment by taking refuge in such places.

the underground granaries, shaped like vast jars, beneath the 251
open space between Valetta and its suburb of Floriana and
beneath a few other places, sealed with round stone lids and 178
still in use for conserving Malta's stocks of imported grain.

There are other links in Malta with the rule of the Order
of S. John. There survives, for example, from the days of 326
the Grand Masters an official known as the Consul for 656
Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, who is the appraiser of the 647
Government and impresses on Maltese silver its own hall- [178]
mark, the Maltese Cross, and on gold the crown or the Maltese shield. The Consul's office is housed on the ground-floor of the Monte di Pietà building in Merchants' Street. Opposite to it is the handsome Public Registry, with a tablet commemorating its reconstruction by Grand Master Zondadari. As if to compensate for the defacement by the French Revolutionaries of the Sienese Grand Master's escutcheon, his inscription was subsequently surmounted by a bust of George III, topped by the Royal Arms of that day.

In connexion with the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silver- 436
smiths it may be mentioned that the coinage of the Order remained legal tender in Malta until 1886, when by a Government Notice there were called in all coins of "the late Government of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem."[1]
The principal denominations of the Maltese coinage were
the scudo, the tari, the carlino and the grano or grain, which [178]
in Maltese were called *skut*, *rbighi*, *karlin* and *habba*; and not only the country people but all Maltese use to this day the old names to denote certain values in our modern coinage. Thus 2½*d.* is described as *tliet karlinijet* (three carlini); half a crown as *tmintax rbighi*, meaning eighteen tari; 1*s.* 3*d.* is invariably *disa' rbghajja*—that is, nine tari.

Malta has no longer a separate coinage of its own, but small bronze coins of one-third of a farthing, still known locally as grains, were struck at the London Mint for use in

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[1] The standard work on this interesting coinage is Canon Calleja Schembri's *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 2nd edn., 1910). [178]

436 Malta in the reigns of all the British sovereigns who have ruled in Malta from George IV to George V inclusive.

186 173 178 Let this chapter end with another survival, perhaps the most ubiquitous of all, although its origin antedates the arrival of the Knights by more than four hundred years. It is the red-and-white Maltese flag which is flown throughout the islands side by side with the Union Jack. Long-established tradition has it that the red and white were the colours of the Norman House of Hauteville, and that the flag and the corresponding arms are one of the legacies of Roger de Hauteville, Count of Sicily, Lord of Malta, to this smallest of his dominions. When, between the World Wars, it was suggested to Malta by the English College of Arms that the Colony should regularize its arms by formally recording them at the College, Malta replied that it had borne those arms for nearly three centuries before the foundation of the College by Richard III.

The position was ultimately adjusted with the College in 1943, when Malta's coat-of-arms received the honourable augmentation of the George Cross.

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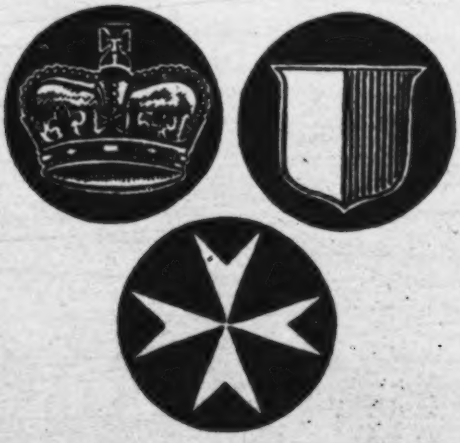

Malta Government Hall-marks for Gold and Silver

again. He came with all his Ministers and we spent two hours together. He failed to convince me that he was prepared to give the proper assurances that he would maintain law and order and I therefore accepted his resignation. 64 668

"So the people of Malta are now without an elected Government, and I, the Governor, am without Ministers. I have been forced into a position where I have had to take over control of the Administration, and I want to tell you now just what this means.

"First of all the Legislative Assembly will be dissolved and there will be a General Election at the earliest possible moment.

"Secondly, the Commissioner of Police, Mr Vivian de Gray, remains in command of the Police Force. I can tell you now that everything will be done to ensure the preservation of law and order and public safety in Valetta and indeed throughout these Islands. I trust that there will be no more disturbances and that the elections will be held in complete freedom as they should be in a law-abiding community.

"Thirdly, I want to make it quite clear that the salaries of civil servants and Government employees will continue to be paid without interruption. There will be no crisis over finance or employment.

"I appeal to you, therefore, to remain calm, to maintain law and order, and to go about your day-to-day business as usual.

"Once again I want to say with all the emphasis I can that I am determined to get things back to normal without delay. I want to repeat that free elections will be held at the first possible moment.

"Finally, I want to assure you all that the British Government and people have nothing but goodwill for the people of Malta and will do everything they can to see that you have a peaceful, happy and secure future. As Her Majesty the Queen's Representative in Malta I make that statement without reservations of any kind."

The same day were issued Proclamations dissolving the Legislative Assembly and prohibiting for a fortnight the holding of public meetings and demonstrations in Valetta and Floriana. [656]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

668 A post-war phenomenon from which Malta is not
immune is the Teddy-Boy, whose long locks and bizarre
579 dress as he lounges about the capital faintly recall, if only in
•656 caricature, the flowing curls and exotic clothes in which the
young Disraeli postured in the streets of Valetta in 1830.
[468] A one-day general strike called for the 28th April by the General Workers' Union as a "national protest" gave these and the late Prime Minister's other lawless supporters the opportunity for widespread rioting in which they demolished walls to make barricades and road-blocks, dislocated traffic, destroyed cars and other property and stoned the Police. One of the mobs wrecked and set fire to Zabbar Police Station. Nor was illegal action confined to the mobs. These received encouragement from above; two members of the Mintoff Ministry were convicted of intimidation and had their sentences upheld on appeal. The Police, no longer impeded in the performance of their duty by political pressure, behaved magnificently and with great restraint in the face of violent and sustained provocation.

In consequence of this disorder, whereby relatively small but carefully organized gangs of hooligans interrupted the lawful occasions of the vast majority of peaceful citizens, the prohibition of the holding of public meetings and demonstrations was extended for three months and applied to all Malta and Gozo. Another Proclamation declared a state of emergency which enabled the Governor to assume wider
[793] powers for the maintenance of public order and safety. The Archbishop condemned violence in a timely broadcast.

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642 With the elimination of factors making for trouble the
country settled down under the Governor's direct adminis-
648 tration, and by November 1958 Mr Lennox-Boyd thought
668 the time had come to initiate fresh discussions in London
between himself, Sir Robert Laycock and the leaders

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ir-rjus il-kbar, 'the big heads'. But if asked, a person will often 554
deny that such persons exist, and reply, 'Here we are all the same; 621
we are all from the village'. 793

II

The authority of the State is represented by the police, who are 625
formally responsible for law and order. Each village has a police
station manned by a small contingent of constables under a
sergeant. Several villages make up a police district under an
inspector. In Malta most policemen live outside the villages in
which they work. But it is usual for Gozitan constables stationed
in Malta to be quartered in the police stations to which they are
assigned.

In addition to their official duties of law enforcement, the police [659]
distribute voting certificates, help conduct censuses and give out [657]
the allotments of free food to old age pensioners and people on
relief.[1] They also perform many favours for local residents. They
help people fill out government forms, and occasionally allow the
station telephone to be used for private calls. They are sometimes 625
able to mediate in local disputes. Disputants very often report each 627
other for insults, threats or some minor infraction of the law –
throwing waste water and rubbish in the street is one of the most
common – thus hoping to strangle their enemies in its due process.
The police constable on duty is often able to reconcile the
disputants and persuade them to withdraw the charges and
counter-charges.

In general, the punitive role that the police are occasionally 625
forced to play is offset by their role as distributors of government
assistance and by their general helpfulness. District inspectors try
to avoid personal relations with the people in their districts since
they must prosecute all criminal cases, and personal ties might
prove awkward. Sergeants and constables, on the other hand,
normally maintain friendly social contact with the local inhabitants.
They are often invited for drinks during feasts and weddings,
and quite a number marry local girls. The Maltese police thus play

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[1] The government has distributed surplus U.S. agricultural products to different groups of needy people since 1956. This food was first secured through the Co-operative for American Relief to Everywhere, Inc. (C.A.R.E., Inc.) and more recently through the Catholic Relief Services of America. The Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare, not the police, selects the beneficiaries.

467 people to have the final say in the nation's vital means of pro-
duction.'[1] These policies have a general appeal to labourers and
665 are among the reasons for the party's popularity.

The Labour Party is closer to the worker than any of the other political parties. In this respect, its organization resembles that of the Church. As already noted, the MLP rests on its village and district organization. This has enabled the average worker to have a say of sorts, not only in his party's policy, but, when it was in power, also in the affairs of government. How he and his neighbours were able to manipulate the party structure to their advantage is a matter which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

● 657 During its period in office the Labour Party did much to
improve conditions for the workers and the poor. This is another
665 reason why many support it. It introduced many social benefits,
including the extension of medical services, regular allotments of
free food and social assistance allowances for the needy and aged.
[653] It also built many new schools, surfaced dusty roads and under-
took other large public works projects which gave employment
to many, besides benefiting the community. Moreover, the party
[242] did a great deal to improve agriculture by bringing in foreign
experts who set up an advisory service and introduced new crops
and techniques of cultivation. All these and the general atmo-
sphere of activity which permeated the Labour Government,
gained great popularity for the party and its leader.

665 There is yet another important way in which the MLP attracts many: it has attacked the established authority of Britain, the Church, the local captains of industry and the prosperous members of society. This outlook appeals not only to many poor and underprivileged persons, but also to the young and the uninfluential who are seeking to establish their personal independence and to make their mark on society. This opposition to authority and vested interests holds an attraction for many social 'misfits', such as the young 'Teddy Boy' element, the eccentrics and free thinkers. These find in the MLP a haven for their nonconformity to the social and moral teaching of the Church. Though social and religious stigma still attaches to them, many find it easier to bear in the company of others who have similar beliefs and problems. The Labour Party has thus provided social outcasts with a sense of

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[1] MLP manifesto. See Appendix B.

*175 744 urban growths of Hamrun and Sliema were centres of disease. The growth of urban and dockyard employment had not yet been accompanied by any striking educational improvements, and standards of personal hygiene barely tolerable in rural Malta became insupportable in the new towns. At the same time, the growing wealth and opportunities which made possible the new concentrations were not paralleled by similar rates of increase in Internal Revenue. The resulting shortage of capital available for public works delayed the construction of services until concern over conditions in the Garrison centres became acute. Between 1878 and 1886, a new system of drainage and flushing sewerage was constructed in Valletta, Floriana and the Three Cities, three-sevenths of the expenditure being provided by the military authorities. The 1897 sewerage extensions were similarly restricted to that area in which a financial vote could be subsidised by Imperial expenditure (Fig. 33). During this period also, the whole problem of water-supply first became acutely realised and under Chadwick (6) a water-use policy made an embryonic appearance. The 1909 proposals for island-wide sewerage were, significantly enough, for a sea-water flushing scheme, and in spite of depression-caused limitations public funds were made available for servicing the suburban areas of Hamrun and Birkirkara and the casal of Żejtun.

These and similar public works, limited in scale as they may now seem, were already having a controlling effect on epidemic disease by the end of World War I. In 1837 cholera killed 4,000 out of a population of c. 116,000; in 1917 fewer than a hundred people died out of a population which had doubled in size. Bubonic plague caused 4,600 deaths in 1813 but in 1917 only 3 mortalities followed a similar introduction of the disease. By the nature of her position and as a result of sea-borne contacts Malta has always been liable to the introduction of epidemic diseases. The nineteenth century intensification of urban and port activity which caused population concentration in a great conurbation, increased the external contact risk, made more acute the dangers of ignorance and low standards of hygiene but finally the associated expenditure of wealth derived from overseas, and improvements in domestic standards started a break-through into an epoch of adjusted and improved values placed on human life.

*175 658 ● In the educational field, progress was necessarily slower in that while public health measures were essentially a matter of providing physical services which previously did not exist, formal education had to be accepted *ab novo* by the great unlettered mass of the population, and secular public instruction had to meet the suspicions of the educated few associated with the Church-dominated, Italian-influenced University and academies (7).

British rule was followed by Government controlled education. The first elementary school was opened in 1819 and in 20 years' time there were 11. In 1842 the elementary school system was removed from the authority of the University, as recommended by the Royal Commissioners in 1838 (8), and its effectiveness was considerably increased. Even so, illiteracy was still high at mid-century (9) and the labouring classes still relied for information and guidance on the traditional sources - the Church and to a less extent the gentry.

The 1836 Commissioners noted a situation which is still not completely rectified (10). They blamed the educated classes for lack of initiative in permitting the continuance of an educational system which was geared to the training of priests, lawyers, doctors and civil servants and which virtually ignored wider social and technical needs. This same complaint was reiterated by Keenan in 1880 (11) and by Casolani, Director of Emigration in the 1930's (Chapter VI A). Through inertia rather than by deliberate act, the old social cleavage between the 'Two Nations', was being maintained.

*175 191 658 A prime difficulty was that of language. The Census compilers of 1881 commented thus on the root of the trouble (12): 'The Maltese ... form part of the European family, however they speak the dialect of a language belonging to an oriental people with whom they have no social tie nor connection ... As the dialect is confined to the Islands of Malta consequently very few literary productions are published in the vernacular, a circumstance which evidently does not favour the diffusion of instruction among the lower classes of the people.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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'The language ... is Oriental and the Education is given in English and in Italian.

'... the Boys and Girls attending the Elementary Schools belong generally to the poor Classes. Before these children can acquire a competent knowledge in any of the Languages taught to them, they are generally taken away by their parents in order to be apprenticed to some trade or employed in agricultural labour. Consequently the child ... forgets the Italian and English, foreign to him, owing to want of time and practice in reading and writing, and to his being also obliged to constantly speak and hear nothing but Maltese, the native dialect of kith and kin ...'.

Given this situation, a conflict was bound to rise between the claims of Italian and English, with, as we have seen, all that that implied in religious, constitutional and economic affairs. The measures advocated by Keenan and the policy of Savona, Director of Education at the crucial period, resulted in the consolidation of English as the language of instruction. Consequentially English, and more slowly Maltese, gained in importance as Italian declined. While Italian language and culture became the symbols of opposition to the Government, such opposition became less and less associated with general popular feeling. In 1842 less than 4,000 children attended all schools (13); by 1908 almost 18,000 attended the Government primary schools alone (14). In 1902 parents of school-children were asked which language they wished to have used for instruction; the results were striking (15):

Standards up to III - Questioned on basis of either Italian or English

	Malta	Gozo	Both
English	98.7%	87.5%	97.7%
Italian	1.3%	12.5%	2.3%

Standards V and VI - Questioned on basis of single or combined use of languages.

English only	71.2%
English and Italian	27.8%
Italian only	1.0%

By the end of the period under discussion, the policy of anglicisation was triumphant, misgivings regarding the position of the Church had been allayed, and the Maltese economy was firmly associated with the wealth and needs of the Garrison. The Constitutional impasse had no immediate relevance to the life of the people. That social life was still dichotomous, although on a less insular plane than it had previously been.

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167 by Australia, and 30 per cent. by the Maltese Government. In addition, the
Colonial Development and Welfare Fund has helped to finance vocational training
[658] schemes. Even so, as already noted, the burden and the irony of training and
sending away that part of the population which potentially is the most productive
[874] has been keenly felt in Malta. In 1954, 11,000 emigrants left the Islands, 9,793
under Passage Assistance Schemes, over 8,000 of these for Australia. Since 1955,
the policy of encouraging emigration has been implemented less vigorously and
the rates of departure have become strongly influenced by political dictates.
The social and demographic repercussions of fluctuations in policy need no
especial emphasis here.

In conclusion, we may consider the regional variations in emigration. Traditionally, movement tended to be from the countryside into the towns and thence outward from Malta. Exceptional was Gozo in that from villages such as Nadur a direct exodus was already well established in the nineteenth century. The position in recent years is shown in Fig. 63. The three regions with the highest emigration rates each have distinctive characteristics. The North is a newly-settled agricultural region. From its still relatively youthful population with a high birth rate, a larger than average proportion is fitted by reason of age and absence of ties for emigration. The south-eastern district of Birżebbuġa

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is uneasily superimposed on the traditional pattern. The part played by the Church during the 1956 Referendum on integration with the United Kingdom was most complicated. During the disturbances following the breakdown of Government in the spring of 1958, town and country, proletariat and bourgeoisie, Maltese Malta and Latinised Malta, all reacted differently. Over all responsible actions looms the knowledge that Malta is not a viable independency (4).

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As we have seen, education and language have been inextricably involved in politics (5). More directly important is the educational effect on the people as a whole of the system of public instruction. Under the leadership of Dr. Albert Laferla public education became vastly improved in all ways (6), and from his tutelage, more particularly after the Compulsory Attendance Act of 1924, came the generation of Maltese which now forms economically and socially the most important part of the population. After 1933, Italian ceased to be used as a medium of instruction, a standard Maltese orthography came into use (7), and the school system was expanded to meet the most obvious and immediate needs. Education was sadly disrupted by World War II but since that time has continued to improve in quality and range of facilities (8). Compulsory Education as distinct from compulsory attendance came into force in 1946, and in 1955 full-time education became the rule. Some 22 per cent. of children of school age still receive education in private, usually Church run, schools.

It is vital to realise the extent of the social and economic revolution implied in these developments. In the rural areas the change has been one from illiteracy to education within one generation. Even in the towns, and this is particularly true for the new growths associated with dockyard, manufacturing and service industry employment, thoughts and activities are being fundamentally affected by education for the first time in Maltese history. Contrasts between the levels of awareness of the value of formal education are considerable, and the full impact of technical education has yet to be felt - the first Government Technical School was opened in 1934. The chief contrast observable in the field however is between the two age groups, over and under 30 to 35 years of age. The former still contains many illiterate and therefore conservative people; the latter by reason of training as well as age is radical and impatient. The latter attitude is largely responsible for the drift from the land which encourages the domination of agriculture by residual conservatism.

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In the field of public health, skeletal public works services had been constructed before World War I. Recent developments may be regarded as logical extensions both in the sector of public works and in the field of medicine. As late as 1936 the judgment of the Chief Government Medical Officer was 'no scheme of sanitary reform ever met with greater opposition than the establishment of the modern sewer system in Malta' (9), but by 1955, about 270,000 or over 90 per cent. of the Maltese population lived in sewered dwellings, Żurrieq alone among the large villages remaining unserved. In parts of the countryside and in the smaller villages, dispersion of settlement renders prohibitive the cost of connection of each dwelling with the public sewers. The more isolated and the more rural areas are now the regions of lowest standards (Fig. 33).

Medical services, particularly in their relevance to the problem of high infant mortality, developed late and slowly (10). The most serious obstacles were those rooted in Maltese social life (11). The strength of the matriarchal tradition in Maltese household has meant that the ignorance of the oldest generation persists in imposing itself on the life of the youngest. Dirt, over-clothing and under-feeding, the indiscriminate and early use of farinaceous foods, all these were difficult to eradicate in overcrowded and grandmother-dominated conditions (12). The difficulty of educating in hygiene and personal health an indifferent and tradition-bound population proved insuperable and in 1939 the infantile mortality rate was as high as the average for the preceding 20 years.

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The final breakthrough occurred paradoxically during World War II. In 1943 and 1944 housing conditions and diet were worse than any experienced in peace-time but the death rate and the infantile mortality rate began to fall to record

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 179]

[p. 15]

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out 647
by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under
the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is
usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the [648]
interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation
from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads
were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants.
Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of
civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers
through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial
labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the government. [464]
They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This [162]
makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands.
Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the
principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open
competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration [621]
required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no
councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to
represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey
the wishes and commands of government to the people.
Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are
located in Valletta. Only the police represent government [625]
authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools [658]
for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most
villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a [744]
day under the supervision of a government District Medical
Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and [205]
branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour.
All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where [364]
it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

letters. His high standing in the village, and his contacts with 793
people of influence and power outside it, led people to turn to
him for advice. He was asked to represent them in their relations
with the outside world. In this capacity he served his parishioners
as lawyer, banker and business adviser. He was also the traditional
dispenser of charity.

The increasing literacy of the people and their ever-widening [212]
range of contacts outside the limits of the parish has somewhat [178]
reduced their dependence upon the parish priest. The State's
recent involvement in welfare and charity has further weakened [659]
it. But if this dependence has been reduced, it has most certainly
not been eliminated. Many still call on him to divide inheritances,
to argue their claims against the government or to plead with prospective employers, and not a few expect him to be able to secure
better roads, new schools, sewerage and playgrounds.

Thus the parish priest is the village's chief spokesman, and many 203
still refer to him as *il-principal tar-raħal*, 'the head of the village'. 793
The government has long recognized this, and makes use of him
as a convenient contact with the people. Each Sunday morning,
in addition to his own official announcements, the parish priest
reads from the altar government notices advising the people of
forthcoming elections, immunization campaigns, agricultural
extension lectures and so on.

But if the parish priest performs numerous services for his 793
parishioners, both individually and collectively, he has also the
power to refuse them. The sanctions with which he can punish [626]
disobedience are considerable. They range from declining to
write a good conduct certificate to denying absolution in confession. On the other hand, he has the power to give rewards for
services rendered. Aside from doing favours for people who have
helped him, he can appoint them to offices which confer prestige
and authority and, in some cases, are also financially rewarding.
All this serves to underline and reinforce his position as a leader
in the community.

Parish priests are usually outsiders, but the rest of the village clergy are natives of the communities in which they live. Unlike Catholic priests in Britain or the United States, who live in presbyteries, the diocesan clergy of Malta and Gozo live at home with their relatives. This means that they remain in constant contact with the village. They are often called on to take part in family

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catho-
lic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedi-
787 cated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
795 elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentle-
621 men'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
● 658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to dis-
seminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*.
He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storja Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
794 themselves responsible for much of the labouring work.
Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939); this in a parish which even ten years later had no more than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

175 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were
793 attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor)
871 Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became
Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was "sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
[671] elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this
still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

744 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for
793 by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone
759 himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of
175 1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest
of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6). As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social, as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the village, and another of the traditional functions of the Priest passed to specialist hands.

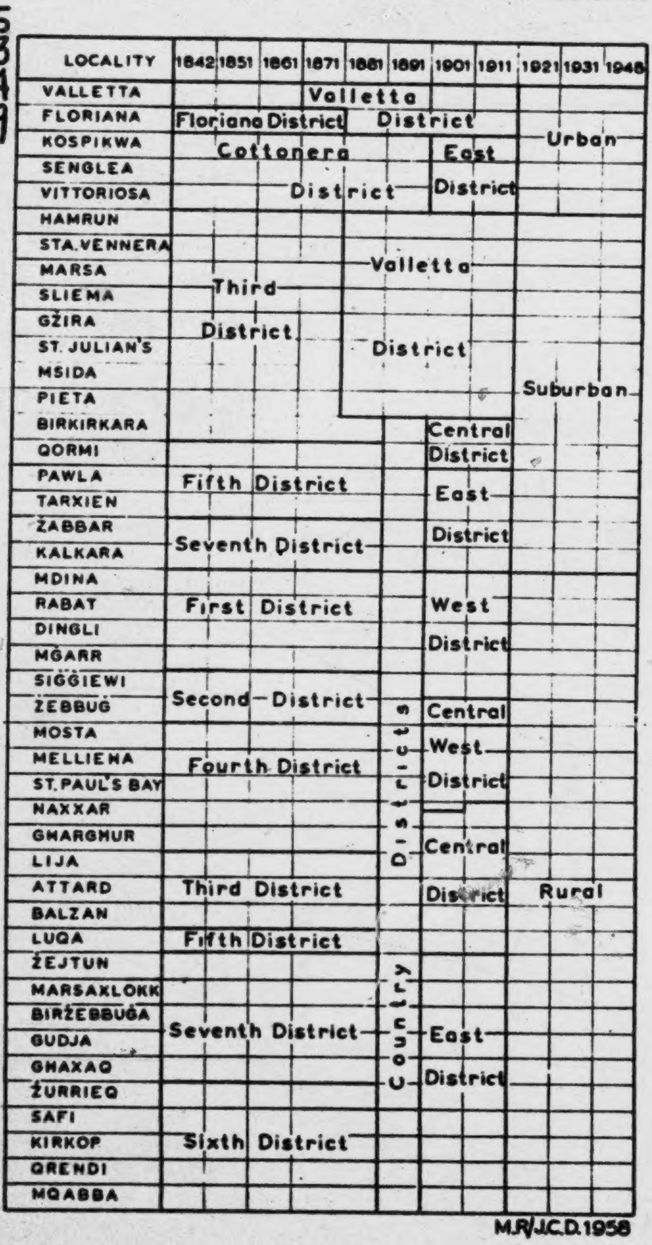
175 After this, interest was turned again to building and
346 the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out
344 in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the
[435] Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the
District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers themselves were responsible for a great deal of the building work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

*175
103
634
659

MALTA – GROUPING of LOCALITIES into CENSUS DISTRICTS



LOCALITY	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1948
VALLETTA				Valletta District					Urban		
FLORIANA	Floriana District										
KOSPIKWA	Cottonera District						East District				
SENGLEA											
VITTORIOSA											
HAMRUN	Third District				Valletta District				Suburban		
STA. VENNERA											
MARSA											
SLIEMA											
GŻIRA											
ST. JULIAN'S											
MSIDA											
PIETA											
BIRKIRKARA					Country Districts		Central District				
QORMI	Fifth District										
PAWLA							East District				
TARXIEN											
ŻABBAR	Seventh District										
KALKARA											
MDINA	First District						West District		Rural		
RABAT											
DINGLI											
MĠARR											
SIĠĠIEWI	Second District						Central West District				
ŻEBBUĠ											
MOSTA	Fourth District										
MELLIEHA											
ST. PAUL'S BAY											
NAXXAR							Central District				
GHARGHUR	Third District										
LIJA											
ATTARD											
BALZAN											
LUQA	Fifth District						East District				
ŻEJTUN	Seventh District										
MARSAXLOKK											
BIRŻEBBUĠA											
GUDJA											
GHAXAQ											
ŻURRIEQ	Sixth District										
SAFI											
KIRKOP											
QRENDI											
MQABBA											

M.R./J.C.D.1958

Fig. 36 Malta: Grouping of Localities into Census Districts.

[p. 134-C]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE POPULATION AFTER 1842

Manuscripts of the unofficial census of 1828 are no longer extant and details of this enumeration are available only at second hand in Miège's '*Histoire de Malte*' published in 1840. The first regular Census of the Maltese Islands was taken in 1842 and the second in 1851, to be followed by decennial censuses until 1931. The war prevented any enumeration in 1941, and the eleventh Census took place in 1948. 175* 161 659

Widespread illiteracy and the absence of penalties for non-compliance were obvious hindrances to accurate census-taking in nineteenth-century Malta. Thus the coverage of earlier censuses is unlikely to have been complete. The information asked for (20) has also been an extremely variable quantity (Table 26).

Table 26. Subjects covered in the censuses from 1861 to 1948.

Subject	Number of tables on each subject								
	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1948
Total Population			1	3	3	3	3	5	
Non-civilian Element			1	6	4	8	4		
Civilian Population									
Distribution and Increase	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	4
Ages	2	3	2	9	9	11	9	10	4
Marital Status	2	3	3	8	8	6	6	7	7
Occupations	2	2	3	5	5	4	4	4	33
Birthplace and Residence	2	2	7	10	10	9	9	10	11
Religion			2	2	2	1	1	1	
Housing of Families, Dwellings	2		2	5	4	4	4	5	16
Health and Vital Statistics	8	3	3	4	4	5	5	2	2
Asylums and Penal Institutions	1		6	4	4	4	4	3	
Maltese Abroad			1	1	1	1	1	1	
Miscellaneous	6[a]			10[b]	14[b]				16[c]
TOTAL Number of Tables[d]	10	4	30	80	83	67	61	62	96

a. Including four tables on the Judicial Courts.
b. All on Agriculture.
c. Including ten summary tables of all aspects.
d. This may not be the same as the total of the tables on each subject, since some tables cover more than one subject but have only been included under one heading.

The number of subjects dealt with has progressively increased, but few of the tabulations are strictly comparable for all censuses. In the nine censuses taken between 1861 and 1948, it is remarkable that not one tabulation has been preserved unchanged over the whole period. Apart from these variations in the scope of the census, there have been frequent changes in the number and grouping of the territorial units under which the figures are given (Fig. 36).

When considering population trends in the Maltese Islands, a good deal of confusion is also occasioned by the presence of a considerable non-Maltese element which produces fluctuations and changes in the pattern of population growth which are not characteristic of the Maltese people. This must always be borne in mind when considering the Census Reports which do not always make clear the distinction between the two groups. [563]

[P. 289]

Chapter IX

A. The Maltese Farmholding

423* 241 [464] For our purposes here we shall define a 'farmer' as 'the owner or holder of land which he cultivates', but will add the limiting clause, 'as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise'. There may be joint owners or holders but normally, even where a *'communio inter fratres'* has been established on the death of a parent landholder, one person will assume responsibility for the control of the enterprise. He is the farmer. His brothers, sisters, wife and children, if they assist in working the land, together with the non-family labour which he may employ are the farmworkers. The inter-relationships of family and work can, however, be much more complex than this simplification may imply.

423* The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers we shall term the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners, and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer. Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact that a holding may contain freehold, as well as various types of leasehold land. Within each holding there exists a loosely-knit collection of plots, which, through accident or design, have come to be in the occupation of one individual or group. Because of the geographical isolation of the plots, most of the holdings might, descriptively, be termed 'fragmented holdings'. Such holdings need not necessarily have acquired this characteristic through the process of *parcellement*; that is by splitting up of a holding into a number of non-contiguous plots. No generic connotation, therefore, should be attached to the purely descriptive use of the term 'fragmented'. In the following examination of the Maltese farm, this distinction between descriptive statements and analyses of processes will be maintained.

The physical size of a farm may be considered as the total area of land over which the farmer exercises sole rights of occupation for agricultural purposes. Fortunately, in the Maltese Islands, the matter is not complicated by problems of definition concerned with common land, as communal holding of land is effectively absent. But other problems do arise, since land is so variable in quality, ranging from fertile irrigated lands to soil-less karst, with many gradations in between. Most farms include land of more than one category and, especially in the north and west of Malta and the hard-rock areas of Gozo, many farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivator's point of view is useless.

The average size of farms has proved an elusive statistic for many writers. A figure of 3.7 acres was given to the Royal Commission of 1911-12. From 1921-36 the Blue Books continued to advertise the patent fallacy that only 236 holdings were in the 0-10 acre size range and that 10,864 holdings contained from 11-50 acres of land. However, in this context any average figure is very largely meaningless except for purely comparative purposes. The range is enormous; holdings less than 1 *tomna* are not considered as farms, but there are many holdings only slightly larger than this, while at the other end of the scale, farms of 200 *tmien* are not unknown.

423* 127 659 Much of the record concerning farm sizes is incomplete and, although the present response rate of over 97 per cent. to the annual Agricultural Census conducted by the Central Office of Statistics is excellent under the conditions prevailing in the Maltese Islands, it seems probable that earlier returns lagged far behind in this respect. Of the various sources, the Farm Register is probably the most accurate. It began with a Census in 1942 and was checked against another in 1944; for several years its details were consolidated by field survey.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 291]

and a small staff is still retained to endeavour to keep its material up to date. 423*

Quite apart from the varying accuracy of the censuses (and it is almost 127
impossible to assess the accuracy of the earlier ones), the analyst is faced with
other internal problems. In connection with the size of farms and the types of 659
land within them, different criteria have been used at different times: in 1891 423*
and 1901, land was classed as cultivated and uncultivable; in the Farm Register,
irrigated, semi-irrigated, dry- and tree-covered land are classed as cultivated 127
and the balance as waste; the surveys of 1951-56 specify dry, irrigated and idle 311
land, together with waste. How far these groups are comparable from period to period it is difficult to say. The 1956 Abstract provides a better picture, for here in addition to the analyses of dry and irrigated land considered separately, there is also a simple size analysis of holdings according to the amount of dry and irrigated land taken together. More closely comparable with the earlier analyses it is yet not identical, since wasteland and, presumably, idle land are omitted. The full significance of the size characteristics of Maltese farms emerges only when the relative proportions of the two classes of land, dry and irrigable, are studied. This material is presented later, in Table 38. However, useful preliminary points can be made on the basis of the earlier, simple size-range tabulations.

The size-range data are presented in Figs. 133 and 134 and relating to Malta 423*
and Gozo respectively; they are directly comparable except for the 1956 curve in the Gozo diagram which relates to cultivated land only. However it is unlikely that this discrepancy will seriously upset the validity of the diagram as a whole. A 1956 curve for Malta, based on similar figures, differs only in detail from that produced here for the period c. 1945.

The content of these diagrams is largely self-explanatory: each curve illustrating the number of holdings above or below certain critical size limits. In Malta, in the year 1891, almost 80 per cent. of all holdings were smaller than 40 *tmien*. Also in that year the median figure was 18 *tmien*.(5 acres) in Malta but 13 *tmien* (3¼ acres) in Gozo. Farms were already smaller in both islands by 1901 and, at the end of World War II, Maltese farms had become smaller than were the farms of Gozo 55 years earlier. In 1906, the median figure for Gozo stood at the very low level of 8 *tmien* (2¼ acres). When it is realised that, for all except Gozo 1956, these data include some 5-7 per cent. uncultivated land, a major problem in Maltese agriculture has been outlined.

It might be held that the decrease in the size of holdings simply reflects a general reduction in the farmed area as a result of urban expansion. However, later evidence will show that the process of *morcellement* has probably been continuous for at least 100 years, and it is uncertain whether, over this longer period, there has been a net increase or decrease in the area of agricultural land. Certainly, in the period 1850-80 large areas of wasteland, mainly Government Land, were let on long improvement leases. Although it is clear that some of this land, for various reasons, never became productive, and yet more has remained marginal in character, a quantity unknown has been permanently added to the cultivated area of the island.

However, from Figs. 133 and 134, it is clear that the reduction in the average size of the farm has taken place at all levels: large farms have become two or more smaller farms, while smaller farms have been reduced in size. The process is thus an integral part of local agricultural development: small farm units are not merely the product of external encroachment, which, by reducing the area of agricultural land also reduces the average farm size (assuming a constant farm population). The extension of non-agricultural uses is obviously a factor to be considered, but the total farm population has not remained constant; indeed, despite considerable emigration and movement to the towns, it has increased (Chapter VI A). The precise number of holdings at any one time is not readily ascertainable, as most records are known to be incomplete and there is no means of knowing how many farmers failed to make returns. However, the following Table 34 indicates the general trend:-

In the early years of its rule, Britain moved slowly but firmly to 175
restrict the authority of the Church. As one of its first steps, it 177
imposed a mortmain law which forced the Church to sell off
bequests of immovable property within one year. In 1828, it 648
abolished the right of sanctuary and restricted the jurisdiction of 659
the ecclesiastical courts to purely spiritual matters. Shortly after- 795
wards, the Diocese of Malta, until then subject to the Metropolitan of Palermo, was made directly dependent on the Holy See.

In spite of the inroads Britain made on the power of the Church, the relations between the two have, on the whole, remained extremely cordial. This friendliness has been due very largely to the considerable protection which Britain has given to the Church in Malta. To begin with, it is protected from the competition of other religions. The missionary activities of groups such as the Bible Society and the Salvation Army have been severely restricted. Moreover, the government reserves the right to ban public religious ceremonies by non-Catholics if they threaten to disturb the peace. Catholic precepts regarding education and marriage are also safeguarded, for education is on Catholic religious principles, and divorce and civil marriage are not possible under Maltese law. Furthermore, the Archbishop is accorded high honour, and in the jealously guarded order of precedence he is second only to the Governor. Both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo are exempt from the jurisdiction of the criminal courts.

In addition, the first Maltese elected government passed a law in 659
1922, declaring the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the 795
country. Article 161 of the Malta Criminal Code makes it a criminal 671
offence to vilify in public the Catholic religion or its ministers.[1]

Constitutional development in Malta has been a painful and 642
slow process; for it is not a simple matter to give representative 648
government to a fortress. The first constitution in 1835 provided for a council of government composed of five office holders, including the Governor and the Bishop, and three nominated dignitaries. Since then, there have been no less than nine different constitutions. Those promulgated before the First World War established an oligarchical system. Property restrictions on those allowed to vote and hold office resulted in elections by and for members of the landed, professional and merchant classes. Further-

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[1] Act XVIII, 1933.

notorious criminal whom the Nationalists hid until after the 665
elections, was later convicted, the accusation jarred the solidly 666
Catholic electorate and undoubtedly cost Strickland many votes.

In the years that followed this election, Malta was torn by an 659
unprecedented political struggle between the Strickland Government and the Church. Since this dispute in many ways foreshadowed the present conflict between the Church and the Malta Labour Party, it is worth while to examine it in some detail.

While Strickland was the leader of the opposition, he made frequent attacks, both from the floor and through his newspapers, on the priests sitting in the Assembly. He maintained that the clergy should not take part in politics. In doing this he made many enemies, for his attacks were often bitter and insulting. For example, he once offered a cash prize to the person who gave him the best reason for having the Bishop of Gozo removed from office. On another occasion, he announced that for a small sum of money, even a horse could become a Papal Marquis.

Relations between Strickland and the Church, already strained, deteriorated rapidly after he became Prime Minister. When the two monsignori who represented the Archbishop in the Senate voted against his first budget, he considered that the Church had declared war on him. This was followed by a public demonstration against the Archbishop. At the same time, Strickland also launched a blistering attack through his newspapers on the two clerical Senators. Following this, there was a whole series of petty disputes which culminated in the famous Father Carta case.

Father Carta, a Sardinian monk, had been sent to Malta by the Superior General of the Franciscan Conventuals to resolve a disciplinary problem in one of the Order's Maltese convents. He soon discovered that a certain Maltese monk, Father Guido Micallef, was one of the principal trouble-makers, and arranged for his transfer to the Order's house in Liverpool. At this point Strickland intervened. He asserted that Father Micallef was being exiled because he had supported the Constitutional Party in the 1927 elections, and refused to issue the necessary exit permit. The Church was furious at this interference in what it regarded as its internal affairs. In the wrangle which followed, both the Governor and the Archbishop became involved, Father Micallef was expelled from the Order and defrocked, and the Cabinet asked the Governor to petition the Holy See to investigate the incident.

● 654 A Papal Delegate visited Malta and concluded that the differences between the government and the Church could best be settled by means of a concordat. During most of the year following the Papal Delegate's visit, Britain tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a concordat and to get the Holy See to forbid the Maltese clergy to take part in the general elections scheduled for May 1930. The Vatican, however, declared that Strickland was not *persona grata* and that as long as he remained in power, a concordat was not possible.

In Malta, the relations between the Strickland Government and
the Church went from bad to worse. In April 1930, two Con-
stitutional Party Ministers gathered many sworn statements that
Monsignor Gonzi, the Bishop of Gozo, had instructed priests to
preach against the Constitutional Party and to refuse absolution
666 to its supporters. This inquiry greatly angered the Church. On the
659 first of May, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo issued a joint
648 pastoral which forbade people to vote for Strickland or those can-
[664] didates who supported him. In view of the spiritual sanctions that
[642] threatened people who voted for the candidates of one of the two
major parties, Britain had no option but to cancel the elections. It
subsequently suspended the constitution, but kept the Strickland
ministers on as advisers.

197 A Royal Commission went to Malta to investigate the trouble.
64 Following its report, Britain restored the constitution and
665 abolished the teaching of Italian in primary schools. In June 1932
656 the Nationalists defeated Strickland and his supporters in a bit-
terly contested election in which 96 per cent of the electorate
voted. However, their period in office was very brief. The
Governor dismissed them in November 1933 for deliberately
evading the constitutional provisions regarding language, for they
had set about to re-establish the primacy of Italian in the educa-
tional system and the civil service. Once again the administration
of the islands became the responsibility of the Governor.

186 During the fourteen years of Governor's rule which followed,
64 the deep wounds caused by the long, harsh political conflict
slowly healed. The first Italian bombs of the war finally killed the
language dispute. The united defence effort and the common
suffering caused by the prolonged bombardment further helped
to reunite political rivals and suppress parochial quarrels. Britain
awarded the people of Malta and Gozo the George Cross for

186 64 their heroism, and after the war restored representative government.

665 666 In the first election under the new constitution, the people voted overwhelmingly for the Labour Party, then led by Dr. Paul Boffa. But in 1949 a disagreement between Dr. Boffa and his Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction, Mr. Dom Mintoff, split the party. The Nationalists, with the support of Dr. Boffa's new Workers' Party, formed the next few governments. Dom Mintoff's Malta Labour Party gradually swallowed the Workers' Party and finally defeated the Nationalists in the 1955 general election.

659 There was almost constant friction between the Church and the Mintoff Government during the three years it was in office. From the outset, Mintoff showed himself reluctant to submit to the authority of the Church. His refusal to pay the traditional call on the Archbishop, Monsignor Gonzi, when he took office was symbolic of this independence. Many incidents contributed to the disagreement between the two, which grew more intense as both became more outspoken in their criticism of each other. Perhaps the most serious clash occurred over the Archbishop's stand on the Government's proposal to link Malta more closely with Britain. On the eve of a referendum concerning this proposal, Monsignor Gonzi made a broadcast in which he said that he could not support the integration proposal because Mintoff had failed (whether by design or circumstance is an open question) to secure adequate guarantees from Britain to protect the position of the Roman Catholic religion. In spite of this, the electorate supported Mintoff's proposal; but relations between the Labour Party and the Archbishop remained strained.

186 659 Then, shortly before he resigned, Mintoff sparked off a sharp dispute with the Church by hanging in the National Museum a painting taken from St. John's Co-Cathedral. Originally, the government had sent the painting, a Caravaggio, to Italy to be restored. But the government seized it when it returned and declared that since the Co-Cathedral was government property, the painting was a national treasure that should be properly cared for and displayed to the public. In the course of the acrimonious dispute which followed, Mintoff, who had appealed the matter to the Vatican, was ordered by the Holy See to return the painting. He finally returned it on the night before he resigned.

578 665 795 The relations between the Labour Party and the Church continued to deteriorate after the resignation; finally, in 1961, they gave way to open hostility. Both sides abused each other in the course of the election campaign. On 9th April the Church placed Mintoff and many of the Labour leaders under an interdict for their disrespect to the Bishop. A little over a month later, the Bishops issued a circular condemning the Labour papers. These sanctions intensified the conflict. Finally, just six weeks before the election, the Church, through the Diocesan Joint Council of Catholic Lay Associations, launched a massive campaign to persuade the people to vote against the Labour Party. The campaign was successful: the parties which the Church supported defeated the Labour Party at the polls, and the Nationalist Party took office.

578 ● 659 665 795 The reader will have noted the similarity between the course of the conflicts of Strickland and Mintoff with the Church. Both took place after relatively long (for Malta) periods of representative government. Both involved a series of rather petty disputes which became progressively more bitter and divided the country. Both culminated in the Church imposing sanctions which ultimately led to the electoral defeat of its opponents. In each case, approximately one-third of the population chose to face Church sanctions rather than abandon its political leaders. Most of the actual incidents which provoked the disputes were quite out of proportion to the conflict they created. To my mind, these incidents were symptomatic of the inherent conflict between an elected government and a Church which has long exercised great authority in both secular and religious spheres.

It is not my intention to make a detailed analysis here of the complex causes underlying the present conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. At this point it is sufficient to know that the dispute exists. In later chapters I shall be concerned with tracing its effects on the social organization of the villages. In the course of this study, it will also become apparent that there are conflicts between secular and religious interests in the villages which are quite unrelated to national political issues.

ir-rjus il-kbar, 'the big heads'. But if asked, a person will often 192 554
deny that such persons exist, and reply, 'Here we are all the same; 621
we are all from the village'. 793

II

The authority of the State is represented by the police, who are 625
formally responsible for law and order. Each village has a police
station manned by a small contingent of constables under a
sergeant. Several villages make up a police district under an
inspector. In Malta most policemen live outside the villages in
which they work. But it is usual for Gozitan constables stationed
in Malta to be quartered in the police stations to which they are
assigned.

In addition to their official duties of law enforcement, the police [659]
distribute voting certificates, help conduct censuses and give out [657]
the allotments of free food to old age pensioners and people on
relief.[1] They also perform many favours for local residents. They
help people fill out government forms, and occasionally allow the
station telephone to be used for private calls. They are sometimes 625
able to mediate in local disputes. Disputants very often report each 627
other for insults, threats or some minor infraction of the law – throwing waste water and rubbish in the street is one of the most common – thus hoping to strangle their enemies in its due process. The police constable on duty is often able to reconcile the disputants and persuade them to withdraw the charges and counter-charges.

In general, the punitive role that the police are occasionally 625
forced to play is offset by their role as distributors of government assistance and by their general helpfulness. District inspectors try to avoid personal relations with the people in their districts since they must prosecute all criminal cases, and personal ties might prove awkward. Sergeants and constables, on the other hand, normally maintain friendly social contact with the local inhabitants. They are often invited for drinks during feasts and weddings, and quite a number marry local girls. The Maltese police thus play

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[1] The government has distributed surplus U.S. agricultural products to different groups of needy people since 1956. This food was first secured through the Co-operative for American Relief to Everywhere, Inc. (C.A.R.E., Inc.) and more recently through the Catholic Relief Services of America. The Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare, not the police, selects the beneficiaries.

at the village level. While there are Labour committees in almost 575
all villages in Malta, not all of them have been successful in finding 665
club premises. Where clubs have not been opened, the active members usually meet in a café or a private house.

The role of the Labour committee or club in the social life of 575
a village is rather complex. The Labour club at all times is the 659
centre of the local Labour supporters. During the past few years
it has also been the centre of agitation against the established 665
authority of the Church, especially in so far as it touches on secular matters. During the three years following 1955 when the Labour Government was in office, these village committees were backed by the government. Committee members thus wielded considerable power, for they provided a direct link with the established authority of the State at the national level. The same was true, but to a lesser extent, of the agents of the Nationalist Party during its period in government.

V

The qualities which the Maltese themselves consider important 156
for a person to have in order to hold office are, of course, ideal 577
ones. As such, they may not all be present in the same person. The leader of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ summed these up for me as responsibility, willingness to work, courage and social status (*pożizzjoni*). Responsibility and willingness to work are self-explanatory.

Courage is a necessary quality since any person in a position to exercise some control over the action of others (especially in a society which stresses equality) is bound to be criticized by those over whom he exercises it, as well as by those who envy his position. Courage may be based on a desire to acquire power, and insensitivity to or failure to perceive criticism, or on an idealism which places the ultimate ends above the criticism of the means employed to attain them. I have known various village leaders whose courage was based upon one or more of these attributes. I have also met people who resigned from their offices because their motivation or insensitivity was not sufficiently strong to prompt them to carry on in spite of criticism. A former secretary of the social club in Kortin once summed up the reasons for his resignation with the proverb, 'Unfortunate is the one who gets

[p.55]

CHAPTER V

The Church and Village Politics

Most Maltese regulate their lives by the daily and monthly cycle of religious activities. The major divisions of the day are rung from the bells of the village church. They first ring the Paternoster half an hour before the first Mass. Then the Angelus bell rings a call to prayer at eight in the morning, at noon and at sunset. The final bell of the day is rung two or three hours after sunset, and is a brief request for the living to remember the dead in their prayers. The call of the Angelus is observed by many. When it is rung, work and conversation stop whether in a government office or a village café, men remove their hats, and someone among them leads them in a short prayer. In Gozo I have seen a busy square become suddenly silent and many people kneel in the street as the Ave Maria was rung at sunset. People also often kneel in the streets when the bells announce the elevation of the Host during a sung Mass, and during Benediction in the evening. And finally, late in the evening, clusters of relatives and neighbours can be seen sitting in their open doorways reciting the Rosary together before they go to bed. 796 805

Most girls and women and many boys and men attend one of the three or four daily Masses which are offered in all parish churches between four and seven in the morning. Virtually every one in the village attends one of the five or six Masses offered on Sundays. The few who do not attend are known to the village, and are the subject of gossip and other social pressure. Since the recent dispute between the MLP and the Church, however, their numbers are increasing. 184 796 [626] [659]

As the church bells mark the important hours of the day, so the principal divisions of the year are set out by the annual national and parochial religious feasts and processions. Besides being major religious occasions, they are eagerly looked forward to as recreational events. Though secular spectacles, such as political rallies, the government-run Carnival procession and, above all, the 796 [541] [655] [546]

none of these things. This study of village politics has thus been 795
largely concerned with parish politics. In this field the Church is the arbiter of all issues of policy. It is therefore the authority that hands down decisions on matters which concern the community; it is also the authority against which disappointed petitioners rebel.

II

At the national level, the picture is similar. Since the Church for 578
so long has represented the interests of a solidly Catholic people 654
vis-à-vis the State, it has always exercised considerable influence, if 665
not authority, in matters of national policy. Hence some groups
have often disagreed with its decisions. Both during the late 795
'twenties and early 'thirties and more recently, political parties have rebelled against its authority. Their rebellions have given rise to conflicts that have divided the country.

Though the Maltese do not regard this conflict as permanent, it would seem from its recurrence during Malta's only two periods of sustained representative government that it is, in fact, inherent in the social system. That is, it has followed almost inevitably upon the introduction of elected government into a society linked as closely with the Church as Malta is. Issues of national policy, which in countries where the Church is not such an integral part of society would be regarded as purely political and devoid of religious content, in Malta become matters on which the Church feels obliged to make known its views. Disputes arise when the views of a political party differ from those held by the Church. The party then accuses the Church of interfering in politics, and is in turn charged by the Church with being anti-clerical. Political issues become religious ones, or, seen from another point of view, religious ones become political. But in the dispute which follows, people from all walks of life are forced to make a choice between Church and political party. The resulting conflict divides the islands into bitterly opposed factions.

The persistence of this conflict, of course, is partly dependent upon the continuing survival of a political party at variance with the Church. In the past this was Strickland's Constitutional Party; at present it is the Malta Labour Party; in the future it may be yet another. The conflict which divided the country thirty years ago diminished after Strickland made peace with the Church; it

578 disappeared when the old Constitutional Party died out in the long period of Governor's rule and the war that followed. At present,
● 659 however, the MLP shows no signs of weakening. On the contrary,
665 it is as tightly united and strong today as it has ever been. Thus
795 this conflict will in all probability continue to divide Malta and Gozo in the foreseeable future, though its intensity may fluctuate.

It is well to remember that this study was carried out at a time
114 when the hostility between these two camps was at its peak. Some
578 of the examples that have been given, therefore, are extreme cases
659 which would have been quite inconceivable even ten years ago.
665 It is also possible that ten years hence they will appear equally
795 strange. But this does not detract from the relevance of the analysis, for if the examples given are ephemeral, the principles which they illustrate are permanent.

III

578 In many respects the rebellion of a political party against the
659 authority of the Bishop is similar to that of a festa partit against its parish priest. There is an important difference, however; the festa
665 partit can appeal an unfavourable decision of its parish priest to
795 the Archbishop. If the latter rules against the partit, it can bring pressure to bear that may result in the transfer of the parish priest. A political party, on the other hand, cannot appeal the unfavour-
[626] able decisions of the Bishop to any local authority, for in his diocese his word is law. Though in theory such disputes can be referred to the Holy See, in practice, as in the case of Strickland's conflict with the Church, they fester for so long that by the time Rome is brought in reconciliation is difficult, if not impossible. If in practice a political party cannot appeal to a higher authority, it can even less agitate for the replacement of the Bishop. Thus disputes remain unresolved and the supporters of the political party become progressively more anti-clerical. Finally, their anti-clericalism is equated with anti-Catholicism, and their rebellion against authority with revolt against the social order.

But is it in fact a revolution? It is important to draw a clear distinction between rebellion and revolution.[1] In the case of the former, people may turn against a leader personally, and may

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[1] Cf. Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 28.

even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the 578
office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only
the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social 659
order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has 665
strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in 795
insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as though he were bent on overthrowing the established social order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of countries which have fought successful battles against the Church. Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are
beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, 205
'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the
Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose 656
by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its 668
way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

IV

But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly 578
united communities, life goes on and the social order does not 621
disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively
little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the 665
Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often 794
caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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000 states. Alone with Gibraltar it runs a Lotto (with weekly
●659 drawings) as a Government Department. Until 1866 Malta's
525 Opera House was the Manoel Theatre, a little gem of a playhouse
368 built as the Court Theatre by Grand Master Manoel
de Vilhena in 1731 and believed to be the oldest theatre in
368 Europe. It is easy enough to appreciate how daintily graceful
545 it must have looked when the audience, arrayed in the
brocades and perukes of the eighteenth century, was
assembled to witness some comedy of Molière or Goldoni.
Later used as a cinema, it is now being scientifically restored
to its original form and purpose.

368 In 1866 the new Opera House, officially called the Theatre Royal, was completed at a cost of £60,000 just within Kingsgate, partly on the site of a dilapidated old bakery which has been identified with the house of the Turcopilier, title of the Pillar or Head of the Langue of England. In 1873 this building, which was designed by Barry, the architect of the Covent Garden Theatre, in a style which while dignified was entirely out of harmony with Valetta's prevailing architectural character, was seriously damaged by fire and was reconstructed at a farther cost of £20,000. Before its destruction in the Second World War it was the only theatre known to the writer where it was the rule for male members of the audience to attend the evening performances either in mess dress or in evening dress with decorations.

655 The Monte di Pietà, the Government pawnbroking
175 Department, was established at the end of the sixteenth
century and was housed in its present handsome office in Merchants' Street by Ximenes, the last but two of Malta's Grand Masters. Connected with the Monte di Pietà is an institution known as the Monte di Redenzione. In wandering about the island the visitor will occasionally encounter a building of the seventeenth or eighteenth century adorned with a shield representing three cones surmounted by the letter "R". These buildings constitute the property, now administered by the Government of Malta under a trust, of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

If the Church in Malta thus lost its right of granting asylum, 793
its Head acquired at an even earlier stage of the British occupation
another right which is carefully preserved to the present 659
day. In 1801 Major-General Pigot, then in charge of the 554
administration and in command of the troops, issued the following Standing Order to the "Garrison of La Valette and its Dependencies":

> His Eminence the Bishop of Malta is to receive from all guards honour due to a Brigadeer [*sic*] General.

When, after the First World War, the rank of Brigadier-General was abolished, the Archbishop of Malta was promoted, from the point of view of military compliments, to be a Major-General; and the guard never fails to turn out to him every day that he crosses the Palace Square.

It is sometimes said that the privilege was granted in recognition of the military services of Bishop Francis Xavier Caruana, who as Canon Caruana played a leading rôle in the rising against the French in 1798–1800. But this story is picturesque rather than probable, seeing that the salute to the Bishop was ordered in 1801 and Canon Caruana did not become Bishop of Malta until thirty years later. Its origin lay no doubt in the wish of the Occupying Power to demonstrate in a public manner its respect for the Church of Malta and its Head.

For the Roman Catholic Church is in Malta by law 795
established; its canon law is, as in Quebec, the law of the 659
land. It follows that contact between Church and State is
close, and this contact is not confined, on the part of the 796
representatives of the State, to relations with the hierarchy but is maintained equally with the parish clergy. The link finds its formal and public expression on the 2nd February of each year, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the ceremony of Candlemas, the "Candelora." On the morning of this day all the parish priests, wearing their best cassocks, repair to the Palace in Valetta, and one

795 by one, as the names of their parishes are called out, advance
659 to the Governor's throne and present to him a large and
heavy wax candle, generally embellished with painted
796 decorations.

This Candlemas ceremony has been maintained uninterruptedly from the days when the State was the Order of S. John; and the Governor takes this occasion, as did his predecessors the Grand Masters, to address the assembly on the problems of the day, with particular emphasis on the manner in which Church and State can best co-operate for the benefit of the people. It gives the Governor of Malta the same sort of opportunity, *mutatis mutandis*, to make public pronouncements on matters of policy as the British Prime Minister is given at the Lord Mayor's Banquet. A collation brings this happy and useful function to a close.

Here it may be added that the Governor retains, as the successor of the Grand Masters, certain ecclesiastical patronage, such as the nomination to the post of Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Malta and the right of presentation to various benefices. A survival of another sort from the days of the Knights is the religious corporation known as the Collegiate Church of S. Paul's Grotto at Rabat, whose Canons still wear at their ceremonies the habit, *stolone* and cross of the Order.

241 The principal industry of the Maltese islands is agriculture,
and the Maltese, despite the stony nature of their land, are
433 skilful and industrious farmers with a wonderful knack of
extracting the utmost from the soil, despite methods
necessarily somewhat primitive since their fields are too
small for modern agricultural machinery. Maltese potatoes
and Maltese oranges have a high reputation. Vegetables
are good, especially tomatoes; wheat does well where there
[439] is room to grow it. But the islands can produce only a
fraction of their annual consumption of cereals, and much
251 has therefore to be imported from outside. Among the most
178 familiar features surviving from the era of the Knights are

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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of July 1955, to avoid unemployment, the representatives of the Maltese people, in Parliament assembled, declare themselves absolved from their pacts and obligations towards the British Government, and from those so far assumed towards the Allies of that Government—this position to obtain for so long as the British Government fails to guarantee that the number of persons employed by the said Government in Malta shall not decrease before there is "alternative employment" for those discharged.

On this inauspicious note ended the year 1957 despite the patient efforts of the Government in London and of Sir Robert Laycock and his advisers in Malta to bring the protracted and often vexatious negotiations to a happy issue. The latter's task thereafter was made no easier by a Circular issued in February 1958 to Heads of Departments and all other Malta Government employees forbidding them on pain of disciplinary action "to make any verbal or personal contacts on any official matter with any member of the other side of the Diarchy" without the personal permission of the Minister concerned. In April these words were extended to cover "any official matter *or otherwise*." Thereby was created the anomalous situation that the islands' officials subordinate to the Mintoff Administration had to boycott those of the Maltese Imperial Government not only officially but socially, even to the extent of declining the Governor's invitations to dinner. Be it added that the embargo was far from being universally observed, while Ministers continued to seek direct personal contacts with the Imperial side of the Diarchy whenever it suited them to do so.

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In 1608 one of the greatest and most innovating painters of the Seicento, that Michaelangelo Amerighi who was better known from his birthplace as Caravaggio, spent some months of his short and disordered life in Malta, employed

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

by the splendid, vigorous and art-loving Grand Master Alof 175
de Wignacourt. Notwithstanding the Grand Master's 643
generous protection the 38-year-old artist soon made Malta
too hot to hold him. He was put in prison, escaped and died 532
in Italy within a year or so. But in the meantime Malta and 659
the world had become the richer by two pictures which he painted for S. John's Conventual Church in Valetta, the great Beheading of S. John the Baptist and the smaller S. Jerome. In 1956 these pictures, which had never before left the walls for which they were painted except to be put in a place of safety during the Second World War, were sent to Italy in a British man-of-war for restoration and for display at the Exhibition of seventeenth-century art held in Rome during the winter of 1956–57. Of this Exhibition, indeed, the larger picture provided the central attraction.

At the close of the Exhibition the pictures were brought 659
back to Malta, again in one of Her Majesty's ships, but to the general astonishment were forcibly impounded on arrival by the Maltese Government on Mr Mintoff's orders without previous notice and conveyed to the Museum despite vigorous protests from the ecclesiastical authorities. The Mintoff Government had clashed with the Church on other matters but there had been no inkling that its unpredictable leader had ever contemplated the transfer of these pictures to civil custody or the use of unilateral high-handed action to bring it about.

The state of tension with the Church created by this and other subjects of disagreement persisted for another year, that is to say until April 1958, by which time Mr Mintoff, now ready to break with the British Government, decided to clear the decks by making his peace with the Archbishop. As abruptly as he had seized the Caravaggios did he return them to S. John's, at the oddly chosen time of 1 A.M. on Sunday, the 20th April. On the following day statements were issued from the Archbishop's Palace and the Prime Minister's office declaring that good relations between the

Government and the Church had been restored.

Preface

This study was carried out and written shortly before Malta be- 121
came an independent nation. Its purpose is to present a descriptive [621]
analysis of Maltese village politics. In many respects these are quite
unusual, for in Malta, which has been administered as a fortress for
the last four centuries, there are no village headmen, mayors or
councillors to serve as links between their villages and the central
government. But in spite of the highly centralized administration 121
certain activities in the villages do play a part in the decision of both 621
local and national issues, though at first sight they may not seem to 66
be closely connected with politics as this is usually conceived. These
are political activities, for as Prof. Lucy Mair has observed, politics
is concerned with the ways persons and groups compete to influence the outcome of disputes and community decisions in accordance with their own interests.[1] The central problem can thus be divided into three major parts: first, to explore the relations between competing persons and groups; second, to examine the nature of the issues which concern them and the community; and third, to trace the channels through which they bring influence to bear on those who make the decisions.

After a brief sketch of Malta in time and space, I examine suc- 121
cessively the articulation of the State, the Church and the political parties with the villages, the ties of neighbourhood and family, the social composition of the villages, and the basis of leadership. Against this background I show how issues which originate within the Church, and in particular over the cult of saints, affect village social organization. I then look at the effects of disputes arising out of issues of national policy. Finally, I examine the channels of influence open to the villagers.

Throughout this study I have been exclusively concerned with describing and analysing the political life of the villages of Malta and Gozo. But it has occasionally been necessary for me to make brief excursions into the field of national politics, for because of Malta's smallness, national political disputes swiftly become issues

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[1] Lucy Mair, *Primitive Government* (London, Penguin Books, 1962), p. 10.

653 Another very important function the Local Committees performed
during the period the MLP was in power was to obtain
665 improvements for the village. Requests for drainage, new roads,
street lighting and, above all, new schools, were submitted to the
District Committees. There the proposals were screened and given
priority ratings by the committee members and the district
MLA's. When these projects were implemented, and a large number
were, the Local Committees naturally received credit for
them. This added to their claim to represent their villages, and
strengthened the formal structure of the party.

647 This system of handling patronage and complaints gave the
villager a direct contact with authority. It was a fairly simple
662 procedure, and many considered it reasonably impartial, though
665 of course it did help to be a member of the Labour Party in good
standing. Moreover, the complainant, even though he might
not succeed in his cause, had the satisfaction that it had received
attention, and it did not cost him a nice fat rabbit. This does not
578 mean that there was no abuse. Civil servants complained that they
647 were often intimidated by zealous MLP members who threatened
to report them to their Ministers if they did not comply as
66. requested. This friction was particularly keen between the Local
Committee members and the village police, street sweepers and
teachers. One head teacher I knew was particularly bitter about
his caretaker, who was a member of the village MLP committee.
The caretaker would stroll into the head teacher's office if he disagreed
with the disciplining of a child, for example, and threaten
to report him to the Minister if he did not lighten the punishment.

647 But on the whole, the MLP made a concerted effort to take
665 patronage out of the hands of canvassers and MLA's alike and channel
it through the various committees of the party apparatus.
662 This not only strengthened the party, it also won it considerable
popularity. Moreover, it relieved MLA's and Ministers of a heavy
administrative load; they were only called in on the more complicated
matters. In short, the Local Committees came to function
as branches of the government.

When the Labour Government resigned in 1958, the MLP clubs and committees lost the influence they had with government. They once more became merely propaganda and social centres. But the role they had played for three years in representing the interests of government at the village level and in

557 662 666 does not rest easily until he has repaid it. This is as true of corporate groups such as the band clubs as it is of individuals Frequently the financial circumstances of the client, or the very nature of the favour, make it difficult or impossible for him to meet his obligation. His vote, and those of his family, provide the logical and accepted means to this end. This extends the relationship between patron and client to include that between politician and constituent.

66 Candidates who do not have the professional qualifications or high status necessary to recruit a following in this way are at a disadvantage. This is especially true for many of the Labour Party candidates, whose education and social standing at times compare unfavourably with those of their rivals. It was principally to overcome this handicap that the Labour Party sought to strengthen the party at the expense of individual candidates. It did this by limiting the system of political patronage which prevailed under previous governments and curbing the influence of the canvassers. In fact, the MLP officially forbade its candidates to employ canvassers. (Though, of course, many candidates have informal canvassers in their friends, relatives and clients.) At the same time, the party directed its propaganda at building up the image of the party and its leader. Labour supporters were constantly urged to vote for the party and not for individuals. By and large its campaign has been most successful. Its sympathizers not only vote for candidates who do not conform to the traditional image of the professional patron-politician, but they also vote across class lines, i.e. the teacher voting for an ex-dockyard fitter.

578 621 665 666 All candidates have to take into account the parochial rivalries which often cut across their districts. This is particularly true of the rivalry between the festa partiti. It has been noted that there is often a political polarity between festa partiti in the same village, and that sometimes the rivalry is so strong that partisans vote against a political party simply because a leading member of the rival partit is a candidate for it. But the number of people who place loyalty to their festa partit before support of a political party is declining. Nonetheless, if parochial rivalry no longer determines which party will get the votes, it very often decides which of the candidates within the party will. Many people have assured me that it is almost unheard of for a member of a festa partit to vote for a member of the rival partit, even though both support the

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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same political party. Thus a politician who is also a leading 621
member of a festa partit always asks a rival candidate from his 665
party to come to his village and canvass the party votes from the 666
opposite festa partit.

Most people believe that politicians trade promises to assist 621
festa partiti in return for votes. One well-known Labour politician 66
who is the leader of the secondary festa partit in his own village, made such a promise to gain the support of a neighbouring secondary partit that was facing eviction. In return for the votes of the partit, he offered to introduce a bill into the Legislative Assembly which would prevent landlords from evicting band clubs. The proposition appealed to the partit and the bill, which [671] gained a great deal of support for the Labour Party from other clubs as well, became law.[1] In fact, it was one of the first laws the MLP enacted after it was returned to office in 1955. Partly as a result of his promise of assistance, but also because of his keen interest in the problems of secondary festa partiti, this candidate became so identified with this neighbouring partit that he had to ask MLP candidates from the other side of the electoral district to bid for the Labour votes of the members of the opposite partit. He naturally asked them to canvass the Labour votes of the titular partit in his own village as well.

But perhaps the most famous case of this kind, and certainly the most conspicuous, took place in Gozo. For many years the supporters of the Leone partit in Rabat had been embarrassed by the fact that the statue of their beloved patron could not be taken in processions from the cathedral. There was simply no way for her to pass through the walls of the old citadel in which the cathedral was situated. The members of the partit wished to remedy this by breaching the wall and making a large gate, but the Antiquities Board strongly opposed the idea. Finally, an ambitious MLP candidate came to their rescue. He is alleged to have promised them help if they voted for him. Whether the deal for votes is true I do not know. I do know, however, that the politician was elected and succeeded in having a huge new gate torn in the historic citadel. That he did this at public expense, against the orders of his [626] Ministers and in defiance of the Antiquities Board, is evidence of his ingenuity and single-mindedness. Of course, it might also have

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[1] Act V, 1955: 'An Act to Amend the Reletting of Urban Property (Regulation) Ordinance.'

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626 been due to the amount of pressure that the partit brought to
66 bear on him.

V

666 But popularity, close contact with the electorate and the support of his party and festa partit are not always enough to assure the success of a candidate. In order to understand why this is so, it is necessary to examine the electoral process. The system of voting which has been used in Malta since 1921 is proportional representation with the single transferable vote. The country is divided into ten electoral districts, each of which returns five representatives to the Legislative Assembly. The districts are based on population density, and each averages about 15,000 registered voters. A candidate need not be resident in a district in order to stand for election there, and he can stand in two districts at the same time. If he is successful in both, he relinquishes one seat, which is then filled by a member of his party chosen in a by-election. At the polling booth each voter is given a ballot paper listing all the candidates standing in the district, and is required to rank them by placing a number against the name of each, to indicate the order of preference. After the polling is finished, all the ballot boxes from a district are opened simultaneously and the ballot papers mixed. The votes are then counted. As each paper is opened, a single vote is credited to the candidate to whom the voter has given first preference. This is the first count. A candidate is declared elected if he receives a certain proportion of the total number of votes cast.[1] After the first count the candidate with the lowest number of votes is eliminated, and his votes are redistributed in accordance with the second preferences. The votes are then retotalled for the second count. The candidate with the lowest number of votes is again eliminated, and his votes are redistributed for the third count. The elimination of candidates and the redistribution of their votes continues until five candidates receive the required quota of votes.

Few candidates are elected on the first count, for the first preferences of the voters are generally distributed among a large number. First preferences reflect the popularity of a candidate and the size of his following, but the secondary votes he receives are

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[1] This quota, the Droop quota, is one plus the total number of votes cast, divided by the number of seats (5) plus one.

662 to switch to the party with best chance of success, for they know
666 that if he is elected, he will channel patronage to them, often at
the expense of the rest of his electoral district.

This system of voting also encourages contests between can-
578 didates from the same party. Such contests, carried out in public
● 66 and in the heat of a campaign, often create hostility among the
leaders of the party, and weaken its solidarity.

Finally, because this proportional system makes it possible for
popular minority candidates to be elected, it encourages dissident
factions to hive off from the major parties and found new ones.
665 This seriously weakens the parent parties. Thus, although the only
political division of real importance is that between the supporters
666 of the Archbishop and those who favour Mintoff, there are now six political parties in Malta. It is not surprising therefore that the minority parties, and Miss Strickland's Progressive Constitutional Party in particular, are strongly in favour of retaining the present electoral system. Without it they would not be represented. The Malta Labour Party, which favours a strong two-party system, would prefer to see substituted an electoral system which would eliminate the smaller parties and strengthen the major parties. The Nationalist Party, although it would benefit from a change in the electoral system which would eliminate many of its rivals, has remained relatively silent on this point. This is because most of its leading members are patron-politicians of the old school. They owe their political life and the influence they command to the electoral system which has enabled them to build their own personal political organizations. The Nationalist Party is a party of respected and influential men, but in their strength lies its weakness. It is a party of politicians, rather than a politician's party. Dr. Borg Olivier, the Nationalist Prime Minister, is a first among equals; he does not lead his party in the sense that Mintoff leads the Malta Labour Party.

In short the Maltese system of proportional representation
[578] facilitates the emergence of minority parties. It also weakens the
major parties by promoting intra-party rivalry and helping to
keep alive the tradition of local patron-politicians. These factors
642 militate against the development of a strong central government.
It can be argued forcefully that Malta, which is facing a critical
66 period in its economic and constitutional development, is now in
greater need of a strong central government than ever before. It

would therefore seem that as this need becomes more pronounced, 642
and as the Maltese voter gains in sophistication, there will be 66
increasing pressure to change the present system of voting to one which strengthens the national government rather than weakens it.

VI

In addition to personal kin ties, patrons, political parties and 664
politicians, pressure groups provide yet another way by which the villager can influence authorities outside his community. By bringing interest groups from one village into contact with similar groups in other villages, they permit united action for the resolution of common problems. The band clubs and football [575]
clubs have active national associations. Village lay apostolate [794]
societies have their own national bodies as well as the Diocesan Coordinating Junta, a powerful body which has now become one of the strongest forces opposed to the MLP. In view of the important part it and the other Church societies played in defeating the Labour Party in the recent election, they will probably be able to provide a channel of contact with the Ministers and anti-Labour MLA's. Some have already begun to apply pressure to obtain playgrounds and public conveniences for their respective villages.

Even the festa partiti have their associations. The Association 621
of Secondary Feasts works to obtain new Church privileges for its 664
members. It is opposed by the Association of Titular Feasts, which 794
has formally advised the Archbishop that if he grants privileges to the secondary partiti, its members will stop celebrating the titular feasts.

Finally, there are also a number of trade unions. Though most 467
have no village level organization or representatives, and play no 664
direct part in village politics, some, in particular the General Workers Union and the Gozo Agricultural Co-operative Society, a large proportion of whose members live in the villages, play an important part in national politics. They thus provide another channel through which persons at the village level can influence decisions at the national level.

CHAPTER I

Introductory

MY EIGHT CROWDED YEARS OF LIVING AND WORKING IN 114
Malta—preceded by two brief halts as a temporary Naval Officer towards the end of the First World War—taught me a little about Maltese affairs and conditions, perhaps as much as a mere sojourner may expect to absorb in less than a decade. And the more I discovered about Malta and the Maltese, the better I grew to like both. What I then acquired, and retain, was an affection neither uncritical nor undiscriminating but based on the beginnings of understanding, I hope, of a small but complex community. I should be glad to think that something of what I have learned about and feel for those two remarkable little islands has found expression in the following pages.

This book is not a guide, it is not a handbook, it is not a 121
history, it is not a collection of personal reminiscences, even 123
if a personal note may be faintly audible here and there. It 66
is above all not a commentary on Malta's politics, although
I had my fill and more of these during my eight years.
Twice during this period was Self-Government suspended [114]
and twice did I assume departmental charge under the Governor of the civil administration (having been concerned during Self-Government only with the Imperial side of the diarchy), a type of experience common enough among politicians returning from the wilderness to office but rare to the verge of uniqueness among Civil Servants. And there were other experiences scarcely less unusual.

Nor were Maltese politics of mere local, parish-pump 121
range. Even in Homeric times Malta was looked upon as 66
"the navel of the inland sea"; and the winds that blow upon it from every quarter, the cross-currents that buffet its rocky

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

121 shores, are composed of more than the physical elements of
66 air and water. The implications and repercussions of Maltese
politics when I had experience of them were unfortunately often international and sometimes politico-ecclesiastical (these can be very prickly); not infrequently they impinged upon the most fundamental constitutional principles. For the relations between Church and State have given rise to controversies that have troubled Christendom since the Dark Ages; other Maltese problems were equally deeply rooted in a long and complicated past. Their implications and repercussions bore, in fact, a striking resemblance in certain directions to those of politics in the Palestine of the Mandate, where I had previously served. Happily the Maltese scene lacked one factor—the ambiguity of the established policy—which in Palestine made an administrator's life a hell on earth; in other respects politics in Malta could be almost as corrosive, almost as pervasive. But they will not pervade this book, nor even enter it except occasionally for the sole purpose of *constatation*, that untranslatable word.

121 These, then, are the things which this book is not. I find it less easy to state what it is. I have called it an "Account and an Appreciation" because I can think of no better definition of what I have tried to do in the chapters that follow. A reviewer of one of my previous books remarked that Malta was the only part of the Mediterranean about which I had not written. At least I have now repaired that omission, if omission it may claim to have been.

114 The book was begun in Malta, continued in Barbados,
[128] finished, of all places, in the Straits of Magellan, the eye-witness account of whose discovery, written by Antonio Pigafetta, a Knight of the Order of S. John, was dedicated to Philippe Villiers de L'Isle Adam, the first Grand Master of the Order to reign in Malta. I left Malta in 1938, whisked from the land-locked Mediterranean, where from choice I had served during most of my career, to the greatest of the oceans, the Pacific, at the other side of the globe. Since my

557 patrons; others have established fairly close contact with them
602 through business relations.

The patronage of the parish priest has traditionally been im-
557 portant. Not only are all villagers his spiritual clients, but he is
793 also a source of charity and assistance in many fields. He serves his parishioners individually in the capacity of legal adviser, character reference and often also as letter-writer and banker. He frequently argues their claims against the government. He also represents the interests of the community at large, and attempts, often successfully, to obtain improved public amenities such as new roads, street lighting and so on. At least, this is the role that he occupied until the introduction of representative government.

III

557 Influence through the networks of personal relations and patrons
is the traditional method of handling contacts with authority. It
662 still operates when representative government is in abeyance. But the advent of elected government introduced a new set of relations, and provided a new focus of power. Political parties and professional politicians provided new and surer channels of influence and sources of patronage, though they have not replaced the old ones. The villager now uses both old and new channels, separately or together.

The organization of all parties, at least before Mintoff reorgan-
662 ized the Labour Party, was rather simple. Party interests were
665 represented in the villages by personal canvassers or party agents, as well as by the candidates themselves. The old Labour Party under Paul Boffa had a number of village party committees. When the party was returned to power, patronage and influence flowed abundantly, and brought the whole structure into vigorous life. The canvassers became important people who could pass along requests and schedule appointments with the local MLA's
[464] and even the Ministers. They also helped the local MLA's prepare the lists of people who were to be given jobs, for until 1955 most
[653] of the lower-grade industrial labourers with the Public Works Department were employed upon the recommendation of the local MLA's. Politicians who held office before 1955 often told me that making out the employment rosters and dealing with the daily queue of job-seekers were among their most difficult and

time-consuming tasks. To help as many as possible, they often 662
made up new job rosters every few months. 665

Canvassers would often expect presents for their work as intermediaries and for the favours they promised or secured. By and large, the party agents or canvassers were not popular figures, at least in retrospect. I came across many accounts of how they had exploited their positions to enrich themselves. The usual story was that they had accepted gifts – a rabbit, some chickens, a bottle of whisky or even cash – but had not assisted as they had promised. These tales may or may not be true; I had no way of checking. It is significant, however, that persons of all political colours, including former Ministers and MLA's, believe them to be true.

Mintoff's government did much to change the course of the 647
stream of political patronage. To begin with, shortly after it came 662
into office in 1955, the MLP passed a law which made it compul- 665
sory for those seeking employment with the government as
industrial labourers to register with the Department of Emigra- [656]
tion, Labour and Social Welfare.[1] There they had to wait their [653]
turn. This took away from MLA's a considerable source of patron- [464]
age. The MLP also established special sub-committees of the Labour Committees in each village to deal with the complaints and requests of the local inhabitants. A member of the sub-committee was generally available to the public for an hour or two every evening. All requests for assistance and complaints were discussed by the entire sub-committee, which would countersign the routine ones and send them along to the appropriate government department. More important matters were brought personally to the attention of the civil servant concerned by a member of the sub-committee. Complicated requests and serious complaints were forwarded to the District Committee, where they were discussed at the regular weekly meetings with the district MLA's, who might then take the matter up directly with the Minister. Civil servants, on the whole, handled complaints and requests for action from the Local Committees with much the same dispatch they would give a request from their Minister. Some Ministers even went so far as to instruct their Department Heads to ignore all complaints brought to them by private persons, especially parish priests. They were told only to act on those presented by the Local Committee.

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[1] Act No. XIV, 1955: 'An Act to Make Provisions for the Establishment and Regulation of an Employment Service.'

653 Another very important function the Local Committees per-
formed during the period the MLP was in power was to obtain
665 improvements for the village. Requests for drainage, new roads,
street lighting and, above all, new schools, were submitted to the
District Committees. There the proposals were screened and given
priority ratings by the committee members and the district
MLA's. When these projects were implemented, and a large num-
ber were, the Local Committees naturally received credit for
them. This added to their claim to represent their villages, and
strengthened the formal structure of the party.

647 This system of handling patronage and complaints gave the
villager a direct contact with authority. It was a fairly simple
● 662 procedure, and many considered it reasonably impartial, though
665 of course it did help to be a member of the Labour Party in good
standing. Moreover, the complainant, even though he might
not succeed in his cause, had the satisfaction that it had received
attention, and it did not cost him a nice fat rabbit. This does not
578 mean that there was no abuse. Civil servants complained that they
647 were often intimidated by zealous MLP members who threatened
to report them to their Ministers if they did not comply as
66. requested. This friction was particularly keen between the Local
Committee members and the village police, street sweepers and
teachers. One head teacher I knew was particularly bitter about
his caretaker, who was a member of the village MLP committee.
The caretaker would stroll into the head teacher's office if he dis-
agreed with the disciplining of a child, for example, and threaten
to report him to the Minister if he did not lighten the punishment.

647 But on the whole, the MLP made a concerted effort to take
665- patronage out of the hands of canvassers and MLA's alike and chan-
nel it through the various committees of the party apparatus.
662 This not only strengthened the party, it also won it considerable
popularity. Moreover, it relieved MLA's and Ministers of a heavy
administrative load; they were only called in on the more com-
plicated matters. In short, the Local Committees came to function
as branches of the government.

When the Labour Government resigned in 1958, the MLP clubs and committees lost the influence they had with government. They once more became merely propaganda and social centres. But the rolè they had played for three years in representing the interests of government at the village level and in

7

forwarding the requests and complaints of the villagers to govern- 647
ment had greatly increased their strength, and that of the party
they represented. As the members operated as a formal com- 662
mittee and not as individuals, they had the esteem and respect of 665
most of the community. They also had considerable power in
local affairs. In fact, for three years the leaders of the Labour [554]
group in the village ranked alongside the parish priest and the professionals as the most prominent and influential citizens of the village. The canvassers of the rival parties had perhaps had power, but they had never had respect. Theirs was always rather an underhanded operation, that was often disowned by MLA's when they were confronted with it. The MLP, on the other hand, delegated responsibility to Local Committees, and the Ministers legitimized them by openly working through them in all their relations with the villages. Villagers were also openly encouraged to work through them. These committees thus served the ends of the Labour Party most successfully. It is quite likely, therefore, that in the future other parties will find it politically as well as administratively expedient to develop and work through village committees patterned on the model so successfully tested by the Labour Party.

The party system has come into direct conflict with the tradi- 578
tional relations between patron and client at relatively few points. 647
This is largely because most patrons who desired to were able to
move successfully into the new field of party politics. A notable 662
exception are priests, who are no longer permitted by their 665
Bishops to stand for national political office. Their power to 793
influence authority has thus been weakened by the new source of patronage and influence open to their parishioners. In particular, parish priests came into open conflict with the village MLP committees during the Labour Party's time in power after 1955. Not surprisingly, their clash at the village level mirrored the dispute between the Archbishop and the MLP at the national level. That is, it was a conflict between the religious authority of the Church and the secular authority of the State, represented in the villages by the Local Committees of the Labour Party. Both the parish priest and the Local Committee claimed to represent the village, and both sought by mobilizing their supporters to advance their claim at the expense of their opponents. This invariably resulted in a struggle for power during which the Labour supporters were

578
647 accused of being anti-clerical and against the Church because they
● 662 opposed the will of the parish priest.

665 Shortly after Mintoff took office, the Local Committee in
793 Kortin made plans to open a new avenue into the village. The
scheme, first projected by government planners over sixty years
578 before, was designed to ease the flow of traffic through the village
and provide a wide, tree-lined promenade leading to the main
647 square in front of the church. Unfortunately, the project required
653 the demolition of four buildings, two of which were small
665 chapels used as warehouses for the festa decorations. Because of
793 this Dun Bert, the parish priest, bitterly opposed the scheme, as had his predecessors. He claimed that most of the village supported him. The Labour Committee, on the other hand, felt that it had the backing of the village, and went ahead with the project. The road was finally opened, and it proved to be a great success. But the two small churches were destroyed, and the relations between the Labour group and the parish priest remained hostile. Six years later, Dun Bert and his supporters were still pointing to the avenue as positive proof that the Labour Party is fundamentally opposed to the Church.

IV

463 But if the political parties have modified the traditional system of
665 patronage somewhat by providing a new channel of influence for
the villager, the professional politician of today is by and large the same traditional patron. That is, the successful politicians are largely drawn from the professional classes; they are still the doctors, the lawyers, the architects and the chemists. Indeed, until recently the lists of candidates often read like directories of the professional classes. This situation prevailed until about the time of the Labour Party split in 1949, when virtually all the professional class Labour MLA's sided with Dr. Boffa and formed the Workers' Party, while most of the MLP Executive and the rank and file supported Mintoff. After this the Labour Party asked people from all classes to stand as candidates, and began to push up working-class leaders trained in union and club politics. But the politicians from the professional class still heavily outnumber their working-class colleagues, even in the Labour Party.

Table 8 below illustrates this. Of the fifty MLA's elected in the

1962 elections, three-fourths are members of the professional 463
classes. The remainder are persons who, for the most part, have 665
risen to positions of influence through party and trade union hierarchies.

TABLE 8. Occupation of Candidates Elected to the 1962 Malta Legislative Assembly [162]

OCCUPATION	POLITICAL PARTY				
	Nationalist	*Labour*	*Other*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Professional	24	9	5	38	76
Administrative	1	4	2	7	14
Skilled Labour	—	3	2	5	10
Total	25	16	9	50	100

The way a political candidate recruits a following depends upon 666
his status and party. All candidates recruit support through their relatives and friends; and all usually have a following in their own villages outside this circle of relatives. To get this, they must usually be successful politicians at the village level. It is for this reason that so many politicians are also presidents of local band and social clubs, and even of some of the lay apostolate societies. Next, every candidate must establish contact with the people in his electoral district outside the village. Since there are usually at least five candidates from each party standing in every district, each normally concentrates his campaign on one part of the district. He does this by making frequent rounds of all the band and social clubs and important wine shops in his territory. There he listens to complaints and requests and, in general, tries to establish a reputation as a generous and approachable person without committing himself to do specific favours. But above all, it is important for him to meet many people, for the Maltese voter does not like to give his first vote to a person he, or at least some member of his immediate family, does not know personally. Finally, all candidates tour their districts just before the election and make speeches.

Candidates who are doctors, lawyers, notaries, architects and 557
so on, have a decided advantage. As professionals, they already 662
have close personal contact with a large number of clients, many
of whom are bound to them by debts, or obligated to them for 666
help and favours. These obligations are important, for the Maltese villager does not like to receive something for nothing, and he

557 does not rest easily until he has repaid it. This is as true of
662 corporate groups such as the band clubs as it is of individuals
Frequently the financial circumstances of the client, or the very
666 nature of the favour, make it difficult or impossible for him to meet his obligation. His vote, and those of his family, provide the logical and accepted means to this end. This extends the relationship between patron and client to include that between politician and constituent.

66 Candidates who do not have the professional qualifications or high status necessary to recruit a following in this way are at a disadvantage. This is especially true for many of the Labour Party candidates, whose education and social standing at times compare unfavourably with those of their rivals. It was principally to overcome this handicap that the Labour Party sought to strengthen the party at the expense of individual candidates. It did this by limiting the system of political patronage which prevailed under previous governments and curbing the influence of the canvassers. In fact, the MLP officially forbade its candidates to employ canvassers. (Though, of course, many candidates have informal canvassers in their friends, relatives and clients.) At the same time, the party directed its propaganda at building up the image of the party and its leader. Labour supporters were constantly urged to vote for the party and not for individuals. By and large its campaign has been most successful. Its sympathizers not only vote for candidates who do not conform to the traditional image of the professional patron-politician, but they also vote across class lines, i.e. the teacher voting for an ex-dockyard fitter.

578 All candidates have to take into account the parochial rivalries
which often cut across their districts. This is particularly true of
621 the rivalry between the festa partiti. It has been noted that there
665 is often a political polarity between festa partiti in the same village,
666 and that sometimes the rivalry is so strong that partisans vote against a political party simply because a leading member of the rival partit is a candidate for it. But the number of people who place loyalty to their festa partit before support of a political party is declining. Nonetheless, if parochial rivalry no longer determines which party will get the votes, it very often decides which of the candidates within the party will. Many people have assured me that it is almost unheard of for a member of a festa partit to vote for a member of the rival partit, even though both support the

critical to his election. Successful politicians repeatedly stressed to 666
me the importance of carefully cultivating secondary preferences.
As one put it, 'The first preferences keep you from being eliminated, but the secondary ones elect you.' The votes a candidate 662
gets on subsequent counts are the result of his ability (i) to bargain 666
with other candidates for the secondary preferences of their followers, and (ii) to set up a network of personal canvassers to secure these secondary preferences from the supporters of candidates who do not wish to release them to him. One technique that all candidates use is to encourage popular village figures to stand as mock candidates for vote-getting purposes. The understanding is that the politician is to receive their secondary preferences if they are defeated, as they usually are, since they are not generally known outside their villages. In exchange for these votes, the professional politician generally offers to pay the mock candidate's election expenses, or if elected to procure some favour for him, or both. This technique has resulted in an extraordinary number of candidates contesting every election. In 1955 a total of 140 candidates from three parties contested 40 seats; in 1962 there
were 302 for six parties and 50 seats. Thus voters, many of whom [212]
are illiterate, are faced with a bewildering choice of candidates arranged alphabetically on ballots that are sometimes three feet long.

Another way for a candidate to gather secondary votes is to exchange secondary preferences with a rival. Occasionally a candidate tries to play both ends against the middle. That is, he promises his second votes to more than one of his rivals in exchange for theirs. This works very well for him if his rivals are eliminated before he is, but if he goes first, the official record of the distribution of his votes soon shows up his duplicity.

While this system of voting assures representation to all shades of political opinion, it works in several ways against the development of a strong two-party system. To begin with, it is ideally suited to the needs of the traditional patron-politician with his own localized, semi-private political organization of canvassers, mock candidates and clients. The present system of voting in combination with this organization assures him that many votes will be funnelled in to him. In the past these personal organizations ensured the re-election of politicians even if they changed parties. In fact a politician's supporters sometimes encourage him

662 666 to switch to the party with best chance of success, for they know that if he is elected, he will channel patronage to them, often at the expense of the rest of his electoral district.

This system of voting also encourages contests between can-
578 66 didates from the same party. Such contests, carried out in public and in the heat of a campaign, often create hostility among the leaders of the party, and weaken its solidarity.

Finally, because this proportional system makes it possible for popular minority candidates to be elected, it encourages dissident factions to hive off from the major parties and found new ones. This seriously weakens the parent parties. Thus, although the only
665 political division of real importance is that between the supporters
666 of the Archbishop and those who favour Mintoff, there are now six political parties in Malta. It is not surprising therefore that the minority parties, and Miss Strickland's Progressive Constitutional Party in particular, are strongly in favour of retaining the present electoral system. Without it they would not be represented. The Malta Labour Party, which favours a strong two-party system, would prefer to see substituted an electoral system which would eliminate the smaller parties and strengthen the major parties. The Nationalist Party, although it would benefit from a change in the electoral system which would eliminate many of its rivals, has remained relatively silent on this point. This is because most of its leading members are patron-politicians of the old school. They owe their political life and the influence they command to the electoral system which has enabled them to build their own personal political organizations. The Nationalist Party is a party of respected and influential men, but in their strength lies its weakness. It is a party of politicians, rather than a politician's party. Dr. Borg Olivier, the Nationalist Prime Minister, is a first among equals; he does not lead his party in the sense that Mintoff leads the Malta Labour Party.

In short the Maltese system of proportional representation
[578] facilitates the emergence of minority parties. It also weakens the major parties by promoting intra-party rivalry and helping to keep alive the tradition of local patron-politicians. These factors
642 militate against the development of a strong central government.
66 It can be argued forcefully that Malta, which is facing a critical period in its economic and constitutional development, is now in greater need of a strong central government than ever before. It

C. Constitutional and Social

175 642 During World War I the political situation in the Islands remained amazingly stable. The re-imposition of bureaucratic rule by the Governor removed at least some of the opportunities for dispute. The departure from the political scene of Mizzi and Strickland also removed some of the personal animus that had appeared in the political conflict. During the war, the Maltese manpower contribution in labour battalions and on ship was considerable, and the security of the naval base was never questioned. After the cessation of hostilities there followed economic dislocation and in 1918 15,000 Dockyard workers were discharged, only 5,000 of whom had been re-engaged by 1920. Partly as an ameliorative measure accompanying others more directly valuable, and partly as a liberalist appreciation of services rendered, a new constitution was established in 1921 and further liberalised in 1928.

The 1921 constitution provided for bicameral representative and responsible government. The Governor in Council retained limited but reserve powers although no very clear separation was made between domestic and imperial affairs. For some years relative stability was maintained and political parties, major and minor, began to crystallise. Unfortunately for Malta the issues that had already developed (see Chapter V B) survived and, with the resurgence of nationalism in Italy and the logical extension of the process of anglicisation, all the old suspicions and enmities reappeared. The party which was to become termed 'Nationalist' became the protagonist of the still dominant upper middle-class and professional group and of those who saw the position of the Church threatened by the waning of Italian cultural supremacy. In 1920 a permanent Board of Education was created and in 1924 the Compulsory Attendance Act ensured a certain minimum of attendance once a pupil was registered. Although the Church schools remained independent, the growing dominance of English and to a lesser extent Maltese, and of secular education finally sparked off that antagonism to change which existed. In 1927 Lord Strickland returned to lead a party committed to hasten such change. Once again conflict of interests became acute and after a temporary suspension of the constitution in 1930, it was finally revoked, legally in 1936, in fact with effect from 1933 when Italian finally lost its position as one of the official languages (1). To an outsider, now as then, the period appears tragic in that it is characterised by pre-occupation with affairs of little relevance to the needs of most Maltese. The social and cultural dichotomy within the Islands was maintained.

An attempt to restart constitutional development was made in 1939 by the creation of a representative council but World War II forced a return to centralised government particularly during the state of siege. After hostilities had ceased a fresh approach to the problem was made, much in the spirit of 1920, and in 1947 the Constitution which was in force until 1958 was promulgated. It provided for single chamber Legislative Assembly of 40 members. Party government through an Executive Council advised the Governor. He, as head of the Imperial Government, alone had executive and legislative power in those reserved 'matters touching the public safety or defence', advised by a Nominated Council. In practice, this 'dyarchical' system depended on a logically impossible understanding and appreciation of the division of interests between reserved and non-reserved, imperial and domestic, affairs. Nevertheless, and as realised by the subscribers to the Report on the Round Table Conference in 1955 (2), some reservation of power to the Imperial Government is inevitably necessary.

642 664 Since 1947, the cumulative effects of economic change have transformed the local political scene. There are now over 150,000 enfranchised voters and political power has slipped out of the hands of the upper middle-class. The most succinct statement of the platforms of the various modern political parties as they were before 1958 and probably still are in essence may be found in the Round Table Conference Report (3). To us, the most important feature of the contemporary political scene is the way in which the modern political cleavage

642 664 is uneasily superimposed on the traditional pattern. The part played by the Church during the 1956 Referendum on integration with the United Kingdom was most complicated. During the disturbances following the breakdown of Government in the spring of 1958, town and country, proletariat and bourgeoisie, Maltese Malta and Latinised Malta, all reacted differently. Over all responsible actions looms the knowledge that Malta is not a viable independency (4).

658 178 As we have seen, education and language have been inextricably involved in politics (5). More directly important is the educational effect on the people as a whole of the system of public instruction. Under the leadership of Dr. Albert Laferla public education became vastly improved in all ways (6), and from his tutelage, more particularly after the Compulsory Attendance Act of 1924, came the generation of Maltese which now forms economically and socially the most important part of the population. After 1933, Italian ceased to be used as a medium of instruction, a standard Maltese orthography came into use (7), and the school system was expanded to meet the most obvious and immediate needs. Education was sadly disrupted by World War II but since that time has continued to improve in quality and range of facilities (8). Compulsory Education as distinct from compulsory attendance came into force in 1946, and in 1955 full-time education became the rule. Some 22 per cent. of children of school age still receive education in private, usually Church run, schools.

It is vital to realise the extent of the social and economic revolution implied in these developments. In the rural areas the change has been one from illiteracy to education within one generation. Even in the towns, and this is particularly true for the new growths associated with dockyard, manufacturing and service industry employment, thoughts and activities are being fundamentally affected by education for the first time in Maltese history. Contrasts between the levels of awareness of the value of formal education are considerable, and the full impact of technical education has yet to be felt - the first Government Technical School was opened in 1934. The chief contrast observable in the field however is between the two age groups, over and under 30 to 35 years of age. The former still contains many illiterate and therefore conservative people; the latter by reason of training as well as age is radical and impatient. The latter attitude is largely responsible for the drift from the land which encourages the domination of agriculture by residual conservatism.

744 178 In the field of public health, skeletal public works services had been constructed before World War I. Recent developments may be regarded as logical extensions both in the sector of public works and in the field of medicine. As late as 1936 the judgment of the Chief Government Medical Officer was 'no scheme of sanitary reform ever met with greater opposition than the establishment of the modern sewer system in Malta' (9), but by 1955, about 270,000 or over 90 per cent. of the Maltese population lived in sewered dwellings. Żurrieq alone among the large villages remaining unserved. In parts of the countryside and in the smaller villages, dispersion of settlement renders prohibitive the cost of connection of each dwelling with the public sewers. The more isolated and the more rural areas are now the regions of lowest standards (Fig. 33).

Medical services, particularly in their relevance to the problem of high infant mortality, developed late and slowly (10). The most serious obstacles were those rooted in Maltese social life (11). The strength of the matriarchal tradition in Maltese household has meant that the ignorance of the oldest generation persists in imposing itself on the life of the youngest. Dirt, over-clothing and under-feeding, the indiscriminate and early use of farinaceous foods, all these were difficult to eradicate in overcrowded and grandmother-dominated conditions (12). The difficulty of educating in hygiene and personal health an indifferent and tradition-bound population proved insuperable and in 1939 the infantile mortality rate was as high as the average for the preceding 20 years.

178 722 744 The final breakthrough occurred paradoxically during World War II. In 1943 and 1944 housing conditions and diet were worse than any experienced in peace-time but the death rate and the infantile mortality rate began to fall to record

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 179]

659 A Papal Delegate visited Malta and concluded that the differences between the government and the Church could best be settled by means of a concordat. During most of the year following the Papal Delegate's visit, Britain tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a concordat and to get the Holy See to forbid the Maltese clergy to take part in the general elections scheduled for May 1930. The Vatican, however, declared that Strickland was not *persona grata* and that as long as he remained in power, a concordat was not possible.

In Malta, the relations between the Strickland Government and
the Church went from bad to worse. In April 1930, two Con-
stitutional Party Ministers gathered many sworn statements that
Monsignor Gonzi, the Bishop of Gozo, had instructed priests to
preach against the Constitutional Party and to refuse absolution
666 to its supporters. This inquiry greatly angered the Church. On the
659 first of May, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo issued a joint
648 pastoral which forbade people to vote for Strickland or those can-
[664] didates who supported him. In view of the spiritual sanctions that
[642] threatened people who voted for the candidates of one of the two
major parties, Britain had no option but to cancel the elections. It
subsequently suspended the constitution, but kept the Strickland
ministers on as advisers.

197 A Royal Commission went to Malta to investigate the trouble.
64 Following its report, Britain restored the constitution and
665 abolished the teaching of Italian in primary schools. In June 1932
666 the Nationalists defeated Strickland and his supporters in a bit-
terly contested election in which 96 per cent of the electorate
voted. However, their period in office was very brief. The
Governor dismissed them in November 1933 for deliberately
evading the constitutional provisions regarding language, for they
had set about to re-establish the primacy of Italian in the educa-
tional system and the civil service. Once again the administration
of the islands became the responsibility of the Governor.

186 During the fourteen years of Governor's rule which followed,
64 the deep wounds caused by the long, harsh political conflict
slowly healed. The first Italian bombs of the war finally killed the
language dispute. The united defence effort and the common
suffering caused by the prolonged bombardment further helped
to reunite political rivals and suppress parochial quarrels. Britain
awarded the people of Malta and Gozo the George Cross for

They must live together in specially designated premises under 792
the discipline of their order, and they are subject to the authority 793
of their provincial or superior. As we shall see, the position that [162]
the clergy occupy in society and the nature of their work is to a
very considerable extent determined by their sheer numbers. In [554]
1957 there were 1,229 diocesan priests, friars and monks and 1,588
nuns in Malta and Gozo.[1] In addition to these, in 1958 there were
approximately 220 friars and monks and 200 nuns studying
abroad or working as missionaries or chaplains to communities of
migrants.[2]

There are a number of associations which occupy important 664 ●
positions in the structure of both the diocese and its constituent
parishes. At the diocesan level the most important of these are the 793
College of Archpriests and Parish Priests, which acts as a pressure 794
group in the interest of its members; the Cana Movement, which runs courses for engaged couples, a marriage advisory council and a clinic; and the Social Action Movement, which is trying to establish trade unions. There is also the Diocesan Junta, or Diocesan Council of Catholic Lay Organizations. This body, on which most of the diocesan and parochial societies are represented, is an important pressure group. As already noted, it played a leading part in bringing about the defeat of the Malta Labour Party in the 1962 elections.

Many associations, though organized at the diocesan level, have 794
semi-autonomous branches at the parish level. These can be roughly divided into the lay apostolate associations and the devotional societies. The lay apostolate groups have been organized so that 'the Church will be able to exercise its direct and indirect action in all the fields: religious, cultural, technical, family, workers' movements and others.'[3] These societies are usually divided by age and sex, and except for the Society of Christian Doctrine, all are run by village priests who are responsible to the parish priest. These chaplains and the lay leaders generally work out an active programme of lectures, good works and outings. Many of them take part in religious processions and, in general, support the work of the parish priest. Together with the clergy,

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[1] *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Economic Activities* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), p. 45.

[2] Charles G. Vella, ed., *The Catholic Directory of Malta and Gozo* (Valletta, Archbishop's Palace, 1958), pp. 273–308.

[3] François H. Houtart, *in* Vella, p. 311.

III

A previous chapter set out the hierarchical organization of the 79
Church. It was observed that rank was determined by seniority in 292
combination with certain marks of honour conferred by eccle- 293
siastical authorities in recognition of merit. Besides rank, these honours often bestow the right to certain external signs, which are much prized. The many religious processions and ceremonies provide occasions on which parishes can display their symbols of rank to outsiders. For example, the Canons of a Collegiate church wear distinctive ceremonial robes, and are permitted to carry a huge silver mace in processions as a sign of their church's rank. They add a great deal of colour and pageantry to the religious processions in which they are invited to participate. An old man once described Collegiate churches to me as 'the ornament of all other parish churches', and added, 'where there are no Canons, there is nothing in a procession.' The clergy of a church which has received the title of Basilica may carry in procession a huge red and gold damask umbrella. They are also permitted to carry a bell, to wear gold buckles on their shoes and, on certain occasions, to say Mass facing the congregation. As with the title Collegiate, the title Basilica can only be bestowed upon a church by Papal sanction. In Malta it has been given only to the Collegiate churches of Senglea and Birkirkara, to the churches of Mt. Carmel and St. Dominic in Valletta, and in Gozo to that of St. George in Rabat.

The bestowal of honours is not in fact determined by merit 79
alone. In view of their importance as symbols of excellence, they 626
become counters in the competition between parishes and be- 628
tween parish associations. Their acquisition is thus a matter of 664
great concern to the entire community, and often becomes the subject of political action. That is, persons and groups try to influence those who make the decisions in relation to their bestowal. Through their network of personal relations, leading village figures, including the priests, try to influence the Bishop and the monsignori who surround him. They also bargain with these authorities, and if an unfavourable decision is handed down, they may resort to an open show of disrespect towards the Bishop – by smashing his coat of arms, for example – to signal their dissatisfaction and so attempt to force him to reconsider their

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claim. The final decision is thus made in response to a great many pressures. The honour usually goes to the contender who can present the best case and apply the strongest pressure. This is normally the largest and most influential of the groups competing for the honour. Thus the number and degree of honours bestowed on any group are roughly equal to its social importance to the community of which it forms part.

The current dispute in Gozo over the bestowal of the title of Basilica on the church of St. George provides an excellent illustration of the length to which the pursuit of such honours may be carried. For many years the Collegiate Chapters of Nadur and Xaghra unsuccessfully sought to obtain this title for their respective churches. During that time the Bishop had been able to avoid having to commit himself. In Nadur many believed that their church would be the next in Gozo to become a Basilica as a compensation for certain privileges which were modified some thirty years ago. The people of Xaghra, for their part, were also under the impression that their church would become the first Basilica in Gozo.

The claims of Nadur and Xaghra were not the only ones. There was also that of the new parish which the Bishop had created around the church of St. George in Rabat. Many argued that this new parish should take the lowest position in the diocesan table of precedence. But the new parish was located in the island's capital, and many of Gozo's most influential citizens had been instrumental in bringing about its creation. Moreover, the church of St. George was one of the oldest in the diocese. In brief, the thought of their parish having an inferior rank to that of the small rural parish of Munxar, hitherto the lowest-ranking parish, was distasteful to the townsmen. As a Basilica the church of St. George could take precedence over all other parishes and occupy a place immediately before the Collegiate Chapters. The partisans of St. George were in an excellent position to make their voices heard in the Curia, and late in 1958 the title was formally bestowed upon their church. The people of Nadur and Xaghra, led by their disappointed Canons, reacted with great vigour. The abuse and violent action that resulted were as insulting to the Bishop as anything that the Labour Party has been accused of directing at him or at the Archbishop of Malta.

Nadur and Xaghra all but severed relations with the Curia.

Both boycotted the annual festa of St. George, and in 1961 some 79
hot-heads in Xagħra even erected a road block to prevent cars 626
from the village going to Rabat. The people of Nadur refused to
celebrate their own festa, or to take part in the St. Gregory pro- 628
cession. They also refused to allow the Bishop to administer the 664
sacrament of Confirmation in their parish. In Xagħra someone exploded a bomb on the roof of the Archpriest's house because many considered that he, an outsider, had not worked hard enough to secure the Basilica. In 1960 Xagħra celebrated only the internal festa, and even that was not without incident. Shortly before the festa, the Bishop received an anonymous letter accusing him of being an enemy of the village. Later, when he visited the village to assist at the High Mass, he was given a hostile reception. Then it was discovered that part of the throne that he was to sit on during the service was missing. Furious at these insults, he issued formal interdicts against the person or persons unknown who had written the anonymous letter and 'stolen' his throne.

To date the dispute has not been settled. The people of Nadur 79
and Xagħra both say that peace cannot be restored until they 626
receive some other honour to compensate them for the lost 628
Basilica. To back up their claims, they have each spent tens of 664
thousands of pounds during the past few years decorating their
respective churches. In Nadur the new marble pulpit cost almost 346
£5,000, and the work of covering the walls with marble may cost as much as £20,000 before it is completed.

This type of dispute, however, is not limited to Malta's sister island. The Collegiate Chapters of Birkirkara, Senglea and St. Paul's Shipwreck in Valletta have similar unresolved conflicts over precedence, and they refuse to take part in processions together. But not all their disputes are limited to matters of precedence. In 1949 the people of Birkirkara smashed the Archbishop's coat of arms and heaped rubble in the main door of their church, thereby symbolically denying him entrance. They were protesting because the Archbishop had abolished, among others, the right of the Chapter to choose as Canons only those priests born and baptized in Birkirkara. The Holy See was able to resolve the dispute, and a few years later it bestowed the title of Basilica on the town's church.

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act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented 665
from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred 794
not to baptize their children. 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have [851]
stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything [608]
that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that [664]
there is nothing incompatible between support of their political
leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the
slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has
become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the [208]
Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it
does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue
to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have
been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized
their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for
personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does
not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This
attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters
who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the
military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist
and a practising Catholic at the same time.

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on
the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this
struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been
unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from
church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a [626]
confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone
to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very
difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to
live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people complained about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour
Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some
extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role
for the non-practising Catholic.

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed 115
up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. 578
We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked 665
him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the
Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Com- 794
munist by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am 795
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would therefore seem that as this need becomes more pronounced, 642
and as the Maltese voter gains in sophistication, there will be 66
increasing pressure to change the present system of voting to one which strengthens the national government rather than weakens it.

VI

In addition to personal kin ties, patrons, political parties and 664
politicians, pressure groups provide yet another way by which the villager can influence authorities outside his community. By bringing interest groups from one village into contact with similar groups in other villages, they permit united action for the resolution of common problems. The band clubs and football [575]
clubs have active national associations. Village lay apostolate [794]
societies have their own national bodies as well as the Diocesan Coordinating Junta, a powerful body which has now become one of the strongest forces opposed to the MLP. In view of the important part it and the other Church societies played in defeating the Labour Party in the recent election, they will probably be able to provide a channel of contact with the Ministers and anti-Labour MLA's. Some have already begun to apply pressure to obtain playgrounds and public conveniences for their respective villages.

Even the festa partiti have their associations. The Association 621
of Secondary Feasts works to obtain new Church privileges for its 664
members. It is opposed by the Association of Titular Feasts, which 794
has formally advised the Archbishop that if he grants privileges to the secondary partiti, its members will stop celebrating the titular feasts.

Finally, there are also a number of trade unions. Though most 467
have no village level organization or representatives, and play no 664
direct part in village politics, some, in particular the General Workers Union and the Gozo Agricultural Co-operative Society, a large proportion of whose members live in the villages, play an important part in national politics. They thus provide another channel through which persons at the village level can influence decisions at the national level.

*175 64 and in 1877, the first use by the Elected Members of the tactic of absenting themselves on occasion of disagreement with the Governor-as-President.

*175 64 665 During the 1870's and 80's commercial boom, the associated rise of the *boargeoisie*, together with the example of party politics in England, and the *Risorgimento* in Italy, all produced a headiness in Maltese political thinking and a clear division of interests. In 1883 the Governor reported that government was now being obstructed by the appearance in the Council of two groups, apart from that of the appointed members. The first, the *riformista* group was essentially a pro-English language faction, the second the *anti-riformista* was pro-Italian, that is favouring the old dominance of Italian language and culture. From this time onward political parties were born, to English eyes in strange and not easily recognisable forms. In Malta as in other countries in which such parties were sudden products of factional conflict rather than as in England slow crystallisations of attitudes, the names, the labels, such as 'Nationalist', 'Constitutionalist', 'Labour', 'Progressive', 'Workers' are misleading rather than illuminating. To English legislators, then and since, the difficulty of recognising lines of cleavage other than those with which they are by experience familiar can be very dangerous.

*175 64 As noted later (p. 130) the greatest part of the population was little affected through education by the many developments that were taking place. This group, the Maltese-speaking rustics and labourers, was usually illiterate. In the new liberal constitution promulgated in 1887 this element of the population further restricted by age, financial and legal qualifications was to be represented on the Council of Government by ten members themselves selected by rigorous financial and literacy qualifications. The remaining four elected members, even more rigorously selected by financial criteria, were to be chosen by special electors, viz. ecclesiastics, nobles, large landowners, senior members of the University, and members of the *Bourse*. This system of representation, logically defensible at all points, was to have two tragic results of particular relevance to our present study. The first was to ensure that a great deal of power without either the privilege or steadying influence of responsibility was given to the most cosmopolitan and the least Maltese of the Islands' people. Secondly that the cleavage of interests within this largely professional class, although stemming from differing legitimate interpretations of their own ideas of Maltese welfare, soon led to rarefied and rather sterile contentiousness in which little reference was made to the facts of real life in Malta. The old dichotomy between the Maltese and the Knights became perpetuated in a division between the upper middle-class Europeanised Maltese, and the remainder. It would be permissible to suggest that the bridging of this gulf often appeared more important to Englishmen than to the Maltese themselves, although there are of course notable exceptions.

The allocation of power provided for the supremacy of the executive over what had now become a legislature, even although the appointed members were as a group in minority, but it made the wielding of such supremacy a more delicate matter than had been previously the case. No dyarchical division between imperial and local interests was made. For our purposes, however, these and other details of the 44 constitutional articles, are of less significance than the fact that Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and Count Strickland, who in 1886 together led the agitation which led to the new Constitution, were in open disagreement two years later.

*175 64 665 Externally this was a period in which England, France, and to some extent Germany were entering on a contest for naval supremacy, and in which the short burst of conscious European desires for imperial aggrandisement produced many tensions. Increased naval and dockyard activity in Malta was paralleled by a rising tide of secular education, anglicisation and pro-Italian, pro-bourgeoisie reaction. The Maltese and Catholic Strickland, President of the Committee of Privileges of the Maltese Nobility, became Chief Secretary to the Government in 1889, and in his support of Maltese development on English rather than Italian lines, carried on the policy of the equally Maltese and Catholic Savona, one-time Director of Education.

175* 64 665 By the end of the century the struggle had resolved itself into extremes. Mizzi and his followers resorted to continuous legislative obstruction as the only but rather unworthy weapon left for what they maintained was a fight for responsible government. Strickland as Chief Secretary pointed correctly to the damaging effects such tactics were having on all policies including those of education, public health, etc., but conducted an offensive/defensive battle on equally intransigeant lines. Meanwhile British, Imperial as opposed to economic, effort was at its climacteric and Malta as a fortress, whose only value was as a fortress, had to 'suffer' the consequences; a necessary qualification must be made that this really entailed only subordination in status and was accompanied by great advances in all that the mid-twentieth century would term 'welfare services'.

[666] In 1903 Anglo-Italian relations were good and improving, the Crown and the Vatican, Governor and Archbishop all in amity, while in Malta, 180,000 people had 10,000 enfranchised electors of whom less than 4,000 ever voted. In the Legislative Council, however, tempers were at blazing point and obstruction produced deadlock. Followed Chamberlain's bombshell abrogating the constitution. With effect from 3rd June the Governor's Executive Council and the official group within the Council of Government were given majority power and complete control over policy and action. The reserve powers were re-invoked in all their strength. Malta entered the Modern Age in an unhappy political state, a state vocally resented by a few, ignored by the apathetic majority and a cause of unhappy puzzlement to Westminster.

In retrospect, to the writer at least, the most amazing feature of these developments appears to be their inevitability. Judged in isolation, it may appear facile to suggest that with the stage as set in preceding centuries, with players such natural 'typecast' products of past experience, no other play could have been produced. Judged along with the other evidence, the unity, the cohesion of all things Maltese do make it rather difficult to subscribe here to a doctrine of free-will.

Of the elements in Maltese social life most affected by institutional forces two are of very relevant interest to us, viz. public health and education. Some brief consideration is therefore given to the main developments of these sectors.

175* 744 As noted in Chapter VI A the death rate in the Maltese Islands fluctuated considerably but showed a slowly accelerating decline. During the century that elapsed between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the beginning of World War I, the main health improvements resulted from public works construction of a piped water-supply and sewerage systems in the most populated parts of the island of Malta. Developments in preventive remedial medicine and in disease control were slower mainly because of their greater dependence on trained medical staff and on public acceptance of new ideas.

At the mid-nineteenth century conditions were not very propitious for the consideration of suggestions for reducing mortality. Forecasts of impending Malthusian catastrophe were combined with diatribes on the improvidence of early marriage in many surveys by articulate Maltese of a presumed state of overpopulation. The inarticulate members of society continued to regard as normal conditions of which Sutherland (5) said: 'I have very seldom met with conditions so obviously injurious to health, and so likely to determine outbreaks of epidemic disease as those presented by many houses'. In Valletta the Knights had built a sewerage system and a piped water supply but pollution of the latter by the former was common. In the villages, the deficiency of water, refuse accumulation and the use of 'ordure rooms' were a product of ignorance and a cause of ill-health.

The Cholera epidemic of 1865 which slew 3,600 people eventually forced action upon the Government and after much general discussion a Commission of Public Health was appointed in 1874. Significantly enough, attention was focussed on the high rate of child mortality: in that same year, of over 4,000 recorded deaths, more than 2,000 were of children under five years of age. Between 1874 and the end of the century a series of reports put the blame on a series of associated factors. The ancient Three Cities and the new unrestricted

I did the fieldwork on which this study is based at this period in 642
Malta's constitutional history. A new constitution was promulgated 648
late in 1961, and elections took place in February 1962. In [114]
place of dyarchy, it provided for 'concurrent powers' on foreign
affairs and defence to be held by the Malta Government and a
United Kingdom Commissioner.

The first Maltese political parties were born out of the con- 197
troversy over language which followed the publication in 1880 of 665
the Keenan report on education. This recommended that English
should be taught in place of Italian in the primary schools, al- 668
though students might later take Italian as an elective subject. In the Lyceum and the University, except for the Faculty of Theology, all work was to be done in English. These recommendations, which the government tried for many years to implement, weakened the dominant position which Italian had enjoyed in the educational system. As Italian was the language of the law courts, the clergy and the University, it was something of a class symbol. Most of the educated classes, and especially the lawyers and priests, strenuously resisted the move to downgrade it in favour of English. Many of the refugees from the Italian wars, who came to Malta after 1850, gave encouragement to the partisans of Italian. The Italian movement also whipped up considerable support amongst the clergy and their parishioners by declaring that English would certainly bring with it increased Protestant influences.

The dispute thus created interest groups which were to dominate Maltese politics for the next fifty years. On one side was the pro-English, or *riformista*, party led first by Sigismondo Savona, later the Director of Education, and subsequently by Count (later
Lord) Gerald Strickland. This party, which generally supported [648]
government policy, favoured close cultural and political ties with Britain. By the 1920's, it became known as the Constitutional Party. Its successor, the Progressive Constitutional Party, is led by Strickland's daughter, Miss Mabel Strickland.

The *anti-riformista* or pro-Italian party was led by Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and later by his son, Dr. Enrico Mizzi. The Nationalist Party eventually emerged out of this group, and today, although the language issue is quite dead, it is still one of the two major political parties. Both parties campaigned for support in the villages and thus, for the first time, forcefully presented national political issues to the masses.

000 197 648 668 political issues to the masses. The pro-Italian group came to dominate the elected members, and blocked the affairs of government to such an extent that Britain re-established the official majority.

● [665] Britain did not succeed until many years later in implementing the recommendations of the Keenan Report. The language of instruction in the primary schools remained English or Italian, at the option of a student's parents – the so-called '*pari-passu*' system. In 1921, Britain attempted to remove language from the political arena by stipulating in the new constitution 'that nothing shall be done by way of legislation or administration which shall diminish or detract from the position of English as an official language or to reduce its use in education or in the public service.'[1]

197 665 668 For the first six years after the 1921 Constitution was promulgated, the government was in the hands of the political groups which eventually merged into the Nationalist Party: Monsignor Panzavecchia's 'Unione Maltese' and the 'Partito Democratico Nazionalista' led by Enrico Mizzi. The newly-formed Labour Party at first supported the Nationalists, but later became a firm ally of Strickland's Constitutional Party. Monsignor Michael Gonzi, now Archbishop of Malta, was a representative of the Labour Party until he became Bishop of Gozo in 1924. During this early period, the only serious political skirmish occurred, not surprisingly, over the 1923 Pari-Passu Bill by which the Nationalists introduced both English and Italian as compulsory subjects in the elementary schools. Strickland attacked the bill on the ground that it made no provision to teach Maltese, the language of the masses. He maintained that without a firm knowledge of their own language, children could never learn two foreign [648] languages at the same time. Although the British at first declared that this act was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, it was allowed to become law.

665 666 The Constitutional Party, supported by the Labour Party, won the 1927 general elections, and Strickland became Prime Minister. The elections, however, were marred by an incident which embittered the relations between Strickland's supporters and their opponents. On the day before the election, the Nationalists circulated thousands of copies of a perjured affidavit which declared that Strickland was a Freemason. Although the perjurer, a

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[1] Section 37.

notorious criminal whom the Nationalists hid until after the 665
elections, was later convicted, the accusation jarred the solidly 666
Catholic electorate and undoubtedly cost Strickland many votes.

In the years that followed this election, Malta was torn by an 659
unprecedented political struggle between the Strickland Government and the Church. Since this dispute in many ways foreshadowed the present conflict between the Church and the Malta Labour Party, it is worth while to examine it in some detail.

While Strickland was the leader of the opposition, he made frequent attacks, both from the floor and through his newspapers, on the priests sitting in the Assembly. He maintained that the clergy should not take part in politics. In doing this he made many enemies, for his attacks were often bitter and insulting. For example, he once offered a cash prize to the person who gave him the best reason for having the Bishop of Gozo removed from office. On another occasion, he announced that for a small sum of money, even a horse could become a Papal Marquis.

Relations between Strickland and the Church, already strained, deteriorated rapidly after he became Prime Minister. When the two monsignori who represented the Archbishop in the Senate voted against his first budget, he considered that the Church had declared war on him. This was followed by a public demonstration against the Archbishop. At the same time, Strickland also launched a blistering attack through his newspapers on the two clerical Senators. Following this, there was a whole series of petty disputes which culminated in the famous Father Carta case.

Father Carta, a Sardinian monk, had been sent to Malta by the Superior General of the Franciscan Conventuals to resolve a disciplinary problem in one of the Order's Maltese convents. He soon discovered that a certain Maltese monk, Father Guido Micallef, was one of the principal trouble-makers, and arranged for his transfer to the Order's house in Liverpool. At this point Strickland intervened. He asserted that Father Micallef was being exiled because he had supported the Constitutional Party in the 1927 elections, and refused to issue the necessary exit permit. The Church was furious at this interference in what it regarded as its internal affairs. In the wrangle which followed, both the Governor and the Archbishop became involved, Father Micallef was expelled from the Order and defrocked, and the Cabinet asked the Governor to petition the Holy See to investigate the incident.

659 A Papal Delegate visited Malta and concluded that the differences between the government and the Church could best be settled by means of a concordat. During most of the year following the Papal Delegate's visit, Britain tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a concordat and to get the Holy See to forbid the Maltese clergy to take part in the general elections scheduled for May 1930. The Vatican, however, declared that Strickland was not *persona grata* and that as long as he remained in power, a concordat was not possible.

In Malta, the relations between the Strickland Government and
the Church went from bad to worse. In April 1930, two Con-
stitutional Party Ministers gathered many sworn statements that
Monsignor Gonzi, the Bishop of Gozo, had instructed priests to
preach against the Constitutional Party and to refuse absolution
666 to its supporters. This inquiry greatly angered the Church. On the
first of May, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo issued a joint
659 pastoral which forbade people to vote for Strickland or those can-
648 didates who supported him. In view of the spiritual sanctions that
[664] threatened people who voted for the candidates of one of the two
[642] major parties, Britain had no option but to cancel the elections. It
subsequently suspended the constitution, but kept the Strickland
ministers on as advisers.

197 A Royal Commission went to Malta to investigate the trouble.
Following its report, Britain restored the constitution and
64 abolished the teaching of Italian in primary schools. In June 1932
665 the Nationalists defeated Strickland and his supporters in a bit-
666 terly contested election in which 96 per cent of the electorate
voted. However, their period in office was very brief. The
Governor dismissed them in November 1933 for deliberately
evading the constitutional provisions regarding language, for they
had set about to re-establish the primacy of Italian in the educational system and the civil service. Once again the administration
of the islands became the responsibility of the Governor.

186 During the fourteen years of Governor's rule which followed,
64 the deep wounds caused by the long, harsh political conflict
slowly healed. The first Italian bombs of the war finally killed the language dispute. The united defence effort and the common suffering caused by the prolonged bombardment further helped to reunite political rivals and suppress parochial quarrels. Britain awarded the people of Malta and Gozo the George Cross for

186 64 their heroism, and after the war restored representative government.

665 666 In the first election under the new constitution, the people voted overwhelmingly for the Labour Party, then led by Dr. Paul Boffa. But in 1949 a disagreement between Dr. Boffa and his Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction, Mr. Dom Mintoff, split the party. The Nationalists, with the support of Dr. Boffa's new Workers' Party, formed the next few governments. Dom Mintoff's Malta Labour Party gradually swallowed the Workers' Party and finally defeated the Nationalists in the 1955 general election.

659 There was almost constant friction between the Church and the Mintoff Government during the three years it was in office. From the outset, Mintoff showed himself reluctant to submit to the authority of the Church. His refusal to pay the traditional call on the Archbishop, Monsignor Gonzi, when he took office was symbolic of this independence. Many incidents contributed to the disagreement between the two, which grew more intense as both became more outspoken in their criticism of each other. Perhaps the most serious clash occurred over the Archbishop's stand on the Government's proposal to link Malta more closely with Britain. On the eve of a referendum concerning this proposal, Monsignor Gonzi made a broadcast in which he said that he could not support the integration proposal because Mintoff had failed (whether by design or circumstance is an open question) to secure adequate guarantees from Britain to protect the position of the Roman Catholic religion. In spite of this, the electorate supported Mintoff's proposal; but relations between the Labour Party and the Archbishop remained strained.

186 659 Then, shortly before he resigned, Mintoff sparked off a sharp dispute with the Church by hanging in the National Museum a painting taken from St. John's Co-Cathedral. Originally, the government had sent the painting, a Caravaggio, to Italy to be restored. But the government seized it when it returned and declared that since the Co-Cathedral was government property, the painting was a national treasure that should be properly cared for and displayed to the public. In the course of the acrimonious dispute which followed, Mintoff, who had appealed the matter to the Vatican, was ordered by the Holy See to return the painting. He finally returned it on the night before he resigned.

578 The relations between the Labour Party and the Church con-
665 tinued to deteriorate after the resignation; finally, in 1961, they
795 gave way to open hostility. Both sides abused each other in the
course of the election campaign. On 9th April the Church placed Mintoff and many of the Labour leaders under an interdict for their disrespect to the Bishop. A little over a month later, the Bishops issued a circular condemning the Labour papers. These sanctions intensified the conflict. Finally, just six weeks before the election, the Church, through the Diocesan Joint Council of Catholic Lay Associations, launched a massive campaign to persuade the people to vote against the Labour Party. The campaign was successful: the parties which the Church supported defeated the Labour Party at the polls, and the Nationalist Party took office.

578 The reader will have noted the similarity between the course of
659 the conflicts of Strickland and Mintoff with the Church. Both
665 took place after relatively long (for Malta) periods of representa-
795 tive government. Both involved a series of rather petty disputes
which became progressively more bitter and divided the country. Both culminated in the Church imposing sanctions which ultimately led to the electoral defeat of its opponents. In each case, approximately one-third of the population chose to face Church sanctions rather than abandon its political leaders. Most of the actual incidents which provoked the disputes were quite out of proportion to the conflict they created. To my mind, these incidents were symptomatic of the inherent conflict between an elected government and a Church which has long exercised great authority in both secular and religious spheres.

It is not my intention to make a detailed analysis here of the complex causes underlying the present conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. At this point it is sufficient to know that the dispute exists. In later chapters I shall be concerned with tracing its effects on the social organization of the villages. In the course of this study, it will also become apparent that there are conflicts between secular and religious interests in the villages which are quite unrelated to national political issues.

which does not have these honours. Other honours are the right to perform rituals, indulgence to persons visiting the church, and particular ecclesiastical offices. To a considerable extent these are rewards for meritorious conduct, measured by contributions to the decorations of the church, or the number of vocations, or special devotions performed in a parish. 554 79

During certain religious processions and ceremonies this ranking becomes an important determinant of the order in which the participants take part. Formerly, during the annual St. Gregory procession, virtually the entire hierarchy of Malta could be seen lined up on the ground. But this procession of parishes was abolished and the ceremony modified in 1927, among other reasons because of a dispute between the Canons of Senglea and Birkirkara over a question of precedence. But the St. Gregory procession in Gozo is still held every March. Then it is possible to see parish following parish in order of precedence, and the confraternities of each, in their turn, ranked according to their position in their own parish hierarchy. At the front of the procession is the youngest parish, the one with the lowest rank. It is followed by parishes in ascending order of seniority until the oldest Collegiate Chapter. Then come the religious orders. These are followed by the clergy of the Cathedral and the Monsignori of the Cathedral Chapter. The celebrant or Bishop brings up the end of the procession. This inverted order of precedence is an important organizational principle, which operates in the secular as well as the religious sphere, and it is one of the basic causes of disputes between villages and band clubs.

III

At present there are six political parties in Malta. Of these, only three contested the 1955 elections: the Nationalist Party (NP), led by Dr. Giorgio Borg Olivier; the Malta Labour Party (MLP), whose leader is Dom Mintoff; and Miss Mabel Strickland's Progressive Constitutional Party (PCP). The election resulted in 23 seats for the MLP, 17 for the NP and none for the PCP. Three new parties have emerged since the resignation from office of the MLP in 1958: the Democratic Nationalist Party (DNP), led by Dr. Herbert Ganado, split from the Nationalist Party; Anthony Pellegrini, a former Secretary of the Labour Party, founded the 665 [666]

665 Christian Workers' Party (CWP); and Chev. George Ransley
started up the Democratic Christian Party (DCP).

665 Of these six parties, only one, the Malta Labour Party, incorporates the villages on a permanent basis in its organizational
666 framework. The other five parties are loosely organized. Their structure can be seen most clearly just before an election. At the top of each there is the party executive. Below that are the candidates from the electoral districts. (Under the 1947 Constitution there were eight electoral districts each returning five representatives; the 1961 Constitution increased the number to ten.) The candidates from the various electoral districts work out their campaign strategy with their national executives. Each candidate, in his turn, tries to appoint canvassers or agents in each important village in his district. Some canvassers are paid, and have represented other candidates and parties before. Thus at the village level it is pretty much every candidate for himself. This is particularly true when there are several candidates from a single party canvassing votes in the same village. If the party is successful, the chain from canvasser, through the local member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA), to Cabinet Minister, serves as a channel for requests and patronage. The party structure is thus strengthened and given a degree of permanence. But if the party is defeated or, if elected, it resigns, or the constitution is suspended, it ceases to be an operative organization at the village level. None of these parties have permanently organized village committees or clubs, though there are Nationalist Party clubs in a few towns. In the past, a few band clubs became identified with specific parties and
[575] served as local centres for the party. This often occurred when prominent band club members became successful party politicians. But the linkage between a village band club and a particular party was coincidental. Moreover, only rarely did all the members of such a band club support the political party with which its leaders were aligned. The above, in rather general terms, is a rough description of the structure of five of the six Maltese political parties in 1961. The Labour Party is the exception.

665 The Labour Party was the first to reorganize itself immediately after the war. During the period between 1949 and 1955, when the Nationalists and Dr. Boffa's Workers' Party carried on a coalition government, Dom Mintoff further reorganized and strengthened the Malta Labour Party. Its structure was greatly

reinforced during the three years following 1955 when it formed 665
the government. Since then it has been streamlined and hardened
by the Party's almost constant struggle with the Church. Frequent
meetings now keep the rank and file in close touch with the
national leaders. The Party's newspaper, which became a daily [204]
shortly after Mintoff resigned in 1958, disseminates propaganda [208]
and news of Labour activities as well as international news, and so
provides the leaders with an important contact with members.

The MLP is now organized in three tiers: at the national level, at
the level of the electoral district, and at the village level. The
structure of the MLP, unlike that of its rivals, rests very firmly on
its village level organization. Virtually every village in Malta has
its own Local Committee, the members of which are elected
annually by the formal, dues-paying members among the MLP
supporters in the village. In most villages there is also a Party 575
club, of which the Local Committee members are the officers. 665
The Labour Club, which is usually equipped with a bar, a tele-
vision set and a billiards table, serves as the social centre for the [529]
MLP group in the village. Its frequent activities keep the supporters
united, as do the attacks of their enemies. The Club has become
something of a refuge for MLP supporters who are now cut off
from many village activities by the stigma which the Church has
attached to them. A number of Local Committees have organized
sub-committees for women and children.

Every Local Committee in each electoral district elects one 665
member to sit on the District Committee. This Committee acts
as a clearing house for propaganda and electoral tactics. During
the three years that the Party formed the government, the Dis-
trict Committees were also points at which district-wide com-
plaints, patronage and public works were discussed with the
district MLA's.

At the apex of this pyramid is the National Executive of the Malta Labour Party. This is composed of representatives from all the District Committees, from the Parliamentary group and from the Labour League of Youth. The Party officers and additional members of the Executives are elected at an annual General Conference. All electoral candidates and major policy decisions are confirmed there. Conference delegates are representatives of the Local Committees of each village and town.

During the period the MLP was in power, the Local Committees

●665 were transformed from propaganda and social centres into instruments
of government. As the village branches of the party in
power, they represented government in the eyes of the people, if
not the civil servants. They transmitted and explained the policy
of the administration and they channelled requests to the appropriate
[645] authorities. Ministers made use of the Local Committees
for business at the village level, since the Committees generally
provided their only direct contact with the villages.

IV

182 The State, the Church and the political parties are thus the
64 national organizations which affect the lives of the people at the
village level. The State is highly centralized, and has no political
665 representatives in the villages. In contrast to the State, the Church
795 has its official representatives in every village and hamlet. They
are firmly controlled from above. The structure of the Malta Labour Party also rests firmly on its village level organization. The differing structural frameworks of these organizations have a direct bearing on this study. While competition for power at the national level between the State, on the one hand, and the Church or political parties, on the other, can often lead to bitter disputes, such conflict rarely causes division at the village level. In contrast, disputes at the national level between the political parties, or between a political party and the Church are transmitted immediately through their respective structures to the level of the village. There they bring about a conflict of interest which reflects the struggle for power at the national level.

club and a sports club. In Farruġ, for instance, there are two band 575
clubs – one of which is dedicated to St. Martin, the other to St.
Roque – a football club and an active Labour Party committee;
while Kortin has a band club, a social club, a Labour club, a
football club and a troop of Boy Scouts. The term secular, used 575
in this context, requires a few words of qualification. Although 794
clubs and associations which I have called secular do not form part
of the Church, this does not necessarily mean that they are
opposed to it, or are cut off from it. Quite the contrary. Almost
every club has a chaplain who serves as a link between it and the
parish priest. Most clubs take part in certain religious functions,
especially during the week preceding Easter. Moreover, many of [778]
the clubs have dedicated themselves to the Sacred Heart of Jesus
and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary by means of special religious ceremonies. Often this dedication is renewed annually. Only [665]
the clubs of the Malta Labour Party do not have any linkage with
the Church.

The band clubs are the most important secular societies. They 575
are formally constituted associations with elected committees,
premises of their own and a large body of dues-paying members
drawn from all occupational and social classes. The first band
clubs were established shortly after the middle of the last century
in order to organize the external celebrations and provide music
for the annual festas of village patron saints. The clubs multiplied
rapidly, and soon became civic and social centres. They have [536]
broadened their scope to include dramatic groups, reading rooms [525]
and places where members can gamble out of sight of the watchful eyes of the law. Most clubs have large concert halls that can
be used for wedding receptions. Today, each club usually has a
well-stocked bar, a television set and a billiards table.

But a band club is more than just a social centre. As it usually
plays an important part in organizing the external celebration of
the annual festa, the men who run the club make decisions which
affect all the inhabitants. Furthermore, the club often represents 575
the community to the outside world. Not only is the club's brass 574
band considered as the village's band when it plays at other festas, [186]
but the club also provides a welcome to important visitors from
outside. Thus when the Governor or the Archbishop makes an
official visit, he normally calls on the band clubs, where he is
given a reception on behalf of the entire village.

575 The important officers of a band club are among the most
influential people in the community, and are usually chosen from
the village's leading citizens. The president is the figurehead of
[574] the club. He greets distinguished visitors and handles many of the
ceremonial and business relations the club has with other groups within and outside the community. He also presides over committee meetings and over the annual election of new officers. The day-to-day running of the club is in the hands of the secretary, who is registered with the police as the club's official representative. Much of the success of the club depends upon his ability to run its social activities and administrative affairs. Other important committee members are the vice-president, the treasurer and the bandmaster. The latter is very often an outsider who comes to the village only for the weekly rehearsal of the band.

575 Though the formal authority of the committee members
554 extends over the members of the association only while they are
in the club, their position in the club occasionally gives them a voice in decisions which affect the entire community. This, in turn, gives them a measure of authority over persons who are not members of the club.

575 But not all villages have band clubs. The small villages of
Gharghur, Dingli and Safi have not been able to afford the luxury
184 of their own bands; though each has a social club that performs
much the same function as a social and civic centre. A few villages, such as Kortin, have both social clubs and band clubs. But there are neither band clubs nor social clubs in the Maltese villages of
[517] Marsaskala, Marsaxlokk and Mġarr. In Gozo, only Rabat,
Xewkija and Xaghra have band clubs. All the villages without clubs are fishing or agricultural communities. This may be because the men of these villages do not dispose of the leisure time in the evening necessary for a club to be a success: the farmers are too tired, and the fishermen are off tending their nets.

575 There are also political and football clubs in most Maltese
665 villages. In Gozo there are a few football clubs, but no political
clubs. These clubs are organized in much the same way as the
[526] band clubs, and corresponding office holders have similar func-
tions and authority over their members. These offices, however,
[554] confer much less prestige. The football clubs, in particular, play
only a small part in village affairs. The Malta Labour Party, as has already been noted, is the only political party which has clubs

at the village level. While there are Labour committees in almost 575
all villages in Malta, not all of them have been successful in find- 665
ing club premises. Where clubs have not been opened, the active
members usually meet in a café or a private house.

The role of the Labour committee or club in the social life of 575
a village is rather complex. The Labour club at all times is the 659
centre of the local Labour supporters. During the past few years 665
it has also been the centre of agitation against the established
authority of the Church, especially in so far as it touches on
secular matters. During the three years following 1955 when the
Labour Government was in office, these village committees were
backed by the government. Committee members thus wielded
considerable power, for they provided a direct link with the
established authority of the State at the national level. The same
was true, but to a lesser extent, of the agents of the Nationalist
Party during its period in government.

V

The qualities which the Maltese themselves consider important 156
for a person to have in order to hold office are, of course, ideal 577
ones. As such, they may not all be present in the same person.
The leader of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ summed these
up for me as responsibility, willingness to work, courage and
social status (*pożizzjoni*). Responsibility and willingness to work
are self-explanatory.

Courage is a necessary quality since any person in a position to exercise some control over the action of others (especially in a society which stresses equality) is bound to be criticized by those over whom he exercises it, as well as by those who envy his position. Courage may be based on a desire to acquire power, and insensitivity to or failure to perceive criticism, or on an idealism which places the ultimate ends above the criticism of the means employed to attain them. I have known various village leaders whose courage was based upon one or more of these attributes. I have also met people who resigned from their offices because their motivation or insensitivity was not sufficiently strong to prompt them to carry on in spite of criticism. A former secretary of the social club in Kortin once summed up the reasons for his resignation with the proverb, 'Unfortunate is the one who gets

CHAPTER VI

Festa Partiti

578 Village unity is an ideal, and all villages try to present a tightly
united front to the outside world. In spite of this, all are divided
621 internally by cleavages which cut across the community at various
levels. Some of these divisions are only temporary, and disappear
when the issues out of which they have arisen are resolved. Others,
which may have arisen out of temporary issues, have for one
reason or another become a permanent part of the social scene.
But regardless of their origin or duration, these divisions are pain-
fully real to the villagers. Persons made vulnerable through a net-
work of personal relations are often forced to commit themselves
to a particular division. In doing so, they become opposed to
neighbours and kinsmen who are committed to the other side.
[602] This is one of the characteristics of life in all small villages. It is
particularly true of communities, such as those in Malta, in which
the inhabitants are closely related through kinship and affinity.

192 The Maltese call these divisions *partiti* (sing., *partit*). The term
578 thus corresponds not only to groups of the order which we in
English would call 'parties', but also to those to which we would
621 apply the term 'factions'. Political parties are called partiti, and
[665] so are rival groups such as the two in Kortin which competed over
[794] the rebuilding of the church. Partiti are said to have *pika* between
them. *Pika* denotes relations of competition, ill-feeling, hostility.
There is little about the word which suggests the good-natured
competition that can exist between rival school football or cricket
teams. On the contrary, if there is *pika* between two groups, a
no-holds-barred competition is expected. Partiti are thus con-
sidered to be a bad thing. They disrupt the harmony of the com-
munity and make it more difficult to project the ideal image of
village unity to the outside world.

575 The oldest permanent division that exists in the villages is
578 between the supporters of rival band clubs. This division is related
621 to the cult of saints. In the previous chapter it was noted that
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578 Confraternity of St. Roque. Unfortunately, at this point, it is not
621 possible to distinguish fact from myth. The tales are accepted as
79 reality, and so help to formulate the attitude of St. Martin supporters toward their rivals. However, when the old priest died, it was discovered that most of the festal finery of the parish church had been purchased in the name of the Confraternity of St. Roque. St. Martin supporters were in the humiliating position of having to beg their rivals for the use of the church valuables in order to decorate the church for the feast of the parish patron. Moreover, while the old priest had controlled the celebration of St. Martin, he had allowed the lay leaders of the St. Roque partit a free hand in planning their feast.

578 At this time the St. Martin club was split over national politics,
and a faction composed of Strickland supporters left and founded
621 a new club. Though both clubs remained loyal to St. Martin,
665 there was trouble between them. Older St. Roque partisans recount with amusement how a report to the police by the secretary of the parent club resulted in twenty members of the new club being arrested and fined for gambling. But the hostility between these two factions declined when Strickland made his peace with the Church, and in 1934 they reunited.

578 The burden of redressing the balance between the partiti fell
621 upon the old priest's successor, and upon those who followed him.
793 There were many incidents between these priests and the St.
794 Roque partit, and on several occasions the former had to send for police protection. In spite of the 1935 regulations, the St. Roque partit retained its numerical superiority as well as the church decorations during the 'thirties. It was not until 1942 that a shrewd parish priest succeeded in bringing the silver altar front out of the St. Roque strongroom into that of the parish church, where it has remained ever since.

The rivalry between the partiti lay dormant during the Second World War, as the people united to fight for survival. But it flared up again immediately after the war, as did similar rivalry in other villages. Both clubs organized musical bands for the first time. After a series of incidents which culminated in the parish priest again having to send for police protection, this time against angry St. Martin supporters, the rivalry began to decline somewhat. This decline was brought about chiefly by the effects of emigration, improvements in local transport, the establishment of a number

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of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 793
political parties. 794

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro- 794
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the con-
fraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are mem-
bers neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

361 residence pattern is certainly true in Farruġ, and I observed much
the same thing in other villages divided by festa partiti. In Farruġ,
621 65 per cent of the people living on the main square and the four
streets leading into it supported St. Martin, but only 46 per cent
of those living in other parts of the village did so.

578 Disputes between partiti usually concern matters of precedence
or their ability to display devotion to their saints. Each partit has
621 certain rights, usually secured at the cost of clashes with its rival.
[575] These include the position and participation of the club and con-
[794] fraternity in Church processions and at other functions, the routes
over which these processions travel and the possession of certain
[626] property and its display in the parish church. Any attempt to
extend or reduce them is resisted by the partit affected, which
takes action to protect its interests by trying to influence the
Church authorities, who must make the final decisions.

621 The structural position of a partit determines the kind of
pressure that it can bring to bear upon the Church. Those of
626 titular saints are, in a sense, the establishment parties. As we have
794 seen, the Church seeks to build up their celebrations at the
796 expense of the secondary ones. Hence a titular partit can negotiate
from a strong position: its ultimate sanction is refusal to participate
in the feast of the village patron, an event which the Church is
anxious to see celebrated with great pomp. Secondary partiti, on
the other hand, are inherently opposed to the Church in matters
of festa policy. They try to increase the scale of their feasts, while
the Church tries to reduce them. They dare not cancel their feasts
for fear that the Church would accuse them of making trouble
and suppress them, as it did the secondary festas of Our Lady of
Lourdes in Qrendi, and St. Michael in Żabbar.

621 Their position in opposition to Church policy has given most
626 secondary partiti a certain *esprit de corps* and unity of purpose that
their rivals often lack. This has made them better able to with-
665 stand the divisive effects of the political factions which have
794 recently weakened many of their rivals. It has also generally
resulted in the emergence of stronger leaders. Secondary partiti
are often united around a single professional class leader who can
not only hold the partit together in the face of the attacks of its
opponents, but can also argue intricate points of Canon Law with
the monsignori at the Curia and, at times, with the Archbishop
621 himself. As we have observed, the secondary partiti generally have

CHAPTER VII

National Politics and the Village

In the last few years issues of national policy have taken an 578
increasingly important place in the villages alongside the purely
parochial ones we discussed in the preceding two chapters. Divi- 665
sions based on opposed political ideologies are now reflected in 668
the groups and associations in which people spend their time. The 795
major division which cuts across all Maltese villages is based not so
much upon rivalry between political parties, as upon the present
conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. But as
has been observed, conflict between the Church and a political
party is not new to Malta. It also existed during the late 'twenties
and early 'thirties.

The dispute between the Labour Party and the Church is 578
essentially a struggle for power. Dom Mintoff, the Labour leader,
accuses the Archbishop Gonzi of siding with Britain to maintain 665
Malta's colonial status, and with interfering in politics by attack- 795
ing the Labour Party and its leaders. In its 1962 Electoral Mani-
festo the MLP proclaims the right of a person 'to fulfil his civic duty [666]
without pseudo-religious interference'; sees as a crime 'any inter-
ference with the right of a democratically elected majority to
implement the people's mandate', and advocates the 'abolition of
medieval privileges which have retarded [the country's] social
and economic progress.'[1] The Church sees this not only as a direct
attack on the basic right and duty of a bishop to teach and to
guard the morals of his flock,[2] but also as a move to destroy its
traditional position in Maltese society. In particular it fears that
if the Labour Party were returned to power, it would enact legis-
lation which would render the Archbishop liable to prosecution
before the criminal court if he were to comment on the political
issues of the day.

These opposing views are expressed in the slogans written on [208]

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[1] See Appendix B for the 1962 MLP Electoral Manifesto.

[2] Cf. William E. Addis and others, '*Bishop*', *A Catholic Dictionary*, pp. 80 ff.

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2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[facing p. 97]

8. Labour Party supporters cheer Dom Mintoff

208 walls and shouted at public meetings. Mintoff is portrayed as a
578 Socialist devil working to give the islands over to Communism
in the manner of Cuba's Castro. These are some typical examples
665 of the ones that appeared on the blackboard outside the Kortin
795 Catholic Action centre: 'Mintoff is the enemy of the Church', 'Nobody can serve both God and the Devil', ' "The Bishops are interfering in politics!" That is what Communists say,' and 'We don't want Communists among us!' In stating their case, Mintoff and his supporters did not mince words either, as the following slogans that appeared on the blackboard of the Kortin Labour Party club demonstrate: 'We want a chance in court about the $60,000 lie',[1] 'With the Papal flag in their hands and shouting for vengeance', 'A fish begins to stink from its head',[2] and 'In Gozo they told the women that we have tails.'

208 The popular slogan 'Either with the Bishop or against the
578 Church!' sums up the uncompromising attitude of the Church.
Most of the sanctions it has imposed have presented that choice
665 to the people in unequivocal terms. Early in May 1961, shortly
794 after the Labour leaders were interdicted, all Church lay societies
795 were instructed to obtain from each member a pledge of his full and unqualified support for the Archbishop. Those that declined to give this were expelled from the society concerned and their names reported to the national office of Catholic Action. But a
[783] more drastic sanction was imposed a few weeks later. After the
Executive of the Labour Party had invited the Archbishop and the
[226] Bishop of Gozo to debate their policy in public at a Labour rally in Cospicua, the Bishops replied to this insult by issuing a circular which declared it a mortal sin to print, write for, sell, buy, distribute or read the Labour Party newspapers. All confessors were instructed to put the necessary questions to their penitents.

578 Hence, to remain a Labour supporter, a person has to forego the
665 Church sacraments that he has been brought up to believe vital
794 to his happiness and spiritual salvation. This is a very serious
795 choice for a practising Catholic, and before these sanctions were
imposed, the Maltese were among the most devoutly Catholic
[851] people in the world. It has also meant that MLP supporters cannot
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[1] This refers to the Archbishop's charge, made at a rally in March 1961, that Mintoff had received $61,000 from the allegedly Communist dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which the MLP had just joined.

[539] [2] A Maltese proverb meaning that corruption first becomes apparent among people in high places. This was presumably directed against the Archbishop.

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act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented 665
from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred 794
not to baptize their children. 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have [851]
stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything [608]
that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that [664]
there is nothing incompatible between support of their political leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has
become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the [208]
Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist and a practising Catholic at the same time.

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from
church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a [626]
confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people complained about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role for the non-practising Catholic.

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed 115
up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. 578
We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked 665
him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the 794
Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Com- 795
munist by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am
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578 young, I cannot even vote in the next election. But I must think
● 665 of the future. I feel that Mintoff is doing what is right for Malta.
794 He helped the poor people when he made the government. The
795 Church fights Mintoff because she fears she will lose her privileges
and power if he wins, and that he will tax her property. The
829 Church is in favour of keeping people ignorant, and limiting their
[115] education. Why? Because when people are educated they think
for themselves and can judge. They no longer follow blindly.
Besides, you should not take too seriously all this talk of Communism – they are products of this fight. In a fight, people use all means available.'

The street sweeper who was with us understood most of the
conversation and shook his head in disagreement. His only com-
[539] ment was the proverb, 'A ship with two captains can't sail' (*Il-vapur biż-żewġ kaptani ma jimxiex*). At this every one in the shop nodded in agreement, for both Labour and Church supporters had different captains in mind. Those who support the Archbishop look to him as the leader of the Maltese people. They make little distinction between Church and State. Labour supporters, in contrast, make a clear distinction. Mintoff is their candidate for head of State, and since they see the Archbishop as interfering with their choice, they accuse him of reaching out to control both Church and State.

II

578 At the village level, this conflict has brought about a bitter
665 division. All societies and groups which are not formally identi-
fied with one side or the other, have been divided and weakened
794 by politically based factions. The parish priest is the leader of
[793] those who support the Archbishop. His most enthusiastic followers are the clergy and the members of the lay societies. This group, with the other prominent villagers who make up the parish priest's circle, provide the hard core of the active opposition to the MLP. Considering the offices that they occupy and the societies to which they belong, it could hardly be otherwise. They usually meet in the club houses of the societies, but sometimes the older members meet in a particular café.

The hard core of the Labour group is made up of the officers of the local MLP Committee and the members who openly frequent the club. There is very little contact between the leaders and

active members of the two sides. But there are a number of per- 578
sons who would like to avoid having to make a break with either
side. For the most part they keep quiet about their political views. 665
But the Church sanctions and the pressure exerted by relatives, 794
friends and workmates is slowly reducing their numbers.

Affiliation is expressed in very much the same way as with the festa partiti. That is, supporters participate in their side's activities and boycott those of their opponents. The activities of those who support the Archbishop centre on the lay apostolate societies. The leaders of these groups, with the parish priest, usually organize the buses that take villagers to the rallies of the Diocesan Junta, which are usually held in front of the Floriana parish church. More recently, separate parishes have organized rallies and pilgrimages of reparation a few days after the Labour Party has held a meeting in the village. An official visit of the Archbishop to a village also provides an occasion for a big demonstration by his supporters in his honour. Bus-loads of colleagues from other parishes often swell the ranks of the local lay societies during their demonstrations. They in turn attend similar meetings in other parishes. Occasionally they unite and act in opposition to MLP meetings in their own and other parishes. More often though, they organize picnics or pilgrimages to take supporters out of the village when their opponents have arranged an event. Supporters of the Archbishop show their allegiance by decorating their houses with pictures of him and with yellow and white Papal flags. Many also buy the newspapers of Catholic Action and the Young Christian Workers.

Enthusiasm for the struggle, which had assumed something of
the character of a Holy War when I left Malta, has gripped both
young and old. For example, at an MLP meeting in Birkirkara in
May 1961 I saw a black-cowled MUSEUM woman herding a group
of youngsters up against a police cordon. All were blowing
whistles as loudly as they could. A little later a scuffle broke out [579]
between MLP supporters and organized parties from the lay
religious societies who had surrounded the meeting. But a police
water cannon promptly dampened their enthusiasm. In another
village, opponents of the MLP rang the bells of the parish church to
drown out the Labour voices. This technique, in fact, was first
used in Gozo at a big MLP rally there in April, where it proved so
successful that not one of the speakers was able to make himself

578 heard. The meeting was finally called off, and the large MLP
665 delegation from Malta was literally routed. They had to return on
foot from Rabat to the ferry, as the bus drivers refused them
794 transport. During the long walk to the ferry, the Labour partisans were ambushed and rather badly mauled by groups of men, women and children from all over Gozo. The ardour of many Gozitans had been worked up by lay leaders who toured the villages for several days beforehand. But besides their religious fervour, there was a considerable element of parochial pride, and the feeling that 'we'll show these Maltese invaders a thing or two.' In all, forty persons were reported injured. The Gozitans were extremely proud of their victory, and the local branch of the Social Action Movement published a booklet to commemorate the occasion.[1]

665 The activity of Labour supporters centres on their local Party club or committee, which arranges for transportation to national MLP rallies and conducts lectures and classes on the political aims of the Party. It also organizes social evenings and outings for Labour supporters. The members of the Local Committee take charge of the preparations for national meetings held in their own village. Local Committees take the initiative in preparing floats, decorated carts and companies in costume for the annual MLP demonstration on the First of May. For the past few years the
[796] MLP Executive has also organized a carnival celebration for its sup-
[204] porters to induce them to boycott the official government-sponsored carnival.[2] Labour supporters read the Labour daily newspaper, *Il-Helsien* (Freedom), and the Sunday *Voice of Malta*. Since the condemnation, *Il-Helsien* has become a party badge. It is pasted on bus windows during MLP excursions, worn as an armband at rallies and in general used by Labour supporters to taunt their opponents. I have even seen some young men in Kortin swagger into church on Sunday morning with copies of it sticking out of their hip pockets.

578 All supporters of the Labour Party do not show their allegiance
665 this openly, for many wish to avoid the break with a large section of the community which would follow such action. Some are teachers or civil servants who fear lest their open support for the

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[1] *Ghawdex Jiddefendi L-Knisja* [Gozo defends the Church] (Gozo: Social Action Movement, 1961).

[648] [2] The government at this time was administered by a British Chief Secretary, and the MLP ordered members to stay away from all events it organized.

MLP cost them their jobs.[1] Others have friends or relatives on the 578
other side with whom they do not wish to break. Yet others, 665
responsible for maintaining the unity of a neutral club, fear that
an open stand will bring about a crisis which would divide it.
Although most of these persons continue to read the condemned 204
papers, they do so discreetly, for reading them openly would 578
provoke incidents. There are also a large number of Labour 626
sympathizers who have been unwilling to forego the sacraments
of the Church. They no longer read the Labour papers or attend 665
MLP rallies, but they are bitter about having been forced to make
the choice.

The physical act of purchasing a Labour newspaper has in itself become a public statement of political allegiance. After the condemnation and the threat of a general Church boycott of their premises (which was carried out in Gozo) most vendors have refused to handle MLP publications. In the villages they can usually only be bought at the local MLP club. Thus the act of striding across the village square and into the stronghold of the devil, performed in front of many of the village elders, becomes an open declaration of sympathy with the Labour cause. In Kortin many wait until the square is empty, usually around midnight in the summer, and then scuttle into the club to get their papers.

III

There is a correlation between occupational class and support for 467
one of these two ideological divisions. In general, professionals, 665
white-collar workers and farmers support the Archbishop, and
industrial labourers the Labour Party. There are several reasons for this. To begin with, the Labour Party is a working-man's party, and there is ideological support for it on that account. Although the MLP has a definitely socialist ideology, and is a member of the Socialist International (points on which the Church attacks it regularly), it advocates few of the measures associated with doctrinaire Socialism, such as public ownership of transport and industry or the collectivization of farming. On the other hand, it does promise equal opportunity for all, and 'the right of the

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[1] The Malta Government Circular of 19 October 1960 prohibited most grades of civil [556]
servants from holding office in political organizations or publicly expressing their political views. This regulation is something of a paradox in a small country in which most intellectuals work for the government in one capacity or another.

467 people to have the final say in the nation's vital means of production.'[1] 665 These policies have a general appeal to labourers and are among the reasons for the party's popularity.

The Labour Party is closer to the worker than any of the other political parties. In this respect, its organization resembles that of the Church. As already noted, the MLP rests on its village and district organization. This has enabled the average worker to have a say of sorts, not only in his party's policy, but, when it was in power, also in the affairs of government. How he and his neighbours were able to manipulate the party structure to their advantage is a matter which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

657 665 During its period in office the Labour Party did much to improve conditions for the workers and the poor. This is another reason why many support it. It introduced many social benefits, including the extension of medical services, regular allotments of free food and social assistance allowances for the needy and aged. [653] It also built many new schools, surfaced dusty roads and undertook other large public works projects which gave employment to many, besides benefiting the community. Moreover, the party [242] did a great deal to improve agriculture by bringing in foreign experts who set up an advisory service and introduced new crops and techniques of cultivation. All these and the general atmosphere of activity which permeated the Labour Government, gained great popularity for the party and its leader.

665 There is yet another important way in which the MLP attracts many: it has attacked the established authority of Britain, the Church, the local captains of industry and the prosperous members of society. This outlook appeals not only to many poor and underprivileged persons, but also to the young and the uninfluential who are seeking to establish their personal independence and to make their mark on society. This opposition to authority and vested interests holds an attraction for many social 'misfits', such as the young 'Teddy Boy' element, the eccentrics and free thinkers. These find in the MLP a haven for their nonconformity to the social and moral teaching of the Church. Though social and religious stigma still attaches to them, many find it easier to bear in the company of others who have similar beliefs and problems. The Labour Party has thus provided social outcasts with a sense of

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[1] MLP manifesto. See Appendix B.

'belonging', and to a certain extent has created for them a community 665 ● of their own. These persons often make up the hard core of Labour supporters in their villages, since they have nothing to lose by openly fighting the Church.

A number of sociological explanations can be advanced to 463 account for the support professionals, white-collar workers and 467 farmers give to the Church. First of all, professionals generally lose status in the eyes of their colleagues, if not the wider society, if 665 they join the Labour Party or sympathize with it. It is a working- [558] class party, and they are professionals. There are a number of notable exceptions to this, but the only professionals that I met who sympathized with the MLP were either candidates for office with it or members of the Executive. The political ideology of their colleagues and the expectations of their clients combine to make them look upon the Labour Party as the antithesis of everything they have been brought up to believe in. They, through their offices in parish associations and through their work as doctors, lawyers, high civil servants, and so on, form part of the establishment to which the Labour Party is opposed.

Much the same reasoning can be applied to the white-collar workers. As teachers, clerks and other intermediate grade civil servants they hold a relatively high position in the social hierarchy of their villages. Many are anxious to identify themselves with their social superiors, those in control of the village as well as their employers, and thus look down upon the MLP as opposed to their interests. Moreover most of them have been educated at colleges run by the Church. There their teachers gave them addi- [873] tional religious instruction and strengthened those values which [794] make the anti-clerical tone of the Labour Party repugnant to them.

Farmers, on the other hand, are looked down upon by many and are regarded as underprivileged by all. Why is it then that they do not support the Labour Party? Farmers in most communities are very conservative, and those in Malta are no exception. Their solitary occupation isolates them from the Labour Party ideology which is so freely discussed among the industrial workers of Malta. Not only that, but as we have seen, they are among the most poorly educated section of the community. Many are unable to read the propaganda which the MLP dis- [212] seminates through its publications. This isolation from the secular and materialistic ideologies which enter the country through the

463 Grand Harbour and first establish themselves in the conurbation
467 surrounding it has helped to keep the farmer devoutly tied to the
665 Church. For this reason the action of the MLP in challenging the
authority of the Bishops is as abhorrent to him as it is difficult
to understand.

463 The recent sanctions of the Church have increased the class
alignment of those who support the Labour Party and those who
578 oppose it. This is largely because those with high social status have
665 more to lose than industrial workers, and are thus more vulner-
795 able to the pressure of public opinion and the Church. The
increasingly heavy pressure of the Church has forced many of the
[626] young professionals and intellectuals to abandon the party for
which they voted in 1955. But even when the MLP was in office,
its policies began to alarm many in the professional and middle
classes. They objected not only to Mintoff's attitude to the
Church, but also to the somewhat abrupt way his government
occasionally dealt with the professional and business communi-
ties. Many were disturbed by the MLP's rather sudden switch from
advocating integration with Britain to demanding complete
independence. As most of those who left the party or became
inactive in it were moderates, both in their approach to the
Church and to the economic and political problems facing Malta,
the MLP has become more extreme in its outlook. This in turn
[656] induced others to leave it. This process was accelerated by the
regulations which prohibited the better-educated civil servants
from taking an active part in the political life of their country.

463 Table 7 below shows the rough correlation between occupa-
tional class and support of the Malta Labour Party. In particular,
665 it demonstrates that as the proportion of skilled workers decreases,
666 so does the proportion of voters who support Labour. Other
variables are the number of professionals and farmers. The
Second and Fourth Electoral Districts polled the highest number
of Labour votes in the 1962 election, and the Sixth and Tenth the
lowest. The MLP polled 56 per cent of the total votes in the
Second Electoral District, where 45 per cent of the working
population are classified as skilled labourers.

In contrast, it received only 6 per cent of the votes in Gozo, where only 16 per cent of the people are skilled labourers, but 38 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Another important variable is the number of clergy resident in a district. The relatively high

proportion of clerics and nuns in the Sixth Electoral District 463
helps to explain the relatively low Labour poll there. It is also a
significant factor in explaining the overwhelming defeat of the 665
MLP in Gozo. These two districts have the highest proportion of 666
clerics in the country. The Fourth District, in contrast, has the
lowest.

TABLE 7. 1962 Elections:
Occupational Class and Voting Behaviour[1]

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS[2]	SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (As percentage of total lab. force)			PERCENTAGE LABOUR VOTES
	Professional[3]	*Skilled*	*Agricultural*	
IInd (Senglea, etc.)	4 (3)	45	4	56
IVth (Żurrieq, etc.)	3 (2)	34	11	47
VIth (Birkirkara, etc.)	6 (4)	33	11	24
Xth (Gozo)	7 (6)	16	38	6
All Districts	5 (3)	32	11	34

IV

It will have been observed that there is a certain superficial 621
similarity between the reasons given here for belonging to the 665
MLP and those suggested in the preceding chapter for recruitment
into the secondary festa partiti. One might expect therefore that
in comparison with titular partiti, secondary partiti would have a
higher proportion of Labour supporters among their members.
Unfortunately, owing to the disturbed political situation prevailing
at the time, I was not able to gather satisfactory systematic
data on this point. Almost all informants with whom I discussed [124]
the matter suggested that secondary partiti did in fact have more
pro-Mintoff members than their rivals. But the situation is not
quite as straightforward as it might appear. To begin with, the
statements of informants varied according to their own political
beliefs and their position in relation to the festa partiti. Rivals [575]
generally tried to place each other in an unfavourable light. Thus [578]
an anti-MLP member of a band club supporting a titular feast

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[1] Source: *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 40–111; and *The Malta Government Gazette* (5 March 1962), pp. 585–94.

[2] *IInd* (Cospicua, Senglea, Vittoriosa, Kalkara, Żabbar, M'skala), *IVth* (Żurrieq, Safi, Qrendi, Mqabba, Kirkop, B'buġia, Żejtun, M'xlokk), *VIth* (Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija, Attard, Naxxar, Gharghur). [103]

[3] Percentage of priests, monks and nuns in parenthesis.

575 578 621 665 would describe the rival club as a Mintoff stronghold, but suggested that his own club had relatively few MLP members. In contrast, a member of the rival club with the same political view would often say just the opposite. Parish priests generally gave very conservative estimates of the number of MLP supporters in the clubs, but usually said that the secondary clubs had more.

621 665 [464] Another factor which makes it difficult to be dogmatic about the political alignment of the partiti is that most are located in the southern villages. These communities are reservoirs of industrial labour and are generally strongly pro-Labour. For this reason, unbiased informants generally estimated that Labour supporters made up between half and three-fourths of the membership of all clubs, but that secondary clubs had slightly more. My own experience in Farruġ confirms this. I found there that about 70 per cent of the members of each partit are pro-Labour, although the leaders of the village MLP group are almost all from the St. Martin partit. This I suggested was due more to the shallowness of the leadership resources of the St. Roque partit than to the political inclination of its members.

575 621 665 At the policy level, all clubs usually maintain strict political neutrality. At least, all incorporate clauses to this effect in their by-laws, and many prohibit party newspapers and political discussions in the club. Nonetheless, some clubs are closely identified with a particular political party. Of the clubs that are aligned in this way, those that celebrate the titular feasts generally support one of the parties allied with the Church, usually the Nationalist Party; their rivals support the Labour Party. This alignment often comes about when a leading member of a club seeks political office. Where this occurs, members of the opposite festa partit, as a matter of course, give their votes to his chief opponent in another party, or to a rival in his own party. The political significance of the rivalry between festa partiti will be examined in the following chapter, together with some of the ways in which political candidates manipulate the partiti, and are, in their turn, manipulated by them.

But the tendency to political polarity of rival band clubs still does not explain why the leader of a secondary club, for example, supports the Labour Party, and not one of the rival parties. The chief reason for this, quite apart from the fact that he may have a personal preference for the party, is that the members of his own

festa partit form the nucleus of his political following. It is not 575
surprising therefore that he should support the party they favour. 621

There is another interesting way in which festa partiti in general, 665
and secondary partiti in particular, are related to support for the
Labour Party. In all villages divided by these partiti, people have 621
become conditioned to opposing the authority of the Church in 578
connection with matters dealing with the celebration of feasts. 665
This, I suggest, has enabled them to accept the anti-clerical out- 795
look of the Labour Party more easily than the people of villages not so divided. An old stone-cutter in Kortin, who was procurator of one of the small chapels in the village, once unconsciously pointed to the structural similarity of the MLP and secondary festa partiti. We were discussing the resemblance of the Strickland crisis of thirty years ago to the present political dispute, when he pointed to the parish church and remarked, 'I've always been against them. I was for Strickland. I'm for Mintoff, and if we had partiti here, I would support the secondary feast.' There is, of course, a difference between the opposition of a secondary partit and that of the MLP. Nonetheless, both oppose the authority of the Church and both resort to attacks on the clergy to drive home their points of view. This is anti-clericalism. Both the festa partiti and the Labour Party make a distinction between the person and the office of the cleric they attack, and they appear to attack the former rather than the latter. But repeated attacks upon the person holding an office may weaken the office itself. Thus prolonged anti-clericalism can lead to anti-religious sentiment, or at least prepare the way for it. This, I feel, has happened in the case of the festa partiti.

In challenging the decisions of the Church relating to matters of 578
festa policy a festa partisan often resorts to violence. He frightens 621
the priest with home-made bombs to show his displeasure, to try 79
and change the decision and even to compel him to leave the
village. But he never attacks the ultimate right of the Church or [626]
its ministers to make those decisions. Indeed, some friends in Farrug were quite shocked when I suggested that they were doing just this. On the other hand, this constant rebellion against the authority of the Church has accustomed people to being at odds for long periods with their parish priests as well as with the Archbishop. During these times, they often ignore what the Church has to say if it does not agree with the point of view they

578 hold. This is the accepted pattern of behaviour, not only in
villages divided by festa partiti, but also in others which have disputes
621 with the Church. But it is only in the villages with festa
79 partiti that these disputes, and the related anti-clerical action, take
place on a regularly recurring basis. In these villages, though
people are devout in observing many details of their religion,
constant opposition to the parish priest in matters connected with
festas has led them to look upon a measure of anti-clericalism as
part of their way of life.

578 The relative lack of respect for the clergy in these villages has
been partly responsible for a rather high turnover of parish
621 priests. It has been shown how uncomfortable festa partiti can
554 make the life of a parish priest. This, plus the meagre living in the
793 smaller parishes, prompts priests to look for openings in wealthier
and less troublesome villages. The Church itself regards the small
rural parishes as training or 'stepping-stone parishes', as a monsignor
from the Curia once described them to me. But even as
such, they are unpopular, and the Archbishop often has difficulty
finding priests willing to take charge of them. Farruġ, for
example, has had six parish priests since 1953. The lack of continuity
of Church leadership in these small, divided villages has
tended to weaken its influence there and to foster a lack of respect
for its authority.

In this social climate the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party
578 fits without great difficulty. Labour supporters have already had
621 experience as festa partisans in ignoring the commands of the
665 Church, and in enduring the taunts and disapproval of their rivals
795 in the other partit. For them anti-clericalism is nothing new, and
[626] they are thus not as vulnerable to public opinion and the sanctions
of the Church as persons in villages which do not have this
tradition of opposition to the Church.

But if there is a certain similarity between the anti-clerical behaviour of many festa enthusiasts and that of MLP supporters, most persons make a distinction between the two. The anti-clerical actions of the festa partiti are usually directed against particular clerics in connection with specific decisions. In contrast, the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party is directed at the Archbishop in particular and often at all priests in general. This difference stems from the fact that basically their challenge to the authority of the Church differs significantly. Where the festa partisan does

not rationalize the distinction he makes between the person and 578
the office of the cleric he attacks, though his behaviour shows that 621
he does make one, the Labour supporter often proclaims that he 665
makes such a distinction, when in fact he does not. The MLP not 795
only challenges the statements of the Archbishop which apply to the political scene, but often questions his right to make them. This explains the difference in the reaction of the Church to the two forms of anti-clericalism.

I have suggested that the one prepares the way for the other. The rebellious atmosphere created by the disputes between the festa partiti is, I believe, as important a factor as occupational class in explaining the relatively high degree of open support the Labour Party has in the southern villages. The extent of this support, especially in the smaller villages, in spite of the sanctions of the Church, came as a surprise to some of the leaders of the MLP, who had always thought of them as dominated by their parish priests, like the small villages in Gozo. But in the spring of 1961, the small villages of Kirkop, Dingli and Gudja were placed first, second and third in an MLP competition to find the community which had the greatest proportion of new Party members. I suggest that the support for the MLP in these three villages is due not so much to their proportion of industrial labourers, which in any case is not particularly high (23, 20 and 35 per cent respectively),[1] as to their strong tradition of rebellion against the authority of the Church. Kirkop and Gudja both have active festa partiti of long standing, and while Dingli has no festa partiti now, the village has a long history of opposition to its parish priests. For example, shortly after the First World War, the Dingli Social Club had an argument with the parish priest, and for many years after, members celebrated the national feast on 8 September, instead of the patronal feast of the Assumption, simply to annoy him.

V

But whatever complex and diverse reasons people have for taking 178
sides, the division has given rise to conflict in most villages. In 578
this respect Kortin is no different, as the slogans displayed during 621
the battle of the blackboards indicated. The division has cut right

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[1] *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 41-2.

178 across the village and the clubs, and has brought about conflict
578 within many families. People lament the change that has come
621 over the village as a result. An old bachelor friend often used to
complain that had we come to live there just a few years ago,
'before politics came and spoiled everything', we would have
found the village a far happier place. Picnics and outings were
more frequent then, and groups of friends used to gather on hot
summer evenings and stroll outside the village to play guitars and
sing the lilting Maltese *ghana* in the cool air away from the houses.
[575] There was also more life in the clubs. Both the Social Club and
the Band Club used to take part in the national carnival competition
[796] for the best decorated carts and costumed companies. But
as the political conflict has divided the island's carnival celebration
in two, so it has also affected the clubs. They now celebrate
neither the government's carnival nor that of the MLP for fear the
question of which one to participate in would provoke a fight
that would cripple the club.

578 Dun Bert, the parish priest in Kortin, is of course the head of
665 the local group which supports the Archbishop and opposes the
793 MLP. His chief lieutenants in the fight are the local clergy and the
794 lay leaders of the religious associations. Pawlu and Anton, his two
faithful helpers, are also vocal partisans, as is old Manwel. Dr.
Farrugia, old Manwel's son, as a former member of the Legislative
Assembly (MLA) and a leading member of one of the political
parties opposed to the MLP, also belongs to the pro-Church
division in the village, though he takes little part in its day-to-day
275 affairs. The main activity and support comes from the leaders of
578 the lay associations, especially of the Young Christian Workers,
665 the MUSEUM and the Sodality of Our Lady. These all meet regularly
794 in their respective premises. Many of the others, older men,
spend much of their free time in Kelinu's café. These include old
Manwel, Pawlu, Anton, the sacristan, the organist, and Dun
Mikiel and Dun Filip, respectively the chaplains of the female and
male sections of Catholic Action. This café, located right next to
Dr. Farrugia's house, is the nicest café on the square, or in the
village for that matter. It is the only one which the clergy, the
teachers and occasionally Dr. Farrugia himself, frequent. It is thus
the headquarters of the more influential village citizens who support
[517] the Archbishop. Most MLP supporters have stopped going to
it, although a few still play cards there for an hour or so in the late
afternoon when they return from work.

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afternoon when they return from work. Many Labour sym- 578
pathizers believe that the important anti-Labour demonstrations 665
and moves are plotted at Kelinu's. 794

The headquarters of the MLP group is the Labour Club, which is 575
situated just off the square and around the corner from Kelinu's. 665
Salvu, the ex-MLA who is the leader of the village Labour group, spends his evenings there with his lieutenants, the officers of the village Labour Committee. Salvu, a small building contractor, has had little formal education, but he has an engaging personality, a quick mind and is a persuasive speaker. He is also an excellent comic actor, a playwright of sorts, and the author of most of the
slogans that appear on the club's blackboard. Smaller groups of [275]
Labour supporters meet at one of the other cafés on the square, and at some of the wine shops near the chapel of St. Paul in the poorer section of the village. Other groups of pro-Labour friends often gather on the steps of the church or around a bench near the Labour club. They rarely go into the club itself, for all are anxious to avoid being marked as open Labour supporters by the village, which, generally speaking, is strongly anti-Labour.

The supporters of the Archbishop and those of the Labour 575
Party rarely meet face to face as organized bodies. When they do, 665
it is the occasion for a good deal of ill-feeling and, sometimes, open 794
hostility. This occurs when a big rally is organized in the village. Two such rallies were held in Kortin while we were living there. The first was on the occasion of a visit of the Archbishop; the second was a national MLP meeting. Dun Bert and his assistants organized a huge demonstration in honour of the Archbishop during his visit. It was a great success. The Labour club arranged a social and musical gathering the evening before to work up Party solidarity, but it closed its doors during the actual visit and cleaned off its blackboard in order not to provoke incidents. With but one exception, there were no incidents to spoil the enthusiastic welcome the villagers accorded the Archbishop. Many Labour supporters attended the demonstration, for the Archbishop was visiting the village as head of the Church in Malta to bestow the
sacrament of confirmation on the children. But as the Archbishop 578
and his excited escort approached the church, a bitter Labour 665
supporter made an insulting gesture at him. (People were quick 673
to inform us that the man was an outsider married into the 688
village.) He was subsequently arrested and convicted, for as 794

578

● 665 already noted, in Malta, it is a criminal offence to insult a minister
673 of religion. There were no other disturbances.

688 The Labour rally was rather a different story. The leader of the
694 MLP and the thousands of his supporters who came to Kortin to
578 hear him speak received a decidedly hostile reception. Though
Dun Bert did not organize a counter-demonstration for the
665 occasion, he did arrange a mass protest meeting the evening
794 before. The following day rival groups were out decorating. A
number of MUSEUM lads under the direction of one of the older
members pasted anti-MLP slogans all over the façade of the
church. At the same time, a group of men were busy hanging
posters and flags from the Labour club to welcome Dom Mintoff
to the village.

At 4 p.m. buses and cars began to stream into the village with
[796] thousands of MLP supporters from all over the island. At about the
same time the church bells began to call the faithful to a religious
procession in honour of Our Lady of Fatima which Dun Bert had
scheduled to take place during the Labour meeting. He himself
stood in the square watching the faithful gather in the church. He
also carefully observed those who passed by on their way to the
Labour meeting, which was being held right behind the church.
Most of the villagers who sympathized with the Labour Party
but who did not support it openly did not attend the meeting.
[783] They were anxious to avoid the open break with the rest of the
community which attending would have entailed. Besides, several
mentioned that their confessors had told them that they would
commit a mortal sin if they attended MLP meetings. All the open
supporters of the MLP in the village went to the meeting.

[796] The meeting began at about 4.30 p.m. and lasted for two hours.
Shortly after it had started, Dun Bert's procession of nearly a
thousand men, women and children slowly wound its way
through the village and returned to the church for a period of
prayer and worship. When the Labour meeting finally broke up,
most of the outside supporters departed quickly, though a number
were delayed because villagers had deflated the tyres of about
578 a dozen of their cars. At this time people also began to leave the
625 church. But the police, who were trying to keep a passage clear in
665 the centre of the square for the stream of departing Labour supporters,
794 kept them on the steps of the church. They waited there
for a while and then began singing hymns and songs in honour of

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the Pope and the Archbishop, stopping now and then to shout 578
insults at the passing Labour supporters. The square on the other
side of the police cordon began to fill up with people returning 625
from the meeting and others who left their houses to see what the 665
excitement was about. Gradually the songs became louder and 794
more excited, and the shouts hoarser. By then it was getting quite dark, but I could see Dun Mikiel in the front row, his hands thrust tensely into the pockets of his cassock, scowling at the passers-by while he smoked cigarette after cigarette. The tension by this time was almost electric. Suddenly, one of the local MLP supporters returning to the Labour club replied to a taunt by making a threatening gesture. The crowd in front of the church booed him loudly and surged forward. The police, anxious to hurry the trouble-maker off the square, pushed him a bit too hard and he stumbled and fell. This angered the crowd on the other side of the square and it began to press through the police cordon. At this point police reinforcements arrived and cleared the square in a few moments. Their prompt action prevented an ugly situation from going further, for there had been well over a thousand angry people facing each other, separated by less than two dozen unarmed policemen.

Four days after the meeting, Dun Bert organized a pilgrimage 578
of reparation to atone for the insults of the MLP speakers. The 665
procession of some 1,200 people reciting the Rosary escorted the 794
statue of Our Lady of Sorrows through the area behind the church [785]
where the Labour meeting had been held. About 400 of the par-
ticipants were outsiders who had come to Kortin from other parts [783]
of the island for the occasion. After the procession the crowd
gathered in front of the church where a Mass was said. A noted [796]
Jesuit orator then rebutted the MLP speeches point by point. The [537]
whole affair had almost passed off without incident when a number of stones and bottles were thrown from behind walls at the buses and cars leaving the village.

But if there are relatively few face-to-face meetings of this kind 575
in Kortin or elsewhere, there are many disputes that divide and 578
weaken the clubs and associations. This matter has particularly 665
affected Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, who feels responsible for preserving its unity in these difficult times. In Kelinu's, where many of the influential regulars are members of the Social Club, they say that it has become a Mintoff stronghold.

575 Many of them have stopped going there. In point of fact, Sur
Ġorġ and the secretary are strongly opposed to the Labour Party,
578 though many of the younger men and some of the most active
665 older members support it. A number of people living nearby have
complained that members praise Mintoff in loud voices. There is growing pressure on Sur Ġorġ to ban all political conversation there. He has so far resisted the pressure, for he believes that if he were to give in, he would drive away the very members who form the backbone of the club. His chief problem, as he described it to me, is how to focus the attention of the members on something other than politics. He is therefore doing his best to obtain the permits necessary to open the theatre for which they have been planning and saving for years. He feels that in the excitement of building, the members will forget their political differences and reunite, and thus the club will pass safely through this crisis. But the permits have been slow in coming and meanwhile the pressure on him is building up. Two important members of the committee have already resigned, 'under the influence of those busy-bodies in Kelinu's', as some members described it.

The men in charge of the St. Martin Band Club in Farruġ face much the same problem. As has already been noted, most of the leaders of the two political blocs in the village are members of the St. Martin club, and several of them are on its committee. This difference of political loyalty often provokes quarrels over matters
[574] of policy. During the centenary, for example, the committee were sharply divided over whether to salute the Archbishop with the customary barrage of fireworks when he entered the village to take part in the ceremony. The matter was put to a vote, and the MLP faction won. The disgruntled losers began talking about firing off their own salute of welcome. But the crisis that this action would have brought about was avoided when the Vicar-General officiated in place of the Archbishop, who was indisposed. As the MLP supporters had nothing against him, he received the full barrage of aerial bombs and fire crackers. The rift was thus healed, and all joined in to celebrate a rousing feast.

578 The following year the festa again brought a crisis with it. This
621 time it was a far more serious one. Most of the young Labour
665 supporters, in retaliation for the way the Church had attacked
their party and its leaders, flatly refused to have anything to do
794 with the feast. These young men included virtually all the partit's
796

fireworkers, and without their expert help it was feared that the 578
feast would be a miserable failure. Many Labour supporters also 621
instructed their parents and wives not to contribute money to the 665
feast. This depressing state of affairs continued for some time. 794

Then one day, about three months before the festa, Pietru, the 796
young schoolteacher who is head of Catholic Action and treasurer
of the St. Martin club, came up to me looking very pleased. He
said that the feast was saved. Several events had combined to work
up interest in it. It seems that most of the people had attended a [216]
large and very successful titular festa in a neighbouring village;
the St. Roque fireworkers had shot off three extremely well-made test rockets; and he himself had played his tape recording of
the St. Martin hymn, the anthem of the partit, over a loudspeaker in the square. These events revived interest in the festa
and in the reputation of the partit. Immediately afterwards the
secretary of the club, a Labour supporter who has set politics
aside for the honour of the partit, called a committee meeting to
discuss the problem of making fireworks. After several speeches
urging members to keep their politics from spoiling the feast, the
committee voted to make fireworks. Though two skilled fire- [389]
workers crossed the floor and agreed to help, none of the many [463]
experts among the rank and file followed suit. But soon after this
political loyalty again began to smother the rekindled partit spirit,
and one of the fireworkers all but dropped out. Moreover, Pietru,
who is the village's most eloquent and outspoken enemy of the
Labour Party, began to preach so vehemently to those he calls the
'lost sheep' of the club, that he antagonized many. His fund-raising suffered as a result.

About a month after this I met Toni at a festa in a neighbouring 578
village, and we had a long talk away from the interested eyes and 621
ears of Farruġ. Toni has been a member of the St. Martin Club
committee for nearly twenty years, and until some months ago 665
had been vice president. He was clearly very worried about the
club. People were already beginning to draw parallels between
the present situation and the events that led up to the split in
1930. He said he was doing his best to discourage such talk, and
had now begun working hard to avoid an open break.

He pointed out that he had experienced many crises in the partit and favoured a less blunt approach to winning back the interest of the MLP members than did the crusading Pietru. He felt that he

578 621 665 had already had some success wooing members back on a personal basis by talking only of the honour of the partit and leaving politics out altogether. He stressed that the main problem was not so much the feast but the survival of the club. 'If we can just weather out the storm until after the election we can save it.' He went on to describe how it had taken years to heal the division after the seceding Strickland supporters had rejoined in 1935. 'We must avoid a split at all costs, and the only way we can do that is to bury our political differences.' His technique for doing this was to have as few formal committee meetings as possible, to avoid discussing controversial subjects and to vote in secret, for in these times 'an open vote divides the members'.

578 621 794 796 [389] [868] The wise counsel and efforts of the older members, who have set politics aside, has so far kept the younger hot-heads from splitting the club. In spite of all the obstacles in its way, the feast of St. Martin turned out to be a good show. Though many supporters did not contribute, others gave more than usual and there were enough funds for a good feast. About a dozen boys worked under the direction of the two adult fireworkers, and made most of the fireworks. They gave a very good account of themselves, though not one of them is old enough (18) to join the club as a formal member. All are Catholic Action members. In fact, except for a few St. Roque boys, they are the only ones left in the society. The Catholic Action group once numbered almost fifty. The others, the sons of Labour families, had been forced out by the vote of loyalty to the Archbishop which the association's national headquarters had demanded. But their enthusiasm could not quite make up for their youth or their lack of numbers. During the Friday demonstration for the saint some outsiders who were supporters of the guest band had to help them carry the statue of their patron part of the way. This was a great comedown from the previous year, when his followers were so numerous that they had to struggle for a turn to carry him. But the noise and the gay atmosphere of the celebration rekindled the interest of a number of the Labour supporters. Several helped to erect the decorations on Saturday; a few even joined in one of the band matches.

VI

It is of course an open question how much longer the intense 178
partit spirit can survive in the face of the political division now 578
cutting across all festa partiti. In Farruġ the division between the 621
festa partiti, such a strong force in the past, is now of less importance
as a principle of social organization than the rivalry
between the supporters and opponents of the MLP. The relative 178
importance in Farruġ, as everywhere, of this latter division is
directly related to the intensity of the conflict at the national level 578
between the MLP and the Church. If it decreases, so will that at the 665
village level. But the longer it lasts, the more difficult it will be to 795
remove it completely from the social scene. Both the Church and
the Labour Party, through their respective societies, committees
and social clubs, are building up an institutional framework that is
incorporating this political opposition on a permanent basis in all
villages. This is taking place in much the same way as the confraternities
and social clubs a hundred years ago made permanent
the conflict between rival factions competing over the celebration
of saints.

The rivalry between the Church and the MLP, as well as that
between competing political parties, reflects the increasing involvement
of the villager in the political life of his country. It was
perhaps only due to Malta's peculiar position as a colony and an
island fortress, a role which effectively prevented the development
of an active internal political life of the more conventional
kind, that competition over church privileges and saints was able
to assume the importance it has. It is not surprising that the
changing nature of Malta's strategic and constitutional position
should alter the tempo and character of its internal political life. [621]
In the villages, this change is reflected in the weakening of the
festa partiti by national political issues.

557 patrons; others have established fairly close contact with them
602 through business relations.

The patronage of the parish priest has traditionally been
557 important. Not only are all villagers his spiritual clients, but he is
793 also a source of charity and assistance in many fields. He serves his
parishioners individually in the capacity of legal adviser, character
reference and often also as letter-writer and banker. He frequently
argues their claims against the government. He also represents the
interests of the community at large, and attempts, often
successfully, to obtain improved public amenities such as new roads,
street lighting and so on. At least, this is the role that he occupied
until the introduction of representative government.

III

557 Influence through the networks of personal relations and patrons
is the traditional method of handling contacts with authority. It
662 still operates when representative government is in abeyance. But
the advent of elected government introduced a new set of
relations, and provided a new focus of power. Political parties and
professional politicians provided new and surer channels of
influence and sources of patronage, though they have not replaced
the old ones. The villager now uses both old and new channels,
separately or together.

662 The organization of all parties, at least before Mintoff
reorganized the Labour Party, was rather simple. Party interests were
665 represented in the villages by personal canvassers or party agents,
as well as by the candidates themselves. The old Labour Party
under Paul Boffa had a number of village party committees.
When the party was returned to power, patronage and influence
flowed abundantly, and brought the whole structure into vigorous
life. The canvassers became important people who could pass
along requests and schedule appointments with the local MLA's
[464] and even the Ministers. They also helped the local MLA's prepare
the lists of people who were to be given jobs, for until 1955 most
[653] of the lower-grade industrial labourers with the Public Works
Department were employed upon the recommendation of the
local MLA's. Politicians who held office before 1955 often told me
that making out the employment rosters and dealing with the
daily queue of job-seekers were among their most difficult and

662 665 time-consuming tasks. To help as many as possible, they often made up new job rosters every few months.

Canvassers would often expect presents for their work as intermediaries and for the favours they promised or secured. By and large, the party agents or canvassers were not popular figures, at least in retrospect. I came across many accounts of how they had exploited their positions to enrich themselves. The usual story was that they had accepted gifts – a rabbit, some chickens, a bottle of whisky or even cash – but had not assisted as they had promised. These tales may or may not be true; I had no way of checking. It is significant, however, that persons of all political colours, including former Ministers and MLA's, believe them to be true.

647 662 665 [656] [653] [464] Mintoff's government did much to change the course of the stream of political patronage. To begin with, shortly after it came into office in 1955, the MLP passed a law which made it compulsory for those seeking employment with the government as industrial labourers to register with the Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare.[1] There they had to wait their turn. This took away from MLA's a considerable source of patronage. The MLP also established special sub-committees of the Labour Committees in each village to deal with the complaints and requests of the local inhabitants. A member of the sub-committee was generally available to the public for an hour or two every evening. All requests for assistance and complaints were discussed by the entire sub-committee, which would countersign the routine ones and send them along to the appropriate government department. More important matters were brought personally to the attention of the civil servant concerned by a member of the sub-committee. Complicated requests and serious complaints were forwarded to the District Committee, where they were discussed at the regular weekly meetings with the district MLA's, who might then take the matter up directly with the Minister. Civil servants, on the whole, handled complaints and requests for action from the Local Committees with much the same dispatch they would give a request from their Minister. Some Ministers even went so far as to instruct their Department Heads to ignore all complaints brought to them by private persons, especially parish priests. They were told only to act on those presented by the Local Committee.

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[1] Act No. XIV, 1955: 'An Act to Make Provisions for the Establishment and Regulation of an Employment Service.'

653 Another very important function the Local Committees performed
● 665. during the period the MLP was in power was to obtain improvements for the village. Requests for drainage, new roads, street lighting and, above all, new schools, were submitted to the District Committees. There the proposals were screened and given priority ratings by the committee members and the district MLA's. When these projects were implemented, and a large number were, the Local Committees naturally received credit for them. This added to their claim to represent their villages, and strengthened the formal structure of the party.

647. This system of handling patronage and complaints gave the villager a direct contact with authority. It was a fairly simple
662 procedure, and many considered it reasonably impartial, though
665 of course it did help to be a member of the Labour Party in good standing. Moreover, the complainant, even though he might not succeed in his cause, had the satisfaction that it had received attention, and it did ~~not~~ cost him a nice fat rabbit. This does not
578 mean that there was no abuse. Civil servants complained that they
647. were often intimidated by zealous MLP members who threatened to report them to their Ministers if they did not comply as
66. requested. This friction was particularly keen between the Local Committee members and the village police, street sweepers and teachers. One head teacher I knew was particularly bitter about his caretaker, who was a member of the village MLP committee. The caretaker would stroll into the head teacher's office if he disagreed with the disciplining of a child, for example, and threaten to report him to the Minister if he did not lighten the punishment.

647 But on the whole, the MLP made a concerted effort to take
665 patronage out of the hands of canvassers and MLA's alike and channel it through the various committees of the party apparatus.
662 This not only strengthened the party, it also won it considerable popularity. Moreover, it relieved MLA's and Ministers of a heavy administrative load; they were only called in on the more complicated matters. In short, the Local Committees came to function as branches of the government.

When the Labour Government resigned in 1958, the MLP clubs and committees lost the influence they had with government. They once more became merely propaganda and social centres. But the role they had played for three years in representing the interests of government at the village level and in

forwarding the requests and complaints of the villagers to government had greatly increased their strength, and that of the party they represented. As the members operated as a formal committee and not as individuals, they had the esteem and respect of most of the community. They also had considerable power in local affairs. In fact, for three years the leaders of the Labour group in the village ranked alongside the parish priest and the professionals as the most prominent and influential citizens of the village. The canvassers of the rival parties had perhaps had power, but they had never had respect. Theirs was always rather an underhanded operation, that was often disowned by MLA's when they were confronted with it. The MLP, on the other hand, delegated responsibility to Local Committees, and the Ministers legitimized them by openly working through them in all their relations with the villages. Villagers were also openly encouraged to work through them. These committees thus served the ends of the Labour Party most successfully. It is quite likely, therefore, that in the future other parties will find it politically as well as administratively expedient to develop and work through village committees patterned on the model so successfully tested by the Labour Party. 647 662 665 [554]

The party system has come into direct conflict with the traditional relations between patron and client at relatively few points. This is largely because most patrons who desired to were able to move successfully into the new field of party politics. A notable exception are priests, who are no longer permitted by their Bishops to stand for national political office. Their power to influence authority has thus been weakened by the new source of patronage and influence open to their parishioners. In particular, parish priests came into open conflict with the village MLP committees during the Labour Party's time in power after 1955. Not surprisingly, their clash at the village level mirrored the dispute between the Archbishop and the MLP at the national level. That is, it was a conflict between the religious authority of the Church and the secular authority of the State, represented in the villages by the Local Committees of the Labour Party. Both the parish priest and the Local Committee claimed to represent the village, and both sought by mobilizing their supporters to advance their claim at the expense of their opponents. This invariably resulted in a struggle for power during which the Labour supporters were 578 647 662 665 793.

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647 accused of being anti-clerical and against the Church because they
662 opposed the will of the parish priest.

●665 Shortly after Mintoff took office, the Local Committee in
793 Kortin made plans to open a new avenue into the village. The
scheme, first projected by government planners over sixty years
578 before, was designed to ease the flow of traffic through the village
647 and provide a wide, tree-lined promenade leading to the main
square in front of the church. Unfortunately, the project required
653 the demolition of four buildings, two of which were small
665 chapels used as warehouses for the festa decorations. Because of
793 this Dun Bert, the parish priest, bitterly opposed the scheme, as
had his predecessors. He claimed that most of the village supported
him. The Labour Committee, on the other hand, felt that it had
the backing of the village, and went ahead with the project. The
road was finally opened, and it proved to be a great success. But
the two small churches were destroyed, and the relations between
the Labour group and the parish priest remained hostile. Six years
later, Dun Bert and his supporters were still pointing to the
avenue as positive proof that the Labour Party is fundamentally
opposed to the Church.

IV

463 But if the political parties have modified the traditional system of
665 patronage somewhat by providing a new channel of influence for
the villager, the professional politician of today is by and large the same traditional patron. That is, the successful politicians are largely drawn from the professional classes; they are still the doctors, the lawyers, the architects and the chemists. Indeed, until recently the lists of candidates often read like directories of the professional classes. This situation prevailed until about the time of the Labour Party split in 1949, when virtually all the professional class Labour MLA's sided with Dr. Boffa and formed the Workers' Party, while most of the MLP Executive and the rank and file supported Mintoff. After this the Labour Party asked people from all classes to stand as candidates, and began to push up working-class leaders trained in union and club politics. But the politicians from the professional class still heavily outnumber their working-class colleagues, even in the Labour Party.

Table 8 below illustrates this. Of the fifty MLA's elected in the

1962 elections, three-fourths are members of the professional 463
classes. The remainder are persons who, for the most part, have 665
risen to positions of influence through party and trade union
hierarchies.

TABLE 8. Occupation of Candidates Elected to the 1962 Malta Legislative Assembly [162]

OCCUPATION	POLITICAL PARTY				
	Nationalist	*Labour*	*Other*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Professional	24	9	5	38	76
Administrative	1	4	2	7	14
Skilled Labour	—	3	2	5	10
Total	25	16	9	50	100

The way a political candidate recruits a following depends upon 666
his status and party. All candidates recruit support through their relatives and friends; and all usually have a following in their own villages outside this circle of relatives. To get this, they must usually be successful politicians at the village level. It is for this reason that so many politicians are also presidents of local band and social clubs, and even of some of the lay apostolate societies. Next, every candidate must establish contact with the people in his electoral district outside the village. Since there are usually at least five candidates from each party standing in every district, each normally concentrates his campaign on one part of the district. He does this by making frequent rounds of all the band and social clubs and important wine shops in his territory. There he listens to complaints and requests and, in general, tries to establish a reputation as a generous and approachable person without committing himself to do specific favours. But above all, it is important for him to meet many people, for the Maltese voter does not like to give his first vote to a person he, or at least some member of his immediate family, does not know personally. Finally, all candidates tour their districts just before the election and make speeches.

Candidates who are doctors, lawyers, notaries, architects and 557
so on, have a decided advantage. As professionals, they already 662
have close personal contact with a large number of clients, many
of whom are bound to them by debts, or obligated to them for 666
help and favours. These obligations are important, for the Maltese
villager does not like to receive something for nothing, and he

557 662 666 does not rest easily until he has repaid it. This is as true of corporate groups such as the band clubs as it is of individuals Frequently the financial circumstances of the client, or the very nature of the favour, make it difficult or impossible for him to meet his obligation. His vote, and those of his family, provide the logical and accepted means to this end. This extends the relationship between patron and client to include that between politician and constituent.

66 Candidates who do not have the professional qualifications or high status necessary to recruit a following in this way are at a disadvantage. This is especially true for many of the Labour Party candidates, whose education and social standing at times compare unfavourably with those of their rivals. It was principally to overcome this handicap that the Labour Party sought to strengthen the party at the expense of individual candidates. It did this by limiting the system of political patronage which prevailed under previous governments and curbing the influence of the canvassers. In fact, the MLP officially forbade its candidates to employ canvassers. (Though, of course, many candidates have informal canvassers in their friends, relatives and clients.) At the same time, the party directed its propaganda at building up the image of the party and its leader. Labour supporters were constantly urged to vote for the party and not for individuals. By and large its campaign has been most successful. Its sympathizers not only vote for candidates who do not conform to the traditional image of the professional patron-politician, but they also vote across class lines, i.e. the teacher voting for an ex-dockyard fitter.

578 621 665 666 All candidates have to take into account the parochial rivalries which often cut across their districts. This is particularly true of the rivalry between the festa partiti. It has been noted that there is often a political polarity between festa partiti in the same village, and that sometimes the rivalry is so strong that partisans vote against a political party simply because a leading member of the rival partit is a candidate for it. But the number of people who place loyalty to their festa partit before support of a political party is declining. Nonetheless, if parochial rivalry no longer determines which party will get the votes, it very often decides which of the candidates within the party will. Many people have assured me that it is almost unheard of for a member of a festa partit to vote for a member of the rival partit, even though both support the

same political party. Thus a politician who is also a leading 578
member of a festa partit always asks a rival candidate from his 621
party to come to his village and canvass the party votes from the 665
opposite festa partit. 666

Most people believe that politicians trade promises to assist
festa partiti in return for votes. One well-known Labour politician 621
who is the leader of the secondary festa partit in his own village, 66
made such a promise to gain the support of a neighbouring
secondary partit that was facing eviction. In return for the votes of
the partit, he offered to introduce a bill into the Legislative
Assembly which would prevent landlords from evicting band
clubs. The proposition appealed to the partit and the bill, which [671]
gained a great deal of support for the Labour Party from other
clubs as well, became law.[1] In fact, it was one of the first laws the MLP enacted after it was returned to office in 1955. Partly as a result of his promise of assistance, but also because of his keen interest in the problems of secondary festa partiti, this candidate became so identified with this neighbouring partit that he had to ask MLP candidates from the other side of the electoral district to bid for the Labour votes of the members of the opposite partit. He naturally asked them to canvass the Labour votes of the titular partit in his own village as well.

But perhaps the most famous case of this kind, and certainly the most conspicuous, took place in Gozo. For many years the supporters of the Leone partit in Rabat had been embarrassed by the fact that the statue of their beloved patron could not be taken in processions from the cathedral. There was simply no way for her to pass through the walls of the old citadel in which the cathedral was situated. The members of the partit wished to remedy this by breaching the wall and making a large gate, but the Antiquities Board strongly opposed the idea. Finally, an ambitious MLP candidate came to their rescue. He is alleged to have promised them help if they voted for him. Whether the deal for votes is true I do not know. I do know, however, that the politician was elected
and succeeded in having a huge new gate torn in the historic
citadel. That he did this at public expense, against the orders of his [626]
Ministers and in defiance of the Antiquities Board, is evidence of
his ingenuity and single-mindedness. Of course, it might also have

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[1] Act V, 1955: 'An Act to Amend the Reletting of Urban Property (Regulation) Ordinance.'

662 to switch to the party with best chance of success, for they know
666 that if he is elected, he will channel patronage to them, often at
the expense of the rest of his electoral district.

This system of voting also encourages contests between can-
578 didates from the same party. Such contests, carried out in public
66 and in the heat of a campaign, often create hostility among the
leaders of the party, and weaken its solidarity.

Finally, because this proportional system makes it possible for popular minority candidates to be elected, it encourages dissident factions to hive off from the major parties and found new ones. This seriously weakens the parent parties. Thus, although the only
665 political division of real importance is that between the supporters
666 of the Archbishop and those who favour Mintoff, there are now
six political parties in Malta. It is not surprising therefore that the minority parties, and Miss Strickland's Progressive Constitutional Party in particular, are strongly in favour of retaining the present electoral system. Without it they would not be represented. The Malta Labour Party, which favours a strong two-party system, would prefer to see substituted an electoral system which would eliminate the smaller parties and strengthen the major parties. The Nationalist Party, although it would benefit from a change in the electoral system which would eliminate many of its rivals, has remained relatively silent on this point. This is because most of its leading members are patron-politicians of the old school. They owe their political life and the influence they command to the electoral system which has enabled them to build their own personal political organizations. The Nationalist Party is a party of respected and influential men, but in their strength lies its weakness. It is a party of politicians, rather than a politician's party. Dr. Borg Olivier, the Nationalist Prime Minister, is a first among equals; he does not lead his party in the sense that Mintoff leads the Malta Labour Party.

In short the Maltese system of proportional representation
[578] facilitates the emergence of minority parties. It also weakens the
major parties by promoting intra-party rivalry and helping to
keep alive the tradition of local patron-politicians. These factors
642 militate against the development of a strong central government.
66 It can be argued forcefully that Malta, which is facing a critical
period in its economic and constitutional development, is now in
greater need of a strong central government than ever before. It

none of these things. This study of village politics has thus been 795
largely concerned with parish politics. In this field the Church is the arbiter of all issues of policy. It is therefore the authority that hands down decisions on matters which concern the community; it is also the authority against which disappointed petitioners rebel.

II

At the national level, the picture is similar. Since the Church for 578
so long has represented the interests of a solidly Catholic people 654
vis-à-vis the State, it has always exercised considerable influence, if
not authority, in matters of national policy. Hence some groups 665
have often disagreed with its decisions. Both during the late 795
'twenties and early 'thirties and more recently, political parties have rebelled against its authority. Their rebellions have given rise to conflicts that have divided the country.

Though the Maltese do not regard this conflict as permanent, it would seem from its recurrence during Malta's only two periods of sustained representative government that it is, in fact, inherent in the social system. That is, it has followed almost inevitably upon the introduction of elected government into a society linked as closely with the Church as Malta is. Issues of national policy, which in countries where the Church is not such an integral part of society would be regarded as purely political and devoid of religious content, in Malta become matters on which the Church feels obliged to make known its views. Disputes arise when the views of a political party differ from those held by the Church. The party then accuses the Church of interfering in politics, and is in turn charged by the Church with being anti-clerical. Political issues become religious ones, or, seen from another point of view, religious ones become political. But in the dispute which follows, people from all walks of life are forced to make a choice between Church and political party. The resulting conflict divides the islands into bitterly opposed factions.

The persistence of this conflict, of course, is partly dependent upon the continuing survival of a political party at variance with the Church. In the past this was Strickland's Constitutional Party; at present it is the Malta Labour Party; in the future it may be yet another. The conflict which divided the country thirty years ago diminished after Strickland made peace with the Church; it

578 disappeared when the old Constitutional Party died out in the long
period of Governor's rule and the war that followed. At present,
659 however, the MLP shows no signs of weakening. On the contrary,
● 665 it is as tightly united and strong today as it has ever been. Thus
795 this conflict will in all probability continue to divide Malta and
Gozo in the foreseeable future, though its intensity may fluctuate.

It is well to remember that this study was carried out at a time
114 when the hostility between these two camps was at its peak. Some
578 of the examples that have been given, therefore, are extreme cases
659 which would have been quite inconceivable even ten years ago.
665 It is also possible that ten years hence they will appear equally
795 strange. But this does not detract from the relevance of the
analysis, for if the examples given are ephemeral, the principles
which they illustrate are permanent.

III

578 In many respects the rebellion of a political party against the
659 authority of the Bishop is similar to that of a festa partit against its
parish priest. There is an important difference, however; the festa
665 partit can appeal an unfavourable decision of its parish priest to
795 the Archbishop. If the latter rules against the partit, it can bring
pressure to bear that may result in the transfer of the parish priest.
[626] A political party, on the other hand, cannot appeal the unfavourable decisions of the Bishop to any local authority, for in his diocese his word is law. Though in theory such disputes can be referred to the Holy See, in practice, as in the case of Strickland's conflict with the Church, they fester for so long that by the time Rome is brought in reconciliation is difficult, if not impossible. If in practice a political party cannot appeal to a higher authority, it can even less agitate for the replacement of the Bishop. Thus disputes remain unresolved and the supporters of the political party become progressively more anti-clerical. Finally, their anti-clericalism is equated with anti-Catholicism, and their rebellion against authority with revolt against the social order.

But is it in fact a revolution? It is important to draw a clear distinction between rebellion and revolution.[1] In the case of the former, people may turn against a leader personally, and may

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[1] Cf. Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 28.

even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the 578
office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only
the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social 654
order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has 665
strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in 795
insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as though he were bent on overthrowing the established social order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of countries which have fought successful battles against the Church. Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are
beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, [205]
'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the [656]
Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose
by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its [668]
way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

IV

But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly 578
united communities, life goes on and the social order does not 621
disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively
little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the 665
Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often 794
caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

578 there have been remarkably few of the overtly hostile attacks,
common when festa partiti are registering disagreement. What
621 accounts for the qualitative difference in the violence between the
● 665 groups involved in these two types of conflict? What prevents the
794 national political conflict from degenerating into widespread
violence, from destroying normal relations, thus making
shambles of the social order? Is it merely the presence of a large,
efficient police force?

In point of fact, there are many institutions and ties that operate
578 to exert pressure on the opponents to reach a settlement, and so
621 prevent the dispute from destroying the social system. The most
626 important of the factors that inhibit the spread of conflict is the
665 existence of persons whose loyalties are divided between the con-
flicting sides. Such persons have a vested interest in the main-
795 tenance of peace and limitation of the area of conflict.[1]

The considerable difference between the disputes of festa partiti with the Church, and the conflict between the Church and the Labour Party, has been stressed. The disputes involving festa partiti are localized, their course is highly formalized, there are acknowledged peace-makers: they are clearly rebellions in the sense that Gluckman uses. These disputes are also tightly circumscribed by customary safeguards which keep them from spreading and channel them through set stages until they have been resolved. It is patterned action which, in spite of its occasional violence, does not threaten the position of the Church. In contrast, the conflict between the MLP and the Church is not localized, it is not circumscribed by a body of custom which keeps it from spreading, and there are no acknowledged peace-makers who can mediate between the disputants. Not only is it inherent, it is irresoluble. There is an air of revolt about it and if it were allowed to run to the violence of some of the clashes between festa partiti and the Church, it could throw the country into civil war. The violence of the festa partiti does not threaten the social order, that between supporters of the Church and the MLP would.

What keeps the conflict from becoming more violent are the thousands of persons who have their allegiances divided between the Church and the Labour Party. All these people work to keep the conflict from spreading, if not actually to make peace. Who are they? They are the countless persons whose families have been

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[1] *Ibid., passim.*

divided by the conflict, the office-holders who have laid politics 578
aside to preserve the unity of the clubs for which they are responsible, 621
the many who have sought to avoid open commitments to
either side, and to remain in contact with both. They are the 626
people who, in spite of all that has been preached and said against 665
them by both sides, still look to both the Archbishop and Mintoff as their leaders, the one in the religious sphere, the other in the political. They see nothing inconsistent in hanging pictures of the two side by side in their houses. All have a vested interest in peace; and all work in their own way to keep the conflict from spreading and destroying completely their customary way of life.

At one time the entire civil service worked to prevent the 578
spread of conflict in much the same way. When the Labour 626
Party took over the government many civil servants, forced by
the nature of their office to carry out the orders of the party in 647
power, were obliged to administer policies which were contrary 665
to the declared interests of the Church. Their loyalties were thus 795.
often divided between the two. Some of the higher civil servants carried messages between the two sides. Others called at the Curia merely to assure the Church that they implemented unwillingly the controversial policies. Yet others acted quietly in their own various ways to reduce the tension between government and Church that made their own positions so uncomfortable. Civil servants at all levels thus worked to keep the Church and the Labour Government in touch with each other and exerted considerable pressure to prevent the relations between the two from deteriorating even more. But their conciliatory influence came to an end when the Labour Party resigned. It is not surprising, therefore, that with the removal of this bridge between the MLP and the Church, the conflict became more intense almost immediately.

The two sides are now linked together only by the many persons 578
with conflicting allegiances. Yet their ability to keep the 626
conflict from spreading is slowly being reduced by the uncompromising 665
position of the Church which is forcing them to take
sides openly. As these persons reluctantly do so, the important 795
cross links that tie the two combatants together are snapped off one by one, and the conflict becomes progressively more intense.

V

578 What of the future? It would seem likely that the present con-
665 flict will continue. The dispute between the Church and the
795 Labour Party has become institutionalized in many villages
through their respective associations and social clubs. The major
political activity at the village level will thus most likely continue
to be a reflection of that at the national level. It will be a dispute
between those who wish to preserve the identity of the village as
a parish, with the dependence upon the Church that it implies,
and the secular elements who wish to establish the village as a
578 political unit apart from the Church. But there will also be other
621 conflicting groups, such as the festa partiti, which will continue
665 to manipulate this political division to their own advantage. The
795 leader of one of the secondary festa partiti indicated to me how
this may take place. He was discussing the recent attempts of the
[626] Association of Secondary Feasts to increase the scale of its mem-
bers' feasts, and concluded by remarking, 'If the Archbishop
doesn't increase our feast this year, ninety per cent of the club will
vote for Mintoff in the coming election.' Thus in the future, as in
the past, the Church will continue to be one of the central actors
in the drama of Maltese village politics.

Appendix B

Extracts from the 1962 Electoral Manifesto of the Malta Labour Party[1]

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666

The Malta Labour Party reaffirm their democratic socialist principles which do not run counter to Christian beliefs and solemnly subscribe to:

(1) the right of every nation, however small, to govern itself and to determine its own international relations in its own best interest and for the furtherance of its own progress and prosperity.

(2) freedom of conscience. This ensures for every citizen the right to exercise his own religious beliefs without hindrance and at the same time to fulfil his civic duties without pseudo-religious interference.

(3) the equality of all citizens before the law of the land. This implies not only the adherence to the Charter of Human Rights but also the abolition of medieval privileges which have retarded our own social and economic progress. Any interference with the right of a democratically elected majority to implement the people's mandate is a crime.

(4) equal opportunities to all citizens. This entails freedom of speech at public meetings, in the press, on the air, universal suffrage, free compulsory education, full employment and adequate social services from the cradle to the grave. Whilst the right to private ownership is by no means denied, the state must exercise the positive function of preventing any individual or group of individuals from dominating the heights of the nation's economy and dictating living standards to their fellow citizens. The Malta Labour Party firmly believe in the right of the people to have the final say in the nation's vital means of production. All forms

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[1] Source: *The Voice of Malta*, 7 and 14 January 1962.

665 of Co-operative and Social ownership should therefore be encouraged in order to curb the excesses of unbridled capitalism.

666 (5) Charter of the United Nations and the equality of all the human races – black, white or coloured. In particular Maltese Labour believe in the right of every nation to choose the method of government and the social system most consonant with its economic environment and its special political and social stage of development. The division of the world into two huge power blocs, the one intent on destroying the other, militates against world peace and the brotherhood of man. Whilst therefore communism with its anti-democratic suppression of freedom of conscience, freedom of association and other restrictive human rights earns Labour's unequivocal condemnation, the means chosen so far to combat it – namely nuclear weapons and military alliances are equally reprehensible. Labour believe in a reinvigorated United Nation's Organization able to enforce the principles embodied in the Charter through an international police force.

II. INDEPENDENCE

648 665 666 Since time immemorial our islands have been dominated by foreign powers. Our people have not therefore been the custodians of these fundamental human rights. On the contrary our social, political and economic institutions have been at the mercy of foreign masters who have fashioned them to suit their own requirements. . . .

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1940) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

almost as varied and barbaric as at the Holy Fire in Jerusalem. 527
During the rare pauses between the bangs of the explosives and the splutterings of the pyrotechnical diversions one was just able to catch the sound of the chanting of an ecclesiastical procession, faintly audible reminder that the excuse for all this sound was a religious anniversary.

Nor was this by any means all. In an open space outside 527
the village a band was trying in the face of considerable 533
difficulties to play a secular air from some opera, all the bandsmen dressed in what might at a distance have passed for a naval Commander's white uniform, with aiguillettes of yellow cord. All, that is to say, except the *maestro*, whom I still see in my mind's eye as an elderly, worn-out, languid, apathetic cynic in a drooping Panama hat, with a cigarette hanging limply from his lower lip. Two hundred yards away another band was competing with an entirely different tune. Not that it mattered in the least. Nobody was paying the slightest attention to the music; and, even if they had been, neither band had a hope of making its output prevail over the other component parts of the general din.

Likewise do I recall a *festa* in Gozo, where the band, in this case not in uniform, was playing as it marched round the village square. But it afforded the pleasant sight of a man in a brown Homburg hat nonchalantly beating with his right hand the big drum which was being carried fore and aft by two small boys, while fanning himself with his music, which he held in his left.

These particular bands were professionals hired for the 533
occasion, for the villages in question were not large enough 665
to possess bands of their own. But in the large casals the band is a local institution of far wider significance than the specifically musical. Next to the parish church it is probably the most important social nucleus of the township, and influential personages regard it as a distinction to be offered the patronage or honorary Presidency of its organization. It may have even a political connotation. In the towns which

533 665 are populous enough to run to two bands these will as likely as not be identified with the opposing political parties.

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357 No book about Malta, no chapter making mention of the country people, would be complete without reference to a class of Maltese largely drawn from the country-folk. In these days, when domestic service is shunned by potential employees and thought of more as a myth than as something that once existed by would-be employers, it is my pleasant duty to record that Maltese servants can be among the best in the world. Such, at all events, has been my experience and that of many of my friends in Malta. Where employer and employee have been able to establish a relationship of mutual esteem and respect (and few people are more ready to respond in this way than the Maltese domestic), the employer in Malta may confidently count not only upon receiving from members of the household staff faithful, efficient and loyal service but upon retaining, if he or she is only a sojourner in the island, their affectionate regard long after he or she has left its shores.

It is, however, regrettable but necessary to add that since these words were first written domestic servants are tending to become as rare in Malta as they are elsewhere.

114 357 Shortly after the First World War a gentleman named Eric Shepherd came to Malta as Professor of English Literature at the University, and remained there for three years. On his experiences during those three years Mr Shepherd subsequently wrote a book called *Malta and Me*,[1] which abounds in puckish humour and flashes of insight and is often extremely entertaining.

But partly because of its puckishness, partly because the author laid what might appear to some to be excessive emphasis on such drawbacks to life as may exist in Malta

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[1] Selwyn and Blount, 1926.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of 1936, which superseded the original self-governing 642
Constitution of 1921. In 1946 Sir Harold MacMichael, a 646
distinguished retired administrator in the Middle East, was invited by the British Government to formulate detailed proposals for constitutional reform after consultation with the National Assembly. His recommendations[1] provided for a Legislative Assembly of forty members elected on a system of proportional representation and led to the re-establishment of self-government in September 1947.[2] But some responsible elements regretted that they made no provision for the Second Chamber or Senate which had existed under the Constitution of 1921.

The elections gave Malta the first Labour Government in 665
its parliamentary history, under Dr (later Sir) Paul Boffa; 642
this made way in 1950 for one formed by the Nationalists, whose earlier dismissal had led to the suspension of the Constitution in 1933.[3] The new Government was headed—for such are the vicissitudes of politics—by the veteran pro-Italian Enrico Mizzi, who had been interned in East Africa during the war and died in December 1950, three months after taking office. In 1951 his successor, the Nationalist Dr G. Borg Olivier, formed a Coalition with Dr Boffa's "Malta Workers' Party"; this Coalition remained in power until defeated in 1955 by the Left-Wing Labour Leader, Mr Dominic Mintoff,[4] a former Rhodes Scholar who had been Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction in the Boffa Ministry but seceded from his former chief in 1950.

Already in the time of Dr Borg Olivier there had been 642
inaugurated a series of talks in London between the Secretary 648
of State for the Colonies and the Maltese Prime Minister 668
and Leader of the Opposition on proposed changes in Malta's

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[1] Published in 1947 as Colonial No. 207 and analysed in the White Paper "Malta; Statement on Constitutional Reform (Comd. 7014) of Jan. 1947." [113]

[2] See p. 137.

[3] See pp. 135–137.

[4] Mintoff is a variation of the name usually spelled Mintuf, which is the Maltese word meaning 'plucked.' [557]

By the end of the century the struggle had resolved itself into extremes. 175*
Mizzi and his followers resorted to continuous legislative obstruction as the 64
only but rather unworthy weapon left for what they maintained was a fight for
responsible government. Strickland as Chief Secretary pointed correctly to the 665
damaging effects such tactics were having on all policies including those of education, public health, etc., but conducted an offensive/defensive battle on equally intransigeant lines. Meanwhile British, Imperial as opposed to economic, effort was at its climacteric and Malta as a fortress, whose only value was as a fortress, had to 'suffer' the consequences; a necessary qualification must be made that this really entailed only subordination in status and was accompanied by great advances in all that the mid-twentieth century would term 'welfare services'.

In 1903 Anglo-Italian relations were good and improving, the Crown and the [666]
Vatican, Governor and Archbishop all in amity, while in Malta, 180,000 people had 10,000 enfranchised electors of whom less than 4,000 ever voted. In the Legislative Council, however, tempers were at blazing point and obstruction produced deadlock. Followed Chamberlain's bombshell abrogating the constitution. With effect from 3rd June the Governor's Executive Council and the official group within the Council of Government were given majority power and complete control over policy and action. The reserve powers were re-invoked in all their strength. Malta entered the Modern Age in an unhappy political state, a state vocally resented by a few, ignored by the apathetic majority and a cause of unhappy puzzlement to Westminster.

In retrospect, to the writer at least, the most amazing feature of these developments appears to be their inevitability. Judged in isolation, it may appear facile to suggest that with the stage as set in preceding centuries, with players such natural 'typecast' products of past experience, no other play could have been produced. Judged along with the other evidence, the unity, the cohesion of all things Maltese do make it rather difficult to subscribe here to a doctrine of free-will.

Of the elements in Maltese social life most affected by institutional forces two are of very relevant interest to us, viz. public health and education. Some brief consideration is therefore given to the main developments of these sectors.

As noted in Chapter VI A the death rate in the Maltese Islands fluctuated 175*
considerably but showed a slowly accelerating decline. During the century that 749
elapsed between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the beginning of World War I, the main health improvements resulted from public works construction of a piped water-supply and sewerage systems in the most populated parts of the island of Malta. Developments in preventive remedial medicine and in disease control were slower mainly because of their greater dependence on trained medical staff and on public acceptance of new ideas.

At the mid-nineteenth century conditions were not very propitious for the consideration of suggestions for reducing mortality. Forecasts of impending Malthusian catastrophe were combined with diatribes on the improvidence of early marriage in many surveys by articulate Maltese of a presumed state of overpopulation. The inarticulate members of society continued to regard as normal conditions of which Sutherland (5) said: 'I have very seldom met with conditions so obviously injurious to health, and so likely to determine outbreaks of epidemic disease as those presented by many houses'. In Valletta the Knights had built a sewerage system and a piped water supply but pollution of the latter by the former was common. In the villages, the deficiency of water, refuse accumulation and the use of 'ordure rooms' were a product of ignorance and a cause of ill-health.

The Cholera epidemic of 1865 which slew 2,600 people eventually forced action upon the Government and after much general discussion a Commission of Public Health was appointed in 1874. Significantly enough, attention was focussed on the high rate of child mortality: in that same year, of over 4,000 recorded deaths, more than 2,000 were of children under five years of age. Between 1874 and the end of the century a series of reports put the blame on a series of associated factors. The ancient Three Cities and the new unrestricted

642 648 more, because Imperial strategic interests limited the terms of reference of these councils, the constitutions permitted only the most rudimentary form of government. Only under the 1887 Constitution did elected members outnumber official members. But this elected majority had no effective power and finally proved so awkward that in 1903 a new constitution reinstated an official majority.

64 [579] After the First World War, there was popular agitation for a more liberal form of government. In 1919, the social unrest culminated in an anti-British riot during which British troops killed four demonstrators. Later that year, Britain announced that Malta would receive a more liberal constitution. The new constitution, which eventually came into force in 1921, attempted to reconcile two conflicting principles: continued British control over her strategic island-fortress, and Maltese self-government. The complicated solution which Britain adopted was dyarchy, under which effective legislative and executive power was divided between the Governor and the representatives of the Maltese people. This created two separate governments.

The Imperial Government dealt with 'Reserved Matters', which included defence, foreign relations, immigration and coinage. The Malta Government consisted of a seventeen-member Senate and a Legislative Assembly of 32 members. The Senate was composed of representatives of the clergy, the nobility, the University, the Chamber of Commerce and the Trade Union Council. [666] The members of the Legislative Assembly and seven members of the Senate were elected by adult males, subject to certain minimal property or educational restrictions.

The 1921 Constitution was suspended in 1930 and again in 1933, and finally revoked in 1936. In spite of a new constitution in 1939, the islands remained effectively under Governor's rule until representative government was restored after the war. The 1947 Constitution again provided dyarchy, but it did not resurrect the cumbersome Senate. The new Legislative Assembly consisted of forty members elected by universal suffrage from eight electoral districts. In 1958, the government resigned following the collapse of talks with Britain over a proposal to 'integrate' Malta more closely with the United Kingdom. As the leader of the opposition refused to form a new government, the Governor suspended and then revoked the constitution.

000 political issues to the masses. The pro-Italian group came to
197 dominate the elected members, and blocked the affairs of govern-
648 ment to such an extent that Britain re-established the official
668 majority.

[665] Britain did not succeed until many years later in implementing the recommendations of the Keenan Report. The language of instruction in the primary schools remained English or Italian, at the option of a student's parents – the so-called '*pari-passu*' system. In 1921, Britain attempted to remove language from the political arena by stipulating in the new constitution 'that nothing shall be done by way of legislation or administration which shall diminish or detract from the position of English as an official language or to reduce its use in education or in the public service.'[1]

197 For the first six years after the 1921 Constitution was promul-
665 gated, the government was in the hands of the political groups which
668 eventually merged into the Nationalist Party: Monsignor Panzavecchia's 'Unione Maltese' and the 'Partito Democratico Nazionalista' led by Enrico Mizzi. The newly-formed Labour Party at first supported the Nationalists, but later became a firm ally of Strickland's Constitutional Party. Monsignor Michael Gonzi, now Archbishop of Malta, was a representative of the Labour Party until he became Bishop of Gozo in 1924. During this early period, the only serious political skirmish occurred, not surprisingly, over the 1923 Pari-Passu Bill by which the Nationalists introduced both English and Italian as compulsory subjects in the elementary schools. Strickland attacked the bill on the ground that it made no provision to teach Maltese, the language of the masses. He maintained that without a firm knowledge of their own language, children could never learn two foreign
[648] languages at the same time. Although the British at first declared that this act was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, it was allowed to become law.

665 The Constitutional Party, supported by the Labour Party, won
666 the 1927 general elections, and Strickland became Prime Minister. The elections, however, were marred by an incident which embittered the relations between Strickland's supporters and their opponents. On the day before the election, the Nationalists circulated thousands of copies of a perjured affidavit which declared that Strickland was a Freemason. Although the perjurer, a

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[1] Section 37.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

notorious criminal whom the Nationalists hid until after the 665 elections, was later convicted, the accusation jarred the solidly 666 Catholic electorate and undoubtedly cost Strickland many votes.

In the years that followed this election, Malta was torn by an 659 unprecedented political struggle between the Strickland Government and the Church. Since this dispute in many ways foreshadowed the present conflict between the Church and the Malta Labour Party, it is worth while to examine it in some detail.

While Strickland was the leader of the opposition, he made frequent attacks, both from the floor and through his newspapers, on the priests sitting in the Assembly. He maintained that the clergy should not take part in politics. In doing this he made many enemies, for his attacks were often bitter and insulting. For example, he once offered a cash prize to the person who gave him the best reason for having the Bishop of Gozo removed from office. On another occasion, he announced that for a small sum of money, even a horse could become a Papal Marquis.

Relations between Strickland and the Church, already strained, deteriorated rapidly after he became Prime Minister. When the two monsignori who represented the Archbishop in the Senate voted against his first budget, he considered that the Church had declared war on him. This was followed by a public demonstration against the Archbishop. At the same time, Strickland also launched a blistering attack through his newspapers on the two clerical Senators. Following this, there was a whole series of petty disputes which culminated in the famous Father Carta case.

Father Carta, a Sardinian monk, had been sent to Malta by the Superior General of the Franciscan Conventuals to resolve a disciplinary problem in one of the Order's Maltese convents. He soon discovered that a certain Maltese monk, Father Guido Micallef, was one of the principal trouble-makers, and arranged for his transfer to the Order's house in Liverpool. At this point Strickland intervened. He asserted that Father Micallef was being exiled because he had supported the Constitutional Party in the 1927 elections, and refused to issue the necessary exit permit. The Church was furious at this interference in what it regarded as its internal affairs. In the wrangle which followed, both the Governor and the Archbishop became involved, Father Micallef was expelled from the Order and defrocked, and the Cabinet asked the Governor to petition the Holy See to investigate the incident.

659 A Papal Delegate visited Malta and concluded that the differences between the government and the Church could best be settled by means of a concordat. During most of the year following the Papal Delegate's visit, Britain tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a concordat and to get the Holy See to forbid the Maltese clergy to take part in the general elections scheduled for May 1930. The Vatican, however, declared that Strickland was not *persona grata* and that as long as he remained in power, a concordat was not possible.

In Malta, the relations between the Strickland Government and the Church went from bad to worse. In April 1930, two Constitutional Party Ministers gathered many sworn statements that Monsignor Gonzi, the Bishop of Gozo, had instructed priests to preach against the Constitutional Party and to refuse absolution
666 to its supporters. This inquiry greatly angered the Church. On the
659 first of May, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo issued a joint
648 pastoral which forbade people to vote for Strickland or those candidates
[664] who supported him. In view of the spiritual sanctions that threatened people who voted for the candidates of one of the two
[642] major parties, Britain had no option but to cancel the elections. It subsequently suspended the constitution, but kept the Strickland ministers on as advisers.

197 A Royal Commission went to Malta to investigate the trouble.
64 Following its report, Britain restored the constitution and
665 abolished the teaching of Italian in primary schools. In June 1932
666 the Nationalists defeated Strickland and his supporters in a bitterly contested election in which 96 per cent of the electorate voted. However, their period in office was very brief. The Governor dismissed them in November 1933 for deliberately evading the constitutional provisions regarding language, for they had set about to re-establish the primacy of Italian in the educational system and the civil service. Once again the administration of the islands became the responsibility of the Governor.

186 During the fourteen years of Governor's rule which followed,
64 the deep wounds caused by the long, harsh political conflict slowly healed. The first Italian bombs of the war finally killed the language dispute. The united defence effort and the common suffering caused by the prolonged bombardment further helped to reunite political rivals and suppress parochial quarrels. Britain awarded the people of Malta and Gozo the George Cross for

their heroism, and after the war restored representative government. 186 64

In the first election under the new constitution, the people voted 665
overwhelmingly for the Labour Party, then led by Dr. Paul 666
Boffa. But in 1949 a disagreement between Dr. Boffa and his Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction, Mr. Dom Mintoff, split the party. The Nationalists, with the support of Dr. Boffa's new Workers' Party, formed the next few governments. Dom Mintoff's Malta Labour Party gradually swallowed the Workers' Party and finally defeated the Nationalists in the 1955 general election.

There was almost constant friction between the Church and 659
the Mintoff Government during the three years it was in office. From the outset, Mintoff showed himself reluctant to submit to the authority of the Church. His refusal to pay the traditional call on the Archbishop, Monsignor Gonzi, when he took office was symbolic of this independence. Many incidents contributed to the disagreement between the two, which grew more intense as both became more outspoken in their criticism of each other. Perhaps the most serious clash occurred over the Archbishop's stand on the Government's proposal to link Malta more closely with Britain. On the eve of a referendum concerning this proposal, Monsignor Gonzi made a broadcast in which he said that he could not support the integration proposal because Mintoff had failed (whether by design or circumstance is an open question) to secure adequate guarantees from Britain to protect the position of the Roman Catholic religion. In spite of this, the electorate supported Mintoff's proposal; but relations between the Labour Party and the Archbishop remained strained.

Then, shortly before he resigned, Mintoff sparked off a sharp 186
dispute with the Church by hanging in the National Museum a 659
painting taken from St. John's Co-Cathedral. Originally, the government had sent the painting, a Caravaggio, to Italy to be restored. But the government seized it when it returned and declared that since the Co-Cathedral was government property, the painting was a national treasure that should be properly cared for and displayed to the public. In the course of the acrimonious dispute which followed, Mintoff, who had appealed the matter to the Vatican, was ordered by the Holy See to return the painting. He finally returned it on the night before he resigned.

which does not have these honours. Other honours are the right 554
to perform rituals, indulgence to persons visiting the church, and
particular ecclesiastical offices. To a considerable extent these are 79
rewards for meritorious conduct, measured by contributions to the decorations of the church, or the number of vocations, or special devotions performed in a parish.

During certain religious processions and ceremonies this ranking becomes an important determinant of the order in which the participants take part. Formerly, during the annual St. Gregory procession, virtually the entire hierarchy of Malta could be seen lined up on the ground. But this procession of parishes was abolished and the ceremony modified in 1927, among other reasons because of a dispute between the Canons of Senglea and Birkirkara over a question of precedence. But the St. Gregory procession in Gozo is still held every March. Then it is possible to see parish following parish in order of precedence, and the confraternities of each, in their turn, ranked according to their position in their own parish hierarchy. At the front of the procession is the youngest parish, the one with the lowest rank. It is followed by parishes in ascending order of seniority until the oldest Collegiate Chapter. Then come the religious orders. These are followed by the clergy of the Cathedral and the Monsignori of the Cathedral Chapter. The celebrant or Bishop brings up the end of the procession. This inverted order of precedence is an important organizational principle, which operates in the secular as well as the religious sphere, and it is one of the basic causes of disputes between villages and band clubs.

III

At present there are six political parties in Malta. Of these, only 665
three contested the 1955 elections: the Nationalist Party (NP), led by Dr. Giorgio Borg Olivier; the Malta Labour Party (MLP), whose leader is Dom Mintoff; and Miss Mabel Strickland's Progressive Constitutional Party (PCP). The election resulted in 23 [666] ●
seats for the MLP, 17 for the NP and none for the PCP. Three new parties have emerged since the resignation from office of the MLP in 1958: the Democratic Nationalist Party (DNP), led by Dr. Herbert Ganado, split from the Nationalist Party; Anthony Pellegrini, a former Secretary of the Labour Party, founded the

665 Christian Workers' Party (CWP); and Chev. George Ransley started up the Democratic Christian Party (DCP).

665 Of these six parties, only one, the Malta Labour Party, incorporates the villages on a permanent basis in its organizational
● 666 framework. The other five parties are loosely organized. Their structure can be seen most clearly just before an election. At the top of each there is the party executive. Below that are the candidates from the electoral districts. (Under the 1947 Constitution there were eight electoral districts each returning five representatives; the 1961 Constitution increased the number to ten.) The candidates from the various electoral districts work out their campaign strategy with their national executives. Each candidate, in his turn, tries to appoint canvassers or agents in each important village in his district. Some canvassers are paid, and have represented other candidates and parties before. Thus at the village level it is pretty much every candidate for himself. This is particularly true when there are several candidates from a single party canvassing votes in the same village. If the party is successful, the chain from canvasser, through the local member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA), to Cabinet Minister, serves as a channel for requests and patronage. The party structure is thus strengthened and given a degree of permanence. But if the party is defeated or, if elected, it resigns, or the constitution is suspended, it ceases to be an operative organization at the village level. None of these parties have permanently organized village committees or clubs, though there are Nationalist Party clubs in a few towns. In the past, a few band clubs became identified with specific parties and
[575] served as local centres for the party. This often occurred when prominent band club members became successful party politicians. But the linkage between a village band club and a particular party was coincidental. Moreover, only rarely did all the members of such a band club support the political party with which its leaders were aligned. The above, in rather general terms, is a rough description of the structure of five of the six Maltese political parties in 1961. The Labour Party is the exception.

665 The Labour Party was the first to reorganize itself immediately after the war. During the period between 1949 and 1955, when the Nationalists and Dr. Boffa's Workers' Party carried on a coalition government, Dom Mintoff further reorganized and strengthened the Malta Labour Party. Its structure was greatly

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of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 793
political parties. 794

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro- 794
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the confraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are members neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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291
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● 666

6. 'Viva San Ġużepp!'

[facing P. 81]

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CHAPTER VII

National Politics and the Village

In the last few years issues of national policy have taken an 578
increasingly important place in the villages alongside the purely
parochial ones we discussed in the preceding two chapters. 665
Divisions based on opposed political ideologies are now reflected in 668
the groups and associations in which people spend their time. The 795
major division which cuts across all Maltese villages is based not so
much upon rivalry between political parties, as upon the present
conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. But as
has been observed, conflict between the Church and a political
party is not new to Malta. It also existed during the late 'twenties
and early 'thirties.

The dispute between the Labour Party and the Church is 578
essentially a struggle for power. Dom Mintoff, the Labour leader,
accuses the Archbishop Gonzi of siding with Britain to maintain 665
Malta's colonial status, and with interfering in politics by attack- 795
ing the Labour Party and its leaders. In its 1962 Electoral Manifesto
the MLP proclaims the right of a person 'to fulfil his civic duty [666] ●
without pseudo-religious interference'; sees as a crime 'any interference with the right of a democratically elected majority to implement the people's mandate', and advocates the 'abolition of medieval privileges which have retarded [the country's] social and economic progress.'[1] The Church sees this not only as a direct attack on the basic right and duty of a bishop to teach and to guard the morals of his flock,[2] but also as a move to destroy its traditional position in Maltese society. In particular it fears that if the Labour Party were returned to power, it would enact legislation which would render the Archbishop liable to prosecution before the criminal court if he were to comment on the political issues of the day.

These opposing views are expressed in the slogans written on [208]

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[1] See Appendix B for the 1962 MLP Electoral Manifesto.

[2] Cf. William E. Addis and others, '*Bishop*', *A Catholic Dictionary*, pp. 80 ff.

463 Grand Harbour and first establish themselves in the conurbation
467 surrounding it has helped to keep the farmer devoutly tied to the
665 Church. For this reason the action of the MLP in challenging the
authority of the Bishops is as abhorrent to him as it is difficult to understand.

463 The recent sanctions of the Church have increased the class
alignment of those who support the Labour Party and those who
578 oppose it. This is largely because those with high social status have
665 more to lose than industrial workers, and are thus more vulner-
795 able to the pressure of public opinion and the Church. The
increasingly heavy pressure of the Church has forced many of the
[626] young professionals and intellectuals to abandon the party for
which they voted in 1955. But even when the MLP was in office, its policies began to alarm many in the professional and middle classes. They objected not only to Mintoff's attitude to the Church, but also to the somewhat abrupt way his government occasionally dealt with the professional and business communities. Many were disturbed by the MLP's rather sudden switch from advocating integration with Britain to demanding complete independence. As most of those who left the party or became inactive in it were moderates, both in their approach to the Church and to the economic and political problems facing Malta, the MLP has become more extreme in its outlook. This in turn
[656] induced others to leave it. This process was accelerated by the
regulations which prohibited the better-educated civil servants from taking an active part in the political life of their country.

463 Table 7 below shows the rough correlation between occupa-
tional class and support of the Malta Labour Party. In particular,
665 it demonstrates that as the proportion of skilled workers decreases,
666 so does the proportion of voters who support Labour. Other
variables are the number of professionals and farmers. The Second and Fourth Electoral Districts polled the highest number of Labour votes in the 1962 election, and the Sixth and Tenth the lowest. The MLP polled 56 per cent of the total votes in the Second Electoral District, where 45 per cent of the working population are classified as skilled labourers.

In contrast, it received only 6 per cent of the votes in Gozo, where only 16 per cent of the people are skilled labourers, but 38 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Another important variable is the number of clergy resident in a district. The relatively high

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

proportion of clerics and nuns in the Sixth Electoral District 463
helps to explain the relatively low Labour poll there. It is also a 665
significant factor in explaining the overwhelming defeat of the 666
MLP in Gozo. These two districts have the highest proportion of clerics in the country. The Fourth District, in contrast, has the lowest.

TABLE 7. 1962 Elections:
Occupational Class and Voting Behaviour[1]

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS[2]	SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (As percentage of total lab. force)			PERCENTAGE LABOUR VOTES
	Professional[3]	*Skilled*	*Agricultural*	
IInd (Senglea, etc.)	4 (3)	45	4	56
IVth (Żurrieq, etc.)	3 (2)	34	11	47
VIth (Birkirkara, etc.)	6 (4)	33	11	24
Xth (Gozo)	7 (6)	16	38	6
All Districts	5 (3)	32	11	34

IV

It will have been observed that there is a certain superficial 621
similarity between the reasons given here for belonging to the 665
MLP and those suggested in the preceding chapter for recruitment into the secondary festa partiti. One might expect therefore that in comparison with titular partiti, secondary partiti would have a higher proportion of Labour supporters among their members. Unfortunately, owing to the disturbed political situation prevailing at the time, I was not able to gather satisfactory systematic
data on this point. [124] Almost all informants with whom I discussed the matter suggested that secondary partiti did in fact have more pro-Mintoff members than their rivals. But the situation is not quite as straightforward as it might appear. To begin with, the statements of informants varied according to their own political
beliefs and their position in relation to the festa partiti. Rivals [575]
generally tried to place each other in an unfavourable light. Thus [578]
an anti-MLP member of a band club supporting a titular feast

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[1] Source: *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 40–111; and *The Malta Government Gazette* (3 March 1962), pp. 585–94.

[2] *IInd* (Cospicua, Senglea, Vittoriosa, Kalkara, Żabbar, M'skala), *IVth* (Żurrieq, Safi, Qrendi, Mqabba, Kirkop, B'buġia, Żejtun, M'xlokk), *VIth* (Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija, Attard, Naxxar, Gharghur). [103]

[3] Percentage of priests, monks and nuns in parenthesis.

1962 elections, three-fourths are members of the professional 463
classes. The remainder are persons who, for the most part, have 665
risen to positions of influence through party and trade union hierarchies.

TABLE 8. Occupation of Candidates Elected to the 1962 Malta Legislative Assembly [162]

OCCUPATION	POLITICAL PARTY				
	Nationalist	*Labour*	*Other*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Professional	24	9	5	38	76
Administrative	1	4	2	7	14
Skilled Labour	—	3	2	5	10
Total	25	16	9	50	100

The way a political candidate recruits a following depends upon 666.
his status and party. All candidates recruit support through their relatives and friends; and all usually have a following in their own villages outside this circle of relatives. To get this, they must usually be successful politicians at the village level. It is for this reason that so many politicians are also presidents of local band and social clubs, and even of some of the lay apostolate societies. Next, every candidate must establish contact with the people in his electoral district outside the village. Since there are usually at least five candidates from each party standing in every district, each normally concentrates his campaign on one part of the district. He does this by making frequent rounds of all the band and social clubs and important wine shops in his territory. There he listens to complaints and requests and, in general, tries to establish a reputation as a generous and approachable person without committing himself to do specific favours. But above all, it is important for him to meet many people, for the Maltese voter does not like to give his first vote to a person he, or at least some member of his immediate family, does not know personally. Finally, all candidates tour their districts just before the election and make speeches.

Candidates who are doctors, lawyers, notaries, architects and 557
so on, have a decided advantage. As professionals, they already 662.
have close personal contact with a large number of clients, many
of whom are bound to them by debts, or obligated to them for 666
help and favours. These obligations are important, for the Maltese villager does not like to receive something for nothing, and he

557 does not rest easily until he has repaid it. This is as true of
662 corporate groups such as the band clubs as it is of individuals
666 Frequently the financial circumstances of the client, or the very
nature of the favour, make it difficult or impossible for him to meet his obligation. His vote, and those of his family, provide the logical and accepted means to this end. This extends the relationship between patron and client to include that between politician and constituent.

66 Candidates who do not have the professional qualifications or high status necessary to recruit a following in this way are at a disadvantage. This is especially true for many of the Labour Party candidates, whose education and social standing at times compare unfavourably with those of their rivals. It was principally to overcome this handicap that the Labour Party sought to strengthen the party at the expense of individual candidates. It did this by limiting the system of political patronage which prevailed under previous governments and curbing the influence of the canvassers. In fact, the MLP officially forbade its candidates to employ canvassers. (Though, of course, many candidates have informal canvassers in their friends, relatives and clients.) At the same time, the party directed its propaganda at building up the image of the party and its leader. Labour supporters were constantly urged to vote for the party and not for individuals. By and large its campaign has been most successful. Its sympathizers not only vote for candidates who do not conform to the traditional image of the professional patron-politician, but they also vote across class lines, i.e. the teacher voting for an ex-dockyard fitter.

578 All candidates have to take into account the parochial rivalries
621 which often cut across their districts. This is particularly true of
665 the rivalry between the festa partiti. It has been noted that there
666 is often a political polarity between festa partiti in the same village,
and that sometimes the rivalry is so strong that partisans vote against a political party simply because a leading member of the rival partit is a candidate for it. But the number of people who place loyalty to their festa partit before support of a political party is declining. Nonetheless, if parochial rivalry no longer determines which party will get the votes, it very often decides which of the candidates within the party will. Many people have assured me that it is almost unheard of for a member of a festa partit to vote for a member of the rival partit, even though both support the

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same political party. Thus a politician who is also a leading 621 member of a festa partit always asks a rival candidate from his 665 party to come to his village and canvass the party votes from the 666 opposite festa partit.

Most people believe that politicians trade promises to assist 621 festa partiti in return for votes. One well-known Labour politician 66 who is the leader of the secondary festa partit in his own village, made such a promise to gain the support of a neighbouring secondary partit that was facing eviction. In return for the votes of the partit, he offered to introduce a bill into the Legislative Assembly which would prevent landlords from evicting band clubs. The proposition appealed to the partit and the bill, which [671] gained a great deal of support for the Labour Party from other clubs as well, became law.[1] In fact, it was one of the first laws the MLP enacted after it was returned to office in 1955. Partly as a result of his promise of assistance, but also because of his keen interest in the problems of secondary festa partiti, this candidate became so identified with this neighbouring partit that he had to ask MLP candidates from the other side of the electoral district to bid for the Labour votes of the members of the opposite partit. He naturally asked them to canvass the Labour votes of the titular partit in his own village as well.

But perhaps the most famous case of this kind, and certainly the most conspicuous, took place in Gozo. For many years the supporters of the Leone partit in Rabat had been embarrassed by the fact that the statue of their beloved patron could not be taken in processions from the cathedral. There was simply no way for her to pass through the walls of the old citadel in which the cathedral was situated. The members of the partit wished to remedy this by breaching the wall and making a large gate, but the Antiquities Board strongly opposed the idea. Finally, an ambitious MLP candidate came to their rescue. He is alleged to have promised them help if they voted for him. Whether the deal for votes is true I do not know. I do know, however, that the politician was elected and succeeded in having a huge new gate torn in the historic citadel. That he did this at public expense, against the orders of his [626] Ministers and in defiance of the Antiquities Board, is evidence of his ingenuity and single-mindedness. Of course, it might also have

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[1] Act V, 1955: 'An Act to Amend the Reletting of Urban Property (Regulation) Ordinance.'

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626 been due to the amount of pressure that the partit brought to
66 bear on him.

V

666 But popularity, close contact with the electorate and the support of his party and festa partit are not always enough to assure the success of a candidate. In order to understand why this is so, it is necessary to examine the electoral process. The system of voting which has been used in Malta since 1921 is proportional representation with the single transferable vote. The country is divided into ten electoral districts, each of which returns five representatives to the Legislative Assembly. The districts are based on population density, and each averages about 15,000 registered voters. A candidate need not be resident in a district in order to stand for election there, and he can stand in two districts at the same time. If he is successful in both, he relinquishes one seat, which is then filled by a member of his party chosen in a by-election. At the polling booth each voter is given a ballot paper listing all the candidates standing in the district, and is required to rank them by placing a number against the name of each, to indicate the order of preference. After the polling is finished, all the ballot boxes from a district are opened simultaneously and the ballot papers mixed. The votes are then counted. As each paper is opened, a single vote is credited to the candidate to whom the voter has given first preference. This is the first count. A candidate is declared elected if he receives a certain proportion of the total number of votes cast.[1] After the first count the candidate with the lowest number of votes is eliminated, and his votes are redistributed in accordance with the second preferences. The votes are then retotalled for the second count. The candidate with the lowest number of votes is again eliminated, and his votes are redistributed for the third count. The elimination of candidates and the redistribution of their votes continues until five candidates receive the required quota of votes.

Few candidates are elected on the first count, for the first preferences of the voters are generally distributed among a large number. First preferences reflect the popularity of a candidate and the size of his following, but the secondary votes he receives are

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[1] This quota, the Droop quota, is one plus the total number of votes cast, divided by the number of seats (5) plus one.

critical to his election. Successful politicians repeatedly stressed to 666
me the importance of carefully cultivating secondary preferences.
As one put it, 'The first preferences keep you from being eliminated,
but the secondary ones elect you.' The votes a candidate 662
gets on subsequent counts are the result of his ability (i) to bargain 666
with other candidates for the secondary preferences of their followers,
and (ii) to set up a network of personal canvassers to secure these secondary preferences from the supporters of candidates who do not wish to release them to him. One technique that all candidates use is to encourage popular village figures to stand as mock candidates for vote-getting purposes. The understanding is that the politician is to receive their secondary preferences if they are defeated, as they usually are, since they are not generally known outside their villages. In exchange for these votes, the professional politician generally offers to pay the mock candidate's election expenses, or if elected to procure some favour for him, or both. This technique has resulted in an extraordinary number of candidates contesting every election. In 1955 a total of 140 candidates from three parties contested 40 seats; in 1962 there
were 302 for six parties and 50 seats. Thus voters, many of whom [212]
are illiterate, are faced with a bewildering choice of candidates arranged alphabetically on ballots that are sometimes three feet long.

Another way for a candidate to gather secondary votes is to exchange secondary preferences with a rival. Occasionally a candidate tries to play both ends against the middle. That is, he promises his second votes to more than one of his rivals in exchange for theirs. This works very well for him if his rivals are eliminated before he is, but if he goes first, the official record of the distribution of his votes soon shows up his duplicity.

While this system of voting assures representation to all shades of political opinion, it works in several ways against the development of a strong two-party system. To begin with, it is ideally suited to the needs of the traditional patron-politician with his own localized, semi-private political organization of canvassers, mock candidates and clients. The present system of voting in combination with this organization assures him that many votes will be funnelled in to him. In the past these personal organizations ensured the re-election of politicians even if they changed parties. In fact a politician's supporters sometimes encourage him

662 666 to switch to the party with best chance of success, for they know that if he is elected, he will channel patronage to them, often at the expense of the rest of his electoral district.

578 66 This system of voting also encourages contests between candidates from the same party. Such contests, carried out in public and in the heat of a campaign, often create hostility among the leaders of the party, and weaken its solidarity.

Finally, because this proportional system makes it possible for popular minority candidates to be elected, it encourages dissident factions to hive off from the major parties and found new ones. 665 666 This seriously weakens the parent parties. Thus, although the only political division of real importance is that between the supporters of the Archbishop and those who favour Mintoff, there are now six political parties in Malta. It is not surprising therefore that the minority parties, and Miss Strickland's Progressive Constitutional Party in particular, are strongly in favour of retaining the present electoral system. Without it they would not be represented. The Malta Labour Party, which favours a strong two-party system, would prefer to see substituted an electoral system which would eliminate the smaller parties and strengthen the major parties. The Nationalist Party, although it would benefit from a change in the electoral system which would eliminate many of its rivals, has remained relatively silent on this point. This is because most of its leading members are patron-politicians of the old school. They owe their political life and the influence they command to the electoral system which has enabled them to build their own personal political organizations. The Nationalist Party is a party of respected and influential men, but in their strength lies its weakness. It is a party of politicians, rather than a politician's party. Dr. Borg Olivier, the Nationalist Prime Minister, is a first among equals; he does not lead his party in the sense that Mintoff leads the Malta Labour Party.

In short the Maltese system of proportional representation [578] facilitates the emergence of minority parties. It also weakens the major parties by promoting intra-party rivalry and helping to keep alive the tradition of local patron-politicians. These factors 642 66 militate against the development of a strong central government. It can be argued forcefully that Malta, which is facing a critical period in its economic and constitutional development, is now in greater need of a strong central government than ever before. It

[p. 143]

Appendix B

Extracts from the 1962 Electoral Manifesto of the Malta Labour Party[1]

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The Malta Labour Party reaffirm their democratic socialist principles which do not run counter to Christian beliefs and solemnly subscribe to:

(1) the right of every nation, however small, to govern itself and to determine its own international relations in its own best interest and for the furtherance of its own progress and prosperity.

(2) freedom of conscience. This ensures for every citizen the right to exercise his own religious beliefs without hindrance and at the same time to fulfil his civic duties without pseudo-religious interference.

(3) the equality of all citizens before the law of the land. This implies not only the adherence to the Charter of Human Rights but also the abolition of medieval privileges which have retarded our own social and economic progress. Any interference with the right of a democratically elected majority to implement the people's mandate is a crime.

(4) equal opportunities to all citizens. This entails freedom of speech at public meetings, in the press, on the air, universal suffrage, free compulsory education, full employment and adequate social services from the cradle to the grave. Whilst the right to private ownership is by no means denied, the state must exercise the positive function of preventing any individual or group of individuals from dominating the heights of the nation's economy and dictating living standards to their fellow citizens. The Malta Labour Party firmly believe in the right of the people to have the final say in the nation's vital means of production. All forms

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[1] Source: *The Voice of Malta*, 7 and 14 January 1962.

665 of Co-operative and Social ownership should therefore be encouraged in order to curb the excesses of unbridled capitalism.

● 666 (5) Charter of the United Nations and the equality of all the human races – black, white or coloured. In particular Maltese Labour believe in the right of every nation to choose the method of government and the social system most consonant with its economic environment and its special political and social stage of development. The division of the world into two huge power blocs, the one intent on destroying the other, militates against world peace and the brotherhood of man. Whilst therefore communism with its anti-democratic suppression of freedom of conscience, freedom of association and other restrictive human rights earns Labour's unequivocal condemnation, the means chosen so far to combat it – namely nuclear weapons and military alliances are equally reprehensible. Labour believe in a reinvigorated United Nation's Organization able to enforce the principles embodied in the Charter through an international police force.

II. INDEPENDENCE

648 665 666 Since time immemorial our islands have been dominated by foreign powers. Our people have not therefore been the custodians of these fundamental human rights. On the contrary our social, political and economic institutions have been at the mercy of foreign masters who have fashioned them to suit their own requirements. . . .

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

642 constitutional status. The British Government had felt
648 unable to accept the Nationalists' request for Dominion status and the transfer of responsibility for Malta from the
668 Colonial to the Commonwealth Relations Office; but neither Party regarded as adequate the British counter-proposal for the removal of Maltese affairs from the Colonial to the Home Office. In 1954 the British Government suggested all-party talks, to be held in London, and Mr Mintoff accepted the suggestion on assuming office in February 1955.

64 Mr Mintoff now put forward the novel proposal that Malta, while retaining its local autonomy and local Parliament
668 (with power to legislate on all matters other than defence and external affairs), should be "integrated" with the United Kingdom and be represented in the House of Commons at Westminster by not fewer than three Members elected in accordance with United Kingdom electoral laws. The British Parliament's reaction to this interesting suggestion proving generally sympathetic, the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, announced in July 1955 that a Round Table Conference consisting of representatives of all political parties at Westminster would be convened for its consideration. The Round Table Conference of seventeen members (including Lord Attlee, Mr A. Bevan and Mr Clement Davies) under the Chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, held twelve plenary sessions in London and three in Malta. Its Report was published in December 1955.[1] The Conference concluded that Maltese representation at Westminster was "practicable and reasonable" and recommended its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government and Parliament if also accepted by the people of Malta.

64 A referendum to ascertain the wishes of the Maltese was
666 held—somewhat prematurely as was thought by some—on
668 the 11th and 12th February 1956. The figures of the referendum showed:

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[1] As Command 9657.

in favour of integration	67,607	64
against	20,177	666
invalid votes	2,559	
votes cast .	90,343	668

As the names on the Electoral Register totalled 152,583 the number of those who refrained from voting was 62,240; [795] and it was assumed that most of the abstentions were due to the misgivings of the Church, which, if not openly hostile to the plan, was certainly not articulate in its favour. Obviously, too, the implications of the proposal far transcended purely constitutional issues: the entire Maltese economy was involved, with inevitable changes in the standard of living and economic consequences for good or ill difficult to forecast. Such terms as "parity" and "equivalence" were added to the slogans of the day.

Those opposed, for one reason or another, to Integration as propounded by Mr Mintoff argued that the poll, although showing a majority *of those voting* as in favour of the proposal, had certainly not resulted in the clear, unmistakable overall majority envisaged as necessary by the Round Table Conference. Her Majesty's Government shared this view to the extent of deciding that the Maltese electors should have another opportunity to pronounce themselves on the subject. On the 28th March 1956, after a debate in the House of Commons, Sir Anthony Eden announced the Government's intention of implementing the Round Table Conference Report in a Bill to be drafted in two parts, the first to contain a new Constitution for Malta, the second to deal with Maltese representation at Westminster. But the Maltese people would be enabled once more to declare their views on Integration at a General Election, to be held in Malta before the United Kingdom Bill finally became law.

The position, then, by the middle of 1956 was that under the constitutional arrangements proposed by the Round Table Conference and accepted by Her Majesty's

64 Government the Maltese people would be represented, if
666 they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at
Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative
668 Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a
single Maltese Government would take the place of the
existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly
concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain
the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government
[651] of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would
retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as
the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level
comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Govern-
642 ment and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with
648 fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and
668 financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial
464 difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equival-
ence'" which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his
supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration
and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government.
Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in
April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the
situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of
Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in
[504] British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence
expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest
single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the
reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future
war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last
one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over
464 13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard
668 out of a national working population of just under
504 83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable
proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has
always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

I did the fieldwork on which this study is based at this period in 642
Malta's constitutional history. A new constitution was promul- 648
gated late in 1961, and elections took place in February 1962. In [114]
place of dyarchy, it provided for 'concurrent powers' on foreign
affairs and defence to be held by the Malta Government and a
United Kingdom Commissioner.

The first Maltese political parties were born out of the con- 197
troversy over language which followed the publication in 1880 of 665
the Keenan report on education. This recommended that English
should be taught in place of Italian in the primary schools, al- 668
though students might later take Italian as an elective subject. In the Lyceum and the University, except for the Faculty of Theology, all work was to be done in English. These recommendations, which the government tried for many years to implement, weakened the dominant position which Italian had enjoyed in the educational system. As Italian was the language of the law courts, the clergy and the University, it was something of a class symbol. Most of the educated classes, and especially the lawyers and priests, strenuously resisted the move to downgrade it in favour of English. Many of the refugees from the Italian wars, who came to Malta after 1850, gave encouragement to the partisans of Italian. The Italian movement also whipped up considerable support amongst the clergy and their parishioners by declaring that English would certainly bring with it increased Protestant influences.

The dispute thus created interest groups which were to dominate Maltese politics for the next fifty years. On one side was the pro-English, or *riformista*, party led first by Sigismondo Savona, later the Director of Education, and subsequently by Count (later
Lord) Gerald Strickland. This party, which generally supported [648]
government policy, favoured close cultural and political ties with Britain. By the 1920's, it became known as the Constitutional Party. Its successor, the Progressive Constitutional Party, is led by Strickland's daughter, Miss Mabel Strickland.

The *anti-riformista* or pro-Italian party was led by Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and later by his son, Dr. Enrico Mizzi. The Nationalist Party eventually emerged out of this group, and today, although the language issue is quite dead, it is still one of the two major political parties. Both parties campaigned for support in the villages and thus, for the first time, forcefully presented national political issues to the masses.

000 political issues to the masses. The pro-Italian group came to
197 dominate the elected members, and blocked the affairs of govern-
648 ment to such an extent that Britain re-established the official
● 668 majority.

[665] Britain did not succeed until many years later in implementing the recommendations of the Keenan Report. The language of instruction in the primary schools remained English or Italian, at the option of a student's parents – the so-called '*pari-passu*' system. In 1921, Britain attempted to remove language from the political arena by stipulating in the new constitution 'that nothing shall be done by way of legislation or administration which shall diminish or detract from the position of English as an official language or to reduce its use in education or in the public service.'[1]

197 For the first six years after the 1921 Constitution was promul-
665 gated, the government was in the hands of the political groups
which eventually merged into the Nationalist Party: Monsignor
668 Panzavecchia's 'Unione Maltese' and the 'Partito Democratico Nazionalista' led by Enrico Mizzi. The newly-formed Labour Party at first supported the Nationalists, but later became a firm ally of Strickland's Constitutional Party. Monsignor Michael Gonzi, now Archbishop of Malta, was a representative of the Labour Party until he became Bishop of Gozo in 1924. During this early period, the only serious political skirmish occurred, not surprisingly, over the 1923 Pari-Passu Bill by which the Nationalists introduced both English and Italian as compulsory subjects in the elementary schools. Strickland attacked the bill on the ground that it made no provision to teach Maltese, the language of the masses. He maintained that without a firm knowledge of their own language, children could never learn two foreign
[648] languages at the same time. Although the British at first declared that this act was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, it was allowed to become law.

665 The Constitutional Party, supported by the Labour Party, won
the 1927 general elections, and Strickland became Prime Minister.
666 The elections, however, were marred by an incident which embittered the relations between Strickland's supporters and their opponents. On the day before the election, the Nationalists circulated thousands of copies of a perjured affidavit which declared that Strickland was a Freemason. Although the perjurer, a

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[1] Section 57.

CHAPTER VII

National Politics and the Village

In the last few years issues of national policy have taken an 578
increasingly important place in the villages alongside the purely
parochial ones we discussed in the preceding two chapters. Divi- 665
sions based on opposed political ideologies are now reflected in 668
the groups and associations in which people spend their time. The 795
major division which cuts across all Maltese villages is based not so much upon rivalry between political parties, as upon the present conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. But as has been observed, conflict between the Church and a political party is not new to Malta. It also existed during the late 'twenties and early 'thirties.

The dispute between the Labour Party and the Church is 578
essentially a struggle for power. Dom Mintoff, the Labour leader,
accuses the Archbishop Gonzi of siding with Britain to maintain 665
Malta's colonial status, and with interfering in politics by attack- 795
ing the Labour Party and its leaders. In its 1962 Electoral Mani-
festo the MLP proclaims the right of a person 'to fulfil his civic duty [666]
without pseudo-religious interference'; sees as a crime 'any interference with the right of a democratically elected majority to implement the people's mandate', and advocates the 'abolition of medieval privileges which have retarded [the country's] social and economic progress.'[1] The Church sees this not only as a direct attack on the basic right and duty of a bishop to teach and to guard the morals of his flock,[2] but also as a move to destroy its traditional position in Maltese society. In particular it fears that if the Labour Party were returned to power, it would enact legislation which would render the Archbishop liable to prosecution before the criminal court if he were to comment on the political issues of the day.

These opposing views are expressed in the slogans written on [208]

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[1] See Appendix B for the 1962 MLP Electoral Manifesto.

[2] Cf. William E. Addis and others, '*Bishop*', *A Catholic Dictionary*, pp. 80 ff.

even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the 578
office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only 659
the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social
order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has 665
strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in 795
insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration
scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never
suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the
Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as
though he were bent on overthrowing the established social
order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The
extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP
and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill
the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is
in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt
against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour
supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of
countries which have fought successful battles against the Church.
Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still
like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are
beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, [205
'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the 656
Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose 668
by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its
way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number
of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A
few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

IV

But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly 578
united communities, life goes on and the social order does not 621
disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively
little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the 665
Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often 794
caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married
into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion
from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the
Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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of 1936, which superseded the original self-governing 642
Constitution of 1921. In 1946 Sir Harold MacMichael, a
distinguished retired administrator in the Middle East, was 646
invited by the British Government to formulate detailed
proposals for constitutional reform after consultation with
the National Assembly. His recommendations[1] provided
for a Legislative Assembly of forty members elected on a
system of proportional representation and led to the re-establishment
of self-government in September 1947.[2] But
some responsible elements regretted that they made no
provision for the Second Chamber or Senate which had
existed under the Constitution of 1921.

The elections gave Malta the first Labour Government in 665
its parliamentary history, under Dr (later Sir) Paul Boffa;
this made way in 1950 for one formed by the Nationalists, 642
whose earlier dismissal had led to the suspension of the
Constitution in 1933.[3] The new Government was headed—for such are the vicissitudes of politics—by the veteran pro-Italian Enrico Mizzi, who had been interned in East Africa during the war and died in December 1950, three months after taking office. In 1951 his successor, the Nationalist Dr G. Borg Olivier, formed a Coalition with Dr Boffa's "Malta Workers' Party"; this Coalition remained in power until defeated in 1955 by the Left-Wing Labour Leader, Mr Dominic Mintoff,[4] a former Rhodes Scholar who had been Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction in the Boffa Ministry but seceded from his former chief in 1950.

Already in the time of Dr Borg Olivier there had been 642
inaugurated a series of talks in London between the Secretary 648
of State for the Colonies and the Maltese Prime Minister
and Leader of the Opposition on proposed changes in Malta's 668

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[1] Published in 1947 as Colonial No. 207 and analysed in the White Paper "Malta; Statement on Constitutional Reform (Comd. 7014) of Jan. 1947." [113]

[2] See p. 137.

[3] See pp. 135–137.

[4] Mintoff is a variation of the name usually spelled Mintuf, which is the Maltese word meaning 'plucked.' [557]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

642 648 668 constitutional status. The British Government had felt unable to accept the Nationalists' request for Dominion status and the transfer of responsibility for Malta from the Colonial to the Commonwealth Relations Office; but neither Party regarded as adequate the British counter-proposal for the removal of Maltese affairs from the Colonial to the Home Office. In 1954 the British Government suggested all-party talks, to be held in London, and Mr Mintoff accepted the suggestion on assuming office in February 1955.

64 668 Mr Mintoff now put forward the novel proposal that Malta, while retaining its local autonomy and local Parliament (with power to legislate on all matters other than defence and external affairs), should be "integrated" with the United Kingdom and be represented in the House of Commons at Westminster by not fewer than three Members elected in accordance with United Kingdom electoral laws. The British Parliament's reaction to this interesting suggestion proving generally sympathetic, the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, announced in July 1955 that a Round Table Conference consisting of representatives of all political parties at Westminster would be convened for its consideration. The Round Table Conference of seventeen members (including Lord Attlee, Mr A. Bevan and Mr Clement Davies) under the Chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, held twelve plenary sessions in London and three in Malta. Its Report was published in December 1955.[1] The Conference concluded that Maltese representation at Westminster was "practicable and reasonable" and recommended its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government and Parliament if also accepted by the people of Malta.

64 666 668 A referendum to ascertain the wishes of the Maltese was held—somewhat prematurely as was thought by some—on the 11th and 12th February 1956. The figures of the referendum showed:

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[1] As Command 9657.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

in favour of integration	67,607	64
against	20,177	
invalid votes	2,559	666
votes cast	90,343	668.

As the names on the Electoral Register totalled 152,583 the number of those who refrained from voting was 62,240; [795] and it was assumed that most of the abstentions were due to the misgivings of the Church, which, if not openly hostile to the plan, was certainly not articulate in its favour. Obviously, too, the implications of the proposal far transcended purely constitutional issues: the entire Maltese economy was involved, with inevitable changes in the standard of living and economic consequences for good or ill difficult to forecast. Such terms as "parity" and "equivalence" were added to the slogans of the day.

Those opposed, for one reason or another, to Integration as propounded by Mr Mintoff argued that the poll, although showing a majority *of those voting* as in favour of the proposal, had certainly not resulted in the clear, unmistakable overall majority envisaged as necessary by the Round Table Conference. Her Majesty's Government shared this view to the extent of deciding that the Maltese electors should have another opportunity to pronounce themselves on the subject. On the 28th March 1956, after a debate in the House of Commons, Sir Anthony Eden announced the Government's intention of implementing the Round Table Conference Report in a Bill to be drafted in two parts, the first to contain a new Constitution for Malta, the second to deal with Maltese representation at Westminster. But the Maltese people would be enabled once more to declare their views on Integration at a General Election, to be held in Malta before the United Kingdom Bill finally became law.

The position, then, by the middle of 1956 was that under the constitutional arrangements proposed by the Round Table Conference and accepted by Her Majesty's

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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64 Government the Maltese people would be represented, if
666 they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at
Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative
● 668 Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a
single Maltese Government would take the place of the
existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly
concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain
the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government
[651] of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would
retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as
the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level
comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Govern-
642 ment and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with
648 fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and
668 financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial
464 difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equivalence" which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his
supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration
and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government.
Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in
April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the
situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of
Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in
[504] British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence
expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest
single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the
reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future
war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last
one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over
464 13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard
668 out of a national working population of just under
504 83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable
proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has
always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

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core of Malta." The average Dockyard hand did not know if his job might not come to an end by the end of the year; and representatives of all classes in the country, including the parish priests, passed resolutions pressing for a guarantee of alternative employment if the Dockyard were to close down. 464 668 [793]

In the following month the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr Lennox-Boyd, put forward a new proposal to avert the threatened deadlock. While adhering to the Integration policy, and to "equivalence" of the Maltese economy and standard of living as an ultimate aim, he proposed an experimental period or trial run of five years for the Maltese economy to approximate itself to that of the United Kingdom. During this period the British Government would afford economic assistance towards the attainment of this object, consisting of a grant of £25,000,000 over the five years; assistance with educational, health and other social services based on a percentage of what the Maltese were able to do for themselves; and an obligation to help if unemployment rose above the British level in consequence of Defence cuts. Meanwhile Maltese representation at Westminster would remain in abeyance. 668 648

Even so, Mr Mintoff was not satisfied. On the 14th December he tendered his resignation owing to a difference of opinion with a section of his supporters in the General Workers' Union but withdrew it three days later; and he then raised the cry of independence as the alternative if he failed to obtain Integration on his own financial terms. The Nationalist Opposition, which had combated Integration, proved ready to support the converse alternative, for on the 30th December 1957 their representatives in the Legislative Assembly voted for Mr Mintoff's Resolution threatening severance of the link with Britain, which was passed unanimously and with acclamation in the following terms:

> That, as the British Government is not prepared to honour the obligation assumed by that Government, in the declaration

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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668 648 of July 1955, to avoid unemployment, the representatives of the Maltese people, in Parliament assembled, declare themselves absolved from their pacts and obligations towards the British Government, and from those so far assumed towards the Allies of that Government—this position to obtain for so long as the British Government fails to guarantee that the number of persons employed by the said Government in Malta shall not decrease before there is "alternative employment" for those discharged.

On this inauspicious note ended the year 1957 despite the patient efforts of the Government in London and of Sir Robert Laycock and his advisers in Malta to bring the protracted and often vexatious negotiations to a happy issue. The latter's task thereafter was made no easier by a Circular issued in February 1958 to Heads of Departments and all other Malta Government employees forbidding them on pain of disciplinary action "to make any verbal or personal contacts on any official matter with any member of the other side of the Diarchy" without the personal permission of the Minister concerned. In April these words were extended to cover "any official matter *or otherwise.*" Thereby was created the anomalous situation that the islands' officials subordinate to the Mintoff Administration had to boycott those of the Maltese Imperial Government not only officially but socially, even to the extent of declining the Governor's invitations to dinner. Be it added that the embargo was far from being universally observed, while Ministers continued to seek direct personal contacts with the Imperial side of the Diarchy whenever it suited them to do so.

3

643 175 532 659 In 1608 one of the greatest and most innovating painters of the Seicento, that Michaelangelo Amerighi who was better known from his birthplace as Caravaggio, spent some months of his short and disordered life in Malta, employed

Government and the Church had been restored. That evening, the 21st,[1] Mr Mintoff handed his resignation and that of his Cabinet to the Governor.

The dramatic events of the next three days were described to the people of Malta in the following broadcast made by Sir Robert Laycock on the 24th April:

> "A constitutional crisis has arisen in Malta and I want to tell you how this situation came about and what it means.
>
> "Last Monday evening, Mr Mintoff tendered to me his resignation. He refused to form a caretaker Government but agreed to remain in office until I had tried to find an alternative Government.
>
> "But before Mr Mintoff came to see me, he had already told the people of Malta over the Rediffusion that he and his colleagues no longer wanted to remain responsible for public peace and order in Malta.
>
> "Yet in spite of this statement Mr Mintoff remained Minister of Police. In other words, he remained the Minister responsible for law and order. As such he issued certain orders to the Commissioner of Police during the disturbances last night.
>
> "If these orders had been carried out the Police would have found it very difficult to do their duty. They would have been at a grave disadvantage. Now the Commissioner of Police knows that I alone as Governor am ultimately responsible for your safety. He told me what Mr Mintoff had ordered and he said that, if these orders were carried out, his men would not have been able to do their job.
>
> "The Commissioner of Police asked me what he should do. I had not the slightest doubt that Mr Mintoff's orders were a threat to the public safety and might bring innocent people into danger, and so I told the Commissioner of Police not to carry out those orders.
>
> "This morning Mr Mintoff recommended to me that the Commissioner of Police, Mr Vivian de Gray, should be dismissed. To this I refused to give my approval.
>
> "Last evening, as you know, I consulted Dr Borg Olivier and he informed me that he was not prepared to form a Government. This afternoon, I asked Mr Mintoff to see me

[1] [i.e. April 21, 1958--Analyst]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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again. He came with all his Ministers and we spent two hours 64
together. He failed to convince me that he was prepared to 668
give the proper assurances that he would maintain law and order and I therefore accepted his resignation.

"So the people of Malta are now without an elected Government, and I, the Governor, am without Ministers. I have been forced into a position where I have had to take over control of the Administration, and I want to tell you now just what this means.

"First of all the Legislative Assembly will be dissolved and there will be a General Election at the earliest possible moment.

"Secondly, the Commissioner of Police, Mr Vivian de Gray, remains in command of the Police Force. I can tell you now that everything will be done to ensure the preservation of law and order and public safety in Valetta and indeed throughout these Islands. I trust that there will be no more disturbances and that the elections will be held in complete freedom as they should be in a law-abiding community.

"Thirdly, I want to make it quite clear that the salaries of civil servants and Government employees will continue to be paid without interruption. There will be no crisis over finance or employment.

"I appeal to you, therefore, to remain calm, to maintain law and order, and to go about your day-to-day business as usual.

"Once again I want to say with all the emphasis I can that I am determined to get things back to normal without delay. I want to repeat that free elections will be held at the first possible moment.

"Finally, I want to assure you all that the British Government and people have nothing but goodwill for the people of Malta and will do everything they can to see that you have a peaceful, happy and secure future. As Her Majesty the Queen's Representative in Malta I make that statement without reservations of any kind."

The same day were issued Proclamations dissolving the [656]
Legislative Assembly and prohibiting for a fortnight the holding of public meetings and demonstrations in Valetta and Floriana.

A post-war phenomenon from which Malta is not
663 immune is the Teddy-Boy, whose long locks and bizarre
579 dress as he lounges about the capital faintly recall, if only in
656 caricature, the flowing curls and exotic clothes in which the
young Disraeli postured in the streets of Valetta in 1830.
[468] A one-day general strike called for the 28th April by the
General Workers' Union as a "national protest" gave these and the late Prime Minister's other lawless supporters the opportunity for widespread rioting in which they demolished walls to make barricades and road-blocks, dislocated traffic, destroyed cars and other property and stoned the Police. One of the mobs wrecked and set fire to Zabbar Police Station. Nor was illegal action confined to the mobs. These received encouragement from above; two members of the Mintoff Ministry were convicted of intimidation and had their sentences upheld on appeal. The Police, no longer impeded in the performance of their duty by political pressure, behaved magnificently and with great restraint in the face of violent and sustained provocation.

In consequence of this disorder, whereby relatively small but carefully organized gangs of hooligans interrupted the lawful occasions of the vast majority of peaceful citizens, the prohibition of the holding of public meetings and demonstrations was extended for three months and applied to all Malta and Gozo. Another Proclamation declared a state of emergency which enabled the Governor to assume wider
[793] powers for the maintenance of public order and safety. The
Archbishop condemned violence in a timely broadcast.

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With the elimination of factors making for trouble the
642 country settled down under the Governor's direct adminis-
648 tration, and by November 1958 Mr Lennox-Boyd thought
668 the time had come to initiate fresh discussions in London
between himself, Sir Robert Laycock and the leaders

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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respectively of the Maltese Labour, Nationalist and Progressive Constitutionalist Parties, Mr Mintoff, Dr Borg Olivier and Miss Mabel Strickland. The negotiations were unsuccessful. If I now reproduce the text of another official document, it is because the Colonial Secretary's statement of the 5th January 1959, made after the talks had broken down, is the authoritative pronouncement on the chain of events which led the British Government to repeal the 1947 Constitution and promulgate a new interim Constitution to fill the gap pending the return to self-government.

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CONSTITUTIONAL AND ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS FOR MALTA

HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

1. Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered the views put forward during the constitutional discussions between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the delegations representing the Malta Labour Party, the Nationalist Party and the Progressive Constitutional Party, which were held in London between the 19th November and the 21st December 1958. Because these talks failed to reach agreement on a new constitution Her Majesty's Government have now had to decide on constitutional arrangements for an interim period.

2. It will be recalled that Malta has been without an elected government since April 1958, when Mr Mintoff resigned and Dr Borg Olivier declined to form a government. At the same time disturbances threatening public safety broke out, which necessitated the proclamation of an emergency. Since then the Governor has had to use his emergency powers to govern Malta. In the situation created by these events, the Secretary of State decided to invite the three political parties to London last November to discuss future constitutional arrangements.

3. In their approach to these discussions Her Majesty's Government naturally had regard to the negotiations which had taken place over the past three years for the integration of Malta with the United Kingdom. Although the integration negotiations have not borne fruit, and none of the Maltese

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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political parties now accepts integration as an aim of policy, Her Majesty's Government felt that the far-reaching self-government which Malta would have enjoyed under integration provided a suitable basis for discussion of any new constitutional plan. The Secretary of State was accordingly prepared to discuss with the Maltese delegations at the talks a new constitution drawing its inspiration from those constitutional arrangements under integration on which there had been a substantial measure of agreement. This new constitution would give Malta self-government in most fields. Her Majesty's Government would have retained responsibility for defence and external affairs, for assuring the independence of the Police and the Public Service and for their protection from victimization. This constitution was based on the continuing close association between the United Kingdom and Malta, which Her Majesty's Government firmly believe corresponds to the wishes and interests of both countries.

4. The Secretary of State hoped that after an initial meeting with each of the delegations there could be a plenary Conference with all three delegations. That proved to be impossible.

5. The Labour Party delegation, at the two meetings held with them, and in correspondence between Mr Mintoff and the Secretary of State, took the view that any constitutional arrangements for the future must be on the basis of immediate independence or independence by 1962. They persisted in that view after it had been pointed out to them that the people of Malta would suffer mass unemployment and serious economic hardship if Malta were to become independent now or in the near future. The attitude of the Labour Party delegation made it fruitless to attempt to discuss any detailed constitutional arrangements with them.

There was a valuable general discussion on future constitutional arrangements with the Nationalist Party delegation but the Party required more precise assurances on Malta's eventual position in the Commonwealth than Her Majesty's Government were in a position to give. There was also a useful exchange of views with the Progressive Constitutional Party.

6. There is evidently no prospect at present of devising a Constitution for Malta which would be generally acceptable

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

to the political parties and Her Majesty's Government. Farther efforts must, of course, be made, and it is Her Majesty's Government's intention to hold farther discussions in due course with a view to reintroducing elected representative government. In the meantime it is desirable that the present arrangements, under which the Governor is using his emergency powers under the present Constitution to govern the islands, should be terminated as soon as possible. Her Majesty's Government have accordingly no alternative but to revoke the present Constitution and to make special arrangements of an interim character for the government of Malta. This will necessitate legislation and a Bill will be introduced into Parliament after the House re-assembles. The form of government contemplated for this interim period is one in which the Governor will be assisted by a Council on which there will be Maltese representation.

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7. During this interim period the Governor with the full support of Her Majesty's Government will press on with economic development. As was recognized in the 1955 Declaration to which the Maltese political leaders subscribe, Malta depends very heavily on Services expenditure and every effort must be made to develop other sources of income. Much has already been done since 1955 in laying the foundation for future industrial development, to which end Malta has received assistance amounting to some £18,000,000 from Her Majesty's Government.

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8. Her Majesty's Government's main aim in promoting economic development in Malta is to attract new industries. The 1955 Declaration recognized that this required a joint effort towards which the Maltese Government and people should make the best possible contribution from their own resources. A very important step in Malta's economic development has already been taken by the decision to convert the Naval Dockyard to a commercial ship repair yard and to develop associated industries. The construction of a deepwater harbour, the building of an industrial estate, the re-equipment of the Island's electricity supply and other public utilities, and the development of tourism are already going ahead. Plans for other development are now under examination. It is the

175 the clergy to charge for their services. Finally, he decreed that no
177 foreign power, even the Pope, might interfere in local religious
648 administration.

By these acts, the French attacked values that were at the very
175 foundation of the Maltese social structure. Moreover, the new
government aggravated the discontent by its failure to meet its
648 financial commitments. Less than two months later, the suppressed
● 669 hostility flared into savage revolt when the authorities
tried to auction off the property of the Carmelite church in
Mdina. The citizens rose, massacred the town's garrison and
burned their bodies. Then, led by Notary Vitale and Canon
Caruana, a powerful cotton merchant who later became Bishop,
they penned up the main French force under General Vaubois
behind the fortifications of Valletta and the Three Cities. Two
years later the French surrendered to the British force which had
come to assist the Maltese.

Under British rule, Malta changed from a theocracy ruled by a
175 religious order, to a self-governing colony with an active internal
177 political life. Administrative posts gradually passed to Maltese
64 hands, and today the civil service, apart from a few foreign
69 experts, is completely Maltese. But in spite of a long flirtation with
[621] various forms of local and regional government, there are still no
village mayors or councillors. The new civic committee in Gozo
is an exception which will be discussed in the following chapter.
Early in their rule, the British abolished the Università. To appease
the wounded dignity of the nobles, they divided Malta into six
districts under the nominal authority of Lords Lieutenant, chosen
from the nobility. These officers were in charge of civil affairs, and
presided over district courts. Each was assisted by syndics, deputies
with magisterial powers, who lived in the villages. In 1839, this
system of local government was abandoned as inefficient and
costly, and district magistrates, also called syndics, were appointed
from the class of advocates. Later, the government
established district consultative committees to advise it on local
needs and to coordinate health measures during epidemics. These
committees were only partly successful, and were also abandoned.
In 1896 the government finally abolished the office of syndic, and,
in the interest of economy, closed the last district courts in 1913.
After that, except for the Magistrate's Court in Gozo, the administration
of justice remained centralized in Valletta.

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard developments
621 and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the
rural districts where change has to date been slower than in
the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along
with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisers as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education
as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The
clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the population
was not. This concentration of learning produced a situation
in which only the clergy were able to step forward to
take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might
have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
[669] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolutionary
[648] leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino
Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising
against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands
by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both
village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the
[874] University came strongly under the influence of the Church,
for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long standing,
[178] was and still is best known for its Theology. However,
during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the
Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative
details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of
the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth.
The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the
separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociological
importance during the present century has been the growth
of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban
areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces
which are today tending to detract from the traditional
omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before
the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will
loom much larger than at present in the country districts
and in Gozo[11].

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

> ught to wave, while the band plays the national anthem, 796 'God Save the King.' In the time of the Order they proceeded to the palace to receive permission for the celebration of the Carnival. Their request was signified to the Grand Master by one of the knights, and upon the boon being granted, they immediately performed a dance in front of the palace, and afterwards before the door of any other person, whom they thought would pay them for their trouble.
>
> The origin of this amusement must be sought for in 796 171 the annals of pagan rites, which Christianity has not succeeded in abolishing in several countries of Europe. In a work on Malta, *Par un voyageur François*, the author ranks it with a popular feast very ancient in Thessaly, the *Salxea* of the Babylonians, the *Chronia* of the Athenians, and the *Saturnalia* of Rome, which many of the early Christians continued, notwithstanding the zealous efforts which were made by the Church to abolish them."

It will be noted that the public "masque" was regarded 796 656 as "an absurd and foolish diversion." The "diversion" must at some time have proved rather more dangerous than absurd, for the wearing of masks after sunset is now forbidden by law. It is of interest also to note that an attempt on the part [669] of a strict Sabbatarian Governor who hailed from north of the Tweed to abolish the merrymaking on the Sunday of Carnival led to a major civil disturbance which could only be quelled at bayonet point, and which is still remembered by those who are, for one cause or another, "agin' the Government!"

DYING

763 Zeppu's tired hands are at rest. They lie, brown and calloused, upon the coverlet. The village bell tolls urgently. The *fratelli*

In the early years of its rule, Britain moved slowly but firmly to 175
restrict the authority of the Church. As one of its first steps, it 177
imposed a mortmain law which forced the Church to sell off 648
bequests of immovable property within one year. In 1828, it 659
abolished the right of sanctuary and restricted the jurisdiction of 795
the ecclesiastical courts to purely spiritual matters. Shortly afterwards, the Diocese of Malta, until then subject to the Metropolitan of Palermo, was made directly dependent on the Holy See.

In spite of the inroads Britain made on the power of the Church, the relations between the two have, on the whole, remained extremely cordial. This friendliness has been due very largely to the considerable protection which Britain has given to the Church in Malta. To begin with, it is protected from the competition of other religions. The missionary activities of groups such as the Bible Society and the Salvation Army have been severely restricted. Moreover, the government reserves the right to ban public religious ceremonies by non-Catholics if they threaten to disturb the peace. Catholic precepts regarding education and marriage are also safeguarded, for education is on Catholic religious principles, and divorce and civil marriage are not possible under Maltese law. Furthermore, the Archbishop is accorded high honour, and in the jealously guarded order of precedence he is second only to the Governor. Both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo are exempt from the jurisdiction of the criminal courts.

In addition, the first Maltese elected government passed a law in 659
1922, declaring the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the 795
country. Article 161 of the Malta Criminal Code makes it a criminal 671
offence to vilify in public the Catholic religion or its ministers.[1]

Constitutional development in Malta has been a painful and 642
slow process; for it is not a simple matter to give representative 648
government to a fortress. The first constitution in 1835 provided for a council of government composed of five office holders, including the Governor and the Bishop, and three nominated dignitaries. Since then, there have been no less than nine different constitutions. Those promulgated before the First World War established an oligarchical system. Property restrictions on those allowed to vote and hold office resulted in elections by and for members of the landed, professional and merchant classes. Further-

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[1] Act XVIII, 1933.

578

same political party. Thus a politician who is also a leading 621 member of a festa partit always asks a rival candidate from his 665 party to come to his village and canvass the party votes from the 666 opposite festa partit.

Most people believe that politicians trade promises to assist 621 festa partiti in return for votes. One well-known Labour politician who is the leader of the secondary festa partit in his own village, 66 made such a promise to gain the support of a neighbouring secondary partit that was facing eviction. In return for the votes of the partit, he offered to introduce a bill into the Legislative Assembly which would prevent landlords from evicting band clubs. The proposition appealed to the partit and the bill, which [671] gained a great deal of support for the Labour Party from other clubs as well, became law.[1] In fact, it was one of the first laws the MLP enacted after it was returned to office in 1955. Partly as a result of his promise of assistance, but also because of his keen interest in the problems of secondary festa partiti, this candidate became so identified with this neighbouring partit that he had to ask MLP candidates from the other side of the electoral district to bid for the Labour votes of the members of the opposite partit. He naturally asked them to canvass the Labour votes of the titular partit in his own village as well.

But perhaps the most famous case of this kind, and certainly the most conspicuous, took place in Gozo. For many years the supporters of the Leone partit in Rabat had been embarrassed by the fact that the statue of their beloved patron could not be taken in processions from the cathedral. There was simply no way for her to pass through the walls of the old citadel in which the cathedral was situated. The members of the partit wished to remedy this by breaching the wall and making a large gate, but the Antiquities Board strongly opposed the idea. Finally, an ambitious MLP candidate came to their rescue. He is alleged to have promised them help if they voted for him. Whether the deal for votes is true I do not know. I do know, however, that the politician was elected and succeeded in having a huge new gate torn in the historic citadel. That he did this at public expense, against the orders of his [626] Ministers and in defiance of the Antiquities Board, is evidence of his ingenuity and single-mindedness. Of course, it might also have

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[1] Act V, 1955: 'An Act to Amend the Reletting of Urban Property (Regulation) Ordinance.'

Bombazine (without lace) or silk faldettas are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *ċulqana* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
764 extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *żuntier*, from French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
•[671] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
[534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a pro-

fanation

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
themselves responsible for much of the labouring work.
794 Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards
the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939);
this in a parish which even ten years later had no more
than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

175 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were
793 attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor)
871 Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became
Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was "sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
[671] elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this
still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

744 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for
793 by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone
759 himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of
175 1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest
of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6). As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social, as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the village, and another of the traditional functions of the Priest passed to specialist hands.

175 After this, interest was turned again to building and
346 the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out
344 in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the
[435] Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the
District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers themselves were responsible for a great deal of the building work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

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578 a dozen of their cars. At this time people also began to leave the
625 church. But the police, who were trying to keep a passage clear in
665 the centre of the square for the stream of departing Labour supporters,
794 kept them on the steps of the church. They waited there
for a while and then began singing hymns and songs in honour of

religious processions. The greatest concentration of ceremonies is 796
around Easter. This cycle starts with the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows on the Friday before Palm Sunday. Virtually all the inhabitants escort the statue through the principal streets of the village. This is followed by the Palm Sunday procession around the church square.[1] On Maundy Thursday there is a long service during which the parish priest washes the feet of twelve village laymen. Immediately after this the church is draped completely in black damask, and a huge wooden rattle replaces the church bells as a sign of mourning. On Maundy Thursday and on Good Friday in the morning, family groups visit the church and, passing before the statues depicting scenes from the Passion, stop to pray before the elaborate Sepulchre constructed in one of the chapels. Members of each of the village associations and clubs visit the Sepulchre in groups. Many families make pilgrimages to the churches in the twelve other parishes which hold Good Friday processions. At each one they offer prayers before the Sepulchre and pause to examine the statues and funereal hangings of their rivals before going on. All morning visitors from outside stream into Kortin to see the church. Then, at about two in the afternoon, there is a three-hour sermon on the Passion. This is followed by the Good Friday procession.

Old Manwel, the procurator, directs the procession. This is his 794
big day. During the preceding weeks, he and Anton and Pawlu, 796
the two men who take charge of decorating the parish for special occasions, worked very hard getting ready the eight statues, assembling the ornate Sepulchre and collecting the £90 required to meet the expenses of the Holy Week. Since he became procurator twenty years ago, Manwel has collected almost £3,000 for new statues, costumes, banners and black damask for the church. The procession itself lasts about three hours. Some 420 men and youths from the village carry and escort the eight huge statues. Some of the men have carried the same statue for years. The ten who carry the statue of the Crucifixion have protected [675]
their right to do so by a notarized contract with the parish priest. In return they have spent almost £200 over the past ten years to

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[1] Instead of palm fronds, olive branches are distributed to the faithful. It is generally [751]
believed that if these blessed branches are burned, their smoke is particularly effective against the harmful effects of the evil eye. Farmers pass burning leaves through their [824]
cattle sheds, and I have met professionals who do the same to their salons before cocktail parties.

796 the Canons of the Cathedral then says mass and the ceremony is over.

At the conclusion of this procession there is a scene of general confusion throughout the whole village of Zeitun. Priests, friars, *fratelli*, cross and standard-bearers, men and women of all classes, especially country people, and of these unfailingly the most recently married couples—all in their best attire and with a grand display of jewels and gold (*)—are seen going to and fro, buying and eating sweetmeats [493] and cheese cakes. Then again hundreds of all sorts of vehicles, from His

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[675] [584] (*) Till lately, young women residing in the country insisted before they were married on its being particularly stipulated in the marriage contract, that their husbands should take them to Casal Zeitun on St. Gregory's day, to Valletta on St. John's day, and to Boschetto on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, on the 29th of June.

584 ness of the connection, without at all consulting the inclinations of their children.

[675] [431] [583] The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.

The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.

[989] Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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will only be necessary for a "wise woman" or witch to spit on the hair while uttering a curse to bring misfortune upon the head which nourished it. 771 788 [754]

Grez will be careful not to laugh too heartily on a Friday—when the memory of the Crucifixion should make all sad. She will make the Sign of the Cross on leaving her house, on entering any vehicle or boat for no matter how short a journey, on cutting a piece of new cloth, before her baby's mouth when it yawns—so that evil spirits may not enter. On meeting a deformed or maimed person she will sign her corresponding limb or part of her body with the Cross. [826]

When she brings flowers into her house she will be as careful to exclude the acacia as any West-country woman to avoid "may" or whitethorn, for the spiky Maltese acacia is the "thorn" of Palestine wherewith the Saviour was crowned. 771 [824]

These are but a few of the small ways in which the peasant woman pays a somewhat mixed homage to the Old Things as well as to the tenets of her Faith. In her favour it may be said that her "superstitions" are more logical than those of such folk who habitually "touch wood" or object to a third cigarette from one match.

THE FESTAS

The Festa, primarily a religious festival and a Holy Day of Obligation, provides the only relaxation for a hardworking and frugal people. Such simple pleasures as a meal of unaccustomed meat, a little wine, processions, and fireworks give full rein to the most lovable, childlike side of the national character. The importance attaching to these periodical holidays is well illustrated by an old rhyme: 796 [585] [675]

796

THE SWEETHEART'S BARGAIN

585 In the marriage contract, they have it for a pact,
675 That he takes her to the Feste and sets her on a wall.
[262] That he buys her cakes of sweetmeat, of the sort with hempseed made.
For that's the kind of sweetmeat a bride likes best of all.

It is believed that such a clause used actually to be embodied in the written contract drawn up by the parents and the go-between.

Each little hamlet has its own feast, in honour of its own
796 particular patron. Each has its own peculiar forms. Of the
[184] national feasts that of St. John naturally occupies a place of
considerable importance. Certain aspects of its celebration,
however, indicate that the Order of St. John was not alone
responsible for the enthusiasm which this saint inspires.
796 Busuttil, who has already been quoted at some length, writes
372 of the Feast of St. John as follows:

> "Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating the Nativity of St. John by kindling great fires in the public streets, and giving their children dolls to carry in their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist 'Multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt.'
>
> Days and even weeks before this festival groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs, and all sorts of other combustibles which they store up for St. John's Eve.
>
> On the night of June 23rd, the day before the festival of the Saint, great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the Island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking.
>
> These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being

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625. church. But the police, who were trying to keep a passage clear in
665 the centre of the square for the stream of departing Labour supporters,
794 kept them on the steps of the church. They waited there
for a while and then began singing hymns and songs in honour of

175 the clergy to charge for their services. Finally, he decreed that no
177 foreign power, even the Pope, might interfere in local religious
648 administration.

By these acts, the French attacked values that were at the very
175 foundation of the Maltese social structure. Moreover, the new
government aggravated the discontent by its failure to meet its
648 financial commitments. Less than two months later, the suppressed
669 hostility flared into savage revolt when the authorities
tried to auction off the property of the Carmelite church in
Mdina. The citizens rose, massacred the town's garrison and
burned their bodies. Then, led by Notary Vitale and Canon
Caruana, a powerful cotton merchant who later became Bishop,
they penned up the main French force under General Vaubois
behind the fortifications of Valletta and the Three Cities. Two
years later the French surrendered to the British force which had
come to assist the Maltese.

175 Under British rule, Malta changed from a theocracy ruled by a
177 religious order, to a self-governing colony with an active internal
political life. Administrative posts gradually passed to Maltese
64 hands, and today the civil service, apart from a few foreign
● 69 experts, is completely Maltese. But in spite of a long flirtation with
[621] various forms of local and regional government, there are still no
village mayors or councillors. The new civic committee in Gozo
is an exception which will be discussed in the following chapter.
Early in their rule, the British abolished the Università. To appease
the wounded dignity of the nobles, they divided Malta into six
districts under the nominal authority of Lords Lieutenant, chosen
from the nobility. These officers were in charge of civil affairs, and
presided over district courts. Each was assisted by syndics, deputies
with magisterial powers, who lived in the villages. In 1839, this
system of local government was abandoned as inefficient and
costly, and district magistrates, also called syndics, were appointed
from the class of advocates. Later, the government
established district consultative committees to advise it on local
needs and to coordinate health measures during epidemics. These
committees were only partly successful, and were also abandoned.
In 1896 the government finally abolished the office of syndic, and,
in the interest of economy, closed the last district courts in 1913.
After that, except for the Magistrate's Court in Gozo, the administration
of justice remained centralized in Valletta.

346 692 778 In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, the visitor will likewise notice, let into the external walls of churches, small marble slabs bearing the inscription:

NON GODE
L'IMMUNITÀ
ECCLESIASTICA

The tablets meant that the churches and chapels in question did not enjoy the right of ecclesiastical sanctuary, and their explanation lay in the fact that until well after the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ecclesiastical Courts in Malta exercised temporal jurisdiction over the clergy. It followed that their jurisdiction extended over all consecrated buildings, in which the civil authority was unable to exercise its functions.

778 346 692 656 The next stage was reached when lay criminals sought refuge in these "extra-territorial" churches from the arm of the civil law. When the abuse tended to become serious the ecclesiastical authorities sought to minimize it by affixing the notice in question to various rural churches with the object of confining the right of sanctuary to the churches on which the inscription did not appear. But the right, even thus restricted, had clearly become an anachronism dangerous to the peace and good order of the country, and no longer tolerable. So in 1828 it was completely abolished by Governor Ponsonby by means of a Proclamation, whose preamble declares that:

> In consequence of certain privileges or immunities heretofore claimed as belonging to divers churches and other holy edifices and places in these islands, wicked and profligate men have often been tempted to commit murders, robberies and other atrocious crimes in the hope of escaping punishment by taking refuge in such places.

156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
156 meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xih żomm fih*). But
561 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where
schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to
their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard.
The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is
wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leadership
in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish
registers support the memories of the present generation of elders
that this has not always been the case.

Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
156 their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
[575] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it convenient
for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
[693] continue to practise in their native villages. But when they continue
to reside in their villages, even though their social life and
many of their business interests are oriented away from the community,
they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge
their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted
into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have
gone successfully into politics.

Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
156 citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday procession.
693 Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter
of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football
and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he
has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a
successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
759 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

578

665 already noted, in Malta, it is a criminal offence to insult a minister
673 of religion. There were no other disturbances.

688 The Labour rally was rather a different story. The leader of the
● 694. MLP and the thousands of his supporters who came to Kortin to
578 hear him speak received a decidedly hostile reception. Though
Dun Bert did not organize a counter-demonstration for the
665 occasion, he did arrange a mass protest meeting the evening
794 before. The following day rival groups were out decorating. A
number of MUSEUM lads under the direction of one of the older
members pasted anti-MLP slogans all over the façade of the
church. At the same time, a group of men were busy hanging
posters and flags from the Labour club to welcome Dom Mintoff
to the village.

At 4 p.m. buses and cars began to stream into the village with
[796] thousands of MLP supporters from all over the island. At about the
same time the church bells began to call the faithful to a religious
procession in honour of Our Lady of Fatima which Dun Bert had
scheduled to take place during the Labour meeting. He himself
stood in the square watching the faithful gather in the church. He
also carefully observed those who passed by on their way to the
Labour meeting, which was being held right behind the church.
Most of the villagers who sympathized with the Labour Party
but who did not support it openly did not attend the meeting.
[783] They were anxious to avoid the open break with the rest of the
community which attending would have entailed. Besides, several
mentioned that their confessors had told them that they would
commit a mortal sin if they attended MLP meetings. All the open
supporters of the MLP in the village went to the meeting.

[796] The meeting began at about 4.30 p.m. and lasted for two hours.
Shortly after it had started, Dun Bert's procession of nearly a
thousand men, women and children slowly wound its way
through the village and returned to the church for a period of
prayer and worship. When the Labour meeting finally broke up,
most of the outside supporters departed quickly, though a number
were delayed because villagers had deflated the tyres of about
578 a dozen of their cars. At this time people also began to leave the
625. church. But the police, who were trying to keep a passage clear in
665 the centre of the square for the stream of departing Labour supporters,
794 kept them on the steps of the church. They waited there
for a while and then began singing hymns and songs in honour of

the latter's diocese fails to appoint one within eight days; and the 793 right to wear the insignia of his office which mark his superior 795 dignity (the *pallium* and the double cross), throughout his province. [293] Moreover, the Archbishop's court functions as a court of appeal for cases heard in the court of the Bishop of Gozo. In all [698] other matters, however, the Bishop of Gozo has the same rights as the Archbishop. These include the right to make certain rules and dispensations for his diocese, to inflict penalties, interdictions and excommunication; and to determine who may be admitted to the priesthood.[1]

Each Bishop is assisted by a number of advisers, who also run the Curia, or administrative headquarters of the diocese. In the Archdiocese of Malta the Curia is under the charge of the Vicar General, who has the title of Titular Bishop. These advisers are for the most part Monsignori, or Canons, of the Cathedral Chapter. The Cathedral Chapter is composed of the priests attached to a cathedral church who advise the Bishop, arrange for a more solemn celebration of divine worship, and, when the See is vacant, provide for the government of the diocese. Though the Archdiocese of Malta has both a Cathedral in Mdina, and a Co-Cathedral in Valletta, there is only one Chapter.

In addition to the Cathedral Chapters in Malta and Gozo, there are also a number of Collegiate churches. The clergy of a Collegiate Church form a Collegiate Chapter, and have the title of Canons. They perform no special duties in the diocese. The title [554] of 'Collegiate' is an honour which can only be bestowed upon a church with Papal sanction. There are Collegiate Chapters in Senglea, Vittoriosa, Cospicua, Rabat, Birkirkara and Valletta in Malta, and in Għarb, Nadur and Xagħra in Gozo.

The Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo are divided 621 into 48 and 15 parishes respectively. A parish is the basic social and 794 territorial unit of the Church. Every village in Malta and Gozo is 795 a separate parish, though some towns are divided into two or more parishes. The limits of a parish are fixed by the Bishop. They often extend several miles beyond the compact villages that are so characteristic of the Maltese countryside. In most rural parishes there are also a few scattered farmsteads. The occupants of these isolated farms normally have houses in the village, to which they

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[1] Cf. William E. Addis and others, 'Archbishop', *A Catholic Dictionary* (16th ed. rev.; London, Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1960), pp. 44 f.

rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural
175 harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans successively
648 occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that
Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually
nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the
Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were
replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of
the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed
successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–1283),
the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. In 1530,
[701] Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their protesting
inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military
Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles
vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on
Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800
Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to
Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then
they have remained a British possession.

175 The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was
776 the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he
stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the
795 people to Christianity. Whether he converted many is a moot
[797] point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor,
Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. The Maltese are intensely
proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna*
[796] *San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the principal
patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a
national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local
legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his
gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there
was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

175 The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during
the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, re-established
793 and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to
795 arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed
while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of
Maltese bishops dates from this period.

175 Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the
642 Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered
646

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[1] Acts 27 and 28.

by the officials of the governing body, or *Università*. This body, 175
which met in Mdina, the old capital of the island, was composed 642
of representatives of the nobles, learned men, secular priests, 646
merchants and artisans elected by all the family heads in the towns
and villages of Malta and Gozo. The Knights of St. John, however, [439]
severely limited the authority of the Università, and during their final years it was little more than a public corporation responsible for the importation of scarce foodstuffs.

The Order made itself responsible for local government. It controlled 175
and financed the local militia, police, courts, water supply, 642
public works, hospitals and charities. The government of the 701
Order was highly centralized, and all key posts were held by
Knights, though many of the lesser administrative offices were
given to Maltese nobles, lawyers and clerks. The authority of the [625]
Order was made effective in the rural areas through the police and the ten Captains who were in charge of military garrisons and arsenals, located at strategic points for internal security and defence against war parties and corsairs, and were also responsible for mobilizing the militia. This paternalistic system of administration came to an abrupt end when Napoleon drove the Knights from the islands. Their departure marked the end of an era.

Napoleon remained in Malta only eight days, but they were 175
busy days. According to Laferla, 'it is certain that no one in the 177
space of a few days attempted more, did more and upset the 648
Maltese more than he did.'[1] He set up a nominated council of Maltese to see to civil administration, remodelled the tribunals along French lines and established twelve municipal councils. He abolished the nobility. He closed the University, established a central technical college and founded fifteen government elementary schools. He also sent sixty sons of wealthy families off to study at republican colleges in Paris at their parents' expense.

'All this and probably much more would the Maltese have patiently tolerated,' says Laferla, 'had Napoleon not interfered with religion.'[2] For he set out to curtail the influence of the Church. He limited the jurisdiction of the Bishop to purely ecclesiastical affairs, ordered the expulsion from the islands of all non-Maltese clergy and reduced the number of clerics. He also instituted civil marriage, gave protection to the Jews and forbade

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[1] A. V. Laferla, *The Story of Man in Malta* (3rd ed.; Malta, A. C. Aquilina and Co., 1938), p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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CHAPTER XXI

After the Second World War

727 795 TO THE STORM AND STRESS OF THE WAR YEARS SUCCEEDED other activities imposed by other pressures. Urgent was the need to repair the bombed areas; to stabilize an economy disturbed by war and post-war conditions; to speed up emigration from the world's most heavily overcrowded political unit; to take into consideration the ferment in men's minds which prolonged wars on a major scale have never yet failed to generate. The circumstance that the ferment took less unsettling forms in Malta than in some other parts of a war-distracted world may be ascribed to the steadying influence of the Church.

727 648 652 Britain herself, though bowing beneath the weight of unprecedented taxation, did not fail to recognize the needs and deserts of her Maltese bulwark. "There will be general agreement," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons in 1942, "that the outstanding gallantry shown by the people of Malta in the face of enemy attacks of unprecedented length and severity calls for some special recognition." A first free gift of ten million pounds, made there and then by the British Government for restoration of war damage and reconstruction, was followed by an additional grant of twenty millions for the same purposes. To these were added substantial and still continuing annual grants of several millions a year in aid of the local revenue.

643 701 From 1813 to 1946, except for one four-year interval, the Governors of Malta had been distinguished serving soldiers—Field-Marshals and Generals on the Active List of the Army and Commanders-in-Chief, not only in name but in effect,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of the islands' military forces. The exception was the Right 643
Honourable Richard More O'Ferrall, an Irish Roman
Catholic Member of Parliament who had been a junior 701
Minister in Lord Melbourne's Administration and was
Governor of Malta from 1847 to 1851. O'Ferrall was
sensitive, high-minded, well-intentioned and an indefatigable
reformer; a Liberal by instinct, he gave Malta its first part- [646]
elected Legislative Council. But his very reforming zeal
laid him open to bitter attacks and misrepresentation, which
led to his premature resignation.

The experiment of placing a civilian and a politician in 643
charge of Malta was held to have failed and was not repeated until 1946, when the Labour Government appointed a Socialist Member of Parliament in the person of Mr F. Douglas (later Lord Douglas of Barloch) as Malta's second civilian Governor. A new departure was made when Douglas was succeeded in 1949 by Sir Gerald Creasy, the first regular member of the Colonial Service to hold the appointment; yet another, when Creasy was succeeded in 1954 by Major-General Sir Robert Laycock. Although General Laycock is a distinguished soldier whose military career culminated in the post of Chief of Combined Operations during and after the Second World War, he had already retired from the Army before coming to Malta; his appointment was a civil one, not a revival of the military Governorship. So was that of Admiral Sir Guy Grantham, a former Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Station, who retired from the Navy immediately before succeeding Sir Robert Laycock in 1959.

2

Sections 2 to 4 of this chapter may be skipped by the 000
reader not interested in Malta's constitutional vicissitudes between the restoration of self-government in 1947 and its temporary withdrawal in 1959. The book would, however,

[P.117]

This increase in the

178 range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-
291 produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged
financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The
[511] villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of
his children, both the infants and those attending school.
[871] The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands
[702] has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War
of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men
into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that
they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been
their practice before.

* **Work and Labour**

159 As seen, Ġamri's normal labour force consists
241 of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being
all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little.
461 This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural
464 year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit......	1740	man/hours
	- vines......	489	" "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437	" "
	- potatoes...	868	" "
	- other vegetables...	505	" "
(ii) on Ġamri's own holding	- vines....	444	" "
	- cereals & fodders..	222	" "
	- vegetables	65	
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage................		160	" "
(d) Building of pig-sties.................		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous.........................		677	" "
		6816	man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analyzed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġamri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

OOD In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the
369 physical units in which the people live - the towns and
villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes
administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to
the physical arrangement of functional parts), these
provide important evidence of the social and economic nature
of society. The present report is concerned with rural
society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear
that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of
the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements
cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of
some important historical facts.

175 During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the
369 Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded
[361] an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These
creations have since expanded and merged to become the
[396] nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society
had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a
few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or
[241] adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and
Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended
[464] on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment
existing only in the larger settlements or in the little
harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta
on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island
as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530
standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined
in relative importance.

Little change otherwise occurred until the century and
[161] a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and
[396] associated townships became dominant and the increase in the
population accelerated[2]. The national economy became
[434] overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards
[712] in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force
[707] bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if
not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as
241 being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the
433 position demands more precise definition. Certainly the
largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been
based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the
past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence
farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs
of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which
money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

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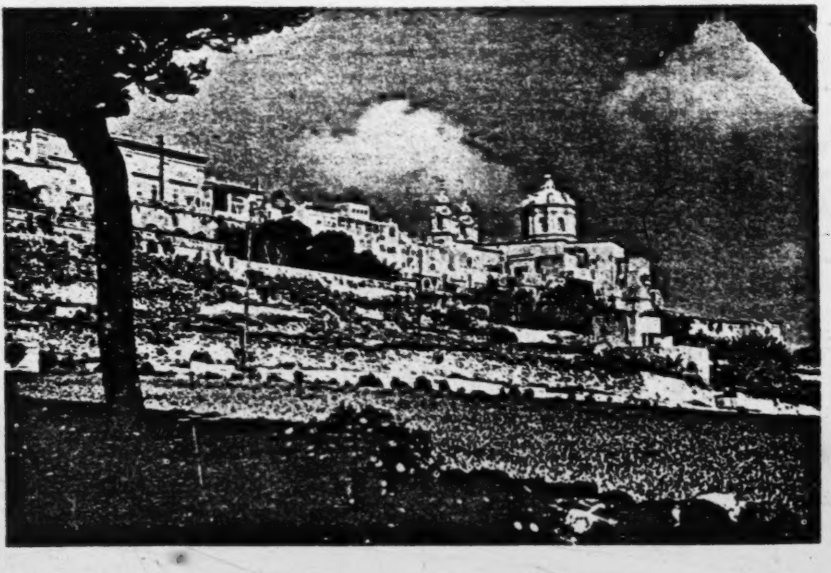

Plate IX. Mdina. Ramparts and Cathedral.

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Plate X. The Citadel, Rabat, Gozo.

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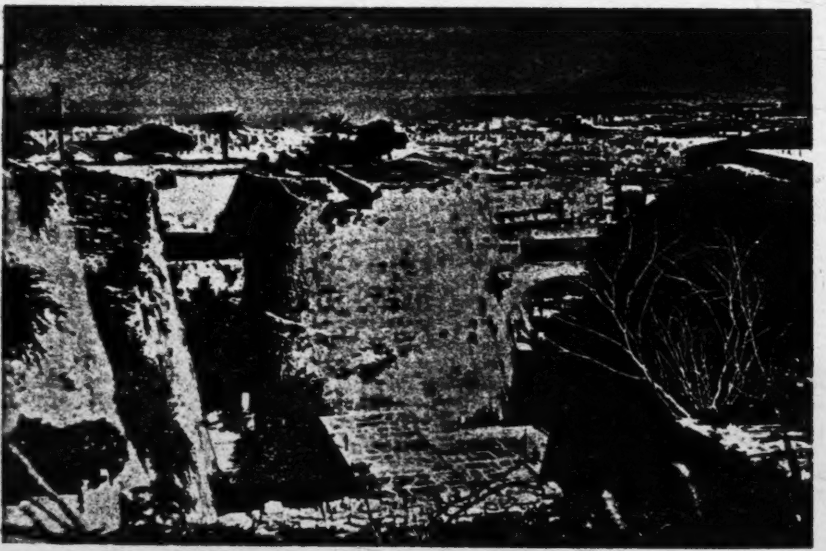

Plate XI. The Bastions, Valletta.

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Plate XII. The Church and Piazza, Żabbar.

186 the village, which draws in native sons and daughters from all over 621 the country, and often from as far away as Canada and Australia. This loyalty is also evident at other times. Villagers like to think of 796 themselves as a united body, and they take care to protect the appearance of unity before strangers. This is an attitude of which 186 anyone studying the social history of a village becomes keenly 609 aware. Strangers are thus treated with great reserve. The inhabitants of the smaller villages are well known for their reluctance to 621 give any information about their neighbours to strangers. Inquiring visitors are often referred to the parish priest, who, as village spokesman, screens them and, if possible, deals with their questions. The reserve of a village *vis-à-vis* a stranger is consider- [627] ably more than just an expression of village loyalty. Present also is the very real fear of vengeance should the answer to a stranger's question lead to some unpleasantness for a neighbour. Social relations in a small village are to a very considerable extent governed by the proverb 'Don't make an enemy of your neighbour' (*Taghmilx ghadu lil ġarek*).

In view of this loyalty, it is not surprising that people express 628 their solidarity with their native village by opposition to other villages. A village's traditional rivals are usually those with which it has the most frequent contact. I was almost invariably warned by villagers that the inhabitants of the neighbouring village were a treacherous and savage lot. There are many tales of hostility between neighbouring villages, especially over the celebration of the annual festa, which I dare say have lost nothing in retelling. I was told a number of stories of how youths stampeded goats through their rivals' festa processions, and of expeditions which stole fireworks, attacked street decorations and performed other daring escapades. Although most of these adventures are said to have taken place many years ago, they are no more unusual than some of the incidents that I witnessed.

[178] If the intense inter-village rivalry of former times has abated somewhat, it is probably because increased education and contact outside the villages have helped to break down ignorance and [796] isolation. But this rivalry still lies dormant, and may flare up at the slightest provocation from a traditional rival; I have seen a num- [526] ber of fights over trivial incidents during festas and football [712] matches. The number of police at village feasts and the quantity and density of the barbed-wire entanglements at the Schreiber

Stadium, where most village football matches are played, are in 628
themselves evidence that fights during these occasions are the rule [526]
rather than the exception. [712]

Although there is little formal contact between villages, there is a considerable amount of informal coming and going between
their inhabitants. Most inter-village marriages are between partners [582]
from neighbouring villages, and the network of kin ties that these form helps to bind the villages of a district together. Inhabitants of neighbouring villages travel to and from work on the same buses, and see each other often at the annual feasts of the district. These multiple relations contribute to a certain district spirit. The most striking example is the unity of the Gozitans, although people from the south of Malta have something of the same spirit of belonging to a particular district. Nonetheless, the knowledge the inhabitants of the southern Maltese villages have of each other cannot be compared to that of the Gozitans, who, for the most part, not only recognize each other by face, name and nickname, but usually know a surprising (and often uncomfortable) amount of personal details about one another.

IV

A person becomes a member of a village by being born there, or 217
marrying or moving into it. The administrative details connected 591
with these acts are quite simple. Parents must register the birth of [621]
a child at the local police station, and the parish priest enters the [851]
child's name in his register when the baby is baptized, which usually takes place within a few days of its birth. If a man marries into a village, his name will be entered in the parish register, for under Church law the marriage must be performed by the parish priest of the bride, or his delegate. If the couple settles in the husband's village or in a strange village, their names will be recorded on the annual census there, the *status animarum*, which every parish priest prepares for his bishop. All changes of address are supposed to be given (but often are not) to the Rationing Office and, if the person is over twenty-one, to the Electoral Office. No other civil authorities are interested in a person's whereabouts.

In point of fact, however, most people live in the villages into 369
which they were born. This is another respect in which the towns 591

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36 This type of core area therefore, as defined in these examples is the basic pattern in all villages throughout Malta and Gozo.

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361
178 In a consideration of the present scene within the Maltese village it is essential to be aware, at all stages of the argument, of the evolution of the settlements concerned. In the Żurrieq case it is clear that the main village block is extending in several directions, notably northward past the school and south-westward towards the small hamlet of Nigret. This latter is already linked by a continuous built-up stretch to the main village and thus contrasts with Bubaqra which remains morphologically
[578] independent. In the case of some of the larger villages, Żebbuġ and Żejtun are two notable examples, the completion of this kind of merging of nuclei accounts for present intra-village sectionalism. Thus Żebbuġ (Malta) is a compound of three ancient village nuclei, Hal Muxi, Hal Mula and Hal Dwieli. The very title of 'Hal', or 'village', still given to these parts of what is now a single village reflects their original separate independence. They have grown together over the centuries and have been unified by the construction of a Parish Church and the appearance of a new 'township' core in the central area. Similarly Żejtun has three component parts, Ta'Fuq (Upper), Ta'Isfel (Lower), and Ta' Wara l-Knisja (Behind the Church): the present large Parish Church has been built in the space remaining between the merging older nuclei. The distinction here is clearly morphological rather than administrative but is nevertheless not to be ignored in a study of social structure and affiliation in a static and conservative community.

Merging between fully independent villages has also occurred. Balzan-Birkirkara and Pawla-Tarxien are examples, but here the administrative and affiliatory distinctions have been maintained. At a higher level still the merging of the settlements comprising the Urban area, begun in the nineteenth century but more rapid in the twentieth, is the major feature of modern settlement growth in Malta (B/561).

Rabat in Malta, and Rabat (Victoria) in Gozo, illustrate another aspect of settlement evolution where morphological
[712] facts bear on social structure. In both cases the 'suburb of the citadel' ('Ir-Rabat tal-Imdina') grew to large-village size outside the Walls [illegible] the central fortified stronghold of each Island. In Malta, Rabat remained as the main rural centre after the capital had moved to Valletta, with ancient Mdina itself remaining a quiet residential back-water.

000 In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an

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178 unofficial capital of the rural areas of his Island; markets
361 are still held there even though the main ones have
[443] gravitated to Valletta and the urban area. The annual 'Imnarja', traditionally one of the main events in the farmers' social calendar, is held nearby[18], while the ancient importance of the Church is reflected in the large number of clergy, churches, confraternities and third orders
● [712] found there (Appendix 4). In Gozo, Rabat is the administrative, cultural and economic capital with the old fortified 'Castello' now in large part a deserted ruin.

369 The differing extent to which the villages of Malta and
178 Gozo have been influenced economically by the industrial and urban developments of the dockyard areas and towns are paralleled in the social plane. Traditionally rural centres such as Qormi, Żabbar and Birkirkara have undergone increasing social and cultural attraction towards Valletta and the Urban area along with economic 'de-ruralization' by virtue of their proximity to the towns and harbours. The improvements in amenities and especially in transport facilities have tended to link these Fringe settlements to the Urban area rather than to the countryside which produced them (B/381).

361 A further type of village is exemplified by St. Paul's
178 Bay. This began as a summer-time resort for town and city dwellers during the nineteenth century but attained a sufficient permanence and size to be granted full parochial status in 1905. The analogy in Gozo is Marsalforn though this settlement is perhaps half a century behind St. Paul's Bay in development and presents in winter time the appearance of almost a ghost-town with only a few permanent farmer and fishermen residents.

Birżebbuġa is a class on its own, having grown in the past few decades upon largely non-agricultural foundations of the British and United States' bases, oil installations and some small-scale industry.

128 Using this type of analytical approach, a classification
361 of the villages of Malta and Gozo on the basis of their origin and socio-functional characteristics becomes possible (Richardson (B/561) goes into greater detail concerning the evolution of settlement in Malta itself and considers the development of the present pattern in the light of population growth and movement and other historical factors.)

712 (1) Medieval Capital Fortresses - Mdina in Malta and
175 the Castello in Gozo. Both occupy central eminences in
[361] their respective Islands and were used as capitals by the Arabs (in Malta 870-1090) and by the various rulers of Malta between 1090 and the coming of the Knights of St. John in
712 1530. The former is today a tranquil, residential

712 museum-piece; the latter ruined apart from the Cathedral and the Law Courts.

361 175 (2) Attached to each of the two fortresses there grew up at an early date suburbs which themselves achieved the status of independent settlements. Rabat is still an important locus for the farming community of rural Malta, while the Rabat in Gozo (or Victoria as it is now known) is the largest settlement in that Island and the only one with any urban features.

361 175 103 (3) The medieval town-villages of Malta, other than Rabat, were granted parochial status in 1436. This pattern of large agricultural villages formed the basis of the economic life of the times and even today they retain a strong flavour of the "Old Malta". They were Birkirkara, Qormi (split 1935), Żejtun, Żurrieq, Żebbuġ, Gudja, Naxxar and Siġġiewi. The parallel group of villages in Gozo included Xewkija (1678), Gharb (1679), and Żebbuġ, Xaghra, Nadur and Sannat (all 1688).

(4) Soon after the arrival of the Knights in 1530 building in the Three Cities and on the Xiberras Peninsula began. Thus Senglea (1581) and Cospicua (1584) were given parochial status (Vittoriosa had been one of the two 'parishes' of 1090) and the Valletta parishes of St. Paul and St. Dominic were established on the Peninsula in 1585 and 1587.

(5) Chronologically, the next development was the 'filling-in' of the rural scene with new village centres during the rule of the Knights. In all, thirteen such parishes were established in Malta and ten of these were in what are now the Fringe and Inner Rural areas. They were Tarxien and Kirkop (both 1592), Lija (1594), Gharghur, Safi and Mqabba (all 1598), Mosta (1608), Żabbar (1615), Qrendi (1618), Ghaxaq (1626), Luqa (1634), Balzan (1655), and Dingli (1678).

(6) After this spate of parish-building in the hundred years 1580-1680 there was a gap of a century and a half before any new parishes were created. The list then reflects very closely the growth of the Urban area under British rule after 1800 (v. Appendix 1A, and Map 3). Of the eighteen new parishes in Malta eleven were Urban and three in the Fringe zone. The new Urban settlements were Floriana (1844), Maida & Pieta (1867), Sliema (1878, 1918, and 1940), Hamrun (1881), St. Julian's (1891), Kalkara (1898) Pawla (1910), Marsa and Gżira (both 1913); in the Fringe zone came Birżebbuġa (1913), Santa Vennera (1918), and Marsaskala (1949). Other foundations in Malta were Marsaxlokk (1897) and the three new villages in the north -

*159 434 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anġlu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anġlu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

*159 234 443 [712] [551] [656] His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anġlu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

*159 423 434 [432] Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodders. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

*159 452 Anġlu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anġlu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

some sculptured escutcheon; the old stone *fougasses*[1] to be 311
encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny 34
Comino, from whose stony fields, where is cultivated the 103
cumin seed from which the island takes its name, there rises
one of the massive square keeps which the Knights scattered 243
throughout their territory.[2]

The casals are, as has been said in an earlier chapter, not 361
villages, but compact stone townships of tall houses and 341
narrow streets, solidly built in good substantial Baroque 351
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walls amid charming gardens—the beauty and seclusion of the Maltese gardens are justly proverbial—while the focus of the casal, both literally and metaphorically, is the parish church. This is generally a great Baroque pile of golden sandstone flanked by two massive towers, but an exception is the Parish Church of Mosta, built in the classical style in the middle of the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts, both technical and financial, of the villagers themselves to the design of the ingenious Maltese architect Grognet de Vassé mentioned in Chapter II. It is topped by a dome that claims to be the third largest in the world, being surpassed in size only by those of S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Peter's in Rome, higher internally than the dome of the Roman Pantheon and exceeding by sixteen feet the diameter of that of S. Paul's in London.

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[2] An excellent companion for the exploration of the island is P. Weston's [113]
Walks in Malta, published in Valetta. Later booklets include Showell Styles, *Walks and Climbs in Malta* (Valetta, 2nd edn., 1952), and H. H. Hick, *Walks in Gozo* (Malta, 1953).

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

137 that would not disgrace Taormina, or in the summer, when its tangled mass of vegetation forms an almost solid screen of verdure from the blazing sun, it would seem a fitting lair for the daughter of Atlas if it did not rather conjure up, with its figs, its vines, its calamus and its pomegranates, a vision of the Song of Songs.

13 Certainly Gozo is more fertile, less rocky, more verdant than is Malta. Edward Lear called its scenery "pomskizillious and gromphiberous, being as no words can describe its magnificence." It is not broken up to anything like the same extent by the stone and rubble walls which in the larger island so provokingly conceal gardens and fields from all [241] except aviators. In Gozo it is easy to enjoy wide vistas of green corn and purple clover, of terraced cultivation along the contours of its seven flat-topped hills.

13 341 Like Malta, Gozo ends on its south-western coast in sheer rock-faces that rise abruptly as much as 400 feet from the sea. But elsewhere its coast-line is more varied than Malta's, with its pleasant miniature fjords of Xlendi and Xini, the yellow sands of Ramla, the blue lagoon of Qala Dwejra, the mysterious landlocked bay of Kawra, the grim cliffs of Ta Ċenċ and Ras il Wardija. Its architecture, too, is highly characteristic, and although its villages bear a general resemblance to the casals of Malta, they can be distinguished from these by the handsome carved stone balconies which have happily remained one of Gozo's pleasantest and most live traditions. These balconies are a feature throughout the island but are to be seen at their best in the Manderaggio of Victoria, for Gozo, too, has its Manderaggio.

361 •7/2 The capital of the island, Rabat or Victoria—Rabat because it is the suburb of the walled fortress above it—sprawls pleasantly at the foot of the great rock on which rises, like Edinburgh Castle, its bastioned and embattled citadel. This high place was designed as a stronghold, a place of refuge from the Barbary pirates, just as were the little hill-towns of the Riviera, Eze and many another, that look down on the

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EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

361 Corniche from heights as inaccessible as nature and man's
712 ingenuity could make them. When the marauders from North Africa ceased to be a menace, the citadel was partly evacuated for the lower town, but happily was never abandoned completely. Even now it contains the cathedral of the diocese and the Law Court and Public Registry, formerly the residence of the Governors of Gozo; and, although many of its ancient houses are in ruins, a few are still inhabited.

175 One interesting little lane with façades of the thirteenth
717 and fourteenth centuries was restored by the Government
341 before the outbreak of the Second World War, as has been
654 the handsome Renaissance building facing the entrance to the citadel latterly known as the Bondi Palace, as related at the end of Chapter XIII. One of the houses in the lane at one time belonged, as an inscription testifies, to the soldier Bernard, "*miles Bernardus*," who was killed at the capture of the citadel by the Turks under Sinan Pasha in 1551. When he saw that the fortress could hold out no longer this dauntless man took the lives of his wife and two daughters with his own hand to save them from being sold into captivity, and then fell, fighting to the end. The walls and fortifications of the citadel are happily well preserved.

101 Gozo was Ogygia or Gaulos to the Greeks, *gaulos* (γαῦλος) being the word the Greeks had for the round merchant-boats of their rivals, the Phœnicians. From Gaulos it became Gaulum to the Romans, then appears on Idrisi's map of 1154 as Ghudash, and in modern Maltese is known as Ghawdex (pronounced Audesh), its Bishop signing as
484 *Episcopus Gaudisiensis.* The shortest ferry-crossing between
505 the two islands is only four miles, yet many Gozitans have never been to Malta while the overwhelming majority of Maltese have never been to Gozo.

181 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times
186 somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

712 Among the more accessible survivals of the Order is the
175 large and impressive Fort Chambray, which commands the
648 island's principal port of Mġarr. This stronghold was built,
as we have already seen, by Jacques de Chambray, one of the
last of the great Admirals of the Order, when he was
Governor[1] of Gozo in the middle of the eighteenth century
so that the island should no longer be at the mercy of every
raiding enemy. Not that Fort Chambray had ever to endure
a siege at the hands of the Barbary pirates. Its value in that
direction was mainly a prophylactic one. But it did serve a
military purpose during the death-pangs of the Order in
1798, when the Gozitans under their Governor and three
of the Knights shut themselves up within its walls, determined
to hold out as long as they could against the surprised French,
who had not expected any resistance.

344 Then there is the Banca Giuratale, a graceful, semicircular
341 Baroque structure which Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena
erected at the end of the main square of Victoria as the offices
341 of the Jurats of Gozo. Another was until 1943—alas, that
342 the past tense has to be used here—the charming manor
outside Xewkija known as the Torri Gourgion. Although
it had fallen somewhat from its high estate and had been
reduced to the status of a farmhouse, this unspoiled piece of
seventeenth-century rural architecture, embellished by a
charming well, yet retained externally all the dignity of that
lordly epoch. Its stone drop-boxes alternating with elaborate
stone escutcheons, its tall staircase tower topped by a conspicuous
dome, its suggestion of the fortified country-house
—all these features made it the only structure of its kind in
the Maltese Islands.

342 It is indeed lamentable that it should have had to be razed
648 to the ground in 1943, not by enemy action but to make
room for a temporary American aerodrome required in

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[649] [1] The Governor of Gozo, known in Maltese as the Hakem, lived in the house in the Citadel which, as has been said, is now the Law Court and Public Registry.

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181 186 The Gozitans are a frugal, thrifty, reserved, at times somewhat (yet not unpleasantly) dour people, who are regarded in Malta in much the same way as the Scots are

692 664 is uneasily superimposed on the traditional pattern. The part played by the Church during the 1956 Referendum on integration with the United Kingdom was most complicated. During the disturbances following the breakdown of Government in the spring of 1958, town and country, proletariat and bourgeoisie, Maltese Malta and Latinised Malta, all reacted differently. Over all responsible actions looms the knowledge that Malta is not a viable independency (4).

658 178 As we have seen, education and language have been inextricably involved in politics (5). More directly important is the educational effect on the people as a whole of the system of public instruction. Under the leadership of Dr. Albert Laferla public education became vastly improved in all ways (6), and from his tutelage, more particularly after the Compulsory Attendance Act of 1924, came the generation of Maltese which now forms economically and socially the most important part of the population. After 1933, Italian ceased to be used as a medium of instruction, a standard Maltese orthography came into use (7), and the school system was expanded to meet the most obvious and immediate needs. Education was sadly disrupted by World War II but since that time has continued to improve in quality and range of facilities (8). Compulsory Education as distinct from compulsory attendance came into force in 1946, and in 1955 full-time education became the rule. Some 22 per cent. of children of school age still receive education in private, usually Church run, schools.

It is vital to realise the extent of the social and economic revolution implied in these developments. In the rural areas the change has been one from illiteracy to education within one generation. Even in the towns, and this is particularly true for the new growths associated with dockyard, manufacturing and service industry employment, thoughts and activities are being fundamentally affected by education for the first time in Maltese history. Contrasts between the levels of awareness of the value of formal education are considerable, and the full impact of technical education has yet to be felt - the first Government Technical School was opened in 1934. The chief contrast observable in the field however is between the two age groups, over and under 30 to 35 years of age. The former still contains many illiterate and therefore conservative people; the latter by reason of training as well as age is radical and impatient. The latter attitude is largely responsible for the drift from the land which encourages the domination of agriculture by residual conservatism.

744 178 In the field of public health, skeletal public works services had been constructed before World War I. Recent developments may be regarded as logical extensions both in the sector of public works and in the field of medicine. As late as 1936 the judgment of the Chief Government Medical Officer was 'no scheme of sanitary reform ever met with greater opposition than the establishment of the modern sewer system in Malta' (9), but by 1955, about 270,000 or over 90 per cent. of the Maltese population lived in sewered dwellings, Żurrieq alone among the large villages remaining unserved. In parts of the countryside and in the smaller villages, dispersion of settlement renders prohibitive the cost of connection of each dwelling with the public sewers. The more isolated and the more rural areas are now the regions of lowest standards (Fig. 33).

Medical services, particularly in their relevance to the problem of high infant mortality, developed late and slowly (10). The most serious obstacles were those rooted in Maltese social life (11). The strength of the matriarchal tradition in Maltese household has meant that the ignorance of the oldest generation persists in imposing itself on the life of the youngest. Dirt, over-clothing and under-feeding, the indiscriminate and early use of farinaceous foods, all these were difficult to eradicate in overcrowded and grandmother-dominated conditions (12). The difficulty of educating in hygiene and personal health an indifferent and tradition-bound population proved insuperable and in 1939 the infantile mortality rate was as high as the average for the preceding 20 years.

178 722 744 The final breakthrough occurred paradoxically during World War II. In 1943 and 1944 housing conditions and diet were worse than any experienced in peacetime but the death rate and the infantile mortality rate began to fall to record

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 179]

178 722 744

low levels. Earlier improvements probably supplied the basis for change but more important was the fact that, for the first time, the effective Garrison of Malta included the whole population. The new machinery for public information, the desperate need for reducing disease incidence and preventing epidemics, and even food rationing and shortage had cumulatively beneficial effects on the public mind. More than all, it would seem, the military control of the besieged islands with its conscription of many Maltese males and the increased contact of British troops with the people, together with that strange uniting exaltation in face of danger observed in other countries, all shocked Malta into new ways of thought (Fig. 66).

178 744

After the war this momentum was maintained during the period of reconstruction. The Malta Memorial District Nursing Association, Child Health Clinics, and U.N.-established ante-natal clinics have now been accepted and their services utilised. In 1959 the infantile mortality rate was 34.7 per 1,000, leaving the memory of the rate of 350 per 1,000 in 1942 far behind.

[369] [185]

This revolutionary change is of particular revelance to this study. Many of its implications need no labouring. The demographic consequences, for instance, are obvious enough, as also the slowness with which traditional ways of life in Malta have changed. For us the most important consequence is that rising generations through a new awareness of causation and consequence, of scientific processes, are becoming vulnerable to new ideas in associated fields. There are no great steps between preventive human medicine, inoculation, livestock injections and an appreciation of plant pathology. One difficulty remains; the rural areas are the least affected by these recent changes and those individuals in the countryside who are mentally injected with new ideas and understanding are, for various reasons, the least likely to remain in agriculture.

178 234 744 [164]

Exemplifying this continuing regional dichotomy, but unity in complexity, is the recent history of milk consumption and production (13). Traditionally in Malta, 'the entire milk supply has been delivered by the goat herself' (14). Sometimes living with their flocks in the *fossa* which surround Valletta, the herdsmen would wander the streets, milking the animals on demand. Bruce and Zammit in 1885 and 1905 showed that the bacillus of Undulant or Malta Fever was freely excreted in goats milk and that the high incidence in Malta of this debilitating, sometimes lethal, disease was a natural consequence of the general albeit low per capita consumption of fresh milk from predominantly diseased goats. After considerable investigation, a milk pasteurising plant was erected and the first pasteurised milk was distributed, Valletta, Floriana and Sliema being declared 'closed areas' within which the sale of raw milk became illegal. During World War II, further extension of this policy was prevented but, since most goats were slaughtered for meat because of fodder shortage and because consumption of tinned milk became normal, the incidence of Malta fever fell to record low levels. Post-war revival in goats' milk production resulted in general re-infection by brucellosis and in 1946 the incidence of undulant fever was the highest ever recorded. During the post-war period public health and welfare policies have encouraged the consumption of milk. Because of the incidence of Malta fever, this has entailed the provision of expensive pasteurising plant, the prevention of the sale of unpasteurised, and the official encouragement of production of cows' rather than goats' milk.

178 744 185

This particular development is examined at greater length in Chapter X but some main points of general import merit consideration here. First, Maltese society has recently been affected by social, dietetic and medical policies which profoundly affect the basis of social life. In general one might say that the Maltese way of life is being made more remote from the simple crudities of parochial experience. Secondly, in the field of health and social welfare, the criterion of scientifically measured need has been adopted as the basis of official policy and the question of availability of resources is regarded as of secondary importance. Thirdly, this increasing social sophistication has only very recently become operative in Maltese life and different scales of value exist in different generations and in different social groups. Lastly, it would be fair to say that, while the urban markets are still only relatively fastidious

178 tion can read, travel and make contact directly and vicariously with the world
outside. Emigration too has tested the strength of the Faith. In consequence,
79 we can now find in Malta a historical cross-section represented in spatial
distribution. At one extreme one can meet in Sliema agnostic Maltese who never
go near a church; at the other, in rural Gozo, one can find general obedience to
the Bishop's instructions. All societies are heterogeneous in this respect but
in Malta the strain of division within society is particularly great because of
the existence of so many other cleavages. The reaction of the Church to this
new situation has been dual in character. In the first place the Church itself has
taken official action. Reform and correction, the imposition of rigorous film
and book censorship, the series of edicts on dress and on behaviour have
accompanied research, such as that of Abbé Houtart (22), into the needs of the
people. Secondly, there have appeared the lay organisations with the avowed
intent of redressing the balance. M.U.S.E.U.M. and Catholic Action before World
War II, Cana, Legion of Mary, Social Action, the Holy Name Society and many
others of foreign and indigenous origin since 1945 have developed in the conurbation
where the challenge to the Church was strongest (23).

Financially the Church is still strong, owning as it does some 19 per cent. of the agricultural land of the Islands and an unverifiable total of urban property (24). Politically, the strength of the Church rests on its hold over the minds and hearts of the people. It is not necessary for the Church to take much overt action to demonstrate its power.

178 As a last vignette of the changing Maltese socio-economic complex we may
consider some aspects of recent research on a useful indicator of social change,
256 the bread baking industry (25).

The purchasing, distribution and processing of wheat and wheat flour,
655 remains as it has been for centuries, Government controlled. When the Knights
● 722 established their capital at Valletta and when the suburb-outwork of Floriana
was built, great stone-chamber granaries were hewn out of the solid rock,
developed versions of the much older 'bell-pits'. These underground granaries
were stocked by the official organisation, the *Università*, and the grain
periodically distributed at controlled prices. This siege-system, necessitated
by dependence on imports, was abolished in the early nineteenth century, and
the newly established Board of Trade contented itself with licensing importations.
As a measure of agricultural protection and for the raising of revenue,
duties were levied on these shipments. During the twentieth century, and
culminating in the emergency measures of the beleaguered Islands during World
War II, controls became tighter and grain prices heavily subsidised.

178 During the period of urbanisation and more especially during the last siege
the general practice of home baking rapidly declined in Malta, although in Gozo
256 it still persists. In the latter island there was in 1957 only one full-time and one
part-time commercial bakery, while in Malta there were 201. All food grains
produced for sale in the Island should legally be sent to licensed flour mills for
blending. Imports, almost entirely of hard Canadian grain, are made by the
Department of Trade and by the Victualling Yard in H.M. Dockyard. Ninety-seven
per cent. of all flour issued for ration-bread making is subsidised, but
local estimates suggest that up to 50 per cent. is used for making other products,
this illegally used flour being sold at a discount.

102 Fig. 67* shows the distribution of bakeries in Malta, their importance and
the main distribution areas as they existed in 1957. Only two villages in 1950
178 and one in 1957 - Safi - did not possess their own bakeries. This however is not
indicative of closed fields of distribution but only of the multiplicity and the
256 small-scale of the enterprises. Of the 35 districts, 32 imported bread from and
17 exported bread to other areas. Over half the 15,000 bags of subsidised flour
issued in 1950 eventually found their way as bread outside the receiving
districts. Of this inter-regional trade, Qormi supplied almost 80 per cent. Very
briefly the points of interest are as follows. Qormi, which in 1957 had 48
bakeries, has always been the traditional baking centre, partly because of its
central situation, but mainly as noted in Chapter VIII because of its situation in

* [See p. 198--Analyst]

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
●722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they
465 were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when
compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for
comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal
Commissioners (B/184), Midge (B/516) and Price (B/556),
but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
454 this same report however, it is learnt that the farming
community had by that date become investment conscious and
had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day
where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited
eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field
work at all. The developments observed by the 1911
Commissioners were by no means general among the rural
population at that time. They were in fact merely the
first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
178 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
433 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
722 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
465 in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before.
He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce
- or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became
used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted
war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was
the feling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in
Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time,
the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the countryman.
The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was
content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the
change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his
social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered
needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a
variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
654 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the
[234] maximum (Section 2).

Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
178 Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
511 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to
434 his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned.
These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

(d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital
[464] improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

178
Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
434 his farm the means of providing for the various needs of
[471] the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding,
his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make
the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is
the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very
small section of the farming community: one of the major
problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means
the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
426 position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial
434 status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem
emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecedented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital
improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows
and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in
post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to
'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living
above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt.
He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position
and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the
financial point of view, to his commanding position during
the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25,
although the average per capita income for the whole
country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing
and other essential items are often quite exorbitant,
especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954
survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of
northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of
£136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm
labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75
per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn
little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
labourer without field commitments of his own can demand
his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases,
markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who
stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

511 Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
average, a standard of life still slightly below the
434 general level, although the disparity is by no means as
great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Above-average exceptions include those
farmers who have been able to profit from the present
regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large
herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings
or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

742

159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in con-
231 trast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off duty.

Ġamri and farming

*159 Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[791] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer. The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
[454] ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[722] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market"; now his position is one of a constant battle with rising costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
[434] guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
*159 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
181 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement (another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some part in the secular administration of the country for he believes that an application for relief for storm damage made, through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an approach to the 'Overn' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
181 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

000 was taken for granted.
*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XII : Čenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

*159 Čenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
554 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Čenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compen-
sation to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
241 In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

[*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
1451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XXI

After the Second World War

•727 795 TO THE STORM AND STRESS OF THE WAR YEARS SUCCEEDED other activities imposed by other pressures. Urgent was the need to repair the bombed areas; to stabilize an economy disturbed by war and post-war conditions; to speed up emigration from the world's most heavily overcrowded political unit; to take into consideration the ferment in men's minds which prolonged wars on a major scale have never yet failed to generate. The circumstance that the ferment took less unsettling forms in Malta than in some other parts of a war-distracted world may be ascribed to the steadying influence of the Church.

727 648 652 Britain herself, though bowing beneath the weight of unprecedented taxation, did not fail to recognize the needs and deserts of her Maltese bulwark. "There will be general agreement," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons in 1942, "that the outstanding gallantry shown by the people of Malta in the face of enemy attacks of unprecedented length and severity calls for some special recognition." A first free gift of ten million pounds, made there and then by the British Government for restoration of war damage and reconstruction, was followed by an additional grant of twenty millions for the same purposes. To these were added substantial and still continuing annual grants of several millions a year in aid of the local revenue.

643 701 From 1813 to 1946, except for one four-year interval, the Governors of Malta had been distinguished serving soldiers—Field-Marshals and Generals on the Active List of the Army and Commanders-in-Chief, not only in name but in effect,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

654 433 648 Governor's intention to ask the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for advice from time to time on current problems of the Maltese economy and on the plans for Malta's economic development.

9. Private industrial development is to be assisted by the Aids to Industry legislation which the Governor intends to enact this month. This will offer substantial fiscal incentives to new industries to establish themselves in the Islands. New industries establishing themselves in Malta will also be eligible to apply for grants and loans. In administering these various incentives to industrial development the Governor will be assisted by an influential advisory body on which there will be Maltese representatives. This body will be under the chairmanship of Lord Hives, who is already familiar with Malta's problems.

Her Majesty's Government have now decided to contribute a sum of up to £29,000,000 over the next five years towards the cost of Malta's capital programme, the conversion of the dockyard to civil use and the encouragement of new industries.

642 654 648 The 1959 Constitution came into operation, as it happened, on the 15th April, which is celebrated in Malta as George Cross Day. It provides for the administration of the islands by the Governor with the aid of a part-official, part-nominated Executive Council with Maltese representation, an arrangement similar to that in force between 1936 and 1939. There was also enacted the Aids to Industry legislation foreshadowed in Mr Lennox-Boyd's Statement; Messrs Bailey successfully took over the Dockyard, which had been converted into a commercial undertaking with the financial help of the British Government; work was inaugurated on the construction of a new deep-water wharf in the Grand Harbour.

744 • 73 Sir Robert Laycock's term of office, while politically frustrating, ended with a year of economic advance and new hopes. It also saw an immense advance in social services such as District Nursing and the care of handicapped children, orphans and victims of infantile paralysis under the vigorous

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

leadership and in some cases on the initiative of Lady Laycock, who worked in close association with the Archbishop of Malta and voluntary helpers clerical and lay. 744 73

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History tends to repeat itself, not least in Malta. In the times of the Knights the flags of eight Langues or Nations waved over their respective sectors of the island's defences. To-day, from the Headquarters of the Allied Forces, Mediterranean (HAFMED) beside the ancient granaries of Floriana, there fly the flags of six of the NATO Nations, Great Britain, France, Greece, Italy, Turkey and the U.S.A. There is only one change since the days when the banners of the Langues symbolized a League of Christian Nations banded against a common foe and a common danger. In the Malta of the Knights the common foe had been the Turk; to-day the star and crescent of Turkey fly over the walls of Malta beside the flags of Turkey's allies in NATO, emblematic of a common defensive partnership against a very different foe. Christian and Moslem are now linked in alliance against an ideology whose enemies are God and freedom. 648

The cosmopolitan impact of NATO officers and their wives and daughters on the Island's society has made Malta once more what the traveller Patrick Brydone called it in the reign of Grand Master Pinto, "the epitome of all Europe."

[pp. 252-256 not processed]

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should be ascribed to the general wetness of the season rather than to these storms alone. A general picture of the damage can be obtained from the local press (24) but certain aspects, of interest to the hydrologist and agriculturalist alike, are worthy of elaboration here. The notes which follow are based largely on the experiences of the farmers themselves.

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There are some ways, perhaps, in which storms such as those of 11th-13th October, 1957, may be beneficial, in filling the rock-cut cisterns, in clearing debris from wied channels, in removing accumulated salts from irrigated land and in transporting soil from karstland on to the terraces below, but such benefits, affecting relatively few farmers, would be more than offset by damage to the crops and lands of a far greater number.

Several types of damage can occur in times of torrential rain. Plants are damaged by direct impact, walls weakened by saturation of soil between the stones, clay masses slide downhill. Run-off causes sheet and gully erosion of the soil, washes away dams, walls and roadways and removes growing plants from the ground. In valley floors and low-lying areas, dams are silted up and water courses overflow to flood the more level land.

Fortunately, there were few standing crops to be damaged. The small part of the grape crop remaining to be picked was completely destroyed but cauliflowers and tomatoes were little affected. In many cases, however, sulla seed which had germinated was washed away and October was too late for re-planting. In some cases, vetches were sown as a replacement crop but, where the soil remained so wet as to prevent later ploughing, no crop could be raised until the following winter. Some farmers made fortuitous gains: one, near Kirkop, harvested more than nine hmiel of sulla from a vine field on to which seed had been washed. In the Wied tal-Pwales, melons, stored in the open were washed out to sea.

Farmers with flat land draining a large catchment area suffered severely from flooding. Very late tomatoes, grown to exploit improved marketing conditions, together with much of the autumn-sown potato crop were lost or severely damaged. This was particularly the case in Bur Marrad, where flood-waters stood for several weeks, and in the Wied tal-Pwales. Violent run-off caused extensive damage in several areas, despite the traditional careful terracing of steep slopes. Though sheet erosion in places removed an inch or more of the topsoil, the greatest damage was caused by gullying. Figure 17 illustrates one such case. The group of fields shown here lies on a natural terrace formed by the Upper Globigerina overlain with Blue Clay, above St. Paul's Bay. The damage to these fields is a product of the rain falling within them, since they stand on a spur and were not affected by run-off from higher areas. Similar damage occurred in other sample areas of steep slopes, clay soils and maximum storm rainfall; at Mġarr, Rabat and Wied ta'l-Isqof. Fields lying in the path of storm drainage suffered damage of a different type as shown in Fig. 18. Retaining walls built across a valley floor were swept away owing to the absence of any sort of drainage channel. Similar instances were noted at Mellieha, Mġarr, St. Paul's Bay and Mqabba.

The worst damage naturally occurred in areas where steep slopes coincided with maximum rainfall intensity, i.e. in north and west Malta. Four hundred farmers submitted damage claims, of which 262 were accepted as warranting financial assistance. The latter group included 10 per cent of all registered farmers in the parishes of Mell'eha, Mġarr, St. Paul's Bay and Rabat and just under 5 per cent. in Mosta and Gharghur. Damage in other parishes was not considered sufficient to merit assistance.

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It would appear that, in many parts of the islands, a day's rain amounting to 3 inches is almost certain to lead to damage of the kinds indicated and since such rainfall occurs, in one area or another, at least once in every five years, more efficient drainage would appear desirable. There are, however, several conflicting factors to be taken into account. In drier years, the farmer wishes to limit drainage so as to obtain maximum soil moisture at the beginning of the dry season, while the hydrologist wishes to encourage percolation into subterranean aquifers (see p. 42). At the same time, valley floors, where damage is

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.69]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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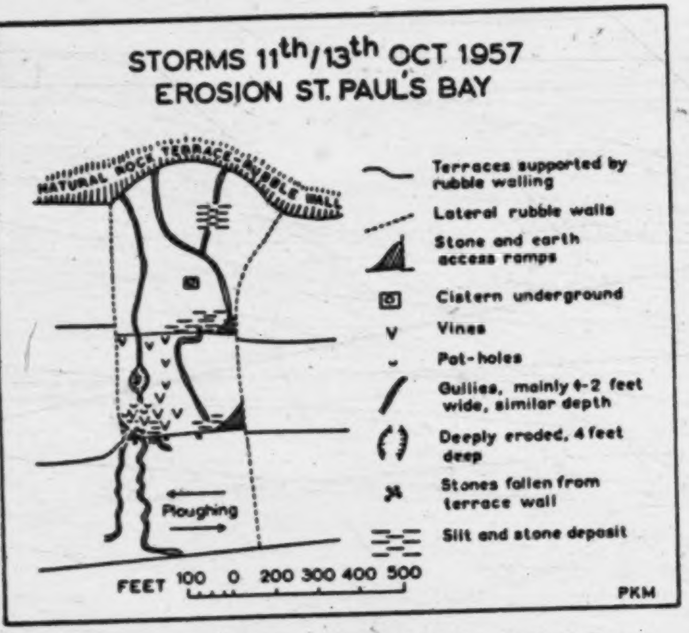
STORMS 11th/13th OCT 1957
EROSION ST. PAUL'S BAY
NATURAL ROCK TERRACE - RUBBLE WALL
Terraces supported by rubble walling
Lateral rubble walls
Stone and earth access ramps
Cistern underground
Vines
Pot-holes
Gullies, mainly 1-2 feet wide, similar depth
Deeply eroded, 4 feet deep
Stones fallen from terrace wall
Silt and stone deposit
Ploughing
FEET 100 0 200 300 400 500
PKM

Fig. 17 Storms of 11th/13th Oct. 1957, Erosion, St. Paul's Bay.

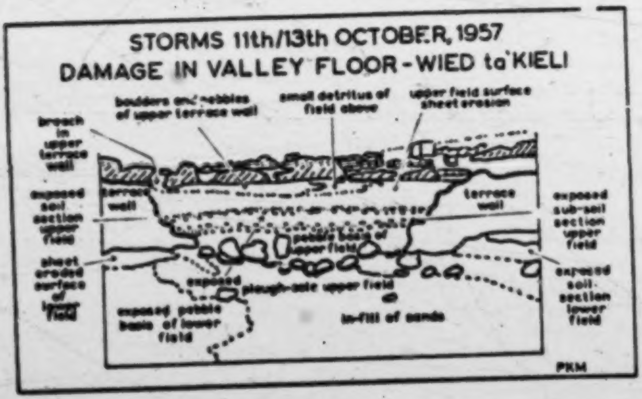
STORMS 11th/13th OCTOBER, 1957
DAMAGE IN VALLEY FLOOR - WIED ta'KIELI
boulders and pebbles of upper terrace wall
small detritus of field above
upper field surface sheet erosion
breach in upper terrace wall
terrace wall
exposed soil section upper field
pebble base of upper field
terrace wall
exposed sub-soil section upper field
sheet eroded surface of lower field
exposed plough-sole upper field
exposed soil section lower field
exposed pebble basis of lower field
in-fill of sands
PKM

Fig. 18 Storms of 11th/13th Oct. 1957, Damage in Valley Floor, Wied ta' Kieli.

794 In addition to the sums which the parish priest spent on fireworks,
796 another £472 was collected by six groups of enthusiasts
and spent on raw materials for the fireworks which they manufactured.
[435] The total cost to the village was thus £1,212. In all
[389] respects this was an average festa for a village of 5,000.

The festa in Kortin has not always been controlled by the parish
79 priest. Dun Bert, the present incumbent, had something of a
struggle to seize and hold the reins of authority. Until he took
over the parish eight years ago the external festa had been run by
a committee. Though the parish priest was *ex officio* head of this
committee, the actual affairs of the committee were run by old
Manwel and the father of the curate, who was general manager of
the festa for over thirty years. The committee also included the
[389] latter's wife's father and brother in its membership. His brother
[731] was killed twenty-five years ago in an explosion which wrecked
the village's officially licensed firework factory and killed four
others. This committee used to book the bands, repaint, erect and
store the decorations and collect all the funds for the external feast.
One of its major responsibilities was to run the two large fund-raising
fairs which were held every year in the school. Next to the
festa, these fairs were the favourite amusement of the village. Thus
when Dun Bert arrived in Kortin, he found his was only a nominal
role as far as the external festa was concerned. As he is a man who
likes to run things his own way, the arrangement did not suit him.
Moreover, he was concerned with the financial position of the
parish, and in particular with the interest on the £3,000 that his
predecessor had borrowed from the Curia to help finance the
unfinished parish hall. To be able to meet all the parish's financial
commitments, he felt that he had to have control of all its financial
resources. The first year, however, he did very little about it.

During his second year in Kortin, the newly elected Labour Government came to his assistance, albeit unwittingly. The new Minister of Education refused permission to the organizers of the Kortin festa to hold a public fair in the school. This deprived the organizers of their major source of income, and threatened the festa. Dun Bert quickly took over the financial management of the festa and made two house-to-house collections. These raised the necessary funds and saved the festa. He then gave to the Sodality of Our Lady the responsibility of collecting threepence a week from each household. But for six months of the year these

body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no patho-
logy they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 532
'legs were offered for paralysis, congenital anomalies and chronic ulcers in the lower 755
limbs; 'arms' and 'hands' for fractures and threatened loss of fingers by injury or gangrene; 'ears' for deafness and otitis; and 'eyes' for a variety of ocular diseases. Sometimes, however, the association of illness and anatomical part is not so specific; thus 'trunks' were offered for such varied conditions as throat affections, hernias, and mental disorder; 'faces' for enlarged glands in the neck; and pairs of female 'breasts' for deficiency of milk in a lactating mother as well as disease of these organs.

They were made of wax or of raised work in gold and silver foil. Those met with at 782
present are the silver ones, the others having disappeared from the churches though
they were still being offered at the end of the last century if not later. There are records 532
of wax effigies of arms, legs, eyes, and babies and also of gold ones having been deposited [325]
at that period at Ta Pinu Church at Gharb in Gozo. A pair of gold legs cost £17
(*Id-devot ta Maria* 1890; Kerr 1893). Wax figures also existed until some thirty years ago
in the small church of Tal Mirakli at Lija (Tanti 1962). These objects were manufac- [439]
tured in Malta but some of them were imported from Sicily and North Africa. The gold [325]
and silver foil was hammered into the desired shape over dies of bronze by a silversmith
(Plate 1; Fig. 3). They vary in size from 6 by 2½ inches to 1 by 3½ inches. Some of them
bear hall-marks which help to date them and identify the source of manufacture. The
earliest met so far by the writer is a stylized silver model (in the writer's collection) of a pair [422]
of female breasts impressed with the hall-marks of the Grand Master of the Order of St.
John of Jerusalem, Em. de Rohan who ruled over the Maltese Islands from 1775 to 1797.

The deposition of anatomical 'ex-votos' in Maltese churches ceased in 1935. The
ecclesiastical council held in that year in Malta under the presidency of Cardinal H. 782
Lepicier disallowed the exhibition of 'votive offerings showing parts of the human body 532
except those in the shape of a heart', (*Concilium*, 1935, p. 60), so that the present-day 795
visitor will hardly see anything else except 'hearts' hanging by the statues of the saints to whom they were offered by grateful devotees. The more 'profane' models have been melted and converted into sacred utensils for the church service.

Very occasionally instead of an anatomical representation, we come across a silver 211
tablet commemorating deliverance from illness. Here is a specimen inscribed in Latin: 164

P. Trapani cum suis / A. MDCCCLXXXVII / Ab Asiana Lue /
Incolumos (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1888).

that is P. Trapani and his family spared from the Asiatic Disease of the year 1887.

(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the [731]
last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of [165]
over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and 782
by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These
actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from 755
the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black 764
crape.

(*d*) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(*e*) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and 764
watch the corpse for the whole night. This custom prevails 767
mostly in Gozo. In old days official female mourners, named
neññieha (from ***neññah***, "to cry") were employed. The prac- [175]
tice was abolished in Malta during the plague of A.D. 1676.[1] [731]
Sicilians employed mourners called Praeficae or Reputatrices, [171]
a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish
until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the
Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese
female mourners is described by Abela as follows :—

They wore trailing veils (***kurkâr***), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their
mourning. 764

(*f*) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the [354]
Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This [765]
is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is [175]
in this way prevented from haunting the house. In some of [728]
the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-
ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room
of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary
before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth,
and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced
by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the

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[1] Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 794. [113]

234 (i) the grazing mentioned,
221 (ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
461 (iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting milk receipts from the M.M.U., cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of every working day.

221 The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in
241 which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the
178 elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of
181 late, 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded
fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the
[731] normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with
a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of these he is better acquainted.

241 This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external
46 factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate
178 or recently-illiterate farming folk and is given further
181 consideration (Section 4). Suffice it at this stage to
emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no

175 between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This
458 dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth
511 century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished
[464] from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which
[184] characterized the totality of economic life in Malta.
Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean
basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by
changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the
fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of
prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century.
[731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts,
epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean
in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable
Malta (B/556).

175 The major economic developments arising from the
184 growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the
511 Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various
178 stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic
life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the
chain of external events made their presence felt. In
all this the fortunes of one section of the population,
such as the farming community, could at no time stand
unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands
as a whole.

175 Malta remained sharply divided within itself by
178 class, district and education and the parallel differences
[184] of living standards between one section of society and
another were continued. But the later decades of the
[871] nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from
the economic plane, the beginnings of general education
which, during the present century, was to remove the
illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural
classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of
life and society outside the limits of the village.
[184] Improvements in transport and communication within the
[369] Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area
to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the
twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of
isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and
Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural
[621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been
a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little
contact with Vallotta and perhaps less with the villages
in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the forces indicated were beginning to modify the position but it was not until the present century and particularly

000 *159 241 931 the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

*159 829 442 464 472 The brothers also complain of the present marketing regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themselves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

*159 423 [134]

A. Land.

c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region. 16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2½ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

*159 241

B. Utilisation. (i) Typical arrangement.

			Winter	Summer
Plot	1.	8⅜ tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot	2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot	3.	1⅓ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot	4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot	5.	2⅛ tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot	6.	1⅓ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot	7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot	8.	7⅜ tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
			Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot	9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot	10.	2⅜ tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot	11.	21 tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
			Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
			Vetches	Fallow
Plot	12.	2¼ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot	13.	1¼ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot	14.	2⅜ tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot	15.	5½ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
			Tomatoes	
Plot	16.	1⅜ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 Abela, in his "History of Malta"
174 says: that it was instituted as a vow to
• [931] St. Gregory, to whose intercession the
Maltese had recourse in 1519, when the
Island was visited by an epidemic
disease.

Ciantar, the celebrated Historian, assures us, however, that the procession was instituted in 1400 long before the epidemic mentioned by Abela.

[648] Others again say: that it was held about the year 1429 whilst the Island was being besieged by some 18000 Moors, but this could not possibly be the case in as much as the people who were besieged within the walls of the town could not join in the cry "Misericordia" at Zeitun.

[731] Again some say that the procession took place for the first time in Malta in thanksgiving to the Almighty after

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the deliverance from a large swarm of 796
locusts that once caused a dreadful 174
havoc in the Island. [731]●

Monsignor Duzina, the Apostolic 796
Visitor, who visited Malta in February 174
1575, having found that the origin of 782
this procession was involved in great 648
obscurity, caused the most aged men of the Island to be brought before him, and on asking them about the origin of the institution of this general procession, he was informed that the tradition was "That the procession was founded by a general vow of the Maltese after their deliverance from the Turks, whose fleet was dispersed by a terrible storm at Marsascirocco,(*) just when the Moslems were on the point

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(*) This is probably the reason that the general procession goes to the churches of St. Catherine and St. Gregory, those being the nearest churches to Marsascirocco.

silk and lama cloth of gold, are distributed, all the crowds disperse and the victorious champions, loaded with honours and caresses, and covered with garlands of flowers and ribbons, are conducted in triumph through the streets of the town amidst the deafening cheers and acclamations of the populace. 527 54

These races were instituted in 1593 during the reign of Grand Master Verdala, as popular rejoicings after that the plague, which was introduced in Malta through the carelessness of some of the authorities, had played great havoc for eighteen months amongst the inhabitants of the Island. 527 54 175 [731]

From this race all the other races which are held on different occasions during the year, both in Malta and in Gozo, owe their origin.

735

735 **POVERTY**--prevalence and definition of poverty; causes (e.g., low income, unemployment, sickness, alcoholism, improvidence, indolence); social attitudes toward poverty; begging and beggars; poor relief (e.g., almsgiving, private charity, public relief); special institutions for the poor (e.g., almshouses); support of institutions (e.g., municipal, ecclesiastical, private endowment); etc. See also:

Social stratification	56
Social insurance, public assistance, and private welfare agencies	74
Laziness	461
Wages	465
Housing	362
Gift giving	431
Income	434
Standards and levels of living	511

The belief still lingers that the
764 115 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul of the departed remains above the flame.

764 735 171 (*g*) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 178 [177] [192] Mourning customs in Mâlta have during the last century passed through wide changes and, as in other European countries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 292 178 184 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700. Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 178 [562] Family mourning is generally observed as follows :—

I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

In 1839

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The principal
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-
wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is
the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing
by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work,
175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nine-
teenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on
other crops while, socially, the change affected the
family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commis-
● 735 sioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become
511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and
that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts,
the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded
saving but also led to begging and stealing which was
"One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty
and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to
much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the
nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions
of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The
Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Miège in
1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made
in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167);
reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874
(B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207);
on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera
in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living
standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on
mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great
as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the
bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country
districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst
description" while "It must also be admitted that the
sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not
so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late
175 years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

511 The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence
[369] is that there existed a considerable gulf in general
[464] living standards between the people of the towns and
those of the country. There was also an important
[458] contrast within the then rapidly expanding Urban area,

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
454 disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital
improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows
and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in
post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to
'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living
above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt.
He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position
and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the
financial point of view, to his commanding position during
the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25,
although the average per capita income for the whole
country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing
and other essential items are often quite exorbitant,
especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954
survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of
northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of
£136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm
labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75
per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn
little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
labourer without field commitments of his own can demand
his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases,
markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who
stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
511 average, a standard of life still slightly below the
434 general level, although the disparity is by no means as
great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Above-average exceptions include those
farmers who have been able to profit from the present
regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large
herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings
or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

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648

735 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison.
747 The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth
434 and assets against family size. Thus a household of four
648 persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or
a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for
the free food[32].

162 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the
735 above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by
434 place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which
the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in
addition, also listed separately. The residential
divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the
basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working
population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

	A	B	C	D	E
DISTRICT	POPULATION[35]	'Poor & Needy' as % Population	FARMERS[36]	'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	B/D
Urban Area	134,399	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.6	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	9	0.9:

369 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living
735 standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as
has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta
511 and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect
162 the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of
Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the
farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less
poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone
they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural
zone (most of Gozo, and Mġarr in Malta), however, the farmer
is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general
average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most
dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this
zone are one third below the general level as far as their
standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

162 The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom
735 9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the
511 whole population.

369 This pattern of comparatively low living standards in rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the problem with which this Section has been concerned. While
[178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in the Islands the younger generation of the rural community will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present
241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3). The social background to this change is, however, no less important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work, thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and illiterate sections of the farming community this question of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta
619 complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the
829 farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems. In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is allegiance to political parties very significant for person-
[648] ality is more important than party. Historically, this attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands.

000 28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

[113) 30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No.259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

434 32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revized):

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● 735

Family of 3 or 4 persons	....	maximum income	- £5
" " 5 to 7 "	....	" "	- £5 8s
" " 8 " 10 "	....	" "	- £5 15s
" " 11 " 13 "	....	" "	- £6 1s
" " 14 " 16 "	....	" "	- £6 6s
" " 17 or 18 "	....	" "	- £6 10s

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

[122] 34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Matla at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

000 35. (B/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

113 38. "Labour Government's Progress Report. 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClement in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Għalf Bilanċjat għall-Majjali" by A.T. Hessler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

000 42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present trading position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but these registrations lapsed. The Għaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.H.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

[114] 47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

[124] 48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tmien, Sighan and Kejliet : v. Appendix 5.

galleys come sailing across the square, 527
on wires stretched over the people's 541
heads, towards the fort, they open fire in great style. One after the other they meet their fate, for the fort peppers them cruelly and finally sets them on fire, so that soon—hulls, sails, masts, yards, crescent flags, and all the warlike things about them are in few seconds wrapped in flames and destroyed.

Before leaving the description of the 527
celebration of this National *fête* at Vit- 735
toriosa, I wish to mention that hundreds of loaves are distributed to the needy of that town on the morning of the feast.

Worth mentioning is the custom 184
which prevails, on the 7th of Sept. 527
among the women residing at Rabato 533
(Notabile) and in the country surrounding it. These, to celebrate the com-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

It is also the custom in Malta to commemorate all Souls' day by distributing relief among the poor and needy. Collections are made for the purpose of purchasing bread and providing dinner for the poor in the lower quarters of the towns and populous centres. 796 769 735

A walk at about 11 a.m., on the 2nd of November, as far as the square in front of the Capuchins' Convent at Vittoriosa or at Floriana, or to some other place where the relief is distributed, affords not a little delight. [792]

About a hundred poor old men and women, some of whom either half crippled or blind are to be seen struggling towards the big boiler in which the dinner is being cooked, with something in the shape of a pot in their hands, each and every one eager to get his or her share of the nicely cooked dinner.

796 769 •[935] When these poor creatures get their share, they go gladly back to some corner to eat what has been procured for them by the contributions received from the charitably disposed.

Before leaving the description of the celebration of All Souls' Day, it would be interesting also to mention another custom which prevails in the Island on the 2nd of November.

On this day most of the charnel-houses are thrown open and lighted up with scores of oil lamps and decked out with flowers, while crowds throng the vaults to visit the bones of their friends and relatives.

[992] The most crowded of these vaults, however, used to be that below the Capuchin church and Convent at Flo-

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

at the wrong season and so set right his error. The blessing is 771
accompanied by the burning of leaves of the wild olive which 782
have been blessed in Holy Week. Blessing, accompanied by [226]
sacred "fumigation," is very widely used—by fishermen to
ensure a good catch, by newly married folk to ensure a happy [585]
house.

GETTING MARRIED

Zeppu and Grez will think long and seriously before they 584
get married. In an island where poverty is the rule rather than [735]
the exception, and there is no "dole," there can be no haphazard mating. Zeppu will wait until he has a sufficient competence and Grez will contribute her share of the common resources in the form of a "dot" which she, herself, has earned and saved. Until very recently all marriages were arranged by a professional "go-between"—an old woman wise in the ways of the world and in suitable matings. Even now there is little choice left to the girl.

In this matter of marriage, so hedged about with Christian 584
law and custom, the Old Things still command a place. Their 824
hands are perhaps more apparent than in the marriage customs of all other countries—themselves pagan enough in origin.

In the story which has been quoted the month of February is praised, amongst other reasons, because it is then that the "small-leaved basil" is tended and watered. The reference might be rendered "In the Spring a young man's fancy . . ." for the sweet basil is the sign and symbol that a marriageable girl awaits a suitor.

The small bush, either of basil or of the Madonna rose,
is carefully tended and placed on the sill of an upper window.
A well-grown plant is an indication that the maiden will make [787]
a good wife and mother.

A suitor, seeing the "marriage bush" at an upper window,

172 rocky surfaces of the island, the tram-lines of neolithic man;
493 and he will notice, if he is observant, that the dimensions of
the flat two-wheeled carts which, with their gaily caparisoned
[136] little ponies or donkeys, are the traditional vehicle of the
Maltese countryman of to-day correspond almost exactly
with those of the carts of his neolithic predecessor, as
136 deduced from the width of these ancient tracks. If he is
interested in strange animals that still survive but must be a
living link with hoary antiquity, he can study on the picturesque,
uninhabited islet of Filfla, now used only as a target
for gun practice, a remarkable lizard of the darkest green
spotted with red (*Lacerta muralis* var. *filfolensis*), which occurs
nowhere else in the world but on this tiny and diminishing
spit of rock.

341 The dominant architectural notes of the Maltese Islands are
megalithic and Baroque, and the gamut thus established can
217 scarcely be called a narrow one. So far as works of art are
172 concerned, the Museum in Valetta, housed before World
War II in the Auberge d'Italie and since 1958 in that of
Provence, contains a scientifically arranged exhibition of
● [742] Stone Age culture unrivalled in any other country. This
collection, whose most bizarre items are the astonishing fat
female deities characteristic of Maltese neolithic sculpture,
was organized in chronological sequence by the Museum's
late learned Director, Sir Themistocles Zammit, who made
a second international reputation in the field of Maltese
archæology and excavation after having made an earlier one
in medical research in connexion with undulant, or Malta,
fever.

But the visitor is not obliged to study the activities of
241 these remote peoples solely in museums. If he wishes to see
501 how the distant forbears of the present population cultivated
178 their land he has only to watch the Maltese farmer of to-day
[532] ploughing his field; if he is a student of cultural survivals he
will note the eye of Osiris still painted on the bows of Malta's
sturdy little schooners and characteristic "Gozo boats." If

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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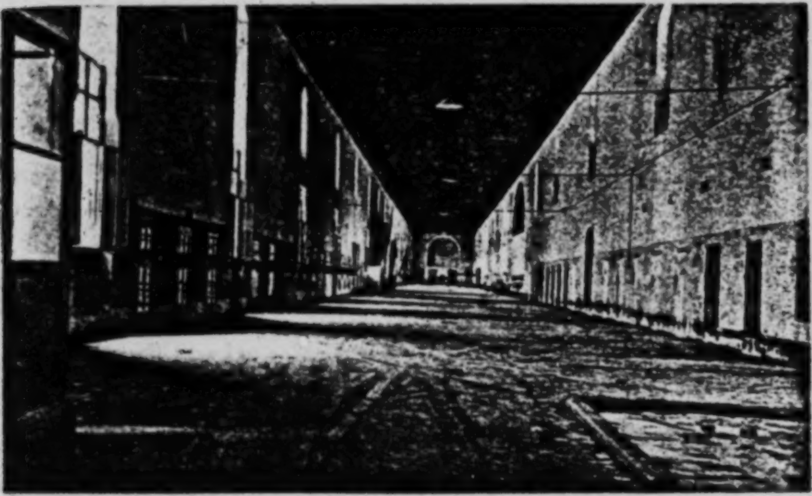

SACRED INFIRMARY: PART OF LONG WARD AFTER REMOVAL OF PARTITION WALL
[*See pp.* 66 *and* 141.]

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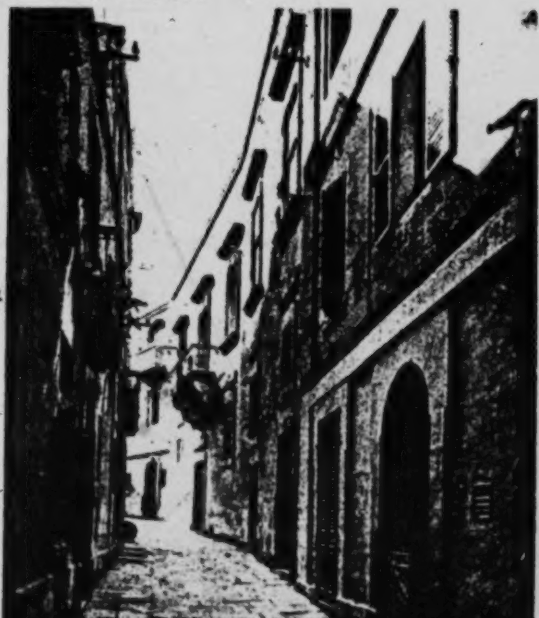
AUBERGE OF ENGLAND AND HOUSE OF SIR OLIVER STARKEY, VITTORIOSA (BIRGU)
[*See pp.* 69 *and* 140.]



[facing P. 96]

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By the end of the century the struggle had resolved itself into extremes. Mizzi and his followers resorted to continuous legislative obstruction as the only but rather unworthy weapon left for what they maintained was a fight for responsible government. Strickland as Chief Secretary pointed correctly to the damaging effects such tactics were having on all policies including those of education, public health, etc., but conducted an offensive/defensive battle on equally intransigeant lines. Meanwhile British, Imperial as opposed to economic, effort was at its climacteric and Malta as a fortress, whose only value was as a fortress, had to 'suffer' the consequences; a necessary qualification must be made that this really entailed only subordination in status and was accompanied by great advances in all that the mid-twentieth century would term 'welfare services'.

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In 1903 Anglo-Italian relations were good and improving, the Crown and the Vatican, Governor and Archbishop all in amity, while in Malta, 180,000 people had 10,000 enfranchised electors of whom less than 4,000 ever voted. In the Legislative Council, however, tempers were at blazing point and obstruction produced deadlock. Followed Chamberlain's bombshell abrogating the constitution. With effect from 3rd June the Governor's Executive Council and the official group within the Council of Government were given majority power and complete control over policy and action. The reserve powers were re-invoked in all their strength. Malta entered the Modern Age in an unhappy political state, a state vocally resented by a few, ignored by the apathetic majority and a cause of unhappy puzzlement to Westminster.

In retrospect, to the writer at least, the most amazing feature of these developments appears to be their inevitability. Judged in isolation, it may appear facile to suggest that with the stage as set in preceding centuries, with players such natural 'typecast' products of past experience, no other play could have been produced. Judged along with the other evidence, the unity, the cohesion of all things Maltese do make it rather difficult to subscribe here to a doctrine of free-will.

Of the elements in Maltese social life most affected by institutional forces two are of very relevant interest to us, viz. public health and education. Some brief consideration is therefore given to the main developments of these sectors.

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As noted in Chapter VI A the death rate in the Maltese Islands fluctuated considerably but showed a slowly accelerating decline. During the century that elapsed between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the beginning of World War I, the main health improvements resulted from public works construction of a piped water-supply and sewerage systems in the most populated parts of the island of Malta. Developments in preventive remedial medicine and in disease control were slower mainly because of their greater dependence on trained medical staff and on public acceptance of new ideas.

At the mid-nineteenth century conditions were not very propitious for the consideration of suggestions for reducing mortality. Forecasts of impending Malthusian catastrophe were combined with diatribes on the improvidence of early marriage in many surveys by articulate Maltese of a presumed state of overpopulation. The inarticulate members of society continued to regard as normal conditions of which Sutherland (5) said: 'I have very seldom met with conditions so obviously injurious to health, and so likely to determine outbreaks of epidemic disease as those presented by many houses'. In Valletta the Knights had built a sewerage system and a piped water supply but pollution of the latter by the former was common. In the villages, the deficiency of water, refuse accumulation and the use of 'ordure rooms' were a product of ignorance and a cause of ill-health.

The Cholera epidemic of 1865 which slew 2,600 people eventually forced action upon the Government and after much general discussion a Commission of Public Health was appointed in 1874. Significantly enough, attention was focussed on the high rate of child mortality: in that same year, of over 4,000 recorded deaths, more than 2,000 were of children under five years of age. Between 1874 and the end of the century a series of reports put the blame on a series of associated factors. The ancient Three Cities and the new unrestricted

*175 744 urban growths of Hamrun and Sliema were centres of disease. The growth of urban and dockyard employment had not yet been accompanied by any striking educational improvements, and standards of personal hygiene barely tolerable in rural Malta became insupportable in the new towns. At the same time, the growing wealth and opportunities which made possible the new concentrations were not paralleled by similar rates of increase in Internal Revenue. The resulting shortage of capital available for public works delayed the construction of services until concern over conditions in the Garrison centres became acute. Between 1878 and 1886, a new system of drainage and flushing sewerage was constructed in Valletta, Floriana and the Three Cities, three-sevenths of the expenditure being provided by the military authorities. The 1897 sewerage extensions were similarly restricted to that area in which a financial vote could be subsidised by Imperial expenditure (Fig. 33). During this period also, the whole problem of water-supply first became acutely realised and under Chadwick (6) a water-use policy made an embryonic appearance. The 1909 proposals for island-wide sewerage were, significantly enough, for a sea-water flushing scheme, and in spite of depression-caused limitations public funds were made available for servicing the suburban areas of Hamrun and Birkirkara and the casal of Żejtun.

These and similar public works, limited in scale as they may now seem, were already having a controlling effect on epidemic disease by the end of World War I. In 1837 cholera killed 4,000 out of a population of c. 116,000; in 1917 fewer than a hundred people died out of a population which had doubled in size. Bubonic plague caused 4,600 deaths in 1813 but in 1917 only 3 mortalities followed a similar introduction of the disease. By the nature of her position and as a result of sea-borne contacts Malta has always been liable to the introduction of epidemic diseases. The nineteenth century intensification of urban and port activity which caused population concentration in a great conurbation, increased the external contact risk, made more acute the dangers of ignorance and low standards of hygiene but finally the associated expenditure of wealth derived from overseas, and improvements in domestic standards started a break-through into an epoch of adjusted and improved values placed on human life.

*175 658 In the educational field, progress was necessarily slower in that while public health measures were essentially a matter of providing physical services which previously did not exist, formal education had to be accepted *ab novo* by the great unlettered mass of the population, and secular public instruction had to meet the suspicions of the educated few associated with the Church-dominated, Italian-influenced University and academies (7).

British rule was followed by Government controlled education. The first elementary school was opened in 1819 and in 20 years' time there were 11. In 1842 the elementary school system was removed from the authority of the University, as recommended by the Royal Commissioners in 1838 (8), and its effectiveness was considerably increased. Even so, illiteracy was still high at mid-century (9) and the labouring classes still relied for information and guidance on the traditional sources - the Church and to a less extent the gentry.

The 1836 Commissioners noted a situation which is still not completely rectified (10). They blamed the educated classes for lack of initiative in permitting the continuance of an educational system which was geared to the training of priests, lawyers, doctors and civil servants and which virtually ignored wider social and technical needs. This same complaint was reiterated by Keenan in 1880 (11) and by Casolani, Director of Emigration in the 1930's (Chapter VI A). Through inertia rather than by deliberate act, the old social cleavage between the 'Two Nations', was being maintained.

*175 191 658 A prime difficulty was that of language. The Census compilers of 1881 commented thus on the root of the trouble (12): 'The Maltese ... form part of the European family, however they speak the dialect of a language belonging to an oriental people with whom they have no social tie nor connection ... As the dialect is confined to the Islands of Malta consequently very few literary productions are published in the vernacular, a circumstance which evidently does not favour the diffusion of instruction among the lower classes of the people.

642 664 is uneasily superimposed on the traditional pattern. The part played by the Church during the 1956 Referendum on integration with the United Kingdom was most complicated. During the disturbances following the breakdown of Government in the spring of 1958, town and country, proletariat and bourgeoisie, Maltese Malta and Latinised Malta, all reacted differently. Over all responsible actions looms the knowledge that Malta is not a viable independency (4).

658 178 As we have seen, education and language have been inextricably involved in politics (5). More directly important is the educational effect on the people as a whole of the system of public instruction. Under the leadership of Dr. Albert Laferla public education became vastly improved in all ways (6), and from his tutelage, more particularly after the Compulsory Attendance Act of 1924, came the generation of Maltese which now forms economically and socially the most important part of the population. After 1933, Italian ceased to be used as a medium of instruction, a standard Maltese orthography came into use (7), and the school system was expanded to meet the most obvious and immediate needs. Education was sadly disrupted by World War II but since that time has continued to improve in quality and range of facilities (8). Compulsory Education as distinct from compulsory attendance came into force in 1946, and in 1955 full-time education became the rule. Some 22 per cent. of children of school age still receive education in private, usually Church run, schools.

It is vital to realise the extent of the social and economic revolution implied in these developments. In the rural areas the change has been one from illiteracy to education within one generation. Even in the towns, and this is particularly true for the new growths associated with dockyard, manufacturing and service industry employment, thoughts and activities are being fundamentally affected by education for the first time in Maltese history. Contrasts between the levels of awareness of the value of formal education are considerable, and the full impact of technical education has yet to be felt - the first Government Technical School was opened in 1934. The chief contrast observable in the field however is between the two age groups, over and under 30 to 35 years of age. The former still contains many illiterate and therefore conservative people; the latter by reason of training as well as age is radical and impatient. The latter attitude is largely responsible for the drift from the land which encourages the domination of agriculture by residual conservatism.

744 178 In the field of public health, skeletal public works services had been constructed before World War I. Recent developments may be regarded as logical extensions both in the sector of public works and in the field of medicine. As late as 1936 the judgment of the Chief Government Medical Officer was 'no scheme of sanitary reform ever met with greater opposition than the establishment of the modern sewer system in Malta' (9), but by 1955, about 270,000 or over 90 per cent. of the Maltese population lived in sewered dwellings, Żurrieq alone among the large villages remaining unserved. In parts of the countryside and in the smaller villages, dispersion of settlement renders prohibitive the cost of connection of each dwelling with the public sewers. The more isolated and the more rural areas are now the regions of lowest standards (Fig. 33).

Medical services, particularly in their relevance to the problem of high infant mortality, developed late and slowly (10). The most serious obstacles were those rooted in Maltese social life (11). The strength of the matriarchal tradition in Maltese household has meant that the ignorance of the oldest generation persists in imposing itself on the life of the youngest. Dirt, over-clothing and under-feeding, the indiscriminate and early use of farinaceous foods, all these were difficult to eradicate in overcrowded and grandmother-dominated conditions (12). The difficulty of educating in hygiene and personal health an indifferent and tradition-bound population proved insuperable and in 1939 the infantile mortality rate was as high as the average for the preceding 20 years.

178 722 744 The final breakthrough occurred paradoxically during World War II. In 1943 and 1944 housing conditions and diet were worse than any experienced in peace-time but the death rate and the infantile mortality rate began to fall to record

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 179]

low levels. Earlier improvements probably supplied the basis for change but more important was the fact that, for the first time, the effective Garrison of Malta included the whole population. The new machinery for public information, the desperate need for reducing disease incidence and preventing epidemics, and even food rationing and shortage had cumulatively beneficial effects on the public mind. More than all, it would seem, the military control of the besieged islands with its conscription of many Maltese males and the increased contact of British troops with the people, together with that strange uniting exaltation in face of danger observed in other countries, all shocked Malta into new ways of thought (Fig. 66).

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After the war this momentum was maintained during the period of reconstruction. The Malta Memorial District Nursing Association, Child Health Clinics, and U.N.-established ante-natal clinics have now been accepted and their services utilised. In 1959 the infantile mortality rate was 34.7 per 1,000, leaving the memory of the rate of 350 per 1,000 in 1942 far behind.

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This revolutionary change is of particular revelance to this study. Many of its implications need no labouring. The demographic consequences, for instance, are obvious enough, as also the slowness with which traditional ways of life in Malta have changed. For us the most important consequence is that rising generations through a new awareness of causation and consequence, of scientific processes, are becoming vulnerable to new ideas in associated fields. There are no great steps between preventive human medicine, inoculation, livestock injections and an appreciation of plant pathology. One difficulty remains; the rural areas are the least affected by these recent changes, and those individuals in the countryside who are mentally injected with new ideas and understanding are, for various reasons, the least likely to remain in agriculture.

[369] [185]

Exemplifying this continuing regional dichotomy, but unity in complexity, is the recent history of milk consumption and production (13). Traditionally in Malta, 'the entire milk supply has been delivered by the goat herself' (14). Sometimes living with their flocks in the *fossa* which surround Valletta, the herdsmen would wander the streets, milking the animals on demand. Bruce and Zammit in 1885 and 1905 showed that the bacillus of Undulant or Malta Fever was freely excreted in goats milk and that the high incidence in Malta of this debilitating, sometimes lethal, disease was a natural consequence of the general albeit low per capita consumption of fresh milk from predominantly diseased goats. After considerable investigation, a milk pasteurising plant was erected and the first pasteurised milk was distributed, Valletta, Floriana and Sliema being declared 'closed areas' within which the sale of raw milk became illegal. During World War II, further extension of this policy was prevented but, since most goats were slaughtered for meat because of fodder shortage and because consumption of tinned milk became normal, the incidence of Malta fever fell to record low levels. Post-war revival in goats' milk production resulted in general re-infection by brucellosis and in 1946 the incidence of undulant fever was the highest ever recorded. During the post-war period public health and welfare policies have encouraged the consumption of milk. Because of the incidence of Malta fever, this has entailed the provision of expensive pasteurising plant, the prevention of the sale of unpasteurised, and the official encouragement of production of cows' rather than goats' milk.

178 234 744 [164]

This particular development is examined at greater length in Chapter X but some main points of general import merit consideration here. First, Maltese society has recently been affected by social, dietetic and medical policies which profoundly affect the basis of social life. In general one might say that the Maltese way of life is being made more remote from the simple crudities of parochial experience. Secondly, in the field of health and social welfare, the criterion of scientifically measured need has been adopted as the basis of official policy and the question of availability of resources is regarded as of secondary importance. Thirdly, this increasing social sophistication has only very recently become operative in Maltese life and different scales of value exist in different generations and in different social groups. Lastly, it would be fair to say that, while the urban markets are still only relatively fastidious

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178 185 744 about quality and as yet incompletely dominated by ideas of welfare economics, the rural community is far less affected by change. While milk consumers in the towns are often either not completely convinced of the need for milk processing or at the other extreme will use only imported tinned milk where possible, the producers are generally even less convinced of the need for care in the production of clean milk. Unpasteurised goats' milk is still generally used in those farming households where milk is consumed at all, and understanding of the processes of infection is but slowly growing. Thus, in the field of public health and personal hygiene and medical care, social changes have been rapid, recent and uneven in incidence. Here, as in the economic sector, the mental acceptance of new ideas is not yet complete and is least advanced in the most rural and remote regions.

163 369 842 795 The examination already made of the demographic situation in the Maltese Islands needs some brief consideration against the background of social attitudes. The consensus of expert opinion is that in developing societies a falling birth rate is the result not of an actual decline in fertility but of family limitation. In most regions such a decline in family size is associated with changed social attitudes, which have become accepted in many countries in which Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion. Pope Pius XII himself condemned irresponsible parenthood and said it is 'a mistake and a departure from moral truth to exalt too highly the generative function even in its right moral setting of married life' (15).

The insularity and historical experience of Malta have preserved there a more rigid and strict application of Catholic rules of conduct, in which, despite the inadequacy of the Islands' resources to provide for the economic welfare of the population, the virtues of the large family are still stressed. Archbishop Gonzi in 1958 reminded an audience of young people that, although large families entailed much sacrifice on the part of the parents, parents should be prepared for a life of sacrifice (16). Father Vella, the founder of the Cana movement has said: 'One of Malta's glories is her large families' (17).

In Malta therefore the weight of the Church tends to discourage the secular social trend towards smaller families, and still makes illegal any provision for family limitation. Where secularism is strongest, in the urban cosmopolis, family size declines most rapidly. In the rural communities, where the precepts of the Church are most conscientiously observed and where the effect of secular socio-economic desires is most restricted, large families are normal and admired.

163 369 842 This regional contrast in social behaviour, when superimposed upon purely demographic variations in rates of population growth, becomes sometimes emphasised and sometimes negated. In the northern third of Malta, inward internal movement as a consequence of 'pioneer' agricultural settlement during and after the mid-nineteenth century produced a 'young' population, high birth rates and rates of natural increase. This region has remained almost entirely rural in social character. The second main region of inward movement of population, the suburban area, has experienced a recent decline in the early high birth rates as a result of the impact of secular ideas.

The urban heart of Malta in Valletta and Floriana by contrast, has been both traditionally a zone of outward movement of population and the district most affected by changes in social attitudes to family propagation. The remaining area, the heart and core of Maltese 'casal' life, illustrates clearly the delicate balance between demographic and religious and secular social influences. From [166] this central area have traditionally gone the migrants to the new towns and the 'new' northern farming areas. The efflux has counteracted the traditionally rural and strongly religious tendency towards large families and a high rate of natural increase. On the southern fringe of this zone however lies the Żurrieq group of 'casals' and villages. From this until recently relatively isolated district, emigration has never been high and, with a survival of traditional rural values, this region has had in the 1950's the consistently highest birth rates - over 30 per 1,000 - of the *Maltese* population.

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out 647
by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under
the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is
usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the [648]
interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation
from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads
were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants.
Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of
civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers
through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial
labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the government. [464]
They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This [162]
makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands.
Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the
principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open
competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration [621]
required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no
councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to
represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey
the wishes and commands of government to the people.
Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are
located in Valletta. Only the police represent government [625]
authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools [658]
for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most
villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a [744]
day under the supervision of a government District Medical
Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and [205]
branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour.
All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where [364]
it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
794 themselves responsible for much of the labouring work. Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939); this in a parish which even ten years later had no more than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

175 793 871 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor) Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was "sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
[671] elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

● 744 793 759 175 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of 1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6). As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social, as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the village, and another of the traditional functions of the Priest passed to specialist hands.

175 346 344 [435] After this, interest was turned again to building and the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers themselves were responsible for a great deal of the building work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

654 Governor's intention to ask the International Bank for Recon-
struction and Development for advice from time to time on
433 current problems of the Maltese economy and on the plans for
648 Malta's economic development.

9. Private industrial development is to be assisted by the Aids to Industry legislation which the Governor intends to enact this month. This will offer substantial fiscal incentives to new industries to establish themselves in the Islands. New industries establishing themselves in Malta will also be eligible to apply for grants and loans. In administering these various incentives to industrial development the Governor will be assisted by an influential advisory body on which there will be Maltese representatives. This body will be under the chairmanship of Lord Hives, who is already familiar with Malta's problems.

Her Majesty's Government have now decided to contribute a sum of up to £29,000,000 over the next five years towards the cost of Malta's capital programme, the conversion of the dockyard to civil use and the encouragement of new industries.

642 The 1959 Constitution came into operation, as it happened,
654 on the 15th April, which is celebrated in Malta as George
Cross Day. It provides for the administration of the islands
648 by the Governor with the aid of a part-official, part-nominated Executive Council with Maltese representation, an arrangement similar to that in force between 1936 and 1939. There was also enacted the Aids to Industry legislation foreshadowed in Mr Lennox-Boyd's Statement; Messrs Bailey successfully took over the Dockyard, which had been converted into a commercial undertaking with the financial help of the British Government; work was inaugurated on the construction of a new deep-water wharf in the Grand Harbour.

Sir Robert Laycock's term of office, while politically
•744 frustrating, ended with a year of economic advance and new
73 hopes. It also saw an immense advance in social services such as District Nursing and the care of handicapped children, orphans and victims of infantile paralysis under the vigorous

leadership and in some cases on the initiative of Lady Laycock, who worked in close association with the Archbishop of Malta and voluntary helpers clerical and lay. 744 73

5

History tends to repeat itself, not least in Malta. In the times of the Knights the flags of eight Langues or Nations waved over their respective sectors of the island's defences. To-day, from the Headquarters of the Allied Forces, Mediterranean (HAFMED) beside the ancient granaries of Floriana, there fly the flags of six of the NATO Nations, Great Britain, France, Greece, Italy, Turkey and the U.S.A. There is only one change since the days when the banners of the Langues symbolized a League of Christian Nations banded against a common foe and a common danger. In the Malta of the Knights the common foe had been the Turk; to-day the star and crescent of Turkey fly over the walls of Malta beside the flags of Turkey's allies in NATO, emblematic of a common defensive partnership against a very different foe. Christian and Moslem are now linked in alliance against an ideology whose enemies are God and freedom. 648

The cosmopolitan impact of NATO officers and their wives and daughters on the Island's society has made Malta once more what the traveller Patrick Brydone called it in the reign of Grand Master Pinto, "the epitome of all Europe."

[pp. 252-256 not processed]

Table 40. Land ownership and quality of land. Goso.

Percentage of total agricultural land.

423*

		Civil Govnmt.	War Dept.	Church etc.	Private Landlord	Owner Occupier	Total %	Total 000 tm.
(a)	Cultivated land							
	1891	18.0		8.4	67.7		94.1	37
	1901	21.1		11.3	62.8		95.2	32
	1951	83.4				9.5	92.9	
	1952	84.6				8.8	93.4	
(b)	Uncultivated land							
	1891	0.6		0.2	5.1 (1.1*)		5.9	2
	1901	0.6		0.6	3.7		4.8	2
	1951	6.6				0.5	7.1	
	1952	6.2				0.2	6.4	
(c)	Agricultural land							
	1891	18.6		8.6	72.8		100	40
	1901	21.6		11.8	66.5		99.9	33
	1951	90.0				10.0	100	36
	1952	91.1				8.9	100	38

*Ownership 'indefinite' - excluded from totals.

time, ownership would change. Since 1947, the existence of savings amassed during the price boom of World War II and the granting of old-age pensions have together encouraged the farmer to retire at an earlier age from active management and, through various crop-sharing agreements, to divide the usufruct with heirs, relations and friends. New types of tenure ensuring security to the original owner and opportunity to others are of considerable significance. Thus, over a short period of time simple freehold may be replaced by other legal situations although the *de facto* position of owner-occupied land as a whole remains unchanged. [454] [745]

Increasing accuracy of classification may correct these and other discrepancies but may in itself and as a result of such corrections introduce apparent fluctuations in general trends. Thus, because it is reasonable to assume that the most recent figures are most likely to be accurate, minor trends culminating in recent records should be ignored. 423* 127

Thus it is that, in the absence of external evidence, we may say that increases in the actual or proportional areas of land owned by Church and State have been insignificant. Table 41 shows in round figures the probable proportions of land owned by the various groups, based on various sources and broadly correct for the years around 1950. We are satisfied that this gives a more accurate picture than that usually presented.

The character of ownership and its effects on land use must also be related to the character of the land itself. Tables 39 and 40 show, among other features, the growing amount of 'wasteland' which now makes up some 15 per cent. of the so-called farmed area of Malta, and a lesser proportion of Gozo. This 'waste' is mainly marginal land which bears clear traces of earlier cultivation. True 'wasteland', virgin karst or long-abandoned, has always been excluded from the total figure. 423*

It has been suggested that such figures show that freehold property (in which the farmer might be expected to have the greatest interest) is most likely to

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 303]

occupations, 52 per cent are service personnel and skilled workers, 463
27 per cent are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and 14 per cent
are engaged in agriculture. Just over two-thirds of the total are employed outside the village. The majority of these, as in Farruġ, work in the Grand Harbour industrial area. Those who work in the village are for the most part self-employed. They are farmers, shopkeepers, blacksmiths and carpenters.

In Table No. 1 I have compared the various occupational classes in Kortin and Farruġ to each other and to the national figures.

III

Most villages look very much alike. Their magnificent baroque 361
churches provide a startling contrast to the low, flat-roofed houses
grouped tightly around them. As the parish church towers over
the village, so it dominates it socially, for the church is in every
sense the centre around which the life of the village revolves. In
front of the church there is usually a large square, the *misrah* or
pjazza, which is the social centre of the village. Various village
clubs and lay societies, as well as the police station, are situated on
the *pjazza*, or just off it, as are the principal wine shops, the
government dispensary and the finest houses of the village. As the [498]
square is usually the terminal point of the local bus line, it is the
point at which most people enter and leave the village. It is also [796]
the stage on which the principal events of village life take place:
the annual feast, or *festa*, of the patron saint, the many religious
processions and the occasional political rallies. On Sundays, and [517]
especially during the long summer evenings, the square teems
with groups of men, who sit about on steps and benches, talking
and arguing for hours on end. During weekday mornings, it [745]
belongs to the old men of the village, now freed by government [887]
old age pensions from the backbreaking toil in the fields that was
the lot of their forefathers.

Each village is first and foremost a community of neighbours. 621
Even the smallest of them have distinct residential groups, the
members of which are in closer contact with each other than with
people living in other parts of the village. This is, of course, particularly true of the larger villages. But even in Farruġ, a village of
about 1,400, the extremities of the village and the various streets
and alleys form separate neighbourhoods. The many little shops 000

512 for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table
only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of
178 preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton
366 by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension
of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised
shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops,
and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of
home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War,
the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly
to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The
petrolju van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on
paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another
[262] addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free
distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and
[749] by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation
distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

178 Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home
was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a stair-
342 case frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic
[351] life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large
enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were
small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for
animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming
178 a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump
and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic
[312] emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of
[364] summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can
[491] only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people.
[399] Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has
been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in
[204] north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the
Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older
[546] Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer
178 lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent
241 family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the
village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese
agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the
village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have
improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now
greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them,
thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee.
Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village
have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction
not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and
functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community
has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

REFERENCES

113 1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948, Table 53.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.
Note: For a fuller consideration see R. W. Beeley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1960.

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and
disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital
improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows
and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in
post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to
'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living
above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt.
He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position
and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the
financial point of view, to his commanding position during
the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
511 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
171 in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for
[369] example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25,
although the average per capita income for the whole
country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing
and other essential items are often quite exorbitant,
especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954
survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of
northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of
£136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm
labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75
per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn
little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
labourer without field commitments of his own can demand
his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases,
markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who
stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
511 average, a standard of life still slightly below the
434 general level, although the disparity is by no means as
great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Above-average exceptions include those
farmers who have been able to profit from the present
regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large
herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings
or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

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735 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison.
747 The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth
434 and assets against family size. Thus a household of four
648 persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for the free food[32].

162 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the
735 above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by
434 place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in addition, also listed separately. The residential divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

	A	B	C	D	E
DISTRICT	POPULATION[35]	'Poor & Needy' as % Population	FARMERS[36]	'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	B/D
Urban Area	134,389	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	46,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,882	14.5	1522	21.6	0.67
Total	319,820	8.2	7813	9	0.91

369 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living
735 standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as
511 has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta
162 and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural zone (most of Gozo, and Mġarr in Malta), however, the farmer is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this zone are one third below the general level as far as their standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

654 herdsman to produce a now over-grown dairy industry 426 (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses earlier in this 454 Section).

Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Section 2), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

829 The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has 467 been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly no less strained have been relations between one farmer and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has emerged on the administrative side of farming in the Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic [474] co-operation (Section 2). The main outcome of this has been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed [747] any importance. The very recent tractor co-operatives (Section 2) are proving successful but would probably not have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[29].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in it. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[43]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

829 It has also precluded the development of a substantial 474 Co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading.

000 28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

[113) 30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No. 259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

434 32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revized):

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Family of 3 or 4 persons	....	maximum income	- £5
" " 5 to 7 "	....	" "	- £5 8s
" " 8 " 10 "	....	" "	- £5 15s
" " 11 " 13 "	....	" "	- £6 1s
" " 14 " 16 "	....	" "	- £6 6s
" " 17 or 18 "	....	" "	- £6 10s

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

[122] 34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Matla at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

000 35. (B/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

113 38. "Labour Government's Progress Report. 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClemont in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Ghalf Bilancjat ghall-Majjali" by A.T. Hessler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. E.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

000 42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present training position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but those registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.H.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

[114] 47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

[124] 48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tnien, Sighan and Kejliet : v. Appendix 5.

religious processions. The greatest concentration of ceremonies is 796
around Easter. This cycle starts with the feast of Our Lady of
Sorrows on the Friday before Palm Sunday. Virtually all the
inhabitants escort the statue through the principal streets of the
village. This is followed by the Palm Sunday procession around
the church square.[1] On Maundy Thursday there is a long service
during which the parish priest washes the feet of twelve village
laymen. Immediately after this the church is draped completely
in black damask, and a huge wooden rattle replaces the church
bells as a sign of mourning. On Maundy Thursday and on Good
Friday in the morning, family groups visit the church and, passing
before the statues depicting scenes from the Passion, stop to pray
before the elaborate Sepulchre constructed in one of the chapels.
Members of each of the village associations and clubs visit the
Sepulchre in groups. Many families make pilgrimages to the
churches in the twelve other parishes which hold Good Friday
processions. At each one they offer prayers before the Sepulchre
and pause to examine the statues and funereal hangings of their
rivals before going on. All morning visitors from outside stream
into Kortin to see the church. Then, at about two in the afternoon,
there is a three-hour sermon on the Passion. This is followed by
the Good Friday procession.

Old Manwel, the procurator, directs the procession. This is his 794
big day. During the preceding weeks, he and Anton and Pawlu, 796
the two men who take charge of decorating the parish for special
occasions, worked very hard getting ready the eight statues,
assembling the ornate Sepulchre and collecting the £90 required
to meet the expenses of the Holy Week. Since he became procurator
twenty years ago, Manwel has collected almost £3,000
for new statues, costumes, banners and black damask for the
church. The procession itself lasts about three hours. Some 420
men and youths from the village carry and escort the eight huge
statues. Some of the men have carried the same statue for years.
The ten who carry the statue of the Crucifixion have protected [675]
their right to do so by a notarized contract with the parish priest.
In return they have spent almost £200 over the past ten years to

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[1] Instead of palm fronds, olive branches are distributed to the faithful. It is generally [751]
believed that if these blessed branches are burned, their smoke is particularly effective
against the harmful effects of the evil eye. Farmers pass burning leaves through their [824]
cattle sheds, and I have met professionals who do the same to their salons before cocktail
parties.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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[P: 133]

OMENS AND SUPERSTITIONS

ST. PAUL'S TONGUE

It was a popular belief among our 825
ancestors that the teeth of fish, which 133
we find embedded in some of the rocks,
are St. Paul's *tongue*, which during his
sermons penetrated even the solid rock.
These fossils were pounded and the [278]
powder was held to possess a miraculous
power in healing wounds.

Till recently it has been known that 825
some of our countryfolks used to carry 751
one of these teeth about with them,
sometimes mounted on silver and hung
about their necks, as an amulet against
the bites of venomous vipers—at one
time very abundant in Malta.

755 [824] are thrown some flowers which were used to decorate the sepulchre on Good Friday.

This the mothers do to cure their little ones from any fright they may have taken.

751 Some mothers dip their other children in succession in the same bath when the baby is taken out, and this they do in order that their children might not inherit the fright the one from the other.

THE FOOT BATH

757 Some people say that when you bathe your feet in hot water, while under the influence of fever, or head ache, a little salt should be added to the water to
[755] strengthen it. But in order that the

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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[171]

Husbandmen would still consider that queer operation as a medium of impregnation (*Dukkar*). This strange usage may, however, be traced amongst the *fellahin* of Upper Egypt, where, as Professor Sayce points out in his contribution to the *Cairene and Upper Egypt Folklore* (Folklore, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1920, p. 200) phallic symbols are still hung up to protect the melons and sugar-cane. The old Maltese practice of hanging up stones to the jujube-tree may therefore be considered as a modification of this early phallic worship."[1]

The sense contained in these practices requires no elucidation. The horticulturist with his camel hair brush does no better than the peasant with the male carob flowers. The votive stones are a silent appeal to the oldest and greatest of the Old Things, to the All-Father, Giver of Life and Fertility, whose ancient and enduring image, from Drizzlecombe in Devon to the High Places of Melanesia, is the Rock or Stone without shape—the altar of "The Unknown God"—"Thou art Peter and upon this Rock. . . ."

[538] Traces of this rock-cult are plentiful enough in Maltese folklore. Children who throw stones into a well or into the sea will one day have to gather them up by their eyelashes. The "old stones" (i.e. *menhir*) resent being moved and are, for that reason, twice as heavy as ordinary stones.

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"St. Paul's tongue"—a valuable amulet against the evil-eye and against all venoms—takes the form of fossilized teeth found in the ancient rocks. The blessed tongue which preached the gospel of the Redeemer is enshrined for ever in rock, the symbol of the Father.

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St. Paul's rock-cell, in which he is reputed to have lived, has the miraculous property that no matter how much of the rock is cut away its bulk grows no less—a clear expression

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[1] Lecture by Mr. Cremona at the University of Malta in 1922.

782 silver medal, seventeen "ex-votos" of silver, and £39 10s. 6d. in cash' (*Id-devot ta Maria*,
1894). In November 1961 twenty-two gold rings and thirty-one pairs of gold ear-rings,
besides sums of money, were offered as 'ex-votos' at the shrine of St Rita at St Augustine's
Priory, Valletta (*Santa Rita*, 1961, p. 192).

DISCUSSION

154 The relief of anxiety is one of the basic needs of the human personality. In a religion-conditioned
782 community, such as that of the Maltese Islands, one of the most potent
defence mechanisms against life-threatening situations consists in prayer and the offer of
771 'ex-votos' to the Godhead in order to receive deliverance in return. Perhaps what
● 753 underlies this aspect of human behaviour is the idea that sickness and death are punitive
761 measures from the Godhead for lapses committed by oneself, one's relatives, or one's
community. As a matter of fact, the notion that illness is sent by God as a punishment
for sins is still a current folk-belief in the Maltese Islands. The same trend of thought
finds expression in certain depressive psychoses where the patient shows a heightened
feeling of guilt and is convinced that divine wrath has been visited upon himself and his
close relatives in the form of disease or death. It appears, therefore, that the 'ex-voto' is
not a mere token of gratitude for a favour received but is also a propitiatory offering to
appease the offended deity and thus obtain his pardon and the removal of the punishment.
154 The element of sacrifice is implied in the self-denying act of surrendering a
precious thing in return for recovery of health or rescue from imminent death, either
782 materially in the shape of money or jewellery, or symbolically in the form of an anatomical
171 representation of one's body. Whatever the psychological motivation prompting
the offer of 'ex-votos', there is no doubt that they throw an illuminating sidelight on the
part played by religious belief in the history of healing in the Maltese Islands since prehistoric
times. They are also a testimony to the beneficial influence of religious *mores* (1)
in satisfying the natural craving for security felt by the individual and by the community
when faced with the crises of life, and (2) in maintaining morale and the will to live
when the failure of medical skill tends to disorganize and destroy them. Indeed the
'ex-votos' reveal the story of the triumph of hope and faith over the trials and sufferings
of countless generations of Maltese men and women who had found themselves beyond
the help of contemporary science and of human assistance. It is needless to emphasize
the recasting of Maltese religious beliefs after their conversion to Christianity in A.D. 60.
[178] The change from paganism to Catholicism, coupled with technical and cultural developments,
has brought about a parallel modification in the conventional form of the
'votiva'—from the baked clay image, the painted panel, and the wax and silver anatomical
models to the exquisite examples of the jeweller's art; but the idea behind the
changed outward sign remains immutable, i.e. the anxiety-relieving value of faith in a
community where belief in an all-controlling God has, for thousands of years, been the
pervasive character of the warp and woof of its cultural and psychological pattern.

/Information on the Gaugau, the belief that the spirit of persons born on Christmas Eve will be transformed into a ghost and on subsequent Christmas Eves, while the person is asleep, haunt the island only returning to its body at dawn, will be found in category 774./

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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824 One of the inmates then remembered that it was left in a drawer. What was his astonishment, on opening that drawer, to find that on the stem of the withered flower were brought forth *three* branches covered with leaves!!!

THE EVIL EYE

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755 Many of our people believe in the evil eye, and are of opinion that there are individuals who possess the power of inflicting injury by merely looking on those whom they wish to harm. It is, however, believed that any one who has been influenced by the evil eye of another, must procure a piece of cloth from the dress of the person by whom he has been fascinated, burn it, and expose himself to the smoke of it and

7: Busuttil I,Y-4,5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the effects of the evil eye will thus be removed. 754 755

Various charms are practised for counteracting the baneful influence of this cruel species of witchcraft. Some of the chief consist in spitting or making a big cross with the thumb on the belly while saying the words "tohrog il ghageb"; or sticking some brown wax—from the candles used during the Holy Week service—to the heads of the children or animals. Some again hung a sort of a sea-shell called *bahbuha* round the necks of the little ones,or cattle,to make them impervious to its effects. A pair of horns is also used by some as a charm to avert the evil-eye.

174 which conferred on him "such Wisdom, Prowess, and good
584 fortune . . . that Fame and Prosperity always attended him
825 thereafter." Tennyson, describing his mystic Lady of the Lake, has:

> And o'er her breast floated the Sacred Fish.

The Saviour Himself was symbolized by the early Christians as a fish. Julius Africanus, an early Christian writer, said of Christ that He was the Great Fish, caught by the Hook of God, whose flesh nourishes the whole world.[1]

This bridal fish, then, may be in some sense a sacramental offering as well as a mere symbol.

584 The anointing of the bride's lips is yet another custom
789 which, like the miniature "garden inclosed" of the marriage-
828 able girl, recalls the Canticle of Canticles:

> Thy lips my spouse are as a dropping honeycomb,
> honey and milk are under thy tongue. . . .[2]

585 The whole of this marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the
174 old Fertility cults—the cakes, sweetmeats, nuts, grain, all in honour of the fertile Mother whose bountiful Earth is carried in a bowl bearing effigies of the bride and bridegroom whom it is hoped she will bless with her own fecundity and riches.

EVERYDAY HABITS

771 Grez, the housewife, will go about her daily tasks carefully
788 following a thousand small rules, most of which have their English parallels. She will never cut a loaf without first making the Sign of the Cross on it with forefinger or knife. If the loaf falls to the ground, she will kiss it by way of asking pardon. She will not sweep her house after sunset for fear of
[754] sweeping away good fortune. She will take care not to throw her "combings" out of doors. Should anyone wish her ill it

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[1] *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

[2] *Song of Solomon,* IV, ii.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

will only be necessary for a "wise woman" or witch to spit on the hair while uttering a curse to bring misfortune upon the head which nourished it. 771 788 [754]

Grez will be careful not to laugh too heartily on a Friday—when the memory of the Crucifixion should make all sad. She will make the Sign of the Cross on leaving her house, on entering any vehicle or boat for no matter how short a journey, on cutting a piece of new cloth, before her baby's mouth when it yawns—so that evil spirits may not enter. On meeting a deformed or maimed person she will sign her corresponding limb or part of her body with the Cross. [826]

When she brings flowers into her house she will be as careful to exclude the acacia as any West-country woman to avoid "may" or whitethorn, for the spiky Maltese acacia is the "thorn" of Palestine wherewith the Saviour was crowned. 771 [824]

These are but a few of the small ways in which the peasant woman pays a somewhat mixed homage to the Old Things as well as to the tenets of her Faith. In her favour it may be said that her "superstitions" are more logical than those of such folk who habitually "touch wood" or object to a third cigarette from one match.

THE FESTAS

The Festa, primarily a religious festival and a Holy Day of Obligation, provides the only relaxation for a hardworking and frugal people. Such simple pleasures as a meal of unaccustomed meat, a little wine, processions, and fireworks give full rein to the most lovable, childlike side of the national character. The importance attaching to these periodical holidays is well illustrated by an old rhyme: 796 [585] [675]

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

Medical Votive Offerings in the Maltese Islands

Paul Cassar

THE MALTESE GROUP OF ISLANDS—Malta, Gozo, Kemmuna, Kemmunet and Filfla— 131
cover an area of just over 120 square miles. They form a stepping-stone between Europe
and Africa, being fifty-eight miles distant from Sicily and 180 miles away from the
North African shore. Malta and Gozo are renowned for the number of Stone Age 172
temples they contain. Archaeologists have expressed the opinion that some of the enclosures of these temples were sacred to a healing deity (Zammit 1926, p. 53). This is suggested by the discovery of clay and limestone objects consisting of (1) two models of women lying asleep on a kind of stretcher of wicker work, and (2) several votive offerings in the shape of parts of the human body (Zammit & Singer 1924, pp. 75–6).

It is believed that the sleeping ladies represent devotees who went to the Hypogeum 17
temple at Hal Saflieni, near Pawla, to consult the oracle through the practice of oneiro- 787
mancy. This was a form of dream interpretation after the patient had been aroused from 755
a hypnotic state induced deliberately by means of drugs or other means (Zammit 1935, p. 58). In ancient Egypt dreams were regarded with reverence and the faithful believed that their prayers were rewarded by the gods with an indication, in their dreams, of the remedies which their illness required (Wilkinson 1837, III, p. 394). Similar practices prevailed also in the temple-hospitals of classical Greece where the patient is said to have had the line of treatment revealed to him in his sleep (Pavey 1951, p. 59). It is, therefore, quite possible that such methods were likewise followed in Malta by the Hypogeum priests in the treatment of disease about 1500 B.C. Whatever might have happened in Malta in neolithic days, it is very striking to come across similar parallels in modern times where sick persons claim to have been healed by a heavenly power while in the sleeping state.

The following cases were recorded in 1890, the first being the most interesting as 175
the patient fell asleep in the church itself: 755

(i) A woman had been subject to a purulent inflammation of the mouth for 787
fifteen years. She had recourse to the Virgin Mary and while praying at Ta Pinu 781
church (Gharb, Gozo) she was overtaken by extreme somnolence. She woke up with the conviction that the Madonna had granted her the desired favour; in fact, she recovered completely from her illness within three days.

(ii) Maria Cachia, from a village in Gozo, was so gravely ill from puerperal fever that it was decided to give her the Last Sacraments. Her mother made a vow to the Virgin Mary and annointed the patient on the forehead and breasts with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp of Ta Pinu church. Maria fell into a calm sleep. Our Lady appeared to her in a vision, touched her on the parts smeared with the oil and healed her. On waking she was 'happy and smiling and left her bed completely cured'.

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(iii) Giovanna Debrincat had been suffering from depression with religious scruples for eight months. Her symptoms became acute one day in February with extreme anxiety, agitation, and insomnia. This phase lasted for four consecutive days and nights in spite of the efforts of the doctor and a priest to reassure her and placate her. Finally her relatives annointed her with the sanctuary oil and appealed to the Blessed Virgin to cure her. The patient immediately became tranquil and had a peaceful sleep. When she woke up, all her symptoms had disappeared (*Il-devot ta Maria*, 1890).

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NEOLITHIC VOTIVE OFFERINGS

The custom of offering 'ex-votos' to the deity for favours received is not limited to the Maltese Islands and goes back to very remote times. The neolithic 'ex-votos' of Malta are made of clay and limestone, and measure from 1¼ to 3¼ inches in height. No less than fifteen of them, consisting of the following anatomical forms, have been found:

(i) Faces: 2.
(ii) Hand: 1.
(iii) Female torsos with large abdomen, pendulous breasts, and prominent genitalia: 4.
(iv) Kneeling female (?) torso with arms folded on breast: 2.
(v) Fragment of female statuette consisting of lower abdomen, both thighs, and right leg; 1.
(vi) Female body cut short in the neck and upper parts of the thighs; the left arm is bent on the nape of the neck and the right upper limb points to the genitalia which are very clearly shown. The abdomen and breasts are very full and a swelling fills the left groin while pieces of white shells are stuck in the armpits, groins, umbilicus, mons veneris, and other parts.
(vii) Female pelvis with upper parts of thighs and sexual triangle: 2.
(viii) Legs: 2 (Zammit & Singer 1924, p. 67).

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The Roman occupation of Malta (218 B.C.–A.D. 397) is represented by one solitary 'ex-voto' consisting of a clay model of the lateral view of a leg and foot. It was found quite recently with other Roman objects in the north-west part of the island (Plate 1, Fig. 2). The inhabitants of the Maltese Islands were converted to Christianity by St Paul in A.D. 60. No more 'ex-votos' can be traced for many hundreds of years until they reappear in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Catholic Church. The interruption in the time-sequence and the change of religious beliefs do not, however, prevent us from perceiving that they have a common purpose and that the 'ex-votos' of Stone Age and Roman times foreshadow the similar ones of later years. Indeed the same ideational process links the ancient ones with those of our own times.

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Anatomical 'ex-votos' are still preserved in many of the Catholic churches of Malta and Gozo and in several wayside shrines in the countryside and in niches in the towns. They are either figures of the complete human body or of parts of it. The former consist of the front view of babies with the trunk and limbs swathed in bands like a mummy; and of side views of men and women in a kneeling posture with their hands joined in prayer over their breasts or else holding a symbolical heart. The men are turned towards the left and the women look towards the right. The models representing parts of the

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body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no pathology they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 532
'legs were offered for paralysis, congenital anomalies and chronic ulcers in the lower 755 ●
limbs; 'arms' and 'hands' for fractures and threatened loss of fingers by injury or gangrene; 'ears' for deafness and otitis; and 'eyes' for a variety of ocular diseases. Sometimes, however, the association of illness and anatomical part is not so specific; thus 'trunks' were offered for such varied conditions as throat affections, hernias, and mental disorder; 'faces' for enlarged glands in the neck; and pairs of female 'breasts' for deficiency of milk in a lactating mother as well as disease of these organs.

They were made of wax or of raised work in gold and silver foil. Those met with at 782
present are the silver ones, the others having disappeared from the churches though 532
they were still being offered at the end of the last century if not later. There are records
of wax effigies of arms, legs, eyes, and babies and also of gold ones having been deposited [325]
at that period at Ta Pinu Church at Gharb in Gozo. A pair of gold legs cost £17 (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1890; Kerr 1893). Wax figures also existed until some thirty years ago
in the small church of Tal Mjrakli at Lija (Tanti 1962). These objects were manufac- [439]
tured in Malta but some of them were imported from Sicily and North Africa. The gold [325]
and silver foil was hammered into the desired shape over dies of bronze by a silversmith (Plate 1, Fig. 3). They vary in size from 6 by 2½ inches to 1 by 3½ inches. Some of them bear hall-marks which help to date them and identify the source of manufacture. The
earliest met so far by the writer is a stylized silver model (in the writer's collection) of a pair [422]
of female breasts impressed with the hall-marks of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Em. de Rohan who ruled over the Maltese Islands from 1775 to 1797.

The deposition of anatomical 'ex-votos' in Maltese churches ceased in 1935. The
ecclesiastical council held in that year in Malta under the presidency of Cardinal H. 782
Lepicier disallowed the exhibition of 'votive offerings showing parts of the human body 532
except those in the shape of a heart', (*Concilium*, 1935, p. 60), so that the present-day 795
visitor will hardly see anything else except 'hearts' hanging by the statues of the saints to whom they were offered by grateful devotees. The more 'profane' models have been melted and converted into sacred utensils for the church service.

Very occasionally instead of an anatomical representation, we come across a silver 211
tablet commemorating deliverance from illness. Here is a specimen inscribed in Latin: 164

> P. Trapani cum suis / A. MDCCCLXXXVII / Ab Asiana Lue /
> Incolumos (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1888).

that is P. Trapani and his family spared from the Asiatic Disease of the year 1887.

(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the [731]
last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of [165]
over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and 782
by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These 755
actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

782 drinking from the spring of the grotto at Mellicha village where the Holy Virgin is
755 venerated; or placing some earth on the sick person from the tomb of a hermit reputed
to have died in odour of sanctity in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 16).

Sometimes the donation of an 'ex-voto' was coupled with the publication, in a
755 religious periodical, of the circumstances of the illness and its extraordinary cure. The
782 following are typical case-histories, translated from Maltese, culled at random from
214 such a periodical:

[204] (i) Victória Conti, who had been suffering from deafness in the right ear for four years, was told by two doctors that her condition was incurable. She prayed to the Holy Mary and as soon as she placed the oil from the sanctuary of Ta Pinu (Gharb, Gozo) on her ear she regained her hearing.

(ii) A woman fell from the balcony of her house and, as a result, had a series of convulsions, lost the faculty of speech, and became moribund. She remained in this precarious state for fifteen days when her parents promised the offer of a silver 'ex-voto' to the Holy Virgin if their daughter recovered. The following night the patient began to regain consciousness and to talk. She made steady progress and was well within a short time.

(iii) Joseph Spiteri, from Zabbar, had a mentally sick brother who, in a fit of frenzy, cut his throat. The doctor declared the case a hopeless one but, following a vow to the Mother of Christ, the patient began to improve until he recovered from his wound and from his mental illness within nine weeks.

(iv) Clo. Monsignier had measles and almost lost his eyesight as a complication. His mother vowed to the Virgin Mary that she would offer a silver 'ex-voto' in the shape of a pair of eyes if his sight was spared. Immediately this promise was made, the boy opened his eyes from which all the signs of disease had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1894–9).

Other published accounts deal with cases of throat infections, puerperal sepsis, hyperpyrexia (up to 107° F), and trachoma. To appreciate the seriousness of these diseases up to thirty years ago, it must be remembered that the sulphonamide and the antibiotic eras had not yet dawned and that no effective therapy was yet available with the result that many patients with sepsis lost their lives and cases of trachoma ended in permanent blindness. Stories of accidents, such as falls from heights, scalding and involvement in vehicular traffic are also recorded. At times medical certificates over the signatures of prominent doctors were published as evidence of the gravity of the injury or illness sustained and of recovery therefrom (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1887).

MEDICAL PAINTINGS

782 These are of various sizes ranging from 5 × 12 to 18 × 24 inches. They were much more
532 numerous in the past than they are to-day. Church walls, which are now bare, were
346 covered with these small canvases and wooden panels. A number of these 'ex-votos'
353 vanished many years ago as in the case of the Sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception
of Qala in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 13). In other churches these pictures still existed in great numbers up to about thirty years ago but have now dwindled considerably, instances being those of the Cave chapel of the Annunciation and St Leonard at Minsija (Birkirkara), the church of Tal Mirakli (Lija), and Tal Hlas (Qormi). One of the sanc-

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These races were first held on St. Roque's Feast day in consequence of the working of miraculous cures of the plague by St. Roque who was specially invoked by persons afflicted, while stricken himself with the desease, at Piacenza, in Italy.

THE "VITTORIA"

527 ***Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary***

[796] The 8th. of September, the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is no doubt the grandest and the most popular day for the people of these Islands.

Both the streets and church of Senglea—the town in which the feast is celebrated—present on this occasion a most lively appearance.

[184) The grand illumination and the

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One of the inmates then remembered that it was left in a drawer. What was his astonishment, on opening that drawer, to find that on the stem of the withered flower were brought forth *three* branches covered with leaves ! ! !

THE EVIL EYE

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Many of our people believe in the evil eye, and are of opinion that there are individuals who possess the power of inflicting injury by merely looking on those whom they wish to harm. It is, however, believed that any one who has been influenced by the evil eye of another, must procure a piece of cloth from the dress of the person by whom he has been fascinated, burn it, and expose himself to the smoke of it and

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the effects of the evil eye will thus be removed. 754 755

Various charms are practised for counteracting the baneful influence of this cruel species of witchcraft. Some of the chief consist in spitting or making a big cross with the thumb on the belly while saying the words "tohrog il ghageb"; or sticking some brown wax—from the candles used during the Holy Week service—to the heads of the children or animals. Some again hung a sort of a sea-shell called *bahbuha* round the necks of the little ones, or cattle, to make them impervious to its effects. A pair of horns is also used by some as a charm to avert the evil-eye.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

water, and according to the figure or shape it assumes when it solidifies so will be the fortune of the person who tries the experiment. If the lead becomes bright the maiden is to get a handsome young man for her husband, and lead a happy life with him; if it turns out black the husband will be ugly and the maiden may expect to lead a miserable existence. (*) 787 823

THE BATH

On Easter Sunday as soon as the *Gloria* is sung in the Churches, mothers dip their babies into a bath, in which 755 824

(*) A similar practice is kept up in Denmark, where young women melt lead on New Year's Eve, and after pouring it into water observed in the following morning what form it has assumed. If it resembles a pair of scissors, they will inevitably marry tailors; if a hammer their husbands will be smiths, and so on. [171]

T. Dyer *Domestic Folklore.*

•755 [824] are thrown some flowers which were used to decorate the sepulchre on Good Friday.

This the mothers do to cure their little ones from any fright they may have taken.

751 Some mothers dip their other children in succession in the same bath when the baby is taken out, and this they do in order that their children might not inherit the fright the one from the other.

THE FOOT BATH

757 Some people say that when you bathe your feet in hot water, while under the influence of fever, or head ache, a little salt should be added to the water to [755] strengthen it. But in order that the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

EZ6 Malta EZ6

salt may produce its effects it must be thrown by a married woman, not by a maiden. 755 757

IL *GHAGIUSA*

We have an old custom in Malta to make children believe that the *ghagiusa* (the oldest woman living in the parish) is killed at noon on Thursday, the middle of Lent. 857 888

Mothers, after fasting the first twenty days of lent, send their children to the door of the parish church, or of some convent to see the sexton or some friar throwing the old woman from the steeple down below. [785]

The disappointment of the children is indeed very great when at noon, they don't see the *ghagiusa* thrown down.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

EZ6 Malta EZ6

LIGHT OMENS

If a woman wishes that either her husband or her son return from abroad, she is to light a lamp and leave it behind the entrance door. If the party expected does not return on the following morning, she is to light the lamp again on the following night and keep doing so until at last she sees her dear one entering the house. 789 373

BALSAM

Those among the Maltese who wish to have a *balsam* that possesses the property of healing all kinds of wounds, take an egg that has been laid on the 25th of March, Lady Day, hide it within a cupboard or on a shelf, in a dark place, and at the end of a year they begin to use it as a sovereign and unfailing remedy. 755

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

(c) corn portends bitter crying through a misfortune 787 (777)

(d) lentils signifies hunger.

COMMON AILMENTS

755 At the present day, in spite of the "march of intellect" most of the ordinary ailments of every day life have still, what are popularly termed in folk medicine, their "charm remedies" consisting in very quaint recipes which from time immemorial, have been handed down from parent to child.

The following are the complaints to which more or less eccentric remedies have always been applied.

Bleeding of the nose—A curious remedy for the bleeding of the nose is to place a key on the person's back. The key is resorted to as a charm in

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

●755 this case on account of the coldness of the metal.

755 825 *Jaundice*—Our folk believe that the blood of a tortoise is an excellent remedy for jaundice caused by a fright. If the patient be a man he is to bleed a female tortoise in the leg and make the sign of the cross with its blood on the joints of his arms and legs—but if the patient be a woman she is to bleed a male tortoise.

Fright.—The cure of the ailments brought about in consequence of a fright is to kill a puppy, boil it, give the patient to drink the water in which it is boiled, then throw the whole boiled pup in the plate in such a way as to cause a fright to the patient.

Fever—Even for this dangerous disease our folks do not hesitate to practice their own remedies. One of these

consists in cutting open a live rabbit and applying it with the still warm entrails on the stomach of the patient. 755 [825]

Piles—Carrying about a dried fig in one's pocket is considered a good specific for this complaint. [824]

Rheumatism—Amateurs of the healing art advised the sufferer to carry about a dried fish in his pocket as a charm for its cure. [825]

Sty—To prevent or cure this disorder it is customary for the patient to throw over his shoulders seven grains of barley in a well. [824]

The superstitiously inclined say that a sty forebodes the inheritance of some riches. [787]

Beside the omens and superstitions briefly described in the preceding pages 128

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The disappointment of the children is indeed very great when at noon, they don't see the *ghagiusa* thrown down.

it
may also be combined with a tricky piece of rock-climbing— 133
how tricky the writer can testify from personal experience—
by anyone prepared to scale the precipitous islet known as
the Fungus Rock, which closes the entrance to the lagoon
of Qala Dwejra.

This impressive and now almost inaccessible rock takes its 133
name from the strange and repellent-looking black plant 278
(*Fucus coccineus melitensis*) which grows on its summit and 655
in the days of the Order was regarded as a sovereign remedy [137]
against hæmorrhage and dysentery. The plant was a [757] ●
perquisite of the Grand Masters, and a guard was provided
in a tower on the mainland to keep away trespassers. Those 133
who came legitimately to take the fungus landed by means 417
of a basket suspended on ropes stretched between the rock 278
and the nearest point on the mainland; an old water-colour
in the Malta Museum depicts this means of transit, which
has long since disappeared. It was evidently of a somewhat
precarious nature, at all events to judge from the account of
a gentleman who effected the passage in 1815:[1]

> One object of curiosity on the south side of the island [*sc.* Gozo] is a rock, on which grows a kind of fungus, which is used as a styptic. The passage to this rock is rather curious, if not dangerous; two ropes are made fast on each shore, on which a box with grooves on its edges passes over. A Maltese first works his way across, then the person desirous to go over draws the box back and seats himself in it, when he is hauled over by the guide; in this manner as many as please can go, one at a time.
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> It is not a very pleasant sensation to be suspended some hundred feet above the water, and if there is any wind, the movement of the box is anything but agreeable, and all that can be obtained are a few pieces of fungus. I was well pleased to be back again, and made a determination never to risk my precious carcase in that conveyance again. It seems very strange to be swinging up in the air between two rocks, with sea-gulls and other aquatics flying about below you.

[1] From *Malta Sixty Years Ago*, by Claudius Shaw (London, 1875).

156 be successful in the field of village politics. From there he can
554 move into national politics.

Traditionally, age was an important determinant of status. Age
156 meant wisdom, experience and position at the head of a large
178 family. The deference accorded to age is preserved in the proverb
554 'Heed well the words of the elders' (*Kliem ix-xih żomm fih*). But
561 in a society where teenage sons work as skilled labourers, clerks
[539] and teachers while their fathers still farm or dig ditches, and where schoolboys read letters, newspapers and voting instructions to their illiterate parents, the words of the elders are often not heard. The social and cultural gap between the old and the young is wider now than it has been for many generations. Today leadership in the villages is in relatively young hands. Old parish registers support the memories of the present generation of elders that this has not always been the case.

Village sons who are professionals often become presidents of
156 their local band clubs. Very often they no longer live in their
463 native villages. Most marry town-bred girls from professional
554 families who do not wish to leave their urban surroundings and
591 friends to live amongst people they regard as their inferiors in
[575] every sense. Though village-born professionals find it convenient for business purposes to live in the town, most lawyers
[693] continue to practise in their native villages. But when they continue to reside in their villages, even though their social life and many of their business interests are oriented away from the community, they normally enjoy great prestige. This works to enlarge their professional clientele. These assets can easily be converted into political support, and many village doctors and lawyers have gone successfully into politics.

Dr. Farrugia of Kortin, the town's only lawyer and its leading
156 citizen, is a case in point. A native of Kortin, he is the son of old
159 Manwel, the retired teacher who runs the Good Friday proces-
693 sion. Of a relatively modest background, he married the daughter of the former lawyer in the village, and took over the latter's
[575] large practice when he died. Past president of both the football and social clubs, a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, he has been president of the band club for many years. He is also a successful politician at the national level.

554 Frequently the government District Medical Officers are the
759 only professionals resident in the villages in which they work.

Partly because of the temporary nature of their assignments, but 554
also because they are usually city-bred, they generally keep 759
themselves aloof from the people amongst whom they work.
With but few exceptions, they take little or no part in the social
life of the communities to which they are assigned. But they are
nevertheless respected figures. Where they are tolerant of village
customs, not too mercenary, and take a patronal interest in the
personal problems of their clients, they will have, in addition to
prestige, a large personal following. This has enabled a number of
former District Medical Officers to stand successfully for elected
office.

School teachers are another group of people with high pres- 554
tige. Every village and almost every hamlet in Malta and Gozo
now has a government school. Headmasters usually live outside 875
the villages in which they work. They begin their careers in the
small rural villages and move into the larger and more important
schools as they gain experience and seniority. They are rarely in a 554
village long enough to be asked to take part in its social life. 575
Village-born teachers, on the other hand, normally teach in their 875
home villages, where they often occupy important offices in the
associations. But even where he no longer resides in his place of
birth the teacher or headmaster, as a village son with high pres-
tige, is often asked to take an active part in its social life. The
president of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ, for example, is
headmaster of the primary school in a neighbouring village, where
he has lived since he married there more than forty years ago. He
has been a member of the club's committee for most of that time,
and its president for the last twenty years. Until two years ago he [794]
was also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Roque.

VI

The structure of authority in the villages of Malta and Gozo, 621
because of the importance of offices and associations which are 795
either focused on or articulated with the Church, bears a certain
superficial resemblance to the civil/religious hierarchy which has
been described in Mexican villages.[1] But it differs significantly;
it is neither a hierarchy, nor is it formally related to the structure
of government.

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[1] See, for instance, Fernando Camara, 'Religious and Political Organization', in *Heritage of Conquest*, Sol Tax, ed. (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), *passim*. [113]

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
themselves responsible for much of the labouring work.
794 Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939); this in a parish which even ten years later had no more than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

175 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were
793 attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor)
871 Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became
Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was "sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
[671] elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this
still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

744 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for
793 by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone
759 himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of
175 1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest
of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6). As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social, as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the village, and another of the traditional functions of the Priest passed to specialist hands.

175 After this, interest was turned again to building and
346 the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out
344 in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the
[435] Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the
District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers themselves were responsible for a great deal of the building work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

782 silver medal, seventeen "ex-votos" of silver, and £39 10s. 6d. in cash' (*Id-devot ta Maria*,
1894). In November 1961 twenty-two gold rings and thirty-one pairs of gold ear-rings,
besides sums of money, were offered as 'ex-votos' at the shrine of St Rita at St Augustine's
Priory, Valletta (*Santa Rita*, 1961, p. 192).

DISCUSSION

154 The relief of anxiety is one of the basic needs of the human personality. In a religion-conditioned
community, such as that of the Maltese Islands, one of the most potent
782 defence mechanisms against life-threatening situations consists in prayer and the offer of
771 'ex-votos' to the Godhead in order to receive deliverance in return. Perhaps what
753 underlies this aspect of human behaviour is the idea that sickness and death are punitive
● 761 measures from the Godhead for lapses committed by oneself, one's relatives, or one's
community. As a matter of fact, the notion that illness is sent by God as a punishment
for sins is still a current folk-belief in the Maltese Islands. The same trend of thought
finds expression in certain depressive psychoses where the patient shows a heightened
feeling of guilt and is convinced that divine wrath has been visited upon himself and his
close relatives in the form of disease or death. It appears, therefore, that the 'ex-voto' is
not a mere token of gratitude for a favour received but is also a propitiatory offering to
appease the offended deity and thus obtain his pardon and the removal of the punishment.
154 The element of sacrifice is implied in the self-denying act of surrendering a
precious thing in return for recovery of health or rescue from imminent death, either
782 materially in the shape of money or jewellery, or symbolically in the form of an anatomical
171 representation of one's body. Whatever the psychological motivation prompting
the offer of 'ex-votos', there is no doubt that they throw an illuminating sidelight on the
part played by religious belief in the history of healing in the Maltese Islands since prehistoric
times. They are also a testimony to the beneficial influence of religious *mores* (1)
in satisfying the natural craving for security felt by the individual and by the community
when faced with the crises of life, and (2) in maintaining morale and the will to live
when the failure of medical skill tends to disorganize and destroy them. Indeed the
'ex-votos' reveal the story of the triumph of hope and faith over the trials and sufferings
of countless generations of Maltese men and women who had found themselves beyond
the help of contemporary science and of human assistance. It is needless to emphasize
the recasting of Maltese religious beliefs after their conversion to Christianity in A.D. 60.
[178] The change from paganism to Catholicism, coupled with technical and cultural developments,
has brought about a parallel modification in the conventional form of the
'votiva'—from the baked clay image, the painted panel, and the wax and silver anatomical
models to the exquisite examples of the jeweller's art; but the idea behind the
changed outward sign remains immutable, i.e. the anxiety-relieving value of faith in a
community where belief in an all-controlling God has, for thousands of years, been the
pervasive character of the warp and woof of its cultural and psychological pattern.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE ITCHING OF THE EYE

787 826 [777] The itching of the eye is considered as an unlucky omen. Grose, celebrated antiquarian, who collected together so many of the superstitions prevalent in his day, says: "When the right eye itches the party affected will shortly cry."

THE ITCHING OF THE HAND

Among other omens we are told that the itching of the hands signifies that they will shortly receive money.

HOWLING OF DOGS

825 763 A superstitious opinion vulgarly prevails in Malta that the howling of a dog in a neighbourhood is the presage of death to any that are sick in it.

The howling of the dog is ascribed by some to its keen sense of the odour of approaching dissolution. 825 763

This superstition which, while not confined to our Island, appears to have been almost as well known in ancient times as at the present day. 825 763 171

Dr. Nathaniel Home, in his "Daemonologie" page 60, says: "If dogs howl in the night near a house where somebody is sick, it is a sign of death."

Capitolinus tells us: that the dogs by their howlings presaged the death of Maximinus.

TINGLING of the EAR

It is a well known superstition among the Maltese that when the ear tingles they usually say that somebody is talking of them. A tingling of the right ear 787 826

THE ACACIA OR SPONGE-TREE

(Gazzïa)

824 Our ancestors had a strong aversion to introducing or bringing in the acacia or sponge-tree with the other flower-plants in the house.

•[763] They believed that if the acacia were brought into the house the head thereof would die within twelve months.

THE NEWT

825 Our superstitiously inclined believe that when one kills a newt and leaves its tail contorting or wagging on the floor, that tail will be cursing the parents of its destroyer!

COAL-DUST AND SOOT

777 527 The throwing of coal-dust or soot instead of lime before a door on New year's day betokens gloom and bad luck.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

EZ6 Malta EZ6

NEW YEAR'S SUPERSTITIONS

A superstitious dread still attaches to some one of the family keeping absent at dinner time on New Year's day. He who doesn't dine with his family on New Year's day is expected to die at the end of that same year. 527 763 264

He who eats hotch-potch soup on New year's day is to gnaw the ham bones all the rest of the year. 527 262 787

Those who eat cabbages on New year's day groan for a whole year.

OIL, SALT AND WINE

The spilling of oil is considered a very unlucky omen by the Maltese. The spilling of salt or wine, however, betokens good luck. 777 787

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

PARSLEY

824 When one plucks a stem of parsley
=763 by the roots and plants it again he may expect to lose one of his parents within the year.

THE HEN

825 When a hen crows it is at once
763 destroyed as it foretells the death of some member of the family.

THE HAWKMOTH OR SPHINX

825 The appearance of a white hawkmoth
787 betokens the coming home of some one who is abroad. The appearance of a black hawkmoth, however, is a harbinger of sad news.

COMETS

821 The appearance of a comet is a sign
787 of an approaching evil.

THROWING STONES IN A WELL

Our ancestors made children believe that if they threw stones in a well or into the sea they had to lift them up some day with their eyelashes. 787 823

THIRTEEN AT TABLE

Sitting down thirteen to dinner is considered very unlucky. 777 264 763

The notion is that one of the thirteen will die within the next twenty four hours. The origin popularly assigned to this widespread superstition is the fact that thirteen was the number at the Last Supper, Judas being the thirteenth.

SNEEZING

The custom of saying "Evviva" or "Sahha" to one who happens to sneeze 827

taught to wave, while the band plays the national anthem, 796
'God Save the King.' In the time of the Order they proceeded to the palace to receive permission for the celebration of the Carnival. Their request was signified to the Grand Master by one of the knights, and upon the boon being granted, they immediately performed a dance in front of the palace, and afterwards before the door of any other person, whom they thought would pay them for their trouble.

The origin of this amusement must be sought for in 796
the annals of pagan rites, which Christianity has not 171
succeeded in abolishing in several countries of Europe. In a work on Malta, *Par un voyageur François*, the author ranks it with a popular feast very ancient in Thessaly, the *Salzea* of the Babylonians, the *Chronia* of the Athenians, and the *Saturnalia* of Rome, which many of the early Christians continued, notwithstanding the zealous efforts which were made by the Church to abolish them."

It will be noted that the public "masque" was regarded 796
as "an absurd and foolish diversion." The "diversion" must 656
at some time have proved rather more dangerous than absurd, for the wearing of masks after sunset is now forbidden by law. It is of interest also to note that an attempt on the part
of a strict Sabbatarian Governor who hailed from north of [669]
the Tweed to abolish the merrymaking on the Sunday of Carnival led to a major civil disturbance which could only be quelled at bayonet point, and which is still remembered by those who are, for one cause or another, "agin' the Government!"

DYING

Zeppu's tired hands are at rest. They lie, brown and calloused, 763
upon the coverlet. The village bell tolls urgently. The *fratelli*

The fratelli

763 794 —lay brethren of the congregation—hurry from their homes to take their places in the procession of the Viatecum. Marching rapidly, like a company of soldiers, headed by a peasant ringing a staccato, commanding bell, some bearing tapers, some censers, all chanting the prayers for the dying, they pass [793] quickly through the village street. Under a canopy, borne by two sturdy *fratelli*, goes the priest in his bright vestments, bearing God to the dying man.

The women hurry to place a light in their windows, kneel and pray as God passes.

So, with such poor pomp as these simple folk can muster, 764 [171] the Prince of Peace comes to dying Zeppu. The funeral rites and customs differ hardly at all nowadays from those of other Catholic countries. But Zeppu's grandfather could remember a time when the Old Things were much in evidence.

764 767 There were the "Wailing Women" (whose name *neuuieha* survives in the sense of "one who constantly complains"). They wore long black robes, and chanted death-songs whose burden was a combination of praise for the deceased's virtues and rebuke for his having left them. They cut the vines from the courtyard, overturned the furniture, broke pottery, and mixed the fragments with soot and ashes, staining the doors [302] of the bereaved house with the mixture. They cut pieces of their hair and scattered them over the coffin.

765 [262] [764] If the dead man possessed horses, cows, goats, all their tails had pieces cut from them in token of mourning. There was a form of "wake" where funeral cakes and boiled wheat were eaten. A carpet was spread over the tomb to prevent the unware from treading on it.

[372] [302] No fire was lit in the house for three days after the funeral. The women kept to the house for forty days. The men, having remained indoors for seven days, went unshaven.

764 174 Here are clear signs of the most primitive funeral rites and *taboos*. Death was a pollution—hence the segregation of

MALTESE DEATH, MOURNING, AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

764 SIR JAMES FRAZER'S communication of a coroner's note about "Beliefs regarding Death in Cumberland"[1] has suggested to me that I might put on record Maltese funeral customs now extant, some of which are analogous to those noticed in Cumberland.

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[184]
[565]
[171]
[539]
Amongst our middle and lower classes the practice still lingers of placing a dish of salt on the stomach of the corpse, whether of a male or of a female. The popular belief in Malta is that the salt prevents early decomposition. Certeux and Carnoy[2] give the following interpretation of a practice by Arabs in Algeria: "*Il est de convenance religieuse . . . de lui poser sur le ventre* [of the dead person] *quelque chose de pesant, afin de prevenir le gonflement.*" One of our Maltese sayings runs:

"*Imût il-ghani u jmut il-fqir*
It-tnejn jitmelhu ghal geũũa il-bîr."

i.e. "Both the rich man and the poor man die, and both are salted for the pit" (a common rock tomb). This may, however, refer to the pickling or preservation of bodies in a saline solution.

764 The covering over of looking-glasses in the room where the body is lying is also practised by several Maltese families. Some go so far as to remove furniture, and turn round or take down pictures, in the death chamber and passages.

764
171
The following are the most characteristic features of existing Maltese practices, many of which are comparable to those of Sicily, while a few show some Eastern influence:—

(*a*) The washing of the dead body before shrouding. This is not a religious rite, and has no connection with that of Islam.

(*b*) The shutting of the eyelids, if open, and the raising of the chin by means of a band, usually a white kerchief, tied on the head.[3]

(*c*) The removal of door knockers and knobs; house doors are kept closed for several days; neighbours half-shut their own.

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[1] Vol. xxxi., p. 154.

[2] *L'Algerie Traditionelle*, p. 223.

[3] This is practised in Algeria. See Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black 764 crape.

(*d*) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(*e*) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and 764 watch the corpse for the whole night. This custom prevails 767 mostly in Gozo. In old days official female mourners, named *neŭŭieha* (from *neŭŭah*, " to cry ") were employed. The prac- [175] tice was abolished in Malta during the plague of A.D. 1676.[1] [731] Sicilians employed mourners called Praeficae or Reputatrices, [171] a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese female mourners is described by Abela as follows :—

They wore trailing veils (*kurkâr*), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their mourning.

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(*f*) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the [354] Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This [765] is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is [775] in this way prevented from haunting the house. In some of [788] the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth, and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the

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[1] Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 794.

[113]

The belief still lingers that the
764 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul
775 of the departed remains above the flame.

764 (*g*) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of
735 the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in
171 both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century
178 passed through wide changes and, as in other European countries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely
[177] mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with
[192] Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the
292 fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700.
178 Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls
184 over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 Family mourning is generally observed as follows :—

178 I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

[562] II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Bombazine (without lace) or silk faldettas are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *ċulqâna* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in
wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those
of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford
to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
● 764 extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the
period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian
influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *żuntier*, from
French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
[C71] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural
interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it
was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public
cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required
that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a
coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
[534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the
church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing
of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which
in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases
to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the
Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important
that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the
corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was
laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the
less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a profanation

5: Cremona S-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

fanation. Wreaths are laid on the grave, and oil lamps are 764
lit on it for some days. The construction and decoration of [354]
the graves in the public cemetery is much the same as on the continent. Marble slabs with inscriptions are very common. Pillars with crosses on the top and sacred statues are also erected on bases of marble, or bronze reliefs symbolising Time and Eternity. The higher class own vaults in the form of chapels, [565]
in which an altar is erected and requiem masses are said.

In the professional and educated classes cards expressing 765
sympathy are sent by friends to the mourning family, but in 184
some districts, especially in the country, people still follow the old etiquette of paying a mourning visit within nine days of the death. Photographs of the deceased, with an inscription, are [215]
sent to friends and acquaintances.

A. Cremona.

852 it is a sign of a liberal character—if he
[787] picks out the inkstand it points towards
[828] inclination for trade or the bar—if he
takes the book, the rosary or the candle
the assumption is that he intends to dedicate
his life to the service of the church.

[574) When the baby makes his or her
selection, the guests are treated with
refreshments, and they all drink the
health and future prospects of the small
individual in question.

FUNERALS

764 On the death of a Maltese, two or
767 three women called *Neuuieha*, hired for
[533) the occasion, and attired in long mourning
cloaks, immediately entered the
house of the deceased singing in a low
and dismal voice, some appropriate
deathsong. These women cut away

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

branches of such vines as formed arbours 764 in the courts, 767 disturbed the furniture &c. in all the apartments, overturned the flower pots in the windows, broke some of the ornamental furniture, and carrying the fragments to a retired spot, threw them in a cauldron of boiling water,in which they mixed soot and ashes. With this liquid they stained all the doors in the house howling and sobbing most dismally whilst performing the operation. (*) The *neunicha* then pro- [292] ceeded to the chamber of the deceased, already in his coffin, and surrounded by his female relations, wearing veils over

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(*) The custom of mourning for the dead in shrieks [171] and howlings is of great antiquity, and prevails almost [152] universally among the followers of Mahomet.

764 767 [292] their faces and black silk cloaks. (*) The room being stripped of all its furniture and hung with black cloth.

[302] The *neuuieha*, throwing themselves on their knees at the foot of the coffin, began singing the praises of the dead, and cut off handfuls of their hair which [262] [431] they spread over the coffin. On the same day, cakes and boiled wheat were distributed among all the relations, and the hair was cut off the tails of every horse at the stables belonging to the house of the deceased.

764 533 The funeral procession was always composed of the relations in mourning preceded by some boys playing the fifes or Trumpets.

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[765] [822] [171] (*) The colours of the dress or habit. worn to signify grief are different in different countries. In Europe, the ordinary colour for mourning is black. *Black*, being the privation of light, is supposed to denote the privation of life.

PULLEYN *Origin & Inventions.*

or trumpets. Before the corpse was interred, a pillow filled with orange and laurel leaves (*) was placed under the head, and a carpet spread over the tomb, which was suffered to remain some days, to show that during that time it was forbidden to walk over it. 000 764 824

No fire was lighted for three days in the kitchen of the deceased, and either one of the relations or some most intimate friend sent a dinner to the inhabitants of the house, which they ate cross-legged on the floor. 765 372 264

Women on this occasion remained forty days in the house, but men went out on the seventh day, with their faces unshaven. (†) 765 302

(*) Orange trees were regarded by the Pagans as expiatory.

(†) Mourning among the ancients was expressed by very different signs; such as by rending of garments, wearing sack cloth, laying aside crowns &c. Thus Plutarch, in his life of Cato, relates, that from the time of his leaving the city with Pompey, he neither shaved his head, nor, as usual, wore his crown or garland.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

EZ6 Malta EZ6

585 Both Weddings and Funerals are in
764 our duys celebrated in Malta in the
171 same manner as in any other civilized part of the world.

◆

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8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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The wake was a death feast originally designed to provide a sort of communion with the departed. Similarly, the cutting of the mourner's hair was intended to furnish a ritual link with the dead. Primitive tribes express the same idea in cannibalism and in funeral mutilations. [302]

The cutting of the animals' tails was very probably a version of the sacrifice in expiation of the dead man's sins. 765

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The Old Things, with their complicated rituals, their theologies of terror, served their turn in leading mankind some distance on his upward march. Nowhere is their vague disembodied presence more felt than in Malta's rapidly dwindling countryside, where every stone may well have housed one of their altars. Not all of the Old Things were evil. The good ones have been adopted by Mother Church; but there remain those restless, evil ones who have never bowed down to the Nazarene. They hide in the shadows, angry and resentful. 771 178

THE HOUR OF THE OLD THINGS

Let us go out, at the third or fourth hour after midnight. Away from the clamorous ballrooms of the cramped city of 788 178

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[1] *Puck of Pook's Hill.*

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

411
648

JEWELLED HILT OF SWORD GIVEN BY PHILIP II TO GRAND MASTER LA VALETTE

In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

[*See pp.* 51–52.]

CRYPT OF S. JOHN'S

The tomb of La Valette is in the niche on the left.

[*See pp.* 53–54.]

341
764
531

[facing p. 65]

[pp. 65-67 not processed]

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black crape. 764

(*d*) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(*e*) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and 764
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a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese female mourners is described by Abela as follows:—

They wore trailing veils (*kurkâr*), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their mourning. 764

(*f*) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the [354]
Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This [765]
is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is [775]
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the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth, and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the

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[1] Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 794. [113]

The belief still lingers that the
764 775 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul
of the departed remains above the flame.

764 (*g*) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of
735 the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in
171 both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled
wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to
the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were
continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on
All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom
has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the
Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

• 765 Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century
178 passed through wide changes and, as in other European coun-
tries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely
[177] mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with
[192] Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The
vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the
Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the
292 fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700.
178 Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls
184 over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black
transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk
taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 Family mourning is generally observed as follows :—

178 I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being
affixed to the door.

[562) II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion 765
was much more strictly observed, and the period was never 178
less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not 562
exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days,
after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the 765
family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or 178
distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed 252
in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern
Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family 171
sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a 264
straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these 516
mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom 352
has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain from having their pastry and other food prepared in a
public oven for a period of some months after the death of a
member of the family.

184
IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. 765
This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and 178
lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class 302
from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings. 565

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days
following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied 292
with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. 178
Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full 765
mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or 184
bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldettas*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

5: Cremona 8-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Bombazine (without lace) or silk faldettas are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *ċulqâna* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
● 765 derived from the Italian *gonnella.* The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from
764 extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *żintier*, from French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
[671] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
[534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a profanation

fanation. Wreaths are laid on the grave, and oil lamps are 764
lit on it for some days. The construction and decoration of [354]
the graves in the public cemetery is much the same as on the
continent. Marble slabs with inscriptions are very common.
Pillars with crosses on the top and sacred statues are also erected
on bases of marble, or bronze reliefs symbolising Time and
Eternity. The higher class own vaults in the form of chapels, [565]
in which an altar is erected and requiem masses are said.

In the professional and educated classes cards expressing 765
sympathy are sent by friends to the mourning family, but in 184
some districts, especially in the country, people still follow the
old etiquette of paying a mourning visit within nine days of the
death. Photographs of the deceased, with an inscription, are [215]
sent to friends and acquaintances.

A. Cremona.

764 767 [292] their faces and black silk cloaks. (*) The room being stripped of all its furniture and hung with black cloth.

[302] The *neuuieha*, throwing themselves on their knees at the foot of the coffin, began singing the praises of the dead, and cut off handfuls of their hair which [262] [431] they spread over the coffin. On the same day, cakes and boiled wheat were distributed among all the relations, and the hair was cut off the tails of every horse at the stables belonging to the house of the deceased.

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[765] [822] [171] (*) The colours of the dress or habit. worn to signify grief are different in different countries. In Europe, the ordinary colour for mourning is black. *Black*, being the privation of light, is supposed to denote the privation of life.

PULLEYN *Origin & Inventions.*

or trumpets. Before the corpse was interred, a pillow filled with orange and laurel leaves (*) was placed under the head, and a carpet spread over the tomb, which was suffered to remain some days, to show that during that time it was forbidden to walk over it. 000 764 824

No fire was lighted for three days in the kitchen of the deceased, and either one of the relations or some most intimate friend sent a dinner to the inhabitants of the house, which they ate cross-legged on the floor. 765 372 264

Women on this occasion remained forty days in the house, but men went out on the seventh day, with their faces unshaven. (†) 765 302

(*) Orange trees were regarded by the Pagans as expiatory.

(†) Mourning among the ancients was expressed by very different signs; such as by rending of garments, wearing sack cloth, laying aside crowns &c. Thus Plutarch, in his life of Cato, relates, that from the time of his leaving the city with Pompey, he neither shaved his head, nor, as usual, wore his crown or garland.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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852 it is a sign of a liberal character—if he
[787] picks out the inkstand it points towards
[828] inclination for trade or the bar—if he
takes the book, the rosary or the candle
the assumption is that he intends to dedi-
cate his life to the service of the church.

[574] When the baby makes his or her
selection, the guests are treated with
refreshments, and they all drink the
health and future prospects of the small
individual in question.

FUNERALS

764 On the death of a Maltese, two or
767 three women called *Neuuieha,* hired for
[533] the occasion, and attired in long mourn-
ing cloaks, immediately entered the
house of the deceased singing in a low
and dismal voice, some appropriate
deathsong. These women cut away

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

branches of such vines as formed arbours in the courts, disturbed the furniture &c. in all the apartments, overturned the flower pots in the windows, broke some of the ornamental furniture, and carrying the fragments to a retired spot, threw them in a cauldron of boiling water, in which they mixed soot and ashes. With this liquid they stained all the doors in the house howling and sobbing most dismally whilst performing the operation. (*) The *neunicha* then proceeded to the chamber of the deceased, already in his coffin, and surrounded by his female relations, wearing veils over

764
767
[292]

(*) The custom of mourning for the dead in shrieks and howlings is of great antiquity, and prevails almost universally among the followers of Mahomet. [171] [152]

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in their bathing costume, immediately 527 begin the task of endeavouring to seize 526 the flag, one after another they continue tumbling into the water and raising again to renew the attempt.

Gradually the greasy matter diminishes and the competitors are able to advance further. At last the winner with the prize flag in hand, amidst great shouts of "bravo," loud whistling, and clapping of hands announces the end of the National Feast for that day.

The 7th of September is also commemorated by a melancholy, and at the 796 769 same time imposing, ceremony at the Co-Cathedral Church of St. John in Valletta.

On the morning of this day the celebrant, preceded by the Chapter and Clergy, descend into the crypt beneath the High Altar, and while chanting

796 *requiems* for the repose of the souls of
769 the knights interred there, and all the other dead who fell in the great siege, sprinkles holy water upon the tombs, while the great bells, in the towers above, peal mournfully the legend which the Maltese voice in the words "Il-libera tal Cavalieri" (the funeral of the Knights).

527 For some years past a purely civil commemoration of the glorious Victory of the 8th of Sept. (1565) when the Cross triumphed over the Crescent, has been celebrated, however, not on the 8th of September, but on the 1st Sunday after that date in Valletta, and the Sunday after that at Vittoriosa and Cospicua, while on the following Sunday the celebration takes place at Sliema and Zabbar.

In Valletta, the St. George's Square and Str. Reale, are worth seeing on this occasion.

ulous effigy of the B. V. Mary, venerated in that shrine excavated out of the rock. 173 778 788

ALL SOULS' DAY

2nd November

769 796 In Malta, the same as in any other Roman Catholic country, a feast is also celebrated for the dead, and the Cemeteries especially that of the "Addolorata," which ranks amongst the finest in Europe, are, on the 1st and 2nd of November the favourite resort of nearly the whole population of the towns and of the neighbouring villages.

Amidst mournful tingling and tolling of the church bells, countless inhabitants, mostly clad in the habiliments of grief, and murmuring prayers, are seen wending their way to the Cemetery. Arrived

769 there they proceed to the tombs of
796 their departed dear ones.

[782] Here a widow and orphans are seen knelt in prayer at the vault of their respective husband and father, or perhaps some daughters at the resting place of their ever lost mother or father. There some father and mother contemplating the last abode of their beloved son in whom they had placed their future hopes; they are all there reverently and devoutly reciting prayers to the Almighty for the repose of the souls of their deceased.

The graves on these two days are very beautifully decorated. Some are literally covered by masses of flowers, some hung with wreaths and crosses woven of the loveliest blossoms, others converted into a temporary garden, with willows, cypress, and other shrubs.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The custom of strewing garlands of flowers upon the graves of the departed is derived from the ancients who used to crown the deceased with flowers in token of the shortness of life. (*) It appears also from "Pliny's Natural History," from "Cicero's Oration on Lucius Plancus" and from "Virgil's sixth Æneid," that the strewing of flowers on the graves was a funeral rite among the heathens—St. Ambrose, however, in his funeral oration on the death of Valentinian, has these words: "I will not sprinkle his grave with flowers but pour on his spirit the odour of Christ. Let others pour baskets of flowers—Christ is our lily and with this will I consecrate his relics." (†)

(*) Gough, in the introduction to his second volume of Sepulchral munuments, page 5.

(†) Brand's Popular Antiquities.

796 •769 At the *Angelus*, these devout mourners, after hours spent in prayers and in going round the cypress groves, reading the beautiful epitaphs inscribed on the rich marble tombstones and the beautiful monuments, take a last glance at the tombs, as if bidding a fond and affectionate farewell to their inanimate occupants, and then return to their city or country homes, either murmuring their prayers for the repose of the souls of the faithful departed, or talking about the many magnificent mausoleums, and the beauty of floral decorations lavished on them. The nearer the crowds approach their dwelling places the more they are reminded of the sacred day, by the mournful pealing of the bells which seem to say "Remember those you have lost, for to-day is the day of the dead."

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

It is also the custom in Malta to commemorate all Souls' day by distributing relief among the poor and needy. Collections are made for the purpose of purchasing bread and providing dinner for the poor in the lower quarters of the towns and populous centres. 796 769 735

A walk at about 11 a.m., on the 2nd of November, as far as the square in front of the Capuchins' Convent at Vittoriosa or at Floriana, or to some other place where the relief is distributed, affords not a little delight. [992]

About a hundred poor old men and women, some of whom either half crippled or blind are to be seen struggling towards the big boiler in which the dinner is being cooked, with something in the shape of a pot in their hands, each and every one eager to get his or her share of the nicely cooked dinner.

796 769 [735] When these poor creatures get their share, they go gladly back to some corner to eat what has been procured for them by the contributions received from the charitably disposed.

Before leaving the description of the celebration of All Souls' Day, it would be interesting also to mention another custom which prevails in the Island on the 2nd of November.

On this day most of the charnel-houses are thrown open and lighted up with scores of oil lamps and decked out with flowers, while crowds throng the vaults to visit the bones of their friends and relatives.

[792] The most crowded of these vaults, however, used to be that below the Capuchin church and Convent at Flo-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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riana. (*). Here the fleshless skeletons of the monks who died in the convent are dressed up in the robes which they wore during life, and arranged erect in niches along the wall. 796 769 [792]

St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny, in 998 instituted the "Commemoration of all the faithful departed" in all the monasteries of his Congregation, on the 1st of November, which was soon adopted by the whole western Church. The Council of Oxford in 1222, declared it a holiday of the second class, on which certain necessary and important kinds of work were allowed (†). In Malta however the 2nd of November is only a day of devotion. 175 796 769

(*) The opening of this vault for the public on All Soul's day has been stopped for some years past to prevent some accidents through overcrowding. Visitors, however, are allowed in at any time of the year by applying for permission to the Father Superior.

(†) Butler, "Life of Saints."

438 The many little shops
443 scattered about the village permit the women to do most of their
512 shopping near their own homes. Because of the long, hot summers
621 when food spoils quickly, they shop separately for each meal.
Their shopping trips begin on the way home from the early Mass,
[251] at about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, and continue until
[796] 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus, during the course of a day, a woman may make as many as a dozen trips to the shops as well as to the hawkers who pass through the neighbourhood. These trips are social occasions during which she comes in contact with friends and neighbours from all parts of the village, and in the process hears the village news.

275 The men are out of the village from 6 o'clock or so in the
512 morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, and
517 in the winter from about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock
621 in the evening. But summer or winter, in the late afternoon and the early evening the men gather in the clubs, wine shops and cafés. Besides the clubs and important cafés in the square, which draw men from all over the village, there are many small neighbourhood wine shops. Most have a regular clientele of friends and neighbours who spend hours together talking, playing cards and drinking tea, soft drinks or wine. Many cafés also have television. Thus, though most inhabitants of a village are in fairly frequent contact with each other, the gossip groups of the women and the wine shops of the men form local social centres which help bind neighbours more closely to one another. These neighbourhoods develop a certain group loyalty.

621 It often happens that some of the neighbourhoods in a town or
794 village are centred on small chapels. In times gone by there used
796 to be a certain amount of good-natured competition between the youngsters of these districts over the festas of the patron saints of their respective chapels. But, except on rare occasions, this rivalry never threatened the unity of the village during the annual festa of the patron saint of the parish. Frequent removals from house to house within the village have usually helped to prevent the development of disruptive sectional loyalties.

~~621~~ Since each village is also a separate parish it is not possible to
consider a village entirely as a secular community. Religion per-
● [771] meates the structure of Maltese society to an extent that makes it
[794] quite impossible to classify many institutions as either religious or secular. As a secular community, a village has no official leader, it

[p.120]

CHAPTER VIII

The Village and the Outside World

557 Every Maltese is at the centre of a large network of kin relations.
Thus, when the need arises, many people are able to move along
602 the intricate channels of consanguinity and affinity to establish
personal contact with influential persons. It has also been noted
that this network of kin can be extended artificially. Important
persons, such as politicians, police officers, high civil servants and
professionals are often invited to become godparents, marriage
witnesses and confirmation sponsors. These relationships are constantly
manipulated to bring individuals in touch with decision
makers. This gives a personal content to many official decisions.
Since most people honour the obligations of kinship, friendship
and neighbourhood, requests which appeal to these values stand
a good chance of a favourable reply. But a large network of kinsmen
557 can also be a liability to a civil servant, for the favourable
602 treatment he is expected to give a kinsman often conflicts with
647. the civil service ethic of impartiality. This can place persons in
authority in awkward positions, since the refusal of a request may
seriously affect either their personal relations or their professional
integrity. Maltese civil servants thus work under pressure which is
quite unfamiliar to their counterparts in larger, less intimately
related societies.

II

171 Another method of handling contacts with authority is through
influential patrons. By 'patron' I mean a person who uses his
557 influence to assist and protect some other person, who then
● 771. becomes his 'client'. In a Catholic society there is a strong ideological
776 basis for a system of patronage, for there is great similarity
between the function of saints and mortal patrons. Michael
Kenny points to this correspondence in his study of patronage in
Spain[1] and, in general terms, his analysis is equally applicable to

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[1] 'Patterns of Patronage in Spain', *Anthropological Quarterly*, XXXIII (January 1960), pp. 14–23.

Malta. He sees the patronage system in Spain as a pyramidal 171
structure incorporating both the natural and the spiritual worlds. 557
At the top is God, the supreme patron who is not dependent upon 771 ●
anyone. At the base are the persons who have no clients. Between
these lowly clients and God there are many different ranks of 776
patrons, each of whom has his own small pyramid of clients.
They, in turn, are clients dependent upon other higher and more
influential persons. The patrons of each rank form a group which
asks favours from one another on behalf of their clients.

The intermediaries between man and God are the saints, who
are closer to God than man is. A person who seeks to influence the 557
decision of a higher authority similarly looks for a person who,
by virtue of his kin relation or social position, is closer to the
decision maker than he. In view of the functional similarity of [192]
saints to living patrons, it should not come as a surprise that the
word for patron in Maltese is 'saint' (*qaddis*; plural *qaddisin*).
Several proverbs underline the important role that patrons play in [539]
Maltese social life. Here are two: 'Without saints you can't get to
heaven' (*Mingħajr qaddisin ma titlax il-ġenna*); and 'You can do
nothing without saints' (*Mingħajr qaddisin ma tagħmel xejn*).
Another points to the fact that any patron-client relationship is
not without obligation, even danger, for the client: 'He who
fattens you will kill you' (*Min semmnek joqtlok*).

Who are these 'saints', these men of influence? For the most
part they are people who have already been encountered, albeit in
a slightly different capacity. They are the professionals, the civil
servants and, in general, the wealthy and powerful. They are
persons, respected for their education and social standing in the
world outside the village, who can deal as equals with other
important people and decision-makers, many of whom are their
relatives and former classmates. Their patronage is sought by
individuals and groups alike. They are often asked to become god-parents, and they are called on to handle the ceremonial, business
and political relations of clubs. They are also called on to help
secure employment, building permits, hawkers licences or a long-delayed hearing at the law courts. Generally speaking, villagers
choose patrons from the circle of influential people with whom
they have the closest contact: the local professionals, the parish
priest and clergy, the important landlords, all of whom command [602]
respect outside the village. Some clients are related to their

782 silver medal, seventeen "ex-votos" of silver, and £39 10s. 6d. in cash' (*Id-devot ta Maria*,
1894). In November 1961 twenty-two gold rings and thirty-one pairs of gold ear-rings, besides sums of money, were offered as 'ex-votos' at the shrine of St Rita at St Augustine's Priory, Valletta (*Santa Rita*, 1961, p. 192).

DISCUSSION

154 The relief of anxiety is one of the basic needs of the human personality. In a religion-
782 conditioned community, such as that of the Maltese Islands, one of the most potent
defence mechanisms against life-threatening situations consists in prayer and the offer of
●771 'ex-votos' to the Godhead in order to receive deliverance in return. Perhaps what
753 underlies this aspect of human behaviour is the idea that sickness and death are punitive
761 measures from the Godhead for lapses committed by oneself, one's relatives, or one's
community. As a matter of fact, the notion that illness is sent by God as a punishment for sins is still a current folk-belief in the Maltese Islands. The same trend of thought finds expression in certain depressive psychoses where the patient shows a heightened feeling of guilt and is convinced that divine wrath has been visited upon himself and his close relatives in the form of disease or death. It appears, therefore, that the 'ex-voto' is not a mere token of gratitude for a favour received but is also a propitiatory offering to appease the offended deity and thus obtain his pardon and the removal of the punish-
154 ment. The element of sacrifice is implied in the self-denying act of surrendering a
782 precious thing in return for recovery of health or rescue from imminent death, either
materially in the shape of money or jewellery, or symbolically in the form of an ana-
171 tomical representation of one's body. Whatever the psychological motivation prompting
the offer of 'ex-votos', there is no doubt that they throw an illuminating sidelight on the part played by religious belief in the history of healing in the Maltese Islands since prehistoric times. They are also a testimony to the beneficial influence of religious *mores* (1) in satisfying the natural craving for security felt by the individual and by the community when faced with the crises of life, and (2) in maintaining morale and the will to live when the failure of medical skill tends to disorganize and destroy them. Indeed the 'ex-votos' reveal the story of the triumph of hope and faith over the trials and sufferings of countless generations of Maltese men and women who had found themselves beyond the help of contemporary science and of human assistance. It is needless to emphasize the recasting of Maltese religious beliefs after their conversion to Christianity in A.D. 60.
[178] The change from paganism to Catholicism, coupled with technical and cultural de-
velopments, has brought about a parallel modification in the conventional form of the 'votiva'—from the baked clay image, the painted panel, and the wax and silver anatomical models to the exquisite examples of the jeweller's art; but the idea behind the changed outward sign remains immutable, i.e. the anxiety-relieving value of faith in a community where belief in an all-controlling God has, for thousands of years, been the pervasive character of the warp and woof of its cultural and psychological pattern.

[Village of Gharghur]
[Village of Zurrieq]

36 include such atypically rural features as ground-floor windows[16]. In Mġarr the Church and the Jubilee Esplanade are at the centre of village organization with most of the shops, police station and dispensary close by, and through this central area pass the bus routes from Għajn Tuffieħa, to the north, and Mosta to the east. Gharghur, on the other hand, is a village of many centuries standing. Its morphology is as irregular as that of Mġarr is regular. As [171] one expects of a Maltese village the great Parish Church stands in the centre of the houses and the narrow streets - just as the Faith of the people stands in the centre of their life and work. The old streets of Gharghur grew up without any town-planning. Narrow alleys lead off to quiet courts; goat-pens, tiny shops and houses within yards of each other break the monotony of the streets in which few windows appear at ground-floor level[16]. First floor windows are seen, along with decorative balcony work and other embellishments of the yellow limestone walls. Map 6 distinguishes those parts of the village which have undergone new development, largely since 1945. The main part [491] of the work has been the cutting of a section of new road through old buildings between the Church and the recent [494] Government school. This road now carries the bus route from the Church square, the terminus, to Naxxar, and also houses the police station and the Government dispensary. Here then is the core area of the village (Map 6)

(i) a main street, carrying a regular bus route,
(ii) Church, police station, dispensary and school,
(iii) shops and bars nearby.

Turning again to Mġarr we now perceive the basic similarities of pattern (Maps 5 and 6).

In the case of ŻURRIEQ (Map 7) the same basic elements appear, though the built-up area of this village is much larger and there are additional, more urbanate, features. Bubaqra is an example of a dependent hamlet lacking the full complement of features of an independent village; it has no school, police station, etc. Żurrieq's morphological development follows the general pattern of the long-established Maltese villages with narrow, twisting streets and alleys delving seemingly at random into the built-up mass of houses, farm buildings, shops and work premises. The village is large enough to allow of secondary nuclei, particularly around churches or chapels, but the bulk of activity is focussed on the core area between Parish Church and School and in and near Churchill Square with its Band Club and Football Club premises, Lotto office[17], and shops.

000 as a means of escape (Section 1).

512 The nature of the farmer's daily timetable depends on
241 (a) the type of farm-unit involved,
234 (b) the labour force available,
(c) location,
(d) season.

The farmer's day begins, on average, between 4 a.m. and 4.30 a.m. Extremes are found in the case of herdsmen who often rise much earlier - at 2.30 a.m. in the case of the Gozitan with a large herd of cows and only a limited milking labour force, or after 5a.m. or 5.30 a.m. for a herdsman whose farm is close to an M.M.U. collection depôt. The M.M.U. require herdsmen to deliver their milk at such a depôt for transportation to the pasteurizing centre at Hamrun or, in Gozo (after 1958), to the new milk centre at Xewkija. Before this latter addition to the milk industry, which is expected to cope with all the Gozo-produced milk in both pasteurizing and other processes, it was possible for a herdsman (Case I) in north-western Gozo to have to rise as early as 12.30 a.m. Generally, in the summer, reveille for the field worker might be an hour or so earlier than in winter so that he and, even more, the herdsman might expect to begin most of his working days in darkness.

[771] The first event of the day for many country people is Mass. Some are regular attenders at one of the services between 4 and 6 a.m. Others, living further from a Church or having very heavy commitments of work, are less so. Field workers frequently take the Mass on their way to the work of the day (Case X).

[264] Breakfast is invariably a very light meal of little more than bread and tea or coffee. It is taken sometime between reveille and about 9 a.m. and does not constitute a major halt in the work of the farm. Milk producers in most cases do not breakfast until the animals are milked or even until they return with their carts from taking the churns to the M.M.U. collection depôt in the nearest village.

[264] [461] The main meal of the day is lunch, taken somewhere between 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. and followed by a siesta of up to three hours. The herdsman's siesta is less flexible than that of the farmer for a 1 p.m. afternoon milking limits the time available. The milking over, the goat-herder takes his animals out to graze on a suitable patch of waste ground or stubble until 5 or 6 pm. - or later in the summer (Case II). The milk is taken to the collection depôt with minimum loss of time especially in hot weather. In the case of the herdsman with cows there is clearly no question of grazing these animals (Case VI), except in one case (Case IX).

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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This yearly punishment is thought to have been inflicted, as our Saviour does not like any one to be born at the same time He was born!! 771 774

In order to give confirmation to this strange fancy, some of our silly females affirm that they frequently go in search of their husbands and children, and from midnight till about 4 a.m. they do not find them in the bed where they left them.

Others, who are still more superstitious, add to this foolish belief by saying that a person may get rid of this annual transformation by taking a sieve and spending from 11 o'clock at night till Christmas morning at dawn counting the holes.

We are unable to explain, goes on to say Vassalli, how this superstition got into the minds of our forefathers. We 771 774 192

771 774 192 only know that the word "Gaugau" is derived from the Syrian word *hagogo* which means a ghost and most probably was introduced here by the Phoenicians.

BOGEY-MAN

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The Bogey-man is described as a hideous animal partaking of the nature of an ox, a ram and a donkey, going about until it comes to the first house which has been unfairly possessed, in order that with its hideous cries it might frighten the inmates.

Parents and nurses are still in the habit of frightening the little ones with the Bogey-man in order to induce them to go to sleep.

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805
824
'He is January's own brother, bless him,' said the poor man. 'Quantities of rain and everyone satisfied, for February fills up all and brings riches to the peasant's house. In the month of February all mistakes are discovered. In February sow, water, and tend the small-leaved basil.'

'What a lot you know!' they all cried.

'Friend,' said March, 'what about March?'

'Days long and beautiful,' answered the peasant. 'The cold braces you like iron, and a little wind is always desirable.'

The poor man answered in this way each question of the rest of the months, letting his tongue wag in their honour, praising each one up to the skies."

The merchant, in reply to the same set of questions, complains bitterly about each month. The peasant is given a magic cloth of the sort used to cover bread, which provides him and his family with food and drink in plenty. The rich merchant receives a stick which beats him and his wife unmercifully every time it is addressed.

821
787
Apart from the expected, usual characters of the twelve months, there is a method whereby the year's weather may be foretold. The twelve days preceding Christmas Eve are known as "presages." Each day foretells the weather of its corresponding month during the forthcoming year. Here, again, is seen the shadow of Mithra—the "Great Fecundator"—no period could be more ominous than the sacred twelve days preceding his feast.

FAITH

● 771
782
Where knowledge fails or some error in complying with the traditional rules is made, Faith steps in. A farmer will send for the village priest to bless his fields when he has sown

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

at the wrong season and so set right his error. The blessing is 771
accompanied by the burning of leaves of the wild olive which 782
have been blessed in Holy Week. Blessing, accompanied by [226]
sacred "fumigation," is very widely used—by fishermen to
ensure a good catch, by newly married folk to ensure a happy [585]
house.

GETTING MARRIED

Zeppu and Grez will think long and seriously before they 584
get married. In an island where poverty is the rule rather than [735]
the exception, and there is no "dole," there can be no haphazard mating. Zeppu will wait until he has a sufficient competence and Grez will contribute her share of the common resources in the form of a "dot" which she, herself, has earned and saved. Until very recently all marriages were arranged by a professional "go-between"—an old woman wise in the ways of the world and in suitable matings. Even now there is little choice left to the girl.

In this matter of marriage, so hedged about with Christian 584
law and custom, the Old Things still command a place. Their 824
hands are perhaps more apparent than in the marriage customs of all other countries—themselves pagan enough in origin.

In the story which has been quoted the month of February is praised, amongst other reasons, because it is then that the "small-leaved basil" is tended and watered. The reference might be rendered "In the Spring a young man's fancy . . ." for the sweet basil is the sign and symbol that a marriageable girl awaits a suitor.

The small bush, either of basil or of the Madonna rose,
is carefully tended and placed on the sill of an upper window.
A well-grown plant is an indication that the maiden will make [787]
a good wife and mother.

A suitor, seeing the "marriage bush" at an upper window,

174 which conferred on him “such Wisdom, Prowess, and good
584 fortune . . . that Fame and Prosperity always attended him
825 thereafter.” Tennyson, describing his mystic Lady of the
Lake, has:

> And o'er her breast floated the Sacred Fish.

The Saviour Himself was symbolized by the early Christians as a fish. Julius Africanus, an early Christian writer, said of Christ that He was the Great Fish, caught by the Hook of God, whose flesh nourishes the whole world.[1]

This bridal fish, then, may be in some sense a sacramental offering as well as a mere symbol.

584 The anointing of the bride's lips is yet another custom
789 which, like the miniature “garden inclosed” of the marriage-
828 able girl, recalls the Canticle of Canticles:

> Thy lips my spouse are as a dropping honeycomb,
> honey and milk are under thy tongue. . . .[2]

585 The whole of this marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the
174 old Fertility cults—the cakes, sweetmeats, nuts, grain, all in
honour of the fertile Mother whose bountiful Earth is carried
in a bowl bearing effigies of the bride and bridegroom whom
it is hoped she will bless with her own fecundity and riches.

EVERYDAY HABITS

771 Grez, the housewife, will go about her daily tasks carefully
788 following a thousand small rules, most of which have their
English parallels. She will never cut a loaf without first making
the Sign of the Cross on it with forefinger or knife. If the
loaf falls to the ground, she will kiss it by way of asking
pardon. She will not sweep her house after sunset for fear of
[754] sweeping away good fortune. She will take care not to throw
her “combings” out of doors. Should anyone wish her ill it

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[1] *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

[2] *Song of Solomon*, IV, ii.

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771 ● 788 [754] will only be necessary for a "wise woman" or witch to spit on the hair while uttering a curse to bring misfortune upon the head which nourished it.

Grez will be careful not to laugh too heartily on a Friday—when the memory of the Crucifixion should make all sad. She will make the Sign of the Cross on leaving her house, on entering any vehicle or boat for no matter how short a journey, on cutting a piece of new cloth, before her baby's mouth when it yawns—so that evil spirits may not enter. [826] On meeting a deformed or maimed person she will sign her corresponding limb or part of her body with the Cross.

771 [824] When she brings flowers into her house she will be as careful to exclude the acacia as any West-country woman to avoid "may" or whitethorn, for the spiky Maltese acacia is the "thorn" of Palestine wherewith the Saviour was crowned.

These are but a few of the small ways in which the peasant woman pays a somewhat mixed homage to the Old Things as well as to the tenets of her Faith. In her favour it may be said that her "superstitions" are more logical than those of such folk who habitually "touch wood" or object to a third cigarette from one match.

THE FESTAS

796 The Festa, primarily a religious festival and a Holy Day of Obligation, provides the only relaxation for a hardworking and frugal people. Such simple pleasures as a meal of unaccustomed meat, a little wine, processions, and fireworks give full rein to the most lovable, childlike side of the national character. The importance attaching to these periodical holidays is well illustrated by an old rhyme: [585] [675]

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the relatives and the staining of the doors. Provision was 764
made for the deceased's comfort in the other life by the 174
breaking of his pottery—thus releasing the *manes* to accompany him in death.

The wake was a death feast originally designed to provide a sort of communion with the departed. Similarly, the cutting [302]
of the mourner's hair was intended to furnish a ritual link with the dead. Primitive tribes express the same idea in cannibalism and in funeral mutilations.

The cutting of the animals' tails was very probably a 765
version of the sacrifice in expiation of the dead man's sins.

> ". . . Then they brought out a splendid white horse, and the priest cut some hair from its mane and tail and burned it on the altar, shouting 'A sacrifice!' . . . 'I saw poor Weland's face through the smoke, and I couldn't help laughing . . .' says Puck."[1]

Based on fear, as these "ancient fictions" were, they yet hid certain eternal truths.

The Old Things, with their complicated rituals, their 771
theologies of terror, served their turn in leading mankind 178
some distance on his upward march. Nowhere is their vague disembodied presence more felt than in Malta's rapidly dwindling countryside, where every stone may well have housed one of their altars. Not all of the Old Things were evil. The good ones have been adopted by Mother Church; but there remain those restless, evil ones who have never bowed down to the Nazarene. They hide in the shadows, angry and resentful.

THE HOUR OF THE OLD THINGS

Let us go out, at the third or fourth hour after midnight. 788
Away from the clamorous ballrooms or the cramped city of 178

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[1] *Puck of Pook's Hill.*

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she honours and calls upon in her sister's hour of need. The 844
tale is told of the birth-rose which was forgotten. Triplets 824
were born. Later the rose was found, having grown on its
withered stem three healthy branches bearing fresh, green
leaves. Whatever deep significance attached originally to the
birth-rose, the custom has a beauty of its own.

The next thought is for the little one's future. A gold ring 844
or some other golden object is placed in the water in which 823
he or she is washed, in order, they say, that riches will not be
lacking. At one time, it may be, something of more value than
the dross of riches was sought, for gold was the symbol of
wisdom and a bright understanding long before it had value
as currency.

It will be well if the baby is not red-headed, for the red- 826
headed child will inevitably be known as "Son of the Wind," [551]
"Daughter of the alcove," or even more scurrilously, "Child
of the priest." This readiness to doubt the paternity of poor
little "Copper-knob" seems to indicate that, in spite of the
blue or grey eyes of the peasants, the Maltese have always
been an essentially brunette people. The slur may be no older
than the occupation of the priestly knights, when celibacy
must frequently have proved too much for the young
"Aryans" of the Teutonic Langues. It may date back to the
much earlier time of red-bearded Ullyses. It may, again, be [822]
nothing more than a rendering of "love-child"—for red has
always been the colour of Love—sacred to Astoreth, Isis, and
Venus.

Yet another of the Old Things has a hand in birth. Even 774
to-day it is accounted by some a serious matter for a child 777
to be born on Christmas Eve. Such a child is in danger of
becoming a *Gaugau*—one whose spirit will leave its body
every Christmas Eve—"They then go out and wander all
over the island frightening people with their groanings.
After thus performing these ghostly pranks for some hours,

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

774 these transformed creatures return home towards dawn quite
777 exhausted and awake in the morning quite unconscious of
their nocturnal expedition."[1] The derivation of the word
[192] *Gaugau* has been given as the Syrian *Hagogo*, a ghost; but
surely the *Gaugau* is more than a simple ghost. His behaviour
stamps him as a vampire. Busuttil says that "the yearly
[177] punishment" is thought to be inflicted because Christ "does
not like anyone to be born at the same time he was born,"
and then suggests that the *Gaugau* came into Malta with
774 the Phoenicians. The Phoenician origin and the popular
777 explanation seem quite irreconcilable until it is recalled
774 that—

796

> "It is well known that in the transition from paganry to Christianity the Christian clergy, finding it impossible to wean the populace from old customs or to eradicate primitive beliefs, discreetly met the situation by diverting pagan festivals to the honour of Christ. It is not so generally known that December 25th, the Christmas Day of Christendom, was necessarily thus fixed for the reason that this date was the birthday of Mithra, and that the obdurate heathen flatly refused to relinquish their cherished festival. It was not until A.D. 400 that the Church Fathers accepted the inevitable, and tactfully adopted the Birthday of Mithra as the official Birthday of Christianity. At the beginning of the fifth century, S. Chrysostom, referring to the festival of the pagan Sun god, wrote: 'On this day also the birthday of Christ *was lately fixed* at Rome in order that, while the heathens were busy with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their sacred rites undisturbed. They call this (December 25th) the birthday of the Invincible One (Mithra); but who is so invincible as the Lord? They call

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[1] BUSUTTIL, *Holiday Customs in Malta.*

174

it the Birthday of the Solar Disc; but Christ is the Sun 774
of Righteousness' " (S. HEATH, *Romance of Symbolism*).[1] 777
796

We cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, connect the vampire *Gaugau* with Christianity; but with Mithra the affair becomes quite different. It is not difficult to connect a child born on the eve of the Birth-feast of the bloodthirsty Mithra with something more terrible than "ghostly pranks." It is comforting to hear that the vampire *Gaugau* is now capable of nothing worse than "frightening people with his groanings!"

There was a time before the dread broom of "Progress" 846
began to sweep all peasant customs—good as well as bad— 777
before it, when the newly-delivered mother kept carefully to 787
her house during forty days for fear of meeting another mother who had been confined on the same day. It was believed that of two such women meeting within forty days of their confinement, one would suffer a great misfortune. Two possible [174]
reasons for this quaint prohibition are apparent. It was either some remnant of a primitive, levitical period of purification or a means of ensuring that the mother wasted no time gossiping at the doorway or in the market place, to the neglect of her young family.

GROWING UP

With the child's first birthday comes the '*uccija*, or "choosing." 852
A tray or basket is filled with an assortment of articles repre- 787
senting trades and professions—a book, a rosary, a candle, an inkstand, a sword—whichever the baby first picks up will indicate its bent in life. This simple means of divination is widespread, and little need be said of it except that some grains of corn are sometimes introduced as a symbol of generosity, suggesting that at one time the '*uccija* decided

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[1] H. BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black crape. 764

(*d*) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(*e*) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and 764
watch the corpse for the whole night. This custom prevails 767
mostly in Gozo. In old days official female mourners, named
neũũieha (from *neûûah*, " to cry ") were employed. The prac- [175]
tice was abolished in Malta during the plague of A.D. 1676.[1] [731]
Sicilians employed mourners called Praeficae or Reputatrices, [171]
a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese female mourners is described by Abela as follows :—

> They wore trailing veils (*kurkâr*), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their mourning.

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(*f*) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the [354]
Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This [765]
is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is [775]
in this way prevented from haunting the house. In some of [788]
the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth, and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the

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[1] Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 794. [113]

The belief still lingers that the
764 ●775 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul of the departed remains above the flame.

764 735 171 (*g*) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 178 [177] [192] Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century passed through wide changes and, as in other European countries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 292 178 184 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700. Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 Family mourning is generally observed as follows :—

178 I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

[562] II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

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[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

175 rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural
harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans successively
648 occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that
Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually
nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the
Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were
replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of
the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed
successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–
1283), the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. In 1530,
[701] Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their protesting
inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military
Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles
vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on
Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800
Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to
Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then
they have remained a British possession.

175 The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was
● 776 the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he
stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the
795 people to Christianity. Whether he converted many is a moot
[797] point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor,
Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. The Maltese are intensely
[796] proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna
San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the principal
patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a
national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local
legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his
gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there
was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during
175 the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, re-established
793 and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to
795 arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed
while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of
Maltese bishops dates from this period.

175 Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the
Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered
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[1] Acts 27 and 28.

communities where they became leaders, and the source of many 178
new ideas and customs. In Għaxaq, for example, I found that a 875
teacher born in Valletta had been the one to introduce the
custom of decorating the streets for the festa.

It is, of course, extremely difficult, if not impossible, to discover 174
the motives which prompted people to choose a particular 178
partit. The only possible clue to at least one set of reasons may well 463
lie in the correlation between occupational class and partit
affiliation. Apart from this class alignment, I found no evidence in 621
Farruġ, or any other village so divided, of any pre-existing structural
division out of which these festa partiti might have developed.
In view of the way membership is inherited, it would
appear that the position which members of the great-grandfather
generation occupied in the village class structure in some way
influenced their choice of partit. There is some evidence for this,
although not a great deal, to be found in the genealogies of the
present generation. Frequent marriages with outsiders, emigration
and the changing employment structure of the country over
the past six decades have blurred this picture considerably.

But it is certainly possible that the new cult appealed more to 174
those persons who held no office in the older confraternities and
who performed no official functions in connection with the celebration 178
of the annual festa of the village patron. Through the new 621
cult they could gain offices and perform functions which hitherto
had been monopolized by the circle of the village elite who
surrounded the parish priest. Some informants have also mentioned
that young men were particularly attracted to the new
cult. In this we can see the universal resistance of the young to the
authority of their elders, for by becoming active in the new cult,
they were asserting their independence from the controls of the
older generation. Were the secondary partiti then a form of
protest against the established authority, a sort of underdogs'
party?

Other facts appear to support the hypothesis that the foundation 174
of the secondary partiti was in some way related to a wider 476
working-class movement. Many of the partiti are dedicated to St. 621
Joseph, the patron saint of the working classes who were beginning 776
to organize themselves into formal associations throughout 794
Europe. In Malta there are many signs that this devotion was very
strong. In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to 580

In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to
103 him,[1] after 1850 (in Naxxar, Gharghur, Kirkop and Xaghra, for
175 example) he was chosen as patron of the new parish churches of
621, Kalkara, Qala and Msida. Moreover, four parishes have secondary
776 feasts dedicated to him (Rabat, Għaxaq, Kirkop and Żebbuġ).
794 Besides these Gharghur and Siġġiewi had St. Joseph partiti which
796 succumbed to the 1935 Church regulations.

The identification of secondary partiti in general with St.
621 Joseph is also perhaps reflected in the colour most have chosen as
794 their symbol. It is blue, the colour of the banner of the Con-
822 fraternity of St. Joseph. The supporters of many secondary partiti, even if their saint is the Virgin Mary, wave blue scarves about to show their loyalty to it. Their rivals display red scarves, after the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose members support the titular saint.

463 The correlation between partiti and occupational class is also
621 shown in the high proportion of village priests who are sons of
793, families supporting the titular feasts. I once asked the leader of a
794 secondary partit why this was so. He replied that it was only natural since the families of the titular partiti were in much closer contact with the parish priest. Thus their sons, rather than those of rivals, more often became his young helpers and altar boys and received the necessary recommendations to the seminary and other church-run schools. From there, some became priests, and others assumed positions of leadership with the various associations. Other informants suggested it was because the 'best' families support the titular saints, and therefore can afford the additional school fees and loss of earning power that are involved in having their sons become priests.

Of the 41 priests born and now resident in Żurrieq, Kirkop, Qrendi, Mqabba, Luqa, Għaxaq and Żebbuġ, 33 (80 per cent) are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. This percentage gains added importance by the fact that in each of these villages the secondary partit is either equal to or larger than the titular partit. The exception is Żebbuġ, where the secondary partit is decidedly smaller than the titular one. In Farruġ, though the local priest is from a St. Roque family, all the offices connected with the parish church, and 23 of the 30 key positions with Catholic Action, the Football Club and the Labour Committee, are in the hands of St. Martin supporters. Thus the members of titular partiti are not only closer to established authority, they often become part of it.

[1] [i.e. St. Joseph.—Analyst]

[p. 120]

CHAPTER VIII

The Village and the Outside World

557 Every Maltese is at the centre of a large network of kin relations.
Thus, when the need arises, many people are able to move along
602 the intricate channels of consanguinity and affinity to establish
personal contact with influential persons. It has also been noted
that this network of kin can be extended artificially. Important
persons, such as politicians, police officers, high civil servants and
professionals are often invited to become godparents, marriage
witnesses and confirmation sponsors. These relationships are constantly
manipulated to bring individuals in touch with decision
makers. This gives a personal content to many official decisions.
Since most people honour the obligations of kinship, friendship
and neighbourhood, requests which appeal to these values stand
a good chance of a favourable reply. But a large network of kinsmen
557 can also be a liability to a civil servant, for the favourable
602 treatment he is expected to give a kinsman often conflicts with
647 the civil service ethic of impartiality. This can place persons in
authority in awkward positions, since the refusal of a request may
seriously affect either their personal relations or their professional
integrity. Maltese civil servants thus work under pressure which is
quite unfamiliar to their counterparts in larger, less intimately
related societies.

II

171 Another method of handling contacts with authority is through
557 influential patrons. By 'patron' I mean a person who uses his
influence to assist and protect some other person, who then
771 becomes his 'client'. In a Catholic society there is a strong ideo-
● 776 logical basis for a system of patronage, for there is great similarity
between the function of saints and mortal patrons. Michael
Kenny points to this correspondence in his study of patronage in
Spain[1] and, in general terms, his analysis is equally applicable to

[1] 'Patterns of Patronage in Spain', *Anthropological Quarterly*, XXXIII (January 1960), pp. 14-23.

Malta. He sees the patronage system in Spain as a pyramidal 171
structure incorporating both the natural and the spiritual worlds. 557
At the top is God, the supreme patron who is not dependent upon 771
anyone. At the base are the persons who have no clients. Between
these lowly clients and God there are many different ranks of 776 ●
patrons, each of whom has his own small pyramid of clients.
They, in turn, are clients dependent upon other higher and more
influential persons. The patrons of each rank form a group which
asks favours from one another on behalf of their clients.

The intermediaries between man and God are the saints, who
are closer to God than man is. A person who seeks to influence the 557
decision of a higher authority similarly looks for a person who,
by virtue of his kin relation or social position, is closer to the
decision maker than he. In view of the functional similarity of [192]
saints to living patrons, it should not come as a surprise that the
word for patron in Maltese is 'saint' (*qaddis*; plural *qaddisin*).
Several proverbs underline the important role that patrons play in [539]
Maltese social life. Here are two: 'Without saints you can't get to
heaven' (*Minghajr qaddisin ma titlax il-ġenna*); and 'You can do
nothing without saints' (*Mingħajr qaddisin ma tagħmel xejn*).
Another points to the fact that any patron-client relationship is
not without obligation, even danger, for the client: 'He who
fattens you will kill you' (*Min semmnek joqtlok*).

Who are these 'saints', these men of influence? For the most part they are people who have already been encountered, albeit in a slightly different capacity. They are the professionals, the civil servants and, in general, the wealthy and powerful. They are persons, respected for their education and social standing in the world outside the village, who can deal as equals with other important people and decision-makers, many of whom are their relatives and former classmates. Their patronage is sought by individuals and groups alike. They are often asked to become godparents, and they are called on to handle the ceremonial, business and political relations of clubs. They are also called on to help secure employment, building permits, hawkers licences or a long-delayed hearing at the law courts. Generally speaking, villagers choose patrons from the circle of influential people with whom they have the closest contact: the local professionals, the parish
priest and clergy, the important landlords, all of whom command [602]
respect outside the village. Some clients are related to their

[p.144]

Appendix A

Festa and Band Club Partiti

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	Titular Feast	*Band Club*	*Secondary Feast*	*Band Club*
A. FESTA AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
GHAXAQ	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
GUDJA[1]	O/L of the Rosary	'La Stella'	O/L of Consolation	'O/L of Consolation'
KIRKOP	St. Leonard	'St. Leonard'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
LUQA	St. Andrew	'St. Andrew'	O/L of Consolation	'Union'
MQABBA	The Assumption	'King George V'	O/L of the Lily	'Lily'
QRENDI	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	O/L of Lourdes	'Lourdes'
RABAT	St. Paul	'Count Roger'	St. Joseph[2] (Franciscans)	'L'Isle Adam'
VITTORIOSA	St. Lawrence	'Duke of Edinburgh'	St. Dominic[2] (Dominicans)	'Prince of Wales'
ŻEBBUĠ	St. Philip	'St. Philip' 'St. Philip's Festivities and Social Club'	St. Joseph	'De Rohan'
ŻURRIEQ	St. Catherine	'St. Catherine'	O/L of Mount Carmel	'Queen Victoria'
B. INTER PARISH AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
QORMI	St. George	'St. George'	St. Sebastian	'Pinto'
RABAT, GOZO	The Assumption	'Leone'	St. George	'La Stella'
SLIEMA	Stella Maris	'Stella Maris'	Sacred Heart	'Sliema'
VALLETTA	St. Paul	'La Vallette'	St. Dominic[3] (Dominicans)	'King's Own'

[776]

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[1] Both saints are secondary; the titular is the Assumption of Our Lady.

[2] The devotion is centred on a church in the parish that is run by regular clergy. The rivalry is thus classified midway between A and B.

[3] Though this is the main feast, the titular of the parish is Our Lady of Porto Salvo.

from the gala coach of the dignitaries 796
of the Island to the peasant's cart. 825
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Very many inquiries have been made into the origin of the blessing of quadrupeds on this festival, none of which, however, has proved satisfactory.

That St. Anthony has been long re- 776
cognized as the patron and protector 825
of the lower animals, and particularly of pigs, is a well established fact.

Fuller, in his "Worthies." says: 776
"St. Anthony is universally known as 825
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the patron of hogs, having in all pictures a pig for his attendant, though for what reason is unknown, except because being a hermit, and having a cell or hole digged in the earth, and feeding principally on roots, he and the hogs were both alike in their diet and lodgings."

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When St. Anthony was living in the 173
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173 •776 825 desert, away from the rumours of the world, for the only object of serving God, the devil tried all his means to tempt the old hermit and win him to himself—the Saint, however, always held fast and kept faithful to God. The fiend, seeing that all his efforts were vain, took to frightning and tormenting the good hermit. On several occasions he appeared to him amidst a flock of wild beasts. Anthony, however, was never frightened, he soon invoked the name of our Lord and signed the cross for help, and the devil enraged was always obliged to leave him unhurt.

796 825 173 This is probably the reason why animals are blessed on St' Anthony's day, so as to keep off the devil from them, and thus man is less liable to be injured or hurt by them.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* time which was the beginning of May? —I do not believe that a satisfactory explanation of these circumstances has yet been given by any of the antiquaries. It was perhaps to transfer the practice or custom of lighting these fires from a Pagan to a Christian object. 796 372 171 174 [114]

The Nativity of St. John the Baptist was a great and solemn festival of the Church, like those of the other great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in the early ages, commemorated with appropriated ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these was probably introduced a large and 796 372 [776] [074]

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(1796)

unusual exhibition of lights to typify the Baptist who, in the Gospel, is called by the Saviour himself "A burning shining Light." What could have been more natural than that the early Christian Authorities would have directed the people to light their anniversary fires on the eve of this Saint, and thus give to the national custom a Christian instead of a Pagan significance? To this feeling, most likely is due the transfer of the fires to the 23rd. of June and, perhaps too, this perpetuation to this day amongst the people.

Gebelin, in his "Allegories Orientales" accounts in the following manner for the custom of making fires on Midsummer Eve.

"Can one" says he " omit to mention here the St. John's fires, those sacred fires kindled about midnight, on the

527 These races were first held on St.
541 Roque's Feast day in consequence of
•776 the working of miraculous cures of
755 the plague by St. Roque who was
796 specially invoked by persons afflicted,
195 while stricken himself with the desease,
at Piacenza, in Italy.

THE "VITTORIA"

527 *Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary*

[796] The 8th. of September, the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is no doubt the grandest and the most popular day for the people of these Islands.

Both the streets and church of Senglea—the town in which the feast is celebrated—present on this occasion a most lively appearance.

[784) The grand illumination and the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

liberation of the Maltese from the yoke 527
of the Saracens by Count Roger of 186 [175]
Normandy in the year 1090. {648}

A liberal programme is now annually arranged by the Committee embracing every kind of attraction at Notabile.

PILGRIMAGES TO MELLEHA (*) 778

On the last two Sundays of Septem- 788
ber, every year, the roads leading to Melleha are alive with merry parties, especially country people, on their way to that village, in order to visit the

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(*) Melleha is a village some 10½ miles distant [361]
from Valletta, and about an hour's ride from St. Paul's Bay. It is renowned for the very old, perhaps the oldest, Sanctuary in the world, dedicated to the
B. Virgin. This Sanctuary was founded by St. Paul, [776] ●
the great Apostle of the Gentiles, while he was in Malta (58 A. D.) for the convenience of the faithful
who lived in those neighbourhoods. Over the small [532]
altar is a picture of St. Mary, covering another old drawing of the same, executed by St. Luke.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

771 774 192 only know that the word "Gaugau" is derived from the Syrian word *hagogo* which means a ghost and most probably was introduced here by the Phoenicians.

BOGEY-MAN

• 776 The ancient Maltese thought, and insisted upon others believing, that the Bogey-man wanders about our streets during the winter nights.

The Bogey-man is described as a hideous animal partaking of the nature of an ox, a ram and a donkey, going about until it comes to the first house which has been unfairly possessed, in order that with its hideous cries it might frighten the inmates.

Parents and nurses are still in the habit of frightening the little ones with the Bogey-man in order to induce them to go to sleep.

THE GHOST OF THE HOUSE

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825 Some of our people believe in what they call *Il Hâres*—and some of our country-folk still say that this *hâres* exists in the shape af an old black serpent which guards the house and bestows riches and good luck on the children born in that house.

It is held extremely unlucky to kill the old black serpent, as after its death great misfortunes will befall the members of the family.

GOOD LUCK

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[777] Many believe in their fortune or luck (especially maidens) according to the figures formed by melted lead.

On the Feast of St. John—24th of June—some lead is melted and immediately poured into a vessel containing

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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not the trade the child was to follow, but the deity whose particular care the child should be. Corn, sacred to Ceres the Earth-Mother, alone remains.

●776
It will not, unfortunately, be long before the little Maltese makes the acquaintance of the Bogey-man. He is called *Babau*, and differs very little from the English bogey-man. He is black, and lurks in corners, cupboards, behind trees, and in ill-lit streets. Sometimes he will assume the shape of an ox, a ram, or a homely donkey. In Malta he has one virtue. He prefers to haunt those whose possessions have been unfairly come by. If Grez and Zeppu go in fear of *Babau* they have in the *Hares* a friend and protector.

Il Hares—for thus he, or it, is always referred to—takes many forms and performs a variety of tasks. It is possible that *Hares* is the generic name for several spirits, some good, some evil; but the children's *Hares* is our old friend Puck, or Robin Goodfellow. He appears to good children in the form of a little black dwarf, and taking them by the hand leads them off to play with him in some hidden world of his own where fair gardens, luscious sweetmeats, and marvellous toys abound. Only one condition attaches to these secret visits: the *Hares* must never be betrayed to parents or grown-ups. Should his visits be discussed with adults the gates of his magic world are for ever shut upon the garrulous child. I know a grown woman, sensible and devout, who tells of meeting the little black *Hares* frequently when she was a child. She firmly believes in him.

For the adult the *Hares* is a more fearsome creature. Some say that every household has its own particular guardian spirit, sometimes materialized as a black snake. The snake must be treated with respect. If it is injured, calamity will overtake the house and all who dwell in it. This snake would seem to be African in origin. The Bantu races, notably the Zulus, believe that their guardian spirits take upon them the body of a black snake.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

There is a *Hares*, too, who guards all hidden treasure. 776● If you are a deserving person he will lead you to the treasure; but you must never, on pain of death by strangulation, tell anyone how you discovered it.

There are persistent tales in Malta of a priceless treasure, hidden by the builders of the prehistoric temples. This treasure is known as "The Golden Bull," and is guarded by a most terrible and powerful *Hares*. No one has ever found it because, though some few have been selected by the *Hares* to be led to its hiding place, they have been unable to keep his secret, and he has strangled them together with the friends in whom they have confided.

There seems little reason to doubt that the Golden Bull is [174] a legacy of the old gods—possibly of Mithra or Osiris—and that the great snake-like *Hares* who guards the treasure is no other than Set, guardian of the underworld. Perhaps the Bull exists, hidden deep in one of Malta's many caves.

There may be peasants who know where it is. Amongst the moor-folk of Devon and the peasants of Ireland there are many who know the whereabouts of the "crocks of gold," buried by the Pixies and the leprechauns; but none would dare disturb "Fairy Gold." So it is with the Maltese peasant. He would be a bold man who had dealings with the "Golden Bull."

From a very tender age the little Maltese will be occupied 538 in learning his Catechism and the significance of the rites and [795] ceremonies of his faith. Though busied in this way there will be time, in the long winter evenings, for "Fairy Tales." Usually one member of the family will be able to read. If none [212] can read someone will certainly know all the old tales and legends by heart, and will be expert in the correct way of recounting them. The family will gather round the story-teller and all, from grandmother to youngest grandchild, will listen with close attention to tales which many of them have heard hundreds of times.

241 Husbandmen would still consider that queer operation
823 as a medium of impregnation (*Dukkar*). This strange
[171] usage may, however, be traced amongst the *fellahin* of Upper Egypt, where, as Professor Sayce points out in his contribution to the *Cairene and Upper Egypt Folklore* (Folklore, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1920, p. 200) phallic symbols are still hung up to protect the melons and sugar-cane. The old Maltese practice of hanging up stones to the jujube-tree may therefore be considered as a modification of this early phallic worship."[1]

The sense contained in these practices requires no elucidation. The horticulturist with his camel hair brush does no better than the peasant with the male carob flowers. The votive stones are a silent appeal to the oldest and greatest of the Old Things, to the All-Father, Giver of Life and Fertility, whose ancient and enduring image, from Drizzlecombe in Devon to the High Places of Melanesia, is the Rock or Stone without shape—the altar of "The Unknown God"—"Thou art Peter and upon this Rock. . . ."

[538] Traces of this rock-cult are plentiful enough in Maltese folklore. Children who throw stones into a well or into the sea will one day have to gather them up by their eyelashes. The "old stones" (i.e. *menhir*) resent being moved and are, for that reason, twice as heavy as ordinary stones.

751 "St. Paul's tongue"—a valuable amulet against the evil-
825 eye and against all venoms—takes the form of fossilized teeth
●776 found in the ancient rocks. The blessed tongue which preached the gospel of the Redeemer is enshrined for ever in rock, the symbol of the Father.

776 St. Paul's rock-cell, in which he is reputed to have lived,
823 has the miraculous property that no matter how much of the rock is cut away its bulk grows no less—a clear expression

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[1] Lecture by Mr. Cremona at the University of Malta in 1922.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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of the eternal and immutable nature of the All-Father whose symbol the rock is. 776 823

THE MONTHS

The Maltese, like the Scandinavians and the Russians, personify the months, giving to each a human character in keeping with its weather. A delightful little story called "The Gifts of the Months" serves the dual purpose of impressing the qualities of each month upon the listener, while stressing the importance of accepting the best qualities in every season without complaining about the disadvantages. Two brothers, one a poor peasant, the other a rich merchant, each meet the twelve months. On being questioned as to what people say about the months in his part of the country, the peasant recites a number of couplets in praise of each month: 539 805 821

> " 'Friend,' said January, 'what do people say about January in your part of the world?'[1]
>
> The poor man answered, 'It is a month of rain and of plenty. Vegetables grow and all that your heart can desire.'
>
> 'Do you know any rhymes about it?' asked January.
>
> 'Just imagine asking!' cried the poor man. 'As many as ever you like.'
>
> 'Tell me some, please,' said January.
>
> The poor man then repeated the three following: 'January sits in the cosiest nook in the house. A warm January makes full barns in the summer. The January moon brings the girls out of the caves for they think it is daylight.'
>
> January smiled and the others laughed. Then February took up the running. 'Friend, what do they say about February?'

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

796 heathen origin. They are obviously connected with the
372 worship of the sun, and were doubtless practised long
171 before the Baptist was born. In old heathen times the
summer and winter solstices were the two greatest and
most widespread festivals in Europe.

These fires (says another writer) are evidently a remnant of the ancient Bel fires of the Druids, at the *Beil* time, which was at the beginning of May. But why do they chiefly occur on the night before the festival of the Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* time which was the beginning of May? I do not believe that a satisfactory explanation of these circumstances has yet been given by any of the antiquaries. It was perhaps to transfer the practice or custom of lighting these fires from a pagan to a Christian object.

796 The Nativity of St. John Baptist was a great and
372 solemn festival of the Church, like those of the other
● 776 great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in
the early ages, commemorated with appropriate ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the Patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these was probably introduced a large and unusual exhibition of lights to typify the Baptist who, in the Gospel, is called by the Saviour himself 'A burning, shining light.' What could have been more natural than that the early Christian authorities would have directed the people to light their anniversary fires on the eve of this Saint, and thus give to the national custom a Christian instead of a pagan significance? To this feeling, most likely, is due the transfer of the fires to June 23rd, and perhaps, too, this perpetuation to this day amongst the people.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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788 palaces and "prairie oysters." Out into the still, shadowed
178 villages. Not those which fringe the military roads, but those lying in quiet hollows, away from the smell of petrol.

Let us sit for a while on some low wall and be silent.

It will seem that all the world sleeps. Only the darkness beneath walls and in windows and deep-cut doorways will be astir with a ghostly wakefulness. We shall see the little, sleeping houses and the quiet fields, stretching out in gentle waves of purple shadow and moonlit stone. There will be a wayside shrine, with an oil lamp burning fitfully in the light wind that heralds "Dawn's left hand." The sculptured saint will be deep in shadow save for the halo of yellow light painting strange meaning on the graven face, now smiling, now troubled.

Without warning the silence will be riven by the great shout of Musta's bell—like the voice of some titanic muezzin, calling from the minaret of heaven. The voices of all the bells will call, then, to each other. Some deep, manly baritones. Some high-pitched, boyish trebles. Some sweet and womanly, others cracked and querulous like the shrill chatter of crones.

The darkness will seem to stir ominously. The votive flame will flicker madly and die almost away. The protecting ox-horns above dim windows will seem to be shaken by an unseen hand. At last the bells will be silent, but there is no more stillness. All about us, from within every squat dwelling, there comes a murmuring—eerie, guttural, rising and falling in unfamiliar cadence—the voices of the peasants praying.

•[776] It is "The Hour of the Departed," when every uneasy soul, every wandering sprite and *hares* is free to be abroad; when every devout peasant stirs restlessly at the sound of the bells, wakes and prays that the Restless Ones may be granted peace and that the Evil Ones be kept at bay.

The Old Things are awake. In every patch of darkness

527 which time the Senators, as well as the
431 knights and other great men, brought
171 gifts to the Emperor, and in his absence
to the Capitol (1).

527 It is also the custom in some places
777 of Malta for men to go about strewing
some lime in the door-ways on New Year's day. Some idea of good luck may perhaps be associated with the lime; there is no tradition, however, as far as is known, whence this custom arose.

527 New Year's greetings in the shape
203 of visiting cards, are very profusely exchanged on this occasion, especially among the better classes.

527 Groups of street musicians go from
431 house to house, either on the last day
533 of the old year or on the morning of

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(1) Capitol, the temple of Jupiter at Rome built on the top of a hill.

THE GHOST OF THE HOUSE

776 • 777 825 Some of our people believe in what they call *Il Hâres*—and some of our country-folk still say that this *hâres* exists in the shape af an old black serpent which guards the house and bestows riches and good luck on the children born in that house.

It is held extremely unlucky to kill the old black serpent, as after its death great misfortunes will befall the members of the family.

GOOD LUCK

787 823 [777] Many believe in their fortune or luck (especially maidens) according to the figures formed by melted lead.

On the Feast of St. John—24th of June—some lead is melted and immediately poured into a vessel containing

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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THE ITCHING OF THE EYE

787 The itching of the eye is considered
826 as an unlucky omen. Grose, celebrated
[777] antiquarian, who collected together so many of the superstitions prevalent in his day, says: "When the right eye itches the party affected will shortly cry."

THE ITCHING OF THE HAND

Among other omens we are told that the itching of the hands signifies that they will shortly receive money.

HOWLING OF DOGS

825 A superstitious opinion vulgarly pre-
763 vails in Malta that the howling of a dog in a neighbourhood is the presage of death to any that are sick in it.

787 denotes that a friend is speaking well
826 of one: a tingling of the left, implying the opposite.

[191] The opinion, from whence this proverbial saying is derived, is of great antiquity, being thus mentioned by Pliny: "Moreover is not this an opinion generally received that when our ears do glow and tingle some there be that in our absence do talk of us?"

MEETING OF WOMEN

846 If two women who have been con-
787 fined on the same day meet before
777 forty days, one of them will suffer some misfortune either in her own person or in that of her child.

THE MONTH OF MAY

777 May is considered as the month of accidents, and consequently many be-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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lieve that those who get married during this month will be unfortunate. 777

THE CHURCH ORGAN

Many of our country people want the organ to be played during the mass which is celebrated at their wedding, for they believe that if it is not played the couple will not live long together. To show how much some of our country men believe in this superstition, my friend, Mr. P. P. Castagna, gives the following anecdote in his " Storia ta Malta." 787 585 533

Not long ago a young man went to church at Casal Chircop to get married. On finding, however, that the organist did not turn up to play during the mass, he took off his coat threw it on the floor and went out

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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THE ACACIA OR SPONGE-TREE

(Gazzia)

824 Our ancestors had a strong aversion to introducing or bringing in the acacia or sponge-tree with the other flower-plants in the house.

[963] They believed that if the acacia were brought into the house the head thereof would die within twelve months.

THE NEWT

825 Our superstitiously inclined believe that when one kills a newt and leaves its tail contorting or wagging on the floor, that tail will be cursing the parents of its destroyer!

COAL-DUST AND SOOT

• 777 529 The throwing of coal-dust or soot instead of lime before a door on New year's day betokens gloom and bad luck.

NEW YEAR'S SUPERSTITIONS

A superstitious dread still attaches to 527 763
some one of the family keeping absent 264
at dinner time on New Year's day. He who doesn't dine with his family on New Year's day is expected to die at the end of that same year.

He who eats hotch-potch soup on 527
New year's day is to gnaw the ham bones 262 787
all the rest of the year.

Those who eat cabbages on New year's day groan for a whole year.

OIL, SALT AND WINE

The spilling of oil is considered a 777
very unlucky omen by the Maltese. 787
The spilling of salt or wine, however, betokens good luck.

THROWING STONES IN A WELL

Our ancestors made children believe that if they threw stones in a well or into the sea they had to lift them up some day with their eyelashes. 787 823

THIRTEEN AT TABLE

Sitting down thirteen to dinner is considered very unlucky. 777 264 763

The notion is that one of the thirteen will die within the next twenty four hours. The origin popularly assigned to this widespread superstition is the fact that thirteen was the number at the Last Supper, Judas being the thirteenth.

SNEEZING

The custom of saying "Evviva" or "Sahha" to one who happens to sneeze 827

827 prevails in Malta as in other parts of the world. (*)

DREAMS

787 There is also a popular superstition in Malta to give interpretation to certain dreams.

The Maltese say that to dream of

[777] (a) fish betokens good luck

(b) the sea foreshews a great trouble

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[171] (*) Carolus Sigonius in his Hist. of Italy would deduce this custom from a pestilence that happened in the time of Gregory the Great (about the year 750) that proved mortal to such as sneezed.

In Brand's "Popular Antiquities" we read that the custom of saluting a person who sneezed was accounted very ancient, even in the time of Aristotle, who in his Problems has endeavoured to account for it, but knew nothing of its origin. According to him, the first men prepossessed with the ideas concerning the head as the principal seat of the soul, carried their respect to sternutation, as the most manifest and the most sensible operation of the head. Hence those several forms of compliments used on similar occasions amongst Greeks and Romans: *Long may you live, May you enjoy health.*

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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(c) corn portends bitter crying through a misfortune 787 [777]

(d) lentils signifies hunger.

COMMON AILMENTS 755

At the present day, in spite of the "march of intellect" most of the ordinary ailments of every day life have still, what are popularly termed in folk medicine, their "charm remedies" consisting in very quaint recipes which from time immemorial, have been handed down from parent to child.

The following are the complaints to which more or less eccentric remedies have always been applied.

Bleeding of the nose—A curious remedy for the bleeding of the nose is to place a key on the person's back. The key is resorted to as a charm in

she honours and calls upon in her sister's hour of need. The 844
tale is told of the birth-rose which was forgotten. Triplets 824
were born. Later the rose was found, having grown on its withered stem three healthy branches bearing fresh, green leaves. Whatever deep significance attached originally to the birth-rose, the custom has a beauty of its own.

The next thought is for the little one's future. A gold ring 844
or some other golden object is placed in the water in which 823
he or she is washed, in order, they say, that riches will not be lacking. At one time, it may be, something of more value than the dross of riches was sought, for gold was the symbol of wisdom and a bright understanding long before it had value as currency.

It will be well if the baby is not red-headed, for the red- 826
headed child will inevitably be known as "Son of the Wind," [551]
"Daughter of the alcove," or even more scurrilously, "Child of the priest." This readiness to doubt the paternity of poor little "Copper-knob" seems to indicate that, in spite of the blue or grey eyes of the peasants, the Maltese have always been an essentially brunette people. The slur may be no older than the occupation of the priestly knights, when celibacy must frequently have proved too much for the young "Aryans" of the Teutonic Langues. It may date back to the
much earlier time of red-bearded Ullyses. It may, again, be [822]
nothing more than a rendering of "love-child"—for red has always been the colour of Love—sacred to Astoreth, Isis, and Venus.

Yet another of the Old Things has a hand in birth. Even 774
to-day it is accounted by some a serious matter for a child 777
to be born on Christmas Eve. Such a child is in danger of becoming a *Gaugau*—one whose spirit will leave its body every Christmas Eve—"They then go out and wander all over the island frightening people with their groanings. After thus performing these ghostly pranks for some hours,

774 these transformed creatures return home towards dawn quite
777 exhausted and awake in the morning quite unconscious of
their nocturnal expedition."[1] The derivation of the word
[192] *Gaugau* has been given as the Syrian *Hagogo*, a ghost; but
surely the *Gaugau* is more than a simple ghost. His behaviour
stamps him as a vampire. Busuttil says that "the yearly
[177] punishment" is thought to be inflicted because Christ "does
not like anyone to be born at the same time he was born,"
and then suggests that the *Gaugau* came into Malta with
774 the Phoenicians. The Phoenician origin and the popular
777 explanation seem quite irreconcilable until it is recalled
774 that—

796

> "It is well known that in the transition from paganry to Christianity the Christian clergy, finding it impossible to wean the populace from old customs or to eradicate primitive beliefs, discreetly met the situation by diverting pagan festivals to the honour of Christ. It is not so generally known that December 25th, the Christmas Day of Christendom, was necessarily thus fixed for the reason that this date was the birthday of Mithra, and that the obdurate heathen flatly refused to relinquish their cherished festival. It was not until A.D. 400 that the Church Fathers accepted the inevitable, and tactfully adopted the Birthday of Mithra as the official Birthday of Christianity. At the beginning of the fifth century, S. Chrysostom, referring to the festival of the pagan Sun god, wrote: 'On this day also the birthday of Christ *was lately fixed* at Rome in order that, while the heathens were busy with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their sacred rites undisturbed. They call this (December 25th) the birthday of the Invincible One (Mithra); but who is so invincible as the Lord? They call

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[1] BUSUTTIL, *Holiday Customs in Malta.*

174

it the Birthday of the Solar Disc; but Christ is the Sun 774
of Righteousness' " (S. HEATH, *Romance of Symbolism*).[1] 777
796

We cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, connect the vampire *Gaugau* with Christianity; but with Mithra the affair becomes quite different. It is not difficult to connect a child born on the eve of the Birth-feast of the bloodthirsty Mithra with something more terrible than "ghostly pranks." It is comforting to hear that the vampire *Gaugau* is now capable of nothing worse than "frightening people with his groanings!"

There was a time before the dread broom of "Progress" 846
began to sweep all peasant customs—good as well as bad— 777
before it, when the newly-delivered mother kept carefully to 787
her house during forty days for fear of meeting another mother who had been confined on the same day. It was believed that of two such women meeting within forty days of their confinement, one would suffer a great misfortune. Two possible [174]
reasons for this quaint prohibition are apparent. It was either some remnant of a primitive, levitical period of purification or a means of ensuring that the mother wasted no time gossiping at the doorway or in the market place, to the neglect of her young family.

GROWING UP

With the child's first birthday comes the *'uccija*, or "choosing." 852
A tray or basket is filled with an assortment of articles repre- 787
senting trades and professions—a book, a rosary, a candle, an inkstand, a sword—whichever the baby first picks up will indicate its bent in life. This simple means of divination is widespread, and little need be said of it except that some grains of corn are sometimes introduced as a symbol of generosity, suggesting that at one time the *'uccija* decided

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[1] H. BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism*.

club and a sports club. In Farrug, for instance, there are two band 575
clubs – one of which is dedicated to St. Martin, the other to St.
Roque – a football club and an active Labour Party committee;
while Kortin has a band club, a social club, a Labour club, a
football club and a troop of Boy Scouts. The term secular, used 575
in this context, requires a few words of qualification. Although 794
clubs and associations which I have called secular do not form part
of the Church, this does not necessarily mean that they are
opposed to it, or are cut off from it. Quite the contrary. Almost
every club has a chaplain who serves as a link between it and the
parish priest. Most clubs take part in certain religious functions,
especially during the week preceding Easter. Moreover, many of [778]
the clubs have dedicated themselves to the Sacred Heart of Jesus
and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary by means of special religious
ceremonies. Often this dedication is renewed annually. Only [665]
the clubs of the Malta Labour Party do not have any linkage with
the Church.

The band clubs are the most important secular societies. They 575
are formally constituted associations with elected committees,
premises of their own and a large body of dues-paying members
drawn from all occupational and social classes. The first band
clubs were established shortly after the middle of the last century
in order to organize the external celebrations and provide music
for the annual festas of village patron saints. The clubs multiplied
rapidly, and soon became civic and social centres. They have [536]
broadened their scope to include dramatic groups, reading rooms [525]
and places where members can gamble out of sight of the watchful
eyes of the law. Most clubs have large concert halls that can
be used for wedding receptions. Today, each club usually has a
well-stocked bar, a television set and a billiards table.

But a band club is more than just a social centre. As it usually
plays an important part in organizing the external celebration of
the annual festa, the men who run the club make decisions which
affect all the inhabitants. Furthermore, the club often represents 575
the community to the outside world. Not only is the club's brass 574
band considered as the village's band when it plays at other festas, [186]
but the club also provides a welcome to important visitors from
outside. Thus when the Governor or the Archbishop makes an
official visit, he normally calls on the band clubs, where he is
given a reception on behalf of the entire village.

CANDLEMAS DAY

This is a religious festival observed 796
not only in Malta but in all other Catholic 171
countries in honour of the Blessed
Virgin on the 2nd of February, the
40th day after the Nativity of our Lord.

The word Candlemas is evidently 796
derived from the benediction of the [778]
candles, followed by a procession, which
takes place in the churches on the
morning of this day.

Nearly every family in the Island is 796
presented with one or two of these blessed 794
candles—each having at the lower 778
end, the image of the Blessed Virgin 431 354
stamped in gold leaf, as a distinction
from other ordinary wax candles.

These they receive either from the priests, or from some other person attached to the church, as a sort of a slight recompense, for the contributions

796 offered during the year, for the purpose
794 either of decorating or repairing the
778 church or churches of the parish to
431 which they belong.
354

It is also customary for every parish priest—on this special day, or on the day following—to present both the Bishop and the Governor of the Island with a
[643] two lb. candle. It is to be observed, however, that the candle given to the Governor is only a blessed one when he happens to profess the Roman Catholic Religion.

178 This giving of candles to both the
796 Bishop and the Governor—a continuation
354
793 of a custom that prevailed in the
431 time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, when the Grand Master was annually presented with a blessed candle on this day—is meant as a token of respect to each of the highest Ecclesiastical and Civil dignitaries of the Island.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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liberation of the Maltese from the yoke 527
of the Saracens by Count Roger of 186
Normandy in the year 1090. [175] [648]

A liberal programme is now annually arranged by the Committee embracing every kind of attraction at Notabile.

PILGRIMAGES TO MELLEHA (*) 778

On the last two Sundays of Septem- 788
ber, every year, the roads leading to Melleha are alive with merry parties, especially country people, on their way to that village, in order to visit the

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(*) Melleha is a village some 10½ miles distant [361]
from Valletta, and about an hour's ride from St. Paul's Bay. It is renowned for the very old, perhaps the oldest, Sanctuary in the world, dedicated to the
B. Virgin. This Sanctuary was founded by St. Paul, [776]
the great Apostle of the Gentiles, while he was in Malta (58 A. D.) for the convenience of the faithful
who lived in those neighbourhoods. Over the small [532]
altar is a picture of St. Mary, covering another old drawing of the same,executed by St. Luke.

778 788 Sanctuary dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

[782] [527] When the devout visitors recite their prayers in the venerated shrine of the Madonna, and leave behind their offerings, such as candles, oil to be burnt in the lamps before the image, waxen and silver limbs &c., they come out and devote the remainder of the day to amusements.

173 778 788 The annual pilgrimages to Melleha in September are supposed to have originated after the victory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565. The siege being raised on the 7th of Sept. —the eve of the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin— the Maltese, in token of gratitude for the help received from the Virgin, in those trying days, made pilgrimages to Melleha, to offer prayers before the mirac-

ulous effigy of the B. V. Mary, venerated in that shrine excavated out of the rock. 173 778 788

ALL SOULS' DAY

2nd November

769 796 In Malta, the same as in any other Roman Catholic country, a feast is also celebrated for the dead, and the Cemeteries especially that of the "Addolorata," which ranks amongst the finest in Europe, are, on the 1st and 2nd of November the favourite resort of nearly the whole population of the towns and of the neighbouring villages.

Amidst mournful tingling and tolling of the church bells, countless inhabitants, mostly clad in the habiliments of grief, and murmuring prayers, are seen wending their way to the Cemetery. Arrived

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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directed upwards, and having a mouth 796
piece by which the skin is filled, and a 534
cane flute or pipe which is played with [237]
both hands. This the country people play at this time of the year to represent the shepherds of Bethlehem.

The decking out of the *presepiu*, a 796
crib or representation of the Nativity of 778
the Holy Child at Bethlehem, by a group of dolls with pasteboard scenery, furnishes amusement to the Maltese, both old and young.

Several of the houses have a crib more or less artistically arranged, and the better the arrangements of the crib, the greater is the concourse of people who come to see it.

The custom of decking our churches 796
and habitations with evergreens at 174
Christmas has existed from the very 824
establishment of Christianity and was

is no sacrifice they will not gladly make for the greater 794 dignity and beauty of their churches. Take, for example, the case of Mġarr—one of the smallest and poorest of the parishes of Malta and the one most cherished by that great seaman and lover of Malta, the late Admiral Sir W. W. Fisher. Here between the two wars the inhabitants, nearly all hard-working peasants, under the enthusiastic leadership of their parish priest, Father (later Monsignor) Edgar Salomone, built a great new church by their own efforts, bringing their weekly contributions to the building fund in eggs and fowls and vegetables and whatever else they produce.

At street corners statues of saints, sometimes also of souls 532 enveloped in a purgatorial blaze, afford them ever-present reminders, encouraging or minatory as the case may be, of 778 the next world; in this one they love the great ecclesiastical 796 ceremonies, particularly the processions which are one of the features of Maltese life. These assume on Good Friday something of the character of a Passion Play, with members of lay confraternities staggering along Merchants' Street in Valetta beneath the weight of life-size groups of the Passion carved with gruesome realism. I have also seen these processions in Palermo, where I have been shocked at the flippancy and irreverence not so much of the onlookers as of the actual participants. The Maltese play their parts in these functions with profound and solemn devoutness. Indeed, [783] some of them may be bearing their burden, whatever it is, in fulfilment of a self-imposed penance, concealing their features behind a hood with eye-holes that covers the head.

But on the annual *festa*, the local saint's day, of their 527 village they give themselves up wholeheartedly to rejoicings, which are definitely on the noisy side. For they are punctuated by the explosions of crackers, maroons and every procurable form of noise-producing apparatus, and they are illuminated by ingenious, locally made fireworks. On these days the casals are a brave sight as they fly [186] from the top of every house of any importance the flag of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, The
346 visitor will likewise notice, let into the external walls of
692 churches, small marble slabs bearing the inscription:
●778

NON GODE
L'IMMUNITÀ
ECCLESIASTICA

The tablets meant that the churches and chapels in question did not enjoy the right of ecclesiastical sanctuary, and their explanation lay in the fact that until well after the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ecclesiastical Courts in Malta exercised temporal jurisdiction over the clergy. It followed that their jurisdiction extended over all consecrated buildings, in which the civil authority was unable to exercise its
778 functions.
346 The next stage was reached when lay criminals sought
692 refuge in these "extra-territorial" churches from the arm of
656 the civil law. When the abuse tended to become serious the ecclesiastical authorities sought to minimize it by affixing the notice in question to various rural churches with the object of confining the right of sanctuary to the churches on which the inscription did not appear. But the right, even thus restricted, had clearly become an anachronism dangerous to the peace and good order of the country, and no longer tolerable. So in 1828 it was completely abolished by Governor Ponsonby by means of a Proclamation, whose preamble declares that:

> In consequence of certain privileges or immunities heretofore claimed as belonging to divers churches and other holy edifices and places in these islands, wicked and profligate men have often been tempted to commit murders, robberies and other atrocious crimes in the hope of escaping punishment by taking refuge in such places.

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

Medical Votive Offerings in the Maltese Islands

PAUL CASSAR

THE MALTESE GROUP OF ISLANDS—Malta, Gozo, Kemmuna, Kemmunet and Filfla— 131 cover an area of just over 120 square miles. They form a stepping-stone between Europe and Africa, being fifty-eight miles distant from Sicily and 180 miles away from the North African shore. Malta and Gozo are renowned for the number of Stone Age 172 temples they contain. Archaeologists have expressed the opinion that some of the enclosures of these temples were sacred to a healing deity (Zammit 1926, p. 53). This is suggested by the discovery of clay and limestone objects consisting of (1) two models of women lying asleep on a kind of stretcher of wicker work, and (2) several votive offerings in the shape of parts of the human body (Zammit & Singer 1924, pp. 75–6).

It is believed that the sleeping ladies represent devotees who went to the Hypogeum 17 temple at Hal Saflieni, near Pawla, to consult the oracle through the practice of oneiromancy. 787 This was a form of dream interpretation after the patient had been aroused from 755 a hypnotic state induced deliberately by means of drugs or other means (Zammit 1935, p. 58). In ancient Egypt dreams were regarded with reverence and the faithful believed that their prayers were rewarded by the gods with an indication, in their dreams, of the remedies which their illness required (Wilkinson 1837, III, p. 394). Similar practices prevailed also in the temple-hospitals of classical Greece where the patient is said to have had the line of treatment revealed to him in his sleep (Pavey 1951, p. 59). It is, therefore, quite possible that such methods were likewise followed in Malta by the Hypogeum priests in the treatment of disease about 1500 B.C. Whatever might have happened in Malta in neolithic days, it is very striking to come across similar parallels in modern times where sick persons claim to have been healed by a heavenly power while in the sleeping state.

The following cases were recorded in 1890, the first being the most interesting as 175 the patient fell asleep in the church itself: 755

(i) A woman had been subject to a purulent inflammation of the mouth for 787 fifteen years. She had recourse to the Virgin Mary and while praying at Ta Pinu 781 church (Gharb, Gozo) she was overtaken by extreme somnolence. She woke up with the conviction that the Madonna had granted her the desired favour; in fact, she recovered completely from her illness within three days.

(ii) Maria Cachia, from a village in Gozo, was so gravely ill from puerperal fever that it was decided to give her the Last Sacraments. Her mother made a vow to the Virgin Mary and annointed the patient on the forehead and breasts with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp of Ta Pinu church. Maria fell into a calm sleep. Our Lady appeared to her in a vision, touched her on the parts smeared with the oil and healed her. On waking she was 'happy and smiling and left her bed completely cured'.

175 (iii) Giovanna Debrincat had been suffering from depression with religious
755 scruples for eight months. Her symptoms became acute one day in February with
787 extreme anxiety, agitation, and insomnia. This phase lasted for four consecutive
781 days and nights in spite of the efforts of the doctor and a priest to reassure her and
placate her. Finally her relatives annointed her with the sanctuary oil and appealed to the Blessed Virgin to cure her. The patient immediately became tranquil and had a peaceful sleep. When she woke up, all her symptoms had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1890).

NEOLITHIC VOTIVE OFFERINGS

532
172 The custom of offering 'ex-votos' to the deity for favours received is not limited to the
782 Maltese Islands and goes back to very remote times. The neolithic 'ex-votos' of Malta
[171] are made of clay and limestone, and measure from 1¼ to 3¼ inches in height. No less
than fifteen of them, consisting of the following anatomical forms, have been found:

(i) Faces: 2.
(ii) Hand: 1.
(iii) Female torsos with large abdomen, pendulous breasts, and prominent genitalia: 4.
(iv) Kneeling female (?) torso with arms folded on breast: 2.
(v) Fragment of female statuette consisting of lower abdomen, both thighs, and right leg: 1.
(vi) Female body cut short in the neck and upper parts of the thighs; the left arm is bent on the nape of the neck and the right upper limb points to the genitalia which are very clearly shown. The abdomen and breasts are very full and a swelling fills the left groin while pieces of white shells are stuck in the armpits, groins, umbilicus, mons veneris, and other parts.
(vii) Female pelvis with upper parts of thighs and sexual triangle: 2.
(viii) Legs: 2 (Zammit & Singer 1924, p. 67).

The Roman occupation of Malta (218 B.C.–A.D. 397) is represented by one solitary
17 'ex-voto' consisting of a clay model of the lateral view of a leg and foot. It was found
782 quite recently with other Roman objects in the north-west part of the island (Plate 1,
Fig. 2). The inhabitants of the Maltese Islands were converted to Christianity by St
[797] Paul in A.D. 60. No more 'ex-votos' can be traced for many hundreds of years until they
reappear in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Catholic Church. The interruption in the time-sequence and the change of religious beliefs do not, however, prevent us from perceiving that they have a common purpose and that the 'ex-votos' of Stone Age and Roman times foreshadow the similar ones of later years. Indeed the same ideational process links the ancient ones with those of our own times.

782 Anatomical 'ex-votos' are still preserved in many of the Catholic churches of Malta
532 and Gozo and in several wayside shrines in the countryside and in niches in the towns.
755 They are either figures of the complete human body or of parts of it. The former consist
of the front view of babies with the trunk and limbs swathed in bands like a mummy; and of side views of men and women in a kneeling posture with their hands joined in prayer over their breasts or else holding a symbolical heart. The men are turned towards the left and the women look towards the right. The models representing parts of the

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[172]

1/1 [captions appear on p. 29. - An.)

[facing P. 24]

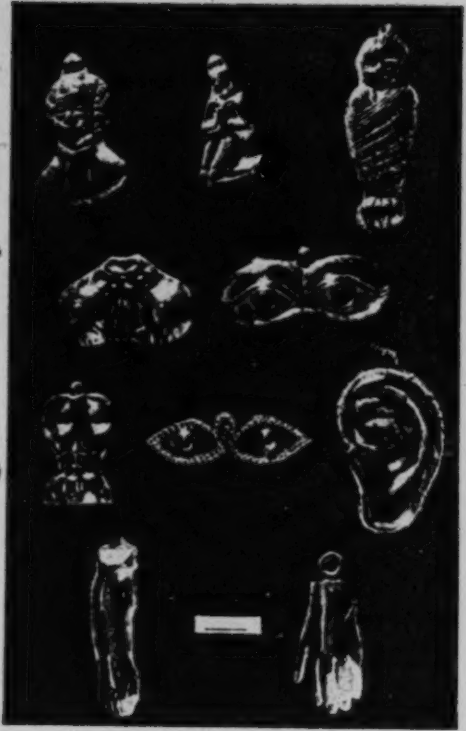

FIGURE 1

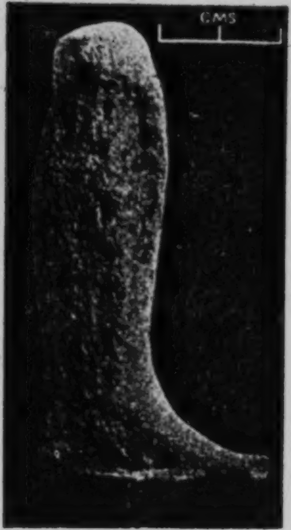

FIGURE 2

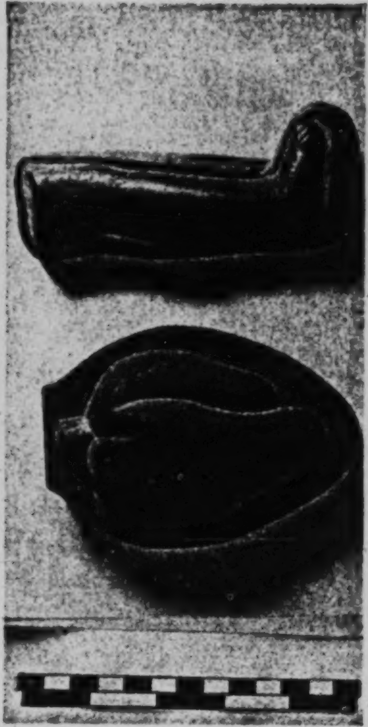

FIGURE 3

4: Cassar P-4,5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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782
789
[402]
[291]

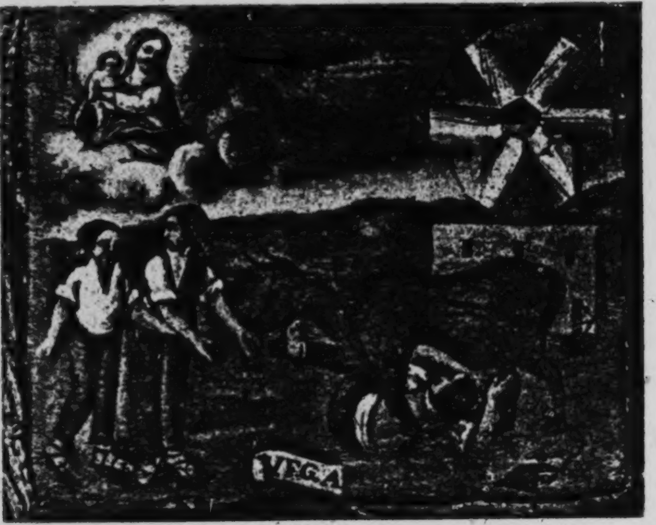

FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2

[facing p. 25]

[captions appear on p. 29 - An.]

body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no pathology
they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 532
'legs were offered for paralysis, congenital anomalies and chronic ulcers in the lower 755
limbs; 'arms' and 'hands' for fractures and threatened loss of fingers by injury or gangrene; 'ears' for deafness and otitis; and 'eyes' for a variety of ocular diseases. Sometimes, however, the association of illness and anatomical part is not so specific; thus 'trunks' were offered for such varied conditions as throat affections, hernias, and mental disorder; 'faces' for enlarged glands in the neck; and pairs of female 'breasts' for deficiency of milk in a lactating mother as well as disease of these organs.

They were made of wax or of raised work in gold and silver foil. Those met with at 782
present are the silver ones, the others having disappeared from the churches though
they were still being offered at the end of the last century if not later. There are records 532
of wax effigies of arms, legs, eyes, and babies and also of gold ones having been deposited [325]
at that period at Ta Pinu Church at Gharb in Gozo. A pair of gold legs cost £17 (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1890; Kerr 1893). Wax figures also existed until some thirty years ago
in the small church of Tal Mirakli at Lija (Tanti 1962). These objects were manufactured [439]
in Malta but some of them were imported from Sicily and North Africa. The gold [325]
and silver foil was hammered into the desired shape over dies of bronze by a silversmith (Plate 1, Fig. 3). They vary in size from 6 by 2½ inches to 1 by 3½ inches. Some of them bear hall-marks which help to date them and identify the source of manufacture. The
earliest met so far by the writer is a stylized silver model (in the writer's collection) of a pair [422]
of female breasts impressed with the hall-marks of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Em. de Rohan who ruled over the Maltese Islands from 1775 to 1797.

The deposition of anatomical 'ex-votos' in Maltese churches ceased in 1935. The
ecclesiastical council held in that year in Malta under the presidency of Cardinal H. 782
Lepicier disallowed the exhibition of 'votive offerings showing parts of the human body 532
except those in the shape of a heart', (*Concilium*, 1935, p. 60), so that the present-day 795
visitor will hardly see anything else except 'hearts' hanging by the statues of the saints to whom they were offered by grateful devotees. The more 'profane' models have been melted and converted into sacred utensils for the church service.

Very occasionally instead of an anatomical representation, we come across a silver 211
tablet commemorating deliverance from illness. Here is a specimen inscribed in Latin: 164

P. Trapani cum suis / A. MDCCCLXXXVII / Ab Asiana Lue /
Incolumes (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1888).

that is P. Trapani and his family spared from the Asiatic Disease of the year 1887.

(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the [731]
last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of [165]
over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and 782
by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These 755
actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

782 drinking from the spring of the grotto at Mellicha village where the Holy Virgin is
755 venerated; or placing some earth on the sick person from the tomb of a hermit reputed
to have died in odour of sanctity in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 16).

Sometimes the donation of an 'ex-voto' was coupled with the publication, in a
755 religious periodical, of the circumstances of the illness and its extraordinary cure. The
782 following are typical case-histories, translated from Maltese, culled at random from
214 such a periodical:

[204] (i) Victoria Conti, who had been suffering from deafness in the right ear for four years, was told by two doctors that her condition was incurable. She prayed to the Holy Mary and as soon as she placed the oil from the sanctuary of Ta Pinu (Gharb, Gozo) on her ear she regained her hearing.

(ii) A woman fell from the balcony of her house and, as a result, had a series of convulsions, lost the faculty of speech, and became moribund. She remained in this precarious state for fifteen days when her parents promised the offer of a silver 'ex-voto' to the Holy Virgin if their daughter recovered. The following night the patient began to regain consciousness and to talk. She made steady progress and was well within a short time.

(iii) Joseph Spiteri, from Zabbar, had a mentally sick brother who, in a fit of frenzy, cut his throat. The doctor declared the case a hopeless one but, following a vow to the Mother of Christ, the patient began to improve until he recovered from his wound and from his mental illness within nine weeks.

(iv) Clo. Monsignier had measles and almost lost his eyesight as a complication. His mother vowed to the Virgin Mary that she would offer a silver 'ex-voto' in the shape of a pair of eyes if his sight was spared. Immediately this promise was made, the boy opened his eyes from which all the signs of disease had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1894–9).

Other published accounts deal with cases of throat infections, puerperal sepsis, hyperpyrexia (up to 107° F), and trachoma. To appreciate the seriousness of these diseases up to thirty years ago, it must be remembered that the sulphonamide and the antibiotic eras had not yet dawned and that no effective therapy was yet available with the result that many patients with sepsis lost their lives and cases of trachoma ended in permanent blindness. Stories of accidents, such as falls from heights, scalding and involvement in vehicular traffic are also recorded. At times medical certificates over the signatures of prominent doctors were published as evidence of the gravity of the injury or illness sustained and of recovery therefrom (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1887).

MEDICAL PAINTINGS

782 These are of various sizes ranging from 5 × 12 to 18 × 24 inches. They were much more
532 numerous in the past than they are to-day. Church walls, which are now bare, were
346 covered with these small canvases and wooden panels. A number of these 'ex-votos'
353 vanished many years ago as in the case of the Sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception
of Qala in Gozo (Vella Haber 1946, p. 13). In other churches these pictures still existed in great numbers up to about thirty years ago but have now dwindled considerably, instances being those of the Cave chapel of the Annunciation and St Leonard at Minsija (Birkirkara), the church of Tal Mirakli (Lija), and Tal Hlas (Qormi). One of the sanc-

782 ● 532 346 353

tuaries that remains particularly rich in painted 'ex-votos' is the church in the Tal Herba district (Birkirkara) erected in 1640 and dedicated to the Birth of the Holy Virgin. These panels are hung up, one above the other, almost up to the ceiling so that the following description written almost one hundred years ago still applies with regard to this particular church: 'On the walls one sees a considerable number of small paintings representing the favours received through the intercession of the Holy Virgin by those devotees who had recourse to her in their calamities' (Ferres 1866, p. 322). As far as could be ascertained the latest painting in this church is dated 1944.

532 789 782

On the whole these pictures are the work of self-taught anonymous folk who never regarded themselves as artists but only as humble craftsmen. In fact their productions often ignore the rules of perspective while the colours and the shading are poor; but in viewing them one must take account of the fact that they were not intended to be decorative pieces. They were simply meant to be pictorial records of the occurrence of a medical emergency that was thought to be beyond human control and which ended happily in an extraordinary manner through a supernatural act. Indeed these pictures portray the moment in which the physician confesses that there is nothing that medical art and science can do to save the patient's life and the instant in which the Divine intervention occurs. Thus we behold the Holy Mary relieving a choking girl or rescuing a pedestrian from being crushed by the wheel of a carriage or see Our Lady stopping a run-away horse and saving its rider from harm (Plate 2, Fig. 2); or else softening the impact of the fall from a height of a stone-mason so that he reaches the ground uninjured; or sparing the life of a farmer from an enraged beast (Plate 2, Fig. 1). In this task of graphically reproducing an event, these paintings succeed very well.

OTHER VOTIVE OFFERINGS

782

Other things offered for medical reasons consist of: (i) Surgical and orthopaedic appliances such as crutches, plaster jackets, leather corsets, iron splints, metal sutures, etc. (ii) Foreign bodies removed from organs such as stones from the kidneys, needles from fingers, hair-clips from the throat, swallowed thimble, etc. (iii) Babies' dresses, some of them embroidered with gold thread, are a characteristic feature of the Mellieha sanctuary. This custom of offering the child's clothing as a token for recovery from illness prevailed also in connexion with the tomb of the Holy Hermit Kurraw at the Qala sanctuary in Gozo. The grateful mothers of sick children used to deposit the clothing of their offspring on the hermit's grave as a sign that the disease had been transferred from the children's bodies on to their clothing (Vella Haber 1946, p. 14). Babies' dresses are also offered in thanksgiving for an uneventful delivery and the birth of a normal infant. (iv) Wax tapers, decorated torches and bottles of olive oil for lighting the sanctuary lamp. (v) Sums of money. (vi) Jewellery is the most common 'ex-voto' to be seen to-day in Maltese churches. There are gold necklaces, finger-rings, brooches and other items of personal adornment. Apart from their intrinsic value, most of these gold ornaments represent the most prized possessions which the votary had to offer because they formed the most substantial part of a woman's dowry. To give an idea of the quantity of these valuable articles deposited in one single shrine during a month's time, here is a list, chosen at random from a religious periodical published in 1894: 'Sixteen gold rings, one pair of gold ear-rings with diamonds, two silver bracelets, a gold watch and a

$\frac{1}{A}$, $\frac{2}{A}$ [see plate II, facing p. 25.-An.]

● 782 silver medal, seventeen "ex-votos" of silver, and £39 10s. 6d. in cash' (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1894). In November 1961 twenty-two gold rings and thirty-one pairs of gold ear-rings, besides sums of money, were offered as 'ex-votos' at the shrine of St Rita at St Augustine's Priory, Valletta (*Santa Rita*, 1961, p. 192).

DISCUSSION

154 The relief of anxiety is one of the basic needs of the human personality. In a religion-conditioned community, such as that of the Maltese Islands, one of the most potent
782 defence mechanisms against life-threatening situations consists in prayer and the offer of
771 'ex-votos' to the Godhead in order to receive deliverance in return. Perhaps what
753 underlies this aspect of human behaviour is the idea that sickness and death are punitive
761 measures from the Godhead for lapses committed by oneself, one's relatives, or one's community. As a matter of fact, the notion that illness is sent by God as a punishment for sins is still a current folk-belief in the Maltese Islands. The same trend of thought finds expression in certain depressive psychoses where the patient shows a heightened feeling of guilt and is convinced that divine wrath has been visited upon himself and his close relatives in the form of disease or death. It appears, therefore, that the 'ex-voto' is not a mere token of gratitude for a favour received but is also a propitiatory offering to appease the offended deity and thus obtain his pardon and the removal of the punish-
154 ment. The element of sacrifice is implied in the self-denying act of surrendering a precious thing in return for recovery of health or rescue from imminent death, either
782 materially in the shape of money or jewellery, or symbolically in the form of an ana-
171 tomical representation of one's body. Whatever the psychological motivation prompting the offer of 'ex-votos', there is no doubt that they throw an illuminating sidelight on the part played by religious belief in the history of healing in the Maltese Islands since prehistoric times. They are also a testimony to the beneficial influence of religious *mores* (1) in satisfying the natural craving for security felt by the individual and by the community when faced with the crises of life, and (2) in maintaining morale and the will to live when the failure of medical skill tends to disorganize and destroy them. Indeed the 'ex-votos' reveal the story of the triumph of hope and faith over the trials and sufferings of countless generations of Maltese men and women who had found themselves beyond the help of contemporary science and of human assistance. It is needless to emphasize the recasting of Maltese religious beliefs after their conversion to Christianity in A.D. 60.
[178] The change from paganism to Catholicism, coupled with technical and cultural developments, has brought about a parallel modification in the conventional form of the 'votiva'—from the baked clay image, the painted panel, and the wax and silver anatomical models to the exquisite examples of the jeweller's art; but the idea behind the changed outward sign remains immutable, i.e. the anxiety-relieving value of faith in a community where belief in an all-controlling God has, for thousands of years, been the pervasive character of the warp and woof of its cultural and psychological pattern.

C

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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F.S.A., and to Mr Jos. Spiteri of the same department for their kindness in taking the 126
photographs; to the Rev. Jos. Tanti and the Rev. Canon Jos. Zammit, administrators of Tal Mirakli Church and of Tal Hlas Church, respectively, for allowing me to publish pictures of 'ex-votos' preserved in their churches.

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CAPTIONS TO PLATES [1]

Plate I

Fig. 1. Silver votive offerings representing various parts of the body. The model between the trunk 532
and the ear is a stylized form of the female breasts. (By courtesy of the Director of the 782
National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 2. This leg of baked clay is from the Roman ruins at Ras-ir-Raheb to the north west of Bahria, Malta. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 3. Bronze dies of liver and lower limb used by Maltese silver smiths for the manufacture of the silver 'ex-votos'. Scale in centimetres and inches. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Plate II

Fig. 1. The picture tells the story so clearly that no inscription is attached to it. Note the Maltese 532
type of windmill and the costumes of the peasants still in use during the last century. Tal 782
Hlas Church, Qormi. (Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 789

Fig. 2. The landscape is not Maltese. Presumably this 'ex-voto' was offered by a foreigner or else [402]
the donor was a Maltese who met with a riding accident abroad. The letters V.F.G.A. stand [402]
for 'Votum Fecit Gratiam Accepit' (A vow was made and a favour received). Tal Mirakli [291]
Church, Lija, Malta. (Photograph by Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A.)

[1] [plate I will be found facing p. 24; plate II faces p. 25.–An.]

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the deliverance from a large swarm of 796
locusts that once caused a dreadful 174
havoc in the Island. [731]

Monsignor Duzina, the Apostolic 796
Visitor, who visited Malta in February 174
1575, having found that the origin of 782 648
this procession was involved in great obscurity, caused the most aged men of the Island to be brought before him, and on asking them about the origin of the institution of this general procession, he was informed that the tradition was "That the procession was founded by a general vow of the Maltese after their deliverance from the Turks, whose fleet was dispersed by a terrible storm at Marsascirocco,(*) just when the Moslems were on the point

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(*) This is probably the reason that the general procession goes to the churches of St. Catherine and St. Gregory, those being the nearest churches to Marsascirocco.

796 of effecting a landing on the shores of
174 the Island.

[648]
[782] It is an undeniable fact that the procession has been instituted in commemoration of some signal public deliverance. Of all the traditions, however, the most generally received is that which we read in the acts of the said Mons. Duzina's visit in 1575.

796 This procession used formerly to take place in lent, on St. Gregory's day, which falls on the 12th of March. That day was selected not because the above mentioned invasion occurred on that particular day, but because lent being the time of penance, our faithful forefathers thought that the vow would be more acceptable to God in lent. And the day of St. Gregory was chosen, that Saint being the founder of all processions which are solemnized by the Roman Catholic Church.

778
788 Sanctuary dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

• [782]
[527] When the devout visitors recite their prayers in the venerated shrine of the Madonna, and leave behind their offerings, such as candles, oil to be burnt in the lamps before the image, waxen and silver limbs &c., they come out and devote the remainder of the day to amusements.

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788 The annual pilgrimages to Melleha in September are supposed to have originated after the victory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565. The siege being raised on the 7th of Sept. —the eve of the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin—the Maltese, in token of gratitude for the help received from the Virgin, in those trying days, made pilgrimages to Melleha, to offer prayers before the mirac-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

769
796 there they proceed to the tombs of their departed dear ones.

• [782] Here a widow and orphans are seen knelt in prayer at the vault of their respective husband and father, or perhaps some daughters at the resting place of their ever lost mother or father. There some father and mother contemplating the last abode of their beloved son in whom they had placed their future hopes; they are all there reverently and devoutly reciting prayers to the Almighty for the repose of the souls of their deceased.

The graves on these two days are very beautifully decorated. Some are literally covered by masses of flowers, some hung with wreaths and crosses woven of the loveliest blossoms, others converted into a temporary garden, with willows, cypress, and other shrubs.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

539 'He is January's own brother, bless him,' said the
805 poor man. 'Quantities of rain and everyone satisfied, for
February fills up all and brings riches to the peasant's
824 house. In the month of February all mistakes are discovered. In February sow, water, and tend the small-leaved basil.'

'What a lot you know!' they all cried.

'Friend,' said March, 'what about March?'

'Days long and beautiful,' answered the peasant. 'The cold braces you like iron, and a little wind is always desirable.'

The poor man answered in this way each question of the rest of the months, letting his tongue wag in their honour, praising each one up to the skies."

The merchant, in reply to the same set of questions, complains bitterly about each month. The peasant is given a magic cloth of the sort used to cover bread, which provides him and his family with food and drink in plenty. The rich merchant receives a stick which beats him and his wife unmercifully every time it is addressed.

821 Apart from the expected, usual characters of the twelve
787 months, there is a method whereby the year's weather may be foretold. The twelve days preceding Christmas Eve are known as "presages." Each day foretells the weather of its corresponding month during the forthcoming year. Here, again, is seen the shadow of Mithra—the "Great Fecundator"—no period could be more ominous than the sacred twelve days preceding his feast.

FAITH

771 Where knowledge fails or some error in complying with
782 the traditional rules is made, Faith steps in. A farmer will send for the village priest to bless his fields when he has sown

at the wrong season and so set right his error. The blessing is 771
accompanied by the burning of leaves of the wild olive which 782 ●
have been blessed in Holy Week. Blessing, accompanied by [226]
sacred "fumigation," is very widely used—by fishermen to [585]
ensure a good catch, by newly married folk to ensure a happy
house.

GETTING MARRIED

Zeppu and Grez will think long and seriously before they 584
get married. In an island where poverty is the rule rather than [735]
the exception, and there is no "dole," there can be no haphazard mating. Zeppu will wait until he has a sufficient competence and Grez will contribute her share of the common resources in the form of a "dot" which she, herself, has earned and saved. Until very recently all marriages were arranged by a professional "go-between"—an old woman wise in the ways of the world and in suitable matings. Even now there is little choice left to the girl.

In this matter of marriage, so hedged about with Christian 584
law and custom, the Old Things still command a place. Their 824
hands are perhaps more apparent than in the marriage customs of all other countries—themselves pagan enough in origin.

In the story which has been quoted the month of February is praised, amongst other reasons, because it is then that the "small-leaved basil" is tended and watered. The reference might be rendered "In the Spring a young man's fancy . . ." for the sweet basil is the sign and symbol that a marriageable girl awaits a suitor.

The small bush, either of basil or of the Madonna rose, is carefully tended and placed on the sill of an upper window.
A well-grown plant is an indication that the maiden will make [787]
a good wife and mother.

A suitor, seeing the "marriage bush" at an upper window,

796 aware of their separateness, and realized that both incense and
[123] gunpowder were ingredients basic to the celebration of a festa.

The actual celebration of the feast can be divided into three
parts: the Triduum or Novena – the three to nine days of spiritual
preparation which precede the feast day – the eve of the feast,
and the day of the feast. As the feast is usually celebrated on a
Sunday so that more people can come, the Triduum days are
Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. High Mass is offered on these
days, and in the evenings outside priests often come to preach
sermons on religious topics related to the life of the patron saint.
They are also days of preparation during which the elaborate
street decorations are hoisted into place. Throughout the day the
village is psychologically conditioned to the festa by salvoes of
aerial bombs which are often timed to coincide with the ringing
[533] of the Paternoster and the Angelus. On the last day of the Triduum,
after the final sermon, the village band marches through
the main streets. Often the band is preceded by a mass of dancing
and shouting enthusiasts of both sexes, who wave coloured
scarves, silver loving cups and other symbols of their loyalty to
[578] their band and their saint. In villages where there are competing
[575] band clubs, this demonstration often provokes fights between
rival supporters. These skirmishes are usually sparked off by the
bands of girls who hoarsely shout themselves into a frenzy proclaiming
the virtues of their saint and the shortcomings of their
rivals. There are no visitors during this part of the feast.

On Saturday, the eve of the feast, there is a High Mass and Te
Deum to mark the end of the Triduum. This is usually followed
by a barrage of aerial fireworks. The local band then often
marches through the village, stopping at all the clubs for drinks.
[273] This march is usually quite gay but in some villages it degenerates
into a drunken spree. During the day, outside priests are brought
[783] in specially for the festa to hear confessions in the church. In the
late afternoon, visitors begin to arrive to watch the Translation, a
ceremony during which the celebrant, usually the Bishop, takes a
relic of the saint on a short procession outside the church. After
[533] the Translation, the various guest bands march through the
village and then settle down to play selections from operas and
works composed by Maltese bandmasters. The many relatives and
friends of the bandsmen join the gaily dressed crowds who have
been streaming in by bus and car or on foot.

208 walls and shouted at public meetings. Mintoff is portrayed as a
578 Socialist devil working to give the islands over to Communism
665 in the manner of Cuba's Castro. These are some typical examples
795 of the ones that appeared on the blackboard outside the Kortin
Catholic Action centre: 'Mintoff is the enemy of the Church', 'Nobody can serve both God and the Devil', '"The Bishops are interfering in politics!" That is what Communists say,' and 'We don't want Communists among us!' In stating their case, Mintoff and his supporters did not mince words either, as the following slogans that appeared on the blackboard of the Kortin Labour Party club demonstrate: 'We want a chance in court about the $60,000 lie',[1] 'With the Papal flag in their hands and shouting for vengeance', 'A fish begins to stink from its head',[2] and 'In Gozo they told the women that we have tails.'

208 The popular slogan 'Either with the Bishop or against the
578 Church!' sums up the uncompromising attitude of the Church.
665 Most of the sanctions it has imposed have presented that choice
794 to the people in unequivocal terms. Early in May 1961, shortly
795 after the Labour leaders were interdicted, all Church lay societies
were instructed to obtain from each member a pledge of his full and unqualified support for the Archbishop. Those that declined to give this were expelled from the society concerned and their names reported to the national office of Catholic Action. But a more drastic sanction was imposed a few weeks later.
[783] After the Executive of the Labour Party had invited the Archbishop and the
[626] Bishop of Gozo to debate their policy in public at a Labour rally
in Cospicua, the Bishops replied to this insult by issuing a circular which declared it a mortal sin to print, write for, sell, buy, distribute or read the Labour Party newspapers. All confessors were instructed to put the necessary questions to their penitents.

578 Hence, to remain a Labour supporter, a person has to forego the
665 Church sacraments that he has been brought up to believe vital
794 to his happiness and spiritual salvation. This is a very serious
795 choice for a practising Catholic, and before these sanctions were
imposed, the Maltese were among the most devoutly Catholic
[851] people in the world. It has also meant that MLP supporters cannot

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[608] [1] This refers to the Archbishop's charge, made at a rally in March 1961, that Mintoff had received $61,000 from the allegedly Communist dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which the MLP had just joined.

[537] [2] A Maltese proverb meaning that corruption first becomes apparent among people in high places. This was presumably directed against the Archbishop.

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665 already noted, in Malta, it is a criminal offence to insult a minister
673 of religion. There were no other disturbances.

688 The Labour rally was rather a different story. The leader of the
694 MLP and the thousands of his supporters who came to Kortin to
578 hear him speak received a decidedly hostile reception. Though
Dun Bert did not organize a counter-demonstration for the
665 occasion, he did arrange a mass protest meeting the evening
794 before. The following day rival groups were out decorating. A number of MUSEUM lads under the direction of one of the older members pasted anti-MLP slogans all over the façade of the church. At the same time, a group of men were busy hanging posters and flags from the Labour club to welcome Dom Mintoff to the village.

At 4 p.m. buses and cars began to stream into the village with
[796] thousands of MLP supporters from all over the island. At about the same time the church bells began to call the faithful to a religious procession in honour of Our Lady of Fatima which Dun Bert had scheduled to take place during the Labour meeting. He himself stood in the square watching the faithful gather in the church. He also carefully observed those who passed by on their way to the Labour meeting, which was being held right behind the church. Most of the villagers who sympathized with the Labour Party but who did not support it openly did not attend the meeting.
● [783] They were anxious to avoid the open break with the rest of the community which attending would have entailed. Besides, several mentioned that their confessors had told them that they would commit a mortal sin if they attended MLP meetings. All the open supporters of the MLP in the village went to the meeting.

[796] The meeting began at about 4.30 p.m. and lasted for two hours. Shortly after it had started, Dun Bert's procession of nearly a thousand men, women and children slowly wound its way through the village and returned to the church for a period of prayer and worship. When the Labour meeting finally broke up, most of the outside supporters departed quickly, though a number were delayed because villagers had deflated the tyres of about
578 a dozen of their cars. At this time people also began to leave the
625 church. But the police, who were trying to keep a passage clear in
665 the centre of the square for the stream of departing Labour supporters, kept them on the steps of the church. They waited there
794 for a while and then began singing hymns and songs in honour of

578 625 665 794 the Pope and the Archbishop, stopping now and then to shout insults at the passing Labour supporters. The square on the other side of the police cordon began to fill up with people returning from the meeting and others who left their houses to see what the excitement was about. Gradually the songs became louder and more excited, and the shouts hoarser. By then it was getting quite dark, but I could see Dun Mikiel in the front row, his hands thrust tensely into the pockets of his cassock, scowling at the passers-by while he smoked cigarette after cigarette. The tension by this time was almost electric. Suddenly, one of the local MLP supporters returning to the Labour club replied to a taunt by making a threatening gesture. The crowd in front of the church booed him loudly and surged forward. The police, anxious to hurry the trouble-maker off the square, pushed him a bit too hard and he stumbled and fell. This angered the crowd on the other side of the square and it began to press through the police cordon. At this point police reinforcements arrived and cleared the square in a few moments. Their prompt action prevented an ugly situation from going further, for there had been well over a thousand angry people facing each other, separated by less than two dozen unarmed policemen.

578 665 794 [785] [783] [796] [537] Four days after the meeting, Dun Bert organized a pilgrimage of reparation to atone for the insults of the MLP speakers. The procession of some 1,200 people reciting the Rosary escorted the statue of Our Lady of Sorrows through the area behind the church where the Labour meeting had been held. About 400 of the participants were outsiders who had come to Kortin from other parts of the island for the occasion. After the procession the crowd gathered in front of the church where a Mass was said. A noted Jesuit orator then rebutted the MLP speeches point by point. The whole affair had almost passed off without incident when a number of stones and bottles were thrown from behind walls at the buses and cars leaving the village.

575 578 665 But if there are relatively few face-to-face meetings of this kind in Kortin or elsewhere, there are many disputes that divide and weaken the clubs and associations. This matter has particularly affected Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, who feels responsible for preserving its unity in these difficult times. In Kelinu's, where many of the influential regulars are members of the Social Club, they say that it has become a Mintoff stronghold.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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spent in feastings and revelling of every kind.

FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT

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In the afternoon of this day, which is known by the name of "Hadd innies" (the people's Sunday), immense crowds of people, from all parts of the Island, flock to casal Zabbar, in their best Sunday finery, for the purpose of saying some prayers before our Lady of Graces (tal Grazia) in the parish Church of the village, as an atonement of the follies committed on the Carnival days, After paying the visit the people go out of the church parading the streets.

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The numerous shops of the said village are pretty well got up for this occasion. Stews, ham, cheesecakes, and other viands are profusely supplied for

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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796 adoption by the English garrison may have done much to save it from extinction. Here is a description of Carnival, written in 1850:[1]

> "The Carnival is another source of popular amusement; this begins on the Sunday preceding Lent, and lasts for three days. The afternoon is the principal time of the feast, during which numerous persons in masks are seen walking about the streets, endeavouring to amuse themselves, and to be a source of amusement to others. The variety of dresses used on these occasions is beyond description. Not a few pride themselves in playing all kinds of antics in a black habit, with long red horns, and a huge tail of the same colour. Calesses filled with ladies follow in a train through the principal streets, who readily engage in pelting confits and peas with any of the by-standers who will enter the lists with them. The number of respectable persons, however, who mask in the public streets has greatly diminished within the last few years, and it is to be hoped that their good example will soon be followed by an entire relinquishment of so absurd [783] and foolish a diversion. The first Sunday after the carnival, most of those persons who have masked repair to the parish church of Casal Zabbar, called *della Grazia*, by way of penance for their follies.
>
> On Saturday preceding the first day of the feast the *Parata* is celebrated. This consists of several companies of men, dressed up in gay ribbons, and armed with wooden staves and shields, who meet together under the houses of the wealthy, and perform several evolutions, striking their shields and dancing at the sound of music. This is concluded by raising up a little girl, splendidly arrayed, and girded with a small dagger, which she is

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[1] G. P. BADGER, *A Description of Malta and Gozo.*

is no sacrifice they will not gladly make for the greater 794
dignity and beauty of their churches. Take, for example, the case of Mġarr—one of the smallest and poorest of the parishes of Malta and the one most cherished by that great seaman and lover of Malta, the late Admiral Sir W. W. Fisher. Here between the two wars the inhabitants, nearly all hard-working peasants, under the enthusiastic leadership of their parish priest, Father (later Monsignor) Edgar Salomone, built a great new church by their own efforts, bringing their weekly contributions to the building fund in eggs and fowls and vegetables and whatever else they produce.

At street corners statues of saints, sometimes also of souls 532
enveloped in a purgatorial blaze, afford them ever-present
reminders, encouraging or minatory as the case may be, of 778
the next world; in this one they love the great ecclesiastical 796
ceremonies, particularly the processions which are one of the features of Maltese life. These assume on Good Friday something of the character of a Passion Play, with members of lay confraternities staggering along Merchants' Street in Valetta beneath the weight of life-size groups of the Passion carved with gruesome realism. I have also seen these processions in Palermo, where I have been shocked at the flippancy and irreverence not so much of the onlookers as of the actual participants. The Maltese play their parts in these
functions with profound and solemn devoutness. Indeed, [783]
some of them may be bearing their burden, whatever it is, in fulfilment of a self-imposed penance, concealing their features behind a hood with eye-holes that covers the head.

But on the annual *festa*, the local saint's day, of their 527
village they give themselves up wholeheartedly to rejoicings, which are definitely on the noisy side. For they are punctuated by the explosions of crackers, maroons and every procurable form of noise-producing apparatus, and they are illuminated by ingenious, locally made fire-
works. On these days the casals are a brave sight as they fly [186]
from the top of every house of any importance the flag of

794 they provide the organized opposition of the Church to the Malta Labour Party.

The most active of these societies are the Catholic Action, the Young Christian Workers, the Legion of Mary and the Sodality of Our Lady. Since the aims of these groups are all very much alike, there is a certain amount of rivalry between them for members and for recognition as the most active society in the parish. The position of Catholic Action as the leading lay apostolate society is being challenged by the Legion of Mary and the Young Christian Workers, whose militant opposition to the Labour Party has generated much publicity.

The Jesuits introduced the Young Christian Workers movement in 1945. Its members today, however, are for the most part young unmarried white-collar workers. This is an occupational class which does not generally support the Labour Party. The male sections of Catholic Action and the Young Christian Workers usually have their own premises, with facilities for table tennis and billiards, and sometimes a bar and library.

In all villages, the Church societies with the greatest membership are those which cater for women and girls. Few of these groups have premises of their own; they usually meet, separately, several times a week in one of the smaller chapels that are to be found in all villages. There the members say prayers and listen to lectures and sermons from their chaplains. They also teach catechism, look after church vestments, visit the sick and in general perform useful work for the parish priest and the clergy. Many village girls are members of one or other of these groups until they get married. For, quite apart from the religious benefits they may derive, they find in them a certain organized companionship, especially after they leave school.

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794 The strictest and one of the oldest of the lay apostolate groups is the Society of Christian Doctrine. It is more commonly referred to as *tal-muzew* or MUSEUM (Magister Utinam Sequatur Evangelium Universus Mundus). A Maltese priest founded the society in 1907 with the object of giving a deep religious formation to its members through a life of prayer and instruction. Although MUSEUM members live at home and work alongside others, they may not smoke, attend any kind of public entertainment, cultivate friendships with non-members, read secular newspapers or join other associations. Moreover, the men are required to cut their

hair short, are not allowed to wear neckties, and must wear jackets 785
in public. Female members are obliged to wear the traditional 794
Maltese *ghonella* (also *faldetta*). This is a black silk cowl which [292]
renders the wearer completely shapeless. Finally, all members are
tied by a promise of celibacy. Since members usually enter the [589]
society as children, and work up through grades until they
become full members, this promise ensures that all are either
bachelors or spinsters.

The male and female sections are completely separate. Each 794
meets daily under its respective superior in its own house. There [834]
the members hold devotional exercises, conduct study groups for
adults and also teach catechism to the children. The superiors are
normally elected for life; but if the members cannot agree, the
national superior general, after consultation with the parish
priest, appoints an acting superior, either from the village or from
outside groups.

The society is somewhat unusual among village religious [793]
associations, since no member of the village clergy is directly
involved in its activities, though priests are often invited in to give
lectures. This relatively independent status, and the close contact
that members maintain with their national headquarters, has led
some parish priests to look upon it as a potential threat to their
authority and consequently to oppose its establishment in their
parishes. Thus, although the society has spread to 40 (83 per cent)
of the Maltese parishes, it is only established in 6 (40 per cent) of
those in Gozo, Malta's conservative sister island. In point of fact,
wherever it has been established it has supported the authority of
the parish priest, and its members are now among the staunchest
opponents of the Labour Party.

In each parish there are usually several loosely organized groups such as the Association of Christian Mothers and the Holy Name Society which meet infrequently for special prayers and devotions.

Finally, there is at least one confraternity in each parish. A
confraternity is a lay religious society which is dedicated to a particular saint and offers Masses for dead members. These societies,
called *fratellanzi*, are the oldest associations in Malta, and many
date back to the Middle Ages. Formerly certain confraternities in [467]
the larger villages and towns acted as trade guilds; others only
enrolled persons of the highest socio-economic class. Both men [292]
and women may enrol, as members; but only men may wear the

794 repair and improve the statue and its pedestal. The procession also includes a dozen or so masked penitents who walk barefooted or 796 crawl the length of the procession route dragging heavy chains [785] behind them. It is a most solemn and impressive spectacle.

Very early on Easter morning the bells ring out the announcement of the Resurrection, and the sacristan, helped by Anton and Pawlu, removes the black damask from the church walls and sacred pictures. Later in the morning the procession with the statue of the Risen Christ passes through the village.

II

796 Of all the village feasts, the most important is always that of the patron saint of the parish church. The patron or titular saint of a church is the saint under whose special protection its founders have placed it. The titular of the parish church thus becomes the patron saint and protector of the village. In addition to the more usual religious ceremonies and processions, the people express their devotion to their patron with band marches and tremendous displays of fireworks. These celebrations provide the chief public entertainment of the countryside.

796 628 But the annual festa is more than a superior religious feast and a time of amusement for the village; it is also an event upon which village prestige depends. During the feast thousands of people crowd in from every part of the island. All these visitors have definite ideas on how a good festa should be run, and nothing they see or hear escapes their critical attention. The decoration of the church, the lighting of the streets, the quantity and firing rhythm of the exploding rockets are compared with those of their own and other feasts. The reputation of the village depends upon their judgement. This is a matter which concerns everyone, and the village draws together to display itself to the outsiders in the most favourable light. House fronts are repainted and new clothes are bought or made. The church is illuminated, the interior is hung with red damask and its treasures are placed on display. Every year the village tries to acquire at least one new work of art for this display. The principal streets and the square are lined with vividly painted papier mâché statues of prophets and saints, interspersed with urns from which sprout dazzling branches of electric light. Overhead, scores of colourful arches, strung from

* 159 434 454 is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent. Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting his money into capital equipment for his fields. He has in [407] fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of 16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding, in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

* 159 511 262 Expenses within the household are difficult to determine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva), a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat and ham,, coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc), olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958) -butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (għaġin). Ġamri observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually insufficient for the family so additional quantities of these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring [354] the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not considered essential even during the coldest part of the winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

* 159 262 [369] The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural Malta. In some details this differs from that found among urban working classes in the Islands but these differences are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm, where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An important ● [785] factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions. Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

*159 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday
Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable
262 to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts.
785 These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of
Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain
occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The
emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary
and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of
permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between
the frugal meals.

*159 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in
262 Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his
264 wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school
time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of
bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or
so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields
Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs,
olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked
meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls.
Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks,
and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least
one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature
and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (especially
where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields).
[261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted.
Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the
boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

198 The proportion of food purchased is now much greater
291 than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same
443 is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably
[432] both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young
[294] farmer when half the people in the village had looms and
many had spinning wheels to produce cotton garments for the
family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the
farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a
thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally
produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army
surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and
wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have
been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of
army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and
the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday
markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in
both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 With the increasing contact between town and country
369 the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief
178 leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no
longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like
townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

those, who, either from the effect of the country walk, or from the smells emanating from the cooked rabbits and fried sausages, feel inclined to go in and partake of the tempting dishes. 796 265

The crowd of visitors keep on promenading along the streets of the village till little before sunset. At the *Angelus*, the Zabbar visitors are on their way home, and the inhabitants of the village, are left peacefully alone to remove the chairs and tables prepared for their friends and relations. 796

HOLY THURSDAY AND GOOD FRIDAY

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These two days of Holy Week—the end of the Penitential season—are days of solemn and melancholy ceremonial in Malta and observed as days of rigid

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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796 [785] fast, being sacred as a commemoration of the crucifixion of our Lord.

The Churches are covered with black hangings, all the altars stripped of their ornaments, and all the bells are kept silent in token of deep mourning.

The people assist in crowds at the most imposing services which take place in all the principal churches on these days.

On Holy Thursday (Maundy Thursday), from about 1 p.m. till very late at night, the towns, Notabile and the other thickly populated centres of Malta, present a very striking scene.

Hundreds, from every rank and class of the people, generally in couples or in groups, are seen most devoutly performing the visit to the churches, reciting prayers all the time as they move from one church to another.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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salt may produce its effects it must be 755
thrown by a married woman, not by a 757
maiden.

IL *GHAGIUSA*

We have an old custom in Malta to 857
make children believe that the *ghagiusa* 888
(the oldest woman living in the parish) is killed at noon on Thursday, the middle of Lent.

Mothers, after fasting the first twenty [785] •
days of lent, send their children to the door of the parish church, or of some convent to see the sexton or some friar throwing the old woman from the steeple down below.

The disappointment of the children is indeed very great when at noon, they don't see the *ghagiusa* thrown down.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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to justify the inconvenience of caring for them is a lesson 539
which had to be learned. "Ghalec ma tridx tmut l'ghagiusa, 888
ghax actar ma ticber izjed titghallem"—"The old woman does not want to die for the older she grows the more she learns"—is a common saying. For further proof that the story of the "Kaukam" has come down from very early times, there is the only other context in which the word *ghagiusa* means "an old woman" or, more accurately, "the oldest woman hereabouts" (normally the word means "a crab").

> "We have an old custom in Malta," says Bussutil,[1] 539
> "to make children believe that the ghagiusa is killed at 796
> noon on Thursday, the middle of Lent. Mothers, after 785
> fasting the first twenty days of Lent, send their children 888
> to the door of the parish church, or of some convent to see the sexton or some friar throwing the old woman from the steeple. . . ."

That the destruction of the old woman should occur in 174
the middle of Lent—a period of fasting—is too much of a 796
coincidence not to indicate that, in times when food was 539
scarce, the aged folk were removed—either by being thrown 888
from a high place or, to save the guilt of actual murder, walled up in a rock tomb, as in the case of the peasant. The association of the Church with the destruction of the *ghagiusa* suggests that in primitive times the removal of the aged was the responsibility of the pagan priests who performed the "ritual murders." These murders may have developed from a practical necessity into a sacrificial propitiation.

The story of the Kaukam takes its name from the ancient's 539
first piece of advice to his perplexed son. Faced with the probability of losing his own crops while he cares for those of the Sultan, who has commanded that no man may plant his

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

St. Martin club – that the St. Roque club was not planning to par- 575
ticipate in the ceremony in protest against the way they had been 578
treated during the centenary. Dun Franġisk's spontaneous move 621
upset their plans. 793

Although Dun Franġisk favoured the suggestions that the clubs [521]
draw lots, or hire outside bands, St. Martin rejected both because they implied that the clubs had equal status. The last time the St. Roque band had played was six years and four parish priests before, when the local police inspector had devised a compromise solution, and the St. Martin leaders had 'allowed' St. Roque to play the last march of the day, while their band escorted the new priest home. They believed any concession they made now would undo the advantage which they felt they had gained as the only functioning band in the village during the past six years.

Thus it came about that no band played at Dun Franġisk's installation ceremony. This greatly surprised the many visitors from the city and the suburbs, but the good people of the district found it quite in accordance with the way things should be, considering the issues involved. At no point in the series of events were the feelings of the young priest, whom all liked, ever considered. His installation had become the vehicle for a clash between the followers of St. Martin and St. Roque. They had been vying with each other for supremacy long before he was born, and would be at it long after he left. Any concessions made for his sake would have to be entered into the eighty-year-old ledger of credits and debits, and might have an important bearing on the outcome of the next series of encounters.

III

Two interesting problems remain to be considered: why festa 17
partiti arose during the fifty years or so after 1850, and what 621
reasons prompted people to join one partit rather than its rival. 787
The factors which caused the partiti to come into existence at this 795
particular period in Maltese history are necessarily complex, and they are dimmed by the time that has elapsed since their foundation. Nonetheless, one can discern several elements which would appear to be related to the general problem. To begin with, during this period there was a sudden increase in the devotion to the Virgin Mary following her apparition in 1858 at Lourdes, and the

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic
787 Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedicated
795 to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

17 During this period a conception of social organization new to
575 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
621 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'.
After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
648 programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
653 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
658 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate
urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
880

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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

Medical Votive Offerings in the Maltese Islands

PAUL CASSAR

THE MALTESE GROUP OF ISLANDS—Malta, Gozo, Kemmuna, Kemmunet and Filfla— 131
cover an area of just over 120 square miles. They form a stepping-stone between Europe
and Africa, being fifty-eight miles distant from Sicily and 180 miles away from the
North African shore. Malta and Gozo are renowned for the number of Stone Age 172
temples they contain. Archaeologists have expressed the opinion that some of the en-
closures of these temples were sacred to a healing deity (Zammit 1926, p. 53). This is
suggested by the discovery of clay and limestone objects consisting of (1) two models of
women lying asleep on a kind of stretcher of wicker work, and (2) several votive offerings
in the shape of parts of the human body (Zammit & Singer 1924, pp. 75–6).

It is believed that the sleeping ladies represent devotees who went to the Hypogeum 17
temple at Hal Saflieni, near Pawla, to consult the oracle through the practice of oneiro- 787
mancy. This was a form of dream interpretation after the patient had been aroused from 755
a hypnotic state induced deliberately by means of drugs or other means (Zammit 1935,
p. 58). In ancient Egypt dreams were regarded with reverence and the faithful believed
that their prayers were rewarded by the gods with an indication, in their dreams, of the
remedies which their illness required (Wilkinson 1837, III, p. 394). Similar practices
prevailed also in the temple-hospitals of classical Greece where the patient is said to
have had the line of treatment revealed to him in his sleep (Pavey 1951, p. 59). It is,
therefore, quite possible that such methods were likewise followed in Malta by the
Hypogeum priests in the treatment of disease about 1500 B.C. Whatever might have
happened in Malta in neolithic days, it is very striking to come across similar parallels
in modern times where sick persons claim to have been healed by a heavenly power while
in the sleeping state.

The following cases were recorded in 1890, the first being the most interesting as 175
the patient fell asleep in the church itself: 755

(i) A woman had been subject to a purulent inflammation of the mouth for 787
fifteen years. She had recourse to the Virgin Mary and while praying at Ta Pinu 781
church (Gharb, Gozo) she was overtaken by extreme somnolence. She woke up with
the conviction that the Madonna had granted her the desired favour; in fact, she
recovered completely from her illness within three days.

(ii) Maria Cachia, from a village in Gozo, was so gravely ill from puerperal fever that it was decided to give her the Last Sacraments. Her mother made a vow to the Virgin Mary and annointed the patient on the forehead and breasts with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp of Ta Pinu church. Maria fell into a calm sleep. Our Lady appeared to her in a vision, touched her on the parts smeared with the oil and healed her. On waking she was "happy and smiling and left her bed completely cured".

175 (iii) Giovanna Debrincat had been suffering from depression with religious
755 scruples for eight months. Her symptoms became acute one day in February with
787 extreme anxiety, agitation, and insomnia. This phase lasted for four consecutive
781 days and nights in spite of the efforts of the doctor and a priest to reassure her and
placate her. Finally her relatives annointed her with the sanctuary oil and appealed
to the Blessed Virgin to cure her. The patient immediately became tranquil and
had a peaceful sleep. When she woke up, all her symptoms had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1890).

NEOLITHIC VOTIVE OFFERINGS

532
172 The custom of offering 'ex-votos' to the deity for favours received is not limited to the
782 Maltese Islands and goes back to very remote times. The neolithic 'ex-votos' of Malta
[171] are made of clay and limestone, and measure from 1¼ to 3¼ inches in height. No less
than fifteen of them, consisting of the following anatomical forms, have been found:

(i) Faces: 2.
(ii) Hand: 1.
(iii) Female torsos with large abdomen, pendulous breasts, and prominent genitalia: 4.
(iv) Kneeling female (?) torso with arms folded on breast: 2.
(v) Fragment of female statuette consisting of lower abdomen, both thighs, and right leg: 1.
(vi) Female body cut short in the neck and upper parts of the thighs; the left arm is bent on the nape of the neck and the right upper limb points to the genitalia which are very clearly shown. The abdomen and breasts are very full and a swelling fills the left groin while pieces of white shells are stuck in the armpits, groins, umbilicus, mons veneris, and other parts.
(vii) Female pelvis with upper parts of thighs and sexual triangle: 2.
(viii) Legs: 2 (Zammit & Singer 1924, p. 67).

The Roman occupation of Malta (218 B.C.–A.D. 397) is represented by one solitary
17 'ex-voto' consisting of a clay model of the lateral view of a leg and foot. It was found
782 quite recently with other Roman objects in the north-west part of the island (Plate 1,
Fig. 2). The inhabitants of the Maltese Islands were converted to Christianity by St
[797] Paul in A.D. 60. No more 'ex-votos' can be traced for many hundreds of years until they
reappear in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Catholic Church. The interruption in the time-sequence and the change of religious beliefs do not, however, prevent us from perceiving that they have a common purpose and that the 'ex-votos' of Stone Age and Roman times foreshadow the similar ones of later years. Indeed the same ideational process links the ancient ones with those of our own times.

782 Anatomical 'ex-votos' are still preserved in many of the Catholic churches of Malta
and Gozo and in several wayside shrines in the countryside and in niches in the towns.
532 They are either figures of the complete human body or of parts of it. The former consist
755 of the front view of babies with the trunk and limbs swathed in bands like a mummy;
and of side views of men and women in a kneeling posture with their hands joined in prayer over their breasts or else holding a symbolical heart. The men are turned towards the left and the women look towards the right. The models representing parts of the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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THE KUCCIJA

Among the peculiar customs which still exist in Malta, the *kuccija* may perhaps rank first. 852

The *kuccija* is an elaborate entertainment given by the parents on the first anniversary of their children's birth.

The company of relations and friends having assembled, the child is brought in and if it be a boy he is presented with a basket or tray containing corn, sweetmeats, coins, an inkstand, a candle, a rosary, a book, a sword, and other toys—if the baby is a girl, needles, silks and ribbands supply the place of the sword and inkstand. 852 787 ●

The choice the baby makes on this occasion will, according to Maltese notions, give a just idea of his future disposition and the profession which he will follow. Should he choose the corn 852 787 828

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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852 it is a sign of a liberal character—if he
• [787] picks out the inkstand it points towards
[828] inclination for trade or the bar—if he
takes the book, the rosary or the candle
the assumption is that he intends to dedicate his life to the service of the church.

[574) When the baby makes his or her selection, the guests are treated with refreshments, and they all drink the health and future prospects of the small individual in question.

FUNERALS

764 On the death of a Maltese, two or
767 three women called *Neuwieha*, hired for
[533] the occasion, and attired in long mourning cloaks, immediately entered the house of the deceased singing in a low and dismal voice, some appropriate deathsong. These women cut away

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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THE GHOST OF THE HOUSE

776
777
825
Some of our people believe in what they call *Il Hâres*—and some of our country-folk still say that this *hâres* exists in the shape af an old black serpent which guards the house and bestows riches and good luck on the children born in that house.

It is held extremely unlucky to kill the old black serpent, as after its death great misfortunes will befall the members of the family.

GOOD LUCK

787
823
[777]
Many believe in their fortune or luck (especially maidens) according to the figures formed by melted lead.

On the Feast of St. John—24th of June—some lead is melted and immediately poured into a vessel containing

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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water, and according to the figure or shape it assumes when it solidifies so will be the fortune of the person who tries the experiment. If the lead becomes bright the maiden is to get a handsome young man for her husband, and lead a happy life with him; if it turns out black the husband will be ugly and the maiden may expect to lead a miserable existence. (*) 787 823

THE BATH

On Easter Sunday as soon as the *Gloria* is sung in the Churches, mothers dip their babies into a bath, in which 755 824

(*) A similar practice is kept up in Denmark, where young women melt lead on New Year's Eve, and after pouring it into water observed in the following morning what form it has assumed. If it resembles a pair of scissors, they will inevitably marry tailors; if a hammer their husbands will be smiths, and so on. [171]

T. Dyer *Domestic Folklore.*

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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THE ITCHING OF THE EYE

● 787 826 [777] The itching of the eye is considered as an unlucky omen. Grose, celebrated antiquarian, who collected together so many of the superstitions prevalent in his day, says: "When the right eye itches the party affected will shortly cry."

THE ITCHING OF THE HAND

Among other omens we are told that the itching of the hands signifies that they will shortly receive money.

HOWLING OF DOGS

825 763 A superstitious opinion vulgarly prevails in Malta that the howling of a dog in a neighbourhood is the presage of death to any that are sick in it.

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The howling of the dog is ascribed 825
by some to its keen sense of the odour 763
of approaching dissolution.

This superstition which, while not [illegible]25
confined to our Island, appears to have 763
been almost as well known in ancient 171
times as at the present day.

Dr. Nathaniel Home, in his "Daemonologie" page 60, says: "If dogs howl in the night near a house where somebody is sick, it is a sign of death."

Capitolinus tells us: that the dogs by their howlings presaged the death of Maximinus.

TINGLING of the EAR

It is a well known superstition among 787 •
the Maltese that when the ear tingles 826
they usually say that somebody is talking of them. A tingling of the right ear

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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787 826 denotes that a friend is speaking well of one: a tingling of the left, implying the opposite.

[171] The opinion, from whence this proverbial saying is derived, is of great antiquity, being thus mentioned by Pliny: "Moreover is not this an opinion generally received that when our ears do glow and tingle some there be that in our absence do talk of us?"

MEETING OF WOMEN

846 787 777 If two women who have been confined on the same day meet before forty days, one of them will suffer some misfortune either in her own person or in that of her child.

THE MONTH OF MAY

777 May is considered as the month of accidents, and consequently many be-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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lieve that those who get married during this month will be unfortunate. 777

THE CHURCH ORGAN

Many of our country people want the organ to be played during the mass which is celebrated at their wedding, for they believe that if it is not played the couple will not live long together. To show how much some of our country men believe in this superstition, my friend, Mr. P. P. Castagna, gives the following anecdote in his "Storia ta Malta." 787 ● 585 533

Not long ago a young man went to church at Casal Chircop to get married. On finding, however, that the organist did not turn up to play during the mass, he took off his coat threw it on the floor and went out

787 in a rage, and he could not be per-
585 suaded to go back to his wedding
533 before the organist could be found and
the organ played for the occasion.

PAYING VISITS

273 If a person goes to pay a visit, for
574 the first time, to a party and is not
576 treated with a sort of drink called
825 *zambur* — made of aniseed—a mouse
enters the chest of drawers and gnaws
all the petticoats of the mistress of
the house.

SENDING TO THE OVEN

252 Some people think it a great shame
562 for a woman who sends dishes to be
cooked in an oven when her husband
is away from the Island.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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NEW YEAR'S SUPERSTITIONS

A superstitious dread still attaches to 527
some one of the family keeping absent 763
at dinner time on New Year's day. He 264
who doesn't dine with his family on New Year's day is expected to die at the end of that same year.

He who eats hotch-potch soup on 527
New year's day is to gnaw the ham bones 262
all the rest of the year. 787

Those who eat cabbages on New year's day groan for a whole year.

OIL, SALT AND WINE

The spilling of oil is considered a 777
very unlucky omen by the Maltese. 787
The spilling of salt or wine, however, betokens good luck.

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PARSLEY

824 763 When one plucks a stem of parsley by the roots and plants it again he may expect to lose one of his parents within the year.

THE HEN

825 763 When a hen crows it is at once destroyed as it foretells the death of some member of the family.

THE HAWKMOTH OR SPHINX

825 • 787 The appearance of a white hawkmoth betokens the coming home of some one who is abroad. The appearance of a black hawkmoth, however, is a harbinger of sad news.

COMETS

821 787 The appearance of a comet is a sign of an approaching evil.

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THROWING STONES IN A WELL

Our ancestors made children believe that if they threw stones in a well or into the sea they had to lift them up some day with their eyelashes. 787 823

THIRTEEN AT TABLE

Sitting down thirteen to dinner is considered very unlucky. 777 264 763

The notion is that one of the thirteen will die within the next twenty four hours. The origin popularly assigned to this widespread superstition is the fact that thirteen was the number at the Last Supper, Judas being the thirteenth.

SNEEZING

The custom of saying "Evviva" or "Sahha" to one who happens to sneeze 827

827 prevails in Malta as in other parts of the world. (*)

DREAMS

● 787 There is also a popular superstition in Malta to give interpretation to certain dreams.

The Maltese say that to dream of

[777] (a) fish betokens good luck

(b) the sea foreshews a great trouble

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[171] (*) Carolus Sigonius in his Hist. of Italy would deduce this custom from a pestilence that happened in the time of Gregory the Great (about the year 750) that proved mortal to such as sneezed.

In Brand's "Popular Antiquities" we read that the custom of saluting a person who sneezed was accounted very ancient, even in the time of Aristotle, who in his Problems has endeavoured to account for it, but knew nothing of its origin. According to him, the first men prepossessed with the ideas concerning the head as the principal seat of the soul, carried their respect to sternutation, as the most manifest and the most sensible operation of the head. Hence those several forms of compliments used on similar occasions amongst Greeks and Romans: *Long may you live, May you enjoy health.*

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(c) corn portends bitter crying through a misfortune 787 (777)

(d) lentils signifies hunger.

COMMON AILMENTS

At the present day, in spite of the "march of intellect" most of the ordinary ailments of every day life have still, what are popularly termed in folk medicine, their "charm remedies" consisting in very quaint recipes which from time immemorial, have been handed down from parent to child. 755

The following are the complaints to which more or less eccentric remedies have always been applied.

Bleeding of the nose—A curious remedy for the bleeding of the nose is to place a key on the person's back. The key is resorted to as a charm in

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consists in cutting open a live rabbit and 755 [825]
applying it with the still warm entrails on the stomach of the patient.

Piles—Carrying about a dried fig [824] in one's pocket is considered a good specific for this complaint.

Rheumatism—Amateurs of the healing [825] art advised the sufferer to carry about a dried fish in his pocket as a charm for its cure.

Sty—To prevent or cure this disorder [824] it is customary for the patient to throw over his shoulders seven grains of barley in a well.

The superstitiously inclined say that [787] a sty forebodes the inheritance of some riches.

Beside the omens and superstitions 128 briefly described in the preceding pages

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174

it the Birthday of the Solar Disc; but Christ is the Sun 774
of Righteousness' " (S. HEATH, *Romance of Symbolism*).[1] 777
796

We cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, connect the vampire *Gaugau* with Christianity; but with Mithra the affair becomes quite different. It is not difficult to connect a child born on the eve of the Birth-feast of the bloodthirsty Mithra with something more terrible than "ghostly pranks." It is comforting to hear that the vampire *Gaugau* is now capable of nothing worse than "frightening people with his groanings!"

There was a time before the dread broom of "Progress" 846
began to sweep all peasant customs—good as well as bad— 777
before it, when the newly-delivered mother kept carefully to 787
her house during forty days for fear of meeting another mother who had been confined on the same day. It was believed that of two such women meeting within forty days of their confinement, one would suffer a great misfortune. Two possible [174]
reasons for this quaint prohibition are apparent. It was either some remnant of a primitive, levitical period of purification or a means of ensuring that the mother wasted no time gossiping at the doorway or in the market place, to the neglect of her young family.

GROWING UP

With the child's first birthday comes the *'uccija*, or "choosing." 852
A tray or basket is filled with an assortment of articles repre- 787
senting trades and professions—a book, a rosary, a candle, an inkstand, a sword—whichever the baby first picks up will indicate its bent in life. This simple means of divination is widespread, and little need be said of it except that some grains of corn are sometimes introduced as a symbol of generosity, suggesting that at one time the *'uccija* decided

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[1] H. BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

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852 not the trade the child was to follow, but the deity whose
●787 particular care the child should be. Corn, sacred to Ceres the Earth-Mother, alone remains.

776 It will not, unfortunately, be long before the little Maltese makes the acquaintance of the Bogey-man. He is called *Babau*, and differs very little from the English bogey-man. He is black, and lurks in corners, cupboards, behind trees, and in ill-lit streets. Sometimes he will assume the shape of an ox, a ram, or a homely donkey. In Malta he has one virtue. He prefers to haunt those whose possessions have been unfairly come by. If Grez and Zeppu go in fear of *Babau* they have in the *Hares* a friend and protector.

Il Hares—for thus he, or it, is always referred to—takes many forms and performs a variety of tasks. It is possible that *Hares* is the generic name for several spirits, some good, some evil; but the children's *Hares* is our old friend Puck, or Robin Goodfellow. He appears to good children in the form of a little black dwarf, and taking them by the hand leads them off to play with him in some hidden world of his own where fair gardens, luscious sweetmeats, and marvellous toys abound. Only one condition attaches to these secret visits: the *Hares* must never be betrayed to parents or grown-ups. Should his visits be discussed with adults the gates of his magic world are for ever shut upon the garrulous child. I know a grown woman, sensible and devout, who tells of meeting the little black *Hares* frequently when she was a child. She firmly believes in him.

For the adult the *Hares* is a more fearsome creature. Some say that every household has its own particular guardian spirit, sometimes materialized as a black snake. The snake must be treated with respect. If it is injured, calamity will overtake the house and all who dwell in it. This snake would seem to be African in origin. The Bantu races, notably the Zulus, believe that their guardian spirits take upon them the body of a black snake.

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539 805 824 'He is January's own brother, bless him,' said the poor man. 'Quantities of rain and everyone satisfied, for February fills up all and brings riches to the peasant's house. In the month of February all mistakes are discovered. In February sow, water, and tend the small-leaved basil.'

'What a lot you know!' they all cried.

'Friend,' said March, 'what about March?'

'Days long and beautiful,' answered the peasant. 'The cold braces you like iron, and a little wind is always desirable.'

The poor man answered in this way each question of the rest of the months, letting his tongue wag in their honour, praising each one up to the skies."

The merchant, in reply to the same set of questions, complains bitterly about each month. The peasant is given a magic cloth of the sort used to cover bread, which provides him and his family with food and drink in plenty. The rich merchant receives a stick which beats him and his wife unmercifully every time it is addressed.

821 •787 Apart from the expected, usual characters of the twelve months, there is a method whereby the year's weather may be foretold. The twelve days preceding Christmas Eve are known as "presages." Each day foretells the weather of its corresponding month during the forthcoming year. Here, again, is seen the shadow of Mithra—the "Great Fecundator"—no period could be more ominous than the sacred twelve days preceding his feast.

FAITH

771 782 Where knowledge fails or some error in complying with the traditional rules is made, Faith steps in. A farmer will send for the village priest to bless his fields when he has sown

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at the wrong season and so set right his error. The blessing is 771
accompanied by the burning of leaves of the wild olive which 782
have been blessed in Holy Week. Blessing, accompanied by [226]
sacred "fumigation," is very widely used—by fishermen to [585]
ensure a good catch, by newly married folk to ensure a happy
house.

GETTING MARRIED

Zeppu and Grez will think long and seriously before they 584
get married. In an island where poverty is the rule rather than [735]
the exception, and there is no "dole," there can be no haphazard mating. Zeppu will wait until he has a sufficient competence and Grez will contribute her share of the common resources in the form of a "dot" which she, herself, has earned and saved. Until very recently all marriages were arranged by a professional "go-between"—an old woman wise in the ways of the world and in suitable matings. Even now there is little choice left to the girl.

In this matter of marriage, so hedged about with Christian 584
law and custom, the Old Things still command a place. Their 824
hands are perhaps more apparent than in the marriage customs of all other countries—themselves pagan enough in origin.

In the story which has been quoted the month of February is praised, amongst other reasons, because it is then that the "small-leaved basil" is tended and watered. The reference might be rendered "In the Spring a young man's fancy . . ." for the sweet basil is the sign and symbol that a marriageable girl awaits a suitor.

The small bush, either of basil or of the Madonna rose,
is carefully tended and placed on the sill of an upper window.
A well-grown plant is an indication that the maiden will make [787]
a good wife and mother.

A suitor, seeing the "marriage bush" at an upper window,

the Pope and the Archbishop, stopping now and then to shout 578
insults at the passing Labour supporters. The square on the other 625
side of the police cordon began to fill up with people returning
from the meeting and others who left their houses to see what the 665
excitement was about. Gradually the songs became louder and 794
more excited, and the shouts hoarser. By then it was getting quite dark, but I could see Dun Mikiel in the front row, his hands thrust tensely into the pockets of his cassock, scowling at the passers-by while he smoked cigarette after cigarette. The tension by this time was almost electric. Suddenly, one of the local MLP supporters returning to the Labour club replied to a taunt by making a threatening gesture. The crowd in front of the church booed him loudly and surged forward. The police, anxious to hurry the trouble-maker off the square, pushed him a bit too hard and he stumbled and fell. This angered the crowd on the other side of the square and it began to press through the police cordon. At this point police reinforcements arrived and cleared the square in a few moments. Their prompt action prevented an ugly situation from going further, for there had been well over a thousand angry people facing each other, separated by less than two dozen unarmed policemen.

Four days after the meeting, Dun Bert organized a pilgrimage 578
of reparation to atone for the insults of the MLP speakers. The 665
procession of some 1,200 people reciting the Rosary escorted the 794
statue of Our Lady of Sorrows through the area behind the church [788]
where the Labour meeting had been held. About 400 of the participants [783]
were outsiders who had come to Kortin from other parts
of the island for the occasion. After the procession the crowd
gathered in front of the church where a Mass was said. A noted [796]
Jesuit orator then rebutted the MLP speeches point by point. The [537]
whole affair had almost passed off without incident when a number of stones and bottles were thrown from behind walls at the buses and cars leaving the village.

But if there are relatively few face-to-face meetings of this kind 575
in Kortin or elsewhere, there are many disputes that divide and 578
weaken the clubs and associations. This matter has particularly 665
affected Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, who feels responsible for preserving its unity in these difficult times. In Kelinu's, where many of the influential regulars are members of the Social Club, they say that it has become a Mintoff stronghold.

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black 764
crape.

(*d*) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(*e*) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and 764
watch the corpse for the whole night. This custom prevails 767
mostly in Gozo. In old days official female mourners, named
neħħieha (from *neħħah*, " to cry ") were employed. The prac- [775]
tice was abolished in Malta during the plague of A.D. 1676.[1] [731]
Sicilians employed mourners called Praeficae or Reputatrices, [171]
a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese female mourners is described by Abela as follows :—

They wore trailing veils (*kurkâr*), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their
mourning. 764

(*f*) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the [354]
Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This [765]
is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is [775]
in this way prevented from haunting the house. In some of [728]
the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth, and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the

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[1] Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 794. [11.3]

● 788

/Information on religious processionals as part of various religious holidays will be found in category 796./

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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796 and the following day, are conducted with the usual solemnity and fervour. [547] There are also several races of quadrupeds in the afternoon of the day of the festival, similar to those which are held in Malta on the feast of S. S. Peter and Paul (L'Imnaria). These races bring the amusements to a close.

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788 Worth mentioning is the custom which prevails amongst some of our country people on the 14th of August, the eve of the feast of "Santa Maria."

Groups of country men and country women, actuated purely by religious motives and a desire to honour the Great Mother of God, start for a pilgrimage of more than 8 hours walk on the morning of that summer day, heedless of the excessive heat of the scorching sun, to visit the churches at the 7 above mentioned villages dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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liberation of the Maltese from the yoke 527
of the Saracens by Count Roger of 186
Normandy in the year 1090. [175] [648]

A liberal programme is now annually arranged by the Committee embracing every kind of attraction at Notabile.

PILGRIMAGES TO MELLEHA (*) 778

On the last two Sundays of September, 788 every year, the roads leading to Melleha are alive with merry parties, especially country people, on their way to that village, in order to visit the

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(*) Melleha is a village some 10½ miles distant [361] from Valletta, and about an hour's ride from St. Paul's Bay. It is renowned for the very old, perhaps the oldest, Sanctuary in the world, dedicated to the B. Virgin. This Sanctuary was founded by St. Paul, [776] the great Apostle of the Gentiles, while he was in Malta (58 A. D.) for the convenience of the faithful who lived in those neighbourhoods. Over the small [532] altar is a picture of St. Mary, covering another old drawing of the same, executed by St. Luke.

778 788 Sanctuary dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

[782] [527] When the devout visitors recite their prayers in the venerated shrine of the Madonna, and leave behind their offerings, such as candles, oil to be burnt in the lamps before the image, waxen and silver limbs &c., they come out and devote the remainder of the day to amusements.

173 778 788 The annual pilgrimages to Melleha in September are supposed to have originated after the victory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565. The siege being raised on the 7th of Sept. —the eve of the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin— the Maltese, in token of gratitude for the help received from the Virgin, in those trying days, made pilgrimages to Melleha, to offer prayers before the mirac-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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ulous effigy of the B. V. Mary, venerat- 173 778
ed in that shrine excavated out of the 788
rock.

ALL SOULS' DAY

2nd November

In Malta, the same as in any other 769 796
Roman Catholic country, a feast is also celebrated for the dead, and the Cemeteries especially that of the "Addolorata," which ranks amongst the finest in Europe, are, on the 1st and 2nd of November the favourite resort of nearly the whole population of the towns and of the neighbouring villages.

Amidst mournful tingling and tolling of the church bells, countless inhabitants, mostly clad in the habiliments of grief, and murmuring prayers, are seen wending their way to the Cemetery. Arrived

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which conferred on him "such Wisdom, Prowess, and good fortune . . . that Fame and Prosperity always attended him thereafter." Tennyson, describing his mystic Lady of the Lake, has:

> And o'er her breast floated the Sacred Fish.

The Saviour Himself was symbolized by the early Christians as a fish. Julius Africanus, an early Christian writer, said of Christ that He was the Great Fish, caught by the Hook of God, whose flesh nourishes the whole world.[1]

This bridal fish, then, may be in some sense a sacramental offering as well as a mere symbol.

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The anointing of the bride's lips is yet another custom which, like the miniature "garden inclosed" of the marriageable girl, recalls the Canticle of Canticles:

> Thy lips my spouse are as a dropping honeycomb,
> honey and milk are under thy tongue. . . .[2]

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The whole of this marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the old Fertility cults—the cakes, sweetmeats, nuts, grain, all in honour of the fertile Mother whose bountiful Earth is carried in a bowl bearing effigies of the bride and bridegroom whom it is hoped she will bless with her own fecundity and riches.

EVERYDAY HABITS

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● 788
Grez, the housewife, will go about her daily tasks carefully following a thousand small rules, most of which have their English parallels. She will never cut a loaf without first making the Sign of the Cross on it with forefinger or knife. If the loaf falls to the ground, she will kiss it by way of asking pardon. She will not sweep her house after sunset for fear of [754] sweeping away good fortune. She will take care not to throw her "combings" out of doors. Should anyone wish her ill it

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[1] *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

[2] *Song of Solomon,* IV, ii.

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will only be necessary for a "wise woman" or witch to spit 771 788 on the hair while uttering a curse to bring misfortune upon [754] the head which nourished it.

Grez will be careful not to laugh too heartily on a Friday—when the memory of the Crucifixion should make all sad. She will make the Sign of the Cross on leaving her house, on entering any vehicle or boat for no matter how short a journey, on cutting a piece of new cloth, before her baby's mouth when it yawns—so that evil spirits may not enter. On meeting a deformed or maimed person she will sign [826] her corresponding limb or part of her body with the Cross.

When she brings flowers into her house she will be as 771 careful to exclude the acacia as any West-country woman to [824] avoid "may" or whitethorn, for the spiky Maltese acacia is the "thorn" of Palestine wherewith the Saviour was crowned.

These are but a few of the small ways in which the peasant woman pays a somewhat mixed homage to the Old Things as well as to the tenets of her Faith. In her favour it may be said that her "superstitions" are more logical than those of such folk who habitually "touch wood" or object to a third cigarette from one match.

THE FESTAS

The Festa, primarily a religious festival and a Holy Day of 796 Obligation, provides the only relaxation for a hardworking and frugal people. Such simple pleasures as a meal of unaccustomed meat, a little wine, processions, and fireworks give full rein to the most lovable, childlike side of the national character. The importance attaching to these periodical [585] holidays is well illustrated by an old rhyme: [675]

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the relatives and the staining of the doors. Provision was made for the deceased's comfort in the other life by the breaking of his pottery—thus releasing the *manes* to accompany him in death. 764 174

The wake was a death feast originally designed to provide a sort of communion with the departed. Similarly, the cutting of the mourner's hair was intended to furnish a ritual link with the dead. Primitive tribes express the same idea in cannibalism and in funeral mutilations. [302]

The cutting of the animals' tails was very probably a version of the sacrifice in expiation of the dead man's sins. 765

> ". . . Then they brought out a splendid white horse, and the priest cut some hair from its mane and tail and burned it on the altar, shouting 'A sacrifice!' . . . 'I saw poor Weland's face through the smoke, and I couldn't help laughing . . .' says Puck."[1]

Based on fear, as these "ancient fictions" were, they yet hid certain eternal truths.

The Old Things, with their complicated rituals, their theologies of terror, served their turn in leading mankind some distance on his upward march. Nowhere is their vague disembodied presence more felt than in Malta's rapidly dwindling countryside, where every stone may well have housed one of their altars. Not all of the Old Things were evil. The good ones have been adopted by Mother Church; but there remain those restless, evil ones who have never bowed down to the Nazarene. They hide in the shadows, angry and resentful. 771 178

THE HOUR OF THE OLD THINGS

Let us go out, at the third or fourth hour after midnight. Away from the clamorous ballrooms of the cramped city of 788 178

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[1] *Puck of Pook's Hill.*

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● 788
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palaces and "prairie oysters." Out into the still, shadowed villages. Not those which fringe the military roads, but those lying in quiet hollows, away from the smell of petrol.

Let us sit for a while on some low wall and be silent.

It will seem that all the world sleeps. Only the darkness beneath walls and in windows and deep-cut doorways will be astir with a ghostly wakefulness. We shall see the little, sleeping houses and the quiet fields, stretching out in gentle waves of purple shadow and moonlit stone. There will be a wayside shrine, with an oil lamp burning fitfully in the light wind that heralds "Dawn's left hand." The sculptured saint will be deep in shadow save for the halo of yellow light painting strange meaning on the graven face, now smiling, now troubled.

Without warning the silence will be riven by the great shout of Musta's bell—like the voice of some titanic muezzin, calling from the minaret of heaven. The voices of all the bells will call, then, to each other. Some deep, manly baritones. Some high-pitched, boyish trebles. Some sweet and womanly, others cracked and querulous like the shrill chatter of crones.

The darkness will seem to stir ominously. The votive flame will flicker madly and die almost away. The protecting ox-horns above dim windows will seem to be shaken by an unseen hand. At last the bells will be silent, but there is no more stillness. All about us, from within every squat dwelling, there comes a murmuring—eerie, guttural, rising and falling in unfamiliar cadence—the voices of the peasants praying.

[776] It is "The Hour of the Departed," when every uneasy soul, every wandering sprite and *hares* is free to be abroad; when every devout peasant stirs restlessly at the sound of the bells, wakes and prays that the Restless Ones may be granted peace and that the Evil Ones be kept at bay.

The Old Things are awake. In every patch of darkness

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they are lurking—Baal, Mithra, Astarte, and all their kind. 788
The very stones beneath us seem to move and groan at the 178
memory of ancient power.

We are brave sceptics in the daylight and in the lamplit city. We shall not stand up here in this, Their Hour, and scoff at the Old Things.

[pp. 141-150 not processed]

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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[402]
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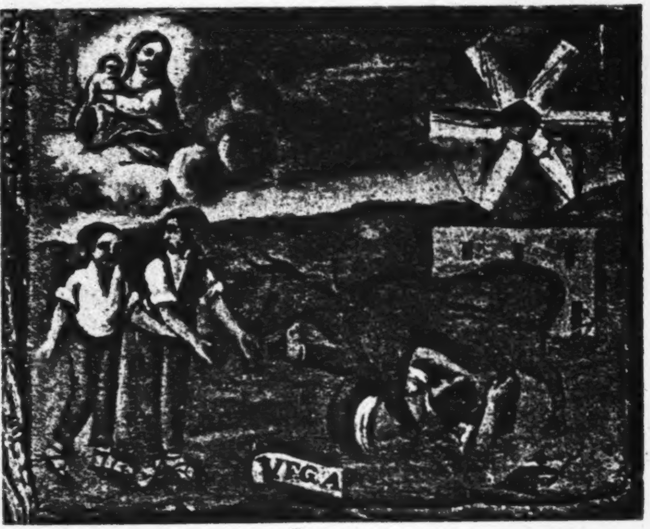

FIGURE 1

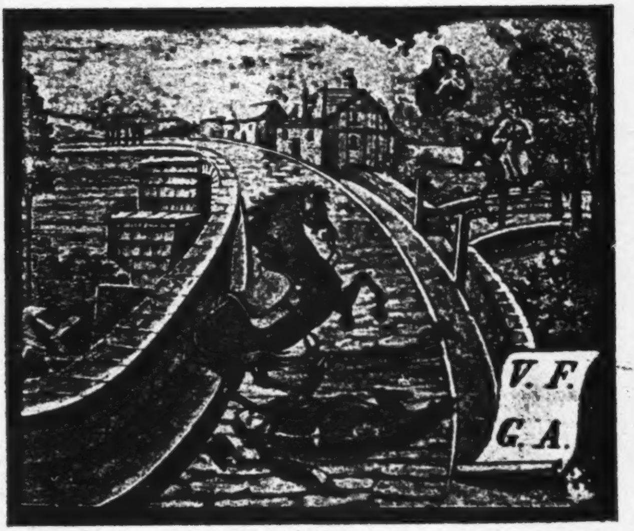

FIGURE 2

[facing p. 25]

1/1 [captions appear on p. 29 - An.]

tuaries that remains particularly rich in painted 'ex-votos' is the church in the Tal 782
Herba district (Birkirkara) erected in 1640 and dedicated to the Birth of the Holy 532
Virgin. These panels are hung up, one above the other, almost up to the ceiling so that 346
the following description written almost one hundred years ago still applies with regard 353
to this particular church: 'On the walls one sees a considerable number of small paintings representing the favours received through the intercession of the Holy Virgin by those devotees who had recourse to her in their calamities' (Ferres 1866, p. 322). As far as could be ascertained the latest painting in this church is dated 1944.

On the whole these pictures are the work of self-taught anonymous folk who never 532
regarded themselves as artists but only as humble craftsmen. In fact their productions 789 ●
often ignore the rules of perspective while the colours and the shading are poor; but in 782
viewing them one must take account of the fact that they were not intended to be decorative pieces. They were simply meant to be pictorial records of the occurrence of a medical emergency that was thought to be beyond human control and which ended happily in an extraordinary manner through a supernatural act. Indeed these pictures portray the moment in which the physician confesses that there is nothing that medical art and science can do to save the patient's life and the instant in which the Divine intervention occurs. Thus we behold the Holy Mary relieving a choking girl or rescuing a pedestrian from being crushed by the wheel of a carriage or see Our Lady stopping a run-away horse and saving its rider from harm (Plate 2, Fig. 2); or else softening the impact of the fall from a height of a stone-mason so that he reaches the ground uninjured; or sparing the life of a farmer from an enraged beast (Plate 2, Fig. 1). In this task of graphically reproducing an event, these paintings succeed very well.

OTHER VOTIVE OFFERINGS

Other things offered for medical reasons consist of: (i) Surgical and orthopaedic ap- 782
pliances such as crutches, plaster jackets, leather corsets, iron splints, metal sutures, etc. (ii) Foreign bodies removed from organs such as stones from the kidneys, needles from fingers, hair-clips from the throat, swallowed thimble, etc. (iii) Babies' dresses, some of them embroidered with gold thread, are a characteristic feature of the Mellieha sanctuary. This custom of offering the child's clothing as a token for recovery from illness prevailed also in connexion with the tomb of the Holy Hermit Kurraw at the Qala sanctuary in Gozo. The grateful mot[illegible] of sick children used to deposit the clothing of their offspring on the hermit's grave as a sign that the disease had been transferred from the children's bodies on to their clothing (Vella Haber 1946, p. 14). Babies' dresses are also offered in thanksgiving for an uneventful delivery and the birth of a normal infant. (iv) Wax tapers, decorated torches and bottles of olive oil for lighting the sanctuary lamp. (v) Sums of money. (vi) Jewellery is the most common 'ex-voto' to be seen to-day in Maltese churches. There are gold necklaces, finger-rings, brooches and other items of personal adornment. Apart from their intrinsic value, most of these gold ornaments represent the most prized possessions which the votary had to offer because they formed the most substantial part of a woman's dowry. To give an idea of the quantity of these valuable articles deposited in one single shrine during a month's time, here is a list, chosen at random from a religious periodical published in 1894: 'Sixteen gold rings, one pair of gold ear-rings with diamonds, two silver bracelets, a gold watch and a

$\frac{1}{A}$, $\frac{2}{A}$ [see plate II, facing p. 25.-An.]

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the Director of the National Museum, Valletta, Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A., and to Mr Jos. Spiteri of the same department for their kindness in taking the photographs; to the Rev. Jos. Tanti and the Rev. Canon Jos. Zammit, administrators of Tal Mirakli Church and of Tal Hlas Church, respectively, for allowing me to publish pictures of 'ex-votos' preserved in their churches.

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CAPTIONS TO PLATES [1]

Plate I

Fig. 1. Silver votive offerings representing various parts of the body. The model between the trunk and the ear is a stylized form of the female breasts. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782

Fig. 2. This leg of baked clay is from the Roman ruins at Ras-ir-Raheb to the north west of Bahria, Malta. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 3. Bronze dies of liver and lower limb used by Maltese silver smiths for the manufacture of the silver 'ex-votos'. Scale in centimetres and inches. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Plate II

Fig. 1. The picture tells the story so clearly that no inscription is attached to it. Note the Maltese type of windmill and the costumes of the peasants still in use during the last century. Tal Hlas Church, Qormi. (Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.) 532 782 789

Fig. 2. The landscape is not Maltese. Presumably this 'ex-voto' was offered by a foreigner or else the donor was a Maltese who met with a riding accident abroad. The letters V.F.G.A. stand for 'Votum Fecit Gratiam Accepit' (A vow was made and a favour received). Tal Mirakli Church, Lija, Malta. (Photograph by Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A.) [402] [291]

[1] [plate I will be found facing p. 24; plate II faces p. 25.–An.]

584 ness of the connection, without at all consulting the inclinations of their children.

[675] [431] [583] The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.

The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.

• [989] Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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with which they rubbed the bride's lips, 584 [789] with the idea of rendering her affable and prudent. She was then conducted [301] into the room where her future husband awaited her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual faith—together with bracelets, necklaces and a gold chain —she presenting him in return with a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon.

This ceremony is called " il chelma " which means the engagement.

On the morning of the wedding-day 585 292 301 the most honoured personage among the husband's relations threw a fine white veil over the bride's head—who wore a brocade or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells.

LIGHT OMENS

789 • 373 If a woman wishes that either her husband or her son return from abroad, she is to light a lamp and leave it behind the entrance door. If the party expected does not return on the following morning, she is to light the lamp again on the following night and keep doing so until at last she sees her dear one entering the house.

BALSAM

755 Those among the Maltese who wish to have a *balsam* that possesses the property of healing all kinds of wounds, take an egg that has been laid on the 25th of March, Lady Day, hide it within a cupboard or on a shelf, in a dark place, and at the end of a year they begin to use it as a sovereign and unfailing remedy.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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was anciently used to represent the tying of Life with Spirit. 585
Its association with the "True Lovers' Knot" of our grandmothers is obvious. 801
There is Biblical authority, too, for the 171
separation of husband from wife, in the incident between Tobias and the Angel Raphael.

Tobias (or Tobit) is about to be wedded to the maiden whose former seven husbands have been slain on the bridal night by an evil spirit. The angel says, "For they who in such manner receive matrimony as to shut out God from themselves to their lust, as the horse and mule, which they have not understanding. Over them the devil hath power. . . . Keep thyself continent from her. . . ."[1]

So far the marriage customs which remain extant—only one or two generations separate Zeppu and Gretz from the more primitive customs. Here is what a Maltese writer has 584
to say of marriages in the not very distant past:

> "The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.
>
> The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.
>
> Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two [789] ●
> young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of rendering her affable and prudent. She was then con- [301]
> ducted into the room where her future husband awaited

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[1] *Tobias*, VI, 17–18.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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which conferred on him "such Wisdom, Prowess, and good fortune . . . that Fame and Prosperity always attended him thereafter." Tennyson, describing his mystic Lady of the Lake, has:

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> Thy lips my spouse are as a dropping honeycomb,
> honey and milk are under thy tongue. . . .[2]

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174
The whole of this marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the old Fertility cults—the cakes, sweetmeats, nuts, grain, all in honour of the fertile Mother whose bountiful Earth is carried in a bowl bearing effigies of the bride and bridegroom whom it is hoped she will bless with her own fecundity and riches.

EVERYDAY HABITS

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788
Grez, the housewife, will go about her daily tasks carefully following a thousand small rules, most of which have their English parallels. She will never cut a loaf without first making the Sign of the Cross on it with forefinger or knife. If the loaf falls to the ground, she will kiss it by way of asking pardon. She will not sweep her house after sunset for fear of sweeping away good fortune. [754] She will take care not to throw her "combings" out of doors. Should anyone wish her ill it

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[1] *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

[2] *Song of Solomon*, IV, ii.

175 79 As has already appeared it is impossible to live and work in Malta without becoming very much aware of the strength of the Church. We venture therefore to make some necessary comment on this at once most delicate and yet most vigorous aspect of Maltese affairs.

As noted in Chapter IV, religious activity of a highly developed and institutionalised nature was a feature of Malta even in prehistory. Little direct evidence is available of this facet of life in the semitic or classical cultures, and even when we come to the Christian era and St. Paul's shipwreck 'on an island called Melita' we have no conclusive evidence that this in fact was Malta, or that St. Paul introduced Christianity to the islands (18).

At all events the Christian Church entered the islands in Roman times, and the line of bishops regarded as beginning with Publius, St. Paul's host, although broken during the period of Arab rule, was re-established by the Normans. As examined in Chapter IV, from this time onward Malta became first a simple fief in Christendom and then its bastion, held by a Religious Order. Whatever toleration there may once have been between Christian and Moslem before 1530 was quickly erased.

The report by the Apostolic Visitor, Mgr. Pietro Duzina (19) of his visit to Malta in 1575 throws some light on the condition of the Church at the time. In answer to unorthodoxy a Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition was established, creating three rival forces in the Islands, the Grand Master, the Inquisitor and the Bishop. From Duzina's report and subsequent accounts we see that not until the Turkish threat in 1565 had been repulsed and the Visitor's instructions for future conduct had had some effect, did village life become centred around new and magnificent churches which replaced the smaller more humble edifices in the hamlets. Curia and architectural evidence (20) corroborate each other. From this time onward, the parishes, growing in number, became the administrative and social regional units that counted in Maltese life and the Parish Church became the focus of the religious, social, and economic life of the casals and villages. As patrons of all the arts, repositories of wealth, directors not only of consciences but all conscious action, the Parish organisations became, and to an amazing extent still retain, a permeating power. Quite apart from the regular clergy the Religious Orders have played an important part in the Maltese Church and in education and other aspects of social activity. The relationship between the Church and the Order of St. John was not always completely amicable. In the traditional village scene the village priest, in the virtual absence of an indigenous squirearchy, was the teacher, doctor, legal advisor as well as spiritual mentor. Compared with this the Knights were alien and apart from Maltese life. The position of the Church and the Order vis-a-vis the Papacy was also not completely easy. Nevertheless, mainly as a result of mutual non-interference, the Church gained complete local ascendancy.

During the nineteenth century an uneasy *modus vivendi* was established between the Church and the new non-Catholic rulers, and during most of the conflict over language and culture the Church played a pacific and calming role, concerning itself mainly with the administrative details necessitated by the rapidly increasing and nucleating population. How far the dependence of the individual on the spirit and dogma of his belief, the faith described in 1840 by Miège (21) as *'celle piété poussé jusqu'au fanatisme'*, has been supported by the long years of insecurity during which Divine and ecclesiastical protection was felt as a real and precious thing, it is hard to say. One may speculate on the fact that it was at the old 'frontier' casal at Mosta, westernmost of the old settlements, that local piety built in days of security the vast church with a dome that ranks among the largest of the world. It is also true that the Maltese Church enforces more strict rules of conduct upon its people than other Churches now find possible.

178 79 However we may interpret the situation, the Church which succeeded in adjusting itself to nineteenth century changes has been faced in the twentieth with the consequences of those changes. The traditional society in which it was virtually omnipotent and omnipresent is changing into a new society in which the individual does not have to lean so much on the priest. Now, the younger genera-

178 79 tion can read, travel and make contact directly and vicariously with the world outside. Emigration too has tested the strength of the Faith. In consequence, we can now find in Malta a historical cross-section represented in spatial distribution. At one extreme one can meet in Sliema agnostic Maltese who never go near a church; at the other, in rural Gozo, one can find general obedience to the Bishop's instructions. All societies are heterogeneous in this respect but in Malta the strain of division within society is particularly great because of the existence of so many other cleavages. The reaction of the Church to this new situation has been dual in character. In the first place the Church itself has taken official action. Reform and correction, the imposition of rigorous film and book censorship, the series of edicts on dress and on behaviour have accompanied research, such as that of Abbé Houtart (22), into the needs of the people. Secondly, there have appeared the lay organisations with the avowed intent of redressing the balance. M.U.S.E.U.M. and Catholic Action before World War II, Cana, Legion of Mary, Social Action, the Holy Name Society and many others of foreign and indigenous origin since 1945 have developed in the conurbation where the challenge to the Church was strongest (23).

Financially the Church is still strong, owning as it does some 19 per cent. of the agricultural land of the Islands and an unverifiable total of urban property (24). Politically, the strength of the Church rests on its hold over the minds and hearts of the people. It is not necessary for the Church to take much overt action to demonstrate its power.

178 256 As a last vignette of the changing Maltese socio-economic complex we may consider some aspects of recent research on a useful indicator of social change, the bread baking industry (25).

655 722 The purchasing, distribution and processing of wheat and wheat flour, remains as it has been for centuries, Government controlled. When the Knights established their capital at Valletta and when the suburb-outwork of Floriana was built, great stone-chamber granaries were hewn out of the solid rock, developed versions of the much older 'bell-pits'. These underground granaries were stocked by the official organisation, the *Università*, and the grain periodically distributed at controlled prices. This siege-system, necessitated by dependence on imports, was abolished in the early nineteenth century, and the newly established Board of Trade contented itself with licensing importations. As a measure of agricultural protection and for the raising of revenue, duties were levied on these shipments. During the twentieth century, and culminating in the emergency measures of the beleaguered Islands during World War II, controls became tighter and grain prices heavily subsidised.

178 256 During the period of urbanisation and more especially during the last siege the general practice of home baking rapidly declined in Malta, although in Gozo it still persists. In the latter island there was in 1957 only one full-time and one part-time commercial bakery, while in Malta there were 201. All food grains produced for sale in the Island should legally be sent to licensed flour mills for blending. Imports, almost entirely of hard Canadian grain, are made by the Department of Trade and by the Victualling Yard in H.M. Dockyard. Ninety-seven per cent. of all flour issued for ration-bread making is subsidised, but local estimates suggest that up to 50 per cent. is used for making other products, this illegally used flour being sold at a discount.

102 178 256 Fig. 67[1] shows the distribution of bakeries in Malta, their importance and the main distribution areas as they existed in 1957. Only two villages in 1950 and one in 1957 - Safi - did not possess their own bakeries. This however is not indicative of closed fields of distribution but only of the multiplicity and the small-scale of the enterprises. Of the 35 districts, 32 imported bread from and 17 exported bread to other areas. Over half the 15,000 bags of subsidised flour issued in 1950 eventually found their way as bread outside the receiving districts. Of this inter-regional trade, Qormi supplied almost 80 per cent. Very briefly the points of interest are as follows. Qormi, which in 1957 had 48 bakeries, has always been the traditional baking centre, partly because of its central situation, but mainly as noted in Chapter VIII because of its situation in

[1] [See p. 198 --Analyst]

621 move for religious feasts and family celebrations. Sometimes a
number of these farms are clustered around a chapel or small
794 church dependent upon the parish church. In time, these hamlets
795 may disappear; historical sources cite many which have long since
vanished.[1] On the other hand, a hamlet may grow to the point
where its inhabitants can afford to build a larger church and in
other ways successfully press their claim to become a separate
parish. Most rural parishes in Malta and Gozo have come into
632 being in this way. Some towns have been divided into two or
794 more parishes for administrative reasons. In Malta, Qormi and
795 Valletta are each divided into two parishes, and Sliema into three.
[578] Rabat in Gozo is currently being divided into two parishes. But
because of fierce rivalry between the residents of the territories
concerned, the exact boundary line is disputed and the territorial
division will probably take another generation to complete.

79 The parish priest, who in all but the smallest parishes is assisted
by a curate or more, is responsible to the Church for the care of
[609] the souls of all Catholics resident in his parish. Except where
foreign service personnel live with their families – notably in
Rabat, Naxxar, Mosta, St. Paul's Bay, Luqa and Birżebbuġa – all
villagers are Catholic, and are thus the priest's parishioners. These
parishioners also form part of the corporate body of the Church.

The clergy in Malta, as in all other Catholic countries, are
793 divided into two main groups: the secular or diocesan clergy, and
the regular clergy. Diocesan priests are trained in the Bishop's
Seminary and are directly subject to the authority of the Bishop.
A further distinction is made between those diocesan priests whose
families or patrons have been able to provide them with a benefice – either property or cash deposited at the Curia bank – yielding a minimum of £10 annually, and those who have received
their benefices from their Bishop. After the first five years the
former, who are by far the most numerous, are free to serve
where they wish. The latter always remain at the service of their
Bishop. Most parishes are run by diocesan priests, and the clergy
[792] resident in the villages belong to this group. The friars and monks
of the regular clergy are members of religious orders. They have
been trained in the seminaries and houses of their particular orders.

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[1] An interesting study of villages which have disappeared is given in M. Richardson, *Aspects of the Demography of Modern Malta* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1960), pp. 243 ff.

794 distinctive habit of the confraternity in processions, in which the [292] *fratelli* play an important part. Entrance to a confraternity is by means of a short religious ceremony and the payment of a small fee. This entitles the newly professed member to share in the indulgences, privileges and spiritual favours which have accrued to the society.

Every confraternity is established independently in each parish, and has nothing to do with confraternities of the same name in other villages. Before the band clubs were established, confraternities were the only formally constituted associations in rural [554] parishes. Their officers enjoyed considerable prestige, and had a voice in village affairs. But today the members seldom meet as a [178] group and most confraternities have no premises of their own, though they generally have an altar in the parish church. Aside from the dozen or two who take part in all the parish processions, members take no part in any activity. A few confraternities [423] which own property are a notable exception. Their officers meet occasionally to discuss the business affairs of the confraternity, and the societies still play an active role in local affairs.

There are also a number of third orders. These societies are lay counterparts of certain religious orders. They are organized in much the same way as the confraternities. Members attend occasional spiritual exercises and have the right to take part in processions and to be buried in the habit of the order. Altogether there are 16 different confraternities and third orders. Among the most common are the confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, which is established in all parishes, the Holy Rosary, Our Lady of Consolation (*Ta' Ċintura*), St. Joseph and the Third Orders of the Franciscans and the Carmelites.

554 All groups and individuals that are tied to the Church are 79 ranked. Each parish, religious order and parish society has its fixed position in the overall order. The same applies to the clerics who constitute its personnel. Position in the hierarchy is determined by seniority of foundation in the case of parishes and associations – or date of ordination or appointment to present office, in the case of the clergy – in combination with certain marks of honour conferred by the Church authorities. Such honours carry with them a claim to higher precedence than seniority by itself would give. For example, any parish in which there is a Collegiate Chapter, or whose church has the title of Basilica, ranks higher than one

which does not have these honours. Other honours are the right 554
to perform rituals, indulgence to persons visiting the church, and
particular ecclesiastical offices. To a considerable extent these are 79
rewards for meritorious conduct, measured by contributions to
the decorations of the church, or the number of vocations, or
special devotions performed in a parish.

During certain religious processions and ceremonies this ranking becomes an important determinant of the order in which the participants take part. Formerly, during the annual St. Gregory procession, virtually the entire hierarchy of Malta could be seen lined up on the ground. But this procession of parishes was abolished and the ceremony modified in 1927, among other reasons because of a dispute between the Canons of Senglea and Birkirkara over a question of precedence. But the St. Gregory procession in Gozo is still held every March. Then it is possible to see parish following parish in order of precedence, and the confraternities of each, in their turn, ranked according to their position in their own parish hierarchy. At the front of the procession is the youngest parish, the one with the lowest rank. It is followed by parishes in ascending order of seniority until the oldest Collegiate Chapter. Then come the religious orders. These are followed by the clergy of the Cathedral and the Monsignori of the Cathedral Chapter. The celebrant or Bishop brings up the end of the procession. This inverted order of precedence is an important organizational principle, which operates in the secular as well as the religious sphere, and it is one of the basic causes of disputes between villages and band clubs.

III

At present there are six political parties in Malta. Of these, only 665
three contested the 1955 elections: the Nationalist Party (NP), led
by Dr. Giorgio Borg Olivier; the Malta Labour Party (MLP),
whose leader is Dom Mintoff; and Miss Mabel Strickland's Pro-
gressive Constitutional Party (PCP). The election resulted in 23 [666]
seats for the MLP, 17 for the NP and none for the PCP. Three new
parties have emerged since the resignation from office of the MLP
in 1958: the Democratic Nationalist Party (DNP), led by Dr.
Herbert Ganado, split from the Nationalist Party; Anthony
Pellegrini, a former Secretary of the Labour Party, founded the

794 In addition to the sums which the parish priest spent on fireworks,
796 another £472 was collected by six groups of enthusiasts
and spent on raw materials for the fireworks which they manufactured.
[435] The total cost to the village was thus £1,212. In all
[389] respects this was an average festa for a village of 5,000.

The festa in Kortin has not always been controlled by the parish
79 priest. Dun Bert, the present incumbent, had something of a
struggle to seize and hold the reins of authority. Until he took
over the parish eight years ago the external festa had been run by
a committee. Though the parish priest was *ex officio* head of this
committee, the actual affairs of the committee were run by old
Manwel and the father of the curate, who was general manager of
the festa for over thirty years. The committee also included the
[389] latter's wife's father and brother in its membership. His brother
[731] was killed twenty-five years ago in an explosion which wrecked
the village's officially licensed firework factory and killed four
others. This committee used to book the bands, repaint, erect and store the decorations and collect all the funds for the external feast. One of its major responsibilities was to run the two large fund-raising fairs which were held every year in the school. Next to the festa, these fairs were the favourite amusement of the village. Thus when Dun Bert arrived in Kortin, he found his was only a nominal role as far as the external festa was concerned. As he is a man who likes to run things his own way, the arrangement did not suit him. Moreover, he was concerned with the financial position of the parish, and in particular with the interest on the £3,000 that his predecessor had borrowed from the Curia to help finance the unfinished parish hall. To be able to meet all the parish's financial commitments, he felt that he had to have control of all its financial resources. The first year, however, he did very little about it.

During his second year in Kortin, the newly elected Labour Government came to his assistance, albeit unwittingly. The new Minister of Education refused permission to the organizers of the Kortin festa to hold a public fair in the school. This deprived the organizers of their major source of income, and threatened the festa. Dun Bert quickly took over the financial management of the festa and made two house-to-house collections. These raised the necessary funds and saved the festa. He then gave to the Sodality of Our Lady the responsibility of collecting threepence a week from each household. But for six months of the year these

contributions would be used for the general needs of the church. 79 ●
The festa committee was dismissed.

The following year he ran the festa himself. It was quite a 79
success, although there was some grumbling that there was not 578
the same spirit in the festa as before. But following the festa the year after that, the grumblers became more vocal and began to take action. Their main criticism was that without the committee to whip up enthusiasm for the festa, the village was becoming apathetic about its celebration. Moreover, with no committee there was no one to paint and care for the festa furnishings – which they considered to be the finest in Malta, if not the world – and
they would soon be spoiled. Consequently, a few days after the 79
festa, the ringleaders gathered in the football club and formed a 575
committee with Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, as
chairman. Sur Ġorġ,[1] a wealthy middle-aged bachelor, is the last 578
descendant in the village of a family which has played a leading role in the community for almost a century. The committee was composed of members of the band club, the social club and the football club. Representatives then went to Dun Bert and told him that many people wished to have the old festa committee restored, with the power of raising funds. They also suggested that this committee should control the collection of threepence a week. Dun Bert replied that while he was not opposed in principle to the idea of such a committee, he would have to consider it. In any event, he could not approve of their financial proposals. When the spokesman told him that a committee was already in existence and working for the good of the village, he became somewhat alarmed. The following Sunday he defended his position before the village from the altar, citing relevant portions of Canon Law and describing the parish's financial situation.

Sur Ġorġ's group then distributed leaflets to each house asking for a vote of confidence. This divided the village into two factions, for there were many who would not consider going against the wishes of their spiritual shepherd, no matter what their views on the festa were. Dun Bert eventually agreed to the formation of a parish council, to comprise two representatives from

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[1] The title *sur* (from *sinjur*, sir, gentleman) is a mark of respect bestowed by villagers [576]
upon all educated outsiders who have no other title. It also marks social distance. Very [554]
few persons are addressed this way by their fellow villagers. Sur Ġorġ, though born in Kortin, was addressed this way because of his high social status and university education.

79 each association, including the religious ones.[1] The committee
forwarded the names of the representatives of its three constitu-
575 ent clubs to Dun Bert. After some time, when they had received
578 no reply from him, they wrote to the Archbishop. Finally, some two months later, Dun Bert wrote back that he could not accept any member of a political party committee on the parish council. This was clearly aimed at the secretary of the band club, who was a very active member of the Labour Party committee, the only political committee in the village. He was not willing to step down, and the other members of the committee supported his decision. The rest of the village slowly lost interest in the matter. The parish priest thus had his way, and is still in full control of the feast.

79 Many are still bitter about the manner in which their request to
take a more active part in the organization of their feast was
578 suppressed, but most have accepted it. They miss not so much the old festa committee, the members of which most people criticized freely, as the feeling they had had of all working together for the greater glory of the village. The members of the old committee at least had the virtue of being from the village, and were as anxious as the next person to celebrate the biggest and best feast in Malta, or so I was often told. Although no one suggested that the parish priest is anything but scrupulously honest, they consider that as an outsider, he does not have the same keen interest in their feast, and in the reputation of the village. Others, less charitable, accuse him of being hungry for power and anxious to
178 enrich himself with his fees as procurator of the festa. Many also
543 spoke to me with regret of the passing of the annual fairs, which
794 the parish priest has not attempted to run on his own. The fairs
[793] were exciting occasions on which young and old, rich and poor,
competed against each other in games of chance and raffles to win back the rabbits and chickens which they had previously donated to the festa. They say they miss the sense of unity that the fairs brought them. 'In those days we knew each other better,' one priest remarked. 'With the fair some of the poetry of the village was destroyed.' Perhaps, without expressing it in quite this fashion, the organizers of the committee, in their own way, were also seeking this lost poetry.

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[1] Such parish councils have from time to time been established in some of the larger villages and towns, but most of them came to threaten the authority of the parish priests, who therefore disbanded them.

III

A previous chapter set out the hierarchical organization of the 79
Church. It was observed that rank was determined by seniority in 292
combination with certain marks of honour conferred by eccle- 293
siastical authorities in recognition of merit. Besides rank, these honours often bestow the right to certain external signs, which are much prized. The many religious processions and ceremonies provide occasions on which parishes can display their symbols of rank to outsiders. For example, the Canons of a Collegiate church wear distinctive ceremonial robes, and are permitted to carry a huge silver mace in processions as a sign of their church's rank. They add a great deal of colour and pageantry to the religious processions in which they are invited to participate. An old man once described Collegiate churches to me as 'the ornament of all other parish churches', and added, 'where there are no Canons, there is nothing in a procession.' The clergy of a church which has received the title of Basilica may carry in procession a huge red and gold damask umbrella. They are also permitted to carry a bell, to wear gold buckles on their shoes and, on certain occasions, to say Mass facing the congregation. As with the title Collegiate, the title Basilica can only be bestowed upon a church by Papal sanction. In Malta it has been given only to the Collegiate churches of Senglea and Birkirkara, to the churches of Mt. Carmel and St. Dominic in Valletta, and in Gozo to that of St. George in Rabat.

The bestowal of honours is not in fact determined by merit 79
alone. In view of their importance as symbols of excellence, they 626
become counters in the competition between parishes and be- 628
tween parish associations. Their acquisition is thus a matter of 664
great concern to the entire community, and often becomes the subject of political action. That is, persons and groups try to influence those who make the decisions in relation to their bestowal. Through their network of personal relations, leading village figures, including the priests, try to influence the Bishop and the monsignori who surround him. They also bargain with these authorities, and if an unfavourable decision is handed down, they may resort to an open show of disrespect towards the Bishop – by smashing his coat of arms, for example – to signal their dissatisfaction and so attempt to force him to reconsider their

79 626 628 664 claim. The final decision is thus made in response to a great many pressures. The honour usually goes to the contender who can present the best case and apply the strongest pressure. This is normally the largest and most influential of the groups competing for the honour. Thus the number and degree of honours bestowed on any group are roughly equal to its social importance to the community of which it forms part.

The current dispute in Gozo over the bestowal of the title of Basilica on the church of St. George provides an excellent illustration of the length to which the pursuit of such honours may be carried. For many years the Collegiate Chapters of Nadur and Xagħra unsuccessfully sought to obtain this title for their respective churches. During that time the Bishop had been able to avoid having to commit himself. In Nadur many believed that their church would be the next in Gozo to become a Basilica as a compensation for certain privileges which were modified some thirty years ago. The people of Xagħra, for their part, were also under the impression that their church would become the first Basilica in Gozo.

The claims of Nadur and Xagħra were not the only ones. There was also that of the new parish which the Bishop had created around the church of St. George in Rabat. Many argued that this new parish should take the lowest position in the diocesan table of precedence. But the new parish was located in the island's capital, and many of Gozo's most influential citizens had been instrumental in bringing about its creation. Moreover, the church of St. George was one of the oldest in the diocese. In brief, the thought of their parish having an inferior rank to that of the small rural parish of Munxar, hitherto the lowest-ranking parish, was distasteful to the townsmen. As a Basilica the church of St. George would take precedence over all other parishes and occupy a place immediately before the Collegiate Chapters. The partisans of St. George were in an excellent position to make their voices heard in the Curia, and late in 1958 the title was formally bestowed upon their church. The people of Nadur and Xagħra, led by their disappointed Canons, reacted with great vigour. The abuse and violent action that resulted were as insulting to the Bishop as anything that the Labour Party has been accused of directing at him or at the Archbishop of Malta.

Nadur and Xagħra all but severed relations with the Curia.

Both boycotted the annual festa of St. George, and in 1961 some 79
hot-heads in Xagħra even erected a road block to prevent cars 626
from the village going to Rabat. The people of Nadur refused to 628
celebrate their own festa, or to take part in the St. Gregory procession. 664
They also refused to allow the Bishop to administer the sacrament of Confirmation in their parish. In Xagħra someone exploded a bomb on the roof of the Archpriest's house because many considered that he, an outsider, had not worked hard enough to secure the Basilica. In 1960 Xagħra celebrated only the internal festa, and even that was not without incident. Shortly before the festa, the Bishop received an anonymous letter accusing him of being an enemy of the village. Later, when he visited the village to assist at the High Mass, he was given a hostile reception. Then it was discovered that part of the throne that he was to sit on during the service was missing. Furious at these insults, he issued formal interdicts against the person or persons unknown who had written the anonymous letter and 'stolen' his throne.

To date the dispute has not been settled. The people of Nadur 79
and Xagħra both say that peace cannot be restored until they 626
receive some other honour to compensate them for the lost 628
Basilica. To back up their claims, they have each spent tens of 664
thousands of pounds during the past few years decorating their 346
respective churches. In Nadur the new marble pulpit cost almost £5,000, and the work of covering the walls with marble may cost as much as £20,000 before it is completed.

This type of dispute, however, is not limited to Malta's sister island. The Collegiate Chapters of Birkirkara, Senglea and St. Paul's Shipwreck in Valletta have similar unresolved conflicts over precedence, and they refuse to take part in processions together. But not all their disputes are limited to matters of precedence. In 1949 the people of Birkirkara smashed the Archbishop's coat of arms and heaped rubble in the main door of their church, thereby symbolically denying him entrance. They were protesting because the Archbishop had abolished, among others, the right of the Chapter to choose as Canons only those priests born and baptized in Birkirkara. The Holy See was able to resolve the dispute, and a few years later it bestowed the title of Basilica on the town's church.

besides the patron saint, parishes celebrate many other saints. The 575
feasts of these secondary saints are normally not as lavish as the 578
annual festa of the patron. But many villages celebrate two large
festas: one for the titular saint of the parish, and the other for a 621
secondary saint who has assumed almost equal social importance. 794
Where this occurs, a village is divided into two partiti, each of 796
which has its own band club and celebrates one of the saints. The
partiti compete over almost every aspect of the festa, including the
decoration of the streets, the adornment of the statue, the number
of guest bands and, above all, the fireworks. Even the exact number
of communicants, the size of candles and the quantity of light
bulbs illuminating the façade of the church often become the
subject of dispute. Farruġ is divided by this type of rivalry. One
partit is dedicated to St. Martin, the titular of the parish, the other
to St. Roque.

The origins of these festa partiti, where they can be traced, are 17
very much alike. Most of them came into existence sometime 578
between 1850 and the turn of the century, and most arose out of 621
disputes between persons concerned with the celebration of the
titular festa and those interested in the cult of some lesser saint. 796
The latter were usually members of the confraternity dedicated to [794]
that saint.[1] These factions in time became centred on separate [575]
social clubs, and eventually acquired brass bands. The clubs provided
a permanent institutional basis for the rivalry. As time went
on, the partiti became more violent in their disputes and in the
pressure they put upon individuals to support them. Finally in 578
1935, the Church, long alarmed at the extremes to which the 621
devotion to some saints had been carried in certain villages, took
steps to eliminate the competition. It promulgated a series of 79
regulations designed to reduce the scale on which secondary feasts
could be celebrated. These stipulated that for secondary feasts there [575]
was to be no Translation of Holy Relics on the eve of the feast,
that only the church and the area immediately adjacent to it could

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[1] Cf. Rob. Mifsud Bonnici, *Ġrajja Tal-Mużika F'Malta u Ghawdex* (Malta, Giov. [113]
Muscat, 1954), pp. 38 f. He suggests that these partiti developed out of a dispute between [114]
persons who wanted to play sacred music by the Maltese composer Vinċenzo Bugeja
(1806–60) and those who preferred that of his rival, Paolo Nani (1814–1904). As far as
I could determine, however, the only partiti which arose directly out of this dispute [575]
are those in Żebbuġ. On the other hand, many rival partiti, once established, played the
music of either Bugeja or Nani during their feasts. The former took a star as their symbol,
the latter an eagle. Today partiti in many villages are still nicknamed either *tal-istilla* or
tal-ajkla after this once-important division.

578 be illuminated and that only one band on the eve and one on the
621 day of the feast would be allowed. Although they are now
79 ignored, the regulations also placed limits upon the variety,
quantity and duration of firework displays. Finally, they drew
[575] attention to the already existing regulations that church decorations and new works of art introduced for secondary feasts should be less costly and beautiful than those for titular feasts.[1]

Parish priests were expected to insist on the observance of these regulations, and they succeeded so well that some secondary feasts were reduced to minor celebrations. Moreover, the *pika* between the partiti in Żabbar and Qrendi was so violent that the secondary feasts there were suppressed completely.[2] This served as a stern warning to others.

II

175 The story of the origin and development of the festa partiti in
621 Farruġ is in many respects similar to the accounts which I col-
79 lected about festa partiti in other villages. It might, therefore, be helpful to examine it in some detail. Before 1877 there were no festa partiti in the village; everyone co-operated in the celebration of the feast of St. Martin, the patron of the parish. By all accounts it was a humble one, and lasted only one day. This period is described as an idyllic time during which the village was happy and united. But in 1876 a new parish priest arrived, and after that the scene began to change. Dun Rokku, the new priest, not only had a strong personal devotion to the saint after whom he had been named, but he was also from a village where there was a strong secondary partit devoted to St. Roque. Within a year he established a confraternity dedicated to St. Roque in order to 'inject some more life into this rural parish', according to the president of the St. Roque Band Club. The first feast in honour of St. Roque was celebrated in October 1878 to mark the establishment of the confraternity. Although the new secondary feast was at first a simple affair, it and the titular feast grew during the next few years.

[1] Concilium Regionale Melitense (1935), *Decreta* (Malta, Empire Press, 1936), p. 91.

[178] [2] In Żabbar the devotion to St. Michael, the secondary patron, died out almost completely, though the *pika* between the bands has persisted. But in Qrendi the devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes, the secondary patron, has continued as strong as ever. In 1958 the Archbishop reinstated the confraternity dedicated to her, which his predecessor suppressed in 1935, but the partit band is still not allowed to play for her feast.

few years. In 1880 the new confraternity dedicated an altar in the 175
church to its patron, and by 1886 some persons were beginning 578
to grumble about having to pay for another feast. There was a 621
feeling of 'you collect for your feast, and we'll collect for ours.' 79

In 1888 an incident occurred which changed the course of the
rivalry between the supporters of the two saints, which until then
appears to have been rather mild. Dun Rokku, who was the procurator [427]
of the parish church, tried to increase the rent on some of
the local property it owned. There was an outcry, and some persons
went to the Bishop to complain that not only had Dun
Rokku been diverting parish funds to buy new street decorations
for the feast of St. Roque, but he was also raising rents to continue
this work. The complaints resulted in an investigation, following
which the procura of the church was taken from Dun
Rokku and given to a prominent member of the village, who
favoured St. Martin. This action, not surprisingly, infuriated Dun
Rokku. From that day onward, so the accounts relate, he threw
his full support openly behind the feast of St. Roque.

Some time after this, the partiti each formed their own social 175
clubs. According to St. Martin supporters, their club grew out of 575
a pre-existing band club, but that of their rivals was not established 621
until after the First World War. They thus consider that
they have seniority. St. Roque partisans, on the other hand, deny
this seniority. They maintain that both clubs came into being out
of the former club around the turn of the century. Consequently
they have equal seniority. However, both clubs claim that the
records crucial to the question of seniority were destroyed by
enemy action during the last war. There is thus no documentary
evidence for either claim, a fact which makes for deadlock whenever
the issue of seniority is raised.

Dun Rokku was a strongminded priest, and he ruled the village 578
for fifty-six years. When he finally died in 1932 at the age of 90, he 621
was blind and deaf. During his many years in the parish he did 79
much to beautify the church. Unfortunately, so people recount, he
also introduced the hated partiti that divided the village. Through
a variety of means at the disposal of a parish priest, he succeeded in
wooing or coercing three-fourths of the village into his partit.
There are many stories about the old man and the methods he
used to recruit supporters. One is that he would make it difficult
for people to marry unless they were, or became, members of the

578 Confraternity of St. Roque. Unfortunately, at this point, it is not
621 possible to distinguish fact from myth. The tales are accepted as
79 reality, and so help to formulate the attitude of St. Martin supporters toward their rivals. However, when the old priest died, it was discovered that most of the festal finery of the parish church had been purchased in the name of the Confraternity of St. Roque. St. Martin supporters were in the humiliating position of having to beg their rivals for the use of the church valuables in order to decorate the church for the feast of the parish patron. Moreover, while the old priest had controlled the celebration of St. Martin, he had allowed the lay leaders of the St. Roque partit a free hand in planning their feast.

At this time the St. Martin club was split over national politics,
578 and a faction composed of Strickland supporters left and founded
621 a new club. Though both clubs remained loyal to St. Martin,
665 there was trouble between them. Older St. Roque partisans recount with amusement how a report to the police by the secretary of the parent club resulted in twenty members of the new club being arrested and fined for gambling. But the hostility between these two factions declined when Strickland made his peace with the Church, and in 1934 they reunited.

The burden of redressing the balance between the partiti fell
578 upon the old priest's successor, and upon those who followed him.
621 There were many incidents between these priests and the St.
783 Roque partit, and on several occasions the former had to send for
784 police protection. In spite of the 1935 regulations, the St. Roque partit retained its numerical superiority as well as the church decorations during the 'thirties. It was not until 1942 that a shrewd parish priest succeeded in bringing the silver altar front out of the St. Roque strongroom into that of the parish church, where it has remained ever since.

The rivalry between the partiti lay dormant during the Second World War, as the people united to fight for survival. But it flared up again immediately after the war, as did similar rivalry in other villages. Both clubs organized musical bands for the first time. After a series of incidents which culminated in the parish priest again having to send for police protection, this time against angry St. Martin supporters, the rivalry began to decline somewhat. This decline was brought about chiefly by the effects of emigration, improvements in local transport, the establishment of a number

to it, their rivals invariably stage their own fair or, and this is 621
more usual, hire several buses and noisily leave the village for a 578
picnic or a pilgrimage to some shrine of their saint. Many other [575]
incidents divide groups and associations along partit lines. For [543]
example, a former head teacher of the Farruġ school told me that [301]
he had once tried to get the girls to wear the dark blue hair
ribbons which are supposed to be part of their school uniforms. He
was astounded when half the girls flatly refused. It was then
explained to him that blue is the colour of the St. Roque partit, so
the St. Martin girls could not be expected to wear it.

Let us now look at some of the major skirmishes which have 578
taken place in Farruġ during the last ten years. During 1952 and 621
1953 there was a dispute over an attempt by the St. Roque procession 79
to pass along a street over which St. Martin's followers
claimed exclusive rights. When the inexperienced new parish
priest backed the St. Roque claim before the Archbishop, he
brought violently into the open a dispute over which his
predecessor had successfully procrastinated for years. The followers [626]
of St. Martin not only refused to celebrate their feast, but also
succeeded in frightening the unfortunate priest rather badly by
exploding a huge rocket in the drainpipe under his house. Some
St. Martin partisans gleefully recounted to me that the priest was
soon transferred to another parish, and that during his last week
in Farruġ he had asked the police to escort him between his house
and the church. Relations between the Church and the St. Martin
partit were restored when the Archbishop modified the St.
Roque procession route.

In 1956 the St. Martin Band Club refused to celebrate the titular [575]
festa because the Archbishop had given the Confraternity of St.
Roque permission to renew the four bunches of artificial flowers
which decorate the main altar during his feast. The following year
the St. Roque Band Club refused to play at the installation
ceremony of the new parish priest because the Curia had just turned
down the confraternity's request for permission to hang a new
picture over its altar. In 1960 the same priest angered the St.
Roque partit by refusing to let it participate in the St. Martin
centenary celebrations. The poor man's hands were tied, for the
St. Martin club had declared that it would have nothing to do
with the feast if its rival took any part in it. At the moment, there
is another struggle in the offing. The Confraternity of St. Roque

578 recently petitioned the Archbishop for permission to renew the
platform on which their saint stands during the feast. St. Martin
621 supporters have threatened to cancel their feast if permission is
● 79 granted, as it probably will be, for the present platform is old and
falling to pieces.

While I was in the village, there was also a dispute over pre-
575 cedence between the two band clubs on the occasion of the
578 installation ceremony of Dun Frangisk, the present parish priest.
621 This is a good example of a dispute over precedence, and it is one
which recurs in some form every time a new parish priest is
793 appointed to a village where there are two band clubs. The band
which has precedence has the right to march last and to escort the priest from the church to his house after the ceremony. The other club escorts him from his house to the church before the ceremony. Quite straightforward, but clubs rarely agree on which one has precedence. The dispute thus presents a knotty problem that brings a new priest abruptly up against the realities of parish politics within a few days after his arrival. His handling of the matter may well govern his relations with the partiti during the rest of his time in the village.

On the evening when Dun Frangisk moved into the parish, the St. Martin Band Club gave a party to welcome him and to bid farewell to his predecessor, who had been its strong ally. The party was a great success. The departing priest received a huge coloured portrait of St. Martin as a farewell gift, and Dun Frangisk met all the St. Martin leaders and blessed the club's new television set. A few days later, the St. Martin leaders called on the new priest and offered to provide a musical escort to and from the church for his installation ceremony. This was to be followed by a concert in the square and a firework display. The offer pleased him and he accepted. During the next few days the St. Martin club went about collecting the £25 the band programme would cost, thus advising the village of its plans.

Until then Dun Frangisk had heard nothing from the St. Roque club, a fact which rather disturbed him.

Two days later he called in person at both clubs to invite them to attend his installation ceremony and the reception following it. But he found the clubs deserted. The members of the St. Martin committee were away offering their congratulations to the old parish priest, who that night was holding his installation ceremony

festa partit form the nucleus of his political following. It is not 575
surprising therefore that he should support the party they favour. 621

There is another interesting way in which festa partiti in general, 665
and secondary partiti in particular, are related to support for the
Labour Party. In all villages divided by these partiti, people have 621
become conditioned to opposing the authority of the Church in 578
connection with matters dealing with the celebration of feasts. 665
This, I suggest, has enabled them to accept the anti-clerical outlook 795
of the Labour Party more easily than the people of villages not so divided. An old stone-cutter in Kortin, who was procurator of one of the small chapels in the village, once unconsciously pointed to the structural similarity of the MLP and secondary festa partiti. We were discussing the resemblance of the Strickland crisis of thirty years ago to the present political dispute, when he pointed to the parish church and remarked, 'I've always been against them. I was for Strickland. I'm for Mintoff, and if we had partiti here, I would support the secondary feast.' There is, of course, a difference between the opposition of a secondary partit and that of the MLP. Nonetheless, both oppose the authority of the Church and both resort to attacks on the clergy to drive home their points of view. This is anti-clericalism. Both the festa partiti and the Labour Party make a distinction between the person and the office of the cleric they attack, and they appear to attack the former rather than the latter. But repeated attacks upon the person holding an office may weaken the office itself. Thus prolonged anti-clericalism can lead to anti-religious sentiment, or at least prepare the way for it. This, I feel, has happened in the case of the festa partiti.

In challenging the decisions of the Church relating to matters of 578
festa policy a festa partisan often resorts to violence. He frightens 621
the priest with home-made bombs to show his displeasure, to try 79
and change the decision and even to compel him to leave the
village. But he never attacks the ultimate right of the Church or [626]
its ministers to make those decisions. Indeed, some friends in Farruġ were quite shocked when I suggested that they were doing just this. On the other hand, this constant rebellion against the authority of the Church has accustomed people to being at odds for long periods with their parish priests as well as with the Archbishop. During these times, they often ignore what the Church has to say if it does not agree with the point of view they

578 621 ● 79 hold. This is the accepted pattern of behaviour, not only in villages divided by festa partiti, but also in others which have disputes with the Church. But it is only in the villages with festa partiti that these disputes, and the related anti-clerical action, take place on a regularly recurring basis. In these villages, though people are devout in observing many details of their religion, constant opposition to the parish priest in matters connected with festas has led them to look upon a measure of anti-clericalism as part of their way of life.

578 621 554 793 The relative lack of respect for the clergy in these villages has been partly responsible for a rather high turnover of parish priests. It has been shown how uncomfortable festa partiti can make the life of a parish priest. This, plus the meagre living in the smaller parishes, prompts priests to look for openings in wealthier and less troublesome villages. The Church itself regards the small rural parishes as training or 'stepping-stone parishes', as a monsignor from the Curia once described them to me. But even as such, they are unpopular, and the Archbishop often has difficulty finding priests willing to take charge of them. Farruġ, for example, has had six parish priests since 1953. The lack of continuity of Church leadership in these small, divided villages has tended to weaken its influence there and to foster a lack of respect for its authority.

578 621 665 795 [626] In this social climate the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party fits without great difficulty. Labour supporters have already had experience as festa partisans in ignoring the commands of the Church, and in enduring the taunts and disapproval of their rivals in the other partit. For them anti-clericalism is nothing new, and they are thus not as vulnerable to public opinion and the sanctions of the Church as persons in villages which do not have this tradition of opposition to the Church.

But if there is a certain similarity between the anti-clerical behaviour of many festa enthusiasts and that of MLP supporters, most persons make a distinction between the two. The anti-clerical actions of the festa partiti are usually directed against particular clerics in connection with specific decisions. In contrast, the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party is directed at the Archbishop in particular and often at all priests in general. This difference stems from the fact that basically their challenge to the authority of the Church differs significantly. Where the festa partisan does

621 move for religious feasts and family celebrations. Sometimes a
number of these farms are clustered around a chapel or small
794 church dependent upon the parish church. In time, these hamlets
795 may disappear; historical sources cite many which have long since
vanished.[1] On the other hand, a hamlet may grow to the point
where its inhabitants can afford to build a larger church and in
other ways successfully press their claim to become a separate
parish. Most rural parishes in Malta and Gozo have come into
632 being in this way. Some towns have been divided into two or
794 more parishes for administrative reasons. In Malta, Qormi and
795 Valletta are each divided into two parishes, and Sliema into three.
[578] Rabat in Gozo is currently being divided into two parishes. But
because of fierce rivalry between the residents of the territories
concerned, the exact boundary line is disputed and the territorial
division will probably take another generation to complete.

79 The parish priest, who in all but the smallest parishes is assisted
by a curate or more, is responsible to the Church for the care of
[609] the souls of all Catholics resident in his parish. Except where
foreign service personnel live with their families – notably in
Rabat, Naxxar, Mosta, St. Paul's Bay, Luqa and Birżebbuġa – all
villagers are Catholic, and are thus the priest's parishioners. These
parishioners also form part of the corporate body of the Church.

793 The clergy in Malta, as in all other Catholic countries, are
divided into two main groups: the secular or diocesan clergy, and
the regular clergy. Diocesan priests are trained in the Bishop's
Seminary and are directly subject to the authority of the Bishop.
A further distinction is made between those diocesan priests whose
families or patrons have been able to provide them with a benefice – either property or cash deposited at the Curia bank – yielding a minimum of £10 annually, and those who have received
their benefices from their Bishop. After the first five years the
former, who are by far the most numerous, are free to serve
where they wish. The latter always remain at the service of their
Bishop. Most parishes are run by diocesan priests, and the clergy
[792] resident in the villages belong to this group. The friars and monks
of the regular clergy are members of religious orders. They have
been trained in the seminaries and houses of their particular orders.

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[1] An interesting study of villages which have disappeared is given in M. Richardson, *Aspects of the Demography of Modern Malta* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1960), pp. 243 ff.

They must live together in specially designated premises under 792
the discipline of their order, and they are subject to the authority 793
of their provincial or superior. As we shall see, the position that [162]
the clergy occupy in society and the nature of their work is to a
very considerable extent determined by their sheer numbers. In [554]
1957 there were 1,229 diocesan priests, friars and monks and 1,588 nuns in Malta and Gozo.[1] In addition to these, in 1958 there were approximately 220 friars and monks and 200 nuns studying abroad or working as missionaries or chaplains to communities of migrants.[2]

There are a number of associations which occupy important 664
positions in the structure of both the diocese and its constituent 793
parishes. At the diocesan level the most important of these are the
College of Archpriests and Parish Priests, which acts as a pressure 794
group in the interest of its members; the Cana Movement, which runs courses for engaged couples, a marriage advisory council and a clinic; and the Social Action Movement, which is trying to establish trade unions. There is also the Diocesan Junta, or Diocesan Council of Catholic Lay Organizations. This body, on which most of the diocesan and parochial societies are represented, is an important pressure group. As already noted, it played a leading part in bringing about the defeat of the Malta Labour Party in the 1962 elections.

Many associations, though organized at the diocesan level, have 794
semi-autonomous branches at the parish level. These can be roughly divided into the lay apostolate associations and the devotional societies. The lay apostolate groups have been organized so that 'the Church will be able to exercise its direct and indirect action in all the fields: religious, cultural, technical, family, workers' movements and others.'[3] These societies are usually divided by age and sex, and except for the Society of Christian Doctrine, all are run by village priests who are responsible to the parish priest. These chaplains and the lay leaders generally work out an active programme of lectures, good works and outings. Many of them take part in religious processions and, in general, support the work of the parish priest. Together with the clergy,

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[1] *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Economic Activities* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), p. 43.

[2] Charles G. Vella, ed., *The Catholic Directory of Malta and Gozo* (Valletta, Archbishop's Palace, 1958), pp. 273–308.

[3] François H. Houtart, in Vella, p. 311.

quarrels and village disputes, for their position in society makes
793 them important allies. These demands frequently place them in the difficult position of having to choose between acting as an impartial servant of God and acting as a good son and loyal friend, who can only be impartial at the cost of making enemies of friends and family.

While parish priests, in all save the smallest parishes, usually
793 receive an income sufficient for a reasonably comfortable life, few
465 ordinary diocesan priests can live on their income as clerics. The average village priest gets only his daily Mass stipend of five shillings as compensation for his clerical services. If a priest is popular and gifted, he may be able to earn a bit extra by preaching, lecturing and taking part in religious functions in other parishes. Even so, most priests are forced to look to secular fields to be able to help support their parents and near relatives. Thus it is that most of the village clergy are part-time priests. That is, they spend most of the day away from their parish working at jobs that vary from farming to school teaching. Their pastoral work in their own parish is limited.

Of the eight priests born in Kortin and still living there, two are
793 retired, one is the parish curate, two work outside the village as teachers and three are clerks with various diocesan bodies. In the evening most help the parish priest in church, teach catechism to the children and take charge of the various lay associations for which the parish priest has asked them to be responsible. In Farruġ there is only one local priest in the village. He teaches in the village's elementary school, and assists the parish priest in the evening, on Sundays and on feast days.

794 In almost every village there is an infants' school run by one of the
female religious orders. The nuns are supported by donations of cash
● [792] and produce from the local inhabitants. A few nuns earn something
[465] by doing elementary nursing among the sick of the community.

[872] There are a number of other officers connected with the parish. These include the procurators (administrators) of the smaller churches and chapels, the sacristan, the choirmaster, the organist, the prefect of the altar boys, and so on. All have certain responsi-
[793] bilities delegated to them by the parish priest. In those villages where the celebration of the annual festa is organized by a committee, its members have the authority to command the financial and manpower resources of the community while they prepare

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

It is also the custom in Malta to commemorate all Souls' day by distributing relief among the poor and needy. Collections are made for the purpose of purchasing bread and providing dinner for the poor in the lower quarters of the towns and populous centres. 796 769 735

A walk at about 11 a.m., on the 2nd of November, as far as the square in front of the Capuchins' Convent at Vittoriosa or at Floriana, or to some other place where the relief is distributed, affords not a little delight. [792]

About a hundred poor old men and women, some of whom either half crippled or blind are to be seen struggling towards the big boiler in which the dinner is being cooked, with something in the shape of a pot in their hands, each and every one eager to get his or her share of the nicely cooked dinner.

796 769 [735] When these poor creatures get their share, they go gladly back to some corner to eat what has been procured for them by the contributions received from the charitably disposed.

Before leaving the description of the celebration of All Souls' Day, it would be interesting also to mention another custom which prevails in the Island on the 2nd of November.

On this day most of the charnel-houses are thrown open and lighted up with scores of oil lamps and decked out with flowers, while crowds throng the vaults to visit the bones of their friends and relatives.

• [792] The most crowded of these vaults, however, used to be that below the Capuchin church and Convent at Flo-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

riana. (*). Here the fleshless skeletons 796
of the monks who died in the con- 769
vent are dressed up in the robes which [792]
they wore during life, and arranged erect in niches along the wall.

St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny, in 998 insti- 175
tuted the "Commemoration of all the 796
faithful departed" in all the monas- 769
teries of his Congregation, on the 1st of November, which was soon adopted by the whole western Church. The Council of Oxford in 1222, declared it a holiday of the second class, on which certain necessary and important kinds of work were allowed (†). In Malta however the 2nd of November is only a day of devotion.

(*) The opening of this vault for the public on All Soul's day has been stopped for some years past to prevent some accidents through overcrowding. Visitors, however, are allowed in at any time of the year by applying for permission to the Father Superior.

(†) Butler, "Life of Saints."

F. The Farmer in Maltese Rural Society

241 A study of the Maltese farmer within the total of agriculture in the Islands
571 must include a consideration of the individual as a member of the community in which he lives, works and thinks.

The total social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles - family, village, and 'Malta'.

To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old
241 countryman for whom Valletta is a foreign world, the concept of 'Malta' is some-
619 thing large and indeterminate. But even for most of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for the countryman to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta complain. The 'National' unit is large enough for him to speak of *'Il-Gvern'* - the Government, of which he has heard frequently, though imprecisely, on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems with a characteristic disregard for logic or even fact. This concept of *Gvern* is of importance in an appreciation of rural thought in Malta. In it no very clear distinction is made between Maltese Government and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy. Neither is allegiance to one or other of the political parties very significant, for personality is always more important than party.

To give an historical perspective to this attitude of the remoteness of *Gvern*
[178] one may see in it not only the product of foreign British rule since 1800 but also the legacy of the 'paternal' government of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands. Rural communities are characteristically conservative.

The other Malta-wide authority is that of the Church, but the summit of this
793 is scarcely less remote to the individual than is *Gvern*. In the normal practice of his Religion the countryman leans directly on his local priests, though the Curia and Archbishop in Malta and the Bishop in Gozo do represent, for him, the essential unity that is the Maltese Church.

Within the framework of 'Malta' the distinction between the conurbation of
241 towns, centred on Valletta, and the countryside is crucial. This 'conurbation'
178 may be defined as those census districts with less than 3 per cent. of their working population engaged in farming. In 1948, this accounted for all districts
369 bordering on either the Grand or Marsamxett Harbours together with the adjoining residential suburb of St. Julians (1). Outside this urban area, the farming element in the working population increases towards the west and north of Malta, although only in Mġarr does it pass 50 per cent. In Gozo, the scene is notably more 'rural', on the basis of this definition, with six of the 12 census districts having more than half their working population engaged in agriculture.
A survey of parallel information in censuses over the past 100 years shows a
[463] declining farming element along with a diversification of the occupational structure - especially in those villages regarded as traditional strongholds of agriculture.

This trend to economic diversification has been accompanied by a break away from the former social homogeneity of these rural villages. In fact, economic and social change cannot be considered each in isolation. In Malta, change - in its widest sense - has spread into the countryside from the conurbation. The tempo of this process has accelerated rapidly since the 1939-45 war, which brought town and country together more than ever before and shook the foundations of the cleavage between 'peasant villager' and 'urban townsman', a key feature in the social geography of the Maltese Islands. The appearance of schools, amenities - particularly transport, and a degree of occupational choice, have enabled the countryman to sample a more 'urban' way of life and culture and this has produced a dissatisfaction with rural society as it has been. Maltese countrymen knew they were regarded, as a class, as low in the social scale of urban opinion. They accepted this fatalistically and were in fact able to view

178 241 their designation with a certain tolerant wisdom. Not so the present young generation in the farming community for whom education and material facilities have presented the chance of escape from a social inferiority complex.

369 [628] The village was traditionally the community-group in rural Malta. Contact with the towns and Valletta was limited, especially for the villages of the west and in Gozo, until buses, press and rediffusion narrowed the gulf, but it was hardly less than the contacts between the villages themselves. The village was the group for most social interaction. Currently, the trend is towards a Malta-wide community-group in which villages are losing much of their isolation, although there is very little uniformity in this process. Sub-urban villages are clearly absorbing non-rural characteristics much more quickly than is the case in outlying parts of the Islands.

793 [796] [555] The nucleus of village life is the Church and the first citizen is the Parish Priest. The Priest combined teaching and general advisory duties with his spiritual role (see Chapter VI C). He was also the main link with the world outside the village through his relaying of general news from his pulpit. Normally, land transfers and a wide variety of matters connected with the agricultural cycle were announced by the Priest. The Church was the social meeting place and the basis of institutionalised activity. Even the village *festa*, that single day of wild exuberance, noise, fire-works, procession and carnivalesque has as its pretext a religious observance such as the honouring of the particular Saint of the village or the National Feast of the Shipwreck of St. Paul. In all this, the link between Priest and people was often further cemented by wide kinship connexions within the village. The son of an illiterate farmer might progress through Seminary and University to return to his home village as a priest and to be claimed as a relative by many members of that static and much intermarried community.

Such proximity, together with the very number of the priesthood in any parish made for a familiarity with the personnel of the Church just as confession, fasting, observance of Saints' and other special days, quite apart from the daily Mass, made for close acquaintance with its practice.

178 It is convenient to use the past tense in the foregoing only because the picture sketched has been modified in recent decades. It is however still the essential basis of communal life, especially in the rural community which, as suggested, holds to traditional custom longer than does the town. The modifications which have appeared are important in this present consideration because they lie behind the current social upheaval in which the individual countryman is being faced with a clash of new against old. If, as seems possible, he leaps to the new so completely as to relinquish the old entirely, then the traditional order of society will disappear along with the agricultural system on which it is based. This is the problem of the farmer in Maltese rural society.

575 An early non-religious movement was that of the Band Clubs; the first appeared in Rabat in 1860. But even these came to be identified with particular Churches and also with parish rivalries. The Band Club grew to become a major feature of social life in both town and country in Malta, although in Gozo it has had only a limited extension outside Victoria.

562 [575] [462] The Band Club is essentially a male organisation. Women have never been more than tolerated spectators and, to this extent, the movement reflects the place of women in Maltese society. Emancipation of women has spread into the countryside from the towns but even today women take an undemonstrative part in village activity and their movement outside the home is largely confined to Church-going, shopping and possibly field-work. The modern young woman who has had at least eight years schooling seeks paid employment beyond the house and fields. In rural circles the tendency is still to frown mightily at such a suggestion but it can only be a matter of a few years before what is now accepted in Valletta becomes tolerated in rural Gozo.

178 Functional diversification has been the keynote of twentieth century village society in the Maltese Islands. There is no evidence to show that there is any challenge to the position of the Parish Priest in matters religious (the situation has been less satisfactory from the point of view of the Church in urban Malta)

rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural
175 harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans suc-
648 cessively occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that
Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually
nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the
Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were
replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of
the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed
successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–
1283), the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. In 1530,
[701] Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their pro-
testing inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military
Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles
vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on
Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800
Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to
Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then
they have remained a British possession.

The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was
175 the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he
776 stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the
795 people to Christianity. Whether he converted many is a moot
[797] point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor,
Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. The Maltese are in-
tensely proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna*
[796] *San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the prin-
cipal patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a
national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local
legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his
gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there
was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during
175 the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, re-
● 793 established and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to
795 arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed
while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of
Maltese bishops dates from this period.

Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the
175 Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered
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[1] Acts 27 and 28.

647 many countries are carried out by village or municipal authorities,
are in Malta centrally administered from Valletta.

[364] Gozo provides in some respects an exception to this picture.
Though Gozo is administratively and economically dependent
upon Malta, it has had for many years a certain measure of autonomy
under a separate Commissioner. This appointment is dictated
by the island's distance from Valletta in time and space. This
isolation has not surprisingly resulted in a widely held belief that
the Maltese administration, in which, incidentally, a large number
of Gozitans have always held important posts, has systematically
[653] neglected Gozo. That there is a certain justification for this belief
can be seen by anyone who compares the condition of the roads
and the extension of street lighting, water and drainage in the two
islands.

623 Partly to still for ever complaints about neglect, and partly as
an experiment with a concept of local government new to Malta,
653 the Gozo Civic Council was established in the summer of 1961.
Each village in Gozo now has an elected committee of six councillors,
one of whom represents the village on the Civic Council.
The Council has the responsibility for the maintenance of roads,
government buildings, cemeteries and public gardens, village dispensaries
and the museum and public library. It can also construct
new roads and extend drainage, water and street lighting. To
[651] finance its work the Council receives the revenue from local taxes
and from certain government property in Gozo. It also has the
power to levy rates, but as all councillors made solemn promises
to their constituents that they would not do so, this additional
source of revenue must be discounted for the time being.

II

● 793 The Maltese Islands form a single province of the Catholic
795 Church. This province is divided into the Archdiocese of Malta
and the Diocese of Gozo, which includes the small island of
Comino. The Bishop of Gozo is suffragan to the Archbishop of
Malta. As the senior or Metropolitan Bishop, the Archbishop has
[293] certain privileges and rights over his suffragan. These include the
right to visit his suffragan's diocese (with Papal authority), should
the latter neglect to do so; the right to appoint a temporary vicar
on the decease of the Bishop of Gozo, if the Cathedral Chapter of

the latter's diocese fails to appoint one within eight days; and the 793
right to wear the insignia of his office which mark his superior 795
dignity (the *pallium* and the double cross), throughout his pro- [243]
vince. Moreover, the Archbishop's court functions as a court of
appeal for cases heard in the court of the Bishop of Gozo. In all [698]
other matters, however, the Bishop of Gozo has the same rights as
the Archbishop. These include the right to make certain rules and
dispensations for his diocese, to inflict penalties, interdictions and
excommunication; and to determine who may be admitted to the
priesthood.[1]

Each Bishop is assisted by a number of advisers, who also run the Curia, or administrative headquarters of the diocese. In the Archdiocese of Malta the Curia is under the charge of the Vicar General, who has the title of Titular Bishop. These advisers are for the most part Monsignori, or Canons, of the Cathedral Chapter. The Cathedral Chapter is composed of the priests attached to a cathedral church who advise the Bishop, arrange for a more solemn celebration of divine worship, and, when the See is vacant, provide for the government of the diocese. Though the Archdiocese of Malta has both a Cathedral in Mdina, and a Co-Cathedral in Valletta, there is only one Chapter.

In addition to the Cathedral Chapters in Malta and Gozo, there
are also a number of Collegiate churches. The clergy of a Col-
legiate Church form a Collegiate Chapter, and have the title of
Canons. They perform no special duties in the diocese. The title [554]
of 'Collegiate' is an honour which can only be bestowed upon
a church with Papal sanction. There are Collegiate Chapters in
Senglea, Vittoriosa, Cospicua, Rabat, Birkirkara and Valletta in
Malta, and in Għarb, Nadur and Xagħra in Gozo.

The Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo are divided 621
into 48 and 15 parishes respectively. A parish is the basic social and 794
territorial unit of the Church. Every village in Malta and Gozo is 795
a separate parish, though some towns are divided into two or
more parishes. The limits of a parish are fixed by the Bishop. They
often extend several miles beyond the compact villages that are so
characteristic of the Maltese countryside. In most rural parishes
there are also a few scattered farmsteads. The occupants of these
isolated farms normally have houses in the village, to which they

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[1] Cf. William E. Addis and others, 'Archbishop', *A Catholic Dictionary* (16th ed. rev.; London, Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1960), pp. 44 f.

621 move for religious feasts and family celebrations. Sometimes a
number of these farms are clustered around a chapel or small
794 church dependent upon the parish church. In time, these hamlets
795 may disappear; historical sources cite many which have long since
vanished.[1] On the other hand, a hamlet may grow to the point
where its inhabitants can afford to build a larger church and in
other ways successfully press their claim to become a separate
parish. Most rural parishes in Malta and Gozo have come into
632 being in this way. Some towns have been divided into two or
794 more parishes for administrative reasons. In Malta, Qormi and
795 Valletta are each divided into two parishes, and Sliema into three.
[578] Rabat in Gozo is currently being divided into two parishes. But
because of fierce rivalry between the residents of the territories
concerned, the exact boundary line is disputed and the territorial
division will probably take another generation to complete.

79 The parish priest, who in all but the smallest parishes is assisted
by a curate or more, is responsible to the Church for the care of
[609] the souls of all Catholics resident in his parish. Except where
foreign service personnel live with their families – notably in
Rabat, Naxxar, Mosta, St. Paul's Bay, Luqa and Birżebbuġa – all
villagers are Catholic, and are thus the priest's parishioners. These
parishioners also form part of the corporate body of the Church.

● 793 The clergy in Malta, as in all other Catholic countries, are
divided into two main groups: the secular or diocesan clergy, and
the regular clergy. Diocesan priests are trained in the Bishop's
Seminary and are directly subject to the authority of the Bishop.
A further distinction is made between those diocesan priests whose
families or patrons have been able to provide them with a benefice
– either property or cash deposited at the Curia bank – yielding
a minimum of £10 annually, and those who have received
their benefices from their Bishop. After the first five years the
former, who are by far the most numerous, are free to serve
where they wish. The latter always remain at the service of their
Bishop. Most parishes are run by diocesan priests, and the clergy
[792] resident in the villages belong to this group. The friars and monks
of the regular clergy are members of religious orders. They have
been trained in the seminaries and houses of their particular orders.

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[1] An interesting study of villages which have disappeared is given in M. Richardson, *Aspects of the Demography of Modern Malta* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1960), pp. 243 ff.

They must live together in specially designated premises under 792
the discipline of their order, and they are subject to the authority 793
of their provincial or superior. As we shall see, the position that [162]
the clergy occupy in society and the nature of their work is to a
very considerable extent determined by their sheer numbers. In [554]
1957 there were 1,229 diocesan priests, friars and monks and 1,588 nuns in Malta and Gozo.[1] In addition to these, in 1958 there were approximately 220 friars and monks and 200 nuns studying abroad or working as missionaries or chaplains to communities of migrants.[2]

There are a number of associations which occupy important 664
positions in the structure of both the diocese and its constituent 793
parishes. At the diocesan level the most important of these are the
College of Archpriests and Parish Priests, which acts as a pressure 794
group in the interest of its members; the Cana Movement, which runs courses for engaged couples, a marriage advisory council and a clinic; and the Social Action Movement, which is trying to establish trade unions. There is also the Diocesan Junta, or Diocesan Council of Catholic Lay Organizations. This body, on which most of the diocesan and parochial societies are represented, is an important pressure group. As already noted, it played a leading part in bringing about the defeat of the Malta Labour Party in the 1962 elections.

Many associations, though organized at the diocesan level, have 794
semi-autonomous branches at the parish level. These can be roughly divided into the lay apostolate associations and the devotional societies. The lay apostolate groups have been organized so that 'the Church will be able to exercise its direct and indirect action in all the fields: religious, cultural, technical, family, workers' movements and others.'[3] These societies are usually divided by age and sex, and except for the Society of Christian Doctrine, all are run by village priests who are responsible to the parish priest. These chaplains and the lay leaders generally work out an active programme of lectures, good works and outings. Many of them take part in religious processions and, in general, support the work of the parish priest. Together with the clergy,

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[1] *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Economic Activities* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), p. 45.

[2] Charles G. Vella, ed., *The Catholic Directory of Malta and Gozo* (Valletta, Archbishop's Palace, 1958), pp. 273–308.

[3] François H. Houtart, *in* Vella, p. 311.

hair short, are not allowed to wear neckties, and must wear jackets 785
in public. Female members are obliged to wear the traditional 794
Maltese *ghonella* (also *faldetta*). This is a black silk cowl which [292]
renders the wearer completely shapeless. Finally, all members are
tied by a promise of celibacy. Since members usually enter the [589]
society as children, and work up through grades until they
become full members, this promise ensures that all are either
bachelors or spinsters.

The male and female sections are completely separate. Each 794
meets daily under its respective superior in its own house. There [834]
the members hold devotional exercises, conduct study groups for
adults and also teach catechism to the children. The superiors are
normally elected for life; but if the members cannot agree, the
national superior general, after consultation with the parish
priest, appoints an acting superior, either from the village or from
outside groups.

The society is somewhat unusual among village religious [793]
associations, since no member of the village clergy is directly
involved in its activities, though priests are often invited in to give
lectures. This relatively independent status, and the close contact
that members maintain with their national headquarters, has led
some parish priests to look upon it as a potential threat to their
authority and consequently to oppose its establishment in their
parishes. Thus, although the society has spread to 40 (83 per cent)
of the Maltese parishes, it is only established in 6 (40 per cent) of
those in Gozo, Malta's conservative sister island. In point of fact,
wherever it has been established it has supported the authority of
the parish priest, and its members are now among the staunchest
opponents of the Labour Party.

In each parish there are usually several loosely organized groups
such as the Association of Christian Mothers and the Holy Name
Society which meet infrequently for special prayers and devotions.

Finally, there is at least one confraternity in each parish. A
confraternity is a lay religious society which is dedicated to a particular
saint and offers Masses for dead members. These societies,
called *fratellanzi*, are the oldest associations in Malta, and many [467]
date back to the Middle Ages. Formerly certain confraternities in
the larger villages and towns acted as trade guilds; others only
enrolled persons of the highest socio-economic class. Both men [292]
and women may enrol, as members; but only men may wear the

[p.40]

CHAPTER IV

The Basis of Leadership

621 The Maltese word for leader, *mexxej*, is seldom heard, and then
[192] only in reference to the leader of a political party. I once asked a
parish priest who were the leaders of the village. He laughed and
[622] replied that there weren't any, because his parishioners did not like
[551] leaders. With the exception of the professionals and *il-puliti* from
the towns, all the inhabitants of a village usually call one another
by their Christian names and in general look upon each other as
equals. This egalitarian outlook is compounded of many factors,
of which the most important are similar occupation, standard of
living and values, the detailed knowledge of each other's personal
lives that comes with residence in a face-to-face community, and
178 jealousy. Any person who attempts to lead or to try to start
something new – such as a village playground – is derided. His
578 true motive is seen as self aggrandizement and his enemies and
621 envious neighbours are quick to point this out to others who may
[539] not have realized it. 'Envy follows the wise man like his shadow'
(*L-għira titrot wara l-għaref bħal dellu miegħu*), goes the Maltese
[609] proverb. Professionals and outsiders, especially if they are from
the town, are occasionally able to start something new. Their
social distance from most of the community protects them from
the full impact of the envy and gossip which moulds so much of
village life.

554 But in spite of the absence of official lay leaders and the con-
servative pressure of envy and gossip, there are a number of
621 persons who have a greater say than others in the affairs of the
● 793 community. They are able to do this by virtue of their social
position, their occupation or office in one of the village associa-
tions or their influence with the parish priest. These persons,
together with the parish priest, form the aggregate which can be
[192] said to run the affairs of the community. While there is no generic
term for this aggregate, those who compose it are sometimes
referred to as *il-kbarat*, 'the big ones', or more derogatively as

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ir-rjus il-kbar, 'the big heads'. But if asked, a person will often 554
deny that such persons exist, and reply, 'Here we are all the same; 621
we are all from the village'. 793

II

The authority of the State is represented by the police, who are 625
formally responsible for law and order. Each village has a police station manned by a small contingent of constables under a sergeant. Several villages make up a police district under an inspector. In Malta most policemen live outside the villages in which they work. But it is usual for Gozitan constables stationed in Malta to be quartered in the police stations to which they are assigned.

In addition to their official duties of law enforcement, the police [659]
distribute voting certificates, help conduct censuses and give out [657]
the allotments of free food to old age pensioners and people on relief.[1] They also perform many favours for local residents. They help people fill out government forms, and occasionally allow the station telephone to be used for private calls. They are sometimes 625
able to mediate in local disputes. Disputants very often report each 627
other for insults, threats or some minor infraction of the law – throwing waste water and rubbish in the street is one of the most common – thus hoping to strangle their enemies in its due process. The police constable on duty is often able to reconcile the disputants and persuade them to withdraw the charges and counter-charges.

In general, the punitive role that the police are occasionally 625
forced to play is offset by their role as distributors of government assistance and by their general helpfulness. District inspectors try to avoid personal relations with the people in their districts since they must prosecute all criminal cases, and personal ties might prove awkward. Sergeants and constables, on the other hand, normally maintain friendly social contact with the local inhabitants. They are often invited for drinks during feasts and weddings, and quite a number marry local girls. The Maltese police thus play

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[1] The government has distributed surplus U.S. agricultural products to different groups of needy people since 1956. This food was first secured through the Co-operative for American Relief to Everywhere, Inc. (C.A.R.E., Inc.) and more recently through the Catholic Relief Services of America. The Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare, not the police, selects the beneficiaries.

625 a very different role from that of their Spanish counterparts, the Civil Guard, whom Kenny describes as 'the traditional enemy of the peasants'.[1]

III

745 The very considerable authority of the Church in Malta is derived not from law, but from the loyalty of a people who fervently practise their religion. Until recently, there had never been a separation in their minds between Church and State, between the religious and secular elements in their daily lives. The Church, as we have already observed, has occupied this position for many [423] centuries. Its power is bolstered by its considerable wealth, for in Malta the rich property and lands of the Church have not been expropriated by the State, as they have in so many other Catholic countries.[2]

● 793 As the official representative of the Church, the parish priest occupies a position of great importance in his community. He has authority in all religious matters affecting his parishioners. He ministers to their spiritual and often to their personal needs. He alone can arrange for the important ceremonies which mark the [795] stages in their lives. These *rites de passage* include baptism, confirmation, marriage, death and burial. He also controls the many [796] ritual activities of the village as a whole. These are the daily services of worship and the ceremonies, processions and feasts by which all Maltese, but above all the countrymen, regulate their days and mark the divisions of the year. Through his preaching and admonition he defines, interprets and enforces the moral code of the Church. He is also the official custodian of the richly decorated parish church.

[212] Besides this dependence on the parish priest in the religious matters which are of such vital importance in the lives of a devoutly Catholic people, the country people have traditionally looked to him for assistance in many secular fields. Until only a few decades ago, he was often one of the few literate persons in his parish. As such he was frequently asked to read and write letters.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 48.

[2] Mitchell estimates that the Church owns 22 per cent of the agricultural land in Malta and 12 per cent in Gozo. See Peter K. Mitchell, *The Maltese Farm*, vol. II of *Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta* (mimeographed; Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, 1959), p. 130.

letters. His high standing in the village, and his contacts with 793 people of influence and power outside it, led people to turn to him for advice. He was asked to represent them in their relations with the outside world. In this capacity he served his parishioners as lawyer, banker and business adviser. He was also the traditional dispenser of charity.

The increasing literacy of the people and their ever-widening [212] range of contacts outside the limits of the parish has somewhat [278] reduced their dependence upon the parish priest. The State's recent involvement in welfare and charity has further weakened [659] it. But if this dependence has been reduced, it has most certainly not been eliminated. Many still call on him to divide inheritances, to argue their claims against the government or to plead with prospective employers, and not a few expect him to be able to secure better roads, new schools, sewerage and playgrounds.

Thus the parish priest is the village's chief spokesman, and many 203 still refer to him as *il-principal tar-raħal*, 'the head of the village'. 793 The government has long recognized this, and makes use of him as a convenient contact with the people. Each Sunday morning, in addition to his own official announcements, the parish priest reads from the altar government notices advising the people of forthcoming elections, immunization campaigns, agricultural extension lectures and so on.

But if the parish priest performs numerous services for his 793 parishioners, both individually and collectively, he has also the power to refuse them. The sanctions with which he can punish [626] disobedience are considerable. They range from declining to write a good conduct certificate to denying absolution in confession. On the other hand, he has the power to give rewards for services rendered. Aside from doing favours for people who have helped him, he can appoint them to offices which confer prestige and authority and, in some cases, are also financially rewarding. All this serves to underline and reinforce his position as a leader in the community.

Parish priests are usually outsiders, but the rest of the village clergy are natives of the communities in which they live. Unlike Catholic priests in Britain or the United States, who live in presbyteries, the diocesan clergy of Malta and Gozo live at home with their relatives. This means that they remain in constant contact with the village. They are often called on to take part in family

quarrels and village disputes, for their position in society makes
● 793 them important allies. These demands frequently place them in
the difficult position of having to choose between acting as an
impartial servant of God and acting as a good son and loyal
friend, who can only be impartial at the cost of making enemies of
friends and family.

While parish priests, in all save the smallest parishes, usually
793 receive an income sufficient for a reasonably comfortable life, few
465 ordinary diocesan priests can live on their income as clerics. The
average village priest gets only his daily Mass stipend of five
shillings as compensation for his clerical services. If a priest is
popular and gifted, he may be able to earn a bit extra by preaching,
lecturing and taking part in religious functions in other
parishes. Even so, most priests are forced to look to secular fields
to be able to help support their parents and near relatives. Thus it
is that most of the village clergy are part-time priests. That is, they
spend most of the day away from their parish working at jobs that
vary from farming to school teaching. Their pastoral work in their
own parish is limited.

Of the eight priests born in Kortin and still living there, two are
793 retired, one is the parish curate, two work outside the village as
teachers and three are clerks with various diocesan bodies. In the
evening most help the parish priest in church, teach catechism to
the children and take charge of the various lay associations for
which the parish priest has asked them to be responsible. In Farruġ
there is only one local priest in the village. He teaches in the
village's elementary school, and assists the parish priest in the
evening, on Sundays and on feast days.

794 In almost every village there is an infants' school run by one of the
female religious orders. The nuns are supported by donations of cash
[792] and produce from the local inhabitants. A few nuns earn something
[465] by doing elementary nursing among the sick of the community.

[872] There are a number of other officers connected with the parish.
These include the procurators (administrators) of the smaller
churches and chapels, the sacristan, the choirmaster, the organist,
the prefect of the altar boys, and so on. All have certain responsibilities
[793] delegated to them by the parish priest. In those villages
where the celebration of the annual festa is organized by a committee,
its members have the authority to command the financial
and manpower resources of the community while they prepare

557 Most of the procuratorships and offices in the associations con-
793 nected with the Church are conferred upon members of the circle
794 of persons who figuratively, and often physically, surround the
parish priest. They become his favourites by doing some of the
hundred and one odd jobs for which he depends on volunteers.
These include running messages, carrying chairs, arranging meet-
ings and decorating the streets for feasts and other important
occasions, such as the visit of the Archbishop. Acceptance into the
circle and the rewards meted out vary, of course, according to the
capabilities of the individuals concerned, and the character of the
parish priest. Advancement is most rapid and the rewards most
interesting where the parish priest is open to influence, and the
job-seeker has the qualities of leadership discussed below. But
people are loath to see their parish priest delegate too much of his
authority to their fellows. Those who pursue power in the com-
munity by attaching themselves to the parish priest often incur
a good measure of hostility. Most frequently they are accused by
the village gossips of lining their pockets with their neighbour's
money.

794 The most important member of the circle surrounding the
[796] parish priest in Kortin is old Manwel, a retired school teacher. As
procurator of the Confraternity of our Lady of Sorrows, he
collects funds for and organizes the elaborate Good Friday pro-
cession. This is an event which attracts visitors from all over the
island. He is also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Joseph,
the village cemetery and the Mass legacies of the parish. He is one
of the founders and a former vice-president and secretary of the
Social Club, and a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.
[575] Though no longer in the Band Club, he was once on its com-
mittee. For many years he was also on the committee which
organized the annual festa. All these offices give him a greater
voice in the administration of the parish and its ceremonial affairs
than anyone except the parish priest.

IV

575 The officers of the secular associations in a village generally enjoy
[554] high standing and wield considerable influence. The secular
associations, though they vary, generally include a men's social
club (usually a brass band club), a political party committee or

of government. While the parish priest in Malta is the official
621 village representative of the Church and has authority to act for
625 it on most matters, the police represent only the law enforcement
793 function of government; all other functions and services of
government are administered from Valletta. In this respect the
villages of Malta are unique.

463 On the other hand, there is a relation between social status and
the functional requirements of the authority system. In any given
554 community, the people with the highest status usually fill the
most important offices, since such offices require the standing,
skills and contacts which they possess. There is thus a rough
grading of office holders in terms of their social status and the
463 authority and prestige attached to their offices. Upward mobility
554 through this structure is usually dependent upon factors such as
555 education and occupation rather than on having held other, and
less important, offices. Once a person has become the president of
his local band club, in other words has attained the highest secular
office in the village, and has a social status which commands
respect outside, he may be elected to political office.

796 competing for the attention of the crowd within a few yards of
533 each other.

All the while, the procession, followed by a few black-clad
292 penitents, solemnly passes through the main streets of the village.
481 Often those carrying the saint move with a shuffling step that causes him to bob and turn as though he were dancing. As he passes under balconies his cheering and clapping admirers shower him with confetti. Then, as the procession nears the church, the final *kaxxa infernal*, this time of coloured rockets, is touched off. In some villages the saint is turned around so that he can see this barrage and the display of multi-staged rockets that follows it. The statue then enters the church and the Benediction is given. After this the crowd of visitors quickly disperses. Soon the inhabitants have the village to themselves again. As the women and girls wheel and pull the children off to bed, the men carry around from club to club the grimy, soot-stained men who made and fired the fireworks. They are the heroes of the hour. Other men seek out their clubs or usual cafés and toast one another and the success of their feast. So ends the festa for another year.

796 The organization of the annual festa requires a long period of
planning and preparation. This work calls for a certain degree of
● 793 centralization. In most villages the parish priest controls the
794 organization of both the internal and the external feasts. In some
villages, however, he delegates some of this work to a procurator,
usually a priest, but occasionally to a committee of leading per-
575 sonalities of the village. In other villages, all the details of the external feast, including the fund raising, are handled by the band club committees. In any case, the parish priest always has the last word. Sometimes there is friction between him and other interested parties over organizational details.

796 The cost of these feasts varies considerably. It is naturally
related to the size of the village and to the degree of enthusiasm
794 with which the festa is celebrated. It ranges from a few shillings
435 per family in a large urban parish to as much as £15 per family in a small rural parish celebrating a particularly important festa. The average cost to the community, however, is about £1,000. The organizers of the festa collect the necessary funds by means of lotteries, fairs, special appeals and a small weekly contribution of threepence or sixpence from each family. Most fund raisers also solicit pledges from leading citizens and enter their names and the

sums pledged on a long list. This method, called *l-arbural*, permits donors to compare their contributions with those of others. Then there may be several unofficial groups who raise funds for fireworks, which they manufacture and fire as their special contributions to the feast. 796 794 435

While I was living in Farrug, the village celebrated the centenary of St. Martin, the titular saint of the parish. The festa cost a total of £1,465. Of this sum the parish priest raised and spent £302 for the elaborate internal feast, of which he took complete charge. The rest, some £1,163, was collected and spent on the external feast by the committee of the St. Martin Band Club. The fireworks, including most of the gunpowder, were made illegally by the members of the club in their houses and in sheds and abandoned quarries surrounding the village. The cost of the raw materials amounted to £712. Committee members divided the actual work among themselves, and set up sub-committees dealing with decoration, music, fireworks and fund-raising. With the exception of the extra lighting for the streets and the church, which was done by an outside contractor, all the work involved in the festa was done by local inhabitants.

In Kortin, on the other hand, the parish priest personally controls every aspect of the festa. With the assistance of the Sodality of Our Lady, he collects all the funds. Most of the street decoration is done by Anton and Pawlu, who get a number of people to help them. In the following table, I have summarized the rather complicated accounts of the 1961 festa in Kortin. [793]

TABLE 3. Kortin 1961 Festa Accounts

INCOME	£	s.	EXPENSES	£	s.
Internal Feast			*Internal Feast*		
Collections	143	10	Music	150	0
Special gifts	121	10	Other	50	0
External Feast			*External Feast*		
Three collections	221	10	Decorations, programmes, etc.	39	14
Weekly 3d.	120	0	Fireworks: crackers and ground display only	105	16
Lotteries	90	0	Bands: 8 performances	224	10
'Arbural'	53	0	Lighting	170	0
			Balance	9	10
Total	£749	10	*Total*	£749	10

79 each association, including the religious ones.[1] The committee
forwarded the names of the representatives of its three constituent
575 clubs to Dun Bert. After some time, when they had received
578 no reply from him, they wrote to the Archbishop. Finally, some
two months later, Dun Bert wrote back that he could not accept
any member of a political party committee on the parish council.
This was clearly aimed at the secretary of the band club, who was
a very active member of the Labour Party committee, the only
political committee in the village. He was not willing to step down,
and the other members of the committee supported his decision.
The rest of the village slowly lost interest in the matter. The parish
priest thus had his way, and is still in full control of the feast.

Many are still bitter about the manner in which their request to
79 take a more active part in the organization of their feast was
578 suppressed, but most have accepted it. They miss not so much the
old festa committee, the members of which most people criticized
freely, as the feeling they had had of all working together for the
greater glory of the village. The members of the old committee
at least had the virtue of being from the village, and were as
anxious as the next person to celebrate the biggest and best feast
in Malta, or so I was often told. Although no one suggested that
the parish priest is anything but scrupulously honest, they consider
that as an outsider, he does not have the same keen interest
in their feast, and in the reputation of the village. Others, less
charitable, accuse him of being hungry for power and anxious to
178 enrich himself with his fees as procurator of the festa. Many also
spoke to me with regret of the passing of the annual fairs, which
543 the parish priest has not attempted to run on his own. The fairs
794 were exciting occasions on which young and old, rich and poor,
[793] competed against each other in games of chance and raffles to win
back the rabbits and chickens which they had previously donated
to the festa. They say they miss the sense of unity that the fairs
brought them. 'In those days we knew each other better,' one
priest remarked. 'With the fair some of the poetry of the village
was destroyed.' Perhaps, without expressing it in quite this
fashion, the organizers of the committee, in their own way, were
also seeking this lost poetry.

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[1] Such parish councils have from time to time been established in some of the larger villages and towns, but most of them came to threaten the authority of the parish priests, who therefore disbanded them.

IV

346 Even when a parish is not competing with another for some
honour, the decoration of the parish church is a matter of great
794 concern to the village. As we have already observed, a parish
church is more than just a central place of worship; it is the centre
of most of the social life of a village and the repository of its collective
wealth. The building itself, with its gilded ceilings and
[353] silver altar fronts, its damask tapestries and embroidered vestments,
its precious votive offerings and ornate statues, represents a fortune amassed over centuries from the savings and bequests of countless inhabitants. The parish church is thus the embodiment of village history, a showpiece which all, even the most anti-clerical Labour supporters, point out with great pride to strangers.

793 The custodian of the church is the parish priest, who is responsible
for all alterations or improvements to it. He often delegates
794 much of this work, especially the fund-raising, to a local priest,
346 who then becomes procurator of the church. Many church procurators devote their lives to building and beautifying their churches, and every generation contributes thousands of pounds for its upkeep and embellishment. But regardless of who holds the procura of the church, the people regard it as their communal property, and all take an intense interest in its maintenance and decoration. Because of this proprietary interest, a difference of opinion over details of decoration, and especially over structural alterations to it, can divide a village into strongly opposed factions.

346 At the beginning of this century Kortin was divided on the
576 question whether to enlarge the existing church or to build a new
793 one. The stronger faction, which included the resident nobles and
794 the wealthy merchants, wished to build a new church. Their
leader was Sur Vinċenz, the grandfather of Sur Ġorġ. A wealthy merchant was thought to be willing to help finance the scheme. This group was opposed by most of the village clergy, including the parish priest, on the ground that the cost of a new church was beyond the resources of the village. Moreover, a benefactor had already bequeathed £2,000 for enlarging the church. The leader of this faction was Dun Batist, the senior local priest in the village.

The dispute raged from about 1880, when the plans of the new church were drawn up, to about 1913. In 1898 a number of people

addressed a petition to the Archbishop requesting permission to 346
build a new church. But a year and a half later he ruled in favour 578
of a counter-petition, and gave permission to begin reconstructing
the old church. Shortly after this a riot developed out of a meeting 793 ●
called to urge the parish priest to permit the building of a new 794
church. During the commotion, the stone railing around the [579]
front of the church was damaged. Six days afterward forty-two
people were arrested for disturbing the peace and taken off to
prison. After three days the arrested men were released because of
insufficient evidence. The court assessed the total damage to the
church railing at twenty-two shillings. This incident aroused the
village. A month later the new church faction decided to begin
work without the permission of the Archbishop. Early the following
Sunday, a huge crowd led by Sur Vinċenz asked the parish
priest for permission to work on Sunday. When their request was
refused, they set off for the site and began to work anyway. That
afternoon, Sur Vinċenz hired a band to play for them, and the
music attracted people from many surrounding villages. The
following day Dun Batist and the parish priest laid the matter
before the Archbishop.

All through the month of October 1901 the leaders of the new
church faction went in delegations to argue their case before the
Archbishop, who was on holiday in Marsalforn, Gozo. The local
diarist, on whose account much of the above is based, notes
cynically that the Bishop listened with great attention, as he was
in debt to one of the leading members. Meanwhile, the parish
priest had been able to mediate between the factions. Dun Batist
and his followers agreed to stop their work on the old church
provided their opponents reimbursed them for their expenses to
date. This was arranged. Finally, in January 1902 the parish priest
announced that the Archbishop had given his permission for the
construction of the new church. That afternoon there was a great [527]
celebration in the village, with many fireworks and a guest band,
again paid for by Sur Gorġ's grandfather.

But the construction of the new church soon ran into trouble. 346
Sur Vinċenz failed to raise the capital required. As Dun Batist had 793
foreseen, the cost of this grandiose scheme was far more than the 794
village could manage. After the foundations had been laid, the
work gradually came to a halt. The village did not begin to rebuild
the old church until the end of 1909, when the parish priest
set out to raise the extra £2,000 required.

346 set out to raise the extra £2,000 required. One of the fund-
794 raisers at the time was young Manwel, the father of Dr. Farrugia,
[875] who had then just begun to teach in the village school. The recon-
struction of the old church was finally completed in 1913.

Sur Vinċenz gradually dropped out of village activities. Many
794 people blamed him for the trouble in the community. In 1912 he
578 refused to allow the organizers of the festa to anchor one of the
major street decorations in its customary position against his
house. This action created more hostility towards him, and shortly
after the festa a bomb was thrown through his cellar window.
During the next six weeks he and his close relatives received
several threatening letters, and one night the front of his house was
smeared with red paint. But the rivalry between the factions
gradually died out, and today there is no trace of it left. The old
[887] men of Kortin who now spend their days in the shade of the huge
façade of the church, and their evenings on its cool steps, remem-
ber the struggle clearly, for they were all deeply involved in it.
As they look back to the events of sixty years ago, they often
remark with wry smiles that the village was then a very lively
place.

This incident was exceptional because of the immense cost to
346 the village in money and labour that the construction of the new
578 church involved. Now that church-building is no longer in
794 vogue, new works usually take the form of decorations, such as
new paintings or candlesticks. These do not generally arouse
strong feelings, since all additions to the beauty and wealth of the
church are normally welcome. A wise priest, however, tries to
ensure that there is general agreement about them. It sometimes
happens that he forgets, or underestimates, the proprietary inter-
est of his parishioners in their church. When this occurs, there is
usually trouble.

Some years ago, the parish priest of Farruġ proposed to regild
346 the chancel. His parishioners welcomed the idea, and contributed
578 generously. But when the work was finally completed and the
793 scaffolding removed, his parishioners were shocked to find that
794 he had placed his personal coat of arms high over the chancel. He
was the first priest in the history of the parish to have put his coat
of arms inside their church; moreover, he had done so without
their consent. There was great indignation, but the arms remained
there. A year later he was promoted to a larger parish, and left

the village. People then began to ask the new parish priest to have 346
the coat of arms removed. He quite understandably declined to 578
do so. 793

One morning, less than two months after the old priest had left, 794
the village was startled by the news that the irksome coat of arms had been removed in the dead of night by persons unknown. In its place gleamed the freshly painted arms of the village. The job, which had involved at least three men, one of whom must have worked on top of a 60-foot ladder, had been skilfully executed. To add insult to injury, the nocturnal painters had telephoned the former parish priest after finishing their work and announced that he would find something of great interest in the church next time he visited Farrug. The following morning he came to the village, saw what had happened to his coat of arms, and immediately reported the matter to the police. The police interviewed many people, but did not find the culprits. They are still looking for them. The village is quite pleased that the arms were removed, although some deplored the rather crude way in which it had been done.

578 Confraternity of St. Roque. Unfortunately, at this point, it is not
621 possible to distinguish fact from myth. The tales are accepted as
79 reality, and so help to formulate the attitude of St. Martin supporters toward their rivals. However, when the old priest died, it was discovered that most of the festal finery of the parish church had been purchased in the name of the Confraternity of St. Roque. St. Martin supporters were in the humiliating position of having to beg their rivals for the use of the church valuables in order to decorate the church for the feast of the parish patron. Moreover, while the old priest had controlled the celebration of St. Martin, he had allowed the lay leaders of the St. Roque partit a free hand in planning their feast.

At this time the St. Martin club was split over national politics,
578 and a faction composed of Strickland supporters left and founded
621 a new club. Though both clubs remained loyal to St. Martin,
665 there was trouble between them. Older St. Roque partisans recount with amusement how a report to the police by the secretary of the parent club resulted in twenty members of the new club being arrested and fined for gambling. But the hostility between these two factions declined when Strickland made his peace with the Church, and in 1934 they reunited.

578 The burden of redressing the balance between the partiti fell
621 upon the old priest's successor, and upon those who followed him.
793 There were many incidents between these priests and the St.
794 Roque partit, and on several occasions the former had to send for police protection. In spite of the 1935 regulations, the St. Roque partit retained its numerical superiority as well as the church decorations during the 'thirties. It was not until 1942 that a shrewd parish priest succeeded in bringing the silver altar front out of the St. Roque strongroom into that of the parish church, where it has remained ever since.

The rivalry between the partiti lay dormant during the Second World War, as the people united to fight for survival. But it flared up again immediately after the war, as did similar rivalry in other villages. Both clubs organized musical bands for the first time. After a series of incidents which culminated in the parish priest again having to send for police protection, this time against angry St. Martin supporters, the rivalry began to decline somewhat. This decline was brought about chiefly by the effects of emigration, improvements in local transport, the establishment of a number

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621

of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 793
political parties. 794

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro- 794
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the con-
fraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are mem-
bers neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

fewer professional class members. Consequently competition for 621
the role of leader does not occur so often, and there is a longer
tenure of office. In the partit of a titular saint, with its better-educated
members, there are more men with the necessary qualities
of leadership, and accordingly more competition for office
and a high turnover of office holders. The competition both [578]
creates and results from internal factions which weaken the group.
In Farrug, for example, the President of the St. Roque Band Club 575
has led the St. Roque partit more or less continuously since Dun 621
Rokku died thirty years ago. He is also just about the only member
of the partit with the educational qualifications and social
position required of a leader. The key positions of the St. Martin
Band Club, in contrast, constantly pass between about half a
dozen educated persons. This divided leadership has weakened the
club; and on one occasion it even split in two. The strong leadership
and internal unity of the secondary partiti, plus the fact that
they rarely present claims that are not well founded, has enabled
them to score many successes in spite of their apparently unfavourable
position in relation to the Church.

Disputes between festa partiti are all very much alike. A typical 578
dispute begins when leaders of a secondary partit petition the 621
parish priest for some new privilege, for example the right to 793
renew the bouquets of artificial flowers which adorn the statue of
their saint. The parish priest normally refuses at first, and tells 794
them that he thinks the old flowers are quite serviceable. His policy
is to let sleeping dogs lie. Moreover, he has to take into account
the rule that decorations for secondary feasts must not be more
beautiful than those for titular ones. But the saint's supporters
continue to bring influence to bear on him. In the meantime,
members of the titular partit have learned of their rivals' move
and rush to the parish priest to point out that the old flowers are
more than adequate. They threaten to cancel their feast if he [626]
gives in on this matter. The priest is now caught in a vice, and the
pressure on him builds up. Finally, he agrees to refer the whole
case to the Curia and passes the matter upwards, usually with a
feeling of relief. Relations between him and the partiti return to
normal, as the scene of the struggle shifts to the Curia.

The Curia normally appoints experts to re-investigate the
merits of the case, including the proposed design of the flowers.
Leaders from both partiti spend a great deal of their time at the

578 Curia trying to persuade all concerned, from the Bishop down, to
think the way they do. This may go on for years, for the Curia,
621 knowing the trouble that lies ahead, is usually in no hurry to give
793 its decision. When the final decision is handed down, it is usually
794 favourable, and the design for a set of flowers less beautiful and
costly than the corresponding set of the titular partit is furnished. The secondary partit then instructs the craftsmen to begin work. The titular partit announces to everyone that it will cancel its next feast.

It often happens, however, that just before the new bouquets (or whatever *objets d'art* are concerned) are inaugurated during the secondary festa, the parish priest discovers that most of the Curia's specifications have been ignored. The new flowers are far more beautiful than they were supposed to be. He is furious. The guilty leaders of the secondary partit apologize profusely and take immediate steps to make them less beautiful. Occasionally, the priest may discipline the partit by temporarily reducing the scale of its feast. The secondary partit then holds its feast, and the flowers are admired by all visitors. Strong police reinforcements usually prevent trouble from occurring. Relations between the parish priest and the titular partit are gradually re-established and it agrees, usually for some concessions on his part, to celebrate its feast again. But in a year or so, a new dispute occurs, and the process starts all over again.

Sometimes relations between a parish priest and a partit reach
578 a deadlock that can be broken only by an outside peacemaker,
621 frequently an officer of the police. The police in any case have a
625 vital interest in the degree of rivalry existing in the villages, as it is
793 their business to keep order during the feast. The number of
794 police on duty at these times ranges from a dozen or so in villages
such as Siġġiewi and Naxxar, where there are no partiti, to around
100 in those where there are strong ones, such as Mqabba and
[626] Żurrieq. Occasionally a parish priest is threatened, frightened by
a home-made bomb, or attacked; he then often requests, and
generally receives, a transfer to another parish.

So far only the more important encounters between partiti have
543 been discussed. There are many other events to keep their rivalry
575 alive throughout the year. The numerous fund-raising fairs of
578 the band clubs are occasions for the village to divide along festa
621 partit lines. While supporters of the partit running the fair flock

578 recently petitioned the Archbishop for permission to renew the
platform on which their saint stands during the feast. St. Martin
621 supporters have threatened to cancel their feast if permission is
79 granted, as it probably will be, for the present platform is old and
falling to pieces.

While I was in the village, there was also a dispute over precedence
575 between the two band clubs on the occasion of the
578 installation ceremony of Dun Frangisk, the present parish priest.
621 This is a good example of a dispute over precedence, and it is one
which recurs in some form every time a new parish priest is
793 appointed to a village where there are two band clubs. The band which has precedence has the right to march last and to escort the priest from the church to his house after the ceremony. The other club escorts him from his house to the church before the ceremony. Quite straightforward, but clubs rarely agree on which one has precedence. The dispute thus presents a knotty problem that brings a new priest abruptly up against the realities of parish politics within a few days after his arrival. His handling of the matter may well govern his relations with the partiti during the rest of his time in the village.

On the evening when Dun Frangisk moved into the parish, the St. Martin Band Club gave a party to welcome him and to bid farewell to his predecessor, who had been its strong ally. The party was a great success. The departing priest received a huge coloured portrait of St. Martin as a farewell gift, and Dun Frangisk met all the St. Martin leaders and blessed the club's new television set. A few days later, the St. Martin leaders called on the new priest and offered to provide a musical escort to and from the church for his installation ceremony. This was to be followed by a concert in the square and a firework display. The offer pleased him and he accepted. During the next few days the St. Martin club went about collecting the £25 the band programme would cost, thus advising the village of its plans.

Until then Dun Frangisk had heard nothing from the St. Roque club, a fact which rather disturbed him.

Two days later he called in person at both clubs to invite them to attend his installation ceremony and the reception following it. But he found the clubs deserted. The members of the St. Martin committee were away offering their congratulations to the old parish priest, who that night was holding his installation ceremony

in his new parish. Most of the St. Roque leaders, for their part, 575
were off supervising a fund-raising fair which they had hastily 578
organized to help ensure that no St. Roque supporter would be 621
tempted to attend the lavish reception of their former antagonist.
Finding no one of importance at the clubs, Dun Franġisk left the 793
invitations with the bar-keepers.

Two days later a group of St. Roque leaders called to thank him for his invitation, at the same time informing him that they were looking forward to escorting him to and from the church with their band. Dun Franġisk had been warned by his predecessor that this might happen, so he asked them to meet him the next evening to discuss the details of the programme with the other club.

Next morning the members of the St. Martin partit were furious over this move of their rivals. They grumbled to me that now only a miracle could save the band programme they had been planning. It was the main topic of conversation in the village that day. Many people were on hand to watch the St. Martin committee members enter the parish priest's house that afternoon. Soon after, the rival delegation, headed by the vice-president, the secretary and the treasurer of the St. Roque Band Club, joined the meeting. The first session lasted two hours. I saw the young priest shortly afterwards. He looked rather stunned, and exclaimed, 'They can't agree. They both want to escort me to my house! It's like a U.N. session. Nothing is settled and we meet again in an hour.' I learned later that he had had a difficult time preventing the rivals from coming to blows.

They met again, but the deadlock remained unbroken. The St. Martin delegates maintained that their club had the right to escort the priest to his house because it was the oldest, it represented the official patron saint of the village and it had been the only one to play during the past two installation ceremonies. Their rivals rejected all these claims, and suggested that they draw lots for the privilege of playing last, or hire outside bands to play, and let them decide. The St. Martin representatives rejected these suggestions. Finally, at midnight, the parish priest put an end to the wrangle. He told them that unless they could decide the matter among themselves, he would have to decline their offers to play for him. He asked them to let him have their decision by the following evening.

575 578 621 743 The next day each delegation called separately on Dun Frangisk and told him that they had not been able to reach a decision. In fact, they had not met again. St. Martin supporters were very bitter about the whole affair, and said that since they could not play, they would also cancel the firework display they had been planning.

The installation ceremony took place three days later as planned. Neither band played, but each fired off a number of petards during the day, and each gave the newly installed priest a rousing salute of fire crackers on his return from the church. The leaders of both partiti attended his reception, separately to be sure, and they were very cordial in their congratulations. The skirmish was over. St. Martin leaders admitted to me that Dun Frangisk had handled himself well, and that he had taken the only sensible course open to him. They declared, however, that he should not have called in person to invite the St. Roque club, but should have sent the more usual printed invitation. The St. Roque leaders, on the other hand, were quite pleased with the way things had gone. They invited Dun Frangisk to a reception in his honour at their club the following week, and shortly afterwards asked him to support their request for a new platform for their saint.

This whole episode must be seen as an attempt by the St. Roque partit to unseat its rival from the position of pre-eminence it had enjoyed during the centenary celebration. It could do this by blocking the St. Martin club's plan to be the only band to play at the installation ceremony. The St. Roque leaders were able to make their first move when Dun Frangisk called in person at their club, thereby assuring them that they be given equal standing with the other, which they felt had been favoured by his predecessor. They would not have made their offer to play if there had been the slightest indication that Dun Frangisk was going to favour their rivals. In fact it is extremely unlikely that the St. Roque club was really planning to play. It had not done so for many years, it had no bandsmen and at the time it did not even have a bandmaster. Finally, it had made no collection to pay for a band. All these facts were known to the St. Martin supporters when they made their offer to play. Furthermore, they had heard indirectly [521] from the St. Roque secretary – who told a policemen in a neighbouring town, who in turn mentioned it to the president of the

St. Martin club – that the St. Roque club was not planning to par- 575
ticipate in the ceremony in protest against the way they had been 578
treated during the centenary. Dun Franġisk's spontaneous move 621
upset their plans. 793

Although Dun Franġisk favoured the suggestions that the clubs [521]
draw lots, or hire outside bands, St. Martin rejected both because they implied that the clubs had equal status. The last time the St. Roque band had played was six years and four parish priests before, when the local police inspector had devised a compromise solution, and the St. Martin leaders had 'allowed' St. Roque to play the last march of the day, while their band escorted the new priest home. They believed any concession they made now would undo the advantage which they felt they had gained as the only functioning band in the village during the past six years.

Thus it came about that no band played at Dun Franġisk's installation ceremony. This greatly surprised the many visitors from the city and the suburbs, but the good people of the district found it quite in accordance with the way things should be, considering the issues involved. At no point in the series of events were the feelings of the young priest, whom all liked, ever considered. His installation had become the vehicle for a clash between the followers of St. Martin and St. Roque. They had been vying with each other for supremacy long before he was born, and would be at it long after he left. Any concessions made for his sake would have to be entered into the eighty-year-old ledger of credits and debits, and might have an important bearing on the outcome of the next series of encounters.

III

Two interesting problems remain to be considered: why festa 17
partiti arose during the fifty years or so after 1850, and what 621
reasons prompted people to join one partit rather than its rival. 787
The factors which caused the partiti to come into existence at this 795
particular period in Maltese history are necessarily complex, and they are dimmed by the time that has elapsed since their foundation. Nonetheless, one can discern several elements which would appear to be related to the general problem. To begin with, during this period there was a sudden increase in the devotion to the Virgin Mary following her apparition in 1858 at Lourdes, and the

In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to
103 him,[1] after 1850 (in Naxxar, Gharghur, Kirkop and Xaghra, for
175 example) he was chosen as patron of the new parish churches of
621, Kalkara, Qala and Msida. Moreover, four parishes have secondary
776 feasts dedicated to him (Rabat, Ghaxaq, Kirkop and Żebbuġ).
794 Besides these Gharghur and Siġġiewi had St. Joseph partiti which
796 succumbed to the 1935 Church regulations.

The identification of secondary partiti in general with St.
621 Joseph is also perhaps reflected in the colour most have chosen as
794 their symbol. It is blue, the colour of the banner of the Con-
822 fraternity of St. Joseph. The supporters of many secondary partiti, even if their saint is the Virgin Mary, wave blue scarves about to show their loyalty to it. Their rivals display red scarves, after the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose members support the titular saint.

463 The correlation between partiti and occupational class is also
621 shown in the high proportion of village priests who are sons of
● 793, families supporting the titular feasts. I once asked the leader of a
794 secondary partit why this was so. He replied that it was only natural since the families of the titular partiti were in much closer contact with the parish priest. Thus their sons, rather than those of rivals, more often became his young helpers and altar boys and received the necessary recommendations to the seminary and other church-run schools. From there, some became priests, and others assumed positions of leadership with the various associations. Other informants suggested it was because the 'best' families support the titular saints, and therefore can afford the additional school fees and loss of earning power that are involved in having their sons become priests.

Of the 41 priests born and now resident in Żurrieq, Kirkop, Qrendi, Mqabba, Luqa, Ghaxaq and Żebbuġ, 33 (80 per cent) are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. This percentage gains added importance by the fact that in each of these villages the secondary partit is either equal to or larger than the titular partit. The exception is Żebbuġ, where the secondary partit is decidedly smaller than the titular one. In Farruġ, though the local priest is from a St. Roque family, all the offices connected with the parish church, and 23 of the 30 key positions with Catholic Action, the Football Club and the Labour Committee, are in the hands of St. Martin supporters. Thus the members of titular partiti are not only closer to established authority, they often become part of it.

[1] [i.e. St. Joseph,-Analyst]

● 793
794
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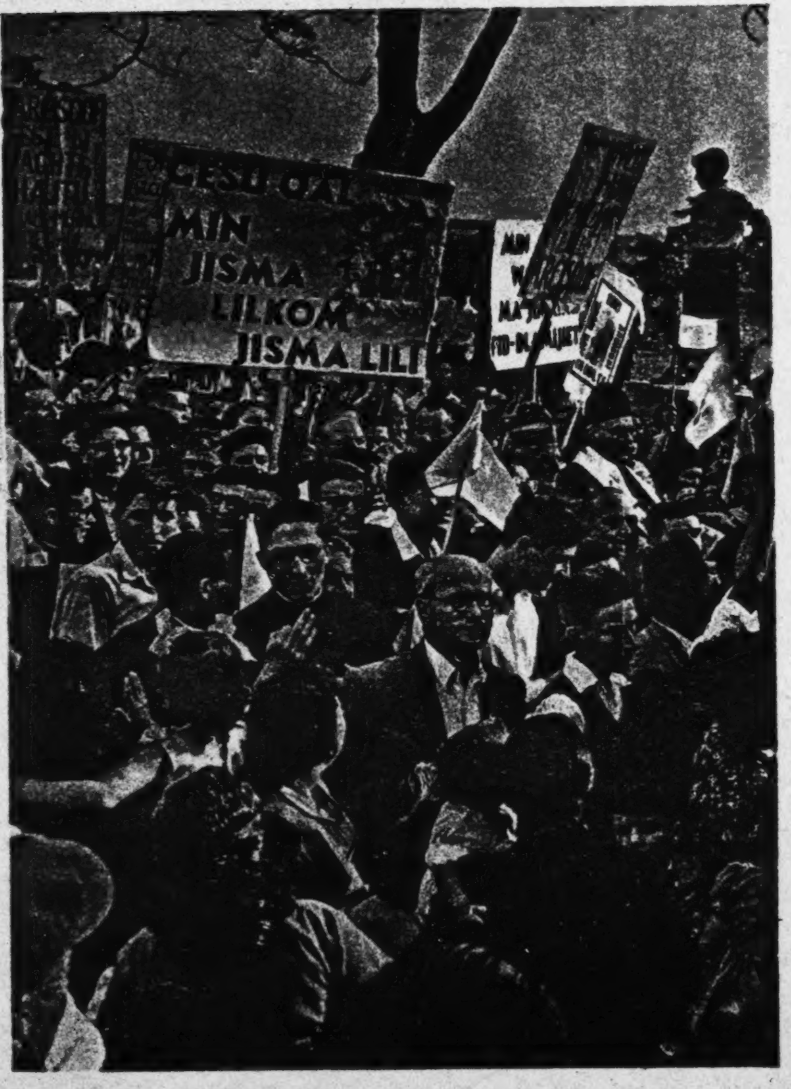
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7. Demonstrations of loyalty to the Archbishop

[facing p. 96]

578 young, I cannot even vote in the next election. But I must think
665 of the future. I feel that Mintoff is doing what is right for Malta.
794 He helped the poor people when he made the government. The
795 Church fights Mintoff because she fears she will lose her privileges
and power if he wins, and that he will tax her property. The
829 Church is in favour of keeping people ignorant, and limiting their
[115] education. Why? Because when people are educated they think
for themselves and can judge. They no longer follow blindly.
Besides, you should not take too seriously all this talk of Communism – they are products of this fight. In a fight, people use all means available.'

The street sweeper who was with us understood most of the
conversation and shook his head in disagreement. His only com-
[539] ment was the proverb, 'A ship with two captains can't sail' (*Il-vapur biż-żewġ kaptani ma jimxiex*). At this every one in the shop nodded in agreement, for both Labour and Church supporters had different captains in mind. Those who support the Archbishop look to him as the leader of the Maltese people. They make little distinction between Church and State. Labour supporters, in contrast, make a clear distinction. Mintoff is their candidate for head of State, and since they see the Archbishop as interfering with their choice, they accuse him of reaching out to control both Church and State.

II

578 At the village level, this conflict has brought about a bitter
665 division. All societies and groups which are not formally identi-
fied with one side or the other, have been divided and weakened
794 by politically based factions. The parish priest is the leader of
[793] those who support the Archbishop. His most enthusiastic followers are the clergy and the members of the lay societies. This group, with the other prominent villagers who make up the parish priest's circle, provide the hard core of the active opposition to the MLP. Considering the offices that they occupy and the societies to which they belong, it could hardly be otherwise. They usually meet in the club houses of the societies, but sometimes the older members meet in a particular café.

The hard core of the Labour group is made up of the officers of the local MLP Committee and the members who openly frequent the club. There is very little contact between the leaders and

578 hold. This is the accepted pattern of behaviour, not only in
villages divided by festa partiti, but also in others which have disputes
621 with the Church. But it is only in the villages with festa
79 partiti that these disputes, and the related anti-clerical action, take
place on a regularly recurring basis. In these villages, though
people are devout in observing many details of their religion,
constant opposition to the parish priest in matters connected with
festas has led them to look upon a measure of anti-clericalism as
part of their way of life.

578 The relative lack of respect for the clergy in these villages has
been partly responsible for a rather high turnover of parish
621 priests. It has been shown how uncomfortable festa partiti can
554 make the life of a parish priest. This, plus the meagre living in the
793 smaller parishes, prompts priests to look for openings in wealthier
and less troublesome villages. The Church itself regards the small
rural parishes as training or 'stepping-stone parishes'; as a monsignor
from the Curia once described them to me. But even as
such, they are unpopular, and the Archbishop often has difficulty
finding priests willing to take charge of them. Farruġ, for
example, has had six parish priests since 1953. The lack of continuity
of Church leadership in these small, divided villages has
tended to weaken its influence there and to foster a lack of respect
for its authority.

In this social climate the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party
578 fits without great difficulty. Labour supporters have already had
621 experience as festa partisans in ignoring the commands of the
665 Church, and in enduring the taunts and disapproval of their rivals
795 in the other partit. For them anti-clericalism is nothing new, and
[626] they are thus not as vulnerable to public opinion and the sanctions
of the Church as persons in villages which do not have this
tradition of opposition to the Church.

But if there is a certain similarity between the anti-clerical behaviour of many festa enthusiasts and that of MLP supporters, most persons make a distinction between the two. The anti-clerical actions of the festa partiti are usually directed against particular clerics in connection with specific decisions. In contrast, the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party is directed at the Archbishop in particular and often at all priests in general. This difference stems from the fact that basically their challenge to the authority of the Church differs significantly. Where the festa partisan does

across the village and the clubs, and has brought about conflict
178 within many families. People lament the change that has come
578 over the village as a result. An old bachelor friend often used to
621 complain that had we come to live there just a few years ago,
'before politics came and spoiled everything', we would have
found the village a far happier place. Picnics and outings were
more frequent then, and groups of friends used to gather on hot
summer evenings and stroll outside the village to play guitars and
sing the lilting Maltese *għana* in the cool air away from the houses.
There was also more life in the clubs. Both the Social Club and
[575] the Band Club used to take part in the national carnival com-
[796] petition for the best decorated carts and costumed companies. But
as the political conflict has divided the island's carnival celebra-
tion in two, so it has also affected the clubs. They now celebrate
neither the government's carnival nor that of the MLP for fear the
question of which one to participate in would provoke a fight
that would cripple the club.

Dun Bert, the parish priest in Kortin, is of course the head of
578 the local group which supports the Archbishop and opposes the
665 MLP. His chief lieutenants in the fight are the local clergy and the
● 793 lay leaders of the religious associations. Pawlu and Anton, his two
794 faithful helpers, are also vocal partisans, as is old Manwel. Dr.
Farrugia, old Manwel's son, as a former member of the Legisla-
tive Assembly (MLA) and a leading member of one of the political
parties opposed to the MLP, also belongs to the pro-Church
division in the village, though he takes little part in its day-to-day
275 affairs. The main activity and support comes from the leaders of
the lay associations, especially of the Young Christian Workers,
578 the MUSEUM and the Sodality of Our Lady. These all meet regu-
665 larly in their respective premises. Many of the others, older men,
794 spend much of their free time in Kelinu's café. These include old
Manwel, Pawlu, Anton, the sacristan, the organist, and Dun
Mikiel and Dun Filip, respectively the chaplains of the female and
male sections of Catholic Action. This café, located right next to
Dr. Farrugia's house, is the nicest café on the square, or in the
village for that matter. It is the only one which the clergy, the
teachers and occasionally Dr. Farrugia himself, frequent. It is thus
the headquarters of the more influential village citizens who sup-
port the Archbishop. Most MLP supporters have stopped going to
[519] it, although a few still play cards there for an hour or so in the late
afternoon when they return from work.

557 patrons; others have established fairly close contact with them
602 through business relations.

The patronage of the parish priest has traditionally been important.
557 Not only are all villagers his spiritual clients, but he is
also a source of charity and assistance in many fields. He serves his
793 parishioners individually in the capacity of legal adviser, character reference and often also as letter-writer and banker. He frequently argues their claims against the government. He also represents the interests of the community at large, and attempts, often successfully, to obtain improved public amenities such as new roads, street lighting and so on. At least, this is the role that he occupied until the introduction of representative government.

III

557 Influence through the networks of personal relations and patrons
is the traditional method of handling contacts with authority. It
662 still operates when representative government is in abeyance. But the advent of elected government introduced a new set of relations, and provided a new focus of power. Political parties and professional politicians provided new and surer channels of influence and sources of patronage, though they have not replaced the old ones. The villager now uses both old and new channels, separately or together.

The organization of all parties, at least before Mintoff reorganized
662 the Labour Party, was rather simple. Party interests were
665 represented in the villages by personal canvassers or party agents, as well as by the candidates themselves. The old Labour Party under Paul Boffa had a number of village party committees. When the party was returned to power, patronage and influence flowed abundantly, and brought the whole structure into vigorous life. The canvassers became important people who could pass along requests and schedule appointments with the local MLA's
[464] and even the Ministers. They also helped the local MLA's prepare the lists of people who were to be given jobs, for until 1955 most
[653] of the lower-grade industrial labourers with the Public Works Department were employed upon the recommendation of the local MLA's. Politicians who held office before 1955 often told me that making out the employment rosters and dealing with the daily queue of job-seekers were among their most difficult and

forwarding the requests and complaints of the villagers to government 647
had greatly increased their strength, and that of the party 662
they represented. As the members operated as a formal committee
and not as individuals, they had the esteem and respect of 665
most of the community. They also had considerable power in
local affairs. In fact, for three years the leaders of the Labour [554]
group in the village ranked alongside the parish priest and the professionals as the most prominent and influential citizens of the village. The canvassers of the rival parties had perhaps had power, but they had never had respect. Theirs was always rather an underhanded operation, that was often disowned by MLA's when they were confronted with it. The MLP, on the other hand, delegated responsibility to Local Committees, and the Ministers legitimized them by openly working through them in all their relations with the villages. Villagers were also openly encouraged to work through them. These committees thus served the ends of the Labour Party most successfully. It is quite likely, therefore, that in the future other parties will find it politically as well as administratively expedient to develop and work through village committees patterned on the model so successfully tested by the Labour Party.

The party system has come into direct conflict with the traditional 578
relations between patron and client at relatively few points. 647
This is largely because most patrons who desired to were able to 662
move successfully into the new field of party politics. A notable
exception are priests, who are no longer permitted by their 665
Bishops to stand for national political office. Their power to 793
influence authority has thus been weakened by the new source of patronage and influence open to their parishioners. In particular, parish priests came into open conflict with the village MLP committees during the Labour Party's time in power after 1955. Not surprisingly, their clash at the village level mirrored the dispute between the Archbishop and the MLP at the national level. That is, it was a conflict between the religious authority of the Church and the secular authority of the State, represented in the villages by the Local Committees of the Labour Party. Both the parish priest and the Local Committee claimed to represent the village, and both sought by mobilizing their supporters to advance their claim at the expense of their opponents. This invariably resulted in a struggle for power during which the Labour supporters were

578

647 accused of being anti-clerical and against the Church because they
662 opposed the will of the parish priest.

665 Shortly after Mintoff took office, the Local Committee in
793 Kortin made plans to open a new avenue into the village. The
scheme, first projected by government planners over sixty years
578 before, was designed to ease the flow of traffic through the village
647 and provide a wide, tree-lined promenade leading to the main
653 square in front of the church. Unfortunately, the project required
665 the demolition of four buildings, two of which were small
793 chapels used as warehouses for the festa decorations. Because of
this Dun Bert, the parish priest, bitterly opposed the scheme, as had his predecessors. He claimed that most of the village supported him. The Labour Committee, on the other hand, felt that it had the backing of the village, and went ahead with the project. The road was finally opened, and it proved to be a great success. But the two small churches were destroyed, and the relations between the Labour group and the parish priest remained hostile. Six years later, Dun Bert and his supporters were still pointing to the avenue as positive proof that the Labour Party is fundamentally opposed to the Church.

IV

463 But if the political parties have modified the traditional system of
665 patronage somewhat by providing a new channel of influence for
the villager, the professional politician of today is by and large the same traditional patron. That is, the successful politicians are largely drawn from the professional classes; they are still the doctors, the lawyers, the architects and the chemists. Indeed, until recently the lists of candidates often read like directories of the professional classes. This situation prevailed until about the time of the Labour Party split in 1949, when virtually all the professional class Labour MLA's sided with Dr. Boffa and formed the Workers' Party, while most of the MLP Executive and the rank and file supported Mintoff. After this the Labour Party asked people from all classes to stand as candidates, and began to push up working-class leaders trained in union and club politics. But the politicians from the professional class still heavily outnumber their working-class colleagues, even in the Labour Party.

Table 8 below illustrates this. Of the fifty MLA's elected in the

361 Map 3, showing density of population by localities for 1957, closely reflects the built-up area pattern. Broadly-speaking it resembles Map 4 (residence of Dockyard workers) but here the emphasis on Valletta and Sliema, and all the northern part of the Urban zone, is notably less.

THE VILLAGE

621 [361] Maltese rural society is essentially composed of village communities each occupying a compact settlement[8]. There are some three dozen villages in the rural area of the Islands[9] among which there is considerable variation in site, date of foundation, morphology, population (B/561) and economic structure (B/361), but throughout the Islands there is a uniformity of function within the village as a community group. This makes it possible to speak of "the Maltese Village" from the point of view of social structure, and allows a qualifying classification into types on the basis of the features mentioned.

17 Maltese society as a whole, and particularly the rural part of it, is to some extent cut off from outside influences by virtue of the insular position of the country, cultural as well as geographical. Yet the Islands have clearly at no time in their history been independent of Europe to the north, Africa to the south and Asia to the east. Quite patently the opposite has been the case and Malta, as ever the mute pawn of great powers, has absorbed its material and moral culture from abroad just as it has received additions to its population whether coming as traders, invaders, or settlers, for four thousand years. But the Islands have put their own stamp on these arrivals so that a discussion such as this must take account of both autochthonous developments within the Islands, as well as those of wider origin.

17 621 The elements within the traditional Maltese village were, briefly, the Roman Catholic Church and clergy, the landed class, and the mass of the population - an illiterate peasantry. 'Traditional' here refers to rural society as it existed in Malta one, two or three centuries ago.

This is not to say that the traditional has been erased from the present scene but rather that recent moves towards literacy, emancipation and communication, and a greater range of amenities within the Islands, have diversified and modified the traditional aspects to produce a variety of different types in place of the social uniformity of the past. But the [793] [795] traditional nucleus within the village, the Parish Priest and the Parish Church retain their pivotal role. The modification of this role is very apparent but the place of the Church has been affected far less in the country districts

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard develop-
621 ments and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the
rural districts where change has to date been slower than in
the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along
with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisors as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education
as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The
clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the popula-
tion was not. This concentration of learning produced a sit-
uation in which only the clergy were able to step forward to
take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might
have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
[669] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolution-
[648] ary leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino
Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising
against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands
by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both
village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the
[874] University came strongly under the influence of the Church,
for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long stan-
[178] ding, was and still is best known for its Theology. However,
during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the
Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative
details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of
the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth.
The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the
separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociologi-
cal importance during the present century has been the growth
of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban
areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces
which are today tending to detract from the traditional
omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before
the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will
loom much larger than at present in the country districts
and in Gozo[11].

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
795 up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
[591] but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
197 even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutturals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential
independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

628 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gożo that a
186 man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to
point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some
comparatively recent date[13].

621 Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic
structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese
793 village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest,
795 and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely
an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church
by the new features and modifications of the old landscape
in the present.

175 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young
361 Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement
has acquired the essential features common to rural society
throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria
Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on
account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the
sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in
the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church
[172] in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1550[14]. Evidence, too,
of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat
(2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the
village.

175 However, in the early part of the nineteenth century,
farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now
361 the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of
793 the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell
795 (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general
movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an
independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual
needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from
Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of
St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918.
Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr
had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to
their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the
Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning
Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area per-
175 manently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a
346 full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and
[793] settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a
new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the popula-
tion of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911).
[463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect con-
cerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
themselves responsible for much of the labouring work.
794 Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards
the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939);
this in a parish which even ten years later had no more
than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

175 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were
793 attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor)
Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became
871 Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest
not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way
in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features
possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the
Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration
and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was
"sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of
Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in
the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by
the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
[671] elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this
still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for
nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory
Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

744 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for
793 by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone
759 himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of
1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest
175 of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the
day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to
anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6).
As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in
difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social,
as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the
first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the
village, and another of the traditional functions of the
Priest passed to specialist hands.

175 After this, interest was turned again to building and
the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out
346 in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the
344 Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the
[435] District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers them-
selves were responsible for a great deal of the building
work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued
to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

654 (ii) The younger generation are not interested in
829 improving farming; they scarcely stop to think that any
464 changes in the industry might be possible in their
178 present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk
of life. Thus they will probably not be available to
take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise,
from their fathers.

SECTION 5 : Conclusions.

369 In conclusion one may attempt to draw together the several general points raised in the previous four Sections. The most important of these may be listed as follows:

(1) The twentieth century is witnessing an accelerating process of the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo (Section 1). This comprises

- (a) material change (the development of electricity, roads, sewage, transport, and a variety of other amenities),
- (b) cultural change following general, elementary education - that is literacy, 'emancipation' and the emergence of a critical public awareness,
- [565] (c) social and economic changes which have laid the foundations of a rural middle class, unknown in the traditional village scene.
  ●[793] Along with this have come modifications in the pivotal rôle of the Parish Priest and other priests. Some of their traditional functions, notably teaching and caring for the sick, have been taken over by specialists in such fields.

369 The factors outlined under (a), (b), and (c) are tend-
829 ing to extend the horizon of the individual villager far beyond the limits of his own village. Whereas he used to work and think within his family and village he is now aware of Malta and beyond.

241 (2) The particular physical limitations on farming in
464 the Islands have, in the past, made the industry dependent
to a very considerable extent on the meticulous hand-labour
178 of the industrious Maltese farmer. This has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance, and even construction, of the fields and terraces themselves (Section 2). The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involved. They have benefited from general elementary education, literacy, and contact with the world outside the villages to the extent of demanding work which seems to them economically and socially rewarding. The past twenty-five years have seen a rapid decline in the number of full-time farmers and farm-workers. Today the farmer, in most cases no longer assisted by his sons, finds hired labour both scarce and costly (Section 2).

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
● [793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Ċenzu shares the still general view that money given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer ~~and village~~ weighman.)

423 427 A. Land.

33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 231 234 C. Livestock.

Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 [423] [454] [407] D. Capital.

- No freehold land. Owns large village house.
- No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 464 [465] E. Labour.

- Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
- [427] [241] [407] Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

796 offered during the year, for the purpose
794 either of decorating or repairing the
778 church or churches of the parish to
431 which they belong.
354

It is also customary for every parish priest—on this special day, or on the day following—to present both the Bishop and the Governor of the Island with a
[643] two lb. candle. It is to be observed, however, that the candle given to the Governor is only a blessed one when he happens to profess the Roman Catholic Religion.

178 This giving of candles to both the
796 354 Bishop and the Governor—a continua-
793 tion of a custom that prevailed in the
431 time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, when the Grand Master was annually presented with a blessed candle on this day—is meant as a token of respect to each of the highest Ecclesiastical and Civil dignitaries of the Island.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 lebrating their Passover, placed on the
262 table two unleavened cakes called "pass-
171 over cakes" (*) with hard boiled eggs
174 bound in with slips of paste cross ways
on them (†)

Hyde, in his "Oriental Sports" says that the Christians buy eggs at Easter and stain them with a red colour, in memory of the blood of Christ shed for us at the time of the Crucifixion.

That the Roman Catholic Church has considered eggs as emblematical of the Resurrection may be gathered from the Ritual.

St. GREGORY'S DAY

796 *General procession*

•793 This very popular feast, which takes place on the first Wednesday after

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(*) The *figolla.*
(†) Brand's "Popular Antiquities."

Easter, is celebrated by a general procession composed of the fraternities and Clergy of all the parishes of the Island, led by the Chapter of the Cathedral followed by His Grace the Bishop of the Diocese. 796 [793]

The solemn chiming of the bells of all the parishes in the Island at sunset, on the day before, and the lighting of a large fire on the top of Cathedral church at Notabile, about 10 at night, warns the faithful to gather early on the following morning (Wednesday) in their respective parish church to start for the annual procession. [262]

At about 7 o'clock in the morning, Casal Paula is literally thronged with thousands of people from all parts of the Island, awaiting instructions as to the marching and ordering of the grand procession.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding. The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the *Haddara* closed the procession. 585

The arrival of the bridal procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was completed, everyone returned from church in the same order as before. [202] [793] [465]

As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies show-

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The officiating priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was completed, everyone returned from church in the same order as before. 585 [793] [465]

As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies showered flowers upon them also nuts and grains and wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended, she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.

At a village wedding the company danced during the feast, each dancer throwing a piece of money to the fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast. [535] [431] [465]

The bride always passed a week in her father's house, after which she was received with much pomp by her husband, whose relations gave a great feast which was called *il hargia*."[1] [591]

The bridegroom's symbolic present of a fish is very likely connected with fecundity, for the fish was regarded as an emblem of fecundity by the Assyrians and the Phoenicians. It is not, however, in this connection alone that the fish is a potent symbol. Prudence (apparently a virtue highly prized in a Maltese wife—Salt, another symbol of prudence, is included in the ingredients with which the bride's lips are anointed), and Wisdom were anciently supposed to be the properties of numerous Sacred Fish. Finn M'Cull, in the Irish legend, "Happens upon the Salmon of Knowledge . . ." 584 174 825 [577].

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[1] BUSUTTIL, op. cit.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The fratelli
763 —lay brethren of the congregation—hurry from their homes
794 to take their places in the procession of the Viatecum. Marching rapidly, like a company of soldiers, headed by a peasant ringing a staccato, commanding bell, some bearing tapers, some censers, all chanting the prayers for the dying, they pass quickly through the village street. Under a canopy, borne
[793] by two sturdy *fratelli*, goes the priest in his bright vestments, bearing God to the dying man.

The women hurry to place a light in their windows, kneel and pray as God passes.

So, with such poor pomp as these simple folk can muster,
764 the Prince of Peace comes to dying Zeppu. The funeral rites
[171] and customs differ hardly at all nowadays from those of other Catholic countries. But Zeppu's grandfather could remember a time when the Old Things were much in evidence.

764 There were the "Wailing Women" (whose name *newwicha*
767 survives in the sense of "one who constantly complains"). They wore long black robes, and chanted death-songs whose burden was a combination of praise for the deceased's virtues and rebuke for his having left them. They cut the vines from the courtyard, overturned the furniture, broke pottery, and mixed the fragments with soot and ashes, staining the doors
[302] of the bereaved house with the mixture. They cut pieces of their hair and scattered them over the coffin.

765 If the dead man possessed horses, cows, goats, all their tails
[262] had pieces cut from them in token of mourning. There was a
[764] form of "wake" where funeral cakes and boiled wheat were eaten. A carpet was spread over the tomb to prevent the unware from treading on it.

[372] No fire was lit in the house for three days after the funeral.
[302] The women kept to the house for forty days. The men, having remained indoors for seven days, went unshaven.

764 Here are clear signs of the most primitive funeral rites
174 and *taboos*. Death was a pollution—hence the segregation of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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BUST OF G.M. CARDINAL DE VERDALLE
[*See p.* 190.]

VERDALA CASTLE
[*See pp.* 187–191.]

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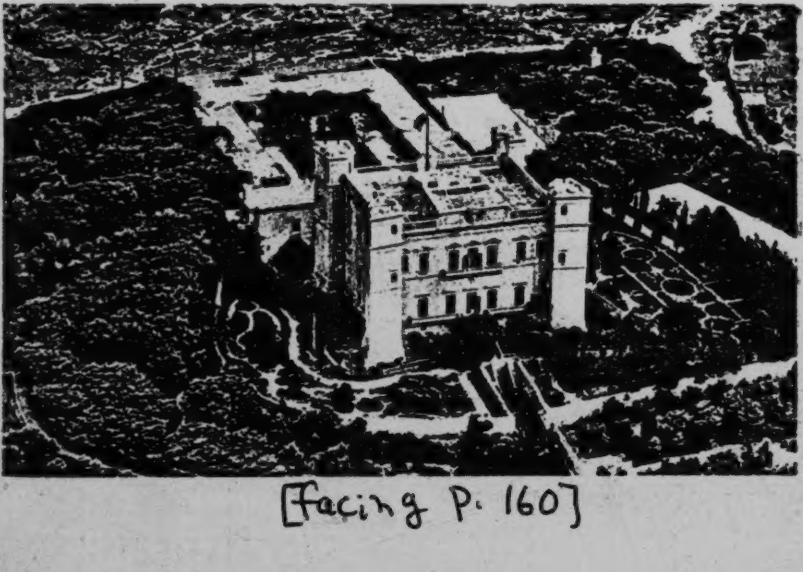

[facing p. 160]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XVIII

Old Survivals in Modern Malta

MALTA OCCUPIES A PLACE OF ITS OWN IN THE OLD WORLD 101
not only by reason of the length and unusual character of its annals, not only by reason of the tremendous range of its architectural monuments. It does so because it combines with these features the circumstance that it is the home of a separate race, the smallest of European peoples.

There are, it is true, four independent states in Europe of lesser size than Malta, but the inhabitants of these states do not form distinct racial stocks, nor have they their own languages. The Maltese are the smallest nation with the longest history, and their islands are a microcosm, self-
contained. Not only has Malta its own tongue. It has its [197]
own University—the oldest in the British Commonwealth [873]
Overseas and granted the Royal patronage and the prefix "Royal" by King George VI in his coronation year—with seven faculties: Theology, Laws, Medicine and Surgery, Dental Surgery, Engineering and Architecture, Arts, Science.
It has, as we have seen, its own Nobility with their Committee [565]
of Privileges. It is an ecclesiastical Province whose Archbishop [793]
exercises jurisdiction since 1944 over the bishopric of Gozo, previously immediately subject to the Holy See since its formation in 1864. And in the history of this microcosm has been mirrored the life of the great world around it.

Viewed as a part of the British Commonwealth, Malta is 655
unique in two particulars. It is the only British possession 545
whose Government owns an Opera House and in normal times 368
maintains an annual opera season and conducts the pawn-broking of the nation in the manner of certain Continental states.

If the Church in Malta thus lost its right of granting asylum, 793
its Head acquired at an even earlier stage of the British occupation another right which is carefully preserved to the present 659
day. In 1801 Major-General Pigot, then in charge of the 554
administration and in command of the troops, issued the following Standing Order to the "Garrison of La Valette and its Dependencies":

> His Eminence the Bishop of Malta is to receive from all guards honour due to a Brigadeer [*sic*] General.

When, after the First World War, the rank of Brigadier-General was abolished, the Archbishop of Malta was promoted, from the point of view of military compliments, to be a Major-General; and the guard never fails to turn out to him every day that he crosses the Palace Square.

It is sometimes said that the privilege was granted in recognition of the military services of Bishop Francis Xavier Caruana, who as Canon Caruana played a leading rôle in the rising against the French in 1798–1800. But this story is picturesque rather than probable, seeing that the salute to the Bishop was ordered in 1801 and Canon Caruana did not become Bishop of Malta until thirty years later. Its origin lay no doubt in the wish of the Occupying Power to demonstrate in a public manner its respect for the Church of Malta and its Head.

For the Roman Catholic Church is in Malta by law 795
established; its canon law is, as in Quebec, the law of the 659
land. It follows that contact between Church and State is
close, and this contact is not confined, on the part of the 796
representatives of the State, to relations with the hierarchy but is maintained equally with the parish clergy. The link finds its formal and public expression on the 2nd February of each year, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the ceremony of Candlemas, the "Candelora." On the morning of this day all the parish priests, wearing their best cassocks, repair to the Palace in Valetta, and one

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

504

core of Malta." The average Dockyard hand did not know if 464 his job might not come to an end by the end of the year; and 668 representatives of all classes in the country, including the parish priests, passed resolutions pressing for a guarantee of [793]● alternative employment if the Dockyard were to close down.

In the following month the Secretary of State for the 668 Colonies, Mr Lennox-Boyd, put forward a new proposal 648 to avert the threatened deadlock. While adhering to the Integration policy, and to "equivalence" of the Maltese economy and standard of living as an ultimate aim, he proposed an experimental period or trial run of five years for the Maltese economy to approximate itself to that of the United Kingdom. During this period the British Government would afford economic assistance towards the attainment of this object, consisting of a grant of £25,000,000 over the five years; assistance with educational, health and other social services based on a percentage of what the Maltese were able to do for themselves; and an obligation to help if unemployment rose above the British level in consequence of Defence cuts. Meanwhile Maltese representation at Westminster would remain in abeyance.

Even so, Mr Mintoff was not satisfied. On the 14th December he tendered his resignation owing to a difference of opinion with a section of his supporters in the General Workers' Union but withdrew it three days later; and he then raised the cry of independence as the alternative if he failed to obtain Integration on his own financial terms. The Nationalist Opposition, which had combated Integration, proved ready to support the converse alternative, for on the 30th December 1957 their representatives in the Legislative Assembly voted for Mr Mintoff's Resolution threatening severance of the link with Britain, which was passed unanimously and with acclamation in the following terms:

> That, as the British Government is not prepared to honour the obligation assumed by that Government, in the declaration

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

A post-war phenomenon from which Malta is not
668 immune is the Teddy-Boy, whose long locks and bizarre
579 dress as he lounges about the capital faintly recall, if only in
656 caricature, the flowing curls and exotic clothes in which the
young Disraeli postured in the streets of Valetta in 1830.
[468] A one-day general strike called for the 28th April by the
General Workers' Union as a "national protest" gave these
and the late Prime Minister's other lawless supporters the
opportunity for widespread rioting in which they demolished
walls to make barricades and road-blocks, dislocated traffic,
destroyed cars and other property and stoned the Police.
One of the mobs wrecked and set fire to Zabbar Police
Station. Nor was illegal action confined to the mobs. These
received encouragement from above; two members of the
Mintoff Ministry were convicted of intimidation and had
their sentences upheld on appeal. The Police, no longer
impeded in the performance of their duty by political
pressure, behaved magnificently and with great restraint in
the face of violent and sustained provocation.

In consequence of this disorder, whereby relatively small
but carefully organized gangs of hooligans interrupted the
lawful occasions of the vast majority of peaceful citizens, the
prohibition of the holding of public meetings and demonstrations
was extended for three months and applied to all
Malta and Gozo. Another Proclamation declared a state of
emergency which enabled the Governor to assume wider
[793] powers for the maintenance of public order and safety. The
Archbishop condemned violence in a timely broadcast.

4

With the elimination of factors making for trouble the
642 country settled down under the Governor's direct adminis-
648 tration, and by November 1958 Mr Lennox-Boyd thought
668 the time had come to initiate fresh discussions in London
between himself, Sir Robert Laycock and the leaders

the latter's diocese fails to appoint one within eight days; and the 793
right to wear the insignia of his office which mark his superior 795
dignity (the *pallium* and the double cross), throughout his pro- [293]
vince. Moreover, the Archbishop's court functions as a court of
appeal for cases heard in the court of the Bishop of Gozo. In all [698]
other matters, however, the Bishop of Gozo has the same rights as
the Archbishop. These include the right to make certain rules and
dispensations for his diocese, to inflict penalties, interdictions and
excommunication; and to determine who may be admitted to the
priesthood.[1]

Each Bishop is assisted by a number of advisers, who also run the Curia, or administrative headquarters of the diocese. In the Archdiocese of Malta the Curia is under the charge of the Vicar General, who has the title of Titular Bishop. These advisers are for the most part Monsignori, or Canons, of the Cathedral Chapter. The Cathedral Chapter is composed of the priests attached to a cathedral church who advise the Bishop, arrange for a more solemn celebration of divine worship, and, when the See is vacant, provide for the government of the diocese. Though the Archdiocese of Malta has both a Cathedral in Mdina, and a Co-Cathedral in Valletta, there is only one Chapter.

In addition to the Cathedral Chapters in Malta and Gozo, there
are also a number of Collegiate churches. The clergy of a Col-
legiate Church form a Collegiate Chapter, and have the title of
Canons. They perform no special duties in the diocese. The title [554]
of 'Collegiate' is an honour which can only be bestowed upon
a church with Papal sanction. There are Collegiate Chapters in
Senglea, Vittoriosa, Cospicua, Rabat, Birkirkara and Valletta in
Malta, and in Għarb, Nadur and Xagħra in Gozo.

The Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo are divided 621
into 48 and 15 parishes respectively. A parish is the basic social and 794
territorial unit of the Church. Every village in Malta and Gozo is
a separate parish, though some towns are divided into two or 795
more parishes. The limits of a parish are fixed by the Bishop. They
often extend several miles beyond the compact villages that are so
characteristic of the Maltese countryside. In most rural parishes
there are also a few scattered farmsteads. The occupants of these
isolated farms normally have houses in the village, to which they

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[1] Cf. William E. Addis and others, 'Archbishop', *A Catholic Dictionary* (16th ed. rev.; London, Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1960), pp. 44 f.

621 move for religious feasts and family celebrations. Sometimes a
number of these farms are clustered around a chapel or small
794 church dependent upon the parish church. In time, these hamlets
795 may disappear; historical sources cite many which have long since
vanished.[1] On the other hand, a hamlet may grow to the point
where its inhabitants can afford to build a larger church and in
other ways successfully press their claim to become a separate
parish. Most rural parishes in Malta and Gozo have come into
632 being in this way. Some towns have been divided into two or
794 more parishes for administrative reasons. In Malta, Qormi and
795 Valletta are each divided into two parishes, and Sliema into three.
[578] Rabat in Gozo is currently being divided into two parishes. But
because of fierce rivalry between the residents of the territories
concerned, the exact boundary line is disputed and the territorial
division will probably take another generation to complete.

79 The parish priest, who in all but the smallest parishes is assisted
by a curate or more, is responsible to the Church for the care of
[609] the souls of all Catholics resident in his parish. Except where
foreign service personnel live with their families – notably in
Rabat, Naxxar, Mosta, St. Paul's Bay, Luqa and Birżebbuġa – all
villagers are Catholic, and are thus the priest's parishioners. These
parishioners also form part of the corporate body of the Church.

793 The clergy in Malta, as in all other Catholic countries, are
divided into two main groups: the secular or diocesan clergy, and
the regular clergy. Diocesan priests are trained in the Bishop's
Seminary and are directly subject to the authority of the Bishop.
A further distinction is made between those diocesan priests whose
families or patrons have been able to provide them with a benefice – either property or cash deposited at the Curia bank – yielding a minimum of £10 annually, and those who have received
their benefices from their Bishop. After the first five years the
former, who are by far the most numerous, are free to serve
where they wish. The latter always remain at the service of their
Bishop. Most parishes are run by diocesan priests, and the clergy
resident in the villages belong to this group. The friars and monks
[792] of the regular clergy are members of religious orders. They have
been trained in the seminaries and houses of their particular orders.

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[1] An interesting study of villages which have disappeared is given in M. Richardson, *Aspects of the Demography of Modern Malta* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1960), pp. 243 ff.

They must live together in specially designated premises under 792
the discipline of their order, and they are subject to the authority 793
of their provincial or superior. As we shall see, the position that [162]
the clergy occupy in society and the nature of their work is to a [554]
very considerable extent determined by their sheer numbers. In
1957 there were 1,229 diocesan priests, friars and monks and 1,588
nuns in Malta and Gozo.[1] In addition to these, in 1958 there were
approximately 220 friars and monks and 200 nuns studying
abroad or working as missionaries or chaplains to communities of
migrants.[2]

There are a number of associations which occupy important 664
positions in the structure of both the diocese and its constituent 793
parishes. At the diocesan level the most important of these are the 794
College of Archpriests and Parish Priests, which acts as a pressure
group in the interest of its members; the Cana Movement, which
runs courses for engaged couples, a marriage advisory council and
a clinic; and the Social Action Movement, which is trying to
establish trade unions. There is also the Diocesan Junta, or Diocesan
Council of Catholic Lay Organizations. This body, on
which most of the diocesan and parochial societies are represented,
is an important pressure group. As already noted, it played a
leading part in bringing about the defeat of the Malta Labour
Party in the 1962 elections.

Many associations, though organized at the diocesan level, have 794
semi-autonomous branches at the parish level. These can be
roughly divided into the lay apostolate associations and the devotional
societies. The lay apostolate groups have been organized so
that 'the Church will be able to exercise its direct and indirect
action in all the fields: religious, cultural, technical, family,
workers' movements and others.'[3] These societies are usually
divided by age and sex, and except for the Society of Christian
Doctrine, all are run by village priests who are responsible to the
parish priest. These chaplains and the lay leaders generally work
out an active programme of lectures, good works and outings.
Many of them take part in religious processions and, in general,
support the work of the parish priest. Together with the clergy,

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[1] *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Economic Activities* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), p. 45.

[2] Charles G. Vella, ed., *The Catholic Directory of Malta and Gozo* (Valletta, Archbishop's Palace, 1958), pp. 273–308.

[3] François H. Houtart, in Vella, p. 311.

794 they provide the organized opposition of the Church to the Malta Labour Party.

The most active of these societies are the Catholic Action, the Young Christian Workers, the Legion of Mary and the Sodality of Our Lady. Since the aims of these groups are all very much alike, there is a certain amount of rivalry between them for members and for recognition as the most active society in the parish. The position of Catholic Action as the leading lay apostolate society is being challenged by the Legion of Mary and the Young Christian Workers, whose militant opposition to the Labour Party has generated much publicity.

The Jesuits introduced the Young Christian Workers movement in 1945. Its members today, however, are for the most part young unmarried white-collar workers. This is an occupational class which does not generally support the Labour Party. The male sections of Catholic Action and the Young Christian Workers usually have their own premises, with facilities for table tennis and billiards, and sometimes a bar and library.

In all villages, the Church societies with the greatest membership are those which cater for women and girls. Few of these groups have premises of their own; they usually meet, separately, several times a week in one of the smaller chapels that are to be found in all villages. There the members say prayers and listen to lectures and sermons from their chaplains. They also teach catechism, look after church vestments, visit the sick and in general perform useful work for the parish priest and the clergy. Many village girls are members of one or other of these groups until they get married. For, quite apart from the religious benefits they may derive, they find in them a certain organized companionship, especially after they leave school.

785
794 The strictest and one of the oldest of the lay apostolate groups is the Society of Christian Doctrine. It is more commonly referred to as *tal-muzew* or MUSEUM (Magister Utinam Sequatur Evangelium Universus Mundus). A Maltese priest founded the society in 1907 with the object of giving a deep religious formation to its members through a life of prayer and instruction. Although MUSEUM members live at home and work alongside others, they may not smoke, attend any kind of public entertainment, cultivate friendships with non-members, read secular newspapers or join other associations. Moreover, the men are required to cut their

hair short, are not allowed to wear neckties, and must wear jackets 785
in public. Female members are obliged to wear the traditional 794
Maltese *għonella* (also *faldetta*). This is a black silk cowl which [292]
renders the wearer completely shapeless. Finally, all members are
tied by a promise of celibacy. Since members usually enter the [589]
society as children, and work up through grades until they
become full members, this promise ensures that all are either
bachelors or spinsters.

The male and female sections are completely separate. Each 794
meets daily under its respective superior in its own house. There [834]
the members hold devotional exercises, conduct study groups for
adults and also teach catechism to the children. The superiors are
normally elected for life; but if the members cannot agree, the
national superior general, after consultation with the parish
priest, appoints an acting superior, either from the village or from
outside groups.

The society is somewhat unusual among village religious [793]
associations, since no member of the village clergy is directly
involved in its activities, though priests are often invited in to give
lectures. This relatively independent status, and the close contact
that members maintain with their national headquarters, has led
some parish priests to look upon it as a potential threat to their
authority and consequently to oppose its establishment in their
parishes. Thus, although the society has spread to 40 (83 per cent)
of the Maltese parishes, it is only established in 6 (40 per cent) of
those in Gozo, Malta's conservative sister island. In point of fact,
wherever it has been established it has supported the authority of
the parish priest, and its members are now among the staunchest
opponents of the Labour Party.

In each parish there are usually several loosely organized groups
such as the Association of Christian Mothers and the Holy Name
Society which meet infrequently for special prayers and devotions.

Finally, there is at least one confraternity in each parish. A
confraternity is a lay religious society which is dedicated to a particular saint and offers Masses for dead members. These societies,
called *fratellanzi*, are the oldest associations in Malta, and many [467]
date back to the Middle Ages. Formerly certain confraternities in
the larger villages and towns acted as trade guilds; others only
enrolled persons of the highest socio-economic class. Both men [292]
and women may enrol, as members; but only men may wear the

794 distinctive habit of the confraternity in processions, in which the
[292] *fratelli* play an important part. Entrance to a confraternity is by
means of a short religious ceremony and the payment of a small
fee. This entitles the newly professed member to share in the indulgences, privileges and spiritual favours which have accrued to
the society.

Every confraternity is established independently in each parish,
and has nothing to do with confraternities of the same name in
other villages. Before the band clubs were established, confraternities were the only formally constituted associations in rural
[554] parishes. Their officers enjoyed considerable prestige, and had a
voice in village affairs. But today the members seldom meet as a
[178] group and most confraternities have no premises of their own,
though they generally have an altar in the parish church. Aside
from the dozen or two who take part in all the parish processions, members take no part in any activity. A few confraternities
[423] which own property are a notable exception. Their officers meet
occasionally to discuss the business affairs of the confraternity, and
the societies still play an active role in local affairs.

There are also a number of third orders. These societies are lay counterparts of certain religious orders. They are organized in much the same way as the confraternities. Members attend occasional spiritual exercises and have the right to take part in processions and to be buried in the habit of the order. Altogether there are 16 different confraternities and third orders. Among the most common are the confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, which is established in all parishes, the Holy Rosary, Our Lady of Consolation (*Ta' Ċintura*), St. Joseph and the Third Orders of the Franciscans and the Carmelites.

554 All groups and individuals that are tied to the Church are
79 ranked. Each parish, religious order and parish society has its fixed
position in the overall order. The same applies to the clerics who
constitute its personnel. Position in the hierarchy is determined by
seniority of foundation in the case of parishes and associations – or
date of ordination or appointment to present office, in the case of
the clergy – in combination with certain marks of honour conferred by the Church authorities. Such honours carry with them a
claim to higher precedence than seniority by itself would give.
For example, any parish in which there is a Collegiate Chapter,
or whose church has the title of Basilica, ranks higher than one

438 443 512 621 [251] [796] The many little shops scattered about the village permit the women to do most of their shopping near their own homes. Because of the long, hot summers when food spoils quickly, they shop separately for each meal. Their shopping trips begin on the way home from the early Mass, at about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, and continue until 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus, during the course of a day, a woman may make as many as a dozen trips to the shops as well as to the hawkers who pass through the neighbourhood. These trips are social occasions during which she comes in contact with friends and neighbours from all parts of the village, and in the process hears the village news.

275 512 517 621 The men are out of the village from 6 o'clock or so in the morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, and in the winter from about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the evening. But summer or winter, in the late afternoon and the early evening the men gather in the clubs, wine shops and cafés. Besides the clubs and important cafés in the square, which draw men from all over the village, there are many small neighbourhood wine shops. Most have a regular clientele of friends and neighbours who spend hours together talking, playing cards and drinking tea, soft drinks or wine. Many cafés also have television. Thus, though most inhabitants of a village are in fairly frequent contact with each other, the gossip groups of the women and the wine shops of the men form local social centres which help bind neighbours more closely to one another. These neighbourhoods develop a certain group loyalty.

621 794 796 It often happens that some of the neighbourhoods in a town or village are centred on small chapels. In times gone by there used to be a certain amount of good-natured competition between the youngsters of these districts over the festas of the patron saints of their respective chapels. But, except on rare occasions, this rivalry never threatened the unity of the village during the annual festa of the patron saint of the parish. Frequent removals from house to house within the village have usually helped to prevent the development of disruptive sectional loyalties.

621 [771] [794] Since each village is also a separate parish it is not possible to consider a village entirely as a secular community. Religion permeates the structure of Maltese society to an extent that makes it quite impossible to classify many institutions as either religious or secular. As a secular community, a village has no official leader, it

owns no land or other property in common and its inhabitants 621
are rarely called upon or choose to work for a common end. At [186]
the same time, villagers are conscious of belonging to a distinct
social entity which is distinguished from other villages by a
collective nickname and a common sub-culture.

Many villages have a dialect quite distinct from that of their 184
neighbours, which the inhabitants, even those who have learned 197
to speak 'correctly' (*bil-pulit*), normally use to each other; 621
although they will invariably address strangers in their school
Maltese. There are also a number of minor variations of certain
customs between villages or districts. These may include the way
church bells are rung to announce a death or the way some aspects
of the festas are organized. Finally, each village has its own very
private body of gossip, stories, scandals and jokes, which makes
up a part of its history and tradition that is not shared with
outsiders.

As a congregation and a religious corporation, the village *qua* 421
parish owns land and other property, including the parish church. 423
It also has an appointed leader in the parish priest. The inhabitants 621
of the village meet regularly for worship, to take part in religious
processions and to carry out other devotional activities. Furthermore, 794
they act together to celebrate the annual festa of the patron 796
saint, who symbolizes the unity of the secular and religious aspects
of the village, for he is patron of both village and parish.

A village can also be regarded as a moral community. That is, 621
people who live there must conform to a certain code of conduct. 626
While the community cannot enforce this code with the type of
formal sanctions the police and the Church use to punish infractions
of secular and religious laws, public opinion can, and does,
exert great pressure for conformity. A person who flouts the
canons of convention becomes the object of malicious gossip and,
depending on the nature of the offence, he may also become the
target of overt hostile action and have his house front splashed
with paint, or his front door burned. The only way to escape
from the sanctions of public opinion is to move to one of the urban
areas or the expanding new suburbs, where licence can be
relatively anonymous.

Members of a village thus share a common body of custom and 186
tradition; they also display an intense loyalty to their place of 621
birth. This sense of loyalty is strongest during the annual festa of 796

quarrels and village disputes, for their position in society makes 793 them important allies. These demands frequently place them in the difficult position of having to choose between acting as an impartial servant of God and acting as a good son and loyal friend, who can only be impartial at the cost of making enemies of friends and family.

While parish priests, in all save the smallest parishes, usually 793 receive an income sufficient for a reasonably comfortable life, few 465 ordinary diocesan priests can live on their income as clerics. The average village priest gets only his daily Mass stipend of five shillings as compensation for his clerical services. If a priest is popular and gifted, he may be able to earn a bit extra by preaching, lecturing and taking part in religious functions in other parishes. Even so, most priests are forced to look to secular fields to be able to help support their parents and near relatives. Thus it is that most of the village clergy are part-time priests. That is, they spend most of the day away from their parish working at jobs that vary from farming to school teaching. Their pastoral work in their own parish is limited.

Of the eight priests born in Kortin and still living there, two are 793 retired, one is the parish curate, two work outside the village as teachers and three are clerks with various diocesan bodies. In the evening most help the parish priest in church, teach catechism to the children and take charge of the various lay associations for which the parish priest has asked them to be responsible. In Farruġ there is only one local priest in the village. He teaches in the village's elementary school, and assists the parish priest in the evening, on Sundays and on feast days.

In almost every village there is an infants' school run by one of the 794 female religious orders. The nuns are supported by donations of cash [792] and produce from the local inhabitants. A few nuns earn something [465] by doing elementary nursing among the sick of the community.

[872] There are a number of other officers connected with the parish. These include the procurators (administrators) of the smaller churches and chapels, the sacristan, the choirmaster, the organist, the prefect of the altar boys, and so on. All have certain responsi- [793] bilities delegated to them by the parish priest. In those villages where the celebration of the annual festa is organized by a committee, its members have the authority to command the financial and manpower resources of the community while they prepare

for the feast. There are also the officers of the numerous religious associations. 794

In Farrug, for example, there are two sections of the Catholic Action (youths and girls), a branch of the MUSEUM for men, and confraternities dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Rosary and St. Roque. There are considerably more in Kortin, which is a good bit larger. There are branches of MUSEUM for men and women, sections of Catholic Action for men, boys and girls, a section each of the Sodality of Our Lady and the Young Christian Workers, confraternities dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Rosary, St. Joseph and Our Lady of Sorrows, and sections of the Third Orders of St. Francis and Our Lady of Mount Carmel. There are also parish chapters of the Holy Name Society, the Christian Mothers Association and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, a small, exclusive group which in Kortin raises about £50 a year to buy clothing and medicines for the poor of the parish.

Though the officers of the societies all have certain *ex officio* authority over the members, few are able to exercise authority in the village. Many are chosen by the parish priest to fill particular offices because of their pliability, religious conviction, or occupational status, rather than their qualities of leadership. But there are some officers who organize activities of concern to the entire community, and who consequently have a measure of authority in the wider community. These are the procurators of the parish confraternities and festas.

While the rector of a confraternity is its titular head, the procurator is the only officer who has any real authority. He keeps the registers of the society, recruits and enrols new members and often makes the arrangements for the funeral services of dead members. He also collects for and supervises the maintenance and decoration of the altar and statue of the society's patron saint. Furthermore, he makes all the arrangements for its annual festa. These may include collecting money, decorating the streets, booking brass bands and inviting priests to conduct the religious services and take part in the processions. His duties give him the authority to direct the action of others. He holds this authority, to be sure, in the name of and at the pleasure of the parish priest. The Church allows every procurator – whether of a confraternity, church, or festa – a three per cent commission on the entries in his financial registers to compensate him for his services. [465]

557 Most of the procuratorships and offices in the associations con-
793 nected with the Church are conferred upon members of the circle
794 of persons who figuratively, and often physically, surround the
parish priest. They become his favourites by doing some of the hundred and one odd jobs for which he depends on volunteers. These include running messages, carrying chairs, arranging meetings and decorating the streets for feasts and other important occasions, such as the visit of the Archbishop. Acceptance into the circle and the rewards meted out vary, of course, according to the capabilities of the individuals concerned, and the character of the parish priest. Advancement is most rapid and the rewards most interesting where the parish priest is open to influence, and the job-seeker has the qualities of leadership discussed below. But people are loath to see their parish priest delegate too much of his authority to their fellows. Those who pursue power in the community by attaching themselves to the parish priest often incur a good measure of hostility. Most frequently they are accused by the village gossips of lining their pockets with their neighbour's money.

794 The most important member of the circle surrounding the
[796] parish priest in Kortin is old Manwel, a retired school teacher. As procurator of the Confraternity of our Lady of Sorrows, he collects funds for and organizes the elaborate Good Friday procession. This is an event which attracts visitors from all over the island. He is also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Joseph, the village cemetery and the Mass legacies of the parish. He is one of the founders and a former vice-president and secretary of the Social Club, and a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.
[575] Though no longer in the Band Club, he was once on its committee. For many years he was also on the committee which organized the annual festa. All these offices give him a greater voice in the administration of the parish and its ceremonial affairs than anyone except the parish priest.

IV

575 The officers of the secular associations in a village generally enjoy
[554] high standing and wield considerable influence. The secular associations, though they vary, generally include a men's social club (usually a brass band club), a political party committee or

club and a sports club. In Farrug, for instance, there are two band 575
clubs – one of which is dedicated to St. Martin, the other to St.
Roque – a football club and an active Labour Party committee;
while Kortin has a band club, a social club, a Labour club, a
football club and a troop of Boy Scouts. The term secular, used 575
in this context, requires a few words of qualification. Although 794
clubs and associations which I have called secular do not form part
of the Church, this does not necessarily mean that they are
opposed to it, or are cut off from it. Quite the contrary. Almost
every club has a chaplain who serves as a link between it and the
parish priest. Most clubs take part in certain religious functions,
especially during the week preceding Easter. Moreover, many of [778]
the clubs have dedicated themselves to the Sacred Heart of Jesus
and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary by means of special religious
ceremonies. Often this dedication is renewed annually. Only [665]
the clubs of the Malta Labour Party do not have any linkage with
the Church.

The band clubs are the most important secular societies. They 575
are formally constituted associations with elected committees,
premises of their own and a large body of dues-paying members
drawn from all occupational and social classes. The first band
clubs were established shortly after the middle of the last century
in order to organize the external celebrations and provide music
for the annual festas of village patron saints. The clubs multiplied
rapidly, and soon became civic and social centres. They have [536]
broadened their scope to include dramatic groups, reading rooms [525]
and places where members can gamble out of sight of the watchful
eyes of the law. Most clubs have large concert halls that can
be used for wedding receptions. Today, each club usually has a
well-stocked bar, a television set and a billiards table.

But a band club is more than just a social centre. As it usually
plays an important part in organizing the external celebration of
the annual festa, the men who run the club make decisions which
affect all the inhabitants. Furthermore, the club often represents 575
the community to the outside world. Not only is the club's brass 574
band considered as the village's band when it plays at other festas, [186]
but the club also provides a welcome to important visitors from
outside. Thus when the Governor or the Archbishop makes an
official visit, he normally calls on the band clubs, where he is
given a reception on behalf of the entire village.

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3. Confraternity members resting during procession

[facing p. 48]

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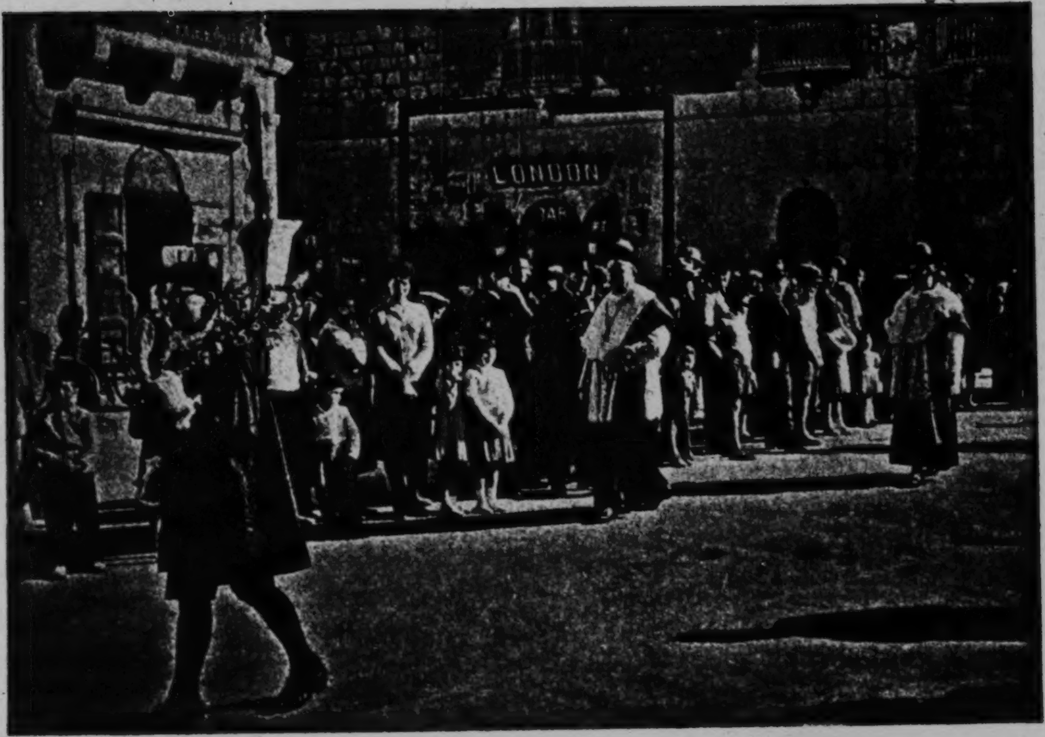
[facing p. 49]



4. Mace and canons of the Gozo Cathedral Chapter

Partly because of the temporary nature of their assignments, but 554
also because they are usually city-bred, they generally keep 759
themselves aloof from the people amongst whom they work.
With but few exceptions, they take little or no part in the social
life of the communities to which they are assigned. But they are
nevertheless respected figures. Where they are tolerant of village
customs, not too mercenary, and take a patronal interest in the
personal problems of their clients, they will have, in addition to
prestige, a large personal following. This has enabled a number of
former District Medical Officers to stand successfully for elected
office.

School teachers are another group of people with high pres- 554
tige. Every village and almost every hamlet in Malta and Gozo
now has a government school. Headmasters usually live outside 875
the villages in which they work. They begin their careers in the
small rural villages and move into the larger and more important
schools as they gain experience and seniority. They are rarely in a 554
village long enough to be asked to take part in its social life. 575
Village-born teachers, on the other hand, normally teach in their 875
home villages, where they often occupy important offices in the
associations. But even where he no longer resides in his place of
birth the teacher or headmaster, as a village son with high pres-
tige, is often asked to take an active part in its social life. The
president of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ, for example, is
headmaster of the primary school in a neighbouring village, where
he has lived since he married there more than forty years ago. He
has been a member of the club's committee for most of that time,
and its president for the last twenty years. Until two years ago he [794]
was also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Roque.

VI

The structure of authority in the villages of Malta and Gozo, 621
because of the importance of offices and associations which are 795
either focused on or articulated with the Church, bears a certain
superficial resemblance to the civil/religious hierarchy which has
been described in Mexican villages.[1] But it differs significantly;
it is neither a hierarchy, nor is it formally related to the structure
of government.

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[1] See, for instance, Fernando Camara, 'Religious and Political Organization', in *Heritage of Conquest*, Sol Tax, ed. (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), *passim*. [113]

religious processions. The greatest concentration of ceremonies is around Easter. This cycle starts with the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows on the Friday before Palm Sunday. Virtually all the inhabitants escort the statue through the principal streets of the village. This is followed by the Palm Sunday procession around the church square.[1] On Maundy Thursday there is a long service during which the parish priest washes the feet of twelve village laymen. Immediately after this the church is draped completely in black damask, and a huge wooden rattle replaces the church bells as a sign of mourning. On Maundy Thursday and on Good Friday in the morning, family groups visit the church and, passing before the statues depicting scenes from the Passion, stop to pray before the elaborate Sepulchre constructed in one of the chapels. Members of each of the village associations and clubs visit the Sepulchre in groups. Many families make pilgrimages to the churches in the twelve other parishes which hold Good Friday processions. At each one they offer prayers before the Sepulchre and pause to examine the statues and funereal hangings of their rivals before going on. All morning visitors from outside stream into Kortin to see the church. Then, at about two in the afternoon, there is a three-hour sermon on the Passion. This is followed by the Good Friday procession. 796

Old Manwel, the procurator, directs the procession. This is his big day. During the preceding weeks, he and Anton and Pawlu, the two men who take charge of decorating the parish for special occasions, worked very hard getting ready the eight statues, assembling the ornate Sepulchre and collecting the £90 required to meet the expenses of the Holy Week. Since he became procurator twenty years ago, Manwel has collected almost £3,000 for new statues, costumes, banners and black damask for the church. The procession itself lasts about three hours. Some 420 men and youths from the village carry and escort the eight huge statues. Some of the men have carried the same statue for years. The ten who carry the statue of the Crucifixion have protected their right to do so by a notarized contract with the parish priest. In return they have spent almost £200 over the past ten years to 794 796 [675]

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[1] Instead of palm fronds, olive branches are distributed to the faithful. It is generally believed that if these blessed branches are burned, their smoke is particularly effective against the harmful effects of the evil eye. Farmers pass burning leaves through their cattle sheds, and I have met professionals who do the same to their salons before cocktail parties. [751] [824]

794 repair and improve the statue and its pedestal. The procession also
796 includes a dozen or so masked penitents who walk barefooted or
crawl the length of the procession route dragging heavy chains
[785] behind them. It is a most solemn and impressive spectacle.

Very early on Easter morning the bells ring out the announcement of the Resurrection, and the sacristan, helped by Anton and Pawlu, removes the black damask from the church walls and sacred pictures. Later in the morning the procession with the statue of the Risen Christ passes through the village.

II

796 Of all the village feasts, the most important is always that of the patron saint of the parish church. The patron or titular saint of a church is the saint under whose special protection its founders have placed it. The titular of the parish church thus becomes the patron saint and protector of the village. In addition to the more usual religious ceremonies and processions, the people express their devotion to their patron with band marches and tremendous displays of fireworks. These celebrations provide the chief public entertainment of the countryside.

796
628 But the annual festa is more than a superior religious feast and a time of amusement for the village; it is also an event upon which village prestige depends. During the feast thousands of people crowd in from every part of the island. All these visitors have definite ideas on how a good festa should be run, and nothing they see or hear escapes their critical attention. The decoration of the church, the lighting of the streets, the quantity and firing rhythm of the exploding rockets are compared with those of their own and other feasts. The reputation of the village depends upon their judgement. This is a matter which concerns everyone, and the village draws together to display itself to the outsiders in the most favourable light. House fronts are repainted and new clothes are bought or made. The church is illuminated, the interior is hung with red damask and its treasures are placed on display. Every year the village tries to acquire at least one new work of art for this display. The principal streets and the square are lined with vividly painted papier mâché statues of prophets and saints, interspersed with urns from which sprout dazzling branches of electric light. Overhead, scores of colourful arches, strung from

796 competing for the attention of the crowd within a few yards of
[533] each other.

All the while, the procession, followed by a few black-clad
[292] penitents, solemnly passes through the main streets of the village.
[481] Often those carrying the saint move with a shuffling step that causes him to bob and turn as though he were dancing. As he passes under balconies his cheering and clapping admirers shower him with confetti. Then, as the procession nears the church, the final *kaxxa infernal*, this time of coloured rockets, is touched off. In some villages the saint is turned around so that he can see this barrage and the display of multi-staged rockets that follows it. The statue then enters the church and the Benediction is given. After this the crowd of visitors quickly disperses. Soon the inhabitants have the village to themselves again. As the women and girls wheel and pull the children off to bed, the men carry around from club to club the grimy, soot-stained men who made and fired the fireworks. They are the heroes of the hour. Other men seek out their clubs or usual cafés and toast one another and the success of their feast. So ends the festa for another year.

796 The organization of the annual festa requires a long period of
planning and preparation. This work calls for a certain degree of
793 centralization. In most villages the parish priest controls the
[794] organization of both the internal and the external feasts. In some
villages, however, he delegates some of this work to a procurator,
usually a priest, but occasionally to a committee of leading per-
[575] sonalities of the village. In other villages, all the details of the external feast, including the fund raising, are handled by the band club committees. In any case, the parish priest always has the last word. Sometimes there is friction between him and other interested parties over organizational details.

796 The cost of these feasts varies considerably. It is naturally
related to the size of the village and to the degree of enthusiasm
794 with which the festa is celebrated. It ranges from a few shillings
435 per family in a large urban parish to as much as £15 per family in a small rural parish celebrating a particularly important festa. The average cost to the community, however, is about £1,000. The organizers of the festa collect the necessary funds by means of lotteries, fairs, special appeals and a small weekly contribution of threepence or sixpence from each family. Most fund raisers also solicit pledges from leading citizens and enter their names and the

sums pledged on a long list. This method, called *l-arbural*, permits 796
donors to compare their contributions with those of others. Then 794
there may be several unofficial groups who raise funds for fire- 435
works, which they manufacture and fire as their special contributions to the feast.

While I was living in Farrug, the village celebrated the centenary of St. Martin, the titular saint of the parish. The festa cost a total of £1,465. Of this sum the parish priest raised and spent £302 for the elaborate internal feast, of which he took complete charge. The rest, some £1,163, was collected and spent on the external feast by the committee of the St. Martin Band Club. The fireworks, including most of the gunpowder, were made illegally by the members of the club in their houses and in sheds and abandoned quarries surrounding the village. The cost of the raw materials amounted to £712. Committee members divided the actual work among themselves, and set up sub-committees dealing with decoration, music, fireworks and fund-raising. With the exception of the extra lighting for the streets and the church, which was done by an outside contractor, all the work involved in the festa was done by local inhabitants.

In Kortin, on the other hand, the parish priest personally con- 793
trols every aspect of the festa. With the assistance of the Sodality of Our Lady, he collects all the funds. Most of the street decoration is done by Anton and Pawlu, who get a number of people to help them. In the following table, I have summarized the rather complicated accounts of the 1961 festa in Kortin.

TABLE 3. Kortin 1961 Festa Accounts

INCOME	£	s.	EXPENSES	£	s.
Internal Feast			*Internal Feast*		
Collections	143	10	Music	150	0
Special gifts	121	10	Other	50	0
External Feast			*External Feast*		
Three collections	221	10	Decorations, programmes, etc.	39	14
Weekly 3d.	120	0	Fireworks: crackers and ground display only	105	16
Lotteries	90	0	Bands: 8 performances	224	10
'Arbural'	53	0	Lighting	170	0
			Balance	9	10
Total	£749	10	*Total*	£749	10

● 794 In addition to the sums which the parish priest spent on fire-
796 works, another £472 was collected by six groups of enthusiasts
[435] and spent on raw materials for the fireworks which they manu-
factured. The total cost to the village was thus £1,212. In all
[389] respects this was an average festa for a village of 5,000.

79 The festa in Kortin has not always been controlled by the parish priest. Dun Bert, the present incumbent, had something of a struggle to seize and hold the reins of authority. Until he took over the parish eight years ago the external festa had been run by a committee. Though the parish priest was *ex officio* head of this committee, the actual affairs of the committee were run by old Manwel and the father of the curate, who was general manager of
[389] the festa for over thirty years. The committee also included the
[731] latter's wife's father and brother in its membership. His brother was killed twenty-five years ago in an explosion which wrecked the village's officially licensed firework factory and killed four others. This committee used to book the bands, repaint, erect and store the decorations and collect all the funds for the external feast. One of its major responsibilities was to run the two large fund-raising fairs which were held every year in the school. Next to the festa, these fairs were the favourite amusement of the village. Thus when Dun Bert arrived in Kortin, he found his was only a nominal role as far as the external festa was concerned. As he is a man who likes to run things his own way, the arrangement did not suit him. Moreover, he was concerned with the financial position of the parish, and in particular with the interest on the £3,000 that his predecessor had borrowed from the Curia to help finance the unfinished parish hall. To be able to meet all the parish's financial commitments, he felt that he had to have control of all its financial resources. The first year, however, he did very little about it.

During his second year in Kortin, the newly elected Labour Government came to his assistance, albeit unwittingly. The new Minister of Education refused permission to the organizers of the Kortin festa to hold a public fair in the school. This deprived the organizers of their major source of income, and threatened the festa. Dun Bert quickly took over the financial management of the festa and made two house-to-house collections. These raised the necessary funds and saved the festa. He then gave to the Sodality of Our Lady the responsibility of collecting threepence a week from each household. But for six months of the year these

79 each association, including the religious ones.[1] The committee
forwarded the names of the representatives of its three constitu-
575 ent clubs to Dun Bert. After some time, when they had received
578 no reply from him, they wrote to the Archbishop. Finally, some
two months later, Dun Bert wrote back that he could not accept
any member of a political party committee on the parish council.
This was clearly aimed at the secretary of the band club, who was
a very active member of the Labour Party committee, the only
political committee in the village. He was not willing to step down,
and the other members of the committee supported his decision.
The rest of the village slowly lost interest in the matter. The parish
priest thus had his way, and is still in full control of the feast.

Many are still bitter about the manner in which their request to
79 take a more active part in the organization of their feast was
578 suppressed, but most have accepted it. They miss not so much the
old festa committee, the members of which most people criticized
freely, as the feeling they had had of all working together for the
greater glory of the village. The members of the old committee
at least had the virtue of being from the village, and were as
anxious as the next person to celebrate the biggest and best feast
in Malta, or so I was often told. Although no one suggested that
the parish priest is anything but scrupulously honest, they con-
sider that as an outsider, he does not have the same keen interest
in their feast, and in the reputation of the village. Others, less
charitable, accuse him of being hungry for power and anxious to
178 enrich himself with his fees as procurator of the festa. Many also
543 spoke to me with regret of the passing of the annual fairs, which
the parish priest has not attempted to run on his own. The fairs
794 were exciting occasions on which young and old, rich and poor,
[793] competed against each other in games of chance and raffles to win
back the rabbits and chickens which they had previously donated
to the festa. They say they miss the sense of unity that the fairs
brought them. 'In those days we knew each other better,' one
priest remarked. 'With the fair some of the poetry of the village
was destroyed.' Perhaps, without expressing it in quite this
fashion, the organizers of the committee, in their own way, were
also seeking this lost poetry.

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[1] Such parish councils have from time to time been established in some of the larger villages and towns, but most of them came to threaten the authority of the parish priests, who therefore disbanded them.

IV

346 Even when a parish is not competing with another for some
794 honour, the decoration of the parish church is a matter of great
concern to the village. As we have already observed, a parish
church is more than just a central place of worship; it is the centre
of most of the social life of a village and the repository of its col-
353 lective wealth. The building itself, with its gilded ceilings and silver altar fronts, its damask tapestries and embroidered vestments, its precious votive offerings and ornate statues, represents a fortune amassed over centuries from the savings and bequests of countless inhabitants. The parish church is thus the embodiment of village history, a showpiece which all, even the most anti-clerical Labour supporters, point out with great pride to strangers.

793 The custodian of the church is the parish priest, who is respon-
sible for all alterations or improvements to it. He often delegates
794 much of this work, especially the fund-raising, to a local priest,
346 who then becomes procurator of the church. Many church procurators devote their lives to building and beautifying their churches, and every generation contributes thousands of pounds for its upkeep and embellishment. But regardless of who holds the procura of the church, the people regard it as their communal property, and all take an intense interest in its maintenance and decoration. Because of this proprietary interest, a difference of opinion over details of decoration, and especially over structural alterations to it, can divide a village into strongly opposed factions.

346 At the beginning of this century Kortin was divided on the
578 question whether to enlarge the existing church or to build a new
793 one. The stronger faction, which included the resident nobles and
794 the wealthy merchants, wished to build a new church. Their
leader was Sur Vinċenz, the grandfather of Sur Ġorġ. A wealthy merchant was thought to be willing to help finance the scheme. This group was opposed by most of the village clergy, including the parish priest, on the ground that the cost of a new church was beyond the resources of the village. Moreover, a benefactor had already bequeathed £2,000 for enlarging the church. The leader of this faction was Dun Batist, the senior local priest in the village.

The dispute raged from about 1880, when the plans of the new church were drawn up, to about 1913. In 1898 a number of people

addressed a petition to the Archbishop requesting permission to 346
build a new church. But a year and a half later he ruled in favour 578
of a counter-petition, and gave permission to begin reconstructing 793
the old church. Shortly after this a riot developed out of a meeting
called to urge the parish priest to permit the building of a new 794
church. During the commotion, the stone railing around the [579]
front of the church was damaged. Six days afterward forty-two people were arrested for disturbing the peace and taken off to prison. After three days the arrested men were released because of insufficient evidence. The court assessed the total damage to the church railing at twenty-two shillings. This incident aroused the village. A month later the new church faction decided to begin work without the permission of the Archbishop. Early the following Sunday, a huge crowd led by Sur Vinċenz asked the parish priest for permission to work on Sunday. When their request was refused, they set off for the site and began to work anyway. That afternoon, Sur Vinċenz hired a band to play for them, and the music attracted people from many surrounding villages. The following day Dun Batist and the parish priest laid the matter before the Archbishop.

All through the month of October 1901 the leaders of the new church faction went in delegations to argue their case before the Archbishop, who was on holiday in Marsalforn, Gozo. The local diarist, on whose account much of the above is based, notes cynically that the Bishop listened with great attention, as he was in debt to one of the leading members. Meanwhile, the parish priest had been able to mediate between the factions. Dun Batist and his followers agreed to stop their work on the old church provided their opponents reimbursed them for their expenses to date. This was arranged. Finally, in January 1902 the parish priest announced that the Archbishop had given his permission for the
construction of the new church. That afternoon there was a great [527]
celebration in the village, with many fireworks and a guest band, again paid for by Sur Ġorġ's grandfather.

But the construction of the new church soon ran into trouble. 346
Sur Vinċenz failed to raise the capital required. As Dun Batist had 793
foreseen, the cost of this grandiose scheme was far more than the 794
village could manage. After the foundations had been laid, the work gradually came to a halt. The village did not begin to rebuild the old church until the end of 1909, when the parish priest set out to raise the extra £2,000 required.

346 set out to raise the extra £2,000 required. One of the fund-
794 raisers at the time was young Manwel, the father of Dr. Farrugia,
[875] who had then just begun to teach in the village school. The reconstruction
of the old church was finally completed in 1913.

Sur Vinċenz gradually dropped out of village activities. Many
794 people blamed him for the trouble in the community. In 1912 he
578 refused to allow the organizers of the festa to anchor one of the
major street decorations in its customary position against his
house. This action created more hostility towards him, and shortly
after the festa a bomb was thrown through his cellar window.
During the next six weeks he and his close relatives received
several threatening letters, and one night the front of his house was
smeared with red paint. But the rivalry between the factions
gradually died out, and today there is no trace of it left. The old
[887] men of Kortin who now spend their days in the shade of the huge
façade of the church, and their evenings on its cool steps, remember
the struggle clearly, for they were all deeply involved in it.
As they look back to the events of sixty years ago, they often
remark with wry smiles that the village was then a very lively
place.

This incident was exceptional because of the immense cost to
346 the village in money and labour that the construction of the new
578 church involved. Now that church-building is no longer in
794 vogue, new works usually take the form of decorations, such as
new paintings or candlesticks. These do not generally arouse
strong feelings, since all additions to the beauty and wealth of the
church are normally welcome. A wise priest, however, tries to
ensure that there is general agreement about them. It sometimes
happens that he forgets, or underestimates, the proprietary interest
of his parishioners in their church. When this occurs, there is
usually trouble.

Some years ago, the parish priest of Farruġ proposed to regild
346 the chancel. His parishioners welcomed the idea, and contributed
578 generously. But when the work was finally completed and the
793 scaffolding removed, his parishioners were shocked to find that
794 he had placed his personal coat of arms high over the chancel. He
was the first priest in the history of the parish to have put his coat
of arms inside their church; moreover, he had done so without
their consent. There was great indignation, but the arms remained
there. A year later he was promoted to a larger parish, and left

the village. People then began to ask the new parish priest to have 346
the coat of arms removed. He quite understandably declined to 578
do so. 793

One morning, less than two months after the old priest had left,
the village was startled by the news that the irksome coat of arms 794
had been removed in the dead of night by persons unknown. In its place gleamed the freshly painted arms of the village. The job, which had involved at least three men, one of whom must have worked on top of a 60-foot ladder, had been skilfully executed. To add insult to injury, the nocturnal painters had telephoned the former parish priest after finishing their work and announced that he would find something of great interest in the church next time he visited Farrug. The following morning he came to the village, saw what had happened to his coat of arms, and immediately reported the matter to the police. The police interviewed many people, but did not find the culprits. They are still looking for them. The village is quite pleased that the arms were removed, although some deplored the rather crude way in which it had been done.

[p.74]

CHAPTER VI

Festa Partiti

578 621 Village unity is an ideal, and all villages try to present a tightly united front to the outside world. In spite of this, all are divided internally by cleavages which cut across the community at various levels. Some of these divisions are only temporary, and disappear when the issues out of which they have arisen are resolved. Others, which may have arisen out of temporary issues, have for one reason or another become a permanent part of the social scene. But regardless of their origin or duration, these divisions are painfully real to the villagers. Persons made vulnerable through a network of personal relations are often forced to commit themselves to a particular division. In doing so, they become opposed to neighbours and kinsmen who are committed to the other side. [602] This is one of the characteristics of life in all small villages. It is particularly true of communities, such as those in Malta, in which the inhabitants are closely related through kinship and affinity.

192 578 621 [665] [794] The Maltese call these divisions *partiti* (sing., *partit*). The term thus corresponds not only to groups of the order which we in English would call 'parties', but also to those to which we would apply the term 'factions'. Political parties are called partiti, and so are rival groups such as the two in Kortin which competed over the rebuilding of the church. Partiti are said to have *pika* between them. *Pika* denotes relations of competition, ill-feeling, hostility. There is little about the word which suggests the good-natured competition that can exist between rival school football or cricket teams. On the contrary, if there is *pika* between two groups, a no-holds-barred competition is expected. Partiti are thus considered to be a bad thing. They disrupt the harmony of the community and make it more difficult to project the ideal image of village unity to the outside world.

575 578 621 794 796 The oldest permanent division that exists in the villages is between the supporters of rival band clubs. This division is related to the cult of saints. In the previous chapter it was noted that

besides the patron saint, parishes celebrate many other saints. The 575
feasts of these secondary saints are normally not as lavish as the 578
annual festa of the patron. But many villages celebrate two large 621
festas: one for the titular saint of the parish, and the other for a 794
secondary saint who has assumed almost equal social importance. 796
Where this occurs, a village is divided into two partiti, each of
which has its own band club and celebrates one of the saints. The
partiti compete over almost every aspect of the festa, including the
decoration of the streets, the adornment of the statue, the number
of guest bands and, above all, the fireworks. Even the exact number
of communicants, the size of candles and the quantity of light
bulbs illuminating the façade of the church often become the
subject of dispute. Farruġ is divided by this type of rivalry. One
partit is dedicated to St. Martin, the titular of the parish, the other
to St. Roque.

The origins of these festa partiti, where they can be traced, are 17
very much alike. Most of them came into existence sometime 578
between 1850 and the turn of the century, and most arose out of 621
disputes between persons concerned with the celebration of the 796
titular festa and those interested in the cult of some lesser saint.
The latter were usually members of the confraternity dedicated to [794]
that saint.[1] These factions in time became centred on separate [575]
social clubs, and eventually acquired brass bands. The clubs provided
a permanent institutional basis for the rivalry. As time went
on, the partiti became more violent in their disputes and in the
pressure they put upon individuals to support them. Finally in 578
1935, the Church, long alarmed at the extremes to which the 621
devotion to some saints had been carried in certain villages, took
steps to eliminate the competition. It promulgated a series of 79
regulations designed to reduce the scale on which secondary feasts
could be celebrated. These stipulated that for secondary feasts there [575]
was to be no Translation of Holy Relics on the eve of the feast,
that only the church and the area immediately adjacent to it could

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[1] Cf. Rob. Mifsud Bonnici, *Ġrajja Tal-Mużika F'Malta u Għawdex* (Malta, Giov. [113]
Muscat, 1954), pp. 38 f. He suggests that these partiti developed out of a dispute between [114]
persons who wanted to play sacred music by the Maltese composer Vinċenzo Bugeja
(1806–60) and those who preferred that of his rival, Paolo Nani (1814–1904). As far as
I could determine, however, the only partiti which arose directly out of this dispute [575]
are those in Żebbuġ. On the other hand, many rival partiti, once established, played the
music of either Bugeja or Nani during their feasts. The former took a star as their symbol,
the latter an eagle. Today partiti in many villages are still nicknamed either *tal-istilla* or
tal-ajkla after this once-important division.

578 Confraternity of St. Roque. Unfortunately, at this point, it is not
621 possible to distinguish fact from myth. The tales are accepted as
79 reality, and so help to formulate the attitude of St. Martin supporters
toward their rivals. However, when the old priest died, it was discovered that most of the festal finery of the parish church had been purchased in the name of the Confraternity of St. Roque. St. Martin supporters were in the humiliating position of having to beg their rivals for the use of the church valuables in order to decorate the church for the feast of the parish patron. Moreover, while the old priest had controlled the celebration of St. Martin, he had allowed the lay leaders of the St. Roque partit a free hand in planning their feast.

At this time the St. Martin club was split over national politics,
578 and a faction composed of Strickland supporters left and founded
621 a new club. Though both clubs remained loyal to St. Martin,
665 there was trouble between them. Older St. Roque partisans
recount with amusement how a report to the police by the secretary of the parent club resulted in twenty members of the new club being arrested and fined for gambling. But the hostility between these two factions declined when Strickland made his peace with the Church, and in 1934 they reunited.

578 The burden of redressing the balance between the partiti fell
621 upon the old priest's successor, and upon those who followed him.
793 There were many incidents between these priests and the St.
774 Roque partit, and on several occasions the former had to send for
police protection. In spite of the 1935 regulations, the St. Roque partit retained its numerical superiority as well as the church decorations during the 'thirties. It was not until 1942 that a shrewd parish priest succeeded in bringing the silver altar front out of the St. Roque strongroom into that of the parish church, where it has remained ever since.

The rivalry between the partiti lay dormant during the Second World War, as the people united to fight for survival. But it flared up again immediately after the war, as did similar rivalry in other villages. Both clubs organized musical bands for the first time. After a series of incidents which culminated in the parish priest again having to send for police protection, this time against angry St. Martin supporters, the rivalry began to decline somewhat. This decline was brought about chiefly by the effects of emigration, improvements in local transport, the establishment of a number

578
621
of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 793
political parties. 784

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro- 794
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the con-
fraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are mem-
bers neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

575 these groups is the loyalty of the people to the partit and its patron,
shown by supporting the many activities that the leaders organ-
621 ize, and by boycotting similar activities of their rivals. These
794 include fund-raising lotteries and fairs, weekly collections and
796 partit picnics and pilgrimages. During the festa, supporters march
with the statue, dress themselves and their houses up and in
general celebrate their patron. Their rivals often walk about un-
shaven and glowering, and do not normally decorate their houses.

Although most people in a village divided by this type of
578 rivalry will choose, or be forced, to take sides, a few are able to
621 avoid this commitment, or at least say they have. These are often
794 priests and teachers, who sometimes find it to their advantage to
remain neutral, as do outsiders who have married into the village.
796 Museum members are not permitted to maintain partit affiliation
though, of course, many do. Neutral people contribute to both
feasts. A true partisan would never contribute to the external feast
of his rival, although he might give something to the parish
priest for the internal feast. During periods of intense rivalry, even
these contributions cease. Thus, virtually the entire £1,465 which
St. Martin's centenary cost was contributed by his supporters
alone. Six months later their rivals spent £600 on the feast of St.
Roque.

575 The band club is the organizational and social centre of a partit.
All members of the club are supporters of the partit, but not all
621 supporters of the partit are members of the club, though non-
members are normally welcome to come and use its facilities. To
a certain extent, membership of the club depends upon the avail-
ability of ready cash, for many men are reluctant to part with the
subscription fee as long as they can make use of the club's prem-
ises. Though the confraternities are open to all adults without
621 regard to partit affiliation, there is normally a positive correlation
794 between partit and confraternity membership. Generally speak-
ing, the supporters of the titular feast enrol in the older con-
fraternities of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary. These
confraternities are established in all parishes, and play an important
part in many religious ceremonies. Supporters of the secondary
patron enrol in the confraternity dedicated to him, if they feel
inclined to join one.

162 These general principles can be illustrated by data collected in
621 Farruġ. Table No. 4 below shows the relative strengths of the two

partiti. Of the 617 inhabitants of both sexes over twenty-one 162
years old, 48 per cent support St. Martin, 42 per cent St. Roque, 621
and 10 per cent are uncommitted. Although the numerical strength of the partiti is almost the same, each claims two-thirds of the total population. Of those who claim to be neutral, 63 per cent were born outside the village.

TABLE 4. Farruġ: Festa Partit Affiliation and Place of Birth

PARTIT	PLACE OF BIRTH			
	Village	*Outside*	*Total*	*Percentage*
St. Martin	250	47	297	48
St. Roque	219	42	261	42
Uncommitted	22	37	59	10
Total	491	126	617	100

Table 5 shows the relation between partit affiliation and mem- 162
bership in one of the three confraternities in Farruġ. Of the mem- 621
bers of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary who belong 794
to no other confraternity 84 and 64 per cent respectively belong to the St. Martin partit. Ninety-five per cent of the members of the Confraternity of St. Roque belong to his partit. It is interesting to observe that 83 per cent of those who declare that they are not committed to either partit have also avoided confraternity membership.

TABLE 5. Farruġ: Festa Partit Affiliation and Confraternity Membership

CONFRATERNITY	PARTIT			
	St. Martin	*St. Roque*	*None*	*Total*
B/Sacrament	57	8	3	68
St. Roque	5	87	-	92
Holy Rosary	20	8	5	33
Mixed	24	23	2	49
None	191	135	49	375
Total	297	261	59	617

Recruitment to a partit is quite straightforward, for members do 621
not now change sides, although this occasionally occurred in the generation following their establishment. Today a person is either born into a partit, or marries into it. Children support the partit of their parents, and an outsider marrying into the village generally supports that of his (or her) spouse. Marriages between

Children begin to express partit affiliation when they are be- 621
tween twelve and fourteen years old. At this age they are old 794
enough to follow the processions and take part in the demonstra- 883
tions on their own. Fund raisers make demands on them, and they
are asked to help decorate the streets. At this age they also begin [533]
to play in the band. A youngster would jeopardize his social
standing with his elders and with his age mates if he failed to take [882]
a firm position with regard to one of the saints. This would remove him from much of the community's social life. Consequently, by the time a village boy has reached fifteen, he has usually selected his partit, thus accepting and becoming part of the fabric of partit rivalry which will hold him until he dies or leaves the village.

There is some relation between occupational class and partit 463
affiliation: in general, the supporters of titular saints belong to a 621
higher occupational class than their rivals. The reason for this will be discussed a little later. The data I gathered in Farruġ illustrate this correlation clearly. As shown in Table No. 6 below, 83 per cent of the village's professional and white-collar workers belong to the St. Martin partit, while only 38 per cent of those engaged in agriculture do so.

TABLE 6. Farruġ: Partit Affiliation and Occupational Class

OCCUPATION	Number	Percentage of Lab. Force	St. Martin	St. Roque
			PARTIT AFFILIATION	
Professional and clerical	12	4	83%	17%
Service and skilled	115	39	55	45
Semi- and unskilled	124	42	48	52
Agricultural	45	15	38	62
Total	296	100		

So much for the origin and social composition of the partiti. I 361
may just observe here that festa partiti are not usually based on 621
territorial divisions. Since upward mobility does not involve [555]
change of partit, but is often accompanied by a change of residence, all residential areas are mixed. Nonetheless, there is a tendency for supporters of the titular partiti to live in the better residential area near the church, and for their rivals to live in the poorer sections more remote from the central square. This is a reflection of the differing occupational class of the members. This

361 residence pattern is certainly true in Farrug, and I observed much
the same thing in other villages divided by festa partiti. In Farrug,
621 65 per cent of the people living on the main square and the four
streets leading into it supported St. Martin, but only 46 per cent
of those living in other parts of the village did so.

Disputes between partiti usually concern matters of precedence
578 or their ability to display devotion to their saints. Each partit has
621 certain rights, usually secured at the cost of clashes with its rival.
[575] These include the position and participation of the club and con-
[794] fraternity in Church processions and at other functions, the routes
over which these processions travel and the possession of certain
property and its display in the parish church. Any attempt to
[626] extend or reduce them is resisted by the partit affected, which
takes action to protect its interests by trying to influence the
Church authorities, who must make the final decisions.

The structural position of a partit determines the kind of
621 pressure that it can bring to bear upon the Church. Those of
626 titular saints are, in a sense, the establishment parties. As we have
794 seen, the Church seeks to build up their celebrations at the
796 expense of the secondary ones. Hence a titular partit can negotiate
from a strong position: its ultimate sanction is refusal to participate
in the feast of the village patron, an event which the Church is
anxious to see celebrated with great pomp. Secondary partiti, on
the other hand, are inherently opposed to the Church in matters
of festa policy. They try to increase the scale of their feasts, while
the Church tries to reduce them. They dare not cancel their feasts
for fear that the Church would accuse them of making trouble
and suppress them, as it did the secondary festas of Our Lady of
Lourdes in Qrendi, and St. Michael in Żabbar.

Their position in opposition to Church policy has given most
621 secondary partiti a certain *esprit de corps* and unity of purpose that
626 their rivals often lack. This has made them better able to with-
665 stand the divisive effects of the political factions which have
794 recently weakened many of their rivals. It has also generally
resulted in the emergence of stronger leaders. Secondary partiti
are often united around a single professional class leader who can
not only hold the partit together in the face of the attacks of its
opponents, but can also argue intricate points of Canon Law with
the monsignori at the Curia and, at times, with the Archbishop
621 himself. As we have observed, the secondary partiti generally have

fewer professional class members. Consequently competition for 621
the role of leader does not occur so often, and there is a longer
tenure of office. In the partit of a titular saint, with its better-educated
members, there are more men with the necessary qualities
of leadership, and accordingly more competition for office
and a high turnover of office holders. The competition both [578]
creates and results from internal factions which weaken the group.
In Farrug, for example, the President of the St. Roque Band Club 575
has led the St. Roque partit more or less continuously since Dun 621
Rokku died thirty years ago. He is also just about the only member
of the partit with the educational qualifications and social
position required of a leader. The key positions of the St. Martin
Band Club, in contrast, constantly pass between about half a
dozen educated persons. This divided leadership has weakened the
club; and on one occasion it even split in two. The strong leadership
and internal unity of the secondary partiti, plus the fact that
they rarely present claims that are not well founded, has enabled
them to score many successes in spite of their apparently unfavourable
position in relation to the Church.

Disputes between festa partiti are all very much alike. A typical 578
dispute begins when leaders of a secondary partit petition the 621
parish priest for some new privilege, for example the right to 793
renew the bouquets of artificial flowers which adorn the statue of
their saint. The parish priest normally refuses at first, and tells 794
them that he thinks the old flowers are quite serviceable. His policy
is to let sleeping dogs lie. Moreover, he has to take into account
the rule that decorations for secondary feasts must not be more
beautiful than those for titular ones. But the saint's supporters
continue to bring influence to bear on him. In the meantime,
members of the titular partit have learned of their rivals' move
and rush to the parish priest to point out that the old flowers are
more than adequate. They threaten to cancel their feast if he [626]
gives in on this matter. The priest is now caught in a vice, and the
pressure on him builds up. Finally, he agrees to refer the whole
case to the Curia and passes the matter upwards, usually with a
feeling of relief. Relations between him and the partiti return to
normal, as the scene of the struggle shifts to the Curia.

The Curia normally appoints experts to re-investigate the
merits of the case, including the proposed design of the flowers.
Leaders from both partiti spend a great deal of their time at the

578 Curia trying to persuade all concerned, from the Bishop down, to
621 think the way they do. This may go on for years, for the Curia,
knowing the trouble that lies ahead, is usually in no hurry to give
793 its decision. When the final decision is handed down, it is usually
794 favourable, and the design for a set of flowers less beautiful and
costly than the corresponding set of the titular partit is furnished.
The secondary partit then instructs the craftsmen to begin work.
The titular partit announces to everyone that it will cancel its
next feast.

It often happens, however, that just before the new bouquets (or whatever *objets d'art* are concerned) are inaugurated during the secondary festa, the parish priest discovers that most of the Curia's specifications have been ignored. The new flowers are far more beautiful than they were supposed to be. He is furious. The guilty leaders of the secondary partit apologize profusely and take immediate steps to make them less beautiful. Occasionally, the priest may discipline the partit by temporarily reducing the scale of its feast. The secondary partit then holds its feast, and the flowers are admired by all visitors. Strong police reinforcements usually prevent trouble from occurring. Relations between the parish priest and the titular partit are gradually re-established and it agrees, usually for some concessions on his part, to celebrate its feast again. But in a year or so, a new dispute occurs, and the process starts all over again.

578 Sometimes relations between a parish priest and a partit reach
a deadlock that can be broken only by an outside peacemaker,
621 frequently an officer of the police. The police in any case have a
625 vital interest in the degree of rivalry existing in the villages, as it is
793 their business to keep order during the feast. The number of
794 police on duty at these times ranges from a dozen or so in villages
such as Siġġiewi and Naxxar, where there are no partiti, to around
100 in those where there are strong ones, such as Mqabba and
[626] Żurrieq. Occasionally a parish priest is threatened, frightened by
a home-made bomb, or attacked; he then often requests, and
generally receives, a transfer to another parish.

543 So far only the more important encounters between partiti have
been discussed. There are many other events to keep their rivalry
576, alive throughout the year. The numerous fund-raising fairs of
578 the band clubs are occasions for the village to divide along festa
621 partit lines. While supporters of the partit running the fair flock

communities where they became leaders, and the source of many 178
new ideas and customs. In Għaxaq, for example, I found that a 875
teacher born in Valletta had been the one to introduce the
custom of decorating the streets for the festa.

It is, of course, extremely difficult, if not impossible, to discover 174
the motives which prompted people to choose a particular 178
partit. The only possible clue to at least one set of reasons may well
lie in the correlation between occupational class and partit 463
affiliation. Apart from this class alignment, I found no evidence in 621
Farruġ, or any other village so divided, of any pre-existing structural division out of which these festa partiti might have developed. In view of the way membership is inherited, it would appear that the position which members of the great-grandfather generation occupied in the village class structure in some way influenced their choice of partit. There is some evidence for this, although not a great deal, to be found in the genealogies of the present generation. Frequent marriages with outsiders, emigration and the changing employment structure of the country over the past six decades have blurred this picture considerably.

But it is certainly possible that the new cult appealed more to 174
those persons who held no office in the older confraternities and 178
who performed no official functions in connection with the celebration
of the annual festa of the village patron. Through the new 621
cult they could gain offices and perform functions which hitherto had been monopolized by the circle of the village elite who surrounded the parish priest. Some informants have also mentioned that young men were particularly attracted to the new cult. In this we can see the universal resistance of the young to the authority of their elders, for by becoming active in the new cult, they were asserting their independence from the controls of the older generation. Were the secondary partiti then a form of protest against the established authority, a sort of underdogs' party?

Other facts appear to support the hypothesis that the foundation 174
of the secondary partiti was in some way related to a wider 476
working-class movement. Many of the partiti are dedicated to St. 621
Joseph, the patron saint of the working classes who were beginning 776
to organize themselves into formal associations throughout 794 ●
Europe. In Malta there are many signs that this devotion was very
strong. In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to 680

In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to
103 him,[1] after 1850 (in Naxxar, Għargħur, Kirkop and Xagħra, for
175 example) he was chosen as patron of the new parish churches of
621, Kalkara, Qala and Msida. Moreover, four parishes have secondary
776 feasts dedicated to him (Rabat, Għaxaq, Kirkop and Żebbuġ).
● 794 Besides these Għargħur and Siġġiewi had St. Joseph partiti which
796 succumbed to the 1935 Church regulations.

The identification of secondary partiti in general with St.
621 Joseph is also perhaps reflected in the colour most have chosen as
794 their symbol. It is blue, the colour of the banner of the Con-
822 fraternity of St. Joseph. The supporters of many secondary partiti, even if their saint is the Virgin Mary, wave blue scarves about to show their loyalty to it. Their rivals display red scarves, after the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose members support the titular saint.

463 The correlation between partiti and occupational class is also
621 shown in the high proportion of village priests who are sons of
793, families supporting the titular feasts. I once asked the leader of a
794 secondary partit why this was so. He replied that it was only natural since the families of the titular partiti were in much closer contact with the parish priest. Thus their sons, rather than those of rivals, more often became his young helpers and altar boys and received the necessary recommendations to the seminary and other church-run schools. From there, some became priests, and others assumed positions of leadership with the various associations. Other informants suggested it was because the 'best' families support the titular saints, and therefore can afford the additional school fees and loss of earning power that are involved in having their sons become priests.

Of the 41 priests born and now resident in Żurrieq, Kirkop, Qrendi, Mqabba, Luqa, Għaxaq and Żebbuġ, 33 (80 per cent) are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. This percentage gains added importance by the fact that in each of these villages the secondary partit is either equal to or larger than the titular partit. The exception is Żebbuġ, where the secondary partit is decidedly smaller than the titular one. In Farruġ, though the local priest is from a St. Roque family, all the offices connected with the parish church, and 23 of the 30 key positions with Catholic Action, the Football Club and the Labour Committee, are in the hands of St. Martin supporters. Thus the members of titular partiti are not only closer to established authority, they often become part of it.

[1] [i.e. St. Joseph.-Analyst]

Whatever the reasons for their beginnings in particular villages, 575
there are today festa partiti or at least competing band clubs in 578
nineteen villages and towns. Ten communities are divided by the
type of rivalry described above. Of these Gudja has partiti which 621
compete only over two secondary feasts and another, Żebbuġ, has 794
three rival band clubs, two of which compete over the titular feast. Besides these ten, another four towns are divided by rivalry between their constituent parishes, five more are divided by rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, although the band clubs in one of them, Żabbar, were once allied to festa partiti.

The competition between rival parishes of the same town is very similar to that between festa partiti. In fact the division of Qormi and Rabat (Gozo) into two parishes each came about partly because of the rivalry between festa partiti. Since each parish has its own church and is not limited by the 1935 regulations, the competition between them is even keener than between festa partiti within the same parish. For this reason the feasts of St. Mary and St. George in Rabat (Gozo) and St. George and St. Sebastian in Qormi are probably the most spectacular in the country. Competition between rival band clubs not related to the cult of saints, in contrast, is not as fierce as that between festa partiti. It is, nonetheless, a considerable force in the communities where it exists. Disputes between these band clubs usually involve questions of precedence, such as those which arise over their positions and role during the titular festa or at an installation ceremony of a new parish priest. Failure to reach agreement may mean that one or both boycott the celebration.

Finally, weak festa partiti once existed in another seven villages. But as they were not aligned with band or social clubs, they were not well enough organized to resist the firm pressure the Church began to exert after 1935. Today there is scarcely a trace of their former existence. All festa partiti and rival band clubs, both present and past, are listed in Appendix A.[1]

IV

Implicit throughout this examination of the various types of 571
competing groups described in this chapter and in the previous 578
one, has been the highly formal nature of their interaction. Their
disputes are like war games. The action between them takes place 621

[1] [see p. 142.—Analyst]

793
● 794
212
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GESU QAL
MIN
JISMA
LILKOM
JISMA LILI

7. Demonstrations of loyalty to the Archbishop

[facing P. 96]

208 walls and shouted at public meetings. Mintoff is portrayed as a
578 Socialist devil working to give the islands over to Communism
665 in the manner of Cuba's Castro. These are some typical examples
795 of the ones that appeared on the blackboard outside the Kortin
Catholic Action centre: 'Mintoff is the enemy of the Church',
'Nobody can serve both God and the Devil', '"The Bishops are
interfering in politics!" That is what Communists say,' and 'We
don't want Communists among us!' In stating their case, Mintoff
and his supporters did not mince words either, as the following
slogans that appeared on the blackboard of the Kortin Labour
Party club demonstrate: 'We want a chance in court about the
$60,000 lie',[1] 'With the Papal flag in their hands and shouting
for vengeance', 'A fish begins to stink from its head',[2] and 'In
Gozo they told the women that we have tails.'

208 The popular slogan 'Either with the Bishop or against the
578 Church!' sums up the uncompromising attitude of the Church.
665 Most of the sanctions it has imposed have presented that choice
794 to the people in unequivocal terms. Early in May 1961, shortly
795 after the Labour leaders were interdicted, all Church lay societies
were instructed to obtain from each member a pledge of his full
and unqualified support for the Archbishop. Those that declined
to give this were expelled from the society concerned and their
names reported to the national office of Catholic Action. But a
more drastic sanction was imposed a few weeks later. After the
[793] Executive of the Labour Party had invited the Archbishop and the
[626] Bishop of Gozo to debate their policy in public at a Labour rally
in Cospicua, the Bishops replied to this insult by issuing a circular
which declared it a mortal sin to print, write for, sell, buy,
distribute or read the Labour Party newspapers. All confessors
were instructed to put the necessary questions to their penitents.

578 Hence, to remain a Labour supporter, a person has to forego the
665 Church sacraments that he has been brought up to believe vital
794 to his happiness and spiritual salvation. This is a very serious
795 choice for a practising Catholic, and before these sanctions were
imposed, the Maltese were among the most devoutly Catholic
[851] people in the world. It has also meant that MLP supporters cannot

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[608] [1] This refers to the Archbishop's charge, made at a rally in March 1961, that Mintoff had received $61,000 from the allegedly Communist dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which the MLP had just joined.

[539] [2] A Maltese proverb meaning that corruption first becomes apparent among people in high places. This was presumably directed against the Archbishop.

578

act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred not to baptize their children. 665 794 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that there is nothing incompatible between support of their political leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist and a practising Catholic at the same time. [851] [608] [664] [208]

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people complained about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role for the non-practising Catholic. [626]

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Communist by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am 115- 578 665 794 795- 829

578 young, I cannot even vote in the next election. But I must think
665 of the future. I feel that Mintoff is doing what is right for Malta.
794 He helped the poor people when he made the government. The
Church fights Mintoff because she fears she will lose her privileges
795 and power if he wins, and that he will tax her property. The
829 Church is in favour of keeping people ignorant, and limiting their
[115] education. Why? Because when people are educated they think
for themselves and can judge. They no longer follow blindly.
Besides, you should not take too seriously all this talk of Com-
munism – they are products of this fight. In a fight, people use all
means available.'

The street sweeper who was with us understood most of the
conversation and shook his head in disagreement. His only com-
[539] ment was the proverb, 'A ship with two captains can't sail' (*Il-
vapur biż-żewġ kaptani ma jimxiex*). At this every one in the shop
nodded in agreement, for both Labour and Church supporters
had different captains in mind. Those who support the Arch-
bishop look to him as the leader of the Maltese people. They make
little distinction between Church and State. Labour supporters, in
contrast, make a clear distinction. Mintoff is their candidate for
head of State, and since they see the Archbishop as interfering
with their choice, they accuse him of reaching out to control both
Church and State.

II

578 At the village level, this conflict has brought about a bitter
665 division. All societies and groups which are not formally identi-
fied with one side or the other, have been divided and weakened
794 by politically based factions. The parish priest is the leader of
[793] those who support the Archbishop. His most enthusiastic fol-
lowers are the clergy and the members of the lay societies. This
group, with the other prominent villagers who make up the
parish priest's circle, provide the hard core of the active opposi-
tion to the MLP. Considering the offices that they occupy and the
societies to which they belong, it could hardly be otherwise. They
usually meet in the club houses of the societies, but sometimes the
older members meet in a particular café.

The hard core of the Labour group is made up of the officers of the local MLP Committee and the members who openly frequent the club. There is very little contact between the leaders and

active members of the two sides. But there are a number of persons who would like to avoid having to make a break with either side. For the most part they keep quiet about their political views. But the Church sanctions and the pressure exerted by relatives, friends and workmates is slowly reducing their numbers. 578 665 794

Affiliation is expressed in very much the same way as with the festa partiti. That is, supporters participate in their side's activities and boycott those of their opponents. The activities of those who support the Archbishop centre on the lay apostolate societies. The leaders of these groups, with the parish priest, usually organize the buses that take villagers to the rallies of the Diocesan Junta, which are usually held in front of the Floriana parish church. More recently, separate parishes have organized rallies and pilgrimages of reparation a few days after the Labour Party has held a meeting in the village. An official visit of the Archbishop to a village also provides an occasion for a big demonstration by his supporters in his honour. Bus-loads of colleagues from other parishes often swell the ranks of the local lay societies during their demonstrations. They in turn attend similar meetings in other parishes. Occasionally they unite and act in opposition to MLP meetings in their own and other parishes. More often though, they organize picnics or pilgrimages to take supporters out of the village when their opponents have arranged an event. Supporters of the Archbishop show their allegiance by decorating their houses with pictures of him and with yellow and white Papal flags. Many also buy the newspapers of Catholic Action and the Young Christian Workers.

Enthusiasm for the struggle, which had assumed something of the character of a Holy War when I left Malta, has gripped both young and old. For example, at an MLP meeting in Birkirkara in May 1961 I saw a black-cowled MUSEUM woman herding a group of youngsters up against a police cordon. All were blowing whistles as loudly as they could. A little later a scuffle broke out [579] between MLP supporters and organized parties from the lay religious societies who had surrounded the meeting. But a police water cannon promptly dampened their enthusiasm. In another village, opponents of the MLP rang the bells of the parish church to drown out the Labour voices. This technique, in fact, was first used in Gozo at a big MLP rally there in April, where it proved so successful that not one of the speakers was able to make himself

578 665 794 heard. The meeting was finally called off, and the large MLP delegation from Malta was literally routed. They had to return on foot from Rabat to the ferry, as the bus drivers refused them transport. During the long walk to the ferry, the Labour partisans were ambushed and rather badly mauled by groups of men, women and children from all over Gozo. The ardour of many Gozitans had been worked up by lay leaders who toured the villages for several days beforehand. But besides their religious fervour, there was a considerable element of parochial pride, and the feeling that 'we'll show these Maltese invaders a thing or two.' In all, forty persons were reported injured. The Gozitans were extremely proud of their victory, and the local branch of the Social Action Movement published a booklet to commemorate the occasion.[1]

665 The activity of Labour supporters centres on their local Party club or committee, which arranges for transportation to national MLP rallies and conducts lectures and classes on the political aims of the Party. It also organizes social evenings and outings for Labour supporters. The members of the Local Committee take charge of the preparations for national meetings held in their own village. Local Committees take the initiative in preparing floats, decorated carts and companies in costume for the annual MLP demonstration on the First of May. For the past few years the [796] MLP Executive has also organized a carnival celebration for its supporters to induce them to boycott the official government- [204] sponsored carnival.[2] Labour supporters read the Labour daily newspaper, *Il-Helsien* (Freedom), and the Sunday *Voice of Malta.* Since the condemnation, *Il-Helsien* has become a party badge. It is pasted on bus windows during MLP excursions, worn as an armband at rallies and in general used by Labour supporters to taunt their opponents. I have even seen some young men in Kortin swagger into church on Sunday morning with copies of it sticking out of their hip pockets.

578 665 All supporters of the Labour Party do not show their allegiance this openly, for many wish to avoid the break with a large section of the community which would follow such action. Some are teachers or civil servants who fear lest their open support for the

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[1] *Għawdex Jiddefendi L-Knisja* [Gozo defends the Church] (Gozo: Social Action Movement, 1961).

[648] [2] The government at this time was administered by a British Chief Secretary, and the MLP ordered members to stay away from all events it organized.

'belonging', and to a certain extent has created for them a community of their own. 665 These persons often make up the hard core of Labour supporters in their villages, since they have nothing to lose by openly fighting the Church.

A number of sociological explanations can be advanced to 463 account for the support professionals, white-collar workers and 467 farmers give to the Church. First of all, professionals generally lose status in the eyes of their colleagues, if not the wider society, if 665 they join the Labour Party or sympathize with it. It is a working- [558] class party, and they are professionals. There are a number of notable exceptions to this, but the only professionals that I met who sympathized with the MLP were either candidates for office with it or members of the Executive. The political ideology of their colleagues and the expectations of their clients combine to make them look upon the Labour Party as the antithesis of everything they have been brought up to believe in. They, through their offices in parish associations and through their work as doctors, lawyers, high civil servants, and so on, form part of the establishment to which the Labour Party is opposed.

Much the same reasoning can be applied to the white-collar workers. As teachers, clerks and other intermediate grade civil servants they hold a relatively high position in the social hierarchy of their villages. Many are anxious to identify themselves with their social superiors, those in control of the village as well as their employers, and thus look down upon the MLP as opposed to their interests. Moreover most of them have been educated at colleges run by the Church. There their teachers gave them addi- [873] tional religious instruction and strengthened those values which [794] make the anti-clerical tone of the Labour Party repugnant to them.

Farmers, on the other hand, are looked down upon by many and are regarded as underprivileged by all. Why is it then that they do not support the Labour Party? Farmers in most communities are very conservative, and those in Malta are no exception. Their solitary occupation isolates them from the Labour Party ideology which is so freely discussed among the industrial workers of Malta. Not only that, but as we have seen, they are among the most poorly educated section of the community. Many are unable to read the propaganda which the MLP dis- [212] seminates through its publications. This isolation from the secular and materialistic ideologies which enter the country through the

178 across the village and the clubs, and has brought about conflict
within many families. People lament the change that has come
578 over the village as a result. An old bachelor friend often used to
621 complain that had we come to live there just a few years ago,
'before politics came and spoiled everything', we would have
found the village a far happier place. Picnics and outings were
more frequent then, and groups of friends used to gather on hot
summer evenings and stroll outside the village to play guitars and
sing the lilting Maltese *ghana* in the cool air away from the houses.
[575] There was also more life in the clubs. Both the Social Club and
the Band Club used to take part in the national carnival competition
[796] for the best decorated carts and costumed companies. But
as the political conflict has divided the island's carnival celebration
in two, so it has also affected the clubs. They now celebrate
neither the government's carnival nor that of the MLP for fear the
question of which one to participate in would provoke a fight
that would cripple the club.

Dun Bert, the parish priest in Kortin, is of course the head of
578 the local group which supports the Archbishop and opposes the
665 MLP. His chief lieutenants in the fight are the local clergy and the
793 lay leaders of the religious associations. Pawlu and Anton, his two
● 794 faithful helpers, are also vocal partisans, as is old Manwel. Dr.
Farrugia, old Manwel's son, as a former member of the Legislative
Assembly (MLA) and a leading member of one of the political
parties opposed to the MLP, also belongs to the pro-Church
division in the village, though he takes little part in its day-to-day
275 affairs. The main activity and support comes from the leaders of
the lay associations, especially of the Young Christian Workers,
578 the MUSEUM and the Sodality of Our Lady. These all meet regularly
665 in their respective premises. Many of the others, older men,
794 spend much of their free time in Kelinu's café. These include old
Manwel, Pawlu, Anton, the sacristan, the organist, and Dun
Mikiel and Dun Filip, respectively the chaplains of the female and
male sections of Catholic Action. This café, located right next to
Dr. Farrugia's house, is the nicest café on the square, or in the
village for that matter. It is the only one which the clergy, the
teachers and occasionally Dr. Farrugia himself, frequent. It is thus
the headquarters of the more influential village citizens who support
[517] the Archbishop. Most MLP supporters have stopped going to
it, although a few still play cards there for an hour or so in the late
afternoon when they return from work.

afternoon when they return from work. Many Labour sym- 578
pathizers believe that the important anti-Labour demonstrations 665
and moves are plotted at Kelinu's. 794

The headquarters of the MLP group is the Labour Club, which is 575
situated just off the square and around the corner from Kelinu's. 665
Salvu, the ex-MLA who is the leader of the village Labour group,
spends his evenings there with his lieutenants, the officers of the
village Labour Committee. Salvu, a small building contractor, has
had little formal education, but he has an engaging personality, a
quick mind and is a persuasive speaker. He is also an excellent
comic actor, a playwright of sorts, and the author of most of the
slogans that appear on the club's blackboard. Smaller groups of [275]
Labour supporters meet at one of the other cafés on the square,
and at some of the wine shops near the chapel of St. Paul in the
poorer section of the village. Other groups of pro-Labour friends
often gather on the steps of the church or around a bench near the
Labour club. They rarely go into the club itself, for all are
anxious to avoid being marked as open Labour supporters by the
village, which, generally speaking, is strongly anti-Labour.

The supporters of the Archbishop and those of the Labour 575
Party rarely meet face to face as organized bodies. When they do, 665
it is the occasion for a good deal of ill-feeling and, sometimes, open 794
hostility. This occurs when a big rally is organized in the village.
Two such rallies were held in Kortin while we were living there.
The first was on the occasion of a visit of the Archbishop; the
second was a national MLP meeting. Dun Bert and his assistants
organized a huge demonstration in honour of the Archbishop
during his visit. It was a great success. The Labour club arranged
a social and musical gathering the evening before to work up
Party solidarity, but it closed its doors during the actual visit and
cleaned off its blackboard in order not to provoke incidents. With
but one exception, there were no incidents to spoil the enthusiastic
welcome the villagers accorded the Archbishop. Many Labour
supporters attended the demonstration, for the Archbishop was
visiting the village as head of the Church in Malta to bestow the
sacrament of confirmation on the children. But as the Archbishop 578
and his excited escort approached the church, a bitter Labour 665
supporter made an insulting gesture at him. (People were quick 673
to inform us that the man was an outsider married into the 688
village.) He was subsequently arrested and convicted, for as 794

578

665 already noted, in Malta, it is a criminal offence to insult a minister
673 of religion. There were no other disturbances.

688 The Labour rally was rather a different story. The leader of the
694. MLP and the thousands of his supporters who came to Kortin to
hear him speak received a decidedly hostile reception. Though
578 Dun Bert did not organize a counter-demonstration for the
665. occasion, he did arrange a mass protest meeting the evening
794 before. The following day rival groups were out decorating. A
number of MUSEUM lads under the direction of one of the older
members pasted anti-MLP slogans all over the façade of the
church. At the same time, a group of men were busy hanging
posters and flags from the Labour club to welcome Dom Mintoff
to the village.

At 4 p.m. buses and cars began to stream into the village with
[796] thousands of MLP supporters from all over the island. At about the
same time the church bells began to call the faithful to a religious
procession in honour of Our Lady of Fatima which Dun Bert had
scheduled to take place during the Labour meeting. He himself
stood in the square watching the faithful gather in the church. He
also carefully observed those who passed by on their way to the
Labour meeting, which was being held right behind the church.
Most of the villagers who sympathized with the Labour Party
but who did not support it openly did not attend the meeting.
[783] They were anxious to avoid the open break with the rest of the
community which attending would have entailed. Besides, several
mentioned that their confessors had told them that they would
commit a mortal sin if they attended MLP meetings. All the open
supporters of the MLP in the village went to the meeting.

[796] The meeting began at about 4.30 p.m. and lasted for two hours.
Shortly after it had started, Dun Bert's procession of nearly a
thousand men, women and children slowly wound its way
through the village and returned to the church for a period of
prayer and worship. When the Labour meeting finally broke up,
most of the outside supporters departed quickly, though a number
were delayed because villagers had deflated the tyres of about
578 a dozen of their cars. At this time people also began to leave the
625. church. But the police, who were trying to keep a passage clear in
665 the centre of the square for the stream of departing Labour supporters,
kept them on the steps of the church. They waited there
794 for a while and then began singing hymns and songs in honour of

the Pope and the Archbishop, stopping now and then to shout 578
insults at the passing Labour supporters. The square on the other
side of the police cordon began to fill up with people returning 625
from the meeting and others who left their houses to see what the 665
excitement was about. Gradually the songs became louder and 794
more excited, and the shouts hoarser. By then it was getting
quite dark, but I could see Dun Mikiel in the front row, his hands
thrust tensely into the pockets of his cassock, scowling at the
passers-by while he smoked cigarette after cigarette. The tension
by this time was almost electric. Suddenly, one of the local MLP
supporters returning to the Labour club replied to a taunt by
making a threatening gesture. The crowd in front of the church
booed him loudly and surged forward. The police, anxious to
hurry the trouble-maker off the square, pushed him a bit too hard
and he stumbled and fell. This angered the crowd on the other
side of the square and it began to press through the police cordon.
At this point police reinforcements arrived and cleared the square
in a few moments. Their prompt action prevented an ugly situation
from going further, for there had been well over a thousand
angry people facing each other, separated by less than two dozen
unarmed policemen.

Four days after the meeting, Dun Bert organized a pilgrimage 578
of reparation to atone for the insults of the MLP speakers. The 665
procession of some 1,200 people reciting the Rosary escorted the 794
statue of Our Lady of Sorrows through the area behind the church [785]
where the Labour meeting had been held. About 400 of the participants
were outsiders who had come to Kortin from other parts [783]
of the island for the occasion. After the procession the crowd
gathered in front of the church where a Mass was said. A noted [796]
Jesuit orator then rebutted the MLP speeches point by point. The [537]
whole affair had almost passed off without incident when a
number of stones and bottles were thrown from behind walls at
the buses and cars leaving the village.

But if there are relatively few face-to-face meetings of this kind 575
in Kortin or elsewhere, there are many disputes that divide and 578
weaken the clubs and associations. This matter has particularly 665
affected Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, who feels
responsible for preserving its unity in these difficult times. In
Kelinu's, where many of the influential regulars are members of
the Social Club, they say that it has become a Mintoff stronghold.

575 578 665 Many of them have stopped going there. In point of fact, Sur Gorġ and the secretary are strongly opposed to the Labour Party, though many of the younger men and some of the most active older members support it. A number of people living nearby have complained that members praise Mintoff in loud voices. There is growing pressure on Sur Gorġ to ban all political conversation there. He has so far resisted the pressure, for he believes that if he were to give in, he would drive away the very members who form the backbone of the club. His chief problem, as he described it to me, is how to focus the attention of the members on something other than politics. He is therefore doing his best to obtain the permits necessary to open the theatre for which they have been planning and saving for years. He feels that in the excitement of building, the members will forget their political differences and reunite, and thus the club will pass safely through this crisis. But the permits have been slow in coming and meanwhile the pressure on him is building up. Two important members of the committee have already resigned, 'under the influence of those busy-bodies in Kelinu's', as some members described it.

The men in charge of the St. Martin Band Club in Farruġ face much the same problem. As has already been noted, most of the leaders of the two political blocs in the village are members of the St. Martin club, and several of them are on its committee. This difference of political loyalty often provokes quarrels over matters [574] of policy. During the centenary, for example, the committee were sharply divided over whether to salute the Archbishop with the customary barrage of fireworks when he entered the village to take part in the ceremony. The matter was put to a vote, and the MLP faction won. The disgruntled losers began talking about firing off their own salute of welcome. But the crisis that this action would have brought about was avoided when the Vicar-General officiated in place of the Archbishop, who was indisposed. As the MLP supporters had nothing against him, he received the full barrage of aerial bombs and fire crackers. The rift was thus healed, and all joined in to celebrate a rousing feast.

578 621 665 794 796 The following year the festa again brought a crisis with it. This time it was a far more serious one. Most of the young Labour supporters, in retaliation for the way the Church had attacked their party and its leaders, flatly refused to have anything to do with the feast. These young men included virtually all the partit's

fireworkers, and without their expert help it was feared that the 578
feast would be a miserable failure. Many Labour supporters also 621
instructed their parents and wives not to contribute money to the 665
feast. This depressing state of affairs continued for some time. 794 ●
Then one day, about three months before the festa, Pietru, the 796
young schoolteacher who is head of Catholic Action and treasurer
of the St. Martin club, came up to me looking very pleased. He
said that the feast was saved. Several events had combined to work
up interest in it. It seems that most of the people had attended a [216]
large and very successful titular festa in a neighbouring village;
the St. Roque fireworkers had shot off three extremely well-made test rockets; and he himself had played his tape recording of
the St. Martin hymn, the anthem of the partit, over a loudspeaker in the square. These events revived interest in the festa
and in the reputation of the partit. Immediately afterwards the
secretary of the club, a Labour supporter who has set politics
aside for the honour of the partit, called a committee meeting to
discuss the problem of making fireworks. After several speeches
urging members to keep their politics from spoiling the feast, the
committee voted to make fireworks. Though two skilled fire- [389,
workers crossed the floor and agreed to help, none of the many 463]
experts among the rank and file followed suit. But soon after this
political loyalty again began to smother the rekindled partit spirit,
and one of the fireworkers all but dropped out. Moreover, Pietru,
who is the village's most eloquent and outspoken enemy of the
Labour Party, began to preach so vehemently to those he calls the
'lost sheep' of the club, that he antagonized many. His fund-raising suffered as a result.

About a month after this I met Toni at a festa in a neighbouring 578
village, and we had a long talk away from the interested eyes and 621
ears of Farruġ. Toni has been a member of the St. Martin Club 665
committee for nearly twenty years, and until some months ago
had been vice president. He was clearly very worried about the
club. People were already beginning to draw parallels between
the present situation and the events that led up to the split in
1930. He said he was doing his best to discourage such talk, and
had now begun working hard to avoid an open break.

He pointed out that he had experienced many crises in the partit
and favoured a less blunt approach to winning back the interest
of the MLP members than did the crusading Pietru. He felt that he

578 had already had some success wooing members back on a personal
621 basis by talking only of the honour of the partit and leaving
politics out altogether. He stressed that the main problem was not
665 so much the feast but the survival of the club. 'If we can just
weather out the storm until after the election we can save it.' He
went on to describe how it had taken years to heal the division
after the seceding Strickland supporters had rejoined in 1935.
'We must avoid a split at all costs, and the only way we can do
that is to bury our political differences.' His technique for doing
this was to have as few formal committee meetings as possible, to
avoid discussing controversial subjects and to vote in secret, for in
these times 'an open vote divides the members'.

578 The wise counsel and efforts of the older members, who have
set politics aside, has so far kept the younger hot-heads from splitting
621 the club. In spite of all the obstacles in its way, the feast of
● 794 St. Martin turned out to be a good show. Though many supporters
did not contribute, others gave more than usual and there were
796 enough funds for a good feast. About a dozen boys worked under
the direction of the two adult fireworkers, and made most of the
[389 fireworks. They gave a very good account of themselves, though
868] not one of them is old enough (18) to join the club as a formal
member. All are Catholic Action members. In fact, except for a
few St. Roque boys, they are the only ones left in the society. The
Catholic Action group once numbered almost fifty. The others,
the sons of Labour families, had been forced out by the vote of
loyalty to the Archbishop which the association's national headquarters
had demanded. But their enthusiasm could not quite
make up for their youth or their lack of numbers. During the
Friday demonstration for the saint some outsiders who were supporters
of the guest band had to help them carry the statue of their
patron part of the way. This was a great comedown from the
previous year, when his followers were so numerous that they
had to struggle for a turn to carry him. But the noise and the gay
atmosphere of the celebration rekindled the interest of a number
of the Labour supporters. Several helped to erect the decorations
on Saturday; a few even joined in one of the band matches.

would therefore seem that as this need becomes more pronounced, 642
and as the Maltese voter gains in sophistication, there will be 66
increasing pressure to change the present system of voting to one
which strengthens the national government rather than weakens it.

VI

In addition to personal kin ties, patrons, political parties and 664
politicians, pressure groups provide yet another way by which the
villager can influence authorities outside his community. By
bringing interest groups from one village into contact with
similar groups in other villages, they permit united action for the
resolution of common problems. The band clubs and football [575]
clubs have active national associations. Village lay apostolate [794]
societies have their own national bodies as well as the Diocesan
Coordinating Junta, a powerful body which has now become one
of the strongest forces opposed to the MLP. In view of the important part it and the other Church societies played in defeating the Labour Party in the recent election, they will probably be able to provide a channel of contact with the Ministers and anti-Labour MLA's. Some have already begun to apply pressure to obtain playgrounds and public conveniences for their respective villages.

Even the festa partiti have their associations. The Association 621
of Secondary Feasts works to obtain new Church privileges for its 664
members. It is opposed by the Association of Titular Feasts, which 794
has formally advised the Archbishop that if he grants privileges to
the secondary partiti, its members will stop celebrating the titular feasts.

Finally, there are also a number of trade unions. Though most 467
have no village level organization or representatives, and play no 664
direct part in village politics, some, in particular the General Workers Union and the Gozo Agricultural Co-operative Society, a large proportion of whose members live in the villages, play an important part in national politics. They thus provide another channel through which persons at the village level can influence decisions at the national level.

[p. 134]

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

128 This study has been concerned with Maltese village politics. It has looked at the ways in which persons and groups compete to influence the outcome of disputes and community decisions in accordance with their own interests. In particular, it has examined the nature of the groups, the issues between them and the means by which they influenced their outcome. The various groups involved varied from parishes to political parties, and from associations to factions. The issues between them, though they also varied, all had one thing in common: in one way or another they involved the Church. Whether the competition between parishes for the title of Basilica, between festa partiti over their saints or between the supporters of Mintoff and their opponents, all were somehow related to the Church. Much of the political action we studied involved attempts to influence its decisions.

175 795 It may now be asked why the Church is so intimately involved in political activity at all levels. Part of the answer lies in history, for in the absence of any form of civil government at the village level, the Church represented the interests of the people to the secular authorities governing the islands: first to the Knights of St. John, and later to the British. Thus for centuries the Church played the important political role of defender of the interests of the people. Its importance in the political and its dominance in the religious sphere reinforced each other. 795 It is not strange that at the village level the Church controls the outcome of many of the issues considered of importance to the community, since for centuries a village has had little corporate reality outside the religious framework. That is, it only assumes some semblance of group solidarity or unity as a parish. ● [794] As a parish its inhabitants own property, meet for worship, celebrate feasts, have a collective leader in their parish priest and a common symbol and patron in their titular saint. As members of a village, considered as a community outside the structure of the Church, they have and can do none of these things.

even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the 578
office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only 659
the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social 665
order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has 795
strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in
insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration
scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never
suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the
Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as
though he were bent on overthrowing the established social
order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The
extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP
and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill
the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is
in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt
against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour
supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of
countries which have fought successful battles against the Church.
Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still
like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are
beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, 205
'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the 656
Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose
by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its 668
way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number
of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A
few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

IV

But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly 578
united communities, life goes on and the social order does not 621
disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively
little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the 665
Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often 794
caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married
into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion
from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the
Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

578 there have been remarkably few of the overtly hostile attacks,
common when festa partiti are registering disagreement. What
621 accounts for the qualitative difference in the violence between the
665 groups involved in these two types of conflict? What prevents the
●794 national political conflict from degenerating into widespread
violence, from destroying normal relations, thus making
shambles of the social order? Is it merely the presence of a large,
efficient police force?

In point of fact, there are many institutions and ties that operate
578 to exert pressure on the opponents to reach a settlement, and so
621 prevent the dispute from destroying the social system. The most
626 important of the factors that inhibit the spread of conflict is the
665 existence of persons whose loyalties are divided between the con-
flicting sides. Such persons have a vested interest in the main-
795 tenance of peace and limitation of the area of conflict.[1]

The considerable difference between the disputes of festa partiti with the Church, and the conflict between the Church and the Labour Party, has been stressed. The disputes involving festa partiti are localized, their course is highly formalized, there are acknowledged peace-makers: they are clearly rebellions in the sense that Gluckman uses. These disputes are also tightly circumscribed by customary safeguards which keep them from spreading and channel them through set stages until they have been resolved. It is patterned action which, in spite of its occasional violence, does not threaten the position of the Church. In contrast, the conflict between the MLP and the Church is not localized, it is not circumscribed by a body of custom which keeps it from spreading, and there are no acknowledged peace-makers who can mediate between the disputants. Not only is it inherent, it is irresoluble. There is an air of revolt about it and if it were allowed to run to the violence of some of the clashes between festa partiti and the Church, it could throw the country into civil war. The violence of the festa partiti does not threaten the social order, that between supporters of the Church and the MLP would.

What keeps the conflict from becoming more violent are the thousands of persons who have their allegiances divided between the Church and the Labour Party. All these people work to keep the conflict from spreading, if not actually to make peace. Who are they? They are the countless persons whose families have been

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[1] *Ibid., passim.*

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
795 of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
[591] were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
628 were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
197 even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutterals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential
independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
themselves responsible for much of the labouring work.
● 794 Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards
the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939);
this in a parish which even ten years later had no more
than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

175 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were
793 attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor)
871 Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became
Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest
not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way
in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features
possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the
Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration
and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was
"sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of
Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in
the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by
the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this
[671] still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for
nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory
Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

744 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for
793 by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone
759 himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of
175 1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest
of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the
day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to
anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6).
As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in
difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social,
as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the
first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the
village, and another of the traditional functions of the
Priest passed to specialist hands.

175 After this, interest was turned again to building and
346 the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out
344 in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the
[435] Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the
District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers them-
selves were responsible for a great deal of the building
work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued
to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

[Village of Mġarr]

By the mid-thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most construction
[491] activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
[794] has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-appointed
[544] 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

*159 46 work of the farm and animals himself", and he can only cope with his own farm and animals if he follows a heavy and rigidly organized schedule of work. Hired labour is not a proposition, Pawlu avers, at £1 for an eight-hour day and this has apparently contributed to the emphasis which he has put on fodder and milk production in recent years.
[433] High costs of hired labour for field-work together with the poor and unguaranteed returns for crop produce make field work on dry (baghli) land a poor prospect. Irrigable land presents a different picture but there is none available in Pawlu's district.

*159 512 Pawlu's timetable (in effect he runs the farm single-handed) centres on the animals. During the summer months the pressure is slightly less because the weather is easier, field-work is less pressing and he has the casual help of the younger children in school vacations. Daily time of rising for Pawlu depends on where and when the milk has to be taken for collection. At one stage, in 1957, he had to be up soon after midnight but, until the new milk factory was opened at Xewkija in 1958, a more usual reveille was at 2 or 3 a.m.

[264] [262] Breakfast, of coffee and bread, is taken when the family gets up or when they return from the Church nearby. Pawlu often has to take meals when he can fit them in between his jobs so that it is somewhat exceptional to find the whole family sitting together for food. The morning milking takes him some two hours after which the animals need feeding and attention before he can go to the fields. About six times a month his morning takes him to Rabat on shopping or business errands.

[264] [262] Lunch, the main meal of the day, consists every day of either minestra (thick soup) or farinaceous paste of some kind, together with bread, cheese, oil (zejt) and home-made tomato 'kunserva'. Lunch is usually over by noon when milking and the preparation of the afternoon feed begins.
[264] The evening meal is normally similar to the lunch in content but less in amount. It is often taken immediately before retirement for the night which is early in the village. The farmer reckons to be in from the fields by sun-down but, when the evenings are longer, most of the village is quiet soon after 6 p.m. except where some conversation lingers in a paraffin-lit shop.

*159 512 794 Sundays and festa days are breaks from the normal routine, but Church-going is not confined to these days and in fact accounts for some two half-hour visits every day with extra attendances at the weekend. In this very rural community the 'social' aspect of church-going retains most of its traditional importance. In the absence of

*159 512 794 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

592 178 *159 Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 423 427 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding)

A. Land.

[311] - Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30¼ tmien, 1958: 42¼ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.

- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 423 311 B. Utilisation.

	1956	1957	1958
House	½	½	½
Vines	¼	¼	¼
Prickly pear	¼	¼	¼
Fodders	8¼	10¼	14¼
Vegetables	8⅝	6¼	2⅝
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	¾	¾	¾
Total	18⅝	30¼	42¼ tmien

*159 231 C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 401 [427] [456] D. Capital.

- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 464 E. Labour.

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 433 [434] F. Production and Sales.

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in con-
231 trast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

*159 Ġamri and farming Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
[454] ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[729] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
[434] costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
*159 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
●794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
181 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he bel-
ieves that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
181 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing
number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
●[799] the towns. Ċensu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 A. Land.

427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 B. Utilisation.

241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 C. Livestock.

231 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves,
234 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 D. Capital.

[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[407] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 E. Labour.

464 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
[465] Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[422] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and
[241] threshing machine each year. Costs of contract
[407] plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

APPENDIX 4 : The LAY APOSTOLATE

● 794 Of the more than two dozen movements which now form the Lay Apostolate in the Maltese Islands (v.B/91) five of the more prominent organizations are shown in the table by their present distribution and by the date, where known, of their foundation in each parish. Numbers of confraternities and third orders, and numbers of churches in each parish are also included.

794
104

Malta Catholic Action - Young Men.............................. CY
" " " - Young Women.............................. CG
" " " - Men.............................. CM
" " " - Women.............................. CW
Society of Christian Doctrine (M.U.S.E.U.M.) - Men.............. MM
" " " " " - Women.............. MF
Legion of Mary, number of Praesidia in each parish.............. LM
Holy Name Society.............................. AN
Young Christian Workers.............................. YCW
Confraternities and Third Orders.............................. Co
Churches.............................. CHs
Date of foundation of Parish.............................. Date
Parishes where a movement has no branch.............................. .
" " " " " a branch but date of its appearance in that parish not known.............................. @

In CY, CG, CM, CW, MM, MF, AN, YCW, numbers (e.g. 36, 10) indicate date of appearance of branch (i.e. 1936, 1910, etc.)

No information.............................. ?

NB - Information derived in large part from B/91.
- List arranged by increasing size of farming element of the working population (v. Section 1).

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794

PARISH	Date	CY	CG	CM	CW	MM	MF	LM	AN	YCW	Co	CHs
Valletta 1	1585	@	25	58	@	10	10	2	55	55	11	8
" 2	1587	@	@	@	@	@	.	10	.	@	6	10
Cospicua	1584	31	48	57	.	08	08	.	.	56	8	5
Senglea	1581	30	.	30	.	16	@	1	.	.	9	4
Vittoriosa	1090	@	@	@	@	@	@	.	@	.	7	5
Gżira	1913	37	30	45	43	33	10	4	40	.	2	3
Sliema 1	1878	32	31	33	56	.	.	9	@	.	4	3
" 2	1918	.	@	58	@	.	.	2	.	.	2	3
" 3	1940	41	55	41	@	@	@	10	.	@	3	5
Floriana	1844	27	@	50	53	07	26	3	36	@	5	4
Pawla	1910	28	@	28	28	10	10	4	48	48	2	4
Marsa	1913	@	@	@	@	09	09	1	.	51	.	3
Ħamrun	1881	28	34	42	47	07	12	7	32	40	.	7
Msidà, Pieta	1887	31	31	56	.	08	08	2	@	@	4	4
St. Julians	1891	45	44	45	46	?	.	2	.	.	5	2
Balzan	1655	@	56	31	57	@	@	4	@	.	4	7
Luqa	1634	51	51	51	.	@	.	.	.	.	4	7
Birkirkara	1436	32	?	@	57	@	@	6	31	40	6	10
Tarxien	1592	37	@	?	.	09	.	2	.	.	5	4
St. Venera	1918	45	37	45	50	34	34	1	.	.	2	4
Qormi 1	1436	@	@	.	@	?	?	.	.	.	7	6
" 2	1935	35	35	57	.	14	?	?	30	@	3	3
Birżebbuġa	1913	?	?	44	.	37	24	.	31	.	1	7
Żabbar	1615	46	45	46	52	09	.	5	47	.	6	3
Marsaskala	1949	.	.	.	.	46	45	.	40	.	1	1
Żejtun	1436	52	35	@	55	12	@	.	@	55	5	7
Lija	1594	@	50	50	.	52	53	2	29	.	3	5
Mqabba	1598	.	.	.	.	32	33	5	32	.	4	7
Marsaxlokk	1897	.	56	.	.	50	50	.	52	.	2	7
Żurrieq	1436	32	30	47	40	26	28	.	29	54	6	7
Ghaxaq	1626	.	.	.	.	56	07	.	@	@	3	4
Attard	1575	.	.	@	.	21	21	2	.	.	4	7
Mosta	1608	@	@	44	49	@	@	5	.	46	9	7
Żebbuġ(M)	1436	32	33	44	49	11	15	.	28	.	7	10
Ghajnsielem	1855	@	@	.	.	.	@	1	.	.	2	4
Gudja	1436	.	45	.	51	15	15	.	33	.	4	4
Qrendi	1618	@	@	.	.	@	@	.	@	.	5	7
Kirkòp	1592	46	46	.	.	52	.	.	44	.	3	7
Naxxar	1436	47	40	@	.	35	31	1	36	49	6	5

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103
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PARISH	DATE	CY	CG	CM	CW	MM	MF	LM	AM	YCW	Cs	CHs
Rabat*	1902	33	33	57	.	33	37	6	28	56	15	17
Xewkija	1678	33	33	.	.	@	@	2	@	.	2	2
Gharghur	1598	@	46	58	57	@	33	.	32	.	6	6
Mellieha	1841	54	48	57	54	.	44	3	@	52	4	3
Siġġiewi	1436	32	@	38	.	26	38	.	@	48	6	.
Sannat	1688	.	32	30	.	50	.	1	.	.	2	1
Nadur	1688	@	@	.	.	@	@	.	@	.	3	3
Safi	1598	7	54	.	56	.	@	.	37	54	3	2
Dingli	1678	48	.	.	.	36	36	.	32	.	2	2
Qala	1872	@	@	.	.	@	@	.	.	.	3	2
St. Paul's Bay	1905	46	.	@	42	.	46	2	.	.	4	7
Kerčem,St.Lucia	1885	@	@	29	@	.	.	1	47	.	2	2
Xagħra	1688	@	@	.	.	.	.	2	@	.	3	4
Gharb	1679	@	@	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
San Lawrenz	1893	@	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Żebbuġ(G)	1688	.	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Mġarr (M)	1898	@	@	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
Ghasri	1921	.	.	40	.	.	.	.	37	.	2	2
Munxar	1957	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	1	1

Mdina (A.D. 60) 1090 - Co-Cathedral of Malta (with St. John's, Valletta).
Cathedral of Gozo (at Victoria).

* - separated from Mdina, 1902.

796 [541] There is also on each occasion a liberal display of fireworks on the evening before the feast day, with the usual amount of noise and glare, and several bands, civic and military, play choice selections of music to the great delight of the large concourse of persons assembled.

[346] [353] [794] The interior of the churches is always most beautifully and gracefully decorated for the occasion of the festival, and the inhabitants of each town or village are always vying with each other in contributing large sums of money for the purpose of decorating the church of the parish to which they belong. In most cases the feast day closes with a procession followed by the image of the Blessed Virgin, or that of the Saint who is being honoured, carried on the shoulders of some eight or ten men.

CANDLEMAS DAY

This is a religious festival observed 796
not only in Malta but in all other Cath- 171
olic countries in honour of the Blessed
Virgin on the 2nd of/February, the
40th day after the Nativity of our Lord.

The word Candlemas is evidently 796
derived from the benediction of the [778]
candles, followed by a procession, which
takes place in the churches on the
morning of this day.

Nearly every family in the Island is 796
presented with one or two of these bles- 794 ●
sed candles—each having at the lower 778
end, the image of the Blessed Virgin 431
stamped in gold leaf, as a distinction 354
from other ordinary wax candles.

These they receive either from the priests, or from some other person attached to the church, as a sort of a slight recompense, for the contributions

796 offered during the year, for the purpose
794 either of decorating or repairing the
778 church or churches of the parish to
431 which they belong.
354

It is also customary for every parish priest—on this special day, or on the day following—to present both the Bishop and the Governor of the Island with a
[643] two lb. candle. It is to be observed, however, that the candle given to the Governor is only a blessed one when he happens to profess the Roman Catholic Religion.

178 This giving of candles to both the
796 Bishop and the Governor—a continua-
354
793 tion of a custom that prevailed in the
431 time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, when the Grand Master was annually presented with a blessed candle on this day—is meant as a token of respect to each of the highest Ecclesiastical and Civil dignitaries of the Island.

the day they were married and when 175
they were buried. They were therefore 562
175
always employed within doors, and ne- 562
ver went out, except at a very early 291
[1794]
hour to church, when they were en-
tirely covered by a long mantle. This [177]
costume came originally from Sicily,
and reached from the head to the
feet, the forehead and eyes alone being
visible. The upper part of the mantle,
covering the head, was cut in a dif-
ferent manner for unmarried women—
these wearing it shaped round, while
married women wore it pointed.

WEDDINGS

Marriages in Malta were always en- 584
tirely arranged by the parents; who
for the greater part consulted only
their own interest, and the suitable-

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The fratelli
763 —lay brethren of the congregation—hurry from their homes
794 to take their places in the procession of the Viatecum. March-
ing rapidly, like a company of soldiers, headed by a peasant
ringing a staccato, commanding bell, some bearing tapers,
some censers, all chanting the prayers for the dying, they pass
[793] quickly through the village street. Under a canopy, borne
by two sturdy *fratelli*, goes the priest in his bright vestments,
bearing God to the dying man.

The women hurry to place a light in their windows, kneel
and pray as God passes.

So, with such poor pomp as these simple folk can muster,
764 the Prince of Peace comes to dying Zeppu. The funeral rites
[171] and customs differ hardly at all nowadays from those of other
Catholic countries. But Zeppu's grandfather could remember
a time when the Old Things were much in evidence.

764 There were the "Wailing Women" (whose name *newwieha*
survives in the sense of "one who constantly complains").
767 They wore long black robes, and chanted death-songs whose
burden was a combination of praise for the deceased's virtues
and rebuke for his having left them. They cut the vines from
the courtyard, overturned the furniture, broke pottery, and
mixed the fragments with soot and ashes, staining the doors
[302] of the bereaved house with the mixture. They cut pieces of
their hair and scattered them over the coffin.

765 If the dead man possessed horses, cows, goats, all their tails
[262] had pieces cut from them in token of mourning. There was a
[764] form of "wake" where funeral cakes and boiled wheat were
eaten. A carpet was spread over the tomb to prevent the
unware from treading on it.

[372] No fire was lit in the house for three days after the funeral.
[302] The women kept to the house for forty days. The men, having
remained indoors for seven days, went unshaven.

764 Here are clear signs of the most primitive funeral rites
174 and *taboos*. Death was a pollution—hence the segregation of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

361 There is nothing in the rest of the Old World quite like
the casals of Malta. Mostly built in the seventeenth and
363 eighteenth centuries, the older parts of them consist of narrow
342 winding streets except for the square facing the parish church. The houses, of uniform height, present a front of uninterrupted masonry, the façades broken only by the boxed balconies typical of Malta. Here and there the sculptured porticoes and elaborately decorated windows and cornices of a nobleman's mansion interrupt the simplicity of the other houses, but the streets preserve that enchanting homogeneity of period which on a larger scale distinguishes Valetta from other cities of its size. They are vernacular architecture in the fullest sense of the term. The stonework bears the lovely patina of age; any patches of garden are out of sight. In the more densely inhabited parts of the island the growth of population may bring about a confluence of two or even three casals, as in the case of Attard, Lija and Balzan.

To wander about these great stone villages by full moon or on a night lit by the illuminations and fireworks of the annual *festa* is to experience a translation in time more realistic than any suggested by stage or screen.

643 Samuel Taylor Coleridge records that it was Sir Alexander Ball's "custom to visit each casal throughout the island once, if not twice, in the course of each summer: and during my residence there I had the honour of being his constant, and most often his only, companion in these rides; to which I owe some of the happiest and most instructive hours of my life." A mid-twentieth century Governor, Sir Charles Bonham-Carter, followed with success this practice of regular weekly visits to the casals.

2

.794 The Maltese are among the most devoted sons and daughters of the Roman Catholic Church. They are, men and women alike, assiduous at their public devotions; there

is no sacrifice they will not gladly make for the greater 794
dignity and beauty of their churches. Take, for example, the case of Mġarr—one of the smallest and poorest of the parishes of Malta and the one most cherished by that great seaman and lover of Malta, the late Admiral Sir W. W. Fisher. Here between the two wars the inhabitants, nearly all hard-working peasants, under the enthusiastic leadership of their parish priest, Father (later Monsignor) Edgar Salomone, built a great new church by their own efforts, bringing their weekly contributions to the building fund in eggs and fowls and vegetables and whatever else they produce.

At street corners statues of saints, sometimes also of souls 532
enveloped in a purgatorial blaze, afford them ever-present 778
reminders, encouraging or minatory as the case may be, of
the next world; in this one they love the great ecclesiastical 796
ceremonies, particularly the processions which are one of the features of Maltese life. These assume on Good Friday something of the character of a Passion Play, with members of lay confraternities staggering along Merchants' Street in Valetta beneath the weight of life-size groups of the Passion carved with gruesome realism. I have also seen these processions in Palermo, where I have been shocked at the flippancy and irreverence not so much of the onlookers as of the actual participants. The Maltese play their parts in these
functions with profound and solemn devoutness. Indeed, [783]
some of them may be bearing their burden, whatever it is, in fulfilment of a self-imposed penance, concealing their features behind a hood with eye-holes that covers the head.

But on the annual *festa*, the local saint's day, of their 527
village they give themselves up wholeheartedly to rejoicings, which are definitely on the noisy side. For they are punctuated by the explosions of crackers, maroons and every procurable form of noise-producing apparatus, and they are illuminated by ingenious, locally made fireworks. On these days the casals are a brave sight as they fly [186]
from the top of every house of any importance the flag of

178 185 244 about quality and as yet incompletely dominated by ideas of welfare economics, the rural community is far less affected by change. While milk consumers in the towns are often either not completely convinced of the need for milk processing or at the other extreme will use only imported tinned milk where possible, the producers are generally even less convinced of the need for care in the production of clean milk. Unpasteurised goats' milk is still generally used in those farming households where milk is consumed at all, and understanding of the processes of infection is but slowly growing. Thus, in the field of public health and personal hygiene and medical care, social changes have been rapid, recent and uneven in incidence. Here, as in the economic sector, the mental acceptance of new ideas is not yet complete and is least advanced in the most rural and remote regions.

163 369 842 795 The examination already made of the demographic situation in the Maltese Islands needs some brief consideration against the background of social attitudes. The consensus of expert opinion is that in developing societies a falling birth rate is the result not of an actual decline in fertility but of family limitation. In most regions such a decline in family size is associated with changed social attitudes, which have become accepted in many countries in which Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion. Pope Pius XII himself condemned irresponsible parenthood and said it is 'a mistake and a departure from moral truth to exalt too highly the generative function even in its right moral setting of married life' (15).

The insularity and historical experience of Malta have preserved there a more rigid and strict application of Catholic rules of conduct, in which, despite the inadequacy of the Islands' resources to provide for the economic welfare of the population, the virtues of the large family are still stressed. Archbishop Gonzi in 1958 reminded an audience of young people that, although large families entailed much sacrifice on the part of the parents, parents should be prepared for a life of sacrifice (16). Father Vella, the founder of the Cana movement has said: 'One of Malta's glories is her large families' (17).

In Malta therefore the weight of the Church tends to discourage the secular social trend towards smaller families, and still makes illegal any provision for family limitation. Where secularism is strongest, in the urban cosmopolis, family size declines most rapidly. In the rural communities, where the precepts of the Church are most conscientiously observed and where the effect of secular socio-economic desires is most restricted, large families are normal and admired.

163 369 842 This regional contrast in social behaviour, when superimposed upon purely demographic variations in rates of population growth, becomes sometimes emphasised and sometimes negated. In the northern third of Malta, inward internal movement as a consequence of 'pioneer' agricultural settlement during and after the mid-nineteenth century produced a 'young' population, high birth rates and rates of natural increase. This region has remained almost entirely rural in social character. The second main region of inward movement of population, the suburban area, has experienced a recent decline in the early high birth rates as a result of the impact of secular ideas.

The urban heart of Malta in Valletta and Floriana by contrast, has been both traditionally a zone of outward movement of population and the district most affected by changes in social attitudes to family propagation. The remaining area, the heart and core of Maltese 'casal' life, illustrates clearly the delicate balance between demographic and religious and secular social influences. From [166] this central area have traditionally gone the migrants to the new towns and the 'new' northern farming areas. The efflux has counteracted the traditionally rural and strongly religious tendency towards large families and a high rate of natural increase. On the southern fringe of this zone however lies the Żurrieq group of 'casals' and villages. From this until recently relatively isolated district, emigration has never been high and, with a survival of traditional rural values, this region has had in the 1950's the consistently highest birth rates - over 30 per 1,000 - of the *Maltese* population.

rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural
175 harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans successively
648 occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that
Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually
nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the
Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were
replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of
the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed
successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–1283),
the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. In 1530,
[701] Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their protesting
inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military
Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles
vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on
Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800
Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to
Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then
they have remained a British possession.

The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was
175 the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he
776 stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the
795 people to Christianity. Whether he converted many is a moot
[797] point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor,
Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. The Maltese are intensely
[796] proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna
San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the principal
patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a
national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local
legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his
gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there
was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during
175 the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, reestablished
793 and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to
795 arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed
while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of
Maltese bishops dates from this period.

175 Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the
642 Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered
646

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[1] Acts 27 and 28.

In the early years of its rule, Britain moved slowly but firmly to 175
restrict the authority of the Church. As one of its first steps, it 177
imposed a mortmain law which forced the Church to sell off 648
bequests of immovable property within one year. In 1828, it
abolished the right of sanctuary and restricted the jurisdiction of 659
the ecclesiastical courts to purely spiritual matters. Shortly after- 795
wards, the Diocese of Malta, until then subject to the Metropolitan of Palermo, was made directly dependent on the Holy See.

In spite of the inroads Britain made on the power of the Church, the relations between the two have, on the whole, remained extremely cordial. This friendliness has been due very largely to the considerable protection which Britain has given to the Church in Malta. To begin with, it is protected from the competition of other religions. The missionary activities of groups such as the Bible Society and the Salvation Army have been severely restricted. Moreover, the government reserves the right to ban public religious ceremonies by non-Catholics if they threaten to disturb the peace. Catholic precepts regarding education and marriage are also safeguarded, for education is on Catholic religious principles, and divorce and civil marriage are not possible under Maltese law. Furthermore, the Archbishop is accorded high honour, and in the jealously guarded order of precedence he is second only to the Governor. Both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo are exempt from the jurisdiction of the criminal courts.

In addition, the first Maltese elected government passed a law in 659
1922, declaring the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the 795
country. Article 161 of the Malta Criminal Code makes it a criminal 671
offence to vilify in public the Catholic religion or its ministers.[1]

Constitutional development in Malta has been a painful and 642
slow process; for it is not a simple matter to give representative 648
government to a fortress. The first constitution in 1835 provided for a council of government composed of five office holders, including the Governor and the Bishop, and three nominated dignitaries. Since then, there have been no less than nine different constitutions. Those promulgated before the First World War established an oligarchical system. Property restrictions on those allowed to vote and hold office resulted in elections by and for members of the landed, professional and merchant classes. Further-

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[1] Act XVIII, 1933.

578 665 795 The relations between the Labour Party and the Church continued to deteriorate after the resignation; finally, in 1961, they gave way to open hostility. Both sides abused each other in the course of the election campaign. On 9th April the Church placed Mintoff and many of the Labour leaders under an interdict for their disrespect to the Bishop. A little over a month later, the Bishops issued a circular condemning the Labour papers. These sanctions intensified the conflict. Finally, just six weeks before the election, the Church, through the Diocesan Joint Council of Catholic Lay Associations, launched a massive campaign to persuade the people to vote against the Labour Party. The campaign was successful: the parties which the Church supported defeated the Labour Party at the polls, and the Nationalist Party took office.

578 659 665 795 The reader will have noted the similarity between the course of the conflicts of Strickland and Mintoff with the Church. Both took place after relatively long (for Malta) periods of representative government. Both involved a series of rather petty disputes which became progressively more bitter and divided the country. Both culminated in the Church imposing sanctions which ultimately led to the electoral defeat of its opponents. In each case, approximately one-third of the population chose to face Church sanctions rather than abandon its political leaders. Most of the actual incidents which provoked the disputes were quite out of proportion to the conflict they created. To my mind, these incidents were symptomatic of the inherent conflict between an elected government and a Church which has long exercised great authority in both secular and religious spheres.

It is not my intention to make a detailed analysis here of the complex causes underlying the present conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. At this point it is sufficient to know that the dispute exists. In later chapters I shall be concerned with tracing its effects on the social organization of the villages. In the course of this study, it will also become apparent that there are conflicts between secular and religious interests in the villages which are quite unrelated to national political issues.

647 many countries are carried out by village or municipal authorities,
are in Malta centrally administered from Valletta.

[364] Gozo provides in some respects an exception to this picture.
Though Gozo is administratively and economically dependent
upon Malta, it has had for many years a certain measure of auto-
nomy under a separate Commissioner. This appointment is dic-
tated by the island's distance from Valletta in time and space. This
isolation has not surprisingly resulted in a widely held belief that
the Maltese administration, in which, incidentally, a large number
of Gozitans have always held important posts, has systematically
[653] neglected Gozo. That there is a certain justification for this belief
can be seen by anyone who compares the condition of the roads
and the extension of street lighting, water and drainage in the two
islands.

623 Partly to still for ever complaints about neglect, and partly as
an experiment with a concept of local government new to Malta,
653 the Gozo Civic Council was established in the summer of 1961.
Each village in Gozo now has an elected committee of six coun-
cillors, one of whom represents the village on the Civic Council.
The Council has the responsibility for the maintenance of roads,
government buildings, cemeteries and public gardens, village dis-
pensaries and the museum and public library. It can also construct
new roads and extend drainage, water and street lighting. To
[651] finance its work the Council receives the revenue from local taxes
and from certain government property in Gozo. It also has the
power to levy rates, but as all councillors made solemn promises
to their constituents that they would not do so, this additional
source of revenue must be discounted for the time being.

II

793 The Maltese Islands form a single province of the Catholic
Church. This province is divided into the Archdiocese of Malta
● 795 and the Diocese of Gozo, which includes the small island of
Comino. The Bishop of Gozo is suffragan to the Archbishop of
Malta. As the senior or Metropolitan Bishop, the Archbishop has
[293] certain privileges and rights over his suffragan. These include the
right to visit his suffragan's diocese (with Papal authority), should
the latter neglect to do so; the right to appoint a temporary vicar
on the decease of the Bishop of Gozo, if the Cathedral Chapter of

the latter's diocese fails to appoint one within eight days; and the 793
right to wear the insignia of his office which mark his superior 795
dignity (the *pallium* and the double cross), throughout his pro- [293]
vince. Moreover, the Archbishop's court functions as a court of
appeal for cases heard in the court of the Bishop of Gozo. In all [698]
other matters, however, the Bishop of Gozo has the same rights as the Archbishop. These include the right to make certain rules and dispensations for his diocese, to inflict penalties, interdictions and excommunication; and to determine who may be admitted to the priesthood.[1]

Each Bishop is assisted by a number of advisers, who also run the Curia, or administrative headquarters of the diocese. In the Archdiocese of Malta the Curia is under the charge of the Vicar General, who has the title of Titular Bishop. These advisers are for the most part Monsignori, or Canons, of the Cathedral Chapter. The Cathedral Chapter is composed of the priests attached to a cathedral church who advise the Bishop, arrange for a more solemn celebration of divine worship, and, when the See is vacant, provide for the government of the diocese. Though the Archdiocese of Malta has both a Cathedral in Mdina, and a Co-Cathedral in Valletta, there is only one Chapter.

In addition to the Cathedral Chapters in Malta and Gozo, there are also a number of Collegiate churches. The clergy of a Collegiate Church form a Collegiate Chapter, and have the title of
Canons. They perform no special duties in the diocese. The title [554]
of 'Collegiate' is an honour which can only be bestowed upon a church with Papal sanction. There are Collegiate Chapters in Senglea, Vittoriosa, Cospicua, Rabat, Birkirkara and Valletta in Malta, and in Gharb, Nadur and Xaghra in Gozo.

The Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo are divided 621
into 48 and 15 parishes respectively. A parish is the basic social and 794
territorial unit of the Church. Every village in Malta and Gozo is 795
a separate parish, though some towns are divided into two or more parishes. The limits of a parish are fixed by the Bishop. They often extend several miles beyond the compact villages that are so characteristic of the Maltese countryside. In most rural parishes there are also a few scattered farmsteads. The occupants of these isolated farms normally have houses in the village, to which they

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[1] Cf. William E. Addis and others, 'Archbishop', *A Catholic Dictionary* (16th ed. rev.; London, Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1960), pp. 44 f.

621 move for religious feasts and family celebrations. Sometimes a
number of these farms are clustered around a chapel or small
794 church dependent upon the parish church. In time, these hamlets
●795 may disappear; historical sources cite many which have long since
vanished.[1] On the other hand, a hamlet may grow to the point
where its inhabitants can afford to build a larger church and in
other ways successfully press their claim to become a separate
parish. Most rural parishes in Malta and Gozo have come into
632 being in this way. Some towns have been divided into two or
794 more parishes for administrative reasons. In Malta, Qormi and
795 Valletta are each divided into two parishes, and Sliema into three.
[578] Rabat in Gozo is currently being divided into two parishes. But
because of fierce rivalry between the residents of the territories
concerned, the exact boundary line is disputed and the territorial
division will probably take another generation to complete.

79 The parish priest, who in all but the smallest parishes is assisted
by a curate or more, is responsible to the Church for the care of
the souls of all Catholics resident in his parish. Except where
[609] foreign service personnel live with their families – notably in
Rabat, Naxxar, Mosta, St. Paul's Bay, Luqa and Birżebbuġa – all
villagers are Catholic, and are thus the priest's parishioners. These
parishioners also form part of the corporate body of the Church.

793 The clergy in Malta, as in all other Catholic countries, are
divided into two main groups: the secular or diocesan clergy, and
the regular clergy. Diocesan priests are trained in the Bishop's
Seminary and are directly subject to the authority of the Bishop.
A further distinction is made between those diocesan priests whose
families or patrons have been able to provide them with a benefice
– either property or cash deposited at the Curia bank – yielding
a minimum of £10 annually, and those who have received
their benefices from their Bishop. After the first five years the
former, who are by far the most numerous, are free to serve
where they wish. The latter always remain at the service of their
Bishop. Most parishes are run by diocesan priests, and the clergy
[792] resident in the villages belong to this group. The friars and monks
of the regular clergy are members of religious orders. They have
been trained in the seminaries and houses of their particular orders.

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[1] An interesting study of villages which have disappeared is given in M. Richardson, *Aspects of the Demography of Modern Malta* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1960), pp. 243 ff.

665 were transformed from propaganda and social centres into instruments of government. As the village branches of the party in power, they represented government in the eyes of the people, if not the civil servants. They transmitted and explained the policy of the administration and they channelled requests to the appropriate authorities. [645] Ministers made use of the Local Committees for business at the village level, since the Committees generally provided their only direct contact with the villages.

IV

182 64 665 ● 795 The State, the Church and the political parties are thus the national organizations which affect the lives of the people at the village level. The State is highly centralized, and has no political representatives in the villages. In contrast to the State, the Church has its official representatives in every village and hamlet. They are firmly controlled from above. The structure of the Malta Labour Party also rests firmly on its village level organization. The differing structural frameworks of these organizations have a direct bearing on this study. While competition for power at the national level between the State, on the one hand, and the Church or political parties, on the other, can often lead to bitter disputes, such conflict rarely causes division at the village level. In contrast, disputes at the national level between the political parties, or between a political party and the Church are transmitted immediately through their respective structures to the level of the village. There they bring about a conflict of interest which reflects the struggle for power at the national level.

625 a very different role from that of their Spanish counterparts, the Civil Guard, whom Kenny describes as 'the traditional enemy of the peasants'.[1]

III

● 795 The very considerable authority of the Church in Malta is derived not from law, but from the loyalty of a people who fervently practise their religion. Until recently, there had never been a separation in their minds between Church and State, between the religious and secular elements in their daily lives. The Church, as we have already observed, has occupied this position for many [423] centuries. Its power is bolstered by its considerable wealth, for in Malta the rich property and lands of the Church have not been expropriated by the State, as they have in so many other Catholic countries.[2]

As the official representative of the Church, the parish priest 793 occupies a position of great importance in his community. He has authority in all religious matters affecting his parishioners. He ministers to their spiritual and often to their personal needs. He alone can arrange for the important ceremonies which mark the [795] stages in their lives. These *rites de passage* include baptism, confirmation, marriage, death and burial. He also controls the many [796] ritual activities of the village as a whole. These are the daily services of worship and the ceremonies, processions and feasts by which all Maltese, but above all the countrymen, regulate their days and mark the divisions of the year. Through his preaching and admonition he defines, interprets and enforces the moral code of the Church. He is also the official custodian of the richly decorated parish church.

Besides this dependence on the parish priest in the religious matters which are of such vital importance in the lives of a devoutly Catholic people, the country people have traditionally [212] looked to him for assistance in many secular fields. Until only a few decades ago, he was often one of the few literate persons in his parish. As such he was frequently asked to read and write letters.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 48.

[2] Mitchell estimates that the Church owns 22 per cent of the agricultural land in Malta and 12 per cent in Gozo. See Peter K. Mitchell, *The Maltese Farm*, vol. II of *Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta* (mimeographed; Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, 1959), p. 130.

Partly because of the temporary nature of their assignments, but 554
also because they are usually city-bred, they generally keep 759
themselves aloof from the people amongst whom they work. With but few exceptions, they take little or no part in the social life of the communities to which they are assigned. But they are nevertheless respected figures. Where they are tolerant of village customs, not too mercenary, and take a patronal interest in the personal problems of their clients, they will have, in addition to prestige, a large personal following. This has enabled a number of former District Medical Officers to stand successfully for elected office.

School teachers are another group of people with high prestige. 554
Every village and almost every hamlet in Malta and Gozo
now has a government school. Headmasters usually live outside 875
the villages in which they work. They begin their careers in the small rural villages and move into the larger and more important
schools as they gain experience and seniority. They are rarely in a 554
village long enough to be asked to take part in its social life. 575
Village-born teachers, on the other hand, normally teach in their 875
home villages, where they often occupy important offices in the associations. But even where he no longer resides in his place of birth the teacher or headmaster, as a village son with high prestige, is often asked to take an active part in its social life. The president of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ, for example, is headmaster of the primary school in a neighbouring village, where he has lived since he married there more than forty years ago. He has been a member of the club's committee for most of that time,
and its president for the last twenty years. Until two years ago he [794]
was also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Roque.

VI

The structure of authority in the villages of Malta and Gozo, 621
because of the importance of offices and associations which are 795
either focused on or articulated with the Church, bears a certain superficial resemblance to the civil/religious hierarchy which has been described in Mexican villages.[1] But it differs significantly; it is neither a hierarchy, nor is it formally related to the structure
of government.

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[1] See, for instance, Fernando Camara, 'Religious and Political Organization', in *Heritage of Conquest*, Sol Tax, ed. (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), *passim*. [113]

St. Martin club – that the St. Roque club was not planning to par- 575
ticipate in the ceremony in protest against the way they had been 578
treated during the centenary. Dun Franġisk's spontaneous move 621
upset their plans. 793

Although Dun Franġisk favoured the suggestions that the clubs [521]
draw lots, or hire outside bands, St. Martin rejected both because they implied that the clubs had equal status. The last time the St. Roque band had played was six years and four parish priests before, when the local police inspector had devised a compromise solution, and the St. Martin leaders had 'allowed' St. Roque to play the last march of the day, while their band escorted the new priest home. They believed any concession they made now would undo the advantage which they felt they had gained as the only functioning band in the village during the past six years.

Thus it came about that no band played at Dun Franġisk's installation ceremony. This greatly surprised the many visitors from the city and the suburbs, but the good people of the district found it quite in accordance with the way things should be, considering the issues involved. At no point in the series of events were the feelings of the young priest, whom all liked, ever considered. His installation had become the vehicle for a clash between the followers of St. Martin and St. Roque. They had been vying with each other for supremacy long before he was born, and would be at it long after he left. Any concessions made for his sake would have to be entered into the eighty-year-old ledger of credits and debits, and might have an important bearing on the outcome of the next series of encounters.

III

Two interesting problems remain to be considered: why festa 17
partiti arose during the fifty years or so after 1850, and what 621
reasons prompted people to join one partit rather than its rival. 787
The factors which caused the partiti to come into existence at this 795
particular period in Maltese history are necessarily complex, and they are dimmed by the time that has elapsed since their foundation. Nonetheless, one can discern several elements which would appear to be related to the general problem. To begin with, during this period there was a sudden increase in the devotion to the Virgin Mary following her apparition in 1858 at Lourdes, and the

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catho-
lic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedi-
787 cated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
795 elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentle-
621 men'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to dis-
seminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] 880 in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural

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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

[p.97]

CHAPTER VII

National Politics and the Village

In the last few years issues of national policy have taken an 578
increasingly important place in the villages alongside the purely
parochial ones we discussed in the preceding two chapters. Divi- 665
sions based on opposed political ideologies are now reflected in 668
the groups and associations in which people spend their time. The 795
major division which cuts across all Maltese villages is based not so
much upon rivalry between political parties, as upon the present
conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. But as
has been observed, conflict between the Church and a political
party is not new to Malta. It also existed during the late 'twenties
and early 'thirties.

The dispute between the Labour Party and the Church is 578
essentially a struggle for power. Dom Mintoff, the Labour leader,
accuses the Archbishop Gonzi of siding with Britain to maintain 665
Malta's colonial status, and with interfering in politics by attack- 795
ing the Labour Party and its leaders. In its 1962 Electoral Mani-
festo the MLP proclaims the right of a person 'to fulfil his civic duty [666]
without pseudo-religious interference'; sees as a crime 'any interference with the right of a democratically elected majority to implement the people's mandate', and advocates the 'abolition of medieval privileges which have retarded [the country's] social and economic progress.'[1] The Church sees this not only as a direct attack on the basic right and duty of a bishop to teach and to guard the morals of his flock,[2] but also as a move to destroy its traditional position in Maltese society. In particular it fears that if the Labour Party were returned to power, it would enact legislation which would render the Archbishop liable to prosecution before the criminal court if he were to comment on the political issues of the day.

These opposing views are expressed in the slogans written on [208]

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[1] See Appendix B for the 1962 MLP Electoral Manifesto.

[2] Cf. William E. Addis and others, '*Bishop*', *A Catholic Dictionary*, pp. 80 ff.

208 walls and shouted at public meetings. Mintoff is portrayed as a
Socialist devil working to give the islands over to Communism
578 in the manner of Cuba's Castro. These are some typical examples
665 of the ones that appeared on the blackboard outside the Kortin
● 795 Catholic Action centre: 'Mintoff is the enemy of the Church', 'Nobody can serve both God and the Devil', '"The Bishops are interfering in politics!" That is what Communists say,' and 'We don't want Communists among us!' In stating their case, Mintoff and his supporters did not mince words either, as the following slogans that appeared on the blackboard of the Kortin Labour Party club demonstrate: 'We want a chance in court about the $60,000 lie',[1] 'With the Papal flag in their hands and shouting for vengeance', 'A fish begins to stink from its head',[2] and 'In Gozo they told the women that we have tails.'

208 The popular slogan 'Either with the Bishop or against the
578 Church!' sums up the uncompromising attitude of the Church.
Most of the sanctions it has imposed have presented that choice
665 to the people in unequivocal terms. Early in May 1961, shortly
794 after the Labour leaders were interdicted, all Church lay societies
795 were instructed to obtain from each member a pledge of his full and unqualified support for the Archbishop. Those that declined to give this were expelled from the society concerned and their names reported to the national office of Catholic Action. But a more drastic sanction was imposed a few weeks later. After the
[793] Executive of the Labour Party had invited the Archbishop and the
[626] Bishop of Gozo to debate their policy in public at a Labour rally
in Cospicua, the Bishops replied to this insult by issuing a circular which declared it a mortal sin to print, write for, sell, buy, distribute or read the Labour Party newspapers. All confessors were instructed to put the necessary questions to their penitents.

578 Hence, to remain a Labour supporter, a person has to forego the
665 Church sacraments that he has been brought up to believe vital
794 to his happiness and spiritual salvation. This is a very serious
795 choice for a practising Catholic, and before these sanctions were
imposed, the Maltese were among the most devoutly Catholic
[851] people in the world. It has also meant that MLP supporters cannot

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[608] [1] This refers to the Archbishop's charge, made at a rally in March 1961, that Mintoff had received $61,000 from the allegedly Communist dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which the MLP had just joined.

[539] [2] A Maltese proverb meaning that corruption first becomes apparent among people in high places. This was presumably directed against the Archbishop.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

578

act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented 665
from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred 794
not to baptize their children. 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have [851]
stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything [608]
that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that [664]
there is nothing incompatible between support of their political
leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the
slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has
become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the [208]
Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it
does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue
to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have
been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized
their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for
personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does
not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This
attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters
who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the
military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist
and a practising Catholic at the same time.

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on
the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this
struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been
unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from
church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a [626]
confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone
to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very
difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to
live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people complained about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour
Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some
extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role
for the non-practising Catholic.

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed 115
up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. 578
We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked 665
him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the 794
Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Com- 795
munist by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am
829

578 young, I cannot even vote in the next election. But I must think
665 of the future. I feel that Mintoff is doing what is right for Malta.
794 He helped the poor people when he made the government. The
795 Church fights Mintoff because she fears she will lose her privileges
and power if he wins, and that he will tax her property. The
829 Church is in favour of keeping people ignorant, and limiting their
[115] education. Why? Because when people are educated they think
for themselves and can judge. They no longer follow blindly. Besides, you should not take too seriously all this talk of Communism – they are products of this fight. In a fight, people use all means available.'

The street sweeper who was with us understood most of the conversation and shook his head in disagreement. His only com-
[539] ment was the proverb, 'A ship with two captains can't sail' (*Il-vapur biż-żewġ kaptani ma jimxiex*). At this every one in the shop nodded in agreement, for both Labour and Church supporters had different captains in mind. Those who support the Archbishop look to him as the leader of the Maltese people. They make little distinction between Church and State. Labour supporters, in contrast, make a clear distinction. Mintoff is their candidate for head of State, and since they see the Archbishop as interfering with their choice, they accuse him of reaching out to control both Church and State.

II

578 At the village level, this conflict has brought about a bitter
665 division. All societies and groups which are not formally identi-
794 fied with one side or the other, have been divided and weakened
by politically based factions. The parish priest is the leader of
[793] those who support the Archbishop. His most enthusiastic followers are the clergy and the members of the lay societies. This group, with the other prominent villagers who make up the parish priest's circle, provide the hard core of the active opposition to the MLP. Considering the offices that they occupy and the societies to which they belong, it could hardly be otherwise. They usually meet in the club houses of the societies, but sometimes the older members meet in a particular café.

The hard core of the Labour group is made up of the officers of the local MLP Committee and the members who openly frequent the club. There is very little contact between the leaders and

463 Grand Harbour and first establish themselves in the conurbation
467 surrounding it has helped to keep the farmer devoutly tied to the
665 Church. For this reason the action of the MLP in challenging the authority of the Bishops is as abhorrent to him as it is difficult to understand.

463 The recent sanctions of the Church have increased the class alignment of those who support the Labour Party and those who
578 oppose it. This is largely because those with high social status have
665 more to lose than industrial workers, and are thus more vulner-
● 795 able to the pressure of public opinion and the Church. The increasingly heavy pressure of the Church has forced many of the
[626] young professionals and intellectuals to abandon the party for which they voted in 1955. But even when the MLP was in office, its policies began to alarm many in the professional and middle classes. They objected not only to Mintoff's attitude to the Church, but also to the somewhat abrupt way his government occasionally dealt with the professional and business communities. Many were disturbed by the MLP's rather sudden switch from advocating integration with Britain to demanding complete independence. As most of those who left the party or became inactive in it were moderates, both in their approach to the Church and to the economic and political problems facing Malta, the MLP has become more extreme in its outlook. This in turn
[656] induced others to leave it. This process was accelerated by the regulations which prohibited the better-educated civil servants from taking an active part in the political life of their country.

463 Table 7 below shows the rough correlation between occupational class and support of the Malta Labour Party. In particular,
665 it demonstrates that as the proportion of skilled workers decreases,
666 so does the proportion of voters who support Labour. Other variables are the number of professionals and farmers. The Second and Fourth Electoral Districts polled the highest number of Labour votes in the 1962 election, and the Sixth and Tenth the lowest. The MLP polled 56 per cent of the total votes in the Second Electoral District, where 45 per cent of the working population are classified as skilled labourers.

In contrast, it received only 6 per cent of the votes in Gozo, where only 16 per cent of the people are skilled labourers, but 38 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Another important variable is the number of clergy resident in a district. The relatively high

festa partit form the nucleus of his political following. It is not 575
surprising therefore that he should support the party they favour. 621

There is another interesting way in which festa partiti in general, 665
and secondary partiti in particular, are related to support for the
Labour Party. In all villages divided by these partiti, people have 621
become conditioned to opposing the authority of the Church in 578
connection with matters dealing with the celebration of feasts. 665
This, I suggest, has enabled them to accept the anti-clerical out- 795
look of the Labour Party more easily than the people of villages not so divided. An old stone-cutter in Kortin, who was procurator of one of the small chapels in the village, once unconsciously pointed to the structural similarity of the MLP and secondary festa partiti. We were discussing the resemblance of the Strickland crisis of thirty years ago to the present political dispute, when he pointed to the parish church and remarked, 'I've always been against them. I was for Strickland. I'm for Mintoff, and if we had partiti here, I would support the secondary feast.' There is, of course, a difference between the opposition of a secondary partit and that of the MLP. Nonetheless, both oppose the authority of the Church and both resort to attacks on the clergy to drive home their points of view. This is anti-clericalism. Both the festa partiti and the Labour Party make a distinction between the person and the office of the cleric they attack, and they appear to attack the former rather than the latter. But repeated attacks upon the person holding an office may weaken the office itself. Thus prolonged anti-clericalism can lead to anti-religious sentiment, or at least prepare the way for it. This, I feel, has happened in the case of the festa partiti.

In challenging the decisions of the Church relating to matters of 578
festa policy a festa partisan often resorts to violence. He frightens 621
the priest with home-made bombs to show his displeasure, to try 79
and change the decision and even to compel him to leave the [626]
village. But he never attacks the ultimate right of the Church or its ministers to make those decisions. Indeed, some friends in Farruġ were quite shocked when I suggested that they were doing just this. On the other hand, this constant rebellion against the authority of the Church has accustomed people to being at odds for long periods with their parish priests as well as with the Archbishop. During these times, they often ignore what the Church has to say if it does not agree with the point of view they

578 hold. This is the accepted pattern of behaviour, not only in
villages divided by festa partiti, but also in others which have dis-
621 putes with the Church. But it is only in the villages with festa
79 partiti that these disputes, and the related anti-clerical action, take
place on a regularly recurring basis. In these villages, though people are devout in observing many details of their religion, constant opposition to the parish priest in matters connected with festas has led them to look upon a measure of anti-clericalism as part of their way of life.

The relative lack of respect for the clergy in these villages has
578 been partly responsible for a rather high turnover of parish
621 priests. It has been shown how uncomfortable festa partiti can
554 make the life of a parish priest. This, plus the meagre living in the
793 smaller parishes, prompts priests to look for openings in wealthier
and less troublesome villages. The Church itself regards the small rural parishes as training or 'stepping-stone parishes', as a monsignor from the Curia once described them to me. But even as such, they are unpopular, and the Archbishop often has difficulty finding priests willing to take charge of them. Farrug, for example, has had six parish priests since 1953. The lack of continuity of Church leadership in these small, divided villages has tended to weaken its influence there and to foster a lack of respect for its authority.

In this social climate the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party
578 fits without great difficulty. Labour supporters have already had
621 experience as festa partisans in ignoring the commands of the
665 Church, and in enduring the taunts and disapproval of their rivals
795 in the other partit. For them anti-clericalism is nothing new, and
they are thus not as vulnerable to public opinion and the sanctions
[626] of the Church as persons in villages which do not have this
tradition of opposition to the Church.

But if there is a certain similarity between the anti-clerical behaviour of many festa enthusiasts and that of MLP supporters, most persons make a distinction between the two. The anti-clerical actions of the festa partiti are usually directed against particular clerics in connection with specific decisions. In contrast, the anti-clericalism of the Labour Party is directed at the Archbishop in particular and often at all priests in general. This difference stems from the fact that basically their challenge to the authority of the Church differs significantly. Where the festa partisan does

not rationalize the distinction he makes between the person and 578
the office of the cleric he attacks, though his behaviour shows that 621
he does make one, the Labour supporter often proclaims that he 665
makes such a distinction, when in fact he does not. The MLP not 795
only challenges the statements of the Archbishop which apply to the political scene, but often questions his right to make them. This explains the difference in the reaction of the Church to the two forms of anti-clericalism.

I have suggested that the one prepares the way for the other. The rebellious atmosphere created by the disputes between the festa partiti is, I believe, as important a factor as occupational class in explaining the relatively high degree of open support the Labour Party has in the southern villages. The extent of this support, especially in the smaller villages, in spite of the sanctions of the Church, came as a surprise to some of the leaders of the MLP, who had always thought of them as dominated by their parish priests, like the small villages in Gozo. But in the spring of 1961, the small villages of Kirkop, Dingli and Gudja were placed first, second and third in an MLP competition to find the community which had the greatest proportion of new Party members. I suggest that the support for the MLP in these three villages is due not so much to their proportion of industrial labourers, which in any case is not particularly high (23, 20 and 35 per cent respectively),[1] as to their strong tradition of rebellion against the authority of the Church. Kirkop and Gudja both have active festa partiti of long standing, and while Dingli has no festa partiti now, the village has a long history of opposition to its parish priests. For example, shortly after the First World War, the Dingli Social Club had an argument with the parish priest, and for many years after, members celebrated the national feast on 8 September, instead of the patronal feast of the Assumption, simply to annoy him.

V

But whatever complex and diverse reasons people have for taking 178
sides, the division has given rise to conflict in most villages. In 578
this respect Kortin is no different, as the slogans displayed during 621
the battle of the blackboards indicated. The division has cut right

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[1] *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 41–2.

VI

It is of course an open question how much longer the intense 178
partit spirit can survive in the face of the political division now 578
cutting across all *festa partiti*. In Farrug the division between the 621
festa partiti, such a strong force in the past, is now of less importance
as a principle of social organization than the rivalry
between the supporters and opponents of the MLP. The relative 178
importance in Farrug, as everywhere, of this latter division is
directly related to the intensity of the conflict at the national level 578
between the MLP and the Church. If it decreases, so will that at the 665
village level. But the longer it lasts, the more difficult it will be to 795
remove it completely from the social scene. Both the Church and
the Labour Party, through their respective societies, committees
and social clubs, are building up an institutional framework that is
incorporating this political opposition on a permanent basis in all
villages. This is taking place in much the same way as the confraternities
and social clubs a hundred years ago made permanent
the conflict between rival factions competing over the celebration
of saints.

The rivalry between the Church and the MLP, as well as that between competing political parties, reflects the increasing involvement of the villager in the political life of his country. It was perhaps only due to Malta's peculiar position as a colony and an island fortress, a role which effectively prevented the development of an active internal political life of the more conventional kind, that competition over church privileges and saints was able to assume the importance it has. It is not surprising that the changing nature of Malta's strategic and constitutional position should alter the tempo and character of its internal political life. [621]
In the villages, this change is reflected in the weakening of the *festa partiti* by national political issues.

[p. 134]

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

128 This study has been concerned with Maltese village politics. It has looked at the ways in which persons and groups compete to influence the outcome of disputes and community decisions in accordance with their own interests. In particular, it has examined the nature of the groups, the issues between them and the means by which they influenced their outcome. The various groups involved varied from parishes to political parties, and from associations to factions. The issues between them, though they also varied, all had one thing in common: in one way or another they involved the Church. Whether the competition between parishes for the title of Basilica, between festa partiti over their saints or between the supporters of Mintoff and their opponents, all were somehow related to the Church. Much of the political action we studied involved attempts to influence its decisions.

175 It may now be asked why the Church is so intimately involved in political activity at all levels. Part of the answer lies in history, ● 795 for in the absence of any form of civil government at the village level, the Church represented the interests of the people to the secular authorities governing the islands: first to the Knights of St. John, and later to the British. Thus for centuries the Church played the important political role of defender of the interests of the people. Its importance in the political and its dominance in the 795 religious sphere reinforced each other. It is not strange that at the village level the Church controls the outcome of many of the issues considered of importance to the community, since for centuries a village has had little corporate reality outside the religious framework. That is, it only assumes some semblance of [7 94] group solidarity or unity as a parish. As a parish its inhabitants own property, meet for worship, celebrate feasts, have a collective leader in their parish priest and a common symbol and patron in their titular saint. As members of a village, considered as a community outside the structure of the Church, they have and can do none of these things.

none of these things. This study of village politics has thus been 795 largely concerned with parish politics. In this field the Church is the arbiter of all issues of policy. It is therefore the authority that hands down decisions on matters which concern the community; it is also the authority against which disappointed petitioners rebel.

II

At the national level, the picture is similar. Since the Church for 578 so long has represented the interests of a solidly Catholic people 654 *vis-à-vis* the State, it has always exercised considerable influence, if 665 not authority, in matters of national policy. Hence some groups 795 have often disagreed with its decisions. Both during the late 'twenties and early 'thirties and more recently, political parties have rebelled against its authority. Their rebellions have given rise to conflicts that have divided the country.

Though the Maltese do not regard this conflict as permanent, it would seem from its recurrence during Malta's only two periods of sustained representative government that it is, in fact, inherent in the social system. That is, it has followed almost inevitably upon the introduction of elected government into a society linked as closely with the Church as Malta is. Issues of national policy, which in countries where the Church is not such an integral part of society would be regarded as purely political and devoid of religious content, in Malta become matters on which the Church feels obliged to make known its views. Disputes arise when the views of a political party differ from those held by the Church. The party then accuses the Church of interfering in politics, and is in turn charged by the Church with being anti-clerical. Political issues become religious ones, or, seen from another point of view, religious ones become political. But in the dispute which follows, people from all walks of life are forced to make a choice between Church and political party. The resulting conflict divides the islands into bitterly opposed factions.

The persistence of this conflict, of course, is partly dependent upon the continuing survival of a political party at variance with the Church. In the past this was Strickland's Constitutional Party; at present it is the Malta Labour Party; in the future it may be yet another. The conflict which divided the country thirty years ago diminished after Strickland made peace with the Church; it

578 disappeared when the old Constitutional Party died out in the long
period of Governor's rule and the war that followed. At present,
659 however, the MLP shows no signs of weakening. On the contrary,
665 it is as tightly united and strong today as it has ever been. Thus
795 this conflict will in all probability continue to divide Malta and
Gozo in the foreseeable future, though its intensity may fluctuate.

It is well to remember that this study was carried out at a time
114 when the hostility between these two camps was at its peak. Some
578 of the examples that have been given, therefore, are extreme cases
659 which would have been quite inconceivable even ten years ago.
665 It is also possible that ten years hence they will appear equally
strange. But this does not detract from the relevance of the
795 analysis, for if the examples given are ephemeral, the principles
which they illustrate are permanent.

III

578 In many respects the rebellion of a political party against the
659 authority of the Bishop is similar to that of a festa partit against its
parish priest. There is an important difference, however; the festa
665 partit can appeal an unfavourable decision of its parish priest to
795 the Archbishop. If the latter rules against the partit, it can bring
pressure to bear that may result in the transfer of the parish priest.
[626] A political party, on the other hand, cannot appeal the unfavourable decisions of the Bishop to any local authority, for in his diocese his word is law. Though in theory such disputes can be referred to the Holy See, in practice, as in the case of Strickland's conflict with the Church, they fester for so long that by the time Rome is brought in reconciliation is difficult, if not impossible. If in practice a political party cannot appeal to a higher authority, it can even less agitate for the replacement of the Bishop. Thus disputes remain unresolved and the supporters of the political party become progressively more anti-clerical. Finally, their anti-clericalism is equated with anti-Catholicism, and their rebellion against authority with revolt against the social order.

But is it in fact a revolution? It is important to draw a clear distinction between rebellion and revolution.[1] In the case of the former, people may turn against a leader personally, and may

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[1] Cf. Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 28.

even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the 578
office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only 659
the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social 665
order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has
strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in 795
insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration
scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never
suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the
Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as
though he were bent on overthrowing the established social
order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The
extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP
and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill
the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is
in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt
against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour
supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of
countries which have fought successful battles against the Church.
Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still
like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are
beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, 205
'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the 656
Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose 668
by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its
way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number
of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A
few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

IV

But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly 578
united communities, life goes on and the social order does not 621
disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively
little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the 665
Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often 794
caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married
into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion
from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the
Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

578 there have been remarkably few of the overtly hostile attacks,
common when festa partiti are registering disagreement. What
621 accounts for the qualitative difference in the violence between the
665 groups involved in these two types of conflict? What prevents the
794 national political conflict from degenerating into widespread
violence, from destroying normal relations, thus making
shambles of the social order? Is it merely the presence of a large,
efficient police force?

In point of fact, there are many institutions and ties that operate
578 to exert pressure on the opponents to reach a settlement, and so
621 prevent the dispute from destroying the social system. The most
important of the factors that inhibit the spread of conflict is the
626 existence of persons whose loyalties are divided between the con-
665 flicting sides. Such persons have a vested interest in the main-
795 tenance of peace and limitation of the area of conflict.[1]

The considerable difference between the disputes of festa partiti with the Church, and the conflict between the Church and the Labour Party, has been stressed. The disputes involving festa partiti are localized, their course is highly formalized, there are acknowledged peace-makers: they are clearly rebellions in the sense that Gluckman uses. These disputes are also tightly circumscribed by customary safeguards which keep them from spreading and channel them through set stages until they have been resolved. It is patterned action which, in spite of its occasional violence, does not threaten the position of the Church. In contrast, the conflict between the MLP and the Church is not localized, it is not circumscribed by a body of custom which keeps it from spreading, and there are no acknowledged peace-makers who can mediate between the disputants. Not only is it inherent, it is irresolubie. There is an air of revolt about it and if it were allowed to run to the violence of some of the clashes between festa partiti and the Church, it could throw the country into civil war. The violence of the festa partiti does not threaten the social order, that between supporters of the Church and the MLP would.

What keeps the conflict from becoming more violent are the thousands of persons who have their allegiances divided between the Church and the Labour Party. All these people work to keep the conflict from spreading, if not actually to make peace. Who are they? They are the countless persons whose families have been

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[1] *Ibid., passim.*

divided by the conflict, the office-holders who have laid politics 578
aside to preserve the unity of the clubs for which they are responsible, 621
the many who have sought to avoid open commitments to 626
either side, and to remain in contact with both. They are the 665
people who, in spite of all that has been preached and said against them by both sides, still look to both the Archbishop and Mintoff as their leaders, the one in the religious sphere, the other in the political. They see nothing inconsistent in hanging pictures of the two side by side in their houses. All have a vested interest in peace; and all work in their own way to keep the conflict from spreading and destroying completely their customary way of life.

At one time the entire civil service worked to prevent the 578
spread of conflict in much the same way. When the Labour 626
Party took over the government many civil servants, forced by 647
the nature of their office to carry out the orders of the party in 665
power, were obliged to administer policies which were contrary 795
to the declared interests of the Church. Their loyalties were thus often divided between the two. Some of the higher civil servants carried messages between the two sides. Others called at the Curia merely to assure the Church that they implemented unwillingly the controversial policies. Yet others acted quietly in their own various ways to reduce the tension between government and Church that made their own positions so uncomfortable. Civil servants at all levels thus worked to keep the Church and the Labour Government in touch with each other and exerted considerable pressure to prevent the relations between the two from deteriorating even more. But their conciliatory influence came to an end when the Labour Party resigned. It is not surprising, therefore, that with the removal of this bridge between the MLP and the Church, the conflict became more intense almost immediately.

The two sides are now linked together only by the many persons 578
with conflicting allegiances. Yet their ability to keep the 626
conflict from spreading is slowly being reduced by the uncompromising 665
position of the Church which is forcing them to take sides openly. 795
As these persons reluctantly do so, the important cross links that tie the two combatants together are snapped off one by one, and the conflict becomes progressively more intense.

V

578 What of the future? It would seem likely that the present con-
665 flict will continue. The dispute between the Church and the
Labour Party has become institutionalized in many villages
795 through their respective associations and social clubs. The major
political activity at the village level will thus most likely continue
to be a reflection of that at the national level. It will be a dispute
between those who wish to preserve the identity of the village as
a parish, with the dependence upon the Church that it implies,
and the secular elements who wish to establish the village as a
578 political unit apart from the Church. But there will also be other
conflicting groups, such as the festa partiti, which will continue
621 to manipulate this political division to their own advantage. The
665 leader of one of the secondary festa partiti indicated to me how
795 this may take place. He was discussing the recent attempts of the
[626] Association of Secondary Feasts to increase the scale of its mem-
bers' feasts, and concluded by remarking, 'If the Archbishop
doesn't increase our feast this year, ninety per cent of the club will
vote for Mintoff in the coming election.' Thus in the future, as in
the past, the Church will continue to be one of the central actors
in the drama of Maltese village politics.

body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, 782
thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no patho-
logy they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 532
'legs were offered for paralysis, congenital anomalies and chronic ulcers in the lower 755
limbs; 'arms' and 'hands' for fractures and threatened loss of fingers by injury or gan-
grene; 'ears' for deafness and otitis; and 'eyes' for a variety of ocular diseases. Some-
times, however, the association of illness and anatomical part is not so specific; thus
'trunks' were offered for such varied conditions as throat affections, hernias, and mental
disorder; 'faces' for enlarged glands in the neck; and pairs of female 'breasts' for defi-
ciency of milk in a lactating mother as well as disease of these organs.

They were made of wax or of raised work in gold and silver foil. Those met with at 782
present are the silver ones, the others having disappeared from the churches though
they were still being offered at the end of the last century if not later. There are records 532
of wax effigies of arms, legs, eyes, and babies and also of gold ones having been deposited [325]
at that period at Ta Pinu Church at Gharb in Gozo. A pair of gold legs cost £17
(*Id-devot ta Maria* 1890; Kerr 1893). Wax figures also existed until some thirty years ago
in the small church of Tal Mirakli at Lija (Tanti 1962). These objects were manufac- [439]
tured in Malta but some of them were imported from Sicily and North Africa. The gold [325]
and silver foil was hammered into the desired shape over dies of bronze by a silversmith
(Plate 1, Fig. 3). They vary in size from 6 by 2½ inches to 1 by 3½ inches. Some of them
bear hall-marks which help to date them and identify the source of manufacture. The
earliest met so far by the writer is a stylized silver model (in the writer's collection) of a pair [422]
of female breasts impressed with the hall-marks of the Grand Master of the Order of St.
John of Jerusalem, Em. de Rohan who ruled over the Maltese Islands from 1775 to 1797.

The deposition of anatomical 'ex-votos' in Maltese churches ceased in 1935. The
ecclesiastical council held in that year in Malta under the presidency of Cardinal H. 782
Lepicier disallowed the exhibition of 'votive offerings showing parts of the human body 532
except those in the shape of a heart', (*Concilium*, 1935, p. 60), so that the present-day 795 ●
visitor will hardly see anything else except 'hearts' hanging by the statues of the saints to
whom they were offered by grateful devotees. The more 'profane' models have been
melted and converted into sacred utensils for the church service.

Very occasionally instead of an anatomical representation, we come across a silver 211
tablet commemorating deliverance from illness. Here is a specimen inscribed in Latin: 164

P. Trapani cum suis / A. MDCCCLXXXVII / Ab Asiana Lue /
Incolumos (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1888).

that is P. Trapani and his family spared from the Asiatic Disease of the year 1887.

(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the [731]
last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of [165]
over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and 782
by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These 755
actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from
the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in
which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

361 Map 3, showing density of population by localities for 1957, closely reflects the built-up area pattern. Broadly-speaking it resembles Map 4 (residence of Dockyard workers) but here the emphasis on Valletta and Sliema, and all the northern part of the Urban zone, is notably less.

THE VILLAGE

621 [361] Maltese rural society is essentially composed of village communities each occupying a compact settlement[8]. There are some three dozen villages in the rural area of the Islands[9] among which there is considerable variation in site, date of foundation, morphology, population (B/561) and economic structure (B/361), but throughout the Islands there is a uniformity of function within the village as a community group. This makes it possible to speak of "the Maltese Village" from the point of view of social structure, and allows a qualifying classification into types on the basis of the features mentioned.

17 Maltese society as a whole, and particularly the rural part of it, is to some extent cut off from outside influences by virtue of the insular position of the country, cultural as well as geographical. Yet the Islands have clearly at no time in their history been independent of Europe to the north, Africa to the south and Asia to the east. Quite patently the opposite has been the case and Malta, as ever the mute pawn of great powers, has absorbed its material and moral culture from abroad just as it has received additions to its population whether coming as traders, invaders, or settlers, for four thousand years. But the Islands have put their own stamp on these arrivals so that a discussion such as this must take account of both autochthonous developments within the Islands, as well as those of wider origin.

17 621 The elements within the traditional Maltese village were, briefly, the Roman Catholic Church and clergy, the landed class, and the mass of the population - an illiterate peasantry. 'Traditional' here refers to rural society as it existed in Malta one, two or three centuries ago.

This is not to say that the traditional has been erased from the present scene but rather that recent moves towards literacy, emancipation and communication, and a greater range of amenities within the Islands, have diversified and modified the traditional aspects to produce a variety of different [793] [795] types in place of the social uniformity of the past. But the traditional nucleus within the village, the Parish Priest and the Parish Church retain their pivotal role. The modification of this role is very apparent but the place of the Church has been affected far less in the country districts

17 621 793 795 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard developments and other industrialization have produced a new kind of social environment. This is an important subject in itself but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the rural districts where change has to date been slower than in the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

175 621 793 871 In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10] extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were the teachers, doctors, and legal advisers as well as spiritual guardians of the people. Government-organized education began in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the population was not. This concentration of learning produced a situation in which only the clergy were able to step forward to take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended [669] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolutionary [648] leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 795 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the [874] University came strongly under the influence of the Church, for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long standing, [178] was and still is best known for its Theology. However, during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth. The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric [178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociological importance during the present century has been the growth of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces which are today tending to detract from the traditional omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will loom much larger than at present in the country districts and in Gozo[11].

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility
have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of
the villages in which they maintain their country seats and
draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always
[793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A
squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the
functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire
have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the
Parish Priest.

621 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part
795 of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made
up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or
565 indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within
this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote.
There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and
attended the same services at the same times each day of every
[203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion
of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to
general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal,
621 patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held
565 on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator.
241 The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single
423 unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same
[611] cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers
were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals,
[591] but accepted stratification within the village went no further
than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience
197 were the limits of the village. Contact between villages,
even where close together, was slight and invariably less
than that between the individual village and Valletta.
Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between
villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic
dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban
area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the
rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically
broader vowels, harsher gutturals and fewer European words
and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of
rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential
independence of the village within the traditional rural
628 scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish
186 rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs,
[794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of
Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is
worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged
to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

628 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gozo that a
186 man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to
point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some
comparatively recent date[13].

Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic
621 structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese
793 village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest,
795 and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely
an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church
by the new features and modifications of the old landscape
in the present.

175 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young
361 Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement
has acquired the essential features common to rural society
throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church
[172] in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1580[14]. Evidence, too,
of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat
(2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the
village.

However, in the early part of the nineteenth century,
175 farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now
361 the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of
793 the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell
795 (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general
movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918. Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area per-
175 manently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a
346 full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and
[793] settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a
new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the population of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911).
[463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect con-
cerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

By The mid-Thirties Mġarr had
175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[365] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most con-
[491] struction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the
blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty
shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity
of the village destroying two houses and killing three
people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr
prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed
not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced
as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the
Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong
[241] a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege
even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired
the normal characteristics of community life of village
Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village
[794] has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the
extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point
[544] of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened
in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from
the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food
and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of
the countryside, further swell the range of goods available
on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[494] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a
[178] generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs
each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older
settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement
in the village - though it is notably active there, and of
the Confraternities which are numerous in the older
settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

795 Another Malta-wide authority is the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the farmer than is 'Il-Gvern' for in the normal practice of his religion he leans directly on the local church and priests.

829 To the farmer 'Gvern' is synonomous with control. Illiteracy has, in the past, made it very difficult for him to view authority with anything but suspicion. This has not been made easier by incompetent and condescending elements within officialdom whose actions, if any, have confirmed the doubts of the small farmer striving to provide his family with a living despite the odds against him - of which 'Gvern' was one.

178
654 Today the picture is changing. It is official policy to "encourage investment and to improve farming methods so as to raise the efficiency of the industry to a level where it can provide a decent livelihood for those engaged in it"[38].

178
156
829 The farmers' reactions to efforts on his behalf are particularly important at this crucial stage in the progress of agriculture in the Islands. Essentially his outlook retains mubh of the traditional reserve and caution of the illiterate peasant, an attitude apparent also in two further contexts, the organization within farming itself (Unions, Co-Operatives, etc.), and the farmers' attitudes towards society in general and rural society in particular.

829 The three aspects of the problem may be re-phrased as

(i) the farmer's attitudes to officialdom, espec-
156 the Department of Agriculture, and 'Il-Gvern' generally,

(ii) his attitude towards other farmers and towards the industry as a whole,

(iii) his position as a member of a socially 'low' class within Malta.

[561] Within each of these the present gulf between the younger generation, with a degree of education and emancipation, and the older (including most of the Islands' full-time farmers) produces a further conflict of attitudes and aspirations.

654

THE FARMER AND GOVERNMENT

Official interest in agricultural development has increased very rapidly during the present decade and now includes a wide variety of measures aimed at improving farming by financial support and investment. These have been outlined in Section 2. There has also been an attempt to educate the farmer in better suited techniques and to make him aware of improvements which, it is believed, will increase the profit from his farm or herd. The problem here is seen to be twofold:

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P. 101]
[PP. 1-100 not processed]

VI

THE OLD THINGS

> "Little or no distinction can be drawn between classic Myth and popular Fairy-tale: Myth was obviously once Fairy-tale, and what is often supposed to be mere Fairy-tale proves in many instances to be unsuspected Theology."—HAROLD BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

". . . But what made the People of the Hills go away?" Una asked. "Different things . . ." said Puck. "Most of them were foreigners who couldn't stand our climate. The fact is they began as Gods. The Phoenicians brought some . . . and the Gauls and the Jutes and the Danes and the Frisians and the Angles."[1]

It was not quite fair of Puck to talk of the Old Things as "foreigners." They have no nation. They belong to all nations. Puck himself is the "Mikum-Wess" of the American Indians, Pan of the Greeks, Krishna of the Hindus. The stories that men tell of him, the clothes he wears, the language he talks, may differ, but he is still Puck. He only seems a native.

As with comparative religion, so is it with folklore. All returns, full circle, to a point where pagan faiths, myths, customs, are rooted in some Age of Beginnings when Man was a frightened, groping child.

"After a while men simply left the Old Things alone . . ." Puck goes on. "The roofs of their temples fell in, and the Old Things had to scuttle out and pick up a living as they could."[2] Malta had been Christian and the Temple of Bel a waste of stones for centuries when Weland still held sway in England. It seems, therefore, the more surprising that traces of the "Old Things" remain in islands so anciently and 178 795

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[1] *Puck of Pook's Hill.*

[2] *Puck of Pook's Hill*

178 795 so fervently Christian. The reason lies, perhaps, in their Catholicism. The Faith has a tolerant and not unfriendly eye for many of the Old Things. It is hard to think of St. Francis being unkind to a leprechaun.

The savants make much argument about Malta's folklore. The wish being often father to their able reasoning, they will prove from it that the Maltese are Phoenician or Arab or Italian with equal conviction. Like the Cornishman who will tell you that the Hobby Horse was invented to frighten away the French, the people themselves know little if anything of the reasons why certain tales are told, certain things done; but, from birth to grave, the Old Things—often recognisable, but always with their peculiar Maltese twist—make intermittent appearances in the lives of Zeppu[1] and Grez.[1]

Some of them even have so far won the good opinion of Mother Church as to be granted a place in her own ceremonies.

ON GETTING BORN

844 824 The Maltese baby—boy or girl—gets born with very little fuss, and is always welcome. In Gozo, or in what remains of country, some friend of the mother will assist the arrival of the little one, bringing into the house with her the withered bud of a certain rose. The flower is placed in water and slowly opens. At the moment of its fullest opening the child is born. 844 824 171 Here is clearly a very ancient magic. The association of the rose with Motherhood, with Life, and indeed with Godhead itself, is as old as time. In the Litany of Loretto, the Virgin Mother is invoked as "Rosa Mystica"—"Mystical Rose." Dante saw the innermost circle of the heavenly spheres as a rose. The Brahmins, the Persians, and the Jews all attached 844 824 a high mystic symbolism to the rose. The simple peasant, setting her rosebud in water, little knows what forgotten gods

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[1] Popular personifications of the peasant and his wife.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

There is a *Hares*, too, who guards all hidden treasure. 776 If you are a deserving person he will lead you to the treasure; but you must never, on pain of death by strangulation, tell anyone how you discovered it.

There are persistent tales in Malta of a priceless treasure, hidden by the builders of the prehistoric temples. This treasure is known as "The Golden Bull," and is guarded by a most terrible and powerful *Hares*. No one has ever found it because, though some few have been selected by the *Hares* to be led to its hiding place, they have been unable to keep his secret, and he has strangled them together with the friends in whom they have confided.

There seems little reason to doubt that the Golden Bull is [174] a legacy of the old gods—possibly of Mithra or Osiris—and that the great snake-like *Hares* who guards the treasure is no other than Set, guardian of the underworld. Perhaps the Bull exists, hidden deep in one of Malta's many caves.

There may be peasants who know where it is. Amongst the moor-folk of Devon and the peasants of Ireland there are many who know the whereabouts of the "crocks of gold," buried by the Pixies and the leprechauns; but none would dare disturb "Fairy Gold." So it is with the Maltese peasant. He would be a bold man who had dealings with the "Golden Bull."

From a very tender age the little Maltese will be occupied 538 in learning his Catechism and the significance of the rites and [795] ceremonies of his faith. Though busied in this way there will be time, in the long winter evenings, for "Fairy Tales." Usually one member of the family will be able to read. If none [212] can read someone will certainly know all the old tales and legends by heart, and will be expert in the correct way of recounting them. The family will gather round the story-teller and all, from grandmother to youngest grandchild, will listen with close attention to tales which many of them have heard hundreds of times.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

If the Church in Malta thus lost its right of granting asylum, its Head acquired at an even earlier stage of the British occupation another right which is carefully preserved to the present day. In 1801 Major-General Pigot, then in charge of the administration and in command of the troops, issued the following Standing Order to the "Garrison of La Valette and its Dependencies": 793 659 554

> His Eminence the Bishop of Malta is to receive from all guards honour due to a Brigadeer [*sic*] General.

When, after the First World War, the rank of Brigadier-General was abolished, the Archbishop of Malta was promoted, from the point of view of military compliments, to be a Major-General; and the guard never fails to turn out to him every day that he crosses the Palace Square.

It is sometimes said that the privilege was granted in recognition of the military services of Bishop Francis Xavier Caruana, who as Canon Caruana played a leading rôle in the rising against the French in 1798–1800. But this story is picturesque rather than probable, seeing that the salute to the Bishop was ordered in 1801 and Canon Caruana did not become Bishop of Malta until thirty years later. Its origin lay no doubt in the wish of the Occupying Power to demonstrate in a public manner its respect for the Church of Malta and its Head.

For the Roman Catholic Church is in Malta by law established; its canon law is, as in Quebec, the law of the land. It follows that contact between Church and State is close, and this contact is not confined, on the part of the representatives of the State, to relations with the hierarchy but is maintained equally with the parish clergy. The link finds its formal and public expression on the 2nd February of each year, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the ceremony of Candlemas, the "Candelora." On the morning of this day all the parish priests, wearing their best cassocks, repair to the Palace in Valetta, and one 795 659 796

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

795 by one, as the names of their parishes are called out, advance
659 to the Governor's throne and present to him a large and
heavy wax candle, generally embellished with painted
796 decorations.

This Candlemas ceremony has been maintained uninterruptedly from the days when the State was the Order of S. John; and the Governor takes this occasion, as did his predecessors the Grand Masters, to address the assembly on the problems of the day, with particular emphasis on the manner in which Church and State can best co-operate for the benefit of the people. It gives the Governor of Malta the same sort of opportunity, *mutatis mutandis*, to make public pronouncements on matters of policy as the British Prime Minister is given at the Lord Mayor's Banquet. A collation brings this happy and useful function to a close.

Here it may be added that the Governor retains, as the successor of the Grand Masters, certain ecclesiastical patronage, such as the nomination to the post of Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Malta and the right of presentation to various benefices. A survival of another sort from the days of the Knights is the religious corporation known as the Collegiate Church of S. Paul's Grotto at Rabat, whose Canons still wear at their ceremonies the habit, *stolone* and cross of the Order.

The principal industry of the Maltese islands is agriculture,
241 and the Maltese, despite the stony nature of their land, are
433 skilful and industrious farmers with a wonderful knack of
extracting the utmost from the soil, despite methods
necessarily somewhat primitive since their fields are too
small for modern agricultural machinery. Maltese potatoes
and Maltese oranges have a high reputation. Vegetables
are good, especially tomatoes; wheat does well where there
[439] is room to grow it. But the islands can produce only a
fraction of their annual consumption of cereals, and much
251 has therefore to be imported from outside. Among the most
178 familiar features surviving from the era of the Knights are

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XXI

After the Second World War

727 795 TO THE STORM AND STRESS OF THE WAR YEARS SUCCEEDED other activities imposed by other pressures. Urgent was the need to repair the bombed areas; to stabilize an economy disturbed by war and post-war conditions; to speed up emigration from the world's most heavily overcrowded political unit; to take into consideration the ferment in men's minds which prolonged wars on a major scale have never yet failed to generate. The circumstance that the ferment took less unsettling forms in Malta than in some other parts of a war-distracted world may be ascribed to the steadying influence of the Church.

727 648 652 Britain herself, though bowing beneath the weight of unprecedented taxation, did not fail to recognize the needs and deserts of her Maltese bulwark. "There will be general agreement," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons in 1942, "that the outstanding gallantry shown by the people of Malta in the face of enemy attacks of unprecedented length and severity calls for some special recognition." A first free gift of ten million pounds, made there and then by the British Government for restoration of war damage and reconstruction, was followed by an additional grant of twenty millions for the same purposes. To these were added substantial and still continuing annual grants of several millions a year in aid of the local revenue.

643 701 From 1813 to 1946, except for one four-year interval, the Governors of Malta had been distinguished serving soldiers—Field-Marshals and Generals on the Active List of the Army and Commanders-in-Chief, not only in name but in effect,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

in favour of integration	67,607	64
against	20,177	666
invalid votes	2,559	668
votes cast	90,343	

As the names on the Electoral Register totalled 152,583 the number of those who refrained from voting was 62,240; [795] and it was assumed that most of the abstentions were due to the misgivings of the Church, which, if not openly hostile to the plan, was certainly not articulate in its favour. Obviously, too, the implications of the proposal far transcended purely constitutional issues: the entire Maltese economy was involved, with inevitable changes in the standard of living and economic consequences for good or ill difficult to forecast. Such terms as "parity" and "equivalence" were added to the slogans of the day.

Those opposed, for one reason or another, to Integration as propounded by Mr Mintoff argued that the poll, although showing a majority *of those voting* as in favour of the proposal, had certainly not resulted in the clear, unmistakable overall majority envisaged as necessary by the Round Table Conference. Her Majesty's Government shared this view to the extent of deciding that the Maltese electors should have another opportunity to pronounce themselves on the subject. On the 28th March 1956, after a debate in the House of Commons, Sir Anthony Eden announced the Government's intention of implementing the Round Table Conference Report in a Bill to be drafted in two parts, the first to contain a new Constitution for Malta, the second to deal with Maltese representation at Westminster. But the Maltese people would be enabled once more to declare their views on Integration at a General Election, to be held in Malta before the United Kingdom Bill finally became law.

The position, then, by the middle of 1956 was that under the constitutional arrangements proposed by the Round Table Conference and accepted by Her Majesty's

their designation with a certain tolerant wisdom. Not so the present young 178
generation in the farming community for whom education and material facilities 241
have presented the chance of escape from a social inferiority complex.

The village was traditionally the community-group in rural Malta. Contact 369
with the towns and Valletta was limited, especially for the villages of the west [628]
and in Gozo, until buses, press and rediffusion narrowed the gulf, but it was
hardly less than the contacts between the villages themselves. The village was
the group for most social interaction. Currently, the trend is towards a Malta-wide community-group in which villages are losing much of their isolation,
although there is very little uniformity in this process. Sub-urban villages are
clearly absorbing non-rural characteristics much more quickly than is the case
in outlying parts of the Islands.

The nucleus of village life is the Church and the first citizen is the Parish
Priest. The Priest combined teaching and general advisory duties with his 793
spiritual role (see Chapter VI C). He was also the main link with the world outside the village through his relaying of general news from his pulpit. Normally,
land transfers and a wide variety of matters connected with the agricultural
cycle were announced by the Priest. The Church was the social meeting place
and the basis of institutionalised activity. Even the village *festa*, that single day
of wild exuberance, noise, fire-works, procession and carnivalesque has as its [796]
pretext a religious observance such as the honouring of the particular Saint of
the village or the National Feast of the Shipwreck of St. Paul. In all this, the
link between Priest and people was often further cemented by wide kinship
connexions within the village. The son of an illiterate farmer might progress [555]
through Seminary and University to return to his home village as a priest and
to be claimed as a relative by many members of that static and much intermarried community.

Such proximity, together with the very number of the priesthood in any parish
made for a familiarity with the personnel of the Church just as confession,
fasting, observance of Saints' and other special days, quite apart from the daily
Mass, made for close acquaintance with its practice.

It is convenient to use the past tense in the foregoing only because the picture 178
sketched has been modified in recent decades. It is however still the essential
basis of communal life, especially in the rural community which, as suggested,
holds to traditional custom longer than does the town. The modifications which
have appeared are important in this present consideration because they lie
behind the current social upheaval in which the individual countryman is being
faced with a clash of new against old. If, as seems possible, he leaps to the new
so completely as to relinquish the old entirely, then the traditional order of
society will disappear along with the agricultural system on which it is based.
This is the problem of the farmer in Maltese rural society.

An early non-religious movement was that of the Band Clubs; the first 575
appeared in Rabat in 1860. But even these came to be identified with particular
Churches and also with parish rivalries. The Band Club grew to become a major
feature of social life in both town and country in Malta, although in Gozo it has
had only a limited extension outside Victoria.

The Band Club is essentially a male organisation. Women have never been 562
more than tolerated spectators and, to this extent, the movement reflects the [575]
place of women in Maltese society. Emancipation of women has spread into the
countryside from the towns but even today women take an undemonstrative part
in village activity and their movement outside the home is largely confined to [462]
Church-going, shopping and possibly field-work. The modern young woman who
has had at least eight years schooling seeks paid employment beyond the house
and fields. In rural circles the tendency is still to frown mightily at such a
suggestion but it can only be a matter of a few years before what is now accepted
in Valletta becomes tolerated in rural Gozo.

Functional diversification has been the keynote of twentieth century village 178
society in the Maltese Islands. There is no evidence to show that there is any
challenge to the position of the Parish Priest in matters religious (the situation
has been less satisfactory from the point of view of the Church in urban Malta)

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

● 1796
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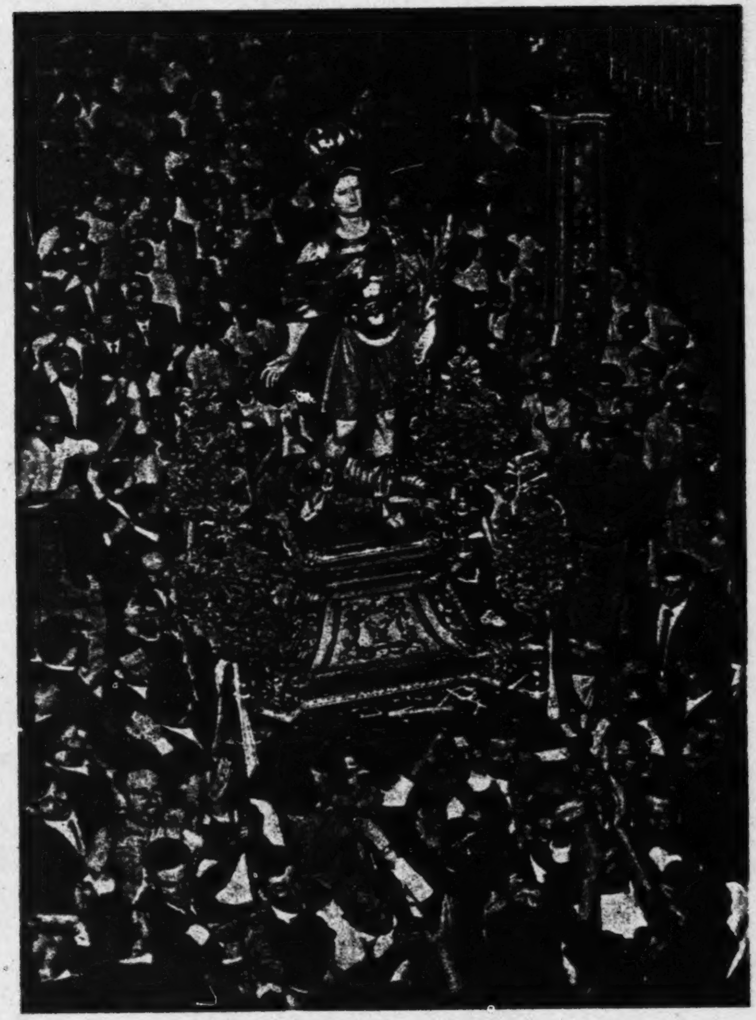

St George and partisans

[Frontispiece, facing p. iii]

175 rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural
harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans suc-
648 cessively occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that
Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually
nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the
Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were
replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of
the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed
successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–
1283), the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. In 1530,
[701] Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their pro-
testing inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military
Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles
vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on
Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800
Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to
Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then
they have remained a British possession.

175 The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was
776 the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he
stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the
795 people to Christianity. Whether he converted many is a moot
[797] point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor,
Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. The Maltese are in-
tensely proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna*
● [776] *San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the prin-
cipal patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a
national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local
legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his
gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there
was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

175 The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during
the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, re-
793 established and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to
795 arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed
while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of
Maltese bishops dates from this period.

175 Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the
642 Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered
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[1] Acts 27 and 28.

occupations, 52 per cent are service personnel and skilled workers, 463
27 per cent are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and 14 per cent
are engaged in agriculture. Just over two-thirds of the total are
employed outside the village. The majority of these, as in Farruġ,
work in the Grand Harbour industrial area. Those who work in
the village are for the most part self-employed. They are farmers,
shopkeepers, blacksmiths and carpenters.

In Table No. 1 I have compared the various occupational classes in Kortin and Farruġ to each other and to the national figures.

III

Most villages look very much alike. Their magnificent baroque 361
churches provide a startling contrast to the low, flat-roofed houses
grouped tightly around them. As the parish church towers over
the village, so it dominates it socially, for the church is in every
sense the centre around which the life of the village revolves. In
front of the church there is usually a large square, the *misrah* or
pjazza, which is the social centre of the village. Various village
clubs and lay societies, as well as the police station, are situated on
the *pjazza*, or just off it, as are the principal wine shops, the
government dispensary and the finest houses of the village. As the [498]
square is usually the terminal point of the local bus line, it is the
point at which most people enter and leave the village. It is also [796]
the stage on which the principal events of village life take place:
the annual feast, or *festa*, of the patron saint, the many religious
processions and the occasional political rallies. On Sundays, and [517]
especially during the long summer evenings, the square teems
with groups of men, who sit about on steps and benches, talking
and arguing for hours on end. During weekday mornings, it [745]
belongs to the old men of the village, now freed by government [887]
old age pensions from the backbreaking toil in the fields that was
the lot of their forefathers.

621 Each village is first and foremost a community of neighbours. Even the smallest of them have distinct residential groups, the members of which are in closer contact with each other than with people living in other parts of the village. This is, of course, particularly true of the larger villages. But even in Farruġ, a village of about 1,400, the extremities of the village and the various streets and alleys form separate neighbourhoods. The many little shops 000

438 The many little shops
443 scattered about the village permit the women to do most of their
512 shopping near their own homes. Because of the long, hot summers
621 when food spoils quickly, they shop separately for each meal.
Their shopping trips begin on the way home from the early Mass,
[251] at about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, and continue until
● [796] 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus, during the course of a day, a woman may make as many as a dozen trips to the shops as well as to the hawkers who pass through the neighbourhood. These trips are social occasions during which she comes in contact with friends and neighbours from all parts of the village, and in the process hears the village news.

276 The men are out of the village from 6 o'clock or so in the
512 morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, and
512 in the winter from about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock
517 in the evening. But summer or winter, in the late afternoon and
621 the early evening the men gather in the clubs, wine shops and cafés. Besides the clubs and important cafés in the square, which draw men from all over the village, there are many small neighbourhood wine shops. Most have a regular clientele of friends and neighbours who spend hours together talking, playing cards and drinking tea, soft drinks or wine. Many cafés also have television. Thus, though most inhabitants of a village are in fairly frequent contact with each other, the gossip groups of the women and the wine shops of the men form local social centres which help bind neighbours more closely to one another. These neighbourhoods develop a certain group loyalty.

621 It often happens that some of the neighbourhoods in a town or
794 village are centred on small chapels. In times gone by there used
796 to be a certain amount of good-natured competition between the youngsters of these districts over the festas of the patron saints of their respective chapels. But, except on rare occasions, this rivalry never threatened the unity of the village during the annual festa of the patron saint of the parish. Frequent removals from house to house within the village have usually helped to prevent the development of disruptive sectional loyalties.

621 Since each village is also a separate parish it is not possible to
consider a village entirely as a secular community. Religion per-
[771] meates the structure of Maltese society to an extent that makes it
[794] quite impossible to classify many institutions as either religious or
secular. As a secular community, a village has no official leader, it

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

owns no land or other property in common and its inhabitants 621
are rarely called upon or choose to work for a common end. At [186]
the same time, villagers are conscious of belonging to a distinct
social entity which is distinguished from other villages by a
collective nickname and a common sub-culture.

Many villages have a dialect quite distinct from that of their 184
neighbours, which the inhabitants, even those who have learned 197
to speak 'correctly' (*bil-pulit*), normally use to each other; 621
although they will invariably address strangers in their school
Maltese. There are also a number of minor variations of certain customs between villages or districts. These may include the way church bells are rung to announce a death or the way some aspects of the festas are organized. Finally, each village has its own very private body of gossip, stories, scandals and jokes, which makes up a part of its history and tradition that is not shared with outsiders.

As a congregation and a religious corporation, the village *qua* 421
parish owns land and other property, including the parish church. 423
It also has an appointed leader in the parish priest. The inhabitants 621
of the village meet regularly for worship, to take part in religious
processions and to carry out other devotional activities. Further- 794
more, they act together to celebrate the annual festa of the patron 796
saint, who symbolizes the unity of the secular and religious aspects of the village, for he is patron of both village and parish.

A village can also be regarded as a moral community. That is, 621
people who live there must conform to a certain code of conduct. 626
While the community cannot enforce this code with the type of formal sanctions the police and the Church use to punish infractions of secular and religious laws, public opinion can, and does, exert great pressure for conformity. A person who flouts the canons of convention becomes the object of malicious gossip and, depending on the nature of the offence, he may also become the target of overt hostile action and have his house front splashed with paint, or his front door burned. The only way to escape from the sanctions of public opinion is to move to one of the urban areas or the expanding new suburbs, where licence can be relatively anonymous.

Members of a village thus share a common body of custom and 186
tradition; they also display an intense loyalty to their place of 621
birth. This sense of loyalty is strongest during the annual festa of 796

186 the village, which draws in native sons and daughters from all over
621 the country, and often from as far away as Canada and Australia.
This loyalty is also evident at other times. Villagers like to think of
●796 themselves as a united body, and they take care to protect the
appearance of unity before strangers. This is an attitude of which
186 anyone studying the social history of a village becomes keenly
aware. Strangers are thus treated with great reserve. The
609 inhabitants of the smaller villages are well known for their reluctance to
621 give any information about their neighbours to strangers.
Inquiring visitors are often referred to the parish priest, who, as
village spokesman, screens them and, if possible, deals with their
questions. The reserve of a village *vis-à-vis* a stranger is
[627] considerably more than just an expression of village loyalty. Present also
is the very real fear of vengeance should the answer to a stranger's
question lead to some unpleasantness for a neighbour. Social
relations in a small village are to a very considerable extent
governed by the proverb 'Don't make an enemy of your
neighbour' (*Tagħmilx għadu lil ġarek*).

In view of this loyalty, it is not surprising that people express
628 their solidarity with their native village by opposition to other villages. A village's traditional rivals are usually those with which it has the most frequent contact. I was almost invariably warned by villagers that the inhabitants of the neighbouring village were a treacherous and savage lot. There are many tales of hostility between neighbouring villages, especially over the celebration of the annual festa, which I dare say have lost nothing in retelling. I was told a number of stories of how youths stampeded goats through their rivals' festa processions, and of expeditions which stole fireworks, attacked street decorations and performed other daring escapades. Although most of these adventures are said to have taken place many years ago, they are no more unusual than some of the incidents that I witnessed.

[178] If the intense inter-village rivalry of former times has abated
somewhat, it is probably because increased education and contact
outside the villages have helped to break down ignorance and
[796] isolation. But this rivalry still lies dormant, and may flare up at the
slightest provocation from a traditional rival; I have seen a
526 number of fights over trivial incidents during festas and football
712 matches. The number of police at village feasts and the quantity
and density of the barbed-wire entanglements at the Schreiber

625 a very different role from that of their Spanish counterparts, the Civil Guard, whom Kenny describes as 'the traditional enemy of the peasants'.[1]

III

795 The very considerable authority of the Church in Malta is derived not from law, but from the loyalty of a people who fervently practise their religion. Until recently, there had never been a separation in their minds between Church and State, between the religious and secular elements in their daily lives. The Church, as we have already observed, has occupied this position for many [423] centuries. Its power is bolstered by its considerable wealth, for in Malta the rich property and lands of the Church have not been expropriated by the State, as they have in so many other Catholic countries.[2]

793 As the official representative of the Church, the parish priest occupies a position of great importance in his community. He has authority in all religious matters affecting his parishioners. He ministers to their spiritual and often to their personal needs. He alone can arrange for the important ceremonies which mark the [795] stages in their lives. These *rites de passage* include baptism, confirmation, marriage, death and burial. He also controls the many [796] ritual activities of the village as a whole. These are the daily services of worship and the ceremonies, processions and feasts by which all Maltese, but above all the countrymen, regulate their days and mark the divisions of the year. Through his preaching and admonition he defines, interprets and enforces the moral code of the Church. He is also the official custodian of the richly decorated parish church.

[212] Besides this dependence on the parish priest in the religious matters which are of such vital importance in the lives of a devoutly Catholic people, the country people have traditionally looked to him for assistance in many secular fields. Until only a few decades ago, he was often one of the few literate persons in his parish. As such he was frequently asked to read and write letters.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 48.

[2] Mitchell estimates that the Church owns 22 per cent of the agricultural land in Malta and 12 per cent in Gozo. See Peter K. Mitchell, *The Maltese Farm*, vol. II of *Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta* (mimeographed; Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges in the University of Durham, 1959), p. 130.

557 793 794 Most of the procuratorships and offices in the associations connected with the Church are conferred upon members of the circle of persons who figuratively, and often physically, surround the parish priest. They become his favourites by doing some of the hundred and one odd jobs for which he depends on volunteers. These include running messages, carrying chairs, arranging meetings and decorating the streets for feasts and other important occasions, such as the visit of the Archbishop. Acceptance into the circle and the rewards meted out vary, of course, according to the capabilities of the individuals concerned, and the character of the parish priest. Advancement is most rapid and the rewards most interesting where the parish priest is open to influence, and the job-seeker has the qualities of leadership discussed below. But people are loath to see their parish priest delegate too much of his authority to their fellows. Those who pursue power in the community by attaching themselves to the parish priest often incur a good measure of hostility. Most frequently they are accused by the village gossips of lining their pockets with their neighbour's money.

794 [796] The most important member of the circle surrounding the parish priest in Kortin is old Manwel, a retired school teacher. As procurator of the Confraternity of our Lady of Sorrows, he collects funds for and organizes the elaborate Good Friday procession. This is an event which attracts visitors from all over the island. He is also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Joseph, the village cemetery and the Mass legacies of the parish. He is one of the founders and a former vice-president and secretary of the Social Club, and a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. [575] Though no longer in the Band Club, he was once on its committee. For many years he was also on the committee which organized the annual festa. All these offices give him a greater voice in the administration of the parish and its ceremonial affairs than anyone except the parish priest.

IV

575 [554] The officers of the secular associations in a village generally enjoy high standing and wield considerable influence. The secular associations, though they vary, generally include a men's social club (usually a brass band club), a political party committee or

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● 796
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3. Confraternity members resting during procession

[facing p. 48]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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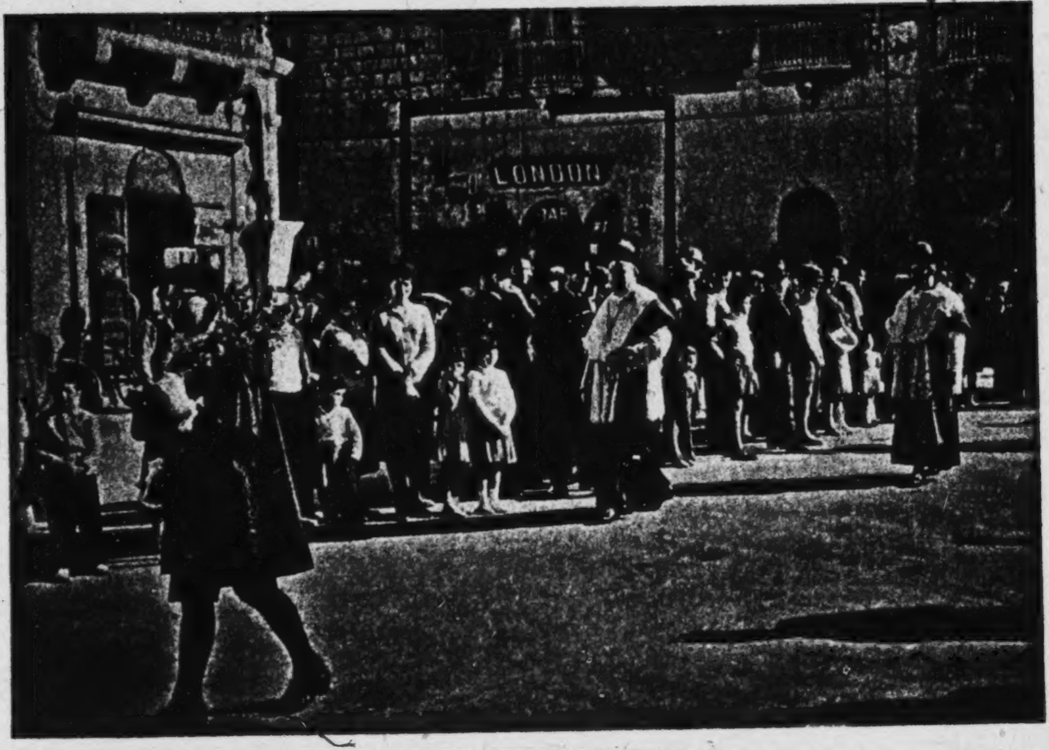
[facing p. 49]



4. Mace and canons of the Gozo Cathedral Chapter

[p.55]

CHAPTER V

The Church and Village Politics

Most Maltese regulate their lives by the daily and monthly cycle 796
of religious activities. The major divisions of the day are rung 805
from the bells of the village church. They first ring the Paternoster half an hour before the first Mass. Then the Angelus bell rings a call to prayer at eight in the morning, at noon and at sunset. The final bell of the day is rung two or three hours after sunset, and is a brief request for the living to remember the dead in their prayers. The call of the Angelus is observed by many. When it is rung, work and conversation stop whether in a government office or a village café, men remove their hats, and someone among them leads them in a short prayer. In Gozo I have seen a busy square become suddenly silent and many people kneel in the street as the Ave Maria was rung at sunset. People also often kneel in the streets when the bells announce the elevation of the Host during a sung Mass, and during Benediction in the evening. And finally, late in the evening, clusters of relatives and neighbours can be seen sitting in their open doorways reciting the Rosary together before they go to bed.

Most girls and women and many boys and men attend one of 184
the three or four daily Masses which are offered in all parish 796
churches between four and seven in the morning. Virtually every
one in the village attends one of the five or six Masses offered on
Sundays. The few who do not attend are known to the village, [626]
and are the subject of gossip and other social pressure. Since the [659]
recent dispute between the MLP and the Church, however, their
numbers are increasing.

As the church bells mark the important hours of the day, so the 796
principal divisions of the year are set out by the annual national
and parochial religious feasts and processions. Besides being major [541]
religious occasions, they are eagerly looked forward to as recrea- [655]
tional events. Though secular spectacles, such as political rallies,
the government-run Carnival procession and, above all, the [546]

796 cinema, are becoming increasingly important, the principal
[541] amusements of the Maltese still generally have some connection
with their religious ceremonies. The French Consul in Malta at
[546] the beginning of the last century described this enjoyment of
[655] religion with great eloquence:

> Le Maltais a de la religion au fond de l'âme; cette religion, dont il remplit les devoirs sans ostentation, il l'aime autant plus qu'elle prend sa source, non seulement dans une foi sincère, mais encore dans cette habitude, contractée dès l'enfance, de chercher au sein des cérémonies religieuses un délassement, que les autres peuples trouvent dans les spectacles et les réjouissances publiques.[1]

People from all parishes come to take part in the diocesan celebrations of St. Joseph the Worker, Corpus Christi and Christ the King. These rallies and processions are usually held in Valletta and Floriana. The national festival of St. Paul's Shipwreck in February, which is also the titular feast of a Valletta parish, draws many people into the city. Another national feast commemorates the lifting of the great Turkish siege in 1565. This feast coincides with that of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary on September 8, and is celebrated with boat races and other aquatic competitions in the Grand Harbour. But the traditional national festivals for the country people are the feasts of St. Gregory in April and SS. Peter and Paul (*L-Imnarja*) in June. Though most of the pageantry of the former has been abolished, the custom of going for a picnic to Marsaxlokk, the little village just beyond the terminal point of the procession in Żejtun, lingers on. On the occasion of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, thousands proceed to the Buskett, Malta's only wood, where they spend most of the
[543] night before the feast eating, drinking and singing. On the feast
[541] day they throng to see the agricultural show in the Buskett, the religious procession in Mdina and the bareback horse races that take place just outside Rabat. While these two feasts are the occasions for special outings for the villagers, they are generally looked upon as very low affairs by many from the professional and middle classes.

The principal religious spectacles, however, are those which are organized at the village level. During the course of a year in Kortin, for example, there are fourteen major celebrations and religious processions. The greatest concentration of ceremonies is 796 around Easter. This cycle starts with the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows on the Friday before Palm Sunday. Virtually all the inhabitants escort the statue through the principal streets of the village. This is followed by the Palm Sunday procession around the church square.[1] On Maundy Thursday there is a long service during which the parish priest washes the feet of twelve village laymen. Immediately after this the church is draped completely in black damask, and a huge wooden rattle replaces the church bells as a sign of mourning. On Maundy Thursday and on Good Friday in the morning, family groups visit the church and, passing before the statues depicting scenes from the Passion, stop to pray before the elaborate Sepulchre constructed in one of the chapels. Members of each of the village associations and clubs visit the Sepulchre in groups. Many families make pilgrimages to the churches in the twelve other parishes which hold Good Friday processions. At each one they offer prayers before the Sepulchre and pause to examine the statues and funereal hangings of their rivals before going on. All morning visitors from outside stream into Kortin to see the church. Then, at about two in the afternoon, there is a three-hour sermon on the Passion. This is followed by the Good Friday procession.

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[1] M. Miège, *Histoire de Malte* (3 vols., Paris, Paulin, 1840), III, 168.

Old Manwel, the procurator, directs the procession. This is his 794 big day. During the preceding weeks, he and Anton and Pawlu, 796 the two men who take charge of decorating the parish for special occasions, worked very hard getting ready the eight statues, assembling the ornate Sepulchre and collecting the £90 required to meet the expenses of the Holy Week. Since he became procurator twenty years ago, Manwel has collected almost £3,000 for new statues, costumes, banners and black damask for the church. The procession itself lasts about three hours. Some 420 men and youths from the village carry and escort the eight huge statues. Some of the men have carried the same statue for years. The ten who carry the statue of the Crucifixion have protected [675] their right to do so by a notarized contract with the parish priest. In return they have spent almost £200 over the past ten years to

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[1] Instead of palm fronds, olive branches are distributed to the faithful. It is generally [751] believed that if these blessed branches are burned, their smoke is particularly effective against the harmful effects of the evil eye. Farmers pass burning leaves through their [824] cattle sheds, and I have met professionals who do the same to their salons before cocktail parties.

794 repair and improve the statue and its pedestal. The procession also
● 796 includes a dozen or so masked penitents who walk barefooted or
crawl the length of the procession route dragging heavy chains
[785] behind them. It is a most solemn and impressive spectacle.

Very early on Easter morning the bells ring out the announcement of the Resurrection, and the sacristan, helped by Anton and Pawlu, removes the black damask from the church walls and sacred pictures. Later in the morning the procession with the statue of the Risen Christ passes through the village.

II

796 Of all the village feasts, the most important is always that of the patron saint of the parish church. The patron or titular saint of a church is the saint under whose special protection its founders have placed it. The titular of the parish church thus becomes the patron saint and protector of the village. In addition to the more usual religious ceremonies and processions, the people express their devotion to their patron with band marches and tremendous displays of fireworks. These celebrations provide the chief public entertainment of the countryside.

796 But the annual festa is more than a superior religious feast and
a time of amusement for the village; it is also an event upon which
628 village prestige depends. During the feast thousands of people crowd in from every part of the island. All these visitors have definite ideas on how a good festa should be run, and nothing they see or hear escapes their critical attention. The decoration of the church, the lighting of the streets, the quantity and firing rhythm of the exploding rockets are compared with those of their own and other feasts. The reputation of the village depends upon their judgement. This is a matter which concerns everyone, and the village draws together to display itself to the outsiders in the most favourable light. House fronts are repainted and new clothes are bought or made. The church is illuminated, the interior is hung with red damask and its treasures are placed on display. Every year the village tries to acquire at least one new work of art for this display. The principal streets and the square are lined with vividly painted papier mâché statues of prophets and saints, interspersed with urns from which sprout dazzling branches of electric light. Overhead, scores of colourful arches, strung from

house to house, transform the streets into gaily lighted tunnels. The 796 ●
pjazza is usually draped in flags, and all the clubs are also dressed 628
in their festal finery and their doors thrown open to the public.
Many bands are hired and the mountains of fireworks are fused [533]
and made ready. All this is done before the visitors from outside [389]
arrive, and involves a great deal of organization, time and money.

The festa is thus an occasion on which communal values are reaffirmed 796
and strengthened, as individuals and groups express their 182
loyalty to their patron saint and unite to defend and enhance the
reputation of their village. At the same time, the central position
which the Church occupies in the social structure is strongly
reinforced, for the parish church is the hub around which this
festive occasion turns.

A festa is also an occasion on which the bonds of kinship are 796
reinforced, for each family opens its doors to its relations, especially 182
to those who live in other villages. Grown sons and daughters
return to their parental home, forming, for a few hours, a grand 602
family with a depth of three or four generations. Because of this
influx of relatives, younger children learn to recognize more
distant relatives whom they might not see at any other time of the
year, and become aware of the network of kin relations that
stretches out from their home. As parents become momentarily [584]
more indulgent during the festa and relax their watchfulness, it is
also a favourite meeting time for courting couples and a traditional
occasion on which marriageable boys and girls are introduced
to one another.

The celebration of a village festa usually lasts three days. It 796
consists of religious ceremonies, which take place principally
within the church, and secular celebrations outside the church.
The Maltese themselves make a distinction between these two
elements in the festa: they call the former the 'internal feast' (*il-festa ta' ġewwa*)
and the latter the 'external feast' (*il-festa ta' barra*).
These often take place simultaneously. The mixture of sacred and 123
profane which results was shown to me very vividly during one 796
of the first festas I attended. I was in the church during a particularly
solemn moment in the service of worship. Suddenly there
was a nerve-shattering burst of fireworks from the roof of the
church. Then, slowly, the sharp smell of burning gunpowder
began to drift in through the open doors and mingle with the
pungent odour of candles and incense. After that I ceased to be

● 796 aware of their separateness, and realized that both incense and
[123] gunpowder were ingredients basic to the celebration of a festa.

The actual celebration of the feast can be divided into three
parts: the Triduum or Novena – the three to nine days of spiri-
tual preparation which precede the feast day – the eve of the feast,
and the day of the feast. As the feast is usually celebrated on a
Sunday so that more people can come, the Triduum days are
Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. High Mass is offered on these
days, and in the evenings outside priests often come to preach
sermons on religious topics related to the life of the patron saint.
They are also days of preparation during which the elaborate
street decorations are hoisted into place. Throughout the day the
village is psychologically conditioned to the festa by salvoes of
aerial bombs which are often timed to coincide with the ringing
[533] of the Paternoster and the Angelus. On the last day of the Tri-
duum, after the final sermon, the village band marches through
the main streets. Often the band is preceded by a mass of dancing
and shouting enthusiasts of both sexes, who wave coloured
scarves, silver loving cups and other symbols of their loyalty to
[578] their band and their saint. In villages where there are competing
[575] band clubs, this demonstration often provokes fights between
rival supporters. These skirmishes are usually sparked off by the
bands of girls who hoarsely shout themselves into a frenzy pro-
claiming the virtues of their saint and the shortcomings of their
rivals. There are no visitors during this part of the feast.

On Saturday, the eve of the feast, there is a High Mass and Te
Deum to mark the end of the Triduum. This is usually followed
by a barrage of aerial fireworks. The local band then often
marches through the village, stopping at all the clubs for drinks.
[273] This march is usually quite gay but in some villages it degenerates
into a drunken spree. During the day, outside priests are brought
[783] in specially for the festa to hear confessions in the church. In the
late afternoon, visitors begin to arrive to watch the Translation, a
ceremony during which the celebrant, usually the Bishop, takes a
relic of the saint on a short procession outside the church. After
[533] the Translation, the various guest bands march through the
village and then settle down to play selections from operas and
works composed by Maltese bandmasters. The many relatives and
friends of the bandsmen join the gaily dressed crowds who have
been streaming in by bus and car or on foot.

For several hours they wander up and down the principal 796
streets, past the nougat vendors, past the dazzling houses with their doors and shutters thrown open to attract the eyes of all to festal drapes and carpets, gleaming cookers and new refrigerators. The crowd moves on past the packed bars and through the festooned clubs, their silver trophies all on show. Stopping now and then to eat and drink and talk with friends, they move into the church and past the banks of flowers that stand before the statue of the patron saint. From there, now surrounded by the red damask and the cut-glass crowns suspended from the golden ceilings, they pass before the silver altar-front and gaze at the jewel-encrusted reliquaries on display beside it. Now and then there is a soft discussion of price and craftsmanship as a new picture or silver candlestick reaches past the guttering candles for the attention of the crowd. Slowly, for many stop to kneel and say a prayer, the people move out through the door and past the bandstand, and on to make the round again.

The climax of the evening comes at eleven o'clock, when the forest of standing fireworks which have been planted in the square is lighted, and the second day of the festa closes in a shower of sparks and acrid smoke.

On the morning of the feast-day, there is a Solemn High Mass [537]
during which some noted clerical orator delivers a lengthy and bombastic panegyric of the saint. After the service the committees of the various clubs make formal calls on each other and exchange hospitality. The parish priest and the village clergy also call on each of the clubs and associations. Following this, the people retire to their houses for huge luncheons with their close relatives. In the late afternoon the long procession with the statue of the saint slowly moves from the church. The saint, carried by white-robed members of the confraternities, stops on the threshold to take the salute of 21 petards and barrage of smaller rockets, the *kaxxa infernal*, which often last up to twenty minutes.[1] As the saint at last leaves the church he is cheered on his way by groups of shouting devotees. The crowds are thicker than the night before, and amuse themselves in much the same way. There [533]
are also more bands, and sometimes as many as five will be

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[1] These petards are usually immense. They are often made from half-gallon tins packed with gelignite that is either stolen or extracted from dud shells and bombs fished up from military target areas by festa enthusiasts. Occasionally their explosions break windows. [389]

● 796 competing for the attention of the crowd within a few yards of
[533] each other.

All the while, the procession, followed by a few black-clad
[292] penitents, solemnly passes through the main streets of the village.
[481] Often those carrying the saint move with a shuffling step that causes him to bob and turn as though he were dancing. As he passes under balconies his cheering and clapping admirers shower him with confetti. Then, as the procession nears the church, the final *kaxxa infernal*, this time of coloured rockets, is touched off. In some villages the saint is turned around so that he can see this barrage and the display of multi-staged rockets that follows it. The statue then enters the church and the Benediction is given. After this the crowd of visitors quickly disperses. Soon the inhabitants have the village to themselves again. As the women and girls wheel and pull the children off to bed, the men carry around from club to club the grimy, soot-stained men who made and fired the fireworks. They are the heroes of the hour. Other men seek out their clubs or usual cafés and toast one another and the success of their feast. So ends the festa for another year.

796 The organization of the annual festa requires a long period of
planning and preparation. This work calls for a certain degree of
793 centralization. In most villages the parish priest controls the
[794] organization of both the internal and the external feasts. In some villages, however, he delegates some of this work to a procurator, usually a priest, but occasionally to a committee of leading per-
[575] sonalities of the village. In other villages, all the details of the external feast, including the fund raising, are handled by the band club committees. In any case, the parish priest always has the last word. Sometimes there is friction between him and other interested parties over organizational details.

796 The cost of these feasts varies considerably. It is naturally
related to the size of the village and to the degree of enthusiasm
794 with which the festa is celebrated. It ranges from a few shillings
435 per family in a large urban parish to as much as £15 per family in a small rural parish celebrating a particularly important festa. The average cost to the community, however, is about £1,000. The organizers of the festa collect the necessary funds by means of lotteries, fairs, special appeals and a small weekly contribution of threepence or sixpence from each family. Most fund raisers also solicit pledges from leading citizens and enter their names and the

sums pledged on a long list. This method, called *l-arbural*, permits 796
donors to compare their contributions with those of others. Then 794
there may be several unofficial groups who raise funds for fire- 435
works, which they manufacture and fire as their special contributions to the feast.

While I was living in Farrug, the village celebrated the centenary of St. Martin, the titular saint of the parish. The festa cost a total of £1,465. Of this sum the parish priest raised and spent £302 for the elaborate internal feast, of which he took complete charge. The rest, some £1,163, was collected and spent on the external feast by the committee of the St. Martin Band Club. The fireworks, including most of the gunpowder, were made illegally by the members of the club in their houses and in sheds and abandoned quarries surrounding the village. The cost of the raw materials amounted to £712. Committee members divided the actual work among themselves, and set up sub-committees dealing with decoration, music, fireworks and fund-raising. With the exception of the extra lighting for the streets and the church, which was done by an outside contractor, all the work involved in the festa was done by local inhabitants.

In Kortin, on the other hand, the parish priest personally con- [793]
trols every aspect of the festa. With the assistance of the Sodality of Our Lady, he collects all the funds. Most of the street decoration is done by Anton and Pawlu, who get a number of people to help them. In the following table, I have summarized the rather complicated accounts of the 1961 festa in Kortin.

TABLE 3. Kortin 1961 Festa Accounts

INCOME	£	s.	EXPENSES	£	s.
Internal Feast			*Internal Feast*		
Collections	143	10	Music	150	0
Special gifts	121	10	Other	50	0
External Feast			*External Feast*		
Three collections	221	10	Decorations, programmes, etc.	39	14
Weekly 3d.	120	0	Fireworks: crackers and ground display only	105	16
Lotteries	90	0	Bands: 8 performances	224	10
'Arbural'	53	0	Lighting	170	0
			Balance	9	10
Total	£749	10	*Total*	£749	10

794 In addition to the sums which the parish priest spent on fire-
796 works, another £472 was collected by six groups of enthusiasts
and spent on raw materials for the fireworks which they manu-
[435] factured. The total cost to the village was thus £1,212. In all
[389] respects this was an average festa for a village of 5,000.

The festa in Kortin has not always been controlled by the parish
79 priest. Dun Bert, the present incumbent, had something of a struggle to seize and hold the reins of authority. Until he took over the parish eight years ago the external festa had been run by a committee. Though the parish priest was *ex officio* head of this committee, the actual affairs of the committee were run by old Manwel and the father of the curate, who was general manager of the festa for over thirty years. The committee also included the
[389] latter's wife's father and brother in its membership. His brother
[731] was killed twenty-five years ago in an explosion which wrecked the village's officially licensed firework factory and killed four others. This committee used to book the bands, repaint, erect and store the decorations and collect all the funds for the external feast. One of its major responsibilities was to run the two large fund-raising fairs which were held every year in the school. Next to the festa, these fairs were the favourite amusement of the village. Thus when Dun Bert arrived in Kortin, he found his was only a nominal role as far as the external festa was concerned. As he is a man who likes to run things his own way, the arrangement did not suit him. Moreover, he was concerned with the financial position of the parish, and in particular with the interest on the £3,000 that his predecessor had borrowed from the Curia to help finance the unfinished parish hall. To be able to meet all the parish's financial commitments, he felt that he had to have control of all its financial resources. The first year, however, he did very little about it.

During his second year in Kortin, the newly elected Labour Government came to his assistance, albeit unwittingly. The new Minister of Education refused permission to the organizers of the Kortin festa to hold a public fair in the school. This deprived the organizers of their major source of income, and threatened the festa. Dun Bert quickly took over the financial management of the festa and made two house-to-house collections. These raised the necessary funds and saved the festa. He then gave to the Sodality of Our Lady the responsibility of collecting threepence a week from each household. But for six months of the year these

CHAPTER VI

Festa Partiti

578 Village unity is an ideal, and all villages try to present a tightly
united front to the outside world. In spite of this, all are divided
621 internally by cleavages which cut across the community at various
levels. Some of these divisions are only temporary, and disappear
when the issues out of which they have arisen are resolved. Others,
which may have arisen out of temporary issues, have for one
reason or another become a permanent part of the social scene.
But regardless of their origin or duration, these divisions are painfully real to the villagers. Persons made vulnerable through a network of personal relations are often forced to commit themselves
to a particular division. In doing so, they become opposed to
neighbours and kinsmen who are committed to the other side.
[602] This is one of the characteristics of life in all small villages. It is
particularly true of communities, such as those in Malta, in which
the inhabitants are closely related through kinship and affinity.

192 The Maltese call these divisions *partiti* (sing., *partit*). The term
578 thus corresponds not only to groups of the order which we in
English would call 'parties', but also to those to which we would
621 apply the term 'factions'. Political parties are called partiti, and
[665] so are rival groups such as the two in Kortin which competed over
[794] the rebuilding of the church. Partiti are said to have *pika* between
them. *Pika* denotes relations of competition, ill-feeling, hostility.
There is little about the word which suggests the good-natured
competition that can exist between rival school football or cricket
teams. On the contrary, if there is *pika* between two groups, a
no-holds-barred competition is expected. Partiti are thus considered to be a bad thing. They disrupt the harmony of the community and make it more difficult to project the ideal image of
village unity to the outside world.

575 The oldest permanent division that exists in the villages is
578 between the supporters of rival band clubs. This division is related
621 to the cult of saints. In the previous chapter it was noted that
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besides the patron saint, parishes celebrate many other saints. The 575
feasts of these secondary saints are normally not as lavish as the 578
annual festa of the patron. But many villages celebrate two large 621
festas: one for the titular saint of the parish, and the other for a 794
secondary saint who has assumed almost equal social importance. 796
Where this occurs, a village is divided into two partiti, each of which has its own band club and celebrates one of the saints. The partiti compete over almost every aspect of the festa, including the decoration of the streets, the adornment of the statue, the number of guest bands and, above all, the fireworks. Even the exact number of communicants, the size of candles and the quantity of light bulbs illuminating the façade of the church often become the subject of dispute. Farruġ is divided by this type of rivalry. One partit is dedicated to St. Martin, the titular of the parish, the other to St. Roque.

The origins of these festa partiti, where they can be traced, are 17
very much alike. Most of them came into existence sometime 578
between 1850 and the turn of the century, and most arose out of 621
disputes between persons concerned with the celebration of the 796
titular festa and those interested in the cult of some lesser saint. [794]
The latter were usually members of the confraternity dedicated to [575]
that saint.[1] These factions in time became centred on separate social clubs, and eventually acquired brass bands. The clubs provided a permanent institutional basis for the rivalry. As time went on, the partiti became more violent in their disputes and in the pressure they put upon individuals to support them. Finally in 578
1935, the Church, long alarmed at the extremes to which the 621
devotion to some saints had been carried in certain villages, took 79
steps to eliminate the competition. It promulgated a series of regulations designed to reduce the scale on which secondary feasts could be celebrated. These stipulated that for secondary feasts there [575]
was to be no Translation of Holy Relics on the eve of the feast, that only the church and the area immediately adjacent to it could

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[1] Cf. Rob. Mifsud Bonnici, *Ġrajja Tal-Mużika F'Malta u Għawdex* (Malta, Gov. Museum, 1954), pp. 38 f. He suggests that these partiti developed out of a dispute between persons who wanted to play sacred music by the Maltese composer Vincenzo Bugeja (1805–60) and those who preferred that of his rival, Paolo Nani (1814–1904). As far as I could determine, however, the only partiti which arose directly out of this dispute are those in Żebbuġ. On the other hand, many rival partiti, once established, played the music of either Bugeja or Nani during their feasts. The former took a star as their symbol, the latter an eagle. Today partiti in many villages are still nicknamed either *tal-istilla* or *tal-ajkla* after this once-important division. [113] [114] [575]

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of new associations in the village and the increased activity of 773
political parties. 784

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the
most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than 575
two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia 621
and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, [167]
already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A [494]
constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the [529]
'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in
Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all
over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs.
During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic [794]
Action were established in the village and began to draw potential
partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was
particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it
provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who
normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A
number of friendships developed between them, and it soon
became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased 621
activity of the national political parties during the elections in 578
1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers 665
away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in
rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional 666
allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened
the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. 578
Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, 621
staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the 666
political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon
captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the follow- 796
ing year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather 575
complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa par- 621
titi are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which pro- 794
vides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active
male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the con-
fraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and
(iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are mem-
bers neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support [796]
the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

575 these groups is the loyalty of the people to the partit and its patron,
shown by supporting the many activities that the leaders organize,
621 and by boycotting similar activities of their rivals. These
794 include fund-raising lotteries and fairs, weekly collections and
796 partit picnics and pilgrimages. During the festa, supporters march
with the statue, dress themselves and their houses up and in
general celebrate their patron. Their rivals often walk about unshaven
and glowering, and do not normally decorate their houses.

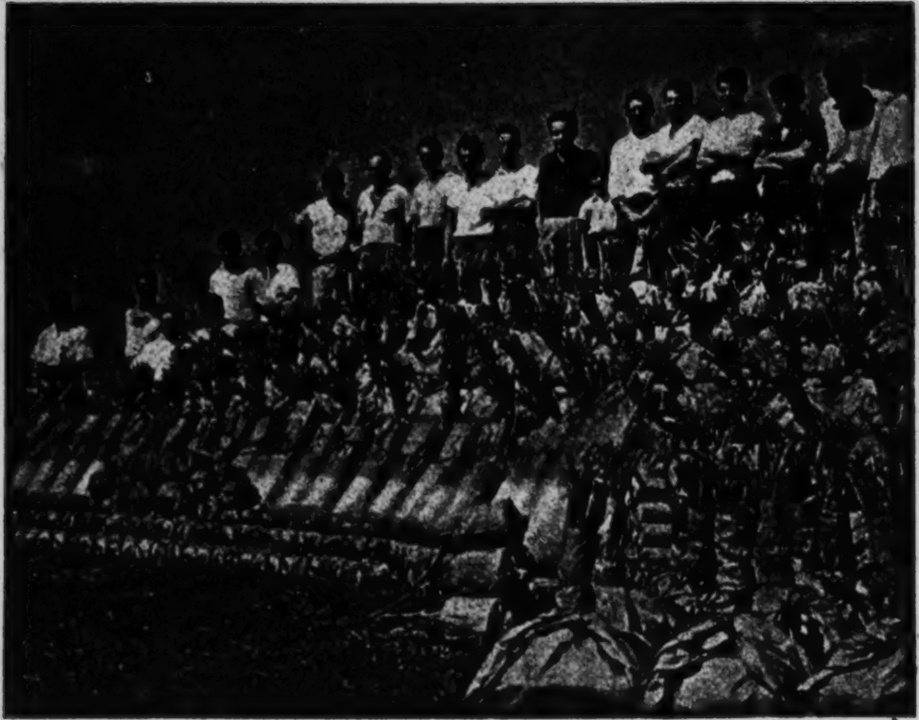
Although most people in a village divided by this type of
578 rivalry will choose, or be forced, to take sides, a few are able to
621 avoid this commitment, or at least say they have. These are often
794 priests and teachers, who sometimes find it to their advantage to
796 remain neutral, as do outsiders who have married into the village.
Museum members are not permitted to maintain partit affiliation
though, of course, many do. Neutral people contribute to both
feasts. A true partisan would never contribute to the external feast
of his rival, although he might give something to the parish
priest for the internal feast. During periods of intense rivalry, even
these contributions cease. Thus, virtually the entire £1,465 which
St. Martin's centenary cost was contributed by his supporters
alone. Six months later their rivals spent £600 on the feast of St.
Roque.

575 The band club is the organizational and social centre of a partit.
All members of the club are supporters of the partit, but not all
621 supporters of the partit are members of the club, though nonmembers
are normally welcome to come and use its facilities. To
a certain extent, membership of the club depends upon the availability
of ready cash, for many men are reluctant to part with the
subscription fee as long as they can make use of the club's premises.
Though the confraternities are open to all adults without
621 regard to partit affiliation, there is normally a positive correlation
794 between partit and confraternity membership. Generally speaking,
the supporters of the titular feast enrol in the older confraternities
of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary. These
confraternities are established in all parishes, and play an important
part in many religious ceremonies. Supporters of the secondary
patron enrol in the confraternity dedicated to him, if they feel
inclined to join one.

162 These general principles can be illustrated by data collected in
621 Farruġ. Table No. 4 below shows the relative strengths of the two

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[facing P. 80]



5. Fireworks for the feast of St Leonard

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361 residence pattern is certainly true in Farruġ, and I observed much
the same thing in other villages divided by festa partiti. In Farruġ,
621 65 per cent of the people living on the main square and the four
streets leading into it supported St. Martin, but only 46 per cent
of those living in other parts of the village did so.

578 Disputes between partiti usually concern matters of precedence
or their ability to display devotion to their saints. Each partit has
621 certain rights, usually secured at the cost of clashes with its rival.
[578] These include the position and participation of the club and con-
[794] fraternity in Church processions and at other functions, the routes
over which these processions travel and the possession of certain
property and its display in the parish church. Any attempt to
[626] extend or reduce them is resisted by the partit affected, which
takes action to protect its interests by trying to influence the
Church authorities, who must make the final decisions.

The structural position of a partit determines the kind of
621 pressure that it can bring to bear upon the Church. Those of
626 titular saints are, in a sense, the establishment parties. As we have
794 seen, the Church seeks to build up their celebrations at the
● 796 expense of the secondary ones. Hence a titular partit can negotiate
from a strong position: its ultimate sanction is refusal to participate
in the feast of the village patron, an event which the Church is
anxious to see celebrated with great pomp. Secondary partiti, on
the other hand, are inherently opposed to the Church in matters
of festa policy. They try to increase the scale of their feasts, while
the Church tries to reduce them. They dare not cancel their feasts
for fear that the Church would accuse them of making trouble
and suppress them, as it did the secondary festas of Our Lady of
Lourdes in Qrendi, and St. Michael in Żabbar.

621 Their position in opposition to Church policy has given most
626 secondary partiti a certain *esprit de corps* and unity of purpose that
their rivals often lack. This has made them better able to with-
665 stand the divisive effects of the political factions which have
794 recently weakened many of their rivals. It has also generally
resulted in the emergence of stronger leaders. Secondary partiti
are often united around a single professional class leader who can
not only hold the partit together in the face of the attacks of its
opponents, but can also argue intricate points of Canon Law with
the monsignori at the Curia and, at times, with the Archbishop
621 himself. As we have observed, the secondary partiti generally have

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catho-
lic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedi-
787 cated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
795 elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentle-
621 men'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
464 the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to dis-
seminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to
103 him[1] after 1850 (in Naxxar, Gharghur, Kirkop and Xaghra, for
175 example) he was chosen as patron of the new parish churches of
621, Kalkara, Qala and Msida. Moreover, four parishes have secondary
776 feasts dedicated to him (Rabat, Ghaxaq, Kirkop and Żebbuġ).
794 Besides these Gharghur and Siggiewi had St. Joseph partiti which
796 succumbed to the 1935 Church regulations.

The identification of secondary partiti in general with St.
621 Joseph is also perhaps reflected in the colour most have chosen as
794 their symbol. It is blue, the colour of the banner of the Con-
822 fraternity of St. Joseph. The supporters of many secondary partiti, even if their saint is the Virgin Mary, wave blue scarves about to show their loyalty to it. Their rivals display red scarves, after the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose members support the titular saint.

463 The correlation between partiti and occupational class is also
621 shown in the high proportion of village priests who are sons of
793, families supporting the titular feasts. I once asked the leader of a
794 secondary partit why this was so. He replied that it was only natural since the families of the titular partiti were in much closer contact with the parish priest. Thus their sons, rather than those of rivals, more often became his young helpers and altar boys and received the necessary recommendations to the seminary and other church-run schools. From there, some became priests, and others assumed positions of leadership with the various associations. Other informants suggested it was because the 'best' families support the titular saints, and therefore can afford the additional school fees and loss of earning power that are involved in having their sons become priests.

Of the 41 priests born and now resident in Żurrieq, Kirkop, Qrendi, Mqabba, Luqa, Ghaxaq and Żebbuġ, 33 (80 per cent) are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. This percentage gains added importance by the fact that in each of these villages the secondary partit is either equal to or larger than the titular partit. The exception is Żebbuġ, where the secondary partit is decidedly smaller than the titular one. In Farruġ, though the local priest is from a St. Roque family, all the offices connected with the parish church, and 23 of the 30 key positions with Catholic Action, the Football Club and the Labour Committee, are in the hands of St. Martin supporters. Thus the members of titular partiti are not only closer to established authority, they often become part of it.

[1] [i.e. St. Joseph,-Analyst]

578 heard. The meeting was finally called off, and the large MLP
665 delegation from Malta was literally routed. They had to return on
foot from Rabat to the ferry, as the bus drivers refused them
794 transport. During the long walk to the ferry, the Labour partisans were ambushed and rather badly mauled by groups of men, women and children from all over Gozo. The ardour of many Gozitans had been worked up by lay leaders who toured the villages for several days beforehand. But besides their religious fervour, there was a considerable element of parochial pride, and the feeling that 'we'll show these Maltese invaders a thing or two.' In all, forty persons were reported injured. The Gozitans were extremely proud of their victory, and the local branch of the Social Action Movement published a booklet to commemorate the occasion.[1]

665 The activity of Labour supporters centres on their local Party club or committee, which arranges for transportation to national MLP rallies and conducts lectures and classes on the political aims of the Party. It also organizes social evenings and outings for Labour supporters. The members of the Local Committee take charge of the preparations for national meetings held in their own village. Local Committees take the initiative in preparing floats, decorated carts and companies in costume for the annual MLP demonstration on the First of May. For the past few years the
[796] MLP Executive has also organized a carnival celebration for its supporters to induce them to boycott the official government-
[204] sponsored carnival.[2] Labour supporters read the Labour daily newspaper, *Il-Helsien* (Freedom), and the Sunday *Voice of Malta*. Since the condemnation, *Il-Helsien* has become a party badge. It is pasted on bus windows during MLP excursions, worn as an armband at rallies and in general used by Labour supporters to taunt their opponents. I have even seen some young men in Kortin swagger into church on Sunday morning with copies of it sticking out of their hip pockets.

578 All supporters of the Labour Party do not show their allegiance
665 this openly, for many wish to avoid the break with a large section of the community which would follow such action. Some are teachers or civil servants who fear lest their open support for the

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[1] *Ghawdex Jiddefendi L-Knisja* [Gozo defends the Church] (Gozo: Social Action Movement, 1961).

[648] [2] The government at this time was administered by a British Chief Secretary, and the MLP ordered members to stay away from all events it organized.

178 across the village and the clubs, and has brought about conflict
within many families. People lament the change that has come
578 over the village as a result. An old bachelor friend often used to
621 complain that had we come to live there just a few years ago,
'before politics came and spoiled everything', we would have
found the village a far happier place. Picnics and outings were
more frequent then, and groups of friends used to gather on hot
summer evenings and stroll outside the village to play guitars and
sing the lilting Maltese *ghana* in the cool air away from the houses.
[575] There was also more life in the clubs. Both the Social Club and
the Band Club used to take part in the national carnival com-
[796] petition for the best decorated carts and costumed companies. But
as the political conflict has divided the island's carnival celebra-
tion in two, so it has also affected the clubs. They now celebrate
neither the government's carnival nor that of the MLP for fear the
question of which one to participate in would provoke a fight
that would cripple the club.

Dun Bert, the parish priest in Kortin, is of course the head of
578 the local group which supports the Archbishop and opposes the
665. MLP. His chief lieutenants in the fight are the local clergy and the
793. lay leaders of the religious associations. Pawlu and Anton, his two
794 faithful helpers, are also vocal partisans, as is old Manwel. Dr.
Farrugia, old Manwel's son, as a former member of the Legisla-
tive Assembly (MLA) and a leading member of one of the political
parties opposed to the MLP, also belongs to the pro-Church
division in the village, though he takes little part in its day-to-day
275 affairs. The main activity and support comes from the leaders of
the lay associations, especially of the Young Christian Workers,
578 the MUSEUM and the Sodality of Our Lady. These all meet regu-
665 larly in their respective premises. Many of the others, older men,
794 spend much of their free time in Kelinu's café. These include old
Manwel, Pawlu, Anton, the sacristan, the organist, and Dun
Mikiel and Dun Filip, respectively the chaplains of the female and
male sections of Catholic Action. This café, located right next to
Dr. Farrugia's house, is the nicest café on the square, or in the
village for that matter. It is the only one which the clergy, the
teachers and occasionally Dr. Farrugia himself, frequent. It is thus
the headquarters of the more influential village citizens who sup-
[517] port the Archbishop. Most MLP supporters have stopped going to
it, although a few still play cards there for an hour or so in the late
afternoon when they return from work.

578

665 already noted, in Malta, it is a criminal offence to insult a minister
673 of religion. There were no other disturbances.

688 The Labour rally was rather a different story. The leader of the
694 MLP and the thousands of his supporters who came to Kortin to
578 hear him speak received a decidedly hostile reception. Though
Dun Bert did not organize a counter-demonstration for the
665 occasion, he did arrange a mass protest meeting the evening
794 before. The following day rival groups were out decorating. A
number of MUSEUM lads under the direction of one of the older
members pasted anti-MLP slogans all over the façade of the
church. At the same time, a group of men were busy hanging
posters and flags from the Labour club to welcome Dom Mintoff
to the village.

At 4 p.m. buses and cars began to stream into the village with
[796] thousands of MLP supporters from all over the island. At about the
same time the church bells began to call the faithful to a religious
procession in honour of Our Lady of Fatima which Dun Bert had
scheduled to take place during the Labour meeting. He himself
stood in the square watching the faithful gather in the church. He
also carefully observed those who passed by on their way to the
Labour meeting, which was being held right behind the church.
Most of the villagers who sympathized with the Labour Party
but who did not support it openly did not attend the meeting.
[783] They were anxious to avoid the open break with the rest of the
community which attending would have entailed. Besides, several
mentioned that their confessors had told them that they would
commit a mortal sin if they attended MLP meetings. All the open
supporters of the MLP in the village went to the meeting.

[796] The meeting began at about 4.30 p.m. and lasted for two hours.
Shortly after it had started, Dun Bert's procession of nearly a
thousand men, women and children slowly wound its way
through the village and returned to the church for a period of
prayer and worship. When the Labour meeting finally broke up,
most of the outside supporters departed quickly, though a number
were delayed because villagers had deflated the tyres of about
578 a dozen of their cars. At this time people also began to leave the
625 church. But the police, who were trying to keep a passage clear in
665 the centre of the square for the stream of departing Labour supporters,
794 kept them on the steps of the church. They waited there
for a while and then began singing hymns and songs in honour of

the Pope and the Archbishop, stopping now and then to shout 578
insults at the passing Labour supporters. The square on the other 625
side of the police cordon began to fill up with people returning 665
from the meeting and others who left their houses to see what the 794
excitement was about. Gradually the songs became louder and
more excited, and the shouts hoarser. By then it was getting quite dark, but I could see Dun Mikiel in the front row, his hands thrust tensely into the pockets of his cassock, scowling at the passers-by while he smoked cigarette after cigarette. The tension by this time was almost electric. Suddenly, one of the local MLP supporters returning to the Labour club replied to a taunt by making a threatening gesture. The crowd in front of the church booed him loudly and surged forward. The police, anxious to hurry the trouble-maker off the square, pushed him a bit too hard and he stumbled and fell. This angered the crowd on the other side of the square and it began to press through the police cordon. At this point police reinforcements arrived and cleared the square in a few moments. Their prompt action prevented an ugly situation from going further, for there had been well over a thousand angry people facing each other, separated by less than two dozen unarmed policemen.

Four days after the meeting, Dun Bert organized a pilgrimage 578
of reparation to atone for the insults of the MLP speakers. The 665
procession of some 1,200 people reciting the Rosary escorted the 794
statue of Our Lady of Sorrows through the area behind the church [785]
where the Labour meeting had been held. About 400 of the par- [783]
ticipants were outsiders who had come to Kortin from other parts
of the island for the occasion. After the procession the crowd [796]
gathered in front of the church where a Mass was said. A noted
Jesuit orator then rebutted the MLP speeches point by point. The [537]
whole affair had almost passed off without incident when a number of stones and bottles were thrown from behind walls at the buses and cars leaving the village.

But if there are relatively few face-to-face meetings of this kind 575
in Kortin or elsewhere, there are many disputes that divide and 578
weaken the clubs and associations. This matter has particularly 665
affected Sur Ġorġ, the president of the Social Club, who feels responsible for preserving its unity in these difficult times. In Kelinu's, where many of the influential regulars are members of the Social Club, they say that it has become a Mintoff stronghold.

575 Many of them have stopped going there. In point of fact, Sur
Ġorġ and the secretary are strongly opposed to the Labour Party,
578 though many of the younger men and some of the most active
665 older members support it. A number of people living nearby have
complained that members praise Mintoff in loud voices. There is
growing pressure on Sur Ġorġ to ban all political conversation
there. He has so far resisted the pressure, for he believes that if he
were to give in, he would drive away the very members who form
the backbone of the club. His chief problem, as he described it to
me, is how to focus the attention of the members on something
other than politics. He is therefore doing his best to obtain the
permits necessary to open the theatre for which they have been
planning and saving for years. He feels that in the excitement of
building, the members will forget their political differences and re-
unite, and thus the club will pass safely through this crisis. But the
permits have been slow in coming and meanwhile the pressure on
him is building up. Two important members of the committee
have already resigned, 'under the influence of those busy-bodies in
Kelinu's', as some members described it.

The men in charge of the St. Martin Band Club in Farruġ face
much the same problem. As has already been noted, most of the
leaders of the two political blocs in the village are members of the
St. Martin club, and several of them are on its committee. This
difference of political loyalty often provokes quarrels over matters
[574] of policy. During the centenary, for example, the committee
were sharply divided over whether to salute the Archbishop with
the customary barrage of fireworks when he entered the village
to take part in the ceremony. The matter was put to a vote, and
the MLP faction won. The disgruntled losers began talking about
firing off their own salute of welcome. But the crisis that this
action would have brought about was avoided when the Vicar-
General officiated in place of the Archbishop, who was indis-
posed. As the MLP supporters had nothing against him, he received
the full barrage of aerial bombs and fire crackers. The rift was
thus healed, and all joined in to celebrate a rousing feast.

578 The following year the festa again brought a crisis with it. This
624 time it was a far more serious one. Most of the young Labour
665 supporters, in retaliation for the way the Church had attacked
their party and its leaders, flatly refused to have anything to do
794 with the feast. These young men included virtually all the partit's
796

fireworkers, and without their expert help it was feared that the 578
feast would be a miserable failure. Many Labour supporters also 621
instructed their parents and wives not to contribute money to the 665
feast. This depressing state of affairs continued for some time. 794

Then one day, about three months before the festa, Pietru, the 796
young schoolteacher who is head of Catholic Action and treasurer
of the St. Martin club, came up to me looking very pleased. He
said that the feast was saved. Several events had combined to work
up interest in it. It seems that most of the people had attended a [216]
large and very successful titular festa in a neighbouring village;
the St. Roque fireworkers had shot off three extremely well-made
test rockets; and he himself had played his tape recording of
the St. Martin hymn, the anthem of the partit, over a loudspeaker
in the square. These events revived interest in the festa
and in the reputation of the partit. Immediately afterwards the
secretary of the club, a Labour supporter who has set politics
aside for the honour of the partit, called a committee meeting to
discuss the problem of making fireworks. After several speeches
urging members to keep their politics from spoiling the feast, the
committee voted to make fireworks. Though two skilled fireworkers [389]
crossed the floor and agreed to help, none of the many [463]
experts among the rank and file followed suit. But soon after this
political loyalty again began to smother the rekindled partit spirit,
and one of the fireworkers all but dropped out. Moreover, Pietru,
who is the village's most eloquent and outspoken enemy of the
Labour Party, began to preach so vehemently to those he calls the
'lost sheep' of the club, that he antagonized many. His fund-raising
suffered as a result.

About a month after this I met Toni at a festa in a neighbouring 578
village, and we had a long talk away from the interested eyes and 621
ears of Farruġ. Toni has been a member of the St. Martin Club 665
committee for nearly twenty years, and until some months ago
had been vice president. He was clearly very worried about the
club. People were already beginning to draw parallels between
the present situation and the events that led up to the split in
1930. He said he was doing his best to discourage such talk, and
had now begun working hard to avoid an open break.

He pointed out that he had experienced many crises in the partit
and favoured a less blunt approach to winning back the interest
of the MLP members than did the crusading Pietru. He felt that he

578 621 665 had already had some success wooing members back on a personal basis by talking only of the honour of the partit and leaving politics out altogether. He stressed that the main problem was not so much the feast but the survival of the club. 'If we can just weather out the storm until after the election we can save it.' He went on to describe how it had taken years to heal the division after the seceding Strickland supporters had rejoined in 1935. 'We must avoid a split at all costs, and the only way we can do that is to bury our political differences.' His technique for doing this was to have as few formal committee meetings as possible, to avoid discussing controversial subjects and to vote in secret, for in these times 'an open vote divides the members'.

578 621 794 796 [389] [868] The wise counsel and efforts of the older members, who have set politics aside, has so far kept the younger hot-heads from splitting the club. In spite of all the obstacles in its way, the feast of St. Martin turned out to be a good show. Though many supporters did not contribute, others gave more than usual and there were enough funds for a good feast. About a dozen boys worked under the direction of the two adult fireworkers, and made most of the fireworks. They gave a very good account of themselves, though not one of them is old enough (18) to join the club as a formal member. All are Catholic Action members. In fact, except for a few St. Roque boys, they are the only ones left in the society. The Catholic Action group once numbered almost fifty. The others, the sons of Labour families, had been forced out by the vote of loyalty to the Archbishop which the association's national headquarters had demanded. But their enthusiasm could not quite make up for their youth or their lack of numbers. During the Friday demonstration for the saint some outsiders who were supporters of the guest band had to help them carry the statue of their patron part of the way. This was a great comedown from the previous year, when his followers were so numerous that they had to struggle for a turn to carry him. But the noise and the gay atmosphere of the celebration rekindled the interest of a number of the Labour supporters. Several helped to erect the decorations on Saturday; a few even joined in one of the band matches.

[p.141]

Appendix A

Festa and Band Club Partiti

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	Titular Feast	*Band Club*	*Secondary Feast*	*Band Club*
A. FESTA AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
GHAXAQ	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
GUDJA[1]	O/L of the Rosary	'La Stella'	O/L of Consolation	'O/L of Consolation'
KIRKOP	St. Leonard	'St. Leonard'	St. Joseph	'St. Joseph'
LUQA	St. Andrew	'St. Andrew'	O/L of Consolation	'Union'
MQABBA	The Assumption	'King George V'	O/L of the Lily	'Lily'
QRENDI	The Assumption	'St. Mary'	O/L of Lourdes	'Lourdes'
RABAT	St. Paul	'Count Roger'	St. Joseph[2] (Franciscans)	'L'Isle Adam'
VITTORIOSA	St. Lawrence	'Duke of Edinburgh'	St. Dominic[2] (Dominicans)	'Prince of Wales'
ŻEBBUĠ	St. Philip	'St. Philip' 'St. Philip's Festivities and Social Club'	St. Joseph	'De Rohan'
ŻURRIEQ	St. Catherine	'St. Catherine'	O/L of Mount Carmel	'Queen Victoria'
B. INTER PARISH AND BAND CLUB RIVALRY				
QORMI	St. George	'St. George'	St. Sebastian	'Pinto'
RABAT, GOZO	The Assumption	'Leone'	St. George	'La Stella'
SLIEMA	Stella Maris	'Stella Maris'	Sacred Heart	'Sliema'
VALLETTA	St. Paul	'La Vallette'	St. Dominic[3] (Dominicans)	'King's Own'

[776]

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[1] Both saints are secondary; the titular is the Assumption of Our Lady.

[2] The devotion is centred on a church in the parish that is run by regular clergy. The rivalry is thus classified midway between A and B.

[3] Though this is the main feast, the titular of the parish is Our Lady of Porto Salvo.

575 C. BAND CLUB RIVALRY ONLY

578 BIRKIRKARA	St. Helen	'St. Helen'	X	'Duke of Connaught'
621 HAMRUN	St. Gajetan	'St. Gajetan'	X	'St. Joseph'
● 796 MELLIEHA	Nativity of Our Lady	'La Vittoria'	X	'Imperial'
ŻABBAR[1]	O/L of Grace	'Maria M. Gratiae'	(St. Michael)	'St. Michael'
ŻEJTUN	St. Catherine	'Beland'	X	'Żejtun'

D. FESTA RIVALRY EXISTED FORMERLY

BALZAN	The Annunciation	'St. Gabriel'	St. Valentine	X
DINGLI	The Assumption	X	National Feast on September 8	'Dingli Club'[2]
GHARGHUR	St. Bartholomew	'St. Bartholomew'[2]	St. Joseph	X
LIJA	Transfiguration of Our Lord	'Pius X'	St. Aloysius	X
NAXXAR	Nativity of Our Lady	'Peace'	O/L of Doctrine	X
SAFI	The Conversion of St. Paul	'St. Paul'[2]	O/L of the Rosary	X
SIĠĠIEWI	St. Nicholas	'St. Nicholas'	St. Joseph	X

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[1] The external feast of the secondary saint was suppressed.

[2] Social and festa club without a band.

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of
fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the
family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[234] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others
to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring
through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the
evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and
feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the
traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band
Clubs have lost for them something of their position of
fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of
possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off
not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine
(B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds,
gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U.
collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or
arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
517 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the
scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from
all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on
the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little
inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per
man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low
status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people)
is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at
all possible from following in the footsteps of their
fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the
farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

FEAST DAYS.

Most of these are made the occasion 527
of general rejoicings in Malta, celebrated 796
either by illuminations, feastings, fireworks or some other open air amusement.

The greater number of the holidays in Malta are in connection with the religion of the people, and are held either in honour of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, or of some Saint—-as the titular Saint of the Parish or the celestial Patron of the town or village whose day is always celebrated with special pomp in each district.

Of all these *festas*, which are cele- 796
brated throughout the year with more or less enthusiasm, we only mention that which is celebrated on the 10th February in honour of St. Paul.

Great preparations are made for this day, to adequately celebrate this truly

796 national and religious festival, which has been lately declared a general holiday.

796 173 This very popular feast is intended to commemorate the greatest and most important event in the whole history of these Islands: that is, the conversion of the Maltese from Paganism to Christianity by the Great Apostle of the Gentiles, after he was shipwrecked on the shores of this Island A.D. 58.

796 The taste displayed by the Maltese in their festive decorations amount almost to genius, and they effect with the simplest means, what the most elaborate mechanism is generally required to effect elsewhere.

796 373 The front of the church, and the principal streets leading to it, are always decorated with thousands of white and coloured lamps. Along the road large

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

flags are seen floating, either from poles topped with evergreens, or from ropes stretched from house to house across the street. The balconies, windows and terraces of the private houses are also bedecked with many coloured flags and festooned with garlands of fairy lamps.

After dark the aspect of the streets of the town or village in which the feast is being celebrated is rendered still more striking by the multitude of variegated lamps. These are merely tiny cups of tinted glass with some oil and wick hung across and along the streets in a maze of graceful curves, but the profusion with which they are used and the taste shown in their arrangement combine to produce a magical result, the innumerable points of coloured light combining to form an illumination that is singularly brilliant and effective.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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• 796 [541] There is also on each occasion a liberal display of fireworks on the evening before the feast day, with the usual amount of noise and glare, and several bands, civic and military, play choice selections of music to the great delight of the large concourse of persons assembled.

[346] [353] [794] The interior of the churches is always most beautifully and gracefully decorated for the occasion of the festival, and the inhabitants of each town or village are always vying with each other in contributing large sums of money for the purpose of decorating the church of the parish to which they belong. In most cases the feast day closes with a procession followed by the image of the Blessed Virgin, or that of the Saint who is being honoured, carried on the shoulders of some eight or ten men.

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Large crowds of people in their best attire assemble, from nearly all parts of the Island, on the afternoon of the day of the festival, for the purpose of seeing the procession walking along the principal streets of the place.

When the statue is yet some distance of the parish church, the priests who take part in the procession enter the church, while a number of men and youths, carrying lighted torches, blue lights, and branches of real or artificial flowers in their hands, precede the statue up to the church entrance, amidst deafening shouts of " Evviva " the merry chiming of bells and the firing of hundreds of small bronze or iron petards, which are crammed to the muzzle with powder and stones to make the detonation more stunning.

Besides the procession which takes

796 place during the year in the towns and villages on the day of the festival, held in honour of the titular or some other Saint, there are also other processions, such as that of Good Friday and St. Gregory's day, the origin and description of which will be given in another place.

Having thus glanced briefly at some local recreations of the Maltese which have connection with their religious ceremonies in celebrating the annual festivals in honour of the celestial patron of the town or village, we now come to the other usages and customs, which are observed by the Maltese during the year commencing from that of

NEW YEAR'S DAY.

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431 Early on the morning of the 1st. of January, groups of children may be

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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the 1st of January playing popular pieces 527
of music, and this they do as a New 431
Year's greeting. 533 These men will rarely leave a house until some little gift of money is bestowed upon them as a remuneration for their trouble in paying their annual congratulations.

ST. ANTHONY'S DAY.

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Among the popular Maltese customs 825
in which animals play a leading part, that of the blessing of the quadrupeds of the equine species, in Valletta, on St. Anthony's day, is the most familiar.

On the morning of the 17th January (St. Anthony's day) a number of horses, mules, and donkeys, decked out in ribbons and tassels, are driven in procession in front of the Vittoria, a little

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 825 church in Str. Mezzodì, at the back of the Royal Opera House, where a priest standing at the door of the little church, sprinkles the animals with holy water as they pass by.

The same ceremony takes place annually at Notabile, where the animals are blessed by an Augustinian friar, at the door of St. Augustine Church. Here the quadrupeds partake of some barley which is placed in a tray for them.

796 825 175 In the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the ceremony of blessing the quadrupeds on St. Anthony's day was more imposing than it is in our days.

The first that took part in the procession, were the horses drawing the Grand Master's stately carriage, followed by every description of vehicle,

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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from the gala coach of the dignitaries 796 825
of the Island to the peasant's cart. 175

Very many inquiries have been made into the origin of the blessing of quadrupeds on this festival, none of which, however, has proved satisfactory.

That St. Anthony has been long re- 776
cognized as the patron and protector 825
of the lower animals, and particularly of pigs, is a well established fact.

Fuller, in his "Worthies." says: 776
"St. Anthony is universally known as 825 114
the patron of hogs, having in all pictures a pig for his attendant, though for what reason is unknown, except because being a hermit, and having a cell or hole digged in the earth, and feeding principally on roots, he and the hogs were both alike in their diet and lodgings."

When St. Anthony was living in the 776 173 825

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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173 776 825 desert, away from the rumours of the world, for the only object of serving God, the devil tried all his means to tempt the old hermit and win him to himself—the Saint, however, always held fast and kept faithful to God. The fiend, seeing that all his efforts were vain, took to frightning and tormenting the good hermit. On several occasions he appeared to him amidst a flock of wild beasts. Anthony, however, was never frightened, he soon invoked the name of our Lord and signed the cross for help, and the devil enraged was always obliged to leave him unhurt.

•796 825 173 This is probably the reason why animals are blessed on St' Anthony's day, so as to keep off the devil from them, and thus man is less liable to be injured or hurt by them.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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CANDLEMAS DAY

This is a religious festival observed 796 171
not only in Malta but in all other Catholic countries in honour of the Blessed Virgin on the 2nd of February, the 40th day after the Nativity of our Lord.

The word Candlemas is evidently 796 [778]
derived from the benediction of the candles, followed by a procession, which takes place in the churches on the morning of this day.

Nearly every family in the Island is 796 794 778 431 354
presented with one or two of these blessed candles—each having at the lower end, the image of the Blessed Virgin stamped in gold leaf, as a distinction from other ordinary wax candles.

These they receive either from the priests, or from some other person attached to the church, as a sort of a slight recompense, for the contributions

796 794 offered during the year, for the purpose
778 either of decorating or repairing the
431 church or churches of the parish to
354 which they belong.

It is also customary for every parish priest—on this special day, or on the day following—to present both the Bishop and the Governor of the Island with a
[843] two lb. candle. It is to be observed, however, that the candle given to the Governor is only a blessed one when he happens to profess the Roman Catholic Religion.

178 This giving of candles to both the
796 Bishop and the Governor—a continua-
354 793 tion of a custom that prevailed in the
431 time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, when the Grand Master was annually presented with a blessed candle on this day—is meant as a token of respect to each of the highest Ecclesiastical and Civil dignitaries of the Island.

This festival is said to have originated 796
with the ancient Romans who, on the 173
night of the 1st day of February, went about the streets of Rome with lighted torches and candles in honour of the Goddess *Februa*, the mother of Mars.

In the year 684, however, pope Ser- 796
gius, anxious to wean his disciples from 175
the practice of heathen observances, and seeing that it would be useless to prohibit a practice of so long standing, turned the ceremony to a christian account by enjoining a similar offer of candles to the Blessed Virgin, and ordained that all Christian people should come to church on the 2nd day of February with candles in honour of the Virgin Mother of God.

541 174 spent in feastings and revelling of every kind.

FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT

796 783 In the afternoon of this day, which is known by the name of "Hadd in-nies" (the people's Sunday), immense crowds of people, from all parts of the Island, flock to casal Zabbar, in their best Sunday finery, for the purpose of saying some prayers before our Lady of Graces (tal Grazia) in the pari-h Church of the village, as an atonement of the follies committed on the Carnival days, After paying the visit the people go out of the church parading the streets.

796 265 The numerous shops of the said village are pretty well got up for this occasion. Stews, ham, cheesecakes, and other viands are profusely supplied for

those, who, either from the effect of the country walk, or from the smells emanating from the cooked rabbits and fried sausages, feel inclined to go in and partake of the tempting dishes. 796 265

The crowd of visitors keep on promenading along the streets of the village till little before sunset. At the *Angelus*, the Zabbar visitors are on their way home, and the inhabitants of the village, are left peacefully alone to remove the chairs and tables prepared for their friends and relations. 796

HOLY THURSDAY AND GOOD FRIDAY 796 785

These two days of Holy Week—the end of the Penitential season—are days of solemn and melancholy ceremonial in Malta and observed as days of rigid

796 [785] fast, being sacred as a commemoration of the crucifixion of our Lord.

The Churches are covered with black hangings, all the altars stripped of their ornaments, and all the bells are kept silent in token of deep mourning.

The people assist in crowds at the most imposing services which take place in all the principal churches on these days.

On Holy Thursday (Maundy Thursday), from about 1 p.m. till very late at night, the towns, Notabile and the other thickly populated centres of Malta, present a very striking scene.

Hundreds, from every rank and class of the people, generally in couples or in groups, are seen most devoutly performing the visit to the churches, reciting prayers all the time as they move from one church to another.

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Good Friday is kept as a day of general mourning. All business is suspended, and no holdings of public proceedings take place upon this day. The churches are all crowded, especially in the adoration of the Cross which, no doubt, is the most striking ceremony of Good Friday.

In the afternoon, after a three hours sermon, or meditation upon the seven words uttered by our Redeemer before his dying for us on the Cross, large crowds of people assemble on each side of the streets of Valletta, the three Cities, Notabile, and most of the villages to see the processions which are intended to commemorate the passion and death of our Saviour.

In these processions several life-sized images, representing the principal events of the Crucifixion, are carried through

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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796 the main streets, attended by scores of *fratelli*, or members of the fraternity of the Crucifix, who are entirely covered in white or dark brown garments, and by the clergy of the parish, chanting as they follow the statues carried before them at equal distances in the procession. At the end of each of these processions a gorgeous bed is carried, covered with a canopy hung with rich embroidered curtains on which a life-sized figure of our Redeemer is stretched.

After traversing several of the streets, the procession re-enters the church and every body goes quietly home.

HOLY SATURDAY
or
EASTER EVE

The service of Holy Saturday is signalized by the Benediction of the paschal

Candle and the solemn chanting of the "*Gloria in Excelsis Deo*" which is the signal for the uncovering of the Church pictures, which had been covered during the two preceding weeks, and the simultaneous ringing of all the Church bells which were kept hushed in token of mourning during the two preceding days. 796

General rejoicings now commence, and Easter greetings are profusely exchanged amongst all classes of the people.

Peculiar custom prevails in Valletta and Vittoriosa on Easter Eve. Just at sunset, two or three men, one with a big drum and the others with fifes, playing a merry tune, go about the streets,followed by large crowds of men, among whom noisy bands of lads, who keep rushing and pushing wildly all 796 533 184

796 533 184 the time through the spectators, each adding his quota to the universal clamour. Everything, however, is done in perfect good humour and no one dreams either of giving or taking offence. (*)

EASTER

796 Very early on Easter Sunday, before daylight, there is, in each town and in some of the villages of Malta, a procession with the image representing the Resurrection of our Lord.

The most popular of these processions is undoubtedly that of Valletta.

Large crowds of people assemble, as

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[971] (*) The Greeks celebrate the feast of Easter with singing and shouting in honour of the Resurrection --with crakling of a large bonfire on Easter evening and on Easter morning before daybreak.

(Brand's " Popular Antiquities").

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early as 2 o'clock in the morning, round the door of the Catholic Greek Church, in Strada Vescovo, whence the procession starts.

At about 3 a.m. the procession—which consists of a number of young men carrying lighted lamps in their hands, led by the "*Papas*" and followed by the image—proceeds through some of the principal streets of Valletta, amidst the joyful acclamations of thousands of people who flock there from almost all parts of the Island.

When the procession arrives at the small church of Vittoria (at the back of the Royal Opera House) the bearers of the image halt for a while; all at once the way is cleared and a general run is taken with the image as far as the walls of the city.

This run is repeated three or four

796 times at different parts of the town; the best run, however, which is mostly enjoyed, both by the spectators and the carriers of the statue, is that which takes place at the lower end of Strada Reale on the hill opposite St. Catherine's Church and Convent.

Here large crowds of men are seen ready to help the bearers in the run with the heavy statue up the hill.

After traversing several other streets, the image is deposited in the same church from which it started.

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EASTER EGGS &c.

171 The custom of eating and presenting
431 *fiyolli* and round cheese cakes *(kassatat)* is as prevalent in Malta, at Easter, as it is in any other town or country of Italy.

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Maltese children look forward with great anxiety to get either from their parents, or from some friend or relative, a *figolla* at Easter. 796 262 431

The *figolla* consists of a bit of flat baked dough, cut in the shape of a woman, a turk, an eagle, a horse, a star, or a basket, with one or more eggs, having the shell stained red, or some other colour, embedded in its centre and fixed in position by cross bands of paste.

This characteristic rite of Paschal or Easter eggs is most widely diffused. 796 262

The universal connection of eggs with Eastertide does not seem to rest on any Christian symbolism. This popular observance is clearly of pagan origin. 171 174

In pagan imagery the egg was assigned to *Astarte*—the Phœnician Venus—as an emblem of the fructifying

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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796 262 171 174 forces of nature, and may thus have come to be associated with April, the month held sacred to *Aphroditis* (*), in or near which Easter falls.

We are told that the Jews used eggs in the feast of the Passover, and that when the Persians keep the festival of the Solar New Year (in March) they mutually present each other with coloured eggs. There can be little doubt, however, that the use of eggs at this season was originally symbolical of the revivification of nature, that is, the springing forth of life in spring.

A writer, in the "Gentlemen's Magazine" for July 1783, supposes the Easter egg to be an emblem of the Resurrection of our Lord—in the same manner, as the chicken entombed, as

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(*) The Grecian name of Venus

it were, in the egg, in due time bursts 796
its shell and springs forth to life. 262

Hutchinson (History of Northum- 174
berland) says: Eggs were held by the 171
Egyptians as a sacred emblem of the renovation of mankind after the deluge.

The Jews adopted it to suit the circumstances of their History as a type of their departure from the land of Egypt, and it was used in the feast of Passover as a part of the furniture of the table with the Paschal Lamb.

The Christians have certainly used it on this day, containing as it does the elements of future life, as an emblem of the Resurrection. It seems that these eggs were decorated for a religious trophy after the days of lent, which are days of mortification and abstinence.

We know also that the Jews in ce-

796 lebrating their Passover, placed on the
262 table two unleavened cakes called "pass-
171 over cakes" (*) with hard boiled eggs
174 bound in with slips of paste cross ways on them (†)

Hyde, in his "Oriental Sports" says that the Christians buy eggs at Easter and stain them with a red colour, in memory of the blood of Christ shed for us at the time of the Crucifixion.

That the Roman Catholic Church has considered eggs as emblematical of the Resurrection may be gathered from the Ritual.

St. GREGORY'S DAY

796 ### *General procession*

793 This very popular feast, which takes place on the first Wednesday after

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(*) The *figolla*.
(†) Brand's "Popular Antiquities."

Easter, is celebrated by a general procession composed of the fraternities and Clergy of all the parishes of the Island, led by the Chapter of the Cathedral followed by His Grace the Bishop of the Diocese. 796 [793]

The solemn chiming of the bells of all the parishes in the Island at sunset, on the day before, and the lighting of a large fire on the top of Cathedral church at Notabile, about 10 at night, warns the faithful to gather early on the following morning (Wednesday) in their respective parish church to start for the annual procession. [262]

At about 7 o'clock in the morning, Casal Paula is literally thronged with thousands of people from all parts of the Island, awaiting instructions as to the marching and ordering of the grand procession.

•796 A person, then, appointed by the Bishop, reads out the parishes to march in the order of their seniority. This done, the cross-bearers of all the parishes walk, following each other, to the Parish Church at Tarxien—some 10 minutes walk from Casal Paula — where they join their respective fraternities and clergy, and start for Zeitun — about a mile and a half from Tarxien—each Company walking behind their standard bearer, joining in the response of the Litany of the Saints which is pronounced by one of the priests of each parish.

On arriving at Zeitun, after passing through the parish Church of St. Catherine, were the standard bearers in the procession, by way of salute, wave their standards three or four times before the high altar, the procession proceeds

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to the old church of St.-Gregory which is at the end of the village.

The waving of the standards is renewed here with more excitement; in fact, large crowds assemble round the environs of this small church to witness the daring feats of some of the brawny countrymen standard-bearers, who, although encircled by half a dozen or more policemen, who try to prevent them from waving the standard, (*) succeed in doing so to the great delight of the enthusiastical crowd.

When the clergy of each parish enters this church, they kneel down before the altar of St. Gregory and exclaim aloud for three times "Misericordia." One of

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(*) The reason the police interfere is, that on several occasions accidents have happened through the breaking of the flag-staffs

796 the Canons of the Cathedral then says mass and the ceremony is over.

At the conclusion of this procession there is a scene of general confusion throughout the whole village of Zeitun. Priests, friars, *fratelli*, cross and standard-bearers, men and women of all classes, especially country people, and of these unfailingly the most recently married couples—all in their best attire and with a grand display of jewels and gold (*)—are seen going to and fro, buying and eating sweetmeats [493] and cheese cakes. Then again hundreds of all sorts of vehicles, from His

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[675] [584] (*) Till lately, young women residing in the country insisted before they were married on its being particularly stipulated in the marriage contract, that their husbands should take them to Casal Zeitun on St. Gregory's day, to Valletta on St. John's day, and to Boschetto on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, on the 29th of June.

Grace's carriage to the commonest 796
donkey cart, keep moving through [493]
the merry crowds, in search of their occupants.

Most of the people, however, who take part in this general procession, either stop at Zeitun, or proceed to Marsascirocco — a watering place at some distance from that village—where they spend the remainder of the day in merry making.

Round cheese cakes, *kassatât*, is the 796
most common edible connected with 262
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this day, and from early morning, the whole day long, the shrill cries uttered by the innumerable vendors of the cakes may be heard throughout the village.

A few remarks about the origin of 796
this procession will be interesting. 174

Many and various are the opinions as regards that origin.

796 174 [931] Abela, in his "History of Malta" says: that it was instituted as a vow to St. Gregory, to whose intercession the Maltese had recourse in 1519, when the Island was visited by an epidemic disease.

Ciantar, the celebrated Historian, assures us, however, that the procession was instituted in 1400 long before the epidemic mentioned by Abela.

[648] Others again say: that it was held about the year 1429 whilst the Island was being besieged by some 18000 Moors, but this could not possibly be the case in as much as the people who were besieged within the walls of the town could not join in the cry "Misericordia" at Zeitun.

[731] Again some say that the procession took place for the first time in Malta in thanksgiving to the Almighty after

the deliverance from a large swarm of 796
locusts that once caused a dreadful 174 [731]
havoc in the Island.

Monsignor Duzina, the Apostolic 796
Visitor, who visited Malta in February 174 782
1575, having found that the origin of 648
this procession was involved in great obscurity, caused the most aged men of the Island to be brought before him, and on asking them about the origin of the institution of this general procession, he was informed that the tradition was "That the procession was founded by a general vow of the Maltese after their deliverance from the Turks, whose fleet was dispersed by a terrible storm at Marsascirocco,(*) just when the Moslems were on the point

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(*) This is probably the reason that the general procession goes to the churches of St. Catherine and St. Gregory, those being the nearest churches to Marsascirocco.

796 of effecting a landing on the shores of
174 the Island.

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It is an undeniable fact that the procession has been instituted in commemoration of some signal public deliverance. Of all the traditions, however, the ~~most~~ generally received is that which we read in the acts of the said Mons. Duzina's visit in 1575.

796 This procession used formerly to take place in lent, on St. Gregory's day, which falls on the 12th of March. That day was selected not because the above mentioned invasion occurred on that particular day, but because lent being the time of penance, our faithful forefathers thought that the vow would be more acceptable to God in lent. And the day of St. Gregory was chosen, that Saint being the founder of all processions which are solemnized by the Roman Catholic Church.

527 are seen putting off the shore and
501 steering their course homewards.

527 The custom of making swings on
526 Ascension Day, is very common in
Malta, especially among the country people. In almost every village, lots of women and children may be seen swinging together and singing merrily on the day of *Lapsi*.

527 No reason could perhaps be assigned
173 by the Maltese for the practice of celebrating *Lapsi* by parties and picnics on the water, and for making swings, except that they follow the custom of their ancestors.

796 *St. JOHN'S EVE*

372 Not unlike other nations, the Mal-
857 tese are not indifferent in celebrating

the Nativity of St. John by kindling great fires in the public streets, and giving their children dolls to carry in their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist "*Multi in nativitatae ejus gaudebunt*". 796 372 857

Days and even weeks before this festival, groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs and all sorts of other combustibles which they store up for St. John's eve.

On the night of the 23rd. of June, the day before the festival of the Saint, great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the Island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking. 796 372

• 796 372 These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being continually fed by the scores of by-standers who take great delight in throwing amidst the flames some old rickety piece of furniture which they consider as lumber in their houses. Lots of happy and reckless children, and very often men, are seen merrily leaping in succession over and through the crackling flames (*).

796 372 175 At the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Grand Master

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[174] (*) Leaping over the fires is mentioned among the superstitious rites used at the *Palilia* feasts, instituted in honour of *Pales* the goddess of shepherds, (in the calends of May) in Ovidius's Fasti.

> " Moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
> Traijcias celeri strenua membra pede "

The learned Moresin appears to have been of opinion that the custom of leaping over these fires is a vestige of the ordeal, where to be able to pass through fires with safety, was held to be an indication of innocence.

himself, soon after the *Angelus* used 796
to leave his palace, accompanied by 372
the Grand Prior, the Bishop, and two 175
bailiffs, to set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred Hospital.

Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on, of the 8 casks, (*), by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

Various opinions are entertained by 796
antiquarian writers with regard to the 372
171
origin of these fires on St. John's eve. 174

From the account given by Jakob Grimm in his "Deutsche Mythologie" p. p. 583, 593, it would appear that

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(*) Eight being the languages of the Order.

● 796 the great blaze reserved for the eve
372 of the feast of the nativity of St.
171
174 John the Baptist on the 23rd. of June, is observed with similar rites in every country of Europe.

The kindling of the fire, the leaping over or through the flames clearly show that these rites are essentially of heathen origin. They are obviously connected with the worship of the sun, and were doubtless practised long before the Baptist was born. In old heathen times the summer and winter solstices were the two greatest and most widespread festivals in Europe.

These fires—says another writer—are evidently a remnant of the ancient Beal fires of the Druids, at the *Beil* time, which was at the beginning of May. But why do they chiefly occur on the night before the festival of the

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Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* 796
time which was the beginning of May? 372
—I do not believe that a satisfactory 171
explanation of these circumstances has 174
yet been given by any of the antiquaries. [114]
It was perhaps to transfer the practice or custom of lighting these fires from a Pagan to a Christian object.

The Nativity of St. John the Baptist 796
was a great and solemn festival of 372
the Church, like those of the other great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in the early ages, commemorated with appropriated ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these [796]
was probably introduced a large and [074]

174 •796 372 [796] unusual exhibition of lights to typify the Baptist who, in the Gospel, is called by the Saviour himself "A burning shining Light." What could have been more natural than that the early Christian Authorities would have directed the people to light their anniversary fires on the eve of this Saint, and thus give to the national custom a Christian instead of a Pagan significance? To this feeling, most likely is due the transfer of the fires to the 23rd. of June and, perhaps too, this perpetuation to this day amongst the people.

Gebelin, in his "Allegories Orientales" accounts in the following manner for the custom of making fires on Midsummer Eve.

"Can one" says he " omit to mention here the St. John's fires, those sacred fires kindled about midnight, on the

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very moment of the solstices, by the greatest part of ancient as well as of modern nations—a religious ceremony of the most remote antiquity which was observed for the prosperity of states and people and to dispel every kind of evil? The origin of this fire which is still retained by so many nations, though enveloped in the mist of antiquity, is very simple. It was a *Feu de joie*, kindled the very moment the year began; for the first of all years, and the most ancient that we know of, began at this month of June, hence the very name of this month, *Junior* meaning the youngest, which is renewed; while that of the preceding one is May, *Major*, meaning the ancient. Thus the one was the month of young people whilst the other belonged to old men.

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● 796 372 174 These *feu de joie* were accompanied, at the same time, with vows and sacrifices for the prosperity of the people and the fruits of the earth.

They danced also round this fire, and the most active leaped over it. Each on departing took a fire brand, and the remains were scattered to the wind, which at the same time that it dispersed the ashes, was thought to expel every evil. When after a long train of years, the year ceased to commence at this solstice, the custom of making these fires, at this time, was still continued by force of habit. Besides it would have been a sad thing to have deprived the people of a day of joy in times when there were not many of them, thus the custom has been continued and handed down to us."

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Dr. Milner is of opinion that the 796
fires lighted up all over the continent, 372
on the eve of the 24th. of June, are not 174
intended as the idolatrous worship of 114
the sun or *Baal*, the Philistine God of fire, but in honour of Christ's precursor, as alluding to his character of bearing witness to the light (John i. 7) and of his being himself a bright and shining light (John V, 35).

In conclusion, it would appear as 796
certain, that the fires of St. John's 372
eve were intended to typify the Saint by an exhibition of light.

Formerly the feast of St. John (24th. 796
of June) was very popular in Malta. It ranked with that of SS. Peter and Paul, celebrated at Notabile on the 29th of the same month.

The number of people that flocked to Valletta from all parts of the Island,

796 on the morning of this day, was indeed very great.

When the procession was over, most of the country people repaired to the upper Barracca, which was then roofed over and consequently offered a very comfortable temporary asylum. Here they amused themselves till the evening eating, drinking, and singing.

St. PETER AND St. PAUL

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527 One of the principal occasions of amusement for the Maltese is, no doubt, the popular feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, celebrated at Notabile or Città Vecchia on the 29th of June.

[192] This feast is known by the name of l' Imnaria which is a corruption of *luminaria* (illumination) from the illumination which takes place at the

796
Cathedral Church of Notabile on the 527
eve of the said festival. 192

On the morning of the feast—as 527
soon as the procession, which is led 262
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by the Bishop, enters the Cathedral 273
Church—large crowds, especially of 301
[796]
country people in their substantial holiday finery, and wearing their hoarded ornaments of massive gold, drive at a racing speed to Boschetto, where, careless of the excessive heat of a broiling sun, they divide into companies and under the shades of the leafy orange trees in the beautiful garden, they seem quite happy in eating their sumptuous dinners, consisting chiefly of stewed rabbit, ham, pies, cheese and an allowance of common wine, which they keep in large dark glass bottles, or in tin cans where the indispensable liquid is less liable to being spilt.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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543 perhaps excites more interest to the visitors than the beautiful animals which are considered a great ornament to the show.

Sta. VENERA

796 A similar occasion as that of *Imnaria* is afforded to the never tired merry-makers country-women, on the 4th Sunday of July, the day dedicated to the festival of St. Anne.

As early as 4 o'clock in the morning of this day, scores of carts, loaded with gaily dressed country girls, leave their respective villages and proceed to Sta. Venera, a small church at Hamrun, which is very nicely decorated for the occasion.

[537] Here a sermon on the life of the great saint is preached to the people as-

sembled, from a wooden pulpit in the 796 537
open air, near the small chapel. When 796
the sermon is over the jolly country 543
girls take a great delight in the fair [366]
which is held along the space in front
of the small church, which is blocked up
from end to end with temporary booths.

The wares offered for sale are of the 796
simplest description, consisting princi- 543
pally of scapulars, pictures, gay woollen 438
and cotton sashes and handkerchiefs,
cheep trinkets, and glass and china of
inferior quality; but there is enough
colour and glitter to produce a pretty
kaleidoscopic effect when touched by
the rays of the bright shining sun.

On this morning the scores of vendors [265]
of sweetmeats, lemonade, and iced water
seem endowed with extra power of
throat and lungs for vociferating these
refreshing compounds, and the set up

796 [543] [438] [265] tables, piled with the castellated erections of honey and almonds, tempt those crowds of country people to spend what they have purposely put by for this annual holiday.

After three or four hours of high revel the wheeled vehicles return home with their jolly occupants singing all along the road.

Sta. MARIA

796 184 On the 15th of August, the day dedicated to the Assumption of the B. V. Mary (Santa Maria), nearly all the Island of Malta is *en fête*.

[103] Seven of the twentyfour villages, that is :— Casals Musta, Dingli, Attard, Crendi, Micabiba, Asciak and Gudia celebrate on this day their titular feast with the usual illuminations, fireworks and processions.

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This feast is also celebrated with great pomp at the Cathedral Church of città Vittoria, Gozo, and for this reason our sister Island is, on the occasion, an attraction for the Maltese people. In fact, several steamers and launches decorated with coloured flags, are employed on the eve of the festival, and sometimes for some days before, transporting the vast concourse of people who, influenced either by a spirit of devotion or a desire to enjoy a pleasant trip, a healthy change, and a little fresh air, embrace the opportunity of paying a visit to the famed Island of Calypso to behold the festivities which take place there at the festival of "Santa Maria."

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On the evening of the 14th the illuminations and fireworks are very splendid; the religious ceremonies, on that,

796 and the following day, are conducted
with the usual solemnity and fervour.
[547] There are also several races of quadrupeds in the afternoon of the day of
the festival, similar to those which are
held in Malta on the feast of S. S. Peter
and Paul (L'Imnaria). These races
bring the amusements to a close.

796 Worth mentioning is the custom which
484 prevails amongst some of our country
788 people on the 14th of August, the eve
of the feast of "Santa Maria."

Groups of country men and country women, actuated purely by religious motives and a desire to honour the Great Mother of God, start for a pilgrimage of more than 8 hours walk on the morning of that summer day, heedless of the excessive heat of the scorching sun, to visit the churches at the 7 above mentioned villages dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

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St. ROCCO RACES

The famous horse race which is annually run at Pietà on the 16th of August, the feast day of St. Roque, is a source of great excitement to the large crowds of people who flock thither from all parts of the Island. 527 54 [796]

Although the races do not commence before 6 p.m. yet, as early as 3 o'clock, the Pietà creek is all covered with hundreds of boats of every description, laden with people; and all along the Pietà quay, from the Bathing house — the place from which the competing animals start—to the winning post, at a little distance from "Portes des Bombes" — is always lined with thousands of spectators in order to witness the sport.

Some 5 minutes before 6 o'clock, a [202] gun is fired as a signal for the people to clear the way; a second report is

527 These races were first held on St.
541 Roque's Feast day in consequence of
776 755 the working of miraculous cures of
796 the plague by St. Roque who was
195 specially invoked by persons afflicted,
while stricken himself with the desease,
at Piacenza, in Italy.

THE "VITTORIA"

527 *Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary*

[796] The 8th. of September, the day dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is no doubt the grandest and the most popular day for the people of these Islands.

Both the streets and church of Senglea—the town in which the feast is celebrated—present on this occasion a most lively appearance.

[184) The grand illumination and the

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by Government in commemoration of the defeat of the Turks (*)

The famous annual boat race of the 8th. of September draws as great a concourse of people, comparatively speaking, as the far-famed Oxford and Cambridge contest annually does along the banks of the Thames.

The Valletta harbour quays, from the new extension, right up to the old Barriera, and all the overlooking lines of walls and batteries, on both sides of the harbour, are early taken possession of by thousands of spectators who take great delight in this exciting annual regatta.

The course is from "Ras Hanzir"

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(*) Both the regatta and the *giostra* were formerly held on the 10th of August, St. Lawrence day—The Parochial feast of Vittoriosa, the principal seat during the memorable siege of 1565.

in their bathing costume, immediately 527
begin the task of endeavouring to seize 526
the flag, one after another they continue tumbling into the water and raising again to renew the attempt.

Gradually the greasy matter diminishes and the competitors are able to advance further. At last the winner with the prize flag in hand, amidst great shouts of "bravo," loud whistling, and clapping of hands announces the end of the National Feast for that day.

The 7th of September is also commemorated by a melancholy, and at the same time imposing, ceremony at the Co-Cathedral Church of St. John in Valletta. 796 769

On the morning of this day the celebrant, preceded by the Chapter and Clergy, descend into the crypt beneath the High Altar, and while chanting

796 *requiems* for the repose of the souls of
769 the knights interred there, and all the other dead who fell in the great siege, sprinkles holy water upon the tombs, while the great bells, in the towers above, peal mournfully the legend which the Maltese voice in the words "Il-libera tal Cavalieri" (the funeral of the Knights).

527 For some years past a purely civil commemoration of the glorious Victory of the 8th of Sept. (1565) when the Cross triumphed over the Crescent, has been celebrated, however, not on the 8th of September, but on the 1st Sunday after that date in Valletta, and the Sunday after that at Vittoriosa and Cospicua, while on the following Sunday the celebration takes place at Sliema and Zabbar.

In Valletta, the St. George's Square and Str. Reale, are worth seeing on this occasion.

ulous effigy of the B. V. Mary, venerated in that shrine excavated out of the rock. 173 778 788

ALL SOULS' DAY

2nd November

In Malta, the same as in any other Roman Catholic country, a feast is also celebrated for the dead, and the Cemeteries especially that of the "Addolorata," which ranks amongst the finest in Europe, are, on the 1st and 2nd of November the favourite resort of nearly the whole population of the towns and of the neighbouring villages. 769 796

Amidst mournful tingling and tolling of the church bells, countless inhabitants, mostly clad in the habiliments of grief, and murmuring prayers, are seen wending their way to the Cemetery. Arrived

769 there they proceed to the tombs of
796 their departed dear ones.

[782] Here a widow and orphans are seen knelt in prayer at the vault of their respective husband and father, or perhaps some daughters at the resting place of their ever lost mother or father. There some father and mother contemplating the last abode of their beloved son in whom they had placed their future hopes; they are all there reverently and devoutly reciting prayers to the Almighty for the repose of the souls of their deceased.

The graves on these two days are very beautifully decorated. Some are literally covered by masses of flowers, some hung with wreaths and crosses woven of the loveliest blossoms, others converted into a temporary garden, with willows, cypress, and other shrubs.

• 796
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At the *Angelus*, these devout mourners, after hours spent in prayers and in going round the cypress groves, reading the beautiful epitaphs inscribed on the rich marble tombstones and the beautiful monuments, take a last glance at the tombs, as if bidding a fond and affectionate farewell to their inanimate occupants, and then return to their city or country homes, either murmuring their prayers for the repose of the souls of the faithful departed, or talking about the many magnificent mausoleums, and the beauty of floral decorations lavished on them. The nearer the crowds approach their dwelling places the more they are reminded of the sacred day, by the mournful pealing of the bells which seem to say "Remember those you have lost, for to-day is the day of the dead."

It is also the custom in Malta to 796
commemorate all Souls' day by distri- 769
buting relief among the poor and needy. 735
Collections are made for the purpose of purchasing bread and providing dinner for the poor in the lower quarters of the towns and populous centres.

A walk at about 11 a.m., on the 2nd [792]
of November, as far as the square in front of the Capuchins' Convent at Vittoriosa or at Floriana, or to some other place where the relief is distributed, affords not a little delight.

About a hundred poor old men and women, some of whom either half crippled or blind are to be seen struggling towards the big boiler in which the dinner is being cooked, with something in the shape of a pot in their hands, each and every one eager to get his or her share of the nicely cooked dinner.

796 769 [735] When these poor creatures get their share, they go gladly back to some corner to eat what has been procured for them by the contributions received from the charitably disposed.

Before leaving the description of the celebration of All Souls' Day, it would be interesting also to mention another custom which prevails in the Island on the 2nd of November.

On this day most of the charnel-houses are thrown open and lighted up with scores of oil lamps and decked out with flowers, while crowds throng the vaults to visit the bones of their friends and relatives.

[792] The most crowded of these vaults, however, used to be that below the Capuchin church and Convent at Flo-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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riana. (*). Here the fleshless skeletons 796
of the monks who died in the convent 769
are dressed up in the robes which [792]
they wore during life, and arranged erect in niches along the wall.

St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny,in 998 instituted 175
the “ Commemoration of all the 796
faithful departed ” in all the monasteries 769
of his Congregation, on the 1st of November, which was soon adopted by the whole western Church. The Council of Oxford in 1222, declared it a holiday of the second class, on which certain necessary and important kinds of work were allowed (†). In Malta however the 2nd of November is only a day of devotion.

(*) The opening of this vault for the public on All Soul's day has been stopped for some years past to prevent some accidents through overcrowding. Visitors, however, are allowed in at any time of the year by applying for permission to the Father Superior.

(†) Butler, “ Life of Saints.”

CHRISTMAS

The Maltese are not at all wanting in the religious fervour and the exhibition of hearty demonstrations of delight with which Christians welcome the anniversaries of the Nativity of our Blessed Redeemer. 796•

This is made very apparent by the rich decorations and the illuminations which are to be seen in the churches on Christmas night.

Places of public resort and private residences are also richly decorated with floral emblems and devices on this occasion.

On the 24th December—Xmas eve—most of the inhabitants, especially young men, do not retire to bed at all but ramble about, some parading the streets playing sweet melodies to charm the ears of the people, and others going 796
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7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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796 574 262 in companies to some one of their friends, at whose house they amuse themselves eating honey cakes and pancakes or fritters, and playing for nuts till the church bells ring a little before or after midnight.

At the conclusion of the service they come out again and devote the remainder of the night to amusements.

796 534 [184] The approaching festival of Christmas is heralded in some of the villages of Malta by the appearance of the "zakk" and "tambur" players in the streets. (*)

[237] The *zakk* or bagpipe is a wind instrument—one of the primitive instruments of sylvan music—formed of an inflated dog skin, which is held by the player under his left arm, with the legs

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[541] (*) The *Zakk* and tambourine are also in use amongst our lower classes on the days of Carnival.

796 534 [237] directed upwards, and having a mouth piece by which the skin is filled, and a cane flute or pipe which is played with both hands. This the country people play at this time of the year to represent the shepherds of Bethlehem.

796 778 The decking out of the *presepiu*, a crib or representation of the Nativity of the Holy Child at Bethlehem, by a group of dolls with pasteboard scenery, furnishes amusement to the Maltese, both old and young.

Several of the houses have a crib more or less artistically arranged, and the better the arrangements of the crib, the greater is the concourse of people who come to see it.

796 174 824 The custom of decking our churches and habitations with evergreens at Christmas has existed from the very establishment of Christianity and was

• 796 unquestionably derived from the like
174 practice of our Pagan ancestors.
824

"Trimming of Temples," says Polydore Virgil "with hangings, flowers, boughs, and garlands was taken from the heathen people, who decked their idols and houses with such array.

796 "Christmas," says Blount, "was
174 called the feast of lights in the Western
373 or Latin Church, from the many lights
or candles that were lit at the feast, and this because Christ, the light of all lights, that true light, then came into the world. Hence the prevalent custom to have so many lights in our churches at Christmas midnight service.

796 The custom of eating pancakes or
174 fritters and honey cakes at Christmas
262 in Malta is supposed to owe its origin to
the cakes baked in honour of *Janus*, who presided over the beginning of the New Year.

carries a certain spice of gambling, the 524 525 players of *Morra* congregate at some street corner or a public house and indulge in a game for small stakes which the winner generally spent in assuaging the thirst of both parties, a proceeding to which the loser as a rule made no objection.

FAIRS

Every Sunday morning there is a 443 438 527 fair held along strada Mercanti, Valletta. The goods exposed for sale in these weekly fairs are of all descriptions, and attract large crowds, especially of country people.

Besides these Sunday fairs there is 443 527 796 also another fair held annually at Floriana on the mornings of the feast days of St. Calcedonio, St. Giacomo, and

443 527 • [796] [178] St. Anna, which are celebrated on the 24th, 25th, and 26th of July. These fairs, however, which were once very popular, have now sunk into insignificance and most likely will before long entirely disappear.

443 171 Fairs have long been regularly held in most parts of Europe and Asia, and they appear to have originated in the Church festivals, which were found to afford convenient opportunities for commercial transactions. The concourse of people being then so such greater than on other occasions.

USAGES

175 562 The ancient Maltese formerly kept their wives in the strictest retirement. They held the opinion that women should never appear but twice in public,

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774 these transformed creatures return home towards dawn quite
777 exhausted and awake in the morning quite unconscious of
their nocturnal expedition."[1] The derivation of the word
[192) *Gaugau* has been given as the Syrian *Hagogo*, a ghost; but
surely the *Gaugau* is more than a simple ghost. His behaviour
stamps him as a vampire. Busuttil says that "the yearly
[179) punishment" is thought to be inflicted because Christ "does
not like anyone to be born at the same time he was born,"
and then suggests that the *Gaugau* came into Malta with
774 the Phoenicians. The Phoenician origin and the popular
777 explanation seem quite irreconcilable until it is recalled
774 that—

● 796

> "It is well known that in the transition from paganry to Christianity the Christian clergy, finding it impossible to wean the populace from old customs or to eradicate primitive beliefs, discreetly met the situation by diverting pagan festivals to the honour of Christ. It is not so generally known that December 25th, the Christmas Day of Christendom, was necessarily thus fixed for the reason that this date was the birthday of Mithra, and that the obdurate heathen flatly refused to relinquish their cherished festival. It was not until A.D. 400 that the Church Fathers accepted the inevitable, and tactfully adopted the Birthday of Mithra as the official Birthday of Christianity. At the beginning of the fifth century, S. Chrysostom, referring to the festival of the pagan Sun god, wrote: 'On this day also the birthday of Christ *was lately fixed* at Rome in order that, while the heathens were busy with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their sacred rites undisturbed. They call this (December 25th) the birthday of the Invincible One (Mithra); but who is so invincible as the Lord? They call

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[1] BUSUTTIL, *Holiday Customs in Malta.*

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it the Birthday of the Solar Disc; but Christ is the Sun 774
of Righteousness' " (S. HEATH, *Romance of Symbolism*).[1] 777
796

We cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, connect the vampire *Gaugau* with Christianity; but with Mithra the affair becomes quite different. It is not difficult to connect a child born on the eve of the Birth-feast of the bloodthirsty Mithra with something more terrible than "ghostly pranks." It is comforting to hear that the vampire *Gaugau* is now capable of nothing worse than "frightening people with his groanings!"

There was a time before the dread broom of "Progress" 846
began to sweep all peasant customs—good as well as bad— 777
before it, when the newly-delivered mother kept carefully to 787
her house during forty days for fear of meeting another mother
who had been confined on the same day. It was believed that
of two such women meeting within forty days of their confine-
ment, one would suffer a great misfortune. Two possible [174]
reasons for this quaint prohibition are apparent. It was either some remnant of a primitive, levitical period of purification or a means of ensuring that the mother wasted no time gossiping at the doorway or in the market place, to the neglect of her young family.

GROWING UP

With the child's first birthday comes the '*uccija*, or "choosing." 852
A tray or basket is filled with an assortment of articles repre- 787
senting trades and professions—a book, a rosary, a candle, an inkstand, a sword—whichever the baby first picks up will indicate its bent in life. This simple means of divination is widespread, and little need be said of it except that some grains of corn are sometimes introduced as a symbol of generosity, suggesting that at one time the '*uccija* decided

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[1] M. BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

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to justify the inconvenience of caring for them is a lesson 539
which had to be learned. "Ghalec ma tridx tmut l'ghagiusa, 888
ghax actar ma ticber izjed titghallem"—"The old woman does not want to die for the older she grows the more she learns"—is a common saying. For further proof that the story of the "Kaukam" has come down from very early times, there is the only other context in which the word *ghagiusa* means "an old woman" or, more accurately, "the oldest woman hereabouts" (normally the word means "a crab").

> "We have an old custom in Malta," says Bussutil,[1] 539
> "to make children believe that the ghagiusa is killed at 796
> noon on Thursday, the middle of Lent. Mothers, after 785
> fasting the first twenty days of Lent, send their children 888
> to the door of the parish church, or of some convent to see the sexton or some friar throwing the old woman from the steeple. . . ."

That the destruction of the old woman should occur in 174
the middle of Lent—a period of fasting—is too much of a 796
coincidence not to indicate that, in times when food was 539
scarce, the aged folk were removed—either by being thrown 888
from a high place or, to save the guilt of actual murder, walled up in a rock tomb, as in the case of the peasant. The association of the Church with the destruction of the *ghagiusa* suggests that in primitive times the removal of the aged was the responsibility of the pagan priests who performed the "ritual murders." These murders may have developed from a practical necessity into a sacrificial propitiation.

The story of the Kaukam takes its name from the ancient's 539
first piece of advice to his perplexed son. Faced with the probability of losing his own crops while he cares for those of the Sultan, who has commanded that no man may plant his

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

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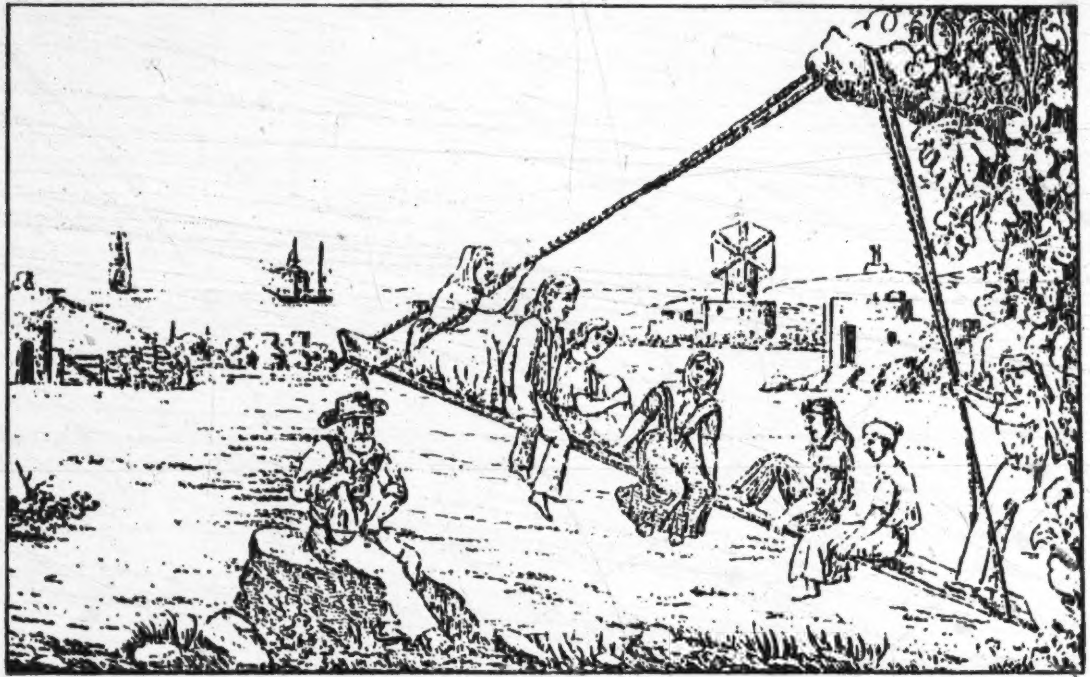
[facing P. 128]



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PEASANTS CELEBRATING "LAPSI"—FESTA OF THE ASCENSION
(From an old Maltese print)

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will only be necessary for a "wise woman" or witch to spit on the hair while uttering a curse to bring misfortune upon the head which nourished it. 771 788. [754]

Grez will be careful not to laugh too heartily on a Friday—when the memory of the Crucifixion should make all sad. She will make the Sign of the Cross on leaving her house, on entering any vehicle or boat for no matter how short a journey, on cutting a piece of new cloth, before her baby's mouth when it yawns—so that evil spirits may not enter. On meeting a deformed or maimed person she will sign her corresponding limb or part of her body with the Cross. [826]

When she brings flowers into her house she will be as careful to exclude the acacia as any West-country woman to avoid "may" or whitethorn, for the spiky Maltese acacia is the "thorn" of Palestine wherewith the Saviour was crowned. 771 [824]

These are but a few of the small ways in which the peasant woman pays a somewhat mixed homage to the Old Things as well as to the tenets of her Faith. In her favour it may be said that her "superstitions" are more logical than those of such folk who habitually "touch wood" or object to a third cigarette from one match.

THE FESTAS

The Festa, primarily a religious festival and a Holy Day of Obligation, provides the only relaxation for a hardworking and frugal people. Such simple pleasures as a meal of unaccustomed meat, a little wine, processions, and fireworks give full rein to the most lovable, childlike side of the national character. The importance attaching to these periodical holidays is well illustrated by an old rhyme: 796 [585] [675]

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THE SWEETHEART'S BARGAIN

585 In the marriage contract, they have it for a pact,
675 That he takes her to the Feste and sets her on a wall.
[262] That he buys her cakes of sweetmeat, of the sort with hempseed made.
For that's the kind of sweetmeat a bride likes best of all.

It is believed that such a clause used actually to be embodied in the written contract drawn up by the parents and the go-between.

796 [184] Each little hamlet has its own feast, in honour of its own particular patron. Each has its own peculiar forms. Of the national feasts that of St. John naturally occupies a place of considerable importance. Certain aspects of its celebration, however, indicate that the Order of St. John was not alone responsible for the enthusiasm which this saint inspires. Busuttil, who has already been quoted at some length, writes
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372 of the Feast of St. John as follows:

> "Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating the Nativity of St. John by kindling great fires in the public streets, and giving their children dolls to carry in their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist 'Multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt.'
>
> Days and even weeks before this festival groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs, and all sorts of other combustibles which they store up for St. John's Eve.
>
> On the night of June 23rd, the day before the festival of the Saint, great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the Island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking.
>
> These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being

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continually fed by the scores of by-standers who take 796
great delight in throwing amidst the flames some old 372
rickety piece of furniture which they consider as lumber in their houses. Lots of happy and reckless children, and very often men, are seen merrily leaping in succession over and through the crackling flames."[1]

At the time of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the 175 796
Grand Master himself, soon after the *Angelus*, used to 372
leave his palace, accompanied by the Grand Prior, the Bishop and two bailiffs, to set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred hospital.

Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on, of the eight casks,[2] by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

Various opinions are entertained by antiquarian writers 796
with regard to the origin of these fires on St. John's Eve. 372

From the account given by Jacob Grimm in his 171
Deutsche Mythologie, pp. 583, 593, it would appear that the great blaze reserved for the eve of the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist on June 23rd is observed with similar rites in every country of Europe.

The kindling of the fire, the leaping over or through the flames clearly show that these rites are essentially of

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[1] Leaping over the fires is mentioned among the superstitious rites at the Palilia feasts, instituted in honour of *Pales*, the goddess of shepherds (in the calends of May) in Ovid's Fasti.

"Moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
traijcias celeri strenua membra pede."

The learned Moresin appears to have been of opinion that the custom of leaping over these fires is a vestige of the ordeal, where to be able to pass through fires with safety, was held to be an indication of innocence.

[2] Eight being the languages of the Order.

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heathen origin. They are obviously connected with the worship of the sun, and were doubtless practised long before the Baptist was born. In old heathen times the summer and winter solstices were the two greatest and most widespread festivals in Europe.

These fires (says another writer) are evidently a remnant of the ancient Bel fires of the Druids, at the *Beil* time, which was at the beginning of May. But why do they chiefly occur on the night before the festival of the Saint, instead of the old period of *Beil* time which was the beginning of May? I do not believe that a satisfactory explanation of these circumstances has yet been given by any of the antiquaries. It was perhaps to transfer the practice or custom of lighting these fires from a pagan to a Christian object.

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The Nativity of St. John Baptist was a great and solemn festival of the Church, like those of the other great festivals of Martyrs, the eve or vigil of it was, in the early ages, commemorated with appropriate ceremonies. The public devotions were kept up all night in the churches, of which the Saint was the Patron, and the solemnities of the next day were ushered in amongst types and figures appropriate to the occasion. Amongst these was probably introduced a large and unusual exhibition of lights to typify the Baptist who, in the Gospel, is called by the Saviour himself 'A burning, shining light.' What could have been more natural than that the early Christian authorities would have directed the people to light their anniversary fires on the eve of this Saint, and thus give to the national custom a Christian instead of a pagan significance? To this feeling, most likely, is due the transfer of the fires to June 23rd, and perhaps, too, this perpetuation to this day amongst the people.

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Gebelin, in his *Allegories Orientales*, accounts in the following manner for the custom of making fires on Midsummer Eve.

'Can one,' says he, 'omit to mention here the St. John fires, those sacred fires, kindled about midnight, in the very moment of the solstices, by the greatest part of ancient as well as of modern nations—a religious ceremony of the most remote antiquity which was observed for the prosperity of states and people and to dispel every kind of evil? The origin of this fire which is still retained by so many nations, though enveloped in the mist of antiquity, is very simple. It was a *feu de joie*, kindled the very moment the year began; for the first of all years, and the most ancient that we know of, began at this month of June, hence the very name of this month, *Junior*, meaning the youngest, which is renewed; while that of the preceding one is May, *Major*, meaning the ancient.

'Thus the one was the month of young people whilst the other belonged to old men.

'These *feu de joie* were accompanied, at the same time, with vows and sacrifices for the prosperity of the people and the fruits of the earth.

'They danced also round this fire, and the most active leaped over it. Each on departing took a fire brand, and the remains were scattered to the winds, which at the same time that it dispersed the ashes, was thought to expel every evil. When after a long train of years, the year ceased to commence at this solstice, the custom of making these fires, at this time, was still continued by force of habit. Besides, it would have deprived the people of a day of joy in times when there were not many of them; thus the custom has been continued and handed down to us.'

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796 372 Dr. Milner is of opinion that the fires lighted up all over the continent, on the eve of June 24th, are not intended as the idolatrous worship of the sun or *Baal*, the Philistine God of Fire, but in honour of Christ's precursor, as alluding to his character of bearing witness to the light (John i. 7) and of his being himself a bright and shining light (John v. 35)."

796 171 It is of some interest to compare the Maltese account with the following notes on English Midsummer customs which appeared in the *Radio Times* recently under the signature of Felix Felton, compere of so many excellent folklore broadcasts:

> "Midsummer's Eve is also St. John's Eve. . . . Sermons on that day used to be preached out of doors in the quadrangle of Magdalen College, Oxford, 'that the preaching might more nearly resemble that of John the Baptist in the wilderness'; and bonfires were lighted in various parts of the country, 'betokennynge that Saint Johan was a lanterne of light to the people.' Then comes a collection of curious legends and superstitions connected with certain herbs. The legends attribute to these all kinds of magical powers; women, it is said, can tell by hempseed[1] who their husband is to be; and in Shropshire it was believed that those who failed to hang up St. John's Wort outside their doors would suffer by their cows going dry and their hens refusing to lay. Finally come the Midsummer's Eve revels and festivals—the old London processions, the revels at Penzance, the gatherings at Stonehenge, and the bonfire festivities still held to-day. . . .
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> As varied as the customs themselves are the possible

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[1] Compare the reference to hempseed in "The Sweetheart's Bargain."

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explanations of them. Two kinds of explanations have 796 to be treated with some caution, the local one and the 171 Christian one . . . and we shall find ourselves going back for the true causes to the worship of the sun and of the seasons.

The revel, easily degenerating into the brawl, has always found opposition, as in the thunderous verse of an old poet who branded the Midsummer processions as

Of Edinburgh the great idolatrie
And manifest abomination.

Other forces have militated against them besides the disapproval of the austere. As another old writer has rather obscurely remarked: 'No suffimen is a greater fugator of phantosmes than gunpowder.' Other such fugators are periods of increased popular education and of quickened pace in national life. These forces have been active enough in our own times, and few Midsummer customs have survived them; but all of them were originally the spontaneous outcome of certain impulses in the make-up of human beings, and thus, past or present, they are of permanent interest to us."

There seems little doubt that the Night of Fires belongs 372 to that very early civilization of which, as has been suggested 796 elsewhere, the Maltese are amongst the direct descendants. 174 What more appropriate than the adaptation of these ancient fires to the honour of that Saint beneath whose banner there happened all that is most valiant in Maltese history?

In one form or another practically all the "seasonal" customs 796 familiar in other countries appear in Malta: All Fools' Day, [527] with its affinity to the Hindu festival of Huli; May Day, when [171] the children gather green bows in honour of Flora; New Year's Day, when lime is strewn on doorsteps in token of good luck; but Malta's most popular holiday is the period of Carnival. Its

● 796 adoption by the English garrison may have done much to save it from extinction. Here is a description of Carnival, written in 1850:[1]

> "The Carnival is another source of popular amusement; this begins on the Sunday preceding Lent, and lasts for three days. The afternoon is the principal time of the feast, during which numerous persons in masks are seen walking about the streets, endeavouring to amuse themselves, and to be a source of amusement to others. The variety of dresses used on these occasions is beyond description. Not a few pride themselves in playing all kinds of antics in a black habit, with long red horns, and a huge tail of the same colour. Calesses filled with ladies follow in a train through the principal streets, who readily engage in pelting confits and peas with any of the by-standers who will enter the lists with them. The number of respectable persons, however, who mask in the public streets has greatly diminished within the last few years, and it is to be hoped that their good example will soon be followed by an entire relinquishment of so absurd [783] and foolish a diversion. The first Sunday after the carnival, most of those persons who have masked repair to the parish church of Casal Zabbar, called *della Grazia*, by way of penance for their follies.
>
> On Saturday preceding the first day of the feast the *Parata* is celebrated. This consists of several companies of men, dressed up in gay ribbons, and armed with wooden staves and shields, who meet together under the houses of the wealthy, and perform several evolutions, striking their shields and dancing at the sound of music. This is concluded by raising up a little girl, splendidly arrayed, and girded with a small dagger, which she is

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[1] G. P. BADGER, *A Description of Malta and Gozo.*

> taught to wave, while the band plays the national anthem, 796 'God Save the King.' In the time of the Order they proceeded to the palace to receive permission for the celebration of the Carnival. Their request was signified to the Grand Master by one of the knights, and upon the boon being granted, they immediately performed a dance in front of the palace, and afterwards before the door of any other person, whom they thought would pay them for their trouble.
>
> The origin of this amusement must be sought for in 796 171 the annals of pagan rites, which Christianity has not succeeded in abolishing in several countries of Europe. In a work on Malta, *Par un voyageur François*, the author ranks it with a popular feast very ancient in Thessaly, the *Salzea* of the Babylonians, the *Chronia* of the Athenians, and the *Saturnalia* of Rome, which many of the early Christians continued, notwithstanding the zealous efforts which were made by the Church to abolish them."

It will be noted that the public "masque" was regarded 796 656 as "an absurd and foolish diversion." The "diversion" must at some time have proved rather more dangerous than absurd, for the wearing of masks after sunset is now forbidden by law. It is of interest also to note that an attempt on the part [669] of a strict Sabbatarian Governor who hailed from north of the Tweed to abolish the merrymaking on the Sunday of Carnival led to a major civil disturbance which could only be quelled at bayonet point, and which is still remembered by those who are, for one cause or another, "agin' the Government!"

DYING

763 Zeppu's tired hands are at rest. They lie, brown and calloused, upon the coverlet. The village bell tolls urgently. The *fratelli*

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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If
he cares to attend the Cathedral of Mdina, the island's earliest 796
capital, on the 4th November, he will hear a Mass said for
the repose of the soul of Roger the Norman, Count of 175
Sicily, who ended the Arab occupation of Malta in 1090 and
is there commemorated as "Deliverer of Malta and Founder
of the *mensa* [table] of the Cathedral, the Bishop and the
Canons." Should he chance to be in Malta before the
beginning of Lent he will have the opportunity to witness
in the carnival festivities not only the jollifications common
to other Mediterranean carnivals but also features of more
local interest, such as the Parata dance on the Palace Square,
which takes its symbolism from the capture of a Maltese
bride by a Moslem corsair.

If he prolongs his stay into the summer he will see on the 527.
29th June, the feast of S. Peter and S. Paul, one of the most 526
characteristic of Maltese popular functions in the densely
thronged Mnarja races. These races, for horses and donkeys,
are of unknown but undoubtedly great age. The course is
a piece of straight, hard road leading uphill towards the big
square in front of Mdina, a square known as the Saqqaja.
Here, from his great stone box, the Grand Master in former
days, in these days the Governor of Malta, hands the banners
of victory down to the winning competitors, while interested
spectators watch the proceedings from two smaller
but similar boxes, flanking the Grand Master's and belonging
to some of the leading families of the island.

The name Mnarja is a corruption of the Latin *luminaria* 527
(illumination), for it was the custom on that day to illuminate 173
the churches of Mdina and the adjacent Rabat in honour of
the two saints. A more picturesque if unfortunately less 584
trustworthy tradition derives Mnarja from Hymen, the
goddess of marriage, it being supposed that the young men
of the island were formerly in the habit of choosing their
wives from among the maidens crowding to watch the
contest. This much, at all events, may be urged in support
of the latter theory, that until modern times Maltese brides

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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[*See pp.* 199–200.]

A PROCESSION EMERGING FROM S. JOHN'S

STREET IN SIĠĠIEWI

Note the "fat" mouldings.

[*See p* 67.]

● 796
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[facing P. 192]

is no sacrifice they will not gladly make for the greater 794
dignity and beauty of their churches. Take, for example, the
case of Mġarr—one of the smallest and poorest of the
parishes of Malta and the one most cherished by that great
seaman and lover of Malta, the late Admiral Sir W. W.
Fisher. Here between the two wars the inhabitants, nearly
all hard-working peasants, under the enthusiastic leadership
of their parish priest, Father (later Monsignor) Edgar
Salomone, built a great new church by their own efforts,
bringing their weekly contributions to the building fund in
eggs and fowls and vegetables and whatever else they produce.

At street corners statues of saints, sometimes also of souls 532
enveloped in a purgatorial blaze, afford them ever-present 778
reminders, encouraging or minatory as the case may be, of
the next world; in this one they love the great ecclesiastical 796
ceremonies, particularly the processions which are one of the
features of Maltese life. These assume on Good Friday
something of the character of a Passion Play, with members
of lay confraternities staggering along Merchants' Street in
Valetta beneath the weight of life-size groups of the Passion
carved with gruesome realism. I have also seen these
processions in Palermo, where I have been shocked at the
flippancy and irreverence not so much of the onlookers as of
the actual participants. The Maltese play their parts in these
functions with profound and solemn devoutness. Indeed, [783]
some of them may be bearing their burden, whatever it is,
in fulfilment of a self-imposed penance, concealing their
features behind a hood with eye-holes that covers the head.

But on the annual *festa*, the local saint's day, of their 527
village they give themselves up wholeheartedly to rejoicings,
which are definitely on the noisy side. For
they are punctuated by the explosions of crackers, maroons
and every procurable form of noise-producing apparatus,
and they are illuminated by ingenious, locally made fireworks.
On these days the casals are a brave sight as they fly [186]
from the top of every house of any importance the flag of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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If the Church in Malta thus lost its right of granting asylum, 793
its Head acquired at an even earlier stage of the British occupa-
tion another right which is carefully preserved to the present 659
day. In 1801 Major-General Pigot, then in charge of the 554
administration and in command of the troops, issued the following Standing Order to the "Garrison of La Valette and its Dependencies":

> His Eminence the Bishop of Malta is to receive from all guards honour due to a Brigadeer [*sic*] General.

When, after the First World War, the rank of Brigadier-General was abolished, the Archbishop of Malta was promoted, from the point of view of military compliments, to be a Major-General; and the guard never fails to turn out to him every day that he crosses the Palace Square.

It is sometimes said that the privilege was granted in recognition of the military services of Bishop Francis Xavier Caruana, who as Canon Caruana played a leading rôle in the rising against the French in 1798–1800. But this story is picturesque rather than probable, seeing that the salute to the Bishop was ordered in 1801 and Canon Caruana did not become Bishop of Malta until thirty years later. Its origin lay no doubt in the wish of the Occupying Power to demonstrate in a public manner its respect for the Church of Malta and its Head.

For the Roman Catholic Church is in Malta by law 795
established; its canon law is, as in Quebec, the law of the 659
land. It follows that contact between Church and State is
close, and this contact is not confined, on the part of the 796
representatives of the State, to relations with the hierarchy but is maintained equally with the parish clergy. The link finds its formal and public expression on the 2nd February of each year, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the ceremony of Candlemas, the "Candelora." On the morning of this day all the parish priests, wearing their best cassocks, repair to the Palace in Valetta, and one

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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795 by one; as the names of their parishes are called out, advance
659 to the Governor's throne and present to him a large and
heavy wax candle, generally embellished with painted
•796 decorations.

This Candlemas ceremony has been maintained uninterruptedly from the days when the State was the Order of S. John; and the Governor takes this occasion, as did his predecessors the Grand Masters, to address the assembly on the problems of the day, with particular emphasis on the manner in which Church and State can best co-operate for the benefit of the people. It gives the Governor of Malta the same sort of opportunity, *mutatis mutandis*, to make public pronouncements on matters of policy as the British Prime Minister is given at the Lord Mayor's Banquet. A collation brings this happy and useful function to a close.

Here it may be added that the Governor retains, as the successor of the Grand Masters, certain ecclesiastical patronage, such as the nomination to the post of Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Malta and the right of presentation to various benefices. A survival of another sort from the days of the Knights is the religious corporation known as the Collegiate Church of S. Paul's Grotto at Rabat, whose Canons still wear at their ceremonies the habit, *stolone* and cross of the Order.

The principal industry of the Maltese islands is agriculture,
241 and the Maltese, despite the stony nature of their land, are
433 skilful and industrious farmers with a wonderful knack of
extracting the utmost from the soil, despite methods
necessarily somewhat primitive since their fields are too
small for modern agricultural machinery. Maltese potatoes
and Maltese oranges have a high reputation. Vegetables
are good, especially tomatoes; wheat does well where there
[434] is room to grow it. But the islands can produce only a
fraction of their annual consumption of cereals, and much
251 has therefore to be imported from outside. Among the most
178 familiar features surviving from the era of the Knights are

175 rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural
harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans successively
648 occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that
Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually
nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the
Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were
replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of
the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed
successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–
1283), the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. In 1530,
[701] Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their protesting
inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military
Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles
vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on
Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800
Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to
Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then
they have remained a British possession.

175 The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was
776 the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he
stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the
795 people to Christianity. Whether he converted many is a moot
● [797] point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor,
Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. The Maltese are intensely
[796] proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna
San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the principal
patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a
national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local
legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his
gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there
was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

175 The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during
the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, re-
793 established and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to
795 arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed
while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of
Maltese bishops dates from this period.

175 Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the
642 Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered
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[1] Acts 27 and 28.

175 755 787 781 (iii) Giovanna Debrincat had been suffering from depression with religious scruples for eight months. Her symptoms became acute one day in February with extreme anxiety, agitation, and insomnia. This phase lasted for four consecutive days and nights in spite of the efforts of the doctor and a priest to reassure her and placate her. Finally her relatives annointed her with the sanctuary oil and appealed to the Blessed Virgin to cure her. The patient immediately became tranquil and had a peaceful sleep. When she woke up, all her symptoms had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1890).

NEOLITHIC VOTIVE OFFERINGS

532 172 782 [171] The custom of offering 'ex-votos' to the deity for favours received is not limited to the Maltese Islands and goes back to very remote times. The neolithic 'ex-votos' of Malta are made of clay and limestone, and measure from 1¼ to 3¼ inches in height. No less than fifteen of them, consisting of the following anatomical forms, have been found:

- (i) Faces: 2.
- (ii) Hand: 1.
- (iii) Female torsos with large abdomen, pendulous breasts, and prominent genitalia: 4.
- (iv) Kneeling female (?) torso with arms folded on breast: 2.
- (v) Fragment of female statuette consisting of lower abdomen, both thighs, and right leg: 1.
- (vi) Female body cut short in the neck and upper parts of the thighs; the left arm is bent on the nape of the neck and the right upper limb points to the genitalia which are very clearly shown. The abdomen and breasts are very full and a swelling fills the left groin while pieces of white shells are stuck in the armpits, groins, umbilicus, mons veneris, and other parts.
- (vii) Female pelvis with upper parts of thighs and sexual triangle: 2.
- (viii) Legs: 2 (Zammit & Singer 1924, p. 67).

17 782 ● [797] The Roman occupation of Malta (218 B.C.–A.D. 397) is represented by one solitary 'ex-voto' consisting of a clay model of the lateral view of a leg and foot. It was found quite recently with other Roman objects in the north-west part of the island (Plate 1, Fig. 2). The inhabitants of the Maltese Islands were converted to Christianity by St Paul in A.D. 60. No more 'ex-votos' can be traced for many hundreds of years until they reappear in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Catholic Church. The interruption in the time-sequence and the change of religious beliefs do not, however, prevent us from perceiving that they have a common purpose and that the 'ex-votos' of Stone Age and Roman times foreshadow the similar ones of later years. Indeed the same ideational process links the ancient ones with those of our own times.

782 532 755 Anatomical 'ex-votos' are still preserved in many of the Catholic churches of Malta and Gozo and in several wayside shrines in the countryside and in niches in the towns. They are either figures of the complete human body or of parts of it. The former consist of the front view of babies with the trunk and limbs swathed in bands like a mummy; and of side views of men and women in a kneeling posture with their hands joined in prayer over their breasts or else holding a symbolical heart. The men are turned towards the left and the women look towards the right. The models representing parts of the

584 will walk up and down the village street wearing a red carnation
824 behind his right ear and a red handkerchief thrown over his left shoulder. The shy maiden will be peeping from behind the latticed window, probably accompanied by one or two giggling, curious younger sisters.

The symbolic bush has about it something of the atmosphere of the Song of Solomon:

> My beloved is unto me as a
> cluster of camphire in the vineyards of En-Gedi . . .
>
> I am the Rose of Sharon and
> the lily of the valleys. . . .
>
> A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse . . .
>
> Awake, O North Wind; and come, thou south;
> blow upon my garden that the spices
> thereof may flow out.
> Let my beloved come into his garden,
> and eat his pleasant fruits.

[822] The red carnation and the red handkerchief, badges of the
[171] lover, are of that colour which is sacred to Venus. The wearing of the flower has its parallel amongst the Polynesians, to whom a red flower behind the right ear means "I am looking for a sweetheart."

584 Official "courting" will not begin until the "go-between" and the parents have arranged matters to everybody's satisfaction.

585 After the religious ceremony the young folk separate,
● 801 returning to their homes for a period of eight days before
171 setting up house. The reason for the choice of the number "eight" may not be without significance; for eight, it is said, was one of the signs of the goddess Astoreth, while the ancient Egyptians had a company of eight gods who were the Fathers and Mothers of the World. The double form of the figure "8"

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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was anciently used to represent the tying of Life with Spirit. 585
Its association with the "True Lovers' Knot" of our grandmothers is obvious. 801 ●
There is Biblical authority, too, for the 171
separation of husband from wife, in the incident between Tobias and the Angel Raphael.

Tobias (or Tobit) is about to be wedded to the maiden whose former seven husbands have been slain on the bridal night by an evil spirit. The angel says, "For they who in such manner receive matrimony as to shut out God from themselves to their lust, as the horse and mule, which they have not understanding. Over them the devil hath power. . . . Keep thyself continent from her. . . ."[1]

So far the marriage customs which remain extant—only one or two generations separate Zeppu and Gretz from the
more primitive customs. Here is what a Maltese writer has 584
to say of marriages in the not very distant past:

> "The articles of the contract having been settled, and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth.
>
> The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments.
>
> Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two [789]
> young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of
> rendering her affable and prudent. She was then conducted into the room where her future husband awaited [301]

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[1] *Tobias*, VI, 17–18.

SOME MALTESE WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804

UNIT	EQUIVALENTS		
	Maltese	British	Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollice)	-	0.859 ins.	21.83 mm.
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10.312 ins.	26.19 cm.
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar*	2.292 yds.	2.095 m.
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	5.252 sq.yds.	4.391 sq.m.
Kejla	-	22.410 sq.yds.	18.735 sq.m.
Siegħ (mondello)	10 Kejliet*	224.100 sq.yds.	187.354 sq.m.
Tomna (tummolo)	6 Siegħan*	0.278 acre	0.112 ha.
Modd (salma)	16 Tmien*	4.444 acres (1 acre=3.6 tmien)	1.798 ha.
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0.933 oz.	0.026 kg.
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1.750 lbs.	0.793 kg.
Wiżna	5 Rtal*	8.750 lbs.	3.968 kg.
Qantar	20 Wiżna	175.000 lbs. (1 ton=12.8 Qantar)	79.378 kg. 1016.128 kg.
BUNDLE MEASURE			
Qatta, Xibka, Xkora, (sheaf of sulla, wheat, etc.)		-	-
Hemel (somma)	10 Qattiet* in Malta 8 Qattiet in Gozo	- -	- -
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna (tummolo)		0.0625 qrs.	0.1818 hl.
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8.0 bushels	2.909 hl.
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Terz	-	0.281 quart	0.32 lit.
Nofs	2 Terzi*	0.562 quart	0.63 lit.
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	1.125 quart	1.27 lit.
Kwarta	4 Krateċ*	1.125 galls.	5.11 lit.
CAPACITY: BEER, WINE & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0.25 pint	0.142 lit.
Terz	2 Pinet*	0.50 pint	0.284 lit.
No[illegible]	2 Terzi*	1.00 pint	0.561 lit.
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	2.00 pints	1.136 lit.
Kwarta	4.75 Krateċ*	1.187 galls.	5.398 lit.
Garra	2 Kwarti*	2.375 galls.	10.797 lit.
Barmil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9.500 galls.	43.187 lit.

Note the following plural forms identified by an asterisk * in the table above:- [193]
Garar (s. Garra), Krateċ (s. Kartoċċ), Kejliet (s. Kejla), Kwarti (s. Kwarta) Nfas (s. Nofs), Pinet (s. Pinta), Qattiet (s. Qatta), Rtal (s. Ratal), Siegħan (s. Siegħ), Terzi (s. Terza), Tmien (s. Tomna), Xbar (s. Xiber), Wiżniet (s. Wiżna).

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P 183]

APPENDIX 5 : WEIGHTS and MEASURES

804

UNIT	EQUIVALENTS		
	Maltese	British	Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollico)	-	0.859 ins	21.83 mm
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10.312 ins	26.19 cm
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar*	2.292 yds	2.095 m
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	2.252 sq.yds	1.881 sq.m
Kejla	-	22.410 sq.yds	18.735 sq.m
Siegh (mondello)	10 Kejliet*	224.100 sq.yds	187.354 sq.m
Tomna (tummolo)	6 Sieghan*	0.278 acre	0.112 ha.
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	4.444 acres	1.798 ha.
		(1 acre - 3.6 tmien*)	
VOLUME			
Xiber Kubu	-	0.63 cu.ft	
Qasba Kubu	-	12.04 cu.yds	
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0.933 oz	0.026 kg
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1.750 lbs	0.793 kg
Wiżna	5 Rtal*	8.750 lbs	3.968 kg
Qantar	20 Wiżna	175.000 lbs	79.378 kg
		(1 ton - 12.8 qnatar* - 1016.128 kg)	
BUNDLE MEASURE			
Qatta, Xibka, Xkora (sheaf or bundle of sulla, wheat, etc.)			
Hemel (somma)	10 Qattiet* (8 Qattiet in Gozo)		
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna (tummolo)	-	0.0625 qrs	0.1818 hectolitr
Wejba	4 Tmien*	2.0 bushels	0.7272 "
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8.0 "	2.909 "
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Terz	-	0.281 quart	0.32 litres
Nofs	2 Terzi*	0.562 "	0.63 "
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	1.125 "	1.27 "
Kwarta	4 Krateċ*	1.125 gallons	5.11 "
CAPACITY: BEER, WINES & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0.25 pint	0.142 litres
Terz	2 Pinet*	0.50 "	0.284 "
Nofs	2 Terzi*	1.00 "	0.561 "
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	2.00 "	1.136 "
Kwarta	4.75 Krateċ*	1.187 gallons	5.398 "
Garra	2 Kwarti*	2.375 "	10.797 "
Barmil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9.500 "	43.187 "

MONEY

436 Sterling is the official currency in Malta and Gozo but various old units are also retained in popular usage:

'Lira'.........................	£1	'Sitta(6) rbghajja'.......	10d
'Nofs Lira'.....................	10s	'Sixpence'.................	6d
'Tmintax(18) rbighi'..........	2s 6d	'Tlieta(3) rbghajja'......	5d
'Skud'..........................	1s 8d	'Sold'......................	1d
'Xelin'.........................	1s	'Sitt(6) habbiet'..........	½d

(A 'habba' - grain - was one twelfth of a penny; twenty 'habbiet' equalled one 'tari' or 'rbighi'.)

193
804

NOTES (1) Plural forms, identified by an asterisk* in the table: Garar (s.Garra); Habbiet (s.Habba); Krateċ (s.Kartoċċ); Kejliet (s.Kejla); Kwarti (s.Kwarta); Nfas (s.Nofs); Pinet (s.Pinta); Qnatar (s.Qantar); Qattiet (s.Qatta); Rbghajja (s. Rbighi); Rtal (s.Ratal); Sieghan (s.Siegh); Skudi (s.Skud); Terzi (s.Terz); Tmien (s.Tomna); Xbar (s.Xiber); Wiżniet (s.Wiżna).

127
114

(2) The information in the table is based in part on that given in B/90 - 1958-9, p.410, and in part on personal investigation.

CHAPTER V

The Church and Village Politics

Most Maltese regulate their lives by the daily and monthly cycle 796
of religious activities. The major divisions of the day are rung 805
from the bells of the village church. They first ring the Paternoster
half an hour before the first Mass. Then the Angelus bell
rings a call to prayer at eight in the morning, at noon and at sunset.
The final bell of the day is rung two or three hours after
sunset, and is a brief request for the living to remember the dead
in their prayers. The call of the Angelus is observed by many.
When it is rung, work and conversation stop whether in a
government office or a village café, men remove their hats, and
someone among them leads them in a short prayer. In Gozo I
have seen a busy square become suddenly silent and many people
kneel in the street as the Ave Maria was rung at sunset. People
also often kneel in the streets when the bells announce the elevation
of the Host during a sung Mass, and during Benediction in
the evening. And finally, late in the evening, clusters of relatives
and neighbours can be seen sitting in their open doorways
reciting the Rosary together before they go to bed.

Most girls and women and many boys and men attend one of 184
the three or four daily Masses which are offered in all parish 796
churches between four and seven in the morning. Virtually every
one in the village attends one of the five or six Masses offered on
Sundays. The few who do not attend are known to the village, [626]
and are the subject of gossip and other social pressure. Since the [659]
recent dispute between the MLP and the Church, however, their
numbers are increasing.

As the church bells mark the important hours of the day, so the 796
principal divisions of the year are set out by the annual national
and parochial religious feasts and processions. Besides being major [541]
religious occasions, they are eagerly looked forward to as recreational [655]
events. Though secular spectacles, such as political rallies,
the government-run Carnival procession and, above all, the [546]

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of the eternal and immutable nature of the All-Father whose 776
symbol the rock is. 823

THE MONTHS

The Maltese, like the Scandinavians and the Russians, 539
personify the months, giving to each a human character in 805
keeping with its weather. A delightful little story called "The 821
Gifts of the Months" serves the dual purpose of impressing the qualities of each month upon the listener, while stressing the importance of accepting the best qualities in every season without complaining about the disadvantages. Two brothers, one a poor peasant, the other a rich merchant, each meet the twelve months. On being questioned as to what people say about the months in his part of the country, the peasant recites a number of couplets in praise of each month:

> "'Friend,' said January, 'what do people say about January in your part of the world?'[1]
>
> The poor man answered, 'It is a month of rain and of plenty. Vegetables grow and all that your heart can desire.'
>
> 'Do you know any rhymes about it?' asked January.
>
> 'Just imagine asking!' cried the poor man. 'As many as ever you like.'
>
> 'Tell me some, please,' said January.
>
> The poor man then repeated the three following: 'January sits in the cosiest nook in the house. A warm January makes full barns in the summer. The January moon brings the girls out of the caves for they think it is daylight.'
>
> January smiled and the others laughed. Then February took up the running. 'Friend, what do they say about February?'

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

> 539 'He is January's own brother, bless him,' said the
> ●805 poor man. 'Quantities of rain and everyone satisfied, for
> 821 February fills up all and brings riches to the peasant's house. In the month of February all mistakes are discovered. In February sow, water, and tend the small-leaved basil.'
>
> 'What a lot you know!' they all cried.
>
> 'Friend,' said March, 'what about March?'
>
> 'Days long and beautiful,' answered the peasant. 'The cold braces you like iron, and a little wind is always desirable.'
>
> The poor man answered in this way each question of the rest of the months, letting his tongue wag in their honour, praising each one up to the skies."

The merchant, in reply to the same set of questions, complains bitterly about each month. The peasant is given a magic cloth of the sort used to cover bread, which provides him and his family with food and drink in plenty. The rich merchant receives a stick which beats him and his wife unmercifully every time it is addressed.

821 Apart from the expected, usual characters of the twelve
787 months, there is a method whereby the year's weather may be foretold. The twelve days preceding Christmas Eve are known as "presages." Each day foretells the weather of its corresponding month during the forthcoming year. Here, again, is seen the shadow of Mithra—the "Great Fecundator"—no period could be more ominous than the sacred twelve days preceding his feast.

FAITH

771 Where knowledge fails or some error in complying with
782 the traditional rules is made, Faith steps in. A farmer will send for the village priest to bless his fields when he has sown

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

PARSLEY

824 763 When one plucks a stem of parsley by the roots and plants it again he may expect to lose one of his parents within the year.

THE HEN

825 763 When a hen crows it is at once destroyed as it foretells the death of some member of the family.

THE HAWKMOTH OR SPHINX

825 787 The appearance of a white hawkmoth betokens the coming home of some one who is abroad. The appearance of a black hawkmoth, however, is a harbinger of sad news.

COMETS

• 821 787 The appearance of a comet is a sign of an approaching evil.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938

EZ6 Malta EZ6

885

> "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children and thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee. . . ."

In all other things they remain children and "of such is the Kingdom. . . ."

So that the curse of Adam may lie less heavily upon these children of an unfertile rock, the Old Things have blessed them with an uncanny ability to make flowering fields out of nothing.[1]

THE SKY AND THE SOIL

● 821 171 [369] The weather and husbandry lore of the peasant has much to do with the success of his untiring hands. Much of this peasant wisdom is incomprehensible to the town-bred Maltese (too often they have lost touch or dismiss it—in hybrid Italian—as *ignuranza*); much of it has exact parallels in the lore of the English countryside, as for example the following:

821 171 539

Maltese	*English*
"The Moon eats everything."	"Fair weather with a full moon."
"The stars wink at the coming wind."	"Twinkling stars foretell high winds."
"Sky like a turtle's back; heavy rains, fierce winds."	"A rounded cloud with flattened base carries rainfall in its face."
"Clouds with heads of men and beasts bring in the thunder and the lightning."	

[248]

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[1] During the early years of the last century Malta's cotton crop was valued at an average of one and a half millions sterling annually. The cotton industry, dating from Roman times and earlier, is now practically dead.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Maltese	*English*	
"Red sky at evening, harness your mules. Red sky at morning, herd your beasts."	"Red sky at night, Shepherd's delight. Red sky in the morning Shepherd's warning."	821 ● 171 539
"Ill weather comes, ahead or astern, when the cat sneezes."	"The cat washes herself before stormy weather."	[825]

Often it appears that sheer nonsense is mixed with sound 245
common sense. Typical of the mixed "sense" and "nonsense" 824
is the following: 242

> "The first autumnal produce of the wild fig is called by the Maltese *Barru*. A second crop which takes place in winter is supposed to be due to the outcome of the first produce. This is called *Carru*, and is supposed to bring forth the third outcrop which appears in spring time and is recognized as the *dukkar* or real fertilizer of the fig. This fruit is cut and hung up in pairs on the bough of the fig tree.
>
> "The male fruit (*dukkar*) is usually full of a colony [825] of minute winged insects by the produce of which, the Maltese husbandman identifies the real fertilizing fruit.
>
> "The pomegranate is supposed to be fertilized by the flowers of the wild parsnip, and for this purpose bunches of these flowers are thrown over the pomegranate tree when in flower. *Dakra*, probably from *dakar* = to fertilize, is the name given to the wild parsnip by the Maltese husbandman.
>
> "The male flowers of the wild carob-tree (*baghal*) are thrown over the branches of the female plant to favour impregnation.

Small pieces of coarse stone are still hung up in the 241
jujube-tree with a view to securing a good produce. 823

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of the eternal and immutable nature of the All-Father whose symbol the rock is. 776 823

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EZ6 Malta EZ6

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FAITH

771 Where knowledge fails or some error in complying with
782 the traditional rules is made, Faith steps in. A farmer will
send for the village priest to bless his fields when he has sown

In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to
103 him,[1] after 1850 (in Naxxar, Għargħur, Kirkop and Xagħra, for
175 example) he was chosen as patron of the new parish churches of
621, Kalkara, Qala and Msida. Moreover, four parishes have secondary
776 feasts dedicated to him (Rabat, Għaxaq, Kirkop and Żebbuġ).
794 Besides these Għargħur and Siġġiewi had St. Joseph partiti which
796 succumbed to the 1935 Church regulations.

The identification of secondary partiti in general with St.
621 Joseph is also perhaps reflected in the colour most have chosen as
794 their symbol. It is blue, the colour of the banner of the Con-
822 fraternity of St. Joseph. The supporters of many secondary partiti, even if their saint is the Virgin Mary, wave blue scarves about to show their loyalty to it. Their rivals display red scarves, after the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose members support the titular saint.

463 The correlation between partiti and occupational class is also
621, shown in the high proportion of village priests who are sons of
793, families supporting the titular feasts. I once asked the leader of a
794 secondary partit why this was so. He replied that it was only natural since the families of the titular partiti were in much closer contact with the parish priest. Thus their sons, rather than those of rivals, more often became his young helpers and altar boys and received the necessary recommendations to the seminary and other church-run schools. From there, some became priests, and others assumed positions of leadership with the various associations. Other informants suggested it was because the 'best' families support the titular saints, and therefore can afford the additional school fees and loss of earning power that are involved in having their sons become priests.

Of the 41 priests born and now resident in Żurrieq, Kirkop, Qrendi, Mqabba, Luqa, Għaxaq and Żebbuġ, 33 (80 per cent) are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. This percentage gains added importance by the fact that in each of these villages the secondary partit is either equal to or larger than the titular partit. The exception is Żebbuġ, where the secondary partit is decidedly smaller than the titular one. In Farruġ, though the local priest is from a St. Roque family, all the offices connected with the parish church, and 23 of the 30 key positions with Catholic Action, the Football Club and the Labour Committee, are in the hands of St. Martin supporters. Thus the members of titular partiti are not only closer to established authority, they often become part of it.

[1] [i.e. St. Joseph,—Analyst]

764 767 [292] their faces and black silk cloaks. (*) The room being stripped of all its furniture and hung with black cloth.

[302] The *neuwieha*, throwing themselves on their knees at the foot of the coffin, began singing the praises of the dead, and cut off handfuls of their hair which [262] [431] they spread over the coffin. On the same day, cakes and boiled wheat were distributed among all the relations, and the hair was cut off the tails of every horse at the stables belonging to the house of the deceased.

764 533 The funeral procession was always composed of the relations in mourning preceded by some boys playing the fifes or trumpets.

[765] [822] [171] (*) **The colours of the dress or habit. worn to signify grief are different in different countries. In Europe, the ordinary colour for mourning is black. *Black*, being the privation of light, is supposed to denote the privation of life.**

PULLEYN ***Origin & Inventions.***

she honours and calls upon in her sister's hour of need. The 844
tale is told of the birth-rose which was forgotten. Triplets 824
were born. Later the rose was found, having grown on its withered stem three healthy branches bearing fresh, green leaves. Whatever deep significance attached originally to the birth-rose, the custom has a beauty of its own.

The next thought is for the little one's future. A gold ring 844
or some other golden object is placed in the water in which 823
he or she is washed, in order, they say, that riches will not be lacking. At one time, it may be, something of more value than the dross of riches was sought, for gold was the symbol of wisdom and a bright understanding long before it had value as currency.

It will be well if the baby is not red-headed, for the red-headed 826
child will inevitably be known as "Son of the Wind," [551]
"Daughter of the alcove," or even more scurrilously, "Child of the priest." This readiness to doubt the paternity of poor little "Copper-knob" seems to indicate that, in spite of the blue or grey eyes of the peasants, the Maltese have always been an essentially brunette people. The slur may be no older than the occupation of the priestly knights, when celibacy must frequently have proved too much for the young "Aryans" of the Teutonic Langues. It may date back to the
much earlier time of red-bearded Ullyses. It may, again, be [822]
nothing more than a rendering of "love-child"—for red has always been the colour of Love—sacred to Astoreth, Isis, and Venus.

Yet another of the Old Things has a hand in birth. Even 774
to-day it is accounted by some a serious matter for a child 777
to be born on Christmas Eve. Such a child is in danger of becoming a *Gaugau*—one whose spirit will leave its body every Christmas Eve—"They then go out and wander all over the island frightening people with their groanings. After thus performing these ghostly pranks for some hours,

584 824 will walk up and down the village street wearing a red carnation behind his right ear and a red handkerchief thrown over his left shoulder. The shy maiden will be peeping from behind the latticed window, probably accompanied by one or two giggling, curious younger sisters.

The symbolic bush has about it something of the atmosphere of the Song of Solomon:

> My beloved is unto me as a
> cluster of camphire in the vineyards of En-Gedi . . .
>
> I am the Rose of Sharon and
> the lily of the valleys. . . .
>
> A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse . . .
>
> Awake, O North Wind; and come, thou south;
> blow upon my garden that the spices
> thereof may flow out.
> Let my beloved come into his garden,
> and eat his pleasant fruits.

● [822] [171] The red carnation and the red handkerchief, badges of the lover, are of that colour which is sacred to Venus. The wearing of the flower has its parallel amongst the Polynesians, to whom a red flower behind the right ear means "I am looking for a sweetheart."

584 Official "courting" will not begin until the "go-between" and the parents have arranged matters to everybody's satisfaction.

585 801 171 After the religious ceremony the young folk separate, returning to their homes for a period of eight days before setting up house. The reason for the choice of the number "eight" may not be without significance; for eight, it is said, was one of the signs of the goddess Astoreth, while the ancient Egyptians had a company of eight gods who were the Fathers and Mothers of the World. The double form of the figure "8"

THE GHOST OF THE HOUSE

776 777 825 Some of our people believe in what they call *Il Hâres*—and some of our country-folk still say that this *hâres* exists in the shape af an old black serpent which guards the house and bestows riches and good luck on the children born in that house.

It is held extremely unlucky to kill the old black serpent, as after its death great misfortunes will befall the members of the family.

GOOD LUCK

787 823 [777] Many believe in their fortune or luck (especially maidens) according to the figures formed by melted lead.

On the Feast of St. John—24th of June—some lead is melted and immediately poured into a vessel containing

water, and according to the figure or shape it assumes when it solidifies so will be the fortune of the person who tries the experiment. If the lead becomes bright the maiden is to get a handsome young man for her husband, and lead a happy life with him; if it turns out black the husband will be ugly and the maiden may expect to lead a miserable existence. (*) 787 823

THE BATH

On Easter Sunday as soon as the *Gloria* is sung in the Churches, mothers dip their babies into a bath, in which 755 824

(*) A similar practice is kept up in Denmark, where young women melt lead on New Year's Eve, and after pouring it into water observed in the following morning what form it has assumed. If it resembles a pair of scissors, they will inevitably marry tailors; if a hammer their husbands will be smiths, and so on. [171]

T. Dyer *Domestic Folklore.*

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

THROWING STONES IN A WELL

Our ancestors made children believe that if they threw stones in a well or into the sea they had to lift them up some day with their eyelashes. 787
823

THIRTEEN AT TABLE

Sitting down thirteen to dinner is considered very unlucky. 777
264
763

The notion is that one of the thirteen will die within the next twenty four hours. The origin popularly assigned to this widespread superstition is the fact that thirteen was the number at the Last Supper, Judas being the thirteenth.

SNEEZING

The custom of saying "Evviva" or "Sahha" to one who happens to sneeze 827

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

she honours and calls upon in her sister's hour of need. The 844
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lacking. At one time, it may be, something of more value than
the dross of riches was sought, for gold was the symbol of
wisdom and a bright understanding long before it had value
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headed child will inevitably be known as "Son of the Wind," [551]
"Daughter of the alcove," or even more scurrilously, "Child
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little "Copper-knob" seems to indicate that, in spite of the
blue or grey eyes of the peasants, the Maltese have always
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than the occupation of the priestly knights, when celibacy
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much earlier time of red-bearded Ullyses. It may, again, be [822]
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always been the colour of Love—sacred to Astoreth, Isis, and
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to-day it is accounted by some a serious matter for a child 777
to be born on Christmas Eve. Such a child is in danger of
becoming a *Gaugau*—one whose spirit will leave its body
every Christmas Eve—"They then go out and wander all
over the island frightening people with their groanings.
After thus performing these ghostly pranks for some hours,

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Maltese	*English*	821
"Red sky at evening, harness your mules. Red sky at morning, herd your beasts."	"Red sky at night, Shepherd's delight. Red sky in the morning Shepherd's warning."	171 539
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Often it appears that sheer nonsense is mixed with sound 245
common sense. Typical of the mixed "sense" and "nonsense" 824
is the following: 242

> "The first autumnal produce of the wild fig is called by the Maltese *Barru*. A second crop which takes place in winter is supposed to be due to the outcome of the first produce. This is called *Carru*, and is supposed to bring forth the third outcrop which appears in spring time and is recognized as the *dukkar* or real fertilizer of the fig. This fruit is cut and hung up in pairs on the bough of the fig tree.
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> "The male fruit (*dukkar*) is usually full of a colony [825] of minute winged insects by the produce of which, the Maltese husbandman identifies the real fertilizing fruit.
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> "The pomegranate is supposed to be fertilized by the flowers of the wild parsnip, and for this purpose bunches of these flowers are thrown over the pomegranate tree when in flower. *Dakra*, probably from *dakar* = to fertilize, is the name given to the wild parsnip by the Maltese husbandman.
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> "The male flowers of the wild carob-tree (*baghal*) are thrown over the branches of the female plant to favour impregnation.

Small pieces of coarse stone are still hung up in the 241
jujube-tree with a view to securing a good produce. 823

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241
● 823
[171]

Husbandmen would still consider that queer operation as a medium of impregnation (*Dukkar*). This strange usage may, however, be traced amongst the *fellahin* of Upper Egypt, where, as Professor Sayce points out in his contribution to the *Cairene and Upper Egypt Folklore* (Folklore, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1920, p. 200) phallic symbols are still hung up to protect the melons and sugar-cane. The old Maltese practice of hanging up stones to the jujube-tree may therefore be considered as a modification of this early phallic worship."[1]

The sense contained in these practices requires no elucidation. The horticulturist with his camel hair brush does no better than the peasant with the male carob flowers. The votive stones are a silent appeal to the oldest and greatest of the Old Things, to the All-Father, Giver of Life and Fertility, whose ancient and enduring image, from Drizzlecombe in Devon to the High Places of Melanesia, is the Rock or Stone without shape—the altar of "The Unknown God"—"Thou art Peter and upon this Rock. . . ."

[538] Traces of this rock-cult are plentiful enough in Maltese folklore. Children who throw stones into a well or into the sea will one day have to gather them up by their eyelashes. The "old stones" (i.e. *menhir*) resent being moved and are, for that reason, twice as heavy as ordinary stones.

751
825
776

"St. Paul's tongue"—a valuable amulet against the evil-eye and against all venoms—takes the form of fossilized teeth found in the ancient rocks. The blessed tongue which preached the gospel of the Redeemer is enshrined for ever in rock, the symbol of the Father.

776
823

St. Paul's rock-cell, in which he is reputed to have lived, has the miraculous property that no matter how much of the rock is cut away its bulk grows no less—a clear expression

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[1] Lecture by Mr. Cremona at the University of Malta in 1922.

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of the eternal and immutable nature of the All-Father whose symbol the rock is. 776 823 ●

THE MONTHS

The Maltese, like the Scandinavians and the Russians, personify the months, giving to each a human character in keeping with its weather. A delightful little story called "The Gifts of the Months" serves the dual purpose of impressing the qualities of each month upon the listener, while stressing the importance of accepting the best qualities in every season without complaining about the disadvantages. Two brothers, one a poor peasant, the other a rich merchant, each meet the twelve months. On being questioned as to what people say about the months in his part of the country, the peasant recites a number of couplets in praise of each month: 539 805 821

> "'Friend,' said January, 'what do people say about January in your part of the world?'[1]
>
> 'The poor man answered, 'It is a month of rain and of plenty. Vegetables grow and all that your heart can desire.'
>
> 'Do you know any rhymes about it?' asked January.
>
> 'Just imagine asking!' cried the poor man. 'As many as ever you like.'
>
> 'Tell me some, please,' said January.
>
> The poor man then repeated the three following: 'January sits in the cosiest nook in the house. A warm January makes full barns in the summer. The January moon brings the girls out of the caves for they think it is daylight.'
>
> January smiled and the others laughed. Then February took up the running. 'Friend, what do they say about February?'

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.

B. Cultivation Equipment and Tillage

171

Of the implements observed in Malta, the traditional types of plough, hoe, 407 sickle and harrow are of the same genera as those to be generally found in the 412 Mediterranean region (Fig. 140).

Ploughs are of the *Aratrum* or *Ard* type, steel tipped wooden wedges, devoid of cutting edges and having very restricted powers of furrow making or inversion 407 - *moħriet*. None of those observed had lateral 'ears' or 'wings' but apparently ards thus equipped are occasionally used. There are various sub-types with differing arrangements of beam, body and handle but no constant rational relationship between these sub-types and local environments could be observed. Prices range upwards of £4 10s. 0d. Iron or steel tips for the body cost about £1. One interesting modification of the plough is manufactured at Żurrieq. On top of the basic beam and body is fitted a movable double mouldboard of which either or both breasts can be brought into operation at any one time. Ridging and left and right furrow inversion are therefore made possible. For those areas where furrow inversion is practicable such a cheap, light multi-purpose implement would be very valuable, and the development of such improvements might well be encouraged by official approbation.

Hoes are manufactured in four main types. The heavy spade type, the 412 *Żappuna*, is generally used for soil trenching in preparation for manuring. The effort involved tends to restrict its use. The small, single tined, wedge-shaped hoe, the *Mgħazqa* or *Lexxuna*, is a general purpose implement that is replaced under damp and cohesive soil conditions by a forked, two-tined variety, the *Kroxum*. A three-tined hoe is often used, together with the ard, for potato lifting. In general, each cultivator possesses a selection of different types of hoe, necessitated by the variety of manual operations he usually has to perform and made possible by the reasonable prices of the implements (prices range from about 16s. for the single-tine, to 18s. to £1 for the spade hoe).

The sickle in general use is a small, smooth-edged type costing about 12s. 6d. The small number of sickle types observed may result from the widespread practice of pulling rather than cutting green fodder. Traditional harrows are 407 almost invariably of the Mediterranean and Asiatic type, harrows cum levellers and seed coverers. Those observed were triangular and stone weighted. When manufactured for the purpose they were usually constructed of ash and had removable tines. Without metal tines, the cost is about 50s.

These implements, of which illustrated examples are given (Fig.140), have already to some extent been displaced by imported newer types. Most farmers [241] who possess fields which are at all accessible to tractors now periodically hire contractors to plough the land with mouldboard or disc ploughs and even, in some areas, with deep digger-ploughs. Where plots are small or the terrain difficult, then rotary cultivators are hired or purchased. These latter machines, in spite of their relatively high cost - usually over £200 in Malta - are amazingly popular and are more and more replacing the *ard* and the hoe. The reasons for, and implications of this popularity are examined below.

The spade proper is hardly ever used, and its absence is associated with [412] the reasons for the survival of the *ard* plough. Small, light, flexible, metal harrows are to be found. Entirely imported, their only advantages are their flexibility on rough ground and ease of draught. They are, on the other hand, more easily damaged and more difficult to repair than their wooden prototypes. Other equipment includes a great range of fixed and movable adjuncts to farming, all but one class of which are constructed rurally from local materials. The [406] exceptional group is that connected with irrigation and includes windpumps and [243] small diesel engines. Threshing and winnowing, traditional style, needs no more than a rock or *lorba* (beaten earth) floor and asses or horses for trampling, [392] baskets constructed of local cane, and simple wooden winnowing forks. Of recent years, centralised threshing by contractors' machines has almost entirely displaced the older method in all but the more remote western regions. Canes, 241 grown in slightly marshy conditions in wied floors, provide the raw material 824 for wind breaks, covered forcing beds, crop supports, etc.

religious processions. The greatest concentration of ceremonies is around Easter. This cycle starts with the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows on the Friday before Palm Sunday. Virtually all the inhabitants escort the statue through the principal streets of the village. This is followed by the Palm Sunday procession around the church square.[1] On Maundy Thursday there is a long service during which the parish priest washes the feet of twelve village laymen. Immediately after this the church is draped completely in black damask, and a huge wooden rattle replaces the church bells as a sign of mourning. On Maundy Thursday and on Good Friday in the morning, family groups visit the church and, passing before the statues depicting scenes from the Passion, stop to pray before the elaborate Sepulchre constructed in one of the chapels. Members of each of the village associations and clubs visit the Sepulchre in groups. Many families make pilgrimages to the churches in the twelve other parishes which hold Good Friday processions. At each one they offer prayers before the Sepulchre and pause to examine the statues and funereal hangings of their rivals before going on. All morning visitors from outside stream into Kortin to see the church. Then, at about two in the afternoon, there is a three-hour sermon on the Passion. This is followed by the Good Friday procession. 796

Old Manwel, the procurator, directs the procession. This is his big day. During the preceding weeks, he and Anton and Pawlu, the two men who take charge of decorating the parish for special occasions, worked very hard getting ready the eight statues, assembling the ornate Sepulchre and collecting the £90 required to meet the expenses of the Holy Week. Since he became procurator twenty years ago, Manwel has collected almost £3,000 for new statues, costumes, banners and black damask for the church. The procession itself lasts about three hours. Some 420 men and youths from the village carry and escort the eight huge statues. Some of the men have carried the same statue for years. The ten who carry the statue of the Crucifixion have protected their right to do so by a notarized contract with the parish priest. In return they have spent almost £200 over the past ten years to 794 796 [675]

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[1] Instead of palm fronds, olive branches are distributed to the faithful. It is generally believed that if these blessed branches are burned, their smoke is particularly effective against the harmful effects of the evil eye. Farmers pass burning leaves through their cattle sheds, and I have met professionals who do the same to their salons before cocktail parties. [751] [824]

directed upwards, and having a mouth 796
piece by which the skin is filled, and a 534
cane flute or pipe which is played with [237]
both hands. This the country people play at this time of the year to represent the shepherds of Bethlehem.

The decking out of the *presepiu*, a 796
crib or representation of the Nativity of 778
the Holy Child at Bethlehem, by a group of dolls with pasteboard scenery, furnishes amusement to the Maltese, both old and young.

Several of the houses have a crib more or less artistically arranged, and the better the arrangements of the crib, the greater is the concourse of people who come to see it.

The custom of decking our churches 796
and habitations with evergreens at 174
Christmas has existed from the very 824
establishment of Christianity and was

796
174
•824 unquestionably derived from the like practice of our Pagan ancestors.

"Trimming of Temples," says Polydore Virgil "with hangings, flowers, boughs, and garlands was taken from the heathen people, who decked their idols and houses with such array.

796
174
373 "Christmas," says Blount, "was called the feast of lights in the Western or Latin Church, from the many lights or candles that were lit at the feast, and this because Christ, the light of all lights, that true light, then came into the world. Hence the prevalent custom to have so many lights in our churches at Christmas midnight service.

796
194
262 The custom of eating pancakes or fritters and honey cakes at Christmas in Malta is supposed to owe its origin to the cakes baked in honour of *Janus*, who presided over the beginning of the New Year.

MAY DAY

175 527 824 Historians mention that there was a time in Malta, during the Government of the Knights of St. John, when it was customary on the 1st of May to deck the Grand Master's palace balcony, and the doors of those who were invested with the Grand Cross, with branches [194] of trees. It appears that this sign of a holiday, which was introduced in Malta by the families from the island of Rhodes, was a remnant of the worship of the sun, formerly adored by the Rhodians.

171 527 824 Bourne cites Polydor Virgil, as telling us that among the Italians the youth of both sexes were accustomed to go into the fields in the Calends of May, and bring thence branches of trees, singing all the way as they came, and to place them on the doors of their

houses. This, he observes, is a relic of 171
an ancient custom among the Heathens, 527
who observed the last 4 days of April, 824
and the 1st day of May in honour of the goddess *Flora* who was imagined to be the deity presiding over the fruits and flowers.

THE CUCCANJA

This is an entertainment which was 175
formerly given by the Grand Master to 527
the Maltese on Shrove Tuesday, the last day of the Carnival.

Long beams were fixed against the 527
guard house opposite the palace, and 526
between each of the beams, rope-ladders 175
were fastened, the whole being covered over with branches of trees in leaf, to which were tied, from top to bottom, live animals, baskets full of eggs, hams, sausages, and all kinds of provisions.

or trumpets. Before the corpse was 000 764
interred, a pillow filled with orange and 824
laurel leaves (*) was placed under the
head, and a carpet spread over the tomb,
which was suffered to remain some
days, to show that during that time it
was forbidden to walk over it.

No fire was lighted for three days in 765
the kitchen of the deceased, and either 372
one of the relations or some most inti- 264
mate friend sent a dinner to the inhabitants of the house, which they ate
cross-legged on the floor.

Women on this occasion remained 765
forty days in the house, but men went 302
out on the seventh day, with their faces
unshaven. (†)

(*) Orange trees were regarded by the Pagans as expiatory.

(†) Mourning among the ancients was expressed by very different signs; such as by rending of garments, wearing sack cloth, laying aside crowns &c. Thus Plutarch, in his life of Cato, relates, that from the time of his leaving the city with Pompey, he neither shaved his head, nor, as usual, wore his crown or garland.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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THE ROSE

When a women is about to give birth 844
to a child she sends to one of her neigh- 824
bours for the loan of a withered flower
called the "Passion Flower" which is
put at once into the water. As soon as
the flower opens the woman is delivered
of the child.

It is true that the rose opens after it has remained in the water for some time, although quite withered, but the fanaticism of some of our people is really excessive. A certain man relates that his wife was about to be confined and one of the neighbours brought her a passion flower, in the confusion, however, that prevailed at the moment, the withered flower was thrown into a drawer and they forgot all about it.

Shortly after the woman was delivered of three sons. The flower, however, was not to be seen.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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844
• 824 One of the inmates then remembered that it was left in a drawer. What was his astonishment, on opening that drawer, to find that on the stem of the withered flower were brought forth *three* branches covered with leaves ! ! !

THE EVIL EYE

754
755 Many of our people believe in the evil eye, and are of opinion that there are individuals who possess the power of inflicting injury by merely looking on those whom they wish to harm. It is, however, believed that any one who has been influenced by the evil eye of another, must procure a piece of cloth from the dress of the person by whom he has been fascinated, burn it, and expose himself to the smoke of it and

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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water, and according to the figure or shape it assumes when it solidifies so will be the fortune of the person who tries the experiment. If the lead becomes bright the maiden is to get a handsome young man for her husband, and lead a happy life with him; if it turns out black the husband will be ugly and the maiden may expect to lead a miserable existence. (*) 787 823

THE BATH

On Easter Sunday as soon as the *Gloria* is sung in the Churches, mothers dip their babies into a bath, in which 755 824

(*) A similar practice is kept up in Denmark, where young women melt lead on New Year's Eve, and after pouring it into water observed in the following morning what form it has assumed. If it resembles a pair of scissors, they will inevitably marry tailors; if a hammer their husbands will be smiths, and so on. [171]

T. Dyer *Domestic Folklore.*

755 are thrown some flowers which were
•[824] used to decorate the sepulchre on Good
Friday.

This the mothers do to cure their little ones from any fright they may have taken.

751 Some mothers dip their other children in succession in the same bath when the baby is taken out, and this they do in order that their children might not inherit the fright the one from the other.

THE FOOT BATH

757 Some people say that when you bathe
your feet in hot water, while under the
influence of fever, or head ache, a little
salt should be added to the water to
[755] strengthen it. But in order that the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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THE ACACIA OR SPONGE-TREE

(Gazzïa)

● 824 Our ancestors had a strong aversion to introducing or bringing in the acacia or sponge-tree with the other flower-plants in the house.

[963] They believed that if the acacia were brought into the house the head thereof would die within twelve months.

THE NEWT

825 Our superstitiously inclined believe that when one kills a newt and leaves its tail contorting or wagging on the floor, that tail will be cursing the parents of its destroyer!

COAL-DUST AND SOOT

777
527 The throwing of coal-dust or soot instead of lime before a door on New year's day betokens gloom and bad luck.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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PARSLEY

● 824 When one plucks a stem of parsley
763 by the roots and plants it again he may
expect to lose one of his parents within
the year.

THE HEN

825 When a hen crows it is at once
763 destroyed as it foretells the death of
some member of the family.

THE HAWKMOTH OR SPHINX

825 The appearance of a white hawkmoth
787 betokens the coming home of some one
who is abroad. The appearance of a
black hawkmoth, however, is a harbinger
of sad news.

COMETS

821 The appearance of a comet is a sign
787 of an approaching evil.

consists in cutting open a live rabbit and applying it with the still warm entrails on the stomach of the patient. 755 [825]

Piles—Carrying about a dried fig in one's pocket is considered a good specific for this complaint. [824]

Rheumatism—Amateurs of the healing art advised the sufferer to carry about a dried fish in his pocket as a charm for its cure. [825]

Sty—To prevent or cure this disorder it is customary for the patient to throw over his shoulders seven grains of barley in a well. [824]

The superstitiously inclined say that a sty forebodes the inheritance of some riches. [787]

Beside the omens and superstitions briefly described in the preceding pages 128

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178 so fervently Christian. The reason lies, perhaps, in their
795 Catholicism. The Faith has a tolerant and not unfriendly eye
for many of the Old Things. It is hard to think of St. Francis
being unkind to a leprechaun.

The savants make much argument about Malta's folklore. The wish being often father to their able reasoning, they will prove from it that the Maltese are Phoenician or Arab or Italian with equal conviction. Like the Cornishman who will tell you that the Hobby Horse was invented to frighten away the French, the people themselves know little if anything of the reasons why certain tales are told, certain things done; but, from birth to grave, the Old Things—often recognisable, but always with their peculiar Maltese twist—make intermittent appearances in the lives of Zeppu[1] and Grez.[1]

Some of them even have so far won the good opinion of Mother Church as to be granted a place in her own ceremonies.

ON GETTING BORN

844 The Maltese baby—boy or girl—gets born with very little
824 fuss, and is always welcome. In Gozo, or in what remains
of country, some friend of the mother will assist the arrival
of the little one, bringing into the house with her the withered
bud of a certain rose. The flower is placed in water and slowly
opens. At the moment of its fullest opening the child is born.
844 Here is clearly a very ancient magic. The association of the
824 rose with Motherhood, with Life, and indeed with Godhead
171 itself, is as old as time. In the Litany of Loretto, the Virgin
Mother is invoked as "Rosa Mystica"—"Mystical Rose."
Dante saw the innermost circle of the heavenly spheres as a
rose. The Brahmins, the Persians, and the Jews all attached
844 a high mystic symbolism to the rose. The simple peasant,
824 setting her rosebud in water, little knows what forgotten gods

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[1] Popular personifications of the peasant and his wife.

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she honours and calls upon in her sister's hour of need. The 844
tale is told of the birth-rose which was forgotten. Triplets 824
were born. Later the rose was found, having grown on its withered stem three healthy branches bearing fresh, green leaves. Whatever deep significance attached originally to the birth-rose, the custom has a beauty of its own.

The next thought is for the little one's future. A gold ring 844
or some other golden object is placed in the water in which 823
he or she is washed, in order, they say, that riches will not be lacking. At one time, it may be, something of more value than the dross of riches was sought, for gold was the symbol of wisdom and a bright understanding long before it had value as currency.

It will be well if the baby is not red-headed, for the red- 826
headed child will inevitably be known as "Son of the Wind," [551]
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Often it appears that sheer nonsense is mixed with sound 245
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"The male flowers of the wild carob-tree (*baghal*) are thrown over the branches of the female plant to favour impregnation.

Small pieces of coarse stone are still hung up in the 241
jujube-tree with a view to securing a good produce. 823.

at the wrong season and so set right his error. The blessing is 771
accompanied by the burning of leaves of the wild olive which 782
have been blessed in Holy Week. Blessing, accompanied by [226]
sacred "fumigation," is very widely used—by fishermen to [585]
ensure a good catch, by newly married folk to ensure a happy
house.

GETTING MARRIED

Zeppu and Grez will think long and seriously before they 584
get married. In an island where poverty is the rule rather than [735]
the exception, and there is no "dole," there can be no haphazard mating. Zeppu will wait until he has a sufficient competence and Grez will contribute her share of the common resources in the form of a "dot" which she, herself, has earned and saved. Until very recently all marriages were arranged by a professional "go-between"—an old woman wise in the ways of the world and in suitable matings. Even now there is little choice left to the girl.

In this matter of marriage, so hedged about with Christian 584
law and custom, the Old Things still command a place. Their 824
hands are perhaps more apparent than in the marriage customs of all other countries—themselves pagan enough in origin.

In the story which has been quoted the month of February is praised, amongst other reasons, because it is then that the "small-leaved basil" is tended and watered. The reference might be rendered "In the Spring a young man's fancy . . ." for the sweet basil is the sign and symbol that a marriageable girl awaits a suitor.

The small bush, either of basil or of the Madonna rose,
is carefully tended and placed on the sill of an upper window.
A well-grown plant is an indication that the maiden will make [787]
a good wife and mother.

A suitor, seeing the "marriage bush" at an upper window,

584 will walk up and down the village street wearing a red carna-
● 824 tion behind his right ear and a red handkerchief thrown over
his left shoulder. The shy maiden will be peeping from behind
the latticed window, probably accompanied by one or two
giggling, curious younger sisters.

The symbolic bush has about it something of the atmosphere of the Song of Solomon:

> My beloved is unto me as a
> cluster of camphire in the vineyards of En-Gedi . . .
>
> I am the Rose of Sharon and
> the lily of the valleys. . . .
>
> A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse . . .
>
> Awake, O North Wind; and come, thou south;
> blow upon my garden that the spices
> thereof may flow out.
> Let my beloved come into his garden,
> and eat his pleasant fruits.

[822] [171] The red carnation and the red handkerchief, badges of the lover, are of that colour which is sacred to Venus. The wearing of the flower has its parallel amongst the Polynesians, to whom a red flower behind the right ear means "I am looking for a sweetheart."

584 Official "courting" will not begin until the "go-between" and the parents have arranged matters to everybody's satisfaction.

585 801 171 After the religious ceremony the young folk separate, returning to their homes for a period of eight days before setting up house. The reason for the choice of the number "eight" may not be without significance; for eight, it is said, was one of the signs of the goddess Astoreth, while the ancient Egyptians had a company of eight gods who were the Fathers and Mothers of the World. The double form of the figure "8"

will only be necessary for a "wise woman" or witch to spit on the hair while uttering a curse to bring misfortune upon the head which nourished it. 771 788 [754]

Grez will be careful not to laugh too heartily on a Friday—when the memory of the Crucifixion should make all sad. She will make the Sign of the Cross on leaving her house, on entering any vehicle or boat for no matter how short a journey, on cutting a piece of new cloth, before her baby's mouth when it yawns—so that evil spirits may not enter. On meeting a deformed or maimed person she will sign her corresponding limb or part of her body with the Cross. [826]

When she brings flowers into her house she will be as careful to exclude the acacia as any West-country woman to avoid "may" or whitethorn, for the spiky Maltese acacia is the "thorn" of Palestine wherewith the Saviour was crowned. 771 [824]

These are but a few of the small ways in which the peasant woman pays a somewhat mixed homage to the Old Things as well as to the tenets of her Faith. In her favour it may be said that her "superstitions" are more logical than those of such folk who habitually "touch wood" or object to a third cigarette from one match.

THE FESTAS

The Festa, primarily a religious festival and a Holy Day of Obligation, provides the only relaxation for a hardworking and frugal people. Such simple pleasures as a meal of unaccustomed meat, a little wine, processions, and fireworks give full rein to the most lovable, childlike side of the national character. The importance attaching to these periodical holidays is well illustrated by an old rhyme: 796 [585] [675]

although the Maltese form was probably dictated by the need to cover the head when entering a church. Its one drawback is that it takes up a lot of space, more space, unfortunately, than is available in the motor-bus, modern Malta's form of land transport. Let it be hoped that it will survive these disabilities, for it is not only unique but also an asset if those of the younger generation who have abandoned it in favour of the banal dress of everywhere else would only realize the fact, enhancing beauty while discreetly veiling any imperfections. These young ladies should ponder the words of Monsieur André Maurois in his little sketch of Malta: 291 [171] [494]

> When its wearer moves, the *faldetta* is filled with air, and the Maltese girls, tripping in twos and threes along the streets, look like flotillas of graceful barques with black sails, blown along their course by the wind of destiny.

Oddly enough another French visitor and Academician anticipated by just a century, and in almost the same terms, Monsieur Maurois's charming flight, or perhaps echo, of fancy. Monsieur de Lamartine, visiting Malta with his English wife in 1832, describes the *ghonnella* as

> a half-cloak of black silk . . . of a light texture caught by a breeze, suggesting the sail of a skiff whose capricious folds alternately conceal and reveal the mysterious figure of the wearer, which seems able to escape at will from its embrace.

In the Malta of an earlier age, when the lives of Maltese women and girls were closely circumscribed, the *ghonnella* was not the only aid to their seclusion. Those who wander about the country districts will notice here and there that the older farmhouses have no windows giving on to the street; the Maltese countrywoman, like her Spanish sister, had to turn her face inward, not outward. But what the houses had, and some still retain, were stone brackets on the outer wall, made to hold the pots of sweet basil which showed that 562. 291 342. 584. 824.

562 a marriageable daughter lived within. One pot of basil to
342 each marriageable girl. So the potential swain could tell at a
584 glance whereabouts to loiter for a discreet preview and
what address, should he be interested, to give to the marriage-
● 824 broker.
291

[pp 31-55 of text not processed. Plates facing pp. 40, 41, 48 and 49 have been processed].

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the 1st of January playing popular pieces 527
of music, and this they do as a New 431
Year's greeting. These men will rarely 533
leave a house until some little gift of money is bestowed upon them as a remuneration for their trouble in paying their annual congratulations.

ST. ANTHONY'S DAY.

796
825

Among the popular Maltese customs in which animals play a leading part, that of the blessing of the quadrupeds of the equine species, in Valletta, on St. Anthony's day, is the most familiar.

On the morning of the 17th January (St. Anthony's day) a number of horses, mules, and donkeys, decked out in ribbons and tassels, are driven in procession in front of the Vittoria, a little

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796 church in Str. Mezzodì, at the back of
825 the Royal Opera House, where a priest standing at the door of the little church, sprinkles the animals with holy water as they pass by.

The same ceremony takes place annually at Notabile, where the animals are blessed by an Augustinian friar, at the door of St. Augustine Church. Here the quadrupeds partake of some barley which is placed in a tray for them.

796 In the time of the Order of St. John
825 of Jerusalem, the ceremony of blessing
175 the quadrupeds on St. Anthony's day was more imposing than it is in our days.

The first that took part in the procession, were the horses drawing the Grand Master's stately carriage, followed by every description of vehicle,

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from the gala coach of the dignitaries 796
of the Island to the peasant's cart. 825 175

Very many inquiries have been made into the origin of the blessing of quadrupeds on this festival, none of which, however, has proved satisfactory.

That St. Anthony has been long re- 776
cognized as the patron and protector 825
of the lower animals, and particularly of pigs, is a well established fact.

Fuller, in his "Worthies." says: 776
"St. Anthony is universally known as 825 114
the patron of hogs, having in all pictures a pig for his attendant, though for what reason is unknown, except because being a hermit, and having a cell or hole digged in the earth, and feeding principally on roots, he and the hogs were both alike in their diet and lodgings."

When St. Anthony was living in the 776 173 825

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173 776 •825 desert, away from the rumours of the world, for the only object of serving God, the devil tried all his means to tempt the old hermit and win him to himself—the Saint, however, always held fast and kept faithful to God. The fiend, seeing that all his efforts were vain, took to frightning and tormenting the good hermit. On several occasions he appeared to him amidst a flock of wild beasts. Anthony, however, was never frightened, he soon invoked the name of our Lord and signed the cross for help, and the devil enraged was always obliged to leave him unhurt.

796 825 173 This is probably the reason why animals are blessed on St' Anthony's day, so as to keep off the devil from them, and thus man is less liable to be injured or hurt by them.

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[P: 133]

OMENS AND SUPERSTITIONS

ST. PAUL'S TONGUE

It was a popular belief among our ancestors that the teeth of fish, which we find embedded in some of the rocks, are St. Paul's *tongue*, which during his sermons penetrated even the solid rock. These fossils were pounded and the powder was held to possess a miraculous power in healing wounds. 825 133 [278]

Till recently it has been known that some of our countryfolks used to carry one of these teeth about with them, sometimes mounted on silver and hung about their necks, as an amulet against the bites of venomous vipers—at one time very abundant in Malta. 825 751

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THE GHOST OF THE HOUSE

776 777 825 Some of our people believe in what they call *Il Hâres*—and some of our country-folk still say that this *hâres* exists in the shape af an old black serpent which guards the house and bestows riches and good luck on the children born in that house.

It is held extremely unlucky to kill the old black serpent, as after its death great misfortunes will befall the members of the family.

GOOD LUCK

787 823 [777] Many believe in their fortune or luck (especially maidens) according to the figures formed by melted lead.

On the Feast of St. John—24th of June—some lead is melted and immediately poured into a vessel containing

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THE ITCHING OF THE EYE

787 826 [977] The itching of the eye is considered as an unlucky omen. Grose, celebrated antiquarian, who collected together so many of the superstitions prevalent in his day, says: "When the right eye itches the party affected will shortly cry."

THE ITCHING OF THE HAND

Among other omens we are told that the itching of the hands signifies that they will shortly receive money.

HOWLING OF DOGS

● 825 763 A superstitious opinion vulgarly prevails in Malta that the howling of a dog in a neighbourhood is the presage of death to any that are sick in it.

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The howling of the dog is ascribed 825•
by some to its keen sense of the odour 763
of approaching dissolution.

This superstition which, while not 825
confined to our Island, appears to have 763
been almost as well known in ancient 171
times as at the present day.

Dr. Nathaniel Home, in his "Daemonologie" page 60, says: "If dogs howl in the night near a house where somebody is sick, it is a sign of death."

Capitolinus tells us: that the dogs by their howlings presaged the death of Maximinus.

TINGLING of the EAR

It is a well known superstition among 787
the Maltese that when the ear tingles 826
they usually say that somebody is talking of them. A tingling of the right ear

787 in a rage, and he could not be per-
585 suaded to go back to his wedding
533 before the organist could be found and
the organ played for the occasion.

PAYING VISITS

273 If a person goes to pay a visit, for
574 the first time, to a party and is not
576 treated with a sort of drink called
● 825 *zambur* — made of aniseed—a mouse
enters the chest of drawers and gnaws all the petticoats of the mistress of the house.

SENDING TO THE OVEN

252 Some people think it a great shame
562 for a woman who sends dishes to be cooked in an oven when her husband is away from the Island.

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THE ACACIA OR SPONGE-TREE

(Gazzïa)

824 Our ancestors had a strong aversion to introducing or bringing in the acacia or sponge-tree with the other flower-plants in the house.

[963] They believed that if the acacia were brought into the house the head thereof would die within twelve months.

THE NEWT

• 825 Our superstitiously inclined believe that when one kills a newt and leaves its tail contorting or wagging on the floor, that tail will be cursing the parents of its destroyer!

COAL-DUST AND SOOT

777
527 The throwing of coal-dust or soot instead of lime before a door on New year's day betokens gloom and bad luck.

PARSLEY

824
763 When one plucks a stem of parsley by the roots and plants it again he may expect to lose one of his parents within the year.

THE HEN

825
763 When a hen crows it is at once destroyed as it foretells the death of some member of the family.

THE HAWKMOTH OR SPHINX

825
787 The appearance of a white hawkmoth betokens the coming home of some one who is abroad. The appearance of a black hawkmoth, however, is a harbinger of sad news.

COMETS

821
787 The appearance of a comet is a sign of an approaching evil.

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755 this case on account of the coldness of the metal.

755 •825 *Jaundice*—Our folk believe that the blood of a tortoise is an excellent remedy for jaundice caused by a fright. If the patient be a man he is to bleed a female tortoise in the leg and make the sign of the cross with its blood on the joints of his arms and legs—but if the patient be a woman she is to bleed a male tortoise.

Fright.—The cure of the ailments brought about in consequence of a fright is to kill a puppy, boil it, give the patient to drink the water in which it is boiled, then throw the whole boiled pup in the plate in such a way as to cause a fright to the patient.

Fever—Even for this dangerous disease our folks do not hesitate to practice their own remedies. One of these

consists in cutting open a live rabbit and 755 [825]
applying it with the still warm entrails
on the stomach of the patient.

Piles—Carrying about a dried fig [824]
in one's pocket is considered a good
specific for this complaint.

Rheumatism—Amateurs of the heal- [825]
ing art advised the sufferer to carry
about a dried fish in his pocket as a
charm for its cure.

Sty—To prevent or cure this disorder [824]
it is customary for the patient to throw
over his shoulders seven grains of bar-
ley in a well.

The superstitiously inclined say that [787]
a sty forebodes the inheritance of some
riches.

Beside the omens and superstitions 128
briefly described in the preceding pages

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Maltese	*English*	
"Red sky at evening, harness your mules. Red sky at morning, herd your beasts."	"Red sky at night, Shepherd's delight. Red sky in the morning Shepherd's warning."	821 171 539
"Ill weather comes, ahead or astern, when the cat sneezes."	"The cat washes herself before stormy weather."	[825]

Often it appears that sheer nonsense is mixed with sound 245
common sense. Typical of the mixed "sense" and "nonsense" 824
is the following: 242

"The first autumnal produce of the wild fig is called by the Maltese *Barru*. A second crop which takes place in winter is supposed to be due to the outcome of the first produce. This is called *Carru*, and is supposed to bring forth the third outcrop which appears in spring time and is recognized as the *dukkar* or real fertilizer of the fig. This fruit is cut and hung up in pairs on the bough of the fig tree.

"The male fruit (*dukkar*) is usually full of a colony [825]
of minute winged insects by the produce of which, the Maltese husbandman identifies the real fertilizing fruit.

"The pomegranate is supposed to be fertilized by the flowers of the wild parsnip, and for this purpose bunches of these flowers are thrown over the pomegranate tree when in flower. *Dakra*, probably from *dakar* = to fertilize, is the name given to the wild parsnip by the Maltese husbandman.

"The male flowers of the wild carob-tree (*baghal*) are thrown over the branches of the female plant to favour impregnation.

Small pieces of coarse stone are still hung up in the 241
jujube-tree with a view to securing a good produce. 823

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241 823 [171] Husbandmen would still consider that queer operation as a medium of impregnation (*Dukkar*). This strange usage may, however, be traced amongst the *fellahin* of Upper Egypt, where, as Professor Sayce points out in his contribution to the *Cairene and Upper Egypt Folklore* (Folklore, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1920, p. 200) phallic symbols are still hung up to protect the melons and sugar-cane. The old Maltese practice of hanging up stones to the jujube-tree may therefore be considered as a modification of this early phallic worship."[1]

The sense contained in these practices requires no elucidation. The horticulturist with his camel hair brush does no better than the peasant with the male carob flowers. The votive stones are a silent appeal to the oldest and greatest of the Old Things, to the All-Father, Giver of Life and Fertility, whose ancient and enduring image, from Drizzlecombe in Devon to the High Places of Melanesia, is the Rock or Stone without shape—the altar of "The Unknown God"—"Thou art Peter and upon this Rock. . . ."

[538] Traces of this rock-cult are plentiful enough in Maltese folklore. Children who throw stones into a well or into the sea will one day have to gather them up by their eyelashes. The "old stones" (i.e. *menhir*) resent being moved and are, for that reason, twice as heavy as ordinary stones.

751 825 776 "St. Paul's tongue"—a valuable amulet against the evil-eye and against all venoms—takes the form of fossilized teeth found in the ancient rocks. The blessed tongue which preached the gospel of the Redeemer is enshrined for ever in rock, the symbol of the Father.

776 823 St. Paul's rock-cell, in which he is reputed to have lived, has the miraculous property that no matter how much of the rock is cut away its bulk grows no less—a clear expression

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[1] Lecture by Mr. Cremona at the University of Malta in 1922.

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The officiating

priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, 585
a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine—the usual fee [793]
on such occasions. When the marriage ceremony was [465]
completed, everyone returned from church in the same
order as before.

As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women and girls who crowded the balconies showered flowers upon them also nuts and grains and wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended, she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup.

At a village wedding the company danced during the [535]
feast, each dancer throwing a piece of money to the [431]
fiddlers and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast. [465]

The bride always passed a week in her father's house, [591]
after which she was received with much pomp by her
husband, whose relations gave a great feast which was
called *il hargia*."[1]

The bridegroom's symbolic present of a fish is very likely 584
connected with fecundity, for the fish was regarded as an 174
emblem of fecundity by the Assyrians and the Phoenicians. 825
It is not, however, in this connection alone that the fish is a
potent symbol. Prudence (apparently a virtue highly prized [577].
in a Maltese wife—Salt, another symbol of prudence, is included in the ingredients with which the bride's lips are anointed), and Wisdom were anciently supposed to be the properties of numerous Sacred Fish. Finn M'Cull, in the Irish legend, "Happens upon the Salmon of Knowledge . . ."

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[1] BUSUTTIL, op. cit.

174 584 ● 825 which conferred on him "such Wisdom, Prowess, and good fortune . . . that Fame and Prosperity always attended him thereafter." Tennyson, describing his mystic Lady of the Lake, has:

> And o'er her breast floated the Sacred Fish.

The Saviour Himself was symbolized by the early Christians as a fish. Julius Africanus, an early Christian writer, said of Christ that He was the Great Fish, caught by the Hook of God, whose flesh nourishes the whole world.[1]

This bridal fish, then, may be in some sense a sacramental offering as well as a mere symbol.

584 789 828 The anointing of the bride's lips is yet another custom which, like the miniature "garden inclosed" of the marriageable girl, recalls the Canticle of Canticles:

> Thy lips my spouse are as a dropping honeycomb,
> honey and milk are under thy tongue. . . .[2]

585 174 The whole of this marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the old Fertility cults—the cakes, sweetmeats, nuts, grain, all in honour of the fertile Mother whose bountiful Earth is carried in a bowl bearing effigies of the bride and bridegroom whom it is hoped she will bless with her own fecundity and riches.

EVERYDAY HABITS

771 788 Grez, the housewife, will go about her daily tasks carefully following a thousand small rules, most of which have their English parallels. She will never cut a loaf without first making the Sign of the Cross on it with forefinger or knife. If the loaf falls to the ground, she will kiss it by way of asking pardon. She will not sweep her house after sunset for fear of [754] sweeping away good fortune. She will take care not to throw her "combings" out of doors. Should anyone wish her ill it

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[1] *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

[2] *Song of Solomon,* IV, ii.

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THE ITCHING OF THE EYE

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[777] antiquarian, who collected together so many of the superstitions prevalent in his day, says: "When the right eye itches the party affected will shortly cry."

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Among other omens we are told that the itching of the hands signifies that they will shortly receive money.

HOWLING OF DOGS

825 A superstitious opinion vulgarly pre-
763 vails in Malta that the howling of a dog in a neighbourhood is the presage of death to any that are sick in it.

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confined to our Island, appears to have 763
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the Maltese that when the ear tingles 826 ●
they usually say that somebody is talking
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787 denotes that a friend is speaking well
● 826 of one: a tingling of the left, implying the opposite.

[191] The opinion, from whence this proverbial saying is derived, is of great antiquity, being thus mentioned by Pliny: "Moreover is not this an opinion generally received that when our ears do glow and tingle some there be that in our absence do talk of us?"

MEETING OF WOMEN

846 If two women who have been con-
787 fined on the same day meet before
777 forty days, one of them will suffer some misfortune either in her own person or in that of her child.

THE MONTH OF MAY

777 May is considered as the month of accidents, and consequently many be-

she honours and calls upon in her sister's hour of need. The 844
tale is told of the birth-rose which was forgotten. Triplets 824
were born. Later the rose was found, having grown on its
withered stem three healthy branches bearing fresh, green
leaves. Whatever deep significance attached originally to the
birth-rose, the custom has a beauty of its own.

The next thought is for the little one's future. A gold ring 844
or some other golden object is placed in the water in which 823
he or she is washed, in order, they say, that riches will not be
lacking. At one time, it may be, something of more value than
the dross of riches was sought, for gold was the symbol of
wisdom and a bright understanding long before it had value
as currency.

It will be well if the baby is not red-headed, for the red- 826 ●
headed child will inevitably be known as "Son of the Wind," [551]
"Daughter of the alcove," or even more scurrilously, "Child
of the priest." This readiness to doubt the paternity of poor
little "Copper-knob" seems to indicate that, in spite of the
blue or grey eyes of the peasants, the Maltese have always
been an essentially brunette people. The slur may be no older
than the occupation of the priestly knights, when celibacy
must frequently have proved too much for the young
"Aryans" of the Teutonic Langues. It may date back to the
much earlier time of red-bearded Ullyses. It may, again, be [822]
nothing more than a rendering of "love-child"—for red has
always been the colour of Love—sacred to Astoreth, Isis, and
Venus.

Yet another of the Old Things has a hand in birth. Even 774
to-day it is accounted by some a serious matter for a child 777
to be born on Christmas Eve. Such a child is in danger of
becoming a *Gaugau*—one whose spirit will leave its body
every Christmas Eve—"They then go out and wander all
over the island frightening people with their groanings.
After thus performing these ghostly pranks for some hours,

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will only be necessary for a "wise woman" or witch to spit on the hair while uttering a curse to bring misfortune upon the head which nourished it. 771 788 [754]

Grez will be careful not to laugh too heartily on a Friday—when the memory of the Crucifixion should make all sad. She will make the Sign of the Cross on leaving her house, on entering any vehicle or boat for no matter how short a journey, on cutting a piece of new cloth, before her baby's mouth when it yawns—so that evil spirits may not enter. On meeting a deformed or maimed person she will sign her corresponding limb or part of her body with the Cross. [826]

When she brings flowers into her house she will be as careful to exclude the acacia as any West-country woman to avoid "may" or whitethorn, for the spiky Maltese acacia is the "thorn" of Palestine wherewith the Saviour was crowned. 771 [824]

These are but a few of the small ways in which the peasant woman pays a somewhat mixed homage to the Old Things as well as to the tenets of her Faith. In her favour it may be said that her "superstitions" are more logical than those of such folk who habitually "touch wood" or object to a third cigarette from one match.

THE FESTAS

The Festa, primarily a religious festival and a Holy Day of Obligation, provides the only relaxation for a hardworking and frugal people. Such simple pleasures as a meal of unaccustomed meat, a little wine, processions, and fireworks give full rein to the most lovable, childlike side of the national character. The importance attaching to these periodical holidays is well illustrated by an old rhyme: 796 [585] [675]

THROWING STONES IN A WELL

Our ancestors made children believe that if they threw stones in a well or into the sea they had to lift them up some day with their eyelashes. 787 823

THIRTEEN AT TABLE

Sitting down thirteen to dinner is considered very unlucky. 777 264 763

The notion is that one of the thirteen will die within the next twenty four hours. The origin popularly assigned to this widespread superstition is the fact that thirteen was the number at the Last Supper, Judas being the thirteenth.

SNEEZING

The custom of saying "Evviva" or "Sahha" to one who happens to sneeze 827

827 prevails in Malta as in other parts of the world. (*)

DREAMS

787 There is also a popular superstition in Malta to give interpretation to certain dreams.

The Maltese say that to dream of

[777] (a) fish betokens good luck

(b) the sea foreshews a great trouble

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[171] (*) Carolus Sigonius in his Hist. of Italy would deduce this custom from a pestilence that happened in the time of Gregory the Great (about the year 750) that proved mortal to such as sneezed.

In Brand's "Popular Antiquities" we read that the custom of saluting a person who sneezed was accounted very ancient, even in the time of Aristotle, who in his Problems has endeavoured to account for it, but knew nothing of its origin. According to him, the first men prepossessed with the ideas concerning the head as the principal seat of the soul, carried their respect to sternutation, as the most manifest and the most sensible operation of the head. Hence those several forms of compliments used on similar occasions amongst Greeks and Romans: *Long may you live, May you enjoy health.*

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THE KUCCIJA

Among the peculiar customs which 852 still exist in Malta, the *kuccija* may perhaps rank first.

The *kuccija* is an elaborate entertainment given by the parents on the first anniversary of their children's birth.

The company of relations and friends 852 787 having assembled, the child is brought in and if it be a boy he is presented with a basket or tray containing corn, sweetmeats, coins, an inkstand, a candle, a rosary, a book, a sword, and other toys—if the baby is a girl, needles, silks and ribbands supply the place of the sword and inkstand.

The choice the baby makes on this 852 787 828 occasion will, according to Maltese notions, give a just idea of his future disposition and the profession which he will follow. Should he choose the corn

852 it is a sign of a liberal character—if he
[787] picks out the inkstand it points towards
● [828] inclination for trade or the bar—if he takes the book, the rosary or the candle the assumption is that he intends to dedicate his life to the service of the church.

[574) When the baby makes his or her selection, the guests are treated with refreshments, and they all drink the health and future prospects of the small individual in question.

FUNERALS

764 On the death of a Maltese, two or
767 three women called *Neuuieha*, hired for
[533] the occasion, and attired in long mourning cloaks, immediately entered the house of the deceased singing in a low and dismal voice, some appropriate deathsong. These women cut away

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174 which conferred on him "such Wisdom, Prowess, and good
584 fortune . . . that Fame and Prosperity always attended him
825 thereafter." Tennyson, describing his mystic Lady of the
Lake, has:

> And o'er her breast floated the Sacred Fish.

The Saviour Himself was symbolized by the early Christians as a fish. Julius Africanus, an early Christian writer, said of Christ that He was the Great Fish, caught by the Hook of God, whose flesh nourishes the whole world.[1]

This bridal fish, then, may be in some sense a sacramental offering as well as a mere symbol.

584 The anointing of the bride's lips is yet another custom
789 which, like the miniature "garden inclosed" of the marriage-
828 able girl, recalls the Canticle of Canticles:

> Thy lips my spouse are as a dropping honeycomb,
> honey and milk are under thy tongue. . . .[2]

585 The whole of this marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the
174 old Fertility cults—the cakes, sweetmeats, nuts, grain, all in
honour of the fertile Mother whose bountiful Earth is carried in a bowl bearing effigies of the bride and bridegroom whom it is hoped she will bless with her own fecundity and riches.

EVERYDAY HABITS

771 Grez, the housewife, will go about her daily tasks carefully
788 following a thousand small rules, most of which have their
English parallels. She will never cut a loaf without first making the Sign of the Cross on it with forefinger or knife. If the loaf falls to the ground, she will kiss it by way of asking pardon. She will not sweep her house after sunset for fear of
[754] sweeping away good fortune. She will take care not to throw
her "combings" out of doors. Should anyone wish her ill it

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[1] *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

[2] *Song of Solomon*, IV, ii.

167 [128] A graph covering the last hundred years (Fig. 58) shows inter-censal net migrations and annual variations in the scale of movement as indicated by passports issued and by the Customs and Port Department records. The latter are adjusted for each decade to make the sum of annual totals comparable with the inter-censal net totals shown in Table 30 (see also Fig. 59).

In the nineteenth century, the principal factors affecting the scale of migration were economic. Periods of poverty at home sometimes drove the Maltese overseas while at other times they were attracted by boom conditions elsewhere in the Mediterranean. During the Crimean War, not even prosperity at home could counteract the cotton and building boom in Egypt and emigration rose to record heights (24). But the end of the Egyptian boom coincided with depression in Barbary and the two resulted in returns to Malta which more than compensated for the outward movement of the 50's and 60's. In the 1870's, recovery in Barbary coincided with slight recession in Malta and the number of emigrants again increased only to diminish again in 1875-80, reflecting bankrupt conditions in Egypt (25). The economic position of the receiving countries therefore played an important part in determining the volume of emigration at any given moment.

An outstanding feature of nineteenth century movement was a series of attempts to organise emigration from the Maltese Islands. The first of these ended with the failure of the Guiana and Granada experiments of 1831-41 when plantation settlement in these areas was attempted (26). Subsequent plans to settle colonies in Cyprus, Australia and the Americas collapsed and various other attempts to establish Maltese communities overseas each failed in turn. As a result, over 90 per cent. of nineteenth century emigrants moved no further than the coasts of North Africa and the Levant.

[829] The restricted scope of movement and the choice of the Mediterranean seaboard for settlement was influenced by three main non-economic factors: 'the belief that America and Australia were the permanent homes of strange and deadly diseases; the belief that it was necessary to settle in a country near enough to Malta to allow easy and frequent return to the beloved homeland; and the belief that similarity of language and custom marked out North Africa as the divinely appointed region for Maltese settlement abroad' (27).

The annexation of Tunis by the French in 1881 was an indication that the Maltese would no longer find North Africa an open field and the competition in business and commerce from the French and Italians became severe. Moreover, the standard of living in Malta from the 1860's onwards was higher than in most other parts of the Mediterranean so that there was little incentive for the Maltese to go there. Furthermore, the 80's saw the expansion of employment opportunities at home with the introduction of a number of schemes involving large scale public expenditure. As a result of such developments, the period from the late 1880's until 1905 was one in which there was a net inward movement. All thoughts of migration were abandoned and in 1905 the labour shortage was so acute that 300 workers were brought in from Sicily, Italy and Spain. 1906 saw the completion of major harbour and dockyard works and unemployment then became a serious problem which was partially responsible for the visit of the Royal Commission in 1911 (28). Since French and Italian control of North Africa was then complete, attention had to be paid to movement further afield.

In 1907, on the basis of experience already gained and during the period of depression, a voluntary organisation known as the Malta Emigration Committee was formed. In spite of the approval shown by the 1912 Royal Commissioners, this body was neither given any official status nor superseded by any official organisation. Partly as a result of the difficulties confronting the Committee, a Brazilian venture failed miserably in 1912, and in 1916 an unhappy combination of circumstances provoked such Australian antagonism to migration to that continent that an embargo on future movement was established which prevailed until 1920.

167 647 In 1918 the need for adjustment to post-war conditions became sufficiently great to force the establishment of an Emigration Department charged with the control of movement and the selection of personnel (Fig. 60). The social aspects

efficient as judged by yields. This is the group mainly responsible for the fairly steady progress made during the last 30 years but their productivity is neither high enough for modern needs nor attractive enough to ensure family succession on the land. A typical example is a composite case-study:- 234 241

M - In Region C XVII, the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills, lies a holding of 40 *tmien* (Fig. 143). Two wells supply water except in high summer. The 60-year-old farmer and his wife live in a relatively new farmhouse, an older dwelling with byres now being used to house six Friesian cows, seven goats, a horse and a mule. The grown-up children have either emigrated or work in *'il-Belt'* and have no interest in the land. The farmer built up his herd in the period after World War II and would like to increase its size but realises that he could not handle any more stock. About 5 *tmien* of land is usually under potatoes, small plots carry vegetables for home use, and the remainder grows fodder. This allocation results partly from the swing towards milk production but also from the high cost of hired labour to work the land. Husbandry is fairly good but the farmer confesses his technical ignorance and has no younger generation on the farm to encourage him. He keeps no accounts since 'this is the way he lives'.

Many other examples of sub-types of Maltese farmer could be given, ranging from the highly organised syndicate of five brothers which practises successful mixed farming in Region C XVIII d, Siġġiewi but which, almost as a result, is highly resistant to change; to the fruit and vegetable farmers of Wied San Blas in Gozo (Region III, Northern). Those given represent a fairly comprehensive cross-section of the producers who, within their limitations, make a fairly efficient use of land resources. Unfortunately this is not enough. All but a very few are commercially limited to an appreciation of the local not very exacting markets. In no case have we found any appreciation of costing by profit but only a more or less vague knowledge of gross returns. Everywhere there is suspicion, not vicious or pathological but quietly ingrained. It is assumed that the only way to ensure fair purchase prices is personally to deliver the produce - even to the M.M.U. It is equally natural to be suspicious of bureaucracy - a not abnormal rural phenomenon - and also of the practical knowledge if not the learning of advisers. A great many farmers are also conscious of a helplessness, of being left behind by the cunning of the city. This too is a not abnormal country attitude but, seen in the context of the whole social nexus, it is dangerous. 241 829

Note: For a fuller consideration of some case-studies see P. K. Mitchell: 'Studies in the Agrarian Geography of Malta', Part II, 'The Maltese Farm', Report to C.E.R.C., Durham, 1960, and B. W. Beeley: 'The Farmer and Rural Society in Malta', Report to C.E.R.C., Durham, 1960. 113

361 landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of
369 the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the
464 greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to work in this area.

369 Differences in language, dress and education set many of the villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries.
[565 The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so con-
[177 sidered, have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen, whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

177 There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the
19 English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of
369 whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*, which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà* (mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however, are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

186 The social and cultural differences between town and country
369 have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who
829 goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe, tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth. But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices
369 in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary
871 level.

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[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barrett, 1615), p. 234.

578

act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented 665
from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred 794
not to baptize their children. 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have [851]
stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything [608]
that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that [664]
there is nothing incompatible between support of their political
leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the
slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has
become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the [208]
Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it
does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue
to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have
been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized
their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for
personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does
not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This
attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters
who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the
military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist
and a practising Catholic at the same time.

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on
the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this
struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been
unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from
church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a [626]
confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone
to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very
difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to
live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people complained about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour
Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some
extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role
for the non-practising Catholic.

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed 115
up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. 578
We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked 665
him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the 794
Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Communist by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am 795
829

578 young, I cannot even vote in the next election. But I must think
665 of the future. I feel that Mintoff is doing what is right for Malta.
794 He helped the poor people when he made the government. The
795 Church fights Mintoff because she fears she will lose her privileges
and power if he wins, and that he will tax her property. The
● 829 Church is in favour of keeping people ignorant, and limiting their
[115] education. Why? Because when people are educated they think
for themselves and can judge. They no longer follow blindly.
Besides, you should not take too seriously all this talk of Communism – they are products of this fight. In a fight, people use all means available.'

The street sweeper who was with us understood most of the conversation and shook his head in disagreement. His only comment
[539] was the proverb, 'A ship with two captains can't sail' (*Il-vapur biż-żewġ kaptani ma jimxiex*). At this every one in the shop nodded in agreement, for both Labour and Church supporters had different captains in mind. Those who support the Archbishop look to him as the leader of the Maltese people. They make little distinction between Church and State. Labour supporters, in contrast, make a clear distinction. Mintoff is their candidate for head of State, and since they see the Archbishop as interfering with their choice, they accuse him of reaching out to control both Church and State.

II

578 At the village level, this conflict has brought about a bitter
665 division. All societies and groups which are not formally identi-
fied with one side or the other, have been divided and weakened
794 by politically based factions. The parish priest is the leader of
[793] those who support the Archbishop. His most enthusiastic followers are the clergy and the members of the lay societies. This group, with the other prominent villagers who make up the parish priest's circle, provide the hard core of the active opposition to the MLP. Considering the offices that they occupy and the societies to which they belong, it could hardly be otherwise. They usually meet in the club houses of the societies, but sometimes the older members meet in a particular café.

The hard core of the Labour group is made up of the officers of the local MLP Committee and the members who openly frequent the club. There is very little contact between the leaders and

162 The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom
9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as
735 a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the
811 whole population.

369 This pattern of comparatively low living standards in
rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the
problem with which this Section has been concerned. While
[178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in
the Islands the younger generation of the rural community
will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present
241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change
from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from
its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3).
The social background to this change is, however, no less
important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work,
thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little
removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of
commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and
illiterate sections of the farming community this question
of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any
efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be
seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and
Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to
Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta
the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate.
Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom
Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of
experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel
none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta
619 complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the
829 farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he
has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on
which he blames many of his economic and social problems.
In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear
distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities
and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is
allegiance to political parties very significant for personality
[648] is more important than party. Historically, this
attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the
tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign
British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid
hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two
and a half centuries in the Islands.

795 Another Malta-wide authority is the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the farmer than is 'Il-Gvern' for in the normal practice of his religion he leans directly on the local church and priests.

829 To the farmer 'Gvern' is synonomous with control. Illiteracy has, in the past, made it very difficult for him to view authority with anything but suspicion. This has not been made easier by incompetent and condescending elements within officialdom whose actions, if any, have confirmed the doubts of the small farmer striving to provide his family with a living despite the odds against him - of which 'Gvern' was one.

178 654 Today the picture is changing. It is official policy to "encourage investment and to improve farming methods so as to raise the efficiency of the industry to a level where it can provide a decent livelihood for those engaged in it"[38].

178 156 829 The farmers' reactions to efforts on his behalf are particularly important at this crucial stage in the progress of agriculture in the Islands. Essentially his outlook retains much of the traditional reserve and caution of the illiterate peasant, an attitude apparent also in two further contexts, the organization within farming itself (Unions, Co-Operatives, etc.), and the farmers' attitudes towards society in general and rural society in particular.

829 156 The three aspects of the problem may be re-phrased as

(i) the farmer's attitudes to officialdom, espec- the Department of Agriculture, and 'Il-Gvern' generally,

(ii) his attitude towards other farmers and towards the industry as a whole,

(iii) his position as a member of a socially 'low' class within Malta.

[561] Within each of these the present gulf between the younger generation, with a degree of education and emancipation, and the older (including most of the Islands' full-time farmers) produces a further conflict of attitudes and aspirations.

654

THE FARMER AND GOVERNMENT

Official interest in agricultural development has increased very rapidly during the present decade and now includes a wide variety of measures aimed at improving farming by financial support and investment. These have been outlined in Section 2. There has also been an attempt to educate the farmer in better suited techniques and to make him aware of improvements which, it is believed, will increase the profit from his farm or herd. The problem here is seen to be twofold:

654 232 their adoption. Sales soared after the ration appeared and the idea spread rapidly from farmer to farmer. Unforeseen difficulties soon emerged however and threatened to make the ration unpopular among pig breeders as quickly as it had become popular a short while before. Partly on account of ignorance and illiteracy and partly because of the lack of the correct kind of propaganda farmers began to find that the ration was not the magical remedy to their pig problems. A sample investigation, by the writer, in Gozo among farmers who had purchased the balanced ration showed that some of them had understood it to be a kind of medicine to be given in addition to the diet normally fed, others treated it as one item of the feed and mixed it with their normal ration to the pigs, while most common of all was the complaint that "I've been feeding the balanced ration for a week and there is no sign of the promised improvement so I'm using no more". Individuals of this latter inclination not only stopped purchasing the ration themselves but spread ugly rumours, about it among their fellows. None of those with such complaints would consider approaching the Officers of the Advisory Service - as they had in fact been invited to do in the leaflet[40]. For them the new pig feed was a failure.

654 829 242 232 Illiteracy produces a feeling of inferiority in most cases which makes the farmer too timid to approach a department or an official on some problem. Moreover the written word is for them suspect. Therefore if they are to be persuaded to adopt new techniques in their farming the instruction will have to be personal and followed up with further help and advice when difficulties and lack of appreciation of what is intended emerge. For these farmers lectures are too remote. Demonstrations of new crops or cultivation methods, etc. are more likely to succeed but are insufficient in themselves. Unfortunately a large qualified staff of visiting advisers would be necessary to supervise farmers at such an individual level. In Malta this is not yet available. Even if it were the farmers' trust would have to be gained and maintained at every stage. In the past such trust has been conspicuous but its absence with the farmer believing that everyone with whom he comes in contact is anxious to take advantage of his illiteracy for their own gain. There has been no-one to give him professional, impartial advice on farming and, the new Advisory Service with its free information and other help to the farmer is still something
654 232 242 of an unknown quantity. The Agrarian Society (B/286) h[illegible] in the past been responsible for a certain amount of research on agricultural topics in Malta but does not appear

654 232 to have made its presence felt among the farmers themselves.

242 When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in the Islands will depend, have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

241 829 [575] [874] In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened younger farming generation might develop. Neither is there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

654 234 As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U. (Section 2). In short, official policy here has been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the
[433] cost of which is borne by the Government. The totals of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[41].

TABLE 3

234
654

Year	Purchased by M.M.U.		Surplus		Percentage cows' milk	
1943-44	510,000	gallons			27	
1948-49	776,000	"				
1950-51	1,298,000	"			35	(1951)
1952-53	1,795,000	"	99,000	gallons	44	(1951)
1954-55	2,390,000	"	275,000	"	48	(1955)
1956-57	3,542,000	"	391,000	"	57	(1956)

234 A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII (Section 6)
654 shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands
178 has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production.
[434] Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions (Section 2) but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

185 Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in
829 time as far as the management of his farm is concerned
439 so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this Section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricacies of the export market for Maltese agricul-
439 tural produce[42]. The fact that Maltese produce for export

654 herdsman to produce a now over-grown dairy industry
426 (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses earlier in this
454 Section).

Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Section 2), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

829 467 The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly no less strained have been relations between one farmer and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has emerged on the administrative side of farming in the Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic co-operation (Section 2). [474] The main outcome of this has been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed any importance. [747] The very recent tractor co-operatives (Section 2) are proving successful but would probably not have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[29].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in it. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[43]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

829 474 It has also precluded the development of a substantial Co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading.

829 474 The details of the Co-operatives as they do exist merit a more detailed mention since it is likely that they will grow in importance in the future and concern a rather larger proportion of the farming population than at present.

474 In October, 1957, there were ten co-operatives in Malta concerned with the marketing of agricultural produce: Rabat (171 members), Żabbar (86), Dingli (78), Siġġiewi (59), St. Paul's Bay (52), Żebbuġ (37), Mellieha (33), Qormi (23), Gudja (22), and Mġarr (16). All but two of these were officially registered in 1947[44]. The ten societies are independent but have delegate representation in an eleventh body, the Farmers' Central Co-operative. In addition, there were in 1957 two other Co-operatives in Malta, one with only the minimum twelve members who clung to their complete independence, and the Co-operative Stores Malta with 80 members, the sole consumers' society. Of the four Co-operatives in Gozo at the time only one had any capital or was able to organize a market centre for Gozo farmers. All four were concerned with the distribution of fodder.

474 829 The two features of the Co-operative movement important in the present discussion are (i) the very small number of farmers who will have anything to do with it, and (ii) the fact that the movement was initiated not by farmers but by the Government, whose official policy is now to encourage the development of both consumer and producer co-operatives in the Islands[44].

The Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) is an independent and privately run body to be distinguished from the official Milk Marketing Undertaking (M.M.U.). The organization of the Company appears to depend entirely on one man who, as secretary and manager, claims to present the milk producers' grievances to the M.M.U. authorities. Numbers of herdsmen regard the Company as able to secure for them more favourable selling conditions than they could obtain as individuals. Being mostly illiterate they feel unable to speak for themselves on such matters and yet are not inclined to support one or other of the Unions. How the producer does in fact benefit from membership of the Company is not in fact clear and some at least of its status in their eyes appears to depend on the personality of the secretary-manager[45].

474 467 829 Whatever future developments the farming Unions and Co-operatives may produce it is clear that at present only a small part of the farming population is concerned in either. Of the 5,635 full-time farmers in Malta in 1957 (B/164) only 589, or some 10.5% were members of the eleven producer co-operatives in the Island[46]. Fewer than one

829 474 467 in three of the 7,813 full-time farmers in both Islands at the time were even nominal members of either Union, one of which could claim to represent 25% of the farming population and the other only 6%[43].

829 467 As long as the farmers' Unions continue to represent only a minority of producers and to be divided among themselves there is little likelihood of their being able to benefit those in the industry. But the writer maintains that the grievances of the farmer today are not of the kind in which Union action could effect fundamental improvements because the position of the industry at present and at least in the immediate future depends on a policy of official benevolence. More precisely, this includes the range of financial, material and advisory assistance discussed above.

829 474 The farmer does however stand to make real gains from an efficient and popular co-operative movement. The present limited appeal of the co-operative system is a major drawback. In his interim report on the attitudes of the farming community, Fr. Cirillo observes that "the indifference and open hostility of the majority of farmers towards co-operatives can be partially explained by the fact that they are not able to give farmers the services which are expected of them....they are not in a position to operate as true marketing societies" (B/387, p.18). Fr. Cirillo also points to the mistrust of local co-operative organizers on the part of many farmers who have, moreover, never completely overcome their suspicion of the Government initiative behind the movement.

829 474 442 [426] It is clear that the system of marketing produce is the main weakness at present. Up to now most farmers have marketed their produce through a pitkal. This pitkal is a selling middleman who maintains a stall at one of the pitkalija centres at each of which is a Government-appointed clerk. The pitkal has also served a secondary function as a money lender to farmers who regularly deal with him. Fr. Cirillo observes that "many farmers would not join a co-operative society because of the fear that they might lose their pitkal's friendship" and "the farmer's dependence on the pitkal makes him look at the pitkal with respect" (B/387, pp.17-18). In 1957 it was proposed to centralize the marketing of produce through a single centre for the whole Island (B/253), but at least one of the farmers' Unions was quick to announce its opposition to the plan (B/54 - 11.6.1957, p.4). As on many parallel occasions the farmer was here faced with a choice:- between trusting the Union or 'Il-Gvern'. In most cases he would not venture to make his own decision on the matter.

matter.

494 442 829 178 While the farmer does not favour the co-operative movement at present he is generally disatisfied also with the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

208 654 474 44 The Government plan to centralize marketing on the one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the selling of produce on the other will not succeed without a great deal of patient education of the farmer supplemented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

464 184 178 In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

464 lacking any education at all they took up farming as their
184 natural calling" (B/387, p.9), but their sons are faced
with a choice both between occupations and ways of life.
178 Their education is enabling them to compete with other sections of society for industrial and other non-agricultural employment while their emancipation, in terms of access to the world outside the village, is leading them to think of escape from the lowly social status of their fathers. They have been brought up to appreciate the insecurity of farming with its inadequate and fluctuating income and have seen the technical limitations and the hard and monotonous schedule of work with which their fathers have had to contend in order to provide even the most frugal living standards for their families. In very many cases the younger generation have been actively discouraged by their elders from contemplating farming as a livelihood. Within society as a whole they see farming as something of a low 'caste' and one example of this is the opposition faced by many a young farmer if he wishes to marry into a non-farming family.

The importance of this revolt on the part of the younger generation is clear when one considers the topic of this Section. The current policy is to change the pattern of farming in the Islands and to raise the standards of living of the farmers by the variety of methods mentioned and these are, quite naturally, being aimed primarily at the present farmers, that is to say the older generation. But the future of farming depends on the future farmers who are, it would appear, leaving or have already left the industry. Many of them do not plan to stay in farming longer than the time necessary to find another occupation and they are consequently not concerned with loans, subsidies, lectures, and the work of the advisory service. The farming which they are anxious to leave will, it is hoped, change rapidly in response to the measure outlined. But, even if only a few years are needed to show substantial results and a better kind of farming is evolved, the younger generations may not be there to take over. Many of them will have emigrated from the Islands altogether and others will have left the villages for all manner of employment in the towns.

654 The official aid to farming policy may fail, one
829 fears, on two accounts:

(i) The measures designed to assist the farmer and farming have not yet been as successful as was hoped because of the difficulties of having rapid and far-reaching changes accepted by a suspicious, conservative and largely illiterate body of farmers,

654 829 464 178 (ii) The younger generation are not interested in improving farming: they scarcely stop to think that any changes in the industry might be possible in their present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk of life. Thus they will probably not be available to take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise, from their fathers.

SECTION 5 : Conclusions.

369 In conclusion one may attempt to draw together the several general points raised in the previous four Sections. The most important of these may be listed as follows:

(1) The twentieth century is witnessing an accelerating process of the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo (Section 1). This comprises

- (a) material change (the development of electricity, roads, sewage, transport, and a variety of other amenities),
- (b) cultural change following general, elementary education - that is literacy, 'emancipation' and the emergence of a critical public awareness,
- [565] [793] (c) social and economic changes which have laid the foundations of a rural middle class, unknown in the traditional village scene. Along with this have come modifications in the pivotal rôle of the Parish Priest and other priests. Some of their traditional functions, notably teaching and caring for the sick, have been taken over by specialists in such fields.

369 829 The factors outlined under (a), (b), and (c) are tending to extend the horizon of the individual villager far beyond the limits of his own village. Whereas he used to work and think within his family and village he is now aware of Malta and beyond.

241 464 178 (2) The particular physical limitations on farming in the Islands have, in the past, made the industry dependent to a very considerable extent on the meticulous hand-labour of the industrious Maltese farmer. This has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance, and even construction, of the fields and terraces themselves (Section 2). The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involved. They have benefited from general elementary education, literacy, and contact with the world outside the villages to the extent of demanding work which seems to them economically and socially rewarding. The past twenty-five years have seen a rapid decline in the number of full-time farmers and farm-workers. Today the farmer, in most cases no longer assisted by his sons, finds hired labour both scarce and costly (Section 2).

178 industry in search of it.

434 (5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the
[511] fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average
for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is
related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture (Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

511 Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

[461] (a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

[454] (c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

829 (6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a
157 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same
[178] time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated
agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, to Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

829 a policy of long term assurances for agriculture" (B/387,
157 p.39). He claims that the Government "ought" to guarantee his prices, his markets, and "ought" to find the foreign export markets, and provide machinery, subsidies, etc. He also insists, incongruously, that farmers' needs could well be served by a strong and well-organized Union of Farmers and yet, in the next breath, he will reject outright any suggestions that he, individually, might take a prominent part in such a movement. The nature of this attitude emerges clearly from the collection of complaints and comments, made by farmers to Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team (B/387). On the one hand, the farmer demands Government support for farming but, on the other hand, he speaks even of his fellow farmers as "they". Conservative, cautious and usually illiterate, he is quick to speak but slow to act (v.Section 4).

829 The new awareness of horizons outside the village is consequently limited in extent and confined in nature. The farmer's son, however, with his education and emancipation and his ideas of social and economic emulation, has a clearer vision of the illogicality of his father's situation but is not yet sufficiently mentally liberated from the past to see for himself any right course of action.

554 (7) As a class, the farmer is low on the social scale.
369 This arises partly from his illiteracy and the features
outlined in (6) and is partly also the outcome of a tradition
of wealth and education being confined to the cities and
[177] towns. Wealth and culture came easily to the urban section of Maltese society and both implied foreign contacts on a large scale. Meanwhile the Maltese farmer toiling in his fields remained cut off socially as well as economically.

178 Today this felt inferiority puts him

554 (a) in a weak position for bargaining with Government and 'officials' and business men fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education,

(b) - if young and literate, in the position of being anxious to escape from his lowly class by leaving the village and farming as opportunity presents itself (v.Section 4).

654 (8) Official policy has been to assist farming in the
178 Islands by means of a variety of subsidies and guarantees designed to protect the farmer from unfavourable competition and fluctuations in market demand (Sections 2 and 4). The industry has, in the past, received such attention only in time of siege of widespread unemployment. The basic intention today is therefore

[135] (a) to enable Malta's only basic industry - agriculture - to develop under protection for it is held that "In an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2).

654 241 An F.A.O. report on investigations in Malta and Gozo observes that "Progress in agriculture is fundamentally a human problem; it depends on knowledge and the intelligent application of knowledge" (B/243, p.9). Within the Islands themselves there is a certain awareness of the situation and [181] particularly of the need for an official policy designed to develop the agricultural industry to the best advantage of the total economy of the Islands and to assist the farmers who "are perhaps the most hard-working, honest and God-fearing section of the community and the country will be the loser if it were to let them down" (B/387, p.7).

It must be noted that the position in Gozo is even more intractable than in Malta.

From work done in the field two major lines of approach to the problem of Maltese farming emerge:

(a) Development policy must be related to the present and future position of her only basic industry - agriculture - within Malta's total economy. In this context one feels that at present there is some over-emphasis on the parts rather than the whole, that is the individual farmer qua economic unit and on the means whereby he may derive increased profit from his present - generally uneconomic - farm-unit. It is too easy to discuss minutiae of policy which are "good for agriculture", rather than to consider either men in villages or the fundamental national needs.

(b) The long-term improvement of Maltese agriculture as regards both the national economy and the fortunes of the individual farmers depends on the personnel of farming as much as on policy imposed from above. Policies must be tailored to fit the varying capabilities for absorption among the farmers, from the potato-grower who cannot see why a certain variety of potatoe is not selling on the export market to the dairyman unable to comprehend the artificially distorted basis of the industry which provides his livelihood. Moreover, up to now few development plans have been aimed specifically at the future farmers of Malta, the young, literate generation of the farming community. Before they have all left farming and village society this generation must be made aware of the possibilities and potential of agriculture in Malta and Gozo.

468 829 234 FOOTNOTE: While this report was 'in print' it was announced that the milk producers had decided to withhold deliveries to the M.M.U. (B/59, 17th November, 1959, p.4). They argue that the guaranteed price given them should be increased to take into account current production costs - especially of fodder. The fact that they appear to have overlooked the £370,000 paid by the taxpayer in subsidizing the milk industry (1958) illuminates both the narrow outlook of the farmer and his failure to appreciate the uneconomic basis of his dairying industry today (v.9).

*159 useless in my district" but Pawlu, who has at all times in
156 his life been conscious of education and a knowledge of
234 things outside his village, is prepared to consider suggestions
232 on their merits. This attitude pervades the working
of his farm as a unit and has had important repercussions
within his family. (v. Section 4).

*159 In spite of his own lack of advanced formal education,
156 Pawlu has in fact an awareness of its importance which is
829 still uncommon in rural Gozo. He is constantly stressing
the need for education in its widest sense, both general and technical. He is anxious for his children to be educated to a standard far above his own, while, in the wider scene, he recognizes the importance of education for the farmer and farming. His attitude to the course of lectures for farmers (Section 4) is typical of the man. He observed that "attendances at the lectures have been big because the farmers are interested - they wouldn't go if they were not". The ideas put forward by the experts are weighed by the farmer and, if considered 'good ideas', are discussed at length in the villages or at the It-Tokk market on Sunday mornings. These lecture courses for farmers, and others like them such as the important McClemont demonstrations and lectures on dairying technique (Section 4), fail for Pawlu in so far as they do not lead to individual contact between specialist and farmer. No farmer would dream of making comment or criticising 'officialdom' - with which he naturally associates ventures like those of Haesler and McClemont[50]. "The Maltese back down much more easily than do the English in their relations with the authorities. In England you might complain to a Government Department and there would be argument for a day but in Malta such a complaint would mean petty victimization for years". The farmer blames "clerical inefficiency" in Valletta for what he considers has been the failure to follow up the McClemont or other recommendations but no farmer would seriously consider complaining in person to officialdom. They just argue and become increasingly bitter with their lot.

*
Farming
for Pawlu means independence. He complains of the
159 inferior social position which the farmer holds in Maltese
178 society today and observes that the present generation of
829 young people demand the means to enable them to equal the
[554] people of the towns in appearance, leisure and other superficialities.
The old farmer with little formal education is not troubled by these notions. His life is the only one he can comprehend - apart from which his daily round leaves
[464] him little time to think. The youngster, on the other hand, is desperate for an eight-hour job with steady income and leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

820 leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

Pawlu admits nevertheless that much of the inferior condition of the farmer derives from his inability to unite with other farmers (Section 4). Illiteracy, ignorance and suspicion are the major causes of his fear. Only a few farmers are members of either of the two opposing Unions of Farmers while the situation regarding co-operatives is equally unpromising. Pawlu himself became one of the organizers of a special 'Tractor Co-Operative', initiated by C.A.R.E. at the end of 1958 (Section 2) for a group of farmers in his home village. The members paid £2 each on joining the co-operative and were thereafter able to hire one of the two tractors donated by C.A.R.E. at only 10/- per hour instead of the commercial 17s. The fact that Pawlu himself was among the organizers of such a novel venture reflects his progressive outlook, and his standing in the village.

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Politics interest Pawlu, to a more than average degree His concern is based on an informed intelligence. A supporter of the Labour Party, he considers the Nationalists as holding the masses in contempt and he points to their emphasis on the Italian language and the non-Maltese culture which it represented as evidence. He reads the local Maltese-language press but is sufficiently independent of mind to have cancelled his subscription to the 'Lehen is-Sewwa' (B/65) at the time of the 'Integration' referendum on the grounds that neither the Church nor the Paper would publish an 'official' statement on the attitude of the Church. Yet his religious devotion is without question and he has a respected place in Church and village life.

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[555]
[169]

The Family. Pawlu lives with his wife and six of his children. His eldest son and daughter are both working as teachers in Malta. Another daughter has emigrated.

Pawlu's wife speaks only Maltese and had as little formal education as her husband, but she has at all times nothing but encouragement for her family in their education In this case there is not the usual gulf in outlook between parents and children on account of the education of the latter - for the parents fully realize the need. Pawlu's wife used to work in the fields when young but now spends [462] her time in the house. Certain jobs remain her special concern however, notably cheese-making, care of lambs and chicks and egg-collection.

*159
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178
593
[875]
The eldest son, now working as a teacher, is one of the young 'intellectuals' who are currently making an appearance in Gozo. The ties of family and respect between him and his father are strong but he is out of touch with the

*159 433

3 ratal barley bran	1s. 4d.
8 " cake	3s. 6d.
5 " sulla	1s. 4d.
8 " beans	5s. 0d.
1 basket prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½ " straw	6d
	12s. 8d.

- Sample daily feed for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48 ratal bean	£1. 10s. 0d.
16 " barley	6s. 0d.
4 bundles sulla	5s. 0d.
Furrajna (green barley)	5s. 0d.
	£2. 6s. 0d.

[434] - Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit, making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d. daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

*159 234

G. Husbandry.

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".

- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
  - (a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.
  - (b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.
  - (c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

*159 241

(ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.

- Two rotations are in use,

(a) 1st yr: Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
2nd yr: Sulla
3rd yr: Wheat
4th yr: Fallow
(b) 1st yr: Wheat
2nd yr: Sulla and Beans
3rd yr: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor plowing.
4th yr: Fallow

H. General.

*159 43 ●829

- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gozitan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.
- [454] At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

*159 234

CASE II: Ġużepp (A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping.)

Like Pawlu (Case I) Ġużepp is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his

*159 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit
234 for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is
prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial
improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of
space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than
[246] to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage
(he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a
further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners
of often unsuitable space.

*159 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder
241 for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for
433 the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other
items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds
from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was
434 getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes
for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense
is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant
[427] cause of grumbling and bitterness by Gużepp. Rents for
1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land
(generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer,
whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common
[241] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more
[433] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby
frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he
aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli)
because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year
he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would
have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in
potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general
glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately
avoided.

*159 Gużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the
438 great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that
443 paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid
this by selling some of his produce directly in the local
village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

*159 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few
511 extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for
entertainment is practically nil and his children are not
829 yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which
178 one foresees they will do. Gużepp is very anxious to
enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation.
In this development one feels he is looking to
the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly
the older of these seem at present to look forward to following
in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that
Gużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

*159 [245]
- Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233 461] (ii)
- Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii)
- Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.
- [231] Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

H. General.

*159 ● 829 241
- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.
- *159 [434 234] Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.
- [511] [454 241] Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.
- [511] Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

*159 452 off until mid-November but, in the intervening two and a half months, the purchase of fodder had been continued and the debt maintained. In that September he himself put his debt at £60 and said that at the previous Christmas (1956) it had been £100. Thus a debt of £60 in the flush milk season of highest total receipts from the M.M.U. would appear to be the best financial position he could achieve. Removal of the guaranteed milk price to the producer could result only in ruin for this herdsman and the many in the Islands like him.

*159 829 In spite of his own poverty Anğlu maintains that he is fully aware of the artificial economic picture of which the guaranteed price is a part. In the same breath however he complains that he could sell his milk for more than the M.M.U. gives him in the short season. Here he overlooks the obvious outcome of a removal of the guarantee during the annual glut.

*159 178 291 511 His financial hardships make it impossible for him to hire labour or to invest in any capital improvements to the farm or herd. Neither does it enable him to support his family as he aspires. This is especially evident in the case of clothing because the family lives in an urban area and therefore strives to appear as well dressed as their non-farming neighbours. Anğlu observes that there has been a change both in the types of clothing worn and in the occasions on which they are worn. He speaks of a Doctor of the district who used to go barefoot in the streets carrying a pair of shoes to put on before entering a house or Church. Nowadays, by contrast, children attend school with shoes and are generally well turned out. This is particularly true of an urban area, where Anğlu's children go to school and where his teenage children go to work - a son as an apprentice carpenter, one daughter as a shop assistant and another as a factory worker. None of his children is likely to contemplate farming as a way of life and means of earning a living, for, in their father's case they can see an extreme example of the problem facing many farmers throughout the Islands today, that is a man unable to make a living wage for himself and his family from a farm limited in possibilities by external factors and dependant on a guarantee which could be removed at a general election.

*159 427

CASE V : Summary.

(A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer)

A. Land.

Rents and grazes 1 tomna of wasteland.
Rents and works as a domestic garden 1 tomna of dry land, in the Urban area.

159 The family has occupied the present house for several
423 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
551 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the
village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
461 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
234 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially
to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
829 his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
544 He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public
234 lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He
178 thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique
interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese
farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which
cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods".
He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to
the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time
and labour thus expended would bring no additional return
to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he
employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and
therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases
some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures)
would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 **A. Land.**

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427] All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

241 The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

CASE VII : Wenzu (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

* 159 Like Case VI, Wenzu has been a goat herder and is now
234 anxious to concentrate on dairy cows. At present he holds
4 Friesians, belonging to himself and his sons, but he wants
to import Ayrshires. This cow, says Wenzu, is better suited
to Maltese conditions, needing less feed than the
Friesian and standing up better to long periods of confinement
656 in cramped stalls. Wenzu became interested in cows
when the Government forbade the selling of raw goats' milk
in Valletta. For a time thereafter he sold bottled milk
in the capital and then returned to selling raw goats' milk
in still unclosed areas such as nearby Cospicua until that
too came to an end with the evacuation in 1940. After the
War he went back to cows' milk production and sold his output
654 to the M.M.U. He acquired the Friesians through an
exchange for inferior quality and diseased goats organized
by the Government (one cow for 13 goats). At present, he
says, cows' milk production is the more profitable ("Six
cows will support a small family") but that this would not
be so were it possible to give goats good grazing land at
low cost. He reckons that good grazing saves 15/- per day
on the fodder bill.

* 159 Wenzu's Case illustrates an important feature of the
829 study of a predominantly illiterate section of society. *
This is the prominence of personality in the thoughts and
178 actions of the individual. Unable to read and suspicious
232 of what he may hear over Rediffusion, Wenzu relies on
242 personal contact to a very considerable degree. This is
clear from a brief survey of his life. He speaks nowadays
of a certain Dr. MacFarlane whose veterinary skill and
advice impressed him and who originally recommended him to
keep Ayrshires. To listen to Wenzu talking of this "Scots
Doctor" one gathers that Wenzu last spoke with him quite
recently. In fact, however, Dr. A.M. MacFarlane was
Superintendent Veterinary Surgeon in Malta some half a
century ago! A Mr. Hurst gave him advice on bulls some
25 years ago while, much more recently, Mr. Ebejer Slythe
of the Department of Agriculture gave him much valued information
on lucerne as a fodder and, latest of all, Dr. Godfrey
Alton, the veterinary expert, has become something of a hero
for the injections he has arranged. Evidently, therefore,
any improvements in Maltese farming have a greater chance
of success if this element of personal contact - particularly
in the cases of illiterate farmers - can be established.
One man who will argue with one farmer for a morning on a
single topic stands a greater chance of general success than
has the big public lecture or even the practical demonstration.

* 159 829 178 [246] For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows. Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

* 159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 427 A. Land.

- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

* 159 241 B. Utilisation.

- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

* 159 231 234

- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

* 159 [454] D. Capital.

- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464]

- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] [234]

- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

* G. Husbandry.

159 231 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

- [427] Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.
- [311] This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.

- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly [illegible] tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.
- [435] Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per homel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- [434] Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

* H. General.

159 156

- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

000 *159 241 731 the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

*159 829 442 464 472 The brothers also complain of the present marketing regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themselves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

*159 423 [134] A. Land.

c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region. 16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2½ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

*159 241 B. Utilisation. (i) Typical arrangement.

			Winter	Summer
Plot	1.	8⅝ tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot	2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot	3.	1⅓ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot	4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot	5.	2⅝ tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot	6.	1⅓ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot	7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot	8.	7⅜ tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
			Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot	9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot	10.	2⅜ tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot	11.	21 tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
			Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
			Vetches	Fallow
Plot	12.	2¼ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot	13.	1⅜ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot	14.	2⅜ tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot	15.	5½ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
			Tomatoes	
Plot	16.	1⅝ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

*159
43

(iv) Potatoes are grown regularly for the home market in spite of price variations - reported as ranging between 50/- per qantar in 1956 and 8/4 in 1957.

(v) Home grown fodder and forage makes up c.80% of non-concentrate feed. Other crops make members of the partnership self-sufficient in foodstuffs (at a high level of consumption).

(vi) Annual sales of wine-grapes c.40 qantar.

(vii) The response to general variations in yields and prices is to maintain the general pattern of production. The syndicate has enough capital to survive periodic losses and therefore deliberately ignores fluctuations. The only alterations made in a planned cropping sequence result from natural hazards e.g. if a late crop of sulla fails as a result of poor germination, a rapid switch may be made to balck vetch.

G. Husbandry. General standards are good.

*159
242

(i) Soil maintaining rotations are carefully and consciously practised. Thus leguminous fodders are regarded as essential in arable farming.

(ii) Fertiliser application is heavy:
- Organic manure is applied for the first two years of a four year cycle at a rate of c.60 sacks per tomna.
- Sulphate of Ammonia is applied to all the fields each year at a rate of 15-20 sacks per tomna.
- They do not regard the idea of green manuring with any favour although they use dry vegetable refuse mixed with dung.

(iii) They are very conscious of minor regional differences in soil and climate and regard the parcellated holding of selected land much more important than convenience of working a consolidated holding e.g.
- 'earliness' is associated with coastal situations and "early tomatoes will not come up in Żebbuġ".
- soils are classified as follows:
  - 'ħamrija' (red) is good for all crops
  - 'abjad' (white) for cereals and tomatoes but not for potatoes.
  - 'sowdina' (grey) for sulla and tomatoes.
  - 'tafli' (clay) poor for green crops.
  - 'ħirbi', an intermediate soil, easy to work.

The differences between these types and the presence or absence of nodule beds, saline layers etc. are held to be sufficient justification for rental differentiation as between fields and parts of fields.

This articulate consciousness of environmental variations even in this case reinforces conservatism and much more importance is attached to such natural 'controls' than to crop strains.

*159
232

(iv) Cattle are well housed and fed according to yield. Very vague about balanced feeding and rely on traditional greens, beans, hay and cake. Nevertheless in the spokesman's own words they are aiming at 'better management of the cattle rather than more animals'.

*159
●829
232
242

(v) In some ways, the high standards achieved using traditional techniques are proving a barrier to further technical advances, e.g. the cattle are relatively free from disease and therefore more trust is placed in the expertise of the syndicate than in the 'book-knowledge' of a vet., e.g. whatever experts may say, any crop innovation must be demonstrated successfully and in the immediate locality.

159
178 substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however,
234 show no inclination to stay in farming.

*
159 A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in
232 quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that
they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd
829 of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases
234 and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

*
159 In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Ingliżi type.
234 As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a
231 larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Ingliżi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

*
159 Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount
234 they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of
433 producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?").
The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount
[246] of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

*
159 Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid
434 increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of
Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are
426 operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

*159 198 829 [454] Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming", although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

*159 423 (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows'milk production.)

A. Land.

[429] Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

*159 231 **C. Livestock.**

Shifting emphasis in recent years.
- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957: 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- Pigs 8.

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Ingliżi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 426 **D. Capital.**

(i) No freehold property.

[423] (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[454] [407] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools
- rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.
- [312] no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 464 **E. Labour.**

- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 434 435 **F. Production and Sales.**

- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- [433] Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 231 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- [232] Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 234 829 **H. General.**

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect [426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 829 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the Gozitan milk producer, Case I.

234 [433] The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle within the current artificial economy of milk production. There is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 241 231 427 472 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is however centred on the land holding which he and his brother work in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġamri's father.

*159 472 464 241 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilised as follows:

[311]

Fruit and vines	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let	13 tmien
Potatoes	6 tmien
Other vegetables	5 tmien

*159 245 242 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall success of any year depends on them. They were introduced to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 245 [435] Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

*159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
461 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in con-
231 trast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

* Ġamri and farming

159 Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
[212] Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
[454] ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[729] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
[434] costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

* His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
159 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
181 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he bel-
ieves that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
* approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
181 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

*159 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously
829 and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.
181 Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community
178 in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

*159 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production.)
423 (Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

427 A. Land.

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9 tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9 "
Potatoes	6.2 "
Other vegetables	4.9 "
Fallow or unproductive or let 'bin-nofs'.	12.6 "
	62.5 tmien

*159 231 C. Livestock.

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

*159 D. Capital.

423 (i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.

454 (ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.

(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.

*159 407 (iv) - Equipment;
- Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
- 427 Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding, Ġ

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
241 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargha baghli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the
corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-house
also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-driven
[406] pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
[343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils
tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
241 interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
433 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
434 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to cultivate
829 on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
[464] to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own
heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at
least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to
qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however
content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the
lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the
most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative
(Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first
suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having
the money than letting the Government get it. This belief
that the Government is behind everything is characteristic
(Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization
distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility
of achieving anything above low living standards.
Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet
clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case
among many of his generation and it may be that he will have
difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily
of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and
new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance)
his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem
of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young
men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
[654] the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort
to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture
to the full but it has done comparatively little for
the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at
least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to
stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

000 was taken for granted.
*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
178 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly
242 on the ground that "it is not used here".

*
CASE XII : Ċenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

159 Ċenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
554 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is importent both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing
which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate
man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local
[727] standards and Ċenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable
living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged
during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation
to which he added a further £1200. This money was
put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted
241 to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter
but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices
for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder
and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same
period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders.
[451] This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent
outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his
accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join
the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib)
because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer
in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has
never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not
interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a
good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the
rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in
joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing
number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
[626] firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[799] the towns. Ċenzu shares the still general view that money
given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 427 **A. Land.**

33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 231 234 **C. Livestock.**

Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 [423] [454] [407] **D. Capital.**

- No freehold land. Owns large village house.
- No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 464 [465] **E. Labour.**

- Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
  Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
  Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
- [427] [241] [407] Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

*159 433 451 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 134 241
- some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
- deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melħ" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorča tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 157 626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 ● 829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159 241 434 An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 178 46 *[159] [369] [162] Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agriculture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely
residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] Case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his
sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this
type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no
importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
●829 as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the
fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election
times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and
his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance.
He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily
- because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging
the younger farming generation from staying on the land and
struggling against rising costs to sell products which are
but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

423 **A. Land.**

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieħa Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] Soils: l-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**

- [241] Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] **C. Livestock.** 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 **D. Capital.**

- 454 No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
- 422 Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- 423 Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 **E. Labour.**

- 464 Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- [465] Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.
[433] [251] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43 (i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250
Value of produce consumed by family	£30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable [454] capital reserve.

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829 **CASE XIV : Ġanni** (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

*159 rojection of his village background, and his attitude to
157 agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark
●829 him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At
the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

*159 He comes of a village family in which his father and
423 paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired
167 a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the
177 family but neither Ġanni nor his brother, a few years his
241 junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family
[441] butchering business held no more attraction for them and was
relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the brothers thought that neither butchering nor farming presented scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian pattern, with tractor-drawn, three-furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

*159 He returned home full of ideas of making money as a
177 contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers
241 and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities.
407 Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plowing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead, working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few *young* men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

*159 Ġanni's view of farming in Malta.

241 "Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical
829 because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and
because of the difficulties facing the mechanization of field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither

*159 241 829 of these problems is without solution and he puts a great part of the blame on the Maltese farmer himself who is prevented says Ġ by his illiteracy and suspicion from uniting and from seeking to improve his own farming. He maintains that it __is__ possible to make money in farming today in the Islands, but only with the right methods, ideas and facilities. This is where he himself comes in, for he believes his ideas on mechanization are the answer, leading to the elimination of hand labour as far as possible. He insists that a profitable farm must be a workable unit, that is a large patch of twenty, forty or more tmien capable of being worked by mechanical implements. Moreover, he insists that the farmer should, where possible, sell his own produce to the consumer in order to evade the 'middle-men' and thereby make a greater profit.

Ġanni himself talks vaguely of acquiring such a farm, although to date his contract-plowing has absorbed all his profit-making energies.

__Ġanni's view of the farmer in Malta__.

He lays a great deal of the blame for the present agricultural difficulties at the door of the farmers themselves. His view of his fellow farmers and villagers approaches cynicism: "The farmer's illiteracy prevents him from admitting that anything could be better than that which he knows. It also prevents him from trusting other farmers and prevents him from realizing the folly of putting bad-weight with produce for export. The young people who are far from illiterate and will listen to reason are not staying on the land long enough for this to be of lasting benefit to agriculture". He observes that the farmer is keen for a sure profit but not at all anxious to plunge his often considerable capital into [178] a new venture such as buying a tractor. In fact he will not accept any new method or crop before he sees it a working success - preferably in a field near his own. This applied particularly to the 'outlandish' ideas on deep-plowing which Ġanni brought back from Australia. His fellow villagers regarded his 16" mould-board, three-furrow plows with great suspicion, and his ideas on potato-ridging, combine-harvesting and threshing met with no more approval initially.

[454] Ġanni insists that the farmer's saving is merely "an aimless accumulation of money: a man may look poor in dress and have £1000 tucked away". He says of an old lady in a nearby lonely house "She wears no shoes and has never been to Valletta but will die leaving thousands".

181 241 829 This conservatism and reluctance on the part of the illiterate farmer emerges, therefore, as a major difficulty in the way of improvement and modification. It is one which tends to be overlooked by well-meaning experts and officials who forget that, unlike themselves, the farmer is unable to

181 read of successful experiments of one kind or another in a
241 foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof
before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard
● 829 to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor
on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

*159 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting
407 business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They
422 have (1958):

427 (i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board plow, the only one in the district,

472 (ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred-tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only
[465] slowly - Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

*159 **Ġanni and the village.**

Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his
156 literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

*159 554 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 [871] Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14).

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 871 829 [014] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command

hair short, are not allowed to wear neckties, and must wear jackets 785
in public. Female members are obliged to wear the traditional 794
Maltese *ghonella* (also *faldetta*). This is a black silk cowl which [292]
renders the wearer completely shapeless. Finally, all members are
tied by a promise of celibacy. Since members usually enter the [589]
society as children, and work up through grades until they
become full members, this promise ensures that all are either
bachelors or spinsters.

The male and female sections are completely separate. Each 794
meets daily under its respective superior in its own house. There [834]
the members hold devotional exercises, conduct study groups for
adults and also teach catechism to the children. The superiors are
normally elected for life; but if the members cannot agree, the
national superior general, after consultation with the parish
priest, appoints an acting superior, either from the village or from
outside groups.

The society is somewhat unusual among village religious [793]
associations, since no member of the village clergy is directly
involved in its activities, though priests are often invited in to give
lectures. This relatively independent status, and the close contact
that members maintain with their national headquarters, has led
some parish priests to look upon it as a potential threat to their
authority and consequently to oppose its establishment in their
parishes. Thus, although the society has spread to 40 (83 per cent)
of the Maltese parishes, it is only established in 6 (40 per cent) of
those in Gozo, Malta's conservative sister island. In point of fact,
wherever it has been established it has supported the authority of
the parish priest, and its members are now among the staunchest
opponents of the Labour Party.

In each parish there are usually several loosely organized groups
such as the Association of Christian Mothers and the Holy Name
Society which meet infrequently for special prayers and devotions.

Finally, there is at least one confraternity in each parish. A
confraternity is a lay religious society which is dedicated to a particular
saint and offers Masses for dead members. These societies,
called *fratellanzi*, are the oldest associations in Malta, and many [467]
date back to the Middle Ages. Formerly certain confraternities in
the larger villages and towns acted as trade guilds; others only
enrolled persons of the highest socio-economic class. Both men [292]
and women may enrol, as members; but only men may wear the

178 185 744 about quality and as yet incompletely dominated by ideas of welfare economics, the rural community is far less affected by change. While milk consumers in the towns are often either not completely convinced of the need for milk processing or at the other extreme will use only imported tinned milk where possible, the producers are generally even less convinced of the need for care in the production of clean milk. Unpasteurised goats' milk is still generally used in those farming households where milk is consumed at all, and understanding of the processes of infection is but slowly growing. Thus, in the field of public health and personal hygiene and medical care, social changes have been rapid, recent and uneven in incidence. Here, as in the economic sector, the mental acceptance of new ideas is not yet complete and is least advanced in the most rural and remote regions.

163 369 842 795 The examination already made of the demographic situation in the Maltese Islands needs some brief consideration against the background of social attitudes. The consensus of expert opinion is that in developing societies a falling birth rate is the result not of an actual decline in fertility but of family limitation. In most regions such a decline in family size is associated with changed social attitudes, which have become accepted in many countries in which Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion. Pope Pius XII himself condemned irresponsible parenthood and said it is 'a mistake and a departure from moral truth to exalt too highly the generative function even in its right moral setting of married life' (15).

The insularity and historical experience of Malta have preserved there a more rigid and strict application of Catholic rules of conduct, in which, despite the inadequacy of the Islands' resources to provide for the economic welfare of the population, the virtues of the large family are still stressed. Archbishop Gonzi in 1958 reminded an audience of young people that, although large families entailed much sacrifice on the part of the parents, parents should be prepared for a life of sacrifice (16). Father Vella, the founder of the Cana movement has said: 'One of Malta's glories is her large families' (17).

In Malta therefore the weight of the Church tends to discourage the secular social trend towards smaller families, and still makes illegal any provision for family limitation. Where secularism is strongest, in the urban cosmopolis, family size declines most rapidly. In the rural communities, where the precepts of the Church are most conscientiously observed and where the effect of secular socio-economic desires is most restricted, large families are normal and admired.

163 369 842 This regional contrast in social behaviour, when superimposed upon purely demographic variations in rates of population growth, becomes sometimes emphasised and sometimes negated. In the northern third of Malta, inward internal movement as a consequence of 'pioneer' agricultural settlement during and after the mid-nineteenth century produced a 'young' population, high birth rates and rates of natural increase. This region has remained almost entirely rural in social character. The second main region of inward movement of population, the suburban area, has experienced a recent decline in the early high birth rates as a result of the impact of secular ideas.

[166] The urban heart of Malta in Valletta and Floriana by contrast, has been both traditionally a zone of outward movement of population and the district most affected by changes in social attitudes to family propagation. The remaining area, the heart and core of Maltese 'casal' life, illustrates clearly the delicate balance between demographic and religious and secular social influences. From this central area have traditionally gone the migrants to the new towns and the 'new' northern farming areas. The efflux has counteracted the traditionally rural and strongly religious tendency towards large families and a high rate of natural increase. On the southern fringe of this zone however lies the Żurrieq group of 'casals' and villages. From this until recently relatively isolated district, emigration has never been high and, with a survival of traditional rural values, this region has had in the 1950's the consistently highest birth rates - over 30 per 1,000 - of the *Maltese* population.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

The stay of the French in the island was too short to have any effect on the 144
population. A social barrier has been built up between the British and the people 563
of the land, and the general impression gained is that, though there are a certain
number of mixed marriages, there cannot, even after three generations of a large,
if floating, British element in Valletta, be more than a very thin British strain in
the population.

We have shown, in dealing with the history of the island, how extremely difficult 144
it is to account for the wholesale immigration of an Armenoid-like population at 174
any period. We have also shown how, in spite of the continual immigration of 132
people of the Mediterranean stock, the Maltese type (*i.e.* Malta second race,
displaying Armenoid characters) appears to have persisted for a long period. It would seem, therefore, a point worthy of further consideration, whether the development of the Maltese along the lines they appear to have followed may not be due to certain definite geographical factors of whose influence we are as yet unaware. It is possible that if we had at our disposal a long unbroken series, instead of larger or smaller series from Neolithic, Mediæval, and modern ossuaries, we should not find such striking contrasts as we do at present. Anthropological data from various parts of the Mediterranean show that there is very often a significant difference between two villages in different valleys of the same mountain range. It is possible that even the few generations which have elapsed between the building of Hal Tarxien and 1921 may be the equivalent, in time, of such a journey in space, and certain big changes may have taken place owing to changing geographical conditions. There can be little doubt that the climate of Malta has changed very much, not only since the first terrace was cut in the Weid Dalam, but even since the formation of the second terrace. We have also suggested that the evidence from Professor Zammit's excavations at Hal Tarxien hints at a change in climate since Neolithic times. The change in the structure of the population may be due, therefore, partly to geographical as well as to historical causes.

Whether or no the development of the Maltese sub-race is due to particular 161
geographical conditions, there can be little doubt that, in Malta at least, the strain 842
is biologically remarkably successful and extremely fertile. In spite of the high [165]
infant mortality which has existed in the past, they have continued to increase,
and the modern developments of hygiene and the care of infants are likely to make
the increase still more rapid. If the overcrowding continues, in a comparatively
short time we shall be faced with conditions in the island which would appear to be,
biologically speaking, unsatisfactory. Sanitary conditions can be improved, food
can be imported, but excessive overcrowding may bring its own remedy, either in
disease or in a diminished fertility. The present fertility is quite possibly due to
some underlying climatic condition. In spite of lack of water, Malta has long been
extremely fertile botanically, and was famed for this in classical times. The [231]
Maltese goats, by far the most abundant large mammal of the island apart from

161 man, are also unusually fertile, and the females possess remarkably developed
842 udders. Possibly similar causes make both man and the goats fertile. If this
231 is so, emigrants from the island will probably, after a short time, lose their fertility,[1]
whilst the only limiting factors on the island itself will be space and the food and water supply.

144 Summarizing our general conclusions, the race in Malta which is associated with
172 the period of great megalithic buildings—a cultural stage we have termed "Malta
Local Neolithic"—appears to be closely akin to the Mediterranean race. This is
174 our "Malta first race." At a later date, possibly towards the end of the Bronze Age, but more probably during the Early Iron Age, Malta was peopled by a race with different characteristics, our "Malta second race." These people are of Armenoid type, but probably have an admixture of Mediterranean blood. Their origin appears to be the Eastern Mediterranean. They may have come to Malta either directly or by way of Carthage. They may have destroyed the previous inhabitants, or they may merely have pursued methods of peaceful penetration. This race has firmly established itself in Malta, and all subsequent introduction of foreign blood has failed to raise the variation. During the course of years certain changes have taken place; there are also certain local variations, but the differences between Malta and Gozo are not greater than the differences between the general population of Malta and at least one, and possibly more, of the more isolated villages.

APPENDIX I.

LITERATURE.

113 In writing this paper the following authorities have been consulted. Where specific reference is made, the number is given in brackets in the text.

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[167] [1] Of interest in this connection is the fact that there is at present a Maltese colony in Detroit, U.S.A., and it will be instructive to observe whether, amid alien surroundings, the strain is able to perpetuate itself and to retain its fertility.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894

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THE ROSE

When a women is about to give birth 844 824 to a child she sends to one of her neighbours for the loan of a withered flower called the "Passion Flower" which is put at once into the water. As soon as the flower opens the woman is delivered of the child.

It is true that the rose opens after it has remained in the water for some time, although quite withered, but the fanaticism of some of our people is really excessive. A certain man relates that his wife was about to be confined and one of the neighbours brought her a passion flower, in the confusion, however, that prevailed at the moment, the withered flower was thrown into a drawer and they forgot all about it.

Shortly after the woman was delivered of three sons. The flower, however, was not to be seen.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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844 824 One of the inmates then remembered that it was left in a drawer. What was his astonishment, on opening that drawer, to find that on the stem of the withered flower were brought forth *three* branches covered with leaves ! ! !

THE EVIL EYE

754 755 Many of our people believe in the evil eye, and are of opinion that there are individuals who possess the power of inflicting injury by merely looking on those whom they wish to harm. It is, however, believed that any one who has been influenced by the evil eye of another, must procure a piece of cloth from the dress of the person by whom he has been fascinated, burn it, and expose himself to the smoke of it and

178 so fervently Christian. The reason lies, perhaps, in their
795 Catholicism. The Faith has a tolerant and not unfriendly eye for many of the Old Things. It is hard to think of St. Francis being unkind to a leprechaun.

The savants make much argument about Malta's folklore. The wish being often father to their able reasoning, they will prove from it that the Maltese are Phoenician or Arab or Italian with equal conviction. Like the Cornishman who will tell you that the Hobby Horse was invented to frighten away the French, the people themselves know little if anything of the reasons why certain tales are told, certain things done; but, from birth to grave, the Old Things—often recognisable, but always with their peculiar Maltese twist—make intermittent appearances in the lives of Zeppu[1] and Grez.[1]

Some of them even have so far won the good opinion of Mother Church as to be granted a place in her own ceremonies.

ON GETTING BORN

● 844 The Maltese baby—boy or girl—gets born with very little
824 fuss, and is always welcome. In Gozo, or in what remains of country, some friend of the mother will assist the arrival of the little one, bringing into the house with her the withered bud of a certain rose. The flower is placed in water and slowly opens. At the moment of its fullest opening the child is born.
844 Here is clearly a very ancient magic. The association of the
824 rose with Motherhood, with Life, and indeed with Godhead
171 itself, is as old as time. In the Litany of Loretto, the Virgin Mother is invoked as "Rosa Mystica"—"Mystical Rose." Dante saw the innermost circle of the heavenly spheres as a rose. The Brahmins, the Persians, and the Jews all attached
844 a high mystic symbolism to the rose. The simple peasant,
824 setting her rosebud in water, little knows what forgotten gods

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[1] Popular personifications of the peasant and his wife.

she honours and calls upon in her sister's hour of need. The 844
tale is told of the birth-rose which was forgotten. Triplets 824
were born. Later the rose was found, having grown on its
withered stem three healthy branches bearing fresh, green
leaves. Whatever deep significance attached originally to the
birth-rose, the custom has a beauty of its own.

The next thought is for the little one's future. A gold ring 844
or some other golden object is placed in the water in which 823
he or she is washed, in order, they say, that riches will not be
lacking. At one time, it may be, something of more value than
the dross of riches was sought, for gold was the symbol of
wisdom and a bright understanding long before it had value
as currency.

It will be well if the baby is not red-headed, for the red- 826
headed child will inevitably be known as "Son of the Wind," [551]
"Daughter of the alcove," or even more scurrilously, "Child
of the priest." This readiness to doubt the paternity of poor
little "Copper-knob" seems to indicate that, in spite of the
blue or grey eyes of the peasants, the Maltese have always
been an essentially brunette people. The slur may be no older
than the occupation of the priestly knights, when celibacy
must frequently have proved too much for the young
"Aryans" of the Teutonic Langues. It may date back to the
much earlier time of red-bearded Ullyses. It may, again, be [822]
nothing more than a rendering of "love-child"—for red has
always been the colour of Love—sacred to Astoreth, Isis, and
Venus.

Yet another of the Old Things has a hand in birth. Even 774
to-day it is accounted by some a serious matter for a child 777
to be born on Christmas Eve. Such a child is in danger of
becoming a *Gaugau*—one whose spirit will leave its body
every Christmas Eve—"They then go out and wander all
over the island frightening people with their groanings.
After thus performing these ghostly pranks for some hours,

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787 826 denotes that a friend is speaking well of one: a tingling of the left, implying the opposite.

[171) The opinion, from whence this proverbial saying is derived, is of great antiquity, being thus mentioned by Pliny: "Moreover is not this an opinion generally received that when our ears do glow and tingle some there be that in our absence do talk of us?"

MEETING OF WOMEN

• 846 787 777 If two women who have been confined on the same day meet before forty days, one of them will suffer some misfortune either in her own person or in that of her child.

THE MONTH OF MAY

777 May is considered as the month of accidents, and consequently many be-

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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it the Birthday of the Solar Disc; but Christ is the Sun of Righteousness' " (S. HEATH, *Romance of Symbolism*).[1] 774 777 796

We cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, connect the vampire *Gaugau* with Christianity; but with Mithra the affair becomes quite different. It is not difficult to connect a child born on the eve of the Birth-feast of the bloodthirsty Mithra with something more terrible than "ghostly pranks." It is comforting to hear that the vampire *Gaugau* is now capable of nothing worse than "frightening people with his groanings!"

There was a time before the dread broom of "Progress" began to sweep all peasant customs—good as well as bad—before it, when the newly-delivered mother kept carefully to her house during forty days for fear of meeting another mother who had been confined on the same day. It was believed that of two such women meeting within forty days of their confinement, one would suffer a great misfortune. Two possible reasons for this quaint prohibition are apparent. It was either some remnant of a primitive, levitical period of purification or a means of ensuring that the mother wasted no time gossiping at the doorway or in the market place, to the neglect of her young family. 846 777 787 [174]

GROWING UP

With the child's first birthday comes the '*uccija*, or "choosing." A tray or basket is filled with an assortment of articles representing trades and professions—a book, a rosary, a candle, an inkstand, a sword—whichever the baby first picks up will indicate its bent in life. This simple means of divination is widespread, and little need be said of it except that some grains of corn are sometimes introduced as a symbol of generosity, suggesting that at one time the '*uccija* decided 852 787

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[1] H. BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

Stadium, where most village football matches are played, are in 628
themselves evidence that fights during these occasions are the rule [526]
rather than the exception. [712]

Although there is little formal contact between villages, there is a considerable amount of informal coming and going between their inhabitants. Most inter-village marriages are between partners from neighbouring villages, and the network of kin ties that these form helps to bind the villages of a district together. Inhabitants of neighbouring villages travel to and from work on the same buses, and see each other often at the annual feasts of the district. These multiple relations contribute to a certain district spirit. The most striking example is the unity of the Gozitans, although people from the south of Malta have something of the same spirit of belonging to a particular district. Nonetheless, the knowledge the inhabitants of the southern Maltese villages have of each other cannot be compared to that of the Gozitans, who, for the most part, not only recognize each other by face, name and nickname, but usually know a surprising (and often uncomfortable) amount of personal details about one another. [582]

IV

A person becomes a member of a village by being born there, or 217
marrying or moving into it. The administrative details connected 591
with these acts are quite simple. Parents must register the birth of [621]
a child at the local police station, and the parish priest enters the [851]
child's name in his register when the baby is baptized, which usually takes place within a few days of its birth. If a man marries into a village, his name will be entered in the parish register, for under Church law the marriage must be performed by the parish priest of the bride, or his delegate. If the couple settles in the husband's village or in a strange village, their names will be recorded on the annual census there, the *status animarum*, which every parish priest prepares for his bishop. All changes of address are supposed to be given (but often are not) to the Rationing Office and, if the person is over twenty-one, to the Electoral Office. No other civil authorities are interested in a person's whereabouts.

In point of fact, however, most people live in the villages into 369
which they were born. This is another respect in which the towns 591

proportional to the number of outsiders resident in it. Not only 591
does loyalty to friends and relations in a man's village of birth 621
often take precedence over new ties established by his marriage into a strange village, but it is not unusual for a man married into another village to continue to play an active part in the social life of his native village. Conversely, an outsider is seldom called upon or attempts to join the clubs and associations of his wife's village. Thus, only 3 per cent of the committee members of the fifteen band and social clubs in the sample villages I studied were outsiders, although about 18 per cent of the adult male population resident in these villages were born elsewhere. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the committee members were now living outside the villages in which they were born and hold office.

TABLE 2. Adults Born Outside their Place of Residence[1] [162]

Place of Residence	*Percentage born elsewhere*	*Males*	*Females*
Urban/Suburban	66%	45%	55%
Maltese Villages	16	52	48
Gozitan Villages	15	39	61

Because of the many ties which bind people to their villages of birth, an adult who moves into his wife's village remains an outsider for many years. The village will probably not give him a [551]
distinctive village nickname, and he will be known simply as the husband of his wife, or perhaps by the name of his native village. Although the village may ignore his outside origin for much of the time, his place of birth is certain to be remembered and held against him by his enemies, should he become involved in a dispute. The children of an outsider, however, become full [851]
members of the village by virtue of their birth there, and their connection with the community through the family of their mother (or father). By the time his children begin to grow up and get married, the outsider is usually firmly established as a full member of the community.

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[1] This table was compiled from data made available to me by the Principal Govern- [103]
ment Electoral Officer. It covers a random sample drawn from a sample of two suburban [127]
communities (Sliema and Balzan), seven Maltese villages (Żebbuġ, Gharghur, Gudja, Mosta, Qrendi, Dingli and Żurrieq) and three Gozitan villages (Qala, Xaghra and Gharb).

208 walls and shouted at public meetings. Mintoff is portrayed as a
578 Socialist devil working to give the islands over to Communism
in the manner of Cuba's Castro. These are some typical examples
665 of the ones that appeared on the blackboard outside the Kortin
795 Catholic Action centre: 'Mintoff is the enemy of the Church', 'Nobody can serve both God and the Devil', ' "The Bishops are interfering in politics!" That is what Communists say,' and 'We don't want Communists among us!' In stating their case, Mintoff and his supporters did not mince words either, as the following slogans that appeared on the blackboard of the Kortin Labour Party club demonstrate: 'We want a chance in court about the $60,000 lie',[1] 'With the Papal flag in their hands and shouting for vengeance', 'A fish begins to stink from its head',[2] and 'In Gozo they told the women that we have tails.'

208 The popular slogan 'Either with the Bishop or against the
578 Church!' sums up the uncompromising attitude of the Church.
Most of the sanctions it has imposed have presented that choice
665 to the people in unequivocal terms. Early in May 1961, shortly
794 after the Labour leaders were interdicted, all Church lay societies
795 were instructed to obtain from each member a pledge of his full and unqualified support for the Archbishop. Those that declined to give this were expelled from the society concerned and their names reported to the national office of Catholic Action. But a more drastic sanction was imposed a few weeks later. After the
[793] Executive of the Labour Party had invited the Archbishop and the
[226] Bishop of Gozo to debate their policy in public at a Labour rally in Cospicua, the Bishops replied to this insult by issuing a circular which declared it a mortal sin to print, write for, sell, buy, distribute or read the Labour Party newspapers. All confessors were instructed to put the necessary questions to their penitents.

578 Hence, to remain a Labour supporter, a person has to forego the
665 Church sacraments that he has been brought up to believe vital
794 to his happiness and spiritual salvation. This is a very serious choice for a practising Catholic, and before these sanctions were
795 imposed, the Maltese were among the most devoutly Catholic
● [851] people in the world. It has also meant that MLP supporters cannot

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[608] [1] This refers to the Archbishop's charge, made at a rally in March 1961, that Mintoff had received $61,000 from the allegedly Communist dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which the MLP had just joined.

[539] [2] A Maltese proverb meaning that corruption first becomes apparent among people in high places. This was presumably directed against the Archbishop.

578
act as godparents. For this reason a number of people, prevented 665
from inviting relatives and friends to fill this office, have preferred 794
not to baptize their children. 795

Many have bowed to the authority of the Church and have [851]
stopped supporting the Labour Party. But in spite of everything [608]
that has been preached on the subject, many others still feel that [664]
there is nothing incompatible between support of their political leader and loyalty to their religion. This view is expressed in the slogan which is displayed so often at MLP rallies that it has
become almost a party motto: 'With Mintoff always, against the [208]
Church never.' Although they are told from the pulpit that it does them no good, most members of the Labour Party continue to attend the daily or weekly services of worship that they have been going to since childhood. Besides, many have rationalized their action by saying that the Archbishop of Malta is acting for personal and political motives; as long as the Pope himself does not condemn the MLP they will continue to support it. This attitude is reinforced by the experience of some Labour supporters who have been absolved while on holiday or on duty with the military services in countries where it is possible to be a Socialist and a practising Catholic at the same time.

As a result of these sanctions many have turned their backs on the Church and no longer attend religious services. Before this struggle between the MLP and the Church, it would have been unthinkable for anyone in a small village to stay away from
church. A civil servant in one village told me that he had been a [626]
confirmed atheist for years. Yet until this past year he had gone to church every Sunday. In his words, 'People make it very difficult for someone who does not go to church, and I have to live here all my life. Besides, I might lose my job if people complained about me.' But he is now an open supporter of the Labour Party and no longer feels obliged to go to church. To some extent, then, the sanctions of the Church have created a social role for the non-practising Catholic.

The attitude of many who support the Labour Party is summed 115
up in the words of a twenty-year-old bus conductor in Kortin. 578
We were sitting around a table in a small wine shop when I asked 665
him why he supported the MLP in spite of the opposition of the 794
Church to it and the fact that Mintoff was regarded as a Com- 795
munist by so many in the village. He replied in English, 'I am 829

THE KUCCIJA

Among the peculiar customs which 852•
still exist in Malta, the *kuccija* may perhaps rank first.

The *kuccija* is an elaborate entertainment given by the parents on the first anniversary of their children's birth.

The company of relations and friends 852
having assembled, the child is brought 787
in and if it be a boy he is presented with a basket or tray containing corn, sweetmeats, coins, an inkstand, a candle, a rosary, a book, a sword, and other toys—if the baby is a girl, needles, silks and ribbands supply the place of the sword and inkstand.

The choice the baby makes on this 852
occasion will, according to Maltese no- 787
tions, give a just idea of his future dis- 828
position and the profession which he will follow. Should he choose the corn

852 it is a sign of a liberal character—if he
[787] picks out the inkstand it points towards
[828] inclination for trade or the bar—if he
takes the book, the rosary or the candle the assumption is that he intends to dedicate his life to the service of the church.

[574) When the baby makes his or her selection, the guests are treated with refreshments, and they all drink the health and future prospects of the small individual in question.

FUNERALS

764 On the death of a Maltese, two or
767 three women called *Neuuieha*, hired for
[533] the occasion, and attired in long mourning cloaks, immediately entered the house of the deceased singing in a low and dismal voice, some appropriate deathsong. These women cut away

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it the Birthday of the Solar Disc; but Christ is the Sun 774
of Righteousness'" (S. HEATH, *Romance of Symbolism*).[1] 777
796

We cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, connect the vampire *Gaugau* with Christianity; but with Mithra the affair becomes quite different. It is not difficult to connect a child born on the eve of the Birth-feast of the bloodthirsty Mithra with something more terrible than "ghostly pranks." It is comforting to hear that the vampire *Gaugau* is now capable of nothing worse than "frightening people with his groanings!"

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GROWING UP

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[1] H. BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

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● 852 not the trade the child was to follow, but the deity whose
787 particular care the child should be. Corn, sacred to Ceres the
Earth-Mother, alone remains.

776 It will not, unfortunately, be long before the little Maltese makes the acquaintance of the Bogey-man. He is called *Babau*, and differs very little from the English bogey-man. He is black, and lurks in corners, cupboards, behind trees, and in ill-lit streets. Sometimes he will assume the shape of an ox, a ram, or a homely donkey. In Malta he has one virtue. He prefers to haunt those whose possessions have been unfairly come by. If Grez and Zeppu go in fear of *Babau* they have in the *Hares* a friend and protector.

Il Hares—for thus he, or it, is always referred to—takes many forms and performs a variety of tasks. It is possible that *Hares* is the generic name for several spirits, some good, some evil; but the children's *Hares* is our old friend Puck, or Robin Goodfellow. He appears to good children in the form of a little black dwarf, and taking them by the hand leads them off to play with him in some hidden world of his own where fair gardens, luscious sweetmeats, and marvellous toys abound. Only one condition attaches to these secret visits: the *Hares* must never be betrayed to parents or grown-ups. Should his visits be discussed with adults the gates of his magic world are for ever shut upon the garrulous child. I know a grown woman, sensible and devout, who tells of meeting the little black *Hares* frequently when she was a child. She firmly believes in him.

For the adult the *Hares* is a more fearsome creature. Some say that every household has its own particular guardian spirit, sometimes materialized as a black snake. The snake must be treated with respect. If it is injured, calamity will overtake the house and all who dwell in it. This snake would seem to be African in origin. The Bantu races, notably the Zulus, believe that their guardian spirits take upon them the body of a black snake.

527 501 are seen putting off the shore and steering their course homewards.

527 526 The custom of making swings on Ascension Day, is very common in Malta, especially among the country people. In almost every village, lots of women and children may be seen swinging together and singing merrily on the day of *Lapsi*.

527 173 No reason could perhaps be assigned by the Maltese for the practice of celebrating *Lapsi* by parties and picnics on the water, and for making swings, except that they follow the custom of their ancestors.

796 372 •857

St. JOHN'S EVE

Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating

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the Nativity of St. John by kindling great fires in the public streets, and giving their children dolls to carry in their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist "*Multi in nativitatae ejus gaudebunt*". 796 372 857•

Days and even weeks before this festival, groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs and all sorts of other combustibles which they store up for St. John's eve.

On the night of the 23rd. of June, the day before the festival of the Saint, great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the Island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking. 796 372

SAINT MARTIN'S DAY

527 One of the greatest family feast-days, among the Maltese, is that of St. Martin's, which is held on the 2nd and 3rd Sunday of November.

Happiness and true enjoyment reign supreme in every household on this
[593] special day. Pater and materfamilias entertain at dinner their married sons and daughters, with their respective consorts and children, besides nephews, nieces, and others allied by ties of consanguinity.

Every body enjoys his share of sweetmeats on St. Martin's day, with a due allowance of Marsala or some other sort of good Sicilian wine.

527 Children look forward with pleasure
262 to this day, being always regaled, by
857 either their parents or some other member of the family, with a small bag

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crammed to the top with hazelnuts, chestnuts, figs, sweets and other edibles, besides a nice small roll studded with hazelnut-kernels and covered all over with sesame. 527 262 857•

With these bags and rolls the happy children come out walking along the streets, proud of what they were lucky to get, then they meet in groups or parties and indulge in games for the nuts.

The most favourite game for children on this occasion is what they call "ta 'l castell" which means hitting at the castle. The castle consists of three nuts put near each other, topped by a fourth. They each arrange, say two or three of these castles in rows, and keep throwing by turns—every one wins the castle or castles he succeeds hitting and demolishing. 527 524 857

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salt may produce its effects it must be 755
thrown by a married woman, not by a 757
maiden.

IL *GHAGIUSA*

We have an old custom in Malta to 857
make children believe that the *ghagiusa* 888
(the oldest woman living in the parish)
is killed at noon on Thursday, the middle of Lent.

Mothers, after fasting the first twenty [785]
days of lent, send their children to the
door of the parish church, or of some convent to see the sexton or some friar throwing the old woman from the steeple down below.

The disappointment of the children is indeed very great when at noon, they don't see the *ghagiusa* thrown down.

578 621 665 had already had some success wooing members back on a personal basis by talking only of the honour of the partit and leaving politics out altogether. He stressed that the main problem was not so much the feast but the survival of the club. 'If we can just weather out the storm until after the election we can save it.' He went on to describe how it had taken years to heal the division after the seceding Strickland supporters had rejoined in 1935. 'We must avoid a split at all costs, and the only way we can do that is to bury our political differences.' His technique for doing this was to have as few formal committee meetings as possible, to avoid discussing controversial subjects and to vote in secret, for in these times 'an open vote divides the members'.

578 621 794 796 [389] ● [868] The wise counsel and efforts of the older members, who have set politics aside, has so far kept the younger hot-heads from splitting the club. In spite of all the obstacles in its way, the feast of St. Martin turned out to be a good show. Though many supporters did not contribute, others gave more than usual and there were enough funds for a good feast. About a dozen boys worked under the direction of the two adult fireworkers, and made most of the fireworks. They gave a very good account of themselves, though not one of them is old enough (18) to join the club as a formal member. All are Catholic Action members. In fact, except for a few St. Roque boys, they are the only ones left in the society. The Catholic Action group once numbered almost fifty. The others, the sons of Labour families, had been forced out by the vote of loyalty to the Archbishop which the association's national headquarters had demanded. But their enthusiasm could not quite make up for their youth or their lack of numbers. During the Friday demonstration for the saint some outsiders who were supporters of the guest band had to help them carry the statue of their patron part of the way. This was a great comedown from the previous year, when his followers were so numerous that they had to struggle for a turn to carry him. But the noise and the gay atmosphere of the celebration rekindled the interest of a number of the Labour supporters. Several helped to erect the decorations on Saturday; a few even joined in one of the band matches.

*159 farm and ignorant of many details of its history and oper-
156 ation. He is "never likely to soil his hands with farm-
178 ing". He is moving away from farming and from the cul-
593 tural and social life of his village. He apologises for
the efforts of the villagers when they attempt to produce a play, he dismisses nick-names as "old-fashioned", and he decries the limitations on activity in his native Island (no dancing or bright lights). Yet he is still enough attached to Gozo to want to introduce changes to it and to make it more like the place his education has made him want to live in. He is typical of one important and growing element in the younger generation of rural Malta and Gozo. In his teens he used to help his father in the fields and took milk to the collection depot, but this stopped as soon as he found a full-time alternative occupation.

*159 Pawlu's eldest daughter, also a teacher, has left
156 farm-work far behind. For her this was never more than
593 casual assistance with vegetable picking and lifting during holidays from school. It is not likely that she will be
46 a farmer's wife.

● 87 Pawlu's second daughter left school at twelve and divided her time between house and field work until her marriage in her late teens. She was acknowledged as her father's main assistant with the animals.

Two daughters in their middle teens are academically inclined to the extent of staying at school as long as possible and speaking four languages. Both still do incidental farm work when not occupied with studies. Both would be probable 'sixth-form' and university candidates were there any liklihood of financial backing. Their education, especially in English language and culture, is giving them - and many others like them - an advancement which is not matched by opportunity. They are learning in an educational cul-de-sac.

A son in his middle teens works full-time in the fields with his father, having left school at twelve, while two more boys are still of compulsory school age and give their father only casual assistance with feeding the smaller animals out of school hours. A little girl of some ten years makes no economic contribution to the farm.

*159 The major feature to emerge from the above consider-
46 ation is that the bulk of the work of the farm, and the full-time responsibility for all jobs, rests with Pawlu alone. The son who is old enough to deputise for his father has left farming: the only full-time help comes from a younger boy who may himself decide to follow his brother in a few years. Now Pawlu complains that "Labour is the main trouble if the farmer cannot cope with all the

of the Selective System were of considerable importance. The main receiving 167 countries were formulating restrictive laws and imposing quotas on entry. The 647 physical, educational and social backgrounds of intending emigrants therefore needed considerable attention. Of the prospective emigrants in the early 1920's, 90 per cent. were illiterate and apart from apprenticeship schemes in the Dockyard there existed no opportunities for vocational or technical training. It can be assumed that only an infinitesimal number of migrants possessed any capital. Casolani, the Superintendent of Emigration between 1918 and 1930 [871] claimed that the sudden realisation of the need for educating and training intending emigrants was most salutary in that it clearly showed how the existing educational system had - 'for a century been absolutely unrelated to the present needs of the people' (29). Since 1920, vocational training courses have been developed, a Migrants Training Centre opened in 1927, and more recently an Industrial Training Centre. In 1956 nearly 1,000 students were attending evening classes and many utilising other schemes. Ironically enough, by the 1950's the burden of expenditure incurred in the training of people who were to use their skills elsewhere, now began to prove in itself a major problem.

The direction of emigration since 1920 is illustrated in Figs. 60, 61, 62. 167 Briefly, the major trends may be outlined as follows. Short-distance migration to Europe and North Africa declined rapidly and returns increased during the 1920's of economic dislocation and increasingly restrictionist policies in the receiving countries. The United States, Canada and Australia by various quota schemes reduced the inflow from Europe and that part of Maltese long-distance movement via the mainland as well as direct was struck a final blow by the 1930-31 world slump. The most rapid revival took place in movement to the United Kingdom where Maltese status as British subjects ensured preferential treatment. Economic conditions in all other areas other than Australia prevented any other revival before World War II destroyed all possibility of movement.

During the war, continued population growth and obvious hardships and insecurity pointed to emigration as a desirable action and led to official preparation for a post-war exodus. By the end of December 1946 nearly 12,000 prospective emigrants had been registered of whom over 10,000 wished to go to the U.S.A. and Australia (in roughly equal numbers). Until 1948 shipping shortages, administrative difficulties and the presence of a housing problem in Australia, together with a boom in domestic demand for labour in reconstruction work, slowed down the actual rate of movement. At the same time pressure kept building up and by March 1949 there were 42,120 registered prospective migrants.

In that same year financial assistance to would-be emigrants was made available on a significant scale. As from 1947 the Maltese Government contributed to a Passage Assistance Scheme whereby 75 per cent. of the cost of passage would be provided to 'suitable, necessitous and deserving cases with good prospects of employment abroad', a scheme more generous in its coverage than that available in 1946 from the Emergency Unemployment Loan Scheme. With effect from the beginning of 1949 the Passage Assistance Agreement concluded between Malta and Australia made available more capital than Malta alone could supply but, in that the equal grants made by both Governments were each limited to £30 per capita, a greater onus was placed on the migrant. Even so during 1949 nearly three and a half thousand people left for Australia under passage assistance schemes and in 1950 this rose to nearly 5,000, a proportion in each case of over 80 per cent. of all assisted emigrants. Between 1951 and 1953 economic difficulties in Australia reduced the strength of attraction to that country and a relatively greater proportion of movement was direct towards Canada.

By 1953, Australian economic revival and a firm acceptance of an emigration policy by the Maltese Government foreshadowed an impending increase in emigration and the United Kingdom Government agreed to alleviate the personal and Budgetary strains in Malta by making a contributory grant of up to £200,000 towards the Passage Assistance Scheme. By 1956, 60 per cent. of all expenditure on assistance was being borne by the United Kingdom Government, 10 per cent.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 160-C]

361 landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of
369 the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the
464 greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to
work in this area.

369 Differences in language, dress and education set many of the
villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be
so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in
contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries.
[565] The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so con-
[177] sidered, have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of
these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth
century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who
struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen,
whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

177 There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants
and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the
19 English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of
369 whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also
differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken
in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English
words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their
preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema
the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*,
which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà*
(mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however,
are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged
to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

186 The social and cultural differences between town and country
have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was
369 often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who
829 goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe,
tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The
villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who
spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for
the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross
exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth.
But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices
369 in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary
871 level.

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[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barnett, 1615), p. 234.

156 577 talked about' (*Miskin min jiġi f'ilsien in-nies*). This is especially true for those persons whose social position does not permit them to remain outside the circle in which criticism and gossip circulates. For these the esteem of neighbours is more important than office.

156 554 575 Social status is the fourth quality of leadership mentioned. High status is a desirable and, in some cases, necessary quality for the holders of certain offices. The president of a band club is required to act as its ambassador and to handle its external relations; a person with high status is an obvious asset. He can meet visiting dignitaries and perform the required speech making without embarrassment to the club. Thus the president and vice-president of the clubs have often been invited to fill those offices because of their high status. Some clubs create the office of honorary patron for benefactors who are willing to lend their names – and status – to the clubs, although they take no part or interest in their actual running.

High social position is also an asset to the office of treasurer; for at some time or another he is almost sure to be accused by the village gossips of putting his hand into the purse. Considerable social distance between him and his critics renders him less vulnerable to their comments. It also makes potential critics less vocal. People are often willing to concede integrity to their superiors which they deny to their equals.

The secretary of the club does not need high status to carry out his work success~~fully,~~ although it is certainly an asset. But he must have at least one of the attributes of high status, namely education; for as administrator of the club he is required to do a great deal of paper work. On the other hand, occupying one of the important offices in itself confers prestige upon a person. Thus the secretary is accorded a higher social status that he would have if he did not occupy that position, assuming for a moment that he had no other attributes which would confer status upon him.

156 463 554 871 Two important attributes of status are education and occupation. Education is the key that unlocks the world of the printed word and frees people from dependence on patrons willing to interpret it. Education also leads to better employment opportunities. Since entrance to the civil service, the professions and many commercial concerns is by competitive examination, the Maltese attach great importance to formal education.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

There is considerable difference in the social status ascribed to 156
various jobs. Non-manual occupations have the highest status,
manual occupations the lowest. The professionals – the priest, 463
doctor, lawyer, chemist or teacher – are at the top; while the 554
farmers are at the bottom. In many respects a government clerical
officer is also at the other end of the scale from the farmer. The
civil servant has a steady, relatively easy job with a good cash
income and comfortable pension at the end. He also has ready
access to influential persons in the government. His is a life of
security and relative independence. The farmer, on the other
hand, has been looked down on for centuries. He represents the
traditional life of dependence: dependence upon the weather, the
market, the *pitkal*, or middleman, for cash advances, the letter-writer
and the patron through whom established authority has to
be contacted. Education and wage labour have presented the [178]
farmer with a means of escape from that dependence and the
exhausting labour in his rocky fields. Where he has had the oppor- [871]
tunity, he has been quick to turn his back on the traditional [241]
occupation of his forefathers.

Wealth is another determinant of status. This is generally 156
related to occupation. There has always been a considerable 463
difference between the standard of living of the professionals and
that of the average countryman. But until the past war, there was 511
relatively little difference in the standard of living of most 554
villagers. True, the more affluent lived in the large houses on the 556
main square, and the poorer people lived in the alleys and streets
remote from the square. Most people ate similar food, dressed
alike and furnished their houses in the same way. But the increase
in the level of wages, which followed the war, has changed that
pattern. New houses, cars, fridges and transistor radios have
become a tangible index of success and status. People are now
being graded according to the number of these symbols they
own.

Education, occupation and wealth are thus the chief criteria by 156
which social position is differentiated. A person who has all these
attributes has high status. But a person with high status is not 554
necessarily a leader; for he may not possess the innate qualities [577]
required of a successful leader – courage, responsibility and willingness
to work. Where a person has both high status and
possesses these qualities – as well as ambition – he will undoubtedly

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard developments
621 and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the
rural districts where change has to date been slower than in
the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along
with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisors as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
● 871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education
as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The
clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the population
was not. This concentration of learning produced a situation
in which only the clergy were able to step forward to
take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might
have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
[669] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolutionary
[648] leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino
Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising
against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands
by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both
village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the
[874] University came strongly under the influence of the Church,
for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long standing,
[178] was and still is best known for its Theology. However,
during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the
Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative
details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of
the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth.
The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the
separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociological
importance during the present century has been the growth
of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban
areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces
which are today tending to detract from the traditional
omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before
the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will
loom much larger than at present in the country districts
and in Gozo[11].

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
346 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
themselves responsible for much of the labouring work.
794 Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards
the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939);
this in a parish which even ten years later had no more
than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

175 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were
793 attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor)
871 Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became
Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest
not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way
in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features
possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the
Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration
and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was
"sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of
Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in
the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by
the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
[671] elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this
still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for
nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory
Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

744 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for
793 by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone
759 himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of
1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest
175 of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the
day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to
anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p.6).
As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in
difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social,
as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the
first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the
village, and another of the traditional functions of the
Priest passed to specialist hands.

175 After this, interest was turned again to building and
the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out
346 in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the
344 Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the
[435] District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers them-
selves were responsible for a great deal of the building
work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued
to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

175 between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This
458 dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth
511 century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished
[464] from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which
[184] characterized the totality of economic life in Malta.
Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean
basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by
changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the
fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of
prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century.
[731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts,
epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean
in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable
Malta (B/556).

175 The major economic developments arising from the
184 growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the
511 Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various
178 stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic
life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the
chain of external events made their presence felt. In
all this the fortunes of one section of the population,
such as the farming community, could at no time stand
unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands
as a whole.

175 Malta remained sharply divided within itself by
178 class, district and education and the parallel differences
[184] of living standards between one section of society and
another were continued. But the later decades of the
●[871] nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from
the economic plane, the beginnings of general education
which, during the present century, was to remove the
illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural
classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of
life and society outside the limits of the village.
[184] Improvements in transport and communication within the
[369] Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area
to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the
twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of
isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and
Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural
[621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been
a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little
contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages
in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the forces indicated were beginning to modify the position but it was not until the present century and particularly

This increase in the

178 range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-
291 produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged
[511] financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The
villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of
his children, both the infants and those attending school.
[871] The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands
[702] has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War
of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men
into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that
they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been
their practice before.

* **Work and Labour**

159 As seen, Ġamri's normal labour force consists
241 of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being
461 all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little.
464) This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural
year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit......	1740	man/hours
	- vines......	489	" "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437	" "
	- potatoes...	868	" "
	- other vegetables...	505	" "
(ii) on Ġamri's own holding	- vines....	444	" "
	- cereals & fodders..	222	" "
	- vegetables	65	
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage................		160	" "
(d) Building of pig-sties..................		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous..........................		677	" "
		6816	man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analysed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġamri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

OUD In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in con-
231 trast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

* Ġamri and farming

159 Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
241 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[212] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
[454] ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[729] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
[434] costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[178] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
[231] into an apparently more profitable line.

* His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
159 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
181 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he bel-
ieves that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
* approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
181 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
178 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

*159 Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For
554 two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class
[441] status in the village. Their standard of living and the
house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while
[511] their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their
social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in
463 this report as their position today has many points in common
with that of the farmers.

226 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957,
463 Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total
162 gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent
to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands,
although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time
fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of
the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation
ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition
463 of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the indus-
178 try is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen
use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in
general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local
fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new de-
[871] velopments in fishing technique. This is aggravated by the
comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14).

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 The present writer holds that the need for education in
463 agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation.
871 But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in
829 farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of
[014] fishing, although the need for the technical education of the
fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931
(B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers
(B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off
Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are
regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy,
technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they
can command

080

level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak 369
English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a 191
sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advance- 555
ment.

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis 212
in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of 369
compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is [872]
rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the
decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction 162
of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta
and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same 212
age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had 369
fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same
period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to
17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance 369
between town and country. The greater employment oppor- 464
tunities during and after the war, and the continuous improve-
ment in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advan-
tage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers
alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself
was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and
people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to
escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural
neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not
surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages,
regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between
past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, be-
tween poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their 178
livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century 241
ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers 433
who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the 464

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[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school. [114]

793 quarrels and village disputes, for their position in society makes them important allies. These demands frequently place them in the difficult position of having to choose between acting as an impartial servant of God and acting as a good son and loyal friend, who can only be impartial at the cost of making enemies of friends and family.

793 465 While parish priests, in all save the smallest parishes, usually receive an income sufficient for a reasonably comfortable life, few ordinary diocesan priests can live on their income as clerics. The average village priest gets only his daily Mass stipend of five shillings as compensation for his clerical services. If a priest is popular and gifted, he may be able to earn a bit extra by preaching, lecturing and taking part in religious functions in other parishes. Even so, most priests are forced to look to secular fields to be able to help support their parents and near relatives. Thus it is that most of the village clergy are part-time priests. That is, they spend most of the day away from their parish working at jobs that vary from farming to school teaching. Their pastoral work in their own parish is limited.

793 Of the eight priests born in Kortin and still living there, two are retired, one is the parish curate, two work outside the village as teachers and three are clerks with various diocesan bodies. In the evening most help the parish priest in church, teach catechism to the children and take charge of the various lay associations for which the parish priest has asked them to be responsible. In Farruġ there is only one local priest in the village. He teaches in the village's elementary school, and assists the parish priest in the evening, on Sundays and on feast days.

794 [792] [465] In almost every village there is an infants' school run by one of the female religious orders. The nuns are supported by donations of cash and produce from the local inhabitants. A few nuns earn something by doing elementary nursing among the sick of the community.

● [872] [793] There are a number of other officers connected with the parish. These include the procurators (administrators) of the smaller churches and chapels, the sacristan, the choirmaster, the organist, the prefect of the altar boys, and so on. All have certain responsibilities delegated to them by the parish priest. In those villages where the celebration of the annual festa is organized by a committee, its members have the authority to command the financial and manpower resources of the community while they prepare

'belonging', and to a certain extent has created for them a community 665
of their own. These persons often make up the hard core
of Labour supporters in their villages, since they have nothing to
lose by openly fighting the Church.

A number of sociological explanations can be advanced to 463
account for the support professionals, white-collar workers and 467
farmers give to the Church. First of all, professionals generally lose
status in the eyes of their colleagues, if not the wider society, if 665
they join the Labour Party or sympathize with it. It is a working- [558]
class party, and they are professionals. There are a number of
notable exceptions to this, but the only professionals that I met
who sympathized with the MLP were either candidates for office
with it or members of the Executive. The political ideology of
their colleagues and the expectations of their clients combine to
make them look upon the Labour Party as the antithesis of everything
they have been brought up to believe in. They, through
their offices in parish associations and through their work as
doctors, lawyers, high civil servants, and so on, form part of the
establishment to which the Labour Party is opposed.

Much the same reasoning can be applied to the white-collar
workers. As teachers, clerks and other intermediate grade civil
servants they hold a relatively high position in the social hierarchy
of their villages. Many are anxious to identify themselves
with their social superiors, those in control of the village as well
as their employers, and thus look down upon the MLP as opposed
to their interests. Moreover most of them have been educated at
colleges run by the Church. There their teachers gave them additional [873]
religious instruction and strengthened those values which [794]
make the anti-clerical tone of the Labour Party repugnant to them.

Farmers, on the other hand, are looked down upon by many
and are regarded as underprivileged by all. Why is it then that
they do not support the Labour Party? Farmers in most communities
are very conservative, and those in Malta are no exception.
Their solitary occupation isolates them from the Labour Party
ideology which is so freely discussed among the industrial
workers of Malta. Not only that, but as we have seen, they are
among the most poorly educated section of the community.
Many are unable to read the propaganda which the MLP disseminates [212]
through its publications. This isolation from the secular
and materialistic ideologies which enter the country through the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XVIII

Old Survivals in Modern Malta

MALTA OCCUPIES A PLACE OF ITS OWN IN THE OLD WORLD 101. not only by reason of the length and unusual character of its annals, not only by reason of the tremendous range of its architectural monuments. It does so because it combines with these features the circumstance that it is the home of a separate race, the smallest of European peoples.

There are, it is true, four independent states in Europe of lesser size than Malta, but the inhabitants of these states do not form distinct racial stocks, nor have they their own languages. The Maltese are the smallest nation with the longest history, and their islands are a microcosm, self-contained. Not only has Malta its own tongue. It has its [197]
own University—the oldest in the British Commonwealth [873] ●
Overseas and granted the Royal patronage and the prefix "Royal" by King George VI in his coronation year—with seven faculties: Theology, Laws, Medicine and Surgery, Dental Surgery, Engineering and Architecture, Arts, Science. It has, as we have seen, its own Nobility with their Committee [565]
of Privileges. It is an ecclesiastical Province whose Archbishop [793]
exercises jurisdiction since 1944 over the bishopric of Gozo, previously immediately subject to the Holy See since its formation in 1864. And in the history of this microcosm has been mirrored the life of the great world around it.

Viewed as a part of the British Commonwealth, Malta is 655
unique in two particulars. It is the only British possession 545
whose Government owns an Opera House and in normal times 368
maintains an annual opera season and conducts the pawnbroking of the nation in the manner of certain Continental states.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

172 Comino between them separated from the islet of Cominotto
133 by a channel of the palest green.

Traversing thousands of years, let us next notice a reminder
172 of the rule of Rome in the Latin inscription embedded in the entrance to the citadel, dating from the time when Gozo was a separate *municipium* of the Roman republic. Now for a glimpse of Islam, a legacy of the two centuries—from 870 to 1090—when the Arabs were the lords of these islands. Between the villages of Xewkija and Sannat on the road now called Ta Maimuna was discovered about three hundred years ago a slab of marble bearing an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters. This slab was the tombstone of an Arab girl named Maimuna, and the inscription is not only a fine piece of lapidary work but a human document from which I quote without apology:

> "Ask thyself," cries Maimuna from the grave, "if there is anything everlasting, anything that can repel or cast a spell upon death.
>
> "Alas, death has robbed me of my short life; neither my piety nor my modesty could save me from him. I was industrious in my work, and all that I did is reckoned and remains.
>
> "Oh, thou who lookest upon this grave in which I am enclosed, dust has covered my eyelids and the corners of my eyes.
>
> "On my couch and in my abode there is nought but tears; and [what will happen] when my Creator comes to me?
>
> "Oh, brother, take. . . ."

And here little Maimuna's pathetic message comes to an abrupt end.

The passage of a few more centuries brings us to the
● 873 spacious days of the Knights of S. John, the study of whose
175 rule in Gozo may be facilitated by reference to the archives of the island's "University," for Gozo had, like Malta, its
ooo own "University" until the beginning of British rule.[1] It

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[217] [1] These archives were rescued from oblivion after the Second World War by the Commissioner of Gozo, Mr E. Montanaro, and are now preserved in the Commissioner's Office.

167 [658] [874] by Australia, and 30 per cent. by the Maltese Government. In addition, the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund has helped to finance vocational training schemes. Even so, as already noted, the burden and the irony of training and sending away that part of the population which potentially is the most productive has been keenly felt in Malta. In 1954, 11,000 emigrants left the Islands, 9,793 under Passage Assistance Schemes, over 8,000 of these for Australia. Since 1955, the policy of encouraging emigration has been implemented less vigorously and the rates of departure have become strongly influenced by political dictates. The social and demographic repercussions of fluctuations in policy need no especial emphasis here.

In conclusion, we may consider the regional variations in emigration. Traditionally, movement tended to be from the countryside into the towns and thence outward from Malta. Exceptional was Gozo in that from villages such as Nadur a direct exodus was already well established in the nineteenth century. The position in recent years is shown in Fig. 63. The three regions with the highest emigration rates each have distinctive characteristics. The North is a newly-settled agricultural region. From its still relatively youthful population with a high birth rate, a larger than average proportion is fitted by reason of age and absence of ties for emigration. The south-eastern district of Birżebbuġa

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard develop-
621 ments and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the
rural districts where change has to date been slower than in
the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along
with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisors as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education
as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The
clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the population
was not. This concentration of learning produced a situation
in which only the clergy were able to step forward to
take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might
have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
[669] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolutionary
[648] leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino
Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising
against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands
by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both
village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the
[874] University came strongly under the influence of the Church,
for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long standing,
[171] was and still is best known for its Theology. However,
during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the
Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative
details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of
the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth.
The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the
separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociological
importance during the present century has been the growth
of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban
areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces
which are today tending to detract from the traditional
omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before
the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will
loom much larger than at present in the country districts
and in Gozo[11].

654 232 242 to have made its presence felt among the farmers themselves.

When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in the Islands will depend, have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

241 829 [575] [874] In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened younger farming generation might develop. Neither is there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

654 234 As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U. (Section 2). In short, official policy here has been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the [433] cost of which is borne by the Government. The totals of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[41].

Partly because of the temporary nature of their assignments, but 554
also because they are usually city-bred, they generally keep 759
themselves aloof from the people amongst whom they work.
With but few exceptions, they take little or no part in the social
life of the communities to which they are assigned. But they are
nevertheless respected figures. Where they are tolerant of village
customs, not too mercenary, and take a patronal interest in the
personal problems of their clients, they will have, in addition to
prestige, a large personal following. This has enabled a number of
former District Medical Officers to stand successfully for elected
office.

School teachers are another group of people with high pres- 554
tige. Every village and almost every hamlet in Malta and Gozo
now has a government school. Headmasters usually live outside 875
the villages in which they work. They begin their careers in the
small rural villages and move into the larger and more important
schools as they gain experience and seniority. They are rarely in a 554
village long enough to be asked to take part in its social life. 575
Village-born teachers, on the other hand, normally teach in their 875
home villages, where they often occupy important offices in the
associations. But even where he no longer resides in his place of
birth the teacher or headmaster, as a village son with high pres-
tige, is often asked to take an active part in its social life. The
president of the St. Roque Band Club in Farruġ, for example, is
headmaster of the primary school in a neighbouring village, where
he has lived since he married there more than forty years ago. He
has been a member of the club's committee for most of that time,
and its president for the last twenty years. Until two years ago he [794]
was also procurator of the Confraternity of St. Roque.

VI

The structure of authority in the villages of Malta and Gozo, 621
because of the importance of offices and associations which are 795
either focused on or articulated with the Church, bears a certain
superficial resemblance to the civil/religious hierarchy which has
been described in Mexican villages.[1] But it differs significantly;
it is neither a hierarchy, nor is it formally related to the structure
of government.

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[1] See, for instance, Fernando Camara, 'Religious and Political Organization', in *Heritage of Conquest*, Sol Tax, ed. (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), *passim*. [113]

346 set out to raise the extra £2,000 required. One of the fund-raisers
794 at the time was young Manwel, the father of Dr. Farrugia,
● [875] who had then just begun to teach in the village school. The reconstruction
of the old church was finally completed in 1913.

Sur Vinċenz gradually dropped out of village activities. Many
794 people blamed him for the trouble in the community. In 1912 he
578 refused to allow the organizers of the festa to anchor one of the
major street decorations in its customary position against his house. This action created more hostility towards him, and shortly after the festa a bomb was thrown through his cellar window. During the next six weeks he and his close relatives received several threatening letters, and one night the front of his house was smeared with red paint. But the rivalry between the factions gradually died out, and today there is no trace of it left. The old
[887] men of Kortin who now spend their days in the shade of the huge
façade of the church, and their evenings on its cool steps, remember the struggle clearly, for they were all deeply involved in it. As they look back to the events of sixty years ago, they often remark with wry smiles that the village was then a very lively place.

This incident was exceptional because of the immense cost to
346 the village in money and labour that the construction of the new
578 church involved. Now that church-building is no longer in
794 vogue, new works usually take the form of decorations, such as
new paintings or candlesticks. These do not generally arouse strong feelings, since all additions to the beauty and wealth of the church are normally welcome. A wise priest, however, tries to ensure that there is general agreement about them. It sometimes happens that he forgets, or underestimates, the proprietary interest of his parishioners in their church. When this occurs, there is usually trouble.

Some years ago, the parish priest of Farruġ proposed to regild
346 the chancel. His parishioners welcomed the idea, and contributed
578 generously. But when the work was finally completed and the
793 scaffolding removed, his parishioners were shocked to find that
794 he had placed his personal coat of arms high over the chancel. He
was the first priest in the history of the parish to have put his coat of arms inside their church; moreover, he had done so without their consent. There was great indignation, but the arms remained there. A year later he was promoted to a larger parish, and left

17 definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years
624 earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catho-
787 lic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedi-
795 cated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general
elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints,
[533] including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play
[796] during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general
influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the
refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into
Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian
[208] politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs,
especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to
17 Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary
575 associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentle-
621 men'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British
Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in
1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages.
They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890,
'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city
without three or five.'[3]

17 The latter half of the last century was a period of relative
433 economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in
439 military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War;
the sharp expansion in government spending on public works
464 programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand
648 for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the
653 American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand
658 for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to dis-
seminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial
[541] basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations,
fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands.
[178] Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools
[875] in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural
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[1] See Appendix A.

[113] [2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

communities where they became leaders, and the source of many 178
new ideas and customs. In Għaxaq, for example, I found that a 875
teacher born in Valletta had been the one to introduce the
custom of decorating the streets for the festa.

It is, of course, extremely difficult, if not impossible, to dis- 174
cover the motives which prompted people to choose a particular 178
partit. The only possible clue to at least one set of reasons may well 463
lie in the correlation between occupational class and partit
affiliation. Apart from this class alignment, I found no evidence in 621
Farruġ, or any other village so divided, of any pre-existing structural division out of which these festa partiti might have developed. In view of the way membership is inherited, it would appear that the position which members of the great-grandfather generation occupied in the village class structure in some way influenced their choice of partit. There is some evidence for this, although not a great deal, to be found in the genealogies of the present generation. Frequent marriages with outsiders, emigration and the changing employment structure of the country over the past six decades have blurred this picture considerably.

But it is certainly possible that the new cult appealed more to 174
those persons who held no office in the older confraternities and
who performed no official functions in connection with the cele- 178
bration of the annual festa of the village patron. Through the new 621
cult they could gain offices and perform functions which hitherto had been monopolized by the circle of the village elite who surrounded the parish priest. Some informants have also mentioned that young men were particularly attracted to the new cult. In this we can see the universal resistance of the young to the authority of their elders, for by becoming active in the new cult, they were asserting their independence from the controls of the older generation. Were the secondary partiti then a form of protest against the established authority, a sort of underdogs' party?

Other facts appear to support the hypothesis that the founda- 174
tion of the secondary partiti was in some way related to a wider 476
working-class movement. Many of the partiti are dedicated to St. 621
Joseph, the patron saint of the working classes who were begin- 776
ning to organize themselves into formal associations throughout 794
Europe. In Malta there are many signs that this devotion was very
strong. In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to 600

[illegible] leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

Pawlu admits nevertheless that much of the inferior condition of the farmer derives from his inability to unite with other farmers (Section 4). Illiteracy, ignorance and suspicion are the major causes of his fear. Only a few farmers are members of either of the two opposing Unions of Farmers while the situation regarding co-operatives is equally unpromising. Pawlu himself became one of the organizers of a special 'Tractor Co-Operative', initiated by C.A.R.E. at the end of 1958 (Section 2) for a group of farmers in his home village. The members paid £2 each on joining the co-operative and were thereafter able to hire one of the two tractors donated by C.A.R.E. at only 10/- per hour instead of the commercial 17s. The fact that Pawlu himself was among the organizers of such a novel venture reflects his progressive outlook, and his standing in the village.

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Politics interest Pawlu, to a more than average degree His concern is based on an informed intelligence. A supporter of the Labour Party, he considers the Nationalists as holding the masses in contempt and he points to their emphasis on the Italian language and the non-Maltese culture which it represented as evidence. He reads the local Maltese-language press but is sufficiently independent of mind to have cancelled his subscription to the 'Lehen is-Sewwa' (B/65) at the time of the 'Integration' referendum on the grounds that neither the Church nor the Paper would publish an 'official' statement on the attitude of the Church. Yet his religious devotion is without question and he has a respected place in Church and village life.

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829
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[555]
[167]
The Family. Pawlu lives with his wife and six of his children. His eldest son and daughter are both working as teachers in Malta. Another daughter has emigrated.

Pawlu's wife speaks only Maltese and had as little formal education as her husband, but she has at all times nothing but encouragement for her family in their education In this case there is not the usual gulf in outlook between parents and children on account of the education of the latter - for the parents fully realize the need. Pawlu's

[462]
wife used to work in the fields when young but now spends her time in the house. Certain jobs remain her special concern however, notably cheese-making, care of lambs and chicks and egg-collection.

*159
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[875]
The eldest son, now working as a teacher, is one of the young 'intellectuals' who are currently making an appearance in Gozo. The ties of family and respect between him and his father are strong but he is out of touch with the

Children begin to express partit affiliation when they are between twelve and fourteen years old. At this age they are old enough to follow the processions and take part in the demonstrations on their own. Fund raisers make demands on them, and they are asked to help decorate the streets. At this age they also begin to play in the band. A youngster would jeopardize his social standing with his elders and with his age mates if he failed to take a firm position with regard to one of the saints. This would remove him from much of the community's social life. Consequently, by the time a village boy has reached fifteen, he has usually selected his partit, thus accepting and becoming part of the fabric of partit rivalry which will hold him until he dies or leaves the village. 621 794 883 [533] [882]

There is some relation between occupational class and partit affiliation: in general, the supporters of titular saints belong to a higher occupational class than their rivals. The reason for this will be discussed a little later. The data I gathered in Farruġ illustrate this correlation clearly. As shown in Table No. 6 below, 83 per cent of the village's professional and white-collar workers belong to the St. Martin partit, while only 38 per cent of those engaged in agriculture do so. 463 621

TABLE 6. Farruġ: Partit Affiliation and Occupational Class

OCCUPATION			PARTIT AFFILIATION	
	Number	*Percentage of Lab. Force*	*St. Martin*	*St. Roque*
Professional and clerical	12	4	83%	17%
Service and skilled	115	39	55	45
Semi- and unskilled	124	42	48	52
Agricultural	45	15	38	62
Total	296	100		

So much for the origin and social composition of the partiti. I may just observe here that festa partiti are not usually based on territorial divisions. Since upward mobility does not involve change of partit, but is often accompanied by a change of residence, all residential areas are mixed. Nonetheless, there is a tendency for supporters of the titular partiti to live in the better residential area near the church, and for their rivals to live in the poorer sections more remote from the central square. This is a reflection of the differing occupational class of the members. This 361 621 [555]

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8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Pietru Lagrimanti's strange birth has a parallel in Egyptian mythology, where a man is born of the tears of the deity Nu who personified the Celestial Ocean from which the life-force even of the gods themselves was drawn. 539 /71/

Armed with his great hammer, "Il Lagrimanti" resembles the Dragon Slayers of every mythology, from Bel-Marduk of the Assyrians to Thor of the Scandinavians and Finn M'Cull of the Celts; but he is sadly fallen from his high estate and become a figure of fun, with his huge head and his shirt too long for him. A primitive respect for deformity or else some modification of the monstrous shapes of a pagan Pantheon may account for the baby's misshapen figure. The long shirt has clearly been added to provide a comic figure of the sort dear to the Maltese sense of the ridiculous.

The stories of the Kaukam and of Pietru Lagrimanti are but two of many tales in which pursuit of the Old Things, through the labyrinth which time has built around them, is a fascinating pastime. Enough has been said to illustrate the way in which a tenacious handful of peasants has handed down, through the centuries, legends of great antiquity—in some cases nearly intact. 539

GROWN UP

The Maltese—a people as old as time—are a people who never grow up. In this lies their chief charm. For Zeppu the passing of childhood means only an understanding of the ancient price of manhood: 885

> "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the earth, out of which thou wast taken. . . ."

For Grez the flowering into womanhood brings only the divine command:

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● 885

> "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children and thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee. . . ."

In all other things they remain children and "of such is the Kingdom. . . ."

So that the curse of Adam may lie less heavily upon these children of an unfertile rock, the Old Things have blessed them with an uncanny ability to make flowering fields out of nothing.[1]

THE SKY AND THE SOIL

821
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[369]

The weather and husbandry lore of the peasant has much to do with the success of his untiring hands. Much of this peasant wisdom is incomprehensible to the town-bred Maltese (too often they have lost touch or dismiss it—in hybrid Italian—as *ignuranza*); much of it has exact parallels in the lore of the English countryside, as for example the following:

821
171
539

Maltese	*English*
"The Moon eats everything."	"Fair weather with a full moon."
"The stars wink at the coming wind."	"Twinkling stars foretell high winds."
"Sky like a turtle's back; heavy rains, fierce winds." "Clouds with heads of men and beasts bring in the thunder and the lightning."	"A rounded cloud with flattened base carries rainfall in its face."

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[1] During the early years of the last century Malta's cotton crop was valued at an average of one and a half millions sterling annually. The cotton industry, dating from Roman times and earlier, is now practically dead.

occupations, 32 per cent are service personnel and skilled workers, 463
27 per cent are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and 14 per cent
are engaged in agriculture. Just over two-thirds of the total are
employed outside the village. The majority of these, as in Farruġ,
work in the Grand Harbour industrial area. Those who work in
the village are for the most part self-employed. They are farmers,
shopkeepers, blacksmiths and carpenters.

In Table No. 1 I have compared the various occupational classes in Kortin and Farruġ to each other and to the national figures.

III

Most villages look very much alike. Their magnificent baroque 361
churches provide a startling contrast to the low, flat-roofed houses
grouped tightly around them. As the parish church towers over
the village, so it dominates it socially, for the church is in every
sense the centre around which the life of the village revolves. In
front of the church there is usually a large square, the *misrah* or
pjazza, which is the social centre of the village. Various village
clubs and lay societies, as well as the police station, are situated on
the *pjazza*, or just off it, as are the principal wine shops, the
government dispensary and the finest houses of the village. As the [498]
square is usually the terminal point of the local bus line, it is the
point at which most people enter and leave the village. It is also [796]
the stage on which the principal events of village life take place:
the annual feast, or *festa*, of the patron saint, the many religious
processions and the occasional political rallies. On Sundays, and [517]
especially during the long summer evenings, the square teems
with groups of men, who sit about on steps and benches, talking
and arguing for hours on end. During weekday mornings, it [745]
belongs to the old men of the village, now freed by government
old age pensions from the backbreaking toil in the fields that was [887]
the lot of their forefathers.

Each village is first and foremost a community of neighbours. 621
Even the smallest of them have distinct residential groups, the
members of which are in closer contact with each other than with
people living in other parts of the village. This is, of course, particularly true of the larger villages. But even in Farruġ, a village of
about 1,400, the extremities of the village and the various streets
and alleys form separate neighbourhoods. The many little shops 000

346 794 [875] set out to raise the extra £2,000 required. One of the fund-raisers at the time was young Manwel, the father of Dr. Farrugia, who had then just begun to teach in the village school. The reconstruction of the old church was finally completed in 1913.

794 578 Sur Vinċenz gradually dropped out of village activities. Many people blamed him for the trouble in the community. In 1912 he refused to allow the organizers of the festa to anchor one of the major street decorations in its customary position against his house. This action created more hostility towards him, and shortly after the festa a bomb was thrown through his cellar window. During the next six weeks he and his close relatives received several threatening letters, and one night the front of his house was smeared with red paint. But the rivalry between the factions gradually died out, and today there is no trace of it left. The old
[887] men of Kortin who now spend their days in the shade of the huge façade of the church, and their evenings on its cool steps, remember the struggle clearly, for they were all deeply involved in it. As they look back to the events of sixty years ago, they often remark with wry smiles that the village was then a very lively place.

346 578 794 This incident was exceptional because of the immense cost to the village in money and labour that the construction of the new church involved. Now that church-building is no longer in vogue, new works usually take the form of decorations, such as new paintings or candlesticks. These do not generally arouse strong feelings, since all additions to the beauty and wealth of the church are normally welcome. A wise priest, however, tries to ensure that there is general agreement about them. It sometimes happens that he forgets, or underestimates, the proprietary interest of his parishioners in their church. When this occurs, there is usually trouble.

346 578 793 794 Some years ago, the parish priest of Farruġ proposed to regild the chancel. His parishioners welcomed the idea, and contributed generously. But when the work was finally completed and the scaffolding removed, his parishioners were shocked to find that he had placed his personal coat of arms high over the chancel. He was the first priest in the history of the parish to have put his coat of arms inside their church; moreover, he had done so without their consent. There was great indignation, but the arms remained there. A year later he was promoted to a larger parish, and left

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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salt may produce its effects it must be 755
thrown by a married woman, not by a 757
maiden.

IL *GHAGIUSA*

We have an old custom in Malta to 857
make children believe that the *ghagiusa* 888●
(the oldest woman living in the parish) is killed at noon on Thursday, the middle of Lent.

Mothers, after fasting the first twenty [785]
days of lent, send their children to the door of the parish church, or of some convent to see the sexton or some friar throwing the old woman from the steeple down below.

The disappointment of the children is indeed very great when at noon, they don't see the *ghagiusa* thrown down.

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538 the Arab domination. Jahan is merely a typically Maltese character placed in a series of foreign settings which have been changed to give an appearance of authenticity.

THE PEASANT AND THE SULTAN

539 From the familiar ground of Jahan's adventures it is a long step to the tale of "The Kaukam and the Kaukama." Here, again, is the typical Maltese hero who, by superior cunning, outwits the "Sultan"[1] who sets him, a poor peasant, a series of impossible tasks, but the atmosphere of the story is of the distant past.

> "Upon a time there was a peasant who loved his father as the light of his eyes. When the father became very old and decrepid, the son was obliged to do as everyone else did; he had to put his father into a cave-tomb; but he could not bring himself to block up the mouth of the cave. . . . He kept two holes. . . ."

The son then arranges to feed his father by leading his ewes to the cave, so that the old man may suck their milk through one of the holes.[2]

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•888 It has been suggested that the burial of the aged father who is kept alive and his advice sought is nothing more than a tradition of oracular response from ancestral tombs. Although this is a reasonable enough theory, there seems no cause to doubt the possibility that the facts are exactly as stated. To this day primitive tribes get rid of their aged and infirm members, for obvious reasons. Respect for the wisdom and experience of the old men and women whose advice was sufficiently valuable

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[1] There is no Maltese word for "king," "ruler" or "governor." "Sultan" is used in folk-tales broadly to describe any person in authority. The Italian "re" is rarely used in the true vernacular.

[2] L. GALEA AND MARGARET A. MURRAY, *Maltese Folk Tales.*

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to justify the inconvenience of caring for them is a lesson 539
which had to be learned. "Ghalec ma tridx tmut l'ghagiusa, 888
ghax actar ma ticber izjed titghallem"—"The old woman
does not want to die for the older she grows the more she
learns"—is a common saying. For further proof that the story of the "Kaukam" has come down from very early times, there is the only other context in which the word *ghagiusa* means "an old woman" or, more accurately, "the oldest woman hereabouts" (normally the word means "a crab").

> "We have an old custom in Malta," says Bussutil,[1] 539
> "to make children believe that the ghagiusa is killed at 796
> noon on Thursday, the middle of Lent. Mothers, after 785
> fasting the first twenty days of Lent, send their children 888
> to the door of the parish church, or of some convent to see the sexton or some friar throwing the old woman from the steeple. . . ."

That the destruction of the old woman should occur in 174
the middle of Lent—a period of fasting—is too much of a 796
coincidence not to indicate that, in times when food was 539
scarce, the aged folk were removed—either by being thrown 888
from a high place or, to save the guilt of actual murder, walled up in a rock tomb, as in the case of the peasant. The association of the Church with the destruction of the *ghagiusa* suggests that in primitive times the removal of the aged was the responsibility of the pagan priests who performed the "ritual murders." These murders may have developed from a practical necessity into a sacrificial propitiation.

The story of the Kaukam takes its name from the ancient's 539
first piece of advice to his perplexed son. Faced with the probability of losing his own crops while he cares for those of the Sultan, who has commanded that no man may plant his

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[1] GALEA AND MURRAY, op. cit.